

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

The Legends of the Therīs

Now listen to the legends of the Therīs:²

Sumedhā Chapter, the First

[1. Sumedhā³]

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

Ten times [and then] a hundred times, and then a hundred hundred times,⁶ 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,⁷ I was⁸ the gem of a woman. (3) [3]

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

²this 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 *Paccchekabuddha-apadāna* and *Thera-apadāna*. The cty omits the Therīs altogether, despite having defined *Apadāna*, in its *nidāna*, as constituted by Buddha, Paccchekabuddha, Thera and Therī sections.

³“Very Wise Woman”

⁴lit., “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).

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

⁶BJTS 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?

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

⁸reading *āsiṃ* (BJTS) for *bhaviṇ* (PTS).

Here with wholesome [karma] heaped up,⁹ [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.¹⁰ (5) [5]

In whichever place I'm reborn, in accordance with¹¹ 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 Kassapa¹² 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.¹³ (9) [9]

Being the ally of those [girls], 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 Tāvātimsa [then]. (11) [11]

Fallen thence, I went to Yāma,¹⁴ [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,¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ (14) [14]

Having experienced happiness among gods and also humans, being com-

⁹ reading *sañcchitakusalā* (BJTS) for *sañcchitā kusalaṇ* (PTS), though they amount to the same thing.

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

¹¹ reading *vāhasā* (BJTS) for *vahasā* (PTS).

¹² BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

¹³ lit., "they fared according to the Brahma-faring," i.e., they led a celibate (*brahmac-chariya*) existence.

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

¹⁵ lit., "meritorious (*puñña*) karma".

¹⁶ *maṇḍalināñ ccha rājūnaṃ*, lit., "of kings who [ruled] circles [of kings]"

fortable everywhere, I traveled on¹⁷ through several births. (15) [15]

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

My defilements are [now] burnt up; all [new] existence is destroyed. 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 Venerable²¹ Bhikkhunī Sumedhā spoke these verses.

[The legend of Sumedhā Therī is finished.]²²

[2. Mekhalādāyikā²³]

I had a stupa constructed²⁴

for Siddhattha, the Blessed One.

I gifted [my] waist ornament²⁵

so the Teacher could be repaired.²⁶ (1) [20]

When that great stupa was finished,

I gave another ornament²⁷

¹⁷or "I transmigrated," *saṃsāriṃ*.

¹⁸this 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.

¹⁹*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.

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

²¹BJTS omits *āyasmā*.

²²PTS 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.

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

²⁴reading *kārāpikā* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *kārāpitā* ("was built," PTS)

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

²⁶lit., "for the sake of repairing of the Teacher." Here the stupa is the Buddha.

²⁷lit., "again I gave a waist-ornament".

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.
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 Therī²⁸ spoke these verses.

The legend of Mekhalādāyikā Therī is finished.

[3. Maṇḍapadāyikā²⁹]

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.³⁰ (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]

²⁸BJTS, PTS alt omit *therī*.

²⁹"Raised-Platform-Donor".

³⁰lit., "of meritorious karma".

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]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Maṇḍapadāyikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Maṇḍapadāyikā Therī is finished.

[4. Saṅkamanattā³¹]

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,

³¹"Cross-Over-er".

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.

[5. Tīṇaḷamālikā³²]

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

Happy, with pleasure in [my] heart,
awe-struck,³⁴ 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].³⁵
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,³⁶
I went forth into homelessness. (4) [40]

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

³²BJTS omits Tīṇī°. The name means "[Three] (or perhaps we should read *tīṇī*, [Grass]) Reed Garland-er".

³³see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [1886]

³⁴*vedajāto*

³⁵lit., "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.

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

³⁷BJTS reads "all [new] existence is destroyed."

³⁸BJTS inverts the order of verses (5) and (6).

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
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. Ekapiṇḍadāyikā³⁹]

In the city, Bandhumatī,
there was a king⁴⁰ named Bandhuma.⁴¹
I was [then] the wife of that king,
behaving in a certain way.⁴² (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]

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

⁴⁰lit., “a kṣatriyan”.

⁴¹“Kinsman,” according to my notes (ref?) also the name of the king-father of Vipassī Buddha

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

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.⁴³ (5) [50]

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

Making that my object of thought⁴⁵
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;⁴⁶
all defilements are extinguished;
now there will be no more rebirth. (10) [55]

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

⁴⁴BJTS reads *vatthayugena*, “with a pair of cloths”. Some PTS alt give *mahāccholena*, “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*.

⁴⁵lit., “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.

⁴⁶*upādikā*, the foundations of defilement (*kilesas*).

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,
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. Kaṭacchchubhikkhadāyikā⁴⁷]

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,
uttered⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁷"Spoonful of Begged-for-Food Donor"

⁴⁸lit., "made"

Everything your mind may wish for,
you will receive [it] every day. (4) [63]

Having enjoyed [great] happiness,
you will go forth, possessionless.⁴⁹
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.⁵⁰
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 Kaṭacchchubhikkhadāyikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Kaṭacchchubhikkhadāyikā Therī is finished.

⁴⁹lit., "having nothing".

⁵⁰lit., "sacrificial attainment," *yāgasampadā*.

[8. Sattuppalamālikāya⁵¹]

In Aruṇavatī City,
lived a king⁵² named Aruṇavā.
I was [then] the wife of that king,
sent out [by him] on a journey.⁵³ (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,⁵⁴
planted on [the top of] my head?
They’ll be better for me offered
to the Best Buddha’s [great] knowledge. (3) [73]

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],⁵⁵
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,⁵⁶ with hands pressed together,

⁵¹“Seven Blue Lotus Flower-er.”

⁵²lit., “a kṣatriyan”

⁵³reading *cchārikaṃ cchārayām’ ahaṃ* (BJTS) for *na mālaṃ pādayām’ ahaṃ* (“I didn’t ? a garland,” PTS).

⁵⁴lit., “What then for me with these flowers...?”

⁵⁵*kakudha* = kumbuk, cf. note to *Therāpadāna* v. [1800].

⁵⁶*vedajāto*

bringing pleasure to [my] heart there,
I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (8) [78]

Blue lotus⁵⁷[-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 entire⁵⁸ 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];
I'm one whose words are listened to.⁵⁹ (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,⁶⁰
special knowledges perfected:
that's the fruit of Buddha-pūjā. (14) [84]

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

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

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

⁵⁹lit., "one whose words are to be taken," reading *ādeyyavacchanā* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *adeyya*° (PTS).

⁶⁰see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [309].

⁶¹See note to *Therāpadāna* v. [309].

⁶²see note to *Therāpadāna* v. [310].

My effort bearing the burden
brought me release from attachments;⁶³
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.

The legend of Sattuppalamālikāya Therī⁶⁴ is finished.

[9. Pañcchadīpikā⁶⁵]

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

One day when the moon was waning,⁶⁷
I saw the supreme Bodhi [Tree].

⁶³see *Therāpadāna* v. [649] for these same two feet.

⁶⁴This is the BJTS reading; PTS reads *Bhikkhunī Sattuppalamālikāya*

⁶⁵"Five-Lamp-er"

⁶⁶lit., "for the sake of wholesome [karma]."

⁶⁷*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*).

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,
displaying⁶⁸ every good color.⁶⁹ (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 offering⁷⁰ 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]

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 "Pañcchadīpī"⁷¹ then.
It was a hundred leagues in height,
[and] sixty leagues in width back then.⁷² (9) [99]

⁶⁸lit., "it was".

⁶⁹or "all the color of gold" (*sabbasovaṇṇayā*).

⁷⁰*pūjā*.

⁷¹"Five Lamps"

⁷²BJTS 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.

Uncountable numbers of lamps
are burning in my surroundings.
The divine world is [then] lit up
with lamp-light, up to its edges.⁷³ (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,⁷⁴
things well done and things not well done,⁷⁵
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.⁷⁶ (15) [105]

Due to my having good karma,⁷⁷
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]

⁷³lit., "as far as [its extent]".

⁷⁴reading *daṭṭhum* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *dasuṇ* (PTS). PTS reads *daṭṭhuṇ* in the parallel text (#15), below.

⁷⁵BJTS reads "good rebirths and bad rebirths".

⁷⁶lit., "my eyes are not closing"

⁷⁷lit., "because of [my] being endowed with meritorious karma".

[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,⁷⁸
 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,
 and these eight deliverances,
 six special knowledges mastered,
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (25) [115]

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

⁷⁸or "pavilion"

[10. Udakadāyikā⁷⁹]

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

"I lack the things to be given
in the unsurpassed merit-field."
Going to a water-tower,⁸¹
I supplied [the Buddha]⁸² 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.⁸³ (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.⁸⁴ (4) [119]

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

Transmigrating in two stations,
the human or else the divine,

⁷⁹"Water-Giver"

⁸⁰lit., "by means of that" or "through that".

⁸¹in the *Vinaya* and *Jātaka* this term, *koṭṭhaka*, refers to the place where monks kept water for bathing. In *Therāpadāna* (v. [722]) the term refers to a building in a monastery, and I have translated "storage room" accordingly. In the compound *dvārakoṭṭhaka* (v. [531] [540]) it refers to part of a city's defenses, and following the 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).

⁸²since this was ninety-one aeons ago, the Buddha was presumably Vipassi.

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

⁸⁴lit., "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 *dasā-h-aṅgehi*, lit., "ten parts" or "ten limbs") see below, v. [333]-[335] (= *Gotamī-apadāna* v. 107-109).

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;⁸⁵
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]

⁸⁵reading *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, Mekhalādadā,
Maṇḍapa, Saṅkamaṇḍalā,
Nalamālī, Piṇḍadadā,
Kaṭacchchu, Uppalappadā,
Dīpad-Odakadā also;
the verses here⁸⁶ are counted [thus:]
one verse and one hundred [also]
and seventeen added to that.

The Sumedhā Chapter, the First

Ekūposathikā Chapter, the Second

[11. Ekūposathikā⁸⁷]

In the city, Bandhumatī,
there was a king⁸⁸ named Bandhuma.⁸⁹
On the day of the full moon, he
took on⁹⁰ Full-Moon-Day observance.⁹¹ (1) [131]

⁸⁶reading *iha* (BJTS) for *viha* (PTS).

⁸⁷“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 (*sanghakamma*), 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.

⁸⁸lit., “a kṣatriyan”.

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

⁹⁰lit., “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.

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's⁹² dispensation,
 Due to that karma done very well,
 I went to Tāvātimsa [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;

⁹¹lit., "he set up the [observance of] Upasatha."

⁹²lit., "Supreme Buddha's"

I obtain every one of those:
fruit of Full-Moon-Day observance. (10) [140]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The three knowledges are attained;
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (19) [149]

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

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Ekūposathikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Ekūposathikā Therī is finished.

[12. *Salalapupphikā*⁹³]

On CChandabhāgā 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 Bipeds.
Bringing pleasure to [my] own heart,
I then ascended the mountain. (4) [154]

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

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

⁹³"Salala-Flower-er". PTS reads *saḷala*.

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

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

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Salalapupphikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Salalapupphikā Therī is finished.

[13. Modakadāyikā⁹⁴]

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.

⁹⁴“Sweetmeat Donor”.

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 Modakadāyikā⁹⁵ spoke these verses.

The legend of Modakadāyikā Therī is finished.

[14. Ekāsanadāyikā⁹⁶]

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,⁹⁷
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,⁹⁸
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;⁹⁹
the breezes are not blowing [now];
the time is right to come sit down.¹⁰⁰ (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]

⁹⁵here PTS reads the name Timodakadāyikā, “Three-Sweetmeat-Donor”

⁹⁶“One-Chair-Donor”.

⁹⁷lit., “in the midday sun”

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

⁹⁹lit., “the midday sun is fixed [in the sky]”

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

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.¹⁰¹ (6) [171]

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

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

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

My couch was well-spread with cushions,
 covered with embroidered wool rugs
 and coverlets of silk with gems,
 as well as [some] of fur with fringe.¹⁰² (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]

¹⁰¹lit., "according to the [size of the] cavity". Or perhaps we should read, "as much as [I had] cooked," from *randheti*?

¹⁰²lit., "and [coverlets of] fur [or wool] sticking up on one end" (*uddhaṇ-ekanta-lomī ccha*).

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,¹⁰³
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;¹⁰⁴
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.

¹⁰³or families or clans (*kule*).

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

Even today, breaking my reign,¹⁰⁵
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 Venerable¹⁰⁶ Bhikkhunī Ekāsanadāyikā spoke these verses.
The legend of Ekāsanadāyikā Therī is finished.

[15. Pañcchadīpikā¹⁰⁷]

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

One day when the moon was waning,
I saw the supreme Bodhi [Tree].

¹⁰⁵the 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..."

¹⁰⁶BJTS omits *āyasmā*.

¹⁰⁷"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.

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,
displaying¹⁰⁸ every good color. (5) [194]

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

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

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

There my well-made divine mansion
was known as "Pañcchadīpī"¹⁰⁹ 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

¹⁰⁸lit., "it was".

¹⁰⁹"Five Lamps"

with lamp-light, up to its edges.¹¹⁰ (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,¹¹¹
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:¹¹²
that's the fruit of [giving] five lamps. (16) [205]

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

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

¹¹⁰lit., "as far as [its extent]".

¹¹¹BJTS reads "good rebirths and bad rebirths".

¹¹²both 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.

Meditating on a platform,¹¹³
 beneath a tree, in empty spots,¹¹⁴
 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 Pañcchadīpikā spoke these verses.

The legend of Pañcchadīpikā Therī is finished.

[16. Sālamālikā¹¹⁵]

On CChandabhāgā River's bank,
 I was a *kinnarī* back then.

¹¹³ or "pavilion"

¹¹⁴ lit., "in empty buildings"

¹¹⁵ "Sal-Garland-er." This follows BJTS. PTS reads Nalamālikā, "Reed-Garland-er".

I saw the Stainless One, Buddha,
the Self-Become, Unconquered One. (1) [215]

Happy, with pleasure in [my] heart,
awe-struck,¹¹⁶ with hands pressed together,
taking a *sal*¹¹⁷[-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 Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (3) [217]

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

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

My wholesomeness is apparent;
I went forth into homelessness.
Today I'm worthy of *pūjā*
in the Buddha's¹¹⁸ dispensation. (6) [220]

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

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

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

¹¹⁶*vedajāto*

¹¹⁷PTS reads *nala*°.

¹¹⁸lit., "Śākyas' Son's"

The three knowledges are attained;
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (9) [224]

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

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

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 Sālamālikā¹²¹ spoke these verses.

The legend of Sālamālikā¹²² Therī is finished.

[17. Gotamī¹²³]

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,
was dwelling in a nuns' refuge,
built in that delightful city.¹²⁴ (2) [227]

¹¹⁹PTS reads *nala*°

¹²⁰as 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.

¹²¹PTS reads *Nala*°.

¹²²PTS reads *Nala*°.

¹²³"Female Gotama," "the Gotamid." Her full name is given in the colophon as Mahā-pajāpatī 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. *puñcchi 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.

¹²⁴there are numerous possibilities for translation of this string of locatives, because "delightful" (*ramme*) can modify either "city" (*pure*) or "nuns' refuge"

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)¹²⁵ [228]

"I will not be able to see¹²⁶
 the Buddha's final nirvana,
 [that] of the two chief followers,
 nor Rāhul, Ānanda, Nanda. (3c-f) [229]

Destroying¹²⁷ 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

(*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").

¹²⁵here 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.

¹²⁶or, 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.

¹²⁷PTS reads *paṭihaccch' āyusaṅkhāre*, which I follow here, though BJTS *paṭtigaccch'* (alt. *paṭihaccch'*), = "previous," in which case *āyusaṅkhāre* might be the object of *ossajitvāna*, hence: "letting go of the constituents of my previous life".

who lived in that refuge [for nuns,
 piteously weeping [at that,
 shed [their] tears there [in the refuge]. (6) [232]¹²⁸

[And then] all of¹²⁹ 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,
 lamentations¹³⁰ are being heard:¹³¹
 what then does this mean, Gotamī?” (8) [234]¹³²

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.¹³³ (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?”¹³⁴
 [And] then along with all [of them]
 she quitted [that] Buddhist nuns’ nest.¹³⁵ (12) [238]

¹²⁸PTS and BJTS agree in presenting this as a six-footed verse.

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

¹³⁰lit., “and lamentations”

¹³¹*sūyante*, BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *sūyanti*

¹³²PTS and BJTS agree in presenting this as a six-footed verse.

¹³³*subbata*, also “Compliant One” “Good Vow”

¹³⁴lit., “who are going to nirvana”

¹³⁵reading *niggacchchi bhikkhunīnilayā* with BJTS for PTS *niggañcchhi bhikkhunīlayanā*

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

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

Hearing those words, not passionless,
[those] heirs of the Well-Gone [Buddha,]¹³⁶
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.¹³⁷ (17) [243]

The faithful laywomen,¹³⁸ having
seen her¹³⁹ going along the road,
coming out from [their] houses [then]
bowing down at [her] feet said this: (18) [244]

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

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

¹³⁷lit., “rivers”

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

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

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

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

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

(The First Recitation Portion)¹⁴³
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,¹⁴⁴ Ānanda,¹⁴⁵ Nanda,¹⁴⁶
Rāhula,¹⁴⁷ the Victor remain;
the Assembly’s cheerful and close,
the conceit of rivals is slain. (25) [251]

The Famed One in¹⁴⁸ Okkāka’s clan
is Exalted,¹⁴⁹ the Death-Crusher;¹⁵⁰

¹⁴²lit., “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.

¹⁴³PTS omits this classification, found in BJTS

¹⁴⁴see *Therāpadāna* above, #7

¹⁴⁵see *Therāpadāna* above, #10.

¹⁴⁶see *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.

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

¹⁴⁸lit., “of”

¹⁴⁹*ussito*

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]

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

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

"Well-Gone-One, I am your mother,
and you are my father, Hero;
Lord,¹⁵¹ who Gives the Good Teaching's Joy,¹⁵²
O Gotama, I'm born from¹⁵³ you. (31) [257]

Your body, made of flesh and bones,¹⁵⁴
was reared up by me, Well-Gone-One;
my flawless body, made of Truth,¹⁵⁵
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,¹⁵⁶
peaceful without interruption. (33) [259]

¹⁵⁰*Māramaddano*

¹⁵¹*nātha*

¹⁵²*saddhammasukhado*

¹⁵³or "through"

¹⁵⁴*rūpakāyo...tava*

¹⁵⁵or "of the Teaching": *dharmakāya*

¹⁵⁶or "of the Teaching": *dharmakhīram*

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

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

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

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

Having abandoned this body,
I want to [reach] full nirvana.
Give me permission, O Hero,
O Dis-ease-Ender,¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹ (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:

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

¹⁵⁸*dukkhantakara*

¹⁵⁹reading *puttapemasā* with BJTS for PTS *putta pemaśā* ("with love, O son")

the Victor showed her¹⁶⁰ [his] body,
a pale sun¹⁶¹ through¹⁶² an evening cloud.¹⁶³ (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,¹⁶⁴
the Banner of the Solar Clan;¹⁶⁵
when I have died for the last time,
I will never¹⁶⁶ see you again. (43) [269]

Chief of the World, it is believed
that women make every error.¹⁶⁷
If there’s any error in me,
forgive it, Mine of Compassion.¹⁶⁸ (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.¹⁶⁹ (46) [272]

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

¹⁶⁰lit., “[his] maternal aunt”

¹⁶¹*bālakkhaṇ*, lit., “young sun,” “a pale sun.” BJTS Sinh. gloss *bālārka*. lit., “like a pale sun...”

¹⁶²lit., “from,” i.e., “emerging from” “coming out from behind”

¹⁶³*sañjhā-ghanā*, lit., “from an evening cloud”

¹⁶⁴*narādiccchayaṇ*

¹⁶⁵*ādiccchakulaketunaṇ* (BJTS reads °kaṇ)

¹⁶⁶lit., “not”

¹⁶⁷*itthiyo nāma...sabbadosakarā matā*

¹⁶⁸*karuṇākara*

¹⁶⁹*khamādhīpa*

¹⁷⁰here 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.

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.¹⁷¹ (48) [274]¹⁷²

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.¹⁷³ (51) [277]

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

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

Fortunate am I, Great Hero,
intent on worshipping¹⁷⁵ your feet.
The existential desert crossed,
[I] shine due to the good Teaching.¹⁷⁶ (54) [280]

¹⁷¹*vyasanāṇ gahāṇaṇ disvāna*

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

¹⁷³*narapuṇḡava*

¹⁷⁴*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”

¹⁷⁵lit., “doing *pūjā* to”

¹⁷⁶BJTS reads *suvākyena sirīmato*, “due to the good teaching of the resplendent one”.

¹⁷⁷*subbata*

Then the pious one¹⁷⁷ explained [her thoughts]¹⁷⁸ to the Assembly of monks, and having worshipped Rāhula, Ānanda [and] Nanda, she said:¹⁷⁹ (55) [281]

“I am weary¹⁸⁰ of [my] body, similar to a serpent’s den, a sickness-house, heap of dis-ease,¹⁸¹ pasturing in old age and death, covered with varied flaws and drool,¹⁸² dependent on others, actionless.¹⁸³ Therefore I desire nirvana; give [me your] permission, children.” (56-57) [282-283]

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

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

¹⁷⁸lit., “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.

¹⁷⁹lit., “she said this:”

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

¹⁸¹reading *dukkhasaṅghāta* with BJTS for the metrically-questionable but evocative PTS *dukkhapaṇke* (“[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”

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

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

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.¹⁸⁴ (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;¹⁸⁵
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,¹⁸⁶ (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.¹⁸⁷ (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,¹⁸⁸
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,]

¹⁸⁴*nidhanaṇ*, lit., "without wealth [of karma]," or more literally, "possessionless"

¹⁸⁵BJTS divides up the adverb taken as "similing" (*hāsantiṇ*) as *hā santiṇ*, "Alas! peacefully..." or "Alas! to peace..."

¹⁸⁶lit., "O deep one, O ocean of wisdom"

¹⁸⁷reading *nibbānaṃ samupāgataṃ* with BJTS for PTS *nibbānattaṇ* ("nirvana-ness") and PTS alt (and BJTS alt.) *nibbānantaṇ*, "the goal of nirvana," which I followed in my earlier translation.

¹⁸⁸*porāṇehi*, or (as in my earlier translation) "elders"

preserver of the Buddha's word;¹⁸⁹
 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."¹⁹⁰ (72) [298]

Then, going [back] to the refuge,
 [gone off] alone, I reflected:
 "the Lord, who Reached the Three Worlds' Ends,¹⁹¹
 likes a united retinue. (73) [299]

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

announced to [the Buddha,] the Guide,
 the time of my full nirvana.

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

¹⁹⁰ Thig 161

¹⁹¹ *tibhavantago*

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 *dharmā*-penetration.¹⁹²
 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, again¹⁹³ 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 walked¹⁹⁴ on water as on land,
 leaving its surface unbroken. (82) [308]

Cross-legged, she flew like a bird,
 across the surface of the sky.

¹⁹²*thīnaṃ dhammābhisamaye*

¹⁹³*tathā*, lit., “thus” “in that way”

¹⁹⁴or “went”

With her body she took control
of space right up to Brahma's home. (83) [309]

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

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

She took mounts Meru, Mandāra,
Daddara, great Muccchchalinda —
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.¹⁹⁵
An attainer of [her]¹⁹⁶ own goal,
she worships your feet, Eyeful One." (91) [317]

¹⁹⁵*tavasāsanakārikā*, "a doer of your dispensation" "one who has performed your teachings"

¹⁹⁶or "your"?

Having shown varied miracles,
 descending from up in¹⁹⁷ the sky,
 worshipping the Lamp of the World,
 she sat down [there, off] to one side. (92) [318]

“O Great Sage, I’m an [old woman,]¹⁹⁸
 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] have¹⁹⁹ [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 Hamsavatī,
 in a clan of ministers then,
 furnished with all [kinds of] servants,
 rich, prosperous, very wealthy. (96) [322]

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

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

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

¹⁹⁷lit., “from the surface of”

¹⁹⁸*sā...’haṇ*

¹⁹⁹lit “make” “do”

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

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

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

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

Worthy heir to that one’s *Dhamma*,
Dhamma’s legitimate offspring,
 the one whose name is Gotamī
 will be the Teacher’s follower. (104) [330]

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

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

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

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

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

Transmigrating in the cycle,²⁰⁰
being blown on by karma-wind,
I was born in a slave-village,
in the realm of the Kāsi²⁰¹ king. (110) [336]

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

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

All of us having formed a guild,²⁰²
we served those [Buddhas] for four months.
Having given [each] the three robes,
we transmigrated²⁰³ 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, Añjana²⁰⁴ Śākya,²⁰⁵
my mother was Sulakhanā.²⁰⁶
We left for Suddhodana's house,
in Kapilavastu [City]. (115) [341]

²⁰⁰or "in existence": *saṃsāre saṃsāranti 'haṃ*

²⁰¹that is, Benares

²⁰²BJTS reads *katvā pañcchasatakuṭi* ("having made [them] five hundred huts" for
PTS *pūgā bhavitvā sabbāyo*

²⁰³BJTS reads *pasannāmha sasāmikā*, "we were pleased with our husbands"

²⁰⁴"Jet Black"

²⁰⁵i.e., Śākyan, of the Buddha's clan

²⁰⁶"Well-Marked"

²⁰⁷lit., "the other women born in the Śākyan clan"

The other women born Śākya²⁰⁷
 [also] came to the Śākya's house.
 Distinguished among all of them,
 I was wet-nurse of the Victor. (116) [342]

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

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

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

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

They displayed [their] diverse powers
 like [different]²¹⁰ types of ornaments
 [might be displayed] by a goldsmith,
 who is well-trained in²¹¹ workmanship. (121) [347]

After displaying miracles,
 variegated and many,
 having pleased the Fine Debater,²¹²
 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]

²⁰⁸lit., "having gone forth"

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

²¹⁰pronounce as two syllables when chanting, "diff'rent"

²¹¹lit., "of"

²¹²*vāḍipavaṇṇa*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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],

²¹³or “merit,” *puññehi*. “Good deeds” would preserve the plural.

²¹⁴*āsavakkhayaṃ*

‘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].²¹⁵ (133) [359]

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

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

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

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

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

She, having gone along with them
back to [her] own refuge for nuns,
sat in half-lotus²¹⁷ position
in her [own] superior seat. (139) [365]

At that time the laywomen there,
fond of Buddha’s dispensation,

²¹⁵reading *agamanjsu* with BJTS (cf. PTS alt. *agamimsu*) for PTS *agamisu* (“among non-villages”?)

²¹⁶BJTS here reads *vīro*, “the Hero” for PTS *dhīro*, “the Wise One”

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

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:]²¹⁸ (143) [369]

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

Then having sent them [all] away,
she entered the first²²⁰ altered state,
the second and also the third,
and then she attained the fourth one. (145) [371]

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

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

Rising up, she reached nirvana,
like the flame of a fuel-less lamp.

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

²¹⁹*mārapāsānuvattinā*

²²⁰lit., “ultimate first altered state”

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,²²¹
[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,²²²
they too attained nirvana [then,]
like the flames of lamps without fuel. (152) [378]

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

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

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

Then Ānanda, who’d lost his joy,²²³
whose eyes were filling up with tears,
announced, while choking on [his] words,²²⁴

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

²²²lit., “dispensation”

²²³a play on the meaning of his name: *tadā ‘nando nirānando*

²²⁴lit., “with a gurgling sound”

“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,²²⁵ 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,²²⁶
 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,²²⁷
 in a good, lovely gabled hut,
 excellent [and] made out of gold. (162) [388]

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

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

²²⁵ accepting PTS reading *gatāsayaṇ*. BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *gatāsamaṇ*, “gone to the incomparable [state?]”

²²⁶ lit., “well-Gone-One’s heir”

²²⁷ PTS *suttā ‘pi Gotamī*, BJTS *suttāsi Gotamī* (*suttā-āsi Gotamī*)

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 incense²²⁸ rising in the sky. (167) [393]

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

Gods made offerings²³⁰ of garlands,
perfumed with divine fragrances
and [honored Gotamī] with songs,
with dances and with discourses. (169) [395]

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

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

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

²²⁸BJTS reads *ogatākāsapadumā* ("lotuses rising in the sky")

²²⁹pronounce "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.

²³⁰lit., "did *pūjā*"

²³¹lit., "is going in order to worship [his] mother"

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;²³²
 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] bones²³³
 were completely consumed by fire.
 And at that time Ānanda spoke
 this speech, [which was] very moving:²³⁴ (176) [402]

"Gotamī's gone without a trace²³⁵
 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,

²³²lit., "at Gotamī's [final] nirvana"

²³³lit., "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.

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

²³⁵*nidhanaṇ*, lit., "without wealth [of karma]," or more literally, "possessionless"

however massive it may be,
 so Gotamī, who was a nun,²³⁶
 has reached [her] final nirvana. (179-180) [405-406]

O! it is a marvelous thing!
 My mother who's reached nirvana,
 leaving only relics behind²³⁷
 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,²³⁸
 with wisdom which was vast and wide,²³⁹
 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.²⁴⁰ (187) [413]

²³⁶lit., "of the nuns' Assembly:" *bhikkhunisaṅghassa*

²³⁷*sarīramattasesāya*, lit., "with [only] a measure of relics remaining"

²³⁸*paññitā' si*

²³⁹lit., "with vast wisdom, with wide wisdom"

²⁴⁰lit., "[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".

No rebirth place can be discerned
of the truly liberated,
who cross the flood of lustful bonds,
who've reached unshaking happiness.²⁴¹ (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.²⁴² (189) [415]

Thus indeed Bhikkhunī Mahāpajāpatīgotamī spoke these verses.

The legend of Mahāpajāpatīgotamī Therī is finished.

[18. Khemā²⁴³]

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

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

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

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

At the end of [those] seven days,
the Charioteer of Men placed

²⁴¹*acchalaṇ sukhaṇ*. BJTS reads, more consistently with *Apadāna* as a whole, *acchalaṇ padaṇ* ("unshaking state")

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

²⁴³"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.

a great nun²⁴⁴ in the foremost place
among those who have great wisdom. (5) [420]

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

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

In one hundred thousand aeons,
arising in Okkāka’s clan,
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’ll²⁴⁵ 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 Tāvātimsa [then]. (10) [425]

Fallen thence, I went to Yāma,²⁴⁶
[and] then I went to Tusita,
and then to Nimmānarati,²⁴⁷
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

²⁴⁴*uttamaṃ bhikkhuniṃ*

²⁴⁵reading *bhavissasi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *bhavissati*, “she will be.”

²⁴⁶Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

²⁴⁷BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

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.²⁴⁸ (14) [429]

[Then] ninety-one aeons ago,
the World-Leader [named] Vipassi
arose, the One with Lovely Eyes,²⁴⁹
with Insight into Everything.²⁵⁰ (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 life²⁵¹
[during fully] ten thousand years,
in that Wise One's dispensation,
bent on effort, very learned, (17) [432]

skillful in the heaps of causes,²⁵²
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.²⁵³ (19) [434]

In whichever place I'm reborn,
I'm very rich and prosperous,

²⁴⁸ *anekakappesu*, lit., "during various aeons"

²⁴⁹ *cchārunayano*, or "lovely to the eyes" (?) xxx

²⁵⁰ *sabbadhammavipassaka*, a play on that Buddha's name

²⁵¹ *brahmacchariyaṃ ccharitvāna*, lit., "conducting [myself] in the conduct of {God} Brahṁā; or else, "having preserved celibacy"

²⁵² *paccchayākāra*°, or "modes of causes," i.e., Abhidhammic analysis of the causes of the continuity between the links in the twelve-fold chain of causation (*paṭic-chasamuppāda*)

²⁵³ or "due to loving celibately"

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.²⁵⁴ (22) [437]

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

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

[We] lay-donors gave a thousand
to the Sage, and a hermitage
for the Assembly, donating²⁵⁵
that place²⁵⁶ to Him with Assembly. (25) [440]

Fallen thence, all we [three women]
were reborn²⁵⁷ 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 Kassapa²⁵⁸
was born, the Best of Debaters. (27) [442]

²⁵⁴lit., "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"

²⁵⁵uddissa, lit., "assigned to" "appointed to" "allotted"

²⁵⁶viḥāram hi lit., "that very monastery"

²⁵⁷upagā, lit., reached, went to, obtained, came into, belonged to

²⁵⁸BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

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."²⁵⁹
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,
comfortable²⁶⁰ royal maidens
doing [our] practice with vigor
in virginal celibacy,
for twenty times a thousand years,
fond of waiting on the Buddha,
[the king's] seven joyful daughters. (30-31) [445-446]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,²⁶¹
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (32) [447]

[now] I, and Uppalavaṇṇā,
Paṭācchārā and Kuṇḍalā,²⁶²
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,²⁶³
and Visākhā is the seventh. (33) [448]

Once when the Sun Among People
was preaching the marvelous Truth,²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹"Female renouncer" "nun" "renunciate woman"

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

²⁶¹I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) "and" (*ccha*). 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.

²⁶²= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

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

²⁶⁴or "Teaching," *dhammaṇ deseti abbhutaṇ*

having heard it, I memorized
Mahānidānasuttanta.²⁶⁵ (34) [449]

Due to those karmas²⁶⁶ done very well,
 with intention and [firm] resolve,
 discarding [my] human body,
 I went to Tāvātimsa [then]. (35) [450]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,
 in Sāgalā, best of cities,
 I am²⁶⁷ the Madda king's daughter,
 well-liked, held dear [and] beloved. (36) [451]

[All] was peaceful²⁶⁸ in that city
 when I was coming into birth.
 After that, due to that virtue,²⁶⁹
 they gave²⁷⁰ the name “Khemā” to me. (37) [452]

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

I was his best-beloved [queen,]
 taking great²⁷² pride in²⁷³ [my] beauty.
 [Thinking,] “He speaks ill of beauty,”
 I dodged²⁷⁴ the Compassionate One.²⁷⁵ (39) [454]

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

²⁶⁶here 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 the more natural plural term here.

²⁶⁷reading °amhi with BJTS for PTS °āsiṇ (“I was”)

²⁶⁸*khemāṇ*

²⁶⁹reading *guṇato* with BJTS for PTS *guṇikaṃ* (“small chain”)

²⁷⁰*udapajjatha*, lit., “produced”

²⁷¹reading *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

²⁷²*ratā*, lit., “delighting in” “intent upon”

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

²⁷⁴*na upesiṇ*, lit., “I did not approach”.

²⁷⁵*mahādayaṇ*, lit., “Great Compassionate One”

At that time, King Bimbisāra,
with knowledge and great love for me,
after praising the Bamboo Grove,²⁷⁶
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.’²⁷⁷ (41) [456]

[But] one who’s seen the Bamboo Grove,
the ‘Joy’ that’s enjoyed by people,²⁷⁸
that one’s seen [the garden named] ‘Joy,’
much enjoyed by the king of gods.²⁷⁹ (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
its²⁸⁰ accumulated virtue,
produced by the merit of kings,
beautified by Buddha’s merit?” (44) [459]

Hearing of its²⁸¹ 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]

²⁷⁶*veluvanaṃ* (BJTS *veluvanaṃ*), a pleasure grove near Rajgir where the Buddha stayed when visiting King Bimbisāra

²⁷⁷*nandanāṇ*, “Joy” the divine pleasure grove of Śakra/Indra, the king of the gods

²⁷⁸*naranandanandanāṇ*, 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.

²⁷⁹*amarinda-sunandanāṇ*

²⁸⁰*tassa...vanassa*, lit., “of that grove”

²⁸¹lit., “of the grove’s”

“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,²⁸²
at that very time²⁸³ 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.”²⁸⁴
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,²⁸⁵
seated at the foot of a tree
he meditates, a Buddhist monk,
discarding sensual delight.²⁸⁶ (53) [468]

Shouldn’t this auspicious Teaching
be practiced by old folks,²⁸⁷ after

²⁸²*giribbajapuruttamaṇ* (a.k.a. *rajaḡaḡa* = Rajgir), the capital of King Bimbisāra near where the Bamboo Groove was (and is) located.

²⁸³she plans to be there when he is absent, still trying to evade him

²⁸⁴lit., “bearing fruit”

²⁸⁵lit., “surrounded by a *saṅghāṭi* (monastic robe)

²⁸⁶*visayaḡaṇ ratīṇ*, lit., “delight produced by/in the spheres of the senses”

²⁸⁷lit., “by an elderly person” “by a decrepit person”

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

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

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

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

with ears that are like golden swings,
firm²⁹¹ breasts that look like water-jugs,
thin-waisted, a shapely behind,²⁹²
fine thighs with charming ornaments, (58) [473]

dressed in clothing of fine blue silk,
furnished with a border of red,
with unsatisfiable looks,²⁹³
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 own²⁹⁴ eye [such a beauty]!” (60) [475]

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

²⁸⁸or “alone”

²⁸⁹or 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”

²⁹⁰which has delicate, white flowers

²⁹¹or otherwise “good,” *su°*

²⁹²PTS *varassonī* (“excellent buttocks”), BJTS *sussonī*, (“good buttocks”)

²⁹³or “form/shape/beauty which is not to be satisfied” (or “not troubling”?)

²⁹⁴lit., “this,” perhaps a deictic?

ears shriveled up, eyes formed cataracts,²⁹⁵
 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.²⁹⁶ (63) [478]

And then I was profoundly moved.²⁹⁷
 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,
 discerning²⁹⁸ 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 heap²⁹⁹ 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.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵lit., “white-eyed”

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

²⁹⁷*me āsi samvego*

²⁹⁸lit., seeing

²⁹⁹*samussayaṇ*, “conglomeration,” i.e., the body

³⁰⁰*mānānusayaṇ ujjaha*, 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].³⁰¹

Then the Charioteer of Men,
knowing my mental readiness,
in order to instruct me preached
Mahānidānasuttanta.³⁰² (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!³⁰³ (75) [489]

Plunged into³⁰⁴ the thicket of views,
I was doped by passionate lust.
[I now] delight in discipline,
disciplined by your righteous trick.³⁰⁵ (76) [490]

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

³⁰¹PTS 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.

³⁰²see above, v. 34 [449]

³⁰³BJTS reads *amataṃ dadaṃ* ("Deathless-Giver"?)

³⁰⁴*°pakkhannā*, lit., "fallen into" "jumped into" fr. *pakkhandati*

³⁰⁵*tayā sammā upāyena*

³⁰⁶*sattā saṃsārasāgare*

Though close³⁰⁷ I did not [go to] see
 the World's-Help,³⁰⁸ Non-Hostility,³⁰⁹
 the One who Made an End to Death;³¹⁰
 I am confessing that offense. (78) [492]

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

And then the One with Honeyed Speech,³¹³
 the Great Compassionate Victor
 sprinkling³¹⁴ 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 trick³¹⁵ that you thought up!
 Wishing to see the grove, I saw³¹⁶
 the Sage, the One Free of Craving.³¹⁷ (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,

³⁰⁷*adūraṭṭhaṇ*, lit., "not because of far-away-ness"

³⁰⁸*loka-saraṇaṇ*

³⁰⁹*araṇaṇ*, lit., "having no battle," "not adversarial," echoed in *lokasaraṇaṇ* and *maraṇantaṇaṇ*

³¹⁰*maraṇantaṇaṇ* (correct to °*antakaṇ* read °*antagaṇ* with BJTS)

³¹¹or "Giver of Boons" "Wish-Granter". Reading *varadadaṇ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *varadaṇ* (which could be taken, however, as the same thing)

³¹²*mahāhitaṇ*

³¹³*madhuranigghoso*

³¹⁴pronounce as two syllables when chanting, to keep the meter

³¹⁵*sammā upāyo*

³¹⁶lit., "was seen by me"

³¹⁷*nibbanatho*, Skt. *nivanathaḥ*

“I permit you, O lucky one.
Let your going forth have success!” (84) [498]

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

fed up with all conditioned things,
skillful in the heaps of causes,³¹⁸
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]³¹⁹

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,³²⁰
confident in *Kathāvatthu*,³²¹

³¹⁸ *pacchchayākāra*°, or “modes of causes,” i.e., Abhidhammic analysis of the causes of the continuity between the links in the twelve-fold chain of causation (*paṭic-chchasaṃuppāda*)

³¹⁹ this and the next two verses almost exactly parallel *Gotamī-apadāna*, vv. 184-186 [410-412], above, and *Uppalavaṇṇā* vv. 17-19 [527-529], below. That *Gotamī-apadāna* was composed earlier, and *Khemā-apadāna* later, is perhaps evident in the slippage within this verse, where the past tense verbs (appropriate to the context in *Gotamī-apadāna*, but not here) have not been corrected, even though the pronouns have been corrected from third to first person. Pronouns and verb tenses are corrected in the next two verses and more tellingly, in the corresponding verse of *Uppalavaṇṇā-apadāna*, v. 17 [527], which reads *homi* for *āsiṇ*

³²⁰ *kusalāhaṇ visuddhīsu*, lit., “I am skilled in the purifications”

³²¹ one of the books of the Abhidhamma, believed in tradition to have been uttered by Moggaliputtatissa in refutation of heretical views expressed at the Third Great Recitation during the time of Aśoka Maurya, an important piece of evidence that *Apadāna* is a post-Aśokan text.

and in the dispensation I've
mastered Abhidhammic method.³²² (90) [504]

Then, being asked subtle questions
in Torāṇavatthu,³²³ by the
queen, wife of the Kosala [king,]
I explained according to truth.³²⁴ (91) [505]

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

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. Uppalavaṇṇā³²⁵]

The nun [named] Uppalavaṇṇā,
master of the superpowers,

³²²*abhidhammanayaññū ccha vasi*, lit., “[I am a] master of the knowledge of Abhidhammic method”

³²³see DPPN I:1039, a locality in Kosala, between Śrāvastī and Sāketa. King Pasenadi once stopped there to visit Khemā, who lived there (S. iv. 374)

³²⁴reading *yathātathaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *yathākathaṃ*, “according to what was said”

having worshipped the Teacher's feet,
spoke these words [to him at that time:] (1) [511]

"Birth and rebirth³²⁶ 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 multitudes³²⁷ who are
pleased in Buddha's³²⁸ dispensation,
if I've wronged [some] people may they
forgive [it] facing³²⁹ 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 my³³⁰ dispensation.
Cut off today the doubts throughout
the multitude, which is fourfold."³³¹ (5) [515]

"Great Hero, I am your daughter.
O Wise One,³³² O Effulgent One,³³³
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."³³⁴
I'm your follower, Great Hero,
worshipping your feet, Eyeful One. (7) [517]

³²⁵"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.

³²⁶or "transmigration," *°saṃsāra*

³²⁷or "retinue" "following" "group" "people"

³²⁸lit., "the Victor's"

³²⁹or "face-to-face with"

³³⁰this is the Buddha speaking, in response to Uppalavaṇṇā's request to be forgiven any mistakes

³³¹*cchatasso parisā*, I assume the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, but it could also be *cchatasso...kaṅkhā*, fourfold doubt

³³²*paññāvanta*

³³³*jutindhara*

³³⁴*nāmena Uppalanāmikā*

Rāhula³³⁵ and I myself
 due to our similar mindsets,
 were born in the same conditions³³⁶
 various hundred many [times]. (8) [518]

Rebirth is together [with him]
 and after birth too, together.
 [Now] in [our] final existence
 both, [born in] varied³³⁷ conditions, (9) [519]

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 physician³³⁸
 does oil destined for the bladder.³³⁹ (11) [521]

Tearing up earth, she put [it] down
 into the palm of [her own] hand,
 like a tender young boy³⁴⁰ picking
 a [flower that's] full of color.³⁴¹ (12) [522]

³³⁵the Buddha's biological son

³³⁶*akasmīṇ sambhave*, 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.

³³⁷reading *nānāsambhavā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *nāmasambhavā*, ("Conditions in name" — to be read as "only figuratively" [??])

³³⁸*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.

³³⁹*telāṇ 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"?

³⁴⁰reading *luñcchi komārako yuvā* with BJTS for PTS *luñcchiko mārako yuvā* ("plucky devilish youth"?)

³⁴¹or is *cchittapunna* the name of a flower, i.e., "picks a *cchittapunna* flower"

Her palm, [big] as the universe,³⁴²
 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,
 grinding³⁴³ 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,³⁴⁴
 showing them to the World’s Leader,
 announcing name and lineage,
 I worship [your] feet, Eyeful One. (16) [526]

I’ve mastered the superpower
 [called] the “divine ear” element.
 I’m also a master, Great Sage,
 of the knowledge in others’ hearts. (17) [527]

I remember [my] former lives;
 [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 vast³⁴⁵ and flawless,
 through the Great Sage’s majesty. (19) [529]

In the presence and the absence³⁴⁶
 of the Chief Victors, formerly,

³⁴²*cchakkavālasamaṇ*, lit., “the same as the ring of cosmic mountains surrounding the universe”

³⁴³lit., “doing” “making”

³⁴⁴*nānāvīkubbanāṇ*

³⁴⁵lit., “pure” (*suddhaṇ*)

³⁴⁶reading *sammukhā ccha parammukhā* with BJTS (and PTS alts.) for PTS *saṅka-mante nidassitaṇ* (“pointed out when transmigrating”?)

much service was performed by me
for the sake of you,³⁴⁷ O Great Sage. (20) [530]

What good³⁴⁸ 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]

Avoiding³⁴⁹ wrong behavior³⁵⁰ [and]
the [nine] impossible places,³⁵¹
the ultimate life's my duty
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (22) [532]

I donated from my [own funds]
ten thousand ten millions³⁵² [in gold];
my [very] life was abandoned
for the sake of you, Great Hero." (23) [533]

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]³⁵³
One hundred thousand aeons hence
I was a cobra[-god] maiden,

³⁴⁷that 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.

³⁴⁸or "wholesome": *kusalaṇ*

³⁴⁹*vajjetvā*. Reading BJTS *parivajjenti* (also "avoiding" "abstaining from" "renouncing") for PTS *paripācchento* ("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"

³⁵⁰reading *anācchāraṇ* with BJTS for PTS *anāvaraṇ* ("not mean" = "noble things; PTS alt. *bahuṇjanaṇ*, "many people" [!])

³⁵¹*abhabba-tṭhāne*, the nine moral states or spheres of activity into which an arahant will not/cannot fall, D.iii.133 (and cf. D.iii.235 where only the first five appear as a set). This is *Pāsādika Sutta*, #29 of *Dīghanikāya*, section 26. The nine are: (1) cannot deliberately take the life of a living being (2) cannot steal (3) cannot have sexual intercourse (4) cannot deliberately lie (5) cannot hoard anything for his own indulgence (6) cannot act wrongly through attachments (7) cannot act wrongly through hatred (8) cannot act wrongly through folly (9) cannot act wrongly through fear

³⁵²or "one hundred billion"

³⁵³this verse does not appear in PTS. BJTS reads: *tadātisaṃhitā sabbā sirasāva katañ-jali/avoc' ayye kathaṃ āsi atul'iddhiparakkamā//*

³⁵⁴"Stainless"

known by the name of Vimala,³⁵⁴
well-honored among the maidens. (24) [535]

The great cobra Mahoraga,³⁵⁵
pleased in Buddha's³⁵⁶ dispensation,
invited Padumuttara
of Great Power,³⁵⁷ with followers. (25) [536]

Sounding musical instruments,
going out to meet the Sambuddha,
he made the Buddha's road ready³⁵⁸ —
a pavilion made out of gems,
a palanquin made out of gems,
things to enjoy made out of gems,
strewn with sand that was [mixed with] gems,
adorned with flags [covered in] gems. (26-27) [537-538]

The World's Leader, surrounded by
the multitude, which is fourfold,
sat down on an excellent seat
there in Mahoraga's palace. (28) [539]

The cobra-king, greatly famed one,
gave excellent and excellent
food and drink, hard food [that's filling,]
soft food [to drink,] very costly. (29) [540]

Having eaten, having rinsed the
bowl completely, the Sambuddha
[then] made [an expression of] thanks
to [us,] the cobra[-god] maidens. (30) [541]

Discerning [what was in] my heart
and [my] mind which was fixed [on him,]
[taking] pleasure in the Teacher,
[when] the cobra maidens had seen
the one whose name was Best Lotus,
Greatly Famed All-Knower³⁵⁹ in bloom,

³⁵⁵“great snake,” *mahā + urago*

³⁵⁶*jina*°, lit., “the Victor’s”

³⁵⁷*mahātāja*ṇ, or “the Hot One”

³⁵⁸reading *paṭipādesi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *paṭipādesi*, to impart, to offer, to present

³⁵⁹reading *sabbaññum* with BJTS for PTS *sabbañ ccha* (“all...and”)

[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].³⁶⁰
Just how, Hero, did she become
so skillful³⁶¹ in superpowers?” (34) [545]

“[This nun] with great powers is my
legitimate daughter, mouth-born;³⁶²
she’s followed my instructions, thus³⁶³
she’s so skilled³⁶⁴ 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 drink³⁶⁵
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

³⁶⁰reading *sumanāy’ itarāyapi* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sumitaṇ itarāya pi* (“well-measured by the other to”?), and following BJTS Sinhala gloss

³⁶¹reading *suvisāradā* with BJTS (and subsequent verses here) for PTS *ccha visāradā* (“and skillful”)

³⁶²*orasāmukhato jātā*

³⁶³lit., “and”

³⁶⁴reading *suvisāradā* with BJTS for PTS *ccha visāradā*, as above

³⁶⁵reading *annapānena* with BJTS for PTS *mahājanena* (“with the great multitude”)

³⁶⁶“sun”

an *aruṇa*³⁶⁶ [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,³⁶⁷
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,³⁶⁸ and
worshipping³⁶⁹ with lotuses, I
wished through them for splendid color.³⁷⁰ (44) [555]

In this [present] lucky aeon
Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa³⁷¹
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,

³⁶⁷*ccharunayano*

³⁶⁸reading *vināyakaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alts.) for PTS *vimissitaṃ* ("mixed")

³⁶⁹lit., "doing *pūjā*"

³⁷⁰reading *vaṇṇasobhaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *vaṇṇasettaṃ* ("white color"?)

³⁷¹BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

who was named Samaṇaguttā.³⁷²
 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,
 comfortable³⁷³ 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,³⁷⁴
 Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
 Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
 and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (50) [561]

[now] I, and [the nun named] Khemā,
 Paṭacchārā and Kuṇḍalā,³⁷⁵
 Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,³⁷⁶
 and Visākhā is the seventh. (51) [562]

Due to those karmas³⁷⁷ 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,

³⁷²“Guarded Nun” “Protected Female Renouncer”

³⁷³*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”

³⁷⁴I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) “and” (*ccha*). 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.

³⁷⁵= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

³⁷⁶given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

³⁷⁷here 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 gave an arahant a robe
of costly saffron-colored silk.³⁷⁸ (53) [564]

Fallen from there, reborn among
brahmins³⁷⁹ in Aritṭhapura,
daughter of Tirīṭavacchcha,
I was charming³⁸⁰ Ummāganti.³⁸¹ (54) [565]

Fallen from there, I [was born] in
an undistinguished³⁸² rural³⁸³ 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,³⁸⁴ lotus-covered,
I wished [to have] five hundred sons.³⁸⁵ (56) [567]

With those wishes³⁸⁶ 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.³⁸⁷
I bore royal princes [for him,]
not one fewer than five hundred. (58) [569]

When [my sons] had become young men,³⁸⁸
while sporting at [their] water sports,
seeing fallen lotus [petals,]

³⁷⁸*pīta-maṭṭha-varaṇ dussaṇ*, BJTS (and PTS alt.) read *pītamaṭṭhaṇ varaṇ dussaṇ*

³⁷⁹in a brahmin clan

³⁸⁰*manohara*, lit., “carrying the mind away”

³⁸¹“Maddening” “Intoxicating”

³⁸²*aññatare*, or “a certain”

³⁸³*janapade*, lit., “in the country”

³⁸⁴*lāja*

³⁸⁵BJTS reads *pañcchaputtasatāni pi* (“and also [my] five hundred sons”), in keeping with its variant reading of the first foot of the following verse

³⁸⁶BJTS 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”

³⁸⁷lit., “offered *pūjā*”

³⁸⁸*yobbanāṇ pattā*, lit., “attained youth,” “went through puberty”

they turned into³⁸⁹ Lonely-Leaders.³⁹⁰ [59] [570]

I was then grieved, being bereft
of those heroes who were [my] sons.³⁹¹
Fallen [from there], I was born in
a village near Isigili.³⁹² (60) [571]

When [I], Buddha-mother [reborn,]
then well-guarded myself,³⁹³
was going carrying rice gruel,³⁹⁴
having seen eight Lonely-Leaders
going to the village for alms,
I remembered [my former] sons.
Then a stream of milk spurted out
from me out of love for [my] sons. (61-62) [572-573]

And then I gave rice gruel to them,
[feeling] well-pleased by [my] own hands.
Fallen from there I was reborn
in “Joy” with the thirty[-three gods.] (63) [574]

Feeling³⁹⁵ [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,³⁹⁶
glistening with various gems,
endowed with every sense-pleasure. (65-66) [576-577]

³⁸⁹lit., “they were”

³⁹⁰*paccchchekanāyakā*, i.e., Paccchchekabuddhas, Lonely Buddhas

³⁹¹*sutavirehi*. BJTS reads *sutavarehi* (“excellent sons”)

³⁹²one 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

³⁹³*su-tānaka-sakaṇ*. BJTS reads

³⁹⁴*yāguṇ*

³⁹⁵or “experiencing:” *anubhotvā*

³⁹⁶*sukhite sajjite tathā*; when chanting pronounce “comfortable” as four syllables, or insert “and” to pronounce it as three syllables.

I was respected and worshipped,³⁹⁷
 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]

"With³⁹⁸ 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]³⁹⁹

"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]

³⁹⁷lit., "offered *pūjā*"

³⁹⁸this 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.

³⁹⁹this 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 *pupphitaggam* for *supupphitaggam*?).

⁴⁰⁰*cchittasmiṇ vasibhūtasmiṇ*, lit., "when i became master of (or "over") [my own] mind"

Becoming master of [my] mind,⁴⁰⁰
 [I] developed⁴⁰¹ superpowers;
 I'm liberated from all bonds:
 I am not afraid of you, friend. (74) [585]

Sense pleasures are⁴⁰² swords [and] daggers;
 the heaps⁴⁰³ executioner's blocks.
 I now dislike⁴⁰⁴ 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]⁴⁰⁵ virtue,
 [then] placed me in that foremost place.
 To⁴⁰⁶ the crowds⁴⁰⁷ the Guide [announced] me
 "best⁴⁰⁸ of those⁴⁰⁹ 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,

⁴⁰¹*subhāvitā*, lit., "[by me] well-developed" or "well-cultivated" "well-meditated"

⁴⁰²*sattisūlūpamā kāmā*, lit., "swords [and] daggers are like (or "are similes for") sense pleasures"

⁴⁰³*khandhā pi adhikuṭṭanā*, lit., "even the aggregates (or dimensions [of personal existence: name and form, sensation, perception, configuration and consciousness])"

⁴⁰⁴lit., "is now disliked by me"

⁴⁰⁵lit., "in the" "in that"

⁴⁰⁶lit., "among"

⁴⁰⁷or assemblies (even four parts of the Assembly), multitudes, retinues

⁴⁰⁸*seṭṭhaṇ*, etymologically related to her designation "millionaire;" BJTS, more typical of the whole work, reads *aggam*, "[she is] foremost"

⁴⁰⁹*matīnaṇ*, lit., "of those (females) endowed"

[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.

[20. Paṭācchārā⁴¹⁰]

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 Haṃsavatī,
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

⁴¹⁰“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 Paṭācchārā'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.

of those who follow discipline,⁴¹¹
 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,⁴¹²
 the World's Leader, with Assembly, (5) [599]

after feeding [them] for a week,
 giving them the monastic robes,⁴¹³
 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.
 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 Paṭācchārā
 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]

⁴¹¹*vinayadhārīnaṇ*, lit., "carry the *vinaya*"

⁴¹²*dasabalaṇ*

⁴¹³*ticchīvaraṇ*, 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*

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 Kassapa⁴¹⁴
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.⁴¹⁵
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,
comfortable⁴¹⁶ 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. (16-17) [610-611]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,⁴¹⁷
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (18) [612]

⁴¹⁴BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

⁴¹⁵"Guarded Nun" "Protected Female Renouncer"

⁴¹⁶*sukhe thitā*, 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"

⁴¹⁷I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) "and" (*ccha*). 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.

[now] I and Uppalavaṇṇā,
 Khemā and the nun [named] Bhaddā,⁴¹⁸
 Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,⁴¹⁹
 and Visākhā is the seventh. (19) [613]

Due to those karmas⁴²⁰ 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,⁴²¹
 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 husband⁴²² was not pleased [at that.]
 Then, when he was [on a] journey,
 [I] snuck out⁴²³ of the house alone,
 to go to supreme Śrāvastī. (24) [618]

Then my husband⁴²⁴ came [after me];
 he caught up with me on the road.
 Then my karma-born labor pains⁴²⁵
 began, [and they were] very cruel. (25) [619]

⁴¹⁸ = Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

⁴¹⁹ given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

⁴²⁰ here the text (in both PTS and BJTS editions) substitutes *tehi kammehi* (plural instrumental) for the ordinary *tena kammēna* (singular instrumental) in this *Apadāna* stock phrase. Perhaps "good deeds" would be better here.

⁴²¹ or "when I had attained puberty:" *yadā ccha yobbanupetā*

⁴²² *pati*, "lord"

⁴²³ *niggatā*, lit., "was gone out of"

⁴²⁴ *sāmi*, "master"

⁴²⁵ lit., "winds," *vātā*

At the time for me to give birth,
a massive rain-cloud arose [there],
and then [my] husband having gone
to find grass,⁴²⁶ was killed by a snake. (26) [620]

Then miserable [and] helpless,
in the throes of painful childbirth,⁴²⁷
going toward a relative's house,⁴²⁸
seeing an overflowing stream,⁴²⁹ (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 Śrāvastī 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.
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.

⁴²⁶*dabbatthāya*, lit., "for the sake of *dabba* grass". Presumably the husband would have sought *dabba* grass to provide shelter, or a mattress, for his gestating wife.

⁴²⁷*viḥātadukkhena*, lit., "with the suffering of giving birth"

⁴²⁸reading *sakulālayaṃ* ("going to the lair of [her] own clan," BJTS gloss *siya nā nivasata* = "going to a house of [her] own relatives") for PTS *sakuṇālayaṇ* ("to a bird's nest")

⁴²⁹*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")?

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.⁴³⁰ (36) [630]

I remember [my] former lives;
[my] "divine eye" is purified.
Throwing off all the defilements,
I am⁴³¹ purified, [I'm] stainless. (37) [631]

Then I learned the whole discipline,⁴³²
in the All-Seeing-One's⁴³³ presence,
and I recited it [for him,]
correctly in every detail. (38) [632]

The Victor, pleased by [my]⁴³⁴ virtue,
[then] placed me in that foremost place:
"Paṭacchārā's alone, foremost
of those who follow discipline."⁴³⁵ (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]

⁴³⁰ *satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., "[I am] a doer of the Teacher's dispensation"

⁴³¹ reading *amhi* ("I am") with BJTS for PTS *āsiṇ* ("I was" "I became")

⁴³² *vinayaṇ sabbāṇ*

⁴³³ *sabbadassino santike*

⁴³⁴ lit., "in the" "in that"

⁴³⁵ *vinayadhārīṇaṇ*, 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 Paṭācchārā spoke these verses.

The legend of Paṭācchārā Therī is finished.

The Summary:⁴³⁶

Ekūposathikā, and too
Salaḷā and Timodakā,
Ekāsanappadā, Dīpā,
Nalamālī and Gotamī,
Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā and
Paṭācchārā the Buddhist nun.
There are four hundred verses [here,]
also ninety-six [verses more].

The Ekūposathikā Chapter, the Second

⁴³⁶this appears only in PTS; BJTS omits the summary of the second chapter despite including the other summaries, hence presumably by mistake

⁴³⁷"Lucky one with Tangled Hair," a historical nun, remembered as foremost among those nuns with quick intuition

Kuṇḍalakesā Chapter, the Third

[21. Bhaddā-Kuṇḍalakesā⁴³⁷]

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 Haṃsavatī,
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 nun⁴³⁸ in the foremost [place]⁴³⁹
of those with quick intuition.⁴⁴⁰ (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,⁴⁴¹ 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*,
Dhamma’s legitimate offspring,

⁴³⁸*bhikkhuniṃ subhaṇ*, lit., “a Buddhist nun who was pure” (or “who was good”)

⁴³⁹*aggatte ṭhapesi*, lit., “fixed in foremostness”

⁴⁴⁰*khippābhīññānam*

⁴⁴¹“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)

named Bhaddākuṇḍalakesā
you'll⁴⁴² 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,⁴⁴³
[and] then I went to Tusita,
and then to Nimmānarati,⁴⁴⁴
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.⁴⁴⁵ (13) [651]

In this [present] lucky aeon,
Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa⁴⁴⁶
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]

⁴⁴²reading *hessasi* with BJTS for PTS *hessati* ("she will be")

⁴⁴³Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

⁴⁴⁴BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

⁴⁴⁵*anekakappesu*, lit., "during various aeons"

⁴⁴⁶BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

I was [then] that [king's] fourth daughter,
well-known as Bhikkhadāyikā.⁴⁴⁷
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,
comfortable⁴⁴⁸ 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,⁴⁴⁹
Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (19) [657]

[now] Uppalavaṇṇā, Khemā
[also] Paṭācchārā and I,
Kisāgotamī, Dhammadinnā,⁴⁵⁰
and Visākhā is the seventh. (20) [658]

Due to those karmas⁴⁵¹ 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,⁴⁵² best city,

⁴⁴⁷"Alms-giver". Texts read Bhikkhadāyī

⁴⁴⁸*sukhe ʾhitā*, lit., "remaining in comfort." Pronounce all four syllables when chanting to keep the meter or, to chant as a three-syllable word, read "comfortable royal princesses"

⁴⁴⁹I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) "and" (*ccha*). 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.

⁴⁵⁰given the long names, this foot is unavoidably nine-syllables long, both in Pāli and in English

⁴⁵¹here 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.

⁴⁵²= Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

[I was] born to rich millionaires.⁴⁵³
When I'd become a young woman,⁴⁵⁴ (22) [660]

attracted to a thief I saw
being led to execution,⁴⁵⁵
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,⁴⁵⁶
that enemy with ill-intent,⁴⁵⁷
led me to the thieves' precipice⁴⁵⁸
on a mountain, plotting murder. (25) [663]

Then stretching out to Sattuka,⁴⁵⁹
hands which were well pressed together,⁴⁶⁰
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."⁴⁶¹ (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,

⁴⁵³lit., "born in a rich clan of millionaires"

⁴⁵⁴*yobbane ñhitā*, lit., "established in youth" or "when I attained puberty"

⁴⁵⁵lit., "in order to be executed" (*vadhatthaṇ*). In the era to which *Apadāna* belongs, this would likely have implied beheading.

⁴⁵⁶*me bhūsanalobhena*, lit., "out of greed for my ornaments"

⁴⁵⁷reading *khalitajjhāsayaṇo diso* (lit., "enemy intent on wrong-doing") with BJTS for PTS *mālapaccchāhataṇ diso* ("[led me] carrying a garland, the enemy")

⁴⁵⁸*cchorappapātaṇ*, BJTS Sinh. gloss explains "where thieves are killed"

⁴⁵⁹"Enemy," but apparently used as a proper name

⁴⁶⁰*paṇāmetvāna...sukatañjali*

⁴⁶¹"slave" being the seventh of the seven types of wives

ever since I reached discretion,⁴⁶²
 I have accepted no other
 more beloved than you [to me].“ (29) [667]
 “Come here! Having embraced you, [just
 one more] circumambulation.
 And after⁴⁶³ now there will not be
 intercourse between you and me.”⁴⁶⁴ (30) [668]

The man is not the one who’s wise
 in every single circumstance;
 paying attention, here and there,
 the woman is the one who’s wise. (31) [669]

The man is not the one who’s wise
 in every single circumstance;
 quick-thinking, [with good] strategy,
 the woman is the one who’s wise. (32) [670]

Quickly indeed, in just a flash,
 I came up with a clever trick:
 like a deer by a mighty bow,
 Sattuka was slaughtered [by] me. (33) [671]

Who fails quickly to understand
 the circumstances that arise,
 he gets murdered, that silly thief,
 in the belly of a mountain. (34) [672]

Who does not fail to quickly grasp
 the circumstances that arise,
 she is freed from creaturely bonds;
 such was I from Sattuka then. (35) [673]

Then I made him, Sattuka, fall
 from⁴⁶⁵ a treacherous mountain road.
 Coming into the presence of
 some white-clad [adepts,] I went forth. (36) [674]

⁴⁶²or “since I reached puberty,” *yato patto ‘smi viññutaṃ*, lit., “starting from when I reached puberty;”

⁴⁶³*puno*, lit., “again”

⁴⁶⁴lit., “of me, of you”

⁴⁶⁵lit., “on”

Then after plucking out my hair
altogether, using⁴⁶⁶ 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,⁴⁶⁷ and after dropping [it]
in my vicinity, ran off.
Seeing that maggoty hand, I
took it up for meditation.⁴⁶⁸ (38-39) [676-677]
Then producing deep emotion,
I asked my co-religionists.
They said: “the Śākya[n] [Buddhist] monks
know the answer[s] [to your questions].” (40) [678]

“I’ll ask that meaning, approaching
the followers of the Buddha.”
Taking me along they [all] went
into the Best Buddha’s presence. (41) [679]

He preached *Dhamma* to me: the heaps
in the thought-spheres and elements;
the Leader taught unpleasantness,
impermanence, dis-ease, no-self. (42) [680]

After hearing his *Dhamma*, I
[then] purified the “*Dhamma* eye.”
Learned in the good Teaching, I
asked to go forth and be ordained.⁴⁶⁹
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]

⁴⁶⁶lit., “with”

⁴⁶⁷or “cut”: *chinnar*

⁴⁶⁸*nimittar alabhiṇ*, lit., “I got it as an object of concentration”

⁴⁶⁹lit., “I asked for going forth and for higher ordination”

[some water splashed] up, [some spilled] down,⁴⁷⁰
 then at that time I realized,
 “all conditioned things are like that.” (45) [683]

Then my heart was liberated,
 altogether, without clinging.⁴⁷¹
 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.⁴⁷² (47) [685]

I remember [my] former lives;
 [my] “divine eye” is purified.
 Throwing off all the defilements,
 I am⁴⁷³ 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 vast⁴⁷⁴ 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]

⁴⁷⁰*sa-udayaṇvyayaṇ*

⁴⁷¹*anupādaya* or “with not-clinging”

⁴⁷²*satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

⁴⁷³reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṇ* (“I was” “I became”)

⁴⁷⁴lit., “pure” (*suddhaṇ*)

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. Kisāgotamī⁴⁷⁵]

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

I then [lived] in Haṃsavatī,
 born in an undistinguished clan.
 Having approached the Best of Men,⁴⁷⁶
 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;⁴⁷⁷
 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]

⁴⁷⁵“The Lean Gotamī” a historical nun, remembered as foremost among the nuns who wore robes made of coarse cloth.

⁴⁷⁶*varanaraṇ*

⁴⁷⁷*lūkhacchivaradhārikaṇ*

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,
Brahma’s Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa⁴⁷⁸
was born, the Best of Debaters. (11) [703]

The attendant of the Great Sage
was the ruler of men back then,
the king of Kāśi, named Kiki,
in Benares, greatest city. (12) [704]

I was his fifth [royal] daughter,
well-known by the name of Dhammā.⁴⁷⁹
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,

⁴⁷⁸BJTS reads “Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)”

⁴⁷⁹“Teaching”

comfortable⁴⁸⁰ 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,⁴⁸¹
 Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
 Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
 and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (16) [708]

[now] Khemā, Uppalavaṇṇā,
 Paṭācchārā and Kuṇḍalā,⁴⁸²
 [the nun] Dhammadinnā and I
 and Visākhā is the seventh. (17) [709]

Due to those karmas⁴⁸³ done very well,
 with intention and [firm] resolve,
 discarding [my] human body,
 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] married⁴⁸⁴ into a rich clan. (19) [711]

Except [my] husband, the others
 are pointing at me [saying,] "Poor!"
 But after⁴⁸⁵ I became with child,
 then I was loved by all of them. (20) [712]

⁴⁸⁰*sukhe ʾhitā*, lit., "remaining in comfort." Pronounce all four syllables when chanting to keep the meter or, to chant as a three-syllable word, read "comfortable royal princesses"

⁴⁸¹I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) "and" (*ccha*). 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.

⁴⁸²= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

⁴⁸³here 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.

⁴⁸⁴*gatā*, lit., "gone to," perhaps to be read as "given to"

⁴⁸⁵*yadā ccha*, lit., "and when"

When that lucky young boy [of mine,
tender-bodied, comfortable,⁴⁸⁶
as dear to me as [my] own breath,
then fell into Yama's power,⁴⁸⁷ (21) [713]

grief-struck, voicing [my] misery,
teary-eyed, [my] mouth crying out,
carrying [that young boy's] dead⁴⁸⁸ corpse,
I'm going around lamenting. (22) [714]

Then examined by one [doctor,
approaching the Best Physician,⁴⁸⁹
I said, "give [me] a medicine
to bring [my] son back to life, Sir."⁴⁹⁰ (23) [715]

The Victor, Skilled in Crafty Speech,⁴⁹¹
said, "bring [me] a white mustard seed,⁴⁹²
[collected] in whichever home
where [people] dying is not known." (24) [716]

Then having gone to Śrāvastī,
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.
Having seen me from a distance
the Sweet-Voiced One⁴⁹³ [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]

⁴⁸⁶ *sukheṭhito*, lit., "fixed in comfort"

⁴⁸⁷ that is, "died," reading *yamavasam gato* with BJTS for PTS *parasam gato* ("associated with the other [world?]")

⁴⁸⁸ reading *matam* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *evam* ("thus")

⁴⁸⁹ reading *bhisamuttaman* for PTS *'Bhisamuttaman* ("the ultimate Abhisa"); BJTS reads *bhisajuttaman*

⁴⁹⁰ *puttasañjīvanam*; RD cites this passage at *sañjīvana*, s.v. ("reviving")

⁴⁹¹ *vinayopāyakovidō*, lit., "skilled in tricks/expedients in the way of speaking"

⁴⁹² *siddhatthakan*. See RD s.v., again citing this passage

⁴⁹³ *madurassaro*

Not the condition⁴⁹⁴ 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]⁴⁹⁵

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,⁴⁹⁶
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.⁴⁹⁷ (31) [723]

I remember [my] former lives;
[my] “divine eye” is purified.
Throwing off all the defilements,
I am⁴⁹⁸ 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,
from [my] home into homelessness —
I have [now] achieved that purpose:
destruction of all the fetters. (34) [726]

⁴⁹⁴ *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.”

⁴⁹⁵ both PTS and BJTS present this in a more complex, 12-11-11-12 meter, and I translate accordingly.

⁴⁹⁶ *jinasāsane*, lit., “in the Victor’s dispensation”

⁴⁹⁷ *satthu sāsana-kārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher’s dispensation”

⁴⁹⁸ reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṃ* (“I was” “I became”)

In meaning and in the Teaching,
etymology and preaching,
my knowledge is vast⁴⁹⁹ 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]⁵⁰⁰ virtue,
the Guide, among the multitudes,⁵⁰¹
[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. Dhammadinnā⁵⁰²]

The Victor, Padumuttara,
was a Master of Everything.
[That] Leader arose in the world
one hundred thousand aeons hence. (1) [733]

⁴⁹⁹lit., "pure" (*suddhaṇ*)

⁵⁰⁰lit., "in the" "in that"

⁵⁰¹or assemblies (even four parts of the Assembly), multitudes, retinues

⁵⁰²"Dhamma-Given," an historical nun, remembered as foremost among the nuns who preached *Dhamma*.

I then [lived] in Hamsavatī,
[born] in an undistinguished clan.
I worked for others, governed by
morality, intelligent. (2) [734]

Sujāta, foremost follower
of Padumuttara Buddha,
departing the monastery,
was going begging for alms-food. (3) [735]

I was then a water-bearer,
going carrying a pitcher.
Seeing him I gave [him some] soup,
[feeling well-]pleased by [my] own hands. (4) [736]

Having accepted [that from me,]
he sat down [there and] enjoyed it.
After leading him to that house,
I gave [some] solid food to him. (5) [737]

Then my employer,⁵⁰³ 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:⁵⁰⁴
“O one who's fond of serving me,
O servant of the Assembly,
O hearer of the good Teaching,

⁵⁰³ *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.

⁵⁰⁴ *ghananinādasussaro*, should this be taken as a Buddha epithet, to be capitalized?

proper one, mind set⁵⁰⁵ on virtue,
 O lucky one, be overjoyed:
 you will attain your wish's fruit. (9-10) [741-742]

In one hundred thousand aeons,
 arising in Okkāka's clan,
 the one whose name is Gotama
 will be the Teacher in the world. (11) [743]

Worthy heir to that one's *Dhamma*,
Dhamma's legitimate offspring,
 the one whose name's Dhammadinnā
 will be the Teacher's follower." (12) [744]

At that time being overjoyed,
 as long as life, heart [full of] love,
 I attended on the Victor,
 the Guide, providing requisites. (13) [745]

Due to that karma done very well,
 with intention and [firm] resolve,
 discarding [my] human body,
 I went to Tāvātimsa [then]. (14) [746]

In this [present] lucky aeon
 Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
 [the Buddha] known as Kassapa⁵⁰⁶
 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.⁵⁰⁷
 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,

⁵⁰⁵°āgacchchita°, lit., "come into"

⁵⁰⁶BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

⁵⁰⁷"Good Teaching"

comfortable⁵⁰⁸ royal maidens
 doing [our] practice with vigor
 in virginal celibacy,
 for twenty times a thousand years,
 fond of waiting on the Buddha,
 [the king's] seven joyful daughters. (18-19) [750-751]

Samaṇī, and Samaṇaguttā,⁵⁰⁹
 Bhikkhunī, Bhikkhadāyikā,
 Dhammā, and also Sudhammā,
 and seventh Saṅghadāyikā, (20) [752]

[now] Khemā Uppalavaṇṇā,
 Paṭācchārā and Kuṇḍalā,⁵¹⁰
 [Kisā]gotamī, also I,
 and Visākhā is the seventh. (21) [753]

Due to those karmas⁵¹¹ 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,⁵¹²
 possessing the virtue of beauty,
 married⁵¹³ to another [good] clan,
 I dwelt endowed with happiness. (24) [756]

⁵⁰⁸*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"

⁵⁰⁹I follow the original (in both recensions) in making this first foot a nine-syllable foot through the addition of the (superfluous) "and" (*ccha*). 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.

⁵¹⁰= Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesī

⁵¹¹here 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.

⁵¹²*paṭhame yobbane ʔhitā*, lit., "fixed in the first [blush of] youth"

⁵¹³lit., "going"

Having approached the World's Refuge,
having heard [his] *Dhamma*-preaching,
through the Buddha,⁵¹⁴ my husband gained
the fruit of a non-returner. (25) [757]

Then I, having been permitted,
went forth into homelessness [too.]
After not a very long time,
I attained [my] arahantship. (26) [758]

Then a layman, approaching me,
asked [me a series of] questions
[which were very] deep and subtle;
I explained all of them [to him]. (27) [759]

The Victor, pleased by [my]⁵¹⁵ 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 consider⁵¹⁶ [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.⁵¹⁷ (32) [764]

⁵¹⁴*subuddhimā*, lit., “through He who Possessed Great Intelligence”

⁵¹⁵lit., “in the” “in that”

⁵¹⁶*dhāretha*, lit., “carry” “recall” “remember” “regard”

⁵¹⁷*satthu sāsanakārikā*, lit., “[I am] a doer of the Teacher's dispensation”

I remember [my] former lives;
 [my] “divine eye” is purified.
 Throwing off all the defilements,
 I am⁵¹⁸ 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]

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. Sakulā⁵¹⁹]

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,⁵²⁰
 came into⁵²¹ [the world] with [its] gods. (2) [770]

Foremost Fame-Attainer,⁵²² Victor,
 Fortunate,⁵²³ Beautified by Praise,⁵²⁴

⁵¹⁸reading *amhi* (“I am”) with BJTS for PTS *āsiṇ* (“I was” “I became”)

⁵¹⁹a historical nun, remembered as foremost among those who possess the “divine eye” (*dibbacchakkhu*)

⁵²⁰*purisājañño*

⁵²¹*paṭipanno*, lit “entered into” “going along”

⁵²²*yasaggappatto*

⁵²³*sirimā*, or “Resplendent One”

⁵²⁴*kittivaṇṇagato*, lit., “gone to beauty through praise;” “colored by praise”

the Victor for the entire world,
Widely-Known⁵²⁵ in⁵²⁶ all directions, (3) [771]

the Uprooter of Doubt,⁵²⁷ the One
who Passed Beyond Uncertainty,⁵²⁸
he with an Intention-Filled Mind,⁵²⁹
attained Supreme Awakening.⁵³⁰ (4) [772]

Ultimate Man,⁵³¹ Progenitor⁵³²
of the path that had yet to be,⁵³³
proclaimed [that which was] unproclaimed,
produced [that which was] unproduced. (5) [773]

Path-Knower,⁵³⁴ Path-Understander,⁵³⁵
Path-Proclaimer,⁵³⁶ the Bull of Men,
Path-Skilled, the Teacher, [the Buddha,]
was the Best of Charioteers.⁵³⁷ (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;⁵³⁸
I was then very beautiful,
set for wealth,⁵³⁹ held dear, resplendent. (8) [776]

⁵²⁵ *suviṣṣuto*

⁵²⁶ lit., “from,” abl.

⁵²⁷ *uttiṇṇavicchikicchcho*, lit., “he by whom doubt is pulled out”

⁵²⁸ *vītivattakathañkatho*, lit., “passed over saying ‘how?’”

⁵²⁹ *sampunṇamanasaṅkappo*

⁵³⁰ *patto sambodhim uttamaṇ*

⁵³¹ *naruttamo*

⁵³² *uppādetā*

⁵³³ *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

⁵³⁴ *maggāñṇū*

⁵³⁵ *maggavidū*

⁵³⁶ *maggakkhāyī*

⁵³⁷ *sārathīnaṇ varuttamo*, lit., “the excellent ultimate of charioteers”

⁵³⁸ *khattiyanandanā*

⁵³⁹ *sadhanā ṭhāsij*

I was the ravishing daughter
of great king Ānanda and thus,
sister by another mother⁵⁴⁰
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] World⁵⁴¹ praised
a Buddhist nun with “divine eye,”
[and] placed her in that foremost place. (11) [779]

I was happy having heard that;
after giving the Teacher alms,
and worshipping the Sambuddha,
I aspired for the “divine eye.” (12) [780]

And then the Teacher said to me:
“Joyful one, that is well wished-for;
you will receive [as you] aspire,
fruit of alms for the *Dhamma*-Lamp.⁵⁴² (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]

⁵⁴⁰ *vemātā bhaginī*

⁵⁴¹ *lokaguru*

⁵⁴² *dhammapadīpadānāṇaṃ phalaṇ*

In this [present] lucky aeon
 Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
 [the Buddha] known as Kassapa⁵⁴³
 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 some⁵⁴⁴ sesame oil. (18) [786]

Having lit a lamp with that [oil],
 with a mind that was very clear,
 every night I attended on
 the shrine⁵⁴⁵ of the Best of Bipedes. (19) [787]

Due to that karma done very well,
 with intention and [firm] resolve,
 discarding [my] human body,
 I went to Tāvātimsa [then]. (20) [788]

In whichever place I'm reborn,
 in accordance with that karma,
 wherever I am wandering,
 when I'm gone there, there are large lamps. (21) [789]

Through [any] wall, through [any] rock,
 going beyond a mountain [top],
 I [can] see whatever I wish:
 that is the fruit of giving lamps. (22) [790]

I am [someone who] has pure eyes;
 I am blazing forth through [my] fame;
 I am faithful, wise and mindful:
 that is the fruit of giving lamps. (23) [791]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,
 I am born in a brahmin clan,
 rich in grain and abundant wealth,
 joyful [and] honored⁵⁴⁶ by the king. (24) [792]

⁵⁴³BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

⁵⁴⁴*mattakaṇ*, lit., "a measure of"

⁵⁴⁵or "stupa": *cchetiyaṇ*

⁵⁴⁶lit., "given *pūjā*"

I was complete in every part,⁵⁴⁷
 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.⁵⁴⁸ (28) [796]

I remember [my] former lives;
 [my] "divine eye" is purified.
 Throwing off all the defilements,
 I am⁵⁴⁹ purified, [I'm] stainless. (29) [797]

The Teacher's been worshipped by me;
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught.
 The heavy load has been laid down,
 the ties to existence severed. (30) [798]

The reason for which I went forth,
 from [my] home into homelessness —
 I have [now] achieved that purpose:
 destruction of all the fetters. (31) [799]

Then the Greatly Compassionate
 One placed me in [that] foremost place:
 The Supreme Man⁵⁵⁰ [said,] "Sakulā
 is foremost of 'divine eye' [nuns.]" (32) [800]

⁵⁴⁷ *sabbaṅgasampannā*, lit., "endowed with all limbs," i.e., "had a great body"

⁵⁴⁸ *satthu sāsanakārikā*, lit., "[I am] a doer of the Teacher's dispensation"

⁵⁴⁹ reading *amhi* ("I am") with BJTS for PTS *āsiṃ* ("I was" "I became")

⁵⁵⁰ *naruttamo*

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)⁵⁵¹]

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

The Admonisher,⁵⁵² Instructor,⁵⁵³
Crosser-Over⁵⁵⁴ of all that breathe,
Skilled at Preaching,⁵⁵⁵ [he], the Buddha,
caused many folks to cross [the flood]. (2) [805]

⁵⁵¹“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)

⁵⁵²*ovādako*, or “Advisor” “Exhorter.” Vv. 2-6 here are found verbatim as vv. 2-6 of five separate *apadānas* of monks in the *Therāpadāna*, #531 {534} (Dabbamalla) and #534-537 {537-540} (Mahākoṭṭhika, Uruvelakassapa, Rādhā and Mogharāja, respectively).

⁵⁵³*viññāpako*

⁵⁵⁴*tārako*

⁵⁵⁵*desanākusalo*

⁵⁵⁶*anukampako*

⁵⁵⁷*kāruṇiko*

Merciful,⁵⁵⁶ Compassionate One,⁵⁵⁷
Well-Wisher⁵⁵⁸ of all that breathe, he
established in the five precepts
all the rivals who had arrived. (3) [806]

In this way he was Unconfused⁵⁵⁹
and Very Well-Known⁵⁶⁰ by rivals,
Ornamented⁵⁶¹ by arahants
who were masters [and] neutral ones. (4) [807]

The [body of the] Sage So Great
rose up fifty-eight cubits⁵⁶² [tall];
he was Valuable Like Gold,⁵⁶³
Bearing the Thirty-Two Great Marks. (5) [808]

[People's] lifespan at that time was
[fully] one hundred thousand years.
Remaining [in the world] so long,
he ferried many folks across. (6) [809]

I was born in Hamsavatī,
in a clan of millionaires then,
glistening with various gems,
endowed with supreme happiness. (7) [810]

Having approached the Great Hero,
I heard [him] preaching the *Dhamma*,
ultimately sweet⁵⁶⁴ ambrosia⁵⁶⁵
which makes known the ultimate truth. (8) [811]

Then after inviting [him, the]
Three-Worlds-Ender, with Assembly,
giving him a large almsgiving,

⁵⁵⁸ *hitesi*

⁵⁵⁹ *nirākulaṇ*

⁵⁶⁰ *suññātaṇ*, or “empty [of ill-will],” which is BJTS Sinhala gloss reading; I construe the epithet as *su* + *ñāta*

⁵⁶¹ *vicchittaṇ*

⁵⁶² *ratanāna-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.

⁵⁶³ *kañcchanagghiyasaṅkāso*, lit., “like a gold valuable thing” or “like a gold festoon work”

⁵⁶⁴ *paramassādaṇ*, or “having the ultimate taste”

⁵⁶⁵ *amataṇ*, or “deathless”

[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,⁵⁶⁶ Master,⁵⁶⁷
Refuge for the Three Worlds,⁵⁶⁸ [Buddha,]
the Leopard of Men,⁵⁶⁹ 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,⁵⁷⁰
[and] then I went to Tusita,

⁵⁶⁶*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.

⁵⁶⁷*pabhu*

⁵⁶⁸*tilokasaraṇo*

⁵⁶⁹*narasaddūlo*. Cf. notes to *Thera-apadāna* [6131], above and *Therī-apadāna* [1222], below

⁵⁷⁰Yāma, Tusita, Nimmānarati and Vāsavatti are all heavens in the Buddhist cosmology.

and then to Nimmānarati,⁵⁷¹
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.⁵⁷² (19) [822]

When [my] last rebirth was attained,
I was the blameless⁵⁷³ daughter of
King Suddhodana,⁵⁷⁴ [living in]
delightful⁵⁷⁵ Kapilavastu.⁵⁷⁶ (20) [823]

Seeing [my] splendor⁵⁷⁷ [and] beauty,
that [Śākya] clan was rejoicing.⁵⁷⁸
Therefore they gave the name "Nandā,"
pleasant [and] excellent, to me. (21) [824]

[I was]⁵⁷⁹ renowned as "the Beauty"⁵⁸⁰
among all of the young women
in that same⁵⁸¹ delightful city,
except [of course] Yasodharā.⁵⁸² (22) [825]

⁵⁷¹BJTS reads *nimmānaratiṃ*

⁵⁷²*anekakappesu*, lit., "during various aeons"

⁵⁷³*aninditā*

⁵⁷⁴"Good Rice-Gruel," the Buddha's (bodhisatta Siddhattha's) biological father

⁵⁷⁵*ramme*. BJTS reads *puramhi*, "in the city"

⁵⁷⁶*kapilavhaye*, lit., "in the [city] named for Kapila"

⁵⁷⁷reading *siriṃ ccha* with BJTS for PTS (and BJTS alt.) *siriya*, "with splendor"

⁵⁷⁸*nanditaṃ*

⁵⁷⁹*ccha*, lit., "and [I was]"

⁵⁸⁰*kalyāṇi ti*

⁵⁸¹*pi*, or "very" (emph.)

⁵⁸²the Buddha's wife, #28 of *Therī-apadāna*, below.

[My] eldest brother's the Buddha,⁵⁸³
 the middle one's⁵⁸⁴ likewise a saint;⁵⁸⁵
 staying alone in the lay life,
 I am exhorted by mother:⁵⁸⁶ (23) [826]

"Child, you're born in the Śākya clan,
 following after the Buddha.
 Why do you sit⁵⁸⁷ [there] in the house,
 being bereft of [all your] joy?⁵⁸⁸ (24) [827]

Thought impure⁵⁸⁹ is youthful beauty,⁵⁹⁰
 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,⁵⁹¹
 it's adorned and ornamented
 like⁵⁹² Goddess Fortune embellished,⁵⁹³ (26) [829]

like concentrated⁵⁹⁴ world-essence⁵⁹⁵
 medicinal balm for the eyes,⁵⁹⁶
 generating praise for merit,⁵⁹⁷
 rejoicing the Okkāka clan; (27) [830]

⁵⁸³ *tilokaggo*, lit., "Three Worlds' Chief"

⁵⁸⁴ *majjhimo*, or BJTS (and PTS alt.) *pacchchimo*, "the last" — BJTS Sinh. gloss *mā kaṇṭu bāyā* ("my younger elder brother")

⁵⁸⁵ *arahā*, "worthy" "an arahant"

⁵⁸⁶ that is, by Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, founder and leader of the Assembly of Nuns (*bhikkhunīsaṅgha*)

⁵⁸⁷ reading *kinnu v' acchchasi* with BJTS for PTS *kiṇ na acchchasi*, ("why don't you sit")

⁵⁸⁸ *nandena pi vinā bhūtā*, a play on the nun's name

⁵⁸⁹ *asucchisammataṇ*, or "not considered pure" (depending on whether the compound is understood as *asuci-sammataṇ* or *a-succhisammataṇ*)

⁵⁹⁰ *rūpaṇ*

⁵⁹¹ *manoharaṇ*, "delightful"

⁵⁹² BJTS reads *sasikantam* (?) for PTS *passa kantaṇ*, perhaps a typo given the absence of a note

⁵⁹³ *siri-saṅkhata-sannibhaṇ*

⁵⁹⁴ reading PTS alt *puṇṇitaṇ* ("lumped together") or BJTS *piṇḍitaṇ* ("pressed into a ball") for PTS *pūjitaṇ* ("worshipped")

⁵⁹⁵ *lokaśāraṇ*

⁵⁹⁶ *nayanānaṇ rasāyanaṇ*

⁵⁹⁷ *puṇṇānaṇ*, lit., "for merit[orious deed]s," i.e., plural

in no long time at all, old age
is going to overpower [it].
Young one, abandoning the house,
choose⁵⁹⁸ the Teaching, O blameless one." (28) [831]

After hearing [my] mother's words,
I went forth into homelessness
in⁵⁹⁹ body, but not in [my] heart,
[still] enthralled by youth and beauty. (29) [832]

Mother⁶⁰⁰ said to make my basis⁶⁰¹
through study of the altered states,⁶⁰²
[pursuing it] with great effort.
I was not enthused⁶⁰³ about that. (30) [833]

Then the Great Compassionate One
saw⁶⁰⁴ me enthralled by sense pleasures.
To make me⁶⁰⁵ weary of beauty,⁶⁰⁶
through his own majestic power,
the Victor conjured up, in my
line of sight, a woman who shined;
she was gorgeous,⁶⁰⁷ truly brilliant,⁶⁰⁸
even more beautiful than I. (31-32) [834-835]

And I, astonished, seeing her⁶⁰⁹
very astonishing body,
thought [to myself,] "fruitful [today]
is the receipt of human eyes." (33) [836]

I said to her, "O lucky one!⁶¹⁰
Tell me the story how you've come,

⁵⁹⁸PTS *vara*. BJTS reads *cchara*, "wander"

⁵⁹⁹*dehena*, lit., "with"

⁶⁰⁰lit., "And mother"

⁶⁰¹PTS reads *saraṇ* ("flowing, going" or perhaps "arrow," "lake," "remembering," "sound"), alt. *padāṇ* ("root"); BJTS reads *paraṇ* (?)

⁶⁰²*jhān'ajjhena*

⁶⁰³*na cchāhaṇ tatra ussukā*, omitting "and" in the translation

⁶⁰⁴*disvā*, lit., "seeing"

⁶⁰⁵*nibbindanatthaṇ*, lit., "for the sake of weariness"

⁶⁰⁶or "form": *rūpasmiṇ*

⁶⁰⁷*dassanīyaṇ*, lit., "to be looked at," "eye-cchandy"

⁶⁰⁸*surucchiraṇ*

⁶⁰⁹lit., "her, seeing [her] very"

⁶¹⁰*ehi subhage*

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.”⁶¹¹
As though sinking⁶¹² into my limbs
she reclined well⁶¹³ for a moment. (35) [838]

Then putting [her] head in my lap
she with lovely eyes stretched out [there].
A spider,⁶¹⁴ 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 festered⁶¹⁵ too,
[now] swollen up and [turning] blue. (38) [841]

With all of her limbs quivering,
gasping for every breath she took,⁶¹⁶
making known her own suffering,
she piteously wailed [like this:] (39) [842]

“I’m afflicted with affliction,⁶¹⁷
feeling [agonizing] feelings;
I’m sunk down in great affliction.
Be a refuge for me, O friend.” (40) [843]

⁶¹¹spoken by the conjured up woman

⁶¹²reading *śidantiiva* with BJTS for PTS *nisīdanti* (“sitting”)

⁶¹³reading *supasuppaya* with BJTS (and following BJTS Sinhala gloss) for PTS *pasajissaṃ* (? the side? “I will look at my limbs?”)

⁶¹⁴reading *lūtā* (Sinh. gloss *makuḷuvek*) with BJTS (and PTS alt., sort of [*lutā*, sic]) for PTS *luddā* (“hunters” [or “disgusting/gruesome thing” ?])

⁶¹⁵reading *vipubbañccha* (“festering”) with BJTS for PTS *sabbañccha* (“all” “entire”), though the latter is also a reasonable enough reading.

⁶¹⁶reading *nissasanti* (lit., “gasping for breath [or “panting” or “sighing” or “exhaling”]) with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *nissayanti* (“they are pursuing” “leaning on”)

⁶¹⁷or “suffering with suffering” “ill at ease with dis-ease” etc.: *dukkhena dukkhitā homi*

“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,⁶¹⁸
have [now] become [badly] discolored. (42) [845]

Your milk-laden [breasts shaped] like jugs
which resembled pointy [young] buds⁶¹⁹
have popped open; you’ve become a
putrid corpse with a horrid stench. (43) [846]

[Your] slender middle⁶²⁰ [and] buttocks,
meat-stall⁶²¹ where wounds and sins⁶²² 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 loathsome⁶²³ 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.

⁶¹⁸reading *dolālālā* (lit., “swing-aquiver”) with BJTS for PTS *dolālocchā* (“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

⁶¹⁹especially the buds of *mimusops elengi* (says RD quoting Hardy, see *makula* s.v.), = Spanish Cherry, Pāli *vakula*. This accepts the PTS reading here, *makul[ī]a-khāraḥ-ākārā*, recognizing that there is a lot of variation (BJTS reads *maḥamburūhākārā* [“resembling the buds of trees in water” (?)])

⁶²⁰reading *tanumajjhā* with BJTS for PTS *vedimajjhā*, “in the middle of the bench” (?)

⁶²¹*sūnā*, lit., “slaughterhouse”

⁶²²reading *sūnā vaṇitakibbisā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sūnā ‘va nītakibbisā* (“like a slaughterhouse leading to sin” ?)

⁶²³*jegucchchaṇ*; BJTS reads *bibhacchchaṇ*, with similar range of meaning (disgusting, horrible, dreadful)

Through disgustingness cultivate
[your] mind, well-composed and tranquil. (47) [850]

Just as is this, so too is that;
just as is that, so too is this:
putrid [and] emitting a stench,
causing delight [only] to fools. (48) [851]

Considering that in this way,
industrious by day and night,
you will see with your own wisdom,
having turned away in disgust. (49) [852]

After that I was deeply moved,
having heard [those] well-said verses;
remaining there, being at peace,⁶²⁴
I attained [my] arahantship. (50) [853]

Everyplace where I am seated,
I [reach] the highest altered states.
The Victor, pleased by [my]⁶²⁵ 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.

⁶²⁴or, reading *vipassantī* with BJTS, "investigating" "applying insight"

⁶²⁵lit., "in the" "in that"

[26. Soṇā⁶²⁶]

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,⁶²⁷ held dear.
 Approaching the Excellent Sage,⁶²⁸
 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 worshipping⁶²⁹ the Sambuddha,
 I aspired to [attain] that place.
 The Great Hero approved [of that:]
 "Your aspiration will succeed. (4) [861]

In one hundred thousand aeons,
 arising in Okkāka's clan,
 the one whose name is Gotama
 will be the Teacher in the world. (5) [862]

Worthy heir to that one's *Dhamma*,
Dhamma's legitimate offspring,
 the one known by the name Soṇā
 will be the Teacher's follower." (6) [863]

At that time being overjoyed,
 as long as life, heart [full of] love,
 I attended on the Victor,
 the Guide, providing requisites. (7) [864]

Due to that karma done very well,
 with intention and [firm] resolve,

⁶²⁶"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.

⁶²⁷reading *pūjitā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *sajjitā*, which however approximates the same meaning.

⁶²⁸*munivaraṇ*

⁶²⁹or "saluting": *abhivādiya*

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 Śrāvastī, best of cities. (9) [866]

When I'd become a young woman,⁶³⁰
having gone to a husband's clan,
I was the mother of⁶³¹ 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 by⁶³² me. (11) [868]

Then, without my desiring it,⁶³³
he who was my husband went forth
in the Buddha's⁶³⁴ dispensation,
surrounded⁶³⁵ by [those] sons⁶³⁶ [of mine]. (12) [869]

[And] then, alone, I reflected:
"Enough with [this] life [here] for me,⁶³⁷
growing old and in misery,
bereft of⁶³⁸ [my] husband [and] sons. (13) [870]

I will also go to the place
where [my] husband has [now] arrived."⁶³⁹
After reflecting in that way,
I went forth into homelessness. (14) [871]

⁶³⁰or "when I had attained puberty:" *yadā ccha yobbanupetā*

⁶³¹lit., "I gave birth to"

⁶³²lit., "of"

⁶³³*mayhaṇ akāmāya*, lit., "with my disliking [of it]"

⁶³⁴*devadevassa*, lit., "of the God of Gods" or "the Gods' God's"

⁶³⁵or "honored," "being placed in front of"

⁶³⁶*dasaputta*°, lit., "by the ten sons"

⁶³⁷or "I'm fed up with this existence:" *jīvitenaṇṇam atthu me*, lit., "Let it be enough with life for me"

⁶³⁸*jīnāya*, BJTS reads *cchattāya* (with much the same meaning)

⁶³⁹reading *sampatto* with BJTS for PTS *pasuto* ("pursuing")

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 pot⁶⁴⁰[used for that].
After placing [it on the hearth,]
seated, I then kindled my heart. (16) [873]

Seeing the body’s⁶⁴¹ 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,⁶⁴²
I quickly made the flame ignite. (18) [875]

Astonished, the [nuns] made that fact
audible to the Best Victor.
Hearing [it,] the Lord, overjoyed,
spoke this verse [about me just then:] (19) [876]

“A life lived [only] for one day
undertaken with strong effort,
is better than a century
lived inert, lacking energy.” (20) [877]

The Great Hero was [greatly] pleased
by my exemplary conduct.
That Great Sage said that I’m foremost
of those who make a strong effort. (21) [878]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;
all [new] existence is destroyed.
Like elephants with broken chains,
I am living without constraint. (22) [879]

⁶⁴⁰*kumbhiyā cchulle*, lit., “into a small *kumbhi*-pot”

⁶⁴¹*khandhe*, lit., “the [five] heaps” or aggregates that make up personal being, the constituent elements of the “I” trapped in *saṃsāra*.

⁶⁴²lit., “on the fire element”

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 Haṃsavatī,
 a leader⁶⁴³ known as Videha,
 a millionaire with many gems;
 I was the wife of him [back then]. (2) [883]

Once, accompanied by servants,
 he went up to the Human Sun,
 [and] listened to Buddha's Teaching,
 causing all suffering to end. (3) [884]

The Leader praised the follower
 who was top in austerities;⁶⁴⁴
 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,

⁶⁴³reading *nāyako* (BJTS) for *nāmako* (PTS, "one whose name"). While the phrase *nāma nāmako* ("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*).

⁶⁴⁴lit., "who was foremost among those who bespeak ascetic [practices]."

causing his retinue to smile.

Right then⁶⁴⁵ [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,⁶⁴⁶

he passed on⁶⁴⁷ with his followers. (10) [891]

When that World-Chief reached nirvana,

assembling [his] kinsmen and friends

to do pūjā to the Teacher,

with them [he then] had constructed (11) [892]

a stupa which was made of gems,

rising up seven leagues [in height,]

which blazed forth just as does the sun;

like a regal *sal* tree in bloom. (12) [893]

There [at the stupa,] he had made

seven hundred thousand [fine] bowls,

⁶⁴⁵reading *tadā hi* (BJTS) for *tadā āha* (“then he said,” PTS).

⁶⁴⁶*veneyye*, lit., “those who were to be instructed”.

⁶⁴⁷*nibbuto*, i.e., attained nirvana.

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;⁶⁴⁸
it shined brilliantly with color,
like the day-maker⁶⁴⁹ 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,⁶⁵⁰
shined excessively with color,
like the sun⁶⁵¹ does in the evening. (19) [900]

The stupa had three terraces;
one he filled with yellow ointment,⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁸lit., “in the middle of eight [times] eight large jars (*kumbhi*).”

⁶⁴⁹*divākara*, the sun.

⁶⁵⁰the mss. tradition disagrees on the reading of this term, and this translation is only provisional, going with the PTS (*cchittaṃ*, “heart, mind”) but taking it in its rarer meaning of “variegated.” BJTS reads *cchetaṃ*, more unambiguously “heart, mind,” but I don’t see how the grammar works with that as an adjective modifying *cchetiyaṃ* (shrine, stupa), unless we read it to mean “thought out” or something along those lines. BJTS alternative is *cchitakaṃ*, “funeral pile,” redundant with *cchetiyaṃ*, while PTS alternative is *cchitaṃ* (“heaped up,” a possibility) or *dhītaṃ* (?).

⁶⁵¹lit., “day-maker,” as above.

⁶⁵²*haritāla*.

one with red-colored arsenic,⁶⁵³
one with black collyrium paste.⁶⁵⁴ (20) [901]

Having performed pūjā like that,
lovely, for the Excellent One,⁶⁵⁵
he gave the monks' community
alms, much as he could, his whole life.⁶⁵⁶ (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,⁶⁵⁷
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 he⁶⁵⁸ [lived] in Bandhumatī,
a brahmin known for excellence,⁶⁵⁹
rich in scripture and religion,⁶⁶⁰
but⁶⁶¹ 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]

⁶⁵³*manosilā*.

⁶⁵⁴*añjana*.

⁶⁵⁵*varadhāri*, lit., "Bearer of Excellence" or "the One Clothed in Excellence".

⁶⁵⁶lit., "for as long as he lived".

⁶⁵⁷here the term *sampatti* (happiness, success, attainment) is in the plural, but to avoid the awkward "happineses" I translate in the singular. Cf. *Therāpadāna* [1729] for a parallel half-verse.

⁶⁵⁸lit., "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)

⁶⁵⁹lit., "approved of [or agreed upon] as excellent."

⁶⁶⁰reading *aḍḍho satthāgamenā 'si* (BJTS) for *aḍḍho santo gamenāsi* ("being rich through going" [?], PTS)

⁶⁶¹lit., "and".

seated 'midst the population,
preaching the state of deathlessness.
Hearing the Dhamma, overjoyed,
he gave his own cloak [to that Sage]. (27) [908]

Going home in a single cloth,
he spoke these [words] to me [just then]:
“Take joy in this great good karma,
the cloak given to the Buddha.” (28) [909]

Then clasping hands together I,
well-satisfied, did take delight:
“Husband, this cloak is gifted well
to the Best Buddha, Neutral One.” (29) [910]

Being happy and [well-]prepared,
transmigrating from birth to birth
he was the king, lord of the earth,
in lovely Benares city. (30) [911]

I was the chief queen of that [king],
supreme in his troupe of women.
I was extremely dear to him,
due to past love for [my] husband.⁶⁶² (31) [912]

Having seen eight Lonely Leaders⁶⁶³
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 solid⁶⁶⁴ gold,
he then offered to all of them,
who'd gotten up on golden seats,⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶²reading *bhattuno* (BJTS) for *uttariṇ* (“besides,” PTS).

⁶⁶³*paccchchekanāyake*, i.e., *paccchcheka-buddhas*.

⁶⁶⁴lit., “of gold indeed”.

⁶⁶⁵there is divergence in the manuscripts on this line. I read *soṇṇāsane pavittḥānaṇ* (BJTS) for *sovaṇṇāsane pavittḥānaṇ* (“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.

an almsgiving [most opulent,
[feeling well-] pleased by [his] own hands. (33-34) [914-915]

I gave that very almsgiving
with the Kāsi⁶⁶⁶ king [way] back then.
Again I was reborn in a
village outside the Kāsi gates.⁶⁶⁷ (35) [916]

He⁶⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁶⁹ (36) [917]

Having seen a Lonely Buddha,
he who was my youngest brother,
gave his⁶⁷⁰ 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,⁶⁷¹ I [took back] Buddha's bowl

⁶⁶⁶i.e., Benares.

⁶⁶⁷lit., "in Benares, in a village outside the gates"

⁶⁶⁸Kassapa's next rebirth precursor.

⁶⁶⁹or, a woman devoted to her husband

⁶⁷⁰the eldest brother's

⁶⁷¹BJTS (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

[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,⁶⁷²
his mind was equally happy;⁶⁷³
seeing [that,] I was very moved.⁶⁷⁴ (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.⁶⁷⁵ (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 Buddha⁶⁷⁶ 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

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.

⁶⁷²reading *amejjhe* ("impure," BJTS, PTS alt.) for *apace* ("uncooked," PTS).

⁶⁷³BJTS reads *samacchittamukhaṃ* ("his face [showed] the same mind") for PTS *samacchittasukhaṃ*, the reading I prefer here even though both readings amount to the same thing: the Paccchekabuddha shows no change of face, no difference of opinion, whether receiving a bowl of mud or a nice home-cooked meal. This equanimity, of course, is characteristic of Buddhas and other Awakened beings.

⁶⁷⁴reading *saṃvijjīṃ bhusaṃ* (BJTS, PTS alt) for *mahāsaṅghaṃ cchajjīṃ bhusaṃ* ("I let loose the many [in the?] great community," PTS).

⁶⁷⁵reading *sakkaṇaṃ* (alt. *sakkāraṇaṃ*) *adaṇaṃ*, "I gave with proper reverence" "I gave hospitably" with PTS; BJTS reads *sakkharaṇaṃ adaṇaṃ*, "I gave gravel" (!).

⁶⁷⁶lit., "Hero," but I translate "Buddha" to avoid any confusion of this previous Buddha with Bhaddā-Kāpilāni's present-life husband Mahā-Kassapa.

and filled with clarified butter,
placing [in them] a thousand wicks,⁶⁷⁷ (45) [926]

with a mind that was very pleased,
I proceeded to light [them all,]
and laid [them] out⁶⁷⁸ 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 Kāsians⁶⁷⁹
he was Sumitta, well-known sage.⁶⁸⁰ (47) [928]

I was [the Sage Sumitta's] wife,
happy, joyful and [much] beloved.
And then he gave [some] Lonely Ones
a massive cloak [to use for robes]. (48) [929]

[I] also shared in that [merit,]
approving of that great alms gift.
Again in the Kāsi country⁶⁸¹
he was reborn, a Koliyan.⁶⁸² (49) [930]

And then, along with five hundred
of the sons of the Koliyans,
he attended⁶⁸³ upon Lonely
Buddhas, five hundred [in number]. (50) [931]

Satisfying⁶⁸⁴ [them] for three months
he gave⁶⁸⁵ [those Buddhas] the three robes.
I was then the [Koliyan's] wife,
following [his] path of merit. (51) [932]

⁶⁷⁷PTS (and BJTS alt) gives *vaṭṭini*, BJTS *vaṭṭiyo* for the plural of *vaṭṭi*, "wick".

⁶⁷⁸PTS reads *ṭhāpayiṇ* ("I laid out"); BJTS reads *ṭhāpayī*, "laid out." Following PTS I take the term verbally.

⁶⁷⁹i.e., people of Benares.

⁶⁸⁰BJTS reads *iti* (quotation marker) for *isi* (sage), hence would have "He was well known as Sumitta".

⁶⁸¹i.e., the environs of Benares

⁶⁸²lit., "in the clan of the Koliyas".

⁶⁸³BJTS reads *samupaṭṭhahi* for *samupaṭṭhayi* (PTS), but the meaning is clear.

⁶⁸⁴reading *tappayitvāna* (BJTS) for *vāsayitvāna* ("having perfumed" "having cleaned," PTS).

⁶⁸⁵reading BJTS *adāsi* for PTS *adaṇsu*, "they gave," though the latter would also be an acceptable reading since the text specifies that the 500 cousins served the Paccchekabuddhas together.

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] worshipped⁶⁸⁶ those Gone-Out Ones. (53-54) [934-935]

Both of us having built stupas,
going forth [renouncing the world,]
experienced the boundless states,⁶⁸⁷
[and] then we went to Brahma's world. (55) [936]

Fallen down to Mahātīttha
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 Succhimatī in
Sāgalā the best of cities. (57) [938]

My father having adorned me
with a thick golden ornament,
gave me to the wise⁶⁸⁸ Kassapa,
who'd avoided desire for me. (58) [939]

One time that compassionate man,

⁶⁸⁶BJTS 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.

⁶⁸⁷the four boundless states are love of all beings (*mettā*), compassion for those who suffer (*karuṇā*), joy in others' joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekkhā*).

⁶⁸⁸reading *dhīrassa* (BJTS) for *vīrassa* ("the Hero," PTS), an epithet used of Kassapa Buddha above [924].

gone forth wishing for karma's end,⁶⁸⁹
 was moved at seeing some creatures
 devoured by crows and such-like [birds]. (59) [940]

Then I too in the house was moved,⁶⁹⁰
 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 path⁶⁹¹ 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"
 of the resplendent Kassapa! (63) [944]

The Buddha's legitimate son,⁶⁹²
 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]

⁶⁸⁹BJTS 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.

⁶⁹⁰lit., "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.

⁶⁹¹BJTS 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.

⁶⁹²BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *suto* for PTS *putto*, but as the synonyms both mean "son" this does not affect the translation.

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 Therī⁶⁹³ is finished

[28. Yasodharā]

At one time the Leader of Men
was staying in a mountain cave
in the city, Rajagaha,
[which was] lovely and prosperous. [952]⁶⁹⁴

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;

⁶⁹³PTS omits Therī, which I supply from BJTS.

⁶⁹⁴these first six verses appear in BJTS, but not PTS.

Suddhodana Maharaja,
and Gotamī Pajāpatī; [954]

the great theras of great renown;
and the therīs with great powers:⁶⁹⁵
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 thousand⁶⁹⁶
nuns, [the nun named Yasodharā,
greatly powerful, greatly wise,
[then] went up to the Sambuddha. (1) [958]

Having worshipped the Sambuddha,
at the wheel-marked [soles of his feet],
sitting off to one side [of him,]
she spoke these words to the Teacher: (2) [959]

"I'm seventy-eight years old now,
the last of old age has arrived;
I'm reporting to the Great Sage:
I've attained [sainthood] in a cave. (3) [960]

Old age has ripened for me [now];
verily my life's a trifle.
Giving all you up I will go:
my refuge is made in myself. (4) [961]

In the final days of old age,
death breaks [the body into bits];

⁶⁹⁵ *mahiddhikā* = possessing great magical powers.

⁶⁹⁶ reading *satehi satassehi sā* (BJTS) for *satehi saha pañcchahi* ("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.

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,⁶⁹⁷
[all these] revering⁶⁹⁸ the Teacher,⁶⁹⁹
know that [every] imperfection
is forgiven face-to-face, Sage. (7) [964]

Transmigrating in existence,
if I have [ever] disturbed you,⁷⁰⁰
I'm announcing it, Great Hero;
please forgive my imperfection. (8) [965]

After hearing [that] speech of hers,
the Lord of Sages⁷⁰¹ [then] said this:
"What better can I say to you,
when you're going to nirvana? [966]

Now⁷⁰² display [your] superpowers,
doer of my dispensation;
let doubt in the dispensation
be cut off for all assemblies."⁷⁰³ (9) [967]

Having heard the words of the Sage,
the Buddhist nun, Yasodharā,
worshipping the King of Sages,
[then] spoke this speech to the [Buddha:] [968]

"I am Yasodharā, Hero;
in the home I was your chief queen,⁷⁰⁴

⁶⁹⁷ reading *ettha* with BJTS for PTS *nāma* ("indeed")

⁶⁹⁸ reading *samupāsanti* ("attend upon together" "honor jointly")

⁶⁹⁹ lit., "to/of the Teacher," "give reverence to the Teacher"

⁷⁰⁰ PTS *khalitaṇ cche tavaṇ mayi*, BJTS *khalitaṇ cche mamaṇ tayi*, both to be construed the same way

⁷⁰¹ *munindo*

⁷⁰² *cāpi*, lit., "and also"

⁷⁰³ "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"

⁷⁰⁴ *te pajāpati*

born in the clan of the Śākya,
established among the women.⁷⁰⁵ (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.⁷⁰⁶ (12) [971]

Leader of a thousand maidens
in the home of the Śākya Son,
they're the same in pleasure and pain,⁷⁰⁷
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,⁷⁰⁸ with Buddha's permission. [974]⁷⁰⁹

Worshipping⁷¹⁰ the Sambuddha, she
showed the Teacher superpowers.⁷¹¹
She displayed great superpowers,
diverse, having various forms. (15)⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁵reading *itthi-y-aṅge* (lit., "in the body of women") with BJTS for PTS *itthi atho* ("and a woman who is established")

⁷⁰⁶*devatā*, or "deities" "supernaturals" "fairies" "spirits"

⁷⁰⁷*samānasukhadukkhā tā*.

⁷⁰⁸*iddhi anekā*, lit., "superpowers"

⁷⁰⁹this 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: *evamādini vatvāna uppatitvāna ambaram/iddhi anekā dassesi buddhānuññā yasodharā*

⁷¹⁰*abhivādetvā*, or "after saluting"

⁷¹¹*iddhiṃ*

⁷¹²this 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

Body big as the universe,⁷¹³
 she [made] the continent⁷¹⁴ 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,⁷¹⁵
 [she carried] a tree⁷¹⁶ with its roots.
 Coming up to [him,] fanning [him,]
 she's worshipping the World's Leader. (18) [977]

She made herself⁷¹⁷ 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,⁷¹⁸ [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;⁷¹⁹
 "I am Yasodharā, Hero;
 I worship your feet, Eyeful One." (21) [980]

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.

⁷¹³*cchakkavālaṇ samaṇ* (BJTS *cchakkavālasamaṇ*) *kāyaṇ*, lit., "body the same as the ring surrounding the universe"

⁷¹⁴or *Uttarakuru* "island" (*dīpa*). This verse presumes knowledge of the ancient Indian understanding of India (here *jambudīpaṇ* [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.

⁷¹⁵lit., "in the ring surrounding the universe" (*cchakkavālagiri*°; BJTS *cchakkavālagiri*°)

⁷¹⁶*jamburukkha*°, lit., "a rose-apple tree"

⁷¹⁷°*vaṇṇaṇ...dassayi*

⁷¹⁸reading *phullapadmena* with BJTS for PTS *phullapaccchena* (?)

⁷¹⁹*dhamaṇ...puññataṇ*, alt. *suññataṇ* ("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,⁷²⁰
the World-Lords, was well-seen by you;⁷²¹
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, hindered⁷²²
the [nine] impossible places;⁷²³
I have sacrificed⁷²⁴ life [itself]
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (27) [986]

⁷²⁰reading *buddhānaṃ* with BJTS (or PTS alt. *Buddhāna*) for PTS *pubbānaṃ* (former)

⁷²¹*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]"

⁷²²reading *vārayitvā anāccharami* with BJTS for PTS *pācchayanti anāvaraṇ* ("burning/tormenting?")

⁷²³*abhabba-tṭhāne*, the nine moral states or spheres of activity into which an arahant will not/cannot fall, D.iii.133 (and cf. D.iii.235 where only the first five appear as a set). This is *Pāsādika Sutta*, #29 of *Dīghanikāya*, section 26. The nine are: (1) cannot deliberately take the life of a living being (2) cannot steal (3) cannot have sexual intercourse (4) cannot deliberately lie (5) cannot hoard anything for his own indulgence (6) cannot act wrongly through attachments (7) cannot act wrongly through hatred (8) cannot act wrongly through folly (9) cannot act wrongly through fear

⁷²⁴reading *sañcchattaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *samattaṃ* ("fulfilled" "completed")

I gave myself to be a wife,
several tens of billions [of times].
I was not distressed about that,
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (28) [987]

I gave myself to do service,
several tens of billions [of times].
I was not distressed about that,
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (29) [988]

I gave myself to [provide] food,
several tens of billions [of times].
I was not distressed about that,
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (30) [989]

I have given you [all my] lives,
several tens of billions [of times].
I'll liberate [myself] from fear,
giving up my life [once more]. (31) [990]

Great Sage, for your sake I do not⁷²⁵
conceal the things of a woman,
numerous clothes of varied types,
ornaments affixed to⁷²⁶ [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 witness⁷²⁷ any distress
from giving the ultimate gift. (35) [994]

⁷²⁵reading °bhaṇḍe na gūhāmi with BJTS for PTS bhaṇḍena gūhāmi ("I conceal with a thing")

⁷²⁶lit., "gone to"

⁷²⁷lit., "see," fig. "know"

I have experienced⁷²⁸ dis-ease
of diverse types, beyond all count,
in [this] much-varied existence⁷²⁹
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (36) [995]

Attaining comfort[s,] I don't thrill;
[I do]n't get distressed by⁷³⁰ troubles.
Everywhere I remain balanced
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (37) [996]

After experiencing [both]
pleasure [and] pain along the way,
the Great Sage reached Awakening,
the Teaching for which⁷³¹ Buddha⁷³² strived. (38) [997]

By you [and] by me there was much
meeting with the other World-Lords,
[whether you're] the god Brahmā or⁷³³
Gotama Buddha,⁷³⁴ 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,⁷³⁵
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]

⁷²⁸reading *anubhuttaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *pariccchattaṃ* ("are sacrificed," cf. PTS alt. *anubhontaṃ*)

⁷²⁹*saṃsāre*, or "wheel of life"

⁷³⁰lit., "in"

⁷³¹*yaṃ dhammaṃ*

⁷³²lit., "Sambuddha"

⁷³³lit., "and"

⁷³⁴lit., "Sambuddha," paralleling the usage in the previous verse

⁷³⁵reading *gavesato buddhadhamme* with BJTS for PTS *gavesantā buddhadhammaṃ* ("I, searching for the Buddha's Teaching")

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 offering⁷³⁶ to the Teacher,
in the midst of [all] the people
I saw that fierce [ascetic] sage.⁷³⁷ (45) [1004]

Seeing [him,] seated atop bark,⁷³⁸
surpassing⁷³⁹ [and] captivating,⁷⁴⁰
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.”⁷⁴¹ (48) [1007]

There are five handfuls for you, sage;
the [remaining] three⁷⁴² are for me.
Let there be success through⁷⁴³ this [gift]
for your Awakening,⁷⁴⁴ O sage.” (49) [1008]

⁷³⁶lit., “doing *pūjā*”

⁷³⁷i.e., Sumedha

⁷³⁸reading *cchirānupari āsīnaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *cchirānugataṃ dassitaṃ* (“associated for a long time, seen”)

⁷³⁹*patikantaṃ*, BJTS *atikantaṃ*

⁷⁴⁰*manoharaṃ*

⁷⁴¹reading *ise* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *isiṃ* (acc.)

⁷⁴²reading *tayo* with BJTS for PTS *tato*

⁷⁴³BJTS and PTS alt. read *samā* (“equal to”) for *saha* here,

⁷⁴⁴*bodhanatthāya tavaṃ* (PTS alt. *tava*); the phrase can also be translated, “for the sake of your knowing [me]”

The Fourth Recitation Portion

[Then that] sage, taking the flowers,
for the sake of Awakening,⁷⁴⁵
worshipped amidst the people the
Famed One, Great Sage⁷⁴⁶ who was coming. (50) [1009]

The Great Sage [named] Dīpaṅkara,
seeing [him] amidst the people,
prophesied⁷⁴⁷ [future Buddhahood]
[for that] sage with a lofty mind. (51) [1010]

The Great Sage [named] Dīpaṅkara
[then] prophesied that my karma
would for numberless aeons hence
be exalted, that Sage So Great: (52)⁷⁴⁸

“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.⁷⁴⁹ (53) [1011]

Nice looking and much beloved,
desirable,⁷⁵⁰ speaking sweet words,
she will be a loving woman,
[and] an heir among [your] doctrines. (54) [1012]

Just as masters are protecting⁷⁵¹
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.

⁷⁴⁵or, as above, “for the sake of knowing [me]”

⁷⁴⁶reading *mahā-isiṃ* (acc.) with BJTS for PTS *mahā-isi* (nom.)

⁷⁴⁷lit., “the Great Hero prophesied”

⁷⁴⁸BJTS consigns this verse to an asterisked footnote, recognizing that it occurs in a number of its alternate recensions.

⁷⁴⁹BJTS 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”

⁷⁵⁰reading *manāpā* with BJTS for PTS *manasā*

⁷⁵¹reading *yathā...anurakkhanti sāmīno* with BJTS for PTS *yathā...anurakkhati sāmī no* (“as our master protects”)

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 Śākyan clan. (59) [1017]

Beautiful and very wealthy,
famous and likewise virtuous;
endowed with every attainment,
I’m much-honored among the clans. (60) [1018]

Riches, fame, hospitality,
[and] indulgence in worldly things –
[they] do not agitate [my] mind;⁷⁵²
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)⁷⁵³

[I’m] a woman who’s a servant,
and [one] who feels pleasure and pain,
a woman⁷⁵⁴ who declares the facts,
a woman⁷⁵⁵ who’s compassionate. (63)
Buddhas [numbering] five billion,
and [another] nine billion [more] —

⁷⁵²lit., “there is no agitation [to my mind]”

⁷⁵³This and the following 19 verses (20 verses total) are not included here in BJTS.
vv. (62) and (63) do appear at BJTS [1092]-[1093]

⁷⁵⁴lit., “and a woman”

⁷⁵⁵lit., “and a woman”

I provided vast alms to [them,
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods.⁷⁵⁶ (64)

Listen to my [words,] O great king:
I'm constantly doing service⁷⁵⁷
to eleven billion [others,
and fifty billion [Buddhas more]. (65)

I provided vast alms to [them,
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods;
listen to my [words,] O great king:
I'm constantly doing service. (66)

Twenty billion [other] Buddhas
and [another] thirty billion –
I provided vast alms to [them,
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods. (67)

Listen to my [words,] O great king:
I'm constantly doing service
to forty billion [Buddhas more,
and [another] fifty billion. (68)

I provided vast alms to [them,
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods;
listen to my words, O great king:
I'm constantly doing service. (69)

Sixty billion [other] Buddhas,
[another] seventy billion –
I provided vast alms to [them,
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods. (70)

Listen to my [words,] O great king:
I'm constantly doing service
to eighty billion [Buddhas more,
and [another] ninety billion. (71)

I provided vast alms to [them,
those [Buddhas,] Gods Over the Gods;
listen to my [words,] O great king:
I'm constantly doing service. (72)

⁷⁵⁶ *etesaṇ devadevānaṇ*

⁷⁵⁷ *adhikāraṇ sadā mayhaṇ*, lit., “my service is constant” “my service is daily”

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 practice⁷⁵⁸ the Teaching⁷⁵⁹
 of those practiced in the teachings,⁷⁶⁰
 at ease practicing the Teaching,
 in this world and in the other. (80)

⁷⁵⁸or do: from *ccharati*

⁷⁵⁹*saddhamma*°, lit "good Teaching"

⁷⁶⁰*dhammesu cchiṇṇānaṇ sadā saddhamma-ccharino*

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 months⁷⁶¹ had not yet elapsed
I attained the Four [Noble] Truths. (83) [1021]

Like the waves upon the ocean,
[folks] are bringing many varied⁷⁶²
monastic robes and alms to eat,
requisites [as well as] lodgings. (84) [1022]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;
all [new] existence is destroyed.
Like elephants with broken chains,
I am living without constraint. (85) [1023]

Being in Best Buddha's presence
was a very good thing for me.
The three knowledges are attained;
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (86) [1024]

The four analytical modes,
and these eight deliverances,
six special knowledges mastered,
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (87) [1025]

Thus many sorts of suffering
and many types of happiness;
the pure life [now] has been achieved,
I have obtained all achievements. [1026]⁷⁶³

⁷⁶¹*aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* ("half a month")

⁷⁶²reading *bahu 'neke* with BJTS for PTS *buhun eke*

⁷⁶³this 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-

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 Therī⁷⁶⁴ is finished

[29. Ten Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasovati⁷⁶⁵]

One hundred thousand aeons [and]
four incalculable [aeons]
hence, Dīpaṅkara, the Victor,
the Leader of the World was born. (1) [1029]

Dīpaṅkara, the Great Hero,
the Guide, prophesied back then that
Sumedha and Sumittā would
be the same in pleasure and pain. (2) [1030]

Seeing and going about in
the world together with [its] gods,
meeting us was included in
[what Buddha] prophesied for them. (3) [1031]

"You,⁷⁶⁶ [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]

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]).

⁷⁶⁴PTS omits Therī, which I supply from BJTS.

⁷⁶⁵BJTS reads "The *Apadāna* of Ten Thousand Buddhist Nuns"

⁷⁶⁶reading *hohi* with BJTS for PTS *honti* (they will be/they are)

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 karma⁷⁶⁷ 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,⁷⁶⁸
we arose in various clans,
attractive celestial nymphs.⁷⁶⁹ (9) [1037]

We've attained fame, with foremost gain;
we're worshipped⁷⁷⁰ and well-respected.
We are always venerated,
receiving things to eat and drink. (10) [1038]

After abandoning the home,
going⁷⁷¹ forth into homelessness,
when eight months⁷⁷² had not yet elapsed,
we all realized nirvana. (11) [1039]

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

⁷⁶⁷*puññaṇ*, lit., “merit”

⁷⁶⁸*putta*° lit., “son”

⁷⁶⁹*acchcharā kāmavaṇṇinī*, lit., “having the desirable appearance [like] celestial nymphs”

⁷⁷⁰lit., “offered *pūjā*”

⁷⁷¹reading *pabbajitvāna* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pabbajīṇ* (“I went forth”)

⁷⁷²*aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* (“half a month”)

Our⁷⁷³ 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 Yasodharā⁷⁷⁴]

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,
they [all] know [our] imperfections;
Leader, [give us your] forgive[ness]." (4) [1047]

⁷⁷³PTS 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.

⁷⁷⁴BJTS reads "The *Apadāna* of Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns"

“[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.”⁷⁷⁵ (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 gods⁷⁷⁶ [are revered by] people. (8) [1051]

All [us] eighteen thousand [women,]
born in the clan of the Śākya,
are famous ones,⁷⁷⁷ [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]

Worshipping⁷⁷⁸ the Sambuddha, they
showed the Teacher superpowers.⁷⁷⁹
They displayed great superpowers,
diverse, having various forms. (11) [1054]

Body big as the universe,⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁵*te pajāpati*

⁷⁷⁶*devatā*, or “deities” “supernaturals” “fairies” “spirits”

⁷⁷⁷*yasovatī*, = Yasodharā

⁷⁷⁸*abhivādetvā*, or “after saluting”

⁷⁷⁹*iddhiṃ*

⁷⁸⁰*cchakkavālaṇ samaṇ* (BJTS *cchakkavālasamaṇ*) *kāyaṇ*, lit., “body the same as the ring surrounding the universe”

they [made] the continent⁷⁸¹ up north
 [their] head[s]; both other islands wings;
 [and made] India [their] torso[s]; (12) [1055]

tail feathers: the southern ocean;
 [other] feathers: varied rivers;
 [their] eyes were the moon and the sun,
 [their] crests [were] cosmic Mount Meru. (13) [1056]

[In their] beak[s], mountain at world's end,⁷⁸²
 [they carried] a tree⁷⁸³ with its roots.
 Coming up to [him,] fanning [him,]
 they're worshipping the World's Leader. (14) [1057]

[Then] they made themselves⁷⁸⁴ 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,⁷⁸⁵ 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,

⁷⁸¹or "island" (*dīpa*). This verse presumes knowledge of the ancient Indian understanding of India (here *jambudīpaṇ* [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.

⁷⁸²lit., "in the ring surrounding the universe" (*cchakkavālagiri*°; BJTS *cchakkavālagiri*°)

⁷⁸³*jamburukkha*°, lit., "a rose-apple tree"

⁷⁸⁴°*vaṇṇaṇ*...*dassayun*

⁷⁸⁵*yasovaṇṇā*, lit., "we have the the appearance of Yaso" "we are the color (or have the appearance) of fame"

[this] knowledge of ours was produced
in your presence, O Great Hero.⁷⁸⁶ (19) [1062]

Our meeting with [all] the Buddhas,⁷⁸⁷
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, hindered⁷⁸⁸
the [nine] impossible places;⁷⁸⁹
we have sacrificed⁷⁹⁰ 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].

⁷⁸⁶here as elsewhere, reading the voc. *mahāmunue* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁷⁸⁷reading *buddhānaṃ* with BJTS (or PTS alt. *Buddhāna*) for PTS *pubbānaṃ* (former); but cf. below [1133] where BJTS and PTS both give *pubbānaṃ* in a repetition of this verse (and several around it)

⁷⁸⁸reading *vārayitvā anāccharam* with BJTS for PTS *pācchayantī anāvaraṇ* (“burning/tormenting?”)

⁷⁸⁹*abhabba-tthāne*, 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

⁷⁹⁰reading *sañcchattam* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *samattam* (“fulfilled” “completed”)

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 not⁷⁹¹
conceal the things of a woman,
numerous clothes of varied types,
ornaments affixed to⁷⁹² [our] limbs. (27) [1070]

Wealth and grain have been given up,
villages and also small towns,
fields and sons and daughters [as well]
have been given up, O Great Sage. (28) [1071]

Elephants, horses, also cows,
slaves [as well as] servant-women
are given up beyond all count,
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (29) [1072]

Whatever we are told [to give]
as alms to beggars, we give [that];
we don't witness⁷⁹³ any distress
from giving the ultimate gift. (30) [1073]

[We have] experienced⁷⁹⁴ dis-ease
of diverse types, beyond all count,
in [this] much-varied existence⁷⁹⁵
for the sake of you, Great Hero. (31) [1074]

Attaining comfort[s,] we don't thrill;
[We do]n't get distressed by⁷⁹⁶ troubles.
Everywhere we remain balanced
for the sake of you, O Great Sage. (32) [1075]

⁷⁹¹reading °*bhaṇḍe na gūhāma* with BJTS for PTS *bhaṇḍena gūhāmi* ("I conceal with a thing")

⁷⁹²lit., "gone to"

⁷⁹³lit., "see," fig. "know"

⁷⁹⁴reading *anubhuttaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *paricchchattarj* ("are sacrificed")

⁷⁹⁵*saṃsāre*, or "wheel of life"

⁷⁹⁶lit., "in"

After experiencing [both]
 pleasure [and] pain along the way,
 the Great Sage reached Awakening,
 the Teaching for which⁷⁹⁷ Buddha⁷⁹⁸ strived. (33) [1076]

By you [and] by us there was much
 meeting with the other World-Lords,
 [whether you're] the god Brahmā or⁷⁹⁹
 Gotama Buddha,⁸⁰⁰ 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,⁸⁰¹
 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.⁸⁰² (39) [1082]

Just then the Greatly Famed Buddha,
 Dīpaṅkara, the Great Hero,

⁷⁹⁷*yaṇ dhammaṇ*

⁷⁹⁸lit., "Sambuddha"

⁷⁹⁹lit., "and"

⁸⁰⁰lit., "Sambuddha," paralleling the usage in the previous verse

⁸⁰¹reading *gavesato buddhadhamme* with BJTS for PTS *gavesantā buddhadhammaṇ*
 ("We, searching for the Buddha's Teaching")

⁸⁰²reading *thaludajāni* with BJTS for PTS *phaludakajāti* ("born in fruit-juice")

prophesied⁸⁰³ [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,
worshipping⁸⁰⁴ with various things
to be offered,⁸⁰⁵ we made wishes. (42) [1085]

The Buddha with the name “Bright Lamp”
prophesied to them [at that time:]
“Who wished today, they’re going to be,
[reborn together,] face-to-face.” (43) [1086]

Rejoicing about [Buddha’s] speech,
we lived behaving in that way
the Buddha prophesied for us
numberless aeons ago. (44) [1087]

We brought pleasure to [our] mind[s] when
that karma was well done [by us];
we experienced countless wombs,
divine [as well as] human [ones]. (45) [1088]

Undergoing pleasure [and] pain,
among gods [and] human beings,
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 –

⁸⁰³lit., “the Great Hero prophesied”

⁸⁰⁴lit., “doing *pūjā*”

⁸⁰⁵lit., “*pūjā*-worthy”

[they] do not agitate [our] minds;⁸⁰⁶
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,
going⁸⁰⁷ forth into homelessness,
when eight months⁸⁰⁸ had not yet elapsed,
we attained the Four [Noble] Truths. (52) [1095]

Like the waves upon the ocean,
[folks] are bringing many varied⁸⁰⁹
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,

⁸⁰⁶lit., "there is no agitation [to my mind]"

⁸⁰⁷reading *pabbajitvāna* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pabbajij* ("I went forth")

⁸⁰⁸*aṭṭhamāse*, BJTS reads *addhamāse* ("half a month")

⁸⁰⁹reading *bahu 'neke* with BJTS for PTS *buhun eke*

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],⁸¹⁰
[and] unconditioned nirvana.⁸¹¹ (58) [1101]

The past is thoroughly destroyed,
and the present [and] the future;
all of⁸¹² our karma is destroyed:
we⁸¹³ worship your feet, Eyeful One.“ (59) [1102]

“What more can I say to women
who are going⁸¹⁴ to nirvana?
Pacifying conditioned flaws⁸¹⁵
you should attain the deathless state.” (60) [1103]

Thus indeed Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasodharā
spoke these verses.

The legend of Eighteen Thousand Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasodharā is finished

The Summary:

Kuṇḍalā, also Gotamī,
Dhammadinnā and Sakulā,⁸¹⁶
Excellent Nandā and Soṇā
Kapilāni, Yasodharā,
and the ten thousand Buddhist nuns

⁸¹⁰reading *sahāyasampadā honti* with BJTS for PTS *pabhāyasampadā bhonti* (“becoming attained with light”?)

⁸¹¹reading *nibbānapadam asaṅkhatam* with BJTS for PTS *nibbān’-amat’-asaṅkhatam* (“unconditioned, deathless nirvana”)

⁸¹²reading *sabbaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *saccchchaṃ* (“the truth of”)

⁸¹³reading *vandāma* with BJTS for PTS *vandāmi* (as in v. [1028], above)

⁸¹⁴reading *vajantīnaṃ* with BJTS for PYS *vadantīnaṃ* (“who are saying”)

⁸¹⁵*santasaṅkhatadoso* (BJTS °*dosam*)

⁸¹⁶reading the correct spelling with BJTS for PTS *Sākulā*

[also] the eighteen thousand [nuns:]⁸¹⁷
 the verses that are counted here
 [number] one hundred and forty
 and also seventy-eight [more].

The Kuṇḍalakesā Chapter, the Third

Khattiyā Chapter,⁸¹⁸ the Fourth

[31. Eighteen Thousand Kṣatriyan Maiden Buddhist Nuns Headed Up by Yasavatī⁸¹⁹]

O Great Sage, we are announcing
 “all existence has been destroyed;”
 [we’re] freed from ties to existence
 all outflows⁸²⁰ don’t exist for us.⁸²¹ (1) [1104]

Doing previous good⁸²² karma,
 whatever may have been wished for,⁸²³
 all of this stuff⁸²⁴ has been given
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage.⁸²⁵ (2) [1105]

The wishes of Buddhas, Lonely
 Buddhas and of the followers,
 [all of] this stuff⁸²⁶ has been given
 for the sake of you, O Great Sage.⁸²⁷ (3) [1106]

This karma, [both] big [and] little,
 excellent wish of Buddhist monks,
 [and] service to high-status clans
 has been done by us,⁸²⁸ O Great Sage.⁸²⁹ (4) [1107]

⁸¹⁷reading *dasasahassabhikkhunī aṭṭhārasasahassakā* with BJTS for PTS *dasatṭhārasasahassā* (“the ten-eighteen thousand”)

⁸¹⁸this name is supplied only by BJTS

⁸¹⁹BJTS reads “The *Apadāna* of Buddhist Nuns Headed Up By Yasavatī”

⁸²⁰or “defilements” *sabbāsavā*

⁸²¹reading *ccha no n’atthi* with BJTS for PTS *sabbāsavāmano n’atthi* (“there is no mind with all outflows”)

⁸²²or “wholesome”

⁸²³*yaṇ kiñcchi sabbam patthitaṇ*

⁸²⁴*sabbaṇ...paribhogāṇ*; BJTS reads *yaṇ kiñcchi sādhu patthitaṇ* (“whatever excellently wished”)

⁸²⁵reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸²⁶*paribhogāṇ*

⁸²⁷reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸²⁸*kat’ amhehi*. BJTS (and PTS alt.) reads *katam etaṇ*

Incited by that wholesome root,
reaping⁸³⁰ [the fruit] of that karma,
surpassing [all other] humans,⁸³¹
we were born in kṣatriyan clan[s]. (5) [1108]

[Always] together when [we're] born,
when karma is done, and by caste,⁸³²
born together in this last [birth,]
[we're] kṣatriyans,⁸³³ 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.⁸³⁴ (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.⁸³⁵ (9) [1112]

Our defilements are [now] burnt up;
all [new] existence is destroyed.
Like elephants with broken chains,
we are living without constraint. (10) [1113]

Being in Best Buddha's presence
was a very good thing for us.
The three knowledges are attained;
[we have] done what the Buddha taught! (11) [1114]

The four analytical modes,
and these eight deliverances,

⁸²⁹reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸³⁰*sampadā*

⁸³¹reading BJTS (and, partly, PTS alt.) *mānusikam atikkantā* for PTS *mānussikam anikkantā*

⁸³²*jātiyā*, lit., "by birth," the clear theme of this verse

⁸³³lit., "born in the clan"

⁸³⁴*lābhasakkārapūjitā*

⁸³⁵lit., "given *pūjā*"

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 Nuns⁸³⁶]

O Great Sage,⁸³⁷ 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,⁸³⁸ in your city are
many maidens from every land,⁸³⁹
born in Vaiśya and Śūdra 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 enjoy⁸⁴⁰ [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]

And⁸⁴¹ we're the daughters of brahmins,
who have been born in brahmin clans.
Out of our desire,⁸⁴² Great Sage,
we worship [your] feet, Eyeful One. (5) [1120]

⁸³⁶BJTS reads "The Apadāna of Brahmin Maiden Buddhist Nuns"

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

⁸³⁸reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸³⁹*cchatuddipā*, lit., "from the four continents," that is, from the entire world

⁸⁴⁰here PTS reads *phusissanti*, BJTS *bhujjhissanti*; both read *bhujjhissanti* in the following verse

⁸⁴¹*tu*, or "but"

⁸⁴²*pekkato no*, perhaps "when we long for [or see]"

⁸⁴³*upāgatā bhavā sabbe*

All existences have been reached,⁸⁴³
 cravings are torn out by the roots;
 latent tendencies are cut off,
 merit[-based] aggregates broken. (6) [1121]

All pasture in meditation,⁸⁴⁴
 likewise have mastered altered states;⁸⁴⁵
 we will always live delighting
 in the Teaching through altered states.⁸⁴⁶ (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 my⁸⁴⁷
 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.⁸⁴⁸
 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 Tree⁸⁴⁹ [in heaven,] girdled. (11) [1126]

Through superpower they're showing
 Tāvātimsa and Yāma spheres,
 Tusitā [and] Nimmitā gods,
 [and] the Vasavatti great lords. (12) [1127]

⁸⁴⁴ *samādhigoccharā sabā*

⁸⁴⁵ *samāpattī vasī tathā*, lit., "master with the attainments" (especially the eight *jhānas* or "altered states" experienced as states of awareness and/or levels of reality in meditation)

⁸⁴⁶ *jhānena dhammaratīyā viharissāma no sadā*

⁸⁴⁷ reading *mamaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *mayāṃ* ("we")

⁸⁴⁸ *katvā iddhivikubbanāṃ*, lit., "having done transformations through [their] super-powers"

⁸⁴⁹ in Indra/Śakra's heaven

Some are showing the Brahmā [gods]
and a very costly walkway;
making [themselves] look like⁸⁵⁰ Brahmā,
they preach the *Dhamma* that's empty.⁸⁵¹ (13) [1128]

Doing varied transformations,
showing Buddha⁸⁵² 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.⁸⁵³ (17) [1132]

Our⁸⁵⁴ 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.⁸⁵⁵

⁸⁵⁰or "conjuring up the appearance of"

⁸⁵¹cf. below, [980]

⁸⁵²lit., "to the Teacher"

⁸⁵³here as elsewhere, reading the voc. *mahāmunue* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*

⁸⁵⁴reading *no* with BJTS (and the parallel instance of this verse below, at [1063]) for PTS *tehi* ("by them")

⁸⁵⁵*mahāmuni*, lit., "the Great Sage"

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

The Ganges River always flows
past the gate of Haṃsavatī.
Buddhist monks are troubled by the
river, unable to⁸⁵⁶ 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 to⁸⁵⁷ proceed. (22) [1137]

Then the future Buddha⁸⁵⁸ was a
local leader,⁸⁵⁹ named Jaṭila.
Seeing [those] stranded Buddhist monks
he made⁸⁶⁰ a bridge on the river.⁸⁶¹ (23) [1138]

Then, with a hundred thousand [spent,]
the bridge on the river made, he⁸⁶²
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,
provided⁸⁶³ [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]

⁸⁵⁶lit., "they are not receiving" "they are not getting"

⁸⁵⁷lit., "they are not receiving" "they are not getting"

⁸⁵⁸*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

⁸⁵⁹*raṭṭhiko*, lit., "countryman". Sinh. gloss *rāṭṭiyek*, "a guy from the country" (*raṭavāsi*) 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"

⁸⁶⁰*kārayi*, lit., "he caused to be built"

⁸⁶¹reading *setuṃ gaṅgāya* with BJTS for PTS *setuno satta* (?)

⁸⁶²reading *kārayi* with BJTS for PTS [*a*]kārayiṇ ("I made")

⁸⁶³lit., "did"

Women [and] men⁸⁶⁴ and boys [as well,
and also numerous young girls,
[joined together] to spread [clean] sand,
for his bridge and monastery. (27) [1142]

Sweeping the roadway, making flags,
plantain-banners,⁸⁶⁵ pots of plenty,⁸⁶⁶
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,
he⁸⁶⁷ aspired to Awakening.⁸⁶⁸ (29) [1144]

Padumuttara, Great Hero,
Crosser-Over⁸⁶⁹ of all that breathe,
the Great Sage made⁸⁷⁰ [his] thanksgiving
to [bodhisattva] Jaṭila.⁸⁷¹ (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 hand⁸⁷² what work was to be done,
will all in futures⁸⁷³ yet to come
be [born together] face-to-face.⁸⁷⁴ (32) [1147]

⁸⁶⁴reading *purisā* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *pumā*

⁸⁶⁵*kadalī*, lit., “plantains,” see RD s.v., banners in the shape of or made of banana leaves.

⁸⁶⁶reading *puṇṇaghāṭe* with BJTS for PTS °[*uṇṇakuṭa* (“full huts”)]

⁸⁶⁷reading *abhipatthayi* with BJTS (and, misspelled, PTS alt.) for PTS *abhipatthayiṇ* (“I aspired”)

⁸⁶⁸*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.

⁸⁶⁹*tārako*

⁸⁷⁰reading *anumodaniyaṃ* ‘*kāsi* with BJTS for PTS *anumodaniyaṇ kāsī-jaṭṭilassa* (“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”])

⁸⁷¹reading ‘*kāsi jaṭilassa* with BJTS for PTS *kāsī-jaṭilassa*, see previous note

⁸⁷²reading *ye keci hatthaparikkammaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *Keci hatthapadaṇ* (“Some, hand [and] foot”)

⁸⁷³lit., “in the future” (singular)

⁸⁷⁴*sammukhā*, i.e. “together”

As the result of that karma,
[done] with intention and resolve,
reborn in heavens of the gods,
they will [all] be your attendants.⁸⁷⁵ (33) [1148]

Transmigrating life after life,
a long time we experienced⁸⁷⁶
countless [years of] divine pleasure
and countless [such] human [rebirths]. (34) [1149]

For one hundred thousand aeons,
well-done karma's attainment, we're
tender girls among men; likewise
in the superb city of gods. (35) [1150]

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 born⁸⁷⁷ in a brahmin clan,
with [very] tender hands [and] feet,
in the home of the Śākya prince.⁸⁷⁸ (37) [1152]

We are never⁸⁷⁹ seeing the earth
when it is undecorated,
[and] we do not see muddy roads
[when they] have not been cleaned,⁸⁸⁰ 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.⁸⁸¹ (39) [1154]

⁸⁷⁵ *tuyham*, presumably addressing the bodhisattva

⁸⁷⁶ reading *anubhontī cchiraṃ kālaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *tuyhaṇ vo paricchāre ccha* ("and all of you will attend on you")

⁸⁷⁷ reading *jātāmha* with BJTS for PTS *ajātā* ("[we are] unborn;" worse is alt. *ajāto* "he is unborn")

⁸⁷⁸ *putta*° lit., "son"

⁸⁷⁹ lit., "all the time we are not..."

⁸⁸⁰ reading *cchikkhallabhūmimasucchiṃ* with BJTS for PTS *cchikkhallabhūmiṇ gamaṇaṇ* ("going on muddy roads")

⁸⁸¹ reading *pubbakammabalena no* with BJTS for PTS *pubbakammaphalan tato* ("after the fruit of previous karma")

After abandoning [our] homes,
going forth into homelessness,
we have crossed the road of rebirth;⁸⁸²
we have become free of passion.⁸⁸³ (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.⁸⁸⁴ (41) [1156]

Our defilements are [now] burnt up;
all [new] existence is destroyed.
Like elephants with broken chains,
we are living without constraint. (42) [1157]

Being in Best Buddha's presence
was a very good thing for us.
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. Uppaladāyikā⁸⁸⁵]

In Aruṇavatī City,
[lived] the kṣatriyan Aruṇa.
I was [then] the wife of that king;
in that place⁸⁸⁶ I was practicing.⁸⁸⁷ (1) [1160]

⁸⁸²*saṅsārapatha-nittiṇṇā*

⁸⁸³reading *vītarāgā bhavāmase* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *n'atthi dāni punabbhavo* ("now there will be no more rebirth")

⁸⁸⁴*tato tato*

⁸⁸⁵"Blue Lotus Giver"

⁸⁸⁶reading *ekajjhaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *ekaccchchaṇ* ("certain," "definite")

⁸⁸⁷reading *cchārayām' ahaṃ* with BJTS (and cf. PTS alts. here) for PTS *vādayām' ahaṇ* ("I am singing" "I am making sound" "I am causing to be said")

Gone off alone [and] sitting down,
 I then reflected [on it] like this:
 “there’s no good karma⁸⁸⁸ done by me
 to take along on my journey.⁸⁸⁹ (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,⁸⁹⁰ we [who are] called “women”
 always follow behind [our] men.⁸⁹¹
 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 exquisite⁸⁹² 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]

⁸⁸⁸*kusalaṇ*, lit., “wholesome deeds”

⁸⁸⁹PTS *kusalaṇ me kataṇ n’atthi ādāya gamiyam mama*; BJTS *ādāya gamanīyaṃ hi kusalaṇ natthi me kataṇ*

⁸⁹⁰*deva*, or “Lord,” lit., “god”

⁸⁹¹or “always become victims of men,” reading *purisānugatā sadā* with BJTS for PTS *purisānaṇ bharā mayaṇ* (“we are burdens on men” or “we carry the burden of men,” perhaps playing with the common word for “wife” used in v. 1, *bhariyā*). Given the second half of the verse, in either event she is asking her husband for permission to “adopt” a monk. In the BJTS reading she does this by stating that as a woman she has not been able to do her own good deeds, always following after her men when they do their good deeds (and gain the merit; the whole question of women’s roles in the production of men’s karma peppers the *Therī-apadāna* despite its virtual absence in the corresponding *Thera-apadāna*). In the PTS reading, she sets up her request for the monk to feed either by apologizing for being a burden, or by pointing out that as one accustomed to carrying the burden of men she will be able to carry that of the monk, now requested.

⁸⁹²*parama*, or “supreme” “ultimate” “best” “superior”

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,⁸⁹³
[and there was] much other,⁸⁹⁴ 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.⁸⁹⁵ (11) [1170]

When [my] last rebirth was attained
I was born in the Śākya clan,
leader of one thousand women
[attached] to Suddhodana's son.⁸⁹⁶ (12) [1171]

Becoming wearied in the home,
I went forth into homelessness.
Before the seventh night occurred⁸⁹⁷
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.⁸⁹⁸ (14) [1173]

⁸⁹³this refrain, common in *Thera-apadāna*, appears only here, and obviously lifted, in *Therī-apadāna*

⁸⁹⁴reading *aññaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *puññaṃ* ("merit"), though the latter is presumably the "other fruit" which the former reading implies

⁸⁹⁵or "effulgent," *jutindharā*

⁸⁹⁶i.e., attached to (attending on) the bodhisattva Siddhartha; women of the royal harem of the becoming-Buddha.

⁸⁹⁷lit., "the seventh night not attained"

⁸⁹⁸*piṇḍapātass' idaṃ phalaṃ*

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.⁸⁹⁹ (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 big⁹⁰⁰ 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 with⁹⁰¹ happy mind. (19) [1178]

I've mastered the superpowers
[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]

⁸⁹⁹*piṇḍapātass' idaṇ phalaṇ*

⁹⁰⁰reads *mahā°* with BJTS for *tayo°* ("three"). The latter is possible, but a weird departure from what is a stock phrase elsewhere in *Apadāna*

⁹⁰¹lit., "of"

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-mātā⁹⁰²]

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 Hamsavatī,
in a clan of ministers then,
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]

⁹⁰²"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.

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.⁹⁰³
Aspiring to [attain] that place,
I then fulfilled the three trainings.⁹⁰⁴
The Rest for Those Seeking Pity,⁹⁰⁵
the Well-Gone-One, thereupon said [this]: (6, 7a-b) [1190]⁹⁰⁶

"He⁹⁰⁷ whose faith in the Thus-Gone-One
is well-established, not shaking,
and whose morals⁹⁰⁸ are beautiful,
dear to noble people, and praised; (7c-d, 8a-b) [1191]

whose insight is upright and whose
pleasure⁹⁰⁹ 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;⁹¹⁰
pith of Buddha's dispensation." (9c-d, 10a-b) [1193]

Hearing that, being overjoyed,
I questioned [him about] my wish.

⁹⁰³reading *saddhādhimuttānaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *aṅgavimuttānaṃ* ("freed in/by [their] limbs")

⁹⁰⁴*tisso sikkhā*, i.e., training in morality (*sīla*), wisdom (*paññā*) and meditative states (*samādhi*)

⁹⁰⁵*karuṇānugatāsayo*, lit., "support for those come into/follow after/depend upon [his] pity (or compassion)"

⁹⁰⁶PTS 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.

⁹⁰⁷the pronouns here are somewhat jarringly masculine ones, even though the subject is female

⁹⁰⁸*sīlaṃ ccha yassa*

⁹⁰⁹*pasādo*

⁹¹⁰*pasādaṃ*

Then the Supreme,⁹¹¹ Measureless One,⁹¹²
the Guide,⁹¹³ prophesied [in this way:] (10c-d, 11a-b) [1194]

“Lovely one, pleased in the Buddha,⁹¹⁴
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.⁹¹⁵ (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,⁹¹⁶ best city,
[I was] born to rich millionaires,⁹¹⁷
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

⁹¹¹*anomo*

⁹¹²*amito*

⁹¹³*vināyako*

⁹¹⁴both of these adjectives are in the vocative: “O beautiful one, O you whose pleasure is in the Buddha”

⁹¹⁵*paṭipattīhi*

⁹¹⁶= Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

⁹¹⁷lit., “born in a rich clan of millionaires”

coming toward the city praising
the directions⁹¹⁸ with balls of food. (18) [1201]

When he was preaching⁹¹⁹ the *Dhamma*,
there were amazing shrieks of joy;⁹²⁰
twenty million⁹²¹ men [and] women
gained insight into the Teaching.⁹²² (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,
refining⁹²³ mindfulness [through] him,
I attained [my] arahantship. (21) [1204]

I'm going⁹²⁴ every single day
in order to see the Buddha.
I'm dissatisfied looking at
only [his] eye-pleasing body,⁹²⁵ (22) [1205]

produced by all the perfections,
excellent lair of good fortune,
[his] body, strewn with all goodness:
dissatisfied, I'm living⁹²⁶ [there]. (23) [1206]

⁹¹⁸*nānādisā*, lit., “various directions” “the different directions”

⁹¹⁹reading *desayato* (gen. abs. constr.) with BJTS (and PTS alt) for PTS *desayito*

⁹²⁰BJTS 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.

⁹²¹*dvekoṭi*, lit., “two [times] ten million”

⁹²²lit., “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.

⁹²³or “cultivating:” *bhāvetvā*

⁹²⁴reading *vajām' ahaṃ* with BJTS (cf. PTS alt. *vajām' ayaṇ*)

⁹²⁵reading *nayanānandanam* with BJTS for PTS *yena 'va nandanam* (“through which there is rejoicing” ?)

⁹²⁶reading *viḥāram' ahaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *bhayām' ahaṃ* (= *bhāyām' ahaṃ*, “I am fearing” ?)

The Victor, pleased at that virtue,
placed me in that foremost [place:]
“The Mother of Sigālaka’s
foremost among those freed by faith.”⁹²⁷ (24) [1207]

I’ve mastered the superpowers
[like] the “divine ear” element.
I’m also a master, Great Sage,
of the knowledge in others’ hearts. (25) [1208]

I remember [my] former lives;
[my] “divine eye” is purified.
All the defilements are destroyed;
[I] will not be reborn again. (26) [1209]

In meaning and in the Teaching,
etymology and preaching,
[this] knowledge of mine was produced
in your presence, O Great Hero. (27) [1210]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;
all [new] existence is destroyed.
Like elephants with broken chains,
I am living without constraint. (28) [1211]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence
was a very good thing for me.
The three knowledges are attained;
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (29) [1212]

The four analytical modes,
and these eight deliverances,
six special knowledges mastered,
[I have] done what the Buddha taught! (30) [1213]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Sigālaka-mātā spoke these verses.

The legend of Sigālaka-mātā Therī⁹²⁸ is finished

⁹²⁷ reading *aggā saddhādhimuttikā* with BJTS for PTS *aggā saṅgavimuttikā* (“freed from clinging”), alt. *aṅgavimuttikā* (“freed in/by her] limbs”)

⁹²⁸ this is the BJTS reading; PTS reads bhikkhunī Sigālaka-mātā

⁹²⁹ “White” “Bright” Good, “an historical nun, DPPN II: 1173-1174

[35. Sukkā⁹²⁹]

Ninety-one aeons ago the
 Leader, whose name was Vipassi,
 arose, the One Good to Look At,⁹³⁰
 the One with Eyes for Everything. (1) [1214]

I was then in Bandhumatī,
 born in an undistinguished clan.
 Having heard the Sage's Teaching,
 I went forth into homelessness. (2) [1215]

Learned bearer of the Teaching,
 good preacher, varied discourser,
 I was a [nun] who practiced the
 dispensation of the Buddha. (3) [1216]

Then giving many *Dhamma*-talks
 with friendship to the populace,
 fallen from there I was reborn,
 full of splendor, in Tusitā. (4) [1217]

Thirty-one aeons hence, Sikhi,
 a Heap of Fire,⁹³¹ burning with fame,
 the Victor, the Best Debater,
 [the Buddha,] arose in⁹³² 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:⁹³³
 [a Buddhist nun] with vast knowledge. (7) [1220]

Gone forth, a *Dhamma*-bearer, I
 made Buddha's⁹³⁴ dispensation shine.

⁹³⁰*ccharunayano*

⁹³¹*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".

⁹³²reading *loke* (loc.) with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *lokaṇ* (acc.)

⁹³³*tadā pi ccha tath' ev' ahaṇ*

⁹³⁴lit., "the Victor's"

Gone to the lovely gods' city,
I experienced great comfort. (8) [1221]

In this [present] lucky aeon,
Kakusandha, Supreme Victor,⁹³⁵
arose, the Excellent Leopard,⁹³⁶
and then as well I was the same. (9) [1222]

Gone forth, [I] illuminated
the Sage's thought, as long as life.⁹³⁷
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,⁹³⁸
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's⁹³⁹ dispensation shine. (12) [1225]

Also in this [lucky] aeon
Kassapa [Buddha,] Seventh Sage,
arose, the Refuge of the World,⁹⁴⁰
Non-Hostile One,⁹⁴¹ Ender of Death.⁹⁴² (13) [1226]

Gone forth in the dispensation
of that Hero Among Men⁹⁴³ as well,

⁹³⁵ *jinuttamo*

⁹³⁶ *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)

⁹³⁷ reading *yathāyukaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *yathāsukhaṃ* ("as much as comfortable" or perhaps "as I pleased")

⁹³⁸ *dīpavaro*

⁹³⁹ lit., "the Victor's"

⁹⁴⁰ *lokasaraṇo*

⁹⁴¹ *araṇo*, lit., "having no battle," "not adversarial," rhymed in the epithets *lokasaraṇo* and *maraṇantago* that also appear in this verse

⁹⁴² *maraṇantago*, lit., "gone to the end of death"

⁹⁴³ *naravīra*, or "Heroic Man" "Having the Virility of a Man" ("Masculine One")

[I] learned the good Teaching by heart,
was confident in inquiry, (14) [1227]

very moral, also modest,
[very] skilled in the three trainings,⁹⁴⁴
giving many talks on *Dhamma*
with friendship as long as I lived.⁹⁴⁵ (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,⁹⁴⁶ best city,
[I was] born to rich millionaires,⁹⁴⁷
with a huge quantity of gems. (17) [1230]

When [Gotama,] the World's Leader,
surrounded by one thousand monks,
entered [the city,] Rajgir,⁹⁴⁸ he
was praised by the thousand-eyed [god:]⁹⁴⁹ (18) [1231]

“The Restrained One,⁹⁵⁰ with former ascetics⁹⁵¹ restrained;
the Liberated One,⁹⁵² with those liberated;
[who had] the same color as a coin⁹⁵³ made of gold,
the Blessed One entered Rajagaha city.” (19) [1232]⁹⁵⁴

⁹⁴⁴ *tisso sikkhā*, i.e., training in morality (*sīla*), wisdom (*paññā*) and meditative states (*samādhi*)

⁹⁴⁵ reading *hitā* ‘va ‘haṃ with BJTS for PTS *mahāmune* (“O Great Sage”)

⁹⁴⁶ = Rājagaha, Rajgir, in Bihār

⁹⁴⁷ lit., “born in a rich clan of millionaires”

⁹⁴⁸ or Giribbaja, here *Rājagaha*

⁹⁴⁹ *sahassakkhena*, i.e., Śakra/Indra, king of the gods

⁹⁵⁰ *danto*, or “Tamed”

⁹⁵¹ *purāṇajāṭilehi*, lit., “former matted-haired [ascetics]”

⁹⁵² *vimutto*

⁹⁵³ *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.

⁹⁵⁴ these lines (41 syllables in PTS, 40 syllables in BJTS [which omits the *ccha* after *purāṇajāṭilehi*]) 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

Seeing the Buddha's majesty,
and hearing him, Heap of Virtues,⁹⁵⁵
pleasing my heart in the Buddha,
I worshipped⁹⁵⁶ [him] with all [my] strength. (20) [1233]

At [some] moment after that, in
the presence of Dhammadinnā,⁹⁵⁷
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*
in a huge gathering of folks.
While *Dhamma* was being preached, there
was insight into the Teaching.⁹⁵⁸ (23) [1236]

Seeing varied thousands of folks
[achieving insight,] astonished,
a spirit,⁹⁵⁹ very pleased by me,
roaming about Rajgir [said this]: (24) [1237]

"Why are these people in Rajgir
acting like nymphs drunk on honey,

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.

⁹⁵⁵*taṇ...guṇasañcchayaṇ*

⁹⁵⁶lit., "did pūjā"

⁹⁵⁷#23, above

⁹⁵⁸lit., "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.

⁹⁵⁹*yakkho*

⁹⁶⁰*ye...na*, lit., "those who have not"

⁹⁶¹PTS *payirupāsanti* breaks the meter; BJTS *upāsanti* does not. The two are essentially the same verb, the former with an additional *pari*<*payir*

unless⁹⁶⁰ they're honoring⁹⁶¹ 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,⁹⁶²
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]

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 Therī⁹⁶³ is finished

⁹⁶²reading *mahāmune* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *mahāmuni* (nom.)

⁹⁶³This is the BJTS reading. PTS reads *bhikkhunī Sukkā*

[36. Abhirūpanandā⁹⁶⁴]

Ninety-one aeons ago the
 Leader, whose name was Vipassi,
 arose, the One Good to Look At,⁹⁶⁵
 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 worshipped⁹⁶⁶ by⁹⁶⁷ 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 Man⁹⁶⁸ reached nirvana,
 I offered⁹⁶⁹ a gold umbrella
 on top of the relic-stupa. (4) [1249]

I'm freely generous, moral
 as long as life; fallen from there,
 discarding [my] human body,
 I went to Tāvatiṃsa [then]. (5) [1250]

In ten ways I was outshining
 [all the] other [gods who lived there]:
 through shapes [and] sounds [and] fragrances,
 through tastes and the [things that I] touch, (6) [1251]

in terms of lifespan, complexion,
 happiness and famousness too
 [and] likewise through supreme power
 I shone, having attained [those ten]. (7) [1252]

⁹⁶⁴“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.

⁹⁶⁵*ccharunayano*

⁹⁶⁶reading *pūjanīyā* with BJTS for PTS *sajanassā*

⁹⁶⁷lit., of (gen. pl.), lit., “the people’s object to be worshipped”

⁹⁶⁸*nibbute ccha naruttame*

⁹⁶⁹lit., “did *pūjā*”

And now, in [my] final rebirth,
I'm born in Kapilavastu.⁹⁷⁰
I'm well-known [by the] name Nandā,
the Śākya Khemaka's daughter. (8) [1253]

The nickname⁹⁷¹ "Very Beautiful"⁹⁷²
indicated my loveliness;⁹⁷³
when I had attained discretion,
[I'm] adorned with gorgeous beauty.⁹⁷⁴ (9) [1254]

Then there was a very big fight⁹⁷⁵
over me⁹⁷⁶ among the Śākyans.
Then [my] father had me ordained,
"don't let the Śākyas be destroyed."⁹⁷⁷ (10) [1255]

Going forth like that, having heard
that the Supreme Man hates⁹⁷⁸ 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.
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]

⁹⁷⁰*kapilavhaye*, lit., "in the [city] named for Kapila"

⁹⁷¹reading *upapadaṃ* (in the sense of "epithet") with BJTS for PTS *uppādaṇ* ("birth" "omen"), which breaks meter.

⁹⁷²*abhirūpaṇ*

⁹⁷³reading *me kantisūcchakaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *m' ekaṇ ti sūcchakaṇ* (?)

⁹⁷⁴reading *rūpalāvaññābhusitā* with BJTS for PTS *rūpavaṇṇavibhusitā*, which however has much the same meaning.

⁹⁷⁵or debate: *vivādo*

⁹⁷⁶reading *tadā mamatthaṃ* ("for my sake," i.e., over who will marry me) with BJTS for PTS *Idaṇ me-m' atthe* ("this for the sake of me"?)

⁹⁷⁷i.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

⁹⁷⁸reading *rūpadessiṃ naruttamaṃ* with BJTS for PTS *rūpadassiṇ* (alt. *dassana*), "beautiful looking supreme man"

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 heap⁹⁷⁹ 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,]
thinking⁹⁸⁰ [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,⁹⁸¹
of the knowledge in others’ hearts. (20) [1265]

I remember [my] former lives;
[my] “divine eye” is purified.
All the defilements are destroyed;
[I] will not be reborn again. (21) [1266]

⁹⁷⁹ *samussayaṇ*, “conglomeration,” i.e., the body

⁹⁸⁰ or “dwelling” “practicing” “living” (BJTS: *viharantya’dha yoniso*)

⁹⁸¹ reading *mahāmune* (voc.) with BJTS for PTS *tadā muni* (“Then the Sage [nom.];”
PTS alt. *tadā mune*, “Then, O Sage”)

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 Therī⁹⁸² is finished

[37. Aḍḍhakāsikā⁹⁸³]

In this [present] lucky aeon,
Brahma's Kinsman, Greatly Famed One,
[the Buddha] known as Kassapa⁹⁸⁴
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.⁹⁸⁵ (2) [1272]

Moderate⁹⁸⁶ in eating, I was

⁹⁸²this is the BJTS reading for PTS *bhikkhunī Abhirūpanandā*

⁹⁸³"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"

⁹⁸⁴BJTS reads "Named Kassapa according to his Lineage (*gottena*)"

⁹⁸⁵*patimokkhamhi*, lit "in [read "through"] the fortnightly recitation/227 rules

⁹⁸⁶reading *mataññutnī* (lit., "one who knows the limit") *ccha asane* ("in eating"), with BJTS for PTS *mataññū nīccha-āsane* ("moderate on a high seat"?)

committed to being watchful,⁹⁸⁷
 dwelling fixed on practice. One time
 [however,] with a filthy mind,
 I slandered an undefiled⁹⁸⁸ 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,⁹⁸⁹
 in a millionaire’s clan. Due to⁹⁹⁰
 [former] celibacy I was
 gorgeous,⁹⁹¹ like a nymph among gods. (6) [1276]

Seeing my extreme beauty, in
 Rajgir, best city, they made [me]
 enter prostitution due to⁹⁹²
 [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]

Seeking⁹⁹³ ordination⁹⁹⁴ having
 gone into the Victor’s presence,
 hearing⁹⁹⁵ that rogues were on⁹⁹⁶ the road,
 I got ordained by messenger.⁹⁹⁷ (9) [1279]

⁹⁸⁷reading *jāgariye pi* with BJTS for PTS *jāgariyesu*

⁹⁸⁸*vigatāsavaṇ*

⁹⁸⁹i.e., the people of Benares and the countryside surrounding it

⁹⁹⁰lit., “as the fruit of” “as the result of”

⁹⁹¹*rūpasampadā* (lit., “endowed with beauty”)

⁹⁹²lit., “as the fruit of” “as the result of”

⁹⁹³*tadā...°atthāya*, lit., “then...for the sake of”

⁹⁹⁴PTS reads *tadā pasampadatthāya*, with incorrect *sandhi*; BJTS reads, correctly, *tatopasampadatthāya*, cf. PTS alt. (also correct) *tad’upa°*

⁹⁹⁵reading *sutvā* with BJTS for PTS *disvā* (“seeing”). Neither edition indicates variance in its reading of the verb.

⁹⁹⁶*ṭhite*, lit., “were standing on” “remained on”

⁹⁹⁷lit., “a messenger [gave me] ordination”

All [my] karma has been burnt up,
merit and likewise evil too;
birth and rebirth⁹⁹⁸ 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 Therī⁹⁹⁹ is finished

⁹⁹⁸or "transmigration," °saṃsāra

⁹⁹⁹the BJTS reading for PTS *bhikkhunī Aḍḍhakāsikā*

¹⁰⁰⁰"Complete" "Full". BJTS reads Puṇṇā; both spellings are correct, see DPPN II: 227-228.

[38. Puṇṇikā¹⁰⁰⁰]

Gone forth in the dispensation
 of the Blessed One, Vipassi,
 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,¹⁰⁰¹
 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.¹⁰⁰² (4) [1290]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,
 I am a water-jug slave-girl,
 born in Śrāvastī, best city,
 in Anāthapiṇḍī[ka]'s house.¹⁰⁰³ (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's¹⁰⁰⁴ stick,
 oppressed by fear of faults called out. (7) [1293]¹⁰⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰¹reading *dhammatthaparipucchikā*

¹⁰⁰²*pesalā atimaññisaṃ*. Cf. *Pesalā-atimaññanā Sutta* (S. i. 187f., see DPPN II: 245)

¹⁰⁰³he was a famous millionaire lay donor devoted to the Buddha. The hermitage he provided to the Buddha, in the Jeta Grove in Śrāvastī, 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.

¹⁰⁰⁴lit., "the noble ladies' stick (or punishment)"

¹⁰⁰⁵= *Therīgāthā* v. 236

Of what are you afraid, brahmin?
Limbs shivering you always go
down to the water, so much cold
being experienced by you.“ (8) [1294]¹⁰⁰⁶

“You certainly know, Puṇṇikā.
You are asking¹⁰⁰⁷ me who’s doing
wholesome karma and warding off¹⁰⁰⁸
karma with evil [consequence]. (9) [1295]¹⁰⁰⁹

Whether he is old is young,
one who performs evil karma,
just by sprinkling¹⁰¹⁰ himself with water,
is freed from [that] evil karma.“ (10) [1296]¹⁰¹¹

I spoke a verse¹⁰¹² 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.¹⁰¹³
Therefore they named me “Completer,”¹⁰¹⁴
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]

¹⁰⁰⁶ = *Therīgāthā* v. 237

¹⁰⁰⁷ reading *paripucchchasi* with BJTS for PTS *paripucchchiyan* (“you would ask?”)

¹⁰⁰⁸ reading *rundhantaṃ* with BJTS (and PTS alt) for PTS *niddhantaṃ* (“blown off”
“purified” “thrown out”)

¹⁰⁰⁹ = *Therīgāthā* v. 238

¹⁰¹⁰ pronounce as two syllables for chanting

¹⁰¹¹ = *Therīgāthā* v. 239

¹⁰¹² or foot, stanza, line, word: *padaṃ*

¹⁰¹³ *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”

¹⁰¹⁴ *puṇṇā ti nāmaṃ*

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;
 but karma will not be destroyed¹⁰¹⁵
 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 Therī¹⁰¹⁶ is finished

[39. Ambapālī¹⁰¹⁷]

The Great Sage was Phussa [Buddha,]
 [like] a garland of speckled rays.¹⁰¹⁸
 I was [that Buddha’s own] sister,
 born in [Buddha’s] kṣatriyan clan. (1) [1307]

¹⁰¹⁵PTS reads *panassati*, BJTS *vinassati*

¹⁰¹⁶the BJTS reading, for PTS *bhikkhunī Puṇṇikā*

¹⁰¹⁷“Mango-Guarded”, an historical nun, see DPPN I: 155-156

¹⁰¹⁸*raṇṣiphusitāvelo*, playing on/explaining the name “Phussa” (= speckled, cf. °*phusita*°)

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,¹⁰¹⁹
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.
Angered [about something,] I cursed
a nun with liberated mind. (4) [1310]

Misbehaved like a prostitute,
I dirtied the dispensation.¹⁰²⁰
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,¹⁰²¹ I was an ascetic.¹⁰²² (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] eaten¹⁰²³ strong poison. (7) [1313]

In Kassapa's dispensation,¹⁰²⁴
I practiced celibate [nunhood]¹⁰²⁵.
Due to that karma, I was born
in the city of the thirty.¹⁰²⁶ (8) [1314]

¹⁰¹⁹or "ago," or "hence," as elsewhere: *ito*

¹⁰²⁰*jinasāsanadūsikā*, lit., "defiling the Victor's dispensation"

¹⁰²¹lit., "among humans"

¹⁰²²*tapassinī*, lit., "a female practitioner of austerities"

¹⁰²³*bhuttā...yathā*; BJTS reads *bhutvā*

¹⁰²⁴*kassape jinasāsane*, lit., "in the dispensation of the Victor, Kassapa [Buddha]"

¹⁰²⁵reading °*brahmacchariyam* with BJTS for PTS °*brahmaccheram*, lit., "the Brahma-life" "the holy life" "celibacy"

¹⁰²⁶i.e., the thirty-three gods.

When [my] last rebirth was attained,
 come to be spontaneously,¹⁰²⁷
 I was born amidst mango boughs;
 therefore I was “Mango-Guarded.” (9) [1315]

Along with ten million beings,
 gone forth in the dispensation,¹⁰²⁸
 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,¹⁰²⁹
 of the knowledge in others’ hearts. (11) [1317]

I remember [my] former lives;
 [my] “divine eye” is purified.
 All the defilements are destroyed;
 [I] will not be reborn again. (12) [1318]

In meaning and in the Teaching,
 etymology and preaching,
 [this] knowledge of mine was produced
 in your presence, O Great Hero. (13) [1319]

My defilements are [now] burnt up;
 all [new] existence is destroyed.
 Like elephants with broken chains,
 I am living without constraint. (14) [1320]

Being in Best Buddha’s presence
 was a very good thing for me.
 The three knowledges are attained;
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (15) [1321]

The four analytical modes,
 and these eight deliverances,
 six special knowledges mastered,
 [I have] done what the Buddha taught! (16) [1322]

Thus indeed the bhikkhunī Ambapālī spoke these verses.

¹⁰²⁷ *ahosiṇ opapātikā*

¹⁰²⁸ it. “I went forth in the Victor’s dispensation”

¹⁰²⁹ reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*, Great Sage.

The legend of the bhikkhunī Ambapālī is finished

[40. Selā¹⁰³⁰]

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)¹⁰³¹ [1324]

gone to that Hero for refuge,
I undertook morality.
Whenever that Great Hero, in
the midst of the great populace, (2e-f, 3a-b) [1325]

the Bull of Men was explaining
his own supreme Awakening,
things which formerly were unheard,
starting with "[life is] suffering," (3c-f) [1326]

hearing that, [and] taking [it] up,
insight, thinking, wisdom, science,
and intuition rose in me,
and I asked the monks [about them]. (4) [1327]

In Kassapa's dispensation,¹⁰³²
I practiced celibate [nunhood].¹⁰³³
Due to that karma, I was born
in the city of the thirty.¹⁰³⁴ (5) [1328]

And now, in [my] final rebirth,
born in a large millionaire's clan

¹⁰³⁰"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")

¹⁰³¹PTS 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.

¹⁰³²*kassape jinasāsane*, lit., "in the dispensation of the Victor, Kassapa [Buddha]"

¹⁰³³reading °*brahmacchariyam* with BJTS for PTS °*brahmaccheram*, lit., "the Brahma-life" "the holy life" "celibacy"

¹⁰³⁴i.e., the thirty-three gods.

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,¹⁰³⁵
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;
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 Therī¹⁰³⁶ is finished

The Summary:

¹⁰³⁵reading *mahāmune* with BJTS (and PTS alt.) for PTS *mahāmuni*, Great Sage.

¹⁰³⁶this is the BJTS reading for PTS *bhikkhunī Selā*

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.¹⁰³⁷
There are two hundred verses here,
plus another forty-two more.¹⁰³⁸

The Kṣatriyan Chapter, the Fourth.¹⁰³⁹

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].¹⁰⁴⁰

The *Therī-apadāna* is Finished¹⁰⁴¹

The *Apadāna* is Finished

¹⁰³⁷this line only in BJTS, which reads *Pesalā* here as elsewhere

¹⁰³⁸these final two feet enumerating the verses in the chapter, like most of the expected chapter summary, appears in BJTS but not in PTS.

¹⁰³⁹this appears only in BJTS, and appears before rather than after the chapter summary.

¹⁰⁴⁰this colophonic verse appears in BJTS only; PTS omits it

¹⁰⁴¹this appears only in BJTS; PTS omits it