Pubbakkammapilotika-Buddhāpadānam
The Traditions about the Buddha (known as)
The Connection with Previous Deeds
Pubbakammapiñolika-Buddhāpadāṇam

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

or

Why the Buddha Suffered

a text and translation of the verses in
Apadāna 39.10

and their commentary in
Visuddhajananavilāśniī

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu
(January, 2012, BE 2556)
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Introduction

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

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

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

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

1. Texts and Variations

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


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


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

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


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


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

2. The Relationship between the Text and the Commentary

The Apadāna is organised into four sections: Buddhāpadāna (81 verses); Paccekabuddhāpadāna (58 verses); Therāpadāna (6311 verses, 559 Therās) and Therī-Apadāna (1336 verses, 40 Therīs).\(^4\)

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

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

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

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

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\(^3\): Verse numbers are as in the Sri Lankan edition.

\(^4\): Note that the last section has no commentary on it.

\(^5\): Not translated here as it is basically a word-commentary (vaṇṇanā), and is seperated from the rest of the commentary.
stories explaining the deeds the Buddha-to-be had performed in the past,\(^6\) which were finding their fulfilment, even when he was Buddha.

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\text{Purā Śīhaḷabhāsāya porāṇaṭṭhakathāya ca} \\
\text{Setting aside the ancient commentary in the Sinhala language}
\]

\[
\text{Ṭhapitaṁ taṁ na sādheti, sādhūnaṁ icchiticchitaṁ,} \\
\text{Which does not make things clear, longing for what is profitable,}
\]

\[
\text{Tasmā taṁ-upanissāya porāṇaṭṭhakathānayaṁ,} \\
\text{Having forsaken reliance on that ancient commentary, therefore,}
\]

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\(^6\) As in, for instance, the Jātakaṭṭhakathā.

\(^7\) The commentary treats them in the order: 12, 2, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

\(^8\) Masefield noted this in his comments to the verses in the Udāna Commentary.
Vivajjetvā viruddhatthaṁ, visesatthaṁ pakāsayaṁ,
Which hinders (the true) meaning, (and) explaining the true meaning,

Visesavāṇṇanaṁ setṭhaṁ karissāmatthavanaṇṇananti.
I will make a true and good explanation, which explains the meaning (well).

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

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

3. Relationship with Other Traditions

The compound used to describe the verses, kammapilotika (or in some editions kammapiloti) doesn't occur anywhere else in the Pāḷi texts except in connection with these verses; however, it does occur in Buddhist Sanskrit works\(^{10}\) like Divyāvadāna,\(^{11}\) Avadānaśataka and Laṅkāvatārasūtra; and there are parallels to the text in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Anavataptagāthā,\(^{12}\) and in Gandhāri.\(^{13}\)

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

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

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\(^9\) See commentarial story no. 2 below; and for the next instance story no. 5.

\(^{10}\) There the compounds are karmapilotika and karmaploitri.

\(^{11}\) Cf. Divyāvadāna p. 150, where one of the 10 indispensable deeds (\(dāsāvakararāṇīyāni\)) is listed as: Anavatapte mahāsarasi śrāvakathā śārdham pūrvikā karmaploitityā vyākṛtā bhavati; explaining the connection with former deeds with his disciples near the great lake Anavatapta (Anotatta in Pāḷi).

\(^{12}\) See Bechter, Die Anavataptagāthā und die Sthaviragāthā, Berlin 1961.

\(^{13}\) See http://gandhari.org/a_manuscript.php?catid=CKM0001.

\(^{14}\) See Senart's edition: pg. 34-45. I hope to translate this text at some point.
He then makes an offering to the Buddha and makes an aspiration to become a Buddha himself, which is confirmed by Buddha Sarvābhibhū.

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

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

4. The Bodhisatta's Bad Deeds

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

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

\textbf{Bodhisattassa hi ekaccesu thānesu pāṇātipāto pi adinnādānam-pi kāmesunicchācāro pi surāmerayamajjānam-pi hoti yeva,}
\textit{atthabhedakavisānvādanaṁ\textsuperscript{16} purakkhatvā, musāvādo nāma na hoti;}
the Buddha-to-be on certain occasions may kill, steal, engage in sexual misconduct and drink intoxicants; but he cannot, preferring to hurt the welfare (of others) by lying, speak falsely.

and the reason for this is clearly stated:

\textbf{Ujjhitasaccā hi Bodhimūle nisīditvā, Bodhimū pāpuṇītuṁ na sakkonti;}
even if one who has forsaken the truth has sat at the root of the Bodhi tree he is (still) unable to attain Awakening.

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

\textsuperscript{15} But there the compound is \textit{karmasantati}, and the list is not twelve items, but ten. Most of them are the same as is recorded here, however, so that it is clear we are dealing with the same tradition.
\textsuperscript{16} This is translated by Francis and Neil (Jā trans. Vol III, pg. 296): \textit{he may not tell a lie, attended by deception that violates the reality of things}; although it has a wide range of meanings I do not find anywhere where \textit{attha} means \textit{the reality of things}; its primary meaning is (PED, s.v.): \textit{interest, advantage, gain; (moral) good, blessing, welfare; profit, prosperity, well-being}. 
Nanda and the seer (ṛṣī) Bhīma; and the repercussion was that in turn he was slandered by Ciñcā and Sundarī.

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

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

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

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

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

Kammapiṭotikaṁ nāma Buddhamaṇi na muñcati.\(^{18}\)
The Buddha was surely not free from the connection with that deed.

Kammapiṭotikaṁ evarūpaṁ Lokattayasāmin ṁ pi na vijahati.
The Lord of the Three Worlds surely could not abandon the connection with that deed.

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

Ānandajoti Bhikkhu
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\(^{17}\) Though according to the commentary he fixed it again soon after, see story no 11 below.

\(^{18}\) Just before the verses in story No 11 below; the next quote appears before the verses in story No 12.
Anotattasarāsanne,20 ramaṇīye silātale,
While on the delightful rocky plateau near Lake Anotatta,21

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

Mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena, pareto Lokanāyako,
The World-Leader, surrounded22 by a great Community of Monks,

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

Suṇātha bhikkhavo mayhaṁ yaṁ kammaṁ pakataṁ mayā,23
Listen to me, O monks, (explain) the deed that was performed by me,

Pilotikassa kammassa Buddhatte pi vipaccati.24 [66]
And how the connection25 with that deed ripened even in Buddhahood.26

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

20 The text is reproduced word for word in the Udāna ṭṭhakathā, being quoted from here.

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

22 Comm: pareto parivuto.

23 Thai adds the following verse: Ekaṁ araṇīkaṁ bhikkhunuṁ disvā dinnaṁ pilotikaṁ, patthitam paṭhamaṁ Buddhamaṁ Buddhattāya mayā tadā; Having seen one forest monk, I gave a rag-robe, the first wish for Buddhahood, was then (made) by me. Lines c & d hardly make sense in the Pāḷi, and I have omitted Buddhamaṁ in the translation and added a word for made, perhaps we should read: patthitam paṭhamaṁ katam; which would give a Anuṭṭhubha variation.

24 Thai adds these two verses: Gopālako pure āsīṁ gāviṁ pājeti gocaraṁ, Pivantiṁ udakaṁ āvilaṁ gāviṁ disvā nivārayiṁ; tena kammavāpākena idha paccimake bhave pipāsito yathicchakaṁ na hi pātuṁ labhāhamahāṁ; before when I was a cow-herder I drove cows to their pasture, having seen a cow drink from clear water I prevented him; through that deed and its result here in my last existence (when) thirsty and desiring the same I did not get (anything) to drink.

25 Pilotika is given in PED as: a small piece of cloth, a rag, a bandage; SED: ploti, f. thread, connection (in karma-p-) Divyāv[adāna, 150]; in BHSD, Edgerton says that in karmaploti: it means action (binding-)cord, and also gives connecting link, bond as translations. Masefield, however, translates as remnant, and has a note which says: The term seems to denote the minuscule remnant of an old garment and might therefore be taken as “karmic fluff”
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 10

[1]

Munāḷi nāmahāṁ dhutto pubbe aṅṅāsu jātisu,
In a previous life I was a scoundrel known as Munāḷi,

Paccekaḥuddhaṁ Surabhiṁ abhācikkhiṁ adūsakaṁ; [67]
I slandered the innocent Independent Buddha Surabhi;

Tena kammavipākena Niraye saṁsariṁ ciraṁ,
Through that deed and through its result I long transmigrated through Hell,

Bahūvassahassāni, dukkham vedesi' vedanaṁ. [68]
For many thousands of years I experienced unpleasant feeling.

Tena kammāvasesena, idha pacchimake bhave,
Through the remainder of that deed, here in my last existence,

Abbhakkhānaṁ mayā laddhaṁ, Sundarikāya kāraṇaṁ. [69]
I received (much) slander myself, at the hands of Sundarikā.

[2]

Sabbāhibhussa Buddhassa Nando nāmāsi sāvako,
There was a disciple of Buddha Sabbāhibhуu named Nanda,

Taṁ abhakkhāya Niraye ciraṁ saṁsaritaṁ mayā, [70]
Through slandering him I transmigrated through Hell for a long time,

Dasavassahassāni Niraye saṁsariṁ ciraṁ,
For ten thousand long years I transmigrated through Niraya hell,

Manussabhāvaṁ laddhaṁ, abhakkhānaṁ bahuṁ labhiṁ, [71]
When I received an existence as man, I received much slander,

Tena kammāvasesena Ćiṅcamānavikā mamaṁ
Through the remainder of that deed the brahmin maiden named Ćiṅcā

Abbhācikkhi ābhūtena janakāyassā aggato. [72]
Slandered me with lies at the head of an assembly of people.

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

I present the verses first, without annotation or commentary as a translation of the latter follows.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 11

[3]

Brāhmaṇo Sutavā āsiṁ ahaṁ sakkatapūjito,
As the brahmin Sutavā I was (greatly) honoured and worshipped,

Mahāvane pañcasate mante vācesi27 māṇave. [73]
I taught the mantras to my five hundred students in the Great Wood.

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

Taṁ cāhaṁ āgataṁ disvā, abbhācikkhiṁ adūsakaṁ, [74]
And having seen him coming I slandered that innocent (seer),

Tatohaṁ avacaṁ sisse: ‘Kāmabhogī ayaṁ isi’.
Thereupon I said to my pupils: ‘This seer is a sensualist’.

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

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

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

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

Abbhakkhānaṁ labhuṁ sabbe Sundarikāya kāraṇā. [77]
All received (abundant) slander at the hands of Sundarikā.

27 All texts are against this reading, but comm. is for it, and it fits better to have an aorist here, rather than a present tense.
The Connection with Previous Deeds

[4]

Vemātubhātaraṁ²⁸ pubbe dhanahetu hanīṁ ahaṁ,
In the (distant) past I killed my half-brother for the sake of wealth,

Pakkhipiṁ giriduggasmiṁ, silāya ca apiṁsaṁiṁ, [78]
I threw him in an inaccessible mountain, and crushed him with a rock;

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

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

[5]

Purehaṁ dārako hutvā, kīḷamāno mahāpathe,
In the past, having become a boy, while playing on the highway,

Paccekabuddhaṁ disvāna magge sakalikaṁ khipiṁ; [80]
Seeing an Independent Buddha on the road, I threw a stone;

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

Vadhatthaṁ maṁ Devadatto abhimāre payojayi. [81]
Devadatta tried to kill me by employing evil bandits.

[6]

Hatthāroho pure āsiṁ. Paccekamunim-uttamaṁ
Before I was a mahout. While a supreme Independent Sage

Piṇḍāya vicarantam taṁ, āsādesīṁ gajenaham; [82]
Was wandering for his almsfood, I struck him with my elephant;

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

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

²⁸ PTS: Dvemātā-bhātaro; brothers of two mothers (and same father).
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[7]

Rājāhaṁ pattiko āsimā sattiyā purise haniṁ;
(When) I was a King (going round) on foot I killed men with my sword;

Tena kammavipākena Niraye paccisimā bhusaṁ, [84]
Through that deed and its result I suffered much in Niraya hell,

Kammuno tassa sesena, idāni sakalaṁ mama
Through the remainder of that deed, at this time all the (unbroken)

Pāde chaviṁ pakappesi²⁹ – na hi kammaṁ vinassati. [85]
Skin on my foot was cut – deeds are never destroyed (without result).

[8]

Ahaṁ kevaṭṭagāmasmiṁ ahum kevaṭṭadārako
(Before) I was a fisherman's son in a fisherman's village

Macchake ghātite disvā janayinṁ somanassakaṁ; [86]
Having seen fish being killed it produced a little happiness;

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

Sabbe Sakkā ca haññīṁsu yadā hani Viḍūḍabho.³⁰ [87]
And all the Sakyans were killed when they were slain by Viḍūḍabha.

[9]

Phussassāhaṁ pāvacane sāvake paribhāsayiṁ:
I blamed the teachings and disciples of (Buddha) Phussa (saying):

“Yavaṁ khādatha bhuñjatha, mā ca bhuñjatha sālayo”; [88]
“You should eat and enjoy barley, you should not enjoy this fine rice;”

Tena kammavipākena temāsaṁ khāditaṁ yavaṁ
Through that deed and its result for three months I ate (only) barley

Nimantito brāhmaṁena Veraṅjāyaṁ vasiṁ tadā. [89]
When invited by the brahmin to dwell (three months) in Veraṅjā.

²⁹ PTS: c'ādiṇṇaṁ sakalaṁ mama pāde chaviṁ pakappesi; he angrily cut the skin on my entire foot; BJT also reads: pakappesi, but then omissions a word for cutting, which would seem to be required.
³⁰ PTS: Viḍūḍabho; ChS: Viṭṭūbho; Thai: Viṭṭūbho; and similarly throughout. The correct form of the name, which is said to have formed through a confusion anyway, is lost now.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 14

[10]

Nibbuddhe vattamānamhi mallaputtaṁ niheṭhayiṁ;  
Once while I was wrestling I badly injured another wrestler;

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

[11]

Tikicchako ahaṁ āsim seṭhiputtaṁ virecayiṁ;  
At the time I was a physician I made a merchant's son purge;

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

[12]

Avacāhaṁ Jotipālo Sugataṁ Kassapaṁ tadā:  
As Jotipāla I spoke to the Buddha Kassapa, (saying):

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

Tena kammavipākena acariṁ dukkaraṁ bahuṁ  
Through that deed and its result I practiced many austerities

Chabbassān-Uruvelāyaṁ tato Bodhim-apaṇuin. [93]  
For six years at Uruvelā, and then attained to Awakening.

Nāhaṁ etena maggena pāpuṇuin Bodhim-uttamaṁ,  
I did not attain the supreme Awakening through this path (of pain),

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

Puñña:papaparikkhiṇo, sabbasantāpavajjito,  
With merit and demerit destroyed, abstaining from all torment,
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 15

Asoko anupāyāso, nibbāyissam-anāsavo. [95]
Griefless, without despair, I will be released, without pollutants.

Evaṁ Jino viyākāsi bhikkhusaṅghassa aggato,
So the Victor explained at the head of the Community of monks,

Sabbābhiññābalappatto, Anotatte mahāsare.” ti [96]
The one with all knowledge and strength, at the great Lake Anotatta.”

Itthaṁ sudām Bhagavā attano pubbacaritam pubbakammapilotikām
In this way, truly, the Fortunate One spoke about the former connection with his previous lives

nāma Buddhāpadānām Dhammapariyāyam abhāsittha.
in what is known as the Dhamma Instruction in the Traditions about the Buddha.

Pubbakammapilotikāṁ nāma Buddhāpadānāṁ Samattāṁ
The Traditions about the Buddha known as
The Connection with Previous Deeds is Complete
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 16

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

... Buddhāpadānam kusalāpadānavasena niṭṭhāpetvā,  
... having finished the account of the wholesome traditions in the Traditions about the Buddha

tad-eva akusalāpadānavasena vitthāretuṁ idam pañhakammaṁ.  
now (we need) to lay out the account of the unwholesome actions with an enquiry into his deeds.

**Dukkaraṇa-ca abbhakkhānaṁ, abbhakkhānaṁ punāparāṁ,**  
Austerities and slander, and once again (more) slander,

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

**Nāḷāgiri, sattacchedo, sīsadukkham, yavakhādanaṁ,**  
Nāḷāgiri, cut with a sword, headache, eating barley,

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

[Dukkarakārikā]  
[1. The Austerities]

**Tattha, paṭhamapañhe dukkaran-ti, chabbassāni dukkarakārikā.**  
Herein, in the first enquiry, (called) austerities, (we hear about) the reason for six years of austerities.

**Atīte Kassapasammāsambuddhakāle,**  
In the past, at the time of the Perfect Buddha Kassapa,

**Bodhisatto Jotipālo nāma brāhmaṇamāṇavo hutvā,**  
the Buddha-to-be had become a brahmin student named Jotipāla,

**nibbatto brāhmaṇajātivasena**  
and because of being born as a brahmin

**Sāsane appasanno tassa Bhagavato,**  
he was not satisfied with the Dispensation of that Fortunate One,

31 These verses enumerate twelve ways in which the Buddha suffered, as a kind of tabulation of the stories to come.
The Connection with Previous Deeds

pilotikakammanissandena: “Kassapo Bhagavā” ti sutvā,
with this outcome through the connection of deeds: having heard it said “The Gracious Kassapa”,

“Kuto muṇḍakassa samañassa Bodhi? Bodhi paramadullabhā” ti āha.
he said: “Where is this shaveling ascetic's Awakening? Awakening is supremely rare!”

So tena kammanissandena anekajātisatesu
The outcome of that deed was that for countless hundreds of lives

Narakādīsu dukkham-anubhavitvā,
he underwent suffering in Naraka hell and so on,

tasseva Bhagavato anantaranā teneva laddhavyākaraṇena,32
then after that, through having received the prediction from that Fortunate One.33

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

pariyosāne Vessantarattabhāvaṁ patvā,
at the end, having attained his existence as Vessantara,34

tato cuto Tusitabhavane nibbatto.
and falling away from that he re-arose in the Tusita realm.

Devatāyācanena tato cavītvā, Sakyakule nibbatto,
With the asking of the gods, after falling away from there, he arose in the Sakya family,

ñāṇassa paripākattā, sakala-Jambudīparaļjam pahāya,
and after coming to full maturity of knowledge, giving up the sovereignty over the whole of the Rose-Apple Island,

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

Brahmunā ānīte iddhimaye kappassa saṃṭhānakāle,
which was taken by a Brahmā (god) using his psychic power until the end of the aeon,

padumagabbhe nibbatte atṭhabarikkkhāre paṭiggahetvā pabbajitvā,
having taken the requisites (placed) in the lotus calyx and gone forth,

32 SHB has a different construct: Bhagavatā laddhavyākaraṇo anantaranā teneva; which gives the same meaning.
33 The Buddha-to-be as Jotipāla had later ordained under the Buddha Kassapa, who then confirmed that he would become a Buddha himself at a later date.
34 His last earthly existence before the birth as Siddhattha, for which see the final Jātaka (Jā. 547).
Bodhiñāṇadassanassa tāva aparipakkattā,
being unripe as yet for insight and knowledge and wisdom,

Buddhabhāvāya maggāmaggaṁ ajānītvā,
through not knowing what is path and not path to Buddhahood,

chabbassāni Uruvelajanapade
for six years in the Uruvelā country

ekāhāra-ekālopa-ekapuggala-ekamagga-ekāsanabhojanavasena
because of eating only one (type of) food, one lump (of food), (from) one person
(only), (on) one path (only), (at) one sitting (only),

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

Mahāpadhānasutte vuttanayeneva padhānaṁ,
and his striving (should be understood) as it is recorded in the Discourse on the Great
Traditions,

mahāviriyaṁ dukkarakārikaṁ akāsi.
(and so) with great energy he performed his austerities.

So imaṁ dukkarakārikaṁ Sambodhiyā maggaṁ na hoṭī ti cintetvā,
After realising that austerity is not the Path to Complete Awakening,

gāmanigamarājadhānīsu paṇītāhāraṁ paribhuñjitvā,
and partaking of fine food in the villages, towns and capital cities,

pīṇitindriyo paripūṇadvatīṁsa-Mahāpurisalakkhaṅo,
having satisfied faculties the thirty-two signs of the Great Man (appeared),

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

PTS adds -ekatanda-; one rice-grain; SHB omits ekamagga.
These are all different types of austerities: taking only one type of food, like beans; or only
one lump or food, like one bean; or from only one person, no matter how little they give; or
from only one path, instead of going along as many as needed; or eating only at one sitting,
not taking anymore for the day after rising from the seat, etc.

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

However, in the tradition it is only said that he partook of the food provided by Sujāta, and
there is no mention of his traveling around the country, as this implies, partaking of fine
food.
pañca Māre jinitvā Buddho jāto. ti
and defeating the five Māras,\(^\text{39}\) he became the Buddha.

Avacāhaṁ Jotipālo Sugataṁ Kassapaṁ tadā:
As Jotipāla I spoke to the Buddha Kassapa, (saying):

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

Tena kammavipākena acariṁ dukkaraṁ bahuṁ
Through that deed and its result I practiced many austerities

Chabbassān-Uruvelāyaṁ tato Bodhim-apāpuṇīṁ. [93]
For six years at Uruvelā, and then attained to Awakening.

Nāhaṁ etena maggena pāpuṇīṁ Bodhim-uttamaṁ,
I did not attain the supreme Awakening through this path (of pain),

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

Puññapāpaparikkhīṇo, sabbasantāpavajjito,
With merit and demerit destroyed, abstaining from all torment,

Asoko anupāyāso, nibbāyissam-anāsavo. ti [95]
Griefless, without despair, I will be released, without pollutants.

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\(^{39}\) Māra as a god (devaputtamāra); Māra as defilements (kilesammāra); Māra as the constituent parts (khandhamāra); Māra as (wholesome and unwholesome) deeds (kammamāra); and Māra as death (maccumāra).
The Connection with Previous Deeds

[Abbhakkhānaṁ]
[2. Slander]

Dutiyapañhe, abbhakkhānan-ti abhi akkhānaṁ paribhāsanaṁ.
In the second enquiry, (called) slander, (we hear about) great lies and censure.

Atīte kira Bodhisatto suddakule jāto
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was born into a low-caste\(^{40}\) family

apākaṭo appasiddho Munāji nāma dhutto hutvā paṭivasati.
and dwelt as an unknown and failed scoundrel called Munāji.\(^{41}\)

Tadā mahiddhiko mahānubhāvo Surabhi nāma Paccekabuddho,
Then a powerful and majestic Independent Buddha called Surabhi,

kenaci karaṇīyena tassa samīpaṭṭhānaṁ pāpuṇi.
arrived near to his place on some business or other.

So taṁ disvā va: “Dussīlo pāpadhammo ayaṁ samaṇo!” ti-ādinā abbhācikkhi.
After seeing him, he slandered him, saying: “This ascetic is unvirtuous and wicked!”

So tena akusalanissandena
Through that unwholesome (deed) the outcome was

Narakādīsu anekavassasahassāni dукkham-anubhavitvā,
that after undergoing suffering in the Naraka hell and so on for countless thousands of years,

imasmiṁ pacchimattabhāve,
in this his last state of existence,

yadā tīthiyā paṭhamataram –
when the sectarians at the very beginning –

Bhagavato Tusitabhavane vasanasamaye va –
during the time of the Fortunate One's residence in the Tusita\(^{42}\) realm –

\(^{40}\) Sudda signifies the fourth and lowest class in the Brahminical system, with Vassa, Brahmin and Khatīiyā above them. However, they are within the class system, not outside it, like the outcastes.

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

\(^{42}\) The word means: Satisfied.
pākaṭā hutvā, sakalajanaṁ vañcetvā dvāsaṭṭhidīthiyo dipetvā vicariṁsu. had become famous, they went round and having deceived the whole people they explained the sixty-two views.

Tadā Tusitapurā cavītvā, Sakyarājakule nibbattītvā kamena Buddhō jāto. Then, after descending from the Tusita city and being reborn in the Royal Sakyan family, he by and by became the Buddha.

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

Bhagavati āghātaṁ bandhītvā vicaranti. and they went round bound by hatred towards the Fortunate One.

Tasmiṁ samaye Rājagahaseṭṭhi Gaṅgāya, jālaṁ bandhītvā, At that time a merchant of Rājagaha, 43 after binding a net across the Ganges,
kīḷanto rattacandanaḥgaṭikāṁ disvā while sporting, having seen a stick of red sandalwood

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

imaṁ bhamaṁ āropetvā, tena bhamakārehi pattāṁ likhāpetvā, and after preparing a lathe, and then having a bowl prepared by the wood-turners,

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

“Ye imaṁ pattāṁ iddhiyā āgantvā gaṅhanti had the drum beaten and said: “To those who come and take this bowl with their psychic power

tesaṁ bhattiko bhavissāmi” ti bheriṁ carāpesi. I will provide a constant supply of food.”

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

niganṭho Nāṭaputto sakaparisaṁ evam-āha: (but) the Niganṭha Nāṭaputta 44 spoke like this to his assembly,

43 The Canonical story is told in Vinaya Cullavagga 5.
44 The founder of the Jainas.
The Connection with Previous Deeds

“Ahaṁ veļusamīpaṁ gantvā,
saying: “After approaching the bamboo,
ākāse ullaṅganākāraṁ karomi,
I will make as though I will jump into the sky,
tumhe: ‘Chavadārumayaṁ pattam paṭicca mā īddhiṁ karothā,’ ti
and you must say: ‘Do not (show your) psychic power for the sake of this miserable bowl,’
maṁ khandhe gahetvā vārethā” ti,
and after grabbing my body, you must prevent me (from jumping),
te tattha gantvā tathā akaṁsu.
after they approached that place they did like that.45

Tadā Piṇḍolabhāradvājo ca Moggallāno ca,
Then Piṇḍolabhāradvāja and Moggallāna,
tigāvute selapabbatamatthakeṭhatvā,
having ascended to the top of a mountain three leagues in extent,
piṇḍapātagaṅhanatthāya cīvaraṁ pārupantā, taṁ kolāhalaṁ suṇimsu.
while wrapping their robes around to go on alms round, heard that uproar.

Tetu Moggallāno Piṇḍolabhāradvājam:
At that Moggallāna said this to Piṇḍolabhāradvāja:

“Tvāṁ ākāsena gantvā, taṁ pattam gaṅhāhi” ti āha.
“But he said: “Venerable Sir, you were placed in first position for one endowed with
psychic power by the Fortunate One,
tumheva gaṅhathā” ti āha.
surely you should take it.”

So: “Bhante, tumhe yeva Bhagavatā īddhimantānaṁ aggaṭṭhāne ṭhapitā,
(But) he said: “Venerable Sir, you were placed in first position for one endowed with
psychic power by the Fortunate One,
tumheva gaṅhathā” ti āha.
surely you should take it.”

Tathā pi: “Mayā āṇatto tvam-eva gaṅhāhi” ti āṇatto,
But, he gave the order: “My order is you must take it,”
attanā ṭhitam, tigāvutam selapabbataṁ pādatale laggetvā,
and standing there by himself, after lifting that three-league stone mountain on his foot,

45 But the merchant was not convinced and didn't give him the bowl.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 23

_ukkhaлиyā pidhānaṃ viya sakala-Rājagahanagaram chādesi,_
(Piṇḍolabhāradvāja) covered the whole of the Rājagaha town like a bowl with its lid,

_tadā nagaravāsino phalikapabbate āvutām_
then the town-dwellers having seen the Elder wielding

_rattasuttam-iva taṁ Theraṁ passitvā,_
that crystal mountain like a red thread,

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

_bhītā suppādīni sīse akaṁsu._
and became fearful from head to foot.

_Tadā Thero, taṁ pabbatam ōhitaṭṭhāne vissajjētvā,_
Then the Elder, having put that mountain down from the place he was standing,

_iddhiyā gantvā, taṁ pattaṁ aggahesi,_
after going (through the air) with his psychic power, grabbed the bowl,

_tadā nagaravāsino mahākōlāhalam-akaṁsu._
and then the town-dwellers made a great uproar.

_Bhagavā Veḷuvanārāme nisinno, taṁ saddaṁ sutvā,_
The Fortunate One, sitting in the Bamboo Monastery, having heard that sound,

_“Kim eso Saddo?” ti Ānandaṁ pucchi._
asked Ānanda: “What sound is this?”

_“Bhāradvājena, Bhante, pattaṁ gahitattā” He answered: “Venerable Sir, Bhāradvāja has grabbed the bowl_

_santuṭṭhā nagaravāsino ukkuṭṭhisaddam-akaṁsū” ti āha._
and the satisfied town-dwellers have made a sound of acclamation.”

_Tadā Bhagavā, āyatiṁ parūpavādamocanatthaṁ,_
Then the Fortunate One, who was free of the censure of others,

_taṁ pattaṁ āharāpetvā bhedāpetvā aṅjanupapīlanaṁ katvā,_
after having that bowl brought, broken and powdered,

_bhikkhūnaṁ dāpesi, dāpetvā ca pana_
had it given to the monks, and after it was given

_“Na, bhikkhave, iddhivikubbanā kātabbā,_
he laid down a training rule, saying: “Monks, one should not perform miracles by psychic power,
The Connection with Previous Deeds

yo kareyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā” ti sikkhāpadam paññāpesi.
(for) he who does (perform one), there is an offence of wrong-doing.”  

Tato titthiyā: “Samaṇena kira Gotamena,
Because of that the sectarians said: “It seems that a training rule

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

te ājīvahetū pāṁ nātikkamanti,
and that they will not trangress even for the sake of life,

mayāṁ iddhipāṭihāriyaṁ karissāmā,” ti
(but) we will perform a miracle of psychic power,”

tattha tattha rāsibhūtā kolāhalam-akaṁsu.
and there and then they came together and made a great uproar.

Atha Rājā Bimbisāro taṁ sutvā,
Then King Bimbisāra, after hearing that,

Bhagavato santikam gantvā vanditvā
approaching and worshipping the Fortunate One,

ekam-antaṁ nisinno Bhagavantam-evam-āha:
and sitting on one side, said this to the Fortunate One:

“Titthiyā, Bhante, ‘Iddhipāṭihāriyaṁ karissāmā’ ti ugghosentī.” ti
“The sectarians, Venerable Sir, proclaim: ‘We will perform a miracle of psychic power.’ ”

“Aham-pi, Mahārāja, karissāmī.” ti
“I also, Great King, will perform (one).”

“Nanu, Bhante, Bhagavatā sāvakānaṁ sikkhāpadam paññattan?”-ti
“But, Venerable Sir, was not a training rule laid down for his disciples by the Fortunate One?”

“Tvam-eva, Mahārāja, pucchissāmi:
“Great King, I will question you:

tavuyyāne ambaphalādīni khādantānam
for those eating mango fruits and so on in your garden

46 The rule actually reads: Na, bhikkhave, gihīnaṁ uttarimanussadhammaṁ iddhipāṭihāriyaṁ dassetabbam, yo dasseyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā; one should not show a miracle of psychic power of a state beyond (ordinary) human beings, monks, to householders, (for) he who does show (one), there is an offence of wrong-doing.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 25

‘Ettako daṇḍo’ ti daṇḍaṁ ṭhapento
you apply a rule, saying ‘There is so much punishment,’

tavāpi ekato katvā ṭhapesi?” ti
(but) is that applied (if) you have collected (them)?”

“Na mayhaṁ, Bhante, daṇḍo.” ti
“There is no punishment for me, Venerable Sir.”

“Evaṁ, Mahārāja, na mayhaṁ sikkhāpadaṁ paññattaṁ atthī.” ti
“Even so, Great King, the training rule that was laid down is not for me.”

“Kattha, Bhante, pāṭihāriyaṁ bhavissati?” ti
“Where, Venerable Sir, will the miracle be?”

“Sāvatthiyā samīpe Gaṇḍambarukkhamūle, Mahārājā.” ti
“Near to Sāvatthī, Great King, at the root of Gaṇḍa's mango tree.”

“Sādhu, Bhante, taṁ passissāmā.” ti
“Very good, Venerable Sir, we will see it.”

Tato tīṭhiyā: “Gaṇḍambarukkhamūle kira pāṭihāriyaṁ bhavissati?” ti sutvā,
Because of that the sectarians, having heard: “The miracle, it seems, will be at the root
of Gaṇḍa's mango tree,”

nagarassa sāmantā ambarukkhe chedāpesuṁ.
had the mango trees in every part of the town cut down.

Nāgarā mahā-aṅgaṇaṭṭhāne maṅcāṭimaṅcaṁ aṭṭādayo bandhimśu,
The citizens set up terraced stands, scaffolding and so on along the great courtyards,
sakala-Jambudīpavāsino rāsibhūtā
and all of those who dwell in the Rose-Apple Island came together

puratthimadisāyam-eva dvādasayojanāni pharitvā aṭṭhaṁsu,
and they stood spread out for twelve leagues in the easterly direction,
sesadisāsu pi tad-anurūpenākārena sannipatīṁsu.

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47 PTS adds here: Evaṁ vatvā kamena Sāvatthiṁ patvā rañño Kosalassa taṁ pavattīṁ ārocesi. Rājā; having said that and gradually reached Sāvatthī he informed the King of Kosala. The King said... this effectively changes the scene from Rājagaha to Sāvatthī, which is perhaps inserted to avoid the fact that the King of Magadha doesn't appear later in Kosala.

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

49 PED, maṅcāṭimaṅcaṁ (s.v. maṅca) says: bed upon bed, i. e. beds placed on top of each other serving as grand stands at a fair or festival.
and assembled as suitable in the other directions.

**Bhagavā pi kāle sampatte Āsālhipuṇṇamāsiyam,**
When the Āsālha Full Moon day arrived, the Fortunate One,

**pāto va kattabbakiccaṁ niṣṭhāpetvā,**
after completing his duties in the morning,

**taṁ ṭhānaṁ gantvā nisīdi.**
and approaching that place, sat down.

**Tasmiṁ khaçe Gaṇḍo nāma uyyānapālo,**
At that time the gardener, Gaṇḍa by name,

**kipillikapuṭtesu pakkaṁ ambaphalaṁ disvā,**
after seeing a fully ripe mango fruit in a red ants' nest,

**“Sacāhaṁ imaṁ Rañño dadeyyaṁ**
thinking: “If I give this to the King

**kahāpaṇaṁdisāraṁ labheyyaṁ,**
I will receive the value in money and so on,

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

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

**Bhagavā taṁ paṭiggahetvā Ānanda therā āṇāpesi:**
After accepting it the Fortunate One ordered the Elder Ānanda:

**“Imaṁ phalaṁ maddetvā, pānaṁ dehī.” ti**
“Having had this fruit crushed, please give me a drink.”

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

**Bhagavā ambarasaṁ pivivā**
After drinking the mango juice

**ambaṭṭhīṁ uyyānapālassa datvā: “Imaṁ ropehi” ti āha.**
and giving the mango seed to the gardener, he said: “Plant this.”

**So vālukaṁ viyūhitvā taṁ ropesi,**
After removing the sand he planted it,
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 27

Ānandatthero kuṇḍikāya udakaṁ āsiñci.
and the Elder Ānanda sprinkled it with his water-jug.

Tasmiṁ khañe ambaṅkuro utṭhahitvā
At that time a mango sprout arose

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

Patitaṁ ambaphalaṁ khādantā
They ate the mango fruits which had fallen

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

Atha Bhagavā puratthimacakkavāḷato yāva pacchimacakkavāḷam tāva
Then the Fortunate One made a Jewelled Walk from the easterly universe

imasmiṁ cakkavāje Mahāmerumuddhani ratanacaṅkamam māpetvā
to the westerly universe, and on the top of Mount Meru in this universe

anekaparisāhi Sīhanādaṁ nadāpento,
countless assemblies cried out their Lion's Roar,

Dhammapadaṭṭhakathāyaṁ vuttanayena.
(and all as) it is recorded in the Commentary on the Dhammapada.

Mahā-iddhipāṭihāriyaṁ katvā, titthiye madditvā,
After performing a great miracle of psychic power, crushing the sectarians,

te vippakāraṁ pāpetvā,
bringing about a conversion in them,

pāṭihāravāsāne purima-Buddhācīṇṇavasena,
at the end of the miracle, because it was the practice of Buddhas in former times,

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

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

52 This was the so-called Double-Miracle (Yamakapāṭihāra), in which he produced water and fire from his body for a period of sixteen days, meanwhile also preaching the Dhamma.
Tāvatiṁsabhavanaṁ gantvā, tattha Vassaṁvuṭṭho,
after going to the realm of the Thirty-Three, undertaking the Rains Retreat there,
nirantarāṁ temāsaṁ Abhidhammaṁ desetvā,
and teaching the Abstract Teaching continually for three months,
Mātuppamukhānaṁ anekadevatānaṁ
and helping countless gods with his (former) Mother at their head
Sotāpattimaggādhigamanāṁ katvā,
attain the Path of Stream-Entry (and so on),
Vuṭṭhavasso devorohanāṁ katvā,
and on completion of the Rains Retreat descending from the gods,
anekadevabrāhmaṇaparivuto
while surrounded by crowds of gods and deities
Saṅkassapuradvāraṁ oruyha lokānuggahāṁ akāsi.
after descending to the gate of the city of Saṅkassa, sought the welfare of the world.

Tadā Bhagavato lābhasakkāro Jambudīpam-ajjhottharamāno,
Then the Fortunate One's gains and respect flowed in from all over the Rose-Apple Island,
pañcamahāgaṅgā viya ahosi.
like the five great rivers.⁵³
Atha titthiyā, parihinālābhasakkārā, dukkhī dummanā,
Then the sectarians, having lost their gains and respect, pained and depressed,
pattakkhandhā adhomukhā nisīdiṁsu.
sat down with hunched shoulders and fallen faces.
Tadā tesuṁ upāsikā, Ciñcamāṇavikā nāma,
Then the female lay follower, the maiden known as Ciñcā,
ativiya rūpaggappattā te tathā nisinne disvā,
after seeing them sitting there like that,
“Kim, Bhante, evaṁ dukkhī dummanā nisinnā?” ti pucchi.
asked: “Venerable Sirs, why are you sitting there pained and depressed?”

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⁵³ The Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Aciravatī, the Sarabhū, and the Mahī (see http://goo.gl/o40B0 for a map).
“Kiṁ pana tvaṁ, Bhagini, appossukkāsi” ti?
“But, Sister, are you not bothered?”

“Kiṁ, Bhante?” ti
“Why, venerable Sirs?”

“Bhagini, sāmaṇassa Gotamassa uppādakālato paṭṭhāya
“Sister, from the time the ascetic Gotama arose

mayāṁ hatalābhassakkārā, nagaravāsino amhe na kiṁci maṁnantī.” ti
our gains and respect have been destroyed, and the town-dwellers have no more regard for us.”

“Mayā ettha kiṁ kātabban?”-ti
“What can I do about this?”

“Tayā samaṇassa Gotamassa avaṇṇam uppādetum vaṭṭatī.” ti
“It behoves you to bring the ascetic Gotama into disrepute.”

Sā: “Mayhaṁ54 bhāro” ti vatvā, tattha ussāhaṁ karontī,
After saying: “That is my duty,” she endeavoured therein,

vikāle Jetavanavihāraṁ gantvā,
and after going to the Jeta's Wood monastery at the wrong time,55

titthiyānaṁ upassaye vasitvā,
and staying at the sectarians' nunnery,56

pāto nagaravāsīnaṁ gandhadīni gahetvā,
in the morning when the town-dwellers had taken incense and so on,

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

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

“Kattha sayitā?” ti puṭṭhā
Being asked: “Where did you sleep?”57

“Kiṁ tumhākaṁ mama sayitaṭṭhānenā?” ti vatvā pakkāmi.
after saying to them: “What is my sleeping place to you?” she departed.

54 Thai and ChS inexplicably have na mayhaṁ bhāro, that is not my duty!
55 Technically it means after noon and before dawn, but in this context probably means in the evening.
56 Which was near, but not in, Jeta's Wood.
57 Lit: where did you lie?
Sā kamena gacchante kāle puchitā
By and by when asked while leaving

“Samaṇenāhaṁ Gotamena ekagandhakuṭiyaṁ sayitvā nikkhantā” ti āha.
she said: “Having slept alone with the ascetic Gotama in the Fragrant Cottage, I am departing."

Taṁ bālaputhujjanā saddahimsu,
The foolish worldly folk believed it,

pañḍitā Sotāpannādayo na saddahimsu.
but the wise – Stream-Enterers and so forth – did not believe it.

Ekadivasam sā dārumaṇḍalāṁ udare bandhitvā,
one day, after binding a circle of wood to her stomach,

upari rattapaṭaṁ paridahitvā,
putting on a scarlet cloth,

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

nisinnaṁ Bhagavantaṁ evam-āha:
while sitting (there) said this to the Fortunate One:

“Bho samaṇa, tvāṁ Dhammaṁ desesi,
“Dear ascetic, you teach the Doctrine,

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

mayhaṁ lasuṇamaricādini na vicāresi?” ti
on account of your son (who) is in my womb?”

“Tathābhāvaṁ, Bhagini, tvāvaṁ pajānāsi, ahaṁ-cā.” ti
“(Whether that is) real or false, Sister, you surely know, and so do I.”

Sā: “Evam-eva methunasāṁsaggasamayaṁ
She said: “The two of us know (the truth) about our

dve yeva jānanti, na aññe” ti āha.
sexual association, no one else.”
The Connection with Previous Deeds

Tasmim khañe Sakkassa paṇḍukambalasilasanām uṇhākāraṁ dassesi.
At that moment Sakka's stone throne was seen to radiate heat.

Sakko āvajjento taṁ kāraṇāṁ ūatvā
Sakka considered and after understanding the reason

dve devaputte ānapesi:
gave an order to two descendants of the gods:

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

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

eko vātamaṇḍalāṁ samuṭṭhāpetvā pārutapaṇṭam uddham khipatū.” ti
the other having producing a whirlwind lift up her dress.”

Te gantvā tathā acaṁsu.
After going they did just that.

Dārumaṇḍalāṁ patamāṇāṁ tassā pādapiṭṭhim bhindi.
The circle of wood while falling cut off her toes.

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

“Are, duṭṭhacori, tvam evarūpāsā Lokaṭayasāmino
said: “Hey, you wicked villain, to such a one as the Lord of the Three Worlds

evarūpam abbhakkhānam akāśi!” ti
you have made such a slanderous remark!”

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

sabhāya nihariṁsu, dassanātikkantāya pathavī vivaram-adāsi.
they drove her from the hall, and as she passed out of sight the earth opened up.58

Tasmiṁ khañe Avīcito jālā uṭṭhahitvā
At that moment the flames of Avīci hell rose up

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

Bhagavato lāḥhasakkāro atirekataro ahośi.
and the Fortunate One's gains and respect (increased) greatly.

58 Lit: presented an opening.
Sabbābhishussa Buddhassa Nando nāmāsi sāvako,
There was a disciple of Buddha named Nanda,

Tam abbhakkhāya Niraye cīraṁ saṁsāritaṁ mayā, [70]
Through slandering him I transmigrated through Hell for a long time,

Dasavassasahassāni Niraye saṁsāritaṁ cīraṁ,
For ten thousand long years I transmigrated through Niraya hell,

Manussabhāvaṁ laddhāhaṁ, abbhakkhaṇaṁ bahuṁ labhiṁ, [71]
When I received an existence as man, I received much slander,

Tena kammāvasesena Ciṅcānavikā mamaṁ
Through the remainder of that deed the brahmin maiden named Ciṅcā

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

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

60 Cf. the story of the Bodhisattva in his life as Abhiya in Mahāvastu, p. 35 ff., who is jealous by nature and slanders a disciple of the Buddha Sarvābhishhū named Nanda. There it is related he realises his mistake and apologises both to the Buddha and his disciple, and aspires to Buddhahood, which is then confirmed.
Tatiyapañhe, abbhakkhānan-ti abhi akkhānaṁ akkosanam.
In the third enquiry, (called) slander, (we hear about) great lies and abuse.

Atīte kira Bodhisatto apākaṭajātiyaṁ,
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be, in a little known life,\(^{61}\)

uppanno Munāḷi nāma dhutto hutvā, dujjanasaṁsaggabalena
after being reborn and becoming a scoundrel called Munāḷi, through the power of association with bad people

Surabhīṁ nāma Paccekauddhāṁ: “Dussīlo pāpadhammo ayaṁ bhikkhū” ti akkosī.
abused the Independent Buddha called Surabhi, (saying): “This monk is unvirtuous and wicked.”

So tena akusalena vacīkammena,
Through that unwholesome verbal deed,

bahūni vassasahassāni Niraye paccitvā,\(^{62}\)
after boiling in the Niraya hell for many thousands of years,

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

Buddho jāto, lābhaggayasaggappatto ahosi.
he became the Buddha, and attained the highest gains and fame.

Puna titthiyā uṣsāhajātā:
Again the sectarians became insolent (saying):

“Kathaṁ nu kho saṃassa Gotamassa ayasaṁ uppādessāmā?” ti
“Now what will bring this ascetic Gotama to infamy?”

dukkhī dummanā nisīdiṁsu.
and they sat there pained and depressed.

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\(^{61}\) We could also translate as: *in an (otherwise) unknown life*: probably mentioned as such because this life-story is not recorded in the Jātakas or elsewhere.

\(^{62}\) SHB, PTS: *paccitvā*; active form, as though he was boiling something, rather than being boiled.
Tadā Sundarī nāmekā, paribbājikā te upasaṅkamitvā vanditvā ṭhitā,
Then a certain wanderer called Sundarī, after approaching and worshipping them stood there,
tuṅbhīhūte kiñci avadante disvā,
and seeing them silent and not speaking anything,

“Kiṁ mayhaṁ doso” ti pucchi.
questioned (them, saying): “What is my fault?”

“Samañena Gotamena63 amhe viheṭhiyamāne
“We are being harassed by that ascetic Gotama
tvaṁ appossukkā viharissasi, idaṁ tava doso.” ti
and you are making no effort, that is your fault.”

“Evam-ahaṁ tattha kiṁ karissāmi?” ti
“What should I do in this matter?”

“Tvaṁ samañassa Gotamassa avaṇṇam uṇūṇaṁ sakkhisasi?” ti
“Will you be able to bring the ascetic Gotama into disrepute?”

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

and because of that it is recorded that she was frequently seen (in the vicinity)

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

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

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

akkosanti paribhāsanti.
abused and censured (him).

Vuttaṁ-hetāṁ:
And so this was said:

63 SHB, PTS: Samaṇo Gotama; the ascetic Gotama (harasses us).
Munāḷi nāmahāṁ dhutto pubbe aṅŋāya jātiyā,
In a previous life I was a scoundrel known as Munāḷi,

Paccekabuddhāṁ Surabhīṁ abbhācikkhiṁ adūsakaṁ; [67]
I slandered the innocent Independent Buddha Surabhi;

Tena kammavipākena Niraye saṁsāriṁ ciraṁ,
Through that deed and through its result I long transmigrated through Hell,

Bahū vassasahassāni, dukkhaṁ vedesi' vedanaṁ. [68]
For many thousands of years I experienced unpleasant feelings.

Tena kammāvasesena, idha pacchimake bhave,
Through the remainder of that deed, here in my last existence,

Abbhakhānaṁ mayā laddhaṁ, Sundarikāya kāraṇā. ti [69]
I received (much) slander myself, at the hands of Sundarikā. 64

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64 See Udāna 4-8 for the Canonical story. We might translate Sundarikā as Little Sundāri, taking -ikā as diminutive, but it is fairly common in verse texts to add the affix to names to meet the requirements of the metre, with no change in meaning or identification intended.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 36

[Abbhakkhānaṁ]
[4. Slander]

Catutthapañhe, abbhakkhānan-ti abhi visesena akkosanam paribhāsanaṁ.
In the fourth enquiry, (called) slander, (we hear about) especially great abuse and censuring.

Atīte kira Bodhisatto Brāhmaṇakule uppanno,
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a Brahminical family,
bahussuto bahūhi sakkato pūjito.
and was very learned, much respected and worshipped.65

Tāpasapabbajjaṁ pabbajitvā,
Having gone forth in the recluses' going-forth,
Himavante vanamūlaphalāhāro,
while living on forest roots and fruits in the Himālaya,66
bahumāṇave mante vācento vāsaṁ kappesi.
he spent his time teaching the mantras67 to many students.

Eko pañcābhiññā-āṭṭhasamāpattilābhī tāpaso
One recluse,68 who had the five deep knowledges and the eight attainments

tassa santikaṁ agamāsi.
came (to stay) near to him.

So tamā disvā va, issāpakato, tamā adūsakaṁ isinī:
Having seen him, being jealous by nature, he slandered that innocent seer (saying):

“Kāmabhogī kuhako ayaṁ isi” ti abbhācikkhi,
“This seer is a deceitful sensualist,”

attano sisse ca āha: “Ayaṁ isi evarūpo anācārako.” ti
and his pupils also said: “This seer is surely immoral.”

Te pi tam-eva akkosīmsu paribhāsīmsu.
They therefore abused and censured him.

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65 His name at that time was Sutavā, as is recorded in the verses below.
66 Himavanta; having snow, it is another name for the Himālaya, the place of snow. In the verses the place is called the Great Wood, but there are several woods so named in the texts, perhaps it was the Wood near to Kapilavatthu, which was on the edge of the Himālayas.
67 The brahminical verses collected in the Vedas.
68 Named Bhīma below.
So tena akusalakammavipākena,  
Through that unwholesome deed and its result,

vassahassāni Niraye dukkham-anubhavītā,  
after undergoing suffering in Niraya hell for many thousands of years,

imasmini pacchimattabhāve Buddhho hutvā, lābhaggayasaggappatto,  
and becoming a Buddha in this his last state, and attaining the highest gains and fame,

ākāse puṇṇacando viya pākaṭo jāto.  
he became famous and was like the full moon in the sky.

Tattheva titthiyā abbhakkhānena pi asantuṭṭhā,  
Right there and then through slander the dissatisfied sectarians,

punapi Sundarikā abbhakkhānam kāretvā,  
after making Sundarī slander (him) again,

surādhutte pakkosāpetvā lañjam datvā:  
summoning and bribing some drunken scoundrels,

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

Jetavanadvārasamīpe mālakacavarena chādetā” tiāṇāpesuṁ.  
throw her by the rubbish tip near the entrance to Jeta's Wood.”

Te tathā kariṁsu.  
And that they did.

Tato titthiyā: “Sundarīṁ na passāmā” ti Rañño ārocesuṁ.  
Afterwards the sectarians informed the King saying: “We cannot find Sundarī.”

Rājā: “Pariyesathā” ti āha.  
The King said: “Search for her”.

Te attanā pātitaṭṭhānato gahetvā,  
After retrieving her from the place where she was thrown,

mañcakaṁ āropetvā rañño dassetvā,  
bringing the bier and showing the King, (they said):

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69 PTS: chādetvā ṭhapethā ti; an awkward phrase, having thrown her near the rubbish tip, place (her) aside?
70 Lit: Do not see.
“Passatha, bho, samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvakānaṁ kamman!”-ti
“Look, dear Sir, at what the ascetic Gotama's disciples have done!”

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

sakalanagare avaṇṇam ughanentā vicarīṁsu,
they went round shouting out dispraise in the whole town,

Sundariṁ āmakasusāne aṭṭake ṭhesuṁ.
and placed Sundarī on a platform in the charnel ground.\(^{71}\)

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

Tadā dhuttā sūraṁ pivitvā,
Then after the scoundrels had drunk liquor,

“Tvaṁ Sundariṁ māresi, tvaṁ māresī” ti kalahaṁ kariṁsu.
they made a commotion (accusing each other, saying): “You murdered Sundarī, you murdered (her)!”

Rājapurisā te dhutte gahetvā, Rañño dassesuṁ.
The King's men, after arresting the scoundrels, brought\(^{72}\) them to the King.

Rājā: “Kim, bhaṇe, tumhehi Sundariṁ māritā?” ti
The King said: “Look here, did you murder Sundari?”

“Āma, devā.” ti
“Yes, your majesty.”

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

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

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

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

\(^{71}\) The disposal of the body would be taken care of by birds and animals, as in the so-called ‘sky-burials’ of the Tibetans and the Parsees.

\(^{72}\) Lit: *showed.*
amhehi sayam-eva Sundarī mārāpitā,
we ourselves had Sundarī murdered,

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

Te tathā acaṁsu.
And that they did.

Sakalanagaravāsino nikkaṁkhā ahesumī.
All the town-dwellers regained confidence.

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

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

Tena vuttaṁ:
Therefore it is said:

Brāhmaṇo Sutavā āsimī ahaṁ sakkatapūjito,
As the brahmin Sutavā I was (greatly) respected and worshipped,

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

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

Taṁ cāhaṁ āgataṁ disvā, abbhācikkhiṁ adūsakaṁ, [74]
And having seen him coming, I slandered that innocent (seer),

Tatohaṁ avacaṁ sisse: ‘Kāmabhogī ayaṁ isi’.
Thereupon I said to my pupils: ‘This seer is a sensualist’.73

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

Tato māṇavakā sabbe bhikkhamānaṁ kulākube,
Thence all the students as they begged for alms from family to family,

73 Lit: one who enjoys sense pleasures.
Mahājanassa āhaṁsu: ‘Kāmabhogī ayaṁ isi’; [76]
Said to the great (body) of people: ‘This seer is a sensualist’;

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

Abbhakkhānaṁ labhuṁ sabbe Sundarikāya kāraṇā. ti [77]
All received (abundant) slander at the hands of Sundarikā.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 41

[Silāvedho]
[5. Pierced by a Rock]

Pañcamapañhe, silāvedho ti āhatacitto silam pavijhi.
In the fifth enquiry, (called) pierced by a rock, (we hear about how) being angry\(^{74}\) (Devadatta) threw a rock.

Atīte kira Bodhisatto ca kaniṭṭhabhātā ca ekapituputtā ahesum.\(^{5}\)
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was the youngest brother of the children of one Father.\(^{75}\)

Te pitu accayena,\(^{76}\) dāse paṭicca kalahaṁ karontā
When the Father passed away,\(^{77}\) making a commotion on account of the servants

aṇṇam-aṇṇam viruddhā ahesum.\(^{75}\)
the (brothers) became opposed to each other.

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

kaniṭṭhabhātaram ajjhottharitvā,
after overcoming his younger brother,

tassupari pāsāṇaṁ pavijjhesi.\(^{78}\)
threw a stone down on top of him (and killed him).

So tena kammavipākena,
Through that deed and its result,

Narakādīsu anekavassahassāni dukkham-anubhavitvā,
after undergoing suffering in the Naraka hell and so on for countless thousands of years,

imasmiṁ pacchimattabhāve Buddhho jāto.
he became a Buddha in this his last state of existence.

\(^{74}\) Mahāniddesa-āṭṭhakathā: āhatacittatan-ти kodhena pahatacittabhāvanī; āhatacittattam means being in a state overcome by anger.

\(^{75}\) This implies that the Father had children by more than one wife.

\(^{76}\) SHB, PTS add: dhanē; (on account of) wealth (and the servants).

\(^{77}\) Lit: at the end of the Father.

\(^{78}\) SHB: tassa parisā naṁ pavijjhesi; threw him (and) his company.
The Connection with Previous Deeds

Devadatto Rāhulakumārassa mātulo pubbe,
Formerly Devadatta, prince Rāhula's uncle.  

Serivāṇijakāle Bodhisattena saddhiṁ vāṇijo ahosi.
was a merchant together with the Buddha-to-be in the time of the Seri merchant (story).  

Te ekaṁ Paṭṭanagāmam patvā:
Having reached the Paṭṭana village they said:  

“Tvāṁ ekavīthiṁ gaṇhāhi, aham-pi ekavīthiṁ gaṇhāmī,” ti dve pi paviṭṭhā.
“You take one street, and I will take one street,” and they entered by two (ways).  

Tesaṁ Devadattassa paviṭṭhavīthiyam
In the street by which Devadatta entered  

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

Tesaṁ mahantam suvaṇṇathālakaṁ malaggahitaṁ
They had a large golden plate that had become stained  

bhājanantare ṭhapitam hoti,
that was set aside inside an earthenware vessel,  

tam suvaṇṇathālakahbhāvam ajānantī,
and not knowing it was a golden plate,  

“Imaṁ thālakaṁ gahetvā piḷandhanam dethā” ti āha.
she said: “Take this plate, and give a trinket.”  

So tam gahetvā sūciyā lekham kaḍḍhitvā
Having taken it and scratched it with a needle  

suvāṇṇathālakahbhāvam ṃatvā,
he knew it was a golden plate,  

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

---

79 He was Prince Siddhattha's wife's brother; he was also the Buddha's cousin, a Father's Brother's son.
80 The reference is to the famous Serivāṇijajātaka, Já 3, which was the occasion for Devadatta to form an animosity for the Buddha-to-be that was to last up and till his last life. What follows is based on that story.
81 Not listed in DPPN, but in the Játaka they are said to have been in the Andha country (modern-day Andhra Pradesh).
82 The trinket is for the grand-daughter.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 43

Atha Bodhisattraṁ dvārasamīpaṁ āgataṁ disvā:
Then after seeing the Buddha-to-be approach her door (she said):

“Nattā, Ayye, mayhaṁ 83 kacchapuṭṭāṁ piḷandhanaṁ dethā.” ti
“Give my grand-daughter, noble Sir, a trinket (from) your basket.”

Sā taṁ pakkosāpetvā nisīḍāpetvā taṁ thālakaṁ datvā:
After summoning and making him sit down, and giving him the plate, she said:

“Imaṁ gahetvā mayhaṁ nattāya kacchapuṭṭāṁ piḷandhanaṁ dethā.” ti
“Take this and give a trinket to my grand-daughter from your basket.”

Bodhisatto taṁ gahetvā suvaṇṇaḥṭālaḥkalabhāvaṁ īnaṭvā:
The Buddha-to-be, after taking it and knowing it to be a golden plate

“Tenā vañcitā” ti īnaṭvā attano pasibbakāya,
understood: “She is deceived about it,” and from his purse,

ṭhapita-āṭṭhakahāpaṇe, avasesabhāṇḍaṅ-ca datvā,
after setting aside eight pennies, and giving the rest of his goods, 84

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

hatthe piḷandhāpetvā agamāsi.
and after ornamenting her hands, he went away.

So vāṇijo punāgantvā pucchi,
The (first) merchant having returned asked (her for the plate),

“Tāta, tvaṁ na gaphittha,
(but she said): “Son, I cannot give it,

mayhaṁ putto idaṅ-cidaṅ-ca datvā taṁ gahetvā gato.” ti
having given this and that to my child he took it and went away.”

So taṁ sutvā va, hadayena phalitena viya, dhāvītvā anubandhi.
Having heard that, like someone with a broken heart, he ran along (after him).

Bodhisatto nāvaṁ āruya paṇkhandi.
The Buddha-to-be had jumped onto a boat.

So: “Tiṭṭha, mā palāyi, mā palāyi!” ti vatvā,
After saying: “Stop, don't go, don't go!” 85

83 SHB, PTS read: disvāna nattā: ayyo, mayham...; the grand-daughter said: Noble Sir (give) to me...
84 He set aside eight pennies for his boat ride, and gave the rest of his money and goods.
85 But the Buddha-to-be had already gone.
“Nibbattanibbatthabhave taññī nāsetuṁ samattho bhaveyyan!”-ti patthanaṁ akāsi.
he made a wish: “May I be able to destroy him in whatever state he re-arises!”

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

imasmiṁ attabhāve Sakyakule nibbattitvā,\(^{86}\)
and arising in the Sakya family in this existence,

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

Rājagahe viharante,
while living near Rājagaha,\(^{87}\)

Anuruddhādīhi saddhiṁ Bhagavato santikaṁ gantvā pabbajītvā,
(Devadatta), after approaching and going forth in the presence of the Fortunate One together with Anuruddha and so on,

jhānalābhī hutvā, pākaṭo Bhagavantaṁ varaṁ yāci:
and attaining the absorptions, being famous, begged the Fortunate One for a boon, saying:

“Bhante, sabbo Bhikkhusaṅgho piṇḍapātikādīni terasa dhutaṅgāni samādiyatu,
“Venerable Sir, let the whole of the Community of monks undertake the thirteen austerities,\(^{88}\)

sakalo Bhikkhusaṅgho mama bhāro hotū.” ti
let the whole of my Community of monks bear them.”

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

Devadatto, veraṁ bandhitvā, parihīnaṃ jhāno.
Devadatta, overcome\(^{90}\) with hatred, lost the absorptions.

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\(^{86}\) SHB, PTS: nibbattevā; causative, made to arise, which is not the case, he choose to arise.

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

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

The Buddha refused to make these compulsory.

\(^{89}\) Devadatta seems already to be claiming leadership of the Community.

\(^{90}\) Lit: bound with.
Bhagavantaṁ māretukāmo,
Desiring to murder the Fortunate One,

ekadivasaṁ Vebhārapabbatapāde ṭhitassa Bhagavato,
one day while the Fortunate One was standing at the foot of Mt. Vebhāra,\(^91\)

upari ṭhito pabbatakūṭamā paviddhesi.
while standing on the top of the mountain he threw (a rock).

Bhagavato ānubhāvena aparotpabbatakūṭo
Through the power of the Fortunate One another mountain\(^92\)

taṁ patamānaṁ sampatīcchi,
caught it as it fell,

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

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

Tena vuttaṁ:
Therefore it is said:

Vemātubhātaraṁ pubbe dhanahetu hanimā̄ ̃ahaṁ,\(^93\)
In the (distant) past I killed my half-brother\(^94\) for the sake of wealth,

Pakkhipimā́ giriduggasmiṁ, silāya ca apiṁsaiṁ; [78]
I threw him in an inaccessible mountain, and crushed him with a rock;

Tena kammavipākena Devadatto silamā khīpi,
Through that deed and its result Devadatta threw a rock (at me),

Aṅguṭṭhamā́ piṁsaī pāde mama pāsānaskhārā, ti [79]
Which crushed the big toe on my foot with a shard which was made of stone.

---

\(^{91}\) According to other accounts he was on the slopes of Vulture's Peak (Gijjhakūta).
\(^{92}\) Which miraculously sprang up.
\(^{93}\) SHB, PTS: bhaṁin; quarreled (with)?
\(^{94}\) In Pāḷi it is more specific: one with a different Mother but the same Father.
Chaṭṭhapañhe, sakalikāvedho ti sakalikāya ghaṭṭanāṁ.

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

Aṭīte kira Bodhisatto ekasmim kule nibbatto,

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

daharakāle mahāvīthiyāṁ kīlamāno,

and while playing on the main street during his childhood,

vīthiyāṁ piṇḍaya caramānaṁ Paccekabuddhaṁ disvā:

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

“Ayaṁ muṇḍako samaṇako kuhiṁ gacchatī?” ti

“Where is this little shaveling ascetic going?”

pāsāṇasakalikāṁ gahetvā, tassa pādapiṭṭhiyaṁ khipi.

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

Pādapiṭṭhicammaṁ chinditvā ruhiraṁ nikkhami.

After cutting the skin on the toes blood flowed forth.

So tena pāpakammena,

Through that wicked deed,

anekavassasahassāni Niraye mahādukkhamāṁ anubhayitvā,

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

Buddhabhūto pi.

he became a Buddha.

Kammapiṭṭikavasena,

Because of the connection with that deed,

pādapiṭṭhiyaṁ pāsāṇasakalikaghaṭṭanena ruhiruppādaṁ labhi.

by being struck with a stone splinter on his toes blood flowed forth.95

Tena vuttaṁ:

Therefore it is said:

95 Lit: *he suffered the arising of blood*. The story again doesn't fit the verse, which tells that the Buddha was attacked by archers sent to kill him; they did not, however, manage to hurt him, and certainly did not cut his foot which belongs to the rock throwing incident, reported in the previous story.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 47

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

**Pacceka buddham disvāna magge sakalikām khipiṁ;** [80]
Seeing an Independent Buddha on the road, I threw a stone;

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

**Vadhatthaṁ maṁ Devadatto abhimāre payojayi.** ti[96] [81]
Devadatta tried to kill me by employing evil bandits.97

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

97 Actually archers provided by King Ajātasattu.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 48

[Nāḷāgiri]
[7. The Elephant Nāḷāgiri]

Sattamapañhe, Nāḷāgiri ti Dhanapālako hatthī māraṇatthāya pesito.
In the seventh enquiry, (called) Nāḷāgiri, (we hear about how) the elephant Dhanapālaka was sent in order to kill (the Buddha).

Atīte kira Bodhisatto, hatthigopako hutvā,
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be, after becoming an elephant's groom,

nibbatto hatthim āruyha,
rose onto an elephant,

vicaramāno mahāpathe Paccekabuddhaṁ disvā,
and after seeing an Independent Buddha walking on the Highway,

“Kuto gacchati ayaṁ muṇḍako?” ti
he said: “Where is this shaveling going?”

āhatacitto khilajāto taṁ hatthinā āsādesi.
being angry and stubborn he assaulted him with his elephant.

So tena kammena apāyesu anekavassasahassāni dukkhaṁ anubhavītvā,
Having undergone suffering in the lower realms for countless thousands of years through that deed,

pacchimattabhāve Buddhho jāto.
he became a Buddha in his last state of existence.

Devadatto Ajātasatturājanaṁ sahayaṁ katvā,
After Devadatta had become friends with King Ajātasattu,

“Tvaṁ, Mahārāja, Pitaraṁ ghātetvā Rājā hohi,
he said: “Great King, after killing your Father you will become King,

ahaṁ Buddham māretvā, Buddhho bhavissāmi!” ti
and after murdering the Buddha, I will be the Buddha!”

Saññāpetvā ekadivasaṁ Rañño anuññātaṁ gantvā,
After having this thought, one day, with the King's permission, after going to the elephant stall,

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

Bhagavantaṁ piṇḍāya caraṇavelāyaṁ pesethā!” ti hatthigopake ānāpesi.
send him out during the time the Fortunate One is walking for alms!”
Sakalanagaraṁ mahākolāhalaṁ ahosi,
There was a great uproar in the whole town,

“Buddhanāgena hatthināgassa yuddham passissāmā!” ti
and they said: “We will see a battle between the noble Buddha and the noble elephant!”

ubhato rājavīthyaṁ maṅcātimaṅcaṁ bandhitvā,
and having set up terraced stands on both sides along the royal highway,
pāto va sannipatīṁsu.
they assembled in the morning.

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

Bhikkhusaṅghaparivuto Rājagahaṁ pīṇḍāya pāvisi.
surrounded by the Community of monks entered Rājagaha for alms.

Tasmiṁ khaṇe vuttaniyāmeneva Nāḷāgiriṁ vissajjesuṁ.
At that time in accordance with the order that had been given Nāḷāgiri was released.

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

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

hatthī taṁ itthīṁ disvā, anubandhi.
and the elephant, having seen that girl, pursued her.

Bhagavā: “Nāḷāgiri, na taṁ hanatthāya pesito, idhāgacchāhī!” ti āha.
The Fortunate One said: “Nāḷāgiri you were not sent to kill her, come here!”

So taṁ saddaṁ sutvā, Bhagavantābhimukho dhāvi.
Having heard that sound, he ran right at the Fortunate One.

Bhagavā aparimāṇesu cakkavāḷesu anantasattesu pharaṇārahāṁ mettāṁ
The Fortunate One suffused beings without end in the measureless universe with loving-kindness

ekasmīṁ yeva Nāḷāgirimhī phari.
and also suffused Nāḷāgiri.

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

99 A regular word for an elephant, it literally means, one with a hand(-like trunk).
So Bhagavatā mettāya phuṭo, nibbhayo hutvā,
Being suffused with loving-kindness by the Fortunate One, after losing his fear,

Bhagavato pādamūle nipati.
he threw himself at the feet\textsuperscript{100} of the Fortunate One.

Bhagavā tassa matthake hattham ṭhapesi.
The Fortunate One placed his hand on his head.

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

pupphaparāgādihi pūjesuṁ.
worshipped him with fragrant powder and so on.

Sakalanagare jaṇṇukamattā dhanarāsayo ahesuṁ.
The whole city became filled with a heap of wealth knee-deep.

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

Puratthimadvāre dhanāni Rājabhaṇḍāgāre hontū!” ti bheriṁ carāpesi.
the wealth up to the East gate is for the King's treasury!”

Sabbe tathā kariṁsu.
And they all did that.

Tadā Nāḷāgiri Dhanapālo nāma ahosi.
Then Nāḷāgiri gained the name Dhanapāla.\textsuperscript{101}

Bhagavā Veḷuvanārāmaṁ agamāsi.
And the Fortunate One returned to the Bamboo Monastery.

Tena vuttaṁ:
Therefore it is said:

\textsuperscript{100} Lit: \textit{the root of the feet}, which is unidiomatic in English.
\textsuperscript{101} Meaning \textit{Protector of the Wealth}.
Hatthāroho pure āsiṁ, Paccekamunim-uttamaṁ
Before I was a mahout. While a supreme Independent Sage

Piṇḍāya vicarantāṁ taṁ, āsādesīṁ gajenahaṁ; [82]
Was wandering for his almsfood, I struck him with my elephant;

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

Giribbaje puravare dāruṇo maṁ upāgamī. ti [83]
Violently rushed at me in the city of Giribaja.  

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[102] Another name for Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha.
The Connection with Previous Deeds

[Satthacchedo]
[8. Cut with a Knife]

Aṭṭhamapañhe, satthacchedo ti satthena gaṇḍaphālanāṁ kuṭṭhāya satthena chedo.
In the eighth enquiry, (called) cut with a knife, (we hear about how) an abscess was lanced with a knife, how with a knife, or a scalpel, it was cut.

Atīte kira Bodhisatto paccantadese Rājā ahosi.
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was a King in a border country.

So dujjanasanāṁsaggavasena paccantadese,
Through association with bad people in the border country,

vāsavasena ca dhutto sāhasiko,
and because of living with a violent scoundrel,

ekadivasaṁ khaggahattho pattiko va nagare vicaranto
one day while walking through the town on foot with a sword in his hand

nirāparādhe jane khaggena phālento agamāsi.
he went around cutting guiltless people down with the sword.

So tena pāpakammavipākena,
Through that unwholesome deed and its result,

bahūni vassasahassāni Niraye paccītvā,
after boiling in Niraya hell for many thousands of years,

tiracchānādīsu dukkham-anubhavitvā,
and undergoing suffering in the animal world and so on,

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

heṭṭhā vuttanayena
it is recorded that while he was below

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

103 Walking on the slopes of Gijjhakūta near Rājagaha.
Jīvako mettacittena taṁ gaṇḍanī phālesi.
Jīvaka\textsuperscript{104} lanced that abscess with his mind full of loving-kindness.

Veracittassa Devadattassa ruhiruppādakammaṁ anantarikam ahosi,
Through that deed of causing blood to flow (in a Buddha) there was a (result) immediately (after this life) for Devadatta,\textsuperscript{105} whose mind was full of hate,

mettacittassa Jīvakassa gaṇḍaphālanāṁ puñnam-eva ahosi.
through lancing that abscess there was (great) merit for Jīvaka, whose mind was full of loving-kindness.\textsuperscript{106}

Tena vuttaṁ:
Therefore it is said:

\begin{quote}
Rājāhaṁ pattiko āsiṁ sattiyā purise haniṁ;
(When) I was a King (going round) on foot I killed men with my sword;

Tena kammanipākena Niraye paccasīṁ bhusaṁ,\textsuperscript{[84]}
Through that deed and its result I suffered much in Niraya hell,

Kammuno tassa sesena, idāni sakalaṁ mama
Through the remainder of that deed, at this time all the (unbroken)

Pāde chavīṁ pakappesi\textsuperscript{107} – na hi kammaṁ vinassati. ti\textsuperscript{[85]}
Skin on my foot was cut – deeds are never destroyed (without result).\textsuperscript{108}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{104} The Buddha was carried in great pain to the Mango Wood where Jīvaka Komārabhacca, who acted as physician for the Buddha and for the monks, treated him.

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

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

\textsuperscript{107} SHB: \textit{Pāde satṭham paṇāmesi}; PTS: \textit{Pāde satthamaṁ paṇāmesi}; \textit{he stretched out a knife on my foot}?

\textsuperscript{108} Not destroyed without producing results first, is what is meant.
Navamapañhe, sīsadukkhānti sīsābādho sīsavedanā.
In the ninth enquiry, (called) a headache, (we hear about how he had) a pain in the head, painful feeling in the head.

Atīte kira Bodhisatto kevaṭṭagāme kevaṭṭo hutvā nibbatti.
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn as a fisherman in a fisherman's village.

So ekadivasaṁ kevaṭṭapurisehi saddhimū, 
One day, together with the fishermen,

macchamāraṇaṭṭhānaṁ gantvā, 
after going to the place where they murder fish,

macche mārente disvā, tattha somanassam uppādesi, 
and seeing fish being murdered, happiness arose right there,

sahagatāpi tathēva somanassam uppādayimīsu. 
and also right there and then happiness arose for those he was with.

So tena akusalakammena, 
Through that unwholesome deed,

caturāpaye109 dukkham-anubhavitvā, 
after undergoing suffering in the four lower realms,

imasmiṁ pacchimattabhāve, tehi purisehi saddhimū, 
in this his last state of existence, together with those men,

Sakyarājakule nibbattitvā, kamena Buddhattāṁ patto pi 
after being born in the Royal Sakya family, and by and by attaining to Buddhahood

sayam sīsābādhāṁ paccanubhosī. 
he himself suffered from pain in the head.

Te ca Sakyarājāno dhammapadatṭhakathāyaṁ vuttanayena: 
And about the Sakyan Royalty (and their fate) it is recorded in the discussion in the commentary to the Dhammapada:

Viḍūḍabhasaṅgāme sabbe vināsaṁ pāpuṇīṁsu. 
in the battle with Viḍūḍabha they all came to destruction.110

109 SHB: catuniraye; I do not know of a classification of four niraya; but the four lower worlds: hell (niraya), the animal world (tiracchāna), hungry ghosts (peta) and demons (asura) is normal.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 55

Tena vuttaṁ:
Therefore it is said:

Ahāṁ kevaṭṭagāmasmiṁ ahum kevaṭṭadārako,
(Before) I was a fisherman's son in a fisherman's village.

Macchake ghātite disvā janayinf somanassakaṁ; [86]
Having seen fish being killed it produced a little happiness;

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

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

110 In the commentary to verse 47, entitled The Story of Viḍūḍabha (Viḍūḍabhavatthu).
Dasamaṃhe, yavakhādana-ti Verañjāyaṃ yavataṇḍulakhādanaṃ.
In the tenth enquiry, (called) eating barley, (we hear about) eating husked barley.\textsuperscript{111}

Atīte kira Bodhisatto aṇñatarasmiṃ kule nibbatto,
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a certain family,

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

Phussassa Bhagavato sāvake
having seen the disciples of the Fortunate One Phussa

madhurannapāne sālibhojanādayo ca bhuñjamāne disvā,
enjoying sweet drinks and food and the finest rice and so on,

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

mā sālibhojanaṁ bhuñjathā!” ti akkosi.
you shouldn’t enjoy the finest rice!”

So tena akusalakammavipākena,
Through that unwholesome deed and its result,

anekavassasahassāni caturāpāye dukkham-anubhavitvā,
after undergoing suffering in the four lower realms for countless thousands of years,

imasmiṃ pacchimattabhāve, kamena Buddhattaṁ patvā,
in this his last state of existence, having by and by attained to Buddhahood,

lokasaṅgahāṁ karonto, gāmanigamarājadhānīsu caritvā,
having sympathy for the world, after walking in the villages, towns and royal cities,

ekasmiṁ samaye, Verañjabrāhmanagāmasamīpe,
at one time, in the vicinity of the brahminical village of Verañjā,

sākhāvitapasampannaṁ Pucimandarukkhamūlaṁ pāpuṇī.
he arrived at the root of a Margosa tree endowed with spreading\textsuperscript{112} branches.

\textsuperscript{111} Taṇḍula means \textit{husked rice} normally, but in the story there is no mention of rice being served with the barley, so I take it it must mean \textit{husked barley}.

\textsuperscript{112} See \textit{Viṭapa} in SED for this meaning, which goes unnoticed in PED.
Verañjabrāhmaṇo Bhagavantaṁ upasaṅkamitvā,
A Verañjā brahmin, having approached the Fortunate One,

anekapariyāyena Bhagavantaṁ jinitum asakkonto,
being unable to overcome the Fortunate One in any way,

Sotāpanno hutvā,
after becoming a Stream-Enterer,

“Bhante, idheva Vassaṁ upagantuṁ vaṭṭatī’ ti ārādhesi.114
invited him saying: “Venerable Sir, please undertake to spend the Rains Retreat here.”

Bhagavā tuṇhībhāvena adhivāsesi.
The Fortunate One consented by remaining silent.

Atha punadivasato paṭṭhāya Māro Pāpimā
Then, beginning on the following day, the Wicked Māra

sakala-Verañjabrāhmaṇaṇgamāvāsīnaṁ Māravaṭṭanāṁ akāsi.
possessed the whole of those dwelling in the brahmin village of Verañjā.

Piṇḍāya paviṭṭhassa Bhagavato
And when the Fortunate One entered (the village) for alms

Māravaṭṭanasena115 eko pi kaṭacchubhikkhāmattāṁ dātā nāhosī.
because of being possessed by Māra they did not give even one spoon of almsfood.

Bhagavā tucchapatto va Bhikkhusaṅghaparivuto punāgañchi.
The Fortunate One, surrounded by the Community of monks, returned with an empty bowl.

Tasmiṁ evaṁ āgate tattheva nivuṭṭhā assavāṇijā
A horse merchant arrived at the very place where they resided

taṁ divasaṁ dānaṁ datvā,
and after giving a gift (of almsfood) that day,

113 The whole story of the Buddha's residence in Verañjā, the famine that prevailed at that time and the conversations he had with the Verañjā brahmin is related at the very beginning of the Vinayapiṭaka. Suttavibhaṅga, 1 ff. The discussion with the brāhmin in which the Buddha counters his accusations, and eventually teaches him the Four Noble Truths, can be found there and also in the Verañjasutta of Aṅguttaranikāya: AN Bk. 8, Ch. 2, Su. 1.
114 ChS, Thai: ārocesi; addressed (him).
115 SHB: Mārāvesavasena; because of Māra in disguise?
The Connection with Previous Deeds

\[ \text{tato paṭṭhāya Bhagavantaṁ}^{116} \text{ pañcasatabhikkhuparivāraṁ nimantetvā,} \]
and inviting the Fortunate One surrounded by his five hundred monks thenceforth,

\[ \text{pañcannaṁ assasatānaṁ bhattato vibhāgaṁ katvā,}^{117} \text{ yavaṁ koṭṭetvā,} \]
and dividing a share from the five-hundred horses, and crushing the barley,

\[ \text{bhikkhūnaṁ pattesu pakkhipiṁsu.}^{118} \]
he dropped it in the monks' bowls.

\[ \text{Sakalasdasasahassacakkavāḷadevatā sujāṭāya} \]
All the well-born gods from the whole of the ten-thousand universes

\[ \text{pāyāsapacanadivase viya dibbojaṁ pakkhipiṁsu.} \]
dropped in godly nutrients so that it was like freshly cooked milk-rice.

\[ \text{Bhagavā paribhuñji, evaṁ temāsaṁ yavaṁ paribhuñji.} \]
The Fortunate One partook (of the food), and so for three months he partook of barley.

\[ \text{Temāsaccayena, Mārāvaṭṭane vigate, Pavāraṇādivase,} \]
At the end of three months, being no longer possessed by Māra, on the Invitation Day,

\[ \text{Veraṅjo brāhmaṇo sarītvā mahāsaṁvegappatto,} \]
the Veraṅjā brahmin, after remembering (his duties), becoming very anxious,

\[ \text{Buddhappamukhassa Bhikkhusaṅghassa mahādānaṁ datvā,} \]
giving a great gift of almsfood to the Community of monks with the Buddha at its head,

\[ \text{vanditvā khamāpesi.} \]
and worshipping, begged for forgiveness.

\[ \text{Tena vuttaṁ:} \]
Therefore it is said:

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116 SHB: \text{vassaṁ nivutthassa pañcasatabhikkhuparivārassa Bhagavato; (and inviting) the Fortunate One surrounded by five-hundred monks to dwell for the Rains Retreat.} 
117 SHB, PTS add: \text{temāsaṁ posemā ti mantetvā; after pronouncing: we will support (you) for three months.} 
118 SHB: \text{patte pakkhipanti}; present tense.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 59

Phussassāham pāvacane sāvake paribhāsayiṁ:
I blamed the teachings and disciples of (Buddha) Phussa (saying):

“Yavaṁ khādatha bhuñjatha, mā ca bhuñjatha sālayo”; [88]
“You should eat and enjoy barley, you should not enjoy this fine rice;”

Tena kammavipākena temāsaṁ khāditaṁ yavaṁ
Through that deed and its result for three months I ate (only) barley

Nimantito brāhmaṇena Verañjāyam vasiṁ tadā. ti [89]
When invited by the brahmin to dwell (three months) in Verañjā.
The Connection with Previous Deeds - 60

[Piṭṭhidukkhaṁ]

Ekādasamapañhe, piṭṭhidukkhan-ti piṭṭhi-ābādho.
In the eleventh enquiry, (called) backache, (we hear how he had) pain in the back.

Atīte kira Bodhisatto gahapatikule nibbatto
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a householder's family

thāmasampanno, kiñci rassadhātuko ahosi.
and was endowed with strength, although somewhat short by nature.

Tena samayena eko mallayuddhayodho
At that time there was one wrestling-contest champion

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

mallayuddhe vattamāne purise pātētvā, jayappatto,
after throwing men in a wrestling contest, achieved success,

kamena Bodhisattassa vasananagaram paṭvā,
and by and by having arrived at the Buddha-to-be's residential town,

tasmim-pi jane pātētvā, gantum-āraddho.
and throwing people there, got ready to go.

Tadā Bodhisatto: “Mayhaṁ vasanaṭṭhāne esa jayaṁ paṭvā, gacchatī,” ti
Then the Buddha-to-be thinking: “Having achieved success in this my place of residence, he is going”,

tattha nagaramāṇḍalam-āgamma, appoṭetvā āgaccha,
coming right there to the town centre, and slapping his arms,119

“Myā saddhīṁ yujjhitvā, gacchā.” ti
said: “Come, after fighting with me, you can go.”

So hasitvā: “Ahaṁ mahante purise pātesim!
After laughing: “I have thrown huge men!

Ayaṁ rassadhātuko vāmanako,
This dwarf, who is short by nature,

119 This rare verb may mean clapping his hands, but it occurs in other places in connection with wrestling, and may have been a way of brandishing one's strength.
The Connection with Previous Deeds

mama ekahatthassāpi nappahotī,” ti appoṭetvā naditvā āgañchi.
is not able (to fight) even with one of my hands,” and slapping his arms and roaring he came on.

Te ubho pi aññam-aññāṁ hatthaṁ parāmasiṁsu,
They both grabbed each other by the arm,

Bodhisatto taṁ ukkhipitvā ākāse bhamitvā,
and the Buddha-to-be after lifting him and swirling him around in the sky,

bhūmiyaṁ pātento khandhaṭṭhiṁ bhinditvā pātesi.
throwing him on the floor, threw him (again), breaking his back-bone.

Sakalanagaravāsino ukkuṭṭhiṁ karontā,
All the town dwellers made acclamation,

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

Bodhisatto taṁ mallayodham ujuṁ sayāpetvā,
The Buddha-to-be, after laying that wrestler straight,

khandhaṭṭhiṁ ujukaṁ katvā,
and straightening his back-bone,

“Gaccha ito, paṭṭhāya evarūpaṁ mā karosi” ti vatvā uyyojesi.
dismissed him saying: “Go from here, and henceforth do not behave in this way.”

So tena kammavipākena,
Through that deed and its result,

nibbattanibbatthabhave sarīrasādī dukkham-anubhavītvā,
after undergoing suffering in his body, head and so on, in rebirth after rebirth,

imasmīṁ pacchimattabhāve,
in this his last state of existence,

Buddhabhūto pi piṭṭhirujādidukkham-anubhosi.
having become a Buddha he also suffered with pain in the back and so on.

Tasmā kadāci piṭṭhidukkke uppanne,
Therefore sometimes when his back pain arose,

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120 SHB, PTS: ukkuṭṭhahasaddam karonto; making a sound of acclamation.
121 PTS: appoṭetvā vaggantā; as above; SHB: appoṭhento vaggantā; slapping their arms and jumping.
Sāriputtamoggallāne: “Ito paṭṭhāya Dhammaṁ desethā” ti vatvā,
after saying to Sāriputta and Moggallāna: “Henceforth, please teach the Doctrine,”

sayāṁ Sugatacīvaraṁ paññāpetvā sayati:
and preparing the Happy One's robe he lay down:

kammapirotikaṁ nāma Buddhham-api na muñcati.
the Buddha was surely not free from the connection with that deed.

Vuttaṁ-hetaṁ:
So this was said:

Nibuddhe vattamānamhi mallaputtam niheṭhayiṁ;¹²²
Once while I was wrestling I badly injured another wrestler;

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

¹²² SHB, PTS: nisedhayiṁ; restrained, which doesn't seem strong enough. The word niheṭhayiṁ
seems only to occur here and in parallel passages, I translate it as an emphatic of ḍehayiṁ,
which makes sense contextually.
Atisāro
12. Dysentery

Dvādasamapañhe, atisāro ti lohitapakkhandikā virecanaṁ.
In the twelfth enquiry, (called) dysentery, (we hear about him) purging bloody
dysentery.

Atīte kira Bodhisatto gahapatikule nibbatto,
In the past, it seems, the Buddha-to-be was reborn in a householder's family,

vejjakammena jīvikaṁ kappesi.\(^{123}\)
and earned his living through medical treatment.

So ekaṁ setṭhiputtaṁ rogena pīḷitaṁ tikicchanto
One day while treating a merchant's son who was oppressed by disease

bhesajjaṁ katvā tikicchitvā,
having given medicine and cured him,

tassa deyyadhammadāne pamādam-āgamma,
because (the patient) was heedless in giving a gift to him.\(^{124}\)

aparaṁ osadhaṁ datvā, vamanavirecanaṁ akāsi.
he gave him another medicine, and made him vomit.

Seṭṭhi bahudhanaṁ adāsi.
(Then) the merchant gave him a great deal of wealth.

So tena kammavipākena,
Through that deed and its result,

nibbattanibbattabhave lohitapakkhandikābādhena virecito ahosi.
he purged with the affliction of bloody dysentery in rebirth after rebirth.

Imasmim-pi pacchimattabhāve, Parinibbānasamaye,
Also in this his last state of existence, near the time he attained Final Emancipation,\(^{125}\)

\(^{123}\) SHB, PTS: vejjakamme cheko; so (SHB omits) vejjakammena jīvikaṁ kappesi; was clever in medical treatment; and (he) earned his living through medical treatment.

\(^{124}\) It seems doctors in those times didn't have a fixed price, but accepted donations; in the Ayurveda tradition in Sri Lanka to this day the same practice prevails.

\(^{125}\) See the Discourse about the Great Emancipation (DN 16), especially the opening of the fourth section for the canonical story.
The Connection with Previous Deeds

Cundena Kammāraputta tena pacitasūkaramaddavassa –
(through eating) tender pork that had been cooked by Cunda the Smith –

sakalacakkavājadevatāhi pakkhittadibbojena āhārena saha –
(even though) godly nutrients were dropped in by all the gods from the whole universe together with that food –

bhuttakkhaṇe lohitapakkhandikā virecanaṁ ahosi,
when he had eaten he purged with bloody dysentery,

koṭisatasahassānaṁ hatthīnaṁ balaṁ khayam-agamāsi.
and (he who had) the strength of a billion elephants came to destruction.\(^{126}\)

Bhagavā Visākhapuṇṇamāyaṁ,
The Fortunate One on the Full-Moon night of Vesākha (in May),

Kusināryaṁ Parinibbānathāya\(^{128}\) gacchanto,
while going to Kusināra to attain Final Emancipation,

anekesu ṭhānesu nisīdanto pipāsito, pānīyaṁ pivitvā,
at many places sat down because of thirst,\(^{129}\) and after drinking water,

mahādukkhena Kusināramatvā,
having (nearly) reached Kusināra with great suffering,

paccūsasamaye Parinibbāyi.
at the time of dawn attained Final Emancipation.

Kammapilotikaṁ evarūpaṁ Lokattayasāmim-pi na vijahati.
The Lord of the Three Worlds surely could not abandon the connection with that deed.

Tena vuttaṁ:
Therefore it is said:

\(^{126}\) One hundred thousand times ten million.
\(^{127}\) The commentary on DN 16 denies that the illness was connected to the food given by Cunda: bhuttassa udapādi, na pana bhuttapaccayā; it occurred when he had eaten, but not because he had eaten.
\(^{128}\) SHB, PTS: Nibbānatthāya; however, he wasn't going for his Nibbāna, but for his Parinibbāna; complete Emancipation.
\(^{129}\) The commentary to this discourse records that he had to sit down and rest twenty-five times on this his last walk.
The Connection with Previous Deeds

Tikicchako aham āsiṁ\(^\text{130}\) seṭhiputtaṁ virecayiṁ;
At the time I was a physician I made a merchant's son purge;

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

Evaṁ Jino viyākāsi Bhikkhusaṅghassa aggato,
So the Victor explained at the head of the Community of monks,

Sabbābhīṣṇābalappatto, Anotatte mahāsare. ti
The one with all knowledge and strength, at the great Lake Anotatta.

Evaṁ paṭiṇātapaṅhānaṁ,
So he answered the enquiries,

mātikāṭhapanaṇavasena akusalāpadānaṁ samattaṁ nāma hoṭi ti vuttaṁ.
and according to the arrangement of the tabulation, the unwholesome traditions are said to be complete.

‘Itthaṁ sudan’-ti itthaṁ iminā pakārena heṭṭhā vuttanayena.
‘In this way’ means it is recorded by this method from the beginning.\(^\text{131}\)

‘Sudan’-ti nipāto padapūraṇatthe āgato.
‘Sudan’ simply has the meaning of an pleonestic particle.

* * *

Bhagavā bhāgyasampanno pūritapāramī Mahāsatto:
The Fortunate One is endowed with good fortune, he is a Great Being who has fulfilled the perfections:

Bhāgyavā bhaggavā yutto, bhagehi ca vibhattavā,
Fortunate, devoted to good, having a share of the graces,

Bhattavā vantagamano bhavesu Bhagavā tato. ti
Graceful, gone to existences' end, thus he is the Fortunate One.

Evaṁ-ādiguṇayutto Devatidevo Sakkāṭisakko
Thus the one virtuous from the beginning, the one who is God of all Gods, Most Able of the Able,

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\(^{130}\) SHB, PTS: *pure āsi; when he was (a physician) before*, but we would expect the Buddha to be speaking in the first person.

\(^{131}\) *Heṭṭhā* normally means *from underneath, from below*, but here it must mean *from the beginning*. 
Brahmātibrahmā Buddhātibuddho,
Supreme of those Supreme, Buddha amongst those who are Buddhas,

so Mahākāruṇiko Bhagavā, attano Buddhacariyaṁ Buddhakāraṇaṁ,
the Greatly Compassionate Fortunate One, spoke about his own life as Buddha and deeds as Buddha,

sambhāvayamāno pākaṭam kurumāno,
making him famous and honoured,

Buddhāpadāniyaṁ nāma Buddhakāraṇapakāsakaṁ nāma
in what is known as the Traditions about the Buddha, the Publication of the Deeds of the Buddha,

Dhammapariyāyaṁ Dhammadesanaṁ suttaṁ abhāsittha kathesi. ti
he spoke this Doctrinal Instruction, this Doctrinal Teaching, this discourse.

Iti Visuddhajanavilāsiṁyā Apadāna-Aṭṭhakathāya,
Thus the Spendour of the Pure Ones, the Commentary on the Traditions,

Buddha-Apadānasāṁvaṭṭanā Samattā
The Explanation of the Traditions about the Buddha is Complete

132 This seems to be offered as an alternative title.
133 This is the official title of the commentary to the Traditions.