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## Art. XIX.—Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation

Mabel Bode

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society / Volume 25 / Issue 04 / October 1893, pp 763 - 798

DOI: 10.1017/S0035869X00022565, Published online: 15 March 2011

**Link to this article:** [http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract\\_S0035869X00022565](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0035869X00022565)

### How to cite this article:

Mabel Bode (1893). Art. XIX.—Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25, pp 763-798 doi:10.1017/S0035869X00022565

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ART. XIX.—*Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation.*  
By MABEL BODE.

(Continued from page 566.)

6. *Nandā.*

Chatṭhe jhāyinaṃ yadidaṃ Nandāti jhānābhiraṭānaṃ<sup>1</sup>  
Nandā therī aggā ti dasseti.

Sā kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatīyaṃ kulagehe  
paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge Satthu dhammaṃ suṇantī  
Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ jhānābhiraṭānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne  
ṭhapetum disvā adhikāraṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ  
patthesi.

Tato kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā ambā-  
kaṃ Satthu nibbattito puretaraṃ eva Mahāpajāpati-Gotamīyā  
kucchismiṃ paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi.

Nandā ti' ssā nāmaṃ akaṃsu. Rūpanandā ti pi vuccati.

Sā aparabhāge uttamarūpabhāvena Janapadakalyāṇi nāma  
jātā.

Sā ambākaṃ dasabale sabbaññutaṃ patvā anupubbena  
Kapilavatthum āgantvā Nandaṃ ca Rāhulaṃ ca pabbājetvā  
pakkante Suddhodanamahārājassa parinibbutakāle Mahā-  
pajāpatiṃ Gotamiṃ Rāhulamāraṇaṃ ca nikkhamitvā Satthu  
santike pabbajitā ti űatvā imāsaṃ pabbajitakālato paṭṭhāya  
mayhaṃ idha kiṃ kamman ti, Mahāpajāpatiṃ santikaṃ  
gantvā pabbaji.

Pabbajitadivasato paṭṭhāya Satthā rūpaṃ garahatīti Satthu  
upaṭṭhānaṃ na gacchati. Ovādavāre sampatte aññaṃ pesetvā  
ovādaṃ āhārepehīti.

<sup>1</sup> S.T. omits Nandāti jhānābhiraṭānaṃ.

Satthā tassā rūpamadamattabhāvaṃ ūatvā attano ovādaṃ attanā va āgantvā gaṇhantu na bhikkhunīhi aññā pesetabbā ti āha.

Tato Rūpanandā aññaṃ maggaṃ apassantī akāmā ovādaṃ agamāsi. Satthā tassā cariyavasena iddhiyā ekaṃ itthirūpaṃ nimminivā tālavantaṃ gahevā vijamānaṃ viya akāsi. Rūpanandā naṃ disvā cintesi: Ahaṃ ākāren 'eva pamattā hutvā nāgacchāmi evarūpā pi itthiyo Satthu santike vissatthā caranti mama rūpaṃ etāsaṃ rūpassa kalaṃ nāgghanti solasiṃ ajānitvā va ettakaṃ kalamā nā āgatamhīti tam eva itthiṃ nimittaṃ gaṇhitvā oloketi atthāsi. Satthā tassā pubbaheṭṭusampannāya :

Atthinaṃ nagaraṃ katan ti <sup>1</sup>

Dhammapade gāthaṃ vatvā,

Caraṃ vā yadi vā tiṭṭhaṃ nisinno uda vā sayan ti  
Suttaṃ abhāsi.

Sā tasmim yeva rūpe khayāṃ vāyaṃ paṭṭhapetvā arahattaṃ pāpuni. Imasmim ṭhāne idaṃ vatthum heṭṭhā Khema-theriyā vatthunā sadisaṃ evāti na vitthāritaṃ. Tato paṭṭhāya Rūpanandā jhānabhiratānaṃ antare dhurappattā ahoṣi. Satthā aparabhāge Jetavane nisinno paṭipāṭiyā bhikkhuniyo ṭhānantare ṭhapento Nandattheriṃ jhāyinīnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

## 6. *Nandā*.<sup>2</sup>

In the sixth (Sutta) by the words *yadidaṃ 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.

<sup>1</sup> Dhammapada, verse 150.

<sup>2</sup> Dhammapāla calls this Therī Sundarīnandā.

Then, after wandering in worlds of gods and men for a hundred thousand æons, she re-entered existence, born of Mahāpajāpatī 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 Kalyāṇī (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, Mahāpajāpatī 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 Mahāpajāpatī 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 lying down.*"

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

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 āraddhaviriyānan ti paggahitaparipunṇa-viriyānaṃ Soṇā aggā ti dasseti.

Ayaṃ kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatīyaṃ kula-gehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge dhammadesanaṃ<sup>1</sup> sunantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ āraddhaviriyānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikāra-kammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanus-sesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Sāvatthiyaṃ kula-gehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge gharāvāse patitṭhitā bahu puttadhītaṃ labhitvā sabbe pi viṣuṃ viṣuṃ gharāvāse patitṭhāpesi. Tato paṭṭhāya ayaṃ amhākaṃ kiṃ karissatīti taṃ attano santikaṃ āgataṃ mātā ti saññaṃ pi na karimsu. Bahuputtikā Soṇā nesam attani agāravabhāvaṃ ñatvā gharāvāseṇa kiṃ karissāmīti nikkhamitvā pabbaji.

Atha naṃ bhikkhuniyo ayaṃ mattaṃ na jānāti ayuttaṃ karotīti daṇḍakammaṃ karonti. Puttadhītaṃ taṃ daṇḍa-kammaṃ āharantiṃ disvā<sup>2</sup>: ayaṃ yāvajja divasā sikkhā-padamattaṃ pi na jānātīti diṭṭhaditṭṭhaṃ ujjhāyanti.

<sup>1</sup> T.I. *sic.* S.M. *only* dhammaṃ sunantī.

<sup>2</sup> S.T. āha rattim ayaṃ, etc.

Sā tesam vacanam sutvā uppannasamvegā attano gati-visodhanam kātum vaṭṭatīti nisinnatṭhāne pi tṭhitatṭhāne pi dvattiṃsākāram sajjhāyati. Sā yath'eva pubbe bahuputtika-Soṇattheri ti paññāyittha evam pacchā sā āraddhaviṛiya-Soṇattheri ti pākāṭā jātā. Ath' ekadivasam bhikkhuniyo vihāram gacchantiyo: Bhikkhunisaṅghassa udakan tāpeyyāsi Soṇe ti vatvā agamaṃsu. Sā pi udakatāpanam kātum vaṭṭatīti tato puretaram eva<sup>1</sup> aggisālāyam caṅkamitvā caṅkamitvā dvattiṃsākāram sajjhāyanti vipasannam vadḍhesi. Satthā Gandhakuṭiyam nisinno va imam obhāsagātham abhāsi:

Yo ca vassasatam jīve apassam dhammam uttamam

Ekāham jīvitam seyyo passato dhammam uttaman ti.<sup>2</sup>

Sā gāthā-pariyosāne arahattam patvā cintesi: Aham arahattam pattā, āgantukajano ca anupadhāretvā va mayi avaññāya<sup>3</sup> kiñci kiñci avatvā<sup>4</sup>: bahum pāpam pasaveyya tassa sallakkhanakāraṇam kātum vaṭṭatīti. Sā udakabhājanam uddhanam āropetvā heṭṭhā aggim na akāsi. Bhikkhuniyo āgantvā uddhanam olokentiyo aggim adisvā: imam mahallikam bhikkhunisaṅghassa udakan tāpehīti avocumha, ajjāpi uddhane aggim pi na karotīti āhaṃsu.

Ayye, kim tumbhākam agginā, uṇhodakena nahayitukāmā bhājanato udakam gahetvā nahāyathāti. Tā: bhavissati ettha kāraṇan ti gantvā uduke hatthā otāretvā uṇhabhāvam natvā ekam kuṭam āharitvā udakam gaṇhanti. Gahitaṭṭhānam pari pūratī. Tadā sabbā va tassā arahattabhāve nitṭham gantvā daharatarā tāva pañca-paṭiṭṭhitena pādesu patitvā: Ayye ettakam kalam tumhe anupadhāretvā heṭhetvā<sup>5</sup> viheṭhetvā kathayimhā, khamatha no ti<sup>6</sup> khamāpesum buddhatarā pi ukkuṭikam nisiditvā khama ayye khamāpesum. Tato paṭṭhāya mahallakakāle pabbajitvā pi āraddhaviṛiyabhāvena na cirass'eva aggaphale patitṭhitā ti theriyā guṇe pākāṭo ahoṣi.

<sup>1</sup> sic. S.M. T.I. has Sā pi udakatāpanato to puretaram eva, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Dhammapada, verse 115.

<sup>3</sup> T.I. avaññāyati.

<sup>4</sup> S.M. vatvā.

<sup>5</sup> S.M. omits.

<sup>6</sup> S.T. khamathato ti.

Aparabhāge Sattha Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭi-pāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento Soṇattheriṃ āraddhaviriyānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

### 7. *Soṇā.*

In the seventh Sutta by the words "*Āraddhaviriyānam*," 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 Hamsavati, 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 Sāvattī, 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).<sup>1</sup>

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."<sup>2</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Tikā 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.

<sup>2</sup> Tikā 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.

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 *Dvattimsākāra*. So, even as she had formerly been called "the Therī Soṇā, mother of many children," she thenceforward became known as "the Therī 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 *Dvattimsākāra*) 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 Arahatsip, thought:

"I have attained to Arahatsip! 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.

When the Bhikkhunīs returned, on looking at the fire-place, 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 Arahatship. 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.*

*Atthame yadidaṃ Sakulā ti dibbacakkhukānaṃ Sakulattherī aggā ti dasseti.*

Ayam pi hi Padumuttara-buddha-kāle Hamsavatiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattitvā vayappattā Satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇanti Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ dibbacakkhukānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikāra-kammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhupāde Sāvattiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā aparabhāge Satthu dhammadesanaṃ sutvā paṭiladdhasaddhā pabbajitvā na cirass' eva arahattaṃ pāpuṇi.

Tato paṭṭhāya dibbacakkhumhi ciṇṇavasī ahosi. Aparabhāge Satthā Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiya thānantare 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 Hamsavatī. 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 Sāvattī, 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 Arahatship.

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 *khippābhiññānaṃ* ti khippābhiññābhikkhunīnaṃ Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā aggā ti dasseti.

Ayam pi hi Padumuttara-buddhakāle Hamsavatiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā, Satthu dhammakathaṃ sutvā Satthāraṃ

ekam bhikkhunim khippābhīññānam aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ  
disvā adhikāra-kammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaram patthesi.

Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā Kassapa-  
buddhakāle Kikissa Kāsirañño gehe sattānaṃ bhaginīnaṃ  
abhantarā hutvā vīsati vassasahassāni dasasilāni samādāya  
komārabrahmacariyaṃ carantī saṅghassa vasanaka-pariveṇaṃ  
kāretvā ekam buddhantaram devamanussesu saṃsaritvā  
imasmim buddhuppāde Rājagaha-nagare seṭṭhikule paṭi-  
sandhim gaṇhi. Bhaddā ti'ssā nāmaṃ akaṃsu.

Taṃ divasaṃ yeva c'asmim nagare purohitaputto jāto.  
Tassa jātavelāya rājanivesanaṃ ādim katvā sakalanagare  
āvudhāni pajjalimsu. Purohito pāto va rājakulaṃ gantvā  
rājānaṃ sukhasēyyaṃ pucchi. Rājā: kuto ācariya sukha-  
sēyyā, ajja sabbarattim rājanivesane āvudhāni pajjalantāni  
disvā bhayappattā ahesumhāti āha.

Mahārāja tappaccayā<sup>1</sup> mā cintayittha, na tumbākaṃ yeva  
gehe āyudhāni pajjalimsu, sakala-nagare evaṃ ahoṣīti.

Kiṃ karaṇā ācariyāti.

Amhākaṃ gehe coranakkhattena dārako jāto, so sakala-  
nagarassa sattū hutvā uppanno, tass'etaṃ pubbanimittam,  
tumbākaṃ upaddavo natthi, sace pana icchatha hārema  
nan ti.

Amhākaṃ pilāya asati hāraṇakammaṃ n'atthīti.

Purohito mama putto attano nāmaṃ gaheṭvā va āgato ti  
Sattuko yev'assa nāmaṃ akāsi.

Seṭṭhigehe Bhaddā vaddhati purohitagehe pi Sattuko  
vaddhati. So attano ādhāvana-vidhāvanena kilītuṃ samattha-  
kāto paṭṭhāya attano vicaranatṭhāne<sup>2</sup> yaṃ yaṃ passati  
sabbam āharitvā mātāpitunnaṃ gehaṃ pūreti. Pitā naṃ  
kāraṇaṃsayam pi vatvā<sup>3</sup> vāretuṃ nāsakkihi. Aparabhāge  
pan'assa vayappattassa sabbākārena pi vāretuṃ asakku-  
neyyūṃ bhāvaṃ ūatvā dve nīlasātake nivāsāpetvā sand-  
hiccheda-upakāraṇā ca siṅghāṭaka-yantakaṃ ca hatthe  
datvā: tvam iminā va kammena jīvāhīti taṃ vissajjesi.

So taṃ divasato paṭṭhāya siṅghāṭakayantaṃ khipitvā

<sup>1</sup> S.M. omits.

<sup>2</sup> So S.M. T.I. has vicaram natṭhāne.

<sup>3</sup> So S.M. T.I. has naṃ kāraṇassam pi vatvā.

kulānaṃ pāsāde āruyha sandhiṃ chinditvā parakulesu  
nikkhittabhaṇḍakaṃ attanā ṭhapitaṃ viya gahetvā gacchati.  
Sakalanagare tena aviluttagehaṃ nāma n'ahosi.

Ekadivasam rājā rathena nagare vicaranto sārathim  
pucchi : Kin nu kho imasmiṃ nagare tasmim tasmim ghare  
chiddam eva paññāyatīti.

Deva imasmiṃ nagare Sattuko nāma coro bhattim bhinditvā  
kulānaṃ santakaṃ haratīti.

Rājā nagaraguttikaṃ pakkosāpetvā : Imasmiṃ kira nagare  
evarūpo nāma coro atthi, kasmā naṃ na gaṇhissasīti.

Mayaṃ deva naṃ coraṃ sahoṭhaṃ<sup>1</sup> passitum na  
sakkomāti.

Sace ajja naṃ coraṃ na gaṇhasi rājānaṃ te karissamīti.

Evam devāti nagaraguttiko sakalanagare manusse cāretvā  
taṃ bhattim bhinditvā parabhaṇḍaṃ harantaṃ sahodham<sup>2</sup>  
eva gahetvā rañño dassesi.

Rājā : imaṃ coraṃ dakkhiṇadvārena nīharitvā ghātethāti  
āha. Nagaraguttiko rañño paṭissutvā taṃ coraṃ catukke  
catukke pahārasahassena tāletvā gāhāpetvā dakkhiṇa-dvāraṃ  
gacchati.

<sup>3</sup> Tasmim samaye ayaṃ Subhaddā seṭṭhidhītā mahājanassa  
kala-kala-saddena sīhapañjaraṃ ugghāṭetvā olokenā Sattu-  
kaṃ coraṃ tathā niyamānaṃ disvā ubhohi hatthehi hadayaṃ  
sandhārentī gantvā sirisayane adhomukhā nipajji. Sā ca  
tassa kulassa ekadhītikā, ten'assā nītakā appamattakaṃ pi  
mukhavikāraṃ sahitum na sakkonti. Atha naṃ sayane  
nipannaṃ disvā : kim karosi ammaṃti pucchimsu.

Etaṃ vajjhaṃ katvā niyamānaṃ coraṃ addasatthāti.

Āma āma addasāmaṃti.

Etaṃ labhamānā jīvissāmi alabhamānāya me mara-  
naṃ evāti.

Te taṃ aneka-pariyāyena pi saññāpetum asakkontā :  
maraṇaṃ jīvitaṃ seyyo ti sallakkhesum Ath' assā pitā nagara-  
guttikassa santikaṃ gantvā sahaṃsaṃ lañcaṃ datvā : Mayhaṃ

<sup>1</sup> S.M. saccaṃ passitum, etc.

<sup>2</sup> T.I. Sahosam.

<sup>3</sup> This episode recurs several times. See Peta Vatthu Vannanā, 72 foll. and  
Jātaka 3,435 foll.

dhītā core paṭibaddhacittā, yena kenaci upāyena imaṃ muñcāti āha.

So sādhibūti setṭhissa paṭissutvā coraṃ gahetvā yāva suri-yassa atthupagamanā ito c'ito ca papañcetvā suriye attham upagacchante cārakato ekaṃ manussaṃ nīharāpetvā Sattukassa bandhanaṃ mocetvā Sattukam setṭhigehaṃ pesetvā tena bandhanaena itaraṃ bandhitvā dakkhiṇadvāreṇa nīharitvā ghesi.<sup>1</sup> Setṭhidāsā pi Sattukam gahetvā setṭhini-vesanaṃ agamaṃsu.

Taṃ disvā setṭhidhītu manam pūressāmīti Sattukam gandhodakena nahāpetvā sabbābharaṇapatimaṇḍitaṃ kāretvā pāsādam pesesi. Subhaddā paripuṇṇo me saṅkappoti atirekālaṅkāreṇa alaṅkaritvā taṃ paricaramānā carati. Sattuko katipāhaṃ vītināmetvā cintesi: imissā pasādhana-kabhaṇḍakaṃ mayhaṃ bhavissati, kincid eva upāyena imaṃ ābharaṇam gahetuṃ vaṭṭatīti samīpe sukhanisinnakāle Bhaddam āha: mayhaṃ ekaṃ vacanaṃ vattabbaṃ atthīti.

Setṭhidhītā sahassalābhaṃ labhitvā viya tuṭṭhamānasā: vissatṭhaṃ vada ayyati āha.

Tvaṃ cintesi: Maṃ nissāya iminā jīvitam laddhan ti. Ahaṃ pana gahitamatto va corapapāta-pabbate adhivatthāya devatāya: Sac'ahaṃ jīvitam labhissāmi balikamman te dassāmīti āyācim. Taṃ nissāya mayā jīvitam laddham, sīghaṃ balikammaṃ sajjāpehīti.

Subhaddā tassa manam pūressāmīti balikammaṃ sajjāpetvā sabbapasādhanaṃ pasādhettvā ekayāne āruya sāmikena saddhiṃ corapapātapabbataṃ gantvā pabbatadevatāya balikammaṃ karissāmīti abhirūhituṃ āradhā.

Sattuko cintesi: Sabbesu abhirūhantesu mama imissā ābharaṇam gahetuṃ okāso na bhavissatīti tam eva balibhājanaṃ gāhāpetvā pabbataṃ abhirūhi. So Bhaddāya saddhiṃ kathento piyakathaṃ na katheti. Sā ingiten'eva tassa adhippāyaṃ aññāsi.

Atha naṃ so āha: Bhadde, tvaṃ sātaṃ omuñcitvā kāyārūḷhaṃ pasādhanaṃ ettha bhaṇḍikaṃ karohīti.

Sāmi mayhaṃ ko aparādhho ti.

<sup>1</sup> Sic S.M. T.I. has nesi.

Kim pan' āhaṃ balikammatthaṃ āgato ti saññaṃ karosi<sup>1</sup>  
 aham pi imissā devatāya yakanam ubbattetvā khādeyyam,<sup>2</sup>  
 balikammāpadesena pana tava ābharaṇaṃ gaṇhitukāmo  
 hutvā āgato 'mhitī.

Kassa pana ayya pasādhanam, kassa ahan ti.

Mayam evarūpam na jānāma, aññaṃ tava santakam  
 aññaṃ mama santakan ti.

Sādhu ayya, ekaṃ pana me adhippāyam pūretha, alaṅkata-  
 niyāmen 'eva purato ca pacchato ca ālingitum dethāti.

So sādhiṭi sampatiṇchi. Sā tena sampatiṇchita-bhāvaṃ  
 ñatvā purato ālingitvā pacchato ālinganti viya hutvā pabba-  
 tapapāte pātesi. So patanto ākāse va cuṇṇavicuṇṇo ahosi.  
 Tāya katam vicitrabhāvaṃ ñatvā pabbate adhivatthā devatā  
 guṇakittanavasena imā gāthā āha :

Na so<sup>3</sup> sabbesu ṭhānesu puriso hoti paṇḍito

Itthi pi paṇḍitā hoti tattha tattha vicakkhaṇā

Na so sabbesu ṭhānesu puriso hoti paṇḍito

Itthi pi paṇḍitā hoti muhuttam api cintaye<sup>4</sup> ti.

Tato Subhaddā cintesi : Na sakkā mayā iminā niyāmena  
 puna gehaṃ gantum, ito va gantvā ekaṃ pabbajjaṃ pabba-  
 jissāmīti nigaṇṭhārāmaṃ gantvā nigaṇṭhe pabbajjaṃ yāci.  
 Atha naṃ te āhaṃsu : kena niyāmena pabbajjā hotūti.

Yaṃ tumbākam pabbajjāya uttamaṃ tad 'eva karoṭhāti.

Te sādhiṭi tassa tālatṭhinā kese luṇcitvā pabbājesuṃ. Kesā  
 puna vadḍhantā rāsivasena kuṇḍalāvattā hutvā vadḍhimsu.  
 Sā ten'eva kāraṇena Kuṇḍalakesā nāma jātā. Sā attano  
 pabbajitatṭhāne sabbasippaṃ uggaṇhitvā : tesam ito uttarim  
 viseso natthi ñatvā gāma-nigama-rājadhāniyo vicaranti  
 yattha yattha paṇḍitā atthi tattha tattha gantvā tesam  
 jānanasippaṃ sabbam eva gaṇhati, ath' assā bahusu ṭhānesu  
 sikkhitabhāvena paṭivādam dātum samatthā na honti. Sā  
 attanā saddhim kathetum samatthaṃ adisvā yaṃ gāmaṃ  
 vā nigamaṃ vā pavisati tassa dvāre vālikarāsim katvā tattha  
 jambusākhaṃ ṭhapesi : Yo mama vādam āropetum sakkoti

<sup>1</sup> T.I. saṅkam karosi.

<sup>2</sup> S.M. and T.I. (*primā manā*) mādeyyam.

<sup>3</sup> At Jātaka 3,438, where these verses recur, the reading is *hi*.

<sup>4</sup> Jātaka, *lakum attā-vicintikā*.

so imaṃ sākhaṃ maddatūti samīpe t̥hitadārakānaṃ saññaṃ deti. Taṃ sattāhaṃ pi maddantā na honti atha naṃ gahetvā pakkamati.

Tasmiṃ samaye amhākaṃ bhagavā loke nibbattitvā Sāvattthiyaṃ upanissāya Jetavane viharati. Kuṇḍalakesā pi kho anupubbena Sāvattthiṃ patvā antonagaraṃ pavisamānā porāṇakaniyāmen 'eva vālikarāsimhi sākhaṃ t̥hapetvā dārakānaṃ saññaṃ datvā pāvīsi. Tasmiṃ samaye Dhammasenāpati bhikkhusaṅghe pavit̥the ekako va nagaraṃ pavisanto vālikathūpe jambusākhaṃ disvā: kasmā ayaṃ t̥hapitā ti pucchi.

Dārakā taṃ kāraṇaṃ aparihāpetvā kathesuṃ. Evaṃ sante imaṃ gahetvā maddatha dārakā ti. Tesu therassa vacanaṃ sutvā ekacce madditūṃ na visahimsu, ekacce taṃ khaṇaṃ yeva madditvā cuṇṇavicuṇṇaṃ akaṃsu.

Kuṇḍalakesā bhattakiccaṃ katvā nikkhamantī sākhaṃ madditaṃ disvā: kass'etaṃ kamman ti pucchi. Ath' assā Dhammasenāpatinā kārāpitabhāvaṃ kathayimsu.

Sā attano thāmaṃ ājānanto: imaṃ sākhaṃ maddāpetuṃ no visahessati, addhā mahanto eko bhavissati, ahampi pana khuddikā bhavanti na sobhissāmi, antogāmaṃ eva pavisitvā parisāya saññaṃ dātūṃ vattatīti cintetvā tathā akāsi. Asīti-kula-sahassanivāse nagare <sup>1</sup> sabhāgasabhāgavasena sabbe va jāniṃsūti veditabbaṃ.

Thero pi bhattakiccaṃ katvā aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamaṇe nisīdi. Ath' ayaṃ Kuṇḍalakesā mahājanaparivutā therassa santikaṃ gantvā paṭisanthāraṃ katvā ekamante t̥hatvā: Bhante tumhehi sākhaṃ maddāpitā ti pucchi.

Āma mayā maddāpitā ti.

Evaṃ bhante tumhehi saddhiṃ amhākaṃ vādo hotūti.

Hotu Bhadde ti.

Kassa pucchā hoti kassa vissajjanan ti.

Pucchā nāma amhākaṃ pattā, tvaṃ pana tuyhaṃ jānanaṃ pucchāti.

Sā therena dinna-anumatiyā sabbam eva attanā jānanaṃ vādaṃ pucchi. Thero sabbam vissajjesi. Sā sabbam

<sup>1</sup> S.M. akāsīti kula sahasse nagare.

pucchitvā tuṇhī ahosi. Atha naṃ thero āha: Tayā bahum  
pucchitum, mayampi ekam pañham pucchāmāti.

Pucchatha bhante ti.

Ekam nāma kin ti.

Kuṇḍalakesā: na jānāmi bhante ti āha.

Tvaṃ ettakam pi na jānāsi aññaṃ kiṃ jānissatīti.

Sā tatth 'eva therassa pādesu patitvā: tumhākaṃ saraṇaṃ  
gacchāmi bhante ti āha.

Maṃ saraṇā gamanakammaṃ n'atthi, sadevake loke agga  
puggalo Dhuravihāre<sup>1</sup> vasati, taṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāti.

Sā evaṃ karissāmi bhante ti sāyaṇha-samaye Satthu  
dhammadesana-velāyaṃ santikaṃ gantvā pañcapatitṭhita  
vanditvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Satthā tassā madditasanṅkhā-  
rāya cariyāvasena Dhammapade imaṃ gātham āha:—

Sahassam api ce gāthā anantthapada-saṃhitā

Ekam gāthāpadaṃ seyyo yaṃ sutvā upasammatīti.<sup>2</sup>

Sā gāthāpariyosāne yathā ṭhitā va saha paṭisambhidāhi  
Arahattaṃ patvā pabbajjaṃ yāci. Satthā tassā pabbajjaṃ  
paṭicchi. Sā bhikkhuni-upassayaṃ gantvā pabbaji. Aparā-  
bhāge catuparisamajjhe kathā udapādi: Mahantā vatāyaṃ  
Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā yā ca catuppadikagāthāvasāne Arahata-  
taṃ pattā ti. Satthā taṃ kāraṇaṃ aṭṭhupattim katvā  
therim khippābhiññānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

### 9. Bhaddā Kuṇḍalakesā.<sup>3</sup>

In the ninth Sutta by the words *khippābhiññānaṃ*, 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 Haṃ-  
savatī, in the time of the Buddha Padumuttara. And

<sup>1</sup> So all MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Dhammapada, verse 101.

<sup>3</sup> 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.



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.

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 hands 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,<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> This addition of *Su* to the name occurs also in Dhammapāla.

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.

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 Niganthas (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 Blesséd One, reborn into this world, was living at Jetavana near Sāvattī.

Now Kuṇḍalakesā also arrived at Sāvattī, 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 Sankhāras (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 Bhikkhunīs, she renounced the world.

Afterwards it was talked of, among the four classes of disciples (Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunīs, 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. *Bhaddā Kāpilāni*.

Dasame *pubbenivāsānan* ti pubbe-nivuttha-khandha-santānam anussarantīnam Bhaddā Kāpilāni aggā ti dasseti.

Sā kira Padumuttarabuddha-kāle Hamsavatiyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā Satthu dhammadesanāṃ suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ



bhikkhunim pubbenivāsaṃ anussarantīnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭha-pentam disvā adhikāra-kammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ paṭthesi.

Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā anup-panne buddhe Bārāṇasiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhim gaṇhitvā attano bhātu jāyāya saddhim kalahaṃ karontī tāya pacceka-buddhassa piṇḍapāte dinne : Ayaṃ imassa piṇḍapataṃ datvā attano vasaṃ vattetitī paccekabuddhassa hatthato pattaṃ gaṇhitvā bhattaṃ chaḍḍetvā kalalassa pūretvā adāsi. Mahā-jano bālā ayan ti garaḥi, bhātu jāyāya te saddhim<sup>1</sup> kalahe kate tassā kiñci na karosi, paccekabuddho te kiṃ aparaj-jhatitī āha.

Sā tesam vacanena lajjāyamānā puna pattaṃ gahetvā kalalaṃ hāretvā dhovitvā gandhacunṇena ubbaṭṭetvā<sup>2</sup> catumadhurassa pūretvā upari āsittena paduma-gabbha-vaṇṇena sappinā vijjotamānaṃ paccekabuddhassa hatthe ṭhapetvā : yathā ayaṃ piṇḍapāto obhāsajāto evaṃ obhāsa-jātaṃ me sarīraṃ hotūti patthanam ṭhapesīti sabbam Mahākassapaṭtherassa vatthumhi vuttanayen'eva veditabbaṃ. Mahākassapaṭthero pana dakkhiṇamaggaṃ gahetvā dasa-balassa santikaṃ Bahuputtaka-nigrodha-mūlaṃ gato ayaṃ Bhaddā Kāpilāni vāma-maggaṃ gaṇhitvā mātugāmassa pabbajjāya ananuñāta-bhāvena paribbājikārāmaṃ agamāsi Yadā pana Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī pabbajjaṃ labhi tadā sā therī theriyā santike pabbajjaṃ ca upasampadaṃ ca labhitvā aparabhāge vipassanāya kammaṃ karontī arahattaṃ patvā pubbenivāsaṇaṃ cittaṃ ahoṣi. Atha Satthā Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantare ṭhapento imaṃ therim pubbenivāsaṃ anussarantīnaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

### 10. *Bhaddā Kāpilāni.*

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

<sup>1</sup> S.M. ayanti garahitvā yāya te saddhim. T.I. (*primā manā*) ayanti garaḥi vā yāya te saddhim.

<sup>2</sup> T.I. has ubbaddhetvā.

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 Blesséd One at the foot of the Bahu-puttaka Banyan Tree, and this woman Bhaddā Kāpilāni 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 Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī

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 mahābhiññappattānaṃ ti mahatiyo abhiññā pattānaṃ Bhaddā Kaccānā aggā ti dasseti.

Ekassa pi buddhassa cattāro ca janā mahābhiññā honti na avasesasāvaka. Avasesasāvaka hi kappasatasahassam eva anussarituṃ sakkonti, na tato paraṃ, mahābhiññappattā pana kappasatasahassādhikam asaṅkheyyaṃ anussaranti. Amhākam pi Satthu sāsane dve aggasāvaka Bakkula thero Bhaddā Kaccānā ti ime cattāro ettakaṃ anussarituṃ sakkhimsu. Tasmā ayaṃ therī mahābhiññappattānaṃ aggā nāma jātā. Bhaddā Kaccānā ti tassā nāmaṃ, bhaddakañcanassa viya hi uttamasuvaṇṇassa viya tassā sarīravaṇṇo ahosi. Sā tasmā Bhaddakañcanā ti nāmaṃ labhi. Sā pacchā Kaccānā t'eva saṅkhaṃ gatā, Rāhulamātāy' etaṃ adhivacanāṃ. Sā hi Padumuttarabuddhakāle Hamsavatiyaṃ kulagehe paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā aparabhāge Satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuṇiṃ mahābhiññappattānaṃ aggatthāne thapentaṃ disvā taṃ thānantaraṃ patthesi. Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Suppabuddhasakkassa gehe paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Bhadda Kaccānā ti 'ssā nāmaṃ akamsu. Sā vayappattā bodhisattassa gehaṃ agamāsi.

Aparabhāge Rāhulakumāraṃ nāma puttāṃ vijāsi.<sup>1</sup> Tassa jātadivase va bodhisatto nikkhamitvā bodhimaṇḍe sabbaññutaṃ patvā lokānuggahaṃ karonto anupubbena Kapila-

<sup>1</sup> S.M. vijāyī.

vatthum āgama nātinaṃ saṅgamaṃ akāsi. Aparabhāge parinibbute Suddhodanamahārāje Mahāpajāpati Gotamī pañcahi mātuḡāmasatehi saddhiṃ Satthu santike pabbaji. Rāhulamātā pi Janapadakalyāni pi theriyā santikaṃ gantvā pabbajimsu. Sā pabbajitakālato paṭṭhāya Bhaddā Kaccānattherī t'eva pākataḥ ahoṣi. Atha aparabhāge vipassanaṃ vaḍḍhetvā arahattaṃ patvā abhiññāsu ciṇṇavasī ahoṣi, ekapallaṅke nisinnā ekāvajjanaṃ kappasātasahassādhikaṃ asaṅkheyyaṃ anussari. Tassā tasmaṃ guṇe pākate jāte Satthā Jetavane nisiditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānanta-resu ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ mahābhiññāpattānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

### 11. *Bhaddā Kaccānā.*

In the eleventh Sutta by the words *mahābhiññāpattānaṃ* 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 Kañcanā, 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,<sup>1</sup> entered the Order.

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

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 Bhikkhunīs in turn, put this Therī in the chief place among those who have attained to the Great Gifts.

<sup>1</sup> That is to Mahāpajāpatī.

12. *Kisāgotamī.*

Dvādasame *lūkhacīvaradharānaṃ* ti tihi lūkhehi samannā-gataṃ pamsukūlaṃ dhārentīnaṃ Kisāgotamī aggā ti dasseti.

Gotamī ti tassā nāmaṃ, thokaṃ kilantadhātukattā pana Kisā Gotamī ti vuccati. Ayam pi hi Padumuttarabuddhakāle Haṃsavatīyaṃ kulagehe nibbattā Satthu dhammadesanaṃ suṇantī Satthāraṃ ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ lūkhacīvaradharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapentaṃ disvā adhikārakammaṃ katvā taṃ ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi.

Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ buddhuppāde Sāvattīyaṃ duggatakule nibbattā vayappatta-kāle ekaṃ kulaṃ agamāsi. Tattha naṃ duggatakulassa dhītā ti paribhaviṃsu.

Sā aparabhāge puttāṃ vijāyi. Ath'assā sammānaṃ akāṃsu.

So paṇ'assā dārako ādhāvitvā paridhāvitvā kilāṇavaye ṭhito kālaṃ akāsi. Tassā soko udapādi. Sā : ahaṃ imasmiṃ yeva gehe hatalābhasakkārā hutvā puttassa jātakālaṃ paṭṭhāya sakkāraṃ pāpunim. Ime mayhaṃ puttāṃ bahi chaḍḍetum pi vāyameyyun ti puttāṃ aṇken'ādāya : puttassa me bhesajjaṃ dethāti gehadvārapaṭipātiyā vicarantī diṭṭha-diṭṭhaṭṭhāne manussā : kattha te matakassa bhesajjaṃ diṭṭha pubbaṃ ti pāṇiṃ paharitvā pariḥāsaṃ karonti.

Sā tesāṃ kathāya n'eva saññattim gacchati.

Atha naṃ eko paṇḍita-puriso disvā : Ayam puttasaṃsāra-cittavikkhepaṃ paṭṭā bhavissati. Etissā pana bhesajjaṃ añño na jānissati dasabalo va jānissatīti cintetvā evaṃ āha : Amma tava puttassa bhesajjaṃ añño jānanto nāma n'atthi. Sadevakeloke aggaṇṇaṃ dasabalo Dhuravihāre vasati. Tassa santikaṃ gantvā pucchahīti.

Sā : saccaṃ puriso kathetīti puttāṃ ādāya tathāgatassa buddhāsane nisinna-velāya parisapariyante ṭhatvā : puttassa me bhesajjaṃ detha bhagavā ti āha.

Satthā tassā upanissayaṃ disvā : bhaddakaṃ te Gotamī kataṃ bhesajjaṭṭhāya idhāgacchantiyā, gaccha nagaraṃ pavisitvā koṭito paṭṭhāya sakalanagaraṃ caritvā yasmim

gehe koci matapubbo n'atthi tato siddhatthakam āharāhīti āha.

Sā: sādhu bhante ti tuṭṭhamānasā antonagaram pavisitvā paṭhame gehe yeva: dasabalo mama puttassa bhesajjathāya siddhatthakam āharāpeti siddhatthakam me dethāti āha. Handa Gotamī ti nīharitvā adaṃsu.

Ayam eva gahetum na sakkā. Imasmiṃ gehe koci matapubbo atthīti.

Kim vadesi Gotamī<sup>1</sup> idha matake gaṇetum na sakkotīti.

Tena hi alam, nāham gaṇhissāmi. Dasabalo maṃ yattha matapubbo atthi tato siddatthakam na gaṇhāpetīti.

Sā iminā va niyāmena dutiyaṃ tatiyaṃ<sup>2</sup> gharam gantvā cintesi: Sakalanagare ayam eva niyāmo bhavissati. Idam hitānukampakena buddhena diṭṭham bhavissatīti samvegaṃ labhitvā tato bahi nikkhamitvā āmakasusānam netvā puttam hatthena gahetva: Puttaka aham imaṃ maraṇam tav'eva uppannan ti cintesiṃ, na paṇ'etam tav'eva mahājanasādhāraṇo esa dhammo ti vatvā puttam āmakasusāne chaḍḍetvā imaṃ gātham āha:—

Na gāmadhammo nigamassa<sup>3</sup> dhammo

Na cāp'ayaṃ eka kulassa dhammo

Sabbassa lokassa sadevakassa

Eso va dhammo yadidaṃ aniccatā ti.

Evañ ca pana vatvā Satthu santikaṃ agamāsi. Atha naṃ Satthā: laddho te Gotamī siddhatthako ti āha.

Niṭṭhitaṃ bhante siddhatthakena kammaṃ. Patitṭham pana me dethāti āha.

Ath' assā Satthā Dhammapade imaṃ gātham āha:

Taṃ puttam pasutaṃ<sup>4</sup> mattam byāsattamānasam naram

Suttam gāmaṃ mahogho va maccu ādāya gacchatīti.<sup>5</sup>

Sā gāthāpariyosāne yathā ṭhitā va sotāpattiphale patitṭhāya pabbajjam yāci. Satthā pabbajjam anujāni. Sā tikkhattum

<sup>1</sup> MSS. often Gotami in voc.

<sup>2</sup> T.I. *secundā manā*. MSS. omit dutiyaṃ.

<sup>3</sup> S.M. no nigamassa.

<sup>4</sup> S.M. puttapasusam.

<sup>5</sup> Dhammapada, verse 287, compare 47.

Satthāraṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā vanditvā bhikkhuni-upassayaṃ gantvā pabbaji. Upasampadaṃ labhitvā pana na cirass' eva yonisomanasikāre kammaṃ karontī vipassanaṃ vaḍḍhesi. Ath'assā Satthā imaṃ obhāsa-gātham āha :

Yo ca vassasataṃ jīve appassaṃ amataṃ padaṃ  
Ekāhaṃ jīvitam seyyo passato amataṃ padan ti.<sup>1</sup>

Sa gāthāpariyosāne arahattaṃ pattā parikkhāravalaṇṇe paramukkaṭṭhā hutvā tīhi lūkhehi samannāgataṃ cīvaraṃ pārūpitvā vicari.

Aparabhāge Satthā Jetavane nisinno bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā ṭhānantaresu ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ lūkhacīvaradharānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

## 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 with deference.

<sup>1</sup> Dhammapada, verse 114.



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 Blesséd 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 Blesséd 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 Blesséd 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 Bhikkhunīs one after another, he gave to this Therī the chief place among those who wear the rough robe.

### 13. *Sigālakamātā.*

Terasame *saddhādhimuttānaṃ* ti *saddhālakkhane* abhini-  
viṭṭhānaṃ *Sigālakamātā* aggā ti dasseti.

Ayaṃ kira Padumuttarabuddhakāle Hamsavatiyaṃ kula-  
ghare nibbattā Satthu dhammakathaṃ suṇanti Satthāraṃ  
ekaṃ bhikkhuniṃ *saddhādhimuttānaṃ* aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapetum  
disvā adhikāraṃ katvā tam ṭhānantaraṃ patthesi.

Sā kappasatasahassaṃ devamanussesu saṃsaritvā imasmiṃ  
buddhuppāde Rājagahanagare setṭhikule nibbattā samāna-  
jātikaṃ kuḷaṃ gantvā ekaṃ puttaṃ vijāyi. Tassa *Sigāla-*  
*kumāro* ti nāmaṃ akāṃsu. Sā pi ten 'eva kāraṇena *Sigāla-*  
*kamātā* nāma jātā. Sā ekadivasam Satthu dhammakathaṃ  
sutvā paṭiladdhasaddhā Satthu santike pabbaji. Pabbajita-  
kālato paṭṭhāya *saddhindriyaṃ* adhimattaṃ paṭilabhi.

Sā dhammasavanatthāya vihāraṃ gantvā dasabalassa sa-  
rīranipphattim olokayamānā va tiṭṭhati. Satthā tassā

saddhālakkhaṇe abhinivṛṭṭhabhāvaṃ ñatvā sappāyaṃ katvā<sup>1</sup> pasādaniyamen 'eva dhammaṃ deseti. Sā pi therī saddhālakkhaṇaṃ eva dhuraṃ katvā arahattaṃ pāpuṇi. Atha naṃ Satthā aparabhāge Jetavane nisīditvā bhikkhuniyo paṭipāṭiyā thānantaresu ṭhapento imaṃ theriṃ saddhādhimuttānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapesīti.

Theripāli vaṇṇanā niṭṭhitā.

### 13. *Sigālakamātā.*

In the thirteenth Sutta by the words *saddhādhimuttānaṃ* (intent upon Faith) he points out *Sigālakamātā* 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 Hamsavatī. And when (on hearing the Law preached) she had seen the Master exalt a certain Bhikkhunī 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 *Sigālaka*. For this reason she came to be named "the Mother of *Sigālaka*."

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 Blesséd One.

<sup>1</sup> S.M. omits sappayaṃ katvā.

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 Arahatship. 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.