

WOMEN LEADERS OF THE BUDDHIST REFORMATION

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ART. XIII & XIX. From the JRAS 1893—pp.517-566 & 763-798

SOME years ago the late Dr. Trenckner made a transcript of an important Pāli work, the commentary on the Anguttara Nikāya, called *Manoratha Pūraṇī* ("Wish-Fulfiller"), written by the great Buddhist commentator, Buddhagosha. When this work is added, by-and-bye, to the list of Pāli Texts already published, its value, as a further contribution to our knowledge of early Buddhism, will hardly need putting forward—the book will speak for itself. Meanwhile, as it has not yet been edited, the following short extract from the Text, accompanied by a translation, may not be without interest.

The chapter chosen illustrates the working of the great Buddhist reformation, in its original strength and freshness. It deals with certain contemporary disciples of Gotama, whose names appear in a section of the first Nipāta of the collection of Suttas called the Anguttara Nikāya. Here we find a list of thirteen women-disciples, who, after entering the Order of "Bhikkhunīs," exercised great influence, either by their teaching or the holiness of their lives.

In Gotama's discourse the disciples are named in turn, and the virtue that distinguishes each one is pointed out. The commentator adds, beneath every name, an account of the disciple's life, dwelling particularly on that part of her career in which she earned the "high place" assigned to her by the Master.

The sources from which the following portion of the Text has been taken are:—

1. Dr. Trenckner's beautifully clear and exact transcript of a MS. in the Siṅhalese writing which he collated with a Burmese MS. of Nipātas, 1-3. (Both the above MSS. are in the India Office Library, Nos. 30 and 31, Phayre Collection.)

This transcript is referred to in the footnotes under the initials T.I., where readings differ.

2. A Siṅhalese MS. very kindly lent me by Dr. Morris (referred to as S.M.).

In the collection of Burmese MSS. at the British Museum there is a Ṭikā (sub-commentary) on the *Manoratha Pūraṇī*—or rather on a part of it, viz, the first Nipāta.

The comments on the chapter in question consist chiefly of paraphrases of the expressions used by Buddhagosha, and brief explanations of the scripture verses quoted by him in his account of the thirteen Theris. There are also touches of extra detail added to a few of the stories. From the references made to other canonical works, the Ṭikā would seem to be written for readers well versed in the Scriptures; and the meaning is apt to be a little obscure in places. It must be said too that, in this case, any difficulties, as far as the matter is concerned, are added to by the manner of the copying, for the sameness of the Burmese character lends itself to confusion, unless the rounded letters are finished off clearly and exactly; and the Ṭikā betrays a rather careless hand.

It has been very easy to correct doubtful readings in the Trenckner transcript, by means of comparison with Dr. Morris's MS. In nearly every case these readings are evidently mere copyists' blunders, which Trenckner has already noted as such, by underlining. Differences in the sense are so rare that the MSS. may almost be said to be, word for word, the same.

With regard to my own translation, I have made it as literal as I could, trying to reflect faithfully all the small shades of meaning in the original. In all passages where I met with difficulties, I have referred them to Professor Rhys Davids, feeling that I can thus justify myself in placing my work (imperfect as it would have been, without his most kind help) before readers whom the subject may interest.

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[Manoratha Pūraṇī on Aṅguttara, I. 14. 5.]¹

1. *Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī.*

Theripālīyā paṭhame yadidaṃ mahāpajāpatigotamī mahāpajāpatigotamī therī rattaññūnaṃ aggāti dasseti. Tassā pañhakamme pana ayamanupubbikathā – ayaṃ kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatīyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā aparena samayena satthu dhammadesanaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ rattaññūnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikāraṃ kammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā yāvajīvaṃ dānaṃ datvā sīlaṃ rakkhivā tato cuto devaloke nibbattivā pana ekasmiṃ buddhantare devalokato cavitvā bārāṇasīyaṃ pañcannaṃ dāsisatānaṃ jeṭṭhakadāsī hutvā nibbatti. Atha vassūpanāyikasamaye pañca paccekabuddhā nandaṃ mūlakapabbhārato isipatane otarivā nagare piṇḍāya caritvā isipatanaṃ eva gantvā “vassūpanāyikakuṭiyā atthāya hatthakammaṃ yācissāmā”ti cintesuṃ. Kasmā? Vassaṃ upagacchantena hi nālakapaṭipadaṃ paṭipannāpi pañcannaṃ chadanānaṃ aññatarena chadanena channe sadvārabaddhe senāsane upagantabbaṃ. Vuttañhetam “na, bhikkhave, asenāsanikena vassaṃ upagantabbaṃ, yo upagaccheyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā”ti (mahāva. 204). Tasmā vassakāle upakaṭṭhe sace senāsanaṃ labhati, iccetaṃ kusalaṃ. No ce labhati, hatthakammaṃ pariyesiṭvāpi kātābbaṃ. Hatthakammaṃ alabhanta sāmaṃpi kātābbaṃ, na tveva asenāsanikena vassaṃ upagantabbaṃ. Ayamanudhammatā. Tasmā te paccekabuddhā “hatthakammaṃ yācissāmā”ti cīvaraṃ pārupitvā sāyanhasamaye nagaraṃ pavasiṭvā seṭṭhissa gharadvāre aṭṭhaṃsu. Jeṭṭhakadāsī kuṭaṃ gahetvā udakatiṭṭhaṃ gacchantī paccekabuddhe nagaraṃ pavisaṇte addasa. Seṭṭhi tesam āgatakāraṇaṃ sutvā “amhākaṃ okāso natthi, gacchantū”ti āha.

Atha te nagarā nikkhante jeṭṭhakadāsī kuṭaṃ gahetvā pavisaṇtī disvā kuṭaṃ otāretvā vanditvā onamitvā mukhaṃ ukkhipitvā, “ayyā, nagaraṃ pavitṭhamattāva nikkhantā, kiṃ nu kho”ti pucchi. Vassūpanāyikakuṭiyā hatthakammaṃ yācituṃ āgataṃ hāti. Laddhaṃ, bhanteti? Na laddhaṃ upāsiketi. Kiṃ panesā kuṭi issareheva kātābbā, udāhu duggatehipi sakkā kātunti? Yena kenaci sakkā kātunti. Sādhū, bhante, mayaṃ karissāma, sve mayhaṃ bhikkhaṃ gaṇhathāti nimantetvā puna kuṭaṃ gahetvā āgamanatitthamagge ṭhatvā āgatāgatā avasesadāsiyo “ettheva hothā”ti vatvā sabbāsaṃ āgatakāle āha – “ammā, kiṃ niccāmeva parassa dāsikammaṃ karissatha, udāhu dāsibhāvato muccituṃ icchathā”ti. Ajjeva muccituṃ icchāma, ayyeti. Yadi evaṃ, mayā paccekabuddhā hatthakammaṃ alabhantā svātanāya nimantitā, tumhākaṃ sāmikehi ekadivasaṃ hatthakammaṃ dāpethāti. Tā “sādhū”ti sampaṭicchitvā sāyaṃ aṭavito āgatakāle sāmikānaṃ ārocesuṃ. Te “sādhū”ti jeṭṭhakadāsassa gehadvāre sannipatiṃsu.

Atha ne jeṭṭhakadāsī “sve, tātā, paccekabuddhānaṃ hatthakammaṃ dethā”ti ānisaṃsaṃ ācikkhitvā yepi na kātukāmā, te gālḥena ovādena tajjetvā sabbepi sampaṭicchāpesi. Sā punadivase paccekabuddhānaṃ bhattaṃ datvā sabbesaṃ dāsaputtānaṃ saññaṃ adāsi. Te tāvadeva araññaṃ

¹ All Pāli passages were taken directly from the 6th council edition published by VRI, Igatpuri, India. <http://www.tipitaka.org/> The tracts used by Mabel Bode differ in various ways, e.g., word separation, punctuation, and sometimes spelling

pavisitvā dabbasambhāre samodhānetvā satam satam hutvā ekekaṃ kuṭiṃ caṅkamanādirivāraṃ katvā mañcapīṭhapānīya-paribhojanīyādīni ṭhapetvā paccekabuddhānaṃ temāsaṃ tattheva vasanatthāya paṭiññaṃ kāretvā vārabhikkhaṃ paṭṭhapesuṃ. Yā attano vāradivase na sakkoti, tassā jeṭṭhakadāsī sakagehato nīharitvā deti. Evaṃ temāsaṃ paṭijaggitvā jeṭṭhakadāsī ekekaṃ dāsiṃ ekekaṃ sāṭakaṃ sajjāpesi, pañca thūlasāṭakasatāni ahesuṃ. Tāni parivattāpetvā pañcannaṃ paccekabuddhānaṃ ticīvarāni katvā adāsī. Paccekabuddhā tāsāṃ passantīnaṃyeva ākāseṇa gandhamādanapabbataṃ agamaṃsu.

Tāpi sabbā yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā devaloke nibbattiṃsu. Tāsu jeṭṭhikā tato cavitvā bārāṇasiyā avidūre pesakāragāme pesakārajeṭṭhakassa gehe nibbatti. Athekadivasāṃ padumavatiyā puttā pañcasatā paccekabuddhā bārāṇasirañña nimantitā rājadvāraṃ āgantvā kañci olokontampi adisvā nivattitvā nagaradvārena nikkhamitvā taṃ pesakāragāmaṃ agamaṃsu. Sā itthī paccekabuddhe disvā sampiyāyamaṇā sabbe vanditvā bhikkhaṃ adāsī. Te bhattakiccaṃ katvā gandhamādanameva agamaṃsu.

Sāpi yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā devamanussesu saṃsaraṇtī amhākaṃ satthu nibbattito puretameva devadahanagare mahāsuppabuddhassa gehe paṭisaṇḍhiṃ gaṇhi, gotamītiṃsā nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Mahāmāyāya kaṇiṭṭhabhaginī hoti. Mantajjhāyakā brāhmaṇā lakkhaṇāni pariggaṇhantā “imāsaṃ dvinnampi kucchiyaṃ vasitadārakā cakkavattino bhavissanti”ti byākarimsu. Suddhodanamahārājā vayappattakāle tā dvepi maṅgalaṃ katvā attano gharaṃ ānesi. Aparabhāge amhākaṃ bodhisatto tusitapurā cavitvā mahāmāyāya deviyā kucchiyaṃ paṭisaṇḍhiṃ gaṇhi. Mahāmāyā tassa jātadivasato sattame divase kālaṃ katvā tusitapure nibbatti. Suddhodanamahārājā mahāsattassa mātucchaṃ mahāpajāpatiṃgotamiṃ aggamahesitthāne ṭhapesi. Tasmīṃ kāle nandakumāro jāto. Ayaṃ mahāpajāpati nandakumāraṃ dhātīnaṃ datvā sayaṃ bodhisattaṃ parihari.

Apareṇa samayena bodhisatto mahābhinnikkhamaṇaṃ nikkhamitvā sabbaññutaṃ patvā lokānuggahaṃ karonto anukkameṇa kapilavattumaṃ patvā nagaraṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi. Athassa pitā suddhodanamahārājā antaravāṇasiyāyeva dhammakathaṃ sutvā sotāpanno ahoṣi. Atha dutiyadivase nando pabbajī, sattame divase rāhulo. Satthā apareṇa samayena vesāliṃ upanissāya kūṭāgārasālāyaṃ viharati. Tasmīṃ samaye suddhodanamahārājā setacchattassa heṭṭhā arahattaṃ sacchikatvā parinibbāyi. Tadā mahāpajāpatiṃgotamī pabbajjāya cittaṃ uppādesi. Tato rohiṇīnadītīre kalahavivādasuttapariyosāne (su. ni. 868 ādayo) nikkhamitvā pabbajitānaṃ pañcannaṃ kumārasatānaṃ pādapariṇāṣikā sabbāva ekacittā hutvā “mahāpajāpatiyā santikaṃ gantvā sabbāva satthu santike pabbajissāmā”ti mahāpajāpatiṃ jeṭṭhikaṃ katvā satthu santikaṃ gantvā pabbajitukāmā ahesuṃ. Ayaṇca mahāpajāpati paṭhamameva ekavāraṃ satthāraṃ pabbajjaṃ yācamāṇā nālattha, tasmā kappakaṃ pakkosāpetvā kese chinnāpetvā kāsāyāni acchādetvā sabbā tā sākiyāniyo ādāya vesāliṃ gantvā ānandattherena dasabalaṃ yācāpetvā atṭhahi garudhammehi pabbajjaṇca upasampadaṇca alattha. Itarā pana sabbāpi ekatova upasampannā ahesuṃ. Ayamettha saṅkhepo, vitthārato panetaṃ vatthu pāliyaṃ (cūḷava. 402 ādayo) āgatameva.

Evaṃ upasampannā pana mahāpajāpati satthāraṃ upasaṅkamtvā abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atṭhāsī, athassā satthā dhammaṃ desesi. Sā satthu santike kammaṭṭhānaṃ gahetvā arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Sesā pañcasatā bhikkhuniyo nandakovādasuttapariyosāne (ma. ni. 3.398 ādayo) arahattaṃ pāpuṇiṃsu. Evametam vatthu samuṭṭhitaṃ. Aparabhāge satthā jetavane nisinna bhikkhuniyo ṭhānantare ṭhapento mahāpajāpatiṃ rattaññūnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

1. Mahāpajāpati Gotamī.

The first of the series of theris (that is to say Mahā Gotamī) appears as the chief of those who are great in experience. Without going into the history of her former deeds, it is said that she entered existence in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, in a noble family at Hamsavatī. Afterwards, hearing the Teacher discourse upon the Law, and seeing him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief

place, she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same place. When she had done deeds of charity her whole life through, and had taken the vow to fulfil the precepts, and had observed the Sabbath, after a hundred thousand Kappas had passed she was reborn at Benares, being the chief among five hundred slaves. Now when the Vassa season began, five hundred Pacceka Buddhas came down from the mountain caves to Isipatana and went about the city for alms. And just as they came to Isipatana they thought, "We will ask them to make ready a dwelling for us; huts for the Vassa season." So, donning mendicant's robes, and entering the city in the evening, they stood by the gate of a merchant's house.

The chief of the women-slaves had taken her water-jar and was going down to the ford for water, when she beheld the five hundred Pacceka Buddhas entering the city.

The merchant, hearing the (reason of) their coming, said:

"We have no time ! Let them go away."

Now, as they were departing from the city, the chief slave, bearing her water-jar, was entering (the city) and saw them. She greeted them and made obeisance to them, covering her face. "Sirs," she asked, "Wherefore did you enter the city, and wherefore are you leaving?" "We came to ask that a dwelling for the Vassa season might be built for us," they said.

"And have you succeeded, sirs?" she said.

"We have not succeeded, daughter," they said.

"And these huts that should be built—can they be built only by gentlefolk or by poor folk?" she asked.

"They can be built by any man soever."

"Very good, sirs, we will do it," she said. "Tomorrow receive your food from me." And having thus invited them and, she once more took up her water-jar and went away. And, standing on the path leading to the ford, she said to each one of the slave girls as they came along, "Stay here," and when they had all come, she said, "My daughters, will you always do the work of a slave for another, or do you desire to be freed from slavery?"

"We would fain be free this very day, mother," they answered.

"If so, get your husbands to labour one day for these five hundred holy ones, who cannot find labourers and whom I have promised to provide for tomorrow," she said.

"So be it," they said.

And, having agreed to this themselves, they told their husbands of it, when they came back from the forest.

"Very well," said they, and assembled together at the door of the head-man's dwelling.

Now the chief woman-slave said to them, "My friends, give your labour to these holy men." And pointing out her intention (and scolding with strong admonition those who did not wish to work) she made them agree.

On the morrow, when she had given a meal to the Pacceka Buddhas, she gave the directions to all the slaves.

They forthwith went into the forest and brought together building materials, and, dividing into parties of a hundred; they built, for each Buddha, huts, having first made an enclosure of cloisters. And they placed furniture, to wit, beds and chairs and drinking-water, there, and caused the Buddhas to take a vow to dwell there three months.

And they appointed an order of feeding them, and if any man were not able (to do so) when his turn came, food was brought to him from the house of the chief slave, that he might give it.

And, having thus fed them for three months, the chief woman-slave made each one of the women-slaves take off one cloth garment. There were five hundred thick cloths; and having caused these to be exchanged, she bought for each of the five hundred holy ones three robes. And then before the very eyes of the women, the five hundred Pacceka Buddhas rose into the air and passing through the air, returned to the mountain Gandhamādana and all these women, having spent their life in good deeds, were reborn in the Deva heaven. But the chief one, vanishing from thence, was reborn at a village of weavers near Benares, in the house of a master-weaver.

Now, on a certain day, five hundred young Buddhas came to Benares, invited by the king, and when they had come to the gate of the palace, looking about and seeing no one there, they turned back, and, setting forth by the city gate, they reached the village of weavers.

This woman, seeing the Buddhas and saluting them in a friendly way, gave them food.

They, after taking their meal in due manner, returned forthwith to Gandhamādana.

And the woman, after leading a virtuous life, and passing through deva worlds and the world of men, was reborn, just before our Teacher, re-entering life in the dwelling of the eminent Suppabuddho.

Her family name was Gotamī. She was the younger sister of the celebrated Māyā. The Brahmins, who were learned in spells, having perceived the signs of greatness in these two, prophesied that the children conceived by them would be universal monarchs.

The great King Suddhodana, holding a great festival at his coming of age, brought the two sisters home to his own palace.

Afterwards our Bodhisat vanished from the Tusita heaven and re-entered existence in the womb of Māyā. Māyā, dying on the seventh day after his birth, was born again in the Tusita heaven. King Suddhodana raised Pajāpatī (aunt of the Blessed One) to the place of Queen-consort. At this time the young prince Nanda was born. Pajāpatī, handing Nanda over to a foster-mother, continued to tend the Bodhisat.

Later on, when the Bodhisat had secluded himself from the world and attained wisdom, doing good to mankind, and had, in due course, reached the town of Kapila, he entered the city, seeking alms.

Now his father, the great king, having heard him preach the Law even on the high road, became converted. On the second day Nanda embraced the ascetic life, and on the seventh day Rāhulo.

Afterwards the Blessed One took up his abode in a turretted hall near Vesālī. At this time the great King Suddhodana died, having attained to Arahatsip under the royal white umbrella.

Then Pajāpatī conceived the thought, of entering the religious, life. And afterwards, at the end of the Ralahavivāda-Sutta, or Discourse on the strife and contention on the banks of the river Rohini, Pajāpatī set out, attended by five hundred young maidens, who had become converted, and who had come, all of one accord, to Pajāpatī, thinking, “we will enter the religious life under the Teacher.” And placing Mahāpajāpatī at their head, and going to the Teacher, they craved that they might enter the Order.

But even this woman Pajāpatī, the first time she besought the Teacher that she might enter the Order, did not gain her desire.

Therefore, sending for the barber, she caused her hair to be cut off, donned the yellow robe, and taking all these Sākya women with her, she went to Vesālī, and got the Thera Ānanda to entreat the

Holy One for her. And she did succeed in entering the religious life and receiving ordination, subject to the eight chief laws.

And all the other women received ordination at the same time.

This is a brief summary, as the story is related in full in the Canon.²

When thus admitted to the Order, Pajāpatī, having approached the Teacher and made obeisance to him, stood on one side. And the Teacher preached the Doctrine to her, and this woman, instructed by the Teacher in ecstatic meditation, attained to Arahatsip. And the other five hundred nuns, at the end of the discourse to Nandaka attained to Arahatsip. Thus did this story arise.

Afterwards, the Teacher, seated at Jetavana, when assigning places to the Bhikkhunis, exalted Pajāpatī to the chief place among those who are great in experience.

2. *Khemā.*³

Dutiye khemāti evaṃnāmikā bhikkhunī. Ito paṭṭhāya ca panassā pañhakamme ayamanupubbikathāti avatvā sabbattha abhinīhāraṃ ādiṃ katvā vattabbameva vakkhāma.

Atīte kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatīyaṃ ayaṃ parapariyāpannā hutvā nibbatti. Athekadivasam tassa bhagavato aggasāvikaṃ sujātattheriṃ nāma piṇḍāya carantaṃ disvā tayo modake datvā taṃdivasameva attano kese vissajjetvā theriyā dānaṃ datvā “anāgate buddhuppāde tumhe viya mahāpaññā bhaveyyan” ti patthanaṃ katvā yāvajīvaṃ kusalakammesu appamattā hutvā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsarantī kassapabuddhakāle kikissa kāsirañño gehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā sattannaṃ bhaginīnaṃ abbhantarā hutvā vīsativassasahassāni geheyeva komāribrahmacariyaṃ caritvā tāhi bhaginīhi saddhiṃ dasabalassa vasanaparivenaṃ kāretvā ekaṃ buddhantaraṃ devamanussesu saṃsarantī imasmiṃ buddhuppāde maddaraṭṭhe sāgalanagare rājakule paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi, khemātissā nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Tassā sarīraṇaṃ suvaṇṇarasapiṇjaro viya ahosi. Sā vayappattā bimbisārarañño gehaṃ agamāsi.

Sā tathāgate rājagahaṃ upanissāya veḷuvane viharante “satthā kira rūpe dosaṃ dassetī”ti rūpamadamaṭṭā hutvā “mayhampi rūpe dosaṃ dasseyyā”ti bhayena dasabalaṃ dassanāya na gacchati. Rājā cintesi – “ahaṃ satthu aggupaṭṭhāko, mādisassa ca nāma ariyasāvakaṃsa aggamahesī dasabalaṃ dassanāya na gacchati, na me etaṃ rucati”ti. So kavīhi veḷuvanuyyānassa vaṇṇaṃ bandhāpetvā “khemāya deviyā savanūpacāre gāyathā”ti āha. Sā uyyānassa vaṇṇaṃ sutvā gantukāmā hutvā rājānaṃ paṭipucchi. Rājā “uyyānaṃ gaccha, satthāraṃ pana adisvā āgantum na labhissasī”ti āha. Sā rañño paṭivacanaṃ adatvā maggaṃ paṭipajji. Rājā tāya saddhiṃ gacchante purise āha – “sace devī uyyānato nivattamānā dasabalaṃ passati, iccetaṃ kusalaṃ. Sace na passati, rājānāya naṃ dassethā”ti.

Atha kho sā devī divasabhāgaṃ uyyāne caritvā nivattantī dasabalaṃ adisvāva gantum āraddhā. Atha naṃ rājapurisā attano aruciyaṃ deviyā satthu santikaṃ nayimsu.

Satthā taṃ āgacchantiṃ disvā iddhiyā ekaṃ devaccharaṃ nimminivā tālavaṇṇaṃ gahetvā bījamānaṃ viya akāsi. Khemā devī taṃ disvā cintesi – “mānamhi naṭṭhā, evarūpā nāma devaccharappaṭibhāgā itthiyo dasabalassa avidūre tiṭṭhanti, ahaṃ etāsaṃ paricārīkāpi nappahomī, mānamadaṃ hi nissāya pāpacittassa vasena naṭṭhā”ti taṃ nimittaṃ gahetvā tameva itthiṃ olokayamānā atṭhāsī. Athassā passantiyaṃ tathāgatassa adhiṭṭhānabalena sā itthī paṭhamavayaṃ atikkamma majjhimavayaṃ tṭhitā viya majjhimavayaṃ atikkamma pacchimavayaṃ tṭhitā viya ca

² Vinaya, Texts III. 320-327.

³ The whole of this story recurs in different wording in the Paramattha Dīpanī on Therī Gāthā 139-144 (pp. 126 foll. Of Prof. Edward Müller’s forthcoming edition for the Pali Text Society).

valittacā palitakesā khaṇḍaviraḷadantā ahosi. Tato tassā passantiyāva saddhiṃ tālavaṇṇena parivattitvā paripati. Tato khemā pubbaḥetusampannattā tasmīṃ ārammaṇe āpāthagate evaṃ cintesi – “evaṃvidhampi nāma sarīraṃ evarūpaṃ vipattiṃ pāpuṇāti, mayhampi sarīraṃ evaṃgatikameva bhavissatī”ti. Athassā evaṃ cintitakkhaṇe satthā imaṃ dhammapade gāthamāha –

“Ye rāgarattānupatanti sotam,
Sayamkatam makkaṭakova jālam;
Etampi chetvāna vajanti dhīrā,
Anapekkhino sabbadukkham pahāyā”ti.

Sā gāthāpariyosāne ʈitapade ʈitāyeva saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Agāramajjhe vasantena nāma arahattaṃ pattena taṃdivasameva parinibbāyitabbam vā pabbajitabbam vā hoti, sā pana attano āyusaṅkhārānaṃ pavattanabhāvaṃ ñatvā “attano pabbajjam anujānāpessāmī”ti satthāraṃ vanditvā rājanivesanaṃ gantvā rājānaṃ anabhivādetvāva aṭṭhāsī. Rājā ingiteneva aññāsī – “ariyadhammaṃ pattā bhavissatī”ti. Atha naṃ āha – “devi gatā nu kho satthudassanāyā”ti. Mahārāja, tumhehi diṭṭhadassanaṃ parittaṃ, ahaṃ pana dasabalaṃ sudiṭṭhamakāsim, pabbajjam me anujānāthāti. Rājā “sādhu, devī”ti sampāṭicchitvā suvaṇṇasavikāya bhikkhuniupassayaṃ upanetvā pabbājesi. Athassā “khemātherī nāma gihibhāve ʈatvā arahattaṃ pattā”ti mahāpaññabhāvo pākaṭo ahosi. Idamettha vatthu. Atha satthā aparabhāge jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ʈhānantare ʈhapento khemātheriṃ mahāpaññānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ʈhapesīti.

2. Khemā.

In the second Sutta the name Khemā means the Bhikkhunī so called. Now henceforth, without going into the history of their former deeds, I will say only whatever ought to be otherwise said, beginning (in the case of each one) from her first resolve.

It is said that, in days gone by, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, this woman was reborn, a native of the city Hamsavati.

Now, one day, seeing the therā Sujāta, one of the two chief disciples of that Blessed One, going his round for alms, she gave him three sweetmeats. And that very day, she had her own hair cut off, and (bartered it for) gifts which she gave to the therā, uttering the prayer: “Hereafter, at some time when a Buddha appears in the world, may I become full of wisdom, like you !”

Thenceforth, spending her life zealous in good works, and wandering from world to world among gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she re-entered existence, at the time of the Buddha Kassapa, in the palace of Kiki, King of Kasī, as one among seven sisters; and for twenty thousand years she lived there a life of chastity, and, with her sisters, had a dwelling place built for the Blessed One.

Then, having passed the interval between that time and the birth of the next Buddha, wandering from life to life in the worlds of gods and men, she was reborn, in the time of this our Buddha, in the royal family in the city of Sāgala, in the Madda country.

They gave her the name Khemā; and her skin was of exceeding beauty, yellow as fine gold.

Now when she had come of age, she entered the household of King Bimbisāra.

And it was told her of the Blessed One, who was dwelling in a royal precinct, not far from Rājagaha: “The Master finds fault with beauty;” so she, being intoxicated with her own loveliness, and fearing lest he should point out blemishes in her too, would not go to see him.

The king thought to himself: “I am a chief supporter of the Master. Yet she, the consort of so leading a disciple, does not go to see him who has the ten Powers of Wisdom. I don’t like it!”

So he bade the Court poets compose a poem on the glories of the Veluvana Hermitage, and told them: “Go and sing that in the hearing of Khemā, the Queen.”

She, hearing of the beauty of the Hermitage, was seized with a desire to go there, and asked the king’s leave.

The king replied: “Go to the Hermitage by all means; but you will not be able to return thence without paying your respects to the Teacher.”

She made no reply to the king, but started forth on her way.

The king said to the attendants who were going with her: “If the Queen, as she is returning from the Hermitage, should catch sight of the Blessed One, well and good! But if she does not, do you point him out to her, in the king’s name.”

Now the Queen, after wandering about the Hermitage during the day, was about to depart, without having seen the Blessed One. So the royal attendants, against her will, led her into the presence of the Master.

The Master, seeing her approaching, created, by the power of Iddhi, the form of a nymph of heavenly beauty, who, holding a palm-leaf, seemed to be fanning him.

Khemā, the Queen, beholding this nymph, thought to herself: “Alas! I am undone! —inasmuch as women of loveliness so divine surround the Blessed One! I am not worthy to be even as their handmaid. Methinks it is by nothing else but my wicked thoughts that I am undone!”

And, drawing this conclusion, she stood spell-bound, gazing at the woman. And, even as she gazed, the woman (by the steadfast will of the Tathāgata) seemed to pass from her first youth and change to middle-age, and from middle-age she seemed to pass on to old age, and stood there, with hair grown grey and teeth become all loose and broken. And then the Queen, still watching, saw her fall, fan and all, lifeless to the ground.

Then Khemā, (since all the causes heaped up in her former existences wrought this result in her,) thought thus: “So glorious and beautiful a body has fallen thus on destruction! Even to a like end must this my body come!” And at the moment she was thinking this, the Master uttered this verse of the Dhammapada:

“They who are slaves to lust drift down the stream,
as the spider down the web he himself has made.
But, parting from it, they forsake the world,
and, with gaze no longer set on life,
they put far from them the pleasures of lust!”

And, at the end of the stanza, she, even as she stood there, acquired the Paṭisambidhās (the Four Gifts of Perfect Understanding) and, attained to Arahatsip.

Now he who attains to Arahatsip while he is yet a layman, must pass away in death that very day or enter the religious life. She therefore, understanding that the end of her days was near, thought to herself, “I will ask permission to forsake the world, myself.”

And, making obeisance to the Master, she returned to the palace, and, saluting the king, stood before him.

The king, feeling from her very manner that she had reached the noble state of Arahatsip, said to her: “Queen, have you then really been to see the Blessed One?”

“Oh great king,” she answered, “What you have seen is of little moment. But to me the Blessed One has been fully revealed, even to the utmost. I pray you, let me forsake the world!” And the king granted her request, and sent her in a golden palanquin to the nunnery, where she should dwell.

Now since she, while still a laywoman and called Khemā, had attained to Arahatsip, it became noised abroad that she must have been one gifted with great wisdom.

This is the story thus far.

Now afterwards the Master, seated at Jetavana, when assigning places, one after the other, to the Bhikkhunīs, gave to the therī Khemā the chief place among those who are full of wisdom.

3. *Uppalavaṇṇā.*

Tatiye Uppalavaṇṇāti nīluppalagabbhasadiseneva vaṇṇena samannāgatattā evaṃladdhanāmā therī. Sā kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatīyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā aparabhāge mahājanena saddhiṃ satthu santikaṃ gantvā dhammaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuṇiṃ iddhiṃantīnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā sattāhaṃ buddhappamukhassa bhikkhusaṅghassa mahādānaṃ datvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā devamanussesu saṃsarantī kassapabuddhakāle bārāṇasinagare kikissa kāsirañño gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā sattannaṃ bhaginīnaṃ abbhantarā hutvā vīsati vassasahassāni brahmacariyaṃ caritvā bhikkhusaṅghassa pariveṇaṃ katvā devaloke nibbattā.

Tato cavitvā puna manussalokaṃ āgacchantī ekasmiṃ gāme sahatthā kammaṃ katvā jīvanakaṭṭhāne nibbattā. Sā ekadivasaṃ khetṭakuṭiṃ gacchantī antarāmagge ekasmiṃ sare pātova pupphitaṃ padumapupphaṃ disvā taṃ saraṃ oruyha tañceva pupphaṃ lājapakkhipanattāya paduminiyā pattaṇca gahetvā kedāre sālīsīsāni chinditvā kuṭikāya nisinnā lāje bhajjitvā pañca lājasatāni gaṇesi. Tasmiṃ khaṇe gandhamādanapabbate nirodhasamāpattito vuṭṭhito eko paccekabuddho āgantvā tassā avidūre aṭṭhāsi. Sā paccekabuddhaṃ disvā lājehi saddhiṃ padumapupphaṃ gahetvā kuṭito oruyha lāje paccekabuddhassa patte pakkhipitvā padumapupphena pattaṃ pidhāya adāsi. Athassā paccekabuddhe thokaṃ gate etadahosi – “pabbajitā nāma pupphena anattikā, ahaṃ pupphaṃ gahetvā piḷandhissāmi”ti gantvā paccekabuddhassa hatthato pupphaṃ gahetvā puna cintesi – “sace, ayyo, pupphena anattiko abhavissa, pattamatthake ṭhapetuṃ na adassa, addhā ayyassa attho bhavissati”ti puna gantvā pattamatthake ṭhapetvā paccekabuddhaṃ khamāpetvā, “bhante, imesaṃ me lājanaṃ nissandena lājagaṇānāya puttā assu, padumapupphassa nissandena nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne me pade pade padumapupphaṃ utṭhahatū”ti patthanaṃ akāsi. Paccekabuddho tassā passantiyāva ākāsenā gandhamādanapabbataṃ gantvā taṃ padumaṃ nandamūlakapabbhāre paccekabuddhānaṃ akkamanasopānasamīpe pādapuñchanaṃ katvā ṭhapesi.

Sāpi tassa kammaṃ nissandena devaloke paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi, nibbattakālato paṭṭhāya cassā pade pade mahāpadumapupphaṃ utṭhāsi. Sā tato cavitvā pabbatapāde ekasmiṃ padumassare padumagabbhe nibbatti. Taṃ nissāya eko tāpaso vasati, so pātova mukhadhovanattāya saraṃ gantvā taṃ pupphaṃ disvā cintesi – “idaṃ pupphaṃ sesehi mahantataraṃ, sesāni ca pupphitāni, idaṃ makulītaṃ, bhavitabbamettha kāraṇā”ti udakaṃ otarivā taṃ pupphaṃ gaṇhi. Taṃ tena gahitamattameva pupphitaṃ. Tāpaso antopadumagabbhe nipannadārikaṃ addasa. Diṭṭhakālato paṭṭhāya ca dhītusinehaṃ labhitvā padumeneva saddhiṃ paṇṇasālaṃ netvā mañcake nipajjāpesi. Athassā puññānubhāvena aṅguṭṭhake khīraṃ nibbatti. So tasmiṃ pupphe milāte aññaṃ navapupphaṃ āharitvā taṃ nipajjāpesi. Athassā ādhāvanavidhāvanena kīlitaṃ samattakālato paṭṭhāya padavāre padavāre padumapupphaṃ utṭhāsi, kuṅkumaṃsarissa viyassā sarīraṇaṃ ahoṃ. Sā appattā devavaṇṇaṃ, atikkantā mānusaṇṇaṃ ahoṃ. Sā pitari phalāphalatthāya gate paṇṇasālāya ohiyati.

Athekadivasam tassā vayappattakāle pitari phalāphalattāya gate eko vanacarako tam disvā cintesi – “manussānam nāma evaṃvidham rūpam natthi, vīmaṃsissāmi na”nti tāpasassa āgamanam udikkhanto nisīdi. Sā pitari āgacchante paṭipatham gantvā tassa hatthato kājakamaṇḍalum aggahesi, āgantvā nisinnassa cassa attanā karaṇavattam dassesi. Tadā so vanacarako manussabhāvaṃ ñatvā tāpasam abhivādetvā nisīdi. Tāpaso tam vanacarakam vanamūlaphalāphalehi ca pāṇiyena ca nimantetvā, “bho purisa, imasmimyeva thāne vasissasi, udāhu gamissasī”ti pucchi. Gamissāmi, bhante, idha kiṃ karissāmīti. Idam tayā diṭṭhakāraṇam etto gantvā akathetum sakkhissasīti. Sace, ayyo, na icchatī, kiṃ kāraṇā kathessāmīti tāpasam vanditvā puna āgamanakāle maggasañjānanattham sākḥasaññaṇca rukkhasaññaṇca karonto pakkāmi.

So bārānasim gantvā rājānam addasa, rājā “kasmā āgatosī”ti pucchi. “Aham, deva, tumhākam vanacarako pabbatapāde acchariyam itthiratanam disvā āgatomhī”ti sabbam pavattim kathesi. So tassa vacanam sutvā vegena pabbatapādam gantvā avidūre thāne khandhāvāram nivesetvā vanacarakena ceva aññehi ca purisehi saddhim tāpasassa bhattakiccam katvā nisinnavelāya tattha gantvā abhivādetvā paṭisanthāram katvā ekamantam nisīdi. Rājā tāpasassa pabbajitaparikkhārabhaṇḍam pādamūle thapetvā, “bhante, imasmim thāne kiṃ karoma, gacchāmā”ti āha. Gaccha, mahārājāti. Āma, gacchāmi, bhante. Ayyassa pana samīpe visabhāgaparīsā atthīti assumha, asāruppā esā pabbajitānam, mayā saddhim gacchatu, bhanteti. Manussānam cittam nāma duttonsayam, katham bahūnam majjhe vasissatīti. Amhākam rucitakālato paṭṭhāya sesānam jeṭṭhakaṭṭhāne thapetvā paṭijaggissāmi, bhanteti.

So rañño katham sutvā daharakāle gahitanāmasaseneva, “amma, padumavatī”ti dhītaram pakkosi. Sā ekavacaneneva paṇṇasālato nikkhamitvā pitaram abhivādetvā atṭhāsi. Atha nam pitā āha – “tvam, amma, vayappattā, imasmim thāne raññā diṭṭhakālato paṭṭhāya vasitum ayuttā, raññā saddhim gaccha, amma”ti. Sā “sādhū, tātā”ti pitu vacanam sampaṭicchitvā abhivādetvā parodamānā atṭhāsi. Rājā “imissā pitu cittam gaṇhāmī”ti tasmimyeva thāne kahāpaṇarāsīmhi thapetvā abhisekam akāsi. Atha nam gahetvā attano nagaram ānetvā āgatakālato paṭṭhāya sesaitthiyo anoloketvā tāya saddhimyeva ramati. Tā itthiyo issāpakatā tam rañño antare paribhinditukāmā evamāhaṃsu – “nāyam, mahārāja, manussajātikā, kham nāma tumhehi manussānam vicaraṇaṭṭhāne padumāni utṭhahantāni diṭṭhapubbāni, addhā ayam yakkhinī, nīharatha nam mahārājā”ti. Rājā tāsam katham sutvā tuṇhī aho.

Athassa aparena samayena paccanto kupito. So “garugabbhā padumavatī”ti tam nagare thapetvā paccantam agamāsi. Atha tā itthiyo tassā upaṭṭhāyikāya lañjam datvā “imissā dāraḥam jātamatameva apanetvā ekaṃ dārugaṭṭikam lohiteṇa makkhetvā santike thapehī”ti āhaṃsu. Padumavatiyāpi nacirasseva gabbhavuttānaṃ aho. Mahāpadumakumāro ekakova kucchiyam paṭisandhim gaṇhi. Avasesā ekūnapaṇcasatā dārakā mahāpadumakumārassa mātukucchito nikkhamitvā nipannakāle saṃsedajā hutvā nibbattiṃsu. Athassa “na tāvāyam satim paṭilabhati”ti ñatvā upaṭṭhāyikā ekaṃ dārugaṭṭikam lohiteṇa makkhetvā samīpe thapetvā tāsam itthīnaṃ saññaṃ adāsi. Tā paṇcasatāpi itthiyo ekeka ekekaṃ dārakaṃ gahetvā cundakārakānaṃ santikaṃ pesetvā karaṇḍake āharāpetvā attanā attanā gahitadārake tattha nipajjāpetvā bahi lañchanam katvā thapayimṃsu.

Padumavatiṃpi kho saññaṃ labhitvā tam upaṭṭhāyikaṃ “kiṃ vijātamhi, amma”ti pucchi. Sā tam santajjetvā “kuto tvam dārakaṃ labhissasī”ti vatvā “ayam te kucchito nikkhantadārako”ti lohitaṃ makkhitam dārugaṭṭikam purato thapesi. Sā tam disvā domanassappattā “sīgham nam phāletvā apanehi, sace koci passeyya lajjitabbam bhavēyyā”ti āha. Sā tassā katham sutvā atthakāmā viya dārugaṭṭikam phāletvā uddhane pakkhipi.

Rājāpi paccantato āgantvā nakkhattam paṭimānento bahinagare khandhāvāram bandhitvā nisīdi. Atha tā paṇcasatā itthiyo rañño paccuggamanam āgantvā āhaṃsu – “tvam, mahārāja, na amhākam saddahasi, amhehi vuttam akāraṇam viya hoti. Tvam mahesiyā upaṭṭhāyikaṃ pakkosāpetvā

paṭipuccha, dāruḡhaṭikaṃ te devī vijātā”ti. Rājā taṃ kāraṇaṃ na upaparikkhitvāva “amanussajātikā bhavissatī”ti taṃ gehato nikkadḡdhi. Tassā rājagehato saha nikkhamaneneva padumapupphāni antaradhāyimsu, sarīracchavipi vivaṇṇā ahosi. Sā ekikāva antaravīthiyā pāyāsī. Atha naṃ ekā vayappattā mahallikā itthī disvā dhītusinehaṃ uppādetvā “kaḡaṃ ḡacchasi amṡā”ti āha. Āḡantukamhī, vasaṇaṭṡhānaṃ olokeṇtī vicarāmīti. Idhāḡaccha, amṡātī vasaṇaṭṡhānaṃ datvā bhojanaṃ paṭiyādesi.

Tassā imināva niyāmena tattha vasamānāya tā paṇcasatā itthiyo ekacittā hutvā rājānaṃ āhaṃsu – “mahārāja, tumhesu yuddhaṃ ḡatesu amhehi ḡaṇḡādevatāya ‘amhākaṃ deve vijītasāṇḡāme āḡate balikammaṃ katvā udakakīlaṃ karissāmā”ti patthitaṃ atthi, etamatthaṃ, deva, jāṇāpemā”ti. Rājā tāsāṃ vacanena tuṡṡṡo ḡaṇḡāyaṃ udakakīlaṃ kātuṃ aḡamāsī. Tāpi attanā attanā ḡahitaṃ karaṇḡakaṃ paṭicchannaṃ katvā āḡāya nadiṃ ḡantvā tesāṃ karaṇḡakānaṃ paṭicchādanatthaṃ pārupitvā pārupitvā uḡake patitvā karaṇḡake vissajjesuṃ. Tepi kho karaṇḡakā sabbe saha ḡantvā heṡṡhāsote pasāritajālaṃhi laggimsu. Tato udakakīlaṃ kīlitvā raṇṇo uttiṇṇakāle jālaṃ ukkhipantā te karaṇḡake disvā raṇṇo santikaṃ ānayimsu. Rājā karaṇḡake disvā “kiṃ, tātā, karaṇḡakesū”ti āha. Na jāṇāma, devātī. So te karaṇḡake vivarāpetvā olokeṇto paṡṡamaṃ mahāpadumakumārassa karaṇḡakaṃ vivarāpesī. Tesāṃ pana sabbesampi karaṇḡakesu nipajjāpitadivaseyeva puṇṇiddhiyā aṇḡuṡṡṡhato khīraṃ nibbatti. Sakko devarājā tassa raṇṇo nikkāṇkhabhāvatthaṃ antokaraṇḡake akkharāṇi likhāpesi “ime kumārā padumavatiyā kucchimhi nibbattā bārāṇasiraṇṇo puttā, atha ne padumavatiyā sapattiyo paṇcasatā itthiyo karaṇḡakesu pakkhipitvā uḡake khipimsu, rājā imaṃ kāraṇaṃ jāṇātū”ti. Karaṇḡake vivaritamatte rājā akkharāṇi vācetvā dāraḡe disvā mahāpadumakumāraṃ ukkhipitvā “veḡena rathe yojetha, asse kappetha, aḡaṃ ajja antonagaram pavisitvā ekaccānaṃ māṡuḡāmānaṃ piyaṃ karissāmī”ti pāsādaṃ āruyha haṡṡhiḡivāya saḡassabhaṇḡikaṃ ṡṡapetvā bheriṃ carāpesi “yo padumavatiṃ passati, so imaṃ saḡassaṃ ḡaṇḡatū”ti.

Taṃ kathaṃ sutvā padumavatiṃ māṡuyā saṇṇāṃ adāsī – “haṡṡhiḡivato saḡassaṃ ḡaṇḡa, amṡā”ti. Aḡaṃ evarūpaṃ ḡaṇḡhituṃ na viṡahāmīti. Sā dutiyampi tatiyampi vutte, “kiṃ vatvā ḡaṇḡāmi amṡā”ti āha. “Mama dhītā, padumavatiṃ devīṃ passatī”ti vatvā ḡaṇḡhāhīti. Sā “yaṃ vā taṃ vā hotū”ti ḡantvā saḡassacaṇḡoṡakaṃ ḡaṇḡhi. Atha naṃ manussā pucchimsu – “padumavatiṃ devīṃ passasi, amṡā”ti. “Aḡaṃ na passāmi, dhītā kira me passatī”ti āha. Te “kaḡaṃ pana sā, amṡā”ti vatvā tāya saddhiṃ ḡantvā padumavatiṃ saṇḡāṇitvā pādesu nipatimsu. Tasmīṃ kāle sā “padumavatiṃ devī aya”ṇti ṇatvā “bhāriyaṃ vata itthiyā kammaṃ kataṃ, yā evaṃvidhassa raṇṇo mahesī samāṇā evarūpe ṡhāne nirārakkhā vasi”ti āha. Tepi rājapurisā padumavatiyā nivesanaṃ setasāṇīhi parikkhipāpetvā dvāre ārakkhaṃ ṡṡapetvā raṇṇo ārocesuṃ. Rājā suvaṇṇasivikaṃ pesesi. Sā “aḡaṃ evaṃ na ḡamissāmi, mama vasaṇaṭṡhānato paṡṡhāya yāva rājagehaṃ etṡṡantare varapotṡṡakacittatṡṡaraṇe atṡṡarāpetvā upari suvaṇṇatāraḡavicittaṃ celavitānaṃ bandhāpetvā pasāḡḡhanatṡṡhāya sabbālaṇkāresu pahitesu padasāva ḡamissāmi, evaṃ me nāḡarā sampattiṃ passissanti”ti āha. Rājā “padumavatiyā yathāruḡciṃ karoṡhā”ti āha. Tato padumavatiṃ sabbapasāḡḡhanaṃ pasāḡḡhetvā “rājagehaṃ ḡamissāmī”ti maggaṃ paṡipajjī. Athassā akkantaakkantaṡṡhāne varapotṡṡakacittatṡṡaraṇāṇi bhinditvā padumapupphāni uṡṡṡṡhimsu. Sā mahājanassa attano sampattiṃ dassetvā rājanivesanaṃ āruyha sabbe cittatṡṡaraṇe tassā mahallikāya posāvanikaṡūlaṃ katvā dāpesi.

Rājāpi kho tā paṇcasatā itthiyo pakkosāpetvā “imāyo te devī dāsiyo katvā demī”ti āha. Sāḡḡḡ, mahārāja, etāsāṃ mayhaṃ dinnabhāvaṃ sakalanagare jāṇāpehīti. Rājā nagare bheriṃ carāpesi – “padumavatiyā dūbbhikā paṇcasatā itthiyo etiṡṡā eva dāsiyo katvā dinnā”ti. Sā “tāsāṃ sakalanagarena dāsibhāvo sallakkhito”ti ṇatvā “aḡaṃ mama dāsiyo bhujissā kātuṃ labhāmi devā”ti rājānaṃ pucchi. Tava icchā devīti. Evaṃ sante tameva bhericārikaṃ pakkosāpetvā “padumavatiḡeviyā attano dāsiyo katvā dinnā paṇcasatā itthiyo sabbāva bhujissā katāti puna bheriṃ

carāpethā”ti āha. Sā tāsam bhujiṣṣabhāve kate ekūnāni pañcasattaputtāni tāsamyeva hatthe posanattāya datvā sayam mahāpadumakumāramyeva gaṇhi.

Atha aparabhāge tesam kumārānam kīlanavaye sampatte rājā uyyāne nānāvidham kīlanattānam kāresi. Te attano soḷasavassuddesikakāle sabbeva ekato hutvā uyyāne padumasañchannāya maṅgalapokkharāṇiyā kīlantā navapadumāni pupphitāni purāṇapadumāni ca vaṇṇato patantāni disvā “imassa tāva anupādinnaḥ evarūpā jarā pāpuṇāti, kimaṅgam pana amhākaṃ sarīrassa. Idampi hi evaṃgatikameva bhavissati”ti ārammaṇam gahetvā sabbeva paccekabodhiñāṇam nibbattetvā utthāyutthāya padumaṇṇikāsu pallaṅkena nisīdiṃsu.

Atha tehi saddhim āgatā rājapurisā bahugataṃ divasaṃ ñatvā “ayyaputtā tumhākaṃ velaṃ jānāthā”ti āhaṃsu. Te tuṇhī ahesuṃ. Te purisā gantvā rañño ārocesuṃ – “kumārā deva, padumaṇṇikāsu nisinnā, amhesu kathentesupi vacībhedaṃ na karonti”ti. Yathāruciyaṃ tesam nisīdituṃ dethāti. Te sabbarattim gahitārakkhā padumaṇṇikāsu nisinnaniyāmeneva aruṇaṃ utthāpesuṃ. Purisā punadivase upasaṅkamitvā “devā velaṃ jānāthā”ti āhaṃsu. Na mayam devā, paccekabuddhā nāma mayanti. Ayyā, tumhe bhāriyaṃ kathaṃ kathetha, paccekabuddhā nāma tumhādisā na honti, dvaṅgulakesamassudharā kāye paṭimukkaatthaparikkhārā hontīti. Te dakkhiṇahatthena sīsaṃ parāmasiṃsu. Tāvadeva gihiliṅgaṃ antaradhāyi, attha parikkhārā kāye paṭimukkāva ahesuṃ. Tato passantasseva mahājanassa ākāseṇa nandaṃ ālakapabbhāraṃ agamaṃsu.

Sāpi kho, padumavatī devī, “ahaṃ bahuputtā hutvā niputtā jātā”ti hadayasokaṃ patvā teneva sokena kālaṃ katvā rājagahanagaradvāragāmake sahatthena kammaṃ katvā jīvanakattāne nibbatti. Aparabhāge kulagharaṃ gantvā ekadivasaṃ sāmikassa khettaṃ yāguṃ hamaṇā tesam attano puttānaṃ antare attha paccekabuddhe bhikkhācāraṇāya ākāseṇa gacchante disvā sīghaṃ sīghaṃ gantvā sāmikassa ārocesi – “passa, ayya, paccekabuddhe, ete nimantetvā bhojessāma”ti. So āha – “samaṇasakuṇā nāmete aññatthāpi evaṃ caranti, na ete paccekabuddhā”ti. Te tesam kathentānamyeva avidūre tthāne otariṃsu. Sā itthī taṃdivasaṃ attano bhattakajjabhojanaṃ tesam datvā “svepi attha janā mayhaṃ bhikkhaṃ gaṇhathā”ti āha. Sādhū, upāsike, tava sakkāro ettakova hotu, āsanāni ca attheva hontu, aññepi bahū paccekabuddhe disvā tava cittaṃ pasādeyyāsīti. Sā punadivase attha āsanāni paññāpetvā atthannaṃ sakkārasammānaṃ paṭiyādetvā nisīdi.

Nimantitapaccekabuddhā sesānaṃ saññaṃ adāsu – “mārisā, ajja aññattha agantvā sabbeva tumhākaṃ mātu saṅghaṃ karothā”ti. Te tesam vacanaṃ sutvā sabbeva ekato ākāseṇa āgantvā mātu-gehadvāre pāturaḥesu. Sāpi paṭhamam laddhasaññatāya bahūpi disvā na kampittha, sabbepi te gehaṃ pavesetvā āsanesu nisīdāpesi. Tesu paṭipāṭiyaṃ nisīdantesu navamo aññāni attha āsanāni māpetvā sayam dhurāsane nisīdi. Yāva āsanāni vaḍḍhanti, tāva gehaṃ vaḍḍhati. Evaṃ tesu sabbesupi nisīnesu sā itthī atthannaṃ paccekabuddhānaṃ paṭiyāditam sakkāraṃ pañcasatānampi yāvadatthaṃ datvā attha nīluppalahatthake āharitvā nimantitapaccekabuddhānamyeva pādamaṇḍale tthāpetvā āha – “mayhaṃ, bhante, nibbattanibbattaṭṭhāne sarīraṇaṃ imesaṃ nīluppalānaṃ antogabbhavaṇṇo viya hotū”ti patthanaṃ akāsi. Paccekabuddhā mātu anumodanaṃ katvā gandhamādanaṃyeva agamaṃsu.

Sāpi yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā tato cutā devaloke nibbattitvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde sāvattiyaṃ seṭṭhikule paṭisaṇḍim gaṇhi, nīluppalagabbhasamānavāṇatāya cassā uppalavaṇṇatveva nāmaṃ akāsu. Athassā vayappattakāle sakalaṃ ambudīparājāno ca seṭṭhino ca seṭṭhissa santikaṃ paṇiṇiṃsu – “dhītaṃ amhākaṃ detū”ti. Apahiṇanto nāma nāhosi. Tato seṭṭhi cintesi – “ahaṃ sabbesaṃ manam gahetuṃ na sakkhissāmi, upāyaṃ panekaṃ karissāmi”ti dhītaṃ pakkosāpetvā “pabbajituṃ amma sakkhissasi”ti āha. Tassā pacchimabhavikattā pituvacanaṃ sīse āsittasatāpākatelaṃ viya ahosi, tasmā pitaraṃ “pabbajissāmi, tātā”ti āha. So tassā sakkāraṃ katvā bhikkhuniupassayaṃ netvā pabbājesi. Tassā acirapabbajitāya eva uposathāgāre kālavāro pāpuṇi. Sā dīpaṃ jāletvā uposathāgāraṃ sammajjitvā dīpasikhāya nimittaṃ gaṇhitvā punappunaṃ olokayamānā tejokasiṇārammaṇaṃ jhānaṃ nibbattetvā tadeva pādakaṃ katvā arahattaṃ pāpuṇi.

Arahattaphalena saddhiṃyeva ca iddhivikubbane ciṇṇavasī ahosi. Sā aparabhāge satthu yamakaṇṭhāriyakaraṇadivase “ahaṃ, bhante, pāṭihāriyaṃ karissāmi”ti sīhanādaṃ nadi. Satthā idaṃ kāraṇaṃ aṭṭhuppattiṃ katvā jetavanavihāre nisinno paṭipāṭiyā bhikkhuniyo ṭhānantare ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ iddhiṃantīnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

3. *Uppalavaṇṇā*.

In the third Sutta by Uppalavaṇṇā, he means the Therī, who came by that name, because she had a skin like the colour in the heart of the dark blue lotus.

They say that this woman re-entered existence in a noble family at Hamsavatī, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara. And afterwards, on hearing the Law preached, she had seen the Master exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who are gifted with spiritual powers, and (thereupon) for seven days, she showed great hospitality to the Order of Bhikkhus, with the Buddha at their head, and she herself aspired to that same high place.

And after spending her whole life in good deeds, and passing from world to world of gods and men, she was reborn, as one of seven sisters, in the palace of Kiki, the king, in the city of Benares, in the time of the Buddha Kassapa. And for twenty thousand years she lived a life of chastity, and had a dwelling built for the Order of Bhikkhus, and was then reborn in the Deva heaven. And falling from thence, and again entering the world of men, she was reborn in a certain village, as one who laboured with her hands for a living.

One day, when she was going to her hut in the field, she saw, in a certain pond, a lotus blossom that had opened that very morning. So she stepped down into the pond, and took that same lotus blossom and a lotus leaf to hold the seeds. Then she cut some heads of rice in the field and sat down in her hut, and when she had separated the seeds and counted them there were five hundred.

At this moment, a certain Pacceka Buddha, having arisen from a trance on the mountain Gandhamādana, came and stood at a spot near her.

Now, when she saw the Pacceka Buddha, she took the seeds and the lotus-blossom, and coming down from her hut, she threw the seeds into the alms-bowl of the Pacceka Buddha, and gave him the lotus-blossom, as a cover for the bowl.

But when the Pacceka Buddha had gone on a little way, the thought came to her: “A flower is of no use to an ascetic! I will get back the blossom and adorn myself with it.”

So she went and took the blossom from the Pacceka Buddha’s hand.

But then she thought: “If the holy man had not wanted the flower he would not have let me put it on his bowl. For a certainty, he must have need thereof.”

So she went back, and put the leaf again on the top of the bowl, and begged the forgiveness of the Pacceka Buddha.

And she uttered this prayer: “Sir, may this gift of seeds bring this result to me—may I have children even as the seeds in number! and because of the gift of the lotus, may lotus-blossoms spring up in my footsteps, wheresoever I may be born again!”

And, even as she gazed, the Pacceka Buddha, rising into the air, returned to Gandhamādana; and, taking the flower, he placed it on the stairs used by the Pacceka Buddhas, up the slope which had (Lake) Manda at its base.

And this woman also, as a result of that deed of her’s, re-entered existence in the Deva heaven. And from the time of her birth there, there sprang up at her every footstep, a great lotus-blossom.

Then, having fallen from thence she was reborn, in the heart of a lotus-flower, in a certain lotus-pond, at the foot of a mountain. Near to this spot there lived a hermit. Having gone to the pond one morning to wash his mouth, and seeing that blossom, he thought: "This blossom is larger than the rest. The others are full-blown, yet this is only a bud. There must be a reason for it." And he stepped down into the water and plucked the blossom; and, even as he plucked it, it opened, and the hermit saw, lying in the heart of the flower, a baby girl. As soon as he saw her he felt the love of a father for her, and he bore her, lotus and all, to his hut of leaves and laid her on his bed. And behold! by reason of the power of her virtue, there came milk from his thumb, wherewith to feed her.

Now, when that blossom was faded, he brought another fresh one and laid her in it. And, from the time she was able to run hither and thither in play, at every step she took, a lotus-blossom sprang up. And her skin was like the colour of fine clay, and her beauty, though not wholly god-like, surpassed mortal beauty.

Now when her father went out to seek for fruits, she used to be left in the hut. So, one day, when she was grown up, and her father had gone to seek for fruits, a certain forester saw her and thought: "A being of such loveliness cannot be mortal! I must look into this!" And he seated himself, waiting for the hermit to come back.

Now she, on her father's return, went to meet him, and took from his hand his carrying-pole and water-pot, and when they had come home, and he had sat down, she showed him the work she had done herself. And then the forester saw that she was a human being. So, after greeting the hermit, he seated himself.

Now when the hermit had offered the forester roots and fruits, he asked him

"Sir, are you one who belongs to this place, or are you going hence?"

"I am going hence, reverend sir, why should I stay here?"

"When you have gone hence, will you be able to keep silence on what you have seen here?"

"If you do not wish it, your reverence, why should I talk about it?"

So he bade farewell to the hermit and set out. But, in order to recognize the road again, when he should return, he put marks on the branches and trees.

Moreover, he went straight to Benares and saw the king.

The king said to him: "What have you come here for?"

And he said: "Your highness, I am your forester. And thus employed at the foot of a mountain I saw a jewel among women. So I have come hither." And he told him the whole matter.

The king, after hearing his story, went forthwith to the foot of the mountain, and had a camp pitched hard by, and, together with that same forester and a few attendants he went to the hermit, at a time when he had just finished his meal and was sitting down.

And on his arrival he saluted the hermit, and offered him a friendly greeting, and seated himself on one side.

Then the king, after placing at the hermit's feet such things as are needed for the use of an ascetic, said:

"Reverend sir, what could we do in such a place as this? We must be getting off."

"Go, then, great king!"

"I am just off. But it is rumoured that there are people of the other sex here. Now that is a hindrance to the life of a recluse. Let her go away with me."

“The thoughts of men are evil. How could she dwell amongst so many?”

“Oh! we are able to take charge of her, and put her in a position of great standing above others.”

The hermit listened to what the king said, and summoned her, saying: “Come, Lotus, my child!” using the name which he had given her as a baby.

And, at the very first summons, she came out of the hut and made obeisance to her father and stood there.

Then her father said to her: “My child, you are grown up now. And henceforth, since the king has seen you, it is not well that you should live in this place. Go, my child, go with the king himself.”

“Very well, father mine,” said she, consenting, and making obeisance to him.

But even as she stood there she burst into tears.

And the king said to himself: “I gather what the father wants.” And, then and there, he had her seated on a heap of gold coins, put down there, and anointed queen.

Then he took her away and brought her to his own city. And, from the time of her coming there, he did not look at the other women, but took delight only in her. Now those other women, waxing jealous, and anxious to cause division between her and the king, said to him: “This woman is not sprung from the race of men, great king! Where did you ever before see lotuses spring up in the footsteps of a human being? Truly this woman is uncanny! Put her away, great king!”

But the king, hearing this, said nothing.

Now soon afterwards a border province broke out into revolt, and he, knowing that Padumavatī was far gone with child, left her in the city, while he went away to the border province.

So those other women gave her serving-woman a bribe, and said to her: “As soon as her child is born, take it away and smear a log of wood with blood, and put it beside her.”

Now shortly afterwards Padumavatī was delivered. And Mahā Paduma, the Prince, was alone in her womb, but five hundred children, less one, came into being from the moisture, at the moment when Mahā Paduma was laid down, after his birth.

Then the serving-woman, seeing that Padumavatī had not yet come to herself, smeared a log of wood with blood, and put it beside her, and told the other women. So the five hundred women, taking each of them one of the children, sent to the turners and caused boxes to be brought, and each laid therein the child she had taken, and sealed the box outside.

And now, behold! Padumavatī came to herself, and asked the serving-woman: “Mother! what have I brought forth?” And the other, reviling her, said: “How could you be able to bear a child! This is the child of your womb!” and she put before her the log smeared with blood. And Padumavatī, on seeing that, was cast down, and said:

“Break it up quickly and bear it away! Were anyone to see it, I should be sorely shamed!”

And the servant, hearing this, as if she was anxious to destroy it, broke it up and flung it into the oven.

And now the king, when he had returned from the border province, celebrated a festival, and pitching his camp outside the city, he took up his abode there. Then those five hundred women went to welcome the king, and said to him: “You would not believe us, great king, you thought there was no reason in what we said ! Now summon your consort’s serving-woman, and question her! Your queen has given birth to a log of wood!”

And the king, without looking into their motive, thought: "She is not of the human race!" And he drove her forth from his house.

And, as for her, even as she departed from the royal palace, her lotus-blossoms vanished and the colour of her skin grew wan.

So, all alone, she went through the streets.

Now a certain aged woman saw her, and feeling a motherly tenderness for her, said to her: "Daughter, where are you going?"

"I am wandering about, seeking a dwelling-place among strangers," she answered.

"Come here then, my daughter!" And she gave her a home and provided her with food.

Now, when she was living there in this way, the other five hundred women, agreeing together, said; "The people have petitioned the king, saying: 'Great king, when we have gone to your camp, and with you have offered sacrifice to the goddess of the Ganga River (since our king has returned victorious), let us celebrate a river-festival!' Let us tell the king this," they said.

And the king, well pleased with what they said, went to hold a river-festival.

Then did those women, each one carrying the child she had taken, keeping it out of sight, go to the river, and, each one covering up her box to hide it, they threw the boxes into the water. But lo! these boxes, going along, were caught in some nets spread under the water. Then, on the river-festival being celebrated, when the time came for the king to cross the river, the people drew their nets. And, seeing these boxes, they brought them to the king. The king looked at the boxes and said: "What is in these boxes, friends?"

"We do not know, your highness."

And the king caused the boxes to be opened and looked within. The first to be opened was the box wherein was the child of the great lotus-flower.

And in the box of each one of the children, on the very day they had been laid in it, milk had appeared by a miracle.

Sakko, the king of gods, in order to free the king's mind from doubt on this (matter), had caused letters to be written on the boxes inside, saying:

"These children were born of Padumavatī. They are the sons of the king of Benares. The Co-queens of Padumavati and the other five hundred women put them into boxes and cast them into the water. Be this known to the king!"

As soon as the boxes had been opened, and the king had had the letters read and seen the children, he lifted up the Child of the Lotus-flower, and said: "Quick quick! Get ready the chariot; harness the horses. This day I will go into the city to make it sweet for certain women (I know of)!"

So going up to his upper chamber, and bidding them tie up a thousand pieces of money and put the bundle on an elephant's neck, he made proclamation: "Whosoever shall point out Padumavatī let him receive the thousand pieces of money!"

Now when Padumavatī heard the proclamation she told her mother, saying: "Go you, my mother, and receive the thousand pieces from the neck of the elephant!"

"Nay," she said, "I dare not go and take such a sum!"

And when Padumavatī had spoken twice and three times, her mother said: "What shall I say, that I may receive it, my daughter?"

“Say to them, ‘My daughter, Padumavatī, is the queen! and so receive it,’ ” she answered.

And the mother said: “Well, well, so be it!” and she went and received the casket with the thousand pieces.

So the men asked her: “Mother, have you seen Padumavatī, the queen?”

“I have not seen her,” she answered, “But my daughter says that she has seen her.”

“Stay! mother, where is this daughter of yours?” they asked, and they went with her, and, recognizing Padumavatī, they fell at her feet.

And then, having seen that this was Padumavatī, the queen, they said: “Truly a grievous wrong has been done to this woman, that she, being the consort of so great a king, should dwell in such a place as this, unguarded!”

And on returning, the king’s attendants drew white curtains round the dwelling of Padumavatī, and set a guard at the door, and went and told the king.

And the king sent a golden palanquin for her, but she said: “I will not go thus! Let them spread a beautiful carpet, woven in many colours, all the way from my dwelling to the royal palace; and let them fix up above a canopy of cloth, studded with gold stars, and I will go on foot, decked out with all the royal gems, to adorn me. So will the whole city be witness of my glory!”

And the king said: “Do as Padumavatī desires.”

And then said Padumavatī: “When they have adorned me with all the jewels, I will go!” And she set out.

And as she passed along, step by step, lotus-blossoms sprang up, breaking through the gorgeous, many-coloured carpet, wheresoever she trod.

So, when she had displayed her glory before all the people, she went up into the royal palace; moreover, she had all those gorgeous carpets given to the old woman, as a reward for keeping her.

And, besides this, the king sent for the other five hundred women, and said to her (Padumavatī), “I give these women to you as your slaves, oh queen!”

“It is well, great king!” she answered. “But make it known to the whole city that they have been given to me.”

So the king caused it to be proclaimed: “These five hundred women, who injured Padumavatī, have even been given to her as slaves!”

But she found that the giving of these women as her slaves was not noticed by everyone in the city, so she asked the king: “Will you give me leave to free my slaves, your highness?”

“As you wish, queen!”

“Very well, then; send for that crier and bid him again proclaim: “Padumavatī, the queen, has freed those five hundred women—one and all—who were given to her as her slaves!”

And when they had been freed, she handed over to each one of them one of her five hundred sons to bring up, and she herself kept Mahāpaduma, the child of the great lotus-flower.

Now afterwards, when these children had grown old enough to play about, the king had gardens and all manner of play-grounds made for them.

These boys, when they were sixteen years old, were all disporting themselves in the royal pleasure-pond covered with lotuses, and they saw fresh blossoms opening and faded blossoms falling from their stalks, and they thought: “Thus,, indeed, does decay overtake such a thing as this

when the causes of its growth are stopped; how much more then must a like future be the lot of our bodies!”

And setting their minds upon this thought they all attained to the knowledge which is the gift of Pacceka Buddhas, and, coming up (from the water), they seated themselves, cross-legged, each in the middle of a lotus.

Now the attendants who had come with them, seeing that the day was far advanced, said to them: “Little masters! Do you not know what time it is?”

But they kept silence. So the attendants went and told the king: “Your highness! The young princes are sitting, each in a lotus-flower, and when we speak to them they make no manner of answer.”

“Let them sit just as they please,” said the king.

So watch was kept over them all night, and thus they sat in the same way, each in the heart of a lotus, until daybreak.

The next day the attendants drew near, and said: “Princes! Know that it is time to go!”

“We are not princes!” they answered, “We are Pacceka Buddhas!”

“Nay, sirs, it is a hard saying that you say,” said the attendants. “Pacceka Buddhas are not like you. They have hair and beards but two inches long, and carry the eight needful things for ascetics bound about their bodies.”

“Nay, then, your saying is harder still,” answered the youths, and they touched themselves on the head with the right hand. And forthwith, all the marks that are characteristic of laymen vanished from them, and moreover the eight things needful for ascetics were there, bound about their bodies!

Then, even while all the multitude were gazing at them, they passed through the air to the cave at the foot of the mountain Nanda.

And then, indeed, Padumavatī, the queen, said: “I, who had many sons, am left childless!” therefore she wasted away, and forthwith died.

And she was reborn in a village by the gates of the city Rājagaha, among those who toiled for their living. And in due course she got married.

Now, one day, she had taken some rice-gruel to her husband in the field, and while she was among their own children, she saw eight Pacceka Buddhas passing through the air, at the time they go forth seeking alms. And immediately she ran and told her husband: “Look see those holy Pacceka Buddhas! Let us invite them and give them food.”

But her husband said: “Those are birds, not ascetics. They are often going about thus. Those are not Pacceka Buddhas.”

Now, even as they were talking, these Paceeka Buddhas alighted at a spot hard by.

So this woman gave them such food as lay in her means, saying, moreover, to eight of them: “Accept your daily food from me!”

“Very well, sister!” they answered. “Truly your hospitality goes thus far, and eight seats, indeed, there are (provided). But if you saw many other Pacceka Buddhas besides, you would be less open-hearted!”

Now, on the following day, she made ready eight seats, and prepared to do honour to the eight Pacceka Buddhas and sat down. And the eight who had been invited told the rest about it, saying: “Noble brothers! do not go elsewhere to-day, but, one and all, show favour to this, our mother.”

So, on hearing what these few said, they went, one and all, passing through the air together, and appeared at this woman's door. And she (not only when she recognized those whom she had first received, but also when she saw many others) was not perturbed, but brought them all into her house and made them sit down in the seats. And, as they seated themselves, one after another, every ninth one, in turn, caused eight more seats to appear, and seated himself in the chief place. And even as the number of seats grew, so did the dwelling grow larger.

And, when they were all seated, this woman offered the five hundred such hospitality as she had prepared for the eight, and there was sufficient. Then she brought eight handfuls of blue lotuses and laid them at the feet of those same Pacceka Buddhas that she had invited, saying: "Sirs, may I, hereafter, wheresoever I may be born again, have a skin in colour like to the heart of these dark lotuses!"

And the Pacceka Buddhas thanked the mother and went back to Gandhamādana.

And this woman, after spending her whole life in good deeds, and after falling from that life, and being reborn in the deva heaven, returned to existence in the family of the Treasurer at Sāvatti, at the time of the birth of this, our Buddha. And, because her skin was of a colour like the heart of the dark lotus, they gave her the name Uppalavannā

Now, when she had come of age, every Prince and every Treasurer in Jambudīpa sent to the Treasurer, her father, saying: "Give me your daughter in marriage!" And there was not one who did not send to him.

So the Treasurer thought to himself: "I cannot satisfy all these men! But I can hit on a stratagem." And he sent for his daughter and said to her: "My child, have you strength to forsake the world?"

And to her, since she had reached her last birth, these words were as sweet as if oil, a hundred times refined, were sprinkled on her head. Therefore she said to her father: "Dear father, I will forsake the world."

And when he had done honour to her, he took her to the home of the Bhikkhū's, and caused her to be ordained.

And, only a little while after, she entered the Order, her turn came to have the key of the Hall of Assembly. And when she had lighted her lamp and swept the hall, she fixed her mind in contemplation of the lamp, and, standing even thus, gazing again and again, she brought about that rapt meditation which is centred on fire. And, making this her stepping-stone, she attained to Arahathship. And, together with the Fruit of Arahathship, she became also versed in the miraculous gift of Iddhi.

Afterwards, on the day that the Master wrought the Twofold Miracle, she broke out into exultation and said: "I, too, Master, will work a miracle!" like the roaring of a lion.

It was on account of this that the Master, when seated at Jetavana, assigning places to the Bhikkhū's in turn, exalted this Theri to the chief place among those who have the gift of Iddhi.

4. Paṭācārā.⁴

Catutthe vinayadharānaṃ yadidaṃ paṭācārāti paṭācārā therī vinayadharānaṃ aggāti dasseti. Sā kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā aparabhāge satthu dhammadesanaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ vinayadharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhiḱārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā devamanussesu saṃsaritvā kassapabuddhakāle kikkissa kāsiraṇṇo gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā sattannaṃ bhaginīnaṃ abbhantarā hutvā vīsati vassasahassāni brahmacariyaṃ caritvā bhikkhusaṅghassa parivenaṃ katvā puna devaloke nibbattitvā ekaṃ buddhantaṃ sampattiṃ anubhavitvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde sāvatthiyaṃ seṭṭhiṃ gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi.

Sā aparabhāge vayappattā attano gehe ekena kammakārena saddhiṃ santhavaṃ katvā⁵ aparabhāge attano samānajatikaṃ kulam gacchantī katasanthavassa purisassa saṇṇaṃ adāsi – “na tvaṃ sve paṭṭhāya maṃ paṭihārasatenapi daṭṭhuṃ labhissasi, sace te kammaṃ atthi, idāni maṃ gaṇhitvā gacchāhi”ti. So “evaṃ hotū”ti anucchavikaṃ hatthasāraṃ gahetvā taṃ ādāya nagarato tīni cattāri yojanāni paṭikkamitvā ekasmiṃ gāmake vāsaṃ kappesi.

Atha aparabhāge tassā kucchiyaṃ gabbho paṭiṭṭhāsi. Sā gabbhe paripakke “idaṃ amhākaṃ anāthaṭṭhānaṃ, kulagehaṃ gacchāma sāmī”ti āha. So “ajja gacchāma, sve gacchāmā”ti gantuṃ asakkonto kālaṃ vītināmesi. Sā tassa kāraṇaṃ ṇatvā “nāyaṃ bālo maṃ nessatī”ti tasmīṃ bahi gate “ekikāva kulagehaṃ gamissāmī”ti maggaṃ paṭipajji. So āgantvā taṃ gehe apassanto paṭivissake pucchitvā “kulagehaṃ gatā”ti sutvā “maṃ nissāya kuladhītā anāthā jātā”ti padānupadikaṃ gantvā sampāpuṇi. Tassā antarāmaggeva gabbhavuṭṭhānaṃ ahosi. Tato “yassatthāya mayaṃ gaccheyyāma, so attho antarāmaggeva nipphanno, idāni gantvā kiṃ karissāmā”ti paṭinivattiṃsu. Puna tassā kucchiyaṃ gabbho paṭiṭṭhāsīti purimanayeneva vitthāretabbaṃ.

Antarāmagge panassā gabbhavuṭṭhāne jātamatteyeva catūsu disāsu mahāmegho uṭṭhahi. Sā taṃ purisaṃ āha – “sāmī, avelāya catūsu disāsu meghe uṭṭhito, attano vasanaṭṭhānaṃ kātuṃ vāyamāhi”ti. So “evaṃ karissāmī”ti daṇḍakehi kuṭikaṃ katvā “chadanatthāya tiṇaṃ āharissāmī”ti ekasmiṃ mahāvammikapāde tiṇaṃ chindati. Atha naṃ vammike nipanno kaṇhasappo pāde ḍaṃsi, so tasmīṃyeva ṭhāne patito. Sāpi “idāni āgamissati, idāni āgamissati”ti sabbarattiṃ khepetvā “addhā maṃ so ‘anāthā esā’ti magge chaḍḍetvā gato bhavissati”ti āloke saṇjāte padānusaṇṇena olokenā vammikapāde patitaṃ disvā “maṃ nissāya naṭṭho puriso”ti paridevitvā daharadāraṃ passenādāya mahallakaṃ aṅgulīhi gāhāpetvā maggena gacchantī antarāmagge ekaṃ uttānanadiṃ disvā “dvepi dāraḱe ekappahāreṇeva ādāya gantuṃ na sakkhissāmī”ti jeṭṭhakaṃ orimaṭṭiṇe ṭhapetvā daharaṃ paratīraṃ netvā pilotikacumbātake nipajjāpetvā puna nivattitvā “itaraṃ gahetvā gamissāmī”ti nadiṃ otari.

Athassā nadīmajjhaṃ pattakāle eko seno “maṃsapiṇḍo aya”nti saṇṇāya dāraṃ vijjhituṃ āgacchati. Sā hatthaṃ pasāretvā senaṃ palāpesi. Tassā taṃ hatthavikāraṃ disvā mahallakadāraḱo “maṃ pakkosati”ti saṇṇāya nadiṃ otaritvā sote patito yathāsotaṃ agamāsi. Sopi seno tassā asampattāya eva taṃ daharadāraṃ gaṇhitvā agamāsi. Sā balavasokābhībhūtā antarāmagge imaṃ vilāpagītaṃ gāyantī gacchati –

“Ubho puttā kālaṇkatā, panthe mayhaṃ patī mato”ti.

Sā evaṃ vilapamānāva sāvatthiṃ patvā kulasabhāgaṃ gantvāpi sokavaseneva attano geḥaṃ vavatthapetuṃ asakkonti “imasmiṃ ṭhāne evaṃvidhaṃ nāma kulam atthi, kataraṃ taṃ geḥa”nti paṭipucchi. Tvaṃ taṃ kulam paṭipucchitvā kiṃ karissasi? Tesam vasanagehaṃ vātappahāreṇa

⁴ The whole of this touching story is also told in different words, but the same in substance, by Dhammapāla in his commentary on Therī Gāthā 112.

⁵ With the following incidents compare the story of the seṭṭhi’s daughter at Jātaka I. pp. 114, 115.

patitaṃ, tattheva te sabbepi jīvitakkhayaṃ pattā, atha ne khuddakamahallake ekacitakasmimīyeva jhāpenti, passa esā dhūmavaṭṭi paññāyatīti. Sā taṃ kathaṃ sutvāva kiṃ tumhe vadathā”ti attano nivatthasātakam sandhāretuṃ asakkontī jātaniyāmeneva bāhā paggayha kandaṃānā ñātīnaṃ citakaṭṭhānaṃ gantvā taṃ vilāpagītaṃ paripuññaṃ katvā paridevaṃānā –

“Ubho puttā kālāṅkatā, panthe mayhaṃ patī mato;

Mātā pitā ca bhātā ca, ekacitakasmimī dayhare”ti. –

Āha. Aññena janena sātakam dinnampi phāletvā phāletvā chaḍḍeti. Atha naṃ diṭṭhadiṭṭhaṭṭhāne mahājano parivāretvā carati. Athassā “ayaṃ paṭācāraṃ paṭapariharaṇaṃ vinā caratī”ti paṭācārāteva nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Yasmā cassā so naggabhāvena alajjīcāro pākaṭo ahosi, tasmā patito ācāro assāti paṭācārātveva nāmaṃ akaṃsu.

Sā ekadivasam satthari mahājanassa dhammaṃ desente vihāraṃ pavisitvā parisapariyante aṭṭhāsi. Satthā mettāpharaṇena pharitvā “satim paṭilabha, bhagini, satim paṭilabha, bhagini”ti āha. Tassā satthu vacanaṃ sutvā balavahirottappaṃ āgataṃ, sā tattheva bhūmiyaṃ nisīdi. Avidūre ṭhito puriso uttarisātakam khipitvā adāsi. Sā taṃ nivāsetvā dhammaṃ assosi. Satthā tassā cariyavasena imā dhammapade gāthā āha –

“Na santi puttā tāṇāya, na pitā nāpi bandhavā;

Antakenādhipannassa, natthi ñātīsu tāṇatā.

“Etamatthavasam ñatvā, paṇḍito sīlasamvuto;

Nibbānagamaṇaṃ maggaṃ, khippameva visodhaye”ti.

(dha. pa. 288-289);

Sā gāthāpariyosāne yathāṭhitāva sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhāya satthāraṃ upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā pabbajjaṃ yāci. Satthā “tassā bhikkhuniupassayaṃ gantvā pabbajā”ti pabbajjaṃ sampaticchi. Sā pabbajitvā nacirasseva arahattaṃ patvā buddhavacanaṃ gaṇhantī vinayapiṭake ciṇṇavasī ahosi. Aparabhāge satthā jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento paṭācāraṃ vinayadharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

4. Paṭācārā

In the fourth sutta, by the words “of those who are versed in the Rules of the Order (Vinaya), namely Paṭācārā,” he points out the Therī Paṭācārā as the chief among those who are versed in the Rules of the Order.

They say that this woman, in the time of the Buddha Padumattara, was reborn in a noble family at Harṃsavatī.

Afterwards, when hearing the Master preach the law and seeing him raise a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those versed in the Vinaya, she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same distinction.

And, having spent her whole life in good works, and having passed through deva worlds and, worlds of men, she re-entered existence, as one of seven sisters dwelling in the household of Kiki, the king, in the time of the Buddha Kassapo. And for twenty thousand years she lived a life of chastity, and built a dwelling for the Order of Bhikkhus, and after being reborn once more in the deva heaven, during the interval between the coming of two Buddhas, she re-entered existence (at the time of the birth of this, Our Buddha) in the household of the Treasurer at Sāvattī.

And, when she came of age, she had a lover, who was a hired labourer at her own home. But afterwards she was to have been married into a family of equal rank with her's. So she told her lover: "After to-morrow there will be a hundred door-keepers to keep you from seeing me! If you have the spirit, take me with you and depart this very moment!" So he took an elephant suited for his purpose, and, taking her with him, departed to his own village, three or four leagues from the city, and there took up his abode.

Later on she was with child,⁶ and when the full time had come for her delivery, she said: "Husband! We are friendless here! Let us go to my home."

But he, saying: "We will go to-day" and "We will go to-morrow," and failing to go, let the time slip by. So she, seeing this, thought, "This slow-coach will never take me. He is out; I will go alone to my home!" and she set out. He, having returned and not seeing her, inquired of the neighbours and heard that she had gone home. So thinking, "It is through me that she, the daughter of a noble house, has come to wretchedness!" he followed close after her and overtook her.

And on the journey her travail came upon her. Then she said: "That very thing which was the reason for our journey has happened now, on the way! Why need we go any further?" So they turned back.

And again she was with child.

And all the rest should be understood in full, the same as before. But, at the moment when her travail came upon her, in the midst of the journey, great storm-clouds arose on every side. So she said to her husband: "There has arisen, out of due time, a mighty storm! Try to make me a place of shelter from the rain." "I will", he said. And he made a hut of twigs; and thinking, "I will bring some grass for a thatch," he began to cut some grass at the foot of an ant-hill. Then a snake on the ant-hill bit him in the foot, and he fell dead on that very spot.

And thinking, "He will be returning now! He will come back now!", she waited, the whole night through. (Then) she thought, "Surely he has said to himself 'This woman has no friends!' and so has left me by the roadside and gone away!"

But when the day broke and she was looking for him, following his trail, she saw him, where he had fallen dead. Then, weeping at the thought: "My husband has perished for my sake!", she took her younger child upon her side and, leading the elder by the hand, she went on her way. And she saw that in the middle of the road was (a stream) she would have to cross, and thought: "Now I cannot go across carrying both the children at once. I will put the elder boy on this bank, and carry the younger one across to the further side. And when I have laid him down on my head-cloth, I will return and take the other and go across." So she went down into the stream. But just as she, coming back, reached the middle of the river a certain hawk, thinking "This is a piece of meat," flew down to peck at the child she had left. She threw up her hands to scare away the hawk. The elder boy, seeing the motion of her hands, thought, "She is beckoning to me," and stepped down into the stream.

And he lost his foothold and was borne away by the torrent. And the hawk, even before she could reach him, bore away the other child.

So, overwhelmed with her great sorrow, she went on her road, wailing out this lamentation:

"Dead are both my sons, And my husband dead upon the road!"

⁶ From here down to the birth of the second child the story is nearly word for word the same as that of Little Roadling in Jātaka I. pp. 114, 115 (No. 4).

And thus, making her moan, she reached Sāvathī, and went to the quarter where the noble families dwelt. But since, because of her grief, she could not distinguish her own home, she questioned people: “In this place there lived such and such a family. Where is their house?”

They answered: “What do you mean by asking for that family? Their dwelling was blown down by a whirlwind. They were slain, all of them, and now they are burning there, on one funeral pyre, all, both young and old! Look! you can see the curling upwards of the smoke!”

And when she heard this she said: “What do you tell me?” And, unable to bear the oppression of her clothes, naked, as at her birth, stretching forth her arms and weeping, she went to the funeral pyre of her kinsfolk. And, putting a finishing touch to that song of lamentation, she bewailed herself, saying:

“Dead are both my Sons,
And my husband dead on the road,
And my mother and father and kinsfolk
They burn on one funeral pyre!”

And though men gave her a garment, again and again she tore it up and cast it aside. And so she roamed about, and, wherever she was seen, a great crowd of people followed her. And, on account of this behaviour of hers, men said “This woman goes about without keeping on a garment,” and so they gave her the name Paṭācārā (she who goes about unclad). Or, perhaps, as this shameless wandering about naked became well-known, they said (in scorn): “This is a wise way of going about!” and they gave her this very name Paṭācārā (she who goes about wisely).

Now one day, when the Master was preaching the Law to a great multitude, she had entered the Vihāra and stood at the back of the assembly.

Then the Master, suffusing her with the felt sense of his loving-kindness, said to her: “Sister, return to your right mind! Sister, return to your right mind!”

And, even as she heard these words of the Master, deep shame came upon her, and, on the very spot where she stood, she crouched upon the ground. And a man who stood near threw a garment over her. And she put it on and listened to the preaching. And the Master uttered this verse (which is in the Dhammapada) to her for her to notice:—

“Neither in children is refuge, nor in parents, nor in relations;
To him, whom Pale Death assails, there is no refuge in kinsfolk!
It is when he has realised this, that the wise man, guarded in conduct,
Can swiftly, yea swiftly, make plain the road that leads to Nirvāna.”⁷

And at the end of the stanza, even as she stood there, her conversion was firmly established. And, drawing near to the Master, she did homage to him and begged that she might enter the Order. And he consented, saying: “Go to the home of the Bhikkhunīs and enter the Order.”

And when she was ordained, she attained, soon afterwards, to Arahatsip. And, grasping the Buddha’s teaching, she became versed in the Canon Law.

So, on a festive occasion, when the Master, seated at Jetavana, was assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, he put Paṭācārā in the chief place among those who are versed in the Vinaya.

⁷ Dhammapada, verse 288.

5. Dhammadinnā.

Pañcame dhammakathikānanti dhammakathikānaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ dhammadinnā aggāti dasseti. Sā kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatiyaṃ parāyattaṭṭhāne nibbattitvā padumuttarassa bhagavato aggasāvakaṃ sujātattatherassa adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā yāvajīvaṃ kusalaṃ katvā sagge nibbatti. Sabbamaṃ hetṭhā khemātheriyā abhinīhāravaseneva veditabbaṃ. Phussabuddhakāle panesā satthu vemātikānaṃ tiṇṇaṃ bhātikānaṃ dānādhikāre ṭhapitakammikassa gehe vasamānā “ekaṃ dehi”ti vuttā dve adāsi. Evaṃ sabbamaṃ aparihāpentī datvā dvenavutikappe atikkamma kassapabuddhakāle kikissa kāsirañño gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā sattannaṃ bhaginīnaṃ abbhantarā hutvā vīsati vassasahassāni brahmacariyaṃ caritvā bhikkhusaṅghassa vasanapariveṇaṃ kāretvā ekaṃ buddhantaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaraṇṭi imasmiṃ buddhuppāde kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā aparabhāge visākhasettḥhino gehaṃ gatā. Visākhasettḥhi nāma bimbisārassa sahāyako rañña saddhiṃ dasabalassa paṭhamadassanaṃ gantvā dhammaṃ sutvā sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhito, aparabhāge anāgāmiṃphalaṃ sacchākāsi.

So taṃdivasaṃ gharaṃ gantvā sopānamatthake ṭhitāya dhammadinnāya hatthe pasārite hatthaṃ anālambitvā pāsādaṃ abhiruhi. Bhuñjamānopi “imaṃ detha, imaṃ harathā”ti na byāhari. Dhammadinnā kaṭacchumaṃ gahetvā parivisaṃmānā cintesi – “ayaṃ me hatthālabakkaṃ dentiyaṃpi hatthaṃ na ālambi, bhuñjamānopi kiñci na katheti, ko nu kho mayhaṃ doso”ti? Atha naṃ bhuttāvaṃ “ko nu kho me, ayya, doso”ti pucchi. Dhammadinne tuyhaṃ doso natthi, ahaṃ pana aṃja paṭṭhāya santhavavasena tumhākaṃ santike nisīdituṃ vā ṭhātuṃ vā āharāpetvā khādituṃ vā bhuñjituṃ vā abhabbo. Tvaṃ sace icchasi, imasmiṃ gehe vasa. No ce icchasi, yattakena te dhanena attho, taṃ gaṇhitvā kulagharaṃ gacchāhīti. Ayyaputta, evaṃ sante ahaṃ tumhehi chaḍḍitakheḷaṃ vamaṭavamaṇaṃ sīsena ukkhipitvā na carissāmi, mayhaṃ pabbajjaṃ anujānāthāti. Visākho “sādhu, dhammadinne”ti rañño ārocetvā dhammadinnaṃ suvaṇṇasivikāya bhikkhuniupassayaṃ pabbajjattḥhaya pesesi.

Sā pabbajitvā cintesi – “ayaṃ tāva settḥhi gharamajjhe ṭhitova dukkhassantaṃ akāsi, pabbajjaṃ laddhakālato paṭṭhāya pana mayāpi dukkhassantaṃ kātuṃ vaṭṭatī”ti ācariyupajjhāyānaṃ santikaṃ gantvā, “ayye, mayhaṃ ākiṇṇaṭṭhāne cittaṃ na ramati, gāmakāvāsaṃ gacchāmi”ti āha. Theriyo tassā mahākulā nikkhamma pabbajitabhāvena cittaṃ vāretuṃ asakkontiyo taṃ gahetvā gāmakāvāsaṃ agamaṃsu. Sā atīte madditasaṅkhārātāya nacirasseva saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Athassā etadahosi – “mayhaṃ kiccaṃ matthakaṃ pattaṃ, idha vasitvā kiṃ karissāmi, rājagahameva gacchāmi, tatra maṃ nissāya bahu nātisaṅgho puñṇāni karissatī”ti theriyo gahetvā nagarameva paccāgatā.

Visākho tassā āgatabhāvaṃ ñatvā “sīghaṃ āgatā ukkaṇṭhitā nu kho bhavissatī”ti sāyanhasamaye tassā santikaṃ gantvā abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisinno “ukkaṇṭhitabhāvaṃ pucchituṃ ayutta”nti pañcakkhandhādivasena pañhe pucchi, dhammadinnā khaggena uppalanālaṃ chindantī viya pucchitaṃ pucchitaṃ vissajjesi. Upāsako dhammadinnātheriyā ñāṇassa sūrabhāvaṃ ñatvā attano adhigataṭṭhāne paṭipāṭiyā tīsu maggesu sabbākārena pañhe pucchitvā uggahavasena arahattamaggepi pucchi. Dhammadinnātherīpi upāsakassa yāva anāgāmiṃphalāva visayabhāvaṃ ñatvā “idāni attano visayaṃ atikkamitvā dhāvati”ti taṃ nivattentī “accasārā, āvuso visākha, pañhe, nāsakki pañhānaṃ pariyantaṃ gahetuṃ, nibbānogaḍhañhi, āvuso visākha, brahmacariyaṃ nibbānaparāyaṇaṃ nibbānapariyosānaṃ. Ākaṅkhamāno ca tvaṃ, āvuso visākha, bhagavantaṃ upasaṅkamitvā etamatthaṃ puccheyyāsi. Yathā ca te bhagavā byākaroti, tathā naṃ dhāreyyāsi”ti (ma. ni. 1.466) āha.

Visākho satthu santikaṃ gantvā sabbamaṃ pucchāvissajjananayaṃ kathesi. Satthā tassa vacanaṃ sutvā “mama dhītāya atītānāgatapaccuppannesu khandhesu taṇhā natthī”ti vatvā dhammapade imaṃ gāthamāha –

“Yassa pure ca pacchā ca, majjhe ca natthi kiñcanaṃ;

Akiñcanaṃ anādānaṃ, tamaḥaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇa”nti. (dha. pa. 421);

Tato dhammadinnāya sādhuḥkāraṃ datvā visākhaṃ upāsakaṃ etadavoca – “paṇḍitā, visākha, dhammadinnā bhikkhunī, mahāpaṇḍitā visākha, dhammadinnā bhikkhunī. Maṃ cepi tvaṃ, visākha, etamatthaṃ puccheyyāsi, ahampi taṃ evameva byākareyyaṃ, yathā taṃ dhammadinnāya bhikkhuniyā byākataṃ, eso cevetassa attho, evañca naṃ dhārehī”ti. Evametam vatthu samuṭṭhitam. Aparabhāge satthā jetavane nisinno paṭipāṭiyā bhikkhuniyo ṭhānantare ṭhapento idameva cūḷavedallaṃ aṭṭhupattiṃ katvā therim imasmiṃ sāsane dhammakathikānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

5. *Dhammadinnā.*

In the fifth Sutta by the words *dhammakathikānaṃ* he points out Dhammadinnā as the chief among those Bhikkhunīs who preach.

They say that this woman was reborn, in the condition of a slave, at Haṃsavatī in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, and having done service to the Thera Sujāta, one of the two chief disciples of Padumuttara, the Blessed One, she aspired to the said distinction.

After having spent her whole life zealous in good works she was reborn in heaven. All is to be understood to have followed (according to this resolve of her’s) even as in the history of the Therī Khemā, already told.

Furthermore, in the time of the Buddha Phussa, this woman (while dwelling in the house of a servant, in the almshouse of the three half-brothers of the Master), whenever she was told to give one thing, gave two.

Thus, giving of everything without stint, she passed ninety-two æons and re-entered existence as one of seven sisters, dwelling in the palace of Kiki, the king, in the time of the Buddha Kassapa.

And for twenty thousand years she lived a life of chastity, and she had a dwelling built for the Order of Bhikkhus.

And after wandering from world to world of gods and men, during the interval between the coming of one Buddha and another, she was reborn in a nobleman’s family, at the time of the birth of this our Buddha.

And afterwards she entered the household of Visākha, the Treasurer.

Now Visākha, the Treasurer (who was a friend of the King Bimbisāra), the very first time he went with the king to see him who is gifted with the Ten Powers, was straightway converted, and, soon after, attained the Fruit of the Third Path.

When he went back to his house that day Dhammadinnā⁸ was standing at the head of the stairs with outstretched hands, but he mounted to the house-top without even touching her hand;⁹ and during his meal he never said: “Give me this,” or “Bring me that.”

Dhammadinnā, taking a spoon, served him with food, thinking:

“He would not lean on the hand I held out to support him; and, whilst eating, he says not a word to me! What wrong have I done?”

⁸ The Tīkā adds, she had unbolted the lattice, and seeing him coming, thought “What is the matter with him?” And, going to meet him, she stood at the head of the stairs.

⁹ She thought to herself: “I shall know why, to-morrow, at the time of the morning meal” (Tīkā).

So, when he had finished, she asked him: “Sir, what wrong have I done?”

“You have done no wrong, Dhammadinnā, but, from this day forth, our living thus in love together must not be— nor can we stand or sit together, nor can I eat and drink what you bring to me, from time to time.

“If it be your wish, dwell in this house; but if you desire to depart to your own home, depart, taking with you whatsoever treasure you may need.”

But she answered: “If that be so, neither will I take up and bear away what you, with such disgust, even as it were but spittle and vomit, have cast aside! Give me leave, too, to forsake the world.”

Visākha said: “So be it, Dhammadinnā!” And he sent her, in a golden palanquin, to the home of the Bhikkhunīs.

Now, after she had entered the Order, she thought to herself: “Truly, this Treasurer, albeit he still remains a layman, has put an end to his trouble; but my sorrow lasts on, since I entered the Order. I must do something else to end it.”

And so, going to her teacher and superior, she said: “Noble ladies, my soul finds no joy in this crowded spot. I will go and dwell in a village.”

The Therīs, feeling that they could not offend her (since she, on her entrance into the Order, had come from a nobleman’s household), took her with them and went to the village, where she was to dwell.

And since, in former births, she had subdued the Sankhāras, she shortly afterwards gained the Four Gifts of Perfect Understanding and attained to Arahatsip.

And now she thought thus: “I have reached the summit of all that should be done; what need is there for me to dwell here? I will go to Rājagaha. There my kinsfolk, for my sake, shall do many good works.” And taking the Therīs with her she returned even to the city.

Visākha, on hearing that she had come back, thought:

“She has soon returned! Can it be that she is discontented with the religious life?”

So, in the evening, he went to her, and bowing down before her, seated himself on one side. And thinking: “It would not be seemly to ask her if she is discontented,” he began by asking her a question about the five Khandhas, or constituent elements of Being.

Then, as easily as one could cut through the stalk of a lotus with a sword, Dhammadinnā answered each question as soon as he asked it.¹⁰

And the disciple saw how keen¹¹ was the wisdom of the Therī Dhammadinnā, and when he had questioned her, in every way in turn, on those three paths whereunto he himself had attained, he questioned her, even as a learner, about the paths that lead to Arahatsip.

Then Dhammadinnā, in her turn, knowing that the disciple had but reached the Fruit of the Third Path, and thinking: “Now is he overstepping his own province and rushing on too far,” kept him back, saying:

“You will not be able, brother Visākha, to understand the answers to questions on things beyond your limit—even such as Nirvāna, brother Visākha, the duties of the religious life, the final bliss of

¹⁰ Tīkā explains “sūra bhāvaṃ” by “tikkha bhāvaṃ.”

¹¹ The conversation is given in full in the Culla Vedalla.Sutta (pp. 299-305 in the Pāli Text Society’s edition of Majjhima Nikāya).

Nirvāna, and those things whose end is Nirvāna. And if you desire (to learn) go to the Blessed One, O brother Visākha, and ask him concerning these matters; and even as he expounds them to you bear them in mind.”

And Visākha went to the Blessed One and told him all about the questions and answers.

The Teacher, after hearing what he had to say, answered: “In my daughter there is no lust after life past, present, or to come.”

And when he had spoken thus, he uttered this verse which is in the Dhammapada:

“He who cares not to call anything his own, either in this birth, or in a past birth, or in a birth to come; him, indeed, do I call a Brahman, for he is free from craving.”¹²

Then, having praised the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, he spoke thus to the disciple Visākha: “Wise, Oh Visākha, is the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, great in wisdom, O Visākha, is the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, and, furthermore, if you asked me, Visākha, concerning this matter, I myself should expound it to you, even as the bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā expounded it. And this is the meaning thereof—Do you bear it in mind.”

Thus did this story arise.

And afterwards the Master, seated at Jetavana assigning places to the bhikkhunīs in turn, when he had explained this very Culla Vedalla gave the Therī, on that occasion, the chief place among those who preach.

6. *Nandā.*

Chaṭṭhe jhāyīnaṃ yadidaṃ nandāti jhānābhiratānaṃ, nandā therī, aggāti dasseti. Sā kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge satthu dhammaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ jhānābhiratānaṃ aggatthāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhiṅkarakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā tato kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā amhākaṃ satthu nibbattito puretameva mahāpajāpatigotamiyā kucchimhi paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi, nandātissā nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Rūpanandātipi vuccati. Sā aparabhāge uttamarūpabhāvena janapadakalyāṇī nāma jātā.

Sā amhākaṃ dasabale sabbaññutaṃ patvā anupubbena kapilavatthum āgantvā nandañca rāhulañca pabbājetvā pakkante suddhodanamahārājassa parinibbutakāle “mahāpajāpatigotamī ca rāhulamātā ca nikkhamitvā satthu santike pabbajitā”ti ñatvā “imāsaṃ pabbajitakālato paṭṭhāya mayhaṃ idha kiṃ kamma”nti mahāpajāpatiyā santikaṃ gantvā pabbaji. Pabbajitadivasato paṭṭhāya “satthā rūpaṃ garahatī”ti satthu upaṭṭhānaṃ na gacchati, ovādavāre sampatte aññaṃ pesetvā ovādaṃ āharāpeti. Satthā tassā rūpamadammattabhāvaṃ ñatvā “attano ovādaṃ attanāva āgantvā gaṇhantu, na bhikkhunīhi aññaṃ pesetabbā”ti āha. Tato rūpanandā aññaṃ maggaṃ apassantī akāmā ovādaṃ agamāsi.

Satthā tassā caritavasena iddhiyā ekaṃ itthirūpaṃ nimminivā tālavaṇṇaṃ gahetvā bījamānaṃ viya akāsi. Rūpanandā taṃ disvā cintesi — “ahaṃ akāraṇeneva pamattā hutvā nāgacchāmi, evarūpāpi itthiyo satthu santike vissatthā caranti. Mama rūpaṃ etāsaṃ rūpassa kalaṃ nāgghati soḷasiṃ, ajānitvāva ettakaṃ kālānaṃ na āgatamhī”ti tameva itthinimittāṃ gaṇhitvā oloketi atthāsi. Satthā tassā pubbahetusampannatāya “atthīnaṃ nagaraṃ kata”nti (dha. pa. 150) dhammapade gāthaṃ vatvā —

¹² Dhammapada, verse 421.

“Caram vā yadi vā tiṭṭham, nisinno uda vā saya”nti. (su. ni. 195) –

Suttam abhāsi. Sā tasmimyeva rūpe khayavayam paṭṭhapetvā arahattam pāpuṇi. Imasmim thāne idam vatthu heṭṭhā khemātheriyā vatthunā sadisamevāti na vitthāritam. Tato paṭṭhāya, rūpanandā, jhānābhiratānam antare dhurappattā ahosi. Satthā aparabhāge jetavane nisinno paṭipāṭiyā bhikkhuniyo thānantare thapento nandātherim jhāyīnam aggaṭṭhāne thapesīti.

6. Nandā.¹³

In the sixth (Sutta) by the words *yadidm Nandā ti*, he points out the Therī Nandā as the chief of those who practise meditation.

It is related that this woman was reborn in a noble family at Hamsavatī in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, and later on, when hearing the Teacher preach the Truth, and seeing him assign to a certain Bhikkhunī the chief place among those who practise the Meditations, she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same distinction.

Then, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she re-entered existence, born of Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, before our Teacher’s birth.

They gave her the name Nandā. She was also called Rūpanandā.

And afterwards, by reason of her loveliness, she came to be called Janapada Kalyāṇi (the belle of the land).

Now, after our Buddha of the Ten Powers had attained to omniscience, and had returned to Kapilavatthu, and successively admitted Nandā and Rāhula into the Order, and then departed; and the great king Suddhodana had died, Mahāpajāpati Gotamī, and the mother of Rāhula went forth and entered the Order under the Teacher. She (Rūpanandā) on seeing (all this) thought: “Since they renounced the world what have I to do here?” So, going to Mahāpajāpati she entered the Order.

From the day she entered the Order she never went to minister to the Teacher, having heard it said: “The Teacher finds fault with beauty.” When the time for the exhortation came round, she sent another Bhikkhunī, and bade her bring word of the discourse.

The Teacher saw that she was intoxicated with her own loveliness, and he said: “Let each one come and receive her exhortation for herself. None of the Bhikkhunīs may send others.”

Then Rūpanandā, not seeing any way out of it, went unwillingly to the exhortation.

Now, because of this conduct of her’s, the Teacher created, by the power of Iddhi, the form of a woman, who, holding a palm-leaf, seemed to be fanning him.

Rūpanandā seeing this, thought to herself: “For (such) a reason was I neglectful, and did not come! And, behold, women like this go about fearlessly near the Master! My beauty is not worth a sixteenth part of their’s! Yet, ignorant of this, I have not come hither all this time!” And she stood utterly spell-bound gazing at the woman.

And the Master recited to her, who had reached the climax of causes heaped up in former births, the stanza in the Dhammapada, which begins: “Of bones is the fortress made”; and then uttered the Sutta beginning: “Whether walking or standing still—whether sitting or tying down.”

And, she gaining (the knowledge of) decay and death, attained to Arahatsip.

¹³ Dhammapāla calls this Therī Sundarīnandā.

Now in the commentary on this passage the story is not told in full, since it is the same as the foregoing history of the Therī Khemā.

Thenceforward Rūpanandā held the first place among those who practised the meditations.

Afterwards the Teacher, seated at Jetavana, and assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, gave to the Therī Nandā the chief place among those who practise meditation.

7. Soṇā.

Sattame āraddhavīriyānanti paggahitaparipunṇavīriyānaṃ soṇā aggāti dasseti. Ayaṃ kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatīnagare kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge dhammaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuṃ āraddhavīriyānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhiṅkarakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde sāvattiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge gharāvāse vutthā bahū puttadhītaro labhitvā sabbepi viṣuṃ viṣuṃ gharāvāse patiṭṭhāpesi. Te tato paṭṭhāya “ayaṃ amhākaṃ kiṃ karissatī”ti taṃ attano santikaṃ āgataṃ “mātā”ti saññāmpi na karimṣu. Bahuputtikasoṇā tesāṃ attani agāravabhāvaṃ ñatvā “gharāvāsena kiṃ karissāmi”ti nikkhamitvā pabbaji. Atha naṃ bhikkhuniyo “ayaṃ vattaṃ na jānāti, ayuttaṃ karotī”ti daṇḍakammaṃ karonti. Puttadhītaro taṃ daṇḍakammaṃ āharantiṃ disvā “ayaṃ yāvajjādivasā sikkhāmattampi na jānāti”ti diṭṭhadiṭṭhatṭhāne uppaṇdesuṃ. Sā tesāṃ vacanaṃ sutvā uppannaṃvegā “attano gativisodhanaṃ kātum vaṭṭatī”ti nisinnaṭṭhānēpi ṭhitaṭṭhānēpi dvattiṃsākāraṃ sajjhāyati. Sā yatheva pubbe bahuputtikasoṇattherīti paññāyittha, evaṃ pacchā āraddhavīriyasoṇattherīti pākāṭā jātā.

Athekadivasāṃ bhikkhuniyo vihāraṃ gacchantiyo “bhikkhunisaṅghassa udakaṃ tāpeyyāsi, soṇe”ti vatvā agamaṃsu. Sāpi udakatāpanato puretameva aggisālāya caṅkamitvā caṅkamitvā dvattiṃsākāraṃ sajjhāyanti vipassanaṃ vaḍḍhesi. Satthā gandhakuṭiyaṃ nisinnova imaṃ obhāsagāthaṃ abhāsi –

“Yo ca vassasataṃ jīve, apassaṃ dhammamuttamaṃ;

Ekāhaṃ jīvitaṃ seyyo, passato dhammamuttama”nti.

(dha. pa. 115);

Sā gāthāpariyosāne arahattaṃ patvā cintesi – “ahaṃ arahattaṃ pattā, āgantukajano ca anupadhāretvāva mayi avaññāya kiñci vatvā bahuṃ apuññāmpi pasaveyya, tasmā saṃlakkhaṇakāraṇaṃ kātum vaṭṭatī”ti. Sā udakabhājanaṃ uddhanaṃ āropetvā heṭṭhā aggiṃ na akāsi. Bhikkhuniyo āgantvā uddhanaṃ olokentiyo aggiṃ adisvā “imaṃ mahallikaṃ ‘bhikkhunisaṅghassa udakaṃ tāpehī’ti avocumha, ajjāpi uddhane aggimpi na karotī”ti āhaṃsu. Ayye, kiṃ tumhākaṃ agginā, uṇhodakena nhāyitukāmā bhājanato udakaṃ gahetvā nhāyathāti? Tāpi “bhavissati ettha kāraṇa”nti gantvā udake hatthaṃ otāretvā uṇhabhāvaṃ ñatvā ekakuṭaṃ āharitvā udakaṃ gaṇhanti, gahitaḡahitaṭṭhānaṃ paripūraṭi. Tadā sabbāva tassā arahatte ṭhitaḡhāvaṃ ñatvā daharatarā tāva pañcapatiṭṭhitena pādesu patitvā “mayāṃ, ayye, ettaṃ kālaṃ tumhe anupadhāretvā viheṭhetvā viheṭhetvā kathayimha, khamatha no”ti khamāpesuṃ. Vuddhatarāpi ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā “khamā, ayye”ti khamāpesuṃ. Tato paṭṭhāya “mahallakakāle pabbajitvāpi āraddhavīriyabhāvena nacirasseva aggaḡhale patiṭṭhitā”ti theriyā guṇo pākāṭo ahoṣi. Aparabhāge satthā jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento soṇattheriṃ āraddhavīriyānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

7. *Soṇā*.

In the seventh Sutta by the words “*Āraddhaviriyaṇam*,” he points out *Soṇā* as the foremost among those who are strenuous in effort.

They say that this woman re-entered existence in a noble family at *Haṃsavatī*, in the time of the Buddha *Padumuttara*; and afterwards, when hearing the preaching of the Law, she saw the Master assign to a certain *Bhikkhunī* the chief place among those who are strenuous. She, after she had done homage to the Buddha, aspired to the same distinction.

And when she had wandered in the worlds of gods and men for twenty thousand æons, she re-entered existence in a noble family at *Sāvattihī*, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha.

Afterwards, being herself a householder, and having borne many sons and daughters, she also established all of them, one after another, in the lay life (as householders).¹⁴

From that time forth, thinking: “What can she do against us?” When she came to see them, they did not even greet her as “Mother.”¹⁵ And *Soṇā*, mother of these many children, feeling in her own heart their lack of piety towards her, thought: “What is the good of my living any longer in the world?” And going forth she entered the Order.

Now the *Bhikkhunīs* put penances upon her as one who did not observe moderation, and whose conduct was unseemly. Thereupon her sons and daughters, seeing her undergoing penance, laughed her to scorn wheresoever they saw her, saying, “This woman does not, even to this day, know the Precepts!” When she heard their words, struck with dismay, she thought: “I must set about a way of self-purification.” And thereafter, wherever she might be, either standing or sitting down, she repeated over the *Dvattiṃsākāra*. So, even as she had formerly been called “the *Therī Soṇā*, mother of many children,” she thenceforward became known as “the *Then Soṇā*, strenuous in effort.”

Now, one day, when the *Bhikkhunīs* were going to the *Vihāra*, they said to her: “*Soṇā*, heat some water for the company of *Bhikkhunīs*.” And they went away.

And then (while pacing to and fro in the hall where the fire was, and repeating over the *Dvattiṃsākāra*) she, even before the water boiled, reached the perfection of spiritual insight.

And the Master, although seated (far away) in the Perfumed Chamber, spoke this stanza, which she heard as from a vision:

“Nay, let a man live a hundred years without sight of the Perfect Law,

Better do I call, the one-day’s life of him who beholds the Perfect Law.”

And she, having, at the end of the stanza, attained to *Arahatship*, thought:

“I have attained to *Arahatship*! Yet, when they all come back, not understanding this, they will find fault with me. And if I say nothing, great blame might be cast on me. I had better do something to show them a sign.”

And she placed the water-jar hanging over the hearth on the camp-fire, but did not light the fire beneath it.

¹⁴ *Ṭīkā* explains she thought “as I have established my sons, they will look after me. What is the use of a separate estate to me?” And dividing all her wealth she gave it to them.

¹⁵ *Ṭīkā* adds that after a few days her eldest son’s wife said: “would that she would give us our half, thinking: ‘this is my eldest son!’ and that she would go back to her own house!” And the wives of her other sons said the same, and her daughters (from the eldest downwards) said the same, from the time she went to their houses.

When the Bhikkhunīs returned, on looking at the fireplace, and seeing no fire, they said: “We bade this old woman boil water for the, company of Bhikkhunīs; but lo to-day she has lighted no fire in the fire-place.”

And Soṇā said: “Ladies! What do you want with fire? Should you wish to bathe in water made hot by fire, take water from the jar and bathe in it.”

They, thinking: “There must be some reason for this!” went and plunged their hands in the water, and, feeling how hot it was, they brought a pot; and as they took up water in it, the vessel whence they took it filled up again.

Thereupon they were assured that Soṇā had attained to Arahatsip. And all the younger Bhikkhunīs prostrated themselves utterly before her, falling at her feet and saying:

“Oh, noble lady! for so long a time we have misunderstood, injured, and reviled you—Forgive us!” Thus did they beseech her forgiveness.

Moreover, the elder Bhikkhunīs, crouching before her, pleaded for forgiveness, saying, “Pardon us, noble lady!

And, from that time forth, the Therī, having in a short time attained the Fruit of the Paths (though she had entered the Order in her old age), became renowned for her virtue.

Afterwards the Master, when seated at Jetavana, and assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs one after another, put the Therī Soṇā in the foremost place among those who are strenuous in effort.

8. *Sakulā.*

Aṭṭhame dibbacakkhukānaṃ yadidaṃ Sakulāti dibbacakkhukānaṃ, Sakulā therī, aggāti dasseti. Ayaṃ kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatīyaṃ kulagehe nibbattitvā satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ dibbacakkhukānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikāraṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devesu ca manussesu ca saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde sāvatthiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattitvā aparabhāge satthu dhammadesanaṃ sutvā paṭiladdhasaddhā pabbajitvā nacirasseva arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Sā tato paṭṭhāya dibbacakkhumhi ciṇṇavasī ahosi. Aparabhāge satthā jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ dibbacakkhukānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

8. *Sakulā.*

In the eighth Sutta, by the words dibbacakkhukānaṃ yadidaṃ Sakulā, he points out the Therī Sakulā as the foremost among those who are gifted with the Higher Vision.

Now this woman also had been reborn, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, in a noble family at Haṃsavatī. And when she had come of age, when hearing the Master preach, she saw him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those gifted with divine vision; she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same distinction. And, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she was reborn in a noble family at Sāvatthī, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha.

Later on, hearing the Master preach on the Truth, and becoming filled with Faith, she entered the Order, and, shortly after, attained to Arahatsip.

From that time forth she became much practised in the Higher Vision.

Afterwards the Master, when seated at Jetavana, assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs one after another, placed this Therī first among those who have the gift of the Higher Vision.

9. Bhaddā (Kuṇḍalakesā).

Navame khippābhiññānanti khippābhiññānaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ, bhaddā kuṇḍalakesā, aggāti dasseti. Ayampi hi padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā satthu dhammakathaṃ sutvā satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuṃ khippābhiññānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikāraṃ kammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā kassapabuddhakāle kikissa kāsirañño gehe sattannaṃ bhaginīnaṃ abbhantarā hutvā vīsati vassasahassāni dasa sīlāni samādāya komārikabrahmacariyaṃ carantī saṅghassa vasanapariveṇaṃ kāretvā ekaṃ buddhantaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde rājagahanaṃ gaṇhi, bhaddātiṣṣā nāmaṃ akāṃsu.

Taṃdivasaṃyeva ca tasmīṃ nagare purohitaputto jāto. Tassa jātavelāya rājanivesanaṃ ādim katvā sakalanagare āvudhāni pajjalīṃsu. Purohito pātova rājakulaṃ gantvā rājānaṃ sukhaseyyaṃ pucchi. Rājā “kuto me, ācariya, sukhaseyyā, ajja sabbarattīṃ rājanivesane āvudhāni pajjalitāni disvā bhayappattā ahumhā”ti āha. Mahārāja, tappaccayā mā cintayittha, na tumhākaṃyeva gehe āvudhāni pajjalīṃsu, sakalanagare evaṃ ahoṣīti. Kiṃ kārāṇā, ācariyāti? Amhākaṃ gehe coranakkhattena dārako jāto, so sakalanagaraṃ sattu hutvā uppanno, tassetāṃ pubbanimittaṃ. Tumhākaṃ upaddavo natthi, sace pana icchatha, hārema nanti. Amhākaṃ pīlāya asatiyā hāraṇakammaṃ natthīti. Purohito “mama putto attano nāmaṃ gahetvāva āgato”ti sattukotevassa nāmaṃ akāsi. Setṭhigehepi bhaddā vaḍḍhati, purohitagehepi sattuko vaḍḍhati. So attano ādhāvanavidhāvanena kīḷitūṃ samatthakālaṃ patṭhāya attano vicaraṇaṭṭhāne yaṃ yaṃ passati, taṃ taṃ sabbāṃ āharitvā mātāpitūnaṃ gehaṃ pūreti. Pitā naṃ kārāṇasahassampi vatvā vāretūṃ nāsakkhi.

Aparabhāge panassa vayappattassa sabbākārenāpi vāretūṃ asakkuṇeyyabhāvaṃ ṇatvā dve nīlasātake datvā sandhicchedanaupakaraṇaṃ ca siṅghāṭakayantaṃ ca hatthe datvā “tvāṃ imināva kammena jīvāhī”ti naṃ vissajjesi. So taṃdivasato patṭhāya siṅghāṭakayantaṃ khipitvā kulānaṃ pāsāde āruya sandhiṃ chinditvā parakulesu nikkhattabhaṇḍaṃ attanā ṭhapitaṃ viya gahetvā gacchati. Sakalanagare tena aviluttagehaṃ nāma nāhosi. Ekadivasaṃ rājā rathena nagare vicaranto sārathīṃ pucchi – “kiṃ nu kho imasmiṃ nagare tasmīṃ tasmīṃ ghare chiddameva paññāyati”ti. Deva imasmiṃ nagare sattuko nāma coro bhittīṃ chinditvā kulānaṃ santakaṃ haratīti. Rājā nagaraguttikaṃ pakkosāpetvā “imasmiṃ kira nagare evarūpo nāma coro atthi, kasmā naṃ na gaṇhasī”ti āha. Mayaṃ, deva, taṃ coraṃ sahoḍḍhaṃ passitūṃ na sakkomāti. Sace ajja naṃ coraṃ gaṇhasi, jīvāsi. Sace na gaṇhasi, rājānaṃ te karissāmīti. Evaṃ devāti nagaraguttiko sakalanagare manusse cāretvā taṃ bhittīṃ chinditvā parabhaṇḍaṃ avaharantaṃ sahoḍḍhameva gahetvā rañño dassesi. Rājā “imaṃ coraṃ dakkhiṇadvārena nīharitvā ghātethā”ti āha. Nagaraguttiko rañño paṭissuṇitvā taṃ coraṃ catukke catukke pahārasahassena tālento gāhāpetvā dakkhiṇadvāraṃ gacchati.

Tasmīṃ samaye ayaṃ bhaddā nāma setṭhidhītā mahājanassa kolāhalasaddena sīhapañjaraṃ ugghāṭetvā oloketī taṃ sattukaṃ coraṃ tathā nīyamānaṃ disvā ubho hi hatthehi hadayaṃ sandhārentī gantvā sirisayane adhomukhā nipajji. Sā ca tassa kulassa ekadhītā, tenassā ṇātakā appamattakampi mukhavikāraṃ sahitaṃ na sakkonti. Atha naṃ mātā sayane nipannaṃ disvā “kiṃ karosi, amma”ti pucchi. Etaṃ vajjhaṃ katvā nīyamānaṃ coraṃ addasa, ammaṃti? Āma, ammaṃti. Etaṃ labhamānā jīvissāmi, alabhamānāya me maraṇamevāti. Te taṃ nānappakārenāpi saññāpetūṃ asakkontā “maraṇā jīvitaṃ seyyo”ti sallakkhesuṃ. Athassā pitā nagaraguttikassa santikaṃ gantvā sahaṃ lañjaṃ datvā “mayhaṃ dhītā core paṭibaddhacittā, yena kenaci upāyena imaṃ muñcā”ti āha. So “sādhū”ti setṭhissa paṭissuṇitvā coraṃ gahetvā yāva sūriyassa atthaṅgamaṇā ito cito ca

papañcāpetvā sūriye atthaṅgate cārakato ekaṃ manussaṃ nīharāpetvā sattukassa bandhanaṃ mocetvā sattukaṃ seṭṭhigehaṃ pesetvā tena bandhanena itaraṃ bandhitvā dakkhiṇadvārena nīharitvā ghātesi. Seṭṭhidāsāpi sattukaṃ gahetvā seṭṭhino nivesanaṃ āgamaṃsu. Taṃ disvā seṭṭhi “dhītu manāṃ pūressāmī”ti sattukaṃ gandhodakena nhāpetvā sabbālaṅkārapaṭimaṇḍitaṃ kāretvā pāsādaṃ pesesi. Bhaddāpi “paripuṇṇo me saṅkappo”ti anekālaṅkārena alaṅkaritvā taṃ paricarati.

Sattuko katipāhaṃ vītināmetvā cintesi – “imissā pasādhanabhaṇḍakaṃ mayhaṃ bhavissati, kenaci upāyena imaṃ ābharaṇaṃ gahetuṃ vaṭṭatī”ti samīpe sukhena nisinnakāle bhaddaṃ āha – “mayhaṃ ekaṃ vacanaṃ vattabbaṃ atthī”ti. Seṭṭhidhīta sahasalābhaṃ labhitvā viya tuṭṭhamānasā “vissatthaṃ vadehi, ayyā”ti āha. Tvaṃ cintesi – “maṃ nissāya iminā jīvitāṃ laddha”nti, ahaṃ pana gahitamattova corapapātapabbate adhivatthāya devatāya “sacāhaṃ jīvitāṃ labhissāmi, balikammaṃ te dassāmī”ti āyāciṃ. Taṃ nissāya mayā jīvitāṃ laddhaṃ, sīghaṃ balikammaṃ sajjāpehīti. Bhaddā, “ahaṃ tassa manāṃ pūressāmī”ti balikammaṃ sajjāpetvā sabbāṃ pasādhanāṃ pasādhetvā ekayāne āruya sāmikena saddhiṃ corapapātapabbataṃ gantvā “pabbatadevatāya balikammaṃ karissāmī”ti abhiruhituṃ āradhā. Sattuko cintesi – “sabbesu abhiruhantesu mama imissā ābharaṇaṃ gahetuṃ na okāso bhavissati”ti tameva balibhājanaṃ gāhāpetvā pabbataṃ abhiruhi.

So bhaddāya saddhiṃ kathento piyakathaṃ na katheti. Sā iṅgiteneva tassa adhippāyaṃ aññāsī. Atha naṃ so āha – “bhadde, tava uttarisāṭakaṃ omuñcitvā kāyāruḷhaṃ te pasādhanāṃ ettha bhaṇḍikaṃ karohī”ti. Sāmi mayhaṃ ko aparādhoti? Kiṃ panāhaṃ, bāle, balikammattaṃ āgatoti saññaṃ karosi? Ahañhi imissā devatāya yakanāṃ ubbaṭṭhetvā dadeyyaṃ, balikammāpadesena pana tava ābharaṇaṃ gaṇhitukāmo hutvā āgatomhīti. Kassa pana, ayya, pasādhanāṃ, kassa ahanti? Mayaṃ evarūpaṃ na jānāma, aññaṃ tava santakaṃ, aññaṃ mama santakanti. Sādhu, ayya, ekaṃ pana me adhippāyaṃ pūretha, alaṅkataniyāmeneva me purato ca pacchato ca āliṅgituṃ dethāti. So “sādhū”ti sampāṭicchi. Sā tena sampāṭicchitabhāvaṃ ñatvā purato āliṅgitvā pacchato āliṅgantī viya hutvā pabbatapapāte pātesi. So patanto ākāseyyeva cuṇṇavicuṇṇo ahosi. Tāya kataṃ vicitrabhāvaṃ disvā pabbate adhivatthā devatā guṇakittanavasena imā gāthā āha –

“Na so sabbesu ṭhānesu, puriso hoti paṇḍito;
Itthīpi paṇḍitā hoti, tattha tattha vicakkhaṇā.
“Na so sabbesu ṭhānesu, puriso hoti paṇḍito;
Itthīpi paṇḍitā hoti, muhuttamapi cintaye”ti.

(apa. therī 2.3.31-32);

Tato bhaddā cintesi – “na sakkā mayā iminā niyāmena puna gehaṃ gantuṃ, itova gantvā ekaṃ pabbajjaṃ pabbajissāmī”ti, nigaṇṭhārāmaṃ gantvā nigaṇṭhe pabbajjaṃ yāci. Atha naṃ te āhaṃsu – “kena niyāmena pabbajjā hotū”ti? Yaṃ tumhākaṃ pabbajjāya uttamaṃ, tadeva karoṭhāti. Te “sādhū”ti tassā tālaṭṭhinā kese luñcitvā pabbājesuṃ. Kesā puna vaḍḍhantā rāsirāsivasena kuṇḍalāvattā hutvā vaḍḍhiṃsu. Sā teneva kāraṇena kuṇḍalakesā nāma jātā. Sā attano pabbajitaṭṭhāne sabbasippaṃ uggaṇhitvā “etesāṃ ito uttari viseso natthī”ti ñatvā gāmanigamarājadhāniyo vicarantī yattha yattha paṇḍitā atthi, tattha tattha gantvā tesāṃ jānanasippaṃ sabbameva uggaṇhāti. Athassā bahūsu ṭhānesu sikkhitabhāvena paṭivādaṃ dātuṃ samatthā na honti. Sā attanā saddhiṃ kathetuṃ samatthaṃ adisvā yaṃ gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā pavisati, tassa dvāre vālukaṛāsiṃ katvā tattha jambusākhaṃ ṭhapeti. “Yo mama vādaṃ āropetuṃ sakkoti, so imaṃ sākhaṃ maddatū”ti samīpe ṭhitānaṃ dāraḱānaṃ saññaṃ deti. Taṃ sattāhampi maddantā na honti. Atha naṃ gahetvā pakkamati.

Tasmiṃ samaye amhākaṃ bhagavā loke nibbattitvā sāvatthiṃ upanissāya jetavane viharati. Kuṇḍalakesāpi kho anupubbena sāvatthiṃ patvā antonagaraṃ pavisaṃmānā porāṇakaniyāmeneva vālukaṛāsiṃhi sākhaṃ ṭhapetvā dāraḱānaṃ saññaṃ datvā pāvisi. Tasmiṃ samaye dhammasenāpati bhikkhusaṅghe pavitṭhe ekakova nagaraṃ pavisanto vālukaṭhūpe jambusākhaṃ disvā “kasmā ayaṃ ṭhapitā”ti pucchi. Dāraḱā taṃ kāraṇaṃ aparihāpetvā kathesuṃ. Evaṃ sante imaṃ gahetvā

maddatha, dārakāti. Tesu therassa vacanam sutvā ekacce madditum na visahiṃsu, ekacce tamkhaṇeyeva madditvā cunṇavicunṇam akamsu. Kuṇḍalakesā bhattakiccam katvā nikkhamantī tam sākham madditam disvā “kassetam kamma”nti pucchi. Athassā dhammasenāpatinā kārāpitabhāvaṃ kathayimsu. Sā “attano thāmaṃ ajānanto imaṃ sākham maddāpetum no visahissati, addhā mahanto eso bhavissati. Ahampi pana khuddikā bhavantī na sobhissāmi, antogāmameva pavisitvā parisāya saññaṃ dātum vaṭṭatī”ti cintetvā tathā akāsi. Asītikulasahassanivāse nagare sabhāgasabhāgasena sabbeva sañjānimsūti veditabbam.

Theropi bhattakiccam katvā aññatarasmim rukkhamūle nisīdi. Athāyaṃ kuṇḍalakesā mahājanaparivutā therassa santikaṃ gantvā paṭisanthāraṃ katvā ekamantaṃ thatvā, “bhante, tumhehi sākha maddāpitā”ti pucchi. Āma, mayā maddāpitāti. Evaṃ sante tumhehi saddhim amhākaṃ vādo hotu, bhanteti. Hotu, bhaddeti. Kassa pucchā hotu, kassa vissajjananti? Pucchā nāma amhākaṃ pattā, tvaṃ pana tuyhaṃ jānanakaṃ pucchāti. Sā therena dinnaanumatiyā sabbameva attano jānanakaṃ vādaṃ pucchi, thero sabbam vissajjesi. Sā sabbam pucchitvā tuṇhī ahosi. Atha naṃ thero āha – “tayā bahuṃ pucchitam, mayampi ekaṃ pañhaṃ pucchāmā”ti. Pucchatha, bhanteti. Ekaṃ nāma kinti? Kuṇḍalakesā “na jānāmi, bhante”ti āha. Tvaṃ ettakampi na jānāsi, aññaṃ kiṃ jānissasīti? Sā therassa pādesu patitvā “tumhākaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, bhante”ti āha. Mama saraṇagamanakammaṃ natthi, sadevake loke aggapuggalo dhuravihāre vasati, taṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāhīti. Sā “evaṃ karissāmi, bhante”ti sāyanhasamaye satthu dhammadesanāvelāya satthu santikaṃ gantvā pañcapaṭiṭṭhitena vanditvā ekamantaṃ atṭhāsi. Satthā tassā madditasāṅkhārāya cariyāvasena dhammapade imaṃ gāthamāha –

“Sahassamapi ce gāthā, anattapadasaṃhitā;

Ekaṃ gāthāpadaṃ seyyo, yaṃ sutvā upasammattī”ti.

(dha. pa. 101);

Sā gāthāpariyosāne yathāṭṭhitāva saha paṭisambhidāhi arahattaṃ patvā pabbajjaṃ yāci. Satthā tassā pabbajjaṃ sampaṭicchī. Sā bhikkhunupassayaṃ gantvā pabbajji. Aparabhāge catuparisamajje kathā udapādi – “mahantā vatāyaṃ bhaddā kuṇḍalakesā, yā catuppadikagāthāvasāne arahattaṃ pattā”ti. Satthā taṃ kāraṇaṃ atṭhuppattiṃ katvā therim khippābhiññaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

9. Bhaddā (Kuṇḍalakesā).¹⁶

In the ninth Sutta by the words khippābhiññaṃ, he points out Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā (the curly-haired) as the chief among those Bhikkhunīs who are swift to reach the Higher Insight.

This woman also was reborn in a noble family at Hamsavatī, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara. And when, on hearing the Master preach the Law, she had seen him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who are swift to reach the higher insight; she, forming a resolve, aspired to the same distinction.

And after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons she was reborn (in the time of the Buddha Kassapa) as one of seven sisters, in the house of Kiki, the king of the Kāsi country. And for twenty thousand years, having taken a vow to keep the Ten Precepts, she lived a life of chastity, and had a dwelling built for the Order of Bhikkhus. And when she had passed on from world to world of gods and men, during the interval between the coming of one Buddha and another she re-entered existence in the family of the Treasurer in the city of Rājagaha, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha.

¹⁶ She is the author of the five verses, 107-11, in the Therī Gāthā. The MSS. of Dhammapāla's commentary on that passage spell the name -kesī at p. 89 of Prof. Ed. Müller's edition, and -kesā at p. 99.

They gave her the name Bhaddā. And that very same day, and in the same city, a son was born to the King's chaplain.

At the moment he was born all the weapons in the city, beginning from those at the royal palace, grew wondrous bright.

And when the chaplain went on the morrow, he asked if the king had slept pleasantly.

The king replied: "How should we sleep pleasantly this day, reverend sir, when all night we were alarmed by seeing the weapons in our palace glowing bright!"

"Oh, great king," said the chaplain, "be not disturbed by reason of this! Not only at your palace did the weapons grow bright, but it was the same through the whole city."

"For what reason, reverend sir?"

"In our house a child was born under the robber's star. He has come as an enemy to the whole city. This is his sign. There is no special danger foretold against yourself. But if you wish it, we will put the child away."

The king said: "So long as he wrongs us not there is no need of putting him away."

The chaplain thought: "My son has come bringing his name with him!" So he called him Sattuko ("Highwayman").

And Bhaddā grew up in the Treasurer's house, while Sattuko, on the other hand, grew up in the chaplain's house.

From the time he was able to walk and run about in play, whatever he used to see in the places here and there where he rambled about, that did he take, and bring home till he filled his parents' house.

And his father, moreover, though threatening him with the stocks, was not able to stop him.

But later on, when he had come of age, his father, seeing that he could not possibly be prevented from doing this, gave him two dark-blue cloths to wear, and put in his hauds such tools as he would need for house-breaking, and said to him: "Earn your own living then, even by this trade!" and he turned him adrift. And from that day forth he used to throw his weighted rope over the house-top, and climbing up and breaking through the joinings of the masonry, he would bear away the goods stored up in his neighbour's dwellings, even as if he had stored them there himself. And through the whole city there was not a house he had not robbed.

Now one day the king, when going about the city in his chariot, asked his charioteer:

"Pray, how is it that there is a breach to be seen in every single house in this city?"

"Your highness, in this city there is a robber they call Sattuko, who breaks down the masonry of the houses and carries off property."

The king caused the city-watchman to be summoned, and said to him: "We are told that there is even such a thief as this in the city! Why do you not lay hands on him?"

"Your highness, we cannot find this robber."

And the king said: "If you seize this thief to-day, well and good! If you don't seize him I will have you impaled."

And the watchman said: "So be it, your highness."

And he sent men about through the whole city. And having seen this man bearing away goods from a house he had broken into, he handed him over to the king.

And the king said: "Take this robber forth by the South Gate and kill him."

And the city-watchman, according to the king's command, took the robber, and had him beaten with a thousand lashes at each place where four streets met; and so he went on to the South Gate.

Just then Subhaddā,¹⁷ the Treasurer's daughter, having unbolted her lattice, was looking forth because of the noise of the great crowd; and beheld the robber, "Highwayman," thus haled along. And, clasping both hands upon her heart, she went and lay upon her bed, with face bowed down. And since she was the only daughter of this family, her kinsfolk could not bear to see so much as a trifling trouble in her face; therefore, when they saw her lying on her bed, they asked her: "What ails you, dear one?"

"Did you see that robber led to execution?" said she: "Yes, yes; we saw him," they answered. "If he is mine I shall live, but if I do not have him, it will surely be my death!" said she.

They, failing to pacify her in any way whatsoever, came to the conclusion "better she should live than die!" So her father went to the city watchman, and giving him a thousand pieces of gold as a bribe, said to him:

"My daughter's heart is bound up in the robber. Set the man free by any stratagem whatever it may be!" "Very well!" said the watchman, and consented to the Treasurer's request. So he kept the robber lingering here and there till nearly sunset, and when the sun was about to set, he had a certain man brought out of the prison; and he caused Highwayman's fetters to be struck off, and sent him to the Treasurer's house; then binding the other man with these fetters he led him away, dismissing him by the south gate.

Thereupon the Treasurer's slaves took Highwayman, and went to the Treasurer's house.

When he saw him, the Treasurer said: "I will fulfil my daughter's wish," so he caused Highwayman to be bathed in scented water, and had him adorned with all his jewels, and sent him to the upper part of the house.

And Subhaddā thinking, "My heart's desire is won!" adorned herself with those jewels that were left over, and went about serving him.

When he had passed a few days (thus) Highwayman thought: "I will have those jewels she wears to adorn her. By whatever wiles it may be, I must get those gems!"

So at the time when they were sitting happily near one another, he said to Bhaddā:

"There is something I ought to say."

The Treasurer's daughter, full of contentment, as one who has received a thousand gifts, answered:

"Speak freely, my lord!"

And he said:

"You thought: 'His life was saved through me.' But when I was taken prisoner, I prayed to the goddess who dwells on that mountain, whence they throw down the robbers, and I besought her: 'If my life be saved I will offer gifts to thee'! It was through her my life was saved. Do you prepare an offering with all speed."

Subhaddā, thinking, "I will do as he wishes," made ready an offering.

¹⁷ This addition of *Su* to the name occurs also in Dhammapāla.

Then, adorning herself with all her jewels, and mounting one bullock cart with her husband, she went to the mountain where they used to cast down robbers. And purposing to offer gifts to the goddess, she was about to climb the mountain, when Sattuko thought to himself:

“If all our people were to climb the mountain with us, I shall have no chance of seizing on her jewels!”

So bidding her take the sacrificial vessel herself, he went on up the mountain.

And while talking with Bhaddā, he had not a loving word for her, and she felt by his very manner what his purpose was.

Now he said to her: “Bhaddā, take off your Sātaka (garment), and make a bundle here of those jewels you brought up hither upon you.

“Oh my husband, what wrong have I done?” she said.

“Why do you suppose I have come to offer gifts? Why I could tear out this goddess’s, liver and eat it! I came hither under pretence of offering gifts because I coveted your jewels.”

But she said, “Whose, Sir, pray, are the jewels, and whose am I? We know nothing of any such idea as there being any difference between a thing belonging to you and one belonging to me. Still, all right Sir! Only fulfil one desire I have. Allow me once more, still dressed in my finery, to embrace you both face to face, and from behind your back.”

And he consented, saying, “Very well!” And having embraced him face to face, she made as if she would embrace him from behind, and thrust him over the precipice. So falling through the air he was crushed to atoms.

And the goddess who haunted the mountain, seeing this wondrous deed, uttered these verses in her praise:

‘Tis not on all occasions a man alone who is clever.

A woman can be clever too, with her eyes open on all sides.

‘Tis not on all occasions a man alone who is clever.

A woman can be clever too, should she give thought for a moment only.

Then Subhaddā thought to herself: “I cannot go back to my own home thus! I will go forth and forsake the world by entering some order.”

So she went to the dwelling of the Nigaṇṭhas (Jains), and begged them to admit her into their Order. And they said to her: “With what manner of ceremony will you be ordained?” She answered: “With your highest ordination.” And saying, “So be it!” they pulled out her hair with palmyra thorns, and thus ordained her.

And when her hair began growing again, it grew in curls, through its great abundance, and for this reason she came to be called Kuṇḍalakesā (Curly Locks).

Now when she had mastered all the teaching to be had in that place where she had been ordained, and saw that there was nothing further to be learned there, she wandered about in villages and market-towns, and wheresoever there were learned men, there did she acquire their learning, nay, all of it!

And, therefore, in many places they were not able to give any answers to her because she was so learned. So having found no one who was able to dispute with her, whatever village or town she entered, she used to make a heap of sand beside the gate and plant a Jambu-branch on it, and tell the children standing near:

“If any man is able to dispute with me he may trample down this branch!”

If in seven days there was no one who trampled it down, she used to take it away and depart thence.

At this time Our Blessed One, reborn into this world, was living at Jetavana near Sāvattthī.

Now Kuṇḍalakesā also arrived at Sāvattthī, and when she came to the city she planted her branch on a heap of sand in the very same way as before. And telling the children about it she went into the city.

Just then the Captain of the Faith, Sāriputto, was entering the city alone (the company of Bhikkhus having preceded him), and he saw the mound of sand and the branch.

“What has this been put here for?” he asked. The children told him about it, leaving nothing out.

“If that be so, take it down and trample on it, boys!” said he.

Some among them, when they had heard the Thera’s words, did not dare to trample on the branch, but others, that very moment, trampled it to fragments.

Kuṇḍalakesā, having finished her meal, was setting out, when she saw that the branch was trampled down, and she asked:

“Whose doing is this?”

Then they told her that the Captain of the Faith had caused it to be done.

And she thought to herself: “He must have known his own strength when he dared to tell them to trample down my branch! Surely he is some great man! But as for me, I am insignificant, and I shall not show to advantage alone! I had better go into the village and tell the people.” And she did so.

[It must be understood that all the eighty thousand families in the city got to know of it according to their districts.]

Now the Thera, having finished his meal, seated himself at the foot of a certain tree. And this woman, Kuṇḍalakesā, followed by a great crowd, went to the Thera, and, after greeting him, stood respectfully on one side and asked him: “Reverend sir, was it you who bade them trample down my branch?”

“Yes, it was I who had it trampled down,” he answered.

“So be it, sir! Then let us dispute—you and I together,” said she.

“So be it, Bhaddā,” he replied. “Which of us shall ask questions, and which shall answer?”

“It is my right to question?”

“Ask away, then, on whatever you understand,” said he. So, the Thera having agreed to it, she questioned him on such matters as she understood.

The Thera solved all she put to him. And when she had asked all her questions she was silent.

Then the Thera said to her:

“You have asked me many questions. Now, let me ask you this one question.”

“Ask it, reverend sir,” she said. And he asked her one riddle only: “What is the one?” Kuṇḍalakesā answered: “Reverend sir, I do not know!”

“If you do not know even so Little as that, how can you know anything else?”

And thereupon she fell down at the Thera’s feet, saying:

“I take you as my refuge, O reverend sir!”

“Nay, you must not come to me as a refuge, but to him who is the Lord and greatest in the world. He dwells at the *Maha-Vihāra*. Go you to him as your refuge!”

And she said: “I will do so, sir!”

And in the evening she went to the Master at the time of the preaching, and when she had prostrated herself wholly before him she stood on one side.

And the Master, by way of leading her to suppress the Saṅkhāras (Elements of Being), spoke to her this stanza, which is in the Dhammapada:

“Though there be a thousand verses full of foolish sentences

Better do I hold one sentence of a verse whereby, on hearing it, one is set at rest.”

And, at the end of the stanza, even as she stood there she received the four Gifts of Perfect Understanding, and attained, to Arahatsip.

And she prayed that she might enter the Order, and the Master consented to her ordination. So, going to the home of the Bhikkhunis, she renounced the world.

Afterwards it was talked of, among the four classes of disciples (Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, and lay disciples, both men and women), how great must be this Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā to have attained to Arahatsip at the end of a stanza of four lines. And the Master set forth the reason of this, and gave the Therī the chief place among those who are swift to reach the higher knowledge.

10. *Bhaddākāpilānī*.

Dasame pubbenivāsanti pubbe nivutthakkhandhasantānaṃ anussarantīnaṃ bhaddā kāpilānī aggāti dasseti. Sā kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatīyaṃ kulagehe nibbattitvā satthu dhammadesanaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ pubbenivāsaṃ anussarantīnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikāraṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā anuppanne buddhe bārāṇasiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhitvā attano sāmibhaginiyā saddhiṃ kalahāṃ karontī tāya paccekabuddhassa piṇḍapāte dinne, “ayaṃ imassa piṇḍapātaṃ datvā attano vasaṃ vattetī”ti paccekabuddhassa hatthato pattaṃ gaṇhitvā bhattaṃ chaḍḍetvā kalalassa pūretvā adāsi. Mahājano “bālā aya”nti garahitvā, “yāya te saddhiṃ kalaho kato, tassā kiñci na karosi, paccekabuddho te kiṃ aparajjhatī”ti āha. Sā tesāṃ vacanena lajjāyamānā puna pattaṃ gahetvā kalalaṃ hāretvā dhovitvā gandhacūḍhena ubbaṭṭetvā catumadhurassa pūretvā upari āsittena padumagabbhavaṇṇena sappinā vijjotamānaṃ paccekabuddhassa hatthe ṭhapetvā “yathā ayaṃ piṇḍapāto obhāsajāto, evaṃ obhāsajātaṃ me sarīraṃ hotū”ti patthanaṃ paṭṭhapesīti sabbaṃ mahākassapattherassa vatthumhi vuttanayeneva veditabbaṃ.

Mahākassapatthero pana dakkhiṇamaggaṃ gahetvā dasabalassa santikaṃ bahuputtakanigrodhamūlaṃ gato, ayaṃ bhaddā kāpilānī vāmaṃ maggaṃ gaṇhitvā mātugāmassa pabbajjāya ananuññātabhāvena paribbājikāraṃ agamāsi. Yadā pana mahāpajāpatigotamī pabbajjañca upasampadañca labhi, tadā sā therī theriyā santike pabbajjañca upasampadañca labhitvā aparabhāge vipassanāya kammaṃ karontī arahattaṃ patvā pubbenivāsañāne ciṇṇavasī ahoṣi. Atha satthā jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantaresu ṭhapento imaṃ therīṃ pubbenivāsaṃ anussarantīnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

10. *Bhaddākāpilānī*.

In the tenth Sutta by the words *pubbenivāsānaṃ* (dwelling in the past), he points out Bhaddā Kāpilānī as the chief among those who remember former states of existence.

They say that this woman, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara, was reborn in a noble family at Hamsavatī. And when, on hearing the Master preach the Law, she had seen him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who remember former births, she (forming a resolve) aspired to the same distinction.

And after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she re-entered existence in a noble family at Benares, at a time when there was no Buddha upon the earth.

Now there arose a quarrel between her and her brother's wife. And when the other had given food to a Pacceka Buddha she (Bhaddā) thought:

“By giving him food she gets him into her own power.” And she took the bowl from the hand of the Pacceka Buddha, and threw away the food, and filled it with mud, and gave it to him.

And the multitude blamed her for a fool, saying, “The quarrel was between you and your brother's wife, yet you did nothing to her! What harm has the Pacceka Buddha done to you?”

And she was put to shame by these words, and took the alms-bowl again and emptied out the mud, and washed it, and rubbed it with perfumed powder, and filled it with the four kinds of sweet food, and gave it into the hand of the Pacceka Buddha, shining with butter of the colour of the inside of the bloom of the lotus, and she uttered the prayer: “May my body become bright even as this food in the alms-bowl!”

All the rest should be understood as before told in the story of the Thera Mahākassapo, (only adding that) the Thera took the right-hand road and went to the Blessed One at the foot of the Bahupputaka Banyan Tree, and this woman Bhaddā Kāpilānī took the left-hand road, and, since women had not then received permission to be ordained in Gotama's Order, went to the grove of the women who had entered the Order of the Wandering Ascetics.

Afterwards at the time when Mahāpajāpati Gotami received the permission for women to enter (Gotama's) Order, then this Therī went to her, and from her received both the lower and the higher grade of ordination; and, striving after Spiritual Insight, attained to Arahatsip, and became endowed with knowledge of her former births.

So the Master, seated at Jetavana, and assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, placed this Therī first among those who remember their former births.

11. *Bhaddā Kaccānā.*

Ekādasame mahābhiññāppattānanti mahatiyo abhiññāyo pattānaṃ, bhaddā kaccānā, nāma aggāti dasseti. Ekassa hi buddhassa cattārova janā mahābhiññā honti, na avasesasāvakā. Avasesasāvakā hi kappasatasahassameva anussarituṃ sakkonti, na tato paraṃ. Mahābhiññāppattā pana kappasatasahassādhikaṃ asaṅkhyeyyaṃ anussaranti. Amhākampī satthu sāsane dve aggasāvakā bākulatthero bhaddā kaccānāti ime cattāro ettakaṃ anussarituṃ sakkhiṃsu. Tasmā ayaṃ therī mahābhiññāppattānaṃ aggā nāma jātā. Bhaddā kaccānāti tassā nāmaṃ. Bhaddakañcanassa hi uttamasuvaṇṇassa viya tassā sarīravaṇṇo ahosi, sā tasmā bhaddakañcanāti nāmaṃ labhi, sā pacchā kaccānātveva saṅkhaṃ gatā. Rāhulamātāyetaṃ adhivacanaṃ.

Sā hi padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuṃ mahābhiññāppattānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikāraṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde suppbuddhasakkassa gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi, bhaddā kaccānātissā nāmaṃ akāṃsu.

Sā vayappattā bodhisattassa gehaṃ agamāsi. Sā aparabhāge rāhulakumāraṃ nāma puttaṃ vijāyi. Tassa jātadivaseva bodhisatto nikkhamitvā bodhimaṇḍe sabbaññutaṃ patvā lokānuggahaṃ karonto anupubbena kapilavatthū āgamma ñātinaṃ saṅghaṃ akāsi. Aparabhāge parinibbute suddhodanamahārāje mahāpajāpatigotamī pañcahi mātugāmasatehi saddhiṃ satthu santike pabbaji. Rāhulamātāpi janapadakalyāṇīpi theriyā santikaṃ gantvā pabbaji. Sā pabbajitakālato paṭṭhāya bhaddakaccānattherīveva pākaṭā ahosi. Sā aparabhāge vipassanaṃ vadḍhetvā arahattaṃ patvā abhiññāsu ciṇṇavasī ahosi, ekapallaṅkena nisinnā ekāvajjanaṃ kappasatasahassādhikaṃ asaṅkheyyaṃ anussarati. Tassā tasmim guṇe pākaṭe jāte satthā jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā tṭhānantare tṭhapento imaṃ therim mahābhiññāppattānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne tṭhapesīti.

11. *Bhaddā Kaccānā.*

In the eleventh Sutta by the words *mahābhiññāppattānaṃ* he points out Bhaddā Kaccānā as the chief among those who attained to the Great Gifts.

Now, every single Buddha has four followers, who are gifted with the Great Insight. But the rest of the disciples are not so gifted. For the rest of the disciples can recall a hundred thousand æons, but, on the other hand, these four, after attaining to the Great Gifts, can remember innumerable ages, a time longer than a hundred thousand æons.

Now, under the dispensation of Our Master, those who had the power of remembrance were the two chief disciples, and also the Thera Bakkula and Bhaddā Kaccānā.

These four were able to remember thus much. Therefore this Therī came to be called the chief among those who have attained to the Great Gifts. The name Bhaddā Kaccānā was given to her because her skin was beautiful, like gold (kañcana); nay, like the very finest of gold. On account of this she came by the name Bhaddā Kañcānā, and afterwards she came to be called Kaccānā, which is a synonym for (her more usual designation) ‘the mother of Rāhula.’

She, too, had re-entered existence in a noble family at Hamsavatī, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara and afterwards, when she (on hearing the Master preach the Truth) had seen him exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who are endowed with the Great Gifts, she had aspired to the same distinction.

And after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she was reborn in the household of Suppabuddha, the Sākya, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha.

And when she came of age she was married to the Bodhisat. Afterwards she bore a son, who was named Rāhula.

But, on the very day of his son’s birth, the Bodhisat went forth. And when he had attained to perfect wisdom under the Bo-Tree, he, out of mercy to the world, returned in due course to Kapilavatthu, and reconciled his kinsfolk.

Afterwards, on the death of the great King Suddhodana, Mahāpajāpatī, the Gotamī, together with five hundred other women, received ordination from the Master. And both the mother of Rāhula and Rūpanandā, going to the Therī,¹⁸ entered the Order.

And it was only from the time of her entering the Order that she became known as Bhaddā Kaccānā.

¹⁸ That is to Mahāpajāpatī.

Now, afterwards, when she had reached the fulness of Spiritual Insight and attained to Arahatsip, she lived in the practice of the Spiritual Gifts.

And, seated once upon a couch, she recalled, in one meditation, immeasurable ages, more than a hundred thousand æons. And since her merit in this became renowned, the Master, when seated at Jetavana, assigning places to the Bhikkhunis in turn, put this Therī in the chief place among those who have attained to the Great Gifts.

12. *Kisāgotamī.*

Dvādasame lūkhacīvaradharānanti tīhi lūkhehi samannāgataṃ paṃsukūlaṃ dhārentīnaṃ, kisāgotamī, aggāti dasseti. Gotamīti tassā nāmaṃ, thokaṃ kisadhātukattā pana kisāgotamīti vuccati. Ayampi padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatīyaṃ kulagehe nibbattitvā satthu dhammadesanaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ lūkhacīvaradharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde sāvatthiyaṃ duggatakule nibbattitvā vayappattakāle ekaṃ kulaṃ agamāsi. Tattha naṃ “duggatakulassa dhītā”ti paribhaviṃsu.

Sā aparabhāge puttaṃ vijāyi, athassā sammānamakaṃsu. So panassā dārako ādhāvitvā paridhāvitvā kīlanavaye ṭhito kālamakāsi, tassā soko udapādi. Sā “ahaṃ imasmiṃyeve gehe hatalābhasakkārā hutvā puttassa jātakālato paṭṭhāya sakkāraṃ pāpuṇiṃ, ime mayhaṃ puttaṃ bahi chaḍḍetumpi vāyameyyu”nti puttaṃ aṅkenādāya “puttassa me bhesajjaṃ dethā”ti gehadvārapaṭipāṭiyā vicarati. Diṭṭhadiṭṭhatṭhāne manussā “kattha te matakassa bhesajjaṃ diṭṭhapubba”nti pāṇiṃ paharitvā parihāsaṃ karonti. Sā tesam kathāya neva saññattim gacchati. Atha naṃ eko paṇḍitapuriso disvā, “ayaṃ puttasokena cittavikkhepaṃ pattā bhavissati, etissā pana bhesajjaṃ na añño jānissati, dasabalova jānissati”ti cintetvā evamāha – “amma, tava puttassa bhesajjaṃ añño jānanto nāma natthi, sadevake pana loke aggapuggalo dasabalo dhuravihāre vasati, tassa santikaṃ gantvā pucchāhi”ti. Sā “saccaṃ puriso katheti”ti puttamādāya tathāgatassa buddhāsane nisinnavelāya parisapariyante ṭhatvā “puttassa me bhesajjaṃ detha bhagavā”ti āha.

Satthā tassā upanissayaṃ disvā “bhaddakaṃ te gotami kataṃ bhesajjatthāya idhāgacchantiyā, gaccha nagaraṃ pavisitvā koṭito paṭṭhāya sakalanagaraṃ caritvā yasmiṃ gehe koci matapubbo natthi, tato siddhatthakaṃ āharā”ti āha. Sā “sādhu, bhante”ti tuṭṭhamānasā antonagaraṃ pavisitvā paṭhamageheyeve “dasabalo mama puttassa bhesajjatthāya siddhatthakaṃ āharāpeti, siddhatthakaṃ me dethā”ti āha. “Handa gotamī”ti nīharitvā adāṃsu. Ahaṃ evaṃ gahetuṃ na sakkomi, imasmiṃ gehe koci matapubbo nāma natthīti? Kiṃ vadesi gotami, ko idha matake gaṇetuṃ sakkotīti? “Tena hi alaṃ nāhaṃ gaṇhissāmi, dasabalo maṃ yattha matapubbo natthi, tato naṃ gaṇhāpeti”ti āha. Sā imināva niyāmena tatiyagharaṃ gantvā cintesi – “sakalanagare ayameva niyāmo bhavissati, idaṃ hitānukampakena buddhena diṭṭhaṃ bhavissati”ti saṃvegaṃ labhitvā tatova bahi nikkhamitvā āmakasusānaṃ gantvā puttaṃ hatthena gahetvā, “puttaka, ahaṃ imaṃ maraṇaṃ taveva uppannanti cintesiṃ, na panetaṃ taveva, mahājānasādhāraṇo esa dhammo”ti vatvā puttaṃ āmakasusāne chaḍḍetvā imaṃ gāthamāha –

“Na gāmadhammo no nigamassa dhammo,
Na cāpiyaṃ ekakulassa dhammo;
Sabbassa lokassa sadevakassa,
Eseva dhammo yadidaṃ aniccatā”ti.

(apa. therī 2.3.82);

Evañca pana vatvā satthu santikaṃ agamāsi. Atha naṃ satthā “laddho te, gotami, siddhatthako”ti āha. Niṭṭhitaṃ, bhante, siddhatthakena kammaṃ, paṭiṭṭhaṃ pana me dethāti āha. Athassā satthā dhammapade imaṃ gāthamāha –

“Taṃ puttapasusammattaṃ, byāsattamanasaṃ naraṃ;
Suttaṃ gāmaṃ mahoghova, maccu ādāya gacchatī”ti.

(dha. pa. 287);

Sā gāthāpariyosāne yathāthitāva sotāpatti-phale paṭiṭṭhāya pabbajjaṃ yāci, satthā pabbajjaṃ anujāni. Sā tikkhattuṃ satthāraṃ padaakkhiṇaṃ katvā vanditvā bhikkhuniupassayaṃ gantvā pabbajjañca upasampadañca labhitvā nacirasseva yonisomanasikāre kammaṃ karontī vipassanaṃ vaḍḍhesi. Athassā satthā imaṃ obhāsagāthamāha –

“Yo ca vassasataṃ jīve, apassaṃ amataṃ padaṃ;
Ekāhaṃ jīvitaṃ seyyo, passato amataṃ pada”nti.

(dha. pa. 114);

Sā gāthāpariyosāne arahattaṃ pattā parikkhāra-valaṇṇe paramukkaṭṭhā hutvā tīhi lūkhehi samannāgataṃ cīvaraṃ pārupitvā vicari. Aparabhāge satthā jetavane nisinna bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā thānantare thapento imaṃ theriṃ lūkhacīvaradharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne thapesīti.

12. *Kisāgotamī.*

In the twelfth Sutta by the words *lūkhacīvaradharānaṃ* (“those who wear a rough garment”), he points out Kisāgotamī as the chief among those who wear rags of the three kinds of roughness, taken from a dust heap.

Gotamī was the name of this woman, but as she was (apt to be) soon wearied, they called her Kisā Gotamī (the weakling). She, too, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara was reborn in a noble family at Hamsavatī, and when (while hearing the preaching of the Law) she had seen the Master exalt a certain Bhikkhunī to the chief place among those who wear rough garments, she, stoutly resolving, aspired to the same distinction.

And, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she was reborn in the time of this Our Buddha, in a poor family at Sāvattī. When she came of age she married. And she was treated with contempt, as being the daughter of poor folk.

Later on she bore a son, and thereupon she was treated with deference.

But when this child had come to an age to be able to run about hither and thither in play, it died.

And she grieved, thinking: “In this very household where I had been stripped of all advantage and honour, I rose to dignity from the moment of my child’s birth! Surely these people will now try to cast out my son!

So she took her child upon her side, and wandering from door to door, asked at one house after another, “Give me medicine for my child! And, wherever they saw her the people jeered at her, clapping their hands, and saying, “Where did, you ever yet see medicine for a dead child!” And yet, for all they spoke so, she could not understand.

Now a certain wise man saw her and thought to himself:

“This woman is distraught through grief for her child. But though no other knows of any medicine for her, yet the Blessed One will surely know.” And he spoke thus to her: “Friend, there is

no other who knows of any medicine for your child. (But) He who is greatest of all in the world of gods and men is dwelling in the Dhura Vihāra. Go then to him and ask him.”

And she, thinking: “This man is telling me the truth,” took her son and went and stood at the back of the assembly, as the Blessed One was seated in the seat of the teacher. And she said to him: “Master, give me medicine for my child?”

The Master, seeing what destiny (was in store for her), said to her: “This is well done Gotamī, that you should come hither for medicine! Go now, enter the town, and starting from one end walk through the whole of it, and in whatsoever house death has never yet been, there get some white mustard-seed.”

And she answered: “That will I, master!” and, joyful in heart, took her way townwards. And at the very first house she said, “The Blessed One bids me get white mustard-seed as medicine for my child. Give me some mustard-seed.”

“Here, then, Gotamī,” said they, and brought mustard-seed and gave it to her. But she would not take it simply so, and she asked further, “But has anyone ever died in this house?”

“What are you saying, Gotamī? The number of those that have died here can no man count!”

“Then never mind, I must not accept the mustard-seed,” she said, “The Blessed One told me not to take it from any house where death has been.”

But when she had gone in this same way to the second and to the third house, she thought to herself: “It will be the same throughout the whole city! This thing was surely (fore)seen by the Buddha in his mercy and love.” And her heart was moved within her. And going forth out of the city, even to the open graveyard, she took her child by the hand, saying:

“Little one! I thought death had befallen thee (alone), but lo! it is the law common to thee and to all mankind!”

And she put him down in the graveyard, and uttered this verse:

“This is the Law not only for villages or towns—
Not for *one* family is this the Law,
For all the wide worlds both of men and gods,
This is the Law—that all must pass away!”

But when she had thus spoken, she went to the Master. And the Master said to her: “Did you get any mustard-seed, Gotamī?”

And she answered: “The work of the mustard-seed is done! (But) be you (now) a refuge unto me!”

Then the Master spoke this verse to her (which is in the Dhammapada):

“To him who is wrapt in his children and his possessions, whose mind is distracted.

To him comes death, bearing (all) away, even as the flood bears away the sleeping village.”

And at the end of the verse, even as she stood there, she reached the Fruit of the Paths, and she prayed that she might enter the Order. And the Master granted her wish. So, first paying solemn obeisance three times to the Master, she went to the home of the Bhikkhunīs and entered the Order.

And after rising to the higher grade in the Order, it was not long before, earnest in careful meditation she perfected her Spiritual Insight.

Then the Master, even as in a vision, spoke this verse—

Let a man live a hundred years,
Beholding not the Deathless State,
'Twere better to have lived a single day
The life of him who knows the Deathless State.

And at the end of the stanza she attained to Arahatsip. And she became eminent in the greatest degree in the right observance of the Eight Requisites, and used to don robes rough in the three (prescribed) ways.

Afterwards, when the Master, seated at Jetavana, was assigning places to the Bhikkhunis one after another, he gave to this Therī the chief place among those who wear the rough robe.

13. *Siṅgālakamātā.*

Terasame saddhādhimuttānanti saddhālakkhaṇe abhiniviṭṭhānaṃ, siṅgālakamātā, aggāti dasseti. Ayaṃ kira padumuttarabuddhakāle haṃsavatīyaṃ kulaghare nibbattā satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇantī satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ saddhādhimuttānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikāraṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde rājagahanagare seṭṭhikule nibbattā samānajātikaṃ kuḷaṃ gantvā ekaṃ puttaṃ vijāyī, tassa siṅgālakakumāroti nāmaṃ akāmsu. Sāpi teneva kāraṇena siṅgālakamātā nāma jātā. Sā ekadivasam satthu dhammakathaṃ sutvā paṭiladdhasaddhā satthu santikaṃ gantvā pabbajī. Pabbajitakālaṃ patṭhāya saddhindriyaṃ adhimattaṃ paṭilabhi. Sā dhammassavanatthāya vihāraṃ gantvā dasabalassa sarīrasampattiṃ olokayamānāva tiṭṭhati. Satthā tassā saddhālakkhaṇe abhiniviṭṭhabhāvaṃ ñatvā sappāyaṃ katvā pasādanīyameva dhammaṃ desesi. Sāpi therī saddhālakkhaṇameva dhuraṃ katvā arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Atha naṃ satthā aparabhāge jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ saddhādhimuttānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

Pañcamavaggavaṇṇanā.

Terasasuttapaṭimaṇḍitāya theripāṭiyā vaṇṇanā nitṭhitā.

13. *Siṅgālakamātā.*

In the thirteenth Sutta by the words *saddhādhimuttānaṃ* (intent upon Faith) he points out Siṅgālakamātā as the foremost among those who are firmly established in the characteristic of Faith.

They say that in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara this woman was reborn in a nobleman's house at Haṃsavatī. And when (on hearing the Law preached) she had seen the Master exalt a certain Bhikkhuni to the chief place among those who are intent upon Faith, she, making a resolve, aspired to the same distinction.

And, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she, at the time of the birth of this Our Buddha, was reborn in the Treasurer's family, in the city of Rājagaha. And having married into a family of equal rank with her own, she gave birth to a son. They called him young Siṅgālaka. For this reason she came to be named "the Mother of Siṅgālaka."

One day, when she had been hearing the Master preach the Law, she received Faith, and entered the Order under him.

From the time of her entering the Order she became gifted with Faith to the very utmost.

And having gone to the Vihāra, to hear the preaching of the Law, she stood gazing at the bodily perfection of the Blessed One.

The Master, perceiving that she was firmly established in the virtue of Faith, for her sake preached the very doctrine in such wise as to fill her with belief. So this Therī also, making Faith the basis, reached up to Arahatsip. And afterwards the Master, when seated at Jetavana, assigning places to the Bhikkhunīs in turn, gave to this Therī the chief place among those who are intent on Faith.