

The Career of Women Disciple Bodhisattas*

The whole purpose of conditioned existence is the attaining of awakening, Nibbāna, according to the Theravāda Buddhist view of the world. Eventually, individuals who develop their minds correctly will all attain the state of being Noble Ones, *arahats*. The Pāli Canon and commentaries can be seen as being based on this concept. The teachings and stories, the rules of conduct, and even the explanation of the meaning of words all revolve around awakening. In the Canon, the awakening of Buddha Gotama is the key event because he was able to discover how to reach awakening and then teach others to do the same.

Like the Vinaya-piṭaka, many of the commentaries begin by describing the career of the Great Bodhisatta (*mahā-bodhisatta*), or Great Being (*mahā-satta*) as he is also called, who became the Teaching Buddha Gotama (*Sammā-sambuddha*). The Vinaya-piṭaka account leads up to the rules for the monks and nuns, the Pātimokkha. The introduction to the Jātaka commentary (*SGB*) leads up to Anāthapiṇḍika's gift of the Jetavana monastery to the Buddha and the Order of Monks, presumably because this place was used by former Buddhas and was the place most of the Jātaka stories were told. The Therīgāthā commentary leads up to the founding of the Order of Nuns.

The details of how an individual becomes a Teaching Buddha or a Pacceka Buddha are readily available in translations into English.¹ There is less information about what an individual does to become an awakened disciple of a Teaching Buddha, so I would like to give an overview of the career of those intent on awakening as women disciples, taking most of my information from the Apadāna verses (many of

*It is a privilege to make a contribution to this celebration of the hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the Pali Text Society and the eightieth birthday of K.R. Norman.

¹Besides *SGB*, see also *CSM*, the commentary on the Buddhavaṃsa ascribed to Buddhadatta, and *TP*, from Dhammapāla's commentary on the Cariyāpiṭaka.

which are included in Thī-a), Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya (Mp),² and Dhammapāla's commentaries on the Cariyāpiṭaka and the Therīgāthā as well as his introduction and conclusion to his commentary on the Theragāthā. This is mainly limited to women disciples and should not be considered to be a comprehensive view of the subject.

The teachings found in the Canon concentrate on attaining arahatship, or at least one of the three lower states of awakening that mean an individual is assured of becoming an *arahat*. The commentaries tell of the countless number of human beings, Devas, and Brahmās who have done the necessary preparation in the past to encounter a Teaching Buddha, hear the Doctrine, practise it, and attain the highest goal. There are, however, some indications of people who are merely started on the path. For some lay people, the Buddha only taught the beginning steps of generosity and moral conduct.³ Much more information about the disciple's path is found in the commentaries. This could be seen as reflecting the view that after the Buddha's demise, fewer and fewer people are born who have made the necessary preparations in past lives to attain Nibbāna in this life. It is seen as crucial for these people, who are unready to attain the final goal, to make a maximum effort to be generous and live moral lives. These actions lead to good lives in the future, lives in which they can begin to put the Buddha's Doctrine into practice. If possible, a person in this life should also study the Buddha's Doctrine and practise training the mind and training in insight.

First, let us look at a few details of what must be done to become a Teaching Buddha or a Pacceka Buddha. An individual (not necessarily a human being) must encounter a Teaching Buddha, one of his disciples, or a Pacceka Buddha and have faith in them. This faith profoundly stirs that individual's mind. That leads to doing a good deed, and eventually, the individual is able to hear the Doctrine taught by the Buddhas and make an aspiration to attain awakening. Then the individual begins to

²The passage on the foremost bhikkhunīs is found in *WL*.

³See his discourses to two pairs of old brahmans, for example (A I 156).

put the Doctrine into practice. Over a number of lifetimes, the ten perfections are cultivated,⁴ until the individual is ready to experience Nibbāna for himself or herself. At this point, certain individuals aspire to something higher: either becoming a Pacceka Buddha or a Teaching Buddha.⁵ From this point on, the individual will never be born on a plane lower than the animal world and will never be female. Pacceka Buddhas develop the ten perfections on another level, spoken of as the twenty perfections. Teaching Buddhas develop a third level, or the thirty perfections.⁶ The length of time is longer for Teaching Buddhas than for Pacceka Buddhas, and even Teaching Buddhas can develop them for three differing lengths of time. There are many events and characteristics of Teaching Buddhas that are true for all of them and others that vary from Buddha to Buddha.

Dhammapāla speaks of three categories of Buddhas: Sammā-Sambuddhas (Teaching Buddhas), Pacceka Buddhas, and Sāvaka Buddhas (Disciple Buddhas) (Th-a I 10). Canonical texts use the title *arahat* (or *arahant*) for all three types of Buddhas, and their *parinibbāna* is said to be equal.⁷ Dhammapāla also uses the terms *sammā-sambodhi*, *pacceka-sambodhi*, and *sāvaka-sambodhi* (Th-a I 8, III 205f.). Disciple Buddhas are divided into three categories: chief disciples (*agga-sāvaka*), leading disciples (*mahā-sāvaka*), and ordinary disciples (*pakati-sāvaka*) (Th-a III 206).

⁴A Burmese Buddhist explained to me once that an action done while aspiring to the attainment of Nibbāna would come under the category of the perfections and would continue to give results until a person became an *arahat*. An action done while aspiring to something lower, such as wealth, would only work for that effect and would be exhausted once the goal was reached.

⁵On the eight qualities that must be present for this aspiration to be effective, see *TP* 262.

⁶See *TP* 312f. Dhammapāla gives several different explanations that have been handed down concerning the interpretation of the ten, twenty, and thirty perfections. One explanation is that ten perfections are necessary for awakening for a disciple, twenty for a Pacceka Buddha, and thirty for a Teaching Buddha.

⁷See *TP* 324.

For Teaching Buddhas, the amount of time they must prepare themselves as individuals intent on awakening (*bodhisatta*) falls into three categories: (1) the minimum (four incalculables [*asaṅkheyya*] and 100,000 æons⁸), (2) the middle figure (eight incalculables and 100,000 æons), and (3) the maximum (sixteen incalculables and 100,000 æons) (*TP* 325f.). Pacceka Buddhas must develop the perfections for two incalculables and 100,000 æons (Th-a I 11).⁹ The three types of disciples who attain awakening must prepare themselves for the following periods: (1) chief disciples, one incalculable and 100,000 æons; (2) leading disciples, 100,000 æons (Th-a I 11); (3) ordinary disciples, 100 to 1,000 æons (?).

For the last category of ordinary disciples, no specific number seems to be given. In the *Visuddhimagga* (XIII ¶16) Buddhaghosa says other sectarians remember back 40 æons; ordinary disciples remember as far back as 100 to 1,000 æons (because their understanding is strong); the eighty great disciples remember as far back as 100,000 æons; the chief disciples remember as far back as an incalculable and 100,000 æons; Pacceka Buddhas remember as far back as two incalculables and 100,000 æons; but there is no limit to how far back Teaching Buddhas can remember. In his commentary on the list of the foremost bhikkhunīs (*Mp* I 376–77), Buddhaghosa says that Therī Bhaddā-Kaccānā, whom he identifies with the wife of the Buddha, was one of four disciples who possessed great supernatural knowledge (*mahā-bhīṇṇā*). The other three were the two Chief Disciples (Sāriputta and Mahā-Moggallāna) and Thera Bakkula. These four could remember further back than any of the other disciples: “The rest of the disciples can recall a hundred thousand æons, but, on the other hand, these four, after attaining to great supernatural knowledge, can remember an

⁸*TP* 325 has “great æons” (*mahākappa*), but “æon” (*kappa*) seems to be used elsewhere. See the note on *TP* 325 concerning the length of time involved in an *asaṅkheyya* and a *mahākappa*.

⁹According to Buddhadatta, it takes them one incalculable and more than 100,000 æons (*CSM* 88).

incalculable (*asāṅkheyya*)] plus a hundred thousand æons” (based on the translation by Bode, *WL*, p. 789).

The wife of the Buddha is exceptional in that she is said to have first been associated with the future Buddha when he made his first resolve to become a Teaching Buddha. In the *Apadāna* her name is given as *Yasodharā*,¹⁰ who says she gave eight handfuls of lotuses to the Bodhisatta *Sumedha*, and he offered these to Buddha *Dīpaṅkara*. She does not make an aspiration to become awakened in that life, however.

Dhammapāla says there are distinct differences between a Great Bodhisatta and *Pacceka* and disciple bodhisattas. These differences are seen in their faculties (*indriyata*), ways of practice (*paṭipattita*), and skilfulness (*kosallata*). The Great Bodhisatta has lucid faculties and lucid knowledge, and he practises not for his own welfare, but for the welfare of others. The other two types of bodhisattas do not. The Great Bodhisatta applies skilfulness to his practice through his ingenuity in creating opportunities (to benefit others) and his skill in distinguishing what is possible from what is not possible (*TP* 266*f.*). But for all of them, the perfection of virtue is the foundation of their awakening (*TP* 276), with the difference that compassion and skilful means are the forerunners for a Great Bodhisatta (*TP* 303). *Dhammapāla* points out that the first chapter of the *Visuddhimagga* discusses virtue as it should be practised by those who seek to become awakened as disciples (*TP* 303).

We can also see how individuals aspiring to become *Pacceka* Buddhas or disciples have lower aspirations than a future Teaching Buddha. The Great Bodhisatta, *Dhammapāla* says, does not dedicate the merits from his practice of virtue to his own release from affliction in the unfortunate destinations or to his own achievement of kingship in the fortunate destinations or to becoming a Universal Monarch, a *Deva*, *Sakka*, *Māra*, or *Brahmā*, and he does not dedicate it to his own attainment of the threefold knowledge, the six types of higher knowledge, the

¹⁰*Ap* II 592–96. For details of the different names used for her, see *Bureau* 1995. At the time of *Dīpaṅkara*, her name was *Sumittā*.

four discriminations, the awakening of a disciple, or the awakening of a Pacceka Buddha. He only dedicates it to becoming an omniscient Buddha (*TP* 303). We can deduce that disciple bodhisattas aspire to these lesser attainments.

Now let us look at the stories given in the Apadāna and the commentaries about the past lives of the group of women who became *arahats* and whose poems are included in the Therīgāthā. Tables 2 and 3 provide an overview.

A good story is one of the most useful teaching devices. A story not only gets across a message in an entertaining way, it can also give us information that does not appear in a general discussion of a topic. The stories of the careers of women who attained awakening at the time of Buddha Gotama or shortly after give us many details of the steps leading up to arahatship. For an individual who will become a Teaching Buddha, it is at that point that he defers the attainment of arahatship and resolves to work for the more difficult goal of becoming an omniscient Buddha. Here, we will only look at the career for the disciples.

For many of the women there are two versions of their story in the Therīgāthā commentary. One is in the prose text of the commentary proper. The other is in the Apadāna verses that may have been included in the commentary by Dhammapāla but were perhaps added later. There are some problems as to whether the right verses are associated with the right women. Since the names given with the Apadāna verses sometimes refer to the action done in a past life and are not the names of the women at the time of Buddha Gotama, it is understandable that some confusion could arise. I will not go into all the variants here, but the tables show how the Apadāna verses tend to give more details; when “Ap” is given, the information is only found in those verses. It is also possible that some of the stories in the prose text are associated with the wrong nuns, but that is not crucial to our discussion.

The first step involves being born in a plane of existence where one is sufficiently intelligent and where one can perform meritorious deeds. In the stories of the women elders, they were either human beings —

all of them but one being women in past lives — or they were *kinnarī*, depicted as half-human, half-bird. Such an existence assumes good deeds through generosity and moral restraint in prior lives, but we will begin the disciples' careers with the life during which they first had faith in either a Teaching Buddha, a Pacceka Buddha, or a disciple of a Teaching Buddha (a chief disciple, an *arahat* monk, or an *arahat* nun). They are usually said to have been impressed with the demeanour of the *arahat* they saw. In one case, an old woman visits a Bodhi tree and thinks to herself, "If the Buddha, the Blessed One, is incomparable, without equal, unrivalled, then may this [tree] of awakening show me a marvel." The tree shines forth, its limbs looking like gold, and the woman is so impressed she sits there under the tree for seven days and seven nights, then honours it with lighted lamps.¹¹

At the very least, the believing individual pays respects to the *arahat*, but she usually makes a gift of flowers, food, robes, etc. Table 1 includes a list of the various gifts given by the women in past lives.¹² The stories emphasize the material good results of such gifts, telling us about the women's lives in Deva worlds and the human world, about their being beautiful and having large retinues, being wealthy, being the chief queen of Deva kings, Universal Monarchs, or kings ruling over large realms, etc. And this confirms the remark made above about the motivation of disciples not being as lofty as that of future Teaching Buddhas.

Other examples of such limited aspirations are found in the stories when women wish for such things as many children or beauty. Uppalavaṇṇā, for example, gave a gift of five hundred grains of fried rice and a lotus flower to a Pacceka Buddha who had just come out of the cessation state. She wished for as many children as there were grains of

¹¹Thī-a 60 (CVT 83).

¹²All of the foremost Bhikkhunīs mentioned in Mp I 337–81 are included in Thī-a except for Bhaddā Kaccānā and Sigālakamātā. No details are given concerning their good deeds in past lives aside from aspiring under Buddha Padumuttara to a foremost position.

rice and for lotus flowers to spring up at every footstep. In a later life, she gave birth to five hundred sons, all of whom become Pacceka Buddhas. And lotuses sprang up with every footstep she took.¹³ These lesser aspirations are not frequent in the stories, however.

The women who became chief disciples or great disciples under Buddha Gotama saw Buddha Padumuttara praise a nun who was foremost in a specific quality. This inspired them to make a gift, pay respects, and aspire to become foremost in that same quality. Buddha Padumuttara then looked into the future to see if their wish will come to fruition and makes a prediction. They all make their aspiration under the same Buddha because he lived one hundred thousand æons ago, and that is the time required to become a leading disciple. This also seems to be the period of time for the two chief disciples among the nuns (Khemā and Uppalavaṇṇā), as only one of the nuns is said to have encountered a Buddha earlier than Padumuttara. The exception is found in the Apadāna (no. 28) under the name Yasodharā, one of several names for the former wife of the Buddha.¹⁴ At the time of Buddha Dīpaṅkara, four incalculables and 100,000 æons ago, she gave eight handfuls of lotuses to the Bodhisatta Sumedha, the future Buddha Gotama, who offered them to Buddha Dīpaṅkara. This was the lifetime during which the Bodhisatta received his first prediction of Buddhahood.

For the chief disciples among the monks (Sāriputta and Mahā-Moggallāna), preparations took one incalculable and one hundred thousand æons. They made their aspiration under Buddha Anomadassī.¹⁵ We only find mentioned eleven women in the Therīgāthā commentary as aspiring to be foremost in some particular quality, thus becoming leading disciples. Dhammapāla, in his concluding remarks, simply says that the leading disciples among the nuns were Mahā-Pajāpatī Gotamī, etc. (Thī-a 271, CVT 382). For the leading disciples

¹³Thī-a 177, 179, 181 (CVI 233, 236, 239).

¹⁴For a discussion of the information found on the Buddha's former wife, See Bateau 1995.

¹⁵See Th-a III 90ff., CSM 255 (and the references in the note there).

among the monks, however, he gives all eighty names (Th-a III 205*f.*).

Ten laywomen who were foremost in some quality are listed in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya* (A I). The commentary (Mp I 401–404) says that each of them made an aspiration to attain the quality in the presence of Buddha Padumuttara, just as the foremost Therīs had done. They are then said to have had many lives among devas and men up to the time of Buddha Gotama. Only one is mentioned as having encountered Buddha Kassapa, and that was the laywoman Visākhā, who was one of the seven sisters who were King Kiki's daughters and sisters of Buddha Kassapa.

There is great variety in how the various women developed the qualities necessary to attain arahatship. A few did bad deeds that led to lives in hell. Two insulted an *arahat* nun, one committed adultery. Others did mixed deeds that led to mixed results. One nun filled a Pacceka Buddha's bowl with mud, but she repented when a crowd of people criticized her. She cleaned the bowl and filled it with food. As a result, she had very bad breath in future lives, but was able to cure it. Another woman gave a Pacceka Buddha a lotus, took it back because she thought that he would have no use for a flower, then decided it would be useful as a cover to his bowl and gave it again. She too experienced pain for having taken back the flower, but eventually overcame her problems in future lives. It is important to note the fact that the mental attitude of the person doing an action is the main factor in what the results will be. Also, the message is clearly that you cannot wipe out a bad deed, but you can do a good deed to help mitigate the results.

These stories, of course, were meant to serve as an inspiration to Buddhists. The suffering caused by bad deeds should be a deterrent. The rewards for good deeds should be encouraging. Even the smallest deed done for an *arahat* — especially one who has just come out of the cessation state — is of great reward in many lives. Large gifts give even better results. The message here is that even a poor person can do meritorious deeds that will establish him or her on the path to liberation.

There is also the idea that being wealthy means one is able to make large gifts, that possessing wealth carries the responsibility of being generous (assuming one wishes to be happy in the future).

The standard phrase for women disciples for whom details of past actions are not given is: she did meritorious deed(s) under previous Buddhas and accumulated good (actions) as her basis for various lives (*ayam pi purimabuddhesu katādhikārā tattha tattha bhava vivaṭṭūpanissayaṃ kusalaṃ upacinantī*). In the stories given, the good actions most frequently mentioned are paying respects, giving, and leading virtuous lives. Exceptionally, some women ordained under former Buddhas. Only one woman (Bhaddā Kāpilānī) is said to have developed the ability to go into absorption states (*jhāna*) in a past life. As a result, she is the only woman said to have had a life in a Brahmā world.

Another important aspect of the disciples' mental attitude is being profoundly stirred (*saṃvega*).¹⁶ In his introductory remarks to his commentary on the Therīgāthā, Dhammapāla says,

Women of good family, daughters-in-law of good family, and young women of good family heard of the full awakening of the Buddha, of the Doctrine in accord with the [true] Doctrine, and of the proper establishment of the Order. They had faith in the teaching and a profound stirring concerning continued existence. Then they had their own husbands, mothers and fathers, and relatives give them permission, and devoting themselves to the teaching, they went forth. Having gone forth, they were of good and virtuous conduct. They received instruction in the presence of the Teacher and all the various theras. Then, striving and making effort, they realized arahatship after a very short time.

Thī-a 4 (CVT 8)

In the individual stories, the women are usually said to be profoundly stirred after listening to a discourse on the Doctrine, and then they are ordained. The only women for whom being profoundly stirred is mentioned in past lives are those who ordained as nuns under former Buddhas. So *saṃvega* is a reaction to the conditioned world that

¹⁶Venerable Nāṇamoli (*Path*) translates as “sense of urgency”. Mr Norman uses “religious excitement”.

motivates the individual to make a maximum effort to transcend the misery (*dukkha*) that results from constant change (*anicca*) and the lack of a permanent, controlling self (*anattā*). The usual order of events in the attainment of arahatship during the time of Buddha Gotama is (1) hearing the Doctrine, (2) being profoundly stirred, (3) ordaining in the Community of Nuns, and (4) developing insight. For a number of women, the Buddha, while seated in his Perfumed Chamber, sends forth a luminous image of himself that appears before the woman as she is meditating. The image pronounces a verse that gives the woman just what she needs to hear in order to understand correctly and attain arahatship.

This brief look at the careers of the women elders does not give a complete picture for the disciple *arahats*, of course. Other details or variants in versions of stories are found in other commentaries, and there are especially the number of occasions found in the Jātaka commentary when various women were born at the same time as the Great Bodhisatta. As we saw, the women chief disciples do not prepare as long as the men chief disciples. Other differences are to be expected, so this essay should be seen as only a first step in examining this subject.

William Pruitt

ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

Abbreviations of Pāli texts follows *A Critical Dictionary of Pāli*.
References to Thī-a are to the second edition.

- Bureau, André, 1995. “L’épouse du Buddha”, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha* III, Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, pp. 119–47.
- CSM* *The Clarifier of the Sweet Meaning (Madhurattavilāsini)*, tr. by I.B. Horner, Pali Text Society, 1978
- CVT* *The Commentary on the Verses of the Therīs*, tr. by William Pruitt, Pali Text Society, 1998
- Path* *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga)*, tr. by Venerable Ñāṇamoli, Buddhist Publication Society, 1956
- SGB* *The Story of Gotama Buddha (Jātaka-nidāna)*, tr. by N.A. Jayawickrama, Pali Text Society, 1990
- TP* “A Treatise on the Pāramīs,” in *The Discourse on the All-Embracing Net of Views* (pp. 254–330), tr. by Venerable Bhikkhu Bodhi, Buddhist Publication Society, 1978
- WL* “Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* n.s. XXV (1893), pp. 517–66, 763–98; with Pāli text and tr. by Mabel Bode from Mp I 337–81

Table I

	Gd dds	Gd dds/Bd	Padu	Pac Bu	Ord.	Bad dd	Verse
1. Therikā		×		×			
2. Muttā		×					×
3. Puṇṇā	×			3			×
4. Tissā 1	×						×
5. Tissā 2	×						×
6. Dhīrā 1, = 5	×						×
7. Dhīrā 2, ≠ 5	×						
8. Mittā, = 5	×						×
9. Bhadrā, = 5	×						×
10. Upasamā, = 5	×						×
11. Muttā		×	Ap				
12. Dhammadinnā	×						
13. Visākhā, = 6	×						×
14. Sumanā, = 4	×						×
15. Uttarā, = 4	×						×
16. Sumanā 2	×						
17. Dhammā	×						
18. Saṅghā	×						×
19. Nandā		×					
20. Jentī, ≠ 19							
21. Unknown 1	×						
22. Aḍḍhakāsī		×			×		
23. Cittā	×			×			
24. Mettikā		×					
25. Mittā		×					
26. Abhayamātā		×					
27. Abhayattherī		×					
28. Sāmā	×						
29. Sāmā 2		×					
30. Uttamā		×					
31. Uttamā 2	×						
32. Dantikā							
33. Ubbirī		×					
34. Sukkā		×					
35. Selā							
36. Somā, ≠ 27		×	×				
37. Bhaddā Kāpilānī							
38. Unknown 2	×		×	×	(3)		
39. Vimalā	×						
40. Sīhā	×						
41. Nandā, ≠ 19		×					
42. Nanduttarā	×						
43. Mittākālī	×						
44. Sakulā		×			×		
45. Soṇā		×					×
46. Bhaddā, former Jain			×				
47. Paṭācārā			×				
48. Thirty nuns	×						
49. Candā	×						

	Gd dds	Gd dds/Bd	Padu	Pac Bu	Ord.	Bad dd	Verse
50. Five hundred nuns	×					×	
51. Vāsiṭṭhī	×						
52. Khemā			×		×		
53. Sujātā	×						
54. Anopamā	×						
55. Mahā-Pajāpati Gotamī			×	×			
56. Guttā	×						
57. Vijayā	×						
58. Uttarā	×						
59. Cālā	×						
60. Upacālā	×						= 59
61. Sisūpacālā	×						= 59
62. Vaddha's mother	×						
63. Kisāgotamī		×					
64. Uppalavaṇṇā				× ^a			
65. Puṇṇikā		×		×	×		
66. Ambapālī		×		×			
67. Rohiṇī		×					
68. Cāpā	×						
69. Sundarī		×					
70. Subhā, the smith's daughter				×	×		
71. Subhā Jivakambavanikā							
72. Isidāsī	×				3		
73. Sumedhā	×						

Gd dds = good deeds, Gd dds/Bd = good and bad deeds, Padu = Padumuttara, Pac Bu = Paccaka Buddha, Ord. = ordained, Bad dd = bad deeds, Verse = verse of radiance

Gifts, good acts:

A. Unspecified (4–11, 13–18, 21, 28, 37–45, 48–51, 53, 54, 56–63, 65, 66, 68)

B. Good deeds:

Paid respects (2, 69), ordained (22, 34 [expert in Doctrine], 52, 65, 66), kept Observance Days (30), went forth as female ascetic and developed absorption states (37), learned a discourse by heart (52), outstanding merit with regard to the Triple Gem (73)

Gave two gifts when told to give one (12), great gift (41), good deeds like giving (55)

C. Food:

Gift (Ap: food) to a chief disciple after he rose from the state of cessation (12), food (25, 33), ladle full of food (26), three cakes (31, 52), invited Buddha and Saṅgha for seven days (47, 52, 55 Ap, 64), cakes (67), spoonful of food (69 Ap)

D. Food and flower(s):

Fried rice (500 grains) and lotus (64)

E. Flowers

Flowers & perfumes (1), garland of reeds/reeds and flowers (3, 23), seven lotuses (27, 36), salaḷa flowers (29), sāl branches (32 Ap), flowers (32), seven flowers (64 Ap), lotus

^a Mixed.

flowers (64 Ap)

F. Robes :

Set of three robes (1, 47, 55, 64 Ap), two robes (25), yellow cloth (64 Ap)

G. Lodgings :

Pavillion of branches (1), built monastary (46, 47, 52, 64), park (73)

H. Requisites :

Requisites (45 Ap), huts, requisites (couches, seats, drink, food, bowls, etc.) (56)

J. Made or honored a shrine :

Honored shrine (19, 20 ?), jewelled belt (given to shrine) (24), made a shrine (24 Ap), honored Bodhi tree with lamps (5 lamps, Ap) after sitting there seven days and nights (35), golden umbrella with gems (19, 20 ?), golden tile for shrine (37), honored shrine with oil (44)

K. Participated in great offering :

Presumably joined citizens in the following event : "When the teacher approached, all the citizens, happy, pleased, went to meet him and strewed sand [for the festivities]. They swept the road and prepared banners and pots full of plantains. The teacher was honoured with smoke (of incense), powder, and flowers. A hall was prepared, the guide was invited. A great offering was given in hope of full awakening." (11)

L. Shared in other's merit :

Rejoiced at husband's gift (37) : (a) robe, (b) meal, jewelled pavilion, bowl of gold, (c) 7,000 bowls with 7 jewels, filled with ghee ; lamp wicks by thousands, lit, (d) shawl, (e) supported Pacceka Buddhas for 3 months ; gave sets of three robes

M. Gift of hair :

Let hair fall down and gave it as a gift (52)

Bad deeds done in past

A. Insulted a nun (22, 66)

B. Unspecified (led to children dying) (50)

C. Adultery (72)

Mixed deed (partly bad)

A. Filled a Pacceka Buddha's bowl with mud but repented and cleaned it (37)

B. Gave a lotus, took it back, then gave it again (64)

Gifts to : Teaching Buddha, Pacceka Buddha, Chief disciple, disciple (*arahat*), nun (*arahat*), shrine to the Buddha, Bodhi tree (which showed her a marvel [35])

Table 2

	Pa	Si	Ti	Ph	Vi	Si	Ve	Kak	Koṇ	Kass
1. Therikā									×	×
2. Muttā 1					×					
11. Muttā 2	×	Ap								
12. Dhammadinnā*				×						× ^a
19. Nandā					×					
22. Aḍḍhakāsī										×
24. Mettikā		×								
25. Mittā										×
26. Abhayamātā		×								
27. Abhayattherī						×				
29. Sāmā 2				×						
30. Uttamā					×					
31. Uttamā 2					×					
33. Ubbirī	×									
34. Sukkā					×	×	×	×	×	×
35. Selā	×									
36. Somā										
37. Bhaddā Kāpilānī*	×				×					
41. Nandā*	×									
44. Sakulā*	×									×
45. Soṇā*	×									
46. Bhaddā, former Jain*	×									× ^a
47. Paṭācārā*	×									× ^a
52. Khemā* **	×				× ^a					× ^a
55. Mahā-Pajāpati Gotamī*	×									× ^a
63. Kisāgotamī*										
64. Uppalavaṇṇā* **										× ^a
65. Puṇṇikā					×					×
66. Ambapālī			×	Ap	×					
67. Rohiṇī					×					
69. Sundarī										
73. Sumedhā									×	×
Bhaddā Kaccānā*	×									
Mp I 376–77										
Sigālakamātā*	×									
MP I 381										

*Foremost in some quality. **Two chief women disciples

Buddhas : Pa = Padumuttara (100,000 aeons ago), Si = Siddhattha (94 aeons ago), Ti = Tissa (92 aeons ago), Ph = Phussa (92 aeons ago), Vi = Vipassī (91 aeons ago), Si = Sikhī (31 aeons ago), Ve = Vessabhū (31 aeons ago), Kak = Kakusandha (the present aeon), Koṇ = Koṇāgamana (the present aeon), Kass = Kassaya (the present aeon)

^aOne of seven sisters, daughters of King Kikī. At Ja IV 481, The Buddha's mother, Mahāmāyā, is given as one of the seven in place of Bhaddā the former Jain. The seventh sister is the laywoman Visākhā

^bOrdained.

Table 3

	Hell	Lives in			Chief queen of	
		Deva worlds	Specific Deva worlds	Brahmā world	Deva kings	Univ. kings Mon.
1. Therikā ^a		×				
2. Muttā			4			
3. Punṇā			2		36	10
11. Muttā		×				
12. Dhammadinnā		×	2 (twice)			
19. Nandā		×				
22. Aḍḍhakāsī	×					
23. Cittā		×				
24. Mettikā		×				
25. Mittā		×	2 (Ap)		30	20
26. Abhayamātā		×	2 (Ap)		36	50
27. Abhayattherī					70	36
30. Uttamā			2		64	63
31. Uttamā 2		× ^b				
32. Dantikā		×	2 (Ap)		36	10
33. Ubbirī			2			
34. Sukkā		×	2, 4			
35. Selā		×	2		80	100
37. Bhaddā Kāpilānī		×	Ap	×		
41. Nandā			2–6		many	
44. Sakulā		× ^c	1			
45. Soṇā		×	2 (Ap)			
46. Bhaddā, former Jain		× ^d	2, 2–6 (Ap)		many	×
47. Paṭācārā		×	2 (Ap, twice)			
52. Khemā		×	2, 4, 2–6 (Ap) and all 6 (Ap)		many	many many
55. Mahā-Pajāpati Gotamī		×	2 (Ap)			
56. Guttā		×				
63. Kisāgotamī		×	2 (Ap, twice)			
64. Uppalavaṇṇā		×	2 (Ap, twice)			
66. Ambapālī	×		2 (Ap)			
67. Rohiṇī			2 (Ap)			
69. Sundarī			2 (Ap)			
72. Isidāsī	× ^e	×				
73. Sumedhā		×	2, 2–6		many	many many
Mp Bhaddā Kaccānā		×				
MP Sigālakamātā		×				

Deva worlds: six sensuous worlds (*kāma-loka*): 1. Cātummahārājikadeva, 2. Tāvātimsa, 3. Yāma, 4. Tusita, 5. Nimmāna-ratī, 6. Paranimmita-vasavattī (or Vasavattipura). Some women are said to be born in five Deva worlds, presumably numbers 2–5.

^aAlso only in Deva worlds for a Buddha interval.

^bNo lower births for 91 aeons.

^cDeva worlds only.

^dGood lives for a Buddha interval.

^eBecause she committed adultery when she was a man, she cooked in hell for hundreds of years, was born three times as an animal, then as a hermaphrodite, and finally as a woman in a poor family.