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A Study of the Apadāna, Including an Edition and Annotated Translation of the Second, Third and Fourth Chapters

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Contents

ABSTRACT

The Apadāna is a Theravāda Buddhist text in the Pāli language which contains a large collection of "autohagiographies" in verse. It is under-researched, partly because the Pali Text Society edition of this text is not of a high standard and partly because very few of its poems have been translated into any European language. The aim of this thesis is to provide a better understanding of the Apadāna's content, its relationship to similar texts and the nature of its historical transmission. A series of textual comparisons revealed that the Apadāna has structural, stylistic and thematic similarities to a range of other early Buddhist texts. In particular, the system of karma underlying much of its narrative is reasonably consistent with that of several early Sanskrit *avadāna* collections, including its basic technical vocabulary. A major component of this thesis is an edition and annotated translation of the second, third and fourth chapters of the Apadāna. This new edition has been edited according to stemmatic principles, using a careful selection of nine palm leaf manuscripts (in Sinhala, Burmese and Khom scripts) and four printed editions (in Roman, Sinhala, Burmese and Thai scripts). The base text of this edition represents the reconstructed archetype of the selected manuscripts, corrected only where absolutely necessary. The corresponding annotated English translation has been produced with critical reference to the text's primary commentary in Pāli, the Apadānaṭṭhakathā, and a word-by-word Burmese language *nissaya* translation. A major finding is that existing printed editions of the Apadāna not infrequently include silent emendations of the received text and also often reproduce the "smoother" and more easily understood readings first produced during the editorial preparations to the "fifth Buddhist council" of 1871 in Mandalay. More generally, this thesis demonstrates the indispensability of manuscripts for the historical study of Pāli language and literature.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Pāli texts

Unless otherwise specified, citations of Pāli texts refer to the editions published by the Pali Text Society, for which the abbreviations and system of Cone (2001: x–xiv) have been used. Occasionally, citations of Pāli texts refer to editions not published by the Pali Text Society, in which case the following abbreviations have been used:

Bᵉ   Burmese edition = Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition

Cᵉ   "Ceylonese" (i.e. Sinhala) edition = Buddhajayantī Tripiṭaka edition

Sᵉ   "Siamese" (i.e. Thai) edition = Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka edition

General

Anav   Anavataptagāthā = Bechert 1961, cited by version (Gil refers to the Sanskrit version in the Gilgit manuscript of the Bhaiṣajyavastu), poem (with a Roman numeral, as per Bechert 1961) and verse number

Avś   Avadānaśataka = Speyer 1902–1909, cited by page and line number

BCE   Before the Common Era

BHS   Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

BHSD   *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* = Edgerton 1953a

CE   Common Era

CPD   *Critical Pāli Dictionary* = Trenckner et al 1924–2011

DIRI   Dhammachai International Research Institute

Divy   Divyāvadāna = Cowell and Neil 1886, cited by page and line number

DOP   *Dictionary of Pāli* = Cone 2001–

m.c.   *metri causa* (for the sake of metre)

MW	Monier-Williams 1899
P.	Pāli
PED	*Pali-English Dictionary* = Rhys Davids and Stede 1921–1925
PTS	Pali Text Society
S.	Sanskrit
s.v.	*sub voce* (under the word)
trans.	translated
§	section
§§	sections

1. Introduction to the Apadāna

1.1. Previous Western scholarship

The Apadāna is a composition in the Pāli language belonging to the Khuddakanikāya of the Theravādin Suttapiṭaka.[1] It is made up of individual *apadāna*s in verse, the great majority of which are hagiographies of monks and nuns depicting significant events spanning numerous rebirths. Because the stories are, for the most part, narrated by the protagonist in the first person, they might be labeled "autohagiographies". While the subject matter of these narratives varies, a major unifying theme is that appropriately performed meritorious deeds consistently yield extremely pleasant karmic fruits for their performers.

It was not until the very late nineteenth century that Western scholars devoted any serious attention to the Apadāna. Müller became acquainted with the Apadāna via the numerous quotations of this work in the Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā, of which he prepared an edition published in 1893. Besides providing comments on the nuns' *apadāna*s throughout his introduction to Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā (Müller 1893), he also wrote a paper concerning the Apadāna as a whole (Müller-Hess 1897). Just over a decade later, Bode (1911) made an edition, translation and study of the *apadāna* of Raṭṭhapāla. In a footnote at the end of her article, Bode (1911: 192n2) stated that she was then preparing an edition of the Apadāna for the Pali Text Society (PTS). It is unclear how far Bode advanced in this project, yet sometime before her death in 1922 she gave her Apadāna manuscripts to her friend and colleague, Lilley (Lilley 1927: x).[2]

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[1] In using the terms "Theravāda" and "Theravādin" in this thesis, I do not mean to imply that they have been unchanging constants throughout the history of Buddhism (in particular, see Skilling, Carbine, Cicuzza and Pakdeekham 2012).

[2] For an obituary of Bode, see Ridding 1922. In her editorial note for part two of the Tikapaṭṭhāna, Caroline Rhys Davids (1922: iii) wrote, "A first edition of the Apadāna—possibly not of the whole

Lilley prepared what has until recently been the only complete printed edition of the Apadāna in Roman script,[3] published by the PTS in two volumes between 1925 and 1927. This work is not without its problems. The text is based upon the following witnesses:[4] two manuscripts in Sinhala script, one of which was "full of gaps" (Lilley 1925: v); a transcript of a small section of the Apadāna which Lilley guessed was based on a Sinhala script manuscript (see § 4.1.2.1.8); and an incomplete transcript of a manuscript in Burmese script which Lilley guessed had been emended by its original owner, Müller.[5] In addition, quotations of the Apadāna in Müller's edition of the Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā were used.[6] Therefore, only one of the witnesses used to produce this edition covered the entire text. The editorial note to the first volume begins, "This first edition of the Apadāna in Roman type is necessarily tentative. It could hardly be otherwise considering the limited number and the imperfect character of the MSS. [i.e. manuscripts] available for the preparation of the text" (Lilley 1925: v). Lilley felt the finished product was so poor that, in her foreword to the second volume, she stated, "the completion of this first European edition of Apadāna is accompanied by no feeling of satisfaction" (Lilley 1927: vii). Subsequent judgments of this edition have not been much more favourable. One reviewer largely agreed with Lilley's self assessments, commenting that the manuscripts "were hardly adequate for the construction of a final text. The edition therefore is rather tentative in character" (Barnett 1926: 341).

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work—has been unexpectedly held up by the ill-health of its editor". It seems likely that Rhys Davids was referring to Bode.

[3] The recently published Mahāsaṅgīti Tipiṭaka Buddhavasse 2500 series in Roman script (less formally known as the World Tipiṭaka series) includes the Apadāna and is a lightly edited transcription of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series in Burmese script.

[4] The term "witness" refers to a reproduction of a particular text, whether it be an early handwritten manuscript or a previous printed edition.

[5] It seems that Müller gave this transcript to Bode who, in turn, gave it to Lilley. Bode (1911: 188n2) stated it as a fact that this transcription was emended by Müller.

[6] Lilley (1925: v) also mentioned that she consulted a commentary, but she gave no details of this witness, such as whether it was a printed edition or a manuscript, or the script in which it was written.

More recently, Walters bluntly stated that this edition "is highly flawed and in great need of re-editing" (Walters 1990: 92n14) and that it is "hopelessly confused" (Walters 1997: 164).

Since the publication of Lilley's edition of the Apadāna, much of the scholarly attention on this work has focused upon the text's first chapter. Barua (1946) made a study and translation of the first poem, the Buddhāpadāna, while Kloppenborg (1974) translated the second poem, the Paccekabuddhāpadāna. Bechert (1976, 1992) highlighted some features of the Buddhāpadāna which he argued are inconsistent with orthodox Theravādin doctrine. A doctoral thesis written by Mellick (1993) provided a major step forward in Apadāna studies, with the inclusion of a new edition and translation of sixteen *apadāna*s, eleven of which come from the text's first chapter. The edition was based upon three printed editions and seven manuscripts. Except for an edited version of the introduction to the thesis (Mellick Cutler 1994), this research has unfortunately not been published to date.

Some studies have not specifically focused upon the text's first chapter. For example, Law (1937) described some of the flora, fauna, people and places of the Apadāna. Bechert compiled a list of some unusual grammatical features of the Apadāna (Bechert 1958a) and also wrote an article concerning the Apadāna's relationship with other Pāli texts (Bechert 1958b). In the 1990s, Walters produced a series of articles on the Apadāna, including a study on the Pubbakammapiloti (Walters 1990), a study on the *apadāna* of Mahāpajāpatigotamī (Walters 1994) and a translation of the latter poem (Walters 1995). Particularly interesting are his suggestions regarding the social frameworks within which the Apadāna was composed and his claim that the text's content correlates well with archeological and epigraphical remains of the second century BCE (Walters 1997). As already noted, many of the nuns' *apadāna*s are quoted in the Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā, which Pruitt reedited (Pruitt 1998) and translated (Pruitt 1999). An edition, translation and study of the third chapter of the Apadāna was prepared as part of an unpublished Honours thesis using six printed editions and four manuscripts (Clark 2008). Most

recently, Collett (2011) studied the ways in which women are depicted in the Apadāna.

The preceding survey of Western scholarship on the Apadāna highlights a few key points. The only complete and widely available[7] edition of this text in Roman script is not highly regarded. Unlike the great majority of canonical works, the Apadāna has not been fully translated into English, nor indeed any European language.[8] Norman (1994: 168) included an English translation of the Apadāna among a list of important future tasks for Pāli studies in the West. Much of the work which has been done on the Apadāna has focused on the text's first chapter and the nuns' *apadāna*s. The bulk of the Apadāna remains unexamined, yet studies on the text's content indicate that there are numerous points of interest which warrant more detailed research. The aim of this thesis is to further our knowledge of this important composition with an edition, translation and study of a portion of the monks' *apadāna*s.

1.2. Etymology of *apadāna* and *avadāna*

The equivalent terms *apadāna* and *avadāna* are found in both Pāli and Sanskrit literature;[9] however, in Pāli works the former is much more common while in Sanskrit Buddhist works the latter is much more common (Speyer 1909: iii). For example, the Sanskrit Sarvāstivādin parallel of the Pāli Mahāpadānasutta (D II 1–54) is titled the Mahāvadānasūtra (Norman 1983: 37). Speyer (1909: iii) stated that a different prefix is used in each term: *apa-* and *ava-*. On the other hand, Norman

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[7] The Mahāsaṅgīti Tipiṭaka Buddhavasse 2500 edition of the Apadāna is not commercially available and is only found at the small number of institutions which have to date been presented with the series.

[8] Complete translations of the Apadāna have been published in several different languages from South and Southeast Asia, a number of which are listed in § 4.2.

[9] For *avadāna* in Pāli, see DOP s.v. *kammāvadāna*. For *apadāna* in Sanskrit, see MW s.v.

(2008b: 55–56) has suggested that the term *apadāna* might have been an old hyper-form created by an erroneous belief that *ava-* was a voiced version of *apa-*.

Over a century ago, Speyer (1909: iii–iv) proposed that the terms *apadāna* and *avadāna* are both derived from the verbal root √*dā*, "to cut". From this we have "something selected", which came to mean "glorious achievement". Mellick Cutler (1994: 3–4) observed that this meaning fits the content of the Mahāpadānasutta, which celebrates the achievements of seven different *buddha*s in their final rebirths. It seems the term is also used with this sense in the Cariyāpiṭaka, which exemplifies the ten perfections (*pāramī*s) via the narration of a selection of celebrated deeds performed by Gotama Buddha in his past rebirths. At the conclusion of the Cariyāpiṭaka, the composition is labeled the "Buddhāpadāniya" (Cp 37,2).[10] In the Pāli canon,[11] the term *apadāna* can literally mean "cutting" or "reaping" (DOP s.v.). However, as noted by Norman (2007a: 148n47), the "secondary meaning 'one's reapings' (cf. the metaphorical use in English of 'sowing' and 'reaping') '(the results) of one's actions' is more common". This sense clearly fits the content of the Apadāna, which narrates the ripening of karma in story after story. It is conceivable that for the composers of the Apadāna, the term *apadāna* meant both "glorious achievement" and its karmic results.

1.3. Structure of the Apadāna and method of citation

The Apadāna is divided into four sections: (1) the Buddhāpadāna, "*apadāna* of the *buddha*s",[12] (2) the Paccekabuddhāpadāna, "*apadāna* of the *paccekabuddha*s", (3) the Therāpadāna, "*apadāna*[s] of the elder monks", and (4) the Therikāpadāna,[13]

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[10] Page and line number is used here since this passage falls outside of the DOP system of citing the Cariyāpiṭaka by *vagga*, poem and verse.

[11] In this thesis, the term "Pāli canon" refers to the Pāli *tipiṭaka*.

[12] On the plurality of *buddha*s in this section, see, for example, Ap 2,18–23, 3,8–14; Ap-a 102,1–2.

[13] The term Therī-apadāna is used at Ap-a 101,6, 101,19, 102,10 and is widely used in secondary literature. However, this spelling does not appear to be used in the Apadāna itself; instead we find Therikāpadāna (see Ap Eᵉ 512,3; Ap Bᵉ II 298,16; the latter line is omitted in the PTS edition).

"*apadāna*[s] of the elder nuns". The Buddhāpadāna and Paccekabuddhāpadāna each consist of a single *apadāna*, the Therāpadāna contains between 547 and 561 *apadāna*s over fifty-five or fifty-six chapters,[14] while the Therikāpadāna contains forty *apadāna*s over four chapters. At first glance, the structure appears to be the following: the whole text is divided into four sections, the sections are divided into chapters (*vagga*s), the chapters are divided into *apadāna*s and the *apadāna*s are divided into verses. This is indeed an accurate description of the organisational hierarchy for the great majority of the text. However, according to the summary (*uddāna*) of the first chapter (i.e. the Buddhavagga), the first two sections (i.e. the Buddhāpadāna and Paccekabuddhāpadāna) are in fact contained within the first chapter; meaning that for this portion of the text, chapter is higher in the organisational hierarchy than section. It could be hypothesised that the Buddhāpadāna and Paccekabuddhāpadāna are late additions to the Apadāna and that their placement at the beginning of the text caused this structural anomaly. Almost every chapter in the Apadāna contains ten *apadāna*s; however, the first chapter contains two additional *apadāna*s, making a total of twelve *apadāna*s.

It is perhaps because of the lack of an internally consistent structure that passages in the Apadāna are cited in both CPD and DOP using the method normally reserved for prose texts, that is, by page and line number. However, being a metrical text, it is preferable to cite the Apadāna using one of the methods used for other metrical texts, such as the Buddhavaṃsa and Dhammapada. In order to avoid the confusion arising from the inconsistent organisational hierarchy of section and chapter, it is proposed that both these levels of organisation be omitted in the citation of future editions of the Apadāna, leaving simply *apadāna* and verse number. For example, the first verse of the *apadāna* of Sīhāsanadāyaka is to be

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[14] As noted by Mellick (1993: 34–35), there is a lack of consistency amongst manuscripts and printed editions on the exact number of *apadāna*s and chapters contained in the Therāpadāna. The lower figures given here refer to the PTS edition and the higher figures refer to the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition.

cited Ap 13.1.[15] Of course, this method of citation is dependent upon the usage of an appropriate numbering system within the edition and, therefore, it is further proposed that editors of future editions of the Apadāna number all *apadāna*s sequentially and reset verse numbers at the beginning of each *apadāna* so that this citation system may be utilised.[16]

1.4. Date

There is a tenuous consensus amongst scholars that the Apadāna was one of the final works added to the Pāli canon, dating to approximately the second or first century BCE (Mellick Cutler 1994: 32). A range of reasons have been given to support these claims. Norman (1983: 90) argued that the subject matter of the Apadāna indicates its lateness, stating, "Many of the stories which are told have a mythological nature, which suggests that the Apadāna is one of the latest books in the canon. The type of act which is glorified also implies lateness, for there is mention of the worship of *thūpas*, shrines and relics, and there is an emphasis upon generosity and humanitarian deeds". However, it would be difficult to argue that a substantial number of other canonical works do not also have a similar "mythological nature", e.g. the Mahāsudassanasutta of the Dīghanikāya (D II 169–199). Regarding the frequent acts of worship and generosity in the Apadāna, Norman (1983: 90) acknowledged, "Nevertheless, there is already mention of some of these activities in the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā, which can be dated with fair probability to the period between the fifth and the third centuries B.C.". Also on the basis of subject matter, Bechert (1992: 104) argued that the Buddhāpadāna should be assigned a later date than the bulk of the Apadāna. He noted that this section

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[15] Newly edited Apadāna material included in this thesis will, however, be cited according to thesis section and verse number. For example, the *apadāna* of Sīhāsanadāyaka will be cited § 5.1 and its first verse § 5.1.1.

[16] The numbering systems used in major printed editions of the Apadāna do not permit citation by *apadāna* and verse number and will therefore be cited by page and line number in this thesis.

mentions the concept of the *buddha*-field and argued that, partly for this reason, its date of composition is similar to that of an important Mahāyāna text which also illustrates this concept, the Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra, which he dated to the first century or early second century CE.[17] A study by Walters (1997) draws attention to some correlations between the content of the Apadāna and epigraphic evidence, with the intention of contributing to the dating of this text (Walters 1997: 181–182n12).[18] In particular, Walters (1997: 171–172) stated that some of the kinds of items donated in the narratives of the Apadāna are also recorded in second and first century BCE donative inscriptions using the same technical terms.

In his study on Pāli metre, Warder (1967: 225) assigned the Apadāna's date of composition to approximately 100 BCE. He does not clearly state his reasons for doing so. One method of analysis might have been to calculate the relative proportion of the *pathyā* form of the prior *pāda* in *śloka* verses (see Warder 1967: 172–201); however, it does not appear that this was done for the Apadāna. Instead, it seems that he felt the text's lack of metrical variety is evidence of its lateness. In discussing the Apadāna and Cariyāpiṭaka, Warder (1967: 94–95) stated:

> Apart from three garbled verses copied from *ariyā* verses of Th II, the metrical outlook of these two texts is limited to pedestrian *vatta* composition with a very few *tuṭṭhubha* strophes. In these cases we may safely conclude that the pious monks who compiled the texts had no knowledge of metrics beyond the two commonest metres and no poetic aspirations. These texts tacked on to the end of the last *Nikāya* of the Canon may represent a final decadent phase of Pali composition...

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[17] Bechert (1992: 103) also stated, "There can be no doubt that the *Buddhāpadāna* is the work of monks who either formed a Mahāyānistic faction in the Mahāvihāra or who were ready to accept at least some very essential elements of Mahāyāna". Norman (1983: 90–91), however, doubted whether there was a Mahāyāna influence on this *apadāna*.

[18] This study also investigates the Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka in the same context.

Several scholars have repeated the claim that, according to the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, the *dīghabhāṇaka*s did not consider the Apadāna part of the Khuddakagantha (i.e. Khuddakanikāya) and that therefore the Apadāna is likely to be one of the last works added to the Pāli canon (e.g. Norman 1983: 9, 90n398; von Hinüber 1996: 42–43, 61). Mellick Cutler (1994: 21) concluded that there is therefore an "ambiguity concerning the canonical position of the *Apadāna* collection". These claims have been questioned by myself (Clark 2008: 7n2) and, in considerably more detail, by Jantrasrisalai (2008: 292–295). It seems that the scholars citing this passage have relied exclusively upon the reading found in the Roman script edition published by PTS.[19] In this edition, it is stated that the *dīghabhāṇaka*s did not regard the Khuddakapāṭha, Apadāna, Buddhavaṃsa or Cariyāpiṭaka as belonging to the Khuddakagantha. Jantrasrisalai (2008: 294) pointed out that, according to the Burmese script edition of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series[20] and the Thai script edition of the Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series,[21] the *dīghabhāṇaka*s included the Apadāna (and the Khuddakapāṭha) in their list of works belonging to the Khuddakagantha and only excluded the Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka. She also drew attention to the fact that this passage in the PTS edition is based upon a transcript of a single Sinhala script manuscript and therefore cannot necessarily be trusted. However, the matter is further complicated by the reading in

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[19] *tato paraṃ Jātakaṃ Mahāniddeso Cūlaniddeso Paṭisambhidāmaggo Suttanipāto Dhammapadaṃ Udānaṃ Itivuttakaṃ Vimāna-Peta-vatthu Thera-Theri-gathā* [sic] *ti imaṃ tantiṃ saṃgāyitvā Khuddakagantho nāma ayan ti ca vatvā Abhidhammapiṭakasmiṃ yeva saṃgahaṃ āropayiṃsū ti Dīghabhāṇakā vadanti. Majjhimabhāṇakā pana Cariyāpiṭaka-Apadāna-Buddhavaṃsesu* [sic] *saddhiṃ sabbam pi taṃ Khuddakaganthaṃ Suttantapiṭake pariyāpannan ti vadanti* (Sv E^e I 15,22–29).

[20] *tato paraṃ Jātakaṃ Niddeso Paṭisambhidāmaggo Apadānaṃ Suttanipāto Khuddakapāṭho Dhammapadaṃ Udānaṃ Itivuttakaṃ Vimānavatthu Petavatthu Theragāthā Therīgāthā ti imaṃ tantiṃ saṅgāyitvā Khuddakagantho nāmāyan ti ca vatvā Abhidhammapiṭakasmiṃ yeva saṅgahaṃ āropayiṃsū ti Dīghabhāṇakā vadanti. Majjhimabhāṇakā pana Cariyāpiṭaka-Buddhavaṃsehi saddhiṃ sabbam petaṃ Khuddakaganthaṃ nāma Suttantapiṭake pariyāpannan ti vadanti* (Sv B^e I 15,27–16,4).

[21] Sv S^e I 23,7–13; reading identical to Sv B^e I 15,27–16,4.

the Sinhala script edition of the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest series,[22] which Jantrasrisalai was unable to consult. This edition agrees with the reading of the PTS edition, despite having slightly different wording, stating that the *dīghabhāṇaka*s did not regard the Apadāna (nor the Khuddakapāṭha, Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka) as belonging to the Khuddakagantha.

I examined two Sinhala script Sumaṅgalavilāsinī manuscripts[23] and seven Burmese script Sumaṅgalavilāsinī manuscripts[24] in the hope of gaining clarity on this issue. Both Sinhala script manuscripts agree with the PTS and Simon Hewavitarne Bequest editions, in that they state that the *dīghabhāṇaka*s did not regard the Apadāna as belonging to the Khuddakagantha. All seven Burmese script manuscripts agree with the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka and Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka editions, in that they state that the *dīghabhāṇaka*s did regard the Apadāna as belonging to the Khuddakagantha. Thus, it seems two different versions of this passage have existed for quite some time which contain conflicting information regarding the canonical status of the Apadāna. We are therefore not yet in a position to use this passage to assess the Apadāna's date of composition. A new critical edition of the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, one which carefully examines its textual history, might indicate which of these alternatives is the earlier reading.

Over a century ago, Rhys Davids (1908: 603) stated that a quotation of the Apadāna[25] at Thī-a 131,5–6 "mentions the Kathā Vatthu, and apparently refers to the

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[22] *tato paraṃ Jātakaṃ Niddeso Paṭisambhidāmaggo Suttanipāto Dhammapadaṃ Udānaṃ Itivuttakaṃ Vimānavatthu Petavatthu Thera-Theri-gāthā ti imaṃ tantiṃ saṅgāyitvā Khuddakagantho nāma ayaṃ ti ca vatvā Abhidhammapiṭakasmiṃ yeva saṅgahaṃ āropayiṃsū ti Dīghabhāṇakā vadanti. Majjhimabhāṇakā pana Cariyāpiṭaka-Apadāna-Buddhavaṃsehi saddhiṃ sabbam pi taṃ Khuddakaganthaṃ Suttantapiṭake pariyāpannan ti vadanti* (Sv Cᵉ I 11,29–34).

[23] Manuscripts from Gangaramaya Temple in Colombo and Wanawasala Purana Viharaya in Kelaniya. Photos taken by the Dhammachai International Research Institute in 2010 and 2011.

[24] Examined in person at Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscript House in Bangkok during 2012. Manuscript identification numbers (with the dates in which they were copied) are as follows: 823 (1880), 827 (1786), 1227 (1902), 1236 (1773), 1885 (1906), 2128 (1842) and 2555 (1899).

[25] *kusalāhaṃ visuddhīsu kathāvatthuvisāradā / abhidhammanayaññū ca vasīpatt' amhi sāsane* (Ap 550,21–22), "I am skilled in the purities, experienced in the *kathāvatthu*(s), knowledgeable in the

book so named, which was composed by Tissa about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. If this be so, the Apadāna must be one of the very latest books in the Canon". Referring to a similar passage,[26] Norman (1983: 90) less tentatively stated, "One of the Apadānas, however, refers to the Kathāvatthu as an Abhidhamma compilation, which proves that that particular Apadāna must be later than the third council".[27] Commenting on the passage referred to by Rhys Davids,[28] Pruitt (1999: 173n1) argued that the term *kathāvatthu* is more likely to refer to the ten "topics of discourse" rather than the text by that name. Jantrasrisalai (2008: 293, 295–297) made the same argument for the passage Norman discussed[29] and further claimed that the term *abhidhamma* in this passage does not mean the Abhidhammapiṭaka, but rather the "essence of *dhamma*". Unfortunately the commentary on the Apadāna does not help resolve this ambiguity, since its author(s) seemed unsure of how to best interpret the term *kathāvatthu* at Ap 37,1, stating, "*kathāvatthuvisuddhiyā* [means] knowledgeable about purity in the Kathāvatthu composition, or knowledgeable about the ten topics of discourse, i.e. discourse on desiring little, contentment, etc.".[30] More recently, a Burmese *nissaya* of the Therāpadāna glosses the same term from the same verse as "for the purity of ten topics of discourse, beginning with the state of desiring little".[31] Even more recently, in a modern Pāli commentary on the Therikāpadāna,[32] Kumārābhivaṃsa (2009: 133) states that the

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abhidhamma method and have attained mastery in the teaching". It seems possible that *visuddhīsu* refers to the seven types of purity (Nyanatiloka 2007 s.v. *visuddhi*).

[26] *abhidhammanayañño 'haṃ kathāvatthuvisuddhiyā / sabbesaṃ viññāpetvāna viharāmi anāsavo* (Ap 37,1–2), "Knowledgeable in the *abhidhamma* method, instructing everyone for sake of the purity of the *kathāvatthu*(s), I dwell without taints".

[27] For a similar statement, see Mellick 1993: 83na.

[28] That is, Thī-a 131,5–6.

[29] That is, Ap 37,1–2.

[30] *kathāvatthuvisuddhiyā ti Kathāvatthuppakaraṇe visuddhiyā cheko, appicchasantuṭṭhikathādīsu dasasu kathāvatthūsu vā cheko* (Ap-a Bᵉ I 308,5–7). The Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition is quoted here in favour of the PTS edition because the latter appears to contain errors.

[31] အပိစ္ဆတာအစရှိသောကထာဝတ္ထုဆယ်ပါး၏ စင်ကြယ်ခြင်းငှာ (Jāgara 1926: I 70,8). See § 4.2 for information on this *nissaya*.

[32] See § 1.6 for information on this text.

term *kathāvatthu* at Ap 550,21 also refers to the ten topics of discourse. Therefore, although the only two instances of the term *kathāvatthu* in the Apadāna are in close proximity to the term *abhidhamma*, this does not necessarily mean that what is being referred to is the Kathāvatthu text of the Abhidhammapiṭaka. It is therefore proposed that these two passages do not provide unambiguous data for the dating of the Apadāna.

In his study of two manuscripts of a Gāndhārī version of the Anavataptagāthā, Salomon (2008) examined three parallel passages between the Apadāna and Anavataptagāthā.[33] For two of these parallels, Salomon (2008: 28) concluded that, "there can be no doubt that the Ap [i.e. Apadāna] chapters are direct borrowings from the AG [i.e. Anavataptagāthā]. Both of the Ap passages conclude with a verse stating that the preceding verses were spoken to the assembly of monks at Lake Anavatapta. Such a setting is unique within the Ap and can only be an artifact of a borrowing from the AG". These passages in the Apadāna must therefore postdate the composition of the Anavataptagāthā. The British Library manuscript of the Gāndhārī Anavataptagāthā has been dated to the first half of the first century CE (Salomon 2008: 88).[34] This particular manuscript happens to include the story of Koṭīviṃśa, which is one of the passages incorporated into the Apadāna (as the *apadāna* of Soṇa Koṭivīsa, Ap 298). It seems likely that the Anavataptagāthā was composed some time before the production of this manuscript; however, exactly how long before remains an open question. We may therefore conclude that a form of the *apadāna* of Soṇa Koṭivīsa dates to at least the first half of the first century CE, though probably earlier.

As shown, many of the arguments put forth for a precise date of composition for the Apadāna have been based upon dubious evidence. Further research is required before we are able to make confident assertions on the dating of this text.

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[33] See § 2.3 for a comparison between the content of the Apadāna and Anavataptagāthā, and for a more detailed discussion on these parallel passages.

[34] However, Salomon (2008: 88) noted, "A somewhat later date in the first century, or even the early second century, is not ruled out".

1.5. Geography

The Apadāna mentions a great number of geographic locations in its narratives, many of which are found within the greater Ganges basin.[35] Listed from west to east and given in their Pāli forms, these localities include Sāvatthī (e.g. Ap 75,10, 263,7), Toraṇavatthu (Ap 550,23), Bārāṇasī (e.g. Ap 561,26, 581,10), Kapilavatthu (e.g. Ap 492,1, 504,26), Lumbinī (Ap 501,19), Kusinārā (Ap 473,11), Rājagaha (e.g. Ap 475,5, 607,6) and Campā (Ap 298,11). Haṃsavatī, the name of the city in which the Buddhavaṃsa reports Padumuttara Buddha grew up (Bv 11.19), is mentioned in the Apadāna many times (e.g. Ap 37,11, 124,4). While its exact location is unclear, Ap 343,27–28 mentions that the Ganges flowed beside it. The Himalayas are also a common setting (e.g. Ap 15,5, 67,3). The following rivers are referred to in the Apadāna: the Sindhu (e.g. Ap 113,2, 325,8), Candabhāgā (e.g. Ap 79,14, 126,13), Sarassatī (Ap Bᵉ I 30,3),[36] Yamunā (Ap 27,4), Gaṅgā (e.g. Ap 204,22, 344,6) and Sarabhū (Ap 27,4). Lake Anotatta (S. Anavatapta) is referred to in the borrowings from the Anavataptagāthā (Ap 298,28, 299,2, 301,16). This lake "is said to be the source of the four great rivers, the Gaṅgā (Ganges), Sindhu (Indus), Vakṣu (Oxus or Amu Darya), and Śītā (Tarim)" (Salomon 2008: 6). This list of geographic locations named in the Apadāna indicates that its authors were particularly familiar with the cities, villages and rivers of the greater Ganges basin. While this may indicate that this was the region in which they lived, it is also possible that their familiarity with these place names came from Buddhist literature and that their inclusion was determined by the subject matter, namely, the monks and nuns of the Buddha's day. Therefore, the Apadāna may not necessarily have been composed in this region.

Some of the locations mentioned in the Apadāna fall outside the greater Ganges basin. As previously noted, the Apadāna refers to the Sindhu and Candabhāgā (Chenab) rivers, which are in present day Pakistan and northwest India.[37] Reference is made to Ujjenī (Ujjain) (Ap 465,1), which is in present day

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[35] For a map of this area, see Lamotte 1988: map 1.

[36] The PTS edition (Ap Eᵉ 27,3) has the Sanskrit form "Sarasvatī".

[37] See Lamotte 1988: map 2.

Madhya Pradesh, and Sāgalā (Sialkot) (Ap 546,13, 583,9), which is in present day Pakistan. The Apadāna also refers to groups of people who lived surprising far from the greater Ganges basin, including the Damiḷas (Tamils) (Ap 358,23), Yonakas (Greeks) (Ap 358,24), Alasandakas (Alexandrians) (Ap 359,3),[38] Soṇṇabhūmakas (people from Suvaṇṇabhūmi)[39] (Ap 359,11) and Cīnaraṭṭhas (Chinese) (Ap 359,2).[40]

1.6. Commentaries

The earliest commentary on the Apadāna is titled the Visuddhajanavilāsinī Apadānaṭṭhakathā. Its authorship is unknown; however, it cannot have been composed by Buddhaghosa since, as noted by Norman (1983: 146), the text refers to Dhammapāla's commentary on the Theragāthā (Ap-a 493,23), which of course postdates Buddhaghosa. Norman (1983: 146) and von Hinüber (1996: 147) agree it is a late commentary and von Hinüber (1996: 149) estimated it was composed between 1000 and 1500 CE. The main evidence cited to support this suggestion is that no other *aṭṭhakathā* appears to quote the Apadānaṭṭhakathā (von Hinüber 1996: 147). The oldest known manuscript of this work was copied in 1537 (von Hinüber 1996: 147n507)[41] and the earliest known text which cites it was composed by the Thai grammarian Ñāṇakitti in the very late fifteenth century or very early sixteenth century (von Hinüber 2000: 130). Von Hinüber (1996: 147) suggested that the Apadānaṭṭhakathā may have been written in Southeast Asia. Bechert (1958b: 20)

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[38] This passage must postdate 331 BCE, the year in which Alexandria was founded.

[39] Assavavirulhakarn (2010: 49–56) has summarised the difficulties of identifying the exact location of Suvaṇṇabhūmi (S. Suvarṇabhūmi). Assavavirulhakarn (2010: 55) concluded that "Suvarṇabhūmi was a broadly used general term applied to all the regions to the east of India", including present day Burma and Thailand.

[40] The text describes the Chinese as being "from a very distant place" (*ārā va*, Ap 359,2). According to Law (1937: 31), this is the only known reference to China in the Pāli canon. The preceding list of geographic locations is by no means complete; see Law 1937 for some additional places named in the Apadāna.

[41] However, elsewhere von Hinüber (2000: 300) stated that this manuscript was copied in 1557.

stated it was most likely written in Burma; however, he offered no supporting evidence. At Ap-a 571,13–19 it is mentioned that the text was brought to Sri Lanka, yet as noted by von Hinüber (1996: 147n509), this might refer to the text's introduction to Sri Lanka after being composed in Southeast Asia, or, alternatively, its reintroduction after a disruption in its transmission. At the beginning of the Apadānaṭṭhakathā there is a very long quotation from the Nidānakathā of the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā (Ap-a 2–99). The commentary also borrows from the Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā, Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā, Cullavagga of the Vinayapiṭaka and the commentary on the Khaggavisāṇasutta in the Paramatthajotikā (Godakumbura 1954: xv).

The Apadānaṭṭhakathā comments upon the first three sections of the Apadāna, namely, the Buddhāpadāna, Paccekabuddhāpadāna and Therāpadāna. Reference is made to the Therikāpadāna (using the term "Therī-apadāna", at Ap-a 101,6, 101,19, 102,10); however, it does not comment upon any of the *apadāna*s from this section. Early *apadāna*s receive a reasonably thorough commentary; however, the level of commentarial detail diminishes as the text progresses and eventually many *apadāna*s are entirely omitted from analysis. On the other hand, the Apadānaṭṭhakathā (Ap-a 544–571) comments upon one Therāpadāna chapter which is not included in the PTS edition, nor in any of the manuscripts I have been able to consult, nor in the text inscribed on the stelae at the Kuthodaw Pagoda. Ap-a 571,9 lists this as the fifty-sixth chapter. Several printed editions of the Apadāna do contain this chapter;[42] however, as noted by Mellick (1993: 34), "The inclusion of the additional section in these versions of the *Therāpadāna* is probably due to editorial attempts to reconstruct the text with the help of the commentary, although this is not indicated by the editors". The quotations of the Apadāna in the Apadānaṭṭhakathā shed light on the root text available to the author(s) of this commentary. Further valuable data on the textual history of the Apadāna is found in the occasional quotations of multiple readings for the same passage of the root text (i.e. variants), as indicated by a phrase such as *ti pi pāṭho* (e.g. Ap-a 316,8, 367,1). A

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[42] For example, the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series and Buddhajayantī Tripiṭaka series.

partial English translation of the Apadānaṭṭhakathā corresponding to Ap-a 295–543 was made by Gunasekara (2011).

One of the former editors of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series, the Burmese monk Bhaddanta Kumārābhivaṃsa, has composed a Pāli commentary on the Therikāpadāna, named the Therī-apadānadīpanī. This work was published in Burmese script in 1992 and Roman script in 2009 (Kumārābhivaṃsa 2009: xvi). The latter of these editions is printed on 420 pages and also includes an index of words glossed in the body of the text. The Therī-apadānadīpanī comments upon all forty *apadāna*s of the nuns, using material drawn from the commentaries upon the Therīgāthā, Theragāthā, Aṅguttaranikāya and Dhammapada (Kumārābhivaṃsa 2009: xv). Citations to these sources are made throughout the text and these constitute a useful guide for locating stories pertaining to the nuns who feature in the Therikāpadāna.

2. CONTENT AND STYLE OF THE APADĀNA

2.1. The Apadāna and early Sanskrit *avadāna* literature

2.1.1. Structure of *apadāna*s and *avadāna*s

The Pāli Apadāna is connected to a loose network of Buddhist *avadāna* texts preserved in a variety of languages, including Gāndhārī, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan. The strength and nature of the relationships between the Apadāna and the large number of extant *avadāna* compositions has not yet been investigated in detail. Such a study is a desideratum for Apadāna studies. Godakumbura (1954: xv) has rightly commented, "The whole question about the position of the Apadānas in the Pali Canon and their relation to the Avadāna literature in Buddhist Sanskrit has to be fully studied. This has to be taken up with the preparation of a new edition of the Apadāna". This section (§ 2.1) is intended as a preliminary investigation into this under researched area.

Writing on the structure of a typical Sanskrit *avadāna*, Feer (trans. Lenz 2010: 4n1) stated, "In its complete form, an avadāna is made up of four distinct parts: (1) an introduction exalting the Buddha and identifying the place in which he stayed when he related the avadāna, (2) a story of the present, (3) a story of the past, and (4) a conclusion wherein the Buddha identifies the lesson that is illustrated by the avadāna".[1] Sanskrit *avadāna*s are typically narrated by Gautama[2] Buddha. Lenz (2010: 4) noted that Feer's outline is a good description of the "more or less

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[1] *Un Avadâna se compose donc de ces quatre parties: 1° un préambule, qui exalte plus ou moins le Buddha en faisant connaître le lieu de sa résidence; 2° un récit du temps présent, fait par un narrateur quelconque; 3° un récit du temps passé, expliquant le récit du temps présent et fait par le Buddha; 4° une conclusion, qui est le précepte donné par le Buddha à l'occasion des faits dont il vient d'être témoin et des souvenirs qu'il vient de rappeler* (quoted in Lenz 2010: 3–4).

[2] In this section (§ 2.1), Sanskrit terms (rather than their Pāli equivalents) will generally be used when referring to Sanskrit texts.

structurally identical" stories contained in well-known Sanskrit *avadāna* collections such as the Avadānaśataka, Divyāvadāna and Avadānakalpalatā.

However, this outline does not adequately describe a typical Pāli *apadāna*, which begins with a story of the past concerning a meritorious deed that is often performed for a past *buddha* or his relics. This is then followed by a description of the resultant karmic fruits in one or more or the protagonist's subsequent rebirths as a god or a human. Finally, there is a story of the present, which is often simply a formulaic list of spiritual attainments realised by the protagonist in his or her final rebirth.[3] In many *apadāna*s, the story of the past also contains a prediction concerning the ensuring karmic fruits.[4] In summary, a typical *apadāna* has three main sections set chronologically: (1) a story of the past, (2) a description of karmic fruits in subsequent rebirths and (3) a story and/or brief statement of the present. Pāli *apadāna*s are almost always narrated in the first person by the performer of the meritorious deed,[5] although the concluding prose statement of each *apadāna* is made by an unnamed narrator in the third person. The narrative structures of Pāli *apadāna*s and Sanskrit *avadāna*s are therefore rather dissimilar. However, as will be demonstrated, their doctrinal content has stronger parallels; so much so, in fact,

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[3] *paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhā pi ca aṭṭh' ime / chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti* (e.g. § 5.1.12), "The four analytical insights and also those eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished".

[4] Occasionally, the description of the actual karmic fruits in subsequent rebirths is omitted after such a prediction, presumably because this description becomes somewhat redundant (e.g. § 5.7; Ap 50–51). Of course, there are several *apadāna*s which do not fit this general outline. See Mellick 1993: 389–395, 424–430 for discussions on some unusually structured *apadāna*s.

[5] One who heard or read Sanskrit *avadāna*s is likely to have assumed that the content is true by virtue of the fact that they are typically narrated by Gautama Buddha; however, in the Therāpadāna and Therikāpadāna the stories are narrated by the protagonists themselves. In these *apadāna*s the protagonists declare that they have realised the six supernormal knowledges (*abhiññā*s). Significantly, one of these supernormal knowledges is the recollection of previous abodes (i.e. rebirths) (*pubbenivāsānussati*) which enables the legitimate and true recollection of one's past rebirths.

that the content of the Apadāna may be analysed profitably in tandem with an analysis of Sanskrit *avadāna* literature.[6]

2.1.2. Introduction to karma and *karmavipāka*

It has frequently been noted that a major characteristic of Buddhist *avadāna* literature is its narration of religiously significant deeds and their subsequent effects (e.g. Weeraratne 1966: 396). However, the details of these narratives have not received much scholarly attention. Strong (1983: 57) has stated that "the complexity of the system [of karma] is much simplified" in *avadāna* literature compared to the "actual theory of karma".[7] It will be argued here that, in fact, *avadāna*s depict a complex system of karma involving several interactive factors. In order to illustrate this, two early Sanskrit *avadāna* collections will be considered—the Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna—and their content will be compared with that of the Apadāna. Because these collections are in different languages, are associated with different Buddhist schools[8] and were composed over different time periods,[9] they are by no means homogenous in content. However, there are striking similarities in the ways in which they narrate cause and effect, permitting some general observations to be made about this genre of literature.

Beginning at the most basic level, it is clear that a major function of *avadāna* literature is to convince the intended audiences that action (S. *karman*, P. *kamma*) ripens to produce a fruit of action (*karmavipāka*). This is facilitated by the often

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[6] The remainder of § 2.1 is an edited version of Clark 2011.

[7] Similarly, Walters (1997: 173) stated that the Apadāna describes a "karmically black-and-white world".

[8] The Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna have both been associated with the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin school (e.g. Rotman 2008: 17–19; Skilling 2001: 139).

[9] For the dating of the Apadāna, see § 1.4. There is a tenuous consensus that the Avadānaśataka was composed during the first two centuries CE (Collett 2009: 94) and the Divyāvadāna between 200 and 350 CE (Rotman 2008: 6, 385–386n14); however, these dates are far from settled and require further research.

close resemblance of a deed and its fruit. For example, in a story from the Avadānaśataka a householder anoints the *stūpa* of Vipaśyin Buddha with various perfumes and pays homage with incense and flowers (Avś I 352–353). The fruit which ripens from this karma is a rebirth in which "the scent of blue lotus wafts from his mouth [and] the scent of sandalwood from his body" (*asya mukhān nīlotpalagandho vāti śarīrāc candanagandhas*, Avś I 350,11–12). Likewise, in the Apadāna a man makes a lion throne and a footstool for Siddhattha Buddha (§ 5.1). He is then reborn in a huge celestial mansion in Tusita (S. Tuṣita) heaven. The fruit of making the lion throne is an array of ornate couches in the mansion and the fruit of making the footstool is a collection of shoes made from precious materials. A deed is not only echoed in its karmic result, but, as noted by Strong (1979: 230), not infrequently also in the very name of its performer. For example, in the aforementioned stories the names of the protagonists are Sugandhi, "Sweet-scented", and Sīhāsanadāyaka, "Donor of a lion throne", respectively.

It may strike the reader as strange that, in the case of Sīhāsanadāyaka, performing some basic carpentry could lead to such magnificent results. Indeed, the composers of these texts appear to have been concerned that the intended audiences might have difficulty accepting some of the narrative. We find passages in which people express a sense of disbelief (Divy 7–17, 70–71) or surprise (Ap 343,9–10; Avś I 329,10) about the fruit of karma and, in the case of the Divyāvadāna, successful attempts are made to change their minds. However, passages from *avadāna* literature in which a seemingly trivial deed will later produce a seemingly disproportionately large karmic fruit are so common that they are a key feature of this genre of literature. The following examples show that, in the case of giving (*dāna*), the market value of a gift does not have a major influence upon the eventual karmic fruit.[10] In the Divyāvadāna, a leper gives some rice water to a monk (Divy 82–83). In the process a fly falls in and, when she begins to remove it, one of her fingers falls off into the rice water. As a result of this seemingly poor offering, the woman is reborn in Tuṣita heaven. In the Apadāna it is narrated that a man makes a flag by tying some of his clothing to a bamboo stick and then offers this to the *stūpa*

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[10] However, it is not entirely negligible; see Divy 78–79.

of Padumuttara Buddha (§ 5.12.34). It is predicted that, as a result, he will be reborn as a wheel-turning monarch one thousand times and as a god for thirty thousand aeons (§§ 5.12.42–43). What, then, are the reasons for such astonishing results?

2.1.3. The recipient: a field of merit

The most well known factor involved in this process is the field of merit (S. *puṇyakṣetra*, P. *puññakkhetta*), which concerns the recipient of a deed more than its performer. A good field of merit is a person or object with a high spiritual quality that amplifies the karmic fruit generated from a deed directed towards it. As in the Pāli canon (e.g. Ap 250,15–17; S I 21,14–17), an agrarian analogy is used in a passage in the Divyāvadāna to explain this concept (Divy 70–71). It states that even a small seed can grow into a large tree if the field it is sowed in has good soil. In the same way, a seemingly insignificant deed can result in a large karmic fruit if directed towards a good field of merit. It would be difficult to overstate the importance of this concept in *avadāna* literature. It is not only assumed knowledge providing meaning to much of the narrative, but is explicitly discussed in all three of these collections. For example, in a striking passage in the Apadāna the dialog suddenly turns to the second person to directly address the audience(s) the composition is intended for, plainly stating, "you should perform an act of homage to an unsurpassed field of merit" (*puññakkhette anuttare adhikāraṃ kareyyātha*, § 5.13.23).

Exactly who or what is a good field of merit? A passage in the Pāli canon ranks individuals in terms of what one can expect to gain in return, via the ripening of karma, after giving a gift to them (M III 255). At the bottom of the list is an animal. The text states that the return to be expected from giving to an animal is one hundredfold. A slightly better recipient is an unvirtuous ordinary person. The return to be expected from giving a gift to such a being is one thousandfold. Towards the top of the list are three types of awakened beings; to use the Pāli terms, the third

best individual recipient is an *arahat*, the second best is a *paccekabuddha* and the best is a *buddha*. The return to be expected from giving to any of these three beings is incalculable. Similarly, in the Suttanipāta it is explained that "The Buddha… is an unsurpassed field of merit… [A gift] given to the venerable one has great fruit" (*buddho... puññakkhettaṃ anuttaraṃ... bhoto dinnaṃ mahapphalan ti*, Sn 486). The Divyāvadāna even calls a *buddha* "a field of merit with two feet" (*dvipādakaṃ puṇyakṣetram*, Divy 48,6–7, 63,24). It seems that this general idea is embraced throughout *avadāna* literature, in which *arhat*s, *pratyekabuddha*s and *buddha*s are indeed very common recipients of meritorious deeds which eventually yield great fruit. Similarly, the Apadāna has a past *buddha* as a deed's recipient in a great number of its stories.

In the collections considered here, excellent fields of merit are not restricted to select living beings, but also appear to include special objects closely associated with *buddha*s. Of particular importance are the bodily relics of a *buddha*.[11] The Divyāvadāna explicitly states that the merit generated from paying homage to a *buddha* who has passed into *parinirvāṇa* is no different from the merit generated from paying homage to a living *buddha* (Divy 79,19–20).[12] Apparently not all Buddhist schools agreed with this idea and it is possible that this statement is a reflection of a doctrinal position held by the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Lamotte 1988: 634), the school most often associated with the Divyāvadāna (e.g. Hiraoka 1998: 419–434). In the *avadāna*s and *apadāna*s considered here, paying homage to *stūpa*s containing the relics of a *buddha* is a common deed said to produce great karmic fruit. Two examples of this have already been described: the story from the Avadānaśataka in which a householder anoints the *stūpa* of Vipaśyin Buddha with perfumes and the story from the Apadāna in which a man offers a flag to a *stūpa*

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[11] In the Mahāyāna Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra, bodily relics are called a field of merit (Bagchi 2002: 107,5). While relics appear to be treated as a field of merit in *avadāna* literature, I am not aware of any *avadāna* passage explicitly labeling them as such.

[12] A parallel passage is found in the Vimānavatthu (Vv 47.12), a Pāli text which is thematically related to the Apadāna (see § 2.4). These passages are consistent with early Indian inscriptions which indicate that their composers regarded relics as living entities (Schopen 1987: 204–205).

containing the relics of Padumuttara Buddha. In addition, the Divyāvadāna lists a number of highly meritorious deeds to be performed at the shrines of a *buddha*, including walking around them, placing a lump of clay or loose flowers[13] at them and making a gift of a lamp at them (Divy 78–79).

A number of other objects appear to be regarded as excellent fields of merit in the Apadāna. Stories describe watering a *bodhi* tree during a *bodhi* tree festival (Ap 105,21–22, 131,12–14) and building a railing for a *bodhi* tree (Ap 400,24–25) as very meritorious deeds. In one story, a man removes the old sand at the site of the *bodhi* tree of Vipassin Buddha, replaces it with clean sand and is subsequently reborn a wheel-turning monarch (§ 5.17). Elsewhere there are passages in which homage is paid to the footprints of past *buddha*s (Ap 383,11–16, 434,23–28; Cicuzza 2011: xxix–xxx) and, interestingly, to the wheel (imprint) within a footprint (Ap 283,10–13). Again, such acts are narrated as eventually bearing great karmic fruit. These objects appear to have been thought of as excellent fields of merit because of their close connection with a *buddha*. Indeed, although apparently not specifically labeled as such in the Apadāna, it is conceivable that the composer(s) of this text considered each of these objects as a relic; not a bodily relic (*sarīradhātu*), but rather a relic of use (*paribhogadhātu*).[14]

2.1.4. The performer: faith and fervent aspiration

The qualities of the performer of a deed are just as important as the qualities of its recipient. A passage in the Pāli canon lists five conditions which enhance the karmic fruit of giving: giving with faith, with respect, at the right time, with a generous mind[15] and without harming oneself or others (A III 172–173). However,

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[13] This seems preferable to the translation "pearls and flowers" by Rotman (2008: 156).

[14] *Bodhi* trees and footprints of the Buddha are discussed as relics of use by Gombrich (1971: 108–109) and Strong (2004).

[15] Here I follow the reading *anaggahitacitto* at A Cᵉ III 280,11, rather than *anuggahitacitto* at A Eᵉ III 172,10.

in *avadāna* literature, faith (S. *prasāda*, P. *pasāda*)[16] is singled out as being the most important quality one can have while giving or, in fact, performing any kind of meritorious deed. In a high proportion of *avadāna*s it is specifically mentioned that the performer of a deed which eventually produces great fruit has faith in his or her mind at the very moment the deed is performed. For example, in the story of the leper from the Divyāvadāna, immediately before giving rice water to the monk, she cultivates faith in her mind (Divy 82,20). In the Apadāna this faith is sometimes directed towards a *buddha* (§§ 5.13.24, 5.15.4; Ap 254,26), or towards a feature of a *buddha* such as his halo (Ap 129,17, 210,10), his voice (Ap 256,7, 282,7), or his footprint (Ap 119,16, 383,14, 434,26), or towards the monastic order (*saṅgha*) (Ap 250,23). Often it is not specifically mentioned to whom or what the faith is directed; however, the context frequently implies it is to the recipient of the meritorious deed.

While the importance of faith is strongly inferred by its frequent appearance in *avadāna*s, it is confirmed by passages which clearly state its causal role. In the Divyāvadāna the Buddha states, "faith in the mind towards *tathāgata*s [i.e. *buddha*s] has inconceivable results" (*tathāgatānāṃ cittaprasādo 'py acintyavipākaḥ*, Divy 142,9–10).[17] Likewise, in a number of stories in the Apadāna, it is declared that the fruit of generating faith is the avoidance of rebirth in a bad realm (Ap 250,25, 282,9). In addition, numerous stories state that because of having faith in the mind, rebirth in a good realm is achieved (e.g. §§ 5.1.3, 5.2.8, 5.5.4).[18]

What role does faith play in *avadāna* narrative? In investigating this question in the context of the Divyāvadāna, Rotman considers faith a powerful outside force that is able to "allow one to escape from one's karmic destiny" (Rotman 2003: 564). Rather than being cultivated by conscious intention, he has argued that faith arises seemingly automatically upon the sighting of a field of

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[16] The difficulty of translating this word into a single English term has been noted several times before since it may also mean "purity", "tranquility", "joy", etc. (for a short overview, see Rotman 2009: 66). For the texts considered here, the translation "faith" seems most apt. See Trainor 1989 for a discussion on the role of *pasāda* in Pāli chronicles.

[17] Here I follow the reading found in Vaidya 1959: 88,23.

[18] These passages may alternatively be translated, "with that faith in my mind...", in which case a causal role still seems to be implied.

merit, often called an "agent of faith" (*prāsādika*),[19] which in turn causes a seemingly automatic compulsion to give. Exceptions to this pattern described by Rotman appear to be rare, yet they do exist. For example, in one story describing a monk prostrating himself before a *stūpa*, there is no indication that faith is controlled by an automatic process; instead, the monk actively "cultivates faith in his mind" (*cittam abhiprasādayati*, Divy 196,25). Such descriptions are more frequent in the Apadāna. For example, there are many instances of phases with causative first person singular verbs expressing "I cultivated faith in my mind" (e.g. *cittaṃ pasādayiṃ*), often immediately preceding the performance of a meritorious deed (e.g. § 5.11.31; Ap 379,29, 383,14). Additionally, some meritorious deeds are performed after the protagonist carefully reasons that to do so will be for his or her own future benefit (§§ 5.13.2–6; Ap 379,25–30).[20] In the Apadāna, faith is less an outside force that engenders a meritorious deed and more a part of the deed itself. In fact, in a number of stories the generation of faith is considered a meritorious deed in and of itself, capable of producing great fruit (Ap 250,25, 282,9).[21]

In the Buddhist context, karma is of course not simply action, but is instead intentional action[22] and it is worthwhile noting that there are numerous deeds described in *avadāna*s and *apadāna*s that are primarily mental rather than physical. For example, in the Divyāvadāna two parrots take the three refuges and the Buddha predicts that as a result they will be reborn many times in many heavenly realms and will eventually attain awakening (Divy 199–200). In the Apadāna, a number of mental deeds are described, including the recollection of the Buddha (§ 5.11.46), taking the three refuges (§ 5.13.6) and taking the five precepts (§ 5.14.4). These are described as fully fledged meritorious deeds having very favourable results.

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[19] In most circumstances this term simply means "pleasant" or "attractive", but in this context the translation "agent of faith" (Rotman 2008: 5) seems justified.

[20] Similarly, see Avś I 158,8–10.

[21] In a more recent work, Rotman (2009: 86–87) identified a number of passages from the Divyāvadāna in which faith alone appears to produce great fruit.

[22] A well known statement from the Pāli canon reads, *cetanāhaṃ bhikkhave kammaṃ vadāmi. cetayitvā kammaṃ karoti kāyena vācāya manasā* (A III 415,7–8), "Monks, I declare that intention is action. Having willed, one performs an action by body, speech [or] mind".

In *avadāna* literature fervent aspiration (*praṇidhāna*) is perhaps just as powerful as faith is in influencing karmic fruit. As is well known, fervent aspiration plays an important role in Mahāyāna Buddhism in the form of a vow or a wish to become a *buddha* (Dayal 1932: 64–67). In *avadāna* literature, however, fervent aspiration is less restricted in its use and includes the wish to become an *arhat* (e.g. Divy 193,6–7), a *pratyekabuddha* (e.g. Avś I 159,7–8), or a *buddha* (e.g. Divy 66,19–20). In the Divyāvadāna we even find, for example, a fervent aspiration to own a purse which never runs out of gold coins (Divy 133,22–25). Furthermore, instead of being performed in isolation, this special type of mental action is generally made in connection with a meritorious deed in order to control its fruit. Typically what happens is that, in the presence of a living *buddha* or *pratyekabuddha*, a person makes a fervent aspiration by means of a formal statement immediately after a meritorious deed is performed. For instance, in the Avadānaśataka a gardener gives the Buddha a toothpick and makes the following fervent aspiration in his presence, "by this foundation of virtue may I realise the awakening of a *pratyekabuddha*" (*anenāhaṃ kuśalamūlena pratyekāṃ bodhiṃ sākṣātkuryām*, Avś I 159,7–8).[23] The Buddha then predicts that the gardener will indeed become a *pratyekabuddha* (Avś I 162,5). Fervent aspirations are less common in the Apadāna; however, they are described in a number of stories.[24] In one example, it is narrated that, in a former rebirth, Upāli makes a successful fervent aspiration to attain the position of being foremost in the monastic code (*vinaya*) (Ap 38,23–24).

In the Avadānaśataka, a fervent aspiration is often the culmination of an interesting series of synergetic interactions (Strong 1979: 233–237, 1983: 158–159). In these passages the protagonist makes a donation and, upon its reception, the item undergoes a miraculous transformation, which in turn inspires the protagonist to make a fervent aspiration. For example, in the story of the gardener

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[23] For a discussion on this fervent aspiration and others from the Avadānaśataka, see Strong 1979: 230–237.

[24] While the noun *praṇidhāna* is frequently used in the Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna to express a formal aspiration, the Apadāna seems to favour a verb such as *(a)patthayiṃ* (a denominative verb formed from the noun *attha*, "aim") (e.g. Ap 45,7, 474,8).

from the Avadānaśataka, once donated, the toothpick transforms into a great tree, in the shade of which the Buddha gives a *dharma* talk (Avś I 159). This then inspires the gardener to make a fervent aspiration. Such interactions are less common in the Divyāvadāna[25] and, to the best of my knowledge, absent in the Apadāna.

Fervent aspiration is just one method among several in the Divyāvadāna by which people consciously control the fruit of a deed which has already been performed. The transference of merit is another such method. In one story, a series of beings experiencing unpleasant karmic fruit request that a relative from their previous life give alms to the monk Mahākātyāyana and that the ensuing reward be directed to them so that their karma may be exhausted (Divy 10,27–29, 12,12–14, 14,28–15,1).[26] In a number of *avadāna*s, we find parents expressing the hope that after their deaths their child will make donations and direct the reward to them (Divy 2,15–17, 99,6–8).[27] Another method for controlling the fruit of an action which has already been performed is confession. In several stories the protagonist speaks harshly and is requested to confess the fault in the hope that the karma is thereby exhausted (Divy 5,4–6, 54,27–55,2). One of these *avadāna*s confirms the success of this method by stating that, had he not confessed, he would have been reborn in a hell realm (Divy 55,3–4).

2.1.5. Conclusions

This examination of the narrative of three early *avadāna/apadāna* collections reveals a flexible and complex system of karma having a dynamic synergy between performer and recipient at its centre. Once a deed is done, its performer may direct,

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[25] For an example, see Divy 226–227 (which has a parallel at Avś I 125).

[26] These passages seem to be inconsistent with the formal doctrinal statements on karma in the Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna; for example, *na praṇaśyanti karmāṇi kalpakoṭiśatair api / sāmagrīṃ prāpya kālaṃ ca phalanti khalu dehinām* (e.g. Avś I 80,13–14; Divy 131,14–15), "Actions do not disappear, even over hundreds of crores of aeons. When reaching fullness and the right time, they yield their fruit on embodied beings".

[27] Parallels are found in the Avadānaśataka, e.g. Avś I 14,15–15,2.

or perhaps even destroy, the ensuing fruit. Most studies on *avadāna*s are restricted to a single text and are therefore unable to provide insight on the cohesion of this genre of literature. § 2.1 has noted some discrepancies between the three collections in the way in which karma is narrated. However, these differences are rather secondary, suggesting that the system of karma, including its basic technical vocabulary, is represented in a reasonably consistent manner across these three texts. This indicates there was a shared body of ideas and shared modes of narration that moved across language and school boundaries. There are numerous textual parallels between the Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna. Due to greater differences in language and school affiliation, what is more surprising are the parallels between the Apadāna and Divyāvadāna (e.g. Ap 6,15–16 and Divy 79,21–22). Over half a century ago, it was perhaps rather preemptively stated that the Apadāna does not possess the features of Sanskrit *avadāna* literature (Thomas 1933: 35) and even that the Apadāna has no connection with Sanskrit *avadāna* literature whatsoever (Thomas 1951: 279n1). The present investigation has demonstrated that, in fact, the content of the Apadāna has a great deal in common with the content of early Sanskrit *avadāna*s.

2.2. The Apadāna and Gāndhārī *avadāna* and *pūrvayoga* literature

An analysis of early Indian *avadāna* literature would be incomplete without considering a number of recently edited Gāndhārī *avadāna*s and *pūrvayoga*s, manuscripts of which have been dated to approximately the first half of the first century CE (Lenz 2003: 125, 2010: 17). This date does not necessarily represent the earliest evidence of *avadāna* literature in Gandhāra. Writing on an *avadāna* manuscript from the so-called "split collection" of Kharoṣṭhī script manuscripts, Falk (2011: 19) commented that the handwriting is "remarkingly archaic" and that, rather astonishingly, carbon dating indicates there is a 95.4% probability that the manuscript falls within the date range 184–46 BCE. Falk (2011: 19) concluded that

"we might well be forced to reckon these Avadānas amongst the oldest Buddhist inscribed birchbark".

*Avadāna*s and *pūrvayoga*s, "former connections", are sister genres in Gāndhārī literature. While Gāndhārī *avadāna*s are stories of the present, Gāndhārī *pūrvayoga*s are stories of the past (Lenz 2003: 92). This distinction is unexpected since, as described in § 2.1.1, one of the defining features of both Sanskrit *avadāna*s and Pāli *apadāna*s is the inclusion of a story of the past *and* a story of the present. Another notable feature of this Gāndhārī material is that the stories are brief summaries rather than complete narratives and it seems that they were used as memory aids for monks who would have been required to fill in the details with an "expansion" upon recitation (Lenz 2010: 6).

Many of the concepts which feature prominently in Sanskrit *avadāna* literature, such as faith and fervent aspiration, are rarely mentioned in the Gāndhārī *avadāna*s and *pūrvayoga*s which have hitherto been edited. A *pūrvayoga* narrating a former rebirth of Ājñāta Kauṇḍinya is one exception, in which the protagonist makes a fervent aspiration to encounter the Buddha in the future and to understand the *dharma* (Lenz 2003: 165, 175–176). In the same *pūrvayoga*, the protagonist offers to build a hut for a *pratyekabuddha*, a being who, as noted in § 2.1.3, is a particularly good field of merit. However, for the most part, these stories do not have a great deal in common with either Sanskrit *avadāna*s or Pāli *apadāna*s and there do not appear to be any direct parallels with the Apadāna amongst the Gāndhārī *avadāna*s and *pūrvayoga*s which have been edited to date. The content of Gāndhārī *avadāna*s and *pūrvayoga*s is, in fact, much more variable than its Sanskrit or Pāli counterparts. Less than half of the intelligible Gāndhārī *avadāna*s and *pūrvayoga*s which Lenz (2010: 7) examined illustrate a link between karma and its fruit. Other stories concern, for example, the doctrine of impermanence and the first Buddhist council. Taken as a whole, many of these stories are better described as "pious legends" rather than narrations of karma and its fruit (Lenz 2010: 13). Perhaps they offer us a glimpse into the early formative stage of the *avadāna* genre before it became a more rigid and stylised literary tradition. However, it is equally

possible that this genre was simply more broadly defined in the Gandhāra region than in other parts of India.

2.3. The Apadāna and Anavataptagāthā

The Apadāna bears a close similarity to the Anavataptagāthā, a text preserved in Tibetan, Chinese and, partially, in Sanskrit and Gāndhārī. The title of this work, Anavataptagāthā, "Verse[s] of [Lake] Anavatapta", refers to the frame story in which the Buddha and his disciples describe their own karmic biographies, in verse, at Lake Anavatapta in the Himalayas. Due to the nature of its content, Bechert (1961: 10) understood the Anavataptagāthā to belong to the *avadāna* genre. However, as pointed out by Salomon (2008: 16), the text itself does not contain the word *avadāna*. In the version of this text found in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, individual stories are instead titled *karmaploti*, "fabric of action", and it seems likely that, in Gandhāra at least, the work was considered a canonical *sūtra* (Salomon 2008: 15–18).

A typical Anavataptagāthā story is structured in the following manner: (1) one or more stories of the past concerning either a meritorious or a bad deed, (2) a description of karmic fruits in subsequent rebirths and (3) a story of the present, often with mention of the protagonist's attainment of arhatship (Salomon 2008: 8). A concluding statement of each story is made by an unnamed narrator in the third person. It is evident that this narrative structure is very similar to that of the *apadāna*s, as described in § 2.1.1. Regarding the frequent mention of the protagonists' attainment of arhatship, Salomon (2008: 8) stated, "This is technically significant, because it is through the power of *jātismara*, the recollection of past lives, one of the six supernormal powers (*abhijñā*) of an arhat, that the disciples are able to recall and reveal their own karmic histories". However, in Pāli literature at least, not all *arahat*s are said to have realised the six supernormal knowledges (Nyanatiloka 2007 s.v. *abhiññā*). At S I 191,21–23, for example, the Buddha states that of the 500 nearby *arahat*s, only sixty had realised the six supernormal

knowledges. To the best of my knowledge, the Anavataptagāthā mentions the attainment of the six supernormal knowledges in only one story (Anav Gil XX.319).

Besides the narrative structure of its stories, the content of the Anavataptagāthā also has a great deal in common with the Apadāna. The Anavataptagāthā is primarily concerned with demonstrating that karma will eventually bear its fruit, even after an immense period of time. The concept of the field of merit plays a significant role in these narratives, with excellent fields of merit being common recipients of meritorious deeds, particularly the *stūpa*s of past *buddha*s (e.g. Anav Gil V.61–63, VII.87–88, XII.163–164). Indeed, at Anav Gil IV.57, *stūpa*s of the conqueror are explicitly declared to be the best field of merit. In numerous Anavataptagāthā stories, the protagonist generates faith at the very moment he performs a meritorious deed (e.g. Anav Gil II.19, IV.45, XIV.195). These deeds eventually yield great fruit, implying that faith is able to amplify karmic fruit. Indeed, the text explicitly mentions the causal role that faith plays in this process, stating, "For the gift of one with faith in their mind is not small [when given] to either an awakened Tathāgata or the *buddha*s' disciples" (*na hi cittaprasādasya svalpā bhavati dakṣiṇā / tathāgate ca saṃbuddhe buddhānāṃ śrāvakeṣu vā*, Anav Gil V.69; cf. Anav Gil IV.58). Successful fervent aspirations are made in a number of stories (e.g. Anav Gil II.21–22, VI.76–77, XIV.197–202); however, instead of *praṇidhāna*, which is the term favoured in both the Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna, the Anavataptagāthā much more often uses *praṇidhi*. As demonstrated in §§ 2.1.3–4, the field of merit, faith and fervent aspiration all play an important role in both Sanskrit *avadāna*s and Pāli *apadāna*s.

However, there are a number of important differences between the content of the Apadāna and Anavataptagāthā. One of these is that, with very few exceptions,[28] the former narrates only meritorious deeds, while the latter narrates both meritorious and bad deeds. Approximately one third of Anavataptagāthā stories are primarily concerned with the results of a bad deed (Salomon 2008: 6).

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[28] The most obvious exception is the Pubbakammapiloti, which, as will be explained, was directly borrowed from the Anavataptagāthā.

One example is the story pertaining to Nandika, which describes that in a past rebirth he gave food cooked in horse's urine[29] to an ascetic (Anav Gil X.130). The result of this bad deed is rebirth in hells for a long time, followed by rebirth as a sick human (Anav Gil X.131–132). The Gāndhārī version adds that, with the remaining karma, wherever he is subsequently born he starves to death (Salomon 2008: 307–308). This story also serves to illustrate another difference between the Anavataptagāthā and Apadāna. While the remainder of action (*karmāvaśeṣa*) is an important and recurring concept in the Anavataptagāthā (Salomon 2008: 7), the equivalent Pāli term (*kammāvasesa*) is mentioned only seven times in the Apadāna across six stories (Ap 108,15, 144,1, 298,10, 299,13, 299,19, 330,18, 487,11).[30] Three of these occurrences come from passages directly borrowed from the Anavataptagāthā (Ap 298,10, 299,13, 299,19).

As has already been noted in § 1.4, there are three passages in the Apadāna which have parallels in the Anavataptagāthā[31] and it is almost certain that in two of these instances the author(s) or compiler(s) of the former text directly borrowed from the latter text.[32] The main supporting evidence for this claim is that the distinctive concluding statements of both Anavataptagāthā stories are reproduced in the Apadāna. These verses are very much out of context in their new environment since they are composed in the third person, which is very uncharacteristic for Apadāna verse material, and because they mention Lake Anavatapta (P. Anotatta), a place not referred to elsewhere in the Apadāna.[33] The stories of Koṭīviṃśa and Mahākāśyapa have survived in Gāndhārī, Pāli and Sanskrit.[34] Salomon (2008: 64–74) compared the wording of these different versions and concluded that the Pāli

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[29] Or, depending upon how one analyses the *sandhi*, dog's urine.

[30] In addition, the term *kammasesa* is mentioned at Ap 610,15.

[31] The *apadāna* of Pabhaṅkara (Ap 269–270) is a parallel to the Anavataptagāthā story of Prabhākara (Anav XXXV), the *apadāna* of Soṇa Koṭivīsa (Ap 298) is a parallel to the Anavataptagāthā story of Koṭīviṃśa (Anav VI) and the Pubbakammapiloti (Ap 299–301) is a parallel to the Anavataptagāthā story of the Tathāgata (Anav XXXVII).

[32] Namely, the *apadāna* of Soṇa Koṭivīsa and the Pubbakammapiloti.

[33] With the exception of the first verse of the Pubbakammapiloti (Ap 299,2–3).

[34] The Pāli parallel of the latter story may be found at Nett 141,12–142,5.

text is closer to the Gāndhārī than to the Sanskrit. Due to the existence and nature of these parallels, Salomon (2008: 31–32) believed it is plausible that there once existed a Pāli version of the Anavataptagāthā that bore a reasonably close relationship with the Gāndhārī version and that, at some point in time before it became lost, was quoted in the Apadāna and Nettippakaraṇa.[35] It may even be that this lost Pāli Anavataptagāthā also provided the structural basis and thematic inspiration for the Apadāna, though naturally such a hypothesis is highly speculative.

2.4. The Apadāna and Pāli canon

The Apadāna has stylistic and thematic affiliations with numerous texts in the Pāli canon, especially those belonging to the Khuddakanikāya.[36] There is a particularly strong connection between the Apadāna and the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā. So much so that Norman (1983: 89) stated that the "Apadāna is almost an appendix to the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā, since it connects together the past and present lives of the *theras* and *therīs*". Like the Apadāna, both these texts contain, though are not limited to, autohagiographies composed in verse. In particular, the last two poems of the Therīgāthā and the Theragāthā poem of Anuruddha[37] read like *apadāna*s and are very much concerned with action and its fruit (Norman 1983: 89; Salomon 2008: 29–30). Many of the monks and nuns who appear in the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā also appear in the Apadāna and, in these instances, the Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā and Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā often quote the relevant *apadāna*. However, despite their similarities, the poems of the Theragāthā and Therīgāthā usually have

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[35] That is, the story of Mahākāśyapa at Nett 141,12–142,5.

[36] Of course, there are also passages outside of the Khuddakanikāya which have a relationship with the Apadāna. For example, the content and language of the verses at A IV 89–91 are extremely reminiscent of the *apadāna*s.

[37] In fact, the Anuruddha Theragāthā verses (Th 910–919) constitute a parallel to the Anavataptagāthā story of Aniruddha (Anav XXIII) (Salomon 2008: 29–30).

a different thematic focus to the *apadāna*s. This may be illustrated by a comparison of Cūḷapanthaka's Theragāthā verses (Th 557–566) and his *apadāna* (§ 5.4). With extremely similar wording, both versions describe an episode in which Gotama Buddha encourages the dejected protagonist in his final rebirth (§§ 5.4.14–17; Th 557–560). In the Theragāthā version, Cūḷapanthaka then states that he realised awakening after entering concentration for the attainment of the highest goal (Th 561–562). In contrast, in the Apadāna version, he realises awakening after recalling a former rebirth in which he gave Padumuttara Buddha an umbrella (§ 5.4.18) after, in fact, *preventing* this Buddha from entering concentration (§ 5.4.3).

The Vimānavatthu has a strong thematic affiliation with the Apadāna. This Khuddakanikāya text is a collection of poems primarily concerned with illustrating that good actions bear pleasant fruits. In a typical Vimānavatthu story, a god recalls the meritorious deed he or she performed which resulted in his or her rebirth in a celestial mansion (*vimāna*). Like the Apadāna, faith (*pasāda*) is persistently given a prominent role in the Vimānavatthu's narratives and it is often stated that the protagonist generated faith while he or she performed their meritorious deed (e.g. Vv 3.6, 5.9, 82.6). The text itself explains the importance of faith (and a good field of merit) by stating, "When the mind is faithful, no gift is small [when given] to either an awakened Tathāgata or a disciple of his" (*n' atthi citte pasannamhi appakā nāma dakkhiṇā / Tathāgate vā sambuddhe atha vā tassa sāvake*, Vv 47.10).[38]

A number of other Khuddakanikāya texts bear a relationship to the Apadāna. While the Jātaka, Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka are not principally concerned with demonstrating that meritorious deeds produce pleasant fruits, they do contain stories about previous rebirths (of Gotama Buddha as a *bodhisatta*) that establish a connection between the past and the present. Specifically, the time periods in which the narratives of the Apadāna and Buddhavaṃsa take place are often the same, that is, during the careers of previous *buddha*s. Furthermore, in the Buddhavaṃsa Gotama Buddha describes the deeds he performed for previous *buddha*s while he was a *bodhisatta*, such as giving a cloak (Bv 6.11), fruit (Bv 17.9) and fabric

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[38] Note the similarity between this verse and two previously cited verses from the Anavataptagāthā (Anav Gil IV.58, V.69).

together with shoes (Bv 24.11). While these deeds are only briefly described and not within the lexical framework of karma and its fruit, they are reminiscent of the meritorious deeds depicted in the *apadāna*s. At the conclusion of the Cariyāpiṭaka, the text is labeled the *Buddhāpadāniya* (Cp 37,2),[39] "*apadāniya* of the Buddha". This label is reasonably apt if we take *apadāna* to mean "glorious achievement", since the Cariyāpiṭaka is a collection of stories narrating Gotama Buddha's exemplary practice of the perfections (*pāramī*s) in previous rebirths as a *bodhisatta*.

While the Apadāna shares a great deal in common with a number of canonical texts, some of its content is rather abnormal in the overall context of the Pāli canon. The Buddhāpadāna (Ap 1–6) in particular has some unusual features, as highlighted by Bechert (1992). In this *apadāna*, Gotama Buddha describes an elaborate *buddha*-field (*buddhakhetta*) in which he mentally creates all the *buddha*s of the past. These *buddha*s meditate, give *dhamma* talks and ask each other questions. The few descriptions of *buddha*-fields found elsewhere in the Pāli canon are less elaborate (Norman 1983: 91). Further, the presence of several *buddha*s in the same place at the same time conflicts with the belief that it is impossible for two *buddha*s to exist simultaneously in the same world system (e.g. D II 225; M III 65; Mil 236–239). Although these past *buddha*s were mentally created by Gotama Buddha (Ap 2,18–19), their coexistence is nonetheless extremely unusual in early Pāli literature. In the Buddhāpadāna, Gotama Buddha also states that he shared the fruit of his meritorious deeds with all beings (Ap 4,13–16). Bechert (1992: 99) noted that the dedication or transference of merit is found in only a few other passages in the Pāli canon[40] and it is an idea that appears to be rejected in the Kathāvatthu (Kv 347).

Unusual features in the Apadāna's content are not restricted to the Buddhāpadāna. § 2.5 will explore an oddity found throughout the Therāpadāna that has not previously been described.

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[39] Page and line number is used here since this passage falls outside of the DOP system of citing the Cariyāpiṭaka by *vagga*, poem and verse. The close of the Cariyāpiṭaka (Cp 37,2–3) and the close of both the Buddhāpadāna (Ap 6,17–19) and Pubbakammapiloti (Ap 301,17–19) are very similar.

[40] For further details, see Egge 2002: 56–60, 82–86.

2.5. *Nibbāna* as the fruit of meritorious deeds in the Apadāna[41]

2.5.1. Two pairs of ethical terms in the Pāli canon

In canonical Pāli literature there are numerous passages in which the Buddha urges his followers to realise *nibbāna* (S. *nirvāṇa*) by practicing the eightfold path (e.g. S V 420–424) or by some other means (e.g. S IV 359–361). Elsewhere in the Pāli canon, the Buddha encourages his followers to gain a good rebirth by performing meritorious deeds such as giving (e.g. A III 32–34). The process behind the latter is, of course, the workings of karma, in which a meritorious deed ripens into a pleasant karmic fruit, while a bad deed ripens into an unpleasant fruit.

A study of such passages indicates the existence of two important pairs of ethical terms (Premasiri 1976). The first consists of what is wholesome (*kusala*) and what is unwholesome (*akusala*) and is often employed in passages dealing with *nibbāna*. The second consists of what is meritorious (*puñña*) and what is bad (*pāpa*) and is often used in passages dealing with karma and rebirth. The first pair provided a useful set of vocabulary to label what was considered to lead to *nibbāna* as wholesome and what was considered to lead away from *nibbāna* as unwholesome. On the other hand, the vocabulary of the second pair was used to label what was considered to result in pleasant karmic fruit as meritorious and what was considered to result in unpleasant karmic fruit as bad.

An important clarification must be made: these two pairs of ethical terms are not used to describe two distinct sets of practices (Keown 1992: 122–123).[42] For example, virtuous conduct is an important component of the eightfold path leading to *nibbāna* (M I 301). However, at A IV 241–243 it is also stated that virtuous conduct makes merit and results in a good rebirth. Another example concerns two almost identical sets of action, that is, the first four wholesome paths of action (e.g. D III 269) and the first four factors in the *uposatha* observance (e.g. A IV 248–

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[41] § 2.5 is an edited version of Clark 2015.

[42] For a more general discussion on this topic, see Aronson 1979.

251).[43] At A V 57–58 it is stated that one who cultivates the wholesome paths of action puts an end to suffering (i.e. realises *nibbāna*). On the other hand, the *uposatha* observance is described as a meritorious deed which yields great fruit and results in a good rebirth (A IV 251–255). Therefore some actions are capable of generating merit and also leading its performer towards *nibbāna*. However, there are a number of key canonical passages, primarily from the Apadāna, which do not conform to the trends described thus far.

2.5.2. A passage from the Khuddakapāṭha

The first of these passages (Khp 8.13–15) was highlighted by McDermott (1973). It comes from the Nidhikaṇḍasutta[44] in the Khuddakapāṭha in which two types of treasure are contrasted. The first is the material type buried deep underground for a future need. The text states that such a treasure is eventually shifted or stolen. The second is merit,[45] which we might regard as a form of spiritual currency generated by the performance of meritorious deeds, for example, "by means of giving, virtuous conduct, restraint and taming" (*dānena sīlena saṃyamena damena ca*, Khp 8.6). The *sutta* attempts to demonstrate that this is the superior type of treasure, stating it is well buried (*sunihita*, Khp 8.6, 8.8) and not to be taken away (*ajeyya*,

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[43] The difference being that in the wholesome paths of action there is abstention from misconduct in regard to sensual pleasures, while in the *uposatha* observance there is abstention from sexual activity.

[44] Kv 351,18–21 quotes a parallel to verse nine of the Nidhikaṇḍasutta (Khp 8.9). As noted by Jayawickrama (1979: xxiv), it appears that the author of Kv-a regarded this verse as coming from a source outside of the Theravāda tradition, stating, "[This] *sutta* is presented [here] after taking it from another congregation" (*suttaṃ parasamayato āharitvā dassitaṃ*, Kv-a 100,11). It is also notable that the Nidhikaṇḍasutta is the only *sutta* in the Khuddakapāṭha without parallel in the Pāli canon (von Hinüber 1996: 44). While it is therefore possible that the unusual ideas expressed in this *sutta* may originate from non-Theravādins, without further evidence this idea remains speculative.

[45] While the commentary of this text explicitly labels the second type of treasure as merit (e.g. Pj I 221,21), the *sutta* does not do so unambiguously. However, Khp 8.9, 8.16 strongly support such an association.

Khp 8.8). A list is then provided of what may be gained as a result of this second type of treasure:

mānusikā[46] *ca sampatti devaloke ca yā rati*
yā ca nibbānasampatti sabbam etena labbhati.

The attainment of being a human, pleasure in the world of the gods and the attainment of *nibbāna*; all that is gained by means of this [merit].

mittasampadam āgamma yoniso va[47] *payuñjato*
vijjāvimuttivasībhāvo sabbam etena labbhati.

Mastery of the knowledges and liberation for one properly applying himself on account of the attainment of friends; all that is gained by means of this [merit].

paṭisambhidā vimokkhā ca yā ca sāvakapāramī
paccekabodhi buddhabhūmi sabbam etena labbhati. (Khp 8.13–15)

The analytical insights, the liberations, the perfection of a disciple, the awakening of a *paccekabuddha* and the ground of a *buddha*; all that is gained by means of this [merit].

In light of the introduction to this section (§ 2.5.1), it should not be surprising that actions capable of generating merit might also lead its performer to *nibbāna*. What is surprising, however, is that here *nibbāna* is incorporated into the vocabulary set of merit and karma, and that, doctrinally, the attainment of *nibbāna*

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[46] Bᵉ *mānussikā*. Whole Pāli verses in this section (§ 2.5) have been edited eclectically using three printed editions: Bᵉ (prints from 2006–2008), Cᵉ and Eᵉ. Minor orthographic variants and variants judged to be incorrect from a grammatical or orthographic standpoint have been omitted. Other variants are listed after their abbreviated source, as above. For eclectic editing, see §§ 3.2–3.

[47] Cᵉ *ca*, Eᵉ *ve*

and even buddhahood is presented as the result of merit. McDermott (1973: 345) stated that this is "the lone clear canonical expression of the view that *Nibbāna* is simply the reward for the most meritorious of *kamma*". However, this is not correct. There are many similar passages found in the Apadāna.[48]

2.5.3. Passages from the Apadāna

As already noted, the Apadāna persistently employs the concepts and vocabulary of merit and karma in its narratives, describing that appropriately performed meritorious deeds yield very pleasant fruits, even after immense intervening periods of time. In some of its narrative, the way in which the Apadāna treats *nibbāna* is rather conventional. For example, there are stories which describe the protagonist realising *nibbāna* after understanding all the taints (§ 5.6.17), while cultivating the perception of impermanence (§ 5.9.11), or after practicing with exertion in a grove inhabited by tigers (§ 5.10.15). What is of particular interest, however, are the numerous passages in which *nibbāna* is treated less conventionally by being listed as one of the possible karmic fruits of a meritorious deed. A small selection of these passages has been made with the intention of demonstrating the variety of different ways in which this idea is expressed.

The first such passage (Ap 307,25–28) is part of a rather long story which begins one hundred thousand aeons ago with a wealthy man deciding to make a donation to Padumuttara Buddha and his monastic order. Following the meritorious deed (*puññakamma*, Ap 307,16), when the narrative eventually reaches the final life of the protagonist, he states:

satasahasse kataṃ kammaṃ phalaṃ dassesi me idha
sumutto saravego va[49] *kilese jhāpayī mama.*

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[48] In addition, Egge (2002: 81–82) has highlighted two passages from the Vimānavatthu in which the protagonist hopes that awakening will be the fruit of a meritorious deed (Vv 37.13, 81.24).

[49] Eᵉ *ca*

The deed [I] performed one hundred thousand [aeons ago] produced a fruit for me in this life: as if with the speed of a well-released arrow,[50] it burnt my defilements.

aho me sukataṃ kammaṃ puññakkhette anuttare

yattha kāraṃ karitvāna patto 'mhi acalaṃ padaṃ. (Ap 307,25–28)

Ah, the deed was well-performed by me to an unsurpassed field of merit in that, having performed the deed of homage, I attained the unshakable state.

The word *nibbāna* is not used in these two verses, nor is it used in most of the passages examined in the remainder of this section. Pāli texts commonly refer to *nibbāna* by employing one of its many poetic adjectives[51] or by evoking one of its defining features. This passage does both. One of the terms used to describe *nibbāna* realised in life, as opposed to *nibbāna* coinciding with death, is the "quenching of the defilements" (*kilesaparinibbāna*, Nyanatiloka 2007 s.v. *nibbāna*). It is likely the first verse cited here refers to this process. The second verse contains the expression the "unshakable state" (*acalaṃ padaṃ*), which is almost certainly being used as a synonym of *nibbāna*. Indeed, this phrase follows and qualifies the word *nibbāna* in an earlier verse in the Apadāna (Ap 23,23). These two verses strongly suggest that making a donation to a past *buddha* and his monastic order was the reason that the protagonist realised *nibbāna*.

The story from which the second passage (Ap 453,11–14) comes also begins one hundred thousand aeons ago and describes a brahman leaving his ten children to live in a hermitage in the forest. There, he meets Padumuttara Buddha and gives some fruit to him and his monastic order. Following the meritorious deed (*puññakamma*, Ap 452,19), he states towards the end of the story:

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[50] Particularly in light of Ap 29,16, 280,18, this translation seems preferable to "[I] was well-released (i.e. awakened), as if with the speed of an arrow".

[51] For some examples, see Norman 2008b: 137.

sududdasaṃ sunipuṇaṃ gambhīraṃ suppakāsitaṃ

phassayitvā[52] *viharāmi phaladānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.*

I dwell having attained that which is extremely difficult to see, extremely subtle, profound [and] well explained; this is the fruit of giving fruit.

vimokkhe[53] *aṭṭha phusitvā*[54] *viharāmi anāsavo*

ātāpī nipako cāhaṃ phaladānass' idaṃ phalaṃ. (Ap 453,11–14)

After attaining the eight liberations, I dwell without taints, energetic and zealous; this is the fruit of giving fruit.

It seems a word play is intended in the two verses cited here, with the word *phala* being used to mean both "fruit" and "karmic result". While somewhat ambiguous, it is reasonably likely that the four terms in *pāda*s a and b of the first verse refer to *nibbāna*. For example, at S IV 369,13, 369,17 the terms "subtle" (*nipuṇa*) and "extremely difficult to see" (*sududdasa*) are used as adjectives of *nibbāna* (S IV 371,22). At Th 212 the same two terms describe a state (*pada*) which the commentary glosses as *nibbāna* (Th-a II 78,11). However, there is no such ambiguity in the second verse, since the destruction of the taints is a common description of *nibbāna* (e.g. M I 522; S III 58). This verse clearly suggests that giving fruit to the appropriate recipients can result in the realisation of *nibbāna*.

The third passage (Ap 351,1–4) to be examined belongs to a story which also begins in the wilderness. While searching for a spotted antelope, a deer hunter comes across a certain Anuruddha Buddha, whose name does not appear in the main canonical lists of past *buddha*s. The deer hunter makes a pavilion for Anuruddha Buddha, covers it with lotus flowers and then salutes him. Later he describes the fruits of his own actions:

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[52] Eᵉ *passitvāna*, "having seen"

[53] Eᵉ *vimokhe*

[54] Cᵉ *phassitvā*, Eᵉ *passitvā*

pubbenivāsaṃ jānāmi dibbacakkhu[55] *visodhitaṃ*
āsavā me parikkhīṇā buddhapūjāy' idaṃ phalaṃ.

I know my previous abode[s], my divine eye has been purified, I have destroyed my taints; this is the fruit of [paying] homage to the Buddha.

jahitā purimā jāti buddhassa oraso ahaṃ
dāyādo 'mhi ca saddhamme buddhapūjāy' idaṃ phalaṃ. (Ap 351,1–4)

I have abandoned my previous family, I am a true son of the Buddha and I am an heir to the true doctrine; this is the fruit of [paying] homage to the Buddha.

     In the first verse cited here, the protagonist indicates he has the triple knowledge (i.e. that he is a *tevijja*). These three knowledges are perhaps best known from the narration of Gotama Buddha's own awakening. At M I 247–249 the Buddha describes that on the night of his awakening he firstly remembered his former rebirths (the first knowledge), then perceived the rebirth of beings according to their past deeds by means of his purified divine eye (the second knowledge) and finally realised awakening after his mind was liberated from the taints (the third knowledge). That sequence is mirrored in this passage using essentially the same Pāli terms; however, instead of being the culmination of a great deal of intensive spiritual practice, it is here declared to be simply the karmic result of paying homage to a past *buddha*.[56]

     The final passage (Ap 343,17–20) belongs to a story which begins one morning thirty thousand aeons ago at a hermitage situated near the Himalayas. Sumedha Buddha approaches for alms and the protagonist responds by filling Sumedha Buddha's bowl with ghee and oil. At the conclusion of the story he states:

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[55] Eᵉ *-cakkhuṃ*

[56] At Ap 351,10–11, the protagonist also adds that his awakening took place after hearing a talk from Gotama Buddha, implying that this was also a contributing factor.

vatthaṃ gandhañ ca sappiñ ca aññaṃ ca[57] *diṭṭhadhammikaṃ*
asaṅkhatañ ca nibbānaṃ sappidānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

[Obtaining] clothing, perfume, ghee and other [items], and [realising] unconditioned *nibbāna* in this very life; this is the fruit of giving ghee.

satipaṭṭhānasayano samādhijhānagocaro[58]
bojjhaṅgabhojano ajja sappidānass' idaṃ phalaṃ. (Ap 343,17–20)

Today my bed is the applications of mindfulness, my pasture is concentration and meditative absorptions, my food is the factors of awakening; this is the fruit of giving ghee.

In the second verse cited here, the protagonist makes the rather startling claim that his expertise in meditation is simply the result of doing something as seemingly trivial as giving ghee to an appropriate recipient. It will be noticed that, unlike in the preceding passages cited from the Apadāna, the word *nibbāna* is explicitly used here, casually listed alongside the attainment of clothing, perfume and ghee.[59] Even the protagonist is surprised that such an immeasurable result could follow the donation of a little (*thoka*) ghee (Ap 343,9–10).[60]

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[57] Eᵉ *vā*

[58] Eᵉ *-jjhāna-*

[59] At first inspection it seems incongruous that *nibbāna* is described as "unconditioned" (*asaṅkhata*) and yet apparently the causal result of a prior action. However, this verse seems to imply it is the realisation of *nibbāna*, rather than *nibbāna* itself, that was caused by giving ghee, just as it seems to imply that obtaining clothing, etc., rather than the mere existence of clothing, etc., was caused by giving ghee. Certain post-canonical Pāli texts carefully spell out that the path does not cause the arising of *nibbāna*, which is after all unconditioned, but rather it causes the realisation of *nibbāna* (Collins 1998: 184–185).

[60] A similar passage is found in the Avadānaśataka (Avś I 329,10).

2.5.4. Conclusions

The first conclusion we can draw from these passages relates to vocabulary. It may be useful to consider again the two pairs of ethical terms described in § 2.5.1. What is meritorious and what is bad are terms typically employed in the canon to evaluate actions in terms of their results, often those results expected in a future rebirth. Perhaps partly because it consists of the end of rebirth, *nibbāna* is often discussed using a different set of language: what is wholesome and what is unwholesome. The key passages examined in this section do not conform to this trend in that this distinction of vocabulary is no longer observed since *nibbāna* is unexpectedly described within the lexical framework of merit and karma. It might be said that the result is a rather less sophisticated description of the Buddhist path.

The second conclusion we can draw relates to doctrine. Firstly, in the Khuddakapāṭha passage it is stated that *nibbāna* may be gained by means of merit. This is rather unusual and may be contrasted with, for example, a passage narrating an unsuccessful attempt by Māra to distract the *bodhisatta* while he is meditating prior to his awakening, stating he should instead make merit. The *bodhisatta* replies, "I do not have use for even a little merit" (*aṇumattena pi puññena attho mayhaṃ na vijjati*, Sn 431).[61] This passage suggests that merit was irrelevant to Gotama Buddha's realisation of *nibbāna*. Secondly, in the Apadāna passages it is stated that *nibbāna* may be the fruit of certain meritorious deeds. It is difficult to give a complete list of what is considered necessary and sufficient for the realisation of *nibbāna* according to early Pāli literature. At S IV 359–361 a number of practices are listed which lead to *nibbāna*, such as mindfulness directed to the body, calmness and insight, the eightfold path, etc. In narrative passages, we also find, for example, that descriptions of energetic practice in seclusion often immediately precede the realisation of *nibbāna* (e.g. S IV 76). In the case of these four Apadāna passages, the deeds considered to cause the attainment of *nibbāna* are giving to a *buddha*, or a *buddha* and his monastic order, and paying homage to a

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[61] See Norman 2006a: 239n431 for a well researched speculation on a possible earlier version of this passage.

buddha. Besides a previously mentioned passage from the Vimānavatthu (Vv 81.24), I know of no other Pāli canonical text in which actions similar to these are considered sufficient to bring about the realisation of *nibbāna*, even if directed towards an excellent field of merit such as a *buddha*.

While the question of how this discussion relates to post-canonical Pāli literature and the works of other Buddhist schools is beyond the scope of this investigation, these are important areas for future research. It is interesting that there are numerous descriptions of the realisation of awakening following the performance of rather simple meritorious deeds in early Sanskrit *avadāna* collections such as the Avadānaśataka (e.g. Avś I 158–162) and the Divyāvadāna (e.g. Divy 72–74). Indeed, as noted in § 2.1, the themes and technical vocabulary of these texts share much in common with the Apadāna and it is possible that the apparent doctrinal developments found in the Apadāna reflect broader social changes within early Indian Buddhism.

2.6. Intended use(s) and audience(s)

One of the few scholars to write on the intended use(s) and audience(s) of the Apadāna is Walters, who has argued that the *apadāna*s "were probably composed for performance in empirewide festivals sponsored by the Śunga and Sātavāhana emperors in the second and first centuries B.C." (Walters 1994: 368). He suggested that the "performers were both monks and nuns, who, in the first person, voiced the achievements of the famous monk or nun to whom the particular *apadāna* was ascribed" (Walters 1994: 368). Elsewhere, Walters (1997: 179) stated that the content of these performances would have actively encouraged the audience's participation in such festivals. However, the evidence Walters has cited to support his theory is not particularly compelling and the idea must be regarded as rather speculative. For instance, Walters (1997: 192n85) stated, "the texts are addressed to a plural 'you,' an audience, that is enjoined to 'listen.' There are also internal reasons for making his [sic] supposition: unmarked changes of voice that would be

unintelligible without separate performers, indeed the very style in which the texts are written (colloquialism, additions of entertainment value, and the like.)". The fact that the Apadāna occasionally addresses an audience in the second person suggests that the text's composer(s) did indeed envisage a potential audience; however, it is not clear from these passages exactly what kind of audience they had in mind. Similarly, unmarked changes of voice could easily be explained by a monk or nun upon the recitation of an *apadāna* without the need for a festival performance.

While little else has been written on the intended use(s) and audience(s) of the Apadāna,[62] numerous scholars have put forth proposals regarding the audience for whom early Sanskrit *avadāna*s were intended. There has been a reasonably strong consensus that *avadāna* literature was intended for lay people, in part to foster the material support necessary for the survival of the monastic order. Speyer (1909: v) commented, "The texts of the avadāna and jātaka kind do not belong to the higher regions of Buddhist teaching. They are accommodated to the spiritual wants of the many". Regarding the usage of this genre of literature, Speyer (1909: vi) rather bluntly stated:

> The more the Church increased by waxing numbers of monks and nuns, the more they stood in want of many numerous and wealthy communities of faithful patrons and supporters. Its propagandism which brought the True and Excellent Lore within the reach of the gṛhapatis [i.e. householders], the settled farmers, merchants, artisans, and if possible, also of the higher classes of society, that might secure its preachers the favour of lords and kings, was, at bottom, a matter of unconscious self-preservation.

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[62] One exception is that of Mellick Cutler (1994: 34), who stated, "homiletic texts such as the *Apadāna* were intended to be used by monks and nuns in their role as preachers and transmitters of the Buddhist doctrine. They were thus directed particularly towards lay audiences, although this is not to suggest that they could not have been used in teaching monks and nuns as well". This proposal will be considered below.

Similarly, Strong (1983: 165) proposed that the Aśokāvadāna was addressed to "lay-oriented Buddhists" and that the text was concerned with "the attraction of new converts, the reinforcement of the faith of established followers, and the encouragement of both devotion and donation". Rotman (2008: 26) drew particular attention to the great rewards which *avadāna*s promise for those who make donations to the monastic order, stating, "Listening to such stories would naturally reinforce the 'food for merit' exchange, a give-and-take that is as essential for the physical survival of monastics as it is for the karmic development of the laity".[63]

In order to determine how applicable these comments are to the Apadāna, the Therāpadāna material edited and translated in this thesis was analysed. Firstly, the "stories of the past" were studied. Unfortunately, in two thirds of the *apadāna*s (20 of 30) the protagonist's position in life is not specified. In 10% of the *apadāna*s (3 of 30) the protagonist was an ascetic. In no *apadāna* is it stated that the protagonist performed the principal meritorious deed while an ordained Buddhist monk and, in fact, in 17% of the *apadāna*s (5 of 30) it is clear that the protagonist could not have been an ordained Buddhist monk.[64] In 73% of the *apadāna*s (22 of 30) the principal meritorious deed was giving. Food was a particularly common gift and is found in 36% of these *apadāna*s (8 of 22). An umbrella was donated in 14% of these *apadāna*s (3 of 22), as was a seat or mat (3 of 22). In 64% of these *apadāna*s (14 of 22) a past *buddha* was the most common recipient of a gift, while in 18% (4 of 22) the monastic order of a past *buddha* was the recipient. Next, descriptions of karmic fruits in subsequent rebirths were studied. A number of fruits are particularly common, including kingship in a heavenly realm or the human realm in 77% of the *apadāna*s (23 of 30), rebirth in a heavenly realm in 70% (21 of 30), avoidance of bad destinations in 70% (21 of 30), gaining personal possessions in 20% (6 of 30), gaining wealth in 20% (6 of 30), enjoying the company of

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[63] For comments on the possible intended uses and audiences of Gāndhārī *avadāna* and *pūrvayoga* literature, see Lenz 2003: 99–102.

[64] In two *apadāna*s the protagonist states that he had not obtained ordination, in one the protagonist refers to himself as a suitor, in another he states that he was a crocodile and in yet another he states that he was a merchant with a wife.

*accharā*s or women in 20% (6 of 30) and acquiring a golden or radiant complexion in 13% (4 of 30).

It could be argued that these results do indeed suggest that *apadāna*s were recited to encourage lay people to make donations to the monastic order. As previously mentioned, in no *apadāna* is it specified that the protagonist performed the principal meritorious deed while an ordained Buddhist monk and, furthermore, in a number of the *apadāna*s it is clear that the protagonist could not have been an ordained Buddhist monk. The principal meritorious deed was most often the donation of food or some other item useful to a Buddhist monk. A range of very pleasant fruits are described as inevitably ripening from these deeds, including experiencing sovereignty, heavenly realms, possessions, wealth and pleasant female company. Therefore, the laity may well have been an important early intended audience of the Apadāna and the encouragement of donations an important early intended use. However, this is not all that the above results suggest. For example, it cannot be ignored that in a sizable minority of the "stories of the past" the protagonist was an ascetic, indicating that the text might not have been exclusively intended for a lay audience. The results also suggest that the Apadāna was not exclusively intended to encourage donations to the monastic order, particularly because it was found that a past *buddha* was much more frequently the recipient of a gift than the monastic order in general. This focus highlights a *buddha*'s potential to act as an extremely powerful field of merit. In a sizable minority of the *apadāna*s the principal meritorious deed was not a donation but rather an act of devotion such as praising a past *buddha* or making a respectful salutation to a past *buddha*, often accompanied by highly devotional language (e.g. §§ 5.19.1–2, 5.22.4–7, 5.25.4–9). This suggests that, like the Buddhavaṃsa, this text was partly intended to honour the past *buddha*s and, more generally, was an expression of piety towards venerable people and sacred objects. Needless to say, the foregoing results and discussion are based upon a small fraction of the entire Apadāna and an analysis of a much greater proportion of this text would provide a more complete and complex picture.

2.7. Metrical analysis

The great majority of the Apadāna is composed in *śloka* metre. Norman (1983: 91) assumed that, besides the Paccekabuddhāpadāna which is in *triṣṭubh*, the Apadāna is entirely composed in *śloka* metre.[65] However, for other examples of *triṣṭubh*, see Ap 492,7–10, 533,9–20, 556,17–20. For examples of a mix of *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī*, see Ap 505,11–14, 556,13–16. Ap 510,11–14 is composed in *jagatī*. In order to better understand the way in which *śloka* metre is used in this text, the Therāpadāna material edited in this thesis was analysed. It was found that in 2.6% of *pāda*s (46 of 1774)[66] there was a resolution on the first syllable and in 0.7% (13 of 1774) there was a resolution on the sixth syllable.[67] Additionally, it was found that 1.6% of *pāda*s (29 of 1774) were hypermetric, containing nine syllables. On nineteen occasions, a *svarabhakti* vowel ought to be disregarded for the purpose of scansion. There is some metrical license in this material. For example, nineteen vowels have been lengthened m.c., four vowels have been shortened m.c., on six occasions final *niggahīta* has been dropped m.c., there is one instance in which a consonant group has been simplified m.c. and there is one instance of an unhistoric doubling of consonants m.c.[68]

2.8. Conclusions

The preceding discussion has not treated the Apadāna in isolation, but rather in connection with a range of similar texts by highlighting parallels and divergences. The primary theme of the Apadāna is that intentional actions ripen to produce appropriate fruits. Many of the details of this karmic system are shared with other

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[65] Similarly, see also von Hinüber 1996: 61n214.

[66] The total sum of *pāda*s includes the *uddāna*s.

[67] I follow Warder (1967: §§ 244–245) and Norman (2004: xxxi, 2007a: liv, 2007b: lxxiv) in disregarding instances of resolution on syllables other than the first and sixth.

[68] For further details, see notes on the edition (§ 6).

Buddhist *avadāna* texts to which the Apadāna is related, often including the same basic technical vocabulary, such as field of merit, faith and fervent aspiration. Although it may not have formally belonged to the *avadāna* genre, the Anavataptagāthā is particularly similar to the Apadāna in terms of its structure and content and, moreover, the latter text has almost certainly directly borrowed two passages from the former text. There are also a number of texts belonging to the Khuddakanikāya which have stylistic and thematic similarities with the Apadāna, including the Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Vimānavatthu, Jātaka, Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka. Nonetheless, the Apadāna contains some material which is highly unusual in the context of the Pāli canon, such as its numerous references to *nibbāna* as the fruit of a meritorious deed and the Buddhāpadāna's description of a *buddha-field*. Evidence suggests that this text may have had multiple early intended audiences, including the laity, and multiple early intended uses, including the encouragement of donations. Much of the existing research into the content and style of the Apadāna is ultimately based upon the PTS edition of this text and there is little doubt that a carefully planned new Roman script edition would further assist advances in this area.

3. TEXTUAL CRITICISM

3.1. Introduction

In § 1.1 it was noted that the PTS edition of the Apadāna is not highly regarded by scholars and that a new Roman script edition of this text is required. In order to partially address this need, a major component of the present study is an edition of a portion of the Therāpadāna. After perusing the introductions to printed editions of Pāli texts, one might be forgiven for thinking that the construction of a new edition is a reasonably straightforward, though perhaps time consuming, process. One would have little appreciation that a number of fundamentally different methodological approaches are available to an editor and that the text resulting from each of these approaches is likely to be rather different. The reason for this is that there has been very little critical discussion concerning the methods of textual criticism within Pāli studies, both past and present. This paucity of discussion is all the more striking when compared with the great importance placed upon this topic in fields such as Biblical studies and classical studies. The present chapter will survey some of this research outside of Pāli studies with the aim of selecting the most suitable editorial principles upon which to base a new edition of the Apadāna. To begin with, a number of general points will be considered.

Handwritten copies of texts tend not to be exact duplicates of their exemplars. Unintentional and even intentional changes may be introduced by a manuscript's scribe. In the case of Pāli literature, early texts have been transmitted via a long succession of handwritten copies and have therefore inevitably accumulated a variety of such changes. Understanding the kinds of changes a text transmitted by handwriting is likely to have met with is essential to the work of

textual criticism.[1] Common unintentional copying errors include haplography (writing once what ought to be written twice), dittography (erroneously repeating what ought to be written once), metathesis (the reversal of two adjacent graphemes), parablepsis (scribal oversight due to the beginning or ending of a section of text being identical or similar) and interchanging graphemes due to graphical or phonological similarity. On occasion, scribes who believed that a copy was faulty in some way intentionally "corrected" it on the basis of a different copy of the same text, or harmonised it with similar textual material found in a different text. Additionally, scribes sometimes intentionally altered a text in order to make it more consistent with their own understanding of the language in question, or to make it conform to their doctrinal beliefs. Scribal changes can inform us about the communities which have transmitted texts through handwritten manuscripts (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 280–299); however, textual scholars have principally studied them in order to eliminate them in pursuit of the main goal of textual criticism.

Voicing an opinion shared by a reasonably large number of earlier textual scholars, Maas (1958: 1) stated, "The business of textual criticism is to produce a text as close as possible to the original". However, it has become increasingly recognised that this may not be the most appropriate goal for certain types of texts (Epp 1999; Tov 2012: 163–169). Firstly, it has been pointed out that some texts may have been formed from multiple originals which were once held with equal authority. In such cases, it follows that a single original text cannot be reconstructed since for any given passage there may be two or more equally original readings. Secondly, many texts have developed over a reasonably long period of time by successive generations of redactors. Which compositional stage during a text's long literary evolution ought to be considered the original? Finally, contemporary scholars tend to be less confident that the original wording of a text can be accurately reconstructed on the basis of witnesses which postdate the time of composition by several centuries or more. Often, an editor will instead consider it

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[1] For a particularly detailed analysis of scribal changes in the context of the transmission of the Hebrew Bible, see Tov 2012: 219–262.

more realistic to reconstruct a comparatively late redaction of a text. However, the precise goal of textual criticism will vary depending upon the nature of the text in question and the number and type of witnesses available to its editor.

The following survey will demonstrate how different methodological approaches towards text critical editing have been developed in response to different bodies of literature. Particularly important is the number of extant witnesses available for examination and the nature of the relationships which exist between them. Additionally, in the case of religious literature, the beliefs and expectations of contemporary practicing communities have exerted an influence upon broad editorial approaches.

3.2. Textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible

The approaches which have been used to edit the Hebrew Bible can only be understood in the context of its extant witnesses, which are of two types: Hebrew witnesses and ancient translations. The three principal groups of Hebrew witnesses are the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the texts found in the Judean Desert. The Masoretic Text (Tov 2012: 24–74) represents the textual tradition which was embraced by early rabbinic Judaism and, later, Judaism as a whole. For this reason, there are a large number of extant witnesses belonging to the Masoretic group, including over 6000 manuscripts. It appears that this text has been transmitted with such care that it has changed little since at least the third century BCE, even preserving old para-textual elements which were not meant to be copied. The earliest complete extant manuscript of the Masoretic Text, the Leningrad Codex, dates to 1008–1009 CE. The Samaritan Pentateuch (Tov 2012: 74–93) is a version of the Torah transmitted by the Samaritan community after their separation from the Jewish community sometime between the fifth and second century BCE. This text is thought to have descended from a redaction that was popular in the last centuries BCE. The Samaritan Pentateuch contains editorial, linguistic and content differences to the Masoretic Text. The earliest extant manuscripts of this group

were copied during the eleventh or twelfth century (Wegner 2006: 171). From 1947 onwards, over two hundred biblical scrolls were found in the Judean Desert (Tov 2012: 93–111), principally at Qumran, dating from 250 BCE to 115 CE. Due to the location in which they were found, this collection is popularly known as the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some of these scrolls contain readings similar to the Masoretic Text, some contain readings similar to the Samaritan Pentateuch, while others are considered non-aligned. The most important ancient translation of the Hebrew Bible is the Septuagint (Tov 2012: 127–147), which constitutes a series of Jewish translations into Greek thought to be made between the beginning of the third century BCE and the beginning of the second century CE. Some of the Qumran scrolls contain readings similar to the Septuagint text. The Septuagint is of considerable importance for textual critics of the Hebrew Bible because it is believed that the Hebrew exemplars from which it was translated occasionally represent an older literary tradition than the Masoretic Text.

Despite this multiplicity of text types, the base text of most printed editions of Hebrew scripture (Tov 2012: 341–366) represents the Masoretic Text only and is uninfluenced by non-Masoretic sources. Witnesses which have been used as a base text include the Second Rabbinic Bible, a single manuscript thought to best represent the Masoretic Text, or a group of Masoretic manuscripts. An important example is the Biblia Hebraica Series, which is the only complete scholarly edition of the Hebrew Bible. From the third edition onwards, Biblia Hebraica Series publications are diplomatic editions[2] of the Leningrad Codex, the oldest complete extant manuscript of the Masoretic Text. Conjectural emendations and variant readings, including those from non-Masoretic witnesses, are given in the critical apparatus. There appear to be several reasons why printed editions of the Hebrew Bible have concentrated on reproducing the Masoretic Text. As noted, this has been the central text within Judaism from an early period and is therefore regarded by contemporary Jewish communities as *the* Hebrew Bible. Because the texts found in the Judean Desert are fragmentary they cannot be used as the basis for a complete edition of the Hebrew Bible. In addition, these scrolls were only discovered from

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[2] A diplomatic edition reproduces the text of a single witness without changes.

1947 onwards and it has taken time for the scholarly community to integrate this new body of literature into existing models of textual transmission. While the Septuagint is an important source, it is after all not in Hebrew and therefore cannot be used as the base text of an edition of the Hebrew Bible.

It is not unanimously agreed that producing a diplomatic edition of a Masoretic witness is the best approach for editing the Hebrew Bible. Tov (2012: 360) noted that when scholars use the Biblia Hebraica Series there are in fact two texts: the base text of the Leningrad Codex and a virtual eclectic text created in the mind of the scholar using readings from the critical apparatus. Naturally, the precise wording of this virtual text will be different for each scholar. These "virtual eclectic texts" are required because, as noted by Albrektson (2007: 42–46), there are many passages in the Masoretic Text which are unintelligible and which may be significantly improved upon by using readings from non-Masoretic sources, particularly the Judean Desert texts. Hendel (2008: 325–326) argued that such text critical decisions ought to be made by a qualified editor instead of the reader who may not have the training necessary to make appropriate choices. A number of eclectic editions[3] of Hebrew scripture have been published; however, a complete eclectic edition of the entire Hebrew Bible is not among them. A recent project titled the Oxford Hebrew Bible (Hendel 2008) aims to fill this gap by producing an eclectic edition which, its editors hope, will represent the text's archetype.[4] An interesting feature of this project is the way in which substantive readings (the sequence of words) and accidentals (orthography, vocalisation, accents, etc.) are treated differently. The editors admit that reconstructing the archetype's accidentals would involve a great deal of speculation. Therefore, while substantive readings will be constructed eclectically from numerous witnesses, accidentals will be reproduced from a single copy-text, the Leningrad Codex. Additionally, in instances where the archetype's substantive reading cannot be determined by text

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[3] An eclectic edition is one in which the text is constructed from the readings of multiple witnesses and often includes conjectural emendations.

[4] An archetype is the textual form from which all known witnesses ultimately descend. It is not to be confused with the text's supposed original form.

critical criteria, the reading from the copy-text will be used in the base text and the alternative reading will be placed in the critical apparatus along with an abbreviation to indicate it is equally valid.

3.3. Textual criticism of the New Testament

There are three main types of witnesses of the New Testament: Greek witnesses, ancient translations and early quotations. Greek witnesses (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 52–94) total approximately 5700 and include papyri, majuscules (manuscripts written in majuscule script) and minuscules (manuscripts written in minuscule script). The oldest extant Greek witness is a small papyrus fragment of the Gospel of John dating to the early second century, which is thought to be less than 100 years after its composition. The oldest complete extant Greek witness is the Codex Sinaiticus, a majuscule dating to the fourth century. Ancient translations (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 94–126) of the New Testament were made into numerous languages, such as Syriac, Latin, Coptic and Armenian. Because some of these translations were made in the second and third centuries, they are of considerable importance to textual critics. The numerous early quotations (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 126–134) of the New Testament in commentaries, treaties and sermons help situate particular readings within a specific time and place. In some instances one or more variant readings are quoted, which provide important historical information on the process of textual transmission. New Testament witnesses are often described as belonging to one of three text types:[5] the Western text, the Alexandrian text and the Byzantine text (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 276–280, 306–313). The Western text is a loose collection of witnesses resulting from the "wild" textual growth of the second century. This text type is characterised by paraphrasing, harmonising and additions from apocryphal material. The primary Alexandrian text is a somewhat shorter form of the New Testament which was carefully transmitted

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[5] A text type is a cluster of witnesses which are judged to contain a similar textual form and believed to belong to the same general line of transmission.

in the city of Alexandria. In contrast to the Western text, the Alexandrian text has been subjected to few stylistic revisions and most scholars believe that this text type preserves the earliest form of the New Testament. The Byzantine text is a later development marked by conflated readings[6] and harmonised passages. Partly owing to this stylistic polishing, it became a very popular form of the New Testament by the early Middle Ages and the great majority of extant Greek witnesses belong to this category.

A minority of textual critics favour the Byzantine text on the basis that it is represented by the majority of witnesses with a high degree of textual uniformity (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 218–222). Scholars of this approach, which is often termed the Byzantine priority, argue that representing a historically popular text type in an edition's base text is an attractive alternative to a purely eclectic approach that, according Robinson (2002: 139), produces a "resultant text that reflects a piecemeal assemblage created from disparate variant units otherwise unrelated to each other". However, it has been pointed out that major disruptions to the transmission of the other text types might have played a greater causative role in the eventual popularity of the Byzantine text than any supposed inherent superiority of this text type (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 220). In addition, as previously noted, the Byzantine text is itself usually regarded as a conflated text based upon readings from disparate textual traditions. Instead, most contemporary textual critics of the New Testament have embraced eclecticism as a means to reconstruct the earliest possible textual form. Tov (2000: 203) has commented that eclectic editing is more suitable for New Testament material than Hebrew Bible material, stating, "the textual evidence [of the New Testament] is more extensive and a shorter interval separated the time of the autographs from our earliest textual evidence. The range of textual variation is also probably much smaller in the case of the New Testament than in that of the Hebrew Bible".

Scholars preparing eclectic editions of the New Testament assess two main types of evidence when evaluating the relative strength of a variant reading: external evidence and internal evidence (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 300–315).

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[6] A conflated reading is the result of a scribe combining two or more variant readings.

External evidence refers to information external to the words of a text. Readings from witnesses copied at a comparatively early date are favoured since these have had less opportunity to accumulate transmission changes. Perhaps more importantly, readings belonging to a comparatively early text type are favoured. Most scholars believe that, in general, the Alexandrian text type contains the earliest readings. Readings from witnesses found across a geographically diverse area are favoured, provided they do not simply represent a single text type which gained widespread popularity (i.e. the Byzantine text). Internal evidence refers to information internal to the words of a text and is to be examined after external evidence. The most basic and important guideline for assessing internal evidence is that the reading which most easily explains the development of the other readings is likely to be the earliest. Based upon the observation that scribes tended to "correct" readings they did not fully understand to simpler forms, more difficult (but not more unlikely) readings are favoured. Similarly, because scribes occasionally attempted to make a text smoother and more polished, readings which are less refined, less elegant, or less familiar are favoured. Finally, in general, shorter readings are favoured since scribes tended to add rather than omit; however, this guideline needs to be used with caution since numerous instances have been documented in which the longer reading appears to be the earlier.

Different approaches to eclecticism have been developed as a result of different attitudes towards external and internal evidence. Thoroughgoing eclecticism (Elliott 2002; Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 222–226) pays much more attention to internal evidence than external evidence. Scholars who have adopted this approach argue that the earliest wording of a passage could theoretically be preserved in any of its witnesses and that therefore these witnesses need to be assessed without allowing external evidence to prejudice text critical decision making. Reasoned eclecticism (Holmes 2002) places equal importance on external and internal evidence. The scholars who use this approach, that is, the majority of New Testament textual critics, believe that external evidence provides important information on the transmission history of readings and therefore ought not to be ignored. All eclectic specialists, however, appear to agree that the guidelines

pertaining to external and internal evidence should not be rigidly or indiscriminately followed and that, above all, an intimate knowledge of the witnesses is required in order to make appropriate text critical decisions.

3.4. Textual criticism of Greek and Latin classical texts

Greek and Latin classical literature encompasses a large body of texts composed over a long time period and includes numerous genres, such as philosophy, science, historiography, poetry and drama. Until the second century CE, the papyrus scroll was the standard medium for recording Greek and Latin literature (Reynolds and Wilson 1991: 34). However, during the third century the more durable parchment codex gained popularity and, from the fourth century onwards, it became more popular than the papyrus scroll. According to West (1973: 10), the earliest extant papyrus and parchment fragments date from approximately 350 BCE; however, such witnesses more commonly date from the second and third centuries CE. Prior to the ninth century, Greek literature had normally been recorded in majuscule script, yet by the end of the tenth century majuscule script had largely been abandoned in favour of minuscule script (Reynolds and Wilson 1991: 59–60). Many Greek texts were therefore transliterated during the ninth century and the majority of extant ancient Greek texts ultimately derive from copies made around this time. Similarly, many Latin texts were transliterated from majuscule script into Caroline minuscule script during the ninth century (Reynolds and Wilson 1991: 94–102). The number of extant witnesses varies considerably for each classical work; some texts are represented by hundreds of manuscripts, some are preserved in just one manuscript, while for others the earliest witness is a printed edition based upon a now lost exemplar (West 1973: 9–10). Early quotations, commentaries and translations exist for some classical texts which serve as valuable secondary witnesses.

Many classical texts have been edited according to the stemmatic, or genealogical, approach. While this theory was developed, but not invented, by Karl

Lachmann[7] during the first half of the nineteenth century, it is perhaps best known from the detailed description by Maas (1958). The goal of this approach is to reconstruct the archetype from which all extant witnesses descend. The first step in this process is to gain an understanding of the relationships which exist between the witnesses. This is achieved by carefully examining the patterns of agreement and disagreement between the witnesses and grouping them according to the particular scribal changes they share, particularly those changes which are unlikely to have been created by two or more independent scribes by chance. A stemma (short for *stemma codicum*) is then created to reflect these relationships by proposing the branches of textual transmission descending from the archetype to the witnesses, often via hyparchetypes.[8] If it can be demonstrated that a particular witness depends exclusively upon another witness available to the editor, it is regarded as redundant and eliminated from analysis. Once a stemma has been created, the text of the archetype is reconstructed on the basis of the textual agreements between those witnesses or hyparchetypes which the stemma indicates are the immediate decedents of the archetype. Finally, if the archetype itself appears to have contained errors, conjectural emendations are usually made with the goal of reconstructing a textual form which is older than the archetype. Perhaps the most famous application of the stemmatic approach is Lachmann's work on Lucretius, in which he demonstrated that the archetype of his three main witnesses must have contained 302 pages of twenty-six lines (Metzger and Ehrman 2005: 170).

A number of key assumptions behind the stemmatic approach as described by Maas (1958) are violated for certain groups of witnesses (Reynolds and Wilson 1991: 214–216). Perhaps most problematic is the assumption that each witness has been copied from only one exemplar. Maas (1958: 7–8) himself acknowledged that some readers would "correct" a manuscript they were using on the basis of a copy

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[7] In addition to editing several classical texts, Lachmann prepared an edition of the Greek New Testament using the stemmatic approach. However, primarily owing to its great number of extant witnesses, contemporary editions of the New Testament do not use the full stemmatic approach.

[8] A hyparchetype is a hypothetical intermediate copy, which, according to the stemma, is situated between the archetype and some of its witnesses.

belonging to a different branch of transmission, rather than the manuscript's direct exemplar. If this corrected manuscript was itself copied, its scribe might sometimes reproduce the original readings and sometimes reproduce the corrected readings written in the margin or between the lines. This new copy is said to be "contaminated" and, if used to produce a printed edition, could seriously mislead an undiscerning editor. Also problematic is the assumption that all witnesses of a text ultimately derive from a single archetype. Sometimes this is not the case. For example, in the first century BCE Cicero substantially revised his work Academica, yet his earlier version also remained in circulation alongside his revision, meaning that extant witnesses of this work are descended from two archetypes (Reynolds and Wilson 1991: 24, 215).

In a work intended to replace Maas's well known description, West (1973) argued that although there is the possibility the aforementioned assumptions might be violated for any given set of witnesses, the stemmatic approach is still often valid if appropriately adapted. West (1973: 5) commented that Maas's work "treats contamination as a regrettable deviation about which nothing can be done, instead of as a normal state of affairs" and, in response, he provided detailed and practical advice for working with contaminated textual traditions. Editors are firstly urged to carefully identify any contaminated witnesses, that is, witnesses which can be demonstrated to include readings from multiple branches of transmission. If only a small proportion of witnesses is contaminated and the sources of these witnesses can be identified, these relationships can be mapped onto the stemma and the archetype can be reconstructed without a great deal of additional difficulty. If a large proportion of witnesses is contaminated, but a minority is not, a serviceable stemma of the latter group may be created and used to reconstruct its archetype. The contaminated witnesses are eliminated from analysis if they contain readings which are no better than those in the uncontaminated witnesses. If contamination is so widespread that precise genealogies cannot be constructed, witnesses may instead need to be grouped into families and treated as units. West (1973: 41–42) also provided some advice on how editors may determine whether witnesses derive from more than one archetype. If some witnesses preserve many correct readings

which are unlikely to have been the result of scribal emendations, while other witnesses preserve many incorrect readings which are known to derive from ancient sources (e.g. they are found in papyrus fragments), it is likely that there has been more than one ancient line of transmission. Equally, if reasonably early (i.e. early medieval) witnesses already preserve extremely divergent readings, it is likely that this divergence dates from antiquity.

3.5. Textual criticism of Sanskrit texts

Sanskrit literature has been composed for over three thousand years and, at the peak of its popularity, had spread across most of Central, South and Southeast Asia. Early Sanskrit compositions were not initially transmitted by handwritten manuscripts, but were rather preserved by oral means. For example, vedic texts were orally composed and, for many centuries, handed down orally from one generation to the next (Olivelle 1998a: 8–10). When these early compositions were eventually committed to writing, on occasion the tradition of oral transmission continued alongside the textual transmission (e.g. Graham 1987: 72). In some early instances, it appears that manuscripts were not used as a vehicle for textual transmission, but instead as a support for the recitation of an orally transmitted composition. For example, an early Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript found in Turkmenistan contains abbreviated stories which appear to have been used as memory aids to support the recitation of a fuller, and presumably orally transmitted, version (Lenz 2003: 92–98).[9] With the exception of the still undeciphered script of the Indus Valley civilisation, there is no clear evidence for the existence of writing in India prior to the middle of the third century BCE (Salomon 1998: 10–14). After this time, the technology of writing was gradually adopted for the purpose of preserving Sanskrit literature. One of the earliest extant Sanskrit manuscripts, which contains a fragment of Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda, has been dated to the

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[9] The existence of similar manuscripts written in Gāndhārī (Lenz 2003, 2010) demonstrates that this is not an isolated example in early Indian Buddhism.

second or third century CE (Hartmann 1988). Sanskrit texts have been copied onto a variety of different materials, including palm leaf, birch bark and paper. Many scripts throughout Central, South and Southeast Asia have been used to record Sanskrit literature, including, for example, Bengali, Burmese, Devanāgarī, Grantha, Malayalam, Newari, Oriya, Śāradā, Sinhala and Telugu scripts. Gombrich (1978: 24) estimated that there "may be as many as two million [Sanskrit] manuscripts extant, though they are perishing fast".

Some Sanskrit texts have been edited using the stemmatic approach. For example, in an edition of the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi, Rocher (1956) created a stemma for the seven witnesses available to him and reconstructed its archetype. However, the extant witnesses of a large number of Sanskrit texts resist a full stemmatic analysis. Highly popular Sanskrit texts were copied frequently, which increased the chance that multiple copies would be available to those who wished to read them. When a manuscript was read alongside another copy of the same text, its reader often made "corrections" to it, thus introducing contamination to the text's transmission.[10] For such texts, therefore, a high proportion of the extant witnesses is contaminated and mapping individual genealogies is extremely difficult, if not impossible. Instead, an adaption of the stemmatic approach has often been used for editing such texts. Described as "one of the most significant events in Indology in the 20th century" (Brockington 1998: 57), a critical edition of the Mahābhārata was published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute between 1927 and 1966 in nineteen volumes. In total, 1259 manuscripts were consulted and 734 of these were used to construct the edition, with an average of forty-one manuscripts used per *parvan*, "section". In the detailed prolegomena of the first volume, Sukthankar (1933: lxxxii) commented that "the genetic method (operating with an archetype and a *stemma codicum*) cannot strictly be applied to fluid texts and conflated [i.e. contaminated] manuscripts; for, in their case, it is extremely difficult, if not utterly

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[10] In his edition of the Mānavadharmaśāstra, Olivelle (2005: 370n2) noted, "Most, if not all, of our [ninety-one] mss. [i.e. manuscripts] have above-line or marginal corrections made by subsequent readers... If these mss. were later copied, then it is likely that the marginal and above-line corrections would have been incorporated in the copies, creating hybrid mss.".

impossible, to disentangle completely, by means of purely objective criteria, their intricate mutual relationships". Instead, Sukthankar grouped the manuscripts into families, primarily on the basis of script type,[11] and illustrated the hypothesized relationships between these families in the form of a simplified stemma. In general, the readings which were represented by the largest number of independent branches of transmission (according to the stemma) were adopted into the base text.

The approach developed by the editors of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata has exerted a strong influence upon many subsequent Sanskrit publications.[12] An obvious example is the critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa published by the Oriental Institute of the M. S. University of Baroda between 1960 and 1975 in seven volumes. In the introduction to the first volume, Bhatt (1960: xxxiv) stated, "The principles enunciated by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar have been declared as very sound and recommended even for the Critical Edition of the R[āmāyaṇa]... I have tried to follow in general the principles of Dr. Suthankar [sic]". Recently published editions of the Mānavadharmaśāstra (Olivelle 2005) and Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra (Olivelle 2009) also follow the model set by Sukthankar, in that each text has been constructed with reference to a stemma of manuscript families, rather than individual manuscripts.

The stemmatic approach was developed for the analysis of handwritten textual transmissions. It might therefore be inappropriate to apply this approach to a

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[11] Sukthankar (1933: vii) believed, "The reason for this concomitance between script and version appears to be that the scribes, being as a rule not conversant with any script but that of their own particular province, could copy only manuscripts written in their special provincial scripts, exception being made only in favour of the Devanāgarī, which was a sort of a 'vulgar' script, widely used and understood in India". However, if this "rule" can be said to apply to the transmission of Sanskrit literature in general, there have been many exceptions, as is evidenced by the very numerous occasions in which Sanskrit texts have been transliterated throughout Central, South and Southeast Asia.

[12] The prolegomena of Sukthankar 1933 also heavily influenced one of the few major works on textual criticism for Sanskrit literature, *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* (Katre 1954). Indeed, Katre (1954: ix) stated that it was "Sukthankar who was solely responsible for my undertaking the task of writing the Introduction [to Indian Textual Criticism]".

period of oral transmission. Editors of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata divided their witnesses into two principal groups: a northern recension and a southern recension. Sukthankar (1933: lxxviii, italics in original) stated that, "the frequent differences in sequence, especially when no material gain is perceptible in either arrangement, rather support the explanation suggested above that both recensions are, in final analysis, *independent copies of an orally transmitted text*". According to this position, it follows that the extant manuscripts of the Mahābhārata derive from two written archetypes instead of one and that therefore, if using (a variant of) the stemmatic approach, two separate editions ought to have been prepared instead of one.[13] Furthermore, if Sukthankar's statement is correct, the editors of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata have used (a variant of) the stemmatic approach to attempt to reach beyond the text's written transmission in order to reconstruct an oral archetype. The nature of oral transmission is very different to the nature of written transmission, and analysing a period of recitation and memorisation as though it were a succession of handwritten copies is rather problematic.

3.6. Textual criticism of Pāli texts
3.6.1. Trends in editing Asian editions

As with early Sanskrit literature, early Pāli literature was composed and transmitted orally. Indeed, this mode of transmission heavily influenced the choice and arrangement of words, and encouraged the development of fixed word formulas that were comparatively easy to memorise (Allon 1997). It is believed that during this early period, different *bhāṇaka*, "reciter", groups were responsible for

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[13] Here I am principally concerned with Sukthankar's editorial logic. Whether the archetype reconstructed by the editors of the critical edition actually does predate the time in which the text was first committed to writing is another question. Hiltebeitel (2005), for example, argued that the Mahābhārata was in fact composed in writing and that the critical edition text represents a written archetype.

transmitting different collections of texts (Adikaram 1946; Norman 2006b: 53–74). It is highly likely that the Apadāna was orally composed and, at least initially, orally transmitted, perhaps by *bhāṇaka*s specialising in the Khuddakanikāya,[14] or by *bhāṇaka*s specialising the Apadāna alone.[15] Possibly in response to a partial breakdown of the *bhāṇaka* system, the Pāli canon was reportedly first committed to writing in Sri Lanka during the first century BCE (Lamotte 1988: 367–369; Norman 2006b: 99–100). When Pāli literature eventually spread to Southeast Asia, it was recorded in local scripts such as Burmese, Khom and Lanna. While Pāli texts have since been recorded on materials such as paper, ivory, lacquered cloth, buffalo hide, brass, copper and stone (Singer 1993), by far the most popular material has been palm leaves. Partly owing to the perishability of this material in tropical climates, most extant Pāli manuscripts date from the eighteenth century onwards. Of course, exceptions do occur, such as important collections of Lanna script manuscripts from northern Thailand, which date from the fifteenth century (von Hinüber 2000).[16] Curiously, the oldest known Pāli palm leaf manuscript was found in Nepal and has been dated to the eighth or ninth century (von Hinüber 1991). For the great majority of early Pāli texts, therefore, a very considerable length of time lies between the date of composition and the oldest extant manuscript.

The transmission of Pāli literature has been carried out by local monastic communities living throughout South and Southeast Asia, resulting in local recensions that contain readings which occasionally differ from one another. Local projects to revise and edit Pāli literature further encouraged the development of these recensions. For example, after being told that a recently commissioned copy of the Pāli canon contained errors, King Rama I organised a council in Bangkok during 1788 to address the problem (Veidlinger 2006: 146–149). For five months,

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[14] Reference to the Khuddakabhāṇakas has been made by Norman (2008b: 98).

[15] For evidence of monastic specialists in *avadāna* literature in Gandhāra, see Lenz 2010: 3–14.

[16] Unfortunately these collections do not contain a great deal of material related to the Apadāna. In Vat Lai Hin there are two fragments: one corresponding to Ap 449,26–476,13 (dating to approximately 1500) and the other corresponding to Ap-a 259,32–572,2 (dating to 1537) (Oskar von Hinüber, personal communication, 2 March 2008). I would like to thank Oskar von Hinüber for organising photographs of the former fragment to be sent to me.

four groups of scholars worked together to produce a revised version of the Pāli canon, which came to be known as the "golden edition" owing to the gilding of the manuscripts. Similarly, beginning in 1856, the Pāli canon was edited by a team of scholar monks in Mandalay, Burma. This project was undertaken at the request of King Mindon who, according to Ludu Daw Ahmar (1980: 16), "wanted his copy thoroughly edited". The resultant text was written onto palm leaves, engraved onto marble slabs and later, in 1871, recited at the "fifth Buddhist council".[17] During the 1860s, a team of nearly sixty scholar monks edited the Vinaya at Pelmadulla, Sri Lanka (Blackburn 2010: 1–7). Local manuscripts were compared with those from Burma and Thailand and several types of commentarial texts were consulted for help with difficult passages. The final text was inscribed on palm leaves and taken on a lengthy procession along the southern coast. From the very late nineteenth century onwards, series of the Pāli canon began to be printed and published in Asian countries. A small selection of these series will be surveyed in the remainder of this section, with the goal of making some general observations on the ways in which Asian editions of Pāli texts have been edited.

At the request of King Chulalongkorn, the majority of the Pāli canon was edited by a group of monks and published in Thai script over thirty-nine volumes between 1893 and 1894 (Chalmers 1898; Grönbold 2005: 39–40). Each volume begins with a five page preface written in Thai, of which an English translation is provided by Chalmers (1898). The preface states, "it is only in Siam that Buddhism stands inviolate. It follows, then, that the present is a fitting time to look into the scriptures, to purge them, and to multiply copies of them for circulation, so as to form an immutable standard of true Buddhism for future times" (Chalmers 1898: 3). The preface does not state what witnesses were used to create this text, nor does it describe the editing methodology which was followed. Occasionally, variant readings from Sinhala, Burmese and European (i.e. PTS) sources are given in the

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[17] Although the term "fifth Buddhist council" is used in this thesis, it is a misnomer. The council was held by Burmese Theravādin monks alone and therefore its text does not fully represent Buddhism in general, nor even Theravāda Buddhism in particular.

critical apparatus. The series omits a number of texts from the Khuddakanikāya, including the Apadāna.

According to Grönbold (2005: 41–42), the King Chulalongkorn series was used as the basis for the now more widely used Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series in Thai script, which was first published in forty-five volumes between 1925 and 1928. Since this time at least three revisions have appeared. Hamm (1973: 127, 131–132) compared the first and second editions of the Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series.[18] He found that the second edition contained more variant readings in the critical apparatus and that some of the readings in the body of the text of the second edition had been changed without comment. The 1958 print of the Apadāna from the second edition of the Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series contains no introductory matter. However, the 1980 print from the third edition begins with a short preface in Pāli and Thai.[19] It states that one of the reasons for publishing this series is that the King Chulalongkorn series had sold out and become difficult to find. It further states that King Rama VII invited senior monks, headed by the supreme patriarch Jinavarasirivardhana, to reedit the Pāli canon. As with the preface to the King Chulalongkorn series, it does not state what witnesses were used to create the text, nor does it describe the editing methodology which was followed. The Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series gives variants from Sinhala, Burmese and European sources.

It has been claimed that the King Chulalongkorn series (Chalmers 1898: 8–9) and Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series (Hamm 1973: 127, 134) are faithful and uncontaminated representations of the manuscript tradition of Thailand. While this untested hypothesis may be true, according to von Hinüber (1983: 75–76) the manuscript tradition of Thailand is, for the most part, a reasonably young composite of readings from Sinhala and Burmese manuscripts. This assertion was partly based on the belief that, following the mass destruction of manuscripts during the sacking of Ayudhyā in 1767, the Thai manuscript tradition had to be reestablished with the

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[18] He calls these editions the "second Siamese edition" and "third Siamese edition" respectively, the King Chulalongkorn series being the "first Siamese edition".

[19] I would like to thank Chanida Jantrasrisalai who translated the Thai text for me in May 2012.

help of manuscripts from Sri Lanka and Burma. Von Hinüber (1983: 76) further commented:

> As the Thai edition (Se) printed under King Chulalongkorn is mostly but by no means entirely dependent upon the Ceylonese and Burmese traditions, it was frequently, and not altogether without justification, regarded as secondary to those traditions, and consequently rarely made use of when establishing a critical text, for the superimposed imported readings from Ceylon and Burma did not allow the formation of a clear and distinct picture of the truely [sic] indigenous Thai Pāli tradition.[20]

From 1954 to 1956, the "sixth Buddhist council" was held in Yangon, Burma.[21] The resultant text, the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series in Burmese script, was published in forty volumes between 1950[22] and 1962 (Grönbold 2005: 47–48; Hamm 1973: 124–126). Since this time, at least three revisions of this series have appeared. Occasionally, variant readings from Sinhala, Thai, Cambodian, European, Burmese and commentarial sources are given in the critical apparatus;

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[20] Von Hinüber (1983: 88) therefore stressed the value of Thai manuscripts predating 1767, stating, "the hope is growing and seems to be well-founded now that more material still hidden in *Wat* libraries in North Thailand, when brought to light, will help to re-establish an old and truly Thai Pāli tradition, the value of which for establishing better critical text editions and for the history of Pāli can hardly be rated too high".

[21] Although the term "sixth Buddhist council" is used in this thesis, it is a misnomer. The council was largely led by Burmese Theravādin monks, with only limited involvement from other Theravādin countries, and therefore its resultant text does not fully represent Buddhism in general, nor even Theravāda Buddhism in particular. Moreover, while it has become commonplace to refer to a standardised list of six Buddhist councils, a number of alternative lists are found in Pāli texts (Hallisey 1991). Much of the following information on the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series and sixth Buddhist council has been drawn from Clark forthcoming 2015. See this article for more detailed information.

[22] While most volumes appeared after 1956, Grönbold (2005: 47) claimed that the first volume of the Abhidhammapiṭaka was published in 1950.

however, bibliographical details of these witnesses are not supplied. Hamm (1973: 126, 131–133) concluded that, at times, these variant readings represent a disappointingly small proportion of the variants actually found in these sources.

Considerably more information on the making of this series is available compared with that of the King Chulalongkorn or Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series. Valuable sources are the *Sangāyanā* [sic] *Souvenir* 1954, an English publication which provides information on the preparations made prior to the council; the 1954 Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti *Nidānakathā*, a nine page Pāli preface found at the beginning of each major section of the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series;[23] and the *Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā* [sic] *Souvenir Album* 1956, a publication in Burmese and English containing council proceedings and speeches. In these sources, one of the principal rationales put forward for undertaking this editing project was a concern that existing printed editions of the Pāli canon contained readings which differed from one another and which were also often erroneous (*Chaṭṭha Sangāyanā Souvenir Album* 1956: 36, 219; "Nidānakathā" 2008: ii–iii). It was reported that the text inscribed on the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae was used as the base text for this series and that this was revised by over 1000 monks, divided into over one hundred editing groups, by means of comparison with other extant printed editions (*Sangāyanā Souvenir* 1954: 6, 25–27). While the editing methodology is not described in any detail, the editors appear to have held the belief that the original words of the Buddha could be reconstructed by choosing the most "correct" readings from among the variants. The Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti *Nidānakathā* states:

> The word of the blessed one—whose speech was unified[24] [and] whose word was very pure—should be unified, very pure [and] stainless. But in these books of the [Buddha's] word, there appear readings which are dissimilar to each other and are impure. [The reading] amongst them which is correct is undoubtedly the original

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[23] Reproduced as "Nidānakathā" 2008: i–ix.

[24] *advaya* literally means "non-dual". The claim here is that when the Buddha gave a talk, he did not give multiple versions with different wording, but rather only one version.

reading.[25] Therefore, another [reading] is simply a reading [produced] by careless writing. (*advayavādino suparisuddhavacanassa tassa bhagavato pāvacanaṃ advayaṃ suparisuddhaṃ nimmalam ev' assa. imesu pana pāvacanapotthakesu añña-m-aññaṃ visadisā c' eva aparisuddhā ca pāṭhā dissanti. nissaṃsayaṃ kho ayam eva mūlapāṭho. yo nesaṃ yuttisampanno. tad añño pana pamādalekhapāṭho yeva.* "Nidānakathā" 2008: ii)

It is often assumed that the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series represents a pure "Burmese version" of the Pāli canon, i.e., that it contains only readings which have been transmitted in Burmese manuscripts. For example, Hamm (1973: 126) stated, "we may, however, note that it [i.e. the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series] at least appears uncontaminated with any foreign tradition" (see also Grönbold 2005: 48; Mendelson 1975: 281). However, a recent study of a chapter from the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition of the Apadāna revealed that it has been eclectically edited by freely adopting readings from the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae and several early printed editions from South and Southeast Asia, with preference given to readings which are most easily understood (Clark forthcoming 2015).

The preceding survey highlights a number of editing trends in Asian editions of Pāli texts.[26] In each of the three series reviewed in this section, the editors have omitted full details of the witnesses used, have provided little to no information on their editing methodology, and have not stated if and when conjectural emendations

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[25] It is unfortunate that the term "correct" is not defined and that the method for choosing among multiple "correct" variant readings is not described.

[26] Of course, other important series of the Pāli canon have been printed in South and Southeast Asia; however, a full analysis of these is beyond the scope of this thesis. Particularly important are the Cambodian Tipiṭaka series in Khmer script, published in 110 volumes between 1931 and 1973 (Grönbold 2005: 43); the Nālandā Devanāgarī Pāli series in Devanāgarī script, published in forty-one volumes between 1956 and 1961 (Grönbold 2005: 50; Hamm 1973: 128–129); and the Buddhajayantī Tripiṭaka series in Sinhala script, published in fifty-two volumes (over fifty-eight books) between 1957 and 1989 (Grönbold 2005: 50–51).

were made to the text.[27] In addition, their critical apparatuses are far from complete. It can be inferred that the editors of these series did not anticipate that such information would be of great importance to the intended readers. Instead, the prefaces of the King Chulalongkorn and Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series indicate that the editors' primary concern was the removal of errors present in previous witnesses and the presentation of a "purified" text in print form.

3.6.2. Previous evaluations of European editions

Pāli texts began to be published in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century, predating the first series from Southeast Asia by over half a century. From 1877 onwards, editions of Pāli texts were being published in much greater numbers, particularly after the foundation of the PTS in 1881 (de Jong 1987: 23–24). These early publications were completely dependent upon the availability of palm leaf manuscripts in private collections and European libraries, such as the Royal Library of Copenhagen and the India Office Library in London. Some key differences exist between the PTS series and the series surveyed in § 3.6.1. For the most part, PTS editions have been edited by European philologists for the academic study of Theravāda Buddhism, whereas Asian editions have been edited by learned monks to preserve and spread the *dhamma*, and to make merit.[28] As stated by Balbir (2009: 3), the PTS series is a "heterogeneous collection of editions of unequal quality based on materials of different types", whereas the Asian series tend to be carefully planned unified projects with a higher degree of internal textual consistency. Most

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[27] As noted by Skilling (2009: 34), "in Southeast Asian printed editions 'silent correction' is generally still considered respectable, and even when some notes are given, they are not systematic and the editorial principles are rarely adequately explained. Because of this, the reader using the edition assumes that the text did not have any problems; he assumes that what he reads is exactly what the original manuscript read. But often that is not the case at all".

[28] The preface to the King Chulalongkorn series refers to its editing and publication as "meritorious work" (Chalmers 1898: 4) and the preface to the Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series refers to its publication as merit making.

of the PTS publications from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have not been superseded by more recent European editions and continue to be used by scholars. However, this does not mean that they are in no need of revision. In fact, in recent decades a number of scholars have drawn attention to the limitations of these early publications and have called for new Roman script editions to be produced.

In an article first published in 1990,[29] Norman critiqued the PTS series by comparing it unfavorably with editions of the Greek New Testament. In particular, he drew attention to an edition of the Gospel according to St Luke[30] which lists all significant readings of more than 200 Greek manuscripts, along with several early translations and quotations of that Gospel. It involved more than 260 readers to study and collate the manuscripts. Norman (2008b: 81) stated, "I was struck by the complete contrast to the way in which many editions of Pāli texts have been, and are, I fear, still being, made... anyone who reads the editor's preface to many of the editions published by the Pali Text Society will be amazed at the small number of manuscripts which editors have thought would be sufficient for them to utilise when performing their task". Norman (2008b: 82) also pointed out that in some cases no information is given on the editing methodology used to construct the text, that is, why particular readings were selected in preference to alternative readings also available to the editor.

Cone (2007) also evaluated the PTS series in an article which discusses her experience editing the new *Dictionary of Pāli* (Cone 2001–). Cone (2007: 96) stated, "the PTS editions have a large number of, at best questionable, at worst, plain wrong, readings. Often these editions are transcriptions of a very few mss, or even of only one; often they follow only one tradition, usually the Sinhalese... I suspect, also, that those who did know Sanskrit emended silently". Cone (2007: 102) went so far as to recommend the reediting of all existing PTS editions, including canonical and commentarial literature. More recently, Skilling (2009: 32) criticised PTS editions for largely ignoring Thai manuscripts and early Thai printed

[29] Norman 1990; reprinted as Norman 2008b: 80–91.

[30] American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project 1987.

editions. Similarly, Balbir (2009: 3) commented that the early PTS editions strongly favoured readings from Sri Lankan manuscripts over readings from Southeast Asian manuscripts. Balbir (2009: 8) concluded, "That they [i.e. the PTS editions] need to be revised and improved cannot be denied. The problem is to find the best way to present the results coming from the availability of new material". Norman, Cone and Balbir each gave a small selection of examples from PTS publications to support their arguments. However, what has not yet been done is a broad quantitative analysis of the features of the European editions which indicates how widespread these problems are.

3.6.3. Trends in editing European editions

In order to assess the PTS series as a whole, I have examined the prefaces of eighty-one PTS[31] editions of canonical and *aṭṭhakathā* texts.[32] The publication dates of these volumes range from 1870 to 1998. Firstly, I analysed the number and type of witnesses used by editors to construct their text. On average, 5.4 witnesses were used per publication, including 3.5 manuscripts[33] and 1.9 printed editions. Figure 1 shows the total number of witnesses used for each edition over year of publication. A trend line indicates that, on average, the total number of witnesses used has

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[31] While the Khuddakapāṭha was initially published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Childers 1870), it was later reprinted by the PTS.

[32] Using their abbreviations (with year of publication), they are D I–III (1890–1911), M I–III (1888–1899), S I–V (1884–1898), A I–V (1885–1900), Khp (1870), Dhp (1994), Ud (1885), It (1889), Sn (1913), Vv (1977), Pv (1977), Th (1883), Thī (1883), Ap (1925–1927), Bv (1974), Cp (1974), Ja I–VI (1877–1896), Nidd I–II (1917–1918), Paṭis I–II (1905–1907), Vin I–V (1879–1883), Dhs (1885), Vibh (1904), Pp (1883), Kv (1894–1897), Yam I–II (1911–1913), Tikap (1921–1923), Dukap (1906), Sv I–III (1886–1932), Ps I–V (1922–1938), Spk I–III (1929–1937), Mp I–V (1924–1956), Pj I (1915), Ud-a (1926), It-a I–II (1934–1936), Pj II,1 (1916), Pj II,2 (1917), Thī-a (1998), Ap-a (1954), Bv-a (1946), Paṭis-a (1933–1947), Vibh-a (1923), Pp-a (1914), Kv-a (1979) and Tikap-a (1921–1923).

[33] In this section, the term "manuscripts" also includes transcripts of manuscripts made by European scholars.

increased over time. In Figure 2, the total number of witnesses used for each edition has been broken down into the number of manuscripts and the number of printed editions. A trend line indicates that, on average, the number of printed editions used as witnesses has increased over time. Due to the publication of new series of Pāli texts in South and Southeast Asia throughout the twentieth century, this is unsurprising. Interestingly, a second trend line in the same figure indicates that, on average, the number of manuscripts used as witnesses has decreased over time. In numerous prefaces of the early European editions, editors describe the great difficulty of obtaining even a few manuscripts of a text they wished to edit (e.g. Fausbøll 1877: i, v; Feer 1898: vii–viii). However, this problem did not worsen over the twentieth century; in fact, in recent decades it has become easier to obtain copies of manuscripts, particularly via high quality digital scans. It may be that the declining usage of manuscripts is primarily a reflection of the greater difficulties involved with working with this type of witness compared with edited books.
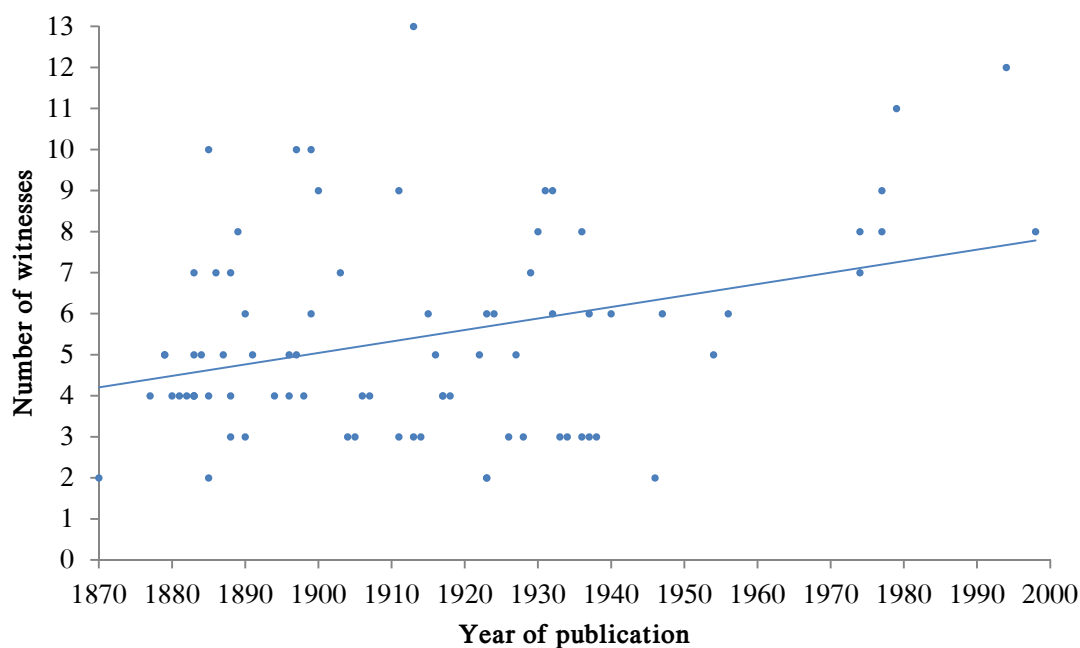
Figure 1. Total number of witnesses used for each edition over year of publication.
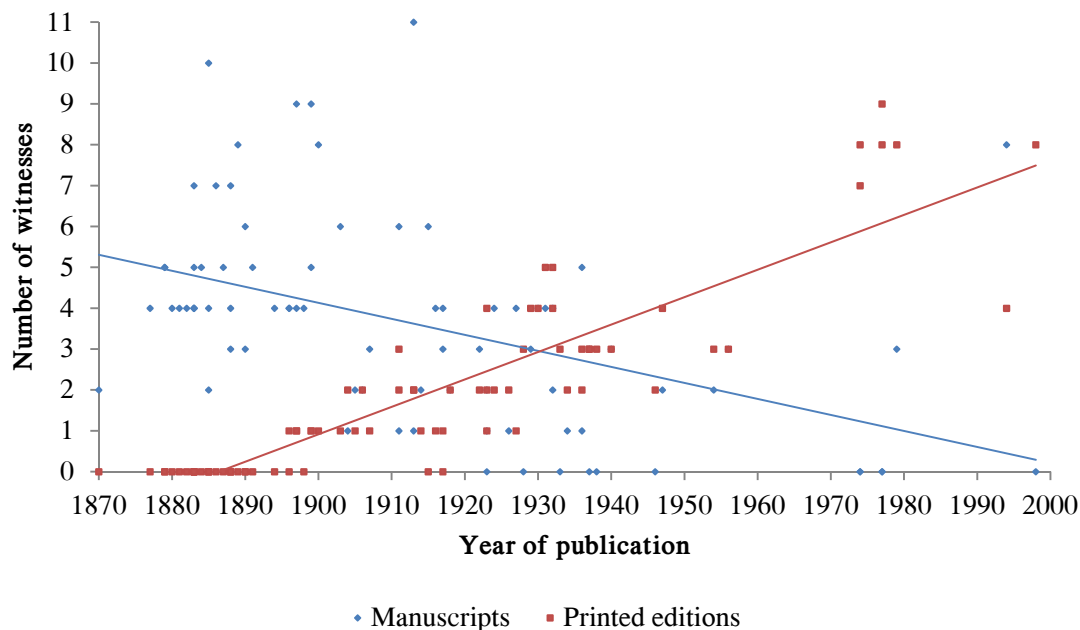
Figure 2. Number of manuscripts and printed editions used for each edition over year of publication.

The place of origin of these witnesses was next examined. As shown in Figure 3, just over half of all witnesses were from Sri Lanka, almost one third were from Burma, while just over one tenth were from Thailand. In the following two figures, the witnesses have been broken down into manuscripts and printed editions. Figure 4 shows the place of origin of the manuscripts and demonstrates a strong bias towards the usage of Sri Lankan manuscripts, which represent nearly two thirds of the total number of manuscripts. This is, at least in part, due to the strong links that several early PTS editors had established with monks living in Sri Lanka. One third of the manuscripts were from Burma, largely owing to the voluminous collection of manuscripts taken by the British from Mandalay after the city was seized by them in 1885. In short, the high proportion of Sri Lankan and Burmese manuscripts is largely a reflection of Great Britain's colonial occupation of these countries, which allowed them increased access to these manuscript collections. Thai manuscripts have almost entirely been ignored. Eight of the eleven Thai manuscripts represented here correspond to the 1994 edition of the Dhammapada, six of which are short fragments rather than complete manuscripts. No Laotian or

Cambodian[34] manuscripts were used as witnesses in any of the European editions surveyed in this study. Figure 5 shows that the usage of printed editions is more balanced and there does not appear to be a strong bias towards any one series. Editions from Burma, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Europe[35] are well represented, though printed editions from India, principally the Nālandā Devanāgarī Pāli series, have been used less frequently. No Cambodian printed editions were used as witnesses in the publications surveyed in this study.

- Burma (30%)
- Sri Lanka (52%)
- Thailand (11%)
- Europe (6%)
- India (1%)
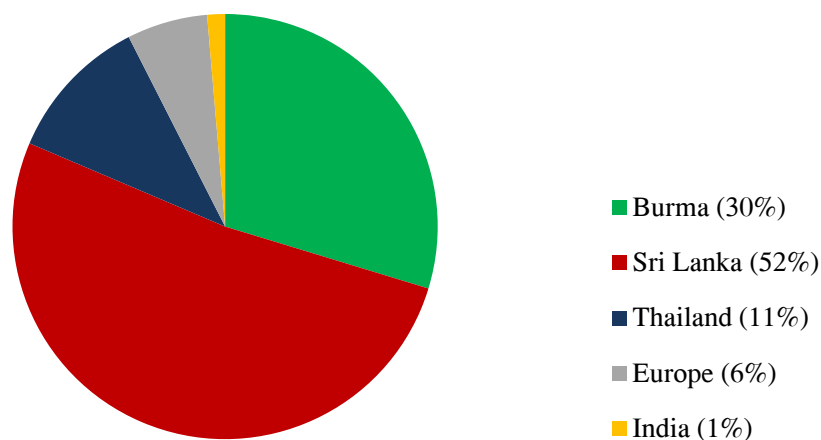
Figure 3. Place of origin of all witnesses

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[34] According to Grönbold (2005: 38), most of Cambodia's manuscripts are likely to have been destroyed by the Khmer Rouge. However, it appears that there are still large collections of Laotian manuscripts in existence, as evidenced by the online *Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts* (http://www.laomanuscripts.net/en/index). Unfortunately, this website does not seem to contain scans of any Apadāna manuscripts.

[35] Editors occasionally used previous PTS editions as witnesses in order to construct their text. For example, in the 1998 edition of the Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā, the editor utilised the 1893 PTS edition of this work, together with the PTS edition of the Apadāna.
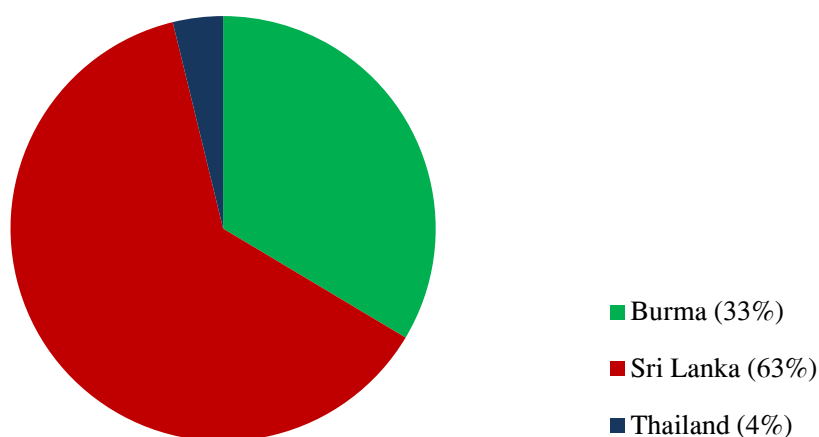
Figure 4. Place of origin of manuscripts

Burma (33%)
Sri Lanka (63%)
Thailand (4%)

Burma (22%)
Sri Lanka (31%)
Thailand (25%)
Europe (18%)
India (4%)
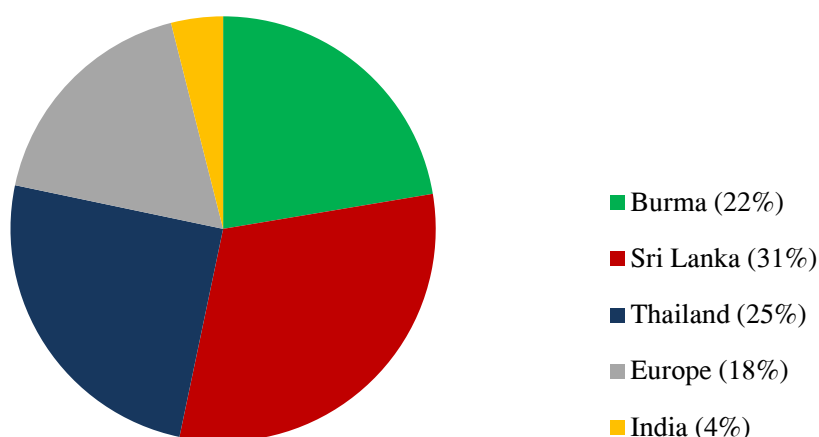
Figure 5. Place of origin of printed editions

Lastly, some aspects of editing methodology were analysed. In only 43% of these printed editions did the editors give any indication of the criteria they used in order to select one reading over another for the base text and, when such comments are included, they are usually very brief. Different editors took different approaches. Some adopted an eclectic approach and simply chose the readings which most appealed to them. For example, Feer (1884: xiii) stated, "in the choice of the readings, I made no preference, and I adopted always the reading which seemed the best wherever it might come from, in general paying regard to the consensus of the Singhalese MSS". Others more explicitly favoured the Sinhala readings and gave the Burmese readings in the critical apparatus. For example,

Morris (1885: viii) stated, "where they essentially differ, I have, in nearly every case, given the preference to the Siṅhalese readings". Only 26% of the prefaces surveyed in this study mention whether or not the text had been emended by the editor(s) without the support a witness. Of this 26%, one third stated that the text was not emended, while two thirds stated that the text was emended. For example, Fausbøll (1877: ii) stated, "I have only corrected the text in places where I was sure, from other passages, that it was wrong... Sometimes I have let the Sanskritic orthography guide me, but perhaps wrongly". In other editions, particularly of texts belonging to the Abhidhammapiṭaka, repetitious passages have been condensed or abbreviated. For example, regarding the Paṭṭhāna, von Hinüber (1996: 75) commented, "This text has been abbreviated in the PTS edition to such a degree that it forbids our forming any clear picture of its structure or contents. Therefore, the comparison of the Burmese edition (1959–1967) in five volumes is imperative: Tikap 317 − 355 e.g. corresponds to about 700 pages in B^e". Finally, in only 17% of the printed editions surveyed here did the editors give any information from the colophons of the manuscripts they used, such as the copying date. Only two of the eighty-one publications supplied this information from all their manuscripts.[36]

The purpose of this section is not to disparage early European editors of Pāli texts. In most cases, these pioneers produced the best editions that could be reasonably expected of them given the limited resources with which they had to work. In particular, access to manuscripts was very limited and the grammars and dictionaries available at the time were less comprehensive than those available today. Indeed, the editors themselves often noted that their editions were tentative and required future revision. The purpose of this section is, instead, to highlight the particular limitations of these publications and make some observations that may aid editors of future editions. The first such limitation is that these editions are, on average, based upon a small number of witnesses. Due to the publication of new series of Pāli texts in South and Southeast Asia throughout the twentieth century, editors increasingly relied upon printed editions for their witnesses rather than manuscripts. Most manuscripts used to produce these publications were from Sri

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[36] Namely, Dhp (1994) and Kv-a (1979).

Lanka, though a sizable proportion were from Burma. Thai manuscripts were poorly represented, while Laotian and Cambodian manuscripts were entirely ignored. Most of the editions examined in this analysis omit information on editing methodology, including whether or not the text was emended by the editor. When this information is supplied, there is no consistency between publications. These results support, and add detail to, the critical assessments summarised in § 3.6.2, with the exception of the apparently inaccurate claim by Skilling (2009: 32) that PTS editors have largely ignored early Thai printed editions.[37]

3.7. Towards a new edition of the Apadāna

How, then, should a new edition of the Apadāna be edited and presented? Firstly, the minimum requirement for a scholarly edition ought to be complete transparency regarding the manner in which the editor has produced his or her text. This includes the provision of detailed information on all witnesses, a statement regarding the textual form the editor has attempted to reproduce and an explanation of the editing methodology used. As demonstrated in § 3.6, most existing editions of Pāli texts provide little to none of this information and thereby conceal the editor's significant role in shaping the textual form.

Secondly, while editorial intervention into the received text ought to be kept to a minimum, the published text needs to be accessible to the majority of Pāli readers. In her critique of PTS editions, Balbir (2009: 16) suggested that the facsimile edition[38] might be a suitable alternative to the eclectic edition, which she calls the "critical edition".[39] However, it is likely that the readership of such a

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[37] As quoted in § 3.6.1, a similar claim was made by von Hinüber (1983: 76) regarding the King Chulalongkorn series.

[38] A facsimile edition consists of facsimile reproductions of each page of a manuscript.

[39] I have avoided the term "critical edition" in this thesis because it has no widely accepted and unambiguous definition. Kelemen (2009: 73) stated that a critical edition is a reconstruction of an ideal text by means of textual criticism. Using this definition, the critical edition is therefore not identical to the eclectic edition. For instance, the semi-diplomatic edition, that is, one which

publication would be limited to a small group of specialists who are able to read the script in question, who are comfortable reading Pāli without spaces between words and who are capable of identifying and coping with the many scribal errors found throughout most Pāli manuscripts.[40] Similarly, in another critique of PTS editions, Masefield (2009: 3) advocated a variant of the diplomatic edition:

> I am rapidly coming to the view that whenever we transliterate a manuscript, of which we have more than one 'copy,' we should resist all temptation at producing a further, 'critical' [i.e. eclectic] edition, and rather select—if necessarily at random—only one those [sic] manuscripts and use this as a base text, simply noting any variant readings contained in the others by consigning these to the footnotes. In this way, we will be preserving at least one genuine version of the text, free of our own impositions, for other scholars to reflect upon in the future.

Masefield (2009: 3–4) further suggested that such an edition should consist of an unbroken string of transliterated graphemes, either with or without an additional transliteration in which the editor has intervened to separate individual words with spaces. While such an edition would be slightly more accessible than a facsimile edition, its readership is still likely to be confined to a small number of highly trained scholars. The quality of text contained in Pāli manuscripts is extremely variable and if the manuscript in question is to be selected at random, as Masefield suggests, then it is reasonably likely that its text would contain a large number of scribal errors. The reader would need to be able to identify these errors and constantly refer to the variant readings contained in what would surely need to

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reproduces the text of a single witness with editorial changes, could also be regarded as a critical edition.

[40] Instead, facsimile editions are more appropriate for Pāli works which are preserved in only one or two manuscripts, or for historically significant manuscripts, e.g. the oldest known Pāli palm leaf manuscript, which dates to the eighth or ninth century (von Hinüber 1991).

be a very swollen critical apparatus.[41] I would therefore suggest that a new scholarly edition of the Apadāna should be represented in Roman script, contain spaces between words and include a restrained usage of punctuation.[42] It is true that some of these features involve subjective judgment on the part of the editor; however, relatively minor text critical decisions such as these are surely best made by a competent editor, rather than the general reader who may not be sufficiently trained to make the most appropriate judgments.[43] Of course, more significant editorial interventions, such as conjectural emendations, need to be very clearly marked as being departures from the received text.[44]

As previously stated, a scholarly edition ought to include a statement regarding the textual form the editor has attempted to reproduce. At least eleven complete printed editions of the Apadāna have already been published.[45] The

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[41] It is also problematic that Masefield appears to draw a sharp division between the "genuine versions" contained in South and Southeast Asian manuscripts and the, presumably "non-genuine", text of an edited printed edition. As with printed editions, manuscripts are sometimes a mixture of readings from multiple exemplars and their scribes also sometimes made silent emendations to the text.

[42] See § 4.1.1 for details on the punctuation used in the edition contained in this thesis.

[43] For a similar reason, it would not be particularly appropriate to represent the Apadāna via a synoptic edition, that is, one in which the readings from each witness are given in full side-by-side and in which no attempt is made to present a single ideal text. The number of extant Apadāna manuscripts would also make such an edition very voluminous and would compare unfavourably to, for example, the successful synoptic edition of the Jambūpatisūtra (Pakdeekham 2009) which presents the text of only six witnesses.

[44] Olivelle (1998b), for instance, discussed the negative repercussions of poorly labeled conjectural emendations in the early editions of the Upaniṣads. In editions of Greek and Latin texts, it is common practice to use <angle brackets> to indicate conjectural additions and {braces} to indicate conjectural deletions (Maas 1958: 22; West 1973: 80).

[45] Namely, the editions from the Buddhajayantī Tripiṭaka series, Cambodian Tipiṭaka series, Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series, Dayyaraṭṭhassa Saṅgītitepiṭaka 2530 Buddhavasse series, Hanthawaddy Press series, Mahāsaṅgīti Tipiṭaka Buddhavasse 2500 series, Nālandā Devanāgarī Pāli series, PTS series and Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series; Buddhadatta 1929–1930; and ဦးနိုင် 1917. As far as I am aware, the edition from the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest series is incomplete and consists of only

Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition, for example, contains very few errors from an orthographical or grammatical standpoint and is therefore suitable for the general reader who wishes to become acquainted with *apadāna* stories. Another printed edition of the Apadāna in which its editor has primarily attempted to produce a polished and highly "readable" text would be of little benefit to Pāli studies. What has not yet been attempted is an edition which is principally concerned with the historical development of the text, via a close study of its extant witnesses, and which presents the earliest possible textual form as the base text. If such an edition is possible, not only would it make a valuable contribution to the study of the Apadāna, but it would be of importance to the study of Pāli literature in general.

The final consideration is which editing methodology to adopt. As noted throughout § 3.6, in most editions of Pāli texts the editor(s) have provided little to no information on their editing methodology and in such instances the reader is likely to assume, often perhaps correctly, that the editor(s) in fact had no clear methodology and simply choose the readings which most appealed to their own personal predilections. Some PTS editions explicitly state that this is what was done (e.g. Feer 1884: xiii). Needless to say, this is not an appropriate method by which to produce a scholarly edition, particularly if the goal is to represent the earliest possible textual form. Earlier in this chapter, a number of editing methodologies was surveyed in order to demonstrate the diversity of options available for editing a text represented by multiple witnesses. Are any of these approaches suitable for a new edition of the Apadāna?

In § 3.2 it was noted that diplomatic editions based upon a Masoretic witness have been particularly popular for publications of Hebrew scripture. This is, in part, due to the privileged place that the Masoretic Text has had within Judaism from a reasonably early period and the existence of several Masoretic manuscripts which were copied approximately one thousand years ago (Tov 2012: 44–46). Within Theravāda Buddhism, however, there is no particular text type or set of manuscripts which practicing communities agree is authoritative and, in the case of the

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one volume of the projected two volumes. For further details on some of these publications, see § 4.1.2.1.

Apadāna, there are no known complete manuscripts which are especially old. Therefore, no single witness stands out as being particularly suitable for providing the base text of a diplomatic edition of the Apadāna. Alternatively, the problems associated with selecting a manuscript at random to provide the base text of an edition of a Pāli text have been described above.

In § 3.3 it was noted that most modern editions of New Testament scripture have been produced using eclecticism, particularly reasoned eclecticism which takes external evidence into consideration. The external evidence provided by New Testament witnesses is particularly powerful because of the short interval separating composition dates and the earliest extant manuscripts, and because research has revealed the key features of the primary text types into which early witnesses may be divided. In the case of the Apadāna, however, external evidence is weak. Since our earliest extant manuscripts postdate the text's composition by a very significant period of time, differences between the copying dates of almost all extant manuscripts are not particularly significant.[46] Furthermore, so little research has been conducted into the features of the main text types of Pāli manuscripts that we are not yet able to judge a reading on the basis of the text type to which it belongs. Therefore, if the Apadāna were to be edited eclectically, the main type of evidence used would be internal evidence, meaning that the text would be edited using thoroughgoing eclecticism. The main danger of such an approach is that, if the evidence is not strong enough, the resultant text might be an artificial new creation rather than something which truly represents an early textual form.

In § 3.4 it was commented that Greek and Latin classical texts have most often been edited using the stemmatic approach. Both the Hebrew Bible and New Testament have been preserved in thousands of manuscripts and it is therefore inconceivable that their witnesses could be manually arranged into detailed stemmas. However, the reasonably small number of manuscripts in which most Greek and Latin classical texts are preserved is well suited for stemmatic analysis. Stemmatic editing might be similarly appropriate for the Apadāna, since the

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[46] The primary exception being the Apadāna fragment from Vat Lai Hin, which dates to approximately 1500 CE (see § 3.6.1n16).

number of its known extant manuscripts is not exceptionally high. Additionally, the goal of this approach is compatible with the editing goal proposed earlier in this section, namely, the reconstruction of the Apadāna's earliest possible textual form. Of course, the success of the stemmatic approach is inversely proportional to the extent to which a text's witnesses are contaminated. The transmission history of Pāli literature is, as yet, poorly understood and therefore the frequency and extent of contamination found in Pāli manuscripts is unknown. However, a small number of Pāli texts have been successfully edited using the stemmatic approach, including the Upāsakajanālaṅkāra (Saddhatissa 1965), Dīghanikāyaṭīkā Līnatthappakāsinī (de Silva 1970) and Aṅguttaranikāyaṭīkā Catuttha Sāratthamañjūsā (Pecenko 1996– 1999).[47] The stemma of the Upāsakajanālaṅkāra witnesses indicates that one manuscript drew from two exemplars; however, the stemmas in the latter two publications do not depict contamination in the branches of manuscript transmission. It is therefore possible that a similarly low level of contamination is present in manuscripts of the Apadāna. If some manuscripts are found to be heavily contaminated and resist a strict stemmatic analysis, it might be possible to group these into a single cluster and treat them as a whole unit within the stemma, as per the adaption of the stemmatic approach used for editing several Sanskrit texts (see § 3.5). It is therefore recommended that a new scholarly edition of the Apadāna be edited stemmatically.

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[47] For sake of completeness, it should be noted that some Pāli scholars do not believe that stemmatic editing is appropriate for Pāli literature. In her critique of PTS editions, Balbir (2009: 6) rather strangely commented, "The search for archetypes, i.e. the oldest copy of a text, which has been applied to the manuscripts of Classical Antiquity, is certainly rather vain and perhaps off the mark given the modes of diffusions of Buddhist literature, the wide geographical regions where the texts were copied, and the profusion of manuscripts". That Pāli literature has spread out over wide geographical regions via numerous manuscripts is no reason to abandon the stemmatic approach. In fact, such a situation is likely to minimise contamination and thereby favour successful stemmatic editing.

4. Introduction to the edition and annotated translation

4.1. Introduction to the edition

4.1.1. Editing methodology and text presentation

A thorough search in library catalogues revealed that at least eleven complete printed editions of the Apadāna have been published to date (see § 3.7n45 for a listing). There is also an incomplete edition of this text in the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest series; to the best of my knowledge only one of the projected two volumes has been published. A number of these printed editions have been digitised; however, I have not used any of these as witnesses since they are known to be imperfect reproductions containing occasional deviations (Clark 2008: 8n3). A thorough search in manuscript catalogues revealed that handwritten copies of the Apadāna are currently held in England, Germany, France, Sri Lanka, Thailand and India. Further copies held at major manuscript repositories in Burma and Thailand were discovered following verbal enquires at these institutions. Digital photographs were obtained of a select number of these manuscripts, chosen on the basis of several factors, including quality of preservation, manuscript age, script type, whether or not the manuscript was inked, reproduction cost, etc. Additionally, images of eight different manuscripts of the Apadāna were kindly shared with me by volunteers of the Dhammachai International Research Institute (DIRI), who made several trips to Sri Lanka between 2009 and 2011 to digitally photograph Pāli palm leaf manuscripts.[1]

A pilot study was undertaken to investigate nineteen manuscripts and the Kuthodaw Pagoda marble stelae. Firstly, I created a digital Roman script transliteration of the text's second chapter as represented in each witness and

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[1] See § 4.1.2 for details on witnesses.

compared them all with the aid of an open source computer program called *Juxta*,[2] which visually highlights differences between a base text and alternate versions. This comparison revealed that there was a relatively large number of variant readings and indicated that therefore it would not be possible to cite all these witnesses in a new printed edition of the Apadāna. This comparison further revealed that a number of the witnesses were textually very similar, meaning that it would not even be necessary to cite all these witnesses. After closely studying the relationships between these witnesses, nine manuscripts were selected to serve as primary sources for the new edition. This final selection was based upon a number of factors, including quality of digital photographs, manuscript age, script type,[3] number of scribal errors and textual relationships with other manuscripts. Specifically, manuscripts were selected so as to represent as many significant branches of textual transmission as possible. Therefore, manuscripts which were textually redundant were omitted, together with those found to be contaminated with the text of the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae,[4] which evidently exerted a strong influence upon the late manuscript tradition of Burma.[5] In addition to these nine manuscripts, four of the most widely used printed editions were selected to serve as secondary witnesses. Besides these thirteen witnesses of the Apadāna, quotations of the root text in an old Apadānaṭṭhakathā manuscript were also cited. However, printed editions of the Apadānaṭṭhakathā were not used in this fashion, principally

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[2] Version 1.7 downloaded from http://www.juxtasoftware.org.

[3] It is a matter of regret that I was unable to access more than one Khom script manuscript from Thailand.

[4] Namely, §§ 4.1.2.2.5, 4.1.2.2.6, 4.1.2.2.8.

[5] Regarding the Kuthodaw Pagoda site, Maung Tsain (1951: 20) wrote, "On other days the long white colonnades of gleaming shrines are empty, save for an occasional visitor; or for a few Monks in the Yellow Robe, who, kneeling within the little shrines, are busily comparing with the stone inscription a new-written palm-leaf manuscript of Sutta, Vinaya or Abhidhamma; and marking on it where the text differs, or the copyist has erred". It is notable that amongst the manuscript witnesses included in the pilot study, 100% of Burmese script manuscripts (nine of nine) were found to be contaminated, while only 22% of Sinhala script manuscripts (two of nine) were found to be contaminated. This may well reflect different approaches to copying manuscripts in these countries.

because it was found that their quotations of the root text had often been harmonised with popular printed editions of the Apadāna; this was especially the case for the PTS edition of the Apadānaṭṭhakathā. Finally, by carefully analysing the transcriptions of the nine primary manuscript witnesses in *Juxta* using the methodologies outlined by Maas (1958) and especially West (1973), a stemma was created which represents their hypothesised relationships. This stemma, displayed and described in § 4.1.3, is broadly arranged into two principal branches of transmission via two principal hyparchetypes.

The aim of this new edition of the Apadāna is to reconstruct the earliest possible textual form and therefore its base text primarily reflects manuscript readings. One of the principal methods used to achieve this is the reconstruction of the stemma's archetype using the methodologies outlined by Maas (1958) and especially West (1973), the application of which will now be briefly described. A reading supported by both principal hyparchetypes almost certainly represents the text of the archetype. In cases where the principal hyparchetypes contain different readings, a number of considerations have guided my text critical decision making. Often, one of the readings is erroneous from an orthographic, grammatical or semantic standpoint and appears to have arisen from a simple scribal mistake. If the principal hyparchetypes contain different readings yet neither is erroneous, the situation is more difficult. In such cases, I have particularly kept in mind two of the most important guidelines of textual criticism: (1) the reading which most easily explains the development of the other reading(s) is likely to be the earliest, and (2) the more difficult (but not more implausible) reading is likely to be the earliest. In such cases, I have also favoured readings which are supported by the text of the Apadānaṭṭhakathā manuscript. It is clear that the archetype contained numerous *pāda*s which were metrically nonstandard; therefore, while I have not ignored metrical considerations, I have not allowed them to significantly influence my choice of readings. I have not standardised the orthography or *sandhi* found in the manuscripts, but have instead attempted to represent the orthography and *sandhi* of the archetype. Amongst the manuscript witnesses, I have given slightly less weight to the readings contained in B2 and S1 because these witnesses show the most

evidence of conscious editorial emendation. Each set of variant readings was treated as a unique case requiring a flexible approach, rather than the mechanical application of a rigid set of text critical rules.

It was found that the reconstructed archetype occasionally contains readings which are erroneous from an orthographic, grammatical or semantic standpoint (see § 4.1.3 for a description of the archetype). In such instances, rather than reproduce the erroneous archetypal reading in the base text, I have instead replaced it with a corrected reading. Wherever possible, I have used readings found in manuscripts for such corrections, often those belonging to hyparchetype e which shows evidence of having been consciously revised (e.g. §§ 6.2.7, 6.5.1, 6.8.3). On the rare instances in which this was not possible, I have used readings found only in printed editions (e.g. §§ 6.5.12, 6.7.2). Each base text reading which I considered to be a deviation from the archetype has been placed within [square brackets] and the probable corresponding archetypal reading has been listed in the critical apparatus. It is intended, therefore, that the base text of this new edition represents the archetype of the selected manuscripts with its obvious scribal errors removed. Page numbers belonging to the PTS edition of the Apadāna are provided in the base text within [square brackets].

Each entry in the critical apparatus includes the following information: (1) the *apadāna* and verse number to which the variant reading belongs, (2) the base text reading, (3) the variant reading, and (4) the sigla of the witnesses which contain this variant reading. For example, the first entry reads, "**1.1** di-] dvi- B1 B2 Bᵉ", which has the following meaning: (1) the variant reading belongs to *apadāna* one, verse one, (2) the base text reads *di-*, (3) the corresponding variant reading is *dvi-*, and (4) this variant reading is contained in the witnesses B1, B2 and Bᵉ. The hyphens in *di-* and *dvi-* indicate that these words are the first members of a compound. Several abbreviations are used in the critical apparatus. A number in superscript immediately following a base text reading is used for instances in which the base text reading occurs more than once in the verse and, in these instances, the superscript number identifies which of these is being referred to. For example, at § 5.1.10 the word *tayo* occurs twice; an entry in the critical apparatus which relates to

this verse begins with "tayo[2]", which means that the variant reading relates to the second occurrence of this word. "(=)" indicates that I considered the variant reading equally likely to have belonged to the archetype as the base text reading. In such instances, the reading from hyparchetype b has been placed in the base text.[6] The term "*omits*" indicates that the specified witnesses omit the base text reading. The term "*adds*" indicates that in the specified witnesses the additional reading immediately follows the base text reading. "B4(p)" refers to an alternative root text reading available to the commentator(s) of the Apadāna, as preserved in the Apadānaṭṭhakathā manuscript B4 and indicated in this text by the term *pāṭha*, "[variant] reading".

For manuscript readings which contain scribal corrections, I have cited the corrected reading and ignored scored off grapheme(s). The reason for this is that in all the manuscripts used for this edition corrections appear to have been made by the original scribe[7] with reference to his exemplar, as opposed to corrections made with reference to a second manuscript belonging to a different branch of transmission. Variant readings judged to be erroneous from an orthographic,[8] grammatical[9] or semantic[10] standpoint have not been included in the critical apparatus, except in cases where the base text departs from the likely text of the archetype (see below). Minor valid variations of *sandhi*[11] and orthography[12] have also been excluded from the critical apparatus. A minor variation is here defined as

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[6] This follows a similar practice suggested by Hendel (2008: 330, 346), which was briefly summarised in § 3.2.

[7] This is evidenced by the similar palaeographic features of corrections and scored off grapheme(s), and by the frequent placement of corrections immediately following the erroneous scored off grapheme(s), rather than being interlinear. Additionally, corrections in these manuscripts do not appear to belong to a different hyparchetype.

[8] For example, at § 5.1.2 C3 reads *sumaṇo* instead of *sumano*.

[9] For example, at § 5.4.18 B1 reads *sari kokanudaṃ ahaṃ* instead of *sariṃ kokanudaṃ ahaṃ*.

[10] For example, at § 5.1.2 B2 reads *pādapiṭṭham akās' ahaṃ*, "I made the top of a foot", instead of *pādapīṭhaṃ akās' ahaṃ*, "I made a footstool".

[11] For example, at § 5.2.3 C2 reads *gaṇaṃ tadā* instead of *gaṇan tadā*.

[12] For example, at § 5.1.5 C1 reads *kaṃñāsahassāni* instead of *kaññāsahassāni*.

not involving the addition or deletion of a consonant or vowel. Such variations do not affect the metre and often simply reflect the preferences of a local scribal community.

In cases where I considered the base text to be a deviation from the archetype, the corresponding entry in the critical apparatus contains more detailed information and includes the following: (1) the *apadāna* and verse number, (2) the sigla of the witnesses which contain the base text reading, (3) the probable archetypal reading followed by the abbreviation "(a)", (4) the sigla of the witnesses which contain this archetypal reading, and (5) any other variant readings followed by the appropriate sigla. For example, an entry in the critical apparatus which relates to § 5.2.7 states, "-gaṇ[e]] B1 B2 B3 B^e C^e E^e S1 S^e, -gaṇo (a) C1 C2 C3 C4 C5", which means that the base text reading, -*gaṇe*, is found in the witnesses B1, B2, B3, B^e, C^e, E^e, S1 and S^e and that the probable archetypal reading, -*gaṇo*, is found in the witnesses C1, C2, C3, C4 and C5.

There is a restrained usage of punctuation in this edition. The first letter of proper nouns is capitalised, except for non-initial members of a compound (e.g. see *pāda* a in the *uddāna* of the fourth chapter). Some words are used as proper nouns at times and common nouns at other times. In the former instance the first letter is capitalised (e.g. *Buddho* at § 5.3.2) and in the latter instance it is not capitalised (e.g. *buddho* at § 5.23.12). The full stop is used to indicate the end of a verse, except for verses in which a sentence is continued into the following verse (e.g. § 5.1.1). The inverted comma is used to indicate vowel elision. The dash is used to separate consecutive vowels within a compound and to isolate *sandhi* consonants. Manuscripts, of course, do not contain spaces between words and the spacing of cardinal numbers in particular presents some difficulties. For example, some cardinals may be equally considered declined or the first member of a compound. For example, if a manuscript reads *pañcavassāni*, it may be represented in an edition as *pañca vassāni* (declined) or *pañcavassāni* (first member of a compound). In other instances, a cardinal may be equally considered undeclined or the first member of a compound. For example, if a manuscript reads *sattativassesu*, it may be represented in an edition as *sattati vassesu* (undeclined) or *sattativassesu* (first

member of a compound). The PTS edition of the Apadāna is inconsistent in representing such ambiguous cases.[13] In this edition, cardinals are represented as declined where possible, e.g. *pañca vassāni*. If this is not possible, they are represented as in a compound, e.g. *pañcavassesu*. If this is not possible, they are represented as undeclined, e.g. *sattati ca vassesu*. It is hoped that this system best reflects the natural tendencies found within the language.[14]

It will be noticed that I have not utilised witnesses of the Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā, a text which quotes the Apadāna. The primary reason for this is it has been copied separately from the Apadāna and therefore has a different transmission history. Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā witnesses would require the construction of a separate stemma and quotes of the Apadāna in its archetype would need to be compared with the archetype of Apadāna witnesses in order to determine the compatibility of these two versions. While such a project would indeed be valuable, it is well beyond the scope of this project. Additionally, if Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā witnesses were utilised in this new edition, the critical apparatus would increase to an unmanageably large size.

The edition (§ 5) covers all thirty *apadāna*s in the second, third and fourth chapters of the Apadāna.[15] Following this is a set of notes (§ 6) which comment upon the base text, critical apparatus and, occasionally, informative erroneous readings not cited in the critical apparatus. Hypermetric *pāda*s, *svarabhakti* vowels to be disregarded for the purpose of scansion, and instances of metrical licence and resolution are noted. Only resolution on the first and sixth syllables are noted; I follow Warder (1967: §§ 244–245) and Norman (2004: xxxi, 2007a: liv, 2007b: lxxiv) in disregarding instances of resolution on other syllables. Parallel passages in other Pāli canonical texts of at least a *pādayuga* in length are listed. Unusual or

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[13] For example, Ap 322,4 reads *pañca hetū* (declined), while, only four verses prior, Ap 321,26 reads *pañcahetū* (first member of a compound). Equally, Ap 204,15 reads *sattasattati kappamhi* (undeclined), while Ap 198,22 reads *sattasattatikappamhi* (first member of a compound).

[14] I would like to thank Oskar von Hinüber and Alexander Wynne for their helpful suggestions on representing Pāli cardinal numbers.

[15] The edition of the third chapter contained in this thesis is not based upon that of Clark 2008 and, primarily because of the different editing methodologies used, their texts frequently differ.

difficult grammar is discussed, as are words not found in existing Pāli-English dictionaries. Base text corrections to the probable archetype are explained, unless the correction is so obvious that a comment seemed unwarranted.

4.1.2. Description of witnesses
4.1.2.1. Witnesses used in the edition
4.1.2.1.1. B1

This Burmese script palm leaf manuscript is held at the Colombo National Museum Library in Sri Lanka, under the shelfmark B13. It was briefly described by de Silva (1938: 270 / § 1782) in a catalogue of the museum's palm leaf manuscripts. The description includes a note that the manuscript was "presented by the King of Burma"; however, unfortunately the name of the king is not given. On July 2, 2009, volunteers of DIRI took digital photographs of all leaves of this manuscript. For the most part, the quality of these images is reasonably good. The title on the cover leaf is အပဒါန်ပါဠိတော်ပါဠ့်, while the title in the upper right corner of recto sides is အပါဒါန်ပါဠိတော် (sic). Each leaf typically contains eight lines of clear handwriting. The 243 leaves are numbered on the upper left corner of recto sides in Burmese script beginning with က and ending with ဟ. Sinhala script numbering has been added in the left margin of verso sides, beginning with ක and ending with ච. The manuscript contains the entire Apadāna. Common errors include *i* for *ī*, *ñc* for *ñj*, *ṭh* for *ṭṭh*, *p* for *b* and the omission of *niggahīta*. There are infrequent corrections which are generally not interlinear, but rather immediately follow the erroneous scored off grapheme(s). After the end of the Apadāna text there is a colophon in Pāli, which is unusual for a Burmese script manuscript. It reads:

> The Apadāna composition is thus concluded. And this [copy of the] Apadāna, beginning with the Buddha, was written by a monk named Uttamarāma—adorned with the most pure faith and energy, possessed of a multitude of good qualities due to his practice of virtuous

conduct, and great with a mind faithful in the teaching of the conqueror—on Thursday, the twelfth day of [the waning moon in the month of] Phagguṇa, 982 Sakkarāja [Era] [i.e. March 18, 1621],[16] during the [moon's] meeting with the lunar mansion of Dhana[sidda] from the surrounding group [of stars].[17] May this merit of mine lead to the destruction of [my] taints. May the divine teaching last for a long time. (*iti Apadānamakaraṇaṃ samattan ti. paramavisuddha-saddhāviriyapaṇḍitena. sīlācāraṃ guṇasamuddayasamuditena.[18] jinasāsanapasāditacetanāvipullena. Uttamarāmotināmadheyena bhikkhunā likkhito cāyaṃ Buddhādi-Apadānaṃ. dvāsīti navasatañ ca. sakkarājassa Pagguṇe. dvādasamigurudive. Dhanassa nakkhatte lābhe supariniṭhitā gaṇā. idaṃ me puññaṃ āsavakkhayaṃ vahaṃ hotu. ciraṃ tiṭhatu dibbasāsanaṃ.*)[19]

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[16] In this thesis, Burmese dates have been converted into Western dates using version 3.0 of the *SEAsian Calendars* program downloaded from http://home.thep.lu.se/~larsg/Site/download.html. This program was developed by Lars Gislén and John Christopher Eade, author of Eade 1995.

[17] It is highly unusual for a colophon in a Burmese script manuscript to define the completion date with reference to the moon's alignment with a lunar mansion. It is likely that the scribe mentioned it here in order to clarify the precise twelfth day of the month, in place of simply stating whether the moon was waxing or waning. For this particular month and year, the *SEAsian Calendars* program states that the moon was in the lunar mansion of Dhanasidda during thirteenth day of the waning moon. Due to the nature of its orbit, the moon does not always exactly align with the predicted lunar mansion; therefore, because he mentioned the "twelfth", it is reasonably certain that the scribe wished to refer to the twelfth day of the waning moon. The passage *dvāsīti... gaṇā* constitutes five *pāda*s in the *śloka* metre and this format might explain the usage of the abbreviation Dhana for Dhanasidda/Dhaniṭṭhā (S. Dhaniṣṭhā). I assume also that *gaṇā* is an abbreviation of *tārāgaṇā*. The passage *Dhanassa... gaṇā* is particularly difficult to understand and may well contain spelling errors, which are in fact found throughout this colophon; therefore, my translation is tentative. I would like to thank Christian Lammerts and Alexey Kirichenko for their generous help with these two *pāda*s, without which I would have understood very little.

[18] A parallel to the passage *parama-... -samuditena* may be found at the end of several commentaries in which Buddhaghosa is praised (e.g. Pj I 253, 5–6).

[19] My translation assumes that the following are errors: -*makaraṇaṃ* (for -*pakaraṇaṃ*), -*paṇḍitena* (for -*maṇḍitena*), *sīlācāraṃ guṇasamuddaya-* (for *sīlācāraguṇasamudaya-*), -*vipullena* (for

This colophon is immediately followed by another colophon in Burmese, which states, "The copying of the Apadāna was completed sometime after one o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the ninth day of the waxing moon in the month of တပို့တွဲ, 1161 Sakkarāja [Era] [i.e. February 2, 1800]" (သက္ကရာဇ်၁၁၆၁ခု တပို့တွဲလဆန်၉ရက်၁နေ့နေတက်တချက်တီကျော်တွင်အပါဒါန်ပါဠိတော်ကိုရေကူး၏ပြီပြည်စုံသ့ါ။).[20]

It appears that the exemplar of B1 contained the Pāli colophon which was mechanically reproduced by the scribe of B1, who then added his own colophon in Burmese. This tells us that B1 was copied in 1800 from a manuscript which was itself most likely copied in 1620. It is of course possible that there was an intermediate copy in the transmission from the manuscript of 1620 to B1.

4.1.2.1.2. B2

This Burmese script palm leaf manuscript is held at the British Library, under the shelfmark IO Man/Pali78. It was briefly described by Fausbøll (1894–1896: 27 / § 78) in his catalogue of Mandalay manuscripts held in the India Office Library. In 2010, I obtained grayscale digital photographs of all leaves of this manuscript. For the most part, the quality of these images is reasonably good. In 2011, I visited the British Library to examine this manuscript in person and clarify readings which were unclear in the digital photographs. The manuscript contains the entire Apadāna, divided into two sections. In the first section, the title on the cover leaf and upper right corner of recto sides is ထေရအပဒါန်ပါဠိတော်ပါဠ့ိ. In the second section, the title on the cover leaf and upper right corner of recto sides is ထေရီအပဒါန်ပါဠိတော်ပါဠ့ိ. Each leaf typically contains nine lines of very clear handwriting. There are 268 leaves in total; not 221, as stated by Fausbøll (1894–

-vipulena), *likkhito* (for *likhitaṃ*), *cāyaṃ* (for *ca idaṃ* or *ca imaṃ*), *Pagguṇe* (for *Phagguṇe*), *dvādasami-* (for *dvādasamī-*), *supariniṭhitā* (for *supariniṭṭhitā*) and *tiṭhatu* (for *tiṭṭhatu*).

[20] My translation assumes that the following are errors or premodern orthographic variants: တပို့တွဲ (for တပို့တွဲ), လဆန် (for လဆန်း), အပါဒါန် (for အပဒါန်), ရေကူး (for ရေးကူး) and ပြည်စုံ (for ပြည့်စုံ).

1896: 27). These are numbered on the upper left corner of recto sides beginning with ကand ending with ဖံ; however, there are a few blank leaves with no pagination. While not particularly numerous, errors include *i* for *ī*, *ṭh* for *ṭṭh* and the omission of *niggahīta*. There are extremely few corrections. Immediately after the end of the Apadāna text, there is a long colophon in Burmese lasting for twenty-eight lines. This colophon discusses King Thibaw, the last king of Burma, and Queen Supayalat, and includes three dates from early 1879. The most recent of these is, "Thursday, the fifth day after the full moon in the month of နယုန်, in the present year 1241 Sakkarāja [Era] [i.e. June 8, 1879]" (ကောဇာသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၂၄၁ခု။ နယုန်လပြည့်ကျော်၅ရက်၅တေးနေ့).

My pilot study of all available witnesses of the second chapter indicated that the exemplar of this manuscript is § 4.1.2.2.4, which also appears to have been the exemplar of the Apadāna portion of the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae (§ 4.1.2.2.7). This conclusion, based purely upon stemmatic analysis, is consistent with the known history of these three witnesses. That is, we would expect that a royal manuscript connected to King Thibaw would have been copied from a royal manuscript connected to his predecessor, King Mindon. My pilot study further indicated that B2 is a more faithful and careful reproduction of § 4.1.2.2.4 than the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae.

4.1.2.1.3. B3

This Burmese script palm leaf manuscript is held at the National Library of Myanmar, Yangon, under the shelfmark 270. In 2013, I visited the library and took digital photographs of all leaves of this manuscript. The quality of these images is good. The manuscript omits the Therikāpadāna. The title in the upper right corner of recto sides is အပါဒါန်ပါဠိတော် (sic). Each leaf typically contains ten lines of somewhat untidy and cramped handwriting. The 156 leaves are numbered on the upper left corner of recto sides beginning with ကand ending with �:. Common

errors include *i* for *ī*, *ṭh* for *ṭṭh*, *ḍh* for *ḍḍh*, *d* for *r*, *p* for *b*, *pp* for *pph* and the omission of *niggahīta*. There are corrections which are generally not interlinear, but rather immediately follow the erroneous scored off grapheme(s). Immediately after the end of the Therāpadāna, there is a colophon in Burmese and Pāli. It reads:

It is finished. The Therāpadāna is finished. May [copying this manuscript] be a cause for [realising] *nibbāna*. The copying of the Apadāna was completed sometime after two o'clock on the morning of Friday, the second day after the full moon in the month of တပို့တွဲ, 1135 Sakkarāja [Era] [i.e. January 28, 1774]. Because of my meritorious deed of writing this [manuscript], may I meet the coming future Metteyya Buddha. Each letter should be [regarded as having] equal [importance] to a statue of the Buddha; therefore, only a wise man should write out the three *piṭaka*s. Because of the merit from writing this [manuscript], may [I] be fully endowed with the knowledge of my previous abodes, the divine eye and the destruction of my taints. (နိဋ္ဌိတံ။ထေရာအပါဒါန်ပြီပြီ။ ။ ။ ။နိဗ္ဗာနပစ္စယောဟောတု။ ။ သက္ကဇံ၁၁၃၅ခုတပိုးတွဲလပြင့်ကျော်နှစ်ရက်သောကျာနေးတက်နေသံ၂ချက်တီကျော်တွင်အပါဒါန်ပါဠိတော်ကိုရေးကူ၍ပြီပြင့်စုံသည်။ ။ ဤ၍စာရေးရသောကောင်မှုကြောင်နောင်လာလတန့်သောအရိမ်တေယဘုရားရှင်ကိုဘူးတွေ့ရပါလိုး၏။ ။ အက္ခရာ ကေမေကဣ္ဍဗုဒ္ဓရှုပ်တသ္မာဟိတောပဏ္ဍိတောပေါသေလိဓေယျုပိတကတ္တိယံ။ ။ ဤ၍ စာရေရသေအကျိုးကို့ပုဒိအားနှင်ပြင့်စုံပါရလို၏။ ။)[21]

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[21] My translation assumes that the following are errors or premodern orthographic variants: ထေရာအပါဒါန် (for ထေရာပဒါန်), ပြီပြီ (for ပြီးပြီ), တပိုးတွဲ (for တပို့တွဲ), လပြင့် (for လပြည့်), သောကျာနေး (for သောကြာနေ့), ချက်တီ (for ချက်တီး), အပါဒါန် (for အပဒါန်), ပြင့်စုံ (for ပြည့်စုံ), ကောင်မှုကြောင် (for ကောင်းမှုကြောင့်), လတန့် (for လတ္တံ့), အရိမ်တေယ (for အရိမေတ္တေယျ), ဘူးတွေ့ရပါလိုး (for ဖူးတွေ့ရပါလို), ဟိတော (for ဟိ), ပေါသေ (for ပေါသော), လိဓေယျု (for လိခေယျု), ပိတကတ္တိယံ (for ပိဋ္ဌကတ္တယံ), စာရေရသေ (for စာရေးရသော), ကို့ (for ကို or ကို့), နှင် (for နှင့်) and ပြင့်စုံ (for ပြည့်စုံ). In addition, the words သမံ သိယာ ought to follow ဗုဒ္ဓရှုပ်.

4.1.2.1.4. B4

This Burmese script palm leaf manuscript of the entire Apadānaṭṭhakathā is held at the Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscript House in Bangkok, Thailand. The manuscript identification number is 3875. It was briefly described by Nyunt (2014: II 502) in a recently published catalogue of the Fragile Palm Leaves manuscript collection. In March 2008, digital photographs were taken of all leaves of this manuscript. The quality of these images is good. The title in the upper right corner of recto sides is အပါဒါန်အဋ္ဌကထာ (sic). Each leaf typically contains nine lines of clear handwriting. The 341 leaves are numbered on the upper left corner of recto sides beginning with က and ending with ၛ. The few corrections it contains are generally not interlinear, but rather immediately follow the erroneous scored off grapheme(s). Immediately after the end of the Apadānaṭṭhakathā, there is an incomplete colophon in Burmese and Pāli, which states, "Each letter should be [regarded as having] equal [importance] to a statue of the Buddha; therefore, only a wise man should write out the three *piṭaka*s. On the tenth day after the full moon in the month of တော်သလင်း, 1160 Sakkarāja [Era] [i.e. September 4, 1798]..." (အက္ခရာ‌ေကမေကဥ္ဇ‖ဗုဒ္ဓရူပံသမံ သိယာ‖တသ္မာဟိပဏ္ဍိတောပါသော‖ လိက္ခေယျပိဋ္ဌကတ္တိယ‖ ‖သက္ကရာၑ်‌၁၁၆၀ၑ‌ေခတော်တလင် လၑြည်ကျော်‌၁၀တရက်နေတွင်အ...).[22]

     When citing this witness in the critical apparatus, I have attempted to use only direct quotations of the root text and exclude glosses. In many instances, distinguishing between these two types of readings is relatively straightforward, such as when a word or phrase is followed by the particle *ti* or when whole *pāda*s are quoted; however, in other instances the distinction is less clear. On occasion, minor changes to the orthography were necessary when making citations. For example, B4 quotes the root text of § 5.1.3b, stating, *gharaṃ tattha akāsin ti*;

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[22] My translation assumes that the following are errors or premodern orthographic variants: လိက္ခေယျ (for လိခေယျ), ပိဋ္ဌကတ္တိယ (for ပိဋ္ဌကတ္တယ်), ၑ‌ေခတော်ၑ (for ၁၁၆၀ၑ), တော်တလင် (for တော်သလင်း), လၑြည် (for လၑြည့်) and တရက် (for ရက်).

however, because a verbatim citation of *akāsin* would not make a great deal of sense, it is instead given in the critical apparatus as *akāsiṃ*.

4.1.2.1.5. Bᵉ

Suttantapiṭake Khuddakanikāye Apadānapāḷi. 1997–1999. 2 vols, Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka series. ရန်ကုန်: သာသနာရေးဦးစီးဌာန.

This Burmese script printed edition represents the sixth Buddhist council version of the Apadāna. Volume one was published in 1960, 1991 and 1997, the latter having 496 pages (excluding front matter). Its text corresponds to Ap 1–378. Volume two, which also includes the Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, was published in 1960, 1991, 1997 and 1999, the latter having 476 pages (excluding front matter). Its text corresponds to Ap 378–615. A slim critical apparatus contains variant readings from Sri Lankan, Burmese, Thai, Cambodian and "English" sources, none of which are identified with bibliographical information. Each volume contains indexes of keywords, names, variant readings and verses (listed by first *pāda*). A short list of corrections is included in volume one.[23]

4.1.2.1.6. C1

This Sinhala script palm leaf manuscript is held at Pothgul Viharaya in Hanguranketha, Sri Lanka, under the shelfmark 29. On July 13, 2009, volunteers of DIRI took digital photographs of all leaves of this manuscript. The quality of these images is fair. Each leaf typically contains nine lines of reasonably clear handwriting. The 175 leaves are numbered on the left margin of recto sides beginning with ච and ending with ඊ. The manuscript is part of a set of the

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[23] For additional information on this series and the sixth Buddhist council, see Clark forthcoming 2015.

Khuddakanikāya and contains the entire Apadāna. Common errors include *ī* for *i*, *ṅg* for *g*, *n* for *ṇ* and *vy* for *bb*. There are many instances in which this manuscript omits several consecutive syllables. These omissions, which usually coincide with those of the witness S² in the PTS edition of the Apadāna, have generally not been noted in the critical apparatus of this new edition. Corrections are generally not interlinear, but rather immediately follow the erroneous scored off grapheme(s). The manuscript is undated. Immediately after the end of the Apadāna, there is a short phrase in Sanskrit, which states, "May there be success in all goals" (*sarvārtthasiddhir bbhavatu*).[24]

4.1.2.1.7. C2

This Sinhala script palm leaf manuscript is held at the Velivita Saranankara Sangharaja Museum of Malwathu Maha Viharaya in Kandy, Sri Lanka, under the shelfmark 32. On July 16, 2009, volunteers of DIRI took digital photographs of all leaves of this manuscript. The quality of these images is fair. Each leaf typically contains nine lines of reasonably clear handwriting. The 180 leaves are numbered on the left margin of recto sides beginning with ක and ending with ඖ. The manuscript contains the entire Apadāna and is part of a set of Khuddakanikāya texts which also includes the Buddhavaṃsa and Itivuttaka. Common errors include *ṅg* for *g*, *th* for *t*, *n* for *ṇ*, and *vy* for *bb*. There are many instances in which this manuscript omits several consecutive syllables and, as with C1, these are usually the same as those of S² in the PTS edition of the Apadāna. These omissions have generally not been noted in the critical apparatus of this new edition. Corrections are generally not interlinear, but rather immediately follow the erroneous scored off grapheme(s). The manuscript is undated. Immediately after the end of the Apadāna, it states in Sinhala *diyavaḍana maṅguli*, the significance of which is not entirely clear, but

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[24] My translation assumes that the following are errors: *sarvārttha-* (for *sarvārtha-*) and *bbhavatu* (for *bhavatu*).

which may be translated, "Ceremony for making more water".[25] Following this is a series of short phrases in Sanskrit, which states, "May there be success. May there be good. May there be freedom from disease. May there be success in desired goals" (*siddhir astu. subham astu. ārogyam astu. iṣṭārtthasiddhir astu*).[26] Lastly, there is another phrase in Sinhala, which states, "May I become a supramundane *buddha*" (*lovuturā budu vemvā*).[27]

4.1.2.1.8. C3

This Sinhala script palm leaf manuscript is held at the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, under the shelfmark RAS Morris 11. It was described by Filliozat (1999: 57) in her catalogue of Pāli manuscripts held at this institution. As mentioned by Filliozat, a transcription of this manuscript was used for the first eleven and a half chapters in the PTS edition of the Apadāna (Ap 1–150). As also noted by Filliozat, the manuscript contains European figures written in ink and pencil, including the numbering of leaves and verses, and underlining of occasional words. With the exception of leaf numbering, these markings cease at approximately the same point at which the PTS edition stops citing the transcription of this manuscript (leaf ගෘ). On April 26, 2012, digital photographs were made of the first half of this manuscript. The quality of these images is good. Each leaf typically contains nine lines of clear handwriting; not usually eight, as stated by Filliozat (1999: 57). The 169 leaves are numbered on the left margin of recto sides beginning with ක and ending with ථෟ. The manuscript contains the entire Apadāna. Common errors include *ī* for *i*, *ṇ* for *n*, *th* for *t*, *n* for *ṇ*, *ndh* for *ṇḍ*, *l* for *ḷ* and the omission of *niggahīta*. Corrections are generally not interlinear, but rather

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immediately follow the erroneous scored off grapheme(s). The manuscript is undated.

4.1.2.1.9. C4

This Sinhala script palm leaf manuscript is held at Tissava Raja Maha Viharaya in Katupotha, Sri Lanka. On July 28, 2010, volunteers of DIRI took digital photographs of all leaves of this manuscript. The quality of these images is reasonably good. Each leaf typically contains eight lines of reasonably clear handwriting. The 173 leaves are numbered on the left margin of recto sides beginning with ඞ and ending with තා. The manuscript contains the entire Apadāna and, judging from the leaf numbering, is part of a set containing other texts. Common errors include *ī* for *i*, *u* for *ū*, *ṇ* for *n*, *t* for *n*, *th* for *t*, *n* for *ṇ*, *n* for *t*, *l* for *ḷ* and the omission of *niggahīta*. Corrections are generally not interlinear, but rather immediately follow the erroneous scored off grapheme(s). The manuscript is undated. Immediately after the end of the Apadāna, there are three phrases in Sanskrit, followed by one phrase in Pāli, followed by another two phrases in Sanskrit, which state, "May there be success. May there be good. May there be freedom from disease. May buddhahood be accomplished. May there be success in all goals. May there be prosperity" (*siddhir astu. subham astu. ārogyam astu. buddhattaṃ sijjhantu. sarvārtthasiddhir astu. śriyaṃ bhavatu*).[28]

4.1.2.1.10. C5

This Sinhala script palm leaf manuscript is held at the National Library near the Sri Dalada Maligawa in Kandy, Sri Lanka, under the shelfmark 51B. On July 14, 2009, volunteers of DIRI took digital photographs of all leaves of this manuscript. The

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[28] My translation assumes that the following are errors: *subham* (for *śubham*; alternatively, this word is in Pāli), *sarvārttha-* (for *sarvārtha-*) and *śriyaṃ* (for *śriyā*).

quality of these images is reasonably good. Each leaf typically contains eight lines of reasonably clear handwriting. The 174 leaves are numbered on the left margin of recto sides beginning with මෙ and ending with ෂ. The manuscript contains the entire Apadāna and is part of a set of the Khuddakanikāya. Common errors include *ī* for *i*, *n* for *ṇ*, *l* for *ḷ* and the omission of *niggahīta*. Some corrections are interlinear and others immediately follow the erroneous scored off grapheme(s). The manuscript is undated. Immediately after the end of the Apadāna, there are three phrases in Sanskrit, followed by one phrase in Pāli, which state, "May there be success. May there be good. May there be freedom from disease. May buddhahood be accomplished" (*siddhir astu. subham astu. ārogyam astu. buddhatthaṃ siñajjhantu*).[29]

4.1.2.1.11. Cᵉ

Apadānapāḷi. 1961–1983. 2 vols, Buddhajayantī Tripiṭaka series. Including trans. Talalle Siri Dhammananda and Wendaruwe Siri Anomadassi. Colombo: Government of Ceylon.

This Sinhala script edition contains Pāli text on left hand pages and a Sinhala language translation on right hand pages. Published in 1961, volume one contains 661 pages (excluding front matter) and its text corresponds to Ap 1–338. Volume two is divided into two separate books, the first of which was published in 1977, contains 443 pages (excluding front matter) and corresponds to Ap 339–511. The second book of volume two was published in 1983, contains 259 pages (excluding front matter) and corresponds to Ap 512–615. A list of abbreviations identifies a number of witnesses cited in the critical apparatus, including the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition, an unspecified Sinhala printed edition (probably Buddhadatta 1929–1930), an unspecified Thai printed edition (probably Cattasalla 1958–1959; §

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[29] My translation assumes that the following are errors: *subham* (for *śubham*; alternatively, this word is in Pāli), *buddhatthaṃ* (for *buddhattaṃ*) and *siñajjhantu* (for *sijjhantu*).

4.1.2.1.14) and the PTS edition. The list of abbreviations in volume one also refers to a palm leaf manuscript from Seluttarārāma. A number of sigla used in the critical apparatus, however, are not defined. Each volume contains an index of verses (listed by first *pāda*), while the second book of volume two also contains indexes of keywords and names which only relate to this particular book. A surprisingly common error is *mbhi* for *mhi*.

4.1.2.1.12. Eᵉ

Lilley, Mary E., ed. 1925–1927, reprinted 2006. *The Apadāna*. 2 vols. Lancaster: Pali Text Society.

This Roman script edition contains a total of 629 pages (excluding front matter), with continuous pagination across the two volumes. It is based upon two Sinhala script manuscripts and two incomplete transcripts, one of which was based on a Burmese script manuscript and the other a Sinhala script manuscript (see § 4.1.2.1.8). Quotations of the Apadāna in Müller's edition of the Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā were also used. Volume two contains a name index and a list of corrections. For information on the background and reception of this edition, see § 1.1.

4.1.2.1.13. S1

This Khom script palm leaf manuscript is held at the National Library of Thailand, Bangkok, under the shelfmark 9937. It was described by Mellick (1993: 36–40). Members of the Dhammakaya International Society of Australia helped me obtain a paper photocopy of all leaves of this manuscript. The quality of this photocopy is generally fair; however, some portions are difficult to read. Each leaf typically contains five lines of clear handwriting. The 546 leaves are divided into 22 bundles

(*phuk*) of 24 leaves (25 leaves when including the cover leaf for each bundle). Several variant titles are listed on the bundle cover leaves, including *Apadāna*, *Apādāna* (sic) and *Appadāna* (sic). The manuscript contains the entire Apadāna. Common errors include *o-* for *u-*, *i* for *ī*, *tt* for *t*, *p* for *m* and the omission of *niggahīta*. The manuscript contains extremely few corrections and is undated.

4.1.2.1.14. S[e]

Cattasalla, ed. 1958–1959. *Suttantapiṭake Khuddakanikāyassa Apadāna*. 2 vols, Syāmraṭṭhassa Tepiṭaka series. Bangkok: Mahāmakuṭarājavidyālaya.

This edition in Thai script was first published in 1927. Volume one was republished in 1958 and 1980. The 1958 edition, which is the version cited in this new edition, contains 623 pages (excluding front matter). Its text corresponds to Ap 1–365. Volume two, which also includes the Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka, was republished in 1959, 1979 and 1995. The text of the 1959 edition corresponds to Ap 365–615. A slim critical apparatus contains variant readings from Burmese and "European" sources, and *porāṇakapoṭṭhaka*s, "old books", which presumably refers to old Thai manuscripts. None of these sources are identified with bibliographical information. Both volumes contain indexes of keywords, names and verses (listed by first *pāda*). A list of corrections is included in volume one.

4.1.2.2. Examined manuscripts not used in the edition

4.1.2.2.1. Burmese script palm leaf manuscript held at the Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscript House in Bangkok under the manuscript identification number 646 and described by myself (Clark 2008: 10–11) and Nyunt (2014: I 318). It excludes the Therikāpadāna. According to the colophon, it was copied in 1808. Digital colour photographs were supplied by the Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscript House. Analysis

indicated that this manuscript belongs to hyparchetype e. Because it contains a large number of scribal errors, this witness was excluded from the edition.

4.1.2.2.2. Burmese script palm leaf manuscript held at the British Library under the shelfmark IO Pali21 and described by Oldenberg (1882: 61 / § 21) and Mellick (1993: 36–40). Its colophon names King Tharrawaddy (reigned 1837–1846). Digital grayscale photographs were supplied by the British Library. It was found that this manuscript is a sister of B3, that is, both manuscripts have descended from a common hyparchetype which has descended from hyparchetype c. A reasonably large proportion of the photographs of this manuscript was difficult or impossible to read and it is primarily for this reason that it was excluded from the edition.

4.1.2.2.3. Burmese script palm leaf manuscript held at the Library of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Yangon under the shelfmark 2019. According to the colophon, it was copied in 1840. Digital colour photographs were supplied by Thant Thaw Kaung. Analysis indicated that this manuscript bears a reasonably close relationship to § 4.1.2.2.1. Because it contains a large number of scribal errors and because the photographs are difficult to read clearly, this witness was excluded from the edition.

4.1.2.2.4. Burmese script palm leaf manuscript held at the British Library under the shelfmark IO Man/Pali77 and described by Fausbøll (1894–1896: 27 / § 77), Mellick (1993: 36–38, 40) and myself (Clark 2008: 11). The most recent year mentioned in the long colophon is 1857. Digital grayscale photographs were supplied by the British Library. Analysis indicated that this manuscript is likely to be the exemplar of both the Apadāna text inscribed on the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae (§ 4.1.2.2.7) and B2. A reasonably large proportion of the photographs of this manuscript was difficult to read and it is primarily for this reason that it was excluded from the edition.

4.1.2.2.5. Burmese script palm leaf manuscript held at the Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscript House in Bangkok under the manuscript identification number 2684

and briefly described by Nyunt (2014: II 292). It excludes the Therikāpadāna. According to the colophon, it was copied in Mandalay during 1869.[30] Digital colour photographs were supplied by the Fragile Palm Leaves Manuscript House. Analysis indicated that this manuscript is contaminated by the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae, or the exemplar of the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae, and therefore it was excluded from the edition.

4.1.2.2.6. Burmese script palm leaf manuscript owned by myself. The manuscript is undated. Analysis indicated that this manuscript is contaminated by the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae, or the exemplar of the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae, and therefore it was excluded from the edition.

4.1.2.2.7. Kuthodaw Pagoda marble stelae associated with the fifth Buddhist council (stelae numbers 665–687) located in Mandalay, Burma. The text was inscribed on these particular stelae between 1866 and 1867. Digital colour photographs were taken by myself in 2011. Because some of the stelae were unclean and the camera resolution was not ideal, the inscribed text was often difficult to read clearly. Besides these photos, I examined a DVD-ROM containing digital photographs of the stelae (မဟာဝဂ္ဂရဲ့ကျောင်းတိုက်, သီတဂူကမ္ဘာ့ဗုဒ္ဓတက္ကသိုလ် and Alpha Computer 2006). While the stelae were cleaned in preparation for this project, the camera resolution is poor and therefore, again, the inscribed text was often difficult to read clearly. As stated in § 4.1.2.1.2, it appears that B2 is a more faithful and careful reproduction of § 4.1.2.2.4 than the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae. Because it is also much clearer to read in the images available to me, B2 was chosen over the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae to represent the text associated with the fifth Buddhist council.

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[30] February 28, 1869, to be precise. Nyunt (2014: II 292) stated that the copy date is 1868; however, this calculation might have been based upon the Sakkarāja Era year alone (1230) without reference to the month and day, which the colophon supplies. As demonstrated by Eade (1995: 19), this information is important in making such calculations because the beginning of the Gregorian calendar year does not align with the beginning of the Burmese calendar year.

4.1.2.2.8. Sinhala script paper manuscript held at the John Rylands Library in the University of Manchester and described by Jayawickrama (1972–1973: 148–149), Mellick (1993: 36–38, 40–41) and myself (Clark 2008: 12). The first page states in English, "Copied at Waskaḍuwa 1894". Digital colour photographs were supplied by the John Rylands Library. Analysis indicated that the base text of this manuscript (as opposed to its numerous interlinear corrections) is contaminated by the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae, or the exemplar of the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae, and therefore it was excluded from the edition.[31]

4.1.2.2.9. Sinhala script palm leaf manuscript held at the Gangaramaya Temple in Colombo. Digital colour photographs were supplied by DIRI. Analysis suggested that this manuscript is a sister of C4, that is, it appears that both manuscripts have descended from a common hyparchetype which has descended from hyparchetype c. A reasonably large proportion of the photographs of this manuscript was difficult to read and it is primarily for this reason that C4 was instead used in the edition.

4.1.2.2.10. Sinhala script palm leaf manuscript held at the Sri Gotabaya Rajamaha Viharaya in Bothale, Sri Lanka. Digital colour photographs were supplied by DIRI. Analysis indicated that this manuscript bears a reasonably close relationship to C4. This manuscript is missing numerous sections of text and was therefore excluded from the edition.

4.1.2.2.11. Sinhala script palm leaf manuscript held at the Sri Mahapurana Viharaya in Kirindiwela, Sri Lanka. It excludes the Therikāpadāna. Digital colour photographs were supplied by DIRI. Analysis indicated that this manuscript is a sister of C3, that is, it appears that both manuscripts have descended from a common hyparchetype which has descended from hyparchetype c. However,

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[31] In agreement with this observation, I have elsewhere noted (Clark 2008: 12) that the pattern of orthographic errors suggested the existence of a Burmese script witness within this manuscript's line of transmission. It is interesting that the text associated with the fifth Buddhist council had affected the transmission of Pāli literature within Sri Lanka so quickly.

analysis also indicated that this manuscript was contaminated by a witness belonging to hyparchetype e and it is primarily for this reason that C3 was instead used in the edition.

4.1.3. Description of the stemma and archetype

Figure 6 shows the stemma of the manuscripts used in this edition. Lowercase letters b–e represent hyparchetypes while all uppercase letters represent witnesses. Solid lines represent direct textual transmission and broken lines represent contamination. The stemma hypothesises that there are two main branches of transmission descending from the archetype (a) to the two principal hyparchetypes (b and c). Two further hyparchetypes descend from hyparchetype b (d and e). Analysis indicated that hyparchetypes c and d both have a relatively high degree of internal textual uniformity. That is to say, the readings of witnesses belonging to hyparchetype c (B3, C3, C4 and C5) are frequently identical or near identical[32] and, similarly, the witnesses belonging to hyparchetype d (C1 and C2) are frequently identical or near identical. In contrast, hyparchetype e has a lower degree of internal textual uniformity in that the readings of its witnesses (B1, B2 and S1) are less frequently the same. Indeed, the exact relationships between these three latter witnesses are not entirely clear and resist a strict stemmatic analysis, unlike all other witnesses in this stemma. They have therefore been grouped into a single cluster, as per the adaption of the stemmatic approach often used for editing Sanskrit texts (see § 3.5). Interestingly, the stemma demonstrates that there is no single "Burmese" version of the Apadāna, nor is there a single "Sinhala" version.

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[32] However, because B3 is contaminated by a witness belonging to hyparchetype e, it occasionally differs from C3, C4 and C5.
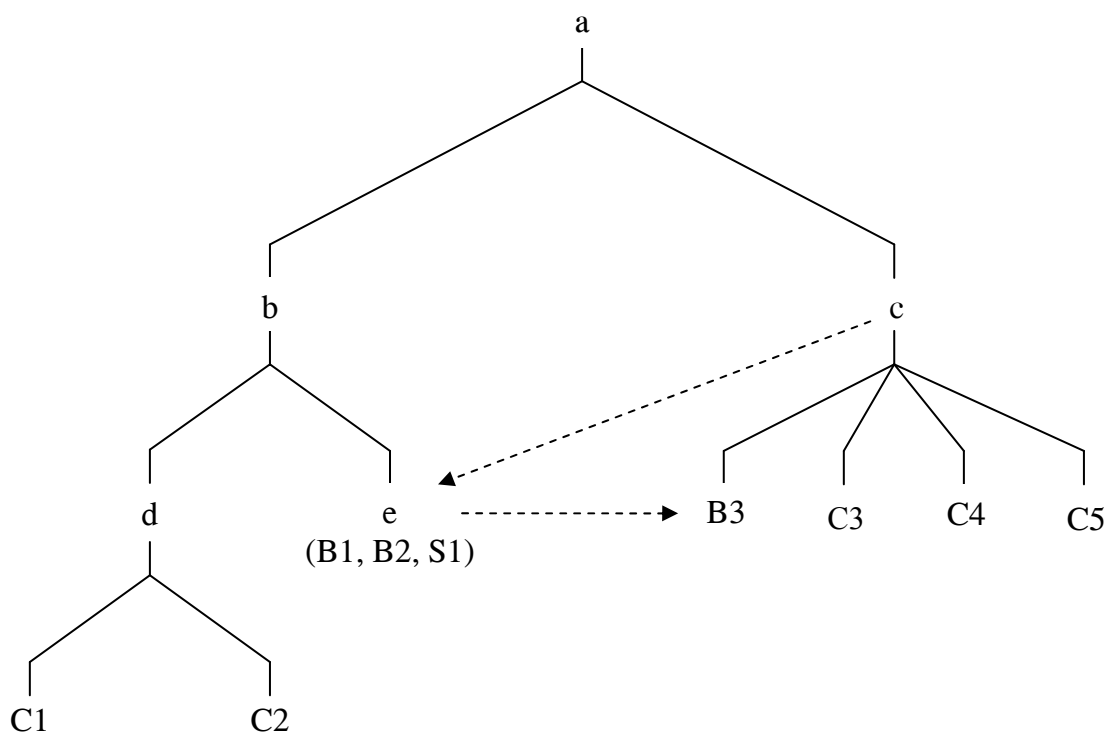
Figure 6. Stemma of Apadāna manuscripts

As noted in § 3.4, there are a number of key assumptions behind the stemmatic approach as described by Maas (1958) and it ought to be examined whether they are valid for this set of witnesses. The first is that each witness has been copied from only one exemplar. While working on the pilot study and producing the edition, I have attempted to be as sensitive as possible to the presence of any textual contamination. It was found that three manuscripts were contaminated by the text associated with the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae (§§ 4.1.2.2.5, 4.1.2.2.6, 4.1.2.2.8) and, largely on this basis, these witnesses were excluded from the edition. One witness of hyparchetype c (B3) was found to be contaminated by a source from hyparchetype e. With three other witnesses to represent hyparchetype c, it has been relatively straightforward to identify these contaminated readings. Because of this and because of its early copy date (1774), this witness was included in the edition. As shown in Figure 6, hyparchetype e is contaminated by hyparchetype c. Analysis indicated that the lines of contamination are separate for B1 and B2, that is, where one shows evidence of contamination by hyparchetype c, the other often does not, and vice versa. This meant that these contaminated

readings were often identifiable. Nonetheless, partly because of this contamination, hyparchetype e was relied upon less heavily in attempting to reconstruct the archetype. As mentioned in § 3.4, if a small proportion of witnesses is contaminated and the sources of these witnesses can be identified and mapped onto a stemma, then this contamination does not pose a serious threat to the viability of stemmatic editing. The second key assumption is that all witnesses of a text ultimately derive from a single archetype. In the case of this stemma, all available evidence strongly supported this assumption.

The reconstructed archetype has a number of salient features. Firstly, words with an *in* stem often have a masculine nominative singular declension of *-i* instead of the normative *-ī* (e.g. §§ 5.4.8d, 5.11.14c; see also § 6.4.8). Compared to B^e and C^e in particular, it more frequently contains difficult grammar and awkward phrases (see e.g. §§ 6.1.4, 6.4.13, 6.6.11). Compared to B2 and B^e in particular, it contains more nine syllable *pāda*s (e.g. §§ 5.1.9a, 5.11.1a, 5.12.50a). It is less internally consistent than B^e, C^e and S^e in terms of orthography (see §§ 6.5.close, 6.11.34–35, 6.12.47), *sandhi* (e.g. compare § 5.2.7b with § 5.5.6d, and § 5.3.2a with § 5.8.5a) and wording (e.g. compare § 5.4.10c with § 5.12.44c; see also § 6.12.1–26). Errors are not especially numerous; however, common ones include *-i* for *-ī* (e.g. §§ 5.2.9a, 5.12.38a–b), *-o* for *-e* (e.g. §§ 5.2.7a, 5.5.1b, 5.7.3d), *l* for *ḷ* (e.g. §§ 5.5.2b, 5.5.4c, 5.8.13c) and the omission of *niggahīta* (e.g. §§ 5.4.2d, 5.5.11b, 5.5.12d). In theory, the reconstructed archetype represents a textual form which predates the earliest dated witness included in the stemma, i.e. B3 of 1774.

4.2. Introduction to the translation

While the Apadāna has not been fully translated into any European language,[33] complete translations have been published in several different languages from South and Southeast Asia. The Buddhajayantī Tripiṭaka edition includes Pāli text on

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[33] See § 1.1 for information on existing English translations of *apadāna*s.

left hand pages and a Sinhala translation on right hand pages.[34] Similarly, the Cambodian Tipiṭaka edition includes Pāli text on left hand pages and a Khmer translation on right hand pages. The Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition has been translated into Burmese (ဆဋ္ဌပဒၭၓ်ပါဠိတော်မြန်မာပြန် 1993). I have been informed that there are several Thai translations of the Apadāna, including those published by monastic universities and a government publication which has been revised several times.[35]

    My translation is of the Pāli base text in the edition presented in this thesis (§ 5).[36] The translation is in prose rather than verse, because the main priority has been to convey my understanding of the meaning of the Pāli text as clearly as possible, which would be compromised by the pressures of English metre. My translation style has been heavily influenced by Norman's translations of the Dhammapada (Norman 2004), Suttanipāta (Norman 2006a), Theragāthā (Norman 2007a) and Therīgāthā (Norman 2007b).[37] Regarding his original translation of the Theragāthā, Norman (2007a: xxxvii) commented, "I tried as far as possible to produce a literal, almost word-for-word, translation, which in some places resulted in a starkness and austerity of words which bordered upon the ungrammatical in English, but would, I hoped, when considered alongside the original Pāli adequately convey my understanding of the theras' words". In general, I have aimed for a translation style which is somewhat less rigidly literal than Norman's. While it was indeed often possible to produce a literal translation in reasonably natural English, on occasion it was not, in which case I provided a less literal translation than was feasible in deference to more natural and "readable" English. I have attempted to use the same

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[34] Commenting upon this translation, Gombrich and Obeyesekere (1988: 448) wrote, "the language they have employed is so learned and archaic that even we, who are relatively well educated, can barely understand it".

[35] Susanne Ott, personal communication, 30 October 2014.

[36] As argued by Tov (2000), an eclectic translation based upon several different printed editions (e.g. Bodhi 2000, 2005, 2012) is not particularly desirable, in part because the reader can often not be certain of what source the translation is based upon in any given passage.

[37] See also Norman 2008a: 60–81, 2009 for discussions on translating.

English words to translate the same Pāli words, though style and context has created numerous exceptions to this rule.

It is the role of a translator to make a source text intelligible, not the reader of a translation, who in many cases will be a non-specialist untrained in the language of the source text (Norman 2008a: 75–77). Therefore, as few Pāli words as possible have been left untranslated. Proper nouns are generally left untranslated; however, sometimes they directly relate to the karmic narrative and, in these instances, an English translation has been provided in inverted commas within round brackets on the first occurrence, e.g. "Sīhāsanadāyaka ("Donor of a lion throne")" (close of § 7.1). Not infrequently, the Apadāna employs a long series of epithets and adjectives to describe a past *buddha* (e.g. § 5.7.1) and such passages are often difficult to translate. I have occasionally opted to use—em dashes—to isolate these series in the hope that the meaning of the verse will be more easily understood, particularly for instances in which the English translation most naturally requires the series to be placed mid-sentence. Words in the translation which do not have direct correlates in the Pāli text, though which have been added with the aim of making the text more intelligible, have been placed in [square brackets].

My translation has often been guided by the Apadānaṭṭhakathā; however, occasionally it diverges from the commentarial interpretation where I have found the glosses to be unconvincing. Most of the verses in this thesis, however, are not commented on by the Apadānaṭṭhakathā, yet this lacuna is filled by a Burmese *nissaya* of the Therāpadāna (Jāgara 1926). The Pāli root text of this *nissaya* appears to be based upon the Apadāna text inscribed on the stelae at the Kuthodaw Pagoda, or a text very similar to it, and glosses each Pāli word or phrase with a Burmese word or phrase. The title page and epilogue of this text explains that the *nissaya* was prepared at the request of ဦးခန့် and was based upon the *nissaya*s of "former teachers" (who are unfortunately not identified by name).[38] It is a work which

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[38] There are at least two additional Burmese *nissaya*s of the Therāpadāna: one was written by ဆရာတော်ဦးပုတ် (Maṅ:-krī: Mahāsirijeya-sū 2012: 89), while the other was written by ဆရာတော်ရှင်ကုႆႜသဘ (Peter Nyunt, personal communication, 4 June 2012).

demonstrates extensive monastic learning and has aided my translation considerably. The official Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka Burmese translation of the Apadāna (ေထရာပဒါန်ပါဠိေတာ်မြန်မာပြန် 1993) so frequently reproduces the interpretation of this *nissaya* with identical, or near identical, wording that it might be supposed that its translators partially based their publication upon it. From time to time I also made use of this translation. My translation is annotated throughout with footnotes which discuss semantic content and aspects of the translation.

5. EDITION OF THE SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH CHAPTERS OF THE APADĀNA

5.1. Sīhāsanadāyaka

1   nibbute lokanāthamhi Siddhatthe dipaduttame

        vitthārite pāvacane bāhujaññamhi sāsane

2   pasannacitto sumano sīhāsanam akās' ahaṃ

        sīhāsanaṃ karitvāna pādapīṭhaṃ akās' ahaṃ.

3   sīhāsane ca vassante gharaṃ tattha akās' ahaṃ

        tena cittappasādena Tusitaṃ upapajj' ahaṃ.

4   āyāmena catubbīsayojanāsiṃsu tāvade

        vimānaṃ sukataṃ mayhaṃ vitthārena catuddasa.

5   satta kaññāsahassāni parivārenti maṃ sadā

        sovaṇṇamayañ ca pallaṃkaṃ vyamhe āsi sunimmitaṃ.

6   hatthiyānaṃ assayānaṃ dibbayānaṃ upaṭṭhitaṃ

        pāsādā sivikā c' eva nibbattanti yadicchakaṃ.

7   maṇimayā ca pallaṃkā aññe sāramayā bahu

        nibbattanti mamaṃ sabbe sīhāsanass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

8   sovaṇṇamayā rūpimayā phalikāveḷuriyāmayā

        pādukā abhirūhāmi pādapīṭhass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

9   catunavute ito kappe yaṃ kammam akariṃ tadā

1.1 di-] dvi- B1 B2 Bᵉ │ dipaduttame] dīpa-d-uttame Sᵉ │ vitthārite] vitthārike B1 B2 Bᵉ C1 C2 S1 │ **1.2** akās'¹] adās' B1 │ **1.3** vassante] vasanto B1 │ gharaṃ] saraṃ C2 C4 │ tattha akās'] tattha-m-akās' B2 │ akās' ahaṃ] akāsiṃ B4 │ -ppasādena] -pasādena B2 │ upapajj'] uppajj' C1 │ **1.4** -bbīsa-] -bbīsā C1 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ -yojanāsiṃsu] -yojanaṃ āsi Bᵉ Cᵉ, -yojanāsisuṃ C4 │ -ddasa] -ddasaṃ (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **1.5** satta] sata- B1 S1, sataṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ sovaṇṇamayañ ca] sovaṇṇamaya- B2, soṇṇamayañ ca Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, sovaṇṇayañ ca C1 C2 C5 │ **1.6** dibbayānaṃ] dibbaṃ yānaṃ (=) C2 C3 C4 C5 │ c' eva] me C1 │ nibbattanti] uppajjanti Cᵉ │ **1.7** bahu] bahū B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ mamaṃ] mama (=) B3 C3 C4 S1 │ **1.8** sovaṇṇa-] soṇṇa- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ rūpimayā] rūpiyā C2 │ -veḷuriyā-] -veḷuriya- B3 │ abhirūhāmi] abhiruhāmi B1 C2 C3 │ **1.9** -navute] -navut' B2, -nnavut' Bᵉ

duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi puññakammass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

10 tesattati ito kappe Indanāmā tayo janā

dvesattati ito kappe tayo Sumananāmakā.

11 samasattat' ito kappe tayo Varuṇanāmakā

sattaratanasampannā catuddīpamhi issarā.

12 paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Sīhāsanadāyako thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Sīhāsanadāyakattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ. [56]

5.2. Ekatthambhika

1 Siddhatthassa bhagavato mahāpūgagaṇo ahu

saraṇaṅ gatā ca te Buddhaṃ saddahanti Tathāgataṃ.

2 sabbe saṅgamma mantetvā mālaṃ kubbanti satthuno

ekatthambhaṃ alabhantā vicinanti brahāvane.

3 te 'haṃ araññe disvāna upagamma gaṇan tadā

añjalim paggahetvāna paṭipucchiṃ gaṇaṃ ahaṃ.

4 te me puṭṭhā viyākaṃsu sīlavanto upāsakā

mālaṃ mayaṃ kattukāmā ekatthambho na labbhati.

1.10 -sattati[1]] -sattatimh' B^e C^e │ dve-] dvā- C5 │ -sattati[2]] -sattatimh' B^e C^e │ tayo[2]] tato B3 │ Su-] Sa- B1 │ -nāmakā] -nāyakā C5 │ 1.11 -sattat'] -sattati B1 B4, -sattatimh' C^e │ -ratana-] -ratna- C1 │ catu-] cātu- B1 B2 │ -ddīpamhi] -dīpamhi B2 B^e C^e S^e │ 1.12 vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 B3 B^e S1 S^e │ vimokhāpi…-katā] ca pe C^e │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā B^e S^e │ ti] *omits* B2 B^e C^e │ 1.close -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ B^e C^e │ samattaṃ] paṭhamaṃ B2 B^e C^e │ 2.1 ahu] ahū C2 │ saraṇaṅ] saraṇa- C1 │ 2.2 saṅgamma] saṅkamma B3 │ ekatthambhaṃ] ekaṃ thambhaṃ B1, ekathambhaṃ B2 B3 │ 2.3 upagamma] upāgamma B3 B4, pagamma S1 │ paṭipucchiṃ] paripucchaṃ B4, paripucchiṃ B^e S^e │ ahaṃ] tadā S1 │ 2.4 viyākaṃsu] vyākaṃsu C1 │ sīlavanto] sīlavantā B1 │ mālaṃ] sālaṃ C3 C4, sālā C5 │ -tthambho] -thambho B1 B2

5 ekatthambhaṃ mamaṃ detha ahaṃ dassāmi satthuno

  āharissām' ahaṃ thambhaṃ appossukkā bhavantu te.

6 te me thambhaṃ pavecchiṃsu pasannā tuṭṭhamānasā

  tato paṭinivattitvā agamaṃsu sakaṃ gharaṃ.

7 aciraṃ gate pūgagaṇ[e] thambhaṃ adās' ahan tadā

  haṭṭho haṭṭhena cittena paṭhamaṃ ussapes' ahaṃ.

8 tena cittappasādena vimānaṃ upapajj' ahaṃ

  ubbiddhaṃ bhavanaṃ mayhaṃ sattabhūmaṃ samuggataṃ.

9 vajjamānāsu bher[ī]su paricārem' ahaṃ sadā

  pañcapaññāsakappamhi rājā āsiṃ yasodharo.

10 tatthāpi bhavanaṃ mayhaṃ sattabhūmaṃ samuggataṃ

  kūṭāgāravarūpetaṃ ekatthambhaṃ manoramaṃ.

11 ekavīsatikappamhi Udeno nāma khattiyo

  tatrāpi bhavanaṃ mayhaṃ sattabhūmaṃ samuggataṃ.

12 yaṃ yaṃ yon' upapajjāmi devattaṃ atha mānusaṃ

  anubhomi sabbam etaṃ ekatthambhass' idaṃ phalaṃ. [57]

13 catunavute ito kappe yaṃ thambham adadiṃ tadā

  duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi ekatthambhass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

14 paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

2.5 -tthambhaṃ] -thambhaṃ B1 B2 │ mamaṃ] mama (=) B1 B3 B4 C3 C4 C5 S1 │ te] vo B2 C1 C2 C^e │ **2.6** pavecchiṃsu] pavacchiṃsu B1 C3 C4 C5 │ paṭinivattitvā] paṭinivattetvā B3 C3 S1 │ agamaṃsu] āgamaṃsu C1 C2 E^e S1 S^e, agamiṃsu C^e │ **2.7** aciraṃ] acira- B3 C3 C4 S1 │ -gaṇ[e]] B1 B2 B3 B^e C^e E^e S1 S^e, -gaṇo (a) C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 │ adās'] āhās' B1, ahās' B2 B3 B^e, ādās' C1 C5 │ ussapes'] ussāpes' B1 E^e │ **2.8** -ppasādena] -pasādena B2 │ vimānaṃ] vimāne B1 │ satta-] sata- B2 C^e E^e, sataṃ C1 C2 │ -bhūmaṃ] -bhūmi- E^e │ **2.9** bher[ī]su] B1 B2 B^e C^e S^e, bherisu (a) B3 C1 C2 C3 C5 E^e S1 │ paricārem' ahaṃ] dvāre mahaṃ C2, parivārem' ahaṃ E^e │ sadā] tadā C^e E^e │ **2.10** tatthāpi] tattha pi B1, tathā pi C5 │ satta-] sata- B2 C1 C2 C^e E^e │ -bhūmaṃ] -bhūmi- C2 E^e │ -ūpetaṃ] -upetaṃ B1 C2 C4 C5 │ -tthambhaṃ] -thambhaṃ B1 B2 │ -ramaṃ] -rammaṃ B1 │ **2.11** satta-] sata- B2 C^e E^e │ -bhūmaṃ] -bhūmi- C2 E^e │ samuggataṃ] sulaṅkataṃ S1 S^e │ **2.12** upapajjāmi] uppajjāmi B4, ūpapajjāmi S1 S^e │ sabbam etaṃ] sukhaṃ sabbaṃ B2 B^e C^e, sabbam enaṃ C4 │ -tthambhass'] -thambhass' B1 B2 B3 │ **2.13** -navute] -navut' B2 E^e, -nnavut' B^e │ adadiṃ] adadaṃ B2 B^e │ -tthambhass'] -thambhass' B2 C2 E^e │ **2.14** catasso…-katā] pe C^e │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 B^e S^e

chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Ekatthambhiko thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.
Ekatthambhikattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.3. Nanda

1   Padumuttarassa bhagavato lokajeṭṭhassa tādino
    vatthaṃ khomaṃ mayā dinnaṃ sayambhussa mahesino.

2   tam me Buddho viyākāsi Jalajuttamanāmako
    iminā vatthadānena hemavaṇṇo bhavissati.

3   dvesampattiṃ anubhotvā kusalamūlehi codito
    Gotamassa bhagavato kaniṭṭho tvaṃ bhavissasi.

4   rāgaratto sukhasīlo kāmesu gedham āyuto
    Buddhena codito santo tato tvaṃ pabbajissasi.

5   pabbajitvāna tvaṃ tattha kusalamūlena codito
    sabbāsave pariññāya nibbāyissasi 'nāsavo.

6   sattakappasahassamhi caturo Celanāmakā
    saṭṭhikappasahassāni Upacelā catujjanā.

7   pañcakappasahassamhi Celā nāma caturo janā

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chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **2.close** -tthambhiko] -thambhiyo B1, -thambhiko B2 │ -tthambhika-] -thambhika- B1 B2, -tthambhadāyaka- B4 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassa apadānaṃ B1 C1 C2 Eᵉ, -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ samattaṃ] dutiyaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **3.1** Padumuttarassa] Padumuttara- B3 │ vatthaṃ khomaṃ] vatthuttamaṃ B1 C1 C2 Eᵉ │ **3.2** -uttama-] -uttara- (=) B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ │ -nāmako] -nāyako B4(p) C1 C2 Eᵉ Sᵉ │ bhavissati] bhavissasi Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ **3.3** -sampattiṃ] -sampattī Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, -sampatti C1 C2 S1 │ kusala-] sukka- S1 Sᵉ │ -mūlehi] -mūlena B1 │ tvaṃ] tuvaṃ C1 C2 │ **3.4** gedham] gedhim B1 C1 C2 │ codito] vedito B1 C1 C2 │ tato] tadā B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **3.5** kusala-] sukka- B1 │ nibbāyissasi 'nāsavo] nibbāyissas' anāsavo Cᵉ │ **3.6** satta-] sata- B3 B4 Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ sattakappasahassamhi] kappasatasahassamhi B1 │ saṭṭhi-] saṭṭhiṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ -sahassāni] -sahassamhi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ -jjanā] -janā S1 │ **3.7** Celā] Cela- B4 │ nāma] ca B1 B3, va B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ, -nāmā B4, *omits* C1 C2 Eᵉ S1 │ caturo] cattāro B4

sattaratanasampannā catuddīpamhi issarā.

8   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Nando thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti. Nandattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ. [58]

5.4. Cullapanthaka

1   Padumuttaro nāma jino āhutīnaṃ paṭiggaho

gaṇamhā vūpakaṭṭho so Himavante vasī tadā.

2   aham pi Himavantamhi vasāmi assame tadā

acir' āgataṃ mahāvīraṃ upesi[ṃ] lokanāyakaṃ.

3   pupphacchattaṃ gahetvāna upagañchiṃ narāsabhaṃ

samādhiṃ samāpajjantaṃ antarāyam akās' ahaṃ.

4   ubhohatthehi paggayha pupphacchattaṃ adās' ahaṃ

paṭiggahesi bhagavā Padumuttaro mahāmuni.

5   sabbe devā attamanā Himavantaṃ upenti te

sādhukāraṃ pavattiṃsu anumodissati cakkhumā.

6   idaṃ vatvāna te devā upagañchuṃ naruttamaṃ

ākāse dhārayantassa padumaṃ chattam uttamaṃ.

catu-] cātu- B2 │ -ddīpamhi] -dīpamhi B1 B2 B4 Bᵉ Sᵉ │ **3.8** catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **3.close** Nando] Nanda- Eᵉ │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 Eᵉ S1 │ samattaṃ] tatiyaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **4.1** vasī] vasi B4, vasiṃ C3 C4 C5 │ **4.2** aham pi] ah' amhi C3 C4 C5 │ Himavantamhi] Himavantam pi C2 │ acir' āgataṃ] aciraṅ gataṃ C3, aciraṃ gataṃ C4 │ upesi[ṃ]] B2 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, upesi (a) B1 B3 C1 C2 C3 C5 │ **4.3** -cchattaṃ] -chattaṃ B1 B4 │ **4.4** -hatthehi] -hatthebhi C2 │ -cchattaṃ] -chattaṃ B1 B3 C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ **4.5** pavattiṃsu] pavattesuṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **4.6** -uttamaṃ] uttaraṃ B1 │ dhārayantassa] dhārayantaṃ me B2 Cᵉ │ padumaṃ chattam] padumacchattam Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ

7   satapattachattaṃ paggayha adāsi tāpaso mamaṃ

tam ahaṃ kittayissāmi suṇotha mama bhāsato.

8   pañcavīsatikappāni devarajjaṃ karissati

catuttiṃsatikkhattuñ ca cakkavatti bhavissati.

9   yaṃ yaṃ yoniṃ saṃsarati devattaṃ atha mānusaṃ

abbhokāse patiṭṭhantaṃ padumaṃ dhārayissati.

10   kappasatasahassamhi Okkākakulasambhavo

Gotamo nāma nāmena satthā loke bhavissati.

11   pakāsite pāvacane manussattaṃ labhissati

manomayamhi kāyamhi uttamo so bhavissati.

12   dve bhātaro bhavissanti ubho pi Panthakāvhayā

anubhotvā uttamatthaṃ jotayissanti sāsanaṃ.

13   aṭṭhārasañ ca vasso 'haṃ pabbajiṃ anagāriyaṃ

visesāhaṃ na vindāmi Sakyaputtassa sāsane.

14   dandhā mayhaṃ gatī āsi paribhūto pure ahuṃ

bhātā ca maṃ paṇāmesi gaccha dāni sakaṃ gharaṃ.

15   so 'haṃ paṇāmito santo saṃghārāmassa koṭṭhake

dummano tattha aṭṭhāsiṃ sāmaññasmiṃ apekkhavā. [59]

16   ath' ettha satthā āgañchi sīsaṃ mayhaṃ parāmasi

bāhāya maṃ gahetvāna saṃghārāmaṃ pavesayi.

17   anukampāya me satthā adāsi pādapuñchaniṃ

evaṃ suddhaṃ adhiṭṭhehi eka-m-antaṃ adhiṭṭhitaṃ.

4.7 satapatta-] sattapatta- B1 S1 S^e, paduma- E^e │ paggayha] gayha B1 B2 │ mamaṃ] mama B1 B4 B^e S1 S^e │ suṇotha] suṇātha B1 B2 B^e S1 S^e │ 4.8 -ttiṃsati-] -tiṃsati- B1 B2 S1 │ -kkhattuñ] -khattuñ B2 B3 │ -vatti] -vattī B^e C^e │ 4.10 Okkāka-] Ukkāka- B3 │ nāmena] gottena B1 B^e S^e │ 4.11 pakāsite] pakāsike C1 │ 4.12 Panthakāvhayā] Panthakavhayā B2 B^e C^e S^e, Panthasavhayā C1 C2 E^e │ 4.13 aṭṭhā-…'haṃ] so 'haṃ aṭṭhārasavasso B^e C^e, so aṭṭhārasavasso 'haṃ S^e │ vindāmi] vandāmi C3 C4 │ 4.14 dandhā] andhā S1 │ gatī] gati B1 B3 C4 E^e S1 S^e │ āsi] āsiṃ B2 │ paribhūto] parivuto B3 │ ahuṃ] ahaṃ B1 E^e S^e │ ca maṃ] mamaṃ C1 │ 4.15 so 'haṃ] ghosāhaṃ C2 │ apekkhavā] apekhavā B2 C1 C2 E^e │ 4.16 ath'] at' B1 C1 C4, atth' B3 │ ath'…satthā] bhagavā tattha B2 B^e C^e │ satthā] sattha C5 │ parāmasi] parāmasī C1 │ bāhāya] bāhā C1 C2 C4 C5 │ 4.17 -antaṃ] -anta- C1 C2 │ adhiṭṭhitaṃ] adhiṭṭhahaṃ B^e, -samadhiṭṭhitaṃ C1, -samadhiṭṭha taṃ C2, adhiṭṭha taṃ C3 C5 S1, svadhiṭṭha taṃ C^e

18   hatthehi tam ahaṃ gayha sariṃ kokanudaṃ ahaṃ

        tattha cittaṃ vimucci me arahattaṃ apāpuṇiṃ.

19   manomayesu kāyesu sabbattha pāramiṃ gato

        sabbāsave pariññāya viharāmi anāsavo.

20   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

        chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Cullapanthako thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Cullapanthakattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.5. Pilindavaccha

1   nibbute lokanāthamhi Sumedh[e] aggapuggal[e]

        pasannacitto sumano thūpapūjaṃ akās' ahaṃ.

2   ye ca khīṇāsavā tattha cha[ḷ a]bhiññā mahiddhikā

        tesaṃ tattha samānetvā saṃghabhattaṃ akās' ahaṃ.

3   Sumedhassa bhagavato upaṭṭhāko tadā ahu

        Sumedho nāma nāmena anumodittha so tadā.

4   tena cittappasādena vimānaṃ upapajj' ahaṃ

        cha[ḷ]āsīti sahassāni accharāyo ramiṃsu me.

4.18 -nudaṃ] -nadaṃ Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ vimucci] vimuccī C2 C3 Eᵉ Sᵉ │ **4.19** anāsavo] anāsave C4 │ **4.20** catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ │ sāsanan] sāvanan B3 │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **4.close** itthaṃ] idaṃ C5 │ Culla-¹] Cūḷa- B1 B2 Bᵉ │ Culla-²] Cūḷa- B1 B2 B4 Bᵉ │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C5 Eᵉ S1 │ samattaṃ] catutthaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **5.1** Sumedh[e]] B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, Sumedho (a) C1 C2 C3 C4, suddho C5 │ -puggal[e]] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -puggalo (a) C1 C2 C4 C5 │ thūpa-] dhūpa- B2 │ **5.2** ca] va C2 │ cha[ḷ] B1 B2 B3 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, chal (a) C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 │ a]bhiññā] Bᵉ C1 C2 C4 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, ābhiññā (a) B1 B2 B3 B4 C3 C5 S1 │ tesaṃ] te 'haṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ akās'] adās' B1 │ **5.3** ahu] ahū C3, ahaṃ S1 │ **5.4** -ppasādena] -pasādena B2 │ upapajj'] uppajj' C1 │ cha[ḷ]-] B1 B2 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, chal- (a) C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 │ ramiṃsu] ahesu S1 Sᵉ

5   mam' eva anuvattanti sabbakāmehi tā sadā

     aññe deve atibhomi puññakammass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

6   pañcavīsatikappamhi Varuṇo nāma khattiyo

     visuddhabhojano āsiṃ cakkavatti ahaṃ tadā.

7   na te bījaṃ pavapanti na pi nīyanti naṅgalā

     akaṭṭhapākimaṃ sāliṃ paribhuñjanti mānusā. [60]

8   tattha rajjaṃ karitvāna devattaṃ puna gacch' ahaṃ

     tadāpi edisā mayhaṃ nibbattā bhogasampadā.

9   na maṃ mittā amittā vā hiṃsanti sabbapāṇino

     sabbesam pi piyo homi puññakammass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

10   tiṃsakappasahassamhi yaṃ dānam adadiṃ tadā

     duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi gandhālepass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

11   imasmiṃ bhaddake kappe eko āsi[ṃ] janādhipo

     mahānubhāvo rājāsi cakkavatti mahabbalo.

12   so 'haṃ pañcasu sīlesu ṭhapetvā janataṃ bahuṃ

     pāpetvā sugatiṃ yeva devatānaṃ piyo ahu[ṃ].

13   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

     chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Pilindavaccho thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Pilindavacchatherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.5 -kāmehi…sadā] -kāmasamohito S1 │ aññe] añña- C3 C4 C5 │ atibhomi] abhibhomi Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ, atībhomi C4, anubhomi C5 │ **5.6** vi-] sa- C1, su- C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -bhojano] -bhojanā B3, -bhojane C1 C2 │ āsiṃ] āsi B1 C3 C4 C5 S1 │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **5.9** pi] *omits* C3 C4 C5, ca S1 Sᵉ │ **5.10** gandhālepass'] gandhalepass' Sᵉ │ **5.11** imasmiṃ] imamhi B1 S1 Sᵉ │ āsi[ṃ]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, āsi (a) B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ janādhipo] narādhīro B1 │ rājāsi] rājisi B2 Sᵉ, rājāhaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ Cᵉ │ mahabbalo] mahābalo B3 Eᵉ │ **5.12** ṭhapetvā] ṭhapetvāna B3 │ bahuṃ] bahu B3 │ yeva] evaṃ S1 │ ahu[ṃ]] Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, ahaṃ B1 S1 Sᵉ, ahu (a) B2 C3 C4 C5 │ **5.13** catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **5.close** Pilinda-¹] Pilindi- B3 C2 C3, Piḷindi- Cᵉ │ Pilinda-²] Pilindi- C2 C3, Piḷindi- Cᵉ │ -therassa apadānaṃ] -ttherassa apadānaṃ B1 Sᵉ, -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ samattaṃ] pañcamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

5.6. Rāhula

1   Padumuttarassa bhagavato lokajeṭṭhassa tādino

         sattabhūmimhi pāsāde adāsiṃ santharaṃ ahaṃ.

2   khīṇāsavasahassehi parikiṇṇo mahāmuni

         upāgami gandhakuṭiṃ dipadindo narāsabho.

3   virocan taṃ gandhakuṭiṃ devadevo narāsabho

         bhikkhusaṃghe ṭhito satthā imā gāthā abhāsatha.

4   yenāyaṃ jotitā seyyā ādāso va susanthatā

         tam ahaṃ kittayissāmi suṇotha mama bhāsato.

5   sovaṇṇamayā rūpimayā atho veḷuriyāmayā

         nibbattissanti ākāse ye keci manaso piyā. [61]

6   catusaṭṭhikkhattuṃ devindo devarajjaṃ karissati

         sahassakkhattuṃ cakkavatti bhavissati anantarā.

7   ekavīsatikappamhi Vimalo nāma khattiyo

         cāturanto vijitāvī cakkavatti bhavissati.

8   nagaraṃ Reṇuvatī nāma iṭṭhakāhi sumāpitaṃ

         āyāmato tīṇi sataṃ caturassaṃ samāyutaṃ.

9   Sudassano nāma pāsādo Vissakammena māpito

         kūṭāgāravarūpeto sattaratanabhūsito.

6.1 -bhūmimhi] -bhūmamhi B2 B^e C^e │ adāsiṃ] ādāsaṃ B2 B^e C^e S1 S^e │ santharaṃ] santhariṃ B2 B^e C^e S1 S^e, gocaraṃ C3 C4 C5 │ **6.2** di-] dvi- B2 B3 B^e │ dipadindo] dīpa-d-indo B1 C3 C5 │ **6.3** virocan taṃ] virocantiṃ B2, virocento B^e C^e, virocanti C3 C4 C5, virocayaṃ S1 S^e │ **6.4** jotitā] jotito E^e │ seyyā] siyā E^e, seyyo S1 │ va] ca B2 C1 C2 C^e │ susanthatā] susanthato B2 B^e C2 C^e E^e S^e, santhatā C5, susanṭhito S1 │ suṇotha] suṇātha B1 B2 B^e S1 S^e │ **6.5** sovaṇṇa-] soṇṇa- B1 B2 B^e C^e E^e S^e │ rūpi-] maṇi- (=) B1 B3 C3 C4 │ veḷuriyā-] veḷuriya- C5 │ ākāse] pāsādā B^e S1 S^e, ādāsā C^e │ **6.6** -kkhattuṃ[1]] -khattuṃ B3 │ -kkhattuṃ[2]] -khattuṃ B2, -kkhattuñ ca C4 │ -vatti] -vattī B^e C2 C^e │ **6.7** vijitāvī] vijitāvi (=) B1 C1 C3 C5 │ -vatti] -vattī B^e C2 C^e │ **6.8** Reṇu-] Reṇṇu- C1 C2, Denu- C3 C4 C5, Renu- S1 │ sumāpitaṃ] samāpitaṃ S1 │ -assaṃ] -assa- B2 B^e C4 C^e S1 S^e │ samāyutaṃ] -samāyuttaṃ S1 │ **6.9** Sudassano] Sudasso C2 │ Vissa-] Vissu- B1, Visu- (=) B2 B3 C4 C5 S1 S^e │ māpito] nimmito C^e │ -ūpeto] -upeto B3 C4 C5 S1 │ -ratana-] -ratna- C1

10   dasasaddāvi[v]ittan taṃ vijjādharasamākulaṃ
      sudassanaṃ va nagaraṃ devatānaṃ bhavissati.

11   pabhā niggacchate tassa uggacchante va suriye
      virocissati taṃ niccaṃ samantā aṭṭhayojanaṃ.

12   kappasatasahassamhi Okkākakulasambhavo
      Gotamo nāma nāmena satthā loke bhavissati.

13   Tusitā hi cavitvāna sukkamūlena codito
      Gotamassa bhagavato atrajo so bhavissati.

14   sace vaseyya agāraṃ cakkavatti bhaveyya so
      aṭṭhānam etaṃ yan tādi agāre ratim ajjhagā.

15   nikkhamitvā agāramhā pabbajissati subbato
      Rāhulo nāma nāmena arahā so bhavissati.

16   kikī va aṇḍaṃ rakkheyya camarī viya vāladhiṃ
      nipako sīlasampanno mamaṃ rakkhi mahāmuni.

17   tassāhaṃ dhammam aññāya vihāsiṃ sāsane rato
      sabbāsave pariññāya viharāmi anāsavo.

18   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime
      chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Rāhulo thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti. Rāhulattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ. [62]

6.10 -saddāvi[v]ittan taṃ] B1 B2 S1 Sᵉ, -saddā avivittaṃ B3 Cᵉ Eᵉ, -saddāvicittan taṃ (a) C1 C2, -saddā avicittaṃ C3 C4 C5 │ sudassanaṃ va] sudassanañ ca C1 │ **6.11** niggacchate] nigacchate S1 │ uggacchante] uggacchanto B2 │ suriye] sūriyo B1 B2, sūriye Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ virocissati] virocessati Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **6.12** kappa-] kappe B1 │ nāmena] gottena Bᵉ │ **6.13** hi] va B1 S1 Sᵉ, so B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ so] yo C3 C5 │ **6.14** vaseyya agāraṃ] vaseyyāgāraṃ Cᵉ │ agāraṃ] āgāraṃ Eᵉ │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ bhaveyya] bhavissa (=) C3 C4 C5 │ so] yo C3 C4 C5 │ tādi] tādī Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ │ **6.15** agāramhā] agārasmā B4 │ **6.16** camarī] cāmarī B1 B2 B4 Bᵉ Sᵉ │ viya] va C1, -r-iva C2 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ mamaṃ] evaṃ B2 Cᵉ, mama (=) B3 B4 C3 C4 C5 │ rakkhi] rakkhiṃ B2 Cᵉ, rakkhe S1, dakkhi Sᵉ │ -muni] -mune Cᵉ │ **6.18** catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **6.close** Rāhulo] Rāhula- C4 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ samattaṃ] chaṭṭhaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ

5.7. Upasena Vaṅgantaputta

1   Padumuttaraṃ bhagavantaṃ lokajeṭṭhaṃ narāsabhaṃ
       pabbhāramhi nisīdantaṃ upagañchiṃ naruttamaṃ.

2   kaṇikāraṃ pupphitaṃ disvā vaṇ[ṭ]e chetvān' ahan tadā
       alaṃkaritvā chattamhi Buddhassa abhiropayiṃ.

3   piṇḍapātañ ca pādāsiṃ paramannaṃ subhojanaṃ
       Buddhena navame tattha samaṇ[e] aṭṭha bhojayiṃ.

4   anumodi mahāvīro sayambhū aggapuggalo
       iminā chattadānena paramannappavecchanā

5   tena cittappasādena sampattiṃ anubhossati
       tiṃsakkhattuṃ ca devindo devarajjaṃ karissati.

6   ekavīsatikkhattuñ ca cakkavatti bhavissati
       padesarajjaṃ vipulaṃ gaṇanā[t]o asaṃkhayaṃ.

7   yaṃ vadanti sumedho ti bhūripaññaṃ sumedhasaṃ
       kappe 'to satasahasse esa buddho bhavissati.

8   sāsane dippamānamhi manussattaṃ gamissati

7.1 nisīdantaṃ] nisinnaṃ taṃ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, nisinnan taṃ S1 │ **7.2** kaṇikāraṃ pupphitaṃ] kaṇikārapupphaṃ B2 Bᵉ │ vaṇ[ṭe]] Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ, vaṇḍe (a?) B2 B4 S1, vaṇṭaṃ Eᵉ │ chetvān' ahan] chetvāna taṃ S1 Sᵉ │ ahan] tan B4 │ **7.3** paramannaṃ] paramānaṃ B4 │ navame] *adds* va B4 │ samaṇ[e]] B1 B2 B3 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, samaṇo (a) C1 C2 │ **7.4** sayambhū] sayambhu B3 C1 C2 │ -ppavecchanā] -pavecchanā B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **7.5** -ppasādena] -pasādena B2 │ anubhossati] anubhossasi B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C1 C2 S1 │ tiṃsakkhattuṃ ca] satakkhattuṃ ca B1, chattiṃsakhattuṃ B2, chattiṃsakkhattuṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, tiṃsakhattuñ ca C1 │ karissati] bhavissati C3 C5 │ **7.6** -kkhattuñ] -khattuñ B2 C1 C2 Eᵉ │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ │ -nā[t]o] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -nātho (a) C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 │ asaṃkhayaṃ] asaṅkhiyaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ │ **7.7** yaṃ…bhavissati] satasahass' ito kappe Okkākakulasambhavo / Gotamo nāma gottena satthā loke bhavissati Bᵉ, satasahasse ito kappe Okkākakulasambhavo / Gotamo nāma gottena satthā loke bhavissati Cᵉ │ vadanti] vadati S1 │ -paññaṃ] -pañña- B1 B3, -paṃña- C1 │ kappe 'to] kappe B1, kappato C3 C4 C5, kapp' ito S1 │ -sahasse] -sahassamhi B1, *adds* Okkākakulasambhavo / Gotamo nāma gottena S1 Sᵉ │ esa] eso B4 Eᵉ Sᵉ, eka- C3 C4 C5 │ **7.8** dippamānamhi] dibbamānamhi B1 B2 Bᵉ C5, dissamānamhi (=) C3 C4 C5 │ gamissati] ca bhavissati B1, bhamissati B3, *adds* tassa dhammesu dāyādo oraso dhammanimmito Bᵉ Cᵉ, gamissati C1 C2, ramissati C3 C4 C5, bhavissati S1

Upaseno ti nāmena hessati satthu sāvako.

9   carimaṃ vattate mayhaṃ bhavā sabbe samūhatā
     dhāremi antimaṃ dehaṃ jetvā Māraṃ savāhanaṃ.

10   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime
     chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Upaseno Vaṅgantaputto thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.
Upasenavaṅgantaputtattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

tatiyabhāṇavāraṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. [63]

5.8. Raṭṭhapāla

1   Padumuttarassa bhagavato lokajeṭṭhassa tādino
     varanāgo mayā dinno īsādanto urūḷhavo

2   setacchattopasevito sāthabbaṇo sahatthipo
     agghāpetvāna taṃ sabbaṃ saṃghārāmaṃ akārayiṃ.

3   catupaññā[sa]sahassāni pāsāde kārayiṃ ahaṃ
     mahoghañ ca karitvāna niyyātesiṃ mahesino.

4   anumodi mahāvīro sayambhū aggapuggalo

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sāvako] *adds* samantapāsādikattā aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapessati Bᵉ │ **7.9** carimaṃ] carimā Cᵉ │ antimaṃ] antima- C2 C4 │ jetvā] jetvāna B3, chetvā C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ │ -vāhanaṃ] -vāhinaṃ C1 │ **7.10** catasso… -katā] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **7.close** -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassa apadānaṃ B1 C1 C2 C4 Eᵉ, -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ samattaṃ] sattamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **inter-apadāna** tatiya-] tatiyaṃ B3 C2 C3 Eᵉ, tatiyaka- C1 │ niṭṭhitaṃ] *omits* B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **8.1** dinno īsādanto] dinno-r-īsādanto Eᵉ │ urūḷhavo] urūḷhavā Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **8.2** -cchattopasevito] -chatto sopadhiko B2, -cchattopasobhito Bᵉ Cᵉ │ sāthabbaṇo] sakappano Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **8.3** -paññā[sa]-] B1 B2 B3 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -paṃñā- C1, -paññā- (a) C3 C4 C5 │ mahoghañ ca] mahācchattaṃ B1, mahoghadānaṃ Bᵉ Sᵉ, mahābhattaṃ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 │ niyyātesiṃ] niyyādesiṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ │ **8.4** sayambhū] sayambhu C1 C2 C3

sabbe jane hāsayanto desesi amataṃ padaṃ.

5   taṃ me Buddho viyākāsi Jalajuttamanāyako

bhikkhusaṃghe nisīditvā imā gāthā abhāsatha.

6   catupaññā[sa]sahassāni pāsāde kārayī ayaṃ

kathayissāmi vipākaṃ suṇotha mama bhāsato.

7   aṭṭhārasa sahassāni kūṭāgārā bhavissare

byamhuttamamhi nibbattā sabbasoṇṇamayā ca te.

8   paññāsakkhattuṃ devindo devarajjaṃ karissati

aṭṭhapaññāsakkhattuñ ca cakkavatti bhavissati.

9   kappasatasahassamhi Okkākakulasambhavo

Gotamo nāma nāmena satthā loke bhavissati.

10   devalokā cavitvāna sukkamūlena codito

aḍḍhe kule mahābhoge nibbattissati tāvade.

11   so pacchā pabbajitvāna sukkamūlena codito

Raṭṭhapālo ti nāmena hessati satthu sāvako.

12   padhānapahitatto so upasanto nirupadhi

sabbāsave pariññāya nibbāyissati 'nāsavo.

13   uṭṭhāya abhinikkhamma jahitvā bhogasampadā

khe[ḷ]apiṇḍe va bhogamhi pemaṃ mayhaṃ na vijjati. [64]

14   viriyam me dhuradhorayhaṃ yogakkhemādhivāhanaṃ

dhāremi antimaṃ dehaṃ sammāsambuddhasāsane.

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hāsayanto] tosayanto B1 │ desesi] deseti B1 Eᵉ │ amataṃ] amata- B1 │ **8.5** Jalajuttama-] Jalajuttara- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, Jalanuttama- B4(p) │ -nāyako] -nāmako B1 B2 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ -saṃghe] *adds* hi B1 │ **8.6** -paññā[sa]-] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, -paññā- (a) B3 C3 C4 C5, -paṃñā- C1 C2 │ kārayī] kārayi B3 Sᵉ, kārayiṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ ayaṃ] ahaṃ C4 Eᵉ │ suṇotha] suṇātha B1 Sᵉ │ **8.7** nibbattā] *adds* va B1 │ -soṇṇamayā] -sovaṇṇamayā B1 S1, sovaṇṇayā C1 C2 │ ca] va C3 C4, *omits* S1 │ **8.8** paññāsa-] catuttiṃsa- C1 │ -kkhattuṃ] -khattuṃ Eᵉ │ -kkhattuñ] -khattuñ B2 Eᵉ │ -vatti] -vattī B3 Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ │ **8.9** nāmena] gottena B1 Bᵉ │ **8.10** aḍḍhe] phīte Sᵉ │ tāvade] tāva-d-eva B3 │ **8.12** padhāna-] padhānaṃ (=) C3 C5 Sᵉ │ nirupadhi] nirūpadhi B1 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ sabbāsave] sabbe 'save C5 │ nibbāyissati 'nāsavo] nibbāyissat' anāsavo B1 Cᵉ Eᵉ, nibbāyissaty anāsavo S1 Sᵉ │ **8.13** jahitvā] jahitā B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ khe[ḷa-] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, khela- (a) B1 B3 C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 S1 │ -piṇḍe] -piṇḍo B1 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ **8.14** viriyam] vīriyaṃ Bᵉ │ -kkhemādhivāhanaṃ] -kkhemādivāhanaṃ Eᵉ

15   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

        chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Raṭṭhapālo thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Raṭṭhapālattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.9. Sopāka

1   pabbhāraṃ sodhayantassa pavane pabbatuttame

        Siddhattho nāma bhagavā āgañchi mama santikaṃ.

2   Buddhaṃ upagataṃ disvā lokajeṭṭhassa tādino

        santharaṃ paññāpetvāna pupphāsanam adās' ahaṃ.

3   pupphāsane nisīditvā Siddhattho lokanāyako

        mamañ ca gatim aññāya aniccattam udāhari.

4   aniccā vata saṃkhārā uppādavayadhammino

        uppajjitvā nirujjhanti tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho.

5   idaṃ vatvāna sabbaññu lokajeṭṭho narāsabho

        nabhe abbhuggamī vīro haṃsarājā va ambare.

6   sakaṃ diṭṭhiṃ jahitvāna bhāvayāniccasaññ' ahaṃ

        ekāhaṃ bhāvayitvāna tattha kālaṃkato ahaṃ.

7   dvesampattiṃ anubhotvā sukkamūlena codito

8.15 catasso] *adds* ca C1 C2 | catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ | vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ | chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ | ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | **8.close** Raṭṭhapālo thero] Raṭṭhapālatthero C4 | Raṭṭha-] Ratha- B1 | -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -therassa apadānaṃ B3 C1 C2 Eᵉ S1, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ | samattaṃ] aṭṭhamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | **9.1** sodhayantassa] sevayantassa B2 Cᵉ, sobhayantassa C4 | pavane] pavare B1 B3 C1 C2 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, vipine B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | **9.2** upagataṃ] upāgataṃ Cᵉ | santharaṃ] santhariṃ S1 | paññāpetvāna] santharitvāna B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, paññāpetvā B4 C3 C5 | **9.3** aniccattam] aniccatam B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, aniccataṃ B4 Sᵉ, niccabhattam C5 | **9.5** -ññu] -ññū B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -ṃñū C2 | nabhe] nabhaṃ B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ, nabham Eᵉ | abbhuggamī] abbhuggami B3 B4 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ | vīro] dhīro Sᵉ | **9.6** bhāvayitvāna] bhāvayitvā B3 | kālaṃ-] kāla- B4 C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ | **9.7** -sampattiṃ] -sampatti B1 B3 C1 C2 C4 S1, -sampattī Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ

    pacchime bhave sampatte sāpākaṃ yon' upāgamiṃ.

8   agārā abhinikkhamma pabbajiṃ anagāriyaṃ

    jātiyā sattavasso 'haṃ arahattaṃ apāpuṇiṃ.

9   āraddhaviriyo pahitatto sīlesu susamāhito

    tosetvāna mahānāgaṃ alatthaṃ upasampadaṃ. [65]

10   catunavute ito kappe yaṃ kammam akariṃ tadā

    duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi pupphadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

11   catunavute ito kappe yaṃ saññaṃ bhāvayiṃ tadā

    taṃ saññaṃ bhāvayantassa patto me āsavakkhayo.

12   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

    chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Sopāko thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti. Sopākattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.10. Sumaṅgala

1   āhutiṃ yiṭṭhukāmo 'haṃ paṭiyādetvāna bhojanaṃ

    brāhmaṇ[e] paṭimānento visāle mālake ṭhito.

2   ath' addasāsiṃ sambuddhaṃ Piyadass[iṃ] mahāyasaṃ

    sabbalokavinetāraṃ sayambhuṃ aggapuggalaṃ

3   bhagavantaṃ jutimantaṃ sāvakehi purakkhataṃ

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pacchime] pacchima- Cᵉ Sᵉ │ sāpākaṃ] sapāka- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, sopāka- S1, sāpāka- Sᵉ │ **9.8** anagāriyaṃ] anāgāriyaṃ B3 │ **9.9** -viriyo] vīriyo B2 Bᵉ │ alatthaṃ] aladdhaṃ B1 │ **9.10** -navute] -navut' B2 Eᵉ, -nnavut' Bᵉ │ **9.11** -navute] -navut' B2 Eᵉ, -nnavut' Bᵉ │ saññaṃ²] paññaṃ B3 │ **9.12** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **9.close** Sopāko] Sopāka- B2 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ S1 │ samattaṃ] navamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **10.1** yiṭṭhu-] yaṭṭhu- C1 C2 │ paṭiyādetvāna] paṭiyātetvāna C1 C2 │ brāhmaṇ[e]] Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, brāhmaṇo (a) C1 C2 C5 │ visāle] visade B1 │ **10.2** -dass[iṃ]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, -dassī (a?) B1 C3 C4 C5 │ sayambhuṃ] sayambhu- C3, sayambhū- C4 C5 │ **10.3** jutimantaṃ] jutīmantaṃ C2 C3

ādiccam iva rocantaṃ rathiyaṃ paṭipannakaṃ.

4   añjalim paggahetvāna sakaṃ cittaṃ pasādayiṃ

manasā va nimantesiṃ āgacchatu mahāmuni.

5   mama saṃkappam aññāya satthā loke anuttaro

khīṇāsavasahassehi mama dvāraṃ upāgami.

6   namo te purisājañña namo te purisuttama

pāsādaṃ abhirūhitvā sīhāsane nisīda tvaṃ.

7   danto dantaparivāro tiṇṇo tārayataṃ varo

pāsādaṃ abhirūhitvā nisīdi pavarāsane.

8   yam me atthi sake gehe āmisaṃ paccupaṭṭhitaṃ

tāhaṃ Buddhassa pādāsiṃ pasanno sehi pāṇihi.

9   pasannacitto sumano vedajāto katañjali

Buddhaseṭṭhaṃ namassāmi aho Buddhass' uḷāratā. [66]

10   aṭṭhannaṃ payirupāsataṃ bhuñjaṃ khīṇāsavā bahū

tuyh' ev' eso ānubhāvo saraṇan taṃ upem' ahaṃ.

11   Piyadassī ca bhagavā lokajeṭṭho narāsabho

bhikkhusaṃghe nisīditvā imā gāthā abhāsatha.

12   yo so saṃghaṃ abhojesi ujubhūtaṃ samāhitaṃ

Tathāgatañ ca sambuddhaṃ suṇotha mama bhāsato.

13   sattavīsatikkhattuṃ so devarajjaṃ karissati

sakakammābhiraddho so devaloke ramissati.

14   dasa c' aṭṭha ca khattuṃ so cakkavatti bhavissati

ādiccam…rocantaṃ] ādiccaṃ va virocantaṃ B1 C3 C4 C5 │ **10.4** sakaṃ] saka- S1 │ va] ca B1 C1 S1, *omits* B3 │ -muni] -munī ti Cᵉ │ **10.5** upāgami] pāgami C2 │ **10.6** abhirūhitvā] abhiruhitvā C4 │ nisīda tvaṃ] nisīdataṃ B2 Bᵉ, nisīdatu Sᵉ │ **10.7** abhirūhitvā] abhiruhitvā C2 C4 S1 │ **10.8** tāhaṃ] t' āsaṃ B4 C3 C4 C5 │ sehi] sakehi B4, *adds* na C3 C4 C5, hi S1 │ pāṇihi] pāṇibhi B2 Bᵉ Sᵉ │ **10.9** -jāto] -jāti C5 │ -añjali] -añjalī Bᵉ C3 C4 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ -seṭṭhaṃ] -seṭṭha C2 │ **10.10** payirupāsataṃ] payirūpās' ahaṃ B1, payirūpāsaṃ B2, payirūpāsataṃ B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 │ bahū] bahu B1 B3 C1 Cᵉ, bahuṃ C3 C4 C5 │ tuyh'] tumh' C1 C2 │ **10.11** -dassī] -dassi B4 │ ca] tu B1, sa C2 │ **10.12** saṃghaṃ] saṃghe S1 │ -bhūtaṃ] -bhūto C4 │ suṇotha] suṇātha B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **10.13** -kkhattuṃ] -khattuṃ B2 B3 C3 C4 C5 │ so¹] ca B1 │ **10.14** dasa] dasañ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ c'] *omits* B2 Bᵉ, v' C3 C4, ca v' S1, ca Sᵉ │ ca] *omits* C1 C2 Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ khattuṃ] -kkhattuṃ Bᵉ C1 C2 C5 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ

pathabyā rajjaṃ pañca sataṃ vasudhaṃ āvasissati.

15   araññaṃ vanam oggayha kānanaṃ vyagghasevitaṃ
      padhānaṃ padahitvāna kilesā jhāpitā mayā.

16   aṭṭhārase kappasate yaṃ dānam adadiṃ tadā
      duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi bhattadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

17   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime
      chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Sumaṅgalo thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.
Sumaṅgalattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

uddānaṃ:

Sīhāsanī Ekathambhi Nando ca Cullapanthako
Pilindi Rāhulo c' eva Vaṅganto Raṭṭhapālako.
Sopāko Maṅgalo c' eva das' eva dutiye gaṇe
satañ ca sattatiṃsā ca gāthā c' ettha pakāsitā.

Sīhāsaniyavaggo dutiyo. [67]

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pathabyā] pathabya- C5 ｜ rajjaṃ] ekarajjaṃ C1 C2 ｜ vasudhaṃ] va suddhaṃ C5 ｜ **10.15** araññaṃ] arañña- B1 B2 Bᵉ ｜ oggayha] ogayha C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ ｜ mayā] mayhaṃ C5 ｜ **10.16** bhatta-] tattha B1 ｜ **10.17** catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ ｜ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ ｜ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ ｜ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ ｜ **10.close** Sumaṅgalo] Sumaṅgala- S1 ｜ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ S1 ｜ samattaṃ] dasamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ ｜ **uddāna** uddānaṃ] tass' uddānaṃ Bᵉ ｜ Sīhāsanī] Sīhāsani B2 C2 ｜ -thambhi] -thambhī Bᵉ Cᵉ, -tthambhi C1 C2, -tthambhī Eᵉ Sᵉ ｜ Culla-] Cūḷa- B1 B2 Bᵉ ｜ Pilindi] Pilindo B1 Eᵉ, Pilinda- B2 Bᵉ C4 S1 Sᵉ, Piḷindo Cᵉ ｜ eva¹] evaṃ C3 C5 ｜ dutiye] dutiyo C3 C4 C5 S1 ｜ gaṇe] vagge (=) B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, vaggo C3 C4 C5 ｜ satta-] aṭṭha- Bᵉ Cᵉ ｜ -tiṃsā] -tiṃsa B2 Bᵉ, -ttiṃsā S1 ｜ ca³] va C2 ｜ c'³] *omits* Cᵉ ｜ pakāsitā] pakāsayi B1 ｜ Sīhāsaniya-] Sīhāsana- B1, Sīhāsani- C1 C2 Eᵉ, Sīhāsanadāyaka- Cᵉ

5.11. Subhūti

1   Himavantassa avidūre Nisabho nāma pabbato
     assamo sukato mayhaṃ paṇṇasālā sumāpitā.

2   Kosiyo nāma nāmena jaṭilo uggatāpano
     ekākiko adutiyo vasāmi Nisabhe tadā.

3   phalaṃ mūlañ ca paṇṇañ ca na bhuñjāmi ahaṃ tadā
     pavattaṃ va supātāhaṃ upajīvāmi tāvade.

4   nāhaṃ kopemi ājīvaṃ cajamāno pi jīvitaṃ
     ārādhemi sakaṃ cittaṃ vivajjemi anesanaṃ.

5   rāgūpasaṃhitaṃ cittaṃ yadā uppajjate mama
     sayaṃ va paccavekkhāmi ekaggo taṃ damem' ahaṃ.

6   rajjasi rajanīye ca dosan[ī]ye ca dussase
     muyhase mohanīye ca nikkhamassu vanā tuvaṃ.

7   visuddhānaṃ ayaṃ vāso nimmalānaṃ tapassinaṃ
     mā kho visuddhaṃ dūsesi nikkhamassu vanā tuvaṃ.

8   agāriko bhavitvāna yadā yuttaṃ labhissasi
     ubho pi mā virādhesi nikkhamassu vanā tuvaṃ.

9   chavālātaṃ yathā kaṭṭhaṃ na kvaci kiccakārakaṃ
     n' eva gāme araññe vā na hi taṃ kaṭṭhasammataṃ

11.1 Himavantassa avidūre] Himavantassāvidūre B1 B2 Bᵉ, Himavantass' avidūre B4 Eᵉ │ avidūre] avīdūre S1 │ **11.2** ekākiko] ekākiyo Bᵉ Cᵉ, ekāyiko S1 Sᵉ │ **11.3** phalaṃ] phala- S1 Sᵉ │ mūlañ…ca²] paṇṇañ ca mūlañ ca B1 │ pavattaṃ…supātāhaṃ] pavattapaṇḍupakkāhaṃ B1, pavattapaṇḍupattāni B4(p) Cᵉ, pavattapaṇḍupattāhaṃ Eᵉ │ va] ca S1 Sᵉ │ **11.5** -ūpasaṃhitaṃ] -upasaṃhitaṃ C1 C2 │ yadā] tadā C1 │ mama] mamaṃ (=) C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ va] ca S1 │ ekaggo] ekako B1 C1 C2 S1 Sᵉ │ taṃ] naṃ Eᵉ │ **11.6** rajjasi] rajjase B2 Bᵉ │ rajanīye] rajjanīye Bᵉ │ ca¹] va C3 C4 C5 │ dosan[ī]ye] C3 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, dosaniye (a) B1 B2 B3 B4 C4 C5 S1, dussanīye Bᵉ │ ca²] va C4 C5 │ dussase] dussasi Cᵉ │ ca³] va C3 C4 C5 │ **11.7** visuddhaṃ] va suddhaṃ C2 │ **11.8** agāriko] āgāriko B3 C3 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, agāriyo C4 │ yadā] sadā C2 Eᵉ │ yuttaṃ] puttaṃ B1 B2 Bᵉ │ labhissasi] labhissati B2 │ mā] vā C3 C4 C5 │ virādhesi] virodhesi B1 C5, virāgesi C1 │ tuvaṃ] tvaṃ C2 │ **11.9** -kārakaṃ] -kāraṇaṃ B1 │ n' eva] no va C4 │ araññe] nāraññe B1

10   chavālātupamo tvaṃ 'si na pi gihī na saññato

ubhato muttako ajja nikkhamassu vanā tuvaṃ.

11   siyā nu kho tava etaṃ ko pajāni hi te idaṃ

s[īghaṃ] dūraṃ vahi 'si me kosajjabahulāya ca.

12   jigucchissanti taṃ viññū asuciṃ nāgariko yathā

ākaḍḍhitvāna isayo codayissanti taṃ sadā.

13   taṃ viññū pavadissanti samatikkantasāsanaṃ

saṃvāsaṃ alabhanto hi kathaṃ jīv[i]hisī tuvaṃ. [68]

14   tidhappabhinnaṃ mātaṅgaṃ kuñjaraṃ saṭṭhihāyanaṃ

bali nāgo upāgantvā yūthā niharate gajaṃ.

15   yūthā vinissa[ṭ]o santo sukhaṃ sātaṃ na vindati

dukkhito vimano hoti pajjhāyanto pavedhati.

16   tath' eva jaṭilā tam pi nīharissanti dummati

tehi tvaṃ nissa[ṭ]o santo sukhaṃ sātaṃ na lacchasi.

17   divā vā yadi vā rattiṃ sokasallasamappito

ḍayhas[i] pariḷāhena gajo yūthā va nissaṭo.

18   jātarūpaṃ yathā kūṭaṃ n' eva jhāyati katthaci

11.10 -upamo] -ūpamo B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ 'si] pi B3 │ na¹] *omits* Eᵉ │ pi] *omits* B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ gihī] gihinā Eᵉ, gihi Sᵉ │ na²] *adds* pi B1 B2 S1 Sᵉ, nāpi Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ saññato] paññatto Eᵉ │ muttako] puttako B1 B2 B3 │ tuvaṃ] tvaṃ C1 C2 │ **11.11** pajāni hi] pajānāti B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ s[īghaṃ]] S1 Sᵉ, siṅga (a?) B1, saddhā- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ │ dūraṃ] -dhuraṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, dhuraṃ Sᵉ │ vahi 'si] vattesi C2, pāhisi Eᵉ, jahasi Sᵉ │ me] te Cᵉ │ **11.12** taṃ¹] tvaṃ C1 C2 │ nāgariko] āgāriko Eᵉ │ ākaḍḍhitvāna] ākaḍḍhitvā C5 │ codayissanti] corayissanti B3, modayissanti C3 C4 C5 │ **11.13** jīv[i]hisī] Eᵉ Sᵉ, jīvihisi Bᵉ, jīvāhisī (a?) C4 C5, jīvissasī Cᵉ │ tuvaṃ] tvaṃ C1 C2 │ **11.14** tidhappabhinnaṃ] tidhappabhinna- B2 C3 C4, tidhāpabhinnaṃ Bᵉ, tippabhinna- C5, tidhāpabhinna- Cᵉ │ bali] bahi B1, balī B2 Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ │ upāgantvā] upagantvā B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, upānto B3 │ niharate] nīharate Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Sᵉ │ **11.15** yūthā] yuvā C3 C4 C5 │ vinissa[ṭ]o] B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, vinissano B3, vinissavo (a?) C3 C4 C5 │ pajjhāyanto] sajjhāyanto B3, ojjhāyanto C1 C2 Eᵉ │ pavedhati] padhāvati C1 C2 Eᵉ, pamodhati C5, pavadheti Cᵉ │ **11.16** nīharissanti] niharissanti B1 B2 B3 C2 S1 │ dummati] dummatiṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ nissa[ṭ]o] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, nissavo (a?) C3 C4 C5 │ sukhaṃ] sukha- C1 C2 │ **11.17** soka-] bhoga- B1 │ ḍayhas[i]] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1, ḍayhasī (a) C1 C2 C4 C5 │ va nissaṭo] vinissaṭo B3 │ **11.18** kūṭaṃ] kutaṃ B1 B2 C1 S1 Sᵉ │ eva jhāyati] eva yāyati C2 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, ev' ajjhāyati C3 C5, eva jhāpeti Cᵉ

tathā sīlavihīno tvaṃ na jhāyissasi katthaci.

19   agāra[ṃ] vasamāno pi kathaṃ jīvihisī tuvaṃ

mattikaṃ pettikaṃ cāpi n' atthi te nihitaṃ dhanaṃ.

20   sakaṃ kammaṃ karitvāna gatte sedaṃ pamocayaṃ

evaṃ jīvihisi gehe sādhu te taṃ na ruccati.

21   evāhaṃ tattha vāremi saṃkilesagataṃ manaṃ

nānādhammakathaṃ katvā pāpacittaṃ nivārayiṃ.

22   evaṃ me viharantassa appamādavihārino

tiṃsavassasahassāni pavane me atikkamuṃ.

23   appamādarataṃ disvā uttamatthaṃ gavesakaṃ

Padumuttarasambuddho āgacchi mama santikaṃ.

24   timbarūsakavaṇṇābho appameyyo anūpamo

rūpenāsadiso Buddho ākāse caṃkamī tadā.

25   suphullo sālarājā va vijju v' abbhaghanantare

ñāṇenāsadiso Buddho ākāse caṃkamī tadā.

26   sīharājā v' asambhīto gajarājā v' adappito

lāsito vyaggharājā va ākāse caṃkamī tadā.

27   siṅginikkhasavaṇṇābho khadiraṅgārasannibho

maṇi yathā jotiraso ākāse caṃkamī tadā. [69]

28   visuddhakelāsanibho puṇṇamāye va candimā

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na jhāyissasi] na jhāpessasi C^e, n' eva yāyasi E^e, na yāyissasi S1 S^e │ **11.19** agāra[ṃ]] B1 B2 B^e C^e, agārā B3 C1 C2 E^e S^e, agāra (a?) C3 C4 C5, anāgārā S1 │ jīvihisī] jīvihisi B1 B^e, jīvit' isī C3 C4 C5 │ tuvaṃ] tvaṃ C1 C2 │ mattikaṃ] pattikaṃ S1 │ nihitaṃ] nicitaṃ C1 C2 E^e │ **11.20** sakaṃ] sayaṃ B2 B^e C^e, saka- S1 │ jīvihisi] jīvihisī C1 E^e S^e, jīvit' asi C3 C5 │ **11.21** vāremi] dhāremi (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 E^e │ saṃkilesagataṃ] sakaṃ kilesagataṃ B1, yaṃ kilesaṃ gataṃ C3 C4 C5 │ manaṃ] pana B1 │ pāpa-] pāpā B1 B2 B3 B^e C3 C^e S1 S^e │ **11.22** appamāda-] apamāda- B1 │ pavane] vipine B2 B^e C^e │ **11.23** appamāda-] appamāde (=) B1 B3, appamādena S1 S^e │ -rataṃ] maṃ S^e │ uttamatthaṃ] uttamattha- (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 C^e, uttamattaṃ C2 │ **11.24** anūpamo] anupamo B1 B2 B3 C2 C4 E^e │ rūpenāsadiso] rūpen' asadiso C4 C^e │ caṃkamī] caṅkami B1 B3 S1, caṃkami C2 │ **11.25** vijju] vijjū B^e C1 C^e S1 │ ñāṇenāsadiso] ñāṇen' asadiso B3 │ caṃkamī] caṅkami B1 B3, caṃkami C2 │ **11.26** sīha-] siṅga- C3 C5 │ lāsito] lasito C^e, abhīto S^e │ caṃkamī] caṅkami B1 B3 S1 │ **11.27** siṅgi-] siṅgī- B1 B^e E^e S1, siṃgī- C^e │ -savaṇṇābho] -suvaṇṇābho (=) B1 C3 C4 C5 C^e E^e S1 S^e │ khadiraṅgāra-] khadiragāra- B3 │ caṃkamī] caṅkami B1 B3 S1 │ **11.28** -nibho] -sannibho S^e │ -māye] -māso (=) B3 C3 C5, -māse C4 E^e

majjhantike va suriyo ākāse caṃkamī tadā.

29   disvā nabhe caṃkamantaṃ evaṃ cintes' ahaṃ tadā

      devo nu kho ayaṃ satto udāhu manujo ayaṃ.

30   na me suto vā diṭṭho vā mahiyā ediso naro

      api mantapadaṃ atthi ayaṃ satthā bhavissati.

31   evāhaṃ cintayitvāna sakaṃ cittaṃ pasādayiṃ

      nānāpupphañ ca gandhañ ca sannipātetv' ahaṃ tadā

32   pupphāsanaṃ paññāpetvā sādhucittaṃ manoramaṃ

      narasārathinaṃ aggaṃ idaṃ vacanam abraviṃ.

33   idaṃ me āsanaṃ vīra paññattaṃ tav' anucchavaṃ

      hāsayanto mamaṃ cittaṃ nisīda kusumāsane.

34   nisīdi tattha bhagavā asambhīto va kesarī

      sattarattiṃdivaṃ Buddho pavare kusumāsane.

35   namassamāno aṭṭhāsi[ṃ] sattarattindivaṃ ahaṃ

      vuṭṭhahitvā samādhimhā satthā loke anuttaro

36   mama kammaṃ pakittento idaṃ vacanam abravi

      bhāvehi Buddhānussatiṃ bhāvanānaṃ anuttaraṃ.

37   imaṃ satiṃ bhāvayitvā pūrayissasi mānasaṃ

      tiṃsakappasahassāni devaloke ramissasi.

38   asītikkhattuṃ devindo devarajjaṃ karissasi

      sahassakkhattuṃ cakkavatti rājā raṭṭhe bhavissasi.

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majjhantike] majjhanhike Bᵉ, majjhantiko C1 C2 Eᵉ │ va²] ca C4 │ suriyo] sūriyo B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ │ caṃkamī] caṅkami B1 B3 S1 │ **11.29** caṃkamantaṃ] *adds* ca C1 C2 │ devo] devā C5 S1 │ ayaṃ²] assa B3 │ **11.30** vā¹] va Sᵉ │ mahiyā] mahiyaṃ C5 │ **11.31** -pupphañ ca] -puppha- C1 C2 │ sannipātetv' ahaṃ] sannipātetvāhaṃ B1, sannipātes' ahaṃ B2 Bᵉ Sᵉ │ **11.32** paññāpetvā] paññapetvā B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ, paṃñapetvā C1 C2 │ -sārathinaṃ] -sārathīnaṃ B1 C1 Eᵉ, -sārajīnaṃ C3, -sārajinaṃ C5 │ abraviṃ] abruviṃ C1 │ **11.33** anucchavaṃ] anucchaviṃ Cᵉ │ mamaṃ] mama (=) B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 S1 Sᵉ │ nisīda] nisīdi S1 │ **11.34** asambhīto] achambhito B2 │ kesarī] kesari B1 B3 S1 │ -rattiṃ-] -ratti- B1 │ **11.35** aṭṭhāsi[ṃ]] Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, aṭṭhāsi (a) C1 C3 C4 C5 │ -rattin-] -ratti- B1 B2 │ **11.36** idaṃ] imaṃ B3 C3 │ **11.37** pūrayissasi] pūrayissati B2 │ -sahassāni] -sahassamhi C5 │ ramissasi] ramissati C3 C4 C5 │ **11.38** karissasi] karissati C5, kassasi S1 │ -kkhattuṃ²] -khattuṃ B2 │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ bhavissasi] bhavissati B1 C1 C2 C5 S1

39   padesarajjaṃ vipulaṃ gaṇanā[t]o asaṃkhayaṃ
        anubhossasi taṃ sabbaṃ Buddhānussatiyā phalaṃ.

40   bhavābhave saṃsaranto mahābhogaṃ labhissasi
        bhoge te ūnatā n' atthi Buddhānussatiyā phalaṃ.

41   kappasatasahassamhi Okkākakulasambhavo
        Gotamo nāma gottena satthā loke bhavissati.

42   asītikoṭi[ṃ] chaḍḍetvā dāse kammakare bahu
        Gotamassa bhagavato sāsane pabbajissasi.

43   ārādhayitvā sambuddhaṃ Gotamaṃ Sakyapuṅgavaṃ
        Subhūti nāma nāmena hessati satthu sāvako. [70]

44   bhikkhusaṃghe nisīditvā dakkhiṇeyyaguṇa[ṃ]hi taṃ
        tathāraṇavihāre ca dvīsu aggaṃ ṭhapessati.

45   idaṃ vatvāna sambuddho Jalajuttamanāyako
        nabhaṃ abbhuggamī vīro haṃsarājā va ambare.

46   sāsito lokanāthena namassitvā Tathāgataṃ
        sadā bhāvesiṃ mudito Buddhānussatim uttamaṃ.

47   tena kammena sukatena cetanāpaṇidhīhi ca
        jahitvā mānusaṃ dehaṃ Tāvatiṃsaṃ agañch' ahaṃ.

48   asītikkhattuṃ devindo devarajjam akārayi[ṃ]
        sahassakkhattuṃ rājā ca cakkavatti ahos' ahaṃ.

11.39 -nā[t]o] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C1 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -nātho (a) C2 C3 C4 C5 │ asaṃkhayaṃ] asaṅkhiyaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, asaṃkhiyaṃ C2 │ phalaṃ] balaṃ B1 B3 │ **11.40** labhissasi] labhissati B1 │ bhoge] bhogā B1 │ te] hi Sᵉ │ ūnatā] onatā B1 S1 Sᵉ │ phalaṃ] balaṃ B1 │ **11.41** kappa-] kappe B1 │ gottena] nāmena (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ **11.42** asīti-] asītiṃ C3 C4 C5 │ -koṭi[ṃ]] Bᵉ C3 Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -koṭi (a) B1 B2 B3 C1 C2 C4 C5 │ chaḍḍetvā] chaddetvā B1, chaṭṭetvā B3 │ dāse] dāsa- S1 Sᵉ │ bahu] bahū B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, bahuṃ C1 C2 │ pabbajissasi] pabbajissati B1 │ **11.43** ārādhayitvā] ārādhayitvāna Sᵉ │ Sakya-] Sākya- B3 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ hessati] hessasi C1 C2 Eᵉ Sᵉ │ **11.44** dakkhiṇeyya-] -dakkhiṇeyye C1 C2 │ -guṇa[ṃ]hi] Bᵉ, -guṇahi (a?) B1 S1, -guṇe hi B2 B3 C3 C5, -gaṇamhi C1 C2 Eᵉ Sᵉ │ tathāraṇa-] tathā loka- S1 │ -vihāre ca] -vihārena B2 │ aggaṃ] agge B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ ṭhapessati] thapessati S1 │ **11.45** Jalajuttama-] Jala-d-uttama- C1 │ -uttama-] -uttara- Cᵉ │ -nāyako] -nāmako B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ abbhuggamī] abbhuggami B1 B3 S1 Sᵉ │ vīro] dhīro Cᵉ │ **11.46** bhāvesiṃ] bhāvemi B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **11.47** jahitvā] jahitvāna B1 │ **11.48** akārayi[ṃ]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, akārayi (a) B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 │ rājā] *omits* B1 │ ca] *omits* B1 C4 │ -vatti] *adds* rājā B1, -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ

49   padesarajjaṃ vipulaṃ gaṇanā[t]o asaṃkhayaṃ
      anubhomi susampattiṃ Buddhānussatiyā phalaṃ.

50   bhavābhave saṃsaranto mahābhogaṃ labhām' ahaṃ
      bhoge me ūnatā n' atthi Buddhānussatiyā phalaṃ.

51   satasahasse ito kappe yaṃ kammam akariṃ tadā
      duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi Buddhānussatiyā phalaṃ.

52   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime
      chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Subhūti thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti. Subhūtittherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.12. Upavāṇa

1   Padumuttaro nāma jino sabbadhammāna pāragū
      jalitvā aggikkhandho va sambuddho parinibbuto.

2   mahājanā samāgamma pūjayitvā Tathāgataṃ
      citakaṃ katvā sukataṃ sarīraṃ abhiropayuṃ.

3   sarīrakiccaṃ katvāna dhātuṃ tattha samānayuṃ
      sadevamānusā sabbe Buddhathūpaṃ akaṃsu te. [71]

4   paṭhamā kañcanamayā dutiyāsi maṇimayā

11.49 -nā[t]o] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C1 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, nātho (a) C2 C3 C4 C5 | asaṃkhayaṃ] asaṅkhiyaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, asaṃkhiyaṃ C2 | **11.50** ūnatā] onatā S1 Sᵉ | phalaṃ] balaṃ B3 | **11.51** -sahasse] -sahass' B2 Bᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ | phalaṃ] balaṃ B3 | **11.52** catasso…sacchikatā] pe Cᵉ | vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ C5 S1 Sᵉ | chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ | ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | **11.close** thero] -tthero C1 C2 C4 Cᵉ Eᵉ | -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassa apadānaṃ B1 S1, -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ | samattaṃ] paṭhamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | **12.1** pāra-] para- C3 | -gū] -gu C1 C2 C5 | -kkhandho] -khando B2 | **12.2** citakaṃ] citaṃ B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ | katvā] katvāna B1 B2 Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Sᵉ, katvāna ca S1 | **12.3** sarīra-] sarīraṃ Eᵉ | katvāna] katvā C1 C2 | dhātuṃ] dhātū Eᵉ | -mānusā] -manussā Sᵉ | -thūpaṃ] -dhūpaṃ B3 | **12.4** dutiyāsi] dutiyā pi B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ Sᵉ | maṇi-] maṇī- Bᵉ C2 C3 Cᵉ Sᵉ

tatiyā rūpiyamayā catutth[ī] phalikāmayā.

5   tattha pañcam[ī] kācehi lohitaṃkamayā ahu

chaṭṭhā masāragallassa sabbaratanamayūpari.

6   jaṃghā maṇimayā āsi vedikā ratanāmayā

sabbasovaṇṇamayo thūpo uddhaṃ yojanam uggato.

7   devā tattha samāgantvā ekato mantayuṃ tadā

mayam pi thūpaṃ karissāma lokanāthassa tādino.

8   dhātu āve[ṇ]ikā n' atthi sarīraṃ ekapiṇḍitaṃ

imamhi Buddhathūpamhi karissāma kañcukaṃ mayaṃ.

9   devā sattahi ratanehi aññaṃ vaḍḍhesu yojanaṃ

thūpo dviyojanubbedho timiraṃ byapahanti so.

10   nāgā tattha samāgantvā ekato mantayuṃ tadā

manussā c' eva devā ca Buddhathūpaṃ akaṃsu te.

11   mā no pamattā assumhā appamattā sadevakā

mayam pi thūpaṃ karissāma lokanāthassa tādino.

12   indanīlaṃ mahānīlaṃ atho jotirasaṃ maṇiṃ

ekato sannipātetvā Buddhathūpaṃ achādayuṃ.

13   sabbaṃ maṇimayaṃ āsi tāvatā Buddhacetiyaṃ

tīṇi yojanam ubbiddhaṃ ālokakaraṇaṃ tadā.

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rūpiya-] rūpi- C1 C2 C4 C5 | catutth[ī]] B1 Bᵉ, catutthi (a?) B2 B3 C3 C4 C5, catutthā C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ | phalikā-] phalika- B3, pañcakā- C1 | **12.5** tattha] tathā B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | pañcam[ī] kācehi] C3 Eᵉ, pañcami kācehi (a) B2 B3 C4 C5, pañcamiyā bhūmi Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ, pañcamiyā nemi C1 C2, pañcamiyā nemī Cᵉ | lohitaṃka-] lohitaṅga- B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ | sabba-] sabbaṃ B3 C3 C4 C5 | -ratana-] -ratna- B2 | -ūpari] upari B1 Eᵉ | **12.6** ratanā-] ratana- B2 Bᵉ C2 Eᵉ | -sovaṇṇamayo] -soṇṇamayo B1 B2 Bᵉ Sᵉ, -sovaṇṇayo C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ | **12.7** karissāma] kassāma B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ | **12.8** āve[ṇ]ikā] B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, āvenikā (a) B3 C1 C2 C3 C4 | -thūpamhi] -dhūpamhi B3, -thūpasmiṃ S1 Sᵉ | karissāma] kassāma (=) B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ | kañcukaṃ] kañcanaṃ C4 | **12.9** sattahi] satta- Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ | ratanehi] ratnehi B2 Bᵉ | vaḍḍhesu] vaḍḍhesuṃ C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ | dvi-] *omits* C1 C3 C4 C5 | -ubbedho] -ubbiddho Eᵉ | so] yo C2 Sᵉ | **12.11** assumhā] āsu 'mhā B1, assumha B2 Bᵉ C1 C2 C5 Cᵉ | appamattā] appamatta- C1 C2 | sadevakā] sadevatā C1 C2 Eᵉ | karissāma] kassāma B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, karitvāna C4 | **12.12** -rasaṃ] -rasa- B3 S1 | achādayuṃ] acchādayuṃ B3 C1 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ | **12.13** sabbaṃ] sabba- C1 | tīṇi… ubbiddhaṃ] tiyojanasamubbiddhaṃ Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ, tiṃsayojana-m-ubbedhaṃ Cᵉ

14   kumbhaṇḍā ca samāgantvā ekato mantayuṃ tadā

        manussā devā nāgā ca Buddhathūpaṃ akaṃsu te.

15   mā no pamattā assumhā appamattā sadevakā

        mayam pi thūpaṃ karissāma lokanāthassa tādino.

16   sabbaṃ maṇimayaṃ thūpaṃ akaruṃ tārakañcukaṃ

        yojanaṃ te pi vaḍḍhesuṃ āyataṃ Buddhacetiyaṃ.

17   catuyojanam ubbiddho Buddhathūpo virocati

        obhāseti disā sabbā sataraṃsīva uggato. [72]

18   yakkhā tattha samāgantvā ekato mantayuṃ tadā

        manussā c' eva devā ca nāgā ca garuḷā tathā

19   paccekaṃ Buddhaseṭṭhassa akaṃsu thūpam uttamaṃ

        mā no pamattā assumhā appamattā sadevakā

20   mayam pi thūpaṃ karissāma lokanāthassa tādino

        phalikā chādayissāma āyataṃ Buddhacetiyaṃ.

21   yojanan te pi vaḍḍhesuṃ āyataṃ Buddhacetiyaṃ

        pañcayojanam ubbiddho thūpo obhāsati tadā.

12.14 kumbhaṇḍā] garuḷā B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ │ manussā] manussa- C1 C2, mānusā Cᵉ │ devā] deva- B2 B3 Sᵉ │ **12.15** assumhā] ahumhā B1, assumha B2 Bᵉ C1 C2 C5 │ karissāma] kassāma B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **12.16** sabbaṃ] sabba- B3 C3 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -mayaṃ] -maya- B1 C4 │ thūpaṃ] thūpe Cᵉ │ akaruṃ tāra-] akar' uttara- Cᵉ Eᵉ │ tāra-] te ca B2 Bᵉ, tāva S1 Sᵉ │ āyataṃ] āyātaṃ B1 S1 │ **12.17** -yojanam ubbiddho] -yojana-m-ubbedho B1 S1 Sᵉ │ obhāseti] obhāsati B3 │ -raṃsīva] -raṃsi va B2 C1 C2, -raṃsī ca C3 │ **12.18** yakkhā tattha] kumbhaṇḍā ca B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ │ c' eva] navā C1 C2 │ devā] nāgā B1 │ nāgā] devā B1 │ tathā] tadā S1 Sᵉ │ **12.19** assumhā] ahumhā B1, assumha B2 Bᵉ │ **12.20** karissāma] kassāma (=) B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 Cᵉ │ phalikā] ratanehi B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ, phalikāhi C3 C5 │ chādayissāma] sādayissāma B1, chādessāma B2 Bᵉ │ āyataṃ] āyāgaṃ C1 C2, āyātaṃ S1 │ **12.21** pi] hi S1 │ āyataṃ] āyāgaṃ C1 C2, āyātiṃ C4, āyātaṃ S1 │ -yojanam ubbiddho] -yojana-m-ubbedho S1 Sᵉ │ obhāsati] obhāsate B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, obhāsatī C2 C5 Sᵉ │ tadā] sadā B1 B3 S1, *adds* yakkhā tattha samāgantvā ekato mantayuṃ tadā / manussā [manujā Sᵉ] devā [deva- Cᵉ, devatā Sᵉ] nāgā ca [kumbhaṇḍā Sᵉ] garuḷā kumbha-aṇḍakā [tadā Sᵉ] // paccekaṃ Buddhaseṭṭhassa akaṃsu thūpam uttamaṃ / mā no pamattā assumha [assumhā Cᵉ Sᵉ] appamattā sadevakā // mayam pi thūpaṃ kassāma [karissāma Sᵉ] lokanāthassa tādino / phalikāhi [phalikā Sᵉ] chādessāma [chādayissāma Cᵉ Sᵉ] āyataṃ Buddhacetiyaṃ // yojanaṃ te pi vaḍḍhesuṃ āyataṃ Buddhacetiyaṃ / cha yojanāni ubbiddho thūpo obhāsate [obhāsatī B2 Sᵉ] tadā // B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ

22   gandhabbā ca samāgantvā ekato mantayuṃ tadā

        manujā devatā nāgā kumbhaṇḍāgaruḷā tathā

23   sabbe akaṃsu Buddhathūpaṃ mayam ettha akārakā

        mayam pi thūpaṃ karissāma lokanāthassa tādino.

24   vediyo satta katvāna yāva jaṃghā akaṃsu te

        sabbasovaṇṇamayaṃ thūpaṃ gandhabbā kārayuṃ tadā.

25   sattayojanam ubbiddho thūpo obhāsate tadā

        rattindivā na ñāyanti āloko hoti sabbadā.

26   atibhonti na tassābhā candas[ū]rā satārakā

        samantā yojanasate padīpo pi na pajjali.

27   tena kālena ye keci thūpaṃ pūjenti mānusā

        na te thūpaṃ āruhanti ambare ukkhipanti te.

28   devehi ṭhapito yakkho Abhisammatanāmako

        dhajaṃ vā pupphadāmaṃ vā abhiropeti uttari.

29   na te passanti taṃ yakkhaṃ dāmaṃ passanti gacchato

        evaṃ passitvā gacchantā sabbe gacchanti suggatiṃ.

30   visaddhā ye pāvacane pasannā ye ca sāsane

        pāṭihīraṃ daṭṭhukāmā thūpaṃ pūjenti mānusā.

31   nagare Haṃsavatiyā ahosi[ṃ] varako tadā

        āmoditaṃ janaṃ disvā evaṃ cintes' ahaṃ tadā.

12.22 kumbhaṇḍā-…tathā] garuḷā kumbha-yakkhakā B2 Bᵉ Sᵉ │ -garuḷā] guyhakā C1 C2 Eᵉ │ **12.23** akaṃsu] katvā B1, katā B2 C1 C2 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, 'kaṃsu Bᵉ │ -thūpaṃ] -thūpā S1 │ karissāma] kassāma (=) B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 Cᵉ │ **12.24** vediyo] vedikā B3 C3 C4 C5 │ katvāna] katvānaṃ C3, katvā S1 │ yāva] chava- C1 C2 │ jaṃghā…te] chattam āropayiṃsu B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ -sovaṇṇamayaṃ] -soṇṇamayaṃ B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, -sovaṇṇamaya- B3, -sovaṇṇayaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ **12.25** -yojanam ubbiddho] -yojana-m-ubbedho Sᵉ │ tadā] sadā B3 │ rattin-] ratti- B2 │ na ñāyanti] na paññāyanti B1, n' aññāyanti B3, paṃñāyanti C2 │ āloko] ālokā B2 S1 Sᵉ │ hoti] honti B2 S1 Sᵉ │ **12.26** atibhonti] abhibonti Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ, atihonti C3 C5 Eᵉ │ na[1]] hi C1 C2 Eᵉ │ -s[ū]rā] Bᵉ C1 C3 Cᵉ Sᵉ, -surā (a) B1 B3 C2 C4 C5 Eᵉ S1, -r-ābhā B2 │ satārakā] sakārakā C1 C2, tārakā C5 │ pi na] pana S1 Sᵉ │ **12.27** āruhanti] ārūhanti B2 │ ukkhipanti] upakkhipanti B3 │ **12.28** uttari] uttariṃ C5 │ **12.29** gacchantā] gacchantaṃ B1 B2, gacchanti S1 Sᵉ │ suggatiṃ] sugatiṃ S1 │ **12.30** visaddhā] viruddhā B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ, visuddhā B3 │ pāṭihīraṃ] pāṭiheraṃ Bᵉ │ **12.31** ahosi[ṃ]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, ahosi (a?) B1 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ varako] bhatako Bᵉ Cᵉ, vadako C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ

32 uḷāro bhagavā-n-eso yassa dhātughar' edisaṃ

imā ca janatā tuṭṭhā kāraṃ kubbanti tappare.

33 aham pi kāraṃ karissāmi lokanāthassa tādino

tassa dhammesu dāyādo bhavissāmi anāgate. [73]

34 sudhotaṃ rajakenāhaṃ uttareyyapaṭaṃ mama

veḷagge ālaggetvāna dhajaṃ ukkhipi ambare.

35 Abhisammatako gayha ambare 'hāsi me dhajaṃ

vāteritaṃ dhajaṃ disvā bhiyyo hāsaṃ janes' ahaṃ.

36 tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā samaṇaṃ upasaṃkamiṃ

taṃ bhikkhuṃ abhivādetvā vipākaṃ pucch' ahaṃ dhaje.

37 so me kathesi ānandi pītisañjananaṃ mama

tassa dhajassa vipākaṃ anubhossasi sabbadā.

38 hatth[ī] assā rathā patt[ī] senā ca caturaṅgin[ī]

parivāressanti taṃ niccaṃ dhajadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

39 saṭṭh[i]turiyasahassāni bheriyo samalaṃkatā

parivāressanti taṃ niccaṃ dhajadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

40 cha[ḷ]āsītisahassāni nāriyo samalaṃkatā

vicittavatthābharaṇā āmuttamaṇikuṇḍalā

41 āḷārapamhā hasulā susaññā tanumajjhimā

parivāressanti taṃ niccaṃ dhajadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

12.32 uḷāro] oḷāro S1 Sᵉ │ -n-eso] h' eso Bᵉ Cᵉ, eso S1 Sᵉ │ ca] hi C1 C2 Eᵉ │ kubbanti tappare] kubbant' anappakaṃ Cᵉ │ **12.33** karissāmi] kassāmi (=) B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ │ **12.34** veḷagge] veḷugge C3 C4 C5 Sᵉ │ ālaggetvāna] ālagetvāna B1 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ ukkhipi] ukkhipim B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **12.35** Abhisammatako] Abhisammato S1 │ bhiyyo] bhīyo C4 Cᵉ, bhīyyo C5 │ **12.36** samaṇaṃ] sumanaṃ C1 C2, samanaṃ C3 C5 │ **12.37** ānandi] ānanda- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, ānandiṃ (=) C3 C4 C5, ānandaṃ Eᵉ │ anubhossasi] anubhosi B3, anubhossati C5 │ **12.38** hatth[ī]] B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, hatthi (a) B1 B2 C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 S1 │ patt[ī]] Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, patti (a) B1 B3 C1 C3 C4 C5 S1 │ -aṅgin[ī]] B2 Bᵉ C2 C3 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, -aṅgini (a) B1 C4 C5 S1, -aṃgini C1 │ parivāressanti] parivārenti C1 C2 Eᵉ │ **12.39** saṭṭh[i]-] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, saṭṭhiṃ (a) C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ, saṭṭhī S1 Sᵉ │ -turiya-] -tūriya- B2 Bᵉ │ bheriyo] bherīyo B2 │ parivāressanti] parivārenti Eᵉ │ **12.40** cha[ḷ]-] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, chal- (a) C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ vicitta-] vicitra- S1 │ **12.41** āḷāra-] aḷāra- Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -pamhā] -mukhā Sᵉ │ -saññā] -saṇhā Cᵉ │ parivāressanti] parivārenti B1 C1 C2 Eᵉ

42   tiṃsakappasahassāni devaloke ramissasi

      asītikkhattuṃ devindo devarajjaṃ karissasi.

43   sahassakkhattuṃ rājā va cakkavatti bhavissasi

      padesarajjaṃ vipulaṃ gaṇanā[t]o asaṃkhayaṃ.

44   kappasatasahassamhi Okkākakulasambhavo

      Gotamo nāma gottena satthā loke bhavissati.

45   devalokā cavitvāna sukkamūlena codito

      puññakammena saṃyutto Brahmabandhu bhavissati.

46   asītikoṭiṃ chaḍḍetvā dāse kammakare bahu

      Gotamassa bhagavato sāsane pabbajissasi.

47   ārādhayitvā sambuddhaṃ Gotamaṃ Sakyapuṅgavaṃ

      Upavāno ti nāmena hessasi satthu sāvako.

48   satasahasse kataṃ kammaṃ phalaṃ dassesi me idha

      sumutto saravego va kilese jhāpayī mama.

49   cakkavattissa santassa catuddīpissarassa me

      tīṇiyojanasāmantā ussissanti dhajā sadā. [74]

50   satasahasse ito kappe yaṃ kammam akariṃ tadā

      duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi dhajadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

51   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

      chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

12.42 ramissasi] ramissati C1 C2 S1 │ karissasi] karissati C1 C2 C5 S1 │ **12.43** va] ca B2 Bᵉ C4 Cᵉ, *omits* C1 C2 Eᵉ, pi S1 Sᵉ │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ bhavissasi] bhavissati B3 C1 C2 C5 S1 │ -nā[t]o] B2 B3 Bᵉ C1 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -nātho (a) C2 C3 C4 C5 │ asaṃkhayaṃ] asaṅkhiyaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, asaṃkhiyaṃ C2 │ **12.44** Okkāka-] Ukkāka- B3 │ gottena] nāmena C5 S1 Sᵉ │ **12.45** bhavissati] bhavissasi B1 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ **12.46** chaḍḍetvā] chaṭṭetvā B1 B3 │ dāse] dāsa- Sᵉ │ -kare] -kāre S1 │ bahu] bahū B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ pabbajissasi] pabbajissati C5 │ **12.47** ārādhayitvā] ārādhayitvāna B1 S1 │ Sakya-] Sākya- S1 │ hessasi] hessati B1 B2 C2 S1 │ satthu] Buddha- B2 │ sāvako] *adds* ti Cᵉ │ **12.48** kataṃ] kata- C2 Eᵉ │ dassesi] dasseti S1 │ sumutto] sumutta- Cᵉ │ va] ca C1 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ jhāpayī] jhāpayi (=) B1 B3 C3 C5, jhāpayiṃ B2 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ mama] ahaṃ B1, mamaṃ C1 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **12.49** catu-] cātu- C2 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ -ddīpissarassa] -dīpissarassa B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ, -ddīpassarassa C1 │ tīṇiyojana-] tiyojanāni B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ -sāmantā] samantā Bᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ussissanti] ussīyanti Cᵉ │ **12.50** -sahasse] -sahass' B2 Bᵉ │ **12.51** catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Upavāṇo thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti. Upavāṇattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.13. Tīṇisaraṇāgamaniya

1 nagare Bandhumatiyā mātupaṭṭhāyako ahuṃ
   andhā mātā pitā mayhaṃ te posemi ahaṃ tadā.

2 rahogato nisīditvā evaṃ cintes' ahaṃ tadā
   posento mātāpitaro pabbajjaṃ na labhām' ahaṃ.

3 tamandhakārapihitā tividhaggīhi ḍayhare
   etādise bhave jāte n' atthi koci vināyako.

4 Buddho loke samuppanno dippati dāni sāsanaṃ
   sakkā uddharituṃ attā puññakāmena jantunā.

5 uggayha tīṇi saraṇe paripuṇṇāni gopayaṃ
   tena kammena sukatena paṭimokkhāmi duggatiṃ.

6 Nisabho nāma samaṇo Buddhassa aggasāvako
   tam ahaṃ upagantvāna saraṇāgamanaṃ gahiṃ.

7 vassasatasahassāni āyu vijjati tāvade
   tāvatā saraṇāgamanaṃ paripuṇṇaṃ agopayiṃ.

12.close gāthāyo] gāthā C4 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ S1 │ samattaṃ] dutiyaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **13.1** Bandhumatiyā] Candavatiyā B2 Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, Bandhamatiyā B3, Bandhuvatiyā C4 │ mātupaṭṭhāyako] mātu-upaṭṭhāko Bᵉ, matupaṭṭhānako S1 Sᵉ │ ahuṃ] ahaṃ B1 S1 Sᵉ │ andhā] andha- C1 C4 S1 │ te posemi] posemi te B1 │ posemi] posesiṃ (=) C3 C4 C5 │ **13.2** -pitaro] -pitare Cᵉ │ **13.3** tamandha-] tamanta- B1 B3 B4, mahandha- B2 Bᵉ │ -kārapihitā] -kārāpihitā B1 C1 C2 Eᵉ │ -aggīhi] -aggī pi C1 C2 Eᵉ │ etādise] etādiso C5 │ bhave] bhaye C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ jāte] jāto C5 │ **13.4** dippati] dibbati B2 B3 │ dāni] jina- C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ uddharituṃ] uttarituṃ (=) B3 C3 C5, uttaritum Eᵉ │ attā] atta- C1 C2 C5 │ -kāmena] -kammena B1 C1 C2 Eᵉ │ **13.5** gopayaṃ] gopayiṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ paṭimokkhāmi] parimokkhāmi C1 C2 Eᵉ │ **13.6** upagantvāna] gantvāna C1 │ saraṇāgamanaṃ] saraṇagamanaṃ B2 B3 Bᵉ C5 │ gahiṃ] gaṇhiṃ S1 │ **13.7** āyu] āyuṃ B3 S1 Sᵉ │ vijjati] vajati C2 │ tāvatā] tāva B2 │ saraṇāgamanaṃ] saraṇagamanaṃ B2 B3 Bᵉ C3

8   carime vattamānamhi saraṇan taṃ anussariṃ

        tena kammena sukatena Tāvatiṃsaṃ agacch' ahaṃ.

9   devalokagato santo puññakammasamāhito

        yaṃ desaṃ upapajjāmi aṭṭha hetū labhām' ahaṃ. [75]

10   disāsu pūjito homi tikkhapañño bhavām' ahaṃ

        sabbe devānuvattanti amitabhogaṃ labhām' ahaṃ.

11   suvaṇṇavaṇṇo sabbattha paṭikanto bhavām' ahaṃ

        mittānaṃ acalo homi yaso accuggato mamaṃ.

12   asītikkhattuṃ devindo devarajjam akārayiṃ

        dibbasukhaṃ anubhaviṃ accharāhi purakkhato.

13   pañcasattatikkhattuñ ca cakkavatti ahos' ahaṃ

        padesarajjaṃ vipulaṃ gaṇanā[t]o asaṃkhayaṃ.

14   pacchime bhave sampatte puññakammasamāhito

        pure Sāvatthiyaṃ jāto mahāsāle su-aḍḍhake.

15   nagarā nikkhamitvāna dārakehi purakkhato

        sahasā khiḍḍasamaṅgī 'haṃ saṃghārāmaṃ upāgamiṃ.

16   tatth' addasāsiṃ samaṇaṃ vippamuttaṃ nirūpadhiṃ

        so me dhammam adesesi saraṇañ ca adāsi me.

17   so 'haṃ sutvāna saraṇaṃ saraṇaṃ me anussariṃ

        ekāsane nisīditvā arahattaṃ apāpuṇiṃ.

18   jātiyā sattavassena arahattaṃ apāpuṇiṃ

13.8 carime] cariye S1 │ 13.9 -loka-] -loke (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ yaṃ] *adds* yaṃ S1 Sᵉ │ upapajjāmi] upagacchāmi Cᵉ │ 13.10 amita-] amitaṃ B2 │ 13.11 suvaṇṇavaṇṇo] *adds* va B3 C3 C4 C5 │ paṭikanto] paṭikkanto Eᵉ │ accuggato] abbhuggato B1 B2 Bᵉ │ mamaṃ] mama B1 C5 Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ 13.12 dibba-] dibbaṃ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ 13.13 -kkhattuñ] -khattuñ B2 B3 │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -nā[t]o] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ C1 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -nātho (a) C2 C3 C4 C5 │ asaṃkhayaṃ] asaṅkhiyaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, asaṃkhiyaṃ C1 C2 │ 13.14 pacchime] pacchima- Cᵉ │ sampatte] sampatto C4 C5 │ 13.15 nikkhamitvāna] nikkhametvā B3, nikkhametvānaṃ C3, nikkhamitvānaṃ C4 C5 │ sahasā] sahassa- B1 C1 C2 Eᵉ, hasa- B2 Bᵉ, hāsa-Cᵉ, sāyaṃ S1 Sᵉ │ khiḍḍa-] -khiḍḍā- Cᵉ Sᵉ │ -samaṅgī] -samaṅgi (=) B1 B3 C3 C5 S1 │ 'haṃ] *omits* B1 │ 13.16 addasāsiṃ] addas' āhaṃ B2 │ me¹] maṃ B2 │ 13.17 anussariṃ] anussaraṃ B3 C3 │ 13.18 sattavassena] sattame vasse B2 Bᵉ

upasampādesi sambuddho guṇam aññāya cakkhumā.

19 aparimeyye ito kappe saraṇāni agacch’ ahaṃ

tato me sukataṃ kammaṃ phalaṃ dassesi me idha.

20 sugopitaṃ me saraṇaṃ mānasaṃ suppaṇihitaṃ

anubhotvā yasaṃ sabbaṃ patto ’mhi acalaṃ padaṃ.

21 yesaṃ sotāvadhān’ atthi suṇātha mama bhāsato

atthaṃ vo kathayissāmi sāmaṃ diṭṭhaṃ padaṃ mama.

22 Buddho loke samuppanno vattate jinasāsanaṃ

amatā vāditā bheri sokasallavinodanā.

23 yathāsakena thāmena puññakkhette anuttare

adhikāraṃ kareyyātha passayissatha nibbutiṃ.

24 paggayha tīṇi saraṇe pañca sīlāni gop[i]ya

Buddhe cittaṃ pasādetvā dukkhass’ antaṃ karissatha. [76]

25 mamopamaṃ karitvāna sīlāni parigopiya

aciraṃ arahattaṃ vo sabbe pi pāpuṇissatha.

26 tevijjo iddhipatto ’mhi cetopariyakovido

sāvako te mahāvīra Saraṇo vandati satthuno.

27 aparimeyye ito kappe saraṇaṃ Buddhass’ agacch’ ahaṃ

duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi saraṇāgamane phalaṃ.

28 paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh’ ime

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upasampādesi] upasampādayī B2, upasampādayi Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ | sambuddho] maṃ Buddho B1, Buddho B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ | **13.19** aparimeyye] aparimeyy’ B2 | tato] tāva S1 Sᵉ | **13.20** suppaṇihitaṃ] suppaṇīhitaṃ Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ | **13.21** suṇātha] suṇotha B2 Bᵉ C1 Eᵉ | atthaṃ] ahaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | atthaṃ vo] atthavo B3 | sāmaṃ] samaṃ Eᵉ | diṭṭhaṃ] diṭṭha- C3 C5 | padaṃ] idaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ | mama²] mamaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ | **13.22** vāditā] katā S1 | bheri] bherī B2 Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ S1 | **13.23** passayissatha] phassayissatha Cᵉ | **13.24** gop[i]ya] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, gopaya (a) B3 C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ | dukkhass’ antaṃ] dukkhaṃ santaṃ B3 | **13.25** mamopamaṃ] sammā dhammaṃ B2 Bᵉ, mahopamaṃ C1 | karitvāna] bhāvetvāna Bᵉ | parigopiya] parigopaya B1, parigopatha S1 | **13.26** -patto] -ppatto B1 C1 C2 C5 Eᵉ | ’mhi] ’si B1 B3, pi S1 | -pariya-] -pariyāya- B1 C2, pariññāya S1 | Saraṇo] saraṇe Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, caraṇe S1 | vandati] vandāmi S1 Sᵉ | **13.27** aparimeyye] aparimeyy’ B2 | Buddhass’] Buddhaṃ S1 Sᵉ | saraṇāgamane] saraṇaṃ gamane B2 Bᵉ, saraṇagamane B3 | **13.28** catasso… -katā] pe Cᵉ | vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ

chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Tīṇisaraṇāgamaniyo thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.
Tīṇisaraṇāgamaniyatherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.14. Pañcasīlasamādāniya

1   nagare Candavatiyā bhatako ās' ahaṃ tadā
       parakammāyane yutto pabbajjaṃ na labhām' ahaṃ.

2   mahandhakārapihitā tividhaggīhi ḍayhare
       kena nu kho upāyena visaṃyutto bhave ahaṃ.

3   deyyadhammo ca me n' atthi varāko bhatako ahaṃ
       yan nūnāhaṃ pañcasīlaṃ rakkheyyaṃ paripūrayaṃ.

4   Anomadassissa munino Nisabho nāma sāvako
       tam ahaṃ upasaṃkamma pañcasikkhāpad' aggahiṃ.

5   vassasatasahassāni āyu vijjati tāvade
       tāvatā pañca sīlāni paripuṇṇāni gopayiṃ.

6   maccukāle ca sampatte devā assāsayanti maṃ
       ratho sahassayutto te mārisāyaṃ upaṭṭhito.

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chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **13.close** Tīṇi-¹] Ti- (=) B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ │ -saraṇāgamaniyo] -saraṇagamaniyo B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ, -saraṇāgamayo C3 C4 │ Tīṇi-²] Ti- (=) B1 B3 B4 Bᵉ C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ, *omits* B2 │ -saraṇāgamaniya-] Saraṇagamaniya- B2, -saraṇagamaniya- B3 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ, Tisaraṇāgamaya- C3 C4 │ -therassa apadānaṃ] -ttherassa apadānaṃ B1 C4 Sᵉ, -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ samattaṃ] tatiyaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **14.1** Candavatiyā] Haṃsāvatiyā B1 │ bhatako] bhaṭako B2, bhatiko S1 Sᵉ │ ās'] *omits* S1 │ **14.2** mahandha-] tamandha- (=) B3 C3 C4 C5, tamanta- B4 │ -kārapihitā] -kārāpihitā B1 C1 C2 Eᵉ, -kārapahitā B3 │ -aggīhi] -aggī pi C2 Eᵉ │ **14.3** varāko] bhaṭako B2 │ bhatako] dukkhito B2, bhatiko S1 Sᵉ │ -sīlaṃ] -sīle B3 C3 C4 C5 │ rakkheyyaṃ] rakkhe C5 │ **14.4** Anomadassissa] Anomadassi- Cᵉ │ munino] muni Eᵉ │ **14.5** āyu] āyuṃ B3 C1 C2 │ **14.6** -kāle ca] -kālamhi B2 Cᵉ │ ca] *omits* C1 C2, va (=) C3 C4 C5 │ sahassayutto te] sahassassa yutto Cᵉ │ mārisāyaṃ] mārisassa B2, mādisāyaṃ C3 C4 C5

7   vattante carime citte mama sīlaṃ anussariṃ

      tena kammena sukatena Tāvatiṃsaṃ agacch' ahaṃ. [77]

8   tiṃsakkhattuñ ca devindo devarajjam akārayiṃ

      dibbaṃ sukhaṃ anubhaviṃ accharāhi purakkhato.

9   pañcasattatikkhattuñ ca cakkavatti ahos' ahaṃ

      padesarajjaṃ vipulaṃ gaṇanāto asaṃkhayaṃ.

10   devalokā cavitvāna sukkamūlena codito

      pure Vesāliyaṃ jāto mahāsāle su-aḍḍhake.

11   vassupanāyike kāle dibbante jinasāsane

      mātā ca me pitā c' eva pañcasikkhāpad' aggahuṃ.

12   saha sutvān' ahaṃ sīlaṃ mama sīlaṃ anussariṃ

      ekāsane nisīditvā arahattaṃ apāpuṇiṃ.

13   jātiyā pañcavassena arahattaṃ apāpuṇiṃ

      upasampādayī Buddho guṇam aññāya cakkhumā.

14   paripuṇṇāni gopetvā pañcasikkhāpadān' ahaṃ

      aparimeyye ito kappe vinipātaṃ n' agacch' ahaṃ.

15   so 'haṃ yasam anubhaviṃ tesaṃ sīlāna vāhasā

      kappakoṭim pi kittento kittaye ekadesakaṃ.

16   pañca sīlāni gopetvā tayo het[ū] labhām' ahaṃ

      dīghāyuko mahābhogo tikkhapañño bhavām' ahaṃ.

14.7 vattante] sampatte C1 C2 Eᵉ, vattate S1 Sᵉ │ carime] parime S1 │ mama] mamaṃ Sᵉ │ sīlaṃ] cittaṃ B1 │ **14.8** tiṃsa-] ti- B1 │ kkhattuñ] -khattuñ B2 B3 │ dibbaṃ] dibba- B2 B3 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **14.9** -kkhattuñ] -khattuñ B2 │ -vatti] vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -nāto] -nātho C3 C4 C5 │ asaṃkhayaṃ] asaṅkhiyaṃ Bᵉ Eᵉ, asaṃkhiyaṃ C1 C2 Cᵉ │ **14.10** pure] pūre B1 B3 C3 │ Vesāliyaṃ] Vesāliyā C5, Sāvatthiyaṃ S1 │ -sāle] -kule B2 │ -aḍḍhake] -vaḍḍhake C3 C4 C5 │ **14.11** -upanāyike] -ūpanāyike Bᵉ C1 C2 C3 Cᵉ Sᵉ │ dibbante] dippante B1 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ ca] va C2 │ eva] evaṃ C3 C4 C5 │ **14.12** saha] sammā S1 │ sutvān'] suten' Cᵉ │ sīlaṃ[1]] sīghaṃ Cᵉ │ **14.13** pañca-] satta- B1 │ -vassena] -vasso 'haṃ Cᵉ │ upasampādayī] upasampādayi (=) B1 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 C5 Sᵉ │ **14.14** gopetvā] gopitvā C1 C2 Eᵉ │ ahaṃ[1]] ayaṃ B1 │ aparimeyye] aparimeyy' B2 │ n'…ahaṃ[2]] na gacchati B1 │ **14.15** so 'haṃ] svāhaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ yasam] sayam B2 B4 │ sīlāna] sīlānaṃ B4 C1 │ pi kittento] pakittento B1 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, pakittente C1 │ kittaye] kitteyya Cᵉ │ ekadesakaṃ] ekades' ahaṃ B1 │ **14.16** gopetvā] gopitvā C1 C2 Eᵉ │ het[ū]] Bᵉ C4 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, hetu (a) B1 B2 B3 C2 C3 C5 S1 │ bhavām' ahaṃ] bhavāmi 'haṃ Sᵉ

17   pakittento ca sabbesaṃ adhimattañ ca porisaṃ

bhavābhave saṃsaritvā ete ṭhāne labhām’ ahaṃ.

18   aparimeyyesu sīlesu vattanto jinasāvakā

bhavesu yadi rajjeyyuṃ vipāko kīdiso bhave.

19   suciṇṇaṃ me pañcasīlaṃ bhatakena tapassinā

tena sīlen’ ahaṃ ajja mocayi[ṃ] sabbabandhanā.

20   aparimeyye ito kappe pañca sīlāni gopayiṃ

duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi pañcasīlān’ idaṃ phalaṃ.

21   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh’ ime

chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Pañcasīlasamādāniyo thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.
Pañcasīlasamādāniyattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ. [78]

5.15. Annasaṃsāvaka

1   suvaṇṇavaṇṇaṃ sambuddhaṃ gacchantaṃ antarāpa[ṇ]e

kañcanagghiyasaṃkāsaṃ battiṃsavaralakkhaṇaṃ

2   Siddhatthaṃ lokapajjotaṃ appameyyaṃ anopamaṃ

alatthaṃ paramaṃ pītiṃ disvā dantaṃ jutindharaṃ.

14.17 pakittento] pakittente (=) B1 B3 C3 C5 S1 Sᵉ, saṃkittento B2 Bᵉ │ ca²] va Eᵉ │ saṃsaritvā] saritvāna C1 C2 │ **14.18** aparimeyyesu] aparimeyya- (=) B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ vattanto] vattantā B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ -sāvakā] sāvako (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ rajjeyyuṃ] rajjeyya B3 Cᵉ, rajjeyyaṃ (=) C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ **14.19** bhatakena] bhaṭakena B2 │ tapassinā] vipassinā Eᵉ │ mocayi[ṃ]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ, mocayi (a) B3 C3 C5 S1, poṭhayiṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ -bandhanā] -bandhanaṃ B1 C2 Cᵉ, -bandhunā C4 │ **14.20** aparimeyye] aparimeyy’ B2, catunavute C1 C2 │ **14.21** catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **14.close** -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ S1 │ samattaṃ] catutthaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **15.1** -vaṇṇaṃ] -vaṇṇa- B2 │ antarāpa[ṇ]e] B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, antarāpane (a) C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 S1 │ battiṃsa-] bāttiṃsa- B2 Bᵉ, dvittiṃsa- B4, dvattiṃsa- C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ **15.2** -atthaṃ] -attha- C1 C2 │ appameyyaṃ] appameyya- C4 │ paramaṃ] parama- C3 C4 C5

3   sambuddhaṃ atināmetvā bhojayin taṃ mahāmuniṃ

        muni kāruṇiko nātho anumodi mamaṃ tadā.

4   tasmiṃ mahākāruṇike paramassāsakārake

        Buddhe cittaṃ pasādetvā kappaṃ saggamhi mod' ahaṃ.

5   catunavute ito kappe yaṃ dānam adadin tadā

        duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi bhikkhādānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

6   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

        chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Annasaṃsāvako thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.
Annasaṃsāvakattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.16. Dhūpadāyaka

1   Siddhatthassa bhagavato lokajeṭṭhassa tādino

        kuṭidhūpanaṃ mayā dinnaṃ vippasannena cetasā.

2   yaṃ yaṃ yon' upapajjāmi devattaṃ atha mānusaṃ

        sabbesam pi piyo homi dhūpadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

3   catunavute ito kappe yaṃ dhūpanam adās' ahaṃ

        duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi dhūpadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

15.3 atināmetvā] abhināmetvā B2 Bᵉ Sᵉ, abhimantetvā Cᵉ, atiparināmetvā S1 │ bhojayin] bhojayan B1 C5 S1 │ muni] mahā- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ kāruṇiko] kāraṇiko B3 │ nātho] loke B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ mamaṃ] ca maṃ C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ **15.4** kappaṃ] kammaṃ C3 C5 │ mod' ahaṃ] modayaṃ B3 │ **15.5** -navute] -navut' B2, -nnavut' Bᵉ │ adadin] adadaṃ B2 │ bhikkhā-] bhikkhu- B3 │ **15.6** catasso…-katā] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **15.close** Annasaṃsāvaka-] Annasāvaka- C1 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ samattaṃ] pañcamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **16.1** Siddhatthassa] siddhassa S1 │ -dhūpanaṃ] -dhūpaṃ B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -thūpaṃ B3 │ **16.2** upapajjāmi] ūpapajjāmi C1 C2 Sᵉ │ pi] *omits* C4 │ phalaṃ] balaṃ B1 │ **16.3** -navute] -navut' B2 Eᵉ, -nnavut' Bᵉ │ dhūpanam…ahaṃ] tapanam adās' ahaṃ B3, dhūpam adadiṃ tadā Bᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, dhūpanañ c' adās' ahaṃ (=) C3 C4 C5, dhūpaṃ adadiṃ tadā Cᵉ, dhāpam adās' ahaṃ S1 │ dhūpa-] thūpa- B3

4 paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

  chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Dhūpadāyako thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Dhūpadāyakattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ. [79]

5.17. Pulinapūjaka

1 Vipassissa bhagavato bodhiyā pāda-m-uttame

  purāṇapulinaṃ chaḍḍetvā suddhaṃ pulinam ākiriṃ.

2 ekanavute ito kappe yaṃ pulinam adās' ahaṃ

  duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi pulinadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

3 tipaññāse ito kappe rājā āsiṃ janābhibhū

  Mahāpulino nāmena cakkavatti mahabbalo.

4 paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

  chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Pulinapūjako thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Pulinapūjakattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

16.4 catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **16.close** Dhūpa-] Thūpa- B3 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ samattaṃ] chaṭṭhaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **17.1** pāda-m-uttame] pādaputtame B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ │ purāṇa-] purāṇaṃ C1 C2 C4 Eᵉ Sᵉ │ chaḍḍetvā] chaṭṭetvā B1 B3, hitvā B2 Bᵉ │ suddhaṃ] suddha- B2 Bᵉ │ pulinam] puna-m- C1 C2 │ **17.2** -navute] -navut' B2 Bᵉ Eᵉ │ pulinadānass'] puḷinādānass' B1 │ **17.3** tipaññāse] tiṃsatime B2 Bᵉ │ janābhibhū] janādhibhū (=) B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C5 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, janābhibhu C1 │ -pulino] -puḷina- B2, -pulina- Bᵉ Cᵉ │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ │ mahabbalo] mahābalo (=) B3 C1 C3 C4 Eᵉ │ **17.4** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **17.close** -pūjako] -dāyako S1 │ -pūjaka-] -dāyaka- B4 S1 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ samattaṃ] sattamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

5.18. Uttiya

1   Candabhāgānadītīre suṃsumāro ahaṃ tadā

       sabhojanapasutāhaṃ nadītitthaṃ agañch' ahaṃ.

2   Siddhattho tamhi samaye sayambhū aggapuggalo

       nadi[ṃ] taritukāmo so nadītitthaṃ upāgami.

3   upāgate ca sambuddhe aham pi tatth' upāgamiṃ

       upagantvāna sambuddhaṃ imaṃ vācaṃ udīrayiṃ.

4   abhirūha mahāvīra tāressāmi ahaṃ tavaṃ

       pettikaṃ visayaṃ mayhaṃ anukampa mahāmuni.

5   mama uggajjanaṃ sutvā abhirūhi mahāmuni

       haṭṭho haṭṭhena cittena tāresiṃ lokanāyakaṃ.

6   nadiyā pārime tīre Siddhattho lokanāyako

       assāsesi maman tattha amataṃ pāpuṇissasi.

7   tamhā kāyā cavitvāna devalokaṃ agacch' ahaṃ

       dibbaṃ sukhaṃ anubhaviṃ accharāhi purakkhato.

8   sattakkhattuñ ca devindo devarajjam akās' ahaṃ

       tīṇikkhattuñ cakkavatti mahiyā issaro ahu[ṃ]. [80]

9   vivekam anuyutto 'haṃ nipako ca susaṃvuto

       dhāremi antimaṃ dehaṃ sammāsambuddhasāsane.

18.1 suṃsumāro] susumāro B1 B2 B3 B4 Bᵉ C4 ┊ -bhojana-] -gocara- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 ┊ -pasutāhaṃ]
-pasuto va B2, -ppasuto 'haṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -pasūtāhaṃ C2, -pasutāyaṃ C3 C4 C5 ┊ agañch'] āgacch' B4 ┊
18.2 tamhi] tasmiṃ B4 ┊ sayambhū] sayambhu C1 ┊ nadi[ṃ]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, nadī (a) B3 B4 C1 C2
C4 C5 ┊ upāgami] upāgamī C1 C3 Eᵉ ┊ **18.3** upāgate] upagate B1 B3, upāgatamhi B2 ┊ ca] *omits* B2 ┊
pi] hi C4 ┊ tatth'] tattha S1 ┊ **18.4** abhirūha] abhiruha C2, abhiruyha S1 Sᵉ ┊ tāressāmi] tarissāmi B2,
kārayāmi B3, tārayāmi C3 C4 C5 ┊ tavaṃ] tuvaṃ B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, tava C1, tāva C2 ┊ pettikaṃ]
pettika- S1 ┊ -muni] -mune Cᵉ ┊ **18.5** uggajjanaṃ] uggacchanaṃ B4 ┊ abhirūhi] abhiruhi B3 C1 S1 ┊
18.6 pārime] pārima- S1 ┊ assāsesi] assasesi B3 ┊ pāpuṇissasi] pāpuṇissati B3 ┊ **18.7** -lokaṃ agacch']
-lokūpako B1 ┊ agacch'] āgacch' Bᵉ C5, āgañch' C1 C2 Sᵉ ┊ dibbaṃ] dibba- B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ S1 ┊ **18.8**
-kkhattuñ²] -khattuṃ B2 Sᵉ, *adds* ca C1 C2 C5 ┊ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ ┊ ahu[ṃ]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ, ahaṃ
B1 S1 Sᵉ, ahu (a) B3 C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 ┊ **18.9** anuyutto 'haṃ] anuyuttāhaṃ C3 C4 C5 ┊ ca] va B3 ┊
antimaṃ] antima- C2

10　catunavute ito kappe tāresiṃ yaṃ narāsabhaṃ

　　duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi taraṇāya idaṃ phalaṃ.

11　paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

　　chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Uttiyo thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti. Uttiyattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.19. Ekañjalika

1　suvaṇṇavaṇṇaṃ sambuddhaṃ gacchantaṃ antarāpaṇe

　　Vipassisatthavāhaggaṃ naravīraṃ vināyakaṃ

2　adantadamanaṃ tādi[ṃ] mahāvādimahāmatiṃ

　　disvā pasanno sumano ekañjalim akās' ahaṃ.

3　ekanavute ito kappe yaṃ añjalim akariṃ tadā

　　duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi añjalissa idaṃ phalaṃ.

4　paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

　　chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

18.10 -navute] -navut' B2 Eᵉ, -nnavut' Bᵉ │ taraṇāya] tāraṇāya Cᵉ │ **18.11** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **18.close** Uttiyo] Uttariyo Cᵉ │ Uttiya-] Uttariya- Cᵉ │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ S1 │ samattaṃ] aṭṭhamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **19.1** -vaṇṇaṃ] -vaṇṇa- B2 │ Vipassi-] Vipassiṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ │ -sattha-] satta- B2, -satta- C2 │ -vīraṃ] -varaṃ B2 Bᵉ │ **19.2** adanta-] santa- B3 │ -damanaṃ] -damakaṃ Cᵉ │ tādi[ṃ]] B2 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, tādi (a) B1 B3 C2 C3 C4 C5 │ -vādi-] -vādiṃ B2 Bᵉ C1 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ -matiṃ] -muniṃ C2 Eᵉ, -patiṃ S1 │ **19.3** -navute] -navut' B2 Bᵉ Eᵉ │ yaṃ] *omits* B1 B2 │ akariṃ] kariṃ Bᵉ C5 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ **19.4** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Ekañjaliko thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Ekañjalikattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.20. Khomadāyaka

1   nagare Bandhumatiyā ahosiṃ vā[ṇ]ijo tadā

      ten' eva dāraṃ posemi ropemi bījasampadaṃ.

2   rathiyaṃ paṭipannassa Vipassissa mahesino

      ekaṃ khomaṃ mayā dinnaṃ kusalatthāya satthuno. [81]

3   ekanavute ito kappe yaṃ khomam adadin tadā

      duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi khomadānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

4   sattavīse ito kappe eko Sindhavasandano

      sattaratanasampanno catuddīpamhi issaro.

5   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

      chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Khomadāyako thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Khomadāyakattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

19.close Eka-] *omits* C1 ╎ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ ╎ samattaṃ] navamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ ╎ **20.1** Bandhumatiyā] Bandhuvatiyā C4 ╎ vā[ṇ]ijo] B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, vānijo (a) C1 C2 C3 C5 ╎ ten' eva] tena va S1 ╎ dāraṃ] dārā C3 C4 C5 ╎ **20.2** rathiyaṃ] rathiyā C4, vīthiyaṃ Sᵉ ╎ mayā] mahā- C3 C4 C5 ╎ **20.3** -navute] -navut' B2 Bᵉ ╎ yaṃ] *adds* yaṃ C2 ╎ **20.4** -vīse] -rase B2 Bᵉ ╎ eko] eso (=) B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 S1 ╎ -sandano] -sandhano B2 Bᵉ ╎ catu-] cātu- C2 Eᵉ Sᵉ ╎ -ddīpamhi] -dīpamhi B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, -ddisamhi C3 C4 C5 ╎ **20.5** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ ╎ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ ╎ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ ╎ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ ╎ **20.close** -dāyaka-] -dāyika- C1 C2 ╎ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ ╎ samattaṃ] dasamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

uddānaṃ:

Subhūti Upavāṇo ca Saraṇo Sīlagāhako
Annasaṃsāvako Dhūp[o] Pulino Uttiyena ca.
Añjalī Khomadāyī ca das' eva tatiye gaṇe
pañcāsītisataṃ vuttā gāthāyo sabbapiṇḍitā.

Subhūtivaggo tatiyo.

catutthabhāṇavāraṃ.

5.21. Kuṇḍadhāna

1   sattāhaṃ paṭisallīnaṃ sayambhuṃ aggapuggalaṃ
        pasannacitto sumano Buddhaseṭṭhaṃ upaṭṭhahiṃ.

2   vuṭṭhitaṃ kālam aññāya Padumuttaramahāmuniṃ
        mahantaṃ kadalikaṇṇiṃ gahetvā upagacch' ahaṃ.

3   paṭiggahesi bhagavā sabbaññu lokanāyako
        mama cittaṃ pasādento paribhuñji mahāmuni.

4   paribhuñjitvā sambuddho satthavāho anuttaro

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uddāna uddānaṃ] tass' uddānaṃ B^e │ Dhūp[o]] B^e C^e E^e S^e, Dhūpaṃ (a) B1 B2 B3 C3 C4 C5, Dhūpa- C1 C2 S1 │ Uttiyena] Uttariyena C^e │ Añjalī] Añjali C4 S1 │ -dāyī] -dāyi B2 B3 S1 │ gaṇe] vagge (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 │ pañcāsīti-] pañcasīti- B1 │ -sataṃ] -satā B2 │ tatiyo] dutiyo C1 C2 │ catuttha-] catutthaṃ C1 C2 C^e E^e S^e │ **21.1** sattāhaṃ] pattāhaṃ C^e │ sayambhuṃ] sayambhū- B1 B3 C3 C4 S1, sayambhu- C5 │ Buddha-] Buddhaṃ C4 │ upaṭṭhahiṃ] upaṭṭh' ahaṃ C1 C2 │ **21.2** vuṭṭhitaṃ] vuṭṭhita- S1 │ -uttara-] -uttaraṃ B1 B2 B3 B^e C^e S1 S^e │ mahantaṃ] mahanta- B1 │ kadali-] kadalī- B1 B2 B^e C3 C^e E^e │ **21.3** paṭiggahesi] paṭiggahetvā B^e C1 C2 C^e E^e │ sabbaññu] sabbaññū B2 B^e S1 S^e, taṃ phalaṃ C1 C2 C^e E^e │ pasādento] pasādetvā C2 │ **21.4** paribhuñjitvā] paribhuñjitvāna (=) C3 C4 C5 C^e S1 S^e │ sattha-] satta- B1 C2

sakāsane nisīditvā imā gāthā abhāsatha. [82]

5   ye ca santi samītāro yakkhā imamhi pabbate
       araññe bhūtabhavyāni suṇantu vacanaṃ mama.

6   yo so Buddhaṃ upaṭṭhāsi migarājā va kesarī
       tam ahaṃ kittayissāmi suṇotha mama bhāsato.

7   ekādasañ ca khattuṃ so devarājā bhavissati
       catuttiṃsatikkhattuñ ca cakkavatti bhavissati.

8   kappasatasahassamhi Okkākakulasambhavo
       Gotamo nāma gottena satthā loke bhavissati.

9   akkositvāna samaṇe sīlavante anāsave
       pāpakammavipākena nāmadheyyaṃ labhissati.

10   tassa dhammesu dāyādo oraso dhammanimmito
       Kuṇḍadhāno ti nāmena sāvako so bhavissati.

11   pavivekam anuyutto jhāyī jhānarato ahaṃ
       tosayitvāna satthāraṃ viharāmi anāsavo.

12   sāvakehi parivuto bhikkhusaṃghapurakkhato
       bhikkhusaṃghe nisīditvā salākaṃ gāhayī jino.

13   ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ katvā vanditvā lokanāyakaṃ
       vadataṃ varassa purato paṭhamaṃ aggahes' ahaṃ.

14   tena kammena bhagavā dasasahassipakampako
       bhikkhusaṃghe nisīditvā agge ṭhāne ṭhapesi maṃ.

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sakāsane] pakāsane C3 C4 C5 │ **21.5** ca santi] vasanti B1 B3 C1 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ samītāro] samitāro B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ S1, sametāro C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -bhavyāni] -gaṇā sabbe S1 Sᵉ │ **21.6** -rājā] -rājaṃ B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ va] su- C1 C2, ca C4 │ kesarī] kesari B1 B3, kesariṃ B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ suṇotha] suṇātha B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **21.7** ekādasañ ca] so 'yam ekādasa- C1 C2 Cᵉ, so 'yaṃ ekādasa- Eᵉ, ekādasa ca S1 │ khattuṃ so] -kkhattuṃ so B1 Bᵉ S1, -kkhattuṃ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -ttiṃsati-] -tiṃsati- B2 Bᵉ S1, -ttiṃsa- C1 C2 Cᵉ │ -kkhattuñ] -khattuñ B2 B3 Sᵉ │ ca²] *omits* S1 │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ **21.8** kappa-] kappe B1 │ **21.9** labhissati] labhissasi C1 C2 │ **21.10** Kuṇḍa-] Koṇḍa- Eᵉ │ -dhāno] -dāno C5 │ so *omits* B3 │ **21.11** jhāyī] jhāyi (=) B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 │ viharāmi] vitarāmi B1 │ **21.12** sāvakehi] sāvakaggehi C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -saṃgha-] -saṃghe B1 │ gāhayī] gāhayi B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 │ **21.13** vanditvā] vinditvā B3, vanditvāna C4 │ vadataṃ] *adds* va C1 │ **21.14** -sahassi-] -sahassī- (=) C2 C3 C5 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ -pakampako] -kampako B2 Bᵉ, -sakampako C3 C4 C5 │ agge] agga- B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ṭhāne] -ṭhāne B1 B2, -ṭṭhāne Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ

15 viriyaṃ me dhuradhorayhaṃ yogakkhemādhivāhanaṃ
  dhāremi antimaṃ dehaṃ sammāsambuddhasāsane.

16 paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime
  chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Kuṇḍadhāno thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.
Kuṇḍadhānattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ. [83]

5.22. Sāgata

1 Sobhito nāma nāmena ahosiṃ brāhmaṇo tadā
  purakkhato sasissehi ārāmaṃ agamās' ahaṃ.

2 bhagavā tamhi samaye bhikkhusaṃghapurakkhato
  ārāmadvārā nikkhamma aṭṭhāsi purisuttamo.

3 tam addasāsiṃ sambuddhaṃ dantaṃ dantapurakkhataṃ
  sakaṃ cittaṃ pasādetvā santhaviṃ lokanāyakaṃ.

4 ye keci pādapā sabbe mahiyā te virūhare
  buddhimanto tathā sattā rūhanti jinasāsane.

5 satthavāho 'si sappañño mahesi bahuke jane
  vipathā uddharitvāna pathaṃ ācikkhase tuvaṃ.

6 danto dantehi parikiṇṇo jhāyī jhānaratehi ca
  ātāpī pahitattehi upasantehi tādihi.

21.15 viriyaṃ] vīriyaṃ Bᵉ │ -sambuddha-] -sambuddhassa C3 C4 │ **21.16** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **21.close** -dhāna-] -dāna- C3 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ samattaṃ] paṭhamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **22.1** agamās'] āgamās' B3 │ **22.2** tamhi] ca tasmiṃ B3 C3 C4 C5 │ -saṃgha-] -saṃghe B1 │ -dvārā] -dvāre B1 │ **22.3** sakaṃ] saka- S1 │ **22.4** buddhimanto] vuddhimanto C3 C4 C5 │ sattā] satthā B1 B3 C1 C2 │ **22.5** sattha-] satta- B3 │ 'si] pi S1 Sᵉ │ sappañño] sabbaññū S1 Sᵉ │ uddharitvāna] uddharitvā C1 C2 │ **22.6** dantehi] danta- (=) B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ parikiṇṇo] -purakkhato Sᵉ │ jhāyī] jhāyi (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 S1 │ -ratehi] -rathehi B1, -rato hi C1 C2, -ratho hi C5 │ ātāpī] ātāpi (=) B1 B3 C1 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ Sᵉ │ tādihi] tādibhi (=) B2 B3 Bᵉ C3 C5 Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ

7   alaṃkato parisato puññañāṇehi sobhasi

pabhā niddhāvate tuyhaṃ suriyo dassane yathā.

8   pasannacittaṃ disvāna mahesi Padumuttaro

bhikkhusaṃghe ṭhito satthā imā gāthā abhāsatha.

9   yo so hāsaṃ janetvāna mamaṃ kittesi brāhmaṇo

kappānaṃ satasahassaṃ devaloke ramissati.

10   Tusitā hi cavitvāna sukkamūlena codito

Gotamassa bhagavato sāsane pabbajissati.

11   tena kammena sukatena tuṭṭhahaṭṭhaṃ labhissati

Sāgato nāma nāmena hessati satthu sāvako.

12   pabbajitvāna kāyena pāpakammaṃ vivajjayiṃ

vacīduccaritaṃ hitvā ājīvaṃ parisodhayiṃ. [84]

13   evaṃ viharamāno 'haṃ tejodhātusukovido

sabbāsave pariññāya viharāmi anāsavo.

14   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Sāgato thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti. Sāgatattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

22.7 parisato] parisāhi B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ puñña-] saha- C1 C2 Eᵉ │ -ñāṇehi] *adds* hi B3, -gaṇehi C1 C2 Eᵉ │ sobhasi] sobhati B1 B2 Bᵉ │ suriyo dassane] suriyodayane B1 Cᵉ Sᵉ, sūriyodayane B2 Bᵉ, suriyo vaggane C1, suriyo 'bbhaghane Eᵉ │ **22.9** mamaṃ] mama B1 B3 C1 C2 │ **22.11** tena…sukatena] *omits* B1 S1 Sᵉ, vimbakapasuto hutvā C1 C2 Eᵉ │ tuṭṭhahaṭṭhaṃ] arahattaṃ Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ, tuṭṭhaṃ haṭṭhaṃ C4 │ labhissati] *adds* pabbajitvāna sāsane B1 Sᵉ │ **22.12** kāyena] kayena C4 │ pāpa-] pāpaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ vivajjayiṃ] vivajjiya C3 C4 │ -duccaritaṃ] -ducaritaṃ B1 C1 │ **22.13** -dhātusukovido] dhātūsu kovido B3 Bᵉ C4 Eᵉ Sᵉ │ **22.14** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ catasso…Buddhassa] pa B2 │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 S1 Sᵉ │ vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **22.close** -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ samattaṃ] dutiyaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

5.23. Mahākaccāna

1   Padumuttarassa nāthassa Padumaṃ nāma cetiyaṃ

       silāsanaṃ kārayitvā suvaṇṇenābhilepayiṃ.

2   ratanamayachattañ ca paggayha vālavījaniṃ

       Buddhassa abhiropesi[ṃ] lokabandhussa tādino.

3   yāvatā devatā bhummā sabbe sannipatuṃ tadā

       ratanāsanachattānaṃ vipākaṃ kathayissati.

4   tañ ca sabbaṃ suṇissāma kathayantassa satthuno

       bhiyyo hāsaṃ janeyyāma sammāsambuddhasāsane.

5   hemāsane nisīditvā sayambhū aggapuggalo

       bhikkhusaṃghaparibbūḷho imā gāthā abhāsatha.

6   yen' idaṃ āsanaṃ dinnaṃ sovaṇṇaṃ ratanāmayaṃ

       tam ahaṃ kittayissāmi suṇotha mama bhāsato.

7   tiṃsakappāni devindo devarajjaṃ karissati

       samantā yojanasataṃ ābhāyābhibhavissati.

8   manussalokaṃ āgantvā cakkavatti bhavissati

       Pabhassaro ti nāmena uggatejo bhavissati.

9   divā vā yadi vā rattiṃ sataraṃsīva uggato

       samantā aṭṭha ratanaṃ ujjotissati khattiyo.

10   kappasatasahassamhi Okkākakulasambhavo

       Gotamo nāma nāmena satthā loke bhavissati. [85]

23.1 -uttarassa] -uttara- B1 B2 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ │ silāsanaṃ] sīhāsanaṃ B2 Eᵉ, silānaṃ C3 C4 │ kārayitvā] kārayitvāna C3 C4 C5 Sᵉ │ suvaṇṇenābhilepayiṃ] suvaṇṇenātilepayiṃ B3 │ **23.2** ratana-] ratna- C5 │ -maya-] -mayaṃ S1 │ ca] va C1 │ paggayha] paggayhaṃ S1 │ vāla-] vāḷa- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ abhiropesi[ṃ]] B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, abhiropesi (a) B3 C1 C2 C3 C4 C5, abhiropayiṃ B4 │ **23.3** bhummā] bhūmā B1 B2 │ ratanāsana-] ratnāsana- C5 │ -chattānaṃ] -chakkānaṃ C4 C5 │ **23.4** bhiyyo] bhīyyo C1 C5 Cᵉ │ -sāsane] *adds* ti B3 │ **23.5** sayambhū] sayambhu C1 C3 │ -saṃgha-] -saṅghe B1, -saṃghaṃ C1 C2, -saṃghe C4 C5 │ **23.6** sovaṇṇaṃ] sovaṇṇa- C3 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ ratanā-] ratana- B3 │ suṇotha] suṇātha B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **23.7** ābhāyābhibhavissati] ābhāy' abhibhavissati S1 │ **23.8** -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ Cᵉ │ -tejo] -jo C4 │ **23.9** rattiṃ] rattaṃ B2 │ -raṃsīva] -raṃsi va B3 C5 S1 │ ujjotissati] ujjotessati (=) B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ **23.10** kappa-] kappe B1 │ nāmena] gottena B1 Bᵉ │ satthā] satta- B3

11   Tusitā hi cavitvāna sukkamūlena codito

        Kaccāno nāma nāmena Brahmabandhu bhavissati.

12   so pacchā pabbajitvāna buddho hessati 'nāsavo

        Gotamo lokapajjoto aggaṭhāne ṭhapessati.

13   saṃkhittaṃ pucchitaṃ pañhaṃ vitthārena kathessati

        kathayanto ca taṃ pañhaṃ ajjhāsaṃ pūrayissati.

14   aḍḍhe kule abhijāto brāhmaṇo mantapāragū

        ohāya dhanadhaññāni pabbajiṃ anagāriyaṃ.

15   saṃkhittenāpi pucchante vitthārena kathem' ahaṃ

        ajjhāsaṃ tesaṃ pūremi tosemi dipaduttamaṃ.

16   tosito me mahāvīro sayambhū aggapuggalo

        bhikkhusaṃghe nisīditvā etadagge ṭhapesi maṃ.

17   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

        chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Mahākaccāno thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Mahākaccānattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

23.11 nāmena] gottena B1 │ **23.12** pabbajitvāna] pabbajitvā C1 │ buddho] arahā Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ hessati 'nāsavo] hessati 'nāgate (=) B3 C3 C4 C5, hessat' anāsavo Cᵉ, hessaty anāsavo S1 Sᵉ │ agga-] aggo B3, agge C3 C4 │ -ṭhāne] -ṭṭhāne Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ **23.13** saṃkhittaṃ] saṃkhitta- B2 Bᵉ C3, saṅkhitta- Cᵉ │ pañhaṃ¹] paññaṃ B1 │ ca taṃ] kathaṃ B3 │ ajjhāsaṃ] abbhāsaṃ B2, ajjhāsayaṃ Bᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ pūrayissati] pūressati S1 │ **23.14** aḍḍhe] addha- Sᵉ │ -gū] -gu C1 C4 │ dhana-] dhanaṃ (=) C3 C4 C5 │ **23.15** saṃkhittenāpi] saṃkhittena pi B2 Bᵉ, saṅkhittena pi Cᵉ │ pucchante] pucchito B1, pucchanto B3, pucchite S1 │ ajjhāsaṃ] abbhāsaṃ B2, ajjhāsayaṃ Bᵉ, ajjhāsayan C1 C2 S1 Sᵉ │ di-] dvi- B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ │ **23.16** sayambhū] sayambhu B3 C1 │ etadagge] etagge C5 │ maṃ] ca C1 │ **23.17** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ catasso…Buddhassa] pa B2 │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 S1 Sᵉ │ vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **23.close** Mahā-¹] *omits* B1 │ -kaccāno] -kaccāyano S1 Sᵉ │ -kaccāna-] -kaccāyana- S1 Sᵉ │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ S1 │ samattaṃ] tatiyaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

5.24. Kāḷudāyin

1   Padumuttarassa Buddhassa lokajeṭṭhassa tādino
       addhānaṃ paṭipannassa carato cārikaṃ tadā

2   suphullaṃ padumaṃ gayha uppalaṃ mallikañ c' ahaṃ
       paramannaṃ gahetvāna adāsiṃ satthuno ahaṃ.

3   paribhuñji mahāvīro paramannaṃ subhojanaṃ
       tañ ca pupphaṃ gahetvāna jinassa sampadassasi.

4   iṭṭhaṃ kantaṃ ciraṃ loke jalajaṃ puppham uttamaṃ
       sudukkaraṃ tena kataṃ yo me pupphaṃ adāsi so. [86]

5   yo pupphaṃ abhiropesi paramannañ c' adāsi me
       tam ahaṃ kittayissāmi suṇotha mama bhāsato.

6   dasa c' aṭṭha ca khattuṃ so devarajjaṃ karissati
       uppalaṃ padumaṃ cāpi mallikañ ca taduttariṃ.

7   assa puññavipākena dibbagandhasamāyutaṃ
       ākāse chadanaṃ katvā dhārayissati tāvade.

8   pañcavīsatikkhattuñ ca cakkavatti bhavissati
       pathabyā rajjaṃ pañca sataṃ vasudhaṃ āvasissati.

9   kappasatasahassamhi Okkākakulasambhavo
       Gotamo nāma gottena satthā loke bhavissati.

24.1 -uttarassa] -uttara- B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ Buddhassa] bhagavato C1 C2 │ -jeṭṭhassa] -nāthassa B1 │ addhānaṃ] aḍḍhānaṃ Eᵉ │ carato] carako C2, cariko C3, carito S1 │ **24.2** gayha] gayhaṃ C1 C2 S1 │ c' ahaṃ] ca taṃ B1 │ **24.3** paribhuñji] *adds* no C5 │ -annaṃ] anna- S1 │ gahetvāna] gahetvā C5 │ jinassa] janassa B2 B3 Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ sampadassasi] sampadassayi B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, sampadassayiṃ S1 │ **24.4** iṭṭhaṃ] iṭṭha- C3 C4 C5 │ ciraṃ] piyaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, v' idaṃ C2 │ tena kataṃ] kataṃ tena B2 Bᵉ Sᵉ │ yo] yaṃ B2 Sᵉ │ adāsi so] adās' idaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **24.5** c'] *omits* S1 │ suṇotha] suṇātha B1 B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **24.6** dasa] dasam C1 S1 Sᵉ │ c'] *omits* B2 Bᵉ C1 S1 Sᵉ │ ca¹] *omits* Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ khattuṃ] -kkhattuṃ Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ, -kkhattuṃ ca S1, -kkhattuñ ca Sᵉ │ cāpi] vāpi B1 │ -uttariṃ] uttari B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **24.7** puñña-] puṃñā C1, puññā Eᵉ │ -samāyutaṃ] -samāyuttaṃ S1 │ katvā] katvāna B1 │ dhārayissati] chādayissati B3 │ **24.8** -kkhattuñ] -khattuṃ B2, -khattuñ (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 Sᵉ │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ │ pathabyā] pathavya- C1 │ **24.9** kappa-] kappe B1 │ gottena] nāmena (=) B2 B3 C3 C4 S1 Sᵉ

10   sakakammābhiraddho so sukkamūlena codito

Sakyānaṃ nandijanano ñātibandhu bhavissati.

11   so pacchā pabbajitvāna sukkamūlena codito

sabbāsave pariññāya nibbāyissati 'nāsavo.

12   paṭisambhidā c' anuppattaṃ katakiccaṃ anāsavaṃ

Gotamo lokabandhu so etadagge ṭhapessati.

13   padhānaṃ pahitatto so upasanto nirūpadhi

Udāyi nāma nāmena hessati satthu sāvako.

14   rāgo doso ca moho ca māno makkho ca dhaṃsito

sabbāsave pariññāya viharāmi anāsavo.

15   tosayiñ cāpi sambuddhaṃ ātāpi nipako ahaṃ

pamodito ca sambuddho etadagge ṭhapesi maṃ.

16   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Kāḷudāyī thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti. Kāḷudāyītherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ. [87]

24.10 -janano] -janako S1 Sᵉ │ bhavissati] gavissati C2 │ **24.11** so] *adds* ca C2 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ pabbajitvāna] pabbajitvā C2 Eᵉ Sᵉ │ nibbāyissati 'nāsavo] nibbāyissat' anāsavo B1 Cᵉ Eᵉ, nibbāyissaty anāsavo S1 Sᵉ │ **24.12** paṭisambhidā c'] paṭisambhidam B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ kata-] kataṃ C4 │ loka-] nāma B1 │ so] taṃ B2 Bᵉ Sᵉ │ etad-] ca tad- C4 │ **24.13** padhānaṃ] padhāna- B1 B2 B3 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ nirūpadhi] nirupadhi C2 C4 │ Udāyi] Udāyī Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ │ **24.14** rāgo…ca²] mittañ ca suvimuttam me C1 C2, cittañ ca suvimuttam me Eᵉ │ dhaṃsito] daṃsito B1 │ viharāmi] vitarāmi B1 │ **24.15** tosayiñ] tosayañ B3 │ ātāpi] ātāpī B2 Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ │ pamodito] pasādito B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ etadagge] etagge C2 │ **24.16** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ catasso…Buddhassa] pa B2 │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 S1 Sᵉ │ vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **24.close** Kāḷudāyī¹] Kāḷudāyi (=) C3 C4 C5 Sᵉ, Kāludāyi Eᵉ S1 │ Kāḷudāyī-] Kāḷudāyi- (=) B3 B4 C1 C4 C5 Cᵉ Sᵉ, Kāludāyi- Eᵉ S1 │ -therassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2 Bᵉ, -ttherassa apadānaṃ (=) B3 C1 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Cᵉ │ samattaṃ] catutthaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

5.25. Mogharājā

1   Atthadassī tu bhagavā sayambhū aparājito

       bhikkhusaṃghaparibbūḷho rathiyaṃ paṭipajjatha.

2   sissehi samparivuto gharamhā abhinikkhamiṃ

       nikkhamitvān' ahaṃ tattha addasaṃ lokanāyakaṃ.

3   abhivādetvāna sambuddhaṃ sire katvāna añjaliṃ

       sakaṃ cittaṃ pasādetvā santhaviṃ lokanāyakaṃ.

4   yāvatā rūpino sattā arūpī vā asaññino

       sabbe te tava ñāṇamhi anto honti samogadhā.

5   sukhumacchikena jālena udakaṃ yo parikkhipe

       ye keci udake pāṇā antojāle bhavanti te.

6   yesañ ca cetanā atthi rūpino ca arūpino

       sabbe te tava ñāṇamhi anto honti samogadhā.

7   samuddharas' imaṃ lokaṃ andhakārasamākulaṃ

       tava dhammaṃ suṇitvāna kaṃkhāsotaṃ taranti te.

8   avijjānivuto loko andhakārena otthaṭo

       tava ñāṇamhi jotante andhakārā padhaṃsitā.

9   tuvaṃ cakkhu 'si sabbesaṃ mahātamavinodano

       tava dhammaṃ suṇitvāna nibbāyati bahujjano.

10   p[iṭh]araṃ pūrayitvāna madhuṃ khuddaṃ anelakaṃ

       ubhohatthehi paggayha upanesiṃ mahesino.

25.1 -dassī] -dassi B1 S1 │ sayambhū] sayambhu C1 │ -saṃgha-] -saṅghe B1, -saṃghe B2 │ paṭipajjatha] paṭipajjati B3 │ **25.2** sissehi] sasissehi (=) C3 C4 C5 │ samparivuto] parivuto (=) C3 C4 C5 │ **25.3** abhivādetvāna] abhivādetvā B1, abhivādiya B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ sakaṃ] saka- S1 │ **25.4** samogadhā] samāhaṭā C1 C2 Eᵉ │ **25.5** sukhumacchikena] sukhumacchika- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, sumacchikena (=) C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ │ **25.7** -kāra-] -kāraṃ C4 C5 │ dhammaṃ] kammaṃ B3 │ **25.8** -nivuto] -nivute B2 Bᵉ │ loko] loke B2 Bᵉ │ otthaṭo] otthaṭe B2 Bᵉ │ **25.9** cakkhu] cakkhū Bᵉ C1 Cᵉ S1 │ 'si] p' asi B3 │ -vinodano] -vinudano B2 B3, -panūdano Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ, -vinūdano S1 Sᵉ │ nibbāyati] niyyāyati C2, nibbāyissati S1 Sᵉ │ -jjano] -jano B1 S1 │ **25.10** p[iṭh]araṃ] C1 Cᵉ Eᵉ, piṭakaṃ B1, puṭakaṃ B2 Bᵉ, putaraṃ (a?) B3 B4 C3 S1 Sᵉ │ madhuṃ] madhu- Bᵉ C1 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ upanesiṃ] apanesiṃ Sᵉ

11   paṭigaṇhi mahāvīro subhakena mahā isi

         bhuñjitvā tañ ca sabbaññū vihāsaṃ nabham uggami.

12   antalikkhe ṭhito satthā Atthadassī narāsabho

         mama cittaṃ pasādento imā gāthā abhāsatha.

13   yen' idaṃ thavitaṃ ñāṇaṃ Buddhaseṭṭho ca thomito

         tena cittappasādena duggatiṃ so na gacchati.

14   catuddasañ ca khattuṃ so devarajjaṃ karissati

         padesarajj' aṭṭha sataṃ vasudhaṃ āvasissati. [88]

15   pañc' eva satakkhattuñ ca cakkavatti bhavissati

         padesarajjaṃ asaṃkhayaṃ mahiyā kārayissati.

16   ajjhāyako mantadharo tiṇṇaṃ vedāna pāragū

         Gotamassa bhagavato sāsane pabbajissati.

17   gambhīraṃ nipuṇaṃ atthaṃ ñāṇena vicinissati

         Mogharājā ti nāmena hessati satthu sāvako

18   tīhi vijjāhi sampanno katakicco anāsavo

         Gotamo satthavāhaggo etadagge ṭhapessati.

19   hitvā mānusakaṃ yogaṃ chetvāna bhavabandhanaṃ

         sabbāsave pariññāya viharāmi anāsavo.

20   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

         chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

25.11 paṭigaṇhi] paṭiggaṇhi Bᵉ Sᵉ │ subhakena] sugato naṃ B1, sahatthena B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, sutena C4 │ bhuñjitvā tañ] bhuñjitvāna B1 B2 B3 C3 │ tañ ca] c' eva S1 │ -ññū] -ññu (=) B1 B3 C3 C4 C5 │ vihāsaṃ] vihāsa- B3, vehāsaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ, vehāsan C1 Eᵉ, vehāsa- C2 │ **25.12** -dassī] -dassi B1 B3 S1 │ **25.13** -ppasādena] -pasādena B2 │ so] yo C1 │ **25.14** -ddasañ ca] -ddasaṃ va C1, -ddasa- Cᵉ, -saṭṭhiñ ca S1 Sᵉ │ khattuṃ] -kkhattuṃ B1 Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ S1 │ padesarajj'] pathabyā rajjaṃ B2 Bᵉ, padesarajjaṃ C4 S1, pathavyā rajjaṃ Cᵉ │ vasudhaṃ] va suddhaṃ C1 C5 │ **25.15** pañc' eva] pañca ca (=) B3 C3 C4 C5, pañca va C1, atha pañca- Cᵉ │ -kkhattuñ] -khattuñ B2 B3 │ -vatti] -vattī Bᵉ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ asaṃkhayaṃ] asaṅkheyyaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Sᵉ, saṅkheyyaṃ B3, saṃkheyyaṃ C1, asaṅkheyaṃ Eᵉ, asaṃkheyyaṃ S1 │ **25.16** ajjhāyako] ajjhāyiko S1 Sᵉ │ -gū] -gu C1 C4 │ **25.18** sampanno] sampannaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ -kicco] -kiccaṃ B2 Bᵉ, -kiccaṃ Cᵉ │ anāsavo] anāsavaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ sattha-] satta- B3 │ etadagge] etaggo C1, etagge C5 │ **25.19** mānusakaṃ] manussakaṃ B2 │ chetvāna] chetvā B1 │ **25.20** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ catasso…Buddhassa] pa B2 │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi S1 Sᵉ │ vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Mogharājathero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Mogharājattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.26. Adhimutta

1 nibbute lokanāthamhi Atthadass[i]naruttame
   nimantetvā bhikkhusaṃghaṃ vippasannena cetasā

2 nimantetvā saṃgharatanaṃ ujubhūtaṃ samāhitaṃ
   ucchunā maṇḍapaṃ katvā bhojesiṃ saṃgham uttamaṃ.

3 yaṃ yaṃ yon' upapajjāmi devattaṃ atha mānusaṃ
   sabbe satte atibhomi puññakammass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

4 aṭṭhārase kappasate yaṃ dānam adadiṃ tadā
   duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi ucchudānass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

5 paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime
   chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Adhimutto thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Adhimuttattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ. [89]

25.close -rāja-] -rājā B1 C3 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, -rājo Bᵉ │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C5 │ samattaṃ] pañcamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **26.1** -dass[i]-] B1 B2 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ, -dassī (a) Bᵉ C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 │ nimantetvā] upaṭṭhahiṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ, *omits* C1 C2 │ cetasā] *adds* paṇidhīhi ca C1 C2 │ **26.2** saṃgharatanaṃ] saṅghaṃ ratanaṃ B1, bhikkhusaṃghaṃ B2 Bᵉ │ **26.3** upapajjāmi] uppajjāmi C1 C4, ūpapajjāmi Eᵉ Sᵉ │ sabbe] sabba- B2 │ satte] datte B1, satto C4 │ atibhomi] abhibhomi B1 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, atihomi C5 Eᵉ │ **26.5** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ catasso… Buddhassa] pa B2 │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 S1 Sᵉ │ vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **26.close** Adhimutto] Adhimuttako Sᵉ │ Adhimutta-] Adhimatta- C4, Adhimuttaka- Sᵉ │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 S1 │ samattaṃ] chaṭṭhaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ

5.27. Lasuṇadāyaka

1   Himavantassa avidūre tāpaso ās' ahaṃ tadā

      lasuṇaṃ upajīvāmi lasuṇaṃ mayha bhojanaṃ.

2   khāriyo pūrayitvāna saṃghārāmaṃ agacch' ahaṃ

      haṭṭho haṭṭhena cittena saṃghassa lasuṇaṃ adaṃ.

3   Vipassissa naraggassa sāsane nirat' ass' ahaṃ

      saṃghassa lasuṇaṃ datvā kappaṃ saggamhi mod' ahaṃ.

4   ekanavute ito kappe lasuṇaṃ yaṃ adaṃ tadā

      duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi lasuṇassa idaṃ phalaṃ.

5   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

      chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Lasuṇadāyako thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.
Lasuṇadāyakattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.28. Āyāgadāyaka

1   nibbute lokanāthamhi Sikhimhi vadataṃ vare

      haṭṭho haṭṭhena cittena avandi[ṃ] thūpam uttamaṃ.

2   vaḍḍhake hi kathāpetvā mūlaṃ datvān' ahan tadā

27.1 Himavantassa avidūre] Himavantassāvidūre B1 B2 B4 Bᵉ, Himavantass' avidūre Eᵉ │ mayha] mayhaṃ (=) B1 B3 B4 C3 C4 C5 Eᵉ S1 │ **27.2** pūrayitvāna] pūrayitvā C1 C2 │ adaṃ] adadaṃ B1, padāsiṃ B4 │ **27.3** naraggassa] nagarassa B1 B3, narassa C1 C2 │ nirat'] niratt' S1 │ **27.4** -navute] -navut' B2 Bᵉ │ lasuṇaṃ yaṃ] yaṃ lasuṇaṃ C1 C2 │ lasuṇassa] lasuṇadānaṃ C1, lasuṇānaṃ C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ **27.5** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ catasso…Buddhassa] pa B2 │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 S1 Sᵉ │ vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā S1 Sᵉ │ Buddhassa] Buddha- B3 │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **27.close** abhāsitthā] bhāsitthā C2 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 │ samattaṃ] sattamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **28.1** avandi[ṃ]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, avandi (a) B1 B3 B4 C3 C4 S1 │ **28.2** vaḍḍhake hi] vaḍḍhakīhi B2 B4 Bᵉ Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ

hattho hatthena cittena āyāgaṃ kārayes' ahaṃ.

3   aṭṭha kappāni devesu abbokiṇṇaṃ vasiṃ ahaṃ

  avasesesu kappesu vokiṇṇaṃ saṃsariṃ ahaṃ.

4   kāye visaṃ na kamati satthāni na ca hanti me

  udake 'haṃ na miyyāmi āyāgassa idaṃ phalaṃ.

5   yad icchāmi ahaṃ vassaṃ mahāmegho pavassati

  devāpi me vasaṃ enti puññakammass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

6   sattaratanasampanno tiṃsakkhattuṃ ahos' ahaṃ

  na maṃ kec' āvajānanti puññakammass' idaṃ phalaṃ. [90]

7   ekatiṃse ito kappe āyāgaṃ yam akārayiṃ

  duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi āyāgassa idaṃ phalaṃ.

8   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

  chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Āyāgadāyako thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Āyāgadāyakattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.29. Dhammacakkika

1   Siddhatthassa bhagavato sīhāsanassa sammukhā

  dhammacakkaṃ mayā ṭhapitaṃ sukataṃ viññuvaṇṇitaṃ.

āyāgaṃ] āsabhaṃ B2 │ kārayes'] kārapayes' B2, kārapes' Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ **28.3** abbokiṇṇaṃ] abbochinnaṃ Cᵉ, avokiṇṇaṃ S1 Sᵉ │ **28.4** ca] va C5 │ ca hanti] jahanti S1 │ miyyāmi] mareyyāmi S1 Sᵉ │ āyāgassa] āsabhassa B2 │ phalaṃ] balaṃ B1 │ **28.5** vasaṃ] vassaṃ S1 │ **28.6** satta-] sata- Eᵉ │ -kkhattuṃ] -khattuṃ B2 │ kec' āvajānanti] keci 'vajānanti B2, kec' avajānanti Cᵉ S1 │ **28.7** -tiṃse] -ttiṃse Bᵉ Sᵉ │ āyāgaṃ] āyāg' assa B1, āsabhaṃ B2 │ yam] *omits* B1, saṃ C3 C4 │ āyāgassa] āsabhassa B2, āyāgass' C2 │ phalaṃ] balaṃ B3 │ **28.8** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ catasso…Buddhassa] pa B2 │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 S1 Sᵉ │ vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **28.close** Āyāgadāyako] Āsabhadāyaka- B2 │ Āyāgadāyaka-] Āsabhadāyaka- B2 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 Eᵉ │ samattaṃ] aṭṭhamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **29.1** mayā] me B2 Bᵉ

2   cāruvaṇṇo va sobhāmi sayoggabalavāhano

       parivārenti maṃ niccaṃ anuyuttā bahujjanā.

3   saṭṭhituriyasahassehi parivārem' ahaṃ sadā

       parivārena sobhāmi puññakammass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

4   catunavute ito kappe yaṃ cakkaṃ ṭhapayiṃ ahaṃ

       duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi dhammacakkass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

5   ito ekādase kappe aṭṭhāsiṃsu janādhipā

       Sahassarājā nāmena cakkavatt[ī] mahabbalā.

6   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

       chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Dhammacakkiko thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Dhammacakkikattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

5.30. Kapparukkhiya

1   Siddhatthassa bhagavato thūpaseṭṭhassa sammukhā

       vicittadusse laṃghitvā kapparukkhaṃ ṭhapes' ahaṃ.

2   yaṃ yaṃ yon' upapajjāmi devattaṃ atha mānusaṃ

29.2 cāruvaṇṇo va] cātuvaṇṇehi B2, catuvaṇṇāya B4(p) S1 Sᵉ, cāruvaṇṇā va C1 C2 C4, cāruvaṇṇ' eva C5 | -yogga-] -yoga- S1 | -bala-] -phala- B4 | -vāhano] -vāhanā B2 | anuyuttā] anuyantā B2 Bᵉ S1 Sᵉ | bahujjanā] bahujanā (=) B1 C3 C4 C5 S1, bahū janā B3 Sᵉ | **29.3** saṭṭhi-] saṭṭhī Sᵉ | -turiya-] -tūra- B2, -tūriya- B3 Bᵉ S1 | parivārem'] paricārem' B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | sadā] tadā (=) B1 C2 C4 C5 | parivārena] paricārena B1 | **29.4** -navute] -navut' B2, -nnavut' Bᵉ | cakkaṃ] vattaṃ C4 | dhamma-] cakka- B3 | -cakkass'] -vattass' B3 C4 | **29.5** -rājā] -rāja- B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | -vatt[ī]] Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, vatti (a) B1 B2 B3 C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 S1 | -bbalā] -pphalā B1, -bbalo C1 C2 | **29.6** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ | catasso…Buddhassa] pa B2 | vimokhāpi] vimokhāpi B1 S1 Sᵉ | vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ | chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ | ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | **29.close** -cakkika-] -cakkadāyaka- B4 | -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ Cᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 C2 C4 Eᵉ | samattaṃ] navamaṃ B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ | **30.1** -dusse] -rūpe B4 | laṃghitvā] laggetvā B2 Cᵉ S1 Sᵉ, lagetvā Bᵉ, laṃghetvā C2 Eᵉ | ṭhapes'] upes' B1 | **30.2** upapajjāmi] ūpapajjāmi C1 Eᵉ Sᵉ

sobhayanto mama dvāraṃ kapparukkho patiṭṭhati. [91]

3   ahañ ca parisā c' eva ye keci mam avassitā

tamhā dussaṃ gahetvāna nivāsema mayaṃ sadā.

4   catunavute ito kappe yaṃ rukkhaṃ ṭhapayiṃ ahaṃ

duggatiṃ nābhijānāmi kapparukkhass' idaṃ phalaṃ.

5   ito ca sattame kappe sucelā aṭṭha khattiyā

sattaratanasampannā cakkavatt[ī] mahabbalā.

6   paṭisambhidā catasso vimokhāpi ca aṭṭh' ime

chac cābhiññā sacchikatā kataṃ Buddhassa sāsanan ti.

itthaṃ sudaṃ āyasmā Kapparukkhiyo thero imā gāthāyo abhāsitthā ti.

Kapparukkhiyattherassa apadānaṃ samattaṃ.

uddānaṃ:

Kuṇḍasāgatakaccānā Udāyī Rājasavhayo

Adhimutto Lasuṇado Āyāgi Dhammacakkiko

Kapparukkhi ca dasamo gāthā dvayadasasataṃ.

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dvāraṃ] dvāre S1 Sᵉ │ patiṭṭhati] ca tiṭṭhati S1 │ **30.3** ahañ] ayañ B1 │ keci] ke ca C1 │ mam avassitā] mama nissitā C1 C2 Eᵉ, mama vasikā C3, samavassikā Sᵉ │ gahetvāna] gahetvā C2 │ sadā] tadā B1 C1 Sᵉ │ **30.4** -navute] -navut' B2, -nnavut' Bᵉ │ rukkhaṃ] dussaṃ C3 C4 C5 │ ahaṃ] tadā Cᵉ Eᵉ │ **30.5** ca] *omits* C2 │ sucelā] sucalā B3 │ -vatt[ī]] B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, -vatti (a) B1 B3 C1 C2 C3 C4 C5 S1 │ mahabbalā] mahapphalā B1, mahābalā C2 Eᵉ │ **30.6** catasso…kataṃ] pe Cᵉ │ catasso…Buddhassa] pa B2 │ vimokhāpi] vimokkhāpi B1 S1 Sᵉ │ vimokhāpi…-katā] pa Bᵉ │ chac cābhiññā] chaḷ abhiññā Eᵉ S1 Sᵉ │ ti] *omits* B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ **30.close** Kappa-] Kappi- B4 │ -ttherassa apadānaṃ] -therassāpadānaṃ B2, -ttherassāpadānaṃ Bᵉ, -therassa apadānaṃ C1 Eᵉ, -ttherāpadānaṃ Cᵉ │ samattaṃ] dasamaṃ B2 Cᵉ, dasamaṃ / Kuṇḍadhānavaggo catuttho Bᵉ │ **uddāna** uddānaṃ] tass' uddānaṃ Bᵉ Eᵉ │ -kaccānā] -kaccāno B2, -kaccāna- B3, -kaccāyano S1 │ Udāyī] Udāyi (=) B1 B3 C1 C5 │ Rājasavhayo] Mogharājako B2 Bᵉ Cᵉ │ Adhimutto] Abhimutto C4 C5 │ Lasuṇado] Lasuṇādo C1 │ Āyāgi] Āyāga- B1, Āsabha- B2, Āyāgī Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -rukkhi] -rukkhī Bᵉ C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ Sᵉ, -rukkhiyattherassa apadānañ C3 C5, -rukkhiyattherassa apadānaṃ C4 │ ca] va C1 │ gāthā] gāthāyo Cᵉ │ dvaya-] dvayaṃ (=) B3 C3 C4 C5 S1 Sᵉ, dvā- C1 C2 Cᵉ Eᵉ │ -satam] *adds* ti Cᵉ Eᵉ, *adds* pi ca S1 Sᵉ

Kuṇḍadhānavaggo catuttho.

Kuṇḍa- … catuttho] *omits* Bᵉ │ -dhāna-] -dāna- C2

6. NOTES ON THE EDITION OF THE SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH CHAPTERS OF THE APADĀNA

6.1. Sīhāsanadāyaka

Compare with the *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 188–189.

1.　*dipaduttame*: Sᵉ reads *dīpaduttame*, which may be understood as *dīpa-d-uttame*, "best of shelters", with the *sandhi* consonant *-d-*. See Geiger 1994: § 73.4 and Norman 2006a: 173n16, 174n83 on the *sandhi* consonant *-d-*.

vitthārite: *vitthārike* is the reading of hyparchetype b while *vitthārite* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The latter is more likely to have been the archetypal reading for two reasons. Firstly, this reading is supported by the commentary on this particular *pāda* in B4, which corresponds to Ap-a 312,9–10. Secondly, since *vitthārika* is elsewhere often found in connection with *bāhujañña* (PED s.v.), for sake of textual harmonisation it is more likely that scribes would have wished to emend *vitthārite* to *vitthārike* than the reverse.

4.　Due to its presence in the witnesses of both hyparchetypes b and c, there is little doubt that *-yojanāsiṃsu* belonged to the archetype, being *-yojanā āsiṃsu* prior to *sandhi*. This rather awkward reading has been emended to *-yojanaṃ āsi* in Bᵉ and Cᵉ to produce a smoother text; however, it is not supported by any manuscript of the Apadāna which I have examined. I understand *yojanā* to have a neuter nominative plural declension (see Geiger 1994: § 78.6 for this form).

5.　*sovaṇṇamayañ ca* best explains the development of the other readings. It has resulted in a hypermetric nine syllable *pāda*, which is not uncommon in the Apadāna, and the three variant readings demonstrate three different strategies used by scribes to eliminate one of the syllables.

pallaṅka: Masculine according to PED and MW s.v. *palyaṅka*, but it is neuter here.

7. There is little doubt that the archetype contained the reading *bahu*, which I take as an adverb modifying *nibbattanti*. Only three manuscripts, all of which belong to the more heavily emended hyparchetype e, contain the reading *bahū*. This reading, an adjective qualifying *pallaṃkā*, has resulted in a less difficult text.

8. *pāda* a demonstrates the tendency for scribes to reduce a hypermetric nine syllable *pāda* to an eight syllable *pāda*. In B2 *sovaṇṇa-* has been emended to *soṇṇa-*, while in C2 *rūpimayā* has been emended to *rūpiyā*. Cf. § 6.1.5.

rūpi is not listed in PED, perhaps because it does not appear to be used in any other canonical text. Just as *soṇṇa* is a contraction of *suvaṇṇa*, *rūpi* appears to be a contraction of *rūpiya* (cf. Geiger 1994: § 27.7).

The *svarabhakti* vowel in *-veḷuriyā-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion. The reading *-veḷuriyā-* is m.c. for *-veḷuriya-*.

9. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

11. I regard *catuddīpamhi* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter locative singular declension.

12. Almost all *apadāna*s have this as their last verse. The pattern of manuscript readings strongly suggests that *chac cābhiññā* was the archetypal reading. B4 gives this reading in a passage corresponding to Ap-a 295,19, which comments upon Ap 48,20.[1] This reading is also found in the Vat Lai Hin manuscript fragment (Ap 449,26–476,13) which dates to approximately 1500. I understand *chac cābhiññā* to be equivalent to *cha(ḷ) ca abhiññā*, "and the six supernormal knowledges". Lilley mistook the Sinhala grapheme *cc* for *ḍ*, which has resulted in Eᵉ having the nonsensical reading *chaḍabhiññā*. It is possible that the editor(s) of hyparchetype e did not understand *chac cābhiññā* and so emended it to *chaḷ ābhiññā*, believing it to be more correct; however, because *abhiññā* is incorrectly spelt, this reading has not been recorded in the critical apparatus. The reading *chaḷ ābhiññā* has been emended to *chaḷ abhiññā* in numerous printed editions, perhaps the earliest being that of ဦး�âင် (1917). To the best of my knowledge, the present edition is the first to represent the earlier reading, *chac cābhiññā*.

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[1] However, in the PTS edition the quotation of the root text has been emended to read *chaḷ abhiññā* (Ap-a 295,19).

close. Almost all the manuscripts I have used to produce this edition conclude each *apadāna* with the word *samattaṃ*, "concluded". As far as I am aware, this word was first replaced by ordinals (*paṭhamaṃ*, "first", *dutiyaṃ*, "second", etc.) by the editors of § 4.1.2.2.4, that is, in Mandalay just prior to the fifth Buddhist council. Soon after, these ordinals were carved onto the marble stelae at the Kuthodaw Pagoda and reproduced in most printed editions. This, however, represents a modern alteration to the text.

6.2. Ekatthambhika

1. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

7. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

   -gaṇ[e]: It is likely that the archetypal reading was *-gaṇo*. The reading of hyparchetype e, *-gaṇe*, appears to be an emendation of this nonsensical archetypal reading. I understand *-gaṇe* to be part of a locative absolute with *gate*.

   ussapes' is m.c. for *ussāpes'*.

9. *bher[ī]su*: It is likely that the archetypal reading was *bherisu*. If this word was at the end of a posterior *pāda*, it might be considered m.c. for *bherīsu*, as is the case at Ap 291,24, 360,7, 406,15. However, because it is at the end of a prior *pāda*, there is no reason why the vowel length ought to be altered. It is likely that this *pāda* was originally posterior and, after being made prior, the shortened vowel was left unaltered. For completeness, it ought to be noted that Geiger (1994: § 86.3) stated that *-isu* is a possible feminine locative plural declension of the *ĭ* stem. Additionally, Oberlies (2001: 141) included *-isu* as a secondary form to the normative *-īsu* in a table of declensions. However, the two examples given by Geiger (1994: § 86.3) and the additional example given by Oberlies (2001: § 36.7) can be explained as simple instances of vowel shortening m.c., which, as stated above, does not apply to the present verse (§ 5.2.9).

11. *samuggataṃ*: S1 and Se read *sulaṅkataṃ*, which is perhaps equivalent to the Sanskrit *svālaṅkataṃ*, "well adorned", in which the initial *a-* of the second

component of the compound has been elided for sake of metre, rather than lengthened as per usual. See Edgerton 1953b: § 4.11 for a parallel example in BHS.

12. *devatta* is a neuter noun meaning "state of being a god" and is glossed in Ap-a 314,15 with *devaloka*. Similarly, Ap-a 314,15 glosses *mānusa* with *manussaloka* and so I take it to be a neuter noun meaning "state of being a human", instead of an adjective. Ap-a 314,14 states that while being in the accusative case (*upayogavacana*), each term is being used in a locative sense (*bhummattha*).

13. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

6.3. Nanda

Compare with the *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 350–351.

1. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* a.

2. I know of no other canonical text which uses Jalajuttama as a synonym for the proper name Padumuttara. Its usage here appears to be partly for sake of metre. Were the name Padumuttara used in *pāda* b and its *svarabhakti* vowel disregarded for the purpose of scansion, then the result would be a hypometric *pāda* containing seven syllables.

The archetypal reading was *bhavissati*, as is evidenced by the fact that it is contained in all cited manuscripts, including B4. All cited printed editions read *bhavissasi*, which harmonises the person with the following verses. However, we may suppose that the text is simply stating, "there will be a golden complexion [for you]".

3. *dvesampattiṃ* is most likely an example of a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound, which are often given a neuter singular declension (Collins 2006: 132–133; Warder 1991: 274). Ap-a 316,12–13 provides the gloss *dve sampattiyo*. Evidently the editors of Bᵉ, Cᵉ and Eᵉ felt that a singular declension was incorrect since each of these

editions has given the term a plural declension, *-sampattī*, a reading which I have found in no manuscript.

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* b.

5.   There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* b.

7.   It is likely that hyparchetype c retains the archetypal reading of *pāda* b; namely, *Celā nāma caturo janā*. A similar reading is found in B4, *Celanāmā cattāro janā*. It seems that the editor(s) of hyparchetype b deleted *nāma*, perhaps to avoid a hypermetric nine syllable *pāda*. While the witnesses of hyparchetype d preserve this deletion, in two witnesses belonging to hyparchetype e *va*/*ca* has been added after the word *Celā* in order to avoid a seven syllable *pāda*.

6.4. Cullapanthaka

1.   The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

vasī is m.c. for *vasi*, or, alternatively, m.c. for *vāsī*.

2.   *aham pi*: The variant reading *ahamhi* is best understood as *ahaṃ amhi* prior to *sandhi*, and so has been represented as *ah' amhi* in the critical apparatus. The same phrase occurs at Vv 84.21,[2] which the commentary glosses with *ahaṃ... amhi* (Vv-a 341,[8]).

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

4.   The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

5.   The archetypal phrase *sādhukāraṃ pavattiṃsu*, "They were intent upon [expressing] their approval", is rather unusual. One would instead expect a transitive causative verb. Indeed, the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 109,[13]) glosses *pavattiṃsu* with the causative plural verb ဖြစ်စေကုန်၏, "they produced". The reading *sādhukāraṃ pavattesuṃ*, "they set forth their approval", is not found in any

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[2] However, the editor of the PTS edition, Jayawickrama, has represented this phrase as *aham hi*.

Apadāna manuscript I have examined; however, B[e] and C[e] have adopted it, presumably because it is more easily understood.

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* d.

6. The archetypal phrase *padumaṃ chattam*, "lotus umbrella", is somewhat unexpected. I understand the phrase to consist of two nouns in apposition, i.e., an umbrella which is a lotus, or a collection of lotuses. Alternatively, it could be a split compound for *padumachattaṃ*, "umbrella of lotuses"; however, due to the lack of metrical necessity, this seems unlikely. The smoother variant reading *padumacchattam*, "umbrella of lotuses", is found in B[e], C[e] and E[e], yet no manuscript I have consulted.

7. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

PED does not give the meaning "petal" under *patta*; however, this meaning is well attested for its Sanskrit equivalent (MW s.v. *pattra*; the Sanskrit equivalent is not *patra* as incorrectly stated in PED s.v. *patta*[1]).

8. In the majority of Pāli canonical texts, "to rule" is most commonly expressed by grouping *rajja* with a causative verb of √*kṛ*.[3] In the Apadāna, however, it is often expressed by grouping *rajja* with a non-causative verb of √*kṛ*, particularly in predication passages such as the one to which this verse belongs. This phenomenon has most likely arisen for sake of metre.

Throughout the Apadāna the masculine nominative singular *cakkavatti*, which is almost always the form found in the manuscripts, has been standardised to *cakkavattī* in the later printed editions.

10. The interchangeable phrases *Gotamo nāma nāmena* and *Gotamo nāma gottena* occur throughout the Apadāna. It will be noticed that the archetype contains both wordings (for examples of the latter, see §§ 5.12.44, 5.21.8). With one exception (Ap B[e] I 122,6), B[e] consistently represents the latter reading, perhaps in an attempt to create a more homogenous text and to distinguish between personal names and clan names.

11. *pakāsite*: For the variant *pakāsike*, see Norman 2007b: 92n74.

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[3] For sake of clarity, Sanskrit verbal roots (and prefixes) will be used in these notes instead of their Pāli equivalents.

13. As noted in CPD s.v. *aṭṭhārasavassa*, *pāda* a of this verse involves tmesis, that is, the separation of a compound by another word or group of words. In this instance, the particle *ca* has separated the compound *aṭṭhārasavasso* for sake of metre. In Bᵉ, Cᵉ and Sᵉ, easier readings have been adopted which avoid tmesis.

14–17. There is a parallel at Th 557–560.

14. *gatī* is m.c. for *gati*.

16. The Burmese scholar monks who edited the version of the Apadāna preserved in B2 (see § 4.1.2.1.2) have harmonised *pāda* a with the rather different reading found at Th 559, which demonstrates the extent to which this version has been revised.

18. The archetypal reading was *kokanudaṃ*, as is evidenced by the fact that it is contained in all cited manuscripts including B4, except those belonging to hyparchetype d. The term *kokanuda*, which is listed in neither PED nor DOP, appears to be a valid variant spelling of *kokanada*, "red lotus". For example, at A V 196 we find the proper name *Kokanuda* in the base text with *Kokanada* listed as a variant reading, and at M II 91 and S I 81,₁₃ we find *Kokanada* in the base text with *Kokanuda* listed as a variant reading.

6.5. Pilindavaccha

Compare with the much longer *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 302–316.

1. *Sumedh[e] aggapuggal[e]*: It is likely that the archetype had the very awkward reading *Sumedho aggapuggalo*. While the commentary does not directly quote *pāda* b, it is probable that *Sumedhe aggapuggale* was the reading available to the author(s) of the commentary, which states, *Sumedhe lokanāyake aggapuggale khandhaparinibbānena nibbute satī ti* (Ap-a 322,₂₂₋₂₃). The manuscripts of hyparchetype e follow this explanation.

4. *ramiṃsu*: The variant reading *ahesu* could be m.c. for *ahesuṃ*.

6. *āsiṃ*: Although less preferable than the base text reading, the variant *āsi* could be regarded as a masculine nominative singular form of *āsin*, "[I was] eating", which could be read with the variant reading *-bhojane*, "foods".

7. A parallel is found at D III 199,29–32.

11. *āsi[ṃ]*: B2 and S1 read *āsiṃ*; however, because this verse is omitted in the manuscripts belonging to hyparchetype d, it is not possible to infer what hyparchetype b read. The inclusion of the square brackets either side of the *niggahīta* is therefore intended to indicate uncertainty regarding its inclusion in the archetype, rather than certainty that it did not belong to the archetype.

The probable archetypal reading, *rājāsi*, may be understood in two different ways. Firstly, as an unusual alternative spelling to *rājisi*, "royal sage", which is in fact the reading found in B2 and Sᵉ, and which is glossed by Jāgara (1926: I 113,4) in his *nissaya* with ရဟန်းအလားတရားစောင့်သောမင်းသည်, "a king who observes the doctrine as though he were a monk". Secondly, as a mistake for *rājāsiṃ*, "I was a king". I have adopted the former understanding primarily because I do not wish to emend the reconstructed archetype unless absolutely necessary. It is possible that *rājāsi* was used instead of *rājisi* in order to make the *pādayuga* adhere to the popular third *vipulā* of the *śloka* metre (Warder 1967: 174–175).

12. *ahuṃ* is found in a number of printed editions, but in none of the manuscripts cited in this edition. The archetypal reading, *ahu*, is clearly incorrect. The reading *ahaṃ*, while semantically acceptable, is only found in B1, S1 and Sᵉ. It seems most likely that *ahu* is an erroneous reading for *ahuṃ*.

close. Note that the reading *-therassa*, as opposed to the usual *-ttherassa*, is given in the base text, as per the goal of this edition which is to represent the archetype with as few emendations as possible.

6.6. Rāhula

1. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* a.

Two main versions of *pāda* d are found amongst the various witnesses. The first, which is represented by B2, B^e, C^e, S1 and S^e, is *ādāsaṃ santhariṃ ahaṃ*, "I spread out a mirror". Evidence suggests that this is a recent emendation. The inclusion of the word *ādāsaṃ* seems to have been influenced by the commentary upon *pāda* d, which states *ādāsatalaṃ nipphādetvā lokajeṭṭhassa bhagavato tādino ahaṃ santharaṃ adāsiṃ. santharitvā pūjesin ti attho* (Ap-a B^e II 16,10–11),[4] "The meaning [of this *pāda*] is, 'Having created a mirror[-like (?)] surface, I gave a mat to the blessed one, supreme in the world, venerable. Having spread it out, I paid homage'". This commentarial gloss appears to have been in turn influenced by the root text at § 5.6.4, in which the donation is described as *ādāso va susanthatā*, "well spread out, like a mirror", i.e., as smooth as a mirror. The second main version of *pāda* d, which is represented by E^e and which may be pieced together from the remaining manuscripts, is *adāsiṃ santharaṃ ahaṃ*, "I gave a mat". The overall manuscript transmission shows that the archetypal reading was *adāsiṃ*, "I gave". The pattern of the numerous erroneous manuscript variants for the following word suggests that the archetypal reading was *santharaṃ*. For example, B3 contains the reading *santaraṃ*, which in Burmese script is graphically very similar to *santharaṃ*. It needs to be pointed out that no manuscript I examined contains the reading *santharaṃ*. The large diversity of erroneous manuscript variants for this word suggests that the *akṣara*s were difficult to read at this point in the archetype. In further support of this second version, there are a number of other passages in the Apadāna describing the donation of a *santhara*, e.g. Ap 97,11, 137,14, 236,17; however, to the best of my knowledge there are no other passages in the Apadāna which even mention an *ādāsa*, let alone describe the donation of an *ādāsa*. One final point to note is that the reading *ādāsaṃ santhariṃ ahaṃ* has been incorporated into the text of printed editions of the Apadānaṭṭhakathā (e.g. B^e II 16,9; E^e 324,16–17); however, despite its errors, the commentary manuscript B4 lends support to the second version by quoting the root text as *adāsi sandharaṃ ahan ti*.

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[4] The Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition is quoted here in favour of the PTS edition because the latter appears to contain an error.

3. I have divided the text of *pāda* a according to the commentarial gloss, which reads *taṃ gandhakuṭiṃ sobhayamāno* (Ap-a 324,22), "illuminating that perfumed hut". Note that it is clear from this explanation that the author(s) of the commentary regarded the present participle as having a causative meaning, despite not having a causative declension. Perhaps in response, the editors of Bᵉ and Cᵉ have instead used *virocento*, while S1 and Sᵉ read *virocayaṃ*.

4. *susanthatā*: *susanthato* is the reading of hyparchetype b while *susanthatā* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The latter is more likely to have belonged to the archetype for two reasons. Firstly, this reading is supported by the commentary on this particular *pāda* in B4, the text of which corresponds to Ap-a 324,27–28. Secondly, "a well spread out mat" makes better sense than a "well spread out mirror". It is possible that *susanthatā* was altered to *susanthato* by the scribe of hyparchetype b in order to make the past passive participle agree with *ādāso*, to which it has a close proximity.

5. *pāda* a is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

-*veḷuriyā*- is m.c. for -*veḷuriya*-.

The subject of *nibbattissanti* is the noun phrase of *pāda* d, *ye ke ci manaso piyā*, "Whatever is dear to his mind". It contains an indefinite pronoun and is therefore intentionally ambiguous. The same *pāda* is found throughout the Vimānavatthu when describing the karmic fruits enjoyed by gods (e.g. Vv 1.2, 2.2, 3.2). Evidently this ambiguity unsettled some editors of the Apadāna. The *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 114,9) adds the subject ရတနာတို့သည်, "treasures", in a gloss; in Bᵉ, S1 and Sᵉ, *ākāse* has been emended to *pāsādā*, "palaces"; while in Cᵉ, *ākāse* has been emended to *ādāsā*, "mirrors".

6. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

pāda c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

8. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

Reṇuvatī: It is not possible to know with certainty the exact name of the city listed in the archetype because of the unclear stemmatic pattern of manuscript variants and because, as far as I know, none of the alternatives are found elsewhere

in Pāli literature. *Reṇuvatī* was chosen primarily because it has a semantic meaning ("Dusty").

I regard *caturassaṃ* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter accusative singular declension.

9. *pāda* a is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

11. *suriye*: The variant reading *sūriye* is m.c. for *suriye* and the variant reading *sūriyo* is m.c. for *suriyo*.

To the best of my knowledge, the earliest occurrence of the variant reading *virocessati* is found in the edition produced by Buddhadatta (1929–1930), who evidently felt that the verb *virocissati* required a causative meaning and so silently emended the received text.[5] This smoother reading has subsequently been adopted in B^e and C^e (cf. § 6.6.3). However, *aṭṭhayojanaṃ* does not need to be taken as the object of the verb; rather, it can be seen as the accusative of distance ("for eight *yojana*s"). I regard *aṭṭhayojanaṃ* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter accusative singular declension.

14. *bhaveyya*: The variant reading *bhavissa* could be regarded as a rare instance of the unaugmented conditional. For other examples, see Oberlies 2001: § 50n2.

16. *-muni*: The variant reading *-mune* could be regarded as a rare example of the *-e* masculine vocative singular declension of the *i* stem (Oberlies 2001: § 32.3).

6.7. Upasena Vaṅgantaputta

1. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

2. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

vaṇ[ṭ]e: It is difficult to know with certainty whether the archetypal reading was indeed *vaṇḍe*, as hypothesised in the critical apparatus, because of the number and stemmatic pattern of erroneous manuscript variants. It is clear, however, that the

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[5] For additional information on the relationship between Buddhadatta 1929–1930 and the Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition, see Clark forthcoming 2015.

reading available to the author(s) of the commentary ended in a locative -*e*, for it contains the gloss *vaṇṭasmiṃ* (Ap-a 326,20; B4 reads *vaṇḍasmi*). It needs to be pointed out that no manuscript I examined contains the reading *vaṇṭe*.

3. *samaṇ[e]*: The probable archetypal reading, *samaṇo*, is not erroneous from a grammatical standpoint. However, I have adopted the reading of hyparchetype e and B4, *samaṇe*, because it fits the story more comfortably and, more importantly, because this is clearly the reading which was available to the author(s) of the commentary. Ap-a 326,28 reads *aṭṭha samaṇe samitapāpe khīṇāsavabhikkhū bhojesin ti*, "I fed eight ascetics in whom evil had been calmed, monks whose taints had been destroyed".

4. The word *pavecchana* is not listed in PED, which is understandable since, to the best of my knowledge, this is its sole occurrence in the Pāli canon. It appears to be a noun formed from the verb *pavecchati* with the neuter primary nominal suffix -*ana*; thus, *pavecchanā* is the ablative singular declension. Norman (2006a: 247n463–466) critically reviewed the various possible derivations of *pavecchati* and concluded that it most likely developed from *payacchati* (S. *pra-√yam*), "to give". The noun *pavecchana*, therefore, most likely means "giving" and "gift". The Apadānaṭṭhakathā does not comment upon this verse; however, in his *nissaya*, Jāgara (1926: I 116,20–21) glosses *pāda* d with မြတ်သောဆွမ်းအလှူ||ဖြင့်လည်းကောင်း, "and because of donating excellent alms".

6. *gaṇanā[t]o*: The archetypal reading, *gaṇanātho*, "protector of a following", is nonsensical within this *pādayuga*, as it is at §§ 5.11.39, 5.11.49, 5.12.43, 5.13.13 (cf. § 5.14.9). Ap-a 228,36 glosses *gaṇanāto* from a parallel *pāda* (Ap 23,6) with *gaṇanavasena*, "through counting".

asaṃkhayaṃ: *asaṃkhiya* is the usual Pāli equivalent to the Sanskrit word *asaṃkhya* (MW s.v.) with a *svarabhakti* vowel *i*. However, in this verse *asaṃkhaya* is represented in the majority of manuscripts and is clearly the archetypal reading. While not listed in PED, CPD, or DOP, it is likely to be the Pāli equivalent to the BHS word *asaṃkhyaya* (BHSD s.v.). Alternatively, it is possible that *asaṃkhaya* is another Pāli equivalent to the Sanskrit word *asaṃkhya*, with a *svarabhakti* vowel *a*.

7. *kappe 'to*: This is the reading of hyparchetype b while *kappato* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The latter reading is found in the commentary on this particular *pāda* in B4, the text of which corresponds to Ap-a 326,32; however, this seems to be a gloss rather than a direct quotation of the root text. The phrase *kappato* is regularly used in the Apadānaṭṭhakathā to gloss the word *ito* in similar *pāda*s, e.g. Ap-a 312,31, 312,34, 316,28. The reading *kappato* is unlikely to have belonged to the archetype because it produces a rather awkward sentence and because its alternative, *kappe 'to*, more closely resembles the pattern found in similar passages in the Apadāna.

The term *sumedho* is potentially confusing. If understood as a proper noun, this verse is stating that Padumuttara Buddha predicted there would be a Buddha named Sumedha after the passing of one hundred thousand aeons. Sumedha Buddha, however, lived seventy thousand aeons after Padumuttara Buddha, meaning that, according to this interpretation, Padumuttara Buddha made an inaccurate prediction. It is perhaps for this reason that in S1 and Sᵉ two *pāda*s have been added which name Gotama and his ancestry, and in Bᵉ and Cᵉ this verse has been replaced by an entirely different one in which Padumuttara Buddha predicts there will be a Buddha named Gotama after the passing of one hundred thousand aeons. However, the received text of the manuscripts does not need to be so drastically emended. Both the Apadānaṭṭhakathā (Ap-a 326,29–33) and the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 116–117) offer the reasonable interpretation that the term *sumedho* is simply an adjective describing Gotama Buddha as "wise".

8. As noted at A I 24,22–23; Ap-a 326,4–5, the Buddha declared Upasena Vaṅgantaputta to be foremost among those who inspire faith in all respects (*samantapāsādika*). A *pādayuga* which refers to this has been inserted in Bᵉ; however, this line is not found in any Apadāna manuscript I have consulted. A footnote in Bᵉ states *idaṃ pādadvayaṃ Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathāyam eva dissati*, "this pair of *pāda*s appears in the Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā".

inter-*apadāna*. *vāra* is masculine according to PED; however, here and in the Vimānavatthu (e.g. Vv 34,16) and Petavatthu (e.g. Pv 30,34)[6] *bhāṇavāra* has been given a neuter declension.

6.8. Raṭṭhapāla

1. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* a.

2. It is highly likely that the archetypal reading was *-cchattopasevito*, "provided with an umbrella". The reading of B[e] and C[e], *-cchattopasobhito*, "made beautiful with an umbrella", appears to have been influenced by the commentarial gloss of this term; B4 reads *upasevito sobhamāno*, "*upasevito* [means] appearing beautiful".[7]

It is highly likely that the archetypal reading was *sāthabbaṇo*. Amongst the witnesses cited in this edition, *sāthabbaṇo* is only found in B4, E[e] and S[e]; however, the Apadāna manuscripts contain readings very similar to this, including *sātabbaṇo*, *sāsubbaṇo* and *sāthavyaṇo*. The commentarial gloss of this term, *hatthālaṅkārasahito* (Ap-a 332,7, "accompanied with bracelets"), does not appear to be correct and it appears that, again, the reading of B[e] and C[e], *sakappano,* "with trappings", has been influenced by the commentarial gloss. Instead, *sāthabbaṇo* is best understood as meaning "with a brahman versed in the Atharva Veda". A parallel *pāda* is to be found at Ja VI 490,13 and the term *sāthabbaṇaṃ* is glossed with *sahatthivejjaṃ* (Ja VI 490,21, "with an elephant vet"). The Atharva Veda deals with medicine, amongst other topics.

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[6] Page and line number is used here since the passages cited fall outside of the DOP system of citing the Vimānavatthu and Petavatthu by poem and verse.

[7] Ap-a 332,6 instead reads *upasobhito sobhamāno*. As is often the case in the PTS edition, it appears that the quotation of the root text has been harmonised to agree with the reading found in a printed edition of the Apadāna.

hatthipa, "elephant driver", is not listed in PED, nor is this meaning of *pa*, "guarding, ruling". The Sanskrit equivalent of the former term is *hastipa* (MW s.v.).

3. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

catupaññā[sa]sahassāni: The erroneous archetypal reading, *catupaññā-sahassāni*, appears to have been the result of simple haplography. It is possible that the editor(s) of hyparchetype e corrected this mistake with reference to the commentary.

Ap-a 332,11–13 glosses *pāda* c with *sabbaparikkhārasahitaṃ mohoghasadisaṃ mahādānaṃ sajjetvā*, "having prepared a great gift similar to a great flood, together with all the requisites [for a monk]". If read literally, however, the meaning of this *pāda* is problematic, which may explain the creation of the three alternative readings listed in the critical apparatus.

5. *Jalajuttamanāyako*: Ap-a 332,23–28 notes that the variant reading *Jalanuttamanāyako*, "The best leader of the blazing ones", was known to the author(s) of the commentary.

6. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

kārayī is m.c. for *kārayi*.

7. *byamhuttamamhi*, which is likely to have been the reading contained in the archetype, is only found in one manuscript cited in this edition, B2. However, the other manuscripts contain similar readings, including *byamhatamhi*, *byamuttamamhi* and *byanamhuttamamhi*.

12. The variant reading *nirūpadhi* is m.c. for *nirupadhi*.

14. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found at S I 173,1; Sn 79.

The *svarabhakti* vowel in *viriyaṃ* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

6.9. Sopāka

4. Parallels may be found in numerous canonical texts, e.g. D II 157,8–9; Ja I 392,19–20; S I 158,31–32. See Norman 2007a: 349 (verse 1159) for a list of parallels outside Pāli literature.

5. *nabhe*: This is the reading of hyparchetype b while *nabhaṃ* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The former is more likely to have been the archetypal reading because it is quoted in the commentary and glossed with *ākāse* in B4 and at Ap-a 335,2.

abbhuggamī is m.c. for *abbhuggami*.

6. Following the commentary, *bhāvayiṃ vaḍḍhesiṃ manasi akāsiṃ* (Ap-a 335,5), "*bhāvayiṃ* [means] I developed, I fixed it in my mind", I understand *bhāvayāniccasaññ' ahaṃ* to be *bhāvayiṃ aniccasaññaṃ ahaṃ* prior to *sandhi*.

7. It is highly likely that the archetypal reading was *sāpākaṃ*, a term which, to the best of my knowledge, does not occur elsewhere in the Pāli canon. It is best explained as an adjective derived from *sapāka*, "outcaste", formed by lengthening the first vowel (Warder 1991: 253–254) and resulting in the meaning "[womb] of an outcaste".

9. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *-viriyo* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* a.

10. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

11. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

6.10. Sumaṅgala

Compare with the *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 147–148.

1. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* b.

paṭiyādetvāna: The variant reading *paṭiyātetvāna* more closely reflects the Sanskrit equivalent, *pratiyātya*. Unlike the verb *niyyādeti*, of which a well attested

variant is *niyyāteti* (DOP s.v.), the verb *paṭiyādeti* does not appear to take the form *paṭiyāteti* elsewhere in the Pāli canon. Because of its rarity, there is no entry for *paṭiyāteti* in PED.

brāhmaṇ[e]: The archetypal reading, *brāhmaṇo*, is contradicted by the commentarial gloss *paṭiggāhake suddhapabbajite* (Ap-a B^e II 29,14),[8] "pure ascetic recipients". Among the manuscripts cited in this edition, only S1 contains the reading *brāhmaṇe*; however, B1 and B2 read *brahmaṇe*, while B3 and B4 read *brahmāṇe*.

2. *Piyadass[iṃ]*: B2 reads *Piyadassiṃ*; however, because this particular word is omitted in the manuscripts belonging to hyparchetype d, it is not possible to infer what hyparchetype b read. The inclusion of the square brackets is therefore intended to indicate uncertainty regarding its inclusion in the archetype, rather than certainty that it did not belong to the archetype.

3. The variant reading *jutīmantaṃ* is m.c. for *jutimantaṃ*, which puts the *pādayuga* into the popular *pathyā* form of the *śloka* metre.

Regarding *pāda* c, *ādiccam iva rocantaṃ* is the reading of hyparchetype b while *ādiccaṃ va virocantaṃ* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The former is supported by Ap-a 336,23 which reads, *ādiccam iva suriyam iva rocantaṃ sobhamānaṃ*, "*ādiccam iva* [means] like the sun; *rocantaṃ* [means] shining".

6. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found in numerous canonical texts, e.g. S III 91,1; Sn 544; Th 629.

nisīda tvaṃ: The variant reading *nisīdataṃ* is perhaps best understood as a third person singular imperative middle verb meaning "sit down".

8. *tāhaṃ*: I understand the variant reading *t' āsaṃ* to be equivalent to *taṃ āsaṃ*, "that food".

pāṇihi is m.c. for *pāṇīhi*.

9. *katañjali*: This reading is best understood as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a masculine nominative singular declension of the *i* stem. The variant reading *katañjalī* is found in a number of printed editions, both at this location and

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[8] The Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition is quoted here in favour of the PTS edition because the latter appears to contain an error.

elsewhere in the Apadāna (e.g. Ap 320,9, 375,17, 438,5), and is best understood as a possessive adjective with a masculine nominative singular declension of the *in* stem. Of course, the difference in meaning between these two interpretations is negligible.

10. *pāda* a is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

14. In Pāli, tmesis usually involves the separation of a compound by a one-syllable word (for examples, see Oberlies 2001: 123). However, in *pāda* a of this verse, my understanding is that the three-syllable phrase *c' aṭṭha ca*, "and eight", has been inserted in the middle of the compound *dasakhattuṃ*, "ten times", resulting in the phrase "ten—and eight—times", i.e. "eighteen times".

pāda c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

15. *oggayha*: The Sanskrit equivalent is *avagāhya*; therefore, as noted in DOP s.v. *ogāhati*, *ogayha* is orthographically more correct than *oggayha*. However, as is also noted in DOP, *oggayha* is a common variant spelling found in numerous Pāli texts and, because it is likely to have been the archetypal reading, it has been reproduced uncorrected in the base text.

uddāna

A number of the proper nouns listed in the *uddāna* have been modified for sake of metre.

gaṇe: While *gaṇe* is preferable from a metrical standpoint, *vagge* is slightly preferable from a stemmatic standpoint. These two readings are therefore considered equally likely to have been the archetypal reading.

There are 139 verses in this edition of the second chapter, assuming that the text ought to be divided into equi-length verses containing four *pāda*s. The *uddāna* represented in the base text of this edition states that there are 137 verses. The discrepancy could be accounted for if the text is instead divided into 133 verses of four *pāda*s and four verses of six *pāda*s. Alternatively, it is possible that two additional verses were added to the chapter after the *uddāna* was composed. The

*uddāna*s of B2,[9] Bᵉ and Cᵉ state that there are 138 verses in the second chapter; however, B2 and Cᵉ divides the text into 139 verses, while Bᵉ divides the text into 140 verses.

6.11. Subhūti

1. Parallels are found at Bv 2.28; Ja 6,24–25.

    There is a resolution on the sixth (or first) syllable of *pāda* a.

    avidūre: The variant reading *avīdūre* could be m.c. for *avidūre* in order to put the *pādayuga* into the *pathyā* form of the *śloka* metre.

3. PED does not give the specific meaning "[wind]fall" under *pāta* or *supāta*; however, Ap-a 343,1–2 glosses *supātaṃ* with *attano dhammatāya patitaṃ paṇṇādikaṃ*, "a leaf, etc. fallen of its own accord".

4. A parallel is found at Vism 42,28–29.

5–7. These verses are quoted at Mil 386,26–387,2.

5. *ekaggo*: *ekako* is the reading of hyparchetype b while *ekaggo* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The latter is more likely to have been the archetypal reading because it is quoted in the commentary on this particular *pāda* in B4, which corresponds to Ap-a 343,15–16, and because it more closely matches the gloss *samāhito*, "concentrated", at Ap-a 343,16.

7. *tapassinaṃ* is m.c. for *tapassīnaṃ*.

    DOP s.v. *dussati*[1] lists this particular appearance of *dūsesi* as an example of a third person singular causative present verb. However, the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 125,13) more convincingly identifies it as a causative aorist with the gloss မဖျက်ဆည်းပေလင့်, "do not ruin" (မ...လင့် indicates an aorist used as a negative imperative).

10. *na pi gihī na*: *na gihī nāpi* is the likely reading of hyparchetype b while *na pi gihī na* is the reading of hyparchetype c. However, owing to the presence of scribal

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[9] B2 contains the erroneous reading *aṭha-* and is therefore excluded from the critical apparatus.

errors, none of the witnesses belonging to hyparchetype b contain the exact wording *na gihī nāpi*. Primarily for this reason, the reading of hyparchetype c is represented in the base text.

muttako: PED s.v. states that *muttaka* is only found in compounds. This is evidently untrue; however, I am unaware of any other occurrence of *muttaka* as an independent word in the Pāli canon.

11. *s[īghaṃ]*: *siṅga*, "horn" or "calf", is the likely reading of hyparchetype b while *piṅga*, "tawny", is the reading of hyparchetype c. Neither of these readings makes sense in the context of this verse and it is possible that both are scribal errors for *sīghaṃ*, the reading of S1 and Sᵉ, which has been adopted in the base text. Nonetheless, the resultant Pāli text is awkward and its meaning is unclear, which indicates that this verse was already corrupted in the archetype, particularly the text belonging to *pāda* c. The emendation *saddhādhuraṃ*, "yoke of faith", appears to have first been inserted by the editors of the fifth Buddhist council text (as *-dhūraṃ*) and has been reproduced in many printed editions (e.g. Bᵉ, Cᵉ and Eᵉ; here corrected to *-dhuraṃ*); however, this reading is not supported by any manuscript I have examined which predates the fifth Buddhist council. In addition, while the term *saddhādhura* is found in a number of commentarial texts, to the best of my knowledge it does not appear in any other Pāli canonical text.

vahi 'si: *vahin* is not found in PED; see MW s.v. I understand the variant reading *pāhisi* to be a second person singular future verb from √*pā*, meaning "you will protect". It is likely to be a correction of the reading belonging to hyparchetype c, *pahisi*.

12. A parallel to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Ja I 130,17.

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* b.

13. *jīv[i]hisī* is m.c. for *jīv[i]hisi*.

18. DOP s.v. *kūṭa*¹ lists this occurrence of *kūṭa* under the meanings, "a prominence or projection; a horn; a summit; a peak". This listing appears to be solely based upon the reading of Eᵉ, *jātarūpaṃ yathā kūṭaṃ n'eva yāyati katthaci / tathā sīlavihīno tvaṃ n' eva yāyasi katthaci*, "As a gold summit moves nowhere, so you who have abandoned virtuous conduct will move nowhere". However, this is a

clumsy simile and, moreover, the archetype most likely read *jhāyati* and *jhāyissasi* instead of *yāyati* and *yāyasi*. In this context, *kūṭa* is perhaps most appropriately regarded as an adjective meaning "counterfeit", qualifying *jātarūpa*, "gold". A similar term in Sanskrit is *kūṭasvarṇa* (MW s.v.). Counterfeit gold can refer to a cheaper metal which has been covered with gold (e.g. S I 79,21); however, in this passage it most likely to refers to gold which has been alloyed with significant proportions of other metals. At A III 16; S V 92, it is stated that when gold is alloyed with iron, copper, tin, lead, or silver, it is no longer shiny (*pabhassara*). Counterfeit gold (*jātarūpapatirūpaka*) is used at S II 224,14–17 as a simile for counterfeit *dhamma*. In the present verse, it appears to be used as a simile for a *kūṭajaṭila*, "counterfeit matted hair ascetic", a term which is used at e.g. Ja I 375,23-24. One meaning of the verb *jhāyati* is "to burn" (from √*kṣai*); however, *jhāyati* is perhaps best understood in this verse as having the less literal related meaning, "to shine", though I am unaware of any other instance of this verb having this precise meaning. It is quite possible that *jhāyati* was chosen over other verbs which more naturally mean "to shine" in order to create a word play on the verb *jhāyissasi*, which means both "you will shine" and "you will meditate" (from √*dhyai*). The above interpretation of this difficult verse was aided by the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 126,25, 28–29), which glosses *kūṭaṃ* with ‌ကောက်ကျစ်စဉ်းလဲသော, "counterfeit" and *na jhāyissasi* with မတောက်ပလတ္တံ့, "[you] will not shine".

19. *agāra[ṃ]*: *agāra* is the reading of hyparchetype c, *agārā* is the reading of hyparchetype d and *agāraṃ* is the probable reading of hyparchetype e. The former reading best explains the development of the other readings and is therefore most likely to have belonged to the archetype.

jīvihisī is m.c. for *jīvihisi*. The variant reading *jīvit' isī* is best understood as *jīvito isī* prior to *sandhi*, meaning "living as a sage" (*isī* being m.c. for *isi*).

Despite appearing elsewhere in the Pāli canon (e.g. M II 63,23), PED does not give the meaning "maternal" under *mattika*. The Sanskrit equivalent is *mātṛka* (see MW s.v.).

23. *appamāda-*: This is the likely reading of hyparchetype b while *apamode* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The latter is almost certainly a scribal error for

appamāde, which is in fact represented by B1 and B3. Both *appamāda-* and *appamāde* are equally likely to have belonged to the archetype.

24. *anūpamo* is m.c. for *anupamo*.

25. A parallel to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Bv 16.22.

26. *adappito*: DOP s.v. *dappati* cites this verse as containing the causative past passive participle *dappita*; however, it seems highly unlikely that Padumuttara Buddha would be compared with a "wild" or "mad" elephant. Rather, we must assume that the final vowel of the proceeding word, *va*, has been elided and that the following past passive participle has been negated with the prefix *a-* to give *adappito*, "tamed". Jāgara's *nissaya* glosses a variant reading and is therefore not helpful in this instance; however, the official sixth Buddhist council translation describes the elephant as ယဉ်ကျေးသော, "tamed" (ထေရာပဒါန်ပါဠိတော်မြန်မာပြန် 1993: I 77,4).

28. *puṇṇamāye* appears to be a neuter or masculine noun with a singular locative declension. This word is not described in PED. Bv-a 118,7 includes this word in a quotation of the Buddhavaṃsa (Bv 2.184; however, the most recent PTS edition reads *puṇṇamāse* and lists *puṇṇamāye* as a variant reading). Bv-a 119,9 then provides the explanation, *puṇṇamāye ti puṇṇamāsiyaṃ*, "*puṇṇamāye* [means] at the [time of the] full moon".

32. *-sārathinaṃ* is m.c. for *-sārathīnaṃ*, which puts the *pādayuga* into the popular *pathyā* form of the *śloka* metre.

34–35. Note the inconsistent orthography of *-rattiṃdivaṃ* (§ 5.11.34) and *-rattindivaṃ* (§ 5.11.35). This inconsistency is supported by the great majority of manuscripts used for this edition.

36. PED does not give the meaning "to praise" under *pakitteti*, but see MW s.v. *pra-√kīrt*, especially its past passive participle *prakīrtita*.

38. *pāda* c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

42. While it is possible that the archetypal reading *-koṭi* is m.c. for *-koṭiṃ* in order to put the *pādayuga* into the popular *pathyā* form of the *śloka* metre, it is more likely to be a scribal error since, with the reading *-koṭiṃ*, the *pādayuga* perfectly adheres to the third *vipulā* of the *śloka* metre.

43. Note the unexpected shift from second person verbs to the third person verb *hessati*. Somewhat surprisingly, this shift in the received text has been reproduced unmodified in B^e and C^e.

44. *-guṇa[m]hi*: *-guṇahi* is the likely reading of hyparchetype b while *-guṇe hi* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The former erroneous reading best explains the development of all other readings and therefore most likely belonged to the archetype. If this is so, then it follows that the archetypal reading was recognised as an error and emended to *-gaṇamhi* by the editor(s) of hyparchetype d and emended to *-guṇe hi* by the editor(s) of hyparchetype c. The probable archetypal reading, retained without amendment in B1 and S1, is most likely a scribal error of *-guṇamhi*, although no manuscript cited in this edition contains this reading. While the reading of hyparchetype b, *-guṇe hi*, is not erroneous, the placement of the particle *hi* is abnormal. The alternative of taking this as *-guṇehi* is unattractive from a grammatical and semantic perspective; however, this appears to have been the understanding of the editors who produced the text of B2, since they correspondingly emended *-vihāre ca* to *-vihārena*.

45. *abbhuggamī* is m.c. for *abbhuggami*, in order to put the *pādayuga* into the popular *pathyā* form of the *śloka* metre.

47. There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* a.

48–50. Note the parallel with the prediction verses at §§ 5.11.38–40.

48. A parallel to the first *pādayuga* is found at A IV 90,5. As noted in § 2.4, the content and language of the verses at A IV 89–91 are extremely reminiscent of the *apadāna*s.

49. I assume that *susampattiṃ* refers to *dvesampattiṃ* (for the latter term, see § 6.3.3 and the note at § 7.3.3).

51. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

52. A parallel to the second *pādayuga* is found at Thī 71.

6.12. Upavāṇa

The Apadānaṭṭhakathā comments upon the *apadāna* of Upavāṇa twice (Ap-a 343–344, 567–569). The latter section concerns the fifty-sixth chapter of the Apadāna which, as noted in § 1.6, is not included in the PTS edition, nor in any of the manuscripts I have been able to consult, nor in the Kuthodaw Pagoda stelae. Regarding this latter Apadānaṭṭhakathā section, while I have not used its quotations of the root text in constructing the edition, I have used its glosses to aid my translation.

1–26. This passage describes a succession of different types of beings contributing to the construction of a stupa designed to hold the relic of Padumuttara Buddha. It begins by describing humans, gods and then *nāga*s contributing to the construction of the stupa. From verse fourteen onwards, three different versions of this passage emerge. The archetype, represented by the witnesses B3, C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, Eᵉ and S1, describes that after the *nāga*s the following types of beings contribute to the construction of the stupa: *kumbhaṇḍa*s, *yakkha*s and then *gandhabba*s. A second version, represented by B1 alone, describes that after the *nāga*s the following types of beings contribute to the construction of the stupa: *garuḷa*s, *kumbhaṇḍa*s and then *gandhabba*s. It appears that this version represents a conscious reaction to a number of internal inconsistencies contained in the archetype. Firstly, at § 5.12.18, it is stated that humans, gods, *nāga*s and *garuḷa*s have built the stupa, which could be viewed as inconsistent with § 5.12.14, which lists *kumbhaṇḍa*s as the fourth group. This, it seems, is what prompted the emendation of the reading *kumbhaṇḍā* to *garuḷā* at § 5.12.14. Secondly, at § 5.12.22, it is stated that humans, gods, *nāga*s, *kumbhaṇḍa*s and *garuḷa*s have built the stupa, which could be viewed as inconsistent with § 5.12.18, which lists *yakkha*s as the fifth group. This is seemingly what prompted the emendation of the reading *yakkhā tattha* to *kumbhaṇḍā ca* at § 5.12.18. A third version, represented by B2, Bᵉ, Cᵉ and Sᵉ, describes that after the *nāga*s the following types of beings contribute to the construction of the stupa: *garuḷa*s, *kumbhaṇḍa*s, *yakkha*s and then *gandhabba*s. This version appears to have inherited the conscious emendations which B1 has also inherited; however, it

contains additional emendations which, as far as I can surmise, were created during the editorial preparations for the fifth Buddhist council of 1871. The most radical difference in this version is the addition of four verses which describe *yakkha*s building the stupa and which are based upon existing verses in the received text. While B2 is closely related to B1, it is also contaminated by a witness belonging to hyparchetype c, which represents the archetypal version of this passage. It seems likely that when the two existing versions of this passage were compared by the editors of the fifth Buddhist council text, these editors noticed that the first version mentions *yakkha*s but not *garuḷa*s, while the second version mentions *garuḷa*s but not *yakkha*s. The result is a conflated text which mentions both *yakkha*s and *garuḷa*s. This third conflated version also fully describes seven types of beings contributing to the construction of a stupa which is seven leagues high, unlike the other two versions which only fully describe six types of beings. The changes introduced in this third version may also have been partly influenced by Ap-a 343,31–32, 567,9–10 which have the same list of seven types of beings, though in a slightly different order.

1. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

> *-dhammāna* is m.c. for *-dhammānaṃ*.

Parallels to the second *pādayuga* may be found at Bv 2.217, 11.30, 18.26, 20.34.

2. *katvā*: *katvāna* is the reading of hyparchetype b while *katvā* is the reading of hyparchetype c. It appears that the editor(s) of hyparchetype e responded to the hypermetric *pāda* produced by the additional syllable in *katvāna* by altering *citakaṃ* to *citaṃ*.

4. The ordinals in this verse and the next qualify a noun with a feminine nominative singular declension. Jāgara (1926: I 131,30) glosses *paṭhamā* with ပဌမပစ္စယာသသည်, "first terrace". Walters (1997: 189n54) appears to suggest that the ordinals in this passage refer to a series of reliquary urns whereby each one is placed inside the next. Alternatively, it is possible that they refer to a series of layers (*kañcukā*, CPD s.v., see §§ 5.12.8, 5.12.16). While these suggestions fit the

context well, the fact is that neither the root text nor its commentary specifies what the ordinals refer to, and my translation reflects this ambiguity.

maṇi-: The variant reading *maṇī-* could be m.c. for *maṇi-*.

catutthi is the probable archetypal reading; however, I am unaware of any instance in which this ordinal has a final short *i* in the feminine nominative singular declension. Therefore, in the base text, this short vowel has been lengthened.

5. DOP s.v. *kāca*[1] cites this particular appearance of *kāca*; however, it does not list it under the primary meaning "glass", but instead states that it is probably an error. I disagree with this assessment because *kācehi* is the likely archetypal reading and it fits the context well.

sabba-: The variant reading *sabbaṃ* may be an adverb meaning "completely".

The *svarabhakti* vowel in *-ratana-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

ūpari is m.c. for *upari*; however, it may also be viewed as an example of standard external *sandhi* in which an initial vowel is sometimes lengthened following a vowel elision.

6. Ap-a 568 comments upon this verse after it comments upon § 5.12.8, implying that the order of verses in the version available to the commentator(s) differed from the order presented here.

ratanā- is m.c. for *ratana-*.

-sovaṇṇamayo best explains the development of the other readings. It has resulted in a hypermetric nine syllable *pāda*, and the two variant readings demonstrate two different strategies used by scribes to eliminate one of the syllables.

7. *pāda* c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables. It is likely that the variant reading *kassāma* (for *karissāma*) developed in response to this.

8. While DOP s.v. *āveṇika* lists *āvenika* as a valid variant of *āveṇika*, CPD s.v. *āvenika* states, "āvenika [*is a*] *wrong spelling for* āveṇika". I have therefore chosen to emend the archetypal reading *āvenikā* to *āveṇikā*.

Norman (2003: 252) stated that in Sanskrit, "*śarīra* in the singular means 'body', not 'relics', which is its meaning in the plural". Here, however, there is only

one relic, so a plural noun would not be appropriate. The text makes it clear that the body has been burnt and all that is left is a single relic. See Vv 63.32 for another instance in which *sarīraṃ* has the meaning "relic". After briefly discussing the *apadāna* of Upavāṇa, Strong (2004: 45) noted, "in terms of relics, there are two basic types of previous buddhas: those whose bodily relics are scattered to various regions, and those whose relics (bodies) are kept together and enshrined in a single stūpa".

pāda d is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

9. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *ratanehi* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

vaḍḍhesu is m.c. for *vaḍḍhesuṃ*.

byapahan(a)ti/vyapahan(a)ti is not found in PED (MW s.v. *vy-apa-√han*). The only other instance of this verb in early Pāli literature which I am aware of is at Mil 127,26.

11. The expression in *pāda* a is unusual. We might instead expect a verb such as *āsimhǎ* or *ahumhǎ*, resulting in the meaning, "Let us not be negligent!". Indeed, at § 5.12.15, we find the variant reading *ahumhā*. Moreover, the official sixth Buddhist council translation reads, ငါတို့သည်ကုသိုလ်ကောင်းမှု၌မေ့လျော့ခြင်းတို့သည်မဖြစ်ကြစေကုန်လင့်, "Let us not be negligent in regards to [this] meritorious deed" (ထေရာပဒါန်ပါဠိတော် မြန်မာပြန် 1993: I 80,13). However, the root text cannot mean this, unless we understand *assumhā* to be *assu amhā* prior to *sandhi* and we understand *assu* to be an indeclinable meaning "indeed"; yet this would be most unusual Pāli.

pāda c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

12. *achādayuṃ* is m.c. for *acchādayuṃ*, involving the simplification of a consonant group.

15. *pāda* c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

16. *tāra-*: This is the reading of hyparchetype c, *taru-* is the reading of hyparchetype d, while the readings stemming from hyparchetype e are variable and include *tāva*. The probable archetypal reading is *tāra-*. PED does not include an entry for *tāra*, while DOP s.v. *tāra* only lists the meanings, "high, shrill; a high note; a loud or shrill note". However, MW s.v. *tāra* lists several additional

meanings, such as, "shining, radiant... clean, clear... good, excellent". These meanings fit the context of this verse very well.

17. I regard *catuyojanam* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter accusative singular declension.

Parallels to the second *pādayuga* may be found at Bv 1.15, 7.24.

20. *pāda* a is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

I assume that *phalikā* is an example of the nonstandard *-ā* feminine singular instrumental declension. See Oberlies 2001: § 31.1 for this form. It is likely that the variant reading *phalikāhi* is an emendation made by scribe(s) who were unaware of this nonstandard declension.

21. I regard *pañcayojanam* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter accusative singular declension.

Four additional verses follow § 5.12.21 in B2, Bᵉ, Cᵉ and Sᵉ. The wording of these four verses is slightly different in each of the four witnesses and rather than quote each separately in the critical apparatus, which would take up a large amount of space, the primary quotation represents the text of Bᵉ. Where B2, Cᵉ, or Sᵉ differs from Bᵉ, the variant has been placed in square brackets immediately after the word it replaces.

23. *pāda*s a and c are hypermetric, each containing nine syllables.

24. *-sovaṇṇamayaṃ* best explains the development of the other readings. It has resulted in a hypermetric nine syllable *pāda*, and the two most popular variant readings demonstrate two different strategies used by scribes to eliminate one of the syllables.

25. I regard *sattayojanam* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter accusative singular declension.

26. *ābhā* could either refer to the lights of the stupa, in which case it has a feminine accusative plural declension, or it could refer to the lights from the moon, sun and stars, in which case it has a feminine nominative plural declension. CPD s.v. *ābhā* evidently accepts the former interpretation, since it states that in this passage *ābhā* has an accusative plural declension. However, in favour of the latter interpretation, we would expect multiple lights from the moon, sun and stars, but just one light

from the stupa. Moreover, Ap-a 569,5–6 appears to accept the latter interpretation, stating, *atibhont' eva na tass' ābhā ti tassa cetiyassa pabhaṃ candasuriya-tārakānaṃ pabhā na atibhonti ajjhottharantī ti attho*, "*atibhont' eva na tass' ābhā* [means] the lights of the moon, sun and stars did not surpass, did not overwhelm, the light of that shrine".

27. *ukkhipanti*: A variant reading is *upakkhipanti*. Neither PED, nor CPD, nor DOP contain an entry for *upakkhipati*; however, it may be viewed as a legitimate equivalent of the Sanskrit *upakṣipati* (MW s.v. *upa-√kṣip*).

29. Semantically, we might assume that the two present participles *gacchato* and *gacchantā* best describe the garland. Jāgara (1926: I 136,3) appears to have done so and glossed *gacchato* with လက္ဘ်လှည့်သွားသော, "[garland] which circumambulated clockwise". However, to make this explanation feasible, Jāgara inserted the word *gacchantaṃ* between the quotation of the root text and the gloss, which was presumably intended as a correction to the received text. Yet rather than modify the received text, I regard *gacchato* as m.c. for *gacchanto*, a present participle with a masculine nominative plural declension describing *te*, "they". It is possible that the two present participles therefore refer to the visitors going to (i.e. visiting) the stupa, or going around (i.e. circumambulating) the stupa.

suggatiṃ is m.c. for *sugatiṃ*, involving an unhistoric doubling of consonants.

31. *ahosi[ṃ]*: *ahosi* is the reading of hyparchetype c while *ahosiṃ* is the probable reading of hyparchetype e. Because this verse is omitted in the manuscripts belonging to hyparchetype d, it is not possible to infer what hyparchetype b read. The inclusion of the square brackets either side of the *niggahīta* is therefore intended to indicate uncertainty regarding its inclusion in the archetype, rather than certainty that it did not belong to the archetype.

32. For another example of the rare *-n- sandhi* consonant, see Th 564 and Norman 2007a: 238n564.

I regard *dhātugharedisaṃ* as *dhātugharaṃ edisaṃ* prior to *sandhi* and therefore this term has been represented as *dhātughar' edisaṃ* in the base text. Alternatively, following Jāgara (1926: I 136,16–17), it may be regarded as *dhātughare īdisaṃ* prior

to *sandhi*, which, following Jāgara's glosses, may be translated as, "at [whose] relic building there is such [a marvel]".

kubbanti: A popular variant reading found in B2, B3, Bᵉ, C3, C4 and Sᵉ, is *kubban na* / *kubbaṃ na*. Jāgara (1926: I 136,19–20), whose root text contained this variant reading, glossed *kubbaṃ* with ပြုကုန်လျက် "while performing" and *na tappare* with မရောင့်ရဲနိုင်ကုန်, "they were unable to become satisfied". However, if *kubbaṃ* is a present participle, as indicated by Jāgara, then it has a masculine nominative singular declension, which clearly does not fit this verse. Furthermore, his interpretation of *na tappare*, while grammatically acceptable, clashes with the description that the people are *tuṭṭhā*, "content". This whole variant phrase is therefore omitted from the critical apparatus.

33. *pāda* a is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

34. *ukkhipi* is m.c. for *ukkhipiṃ*. The variant reading *ukkhipim* is more attractive, since it is grammatically clearer and still retains the cadence ⌣−⌣−; however, there is little doubt that this reading did not belong to the archetype.

35. It will be noticed that the name of the *yakkha* given in this verse differs slightly from the one given in § 5.12.28. The difference may be explained by metrical considerations.

38. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found in the Jātaka, e.g. Ja V 322,18, VI 436,16, 28, 463,7. A similar construction is found at Mil 38,28–29, *sabbā va senā hatthī ca assā ca rathā ca pattī ca*, "the whole army, [namely,] elephants and cavalry and chariots and infantry".

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

39. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *-turiya-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

40. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found in the Buddhavaṃsa, e.g. Bv 2.208, 3.27, 4.20.

Parallels to the second *pādayuga* may be found in the Jātaka, e.g. Ja IV 352,7, V 155,17, 259,16.

41. A parallel to the first *pādayuga* may be found at J VI 503,15.

susaññā: On the same page of the parallel just cited (J VI 503,15), the editor, Fausbøll, has added the following footnote to the reading *susaññā*: "so all three MSS. for susoñño?". This footnote was commented on by Norman (2003: 176–177) in a study on the Vessantarajātaka. Norman (2003: 176) stated that the suggested editorial correction *susoñño* "is very attractive" because J VI 504,30 provides the gloss *sussoṇiyo*, "with good buttocks/hips". Norman then proposed that an even better emendation is *susoññā*, which he understood to be *sussoṇiyo* after the term had adopted the *ā* stem and undergone an orthographic change. Norman's primary supporting evidence is the existence of this very reading in the parallel passages at Ap 307,5, 353,23, 356,5, 413,24. However, a deeper investigation of this issue indicates that neither J VI 503,15 nor the received text of the present verse (§ 5.12.41) should be modified to *susoññā*. As recognised by Norman (2003: 177), there are two commentarial glosses which instead support the reading *susaññā*, the first at Ja VI 52,9, *susaññātā*, "well perceived", and the second at Ap-a 277,34–35 (on Ap 40,7), *sundarasaññitabbasarīrāvayavā*, "whose body and limbs are to be well perceived". As also recognised by Norman (2003: 177), in the parallel passages at Ap 22,17, 40,7, 73,15, the reading is *susaññā*. While investigating this, I found it curious that all these examples of *susaññā* in the Apadāna fall within volume one of the PTS edition and all examples of *susoññā* in the Apadāna fall within volume two. The reason behind this becomes clear in light of the foreword to volume two, in which Lilley (1927: vii–viii) wrote, "Two misreadings in Part I were brought to my notice when the work was practically through the press by Dr. W. Stede, who pointed out to me that on p. 22, g. 107, and in similar passages throughout the text the reading should be *su-soññā* instead of *su-saññā*". It is therefore evident that the four examples of *susoññā* in volume two are editorial emendations which are not clearly marked as such. To confirm this, I examined these four passages in all Apadāna nine manuscripts[10] and found that, with the exception of three minor variants at Ap 353,23,[11] in each instance the reading is *susaññā*. I understand *susañña* to be an adjective meaning "the perception of whom is good" (i.e. "good

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[10] With the exception of C3, of which I was only able to check the reading at Ap 307,5.

[11] C2 reads *supaññā*, while C4 and C5 read *susamhā*.

looking"), in much the same way that *sudassana* means "the slight of whom is good" (i.e. "good looking"). In this context, the gloss of *sussoṇiyo* at J VI 504,30 might simply specify the way in which these women are "good looking". An alternative understanding of *susañña* is "with beautiful gestures". The foregoing investigation highlights the importance of utilising the primary sources, i.e. handwritten manuscripts, and the unreliability of some printed editions in faithfully representing the received text.

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

45. Note the unexpected shift from second person verbs to the third person verb *bhavissati*. While *bhavissati* is clearly the archetypal reading, it has been corrected to *bhavissasi* in all cited printed editions.

47. Note the different orthography of the protagonist's name here (Upavāna) and in the close (Upavāṇa). As per the goal of this edition, that is, to represent the archetype with as few emendations as possible, I have not harmonised this orthography.

48. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

jhāpayī is m.c. for *jhāpayi*.

49. While the cardinal three is most often *ti-* at the beginning of a compound, it may also be *tayo-* and *tīṇi-* (DOP s.v.; Oberlies 2001: 197n2). Perhaps because of the rarity of this form, the phrase *tīṇiyojana-* has been emended to *tiyojanāni* in B2, B[e] and C[e]. It appears that this change was first introduced during the editorial preparations for the fifth Buddhist council of 1871. DOP s.v. *tīṇi* states that the reading *tīṇiyojana-* in this passage is probably wrong; however, it is widely supported in the manuscripts. Cf. § 5.18.8.

I understand the probable archetypal reading, *ussissanti*, to be a third person plural passive verb from *ud-√śiṣ*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *ucchiṣyate*. While *sissati* is listed in PED, *ussissati* is in neither PED, nor CPD, nor DOP, which is not particularly surprising since, to the best of my knowledge, it does not appear elsewhere in the Pāli canon. In the Apadāna, the word *dhaja*, "flag", is often associated with some variant of the verb *usseti*, "raises", e.g. Ap 2,6, 4,8, 177,7. It may well be that *ussissanti* is an old scribal error for *ussiyanti* or *ussīyanti*, "were

raised"; however, despite the latter appearing in C^e, neither is found in any of the manuscripts cited in this edition.

50. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

6.13. Tīṇisaraṇāgamaniya

Compare with the *apadāna*s of Saraṇāgamaniya at Ap 148–149, 455 and the *apadāna* of Saraṇagamaniya at Ap 246–247.

2. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Bv 2.6; J I 3,27.

3. *-kārapihitā*: *-kārāpihitā* is the probable reading of hyparchetype b while *-kārapihitā* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The latter is more like to the archetypal reading because it is the reading quoted in the commentary manuscript B4, which corresponds to Ap-a 345,16, and because the commentarial gloss contains the word *pihitā* rather than *apihitā* (Ap-a 345,16). Cf. § 6.14.2.

5. *gopayaṃ*: The variant reading *gopayiṃ*, a first person singular aorist, is not particularly appropriate given that the protagonist has not yet taken the refuges. It is therefore surprising that, while only found in two of the manuscripts cited in this edition, it is reproduced in B^e, C^e and S^e.

There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* c.

paṭimokkhāmi: Geiger (1994: § 152) identified two instances in which future verbs from √*muc* with the stem *mokkha-* have a passive meaning. However, some verbs formed from this stem have an active meaning. For example, Ja III 298,1 states *sappaṃ pamokkhāmi na tāva kākaṃ*, "I will free the snake, but not the crow". In the present verse, because *duggatiṃ* has an accusative declension instead of an ablative declension, *paṭimokkhāmi* must have an active meaning. PED does not list the meaning "to abandon" under *paṭimuñcati*; however, see MW s.v. *prati-*√*muc*.

7. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Bv 3.34, 8.26, 9.26, 11.29.

pāda c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

8. There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* c.

10. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* d.

11. PED does not give the meaning "always" for *sabbattha*. See MW s.v. *sarvatra*.

paṭikanta is not listed in PED. I understand it to be derived from *prati-√kam*.

Note that *yaso* is masculine in this verse, as it is in Sn 438.

12. For a parallel to the first *pādayuga*, see § 6.11.48.

15. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

sahasā: *sahassa-* is the likely reading of hyparchetype b while *sahasā* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The latter is perhaps more likely to have been the archetypal reading because the alternative is semantically awkward and results in a hypermetric *pāda*.

PED does not give the meaning "accompanied by" for *purakkhata*, but see MW s.v. *puraskṛta*.

16. A parallel to *pāda*s b–c may be found at Thī 320.

nirūpadhiṃ is m.c. for *nirupadhiṃ*.

18. I regard *sattavassena* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter instrumental singular declension.

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

upasampādesi sambuddho: The variant reading *upasampādayĭ Buddho* is likely to be a conscious harmonisation with the parallel *pādayuga* at § 5.14.13.

19. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

20. *suppaṇihitaṃ*: The variant reading *suppaṇīhitaṃ* is m.c. for *suppaṇihitaṃ*.

23. I understand *passayissatha* to be a second person plural future verb from *pra-√śri* (MW s.v. *pra-√śri²*). PED does not list *passayati*; however, for a similar verb see DOP s.v. *nissayati*.

24. The archetypal reading *gopaya* could be a second person singular imperative verb meaning "guard!". However, throughout the passage §§ 5.13.23–25, all finite verbs have second person plural conjugations. Particularly in light of the reading *parigopiya* at § 5.13.25, it seems more likely that the archetypal reading is a scribal error for the absolutive *gopiya*.

25. Following Jāgara (1926: I 142,12), I understand *vo* to be a second person pronoun with an uncommon nominative plural declension (see Oberlies 2001: 183–184).

26. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found at S I 196,21; Th 1262.

Parallels to the second *pādayuga* may be found at S I 193,2; Th 1241.

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* d.

Note that the protagonist's name has been shortened in this verse, most likely for sake of metre, as it has been in the *uddāna*, "summary", of this chapter.

27. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda*s a and b.

close. Note that the archetypal reading is *-therassa*, as opposed to the usual *-ttherassa*.

6.14. Pañcasīlasamādāniya

1. *bhaṭako*: The variant reading *bhaṭako* is included in the critical apparatus because I do not consider it to simply be an orthographic variant of *bhatako*. The former is derived from *bhaṭa* (S. *bhaṭa*), while the latter is derived from *bhata* (S. *bhṛta*).

2. *-kārāpihitā*: *-kārāpihitā* is the probable reading of hyparchetype b while *-kārapihitā* is the reading of hyparchetype c. The latter is more like to the archetypal reading because it is quoted in the commentary manuscript B4, which corresponds to Ap-a 346,5, and because the commentarial gloss contains the word *pihitā* rather than *apihitā* (Ap-a 346,5). Cf. § 6.13.3.

3. *bhatako*: The variant reading *dukkhito* appears to have been taken from the commentary, which states, *ahaṃ varāko bhatako dukkhito bhatiyā jīvāmi* (Ap-a 346,10), "*ahaṃ varāko bhatako* [means] miserable, I lived on wages".

I regard *pañcasīlaṃ* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter accusative singular declension.

4. There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* a.

5. For parallels to the first *pādayuga*, see § 6.13.7.

7. There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* c.

8. For a parallel to the first *pādayuga*, see § 6.11.48.

10. *Vesāliyaṃ*: The variant reading *Sāvatthiyaṃ* is likely to be a conscious harmonisation with the parallel *pādayuga* at § 5.13.14.

13. *pañca-*: The variant reading *satta-* is likely to be a conscious harmonisation with the parallel *pādayuga* at § 5.13.18.

I regard *pañcavassena* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter instrumental singular declension.

upasampādayī is m.c. for *upasampādayi*.

14. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

15. *sīlāna* is m.c. for *sīlānaṃ*.

DOP s.v. *kitteti* cites this particular appearance of *kittaye* as an example of a third person singular optative verb. However, the context makes it more likely that it is a first person verb and indeed Ap-a 346,17 interprets it as such, stating, *kittaye pākaṭaṃ kareyyan ti attho*, "*kittaye* means I ought to make it known".

18. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

19. I regard *pañcasīlaṃ* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter nominative singular declension.

20. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

6.15. Annasaṃsāvaka

Compare with the similar *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 261.

1. Commenting upon Bv 1.16, Bv-a 36,26–27 states *dvattiṃsavaralakkhaṇo ti suppatiṭṭhitapādatalādīhi dvattiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇehi samannāgato ti attho*, "*dvattiṃsavaralakkhaṇo* means endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man, beginning with standing well on the soles of his feet". Therefore, in the present verse (§ 5.15.1) *battiṃsavaralakkhaṇaṃ* is surely an abbreviation for *battiṃsamahāpurisalakkhaṇaṃ* for sake of metre, meaning that *vara* refers to an "excellent [man]", rather than "glorious [marks]", as translated by Horner (1975: 2) for the parallel at Bv 1.16.

2. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Bv 11.27, 21.23.

anopamaṃ is m.c. for *anupamaṃ*.

3. *muni*: The variant reading *mahā-* is likely to be a conscious harmonisation with the term *mahākāruṇike* at § 5.15.4.

5. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

close. PED does not contain an entry for *saṃsāvaka*. I assume it is equivalent to the Sanskrit word *saṃśrāvaka*, "disciple" (MW s.v.).

6.16. Dhūpadāyaka

1. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* c.

Oddly, while the meaning "incense" is given for *dhūpana* in PED s.v., this meaning is not listed in DOP s.v.

3. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

6.17. Pulinapūjaka

Compare with the similar *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 259.

1. A parallel to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Ap 219,21. CPD (s.v *uttama*[1]) cites this parallel and states that *pāda-m-uttame* is m.c. for *pāde uttame*. The phrase *pāda-m-uttame* was clearly the archetypal reading and, amongst the manuscript witnesses, the variant *pādaputtame*, "at the supreme tree", is only found in B1 and B2 and appears to be an emendation designed to make the text more easily understood. The phrase *pāda-m-uttame* is found throughout the Apadāna, e.g. Ap 108,25, 231,7, 400,24.

pāda c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

2. *pāda* a is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* d.

6.18. Uttiya

1. *-bhojana-*: The variant reading *-gocara-* may have been taken from the commentary, which glosses *pāda* c with *ahaṃ sabhojane sakagocare pasuto byāvaṭo* (Ap-a 349,15), "I was occupied on my own food".

-pasutāhaṃ: The variant reading *-pasūtāhaṃ* could be m.c. for *-pasutāhaṃ*, which puts the *pādayuga* into the popular *pathyā* form of the *śloka* metre.

2. *nadi[ṃ]*: The archetypal reading *nadī* can only make sense if we assume that it forms the first member of the compound *nadītaritukāmo*, "wishing to cross the river"; however, I am unaware of any other example in Pāli literature in which an infinitive in a nominal compound is not the first member. I have therefore treated the archetypal reading as an error.

10. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

6.19. Ekañjalika

Compare with the *apadāna*s of Ekañjaliya at Ap 236, 281.

1. *Vipassi-*: While the reading *Vipassiṃ* would create a smoother text, the only manuscript in which it is found is B2. Notably, the commentary manuscript B4 contains the reading *Vipassi-*, which corresponds to Ap-a 350,6.

2. *tādi[ṃ]*: The archetypal reading *tādi* could be considered the first member of the compound *tādimahāvādimahāmatiṃ*, "venerable great teacher, with a great mind". However, compounds across two *pāda*s are rare in the Pāli canon and, moreover, the commentary manuscript B4 contains the reading *tādiṃ*, which corresponds to Ap-a 350,19. It seems most likely that the archetypal reading *tādi* was a scribal error for *tādiṃ*.

3. *pāda*s a and b are hypermetric, both containing nine syllables. Presumably in order to eliminate one syllable in *pāda* b, B1 and B2 omit *yaṃ*, while B[e], C5, C[e] and E[e] have the reading *kariṃ* instead of *akariṃ*.

6.20. Khomadāyaka

3. *pāda* a is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

4. While it is likely that the archetype read *Sindhava-*, in light of the various erroneous manuscript readings, it may be hypothesised that its *akṣara*s may have been difficult to read at this point. For example, the reading of hyparchetype c is *Sinna-e-*, while the probable reading of hyparchetype d is *Sinduva-*.

uddāna

A number of the proper nouns listed in the *uddāna* have been modified for sake of metre.

Dhūp[o]: The archetypal reading was most likely *Dhūpaṃ* and no manuscript I have consulted contains the reading *Dhūpo*. If *Dhūpaṃ* is interpreted as a noun meaning "incense", it ought to have a masculine nominative singular declension and read *Dhūpo* as per the other proper nouns in the *uddāna*, including *Saraṇa* and *Pulina* which are usually considered to be neuter in gender. It might be argued that *Dhūpaṃ* is a present participle from the verb *dhūpati* (DOP s.v.) with a masculine nominative singular declension; however, its meaning, "heated" or "suffering", is inappropriate. It seems more likely that *Dhūpaṃ* was a scribal error in the archetype for *Dhūpo*.

There are 186 verses in this edition of the third chapter, assuming that the text ought to be divided into equi-length verses containing four *pāda*s. The *uddāna* states that there are 185 verses. The discrepancy could be accounted for if the text is instead divided into 183 verses of four *pāda*s and two verses of six *pāda*s. Alternatively, it is possible that one additional verse was added to the chapter after the *uddāna* was composed. If the four additional verses found in B2, Bᵉ, Cᵉ and Sᵉ (see § 6.12.1–26) are included in the total count, this discrepancy is greater, which provides further evidence that these four verses are late additions.

6.21. Kuṇḍadhāna

1. I regard *sattāhaṃ* as a *dvigu karmadhāraya* compound with a neuter accusative singular declension. The variant reading *pattāhaṃ* could mean "I reached".

2. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

mahantaṃ: The variant reading *mahanta-* may be considered the first member of a compound (see Oberlies 2001: 175n4).

5. There is a parallel at Ja V 324,24–25.

bhūtabhavya typically means "past and future"; however, Ja V 325,9–11 glosses *pāda* c in the aforementioned parallel (Ja V 324,24–25) with *asmiṃ Himavantāraññe yāni bhūtāni c' eva buddhimariyādāpattāni bhavyāni ca taruṇadevatāni*, "in this wilderness of the Himalayas, the old who have reached the limits of intelligence and also the young who are new deities" (an attractive variant reading of *buddhi-* is *vuddhi-*, "[limits of] growth"). In light of this, *bhūtabhavya* is more likely to mean "old and young" in this verse (§ 5.21.5).

6. The author(s) of the commentary evidently considered the protagonist to be a human, since Ap-a 351,19 states *kulagehe nibbatto*, "he grew up in the house of a good family". Therefore, in the present verse (§ 5.21.6) *va* ought to be regarded as meaning "like [a lion]". In B2, Bᵉ, S1 and Sᵉ, the nouns in *pāda* b have been given accusative declensions, perhaps because it was considered more appropriate to compare Padumuttara Buddha to a lion.

7. *pāda* a involves tmesis. The almost identical readings of C1, C2, Cᵉ and Eᵉ avoid this tmesis.

12. *gāhayī* is m.c. for *gāhayi*.

13. There is a resolution on the first (or sixth) syllable of *pāda* c.

14. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* b.

PED does not list *pakampaka*, which is not particularly surprising since, to the best of my knowledge, it does not appear elsewhere in the Pāli canon. The word *kampaka* (DOP s.v.) is derived from √*kamp* while *pakampaka* is derived from *pra-*

√*kamp*. The meaning of the latter noun is likely to be extremely similar to that of the former noun.

15. For parallels to the first *pādayuga*, see § 6.8.14.

The *svarabhakti* vowel in *viriyaṃ* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

6.22. Sāgata

2. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Nidd II 5,6–7; Sn 1015.

3. PED does not list *santhavati*. Commenting upon a parallel *pāda* (Ap 104,10), Ap-a 378,24 glosses *santhaviṃ* with *suṭṭhu thomesin ti*, "I praised well". See DOP s.v. *thavati*; MW s.v. *saṃ-√stu*.

4. *buddhimanto*: The variant reading *vuddhimanto* (stem form *vuddhimat*) is not listed in PED; however, see MW s.v. *vṛddhimat*.

6. There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* a.

7. For the feminine ablative singular *parisato*, instead of *parisāto*, see Oberlies 2001: § 31.2.

suriyo dassane: In parallels to the second *pādayuga* of this verse at Ap 280,21, 360,14, 454,28; Bv 8.25, the simile is of the risen (*uggata*) sun, which better corresponds to the variant reading *sŭriyodayane*, "[like] at sunrise". While it is possible that the likely archetypal reading, *suriyo dassane*, is a corruption of *suriyodayane*, it does make sense nonetheless and has therefore been retained in the base text without emendation. The variant reading *suriyo vaggane* could mean "[like] the sun during its rising" (PED does not list *vaggana*; however, see MW s.v. *valgana*). Eᵉ reads *suriyo 'bbhaghane*, "[like] the sun in thick cloud", for which I have found no manuscript support and which appears to be an editorial emendation based upon a reading similar to *suriyo vaggane*.

11. There is a resolution on the sixth syllable of *pāda* a.

Three relatively distinct versions of the first *pādayuga* exist, namely, *tena kammena sukatena tuṭṭhahaṭṭhaṃ labhissati*, "Because of that well performed deed,

he will obtain a contented and joyful [mind]", the reading of hyparchetype c; *vimbakapasuto hutvā arahattaṃ labhissati*, "Having become intent upon an image (?) he will obtain arahatship", the reading of hyparchetype d; and *tuṭṭhahaṭṭhaṃ labhissati pabbajitvāna sāsane*, "He will obtain a contented and joyful [mind] having gone forth in the teaching", the probable reading of hyparchetype e (however, B2 contains the reading of hyparchetype c, probably due to its relatively strong contamination with this hyparchetype). The reading of hyparchetype c best explains the development of the other readings and is therefore most likely to have belonged to the archetype.

12. A parallel is found at Sn 407.

14. From this point onwards the final verse of each *apadāna* is abbreviated in B2. Bᵉ has followed its example; however, the amount of text abbreviated is slightly different in each witness.

6.23. Mahākaccāna

Compare with the *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 463–465.

1. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion in *pāda* a, but not in *pāda* b.

2. *ratana-*: *ratanā-* is the reading of hyparchetype b while *ratana-* is the reading of hyparchetype c. It is likely that former represents a harmonisation with *ratanā-* at § 5.23.6, which is m.c. for *ratana-*. In this verse (§ 5.23.2), however, the final vowel of *ratana-* does not need to be lengthened for sake of metre and I therefore regard the reading of hyparchetype b as an error. It is odd that this reading has been reproduced in all printed editions cited in this new edition.

paggayha: The variant reading *paggayhaṃ* could be considered a gerundive from *pra-√grah*, meaning "[chowrie] fit to be held out". For a similar word, see DOP s.v. *gaṇhāti→gayha*[2]. Cf. § 6.24.2.

3. *ratanāsana-*: B2, Bᵉ and Cᵉ read *ratanāmaya-*, perhaps as a result of harmonisation with the reading of hyparchetype b at § 5.23.2a (*ratanāmaya-*).

Again, since metrical lengthening is inappropriate in this instance, I regard *ratanā-* in *ratanāmaya-* as an error and this reading has therefore not been represented in the critical apparatus. It is surprising that it has been reproduced in both B^e and C^e.

6. *ratanā-* is m.c. for *ratana-*.

12. *aggaṭhāne*: The archetype's reading in this verse, *aggaṭhāne*, differs from its reading in the parallel at § 5.21.14, *agge ṭhāne*.

6.24. Kāḷudāyin

Compare with the *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 500–502.

1. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *Padum(a)-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

Buddhassa: The variant reading *bhagavato* may have been taken from the commentary at Ap-a 362,31, which reads *Padumuttarassa bhagavato*.

2. *gayha*: The variant reading *gayhaṃ* could be considered a gerundive from √*grah*, meaning "[lotus in full bloom] fit to be taken hold of" (see DOP s.v. *gaṇhāti→gayha*²). Cf. § 6.23.2.

3. The archetypal reading of *pāda* d is somewhat awkward, particularly because the Buddha begins his speech in the second person, only to shift to the third person in the following verse. The variant readings *janassa* and *sampadassayi* yield a smoother text and would make the second *pādayuga* mean, "And having taken hold of the flower[s], [the Buddha] showed [them] to the people". In this version, the following verse would constitute the beginning of the Buddha's speech. As per the goal of this edition, which is to represent the archetype with as few emendations as possible, the less smooth archetypal reading is instead represented in the base text.

4. *tena kataṃ*: The variant reading *kataṃ tena* puts the *pādayuga* into the *pathyā* form of the *śloka* metre.

6. See § 6.10.14 for a note regarding a parallel to *pāda* a.

mallikā: Feminine according to PED and MW, but it is neuter here.

8. *pāda* c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

12. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

13. *nirūpadhi* is m.c. for *nirupadhi*. The archetype's reading in this verse, *nirupadhi*, differs from its reading in the parallel at § 5.8.12, *nirupadhi*.

14. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Dhp 407; Sn 631.

6.25. Mogharājā

Compare with the *apadāna* of the same name at Ap 486–488.

3. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

4. PED does not list *samogadha*, which is not particularly surprising since, to the best of my knowledge, it does not appear in any other canonical text. It is derived from *sam-ava-√gāh* and means "plunged". For similar terms, see BHSD s.v. *samavagāḍha*; DOP s.v. *ogadha²*.

5. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

sukhumacchikena: With the variant reading *sumacchikena*, the first *pādayuga* may be translated, "With a good fisherman, were one to throw upon water a net...".

9. PED s.v. *cakkhu* does not provide the meaning "light"; however, DOP s.v. *cakkhu* states "perhaps: light". For the Sanskrit equivalent, MW s.v. *cakṣus* provides "light" as one of its meanings. In the context of this verse, the translation "light" seems much more appropriate than the more usual meaning "eye" or "vision".

-vinodano: Neither of the variants *vinudana* and *vinūdana* are listed in PED; however, both could be nouns derived from *vi-√nud*, meaning "removing". For closely related words, see PED s.v. *panūdana*; DOP s.v. *nudana*.

10. *p[iṭh]araṃ*: Ap-a 364,4–5 provides the gloss *vārakaṃ ghaṭaṃ vā*, "a pot or jar". This gloss better explains *piṭharaṃ*, "pot", than the other main variant reading, *puṭakaṃ*, "bag" or "pocket". Additionally, the former is perhaps more likely to be filled with honey than the latter. Primarily for these reasons, *p[iṭh]araṃ* is represented in the base text.

11. *subhaka* is not listed in PED. I understand it to be the noun *subha*, "politeness", with the secondary nominal suffix *-ka*.

vihāsa is not listed in PED, which is not particularly surprising since, to the best of my knowledge, it does not appear elsewhere in the Pāli canon. Just as *vehāsa* is a contraction of *vehāyasa*, *vihāsa* appears to be a contraction of *vihāyasa*.

14. *pāda* a involves tmesis. The reading of C^e avoids this tmesis, yet has produced a hypometric *pāda* containing seven syllables.

15. *pāda* a involves tmesis. The reading of C^e avoids this tmesis.

pāda c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables. Alternately, the *svarabhakti* vowel in *asaṃkhayaṃ* could perhaps be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

16. Parallels to the first *pādayuga* may be found at Bv 2.5, 4.10, 14.9, 25.10; Th 1171. This phrase also occurs frequently in prose texts, e.g. A I 163,11–12; D I 88,4–5.

vedāna is m.c. for *vedānaṃ*.

close. Unlike in the great majority of *apadāna*s, the first occurrence of the protagonist's name in the close is here compounded with the following word, *thero*, "elder".

6.26. Adhimutta

2. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *-ratanaṃ* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

6.27. Lasuṇadāyaka

1. There is a resolution on the sixth (or first) syllable of *pāda* a.

mayha is m.c. for *mayhaṃ*.

3. *nirat' ass'*: Eᵉ displays the text as *niratass'*, which makes the past passive participle agree with *Vipassissa* instead of *ahaṃ*. I have instead followed the more semantically appropriate word division of Ap-a 365,16, which states *assa... nirato*.

4. *pāda* a is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

lasuṇassa: The variant reading *lasuṇadānaṃ* is best understood as having a neuter ablative singular declension, meaning "[This is the fruit] from giving garlic".

6.28. Āyāgadāyaka

2. *vaḍḍhake hi*: Eᵉ displays the text as *vaḍḍhakehi*, "with labourers"; however, this would seem to require the presence of an unstated intermediary, resulting in the awkward translation of *pāda* a, "Having had [someone] speak with labourers". The causative verb *kathāpetvā* most naturally relates to one or more persons in the accusative case and therefore it is best to read as *vaḍḍhake hi*.

kārayes': As indicated by DOP s.v. *karoti→kārāpeti*, in this passage the variant reading *kārapes'* might be m.c. for *kārāpes'*.

4. Strictly speaking, *hanti* is a third person singular verb from √*han* and, following this interpretation, *pāda* b ought to be translated "and one did not strike my weapons". This, however, does not make a great deal of sense and we would instead expect the third person plural verb *hananti*, which would make *pāda* b mean "and weapons did not strike me". Indeed, Jāgara (1926: I 166,17) understood *satthāni* to have a nominative plural declension and *hanti* to be a plural verb. The occurrence of *hanti* in this verse may be a singular verb used in place of a plural verb due to the pressure of metre, or it may simply be an error. My translation assumes the former.

6.29. Dhammacakkika

1. *pāda* c is hypermetric, containing nine syllables.

3. The *svarabhakti* vowel in *-turiya-* should be disregarded for the purpose of scansion.

4. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

5. *cakkavatt[ī]*: The archetypal reading, *cakkavatti*, could be considered the first member of the compound *cakkavattimahabbalā*, "having the great strength of wheel-turning monarchs". However, there are numerous parallel verses in which we find the term *janādhipā* in apposition with *cakkavattino*, which unambiguously has a masculine nominative plural declension (e.g. Ap 131,18–19, 134,17–18, 137,22–23). It is therefore most likely that the text is instead referring to "wheel-turning monarchs with great strength" and that in this verse we have another example in which the archetype erroneously has *i* for *ī*.

6.30. Kapparukkhiya

1. *laṃghitvā*: The meaning of this archetypal reading within the overall context of the *apadāna* is not clear; however, it may imply that the protagonist avoided luxurious clothing. Ap-a 367,26 (and the commentary manuscript B4) contains the corresponding gloss *olaggetvā*, "having fastened on [multicoloured cloths]". This gloss is phonographically similar to the archetypal reading; however, being derived from √*lag* instead of √*laṅgh*, its meaning is significantly different and therefore it is not particularly helpful. It is likely that the variant readings *laggetvā* and *lagetvā* are based upon this commentarial gloss and because these variants are more easily understood it is not particularly surprising that they are have been reproduced in several printed editions.

3. *mam avassitā*: *mama vasikā*, "being under my control", is the probable reading of hyparchetype c; *mama nissitā*, "dependent upon me", is the reading of hyparchetype d; while *mam avassitā*, "dependent upon me", this is the probable reading of hyparchetype e. The probable reading of hyparchetype e best explains the development of the other readings and is therefore most likely to have belonged to the archetype.

4. There is a resolution on the first syllable of *pāda* a.

uddāna

There are 113 verses in this edition of the fourth chapter, assuming that the text ought to be divided into equi-length verses containing four *pāda*s. The *uddāna* states that there are 112 verses. The discrepancy could be accounted for if the text is instead divided into 110 verses of four *pāda*s and two verses of six *pāda*s. Alternatively, it is possible that one additional verse was added to the chapter after the *uddāna* was composed.

7. ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH CHAPTERS OF THE APADĀNA

7.1. Sīhāsanadāyaka

1. When Siddhattha[1]—protector of the world,[2] best of bipeds—had been quenched,[3] when his word was widespread, when his teaching belonged to many people,

2. I made a lion throne with a faithful mind, with a good mind. After making a lion throne I made a footstool.

3. And when it was raining on the lion throne I built a house there. Because of the faith[4] in my mind I was reborn in Tusita [heaven].

4. I had a well built celestial mansion. It instantly had twenty-four *yojana*s[5] in length [and] fourteen [*yojana*s] in width.

5. Seven thousand young women continuously attended to me. And in the celestial mansion was a well proportioned golden couch.

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[1] For information on the *buddha*s who preceded Gotama Buddha (e.g. Siddhattha Buddha), see Horner 1975: xxvi–xlvi.

[2] A great deal more is included within the term *loka* than the everyday usage of its translation, "world". Ap-a 322,19–20, for instance, glosses *lokanātho* with *kāmarūpārūpalokassa nātho padhāno*, "protector, chief of the desire-, form- and formless-world[s]". See Nyanatiloka 2007 s.v. *loka*.

[3] Commenting upon a parallel *pāda* (Ap 33,9), Ap-a Bᵉ I 297,25–26 glosses *nibbute* with *khandhaparinibbānena parinibbute*, that is, *nibbāna* coinciding with death, as opposed to *nibbāna* realised in life. The Chaṭṭhasaṅgīti Piṭaka edition is quoted here in favour of the PTS edition because the latter appears to contain an error.

[4] The difficulty of translating the word *pasāda* into a single English term has been noted several times before since it may also mean "purity", "tranquility", "joy", etc. (for a short overview, see Rotman 2009: 66). In the *apadāna*s, the translation "faith" seems most apt.

[5] On the various definitions of the length of a *yojana*, see Skilling 1998.

6.   A carriage with elephants, a carriage with horses [and] a divine carriage were near at hand. Palaces and also palanquins were produced, whatever was desired.

7.   And further couches[6] made of gems [and] made of hardwood were all produced for me in abundance. This is the fruit of [making][7] the lion throne.

8.   I stepped into shoes made of gold, made of silver, made of crystal and lapis lazuli. This is the fruit of [making] the footstool.

9.   Ninety-four aeons ago I performed the deed at that time.[8] I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since].[9] This is the fruit of the meritorious deed.

10.   Seventy-three aeons ago I was three men named Inda.[10] Seventy-two aeons ago I was three [men] named Sumana ("With a good mind").[11]

11.   Exactly seventy aeons ago I was three [men] named Varuṇa, endowed with the seven jewels,[12] lords in the four continents.

12.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised.[13] The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

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[6] That is, couches other than the one mentioned in § 5.1.5.

[7] Karmic fruit is a direct result of intentional action. Therefore, passages in the Apadāna which state that a karmic fruit is the result of a donated object, as opposed to the act of donating that particular object, are abbreviations m.c. Examples in which it is stated that a fruit is the result of an action are §§ 5.1.9d, 5.5.10d, 5.18.10d.

[8] Literally, "[It was] in the ninety-fourth aeon from now that I performed the deed at that time".

[9] For a list of the good and bad destinations, see Nyanatiloka 2007 s.v. *gati*.

[10] I understand the term *tesattati* to be a cardinal number used as an ordinal. This is a common feature of Apadāna passages which involve the counting of aeons. See Collins 2006: 74 and Norman 1992 for the use of cardinals in place of ordinals.

[11] This proper noun might be considered a karmic fruit of generating the mental state of the same name in § 5.1.2.

[12] D I 89,1–4 identifies the seven jewels as the wheel jewel, elephant jewel, horse jewel, gem jewel, wife jewel, householder jewel and advisor jewel.

[13] For a parallel *pāda* (Thī-a 7,1–2), Pruitt (1999: 12) translates *sacchikatā* as relating only to the *abhiññā*s. However, my translation reflects Ap-a 238,16–21, 295,16–23, which also relates *sacchikatā*

In this way the venerable elder Sīhāsanadāyaka ("Donor of a lion throne") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Sīhāsanadāyaka is concluded.

7.2. Ekatthambhika

1. The blessed one Siddhattha had a following of very many. And they, gone to the Buddha as a refuge, had faith in the Tathāgata.

2. After assembling and holding discussions, they all [commenced] building a hall for their teacher. Not having a [tree] trunk, they searched [for one] in a vast forest.

3. Having seen them in the wilderness, I then approached the following, held up cupped hands in respectful salutation [and] I questioned the following.

4. Questioned by me, those virtuous lay disciples replied, "We wish to build a hall; [however, until now] we did not have a [tree] trunk".[14]

5. [I said,] "Give me the [tree] trunk, I will give it to the teacher, I will bring back the [tree] trunk. Have little exertion".

6. Trusting, with contented minds, they gave[15] me the [tree] trunk. Then, turning back, they went to their own house[s].

7. When the following of many had recently departed, I then gave the [tree] trunk [to Siddhattha Buddha]. Joyful, with a joyful mind, I raised the first[16] [tree trunk for use as a pillar].

8. Because of the faith in my mind I was reborn in a celestial mansion. My dwelling rose seven stories high.

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to the *paṭisambhidā*s and *vimokha*s. For details on the four analytical insights, eight liberations and six supernormal knowledges, see Nyanatiloka 2007 s.v. *paṭisambhidā*, *vimokkha* and *abhiññā*, respectively.

[14] The next verse implies that at this stage of the narrative the following had found a tree trunk suitable to use in building the hall. Therefore, although the passive verb *labbhati* is in the present tense, the context demands that it be interpreted as referring to the recent past.

[15] See Norman 2006a: 247n463–466, 2007b: 143n272 for discussions on the verb *pavecchati*.

[16] Alternatively, *paṭhamaṃ* could be read as an adverb meaning "at once".

9.   While kettledrums were being sounded, I continuously amused myself. Fifty-five aeons ago I was a king possessing fame.[17]

10.   There too my dwelling rose seven stories, having excellent upper rooms, having a pillar which delighted the mind.

11.   Twenty-one aeons ago I was a member of the warrior class, named Udena. There too my dwelling rose seven stories.

12.   Whatever existence I was reborn into, [whether] existence as a god or existence as a human, I experienced all this. This is the fruit of [giving] the [tree] trunk.

13.   Ninety-four aeons ago I gave the [tree] trunk at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of [giving] the [tree] trunk.

14.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Ekatthambhika ("Having a [tree] trunk") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Ekatthambhika is concluded.

7.3. Nanda

1.   I gave a linen garment to the blessed one Padumuttara, supreme in the world, venerable,[18] self-dependent, great sage.

2.   The Buddha named Jalajuttama[19] explained this to me, "Because of this act of giving a garment, [you] will have a golden complexion.

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[17] Alternatively, *yasodhara* could be understood as being the name of the king.

[18] I have adopted the translation "venerable" for *tādin*, as per Norman 2007a: 145n41.

[19] Jalajuttama is a synonym of Padumuttara.

3. "After experiencing the two fortunate states [of being a god or a human],[20] impelled by good foundations,[21] you will be the younger brother of the blessed one Gotama.

4. "Impassioned by passion, in the habit of pleasure, bound to a greed for sensual pleasures,[22] you, being urged by the Buddha, will then go forth.

5. "After going forth, impelled by a good foundation, understanding all the taints, you will be quenched there, without taints".

6. Seven thousand aeons ago [I] was four [men] named Cela ("Garment"). Seventy thousand aeons ago [I] was four men named Upacela ("Near a garment").

7. Five thousand aeons ago [I] was four men named Cela, endowed with the seven jewels, lords in the four continents.

8. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Nanda spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Nanda is concluded.

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[20] Here, my translation has been guided by Ap-a 316,12–13, *dibbamanussasaṅkhātā dve sampattiyo anubhavitvā*, "After experiencing the two fortunate states called 'divine' and 'human'".

[21] Alternatively, *kusalamūlehi* could be translated as "by foundations of merit" if the first element of the compound were considered a noun (BHSD s.v. *kuśalamūla*). However, in the Apadāna *kusalamūlehi* and *kusalamūlena* are used synonymously with the more frequently occurring and metrically favourable *sukkamūlena*, "by a pure foundation", the first element of which is clearly an adjective.

[22] This aspect of Nanda's life is described in Th 157; Ud 21–24. Eventually, however, the Buddha named Nanda foremost amongst his disciples whose doors were guarded in the sense faculties (A 25,11–12).

7.4. Cullapanthaka

1. The conqueror named Padumuttara, recipient of offerings, had withdrawn from his following [and] lived in the Himalayas at that time.

2. I too was living in the Himalayas at that time, in a hermitage. I approached the great hero who had recently come, leader of the world.

3. Taking hold of an umbrella of flowers, I approached the bull among men. I prevented him entering concentration.

4. Holding [it] out with both hands, I gave the umbrella of flowers. The blessed one Padumuttara, great sage, received [it].

5. All the gods approached the Himalayas with elated minds. They were intent upon [expressing] their approval, [saying,] "The one with vision will express his appreciation".

6. Having said this, those gods approached the best of men while [I] was holding the excellent lotus umbrella in the air.[23]

7. Holding out the umbrella of a hundred petals, the ascetic gave [it back] to me, [saying,] "I will praise him; listen while I am speaking.[24]

8. "He will rule over the gods for twenty-five aeons. And he will be a wheel-turning monarch thirty-four times.

9. "Whatever existence he will wander into, [whether] existence as a god or existence as a human, a lotus will hold [itself over] him while he is abiding in the open.[25]

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[23] This verse implies that the narrative beginning at § 5.4.5 involves not only a shift in location, but also in time, backwards, just prior to the moment at which the protagonist gives Padumuttara Buddha the umbrella of flowers.

[24] Ap-a 320,24 glosses *bhāsato* with *bhāsamānassa vacanaṃ*. It is clear that the expression *mama bhāsato*, which occurs many times throughout the Apadāna, is a genitive absolute containing a present participle. Therefore, the translation "Hear my words" by Pruitt (1999: 194) for a parallel *pāda* (Thī-a 147,18) does not appear to be correct.

[25] My translation is guided by DOP s.v. *dharati→dhāreti→8* which refers to *dhārayissati* in this verse, and the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 109,30) which states that *padumaṃ* is in the nominative case.

10. "A hundred thousand aeons from now, born in the Okkāka family, there will be a teacher in the world named Gotama.

11. "When [Gotama Buddha's] word is illuminated, he will obtain the human state. He will be the best at [creating] a body made of mind.[26]

12. "There will be two brothers, both named Panthaka.[27] After experiencing the supreme goal, they will illuminate the teaching".

13. And, while eighteen years old, I went forth to the houseless state. I did not find attainment in the teaching of the Sakyan son.

14. My progress was slow, I was initially despised and my brother turned me away, [saying,] "Go to your own house now!".[28]

15. Being turned away at the gateway of the Order's park, I stood there dejected, full of longing for asceticism.

16. Then the teacher came there, touched my head, took me by the arm [and] brought me to the Order's park.

17. From compassion the teacher gave me a foot towel, [saying,] "Exclusively [and] intensively direct your thoughts upon [the phrase 'this is] so clean'".[29]

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[26] At A I 24,1–3 the Buddha names Cullapanthaka foremost in this skill.

[27] For information on Cullapanthaka's brother, Mahāpanthaka, see Bodhi 2012: 1604–1605n84.

[28] My translation of §§ 5.4.14–17 has been influenced by the translation of Norman (2007a: 63–64) of the parallel verses Th 557–560.

[29] There are multiple ways to understand § 5.4.17c–d. Commenting upon the parallel at Th 560, Th-a II 240,6–9 states *etaṃ suddhaṃ colakhaṇḍaṃ rajoharaṇaṃ rajoharaṇan ti manasikārena svadhiṭṭhitaṃ katvā eka-m-antaṃ eka-m-ante vivitte gandhakuṭipamukhe nisinno adhiṭṭhehī ti tathā cittaṃ samāhitaṃ katvā pavattehi*, "*etaṃ suddhaṃ* [means] a piece of cloth; having attentively made [your mind] well fixed upon [the phrase] 'removing dirt, removing dirt'; *eka-m-antaṃ* [means] seated to one side, in solitude, in front of the perfumed hut; *adhiṭṭhehi* [means] having made your mind so concentrated, practice!". CPD s.v. *ekamantaṃ* states that the commentarial gloss of *eka-m-antaṃ* is mistaken and that the meaning of the passage is, "Exclusively [*eka-m-antaṃ*], intensively [*svadhiṭṭhitaṃ*] direct your thoughts on [*adhiṭṭhehi*]: 'this is clean'", with an intended pun involving two slightly different meanings of *adhi-√sthā*. Norman (2007a: 64, 237n560), however, believed that in this instance *adhiṭṭhehi* means to "take (formal) possession of" and provided the translation, "Take careful possession of this pure thing, on one side". The CPD interpretation of this passage appears to be more consistent with the Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā than Norman's interpretation.

18.   Taking it with [both] hands,[30] I remembered the red lotus [umbrella]. My mind was released there; I attained arahatship.[31]

19.   In every case [I] have reached perfection in [creating] bodies made of mind. Understanding all the taints, I dwell without taints.

20.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Cullapanthaka spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Cullapanthaka is concluded.

7.5. Pilindavaccha

1.   When Sumedha—protector of the world, foremost individual—had been quenched, I paid homage to his stupa[32] with a faithful mind, with a good mind.

2.   And after bringing [monks] together there, I made a meal for the Order, for those there whose taints had been destroyed, who had the six supernormal knowledges [and] had great supernormal powers.

It is also more consistent with the expansion of this episode found in numerous other commentarial works (e.g. Ap-a 317–318; Mp I 216; Vism 388) and with the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 110).

[30] The act of receiving the foot towel from Gotama Buddha stimulates Cullapanthaka to remember his giving an umbrella of lotuses to Padumuttara Buddha. Note that the *pāda*s describing these two events (§§ 5.4.4a, 5.4.18a) are similarly worded, which serves to highlight this connection.

[31] Interestingly, in the Theragāthā version of this story, the protagonist states that he realised awakening after entering concentration for the attainment of the highest goal (Th 561–562). In contrast, in the Apadāna version, he realises awakening after recalling a former rebirth in which he gave Padumuttara Buddha an umbrella after, in fact, *preventing* this *buddha* from entering concentration (§ 5.4.3).

[32] The word *thūpa* is translated as "stupa", the Anglicised version of the Sanskrit *stūpa*, since this is now regarded as an English word and is found in English dictionaries.

3. At that time there was an attendant of the blessed one Sumedha. [Also] named Sumedha,[33] he then expressed his appreciation.

4. Because of the faith in my mind I was reborn in a celestial mansion. Eighty-six thousand *accharā*s enjoyed themselves with me.[34]

5. They continuously attended only to me with all manner of sensual pleasures. I surpassed other gods. This is the fruit of the meritorious deed.

6. Twenty-five aeons ago I was a member of the warrior class, named Varuṇa. At that time I was a wheel-turning monarch whose food was very clean.

7. They did not sow seed, nor were ploughs pulled. People ate rice ripened in uncultivated [ground].

8. After ruling there I again went to existence as a god. At that time also I had such an attainment of wealth.

9. [Whether] friends or foes, all living beings did not harm me; I was dear to all. This is the fruit of the meritorious deed.

10. Thirty thousand aeons [ago] I gave the gift at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of anointing with perfume.[35]

11. In this fortunate aeon I was a ruler of people, a royal sage with great power, a wheel-turning monarch with great strength.

12. After establishing many people in the five precepts [and] causing them to reach a good destination, I became dear to the deities.[36]

13. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

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[33] Bv 12.23, however, states that Sumedha Buddha's attendant was named Sāgara.

[34] An *accharā* is a kind of celestial nymph. Perhaps an equally valid translation of the second *pādayuga* of this verse is, "Eighty-six thousand *accharā*s had sex with me" (MW s.v. √*ram*).

[35] The object which was anointed with perfume is unspecified. The two most obvious candidates are the stupa mentioned in § 5.5.1 and the alms mentioned in § 5.5.2. Another passage in which it appears that the protagonist applies perfume to alms is Ap 516,7.

[36] At A I 24,25–26 the Buddha names Pilindavaccha foremost amongst his disciples who are dear and pleasing to the deities.

In this way the venerable elder Pilindavaccha spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Pilindavaccha is concluded.

7.6. Rāhula

1. In a seven story palace I gave a mat to the blessed one Padumuttara, supreme in the world, venerable.

2. Surrounded by a thousand [*arahat*s] whose taints had been destroyed, the great sage—lord of bipeds, bull among men—approached his perfumed hut.

3. Shining upon that perfumed hut, the teacher—god of the gods, bull among men—standing within the Order of monks, said these verses:

4. "I will praise him by whom this brilliant bed[37] has been well spread out, as though it were a mirror; listen while I am speaking.

5. "Whatever is dear to his mind will arise in the sky, made of gold, made of silver and made of lapis lazuli.

6. "As lord of the gods[38] he will rule over the gods sixty-four times. Immediately after, he will be a wheel-turning monarch a thousand times.

7. "Twenty-one aeons from now he will be a member of the warrior class, named Vimala, a conqueror possessing the whole world, a wheel-turning monarch.

8. "[There will be] a city named Reṇuvatī, well built with bricks, three hundred [*yojana*s] in length, having four corners.

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[37] The commentary identifies the word *seyyā* with the *pāsāda*, "palace", mentioned in § 5.6.1 (Ap-a 324,26–27; however, in the PTS edition the text has been made to read *seyyo*). Presumably, its author(s) took *seyyā* to be an adjective meaning "excellent" with the feminine, nominative, singular declension. This explanation is unconvincing, not the least because *pāsāda* is, of course, a masculine noun. It is more logical to take *seyyā* as a feminine noun meaning "bed", referring to the *santhara*, "mat", mentioned in § 5.6.1. Elsewhere in Pāli literature, beds are described as spread out, e.g. *yo pana bhikkhu saṃghike vihāre seyyaṃ santharitvā vā santharāpetvā vā…* (Vin IV 41,21–22, "A monk who, having spread out a bed or having had it spread out in a dwelling place of the Order…").

[38] That is, as Sakka (S. Śakra, Indra).

9. "A palace named Sudassana [will be] built by Vissakamma,[39] having excellent upper rooms, adorned with the seven jewels.

10. "Unseparated from the ten sounds[40] [and] full of magicians, that city will be beautiful indeed to the deities.

11. "It will have a radiance when the sun is rising. It will constantly shine in all directions for eight *yojana*s.

12. "A hundred thousand aeons from now, born in the Okkāka family, there will be a teacher in the world named Gotama.

13. "For having fallen from Tusita [heaven], impelled by a pure foundation, he will be the son of the blessed one Gotama.

14. "If he were to inhabit a house, he would become a wheel-turning monarch.[41] [But] it is impossible that [this] venerable one will attain[42] a fondness for a house.

15. "Leaving the house, the one of good vows will go forth. Named Rāhula, he will become an *arahat*".

16. As a blue jay would protect its egg [and] as a female ox her tail, the great sage—zealous,[43] endowed with virtuous conduct—protected me.

17. Having learnt his doctrine, I dwelt delighting in his teaching. Understanding all the taints, I dwell without taints.

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[39] Vissakamma (S. Viśvakarman, MW s.v.) is known as "the divine architect" in both Buddhist and Brahmanical literature. D II 180–181, for instance, describes him creating a palace named Dhamma for King Mahāsudassana.

[40] D II 170,12–16 identifies the ten sounds as belonging to elephants, horses, carriages, kettle drums, *mṛdaṅga* drums, *vīṇā* lutes, singing, cymbals, gongs and cries of "enjoy, drink and eat!".

[41] In the Mahāpadānasutta, a very similar statement is made by brahmans soon after the final birth of a *bodhisatta*, owing to the presence of the thirty-two marks of a great man (D II 16,13–15, 19,8–11).

[42] It seems that here the aorist *ajjhagā* is used as a future. On aorists occasionally having a future sense, see Alsdorf 1936: 323–324; Norman 2007a: 157n78. In his *nissaya*, Jāgara (1926: I 115,12–13) appears to assign *ajjhagā* an optative meaning, with the gloss ရရၐၫ, "he should attain".

[43] For *nipaka* having the meaning "zealous", see Norman 2007a: 159n85.

18. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Rāhula spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Rāhula is concluded.

7.7. Upasena Vaṅgantaputta

1. I approached the blessed one Padumuttara—supreme in the world, bull among men, best of men—sitting down in a cave.

2. Seeing a *kaṇikāra* flower[44] in blossom, I then cut it off at the stalk, put it on an umbrella [and] raised [the umbrella] for the Buddha.

3. And I gave alms, the best food, good food. I fed eight ascetics there; nine[45] including the Buddha.

4. The great hero, self-dependent, foremost individual, expressed his appreciation, [saying,] "Because of this act of giving an umbrella, because of giving the best food,

5. "because of the faith in his mind, he will experience a good state and as lord of the gods he will rule over the gods thirty times.

6. "And he will be a wheel-turning monarch twenty-one times. His regional kingdom[46] will be vast, incalculable through counting.

7. "A hundred thousand aeons from now, there will be a Buddha whom they will declare wise, who will be of great wisdom, wise.

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[44] DOP s.v. *kaṇikāra* identifies this flower as belonging to the tree Pterospermum acerifolium.

[45] I understand *navame* to be an ordinal being used as a cardinal (see Geiger 1994: § 118.4).

[46] PED s.v. *cakkavattin* notes that there are three sorts of wheel-turning monarchs: one who rules over all four continents (*cāturanta-*), one who rules over one continent (*dīpa-*) and one who rules over part of one continent (*padesa-*). Here, the text mentions that the protagonist possessed a *padesarajja*, "regional kingdom", implying that he was the least powerful of the three sorts of wheel-turning monarchs.

8. "When the teaching manifests, he will go to the human state. Named Upasena, he will be a disciple of the teacher".

9. [This] is my last existence,[47] all existences have been rooted out. I carry my last body having conquered Māra together with his elephant.

10. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Upasena Vaṅgantaputta spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Upasenavaṅgantaputta is concluded.

The third turn for recitation is finished.

7.8. Raṭṭhapāla

1. To the blessed one Padumuttara, supreme in the world, venerable, I gave a large excellent elephant with tusks like carriage poles,

2. provided with a white umbrella, with a brahman versed in the Atharva Veda, with an elephant driver. Having valued all that, I had a park for the Order made.

3. I had fifty-four thousand palaces built. After making a great flood [of gifts], I handed it over to the great sage.

4. The great hero, self-dependent, foremost individual, expressed his appreciation. Gladdening all people, he showed the death-free state.

5. The Buddha, leader Jalajuttama, explained this to me; sitting down within the Order of monks, he said these verses:

6. "This one had fifty-four thousand palaces built. I will explain the result; listen while I am speaking.

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[47] My translation of *carima* follows DOP s.v., which states that in this passage the word is a noun.

7. "Eighteen thousand upper rooms will have appeared in the best of celestial mansions and they will be made of nothing but gold.

8. "As lord of the gods he will rule over the gods fifty times. And he will be a wheel-turning monarch fifty-eight times.

9. "A hundred thousand aeons from now, born in the Okkāka family, there will be a teacher in the world named Gotama.

10. "Having fallen from the world of the gods, impelled by a pure foundation, he will instantly be reborn into a rich family having great wealth.

11. "Subsequently going forth, impelled by a pure foundation, he will be a disciple of the teacher, named Raṭṭhapāla.

12. "Being resolute for exertion, calm, without basis for rebirth, understanding all the taints, he will be quenched, without taints".

13. [I] rose up, renounced [the world and] abandoned my attainments of wealth. I do not have affection for wealth, as though it were a glob of saliva.[48]

14. Energy is my beast of burden bringing me to rest from exertion. I carry my last body in the teaching of the fully awakened one.[49]

15. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Raṭṭhapāla spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Raṭṭhapāla is concluded.

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[48] A similar attitude towards wealth is expressed throughout Raṭṭhapāla's Theragāthā verses (Th 769–793) and the Raṭṭhapālasutta (M II 54–74).

[49] I follow Norman (2007a: 134–135n11) in translating *(sammā)sambuddha* as a past passive participle, while regarding Buddha as a title and leaving it untranslated.

7.9. Sopāka

1. While cleaning my cave in the highest mountain in a forest, the blessed one named Siddhattha came into my vicinity.

2. Seeing the Buddha arrived, I arranged a mat for the venerable one, supreme in the world, [and] gave him a seat of flowers.[50]

3. Having sat down on the seat of flowers and understanding my disposition, Siddhattha, leader of the world, declared impermanence:

4. "The formations are indeed impermanent, subject to arising and decay. Having arisen, they cease. Their quiescence is joyful".

5. Having said this, the all-knowing one—supreme in the world, bull among men, hero—rose into the air like a king of geese in the sky.

6. Abandoning my own view, I developed the perception of impermanence.[51] Having developed it for one day, I died there.

7. After experiencing the two fortunate state[s of being a god or a human], impelled by a pure foundation, when my final rebirth had been reached I entered the womb of an outcaste.

8. Having departed from the house, I went forth to the houseless state. While seven years old, I attained arahatship.

9. Putting forth energy, resolute, well concentrated upon the virtuous practices, pleasing the great man,[52] I obtained full ordination.

10. Ninety-four aeons ago I performed the deed at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of giving [a seat of] flowers.

11. Ninety-four aeons ago I developed the perception [of impermanence] at that time. Developing that perception [of impermanence] I attained the annihilation of the taints.

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[50] It is unclear whether the seat of flowers is the previously mentioned mat or a separate item.

[51] The benefits of this practice are described at S III 155–157.

[52] That is, Gotama Buddha. See Norman 2007a: 199–200n289 on the word *nāga*. In the translation here I have followed DOP s.v. *nāga*→3.

12.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six
       supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has
       been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Sopāka ("Outcaste") spoke these verses. The
apadāna of the elder Sopāka is concluded.

7.10. Sumaṅgala

1.   With a desire to make an offering, having prepared a meal I stood in a large
      enclosure waiting for brahmans.

2.   Then I saw the awakened one Piyadassin, of great fame, leader of the whole
      world, self-dependent, foremost individual,

3.   blessed one, bright, accompanied by his disciples, shining like the sun, one
      who has taken to the path.

4.   Holding up cupped hands in respectful salutation, I made my own mind
      faithful. With my mind only I called him, [thinking,] "May the great sage
      come".

5.   Knowing my thought, the teacher, unsurpassed in the world, approached my
      door with a thousand [*arahat*s] whose taints had been destroyed.

6.   [I said,] "Homage to you, thoroughbred of men. Homage to you, best of
      men. After stepping into my palace, sit down on the lion throne".

7.   He—tamed, surrounded by the tamed, crossed over, best of guides across—
      after stepping into my palace, sat down on the excellent throne.

8.   Faithful, I gave the food which was stored in my own dwelling to the
      Buddha with my own hands.

9.   With a faithful mind, with a good mind, excited,[53] with cupped hands in
      respectful salutation, I paid homage to the excellent Buddha,[54] [saying,] "Oh,
      the greatness of the Buddha!

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[53] Here, I follow the interpretation of *vedajāta* by Norman (2006a: 122, 377–378n995).

10. "Amongst the eight [types of noble people][55] sitting round [and] eating,[56] there are many [*arahat*s] whose taints have been destroyed. [However,] you alone have this supernormal power;[57] I go to you as a refuge".

11. And the blessed one Piyadassin—supreme in the world, bull among men— sitting down within the Order of monks, said these verses:

12. "He fed the Order—upright, concentrated—and the awakened Tathāgata. Listen while I am speaking.

13. "He will rule over the gods twenty-seven times. Pleased[58] with his own deed, he will enjoy himself in the world of the gods.

14. "He will be a wheel-turning monarch eighteen times.[59] He will live on earth for five hundred reigns of earth".

15. Having plunged into the wilderness, the forest, a grove inhabited by tigers, being resolute in exertion I burnt up my defilements.[60]

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[54] In his translation of the Theragāthā, Norman (2007a: 24, 44, 117) evidently understood the term *buddhaseṭṭha* to be a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, providing the translation "best of the Buddhas". De Jong (1972: 300) criticised this interpretation and instead proposed that the term is a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning "excellent Buddha". This is in line with Ap-a 337,16, which provides the gloss *seṭṭhassa Buddhassa*. In the Apadāna, numerous past *buddha*s are described as *buddhaseṭṭha*, which adds further weight to de Jong's argument since they can hardly all be the best of the *buddha*s.

[55] I am guided here by the explanation at Ap-a 337,20, *aṭṭhannaṃ ariyapuggalānaṃ antare*, "amongst the eight [types of] noble people". On the eightfold division of *ariyapuggala*, see Nyanatiloka 2007 s.v.

[56] Ap-a 337,19–20 glosses *bhuñjaṃ* (though the PTS edition reads *bhuñjan* in error) with *bhuñjantānaṃ*, i.e., a present participle with a masculine, genitive, plural declension. While my translation reflects this gloss, I know of no other instance in which syncope (loss of one or more medial syllables; Oberlies 2001: § 22.2) occurs in a present participle.

[57] Ap-a 337,21–22 explains, *ākāsacaraṇasammujjananimujjanādi-ānubhāvo*, "the supernormal power of moving, plunging, diving, etc., in the air".

[58] Alternatively, *abhiraddha* could mean "successful [in]".

[59] Literally "ten and eight times".

[60] Sumaṅgala's energetic practice of meditation is described in his Theragāthā verse (Th 43).

16.   Eighteen hundred aeons [ago] I gave the gift at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of giving the meal.

17.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Sumaṅgala spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Sumaṅgala is concluded.

The summary:

Sīhāsanin, Ekathambhin and Nanda, Cullapanthaka, Pilindi and also Rāhula, Vaṅganta, Raṭṭhapālaka, Sopāka and also Maṅgala; [these] very ten are in the second group. A hundred and thirty-seven verses have been announced here.

The Sīhāsaniya chapter is the second.

7.11. Subhūti

1.   Not far from the Himalayas there was a mountain named Nisabha. [There,] I carefully made a hermitage, I carefully built a leaf hut.[61]

2.   At that time I was a matted hair ascetic named Kosiya, practicing severe austerities, living alone at Nisabha without a companion.

3.   I did not eat fruit, root or leaf at that time. I lived upon only wild [wind]fall at that time.[62]

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[61] Following the interpretation of Jāgara (1926: I 124,18), I understand *mayhaṃ* to be an example of the agentive genitive.

4. I did not violate right livelihood, even while risking my life. I satisfied my own mind. I abandoned the improper means of seeking [food].

5. When a thought connected with passion arose in me, I myself examined [it]. Concentrated, I tamed it, [saying to myself:][63]

6. "You desire the desirable and you loathe the loathsome and you are bewildered by the bewildering. Depart from the forest!

7. "This [forest] is the abode of pure stainless ascetics. Do not defile the pure. Depart from the forest!

8. "When you will obtain [what is] suitable after becoming a householder, do not fail at both [the ascetic life and the householder life]. Depart from the forest!

9. "As a wood firebrand from a funeral pyre is nowhere useful—not in the village or in the wilderness, for it is not highly regarded wood—

10. "[so] you are like a firebrand from a funeral pyre, being neither a householder nor restrained. Today you are separate from both [the ascetic life and the householder life].[64] Depart from the forest!

11. "Could it be [that] you have this [thought]?[65] For who knew you had this [thought]? And you have quickly brought me a long way for sake of an abundance of sloth.

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[62] In its explanation of the first *pādayuga*, Ap-a 342,32 states, *rukkhato ocinitvā na bhuñjāmī ti*, "I did not eat having picked from a tree". At D I 101–102, several classes of ascetics are listed, the most extreme being one who lives on wild fruit, the second most extreme being one who lives on bulbs, roots and fruits and uses a spade and basket to collect them. In this context, Kosiya belonged to the most extreme class of ascetics.

[63] The following fifteen verses constitute one of the various talks on doctrine (*nānādhammakathā*, § 5.11.21) made by the speaker to himself.

[64] S III 93,13–20 states that a monk whose mind is not controlled is missing out on the enjoyment of a householder while also not fulfilling the goal of asceticism. He is compared to a firebrand from a funeral pyre. Because such a firebrand is burning at both ends and is smeared with excrement in the middle, it cannot be used as timber in the village or the wilderness, the former being a metaphor for the householder life and the latter being a metaphor for the ascetic life. Cf. A II 95,16–20.

[65] The text does not specify what *etaṃ* and *idaṃ* refer to; however, it seems likely to be the *rāgūpasaṃhitaṃ cittaṃ*, "thought connected with passion", mentioned at § 5.11.5.

12.   "The wise will be on their guard against you, like a civilized person the unclean. Sages will always drag you out and reprimand you.

13.   "The wise will declare you to have transgressed the teaching.[66] For without dwelling together [in harmony], how will you live?

14.   "After approaching a sixty-year-old *mātaṅga kuñjara* elephant [in musth] secreting from three places [on his body], a strong *nāga* elephant expels him from the herd.[67]

15.   "Being separated from the herd, he does not find happiness [or] pleasure. He becomes miserable [and] distressed. Consumed with grief, he trembles.[68]

16.   "Just so, matted hair ascetics will expel you also, fool. Being separated from them, you will not obtain happiness [or] pleasure.

17.   "Whether by day or by night, resigned to the dart of sorrow, you will burn with distress, like the elephant separated from the herd.

18.   "As counterfeit gold shines nowhere, so you who have abandoned virtuous conduct will shine nowhere.[69]

19.   "How will you live even dwelling in a house? Maternal and also paternal wealth has not been saved for you.[70]

20.   "Doing your own work, causing sweat to form on your body, you will live thus in the house. That will not well please you."

21.   In this way I restrained my defiled mind there. Having made various talk[s] on doctrine [to myself], I restrained my evil thought[s].

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[66] *samatikkantasāsana* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, literally meaning "one by whom the teaching is transgressed".

[67] The elephant in musth is a reasonably common simile for a mind untamed by practice, e.g. Dhp 326; Th 77. I follow Norman (2004: 150n320, 150–151n322, 153–154n329–330) in assuming that *mātaṅga*, *kuñjara* and *nāga* are particular kinds of elephants.

[68] Here the metaphor of the elephant leaving its herd is cast in a negative light. Elsewhere in the Pāli canon, however, the same metaphor is cast in a positive light, e.g. Sn 53; Vin I 352–353.

[69] There seems to be a word play on *jhāyissasi*, in that the final *pāda* may also be translated, "you will meditate nowhere" (see § 6.11.18).

[70] Here I have followed the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 127,1–2), which glosses *te* with သင်အား, "for you".

22.   While I was dwelling thus, dwelling with vigilance,[71] thirty thousand years elapsed for me in the forest.

23.   Seeing [me] delighting in vigilance [and] seeking the supreme goal, the awakened one Padumuttara came into my vicinity.

24.   The Buddha—whose radiance had the colour of *timbarūsaka* fruit,[72] immeasurable, incomparable, unique in beauty—walked to and fro in the sky at that time.

25.   The Buddha—like a king of *sāla* trees in full bloom,[73] like lightning amidst thick clouds, unique in knowledge—walked to and fro in the sky at that time.

26.   Like a fearless king of lions, like a tamed king of elephants, like a playful king of tigers, he walked to and fro in the sky at that time.

27.   Having a radiance the colour of gold coins, resembling acacia wood embers, like a *jotirasa* gem, he walked to and fro in the sky at that time.

28.   Resembling the pure Mt Kelāsa,[74] like the moon at the [time of the] full moon, like the sun at midday, he walked to and fro in the sky at that time.

29.   Seeing [him] walking to and fro in the air, I then thought thus: "Is this being a god or is he a human?[75]

30.   "I have neither heard of nor seen such a man on earth. Surely it is a spell.[76] He will be my teacher."

31.   Thinking thus, I made my own mind faithful. I then gathered together various flower[s] and perfume[s],

32.   prepared a seat of flowers and spoke these words to the foremost among charioteers of men, of virtuous mind, delighting the mind:

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[71] I have followed Jāgara (1926: I 127,9–10) in taking *pāda* b as an adjective of *me* and taking the first *pādayuga* as a genitive absolute.

[72] DOP s.v. *timbarūsaka* identifies the *timbarūsaka* tree as Diospyros malabarica (Desr.) Kostel. Ap-a 343,24-25 states that the radiance had a golden colour.

[73] PED s.v. *sāla* identifies the *sāla* tree as Shorea robusta.

[74] S. Kailāsa.

[75] For similar passages, see Allon 2001: 166–177.

[76] A comparable miraculous result of a mantra is described at Ja I 253,6–8, in which jewels shower down from the sky.

33. "Hero, this seat befitting you has been prepared by me. May you, gladdening my mind, sit down on the seat of flowers."

34. For seven nights and days the Buddha, the blessed one, like a fearless lion, sat down there on the excellent seat of flowers.

35. I waited for seven nights and days paying homage. Having emerged from concentration, the teacher, unsurpassed in the world,

36. praising my deed, spoke these words: "Develop the recollection of the Buddha(s),[77] unsurpassed among meditations.

37. "Having developed this recollection you will fulfil your intention. You will enjoy yourself in the world of the gods for thirty thousand aeons.

38. "As lord of the gods you will rule over the gods eighty times. You will be a wheel-turning king in your kingdom a thousand times.

39. "Your regional kingdom will be vast, incalculable through counting. You will experience all that. [This will be] the fruit of [developing] the recollection of the Buddha(s).[78]

40. "Wandering in various existences, you will obtain great wealth. There will be no deficiency in your wealth. [This will be] the fruit of [developing] the recollection of the Buddha(s).

41. "A hundred thousand aeons from now, born in the Okkāka family, there will be a teacher in the world named Gotama by clan.

42. "After relinquishing in abundance eighty crore[79] slaves [and] labourers, you will go forth in the teaching of the blessed one Gotama.

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[77] *Buddhānussati* normally refers to the recollection of Gotama Buddha; however, this *apadāna* is set one hundred thousand aeons prior to his appearance. Padumuttara Buddha is therefore either encouraging the protagonist to recollect himself specifically or prior *buddha*s in general. My translation reflects this ambiguity. See Harrison 1992 for a study on this recollection.

[78] Padumuttara Buddha here declares that the meritorious deed which will produce the predicted future karmic fruit is the development of the recollection of the Buddha(s). This is unusual in that the protagonist has not yet performed this deed. One would instead expect that giving the seat of flowers (§ 5.11.33) would be the primary meritorious deed. Alternatively, it might be possible that §§ 5.11.31–35 in effect describes a kind of recollection of the Buddha.

[79] A crore is ten million.

43. "Honouring the awakened one Gotama, bull among Sakyans, he will be a disciple of the teacher, named Subhūti.

44. "After sitting down within the Order of monks, [Gotama Buddha] will appoint you foremost in two [things]: the good quality of being worthy of a gift and also dwelling in peace."[80]

45. Having said this, the leader Jalajuttama, awakened, hero, rose to the air like a king of geese in the sky.

46. After having paid homage to the Tathāgata, I—taught by the protector of the world, joyful—always developed the supreme recollection of the Buddha(s).

47. Because of that well performed[81] deed and because of my intention and aspiration, having abandoned my human body I went to Tāvatiṃsa [heaven].

48. As lord of the gods I ruled over the gods eighty times. And I was a wheel-turning king a thousand times.

49. My regional kingdom was vast, incalculable through counting. I experienced the very fortunate state[s of being a god and a human]. [This is] the fruit of [developing] the recollection of the Buddha(s).

50. Wandering in various existences, I obtained great wealth. There was no deficiency in my wealth. [This is] the fruit of [developing] the recollection of the Buddha(s).

51. A hundred thousand aeons ago I performed the deed at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. [This is] the fruit of [developing] the recollection of the Buddha(s).

52. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

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[80] At A I 24,8–9 the Buddha names Subhūti foremost in these qualities.

[81] *sukatena* may be understood as an adjective meaning "well performed" which qualifies *kammena*, or as a noun meaning "good deed" which acts as a synonym of *kammena*. My translation reflects the former understanding, following the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 130,18), which contains the gloss, ကောင်းစွာပြုအပ်သော, "well performed".

In this way the venerable elder Subhūti spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Subhūti is concluded.

7.12. Upavāṇa

1. The conqueror named Padumuttara, gone to the far shore of all phenomena, awakened, was completely quenched after blazing like a mass of fire.[82]

2. Many people assembled, paid homage to the Tathāgata, built a well built funeral pyre and put the body [of Padumuttara Buddha on it].

3. After performing their duty with respect to the body,[83] they collected the relic there. Together with the gods, all the people built a stupa for the Buddha.

4. The first was made of gold,[84] the second was made of gems, the third was made of silver, the fourth was made of crystals.

5. There, the fifth was made of ruby with glass pearls,[85] the sixth was made of all kinds of jewels on top of cat's eye gem.

6. The walkway was made of gems, the railing was made of jewels. Entirely made of gold, the stupa had risen a *yojana* in height.

7. Having assembled there, gods then announced together, "We too shall build the stupa for the venerable protector of the world.

8. "The relic is not separated. The relic is a single lump. We shall build a layer on this stupa for the Buddha."

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[82] Ap-a 344,17–18 glosses *jalitvā*, "after blazing", with *sabbalokaṃ dhammapajjotena obhāsetvā*, "after illuminating the whole world with the light of the doctrine".

[83] Ap-a 568,15 glosses *sarīrakiccaṃ*, "duty with respect to the body", with *dahanakiccaṃ*, "duty of burning", i.e. cremation. Likewise, the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 131,25–26) glosses the same term with အလောင်းတော်ကိုဖွတ်ကြည်ခြင်းကိစ္စကို, "duty of cremating the body" (my translation assumes that ဖွတ်ကြည် is an error or premodern orthographic variant for ဖွတ်ကြည်း).

[84] See § 6.12.4 on this series of ordinals.

[85] For this meaning of the plural of *kāca*, see MW s.v.

9. The gods heightened it another *yojana* with the seven jewels. That stupa, two *yojana*s in height, warded off darkness.

10. Having assembled there, *nāga*s[86] then announced together, "Those people and gods have built a stupa for the Buddha.

11. "Let us not hear of being negligent! Diligent with the gods, we too shall build the stupa for the venerable protector of the world."

12. After gathering together *indanīla* sapphire, *mahānīla* sapphire and *jotirasa* gem, they covered the stupa for the Buddha [with them].

13. To that extent, the entire shrine for the Buddha was made of gems. Elevated three *yojana*[s], it produced light at that time.

14. And having assembled, *kumbhaṇḍa*s[87] then announced together, "Those people, gods and *nāga*s have built a stupa for the Buddha.

15. "Let us not hear of being negligent! Diligent with the gods, we too shall build the stupa for the venerable protector of the world."

16. They built a shining layer on the stupa, entirely made of gems. They too heightened the extended shrine for the Buddha [another] *yojana*.

17. Elevated four *yojana*s, the stupa for the Buddha shone. It illuminated all the quarters like the risen [sun] with a hundred rays.

18. Having assembled there, *yakkha*s[88] then announced together, "People and gods and *nāga*s and likewise *garuḷa*s[89]

19. "have each built [this] supreme stupa for the excellent Buddha. Let us not hear of being negligent! Diligent with the gods,

20. "we too shall build the stupa for the venerable protector of the world. We shall cover the extended shrine for the Buddha with crystal."

21. They too heightened the extended shrine for the Buddha [another] *yojana*. Elevated five *yojana*s, the stupa shone at that time.

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[86] Here, *nāga* most likely refers to a kind of mythical snake.

[87] Literally meaning "whose testicles are like pots", a *kumbhaṇḍa* is a semi-divine being.

[88] A *yakkha* is a semi-divine being.

[89] A *garuḷa* (S. *garuḍa*) is a kind of mythical bird.

22. And having assembled, *gandhabba*s[90] then announced together, "People, gods, *nāga*s, *kumbhaṇḍa*s, likewise *garuḷa*s

23. "have all built the stupa for the Buddha. We have not performed an act of homage here.[91] We too shall build the stupa for the venerable protector of the world."

24. Having built seven railings, they [kept] building right up to the walkway. The *gandhabba*s then built the stupa, entirely made of gold.

25. Elevated seven *yojana*s, the stupa shone at that time. Night and day were not distinguished. There was always light.

26. The lights from the moon and sun, together with the stars, did not surpass its [light]. For a hundred *yojana*s in all directions, not even a [single] lamp blazed.

27. At that time, whichever people paid homage to the stupa, they did not climb onto the stupa; they threw [their offerings] up into the sky.

28. Appointed by the gods,[92] a *yakkha* named Abhisammata ("Approved") made a flag or a garland of flowers rise further.

29. They did not see that *yakkha*. While going, they saw [only] the garland. After seeing thus while going, all [eventually] went to a good destination.

30. People who believed in the [Buddha's] word and who had faith in his teaching, desiring to see a marvel, paid homage to the stupa.

31. I was a suitor in Haṃsavatī city at that time. Seeing the joyful people, I then thought thus:

32. "Great is this blessed one for whom there is such a relic building. And these content people performed an act of homage [and] become satisfied.

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[90] A *gandhabba* is a heaven-dwelling being.

[91] One of the primary meanings of *kāra* is "act"; however, it may also have the specific meaning "act of homage". Similarly, *akāraka*, which is derived from *kāra*, primarily means "one who does not perform an act"; however, it stands to reason that it may also have the specific meaning "one who does not perform an act of homage". While both meanings are applicable to this verse, the latter is perhaps more appropriate.

[92] Ap-a 344,1–2, 567,13 states *cetiyapūjārakkhanatthaṃ ṭhapito*, "he was appointed for sake of protecting worship at the shrine".

33. "I too shall perform an act of homage to the venerable protector of the world. I will be an heir to his doctrines in the future."

34. After fastening my outer garment, well cleaned by a washerman, to the top of a bamboo [shaft], I threw the flag up into the sky.

35. Having seized it, Abhisammataka carried my flag in the sky. Seeing the flag stirred by the wind, I rejoiced even more.

36. Making my mind faithful there, I approached an ascetic. Having respectfully greeted that monk, I asked about the result in [giving] the flag.

37. Joyful, he explained to me [the result], which produced delight for me, "You will always experience the result of [giving] that flag.

38. "And armies with four divisions—[namely,] elephants, cavalry, chariots [and] infantry—will constantly surround you. This will be the fruit of giving the flag.

39. "Sixty thousand musical instruments [and] adorned kettledrums will constantly surround you. This will be the fruit of giving the flag.

40. "Eighty-six thousand women—adorned, having colourful clothes and ornaments, wearing jeweled earrings,

41. "with curved eyelashes, smiling, good looking, with thin waists—will constantly surround you. This will be the fruit of giving the flag.

42. "You will enjoy yourself in the world of the gods for thirty thousand aeons. As lord of the gods you will rule over the gods eighty times.

43. "You will be a wheel-turning king a thousand times. Your regional kingdom will be vast, incalculable through counting.

44. "A hundred thousand aeons from now, born in the Okkāka family, there will be a teacher in the world named Gotama by clan.

45. "Having fallen from the world of the gods, impelled by a pure foundation, connected with the meritorious deed, he will be a kinsman of Brahmā.[93]

46. "After relinquishing in abundance eighty crore slaves [and] labourers, you will go forth in the teaching of the blessed one Gotama.

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[93] Commenting upon on Ap 24,9, Ap-a 230,24–25 states *Brahmabandhu brāhmaṇakule jāto*, "*Brahmabandhu* [means] born into a brahman family".

47. "Honouring the awakened one Gotama, bull among Sakyans, you will be a disciple of the teacher, named Upavāna."

48. The deed [I] performed a hundred thousand [aeons ago] produced a fruit for me in this life: as if with the speed of a well released arrow,[94] it burnt my defilements.

49. While I was a wheel-turning monarch, lord of the four continents, flags always remained out for three *yojana*s in all directions.

50. A hundred thousand aeons ago I performed the deed at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of giving the flag.

51. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Upavāna spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Upavāna is concluded.

7.13. Tīṇisaraṇāgamaniya

1. In Bandhumatī city I supported my mother. My mother [and] father were blind. I took care of them at that time.

2. Sitting down in seclusion I then thought thus: "Taking care of my mother and father, I have not obtained ordination.

3. "Covered by complete darkness, [beings] are burnt by the three fires.[95] While existence is such, no one is a leader.

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[94] Particularly in light of Ap 29,16, 280,18, 454,25, this translation seems preferable to "[I] was well released [i.e. awakened], as if with the speed of an arrow".

[95] Ap-a 345,16–18 states, *tamandhakārapihitā ti mohandhakārena pihitā chāditā. tividhaggīhi ḍayhare ti rāgaggidosaggimohaggisaṅkhātehi tīhi aggīhi ḍayhare ḍayhanti*, "*tamandhakārapihitā* [means] covered by the darkness of delusion. *tividhaggīhi ḍayhare* [means] they are burnt by the three fires

4. "[However,] a Buddha[96] has arisen in the world. His teaching is now blazing. It is possible for a person desiring merit to rescue himself/herself.

5. "Having taken the three refuges, while guarding the fulfilled [refuges] I will abandon bad destination[s] because of that well performed deed."

6. There was an ascetic named Nisabha, a chief disciple of the Buddha.[97] Having approached him, I took the going to the refuges.[98]

7. My life lasted a hundred thousand years at that time. For that long I guarded the fulfilled going to the refuges.

8. During my last [thought],[99] I remembered that [going to the] refuge[s]. Because of that well performed deed I went to Tāvatiṃsa [heaven].

9. While gone to the world of the gods, I was concentrated upon my meritorious deed. I obtained eight conditions at which place I was reborn.

10. [Namely,] I was paid homage in [all] quarters, I had a sharp intelligence, all the gods obeyed [me], I obtained immeasurable wealth,

11. I always had a golden complexion, I was loved, I constantly had friends,[100] my fame was high.

12. As lord of the gods I ruled over the gods eighty times. Attended to by *accharā*s, I experienced heavenly bliss.

13. And I was a wheel-turning monarch seventy-five times. My regional kingdom was vast, incalculable through counting.

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named the fire of lust, fire of hatred and fire of delusion". Ap-a 345,18 takes the subject of this sentence to be *sabbe sattā*, "all beings". Cf. note at § 7.14.2.

[96] Ap-a 344,30–31 identifies this Buddha as Vipassin. If this is correct, however, it is unclear why at §§ 5.13.19, 5.13.27 the protagonist states that he took the refuges *aparimeyye ito kappe*, "innumerable aeons ago", as opposed to *ekanavute ito kappe*, "ninety-one aeons ago", when Vipassin Buddha lived. More consistent with the *apadāna*'s chronology is the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 139,21–22), which identifies this Buddha as Anomadassin.

[97] Nisabha is identified as one of the chief disciples of Anomadassin Buddha at Bv 8.22. He is also mentioned at § 5.14.4; Ap 21,25. This provides further evidence that Jāgara (1926: I 139,21–22) was correct in identifying the Buddha mentioned in § 5.13.4 as Anomadassin.

[98] As noted by PED s.v. *saraṇāgamana*, the term *saraṇāgamana* is equivalent to *saraṇagamana*.

[99] The parallel verse § 5.14.7 implies that there is an unstated *citte*, "thought", in *pāda* a.

[100] *mittānaṃ acalo homi* literally means "of friends, I was constant".

14. When my final rebirth had been reached, concentrated upon my meritorious deed, [I] was born in Sāvatthī city, into a very wealthy [family] with a great house.[101]

15. Having departed from the city, accompanied by children, playful, I immediately approached the Order's park.

16. I saw an ascetic there, completely liberated, without basis for rebirth. He taught the doctrine to me and gave me the refuge[s].

17. Upon hearing the refuge[s], I remembered my [former going to the] refuge[s]. Sitting down during one period of sitting, I attained arahatship.

18. Within seven years of my birth I attained arahatship. Knowing my attainment, the awakened one with vision gave me full ordination.

19. Innumerable aeons ago I went to the refuges. Consequently, the deed which I well performed produced a fruit for me in this life.

20. I have well guarded the refuge[s]. My mind is well controlled. Having experienced complete fame I have attained the unshakable state.

21. [Those] who lend an ear, listen while I am speaking. I will describe the goal to you, the state seen by myself.[102]

22. A Buddha has arisen in the world. The conqueror's teaching is turning. The death-free drum has been sounded, removing the dart of sorrow.

23. With strength according to your own means, you should perform an act of homage to an unsurpassed field of merit [and] you will incline towards quenching.

24. After taking the three refuges, guarding the five precepts [and] making your mind faithful in the Buddha, you will put an end to suffering.

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[101] It is unlikely that the term *mahāsāla* describes Sāvatthī city as "having great halls". In the Pāli canon, *mahāsāla* is often found in a compound describing a family, e.g. *khattiyamahāsālakula*, "warrior class family with a great house", *brāhmaṇamahāsālakula*, "brahman family with a great house", and *gahapatimahāsālakula*, "householder family with a great house". Such families are also often described as *aḍḍha*, "wealthy", e.g. A V 290,22–23; M III 177,27–28; S I 95,18–19.

[102] Following the interpretation of Ap-a 292,2 (on parallel verse at Ap 47,7–8) and Jāgara (1926: I 141,28–29), I understand the second instance of *mama* to be an example of the agentive genitive. Both Ap-a 292,2–3 and Jāgara (1926: I 141,29) equate the *pada*, "state", with *nibbāna*.

25. After comparing [yourselves] to me [and] guarding the precepts, before long you too will all attain arahatship.

26. I have the triple knowledge,[103] have attained supernormal powers [and] am experienced in comprehending [other people's] thoughts. Great hero, the disciple Saraṇa ("Refuge") pays homage to you,[104] the teacher.

27. Innumerable aeons ago I went to the Buddha's refuge[s]. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. [This] is the fruit in going to the refuges.

28. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Tīṇisaraṇāgamaniya ("Going to the three refuges") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Tīṇisaraṇāgamaniya is concluded.

7.14. Pañcasīlasamādāniya

1. In Candavatī city I was a servant at that time. [I thought,] "Fixed to the way of work for others, I have not obtained ordination.

2. "Covered by complete darkness, [beings] are burnt by the three fires.[105] By which means could I be unfettered?

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[103] For details on the triple knowledge, see Nyanatiloka 2007 s.v. *abhiññā*, *tevijjā*. The first *pādayuga* effectively names five of the six *abhiññā*s, "supernormal knowledges", omitting only the *dibbasota*, "divine ear".

[104] Alternatively, following Jāgara (1926: I 142,16–17), *te* could be translated as "your [disciple]".

[105] The commentary upon the first *pādayuga* of this verse provides a different interpretation to the commentary upon the parallel *pādayuga* at § 5.13.3 (see note at § 7.13.3). Ap-a 346,5–7 states, *mahantandhakārapihitā ti mahantehi kilesandhakārehi pihitā saṃvutā thakkitā. tividhaggīhi ḍayhare ti narakaggipetaggisaṃsāraggisaṅkhātehi tīhi aggīhi ḍayhanti*, "*mahantandhakārapihitā* [means] covered by the great darkness of the defilements. *tividhaggīhi ḍayhare* [means] they are burnt by the

3. "And I do not have a gift, I am a wretched servant. What if I were to protect the five precepts, fulfilling [them]?"

4. The sage Anomadassin had a disciple named Nisabha.[106] Having approached him, I took the five training rules.

5. My life lasted a hundred thousand years at that time. For that long I guarded the fulfilled five precepts.

6. And when the time of death had been reached, gods comforted me, [saying,] "A chariot has been harnessed to a thousand [horses] for you.[107] Sir, this is near at hand."

7. During my last thought, I remembered my [taking the] precept[s]. Because of that well performed deed I went to Tāvatiṃsa [heaven].

8. And as lord of the gods I ruled over the gods thirty times. Attended to by *accharā*s, I experienced heavenly bliss.

9. And I was a wheel-turning monarch seventy-five times. My regional kingdom was vast, incalculable through counting.

10. Having fallen from the world of the gods, impelled by a pure foundation, [I] was born in Vesālī city, into a very wealthy [family] with a great house.

11. At the time leading into the rainy season, while the conqueror's teaching was shining, both my mother and father took the five training rules.

12. Upon hearing the precept[s] together [with them],[108] I remembered my [former taking the] precepts[s]. Sitting down during one period of sitting, I attained arahatship.

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three fires named the fire of hell, fire of the *peta*s ("departed ones") and fire of the round of rebirths". My translation assumes that *thakkitā* is an error for *thakitā*.

[106] See the note on Nisabha at § 7.13.6.

[107] From parallel passages, we can deduce that the chariot was harnessed to horses. For example, Ap 34,1 contains the expression, *sahassayuttaṃ hayavāhiṃ dibbaṃ yānam*, "a divine carriage drawn by horses, harnessed to a thousand [horses]", which Ap-a 266,33 clarifies by stating, *Sindhavasahassayojite*, "harnessed to a thousand Sindh horses". Cf. M II 79,28–29; S I 234,9–10.

[108] I assume that there is an unstated *tehi*, "with them", in *pāda* a. Alternatively, *saha* is an error for *so 'haṃ*, which is found in the parallel verse § 5.13.17.

13.   Within five years of my birth I attained arahatship. Knowing my attainment, the Buddha, the one with vision, gave me full ordination.

14.   Having guarded the five fulfilled training rules innumerable aeons ago, I have not gone to ruin.

15.   I experienced fame by reason of those precepts. In describing a crore aeons, I ought to describe one part:

16.   Guarding the five precepts, I obtained three conditions. [Namely,] I had a long life, I had great wealth, I had a sharp intelligence.

17.   And proclaiming to all [that taking the precepts is] a very great service,[109] wandering in various existences, I obtained these states.

18.   If the conqueror's disciples, practicing in the immeasurable precepts, were to desire existences, of what kind is the result in existence?[110]

19.   The five precepts have been well observed by me, an ascetic servant. Because of those precept[s], today I released myself from all binding.

20.   Innumerable aeons ago I guarded the five precepts. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of [guarding] the five precepts.

21.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Pañcasīlasamādāniya ("Taking the five precepts") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Pañcasīlasamādāniya is concluded.

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[109] The meaning of the first *pādayuga* is unclear. It could be translated in numerous different ways, though the translation represented here is, I believe, the most semantically appropriate. If I am correct in understanding *porisa* to mean "service" and particularly the "service" of taking the precepts, a pun might be intended, since the protagonist identifies himself as a *bhataka*, "servant", at §§ 5.14.1, 5.14.3, 5.14.19.

[110] The Pāli canon often portrays desiring existences (*bhava*) as a negative habit which ought to be abandoned (eg. A II 11,27–35, IV 70–74; Sn 776–777). This verse seems to be asking about the result of observing the precepts even if the practitioner were to desire existences. The next verse is perhaps intended as an answer to this question.

7.15. Annasaṃsāvaka

1–2.   I obtained the best delight after seeing the awakened one Siddhattha walking in a market,[111] having a golden complexion, resembling a golden decorative column, having the thirty-two marks of an excellent [man], light of the world, immeasurable, incomparable, tamed, bearing light.

3.   After leading the awakened one,[112] I fed that great sage. The sage, compassionate protector, then expressed his appreciation to me.

4.   After making my mind faithful in the Buddha, that one with great compassion, producer of the best comfort, I enjoyed myself in heaven for an aeon.

5.   Ninety-four aeons ago I gave the gift at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of giving alms.

6.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Annasaṃsāvaka ("Food disciple") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Annasaṃsāvaka is concluded.

7.16. Dhūpadāyaka

1.   With a faithful mind I gave incense for a hut to the blessed one Siddhattha, supreme in the world, venerable.

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[111] Ap-a 347,3–4 states *gacchantaṃ antarāpaṇe ti vessānaṃ āpaṇapantīnaṃ antaravīthiyaṃ gacchamānaṃ*, "*gacchantaṃ antarāpaṇe* [means] walking in a street of rows of shops belonging to merchants". Ap-a 346,22–23 also states that at the time, the Buddha was on alms round.

[112] My translation follows Ap-a 346,25, which states *gehaṃ netvā*, "having led [the awakened one] to [the protagonist's] house". Alternatively, *atināmetvā* could mean, "having let [the awakened one] pass".

2. Whatever existence I was reborn into, [whether] existence as a god or existence as a human, I was dear to all. This is the fruit of giving incense.

3. Ninety-four aeons ago I gave incense. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of giving incense.

4. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Dhūpadāyaka ("Donor of incense") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Dhūpadāyaka is concluded.

7.17. Pulinapūjaka

1. At the supreme foot of the awakening tree of the blessed one Vipassin, having thrown away the old sand I scattered over clean sand.

2. Ninety-one aeons ago I gave sand. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of giving sand.

3. Fifty-three aeons ago I was a wheel-turning king with great strength, ruler of people, named Mahāpulina ("Great sand").

4. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Pulinapūjaka ("Paying homage with sand") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Pulinapūjaka is concluded.

7.18. Uttiya

1. I was a crocodile on the bank of the Candabhāgā river at that time. I was occupied with my own food. I went to a ford in the river.

2. At that time Siddhattha, self-dependent, foremost individual, wishing to cross the river, approached the ford in the river.

3. And while the awakened one approached, I too approached there. Having approached the awakened one, I uttered these words:

4. "Climb onto [me], great hero. I will help you cross my ancestral territory. Be compassionate, great sage."

5. Having heard my growling, the great sage climbed onto [me]. Joyful, with a joyful mind, I helped the leader of the world cross.

6. On the far bank of the river, Siddhattha, leader of the world, comforted me there, [saying,] "You will attain the death-free".

7. Having passed from that body I went to the world of the gods. Attended to by *accharā*s, I experienced heavenly bliss.

8. And as lord of the gods I ruled over the gods seven times. I was a wheel-turning monarch, lord of the earth, three times.

9. I practised detachment, zealous and well restrained. I carry my last body in the teaching of the fully awakened one.

10. Ninety-four aeons ago I helped the bull among men cross. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of helping [him] cross.

11. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Uttiya spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Uttiya is concluded.

7.19. Ekañjalika

1–2.   Faithful [and] with a good mind, I made one respectful salutation with cupped hands after seeing the foremost of caravan leaders Vipassin walking in a market, having a golden complexion, awakened, hero of men, leader, tamer of the untamed, venerable, great teacher, with a great mind.

3.   Ninety-one aeons ago I made a respectful salutation with cupped hands at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of [making] a respectful salutation with cupped hands.

4.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Ekañjalika ("Having one respectful salutation with cupped hands") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Ekañjalika is concluded.

7.20. Khomadāyaka

1.   I was a merchant in Bandhumatī city at that time. In this very way I took care of my wife: I sowed successful seeds.[113]

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[113] A IV 238,14 has the phrase *pavuttā bījasampadā*, which Mp IV 124,25 glosses with *sampannaṃ bījaṃ ropitaṃ*, "successful sown seed". I therefore take *bījasampadaṃ* to mean a "success of seeds", i.e. successful seeds. Ap-a 351,11–12 glosses *pāda* d with *dānasīlādipuññabījasampattiṃ ropemi paṭṭhapemī ti*, which is perhaps most appropriately translated, "I sowed a success of seeds, being merit [generated] by giving, ethical conduct, etc.". Possibly based upon this interpretation, the *nissaya* of Jāgara (1926: I 151,5) similarly glosses *bījasampadaṃ* with ကောင်းမှုမျိုးစေ့၏ ပြည့်စုံခြင်းကို, "a success of seeds, being meritorious deeds". While *bīja*, "seed", is indeed often used figuratively in the Pāli canon, it seems more logical to assume that here it has a literal meaning and that *pāda* d is simply describing the protagonist's occupation and means of taking care of this wife. It might even

2.   For sake of the good, I gave one linen cloth to the teacher, great sage Vipassin [who had] taken to the road.

3.   Ninety-one aeons ago I gave the linen cloth at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of giving the linen cloth.

4.   Twenty-seven aeons ago I was a lord in the four continents, having chariots with Sindh horses, endowed with the seven jewels.

5.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Khomadāyaka ("Donor of linen cloth") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Khomadāyaka is concluded.

The summary:

Subhūti and Upavāṇa, Saraṇa, Sīlagāhaka, Annasaṃsāvaka, Dhūpa, Pulina with Uttiya, Añjalin and Khomadāyin; [these] very ten are in the third group. All together a hundred and eighty-five verses have been spoken.

The Subhūti chapter is the third.

The fourth turn for recitation [is finished].

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be assumed that some or all of his crops were flax, which provided the material for making the linen cloth referred to in the following two verses.

7.21. Kuṇḍadhāna

1. For seven days, with a faithful mind, with a good mind, I stood close to the excellent Buddha, self-dependent, foremost individual, [while he was] secluded.[114]

2. Knowing it was the right time, after taking hold of a big bunch of bananas I approached the great sage Padumuttara [who had] arisen [from seclusion].

3. The blessed one, all-knowing, leader of the world, accepted it. Making my mind faithful, the great sage ate it.

4. After eating, the awakened one, unsurpassed caravan leader, sat down on his own seat [and] said these verses:

5. "And *yakkha*s who assemble on this mountain [and] the old and young in the wilderness ought to listen to my words.

6. "I will praise him who stood close to the Buddha like a lion, the king of beasts; listen while I am speaking.

7. "And he will be a king of the gods eleven times. And he will be a wheel-turning monarch thirty-four times.

8. "A hundred thousand aeons from now, born in the Okkāka family, there will be a teacher in the world named Gotama by clan.

9. "Having verbally abused virtuous ascetics without taints, as a result of that bad deed he will obtain his name.[115]

10. "He will be a disciple named Kuṇḍadhāna, an heir to his doctrines, a true son created by the doctrine."

11. Practicing detachment, meditating, delighting in the meditative absorptions, pleasing the teacher, I dwell without taints.

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[114] Ap-a 355,28 states *nirodhasamāpattivihārena*, "[secluded] by living in the attainment of cessation".

[115] That is, "Kuṇḍadhāna". Ap-a 353,24–26 states that he acquired this name after novices and young monks surrounded and teased him by saying, *thero kuṇḍo jāto* (Ap-a 353,25), "[this] elder was born stupid!". This is one of the few references in the Apadāna to a *pāpakamma*, "bad deed", and its result.

12.	Surrounded by his disciples, accompanied by the Order of monks, sitting down within the Order of monks, the conqueror handed [me] a meal ticket.

13.	I put my robe to one shoulder, paid homage to the leader of the world [and], in front of the best of speakers, took hold of the first [meal ticket].[116]

14.	Because of that deed, the blessed one, causing the [system] of ten thousand [worlds] to tremble, sitting down within the Order of monks, appointed me to a foremost position.[117]

15.	Energy is my beast of burden bringing me to rest from exertion. I carry my last body in the teaching of the fully awakened one.

16.	The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Kuṇḍadhāna spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Kuṇḍadhāna is concluded.

7.22. Sāgata

1.	I was a brahman named Sobhita at that time. Accompanied by my own students, I went to the park.

2.	At that time, the blessed one, best of men, accompanied by the Order of monks, emerged from the park's gate [and] stood still.

3.	I saw that awakened one, tamed, accompanied by the tamed. Having made my own mind faithful, I praised the leader of the world:

4.	"[As] any [and] all trees grow in soil, so wise people grow in the teaching of the conqueror.

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[116] Alternatively, following Jāgara (1926: I 153,31), *paṭhamaṃ* could be translated as an adverb, "firstly".

[117] At A I 24,19–20 the Buddha names Kuṇḍadhāna foremost amongst his disciples who take hold of the first meal ticket.

5. "You are a wise caravan leader. Having rescued many people from the wrong path, you, great sage, point out the [right] path.

6. "Tamed, [you are] surrounded by the tamed; and meditating, [you are surrounded] by those delighting in the meditative absorptions; energetic, [you are surrounded] by the resolute, calm [and] venerable.

7. "Adorned on account of your assembly, you shine with merit and knowledge. Your radiance streams out like the sun in one's eyesight."

8. Having seen [me] with a faithful mind, the great sage Padumuttara, teacher, standing within the Order of monks, said these verses:

9. "That brahman who generated joy [and] praised me will enjoy himself in the world of the gods for a hundred thousand aeons.

10. "For having fallen from Tusita [heaven], impelled by a pure foundation, he will go forth in the teaching of the blessed one Gotama.

11. "Because of that well performed deed, he will obtain a contented and joyful [mind].[118] Named Sāgata, he will be a disciple of the teacher."

12. Having gone forth I avoided bad deed[s] with the body. Having abandoned bad conduct in word I purified my livelihood.

13. Dwelling thus, I am very knowledgeable about the fire element.[119] Understanding all the taints, I dwell without taints.

14. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Sāgata spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Sāgata is concluded.

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[118] In the Apadāna, *tuṭṭha* often qualifies *mānasa*, "mind" (e.g. § 5.2.6; Ap 24,22, 317,21), while *haṭṭha* often qualifies *citta*, "mind" (e.g. §§ 5.2.7, 5.18.5; Ap 93,29). It therefore seems reasonable to assume that in this verse *tuṭṭhahaṭṭha* is qualifying an unstated *mānasa* or *citta*.

[119] At A I 25,14 the Buddha names Sāgata foremost amongst his disciples who are skilled in the fire element.

7.23. Mahākaccāna

1. There was a shrine for the protector Padumuttara, named Paduma.[120] Having had a stone seat made I covered it with gold.[121]

2. I held out [and] offered an umbrella made of jewels and a chowrie to the Buddha, kinsman of the world, venerable.

3. Then everyone as far as the earth-dwelling deities assembled, [saying,[122] "The Buddha] will explain the result of [giving] the seat and umbrella of jewels.

4. "And we will listen to all that while the teacher is explaining [it]. We ought to rejoice even more in the teaching of the fully awakened one."

5. Having sat down on the golden seat, surrounded by the Order of monks, the self-dependent, foremost individual, said these verses:

6. "I will praise him who gave this golden seat made of jewels; listen while I am speaking.

7. "As lord of the gods he will rule over the gods for thirty aeons. He will surpass [all] with his radiance for a hundred *yojana*s in all directions.

8. "Having come to the world of humans, he will be a wheel-turning monarch. Named Pabhassara ("Shining"), he will have an intense radiance.

9. "Whether by day or by night, like the risen [sun] with a hundred rays, as a member of the warrior class he will light up eight *ratana*s in all directions.[123]

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[120] Ap-a 358,1–4 explains, *evam idaṃ bhagavato vasanaṭṭhānaṃ cetiyan ti vuccati. na dhātunidhānakacetiyan ti veditabbaṃ. na hi aparinibbutassa bhagavato sarīradhātūnaṃ abhāvā dhātucetiyaṃ karissati*, "Thus, this shrine for the blessed one was a dwelling place. It is not to be understood as a shrine for depositing relics. For one will not build a shrine for relics in the absence of the bodily relics of a blessed one who is not completely quenched". This is a reasonable interpretation since, in the reminder of this *apadāna*, Padumuttara Buddha is depicted as very much alive.

[121] Ap-a 358,5–6 specifies that the seat is made of *phalika*, "crystal". This is consistent with §§ 5.23.3, 5.23.6, which describe that the seat is made of *ratana*, "jewels".

[122] Here I follow Jāgara (1926: I 157,11), who added သုၣ်, "having said".

[123] A *ratana* is a unit of length (see PED s.v. *ratana*[2]; Skilling 1998: 161).

10. "A hundred thousand aeons from now, born in the Okkāka family, there will be a teacher in the world named Gotama.

11. "For having fallen from Tusita [heaven], impelled by a pure foundation, he will be a kinsman of Brahmā named Kaccāna.

12. "Subsequently going forth, he will become a *buddha*, without taints.[124] Gotama, light of the world, will appoint [him] to a foremost position.

13. "He will answer in detail a question asked in brief. And, answering that question, he will fulfil the [questioner's] wish."[125]

14. Born into a rich family, as a brahman [I] reached the far shore of the [vedic] hymns. Having abandoned money and grain I went forth to the houseless state.

15. I answer in detail to those asking in brief.[126] I fulfil their wish. I please the best of bipeds.

16. Pleased with me, the great hero, self-dependent, foremost individual, sitting down within the Order of monks, appointed me to a foremost [position].[127]

17. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Mahākaccāna spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Mahākaccāna is concluded.

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[124] The subject of this verse has rather abruptly shifted back to that of § 5.23.10, namely, Gotama Buddha.

[125] At A I 23,27–29 the Buddha names Mahākaccāna foremost amongst his disciples who explain in detail the meaning of what has been stated in brief.

[126] The first *pādayuga* may alternatively be translated, "They ask in brief. I answer in detail".

[127] Here, *etadagga* more literally means, "foremost amongst these [monks]". Note the repetition of the word *agga*, "foremost", namely, a foremost individual appoints the protagonist to a foremost position.

7.24. Kāḷudāyin

1–2.   Having taken hold of a lotus in full bloom, a blue lotus[128] and jasmine,[129] [and] having taken hold of the best food,[130] I gave them to Padumuttara Buddha—supreme in the world, venerable, teacher—[who had] taken to the road, wandering at that time.

3.   The great hero ate the best food, good food. [He said,] "And having taken hold of the flower[s], you gave [them] to the conqueror.

4.   "Wished for [and] desired for a long time in the world, the lotus is the best flower. A very difficult deed has been performed by him who gave me flower[s].

5.   "I will praise him who offered flower[s] and gave me the best food; listen while I am speaking.

6.   "He will rule over the gods eighteen times.[131] [He will have] blue lotus and also lotus and, furthermore, jasmine.

7.   "In the sky he [will] make a covering, having a divine scent due to the result of his merit, [and] will hold it instantly.

8.   "And he will be a wheel-turning monarch twenty-five times. He will live on earth for five hundred reigns of earth.

9.   "A hundred thousand aeons from now, born in the Okkāka family, there will be a teacher in the world named Gotama by clan.

10.   "Pleased with his own deed, impelled by a pure foundation, producing joy, he will be a relative and kinsman of the Sakyans.

11.   "Subsequently going forth, impelled by a pure foundation, understanding all the taints, he will be quenched, without taints.

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[128] DOP s.v. *uppala* identifies the *uppala* flower as Nymphaea caerulea, commonly referred to as the blue lotus.

[129] PED s.v. *mallikā* identifies *mallikā* as Arabian jasmine, i.e. Jasminum sambac.

[130] Ap-a 362,35–36 specifies that the food is *madhuraṃ sabbasupakkaṃ sāliodanaṃ*, "sweet rice porridge, all well cooked".

[131] Literally "ten and eight times".

12. "And Gotama, kinsman of the world, will appoint [him—who will have] attained the analytical insights, whose task [will be] done, without taints—to a foremost [position].[132]

13. "Being resolute for exertion, calm, without basis for rebirth, he will be a disciple of the teacher, named Udāyin."

14. Desire and hatred and delusion, pride and hypocrisy have been destroyed. Understanding all the taints, I dwell without taints.

15. And also, energetic, zealous, I pleased the awakened one. And, satisfied, the awakened one appointed me to a foremost [position].

16. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Kāḷudāyin spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Kāḷudāyin is concluded.

7.25. Mogharājā

1. The blessed one Atthadassin, self-dependent, unconquered, took to the road surrounded by the Order of monks.

2. Surrounded by my students, I departed from my house. Having departed there I saw the leader of the world.[133]

3. I respectfully greeted the awakened one, made a respectful salutation with cupped hands at my head, made my own mind faithful [and] praised the leader of the world:

4. "Everyone—as far as beings with form, without form, or without perception—falls within your knowledge.

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[132] At A I 25,5 the Buddha names Kāḷudāyin foremost amongst his disciples who inspire faith in families.

[133] Note the similarity between this opening scene and the opening scene of § 5.22.

5. "Were one to throw upon water a fine-meshed net, whichever beings were in [that] water would be [caught] inside the net.[134]

6. "And everyone of whom there is consciousness, with form and without form, falls within your knowledge.

7. "You save this world confused by darkness. Having heard your doctrine they cross the stream of doubt.

8. "The world is veiled by ignorance, covered by darkness. When your knowledge is shining, the darkness is destroyed.

9. "You are the light for all, dispelling great darkness. Having heard your doctrine, many people are quenched."

10. Having filled a pot, I held out a little pure honey with both hands [and] offered it to the great sage.

11. The great hero, great sage, politely received [it]. And having eaten it, the all-knowing one rose to the sky through the air.

12. Standing in the atmosphere, the teacher Atthadassin, bull among men, making my mind faithful, said these verses:

13. "Because of the faith in his mind, he who praised this knowledge and praised the excellent Buddha will not go to a bad destination.

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[134] In a passage from the Brahmajālasutta, the Buddha states that speculative ascetics and brahmans are trapped in a net of views. To illustrate the point, he makes the following simile: *seyyathā pi bhikkhave dakkho kevaṭṭo vā kevaṭṭantevāsī vā sukhumacchikena jālena parittaṃ udakadahaṃ otthareyya tassa evam assa: ye kho keci imasmiṃ udakadahe oḷārikā pāṇā sabbe te antojālikatā ettha sitā va ummujjamānā ummujjanti ettha pariyāpannā antojālikatā va ummujjamānā ummujjantī ti evam eva kho bhikkhave ye hi keci samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā...* (D I 45,29–46,2), "Monks, just as an able fisherman or fisherman trainee could cover a small pool of water with a fine-meshed net [and] could have [this thought]: 'Whatever substantial beings are in this pool of water are all within the net. Floundering, they flounder here, caught. Floundering, they flounder here, included within the net.' Monks, just so, whatever ascetics or brahmans...". Ap 21,17–18, a parallel to the present verse (§ 5.25.5), appears to have been based upon this Brahmajālasutta passage and is followed by a verse which completes the simile in an analogous manner. In contrast, the present verse has been used to draw a very different simile, in which the Buddha's knowledge appears to be compared with a fishing net capable of holding many beings.

14. "And he will rule over the gods fourteen times. He will live on earth for eight hundred reigns of a region.

15. "And he will be a wheel-turning monarch five hundred times. He will rule over a region on earth, incalculable [in size].

16. "As a scholar holding the [vedic] hymns [in his memory], having reached the far shore of the three vedas, he will go forth in the teaching of the blessed one Gotama.

17. "He will seek the profound [and] subtle goal[135] with knowledge. Named Mogharājā, he will be a disciple of the teacher,

18. "endowed with the three knowledges, whose task [will be] done, without taints. Gotama, foremost of caravan leaders, will appoint [him] to a foremost [position]."[136]

19. Abandoning the human connection, cutting the binding of existence, understanding all the taints, I dwell without taints.

20. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Mogharājā spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Mogharājā is concluded.

7.26. Adhimutta

1. When the best of men Atthadassin, protector of the world, had been quenched, I invited the Order of monks with a faithful mind,

2. invited the upright [and] concentrated Order jewel, made a pavilion from sugarcane [and] fed the best Order.

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[135] It is likely that this *attha*, "goal", is *nibbāna*. For example, Ap-a 231,17 provides the gloss *nibbānaṃ* for the phrase *gambhīraṃ nipuṇaṃ padaṃ* (Ap 25,3), "profound [and] subtle state".

[136] At A I 25,16 the Buddha names Mogharājā foremost amongst his disciples who wear coarse robes.

3. Whatever existence I was reborn into, [whether] existence as a god or existence as a human, I surpassed all beings. This is the fruit of the meritorious deed.

4. Eighteen hundred aeons [ago] I gave the gift at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of giving sugarcane.

5. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Adhimutta spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Adhimutta is concluded.

7.27. Lasuṇadāyaka

1. Not far from the Himalayas I was an ascetic at that time. I lived upon garlic. Garlic was my food.

2. Having filled my *khārī* containers,[137] I went to the Order's park. Joyful, with a joyful mind, I gave the Order garlic.

3. I delighted in the teaching of the foremost of men Vipassin. Having given garlic to the Order I enjoyed myself in heaven for an aeon.

4. Ninety-one aeons ago I gave garlic at that time. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of [giving] garlic.

5. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Lasuṇadāyaka ("Donor of garlic") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Lasuṇadāyaka is concluded.

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[137] A *khārĭ* is a measure of grain (DOP s.v. *khāri*).

7.28. Āyāgadāyaka

1. When Sikhin—protector of the world, best of speakers—had been quenched, joyful [and] with a joyful mind, I paid homage to his supreme stupa.

2. For having asked labourers [and][138] then given payment, joyful [and] with a joyful mind, I had a gift made.[139]

3. I lived amongst the gods uninterruptedly for eight aeons. I wandered in various [types of existence] during the remaining aeons.

4. Poison did not get into my body and weapons did not strike me.[140] I did not die in water. This is the fruit of [giving] the gift.

5. When I wished for rain, a great cloud began to rain. Gods also came under my control. This is the fruit of the meritorious deed.

6. I was endowed with the seven jewels thirty times. No one despised me. This is the fruit of the meritorious deed.

7. Thirty-one aeons ago I had the gift made. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of [giving] the gift.

8. The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Āyāgadāyaka ("Donor of a gift") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Āyāgadāyaka is concluded.

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[138] Ap-a 366,5–6 glosses *pāda* a with *bhojanasālāya pamāṇaṃ kittakan ti pamāṇaṃ kathāpetvā*, "Having asked about dimension[s, saying,] 'What are the dimension[s] of a food hall?'".

[139] According to Ap-a 365,26, 366,8, the gift is a *bhojanasāla*, "food hall".

[140] See § 6.28.4 on the difficulty of interpreting and translating *hanti* in this verse.

7.29. Dhammacakkika

1. In front of the lion throne of the blessed one Siddhattha, I placed a well made wheel of doctrine,[141] praised by the wise.

2. Having an army with chariots,[142] I shone as though I had a golden complexion. Many obedient people constantly surrounded me.

3. I constantly surrounded [myself] with sixty thousand musical instruments. I shone with my retinue. This is the fruit of the meritorious deed.

4. Ninety-four aeons ago I placed the wheel. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of [placing] the wheel of doctrine.

5. Eleven aeons ago there were eight wheel-turning monarchs with great strength, rulers of people, named Sahassarājā.

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[141] Images of wheels are found amongst the earliest surviving examples of Buddhist art (for two examples, see Dehejia 1997: 79). It is possible that these depictions in stone were preceded by depictions in less durable materials, such as wood. The Apadāna does not specify the material of the wheel; however, Ap-a 366,20 describes this wheel of doctrine as *ratanamaya*, "made of jewels".

[142] *pāda* b may be interpreted in a number of different ways. Ap-a 367,3–5 states, *sayoggabalavāhano ti suvaṇṇasivikādīhi yoggehi ca senāpatimahāmattādīhi sevakehi balehi ca hatthi-assarathasaṅkhātehi vāhanehi ca sahito ti attho*, "*sayoggabalavāhano* means accompanied with carriages—[i.e.] golden palanquins, etc.—and with forces—[i.e.] generals, ministers, etc. [and] servants—and with vehicles—named elephants, horses and chariots". The explanation of Jāgara (1926: I 167,18–19) differs and includes the gloss လှည်းရထားစသောယာဉ်အင်္ဂါလေးပါးရှိသောဗိုလ်ပါဆင်ယာဉ် မြင်းယာဉ်နှင့်တက္က, "accompanied with an army, elephants and horses, which have four vehicular divisions beginning with chariots". Here, *balavāhana* is taken to mean an army with its animal vehicles and *yogga* is taken to mean one of its divisions, namely, chariots. In support of this explanation, PED s.v. *balavāhana*, *vāhana* cites several passages in which *balavāhana* simply means "army". Equally, the literal meaning of *yogga*, "to be yoked", is more suitably applied to a chariot than a palanquin. Jāgara's explanation seems more reasonable than that of the Apadānaṭṭhakathā and my translation therefore reflects his gloss. See § 5.12.38 for a reference to the four divisions of an army.

6.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

In this way the venerable elder Dhammacakkika ("Having a wheel of doctrine") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Dhammacakkika is concluded.

7.30. Kapparukkhiya

1.   Having avoided multicoloured cloths I placed a wishing tree in front of the excellent stupa of the blessed one Siddhattha.[143]

2.   Whatever existence I was reborn into, [whether] existence as a god or existence as a human, a wishing tree stood decorating my door.[144]

3.   I, my assembly and anyone dependent upon me took cloth from that [wishing tree and] we always clothed ourselves.

4.   Ninety-four aeons ago I placed the tree. I am not aware of [having been reborn in] a bad destination [since]. This is the fruit of [placing] the wishing tree.

5.   And seven aeons ago there were eight well clothed members of the warrior class endowed with the seven jewels, wheel-turning monarchs with great strength.

6.   The four analytical insights and also the eight liberations and the six supernormal knowledges have been realised. The Buddha's teaching has been accomplished.

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[143] Ap-a 367,13–14 describes this wishing tree as *sattahi ratanehi vicittaṃ suvaṇṇamayaṃ*, "made of gold [and] ornamented with the seven jewels".

[144] Collins (1998: 319) provided a translation of the first two verses of this *apadāna* in a brief discussion on wishing trees.

In this way the venerable elder Kapparukkhiya ("Having a wishing tree") spoke these verses. The *apadāna* of the elder Kapparukkhiya is concluded.

The summary:

Kuṇḍa, Sāgata, Kaccāna, Udāyin, one named Rājā, Adhimutta, Lasuṇada, Āyāgin, Dhammacakkika and Kapparukkhin, the tenth. A hundred and twelve verses.

The Kuṇḍadhāna chapter is the fourth.

8. CONCLUSIONS

The overall aim of this thesis has been to gain new knowledge of the Apadāna. This has been achieved by investigating a number of key areas. Firstly, the time period within which this text was composed, previously assumed to be the second or first century BCE, was re-examined (§ 1.4). It was found that, upon closer inspection, many of the arguments used to justify the assignment of such a date are based upon doubtful evidence. The most that our present state of knowledge allows us to conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty is that a passage from one *apadāna* postdates 331 BCE (see § 1.5n38), while a version of another *apadāna* dates to the first half of the first century CE or earlier (see § 1.4). Further research into the status of the Apadāna according to the *dīghabhāṇaka*s, as recorded in the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, may shed more light on the date and canonicity of this text. This might be achieved via a close study of a reasonably large selection of palm leaf manuscripts which preserve this particular passage.

The Apadāna was compared to numerous other early Buddhist texts, with particular reference to structure, style and themes. This thesis contains the first detailed comparison between the Apadāna and early Sanskrit *avadāna* collections (§ 2.1). It was found that the system of karma underlying the narrative of the Apadāna, Avadānaśataka and Divyāvadāna is reasonably consistent, involving a complex interplay between performer and recipient. These similarities in content suggest that the Apadāna was part of a larger network of Buddhist *avadāna* texts. Further comparisons with other *avadāna* collections are likely to provide more detail on these connections. In agreement with Mellick Cutler 1994, stylistic and thematic affiliations were observed between the Apadāna and other Pāli canonical texts, especially those belonging to the Khuddakanikāya (§ 2.4). However, also noted was a major point of disparity between the Apadāna and the great majority of the Pāli canon, namely, the existence of numerous passages which refer to *nibbāna*

as the fruit of meritorious deeds (§ 2.5). Only two such passages have previously been identified in the Pāli canon (Khp 8.13–15; Vv 81.24).

This thesis has hopefully demonstrated that the Apadāna is a particularly interesting text worthy of ongoing investigation. Further work on its content will be greatly aided by the production of a new edition in Roman script and a complete corresponding English translation. In preparation for this, a quantitative analysis was undertaken concerning the features of eighty-one PTS editions, which revealed, for example, the small number of witnesses generally used as primary sources, the declining usage of manuscripts over time and a strong preference for providing little to no information on editing methodology (§ 3.6.3). These are not positive trends, particularly in light of the more favourable text critical practices often used in other fields (§§ 3.2–5).

A major component of this thesis is an edition and annotated translation of the Apadāna's second, third and fourth chapters. In an attempt to provide greater editorial transparency, this work was prefaced with detailed information on the editing methodology (§ 4.1.1) and witnesses (§ 4.1.2). It is unfortunate that, despite my efforts, I was unable to gain permission to copy more than one Khom script manuscript from Thailand. It is similarly regrettable that I was unable to locate any relevant Laotian or Cambodian manuscripts. Therefore, a limitation of this thesis is the lack of information regarding the transmission of the Apadāna in Thailand, Laos and Cambodia.

The aim of this new edition has been to reconstruct (and correct, where absolutely necessary) the archetype of the selected manuscripts, primarily via the application of stemmatic editing principles. Using this method in tandem with the known history of the witnesses, light was shed on the historical transmission of this text (see § 6). It was found that textual contamination was pervasive amongst Burmese script manuscripts, but not particularly common in Sinhala script manuscripts (§ 4.1.1n5). Similarly, Burmese script manuscripts tended to include more conscious editorial alterations than Sinhala script manuscripts. Future studies may determine whether these features are unique to the transmission of the Apadāna or are part of a pervasive trend. If the latter turns out to be true, this may

indicate that palm leaf manuscript scribes in Burma approached their task in fundamentally different ways to palm leaf manuscript scribes in Sri Lanka.

Also noted were a number of trends concerning existing printed editions of the Apadāna (see § 6). For example, it was found that they include numerous silent emendations of the received text, many of which appear to originate from the edition produced by Buddhadatta (1929–1930). Additionally, these printed editions often favour the "smoother" and more easily understood readings first produced during the editorial preparations to the fifth Buddhist council of 1871 in Mandalay. There is, therefore, a distinct tendency in printed editions of the Apadāna—particularly B^e, C^e and S^e—to avoid reproducing readings which are grammatically or semantically difficult, despite the fact that such readings are often of an earlier origin than the ones that are instead reproduced. Again, future research may determine whether these features are limited to the Apadāna or are widespread.

It is hoped that this thesis will stimulate further debate on textual criticism within Pāli studies. As shown, it is only through using manuscripts that we can identify silent emendations in existing printed editions and conscious scribal alterations to the received text. It is therefore also hoped that this thesis highlights the necessity of using palm leaf manuscripts in the historical study of Pāli language and literature.

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