

**Pubbakammapiṭṭika-Buddhāpadānaṃ**  
**The Traditions about the Buddha (known as)**  
**The Connection with Previous Deeds**



# **Pubbakammapiṭṭika-Buddhāpadānaṃ**

**The Traditions about the Buddha**  
(known as)  
The Connection with Previous Deeds

or

## **Why the Buddha Suffered**

a text and translation of the verses in  
**Apadāna 39.10**

and their commentary in  
**Visuddhajanavilāsiṇī**

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(January, 2012, BE 2556)

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## Introduction

In preparing this text and translation for publication I have divided it into a number of versions. In the Buddhist Texts and Studies section will be found the Pāli Text together with the variant readings. This is a more technical work dealing with the establishment of the text, and considers the text from the point of view of its grammar and prosody, and gives a metrical analysis of the verses.

In the Texts and Translations section I present the full Text and Translation with annotations which help to explain matters that may not be clear from the text itself. I have retained variants that give a significantly different reading in this edition, together with their translation, including verses and lines found only in one edition. The translation here follows the text quite closely to allow for reading and study of the latter.

In the English section there is the Translation Only, with somewhat less notes than in the Text and Translations section, which is intended for the casual reader who wants a reliable translation but is not interested in the technical matters concerning the original text itself. Here the sentence structure, which has many sub-clauses and the like in the Pāli, has been simplified to present a more natural flow in English.

Although the verses have been translated before,<sup>1</sup> this is the first time that the commentary has been brought over into English, and as far as I know the first time any section of the Apadāna commentary has been translated.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Texts and Variations

The texts presented have been established through a comparison of the four standard editions, for the verses from the Apadāna:

**BJT:** Sri Lankan Edition, from Apadānapāli, Buddha Jayanti Tripiṭika Granthamālā, volume XXXVI. 1961, reprinted Colombo, 2005 with corrections.

**Thai:** Thai edition, as found on Budsir for Windows CD-ROM (version 2.0, Bangkok, 1996).

**ChS:** Burmese edition, as found on the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM (version 3, Iḡatpuri, no date, but = 1999).

**PTS:** European edition, from The Apadāna, Part 1, edited by Mary E. Lilley, Pali Text Society, Oxford, 2000.

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<sup>1</sup> In Peter Masfield, The Udāna Commentary (PTS, 1994-5), pp. 633-635. Masfield also gives a summary of the commentarial stories in his notes, pp. 714-721.

<sup>2</sup> The material presented here has been discussed by Jonathon S. Walters, 'The Buddha's Bad Karma: A Problem in the History of Theravāda Buddhism' *Numen*, 37/1 (1990); 70-95; Sally Mellick Cutler: 'Still Suffering after All These Aeons,' in Peter Connelly and Sue Hamilton (eds), *Indian Insights: Buddhism, Brahmanism and Bhakti* (London 1997); and more recently by Naomi Appleton, as part of her book *Jātaka Stories in Theravāda Buddhism*, pp. 27-28, (Farnham, 2010).

and for the commentary:

**BJT:** Sri Lankan Edition, from Visuddhajanavilāsiṇī, Part 1. Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series, volume XXIX. date unknown.

**Thai:** Thai edition, as found on Budsir for Windows CD-ROM (version 2.0, Bangkok, 1996).

**ChS:** Burmese edition, as found on the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM (version 3, Igatpuri, no date, but = 1999).

**PTS:** European edition, from Visuddhajanavilāsiṇī nāma Apadānaṭṭhakathā, edited by C. E. Godakumbara, Pali Text Society, London, 1954.

As the notes to the edition clearly show there is a close relationship between ChS and Thai on the one hand; and SHB and PTS on the other. Indeed in each case the latter text appears to be taking the former as its model and only correcting it occasionally.

## 2. The Relationship between the Text and the Commentary

The Apadāna is organised into four sections: *Buddhāpadāna* (81<sup>3</sup> verses); *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* (58 verses); *Therāpadāna* (6311 verses, 559 Theras) and *Therī-Apadāna* (1336 verses, 40 Therīs).<sup>4</sup>

The texts which are translated here describe the previous deeds of the Buddha which led in his last life to various kinds of suffering: from spending a long time in the wasteland of severe austerities; to receiving slander at various hands; to physical ailments of various kinds: being attacked and cut by rocks and scalpels; and getting headaches, backaches and dysentery.

We may have expected them to be presented therefore in the Traditions about the Buddha (*Buddhāpadāna*), which begins the book. Instead we find them tucked away in a very odd place: right in the middle of the verses which are otherwise concerned with the Elders, as No. 390 of that collection.

Why they are there is hard to explain, and it almost looks like someone was trying to hide them. There is a very short commentary on the opening verses at that place,<sup>5</sup> but the main commentary occurs at the end of the Traditions about the Buddha (*Buddhāpadānasamvaṇṇanā*), which suggests that either the verses were once there, or the commentator wanted to draw attention to them.

The commentary on these verses is curious as it is unlike other sections of the same work which only provide a word commentary (*vaṇṇanā*). Here though, we get the

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<sup>3</sup> Verse numbers are as in the Sri Lankan edition.

<sup>4</sup> Note that the last section has no commentary on it.

<sup>5</sup> Not translated here as it is basically a word-commentary (*vaṇṇanā*), and is separated from the rest of the commentary.

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stories explaining the deeds the Buddha-to-be had performed in the past,<sup>6</sup> which were finding their fulfilment, even when he was Buddha.

Also it should be mentioned that the commentary doesn't take the verses in the order they appear in the text, but has them in roughly chronological order. To give an example, although the text treats the austerities that the Buddha-to-be underwent last, in the commentary it is dealt with first.<sup>7</sup>

Another problem is that there is some confusion in the commentary to verse two, as the story doesn't fit in with the verse it is supposed to explain.<sup>8</sup> The story at the beginning is about a scoundrel called Munāḷi, who slandered the Independent Buddha Surabhi. The verse, however, says that the Buddha-to-be had accused a disciple of the Buddha Sabbābhibhu called Nanda, and it was for this reason that the maiden Ciñcā slandered him. On the other hand the story of Munāḷi is told again, but in different words, to explain the next verse, where it does fit in with what he is trying to explain.

Another anomaly: the very next story tells of a time when the Bodhisatta was a teacher of five hundred students who slandered a seer. His students, following him, did the same. The verses, however, only mention that his disciples were slandered by Sundarī, and do not mention the Buddha's suffering.

Again, story no. 6 says that the Buddha's foot was cut as a result of throwing a splinter at an Independent Buddha; the verses, however, tell about the time the Buddha was attacked by bandits or archers sent by Devadatta, who were overcome by the Buddha's loving-kindness, and failed though to cause him any harm. The time that his foot was cut was when Devadatta threw a rock from on high, as reported in story no. 5.

It is worthy of notice that in the preface to his work, the unnamed commentator has this to say about the text he was working with:

**Purā Sihaḷabhāsāya porāṇaṭṭhakathāya ca**

Setting aside the ancient commentary in the Sinhala language

**Ṭhapitaṃ taṃ na sādheti, sādhuṇaṃ icchicchitaṃ,**

Which does not make things clear, longing for what is profitable,

**Tasmā tam-upanissāya porāṇaṭṭhakathānayaṃ,**

Having forsaken reliance on that ancient commentary, therefore,

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<sup>6</sup> As in, for instance, the Jātakaṭṭhakathā.

<sup>7</sup> The commentary treats them in the order: 12, 2, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

<sup>8</sup> Masefield noted this in his comments to the verses in the Udāna Commentary.



**Vivajjetvā viruddhattham, visesattham pakāsayam,**  
Which hinders (the true) meaning, (and) explaining the true meaning,

**Visesavaṇṇanam seṭṭham karissāmatthavaṇṇanan-ti.**  
I will make a true and good explanation, which explains the meaning (well).

We know precious little about the commentator, not even his name, or who instigated his work, which is normally mentioned, but a couple of things seem to indicate that he was unfamiliar with northern India: he has the King of Magadha say that he would be present at the double-miracle, but that event took place in another Kingdom, that of Kosala, and there is no indication that foreign Kings were present at the time;<sup>9</sup> he also says that Anuruddha and the other Sakyans were near to Rājagaha when they went forth, but in fact they were at Anupiya in the Malla country when that happened about 10 days, or 250 km, walk away.

Given that he has declared his intention to put aside the Mahāvihāra commentary and write his own, which almost certainly would not have been possible if he had been resident there, this makes me believe that he was either from the Indian mainland, somewhere remote from the Middle Lands, perhaps in somewhere like Andhra; or that he was connected with another fraternity, perhaps the Abhayagiri; and there are other considerations which might help substantiate this.

### 3. Relationship with Other Traditions

The compound used to describe the verses, *kammapilotika* (or in some editions *kammapiloti*) doesn't occur anywhere else in the Pāli texts except in connection with these verses; however, it does occur in Buddhist Sanskrit works<sup>10</sup> like Divyāvādāna,<sup>11</sup> Avadānaśataka and Laṅkāvatārasūtra; and there are parallels to the text in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Anavataptagāthā,<sup>12</sup> and in Gandhārī.<sup>13</sup>

What is more, one of the stories is told, in even more detail in the Mahāvastu.<sup>14</sup> In the verses here it only says that through slandering a disciple of the Buddha Sabbābhīhu called Nanda, the (unnamed) Buddha-to-be transmigrated through hell for a long time, and in his last existence was slandered in turn by the maiden Ciñcā; and as noted above the commentary doesn't provide an appropriate story here.

The Mahāvastu, however, has a long story about a monk called Abhiya who, being of a jealous nature, slandered the disciple called Nanda accusing him of sexual relations with a wife of a rich merchant. The interesting conclusion has Abhiya realising his fault, asking forgiveness from Nanda, and confessing his wrong-doing to the Buddha.

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<sup>9</sup> See commentarial story no. 2 below; and for the next instance story no. 5.

<sup>10</sup> There the compounds are *karmaplotika* and *karmaploti*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Divyāvādāna p. 150, where one of the 10 indispensable deeds (*daśavaśyakaraṇīyāni*) is listed as: *Anavatapte mahāsarasi śrāvakaiḥ sārddham pūrvikā karmaplotir vyākṛtā bhavati; explaining the connection with former deeds with his disciples near the great lake Anavatapta (Anotatta in Pāli).*

<sup>12</sup> See Bechert, *Die Anavataptagāthā und die Sthaviragāthā*, Berlin 1961.

<sup>13</sup> See [http://gandhari.org/a\\_manuscript.php?catid=CKM0001](http://gandhari.org/a_manuscript.php?catid=CKM0001).

<sup>14</sup> See Senart's edition: pg. 34-45. I hope to translate this text at some point.

He then makes an offering to the Buddha and makes an aspiration to become a Buddha himself, which is confirmed by Buddha Sarvābhibhū.

The idea of the connection of past deeds was also known to the Upāyakausalya also,<sup>15</sup> where it is said the Buddha only told these stories as part of his skill-in-means, but not because he actually ever did anything wrong, which the text categorically denies he could have done, which represents another view on the subject altogether.

It is not within the scope of this introduction to examine all these continuities and discontinuities, but one thing is clear: the idea that the Buddha-to-be had done unwholesome deeds that came to fruition in the Buddha's lifetime was clearly known to the early traditions, even when it was rejected.

#### 4. The Bodhisatta's Bad Deeds

That the Buddha-to-be should have done bad deeds should not surprise us, as it is recorded openly in the Jātaka stories that the Buddha-to-be many times did bad, unwholesome deeds. He is, of course, still pursuing the perfections, and has no claim to having completed them as yet, and so is bound to make misjudgements like everybody else.

For instance, in Jā 128 the Buddha-to-be is reborn as a rat and springs at a jackal's throat and kills him; in Jā 318 he is born in a robber's family and practices his craft; in Jā 431 he engages in sexual misconduct with a queen – interestingly in the same Jātaka, though, it denies that the Buddha-to-be can tell lies:

**Bodhisattassa hi ekaccesu ṭhānesu pāṇātipāto pi adinnādānam-pi  
kāmesumicchācāro pi surāmerayamajjapānam-pi hoti yeva,  
atthabhedakavisamvādanam<sup>16</sup> purakkhatvā, musāvādo nāma na hoti;**  
the Buddha-to-be on certain occasions may kill, steal, engage in sexual  
misconduct and drink intoxicants; but he cannot, preferring to hurt the  
welfare (of others) by lying, speak falsely.

and the reason for this is clearly stated:

**Ujjhitasaccā hi Bodhimūle nisīditvā, Bodhim̐ pāpuṇituṃ na sakkonti;**  
even if one who has forsaken the truth has sat at the root of the Bodhi tree  
he is (still) unable to attain Awakening.

This statement is questionable, though, as it appears he was lying when he slandered the Independent Buddha Surabhi, the disciple of the Buddha Sabbābhibhu named

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<sup>15</sup> But there the compound is *karmasantati*, and the list is not twelve items, but ten. Most of them are the same as is recorded here, however, so that it is clear we are dealing with the same tradition.

<sup>16</sup> This is translated by Francis and Neil (Jā trans. Vol III, pg. 296): *he may not tell a lie, attended by deception that violates the reality of things*; although it has a wide range of meanings I do not find anywhere where *attha* means *the reality of things*; its primary meaning is (PED, s.v.): *interest, advantage, gain; (moral) good, blessing, welfare; profit, prosperity, well-being*.



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Nanda and the seer (*rṣi*) Bhīma; and the repercussion was that in turn he was slandered by Ciñcā and Sundarī.

At another time he told the Buddha Phussa that he should eat barley, with the result that in his final life he had to do the same for three months during one Rains Retreat; he also questioned the possibility of the Buddha Kassapa being Awakened, and had to undergo six years of austerities on the wrong path.

In previous lives as here recorded he also killed his half-brother, threw a stone at an Independent Buddha, and struck another with an elephant; for which he had to suffer his brother-in-law Devadatta throwing stones at him, hiring assassins and driving the elephant Nāḷāgiri at him.

Because he laughed at some fish being killed he later got a headache (and the people who were doing the killing, being reborn in the Sakyan clan, were wiped out by King Viḍḍabha); when he was a King he killed people with his sword, and because of that not only did a shard of stone cut his foot, but also the surgeon had to lance an abscess that developed on it; and when he was a wrestler he broke an opponents back,<sup>17</sup> and therefore had to suffer backache.

Each time he is said to have suffered greatly for a long time in various hells, and it is really only the residue of the deeds that came to fruition causing these problems for the Buddha in his last life.

Although the Buddha-to-be is said to have committed all these unwholesome acts, they are, of course, presented as examples of what *not* to do, as the repercussions are so dire, that even upon the attainment of Buddhahood they cannot be escaped, so that in the end the moral is clear. Towards the end of the commentary it is indeed stated emphatically:

**Kammapilotikaṃ nāma Buddham-api na muñcati.**<sup>18</sup>

The Buddha was surely not free from the connection with that deed.

**Kammapilotikaṃ evarūpaṃ Lokattayasāmim-pi na vijahati.**

The Lord of the Three Worlds surely could not abandon the connection with that deed.

And the moral is, of course, that neither can we, so we had better be careful about the deeds we choose to perform.

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu  
January 2012

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<sup>17</sup> Though according to the commentary he fixed it again soon after, see story no 11 below.

<sup>18</sup> Just before the verses in story No 11 below; the next quote appears before the verses in story No 12.

**Pubbakammapiḷotika-Buddhāpadānaṃ**  
The Traditions<sup>19</sup> about the Buddha  
(known as)  
The Connection with Previous Deeds

**The Canonical Verses**

**Anotattasarāsanne,<sup>20</sup> ramaṇīye silātale,**  
While on the delightful rocky plateau near Lake Anotatta,<sup>21</sup>

**Nānāratanaṃ pajjote, nānāgandhavanantare, [64]**  
Which shines with many jewels, and has many scents in the forest,

**Mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena, pareto Lokanāyako,**  
The World-Leader, surrounded<sup>22</sup> by a great Community of Monks,

**Āsīno byākārī tattha pubbakammāni attano: [65]**  
While seated right there, explained his deeds which were done before (saying):

**Suṇātha bhikkhavo mayhaṃ yaṃ kammaṃ pakataṃ mayā,<sup>23</sup>**  
Listen to me, O monks, (explain) the deed that was performed by me,

**Pilotikassa kammaṃ Buddhatte pi vipaccati.<sup>24</sup> [66]**  
And how the connection<sup>25</sup> with that deed ripened even in Buddhahood.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> I prefer this translation to other renderings such as *legends* (PED), *stories* (Rotman) or even *achievements* (SED), as it seems to me what we are dealing with, both with the material about the Worthy Disciples and the Buddha, are the traditions that were gradually being built up around these figures in the early Buddhist communities.

<sup>20</sup> The text is reproduced word for word in the Udānaṭṭhakathā, being quoted from here.

<sup>21</sup> One of the seven great lakes in the Himālaya, now identified with Lake Manasarovar, near Mt. Kailash.

<sup>22</sup> Comm: *pareto parivuto*.

<sup>23</sup> Thai adds the following verse: *Ekam araṇṇikaṃ bhikkhum disvā dinnam pilotikam, patthitam paṭhamam Buddhāṃ Buddhattāya mayā tadā; Having seen one forest monk, I gave a rag-robe, the first wish for Buddhahood, was then (made) by me*. Lines c & d hardly make sense in the Pāli, and I have omitted *Buddham* in the translation and added a word for *made*, perhaps we should read: *patthitam paṭhamam kataṃ*; which would give a Anuṭṭhubha variation.

<sup>24</sup> Thai adds these two verses: *Gopālako pure āsim gāvim pājeti gocaram, Pivantiṃ udakam āvilam gāvim disvā nivārayim; tena kammavipākena idha pacchimake bhava pipāsito yathicchakam na hi pātuṃ labhāmahaṃ; before when I was a cow-herder I drove cows to their pasture, having seen a cow drink from clear water I prevented him; through that deed and its result here in my last existence (when) thirsty and desiring the same I did not get (anything) to drink*.

<sup>25</sup> *Pilotika* is given in PED as: *a small piece of cloth, a rag, a bandage*; SED: *ploti*, f. *thread, connection* (in *karma-p-*) Divyāv[adāna, 150]; in BHSD, Edgerton says that in *karmaploti*: it means *action (binding-)cord*, and also gives *connecting link, bond* as translations. Masefield, however, translates as *remnant*, and has a note which says: *The term seems to denote the minuscule remnant of an old garment and might therefore be taken as “karmic fluff”*

[1]

**Munāḷi nāmahaṃ dhutto pubbe aññāsu jātisu,**  
In a previous life I was a scoundrel known as Munāḷi,

**Paccekaḃuddhaṃ Surabhiṃ abbhācikkhiṃ adūsakaṃ;** [67]  
I slandered the innocent Independent Buddha Surabhi;

**Tena kammavipākena Niraye saṃsariṃ ciraṃ,**  
Through that deed and through its result I long transmigrated through Hell,

**Bahūvassasahassāni, dukkhaṃ vedesi' vedanaṃ.** [68]  
For many thousands of years I experienced unpleasant feeling.

**Tena kammāvesesena, idha pacchimake bhava,**  
Through the remainder of that deed, here in my last existence,

**Abbhakkhānaṃ mayā laddhaṃ, Sundarikāya kāraṇā.** [69]  
I received (much) slander myself, at the hands of Sundarikā.

[2]

**Sabbābhibhussa Buddhassa Nando nāmāsi sāvako,**  
There was a disciple of Buddha Sabbābhibhu named Nanda,

**Taṃ abbhakkhāya Niraye ciraṃ saṃsariṃ mayā,** [70]  
Through slandering him I transmigrated through Hell for a long time,

**Dasavassasahassāni Niraye saṃsariṃ ciraṃ,**  
For ten thousand long years I transmigrated through Niraya hell,

**Manussabhāvaṃ laddhāhaṃ, abbhakkhānaṃ bahuṃ labhiṃ,** [71]  
When I received an existence as man, I received much slander,

**Tena kammāvesesena Ciñcamānavikā mamaṃ**  
Through the remainder of that deed the brahmin maiden named Ciñcā

**Abbhācikkhi abhūtena janakāyassa aggato.** [72]  
Slandered me with lies at the head of an assembly of people.

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*stemming from a deed whose major results have already been experienced.* It seems to me in the contexts I have been able to find in Pāḷi and Sanskritised Prakṛt either translation would fit, but I have preferred the former.

<sup>26</sup> I present the verses first, without annotation or commentary as a translation of the latter follows.

[3]

**Brāhmaṇo Sutavā āsiṃ ahaṃ sakkatapūjito,**  
As the brahmin Sutavā I was (greatly) honoured and worshipped,

**Mahāvane pañcasate mante vācesi<sup>27</sup> māṇave.** [73]  
I taught the mantras to my five hundred students in the Great Wood.

**Tatthāgato isiṃ Bhīmo, pañcābhiñño mahiddhiko,**  
The seer Bhīma who had five knowledges and great power came there,

**Taṃ cāhaṃ āgataṃ disvā, abbhācikkhiṃ adūsakaṃ,** [74]  
And having seen him coming I slandered that innocent (seer),

**Tatohaṃ avacaṃ sisse: ‘Kāmabhogī ayaṃ isi’.**  
Thereupon I said to my pupils: ‘This seer is a sensualist’.

**Mayham-pi bhāsamānassa anumodiṃsu māṇavā.** [75]  
And (all) of the students rejoiced in that (unwholesome) speech of mine.

**Tato māṇavakā sabbe bhikkhamānaṃ kulākule,**  
Thence all the students as they begged for alms from family to family,

**Mahājanassa āhaṃsu: ‘Kāmabhogī ayaṃ isi’;** [76]  
Said to the great (body) of people: ‘This seer is a sensualist’;

**Tena kammavipākena pañcabhikkhusatā ime**  
Through that deed and through its result these monks (numbering) five hundred

**Abbhakkhānaṃ labhuṃ sabbe Sundarikāya kāraṇā.** [77]  
All received (abundant) slander at the hands of Sundarikā.

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<sup>27</sup> All texts are against this reading, but comm. is for it, and it fits better to have an aorist here, rather than a present tense.

[4]

**Vemātubhātaram<sup>28</sup> pubbe dhanahetu haniṃ ahaṃ,**  
In the (distant) past I killed my half-brother for the sake of wealth,

**Pakkhipiṃ giriduggasmiṃ, silāya ca apimsayiṃ,** [78]  
I threw him in an inaccessible mountain, and crushed him with a rock;

**Tena kammavipākena Devadatto silaṃ khipi,**  
Through that deed and its result Devadatta threw a rock (at me),

**Aṅguṭṭham piṃsayī pāde mama pāsāṇasakkharā.** [79]  
Which crushed the big toe on my foot with a shard which was made of stone.

[5]

**Pureham dārako hutvā, kīlamāno mahāpathe,**  
In the past, having become a boy, while playing on the highway,

**Paccekabuddham disvāna magge sakalikaṃ khipiṃ;** [80]  
Seeing an Independent Buddha on the road, I threw a stone;

**Tena kammavipākena idha pacchimake bhava**  
Through that deed and through its result here in (this) my last existence

**Vadhattham maṃ Devadatto abhimāre payojayi.** [81]  
Devadatta tried to kill me by employing evil bandits.

[6]

**Hatthāroho pure āsiṃ. Paccekamunim-uttamaṃ**  
Before I was a mahout. While a supreme Independent Sage

**Piṇḍāya vicarantaṃ taṃ, āsādesiṃ gajenahaṃ;** [82]  
Was wandering for his almsfood, I struck him with my elephant;

**Tena kammavipākena bhanto Nāḷāgirī gajo**  
Through that deed and its result, elephant Nāḷāgiri, swaying

**Giribbaje puravare dāruṇo maṃ upāgami.** [83]  
Violently rushed at me in the city of Giribbaja.

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<sup>28</sup> PTS: *Dvemātā-bhātaro*; *brothers of two mothers (and same father)*.

[7]

**Rājāhaṃ pattiko āsiṃ sattiyā purise haniṃ;**

(When) I was a King (going round) on foot I killed men with my sword;

**Tena kammavipākena Niraye paccisiṃ bhusaṃ,** [84]

Through that deed and its result I suffered much in Niraya hell,

**Kammuno tassa sesena, idāni sakalaṃ mama**

Through the remainder of that deed, at this time all the (unbroken)

**Pāde chaviṃ pakappesi<sup>29</sup> – na hi kammaṃ vinassati.** [85]

Skin on my foot was cut – deeds are never destroyed (without result).

[8]

**Ahaṃ kevaṭṭagāmasmiṃ ahuṃ kevaṭṭadārako**

(Before) I was a fisherman's son in a fisherman's village

**Macchake ghātite disvā janayiṃ somanassakaṃ;** [86]

Having seen fish being killed it produced a little happiness;

**Tena kammavipākena sīsadukkhaṃ ahū mama,**

Through that deed and through its result I had a (great) pain in my head,

**Sabbe Sakkā ca haññiṃsu yadā hani Viḍūḍabho.<sup>30</sup>** [87]

And all the Sakyans were killed when they were slain by Viḍūḍabha.

[9]

**Phussassāhaṃ pāvacane sāvake paribhāsayiṃ:**

I blamed the teachings and disciples of (Buddha) Phussa (saying):

**“Yavaṃ khādatha bhuñjatha, mā ca bhuñjatha sālayo”;** [88]

“You should eat and enjoy barley, you should not enjoy this fine rice;”

**Tena kammavipākena temāsaṃ khāditāṃ yavaṃ**

Through that deed and its result for three months I ate (only) barley

**Nimantito brāhmaṇena Verañjāyaṃ vasiṃ tadā.** [89]

When invited by the brahmin to dwell (three months) in Verañjā.

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<sup>29</sup> PTS: *c'ādiṇṇaṃ sakalaṃ mama pāde chaviṃ pakopesi*; he angrily cut the skin on my entire foot; BJT also reads: *pakopesi*, but then omits a word for cutting, which would seem to be required.

<sup>30</sup> PTS: *Viḍūḍabho*; ChS: *Viṭaṭūbho*; Thai: *Viṭaṭubho*; and similarly throughout. The correct form of the name, which is said to have formed through a confusion anyway, is lost now.



[10]

**Nibbuddhe vattamānamhi mallaputtam̐ niheṭṭhayim̐;**  
Once while I was wrestling I badly injured another wrestler;

**Tena kammavipākena piṭṭhidukkham̐ ahū mama.** [90]  
Through that deed and through its result I suffered a pain in my back.

[11]

**Tikicchako aham̐ āsim̐ seṭṭhiputtam̐ virecayim̐;**  
At the time I was a physician I made a merchant's son purge;

**Tena kammavipākena hoti pakkhandikam̐ mama.** [91]  
Through that deed and through its result I had amoebic dysentery.

[12]

**Avacāham̐ Jotipālo Sugatam̐ Kassapam̐ tadā:**  
As Jotipāla I spoke to the Buddha Kassapa, (saying):

**“Kuto nu Bodhi muṇḍassa? Bodhi paramadullabhā!”** [92]  
“Where is this shavelings' Awakening? Awakening is supremely rare!”

**Tena kammavipākena acarim̐ dukkaram̐ bahum̐**  
Through that deed and its result I practiced many austerities

**Chabbassān-Uruvelāyam̐ tato Bodhim-apāpuṇim̐.** [93]  
For six years at Uruvelā, and then attained to Awakening.

**Nāham̐ etena maggena pāpuṇim̐ Bodhim-uttamam̐,**  
I did not attain the supreme Awakening through this path (of pain),

**Kummaggena gavesissam̐ pubbakammena vārito.** [94]  
I sought along the wrong path being obstructed by a past deed.

**Puññapāparikkhīṇo, sabbasantāpavajjito,**  
With merit and demerit destroyed, abstaining from all torment,

**Asoko anupāyāso, nibbāyissam-anāsavo.** [95]

Griefless, without despair, I will be released, without pollutants.

**Evaṃ Jino viyākāsi bhikkhusaṅghassa aggato,**

So the Victor explained at the head of the Community of monks,

**Sabbābhiññābalappatto, Anotatte mahāsare.” ti** [96]

The one with all knowledge and strength, at the great Lake Anotatta.”

**Itthaṃ sudam̐ Bhagavā attano pubbacaritaṃ pubbakammapilotikaṃ**

In this way, truly, the Fortunate One spoke about the former connection with his previous lives

**nāma Buddhāpadānaṃ Dhammapariyāyaṃ abhāsittha.**

in what is known as the Dhamma Instruction in the Traditions about the Buddha.

*Pubbakammapilotikaṃ nāma Buddhāpadānaṃ Samattaṃ*

*The Traditions about the Buddha*

*known as*

*The Connection with Previous Deeds is Complete*

**Buddha-Apadānavañṇanāto**  
*from The Explanation of the Traditions about the Buddha*

**... Buddhāpadānaṃ kusalāpadānavasena niṭṭhāpetvā,**

... having finished the account of the wholesome traditions in the Traditions about the Buddha

**tad-eva akusalāpadānavasena vitthāretuṃ idaṃ pañhakammaṃ.**

now (we need) to lay out the account of the unwholesome actions with an enquiry into his deeds.

**Dukkarañ-ca abbhakkhānaṃ, abbhakkhānaṃ punāparaṃ,**  
Austerities<sup>31</sup> and slander, and once again (more) slander,

**Abbhakkhānaṃ, silāvedho, sakalikāpi ca vedanā.**  
Slander, pierced by a rock, and the suffering through a splinter.

**Nāḷāgiri, sattacchedo, sīsadukkhaṃ, yavakhādanāṃ,**  
Nāḷāgiri, cut with a sword, headache, eating barley,

**Piṭṭhidukkham-atīsāro – ime akusalakāraṇā. ti**  
Backache, dysentery – these (occurred) through unwholesome (deeds in the past).

**[Dukkarakārikā]**  
**[1. The Austerities]**

**Tattha, paṭhamapañhe dukkaran-ti, chabbassāni dukkarakārikā.**

Herein, in the first enquiry, (called) austerities, (we hear about) the reason for six years of austerities.

**Atīte Kassapasammāsambuddhakāle,**

In the past, at the time of the Perfect Buddha Kassapa,

**Bodhisatto Jotipālo nāma brāhmaṇamāṇavo hutvā,**

the Buddha-to-be had become a brahmin student named Jotipāla,

**nibbatta brāhmaṇajātivasena**

and because of being born as a brahmin

**Sāsane appasanno tassa Bhagavato,**

he was not satisfied with the Dispensation of that Fortunate One,

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<sup>31</sup> These verses enumerate twelve ways in which the Buddha suffered, as a kind of tabulation of the stories to come.

**pilotikakammanissandena: “Kassapo Bhagavā” ti sutvā,**

with this outcome through the connection of deeds: having heard it said “The Gracious Kassapa”,

**“Kuto muṇḍakassa samaṇassa Bodhi? Bodhi paramadullabhā” ti āha.**

he said: “Where is this shaveling ascetic's Awakening? Awakening is supremely rare!”

**So tena kammanissandena anekajātisatesu**

The outcome of that deed was that for countless hundreds of lives

**Narakādīsu dukkham-anubhavitvā,**

he underwent suffering in Naraka hell and so on,

**tasseva Bhagavato anantaram teneva laddhavyākaraṇena,**<sup>32</sup>

then after that, through having received the prediction from that Fortunate One,<sup>33</sup>

**kammena jātisaṃsāram khepetvā,**

after wasting away in the transmigration of births through that deed,

**pariyosāne Vessantarattabhāvam patvā,**

at the end, having attained his existence as Vessantara,<sup>34</sup>

**tato cuto Tusitabhavane nibbatto.**

and falling away from that he re-arose in the Tusita realm.

**Devatāyācanena tato cavitvā, Sakyakule nibbatto,**

With the asking of the gods, after falling away from there, he arose in the Sakya family,

**ñāṇassa paripākattā, sakala-Jambudīparajjam pahāya,**

and after coming to full maturity of knowledge, giving up the sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Island,

**Anomānadītīre sunisitenāsinā samakūṭakesakalāpam chinditvā,**

cutting his top-knot evenly with a well-sharpened sword on the bank of the river Anoma,

**Brahmunā ānīte iddhimaye kappassa saṅghānakāle,**

which was taken by a Brahmā (god) using his psychic power until the end of the aeon,

**padumagabbhe nibbatte aṭṭhaparikkhāre paṭiggahetvā pabbajitvā,**

having taken the requisites (placed) in the lotus calyx and gone forth,

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<sup>32</sup> SHB has a different construct: *Bhagavatā laddhavyākaraṇo anantaram teneva*; which gives the same meaning.

<sup>33</sup> The Buddha-to-be as Jotipāla had later ordained under the Buddha Kassapa, who then confirmed that he would become a Buddha himself at a later date.

<sup>34</sup> His last earthly existence before the birth as Siddhattha, for which see the final Jātaka (Jā. 547).

**Bodhiñāṇadassanassa tāva aparipakkattā,**  
being unripe as yet for insight and knowledge and wisdom,

**Buddhabhāvāya maggāmaggaṃ ajānitvā,**  
through not knowing what is path and not path to Buddhahood,

**chabbassāni Uruvelajanapade**  
for six years in the Uruvelā country

**ekāhāra-ekālopa-ekapuggala-ekamagga-<sup>35</sup>ekāsanabhojanavasena**  
because of eating only one (type of) food, one lump (of food), (from) one person (only), (on) one path (only), (at) one sitting (only),<sup>36</sup>

**aṭṭhicammanahārusesaṃ nimmaṃsarudhirapetarūpasadisasarīro,**  
his body, with its bones, skin, sinews and the rest, being without flesh and blood, (became) like a dead person,

**Mahāpadhānasutte<sup>37</sup> vuttanayeneva padhānaṃ,**  
and his striving (should be understood) as it is recorded in the Discourse on the Great Traditions,

**mahāviriyaṃ dukkarakārikaṃ akāsi.**  
(and so) with great energy he performed his austerities.

**So imaṃ dukkarakārikaṃ Sambodhiyā maggaṃ na hotī ti cintetvā,**  
After realising that austerity is not the Path to Complete Awakening,

**gāmanigamarājadhānīsu pañītāhāraṃ paribhuñjitvā,**  
and partaking of fine food in the villages, towns and capital cities,<sup>38</sup>

**pīṇitindriyo paripuṇṇadvattiṃsa-Mahāpurisalakkhaṇo,**  
having satisfied faculties the thirty-two signs of the Great Man (appeared),

**kamena Bodhimaṇḍam-upagantvā**  
and after gradually approaching the grounds of the Bodhi (Tree),

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<sup>35</sup> PTS adds *-ekataṇḍula-*; *one rice-grain*; SHB omits *ekamagga*.

<sup>36</sup> These are all different types of austerities: taking only one type of food, like beans; or only one lump or food, like one bean; or from only one person, no matter how little they give; or from only one path, instead of going along as many as needed; or eating only at one sitting, not taking anymore for the day after rising from the seat, etc.

<sup>37</sup> DN 14, which hardly touches on the subject of the striving, but with the process of Awakening; ChS, Thai: *Padhānasutte*, and identifies it with Suttanipāta, 3.2, but that also deals not so much with the striving as with the fight with Māra. Perhaps a better reference would have been to MN 26, Ariyapariyesanasuttaṃ, which does deal in detail with the striving.

<sup>38</sup> However, in the tradition it is only said that he partook of the food provided by Sujāta, and there is no mention of his traveling around the country, as this implies, partaking of fine food.

**pañca Māre jinitvā Buddhō jāto. ti**

and defeating the five Māras,<sup>39</sup> he became the Buddha.

**Avacāhaṃ Jotipālo Sugataṃ Kassapaṃ tadā:**

As Jotipāla I spoke to the Buddha Kassapa, (saying):

**“Kuto nu Bodhi muṇḍassa? Bodhi paramadullabhā!”** [92]

“Where is this shavelings' Awakening? Awakening is supremely rare!”

**Tena kammavipākena acarim dukkaram bahum**

Through that deed and its result I practiced many austerities

**Chabbassān-Uruvelāyaṃ tato Bodhim-apāpuṇim.** [93]

For six years at Uruvelā, and then attained to Awakening.

**Nāhaṃ etena maggena pāpuṇim Bodhim-uttamaṃ,**

I did not attain the supreme Awakening through this path (of pain),

**Kummaggena gavesissam pubbakammaena vārito.** [94]

I sought along the wrong path being obstructed by a past deed.

**Puññapāparikkhīṇo, sabbasantāpavajjito,**

With merit and demerit destroyed, abstaining from all torment,

**Asoko anupāyāso, nibbāyissam-anāsavo. ti** [95]

Griefless, without despair, I will be released, without pollutants.

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<sup>39</sup> Māra as a god (*devaputtamāra*); Māra as defilements (*kilesammāra*); Māra as the constituent parts (*khandhamāra*); Māra as (wholesome and unwholesome) deeds (*kammamāra*); and Māra as death (*maccumāra*).



[Abbhakkhānam]

[2. Slander]

**Dutiyapañhe, abbhakkhānan-ti abhi akkhānam paribhāsanam.**

In the second enquiry, (called) slander, (we hear about) great lies and censure.

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto suddakule jāto**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was born into a low-caste<sup>40</sup> family

**apākaṭo appasiddho Munāḷi nāma dhutto hutvā paṭivasati.**

and dwelt as an unknown and failed scoundrel called Munāḷi.<sup>41</sup>

**Tadā mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo Surabhi nāma Paccekabuddho,**

Then a powerful and majestic Independent Buddha called Surabhi,

**kenaci karaṇīyena tassa samīpaṭṭhānam pāpuṇi.**

arrived near to his place on some business or other.

**So tam disvā va: “Dussīlo pāpadhammo ayaṃ samaṇo!” ti-ādinā abbhācikkhi.**

After seeing him, he slandered him, saying: “This ascetic is unvirtuous and wicked!”

**So tena akusalanissandena**

Through that unwholesome (deed) the outcome was

**Narakādīsu anekavassasahassāni dukkham-anubhavitvā,**

that after undergoing suffering in the Naraka hell and so on for countless thousands of years,

**imasmim pacchimattabhāve,**

in this his last state of existence,

**yadā titthiyā paṭhamataram –**

when the sectarians at the very beginning –

**Bhagavato Tusitabhavane vasanasamaye va –**

during the time of the Fortunate One's residence in the Tusita<sup>42</sup> realm –

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<sup>40</sup> *Sudda* signifies the fourth and lowest class in the Brahminical system, with Vassa, Brahmin and Khattiya above them. However, they are within the class system, not outside it, like the outcastes.

<sup>41</sup> There is some confusion in the commentary here, as this story doesn't fit in with the verse it purportedly explains. The verse says that the Buddha-to-be had accused a disciple of the Buddha Sabbābbhibhu called Nanda. On the other hand this story of Munāḷi is told again later in different words to explain the next verse.

<sup>42</sup> The word means: *Satisfied*.

**pākaṭā hutvā, sakalajanam vañcetvā dvāsaṭṭhidiṭṭhiyo dīpetvā vicarimsu.**  
had become famous, they went round and having deceived the whole people they explained the sixty-two views.

**Tadā Tusitapurā cavitvā, Sakyarājakule nibbattivā kamena Buddho jāto.**  
Then, after descending from the Tusita city and being reborn in the Royal Sakyan family, he by and by became the Buddha.

**Titthiyā sūriyuggamane khajjopanakā viya vihatalābhasakkārā**  
The sectarians, like glow-worms when the sun arises, lost their gains and respect

**Bhagavati āghātam bandhitvā vicaranti.**  
and they went round bound by hatred towards the Fortunate One.

**Tasmim samaye Rājagahaseṭṭhi Gaṅgāya, jālam bandhitvā,**  
At that time a merchant of Rājagaha,<sup>43</sup> after binding a net across the Ganges,

**kīlanto rattacandanaghaṭikam disvā**  
while sporting, having seen a stick of red sandalwood

**“Amhākam gehe candanāni bahūni,”**  
thought: “In our house there is plenty of sandalwood,”

**imam bhamam āropetvā, tena bhamakārehi pattam likhāpetvā,**  
and after preparing a lathe, and then having a bowl prepared by the wood-turners,

**veḷuparamparāya laggetvā,**  
and hanging it from a series of bamboo,

**“Ye imam pattam iddhiyā āgantvā gaṇhanti**  
had the drum beaten and said: “To those who come and take this bowl with their psychic power

**tesam bhattiko bhavissāmī” ti bherim carāpesi.**  
I will provide a constant supply of food.”

**Tadā titthiyā: “Naṭṭhamhā dāni, naṭṭhamhā dāni!” ti mantesum,**  
Then the sectarians, thought: “We are lost now, we are lost now!”

**nigaṇṭho Nāṭaputto sakaparisam evam-āha:**  
(but) the Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta<sup>44</sup> spoke like this to his assembly,

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<sup>43</sup> The Canonical story is told in Vinaya Cullavagga 5.

<sup>44</sup> The founder of the Jainas.

**“Ahaṃ veḷusamīpaṃ gantvā,**  
saying: “After approaching the bamboo,

**ākāse ullaṅganākāraṃ karomi,**  
I will make as though I will jump into the sky,

**tumhe: ‘Chavadārumayaṃ pattam paṭicca mā iddhiṃ karoṭhā,’ ti**  
and you must say: ‘Do not (show your) psychic power for the sake of this miserable bowl,’

**maṃ khandhe gahetvā vārethā” ti,**  
and after grabbing my body, you must prevent me (from jumping)”

**te tattha gantvā tathā akaṃsu.**  
after they approached that place they did like that.<sup>45</sup>

**Tadā Piṇḍolabhāradvājo ca Moggallāno ca,**  
Then Piṇḍolabhāradvāja and Moggallāna,

**tigāvute selapabbatamatthake ṭhatvā,**  
having ascended to the top of a mountain three leagues in extent,

**piṇḍapātagaṇhanatthāya cīvaram pārupantā, taṃ kolāhalaṃ suṇiṃsu.**  
while wrapping their robes around to go on alms round, heard that uproar.

**Tesu Moggallāno Piṇḍolabhāradvājam:**  
At that Moggallāna said this to Piṇḍolabhāradvāja:

**“Tvam ākāseṇa gantvā, taṃ pattam gaṇhāhī” ti āha.**  
“After going through the sky, take the bowl.”

**So: “Bhante, tumhe yeva Bhagavatā iddhimantānaṃ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapitā,**  
(But) he said: “Venerable Sir, you were placed in first position for one endowed with psychic power by the Fortunate One,

**tumheva gaṇhathā” ti āha.**  
surely you should take it.”

**Tathā pi: “Mayā āṇatto tvam-eva gaṇhāhī” ti āṇatto,**  
But, he gave the order: “My order is you must take it,”

**attanā ṭhitam, tigāvutam selapabbatam pādātale laggetvā,**  
and standing there by himself, after lifting that three-league stone mountain on his foot,

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<sup>45</sup> But the merchant was not convinced and didn't give him the bowl.

**ukkhaliyā pidhānaṃ viya sakala-Rājagahanagaraṃ chādesi,**  
(Piṇḍolabhāradvāja) covered the whole of the Rājagaha town like a bowl with its lid,

**tadā nagaravāsino phalīkapabbate āvutaṃ**  
then the town-dwellers having seen the Elder wielding

**rattasuttam-iva taṃ Theraṃ passivā,**  
that crystal mountain like a red thread,

**“Bhante Bhāradvāja, amhe rakkhathā!” ti ugghosayimsu,**  
shouted out: “Venerable Bhāradvāja, you must save us,”

**bhītā suppādīni sīse akaṃsu.**  
and became fearful from head to foot.

**Tadā Thero, taṃ pabbataṃ thitaṭṭhāne vissajjevā,**  
Then the Elder, having put that mountain down from the place he was standing,

**iddhiyā gantvā, taṃ pattam aggaheṣi,**  
after going (through the air) with his psychic power, grabbed the bowl,

**tadā nagaravāsino mahākolāhalaṃ-akaṃsu.**  
and then the town-dwellers made a great uproar.

**Bhagavā Veḷuvanārāme nisinno, taṃ saddaṃ sutvā,**  
The Fortunate One, sitting in the Bamboo Monastery, having heard that sound,

**“Kiṃ eso saddo?” ti Ānandaṃ pucchi.**  
asked Ānanda: “What sound is this?”

**“Bhāradvājena, Bhante, pattassa gahitattā**  
He answered: “Venerable Sir, Bhāradvāja has grabbed the bowl

**santuṭṭhā nagaravāsino ukkuṭṭhisaddam-akaṃsū” ti āha.**  
and the satisfied town-dwellers have made a sound of acclamation.”

**Tadā Bhagavā, āyatim parūpavādamocanattam,**  
Then the Fortunate One, who was free of the censure of others,

**taṃ pattam āharāpetvā bhedāpetvā añjanupapisaṇaṃ katvā,**  
after having that bowl brought, broken and powdered,

**bhikkhūnaṃ dāpesi, dāpetvā ca pana**  
had it given to the monks, and after it was given

**“Na, bhikkhave, iddhivikubbanā kātabbā,**  
he laid down a training rule, saying: “Monks, one should not perform miracles by psychic power,

**yo kareyya, āpatti dukkaṭṭassā” ti sikkhāpadaṃ paññāpesi.**

(for) he who does (perform one), there is an offence of wrong-doing.”<sup>46</sup>

**Tato titthiyā: “Samaṇena kira Gotamena,**

Because of that the sectarians said: “It seems that a training rule

**sāvakānaṃ sikkhāpadaṃ paññattaṃ,**

has been laid down for his disciples by the ascetic Gotama,

**te jīvitaḥetu pi taṃ nātikkamanti,**

and that they will not transgress even for the sake of life,

**mayāṃ iddhipāṭihāriyaṃ karissāmā,” ti**

(but) we will perform a miracle of psychic power,”

**tattha tattha rāsibhūtā kolāhalam-akaṃsu.**

and there and then they came together and made a great uproar.

**Atha Rājā Bimbisāro taṃ sutvā,**

Then King Bimbisāra, after hearing that,

**Bhagavato santikaṃ gantvā vanditvā**

approaching and worshipping the Fortunate One,

**ekam-antaṃ nisinno Bhagavantam-evam-āha:**

and sitting on one side, said this to the Fortunate One:

**“Titthiyā, Bhante, ‘Iddhipāṭihāriyaṃ karissāmā’ ti ugghosentī.” ti**

“The sectarians, Venerable Sir, proclaim: ‘We will perform a miracle of psychic power.’ ”

**“Aham-pi, Mahārāja, karissāmī.” ti**

“I also, Great King, will perform (one).”

**“Nanu, Bhante, Bhagavatā sāvakānaṃ sikkhāpadaṃ paññattan?”-ti**

“But, Venerable Sir, was not a training rule laid down for his disciples by the Fortunate One?”

**“Tvam-eva, Mahārāja, pucchissāmi:**

“Great King, I will question you:

**tavuyyāne ambaphalādīni khādantānaṃ**

for those eating mango fruits and so on in your garden

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<sup>46</sup> The rule actually reads: *Na, bhikkhave, gihīnaṃ uttarimanussadhammaṃ iddhipāṭihāriyaṃ dassetabbaṃ, yo dasseyya, āpatti dukkaṭṭassa; one should not show a miracle of psychic power of a state beyond (ordinary) human beings, monks, to householders, (for) he who does show (one), there is an offence of wrong-doing.*

**‘Ettako daṇḍo’ ti daṇḍam ṭhapento**

you apply a rule, saying ‘There is so much punishment,’

**tavāpi ekato katvā ṭhapesī?’ ti**

(but) is that applied (if) you have collected (them)?’

**‘Na mayham, Bhante, daṇḍo.’ ti**

‘There is no punishment for me, Venerable Sir.’

**‘Evaṃ, Mahārāja, na mayham sikkhāpadam paññattam atthī.’ ti**

‘Even so, Great King, the training rule that was laid down is not for me.’

**‘Kattha, Bhante, pāṭihāriyam bhavissatī?’ ti**

‘Where, Venerable Sir, will the miracle be?’

**‘Sāvattiyā samīpe Gaṇḍambarukkhamūle, Mahārājā.’ ti<sup>47</sup>**

‘Near to Sāvattihī, Great King, at the root of Gaṇḍa's mango tree.’

**‘Sādhu, Bhante, taṃ passissāmā.’ ti**

‘Very good, Venerable Sir, we will see it.’<sup>48</sup>

**Tato titthiyā: ‘Gaṇḍambarukkhamūle kira pāṭihāriyam bhavissatī’ ti sutvā,**

Because of that the sectarians, having heard: ‘The miracle, it seems, will be at the root of Gaṇḍa's mango tree.’

**nagarassa sāmantā ambarukkhe chedāpesuṃ.**

had the mango trees in every part of the town cut down.

**Nāgarā mahā-aṅgaṇaṭṭhāne mañcātimañcam aṭṭādayo bandhiṃsu,**

The citizens set up terraced stands,<sup>49</sup> scaffolding and so on along the great courtyards,

**sakala-Jambudīpavāsino rāsibhūtā**

and all of those who dwell in the Rose-Apple Island came together

**puratthimadisāyam-eva dvādasayojanāni pharitvā aṭṭhaṃsu,**

and they stood spread out for twelve leagues in the easterly direction,

**sesadisāsu pi tad-anurūpenākārena sannipatiṃsu.**

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<sup>47</sup> PTS adds here: *Evaṃ vatvā kamena Sāvattim patvā rañño Kosalassa taṃ pavattim ārocesi. Rājā; having said that and gradually reached Savattihī he informed the King of Kosala. The King said...* this effectively changes the scene from Rājagaha to Sāvattihī, which is perhaps inserted to avoid the fact that the King of Magadha doesn't appear later in Kosala.

<sup>48</sup> However, there is no sign later of King Bimbisāra of Magadha being in Sāvattihī, the capital of the Kingdom of Kosala, at the time of the miracle, and this is probably another sign of the commentator's ignorance of the ancient Indian kingdoms.

<sup>49</sup> PED, *mañcātimañcam* (s.v. *mañca*) says: *bed upon bed, i. e. beds placed on top of each other serving as grand stands at a fair or festival.*



and assembled as suitable in the other directions.

**Bhagavā pi kāle sampatte Āsāḥipuṇṇamāsiyaṃ,**  
When the Āsāḥa Full Moon day arrived, the Fortunate One,

**pāto va kattabbakiccaṃ niṭṭhāpetvā,**  
after completing his duties in the morning,

**taṃ ṭhānaṃ gantvā nisīdi.**  
and approaching that place, sat down.

**Tasmiṃ khaṇe Gaṇḍo nāma uyyānapālo,**  
At that time the gardener, Gaṇḍa by name,

**kipillikapuṭesu pakkāṃ ambaphalaṃ disvā,**  
after seeing a fully ripe mango fruit in a red ants' nest,

**“Sacāhaṃ imaṃ Rañño dadeyyaṃ**  
thinking: “If I give this to the King

**kahāpaṇādisāraṃ labheyyaṃ,**  
I will receive the value in money and so on,

**Bhagavato upanāmite pana**  
but if I offer it to the Fortunate One

**idhalokaparalokesu sampatti bhavissatī!” ti Bhagavato upanāmesi.**  
I will be successful in this world and the next!” and he offered it to the Fortunate One.

**Bhagavā taṃ paṭiggahetvā Ānandattheraṃ āṇāpesi:**  
After accepting it the Fortunate One ordered the Elder Ānanda:

**“Imaṃ phalaṃ maddetvā, pānaṃ dehī.” ti**  
“Having had this fruit crushed, please give me a drink.”

**Thero tathā akāsi.**  
And so the Elder did.

**Bhagavā ambarasaṃ pivitvā**  
After drinking the mango juice

**ambaṭṭhiṃ uyyānapālassa datvā: “Imaṃ ropehī” ti āha.**  
and giving the mango seed to the gardener, he said: “Plant this.”

**So vālukaṃ viyūhitvā taṃ ropesi,**  
After removing the sand he planted it,

**Ānandatthero kuṇḍikāya udakaṃ āsiñci.**

and the Elder Ānanda sprinkled it with his water-jug.

**Tasmiṃ khaṇe ambaṅkuro uṭṭhahitvā**

At that time a mango sprout arose

**mahājanassa passantasseva sākāhaviṭapapupphaphalapallavabharito<sup>50</sup> paññāyittha.**

and as the multitude was watching it was seen to be heavy with branches, aerial-roots, flowers, fruits and fresh leaves.

**Patitaṃ ambaphalaṃ khādantā**

They ate the mango fruits which had fallen

**sakala-Jambudīpavāsino khayāṃ pāpetuṃ nāsakkhimsu.**

(but even) all those who dwelt in the Rose-Apple Island were unable to reach the end (of them).

**Atha Bhagavā puratthimacakkavāḷato yāva pacchimacakkavāḷaṃ tāva**

Then the Fortunate One made a Jewelled Walk from the easterly universe

**imasmiṃ cakkavāḷe Mahāmerumuddhani ratanacaṅkamaṃ māpetvā**

to the westerly universe, and on the top of Mount Meru in this universe

**anekaparisāhi Sīhanādaṃ nadāpento,**

countless assemblies cried out their Lion's Roar,

**Dhammapadaṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttanayena.**

(and all is) as it is recorded in the Commentary on the Dhammapada.<sup>51</sup>

**Mahā-iddhipāṭihāriyaṃ katvā, titthiye madditvā,**

After performing a great miracle of psychic power,<sup>52</sup> crushing the sectarians,

**te vippakāraṃ pāpetvā,**

bringing about a conversion in them,

**pāṭihīrāvasāne purima-Buddhāciṅṇavasena,**

at the end of the miracle, because it was the practice of Buddhas in former times,

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<sup>50</sup> SHB: *sākāhaviṭapasampanno pupphaphalabharito*; it was seen to be endowed with branches and aerial-roots; and (become) heavy with flowers and fruits. PTS: *sākāhaviṭapasampanno puppha-*; it was seen to be endowed with branches and aerial-roots; and (become) heavy with flowers, fruits and fresh leaves.

<sup>51</sup> The reference is to the commentary on verse 176, which tells this story and the story of Ciñcā which follows.

<sup>52</sup> This was the so-called Double-Miracle (*Yamakapaṭihāra*), in which he produced water and fire from his body for a period of sixteen days, meanwhile also preaching the Dhamma.

**Tāvatiṃsabhavanam gantvā, tatta Vassaṃvuṭṭho,**  
after going to the realm of the Thirty-Three, undertaking the Rains Retreat there,

**nirantaram temāsam Abhidhammā desevā,**  
and teaching the Abstract Teaching continually for three months,

**Mātuppamukhānam anekadevatānam**  
and helping countless gods with his (former) Mother at their head

**Sotāpattimaggādhigamanam katvā,**  
attain the Path of Stream-Entry (and so on),

**Vuṭṭhavasso devorohanam katvā,**  
and on completion of the Rains Retreat descending from the gods,

**anekadevabrahmagāṇaparivuto**  
while surrounded by crowds of gods and deities

**Saṅkassapuradvāram oruḥa lokānuggaham akāsi.**  
after descending to the gate of the city of Saṅkassa, sought the welfare of the world.

**Tadā Bhagavato lābhasakkāro Jambudīpam-ajjhottharamāno,**  
Then the Fortunate One's gains and respect flowed in from all over the Rose-Apple Island,

**pañcamahāgaṅgā viya ahoṣi.**  
like the five great rivers.<sup>53</sup>

**Atha titthiyā, parihīnalābhasakkārā, dukkhī dummanā,**  
Then the sectarians, having lost their gains and respect, pained and depressed,

**pattakkhandhā adhomukhā nisīdiṃsu.**  
sat down with hunched shoulders and fallen faces.

**Tadā tesam upāsikā, Ciṅcamāṇavikā nāma,**  
Then the female lay follower, the maiden known as Ciṅcā,

**ativiya rūpaggappattā te tathā nisinne disvā,**  
after seeing them sitting there like that,

**“Kiṃ, Bhante, evaṃ dukkhī dummanā nisinnā?” ti pucchi.**  
asked: “Venerable Sirs, why are you sitting there pained and depressed?”

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<sup>53</sup> The Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Aciravatī, the Sarabhū, and the Mahī (see <http://goo.gl/o40B0> for a map).

**“Kiṃ pana tvaṃ, Bhagini, appossukkāsī” ti?**

“But, Sister, are you not bothered?”

**“Kiṃ, Bhante?” ti**

“Why, venerable Sirs?”

**“Bhagini, samaṇassa Gotamassa uppādakā lato paṭṭhāya**

“Sister, from the time the ascetic Gotama arose

**mayam hatalābhasakkārā, nagaravāsino amhe na kiñci maññantī.” ti**

our gains and respect have been destroyed, and the town-dwellers have no more regard for us.”

**“Mayā ettha kiṃ kātabban?”-ti**

“What can I do about this?”

**“Tayā samaṇassa Gotamassa avaṇṇam uppādetum vaṭṭatī.” ti**

“It behoves you to bring the ascetic Gotama into disrepute.”

**Sā: “Mayham<sup>54</sup> bhāro” ti vatvā, tattha ussāham karontī,**

After saying: “That is my duty,” she endeavoured therein,

**vikāle Jetavanavihāram gantvā,**

and after going to the Jeta's Wood monastery at the wrong time,<sup>55</sup>

**titthiyānam upassaye vasitvā,**

and staying at the sectarians' nunnery,<sup>56</sup>

**pāto nagaravāsīnam gandhādīni gahetvā,**

in the morning when the town-dwellers had taken incense and so on,

**Bhagavantam vandanatthāya gamanasamaye**

as they were going along for the purpose of worshipping the Fortunate One

**Jetavanā viya nikkhantā.**

(made) like she was departing from Jeta's Wood.

**“Kattha sayitā?” ti puṭṭhā**

Being asked: “Where did you sleep?”<sup>57</sup>

**“Kiṃ tumhākaṃ mama sayitaṭṭhānenā?” ti vatvā pakkāmi.**

after saying to them: “What is my sleeping place to you?” she departed.

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<sup>54</sup> Thai and ChS inexplicably have *na mayham bhāro, that is not my duty!*

<sup>55</sup> Technically it means after noon and before dawn, but in this context probably means in the evening.

<sup>56</sup> Which was near, but not in, Jeta's Wood.

<sup>57</sup> Lit: *where did you lie?*

**Sā kamena gacchante kāle pucchitā**

By and by when asked while leaving

**“Samaṇenāhaṃ Gotamena ekagandhakuṭṭiyāṃ sayitvā nikkhantā” ti āha.**

she said: “Having slept alone with the ascetic Gotama in the Fragrant Cottage, I am departing.”

**Taṃ bālaputhujjanā saddahiṃsu,**

The foolish worldly folk believed it,

**paṇḍitā Sotāpannādayo na saddahiṃsu.**

but the wise – Stream-Enterers and so forth – did not believe it.

**Ekadivasāṃ sā dārumaṇḍalam udare bandhitvā,**

One day, after binding a circle of wood to her stomach,

**upari rattapaṭaṃ paridahitvā,**

putting on a scarlet cloth,

**gantvā Sarājikāya parisāya Dhammadesanattāya,**

and going with the assembly together with the King for the purpose of (listening to) the Teaching of the Doctrine,

**nisinnaṃ Bhagavantaṃ evam-āha:**

while sitting (there) said this to the Fortunate One:

**“Bho samaṇa, tvaṃ Dhammaṃ desesi,**

“Dear ascetic, you teach the Doctrine,

**tuyhaṃ paṭicca uppannadārakagabbhiniyā**

(why) do you not seek garlic, chilli and so on for me

**mayhaṃ lasuṇamaricādīni na vicāresī?” ti**

on account of your son (who) is in my womb?”

**“Tathābhāvaṃ, Bhagini, tvañ-ceva pajānāsi, ahañ-cā.” ti**

“(Whether that is) real or false, Sister, you surely know, and so do I.”

**Sā: “Evam-eva methunasāṃsaggasamayaṃ**

She said: “The two of us know (the truth) about our

**dve yeva jānanti, na aññe” ti āha.**

sexual association, no one else.”

**Tasmim̐ khaṇe Sakkassa paṇḍukambalasilāsanam̐ uṇhākāram̐ dassesi.**  
At that moment Sakka's stone throne was seen to radiate heat.

**Sakko āvajjento tam̐ kāraṇam̐ ñatvā**  
Sakka considered and after understanding the reason

**dve devaputte āṇāpesi:**  
gave an order to two descendents of the gods:

**“Tumhesu eko mūsikavaṇṇam̐ māpetvā**  
“Having made for one of yourselves the form of a mouse

**tassā dārumaṇḍalassa bandhanam̐ chindatu,**  
cut through the bonds holding her circle of wood,

**eko vātamaṇḍalam̐ samuṭṭhāpetvā pārutapaṭam̐ uddham̐ khipatū.” ti**  
the other having producing a whirlwind lift up her dress.”

**Te gantvā tathā akamsu.**  
After going they did just that.

**Dārumaṇḍalam̐ patamānam̐ tassā pādapiṭṭhim̐ bhindi.**  
The circle of wood while falling cut off her toes.

**Dhammasabhāyam̐ sannipatitā puthujjanā sabbe**  
All the worldlings in the Doctrinal Hall, having gathered round,

**“Are, duṭṭhacori, tvam̐ evarūpassa Lokattayasāmino**  
said: “Hey, you wicked villain, to such a one as the Lord of the Three Worlds

**evarūpam̐ abbhakkhānam̐ akāsī!” ti**  
you have made such a slanderous remark!”

**uṭṭhahitvā ekekamuṭṭhippahāram̐ datvā,**  
and after rising up and each of them giving her a blow with their fists,

**sabhāya nīharimsu, dassanātikantāya pathavī vivaram-adāsi.**  
they drove her from the hall, and as she passed out of sight the earth opened up.<sup>58</sup>

**Tasmim̐ khaṇe Avīcito jālā uṭṭhahitvā**  
At that moment the flames of Avīci hell rose up

**kuladattikena rattakambaleneva tam̐ acchādetvā Avīcimhi pakkhipi,**  
and clothed with the scarlet blanket given by her family she fell into Avīci hell,

**Bhagavato lābhasakkāro atirekataro ahoṣi.**  
and the Fortunate One's gains and respect (increased) greatly.

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<sup>58</sup> Lit: *presented an opening.*

**Tena vuttam:**

Therefore it is said:

**Sabbābhibhussa Buddhassa Nando nāmāsi sāvako,**  
There was a disciple of Buddha<sup>59</sup> Sabbābhibhu named Nanda,

**Tam abbhakkhāya Niraye ciraṃ saṃsaritaṃ mayā, [70]**  
Through slandering him I transmigrated through Hell for a long time,<sup>60</sup>

**Dasavassasahassāni Niraye saṃsariṃ ciraṃ,**  
For ten thousand long years I transmigrated through Niraya hell,

**Manussabhāvaṃ laddhāhaṃ, abbhakkhānaṃ bahuṃ labhiṃ, [71]**  
When I received an existence as man, I received much slander,

**Tena kammāvesesena Ciñcamānavikā mamaṃ**  
Through the remainder of that deed the brahmin maiden named Ciñcā

**Abbhācikkhi abhūtena janakāyassa aggato. ti [72]**  
Slandered me with lies at the head of an assembly of people.

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<sup>59</sup> Identified as a Paccekabuddha in DPPN, though neither the text nor the commentary says as much; he is not mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the story of the Bodhisattva in his life as Abhiya in Mahāvastu, p. 35 ff., who is jealous by nature and slanders a disciple of the Buddha Sarvābhibhū named Nanda. There it is related he realises his mistake and apologises both to the Buddha and his disciple, and aspires to Buddhahood, which is then confirmed.

[Abbhakkhānam]

[3. Slander]

**Tatīyapañhe, abbhakkhānan-ti abhi akkhānam akkosanam.**

In the third enquiry, (called) slander, (we hear about) great lies and abuse.

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto apākaṭajātiyam,**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be, in a little known life,<sup>61</sup>

**uppanno Munāḷi nāma dhutto hutvā, dujjanasamsaggabalena**

after being reborn and becoming a scoundrel called Munāḷi, through the power of association with bad people

**Surabhiṃ nāma Paccekabuddham: “Dussīlo pāpadhammo ayaṃ bhikkhū” ti akkosi.**

abused the Independent Buddha called Surabhi, (saying): “This monk is unvirtuous and wicked.”

**So tena akusalena vacīkammena,**

Through that unwholesome verbal deed,

**bahūni vassasahassāni Niraye paccivā,**<sup>62</sup>

after boiling in the Niraya hell for many thousands of years,

**imasmiṃ pacchimattabhāve, dasapāramitāsamsiddhibalena,**

in this his last state, by the power of being successful in the ten perfections,

**Buddho jāto, lābhaggayasaggappatto ahoṣi.**

he became the Buddha, and attained the highest gains and fame.

**Puna titthiyā ussāhajātā:**

Again the sectarians became insolent (saying):

**“Katham nu kho samaṇassa Gotamassa ayasaṃ uppādessāmā?” ti**

“Now what will bring this ascetic Gotama to infamy?”

**dukkhī dummanā nisīdimsu.**

and they sat there pained and depressed.

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<sup>61</sup> We could also translate as: *in an (otherwise) unknown life*; probably mentioned as such because this life-story is not recorded in the Jātakas or elsewhere.

<sup>62</sup> SHB, PTS: *paccivā*; active form, as though he was boiling something, rather than being boiled.



**Tadā Sundarī nāmekā, paribbājikā te upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā ʃhitā,**  
Then a certain wanderer called Sundarī, after approaching and worshipping them  
stood there,

**tuṅhībhūte kiñci avadante disvā,**  
and seeing them silent and not speaking anything,

**“Kiṃ mayhaṃ doṣo” ti pucchi.**  
questioned (them, saying): “What is my fault?”

**“Samaṇena Gotamena<sup>63</sup> amhe viheṭṭhiyamāne**  
“We are being harassed by that ascetic Gotama

**tvam appossukkā viharissasi, idaṃ tava doṣo.” ti**  
and you are making no effort, that is your fault.”

**“Evam-ahaṃ tattha kiṃ karissāmi?” ti**  
“What should I do in this matter?”

**“Tvam samaṇassa Gotamassa avaṇṇaṃ uppādetuṃ sakkhissasi?” ti**  
“Will you be able to bring the ascetic Gotama into disrepute?”

**“Sakkhissāmi, ayyā” ti vatvā,**  
Having said: “I am able, noble ones”,

**tato paṭṭhāya vuttanayena diṭṭhaditṭhānaṃ**  
and because of that it is recorded that she was frequently seen (in the vicinity)

**“Samaṇena Gotamena ekagandhakuṭiyam sayitvā nikkhantā” ti vatvā,**  
and abused and censured (the Buddha) by saying: “After sleeping alone with the  
ascetic Gotama

**akkosati paribhāsati.**  
in the Fragrant Cottage I am leaving.”

**Titthiyā pi: “Passatha, bho, samaṇassa Gotamassa kamman!”-ti**  
And also the sectarians (saying): “Look, dear friends, at the ascetic Gotama's deed!”

**akkosanti paribhāsanti.**  
abused and censured (him).

**Vuttañ-hetaṃ:**  
And so this was said:

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<sup>63</sup> SHB, PTS: *Samaṇo Gotamo; the ascetic Gotama (harasses us).*

**Munāḷi nāmaham dhutto pubbe aññāya jātiyā,**  
In a previous life I was a scoundrel known as Munāḷi,

**Paccekabuddham Surabhiṃ abbhācikkhiṃ adūsakaṃ;** [67]  
I slandered the innocent Independent Buddha Surabhi;

**Tena kammavipākena Niraye saṃsariṃ ciraṃ,**  
Through that deed and through its result I long transmigrated through Hell,

**Bahū vassasahassāni, dukkhaṃ vedesi' vedanaṃ.** [68]  
For many thousands of years I experienced unpleasant feelings.

**Tena kammāvesesena, idha pacchimake bhava,**  
Through the remainder of that deed, here in my last existence,

**Abbhakkhānaṃ mayā laddhaṃ, Sundarikāya kāraṇā. ti** [69]  
I received (much) slander myself, at the hands of Sundarikā.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> See Udāna 4-8 for the Canonical story. We might translate Sundarikā as Little Sundarī, taking *-ikā* as diminutive, but it is fairly common in verse texts to add the affix to names to meet the requirements of the metre, with no change in meaning or identification intended.

[Abbhakkhānam]

[4. Slander]

**Catutthapañhe, abbhakkhānan-ti abhi visesena akkosanam paribhāsanam.**

In the fourth enquiry, (called) slander, (we hear about) especially great abuse and censuring.

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto Brāhmaṇakule uppanno,**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a Brahminical family,

**bahussuto bahūhi sakkato pūjito.**

and was very learned, much respected and worshipped.<sup>65</sup>

**Tāpasapabbajjam pabbajitvā,**

Having gone forth in the recluses' going-forth,

**Himavante vanamūlaphalāhāro,**

while living on forest roots and fruits in the Himālaya,<sup>66</sup>

**bahumāṇave mante vācento vāsam kappesi.**

he spent his time teaching the mantras<sup>67</sup> to many students.

**Eko pañcābhiññā-aṭṭhasamāpattilābhī tāpaso**

One recluse,<sup>68</sup> who had the five deep knowledges and the eight attainments

**tassa santikaṃ agamāsi.**

came (to stay) near to him.

**So tam disvā va, issāpakato, tam adūsakaṃ isim:**

Having seen him, being jealous by nature, he slandered that innocent seer (saying):

**“Kāmabhogī kuhako ayam isī” ti abbhācikkhi,**

“This seer is a deceitful sensualist,”

**attano sisse ca āha: “Ayam isi evarūpo anācārako.” ti**

and his pupils also said: “This seer is surely immoral.”

**Te pi tam-eva akkosimsu paribhāsimsu.**

They therefore abused and censured him.

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<sup>65</sup> His name at that time was Sutavā, as is recorded in the verses below.

<sup>66</sup> *Himavanta*; *having snow*, it is another name for the *Himālaya*, *the place of snow*. In the verses the place is called the Great Wood, but there are several woods so named in the texts, perhaps it was the Wood near to Kapilavatthu, which was on the edge of the Himālayas.

<sup>67</sup> The brahminical verses collected in the Vedas.

<sup>68</sup> Named Bhīma below.

**So tena akusalakammavipākena,**

Through that unwholesome deed and its result,

**vassasahassāni Niraye dukkham-anubhavitvā,**

after undergoing suffering in Niraya hell for many thousands of years,

**imasmiñ pacchimattabhāve Buddho hutvā, lābhaggayasaggappatto,**

and becoming a Buddha in this his last state, and attaining the highest gains and fame,

**ākāse puññacando viya pākaṭo jāto.**

he became famous and was like the full moon in the sky.

**Tatheva titthiyā abbhakkhānena pi asantuṭṭhā,**

Right there and then through slander the dissatisfied sectarians,

**puna pi Sundarikā abbhakkhānaṃ kāretvā,**

after making Sundarī slander (him) again,

**surādhitte pakkosāpetvā lañjaṃ datvā:**

summoning and bribing some drunken scoundrels,

**“Tumhe Sundariṃ māretvā,**

gave the order (saying): “After murdering Sundarī,

**Jetavanadvārasamīpe mālakacavarena chādetthā” ti<sup>69</sup> āṇāpesuṃ.**

throw her by the rubbish tip near the entrance to Jeta's Wood.”

**Te tathā karimsu.**

And that they did.

**Tato titthiyā: “Sundariṃ na passāmā” ti Rañño ārocesuṃ.**

Afterwards the sectarians informed the King saying: “We cannot find<sup>70</sup> Sundarī.”

**Rājā: “Pariyesathā” ti āha.**

The King said: “Search for her”.

**Te attanā pātitaṭṭhānato gahetvā,**

After retrieving her from the place where she was thrown,

**mañcakam āropetvā rañño dassetvā,**

bringing the bier and showing the King, (they said):

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<sup>69</sup> PTS: *chādetvā ṭhapethā ti*; an awkward phrase, *having thrown her near the rubbish tip, place (her) aside?*

<sup>70</sup> Lit: *Do not see.*

**“Passatha, bho, samañassa Gotamassa sāvakānaṃ kamman!”-ti**  
“Look, dear Sir, at what the ascetic Gotama's disciples have done!”

**Bhagavato bhikkhusaṅghassa ca,**  
(Then) about the Fortunate One and his Community of monks,

**sakalanagare avaṇṇaṃ ugghosentā vicariṃsu,**  
they went round shouting out dispraise in the whole town,

**Sundariṃ āmakasusāne aṭṭake ṭhapesuṃ.**  
and placed Sundarī on a platform in the charnel ground.<sup>71</sup>

**Rājā: “Sundarimārake pariyesathā!” ti āṇāpesi.**  
The King gave the order (saying): “Seek for Sundarī's murderer!”

**Tadā dhuttā sūraṃ pivivā,**  
Then after the scoundrels had drunk liquor,

**“Tvam Sundariṃ māresi, tvam māresi” ti kalahaṃ kariṃsu.**  
they made a commotion (accusing each other, saying): “You murdered Sundarī, you murdered (her)!”

**Rājapurisā te dhutte gahetvā, Rañño dassesuṃ.**  
The King's men, after arresting the scoundrels, brought<sup>72</sup> them to the King.

**Rājā: “Kiṃ, bhaṇe, tumhehi Sundarī mārītā?” ti**  
The King said: “Look here, did you murder Sundarī?”

**“Āma, devā.” ti**  
“Yes, your majesty.”

**“Kehi āṇattā?” ti**  
“The order was given by whom?”

**“Titthiyehi, devā.” ti**  
“By the sectarians, your majesty.”

**Rājā titthiye āharāpetvā bandhāpetvā:**  
The King, after having the sectarians brought and bound

**“Gacchatha, bhaṇe: ‘Buddhassa avaṇṇatthāya**  
said: “Look here, go and shout it out, saying: ‘In order to bring the Buddha into disrepute

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<sup>71</sup> The disposal of the body would be taken care of by birds and animals, as in the so-called ‘sky-burials’ of the Tibetans and the Parsees.

<sup>72</sup> Lit: *showed*.

**amhehi sayam-eva Sundarī mārāpitā,**  
we ourselves had Sundarī murdered,

**Bhagavā tassa sāvakā ca akārakā' ti ugghosathā' ti āha.**  
the Fortunate One and his disciples didn't do it."

**Te tathā akaṃsu.**  
And that they did.

**Sakalanagaravāsino nikkāṅkhā ahesuṃ.**  
All the town-dwellers regained confidence.

**Rājā titthiye ca dhutte ca mārāpetvā chaḍḍāpesi.**  
The King, after executing the sectarians and the scoundrels, had (their bodies) thrown aside.

**Tato Bhagavato bhiyyosomattāya lābhasakkāro vaḍḍhi.**  
Then the Fortunate One's gains and respect grew enormously.

**Tena vuttam:**  
Therefore it is said:

**Brāhmaṇo Sutavā āsiṃ ahaṃ sakkatapūjito,**  
As the brahmin Sutavā I was (greatly) respected and worshipped,

**Mahāvane pañcasate mante vācesi māṇave. [73]**  
I taught the mantras to my five hundred students in the Great Wood.

**Tatthāgato isī Bhīmo, pañcābhiñño mahiddhiko,**  
The seer Bhīma who had five knowledges and great power came there,

**Taṃ cāhaṃ āgataṃ disvā, abbhācikkhiṃ adūsakaṃ, [74]**  
And having seen him coming, I slandered that innocent (seer),

**Tatohaṃ avacaṃ sisse: 'Kāmabhogī ayaṃ isi'.**  
Thereupon I said to my pupils: 'This seer is a sensualist'.<sup>73</sup>

**Mayham-pi bhāsamānassa anumodiṃsu māṇavā. [75]**  
And (all) of the students rejoiced in that (unwholesome) speech of mine.

**Tato māṇavakā sabbe bhikkhamānaṃ kulākule,**  
Thence all the students as they begged for alms from family to family,

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<sup>73</sup> Lit: *one who enjoys sense pleasures.*

**Mahājanassa āhamsu: ‘Kāmabhogī ayam̐ isi’;** [76]

Said to the great (body) of people: ‘This seer is a sensualist’;

**Tena kammavipākena pañcabhikkhusatā ime**

Through that deed and through its result these monks (numbering) five hundred

**Abbhakkhānaṃ labhuṃ sabbe Sundarikāya kāraṇā. ti** [77]

All received (abundant) slander at the hands of Sundarikā.

[Silāvedho]

[5. Pierced by a Rock]

**Pañcamapañhe, silāvedho ti āhatacitto silaṃ pavijjhi.**

In the fifth enquiry, (called) pierced by a rock, (we hear about how) being angry<sup>74</sup> (Devadatta) threw a rock.

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto ca kaniṭṭhabhātā ca ekapituputtā ahesum.**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was the youngest brother of the children of one Father.<sup>75</sup>

**Te pitu accayena,<sup>76</sup> dāse paṭicca kalahaṃ karontā**

When the Father passed away,<sup>77</sup> making a commotion on account of the servants

**aññam-aññam viruddhā ahesum.**

the (brothers) became opposed to each other.

**Bodhisatto, attano balavabhāvena**

The Buddha-to-be, who was himself endowed with (great) strength,

**kaniṭṭhabhātaraṃ ajjhottharivā,**

after overcoming his younger brother,

**tassupari pāsāṇaṃ pavijjhesi.<sup>78</sup>**

threw a stone down on top of him (and killed him).

**So tena kammavipākena,**

Through that deed and its result,

**Narakādīsu anekavassasahassāni dukkham-anubhavitvā,**

after undergoing suffering in the Naraka hell and so on for countless thousands of years,

**imasmiṃ pacchimattabhāve Buddho jāto.**

he became a Buddha in this his last state of existence.

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<sup>74</sup> Mahāniddeśa-aṭṭhakathā: *āhatacittatan-ti kodhena pahatacittabhāvaṃ; āhatacittataṃ means being in a state overcome by anger.*

<sup>75</sup> This implies that the Father had children by more than one wife.

<sup>76</sup> SHB, PTS add: *dhane; (on account of) wealth (and the servants).*

<sup>77</sup> Lit: *at the end of the Father.*

<sup>78</sup> SHB: *tassa parisā naṃ pavijjhesi; threw him (and) his company.*



**Devadatto Rāhulakumārassa mātulo pubbe,**  
Formerly Devadatta, prince Rāhula's uncle,<sup>79</sup>

**Serivāṇijakāle Bodhisattena saddhiṃ vāṇijo ahoṣi.**  
was a merchant together with the Buddha-to-be in the time of the Seri merchant (story).<sup>80</sup>

**Te ekaṃ Paṭṭanagāmaṃ patvā:**  
Having reached the Paṭṭana village<sup>81</sup> they said:

**“Tvam ekavīthiṃ gaṇhāhi, aham-pi ekavīthiṃ gaṇhāmī,” ti dve pi pavitṭhā.**  
“You take one street, and I will take one street,” and they entered by two (ways).

**Tesu Devadattassa pavitṭhavīthiyaṃ**  
In the street by which Devadatta entered

**jiṇṇasetṭhibhariyā ca nattā ca dve yeva ahesuṃ.**  
there were two (people): an elderly merchant's wife and her grand-daughter.

**Tesaṃ mahantaṃ suvaṇṇathālakaṃ malaggahitaṃ**  
They had a large golden plate that had become stained

**bhājanantare ṭhapitaṃ hoti,**  
that was set aside inside an earthenware vessel,

**taṃ suvaṇṇathālakabhāvaṃ ajānantī,**  
and not knowing it was a golden plate,

**“Imaṃ thālakaṃ gahetvā piḷandhanaṃ dethā” ti āha.**  
she said: “Take this plate, and give a trinket.”<sup>82</sup>

**So taṃ gahetvā sūciyā lekhaṃ kaḍḍhitvā**  
Having taken it and scratched it with a needle

**suvaṇṇathālakabhāvaṃ ñatvā,**  
he knew it was a golden plate,

**“Thokaṃ datvā gaṇhissāmī” ti cintetvā gato.**  
and after considering: “I will take (it later) after giving but a little”, he went away.

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<sup>79</sup> He was Prince Siddhattha's wife's brother; he was also the Buddha's cousin, a Father's Brother's son.

<sup>80</sup> The reference is to the famous Serivāṇijajātika, Jā 3, which was the occasion for Devadatta to form an animosity for the Buddha-to-be that was to last up and till his last life. What follows is based on that story.

<sup>81</sup> Not listed in DPPN, but in the Jātaka they are said to have been in the Andha country (modern-day Andhra Pradesh).

<sup>82</sup> The trinket is for the grand-daughter.

**Atha Bodhisattam dvārasamīpam āgataṃ disvā:**

Then after seeing the Buddha-to-be approach her door (she said):

**“Nattā, Ayye, mayham<sup>83</sup> kacchapuṭam piṇandhanam dethā.” ti**

“Give my grand-daughter, noble Sir, a trinket (from) your basket.”

**Sā tam pakkosāpetvā nisīdāpetvā tam thālakam datvā:**

After summoning and making him sit down, and giving him the plate, she said:

**“Imam gahetvā mayham nattāya kacchapuṭam piṇandhanam dethā.” ti**

“Take this and give a trinket to my grand-daughter from your basket.”

**Bodhisatto tam gahetvā suvaṇṇathālakabhāvam ñatvā:**

The Buddha-to-be, after taking it and knowing it to be a golden plate

**“Tena vañcitā” ti ñatvā attano pasibbakāya,**

understood: “She is deceived about it,” and from his purse,

**ṭhapita-aṭṭhakahāpaṇe, avasesabhaṇḍañ-ca datvā,**

after setting aside eight pennies, and giving the rest of his goods,<sup>84</sup>

**kacchapuṭam piṇandhanam kumārikāya**

he (also) gave a trinket from his basket to the young girl

**hatthe piṇandhāpetvā agamāsi.**

and after ornamenting her hands, he went away.

**So vāṇijo punāgantvā pucchi,**

The (first) merchant having returned asked (her for the plate),

**“Tāta, tvaṃ na gaṇhittha,**

(but she said): “Son, I cannot give it,

**mayham putto idaṅ-cidaṅ-ca datvā tam gahetvā gato.” ti**

having given this and that to my child he took it and went away.”

**So tam sutvā va, hadayena phalitena viya, dhāvitvā anubandhi.**

Having heard that, like someone with a broken heart, he ran along (after him).

**Bodhisatto nāvam āruya pakkhandi.**

The Buddha-to-be had jumped onto a boat.

**So: “Tiṭṭha, mā palāyi, mā palāyī!” ti vatvā,**

After saying: “Stop, don't go, don't go!”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> SHB, PTS read: *disvāna nattā: ayyo, mayham...; the grand-daughter said: Noble Sir (give) to me...*

<sup>84</sup> He set aside eight pennies for his boat ride, and gave the rest of his money and goods.

<sup>85</sup> But the Buddha-to-be had already gone.

**“Nibbattanibbattabhavē taṃ nāsetuṃ samattho bhaveyyan!”-ti patthanāṃ akāsi.**  
he made a wish: “May I be able to destroy him in whatever state he re-arises!”

**So patthanāvasena, anekesu jātisatasahassesu aññam-aññam viheṭhetvā,**  
Because of that wish, after harassing one another in countless hundreds of thousands of lives,

**imasmiṃ attabhāve Sakyakule nibbattitvā,**<sup>86</sup>  
and arising in the Sakya family in this existence,

**kamena Bhagavati sabbaññutaṃ patvā,**  
and after the Fortunate One by and by attained omniscience,

**Rājagahe viharante,**  
while living near Rājagaha,<sup>87</sup>

**Anuruddhādīhi saddhiṃ Bhagavato santikaṃ gantvā pabbajitvā,**  
(Devadatta), after approaching and going forth in the presence of the Fortunate One together with Anuruddha and so on,

**jhānalābhī hutvā, pākaṭo Bhagavantam varam yāci:**  
and attaining the absorptions, being famous, begged the Fortunate One for a boon, saying:

**“Bhante, sabbo Bhikkhusaṅgho piṇḍapātikādīni terasa dhutaṅgāni samādiyatu,**  
“Venerable Sir, let the whole of the Community of monks undertake the thirteen austerities,<sup>88</sup>

**sakalo Bhikkhusaṅgho mama bhāro hotū.” ti**  
let the whole of my<sup>89</sup> Community of monks bear them.”

**Bhagavā na anujāni.**  
(But) the Fortunate One didn't give permission.

**Devadatto, veram bandhitvā, parihīnajjhāno.**  
Devadatta, overcome<sup>90</sup> with hatred, lost the absorptions.

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<sup>86</sup> SHB, PTS: *nibbattetvā*; causative, *made to arise*, which is not the case, he choose to arise.

<sup>87</sup> The Sakyans actually went forth in Anupiya in the Malla state (see Vinaya Cullavagga VII for the story), only after that did they go to Rājagaha, around 250 kilometres away.

<sup>88</sup> From the Vinaya account (Cullavagga, VII, near the end of the second bhāṇavāra) it appears that he did not ask the Buddha for the monks to undertake the thirteen austerities, but to abide by five rules: they should dwell all their lives in the forest, live entirely on alms obtained by begging, wear only robes made of discarded rags, dwell at the foot of a tree and abstain completely from fish and flesh (this last one is not part of the thirteen austerities). The Buddha refused to make these compulsory.

<sup>89</sup> Devadatta seems already to be claiming leadership of the Community.

<sup>90</sup> Lit: *bound with*.

**Bhagavantam māretukāmo,**  
Desiring to murder the Fortunate One,

**ekadivasam Vebhārapabbatapāde ʘhitassa Bhagavato,**  
one day while the Fortunate One was standing at the foot of Mt. Vebhāra,<sup>91</sup>

**upari ʘhito pabbatakūṭam paviddhesi.**  
while standing on the top of the mountain he threw (a rock).

**Bhagavato ānubhāvena aparo pabbatakūṭo**  
Through the power of the Fortunate One another mountain<sup>92</sup>

**taṃ patamānam sampaṭicchi,**  
caught it as it fell,

**te saṅghaṭṭanena uṭṭhitā papaṭikā āgantvā**  
(but) after approaching a splinter broke off and by striking him

**Bhagavato pādapiṭṭhiyaṃ pahari.**  
gave a blow on the toes on the Fortunate One's foot.

**Tena vuttam:**  
Therefore it is said:

**Vemātubhātaram pubbe dhanahetu hanim<sup>93</sup> aham,**  
In the (distant) past I killed my half-brother<sup>94</sup> for the sake of wealth,

**Pakkhipim giriduggasim, silāya ca apimsayim; [78]**  
I threw him in an inaccessible mountain, and crushed him with a rock;

**Tena kammavipākena Devadatto silam khiṇi,**  
Through that deed and its result Devadatta threw a rock (at me),

**Aṅguṭṭham pimsayī pāde mama pāsāṇasakkharā. ti [79]**  
Which crushed the big toe on my foot with a shard which was made of stone.

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<sup>91</sup> According to other accounts he was on the slopes of Vulture's Peak (Gijjhakūta).

<sup>92</sup> Which miraculously sprang up.

<sup>93</sup> SHB, PTS: *bhanim; quarreled (with)?*

<sup>94</sup> In Pāli it is more specific: one with a different Mother but the same Father.

[Sakalikāvedho]  
[6. Pierced by a Splinter]

**Chaṭṭhapañhe, sakalikāvedho ti sakalikāya ghaṭṭanam.**

In the sixth enquiry, (called) pierced by a splinter, (we hear about how) he was struck by a splinter.

**Aṭṭe kira Bodhisatto ekasmiṃ kule nibbato,**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a certain family,

**daharakāle mahāvīthiyam kīlamāno,**

and while playing on the main street during his childhood,

**vīthiyam piṇḍāya caramānam Paccekabuddham disvā:**

after seeing an Independent Buddha walking along that street for alms, thinking:

**“Ayaṃ muṇḍako samaṇako kuhiṃ gacchatī?” ti**

“Where is this little shaveling ascetic going?”

**pāsāṇasakalikam gahetvā, tassa pādapiṭṭhiyam khiṇi.**

and taking a splinter of stone, he threw it at his toes.

**Pādapiṭṭhicammaṃ chinditvā ruhiram nikkhami.**

After cutting the skin on the toes blood flowed forth.

**So tena pāpakammaṇa,**

Through that wicked deed,

**anekavassasahassāni Niraya mahādukkham anubhavitvā,**

after undergoing great suffering in Niraya hell for countless thousands of years,

**Buddhabhūto pi.**

he became a Buddha.

**Kammapiṭṭhikavasena,**

Because of the connection with that deed,

**pādapiṭṭhiyam pāsāṇasakalikaghaṭṭanena ruhiruppādam labhi.**

by being struck with a stone splinter on his toes blood flowed forth.<sup>95</sup>

**Tena vuttam:**

Therefore it is said:

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<sup>95</sup> Lit: *he suffered the arising of blood*. The story again doesn't fit the verse, which tells that the Buddha was attacked by archers sent to kill him; they did not, however, manage to hurt him, and certainly did not cut his foot which belongs to the rock throwing incident, reported in the previous story.

**Pureham dārako hutvā, kīlamāno mahāpathe,**  
Having become a boy in the past, while playing on the highway,

**Paccekabuddham disvāna magge sakalikaṃ khiṇiṃ;** [80]  
Seeing an Independent Buddha on the road, I threw a stone;

**Tena kammavipākena idha pacchimake bhave**  
Through that deed and through its result here in (this) my last existence

**Vadhattham mam Devadatto abhimāre payojayī. ti**<sup>96</sup> [81]  
Devadatta tried to kill me by employing evil bandits.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> This last verse reads differently in SHB and PTS: *Tena kammavipākena Buddhahūtassa me sato, Paviddhesi silam tattha Devadatto vighaṭṭavā ti* (PTS: *vigātavā ti*); *through that deed and its result, when I had become a Buddha, Devadatta who was angry threw a rock (at me) in that place.*

<sup>97</sup> Actually archers provided by King Ajātasattu.

[Nāḷāgiri]

[7. The Elephant Nāḷāgiri]

**Sattamaṇṇhe, Nāḷāgiriṃ ti Dhanapālako hatthī māraṇatthāya pesito.**

In the seventh enquiry, (called) Nāḷāgiri, (we hear about how) the elephant Dhanapālaka was sent in order to kill (the Buddha).

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto, hatthigopako hutvā,**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be, after becoming an elephant's groom,

**nibbatta hatthim āruya,**

rose onto an elephant,

**vicaramāno mahāpathe Paccekabuddham disvā,**

and after seeing an Independent Buddha walking on the Highway,

**“Kuto gacchati ayam muṇḍako?” ti**

he said: “Where is this shaveling going?”

**āhatacitto khilajāto tam hatthinā āsādesi.**

being angry and stubborn he assaulted him with his elephant.

**So tena kammena apāyesu anekavassasahassāni dukkham anubhavitvā,**

Having undergone suffering in the lower realms for countless thousands of years through that deed,

**pacchimattabhāve Buddho jāto.**

he became a Buddha in his last state of existence.

**Devadatto Ajātasatturājānam sahāyam katvā,**

After Devadatta had become friends with King Ajātasattu,

**“Tvam, Mahārāja, Pitaram ghātetvā Rājā hohi,**

he said: “Great King, after killing your Father you will become King,

**aham Buddham māretvā, Buddho bhavissāmī!” ti**

and after murdering the Buddha, I will be the Buddha!”

**Saññāpetvā ekadivasam Rañño anuññātāya, hatthisālam gantvā,**

After having this thought, one day, with the King's permission, after going to the elephant stall,

**“Sve tumhe Nāḷāgiriṃ soḷasasurāghaṭe pāyevā,**

he gave this order to the elephant groom: “Tomorrow, after making Nāḷāgiri drink sixteen pots of liquor,

**Bhagavantam piṇḍāya caraṇavelāyam pesethā!” ti hatthigopake āṇāpesi.**

send him out during the time the Fortunate One is walking for alms!”

**Sakalanagaram mahākolāhalaṃ ahoṣi,**  
There was a great uproar in the whole town,

**“Buddhanāgena hatthināgassa yuddhaṃ passissāma!” ti**  
and they said: “We will see a battle between the noble<sup>98</sup> Buddha and the noble elephant!”

**ubhato rājavīthiyāṃ mañcātimañcaṃ bandhitvā,**  
and having set up terraced stands on both sides along the royal highway,

**pāto va sannipatimsu.**  
they assembled in the morning.

**Bhagavā pi katasarīrapaṭijaggano,**  
The Fortunate One, after tending to his bodily needs,

**Bhikkhusaṅghaparivuto Rājagahaṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi.**  
surrounded by the Community of monks entered Rājagaha for alms.

**Tasmiṃ khaṇe vuttaniyāmeneva Nālāgiriṃ vissajjesuṃ.**  
At that time in accordance with the order that had been given Nālāgiri was released.

**So vīthicaccarādayo vidhamento āgacchati.**  
He came making (all) scatter at the crossroads and so on.

**Tadā ekā itthi dāraḥkaṃ gahetvā, vīthito vīthiṃ gacchati,**  
Then a certain girl being seized (with fear) ran from street to street,

**hatthī taṃ itthiṃ disvā, anubandhi.**  
and the elephant,<sup>99</sup> having seen that girl, pursued her.

**Bhagavā: “Nālāgiri, na taṃ hanatthāya pesito, idhāgacchāhi!” ti āha.**  
The Fortunate One said: “Nālāgiri you were not sent to kill her, come here!”

**So taṃ saddaṃ sutvā, Bhagavantābhimukho dhāvi.**  
Having heard that sound, he ran right at the Fortunate One.

**Bhagavā aparimāṇesu cakkavāḷesu anantasattesu pharaṇārahaṃ mettaṃ**  
The Fortunate One suffused beings without end in the measureless universe with loving-kindness

**ekasmim yeva Nālāgirimhi phari.**  
and also suffused Nālāgiri.

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<sup>98</sup> *Nāga* is a word with many meanings, including nobility, strength and anything that possesses these qualities like a cobra, an elephant, a noble person – the Buddha is many times referred to as a *nāga* in the early texts.

<sup>99</sup> A regular word for an *elephant*, it literally means, *one with a hand(-like trunk)*.



**So Bhagavatā mettāya phuṭo, nibbhayo hutvā,**

Being suffused with loving-kindness by the Fortunate One, after losing his fear,

**Bhagavato pādamūle nipati.**

he threw himself at the feet<sup>100</sup> of the Fortunate One.

**Bhagavā tassa matthake hattham ṭhapesi.**

The Fortunate One placed his hand on his head.

**Tadā devabrahmādayo, acchariyabbhutajātacittā,**

Then the gods, deities and so on, their minds marvelling and wondering,

**pupphaparāgādīhi pūjesum.**

worshipped him with fragrant powder and so on.

**Sakalanagare jaṇṇukamattā dhanarāsayo ahesum.**

The whole city became filled with a heap of wealth knee-deep.

**Rājā: “Pacchimadvāre dhanāni nagaravāsīnam hontu,**

The King had the drums beaten (and said): “The wealth up to the West gate is for the town-dwellers,

**Puratthimadvāre dhanāni Rājabhaṇḍāgāre hontū!” ti bherim carāpesi.**

the wealth up to the East gate is for the King's treasury!”

**Sabbe tathā karimsu.**

And they all did that.

**Tadā Nāḷāgiri Dhanapālo nāma ahosi.**

Then Nāḷāgiri gained the name Dhanapāla.<sup>101</sup>

**Bhagavā Veḷuvanārāmaṃ agamāsi.**

And the Fortunate One returned to the Bamboo Monastery.

**Tena vuttam:**

Therefore it is said:

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<sup>100</sup> Lit: *the root of the feet*, which is unidiomatic in English.

<sup>101</sup> Meaning *Protector of the Wealth*.

**Hatthāroho pure āsīm, Paccekamunim-uttamam**  
Before I was a mahout. While a supreme Independent Sage

**Piṇḍāya vicarantam tam, āsādesim gajenaham; [82]**  
Was wandering for his almsfood, I struck him with my elephant;

**Tena kammavipākena bhanto Nālāgiri gajo**  
Through that deed and its result, elephant Nālāgiri swaying

**Giribbaje puravare dāruṇo maṃ upāgamī. ti [83]**  
Violently rushed at me in the city of Giribbaja.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Another name for Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha.

[**Satthacchedo**]  
[**8. Cut with a Knife**]

**Aṭṭhamapañhe, satthacchedo ti satthena gaṇḍaphālanam kuṭhārāya satthena chedo.**

In the eighth enquiry, (called) cut with a knife, (we hear about how) an abscess was lanced with a knife, how with a knife, or a scalpel, it was cut.

**Aṭṭe kira Bodhisatto paccantadese Rājā ahoṣi.**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was a King in a border country.

**So dujjanasaṃsaggavasena paccantadese,**

Through association with bad people in the border country,

**vāsavasena ca dhutto sāhasiko,**

and because of living with a violent scoundrel,

**ekadivasam khaggahattho pattiko va nagare vicaranto**

one day while walking through the town on foot with a sword in his hand

**nirāparādhe jane khaggena phāleno agamāsi.**

he went around cutting guiltless people down with the sword.

**So tena pāpakammavipākena,**

Through that unwholesome deed and its result,

**bahūni vassasahassāni Niraye paccivā,**

after boiling in Niraya hell for many thousands of years,

**tiracchānādīsu dukkham-anubhavivā,**

and undergoing suffering in the animal world and so on,

**pakkāvasesena pacchimattabhāve Buddhabhūto pi**

through the remainder of the result (of that deed), after becoming the Buddha in his last state of existence,

**heṭṭhā vuttanayena**

it is recorded that while he was below<sup>103</sup>

**Devadattena khittapāsāṇasakalikapahārena utṭhitagaṇḍo ahoṣi.**

Devadatta struck a blow with a stone splinter he had thrown and an abscess arose (on his foot).

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<sup>103</sup> Walking on the slopes of Gijjhakūta near Rājagaha.

**Jīvako mettacittena taṃ gaṇḍaṃ phālesi.**

Jīvaka<sup>104</sup> lanced that abscess with his mind full of loving-kindness.

**Veracittassa Devadattassa ruhiruppādakammaṃ anantarikaṃ ahoṣi,**

Through that deed of causing blood to flow (in a Buddha) there was a (result) immediately (after this life) for Devadatta,<sup>105</sup> whose mind was full of hate,

**mettacittassa Jīvakassa gaṇḍaphālanam puññam-eva ahoṣi.**

through lancing that abscess there was (great) merit for Jīvaka, whose mind was full of loving-kindness.<sup>106</sup>

**Tena vuttaṃ:**

Therefore it is said:

**Rājāhaṃ pattiko āsiṃ sattiyā purise haniṃ;**

(When) I was a King (going round) on foot I killed men with my sword;

**Tena kammavipākena Niraye paccasiṃ bhusaṃ, [84]**

Through that deed and its result I suffered much in Niraya hell,

**Kammuno tassa sesena, idāni sakalam mama**

Through the remainder of that deed, at this time all the (unbroken)

**Pāde chaviṃ pakappesi<sup>107</sup> – na hi kammaṃ vinassatī. ti [85]**

Skin on my foot was cut – deeds are never destroyed (without result).<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> The Buddha was carried in great pain to the Mango Wood where Jīvaka Komārabhacca, who acted as physician for the Buddha and for the monks, treated him.

<sup>105</sup> *Anantarika*, means a deed that causes a result that follows immediately and irrecoverably after this life (not immediately after the deed itself), and this happened before some of the other attacks Devadatta made on the Buddha. Eventually the ground opened and Devadatta fell into the Avīci (unmitigated) hell, where, it is said, he will suffer for one hundred thousand kappas, before being reborn and becoming an Independent Buddha called Atthissara.

<sup>106</sup> There is an interesting emphasis on the state of mind in this sentence. Devadatta and Jīvaka both did the same thing: they cut the Buddha's foot, but one acted out of hatred and the other out of loving-kindness, and so the result was different.

<sup>107</sup> SHB: *Pāde satthapaṇāmesi*; PTS: *Pāde satthaṃ paṇāmesi*; *he stretched out a knife on my foot?*

<sup>108</sup> Not destroyed without producing results first, is what is meant.

[Sīsadukkham]  
[9. A Headache]

**Navamapañhe, sīsadukkhan-ti sīsābādho sīsavedanā.**

In the ninth enquiry, (called) a headache, (we hear about how he had) a pain in the head, painful feeling in the head.

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto kevaṭṭagāme kevaṭṭo hutvā nibbatti.**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn as a fisherman in a fisherman's village.

**So ekadivasam kevaṭṭapurisehi saddhim,**

One day, together with the fishermen,

**macchamāraṇaṭṭhānam gantvā,**

after going to the place where they murder fish,

**macche mārente disvā, tattha somanassam uppādesi,**

and seeing fish being murdered, happiness arose right there,

**sahagatāpi tatheva somanassam uppādayimsu.**

and also right there and then happiness arose for those he was with.

**So tena akusalakammena,**

Through that unwholesome deed,

**caturāpāye<sup>109</sup> dukkham-anubhavivā,**

after undergoing suffering in the four lower realms,

**imasmiṃ pacchimattabhāve, tehi purisehi saddhim,**

in this his last state of existence, together with those men,

**Sakyarājakule nibbattivā, kamena Buddhattam patto pi**

after being born in the Royal Sakya family, and by and by attaining to Buddhahood

**sayam sīsābādham paccanubhosi.**

he himself suffered from pain in the head.

**Te ca Sakyarājāno dhammapadaṭṭhakathāyam vuttanayena:**

And about the Sakyan Royalty (and their fate) it is recorded in the discussion in the commentary to the Dhammapada:

**Viḍḍabhasaṅgāme sabbe vināsam pāpuṇimsu.**

in the battle with Viḍḍabha they all came to destruction.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> SHB: *catuniraye*; I do not know of a classification of four *niraya*; but the four lower worlds: hell (*niraya*), the animal world (*tiracchāna*), hungry ghosts (*peta*) and demons (*asura*) is normal.

**Tena vuttam:**

Therefore it is said:

**Ahaṃ kevaṭṭagāmasmiṃ ahuṃ kevaṭṭadārako,**  
(Before) I was a fisherman's son in a fisherman's village,

**Macchake ghātite disvā janayim somanassakaṃ;** [86]  
Having seen fish being killed it produced a little happiness;

**Tena kammavipākena sīsadukkhāṃ ahū mama,**  
Through that deed and through its result I had a (great) pain in my head,

**Sabbe Sakkā ca haññimsu yadā hani Viḍūḍabho. ti** [87]  
And all the Sakyans were killed when Viḍūḍabha slay them.

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<sup>110</sup> In the commentary to verse 47, entitled The Story of Viḍūḍabha (*Viḍūḍabhavathu*).

[Yavakhādanam]  
[10. Eating Barley]

**Dasamapañhe, yavakhādanan-ti Verañjāyaṃ yavataṇḍulakhādanam.**

In the tenth enquiry, (called) eating barley, (we hear about) eating husked barley.<sup>111</sup>

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto aññatarasmim kule nibbato,**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a certain family,

**jātivasena ca andhabālabhāvena ca,**

and because of his (high) birth and being blinded by foolishness,

**Phussassa Bhagavato sāvake**

having seen the disciples of the Fortunate One Phussa

**madhurannapāne sālibhojanādayo ca bhuñjamāne disvā,**

enjoying sweet drinks and food and the finest rice and so on,

**“Are muṇḍakasamaṇā yavaṃ khādatha,**

he scolded them (saying): “Hey, you shaveling ascetics should eat barley,

**mā sālibhojanam bhuñjathā!” ti akkosi.**

you shouldn't enjoy the finest rice!”

**So tena akusalakammavipākena,**

Through that unwholesome deed and its result,

**anekavassasahassāni caturāpāye dukkham-anubhavitvā,**

after undergoing suffering in the four lower realms for countless thousands of years,

**imasmim pacchimattabhāve, kamena Buddhattaṃ patvā,**

in this his last state of existence, having by and by attained to Buddhahood,

**lokasaṅgahaṃ karonto, gāmanigamarājadhānīsu caritvā,**

having sympathy for the world, after walking in the villages, towns and royal cities,

**ekasmim samaye, Verañjabrahmaṇagāmasamīpe,**

at one time, in the vicinity of the brahminical village of Verañjā,

**sākhāviṭapasaṃpannam Pucimandarukkhamaṃ pāpuṇi.**

he arrived at the root of a Margosa tree endowed with spreading<sup>112</sup> branches.

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<sup>111</sup> *Taṇḍula* means *husked rice* normally, but in the story there is no mention of rice being served with the barley, so I take it it must mean *husked barley*.

<sup>112</sup> See *Viṭapa* in SED for this meaning, which goes unnoticed in PED.

**Verañjabrāhmaṇo Bhagavantam upasaṅkamtivā,**

A Verañjā brahmin,<sup>113</sup> having approached the Fortunate One,

**anekapariyāyena Bhagavantam jinitum asakkonto,**

being unable to overcome the Fortunate One in any way,

**Sotāpanno hutvā,**

after becoming a Stream-Enterer,

**“Bhante, idheva Vassam upagantum vaṭṭati” ti ārādhesi.**<sup>114</sup>

invited him saying: “Venerable Sir, please undertake to spend the Rains Retreat here.”

**Bhagavā tuṅhībhāvena adhivāsesi.**

The Fortunate One consented by remaining silent.

**Atha punadivasato paṭṭhāya Māro Pāpimā**

Then, beginning on the following day, the Wicked Māra

**sakala-Verañjabrāhmaṇagāmaṁvāsīnam Mārāvaṭṭanam akāsi.**

possessed the whole of those dwelling in the brahmin village of Verañjā.

**Piṇḍāya pavitṭhassa Bhagavato**

And when the Fortunate One entered (the village) for alms

**Mārāvaṭṭanavasena**<sup>115</sup> **eko pi kaṭacchubhikkhāmattam dātā nāhosi.**

because of being possessed by Māra they did not give even one spoon of almsfood.

**Bhagavā tucchapatto va Bhikkhusaṅghaparivuto punāgañchi.**

The Fortunate One, surrounded by the Community of monks, returned with an empty bowl.

**Tasmiṁ evaṁ āgate tattheva nivuṭṭhā assavāṇijā**

A horse merchant arrived at the very place where they resided

**tam divasam dānam datvā,**

and after giving a gift (of almsfood) that day,

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<sup>113</sup> The whole story of the Buddha's residence in Verañjā, the famine that prevailed at that time and the conversations he had with the Verañjā brahmin is related at the very beginning of the Vinayapiṭaka. Suttavibhaṅga, 1 ff. The discussion with the brāhmin in which the Buddha counters his accusations, and eventually teaches him the Four Noble Truths, can be found there and also in the Verañjasutta of Aṅguttaranikāya: AN Bk. 8, Ch. 2, Su. 1.

<sup>114</sup> ChS, Thai: *ārocesi*; *addressed (him)*.

<sup>115</sup> SHB: *Mārāvesavasena*; *because of Māra in disguise?*



**tato paṭṭhāya Bhagavantam<sup>116</sup> pañcasatabhikkhuparivāram nimantetvā,**  
and inviting the Fortunate One surrounded by his five hundred monks thenceforth,

**pañcannam assasatānam bhattato vibhāgam katvā,<sup>117</sup> yavam koṭṭetvā,**  
and dividing a share from the five-hundred horses, and crushing the barley,

**bhikkhūnam pattesu pakkhipimsu.<sup>118</sup>**  
he dropped it in the monks' bowls.

**Sakalasdahasahassacakkavāḷadevatā sujātāya**  
All the well-born gods from the whole of the ten-thousand universes

**pāyāsapacanadivase viya dibbojam pakkhipimsu.**  
dropped in godly nutrients so that it was like freshly cooked milk-rice.

**Bhagavā paribhuñji, evam temāsam yavam paribhuñji.**  
The Fortunate One partook (of the food), and so for three months he partook of  
barley.

**Temāsaccayena, Māravaṭṭane vigate, Pavāraṇādivase,**  
At the end of three months, being no longer possessed by Māra, on the Invitation Day,

**Verañjo brāhmaṇo saritvā mahāsamvegappatto,**  
the Verañjā brahmin, after remembering (his duties), becoming very anxious,

**Buddhappamukhassa Bhikkhusaṅghassa mahādānam datvā,**  
giving a great gift of almsfood to the Community of monks with the Buddha at its  
head,

**vanditvā khamāpesi.**  
and worshipping, begged for forgiveness.

**Tena vuttam:**  
Therefore it is said:

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<sup>116</sup> SHB: *vassam nivutthassa pañcasatabhikkhuparivārassa Bhagavato*; (and inviting) the  
Fortunate One surrounded by five-hundred monks to dwell for the Rains Retreat.

<sup>117</sup> SHB, PTS add: *temāsam posemā ti mantetvā*; after pronouncing: we will support (you) for  
three months.

<sup>118</sup> SHB: *patte pakkhīpanti*; present tense.

**Phussassāham pāvācane sāvake paribhāsayim:**

I blamed the teachings and disciples of (Buddha) Phussa (saying):

**“Yavaṃ khādatha bhuñjatha, mā ca bhuñjatha sālayo”;** [88]

“You should eat and enjoy barley, you should not enjoy this fine rice;”

**Tena kammavipākena temāsaṃ khāditam yavaṃ**

Through that deed and its result for three months I ate (only) barley

**Nimantito brāhmaṇena Verañjāyaṃ vasiṃ tadā. ti** [89]

When invited by the brahmin to dwell (three months) in Verañjā.

[Piṭṭhidukkhāṃ]

[11. Backache]

**Ekādasamapañhe, piṭṭhidukkhā-ti piṭṭhi-ābādho.**

In the eleventh enquiry, (called) backache, (we hear how he had) pain in the back.

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto gahapatikule nibbatto**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a householder's family

**thāmasampanno, kiñci rassadhātuko ahosi.**

and was endowed with strength, although somewhat short by nature.

**Tena samayena eko mallayuddhayodho**

At that time there was one wrestling-contest champion

**sakala-Jambudīpe gāmanigamarājadhānīsu,**

in the villages, towns and royal cities in the whole of the Rose-Apple Island who,

**mallayuddhe vattamāne purise pātetvā, jayappatto,**

after throwing men in a wrestling contest, achieved success,

**kamena Bodhisattassa vasananagaram patvā,**

and by and by having arrived at the Buddha-to-be's residential town,

**tasmim-pi jane pātetvā, gantum-āraddho.**

and throwing people there, got ready to go.

**Tadā Bodhisatto: “Mayhaṃ vasanaṭṭhāne esa jayam patvā, gacchatī,” ti**

Then the Buddha-to-be thinking: “Having achieved success in this my place of residence, he is going”,

**tattha nagaramaṇḍalam-āgamma, appoṭetvā āgaccha,**

coming right there to the town centre, and slapping his arms,<sup>119</sup>

**“Mayā saddhim yujjhitvā, gacchā.” ti**

said: “Come, after fighting with me, you can go.”

**So hasitvā: “Ahaṃ mahante purise pātesim!**

After laughing: “I have thrown huge men!

**Ayam rassadhātuko vāmanako,**

This dwarf, who is short by nature,

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<sup>119</sup> This rare verb may mean *clapping his hands*, but it occurs in other places in connection with wrestling, and may have been a way of brandishing one's strength.

**mama ekahatthassāpi nappahotī,” ti appoṭetvā naditvā āgañchi.**

is not able (to fight) even with one of my hands,” and slapping his arms and roaring he came on.

**Te ubho pi aññam-aññam hattham parāmasimsu,**

They both grabbed each other by the arm,

**Bodhisatto taṃ ukkhipitvā ākāse bhamitvā,**

and the Buddha-to-be after lifting him and swirling him around in the sky,

**bhūmiyaṃ pātentō khandhaṭṭhim bhinditvā pātesi.**

throwing him on the floor, threw him (again), breaking his back-bone.

**Sakalanagaravāsino ukkuṭṭhim karontā,<sup>120</sup>**

All the town dwellers made acclamation,

**appoṭetvā<sup>121</sup> vatthābharaṇādīhi Bodhisattaṃ pūjesuṃ.**

and after slapping their arms, they honoured the Buddha-to-be with clothes, decorations and so on.

**Bodhisatto taṃ mallayodham ujum sayāpetvā,**

The Buddha-to-be, after laying that wrestler straight,

**khandhaṭṭhim ujukam katvā,**

and straightening his back-bone,

**“Gaccha ito, paṭṭhāya evarūpaṃ mā karosī” ti vatvā uyyojesi.**

dismissed him saying: “Go from here, and henceforth do not behave in this way.”

**So tena kammavipākena,**

Through that deed and its result,

**nibbattanibbattabhava sarīrasīsādi dukkham-anubhavitvā,**

after undergoing suffering in his body, head and so on, in rebirth after rebirth,

**imasmim pacchimattabhāve,**

in this his last state of existence,

**Buddhabhūto pi piṭṭhirujādidukkham-anubhosi.**

having become a Buddha he also suffered with pain in the back and so on.

**Tasmā kadāci piṭṭhidukkhe uppanne,**

Therefore sometimes when his back pain arose,

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<sup>120</sup> SHB, PTS: *ukkuṭṭhasaddam karonto*; making a sound of acclamation.

<sup>121</sup> PTS: *appoṭhetvā vaggantā*; as above; SHB: *appoṭhento vaggantā*; slapping their arms and jumping.

**Sāriputtamoggallāne: “Ito paṭṭhāya Dhammaṃ desethā” ti vatvā,**  
after saying to Sāriputta and Moggallāna: “Henceforth, please teach the Doctrine,”

**sayam Sugatacīvaram paññāpetvā sayati:**  
and preparing the Happy One's robe he lay down:

**kammapiṭikaṃ nāma Buddham-*api* na muñcati.**  
the Buddha was surely not free from the connection with that deed.

**Vuttañ-hetaṃ:**  
So this was said:

**Nibbuddhe vattamānamhi mallaputtaṃ niheṭhayim;<sup>122</sup>**  
Once while I was wrestling I badly injured another wrestler;

**Tena kammavipākena piṭṭhidukkhaṃ ahū mamā. ti [90]**  
Through that deed and through its result I suffered a pain in my back.

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<sup>122</sup> SHB, PTS: *nisedhayim*; *restrained*, which doesn't seem strong enough. The word *niheṭhayim* seems only to occur here and in parallel passages, I translate it as an emphatic of *heṭhayim*, which makes sense contextually.

[Atisāro]  
[12. Dysentery]

**Dvādasamapañhe, atisāro ti lohitapakkhandikā virecanam̐.**

In the twelfth enquiry, (called) dysentery, (we hear about him) purging bloody dysentery.

**Atīte kira Bodhisatto gahapatikule nibbatto,**

In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a householder's family,

**vejjakammena jīvikam̐ kappesi.**<sup>123</sup>

and earned his living through medical treatment.

**So ekam̐ seṭṭhiputtam̐ rogena pīlitam̐ tikicchanto**

One day while treating a merchant's son who was oppressed by disease

**bhesajjam̐ katvā tikicchitvā,**

having given medicine and cured him,

**tassa deyyadhammadāne pamādam-āgamma,**

because (the patient) was heedless in giving a gift to him,<sup>124</sup>

**aparam̐ osadham̐ datvā, vamanavirecanam̐ akāsi.**

he gave him another medicine, and made him vomit.

**Seṭṭhi bahudhanam̐ adāsi.**

(Then) the merchant gave him a great deal of wealth.

**So tena kammavipākena,**

Through that deed and its result,

**nibbattanibbattabhava lohitapakkhandikābādhena virecito ahosi.**

he purged with the affliction of bloody dysentery in rebirth after rebirth.

**Imasmim-pi pacchimattabhāve, Parinibbānasamaye,**

Also in this his last state of existence, near the time he attained Final Emancipation,<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> SHB, PTS: *vejjakamme cheko; so (SHB omits) vejjakammena jīvikam̐ kappesi; was clever in medical treatment; and (he) earned his living through medical treatment.*

<sup>124</sup> It seems doctors in those times didn't have a fixed price, but accepted donations; in the Ayurveda tradition in Sri Lanka to this day the same practice prevails.

<sup>125</sup> See the Discourse about the Great Emancipation (DN 16), especially the opening of the fourth section for the canonical story.

**Cundena Kammāraputtena pacitasūkaramaddavassa –**

(through eating) tender pork that had been cooked by Cunda the Smith –

**sakalacakkavāḷadevatāhi pakkhittadibbojena āhārena saha –**

(even though) godly nutrients were dropped in by all the gods from the whole universe together with that food –

**bhuttakkhaṇe lohitapakkhandikā virecanam̐ ahosi,**

when he had eaten he purged with bloody dysentery,

**koṭṭisatasahassānam̐ hatthīnam̐ balaṃ khayam-agamāsi.**

and (he who had) the strength of a billion<sup>126</sup> elephants came to destruction.<sup>127</sup>

**Bhagavā Visākhapuṇṇamāyam̐,**

The Fortunate One on the Full-Moon night of Vesākha (in May),

**Kusinārāyam̐ Parinibbānatthāya<sup>128</sup> gacchanto,**

while going to Kusināra to attain Final Emancipation,

**anekesu ṭhānesu nisīdanto pipāsito, pānīyam̐ pivivā,**

at many places sat down because of thirst,<sup>129</sup> and after drinking water,

**mahādukkhena Kusināram̐ patvā,**

having (nearly) reached Kusināra with great suffering,

**paccūsasamaye Parinibbāyi.**

at the time of dawn attained Final Emancipation.

**Kammapilotikaṃ evarūpaṃ Lokattayasāmim-pi na vijahati.**

The Lord of the Three Worlds surely could not abandon the connection with that deed.

**Tena vuttam̐:**

Therefore it is said:

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<sup>126</sup> One hundred thousand times ten million.

<sup>127</sup> The commentary on DN 16 denies that the illness was connected to the food given by Cunda: *bhuttassa udapādi, na pana bhuttapaccayā; it occurred when he had eaten, but not because he had eaten.*

<sup>128</sup> SHB, PTS: *Nibbānatthāya*; however, he wasn't going for his *Nibbāna*, but for his *Parinibbāna*; *complete Emancipation*.

<sup>129</sup> The commentary to this discourse records that he had to sit down and rest twenty-five times on this his last walk.

**Tikicchako ahaṃ āsiṃ<sup>130</sup> seṭṭhiputtaṃ virecayim;**

At the time I was a physician I made a merchant's son purge;

**Tena kammavipākena hoti pakkhandikaṃ mama. [91]**

Through that deed and through its result I had amoebic dysentery.

**Evaṃ Jino viyākāsi Bhikkhusaṅghassa aggato,**

So the Victor explained at the head of the Community of monks,

**Sabbābhiññābalappatto, Anotatte mahāsare. ti**

The one with all knowledge and strength, at the great Lake Anotatta.

**Evaṃ paṭiññātapañhānaṃ,**

So he answered the enquiries,

**mātikāṭhapanavasena akusalāpadānaṃ samattaṃ nāma hoti ti vuttaṃ.**

and according to the arrangement of the tabulation, the unwholesome traditions are said to be complete.

**‘Itthaṃ sudan’-ti itthaṃ iminā pakārena heṭṭhā vuttanayena.**

‘In this way’ means it is recorded by this method from the beginning.<sup>131</sup>

**‘Sudan’-ti nipāto padapūraṇatthe āgato.**

‘Sudan’ simply has the meaning of an pleonestic particle.

\* \* \*

**Bhagavā bhāgyasampanno pūritapāramī Mahāsatto:**

The Fortunate One is endowed with good fortune, he is a Great Being who has fulfilled the perfections:

**Bhāgyavā bhaggavā yutto, bhagehi ca vibhattavā,**

Fortunate, devoted to good, having a share of the graces,

**Bhattavā vantagamano bhavesu Bhagavā tato. ti**

Graceful, gone to existences' end, thus he is the Fortunate One.

**Evaṃ-ādiguṇayutto Devātidevo Sakkātisakko**

Thus the one virtuous from the beginning, the one who is God of all Gods, Most Able of the Able,

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<sup>130</sup> SHB, PTS: *pure āsi*; *when he was (a physician) before*, but we would expect the Buddha to be speaking in the first person.

<sup>131</sup> *Heṭṭhā* normally means *from underneath, from below*, but here it must mean *from the beginning*.



**Brahmātibrahmā Buddhātibuddho,**

Supreme of those Supreme, Buddha amongst those who are Buddhas,

**so Mahākāruṇiko Bhagavā, attano Buddhacariyaṃ Buddhakāraṇaṃ,**

the Greatly Compassionate Fortunate One, spoke about his own life as Buddha and deeds as Buddha,

**sambhāvayamāno pākaṭaṃ kurumāno,**

making him famous and honoured,

**Buddhāpadāniyaṃ nāma Buddhakāraṇapakāsakaṃ nāma**

in what is known as the Traditions about the Buddha, the Publication of the Deeds of the Buddha,<sup>132</sup>

**Dhammapariyāyaṃ Dhammadesanaṃ suttaṃ abhāsīttha kathesī. ti**

he spoke this Doctrinal Instruction, this Doctrinal Teaching, this discourse.

*Iti Visuddhajanavilāsiniyā Apadāna-Aṭṭhakathāya,*

*Thus the Spendour of the Pure Ones,<sup>133</sup> the Commentary on the Traditions,*

*Buddha-Apadānasaṃvaṇṇanā Samattā*

*The Explanation of the Traditions about the Buddha is Complete*

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<sup>132</sup> This seems to be offered as an alternative title.

<sup>133</sup> This is the official title of the commentary to the Traditions.