

## Subhā Therī,gāthā

### The Verses of the Elder Nun Subhā

[The true meaning of seeing]

(Therī,gāthā 366-399)

Translated & annotated by Piya Tan ©2006

#### 1 The Thera- and Therī,gāthā

The Thera,gāthā and the Therīgāthā are two of the fifteen books of the Khuddaka Nikāya, “the Small Collection” of Discourses, also known as the Fifth Nikāya (*Pañcama,nikāya*). While the Thera,gāthā is a collection of verses of the elder monks (*thera*), the Therī,gāthā is an anthology of the verses of the elder nuns (*therī*). In almost every case, they are arhats. These verses are often referred to as “verses of uplift” (*udāna*) as they are usually uttered at the time of awakening or by way of joyful retrospect.

Various comparative studies have been done on these two important and beautiful texts. **Siegfried Lienhard** (1975), for example, highlights the striking nature imagery in the Thera,gāthā and Therī,gāthā, and concludes, by way of a detailed literary analysis, that they draw from the tradition of erotic secular poetry and turn it into a distinctly Buddhist genre.<sup>1</sup>

**Kathryn Blackstone** points out that the Thera,gāthā employs nature imagery more extensively and in more positive terms than does the Therī,gāthā—which may reflect that nuns are prohibited from forest-dwelling,<sup>2</sup> while monks are encouraged to seek forest solitude.<sup>3</sup>

**Karen Lang** contends that the Therī,gāthā places less emphasis on the impurity of the body than does the Thera,gāthā, where, for example, there is no reference to nuns seeking out cemeteries to meditate on male corpses (1986:78).<sup>4</sup>

Blackstone, on the other hand, notes that while the male composers of the Thera,gāthā tend to emphasize the foulness of women’s bodies, the female composers of the Therī,gāthā tend to emphasize the foulness of their own bodies (1998: 59-81).

Scholars generally agree that it is difficult to know whether these verses were actually composed or uttered by the elders. However, the structure of the poem does provide an indication of the method by which they were constructed.<sup>5</sup> The verses, for example, are very repetitive, as collated by **William Stede**, in his listing of “The Pādas of the Thera- and Therī-gāthā.”<sup>6</sup> Such identical terms, phrases, even lines or stanzas, possibly indicate the existence of a large common pool of refrains and phrases available to the elders.

**KR Norman** thinks, “It seems likely that some of these verses are very old, perhaps older than Buddhism, for they are found in Jain and Brahmanical literature.<sup>7</sup> It was a time before the concept of copyright in ancient India, and any elder or poet could compose his own verses, or freely repeat a verse he has heard, or borrow them from what John Brough calls “the treasure-house of versified tags.”<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf Lienhard 1984:75-79.

<sup>2</sup> For an important reason, see 4(2), Uppala,vaṇṇā, n.

<sup>3</sup> The nun Uppala,vaṇṇā is raped in her own cell in Andha,vana (the Dark Forest) by her own cousin, Ānanda, who is in madly love with her. Thenceforth, nuns are forbidden to reside in forests. See below on Uppala,vaṇṇā, 4(2).

<sup>4</sup> However, Comy to Abhayā’s verses (Thī 35-36) says that she goes to the Sita,vana to observe an object of impurity. The Buddha however causes a holographic image of such an object to appear before. Seeing this, she experiences samvega. Then the Buddha himself appears before him and instructs her. Later, after gaining arhathood, she repeats these instructions in her verses. (ThīA 41).

<sup>5</sup> Blackstone 1998:4.

<sup>6</sup> JPTS 1924-27:31-226, esp 197-226: his table of repeated pādas.

<sup>7</sup> Norman, Tha:N xxi.

<sup>8</sup> Gāndhārī Dharmapada, London, 1862: xvii.

## 2 Therī,gāthā as literature

**2.1 THE THERĪ,GĀTHĀ AS A TEXT.** The Therī,gāthā is an anthology of 522 verses in 73 poems or cantos, numerically arranged in chapters (*nipāta*), beginning with a group of single verses, and so on up to 14 verses, followed by groups of 20 to 70 verses, and finally the Great Chapter (*Mahā,nipāta*) in 75 verses. These verses are traditionally said to have been uttered by 101 elder nuns.<sup>9</sup>

The Therī,gāthā is significant in that it is “the first surviving poetry supposed to have been composed by women in India...[t]he poetically excellent quality of these verses is not matched by Indian poetesses of later periods.” (Hinüber 1996:108).<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, as far as we know, “it is the only canonical text in the world’s religions that is attributed to female authorship and that focuses exclusively on women’s religious experiences.” (Blackstone 1998: 1).<sup>11</sup> Evidence from scholarly research “supports the view that the verses collected together in [the Therī,gāthā] were uttered over a period of 300 years, from the end of the 6th century to the end of the 3rd century BC” (Thī:N xx), that is, from the time of the Buddha up to Asoka.<sup>12</sup>

**2.2 THE THERĪ,GĀTHĀ: A LITERARY EVALUTION.** The Subhā Therī,gāthā, a verse narrative from start to end, is one of the most dramatic episodes in Buddhist hagiography. The whole poem employs a highly effective use of dramatic contrast of the worldly or sensual (the rogue) against the spiritual (Subhā). Significantly, the rogue is unnamed: we are really nobody when we are drowned in negative emotions; for it is the way of the crowd and the world. Only in rising from the crowd, letting go of negative emotions, we become true individuals, represented by the name Subhā, meaning “beautiful.”<sup>13</sup> Then we are truly beautiful.

**Kevin Trainor**, in his study of the Subhā Therī,gāthā, comments that

Subhā’s verse, one of the longest in the Therī,gāthā, reveals a good deal of literary self-consciousness. Set in the form of a dialogue, the interaction of Subhā and the rogue who accosts her on the path to Jīvaka’s mango grove is expressed in a kind of literary fugue,<sup>14</sup> with the voices of the two characters following a common theme: an exploration of the nature of the human body. Yet while the two voices share a common subject, they issue forth from two fundamentally discordant views of reality, and it is only at the conclusion of the composition that some sort of harmony is achieved. (Trainor 1993:63)

Of some literary interest, too, is the sensuous evocation of nature. Indeed, the account here is that of a classic example of how a woman’s spirituality changes the mind of a frivolous youth who intends to rape her.

<sup>9</sup> This number is at best traditional. The “summary” or envoi (*uddāna*) at the end of the text says that there are 494 verses uttered by 101 nuns (Thī p174). According to **Mizuno**, the actual number of nuns who spoke the verses is only 73 (1993:81). It should be noted that one of the poems is said to be uttered by a group of 30 nuns (Thī 117-121), another by a group of 500 nuns (Thī 127-132): see Hinüber 1996. It should also be noted that not all the verses in a particular poem are spoken by her. A few of these verses are variously spoken by the Buddha, by monks, by other nuns, even by laymen and laywomen, or by Māra. In the dialogue btw Cāpā and her husband, Upaka (Thī 291-211), the verses are not even connected to a nun! See Thī:N xix for details.

<sup>10</sup> The rather insignificant amount of literature in Skt written by women has been collected by Chaudhuri, *The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature*. Calcutta, 1939-1943. I (1943), IIa (1939), III/IV (1940), VIb (1940), VIIb (1940) (all published?) (Hinüber’s biblio 1996:211). See Hinüber 1996:107-108.

<sup>11</sup> There is another collection—the **Iti,vuttaka** (one of the 15 books of the Khuddaka Nikāya)—that is compiled by a woman, Khujj’uttarā, but it is an anthology of the Buddha’s teachings.

<sup>12</sup> See also Hinüber 1996: 107.

<sup>13</sup> On the “true individual,” see SD 19.3(6.6); also “Me”: the nature of conceit = SD 19.2a.

<sup>14</sup> **Fugue**, here referring to musical piece with repeated themes that answer one another.

**AK Warder**, in his study of *Pāli Metre*, regards the Subhā Therī,gāthā as a particularly good example of lyric poetry,<sup>15</sup> apparently a dramatic performance resembling, but antedating, classical Sanskrit drama (1967:136 f). Such verses, in other words, are didactic or educational. Subhā's story serves as an inspiration even for us today

### 3 The two Subhās

**3.1 SUBHĀ KAMMĀRA,DHĪTĀ.** There are two arhat nuns named Subhā in the Therī,gāthā. The first is Subhā Kammāra,dhītā (the smith's daughter). Her father is a rich goldsmith of Rājagaha. One day she goes to pay obeisance to the Buddha, and after hearing the Dharma from him becomes a stream-winner. Later, she joins the order under Mahā Pajāpatī. From time to time her relatives try to persuade her to leave the order and return to the world. One day she composes twenty four verses on the dangers of household life and dismisses them, convinced of her practice. Then, striving for insight, she attains arhatood on the eighth day (Thī 338-361). The Buddha sees this and praises her in three verses (Thī 362-364). Sakra, along with the gods of Tāvātimsa, visit to honour her (Thī 365; ThīA 236 f). [4(21)]

**3.2 SUBHĀ JĪVAK'AMBĀ,VANIKĀ.** The Subhā whose verses are translated here called Subhā Jīvak'-amba,vanikā, or Subhā of Jīvaka's Mango Grove,<sup>16</sup> so called either because the incident recounted in her Therī,gāthā occurs there, or because she resides there. Dhamma,pāla, in his Therī,gāthā Commentary,<sup>17</sup> says that Subhā performed meritorious deeds under previous Buddhas, and so accumulated good karma in various lives for her spiritual liberation.

In her last life, she is born in the time of our Buddha, into an eminent brahmin family of Rājagaha. She is called Subhā because she is physically beautiful (*sobhana,vaṇṇa,yutta*, ThīA 245). She gains faith as a lay follower after listening to the Teacher in Rājagaha. Later, seeing the danger in sense-pleasures, samvega (a sense of spiritual urgency)<sup>18</sup> arises in her concerning samsara (cycle of life and death). Considering renunciation as being peaceful, she renounces the world under Mahā Pajāpatī Gotamī.

She devotes herself to the practice of spiritual insight, and in a few days attains the fruit of non-return. One day, as she is going for her noonday siesta in Jīvaka's mango grove, a handsome, drunken rogue, a libertine (*dhuttaka*), in the prime of youth (the son of a rich goldsmith of Rājagaha), captivated by her beauty, blocks her way, and accosts her. She speaks to him of the various dangers of sense-pleasures and her own inclination to renunciation, but he persists in his advances (ThīA 250). [4(28)]

Even though Subhā teaches him the Dharma, he does not repent. The youth confesses that he is infatuated with her beautiful eyes. Learning of this, she plucks out one of her eyes and hands it to him.<sup>19</sup> The youth is utterly shocked, trembling with samvega. Immediately, his passion disappears, and he asks for her forgiveness. Subhā then leaves and goes to see the Buddha. And seeing the Buddha, her eye is whole again.

**3.3 THE MAIN THEME OF THE SUBHĀ THERĪ,GĀTHĀ.** The main theme of the Subhā Therī,gāthā is that of *seeing or vision*, of what it means to really see. The climax of the poem is when Subhā tears out her eye and gives it to the infatuated rogue, immediately effecting a change of heart in him.

The physical eye is only useful in its bodily context, functioning as the eye-faculty. Taken out of its socket, however, an eye is totally bereft of its perceived beauty. It is only as useful as what it does. Taken

<sup>15</sup> Lyric poetry—in ancient Greece, verses sung (to the lyre)—refers to either poetry that has the form and musical quality of a song, or a usually short poem that expresses personal feelings, which may or may not be set to music (*The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, 1992). It is to be distinguished from *dramatic poetry* (drama with spoken verse) and *narrative poetry* (stories told in verse). However, their boundaries are often flexible.

<sup>16</sup> **Jīvaka S** (M 55) = SD 43.4 Intro.

<sup>17</sup> Param'attha,dīpanī vol 6, Pali ed E Möller (1893), rev ed W Pruitt (1997), and Eng tr W Pruitt (1999): see biblio.

<sup>18</sup> *Samvega*, religious emotion or sense of spiritual urgency, ie, the kind of feeling that arises in prince Siddhattha when he sees the 4 sights = SD 9.7f.

<sup>19</sup> It is interesting that while the Christian Bible thrice speaks of plucking out "the eye that offends thee" (Matt 5:29, 18:9; Mk 9:47), we have here an actual case for spiritual reflection.

out of its context, it is useless, even fearful and gory. While Subhā uses her eyes wisely, seeing true reality, the rogue has only the eye of sensuality, seeing only false surface reality, and failing to see beyond.

The eye, like any of the sense-faculties, indeed of life itself, is not a collectible: it is to be experienced, to be lived. When the rogue finally is given what he lusts for, he realizes that it is not really what he has perceived it to be. He is shocked by what he sees into a moment of true reality. However, we are only told that he repents and leaves (ThīA 246): so we do not know whether he benefits further from the drama.

The Subhā story is a story of true giving: in a literal sense, she actually gives the rogue what he wants, and in doing so she has not only made a supreme sacrifice in the spirit of the historical Bodhisattva (who would readily give up even his life for others). Ironically, although it appears to be a material gift (*āmisā, dāna*), the effect is that she has made a spiritual gift (*nirāmisā, dāna*), that is, the highest gift, the gift of the Dharma.

**3.4 A PARAPHRASE OF THE SUBHĀ THERĪ, GĀTHĀ.** The Subhā Therī, gāthā is one of the longest of the elder nuns' verses, and is the only one in the "Group of 30 verses" (*Timsa Nipāta*). Although Dhammapāla says that Subhā has uttered these verses as her solemn utterance, apparently the opening verse [366] and the concluding four verses [396-399] are those of the Council Elders (*saṅgīti, kāra*).<sup>20</sup> It is possible, however, that these narrative lines have been added by Dhammapāla himself for proper narrative coherence (that is, if they were not already added during the First Council).

The narrators (said to be the Council Elders) say that the nun Subhā is on her way alone to Jīvaka's mango grove for a noonday siesta, a rogue blocks her path and accosts her. Dhammapāla says that the unnamed accoster,<sup>21</sup> a rich goldsmith's son in the prime of his youth, is not only a rogue with women (*itthi, dhutta*), but also intoxicated (ThīA 246, 250).

The second verse [367] reveals that the drunken youth is actually physically coercing her. We could well imagine the worst here: the young drunken rogue is poised to pin the beautiful young nun Subhā down to the ground to rape her.<sup>22</sup>

"What wrong have I done that you stand in my way?" Of course, he has none, says the Dhammpāla, but he is intent on the perception or mental sign,<sup>23</sup> "A woman!" (ThīA 250). To show that this is not fitting, Subhā protests, reminding him of her religious state, that the Buddha's Teaching forbids such misdeeds [368], and that they are of opposite minds: his is unhinged, hers blemish-free [369]. The rogue then begins his rationalizing: "You are young and not bad-looking [innocent] (*apāpika*)," meaning, as Dhammapāla points out, that "Only old women or those of foul appearance should go forth." (ThīA 251).

So he bluntly accosts her [370] with a thinly veiled sexual litany. While the religious find the beauty of nature conducive for spiritual practice, the immoral find the solitude ideal for sensual pursuits [371]. While the spiritual enjoy the solitude that is conducive for meditation and mindfulness practice, the immoral seek to impose themselves upon it. While the spiritual finds harmony with nature, the immoral's biological instincts are aroused [372]

Failing to persuade Subhā, the rogue now tries to frighten her, reminding her of the presence of wild beasts in the forest, again referring to them in sexual terms [373]. He then compares Subhā to a dead object, "a doll made of shining gold," and an out-of-this-world mythical apsara (again a sensual being),<sup>24</sup> and sings of beautiful clothing. Only her external features are valued [374].

Then the rogue goes into the classic expression of infatuation, ironically claiming that he would "yield" to her power, when the reality is the contrary. He proposes that they could cohabit in the grove (like the animals?) [375], in a house with servants [376], promising her beautiful clothes and ornaments, even vowing to make some himself (as he is a goldsmith's son, after all) [377]. Then, he uses a bed imagery, evoking luxury and sensuality [378].

<sup>20</sup> Subhā speaks the foll: 367-369, 380, 384-395, 396c; the rogue: 370-379, 381-383, 397cd-398; and the *saṅgīti, kāra*: 366, 396abd, 397ab, 399.

<sup>21</sup> The fact that the accoster is unnamed is significant: it is not the doer but the deed that is of moral significance.

<sup>22</sup> The nun Uppala, vaṇṇā, however, was raped in a forest: see [3], under Uppala, vaṇṇā n.

<sup>23</sup> On "mental sign" (*nimitta*), see *Nimitta* = SD 19.7, esp §71(2), & also *Nimitta & anuvyañjana* = SD 19.14.

<sup>24</sup> Apsara: see v374b n.

There is a hint of desperation in what follows: why waste your beauty away and grow old unconsummated? He addresses her as brahma,carinī (celibate woman), finally openly acknowledging her true personal state [379].

Thinking that he might be ready for the Dharma, Subhā then responds with an instruction on the perception of the foulness of the body (*asubha,saññā*) [380], in effect, trying to tell the rogue that his body, too, is of the same foul nature. There is a dramatic irony here: *Subhā* (the beautiful) is practising *asubha*, the perception of the foul! But the young intoxicated rogue is deaf to the truth, caught in the rut of his beauty-sign, that is, Subhā's doe-like eyes, and sing its praises in three verses [381-382]. He effectively takes only a part of person for the whole. Interestingly, all the eye-images the rogue uses allude to animals (a doe, "a kinnari<sup>25</sup> in the mountains"), something inanimate (gold), or at best a plant (lotus bud). This is clearly the language of a wouldbe tragic lover.

Dhammapāla explains Subhā's "doe-like eyes" (*akkhīni ca turiyā-r-iva*) at some length, saying that the rogue is attracted to Subhā's very calm and controlled senses. Even at a glance, her eyes betray the five kinds of clarity.<sup>26</sup> The rogue claims that she will always remember her, even when far from sight, but he is merely thinking of "your long eye-lashes, your pure gaze" claiming that "no eyes are dearer to me than yours, O kinnari of gentle eyes!" [383]. By now the rogue is clearly not only physiologically intoxicated, but mentally, too.

Subhā now begins her final salvo of Dharma instructions, and begins by stating the simple fact that the rogue has gone off-track and totally infatuated to sensually lust for after renunciate. To lust after her eyes is like taking the moon to be a ball for playing with: the eye, after all, functions as the seeing faculty, not a plaything. Mt Meru or Sineru here is the mythical axis mundi, the centre of the universe: it is not only impossible to reach it, much less to jump over it!

She announces that she has abandoned all lust: after all, she is a non-returner<sup>27</sup> (ThīA 246) [385]. Then she goes on to warn the rogue of the dangers of sense-pleasure using the imageries of fire and of poison [386]: first, lust burns like fire; then it consumes and destroys you like a poison does. It might be possible for a rich handsome youth like the rouge to seduce someone unmindful, that is, ignorant of the nature of the five aggregates, or someone who has not seen the embodiment of the Dharma (that is, the Buddha), but not so to seduce a wisely mindful person or a Buddha's true disciple. Subhā is telling him that it is impossible to seduce someone like her, and any such attempt would have negative moral implications [387].

On a happier note, Subhā describes her spiritual state: she is equanimous and unattached to the world [388], and as a learner (*sekha*), she delights in meditating [389]. She well knows what the physical body is like (it is made up of the four elements and is impermanent, etc), that is, she has overcome self-identity view [390].

Verse 390 aptly uses the imagery of puppets, whose strings are controlled by others. The imagery applies on two levels: the social and the spiritual. On the social level, Subhā is stating that she is free from the man-dominated ways of society, of the dehumanizing and delimiting social roles available to woman in her times. More specifically, she is hinting to the rogue that she is not falling into a subservient role as the rogue's playmate or wife.

More importantly, on a spiritual level, she has transcended all notions of sexuality, and is no more controlled by the cords of sense-pleasures nor by unwholesome habits. She declares that she has gone beyond the physical body, knowing it to be a mere mental construction [391], so that she is no more dictated

<sup>25</sup> "Kinnari" (*kinnarī*), see 375d n.

<sup>26</sup> ThīA 254; cf DA 3:397; J 3:344. Elsewhere, this is said to mean that the eye is endowed with five kinds of colour (*pañca,vaṇṇa,pasāda,sampattiyā*) (MA 3:402; SnA 2:453). The 5 colours probably are blue (*nīla*), yellow (*pīta*), red (*lohitaka*), light orange-ochre (*mañjetṭha*) or crystal (*phalika*), and a composite of them (*pabhassara*) (V 1:25; BA 38; cf M 1:509, 511). The meaning here apparently is that the eyes scintillate with these colours. Cf J 5:165.

<sup>27</sup> Non-returner (*anāgāmī*), ie, a saint who is liberated by the abandoning of the "five lower fetters," viz, self-identity view, doubt, clinging to rules and rituals, sensual craving, and ill will: see *Kīṭṭā,giri S* (M 70) = SD 11.1 (5.1).

by her thoughts and is beyond mental projections and labels [392]. She explains the nature perception in a series of imageries: it is as unreal as a wall-painting [393], a dream, a magician's illusion [394].

Then Subhā zeroes in on the very thing that the rogue is infatuated with: her eyes. Again, she explains it by way of the perception of foulness, reflecting on the eye's structure and natural characteristics [395]. In a dramatic turn, she plucks out one of her eyes and hands it to the rogue [396], who is of course simply shocked. A thing of beauty is only in its own context, but when plucked out of its context, its true beauty is gone.

The more lust we have for a thing, the more traumatic it is when it turns out to be other than what we perceive it be. Samvega finally arises in the trembling man, and his passion ceases at once (ThīA 246). Jolted back into sanity, he begs for her forgiveness and declares contrition [397], finally realizing the true dangers of his trespass [398], and he leaves (ThīA 246). Subhā, relieved of her predicament, goes to see the Buddha, and seeing him, her eye is whole again [399].

Verse 399 is interesting on at least two accounts. Firstly, she is "freed from him" (*muttā ca tato*), which can also be freely rendered as "freed from that," meaning that she is not only liberated from the menacing rogue, but also from the stifling role that sexuality dictates. In fact, she is already a non-returner when the rogue advanced upon her, but now she is free to pursue further spiritual liberation. Secondly, in this closing verse, we see a sharp contrast, a quantum shift in somatic imagery: from the debate over the corrupt nature of the physical body to the extraordinary qualities of the pure Buddha body.

The Commentary says that, she stands there, gazing at the Buddha, experiencing uninterrupted zest (ThīA 246).<sup>28</sup> The Buddha, knowing her ripe state of mind, teaches her the Dharma, and then explains a meditation subject to her for gaining the highest path. Letting go of her joy, she immediately cultivates insight and gains arhathood along with the four analytic knowledges.<sup>29</sup> Having attained arhathood, she dwells in the bliss of nirvana. Then reviewing her attainment, recalling her conversation with the rogue youth, utters them as her solemn utterance (*udāna*) as recounted in the Subhā Therī, gāthā. (Thī 366-399; ThīA 245-260)

#### 4 Subhā and the other nuns of the Therī, gāthā

The story of Subhā of Jīvaka's Mango Grove is most interesting and unique when compared to the other accounts of early Buddhist women. Let us briefly look at some of the better and remarkable women of the Buddha's time, as found in the Therī, gāthā.<sup>30</sup>

- (1) **Abhirūpa, nandā**, a beautiful Sakya girl, is made to renounce by her parents, against her own wishes, following the death of her cousin, Cara, bhūta, whom she is to marry. (Thī 19/19-20)
- (2) **Uppala, vaṇṇā**, daughter of a Sāvattthī seth (entrepreneur), has too many suitors, including kings and commoners, all suitable ones. To resolve the problem, her father suggests that she renounces the world. The Vinaya and the Comys<sup>31</sup> record that she, despite her protestations, is raped in her own cell in Andha, vana (the Dark Forest) by her own cousin, who is in madly love with her.<sup>32</sup> She is blameless as she is an unwilling party (Pār 1.10.5 = V 3:35). Apparently, it is after this

<sup>28</sup> Prob just as the Buddha does to the Bodhi tree during the 2nd week after the Awakening (MA 2:184; UA 52; BA 8; J 1:77); see **Dhamma and Abhidhamma** = SD 26.1(5).

<sup>29</sup> **The 4 analytic knowledges** (*pañisambhidā*) are, viz, the analytic knowledges (1) of meanings [true expression of reality] (*attha, pañisambhidā*); (2) of meanings [mental states or truth, ie instructing commensurate with the mental level and state of the listener] (*dhmma, pañisambhidā*); (3) of language [clear and fitting expression of truth] (*nirutti, pañisambhidā*); and (4) of ready wit [effective and joyful expression of truth] (*pañibhāna, pañisambhidā*) (A 2:160; Pm 1:119; Vbh 294): in short, this comprises the meaning, the mental state, the word, and the joy of the true teaching.

<sup>30</sup> See IB Horner 1930:162-210 (ch 3 pts 1-2) on a similar discussion of the nuns of the Thī.

<sup>31</sup> But not ThīA, which only says that Māra tries to distract her during her siesta in the sal grove, warning her of the dangers of rogues there (Thī 230-235; also at S 1:131 f with vll).

<sup>32</sup> AA 1:355 f; DhA 5.10/2:48 f.

incident that, thenceforth, nuns are forbidden to reside in forests (Cv 10.23 = V 2:278).<sup>33</sup> (Thī 64/224-235)

- (3) **Kisā Gotamī**. There are 3 versions of her well-known story.<sup>34</sup> (Thī 224-235)
- (4) **Khemā** of Sāgala (daughter of the king of the Madda tribe) was king Bimbisāra's consort, and was infatuated with her beauty. The Commentaries say that she attains arhathood on witnessing a holographic sequence (which naturally leads to her becoming a nun).<sup>35</sup> The Apadāna however says that this breakthrough occurs only after she has entered the order.<sup>36</sup> She is the foremost of the nuns (right-hand nun), and also foremost of the nuns with great insight (A 1:25). (Thī 52/139-144)
- (5) **Dhamma,dinnā** of Rājagaha has no difficulty in obtaining her husband's permission, Visākha, to join the order, as he himself has just decided to do so himself.<sup>37</sup> (Thī 12/12)
- (6) **Therīkā** of Vesālī,<sup>38</sup> having heard of both the Buddha and Mahā Pajāpatī, decides to join the order, but is unable to obtain her husband's consent. Humbly she goes on with her household duties without protest. One day when the curry she is cooking is consumed by the flames, she reflects on this with insight, and gives up wearing ornaments, dressing simply. Her husband is impressed and give his consent for her renunciation. (Thī 1/1)
- (7) **Dhammā** of Sāvattihī, however, is not so fortunate, as she is unable to obtain her husband's consent, and obediently remains in the house until his death, after which she renounces the world. (Thī 17/17)
- (8) **Sundarī,nandā**, the sister of Nanda, the Buddha's handsome half-brother, and like Abhirūpa,-nandā (Thī 19/19-20) (1), she is infatuated with her beauty. She becomes a nun after all her near relatives have joined the order. Her motive is clear: she does not renounce out of faith, but out of love for her kin. However, listening to the Buddha's teachings, she becomes a stream-winner, and then, an arhat. (Thī 41/82-86)
- (9) **Amba,pālī**, the courtesan of Vesālī is also her best known inhabitant, sought after by royalty, including king Bimbisāra. The king sires him a son, Vimala Koṇḍañña, who, after becoming a monk, teaches the Dharma to her, whereupon she decides to join the order. Amba,pālī's poem is one of the most beautiful in religious literature.<sup>39</sup> (Thī 66/252-270)
- (10) **Abhaya,mātā** or Paduma,vatī, the courtesan of Ujjenī, is also sought after by king Bimbisāra who sires him a son, Abhaya Rāja,kumāra. Abhaya, after becoming a monk, teaches her the Dharma, and she then joins the order. (Thī 33-34)
- (11) **Abhayā**, a close friend of Paduma,vatī (Abhaya,mātā) (10), joins the order following her example. (Thī 27/35 f)
- (12) **Vijayā**, too, like Abhayā (11), joins the order, following the example of her close friend, Khemā (4). (Thī 57/169-174)
- (13) **Cālā, Upacālā and Sisupacālā**, Sāriputta's three sisters, based on wise faith in a trustworthy example, imitate their brother in joining the order. (Thī 59/182-188, 60/189-195, 61/196-203)

<sup>33</sup> Buddhaghosa adds that the Buddha then requests king Pasenadi to build quarters for the nuns within the city (DhA 2:51 f). This incident also gives rise to the question whether an arhat enjoys sense-pleasure, but the answer is clearly *no* since he/she has no more defilement (DhA 26.18/4:116 f). Thī 224 & ThīA 195 f say that both Uppala,-vaṇṇā and her mother were unwittingly co-wives of the same man (ThīA 196), a fact not attested elsewhere. As such, IB Horner thinks that she is probably different from her namesake of the other Comys (V:H 1:53 n5). It is possible that the AA & DhA accounts have conflated the two Uppala,vaṇṇās.

<sup>34</sup> SD 43.2 (Intro).

<sup>35</sup> DhA 4:58 f, 168 f; B 26.19; J 1:15 f.

<sup>36</sup> Ap 2:543-551 = ThAp 18.

<sup>37</sup> Cf Sumedhā (Thī 73/448-522) below, who renounces just before her marriage.

<sup>38</sup> It is likely that Therīkā, meaning "little sturdy," is her nickname, since she is of sturdy build (ThīA 5). As such, I do not think its translation as "a certain unknown nun" is warranted.

<sup>39</sup> Cf Norman 1983:76.

- (14) **Sumanā**, out of filial love for her grandmother, postpones her own renunciation (much as she is inclined to do so), to take care of her, and only joins the order after her passing, and when she herself is of advanced age. (Thī 16/16)
- (15) **Purāṇa,gaṇikā**, a courtesan's daughter, is made to repent her loose lifestyle by Mahā Moggallāna. She first becomes a lay disciple and then a nun. She is the only one of the five women of loose morals<sup>40</sup> to join the order under such an influence. Hence, her epithet Purāṇa,gaṇikā, "the former courtesan," but personal name is unknown. (Thī 39/72-76)
- (16) **Aḍḍha,kāsī**, the daughter of a seth (entrepreneur) of Kāsī, and the courtesan of Rājagaha. There is no record of details of why she decides to join the order. The Vinaya only says that hearing the Buddha's teaching, she decides to renounce the world, but on her way to see the Buddha, she is waylaid by libertines. The Buddha then introduces a special allowance, the ordination by proxy.<sup>41</sup> (Thī 25 f; Ap 2:610 f)
- (17) **Sihā** of Vesālī and niece of Siha Senā,pati, upon hearing the Buddha teaching Sāriputta, joins the order with her parents' consent. However, even after seven years, she is unable to progress spiritually despite her efforts. In desperation, she ties a noose around her neck and fastened to a tree. In that awkward position, she gains insight, and loosens her noose. (Thī 40/77-81)
- (18) **Muttā**, daughter of Oghātaka, a poor brahmin of Kosala, has a hunchback (*vanika*) for a husband, and **Sumaṅgala,mātā**, born in to a poor family of Sāvattihī, is married to a rush-plaiter (*nalakāra*). On renouncing the world, they joyfully free themselves from the drudgery of household work and an unappreciative husband. (Thī 11/11, 21/23 f)
- (19) **Guttā** of Sāvattihī, however, born into a wealthy family and unmarried, actually found her luxurious life such an unsatisfactory burden that she becomes a nun. Sadly, even as a nun she is unable to meditate, that is, until she receives help from the Buddha. (Thī 56/163-168)
- (20) **Isi,dāsī** of Ujjenī is married to a merchant of Sāketa, but it is a failed marriage from the start. Then follows a string of more failed marriages because none of her husband finds her desirable. Finally, with her father's consent, she joins the order. (Thī 72/400-407)<sup>42</sup>
- (21) **Subhā Kammāra,dhītā** (the smith's daughter) of Rājagaha [3.1], hears the Dharma from the Buddha and becomes a stream-winner. She leaves the world under Mahā Pajāpati and, on occasions, her relatives try to persuade her to return to the world. On the eighth day, becomes an arhat. (Thī 70/338-365)
- (22) **Bhaddā Kuṇḍala,kesā**, the daughter of Rājagaha seth, and **Nand'uttarā**, the daughter of a Kammāsa,damma brahmin, are examples of two women (unrelated) who are highly trained mentally, and who cannot rest until they have found an opening for the exercise of their talents. **Bhaddā**, as a young girl, falls for and marries an ungrateful young thief, who later tries to kill her. She outwits and kills him instead. Then she becomes a Jain nun, practising painful austerities. She has a public debate with Sāriputta at Jeta,vana but is defeated. Later, listening to the Buddha, she becomes an arhat and joins the order. (Thī 46/107-111)
- (23) **Nand'uttarā**, a renowned itinerant speaker who meets Moggallāna and is converted by him in debate. On his advice, she joins the order. (Thī 42/87-91)
- (24) **Ubbirī**, born into a wealthy Sāvattihī family, and because of her beauty, marries the king of Kosala. She bears him a daughter which pleases the king so much that she is anointed a queen. But the child suddenly dies, and she is distraught. The Buddha appears to her at the charnel ground, and she is freed of her grief. (Thī 33/51-53)
- (25) **Kisā Gotamī** of Sāvattihī is one of the most pathetic figures in Buddhist literature. After some difficulty, she finds a husband, and in due course bears him a child. Unfortunately the infant dies

<sup>40</sup> These 5 women evidently are Amba,pālī (9), Abhaya,mātā (10), Abhayā (11), Purāṇa,gaṇikā (15) and Sirimā. The last-named is also a courtesan of Rājagaha, and who is converted by none other than the Buddha himself (B 36.20; DhA 3:104 f; VvA 74 ff): see **Isi,dāsī & Sirimā** = SD 3.8. Cf Lina Eckenstein, *Women Under Monasticism* 1896:193: see <http://www.yale.edu/adhoc/etexts/Eckstn1.htm>.

<sup>41</sup> Cv 10.22 = V 2:277 f.

<sup>42</sup> For her remarkable story, see **Isi,dāsī & Sirimā** = SD 3.8.

and she falls into a profound state of denial, seeking a remedy for him. After the famous mustard-seed episode, she realizes the universal nature of impermanence and is healed. She becomes a nun and in due course awakens to arhathood. (Thī 63/213-223)<sup>43</sup>

- (26) **Paṭācārā** of Sāvathī is clearly the most pathetic figures in Buddhist literature. She is the over-protected daughter of a Sāvathī seth who elopes with her servant boy. She gives birth to two sons, each time in the discomfort of an inclement forest. During her last journey home, she loses all her family—children, husband, brother and parents—within 24 hours. Understandably she goes raving mad, but is in due course healed by the Buddha. (Thī 47/112-116)<sup>44</sup>
- (27) **Sumedhā** of Mantā,vatī is the daughter of king Koṅca of Mantā,vatī.<sup>45</sup> Even as a child, she would go with her peers and slaves to hear the Dharma at the nuns' quarters. As such, she is able to see the dangers of samsara from an early age. Hearing that she is to be betrothed to king Anika,ratta of Vāraṇa,vatī, she decides to go forth, proposing that she would otherwise go on a hunger strike (Thī 460). Hearing that Anika,ratta is coming to see her, she retires to her chamber, cuts off her hair and uses it as her object of meditation of foulness, attaining the first dhyana (Thī 480; ThīA 286). When Anika,ratta meets here, she is already out of her dhyana, doing the perception of impermanence. After she explains her Dharma inclination, Anika,ratta is convinced and invites her to go forth. She goes to the nuns' quarters and joins the orders. Sumedhā is clearly the happiest example of a woman who is clear regarding her spiritual vocation right from the start as it were, and attains her goal on her own will. She is also accorded the most honoured position as the last of the Therī,gāthā, with the most number of verses.<sup>46</sup> (Thī 73/448-522)
- (28) **Subhā of Jīvaka's Mango Grove** is said to be a very beautiful woman, physically attractive in all her limbs. But unlike Khemā (Thī canto 52) (4) or Sundarī,nandā (Thī canto 41) (8), she is not infatuated with her own beauty. On the contrary, she, like Sumedhā (Thī canto 73) (27), sees fear in the cycle of rebirth and sense danger in sense-pleasures, which in due course leads to her renouncing the world. However, in the cases of the other women, no matter what their circumstances, when turn to the True Dharma, they all attained the highest sainthood, and are moved to utter these inspired verses (*udāna*).

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<sup>43</sup> For a detailed study, see SD 43.2.

<sup>44</sup> For a detailed study, see SD 43.3.

<sup>45</sup> Mantā,vatī is nowhere mentioned except here (Thī 448) and in ThiA 272, 274.

<sup>46</sup> Cf Dhamma,dinnā (Thī 12/12) who as a matter of course goes forth, following her husband's renunciation.

## Verses of the Elder Nun Subhā of Jīvaka's Mango Grove (Thī 366-399)

### [The Council Elders:]

- 1 While the nun Subhā | was going to the delightful Jīvaka's mango grove,  
A rogue stops her. | So Subhā says this to him:<sup>47</sup> [366]

### [Subhā:]

- 2 "What wrong have I done to you | that you stand in my way?  
It is not fitting, sir, | that a man should touch a woman gone forth. [367]
- 3 In my Teacher's strict teaching, | taught by the Sugata [the well-gone one],  
Is the blemish-free purified state. | Why do you stand in my way? [368]
- 4 Disturbed is your mind, undisturbed am I; |  
dusted with passion are you, but dustfree am I;  
Without any depravity. All my mind is liberated: | Why do you stand in my way?" [369]

### [The rogue:]

- 5 "You are young and not bad-looking [innocent].<sup>48</sup> | what good is going-forth for you?  
Throw away your brown robes! | Come let us delight in the flowering grove! [370]
- 6 The trees,<sup>49</sup> their sweetness wafting | and flower pollen welling up all around.<sup>50</sup>  
Early spring is a joyous season! | Come let us delight in the flowering grove! [371]
- 7 And the trees with flowery crests cry out, as it were, | when stirred by the breeze.<sup>51</sup>  
What delight is there for you, | if you were to plunge alone into the grove? [372]

<sup>47</sup> This stanza's metre is śloka, while all the rest Vaitālīya (AK Warder, *Pāli Metre*, 1967: 94). This would support the Comy statement that this stanza was added by the *saṅgīti, kāra*: *Theriyā vutta, gāthānaṃ sambandha, -dassana, vasena saṅgīti, kārehi ayam gāthā vuttā* = "This verse was spoken by those who held the council to show the connection of these verses to the nun."

<sup>48</sup> "Not bad-looking" (*apāpikā*). From the verse context, it is possible to freely but more accurately render *apāpikā* as "innocent," reflecting the rogue's expressed desire.

<sup>49</sup> *Madhurañ ca...dumā*. Norman: This *ca* here possibly balances the *ca* in 372a. "Both the trees...and the trees..." (Horner), or *ca* and *ca* give the idea of simultaneity (see Thī:N 481-482n).

<sup>50</sup> Norman: "The towering (*samuṭṭhitā*) trees (*dumā*) send forth a sweet smell in all directions with the pollen of flowers" (Thī:N), taking *samuṭṭhitā* as qualifying *dumā*. Comy: *Kusuma, rajena samuṭṭhitā dumā ti ime rukkhā manda, vātena samuṭṭhāhamānā, kusuma, reṇu, jātena* (M *vātena*) *attano kusuma, rajena* (M *raje*) *sayam samuṭṭhitā viya hutvā samantato surabhī vāyanti* = ~ means "these trees, by means of a gentle wind, rising up, full of flower pollen, are, as it were, rising up of themselves on account of their own flower pollen, and they exude fragrance all around." According to SED, both *samuddhatā* and *samuṭṭhitā* can mean "raised up, towering" (SED svv), but Comy here seems to take it as "rising up," and also PED: *samuṭṭhahati* (*sam + utṭhahati*), "rises up." Cf Norman's alt tr above.

<sup>51</sup> "Stirred by the breeze," *māluteritā* = *māluta* (by the wind) + *īrita* (moved; pp of *īreti*), "moved by the wind" (Tha 754; Thī 372; Vv 42.2 = 81.6; Pv 11.12.3). See also PED & CPD, sv *īrita*. PED: *Māluta* (S 4:218; Tha 104; Thī 372; J 1:167, 4:222, 5:328, 6:189; Vv 902) is the proper Pali form for *māruta*, the stem form of *maru* = Vedic *marut* or *maruta* (wind, air, breeze).

- 8 Haunted by hordes of beasts of prey, | and disturbed by bull elephants in rut,<sup>52</sup>  
Is the forest, remote and fearful, | into which you wish to go without a companion. [373]
- 9 You will go about like a doll made of shining gold, |  
like a nymph [apsara]<sup>53</sup> in Citta,ratha.<sup>54</sup>  
O incomparable one, you will shine | in delicate Kāsī cloth<sup>55</sup> and lovely clothes. [374]
- 10 I will yield to your power [I will be at your beck and call] |  
if we are to dwell in the grove.  
For there is none breathing that is dearer to me than you, |  
O kimnari<sup>56</sup> with tender eyes! [375]
- 11 If you will do as I say, | come dwell happily in a house.<sup>57</sup>  
Be a dweller of a windless palace. | Let women do all your work. [376]
- 12 Wear delicate Kāsī cloth, | and beautify yourself with garlands and make-up.  
I will make numerous ornaments | of gold, gems and pearls for you. [377]
- 13 <sup>58</sup>Climb into a very costly bed, | decorated with sandalwood, scented with essences,  
Its beautiful canopy well washed of dirt, |  
with a spread of long-fleeced bedcover and a fresh quilt. [378]

<sup>52</sup> Comy: *Kuñjara,matta,kareṇu,lolitan ti matta,kuñjarehi hatthinīhi ca migānaṃ citta,tāpanena rukkhā,gacch'ādīnaṃ sākāhā,bhañjanena ca ālolitaṃ* = ~ means “disturbed by bull elephants in rut and cow elephants, animals with tormented minds (burning with lust), and by the breaking of branches of trees, shrubs and so on.” *Kuñjara,matta,kareṇu* can be glossed *hatthi,matto*, “elephant in rut” (VvA 158). See CPD: āloḷita.

<sup>53</sup> Apsara (*accharā* or *dev'accharā*) (Ved *apsaras* = *āpa* (water) + *sarati* (flowing with), orig water nymph), a celestial nymph (M 1:253, 2:64; Thī 374; J 5:152 f, 18; DhA 3:8, 19; PvA 46). They are said to inhabit the sky, but often visit earth. They are the wives of the gandharvas (*gandhabba*) or celestial musicians, and have the ability of changing their shape. They are said to have crimson pigeon-like feet (*kakuṭṭa,pādinī*, U 22,26; UA 172,8 = DhA 118,27; AA 1:318; Miln 169; DhA 1:119, 423). The gandharvas inhabit Citta,ratha: see foll n. See also Linda Covill, 2005.

<sup>54</sup> “Citta,ratha.” All the MSS read *Cittarathe*, except Se which has *Cittalate*. Both *Cittarathe* and *Cittalate* are parks in Tāvātimsa (the heaven of the 33 gods). Citta,raṭṭā is better known, and is described as a pleasure garden, 500 leagues wide. It arose through the good karma of Magha's wife, Cītā (Magha was Sakra's name in his last birth on earth) (DhA 1:271-275; J 1:202). The place is so called not only because of its association with Cītā, but also because there are various multicoloured creepers growing there (VvA 94). It is well known for the Āsāvati creeper which blossoms only once in a thousand years (DA 2:649; ThaA 101; J 3:248, 250; ApA 280 f). Citta,ratha (Skt *Citra,ratha*, “bright chariot” = the sun) is only mentioned in Thī 374 (one reading), ThīA 1:247 (one reading), and as Citra,ratha, in Mvst 32.5, 149.14, 217.2, 19.15 (Citta,ratha), 181.7, 451.20 & Divy 194 Caitra,ratha, in Mahāvūyut-patti 4197, Divy 194.2. The Skt sources say that it is a celestial grove constructed by the gandharva Citra,ratha for Kubera (better known as Vaiśravaṇa), one of the 4 celestial great kings, guardian of the north and regarded as the god of wealth. See prec n (apsara) & foll n (kimnari).

<sup>55</sup> “Kāsī cloth” (*Kāsika,sukhuma*) = **379a**, prob “fine muslin” (ThīA:P 318 ad loc). Kāsī or Kāsikā was one of 16 great states (*mahā,janapada*), with its capital at Bārāṇasī (Benares). It was well known as a great trade centre, famous for its delicate and expensive muslin (eg J 6:151, 450), and scents (J 1:355).

<sup>56</sup> “Kimnari” (*kinmarī*, masc *kinnara*), a mythical being, half human half birdlike, living in the mountains. They are timid but sing and dance beautifully, and have superbly beautiful eyes. They are often identified with *kim,purisa* (“what person?”) (A 1:77; AA 2:151). Best known account is found in **Canda,kinnara J**, a past life story of the Bodhisattva and Rāhula,mātā (VA 5:1008; J 1:91, 485/4:282-289; DhA 1:115; UA 169; ApA 95; VbhA 471). See also Thī 381; J 2:230, 4:252, 283, 5:42, 254, 6:422; Ap 17, 450. In Skt mythology, they are said to be in the service of Kubera: see prec n (Citta,ratha); and the kinnara (masc) are like centaurs, half man, half horse.

<sup>57</sup> On this pāda, cf **389d**.

<sup>58</sup> The lines here are arranged as cd | ab, ie the second Pali line is tr first.

- 14 Just as a blue lotus risen up from the water, | enjoyed by no humans,<sup>59</sup>  
Even so, you, brahmacarini, | will come to decay in your own limbs! [379]

[Subhā:]

- 15 “What is it that you take to be the essence here, | in what is full of dead things,<sup>60</sup>  
that fills the cemeteries full?<sup>61</sup>  
Having seen this carcass, habitually breaking up, |  
take care that you do not go out of your mind!”<sup>62</sup> [380]

[The rogue:]

- 16 Your eyes are like a fawn's [a doe's],<sup>63</sup> | like those of a kimnari in the mountains.  
Gazing at your eyes, | my sensual delight grows all the more. [381]

- 17 Gazing at your eyes | in your spotless face which is like gold,  
Comparable to a lotus bud, | my sensual delight grows. [382]

- 18 Even if you are gone far away, I shall remember<sup>64</sup> you, |

<sup>59</sup> “Enjoyed by no humans.” Comy: *Yathā taṃ amanussa,sevitān ti tañ ca rakkhasa,pariggahitāya pokkharāṇi-yā jātattā nimmanussehi sevitān kenaci aparibhuttam eva bhaveyya*: ~ means “and through the lack of humans (*nimmanussehi*) who touch (*sevitān*) it because it has grown in a lotus pond haunted by rakshasas [demons], it would not ever be enjoyed by anyone” (ThA 254). The cpd *amanussa,sevitān* is a pun. It literally translates as “resorted to by non-humans,” but can be freely rendered as “enjoyed by no humans” or even “untouched by humans,” which is supported by Comy's gloss, *nimmanussehi* and which fits the context here better. After all, this is poetry: in fact, one is reminded of these lines from John Gray: “Full many a flower is born to blush unseen, | And waste its sweetness on the desert air” (Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard, 1750).

<sup>60</sup> “Full of dead things” (*kuṇapa,pūramhi*), which Comy glosses as *kes'ādi,kuṇapa,pūre* = “full of dead things, like head-hair, etc.” On *kes'ādi,kuṇapa,pūre*, see Tha:N 453n; cf SA 1:353 (on S 1:236): *nimuggā kuṇapamhete ti dasa,māse mātu,kucchi,sāṅkhāte kuṇapasmim ete nimuggā* = “for ten months they are submerged in a corpse, that is, in a mother's womb”: see S:B 499 n655. Cf *kesa,loma,nakha,dant'ādini nānā,kuṇapāni* (Vism 11.21/345), which appears very similar to comy here, referring to “the apparently dead and therefore corpse-like” parts of the body (Thī:N 380n). Cf Vism 8.81-138/248-265 (details of the 32 body-parts).

For *pūra* in the sense of “filled,” see PED & BHSD (sv): this is the sense at Thī 253 (*puppha,pūram*, “full of flowers”) & Tha 279 (*dhira atthu pūre*, “a curse on ‘fillings’ [the body]!”). It can also be rendered as “full of,covered by,” depending on the context. Comy on Tha 279: *pūre ti ativiya,jegucchehi nānā,kuṇāpehi nānā,vidha,asucīhi sampuṇṇe* = ~ means “full of extremely disgusting variety of dead things and various types of impurities.” From this we see that *pūre* is derived from *pūra*, “filling.” Same derivation given by Comy at Tha 1150: *kesa,lom'ādino nānā-p,pakārassa asucino pūre paripuṇṇe* = “full filled with various impurities of various kinds, such as head-hair, body-hair, etc.

<sup>61</sup> Comy is silent here; but comy on Thī 502 explains: *sara kaṭasim vaddhente ti punappunam tāsu tāsu jātisū aparāparam uppattiyā punappunam katasim susānam ālāhanam eva vaddhente satte anussara* = ~ means “remember (*anussara*) the beings who are filling the cemeteries (*susānam*) again and again (*puna-p,punam*) in this and that birth, again and again (*aparāparam*), through birth again and again”; cf Tha 456. Norman takes *susāna,vaddhana* to have the same meaning as *bhūmi,vaddhana* (J 6:19). In Skt, we find *bhūmi,vardhana* (lex), meaning “earth-increasing” = corpse (SED sv). See Thī:N 380n

<sup>62</sup> “Out of your mind” (*vimano*): PED (sv *vimana*) suggests “infatuated” here.

<sup>63</sup> *Akkhīni ca tūriya-r-iva*. Comy: *Tūri* means doe (*migī*). It means “Your eyes are like a fawn's” (*miga-c,chā-pāya va te akkhīni ti attho*) (ThīA 254).

<sup>64</sup> Comy: *saramhase* (M *saremhase*) *ti aññam kiñci acintevā tava nayanāni eva anussarāmi* = ~ means “not thinking of anything else, I shall only recall your eyes.” Comy seems to take the verb as an indicative, and since Be and Ce read *-amhase* “we should probably adopt this reading” (Thī:N 383n). Comy: *āyata,pamhe ti dīgha,pakhume* = ~ means “long eyelashes (*pakhuma*).” For *pamha* (“eye-lid”), see Geiger 1916: 159; Geiger & Norman 2000: §59.1. Comy: *visuddha,dassane ti nimmala,locane* = ~ means “spotless eyes.” Cf *Kaṭṭha,hāra S* (S 7.18): *So 'ham akañkho asito [apiho] anapayo || sabbesu dhammesu visuddha,dassano, | Pappuyya sambodhim anuttaram | sivaṃ jhāyāṃ aham brāhmaṇa raho visārado ti ||*: Desireless am I, unattached, [without envy,] disengaged. || In all things,

your long eye-lashes, your pure gaze.  
For no eyes are dearer to me than yours,<sup>65</sup> | O kinnari of gentle eyes! [383]

[Subhā:]

19 “You wish to go by the wrong path, | you seek the moon for sport,  
You wish to leap over Mount Meru, | you long for one who is Buddha-born.”<sup>66</sup> [384]

20 There is no lust for me anywhere | here in the world with its devas:  
I know not what it would be like: |  
for,<sup>67</sup> it has been killed down to the root by “the path.” [385]

21 <sup>68</sup>It is like flaming tongues leaping out<sup>69</sup> of a fiery coal pit, |  
like a bowl of poison, its potency gone [set before the eye].<sup>70</sup>

my vision is purified. | Having attained supreme self-awakening, | the auspicious, brahmin, self-confident, I meditate alone. || (S 7.18/1:181) = SD 24.7.

<sup>65</sup> Comy: *na hi m’* (Ce *c’*) *atthi tayā piyattaro* (Ce *piyataro*, M *piyatarā*) *nayanā ti tava nayanato añño koci mayham piyataro n’atthi. Tayā ti hi sāmī,atthe eva karaṇa,vacanām* = ~ means “no one is dearer to me than your eyes. *Tāya* (‘yours’) is in the instrumental case but genitive in sense.” **Norman**: The use of *tayā* as a gen instead of an ins seems unlikely, while *nayanā* as an abl sg is quite unacceptable here. **Dhammapāla** apparently takes the pāda to mean “No one is dearer to me than your eye.” The pāda however seems to exactly parallel Thī 375c, and “I should therefore prefer to follow Pischel’s (1883) reading, and tr ‘(My own) eyes are not dearer to me than you’.” (Thī:N 383n).

<sup>66</sup> Comy: *Buddha,sutam* *buddhassa bhagavato orasa,dhītarām* = ~ is “a true-born daughter of the Buddha the Blessed One.” For *dhīta* applied to a follower of the Buddha, cf Thī 336. In **Thī 63** Mahā Kassapa is described as *putto buddhassa*, glossed as *buddhānubuddha,bhāvato sammā,sambuddhassa anujāta,bhūto* (“the one born after the fully self-awakened one, due to his being one awakenend after the Buddha”). For this use of *putta*, see Tha:N 41. **Dhammapāla** describes all elders and nuns as *dhamma,rājassa satthuno orasā mukha,jā puttā* (“the mouth-born sons, children of the Teacher, the King of Dharma”) (ThīA 300). Comy on Tha 336 glosses *orasā* as *tuyham urasā manasā janitābhijātītāya orasā* (“the son born of high birth, from his breast, his mind”). Ke Se *patthesi* (unmetrical, prob introduced as a gloss?); Be Ee *maggayasi*; Ce *maggayase*. Norman notes that the predominance of the *maggā,-yasi* reading, “raises the possibility that we are dealing here with a derivative from a denominative verb from Skt *mrga*, ie \**mrgāyati*, “to hunt,” rather than the direct development from Skt *mārgayati* (Thī:N 384n). I have chosen the Ke Se reading as it makes the most sense in this context.

<sup>67</sup> Norman: *Atha* probably means “but” here and in Thī 386. See Tha:N 237. I have rendered it as “for.”

<sup>68</sup> Ee: *Ingāla,khuyā va* [Be Ce *Ingāla,kuyāva*] *ujjhito* | *visa,patto-r-iva aggato* [Be *aggito*] *kato* [Ce *agghato hato*]. Norman thinks that the Be & Ce reading—*Ingāla,kuyā va ujjhito* | *visa,patto-r-iva aggito kato*—is the correct one: “since there is no evidence elsewhere for *-gh-* in this word (see CDIAL) it is probable that *ingāla-* is the correct reading.” (Thī:N 386n). Comy: *Ingāla,kuyā ti angāra,kāsuṃ* = ~ means “out of a fiery coal-pit.” Cf **Tha 491** & its Comy: *angāra,kāsu,sadisā mahā bhītāpan’atthenā ti...kāmā ti yojanā* = “like a fiery coal-pit, meaning extreme heat: it refers to ‘sensual pleasures’.” Comy on Tha 420 explains: *bhavaṃ angāra,kāsuṃ va, bhavaṃ ekādasahi aggīhi āditta,bhāvato sādihika,porisam angāra,kāsuṃ viya* = “existence is indeed a fiery coal-pit, means that sense-world existence has various dangers, existence that is like a fiery coal-pit deeper than a man’s height on account of the burning of eleven fires” (ThaA 2:178): the 11 fires here allude to 11 sense-worlds (see SD 4.18 App); cf **Mahā Stha,nāda S** (M 12.37/1:74), **Potaliya S** (M 54.18/1:365). At Mvst 2:149 the same simile is used of women.

<sup>69</sup> Comy: *ujjhito ti vāt’ukkhitto viya yo koci. Dahaniyā* [M *dahano*] *indhanam viyā ti attho* = ~ means “like whatever is blown up by the wind.” Norman: “*Ujjhito* seems strange, and the inclusion of *ukkhitto* in the comy suggests to me that *ujjhito* is either a mistake or a bye-form of *ukkhito*, *-jjh-* < *-kṣ-*. For Skt *ukṣ* ‘scatter sparks,’ see SED (sv), although Skt *ukṣita* occurs only in the meaning ‘sprinkled, moistened’ (see Thī:N 391n).” (Thī:N 386n).

<sup>70</sup> *Visa,patto-r-iva aggato* [Be *aggito*] *kato* [Ce *agghato hato*]. Comy has various readings. Comy (Be): *aggito kato ti aggito abhirato app’agghanako kato. Visassa lesam pi asesetvā apanihito vināsito ti attho* = “**made like a fire**” means made like having been taken out from the blazing fire. Of poison, the meaning is this: it has been removed, driven out, without leaving behind even a drop of poison. Comy (Ce): *agghato hato ti agghato abhihato,-app’agghanako kato, visassa lesam pi asesetvā apanihito vināsito ti attho* = “**its worth destroyed**” means with its worth destroyed, devalued of worth.” Comy (Ee): *aggato kato ti aggato abhirato app’agghanako kato* = “**made foremost**” means of little value on account of delight in making it foremost.” CPD sv, giving the Skt as *agratāḥ*

- I see not what it would be: | for, it has been killed down to the root by “the path.” [386]
- 22 If it were for one unreflective, | or one who has not served the Teacher,<sup>71</sup>  
You could have lusted<sup>72</sup> for someone like that— |  
but having lusted for this one who knows, you will grieve! [387]
- 23 For in the midst of blame and praise,<sup>73</sup> | joy and sorrow, my mindfulness stands firm,  
Knowing that the conditioned is foul, | my mind clings not to anything at all. [388]
- 24 The well-gone one's disciple am I, | a traveller in a vehicle on the eightfold path<sup>74</sup>  
[travelling in the vehicle, that is, the eightfold path].  
The dart is drawn out, free from the cankers<sup>75</sup>— |  
I delight, having gone into an empty house.<sup>76</sup> [389]
- 25 For I have seen the well painted | puppets and marionettes,<sup>77</sup>  
Hitched up with sticks and strings,<sup>78</sup> | and made to dance in various ways.<sup>79</sup> [390]

*kr̥taḥ*: “put before (the eyes), ie imagined, figured to one's self,” quoting this context (Tha 386, 394). I follow CPD, and give an amplified tr. (For other readings of this Comy, see Thī:N 386n). Norman: “The presence of *agghanaka* in both M and Ce persuades me that we should read *agghato* with Ce, and translate *agghato kato* as ‘considered as regards value,’ ie ‘valued as’ (Thī:N 386n). CPD (sv *abhihata*) prefers *abhihata* to *abhirata*. See also CPD sv *app'agghanaka* & appendix p545 (<sup>1</sup>*aggha*). The phrase *aggato kataṃ* occurs in Thī 394, where its Comy explains *aggato* as *purato*, “(put) before (oneself).” On the sandhi -r- see Thī:N 3n.

The imagery of sparks here seems to allude to the one about non-returning, prob an *antarā,parinibbāyī* (one who attains nirvana in the intermediate state or between death and rebirth in Suddhāvāsa): see SD 2.17(3); **Purisa-gati S** (A 7.52/4:70-74) = SD 2.17(5); **Sa,upadisesa S** (A 9.12/4:380) = SD 3.3(3). If this were the case, then the Subhā Therī,gāthā (or at least this statement) was composed or added after Subhā's passing.

<sup>71</sup> Comy: *sattā vā anupāsito siyā ti sattā vā dhamma,sarīrassa adassanena yassā itthiyā anupāsito siyā* = ~ means “through not having seen the ‘Dharma body’ [the embodiment of the Dharma, ie the Buddha].”

<sup>72</sup> Be Ee Se *palobhaya*; Ce *palohaya*. Comy had various readings. Comy (M): *palobhassa upachandassa* = ~ means “have seduced.” Comy (Be): *palobhaya upagaccha* = “have lusted for means have approached.” Comy (Ce): *palobhaya upacchandaya* = ~ means “have lusted for.” Skt *upacchand-* occurs, in the causative, meaning “entice, seduce” (SED sv). In Skt *pralubh-* means “to lust after,” and the causative means “to cause to lust after, allure, entice, attempt to seduce” (SED sv), which fits exactly here. For *so* with 2nd person vb, see Thī:N 24n.

<sup>73</sup> “Praise and blame.” Comy: *akkuṭṭha,vandite ti akkose vandanāya ca* = ~ means “abuse and honour.” For *pp* used as action words, see Thī:N 261n. Cf *akkuṭṭha,vanditaṃ* (Sn 702), explained as *akkosaṇ ca vandanaṇ ca* (SnA 492).

<sup>74</sup> Comy: *magg'atthaṅgika,yāna,yāyinī ti atthaṅgika,magga,saṅkhātena ariya,yānena nibbāna,puraṃ yāyini upagatā* = ~ means “travelling, going, in the noble vehicle, that is called the eightfold path, to the city of nirvana.” For *yāna* as syn of *magga*, see PED: *yāna*.

<sup>75</sup> “Cankers,” *āsava*, ie “mental cankers.” The term *āsava* (lit “cankers”) comes from *ā-savati* “flows towards” (ie either “into” or “out” towards the observer). It has been variously translated as taints (“deadly taints,” RD), corruptions, intoxicants, biases, depravity, misery, evil (influence), or simply left untranslated. The Abhidhamma lists 4 *āsavas*: the cankers of (1) sense-desire (*kām'āsava*), (2) (desire for eternal) existence (*bhav'āsava*), (3) wrong views (*dīṭṭh'āsava*), (4) ignorance (*avijjāsava*) (D 16.1.12/2:82, 16.2.4/2:91, Pm 1.442, 561, Dhs §§1096-1100, Vbh §937). These four are also known as “floods” (*ogha*) and “yokes” (*yoga*). The list of three cankers (omitting the canker of views) [43] is probably older and is found more frequently in the suttas (D 3:216, 33.1.10(20); M 1:55, 3:41; A 3.59, 67, 6.63). The destruction of these *āsavas* is equivalent to arhathood. See BDict: *āsava*.

<sup>76</sup> This serves as Subhā's reply to the rogue's invitation to her to “come dwell happily in a house” (376).

<sup>77</sup> Ce Se *dāruka,cillakāni vā*. Ee *dāruka,cillakā navā*. PED explains *pillaka* (sv) as “the young of an animal, sometimes used as a term for a child.” *Dāruka,pillakāni vā' ti* = ~ means “forms made of wood, sticks and so on.” For *dāru,pillaka* in the sense of “doll,” cf *dāru,dhūtalikā*, “wooden doll” (V 3:126). In our times, “puppets” are usu directly manipulated by the hand, while “marionettes” are controlled by sticks, strings, etc.

<sup>78</sup> *Tantīhi ca khilakehi*. Comy: *khilakehī hattha,pāda,pīṭṭhi,kāṇṇak'ādi,atthāya ṭhapita,danḍehi* = “by fixing sticks for the purpose of hands, feet, backs, ears, etc.” The suffix *-ka* here clearly gives a sense of diminutive.

- 26 Removed are those string and sticks,<sup>80</sup> | thrown away, broken, scattered,<sup>81</sup>  
Not to be found, made into bits and pieces— | where would the mind find a roost?<sup>82</sup>  
[on what would this mind fix itself?] [391]
- 27 This body of mine, being of such a kind,<sup>83</sup> | exists not without these states.<sup>84</sup>  
When it exists not with any state, | where would the mind find roost?  
[on what would this mind fix itself?] [392]
- 28 Just as you when you see | a picture painted on the wall,  
Perverse is your view: | the perception that they are human is groundless.<sup>85</sup> [393]
- 29 Like dreaming of a golden tree, | made to look real like an illusion,<sup>86</sup>  
You blind one, you run after what is false | as if in a sham show in the midst of a crowd.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Be Ce *panaccakā*. Ee *panaccitā* (“caused to dance”). Comy: *vividham panaccakā* [M *panaccitā*] *ti yanta, -sutt’ādīnam añchana* [M -*channa*] *vissajjan’ādīnā paṭṭhapita, naccakā* [M -*naccitā*]. *Panaccantā* [M *panaccantānam*] *viya diṭṭhā ti yojanā* = ~ means “a dancer, set up through the pulling and releasing, etc, of the strings of a mechanism, etc. They are seen to be as if dancing. This is the connection.” Based on this, Norman prefers this reading (Thī: N 390n).

<sup>80</sup> Comy: *tamh’uddhaṭe tanti, khīlake ti sannivesa, viṣiṭṭha, racanā*-[M -*rada*,] *viṣesa, yuttam upādāya rūpaka, -samaññātamhi tantimhi khīlake ca thānato* [M *paṭṭhānato*] *uddhaṭe bandhato vissaṭṭhe visum karanena aññamaññam vikale tahiṃ tahiṃ khipanena paripakkate vikirite* = ~ means “if the string and stick, regarded as little forms, assembled by the connecting together of the exquisite arrangement, that is distinguished by its arrangement, are removed from their positions, their bindings are thrown away, separately, one after another scattered, strewn, by being thrown in bits and pieces here and there.” The pronoun *tamh’* can be taken as either *tamhī* or *tamhā*. If taken as loc, it should be understood as going with *tanti, khīlake*; but if taken as *tamhā*, it means “when the string and sticks have been removed from it” (Thī: N 391n).

<sup>81</sup> Ee *Se paripakkate*; Be *parikrite*; Ce *paripakkhite*. See prec n. On *vikale*, Norman notes: “Just as *vekalla* is opposed in meaning to *sākalya* at KhpA 187, so I take *vikala* to be the opposite of *sakala*. It means ‘without all its parts, not whole, in pieces’” (Thī: N 391n). Cf meanings “mutilated, impaired” in Skt (SED sv).

<sup>82</sup> Comy: *Avinde* [Be *na vindeyya*] *khaṇḍaso kate ti, potthaka, rūpassa avayave khaṇḍite potthaka, rūpam na vindeyya* [M -*eyyam*] *na upalabheyya* [M -*eyyam*] = ~ means “when the parts of a modelled (*potthaka*) figure are taken apart, the modelled figure is not to be found, could not be found (*upālabheyya*)” Norman says that *avinde* (Ce Ee) is the correct reading, and “I would suggest that the reading of Be [*na vindeyya*] arose because the gloss had crept into the text” and on the corruption of this text see same: Thī: N 391n.

<sup>83</sup> Be Ce *tathūpamā*; Ee *tathūpamam*. Norman proposes reading *tathūpamam dehakam imam* (“This little body, being of such a kind”) and a sg form of the vb (*na vattati*, “does not exist,” for *na vattanti*) (Thī: N 392n). PED however gives the meaning “limbs” for *dehakā* (pl), and this is consistent with comy. See ThīA: P 315 n1.

<sup>84</sup> *Dhammehi vinā na vattati*. Comy: “A body does not exist (*na vattati*) without its parts, (without) the phenomena of the parts (*avayava, dhammehi*). This being so, where would one’s mind find a roost?” (ThīA 258)

<sup>85</sup> *Addasa cittikam bhittiyā katam*. Norman: “(so) the wi[s]dom of men is useless.” Comy: *Yathā kusalena citta, -kārena bhittiyam haritā, lena makkhitam littam tena lepaṃ datvā katam ālikhitam cittikam itthī, rūpena addasa pas-seyya* = “just as you were to see a picture of a woman painted on a wall by a skillful painter, who, having prepared the plaster, has smeared it with yellow pigment.” “Yellow pigment,” *haritāla*, which SED explains: “yellow orpiment or sulphuret of arsenic (described as the seed or seminal energy of Vishnu = *harer vīryam*,” and *haritāla* (sv) is “painting the person, theatrical decoration,” in which case, it is likely to be “orpiment yellow” which is a light to brilliant yellow that is darker than empire yellow, also called king’s yellow or mineral yellow. Not in PED. *Addasa* is an aorist used as an optative: see BHS: 32.119-124, but see Thī: N 393n.

<sup>86</sup> Comy: *Mayam viya aggato katan ti māyā, kārena purato upaṭṭhāpitam* [M *upadhāvasi vā*] *māyā, sadisam* = ~ means “like an illusion made up by a conjurer before one.” Norman: “It is clear from the explanation that Dhammapāla had the reading *aggato*, but a reading *agghato katam* (see Thī: N 386n) would make excellent sense, ie ‘you run towards something valued like (= as valuable as) illusion’.” (Thī: N 394n). I do not follow Comy here. See 386b above.

<sup>87</sup> Comy: *jana, majjhe-r-iva rупpa, rūpakan ti māyā, kārena mahājana, majjhe dassitam rūpiya, rūpa, sadisam saram viya upaṭṭhahantam; asāran ti attho* = ~ means “like forms of gold (*rūpiya, rūpa, sadisam*) shown in the midst

- [as if chasing a false image in the midst of a crowd.] [394]
- 30 It is like a little ball set in a hollow [socket],<sup>88</sup> | with a bubble in the middle,<sup>89</sup> with tears.  
And eye secretions<sup>90</sup> arise there in various ways,<sup>91</sup> | forming lumps<sup>92</sup> in various<sup>93</sup> eyes.” [395]  
[The Council Elders:]
- 31 Plucking it out, Subhā, the one beautiful to behold, |  
and with detached mind,<sup>94</sup> not attached, said,  
“Come, take you this eye!” | She gave it to the man at once. [396]
- 32 And at once his passion ceased, | and right there he begged for her forgiveness:  
“Be whole again, brahmacarini [who lives the holy life], |  
such a thing will not happen again! [397]
- 33 In violating<sup>95</sup> such a person, | in embracing<sup>96</sup> such a blazing fire,  
I have seized a venomous serpent!<sup>97</sup> | Be whole again! Forgive me!” [398]

of a crowd by a conjurer, they appear as if they have substance. The meaning is that they are without substance [essence].” Norman: The ref here is presumably to confidence tricksters who try to deceive credulous bystanders and persuade them to buy what seems to be (ie has the form of) silver [*rūpiya*] (Thī:N 394n). The Arthaśāstra (2.14) deals with the methods of producing and detecting this kind of frauds. I have rendered *ruppa,rūpakam* (“false silver”) idiomatically as “fool’s gold.”

<sup>88</sup> Comy: *Vatṭāni-ivā ti lākhāya gulikā viya* = ~ means “like a little ball of lac.” *Koṭar’ohitā ti koṭare rukkhā, -susire ṭhapitā* = ~ means “placed in a hollow (*koṭare*), such as in a hollow tree.”

<sup>89</sup> Ce Ee *bubbulakā*; Be *pubbulakā*. Norman notes that since Skt *budbuda* (“the pupil of the eye,” SED: *nayana*) exists, Ee is preferred (Thī:N 395n). Comy: *Majjhe bubbulakā ti akkhi,dala,majjhe ṭhita,jala,bubbula-[M pubbulha, Be pubbulha,]sadisā* = ~ means like a water bubble standing in between the eye-lids (of an eye).”

<sup>90</sup> Comy: *Pīlikolīkā ti akkhi,gūthako* = “ear-wax.” *Akkhi,gūtha* is explained as *akkhi,mala* (“ear-impurity”) at PvA 198. The *Vijaya S* (Sn 11) mentions *akkhi,gūthaka* amongst the impurities oozing from the 9 openings (Sn 197).

<sup>91</sup> Comy: *ettha jāyatī ti etasmim akkhi,maṇḍale ubhosu koṭṭsu visa,gandham vāyanti nibbattati* = ~ means “it arises from both ends of this circle [sphere] of the eye, producing a toxic smell.” (ThaA 259)

<sup>92</sup> *Pīlakolīkā ti vā akkhi,dalesu nibbattanakā pīlakā vuccati* = ~ means “what comes out from the eyelids is called ‘secretion’ (*pīlakā*).” PED, sv *kolīkā* (adj), says that it applies to boils, and in *pīli,kolīko (itthi)* means, “(a woman) having boils of jujube size,” which cannot be correct; but sv *pīlikoṭīkā*, gives “eye secretion” and refers to JPTS 1884:88 (misprinted as 68). Norman: The tr is prob a reminiscence of such phrases as (*pīlikā kola,mattīyo ahesum*) (Sn p125), and “since in this context the word must be a noun, I should favour the second of these alternatives” (Thī:N 395n).

<sup>93</sup> Comy: *vividhā ti nīl’ādi,maṇḍalānañ c’eva ratta,pū’ādīnañ sattannañ patalānañ ca vasena aneka,vidhā* = ~ means “of various kinds, because of circles of cloud grey, etc, and because of the seven membranes [parts] that are red, yellow, etc.” The *Attha,sālinī* describes the 7 “membranes” of the eye as follows: “Therein (the eye) are the white, the black, the red, hardness [extension], water [cohesion], fire [heat] and wind [mobility]. The eye is white from the abundance of phlegm, black from that of bile, red from that of blood, hard from the abundance of the earth element, fluid from that of the water element, warm from that of the fire element, and moving from the wind element.” It then goes on to describe how the eye-faculty works (DhsA 307; cf Vism 14.47/445). Although such descriptions are remarkable in terms of scientific observation, their purpose is for the reflection on impermanence, and so on. Comy: *cakkhu,vidhā ti cakkhu,bhāvā cakkhu-p,pakārā vā. Tassa aneka,kalā,paggaha,bhāvato piṇḍitā ti samuditā* = “From their state being connected with various bundles of eye-parts or eye-processes, so that that they arise (*samuditā*) as lumps.”

<sup>94</sup> Be Ce Ee *asaṅga,mānasā. Se alagga,mānasā. Comy: asaṅga,mānasā ti kathaci pi ārammaṇe anāsatta,cittā* = ~ means “with a mind not clinging to any support [sense-object] anywhere.”

<sup>95</sup> Be Ce *āsādiya*; Ee *āhaniya*. CPD (sv *āsādeti*) accepts *āsādiya*, which Comy glosses as *ghaṭṭetvā* (“having struck, having offended”).

<sup>96</sup> Comy: *liṅgiyā ti pajjalitāṃ aggim āliṅgetvā* = ~ means “having embraced a blazing fire, as it were.” PED (sv *liṅgeti*) says that the absolutive is formed as from the vb \**liṅgati*. See also BHSD: *liṅgita*.

- 34 And then freed from him,<sup>98</sup> the nun | went into the noble Buddha’s presence.<sup>99</sup>  
Seeing the One with the Marks of Noble Merit,<sup>100</sup> | her eye became whole again as before. [399]

— evam —

## Abbreviations & Bibliography

[For editions of Therī,gāthā, see KR Norman 1971:xv.]

### Abbreviations

~	[swung dash or wiggly line] In the commentaries and notes here, it stands for the lemma (headword, phrase, etc), given in bold, which is defined or explained in what follows.
Be	Burmese (Myanmar) ed (of Pali text), usually the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā (6th Council) ed, Rangoon, 1959.
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid: see following.
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary by F Edgerton. New Haven, 1953b.
BHSG	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar by F Edgerton. New Haven, 1953a.
CDIAL	<i>Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</i> by Ralph L Turner, 1966.
Ce	Ceylonese = Sinhala ed (of Pali text): either Simon Hewavitarne Bequest ed (1918) or Buddha Jayanti ed (1960s-70s; digital ed 1991-1994)
Comy	Commentary (to the Therī,gāthā = ThīA, etc). The suffix –A denotes a commentary.
CPD	Critical Pali Dictionary, Copenhagen, 1924- .
Ee	European (Pali Text Society) ed (of Pali text): see Pischel 1883b.
Ke	Khmer (Cambodian) ed (of Pali text). Phnom Penh, 1958
Lex	= lexicon; lexx = lexica. A book containing an alphabetical or other systematic arrangement of a considerable number of words in a language or discipline and their definitions (Skt kośa).
M	ThīA (Therī, gāthā Commentary), ed E Möller, 1893.

<sup>97</sup> This is the only case in Tha of a snake imagery referring to the body, and significantly it is uttered by a man in reference to a woman’s body. See Blackstone 1998:74.

<sup>98</sup> Comy: *tato ti tasmā dhutta, purisā* = ~ means “by that rogue of a person.” Norman, however, thinks that there is no reason to take this as the usual “after that, then.” (Thī:N 399)

<sup>99</sup> Comy: *buddha, varassa sammā, sambuddhassa santikaṃ upagacchi upasaṅkamati*, “she went up to, approached, the fully self-awakened one.” It is probable here, notes Norman, that Comy is here taking *buddha, varam* to mean “the choice one of the enlightened ones, ie best of.” In his review of Tha:N, however, de Jong has given reasons for not *buddha, varam* as a tatpurusha cpd. We can therefore take it to mean “the Buddha, the choice one, ie the excellent Buddha. (Thī:N 399n)

<sup>100</sup> Comy: *passiya vara, puñña, lakkhaṇan ti uttamehi puñña, sambhārehi nibbatta, mahā, purisa, lakkhaṇam disvā* = ~ means “having seen the One with the Great Man’s Marks, that have arisen through the accumulation of the highest merit.” As Norman has pointed out, the phrase *vara, puñña, lakkhaṇa* is not very clear, since it can be a tatpurusha or a bahuvrihi: “the mark of excellent merit” or “the one possessing the mark(s) of excellent merit.” The mark of excellent merit,” being singular, can only be a tatpurusha, and in this context refer to Subhā’s blind eye, but it seems odd to say that she is healed when she sees herself. It is more logical that the Buddha heals her when he sees her affliction, “but to assume that *passiya* goes with *Buddhassa* in pāda b is straining the syntax. If pāda d had contained a past participle, eg *katam*, we could have understood *tena*: ‘(by him) having seen...the eye was restored.’ If we could assume that this poem was originally composed in a dialect where *ca* became *ya*, we could then take *passiya* as *passi ya* = *passi ca*, and translate: ‘she went to the Buddha, and he saw...her eye was as before.’ In view of my doubts about this verse I translate *vara, puñña, lakkhaṇa* as a bahuvrihi, referring to the Buddha.” (Thī:N 399n)

mc	metri causa (on account of metre) lengthening, shortening or modification of a sound or syllable in word to fit the metre. (A "metre" is a measure, long or short, of sound units occurring regularly in verses.
Mvst:J	The Mahāvastu tr JJ Jones. 3 vols. Sacred Books of the Buddhists. London, 1949-56.
P	Pischel's ed of Thī, 1883: see Pischel 1883b.
PM	<i>Pali Metre</i> = AK Warder 1967.
Se	Siamese (Thai) ed (of Pali text): 2nd ed, Bangkok, 1926-28.
SED	Sanskrit-English Dictionary by M Monier-Williams. New ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899
Tha:eO	Oldenberg 1883a.
Thī:N	Norman 1971.
Thī:eP	Pischel 1883b.
Thī:ePr	Pruitt 1997.
ThīA:eM	Möeller 1893.
ThīA:Pru	Pruitt 1999.
Tib	Tibetan.

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