

# The Legends of the Therīs

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Praise Him, the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Fully Complete Buddha<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>BJTS places the *namaskāra* after the title *Therī-apadāna*.



# The Legends of the Therīs

Now listen to the legends of the Therīs:<sup>2</sup>

## Sumedhā Chapter, the First

### [1. Sumedhā<sup>3</sup>]

When Koṇāgamana, Blessed One,  
was in his new dwelling, monastic ashram,<sup>4</sup>  
[we] who were three female friends, [then]  
donated a monastery.<sup>5</sup> (1) [1]

Ten times [and then] a hundred times,  
and then a hundred hundred times,<sup>6</sup>  
we were reborn among the gods;  
who could tell the human rebirths? (2) [2]

---

<sup>2</sup>this command (in the second person imperative plural) is omitted by BJTS even though it gives the parallel commands in verse (1) [5] of *Buddha-apadāna* and at the beginning of *Paccekabuddha-apadāna* and *Thera-apadāna*. The cty omits the Therīs altogether, despite having defined *Apadāna*, in its *nidāna*, as constituted by Buddha, Paccekabuddha, Thera and Therī sections.

<sup>3</sup>“Very Wise Woman”

<sup>4</sup>lit., “a hermitage for the Assembly,” “a monastic hermitage”. These two feet are oddly out of meter with the rest of this text (and nearly the whole *Apadāna*); rather than eight syllables, the first foot contains nine, and the second foot contains eleven syllables, as though the author decided half-way through the first verse to refrain from adopting a more elegant meter in favor of matching the meter in what had come before, with very few exceptions, in the parallel *Thera-apadāna*. But cf notes to *Therāpadāna* verses such as [288], [359] and [362] for exceptions to this statement (though not an exact meter-match).

<sup>5</sup>lit., “gave a *vihāra-dāna* [=monastery-gift]”.

<sup>6</sup>BJTS reads a 14-syllable first foot and an 8-syllable second one, lit., “ten times, hundred times, thousand times, hundred times hundred times”. It also reads *mānusake* for *mānuse* (PTS) to produce a nine-syllable fourth foot. Both texts provide nine-syllable first, third and fourth feet in the following verse (3), before finally settling in to the standard 8-8-8-8. See n. 4 above. Are these problems with the transmission, or experiments with (or heedlessness about) meter?

Among gods we had vast power;  
 who could tell the human [power]?  
 Chief queen of a seven-gemmer,<sup>7</sup>  
 I was<sup>8</sup> the gem of a woman. (3) [3]

Here with wholesome [karma] heaped up,<sup>9</sup>  
 [we're] people from successful clans:  
 Dhanañjānī and Khemā too,  
 along with me, the women three. (4) [4]

Making that hermitage well-made,  
 with every part [of it] adorned,  
 delighted we donated [it]  
 to the Buddha-led Assembly.<sup>10</sup> (5) [5]

In whichever place I'm reborn,  
 in accordance with<sup>11</sup> that karma,  
 among the gods and humans too,  
 I attain the foremost station. (6) [6]

In this [present] lucky aeon  
 Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
 [the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>12</sup>  
 was born, the Best of Debaters. (7) [7]

The attendant of the Great Sage  
 was the ruler of men back then,  
 the king of Kāsi, named Kiki,  
 in Benares, greatest city. (8) [8]

That [ruler] had seven daughters,  
 royal maidens raised in comfort.  
 Fond of waiting on the Buddha,  
 they practiced the religious life.<sup>13</sup> (9) [9]

Being the ally of those [girls],  
 steadfast in the moral precepts,

---

<sup>7</sup>here the possession of "seven gems" (*sattaratana*) by a wheel-turning (*cakkavatti*) monarch has become a free-standing designation of the latter (perhaps better translated as "chief queen of a possessor of the seven gems" [or, metrically, "a seven-gem-holder's chief queen"]). Note that she herself is one of those seven gems, as stated in the next foot.

<sup>8</sup>reading *āsiṃ* (BJTS) for *bhaviṇ* (PTS).

<sup>9</sup>reading *sañcitakusalā* (BJTS) for *sañcitā kusalaṇ* (PTS), though they amount to the same thing.

<sup>10</sup>lit., "to the Assembly (*saṅgha*, the monks' Assembly) headed up by the Buddha.

<sup>11</sup>reading *vāhasā* (BJTS) for *vahasā* (PTS).

<sup>12</sup>BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

<sup>13</sup>lit., "they fared according to the Brahma-faring," i.e., they led a celibate (*brahmacariya*) existence.



giving gifts [very] carefully,  
I practiced vows while in the house.(10) [10]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (11) [11]

Fallen thence, I went to Yāma,<sup>14</sup>  
[and] then I went to Tusitā,  
and then to Nimmānarati,  
and then Vāsavatti City. (12) [12]

In whichever place I'm reborn,  
steadfast in [doing] good karma,<sup>15</sup>  
I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of the kings in all those [heavens]. (13) [13]

Fallen then into humanness,  
I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of kings who turned the wheel [of law]  
and kings [commanding] large regions.<sup>16</sup> (14) [14]

Having experienced happiness  
among gods and also humans,  
being comfortable everywhere,  
I traveled on<sup>17</sup> through several births. (15) [15]

That [gift's]<sup>18</sup> the reason, that's the cause,  
root, patience for the dispensation,  
the first identification,<sup>19</sup>  
nirvana of this *Dhamma*-lover. (16) [16]<sup>20</sup>

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.

<sup>14</sup>Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all classes of deities = heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

<sup>15</sup>lit., “meritorious (*puñña*) karma”.

<sup>16</sup>*maṇḍalīnañ ca rājūnaṃ*, lit., “of kings who [ruled] circles [of kings]”

<sup>17</sup>or “I transmigrated,” *saṃsāriṃ*.

<sup>18</sup>this follows the lead of the BJTS Sinhala gloss, which understands the string of “that” pronouns to refer to the foundational gift of a *vihāra* that led to the aforementioned bliss in heavenly and human states.

<sup>19</sup>*samodhānaṃ*, the term used in the *Jātaka* for the “identifications” the Buddha makes there between characters in the story and characters in his own present-day. Here, then, the claim seems to be that the gift of the *vihāra* is the first/earliest act of merit that Sumedhā is identified with/by. But I find this verse quite difficult, and this translation is at best provisional.

<sup>20</sup>this verse has nine syllables in the second and fourth foot, rather than the expected eight, so I have translated accordingly.

Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (17) [17]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (18) [18]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (19) [19]

Thus indeed Venerable<sup>21</sup> Bhikkhunī Sumedhā spoke these verses.

[The legend of Sumedhā Therī is finished.]<sup>22</sup>

## [2. Mekhalādāyikā<sup>23</sup>]

I had a stupa constructed<sup>24</sup>  
for Siddhattha, the Blessed One.  
I gifted [my] waist ornament<sup>25</sup>  
so the Teacher could be repaired.<sup>26</sup> (1) [20]

When that great stupa was finished,  
I gave another ornament<sup>27</sup>  
for the Sage, the Guide of the World,  
[feeling well-]pleased by [my] own hands. (2) [21]

In the ninety-four aeons since  
I gave that waist-ornament then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of building stupas. (3) [22]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.

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<sup>21</sup>BJTS omits *āyasmā*.

<sup>22</sup>PTS omits this concluding line from the present *apadāna* but includes it in the subsequent ones. BJTS reading of the concluding line numbers each *apadāna* according to its place in the ten-poem "chapter," hence this one reads, "The legend of Sumedhā Therī, the first". I follow the PTS style.

<sup>23</sup>"Waist-Ornament-Giver". *Mekhala* or *mekhalikā* was an ornament worn by women on the waist, often made of precious metals and gems.

<sup>24</sup>reading *kārāpikā* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *kārāpitā* ("was built," PTS)

<sup>25</sup>presumably a valuable *mekhala* which was then sold in order to pay for the repairs.

<sup>26</sup>lit., "for the sake of repairing of the Teacher." Here the stupa is the Buddha.

<sup>27</sup>lit., "again I gave a waist-ornament".

Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (4) [23]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (5) [24]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (6) [25]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Mekhalādāyikā Therī<sup>28</sup> spoke these verses.

The legend of Mekhalādāyikā Therī is finished.

### [3. Maṇḍapadāyikā<sup>29</sup>]

A pavilion was built by me  
for Buddha Koṇāgamana,  
and I gave robes unceasingly  
to the Buddha, the World's Kinsman. (1) [26]

Whichever country I go to,  
a small town [or] royal city,  
I'm given *pūjā* everywhere:  
that is the fruit of good karma.<sup>30</sup> (2) [27]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (3) [28]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (4) [29]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (5) [30]

<sup>28</sup>BJTS, PTS alt omit *therī*.

<sup>29</sup>"Raised-Platform-Donor".

<sup>30</sup>lit., "of meritorious karma".

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Maṇḍapadāyikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Maṇḍapadāyikā Therī is finished.

#### **[4. Saṅkamanattā<sup>31</sup>]**

When Koṇḍañña, the Blessed One,  
the World's Best One, the Neutral One,  
was traveling along the road,  
making living beings cross over, (1) [31]

after coming out of [my] house,  
with face cast down, I laid down [there].  
The World's Best One, Compassionate,  
then took a step [right] on [my] head. (2) [32]

After having stepped on [my] head,  
the Leader of the World [then] left.  
Due to the pleasure in [my] heart,  
I went to Tusitā [Heaven]. (3) [33]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (4) [34]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (5) [35]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (6) [36]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Saṅkamanattā spoke these verses.

The legend of Saṅkamanattā Therī is finished.

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<sup>31</sup>“Cross-Over-er”.

## [5. Tīṇaḷamālikā<sup>32</sup>]

On Candabhāgā River's bank,  
I was a *kinnarī* back then.<sup>33</sup>  
I saw the Stainless Buddha [there],  
Self-Become, the Unconquered One. (1) [37]

Happy, with pleasure in [my] heart,  
awe-struck,<sup>34</sup> with hands pressed together,  
taking a garland made of reeds,  
I worshipped the Self-Become One. (2) [38]

Due to that karma done very well,  
I went to the Thirty-Three [Gods].<sup>35</sup>  
I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of thirty-six kings of the gods. (3) [39-40]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of ten kings who were wheel-turners.  
My heart being agitated,<sup>36</sup>  
I went forth into homelessness. (4) [40]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
existence has been slain for me.<sup>37</sup>  
All [my] defilements are destroyed;  
now there will be no more rebirth. (5) [42]<sup>38</sup>

In the ninety-four aeons since  
I did *pūjā* [with] that flower,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of Buddha-*pūjā*. (6) [41]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (7) [43]

<sup>32</sup>BJTS omits *Tīṇī*. The name means "[Three] (or perhaps we should read *tiṇi*, [Grass]) Reed Garland-er".

<sup>33</sup>see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [1886]

<sup>34</sup>*vedajāto*

<sup>35</sup>lit., "I went to the Group of Thirty-Three". BJTS reads "Due to that karma [so] well done, with intention and [firm] resolve, leaving [my] *kinnarī* body, I was born [with] the Thirty-Three," and places the last two feet of the verse at the beginning of the next one.

<sup>36</sup>reading *saṃvejetvāna me cittaṃ* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *saṃvedayitvā kusalaṃ* ("having felt/experienced [my] wholesome [karma]," PTS).

<sup>37</sup>BJTS reads "all [new] existence is destroyed."

<sup>38</sup>BJTS inverts the order of verses (5) and (6).

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (8) [44]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (9) [45]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Tīṇaṇaḷamālikā spoke these verses.  
The legend of Tīṇaṇaḷamālikā Therī is finished.

## [6. Ekapiṇḍadāyikā<sup>39</sup>]

In the city, Bandhumatī,  
there was a king<sup>40</sup> named Bandhuma.<sup>41</sup>  
I was [then] the wife of that king,  
behaving in a certain way.<sup>42</sup> (1) [46]

Gone off alone, having sat down,  
I then reflected in this way:  
“I've done no wholesome [deeds] that [I]  
can take [and] go [when I have died]. (2) [47]

I have no doubt about the fact  
that I'll certainly go to hell,  
blazingly hot, laden with grief,  
of frightful form, [and] very cruel.” (3) [48]

After having approached the king,  
I [then] spoke these words [to him]:  
“O kṣatriyan, do give to me  
one monk, [whom] I will [thenceforth] feed.” (4) [49]

That great king gave a monk to me,  
with cultivated faculties.  
After having taken his bowl,  
I satisfied [him] with milk-rice.<sup>43</sup> (5) [50]

<sup>39</sup>“One Ball [of Food] Donor”. BJTS reads Ekapiṇḍapātadāyikā, “Giver of one begged-for-alms-meal”

<sup>40</sup>lit., “a kṣatriyan”.

<sup>41</sup>“Kinsman,” according to my notes (ref?) also the name of the king-father of Vipassi Buddha

<sup>42</sup>BJTS reads *ekajjhaṃ*, “together [with the king] (?)”.

<sup>43</sup>lit., “the ultimate food.” See n. to *Therāpadāna* v. [28-29]

Having filled [it] up with milk-rice,  
I [applied some] scented ointment.  
Covering it with [some] netting,  
I closed [it] with a blue lotus.<sup>44</sup> (6) [51]

Making that my object of thought<sup>45</sup>  
for as long as [my] life [lasted],  
bringing pleasure to [my] heart there,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (7) [52]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of thirty kings among the gods.  
Whatever my mind wishes for  
comes into being as desired. (8) [53]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of twenty kings who turned the wheel.  
With accumulated [merit,]  
I transmigrated through lifetimes. (9) [54]

I am set free from every bond;  
my substrata are gone away;<sup>46</sup>  
all defilements are extinguished;  
now there will be no more rebirth. (10) [55]

In the ninety-one aeons since  
I gave that almsgiving back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of food that's begged for. (11) [56]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (12) [57]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (13) [58]

<sup>44</sup>BJTS reads *vatthayugena*, "with a pair of cloths". Some PTS alt give *mahācolena*, "a big piece of cloth". The term *mahānela* is obscure, but used again in *Therī-apadāna* v. [79], below, where it more clearly refers to a blue lotus flower (perhaps through conflation with *mahanel*, or *mānel*, one of the Sinhala names for the blue lotus flower [*uppala*]). This translation follows the lead of BJTS Sinhala gloss, which in the case of v. [79] takes the term to be equivalent to the Sinhala *mahanel*.

<sup>45</sup>lit., "Remembering that as my object of sense." Buddhist schematics thought one such sense-object (Sinhala *aramuṇu*) and in context, the meaning is clearly that she continued to think about that almsgiving for the rest of her life.

<sup>46</sup>*upādikā*, the foundations of defilement (*kilesas*).

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (14) [59]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Ekapiṇḍadāyikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Ekapiṇḍadāyikā Therī is finished.

### [7. Kaṭacchubhikkhadāyikā<sup>47</sup>]

Taking a spoonful of begged food,  
I gave it to the Best Buddha,  
the Teacher, whose name was Tissa,  
who was wandering, begging food. (1) [60]

Accepting [it,] the Sambuddha,  
Tissa, Chief Leader of the World,  
the Teacher, standing on the road,  
uttered<sup>48</sup> this thanksgiving to me: (2) [61]

“Giving this spoonful of begged food,  
you will go to Tāvatiṃsa.  
You’ll be fixed in the chief queen’s place  
of thirty-six kings of the gods. (3) [62]

You’ll be fixed in the chief queen’s place  
of fifty kings who turn the wheel.  
Everything your mind may wish for,  
you will receive [it] every day. (4) [63]

Having enjoyed [great] happiness,  
you will go forth, possessionless.<sup>49</sup>  
Destroying all [your] defilements,  
you’ll reach nirvana, undefiled.” (5) [64]

Having said this, the Sambuddha,  
Tissa, Chief Leader of the World,  
the Hero, flew into the sky,  
just like a swan-king in the air. (6) [65]

Well-given was my superb gift;  
well-sacrificed my sacrifice.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup>“Spoonful of Begged-for-Food Donor”

<sup>48</sup>lit., “made”

<sup>49</sup>lit., “having nothing”.

<sup>50</sup>lit., “sacrificial attainment,” *yāgasampadā*.



Giving that spoonful of begged food,  
I've attained the unshaking state. (7) [66]

In the ninety-two aeons since  
I gave that almsgiving back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of giving begged food. (8) [67]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (9) [68]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (10) [69]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (11) [70]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Kaṭacchubhikkhadāyikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Kaṭacchubhikkhadāyikā Therī is finished.

## [8. Sattuppalamālikāya<sup>51</sup>]

In Aruṇavatī City,  
lived a king<sup>52</sup> named Aruṇavā.  
I was [then] the wife of that king,  
sent out [by him] on a journey.<sup>53</sup> (1) [71]

Having taken seven flowers,  
divinely perfumed blue lotus,  
lying down in [that] fine palace,  
I reflected in this way then: (2) [72]

“What use are these flowers to me,<sup>54</sup>  
planted on [the top of] my head?  
They'll be better for me offered  
to the Best Buddha's [great] knowledge. (3) [73]

<sup>51</sup>“Seven Blue Lotus Flower-er.”

<sup>52</sup>lit., “a kṣatriyan”

<sup>53</sup>reading *cārikam cārayām' ahaṃ* (BJTS) for *na mālaṇ pādāyām' ahaṇ* (“I didn't ? a garland,” PTS).

<sup>54</sup>lit., “What then for me with these flowers...?”

They're honoring the Sambuddha;  
sitting near the [palace] doorway,  
when the Sambuddha arrives here,  
I [too] will worship the Great Sage." (4) [74]

Splendid like an arjuna [tree],<sup>55</sup>  
like a lion, the king of beasts,  
along with the monks' Assembly,  
the Victor [then] came on the road. (5) [75]

After seeing the Buddha's rays,  
happy, with a mind that was moved,  
having opened up the door, I  
[then] worshipped the Best of Buddhas. (6) [76]

I scattered up in the sky [there]  
those seven blue lotus flowers.  
[Then] covering the Buddha's head,  
they were held up [there in the sky]. (7) [77]

Thrilled at heart, with a happy mind,  
awe-struck,<sup>56</sup> with hands pressed together,  
bringing pleasure to [my] heart there,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (8) [78]

Blue lotus<sup>57</sup>[-flower] canopies  
are carried on top of my head.  
I [then] exude divine perfumes:  
the fruit of seven lotuses. (9) [79]

Whenever I am sent [somewhere]  
with my assembly of kinsfolk,  
blue lotuses are carried then  
over my entire<sup>58</sup> retinue. (10) [80]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of seventy kings of the gods.  
Everywhere a female ruler,  
I transmigrated birth to birth. (11) [81]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of sixty-three wheel-turning kings.  
They all conform to my [wishes];

<sup>55</sup>*kakudha* = kumbuk, cf. note to *Therāpadāna* v. [1800].

<sup>56</sup>*vedajāto*

<sup>57</sup>cf. above, n. to *Therī-apadāna* v. [51], on this obscure term.

<sup>58</sup>lit., "as far as my". Pronounce as two syllables when chanting, to keep the meter.

I'm one whose words are listened to.<sup>59</sup> (12) [82]

My color and exuded scent  
are those of blue lotus flowers;  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of Buddha-*pūjā*. (13) [83]

Skillful in the superpowers,  
fond of wisdom's parts as focus,<sup>60</sup>  
special knowledges perfected:  
that's the fruit of Buddha-*pūjā*. (14) [84]

Skilled in retaining mindfulness,<sup>61</sup>  
pastured in calm-meditation,  
undertaking fit exertion:<sup>62</sup>  
that's the fruit of Buddha-*pūjā*. (15) [85]

My effort bearing the burden  
brought me release from attachments;<sup>63</sup>  
defilements are all destroyed,  
now there will be no more rebirth. (16) [86]

In the thirty-one aeons since  
I worshipped [him with that] flower,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth;  
that's the fruit of Buddha-*pūjā*. (17) [87]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (18) [88]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (19) [89]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (20) [90]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Sattuppalamālikāya spoke these verses.

<sup>59</sup>lit., "one whose words are to be taken," reading *ādeyyavacanā* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *adeyya°* (PTS).

<sup>60</sup>see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [309].

<sup>61</sup>See note to *Therāpadāna* v. [309].

<sup>62</sup>see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [310].

<sup>63</sup>see *Therāpadāna* v. [649] for these same two feet.

The legend of Sattuppalamālikāya Therī<sup>64</sup> is finished.

### [9. Pañcadīpikā<sup>65</sup>]

In the city, Haṃsavatī,  
I was a wanderer back then.  
From hermitage to hermitage,  
I wandered desiring the good.<sup>66</sup> (1) [91]

One day when the moon was waning,<sup>67</sup>  
I saw the supreme Bodhi [Tree].  
Bringing pleasure to [my] heart there,  
I sat down at that Bodhi's roots. (2) [92]

Standing with a heart of reverence,  
hands pressed together on [my] head,  
knowing mental happiness [there,]  
I then reflected in this way: (3) [93]

“If [he] has limitless virtue,  
is unique, without a rival,  
let Buddha show me a marvel;  
let him make this Bodhi [Tree] shine.” (4) [94]

When I made that aspiration,  
the Bodhi Tree did then blaze up.  
It shined forth in all directions,  
displaying<sup>68</sup> every good color.<sup>69</sup> (5) [95]

Seven nights and days I sat there,  
at the roots of that Bodhi [Tree],  
[and] when the seventh day arrived,  
I made an offering<sup>70</sup> of lamps. (6) [96]

Setting them around my seat [there,]  
I [proceeded to] light five lamps.

<sup>64</sup>This is the BJTS reading; PTS reads *Bhikkhunī Sattuppalamālikāya*

<sup>65</sup>“Five-Lamp-er”

<sup>66</sup>lit., “for the sake of wholesome [karma].”

<sup>67</sup>*kālapakkhamhi divase*, lit., “on a day in the waning-moon [half of the month],” perhaps to be taken as the moonless fortnight (Sinhala *māse poya*) or the night of the new moon (Sinhala *amāvaka poya*).

<sup>68</sup>lit., “it was”.

<sup>69</sup>or “all the color of gold” (*sabbasoṇṇayā*).

<sup>70</sup>*pūjā*.

[And] then my lamps [all remained] lit,  
until the sun did rise [again]. (7) [97]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (8) [98]

There my well-made divine mansion  
was known as “Pañcadīpī”<sup>71</sup> then.  
It was a hundred leagues in height,  
[and] sixty leagues in width back then.<sup>72</sup> (9) [99]

Uncountable numbers of lamps  
are burning in my surroundings.  
The divine world is [then] lit up  
with lamp-light, up to its edges.<sup>73</sup> (10) [100]

If when standing looking eastward,  
I should desire to see [something],  
above, below, also across,  
I see everything with [my] eyes. (11) [101]

As far as I should wish to see,<sup>74</sup>  
things well done and things not well done,<sup>75</sup>  
there’s no obstruction [to my sight]  
in the trees and the mountains there. (12) [102]

I was fixed in the chief queen’s place  
of eighty kings among the gods.  
I was fixed in the chief queen’s place  
of one hundred wheel-turning kings. (13) [103]

In whichever womb I’m reborn,  
[whether] it’s human or divine,  
in my surroundings, a [whole] lakh  
of lamps are burning [there] for me. (14) [104]

Fallen from the world of the gods,  
being born in a mother’s womb,

<sup>71</sup>“Five Lamps”

<sup>72</sup>BJTS reads “sixty leagues in height” and “thirty leagues in width”. In the parallel text #15, below, this is the reading of both PTS and BJTS, but here PTS gives “a hundred” and “sixty” so I have retained that difference in the translation.

<sup>73</sup>lit., “as far as [its extent]”.

<sup>74</sup>reading *daṭṭhum* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *dasuṃ* (PTS). PTS reads *daṭṭhuṃ* in the parallel text (#15), below.

<sup>75</sup>BJTS reads “good rebirths and bad rebirths”.

while I was in that mother's womb,  
my eyes were open all the time.<sup>76</sup> (15) [105]

Due to my having good karma,<sup>77</sup>  
an [entire] hundred thousand lamps  
are lit in the lying-in room:  
that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (16) [106]

When my final rebirth occurred,  
I turned [my] mind away [from lust].  
I attained the unaging [and]  
undying cool state, nirvana. (17) [107]

[When] I was [but] seven years old,  
I attained [my] arahantship.  
Discerning [my] virtue, Buddha  
Gotama ordained [me right then]. (18) [108]

Meditating on a platform,<sup>78</sup>  
beneath a tree, in palaces,  
in caves or empty buildings [then]  
five lamps are burning [there] for me. (19) [109]

My divine eye is purified;  
I am skilled in concentration.  
I excel in special knowledges:  
that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (20) [110]

Every achievement is achieved;  
[my] duty's done, [I'm] undefiled.  
With five lamps I'm worshipping [your]  
feet, Great Hero, o Eyeful One. (21) [111]

In the hundred thousand aeons  
since I gave [him] those lamps back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (22) [112]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (23) [113]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.

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<sup>76</sup>lit., "my eyes are not closing"

<sup>77</sup>lit., "because of [my] being endowed with meritorious karma".

<sup>78</sup>or "pavilion"

The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (24) [114]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (25) [115]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Pañcadīpikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Pañcadīpikā Therī is finished.

### [10. Udakadāyikā<sup>79</sup>]

In the city, Bandhumatī,  
I was a water-fetcher then.  
Living by carrying water,  
I'm raising [my] children that way.<sup>80</sup> (1) [116]

“I lack the things to be given  
in the unsurpassed merit-field.”  
Going to a water-tower,<sup>81</sup>  
I supplied [the Buddha]<sup>82</sup> water. (2) [117]

Due to that karma done very well,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then].  
There I had a well-made mansion  
fashioned by carrying water.<sup>83</sup> (3) [118]

I am surrounded all the time  
by a thousand celestial nymphs,  
[and] I always am surpassing  
all of them in [all] the ten ways.<sup>84</sup> (4) [119]

<sup>79</sup>“Water-Giver”

<sup>80</sup>lit., “by means of that” or “through that”.

<sup>81</sup>in the *Vinaya* and *Jātaka* this term, *koṭṭhaka*, refers to the place where monks kept water for bathing. In *Therāpadāna* (v. [722]) the term refers to a building in a monastery, and I have translated “storage room” accordingly. In the compound *dvārakoṭṭhaka* (v. [531] [540]) it refers to part of a city’s defenses, and following the city I translate the compound “gateways with pillars and strongholds” ([531]) or “gateways and strongholds” ([540], where the *esikā* [ornamental city] pillar is singled out in a separate analogy. Here the term clearly refers to something that contains water, so I have translated it “water-tower” even though it may be more akin to “water-room” (as in *Vinaya* and *Jātaka*) or “water-stronghold” (as in this *Therāpadāna* usage).

<sup>82</sup>since this was ninety-one aeons ago, the Buddha was presumably Vipassī.

<sup>83</sup>that is, created as a result of the merit of having brought water to the Buddha.

<sup>84</sup>lit., “in [all] ten places”. Reading *dasatṭhānehi tā sabbā* (BJTS) for *dasatṭhāne hitā sabbā* (“all standing in ten places,” PTS). For a list of the ten ways of outshining the other women (there as

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of fifty kings among the gods.  
I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of twenty kings who turned the wheel. (5) [120]

Transmigrating in two stations,  
the human or else the divine,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of giving water. (6) [121]

On a mountain top or bad road,  
up in the air and on the ground,  
whenever I desire water,  
I receive [it] very quickly. (7) [122]

In times of drought [my] region's not  
scorched by the heat nor boiling hot;  
discerning what I am thinking  
a great rain-cloud [always] rains forth. (8) [123]

Whenever I am sent [somewhere,]  
with my assembly of kinsfolk,  
if I am wishing for [some] rain  
a great rain-cloud is then produced. (9) [124]

Being burned or having fever  
don't [ever] affect my body;<sup>85</sup>  
on my body there is no dust:  
that's the fruit of giving water. (10) [125]

Today with [my] mind purified  
the evil-minded one is gone.  
All [my] defilements are destroyed;  
now there will be no more rebirth. (11) [126]

In the ninety-one aeons since  
I did that [good] karma back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of giving water. (12) [127]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (13) [128]

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*dasa-h-aṅgehi*, lit., "ten parts" or "ten limbs") see below, v. [333]-[335] (= *Gotamī-apadāna* v. 107-109).

<sup>85</sup>reading *sarīre me na vijjati* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *atha m'eva na vijjati* ("are not ever seen by me," PTS).



Being in Best Buddha's presence  
 was a very good thing for me.  
 The three knowledges are attained;  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (14) [129]

The four analytical modes,  
 and these eight deliverances,  
 six special knowledges mastered,  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (15) [130]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Udakadāyikā spoke these verses.  
 The legend of Udakadāyikā Therī is finished.

The Summary:

Sumedhā, Mekhalādadā,  
 Maṇḍapa, Saṅkamaṇḍalā,  
 Nalamāli, Piṇḍadadā,  
 Kaṭacchu, Uppalappadā,  
 Dipad-Odakadā also;  
 the verses here<sup>86</sup> are counted [thus:]  
 one verse and one hundred [also]  
 and seventeen added to that.

The Sumedhā Chapter, the First

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<sup>86</sup>reading *iha* (BJTS) for *viha* (PTS).

## Ekūposathikā Chapter, the Second

### [11. Ekūposathikā<sup>87</sup>]

In the city, Bandhumatī,  
there was a king<sup>88</sup> named Bandhuma.<sup>89</sup>  
On the day of the full moon, he  
took on<sup>90</sup> Full-Moon-Day observance.<sup>91</sup> (1) [131]

At that time [I also lived] there;  
I was a water-jug slave-girl.  
Seeing the army, with the king,  
I reflected in this way then: (2) [132]

The king himself, breaking his reign,  
took on Full-Moon-Day observance.  
Surely that karma's bearing fruit:  
the populace is delighted. (3) [133]

Having considered thoroughly  
my bad rebirth and poverty,  
after gladdening [my] mind, I  
took on Full-Moon-Day observance. (4) [134]

Having observed the Full Moon Day  
in the Buddha's<sup>92</sup> dispensation,  
Due to that karma done very well,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (5) [135]

There my well-made divine mansion

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<sup>87</sup>“One Full-Moon-Day Observance-er”. *Uposatha* is a technical term for the weekly “sabbath” rituals according to the lunar calendar. These rites — on the day of the new moon, the full moon, the waning moon and no moon — became ubiquitous in the early centuries of the Buddhist era (and these “sabbaths” were observed by non-Buddhist groups as well). Among Buddhists, monks and nuns would meet for chanting of the monastic discipline and other rites of the assembly (*sanghakkamma*), and would preach to and perform rituals for laypeople, especially devout *upāsakas* (male) and *upāsikās* (female) who on that day would adopt three more stringent disciplinary precepts in addition to the usual five precepts, spending the day living as quasi-monastics. This is what King Bandhumā is here credited with establishing, and what the rebirth precursor of Ekūposathikā did as the foundation of her future arahantship.

<sup>88</sup>lit., “a kṣatriyan”.

<sup>89</sup>the wife of this king also planted the seeds for arahantship (as Ekapiṇḍadāyikā) in the time of Gotama Buddha. See above, *Therī-apadāna* v. [46].

<sup>90</sup>lit., “set up,” “arranged for” “produced” “was born in”. The verb (*upapajjati*) is used throughout *Apadāna* to mean “rebirth,” implying that taking on the Uposatha observance was considered a sort of new birth of the person who did it.

<sup>91</sup>lit., “he set up the [observance of] Uposatha.”

<sup>92</sup>lit., “Supreme Buddha's”

welled up an [entire] league in height,  
 appointed with fine gabled cells,  
 decorated with large couches. (6) [136]

A [whole] lakh of celestial nymphs  
 are always looking after me.  
 Having surpassed the other gods,  
 I outshine them all of the time. (7) [137]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
 of sixty-four kings of the gods.  
 I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
 of sixty-three wheel-turning kings. (8) [138]

Having a golden complexion,  
 I transmigrated through lifetimes.  
 Everywhere I am distinguished:  
 fruit of Full-Moon-Day observance. (9) [139]

Elephant and horse carriages,  
 and complete chariot riggings;  
 I obtain every one of those:  
 fruit of Full-Moon-Day observance. (10) [140]

Things made of gold, things of silver,  
 also things made out of crystal,  
 and likewise made of ruby too;  
 I obtain all of those [fine things]. (11) [141]

Silken garments and woolen ones,  
 clothes made of *khoma* and cotton,  
 and [other] very costly clothes;  
 I obtain all of those [fine things]. (12) [142]

Food and drinks and solid foodstuffs,  
 and likewise clothing, beds and chairs;  
 I would obtain all those [items]:  
 fruit of Full-Moon-Day observance. (13) [143]

Superb scents as well as garlands,  
 [facial] powders and ointments too;  
 I would obtain all that [make-up]:  
 fruit of Full-Moon-Day observance. (14) [144]

Gabled cell-[adorned] palaces,  
 pavilions, storied mansions, caves;  
 I would obtain all those [dwellings]:  
 fruit of Full-Moon-Day observance. (15) [145]

[When] I was [but] seven years old,  
I went forth into homelessness.  
When the eighth month [thence] had arrived,  
I attained [my] arahantship. (16) [146]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
All [my] defilements are destroyed;  
now there will be no more rebirth. (17) [147]

In the ninety-one aeons since  
I did that [good] karma back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
fruit of Full-Moon-Day observance. (18) [148]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (19) [149]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (20) [150]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Ekūposathikā spoke these verses.  
The legend of Ekūposathikā Therī is finished.

## [12. Salalapupphikā<sup>93</sup>]

On Candabhāgā River's bank,  
I was a *kinnarī* back then.  
And then I saw the God of Gods,  
Bull of Men, walking back and forth. (1) [151]

Plucking a *salala* [flower,]  
I gave it to the Best Buddha.  
[And then] the Great Hero did sniff  
the *salala* with divine scent. (2) [152]

Accepting [it] the Sambuddha,  
Vipassi, Leader of the World,  
Great Hero then sniffed [it again]  
[for me] while I was watching [him]. (3) [153]

<sup>93</sup>"Salala-Flower-er". PTS reads *saḷala*.

Pressing my hands together then,  
I worshipped the Best of Bipeds.  
Bringing pleasure to [my] own heart,  
I then ascended the mountain. (4) [154]

In the ninety-one aeons since  
I gave [him] that flower back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of Buddha-*pūjā*. (5) [155]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (6) [156]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (7) [157]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (8) [158]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Salalapupphikā spoke these verses.  
The legend of Salalapupphikā Therī is finished.

### [13. Modakadāyikā<sup>94</sup>]

In the city, Bandhumatī,  
I was a water-jug slave-girl.  
After receiving my wages,  
I went with a water-fetcher. (1) [159]

Having seen a monk on the road,  
attentive with a [well-]calmed heart,  
happy, with pleasure in my heart,  
I gave [the monk] three sweetmeats [then]. (2) [160]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
for one more than ninety aeons  
I went not to a place of grief. (3) [161]

<sup>94</sup>“Sweetmeat Donor”.

Giving [him] material goods,  
I then experienced all of that.  
Having given [those] three sweetmeats  
I attained the unshaking state. (4) [162]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (5) [163]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (6) [164]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (7) [165]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Modakadāyikā<sup>95</sup> spoke these verses.

The legend of Modakadāyikā Therī is finished.

#### **[14. Ekāsanadāyikā<sup>96</sup>]**

In the city, Haṃsavatī,  
I was a garland-maker then.  
My mother and my father too  
went off to work [every day then]. (1) [166]

When the sun was high in the sky,<sup>97</sup>  
I saw a [Buddhist] monk [just then,]  
who was going along the road,  
[so] I spread out a seat [for him]. (2) [167]

Preparing that seat with woolen  
rugs with fleece and decorations,<sup>98</sup>  
happy, with pleasure in [my] heart,  
I [then] spoke these words [to that monk]: (3) [168]

“The ground is scorched [and] boiling hot;

<sup>95</sup>here PTS reads the name Timodakadāyikā, “Three-Sweetmeat-Donor”

<sup>96</sup>“One-Chair-Donor”.

<sup>97</sup>lit., “in the midday sun”

<sup>98</sup>lit., “woolen rugs with long fleece [and] woolen rugs with embroidered designs”.

the sun is at its midday high;<sup>99</sup>  
 the breezes are not blowing [now];  
 the time is right to come sit down.<sup>100</sup> (4) [169]

This seat [already] is prepared  
 [just] for your sake, o sage so great;  
 having taken pity [on me,]  
 [please] sit down on this seat of mine.” (5) [170]

The monk, well-tamed, with a pure mind,  
 did sit down there [at my request].  
 Having taken his begging bowl,  
 I gave as much as it would hold.<sup>101</sup> (6) [171]

Due to that karma done very well,  
 with intention and [firm] resolve,  
 discarding [my] human body,  
 I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (7) [172]

There my well-made divine mansion,  
 well-fashioned by [giving that] seat,  
 welled up [full] sixty leagues in height,  
 [and was] thirty leagues wide [back then]. (8) [173]

There were diverse couches for me,  
 made of gold and made of silver,  
 likewise [some] were made of crystal,  
 and also made out of ruby. (9) [174]

My couch was well-spread with cushions,  
 covered with embroidered wool rugs  
 and coverlets of silk with gems,  
 as well as [some] of fur with fringe.<sup>102</sup> (10) [175]

Whenever I desire a trip,  
 filled with laughter and amusement,  
 I am going with the best couch,  
 [in accordance with] my wishes. (11) [176]

I was fixed in the chief queen’s place  
 of eighty kings among the gods.  
 I was fixed in the chief queen’s place  
 of seventy wheel-turning kings. (12) [177]

<sup>99</sup>lit., “the midday sun is fixed [in the sky]”

<sup>100</sup>lit., “this is a suitable time for coming to that [seat]”

<sup>101</sup>lit., “according to the [size of the] cavity”. Or perhaps we should read, “as much as [I had] cooked,” from *randheti*?

<sup>102</sup>lit., “and [coverlets of] fur [or wool] sticking up on one end” (*uddhaṇ-ekanta-lomī ca*).

Transmigrating from birth to birth,  
I [always] obtained great riches.  
There was no lack in terms of wealth:  
that's the fruit of [giving] one seat. (13) [178]

Transmigrating in two stations,  
the human or else the divine,  
I did not know another state:  
that's the fruit of [giving] one seat. (14) [179]

I am reborn in [just] two castes,<sup>103</sup>  
kṣatriyan, or else a brahmin.  
Everywhere I'm of high family:  
that's the fruit of [giving] one seat. (15) [180]

I know no mental turbulence,  
[nor] is my heart tormented [then].  
I [also] know no ugliness:  
that's the fruit of [giving] one seat. (16) [181]

Wet-nurses are waiting on me,  
[and] many hump-backed servant-women;<sup>104</sup>  
I am going from lap to lap:  
that's the fruit of [giving] one seat. (17) [182]

Other people bathe and feed me,  
and [they] fondle me every day.  
Others anoint me with perfumes:  
that's the fruit of [giving] one seat. (18) [183]

When I dwell in an empty room,  
a pavilion, beneath a tree,  
discerning what I am thinking,  
a couch is [then] produced [for me]. (19) [184]

Now it is my final lifetime,  
turning in my last existence.

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<sup>103</sup>or families or clans (*kule*).

<sup>104</sup>PTS reads *celāvikā* (fr. *cela*, "cloth"? Diaper-washers? The tradition itself is unsure, with equally obscure alternates in PTS [*velāyikā*, *veccheyikā*] and BJTS [*velāpikā*, *velāyikā*; BJTS reads, equally obscurely and perhaps without mss. basis, *kheḷasikā*]). The texts are in more agreement about the first part of the compound (sometimes as a separate adjective,) *khujjā*, "having a humped back," though PTS records an alternate for that too (*bujjā*, an easy orthographical mistake). Mrs. Lily De Silva pointed out to me (personal communication) that in ancient India deformed people were often employed as servants, and the hump-backed servant woman has obvious parallels in Sanskrit literature (e.g., Mantharā [Kūnī], the hump-backed servant-woman of Queen Kaikeyī who convinces the latter to have Rāma banished, in the Hindu epic *Rāmāyana*).



Even today, breaking my reign,<sup>105</sup>  
I went forth into homelessness. (20) [185]

In the hundred thousand aeons  
since I gave [him] that gift back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of [giving] one seat. (21) [186]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (22) [187]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (23) [188]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (24) [189]

Thus indeed Venerable<sup>106</sup> Bhikkhunī Ekāsanadāyikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Ekāsanadāyikā Therī is finished.

### [15. Pañcadīpikā<sup>107</sup>]

In the city, Haṃsavatī,  
I was a wanderer back then.  
From ashram to monastery,  
I wandered desiring the good. (1) [190]

One day when the moon was waning,  
I saw the supreme Bodhi [Tree].  
Bringing pleasure to [my] heart there,  
I sat down at that Bodhi's roots. (2) [191]

<sup>105</sup>the same phrase, *rajjam chaḍetvā*, appears above, in *Therī-apadāna* v. [133], too. It literally means "having broken/cut off the kingdom/kingship/rulership/rule." The meaning is that a ruling monarch somehow abandons his (or in this case her) own kingship/queenship to take on the religious life. Here we might translate, "Even today, having abdicated queenship, I have gone forth..."

<sup>106</sup>BJTS omits *āyasmā*.

<sup>107</sup>"Five-Lamp-er." With some very minor changes, this is identical to *Therī-apadāna* #9, above, ascribed to a nun of the same name. I have not repeated all the footnotes here, but have altered the translation slightly to indicate the minor differences between the two texts, and have retained footnotes indicating differences in the BJTS version, as appropriate.

Standing, with a heart of reverence,  
hands pressed together on [my] head,  
knowing mental happiness [there,]  
I then reflected in this way: (3) [192]

“If [he] has limitless virtue,  
is unique, without a rival,  
let Buddha show me a marvel;  
let him make this Bodhi [Tree] shine.” (4) [193]

When I made that aspiration,  
the Bodhi Tree did then blaze up.  
It shined forth in all directions,  
displaying<sup>108</sup> every good color. (5) [194]

Seven nights and days I sat there,  
at the roots of that Bodhi [Tree],  
[and] when the seventh day arrived,  
I made an offering of lamps. (6) [195]

Setting them around my seat [there,]  
I [proceeded to] light five lamps.  
[And] then my lamps [all remained] lit,  
until the sun did rise [again]. (7) [196]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (8) [197]

There my well-made divine mansion  
was known as “Pañcadīpī”<sup>109</sup> then.  
It was [full] sixty leagues in height,  
[and] thirty leagues in width back then. (9) [198]

Uncountable numbers of lamps  
are burning in my surroundings.  
The divine world is [then] lit up  
with lamp-light, up to its edges.<sup>110</sup> (10) [199]

If when standing looking eastward,  
I should desire to see [something],  
above, below, also across,  
I see everything with [my] eyes. (11) [200]

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<sup>108</sup>lit., “it was”.

<sup>109</sup>“Five Lamps”

<sup>110</sup>lit., “as far as [its extent]”.

As far as I should wish to see,  
 things well done and things not well done,<sup>111</sup>  
 there's no obstruction [to my sight]  
 in the trees and the mountains there. (12) [201]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
 of eighty kings among the gods.  
 I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
 of one hundred wheel-turning kings. (13) [202]

In whichever womb I'm reborn,  
 [whether] it's human or divine,  
 in my surroundings, a [whole] lakh  
 of lamps are burning [there] for me. (14) [203]

Fallen from the world of the gods,  
 I was born in a mother's womb.  
 While I was in that mother's womb  
 my eyes were open all the time. (15) [204]

Due to my having good karma,  
 an [entire] hundred thousand lamps  
 are lit in the lying-in room:<sup>112</sup>  
 that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (16) [205]

When my final rebirth occurred,  
 I turned [my] mind away [from lust].  
 I attained the unaging [and]  
 undying cool state, nirvana. (17) [206]

[When] I was [but] seven years old,  
 I attained [my] arahantship.  
 The Buddha ordained [me right then]:  
 that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (18) [207]

Meditating on a platform,<sup>113</sup>  
 beneath a tree, in empty spots,<sup>114</sup>  
 a lamp is always burning there:  
 that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (19) [208]

My "divine eye" is purified;  
 I am skilled in concentration.

<sup>111</sup>BJTS reads "good rebirths and bad rebirths".

<sup>112</sup>both PTS and BJTS read *sūtikāgehe* for *sūtiḥare* in the parallel verse in #9, but I take the meaning to be the same so have not altered the translation.

<sup>113</sup>or "pavilion"

<sup>114</sup>lit., "in empty buildings"

I excel in special knowledges:  
that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (20) [209]

Every achievement is achieved;  
[my] duty's done, [I'm] undefiled.  
Five Lamps is [now] worshipping [your]  
feet, Great Hero, o Eyeful One. (21) [210]

In the hundred thousand aeons  
since I gave [him] those lamps back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (22) [211]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (23) [212]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (24) [213]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (25) [214]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Pañcadīpikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Pañcadīpikā Therī is finished.

## [16. Sālamālikā<sup>115</sup>]

On Candabhāgā River's bank,  
I was a *kinnarī* back then.  
I saw the Stainless One, Buddha,  
the Self-Become, Unconquered One. (1) [215]

Happy, with pleasure in [my] heart,  
awe-struck,<sup>116</sup> with hands pressed together,  
taking a *sal*<sup>117</sup> [-flower] garland,  
I worshipped the Self-Become One. (2) [216]

<sup>115</sup>“*Sal-Garland-er*.” This follows BJTS. PTS reads *Nalamālikā*, “*Reed-Garland-er*”.

<sup>116</sup>*vedajāto*

<sup>117</sup>PTS reads *nala*°.

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (3) [217]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of thirty-six kings of the gods.  
Whatever my mind wishes for,  
comes into being as desired. (4) [218]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place  
of ten kings who were wheel-turners.  
Being a good-minded woman,  
I transmigrated through lifetimes. (5) [219]

My wholesomeness is apparent;  
I went forth into homelessness.  
Today I'm worthy of *pūjā*  
in the Buddha's<sup>118</sup> dispensation. (6) [220]

Today, with [my] mind purified,  
the evil-minded one is gone.  
All [my] defilements are destroyed;  
now there will be no more rebirth. (7) [221]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (8) [223]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (9) [224]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (10) [225]

In the ninety-four aeons since  
I worshipped the Buddha back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of a *sal*<sup>119</sup>-garland. (11) [222]<sup>120</sup>

<sup>118</sup>lit., "Śākya's Son's"

<sup>119</sup>PTS reads *nala*°

<sup>120</sup>as will be clear from the numbering, BJTS places this verse before, rather than after, the stan-

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
 all [new] existence is destroyed.  
 All [my] defilements are destroyed;  
 now there will be no more rebirth. (12)

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Sālamālikā<sup>121</sup> spoke these verses.

The legend of Sālamālikā<sup>122</sup> Therī is finished.

### [17. Gotamī<sup>123</sup>]

One day the [Great] Lamp of the World,  
 the Caravan Leader for men,  
 dwelt in the Mahāvāna Hall,  
 among Vesali's gabled roofs. (1) [226]

The Victor's mother's sister then,  
 the Buddhist nun Great Gotamī,  
 was dwelling in a nuns' refuge,  
 built in that delightful city.<sup>124</sup> (2) [227]

This reasoning occurred to her,  
 thinking [when] she'd gone off alone  
 from liberated Buddhist nuns  
 numbering five times one hundred: (2e-f, 3a-b)<sup>125</sup> [228]

dard refrain, and omits the final verse (12) found in the PTS version.

<sup>121</sup>PTS reads *Nala*°.

<sup>122</sup>PTS reads *Nala*°.

<sup>123</sup>"Female Gotama," "the Gotamid." Her full name is given in the colophon as Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, as she is addressed throughout the canon. She was a historical nun, the sister of the Buddha's natural mother (Mahāmāyā) who took over upon the latter's death, both as the Buddha's childhood wet-nurse and (surrogate) mother (actually his maternal aunt, Sinh. *puñci ammā*), and as his father's wife (hence step-mother). She was the founder and leader of the nuns, who convinced Ānanda to beg the Buddha for their order to be established.

<sup>124</sup>there are numerous possibilities for translation of this string of locatives, because "delightful" (*ramme*) can modify either "city" (*pure*) or "nuns' refuge" (*bhikkhunupassaye*), and the texts disagree on "built" (*kate*), which is the BJTS reading. PTS reads *setapure* ("white city"), which I followed in my previously-published translation of this *apadāna*. There is great disagreement in the manuscripts about this term: PTS offers *petapūre* ("filled with hungry ghosts"?) and *gate* ("[to which she had] gone"); BJTS alt. has *yeva* ("indeed").

<sup>125</sup>here the first two feet of the BJTS verse are affixed to the previous verse by PTS, causing shuffling in the subsequent verses as indicated in my numbering of them. I have followed BJTS in arranging the verses, which hinges in part on the translation of the third foot here, *bhikkhunihi vimuttāhi*. PTS seems to take it as an instrumental, as did I in my previous translation, hence its inclusion in the previous verse makes grammatical sense: Gotamī dwells "with" the nuns, rather than (as this reading would have it), going off alone "with" them. I conversely take the terms as ablatives, she's gone off alone *from* the nuns. BJTS gloss takes them as instrumentals as well. In either event, she lives *with* them but goes off *from* them; the meaning is really the same.

“I will not be able to see<sup>126</sup>  
the Buddha’s final nirvana,  
[that] of the two chief followers,  
nor Rāhul, Ānanda, Nanda. (3c-f) [229]

Destroying<sup>127</sup> life’s constituents  
[and] letting go, I shall go to  
nirvana, permitted by [him,]  
the Great Sage, the Lord of the World.” (4) [230]

[That] reasoning also occurred  
to the five hundred Buddhist nuns;  
that reasoning also [occurred]  
to [nuns] beginning with Khema. (5) [231]

At that time there was an earthquake;  
the thunder of the gods did roar.  
Weighed down by grief, the goddesses  
who lived in that refuge [for nuns,]  
piteously weeping [at that,]  
shed [their] tears there [in the refuge]. (6) [232]<sup>128</sup>

[And then] all of<sup>129</sup> those Buddhist nuns,  
after approaching Gotamī,  
placing [their] heads upon [her] feet,  
spoke these words [they addressed to her,]: (7) [233]

“Sister, gone off alone, there we  
were sprinkled with drops of water.  
The unshaking earth is shaking,  
the thunder of the gods roaring,  
lamentations<sup>130</sup> are being heard.<sup>131</sup>  
what then does this mean, Gotamī?” (8) [234]<sup>132</sup>

<sup>126</sup>or, as my earlier translation has it, “cannot bear”. The term (*sakkomi*) carries such connotations in vernacular usage and this is how I originally understood the text. However, in keeping with BJTS gloss here, I remain more literal and leave it open to varied interpretations: rather than an emotional reason for letting go of life’s constituents (or additionally an expression of maternal sentiment) it might be a simple statement of fact, i.e., she realizes it’s time to do and that means she’ll die before the Buddha and great followers.

<sup>127</sup>PTS reads *paṭihacc’ āyusañkhāre*, which I follow here, though BJTS *paṭtigacc’* (alt. *paṭikacc’*), = “previous,” in which case *āyusañkhāre* might be the object of *ossajitvāna*, hence: “letting go of the constituents of my previous life”.

<sup>128</sup>PTS and BJTS agree in presenting this as a six-footed verse.

<sup>129</sup>BJTS and PTS alt. read *mittā* (“friendly”) for PTS “all” (*sabbā*)

<sup>130</sup>lit., “and lamentations”

<sup>131</sup>*sūyante*, BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *sūyanti*

<sup>132</sup>PTS and BJTS agree in presenting this as a six-footed verse.

She then told everything [to them,]  
just as [she had] reasoned it out.  
All of them too told [Gotamī,]  
just as [they had] reasoned it out. (9) [235]

“If [it’s] desired by you, sister —  
nirvana, unsurpassed [and] pure —  
we too will all reach nirvana,  
with Buddha’s consent, Pious One.<sup>133</sup> (10) [236]

Along with [you] we have gone forth  
from home and from existence too;  
along with [you] indeed we’ll go  
to nirvana, supreme city.” (11) [237]

She said, “what is there to be said  
to women who are going out?”<sup>134</sup>  
[And] then along with all [of them]  
she quitted [that] Buddhist nuns’ nest.<sup>135</sup> (12) [238]

“May the goddesses forgive me,  
who are dwelling in [this] refuge;  
this will be my final vision  
of [this] Buddhist nuns’ residence. (13) [239]

I’ll go to unconditionedness,  
where [there’s neither] death nor decay,  
one doesn’t meet the unpleasant,  
nor get cut off from pleasant things.” (14) [240]

Hearing those words, not passionless,  
[those] heirs of the Well-Gone [Buddha,]<sup>136</sup>  
overcome with grief lamented:  
“Alas, we have little merit. (15) [241]

Without those women this Buddhist  
nuns’ nest [now] has become empty;  
the Victor’s heirs [now] are not seen,  
as stars [disappear] at daybreak. (16) [242]

Gotamī goes to nirvana  
along with the five hundred [nuns],

<sup>133</sup>*subbata*, also “Compliant One” “Good Vow”

<sup>134</sup>lit., “who are going to nirvana”

<sup>135</sup>reading *niggacchi bhikkhunīlayā* with BJTS for PTS *niggañchi bhikkhunīlayā*

<sup>136</sup>*sugatorasā*, “the [pl. fem.] legitimate descendants of the Well-Gone-One,” that is, the goddesses living in the nuns’ residence



like the Ganges [flows to] the sea,  
with five hundred tributaries.”<sup>137</sup> (17) [243]

The faithful laywomen,<sup>138</sup> having  
seen her<sup>139</sup> going along the road,  
coming out from [their] houses [then]  
bowing down at [her] feet said this: (18) [244]

“Great-fortuned one,<sup>140</sup> be satisfied.<sup>141</sup>  
Nirvana’s not proper for you,  
abandoning us, destitute” —  
distraught like that those women wailed. (19) [245]

In order to dispel their grief,  
[Gotamī] spoke [this] honeyed speech:  
“Enough with [your] crying, children,  
today, which is your time to laugh; (20) [246]

I have understood suffering,<sup>142</sup>  
the cause of suffering’s allayed,  
I’ve experienced cessation,  
I have cultivated the path. (21) [247]

(The First Recitation Portion)<sup>143</sup>  
The Teacher’s been worshipped by me,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught!  
The heavy load has been laid down,  
the ties to existence removed. (22) [248]

The reason for which I went forth  
from [my] home into homelessness —  
I have [now] achieved that purpose:  
destruction of all the fetters. (23) [249]

While Buddha and his great Teaching  
are still around, nothing lacking —

<sup>137</sup>lit., “rivers”

<sup>138</sup>*upāsikā*. Grammatically, this could be plural (as I take it, following PTS plural verb *abravuṇ*) or singular (“a faithful laywoman”), which seems to be how BJTS takes it (reading the verb as singular, *abraviṇ*)

<sup>139</sup>reading *vajantiṃ taṃ* with BJTS for PTS *vajantīnaṃ* (“them...[their] feet”)

<sup>140</sup>I follow BJTS Sinh gloss in now taking this as a vocative. BJTS (and PTS alt) reads *mahābhoge* for *mahābhāge*, but glosses *mahābhāgyavat uttamāvani*

<sup>141</sup>or “pleased,” *pasīdassu*. BJTS Sinhala gloss (*apa kerehi*) *pahadinu*, “be satisfied [or pleased] (with us)”

<sup>142</sup>lit., “suffering [*dukkhaṇ*] is understood by me”. The following feet of this verse follow the same grammatical pattern, summarizing her full attainment of the Four Noble Truths.

<sup>143</sup>PTS omits this classification, found in BJTS

that's the time for my nirvana;  
do not grieve about me, children. (24) [250]

Koṇḍañña,<sup>144</sup> Ānanda,<sup>145</sup> Nanda,<sup>146</sup>  
Rāhula,<sup>147</sup> the Victor remain;  
the Assembly's cheerful and close,  
the conceit of rivals is slain. (25) [251]

The Famed One in<sup>148</sup> Okkāka's clan  
is Exalted,<sup>149</sup> the Death-Crusher;<sup>150</sup>  
children, isn't it now the time  
[for me] to achieve nirvana? (26) [252]

My wish [I've had] for very long  
is [finally] fulfilled today.  
This is the time for drums of joy.  
What then with [all these] tears, children? (27) [253]

If [you feel] compassion for me,  
and if you all appreciate  
the great Teaching's stability,  
then strong and fervent you should be. (28) [254]

Beseched by me, the Sambuddha  
gave ordination to women.  
Therefore as I have shown myself,  
you all should follow after him." (29) [255]

Having thus advised [those women,]  
placed in front by the Buddhist nuns,  
going up to [and] worshipping  
the Buddha, [she] said this [to him:] (30) [256]

"Well-Gone-One, I am your mother,  
and you are my father, Hero;  
Lord,<sup>151</sup> who Gives the Good Teaching's Joy,<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>144</sup>see *Therāpadāna* above, #7

<sup>145</sup>see *Therāpadāna* above, #10.

<sup>146</sup>see *Therāpadāna* above, #13; 403 {406}; 542 {545}. lit., "...Nanda, etc.;" the point is not merely that these three monks remain, but that all the monks like them remain.

<sup>147</sup>see *Therāpadāna* above, #16. As the Buddha's son, by the logic of this text in particular, he was Gotamī's grandson.

<sup>148</sup>lit., "of"

<sup>149</sup>*ussito*

<sup>150</sup>*Māramaddano*

<sup>151</sup>*nātha*

<sup>152</sup>*saddhammasukhado*

O Gotama, I'm born from<sup>153</sup> you. (31) [257]

Your body, made of flesh and bones,<sup>154</sup>  
was reared up by me, Well-Gone-One;  
my flawless body, made of Truth,<sup>155</sup>  
was reared up by you, [Gotama.] (32) [258]

I suckled you with mother's milk  
which quenches thirst for a moment.  
From you I drank the milk of Truth,<sup>156</sup>  
peaceful without interruption. (33) [259]

Great Sage, you owe no debt to me  
for protecting and rearing [you].  
To obtain such a son is what  
women desiring sons [desire].<sup>157</sup> (34) [260]

Mothers of kings, like Mandhātā,  
are sunk into existence sea.  
O son, through you I've crossed over  
[life,] this ocean of becoming. (35) [261]

Women can easily obtain  
the name "King's Mother" or "Chief Queen."  
The name, "Mother of the Buddha"  
is the hardest [name] to obtain. (36) [262]

O Hero, I've obtained that name!  
[I got] my wish because of you.  
Whether little things or big things,  
all of that is fulfilled by me. (37) [263]

Having abandoned this body,  
I want to [reach] full nirvana.  
Give me permission, O Hero,  
O Dis-ease-Ender,<sup>158</sup> O Leader. (38) [264]

Stretch forth your feet, like lilies soft,  
which are marked with wheel, goad and flag.

<sup>153</sup>or "through"

<sup>154</sup>*rūpakāyo...tava*

<sup>155</sup>or "of the Teaching": *dhammakāya*

<sup>156</sup>or "of the Teaching": *dhammakhīram*

<sup>157</sup>PTS reads *puttakāmā thiyo tāva labhantaṇ tādisaṇ sutaṇ!* (lit., "women who desire sons, receiving of you as son" which I formerly translated, in retrospect overly loosely, "to get a son like you sates all desire for sons." The present translation follows BJTS reading *puttakāmā thiyo yā tā labhantu nādisaṇ sutaṇ* (lit., "those women who are desiring sons, they [want] to obtain a son such as [you])

<sup>158</sup>*dukkhantakara*

I shall make obeisance to you,  
with a [mother's] love for [her] son.<sup>159</sup> (39) [265]

Show [me your] physical body;  
it resembles a heap of gold.  
[One last] good look at your body,  
[then] off I go to peace, Leader." (40) [266]

Marked with the thirty-two great marks,  
it was adorned in radiance:  
the Victor showed her<sup>160</sup> [his] body,  
a pale sun<sup>161</sup> through<sup>162</sup> an evening cloud.<sup>163</sup> (41) [267]

Then she laid [her] head down upon  
the soles of [his] feet, marked with wheels,  
which were like lotuses in bloom,  
[as] brilliant as the dawning sun. (42) [268]

"I'm bowing to the Sun for Men,<sup>164</sup>  
the Banner of the Solar Clan;<sup>165</sup>  
when I have died for the last time,  
I will never<sup>166</sup> see you again. (43) [269]

Chief of the World, it is believed  
that women make every error.<sup>167</sup>  
If there's any error in me,  
forgive it, Mine of Compassion.<sup>168</sup> (44) [270]

I begged [you,] over and again,  
for ordination of women.  
If I was in error in that,  
forgive it, O Bull Among Men. (45) [271]

O Hero, with your permission,  
I instructed the Buddhist nuns.  
If [I gave] bad advice in that,  
forgive it, Lord of Forgiveness."<sup>169</sup> (46) [272]

<sup>159</sup>reading *puttapemasā* with BJTS for PTS *putta pemasā* ("with love, O son")

<sup>160</sup>lit., "[his] maternal aunt"

<sup>161</sup>*bālakkāṇ*, lit., "young sun," "a pale sun." BJTS Sinh. gloss *bālārka*. lit., "like a pale sun..."

<sup>162</sup>lit., "from," i.e., "emerging from" "coming out from behind"

<sup>163</sup>*sañjhā-ghanā*, lit., "from an evening cloud"

<sup>164</sup>*narādiccaṇ*

<sup>165</sup>*ādiccakulaketunaṇ* (BJTS reads °*kaṇ*)

<sup>166</sup>lit., "not"

<sup>167</sup>*itthiyo nāma...sabbadosakarā matā*

<sup>168</sup>*karuṇākara*

<sup>169</sup>*khamādhīpa*

“What’s not forgiven to forgive  
in [one who’s] adorned with virtue?<sup>170</sup>  
What more am I to say to you  
when you’re going to nirvana? (47) [273]

Those who are desiring escape from the world  
in my pure [and] complete Assembly of monks,  
are like the fading crescent moon at daybreak  
after having seen the ruin of its grasps.”<sup>171</sup> (48) [274]<sup>172</sup>

Like the stars and the moon around Mount Meru,  
the other nuns circumambulated [him,]  
Chief Victor, [and] after bowing at [his] feet,  
they stood there gazing at the [Blessed One’s] face. (49) [275]

“Formerly [my] eyes and ears weren’t satisfied  
by the vision of you nor hearing your speech.  
[But now,] having obtained perfection, my mind  
is satisfied by the taste of the Teaching. (50) [276]

When you roar forth amidst the crowd,  
destroying the sophists’ conceit,  
those [there] who are seeing your face,  
are fortunate, O Bull of Men.<sup>173</sup> (51) [277]

Battle-Ender,<sup>174</sup> fortunate too,  
are they who worship your fine feet,  
which have broad heels, extended toes,  
and nails [the color of] copper. (52) [278]

Fortunate too, O Best of Men,  
are those who listen to your words,  
imperfection-slaying, friendly,  
honey[-sweet] and full of gladness. (53) [279]

Fortunate am I, Great Hero,  
intent on worshipping<sup>175</sup> your feet.  
The existential desert crossed,

<sup>170</sup>here I diverge from my earlier translation, following BJTS in understanding this rather enigmatic verse, starting with taking it as the beginning of the Buddha’s speech rather than the end of Gotamī’s speech, and translating accordingly.

<sup>171</sup>*vyasanaṅ gahānaṅ disvāna*

<sup>172</sup>This, and the following two verses present in both BJTS and PTS in a different meter with 11-syllable feet. I translate accordingly.

<sup>173</sup>*narapuṅgava*

<sup>174</sup>*raṇantaṅga*, lit., “O one gone to the end of the battle” or “he by whom the battle reaches its end”. BJTS reads *guṇandhara*, “O Virtue-Bearer”

<sup>175</sup>lit., “doing *pūjā* to”

[1] shine due to the good Teaching.”<sup>176</sup> (54) [280]

Then the pious one<sup>177</sup> explained [her thoughts]<sup>178</sup> to the Assembly of monks, and having worshipped Rāhula, Ānanda [and] Nanda, she said:<sup>179</sup> (55) [281]

“I am weary<sup>180</sup> of [my] body, similar to a serpent’s den, a sickness-house, heap of dis-ease,<sup>181</sup> pasturing in old age and death, covered with varied flaws and drool,<sup>182</sup> dependent on others, actionless.<sup>183</sup> Therefore I desire nirvana; give [me your] permission, children.” (56-57) [282-283]

Nanda and lucky Rāhula, who were griefless, without constraint, wise [and] unshakingly steadfast, reflected on the way things are: (58) [284]

“Woe on greed for conditioned things: as worthless as banana wood, same as a deluded mirage, fleeting and constantly changing. (59) [285]

In flux are all conditioned things, in so far as the Victor’s aunt,

<sup>176</sup>BJTS reads *suṅkāyena sirīmato*, “due to the good teaching of the resplendent one”.

<sup>177</sup>*subbata*

<sup>178</sup>lit., “then she caused to hear” (PTS: *tato sā anusāvetvā*) or “then she caused to be admonished/advised/instructed” (BJTS: *anusāsetvā*); PTS also gives alts. *anusāmetvā* (“caused to be appeased/calmed”) and *anubhāvetvā* (“caused to experience”). Really any of these readings would be appropriate to what follows as Gotamī proceeds to tell, informs, advise and console while conveying an emotional message to her beloved kinsfolk/co-monastics/co-followers.

<sup>179</sup>lit., “she said this:”

<sup>180</sup>*nibbiṇṇā*. BJTS (*nibbinnā*) and PTS alts. (*nibbandā*, *nibbindā*) are all forms of the same verb, *nibbindati*, to be wearied of, which regularly (as here) takes the locative.

<sup>181</sup>reading *dukkhasaṅghāta* with BJTS for the metrically-questionable but evocative PTS *dukkha-panke* (“[smeared with] the mud of dis-ease”) and BJTS alt. *dukkhasaṅghāte* (which in addition to “mass” or “heap” [*saṅghāta*]) means “tangle” or “web”). “Dis-ease” translates *dukkha*, often “suffering,” following out one of the term’s literal meanings (physical illness) as well as its connotation of psychological unrest and in keeping with the other descriptions of the aged body in this verse. My earlier translation, following PTS, gives “suffering’s slime”

<sup>182</sup>reading *nānākalimalākiṇṇe* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *nānākalala-m-ākiṇṇe* (“smeared with various mud” — but note that *mala* in the accepted reading can also mean “dirt” or “mud” or any impurity in addition to “flaw” or “fault”)

<sup>183</sup>*nirīhake*, in juxtaposition with the previous adjective *parāyatte*, lit., “activity of others,” hence “dependent on others”

the one who suckled the Buddha,  
Gotamī, goes without a trace.”<sup>184</sup> (60) [286]

Ānanda was then [still] training,  
fond of the Victor, [but still] sad.  
[Beseeching her] there, shedding tears,  
he was wailing piteously: (61) [287]

“Gotamī is going, smiling;<sup>185</sup>  
surely then soon the Buddha too  
will be going to nirvana,  
like a fire whose fuel has run out.” (62) [288]

Gotamī said to Ānanda  
who was lamenting in this way:  
“O son, keen on serving Buddha,  
your wisdom’s deep as is the sea,<sup>186</sup> (63) [289]

[and so] you really should not mourn,  
when the time for smiling has come!  
Son, [through] your assistance to me,  
I have realized nirvana.<sup>187</sup> (64) [290]

Being requested by you, dear,  
[Buddha] gave us ordination.  
[Therefore] do not be distressed, son;  
your effort is [now] bearing fruit. (65) [291]

That state unseen by the ancients,<sup>188</sup>  
and likewise by rival teachers,  
is known by [Buddhist] young maidens,  
when they’re [only] seven years old. (66) [292]

[So take] your final look [at me,]  
preserver of the Buddha’s word,<sup>189</sup>  
Son, I am going to that place  
where one who’s gone cannot be seen.” (67) [293]

Once when he was preaching *Dhamma*,

<sup>184</sup>*nidhanaṃ*, lit., “without wealth [of karma],” or more literally, “possessionless”

<sup>185</sup>BJTS divides up the adverb taken as “similing” (*hāsantiṃ*) as *hā santiṃ*, “Alas! peacefully...” or “Alas! to peace...”

<sup>186</sup>lit., “O deep one, O ocean of wisdom”

<sup>187</sup>reading *nibbānaṃ samupāgataṃ* with BJTS for PTS *nibbānattaṃ* (“nirvana-ness”) and PTS alt (and BJTS alt.) *nibbānantaṃ*, “the goal of nirvana,” which I followed in my earlier translation.

<sup>188</sup>*porāṇehi*, or (as in my earlier translation) “elders”

<sup>189</sup>Ānanda is remembered to have remembered a huge quantity of the Buddhist canon, prior to its fixing and ultimate writing down.

the Chief Leader of the World sneezed.  
At that time, compassionately,  
I spoke well-wishing words [to him:] (68) [294]

“Live for a long time, Great Hero!  
Remain for an aeon, Great Sage!  
For the sake of the entire world,  
do not grow old [nor] pass away!” (69) [295]

The Buddha then said this to me  
who had spoken to him like that:  
“Buddhas are not to be worshipped,  
as you’re worshipping, Gotamī.” (70) [296]

“How then, O One with Omniscience,  
should the Thus-Gone-Ones be worshipped?  
How should Buddhas not be worshipped?  
Being asked, tell [all] that to me.” (71) [297]

“See [my] followers, united,  
vigorously energetic,  
constantly firm [in their] effort —  
that is worship of the Buddhas.”<sup>190</sup> (72) [298]

Then, going [back] to the refuge,  
[gone off] alone, I reflected:  
“the Lord, who Reached the Three Worlds’ Ends,<sup>191</sup>  
likes a united retinue. (73) [299]

Well then, I’ll reach full nirvana;  
let me see no hindrance to that!”  
I, contemplating in that way,  
after seeing the Seventh Sage, (74) [300]

announced to [the Buddha,] the Guide,  
the time of my full nirvana.  
And then he gave [me] his assent:  
“you know the time, O Gotamī.” (75) [301]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (76) [302]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence  
was a very good thing for me.

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<sup>190</sup>Thig 161

<sup>191</sup>*tibhavantago*



The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (77) [303]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (78) [304]

“There are fools who doubt that women  
[too] gain *dhamma*-penetration.<sup>192</sup>  
To dispel that [wrong] view of theirs,  
display miracles, Gotamī.” (79) [305]

Then bowing to the Sambuddha,  
[and] rising up into the sky,  
with Buddha’s assent, Gotamī  
displayed various miracles. (80) [306]

Being alone, [then] she was cloned;  
and being cloned, again<sup>193</sup> alone.  
Appearing [then] disappearing,  
she walked through walls, walked through the sky. (81) [307]

She traveled unattached to earth;  
she also sank down into it.  
She walked<sup>194</sup> on water as on land,  
leaving its surface unbroken. (82) [308]

Cross-legged, she flew like a bird,  
across the surface of the sky.  
With her body she took control  
of space right up to Brahma’s home. (83) [309]

Taking Mount Meru as handle,  
she made great earth her umbrella.  
Carrying, twirling root and all,  
she walked back and forth in the sky. (84) [310]

And like the time when six suns rose,  
she caused the entire world to fume.  
As though it were the end of time,  
she garlanded the earth in flames. (85) [311]

She took mounts Meru, Mandāra,  
Daddara, great Muccalinda —

<sup>192</sup>*thīnaṅ dhammābhisamaye*

<sup>193</sup>*tathā*, lit., “thus” “in that way”

<sup>194</sup>or “went”

all of them, in a single fist,  
like they were [tiny] mustard seeds. (86) [312]

She concealed with [her] fingertip  
the makers of both day and night,  
as though a thousand suns and moons  
were a necklace she was wearing. (87) [313]

In a single hand she held the  
waters of the four great oceans;  
she rained forth a torrential rain,  
like an apocalyptic cloud. (88) [314]

She made appear up in the sky  
a wheel-turner with retinue.  
She showed [Vishnu as the] boar and  
roaring lion, and Garuḍa. (89) [315]

Being alone, she conjured up  
a boundless group of Buddhist nuns.  
Making them disappear again,  
alone, she said [this] to the Sage: (90) [316]

“Your mother’s sister, Great Hero,  
is one who’s done what you have taught.<sup>195</sup>  
An attainer of [her]<sup>196</sup> own goal,  
she worships your feet, Eyeful One.” (91) [317]

Having shown varied miracles,  
descending from up in<sup>197</sup> the sky,  
worshipping the Lamp of the World,  
she sat down [there, off] to one side. (92) [318]

“O Great Sage, I’m an [old woman,]<sup>198</sup>  
a hundred twenty years from birth.  
That much is enough, O Hero;  
I’m reaching nirvana, Leader.” (93) [319]

Astonished, all the multitudes,  
with [their] hands pressed together then,  
said, “sister, [you] have<sup>199</sup> [great] prowess  
at supernormal miracles.” (94) [320]

<sup>195</sup>*tavasāsanakārikā*, “a doer of your dispensation” “one who has performed your teachings”

<sup>196</sup>or “your”?

<sup>197</sup>lit., “from the surface of”

<sup>198</sup>*sā...haṇ*

<sup>199</sup>lit “make” “do”

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
 the One with Eyes for everything,  
 the Leader [of the World,] arose  
 a hundred thousand aeons hence. (95) [321]

I was born in Hamsavatī,  
 in a clan of ministers then,  
 furnished with all [kinds of] servants,  
 rich, prosperous, very wealthy. (96) [322]

Once, when tagging on with father —  
 attended by a group of slaves —  
 along with a large retinue,  
 [I] approached that Bull Among Men. (97) [323]

The Victor, like autumnal son,  
 surrounded by garlands of rays,  
 without constraints, that *Dhamma*-cloud  
 rained forth like the king of the gods. (98) [324]

Seeing [him], being pleased at heart,  
 and having heard his lovely voice,  
 the Leader of Men placed his aunt  
 in the foremost [place among] nuns. (99) [325]

Hearing [this,] for an entire day,  
 I gave the Neutral One large gifts  
 and lots of the requisites to  
 the Chief of Men with Assembly. (100) [326]

Having fallen down at [his] feet,  
 I aspired [to attain] that place.  
 And then the Greatly Mindful One,  
 the Seventh Sage, said [to the crowd:] (101) [327]

“This one who for a week has fed  
 the World’s Leader with Assembly,  
 I shall relate details of her:  
 [all of] you listen to my words: (102) [328]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
 arising in Okkāka’s clan,  
 the one whose name is Gotama  
 will be the Teacher in the world. (103) [329]

Worthy heir to that one’s *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma*’s legitimate offspring,  
 the one whose name is Gotamī

will be the Teacher's follower. (104) [330]

She will be his mother's sister,  
the Buddha's wet-nurse his [whole] life.  
She will attain the foremost place  
among the senior Buddhist nuns." (105) [331]

Hearing that I was overjoyed,  
and then as long as life, I served  
the Victor with the requisites.  
After that, [having] passed away, (106) [332]

born among the Tāvatiṃsa  
gods with all delights and riches,  
in ten ways I was outshining  
[all the] other [gods who lived there]: (107) [333]

through shapes [and] sounds [and] fragrances,  
through tastes and the [things that I] touch,  
in terms of lifespan, complexion,  
happiness and famousness too (108) [334]

[and] likewise through supreme power  
I shone, having attained [those ten].  
There I became the beloved  
chief queen of the king of the gods. (109) [335]

Transmigrating in the cycle,<sup>200</sup>  
being blown on by karma-wind,  
I was born in a slave-village,  
in the realm of the Kāsi<sup>201</sup> king. (110) [336]

Every day there were five hundred  
slaves dwelling in that very place.  
I was the wife of he who was  
best of all [the slaves living] there. (111) [337]

Five hundred self-become [Buddhas]  
entered our village seeking alms.  
Along with all [my] female kin,  
I was thrilled after seeing them. (112) [338]

All of us having formed a guild,<sup>202</sup>  
we served those [Buddhas] for four months.

<sup>200</sup>or "in existence": *saṅsāre saṅsāranti 'haṅ*

<sup>201</sup>that is, Benares

<sup>202</sup>BJTS reads *katvā pañcasatakuṭī* ("having made [them] five hundred huts" for PTS *pūgā bhavitvā sabbāyo*)

Having given [each] the three robes,  
we transmigrated<sup>203</sup> with husbands. (113) [339]

Fallen from there with our husbands,  
we all went to Tāvatisa.  
And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
born in Devadaha city, (114) [340]

my father, Añjana<sup>204</sup> Śākya,<sup>205</sup>  
my mother was Sulakhanā.<sup>206</sup>  
We left for Suddhodana's house,  
in Kapilavastu [City]. (115) [341]

The other women born Śākyan<sup>207</sup>  
[also] came to the Śākya's house.  
Distinguished among all of them,  
I was wet-nurse of the Victor. (116) [342]

After having gone forth, my son  
became the Buddha, the [World's] Guide.  
Afterwards I renounced the world,<sup>208</sup>  
together with the five hundred. (117) [343]

Along with the Śākya heroes,  
I witnessed the comfort of peace.  
They were [the men] who formerly  
had been born as our [own] husbands. (118) [344]

Makers of merit together,<sup>209</sup>  
they've [now] seized the crucial moment.  
Pitied by the Well-Gone-One, they  
experienced arahantship. (119) [345]

The rest of the Buddhist nuns [there]  
[then all] rose up into the air.  
Come together like [bright] stars  
those women with great powers shined. (120) [346]

They displayed [their] diverse powers

<sup>203</sup>BJTS reads *pasannāmha sasāmikā*, “we were pleased with our husbands”

<sup>204</sup>“Jet Black”

<sup>205</sup>i.e., Śākya, of the Buddha's clan

<sup>206</sup>“Well-Marked”

<sup>207</sup>lit., “the other women born in the Śākya clan”

<sup>208</sup>lit., “having gone forth”

<sup>209</sup>*saha*. I follow the BJTS Sinhala gloss (*ek vā*) in giving this sociokarmically more-determined translation.

like [different]<sup>210</sup> types of ornaments  
[might be displayed] by a goldsmith,  
who is well-trained in<sup>211</sup> workmanship. (121) [347]

After displaying miracles,  
variegated and many,  
having pleased the Fine Debater,<sup>212</sup>  
the Sage, and his retinue then,  
having descended from the sky,  
having worshipped the Seventh Sage,  
permitted by the Chief of Men,  
they sat down in that place [again]. (122-123) [348-349]

“Hey, Hero, it was Gotamī  
who showed pity to all of us.  
Perfumed by your good karma,<sup>213</sup> [we]  
reached destruction of our constraints.<sup>214</sup> (124) [350]

Our defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
we are living without constraint. (125) [351]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence  
was a very good thing for us.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[We have] done what the Buddha taught! (126) [352]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[We have] done what the Buddha taught! (127) [353]

We are masters of miracles,  
O Sage So Great, we are masters  
of the “divine ear” faculty,  
[and] knowing what’s in others’ hearts. (128) [354]

We know [all of] our former lives;  
“divine eye” [now] is purified.  
All the constraints have been destroyed;  
there now will be no more rebirth. (129) [355]

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<sup>210</sup>pronounce as two syllables when chanting, “diff’rent”

<sup>211</sup>lit., “of”

<sup>212</sup>*vādipavaṇṇa*

<sup>213</sup>or “merit,” *puññehi*. “Good deeds” would preserve the plural.

<sup>214</sup>*āsavaḥkhayaṇ*

It was in your presence, Great Sage,  
that our [own] knowledge came to be,  
knowing meaning and the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching. (130) [356]

Leader, you're surrounded by us,  
[Buddhist nuns] with hearts full of love;  
O Great Sage, give your permission  
to [us] to all reach nirvana." (131) [357]

The Victor said, "What [can] I say  
to women who are telling [me],  
'we are going to reach nirvana'?  
Know that now is your time for it." (132) [358]

At that time [all] those Buddhist nuns,  
starting with [the nun] Gotamī,  
worshipping the Victor [then] rose  
up from [their] seats and went [away].<sup>215</sup> (133) [359]

The World's Chief Leader, the Wise One,<sup>216</sup>  
with a large body of people,  
followed [his own] maternal aunt  
until [she got up to] the gate. (134) [360]

Then Gotamī fell [to the ground]  
at the feet of the World's Kinsman,  
and with all of the other [nuns]  
performed a final foot-worship. (135) [361]

"This [will be] my final vision  
of [you,] the Lord of the [Whole] World.  
Never again will I see your  
face, the fountain of ambrosia. (136) [362]

No more homage to your soft feet;  
I won't [ever] touch [them] again.  
O Hero, Chief of the [Whole] World,  
today I'll go to nirvana! (137) [363]

What's your physical form [or] face,  
with things being such as they are?  
All conditioned things are like that,  
providing no comfort, trifling. (138) [364]

She, having gone along with them

<sup>215</sup>reading *agamaṅsu* with BJTS (cf. PTS alt. *agamim̐su*) for PTS *agamīsu* ("among non-villages"?)

<sup>216</sup>BJTS here reads *vīro*, "the Hero" for PTS *dhīro*, "the Wise One"

back to [her] own refuge for nuns,  
sat in half-lotus<sup>217</sup> position  
in her [own] superior seat. (139) [365]

At that time the laywomen there,  
fond of Buddha's dispensation,  
hearing her proceeding ahead,  
those foot-worshippers approached [her,] (140) [366]

pounding on [their] chests with [their] fists,  
[loudly] howling piteous cries.  
Grieving they fell down on the earth  
like creepers cut off at the root. (141) [367]

“Refuge-Bestower, Lord, do not  
leave us to go to nirvana.  
Bowing down [our] heads, all of us  
are begging [you, O Gotamī].” (142) [368]

One laywoman, faithful and wise,  
was striving the most among them.  
While gently stroking that one's head,  
[Gotamī] spoke these words [to her:]<sup>218</sup> (143) [369]

“Enough with [this] depression, child,  
twisted up in the snares of Death;<sup>219</sup>  
impermanent is all that is,  
ever-shaking, ending in loss.” (144) [370]

Then having sent them [all] away,  
she entered the first<sup>220</sup> altered state,  
the second and also the third,  
and then she attained the fourth one. (145) [371]

In order, moving [higher still:]  
the plane of space-infinity,  
the plane in which perception's pure,  
and that where nothingness is seen. (146) [372]

In reverse order, Gotamī  
entered [all of] those altered states,  
[from the last] back down to the first,  
and then back up to the fourth one. (147) [373]

<sup>217</sup>*addhapallaṅkam ābhujya* (BJTS read *aḍḍhapallaṅkam ābhujja*), with one leg crossed and one bent hookwise.

<sup>218</sup>reading the final verb *abravi* (“she spoke”) with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *abraviṇ* (“I spoke”).

<sup>219</sup>*mārapāsānuvattinā*

<sup>220</sup>lit., “ultimate first altered state”



Rising up, she reached nirvana,  
like the flame of a fuel-less lamp.  
There was an enormous earthquake;  
bolts of lightening fell from the sky. (148) [374]

The thunder was rumbling loudly;  
the deities [gathered there] wailed.  
A flower-shower from the sky  
was raining down upon the earth. (149) [375]

Even regal Mount Meru shook,  
just like a dancer on the stage;  
the [great] ocean was greatly grieved,  
and he was weeping in distress. (150) [376]

The gods, snake-gods and titans too,  
even Brahmā, awed at that time,<sup>221</sup>  
[said,] “this one has now been dissolved;  
in flux indeed is all that is.” (151) [377]

The [other nuns] surrounding her,  
who practiced the Buddha’s teachings,<sup>222</sup>  
they too attained nirvana [then,]  
like the flames of lamps without fuel. (152) [378]

“Alas! Attachments end up cut!  
Alas! Conditioned things all change!  
Alas! Life ends in destruction.”  
In this way [people] were wailing. (153) [379]

Then Brahmā and the deities  
went up to [him,] the Seventh Sage,  
doing what is appropriate,  
according to worldly custom. (154) [380]

Then the Teacher told Ānanda,  
whose knowledge was [deep as] the sea,  
“Go [now,] Ānanda, tell the monks,  
[my] mother has reached nirvana.” (155) [381]

Then Ānanda, who’d lost his joy,<sup>223</sup>  
whose eyes were filling up with tears,  
announced, while choking on [his] words,<sup>224</sup>  
“Come together, O Buddhist monks,

<sup>221</sup>PTS reads *tavade*, BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *tañkhaṇe* (“in that moment”)

<sup>222</sup>lit., “dispensation”

<sup>223</sup>a play on the meaning of his name: *tadā ‘nando nirānando*

<sup>224</sup>lit., “with a gurgling sound”

who are residing in the North,  
 [or] in the east [or] south [or] west.  
 Let them [all] listen to my words,  
 monks who are the Well-Gone-One's heirs. (156-157) [382-383]

This Gotamī, who carefully  
 reared up the body of the Sage,  
 has gone to peace, [no longer seen,]  
 just like stars when the sun rises. (158) [384]

She's gone home,<sup>225</sup> leaving behind [her]  
 designation "Buddha's Mother,"  
 where even [he,] the Five-Eyed One,  
 the Leader, cannot see one gone. (159) [385]

Each with faith in the Well-Gone-One,  
 and each of the Sage's pupils,  
 ought [now] to come, that Buddha's son,<sup>226</sup>  
 to honor the Buddha's mother." (160) [386]

Hearing that, the monks came with speed,  
 even those living far away.  
 Some [came] by Buddha's majesty,  
 some were skilled in superpowers. (161) [387]

[Folks there] raised a funeral bier  
 where Gotamī was [now] laid out,<sup>227</sup>  
 in a good, lovely gabled hut,  
 excellent [and] made out of gold. (162) [388]

The four [gods called] "World-Protectors"  
 hoisted [the bier] on their shoulders;  
 other gods starting with Śakra,  
 gathered inside the gabled hut. (163) [389]

There were five hundred gabled huts,  
 the color of autumnal suns,  
 which were built by Vissakamma,  
 [for] all [of those great Buddhist nuns]. (164) [390]

All those [five hundred] Buddhist nuns  
 were laid out on funeral biers,  
 hoisted up on shoulders of gods,  
 lined up in the proper order. (165) [391]

<sup>225</sup>accepting PTS reading *gatāsayaṇ*. BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *gatāsamaṇ*, "gone to the incomparable [state?]"

<sup>226</sup>lit., "well-Gone-One's heir"

<sup>227</sup>PTS *suttā 'pi Gotamī*, BJTS *suttāsi Gotamī* (*suttā-āsi Gotamī*)

A canopy up in the sky  
was stretched out over everything.  
The sun [and] moon [and all] the stars  
were drawn on it in [liquid] gold. (166) [392]

Flags of various types were raised,  
a floral covering stretched out;  
flowers rose up out of the earth,  
like incense<sup>228</sup> rising in the sky. (167) [393]

[Both] the sun and the moon were seen,  
and [all] the stars were twinkling;<sup>229</sup>  
and even when it was high noon,  
the sun did not burn, like the moon. (168) [394]

Gods made offerings<sup>230</sup> of garlands,  
perfumed with divine fragrances  
and [honored Gotamī] with songs,  
with dances and with discourses. (169) [395]

The snake-gods, titans and Brahmās  
according to powers and strengths,  
made offerings to the laid-out  
mother who was in nirvana. (170) [396]

In front were led off all of the  
Well-Gone-One's heirs in nirvana,  
Gotamī was led off after,  
honored wet-nurse of the Buddha. (171) [397]

With the gods [and] people out front,  
the snake-gods, titans and Brahmās,  
[and] next, with followers, Buddha,  
processed to worship [his] mother.<sup>231</sup> (172) [398]

The Buddha's final nirvana  
was not of such a kind as this.  
Gotamī's final nirvana  
was extremely miraculous. (173) [399]

The Buddha [and] monks won't be seen  
at Buddha's [final] nirvana.

<sup>228</sup>BJTS reads *ogatākāsapadumā* ("lotuses rising in the sky")

<sup>229</sup>pronounce "twinkling" as full three syllables when chanting, to keep meter, or amend to "and [all of] the stars were twinkling" if contracting it to two syllables.

<sup>230</sup>lit., "did *pūjā*"

<sup>231</sup>lit., "is going in order to worship [his] mother"

The Buddha is at Gotamī's,<sup>232</sup>  
so's Sāriputta and so on. (174) [400]

[Then] they built the funeral pyres,  
made with all [sorts of] fragrant [wood],  
and sprinkled with perfumed powder.  
Those [great nuns] were cremated there. (175) [401]

The remaining portions [and] bones<sup>233</sup>  
were completely consumed by fire.  
And at that time Ānanda spoke  
this speech, [which was] very moving:<sup>234</sup> (176) [402]

“Gotamī's gone without a trace<sup>235</sup>  
and her corpse has been cremated,  
intimating that the Buddha's  
nirvana [too] will soon occur.” (177) [403]

Ānanda, urged by the Buddha,  
[placed] Gotamī's [sacred] relics  
in her begging bowl at that time,  
[and] presented them to the Lord. (178) [404]

Taking them up with [both his] hands,  
the Seventh Sage, [the Buddha,] said:  
“Just as the trunk of a standing,  
gigantic timber-bearing tree,  
impermanent, breaks into bits,  
however massive it may be,  
so Gotamī, who was a nun,<sup>236</sup>  
has reached [her] final nirvana. (179-180) [405-406]

O! it is a marvelous thing!  
My mother who's reached nirvana,  
leaving only relics behind<sup>237</sup>  
did not grieve [and was not] wailing. (181) [407]

<sup>232</sup>lit., “at Gotamī's [final] nirvana”

<sup>233</sup>lit., “the remaining portions, the remaining bones.” I formerly translated “only her bones remained,” but now believe that was incorrect; the fleshy parts (etc.) as well as the bones were thoroughly burned; the “relics” referred to below would be tiny gem-like fragments remaining in the crematory ash, not bones as such.

<sup>234</sup>*saṅvegajanakaṇ vaco*, lit., “emotion-producing word.” *Samvega* is a profoundly emotional insight into the nature of reality, often the spur to religious action, to be juxtaposed with *ubbega*, ordinary emotional responses to death, ordinary grief, sorrow, etc.

<sup>235</sup>*nidhanaṇ*, lit., “without wealth [of karma],” or more literally, “possessionless”

<sup>236</sup>lit., “of the nuns' Assembly:” *bhikkhunisaṅghassa*

<sup>237</sup>*sarīramattasesāya*, lit., “with [only] a measure of relics remaining”

Grieving not for others [left,  
she's crossed the sea of existence.  
She's cooled, she's in nirvana.  
[her] torment [is now] avoided. (182) [408]

Know this about her, O [you] monks,  
she was a very wise woman,<sup>238</sup>  
with wisdom which was vast and wide,<sup>239</sup>  
distinguished among Buddhist nuns. (183) [409]

She'd mastered the superpower  
[called] the "divine ear" element.  
Gotamī was a master of  
the knowledge stored in others' hearts. (184) [410]

She remembered [her] former lives;  
[her] "divine eye" was purified.  
All the defilements were destroyed;  
she will not be reborn again. (185) [411]

She had purified [her] knowledge  
of meaning and of the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching:  
because of that she did not grieve. (186) [412]

A rod of iron that's beaten  
when it is glowing due to fire  
slowly cools off, [leaving no ash:]  
like that it's not known [where she] went.<sup>240</sup> (187) [413]

No rebirth place can be discerned  
of the truly liberated,  
who cross the flood of lustful bonds,  
who've reached unshaking happiness.<sup>241</sup> (188) [414]

Therefore be lamps unto yourselves;  
graze in [the field of] mindfulness.  
With wisdom's seven parts attained,  
you all should end [your] suffering.<sup>242</sup> (189) [415]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Mahāpajāpatīgōtamī spoke these verses.

<sup>238</sup>*paṇḍitā' si*

<sup>239</sup>lit., "with vast wisdom, with wide wisdom"

<sup>240</sup>lit., "[her] state of rebirth (*gati*) is not known". The metaphor is that Gotamī, like the flame that used to be in the iron rod on the forge, has disappeared without a trace, "cooled off".

<sup>241</sup>*acalaṇ sukhaṇ*. BJTS reads, more consistently with *Apadāna* as a whole, *acalaṇ padaṇ* ("unshaking state")

<sup>242</sup>or "make an end of dis-ease:" *dukkhass' antaṇ karissathā ti*.

The legend of Mahāpajāpatīgōtamī Therī is finished.

### [18. Khemā<sup>243</sup>]

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
the One with Eyes for everything,  
the Leader [of the World,] arose  
a hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [416]

I was born in Hamsavatī,  
in a clan of millionaires then,  
glistening with various gems,  
endowed with supreme happiness. (2) [417]

Having approached that Great Hero,  
I heard [him] preaching [his] *Dhamma*.  
Afterward, becoming pleased, I  
approached the Victor for refuge. (3) [418]

Having begged mother and father,  
after inviting [him,] the Guide,  
I fed [the Buddha] for a week,  
together with his followers. (4) [419]

At the end of [those] seven days,  
the Charioteer of Men placed  
a great nun<sup>244</sup> in the foremost place  
among those who have great wisdom. (5) [420]

Hearing that, being overjoyed,  
doing further good works for [him,]  
the Great Sage, after bowing down,  
I aspired [to attain] that place. (6) [421]

Then the Victor said this to me:  
“Let your aspiration succeed!  
Deeds done for me with Assembly  
[will bear] measureless fruit for you. (7) [422]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
arising in Okkāka’s clan,

---

<sup>243</sup>“Peace,” a historical nun, famous as foremost among those with great wisdom. She had been the chief queen of the Buddha’s friend and supporter King Bimbisāra prior to attaining arahantship, ordaining, and distinguishing herself as a *Dhamma*-preacher.

<sup>244</sup>*uttamaṇ bhikkhuniṇ*

the one whose name is Gotama  
will be the Teacher in the world. (8) [423]

Worthy heir to that one's *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma's* legitimate offspring,  
you'll<sup>245</sup> be she whose name is Khemā,  
[and will] attain that foremost place." (9) [424]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (10) [425]

Fallen thence, I went to Yāma,<sup>246</sup>  
[and] then I went to Tusita,  
and then to Nimmānarati,<sup>247</sup>  
and then Vāsavatti City. (11) [426]

In whichever place I'm reborn,  
in accordance with that karma,  
everyplace I was made chief queen  
of [the gods who were] the kings [there]. (12) [427]

Fallen thence, in the human state,  
[everyplace] I was made chief queen  
of kings who turn the wheel [of law,]  
and [powerful] regional kings. (13) [428]

Having experienced success,  
among gods as well as humans,  
becoming happy everywhere,  
I transmigrated for aeons.<sup>248</sup> (14) [429]

[Then] ninety-one aeons ago,  
the World-Leader [named] Vipassi  
arose, the One with Lovely Eyes,<sup>249</sup>  
with Insight into Everything.<sup>250</sup> (15) [430]

I went up to that World-Leader,  
the Charioteer Among Men.  
Hearing [his] exalted Teaching,  
I went forth into homelessness. (16) [431]

<sup>245</sup> reading *bhavissasi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *bhavissati*, "she will be."

<sup>246</sup> Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

<sup>247</sup> BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

<sup>248</sup> *anekakappesu*, lit., "during various aeons"

<sup>249</sup> *cārunayano*, or "lovely to the eyes" (?) xxx

<sup>250</sup> *sabbadhammavipassaka*, a play on that Buddha's name

After living the holy life<sup>251</sup>  
 [during fully] ten thousand years,  
 in that Wise One's dispensation,  
 bent on effort, very learned, (17) [432]

skillful in the heaps of causes,<sup>252</sup>  
 expert in the Four [Noble] Truths,  
 clever, varied speaker, [I was]  
 one who's done what the Teacher taught. (18) [433]

Fallen thence I was reborn in  
 Tusita, with fame and splendor.  
 I surpassed the other [gods] there,  
 as the fruit of the holy life.<sup>253</sup> (19) [434]

In whichever place I'm reborn,  
 I'm very rich and prosperous,  
 intelligent and beautiful,  
 [and] my retinue is well-trained. (20) [435]

Due to [my] karma, through effort  
 in the Victor's dispensation,  
 I enjoy every attainment,  
 obtained with ease, pleasing the mind. (21) [436]

Through the fruit of my good conduct,  
 nobody treats me with contempt,  
 even he who was my husband  
 in whichever place I'm reborn.<sup>254</sup> (22) [437]

In this [present] lucky aeon  
 Brahmā's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
 whose name was Koṇāgamana,  
 Best Debater, [Buddha,] arose. (23) [438]

[We were] born in a very rich  
 clan at that time, in Benares:  
 Dhanañjānī, Sumedhā too,  
 along with me, the women three. (24) [439]

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<sup>251</sup>*brahmacariyaṃ caritvāna*, lit., "conducting [myself] in the conduct of {God} Brahmā;" or else, "having preserved celibacy"

<sup>252</sup>*paccayākāra*°, or "modes of causes," i.e., Abhidhammic analysis of the causes of the continuity between the links in the twelve-fold chain of causation (*paṭiccasamuppāda*)

<sup>253</sup>or "due to loving celibately"

<sup>254</sup>lit., "I was gone" The grammar of the Pāli, as in my translation, leaves ambiguous whether the place of rebirth qualifies "nobody" or "husband": "nobody wherever I was reborn" or "even he who was my husband, whenever I was reborn"



[We] lay-donors gave a thousand  
to the Sage, and a hermitage  
for the Assembly, donating<sup>255</sup>  
that place<sup>256</sup> to Him with Assembly. (25) [440]

Fallen thence, all we [three women]  
were reborn<sup>257</sup> in Tāvatiṃsa  
[where] we attained the foremost fame,  
and just the same among people. (26) [441]

In this [present] lucky aeon,  
Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>258</sup>  
was born, the Best of Debaters. (27) [442]

The attendant of the Great Sage  
was the ruler of men back then,  
the king of Kāsi, named Kiki,  
in Benares, greatest city. (28) [443]

I was that [king's] eldest daughter,  
well-known [by the name] "Samaṇī."<sup>259</sup>  
Hearing the Best Victor's Teaching,  
I chose [to seek] ordination. (29) [444]

Our father did not permit it;  
we [stayed] at home during that time,  
comfortable<sup>260</sup> royal maidens  
doing [our] practice with vigor  
in virginal celibacy,  
for twenty times a thousand years,  
fond of waiting on the Buddha,  
[the king's] seven joyful daughters. (30-31) [445-446]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,<sup>261</sup>  
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,

<sup>255</sup> *uddissa*, lit., "assigned to" "appointed to" "allotted"

<sup>256</sup> *viḥāram hi* lit., "that very monastery"

<sup>257</sup> *upagā*, lit., reached, went to, obtained, came into, belonged to

<sup>258</sup> BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

<sup>259</sup> "Female renouncer" "nun" "renunciate woman"

<sup>260</sup> *sukhe ʾhitā*, lit., "remaining in comfort." Pronounce all four syllables when chanting to keep the meter or, to chant as a three-syllable word, read "comfortable royal princesses"

<sup>261</sup> I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) "and" (*ca*). The comma amplifies its effect, to syncopate the verse such that the (respective, exact) parallelism of the following verse (in which, however, all four feet contain the expected eight syllables) becomes apparent.

Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,  
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (32) [447]

[now] I, and Uppalavaṇṇā,  
Paṭācārā and Kuṇḍalā,<sup>262</sup>  
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,<sup>263</sup>  
and Visākhā is the seventh. (33) [448]

Once when the Sun Among People  
was preaching the marvelous Truth,<sup>264</sup>  
having heard it, I memorized  
*Mahānidānasuttanta*.<sup>265</sup> (34) [449]

Due to those karmas<sup>266</sup> done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (35) [450]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
in Sāgalā, best of cities,  
I am<sup>267</sup> the Madda king's daughter,  
well-liked, held dear [and] beloved. (36) [451]

[All] was peaceful<sup>268</sup> in that city  
when I was coming into birth.  
After that, due to that virtue,<sup>269</sup>  
they gave<sup>270</sup> the name “Khemā” to me. (37) [452]

When I attained the prime of youth,  
I was adorned with beauty and grace.<sup>271</sup>  
At that time my father gave me  
to [the great] king, Bimbisāra. (38) [453]

I was his best-beloved [queen,]

<sup>262</sup> = Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

<sup>263</sup> given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pli and in English

<sup>264</sup> or “Teaching,” *dhammaṃ deseti abbhutaṃ*

<sup>265</sup> the fifteenth *sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, containing a detailed analysis of the twelve-fold chain of causation

<sup>266</sup> here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kamma* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps “good deeds” would be the more natural plural term here.

<sup>267</sup> reading °*amhi* with BJTS for PTS °*āsij* (“I was”)

<sup>268</sup> *khemaṃ*

<sup>269</sup> reading *guṇato* with BJTS for PTS *guṇikaṃ* (“small chain”)

<sup>270</sup> *udapajjatha*, lit., “produced”

<sup>271</sup> reading *rūpavilāsabhūsitā* with PTS alt. for PTS *rūpavant’ āvibhūsitā* (“beautiful [and] extremely ornamented”) and BJTS *rūpalavaññabhūsitā* (“adorned with beauty and gorgeousness”), though all the readings make the same basic point

taking great<sup>272</sup> pride in<sup>273</sup> [my] beauty.  
 [Thinking,] “He speaks ill of beauty,”  
 I dodged<sup>274</sup> the Compassionate One.<sup>275</sup> (39) [454]

At that time, King Bimbisāra,  
 with knowledge and great love for me,  
 after praising the Bamboo Grove,<sup>276</sup>  
 brought singers [to praise it] for me: (40) [455]

“We think that one who has not seen  
 the Bamboo Grove, so delightful,  
 nor the lair of the Well-Gone-One,  
 has not seen [the garden named] ‘Joy.’<sup>277</sup> (41) [456]

[But] one who’s seen the Bamboo Grove,  
 the ‘Joy’ that’s enjoyed by people,<sup>278</sup>  
 that one’s seen [the garden named] ‘Joy,’  
 much enjoyed by the king of gods.<sup>279</sup> (42) [457]

Giving up [the garden named] ‘Joy,’  
 descending to the earth’s surface,  
 gods are satisfied, astonished,  
 seeing the lovely Bamboo Grove. (43) [458]

What speaker can fully exclaim  
 its<sup>280</sup> accumulated virtue,  
 produced by the merit of kings,  
 beautified by Buddha’s merit?” (44) [459]

Hearing of its<sup>281</sup> magnificence  
 which was delightful to my ears,  
 desiring to see that garden,  
 I then announced [this] to the king. (45) [460]

Then [the king,] the lord of the earth,  
 along with a large retinue,

<sup>272</sup>*ratā*, lit., “delighting in” “intent upon”

<sup>273</sup>*keḷāyane* fr. *keḷāyati*, to play, sport, amuse; to take pride in. Could tr. here: “intently sporting in beauty”

<sup>274</sup>*na upesiṅ*, lit., “I did not approach”.

<sup>275</sup>*mahādayaṅ*, lit., “Great Compassionate One”

<sup>276</sup>*veluvanaṅ* (BJTS *veḷuvanaṃ*), a pleasure grove near Rajgir where the Buddha stayed when visiting King Bimbisāra

<sup>277</sup>*nandanaṅ*, “Joy” the divine pleasure grove of Śakra/Indra, the king of the gods

<sup>278</sup>*naranandanandananaṅ*, lit., “the Nandana [“Joy”] Garden that is the joy [*nandana*] of people”.

My translation attempts to convey both the meaning and the delightful alliteration of the Pāli here.

<sup>279</sup>*amarinda-sunandanaṅ*

<sup>280</sup>*tassa...vanassa*, lit., “of that grove”

<sup>281</sup>lit., “of the grove’s”

led me [by procession] to that  
garden I was longing to see. (46) [461]

“Go [and] look at the great riches  
[of] that grove, pleasing to the eyes;  
it always glows with radiance,  
colored by the Buddha’s aura.” (47) [462]

And when the Sage, [out begging] alms,  
had entered Rajgir, best city,<sup>282</sup>  
at that very time<sup>283</sup> I went out,  
[desiring] to look at that grove. (48) [463]

Then [I entered] that grove in bloom,  
[alive] with varied bees buzzing,  
full of Indian cuckoo songs,  
[and] dances by a peacock-troupe, (49) [464]

free of [excess] noise, uncluttered,  
embellished with varied walkways,  
with scattered huts and pavilions,  
resplendent with diverse yogis. (50) [465]

Wandering about [there,] I thought,  
“my eyes are now proving their worth.”<sup>284</sup>  
Having seen in that very place  
a youthful monk, I thought of him: (51) [466]

“Staying in a delightful grove  
like this, in early youth as though  
it is the springtime, well-endowed  
with a body which is pleasing, (52) [467]

bald-headed, wrapped in saffron robes,<sup>285</sup>  
seated at the foot of a tree  
he meditates, a Buddhist monk,  
discarding sensual delight.<sup>286</sup> (53) [468]

Shouldn’t this auspicious Teaching  
be practiced by old folks,<sup>287</sup> after

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<sup>282</sup>*giribbajapuruttamaṅ* (a.k.a. *rajaḡaha* = Rajgir), the capital of King Bimbisāra near where the Bamboo Groove was (and is) located.

<sup>283</sup>she plans to be there when he is absent, still trying to evade him

<sup>284</sup>lit., “bearing fruit”

<sup>285</sup>lit., “surrounded by a *saṅghāti* (monastic robe)

<sup>286</sup>*visayajaṅ ratīṅ*, lit., “delight produced by/in the spheres of the senses”

<sup>287</sup>lit., “by an elderly person” “by a decrepit person”

[they have lived] the domestic life,  
enjoying pleasure as they like?" (54) [469]

Discerning that it was empty,  
I approached the perfumed house, the  
Victor's home, [but] spied the Victor,  
like the sun when it is rising, (55) [470]

sitting happily by himself,<sup>288</sup>  
being fanned by a fine woman.  
Seeing [that scene,] I thought like this:  
"isn't this Bull of Men wretched?"<sup>289</sup> (56) [471]

The woman [though], shining like gold,  
eyes and face like pink lotuses,  
with red lips, looking like jasmine,<sup>290</sup>  
pleasing to the mind and the eyes, (57) [472]

with ears that are like golden swings,  
firm<sup>291</sup> breasts that look like water-jugs,  
thin-waisted, a shapely behind,<sup>292</sup>  
fine thighs with charming ornaments, (58) [473]

dressed in clothing of fine blue silk,  
furnished with a border of red,  
with unsatisfiable looks,<sup>293</sup>  
she has a smiling demeanor." (59) [474]

After seeing her, I thought this:  
"Wow! This is a super-beauty!  
Not ever in the past was seen  
by my own<sup>294</sup> eye [such a beauty]!" (60) [475]

Then she was ravished by old age,  
discolored, [her] face disfigured.  
Her teeth fell out, her hair turned white,  
her mouth was fouled with saliva, (61) [476]

ears shriveled up, eyes formed cataracts,<sup>295</sup>

<sup>288</sup>or "alone"

<sup>289</sup>or a little less forcefully, "is this not the wretched Bull of Men?" "Is this wretched one not the Bull of Men?" "this wretched one is not the Bull of Men"

<sup>290</sup>which has delicate, white flowers

<sup>291</sup>or otherwise "good," *su*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>292</sup>PTS *varassonī* ("excellent buttocks"), BJTS *sussonī*, ("good buttocks")

<sup>293</sup>or "form/shape/beauty which is not to be satisfied" (or "not troubling"?)

<sup>294</sup>lit., "this," perhaps a deictic?

<sup>295</sup>lit., "white-eyed"

breasts sagged [and became] repulsive;  
wrinkles spread on all of [her] parts,  
[and] veins popped out [on that] body, (62) [477]

crooked-limbed, leaning on a cane,  
jutting-ribbed, emaciated,  
trembling, fallen [onto] the ground,  
gasping for every breath she took.<sup>296</sup> (63) [478]

And then I was profoundly moved.<sup>297</sup>  
Marveled, [my] hair standing on end,  
[I said,] “Woe on filthy beauty!  
It is where [only] fools delight!” (64) [479]

Then the Great Compassionate One,  
discerning<sup>298</sup> that [my] mind was moved,  
happy, with a heart that was thrilled,  
he spoke [to me in] these verses: (65) [480]

“Khemā, see this complex heap<sup>299</sup> as  
diseased, disgusting [and] putrid.  
It is oozing and it’s dripping,  
the delight of foolish people. (66) [481]

With one-pointed focus, steadfast,  
fix your mind on impurity.  
Remain mindful of the body;  
be intent on disenchantment. (67) [482]

Just as is this, so too is that;  
just as is that, so too is this:  
on the inside and the outside,  
be detached from body-delight. (68) [483]

Cultivate emancipation  
and abandon latent conceit.<sup>300</sup>  
Then, through understanding conceit,  
you’ll wander in tranquility. (69) [484]

Those following the stream, excited with lust,  
[are] making webs for themselves, like a spider;

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<sup>296</sup>lit., “gasping for breath (or “panting” or “sighing” or “exhaling”): *nissasanti*) moment by moment”

<sup>297</sup>*me āsi saṃvego*

<sup>298</sup>lit., seeing

<sup>299</sup>*samussayaṇ*, “conglomeration,” i.e., the body

<sup>300</sup>*mānānusayaṇ ujjaḥa*, pride located in the subconscious, “sleepful” (but not) pride in one’s existence, etc

[others,] cutting that away, are going forth,  
indifferent, giving up the pleasures of lust.” (70-71) [485].<sup>301</sup>

Then the Charioteer of Men,  
knowing my mental readiness,  
in order to instruct me preached  
*Mahānidānasuttanta*.<sup>302</sup> (72) [486]

Hearing that best *suttanta*, I  
recalled [my] former memory.  
Just standing there I was at peace;  
I purified my “*Dhamma eye*”. (73) [487]

Immediately falling down  
before the feet of the Great Sage,  
I spoke these words [at that moment,]  
to confess offenses [to him]. (74) [488]

“Praise to you, O Seer of All!  
Praise to you, Home of Compassion!  
Praise to you, Existence-Crosser!  
Praise to you, Path to Deathlessness!<sup>303</sup> (75) [489]

Plunged into<sup>304</sup> the thicket of views,  
I was doped by passionate lust.  
[I now] delight in discipline,  
disciplined by your righteous trick.<sup>305</sup> (76) [490]

Without enjoyment because they  
do not see Great Sages like you,  
beings in the sea of being,<sup>306</sup>  
are undergoing much dis-ease. (77) [491]

Though close<sup>307</sup> I did not [go to] see  
the World’s-Help,<sup>308</sup> Non-Hostility,<sup>309</sup>  
the One who Made an End to Death;<sup>310</sup>

<sup>301</sup>PTS and BJTS agree on the text here, in a complex/atypical meter, but whereas PTS presents it as two 6-5-6-6 verses, BJTS presents it as one 11-11-11-12 verse, as indicated in the varied numbering here.

<sup>302</sup>see above, v. 34 [449]

<sup>303</sup>BJTS reads *amataṃ dadaṃ* (“Deathless-Giver” ?)

<sup>304</sup>*°pakkhannā*, lit., “fallen into” “jumped into” fr. *pakkhandati*

<sup>305</sup>*tayā sammā upāyena*

<sup>306</sup>*sattā saṃsārasāgare*

<sup>307</sup>*adūraṭṭhaṇ*, lit., “not because of far-away-ness”

<sup>308</sup>*loka-saraṇaṇ*

<sup>309</sup>*araṇaṇ*, lit., “having no battle,” “not adversarial,” echoed in *lokasaraṇaṇ* and *maraṇantaṅgaṇ*

<sup>310</sup>*maraṇantaṅgaṇ* (correct to *°antakaṃ* read *°antagaṃ* with BJTS)

I am confessing that offense. (78) [492]

Beauty-obsessed, I did not go  
to the Goodness-Giver,<sup>311</sup> Great Friend,<sup>312</sup>  
suspecting he'd be unfriendly;  
I am confessing that offense." (79) [493]

And then the One with Honeyed Speech,<sup>313</sup>  
the Great Compassionate Victor  
sprinkling<sup>314</sup> me with ambrosia said,  
"Khemā, you should stay [here with us]." (80) [494]

Then after bowing down [my] head,  
having circumambulated,  
having gone, having seen the king,  
I spoke these words [to him just then]. (81) [495]

"O conqueror of enemies,  
the righteous trick<sup>315</sup> that you thought up!  
Wishing to see the grove, I saw<sup>316</sup>  
the Sage, the One Free of Craving.<sup>317</sup> (82) [496]

If it's pleasing to you, O king,  
I'll go forth in the Neutral One's  
dispensation, tired of beauty,  
because of what the Sage told [me]." (83) [497]

Then pressing [his] hands together  
[the king,] the lord of the earth, said,  
"I permit you, O lucky one.  
Let your going forth have success!" (84) [498]

And then after my going forth,  
when I had served for seven months,  
watching lamp [flames] rising, falling,  
my mind being profoundly moved, (85) [499]

fed up with all conditioned things,  
skillful in the heaps of causes,<sup>318</sup>

<sup>311</sup>or "Giver of Boons" "Wish-Granter". Reading *varadadaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *varadaṃ* (which could be taken, however, as the same thing)

<sup>312</sup>*mahāhitaṃ*

<sup>313</sup>*madhuranigghosa*

<sup>314</sup>pronounce as two syllables when chanting, to keep the meter

<sup>315</sup>*sammā upāyo*

<sup>316</sup>lit., "was seen by me"

<sup>317</sup>*nibbanatho*, Skt. *nivanathaḥ*

<sup>318</sup>*paccayākāra*°, or "modes of causes," i.e., Abhidhammic analysis of the causes of the continuity between the links in the twelve-fold chain of causation (*paṭiccasamuppāda*)



passing over the four-fold flood,  
I attained [my] arahantship. (86) [500]

I'd mastered the superpower  
[called] the "divine ear" element.  
I also was a master of  
the knowledge stored in others' hearts. (87) [501]<sup>319</sup>

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] "divine eye" is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (88) [502]

In the Buddha's dispensation,  
[I] have purified [my] knowledge  
of meaning and of the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching. (89) [503]

Skilled in the purifications,<sup>320</sup>  
confident in *Kathāvatthu*,<sup>321</sup>  
and in the dispensation I've  
mastered Abhidhammic method.<sup>322</sup> (90) [504]

Then, being asked subtle questions  
in *Toraṇavatthu*,<sup>323</sup> by the  
queen, wife of the Kosala [king,]  
I explained according to truth.<sup>324</sup> (91) [505]

At that time the king, approaching  
the Well-Gone-One asked [him as well].  
Then the Buddha explained just as  
[those questions] were explained by me. (92) [506]

<sup>319</sup>this and the next two verses almost exactly parallel *Gotamī-apadāna*, vv. 184-186 [410-412], above, and *Uppalavaṇṇā* vv. 17-19 [527-529], below. That *Gotamī-apadāna* was composed earlier, and *Khemā-apadāna* later, is perhaps evident in the slippage within this verse, where the past tense verbs (appropriate to the context in *Gotamī-apadāna*, but not here) have not been corrected, even though the pronouns have been corrected from third to first person. Pronouns and verb tenses are corrected in the next two verses and more tellingly, in the corresponding verse of *Uppalavaṇṇā-apadāna*, v. 17 [527], which reads *homi* for *āsiṅ*

<sup>320</sup>*kusalāhaṇ visuddhīsu*, lit., "I am skilled in the purifications"

<sup>321</sup>one of the books of the Abhidhamma, believed in tradition to have been uttered by Moggaliputtatissa in refutation of heretical views expressed at the Third Great Recitation during the time of Aśoka Maurya, an important piece of evidence that *Apadāna* is a post-Aśokan text.

<sup>322</sup>*abhidhammanayaṇṇū ca vasi*, lit., "[I am a] master of the knowledge of Abhidhammic method"

<sup>323</sup>see DPPN I:1039, a locality in Kosala, between Śrāvasti and Sāketa. King Pasenadi once stopped there to visit Khemā, who lived there (S. iv. 374)

<sup>324</sup>reading *yathātathaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *yathākathaṃ*, "according to what was said"

The Victor, thrilled at that virtue,  
 [then] placed me in the foremost place;  
 the Ultimate Man [then dubbed] me  
 “chief of the nuns with great wisdom.” (93) [507]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
 all [new] existence is destroyed.  
 Like elephants with broken chains,  
 I am living without constraint. (94) [508]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence  
 was a very good thing for me.  
 The three knowledges are attained;  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (95) [509]

The four analytical modes,  
 and these eight deliverances,  
 six special knowledges mastered,  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (96) [510]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Khemā spoke these verses.

The legend of Khemā Therī is finished.

### [19. Uppalavaṇṇā<sup>325</sup>]

The nun [named] Uppalavaṇṇā,  
 master of the superpowers,  
 having worshipped the Teacher’s feet,  
 spoke these words [to him at that time:] (1) [511]

“Birth and rebirth<sup>326</sup> crossed beyond,  
 I’ve attained the unshaking state.  
 All suffering’s destroyed by me;  
 I’m declaring [it,] O Great Sage. (2) [512]

Throughout the multitudes<sup>327</sup> who are  
 pleased in Buddha’s<sup>328</sup> dispensation,  
 if I’ve wronged [some] people may they  
 forgive [it] facing<sup>329</sup> the Victor. (3) [513]

<sup>325</sup>“Blue Lotus-Colored,” a historical nun, one of the two chief female followers and designated foremost among those nuns who possess the superpowers. See DPPN I: 418-421.

<sup>326</sup>or “transmigration,” °saṅsāra

<sup>327</sup>or “retinue” “following” “group” “people”

<sup>328</sup>lit., “the Victor’s”

<sup>329</sup>or “face-to-face with”

Great Sage, I am declaring that  
if there's [some] mistake [I've made,]  
transmigrating in existence,  
may you forgive that transgression." (4) [514]

"Show [your] superpowers to those  
who practice my<sup>330</sup> dispensation.  
Cut off today the doubts throughout  
the multitude, which is fourfold."<sup>331</sup> (5) [515]

"Great Hero, I am your daughter.  
O Wise One,<sup>332</sup> O Effulgent One,<sup>333</sup>  
I've done very difficult deeds,  
difficult and numerous [too]. (6) [516]

My [skin] is blue-lotus-colored;  
by name I am named "Blue Lotus."<sup>334</sup>  
I'm your follower, Great Hero,  
worshipping your feet, Eyeful One. (7) [517]

Rāhula<sup>335</sup> and I myself  
due to our similar mindsets,  
were born in the same conditions<sup>336</sup>  
various hundred many [times]. (8) [518]

Rebirth is together [with him]  
and after birth too, together.  
[Now] in [our] final existence  
both, [born in] varied<sup>337</sup> conditions, (9) [519]

together: Rāhula's [your] son;  
I'm [your] daughter, named "Blue Lotus."

<sup>330</sup>this is the Buddha speaking, in response to Uppalavaṇṇā's request to be forgiven any mistakes

<sup>331</sup>*catasso parisā*, I assume the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, but it could also be *catasso...kaṅkhā*, fourfold doubt

<sup>332</sup>*paññāvanta*

<sup>333</sup>*jutindhara*

<sup>334</sup>*nāmena Uppalanāmikā*

<sup>335</sup>the Buddha's biological son

<sup>336</sup>*akasmīṅ sambhava*, lit., "in a single coming-to-be-with," "in a single origin" "in a single production". Rāhula and Uppalavaṇṇā were born in this present moment together to be (literal and figurative) son and (only figurative) daughter of the Buddha, that is brother and sister (only figuratively), having however experienced many previous lifetimes together — sometimes as literal brother and sister, or mother and son — in the *Jātaka* stories. For a mention of some of these, see DPPN I: 421. Because (as in the present birth) these "same origins" are not *always* familial/genealogical/literal, I have preserved the ambiguity of the Pāli ("being together") in the translation, so the same word can be translated correspondingly in v. 519, below.

<sup>337</sup>reading *nānāsambhavā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *nāmasambhavā*, ("Conditions in name" — to be read as "only figuratively" [??])

See my superpowers, Hero;  
I'll show [my] strength to the Teacher.” (10) [520]

She put the four great oceans down  
into the palm of [her own] hand,  
just like a youthful physician<sup>338</sup>  
does oil destined for the bladder.<sup>339</sup> (11) [521]

Tearing up earth, she put [it] down  
into the palm of [her own] hand,  
like a tender young boy<sup>340</sup> picking  
a [flower that's] full of color.<sup>341</sup> (12) [522]

Her palm, [big] as the universe,<sup>342</sup>  
covering [the world] from the top,  
caused raindrops of various hues  
to rain forth again and again. (13) [523]

Making earth into [a] mortar,  
making Mount Meru [her] pestle,  
as though a youthful grinding girl,  
grinding<sup>343</sup> grain [flour], [she made] gravel. (14) [524]

“I am the Best Buddha's daughter;  
by name I am named “Blue Lotus.”  
A master of superpowers,  
I practice your dispensation.” (15) [525]

Making varied transformations,<sup>344</sup>  
showing them to the World's Leader,  
announcing name and lineage,  
I worship [your] feet, Eyeful One. (16) [526]

I've mastered the superpower  
[called] the “divine ear” element.  
I'm also a master, Great Sage,  
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (17) [527]

I remember [my] former lives;

<sup>338</sup>*vejjo komārako*, “a juvenile doctor” or perhaps “a young/inexperienced doctor”? Or a pediatrician, i.e., “a doctor connected with juveniles”? It depends on/shapes the interpretation of this anyway ambiguous (to me) verse.

<sup>339</sup>*telaṅ vatthigataṅ c'eva*, i.e., administering an enema? Or *vatthigataṅ* as a second thing being handled (carefully, gingerly), not only oil but also that “gone to [or from?] the bladder”?

<sup>340</sup>reading *luñci komārako yuvā* with BJTS for PTS *luñciko mārako yuvā* (“plucky devilish youth”?)

<sup>341</sup>or is *cittapunna* the name of a flower, i.e., “picks a *cittapunna* flower”

<sup>342</sup>*cakkavālasamaṅ*, lit., “the same as the ring of cosmic mountains surrounding the universe”

<sup>343</sup>lit., “doing” “making”

<sup>344</sup>*nānāvīkubbanāṅ*

[my] “divine eye” is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (18) [528]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
my knowledge is vast<sup>345</sup> and flawless,  
through the Great Sage’s majesty. (19) [529]

In the presence and the absence<sup>346</sup>  
of the Chief Victors, formerly,  
much service was performed by me  
for the sake of you,<sup>347</sup> O Great Sage. (20) [530]

What good<sup>348</sup> karma was done by me,  
formerly in existence, Sage;  
[that] merit heaped up by me was  
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (21) [531]

Avoiding<sup>349</sup> wrong behavior<sup>350</sup> [and]  
the [nine] impossible places;<sup>351</sup>  
the ultimate life’s my duty  
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (22) [532]

I donated from my [own funds]  
ten thousand ten millions<sup>352</sup> [in gold];  
my [very] life was abandoned  
for the sake of you, Great Hero.” (23) [533]

Then all of them, greatly composed,

<sup>345</sup>lit., “pure” (*suddhaṇ*)

<sup>346</sup>reading *sammukhā ca parammukhā* with BJTS (and PTS alts.) for PTS *saṅkamante nidassitaṇ* (“pointed out when transmigrating”?)

<sup>347</sup>that is, for the sake of meeting you, in order to be part of your future dispensation, cf. how contemporary Buddhists perform service in the hopes of meeting Maitreya or some even further-into-the-future Buddha.

<sup>348</sup>or “wholesome”: *kusalaṇ*

<sup>349</sup>*vajjetvā*. Reading BJTS *parivajjentī* (also “avoiding” “abstaining from” “renouncing”) for PTS *paripācento* (“developing”) in the subsequent foot (note both recensions differently present it as a nine-syllable foot), but anyway leaving it untranslated here, lit., “avoiding avoiding”

<sup>350</sup>reading *anācāraṇ* with BJTS for PTS *anāvaraṇ* (“not mean” = “noble things; PTS alt. *bahuṇjanaṇ*, “many people” [!])

<sup>351</sup>*abhabba-tṭhāne*, the nine moral states or spheres of activity into which an arahant will not/cannot fall, D.iii.133 (and cf. D.iii.235 where only the first five appear as a set). This is *Pāsādika Sutta*, #29 of *Dīghanikāya*, section 26. The nine are: (1) cannot deliberately take the life of a living being (2) cannot steal (3) cannot have sexual intercourse (4) cannot deliberately lie (5) cannot hoard anything for his own indulgence (6) cannot act wrongly through attachments (7) cannot act wrongly through hatred (8) cannot act wrongly through folly (9) cannot act wrongly through fear

<sup>352</sup>or “one hundred billion”

hands pressed together on [their] heads,  
 said, “Sister, how’d you make the effort  
 for such unmatched superpower?” [534]<sup>353</sup>  
 One hundred thousand aeons hence  
 I was a cobra[-god] maiden,  
 known by the name of Vimala,<sup>354</sup>  
 well-honored among the maidens. (24) [535]

The great cobra Mahoraga,<sup>355</sup>  
 pleased in Buddha’s<sup>356</sup> dispensation,  
 invited Padumuttara  
 of Great Power,<sup>357</sup> with followers. (25) [536]

Sounding musical instruments,  
 going out to meet the Sambuddha,  
 he made the Buddha’s road ready<sup>358</sup> —  
 a pavilion made out of gems,  
 a palanquin made out of gems,  
 things to enjoy made out of gems,  
 strewn with sand that was [mixed with] gems,  
 adorned with flags [covered in] gems. (26-27) [537-538]

The World’s Leader, surrounded by  
 the multitude, which is fourfold,  
 sat down on an excellent seat  
 there in Mahoraga’s palace. (28) [539]

The cobra-king, greatly famed one,  
 gave excellent and excellent  
 food and drink, hard food [that’s filling,]  
 soft food [to drink,] very costly. (29) [540]

Having eaten, having rinsed the  
 bowl completely, the Sambuddha  
 [then] made [an expression of] thanks  
 to [us,] the cobra[-god] maidens. (30) [541]

Discerning [what was in] my heart  
 and [my] mind which was fixed [on him,]  
 [taking] pleasure in the Teacher,

<sup>353</sup>this verse does not appear in PTS. BJTS reads: *tadātisaṃhitā sabbā sirasāva katañjali / avoc’ ayye kathaṃ āsi atul’iddhiparakkamā //*

<sup>354</sup>“Stainless”

<sup>355</sup>“great snake,” *mahā + urago*

<sup>356</sup>*jina*°, lit., “the Victor’s”

<sup>357</sup>*mahātajaṇ*, or “the Hot One”

<sup>358</sup>reading *paṭiyādesi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *paṭipādesi*, to impart, to offer, to present

[when] the cobra maidens had seen  
the one whose name was Best Lotus,  
Greatly Famed All-Knower<sup>359</sup> in bloom,  
[that] Great Hero, at that moment,  
showed a nun with superpowers. (31-32) [542-543]

That Buddhist nun, very skillful,  
displayed diverse superpowers.  
Thrilling with delight, [and] awe-struck,  
I said this to [him,] the Teacher: (33) [544]

“I [too] saw the superpower  
of this happy [Buddhist nun].<sup>360</sup>  
Just how, Hero, did she become  
so skillful<sup>361</sup> in superpowers?” (34) [545]

“[This nun] with great powers is my  
legitimate daughter, mouth-born,<sup>362</sup>  
she’s followed my instructions, thus<sup>363</sup>  
she’s so skilled<sup>364</sup> in superpowers.” (35) [546]

Hearing the words of the Buddha,  
delighted indeed I aspired,  
“I too shall become such a one,  
so skillful in superpowers. (36) [547]

I am delighted, I’m happy;  
in the not-yet-become future,  
[my] supreme aspiration reached,  
I will be like her, O Leader.” (37) [548]

Satisfying with food and drink<sup>365</sup>  
the World’s Leader with Assembly,  
on a palanquin made of gems,  
within a shining pavilion, (38) [549]

I worshipped [him,] the World’s Leader,  
[that] my color should be that of  
an *aruṇa*<sup>366</sup> [type] blue lotus,

<sup>359</sup> reading *sabbaññuṃ* with BJTS for PTS *sabbañ ca* (“all...and”)

<sup>360</sup> reading *sumanāy’itarāyapi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sumitaṇ itarāya pi* (“well-measured by the other to”?), and following BJTS Sinhala gloss

<sup>361</sup> reading *suvisāradā* with BJTS (and subsequent verses here) for PTS *ca visāradā* (“and skillful”)

<sup>362</sup> *orasāmukhato jātā*

<sup>363</sup> lit., “and”

<sup>364</sup> reading *suvisāradā* with BJTS for PTS *ca visāradā*, as above

<sup>365</sup> reading *annapānena* with BJTS for PTS *mahājanena* (“with the great multitude”)

<sup>366</sup> “sun”

foremost flower of the cobras. (39) [550]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (40) [551]

Fallen from there, being reborn  
as a human being, I gave  
a Self-Become [Lonely Buddha]  
alms food covered with lotuses. (41) [552]

In the ninety-first aeon hence  
the Leader known as Vipassi  
arose, the One Good to Look At,<sup>367</sup>  
the One with Eyes for Everything. (42) [553]

Being a millionaire's daughter  
in Benares, supreme city,  
inviting [him,] the Sambuddha,  
the World's Leader with Assembly, (43) [554]

after donating a very  
large almsgiving to the Guide,<sup>368</sup> and  
worshipping<sup>369</sup> with lotuses, I  
wished through them for splendid color.<sup>370</sup> (44) [555]

In this [present] lucky aeon  
Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>371</sup>  
was born, the Best of Debaters. (45) [556]

The attendant of the Great Sage  
was the ruler of men back then,  
the king of Kāsi, named Kiki,  
in Benares, greatest city. (46) [557]

I was that [king's] second daughter,  
who was named Samaṇaguttā.<sup>372</sup>  
Hearing the Best Victor's Teaching,  
I chose [to seek] ordination. (47) [558]

---

<sup>367</sup> *carunayano*

<sup>368</sup> reading *vināyakaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alts.) for PTS *vimissitaṃ* (“mixed”)

<sup>369</sup> lit., “doing *pūjā*”

<sup>370</sup> reading *vaṇṇasobhaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *vaṇṇasettaṃ* (“white color”?)

<sup>371</sup> BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

<sup>372</sup> “Guarded Nun” “Protected Female Renouncer”



Our father did not permit it;  
 we [stayed] at home during that time,  
 comfortable<sup>373</sup> royal maidens  
 doing [our] practice with vigor  
 in virginal celibacy,  
 for twenty times a thousand years,  
 fond of waiting on the Buddha,  
 [the king's] seven joyful daughters. (48-49) [559-560]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,<sup>374</sup>  
 Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,  
 Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,  
 and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (50) [561]

[now] I, and [the nun named] Khemā,  
 Paṭācārā and Kuṇḍalā,<sup>375</sup>  
 Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,<sup>376</sup>  
 and Visākhā is the seventh. (51) [562]

Due to those karmas<sup>377</sup> done very well,  
 with intention and [firm] resolve,  
 discarding [my] human body,  
 I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (52) [563]

Fallen from there, being reborn  
 as a human, in a great clan,  
 I gave an arahant a robe  
 of costly saffron-colored silk.<sup>378</sup> (53) [564]

Fallen from there, reborn among  
 brahmins<sup>379</sup> in Ariṭṭhapura,  
 daughter of Tirītavaccha,  
 I was charming<sup>380</sup> Ummādantī.<sup>381</sup> (54) [565]

<sup>373</sup> *sukhe ʔhitā*, lit., “remaining in comfort.” Pronounce all four syllables when chanting to keep the meter or, to chant as a three-syllable word, read “comfortable royal princesses”

<sup>374</sup> I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) “and” (*ca*). The comma amplifies its effect, to syncopate the verse such that the (respective, exact) parallelism of the following verse (in which, however, all four feet contain the expected eight syllables) becomes apparent.

<sup>375</sup> = Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

<sup>376</sup> given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

<sup>377</sup> here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kamma* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps “good deeds” would be better here.

<sup>378</sup> *pīta-maṭṭha-varaṇ dussaṇ*, BJTS (and PTS alt.) read *pītamattṭham varam dussaṇ*

<sup>379</sup> in a brahmin clan

<sup>380</sup> *manohara*, lit., “carrying the mind away”

<sup>381</sup> “Maddening” “Intoxicating”

Fallen from there, I [was born] in  
an undistinguished<sup>382</sup> rural<sup>383</sup> clan.  
I was then engrossed in guarding  
rice in a not-quite-ripened field. (55) [566]

Having seen a Lonely Buddha,  
giving [him] five hundred grains of  
roasted paddy,<sup>384</sup> lotus-covered,  
I wished [to have] five hundred sons.<sup>385</sup> (56) [567]

With those wishes<sup>386</sup> having given  
honey to [that] Self-Become One,  
fallen from there I was reborn  
in a lotus in the forest. (57) [568]

Being the Kāsi king's chief queen,  
I was respected and worshipped.<sup>387</sup>  
I bore royal princes [for him,]  
not one fewer than five hundred. (58) [569]

When [my sons] had become young men,<sup>388</sup>  
while sporting at [their] water sports,  
seeing fallen lotus [petals,]  
they turned into<sup>389</sup> Lonely-Leaders.<sup>390</sup> [59] [570]

I was then grieved, being bereft  
of those heroes who were [my] sons.<sup>391</sup>  
Fallen [from there], I was born in  
a village near Isigili.<sup>392</sup> (60) [571]

When [I], Buddha-mother [reborn,]  
then well-guarded myself,<sup>393</sup>  
was going carrying rice gruel,<sup>394</sup>

<sup>382</sup>*aññatare*, or “a certain”

<sup>383</sup>*janapade*, lit., “in the country”

<sup>384</sup>*lāja*

<sup>385</sup>BJTS reads *pañcaputtasatāni pi* (“and also [my] five hundred sons”), in keeping with its variant reading of the first foot of the following verse

<sup>386</sup>BJTS reads *te pi patthesuṃ* (“and they [the five hundred sons posited as already-existing in the BJTS variant of the prior verse] wished”) for PTS *tesu patthesu*, “with those wishes”

<sup>387</sup>lit., “offered *pūjā*”

<sup>388</sup>*yobbanaj pattā*, lit., “attained youth,” “went through puberty”

<sup>389</sup>lit., “they were”

<sup>390</sup>*paccekanāyakā*, i.e., Paccekabuddhas, Lonely Buddhas

<sup>391</sup>*sutavīrehi*. BJTS reads *sutavarehi* (“excellent sons”)

<sup>392</sup>one of the five mountains surrounding Rajagaha (a.k.a. Giribajjapura, now Rajgir in Bihar, India), famous as the long-time home of five hundred Lonely Buddhas

<sup>393</sup>*su-tānaka-sakaṇ*. BJTS reads

<sup>394</sup>*yāguṇ*

having seen eight Lonely-Leaders  
going to the village for alms,  
I remembered [my former] sons.  
Then a stream of milk spurted out  
from me out of love for [my] sons. (61-62) [572-573]

And then I gave rice gruel to them,  
[feeling] well-pleased by [my] own hands.  
Fallen from there I was reborn  
in “Joy” with the thirty[-three gods.] (63) [574]

Feeling<sup>395</sup> [both] happiness and pain,  
transmigrating from birth to birth,  
my [very] life was abandoned  
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (64) [575]

Thus suffering in varied forms,  
various forms of happiness:  
when [my] last rebirth was attained,  
I’m born in Śrāvasti city,  
in a wealthy millionaire’s clan,  
comfortable, decorated,<sup>396</sup>  
glistening with various gems,  
endowed with every sense-pleasure. (65-66) [576-577]

I was respected and worshipped,<sup>397</sup>  
revered, likewise [also] esteemed.  
I achieved radiant beauty,  
much-respected among the clans. (67) [578]

And I was very much desired,  
through the good fortune of beauty,  
desired by various hundreds  
of millionaire’s sons [living there]. (68) [579]

After abandoning [my] house,  
I went forth into homelessness.  
When eight months had not yet elapsed,  
I attained the Four [Noble] Truths. (69) [580]

“With<sup>398</sup> superpowers creating

<sup>395</sup> or “experiencing:” *anubhotvā*

<sup>396</sup> *sukhite sajjite tathā*; when chanting pronounce “comfortable” as four syllables, or insert “and” to pronounce it as three syllables.

<sup>397</sup> lit., “offered *pūjā*”

<sup>398</sup> this and the following five verses seem to be a dialogue between the nun and Death (*Māra*) or “the Evil One” (*Pāpimant*) personified; this first verse is thought by her, v. 71 is spoken by Death, v. 72-76 contain her response, addressed to him in the second person, while v. 77 suggests that the

a chariot with four horses,  
I will worship the feet of the  
Buddha, World's Lord, Resplendent One." (70) [581]

"O nun, having approached a tree in full bloom,  
you remain alone, at [that] *sāla* tree's roots.  
You have no second in natural beauty.  
Foolish one, aren't you afraid of wanton men?" (71) [582]<sup>399</sup>

"Even if a hundred thousand wanton men  
come to this place, should behave in such a way,  
I would not be terrified, not a hair raised:  
I'm not afraid of [you,] Death, when I'm alone. (72) [583]

I, this [nun] am disappearing;  
I am hiding in your belly;  
you do not see me, standing [here]  
in the [spot] between [your] eyebrows. (73) [584]

Becoming master of [my] mind,<sup>400</sup>  
[I] developed<sup>401</sup> superpowers;  
I'm liberated from all bonds:  
I am not afraid of you, friend. (74) [585]

Sense pleasures are<sup>402</sup> swords [and] daggers;  
the heaps<sup>403</sup> executioner's blocks.  
I now dislike<sup>404</sup> the enjoyment  
of sense-pleasures of which you spoke. (75) [586]

Everywhere, enjoyments are slain;  
the mass of darkness is destroyed.  
Know it like this, O evil one:  
you have been killed, O end-maker." (76) [587]

The Victor, pleased by [my]<sup>405</sup> virtue,  
[then] placed me in that foremost place.

---

Buddha witnesses the scene.

<sup>399</sup>this and the next verse are presented with feet of eleven syllables each in both PTS and BJTS and I translate accordingly. The present verse has 12 syllables in the first foot, which I take as a mistake (read *pupphitaggaṃ* for *supupphitaggaṃ*?).

<sup>400</sup>*cittasmiṃ vasibhūtasmiṃ*, lit., "when i became master of (or "over") [my own] mind"

<sup>401</sup>*subhāvitā*, lit., "[by me] well-developed" or "well-cultivated" "well-meditated"

<sup>402</sup>*sattisūlūpamā kāmā*, lit., "swords [and] daggers are like (or "are similes for") sense pleasures"

<sup>403</sup>*khandhā pi adhikuṭṭanā*, lit., "even the aggregates (or dimensions [of personal existence: name and form, sensation, perception, configuration and consciousness])"

<sup>404</sup>lit., "is now disliked by me"

<sup>405</sup>lit., "in the" "in that"

To<sup>406</sup> the crowds<sup>407</sup> the Guide [announced] me  
 “best<sup>408</sup> of those<sup>409</sup> with superpowers.” (77) [588]

The Teacher’s been worshipped by me;  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught.  
 The heavy load has been laid down,  
 the ties to existence severed. (78) [589]

The reason for which I went forth  
 from [my] home into homelessness —  
 I have [now] achieved that purpose:  
 destruction of all the fetters. (79) [590]

By the moment they’re bringing [me]  
 monastic robes and begging bowls,  
 [all] the requisites and lodgings,  
 [in] the thousands from everywhere. (80) [591]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
 all [new] existence is destroyed.  
 Like elephants with broken chains,  
 I am living without constraint. (81) [592]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence  
 was a very good thing for me.  
 The three knowledges are attained;  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (82) [593]

The four analytical modes,  
 and these eight deliverances,  
 six special knowledges mastered,  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (83) [594]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Uppalavaṇṇā spoke these verses.

The legend of Uppalavaṇṇā Therī is finished.

<sup>406</sup>lit., “among”

<sup>407</sup>or assemblies (even four parts of the Assembly), multitudes, retinues

<sup>408</sup>*seṭṭhaṇ*, etymologically related to her designation “millionaire;” BJTS, more typical of the whole work, reads *aggam*, “[she is] foremost”

<sup>409</sup>*matinaṇ*, lit., “of those (females) endowed”

**[20. Paṭācārā<sup>410</sup>]**

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
 was a Master of Everything.  
 [That] Leader arose in the world  
 one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [595]

I was born in Hamsavatī,  
 in a clan of millionaires then,  
 glistening with various gems,  
 endowed with supreme happiness. (2) [596]

Having approached that Great Hero,  
 I heard [him] preaching the *Dhamma*.  
 Then, pleasure born [in my heart,] I  
 approached the Victor for refuge. (3) [597]

Then the Victor praised as foremost  
 of those who follow discipline,<sup>411</sup>  
 a Buddhist nun, modest, neutral,  
 careful about what's allowed and not. (4) [598]

Then, with a heart [full] of pleasure,  
 wishing [I were fixed in] that place,  
 inviting the Ten-Powered One,<sup>412</sup>  
 the World's Leader, with Assembly, (5) [599]

after feeding [them] for a week,  
 giving them the monastic robes,<sup>413</sup>  
 bowing [my] head down at [his] feet,  
 I spoke these words [to that Buddha:] (6) [600]

“If it meets with success, Leader,  
 I will become just like the one  
 who was praised by you, O Hero,  
 on the eighth day before [today].” (7) [601]

Then the Teacher said [this] to me:

<sup>410</sup>“Cloak-Wanderer,” apparently a historical nun (see DPPN II: 112-114 for this implicit judgment) though apart from the list in A. of the “best of” monks and nuns (which could have been inserted into A.) the only *canonical* telling of all the details of Paṭācārā's life, and past lives, are found in this *Apadāna* account, from which ThigA and other commentaries likely draw; remembered as foremost among the nuns who know *Vinaya* or the monastic discipline.

<sup>411</sup>*vinayadhārīnaṅ*, lit., “carry the *vinaya*”

<sup>412</sup>*dasabalaṅ*

<sup>413</sup>*ticīvaraṅ*, lit., “the three monastic robes,” presumably a full set of them to the Buddha and each of those in the Assembly, starting with the nun who had been declared foremost bearer of the *vinaya*

“Lucky one, fear not; breathe with ease.  
In the not-yet-become future,  
you will attain that wished-for [place]. (8) [602]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
arising in Okkāka’s clan,  
the one whose name is Gotama  
will be the Teacher in the world. (9) [603]

Worthy heir to that one’s *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma*’s legitimate offspring,  
the one known as Paṭācārā  
will be the Teacher’s follower.” (10) [604]

At that time being overjoyed,  
as long as life, heart [full of] love,  
I attended on the Victor,  
World’s Leader with [his] Assembly. (11) [605]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (12) [606]

In this [present] lucky aeon  
Brahma’s Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>414</sup>  
was born, the Best of Debaters. (13) [607]

The attendant of the Great Sage  
was the ruler of men back then,  
the king of Kāsi, named Kiki,  
in Benares, greatest city. (14) [608]

I was his third [royal] daughter,  
who was named Samaṇaguttā.<sup>415</sup>  
Hearing the Best Victor’s Teaching,  
I chose [to seek] ordination. (15) [609]

Our father did not permit it;  
we [stayed] at home during that time,  
comfortable<sup>416</sup> royal maidens  
doing [our] practice with vigor  
in virginal celibacy,

<sup>414</sup>BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

<sup>415</sup>“Guarded Nun” “Protected Female Renouncer”

<sup>416</sup>*sukhe ̥hitā*, lit., “remaining in comfort.” Pronounce all four syllables when chanting to keep the meter or, to chant as a three-syllable word, read “comfortable royal princesses”

for twenty times a thousand years,  
fond of waiting on the Buddha,  
[the king's] seven joyful daughters. (16-17) [610-611]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,<sup>417</sup>  
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,  
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,  
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (18) [612]

[now] I and Uppalavaṇṇā,  
Khemā and the nun [named] Bhaddā,<sup>418</sup>  
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,<sup>419</sup>  
and Visākhā is the seventh. (19) [613]

Due to those karmas<sup>420</sup> done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (20) [614]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
I'm born in a millionaire's clan,  
rich, prosperous, very wealthy,  
in Śrāvastī, best of cities. (21) [615]

When I'd become a young woman,<sup>421</sup>  
overpowered by [my own] thoughts,  
after seeing a man from the  
country, I went [away] with him. (22) [616]

I had produced a single son;  
the second one was in my womb.  
At that time, I had determined,  
"I'll go [see] mother [and] father." (23) [617]

My husband<sup>422</sup> was not pleased [at that.]  
Then, when he was [on a] journey,

<sup>417</sup>I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) "and" (*ca*). The comma amplifies its effect, to syncopate the verse such that the (respective, exact) parallelism of the following verse (in which, however, all four feet contain the expected eight syllables) becomes apparent.

<sup>418</sup>= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

<sup>419</sup>given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

<sup>420</sup>here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kamma* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps "good deeds" would be better here.

<sup>421</sup>or "when I had attained puberty:" *yadā ca yobbanupetā*

<sup>422</sup>*pati*, "lord"



[I] snuck out<sup>423</sup> of the house alone,  
to go to supreme Śrāvasti. (24) [618]

Then my husband<sup>424</sup> came [after me];  
he caught up with me on the road.  
Then my karma-born labor pains<sup>425</sup>  
began, [and they were] very cruel. (25) [619]

At the time for me to give birth,  
a massive rain-cloud arose [there],  
and then [my] husband having gone  
to find grass,<sup>426</sup> was killed by a snake. (26) [620]

Then miserable [and] helpless,  
in the throes of painful childbirth,<sup>427</sup>  
going toward a relative's house,<sup>428</sup>  
seeing an overflowing stream,<sup>429</sup> (27) [621]

carrying [my] newborn I crossed  
to the stream's other bank, alone.  
After nursing [my] newborn son,  
to help my other [son] to cross, (28) [622]

I turned; an osprey carried off  
my wailing babe. [Then] the current  
swept [him] away, [my] other [son].  
That I was overcome with grief. (29) [623]

Going to Śrāvasti city,  
I heard [that] my kinsmen were dead.  
Full of grief I said at that time,  
extremely overcome with grief, (30) [624]

“Both of my sons have passed away,  
my husband is dead on the road;  
mother and father and brothers  
are burning on a single pyre.” (31) [625]

Then [I grew] pale and thin, helpless;

<sup>423</sup>*niggatā*, lit., “was gone out of”

<sup>424</sup>*sāmi*, “master”

<sup>425</sup>lit., “winds,” *vātā*

<sup>426</sup>*dabbatthāya*, lit., “for the sake of *dabba* grass”. Presumably the husband would have sought *dabba* grass to provide shelter, or a mattress, for his gestating wife.

<sup>427</sup>*viātadukkhena*, lit., “with the suffering of giving birth”

<sup>428</sup>reading *sakulālayaṃ* (“going to the lair of [her] own clan,” BJTS gloss *siya nā nivasāṭa* = “going to a house of [her] own relatives”) for PTS *sakuṇālayaṇ* (“to a bird’s nest”)

<sup>429</sup>*kunnadiṇ pūritaṇ*, lit., “a bad river filled up.” Perhaps read *kunnadiṇ* as “rough river” rather than “small river” or “rivulet” per RD (whence my “stream”)?

[I was] in a low state of mind.  
After that, while roaming I saw  
[him,] the Charioteer of Men. (32) [626]

Then the Teacher said [this] to me:  
“Do not grieve, child; breathe easily.  
You should search after your [own] self;  
why uselessly torment yourself? (33) [627]

There are no sons to [give] shelter,  
not fathers nor even kinsmen.  
There is no shelter with kinsmen  
when one’s seized by the end-maker.” (34) [628]

After hearing the Sage’s speech,  
I realized the first [path] fruit.  
Having gone forth, in no long time,  
I achieved [my] arahantship. (35) [629]

I’ve mastered the superpowers  
[like] the “divine ear” element.  
I know the hearts of others [too,]  
I have done what the Teacher taught.<sup>430</sup> (36) [630]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] “divine eye” is purified.  
Throwing off all the defilements,  
I am<sup>431</sup> purified, [I’m] stainless. (37) [631]

Then I learned the whole discipline,<sup>432</sup>  
in the All-Seeing-One’s<sup>433</sup> presence,  
and I recited it [for him,]  
correctly in every detail. (38) [632]

The Victor, pleased by [my]<sup>434</sup> virtue,  
[then] placed me in that foremost place:  
“Paṭācārā’s alone, foremost  
of those who follow discipline.”<sup>435</sup> (39) [633]

The Teacher’s been worshipped by me;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught.

<sup>430</sup>*satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

<sup>431</sup>reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṅ* (“I was” “I became”)

<sup>432</sup>*vinayaṅ sabbaṅ*

<sup>433</sup>*sabbadassino santike*

<sup>434</sup>lit., “in the” “in that”

<sup>435</sup>*vinayadhārīnaṅ*, lit., “carry the *vinaya*”

The heavy load has been laid down,  
the ties to existence severed. (40) [634]

The reason for which I went forth,  
from [my] home into homelessness —  
I have [now] achieved that purpose:  
destruction of all the fetters. (41) [635]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (42) [636]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (43) [637]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (44) [638]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Paṭācārā spoke these verses.

The legend of Paṭācārā Therī is finished.

The Summary:<sup>436</sup>

Ekūposathikā, and too  
Salaḷā and Timodakā,  
Ekāsanappadā, Dīpā,  
Nalamālī and Gotamī,  
Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā and  
Paṭācārā the Buddhist nun.  
There are four hundred verses [here,]  
also ninety-six [verses more].

The Ekūposathikā Chapter, the Second

<sup>436</sup>this appears only in PTS; BJTS omits the summary of the second chapter despite including the other summaries, hence presumably by mistake

## Kuṇḍalakesā Chapter, the Third

### [21. Bhaddā-Kuṇḍalakesā<sup>437</sup>]

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
was a Master of Everything.  
[That] Leader arose in the world  
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [639]

I was born in Hamsavatī,  
in a clan of millionaires then,  
glistening with various gems,  
endowed with supreme happiness. (2) [640]

Having approached that Great Hero,  
I heard [him] preaching the *Dhamma*.  
Then, pleasure born [in my heart,] I  
approached the Victor for refuge. (3) [641]

Then the Great Compassionate One,  
the Leader, Padumuttara,  
fixed a nun<sup>438</sup> in the foremost [place]<sup>439</sup>  
of those with quick intuition.<sup>440</sup> (4) [642]

Hearing that, being overjoyed,  
having given the Great Sage alms,  
bowing [my] head down at [his] feet  
I aspired to [attain] that place. (5) [643]

The Great Hero approved [of that]:  
“Lucky one,<sup>441</sup> there will be success  
in everything for which you wish.  
Be happy, [you should feel] appeased. (6) [644]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
arising in Okkāka’s clan,  
the one whose name is Gotama  
will be the Teacher in the world. (7) [645]

<sup>437</sup>“Lucky one with Tangled Hair,” a historical nun, remembered as foremost among those nuns with quick intuition

<sup>438</sup>*bhikkhuniṅ subhaṅ*, lit., “a Buddhist nun who was pure” (or “who was good”)

<sup>439</sup>*aggatte thapesi*, lit., “fixed in foremostness”

<sup>440</sup>*khīppābhiññānam*

<sup>441</sup>“Bhaddā” is her name as well as term of endearment (which is also used for those whose name it is not, e.g. *Khemāpadāna*, v. 84 [498], above)

Worthy heir to that one's *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma's* legitimate offspring,  
 named Bhaddākuṇḍalakesā  
 you'll<sup>442</sup> be the Teacher's follower." (8) [646]

Due to that karma done very well,  
 with intention and [firm] resolve,  
 discarding [my] human body,  
 I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (9) [647]

Fallen thence, I went to Yāma,<sup>443</sup>  
 [and] then I went to Tusita,  
 and then to Nimmānarati,<sup>444</sup>  
 and then Vāsavatti city. (10) [648]

In whichever place I'm reborn,  
 in accordance with that karma,  
 everywhere I was made chief queen  
 of [the gods who were] the kings [there]. (11) [649]

Fallen thence, in the human state,  
 [everyplace] I was made chief queen  
 of kings who turn the wheel [of law,]  
 and [powerful] regional kings. (12) [650]

Having experienced success,  
 among gods as well as humans,  
 becoming happy everywhere,  
 I transmigrated for aeons.<sup>445</sup> (13) [651]

In this [present] lucky aeon,  
 Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
 [the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>446</sup>  
 was born, the Best of Debaters. (14) [652]

The attendant of the Great Sage  
 was the ruler of men back then,  
 the king of Kāsi, named Kiki,  
 in Benares, greatest city. (15) [653]

I was [then] that [king's] fourth daughter,  
 well-known as Bhikkhadāyikā.<sup>447</sup>

<sup>442</sup>reading *hessasi* with BJTS for PTS *hessati* ("she will be")

<sup>443</sup>Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

<sup>444</sup>BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

<sup>445</sup>*anekakappesu*, lit., "during various aeons"

<sup>446</sup>BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

<sup>447</sup>"Alms-giver". Texts read Bhikkhadāyī

Hearing the Best Victor's Teaching,  
I chose [to seek] ordination. (16) [654]

Our father did not permit it;  
we [stayed] at home during that time,  
comfortable<sup>448</sup> royal maidens  
doing [our] practice with vigor  
in virginal celibacy,  
for twenty times a thousand years,  
fond of waiting on the Buddha,  
[the king's] seven joyful daughters. (17-18) [655-656]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,<sup>449</sup>  
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,  
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,  
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (19) [657]

[now] Uppalavaṇṇā, Khemā  
[also] Paṭācārā and I,  
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,<sup>450</sup>  
and Visākhā is the seventh. (20) [658]

Due to those karmas<sup>451</sup> done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (21) [659]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
in Giribbaja,<sup>452</sup> best city,  
[I was] born to rich millionaires.<sup>453</sup>  
When I'd become a young woman,<sup>454</sup> (22) [660]

attracted to a thief I saw  
being led to execution,<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>448</sup>*sukhe ʔhitā*, lit., “remaining in comfort.” Pronounce all four syllables when chanting to keep the meter or, to chant as a three-syllable word, read “comfortable royal princesses”

<sup>449</sup>I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) “and” (*ca*). The comma amplifies its effect, to syncopate the verse such that the (respective, exact) parallelism of the following verse (in which, however, all four feet contain the expected eight syllables) becomes apparent.

<sup>450</sup>given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

<sup>451</sup>here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kammena* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps “good deeds” would be better here.

<sup>452</sup>= Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

<sup>453</sup>lit., “born in a rich clan of millionaires”

<sup>454</sup>*yobbane ʔhitā*, lit., “established in youth” or “when I attained puberty”

<sup>455</sup>lit., “in order to be executed” (*vadhattharj*). In the era to which *Apadāna* belongs, this would

my father, [paying] a thousand,  
had him freed from execution. (23) [661]

After that, discerning my mind,  
[my father] gave me to that [thief].  
I was trustworthy for him, [and]  
extremely kindly [and] friendly. (24) [662]

He, out of greed for my jewels,<sup>456</sup>  
that enemy with ill-intent,<sup>457</sup>  
led me to the thieves' precipice<sup>458</sup>  
on a mountain, plotting murder. (25) [663]

Then stretching out to Sattuka,<sup>459</sup>  
hands which were well pressed together,<sup>460</sup>  
protecting [my] own breath [of life,]  
I spoke these words [to him just then:] (26) [664]

"This bracelet which is made of gold,  
[containing] many pearls and gems,  
Sir, carry all of this away;  
announce that [I'm your] bed-slave."<sup>461</sup> (27) [665]

"Take it off, O beautiful one,  
and do not feel a lot of grief;  
I am unable to accept  
wealth that I did not kill to get. (28) [666]

For as long as I remember,  
ever since I reached discretion,<sup>462</sup>  
I have accepted no other  
more beloved than you [to me]." (29) [667]

"Come here! Having embraced you, [just  
one more] circumambulation.  
And after<sup>463</sup> now there will not be

likely have implied beheading.

<sup>456</sup>*me bhūsanalobhena*, lit., "out of greed for my ornaments"

<sup>457</sup>reading *khalitajjhāsayo diso* (lit., "enemy intent on wrong-doing") with BJTS for PTS *mālapac-cāhataṅ diso* ("[led me] carrying a garland, the enemy")

<sup>458</sup>*corappapātaṅ*, BJTS Sinh. gloss explains "where thieves are killed"

<sup>459</sup>"Enemy," but apparently used as a proper name

<sup>460</sup>*paṇāmetvāna...sukatañjali*

<sup>461</sup>"slave" being the seventh of the seven types of wives

<sup>462</sup>or "since I reached puberty," *yato patto 'smi viññutaṅ*, lit., "starting from when I reached puberty;"

<sup>463</sup>*puno*, lit., "again"

intercourse between you and me.”<sup>464</sup> (30) [668]

The man is not the one who’s wise  
in every single circumstance;  
paying attention, here and there,  
the woman is the one who’s wise. (31) [669]

The man is not the one who’s wise  
in every single circumstance;  
quick-thinking, [with good] strategy,  
the woman is the one who’s wise. (32) [670]

Quickly indeed, in just a flash,  
I came up with a clever trick:  
like a deer by a mighty bow,  
Sattuka was slaughtered [by] me. (33) [671]

Who fails quickly to understand  
the circumstances that arise,  
he gets murdered, that silly thief,  
in the belly of a mountain. (34) [672]

Who does not fail to quickly grasp  
the circumstances that arise,  
she is freed from creaturely bonds;  
such was I from Sattuka then. (35) [673]

Then I made him, Sattuka, fall  
from<sup>465</sup> a treacherous mountain road.  
Coming into the presence of  
some white-clad [adepts,] I went forth. (36) [674]

Then after plucking out my hair  
altogether, using<sup>466</sup> tweezers,  
being ordained, in no long time,  
they detailed their own tradition. (37) [675]

Then after I had learned [all] that,  
[gone off by] myself, sitting down,  
I thought about that tradition.  
[Then] a dog brought a human hand,  
chewed off,<sup>467</sup> and after dropping [it]  
in my vicinity, ran off.  
Seeing that maggoty hand, I

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<sup>464</sup>lit., “of me, of you”

<sup>465</sup>lit., “on”

<sup>466</sup>lit., “with”

<sup>467</sup>or “cut”: *chinnaṅ*



took it up for meditation.<sup>468</sup> (38-39) [676-677]  
 Then producing deep emotion,  
 I asked my co-religionists.  
 They said: “the Śākya[n] [Buddhist] monks  
 know the answer[s] [to your questions].” (40) [678]

“I’ll ask that meaning, approaching  
 the followers of the Buddha.”  
 Taking me along they [all] went  
 into the Best Buddha’s presence. (41) [679]

He preached *Dhamma* to me: the heaps  
 in the thought-spheres and elements;  
 the Leader taught unpleasantness,  
 impermanence, dis-ease, no-self. (42) [680]

After hearing his *Dhamma*, I  
 [then] purified the “*Dhamma* eye.”  
 Learned in the good Teaching, I  
 asked to go forth and be ordained.<sup>469</sup>  
 At that time he said [this to me:]  
 “Come, lucky one,” [said] the Leader.  
 Then being fully ordained, I  
 saw a little bit of water. (43-44) [681-682]

Cleaning [my] feet, discerning [that]  
 [some water splashed] up, [some spilled] down,<sup>470</sup>  
 then at that time I realized,  
 “all conditioned things are like that.” (45) [683]

Then my heart was liberated,  
 altogether, without clinging.<sup>471</sup>  
 Then the Victor dubbed me foremost  
 of those with quick intuition. (46) [684]

I’ve mastered the superpowers  
 [like] the “divine ear” element.  
 I know the hearts of others [too,]  
 I have done what the Teacher taught.<sup>472</sup> (47) [685]

I remember [my] former lives;  
 [my] “divine eye” is purified.

<sup>468</sup>*nimittaṅ alabhiṅ*, lit., “I got it as an object of concentration”

<sup>469</sup>lit., “I asked for going forth and for higher ordination”

<sup>470</sup>*sa-udayaṅvyayaṅ*

<sup>471</sup>*anupādaya* or “with not-clinging”

<sup>472</sup>*satthu sāsanakārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

Throwing off all the defilements,  
I am<sup>473</sup> purified, [I'm] stainless. (48) [686]

The Teacher's been worshipped by me;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught.  
The heavy load has been laid down,  
the ties to existence severed. (49) [687]

The reason for which I went forth,  
from [my] home into homelessness —  
I have [now] achieved that purpose:  
destruction of all the fetters. (50) [688]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
my knowledge is vast<sup>474</sup> and flawless,  
through the Great Sage's majesty. (51) [689]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (52) [690]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (53) [691]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (54) [692]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Bhaddā-Kuṇḍalakesā spoke these verses.

The legend of Bhaddā-Kuṇḍalakesā Therī is finished.

## [22. Kisāgotamī<sup>475</sup>]

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
was a Master of Everything.  
[That] Leader arose in the world  
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [693]

<sup>473</sup>reading *amhi* ("I am") with BJTS for PTS *āsiṅ* ("I was" "I became")

<sup>474</sup>lit., "pure" (*suddhaṅ*)

<sup>475</sup>"The Lean Gotamī" a historical nun, remembered as foremost among the nuns who wore robes made of coarse cloth.

I then [lived] in Hamsavati,  
born in an undistinguished clan.  
Having approached the Best of Men,<sup>476</sup>  
I went to him as [my] refuge. (2) [694]

And I listened to his *Dhamma*,  
containing the Four [Noble] Truths,  
supremely sweet [like] honey, [which]  
brings happiness and mental peace. (3) [695]

One time the Hero, [the Buddha,]  
was placing in that foremost place  
a Buddhist nun who wore rough robes;<sup>477</sup>  
he praised [her,] the Ultimate Man. (4) [696]

Producing not a little joy,  
hearing that Buddhist nun's virtue,  
doing service for the Buddha,  
according to powers and strengths, (5) [697]

bowing down to that Hero-Sage,  
I aspired to [attain] that place.  
The Sambuddha approved [of that]  
attainment of that [foremost] place, (6) [698]

"In one hundred thousand aeons,  
arising in Okkāka's clan,  
the one whose name is Gotama  
will be the Teacher in the world. (7) [699]

Worthy heir to that one's *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma's* legitimate offspring,  
the one named Kisāgotamī  
will be the Teacher's follower." (8) [700]

At that time being overjoyed,  
as long as life, heart [full of] love,  
I attended on the Victor,  
the Guide, providing requisites. (9) [701]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (10) [702]

In this [present] lucky aeon,

<sup>476</sup>varanaraṇ

<sup>477</sup>lūkhacivaradhārikaṇ

Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>478</sup>  
was born, the Best of Debaters. (11) [703]

The attendant of the Great Sage  
was the ruler of men back then,  
the king of Kāsi, named Kiki,  
in Benares, greatest city. (12) [704]

I was his fifth [royal] daughter,  
well-known by the name of Dhammā.<sup>479</sup>  
Hearing the Best Victor's Teaching,  
I chose [to seek] ordination. (13) [705]

Our father did not permit it;  
we [stayed] at home during that time,  
comfortable<sup>480</sup> royal maidens  
doing [our] practice with vigor  
in virginal celibacy,  
for twenty times a thousand years,  
fond of waiting on the Buddha,  
[the king's] seven joyful daughters. (14-15) [706-707]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,<sup>481</sup>  
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,  
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,  
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (16) [708]

[now] Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā,  
Paṭācārā and Kuṇḍalā,<sup>482</sup>  
[the nun] Dhammadinnā and I  
and Visākhā is the seventh. (17) [709]

Due to those karmas<sup>483</sup> done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,

<sup>478</sup>BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

<sup>479</sup>"Teaching"

<sup>480</sup>*sukhe ʾhitā*, lit., "remaining in comfort." Pronounce all four syllables when chanting to keep the meter or, to chant as a three-syllable word, read "comfortable royal princesses"

<sup>481</sup>I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) "and" (*ca*). The comma amplifies its effect, to syncopate the verse such that the (respective, exact) parallelism of the following verse (in which, however, all four feet contain the expected eight syllables) becomes apparent.

<sup>482</sup>= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

<sup>483</sup>here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kamma* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps "good deeds" would be better here.

I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (18) [710]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
I'm born in a millionaire's clan,  
poor, without wealth, unprosperous,  
[but] married<sup>484</sup> into a rich clan. (19) [711]

Except [my] husband, the others  
are pointing at me [saying,] "Poor!"  
But after<sup>485</sup> I became with child,  
then I was loved by all of them. (20) [712]

When that lucky young boy [of mine,]  
tender-bodied, comfortable,<sup>486</sup>  
as dear to me as [my] own breath,  
then fell into Yama's power,<sup>487</sup> (21) [713]

grief-struck, voicing [my] misery,  
teary-eyed, [my] mouth crying out,  
carrying [that young boy's] dead<sup>488</sup> corpse,  
I'm going around lamenting. (22) [714]

Then examined by one [doctor,]  
approaching the Best Physician,<sup>489</sup>  
I said, "give [me] a medicine  
to bring [my] son back to life, Sir."<sup>490</sup> (23) [715]

The Victor, Skilled in Crafty Speech,<sup>491</sup>  
said, "bring [me] a white mustard seed,<sup>492</sup>  
[collected] in whichever home  
where [people] dying is not known." (24) [716]

Then having gone to Śrāvasti,  
not encountering such a house,  
where [could I get] white mustard seed?  
Thereupon I gained mindfulness. (25) [717]

Throwing away [my baby's] corpse,

<sup>484</sup>*gatā*, lit., "gone to," perhaps to be read as "given to"

<sup>485</sup>*yadā ca*, lit., "and when"

<sup>486</sup>*sukheḥhito*, lit., "fixed in comfort"

<sup>487</sup>that is, "died," reading *yamavasam gato* with BJTS for PTS *parasaṅgato* ("associated with the other [world?]")

<sup>488</sup>reading *matam* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *evaṇ* ("thus")

<sup>489</sup>reading *bhisamuttamaṇ* for PTS 'Bhisamuttamaṇ' ("the ultimate Abhisa"); BJTS reads *bhisajuttamaṇ*

<sup>490</sup>*puttasañjivanaṇ*; RD cites this passage at *sañjivana*, s.v. ("reviving")

<sup>491</sup>*vinayopāyakovido*, lit., "skilled in tricks/expedients in the way of speaking"

<sup>492</sup>*siddhatthakan*. See RD s.v., again citing this passage

I went up to the World's Leader.  
 Having seen me from a distance  
 the Sweet-Voiced One<sup>493</sup> [then] said [to me]. (26) [718]

“Better than a hundred years' life,  
 not seeing [how things] rise [and] fall,  
 is living for a single day,  
 seeing [things] rising [and] falling. (27) [719]

Not the condition<sup>494</sup> of the village, or the town,  
 and also not the condition of one clan.  
 This is the condition of the entire world  
 with its gods: the impermanence of [all] that is.” (28) [720]<sup>495</sup>

Upon hearing those [two] verses,  
 I purified [my] “Dhamma eye,”  
 then learned in the great Teaching,  
 I went forth into homelessness. (29) [721]

Then being one who had gone forth,  
 engaged in the dispensation,<sup>496</sup>  
 after not a very long time,  
 I attained [my] arahantship. (30) [722]

I've mastered the superpowers  
 [like] the “divine ear” element.  
 I know the hearts of others [too,]  
 I have done what the Teacher taught.<sup>497</sup> (31) [723]

I remember [my] former lives;  
 [my] “divine eye” is purified.  
 Throwing off all the defilements,  
 I am<sup>498</sup> purified, [I'm] stainless. (32) [724]

The Teacher's been worshipped by me;  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught.  
 The heavy load has been laid down,

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<sup>493</sup>*madurassaro*

<sup>494</sup>*dhammo*. The term, usually translated “Teaching” here, has a wide semantic range including teaching, doctrine, truth, destiny, fact, thing. An alternate translation, using the play here on the various “teachings” and “the Teaching,” would be: “Not a village-teaching and not a town-teaching, also not a teaching for one family./ This Teaching is for the whole world with [its] gods: that which is, is impermanent.”

<sup>495</sup>both PTS and BJTS present this in a more complex, 12-11-11-12 meter, and I translate accordingly.

<sup>496</sup>*jinasāsane*, lit., “in the Victor's dispensation”

<sup>497</sup>*satthu sāsana-kārīkā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher's dispensation”

<sup>498</sup>reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṅ* (“I was” “I became”)

the ties to existence severed. (33) [725]

The reason for which I went forth,  
from [my] home into homelessness —  
I have [now] achieved that purpose:  
destruction of all the fetters. (34) [726]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
my knowledge is vast<sup>499</sup> and flawless,  
through the Great Sage's majesty. (35) [727]

I am wearing robes which are rough,  
[my] *saṅghāṭi* being made of  
[a shroud picked up and] brought from a  
cemetery along the road. (36) [728]

The Victor, pleased by [my]<sup>500</sup> virtue,  
the Guide, among the multitudes,<sup>501</sup>  
[then] placed [me] in the foremost place  
[of] those who wear robes which are rough. (37) [729]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (38) [730]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (39) [731]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (40) [732]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Kisāgotamī spoke these verses.

The legend of Kisāgotamī Therī is finished.

<sup>499</sup>lit., "pure" (*suddhaṅ*)

<sup>500</sup>lit., "in the" "in that"

<sup>501</sup>or assemblies (even four parts of the Assembly), multitudes, retinues

**[23. Dhammadinnā<sup>502</sup>]**

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
 was a Master of Everything.  
 [That] Leader arose in the world  
 one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [733]

I then [lived] in Hamsavatī,  
 [born] in an undistinguished clan.  
 I worked for others, governed by  
 morality, intelligent. (2) [734]

Sujāta, foremost follower  
 of Padumuttara Buddha,  
 departing the monastery,  
 was going begging for alms-food. (3) [735]

I was then a water-bearer,  
 going carrying a pitcher.  
 Seeing him I gave [him some] soup,  
 [feeling well-]pleased by [my] own hands. (4) [736]

Having accepted [that from me,]  
 he sat down [there and] enjoyed it.  
 After leading him to that house,  
 I gave [some] solid food to him. (5) [737]

Then my employer,<sup>503</sup> being pleased,  
 made [me] his own daughter-in-law.  
 Going with [my] mother-in-law,  
 I worshipped [him,] the Sambuddha. (6) [738]

Then he extolled a Buddhist nun  
 who was a preacher of *Dhamma*.  
 He placed [her] in that foremost place;  
 hearing that I was delighted. (7) [739]

Then, inviting the Well-Gone-One,  
 World's Leader with the Assembly,  
 giving [them] a large almsgiving,  
 I aspired to [attain] that place. (8) [740]

Then the Well-Gone-One said to me,

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<sup>502</sup>"*Dhamma-Given*," an historical nun, remembered as foremost among the nuns who preached *Dhamma*.

<sup>503</sup>*ayyaka*, lit., "grandfather." I follow BJTS Sinhala gloss in reading him as her "master" (*svāmi teme*), imagining him called "grandfather" in the home where she was a servant.



with the sweet sound of a cymbal.<sup>504</sup>  
 “O one who’s fond of serving me,  
 O servant of the Assembly,  
 O hearer of the good Teaching,  
 proper one, mind set<sup>505</sup> on virtue,  
 O lucky one, be overjoyed:  
 you will attain your wish’s fruit. (9-10) [741-742]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
 arising in Okkāka’s clan,  
 the one whose name is Gotama  
 will be the Teacher in the world. (11) [743]

Worthy heir to that one’s *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma*’s legitimate offspring,  
 the one whose name’s Dhammadinnā  
 will be the Teacher’s follower.” (12) [744]

At that time being overjoyed,  
 as long as life, heart [full of] love,  
 I attended on the Victor,  
 the Guide, providing requisites. (13) [745]

Due to that karma done very well,  
 with intention and [firm] resolve,  
 discarding [my] human body,  
 I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (14) [746]

In this [present] lucky aeon  
 Brahma’s Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
 [the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>506</sup>  
 was born, the Best of Debaters. (15) [747]

The attendant of the Great Sage  
 was the ruler of men back then,  
 the king of Kāsi, named Kiki,  
 in Benares, greatest city. (16) [748]

I was his sixth [royal] daughter,  
 well-known by the name Sudhammā.<sup>507</sup>  
 Hearing the Best Victor’s Teaching,  
 I chose [to seek] ordination. (17) [749]

Our father did not permit it;

<sup>504</sup> *ghananinādasussaro*, should this be taken as a Buddha epithet, to be capitalized?

<sup>505</sup> *āgacchita*°, lit., “come into”

<sup>506</sup> BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

<sup>507</sup> “Good Teaching”

we [stayed] at home during that time,  
 comfortable<sup>508</sup> royal maidens  
 doing [our] practice with vigor  
 in virginal celibacy,  
 for twenty times a thousand years,  
 fond of waiting on the Buddha,  
 [the king's] seven joyful daughters. (18-19) [750-751]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,<sup>509</sup>  
 Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,  
 Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,  
 and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (20) [752]

[now] Khemā Uppalavaṇṇā,  
 Paṭācārā and Kuṇḍalā,<sup>510</sup>  
 [Kisā]gotamī, also I,  
 and Visākhā is the seventh. (21) [753]

Due to those karmas<sup>511</sup> done very well,  
 with intention and [firm] resolve,  
 discarding [my] human body  
 I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (22) [754]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
 I'm born in a millionaire's clan,  
 rich, endowed with every pleasure,  
 in Rajgir, excellent city. (23) [755]

When I'd become a young woman,<sup>512</sup>  
 possessing the virtue of beauty,  
 married<sup>513</sup> to another [good] clan,  
 I dwelt endowed with happiness. (24) [756]

Having approached the World's Refuge,  
 having heard [his] *Dhamma*-preaching,

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<sup>508</sup>*sukhe t̥hitā*, lit., “remaining in comfort.” Pronounce all four syllables when chanting to keep the meter or, to chant as a three-syllable word, read “comfortable royal princesses”

<sup>509</sup>I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) “and” (*ca*). The comma amplifies its effect, to syncopate the verse such that the (respective, exact) parallelism of the following verse (in which, however, all four feet contain the expected eight syllables) becomes apparent.

<sup>510</sup>= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

<sup>511</sup>here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kammēna* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps “good deeds” would be better here.

<sup>512</sup>*paṭhame yobbane t̥hitā*, lit., “fixed in the first [blush of] youth”

<sup>513</sup>lit., “going”

through the Buddha,<sup>514</sup> my husband gained  
the fruit of a non-returner. (25) [757]

Then I, having been permitted,  
went forth into homelessness [too.]  
After not a very long time,  
I attained [my] arahantship. (26) [758]

Then a layman, approaching me,  
asked [me a series of] questions  
[which were very] deep and subtle;  
I explained all of them [to him]. (27) [759]

The Victor, pleased by [my]<sup>515</sup> virtue,  
[then] placed me in that foremost place,  
Buddhist nun, preacher of *Dhamma*:  
“I see no other one who is  
as wise as is Dhammadinnā;  
so should you consider<sup>516</sup> [her,] monks.”  
“I am indeed a wise woman,  
who was pitied by the Leader. (28-29) [760-761]

The Teacher’s been worshipped by me;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught.  
The heavy load has been laid down,  
the ties to existence severed. (30) [762]

The reason for which I went forth,  
from [my] home into homelessness —  
I have [now] achieved that purpose:  
destruction of all the fetters. (31) [763]

I’ve mastered the superpowers  
[like] the “divine ear” element.  
I know the hearts of others [too,]  
I have done what the Teacher taught.<sup>517</sup> (32) [764]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] “divine eye” is purified.  
Throwing off all the defilements,  
I am<sup>518</sup> purified, [I’m] stainless. (33) [765]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;

<sup>514</sup>*subuddhimā*, lit., “through He who Possessed Great Intelligence”

<sup>515</sup>lit., “in the” “in that”

<sup>516</sup>*dhāretha*, lit., “carry” “recall” “remember” “regard”

<sup>517</sup>*satthu sāsanakārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

<sup>518</sup>reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṅ* (“I was” “I became”)

all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (34) [766]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (35) [767]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (36) [768]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā spoke these verses.

The legend of Dhammadinnā Therī is finished.

## [24. Sakulā<sup>519</sup>]

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
was a Master of Everything.  
[That] Leader arose in the world  
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [769]

For the benefit, happiness  
and profit of all beings, the  
Best Debater, Thoroughbred Man,<sup>520</sup>  
came into<sup>521</sup> [the world] with [its] gods. (2) [770]

Foremost Fame-Attainer,<sup>522</sup> Victor,  
Fortunate,<sup>523</sup> Beautified by Praise,<sup>524</sup>  
the Victor for the entire world,  
Widely-Known<sup>525</sup> in<sup>526</sup> all directions, (3) [771]

the Uprooter of Doubt,<sup>527</sup> the One

<sup>519</sup>a historical nun, remembered as foremost among those who possess the "divine eye" (*dibba-cakkhu*)

<sup>520</sup>*purisājañño*

<sup>521</sup>*paṭipanno*, lit "entered into" "going along"

<sup>522</sup>*yasaggappatto*

<sup>523</sup>*sirimā*, or "Resplendent One"

<sup>524</sup>*kittivaṇṇagato*, lit., "gone to beauty through praise;" "colored by praise"

<sup>525</sup>*suvissuto*

<sup>526</sup>lit., "from," abl.

<sup>527</sup>*uttiṇṇavicikcho*, lit., "he by whom doubt is pulled out"

who Passed Beyond Uncertainty,<sup>528</sup>  
 he with an Intention-Filled Mind,<sup>529</sup>  
 attained Supreme Awakening.<sup>530</sup> (4) [772]

Ultimate Man,<sup>531</sup> Progenitor<sup>532</sup>  
 of the path that had yet to be,<sup>533</sup>  
 proclaimed [that which was] unproclaimed,  
 produced [that which was] unproduced. (5) [773]

Path-Knower,<sup>534</sup> Path-Understander,<sup>535</sup>  
 Path-Proclaimer,<sup>536</sup> the Bull of Men,  
 Path-Skilled, the Teacher, [the Buddha,]  
 was the Best of Charioteers.<sup>537</sup> (6) [774]

The Great Compassionate Teacher,  
 the Leader was preaching *Dhamma*,  
 lifting up [all] living beings  
 sunk in the muck of delusion. (7) [775]

I was born in Haṃsavatī,  
 rejoicing [all the] kṣatriyans,<sup>538</sup>  
 I was then very beautiful,  
 set for wealth,<sup>539</sup> held dear, resplendent. (8) [776]

I was the ravishing daughter  
 of great king Ānanda and thus,  
 sister by another mother<sup>540</sup>  
 of him named Padumuttara. (9) [777]

Adorned in all [my] ornaments,  
 along with the royal maidens,  
 going up to the Great Hero,  
 I heard [him] preaching the *Dhamma*. (10) [778]

<sup>528</sup> *vītivattakathar̥katho*, lit., “passed over saying ‘how?’”

<sup>529</sup> *sampuṇṇamanasaṅkappo*

<sup>530</sup> *patto sambodhim uttamaṅ*

<sup>531</sup> *naruttamo*

<sup>532</sup> *uppādetā*

<sup>533</sup> *anuppannassa maggassa*, lit., “the unborn path” “the path that had not arisen”. *Uppanna* is from the same root as *uppādetā* (Producer of the unproduced”) hence a resonance between the first and second feet that is echoed in the third foot, and again in the fourth

<sup>534</sup> *maggāññū*

<sup>535</sup> *maggavidū*

<sup>536</sup> *maggakkhāyī*

<sup>537</sup> *sārathīnaṅ varuttamo*, lit., “the excellent ultimate of charioteers”

<sup>538</sup> *khattīyanandanā*

<sup>539</sup> *sadhanā ṭhāsīṅ*

<sup>540</sup> *vemātā bhaginī*

And then, amidst the multitudes,  
the Guru of the [Whole] World<sup>541</sup> praised  
a Buddhist nun with “divine eye,”  
[and] placed her in that foremost place. (11) [779]

I was happy having heard that;  
after giving the Teacher alms,  
and worshipping the Sambuddha,  
I aspired for the “divine eye.” (12) [780]

And then the Teacher said to me:  
“Joyful one, that is well wished-for;  
you will receive [as you] aspire,  
fruit of alms for the *Dhamma*-Lamp.<sup>542</sup> (13) [781]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
arising in Okkāka’s clan,  
the one whose name is Gotama  
will be the Teacher in the world. (14) [782]

Worthy heir to that one’s *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma*’s legitimate offspring,  
the one whose name is Sakulā  
will be the Teacher’s follower.” (15) [783]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (16) [784]

In this [present] lucky aeon  
Brahma’s Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>543</sup>  
was born, the Best of Debaters. (17) [785]

I was a mendicant back then,  
proceeding about on my own.  
While wandering around for alms,  
I received some<sup>544</sup> sesame oil. (18) [786]

Having lit a lamp with that [oil,]  
with a mind that was very clear,  
every night I attended on

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<sup>541</sup>lokaguru

<sup>542</sup>dhammapadīpadānāṇaṇ phalaṇ

<sup>543</sup>BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

<sup>544</sup>°mattakaṇ, lit., “a measure of”

the shrine<sup>545</sup> of the Best of Bipeds. (19) [787]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (20) [788]

In whichever place I'm reborn,  
in accordance with that karma,  
wherever I am wandering,  
when I'm gone there, there are large lamps. (21) [789]

Through [any] wall, through [any] rock,  
going beyond a mountain [top],  
I [can] see whatever I wish:  
that is the fruit of giving lamps. (22) [790]

I am [someone who] has pure eyes;  
I am blazing forth through [my] fame;  
I am faithful, wise and mindful:  
that is the fruit of giving lamps. (23) [791]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
I am born in a brahmin clan,  
rich in grain and abundant wealth,  
joyful [and] honored<sup>546</sup> by the king. (24) [792]

I was complete in every part,<sup>547</sup>  
adorned with all the ornaments.  
[One time] standing in a window,  
I saw the Well-Gone-One at the  
city gate, Blazing Forth through Fame,  
Honored by Gods and by People,  
Ornamented with the [Great] Marks,  
Endowed with [Eighty] Lesser Marks. (25-26) [793-794]

Happy, with a heart that was thrilled,  
I chose [to seek] ordination.  
After not a very long time,  
I attained [my] arahantship. (27) [795]

I've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the "divine ear" element.  
I know the hearts of others [too,]

<sup>545</sup> or "stupa": *cetiyaṃ*

<sup>546</sup> lit., "given *pūjā*"

<sup>547</sup> *sabbāṅgasampannā*, lit., "endowed with all limbs," i.e., "had a great body"

I have done what the Teacher taught.<sup>548</sup> (28) [796]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] “divine eye” is purified.  
Throwing off all the defilements,  
I am<sup>549</sup> purified, [I’m] stainless. (29) [797]

The Teacher’s been worshipped by me;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught.  
The heavy load has been laid down,  
the ties to existence severed. (30) [798]

The reason for which I went forth,  
from [my] home into homelessness —  
I have [now] achieved that purpose:  
destruction of all the fetters. (31) [799]

Then the Greatly Compassionate  
One placed me in [that] foremost place:  
The Supreme Man<sup>550</sup> [said,] “Sakulā  
is foremost of ‘divine eye’ [nuns.]” (32) [800]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (33) [801]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (34) [802]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (35) [803]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Sakulā spoke these verses.

The legend of Sakulā Therī is finished.

<sup>548</sup>*satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

<sup>549</sup>reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṅ* (“I was” “I became”)

<sup>550</sup>*naruttamo*



## [25. Nandā (Janapadakalyāṇi)<sup>551</sup>]

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
was a Master of Everything.  
[That] Leader arose in the world  
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [804]

The Admonisher,<sup>552</sup> Instructor,<sup>553</sup>  
Crosser-Over<sup>554</sup> of all that breathe,  
Skilled at Preaching,<sup>555</sup> [he], the Buddha,  
caused many folks to cross [the flood]. (2) [805]

Merciful,<sup>556</sup> Compassionate One,<sup>557</sup>  
Well-Wisher<sup>558</sup> of all that breathe, he  
established in the five precepts  
all the rivals who had arrived. (3) [806]

In this way he was Unconfused<sup>559</sup>  
and Very Well-Known<sup>560</sup> by rivals,  
Ornamented<sup>561</sup> by arahants  
who were masters [and] neutral ones. (4) [807]

The [body of the] Sage So Great  
rose up fifty-eight cubits<sup>562</sup> [tall];  
he was Valuable Like Gold,<sup>563</sup>

<sup>551</sup>“Joy,” an historical nun, daughter of King Suddhodana and Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī (#17, above), hence half-sister (plus, given that her mother was the Buddha’s mother’s sister) of the Buddha, remembered as foremost among those with meditative power. Malalasekera (DPPN II:1217) takes her as Sundarī Nandā, though there has been some confusion with the other Nandās among the famous nuns; “Janapadakalyāṇi” is also an epithet used for the Nandā caled Rūpanandā (DPPN I:934; II: 748) who also is said to be a “sister” of the Buddha. Cf. also in this mix Abhirūpanandā (DPPN I:143)

<sup>552</sup>*ovādako*, or “Advisor” “Exhorter.” Vv. 2-6 here are found verbatim as vv. 2-6 of five separate *apadānas* of monks in the *Therāpadāna*, #531 {534} (Dabbamalla) and #534-537 {537-540} (Mahākoṭṭhika, Uruvelakassapa, Rādha and Mogharāja, respectively).

<sup>553</sup>*viññāpako*

<sup>554</sup>*tārako*

<sup>555</sup>*desanākusalo*

<sup>556</sup>*anukampako*

<sup>557</sup>*kāruṇiko*

<sup>558</sup>*hitesi*

<sup>559</sup>*nirākulaṇ*

<sup>560</sup>*suññātaṇ*, or “empty [of ill-will],” which is BJTS Sinhala gloss reading; I construe the epithet as *su + ñata*

<sup>561</sup>*vicittaṇ*

<sup>562</sup>*ratanaṇa-aṭṭha-paññāsaṇ uggato*. A *ratana* (Sinh. *riyan*) is figured as twelve-fingers (*āṅgula*), according to Sinh-Eng Dictionary about eighteen inches. The claim here then is that Padumuttara Buddha was 1044 inches (or 87 feet) tall.

<sup>563</sup>*kañcanagghiyasāṅkāso*, lit., “like a gold valuable thing” or “like a gold festoon work”

Bearing the Thirty-Two Great Marks. (5) [808]

[People's] lifespan at that time was  
[fully] one hundred thousand years.  
Remaining [in the world] so long,  
he ferried many folks across. (6) [809]

I was born in Hamsavatī,  
in a clan of millionaires then,  
glistening with various gems,  
endowed with supreme happiness. (7) [810]

Having approached the Great Hero,  
I heard [him] preaching the *Dhamma*,  
ultimately sweet<sup>564</sup> ambrosia<sup>565</sup>  
which makes known the ultimate truth. (8) [811]

Then after inviting [him, the]  
Three-Worlds-Ender, with Assembly,  
giving him a large almsgiving,  
[feeling well-]pleased by [my] own hands,  
bowing [my] head to the Hero,  
the World's Leader with Assembly,  
I aspired to that foremost place  
of Buddhist nuns who meditate. (9-10) [812-813]

Then the Untamed-Tamer,<sup>566</sup> Master,<sup>567</sup>  
Refuge for the Three Worlds,<sup>568</sup> [Buddha,]  
the Leopard of Men,<sup>569</sup> prophesied:  
“you will receive that well-wished [place]. (11) [814]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
arising in Okkāka's clan,  
the one whose name is Gotama  
will be the Teacher in the world. (12) [815]

Worthy heir to that one's *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma's* legitimate offspring,

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<sup>564</sup>*paramassādaṇ*, or “having the ultimate taste”

<sup>565</sup>*amataṇ*, or “deathless”

<sup>566</sup>*adantadamako* could mean either “tamer of the untamed” or “tamer who is untamed;” I leave the ambiguity open with the hyphen, admitting here my preference for “tamer of the untamed” (which is also the BJTS reading, cf RD on *dametar*), and recommend pronunciation in chanting which through stress on the first term in the compound, and tone, can emphasize that the Buddha is one who tames those who are untamed/feral.

<sup>567</sup>*pabhu*

<sup>568</sup>*tilokasaraṇo*

<sup>569</sup>*narasaddūlo*. Cf. notes to *Thera-apadāna* [6131], above and *Therī-apadāna* [1222], below

the one known by the name Nandā,  
will be the Teacher's follower." (13) [816]

At that time being overjoyed,  
as long as life, heart [full of] love,  
I attended on the Victor,  
the Guide, providing requisites. (14) [817]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (15) [818]

Fallen thence, I went to Yāma,<sup>570</sup>  
[and] then I went to Tusita,  
and then to Nimmānarati,<sup>571</sup>  
and then Vāsavatti City. (16) [819]

In whichever place I'm reborn,  
in accordance with that karma,  
everyplace I was made chief queen  
of [the gods who were] the kings [there]. (17) [820]

Fallen thence, in the human state,  
[everyplace] I was made chief queen  
of kings who turn the wheel [of law,  
and [powerful] regional kings. (18) [821]

Having experienced success,  
among gods as well as humans,  
becoming happy everywhere,  
I transmigrated for aeons.<sup>572</sup> (19) [822]

When [my] last rebirth was attained,  
I was the blameless<sup>573</sup> daughter of  
King Suddhodana,<sup>574</sup> [living in]  
delightful<sup>575</sup> Kapilavastu.<sup>576</sup> (20) [823]

Seeing [my] splendor<sup>577</sup> [and] beauty,

<sup>570</sup>Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

<sup>571</sup>BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

<sup>572</sup>*anekakappesu*, lit., "during various aeons"

<sup>573</sup>*aninditā*

<sup>574</sup>"Good Rice-Gruel," the Buddha's (bodhisatta Siddhattha's) biological father

<sup>575</sup>*ramme*. BJTS reads *puramhi*, "in the city"

<sup>576</sup>*kapilavhaye*, lit., "in the [city] named for Kapila"

<sup>577</sup>reading *siriṃ ca* with BJTS for PTS (and BJTS alt.) *siriyā*, "with splendor"

that [Śākya] clan was rejoicing.<sup>578</sup>  
Therefore they gave the name “Nandā,”  
pleasant [and] excellent, to me. (21) [824]

[I was]<sup>579</sup> renowned as “the Beauty”<sup>580</sup>  
among all of the young women  
in that same<sup>581</sup> delightful city,  
except [of course] Yasodharā.<sup>582</sup> (22) [825]

[My] eldest brother’s the Buddha,<sup>583</sup>  
the middle one’s<sup>584</sup> likewise a saint,<sup>585</sup>  
staying alone in the lay life,  
I am exhorted by mother:<sup>586</sup> (23) [826]

“Child, you’re born in the Śākya clan,  
following after the Buddha.  
Why do you sit<sup>587</sup> [there] in the house,  
being bereft of [all your] joy?<sup>588</sup> (24) [827]

Thought impure<sup>589</sup> is youthful beauty,<sup>590</sup>  
under the power of old age;  
even a life which is healthy,  
ends in disease, ends in dying. (25) [828]

Look at even your [own] fine form:  
charming, distracting to the mind,<sup>591</sup>  
it’s adorned and ornamented  
like<sup>592</sup> Goddess Fortune embellished,<sup>593</sup> (26) [829]

<sup>578</sup>*nanditaṅ*

<sup>579</sup>*ca*, lit., “and [I was]”

<sup>580</sup>*kalyāṇi ti*

<sup>581</sup>*pi*, or “very” (emph.)

<sup>582</sup>the Buddha’s wife, #28 of *Therī-apadāna*, below.

<sup>583</sup>*tilokaggo*, lit., “Three Worlds’ Chief”

<sup>584</sup>*majjhimo*, or BJTS (and PTS alt.) *pacchimo*, “the last” — BJTS Sinh. gloss *mā kaṇṭhu bāyā* (“my younger elder brother”)

<sup>585</sup>*arahā*, “worthy” “an arahant”

<sup>586</sup>that is, by Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, founder and leader of the Assembly of Nuns (*bhikkhunīsaṅgha*)

<sup>587</sup>reading *kinnu v’ acchasi* with BJTS for PTS *kiṅ na acchasi*, (“why don’t you sit”)

<sup>588</sup>*nandena pi vinā bhūtā*, a play on the nun’s name

<sup>589</sup>*asucisammataṅ*, or “not considered pure” (depending on whether the compound is understood as *asuci-sammataṅ* or *a-sucisammataṅ*)

<sup>590</sup>*rūpaṅ*

<sup>591</sup>*manoharaṅ*, “delightful”

<sup>592</sup>BJTS reads *sasikantam* (?) for PTS *passa kantaṅ*, perhaps a typo given the absence of a note

<sup>593</sup>*siri-saṅkhata-sannibhaṅ*

like concentrated<sup>594</sup> world-essence<sup>595</sup>  
 medicinal balm for the eyes,<sup>596</sup>  
 generating praise for merit,<sup>597</sup>  
 rejoicing the Okkāka clan; (27) [830]

in no long time at all, old age  
 is going to overpower [it].  
 Young one, abandoning the house,  
 choose<sup>598</sup> the Teaching, O blameless one.” (28) [831]

After hearing [my] mother’s words,  
 I went forth into homelessness  
 in<sup>599</sup> body, but not in [my] heart,  
 [still] enthralled by youth and beauty. (29) [832]

Mother<sup>600</sup> said to make my basis<sup>601</sup>  
 through study of the altered states,<sup>602</sup>  
 [pursuing it] with great effort.  
 I was not enthused<sup>603</sup> about that. (30) [833]

Then the Great Compassionate One  
 saw<sup>604</sup> me enthralled by sense pleasures.  
 To make me<sup>605</sup> weary of beauty,<sup>606</sup>  
 through his own majestic power,  
 the Victor conjured up, in my  
 line of sight, a woman who shined;  
 she was gorgeous,<sup>607</sup> truly brilliant,<sup>608</sup>  
 even more beautiful than I. (31-32) [834-835]

And I, astonished, seeing her<sup>609</sup>

<sup>594</sup>reading PTS alt *puñjitaṅ* (“lumped together”) or BJTS *piṇḍitaṃ* (“pressed into a ball”) for PTS *pūjitaṅ* (“worshipped”)

<sup>595</sup>*lokasāraṅ*

<sup>596</sup>*nayanānaṅ rasāyanaṅ*

<sup>597</sup>*puññānaṅ*, lit., “for merit[orious deed]s,” i.e., plural

<sup>598</sup>PTS *vara*. BJTS reads *cara*, “wander”

<sup>599</sup>*dehena*, lit., “with”

<sup>600</sup>lit., “And mother”

<sup>601</sup>PTS reads *saraṅ* (“flowing, going” or perhaps “arrow,” “lake,” “remembering,” “sound”), alt. *padaṅ* (“root”); BJTS reads *paraṃ* (?)

<sup>602</sup>*jhānājjhena*

<sup>603</sup>*na cāhaṅ tatra ussukā*, omitting “and” in the translation

<sup>604</sup>*disvā*, lit., “seeing”

<sup>605</sup>*nibbindanatthaṅ*, lit., “for the sake of weariness”

<sup>606</sup>or “form”: *rūpasmiṅ*

<sup>607</sup>*dassanīyaṅ*, lit., “to be looked at,” “eye-candy”

<sup>608</sup>*suruciraṅ*

<sup>609</sup>lit., “her, seeing [her] very”

very astonishing body,  
thought [to myself,] “fruitful [today]  
is the receipt of human eyes.” (33) [836]

I said to her, “O lucky one!<sup>610</sup>  
Tell me the story how you’ve come,  
and if you please, do tell to me  
[your] clan, [your] name, [your] family.” (34) [837]

“No time for questions, lucky one;  
let me lay [my head] in [your] lap.”<sup>611</sup>  
As though sinking<sup>612</sup> into my limbs  
she reclined well<sup>613</sup> for a moment. (35) [838]

Then putting [her] head in my lap  
she with lovely eyes stretched out [there].  
A spider,<sup>614</sup> very venomous,  
landed on that [woman’s] forehead. (36) [839]

When [it] had fallen onto her,  
boils formed [all over her body];  
popping open, they were oozing  
putrid [chunks of] pus mixed with blood. (37) [840]

And [her] face was disfigured too,  
with the putrid stench of a corpse;  
and [her] body festered<sup>615</sup> too,  
[now] swollen up and [turning] blue. (38) [841]

With all of her limbs quivering,  
gasping for every breath she took,<sup>616</sup>  
making known her own suffering,  
she piteously wailed [like this:] (39) [842]

“I’m afflicted with affliction,<sup>617</sup>  
feeling [agonizing] feelings;

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<sup>610</sup>*ehi subhage*

<sup>611</sup>spoken by the conjured up woman

<sup>612</sup>reading *sīdantiīva* with BJTS for PTS *nisīdanti* (“sitting”)

<sup>613</sup>reading *supasuppaya* with BJTS (and following BJTS Sinhala gloss) for PTS *passajissan* (? the side? “I will look at my limbs?”)

<sup>614</sup>reading *lūtā* (Sinh. gloss *makuḷuvek*) with BJTS (and PTS alt., sort of [*lutā*, sic]) for PTS *luddā* (“hunters” [or “disgusting/gruesome thing” ?])

<sup>615</sup>reading *vipubbañca* (“festering”) with BJTS for PTS *sabbañca* (“all” “entire”), though the latter is also a reasonable enough reading.

<sup>616</sup>reading *nissasanti* (lit., “gasping for breath [or “panting” or “sighing” or “exhaling”]) with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *nissayanti* (“they are pursuing” “leaning on”)

<sup>617</sup>or “suffering with suffering” “ill at ease with dis-ease” etc.: *dukkhena dukkhitā homi*

I'm sunk down in great affliction.  
Be a refuge for me, O friend." (40) [843]

"Where is [that] facial shine of yours?  
Where is your [attractive] long nose?  
Your excellent copper-red lips?  
Where has your [beautiful] face gone? (41) [844]

Where's [your] mouth, shining like the moon?  
Where has your conch-shell-shaped neck gone?  
And [both] your ears, swaying like swings,<sup>618</sup>  
have [now] become [badly] discolored. (42) [845]

Your milk-laden [breasts shaped] like jugs  
which resembled pointy [young] buds<sup>619</sup>  
have popped open; you've become a  
putrid corpse with a horrid stench. (43) [846]

[Your] slender middle<sup>620</sup> [and] buttocks,  
meat-stall<sup>621</sup> where wounds and sins<sup>622</sup> are born  
[are now] adorned with excrement.  
O! Beauty is not eternal! (44) [847]

Every born body [is the same:]  
putrid-smelling and frightening,  
like a loathsome<sup>623</sup> cemetery,  
where [only] fools [find their] delight." (45) [848]

Then the Great Compassionate One,  
my brother, Leader of the World,  
Having seen me, moved in [my] heart,  
he spoke these verses [to me then:] (46) [849]

"Nanda, look at [your own] body,  
[also] a sick [and] putrid corpse.

<sup>618</sup>reading *dolālālā* (lit., "swing-aquiver") with BJTS for PTS *dolālocā* ("swing" + ?) and alts. *dolālolā* "swing unwavering/undisturbed," *dolātulā*, "swing" + ?) which seem to emulate the aliteration of BJTS' *dolālālā* even at the expense of apparent meaning

<sup>619</sup>especially the buds of *mimusops elengi* (says RD quoting Hardy, see *makuḷa* s.v.), = Spanish Cherry, Pāli *vakula*. This accepts the PTS reading here, *makul[ī]a-khāraḷ-ākārā*, recognizing that there is a lot of variation (BJTS reads *makuḷamburuhākārā* ["resembling the buds of trees in water" (?)])

<sup>620</sup>reading *tanumajjhā* with BJTS for PTS *vedimajjhā*, "in the middle of the bench" (?)

<sup>621</sup>*sūnā*, lit., "slaughterhouse"

<sup>622</sup>reading *sūnā vaṇitakibbisā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sūnā 'va nītakibbisā* ("like a slaughterhouse leading to sin" ?)

<sup>623</sup>*jegucchaṇ*; BJTS reads *bibhacchaṇ*, with similar range of meaning (disgusting, horrible, dreadful)

Through disgustingness cultivate  
[your] mind, well-composed and tranquil. (47) [850]

Just as is this, so too is that;  
just as is that, so too is this:  
putrid [and] emitting a stench,  
causing delight [only] to fools. (48) [851]

Considering that in this way,  
industrious by day and night,  
you will see with your own wisdom,  
having turned away in disgust. (49) [852]

After that I was deeply moved,  
having heard [those] well-said verses;  
remaining there, being at peace,<sup>624</sup>  
I attained [my] arahantship. (50) [853]

Everyplace where I am seated,  
I [reach] the highest altered states.  
The Victor, pleased by [my]<sup>625</sup> virtue,  
[then] placed me in that foremost place. (51) [854]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (52) [855]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (53) [856]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (54) [857]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Nandā spoke these verses.

The legend of Nandā Therī is finished.

<sup>624</sup>or, reading *vipassantī* with BJTS, “investigating” “applying insight”

<sup>625</sup>lit., “in the” “in that”



**[26. Soṇā<sup>626</sup>]**

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
 was a Master of Everything.  
 [That] Leader arose in the world  
 one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [858]

Born then in a millionaire's clan,  
 I was happy, honored,<sup>627</sup> held dear.  
 Approaching the Excellent Sage,<sup>628</sup>  
 I heard [his] words, [sweet as] honey. (2) [859]

I was overjoyed having heard  
 the Victor praise the nun foremost  
 of those who make a strong effort,  
 doing service for the Teacher. (3) [860]

Then worshipping<sup>629</sup> the Sambuddha,  
 I aspired to [attain] that place.  
 The Great Hero approved [of that:]  
 "Your aspiration will succeed. (4) [861]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
 arising in Okkāka's clan,  
 the one whose name is Gotama  
 will be the Teacher in the world. (5) [862]

Worthy heir to that one's *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma's* legitimate offspring,  
 the one known by the name Soṇā  
 will be the Teacher's follower." (6) [863]

At that time being overjoyed,  
 as long as life, heart [full of] love,  
 I attended on the Victor,  
 the Guide, providing requisites. (7) [864]

Due to that karma done very well,  
 with intention and [firm] resolve,  
 discarding [my] human body,  
 I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (8) [865]

<sup>626</sup>"Dog," or a kind of tree, Bodhi Tree of Paduma and Nārada Buddhas, according to BV. An historical nun, remembered as foremost among those who make energetic effort.

<sup>627</sup>reading *pūjitā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sajjitā*, which however approximates the same meaning.

<sup>628</sup>*munivaraṇ*

<sup>629</sup>or "saluting": *abhivādiya*

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
I'm born in a millionaire's clan,  
rich, prosperous, very wealthy,  
in Śrāvastī, best of cities. (9) [866]

When I'd become a young woman,<sup>630</sup>  
having gone to a husband's clan,  
I was the mother of<sup>631</sup> ten sons,  
very handsome and distinguished. (10) [867]

All of them were comfortable,  
delightful in the people's eyes,  
brilliant even to enemies,  
needless to say, they're loved by<sup>632</sup> me. (11) [868]

Then, without my desiring it,<sup>633</sup>  
he who was my husband went forth  
in the Buddha's<sup>634</sup> dispensation,  
surrounded<sup>635</sup> by [those] sons<sup>636</sup> [of mine]. (12) [869]

[And] then, alone, I reflected:  
"Enough with [this] life [here] for me,<sup>637</sup>  
growing old and in misery,  
bereft of<sup>638</sup> [my] husband [and] sons. (13) [870]

I will also go to the place  
where [my] husband has [now] arrived."<sup>639</sup>  
After reflecting in that way,  
I went forth into homelessness. (14) [871]

And then the nuns left me alone  
in the retreat for Buddhist nuns,  
going off with the instruction:  
"heat up the water [while we're gone]." (15) [872]

Then bringing water I poured [it]  
into a small pot<sup>640</sup> [used for that].

<sup>630</sup> or "when I had attained puberty:" *yadā ca yobbanupetā*

<sup>631</sup> lit., "I gave birth to"

<sup>632</sup> lit., "of"

<sup>633</sup> *mayhaṅ akāmāya*, lit., "with my disliking [of it]"

<sup>634</sup> *devadevassa*, lit., "of the God of Gods" or "the Gods' God's"

<sup>635</sup> or "honored," "being placed in front of"

<sup>636</sup> *dasaputta*<sup>o</sup>, lit., "by the ten sons"

<sup>637</sup> or "I'm fed up with this existence:" *jīvitenālam atthu me*, lit., "Let it be enough with life for me"

<sup>638</sup> *jīnāya*, BJTS reads *cattāya* (with much the same meaning)

<sup>639</sup> reading *sampatto* with BJTS for PTS *pasuto* ("pursuing")

<sup>640</sup> *kumbhiyā culle*, lit., "into a small *kumbhi*-pot"

After placing [it on the hearth,]  
seated, I then kindled my heart. (16) [873]

Seeing the body's<sup>641</sup> diseased-ness,  
essence-less-ness, impermanence,  
throwing off all the defilements,  
I achieved [my] arahantship. (17) [874]

Then coming [back, those] Buddhist nuns,  
asked [me] about the hot water.  
Through concentration on the fire,<sup>642</sup>  
I quickly made the flame ignite. (18) [875]

Astonished, the [nuns] made that fact  
audible to the Best Victor.  
Hearing [it,] the Lord, overjoyed,  
spoke this verse [about me just then:] (19) [876]

“A life lived [only] for one day  
undertaken with strong effort,  
is better than a century  
lived inert, lacking energy.” (20) [877]

The Great Hero was [greatly] pleased  
by my exemplary conduct.  
That Great Sage said that I'm foremost  
of those who make a strong effort. (21) [878]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (22) [879]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (23) [880]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (24) [881]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Soṇā spoke these verses.

<sup>641</sup>*khandhe*, lit., “the [five] heaps” or aggregates that make up personal being, the constituent elements of the “I” trapped in *saṃsāra*.

<sup>642</sup>lit., “on the fire element”

The legend of Soṇā Therī is finished.

## [27. Bhaddā-Kāpilāni]

The Victor Padumuttara  
was One With Eyes for everything.  
[That] Leader [of the World] was born  
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [882]

There was then in Haṃsavatī,  
a leader<sup>643</sup> known as Videha,  
a millionaire with many gems;  
I was the wife of him [back then]. (2) [883]

Once, accompanied by servants,  
he went up to the Human Sun,  
[and] listened to Buddha's Teaching,  
causing all suffering to end. (3) [884]

The Leader praised the follower  
who was top in austerities;<sup>644</sup>  
hearing, he gave alms for a week  
to the Buddha, the Neutral One. (4) [885]

Bowing [his] head at [Buddha's] feet,  
he aspired to that [foremost] place,  
causing his retinue to smile.  
Right then<sup>645</sup> [that] Bull Among People (5) [886]

having pitied the millionaire,  
spoke these verses [aloud to him]:  
"You will attain the wished-for state;  
o son you'll achieve nirvana. (6) [887]

In one hundred thousand aeons,  
arising in Okkāka's clan,

<sup>643</sup>reading *nāyako* (BJTS) for *nāma* (PTS, "one whose name"). While the phrase *nāma nāma* ("named with the name...") is very common in *Apadāna* (I have tended in my translations to reduce the redundancy by taking it simply as "named" or "known as," but sometimes have given "known by the name," as meter has allowed), and the PTS reading may therefore be correct, BJTS here follows the *Therīgāthā-Aṭṭhakathā* version of the text which may well bear earlier witness; I anyway like the juxtaposition of the husband as an economic leader with Padumuttara Buddha, the Leader [of the World] (also *nāyako*).

<sup>644</sup>lit., "who was foremost among those who bespeak ascetic [practices]."

<sup>645</sup>reading *tadā hi* (BJTS) for *tadā āha* ("then he said," PTS).

the one whose name is Gotama  
will be the Teacher in the world. (7) [888]

Worthy heir to that one's Dhamma,  
Dhamma's legitimate offspring,  
the one whose name is Kassapa  
will be the Teacher's follower." (8) [889]

Gladdened after having heard that,  
as long as [he] lived [he] then served  
with requisites the Victor, Guide,  
with a heart that was [full] of love. (9) [890]

Lighting up the Dispensation,  
Crushing the Dirty Heretics,  
Instructing those who Could be Taught,<sup>646</sup>  
he passed on<sup>647</sup> with his followers. (10) [891]

When that World-Chief reached nirvana,  
assembling [his] kinsmen and friends  
to do pūjā to the Teacher,  
with them [he then] had constructed (11) [892]

a stupa which was made of gems,  
rising up seven leagues [in height,]  
which blazed forth just as does the sun;  
like a regal *sal* tree in bloom. (12) [893]

There [at the stupa,] he had made  
seven hundred thousand [fine] bowls,  
with the seven types of gemstone,  
they shined brightly like reeds on fire. (13) [894]

[After that] he had lamps lit there,  
having filled [them] with perfumed oil  
to do pūjā to the Great Sage,  
who pitied every living being. (14) [895]

He had seven hundred thousand  
"pots of plenty" constructed [there],  
which were [all] filled up with gemstones  
to do pūjā to the Great Seer. (15) [896]

A gold festoon work was raised up,  
surrounded by sixty-four jars,<sup>648</sup>

<sup>646</sup>*veneyye*, lit., "those who were to be instructed".

<sup>647</sup>*nibbuto*, i.e., attained nirvana.

<sup>648</sup>lit., "in the middle of eight [times] eight large jars (*kumbhi*)."

it shined brilliantly with color,  
like the day-maker<sup>649</sup> in autumn. (16) [897]

Arches constructed of gemstones  
at the four gateways are splendid.  
Planks that are made out of gemstones,  
raised up beautiful, are splendid. (17) [898]

Ornaments, exquisitely made,  
encircle [that stupa,] shining.  
Banners are raised up [in the sky];  
[fashioned out of] gemstones, they shine. (18) [899]

That very red shrine made of gems,  
well-built and variegated,<sup>650</sup>  
shined excessively with color,  
like the sun<sup>651</sup> does in the evening. (19) [900]

The stupa had three terraces;  
one he filled with yellow ointment,<sup>652</sup>  
one with red-colored arsenic,<sup>653</sup>  
one with black collyrium paste.<sup>654</sup> (20) [901]

Having performed pūjā like that,  
lovely, for the Excellent One,<sup>655</sup>  
he gave the monks' community  
alms, much as he could, his whole life.<sup>656</sup> (21) [902]

Along with that millionaire I,  
as long as I lived [also] did  
those merit-filled deeds thoroughly;  
[and] with [him] I [had] good rebirths. (22) [903]

Experiencing happiness,<sup>657</sup>

<sup>649</sup>*divākara*, the sun.

<sup>650</sup>the mss. tradition disagrees on the reading of this term, and this translation is only provisional, going with the PTS (*cittaṃ*, “heart, mind”) but taking it in its rarer meaning of “variegated.” BJTS reads *cetaṃ*, more unambiguously “heart, mind,” but I don’t see how the grammar works with that as an adjective modifying *cetiyaṃ* (shrine, stupa), unless we read it to mean “thought out” or something along those lines. BJTS alternative is *citakaṃ*, “funeral pile,” redundant with *cetiyaṃ*, while PTS alternative is *citaṃ* (“heaped up,” a possibility) or *dhītaṃ* (?).

<sup>651</sup>lit., “day-maker,” as above.

<sup>652</sup>*haritāla*.

<sup>653</sup>*manosilā*.

<sup>654</sup>*añjana*.

<sup>655</sup>*varadhāri*, lit., “Bearer of Excellence” or “the One Clothed in Excellence”.

<sup>656</sup>lit., “for as long as he lived”.

<sup>657</sup>here the term *sampatti* (happiness, success, attainment) is in the plural, but to avoid the awkward “happinesses” I translate in the singular. Cf. *Therāpadāna* [1729] for a parallel half-verse.

both as a human and a god,  
I was reborn along with him,  
like a shadow with the body. (23) [904]

The Leader known as Vipassi  
arose ninety-one aeons ago,  
[Buddha,] Delightful to the Eye,  
One With Insight into All Things. (24) [905]

Then he<sup>658</sup> [lived] in Bandhumatī,  
a brahmin known for excellence,<sup>659</sup>  
rich in scripture and religion,<sup>660</sup>  
but<sup>661</sup> very poor in terms of wealth. (25) [906]

And at that time, of the same mind,  
I was his brahmin woman [wife].  
Once that excellent twice-born man  
met with the Sage who was So Great, (26) [907]

seated ‘midst the population,  
preaching the state of deathlessness.  
Hearing the Dhamma, overjoyed,  
he gave his own cloak [to that Sage]. (27) [908]

Going home in a single cloth,  
he spoke these [words] to me [just then]:  
“Take joy in this great good karma,  
the cloak given to the Buddha.” (28) [909]

Then clasping hands together I,  
well-satisfied, did take delight:  
“Husband, this cloak is gifted well  
to the Best Buddha, Neutral One.” (29) [910]

Being happy and [well-]prepared,  
transmigrating from birth to birth  
he was the king, lord of the earth,  
in lovely Benares city. (30) [911]

I was the chief queen of that [king],  
supreme in his troupe of women.

<sup>658</sup>lit., “this one,” i.e., the millionaire reborn, a later rebirth precursor of Kassapa. Reading *tadā* ‘yam (BJTS) for *tadā hi* (“at that very time,” PTS)

<sup>659</sup>lit., “approved of [or agreed upon] as excellent.”

<sup>660</sup>reading *aḍḍho satthāgamenā* ‘si (BJTS) for *aḍḍho santo gamenāsi* (“being rich through going” [?], PTS)

<sup>661</sup>lit., “and”.

I was extremely dear to him,  
due to past love for [my] husband.<sup>662</sup> (31) [912]

Having seen eight Lonely Leaders<sup>663</sup>  
going about on [their] alms-rounds,  
he, having become overjoyed,  
gave very costly alms to them. (32) [913]

Again having invited [them,]  
having made a gem pavilion,  
gathering bowls made by [gold-]smiths,  
[as too] a tray of solid<sup>664</sup> gold,  
he then offered to all of them,  
who'd gotten up on golden seats,<sup>665</sup>  
an almsgiving [most opulent,]  
[feeling well-] pleased by [his] own hands. (33-34) [914-915]

I gave that very almsgiving  
with the Kāsi<sup>666</sup> king [way] back then.  
Again I was reborn in a  
village outside the Kāsi gates.<sup>667</sup> (35) [916]

He<sup>668</sup> was happy with his brothers,  
in a wealthy clan of fam'lies.  
I was the eldest brother's wife,  
a woman who fulfilled her vows.<sup>669</sup> (36) [917]

Having seen a Lonely Buddha,  
he who was my youngest brother,  
gave his<sup>670</sup> portion to [that Buddha];  
when he arrived I told [him] that. (37) [918]

He did not praise that almsgiving,  
so having taken back that food  
from Buddha, I gave it to him;  
again he gave him it [himself]. (38) [919]

<sup>662</sup>reading *bhattuno* (BJTS) for *uttariṇ* ("besides," PTS).

<sup>663</sup>*paccekanāyake*, i.e., *pacceka-buddhas*.

<sup>664</sup>lit., "of gold indeed".

<sup>665</sup>there is divergence in the manuscripts on this line. I read *soṇṇāsānopaviṭṭhānaṃ* (BJTS) for *sovaṇṇāsane pavīṭṭhānaṃ* ("who'd entered onto a golden seat," PTS); the meaning is anyway clear, that within the gem pavilion seats had been made of gold for the Lonely Buddhas, and the alms-food was served to them while they were sitting thereon.

<sup>666</sup>i.e., Benares.

<sup>667</sup>lit., "in Benares, in a village outside the gates"

<sup>668</sup>Kassapa's next rebirth precursor.

<sup>669</sup>or, a woman devoted to her husband

<sup>670</sup>the eldest brother's



Then having thrown away that food,  
enraged,<sup>671</sup> I [took back] Buddha's bowl  
[a second time,] filled it with mud,  
[and] gave it to that Neutral One. (39) [920]

And right when he received those alms,  
rotten and lacking purity,<sup>672</sup>  
his mind was equally happy;<sup>673</sup>  
seeing [that,] I was very moved.<sup>674</sup> (40) [921]

Again [I] took [that] bowl [from him],  
[and] cleaned [it] with scented perfume.  
With [my] mind [then] full of pleasure,  
I gave him ghee respectfully.<sup>675</sup> (41) [922]

In whichever place I'm reborn,  
because [I gave] alms, I'm gorgeous;  
through [giving] Buddha tasteless food,  
my breath has a horrible stench. (42) [923]

Again when Buddha<sup>676</sup> Kassapa's  
stupa was being completed,

<sup>671</sup>BJTS (also PTS alt.) reads *duṭṭhā* (angry, wicked) for *ruṭṭhā* (angry, enraged); I follow PTS here in taking the term to refer to her anger in the moment more than the sort of larger bad character implied by *duṭṭhā*. The text does not specify why she becomes so angry (which is the main point of either reading); it assumes that its audience will immediately understand the reason. I imagine something like this: the husband expresses his displeasure in terms that implicate the wife — “I come home for lunch and there's nothing for me to eat” — so she does something unthinkable in the context of *Apadāna* (and Theravāda Buddhist culture), taking alms back from a Buddha so her husband can eat the food himself. When he then turns around and gives the food back to the Buddha again, he reveals that his intention was not to get fed, but rather to earn the merit for himself (and he responds to what may have already been a tense situation, for example if the initial return of the food struck him as an already-angry insult on the part of his wife, perhaps because she made a sarcastic comment such as, “Fear not, *here's* your lunch”). She — who presumably cooked the meal in the first place, who has now been chastised for a lapse in her domestic responsibility, who turns a merit-making (*puñña-kamma*) opportunity into an act of demerit (*pāpa-kamma*) in order to rectify that lapse, and who then realizes that the only lapse was in her husband's greediness for merit even at her expense — would have had plenty of cause to become enraged, especially if the return of the food had already been a volley in a marital spat.

<sup>672</sup>reading *amejjhe* (“impure,” BJTS, PTS alt.) for *apace* (“uncooked,” PTS).

<sup>673</sup>BJTS reads *samacittamukhaṃ* (“his face [showed] the same mind”) for PTS *samacittasukhaṃ*, the reading I prefer here even though both readings amount to the same thing: the Paccekabuddha shows no change of face, no difference of opinion, whether receiving a bowl of mud or a nice home-cooked meal. This equanimity, of course, is characteristic of Buddhas and other Awakened beings.

<sup>674</sup>reading *saṃvijjīṃ bhusaṃ* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *mahāsaṅghaṃ cajiṃ bhusaṃ* (“I let loose the many [in the?] great community,” PTS).

<sup>675</sup>reading *sakkaraṃ* (alt. *sakkāraṃ*) *adaṃ*, “I gave with proper reverence” “I gave hospitably” with PTS'; BJTS reads *sakkharaṃ adaṃ*, “I gave gravel” (!).

<sup>676</sup>lit., “Hero,” but I translate “Buddha” to avoid any confusion of this previous Buddha with Bhaddā-Kāpilāni's present-life husband Mahā-Kassapa.

delighted, I [then] gave [for it]  
an excellent tile made of gold. (43) [924]

Through four lifetimes having applied  
scented [substances] to that tile,  
every one of [my] limbs was freed  
from the defect of bad odor. (44) [925]

Having made seven thousand bowls,  
[each adorned] with the seven gems  
and filled with clarified butter,  
placing [in them] a thousand wicks,<sup>677</sup> (45) [926]

with a mind that was very pleased,  
I proceeded to light [them all,]  
and laid [them] out<sup>678</sup> in seven rows,  
to do pūjā to the World's Lord (46) [927]

and at that time especially  
I had the share in that merit.  
Again among the Kāsians<sup>679</sup>  
he was Sumitta, well-known sage.<sup>680</sup> (47) [928]

I was [the Sage Sumitta's] wife,  
happy, joyful and [much] beloved.  
And then he gave [some] Lonely Ones  
a massive cloak [to use for robes]. (48) [929]

[I] also shared in that [merit,]  
approving of that great alms gift.  
Again in the Kāsi country<sup>681</sup>  
he was reborn, a Koliyan.<sup>682</sup> (49) [930]

And then, along with five hundred  
of the sons of the Koliyans,  
he attended<sup>683</sup> upon Lonely  
Buddhas, five hundred [in number]. (50) [931]

Satisfying<sup>684</sup> [them] for three months

<sup>677</sup>PTS (and BJTS alt) gives *vattiṇi*, BJTS *vattiyo* for the plural of *vatti*, “wick”.

<sup>678</sup>PTS reads *ṭhāpayiṇ* (“I laid out”); BJTS reads *ṭhāpayī*, “laid out.” Following PTS I take the term verbally.

<sup>679</sup>i.e., people of Benares.

<sup>680</sup>BJTS reads *iti* (quotation marker) for *isi* (sage), hence would have “He was well known as Sumitta”.

<sup>681</sup>i.e., the environs of Benares

<sup>682</sup>lit., “in the clan of the Koliyas”.

<sup>683</sup>BJTS reads *samupaṭṭhahi* for *samupaṭṭhayi* (PTS), but the meaning is clear.

<sup>684</sup>reading *tappayitvāna* (BJTS) for *vāsayitvāna* (“having perfumed” “having cleaned,” PTS).

he gave<sup>685</sup> [those Buddhas] the three robes.  
I was then the [Koliyan's] wife,  
following [his] path of merit. (51) [932]

Fallen from there [he] then became  
the famous king known as Nanda.  
I was [that King Nanda's] chief queen;  
my every desire was fulfilled. (52) [933]

Fallen from there, having become  
Brahmadatta, lord of the earth,  
for as long as his life lasted,  
he then did attend upon all  
the five hundred Lonely Sages  
who were Padumavatī's sons.  
Dwelling in the royal garden,  
I [too] worshipped<sup>686</sup> those Gone-Out Ones. (53-54) [934-935]

Both of us having built stupas,  
going forth [renouncing the world,]  
experienced the boundless states,<sup>687</sup>  
[and] then we went to Brahma's world. (55) [936]

Fallen down to Mahātittha  
he's well-born Pippalāyana.  
Mother: Sumanadevī and  
father: brahmin Kosigotta. (56) [937]

In the Madda country I, was  
daughter of brahmin Kapila;  
mother was Sucīmatī in  
Sāgalā the best of cities. (57) [938]

My father having adorned me  
with a thick golden ornament,  
gave me to the wise<sup>688</sup> Kassapa,  
who'd avoided desire for me. (58) [939]

One time that compassionate man,

<sup>685</sup>reading BJTS *adāsi* for PTS *adaṅsu*, "they gave," though the latter would also be an acceptable reading since the text specifies that the 500 cousins served the Paccekabuddhas together.

<sup>686</sup>BJTS reads *pūjayi*, "he worshipped," which is certainly possible, but I follow the PTS reading *pūjayiṇ* ("I worshipped") because otherwise the becoming-Bhaddā-Kāpilāni does not get inserted into this previous life of her husband's, as she does all the other previous lives.

<sup>687</sup>the four boundless states are love of all beings (*mettā*), compassion for those who suffer (*karunā*), joy in others' joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekkhā*).

<sup>688</sup>reading *dhīrassa* (BJTS) for *vīrassa* ("the Hero," PTS), an epithet used of Kassapa Buddha above [924].

gone forth wishing for karma's end,<sup>689</sup>  
 was moved at seeing some creatures  
 devoured by crows and such-like [birds]. (59) [940]

Then I too in the house was moved,<sup>690</sup>  
 seeing worms that had been born in  
 sesame then baked by sun-heat,  
 being eaten up by [some] crows. (60) [941]

When wise [Kassapa] had renounced,  
 I followed him in renouncing.  
 For five years I resided [then]  
 along the path<sup>691</sup> of renunciators. (61) [942]

When Gotamī, the Victor's nurse,  
 had gone forth as a renouncer,  
 then come together with Buddha,  
 I [too] received [his] instruction. (62) [943]

After not a very long time,  
 I achieved the arahant-state.  
 O! Being the "beautiful friend"  
 of the resplendent Kassapa! (63) [944]

The Buddha's legitimate son,<sup>692</sup>  
 very attentive, Kassapa,  
 is one who knows previous births,  
 and he sees the heavens and hells. (64) [945]

Then birth's destruction he attained;  
 special knowledges perfected;  
 a sage with the three knowledges,  
 that brahmin's a triple-knower. (65) [946]

Just so Bhaddā-Kāpilāni,  
 triple-knower who's conquered death.  
 She's one who wears [her] last body,

<sup>689</sup>BJTS read *kamma-anta-pekhatam* for PTS *kamma-anta-pekkhako*; whether we take the term (with BJTS) as an adverb modifying "having gone," or (with PTS) as an adjective modifying "Kassapa" — either of which could produce this translation — the meaning is clear.

<sup>690</sup>lit., "attained to being moved (*saṃvega*), the religious experience that (like being overjoyed [*pasanna*]) is often a fore-runner to becoming an arahant in these hagiographical and parallel historical texts.

<sup>691</sup>BJTS reads *paribbājavate* ("in the state of a renouncer") for *°pathe* ("on the path," PTS) but both editions include the other reading as alternates and the PTS editor has chosen what I also think is the best syntactically.

<sup>692</sup>BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *suto* for PTS *putto*, but as the synonyms both mean "son" this does not affect the translation.

defeating Māra and his mount. (66) [947]

Seeing the dangers in the world,  
we both [went forth] as renouncers.  
We are now free of defilements;  
tamed, cooled off, gone to nirvana. (67) [948]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (68) [949]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (69) [950]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (70) [951]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Bhaddā-Kāpilāni spoke these verses.

The legend of Bhaddā-Kāpilāni Therī<sup>693</sup> is finished

## [28. Yasodharā]

At one time the Leader of Men  
was staying in a mountain cave  
in the city, Rajagaha,  
[which was] lovely and prosperous. [952]<sup>694</sup>

This is what was reasoned out [then]  
by the nun [named] Yasodharā,  
who was dwelling in that city,  
inside a lovely convent [there]: [953]

”Nanda, Rahula and Bhadda;  
likewise the two chief followers;  
Suddhodana Maharaja,  
and Gotamī Pajāpatī; [954]

the great theras of great renown;

<sup>693</sup>PTS omits Therī, which I supply from BJTS.

<sup>694</sup>these first six verses appear in BJTS, but not PTS.

and the therīs with great powers:<sup>695</sup>  
they've gone to peaceful [nirvana],  
traceless like the flame of a lamp. [955]

While the World's Lord still is living,  
I'll travel that peaceful path too."  
And having reasoned [all] that out,  
she foresaw the end of her life. [956]

Foreseeing that life's aggregates  
would be destroyed that very day,  
she set out from her own ashram,  
carrying her robe and her bowl. [957]

Honored by one hundred thousand<sup>696</sup>  
nuns, [the nun named Yasodharā,  
greatly powerful, greatly wise,  
[then] went up to the Sambuddha. (1) [958]

Having worshipped the Sambuddha,  
at the wheel-marked [soles of his feet],  
sitting off to one side [of him,]  
she spoke these words to the Teacher: (2) [959]

"I'm seventy-eight years old now,  
the last of old age has arrived;  
I'm reporting to the Great Sage:  
I've attained [sainthood] in a cave. (3) [960]

Old age has ripened for me [now];  
verily my life's a trifle.  
Giving all you up I will go:  
my refuge is made in myself. (4) [961]

In the final days of old age,  
death breaks [the body into bits];  
today at nighttime, Great Hero,  
I shall achieve my nirvana. (5) [962]

Where there's no birth, no growing old,  
nor sickness and death, O Great Sage,  
I'm going to the [great] city  
[which,] unconditioned, has no death. (6) [963]

<sup>695</sup>*mahiddhikā* = possessing great magical powers.

<sup>696</sup>reading *satehi satassehi sā* (BJTS) for *satehi saha pañcahi* ("by five hundred," PTS). As the subsequent three *apadānas* make clear, these authors believed that Yasodharā approached the Buddha accompanied by considerably more than 500 nuns.

Throughout [this vast] multitude here,<sup>697</sup>  
 [all these] revering<sup>698</sup> the Teacher,<sup>699</sup>  
 know that [every] imperfection  
 is forgiven face-to-face, Sage. (7) [964]

Transmigrating in existence,  
 if I have [ever] disturbed you,<sup>700</sup>  
 I'm announcing it, Great Hero;  
 please forgive my imperfection. (8) [965]

After hearing [that] speech of hers,  
 the Lord of Sages<sup>701</sup> [then] said this:  
 "What better can I say to you,  
 when you're going to nirvana? [966]

Now<sup>702</sup> display [your] superpowers,  
 doer of my dispensation;  
 let doubt in the dispensation  
 be cut off for all assemblies."<sup>703</sup> (9) [967]

Having heard the words of the Sage,  
 the Buddhist nun, Yasodharā,  
 worshipping the King of Sages,  
 [then] spoke this speech to the [Buddha:] [968]

"I am Yasodharā, Hero;  
 in the home I was your chief queen,<sup>704</sup>  
 born in the clan of the Śākya,  
 established among the women.<sup>705</sup> (10) [969]

In your household, O Hero, I  
 was the leader, the lord of all  
 of the [women there, who numbered]  
 one hundred thousand ninety six. (11) [970]

All of those women, endowed with

<sup>697</sup>reading *ettha* with BJTS for PTS *nāma* ("indeed")

<sup>698</sup>reading *samupāsanti* ("attend upon together" "honor jointly")

<sup>699</sup>lit., "to/of the Teacher," "give reverence to the Teacher"

<sup>700</sup>PTS *khalitaṃ ce tavaṃ mayi*, BJTS *khalitaṃ ce mamaṃ tayi*, both to be construed the same way

<sup>701</sup>*munindo*

<sup>702</sup>*cāpi*, lit., "and also"

<sup>703</sup>"in the dispensation" may be governed by "all the assemblies" or, as I have it here, "doubt;" the grammar is ambiguous; the alternate reading would be "let doubt be cut off for all the/assemblies in th' dispensation"

<sup>704</sup>*te pajāpatī*

<sup>705</sup>reading *itthi-y-aṅge* (lit., "in the body of women") with BJTS for PTS *itthi atho* ("and a woman who is established")

the virtues of beauty and grace,  
youthful and well-spoken, revere  
me, like people [revere] the gods.<sup>706</sup> (12) [971]

Leader of a thousand maidens  
in the home of the Śākya Son,  
they're the same in pleasure and pain,<sup>707</sup>  
like gods in [the garden named] "Joy." (13) [972]

Beyond the essence of desire,  
fixed as the essence of beauty,  
[they're] unmatched in terms of beauty,  
other than [by] the World's Leader." (14) [973]

Speaking [words] beginning with these,  
having risen into the sky,  
Yasodharā displayed diverse  
powers,<sup>708</sup> with Buddha's permission. [974]<sup>709</sup>

Worshipping<sup>710</sup> the Sambuddha, she  
showed the Teacher superpowers.<sup>711</sup>  
She displayed great superpowers,  
diverse, having various forms. (15)<sup>712</sup>

Body big as the universe,<sup>713</sup>  
she [made] the continent<sup>714</sup> up north  
her head; eastern, western [her] wings;  
[and made] India her torso; (16) [975]

<sup>706</sup>*devatā*, or "deities" "supernaturals" "fairies" "spirits"

<sup>707</sup>*samānasukhadukkhā tā*.

<sup>708</sup>*iddhi anekā*, lit., "superpowers"

<sup>709</sup>this verse does not appear in PTS, whereas PTS supplies (15) which does not appear in BJTS. The two verses are sufficiently different to warrant inclusion of both, though it creates some unevenness in the flow of the narrative here. The Pāli is: *evamādīni vatvāna uppatitvāna ambaram/iddhi anekā dassesi buddhānuññā yasodharā*

<sup>710</sup>*abhivādetvā*, or "after saluting"

<sup>711</sup>*iddhiṃ*

<sup>712</sup>this verse does not appear here in BJTS, whereas BJTS supplies [974] which does not appear here in PTS. The two verses are sufficiently different to warrant inclusion of both, though it creates some unevenness in the flow of the narrative here. This verse does appear in BJTS below [1054], as in PTS, in the reduplication of Yasodharā's *apadāna* as the *apadāna* of Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasodharā.

<sup>713</sup>*cakkavālaṅ samaṅ* (BJTS *cakkavālasamaṅ*) *kāyaṅ*, lit., "body the same as the ring surrounding the universe"

<sup>714</sup>or *Uttarakuru* "island" (*dīpa*). This verse presumes knowledge of the ancient Indian understanding of India (here *jambudīpaṅ* [BJTS *°dīpo*], "the Island of Rose-Apples") as one of the four great islands or continents making up the whole world. It lies to the south, with the other three being north, east and west of India.



tail feathers: the southern ocean;  
 [other] feathers: varied rivers;  
 [her] eyes were the moon and the sun,  
 [her] crest was cosmic Mount Meru. (17) [976]

[In her] beak, mountain at world's end,<sup>715</sup>  
 [she carried] a tree<sup>716</sup> with its roots.  
 Coming up to [him,] fanning [him,]  
 she's worshipping the World's Leader. (18) [977]

She made herself<sup>717</sup> an elephant,  
 likewise a horse, mountain, ocean,  
 the moon and the sun, Mount Meru,  
 and Śakra, [the king of the gods]. (19) [978]

She covered the thousand-fold world  
 with blooming lotus,<sup>718</sup> [and then said,]  
 "I am Yasodharā, Hero;  
 I worship [your feet], Eyeful One." (20) [979]

And making Brahma's form appear,  
 she preached the doctrine of merit;<sup>719</sup>  
 "I am Yasodharā, Hero;  
 I worship your feet, Eyeful One." (21) [980]

I've mastered the superpowers  
 [like] the "divine ear" element.  
 I'm also a master, Great Sage,  
 of the knowledge in others' hearts. (22) [981]

I remember [my] former lives;  
 [my] "divine eye" is purified.  
 All the defilements are destroyed;  
 [I] will not be reborn again. (23) [982]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
 etymology and preaching,  
 [this] knowledge of mine was produced  
 in your presence, O Great Hero. (24) [983]

[My] meeting with [all] the Buddhas,<sup>720</sup>

<sup>715</sup>lit., "in the ring surrounding the universe" (*cakkavālagiri*°; BJTS *cakkavālagiri*°)

<sup>716</sup>*jamburukkha*°, lit., "a rose-apple tree"

<sup>717</sup>°*vaṇṇaṇ*...*dassayi*

<sup>718</sup>reading *phullapadmena* with BJTS for PTS *phullapaccena* (?)

<sup>719</sup>*dhammaṇ*...*puññataṇ*, alt. *suññataṇ* ("emptiness"!)

<sup>720</sup>reading *buddhānaṃ* with BJTS (or PTS alt. *Buddhāna*) for PTS *pubbānaṇ* (former)

the World-Lords, was well-seen by you;<sup>721</sup>  
 my extensive service [to them]  
 was for the sake of you, Great Sage. (25) [984]

O Sage, recall the good karma,  
 which formerly [was done] by me;  
 [that] merit was heaped up by me  
 for the sake of you, Great Hero. (26) [985]

I kept from misconduct, hindered<sup>722</sup>  
 the [nine] impossible places;<sup>723</sup>  
 I have sacrificed<sup>724</sup> life [itself]  
 for the sake of you, Great Hero. (27) [986]

I gave myself to be a wife,  
 several tens of billions [of times].  
 I was not distressed about that,  
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (28) [987]

I gave myself to do service,  
 several tens of billions [of times].  
 I was not distressed about that,  
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (29) [988]

I gave myself to [provide] food,  
 several tens of billions [of times].  
 I was not distressed about that,  
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (30) [989]

I have given you [all my] lives,  
 several tens of billions [of times].  
 I'll liberate [myself] from fear,  
 giving up my life [once more]. (31) [990]

Great Sage, for your sake I do not<sup>725</sup>  
 conceal the things of a woman,

<sup>721</sup>*saṅgaman te su-dassitaṅ* allows for a wide range of meanings; here I follow the BJTS in a fairly modest one. The half-verse could be taken more provocatively to mean, e.g., “when the Buddhas were World-Lords (or “during the time of the former World-Lords”) meeting (or “intercourse”) with you was well seen [by me]”

<sup>722</sup>reading *vārayitvā anācaram* with BJTS for PTS *pācayantī anāvaraṅ* (“burning/tormenting?”)

<sup>723</sup>*abhabba-tṭhāne*, the nine moral states or spheres of activity into which an arahant will not/cannot fall, D.iii.133 (and cf. D.iii.235 where only the first five appear as a set). This is *Pāsādika Sutta*, #29 of *Dīghanikāya*, section 26. The nine are: (1) cannot deliberately take the life of a living being (2) cannot steal (3) cannot have sexual intercourse (4) cannot deliberately lie (5) cannot hoard anything for his own indulgence (6) cannot act wrongly through attachments (7) cannot act wrongly through hatred (8) cannot act wrongly through folly (9) cannot act wrongly through fear

<sup>724</sup>reading *sañcattaṅ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *samattaṅ* (“fulfilled” “completed”)

<sup>725</sup>reading *bhaṇḍe na gūhāmi* with BJTS for PTS *bhaṇḍena gūhāmi* (“I conceal with a thing”)

numerous clothes of varied types,  
ornaments affixed to<sup>726</sup> [my] limbs. (32) [991]

Wealth and grain have been given up,  
villages and also small towns,  
fields and sons and daughters [as well]  
have been given up, O Great Sage. (33) [992]

Elephants, horses, also cows,  
slaves [as well as] servant-women  
are given up beyond all count  
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (34) [993]

Whatever I am told [to give]  
as alms to beggars, I give [that];  
I don't witness<sup>727</sup> any distress  
from giving the ultimate gift. (35) [994]

I have experienced<sup>728</sup> dis-ease  
of diverse types, beyond all count,  
in [this] much-varied existence<sup>729</sup>  
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (36) [995]

Attaining comfort[s,] I don't thrill;  
[I do]n't get distressed by<sup>730</sup> troubles.  
Everywhere I remain balanced  
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (37) [996]

After experiencing [both]  
pleasure [and] pain along the way,  
the Great Sage reached Awakening,  
the Teaching for which<sup>731</sup> Buddha<sup>732</sup> strived. (38) [997]

By you [and] by me there was much  
meeting with the other World-Lords,  
[whether you're] the god Brahmā or<sup>733</sup>  
Gotama Buddha,<sup>734</sup> World's Leader. (39) [998]

I performed a lot of service,

<sup>726</sup>lit., "gone to"

<sup>727</sup>lit., "see," fig. "know"

<sup>728</sup>reading *anubhuttaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *pariccattaṃ* ("are sacrificed," cf. PTS alt. *anubhontaṃ*)

<sup>729</sup>*saṃsāre*, or "wheel of life"

<sup>730</sup>lit., "in"

<sup>731</sup>*yaṃ dhammaṃ*

<sup>732</sup>lit., "Sambuddha"

<sup>733</sup>lit., "and"

<sup>734</sup>lit., "Sambuddha," paralleling the usage in the previous verse

for the sake of you, O Great Sage;  
while you sought the Buddha's Teaching,<sup>735</sup>  
I was [always] your attendant. (40) [999]

One hundred thousand aeons [and]  
four incalculable [aeons]  
hence, Dīpaṅkara, Great Hero,  
the Leader of the World was born. (41) [1000]

[Some]place in a nearby country,  
inviting [him,] the Thus-Gone-One,  
happy-minded folks are cleaning  
the road [on which] he is coming. (42) [1001]

At that time there was a brahmin  
[known by] the name of Sumedha.  
He was making the road ready  
for the All-Seer who was coming. (43) [1002]

At that time I was a maiden,  
born in a brahmin [family],  
known by the name of Sumittā.  
I went up to that gathering. (44) [1003]

With eight handfuls of blue lotus  
for offering<sup>736</sup> to the Teacher,  
in the midst of [all] the people  
I saw that fierce [ascetic] sage.<sup>737</sup> (45) [1004]

Seeing [him,] seated atop bark,<sup>738</sup>  
surpassing<sup>739</sup> [and] captivating,<sup>740</sup>  
then I thought [like this to myself:]  
“[this] life of mine is bearing fruit.” (46) [1005]

At that time I saw [that] sage's  
effort [which was then] bearing fruit;  
due to previous karma, my  
heart was pleased in the Sambuddha. (47) [1006]

Making [my] heart even more pleased,

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<sup>735</sup>reading *gavesato buddhadhamme* with BJTS for PTS *gavesantā buddhadhammaṃ* (“I, searching for the Buddha's Teaching)

<sup>736</sup>lit., “doing *pūjā*”

<sup>737</sup>i.e., Sumedha

<sup>738</sup>reading *cirānupari āsīnaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *cirānugataṃ dassitaṃ* (“associated for a long time, seen”)

<sup>739</sup>*patikantaṃ*, BJTS *atikantaṃ*

<sup>740</sup>*manoharaṃ*

I said, “O lofty-minded sage,  
seeing no other gift [to give,]  
I’m giving flowers to you, sage.<sup>741</sup> (48) [1007]

There are five handfuls for you, sage;  
the [remaining] three<sup>742</sup> are for me.  
Let there be success through<sup>743</sup> this [gift]  
for your Awakening,<sup>744</sup> O sage.” (49) [1008]

The Fourth Recitation Portion  
[Then that] sage, taking the flowers,  
for the sake of Awakening,<sup>745</sup>  
worshipped amidst the people the  
Famed One, Great Sage<sup>746</sup> who was coming. (50) [1009]

The Great Sage [named] Dipaṅkara,  
seeing [him] amidst the people,  
prophesied<sup>747</sup> [future Buddhahood]  
[for that] sage with a lofty mind. (51) [1010]

The Great Sage [named] Dipāṅkara  
[then] prophesied that my karma  
would for numberless aeons hence  
be exalted, that Sage So Great: (52)<sup>748</sup>

“She will be a like-minded [wife],  
with karma and conduct like [yours];  
through this karma she’ll be loving  
for the sake of you, O great sage.<sup>749</sup> (53) [1011]

Nice looking and much beloved,  
desirable,<sup>750</sup> speaking sweet words,  
she will be a loving woman,  
[and] an heir among [your] doctrines. (54) [1012]

<sup>741</sup>reading *ise* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *isij* (acc.)

<sup>742</sup>reading *tayo* with BJTS for PTS *tato*

<sup>743</sup>BJTS and PTS alt. read *samā* (“equal to”) for *saha* here,

<sup>744</sup>*bodhanatthāya tavaṇ* (PTS alt. *tava*); the phrase can also be translated, “for the sake of your knowing [me]”

<sup>745</sup>or, as above, “for the sake of knowing [me]”

<sup>746</sup>reading *mahā-isim* (acc.) with BJTS for PTS *mahā-isi* (nom.)

<sup>747</sup>lit., “the Great Hero prophesied”

<sup>748</sup>BJTS consigns this verse to an asterisked footnote, recognizing that it occurs in a number of its alternate recensions.

<sup>749</sup>BJTS agrees with PTS in presenting this as *mahā-ise* (voc.) but reference alternate readings *mahā-isi* (nom.), presumably troubled by the Buddha addressing Sumedha as “Great Sage”

<sup>750</sup>reading *manāpā* with BJTS for PTS *manasā*

Just as masters are protecting<sup>751</sup>  
the goods that [they] accumulate,  
so this one likewise will protect  
[all] of the things that are wholesome. (55) [1013]

Compassionate for [future] you,  
she will fulfill the perfections.  
Like a lion [freed] from a cage,  
she will achieve Awakening.” (56) [1014]

Rejoicing about [Buddha’s] speech,  
I lived behaving in that way  
the Buddha prophesied for me  
numberless aeons ago. (57) [1015]

I brought pleasure to [my] mind when  
that karma was well done [by me];  
I experienced countless wombs,  
divine [as well as] human [ones]. (58) [1016]

Undergoing pleasure [and] pain,  
among gods [and] human beings,  
when [my] last rebirth was attained,  
I was born in the Śākya clan. (59) [1017]

Beautiful and very wealthy,  
famous and likewise virtuous;  
endowed with every attainment,  
I’m much-honored among the clans. (60) [1018]

Riches, fame, hospitality,  
[and] indulgence in worldly things –  
[they] do not agitate [my] mind;<sup>752</sup>  
I have no fear from anything. (61) [1019]

I was appointed to attend  
on what the Blessed One had said  
within the harem of the king  
in the kṣatriyan city then. (62)<sup>753</sup>

[I’m] a woman who’s a servant,  
and [one] who feels pleasure and pain,

<sup>751</sup>reading *yathā...anurakkhanti sāmīno* with BJTS for PTS *yathā...anurakkhati sāmī no* (“as our master protects”)

<sup>752</sup>lit., “there is no agitation [to my mind]”

<sup>753</sup>This and the following 19 verses (20 verses total) are not included here in BJTS. vv. (62) and (63) do appear at BJTS [1092]-[1093]

a woman<sup>754</sup> who declares the facts,  
 a woman<sup>755</sup> who's compassionate. (63)  
 Buddhas [numbering] five billion,  
 and [another] nine billion [more] —  
 I provided vast alms to [them,]  
 those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods.<sup>756</sup> (64)

Listen to my [words,] O great king:  
 I'm constantly doing service<sup>757</sup>  
 to eleven billion [others,]  
 and fifty billion [Buddhas more]. (65)

I provided vast alms to [them,]  
 those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods;  
 listen to my [words,] O great king:  
 I'm constantly doing service. (66)

Twenty billion [other] Buddhas  
 and [another] thirty billion -  
 I provided vast alms to [them,]  
 those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods. (67)

Listen to my [words,] O great king:  
 I'm constantly doing service  
 to forty billion [Buddhas more,]  
 and [another] fifty billion. (68)

I provided vast alms to [them,]  
 those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods;  
 listen to my words, O great king:  
 I'm constantly doing service. (69)

Sixty billion [other] Buddhas,  
 [another] seventy billion -  
 I provided vast alms to [them,]  
 those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods. (70)

Listen to my [words,] O great king:  
 I'm constantly doing service  
 to eighty billion [Buddhas more,]  
 and [another] ninety billion. (71)

I provided vast alms to [them,]  
 those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods;

<sup>754</sup>lit., "and a woman"

<sup>755</sup>lit., "and a woman"

<sup>756</sup>*etesaṅ devadevānaṅ*

<sup>757</sup>*adhikāraṅ sadā mayhaṅ*, lit., "my service is constant" "my service is daily"

listen to my [words,] O great king:  
I'm constantly doing service. (72)

There have been a million million  
who were Chief Leaders of the World;  
I provided vast alms to [them,]  
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods. (73)

Listen to my [words,] O great king:  
I'm constantly doing service  
to another ninety trillion  
who were Leaders of the World [too.] (74)

I provided vast alms to [them,]  
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods;  
listen to my [words,] O great king:  
I'm constantly doing service (75)

to Great Sages [whose number was]  
eight hundred and fifty trillion,  
and seven hundred eighty-five  
billion [additional Buddhas]. (76)

I provided vast alms to [them,]  
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods;  
listen to my [words,] O great king:  
I'm constantly doing service. (77)

Lonely Buddhas, passion removed,  
six hundred and forty million;  
listen to my [words,] O great king:  
I'm constantly doing service. (78)

Countless followers of Buddhas,  
free of defilements, [and] stainless;  
listen to my [words,] O great king:  
I'm constantly doing service. (79)

I always practice<sup>758</sup> the Teaching<sup>759</sup>  
of those practiced in the teachings,<sup>760</sup>  
at ease practicing the Teaching,  
in this world and in the other. (80)

Well-practiced, the Teaching-practice;  
that practice is not ill-practiced.

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<sup>758</sup>or do: from *carati*

<sup>759</sup>*saddhamma*°, lit “good Teaching”

<sup>760</sup>*dharmesu ciṇṇānaṇ sadā saddhamma-carino*



[I'm] at ease practicing Teaching,  
in this world and in the other. (81)

Disgusted with transmigration,  
I went forth into homelessness,  
surrounded by thousands [of nuns,]  
after renouncing with nothing. (82) [1020]

After abandoning [my] home,  
I went forth into homelessness.  
When eight months<sup>761</sup> had not yet elapsed  
I attained the Four [Noble] Truths. (83) [1021]

Like the waves upon the ocean,  
[folks] are bringing many varied<sup>762</sup>  
monastic robes and alms to eat,  
requisites [as well as] lodgings. (84) [1022]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (85) [1023]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (86) [1024]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (87) [1025]

Thus many sorts of suffering  
and many types of happiness;  
the pure life [now] has been achieved,  
I have obtained all achievements. [1026]<sup>763</sup>

The woman who's giving herself  
for the merit of the Great Sage

<sup>761</sup>*aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* ("half a month")

<sup>762</sup>reading *bahu 'neke* with BJTS for PTS *buhun eke*

<sup>763</sup>this and the following concluding verses do not appear here in PTS, and are unusual (though not unique) for *Apadāna* in which individual poems usually conclude with what I've dubbed the "concluding refrain" (vv. 85-87) [1023-1025]. Interestingly they (plus one more, also duplicated elsewhere) do appear, in the same unusual post-refrain position, below, as vv. 57-59 (plus 60) of *apadāna* #30, Eighteen Thousand Nuns with Yasodharā, and are also in this position in the BJTS version of that *apadāna* (vv. [1100-1102] plus [1103]).

attains companionship [with him],  
[and] unconditioned nirvana. [1027]

The past is thoroughly destroyed,  
and the present [and] the future;  
all of my karma is destroyed:  
I worship your feet, Eyeful One.” [1028]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Yasodharā spoke these verses.

The legend of *Yasodharā Therī*<sup>764</sup> is finished

### **[29. Ten Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasovatī<sup>765</sup>]**

One hundred thousand aeons [and]  
four incalculable [aeons]  
hence, Dīpaṅkara, the Victor,  
the Leader of the World was born. (1) [1029]

Dīpaṅkara, the Great Hero,  
the Guide, prophesied back then that  
Sumedha and Sumittā would  
be the same in pleasure and pain. (2) [1030]

Seeing and going about in  
the world together with [its] gods,  
meeting us was included in  
[what Buddha] prophesied for them. (3) [1031]

“You,<sup>766</sup> [Sumedha,] will be all of  
our husbands met in the future;  
we’ll all be your desirable  
wives, saying what is dear [to you].” (4) [1032]

All this alms-giving and morals,  
meditation cultivated;  
for a long time our everything  
has been abandoned, O Great Sage. (5) [1033]

Scents and ointments, garlands [and] lamps,  
which were fashioned out of [pure] gold,  
whatever it was we wished for,  
all was abandoned, O Great Sage. (6) [1034]

<sup>764</sup>PTS omits *Therī*, which I supply from BJTS.

<sup>765</sup>BJTS reads “The *Apadāna* of Ten Thousand Buddhist Nuns”

<sup>766</sup>reading *hohi* with BJTS for PTS *honti* (they will be/they are)

And other karma [we] have done,  
and [every] human enjoyment,  
for a long time our everything  
has been abandoned, O Great Sage. (7) [1035]

Transmigrating in varied births,  
much good karma<sup>767</sup> was done by us;  
experiencing [you as] husband,  
transmigrating life after life, (8) [1036]

When [our] last lifetime was attained,  
in the home of the Śākya prince,<sup>768</sup>  
we arose in various clans,  
attractive celestial nymphs.<sup>769</sup> (9) [1037]

We've attained fame, with foremost gain;  
we're worshipped<sup>770</sup> and well-respected.  
We are always venerated,  
receiving things to eat and drink. (10) [1038]

After abandoning the home,  
going<sup>771</sup> forth into homelessness,  
when eight months<sup>772</sup> had not yet elapsed,  
we all realized nirvana. (11) [1039]

Always worshipped [and] respected,  
[we] receive things to eat and drink,  
and clothes [and also] lodgings [too;]  
[folks] bring [us] all the requisites. (12) [1040]

Our<sup>773</sup> defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
we are living without constraint. (13) [1041]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for us.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (14) [1042]

<sup>767</sup>*puññaṅ*, lit., "merit"

<sup>768</sup>*putta*° lit., "son"

<sup>769</sup>*accharā kāmavaṇṇinī*, lit., "having the desirable appearance [like] celestia nymphs"

<sup>770</sup>lit., "offered *pūjā*"

<sup>771</sup>reading *pabbajitvāna* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pabbajij* ("I went forth")

<sup>772</sup>*aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* ("half a month")

<sup>773</sup>PTS just gives *pe* here, suggesting that the concluding refrain remains in the first person singular as elsewhere throughout the collection. BJTS however supplies the full verses, including the readings translated here, corrected for the plural subject.

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (15) [1043]

Thus indeed ten thousand Buddhist nuns headed up by Yasovatī spoke these verses  
face-to-face with the Blessed One.

The legend of ten thousand Buddhist nuns headed up by Yasodharā is finished

### **[30. Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasodharā<sup>774</sup>]**

Buddhist nuns, eighteen thousand [strong,]  
[who were] born in the Śākya[n] [clan],  
headed up by Yasodharā,  
went up to [him,] the Sambuddha. (1) [1044]

All those eighteen thousand women  
are superpower-possessors.  
Worshipping the feet of the Sage,  
they're announcing their strength's extent. (2) [1045]

"Birth is destroyed, old age, disease,  
and death is [as well,] O Great Sage;  
Guide, we travel the peaceful path,  
deathless and without defilement. (3) [1046]

If there's trouble in the city,  
even for everyone, Great Sage,  
they [all] know [our] imperfections;  
Leader, [give us your] forgive[ness]." (4) [1047]

"[Now] display [your] superpowers,  
doers of my dispensation;  
to that extent cut off the doubt  
among all of the assemblies." (5) [1048]

"We're Yasodharās, Great Hero;  
desirable, speaking sweet words.  
[And] in the home, O Great Hero,  
[we] all [were fixed as] your chief queens.<sup>775</sup> (6) [1049]

<sup>774</sup>BJTS reads "The Apadāna of Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns"

<sup>775</sup>te pajāpatī

In your household, O Hero, we  
 were the leaders, the lords of all  
 of the [women there, who numbered]  
 one hundred thousand ninety six. (7) [1050]

[All us women are] endowed with  
 the virtues of beauty and grace;  
 youthful, well-spoken, we're revered,  
 like gods<sup>776</sup> [are revered by] people. (8) [1051]

All [us] eighteen thousand [women,]  
 born in the clan of the Śākya,  
 are famous ones,<sup>777</sup> [Yasodharās,]  
 the leaders of thousands back then. (9) [1052]

Beyond the essence of desire,  
 fixed as the essence of beauty,  
 [we're] unmatched in terms of beauty  
 among [other] thousands, Great Sage." (10) [1053]

Worshipping<sup>778</sup> the Sambuddha, they  
 showed the Teacher superpowers.<sup>779</sup>  
 They displayed great superpowers,  
 diverse, having various forms. (11) [1054]

Body big as the universe,<sup>780</sup>  
 they [made] the continent<sup>781</sup> up north  
 [their] head[s]; both other islands wings;  
 [and made] India [their] torso[s]; (12) [1055]

tail feathers: the southern ocean;  
 [other] feathers: varied rivers;  
 [their] eyes were the moon and the sun,  
 [their] crests [were] cosmic Mount Meru. (13) [1056]

[In their] beak[s], mountain at world's end,<sup>782</sup>

<sup>776</sup> *devatā*, or "deities" "supernaturals" "fairies" "spirits"

<sup>777</sup> *yasovatī*, = Yasodharā

<sup>778</sup> *abhivādetvā*, or "after saluting"

<sup>779</sup> *iddhiṃ*

<sup>780</sup> *cakkavālaṃ samaṃ* (BJTS *cakkavālasamaṃ*) *kāyaṃ*, lit., "body the same as the ring surrounding the universe"

<sup>781</sup> or "island" (*dīpa*). This verse presumes knowledge of the ancient Indian understanding of India (here *jambudīpaṃ* [BJTS °*dīpo*], "the Island of Rose-Apples") as one of the four great islands or continents making up the whole world. It lies to the south, with the other three being north, east and west of India.

<sup>782</sup> lit., "in the ring surrounding the universe" (*cakkavālagiri*°; BJTS *cakkavālagiri*°)

[they carried] a tree<sup>783</sup> with its roots.  
Coming up to [him,] fanning [him,]  
they're worshipping the World's Leader. (14) [1057]

[Then] they made themselves<sup>784</sup> elephants,  
likewise horses, mountains, oceans,  
the moon and the sun, Mount Meru,  
and Śakra, [the king of the gods]. (15) [1058]

"We're like Yasodharās,<sup>785</sup> Hero;  
We worship [your] feet, Eyeful One.  
Through your majesty, Hero,  
we're perfected, Leader of Men. (16) [1059]

We've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the "divine ear" element.  
We're also the masters, Great Sage,  
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (17) [1060]

We remember [our] former lives;  
[our] "divine eye[s]" are purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[we] will not be reborn again. (18) [1061]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
[this] knowledge of ours was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero.<sup>786</sup> (19) [1062]

Our meeting with [all] the Buddhas,<sup>787</sup>  
the World-Lords, was displayed [to you];  
our extensive service [to them]  
was for the sake of you, Great Sage. (20) [1063]

O Sage, recall the good karma,  
which formerly [was done] by us;  
[that] merit was heaped up by us  
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (21) [1064]

We kept from misconduct, hindered<sup>788</sup>

<sup>783</sup>jamburukkha°, lit., "a rose-apple tree"

<sup>784</sup>°vaṇṇaṇ...dassayuj

<sup>785</sup>yasovaṇṇā, lit., "we have the the appearance of Yaso" "we are the color (or have the appearance) of fame"

<sup>786</sup>here as elsewhere, reading the voc. *mahāmunue* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

<sup>787</sup>reading *buddhānaṃ* with BJTS (or PTS alt. *Buddhāna*) for PTS *pubbānaṃ* (former); but cf. below [1133] where BJTS and PTS both give *pubbānaṃ* in a repetition of this verse (and several around it)

<sup>788</sup>reading *vārayitvā anācaram* with BJTS for PTS *pācayantī anāvaraṇ* ("burning/tormenting ?)

the [nine] impossible places;<sup>789</sup>  
 we have sacrificed<sup>790</sup> life [itself]  
 for the sake of you, Great Hero. (22) [1065]

We were given to be [your] wives,  
 several tens of billions [of times].  
 We were not distressed about that,  
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (23) [1066]

We were given to do service,  
 several tens of billions [of times].  
 We were not distressed about that,  
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (24) [1067]

We were given to [provide] food,  
 several tens of billions [of times].  
 We were not distressed about that,  
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (25) [1068]

We have given you [all our] lives,  
 several tens of billions [of times].  
 We'll liberate [ourselves] from fear,  
 giving up our lives [once more]. (26) [1069]

Great Sage for your sake we do not<sup>791</sup>  
 conceal the things of a woman,  
 numerous clothes of varied types,  
 ornaments affixed to<sup>792</sup> [our] limbs. (27) [1070]

Wealth and grain have been given up,  
 villages and also small towns,  
 fields and sons and daughters [as well]  
 have been given up, O Great Sage. (28) [1071]

Elephants, horses, also cows,  
 slaves [as well as] servant-women  
 are given up beyond all count,  
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (29) [1072]

<sup>789</sup>*abhabba-tṭhāne*, the nine moral states or spheres of activity into which an arahant will not/cannot fall, D.iii.133 (and cf. D.iii.235 where only the first five appear as a set). This is *Pāsādika Sutta*, #29 of *Dīghanikāya*, section 26. The nine are: (1) cannot deliberately take the life of a living being (2) cannot steal (3) cannot have sexual intercourse (4) cannot deliberately lie (5) cannot hoard anything for his own indulgence (6) cannot act wrongly through attachments (7) cannot act wrongly through hatred (8) cannot act wrongly through folly (9) cannot act wrongly through fear

<sup>790</sup>reading *sañcattam* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *samattaṇ* (“fulfilled” “completed”)

<sup>791</sup>reading *°bhaṇḍe na gūhāma* with BJTS for PTS *bhaṇḍena gūhāmi* (“I conceal with a thing”)

<sup>792</sup>lit., “gone to”

Whatever we are told [to give]  
as alms to beggars, we give [that];  
we don't witness<sup>793</sup> any distress  
from giving the ultimate gift. (30) [1073]

[We have] experienced<sup>794</sup> dis-ease  
of diverse types, beyond all count,  
in [this] much-varied existence<sup>795</sup>  
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (31) [1074]

Attaining comfort[s,] we don't thrill;  
[We do]n't get distressed by<sup>796</sup> troubles.  
Everywhere we remain balanced  
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (32) [1075]

After experiencing [both]  
pleasure [and] pain along the way,  
the Great Sage reached Awakening,  
the Teaching for which<sup>797</sup> Buddha<sup>798</sup> strived. (33) [1076]

By you [and] by us there was much  
meeting with the other World-Lords,  
[whether you're] the god Brahmā or<sup>799</sup>  
Gotama Buddha,<sup>800</sup> World's Leader. (34) [1077]

We performed a lot of service,  
for the sake of you, O Great Sage;  
while you sought the Buddha's Teaching,<sup>801</sup>  
we were [always] your attendants. (35) [1078]

One hundred thousand aeons [and]  
four incalculable [aeons]  
hence, Dīpaṅkara, Great Hero,  
the Leader of the World was born. (36) [1079]

[Some]place in a nearby country,  
inviting [him,] the Thus-Gone-One,  
happy-minded folks are cleaning

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<sup>793</sup>lit., "see," fig. "know"

<sup>794</sup>reading *anubhuttaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *pariccattaṃ* ("are sacrificed")

<sup>795</sup>*saṃsāre*, or "wheel of life"

<sup>796</sup>lit., "in"

<sup>797</sup>*yaṃ dhammaṃ*

<sup>798</sup>lit., "Sambuddha"

<sup>799</sup>lit., "and"

<sup>800</sup>lit., "Sambuddha," paralleling the usage in the previous verse

<sup>801</sup>reading *gavesato buddhadhamme* with BJTS for PTS *gavesantā buddhadhammaṃ* ("We, searching for the Buddha's Teaching")



the road [on which] he is coming. (37) [1080]

At that time there was a brahmin,  
[known by] the name of Sumedha.  
He was making the road ready  
for the All-Seer who was coming. (38) [1081]

At that time we all were maidens,  
who had been born in brahmin [clans];  
we carried to that assembly  
flowers grown in water, on land.<sup>802</sup> (39) [1082]

Just then the Greatly Famed Buddha,  
Dīpaṅkara, the Great Hero,  
prophesied<sup>803</sup> [future Buddhahood]  
[for that] sage with a lofty mind. (40) [1083]

The earth together with [its] gods  
was shaking, roaring [and] quaking,  
as he was praising his karma  
[for that] sage with a lofty mind. (41) [1084]

Divine maidens, human women,  
we and the [whole world] with [its] gods,  
worshipping<sup>804</sup> with various things  
to be offered,<sup>805</sup> we made wishes. (42) [1085]

The Buddha with the name “Bright Lamp”  
prophesied to them [at that time:]  
“Who wished today, they’re going to be,  
[reborn together,] face-to-face.” (43) [1086]

Rejoicing about [Buddha’s] speech,  
we lived behaving in that way  
the Buddha prophesied for us  
numberless aeons ago. (44) [1087]

We brought pleasure to [our] mind[s] when  
that karma was well done [by us];  
we experienced countless wombs,  
divine [as well as] human [ones]. (45) [1088]

Undergoing pleasure [and] pain,  
among gods [and] human beings,

<sup>802</sup>reading *thaludajāni* with BJTS for PTS *phaludakajāti* (“born in fruit-juice”)

<sup>803</sup>lit., “the Great Hero prophesied”

<sup>804</sup>lit., “doing *pūjā*”

<sup>805</sup>lit., “*pūjā* -worthy”

when [our] last rebirth was attained,  
we were born in the Śākya clan. (46) [1089]

Beautiful and very wealthy,  
famous and likewise virtuous;  
endowed with every attainment,  
we're much-honored among the clans. (47) [1090]

Riches, fame, hospitality,  
[and] indulgence in worldly things –  
[they] do not agitate [our] minds;<sup>806</sup>  
we have no fear from anything. (48) [1091]

We were appointed to attend  
on what the Blessed One had said  
within the harem of the king  
in the kṣatriyan city then. (49) [1092]

[We are] women who are servants,  
and [those] who feel pleasure and pain,  
and women who declare the facts,  
women who are compassionate. (50) [1093]

Well-practiced, the Teaching-practice;  
that practice is not ill-practiced.  
[We're] at ease practicing Teaching,  
in this world and in the other. (51) [1094]

After abandoning the home,  
going<sup>807</sup> forth into homelessness,  
when eight months<sup>808</sup> had not yet elapsed,  
we attained the Four [Noble] Truths. (52) [1095]

Like the waves upon the ocean,  
[folks] are bringing many varied<sup>809</sup>  
monastic robes and alms to eat,  
requisites [as well as] lodgings. (53) [1096]

Our defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
we are living without constraint. (54) [1097]

Being in Best Buddha's presence

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<sup>806</sup>lit., “there is no agitation [to my mind]”

<sup>807</sup>reading *pabbajitvāna* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pabbajij* (“I went forth”)

<sup>808</sup>*aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* (“half a month”)

<sup>809</sup>reading *bahu 'neke* with BJTS for PTS *buhun eke*

was a very good thing for us.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (55) [1098]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (56) [1099]

Thus many sorts of suffering  
and many types of happiness;  
the pure life [now] has been achieved,  
we have obtained all achievements. (57) [1100]

Woman who are giving themselves  
for the merit of the Great Sage  
attain companionship [with him],<sup>810</sup>  
[and] unconditioned nirvana.<sup>811</sup> (58) [1101]

The past is thoroughly destroyed,  
and the present [and] the future;  
all of<sup>812</sup> our karma is destroyed:  
we<sup>813</sup> worship your feet, Eyeful One.” (59) [1102]

“What more can I say to women  
who are going<sup>814</sup> to nirvana?  
Pacifying conditioned flaws<sup>815</sup>  
you should attain the deathless state.” (60) [1103]

Thus indeed Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasodharā spoke these verses.

The legend of Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasodharā is finished

The Summary:

Kuṇḍalā, also Gotamī,  
Dhammadinnā and Sakulā,<sup>816</sup>  
Excellent Nandā and Soṇā

<sup>810</sup>reading *sahāyasampadā honti* with BJTS for PTS *pabhāyasampadā bhonti* (“becoming attained with light”?)

<sup>811</sup>reading *nibbānapadam asaṅkhatam* with BJTS for PTS *nibbān’-amat’-asaṅkhatam* (“unconditioned, deathless nirvana”)

<sup>812</sup>reading *sabbaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *saccaṃ* (“the truth of”)

<sup>813</sup>reading *vandāma* with BJTS for PTS *vandāmi* (as in v. [1028], above)

<sup>814</sup>reading *vajantīnaṃ* with BJTS for PYS *vadantīnaṃ* (“who are saying”)

<sup>815</sup>*santasāṅkhatadoso* (BJTS °*dosam*)

<sup>816</sup>reading the correct spelling with BJTS for PTS *Sākulā*

Kapilāni, Yasodharā,  
and the ten thousand Buddhist nuns  
[also] the eighteen thousand [nuns:]<sup>817</sup>  
the verses that are counted here  
[number] one hundred and forty  
and also seventy-eight [more].

The Kuṇḍalakesā Chapter, the Third

## Khattiyā Chapter,<sup>818</sup> the Fourth

### [31. Eighteen Thousand Kṣatriyan Maiden Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasavatī<sup>819</sup>]

O Great Sage, we are announcing  
“all existence has been destroyed;”  
[we’re] freed from ties to existence  
all outflows<sup>820</sup> don’t exist for us.<sup>821</sup> (1) [1104]

Doing previous good<sup>822</sup> karma,  
whatever may have been wished for,<sup>823</sup>  
all of this stuff<sup>824</sup> has been given  
for the sake of you, O Great Sage.<sup>825</sup> (2) [1105]

The wishes of Buddhas, Lonely  
Buddhas and of the followers,  
[all of] this stuff<sup>826</sup> has been given  
for the sake of you, O Great Sage.<sup>827</sup> (3) [1106]

This karma, [both] big [and] little,  
excellent wish of Buddhist monks,

<sup>817</sup>reading *dasasahassabhikkhunī aṭṭhārasasahassakā* with BJTS for PTS *dasatṭhārasasahassā* (“the ten-eighteen thousand”)

<sup>818</sup>this name is supplied only by BJTS

<sup>819</sup>BJTS reads “The *Apadāna* of Buddhist Nuns Headed Up By Yasavatī”

<sup>820</sup>or “defilements” *sabbāsavā*

<sup>821</sup>reading *ca no n’atthi* with BJTS for PTS *sabbāsavāmano n’atthi* (“there is no mind with all outflows”)

<sup>822</sup>or “wholesome”

<sup>823</sup>*yaṃ kiñci sabbam patthitaṃ*

<sup>824</sup>*sabbaṃ...paribhogaṃ*; BJTS reads *yaṃ kiñci sādhu patthitaṃ* (“whatever excellently wished”)

<sup>825</sup>reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

<sup>826</sup>*paribhogaṃ*

<sup>827</sup>reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

[and] service to high-status clans  
has been done by us,<sup>828</sup> O Great Sage.<sup>829</sup> (4) [1107]

Incited by that wholesome root,  
reaping<sup>830</sup> [the fruit] of that karma,  
surpassing [all other] humans,<sup>831</sup>  
we were born in kṣatriyan clan[s]. (5) [1108]

[Always] together when [we're] born,  
when karma is done, and by caste,<sup>832</sup>  
born together in this last [birth,]  
[we're] kṣatriyans,<sup>833</sup> born in the clans. (6) [1109]

In the harem, O Great Hero,  
as though in the gods' [garden] "Joy,"  
[we're] beautiful, very wealthy,  
receiving honor [and] worship.<sup>834</sup> (7) [1110]

Becoming wearied we went forth,  
from the home into homelessness.  
Remaining attached a few days,  
we all attained [our] nirvana. (8) [1111]

[People] are bringing many [gifts,]  
monastic robes and alms to eat,  
requisites [as well as] lodgings;  
we're always honored [and] worshipped.<sup>835</sup> (9) [1112]

Our defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
we are living without constraint. (10) [1113]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for us.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (11) [1114]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,

<sup>828</sup>*kat' amhehi*. BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *katam etaṃ*

<sup>829</sup>reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

<sup>830</sup>*°sampadā*

<sup>831</sup>reading BJTS (and, partly, PTS alt.) *mānusikam atikkantā* for PTS *mānussikam anikkantā*

<sup>832</sup>*jātiyā*, lit., "by birth," the clear theme of this verse

<sup>833</sup>lit., "born in the clan"

<sup>834</sup>*lābhasakkārapūjitā*

<sup>835</sup>lit., "given *pūjā*"

six special knowledges mastered,  
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (1) [1115]

Thus indeed Eighteen Thousand Kṣatriyan Maiden Buddhist Nuns  
Headed Up by Famous (Yasavatī) spoke these verses.

The legend of Eighteen Thousand Kṣatriyan Maiden Buddhist Nuns  
Headed Up by Famous (Yasavatī) is finished

### [32. Eighty-Four Thousand Brahmin Maiden Buddhist Nuns<sup>836</sup>]

O Great Sage,<sup>837</sup> in your city are  
eighty-four thousand [young women,]  
with [very] tender hands [and] feet,  
who have been born in brahmin clans. (1) [1116]

O Great Sage,<sup>838</sup> in your city are  
many maidens from every land,<sup>839</sup>  
born in Vaiśya and Śudra clans,  
and gods, snake[-gods] and *kinnaras*. (2) [1117]

Some of them [already] went forth;  
many have insight into truth;  
the gods, *kinnaras* and snake[-gods]  
will enjoy<sup>840</sup> [this] in the future. (3) [1118]

Experiencing every fame,  
achieving every achievement,  
[those who've] obtained pleasure in you  
will enjoy [it] in the future. (4) [1119]

And<sup>841</sup> we're the daughters of brahmins,  
who have been born in brahmin clans.  
Out of our desire,<sup>842</sup> Great Sage,  
we worship [your] feet, Eyeful One. (5) [1120]

All existences have been reached,<sup>843</sup>  
cravings are torn out by the roots;

<sup>836</sup>BJTS reads "The Apadāna of Brahmin Maiden Buddhist Nuns"

<sup>837</sup>reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

<sup>838</sup>reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

<sup>839</sup><sup>^</sup>*catuddīpā*, lit., "from the four continents," that is, from the entire world

<sup>840</sup>here PTS reads *phusissanti*, BJTS *bhujjhissanti*; both read *bhujjhissanti* in the following verse

<sup>841</sup>*tu*, or "but"

<sup>842</sup>*pekkato no*, perhaps "when we long for [or see]"

<sup>843</sup>*upāgatā bhavā sabbe*

latent tendencies are cut off,  
merit[-based] aggregates broken. (6) [1121]

All pasture in meditation,<sup>844</sup>  
likewise have mastered altered states;<sup>845</sup>  
we will always live delighting  
in the Teaching through altered states.<sup>846</sup> (7) [1122]

The ties to being, ignorance,  
the aggregates, too, are cast off.  
We're born, O Leader, having gone  
on the path very hard to see. (8) [1123]

“For a long time you have been my<sup>847</sup>  
servants, doing what's to be done.  
Cutting off the doubts of many,  
may you all go to nirvana.” (9) [1124]

Having worshipped the Sage's feet,  
they performed [their] superpowers.<sup>848</sup>  
Some are showing [very bright light,]  
and after that making [it] dark. (10) [1125]

They are showing the moon [and] sun,  
and the [great] ocean with [its] fish;  
they're showing Mount Meru and the  
Coral Tree<sup>849</sup> [in heaven,] girdled. (11) [1126]

Through superpower they're showing  
Tāvatiṃsa and Yāma spheres,  
Tusitā [and] Nimmitā gods,  
[and] the Vasavatti great lords. (12) [1127]

Some are showing the Brahmā [gods]  
and a very costly walkway;  
making [themselves] look like<sup>850</sup> Brahmā,  
they preach the *Dhamma* that's empty.<sup>851</sup> (13) [1128]

Doing varied transformations,

<sup>844</sup> *samādhigocarā sabā*

<sup>845</sup> *samāpattī vasī tathā*, lit., “master with the attainments” (especially the eight *jhānas* or “altered states” experienced as states of awareness and/or levels of reality in meditation)

<sup>846</sup> *jhānena dhammaratīyā viharissāma no sadā*

<sup>847</sup> reading *mamaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *mayam* (“we”)

<sup>848</sup> *katvā iddhivikubbanam*, lit., “having done transformations through [their] superpowers”

<sup>849</sup> in Indra/Śakra's heaven

<sup>850</sup> or “conjuring up the appearance of”

<sup>851</sup> cf. below, [980]

showing Buddha<sup>852</sup> superpowers,  
they all demonstrated [their] strength,  
[then they] worshipped the Teacher's feet. (14) [1129]

We've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the "divine ear" element.  
We're also the masters, Great Sage,  
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (15) [1130]

We remember [our] former lives;  
[our] "divine eye[s]" are purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[we] will not be reborn again. (16) [1131]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
[this] knowledge of ours was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero.<sup>853</sup> (17) [1132]

Our<sup>854</sup> meeting with [all] the Buddhas,  
the World-Lords, was displayed [to you];  
our extensive service [to them]  
was for the sake of you, Great Sage. (18) [1133]

O Sage, recall the good karma,  
which formerly [was done] by us;  
[that] merit was heaped up by us  
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (19) [1134]

One hundred thousand aeons hence  
Padumuttara was the Sage.<sup>855</sup>  
The city named Hamsavati  
was the home of [that] Buddha's clan. (20) [1135]

The Ganges River always flows  
past the gate of Hamsavati.  
Buddhist monks are troubled by the  
river, unable to<sup>856</sup> proceed. (21) [1136]

A day, [then] two, and then [it's] three,  
after that a week, [next] a month,

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<sup>852</sup>lit., "to the Teacher"

<sup>853</sup>here as elsewhere, reading the voc. *mahāmuni* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

<sup>854</sup>reading *no* with BJTS (and the parallel instance of this verse below, at [1063]) for PTS *tehi* ("by them")

<sup>855</sup>*mahāmuni*, lit., "the Great Sage"

<sup>856</sup>lit., "they are not receiving" "they are not getting"



then fully four months [might pass for  
those monks], unable to<sup>857</sup> proceed. (22) [1137]

Then the future Buddha<sup>858</sup> was a  
local leader,<sup>859</sup> named Jaṭila.  
Seeing [those] stranded Buddhist monks  
he made<sup>860</sup> a bridge on the river.<sup>861</sup> (23) [1138]

Then, with a hundred thousand [spent,]  
the bridge on the river made, he<sup>862</sup>  
made a monastery for the  
Assembly on the nearer bank. (24) [1139]

The women as well as the men,  
from clans of high [and] low status,  
provided<sup>863</sup> [funds for] equal shares  
in his bridge and monastery. (25) [1140]

We and the other women [too,]  
in the city and countrysides,  
who had minds that were very clear,  
were [rightful] heirs of that karma. (26) [1141]

Women [and] men<sup>864</sup> and boys [as well,]  
and also numerous young girls,  
[joined together] to spread [clean] sand,  
for his bridge and monastery. (27) [1142]

Sweeping the roadway, making flags,  
plantain-banners,<sup>865</sup> pots of plenty,<sup>866</sup>  
and having honored the Teacher  
with incense, cunnam and garlands, (28) [1143]

having made the monastery

<sup>857</sup>lit., “they are not receiving” “they are not getting”

<sup>858</sup>*sattasāro*, lit., “essence (or pith) of beings;” I follow BJTS Sinhala gloss in taking this as “bodhisattva”. Jaṭila (a.k.a. Jaṭika) is mentioned as a rebirth precursor of Gotama Buddha in the *nidāna-kathā* (J.i.37) and *Buddhavaṃsa* (xi.11), and called a “provincial governor” (Malalasekera’s understanding of *mahāraṭṭhiya*; in the present *Apadāna* text *raṭṭhika* [“rustic”]); see DPPN I: 931

<sup>859</sup>*raṭṭhiko*, lit., “countryman”. Sinh. gloss *rāṭṭiyek*, “a guy from the country” (*raṭavāsī*) or a district official;” the Pāli likewise can mean “a man of the country” either in the sense of “someone from the country” or “an official of the country”

<sup>860</sup>*kārayi*, lit., “he caused to be built”

<sup>861</sup>reading *setuṃ gaṅgāya* with BJTS for PTS *setuno satta* (?)

<sup>862</sup>reading *kārayi* with BJTS for PTS [*a*]kārayiṅ (“I made”)

<sup>863</sup>lit., “did”

<sup>864</sup>reading *purisā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pumā*

<sup>865</sup>*kadalī*, lit., “plantains,” see RD s.v., banners in the shape of or made of banana leaves.

<sup>866</sup>reading *punṇaghāṭe* with BJTS for PTS °[*uṇṇakuṭa* (“full huts”)

and the bridge, inviting the Guide,  
after giving extensive alms,  
he<sup>867</sup> aspired to Awakening.<sup>868</sup> (29) [1144]

Padumuttara, Great Hero,  
Crosser-Over<sup>869</sup> of all that breathe,  
the Great Sage made<sup>870</sup> [his] thanksgiving  
to [bodhisattva] Jaṭila:<sup>871</sup> (30) [1145]

“Undergoing life after life,  
when one hundred thousand [aeons]  
have passed, [in] the “lucky” aeon,  
he will attain Awakening. (31) [1146]

These men and women who’ve arranged  
by hand<sup>872</sup> what work was to be done,  
will all in futures<sup>873</sup> yet to come  
be [born together] face-to-face.<sup>874</sup> (32) [1147]

As the result of that karma,  
[done] with intention and resolve,  
reborn in heavens of the gods,  
they will [all] be your attendants.”<sup>875</sup> (33) [1148]

Transmigrating life after life,  
a long time we experienced<sup>876</sup>  
countless [years of] divine pleasure  
and countless [such] human [rebirths]. (34) [1149]

For one hundred thousand aeons,  
well-done karma’s attainment, we’re  
tender girls among men; likewise  
in the superb city of gods. (35) [1150]

<sup>867</sup>reading *abhipatthayi* with BJTS (and, misspelled, PTS alt.) for PTS *abhipatthayiṇ* (“I aspired”)

<sup>868</sup>*sambodhiṇ abhipatthayi*, i.e., he (renewed) his aspiration to become a Buddha, as he is said to have done in the presence of all the Buddhas since Dīpaṅkara.

<sup>869</sup>*tārako*

<sup>870</sup>reading *anumodaniyaṃ kāsī* with BJTS for PTS *anumodaniyaṇ kāsī-jaṭtilassa* (“I gave thanks to Jaṭila from Benares [or, Miss Lilley seems to be thinking in her lack of capitalization, “I gave thanks to the matted-hair ascetic (*jaṭilassa*) from Benares”])

<sup>871</sup>reading *kāsī jaṭilassa* with BJTS for PTS *kāsī-jaṭilassa*, see previous note

<sup>872</sup>reading *ye keci hatthaparikkamaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *Keci hatthapadaṇ* (“Some, hand [and] foot”)

<sup>873</sup>lit., “in the future” (singular)

<sup>874</sup>*sammukhā*, i.e. “together”

<sup>875</sup>*tuyham*, presumably addressing the bodhisattva

<sup>876</sup>reading *anubhontī ciraṃ kālaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *tuyhaṇ vo paricāre ca* (“and all of you will attend on you”)

Beautiful, wealthy and famous,  
and also praised and respected,  
we are constantly receiving  
[that] well-done karma's attainment. (36) [1151]

When [our] last rebirth was attained,  
we are born<sup>877</sup> in a brahmin clan,  
with [very] tender hands [and] feet,  
in the home of the Śākya prince.<sup>878</sup> (37) [1152]

We are never<sup>879</sup> seeing the earth  
when it is undecorated,  
[and] we do not see muddy roads  
[when they] have not been cleaned,<sup>880</sup> Great Sage. (38) [1153]

When we were living in the house,  
we were respected all the time;  
they're always bringing everything,  
through the strength of our past karma.<sup>881</sup> (39) [1154]

After abandoning [our] homes,  
going forth into homelessness,  
we have crossed the road of rebirth;<sup>882</sup>  
we have become free of passion.<sup>883</sup> (40) [1155]

All the time they are bringing us  
monastic robes and alms to eat,  
requisites [as well as] lodgings,  
by the thousands and more and more.<sup>884</sup> (41) [1156]

Our defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
we are living without constraint. (42) [1157]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for us.

<sup>877</sup> reading *jātāmha* with BJTS for PTS *ajātā* (“[we are] unborn;” worse is alt. *ajāto* “he is unborn”)

<sup>878</sup> *putta*° lit., “son”

<sup>879</sup> lit., “all the time we are not...”

<sup>880</sup> reading *cikkhallabhūmimasuciṇ* with BJTS for PTS *cikkhallabhūmiṇ gamaṇaṇ* (“going on muddy roads”)

<sup>881</sup> reading *pubbakammabalena no* with BJTS for PTS *pubbakammaphalan tato* (“after the fruit of previous karma”)

<sup>882</sup> *saṅsārapatha-nittiṇṇā*

<sup>883</sup> reading *vītarāgā bhavāmase* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *n’atthi dāni punabbhavo* (“now there will be no more rebirth”)

<sup>884</sup> *tato tato*

The three knowledges are attained;  
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (43) [1158]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (44) [1159]

Thus indeed Eighty-Four Thousand Brahmin Maiden Buddhist Nuns spoke these verses.

The legend of Eighty-Four Thousand Brahmin Maiden Buddhist Nuns is finished

### [33. Uppaladāyikā<sup>885</sup>]

In Aruṇavatī City,  
[lived] the kṣatriyan Aruṇa.  
I was [then] the wife of that king;  
in that place<sup>886</sup> I was practicing.<sup>887</sup> (1) [1160]

Gone off alone [and] sitting down,  
I then reflected [on it] like this:  
“there’s no good karma<sup>888</sup> done by me  
to take along on my journey.<sup>889</sup> (2) [1161]

Am I not then going to hell,  
burning red hot, very cruel,  
with a gruesome form, and bitter?  
For me there’s no doubt about that.” (3) [1162]

Having thought [it through] in that way.  
bringing pleasure to [my own] mind,  
after going up to the king,  
I spoke these words [entreating him:] (4) [1163]

“O king,<sup>890</sup> we [who are] called “women”  
always follow behind [our] men.<sup>891</sup>

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<sup>885</sup>“Blue Lotus Giver”

<sup>886</sup>reading *ekajjhaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *ekaccaṇ* (“certain,” “definite”)

<sup>887</sup>reading *cārayāṃ’ ahaṃ* with BJTS (and cf. PTS alts. here) for PTS *vādayāṃ’ ahaṇ* (“I am singing”  
“I am making sound” “I am causing to be said”)

<sup>888</sup>*kusalaṇ*, lit., “wholesome deeds”

<sup>889</sup>PTS *kusalaṇ me kataṇ n’atthi ādāya gamiyam mama*; BJTS *ādāya gamanīyaṃ hi kusalaṇ natthi me kataṃ*

<sup>890</sup>*deva*, or “Lord,” lit., “god”

<sup>891</sup>or “always become victims of men,” reading *purisānugatā sadā* with BJTS for PTS *purisānaṇ bharā mayaṇ* (“we are burdens on men” or “we carry the burden of men,” perhaps playing with

Give me a single Buddhist monk;  
I shall feed [him,] O kṣatriyan.” (5) [1164]

At that time the king gave to me  
a monk with senses [well-]controlled.  
After picking up his alms bowl,  
I filled [it] with exquisite<sup>892</sup> food. (6) [1165]

Filling it with exquisite food,  
having removed a fine garment  
which was valued at a thousand,  
I gave it with a happy mind. (7) [1166]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (8) [1167]

I was fixed in the chief queen’s place  
of one thousand kings of the gods.  
I was fixed in the chief queen’s place  
of one thousand wheel-turning kings. (9) [1168]

[There was also] much local rule,  
innumerable by counting,<sup>893</sup>  
[and there was] much other,<sup>894</sup> varied  
fruit of that karma thereafter. (10) [1169]

I’m [always] blue lotus-colored,  
very beautiful, good-looking,  
a woman endowed in all parts,  
of noble birth [and] radiant.<sup>895</sup> (11) [1170]

When [my] last rebirth was attained  
I was born in the Śākya clan,

the common word for “wife” used in v. 1, *bhariyā*). Given the second half of the verse, in either event she is asking her husband for permission to “adopt” a monk. In the BJTS reading she does this by stating that as a woman she has not been able to do her own good deeds, always following after her men when they do their good deeds (and gain the merit; the whole question of women’s roles in the production of men’s karma peppers the *Therī-apadāna* despite its virtual absence in the corresponding *Thera-apadāna*). In the PTS reading, she sets up her request for the monk to feed either by apologizing for being a burden, or by pointing out that as one accustomed to carrying the burden of men she will be able to carry that of the monk, now requested.

<sup>892</sup>*parama*, or “supreme” “ultimate” “best” “superior”

<sup>893</sup>this refrain, common in *Thera-apadāna*, appears only here, and obviously lifted, in *Therī-apadāna*

<sup>894</sup>reading *aññaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *puññaṃ* (“merit”), though the latter is presumably the “other fruit” which the former reading implies

<sup>895</sup>or “effulgent,” *jutindharā*

leader of one thousand women  
[attached] to Suddhodana's son.<sup>896</sup> (12) [1171]

Becoming wearied in the home,  
I went forth into homelessness.  
Before the seventh night occurred<sup>897</sup>  
I attained the Four [Noble] Truths. (13) [1172]

I cannot count [the gifts received,]  
monastic robes and alms to eat,  
requisites [as well as] lodgings:  
that's the fruit of [giving] alms food.<sup>898</sup> (14) [1173]

O Sage, recall the good karma,  
which formerly [was done] by me;  
much of mine has been sacrificed  
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (15) [1174]

In the thirty-one aeons since  
I gave that alms-giving back then,  
I've come to know no bad rebirth:  
that's the fruit of [giving] alms food.<sup>899</sup> (16) [1175]

I transmigrate in [just] two states:  
as a goddess or a woman.  
I do not know other rebirths;  
that's the fruit of [giving] alms food. (17) [1176]

[When human] I'm born in high clans,  
which have big<sup>900</sup> halls, very wealthy;  
I do not witness lesser clans:  
that's the fruit of [giving] alms food. (18) [1177]

Transmigrating life after life,  
incited by [my] wholesome roots,  
I do not see what does not please:  
fruit [of deeds] done with<sup>901</sup> happy mind. (19) [1178]

I've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the "divine ear" element.

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<sup>896</sup>i.e., attached to (attending on) the bodhisattva Siddhartha; women of the royal harem of the becoming-Buddha.

<sup>897</sup>lit., "the seventh night not attained"

<sup>898</sup>*piṇḍapātass' idaṇ phalaṇ*

<sup>899</sup>*piṇḍapātass' idaṇ phalaṇ*

<sup>900</sup>reads *mahā°* with BJTS for *tayo°* ("three"). The latter is possible, but a weird departure from what is a stock phrase elsewhere in *Apadāna*

<sup>901</sup>lit., "of"

I'm also a master, Great Sage,  
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (20) [1179]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] "divine eye" is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (21) [1180]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
[this] knowledge of mine was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero. (22) [1181]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (23) [1182]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (24) [1183]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (25) [1184]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Uppaladāyikā spoke these verses face to face with the Blessed One.

The legend of the bhikkhunī Uppaladāyikā is finished

### [34. Sigālaka-mātā<sup>902</sup>]

The Victor, Padumuttara,  
was a Master of Everything.  
[That] Leader arose in the world  
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [1185]

I was born in Haṃsavatī,  
in a clan of ministers then,

<sup>902</sup>"Sigālaka's Mother," an historical nun, remembered as foremost among those who attained release through their faith. See DPPN II: 1133. She was the mother of Sigāla to whom the famous *Sigālovādasutta* was preached, upon which she also achieved fruits of the path.

rich, prosperous, very wealthy,  
glistening with various gems. (2) [1186]

Going along with [my] father,  
surrounded by a multitude,  
having heard the Buddha's Teaching,  
I went forth into homelessness. (3) [1187]

After going forth I gave up  
evil karma with the body.  
I purified my way of life,  
except for poor conduct through speech. (4) [1188]

Pleased in the Buddha, Teaching and  
Assembly; eager, respectful,  
used to hearing the great Teaching;  
I'm greedy to see the Buddha. (5) [1189]

I then heard [of] a Buddhist nun,  
foremost among those freed by faith.<sup>903</sup>  
Aspiring to [attain] that place,  
I then fulfilled the three trainings.<sup>904</sup>  
The Rest for Those Seeking Pity,<sup>905</sup>  
the Well-Gone-One, thereupon said [this]: (6, 7a-b) [1190]<sup>906</sup>

"He<sup>907</sup> whose faith in the Thus-Gone-One  
is well-established, not shaking,  
and whose morals<sup>908</sup> are beautiful,  
dear to noble people, and praised; (7c-d, 8a-b) [1191]

whose insight is upright and whose  
pleasure<sup>909</sup> is in the Assembly:  
it is said, "he is not wretched;"  
his life's [considered] not useless. (8c-d, 9a-b) [1192]

Therefore, wise ones, commit [yourselves]  
to faith and to morality,

<sup>903</sup>reading *saddhādhimuttānaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *aṅgavimuttānaṃ* ("freed in/by [their] limbs")

<sup>904</sup>*tisso sikkhā*, i.e., training in morality (*sīla*), wisdom (*paññā*) and meditative states (*samādhi*)

<sup>905</sup>*karuṇānugatāsayo*, lit., "support for those come into/follow after/depend upon [his] pity (or compassion)"

<sup>906</sup>PTS presents the following speech of the Buddha in eight four-foot verses (6-13). BJTS presents the same speech arranged into seven verses ([1190-1196], the first and last of which it presents as six-footed verses). I follow the BJTS numbering here, indicating corresponding numbering in the PTS edition.

<sup>907</sup>the pronouns here are somewhat jarringly masculine ones, even though the subject is female

<sup>908</sup>*sīlaṃ ca yassa*

<sup>909</sup>*pasādo*



to *Dhamma*-insight and pleasure;<sup>910</sup>  
pith of Buddha's dispensation." (9c-d, 10a-b) [1193]

Hearing that, being overjoyed,  
I questioned [him about] my wish.  
Then the Supreme,<sup>911</sup> Measureless One,<sup>912</sup>  
the Guide,<sup>913</sup> prophesied [in this way:] (10c-d, 11a-b) [1194]

"Lovely one, pleased in the Buddha,<sup>914</sup>  
you will receive that well-wished [place].  
In one hundred thousand aeons,  
arising in Okkāka's clan,  
the one whose name is Gotama  
will be the Teacher in the world. (11c-d, 12) [1195]

Worthy heir to that one's *Dhamma*,  
*Dhamma*'s legitimate offspring,  
she named Sigālaka's Mother  
will be the Teacher's follower." (13) [1196]

Gladdened after having heard that,  
with a heart that was [full] of love,  
as long as life I then served the  
Victor, Guide, through [my] practices.<sup>915</sup> (14) [1197]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (15) [1198]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
in Giribbaja,<sup>916</sup> best city,  
[I was] born to rich millionaires,<sup>917</sup>  
with a huge quantity of gems. (16) [1199]

My son was named Sigālaka,  
taking delight on the wrong road,  
slipped into the jungle of views,  
keen to worship the directions. (17) [1200]

<sup>910</sup>*pasādaṅ*

<sup>911</sup>*anoma*

<sup>912</sup>*amito*

<sup>913</sup>*vināyako*

<sup>914</sup>both of these adjectives are in the vocative: "O beautiful one, O you whose pleasure is in the Buddha"

<sup>915</sup>*paṭipattīhi*

<sup>916</sup>= Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

<sup>917</sup>lit., "born in a rich clan of millionaires"

Standing on the road, the Buddha,  
the Guide, advised him, seeing him  
coming toward the city praising  
the directions<sup>918</sup> with balls of food. (18) [1201]

When he was preaching<sup>919</sup> the *Dhamma*,  
there were amazing shrieks of joy;<sup>920</sup>  
twenty million<sup>921</sup> men [and] women  
gained insight into the Teaching.<sup>922</sup> (19) [1202]

Then having gone [into] the crowd,  
having heard the Well-Gone-One's speech,  
gaining the fruit of stream-entry,  
I went forth into homelessness. (20) [1203]

After not a very long time,  
hankering to see the Buddha,  
refining<sup>923</sup> mindfulness [through] him,  
I attained [my] arahantship. (21) [1204]

I'm going<sup>924</sup> every single day  
in order to see the Buddha.  
I'm dissatisfied looking at  
only [his] eye-pleasing body,<sup>925</sup> (22) [1205]

produced by all the perfections,  
excellent lair of good fortune,  
[his] body, strewn with all goodness:  
dissatisfied, I'm living<sup>926</sup> [there]. (23) [1206]

The Victor, pleased at that virtue,  
placed me in that foremost [place:]  
"The Mother of Sigālaka's

<sup>918</sup>*nānādisā*, lit., "various directions" "the different directions"

<sup>919</sup>reading *desayato* (gen. abs. constr.) with BJTS (and PTS alt) for PTS *desayito*

<sup>920</sup>BJTS reads *ninādo* for PTS *panādo*, though BJTS alt. agrees with PTS. The term is singular so we might imagine some sort of shout in unison; I translate as "shrieks" (plural) given the context.

<sup>921</sup>*dvekoṭi*, lit., "two [times] ten million"

<sup>922</sup>lit., "there was an [achieving of] insight into the *Dhamma* of twenty million." *Dhammābhisaṃmayā*, "insight into the *Dhamma*" or "entry into the *Dhamma*" or "comprehension of the *Dhamma*" or "penetration into the *Dhamma*" refers to the achievement of a firm grasp on the essentials of the Teaching. It is used as a technical term in the account of each Buddha in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, one among many categories of Buddha-achievement enumerated there.

<sup>923</sup>or "cultivating:" *bhāvetvā*

<sup>924</sup>reading *vajām' ahaṃ* with BJTS (cf. PTS alt. *vajām' ayaṇ*)

<sup>925</sup>reading *nayanānandanāṃ* with BJTS for PTS *yena 'va nandanāṇ* ("through which there is rejoicing"?)

<sup>926</sup>reading *vihāram' ahaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *bhayām' ahaṇ* (= *bhāyām' ahaṃ*, "I am fearing"?)

foremost among those freed by faith.”<sup>927</sup> (24) [1207]

I’ve mastered the superpowers  
[like] the “divine ear” element.  
I’m also a master, Great Sage,  
of the knowledge in others’ hearts. (25) [1208]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] “divine eye” is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (26) [1209]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
[this] knowledge of mine was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero. (27) [1210]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (28) [1211]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (29) [1212]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (30) [1213]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Sigālaka-mātā spoke these verses.

The legend of Sigālaka-mātā Therī<sup>928</sup> is finished

### [35. Sukkā<sup>929</sup>]

Ninety-one aeons ago the  
Leader, whose name was Vipassi,  
arose, the One Good to Look At,<sup>930</sup>  
the One with Eyes for Everything. (1) [1214]

<sup>927</sup>reading *aggā saddhādhimuttikā* with BJTS for PTS *aggā saṅgavimuttikā* (“freed from clinging”), alt. *aṅgavimuttikā* (“freed in/by her] limbs”)

<sup>928</sup>this is the BJTS reading; PTS reads bhikkhunī Sigālaka-mātā

<sup>929</sup>“White” “Bright” Good,” an historical nun, DPPN II: 1173-1174

<sup>930</sup>*carunayano*

I was then in Bandhumatī,  
born in an undistinguished clan.  
Having heard the Sage's Teaching,  
I went forth into homelessness. (2) [1215]

Learned bearer of the Teaching,  
good preacher, varied discourser,  
I was a [nun] who practiced the  
dispensation of the Buddha. (3) [1216]

Then giving many *Dhamma*-talks  
with friendship to the populace,  
fallen from there I was reborn,  
full of splendor, in Tusitā. (4) [1217]

Thirty-one aeons hence, Sikhi,  
a Heap of Fire,<sup>931</sup> burning with fame,  
the Victor, the Best Debater,  
[the Buddha,] arose in<sup>932</sup> the world. (5) [1218]

At that very time going forth,  
skilled in Buddha's dispensation,  
making the Victor's sayings shine,  
I then went to the thirty [gods]. (6) [1219]

The Leader [named] Vessabhu, [too,]  
arose thirty-one aeons hence.  
And then as well I was the same:<sup>933</sup>  
[a Buddhist nun] with vast knowledge. (7) [1220]

Gone forth, a *Dhamma*-bearer, I  
made Buddha's<sup>934</sup> dispensation shine.  
Gone to the lovely gods' city,  
I experienced great comfort. (8) [1221]

In this [present] lucky aeon,  
Kakusandha, Supreme Victor,<sup>935</sup>  
arose, the Excellent Leopard,<sup>936</sup>

<sup>931</sup>*sikhī*, a play on the meaning of the Buddha's name. It can also mean "peacock." Here *sikhī viya*, lit., "like a heap of fire".

<sup>932</sup>reading *loke* (loc.) with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *lokaṃ* (acc.)

<sup>933</sup>*tadā pi ca tath' ev' ahaṃ*

<sup>934</sup>lit., "the Victor's"

<sup>935</sup>*jinuttamo*

<sup>936</sup>*varasaddūlo*. BJTS reads *narasaddūlo*, which is also the reading in *Therī-apadāna* [814] above; PTS alt. gives *narasaraṇo* ("Refuge for Men"). Cf. the note to *Thera-apadāna* [6131] on this rather uncharacteristically loose, and rare but repeated, *Apadāna* Buddha-epithet (or epithets). Does the variation suggest a lack of meaning in the epithet itself (in *Apadāna* the leopard [as *dīpi*] usually

and then as well I was the same. (9) [1222]

Gone forth, [I] illuminated  
the Sage's thought, as long as life.<sup>937</sup>  
Fallen from there, I went as far  
as the sphere of the thirty [gods]. (10) [1223]

[And] in this very same aeon  
the Leader Konāgamana  
arose [next,] the Excellent Lamp,<sup>938</sup>  
Ultimate among all beings. (11) [1224]

At that time too, going forth in  
the Neutral One's dispensation,  
learned bearer of *Dhamma*, I  
made Buddha's<sup>939</sup> dispensation shine. (12) [1225]

Also in this [lucky] aeon  
Kassapa [Buddha,] Seventh Sage,  
arose, the Refuge of the World,<sup>940</sup>  
Non-Hostile One,<sup>941</sup> Ender of Death.<sup>942</sup> (13) [1226]

Gone forth in the dispensation  
of that Hero Among Men<sup>943</sup> as well,  
[I] learned the good Teaching by heart,  
was confident in inquiry, (14) [1227]

very moral, also modest,  
[very] skilled in the three trainings,<sup>944</sup>  
giving many talks on *Dhamma*  
with friendship as long as I lived.<sup>945</sup> (15) [1228]

Due to that karma done very well,  
with intention and [firm] resolve,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (16) [1229]

appears as part of a list of wild animals, not [unlike say the lion, elephant, swan, bull] as part of a Buddha-epithet)

<sup>937</sup>reading *yathāyukaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *yathāsukhaṃ* (“as much as comfortable” or perhaps “as I pleased”)

<sup>938</sup>*dīpavaro*

<sup>939</sup>lit., “the Victor's”

<sup>940</sup>*lokasaraṇo*

<sup>941</sup>*araṇo*, lit., “having no battle,” “not adversarial,” rhymed in the epithets *lokasaraṇo* and *maraṇantago* that also appear in this verse

<sup>942</sup>*maraṇantago*, lit., “gone to the end of death”

<sup>943</sup>*naravīra*, or “Heroic Man” “Having the Virility of a Man” (“Masculine One”)

<sup>944</sup>*tisso sikkhā*, i.e., training in morality (*sīla*), wisdom (*paññā*) and meditative states (*samādhi*)

<sup>945</sup>reading *hitā* ‘va *haṃ* with BJTS for PTS *mahāmune* (“O Great Sage”)

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
in Giribbaja,<sup>946</sup> best city,  
[I was] born to rich millionaires,<sup>947</sup>  
with a huge quantity of gems. (17) [1230]

When [Gotama,] the World's Leader,  
surrounded by one thousand monks,  
entered [the city,] Rajgir,<sup>948</sup> he  
was praised by the thousand-eyed [god:]<sup>949</sup> (18) [1231]

“The Restrained One,<sup>950</sup> with former ascetics<sup>951</sup> restrained;  
the Liberated One,<sup>952</sup> with those liberated;  
[who had] the same color as a coin<sup>953</sup> made of gold,  
the Blessed One entered Rajagaha city.” (19) [1232]<sup>954</sup>

Seeing the Buddha's majesty,  
and hearing him, Heap of Virtues,<sup>955</sup>  
pleasing my heart in the Buddha,  
I worshipped<sup>956</sup> [him] with all [my] strength. (20) [1233]

At [some] moment after that, in  
the presence of Dhammadinnā,<sup>957</sup>  
having gone forth from [my own] home,  
I went forth into homelessness. (21) [1234]

I destroyed [all] the defilements  
while [my] hair was being cut off.

<sup>946</sup> = Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

<sup>947</sup> lit., “born in a rich clan of millionaires”

<sup>948</sup> or Giribbaja, here *Rājagahaṇ*

<sup>949</sup> *sahassakkhena*, i.e., Śakra/Indra, king of the gods

<sup>950</sup> *danto*, or “Tamed”

<sup>951</sup> *purāṇajaṭilehi*, lit., “former matted-haired [ascetics]”

<sup>952</sup> *vimutto*

<sup>953</sup> *Siṅgī-nikkha-savaṇṇo*, lit., “having the same color as a golden/”ginger” coin;” *nikkha* can also be an ornament, or a weight, The thrust, anyway, is that the Buddha was shiny like gold.

<sup>954</sup> these lines (41 syllables in PTS, 40 syllables in BJTS [which omits the *ca* after *purāṇajaṭilehi*]) are presented by both PTS and BJTS as a single verse, though they break the two-footed lines differently and I am at a loss for how to understand the “verse” metrically. A quote from some prose text? A verse in more complex meter, garbled in transmission? I have translated into the closest approximation of the latter possibility in *Apadāna*, namely a 12-12-12-12 verse (which would suggest the possible loss of seven syllables [in the case of PTS' reading] or eight syllables [in the case of BJTS's reading] sometime comparatively early in the transmission process (since it affects all the extant mss.) In addition to conforming to a verse-form occasionally encountered elsewhere in *Apadāna*, this implicit 12-12-12-12 structure works very nicely for the basic units that then make up the four discrete feet.

<sup>955</sup> *taṇ...guṇasañcayaṇ*

<sup>956</sup> lit., “did *pūjā*”

<sup>957</sup> #23, above

Going forth, in no long time, I learned  
[Buddha's] entire dispensation. (22) [1235]

After that I preached the *Dhamma*  
in a huge gathering of folks.  
While *Dhamma* was being preached, there  
was insight into the Teaching.<sup>958</sup> (23) [1236]

Seeing varied thousands of folks  
[achieving insight,] astonished,  
a spirit,<sup>959</sup> very pleased by me,  
roaming about Rajgir [said this]: (24) [1237]

“Why are these people in Rajgir  
acting like nymphs drunk on honey,  
unless<sup>960</sup> they're honoring<sup>961</sup> Sukkā,  
[who's] preaching the ambrosial state? (25) [1238]

Methinks the wise are drinking that  
irresistible and unmixed  
strength-bestower, like travelers  
[drink rainwater from] a raincloud.” (26) [1239]

I've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the “divine ear” element.  
I'm also a master, Great Sage,<sup>962</sup>  
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (27) [1240]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] “divine eye” is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (28) [1241]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
[this] knowledge of mine was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero. (29) [1242]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;

<sup>958</sup>lit., “there was an [achieving of] insight into the *Dhamma* of twenty million.” *Dhammābhisamaya*, “insight into the *Dhamma*” or “entry into the *Dhamma*” or “comprehension of the *Dhamma*” or “penetration into the *Dhamma*” refers to the achievement of a firm grasp on the essentials of the Teaching. It is used as a technical term in the account of each Buddha in the *Buddhavaṃsa*, one among many categories of Buddha-achievement enumerated there.

<sup>959</sup>*yakkho*

<sup>960</sup>*ye...na*, lit., “those who have not”

<sup>961</sup>PTS *payirupāsanti* breaks the meter; BJTS *upāsanti* does not. The two are essentially the same verb, the former with an additional *pari*<*payir*

<sup>962</sup>reading *mahāmune* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *mahāmuni* (nom.)

all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (30) [1243]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (31) [1244]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (32) [1245]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Sukkā spoke these verses.

The legend of Sukkā Therī<sup>963</sup> is finished

### [36. Abhirūpanandā<sup>964</sup>]

Ninety-one aeons ago the  
Leader, whose name was Vipassi,  
arose, the One Good to Look At,<sup>965</sup>  
the One with Eyes for Everything. (1) [1246]

I was then in Bandhumatī,  
born in a large clan, prosperous  
[and] rich; beautiful and held dear,  
I am worshipped<sup>966</sup> by<sup>967</sup> the people. (2) [1247]

Having approached the Great Hero,  
Vipassi, Leader of the World,  
hearing the Teaching, I went for  
refuge [in] the Leader of Men. (3) [1248]

Having been restrained in morals,  
when the Best Man<sup>968</sup> reached nirvana,  
I offered<sup>969</sup> a gold umbrella  
on top of the relic-stupa. (4) [1249]

<sup>963</sup>This is the BJTS reading. PTS reads *bhikkhunī Sukkā*

<sup>964</sup>"Very Beautiful Joy," an historical nun, DPPN I:143. On these various "Joys" (of whom Malalasekera's designations may need further work) see above, the first note to *Therī-apadāna* #25.

<sup>965</sup>*carunayano*

<sup>966</sup>reading *pūjanīyā* with BJTS for PTS *sajanassā*

<sup>967</sup>lit., of (gen. pl.), lit., "the people's object to be worshipped"

<sup>968</sup>*nibbute ca naruttame*

<sup>969</sup>lit., "did *pūjā*"



I'm freely generous, moral  
as long as life; fallen from there,  
discarding [my] human body,  
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (5) [1250]

In ten ways I was outshining  
[all the] other [gods who lived there]:  
through shapes [and] sounds [and] fragrances,  
through tastes and the [things that I] touch, (6) [1251]

in terms of lifespan, complexion,  
happiness and famousness too  
[and] likewise through supreme power  
I shone, having attained [those ten]. (7) [1252]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
I'm born in Kapilavastu.<sup>970</sup>  
I'm well-known [by the] name Nandā,  
the Śākya Khemaka's daughter. (8) [1253]

The nickname<sup>971</sup> "Very Beautiful"<sup>972</sup>  
indicated my loveliness;<sup>973</sup>  
when I had attained discretion,  
[I'm] adorned with gorgeous beauty.<sup>974</sup> (9) [1254]

Then there was a very big fight<sup>975</sup>  
over me<sup>976</sup> among the Śākyaans.  
Then [my] father had me ordained,  
"don't let the Śākyaas be destroyed."<sup>977</sup> (10) [1255]

Going forth like that, having heard  
that the Supreme Man hates<sup>978</sup> beauty,  
I did not approach [the Buddha,]  
bring proud about my beauty. (11) [1256]

<sup>970</sup>*kapilavhaye*, lit., "in the [city] named for Kapila"

<sup>971</sup>reading *upapadaṃ* (in the sense of "epithet") with BJTS for PTS *uppādaṃ* ("birth" "omen"), which breaks meter.

<sup>972</sup>*abhirūpaṃ*

<sup>973</sup>reading *me kantisūcakaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *m' ekaṃ ti sūcakaṃ* (?)

<sup>974</sup>reading *rūpalāvaññabhusitā* with BJTS for PTS *rūpavaṇṇavibhusitā*, which however has much the same meaning.

<sup>975</sup>or debate: *vivādo*

<sup>976</sup>reading *tadā mamatthaṃ* ("for my sake," i.e., over who will marry me) with BJTS for PTS *Idaṃ me-m' atthe* ("this for the sake of me"?)

<sup>977</sup>i.e., everyone wants Nandā so badly that the end result will be the ruin of the whole clan; her father takes her out of the competition to avoid the conflict it will generate

<sup>978</sup>reading *rūpadessiṃ naruttamaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *rūpadassiṃ* (alt. *dassana*), "beautiful looking supreme man"

Not even going for advice,  
I'm afraid to see the Buddha.  
Then the Victor had me led to  
his presence by means of a trick. (12) [1257]

Clever in the Path, [the Buddha]  
made three [different] women appear  
with forms like celestial nymphs:  
[one] young, [one] diseased, [the third] dead. (13) [1258]

Seeing them, very moved, I was  
freed from delighting in bodies.  
I stood [there,] weary of being,  
then the Leader said [this] to me: (14) [1259]

“Nandā, see this complex heap<sup>979</sup> as  
diseased, disgusting [and] putrid.  
It is oozing and it's dripping,  
the delight of foolish people. (15) [1260]

With one-pointed focus, steadfast,  
fix your mind on impurity.  
Just as is this, so too is that;  
just as is that, so too is this. (16) [1261]

Considering that in this way,  
industrious by night and day,  
you will see with your own wisdom,  
having turned away in disgust.” (17) [1262]

Not delaying in that [purpose,]  
thinking<sup>980</sup> [it all] through thoroughly,  
I saw this body as it is,  
on the inside and the outside. (18) [1263]

Then I'm disgusted with bodies,  
and inwardly free of passion;  
not negligent, no longer yoked,  
at peace, and [I've reached] nirvana. (19) [1264]

I've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the “divine ear” element.  
I'm also a master, Great Sage,<sup>981</sup>  
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (20) [1265]

<sup>979</sup>*samussayaṅ*, “conglomeration,” i.e., the body

<sup>980</sup>or “dwelling” “practicing” “living” (BJTS: *viharantya'dha yoniso*)

<sup>981</sup>reading *mahāmune* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *tadā muni* (“Then the Sage [nom.];” PTS alt. *tadā mune*, “Then, O Sage”)

I remember [my] former lives;  
 [my] “divine eye” is purified.  
 All the defilements are destroyed;  
 [I] will not be reborn again. (21) [1266]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
 etymology and preaching,  
 [this] knowledge of mine was produced  
 in your presence, O Great Hero. (22) [1267]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
 all [new] existence is destroyed.  
 Like elephants with broken chains,  
 I am living without constraint. (23) [1268]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence  
 was a very good thing for me.  
 The three knowledges are attained;  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (24) [1269]

The four analytical modes,  
 and these eight deliverances,  
 six special knowledges mastered,  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (25) [1270]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Abhirūpanandā spoke these verses.

The legend of Abhirūpanandā Therī<sup>982</sup> is finished

### [37. Aḍḍhakāsikā<sup>983</sup>]

In this [present] lucky aeon,  
 Brahma’s Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
 [the Buddha] known as Kassapa<sup>984</sup>  
 was born, the Best of Debaters. (1) [1271]

At that time, having been ordained  
 in that Buddha’s dispensation,  
 I’m restrained in the five senses,  
 and in monastic discipline.<sup>985</sup> (2) [1272]

<sup>982</sup>this is the BJTS reading for PTS *bhikkhunī Abhirūpanandā*

<sup>983</sup>“Half a Benares Thousand [Whore],” “She [Whose Daytime Price] is Half a Benares Thousand,” as historical nun, remembered as the precedent for the giving of ordination by messenger. See DPPN I:50. Here the ordination is specifically called *upasampadā*, “higher ordination”

<sup>984</sup>BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

<sup>985</sup>*patimokkhamhi*, lit “in [read “through”] the fortnightly recitation/227 rules

Moderate<sup>986</sup> in eating, I was  
 committed to being watchful,<sup>987</sup>  
 dwelling fixed on practice. One time  
 [however,] with a filthy mind,  
 I slandered an undefiled<sup>988</sup> nun  
 [by saying,] “[She’s] a prostitute.”  
 Because of that evil karma,  
 I roasted in a [fearful] hell. (3-4) [1273-1274]

Due to the rest of that karma,  
 I was born in a clan of whores,  
 repeatedly committing sins;  
 and [then] in [my] final rebirth, (5) [1275]

I’m born among the Kāsians,<sup>989</sup>  
 in a millionaire’s clan. Due to<sup>990</sup>  
 [former] celibacy I was  
 gorgeous,<sup>991</sup> like a nymph among gods. (6) [1276]

Seeing my extreme beauty, in  
 Rajgir, best city, they made [me]  
 enter prostitution due to<sup>992</sup>  
 [my] formerly having slandered. (7) [1277]

After hearing the good Teaching  
 which was preached by the Best Buddha,  
 endowed with former impressions,  
 I went forth into homelessness. (8) [1278]

Seeking<sup>993</sup> ordination<sup>994</sup> having  
 gone into the Victor’s presence,  
 hearing<sup>995</sup> that rogues were on<sup>996</sup> the road,  
 I got ordained by messenger.<sup>997</sup> (9) [1279]

<sup>986</sup>reading *mataññutnī* (lit., “one who knows the limit”) *ca asane* (“in eating”), with BJTS for PTS *mataññū nīca-āsane* (“moderate on a high seat”?)

<sup>987</sup>reading *jāgariye pi* with BJTS for PTS *jāgariyesu*

<sup>988</sup>*vīgatāsavaṇ*

<sup>989</sup>i.e., the people of Benares and the countryside surrounding it

<sup>990</sup>lit., “as the fruit of” “as the result of”

<sup>991</sup>*rūpasampadā* (lit., “endowed with beauty”)

<sup>992</sup>lit., “as the fruit of” “as the result of”

<sup>993</sup>*tadā...°atthāya*, lit., “then...for the sake of”

<sup>994</sup>PTS reads *tadā ‘pasampadatthāya*, with incorrect *sandhi*; BJTS reads, correctly, *tatopasampadatthāya*, cf. PTS alt. (also correct) *tad’ upa°*

<sup>995</sup>reading *sutvā* with BJTS for PTS *disvā* (“seeing”). Neither edition indicates variance in its reading of the verb.

<sup>996</sup>*ṭhite*, lit., “were standing on” “remained on”

<sup>997</sup>lit., “a messenger [gave me] ordination”

All [my] karma has been burnt up,  
merit and likewise evil too;  
birth and rebirth<sup>998</sup> crossed beyond,  
and prostitution's thrown away. (10) [1280]

I've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the "divine ear" element.  
I'm also a master, Great Sage,  
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (11) [1281]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] "divine eye" is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (12) [1282]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
[this] knowledge of mine was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero. (13) [1283]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (14) [1284]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (15) [1285]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (16) [1286]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Aḍḍhakāsikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Aḍḍhakāsikā Therī<sup>999</sup> is finished

### [38. Puṇṇikā<sup>1000</sup>]

Gone forth in the dispensation  
of the Blessed One, Vipassi,

<sup>998</sup>or "transmigration," °saṅsārā

<sup>999</sup>the BJTS reading for PTS bhikkhunī Aḍḍhakāsikā

<sup>1000</sup>"Complete" "Full". BJTS reads Puṇṇā; both spellings are correct, see DPPN II: 227-228.

and of Sikhi and Vessabhu,  
 the Sage Kakusandha [Buddha],  
 Konāgamana, Neutral One,  
 and of the Buddha Kassapa,  
 [I'm] a nun endowed with morals,  
 clever, with senses [well-]controlled. (1-2) [1287-1288]

Learned bearer of the Teaching,  
 asker of the Teaching's meaning,<sup>1001</sup>  
 studier of, listener to  
 and worshipper of the Teaching, (3) [1289]

amidst the people I'm preaching  
 in the Victor's dispensation.  
 Because of [my] profound learning,  
 I despised kind associates.<sup>1002</sup> (4) [1290]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
 I am a water-jug slave-girl,  
 born in Śrāvasti, best city,  
 in Anāthapiṇḍi[ka]'s house.<sup>1003</sup> (5) [1291]

Gone [bearing] a load of water,  
 I saw an erudite brahmin,  
 [standing] in the water, chilly.  
 After seeing him I said this: (6) [1292]

“Bearing water I always go  
 down to the water in the cold,  
 scared with fear of the master's<sup>1004</sup> stick,  
 oppressed by fear of faults called out. (7) [1293]<sup>1005</sup>

Of what are you afraid, brahmin?  
 Limbs shivering you always go  
 down to the water, so much cold  
 being experienced by you.” (8) [1294]<sup>1006</sup>

“You certainly know, Puṇṇikā.

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<sup>1001</sup>reading *dhammatthaparipucchikā*

<sup>1002</sup>*pesalā atimaññisaṅ*. Cf. *Pesalā-atimaññanā Sutta* (S. i. 187f., see DPPN II: 245)

<sup>1003</sup>he was a famous millionaire lay donor devoted to the Buddha. The hermitage he provided to the Buddha, in the Jeta Grove in Śrāvasti, was the site where many of the Buddha's sermons were originally preached. As is clear in the present *apadāna*, too, he was also kind-hearted and generous with his own slaves.

<sup>1004</sup>lit., “the noble ladies' stick (or punishment)”

<sup>1005</sup>= *Therīgāthā* v. 236

<sup>1006</sup>= *Therīgāthā* v. 237

You are asking<sup>1007</sup> me who's doing  
wholesome karma and warding off<sup>1008</sup>  
karma with evil [consequence]. (9) [1295]<sup>1009</sup>

Whether he is old is young,  
one who performs evil karma,  
just by sprinkling<sup>1010</sup> himself with water,  
is freed from [that] evil karma." (10) [1296]<sup>1011</sup>

I spoke a verse<sup>1012</sup> of *Dhamma* to  
[him] coming out of the water.  
Hearing that [he] was very moved;  
gone forth, he was an arahant. (11) [1297]

When I was born in the slave clan,  
[I] completed the full hundred.<sup>1013</sup>  
Therefore they named me "Completer,"<sup>1014</sup>  
and freed me from [my] slavery. (12) [1298]

Getting the millionaire's consent,  
I went forth into homelessness.  
After not a very long time,  
I attained [my] arahantship. (13) [1299]

I've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the "divine ear" element.  
I'm also a master, Great Sage,  
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (14) [1300]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] "divine eye" is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (15) [1301]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
[this] knowledge of mine was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero. (16) [1302]

<sup>1007</sup>reading *paripucchasi* with BJTS for PTS *paripucchiyan* ("you would ask?")

<sup>1008</sup>reading *rundhantaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt) for PTS *niddhantaṃ* ("blown off" "purified" "thrown out")

<sup>1009</sup>= *Therīgāthā* v. 238

<sup>1010</sup>pronounce as two syllables for chanting

<sup>1011</sup>= *Therīgāthā* v. 239

<sup>1012</sup>or foot, stanza, line, word: *padaṃ*

<sup>1013</sup>*pūrentī ūnakasataṃ*, lit., "[I am] completing (or filling, this is one of numerous plays on the meaning of her name) a deficient hundred," i.e., "I was the 100th slave"

<sup>1014</sup>*puṇṇā ti nāmaṃ*

Through meditation, very wise;  
 through what has been heard, one's learned;  
 but karma will not be destroyed<sup>1015</sup>  
 through the pride of those of high birth. (17) [1303]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
 all [new] existence is destroyed.  
 Like elephants with broken chains,  
 I am living without constraint. (18) [1304]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
 was a very good thing for me.  
 The three knowledges are attained;  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (19) [1305]

The four analytical modes,  
 and these eight deliverances,  
 six special knowledges mastered,  
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (20) [1306]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Puṇṇikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Puṇṇikā Therī<sup>1016</sup> is finished

### [39. Ambapālī<sup>1017</sup>]

The Great Sage was Phussa [Buddha,]  
 [like] a garland of speckled rays.<sup>1018</sup>  
 I was [that Buddha's own] sister,  
 born in [Buddha's] kṣatriyan clan. (1) [1307]

Having listened to his Teaching,  
 with a mind that was very clear,  
 giving [him] a large alms-giving  
 I aspired to achieve beauty. (2) [1308]

Thirty-one aeons in the past,<sup>1019</sup>  
 Sikhi, Chief Leader of the World,  
 arose, the [Bright] Lamp of the World,  
 the Three Worlds' Refuge, the Victor. (3) [1309]

<sup>1015</sup>PTS reads *panassati*, BJTS *vinassati*

<sup>1016</sup>the BJTS reading, for PTS *bhikkhunī Puṇṇikā*

<sup>1017</sup>"Mango-Guarded", an historical nun, see DPPN I: 155-156

<sup>1018</sup>*raṅsiphusitāvelo*, playing on/explaining the name "Phussa" (= speckled, cf. °*phusita*°)

<sup>1019</sup>or "ago," or "hence," as elsewhere: *ito*



I'm then born in a brahmin clan,  
in lovely Āruṇa City.  
Angered [about something,] I cursed  
a nun with liberated mind. (4) [1310]

Misbehaved like a prostitute,  
I dirtied the dispensation.<sup>1020</sup>  
Having thus cursed [the nun] like that,  
because of that evil karma,  
I went to a horrific hell,  
full of terrible suffering.  
Fallen from there, [again] reborn  
human,<sup>1021</sup> I was an ascetic.<sup>1022</sup> (5-6) [1311-1312]

For ten thousand [different] lifetimes,  
I was fixed in prostitution;  
thus I was not freed from evil,  
as though [I'd] eaten<sup>1023</sup> strong poison. (7) [1313]

In Kassapa's dispensation,<sup>1024</sup>  
I practiced celibate [nunhood]<sup>1025</sup>.  
Due to that karma, I was born  
in the city of the thirty.<sup>1026</sup> (8) [1314]

When [my] last rebirth was attained,  
come to be spontaneously,<sup>1027</sup>  
I was born amidst mango boughs;  
therefore I was "Mango-Guarded." (9) [1315]

Along with ten million beings,  
gone forth in the dispensation,<sup>1028</sup>  
I attained the unshaking state,  
Buddha's legitimate daughter. (10) [1316]

I've mastered the superpowers  
[like] the "divine ear" element.  
I'm also a master, Great Sage,<sup>1029</sup>

<sup>1020</sup>*jinasāsanadūsikā*, lit., "defiling the Victor's dispensation"

<sup>1021</sup>lit., "among humans"

<sup>1022</sup>*tapassinī*, lit., "a female practitioner of austerities"

<sup>1023</sup>*bhuttā...yathā*; BJTS reads *bhuvā*

<sup>1024</sup>*kassape jinasāsane*, lit., "in the dispensation of the Victor, Kassapa [Buddha]"

<sup>1025</sup>reading °*brahmacariyam* with BJTS for PTS °*brahmaceram*, lit., "the Brahma-life" "the holy life" "celibacy"

<sup>1026</sup>i.e., the thirty-three gods.

<sup>1027</sup>*ahosiṇ opapātikā*

<sup>1028</sup>it. "I went forth in the Victor's dispensation"

<sup>1029</sup>reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*, Great Sage.

of the knowledge in others' hearts. (11) [1317]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] "divine eye" is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (12) [1318]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,  
[this] knowledge of mine was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero. (13) [1319]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (14) [1320]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (15) [1321]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (16) [1322]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Ambapālī spoke these verses.

The legend of the bhikkhunī Ambapālī is finished

#### [40. Selā<sup>1030</sup>]

In this [present] lucky aeon,  
Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,  
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa  
was born, the Best of Debaters. (1) [1323]

I'm born in a lay Buddhist clan,  
in Śrāvastī, superb city.  
Having seen that superb Victor,  
and having heard [him] preach [*Dhamma*,] (2a-d)<sup>1031</sup> [1324]

<sup>1030</sup>"Stone," known only here but treated as an historical nun by Malalasekera, DPPN II: 1290. BJTS reads *Pesalā*, here and elsewhere in this *apadāna* (= "Agreeable")

<sup>1031</sup>PTS presents this and the following verse as six-footed verses, presenting in a total of three verses the same material in the same order that BJTS presents in four verses.

gone to that Hero for refuge,  
I undertook morality.  
Whenever that Great Hero, in  
the midst of the great populace, (2e-f, 3a-b) [1325]

the Bull of Men was explaining  
his own supreme Awakening,  
things which formerly were unheard,  
starting with “[life is] suffering,” (3c-f) [1326]

hearing that, [and] taking [it] up,  
insight, thinking, wisdom, science,  
and intuition rose in me,  
and I asked the monks [about them]. (4) [1327]

In Kassapa’s dispensation,<sup>1032</sup>  
I practiced celibate [nunhood].<sup>1033</sup>  
Due to that karma, I was born  
in the city of the thirty.<sup>1034</sup> (5) [1328]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,  
born in a large millionaire’s clan  
having approached and having heard  
the Buddha’s great truth-filled Teaching, (6) [1329]

having gone forth, in no long time,  
I understood truth’s foundations;  
casting away all defilements,  
I achieved [my] arahantship. (7) [1330]

I’ve mastered the superpowers  
[like] the “divine ear” element.  
I’m also a master, Great Sage,<sup>1035</sup>  
of the knowledge in others’ hearts. (8) [1331]

I remember [my] former lives;  
[my] “divine eye” is purified.  
All the defilements are destroyed;  
[I] will not be reborn again. (9) [1332]

In meaning and in the Teaching,  
etymology and preaching,

<sup>1032</sup>*kassape jinasāsane*, lit., “in the dispensation of the Victor, Kassapa [Buddha]”

<sup>1033</sup>reading °*brahmacariyam* with BJTS for PTS °*brahmaceram*, lit., “the Brahma-life” “the holy life” “celibacy”

<sup>1034</sup>i.e., the thirty-three gods.

<sup>1035</sup>reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*, Great Sage.

[this] knowledge of mine was produced  
in your presence, O Great Hero. (10) [1333]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;  
all [new] existence is destroyed.  
Like elephants with broken chains,  
I am living without constraint. (11) [1334]

Being in Best Buddha's presence  
was a very good thing for me.  
The three knowledges are attained;  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (12) [1335]

The four analytical modes,  
and these eight deliverances,  
six special knowledges mastered,  
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (13) [1336]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Selā spoke these verses.

The legend of Selā Therī<sup>1036</sup> is finished

The Summary:

The kṣatriyans and the brahmins,  
likewise Uppaladāyikā,  
Sigālamātā and Sukkā,  
Abhirūpā, Aḍḍhakāsikā,  
the prostitute, so too Puṇṇā,  
and Ambapālī, Buddhist nun,  
and Selā [then makes] the tenth one.<sup>1037</sup>  
There are two hundred verses here,  
plus another forty-two more.<sup>1038</sup>

The Kṣatriyan Chapter, the Fourth.<sup>1039</sup>

And then there is the Summary of Chapters:

Sumedhā, Ekuposathā,  
Kuṇḍalakesī Khattiyā  
one thousand three hundred verses  
mixed in with forty-seven [more].  
Along with *Uddāna* verses  
which are counted by those who know,

<sup>1036</sup>this is the BJTS reading for PTS *bhikkhunī Selā*

<sup>1037</sup>this line only in BJTS, which reads *Pesalā* here as elsewhere

<sup>1038</sup>these final two feet enumerating the verses in the chapter, like most of the expected chapter summary, appears in BJTS but not in PTS.

<sup>1039</sup>this appears only in BJTS, and appears before rather than after the chapter summary.

there are one thousand three hundred  
verses plus fifty seven [more].<sup>1040</sup>

The *Therī-apadāna* is Finished<sup>1041</sup>

The *Apadāna* is Finished

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<sup>1040</sup>this colophonic verse appears in BJTS only; PTS omits it

<sup>1041</sup>this appears only in BJTS; PTS omits it

