

Legends of the Buddhist Saints

Apadānapāli

TRANSLATED BY
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The Legends of the Therīs

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Praise Him, the Blessed One, the Worthy One, the Fully Complete Buddha¹

¹BJTS places the *namaskāra* after the title *Therī-apadāna*.

Chapter 1

The Legends of the Therīs

Now listen to the legends of the Therīs:¹

Sumedhā Chapter, the First

[1. Sumedhā²]

When Koṇāgamana, Blessed One,
was in his new dwelling, monastic ashram,³
[we] who were three female friends, [then]
donated a monastery.⁴ (1) [1]

Ten times [and then] a hundred times,
and then a hundred hundred times,⁵

¹this 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.

²“Very Wise Woman”

³lit., “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).

⁴lit., “gave a *vihāra-dāna* [=monastery-gift]”.

⁵BJTS 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?

we were reborn among the gods;
who could tell the human rebirths? (2) [2]

Among gods we had vast power;
who could tell the human [power]?
Chief queen of a seven-gemmer,⁶
I was⁷ the gem of a woman. (3) [3]

Here with wholesome [karma] heaped up,⁸
[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.⁹ (5) [5]

In whichever place I'm reborn,
in accordance with¹⁰ 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 Kassapa¹¹
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.¹² (9) [9]

Being the ally of those [girls],

⁶here the possession of "seven gems" (*sattaratana*) by a wheel-turning (*cakkavatti*) monarch has become here 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.

⁷reading *āsiṃ* (BJTS) for *bhaviṇ* (PTS).

⁸reading *sañcitakusalā* (BJTS) for *sañcitā kusalar* (PTS), though they amount to the same thing.

⁹lit., "to the Assembly (*saṅgha*, the monks' Assembly) headed up by the Buddha.

¹⁰reading *vāhasā* (BJTS) for *vahasā* (PTS).

¹¹BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

¹²lit., "they fared according to the Brahma-faring," i.e., they led a celibate (*brahmacariya*) existence.

steadfast in the moral precepts,
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,¹³
[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,¹⁴
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.¹⁵ (14) [14]

Having experienced happiness
among gods and also humans,
being comfortable everywhere,
I traveled on¹⁶ through several births. (15) [15]

That [gift's]¹⁷ the reason, that's the cause,
root, patience for the dispensation,
the first identification,¹⁸
nirvana of this *Dhamma*-lover. (16) [16]¹⁹

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

¹³Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all classes of deities = heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

¹⁴lit., “meritorious (*puñña*) karma”.

¹⁵*maṇḍalīnañ ca rājūnaṃ*, lit., “of kings who [ruled] circles [of kings]”

¹⁶or “I transmigrated,” *saṃsāriṃ*.

¹⁷this 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.

¹⁸*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.

¹⁹this 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 Venerable²⁰ Bhikkhunī Sumedhā spoke these verses.

[The legend of Sumedhā Therī is finished.]²¹

[2. Mekhalādāyikā²²]

I had a stupa constructed²³
for Siddhattha, the Blessed One.
I gifted [my] waist ornament²⁴
so the Teacher could be repaired.²⁵ (1) [20]

When that great stupa was finished,
I gave another ornament²⁶
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.

²⁰BJTS omits *āyasmā*.

²¹PTS 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.

²²"Waist-Ornament-Giver". *Mekhala* or *mekhalikā* was an ornament worn by women on the waist, often made of precious metals and gems.

²³reading *kārāpikā* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *kārāpitā* ("was built," PTS)

²⁴presumably a valuable *mekhala* which was then sold in order to pay for the repairs.

²⁵lit., "for the sake of repairing of the Teacher." Here the stupa is the Buddha.

²⁶lit., "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 Therī²⁷ spoke these verses.

The legend of Mekhalādāyikā Therī is finished.

[3. Maṇḍapadāyikā²⁸]

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.²⁹ (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]

²⁷BJTS, PTS alt omit *therī*.

²⁸"Raised-Platform-Donor".

²⁹lit., "of meritorious karma".

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Maṇḍapadāyikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Maṇḍapadāyikā Therī is finished.

[4. Saṅkamanattā³⁰]

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.

³⁰“Cross-Over-er”.

[5. Tīṇaḷamālīkā³¹]

On Candabhāgā River's bank,
I was a *kinnarī* back then.³²
I saw the Stainless Buddha [there],
Self-Become, the Unconquered One. (1) [37]

Happy, with pleasure in [my] heart,
awe-struck,³³ 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].³⁴
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,³⁵
I went forth into homelessness. (4) [40]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;
existence has been slain for me.³⁶
All [my] defilements are destroyed;
now there will be no more rebirth. (5) [42]³⁷

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]

Being in Best Buddha's presence

³¹BJTS omits Tīṇī°. The name means “[Three] (or perhaps we should read *tīṇī*, [Grass]) Reed Garland-er”.

³²see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [1886]

³³*vedaḷāto*

³⁴lit., “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.

³⁵reading *saṃvejetvāna me cittaṃ* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *saṃvedayitvā kusalaṃ* (“having felt/experienced [my] wholesome [karma],” PTS).

³⁶BJTS reads “all [new] existence is destroyed.”

³⁷BJTS inverts the order of verses (5) and (6).

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 Tīṇaḷamālikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Tīṇaḷamālikā Therī is finished.

[6. Ekapiṇḍadāyikā³⁸]

In the city, Bandhumatī,
there was a king³⁹ named Bandhuma.⁴⁰
I was [then] the wife of that king,
behaving in a certain way.⁴¹ (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.⁴² (5) [50]

Having filled [it] up with milk-rice,
I [applied some] scented ointment.

³⁸“One Ball [of Food] Donor”. BJTS reads Ekapiṇḍapātadāyikā, “Giver of one begged-for-alms-meal”

³⁹lit., “a kṣatriyan”.

⁴⁰“Kinsman,” according to my notes (ref?) also the name of the king-father of Vipassi Buddha

⁴¹BJTS reads *ekajjham*, “together [with the king] (?)”.

⁴²lit., “the ultimate food.” See n. to *Therāpadāna* v. [28-29]

Covering it with [some] netting,
I closed [it] with a blue lotus.⁴³ (6) [51]

Making that my object of thought⁴⁴
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;⁴⁵
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]

The four analytical modes,

⁴³BJTS 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*.

⁴⁴lit., "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.

⁴⁵*upādikā*, the foundations of defilement (*kilesas*).

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. Kaṭacchubhikkhadāyikā⁴⁶]

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,
 uttered⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸
 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.⁴⁹

⁴⁶“Spoonful of Begged-for-Food Donor”

⁴⁷lit., “made”

⁴⁸lit., “having nothing”.

⁴⁹lit., “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. Sattuppalamālikāya⁵⁰]

In Aruṇavatī City,
lived a king⁵¹ named Aruṇavā.
I was [then] the wife of that king,
sent out [by him] on a journey.⁵² (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,⁵³
planted on [the top of] my head?
They'll be better for me offered
to the Best Buddha's [great] knowledge. (3) [73]

⁵⁰“Seven Blue Lotus Flower-er.”

⁵¹lit., “a kṣatriyan”

⁵²reading *cārikaṃ cārayāṃ' ahaṃ* (BJTS) for *na mālaṃ pādāyāṃ' ahaṃ* (“I didn't ? a garland,” PTS).

⁵³lit., “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],⁵⁴
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,⁵⁵ with hands pressed together,
bringing pleasure to [my] heart there,
I went to Tāvatisa [then]. (8) [78]

Blue lotus⁵⁶[-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 entire⁵⁷ 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];

⁵⁴*kakudha* = kumbuk, cf. note to *Therāpadāna* v. [1800].

⁵⁵*vedajāto*

⁵⁶cf. above, n. to *Therī-apadāna* v. [51], on this obscure term.

⁵⁷lit., "as far as my". Pronounce as two syllables when chanting, to keep the meter.

I'm one whose words are listened to.⁵⁸ (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,⁵⁹
special knowledges perfected:
that's the fruit of Buddha-*pūjā*. (14) [84]

Skilled in retaining mindfulness,⁶⁰
pastured in calm-meditation,
undertaking fit exertion:⁶¹
that's the fruit of Buddha-*pūjā*. (15) [85]

My effort bearing the burden
brought me release from attachments;⁶²
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.

⁵⁸lit., "one whose words are to be taken," reading *ādeyyavacanā* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *adeyya*° (PTS).

⁵⁹see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [309].

⁶⁰See note to *Therāpadāna* v. [309].

⁶¹see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [310].

⁶²see *Therāpadāna* v. [649] for these same two feet.

The legend of Sattuppalamālikāya Therī⁶³ is finished.

[9. Pañcadīpikā⁶⁴]

In the city, Haṃsavatī,
I was a wanderer back then.
From hermitage to hermitage,
I wandered desiring the good.⁶⁵ (1) [91]

One day when the moon was waning,⁶⁶
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,
displaying⁶⁷ every good color.⁶⁸ (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 offering⁶⁹ of lamps. (6) [96]

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) [97]

⁶³This is the BJTS reading; PTS reads *Bhikkhunī Sattuppalamālikāya*

⁶⁴“Five-Lamp-er”

⁶⁵lit., “for the sake of wholesome [karma].”

⁶⁶*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*).

⁶⁷lit., “it was”.

⁶⁸or “all the color of gold” (*sabbasovaṇṇayā*).

⁶⁹*pūjā*.

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”⁷⁰ then.
It was a hundred leagues in height,
[and] sixty leagues in width back then.⁷¹ (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.⁷² (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,⁷³
things well done and things not well done,⁷⁴
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,
while I was in that mother’s womb,
my eyes were open all the time.⁷⁵ (15) [105]

⁷⁰“Five Lamps”

⁷¹BJTS 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.

⁷²lit., “as far as [its extent]”.

⁷³reading *daṭṭhum* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *dasurj* (PTS). PTS reads *daṭṭhurj* in the parallel text (#15), below.

⁷⁴BJTS reads “good rebirths and bad rebirths”.

⁷⁵lit., “my eyes are not closing”

Due to my having good karma,⁷⁶
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,⁷⁷
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.
The three knowledges are attained;
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (24) [114]

The four analytical modes,

⁷⁶lit., "because of [my] being endowed with meritorious karma".

⁷⁷or "pavilion"

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. Udadakāyikā⁷⁸]

In the city, Bandhumatī,
 I was a water-fetcher then.
 Living by carrying water,
 I'm raising [my] children that way.⁷⁹ (1) [116]

"I lack the things to be given
 in the unsurpassed merit-field."
 Going to a water-tower,⁸⁰
 I supplied [the Buddha]⁸¹ 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.⁸² (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.⁸³ (4) [119]

I was fixed in the chief queen's place
 of fifty kings among the gods.

⁷⁸"Water-Giver"

⁷⁹lit., "by means of that" or "through that".

⁸⁰in 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 *dvāraḥkoṭṭhaka* (v. [531] [540]) it refers to part of a city's defenses, and following the cty 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).

⁸¹since this was ninety-one aeons ago, the Buddha was presumably Vipassī.

⁸²that is, created as a result of the merit of having brought water to the Buddha.

⁸³lit., "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 *dasa-h-aṅgehi*, lit., "ten parts" or "ten limbs") see below, v. [333]-[335] (= *Gotamī-apadāna* v. 107-109).

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;⁸⁴
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]

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]

⁸⁴reading *sarīre me na vijjati* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *atha m'eva na vijjati* ("are not ever seen by me," PTS).

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, Mekhalādādā,
Maṇḍapa, Saṅkamaṇḍalā,
Nalamālī, Piṇḍadādā,
Kaṭacchu, Uppalappadā,
Dīpad-Odakadā also;
the verses here⁸⁵ are counted [thus:]
one verse and one hundred [also]
and seventeen added to that.

The Sumedhā Chapter, the First

Ekūposathikā Chapter, the Second

[11. Ekūposathikā⁸⁶]

In the city, Bandhumatī,
there was a king⁸⁷ named Bandhuma.⁸⁸
On the day of the full moon, he
took on⁸⁹ Full-Moon-Day observance.⁹⁰ (1) [131]

⁸⁵reading *iha* (BJTS) for *viha* (PTS).

⁸⁶“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.

⁸⁷lit., “a kṣatriyan”.

⁸⁸the wife of this king also planted the seeds for arahantship (as Ekapiṇḍadāyikā) in the time of Gotama Buddha. See above, *Therī-apadāna* v. [46].

⁸⁹lit., “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.

⁹⁰lit., “he set up the [observance of] Uposatha.”

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's⁹¹ dispensation,
Due to that karma done very well,
I went to Tāvatisa [then]. (5) [135]

There my well-made divine mansion
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,

⁹¹lit., "Supreme Buddha's"

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. Salalapupphikā⁹²]

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]

Pressing my hands together then,
I worshipped the Best of Bipedes.
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.

⁹²“Salala-Flower-er”. PTS reads *saḷala*.

The legend of Salalapupphikā Therī is finished.

[13. Modakadāyikā⁹³]

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]

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 Modakadāyikā⁹⁴ spoke these verses.

The legend of Modakadāyikā Therī is finished.

⁹³“Sweetmeat Donor”.

⁹⁴here PTS reads the name Timodakadāyikā, “Three-Sweetmeat-Donor”

[14. Ekāsanadāyikā⁹⁵]

In the city, Hamsavatī,
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,⁹⁶
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,⁹⁷
happy, with pleasure in [my] heart,
I [then] spoke these words [to that monk]: (3) [168]

“The ground is scorched [and] boiling hot;
the sun is at its midday high;⁹⁸
the breezes are not blowing [now];
the time is right to come sit down.⁹⁹ (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.¹⁰⁰ (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]

⁹⁵“One-Chair-Donor”.

⁹⁶lit., “in the midday sun”

⁹⁷lit., “woolen rugs with long fleece [and] woolen rugs with embroidered designs”.

⁹⁸lit., “the midday sun is fixed [in the sky]”

⁹⁹lit., “this is a suitable time for coming to that [seat]”

¹⁰⁰lit., “according to the [size of the] cavity”. Or perhaps we should read, “as much as [I had] cooked,” from *randheti*?

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.¹⁰¹ (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]

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,¹⁰²
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;¹⁰³

¹⁰¹lit., "and [coverlets of] fur [or wool] sticking up on one end" (*uddhaṇ-ekanta-lomī ca*).

¹⁰²or families or clans (*kule*).

¹⁰³PTS reads *celāvīkā* (fr. *cela*, "cloth"? Diaper-washers? The tradition itself is unsure, with equally obscure alternates in PTS [*velāyīkā*, *veccheyīkā*] and BJTS [*velāpīkā*, *velāyīkā*; BJTS reads, equally obscurely and perhaps without mss. basis, *kheḷasīkā*]). 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

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.
Even today, breaking my reign,¹⁰⁴
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 Venerable¹⁰⁵ Bhikkhunī Ekāsanadāyikā spoke these verses.

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*).

¹⁰⁴the 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..."

¹⁰⁵BJTS omits *āyasmā*.

The legend of Ekāsanadāyikā Therī is finished.

[15. Pañcadīpikā¹⁰⁶]

In the city, Hamsavatī,
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]

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,
displaying¹⁰⁷ 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,

¹⁰⁶“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.

¹⁰⁷lit., “it was”.

discarding [my] human body,
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (8) [197]

There my well-made divine mansion
was known as “Pañcadīpi”¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹ (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]

As far as I should wish to see,
things well done and things not well done,¹¹⁰
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:¹¹¹
that’s the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (16) [205]

¹⁰⁸“Five Lamps”

¹⁰⁹lit., “as far as [its extent]”.

¹¹⁰BJTS reads “good rebirths and bad rebirths”.

¹¹¹both PTS and BJTS read *sūtikāgehe* for *sūtighare* in the parallel verse in #9, but I take the meaning to be the same so have not altered the translation.

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,¹¹²
beneath a tree, empty spots,¹¹³
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.
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.

¹¹²or "pavilion"

¹¹³lit., "in empty buildings"

The legend of Pañcadīpikā Therī is finished.

[16. Sālamālikā¹¹⁴]

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,¹¹⁵ with hands pressed together,
taking a *sal*¹¹⁶ [-flower] garland,
I worshipped the Self-Become One. (2) [216]

Due to that karma done very well,
with intention and [firm] resolve,
discarding [my] human body,
I went to Tāvatisa [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's¹¹⁷ 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.

¹¹⁴“*Sal-Garland-er.*” This follows BJTS. PTS reads *Nalamālikā*, “*Reed-Garland-er*”.

¹¹⁵*vedajāto*

¹¹⁶PTS reads *nala°*.

¹¹⁷lit., “Śākyas’ Son’s”

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 *sa*¹¹⁸-garland. (11) [222]¹¹⁹

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 Sālamālikā¹²⁰ spoke these verses.

The legend of Sālamālikā¹²¹ Therī is finished.

[17. Gotamī¹²²]

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

The Victor's mother's sister then,
the Buddhist nun Great Gotamī,

¹¹⁸PTS reads *nala*°

¹¹⁹as will be clear from the numbering, BJTS places this verse before, rather than after, the standard refrain, and omits the final verse (12) found in the PTS version.

¹²⁰PTS reads *Nala*°.

¹²¹PTS reads *Nala*°.

¹²²"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.

was dwelling in a nuns' refuge,
built in that delightful city.¹²³ (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)¹²⁴ [228]

"I will not be able to see¹²⁵
the Buddha's final nirvana,
[that] of the two chief followers,
nor Rāhul, Ānanda, Nanda. (3c-f) [229]

Destroying¹²⁶ 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,]

¹²³there 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").

¹²⁴here 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.

¹²⁵or, 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.

¹²⁶PTS reads *paṭihacc' āyusāṅkhāre*, which I follow here, though BJTS *paṭtigacc'* (alt. *paṭikacc'*), = "previous," in which case *āyusāṅkhāre* might be the object of *ossajitvāna*, hence: "letting go of the constituents of my previous life".

shed [their] tears there [in the refuge]. (6) [232]¹²⁷

[And then] all of¹²⁸ 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,
lamentations¹²⁹ are being heard.¹³⁰
what then does this mean, Gotamī?” (8) [234]¹³¹

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.¹³² (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?”¹³³
[And] then along with all [of them]
she quitted [that] Buddhist nuns’ nest.¹³⁴ (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,

¹²⁷PTS and BJTS agree in presenting this as a six-footed verse.

¹²⁸BJTS and PTS alt. read *mittā* (“friendly”) for PTS “all” (*sabbā*)

¹²⁹lit., “and lamentations”

¹³⁰*sūyante*, BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *sūyanti*

¹³¹PTS and BJTS agree in presenting this as a six-footed verse.

¹³²*subbate*, also “Compliant One” “Good Vow”

¹³³lit., “who are going to nirvana”

¹³⁴reading *niggacchi bhikkhunīlayā* with BJTS for PTS *niggañchi bhikkhunīlayanā*

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,]¹³⁵
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],
like the Ganges [flows to] the sea,
with five hundred tributaries."¹³⁶ (17) [243]

The faithful laywomen,¹³⁷ having
seen her¹³⁸ going along the road,
coming out from [their] houses [then]
bowing down at [her] feet said this: (18) [244]

"Great-fortuned one,¹³⁹ be satisfied.¹⁴⁰
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,¹⁴¹
the cause of suffering's allayed,
I've experienced cessation,

¹³⁵*sugatorasā*, "the [pl. fem.] legitimate descendants of the Well-Gone-One," that is, the goddesses living in the nuns' residence

¹³⁶lit., "rivers"

¹³⁷*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*)

¹³⁸reading *vajantim taṃ* with BJTS for PTS *vajantīnaṃ* ("them...[their] feet")

¹³⁹I follow BJTS Sinh gloss in now taking this as a vocative. BJTS (and PTS alt) reads *mahābhoge* for *mahābhāge*, but glosses *mahābhāgyavat uttamāvani*

¹⁴⁰or "pleased," *pasīdassu*. BJTS Sinhala gloss (*apa kerehi*) *pahadinu*, "be satisfied [or pleased] (with us)"

¹⁴¹lit., "suffering [*dukkhaṃ*] is understood by me". The following feet of this verse follow the same grammatical pattern, summarizing her full attainment of the Four Noble Truths.

I have cultivated the path. (21) [247]

(The First Recitation Portion)¹⁴²

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

Koṇḍañña,¹⁴³ Ānanda,¹⁴⁴ Nanda,¹⁴⁵
Rāhula,¹⁴⁶ the Victor remain;
the Assembly's cheerful and close,
the conceit of rivals is slain. (25) [251]

The Famed One in¹⁴⁷ Okkāka's clan
is Exalted,¹⁴⁸ the Death-Crusher;¹⁴⁹
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

¹⁴²PTS omits this classification, found in BJTS

¹⁴³see *Therāpadāna* above, #7

¹⁴⁴see *Therāpadāna* above, #10.

¹⁴⁵see *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.

¹⁴⁶see *Therāpadāna* above, #16. As the Buddha's son, by the logic of this text in particular, he was Gotamī's grandson.

¹⁴⁷lit., "of"

¹⁴⁸ussito

¹⁴⁹*Māramaddano*

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,¹⁵⁰ who Gives the Good Teaching’s Joy,¹⁵¹
O Gotama, I’m born from¹⁵² you. (31) [257]

Your body, made of flesh and bones,¹⁵³
was reared up by me, Well-Gone-One;
my flawless body, made of Truth,¹⁵⁴
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,¹⁵⁵
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].¹⁵⁶ (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]

¹⁵⁰ *nātha*

¹⁵¹ *saddhammasukhado*

¹⁵² or “through”

¹⁵³ *rūpakāyo...tava*

¹⁵⁴ or “of the Teaching”: *dhammakāya*

¹⁵⁵ or “of the Teaching”: *dhammakhīram*

¹⁵⁶ PTS reads *puttakāmā thiyo tāva labhantaṇ tādisaṇ suttaṇ!* (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 suttaṇ* (lit., “those women who are desiring sons, they [want] to obtain a son such as [you])

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,¹⁵⁷ O Leader. (38) [264]

Stretch forth your feet, like lilies soft,
 which are marked with wheel, goad and flag.
 I shall make obeisance to you,
 with a [mother's] love for [her] son.¹⁵⁸ (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 her¹⁵⁹ [his] body,
 a pale sun¹⁶⁰ through¹⁶¹ an evening cloud.¹⁶² (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,¹⁶³
 the Banner of the Solar Clan,¹⁶⁴
 when I have died for the last time,
 I will never¹⁶⁵ see you again. (43) [269]

Chief of the World, it is believed
 that women make every error.¹⁶⁶
 If there's any error in me,

¹⁵⁷ *dukkhantakara*

¹⁵⁸ reading *puttapemasā* with BJTS for PTS *putta pemasā* ("with love, O son")

¹⁵⁹ lit., "[his] maternal aunt"

¹⁶⁰ *bālakkaja*, lit., "young sun," "a pale sun." BJTS Sinh. gloss *bālārka*. lit., "like a pale sun..."

¹⁶¹ lit., "from," i.e., "emerging from" "coming out from behind"

¹⁶² *sañjhā-ghanā*, lit., "from an evening cloud"

¹⁶³ *narādiccaṇ*

¹⁶⁴ *ādiccakulaketunaṇ* (BJTS reads °*kaṇ*)

¹⁶⁵ lit., "not"

¹⁶⁶ *itthiyo nāma...sabbadosakarā matā*

forgive it, Mine of Compassion.¹⁶⁷ (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.¹⁶⁸ (46) [272]

“What’s not forgiven to forgive
in [one who’s] adorned with virtue?¹⁶⁹
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.¹⁷⁰ (48) [274]¹⁷¹

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.¹⁷² (51) [277]

Battle-Ender,¹⁷³ fortunate too,

¹⁶⁷*karuṇākara*

¹⁶⁸*khamādhīpa*

¹⁶⁹here 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.

¹⁷⁰*vyasanaṅ gahānaṅ disvāna*

¹⁷¹This, and the following two verses present in both BJTS and PTS in a different meter with 11-syllable feet. I translate accordingly.

¹⁷²*narapuṅgava*

¹⁷³*raṇantaḡa*, 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”

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 worshipping¹⁷⁴ your feet.
The existential desert crossed,
[I] shine due to the good Teaching.¹⁷⁵ (54) [280]

Then the pious one¹⁷⁶ explained [her
thoughts]¹⁷⁷ to the Assembly of monks,
and having worshipped Rāhula,
Ānanda [and] Nanda, she said:¹⁷⁸ (55) [281]

“I am weary¹⁷⁹ of [my] body,
similar to a serpent’s den,
a sickness-house, heap of dis-ease,¹⁸⁰
pasturing in old age and death,
covered with varied flaws and drool,¹⁸¹
dependent on others, actionless.¹⁸²
Therefore I desire nirvana;
give [me your] permission, children.” (56-57) [282-283]

¹⁷⁴lit., “doing *pūjā* to”

¹⁷⁵BJTS reads *suvākyena sirīmato*, “due to the good teaching of the resplendent one”.

¹⁷⁶*subbata*

¹⁷⁷lit., “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.

¹⁷⁸lit., “she said this:”

¹⁷⁹*nibbiñṇā*. 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.

¹⁸⁰reading *dukkhasaṅghāta* with BJTS for the metrically-questionable but evocative PTS *dukkhapaṅke* (“[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”

¹⁸¹reading *nānākalalākiṅṇe* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *nānākalala-m-ākiṅṇe* (“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”)

¹⁸²*nirihake*, in juxtaposition with the previous adjective *parāyatte*, lit., “activity of others,” hence “dependent on others”

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,
 the one who suckled the Buddha,
 Gotamī, goes without a trace.”¹⁸³ (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,¹⁸⁴
 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,¹⁸⁵ (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.¹⁸⁶ (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,¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ *nidhanan*, lit., “without wealth [of karma],” or more literally, “possessionless”

¹⁸⁴ BJTS divides up the adverb taken as “similing” (*hāsantiṇ*) as *hā santiṇ*, “Alas! peacefully...” or “Alas! to peace...”

¹⁸⁵ lit., “O deep one, O ocean of wisdom”

¹⁸⁶ 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.

¹⁸⁷ *porāṇehi*, or (as in my earlier translation) “elders”

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;¹⁸⁸
Son, I am going to that place
where one who's gone cannot be seen." (67) [293]

Once when he was preaching *Dhamma*,
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."¹⁸⁹ (72) [298]

Then, going [back] to the refuge,
[gone off] alone, I reflected:
"the Lord, who Reached the Three Worlds' Ends,¹⁹⁰
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]

¹⁸⁸ Ānanda is remembered to have remembered a huge quantity of the Buddhist canon, prior to its fixing and ultimate writing down.

¹⁸⁹ Thig 161

¹⁹⁰ *tibhavantago*

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.
 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.¹⁹¹
 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, again¹⁹² 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 walked¹⁹³ 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]

¹⁹¹*thīnaṇḍhaṃ dhammābhisamāyē*

¹⁹²*tathā*, lit., “thus” “in that way”

¹⁹³or “went”

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 —
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.¹⁹⁴
An attainer of [her]¹⁹⁵ own goal,
she worships your feet, Eyeful One.” (91) [317]

Having shown varied miracles,
descending from up in¹⁹⁶ the sky,
worshipping the Lamp of the World,
she sat down [there, off] to one side. (92) [318]

¹⁹⁴*tavasāsanakārikā*, “a doer of your dispensation” “one who has performed your teachings”

¹⁹⁵or “your”?

¹⁹⁶lit., “from the surface of”

“O Great Sage, I’m an [old woman,]¹⁹⁷
 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] have¹⁹⁸ [great] prowess
 at supernormal miracles.” (94) [320]

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 Hamsavati,
 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

¹⁹⁷sā...’harj

¹⁹⁸lit “make” “do”

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,¹⁹⁹
being blown on by karma-wind,
I was born in a slave-village,
in the realm of the Kāsi²⁰⁰ king. (110) [336]

Every day there were five hundred
slaves dwelling in that very place.

¹⁹⁹or "in existence": *saṅsāre saṅsāranti 'haṅ*

²⁰⁰that is, Benares

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,²⁰¹
we served those [Buddhas] for four months.
Having given [each] the three robes,
we transmigrated²⁰² with husbands. (113) [339]

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

my father, Añjana²⁰³ Śākya,²⁰⁴
my mother was Sulakhanā.²⁰⁵
We left for Suddhodana's house,
in Kapilavastu [City]. (115) [341]

The other women born Śākyan²⁰⁶
[also] came to the Śākyan'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,²⁰⁷
together with the five hundred. (117) [343]

Along with the Śākyan 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,²⁰⁸
they've [now] seized the crucial moment.

²⁰¹BJTS reads *katvā pañcasatakuṭī* ("having made [them] five hundred huts" for PTS *pūgā bhavitvā sabbāyo*)

²⁰²BJTS reads *pasannāmha sasāmikā*, "we were pleased with our husbands"

²⁰³"Jet Black"

²⁰⁴i.e., Śākyan, of the Buddha's clan

²⁰⁵"Well-Marked"

²⁰⁶lit., "the other women born in the Śākyan clan"

²⁰⁷lit., "having gone forth"

²⁰⁸*saha*. I follow the BJTS Sinhala gloss (*ek vā*) in giving this sociokarmically more-determined translation.

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
like [different]²⁰⁹ types of ornaments
[might be displayed] by a goldsmith,
who is well-trained in²¹⁰ workmanship. (121) [347]

After displaying miracles,
variegated and many,
having pleased the Fine Debater,²¹¹
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,²¹² [we]
reached destruction of our constraints.²¹³ (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,

²⁰⁹pronounce as two syllables when chanting, “diff’rent”

²¹⁰lit., “of”

²¹¹*vāḍipavaraj*

²¹²or “merit,” *puññehi*. “Good deeds” would preserve the plural.

²¹³*āsavakkhayaj*

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]

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].²¹⁴ (133) [359]

The World’s Chief Leader, the Wise One,²¹⁵
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.

²¹⁴reading *agamaṃsu* with BJTS (cf. PTS alt. *agamimsu*) for PTS *agamisu* (“among non-villages”?)

²¹⁵BJTS here reads *vīro*, “the Hero” for PTS *dhīro*, “the Wise One”

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
back to [her] own refuge for nuns,
sat in half-lotus²¹⁶ 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:]²¹⁷ (143) [369]

"Enough with [this] depression, child,
twisted up in the snares of Death,²¹⁸
impermanent is all that is,
ever-shaking, ending in loss." (144) [370]

Then having sent them [all] away,
she entered the first²¹⁹ altered state,
the second and also the third,
and then she attained the fourth one. (145) [371]

²¹⁶*addhapallāṅkam ābhujya* (BJTS read *aḍḍhapallāṅkam ābhujja*), with one leg crossed and one bent hook-wise.

²¹⁷reading the final verb *abravi* ("she spoke") with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *abraviṅ* ("I spoke").

²¹⁸*mārapāsānuvattinā*

²¹⁹lit., "ultimate first altered state"

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]

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,²²⁰
 [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,²²¹
 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,

²²⁰PTS reads *tavade*, BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *taikhhaṇe* (“in that moment”)

²²¹lit., “dispensation”

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,²²²
 whose eyes were filling up with tears,
 announced, while choking on [his] words,²²³
 “Come together, O Buddhist monks,
 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,²²⁴ 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,²²⁵
 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,²²⁶
 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,

²²²a play on the meaning of his name: *tadā ‘nando nirānando*

²²³lit., “with a gurgling sound”

²²⁴accepting PTS reading *gatāsayaṇ*. BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *gatāsamaṇ*, “gone to the incomparable [state?]”

²²⁵lit., “well-Gone-One’s heir”

²²⁶PTS *suttā ‘pi Gotamī*, BJTS *suttāsi Gotamī* (*suttā-āsi Gotamī*)

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]

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 incense²²⁷ rising in the sky. (167) [393]

[Both] the sun and the moon were seen,
and [all] the stars were twinkling,²²⁸
and even when it was high noon,
the sun did not burn, like the moon. (168) [394]

Gods made offerings²²⁹ 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,

²²⁷BJTS reads *ogatākāsapadumā* ("lotuses rising in the sky")

²²⁸pronounce "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.

²²⁹lit., "did *pūjā*"

[and] next, with followers, Buddha,
processed to worship [his] mother.²³⁰ (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.
The Buddha is at Gotamī's;²³¹
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] bones²³²
were completely consumed by fire.
And at that time Ānanda spoke
this speech, [which was] very moving:²³³ (176) [402]

"Gotamī's gone without a trace²³⁴
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,

²³⁰lit., "is going in order to worship [his] mother"

²³¹lit., "at Gotamī's [final] nirvana"

²³²lit., "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.

²³³*saṃvegajanaṇ vaco*, lit., "emotion-producing word." *Saṃvega* 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.

²³⁴*nidhanaṇ*, lit., "without wealth [of karma]," or more literally, "possessionless"

however massive it may be,
so Gotamī, who was a nun,²³⁵
has reached [her] final nirvana. (179-180) [405-406]

O! it is a marvelous thing!
My mother who's reached nirvana,
leaving only relics behind²³⁶
did not grieve [and was not] wailing. (181) [407]

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,²³⁷
with wisdom which was vast and wide,²³⁸
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.²³⁹ (187) [413]

No rebirth place can be discerned
of the truly liberated,

²³⁵lit., "of the nuns' Assembly:" *bhikkhunisaṅghassa*

²³⁶*sarīramattasesāya*, lit., "with [only] a measure of relics remaining"

²³⁷*paṇḍitā'si*

²³⁸lit., "with vast wisdom, with wide wisdom"

²³⁹lit., "[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".

who cross the flood of lustful bonds,
who've reached unshaking happiness.²⁴⁰ (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.²⁴¹ (189) [415]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Mahāpajāpatīgotamī spoke these verses.

The legend of Mahāpajāpatīgotamī Therī is finished.

[18. Khemā²⁴²]

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 Hamsavati,
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 nun²⁴³ in the foremost place
among those who have great wisdom. (5) [420]

Hearing that, being overjoyed,
doing further good works for [him,]

²⁴⁰*acalaṃ sukhaṃ*. BJTS reads, more consistently with *Apadāna* as a whole, *acalaṃ padaṃ* (“unshaking state”)

²⁴¹or “make an end of dis-ease:” *dukkhass’ antaṃ karissathā ti*.

²⁴²“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.

²⁴³*uttamaṃ bhikkhuniṃ*

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,
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’ll²⁴⁴ 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,²⁴⁵
[and] then I went to Tusita,
and then to Nimmānarati,²⁴⁶
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.²⁴⁷ (14) [429]

[Then] ninety-one aeons ago,

²⁴⁴reading *bhavissasi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *bhavissati*, “she will be.”

²⁴⁵Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

²⁴⁶BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

²⁴⁷*anekakappesu*, lit., “during various aeons”

the World-Leader [named] Vipassi
 arose, the One with Lovely Eyes,²⁴⁸
 with Insight into Everything.²⁴⁹ (15) [430]

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

After living the holy life²⁵⁰
 [during fully] ten thousand years,
 in that Wise One's dispensation,
 bent on effort, very learned, (17) [432]

skillful in the heaps of causes,²⁵¹
 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.²⁵² (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.²⁵³ (22) [437]

²⁴⁸ *cārunayano*, or "lovely to the eyes" (?) xxx

²⁴⁹ *sabbadhammavipassaka*, a play on that Buddha's name

²⁵⁰ *brahmacariyaṅ caritvāna*, lit., "conducting [myself] in the conduct of {God} Brahmā;" or else, "having pre-served celibacy"

²⁵¹ *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*)

²⁵² or "due to loving celibately"

²⁵³ 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"

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]

[We] lay-donors gave a thousand
 to the Sage, and a hermitage
 for the Assembly, donating²⁵⁴
 that place²⁵⁵ to Him with Assembly. (25) [440]

Fallen thence, all we [three women]
 were reborn²⁵⁶ 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 Kassapa²⁵⁷
 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."²⁵⁸
 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,
 comfortable²⁵⁹ royal maidens
 doing [our] practice with vigor
 in virginal celibacy,
 for twenty times a thousand years,

²⁵⁴ *uddissa*, lit., "assigned to" "appointed to" "allotted"

²⁵⁵ *viḥāram hi* lit., "that very monastery"

²⁵⁶ *upagā*, lit., reached, went to, obtained, came into, belonged to

²⁵⁷ BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

²⁵⁸ "Female renouncer" "nun" "renunciate woman"

²⁵⁹ *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"

fond of waiting on the Buddha,
[the king's] seven joyful daughters. (30-31) [445-446]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,²⁶⁰
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (32) [447]

[now] I, and Uppalavaṇṇā,
Paṭācārā and Kuṇḍalā,²⁶¹
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,²⁶²
and Visākhā is the seventh. (33) [448]

Once when the Sun Among People
was preaching the marvelous Truth,²⁶³
having heard it, I memorized
Mahānidānasuttanta.²⁶⁴ (34) [449]

Due to those karmas²⁶⁵ 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 am²⁶⁶ the Madda king's daughter,
well-liked, held dear [and] beloved. (36) [451]

[All] was peaceful²⁶⁷ in that city
when I was coming into birth.
After that, due to that virtue,²⁶⁸
they gave²⁶⁹ the name “Khemā” to me. (37) [452]

When I attained the prime of youth,

²⁶⁰I 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.

²⁶¹= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

²⁶²given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pli and in English

²⁶³or “Teaching,” *dhammaṅ deseti abbhutaṅ*

²⁶⁴the fifteenth *sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, containing a detailed analysis of the twelve-fold chain of causation

²⁶⁵here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kammaena* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps “good deeds” would be the more natural plural term here.

²⁶⁶reading °*amhi* with BJTS for PTS °*āsiṅ* (“I was”)

²⁶⁷*khemaṅ*

²⁶⁸reading *guṇato* with BJTS for PTS *guṇikaṃ* (“small chain”)

²⁶⁹*udapajjatha*, lit., “produced”

I was adorned with beauty and grace.²⁷⁰
 At that time my father gave me
 to [the great] king, Bimbisāra. (38) [453]

I was his best-beloved [queen,]
 taking great²⁷¹ pride in²⁷² [my] beauty.
 [Thinking,] “He speaks ill of beauty,”
 I dodged²⁷³ the Compassionate One.²⁷⁴ (39) [454]

At that time, King Bimbisāra,
 with knowledge and great love for me,
 after praising the Bamboo Grove,²⁷⁵
 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.’²⁷⁶ (41) [456]

[But] one who’s seen the Bamboo Grove,
 the ‘Joy’ that’s enjoyed by people,²⁷⁷
 that one’s seen [the garden named] ‘Joy,’
 much enjoyed by the king of gods.²⁷⁸ (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
 its²⁷⁹ accumulated virtue,
 produced by the merit of kings,
 beautified by Buddha’s merit?” (44) [459]

²⁷⁰reading *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

²⁷¹*ratā*, lit., “delighting in” “intent upon”

²⁷²*keḷāyane* fr. *keḷāyati*, to play, sport, amuse; to take pride in. Could tr. here: “intently sporting in beauty”

²⁷³*na upesiṇ*, lit., “I did not approach”.

²⁷⁴*mahādayaṇ*, lit., “Great Compassionate One”

²⁷⁵*veluvanaṇ* (BJTS *veluvanaṇ*), a pleasure grove near Rajgir where the Buddha stayed when visiting King Bimbisāra

²⁷⁶*nandanaṇ*, “Joy” the divine pleasure grove of Śakra/Indra, the king of the gods

²⁷⁷*naranandanandananaṇ*, 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.

²⁷⁸*amarinda-sunandanaṇ*

²⁷⁹*tassa...vanassa*, lit., “of that grove”

Hearing of its²⁸⁰ 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,
 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,²⁸¹
 at that very time²⁸² 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.”²⁸³
 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,²⁸⁴
 seated at the foot of a tree

²⁸⁰lit., “of the grove’s”

²⁸¹*giribbajapuruttamaṅ* (a.k.a. *rajaḡaha* = Rajgir), the capital of King Bimbisāra near where the Bamboo Groove was (and is) located.

²⁸²she plans to be there when he is absent, still trying to evade him

²⁸³lit., “bearing fruit”

²⁸⁴lit., “surrounded by a *saṅghāti* (monastic robe)

he meditates, a Buddhist monk,
discarding sensual delight.²⁸⁵ (53) [468]

Shouldn't this auspicious Teaching
be practiced by old folks,²⁸⁶ after
[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,²⁸⁷
being fanned by a fine woman.
Seeing [that scene,] I thought like this:
"isn't this Bull of Men wretched?"²⁸⁸ (56) [471]

The woman [though], shining like gold,
eyes and face like pink lotuses,
with red lips, looking like jasmine,²⁸⁹
pleasing to the mind and the eyes, (57) [472]

with ears that are like golden swings,
firm²⁹⁰ breasts that look like water-jugs,
thin-waisted, a shapely behind,²⁹¹
fine thighs with charming ornaments, (58) [473]

dressed in clothing of fine blue silk,
furnished with a border of red,
with unsatisfiable looks,²⁹²
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 own²⁹³ eye [such a beauty]!" (60) [475]

Then she was ravished by old age,

²⁸⁵*visayajan ratiṅ*, lit., "delight produced by/in the spheres of the senses"

²⁸⁶lit., "by an elderly person" "by a decrepit person"

²⁸⁷or "alone"

²⁸⁸or 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"

²⁸⁹which has delicate, white flowers

²⁹⁰or otherwise "good," *su*^o

²⁹¹PTS *varassonī* ("excellent buttocks"), BJTS *sussonī*, ("good buttocks")

²⁹²or "form/shape/beauty which is not to be satisfied" (or "not troubling"?)

²⁹³lit., "this," perhaps a deictic?

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,²⁹⁴
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.²⁹⁵ (63) [478]

And then I was profoundly moved.²⁹⁶
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,
discerning²⁹⁷ 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 heap²⁹⁸ 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.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁴lit., “white-eyed”

²⁹⁵lit., “gasping for breath (or “panting” or “sighing” or “exhaling”: *nissasanti*) moment by moment”

²⁹⁶*me āsi samvego*

²⁹⁷lit., seeing

²⁹⁸*samussayaṅ*, “conglomeration,” i.e., the body

²⁹⁹*mānānusayaṅ ujjaḥa*, pride located in the subconscious, “sleepful” (but not) pride in one’s existence, etc

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;
[others,] cutting that away, are going forth,
indifferent, giving up the pleasures of lust.” (70-71) [485].³⁰⁰

Then the Charioteer of Men,
knowing my mental readiness,
in order to instruct me preached
Mahānidānasuttanta.³⁰¹ (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!³⁰² (75) [489]

Plunged into³⁰³ the thicket of views,
I was doped by passionate lust.
[I now] delight in discipline,
disciplined by your righteous trick.³⁰⁴ (76) [490]

Without enjoyment because they
do not see Great Sages like you,
beings in the sea of being,³⁰⁵
are undergoing much dis-ease. (77) [491]

Though close³⁰⁶ I did not [go to] see

³⁰⁰PTS 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.

³⁰¹see above, v. 34 [449]

³⁰²BJTS reads *amataṃ dadaṃ* (“Deathless-Giver”?)

³⁰³*pakkhannā*, lit., “fallen into” “jumped into” fr. *pakkhandati*

³⁰⁴*tayā sammā upāyena*

³⁰⁵*sattā saṃsārasāgare*

³⁰⁶*adūraṭṭhaṃ*, lit., “not because of far-away-ness”

the World's-Help,³⁰⁷ Non-Hostility,³⁰⁸
 the One who Made an End to Death;³⁰⁹
 I am confessing that offense. (78) [492]

Beauty-obsessed, I did not go
 to the Goodness-Giver,³¹⁰ Great Friend,³¹¹
 suspecting he'd be unfriendly;
 I am confessing that offense." (79) [493]

And then the One with Honeyed Speech,³¹²
 the Great Compassionate Victor
 sprinkling³¹³ 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 trick³¹⁴ that you thought up!
 Wishing to see the grove, I saw³¹⁵
 the Sage, the One Free of Craving.³¹⁶ (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,

³⁰⁷*loka-saraṇaṇ*

³⁰⁸*araṇaṇ*, lit., "having no battle," "not adversarial," echoed in *lokasaraṇaṇ* and *maraṇantaṅgaṇ*

³⁰⁹*maraṇantaṅgaṇ* (correct to °*antakaṇ* read °*antaguṇ* with BJTS)

³¹⁰or "Giver of Boons" "Wish-Grantor". Reading *varaḍadaṇ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *varaḍaṇ* (which could be taken, however, as the same thing)

³¹¹*mahāhitaṇ*

³¹²*madhuraṇigghosa*

³¹³pronounce as two syllables when chanting, to keep the meter

³¹⁴*sammā upāyo*

³¹⁵lit., "was seen by me"

³¹⁶*nibbanatho*, Skt. *nivanathaḥ*

my mind being profoundly moved, (85) [499]

fed up with all conditioned things,
skillful in the heaps of causes,³¹⁷
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]³¹⁸

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,³¹⁹
confident in *Kathāvatthu*,³²⁰
and in the dispensation I've
mastered Abhidhammic method.³²¹ (90) [504]

Then, being asked subtle questions
in *Toraṇavatthu*,³²² by the
queen, wife of the Kosala [king,]
I explained according to truth.³²³ (91) [505]

At that time the king, approaching

³¹⁷*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*)

³¹⁸this 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 *āsiṃ*

³¹⁹*kusalāhaṇ visuddhīsu*, lit., "I am skilled in the purifications"

³²⁰one 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.

³²¹*abhidhammanayaññū ca vasī*, lit., "[I am a] master of the knowledge of Abhidhammic method"

³²²see 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)

³²³reading *yathātathaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *yathākathaṃ*, "according to what was said"

the Well-Gone-One asked [him as well].
Then the Buddha explained just as
[those questions] were explained by me. (92) [506]

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. Uppalavaṇṇā³²⁴]

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 rebirth³²⁵ 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 multitudes³²⁶ who are
pleased in Buddha’s³²⁷ dispensation,

³²⁴“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.

³²⁵or “transmigration,” °saṅsāra

³²⁶or “retinue” “following” “group” “people”

³²⁷lit., “the Victor’s”

if I've wronged [some] people may they
forgive [it] facing³²⁸ the Victor. (3) [513]

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 my³²⁹ dispensation.
Cut off today the doubts throughout
the multitude, which is fourfold."³³⁰ (5) [515]

"Great Hero, I am your daughter.
O Wise One,³³¹ O Effulgent One,³³²
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."³³³
I'm your follower, Great Hero,
worshipping your feet, Eyeful One. (7) [517]

Rāhula³³⁴ and I myself
due to our similar mindsets,
were born in the same conditions³³⁵
various hundred many [times]. (8) [518]

Rebirth is together [with him]
and after birth too, together.
[Now] in [our] final existence
both, [born in] varied³³⁶ conditions, (9) [519]

³²⁸ or "face-to-face with"

³²⁹ this is the Buddha speaking, in response to Uppalavaṇṇā's request to be forgiven any mistakes

³³⁰ *catasso parisā*, I assume the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, but it could also be *catasso...kaṅkhā*, fourfold doubt

³³¹ *paññāvanta*

³³² *jutindhara*

³³³ *nāmena Uppalanāmikā*

³³⁴ the Buddha's biological son

³³⁵ *akasmīṇ 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.

³³⁶ reading *nānāsambhavā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *nāmasambhavā*, ("Conditions in name" — to be read as "only figuratively" [??])

together: Rāhula’s [your] son;
 I’m [your] daughter, named “Blue Lotus.”
 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 physician³³⁷
 does oil destined for the bladder.³³⁸ (11) [521]

Tearing up earth, she put [it] down
 into the palm of [her own] hand,
 like a tender young boy³³⁹ picking
 a [flower that’s] full of color.³⁴⁰ (12) [522]

Her palm, [big] as the universe,³⁴¹
 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,
 grinding³⁴² 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,³⁴³
 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,

³³⁷ *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.

³³⁸ *telaṇ vatthigataṇ c’eva*, i.e., administering an enema? Or *vatthigataṇ* as a second thing being handled (carefully, gingerly), not only oil but also that “gone to [or from?] the bladder”?

³³⁹ reading *luñci komārako yuvā* with BJTS for PTS *luñciko mārako yuvā* (“plucky devilish youth”?)

³⁴⁰ or is *cittapunna* the name of a flower, i.e., “picks a *cittapunna* flower”

³⁴¹ *cakkavālasamaṇ*, lit., “the same as the ring of cosmic mountains surrounding the universe”

³⁴² lit., “doing” “making”

³⁴³ *nānāvīkubbanāṇ*

of the knowledge in others' hearts. (17) [527]

I remember [my] former lives;
[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 vast³⁴⁴ and flawless,
through the Great Sage's majesty. (19) [529]

In the presence and the absence³⁴⁵
of the Chief Victors, formerly,
much service was performed by me
for the sake of you,³⁴⁶ O Great Sage. (20) [530]

What good³⁴⁷ 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]

Avoiding³⁴⁸ wrong behavior³⁴⁹ [and]
the [nine] impossible places;³⁵⁰
the ultimate life's my duty
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (22) [532]

I donated from my [own funds]
ten thousand ten millions³⁵¹ [in gold];
my [very] life was abandoned
for the sake of you, Great Hero." (23) [533]

³⁴⁴lit., "pure" (*suddharā*)

³⁴⁵reading *sammukhā ca parammukhā* with BJTS (and PTS alts.) for PTS *saṅkamante nidassitarā* ("pointed out when transmigrating"?)

³⁴⁶that 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.

³⁴⁷or "wholesome": *kusalā*

³⁴⁸*vajjetvā*. Reading BJTS *parivajjenti* (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"

³⁴⁹reading *anācāraṇ* with BJTS for PTS *anāvaraṇ* ("not mean" = "noble things; PTS alt. *bahuṇ janarā*, "many people" [!])

³⁵⁰*abhabba-ṭṭhāne*, 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

³⁵¹or "one hundred billion"

Then all of them, greatly composed,
 hands pressed together on [their] heads,
 said, “Sister, how’d you make the effort
 for such unmatched superpower?” [534]³⁵²
 One hundred thousand aeons hence
 I was a cobra[-god] maiden,
 known by the name of Vimala,³⁵³
 well-honored among the maidens. (24) [535]

The great cobra Mahoraga,³⁵⁴
 pleased in Buddha’s³⁵⁵ dispensation,
 invited Padumuttara
 of Great Power,³⁵⁶ with followers. (25) [536]

Sounding musical instruments,
 going out to meet the Sambuddha,
 he made the Buddha’s road ready³⁵⁷ —
 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,]

³⁵²this verse does not appear in PTS. BJTS reads: *tadātisaṃhitā sabbā sirasāva katañjali/avoc’ ayye kathaṃ āsi atul’iddhiparakkamā//*

³⁵³“Stainless”

³⁵⁴“great snake,” *mahā + urago*

³⁵⁵*jina*°, lit., “the Victor’s”

³⁵⁶*mahātajan*, or “the Hot One”

³⁵⁷reading *paṭiyādesi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *paṭipādesi*, to impart, to offer, to present

[taking] pleasure in the Teacher,
 [when] the cobra maidens had seen
 the one whose name was Best Lotus,
 Greatly Famed All-Knower³⁵⁸ 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].³⁵⁹
 Just how, Hero, did she become
 so skillful³⁶⁰ in superpowers?” (34) [545]

“[This nun] with great powers is my
 legitimate daughter, mouth-born,³⁶¹
 she’s followed my instructions, thus³⁶²
 she’s so skilled³⁶³ 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 drink³⁶⁴
 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

³⁵⁸reading *sabbaññuṃ* with BJTS for PTS *sabbañ ca* (“all...and”)

³⁵⁹reading *sumanāy’ itarāyapi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sumitaṇ itarāya pi* (“well-measured by the other to” ?), and following BJTS Sinhala gloss

³⁶⁰reading *suvisāradā* with BJTS (and subsequent verses here) for PTS *ca visāradā* (“and skillful”)

³⁶¹*orasāmukhato jātā*

³⁶²lit., “and”

³⁶³reading *suvisāradā* with BJTS for PTS *ca visāradā*, as above

³⁶⁴reading *annapānena* with BJTS for PTS *mahājanena* (“with the great multitude”)

an *aruṇa*³⁶⁵ [type] blue lotus,
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,³⁶⁶
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,³⁶⁷ and
worshipping³⁶⁸ with lotuses, I
wished through them for splendid color.³⁶⁹ (44) [555]

In this [present] lucky aeon
Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa³⁷⁰
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.³⁷¹

³⁶⁵“sun”

³⁶⁶*carunayano*

³⁶⁷reading *vināyakaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alts.) for PTS *vimissitaṃ* (“mixed”)

³⁶⁸lit., “doing *pūjā*”

³⁶⁹reading *vaṇṇasobhaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *vaṇṇasetāṃ* (“white color”?)

³⁷⁰BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

³⁷¹“Guarded Nun” “Protected Female Renouncer”

Hearing the Best Victor's Teaching,
I chose [to seek] ordination. (47) [558]

Our father did not permit it;
we [stayed] at home during that time,
comfortable³⁷² 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,³⁷³
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (50) [561]

[now] I, and [the nun named] Khemā,
Paṭācārā and Kuṇḍalā,³⁷⁴
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,³⁷⁵
and Visākhā is the seventh. (51) [562]

Due to those karmas³⁷⁶ 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.³⁷⁷ (53) [564]

Fallen from there, reborn among
brahmins³⁷⁸ in Ariṭṭhapura,
daughter of Tirīṭavaccha,

³⁷² *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”

³⁷³ 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.

³⁷⁴ = Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

³⁷⁵ given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

³⁷⁶ 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.

³⁷⁷ *pīta-maṭṭha-varaṇ dussaṇ*, BJTS (and PTS alt.) read *pītamaṭṭhaṃ varaṇ dussaṇ*

³⁷⁸ in a brahmin clan

I was charming³⁷⁹ Ummādanti.³⁸⁰ (54) [565]

Fallen from there, I [was born] in
an undistinguished³⁸¹ rural³⁸² 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,³⁸³ lotus-covered,
I wished [to have] five hundred sons.³⁸⁴ (56) [567]

With those wishes³⁸⁵ 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.³⁸⁶
I bore royal princes [for him,]
not one fewer than five hundred. (58) [569]

When [my sons] had become young men,³⁸⁷
while sporting at [their] water sports,
seeing fallen lotus [petals,]
they turned into³⁸⁸ Lonely-Leaders.³⁸⁹ [59] [570]

I was then grieved, being bereft
of those heroes who were [my] sons.³⁹⁰
Fallen [from there], I was born in
a village near Isigili.³⁹¹ (60) [571]

When [I], Buddha-mother [reborn,]

³⁷⁹*manohara*, lit., “carrying the mind away”

³⁸⁰“Maddening” “Intoxicating”

³⁸¹*aññātare*, or “a certain”

³⁸²*janapade*, lit., “in the country”

³⁸³*lāja*

³⁸⁴BJTS reads *pañcaputtasatāni pi* (“and also [my] five hundred sons”), in keeping with its variant reading of the first foot of the following verse

³⁸⁵BJTS 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”

³⁸⁶lit., “offered *pūjā*”

³⁸⁷*yobbanāṇ pattā*, lit., “attained youth,” “went through puberty”

³⁸⁸lit., “they were”

³⁸⁹*paccekanāyakā*, i.e., Paccekabuddhas, Lonely Buddhas

³⁹⁰*sutavīrehi*. BJTS reads *sutavarehi* (“excellent sons”)

³⁹¹one 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

then well-guarded myself,³⁹²
 was going carrying rice gruel,³⁹³
 having seen eight Lonely-Leaders
 going to the village for alms,
 I remembered [my former] sons.
 Then a stream of milk spurting 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]

Feeling³⁹⁴ [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 Śrāvastī city,
 in a wealthy millionaire’s clan,
 comfortable, decorated,³⁹⁵
 glistening with various gems,
 endowed with every sense-pleasure. (65-66) [576-577]

I was respected and worshipped,³⁹⁶
 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]

³⁹²*su-tānaka-sakaṇ*. BJTS reads

³⁹³*yāguṇ*

³⁹⁴or “experiencing:” *anubhotvā*

³⁹⁵*sukhite sajjite tathā*; when chanting pronounce “comfortable” as four syllables, or insert “and” to pronounce it as three syllables.

³⁹⁶lit., “offered *pūjā*”

“With³⁹⁷ superpowers creating
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]³⁹⁸

“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,³⁹⁹
[I] developed⁴⁰⁰ superpowers;
I’m liberated from all bonds:
I am not afraid of you, friend. (74) [585]

Sense pleasures are⁴⁰¹ swords [and] daggers;
the heaps⁴⁰² executioner’s blocks.
I now dislike⁴⁰³ 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]⁴⁰⁴ virtue,

³⁹⁷this 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 Buddha witnesses the scene.

³⁹⁸this 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 *pupphitaggamaṃ* for *supupphitaggamaṃ*?).

³⁹⁹*cittasmiṃ vasibhūtasmiṃ*, lit., “when i became master of (or “over”) [my own] mind”

⁴⁰⁰*subhāvitā*, lit., “[by me] well-developed” or “well-cultivated” “well-meditated”

⁴⁰¹*sattisūlūpamā kāmā*, lit., “swords [and] daggers are like (or “are similes for”) sense pleasures”

⁴⁰²*khandhā pi adhikuṭṭanā*, lit., “even the aggregates (or dimensions [of personal existence: name and form, sensation, perception, configuration and consciousness])

⁴⁰³lit., “is now disliked by me”

⁴⁰⁴lit., “in the” “in that”

[then] placed me in that foremost place.
To⁴⁰⁵ the crowds⁴⁰⁶ the Guide [announced] me
“best⁴⁰⁷ of those⁴⁰⁸ 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.

⁴⁰⁵lit., “among”

⁴⁰⁶or assemblies (even four parts of the Assembly), multitudes, retinues

⁴⁰⁷*seṭṭhaṇ*, etymologically related to her designation “millionaire;” BJTS, more typical of the whole work, reads *aggam*, “[she is] foremost”

⁴⁰⁸*matīnaṇ*, lit., “of those (females) endowed”

[20. Paṭācārā⁴⁰⁹]

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,⁴¹⁰
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,⁴¹¹
the World's Leader, with Assembly, (5) [599]

after feeding [them] for a week,
giving them the monastic robes,⁴¹²
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:
"Lucky one, fear not; breathe with ease.

⁴⁰⁹"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.

⁴¹⁰*vinayadhārīnaṅ*, lit., "carry the *vinaya*"

⁴¹¹*dasabalaṅ*

⁴¹²*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*

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 Kassapa⁴¹³
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.⁴¹⁴
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,
comfortable⁴¹⁵ royal maidens
doing [our] practice with vigor
in virginal celibacy,
for twenty times a thousand years,

⁴¹³BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

⁴¹⁴"Guarded Nun" "Protected Female Renouncer"

⁴¹⁵*sukhe ṭhitā*, 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"

fond of waiting on the Buddha,
[the king's] seven joyful daughters. (16-17) [610-611]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,⁴¹⁶
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (18) [612]

[now] I and Uppalavaṇṇā,
Khemā and the nun [named] Bhaddā,⁴¹⁷
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,⁴¹⁸
and Visākhā is the seventh. (19) [613]

Due to those karmas⁴¹⁹ 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,⁴²⁰
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 husband⁴²¹ was not pleased [at that.]
Then, when he was [on a] journey,
[I] snuck out⁴²² of the house alone,

⁴¹⁶I 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.

⁴¹⁷ = Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

⁴¹⁸ given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

⁴¹⁹ here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kammaena* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps "good deeds" would be better here.

⁴²⁰ or "when I had attained puberty:" *yadā ca yobbanupetā*

⁴²¹ *pati*, "lord"

⁴²² *niggatā*, lit., "was gone out of"

to go to supreme Śrāvasti. (24) [618]

Then my husband⁴²³ came [after me];
he caught up with me on the road.
Then my karma-born labor pains⁴²⁴
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,⁴²⁵ was killed by a snake. (26) [620]

Then miserable [and] helpless,
in the throes of painful childbirth,⁴²⁶
going toward a relative's house,⁴²⁷
seeing an overflowing stream,⁴²⁸ (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;
[I was] in a low state of mind.

⁴²³ *sāmi*, “master”

⁴²⁴ lit., “winds,” *vātā*

⁴²⁵ *dabbathāya*, 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.

⁴²⁶ *vijātadukkheṇa*, lit., “with the suffering of giving birth”

⁴²⁷ reading *sakulālayaṃ* (“going to the lair of [her] own clan,” BJTS gloss *siya nā nivasata* = “going to a house of [her] own relatives”) for PTS *sakuṇālayaṃ* (“to a bird's nest”)

⁴²⁸ *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”)?

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.⁴²⁹ (36) [630]

I remember [my] former lives;
[my] “divine eye” is purified.
Throwing off all the defilements,
I am⁴³⁰ purified, [I’m] stainless. (37) [631]

Then I learned the whole discipline,⁴³¹
in the All-Seeing-One’s⁴³² presence,
and I recited it [for him,]
correctly in every detail. (38) [632]

The Victor, pleased by [my]⁴³³ virtue,
[then] placed me in that foremost place:
“Paṭācārā’s alone, foremost
of those who follow discipline.”⁴³⁴ (39) [633]

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. (40) [634]

⁴²⁹*satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

⁴³⁰reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṅ* (“I was” “I became”)

⁴³¹*vinayaṅ sabbaṅ*

⁴³²*sabbadassino santike*

⁴³³lit., “in the” “in that”

⁴³⁴*vinayadhārīnaṅ*, lit., “carry the *vinaya*”

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:⁴³⁵

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

⁴³⁵this 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-Kuṇḍalakesā⁴³⁶]

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 Hamsavati,
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 nun⁴³⁷ in the foremost [place]⁴³⁸
of those with quick intuition.⁴³⁹ (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,⁴⁴⁰ 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]

Worthy heir to that one’s *Dhamma*,

⁴³⁶“Lucky one with Tangled Hair,” a historical nun, remembered as foremost among those nuns with quick intuition

⁴³⁷*bhikkhuniṅ subhaṅ*, lit., “a Buddhist nun who was pure” (or “who was good”)

⁴³⁸*agatte thapesi*, lit., “fixed in foremostness”

⁴³⁹*khīpābhiññānam*

⁴⁴⁰“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)

Dhamma's legitimate offspring,
named Bhaddākuṇḍalakesā
you'll⁴⁴¹ 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,⁴⁴²
[and] then I went to Tusita,
and then to Nimmānarati,⁴⁴³
and then Vāsavatti city. (10) [648]

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]. (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.⁴⁴⁴ (13) [651]

In this [present] lucky aeon,
Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa⁴⁴⁵
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.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴¹reading *hessasi* with BJTS for PTS *hessati* ("she will be")

⁴⁴²Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

⁴⁴³BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

⁴⁴⁴*anekakappesu*, lit., "during various aeons"

⁴⁴⁵BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

⁴⁴⁶"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,
comfortable⁴⁴⁷ 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,⁴⁴⁸
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (19) [657]

[now] Uppalavaṇṇā, Khemā
[also] Paṭācārā and I,
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,⁴⁴⁹
and Visākhā is the seventh. (20) [658]

Due to those karmas⁴⁵⁰ 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,⁴⁵¹ best city,
[I was] born to rich millionaires.⁴⁵²
When I'd become a young woman,⁴⁵³ (22) [660]

attracted to a thief I saw
being led to execution,⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁴⁷*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”

⁴⁴⁸I 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.

⁴⁴⁹given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

⁴⁵⁰here 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.

⁴⁵¹= Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

⁴⁵²lit., “born in a rich clan of millionaires”

⁴⁵³*yobbane ʔhitā*, lit., “established in youth” or “when I attained puberty”

⁴⁵⁴lit., “in order to be executed” (*vadhatthaṇ*). In the era to which *Apadāna* belongs, this would likely have

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,⁴⁵⁵
that enemy with ill-intent,⁴⁵⁶
led me to the thieves' precipice⁴⁵⁷
on a mountain, plotting murder. (25) [663]

Then stretching out to Sattuka,⁴⁵⁸
hands which were well pressed together,⁴⁵⁹
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.”⁴⁶⁰ (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,⁴⁶¹
I have accepted no other
more beloved than you [to me].” (29) [667]

“Come here! Having embraced you, [just
one more] circumambulation.
And after⁴⁶² now there will not be
intercourse between you and me.”⁴⁶³ (30) [668]

implied beheading.

⁴⁵⁵ *me bhūsanalobhena*, lit., “out of greed for my ornaments”

⁴⁵⁶ reading *khalitajjhāsayo diso* (lit., “enemy intent on wrong-doing”) with BJTS for PTS *mālapaccāhataṇ diso* (“[led me] carrying a garland, the enemy”)

⁴⁵⁷ *corappapātaṇ*, BJTS Sinh. gloss explains “where thieves are killed”

⁴⁵⁸ “Enemy,” but apparently used as a proper name

⁴⁵⁹ *paṇāmetvāna...sukatañjali*

⁴⁶⁰ “slave” being the seventh of the seven types of wives

⁴⁶¹ or “since I reached puberty,” *yato patto 'smi viññutaṇ*, lit., “starting from when I reached puberty;”

⁴⁶² *puno*, lit., “again”

⁴⁶³ lit., “of me, of you”

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
 from⁴⁶⁴ 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, using⁴⁶⁵ 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,⁴⁶⁶ and after dropping [it]
 in my vicinity, ran off.
 Seeing that maggoty hand, I
 took it up for meditation.⁴⁶⁷ (38-39) [676-677]

⁴⁶⁴lit., "on"

⁴⁶⁵lit., "with"

⁴⁶⁶or "cut": *chinnaj*

⁴⁶⁷*nimittaj alabhiṇ*, lit., "I got it as an object of concentration"

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.⁴⁶⁸
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,⁴⁶⁹
then at that time I realized,
“all conditioned things are like that.” (45) [683]

Then my heart was liberated,
altogether, without clinging.⁴⁷⁰
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.⁴⁷¹ (47) [685]

I remember [my] former lives;
[my] “divine eye” is purified.
Throwing off all the defilements,

⁴⁶⁸lit., “I asked for going forth and for higher ordination”

⁴⁶⁹*sa-udayaṅvyayaṅ*

⁴⁷⁰*anupādaya* or “with not-clinging”

⁴⁷¹*satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

I am⁴⁷² 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 vast⁴⁷³ 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. Kisāgotamī⁴⁷⁴]

The Victor, Padumuttara,
was a Master of Everything.
[That] Leader arose in the world
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [693]

⁴⁷²reading *amhi* ("I am") with BJTS for PTS *āsiṅ* ("I was" "I became")

⁴⁷³lit., "pure" (*suddhaṅ*)

⁴⁷⁴"The Lean Gotamī" a historical nun, remembered as foremost among the nuns who wore robes made of coarse cloth.

I then [lived] in Hamsavatī,
 born in an undistinguished clan.
 Having approached the Best of Men,⁴⁷⁵
 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;⁴⁷⁶
 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,

⁴⁷⁵varanaraṇ

⁴⁷⁶lūkhacivaradhārikaṇ

Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa⁴⁷⁷
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.⁴⁷⁸
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,
comfortable⁴⁷⁹ 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,⁴⁸⁰
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (16) [708]

[now] Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā,
Paṭācārā and Kuṇḍalā,⁴⁸¹
[the nun] Dhammadinnā and I
and Visākhā is the seventh. (17) [709]

Due to those karmas⁴⁸² done very well,
with intention and [firm] resolve,
discarding [my] human body,

⁴⁷⁷BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

⁴⁷⁸"Teaching"

⁴⁷⁹*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"

⁴⁸⁰I 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.

⁴⁸¹= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

⁴⁸²here 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.

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] married⁴⁸³ into a rich clan. (19) [711]

Except [my] husband, the others
are pointing at me [saying,] "Poor!"
But after⁴⁸⁴ I became with child,
then I was loved by all of them. (20) [712]

When that lucky young boy [of mine,]
tender-bodied, comfortable,⁴⁸⁵
as dear to me as [my] own breath,
then fell into Yama's power,⁴⁸⁶ (21) [713]

grief-struck, voicing [my] misery,
teary-eyed, [my] mouth crying out,
carrying [that young boy's] dead⁴⁸⁷ corpse,
I'm going around lamenting. (22) [714]

Then examined by one [doctor,]
approaching the Best Physician,⁴⁸⁸
I said, "give [me] a medicine
to bring [my] son back to life, Sir."⁴⁸⁹ (23) [715]

The Victor, Skilled in Crafty Speech,⁴⁹⁰
said, "bring [me] a white mustard seed,⁴⁹¹
[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,
I went up to the World's Leader.

⁴⁸³ *gatā*, lit., "gone to," perhaps to be read as "given to"

⁴⁸⁴ *yadā ca*, lit., "and when"

⁴⁸⁵ *sukheṭhito*, lit., "fixed in comfort"

⁴⁸⁶ that is, "died," reading *yamavasam gato* with BJTS for PTS *parasaṅgato* ("associated with the other [world?]")

⁴⁸⁷ reading *matam* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *evaṃ* ("thus")

⁴⁸⁸ reading *bhisamuttamaṃ* for PTS *'Bhisamuttamaṃ* ("the ultimate Abhisa"); BJTS reads *bhisajuttamaṃ*

⁴⁸⁹ *puttasañjīvanaṃ*; RD cites *this* passage at *sañjīvana*, s.v. ("reviving")

⁴⁹⁰ *vinayopāyakovidō*, lit., "skilled in tricks/expedients in the way of speaking"

⁴⁹¹ *siddhatthakan*. See RD s.v., again citing *this* passage

Having seen me from a distance
the Sweet-Voiced One⁴⁹² [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 condition⁴⁹³ 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]⁴⁹⁴

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,⁴⁹⁵
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.⁴⁹⁶ (31) [723]

I remember [my] former lives;
[my] “divine eye” is purified.
Throwing off all the defilements,
I am⁴⁹⁷ 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,
the ties to existence severed. (33) [725]

The reason for which I went forth,

⁴⁹²*madurassaro*

⁴⁹³*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.”

⁴⁹⁴both PTS and BJTS present this in a more complex, 12-11-11-12 meter, and I translate accordingly.

⁴⁹⁵*jinasāsane*, lit., “in the Victor’s dispensation”

⁴⁹⁶*satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

⁴⁹⁷reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsij* (“I was” “I became”)

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 vast⁴⁹⁸ 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]⁴⁹⁹ virtue,
the Guide, among the multitudes,⁵⁰⁰
[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.

[23. Dhammadinnā⁵⁰¹]

The Victor, Padumuttara,
was a Master of Everything.

⁴⁹⁸lit., "pure" (*suddhaṅ*)

⁴⁹⁹lit., "in the" "in that"

⁵⁰⁰or assemblies (even four parts of the Assembly), multitudes, retinues

⁵⁰¹"Dhamma-Given," an historical nun, remembered as foremost among the nuns who preached *Dhamma*.

[That] Leader arose in the world
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [733]

I then [lived] in Hamsavati,
[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,⁵⁰² 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,
with the sweet sound of a cymbal.⁵⁰³
“O one who's fond of serving me,
O servant of the Assembly,
O hearer of the good Teaching,
proper one, mind set⁵⁰⁴ on virtue,

⁵⁰²*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.

⁵⁰³*ghananinādasussaro*, should this be taken as a Buddha epithet, to be capitalized?

⁵⁰⁴*āgacchita*°, lit., “come into”

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 Kassapa⁵⁰⁵
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.⁵⁰⁶
Hearing the Best Victor's Teaching,
I chose [to seek] ordination. (17) [749]

Our father did not permit it;
we [stayed] at home during that time,
comfortable⁵⁰⁷ royal maidens
doing [our] practice with vigor
in virginal celibacy,
for twenty times a thousand years,

⁵⁰⁵BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

⁵⁰⁶"Good Teaching"

⁵⁰⁷*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"

fond of waiting on the Buddha,
[the king's] seven joyful daughters. (18-19) [750-751]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,⁵⁰⁸
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (20) [752]

[now] Khemā Uppalavaṇṇā,
Paṭācārā and Kuṇḍalā,⁵⁰⁹
[Kisā]gotamī, also I,
and Visākhā is the seventh. (21) [753]

Due to those karmas⁵¹⁰ 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,⁵¹¹
possessing the virtue of beauty,
married⁵¹² to another [good] clan,
I dwelt endowed with happiness. (24) [756]

Having approached the World's Refuge,
having heard [his] *Dhamma*-preaching,
through the Buddha,⁵¹³ 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]

⁵⁰⁸I 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.

⁵⁰⁹= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

⁵¹⁰here 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.

⁵¹¹*paṭhame yobbane ṭhitā*, lit., "fixed in the first [blush of] youth"

⁵¹²lit., "going"

⁵¹³*subuddhimā*, lit., "through He who Possessed Great Intelligence"

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]⁵¹⁴ 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 consider⁵¹⁵ [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.⁵¹⁶ (32) [764]

I remember [my] former lives;
 [my] “divine eye” is purified.
 Throwing off all the defilements,
 I am⁵¹⁷ purified, [I’m] stainless. (33) [765]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;
 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]

⁵¹⁴lit., “in the” “in that”

⁵¹⁵*dhāretha*, lit., “carry” “recall” “remember” “regard”

⁵¹⁶*satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

⁵¹⁷reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṅ* (“I was” “I became”)

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. Sakulā⁵¹⁸]

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,⁵¹⁹
came into⁵²⁰ [the world] with [its] gods. (2) [770]

Foremost Fame-Attainer,⁵²¹ Victor,
Fortunate,⁵²² Beautified by Praise,⁵²³
the Victor for the entire world,
Widely-Known⁵²⁴ in⁵²⁵ all directions, (3) [771]

the Uprooter of Doubt,⁵²⁶ the One
who Passed Beyond Uncertainty,⁵²⁷
he with an Intention-Filled Mind,⁵²⁸
attained Supreme Awakening.⁵²⁹ (4) [772]

Ultimate Man,⁵³⁰ Progenitor⁵³¹

⁵¹⁸a historical nun, remembered as foremost among those who possess the “divine eye” (*dibbacakkhu*)

⁵¹⁹*purisājañño*

⁵²⁰*paṭipanno*, lit “entered into” “going along”

⁵²¹*yasaggappatto*

⁵²²*sirimā*, or “Resplendent One”

⁵²³*kittivaṇṇagato*, lit., “gone to beauty through praise;” “colored by praise”

⁵²⁴*suviṣṣuto*

⁵²⁵lit., “from,” abl.

⁵²⁶*uttiṇṇavicikiccho*, lit., “he by whom doubt is pulled out”

⁵²⁷*vītivattakathanṅkatho*, lit., “passed over saying ‘how?’”

⁵²⁸*sampunṇamanasaṅkappo*

⁵²⁹*patto sambodhim uttamaṅ*

⁵³⁰*naruttamo*

⁵³¹*uppādetā*

of the path that had yet to be,⁵³²
 proclaimed [that which was] unproclaimed,
 produced [that which was] unproduced. (5) [773]

Path-Knower,⁵³³ Path-Understander,⁵³⁴
 Path-Proclaimer,⁵³⁵ the Bull of Men,
 Path-Skilled, the Teacher, [the Buddha,]
 was the Best of Charioteers.⁵³⁶ (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,⁵³⁷
 I was then very beautiful,
 set for wealth,⁵³⁸ held dear, resplendent. (8) [776]

I was the ravishing daughter
 of great king Ānanda and thus,
 sister by another mother⁵³⁹
 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]

And then, amidst the multitudes,
 the Guru of the [Whole] World⁵⁴⁰ 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,

⁵³² *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

⁵³³ *maggaññū*

⁵³⁴ *maggavidū*

⁵³⁵ *maggakkhāyī*

⁵³⁶ *sārathīnaṃ varuttamo*, lit., “the excellent ultimate of charioteers”

⁵³⁷ *khattīyanandanā*

⁵³⁸ *sadhanā ṭhāsīṃ*

⁵³⁹ *vemātā bhagini*

⁵⁴⁰ *lokaguru*

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.⁵⁴¹ (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 Kassapa⁵⁴²
 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 some⁵⁴³ sesame oil. (18) [786]

Having lit a lamp with that [oil,]
 with a mind that was very clear,
 every night I attended on
 the shrine⁵⁴⁴ 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,

⁵⁴¹*dharmapadipadānānaṃ phalaṃ*

⁵⁴²BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

⁵⁴³°*mattakaṇ*, lit., “a measure of”

⁵⁴⁴or “stupa”: *cetiyaṃ*

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] honored⁵⁴⁵ by the king. (24) [792]

I was complete in every part,⁵⁴⁶
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,]
I have done what the Teacher taught.⁵⁴⁷ (28) [796]

I remember [my] former lives;
[my] "divine eye" is purified.
Throwing off all the defilements,
I am⁵⁴⁸ purified, [I'm] stainless. (29) [797]

The Teacher's been worshipped by me;
[I have] done what the Buddha taught.

⁵⁴⁵lit., "given pūjā"

⁵⁴⁶sabbaṅgasampannā, lit., "endowed with all limbs," i.e., "had a great body"

⁵⁴⁷satthu sāsana-kārikā, lit., "[I am] a doer of the Teacher's dispensation"

⁵⁴⁸reading amhi ("I am") with BJTS for PTS āsiṅ ("I was" "I became")

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 Man⁵⁴⁹ [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.

[25. Nandā (Janapadakalyāṇī)⁵⁵⁰]

The Victor, Padumuttara,
was a Master of Everything.
[That] Leader arose in the world
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [804]

⁵⁴⁹*naruttamo*

⁵⁵⁰“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; “Janapadakalyāṇī” 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)

The Admonisher,⁵⁵¹ Instructor,⁵⁵²
 Crosser-Over⁵⁵³ of all that breathe,
 Skilled at Preaching,⁵⁵⁴ [he], the Buddha,
 caused many folks to cross [the flood]. (2) [805]

Merciful,⁵⁵⁵ Compassionate One,⁵⁵⁶
 Well-Wisher⁵⁵⁷ of all that breathe, he
 established in the five precepts
 all the rivals who had arrived. (3) [806]

In this way he was Unconfused⁵⁵⁸
 and Very Well-Known⁵⁵⁹ by rivals,
 Ornamented⁵⁶⁰ by arahants
 who were masters [and] neutral ones. (4) [807]

The [body of the] Sage So Great
 rose up fifty-eight cubits⁵⁶¹ [tall];
 he was Valuable Like Gold,⁵⁶²
 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 Haṃsavatī,
 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*,

⁵⁵¹ *ovāḍako*, 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, Uruvelakasapa, Rādha and Mogharāja, respectively).

⁵⁵² *viññāpako*

⁵⁵³ *tārako*

⁵⁵⁴ *desanākusalo*

⁵⁵⁵ *anukampako*

⁵⁵⁶ *kāruṇiko*

⁵⁵⁷ *hitesi*

⁵⁵⁸ *nirākulaṇ*

⁵⁵⁹ *suññātaṇ*, or “empty [of ill-will],” which is BJTS Sinhala gloss reading; I construe the epithet as *su + ñata*

⁵⁶⁰ *vicittaṇ*

⁵⁶¹ *ratānāna-aṭṭha-paññāsaṇ uggato*. A *ratana* (Sinh. *riyan*) is figured as twelve-fingers (*aṅgula*), according to Sinh-Eng Dictionary about eighteen inches. The claim here then is that Padumuttara Buddha was 1044 inches (or 87 feet) tall.

⁵⁶² *kañcanagghiyasaṅkāso*, lit., “like a gold valuable thing” or “like a gold festoon work”

ultimately sweet⁵⁶³ ambrosia⁵⁶⁴
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,⁵⁶⁵ Master,⁵⁶⁶
Refuge for the Three Worlds,⁵⁶⁷ [Buddha,]
the Leopard of Men,⁵⁶⁸ 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,
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,⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶³*paramassādaṇ*, or “having the ultimate taste”

⁵⁶⁴*amataṇ*, or “deathless”

⁵⁶⁵*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.

⁵⁶⁶*pabhu*

⁵⁶⁷*tilokasaraṇo*

⁵⁶⁸*narasaddūlo*. Cf. notes to *Thera-apadāna* [6131], above and *Therī-apadāna* [1222], below

⁵⁶⁹Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

[and] then I went to Tusita,
and then to Nimmānarati,⁵⁷⁰
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.⁵⁷¹ (19) [822]

When [my] last rebirth was attained,
I was the blameless⁵⁷² daughter of
King Suddhodana,⁵⁷³ [living in]
delightful⁵⁷⁴ Kapilavastu.⁵⁷⁵ (20) [823]

Seeing [my] splendor⁵⁷⁶ [and] beauty,
that [Śākya] clan was rejoicing.⁵⁷⁷
Therefore they gave the name “Nandā,”
pleasant [and] excellent, to me. (21) [824]

[I was]⁵⁷⁸ renowned as “the Beauty”⁵⁷⁹
among all of the young women
in that same⁵⁸⁰ delightful city,
except [of course] Yasodharā.⁵⁸¹ (22) [825]

[My] eldest brother's the Buddha,⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁰BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

⁵⁷¹*anekakappesu*, lit., “during various aeons”

⁵⁷²*aninditā*

⁵⁷³“Good Rice-Gruel,” the Buddha's (bodhisatta Siddhattha's) biological father

⁵⁷⁴*ramme*. BJTS reads *puramhi*, “in the city”

⁵⁷⁵*kapilavhaye*, lit., “in the [city] named for Kapila”

⁵⁷⁶reading *siriṃ ca* with BJTS for PTS (and BJTS alt.) *siriyā*, “with splendor”

⁵⁷⁷*nanditaṇ*

⁵⁷⁸*ca*, lit., “and [I was]”

⁵⁷⁹*kalyāṇi ti*

⁵⁸⁰*pi*, or “very” (emph.)

⁵⁸¹the Buddha's wife, #28 of *Therī-apadāna*, below.

⁵⁸²*tilokaggo*, lit., “Three Worlds' Chief”

the middle one's⁵⁸³ likewise a saint;⁵⁸⁴
 staying alone in the lay life,
 I am exhorted by mother:⁵⁸⁵ (23) [826]

“Child, you're born in the Śākya clan,
 following after the Buddha.
 Why do you sit⁵⁸⁶ [there] in the house,
 being bereft of [all your] joy?⁵⁸⁷ (24) [827]

Thought impure⁵⁸⁸ is youthful beauty,⁵⁸⁹
 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,⁵⁹⁰
 it's adorned and ornamented
 like⁵⁹¹ Goddess Fortune embellished,⁵⁹² (26) [829]

like concentrated⁵⁹³ world-essence⁵⁹⁴
 medicinal balm for the eyes,⁵⁹⁵
 generating praise for merit,⁵⁹⁶
 rejoicing the Okkāka clan; (27) [830]

in no long time at all, old age
 is going to overpower [it].
 Young one, abandoning the house,
 choose⁵⁹⁷ the Teaching, O blameless one.” (28) [831]

After hearing [my] mother's words,
 I went forth into homelessness

⁵⁸³ *majjhimo*, or BJTS (and PTS alt.) *pacchimo*, “the last” — BJTS Sinh. gloss *mā kaṇṭu bāyā* (“my younger elder brother”)

⁵⁸⁴ *arahā*, “worthy” “an arahant”

⁵⁸⁵ that is, by Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, founder and leader of the Assembly of Nuns (*bhikkhunīsaṅgha*)

⁵⁸⁶ reading *kinnu v' acchasi* with BJTS for PTS *kiṇ na acchasi*, (“why don't you sit”)

⁵⁸⁷ *nandena pi vinā bhūtā*, a play on the nun's name

⁵⁸⁸ *asucisammataṇ*, or “not considered pure” (depending on whether the compound is understood as *asuci-sammataṇ* or *a-sucisammataṇ*)

⁵⁸⁹ *rūpaṇ*

⁵⁹⁰ *manoharaṇ*, “delightful”

⁵⁹¹ BJTS reads *sasikantam* (?) for PTS *passa kantaṇ*, perhaps a typo given the absence of a note

⁵⁹² *siri-saṅkhata-sannibhaṇ*

⁵⁹³ reading PTS alt *puṇḍitaṇ* (“lumped together”) or BJTS *piṇḍitaṇ* (“pressed into a ball”) for PTS *pūjitaṇ* (“worshipped”)

⁵⁹⁴ *lokaśāraṇ*

⁵⁹⁵ *nayanānaṇ rasāyanaṇ*

⁵⁹⁶ *puṇṇānaṇ*, lit., “for merit[orious deed]s,” i.e., plural

⁵⁹⁷ PTS *vara*. BJTS reads *cara*, “wander”

in⁵⁹⁸ body, but not in [my] heart,
[still] enthralled by youth and beauty. (29) [832]

Mother⁵⁹⁹ said to make my basis⁶⁰⁰
through study of the altered states,⁶⁰¹
[pursuing it] with great effort.
I was not enthused⁶⁰² about that. (30) [833]

Then the Great Compassionate One
saw⁶⁰³ me enthralled by sense pleasures.
To make me⁶⁰⁴ weary of beauty,⁶⁰⁵
through his own majestic power,
the Victor conjured up, in my
line of sight, a woman who shined;
she was gorgeous,⁶⁰⁶ truly brilliant,⁶⁰⁷
even more beautiful than I. (31-32) [834-835]

And I, astonished, seeing her⁶⁰⁸
very astonishing body,
thought [to myself,] “fruitful [today]
is the receipt of human eyes.” (33) [836]

I said to her, “O lucky one!⁶⁰⁹
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.”⁶¹⁰
As though sinking⁶¹¹ into my limbs
she reclined well⁶¹² for a moment. (35) [838]

⁵⁹⁸ *dehena*, lit., “with”

⁵⁹⁹ lit., “And mother”

⁶⁰⁰ PTS reads *saraṇ* (“flowing, going” or perhaps “arrow,” “lake,” “remembering,” “sound”), alt. *padar* (“root”); BJTS reads *param* (?)

⁶⁰¹ *jhān’ajjhena*

⁶⁰² *na cāhaṇ tatra ussukā*, omitting “and” in the translation

⁶⁰³ *disvā*, lit., “seeing”

⁶⁰⁴ *nibbindanatthaṇ*, lit., “for the sake of weariness”

⁶⁰⁵ or “form”: *rūpasmiṇ*

⁶⁰⁶ *dassaniyaṇ*, lit., “to be looked at,” “eye-candy”

⁶⁰⁷ *suruciraṇ*

⁶⁰⁸ lit., “her, seeing [her] very”

⁶⁰⁹ *ehi subhage*

⁶¹⁰ spoken by the conjured up woman

⁶¹¹ reading *sīdantiīva* with BJTS for PTS *nisīdanti* (“sitting”)

⁶¹² reading *supasuppaya* with BJTS (and following BJTS Sinhala gloss) for PTS *passajissar* (? the side? “I will look at my limbs?”)

Then putting [her] head in my lap
 she with lovely eyes stretched out [there].
 A spider,⁶¹³ 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 festered⁶¹⁴ too,
 [now] swollen up and [turning] blue. (38) [841]

With all of her limbs quivering,
 gasping for every breath she took,⁶¹⁵
 making known her own suffering,
 she piteously wailed [like this:] (39) [842]

"I'm afflicted with affliction,⁶¹⁶
 feeling [agonizing] feelings;
 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,⁶¹⁷
 have [now] become [badly] discolored. (42) [845]

Your milk-laden [breasts shaped] like jugs
 which resembled pointy [young] buds⁶¹⁸

⁶¹³reading *lūtā* (Sinh. gloss *makuḷvek*) with BJTS (and PTS alt., sort of [*lutā*, sic]) for PTS *luddā* ("hunters" [or "disgusting/gruesome thing" ?])

⁶¹⁴reading *vipubbañca* ("festering") with BJTS for PTS *sabbañca* ("all" "entire"), though the latter is also a reasonable enough reading.

⁶¹⁵reading *nissasantī* (lit., "gasping for breath [or "panting" or "sighing" or "exhaling"]") with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *nissayanti* ("they are pursuing" "leaning on")

⁶¹⁶or "suffering with suffering" "ill at ease with dis-ease" etc.: *dukkhena dukkhitā homi*

⁶¹⁷reading *dolālālā* (lit., "swing-aquiver") with BJTS for PTS *dolālocā* ("swing" + ?) and alts. *dolālolā* "swing unwavering/undisturbed," *dolātulā*, "swing" + ?) which seem to emulate the alliteration of BJTS' *dolālālā* even at the expense of apparent meaning

⁶¹⁸especially the buds of *mimusops elengi* (says RD quoting Hardy, see *makuḷa* s.v.), = Spanish Cherry, Pāli

have popped open; you've become a
putrid corpse with a horrid stench. (43) [846]

[Your] slender middle⁶¹⁹ [and] buttocks,
meat-stall⁶²⁰ where wounds and sins⁶²¹ 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 loathsome⁶²² 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.
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,⁶²³
I attained [my] arahantship. (50) [853]

Everyplace where I am seated,
I [reach] the highest altered states.

vakula. This accepts the PTS reading here, *makul[li]a-khāraḥ-ākārā*, recognizing that there is a lot of variation (BJTS reads *maḥamburūhākārā* ["resembling the buds of trees in water" (?)])

⁶¹⁹reading *tanumajjhā* with BJTS for PTS *vedimajjhā*, "in the middle of the bench" (?)

⁶²⁰*sūnā*, lit., "slaughterhouse"

⁶²¹reading *sūnā vaṇṭakibbisā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sūnā 'va nītakibbisā* ("like a slaughterhouse leading to sin"?)

⁶²²*jegucchaṇ*; BJTS reads *bibhacchaṇ*, with similar range of meaning (disgusting, horrible, dreadful)

⁶²³or, reading *vipassantī* with BJTS, "investigating" "applying insight"

The Victor, pleased by [my]⁶²⁴ 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.

[26. Soṇā⁶²⁵]

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,⁶²⁶ held dear.
Approaching the Excellent Sage,⁶²⁷
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 worshipping⁶²⁸ the Sambuddha,
I aspired to [attain] that place.

⁶²⁴lit., "in the" "in that"

⁶²⁵"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.

⁶²⁶readng *pūjitā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sajjitā*, which however approximates the same meaning.

⁶²⁷*munivaraṇ*

⁶²⁸or "saluting": *abhivādiya*

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]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,
 I’m born in a millionaire’s clan,
 rich, prosperous, very wealthy,
 in Śrāvasti, best of cities. (9) [866]

When I’d become a young woman,⁶²⁹
 having gone to a husband’s clan,
 I was the mother of⁶³⁰ 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 by⁶³¹ me. (11) [868]

Then, without my desiring it,⁶³²
 he who was my husband went forth
 in the Buddha’s⁶³³ dispensation,

⁶²⁹ or “when I had attained puberty:” *yadā ca yobbanupetā*

⁶³⁰ lit., “I gave birth to”

⁶³¹ lit., “of”

⁶³² *mayhaṇ akāmāya*, lit., “with my disliking [of it]”

⁶³³ *devadevassa*, lit., “of the God of Gods” or “the Gods’ God’s”

surrounded⁶³⁴ by [those] sons⁶³⁵ [of mine]. (12) [869]

[And] then, alone, I reflected:
 “Enough with [this] life [here] for me,⁶³⁶
 growing old and in misery,
 bereft of⁶³⁷ [my] husband [and] sons. (13) [870]

I will also go to the place
 where [my] husband has [now] arrived.”⁶³⁸
 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 pot⁶³⁹ [used for that].
 After placing [it on the hearth,]
 seated, I then kindled my heart. (16) [873]

Seeing the body’s⁶⁴⁰ 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,⁶⁴¹
 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,

⁶³⁴or “honored,” “being placed in front of”

⁶³⁵*dasaputta*°, lit., “by the ten sons”

⁶³⁶or “I’m fed up with this existence:” *jīvitenaṅlam atthu me*, lit., “Let it be enough with life for me”

⁶³⁷*jīnāya*, BJTS reads *cattāya* (with much the same meaning)

⁶³⁸reading *sampatto* with BJTS for PTS *pasuto* (“pursuing”)

⁶³⁹*kumbhiyā culle*, lit., “into a small *kumbhi*-pot”

⁶⁴⁰*khandhe*, lit., “the [five] heaps” or aggregates that make up personal being, the constituent elements of the “I” trapped in *saṃsāra*.

⁶⁴¹lit., “on the fire element”

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.
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 Hamsavatī,
a leader⁶⁴² 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,

⁶⁴²reading *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*).

[and] listened to Buddha's Teaching,
causing all suffering to end. (3) [884]

The Leader praised the follower
who was top in austerities;⁶⁴³
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 then⁶⁴⁴ [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,
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,⁶⁴⁵
he passed on⁶⁴⁶ 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,

⁶⁴³lit., "who was foremost among those who bespeak ascetic [practices]."

⁶⁴⁴reading *tadā hi* (BJTS) for *tadā āha* ("then he said," PTS).

⁶⁴⁵*veneyye*, lit., "those who were to be instructed".

⁶⁴⁶*nibbuto*, i.e., attained nirvana.

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,⁶⁴⁷
it shined brilliantly with color,
like the day-maker⁶⁴⁸ 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,⁶⁴⁹
shined excessively with color,
like the sun⁶⁵⁰ does in the evening. (19) [900]

⁶⁴⁷lit., “in the middle of eight [times] eight large jars (*kumbhi*).”

⁶⁴⁸*divākara*, the sun.

⁶⁴⁹the mss. tradition disagrees on the reading of this term, and this translation is only provisional, going with the PTS (*cittam*, “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 *citakam*, “funeral pile,” redundant with *cetiyaṃ*, while PTS alternative is *citaṃ* (“heaped up,” a possibility) or *dhitaṃ* (?).

⁶⁵⁰lit., “day-maker,” as above.

The stupa had three terraces;
 one he filled with yellow ointment,⁶⁵¹
 one with red-colored arsenic,⁶⁵²
 one with black collyrium paste.⁶⁵³ (20) [901]

Having performed pūjā like that,
 lovely, for the Excellent One,⁶⁵⁴
 he gave the monks' community
 alms, much as he could, his whole life.⁶⁵⁵ (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,⁶⁵⁶
 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 he⁶⁵⁷ [lived] in Bandhumatī,
 a brahmin known for excellence,⁶⁵⁸
 rich in scripture and religion,⁶⁵⁹
 but⁶⁶⁰ 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,

⁶⁵¹haritāla.

⁶⁵²manosilā.

⁶⁵³añjana.

⁶⁵⁴varadhāri, lit., "Bearer of Excellence" or "the One Clothed in Excellence".

⁶⁵⁵lit., "for as long as he lived".

⁶⁵⁶here 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.

⁶⁵⁷lit., "this one," i.e., the millionaire reborn, a later rebirth precursor of Kassapa. Reading *tadā 'yaṃ* (BJTS) for *tadā hi* ("at that very time," PTS)

⁶⁵⁸lit., "approved of [or agreed upon] as excellent."

⁶⁵⁹reading *aḍḍho satthāgamenā 'si* (BJTS) for *aḍḍho santo gamenāsi* ("being rich through going" [?], PTS)

⁶⁶⁰lit., "and".

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.
I was extremely dear to him,
due to past love for [my] husband.⁶⁶¹ (31) [912]

Having seen eight Lonely Leaders⁶⁶²
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 solid⁶⁶³ gold,
he then offered to all of them,
who’d gotten up on golden seats,⁶⁶⁴
an almsgiving [most opulent,]
[feeling well-] pleased by [his] own hands. (33-34) [914-915]

I gave that very almsgiving
with the Kāsi⁶⁶⁵ king [way] back then.

⁶⁶¹reading *bhattuno* (BJTS) for *uttariṇ* (“besides,” PTS).

⁶⁶²*paccekanāyake*, i.e., *pacceka-buddhas*.

⁶⁶³lit., “of gold indeed”.

⁶⁶⁴there is divergence in the manuscripts on this line. I read *soṇṇāsanopaviṭṭhānaṃ* (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.

⁶⁶⁵i.e., Benares.

Again I was reborn in a
village outside the Kāsi gates.⁶⁶⁶ (35) [916]

He⁶⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁶⁸ (36) [917]

Having seen a Lonely Buddha,
he who was my youngest brother,
gave his⁶⁶⁹ 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]

Then having thrown away that food,
enraged,⁶⁷⁰ 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,⁶⁷¹
his mind was equally happy,⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁶lit., "in Benares, in a village outside the gates"

⁶⁶⁷Kassapa's next rebirth precursor.

⁶⁶⁸or, a woman devoted to her husband

⁶⁶⁹the eldest brother's

⁶⁷⁰BJTS (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.

⁶⁷¹reading *amejjhe* ("impure," BJTS, PTS alt.) for *apace* ("uncooked," PTS).

⁶⁷²BJTS reads *samacittamukhaṇi* ("his face [showed] the same mind") for PTS *samacittasukhaṇi*, the reading I prefer here even though both readings amount to the same thing: the Paccekabuddha shows no change of

seeing [that,] I was very moved.⁶⁷³ (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.⁶⁷⁴ (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 Buddha⁶⁷⁵ Kassapa's
stupa was being completed,
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,⁶⁷⁶ (45) [926]

with a mind that was very pleased,
I proceeded to light [them all,]
and laid [them] out⁶⁷⁷ 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 Kāsians⁶⁷⁸
he was Sumitta, well-known sage.⁶⁷⁹ (47) [928]

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.

⁶⁷³reading *saṃvijijñ bhusaṃ* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *mahāsaṅghaṇ cajiṇ bhusaṃ* ("I let loose the many [in the?] great community," PTS).

⁶⁷⁴reading *sakkaraṇ* (alt. *sakkāraṇ*) *adaṇ*, "I gave with proper reverence" "I gave hospitably" with PTS'; BJTS reads *sakkharaṃ adaṃ*, "I gave gravel" (!).

⁶⁷⁵lit., "Hero," but I translate "Buddha" to avoid any confusion of this previous Buddha with Bhaddā-Kāpilāni's present-life husband Mahā-Kassapa.

⁶⁷⁶PTS (and BJTS alt) gives *vaṭṭiṇi*, BJTS *vaṭṭiyo* for the plural of *vaṭṭi*, "wick".

⁶⁷⁷PTS reads *ṭhāpayiṇ* ("I laid out"); BJTS reads *ṭhāpayī*, "laid out." Following PTS I take the term verbally.

⁶⁷⁸i.e., people of Benares.

⁶⁷⁹BJTS reads *iti* (quotation marker) for *isi* (sage), hence would have "He was well known as Sumitta".

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 country⁶⁸⁰
he was reborn, a Koliyan.⁶⁸¹ (49) [930]

And then, along with five hundred
of the sons of the Koliyans,
he attended⁶⁸² upon Lonely
Buddhas, five hundred [in number]. (50) [931]

Satisfying⁶⁸³ [them] for three months
he gave⁶⁸⁴ [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] worshipped⁶⁸⁵ those Gone-Out Ones. (53-54) [934-935]

Both of us having built stupas,
going forth [renouncing the world,]
experienced the boundless states,⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁰i.e., the environs of Benares

⁶⁸¹lit., "in the clan of the Koliyas".

⁶⁸²BJTS reads *samupaṭṭhahi* for *samupaṭṭhayi* (PTS), but the meaning is clear.

⁶⁸³reading *tappayitvāna* (BJTS) for *vāsayitvāna* ("having perfumed" "having cleaned," PTS).

⁶⁸⁴reading 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.

⁶⁸⁵BJTS 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.

⁶⁸⁶the four boundless states are love of all beings (*mettā*), compassion for those who suffer (*karunā*), joy in others' joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekkhā*).

[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 wise⁶⁸⁷ Kassapa,
who’d avoided desire for me. (58) [939]

One time that compassionate man,
gone forth wishing for karma’s end,⁶⁸⁸
was moved at seeing some creatures
devoured by crows and such-like [birds]. (59) [940]

Then I too in the house was moved,⁶⁸⁹
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 path⁶⁹⁰ of renouncers. (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”

⁶⁸⁷ reading *dhīrassa* (BJTS) for *vīrassa* (“the Hero,” PTS), an epithet used of Kassapa Buddha above [924].

⁶⁸⁸BJTS read *kamma-anta-pekkhataṃ* 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.

⁶⁸⁹lit., “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.

⁶⁹⁰BJTS 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.

of the resplendent Kassapa! (63) [944]

The Buddha's legitimate son,⁶⁹¹
 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,
 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 Therī⁶⁹² is finished

⁶⁹¹BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *suto* for PTS *putto*, but as the synonyms both mean "son" this does not affect the translation.

⁶⁹²PTS omits Therī, which I supply from BJTS.

[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]⁶⁹³

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;
 and the therīs with great powers:⁶⁹⁴
 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 thousand⁶⁹⁵
 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]

⁶⁹³these first six verses appear in BJTS, but not PTS.

⁶⁹⁴*mahiddhikā* = possessing great magical powers.

⁶⁹⁵reading *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.

“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]

Throughout [this vast] multitude here,⁶⁹⁶
[all these] revering⁶⁹⁷ the Teacher,⁶⁹⁸
know that [every] imperfection
is forgiven face-to-face, Sage. (7) [964]

Transmigrating in existence,
if I have [ever] disturbed you,⁶⁹⁹
I’m announcing it, Great Hero;
please forgive my imperfection. (8) [965]

After hearing [that] speech of hers,
the Lord of Sages⁷⁰⁰ [then] said this:
“What better can I say to you,
when you’re going to nirvana? [966]

Now⁷⁰¹ display [your] superpowers,
doer of my dispensation;
let doubt in the dispensation
be cut off for all assemblies.”⁷⁰² (9) [967]

⁶⁹⁶reading *ettha* with BJTS for PTS *nāma* (“indeed”)

⁶⁹⁷reading *samupāsanti* (“attend upon together” “honor jointly”)

⁶⁹⁸lit., “to/of the Teacher,” “give reverence to the Teacher”

⁶⁹⁹PTS *khalitaṇ ce tavaṇ mayi*, BJTS *khalitaṇ ce mamaṇ tayi*, both to be construed the same way

⁷⁰⁰*munindo*

⁷⁰¹*cāpi*, lit., “and also”

⁷⁰²“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”

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,⁷⁰³
born in the clan of the Śākya,
established among the women.⁷⁰⁴ (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
the virtues of beauty and grace,
youthful and well-spoken, revere
me, like people [revere] the gods.⁷⁰⁵ (12) [971]

Leader of a thousand maidens
in the home of the Śākya Son,
they’re the same in pleasure and pain,⁷⁰⁶
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,⁷⁰⁷ with Buddha’s permission. [974]⁷⁰⁸

Worshipping⁷⁰⁹ the Sambuddha, she

⁷⁰³*te pajāpatī*

⁷⁰⁴reading *itthi-y-aṅge* (lit., “in the body of women”) with BJTS for PTS *itthi atho* (“and a woman who is established”)

⁷⁰⁵*devatā*, or “deities” “supernaturals” “fairies” “spirits”

⁷⁰⁶*samānasukhadukkhā tā*.

⁷⁰⁷*iddhi anekā*, lit., “superpowers”

⁷⁰⁸this 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*

⁷⁰⁹*abhivādetvā*, or “after saluting”

showed the Teacher superpowers.⁷¹⁰
 She displayed great superpowers,
 diverse, having various forms. (15)⁷¹¹

Body big as the universe,⁷¹²
 she [made] the continent⁷¹³ up north
 her head; eastern, western [her] wings;
 [and made] India her torso; (16) [975]

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,⁷¹⁴
 [she carried] a tree⁷¹⁵ with its roots.
 Coming up to [him,] fanning [him,]
 she's worshipping the World's Leader. (18) [977]

She made herself⁷¹⁶ 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,⁷¹⁷ [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;⁷¹⁸
 "I am Yasodharā, Hero;
 I worship your feet, Eyeful One." (21) [980]

⁷¹⁰*iddhiṃ*

⁷¹¹this 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.

⁷¹²*cakkavālaṃ samaṃ* (BJTS *cakkavālasamaṃ kāyaṃ*, lit., "body the same as the ring surrounding the universe")

⁷¹³or *Uttarakuru* "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.

⁷¹⁴lit., "in the ring surrounding the universe" (*cakkavālagiri*°; BJTS *cakkavālagiri*°)

⁷¹⁵*jamburukkhā*°, lit., "a rose-apple tree"

⁷¹⁶°*vaṇṇaṃ...dassayi*

⁷¹⁷reading *phullapadmena* with BJTS for PTS *phullapaccena* (?)

⁷¹⁸*dhammaṃ...puññataṃ*, alt. *suññataṃ* ("emptiness"!)

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,⁷¹⁹
the World-Lords, was well-seen by you;⁷²⁰
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, hindered⁷²¹
the [nine] impossible places;⁷²²
I have sacrificed⁷²³ 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,

⁷¹⁹reading *buddhānaṃ* with BJTS (or PTS alt. *Buddhāna*) for PTS *pubbānaṃ* (former)

⁷²⁰*saṅgaman te su-dassitaṃ* 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]"

⁷²¹reading *vārayitvā anācāraṃ* with BJTS for PTS *pācayanti anāvaraṃ* ("burning/tormenting?")

⁷²²*abhabba-ṭṭhāne*, 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

⁷²³reading *sañcattaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *samattaṃ* ("fulfilled" "completed")

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 not⁷²⁴
conceal the things of a woman,
numerous clothes of varied types,
ornaments affixed to⁷²⁵ [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 witness⁷²⁶ any distress
from giving the ultimate gift. (35) [994]

I have experienced⁷²⁷ dis-ease
of diverse types, beyond all count,
in [this] much-varied existence⁷²⁸
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (36) [995]

Attaining comfort[s,] I don't thrill;
[I do]n't get distressed by⁷²⁹ troubles.

⁷²⁴reading °*bhaṇḍe na gūhāmi* with BJTS for PTS *bhaṇḍena gūhāmi* ("I conceal with a thing")

⁷²⁵lit., "gone to"

⁷²⁶lit., "see," fig. "know"

⁷²⁷reading *anubhuttaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *pariccattaṃ* ("are sacrificed," cf. PTS alt. *anubhontaṃ*)

⁷²⁸*saṃsāre*, or "wheel of life"

⁷²⁹lit., "in"

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 which⁷³⁰ Buddha⁷³¹ strived. (38) [997]

By you [and] by me there was much
meeting with the other World-Lords,
[whether you're] the god Brahmā or⁷³²
Gotama Buddha,⁷³³ World's Leader. (39) [998]

I performed a lot of service,
for the sake of you, O Great Sage;
while you sought the Buddha's Teaching,⁷³⁴
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 offering⁷³⁵ to the Teacher,

⁷³⁰*yaṅ dhammaṅ*

⁷³¹lit., "Sambuddha"

⁷³²lit., "and"

⁷³³lit., "Sambuddha," paralleling the usage in the previous verse

⁷³⁴reading *gavesato buddhadhamme* with BJTS for PTS *gavesantā buddhadhammaṅ* ("I, searching for the Buddha's Teaching)

⁷³⁵lit., "doing *pūjā*"

in the midst of [all] the people
I saw that fierce [ascetic] sage.⁷³⁶ (45) [1004]

Seeing [him,] seated atop bark,⁷³⁷
surpassing⁷³⁸ [and] captivating,⁷³⁹
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,
I said, “O lofty-minded sage,
seeing no other gift [to give,]
I’m giving flowers to you, sage.”⁷⁴⁰ (48) [1007]

There are five handfuls for you, sage;
the [remaining] three⁷⁴¹ are for me.
Let there be success through⁷⁴² this [gift]
for your Awakening,⁷⁴³ O sage.” (49) [1008]

The Fourth Recitation Portion
[Then that] sage, taking the flowers,
for the sake of Awakening,⁷⁴⁴
worshipped amidst the people the
Famed One, Great Sage⁷⁴⁵ who was coming. (50) [1009]

The Great Sage [named] Dīpaṅkara,
seeing [him] amidst the people,
prophesied⁷⁴⁶ [future Buddhahood]
[for that] sage with a lofty mind. (51) [1010]

The Great Sage [named] Dīpaṅkara
[then] prophesied that my karma

⁷³⁶i.e., Sumedha

⁷³⁷reading *cīrānupari āsīnaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *cīrānugataṃ dassitaṃ* (“associated for a long time, seen”)

⁷³⁸*patikantaṃ*, BJTS *atikantaṃ*

⁷³⁹*manoharaṃ*

⁷⁴⁰reading *ise* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *isiṃ* (acc.)

⁷⁴¹reading *tayo* with BJTS for PTS *tato*

⁷⁴²BJTS and PTS alt. read *samā* (“equal to”) for *saha* here,

⁷⁴³*bodhanatthāya tavaṃ* (PTS alt. *tava*); the phrase can also be translated, “for the sake of your knowing [me]”

⁷⁴⁴or, as above, “for the sake of knowing [me]”

⁷⁴⁵reading *mahā-isiṃ* (acc.) with BJTS for PTS *mahā-isi* (nom.)

⁷⁴⁶lit., “the Great Hero prophesied”

would for numberless aeons hence
be exalted, that Sage So Great: (52)⁷⁴⁷

“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.⁷⁴⁸ (53) [1011]

Nice looking and much beloved,
desirable,⁷⁴⁹ speaking sweet words,
she will be a loving woman,
[and] an heir among [your] doctrines. (54) [1012]

Just as masters are protecting⁷⁵⁰
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;

⁷⁴⁷BJTS consigns this verse to an asterisked footnote, recognizing that it occurs in a number of its alternate recensions.

⁷⁴⁸BJTS 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”

⁷⁴⁹reading *manāpā* with BJTS for PTS *manasā*

⁷⁵⁰reading *yathā...anurakkhanti sāmīno* with BJTS for PTS *yathā...anurakkhati sāmī no* (“as our master protects”)

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;⁷⁵¹
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)⁷⁵²

[I'm] a woman who's a servant,
and [one] who feels pleasure and pain,
a woman⁷⁵³ who declares the facts,
a woman⁷⁵⁴ 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.⁷⁵⁵ (64)

Listen to my [words,] O great king:
I'm constantly doing service⁷⁵⁶
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)

⁷⁵¹lit., “there is no agitation [to my mind]”

⁷⁵²This and the following 19 verses (20 verses total) are not included here in BJTS. vv. (62) and (63) do appear at BJTS [1092]-[1093]

⁷⁵³lit., “and a woman”

⁷⁵⁴lit., “and a woman”

⁷⁵⁵*etesaṃ devadevānaṃ*

⁷⁵⁶*adhikāraṃ sadā mayhaṃ*, lit., “my service is constant” “my service is daily”

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;
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 practice⁷⁵⁷ the Teaching⁷⁵⁸
of those practiced in the teachings,⁷⁵⁹
at ease practicing the Teaching,
in this world and in the other. (80)

Well-practiced, the Teaching-practice;
that practice is not ill-practiced.
[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 months⁷⁶⁰ had not yet elapsed
I attained the Four [Noble] Truths. (83) [1021]

Like the waves upon the ocean,
[folks] are bringing many varied⁷⁶¹
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,

⁷⁵⁷or do: from *carati*

⁷⁵⁸*saddhamma*°, lit "good Teaching"

⁷⁵⁹*dhamesu ciṇṇānaṃ sadā saddhamma-carino*

⁷⁶⁰*aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* ("half a month")

⁷⁶¹reading *bahu 'neke* with BJTS for PTS *buhun eke*

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]⁷⁶²

The woman who's giving herself
 for the merit of the Great Sage
 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 Therī⁷⁶³ is finished

[29. Ten Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasovati⁷⁶⁴]

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]

⁷⁶²this 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]).

⁷⁶³PTS omits Therī, which I supply from BJTS.

⁷⁶⁴BJTS reads "The *Apadāna* of Ten Thousand Buddhist Nuns"

“You,⁷⁶⁵ [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]

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 karma⁷⁶⁶ 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,⁷⁶⁷
we arose in various clans,
attractive celestial nymphs.⁷⁶⁸ (9) [1037]

We’ve attained fame, with foremost gain;
we’re worshipped⁷⁶⁹ and well-respected.
We are always venerated,
receiving things to eat and drink. (10) [1038]

After abandoning the home,
going⁷⁷⁰ forth into homelessness,
when eight months⁷⁷¹ had not yet elapsed,
we all realized nirvana. (11) [1039]

Always worshipped [and] respected,

⁷⁶⁵ reading *hohi* with BJTS for PTS *honti* (they will be/they are)

⁷⁶⁶ *puññāṅ*, lit., “merit”

⁷⁶⁷ *putta*° lit., “son”

⁷⁶⁸ *accharā kāmavaṇṇinī*, lit., “having the desirable appearance [like] celestia nymphs”

⁷⁶⁹ lit., “offered *pūjā*”

⁷⁷⁰ reading *pabbajitvāna* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pabbajij* (“I went forth”)

⁷⁷¹ *aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* (“half a month”)

[we] receive things to eat and drink,
and clothes [and also] lodgings [too;]
[folks] bring [us] all the requisites. (12) [1040]

Our⁷⁷² 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]

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 Yasodharā⁷⁷³]

Buddhist nuns, eighteen thousand [strong,]
[who were] born in the Śākya [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,

⁷⁷²PTS 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.

⁷⁷³BJTS reads "The *Apadāna* of Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns"

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.⁷⁷⁴ (6) [1049]

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 gods⁷⁷⁵ [are revered by] people. (8) [1051]

All [us] eighteen thousand [women,]
born in the clan of the Śākya,
are famous ones,⁷⁷⁶ [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]

Worshipping⁷⁷⁷ the Sambuddha, they
showed the Teacher superpowers.⁷⁷⁸
They displayed great superpowers,
diverse, having various forms. (11) [1054]

Body big as the universe,⁷⁷⁹
they [made] the continent⁷⁸⁰ up north

⁷⁷⁴*te pajāpati*

⁷⁷⁵*devatā*, or “deities” “supernaturals” “fairies” “spirits”

⁷⁷⁶*yasovati*, = Yasodharā

⁷⁷⁷*abhivādetvā*, or “after saluting”

⁷⁷⁸*iddhiṃ*

⁷⁷⁹*cakkavālaṃ samaṃ* (BJTS *cakkavālasamaṃ*) *kāyaṃ*, lit., “body the same as the ring surrounding the universe”

⁷⁸⁰or “island” (*dīpa*). This verse presumes knowledge of the ancient Indian understanding of India (here

[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,⁷⁸¹
[they carried] a tree⁷⁸² with its roots.
Coming up to [him,] fanning [him,]
they're worshipping the World's Leader. (14) [1057]

[Then] they made themselves⁷⁸³ 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,⁷⁸⁴ 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.⁷⁸⁵ (19) [1062]

Our meeting with [all] the Buddhas,⁷⁸⁶

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.

⁷⁸¹lit., “in the ring surrounding the universe” (*cakkavālagiri*°; BJTS *cakkavālagiri*°)

⁷⁸²*jamburukkha*°, lit., “a rose-apple tree”

⁷⁸³°*vaṇṇaṅ...dassayūṅ*

⁷⁸⁴*yasovaṇṇā*, lit., “we have the the appearance of Yaso” “we are the color (or have the appearance) of fame”

⁷⁸⁵here as elsewhere, reading the voc. *mahāmunue* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁷⁸⁶reading *buddhānaṅ* with BJTS (or PTS alt. *Buddhāna*) for PTS *pubbānaṅ* (former); but cf. below [1133] where BJTS and PTS both give *pubbānaṅ* in a repetition of this verse (and several around it)

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, hindered⁷⁸⁷
the [nine] impossible places;⁷⁸⁸
we have sacrificed⁷⁸⁹ 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 not⁷⁹⁰
conceal the things of a woman,
numerous clothes of varied types,
ornaments affixed to⁷⁹¹ [our] limbs. (27) [1070]

⁷⁸⁷ reading *vārayitvā anācaram* with BJTS for PTS *pācayantī anāvaraṇ* (“burning/tormenting ?)

⁷⁸⁸ *abhabba-ṭṭhāne*, 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

⁷⁸⁹ reading *sañcattam* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *samattaṇ* (“fulfilled” “completed”)

⁷⁹⁰ reading *°bhaṇḍe na gūhāma* with BJTS for PTS *bhaṇḍena gūhāmi* (“I conceal with a thing”)

⁷⁹¹ lit., “gone to”

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]

Whatever we are told [to give]
as alms to beggars, we give [that];
we don't witness⁷⁹² any distress
from giving the ultimate gift. (30) [1073]

[We have] experienced⁷⁹³ dis-ease
of diverse types, beyond all count,
in [this] much-varied existence⁷⁹⁴
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (31) [1074]

Attaining comfort[s,] we don't thrill;
[We do]n't get distressed by⁷⁹⁵ 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 which⁷⁹⁶ Buddha⁷⁹⁷ strived. (33) [1076]

By you [and] by us there was much
meeting with the other World-Lords,
[whether you're] the god Brahmā or⁷⁹⁸
Gotama Buddha,⁷⁹⁹ 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,⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹²lit., "see," fig. "know"

⁷⁹³reading *anubhuttaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *pariccattaṃ* ("are sacrificed")

⁷⁹⁴*saṃsāre*, or "wheel of life"

⁷⁹⁵lit., "in"

⁷⁹⁶*yaṃ dhammaṃ*

⁷⁹⁷lit., "Sambuddha"

⁷⁹⁸lit., "and"

⁷⁹⁹lit., "Sambuddha," paralleling the usage in the previous verse

⁸⁰⁰reading *gavesato buddhadhamme* with BJTS for PTS *gavesantā buddhadhammaṃ* ("We, searching for the Buddha's Teaching")

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
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.⁸⁰¹ (39) [1082]

Just then the Greatly Famed Buddha,
Dīpaṅkara, the Great Hero,
prophesied⁸⁰² [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,
worshipping⁸⁰³ with various things
to be offered,⁸⁰⁴ 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

⁸⁰¹reading *thaludajāni* with BJTS for PTS *phaludakajāti* (“born in fruit-juice”)

⁸⁰²lit., “the Great Hero prophesied”

⁸⁰³lit., “doing *pūjā*”

⁸⁰⁴lit., “*pūjā*-worthy”

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,
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;⁸⁰⁵
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,
going⁸⁰⁶ forth into homelessness,
when eight months⁸⁰⁷ had not yet elapsed,
we attained the Four [Noble] Truths. (52) [1095]

Like the waves upon the ocean,

⁸⁰⁵lit., “there is no agitation [to my mind]”

⁸⁰⁶reading *pabbajitvāna* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pabbajij* (“I went forth”)

⁸⁰⁷*aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* (“half a month”)

[folks] are bringing many varied⁸⁰⁸
 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
 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],⁸⁰⁹
 [and] unconditioned nirvana.⁸¹⁰ (58) [1101]

The past is thoroughly destroyed,
 and the present [and] the future;
 all of⁸¹¹ our karma is destroyed:
 we⁸¹² worship your feet, Eyeful One." (59) [1102]

"What more can I say to women
 who are going⁸¹³ to nirvana?
 Pacifying conditioned flaws⁸¹⁴
 you should attain the deathless state." (60) [1103]

⁸⁰⁸ reading *bahu 'neke* with BJTS for PTS *buhun eke*

⁸⁰⁹ reading *sahāyasampadā honti* with BJTS for PTS *pabhāyasampadā bhonti* ("becoming attained with light"?)

⁸¹⁰ reading *nibbānapadam asaṅkhatam* with BJTS for PTS *nibbān'-amat'-asaṅkhatam* ("unconditioned, deathless nirvana")

⁸¹¹ reading *sabbaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *saccaṃ* ("the truth of")

⁸¹² reading *vandāma* with BJTS for PTS *vandāmi* (as in v. [1028], above)

⁸¹³ reading *vajantīnaṃ* with BJTS for PYS *vadantīnaṃ* ("who are saying")

⁸¹⁴ *santasāṅkhatadoso* (BJTS °*dosam*)

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,⁸¹⁵
Excellent Nandā and Soṇā
Kapilāni, Yasodharā,
and the ten thousand Buddhist nuns
[also] the eighteen thousand [nuns:]⁸¹⁶
the verses that are counted here
[number] one hundred and forty
and also seventy-eight [more].

The Kuṇḍalakesā Chapter, the Third

Khattiyā Chapter,⁸¹⁷ the Fourth

[31. Eighteen Thousand Kṣatriyan Maiden Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasavati⁸¹⁸]

O Great Sage, we are announcing
“all existence has been destroyed;”
[we’re] freed from ties to existence
all outflows⁸¹⁹ don’t exist for us.⁸²⁰ (1) [1104]

Doing previous good⁸²¹ karma,
whatever may have been wished for,⁸²²
all of this stuff⁸²³ has been given
for the sake of you, O Great Sage.⁸²⁴ (2) [1105]

⁸¹⁵reading the correct spelling with BJTS for PTS *Sakulā*

⁸¹⁶reading *dasasahasabhikkhuni atthārasasahasakā* with BJTS for PTS *dasatthārasasahasā* (“the ten-eighteen thousand”)

⁸¹⁷this name is supplied only by BJTS

⁸¹⁸BJTS reads “The *Apadāna* of Buddhist Nuns Headed Up By Yasavati”

⁸¹⁹or “defilements” *sabbāsavā*

⁸²⁰reading *ca no n’atthi* with BJTS for PTS *sabbāsavāmano n’atthi* (“there is no mind with all outflows”)

⁸²¹or “wholesome”

⁸²²*yaṃ kiñci sabbam patthitaṃ*

⁸²³*sabbaṃ...paribhogāṃ*; BJTS reads *yaṃ kiñci sādhu patthitaṃ* (“whatever excellently wished”)

⁸²⁴reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

The wishes of Buddhas, Lonely
 Buddhas and of the followers,
 [all of] this stuff⁸²⁵ has been given
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage.⁸²⁶ (3) [1106]

This karma, [both] big [and] little,
 excellent wish of Buddhist monks,
 [and] service to high-status clans
 has been done by us,⁸²⁷ O Great Sage.⁸²⁸ (4) [1107]

Incited by that wholesome root,
 reaping⁸²⁹ [the fruit] of that karma,
 surpassing [all other] humans,⁸³⁰
 we were born in kṣatriyan clan[s]. (5) [1108]

[Always] together when [we're] born,
 when karma is done, and by caste,⁸³¹
 born together in this last [birth,]
 [we're] kṣatriyans,⁸³² 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.⁸³³ (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.⁸³⁴ (9) [1112]

Our defilements are [now] burnt up;
 all [new] existence is destroyed.
 Like elephants with broken chains,

⁸²⁵ *paribhogaṃ*

⁸²⁶ reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸²⁷ *kat' amhehi*. BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *katam etaṃ*

⁸²⁸ reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸²⁹ °*sampadā*

⁸³⁰ reading BJTS (and, partly, PTS alt.) *mānusakam atikkantā* for PTS *mānussikam anikkantā*

⁸³¹ *jātiyā*, lit., "by birth," the clear theme of this verse

⁸³² lit., "born in the clan"

⁸³³ *lābhasakkārapūjitā*

⁸³⁴ lit., "given *pūjā*"

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,
six special knowledges mastered,
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (11) [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 Nuns⁸³⁵]

O Great Sage,⁸³⁶ 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,⁸³⁷ in your city are
many maidens from every land,⁸³⁸
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 enjoy⁸³⁹ [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]

And⁸⁴⁰ we're the daughters of brahmins,

⁸³⁵BJTS reads "The *Apadāna* of Brahmin Maiden Buddhist Nuns"

⁸³⁶reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸³⁷reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸³⁸[^] *catuddīpā*, lit., "from the four continents," that is, from the entire world

⁸³⁹here PTS reads *phusissanti*, BJTS *bhujjhissanti*; both read *bhujjhissanti* in the following verse

⁸⁴⁰*tu*, or "but"

who have been born in brahmin clans.
Out of our desire,⁸⁴¹ Great Sage,
we worship [your] feet, Eyeful One. (5) [1120]

All existences have been reached,⁸⁴²
cravings are torn out by the roots;
latent tendencies are cut off,
merit[-based] aggregates broken. (6) [1121]

All pasture in meditation,⁸⁴³
likewise have mastered altered states;⁸⁴⁴
we will always live delighting
in the Teaching through altered states.⁸⁴⁵ (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 my⁸⁴⁶
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.⁸⁴⁷
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 Tree⁸⁴⁸ [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]

⁸⁴¹*pekkato no*, perhaps “when we long for [or see]”

⁸⁴²*upāgatā bhavā sabbe*

⁸⁴³*samādhigocarā sabā*

⁸⁴⁴*samāpattī vasi 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)

⁸⁴⁵*jhānena dhammaratīyā viharissāma no sadā*

⁸⁴⁶reading *mamaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *mayañ* (“we”)

⁸⁴⁷*katvā iddhivikubbanañ*, lit., “having done transformations through [their] superpowers”

⁸⁴⁸in Indra/Śakra's heaven

Some are showing the Brahmā [gods]
and a very costly walkway;
making [themselves] look like⁸⁴⁹ Brahmā,
they preach the *Dhamma* that's empty.⁸⁵⁰ (13) [1128]

Doing varied transformations,
showing Buddha⁸⁵¹ 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.⁸⁵² (17) [1132]

Our⁸⁵³ 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.⁸⁵⁴
The city named Haṃsavatī
was the home of [that] Buddha's clan. (20) [1135]

The Ganges River always flows
past the gate of Haṃsavatī.

⁸⁴⁹or "conjuring up the appearance of"

⁸⁵⁰cf. below, [980]

⁸⁵¹lit., "to the Teacher"

⁸⁵²here as elsewhere, reading the voc. *mahāmuni* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸⁵³reading *no* with BJTS (and the parallel instance of this verse below, at [1063]) for PTS *tehi* ("by them")

⁸⁵⁴*mahāmuni*, lit., "the Great Sage"

Buddhist monks are troubled by the
river, unable to⁸⁵⁵ proceed. (21) [1136]

A day, [then] two, and then [it's] three,
after that a week, [next] a month,
then fully four months [might pass for
those monks], unable to⁸⁵⁶ proceed. (22) [1137]

Then the future Buddha⁸⁵⁷ was a
local leader,⁸⁵⁸ named Jaṭila.
Seeing [those] stranded Buddhist monks
he made⁸⁵⁹ a bridge on the river.⁸⁶⁰ (23) [1138]

Then, with a hundred thousand [spent,]
the bridge on the river made, he⁸⁶¹
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,
provided⁸⁶² [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] men⁸⁶³ 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,

⁸⁵⁵lit., “they are not receiving” “they are not getting”

⁸⁵⁶lit., “they are not receiving” “they are not getting”

⁸⁵⁷*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

⁸⁵⁸*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”

⁸⁵⁹*kārayi*, lit., “he caused to be built”

⁸⁶⁰reading *setuṃ garigāya* with BJTS for PTS *setuno satta* (?)

⁸⁶¹reading *kārayi* with BJTS for PTS [*a*]kārayiṇ (“I made”)

⁸⁶²lit., “did”

⁸⁶³reading *purisā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pumā*

plantain-banners,⁸⁶⁴ pots of plenty,⁸⁶⁵
and having honored the Teacher
with incense, cunnam and garlands, (28) [1143]

having made the monastery
and the bridge, inviting the Guide,
after giving extensive alms,
he⁸⁶⁶ aspired to Awakening.⁸⁶⁷ (29) [1144]

Padumuttara, Great Hero,
Crosser-Over⁸⁶⁸ of all that breathe,
the Great Sage made⁸⁶⁹ [his] thanksgiving
to [bodhisattva] Jaṭila.⁸⁷⁰ (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 hand⁸⁷¹ what work was to be done,
will all in futures⁸⁷² yet to come
be [born together] face-to-face.⁸⁷³ (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.”⁸⁷⁴ (33) [1148]

Transmigrating life after life,
a long time we experienced⁸⁷⁵
countless [years of] divine pleasure
and countless [such] human [rebirths]. (34) [1149]

⁸⁶⁴ *kadalī*, lit., “plantains,” see RD s.v., banners in the shape of or made of banana leaves.

⁸⁶⁵ reading *puṇṇaghāṭe* with BJTS for PTS °[*uṇṇakuṭa* (“full huts”)]

⁸⁶⁶ reading *abhipatthayi* with BJTS (and, misspelled, PTS alt.) for PTS *abhipatthayiṇ* (“I aspired”)

⁸⁶⁷ *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.

⁸⁶⁸ *tārako*

⁸⁶⁹ reading *anumodaniyaṃ ‘kāsi* with BJTS for PTS *anumodaniyaṇ kāsi-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”])

⁸⁷⁰ reading *‘kāsi jaṭtilassa* with BJTS for PTS *kāsi-jaṭtilassa*, see previous note

⁸⁷¹ reading *ye keci hatthaparikkammaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *Keci hatthapadaṇ* (“Some, hand [and] foot”)

⁸⁷² lit., “in the future” (singular)

⁸⁷³ *sammukhā*, i.e. “together”

⁸⁷⁴ *tuyham*, presumably addressing the bodhisattva

⁸⁷⁵ reading *anubhontī ciraṃ kālaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *tuyhaṇ vo paricāre ca* (“and all of you will attend on you”)

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]

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 born⁸⁷⁶ in a brahmin clan,
with [very] tender hands [and] feet,
in the home of the Śākya prince.⁸⁷⁷ (37) [1152]

We are never⁸⁷⁸ seeing the earth
when it is undecorated,
[and] we do not see muddy roads
[when they] have not been cleaned,⁸⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁸⁰ (39) [1154]

After abandoning [our] homes,
going forth into homelessness,
we have crossed the road of rebirth;⁸⁸¹
we have become free of passion.⁸⁸² (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.⁸⁸³ (41) [1156]

Our defilements are [now] burnt up;
all [new] existence is destroyed.
Like elephants with broken chains,

⁸⁷⁶ reading *jātāmha* with BJTS for PTS *ajātā* (“[we are] unborn;” worse is alt. *ajāto* “he is unborn”)

⁸⁷⁷ *putta*° lit., “son”

⁸⁷⁸ lit., “all the time we are not...”

⁸⁷⁹ reading *cikkhallabhūmimasuciṃ* with BJTS for PTS *cikkhallabhūmiṃ gamaṇaṃ* (“going on muddy roads”)

⁸⁸⁰ reading *pubbakammabalena no* with BJTS for PTS *pubbakammaphalan tato* (“after the fruit of previous karma”)

⁸⁸¹ *saṅsārapatha-nittiṇṇā*

⁸⁸² reading *vītarāgā bhavāmase* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *n’atthi dāni punabbhavo* (“now there will be no more rebirth”)

⁸⁸³ *tato tato*

we are living without constraint. (42) [1157]

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! (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. Uppaladāyikā⁸⁸⁴]

In Aruṇavatī City,
[lived] the kṣatriyan Aruṇa.
I was [then] the wife of that king;
in that place⁸⁸⁵ I was practicing.⁸⁸⁶ (1) [1160]

Gone off alone [and] sitting down,
I then reflected [on it] like this:
“there's no good karma⁸⁸⁷ done by me
to take along on my journey.⁸⁸⁸ (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,⁸⁸⁹ we [who are] called “women”

⁸⁸⁴“Blue Lotus Giver”

⁸⁸⁵reading *ekajjhaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *ekaccaṃ* (“certain,” “definite”)

⁸⁸⁶reading *cārayāṃ' ahaṃ* with BJTS (and cf. PTS alts. here) for PTS *vādayāṃ' ahaṃ* (“I am singing” “I am making sound” “I am causing to be said”)

⁸⁸⁷*kusalaṃ*, lit., “wholesome deeds”

⁸⁸⁸PTS *kusalaṃ me kataṃ n'atthi ādāya gamiyam mama*; BJTS *ādāya gamaniyaṃ hi kusalaṃ natthi me kataṃ*

⁸⁸⁹*deva*, or “Lord,” lit., “god”

always follow behind [our] men.⁸⁹⁰
 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 exquisite⁸⁹¹ 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,⁸⁹²
 [and there was] much other,⁸⁹³ 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.⁸⁹⁴ (11) [1170]

When [my] last rebirth was attained

⁸⁹⁰or “always become victims of men,” reading *purisānugatā sadā* with BJTS for PTS *purisānaṅ bharā mayaṅ* (“we are burdens on men” or “we carry the burden of men,” perhaps playing with the common word for “wife” used in v. 1, *bharyā*). 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.

⁸⁹¹*parama*, or “supreme” “ultimate” “best” “superior”

⁸⁹²this refrain, common in *Thera-apadāna*, appears only here, and obviously lifted, in *Therī-apadāna*

⁸⁹³reading *aññaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *puññaṅ* (“merit”), though the latter is presumably the “other fruit” which the former reading implies

⁸⁹⁴or “effulgent,” *jutindharā*

I was born in the Śākya clan,
 leader of one thousand women
 [attached] to Suddhodana's son.⁸⁹⁵ (12) [1171]

Becoming wearied in the home,
 I went forth into homelessness.
 Before the seventh night occurred⁸⁹⁶
 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.⁸⁹⁷ (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.⁸⁹⁸ (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 big⁸⁹⁹ 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 with⁹⁰⁰ happy mind. (19) [1178]

I've mastered the superpowers

⁸⁹⁵i.e., attached to (attending on) the bodhisattva Siddhartha; women of the royal harem of the becoming-Buddha.

⁸⁹⁶lit., "the seventh night not attained"

⁸⁹⁷*piṇḍapātass' idaṃ phalaṃ*

⁸⁹⁸*piṇḍapātass' idaṃ phalaṃ*

⁸⁹⁹reads *mahā°* with BJTS for *tayo°* ("three"). The latter is possible, but a weird departure from what is a stock phrase elsewhere in *Apadāna*

⁹⁰⁰lit., "of"

[like] the “divine ear” element.
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-mātā⁹⁰¹]

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 Hamsavati,
in a clan of ministers then,

⁹⁰¹“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.⁹⁰²
Aspiring to [attain] that place,
I then fulfilled the three trainings.⁹⁰³
The Rest for Those Seeking Pity,⁹⁰⁴
the Well-Gone-One, thereupon said [this]: (6, 7a-b) [1190]⁹⁰⁵

"He⁹⁰⁶ whose faith in the Thus-Gone-One
is well-established, not shaking,
and whose morals⁹⁰⁷ are beautiful,
dear to noble people, and praised; (7c-d, 8a-b) [1191]

whose insight is upright and whose
pleasure⁹⁰⁸ 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,
to *Dhamma*-insight and pleasure;⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰²reading *saddhādhimuttānaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *aṅgavimuttānaṃ* ("freed in/by [their] limbs")

⁹⁰³*tisso sikkhā*, i.e., training in morality (*sīla*), wisdom (*paññā*) and meditative states (*samādhi*)

⁹⁰⁴*karuṇānuḡatāsayo*, lit., "support for those come into/follow after/depend upon [his] pity (or compassion)"

⁹⁰⁵PTS 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.

⁹⁰⁶the pronouns here are somewhat jarringly masculine ones, even though the subject is female

⁹⁰⁷*sīlaṃ ca yassa*

⁹⁰⁸*pasādo*

⁹⁰⁹*pasādaṃ*

pith of Buddha's dispensation." (9c-d, 10a-b) [1193]

Hearing that, being overjoyed,
I questioned [him about] my wish.
Then the Supreme,⁹¹⁰ Measureless One,⁹¹¹
the Guide,⁹¹² prophesied [in this way:] (10c-d, 11a-b) [1194]

"Lovely one, pleased in the Buddha,⁹¹³
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.⁹¹⁴ (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,⁹¹⁵ best city,
[I was] born to rich millionaires,⁹¹⁶
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]

Standing on the road, the Buddha,
the Guide, advised him, seeing him

⁹¹⁰*anomo*

⁹¹¹*amito*

⁹¹²*vināyako*

⁹¹³both of these adjectives are in the vocative: "O beautiful one, O you whose pleasure is in the Buddha"

⁹¹⁴*paṭipattihi*

⁹¹⁵= Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

⁹¹⁶lit., "born in a rich clan of millionaires"

coming toward the city praising
the directions⁹¹⁷ with balls of food. (18) [1201]

When he was preaching⁹¹⁸ the *Dhamma*,
there were amazing shrieks of joy,⁹¹⁹
twenty million⁹²⁰ men [and] women
gained insight into the Teaching.⁹²¹ (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,
refining⁹²² mindfulness [through] him,
I attained [my] arahantship. (21) [1204]

I'm going⁹²³ every single day
in order to see the Buddha.
I'm dissatisfied looking at
only [his] eye-pleasing body,⁹²⁴ (22) [1205]

produced by all the perfections,
excellent lair of good fortune,
[his] body, strewn with all goodness:
dissatisfied, I'm living⁹²⁵ [there]. (23) [1206]

The Victor, pleased at that virtue,
placed me in that foremost [place:]
"The Mother of Sigāḷaka's
foremost among those freed by faith."⁹²⁶ (24) [1207]

⁹¹⁷ *nānādisā*, lit., "various directions" "the different directions"

⁹¹⁸ reading *desayato* (gen. abs. constr.) with BJTS (and PTS alt) for PTS *desayito*

⁹¹⁹ 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.

⁹²⁰ *dvekoṭi*, lit., "two [times] ten million"

⁹²¹ 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.

⁹²² or "cultivating:" *bhāvetvā*

⁹²³ reading *vajām' ahaṃ* with BJTS (cf. PTS alt. *vajām' ayaṃ*)

⁹²⁴ reading *nayanānandanaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *yena 'va nandanaṃ* ("through which there is rejoicing"?)

⁹²⁵ reading *vihāram' ahaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *bhāyām' ahaṃ* (= *bhāyām' ahaṃ*, "I am fearing"?)

⁹²⁶ reading *aggā saddhādhimuttikā* with BJTS for PTS *aggā saṅgavimuttikā* ("freed from clinging"), alt. *aṅgavimuttikā* ("freed in/by her] limbs")

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 Therī⁹²⁷ is finished

[35. Sukkā⁹²⁸]

Ninety-one aeons ago the
Leader, whose name was Vipassi,
arose, the One Good to Look At,⁹²⁹
the One with Eyes for Everything. (1) [1214]

I was then in Bandhumatī,
born in an undistinguished clan.

⁹²⁷this is the BJTS reading; PTS reads bhikkhunī Sigālaka-mātā

⁹²⁸"White" "Bright" Good," an historical nun, DPPN II: 1173-1174

⁹²⁹carunayano

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,⁹³⁰ burning with fame,
the Victor, the Best Debater,
[the Buddha,] arose in⁹³¹ 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:⁹³²
[a Buddhist nun] with vast knowledge. (7) [1220]

Gone forth, a *Dhamma*-bearer, I
made Buddha's⁹³³ dispensation shine.
Gone to the lovely gods' city,
I experienced great comfort. (8) [1221]

In this [present] lucky aeon,
Kakusandha, Supreme Victor,⁹³⁴
arose, the Excellent Leopard,⁹³⁵
and then as well I was the same. (9) [1222]

⁹³⁰ *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".

⁹³¹ reading *loke* (loc.) with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *lokaṇ* (acc.)

⁹³² *tadā pi ca tath' ev' ahaṇ*

⁹³³ lit., "the Victor's"

⁹³⁴ *jinuttamo*

⁹³⁵ *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 appears as part of a list of wild animals, not [unlike say the lion, elephant, swan, bull] as part of a Buddha-epithet)

Gone forth, [I] illuminated
 the Sage's thought, as long as life.⁹³⁶
 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,⁹³⁷
 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's⁹³⁸ dispensation shine. (12) [1225]

Also in this [lucky] aeon
 Kassapa [Buddha,] Seventh Sage,
 arose, the Refuge of the World,⁹³⁹
 Non-Hostile One,⁹⁴⁰ Ender of Death.⁹⁴¹ (13) [1226]

Gone forth in the dispensation
 of that Hero Among Men⁹⁴² 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,⁹⁴³
 giving many talks on *Dhamma*
 with friendship as long as I lived.⁹⁴⁴ (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]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,
 in Giribbaja,⁹⁴⁵ best city,

⁹³⁶reading *yathāyukaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *yathāsukhaṃ* (“as much as comfortable” or perhaps “as I pleased”)

⁹³⁷*dīpavaro*

⁹³⁸lit., “the Victor's”

⁹³⁹*lokasaraṇo*

⁹⁴⁰*araṇo*, lit., “having no battle,” “not adversarial,” rhymed in the epithets *lokasaraṇo* and *maraṇantago* that also appear in this verse

⁹⁴¹*maraṇantago*, lit., “gone to the end of death”

⁹⁴²*naravīra*, or “Heroic Man” “Having the Virility of a Man” (“Masculine One”)

⁹⁴³*tisso sikkhā*, i.e., training in morality (*sīla*), wisdom (*paññā*) and meditative states (*samādhi*)

⁹⁴⁴reading *hitā* ‘*va*’ *haṃ* with BJTS for PTS *mahāmune* (“O Great Sage”)

⁹⁴⁵= Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

[I was] born to rich millionaires,⁹⁴⁶
with a huge quantity of gems. (17) [1230]

When [Gotama,] the World's Leader,
surrounded by one thousand monks,
entered [the city,] Rajgir,⁹⁴⁷ he
was praised by the thousand-eyed [god:]⁹⁴⁸ (18) [1231]

“The Restrained One,⁹⁴⁹ with former ascetics⁹⁵⁰ restrained;
the Liberated One,⁹⁵¹ with those liberated;
[who had] the same color as a coin⁹⁵² made of gold,
the Blessed One entered Rajagaha city.” (19) [1232]⁹⁵³

Seeing the Buddha's majesty,
and hearing him, Heap of Virtues,⁹⁵⁴
pleasing my heart in the Buddha,
I worshipped⁹⁵⁵ [him] with all [my] strength. (20) [1233]

At [some] moment after that, in
the presence of Dhammadinnā,⁹⁵⁶
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.
Going forth, in no long time, I learned
[Buddha's] entire dispensation. (22) [1235]

After that I preached the *Dhamma*

⁹⁴⁶lit., “born in a rich clan of millionaires”

⁹⁴⁷or Giribbaja, here *Rājagahaṇ*

⁹⁴⁸*sahassakkhena*, i.e., Śakra/Indra, king of the gods

⁹⁴⁹*danto*, or “Tamed”

⁹⁵⁰*purāṇajaṭilehi*, lit., “former matted-haired [ascetics]”

⁹⁵¹*vimutto*

⁹⁵²*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.

⁹⁵³these 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.

⁹⁵⁴*taṇ...guṇasañcayaṇ*

⁹⁵⁵lit., “did *pūjā*”

⁹⁵⁶#23, above

in a huge gathering of folks.

While *Dhamma* was being preached, there
was insight into the Teaching.⁹⁵⁷ (23) [1236]

Seeing varied thousands of folks
[achieving insight,] astonished,
a spirit,⁹⁵⁸ very pleased by me,
roaming about Rajgir [said this]: (24) [1237]

“Why are these people in Rajgir
acting like nymphs drunk on honey,
unless⁹⁵⁹ they’re honoring⁹⁶⁰ 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,⁹⁶¹
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;
all [new] existence is destroyed.
Like elephants with broken chains,
I am living without constraint. (30) [1243]

⁹⁵⁷lit., “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.

⁹⁵⁸*yakkho*

⁹⁵⁹*ye...na*, lit., “those who have not”

⁹⁶⁰PTS *payirupāsanti* breaks the meter; BJTS *upāsanti* does not. The two are essentially the same verb, the former with an additional *pari*<*payir*

⁹⁶¹reading *mahāmune* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *mahāmuni* (nom.)

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 Therī⁹⁶² is finished

[36. Abhirūpanandā⁹⁶³]

Ninety-one aeons ago the
 Leader, whose name was Vipassi,
 arose, the One Good to Look At,⁹⁶⁴
 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 worshipped⁹⁶⁵ by⁹⁶⁶ 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 Man⁹⁶⁷ reached nirvana,
 I offered⁹⁶⁸ a gold umbrella
 on top of the relic-stupa. (4) [1249]

I'm freely generous, moral
 as long as life; fallen from there,

⁹⁶²This is the BJTS reading. PTS reads *bhikkhunī Sukkā*

⁹⁶³"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.

⁹⁶⁴*carunayano*

⁹⁶⁵reading *pūjanīyā* with BJTS for PTS *sajanassā*

⁹⁶⁶lit., of (gen. pl.), lit., "the people's object to be worshipped"

⁹⁶⁷*nibbute ca naruttame*

⁹⁶⁸lit., "did *pūjā*"

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.⁹⁶⁹
I'm well-known [by the] name Nandā,
the Śākya Khemaka's daughter. (8) [1253]

The nickname⁹⁷⁰ "Very Beautiful"⁹⁷¹
indicated my loveliness;⁹⁷²
when I had attained discretion,
[I'm] adorned with gorgeous beauty.⁹⁷³ (9) [1254]

Then there was a very big fight⁹⁷⁴
over me⁹⁷⁵ among the Śākyans.
Then [my] father had me ordained,
"don't let the Śākyas be destroyed."⁹⁷⁶ (10) [1255]

Going forth like that, having heard
that the Supreme Man hates⁹⁷⁷ beauty,
I did not approach [the Buddha,]
bring proud about my beauty. (11) [1256]

Not even going for advice,
I'm afraid to see the Buddha.

⁹⁶⁹*kapilavhaye*, lit., "in the [city] named for Kapila"

⁹⁷⁰reading *upapadaṃ* (in the sense of "epithet") with BJTS for PTS *uppādaṃ* ("birth" "omen"), which breaks meter.

⁹⁷¹*abhirūpaṃ*

⁹⁷²reading *me kantisūcakaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *m' ekaṃ ti sūcakaṃ* (?)

⁹⁷³reading *rūpalāvaññābhusitā* with BJTS for PTS *rūpavaṇṇavibhusitā*, which however has much the same meaning.

⁹⁷⁴or debate: *vivādo*

⁹⁷⁵reading *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"?)

⁹⁷⁶i.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

⁹⁷⁷reading *rūpadessiṃ naruttamaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *rūpadassij* (alt. *dassana*), "beautiful looking supreme man"

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 heap⁹⁷⁸ 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,]
thinking⁹⁷⁹ [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,⁹⁸⁰
of the knowledge in others’ hearts. (20) [1265]

I remember [my] former lives;

⁹⁷⁸ *samussayaṅ*, “conglomeration,” i.e., the body

⁹⁷⁹ or “dwelling” “practicing” “living” (BJTS: *viharantya’dha yoniso*)

⁹⁸⁰ reading *mahāmune* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *tadā muni* (“Then the Sage [nom.];” PTS alt. *tadā mune*, “Then, O Sage”)

[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 Therī⁹⁸¹ is finished

[37. *Adḍhakāsikā*⁹⁸²]

In this [present] lucky aeon,
Brahma’s Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa⁹⁸³
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.⁹⁸⁴ (2) [1272]

⁹⁸¹this is the BJTS reading for PTS *bhikkhunī Abhirūpanandā*

⁹⁸²“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”

⁹⁸³BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

⁹⁸⁴*patimokkhamhi*, lit “in [read “through”] the fortnightly recitation/227 rules

Moderate⁹⁸⁵ in eating, I was
 committed to being watchful,⁹⁸⁶
 dwelling fixed on practice. One time
 [however,] with a filthy mind,
 I slandered an undefiled⁹⁸⁷ 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,⁹⁸⁸
 in a millionaire’s clan. Due to⁹⁸⁹
 [former] celibacy I was
 gorgeous,⁹⁹⁰ like a nymph among gods. (6) [1276]

Seeing my extreme beauty, in
 Rajgir, best city, they made [me]
 enter prostitution due to⁹⁹¹
 [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]

Seeking⁹⁹² ordination⁹⁹³ having
 gone into the Victor’s presence,
 hearing⁹⁹⁴ that rogues were on⁹⁹⁵ the road,
 I got ordained by messenger.⁹⁹⁶ (9) [1279]

⁹⁸⁵reading *mataññutnī* (lit., “one who knows the limit”) *ca asane* (“in eating”), with BJTS for PTS *mataññū nīca-āsane* (“moderate on a high seat”?)

⁹⁸⁶reading *jāgariye pi* with BJTS for PTS *jāgariyesu*

⁹⁸⁷*viḡatāsavaṇ*

⁹⁸⁸i.e., the people of Benares and the countryside surrounding it

⁹⁸⁹lit., “as the fruit of” “as the result of”

⁹⁹⁰*rūpasampadā* (lit., “endowed with beauty”)

⁹⁹¹lit., “as the fruit of” “as the result of”

⁹⁹²*tadā... °atthāya*, lit., “then...for the sake of”

⁹⁹³PTS reads *tadā ’pasampadatthāya*, with incorrect *sandhi*; BJTS reads, correctly, *tatopasampadatthāya*, cf. PTS alt. (also correct) *tad’ upa°*

⁹⁹⁴reading *sutvā* with BJTS for PTS *disvā* (“seeing”). Neither edition indicates variance in its reading of the verb.

⁹⁹⁵*ḡhite*, lit., “were standing on” “remained on”

⁹⁹⁶lit., “a messenger [gave me] ordination”

All [my] karma has been burnt up,
merit and likewise evil too;
birth and rebirth⁹⁹⁷ 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 Therī⁹⁹⁸ is finished

[38. Puṇṇikā⁹⁹⁹]

Gone forth in the dispensation
of the Blessed One, Vipassi,

⁹⁹⁷or "transmigration," °saṅsārā

⁹⁹⁸the BJTS reading for PTS bhikkhunī Aḍḍhakāsikā

⁹⁹⁹"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,¹⁰⁰⁰
 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.¹⁰⁰¹ (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.¹⁰⁰² (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's¹⁰⁰³ stick,
 oppressed by fear of faults called out. (7) [1293]¹⁰⁰⁴

Of what are you afraid, brahmin?
 Limbs shivering you always go
 down to the water, so much cold
 being experienced by you.” (8) [1294]¹⁰⁰⁵

“You certainly know, Puṇṇikā.
 You are asking¹⁰⁰⁶ me who's doing

¹⁰⁰⁰reading *dharmatthapariṇipucchikā*

¹⁰⁰¹*pesalā atimaññisaṃ*. Cf. *Pesalā-atimaññanā Sutta* (S. i. 187f., see DPPN II: 245)

¹⁰⁰²he 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.

¹⁰⁰³lit., “the noble ladies' stick (or punishment)”

¹⁰⁰⁴= *Therīgāthā* v. 236

¹⁰⁰⁵= *Therīgāthā* v. 237

¹⁰⁰⁶reading *paripucchasi* with BJTS for PTS *paripucchiyan* (“you would ask?”)

wholesome karma and warding off¹⁰⁰⁷
karma with evil [consequence]. (9) [1295]¹⁰⁰⁸

Whether he is old is young,
one who performs evil karma,
just by sprinkling¹⁰⁰⁹ himself with water,
is freed from [that] evil karma.” (10) [1296]¹⁰¹⁰

I spoke a verse¹⁰¹¹ 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.¹⁰¹²
Therefore they named me “Completer,”¹⁰¹³
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]

Through meditation, very wise;
through what has been heard, one’s learned;

¹⁰⁰⁷reading *rundhantaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt) for PTS *niddhantaṃ* (“blown off” “purified” “thrown out”)

¹⁰⁰⁸= *Therīgāthā* v. 238

¹⁰⁰⁹pronounce as two syllables for chanting

¹⁰¹⁰= *Therīgāthā* v. 239

¹⁰¹¹or foot, stanza, line, word: *padaṃ*

¹⁰¹²*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”

¹⁰¹³*punṇā ti nāmaṃ*

but karma will not be destroyed¹⁰¹⁴
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 Therī¹⁰¹⁵ is finished

[39. Ambapālī¹⁰¹⁶]

The Great Sage was Phussa [Buddha,]
[like] a garland of speckled rays.¹⁰¹⁷
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,¹⁰¹⁸
Sikhi, Chief Leader of the World,
arose, the [Bright] Lamp of the World,
the Three Worlds' Refuge, the Victor. (3) [1309]

I'm then born in a brahmin clan,
in lovely Āruṇa City.

¹⁰¹⁴PTS reads *panassati*, BJTS *vinassati*

¹⁰¹⁵the BJTS reading, for PTS *bhikkhunī Puṇṇikā*

¹⁰¹⁶"Mango-Guarded", an historical nun, see DPPN I: 155-156

¹⁰¹⁷*raṅsiphusitāvelo*, playing on/explaining the name "Phussa" (= speckled, cf. °*phusita*°)

¹⁰¹⁸or "ago," or "hence," as elsewhere: *ito*

Angered [about something,] I cursed
a nun with liberated mind. (4) [1310]

Misbehaved like a prostitute,
I dirtied the dispensation.¹⁰¹⁹
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,¹⁰²⁰ I was an ascetic.¹⁰²¹ (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] eaten¹⁰²² strong poison. (7) [1313]

In Kassapa's dispensation,¹⁰²³
I practiced celibate [nunhood]¹⁰²⁴.
Due to that karma, I was born
in the city of the thirty.¹⁰²⁵ (8) [1314]

When [my] last rebirth was attained,
come to be spontaneously,¹⁰²⁶
I was born amidst mango boughs;
therefore I was "Mango-Guarded." (9) [1315]

Along with ten million beings,
gone forth in the dispensation,¹⁰²⁷
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,¹⁰²⁸
of the knowledge in others' hearts. (11) [1317]

I remember [my] former lives;

¹⁰¹⁹*jīnasāsanadūsikā*, lit., "defiling the Victor's dispensation"

¹⁰²⁰lit., "among humans"

¹⁰²¹*tapassinī*, lit., "a female practitioner of austerities"

¹⁰²²*bhuttā...yathā*; BJTS reads *bhutvā*

¹⁰²³*kassape jīnasāsane*, lit., "in the dispensation of the Victor, Kassapa [Buddha]"

¹⁰²⁴reading °*brahmacariyam* with BJTS for PTS °*brahmaceram*, lit., "the Brahma-life" "the holy life" "celibacy"

¹⁰²⁵i.e., the thirty-three gods.

¹⁰²⁶*ahosiṅ opapātikā*

¹⁰²⁷it. "I went forth in the Victor's dispensation"

¹⁰²⁸reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*, Great Sage.

[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. Selā¹⁰²⁹]

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)¹⁰³⁰ [1324]

gone to that Hero for refuge,
I undertook morality.

¹⁰²⁹“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”)

¹⁰³⁰PTS 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.

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,¹⁰³¹
I practiced celibate [nunhood].¹⁰³²
Due to that karma, I was born
in the city of the thirty.¹⁰³³ (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,¹⁰³⁴
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,
[this] knowledge of mine was produced
in your presence, O Great Hero. (10) [1333]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;

¹⁰³¹*kassape jinasāsane*, lit., “in the dispensation of the Victor, Kassapa [Buddha]”

¹⁰³²reading °*brahmacariyam* with BJTS for PTS °*brahmaceram*, lit., “the Brahma-life” “the holy life” “celibacy”

¹⁰³³i.e., the thirty-three gods.

¹⁰³⁴reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*, Great Sage.

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 Therī¹⁰³⁵ 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.¹⁰³⁶
There are two hundred verses here,
plus another forty-two more.¹⁰³⁷

The Kṣatriyan Chapter, the Fourth.¹⁰³⁸

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,
there are one thousand three hundred
verses plus fifty seven [more].¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰³⁵this is the BJTS reading for PTS *bhikkhunī Selā*

¹⁰³⁶this line only in BJTS, which reads *Pesalā* here as elsewhere

¹⁰³⁷these final two feet enumerating the verses in the chapter, like most of the expected chapter summary, appears in BJTS but not in PTS.

¹⁰³⁸this appears only in BJTS, and appears before rather than after the chapter summary.

¹⁰³⁹this colophonical verse appears in BJTS only; PTS omits it

The *Therī-apadāna* is Finished¹⁰⁴⁰

The *Apadāna* is Finished

¹⁰⁴⁰this appears only in BJTS; PTS omits it