

# FACETS OF EARLY BUDDHISM

*A Study of Fundamental Principles*



**BELA BHATTACHARYA**



## ABOUT THE BOOK

The Buddhist Philosophy is a psychophysical thought as well as a practical way of virtuous life. It puts forth a very scientific way of thinking to the path of realisation. It does not indulge in speculative thoughts or superstitious beliefs but takes up the direct problem "Suffering of beings" and prescribes methods of its eradication by following a practical path of taking them to the state of eternal bliss. In the present book, FACETS OF EARLY BUDDHISM, the author, besides dealing with Buddha-biography and background of Buddhism, has elaborately analysed some aspects of fundamental principles of Early Buddhism such as Four Noble Truths, Dependent Origination, Three Principal Characteristics of Buddhist Thought, namely, problems of Anitya, Duḥkha and Anātman; Doctrine of Karma and Nirvāṇa, the ultimate reality or goal of Buddhist way of life. It has compared with other non-Buddhist and Brāhmanic-views as necessitated. The author having taken up these difficult issues and going deep into the original sources of Pali canonical and non-canonical texts has made a commendable contribution in the field of Buddhist Philosophy by presenting an authentic, understandable and lucid expositions of these fundamental principles and hope this book will render substantial help to the students, scholars and the readers in general for proper understanding of Buddha's basic doctrines.

**FACETS OF EARLY BUDDHISM**  
**A STUDY OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES**

# **FACETS OF EARLY BUDDHISM**

**A STUDY OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES**

**DR. BELA BHATTACHARYA, M. A. (Gold Medalist),**  
**M. Ed. Ph. D. Dip. in Tibetan Language**  
**Senior Lecturer, Department of Pali and Lecturer**  
**Department of Languages (Tibetan)**  
**University of Calcutta**

**CALCUTTA**

**1995**



*First Published*

August 1995

*Published by*

Dr. Sandhya Bhattacharya

Vill & P.O. Brindabanpur

P. S. Uluberia

Dist. Howrah 711 316 W.B.

*Available at*

FIRMA KLM PRIVATE LIMITED

257B, B. B. Ganguly Street

Calcutta-700 012

INDIA

*Also Available at*

MAHA BODHI BOOK AGENCY

4A, Bankim Chatterjee Street

Calcutta 700 073

© Author

Price Rs. 300.00

*Printed by*

Gour Paul

Modern Printers

12 Ultadanga Main Road

Calcutta 700 067



***To***

***My Parents***

***Srimati Karunamayi Bhattacharya***

***and***

***Shri Bindu Bhusan Bhattacharya***



## CONTENTS

	Pages
Foreword	... i
Preface	... iii—vi
Abbreviations	... vii—viii
Introduction	... 1—38
Chapter I : Background of Buddhism	... 39—68
Chapter II : Four Noble Truths (Cattāri Ariya Saccāni)	... 69—90
Chapter III : Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda)	... 91—112
Chapter IV : Three Principal Characteristics of Buddhist Thought (Tilakkhaṇa)	... 113—126
Chapter V : Doctrine of Action (Kamma)	... 127—150
Chapter VI : Nibbāna	... 151—164
Appendix	... 165—166
Select Bibliography	... 167—177
Index	... 179—182



## FOREWORD

Because of unbelievable technological advances and rapid industrialization people are suffering from quite a number of complexities. Science and technology have, no doubt, added to mundane ease and comfort. On the contrary due to their colourful progress the beings—not merely the human ones, but also other forms of life—are suffering from various diseases both physical and mental. Morality appears to be the only panacea for all such types of illness. As an inevitable consequence Pali and Buddhistic studies are gaining more and more importance day by day. Many books on these subjects are being written and published both in India and abroad. The present book on the *Facets of Early Buddhism : A Study of Fundamental Principles* is the outcome of one of such endeavours. Dr. Ms. Bela Bhattacharya in this comprehensive and useful work, as its title indicates, has dealt with some primary topics of Buddhism offering to its readers a scope for having a first-hand knowledge of this religious movement which commenced during the sixth century B.C. with the birth of Prince Siddhārtha who by sedate self-control and ethical exercises attained to the *Bodhi* or Enlightenment and ultimately became the *Buddha*, the Enlightened One whose later career was equally attractive and meaningful.

Mainly based on the Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit texts the present work proposes to study Early Buddhism or more precisely Theravāda Buddhism, from various perspectives with additional information about the life and activities of the Master and the background story of Buddhism. It also treats elaborately of the Fourfold Noble Truth, Theory of Dependent Origination, Teaching of Three Principal Characteristics, Doctrine of Action, and the Concept of Nibbāna. Besides, it supplies the readers with a detailed bibliography of Pali and Buddhism, apart from well-devised indices. In fact, within its two covers the book presents a fair idea of the origin and tenets of Early Buddhism. It will, therefore, be useful to the serious scholars and students alike.

DIPAK KUMAR BARUA

Department of Pali  
University of Calcutta,  
Calcutta-700 073

University Professor and Head of the  
Department of PALI,  
University of Calcutta

August 1, 1995



## PREFACE

The present book entitled *Facets of Early Buddhism* is the outcome of my research on *Studies in the Fundamental Principles of Buddhism* for Ph. D. Degree under the guidance of Late Professor Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee.

Appearance of Buddha, the founder of Buddhism is an extraordinary event in the history of mankind. In the religious history of the world the period round about the sixth century B. C. is very significant, as it witnessed a great spiritual upsurge in the West and the East. Pythagoras (580-500 B. C.) who was born in the Island of Samos in the Archipelago and settled down at Crotona in Italy, taught his disciples celibacy, abstinence, asceticism, meditation, devotion and the social virtues together with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and moral retribution. In Greece appeared Socrates (480-400 B.C.), who taught the oneness of knowledge and virtue. Zarathustra or Zoroaster, who appeared in Persia in the seventh century B.C. taught an ethico-religious doctrine of dualistic principles according to which there are two principal spirits, one good and the other bad in thought, speech and action. Confucius (551—479 B.C.) established in China the ethical system known as Confucianism which consists of benevolence, tolerance, humanity, self-control and other virtues. Before Confucius Lao-tse, founder of Taoism preached his doctrine of way of Nature. In India also mighty thinkers like Mahāvīra, founder or reformer of Jainism, who is known as Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta in the Pali Tripiṭaka and preached the doctrine of severe abstinence, self-mortification, boundless love of living beings, doctrine of karma and the transmigration of souls and lastly like Buddha, who was a great revolutionary socioreligious reformer unparalleled in the world and whose doctrine influenced the thought and culture of millions of people of Asian countries for more than twenty five centuries.

Before the appearance of Buddha Indian thinkers were mainly engaged in religious, ethical and philosophical matters. The Brāhmaṇas appeared the powerful gods by singing hymns and offering sacrifices. Many Vedic gods were adopted after being humanized and moralized in Buddhism. But they have lost their dignified position and are regarded as inferior beings to



Buddha and other holy persons. The Vedic Brāhmaṇas considered ceremonial sites to be the most important thing in human life and believed that they could move or rule over gods and men of the world by means of rituals and ceremonies. Buddha repudiates efficacy of ceremonies, and used term *kamma* as a moral or a good or bad action for the effect of a good or bad action, while in the Vedic scriptures the term *karma* signifies a religious action, a ceremonial performance or rite. Buddhism, from its early phase, disregards caste system which was established in the Aryan society and teaches the equality of mankind and regards moral conduct more highly than the birth or profession. Denying the Upaniṣadic concept of permanent soul (*ātman*) and other non-Buddhist philosophical speculations Buddha established his own doctrine and served the humanity by showing the path of eternal peace and happiness.

The fundamental doctrines and views of Buddha as recorded in the Pali canonical and non-canonical texts which are corroborated by Sarvāstivāda and Mādhyamika Sanskrit works have been enumerated and analysed in the present book. It is divided into six chapters—preceded by an Introduction which deals with critical analysis of the Buddha-biography. The first chapter discusses the religious, political, social and economic back ground of Buddhism. In the second chapter an attempt has been made to explain the Four Noble Truths (*Cattāri Ariya Saccāni*). The third chapter gives a brief exposition of the doctrine of Dependent Origination (*Paṭiccasamuppāda*) which is regarded as Buddha's novel contribution to the philosophical thoughts of India. The fourth chapter deals with the Three Principal Characteristics of Buddhist Thought (*Tilakkhaṇa*)—*Dukkha*, *Anattā* and *Anicca*. The fifth chapter is concerned with the Doctrine of Action (*kamma*) as expounded in the Pali works, canonical and non-canonical. The sixth chapter, the concluding one, describes Nibbāna, the Summum bonum of life.

I have revised my original dissertation. One more chapter is added and more references are given to make the discussions perspicuous and authentic. The following pages embody the results of my years of regular study and investigation which though not exhaustive, yet throw light on some of the intricate doctrinal points connected with Early Buddhism. I hope, this work will serve as a guide to the students and researchers in this field.



I have added the English translation of the *Dhammacakkappa-vattana Sutta* in the APPENDIX for convenience of the readers.

On this occasion, I have to fulfil the most agreeable duty of acknowledging my indebtedness to late Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, former Professor and Head of the Department of Pali, and Ex-Dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Calcutta, who initiated me into Pali studies and who, not only provided me with all facilities in various ways, but also guided me at every step, while writing this thesis. I think it my duty to mention here my special obligation to my teacher late Dr. Sukumar Sengupta, Ex-Reader, Department of Pali and Lecturer, Department of Sanskrit, University of Calcutta, who took very keen personal interest in the progress of my work and who spared no pains in going through 'he whole thesis step by step inspite of his pre-occupations.

I convey my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Biswanath Banerjee, Professor, Department of Sanskrit Pali and Prakrit, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan ; Suniti Kumar Pathak, Alexander Goma De Koros Professor of Tibetan Studies, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta and Dr. Madhusudan Mallik, Professor, Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, for their encouragement and help in my research study.

I am grateful to my respected teacher Prof. Dipak Kumar Barua, Professor and Head of the Department of Pali and Ex-Dean of the Faculty of Education, Journalism and Library Science, University of Calcutta, who has kindly written the Foreword to this book. I am ever grateful to Prof. Heramba Nath Chatterjee Sastri, Research Professor of Smṛiti and Purāṇa, Sanskrit College, Calcutta and Prof. Binayendra Nath Chaudhury. Prof. B. M. Barua Research Professor of Pali and Buddhism, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, for their untiring help in the publication of this book. I am also grateful to my teacher Dr. Kanai Lal Hazra, Reader in the Department of Pali, University of Calcutta, for his kind words of appreciation and encouragement, I am indebted to my respected colleague, Dr. Asha Das, Ex-Reader in the Department of Pali, University of Calcutta for her affection and encouragement at every step of my progress in research activities and other fields of work. I am grateful to Dr. Sukomal Choudhury, Officiating Principal, Sanskrit College, Dr. Sadhan Chandra Sarkar, Reader, Sanskrit College, Calcutta and Dr. Manikuntala Halder (De), Lecturer,



Department of Pali, University of Calcutta for their encouragement in my work. I am indebted to Jina Bodhi Bhikkhu for co-operation in my work.

I am also grateful to Dr. Chittaranjan Patra and the authority of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for their courtesy of allowing me to use the photocopy of a Buddha-figure on the cover.

I express my hearty gratitude to Prof. Swapan Kumar Pramanik, Professor, Department of Sociology, Dr. Nrisingha Kumar Bhattacharya, Reader, Department of Applied Psychology, Prof. Ranjugopal Mukherjee, Professor and Sri Sudipti Banerjee, Reader, both belonging to the Department of Commerce, and also to Dr. Sukla Chakraborty, Senior Lecturer, Department of Tamil, University of Calcutta, for their sincere help and encouragement.

Here I express my indebtedness my husband Dr. Sibaprasad Bhattacharya, Reader and Ex-Head, Department of Education, University of Calcutta who helped me in publication of the book. I am indebted to my son Akash Bhattacharya and my daughter Ahana Bhattacharya who co-operated with me by way of allowing me to do library work gladly. I express my indebtedness my sister Dr. Sandhya Bhattacharya who helped me in my research work.

I am also thankful to Sri Gour Pal and his staff of the Modern Printers for their co-operation in printing.

Lastly, I am thankful to the authorities of the Calcutta University Library, Sanskrit College Library, Asiatic Society Library and National Library for giving me permission to consult books and periodicals.

**Asutosh Building**  
**University of Calcutta**  
**17th August, 1995**

**BELA BHATTACHARYA**



## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	: Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
Ab. K.	: L' Abhidharmakośa
ABORI	: Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
AK. V.	: Abhidharmakośavyakhyā.
Aṅguttara, AN	: Aṅguttra-Nikāya.
AS	: Atharvavedasamhitā.
BG	: Bhagavadgītā.
Br.	: Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Compendium	: Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy.
Cv.	: Cullavagga.
DN, D. Nikāya, Dīgha	: Dīgha-Nikāya.
DA	: Dirghāgama.
Dhp.	: Dhammapada.
Dhp. A.	: Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā.
Dhs.	: Dhammasaṅgaṇi
Divyāv.	: Divyāvadāna.
DPPN	: Dictionary of Pali Proper Names.
H.O.S.	: Harward Oriental Series.
H.U.L.	: Home University Library.
I.H.Q.	: Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.	: Journal Asiatique
JPTS	: Journal of the Pali Text Society.
Jat.	: Jātaka
JRAS	: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.



( vlii )

<b>KV.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Kathāvatthu.</b>
<b>LV.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Lalitavistara.</b>
<b>MK</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Mādhyamika Kārikā.</b>
<b>MKV</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Mūlamadhyamaka Kārikā.</b>
<b>Majjhima,</b>		
<b>MN, M.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Majjhima Nikāya.</b>
<b>Mvu.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Mahāvastu.</b>
<b>Samyutta, SN</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Samyutta Nikāya.</b>
<b>Up.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Upaniṣad.</b>
<b>Vm.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Visuddhimaggo.</b>
<b>Vin.</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Vinaya Piṭaka</b>



## INTRODUCTION

Like Vardhamāna, the *Jina*, the victor, the spiritual conquerer, Buddha, the awakened perfect supremely enlightened being<sup>1</sup>, the light of the world<sup>2</sup>, the prince propounder of the doctrine of *Pratītyasamutpāda*, rightly pointed out and interpreted by Kamalaśīla in his *Pañjikā* to Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* as the priceless jewel—*Pravacanaratna*<sup>3</sup> ;

1. cf. Sambuddho dvipadam seṭṭho. *Samyutta Nikāya* 1, 6.  
Sambuddho tapadam seṭṭho. „ 1, 15.  
See also Paññā narānam ratanam „ 1, 37.  
Sade deva kassa lokassa buddho aggo pavuccatīti. 1, 67.

2. See Barth, The Religions of India, p. 118 for the eulogistic observations :  
“We must set clearly before us the admirable figure...that finished model of calm and sweet majesty, of infinite tenderness for all that breathes and compassion for all that suffers, of perfect moral freedom and exemption from every prejudice.”

See also, memoirs of Bishop Milman, p. 203 :

‘ Among heathen precursors of the Truth I feel more and more that Śākya-muni is the nearest in character and effect to Him Who is the Way, the Truth and the Life’.

3. Nāgārjuna pays high tribute to Buddha as advocator of the doctrine of *Pratītyasamutpāda* specially :

Anirodham anutpādam anucchedam aśāśvatam,  
anekārtham anānārtham anāgamam anigamaṃ //  
yaḥ pratītyasamutpādam prapañcopaśamaṃ śivaṃ,  
deśāyāmasa sambuddhas taṃ vande vadatāṃ varam //

Benedictory verses of the *Madhyamakāśāstra*,

See The *Madhyamakāśāstram* of Nāgārjuna ; edited with critical reconstruction, with the commentaries *Akutoḥbhayā* by Nāgārjuna ; *Madhyamakavṛtti* by Buddhapaṇita ; *Prajñāpradīpavṛtti* Bhāvaviveka ; and *Prasnanapadāvṛtti* by Candrakīrti, by Raghunath Pandeya, in two volume, Delhi, 1988, 1989.

Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṃgraha* has the same line of approach :

Yaḥ pratītyasamutpādam jagāda gadatāṃ varaḥ /  
Taṃ sarvajñaṃ praṇamyāyaṃ kriyate Tattvasaṃgrahaḥ // Verse, 6.

It is to be noted that because of the importance of this doctrine, this has been equated with Buddha and *Dharma* (Truth or Reality).

See specially, *Majjhima Nikāya*, 190-191 28th Sutta.



committed to the onerous assignment of imparting correct knowledge by renouncing dogmatism and by adopting the method of critical analysis (*vibhajjavāda*),<sup>4</sup>

---

vuttaṃ kho paṇ'etaṃ Bhagavatā : yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati. See also *Samyutta*, IV. 120 :

Yo kho Vakkali, dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati, yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati. cf. also *Itivuttaka*, 92 (p. 91).

See the *Kārikā* of Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakaśāstra*, XXIV. 40 :

Yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaṃ paśyatidaṃ sa paśyati /

Duḥkhaṃ samudayaṃ caiva nirodhaṃ mārgaṃ eva ca /

*Akuto bhaya*, Nāgārjuna's auto-commentary : Yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaṃ paśyati sa dharmacatūṣṭayaṃ...paśyati.

Nāgārjuna equates it with *Śūnyatā* for which see ;

Yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaḥ śūnyatāṃ tām pracakṣmahe.

It has been contended that Buddhism has always been a *Dharma* theory based on the *Pratītyasamutpāda*. Rosenberg has his observation in his *Die Probleme der Bud. Phil.*, p. 77.

“Alle Teile der buddhistischen Dogmatic sind in der Terminologie der Theorie von den Trägern den dharma dargelegt...Die Dharma-theorie ist der Schlüssel zum Verständnis der dogmatischen Literatur des Buddhismus, der alten so wie der spätern.”

For the *Madhyamikas* this theory carries special significance since it signifies the essential dependence of dharmas on each other, i.e. the unreality of separate elements—*naissvābhāvya*, *dharmanairātmya*. Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* commentary pertinently states about the *Mādhyamika* attitude to this doctrine :

‘Yaḥ pratītya samutpāda’ ityādi tacchātrānirodhādyaṣṭa-viśeṣaṇa-viśiṣṭaḥ pratītyapādaḥ śāstrābhidyārthaḥ’, On the introductory verse.

For detailed systematic study of this doctrine as also of the *Mādhyamika* standpoint, see specially, T.R.V. Murti, *The Central philosophy of Buddhism*, Great Britain, 1955. Second edition, 1960, reprinted several times, First published in Unwin Paperbacks, 1980.

For critical analysis of the theory of causation of different schools of Indian philosophy including that of the Buddhists, see, Dharmendra with Shastri. *The philosophy of Nyāyavaiśeṣika and its conflict with the Buddhist Dignāga schools*, Delhi, 1976 (first edition 1964), specially, pp. 234-281.

4. Compare His statement recorded in the *Subha Sutta*. No. 99 in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, II. p. 197 :

Vibhajjavādo kho ahaṃ ettha, māṇava, māhaṃ ettha ekamsavādo—‘I am not a generaliser, but an analyser.’



typifies the wisdom and soul of the East with its intense, repose dreamy gentleness, tender calm deep love for the distressed humanity. Adequately impressed by the emptiness of the things of sense, he did not hesitate to renounce the life of ease, power and luxury, only to meditate on the eternal and to open for his fellowmen an escape from the meanness of life and illusions of his flesh. Dignity was dropped, royal robe for him yielded place to the yellow garment of the monks, palatable dishes were abandoned and he opted for begging for bread, wandering in the midst of his fellow beings, pressed always by the pricks of wordly suffering. Truth was still a problem with him and life an interrogation. 'The emptiness of wealth, the wisdom of the schools and the austerity of asceticism were all weighed in the balance and found insufficient. With a body purified by abstinence, a mind refined by humility, heart attuned by solitude, he did prefer to seek wisdom in the wilderness.'

After years of steady search and meditation and with a sincere determination to embrace death, if necessary, unless the absolute wisdom is attained<sup>5</sup>, the illumination dawned on him and that made him charged with the pious obligation in the form of a mission to communicate to the doomed multitudes the message of the means of everlasting felicity. Herein he avoided the track of subtleties of metaphysics, where common people hardly feel interested, spoke in favour of the ethical way to save the masses of men plunged in various entanglements and suffering. The serenity and gentleness of his face, the beauty and dignity of his life, the earnestness and enthusiasm of his love, the wisdom and eloquence of his message, won the hearts of men and women alike. To the first five ascetics, he delivered his first sermon—*Dhammacakkappavattana*<sup>6</sup>—the setting in motion the wheel of the Law. Because of the very special

---

5. tataḥ sa paryāṅkam akampayam uttamam  
babandha suptoragabhogaṇḍitam /  
bhinadmi tāvad bhuvi naitad āsanam  
na yāmi yāvat kṛtakṛtyatām iti //

6. The translation of the expression is appropriate—'inauguration of the dominion of the Law' or 'turning the wheel of the Law'. It may be of interest to note that the Buddhists usually are in favour of accepting the expression in a symbolical senses as it was done anciently, as is proved by the representation of the wheel at Bharhut, pl. XIII and XXX 1. Cp. Ep. Ind. II. 522. In his note Kern observes: "A third meaning results from such epithets as *dvādaśākāra*—an allusion to the 12 *Nidanas* and perhaps to 12 *Aṅgas*—and *sūkṣma*, *gambhīra* viz. of "the whole circle of the law". In such connection, *dharmacakram vartayati* or



importance of this sermon' the text recording such information deserves special attention :

“Evam me sutam : ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Bārāṇasīyaṃ viharati Isipatane Migadāye ।

---

*pravartayati* may be rendered with “unfolding the wheel of the Dharma”. See Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, first edn. Strassburg, 1898 ; reprint, Delhi, p. 23. fn.

7. The sermon under reference states the quintessence of the doctrine of Buddha. Practically speaking, as recorded in the *Ariyapariyesanasutta of the Majjhima Nikāya* the Lord was hesitant about preaching the doctrine to the masses because of its subtle nature. This was specially with reference to the theory of causation, *Paṭiccasamuppāda*,—*idappaccayatā* (interdependence of the objects), to which detailed discussion will follow. In this *Sutta* we find Buddha's teachings in respect of the Middle-path and the enunciation of the Four Truths, the first of which is *Dukkha* or suffering (detailed discussion will follow). As noted in the text quoted (*Jāti pi dukkhā, jarā pi dukkhā...*) suffering is inevitable in this world (Cf. *Dīgha*, II. p. 306 ; *Majjhima*, III. p. 249f ; *Vibhaṅga*, p. 99. See *Vism*, p. 499 for seven varieties *dukkha*, such as *dukkha-dukkha*, *vipariṇāma-dukkha*, *saṅkhāra-dukkha*, *paṭicchannadukkha*, *apaṭicchanna-d. pariyāya-nippariyāya-dukkha*.

Cf. also *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, 1.8.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, chap. XVI records *daśottara śatākāraṃ dukkham*.

Interestingly, it has been pointed out quite relevantly than in the truth the first place assigned to *dukkha* is illustration only, since this can be replaced by food (*āhāra*) even. (See *Mahātaṇhāsāṅkhaya-sutta, Majjhima Nikāya*, 1, p. 260, where we find *āhāra, āhārasamudaya, āhāranirodha, āhāra-nirodhagāmini-pāṭipadā*. In fact, this is a device of examining an object, and not a doctrine, as rightly pointed out by Stcherbatsky in his *Conception of Nirvāṇa*, (p. 55):

“These four topics, the four noble truths as the term has been inadequately translated and represented as fundamental principle of Buddhism, contain in reality no doctrine at all”.

Mādhavācārya in his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, while presenting critical analysis of the doctrine enunciated by Buddha, rightly points out that the importance of suffering has been recognised by the religious philosophers of India in general :

*Sarvasya saṃsārasya duḥkhātmakatvaṃ sarvatīrthakarasammatam, anyathā tannivivṛtsūnaṃ teṣāṃ tannivṛtityupāye pravṛtṭyanupapatteḥ.*

*Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, B.O.R.I., Poona, 1978, p. 28.

This tyranny of suffering has been a bit overpainted by Buddha when it has been described in a pathetic way in one of His discourses in the *Samyutta Nikāya*.

—“What think ye, disciples, whether is more, the water which is in the four great oceans, or the tears which have flown from you and have been shed by



Tatra kho Bhagavā pañcavaggiye bhikkhū āmantesi—

Dve' me bhikkhave antā pabbajitena na sevitabbā. Katame dve?—

Yo cāyaṃ kāmesu kāmasukhallikānuyogo hino gammo puthujjaniko anariyo anattasamphito ; yo cāyaṃ attakilamathānuyogo dukkho anariyo anattasamphito. Ete kho bhikkhave, ubho ante anupagamma *majjhimāpaṭipadā* Tathāgatenā abhisambuddhā cakkhukaraṇi ñāṇakaraṇi upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya samvattati.

Katamā ca sā, bhikkhave majjhimāpaṭipadā Tathāgatenā abhisambuddhā cakkhukaraṇi ñāṇakaraṇi upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya samvattati | Ayam eva *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo* |<sup>8</sup> seyyathidaṃ—sammādiṭṭhi, sammāsaṅkappo, sammāvācā, sammākammanto, sammāājīva, sammāvyāyāmo, sammā :sati,

---

you, while ye strayed and wandered on this long pilgrimage and sorrowed and wept, because that was your portion which ye abhorred and that which ye loved was not your portion ? A mother's death, a father's death, ...a brother's death, the loss of relations, the loss of property, all this have ye experienced through long ages, and while ye experienced this through long ages, more tears have flown from you and have been shed by you....."

See also, Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 216-7.

The *Jarāvagga* of the *Dhammapada* gives expression to the aspect of life, which is of the nature of being pressed by the pricks of burning and a life without death is an impossibility :

Ko nu hāso kimānando niccaṃ pajjalite sati /  
andhakārena onaddhā padīpaṃ na gavessatha // XI. 146  
Parijñāmidam rūpaṃ roganiḍḍam pabhaṅguraṃ /  
Bhijjati pūtisandeho maraṇantaṃ hi jivitaṃ // XI. 148

Gautama in his *Nyāyasūtra*, while speaking about *Apavarga* refers to *dukkha* :

Duḥkhajanmapravṛttidoṣamithyājñānānām uttarottarāpāye tadanantarāpāyād apavargaḥ. 1.1.2.

In the same it has been aphorised :

Bādhanālakṣaṇaṃ duḥkham. 1.1.21

Vatsyāyana in his *Bhāṣya* explains : Bādhanā piḍā tāpa iti. Tayā' nubiddham anuṣaktam avinirbhāgena vartamānaṃ duḥkhayogād duḥkham iti. So'yaṃ sarvaṃ duḥkhenānuviddham iti paśyan duḥkhaṃ jihāsuri janmani duḥkhadarśi nirvidyate, nirviṇṇo virajyate, virakto vimucyate.

8. See the *Magga Saṃyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V. pp. 29ff (P.T.S. edn. 1916.) where this eightfold path has been described as associated with *Kalyāṇamitta*, spiritual guide.



sammā samādhī. Ayam kho sā bhikkhave majjhimā paṭipadā Tathāgatena abhisambuddhā cakkhu° ñāṇakaraṇī upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya samvattati.

Idaṃ kho pana bhikkhave *dukkham ariyasaccam* | Jāti pi dukkhā, jarā pi dukkhā, vyādhi pi dukkhā maraṇam pi dukkham sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā pi dukkhā, appiyehi sampayogo dukkho, piyehi vippayogo dukkho ; yam piccham na labhati tam pi dukkham ; samkhittena *pañcupādānakkhandhā pi dukkhā* || ||

Idaṃ kho pana bhikkhave *dukkhasamudayam* ariyasaccam | Yāyam taṇhā ponobbhavikā nandirāgasahagatā tatra tatrābhinandini. Seyyathidaṃ—Kāmatanḥā bhavatanḥā vibhavatanḥā |

Idaṃ kho pana bhikkhave *dukkhanirodham* ariyasaccam. Yo tassā yeva taṇhāya asesavirāganirodho cāgo paṭinissaggo mutti anālayo.

Idaṃ kho pana bhikkhave *dukkhanirodhagāmini* paṭipadā ariyasaccam | Ayam eva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo ; seyyathidaṃ—sammādiṭṭhi || *pe* sammāsamādhī.

Idaṃ dukkham ariyasaccam ti me bhikkhave pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi ñāṇam udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi | Tam kho panidaṃ dukkham ariyasaccam pariññeyyan ti me bhikkhave pubbe pe pariññātan ti me bhikkhave pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi pe āloko udapādi.

Idaṃ dukkhasamudayam ariyasaccan ti me bhikkhave pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi ñāṇam udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi | Tam kho panidaṃ dukkhasamudayam ariyasaccam pahātabban ti me bhikkhave pubbe pe pahānan ti me bhikkhave pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi pe āloko udapādi.

Idaṃ dukkhanirodham ariyasaccan ti me bhikkhave pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi ñāṇam udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi | Tam kho panidaṃ dukkhanirodham ariyasaccam sacchikātabban ti me bhikkhave pubbe pe sacchikatan ti me bhikkhave pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi pe āloko udapādi || ||



Idaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī paṭipadā ariyasaccan ti me, bhikkhave, pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi ñāṇam udapādi paññā udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi. Taṃ kho paṇidaṃ dukkhanirodhagāminī paṭipadā ariyasaccam bhāvetabban ti me bhikkhave pe bhāvitān ti me bhikkhave pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi ñāṇam udapādi vijjā udapādi āloko udapādi.

Yāva kivañca me bhikkhave imesu catūsu ariyasaccesu evaṃ tiparivaṭṭam dvādasākāraṃ yathābhūtaṃ ñāṇadassanaṃ na suvisuddhaṃ ahosi; neva tāvāhaṃ bhikkhave sadevake loke samāṇake sabrahmake sassamaṇabrāhmaṇiyyā pajāya sadevamanu-ssāya anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambuddho ti paccaññāsim.

Idaṃ avoca Bhagavā || attamanā pañcavaggiyā bhikkhū Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun | imasmiṃ ca pana veyyākaraṇas-  
mim bhaññamāne āyasmato Koṇḍaññaassa virajaṃ vītamalaṃ  
dhammacakkhum udapādi—*yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ sabbaṃ  
taṃ nirodhadhammaṃ ti* ||<sup>9</sup>

Evaṃ pavattite ca pana Bhagavatā dhammacakke Bhum mā devā saddam anussāvesum || || Etaṃ Bhagavatā Bārāṇasiyam Isipatane Migadāye anuttaraṃ *dhammacakkaṃ* pavattitaṃ appati-  
vattiyaṃ samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devena vā Mārena vā Brahmanā vā kenaci vā lokasmin ti.

After a missionary life of nearly fifty years, at the age of eighty, the lamp of wisdom of this great personality became extinguished. He entered the supreme stage of eternal tranquility. The records deserve to be described as they are—

“Handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo: “Vayadhammā saṃ-  
khārā, appamādena sampādetthāti.” Ayaṃ Tathāgataṃ pacchimā  
vācā.

Atha kho Bhagavā paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Paṭhamajjhānā  
vuṭṭhahitvā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā  
tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā catutthajjhānaṃ

9. See also *Saṃyutta Nikāya*. VI, 2.5. at pp. 157-158.

Compare in this context *Saṃ. Ni*, III. 1. at p. 97, where transitory nature of the objects has been stressed by comparing them with earthen pots:

Seyyathāpi mahārāja yāni kānici kumbhakāraka-bhājanāni āmakāni ceva pakkāni ca, sabbāni tāni bhedana-dhammāni, bhedana-pariyosānāni bheda-  
ṇam anatītāni. Evaṃ eva kho mahārāja sabbe sattā maraṇadhammā.....

samāpajji. Catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhabhivā ākāsānañcāyatanaṃ samāpajji.

Ākāsānañcāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhabhivā viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Viññāṇañcāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhabhivā ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākiñcaññāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhabhivā nevasaññā nā saññāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhabhivā saññā-vedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpajji.

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando āyasmantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avoca :

‘Parinibbuto bhante Anuruddha Bhagavā’ ti.

‘Na āvuso Ānanda Bhagavā parinibbuto, saññā-vedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpanno’ ti. Atha kho Bhagavā saññā vedayita nirodha-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhabhivā nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Nevasaññā nāsaññāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhabhivā ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākiñcaññāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhabhivā viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Viññāṇañcāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ ākāsānañcāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākāsānañcāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhabhivā catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhabhivā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānā vuṭṭhabhivā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānā vuṭṭhabhivā paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Paṭhamajjhānā vuṭṭhabhivā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānā vuṭṭhabhivā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānā vuṭṭhabhivā catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajji, catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhabhivā samanantarā Bhagavā parinibbāyi.<sup>10</sup>

10. The *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 156. :

‘Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying—“Decay is inherent in all component things ! Work out salvation with diligence ! This was the last word of the Tathāgata.

Then the Exalted One entered into the first stage of Rapture. And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. Rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of Rapture, he entered into the state of mind in which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no



It is befitting that the record of the very last moments of Lord Buddha as enshrined in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, containing the essence of Buddha's teachings should be accorded importance by quoting in original important portions. This *sutta* differs essentially in form and contents from all the other *suttas*. It is neither a dialogue nor a speech on one or more chief points of doctrine, but a continuous record of the later part of Buddha's life, his last speeches and sayings, and his death. The oldest parts of this extensive record surely belong to the oldest part of the *Tipiṭaka* and to the earliest beginnings of a poetic treatment of the life of Buddha. It is remarkable that in the Pali Canon there is no biography of the Buddha ; but the beginnings of one are to be found partly in the *Vinayaṭiṭaka*, and partly in the *Suttapiṭaka*. It is quite comprehensible that the memory of the later part of the Master's

---

special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away.

Then the venerable Ānanda said to the venerable Anuruddha :—O my lord, O Anuruddha, the Exalted One is dead.

Nay ! brother Ānanda, the Exalted One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be !

Then the Exalted One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of Rapture. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of Rapture he entered into the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of Rapture. And passing out of the last stage of Rapture he immediately expired'.

life and of his last Speeches was most firmly impressed on the minds of the disciples of Buddha, and that these have been preserved and handed down with loving fidelity. However there are only few passages in the *Mahā-parinibbāna-Suttanta* which can be regarded as really ancient and original. For the *Sutta* is by no means a unified work, but is composed of parts which belong to different ages. At a very early period—probably soon after the death of Buddha—there must already have been a short “Sutta of the perfect Nirvāṇa (of the Buddha),” which, by means of interpolations and additions, grew longer and longer in course of time, till it became the “*great* Sutta of the perfect Nirvāṇa”, which we have in our Pali Canon. Such passages as those in the second section, where the story is related of the first illness of Buddha, which befell him at Beluva, and which he overcame by the strength of his will where he assures Ānanda that he is not one of those teachers “with the closed fist”, who keep something for themselves, but that he has proclaimed the whole truth, and where he disclaims the idea that he should ever have wished to pose as a leader of the community, are surely ancient and original. The order, he says, had never been dependent upon him and would therefore not be “without a leader”<sup>11</sup> even after his departure, if it would only be guided by the religion he had proclaimed. His directive has turned to be proverbial—“Therefore, Ānanda, be your own light ! Be your own refuge ! Hold steadfastly to the religion as your light, hold steadfastly to the religion as your refuge !”<sup>12</sup> Equal antiquity and originality can most probably be claimed for the passage in the fifth section, in which we read how Ānanda, no longer able to control his grief at the approaching departure of the Master, goes out and stands weeping, leaning against the doorpost, (*kapisīsaṃ ālambitvā rodamāno ṭhito*) whereupon the Buddha has him called back, and

---

11. See specially Buddhas' directive as contained in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, p. 154 (P.T.S. *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II. London, 1947 :

Yo vo Ānanda mayā Dhammo ca Vinayo ca desito paññatto so vo mam' accayena satthā.

12. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda atta-dīpā viharatha atta-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā, dhammadīpā dhamma-saraṇā anaññasaraṇā.

*Dīgha Nikāya*, II. 100 = III. 42 : *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, V. 154 ;  
*Suttanipāta* 501 : attano guṇa eva attano dīpaṃ katvā.



tells him the most kindly words of consolation and of recognition of his loving attachment.<sup>13</sup> The verses, too, which are scattered in the *Sutta*, bear the stamp of the greatest antiquity.

It is evident that it was a favourite practice to utilise this famous and popular *Sutta* for inserting especially important texts into it, with a view to enhance their prestige by his means<sup>14</sup>; thus, for instance, also the *Dhammādāsa*, or “mirror of religion,”<sup>15</sup> the solemn confession of faith in the Buddha, the doctrine and the community, was inserted. The final redaction of the *Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta* can nevertheless only be of comparatively late date; for one passage speaks of the transmission and authority of the *Suttas* and of the *Vinaya* texts<sup>15a</sup>; and in the concluding section of the *Sutta*, mention is even made of Buddha relics and the erection of Stūpas, *i.e.*, the same Buddha who, in the beautiful dialogue with Ānanda, still stood before us as a simple man and teacher, already appears here as the object of a cult, which is not attested by monuments until the time of Aśoka.<sup>16</sup>

---

13. See, the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta*, *D. Nikāya*, II. p. 144, L. 10 ff.

14. However, in some cases, passages were originally in the *Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta*, and thence found their way into other text. The parallel texts have been collected by *Rhys Davids*, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II. p. 72. It is only by comparing the Pāli text minutely with the Sanskrit texts, in which fragments of a *Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra* have come down to us, and with the Tibetan and Chinese translations, that we can discern which parts of the *Sutta* are ancient and genuine. Cf. *Windisch*, *Māra and Buddha*, p. 33 ff., *Oldenberg*, *ZDNG* 52, 1898, p. 628; *J. S. Speyer*, *ZDMG* 53, 1899, p. 121 ff.; *J. Edkins*, *JRAS* 1831, p. 66 ff. For the Chinese translation of the *Mahā-Parinirvāṇa-Sūtras*, *Carlo Puini*, in *GSAI* 21, 1908, 59 ff.; 22, 1909, p. 1 ff. For a comparative study of the different *Parinirvāṇa* texts see *M. Przyluski* in *JA* 1918 1920, s, II, t, XI, 485 ff.; XII, 401 ff.; XV, 5 ff.

15. II, 8-10. Cf. *Saṃyuttanikāya* (Vol. V, p. 357) and *Theragāthā* 395, *H. Baynes* has published an enlarged form of the *Dhammādāsa*, as it is still recited at the present day at the *Pātimokkha* (*WZKM* 10, 1896, 242 ff.).

15a. IV, 7-11, *Dīgha*, Vol. II. p. 123 ff.; cf. *Anguttara-Nikāya*, IV, 180 (Vol. II, 167 ff.) and *Copleston*, *Buddhism*, p. 45. In IV, 10 ff. (Vol. II, p. 125) the knowers of the *Mātikās* are also mentioned.

16. Cf. *J. F. Fleet*, *JRAS* 1906 657 ff., who (l. c. 667 ff.) tries to prove that the *Sutta* could not have been composed before 375 B.C. It is believed that the final redaction must be placed a good deal later.

The discourses of Buddha as recorded in the *Nikāyas* are valuable specimens of dialogues and Rhys Davids brings out the importance of the same in the following lines :

“In depth of philosophic insight, in the method of Socratic questioning often adopted, in the earnest and elevated tone of the whole, in the evidence they afforded of the most cultured thought of the day, these discourses constantly remind the reader of the dialogues of Plato.”<sup>17</sup>

While introducing Buddhism, Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, in his *Indian Philosophy* (Vol. I, 11th Impression, 1983, reprinted in India, 1985, p. 342) looks at the teachings of Buddha from the standpoint of philosophy. In his words : “There is no question that the system of early Buddhism is one of the most original which the history of philosophy presents. In its fundamental ideas and essential spirit it approximates remarkably to the advanced scientific thought of the nineteenth century. The modern pessimistic philosophy of Germany, that of Schopenhauer and Hartmann, is only a revised version of ancient Buddhism. As far as the dynamic conception of reality is concerned, Buddhism is a splendid prophecy of the creative evolution of Bergson. Early Buddhism suggests the outline of a philosophy suited to the practical wants of the present day helpful in reconciling the conflict between faith and science.”

In his *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism*, Prof. T.R.V. Murti very appropriately has given expression to the importance of the religion and philosophy propagated by Buddha and has pointed out that directly and indirectly Buddha and Buddhism have exerted influence on the formation, development and modification of several important schools of thought in Indian philosophy. In his own words :

“Buddhism occupies the central position in the development of Indian philosophy. Brahmanical and Jaina systems grow under the direct stimulus of Buddhism. Schools and sub-schools sprang up without number. Doctrines were systematised and details were worked out under this pressure. Great attention came to be paid to logic and epistemology. Precise terminology was evolved, and an

---

17. *Dialogues of the Buddha—P.T.S. Part—II, Fourth Edition. pp. 173-175.*



immense śāstra-literature came into being. Indian philosophy became critical and richer : it gained in depth and comprehension.”<sup>18</sup>

Fausboll very appropriately speaks of Buddha as one of the heroes of humanity. In his own words. ‘The more I learn to know Buddha, the more I admire him, and the sooner all mankind still have been made acquainted with his doctrine, the better it will be, for he is certainly one of the heroes of humanity’.

18. p. 1. First published in Great Britain, 1955. First published in Unwin Paperbacks, 1980.

We may in this context refer to the fact that most of the philosophical schools affiliated to the Brahmanical thought became richer in contents by way of counteracting the Buddhist doctrines. Special reference may be made to the Nyāya school of thought. Compare in this context the opening verse of the *Nyāyavārtika* by Udyotakara :

Yad akṣapādaḥ pravaro munīnāṃ śamāya śāstram jāgato jagāda /  
Kutārkikāññānanivṛttihetuḥ kariṣyate tasya mayā nibandhaḥ //

(See its exposition and implication in the *Nyāyavārtika-tātparyā-tīkā* of Vācaspatimiśra :

Yadyapi bhaṣyakṛtā kṛtavyutpādanam etat tathāpi *Dinnāga*—prabhṛtibhir arvacīnaiḥ kuhetusantamasa-samutthāpanenācchāditaṃ śāstram tattvanirṇayāya paryāptam, iti... Udyotakareṇa svanibandhodyotena tad apaniyate...

See also his introductory verse ;

Icchāmi kim api puṇyam dustara-kunibandhapaṅkamagnānām /  
Udyotakaragavinām atijaratīnām samuddharaṇāt //

See Udayana’s *Ātmatattvaviveka* which is dedicated completely to the refutation of Buddhist essential doctrines.

See, *Ātmatattvaviveka*, edited with Bengali translation by Pt. Dinanath Tripāṭhī, Calcutta, 1984.

See also *Ātmatattvaviveka* of Udayana (Text and translation into English and notes, Part. 1, by Chitrarekha V. Kher and Shiv Kumar, Delhi, 1987.

See also *Nyāyamāñjarī* (specially the seventh *Āhnidka* where sarcastically the Buddhist doctrinal contradictions have been presented thus :

Nāsty ātmā phalabhogamātram atha ca svargāya caityārcanam  
Saṃskārāḥ kṣanikā yugasthitibhṛtaś caite viharāḥ kṛtāḥ /  
Sarvaṃ śūnyam idaṃ vasūni gurave dehīti cādiśyate  
Bauddhānām caritaṃ kim anyad iyaṭi dambhasya bhūmiḥ parā //

For elaboration of the point under discussion, see specially,

S.C. Vidyābbūṣaṇa. *A History of Indian Logic*. (Delhi, 1971, First published by the Calcutta University)

The point of academic struggle between the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika schools and the Buddhists ones, has been brought into picture in a better way by Dr. D. N. Shastri, in his *The Philosophy of Nyāyāvaiśeṣika and its conflict with the Dignāga school*. (Delhi, 1976).

The religion founded by Gautama—decidedly a modification of Brahmanism—devoid of its mystery, intolerance and exclusiveness and founded by a Kṣatriya prince, was not long before it spread amongst the people and became the state creed of the Majjhimadesa. Kings were amongst his first disciples, thousands of Brāhmaṇas and fire-worshippers were reckoned amongst his votaries, and nobles, merchants and itinerant traders formed his most attentive congregations. Patronised by the princes, supported by the nobles and encouraged by the state—the Śākya fraternity soon increased in numbers, enjoyed a much greater share of freedom than other denominations of ascetics and exercised far greater privileges than even the Brāhmaṇas or the layman of the realm.

With such adventitious aid Gautama's doctrines were specially disseminated far and wide. They went early into *Paccantadesa* beyond the confines of the *Majjhimadesa*. Wherever they went caravan-keepers carried the glad tidings of the new Teacher: merchants enlarged upon his virtues, the itinerant traders related his doctrines. Great was the joy of those who were brought to the knowledge of the same. Those who had come under its influence lost no time in following the sage. Kings deserted their thrones, governors and chieftains their high trusts, nobles and ministers their associations and all their happy homes, wives and children—for the yellow robe of the Śākya mendicant. Thus at no distant period from their first promulgation, the *Dhamma*<sup>19</sup> became the household words of the people, the theme of the travellers and the topic of epistolary correspondence between the princes.<sup>20</sup>

---

19. For a special study of the Buddhist concept of *Dharma*, see, Dr. Stcherbatsky's monograph 'the Central Conception of Buddhism' (1923) p. 73 and 'Dharmas of the Buddhist' in *I.H.O.* Vol. X (1924) pp. 737-760 (at pp. 740 ff) by the same author, Vide 'Buddhist conception of dharma' by Prof. P. T. Raju in *ABORI* Vol. XXI pp. 192-202: "Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy" by Prof. J. Takakusu (1956) particularly pp. 106-111: also Dr. E. Conze's 'Buddhist thought in India' (1962) pp. 92-103 for the different meaning of "Dharma and Dharmas" (elements of existence) in Buddhist works.

Vide Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (ed. of 1950) pp. 192-194 for Aśoka's Dhamma to be gathered from his Rock Edict's I, III, VII, IX, XII, and Pillar Edicts 2 and 3. There is not a word about god, the soul, about Buddha in these edicts.

20. Vide James Alwis, 'Buddhism', first published in the *Colombo Observer*, 22nd May, 1862; reprinted in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, (London 1883), pp. 39-40.



Asia is the grave as well as the cradle of religions. They have disappeared not merely with the crumbling of ancient civilisations, but have been swept away before the victorious progress of new forms of belief. One of the most widely spread of these spiritual conquerors has been Buddhism, extending from India over great portions of southern and central Asia and permeating the ancient religions of China and Japan.

The history of the Buddhist faith begins with a band of mendicant monks who gathered round the person of Gotama, the Buddha, in the country bordering on the Ganges, about five hundred years before the commencement of the Christian era. What bound them together and gave a stamp to their simple and earnest world of thought, was the deeply felt and clearly and sternly expressed consciousness, that all earthly existence is full of sorrow, and that the only deliverance from sorrow is in renunciation of the world and eternal rest. The ideal was to render assistance for the betterment of the suffering humanity and the nature of *dhamma*, was considered to be beneficial at all the stages of life.<sup>21</sup>

An itinerant teacher and his itinerant followers, not unlike those bands, who in later times bore through Galilee the tidings : “the kingdom of heaven is at hand, “went through the realms of India with the burden of sorrow and death, and the announcement : “open ye your ears ; the deliverance from death is found.”<sup>22</sup>

Buddha was not only “the teacher of the Way” and “the producer of the unproduced Path” ; he was for the Buddhist the actuality of the central doctrine, the one who had lived it and reached the goal.

21. See here the word of Lord Buddha is recorded in the *Samyutta Nikāya*, 1,105 :

Bhagavā etad avoca, Mutto-haṃ bhikkhave sabbapāsehi ye dibbā ye ca mānūsā. Tumhe pi bhikkhave muttā sabbapāsehi ye dibbā ye ca mānūsā ; caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujaṇahitāya bahujaṇasukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamettha ; Desetha bhikkhave dhammam ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāṇa-kalyāṇaṃ.

See also. Ibid at p. 97 : Tasmā kareyya kalyāṇaṃ.....

22. For the gateway to *Nibbāna*, see the expression : *amatādvāra*, *M.* 1. 35. 3 ; *S.* 1.137 : —*Vin.* 1.5 ; *S.* II. 45, 58, 80 ; *A.V.* 346 ; For the path to Ambrosia, See *Dh A*, 1.94. (*amata-magga*) : for the drum of (See also : *apārutā tesāṃ amatassa dvārā*, *M.* 1. 169 ; *Vin.* 1.7) immortality (*amata- Dundubhi*) see *M.* 1.353 ; *Vin.* 1.8 ;

For exposition of the term, See Buddhaghosa in *Kh A*, 180 (on *Sn.* 225) : Na na jīyati na miyati ti amataṃ ti vuccati.

Hence everything that we learn in the Scriptures about his personal history is coloured by dogmatic views concerning the nature and destiny of a Buddha, and of those acts which were essential steps in his career. The records of personal details which we find in the Scriptures are generally not the Buddha-word but additions due mainly to classes of reciters (*bhāṇaka*) of the discourses. The two most important classes were the reciters of the *Dīgha* and the reciters of the *Majjhima*, and it is easy to see that they possessed traditions which sometimes became incorporated in the text. We also find divergent traditions, for the *Jātaka* commentator after telling how the four signs, which appeared to Gotama just before he left the world, occurred on different day, adds, the *Dīgha*-reciters, however, say that they happened on the same day.”<sup>23</sup> Evidently unwritten divergent traditions existed.

This is most obvious in the case of the statements attached to each discourse saying where and on what occasion it was given.<sup>24</sup> Some of these may be genuine records, but the fact that in the case of every discourse the same kind of statement is given marks it probable that many of them rest on surmise. Besides such formal statements we often find complete legends. These are most frequent in the *Vinaya*, where each rule is furnished with an account of the event which led to its promulgation; but legends of the same kind occur in the *suttas*, their insertion there being justified by the Buddha-word which they contain. Passages like these make it probable that they were part of a complete legend, but a continuous life of Buddha, except in a very concise form, is not found until long after the close of the Pali Canon. In several schools the separate legends of the *Vinaya* were collected to form an *avadāna*, a complete account of the “heroic deeds” of the Master. In the *Mahāsaṅghika* school it was *Mahāvastu*. From Chinese sources we hear of several *Sarvāstivāda* schools which had such a biography, and the *Lalita-vistara* is probably a Mahāyāna elaboration of a *Sarvāstivāda* *avadāna*. All these works conclude with the Enlightenment and the immediately following events of “setting in motion the Wheel of the Doctrine”.

---

23. *Jat.*, I. 59.

24. These statements are called *nidānas*, and sometimes are merely indicated, e.g. *Sāvatthi nidānam* “occasion at Savatthi”, or merely “Sāvatthi”, meaning that the whole usual statement about Buddha staying there is to be repeated. The commentator on the *Buddhavaṃsa* draws attention to the fact that this work begins without a *nidāna*.



The Pali Canon has no such work, but in several commentaries biographical accounts are found. Of these the most important is the Introduction to the *Jāṭaka*, the *Nidāna-kathā*. Its account of Buddha's previous existences is based on the *Buddhavaṃsa*<sup>25</sup>, and story of his last existence is taken from the commentaries and the Canon. Its special importance is that it shows a definite stage in the growth of the Buddha doctrine, as it can be compared both with what we find in other schools and with the statements in the Canon. Its chief difference from earlier accounts lies in its developed doctrine of the *Bodhisattva*<sup>26</sup> and his ten Perfections, the ten

25. One of the shorter books of the *Khuddakanikāya*, containing poetical legends of the Buddhas, who are supposed to have preceded Gotama Buddha in the last twelve *Kalpas* of the world. After an introductory chapter one chapter is dedicated to each of the 24 former Buddhas. The commentator of the *Buddhavaṃsa* observes that the work was proclaimed and recited by Gotama Buddha himself and was handed down in an uninterrupted line of Theras, to the time of the *Third Council*. The text is edited by R. Morris, P.T.S, London, 1882. On the dogma of multiplicity of Buddhas, see Oldenberg, *Buudha* p. 370 ff. and Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 62 ff. The 23rd Buddha of the *Buddhavaṃsa*. had a *stupa* which was restored by Aśoka, for which see Bühler, *WZKM*, 9, 1895, pp. 175 ff.

26. For a detailed account of the *Bodhisattva* Doctrine reference may be made to, Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, Patna.

*Bodhisattva*—Page 4-9.

The Sanskrit word *bodhisattva* has been explained in different ways. Bodhi means "Enlightenment". But several interpretations of the word *sattva* have been offered by ancient and modern scholars.

(1) *Sattva* may mean "Wesen, charakter", "essence, nature, true essence". (Skt. W. Dicy Pog. and Skt. Dicy, M.) The Pali word *satta* may also mean "substance" (Pali Dicy. S.V.).

(2) "*Sattva*" (masculine) may mean "any living or sentient being" (Skt. Dicy. M. W.), "ein lebendes Wesen" (Skt. Dicy. Pbg.). The word *sattva* may mean "a living being, creature, a sentient and rational being, Person" Pali Dicy. S.V.).

(3) *Sattva* may mean "Spirit, mind, sense, consciousness", "Geint" Skt. Dicy. M. W. and Pbg.). The Pali word *satta* may also mean "soul" (Pali Dicy. S.V.).

(4) *Sattva* may mean "embryo" (Skt. Dicy. M.W.)

(5) *Sattva* may have the same meaning as it has in the *yoga-sūtras* where it is opposed to *Puruṣa* and means "mind, intelligence". This interpretation is offered by E. Senart, who believes that Buddhism was profoundly influenced by the yoga system.

virtues<sup>27</sup> which he practises during his preparation for Buddhahood. They are mentioned only in the two latest books of the *Sutta-piṭaka*.

*The Scriptures and their commentaries.*—The Buddhist Scriptures have often been consciously or unconsciously brought into comparison with the writings of the New Testament. The result is extremely misleading unless the differences as historical records are also realised. The composition of the Gospels and Epistles is not without problems, but the questions concerning the origination and growth of the Buddhist Canon are far more complex. Buddhism spread rapidly, and soon split up into schools. The Singhalese Chronicles as well as Buddhist Sanskrit works record the names of eighteen schools that arose before the end of the second century after Buddha's death. Some of these were merely schools and disappeared, but others became definite sects with their own Scriptures. As the authoritative teaching represented by the dogmatic utterances and discourses of the Founder were not recorded in writing, but were memorised by each school, differences inevitably began to appear. The earliest period at which we have evidence for the existence of a body of Scriptures approximating to the present Canon is at the third Council held B.C. 247, 236 years after the death of Buddha. But this was only the assembly of one school, the *Theravāda*, and it is the Canon of this school which we now possess. From the Chinese translations and fragments of Sanskrit works still in existence we can be sure that other forms of the Canon already existed in other schools. The Canon of the *Theravāda*,

---

H. Kern is of opinion that the first word *bodhi* may be related to the *buddhi* of the yoga system, especially as the word *buddhisattva* is found in the literature of yoga. A *bodhisattva* would thus be a personification of potential intelligence.

(6) *Sattva* may be a wrongly Sanskritized form of the Pāli word *satta*, which may correspond to Skt. *sakta*. Thus Pāli *bodhisattva*, from which the Sanskrit word is derived, would mean *bodhi-sakta*, "one who is devoted or attached to *bodhi*".

(7) "*Sattva*" may mean "Strength, energy, vigour, power, courage". The word *bodhisattva* would then mean, "one whose energy and power is directed towards *bodhi*".

The Tibetan lexicographers translate *bodhisattva* as *byañ chulb sems-dpaḥ*. In this compound, *byañ-chulb* means *bodhi*, *sems* means "mind or "heart", and *dpaḥ* signifies "hero, strong man" (=Skt. *Cūra*, *vīra*).

27. For detail history relating to the *Pāramitās*, see M. Winteritz.

A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, 2nd Edn. Delhi, pp. 313-324.



'the School of the Elders', is divided, as in the other schools, into the *Dhamma*, the doctrine as comprised in the *Suttas*, or discourses, the *Vinaya*, the disciplinary rules for the monks, and the *Abhidhamma*, scholastic elaborations of the Dhamma. The original language is held to have been, and probably was in fact, Māgadhi, the language of the Magadhas, among whom the doctrine was first spread. But the present Scriptures are preserved by the Singhalese, Burmese, and Siamese in a dialect known from the time of the commentaries as Pali (lit. 'text' of the Scriptures), and there is no general agreement among scholars as to the district where this dialect originated.

In the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya* we possess, not a historical framework containing discourses, as in the case of the Gospels, but simply discourses and other dogmatic utterances, to which traditions and commentarial legends have latter become attached. This is most clearly seen in the case of the *Vinaya*, where the whole, except the statement of each rule, is an accretion of legendary matter. But the same is also true of the Discourses. The legends have no sacrosanct character, except perhaps in the eyes of modern pious Buddhists, but are recognised by the commentators as being the traditions of the schools that repeated the texts, and sometimes different versions of the same event are recorded. Certain passages are also expressly recognised as being additions of the revisers. In the commentaries proper and in other works based on them we find separate traditions, which later were elaborated into a continuous legend. They often show a distinct development from those preserved in the Canon. The earliest form of the Sanskrit tradition is the collection of legends preserved in the Tibetan Scriptures, chiefly in the *Vinaya*. The most important have been translated by W. W. Rockhill as *Life of the Buddha*. Later Sanskrit works are the *Mahāvastu*<sup>28</sup> and the *Lalita-vistara*,<sup>29</sup> both of them showing traces of

28. *Mahāvastu* or *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, calls itself a book of the *Vinayopitaka* according to the text of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṃghikas. Mahāvastu means 'the great subjects'—the main subjects of the *Vinaya*. Mahāvastu-Avadāna means 'the legends pertaining to the main subjects of the *Vinaya*'. H. Zimmer (in ZII 3. 1925, 201ff) is in favour of proving that *avadāna* is same as *nidāna* 'origin', or 'original cause' and thereby explaining *Mahāvastu* as 'the great fact of salvation'. Winternitz is opposed to this interpretation. For detailed analysis of the text specially regarding its value containing the life of Buddha, see Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, Second edition, 1972, Delhi., pp. 239-247

being based on originals in a popular dialect, and both of them being canonical in certain schools. The *Mahāvastu*, 'the Great Story', is drawn from the Vinaya of the *Lokottara* branch of the *Mahāsaṅghika* school. It contains, like the Vinaya of other schools, a great mass of legends, and its original basis of disciplinary rules has mostly disappeared or become disguised through its importance as a collection of tales and poems. These often correspond verbally with the Pali texts, but still more with the legends of the Pali commentaries. The *Lalitavistara*, 'the extended account of the sports' (of the future Buddha) is a continuous narrative of the life Buddha from his decision to be born down to his first sermon. In its present form it is a Mahāyāna sūtra, but some portions both in prose and verse correspond closely with Pali passages, and are probably quite as old. They are survivals of a Canon that must once have existed side by side with the Pali, and of the kind which is still found in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Other verse portions are in the so called *gāthā*-dialect, the dialect of the *gāthās* or verses, also called mixed Sanskrit, but it is essentially Prakrit, a popular dialect, which has been turned into Sanskrit so far as the metre would allow. The *Mahāyāna* framework of the whole, in which the compiler has arranged his materials is necessarily later still. Its date in its present form is put by Winternitz in the third century A.D.

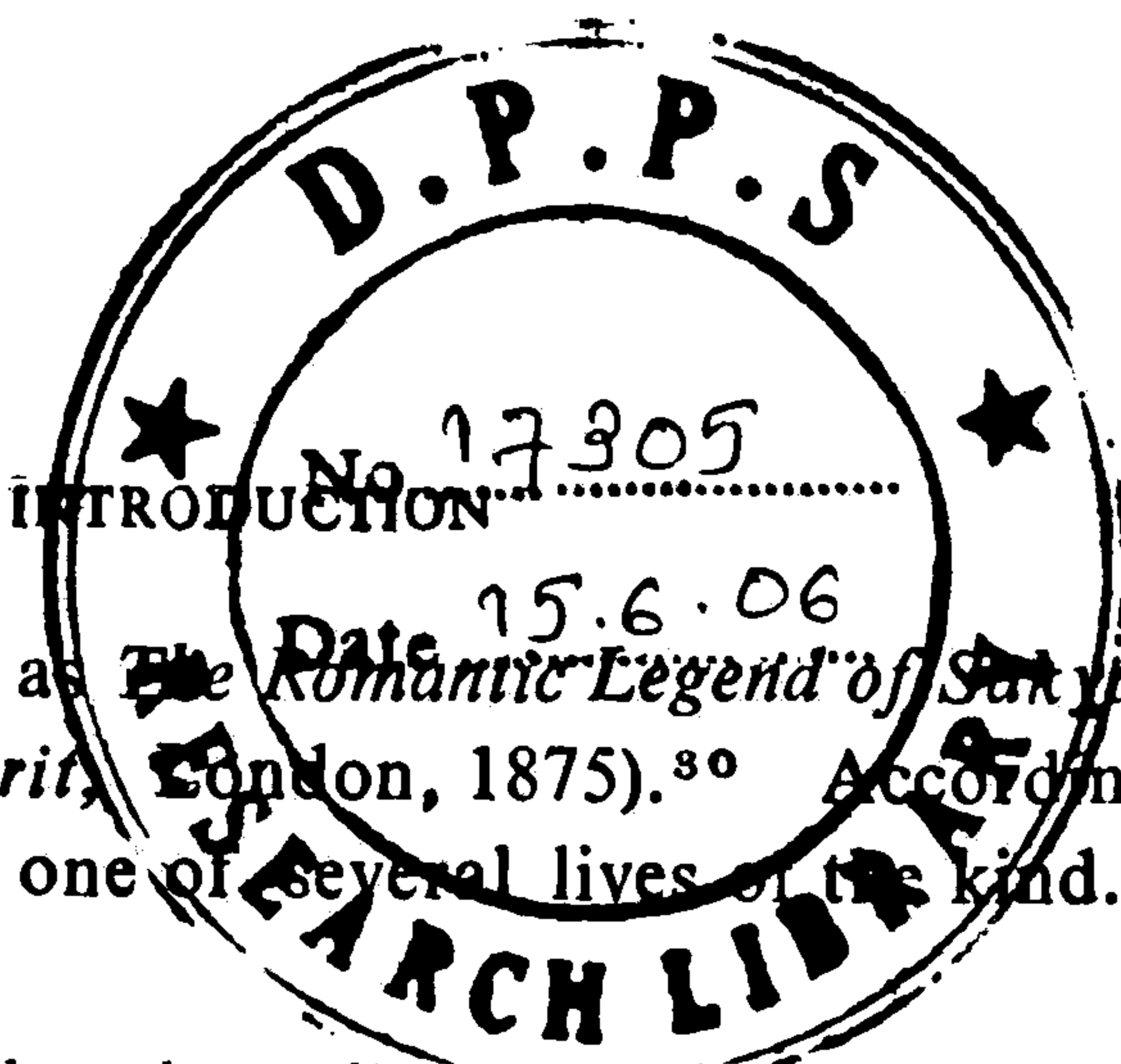
Another Sanskrit work, the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*, now exists only in a Chinese translation. An abridged translation in English

---

For edition of the text by Senart, and Bengali translation in parts by R. G. Basak, Calcutta.

29. The *Lalita-Vistara* is regarded as one of the most sacred Mahāyāna texts, calling itself a *Vaipulya-Sūtra* ("discourse of great extent")—this being an ordinary term for Mahāyāna Sūtras and exhibits all the peculiarities of a *Mahāyāna Sūtra*, although the work originally contained the life-story of the Buddha for the Sarvāstivādins of the Hīnayāna. However, the mere title *Lalita-Vistara*, i.e., "the detailed narration of the sport (of the Buddha)", corresponds to Mahāyānistic ideas. The life and work of the Buddha on earth is thus termed "the sport" (*lalita*) of a supernatural being. First edition by Rajendralāl Mitra in Bibl. Ind, 1877; Next edition by S. Lefmann, Halle a, s, 1902 and 1908. The English Translation by Rajendralāl Mitra (Bibl. Ind. 1881-1886) only goes as far as chapter XV, chapters I-V translated into German by S. Lefmann, Berlin 1875; a complete French translation by Ph. Ed. Foucaux in AMG, pt. 6 et 19. (Paris, 1884, 1892).





has been published by Beal as *The Romantic Legend of Sakya-Buddha* (from the *Chinese Sanskrit*, London, 1875).<sup>30</sup> According to the Chinese translator it was one of several lives of the kind. It gives

It is very probable that the *Lalita-Vistara* is a recast of an older Hīnayāna Text, the Buddha biography of the Sarvāstivāda school, enlarged and embellished in the spirit of the Mahāyāna. This supposition also explains the character of the text, which is by no means the unified work of one author, but an anonymous compilation, in which very early and very recent passages stand side by side. In form, too, the work consists of unequal parts, a continuous narrative in Sanskrit prose, and numerous, often long, metrical passages in "mixed Sanskrit". F. Weller, *Zum Lalita-Vistara*, 1, Über die Prosa des Lalita Vistara, Leipzig Diss, 1915, has made it seem probable that even the prose in the *Lalita-Vistara* was not originally written in Sanskrit, but in a dialect akin to the prose of the *Mahāvastu*, and that it was not Sanskritized until later. When the *Lalita-Vistara* was finally edited, we do not know. It was formerly erroneously stated that the work had been translated into Chinese as early as in the first century A. D. The artists adorned the Graeco-Buddhist monuments of Northern India with scenes from the life of the Buddha. They have been familiar with the Buddha legend, as it is related in the *Lalita-Vistara*. The *Lalita-Vistara* offers us very old traditions concerning the Buddha legend. It is an important source for ancient Buddhism only in those passages which agree with the Pāli texts and other Sanskrit texts such as the *Mahāvastu*. The work is of immense value from the point of view of the history of religion. From the point of view of the history of literature, too, the *Lalita-Vistara* is one of the most important works of Buddhist scripture.

30. This work is a translation of the *Chinese version* of the "*Abhinīṣkramaṇa—Sūtra*" (Wassilief (*Boudhisme*, p. 114), done into that language by *Djñānakuta*, a Buddhist priest from North India, who resided in China during the *Tsui* dynasty, i.e., about the end of the sixth century A.D.

It would seem from a consideration of the title of the seventeenth chapter, On "Leaving the palace to become a Recluse", that originally the story of the "*Abhinīṣkramaṇa*" (Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 333, has an instructive note on this word. The expression used in the Chinese perfectly confirms his criticism; *Shi-kung cluh-kia*, "leaving the palace to become a recluse", is the title of the chapter in question) was simply that of Buddha's flight from his palace to become an ascetic. Afterwards, the same title was applied to the complete legend (as in the present work), which includes his previous and subsequent history,

A very valuable date, later than which we cannot place the origin of the story, may be derived from the colophon at the end of the last chapter of the book. It is there stated that the "*Abhinīṣkramaṇa Sūtra*" is called by the school of the *Dharmaguptas* *Shi-kia-nu-ni-Fo-pen-king*; by the Sarvāstivādas it is called *Ta-chwong-yen* (great magnificence, i.e., "*Lalita*

the story of Buddha down to the early period of his preaching, and represents the legend much as it is found in the *Mahāvastu*, but

---

*Vistara*"); by the *Mahāsaṃghikas* it is called *Ta-sse*, i.e., *Mahāvastu* [The Chinese title of this book is given by Wassilief (*Bouddhisme*,) 114, as "*da cine*", in the German edition (*Der Buddhismus*, 114 as "*ta-king*", in either case I suppose there is a mistake of transcription, as the title is plainly "*ta-see*", the 'great thing or compilation'. That this is really the equivalent of "*Mahāvastu*" is evident, not only because "*vastu*" is the literal rendering of "*ase*", *thing*—but also from the remarks of Bournouf (*Introd. to Ind. Bud*, p. 452). The latter writer speaks of the *Mahāvastu*, as "*volumneus recueil de legendes relatives a la vie religieuse de Cakya*", a description which agrees completely with the character of the work here translated.]

We know from the "Chinese Encyclopaedia", *Kai-yuen-shi kiau-mu-lu*, that the *Fo-pen-hing* was translated into Chinese from Sanscrit, by a priest called Chu-fa-lan, so early as the eleventh year of the reign of Wing-ping (*Ming-ti*) of the Han dynasty, i.e., 69 or 70 A.D. We may, therefore, safely suppose that the original work was in circulation in India for some time previous to this date.

It must be borne in mind, however, that several translations of the "Legend of Buddha" are quoted under the name *Fo-pen-hing*. [Amongst others, the work here translated is constantly referred to in the "*Fa-yuen-chu-lin*" (e. gr., *Yuen*, 8th fol.  $\frac{31}{2}$ ) and in the "*Commentary of Wong-Puh*", as the *Fo-pen-hing*. The first, which we have already alluded to, the original of which was lost so early as the beginning of the Tang dynasty, was in five chapters (*kiouen*). There is allusion to another translation (*Kai-yuen-shi-kiau-mu-lu*, vol. I, chap. i, fol.  $\frac{36}{2}$ ), bearing the same name but in one chapter, now lost. Again, it is stated (vol. ii, chap. xiii, fol.  $\frac{20}{2}$  and vol. iii, chap. xx, fol.  $\frac{32}{2}$  *op. cit.*) that a work called *Fo-o-hing-tsan-king-fu*", in five chapters, composed originally by Asvaghōṣha, and translated into Chinese by Dharmalatsin, an Indian priest of the Northern Liang Dynasty (502-555 A.D.), is also called by many writers of *Fo-pen-hing*. Again (Vol. ii, chap. xiii, fol.  $\frac{21}{2}$ , *op. cit.*) it is said that a work called *Fo-pen-hing-king*, in seven chapters, was translated by a Shaman of Liang-Chan (called *Ratnamegha*, chap. xx, fol.  $\frac{32}{2}$  *op. cit.*), of the Sung dynasty 420-477. A.D. The writer then adds that this last named translation is sometimes called *Fo-pen-hing-tsan-king*. The Chinese word *tsan* is generally used to denote the class of Buddhist works known in Sanskrit as *Udānas*, i.e., works composed in laudatory verses (This copy of the *Fo-pen-hing*, is probably another translation of the one originally composed by Asvaghosa *in verse*. The date of Asvaghosa is uncertain; we know that he was contemporary with Nāgārjuna, who is generally placed 400 years after Buddha; we shall not be wrong, therefore, if we suppose him to have lived somewhere during the first century B.C.).

These statements are in agreement with the opinion of the learned translator of the "*Lalita Vistara*" from the Tibetan. In his opinion, that

arranged as a continuous story. These three works represent a later stage of the legend than we find in the Pali and Tibetan Vinaya. They are definite compilations by individuals on the basis of the earlier texts and commentaries, and the growth of the legend therein can be easily seen.

---

work was finally adjusted in its present form at the last council held under Kanishka, (the date of Kanishka is the great desideratum in the History of Northern Buddhism), four hundred years after the death of Buddha. "This would give it an antiquity of two thousand years", he adds, (*Histoire du Bouddha Sakya-Mouni*, by Mme. Mary Summers, Index, *Sub Voc*, "*Lalita Vistura*"), although the original treatise must be attributed to an earlier date.

The inscriptions found on Buddhist ruins, recently discovered in India, confirm this hypothesis. Many of the stories related in the following pages, are for sculptured at Sanchi, and some, as I believe, at Bharhut. If the date of these topes is to be placed between Aśoka (about 300 B.C.) and the first century of the Christian era, it will be seen that the Records of the Books and of the stone Sculptures are in agreement.

The author of "Three Lectures on Buddhism", states, however, "that nearly all the legends which claim to refer to events many centuries before Christ, cannot be proved to have been in circulation earlier than the 5th or 6th century A.D." (*Three Lectures on Buddhism*, by the Rev. E. Eitel, Lec. i, p. 5). The legends to which this writer refers are these, "the pre-existence of Buddha in heaven—his birth of a virgin—salutation by angels—recognition by Asita (Simeon)—presentation in the Temple—baptism by fire and water—disputation with the doctors—temptation in the wilderness—life passed in preaching and working miracles—transfiguration on the mount—descent into hell—ascension into heaven," etc. Some of these events I do not find named in any Chinese work within my reach. But others are undoubtedly commonly referred to. The previous existence of Bodhisatva in heaven—his miraculous incarnation—the songs of the Suddhvasa Devas (angels) at his birth—the events of his early childhood—his temptation in the desert—and his life of continual labour and travel—these points of agreement with the Gospel narrative naturally arouse curiosity and require examination. (They have ever done so. The Franciscan monk Plano Carini reports that "the Cathayans have an Old and New Testament of their own, and Lives of the Fathers, and religious, and recluses, and buildings used for churches," etc.—*Yule's Cathay*. Compare also what Andrew Corsalis says in his letter to Duke Lorenzo de' Medici (-*do- cxli*, n). In a Chinese work on the "Art of War" (under the heading *Fa-lan-ki-gun*), it is particularly mentioned that the Portuguese on their first visit to Canton from Malacca, spent the greater portion of their time in reading Buddhist books. (For other allusions *vide Yule, op. cit., passim*, and other writers down to Huc and Gabet).



In the Pali there is also a similar class of works. The *Nidāna-kathā*, forming the introduction to the Jātaka commentary, like the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* gives the story of Buddha down to the

---

If we could prove that they were unknown in the East for some centuries *after* Christ, the explanation would be easy. But all the evidence we have goes to prove the contrary. Nor can we dismiss this consideration in the way a late writer has done (Bastian, "*Weltauffassung der Buddhisten*", p. 18), by saying that all these legends or stories (*erzählungen*), wherever found, are equally worthless, that they are, in fact, "exploded myths".

How then may we explain the matter? It would be better at once to say that in our present state of knowledge there is no complete explanation to offer. We must wait until dates are finally and certainly fixed.

(It would be a natural inference that many of the events in the legend of Buddha were borrowed from the Apocryphal Gospels (compare, *e. gr.*, the "Gospel of the infancy", chap. XX; "Our Lord learning his alphabet", with the account given in chap. xi, of this volume), if we were quite certain that these Apocryphal Gospels have not borrowed from it.

We cannot doubt, however, that there was a large mixture of Eastern tradition, and perhaps Eastern teaching, running through Jewish literature at the time of Christ's birth, and it is not unlikely that a certain amount of Hebrew folklore had found its way to the East. It will be enough for the present to denote this intercommunication of thought, without entering into minute comparisons.

(Readers will observe several coincidences in the following pages beyond those already referred to). The most singular of these is the aim of Buddha to establish a "Religious Kingdom" (*Dharmacakra*), *i.e.* "a Kingdom of Heaven." We are told again (Lightfoot, *Exercit. Talmud*, sub. chap. ix. v. 2, St. John's Gospel) that the Jews believed in the pre-existence of souls, and a modified form of the metempsychosis. The singular agreement between the Buddhist "Metta", and the "Charity" of the New Testament has called forth a remark from Mr. Alwais that the coincidence is "very remarkable" (*Pali Translations*, part, 1 p. 16). The account given by St. Peter (p. ii. cap. 3) of the earth once destroyed by water, and about to be destroyed by fire, is in agreement with the Buddhist story (*vide Catena*, sub. *voc.*, Kalpa); many other parallels might be pointed out.)

It would be out of place in a work like this to enter into questions which seem to present such little difficulty to the numerous writers on Buddhism, who, in their lectures and articles tell us that it teaches atheism, annihilation, and the non-existence of soul. These statements are more easily made than proved. It would be better, at least, if they were not so frequently repeated in the face of contrary statements made by those well able to judge respecting the matter.

(Compare for instance the remarks of the priest Migettuwatte, in the controversy held at Panture, August 26th, 1873, respecting the existence of

events after the Enlightenment, but it also records the previous periods from the time cycles ago, when at the feet of Dipaṅkara, the Buddha of that time, he first formed the resolution to become a Buddha. The commentary on the *Buddhvaṃsa*, has a similar account, and also gives, or rather invents, a chronology for the first twenty years of his preaching. It is on such material that still later works in Singhalese and Burmese are based ; and now that their sources are accessible, they are chiefly interesting as examples of hagiographical industry. The same is true of the Tibetan work composed in 1734, which has been summarised in German by Schiefner as *Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Cākja Muni's*, and Klaproth's

---

“individual soul.” Many of the writers on “Buddhism” place such implicit faith in the statements of M. Bart, St. Hilaire as to adopt his clever epigrams as facts, without enquiry.)

I have called this work a “Romantic Legend”, because, as is well known, the first romances were merely metrical histories. There can be no doubt that the present work contains as a woof (so to speak), some of the earliest verses (*gāthās*) in which the History of Buddha was sung, long before the work itself was penned. These verses, even in the Chinese, are frequently so confused (like the Greek chrous) as to defy exact analysis. They were evidently composed in another dialect. Just as “the Romance language was first employed to signify the Roman language, as spoken in European provinces”, so these *gāthās* were evidently composed in different Prakrit forms (during a period of disintegration) before the more modern type of Sanskrit was fixed by the Rules of Pāṇini, and the popular epics of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.

The interest of the book will be found to result, not from any critical studies (which I would fain have attempted), found herein, but from the stories which throw light on contemporaneous architectural works in India. (An interesting identification is derived from p. 302 in the present work, from which we see that fig. 2, pl. xxxi, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, relates to Buddha, when a fierce storm inundated the region of Uravilva. It is plain, from the trees being half immersed, that the occasion is a sudden inundation ; the square or oblong dry spot in front, is where Buddha had been sitting ; the boat in front is that in which he suddenly appears ; and the figtree and throne on the right, fix the locality as in the neighbourhood of Uravilva. It is satisfactory to be able to explain this scene which has hitherto baffled the curiosity of those interested in the subject),

One or two of these stories occur in the *Pañcatantra*. With respect to others, they are at least amusing, and lend an interest to the subject (from their very *naiveté*), if not of any scientific value.

[It may be noted that this foot-note is almost word for word *Introduction* of the text of Beal.]

*Vie de Buddha d'après les livres môngols.* Several other works in Siamese and Cambodian do not need special mention.

These documents do not themselves form a basis for a historical account. It is impossible to determine from them any credible chronology, and the Buddhists themselves failed to do so. The various calculations for the date of Buddha's death in Pali and Sanskrit works vary by centuries.

*The Chronicles and the Purāṇas*,—The basis for a chronology is found in the two Pali chronicles and the Hindu *Purāṇas*, to which may be added the data drawn from Jain works. The *Purāṇas* are a number of compositions containing theological, cosmological, and legendary matter in the style of the epic poems.<sup>31</sup> They are the nearest approach to historical works that we find in ancient India, though their aim was not the mere recording of events, but the glorification of the royal patrons at whose courts they were recited. With this purpose they give the genealogies of various ruling families of Northern India, and in these we have a genuine tradition; but the genealogies are fitted on to the general cosmological theories, and are carried back through earlier ages to Manu, the first man of this cycle, the son of Vivasvat or the Sun. Other pedigrees are traced back to Atri, whose son was Soma or the Moon. From the solar or lunar dynasty various royal lines trace their ancestry, and it was probably due to Puranic influence that the ancestry of Buddha was evolved into a solar dynasty, and that Buddha thus received his epithet of *ādiccabandhu*—'kinsman of the sun.'

---

31. *Journal des savants* 1905, p. 539. The reliability of the chronicles is also supported by Max Mueller SBE, Vol. 10(1), pp. XIII-XXV; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 274 f; H. C. Norman, JRAS 1908, 1 ff. In his investigations into the history of the Canon (see above Note 1 on p. 3) Oldenberg has several times quoted the authority of the particulars given by Dip. and Mah. Fleet (JRAS 1909, pp. 987 and 1015) says that the Dipavaṃsa rests on local recordings from the time of Aśoka, and that in the Mahāvaṃsa 32 actually the last words of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi are contained. Very poor opinion of the reliability of the chronicles as sources of history is expressed by V. A. Smith (Ind, Ant, 32, 1903, p. 365f) and R. O. Franke JPTS 1908, p. 1. Against Franke, see Geiger ZDMG 63, 1909, p. 550. "The Mahāvaṃsa Trans.", pp. XII ff. XV ff. XX ff. Hultsch (JRAS 1913, p. 517 ff.) has succeeded in tracing synchronisms even between the later additions to the Mahāvaṃsa (for the period from the 10th to the 12th century) and the inscriptions. On Mahāvaṃsa and Cūlavaṃsa as sources of history, see also, Geiger in Ind. Hist. Qu. VI, 1930, 208ff.



The Pali Chronicles in their form as literary works are undoubtedly later than the genealogical portion of the *Purāṇas*, and correspond to them in two important features, first in the mythological genealogy down to Buddha's family, which is made a branch of the royal house of the Kośalas, and secondly in the historical traditions of the kings of the Magadhas. The Chronicles have been treated as if the question were that of their historicity as against the testimony of the *Purāṇas*, but the real question is whether there is a historical basis for a tradition that in both cases has been preserved by the very imperfect means of oral transmission. The actual historical deductions need not be discussed at this point, as we are concerned only with the question of the possibility of placing the life of Buddha within a definite period of Indian history. What is certain is that the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon do not "stand on their own tottering feet", but that their records of Indian history are traditions that originated in India, and must be judged in conjunction with the rest. They are corroborated in their main outlines by the Purāṇic and Jain traditions; and as they were not composed as royal panegyrics, there is less likelihood of the perversion of facts than in the *Purāṇas*.

The chronological relations with general history have been determined by the discovery of Sir Willim Jones that the Condagutta (Candragupta) of the Chronicles and *Purāṇas* is the 'Sandrocottos' of Strabo and Justin, the Indian king who about 303 B.C. made a treaty with Seleucus Nicator, and at whose court Megasthenes resided for some years as ambassador.

The Chronicles are the *Dīpavaṃsa*, 'the Island Chronicle', and the *Mahāvaṃsa*, 'the Great Chronicle'. The former belongs to the fourth century A.D., and was composed in Pali on the basis of old Singhalese commentaries. The *Mahāvaṃsa* is a rehandling of the same material with additional matter referring to the Singhalese history, and belongs to the fifth century. Both works begin with Buddha's enlightenment and the early events of his preaching, followed by the legend of his miraculous visits to Ceylon, and a list of the dynasties of the kings of this cycle down to Buddha. Then follows the history of the three Councils and the kings of the Magadhas down to Aśoka, and the mission of his son Mahindra to Ceylon. The rest consists of the history of Ceylon down to king Mahasena (352 A. D.). The *Mahāvaṃsa* continued to receive

additions recording the history of Ceylon down to a much later period.

The relation of the Pali sources to the Sanskrit has recently been stated by M. Masson Oursel in an interesting note in his *Esquisse d, une histoire de la philosophie indienne* :

During the second half of the nineteenth century the problem of the Buddhist sources was debated between partisans of the authenticity of the Pali Canon and partisans of the authenticity of the Sanskrit. The first, whose protagonist was Oldenberg, allowed the relative integrity of the Pali Canon preserved in Ceylon. The Sanskrit works, relatively poor, composed chiefly of the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, appeared to them fragmentary, derived, and mixed with adventitious elements. The others, who like Burnouf draw from materials brought from Nepal by Hodgson, rely on Northern documents. Noticing the multiplicity of sects attested by the most ancient witnesses they refuse to hold the Pali Canon as solely primitive, although so complete. Minayeff is their chief authority. The twentieth century has renewed the question by minute criticism of texts and widened the discussion. The Sanskrit Canon has been immensely increased by the discovery in Tibetan and Chinese of documents translated from Sanskrit originals now lost, but which put the philologists in possession of methods more and more certain. Further, the Chinese collection has preserved for us not a single Canon, but fragments of several, as well as five Vinayas. Finally, the discoveries in Central Asia make it certain that there existed a plurality of Canons as much developed as the Pali. Hence there is nothing to justify the ancient prejudice that one of these Canons, e.g. the Pali, should be more ancient than the others. Strong presumptions allow us to infer the existence of one or more versions, from which have come both Pali and Sanskrit texts and others as well, without doubt in more ancient dialects.

This passage illustrates the confusion of thought which has existed even in the mere statement of the problem. No scholar maintains that the Pali Canon is “solely primitive”, and the discovery of forms of the Canon in Chinese has only helped to lay bare the Sanskrit works as “fragmentary, derived, and mixed with adventitious elements.” But the real question in dispute was that of the relative value of the legendary or quasi-historical matter. On this point Senart in writing his *Essai sur la légende du Buddha* said, “le Lalita

Vistara demeure la source principale des récits qui font l'objet des présentes recherches, mais non pas la source unique." That was an intelligible position in 1873, when the Pali Canon was practically unknown, but since then no supporter of the Sanskrit tradition has brought forward anything from the Chinese or from the documents of Central Asia to support the *Lalita-vistara* as a rival of the Pali. This work is still, as Rhys Davids said, "of about the same value as some mediaeval poems would be of the real facts of the Gospel history."

On the other hand there is a fact that has not always been recognised. We have nothing, even in the Pali, at all like "the real facts of the Gospel history" to put in the place of the Sanskrit legend. We have merely other forms of the same legend, some earlier and some later. If it were merely a question of asking what is the net value of the history to be gathered from the *Lalita-vistara*, we could deal with it very summarily, but it is a legend which has grown, and which we can trace at different stages. More properly speaking, it is the growth of a number of legends, which existed separately before they were united in the form of a continuous life in the *Lalita-vistara* and other lives of Buddha. From this point of view there is no rivalry between schools. Every particle of evidence presents itself either as testimony to the growth of the Buddhist tradition or as material for its historical foundation.<sup>32</sup>

As may be seen from the biographical details mentioned in the Scriptures, the Buddhists are more interested in those events of Buddha's life that have a doctrinal significance than in those which appeal to the historian. A whole sutta is devoted to his conception and prenatal existence, and nothing further except the visit of Asia is told until he left the world. But not all these details can be referred to the state of the legend at one time. When we find him mentioned in some discourses as a great ascetic and teacher without any reference to a former existence or former Buddhas, we seem to have an earlier stage of tradition than that which puts him in the succession of former teachers. This is borne out by the fact that in the four Nikāyas only six previous Buddhas are mentioned. Even this does not appear primitive, but the names are common to all schools. In the *Buddhavaṃśa*, one of the latest works in the Canon, a list of

---

32. For information relating to the scriptures and their commentaries, I have utilised the Introductory part of E. J. Thomas's *The Life of Buddha*. (London, 1960. Sixth Reprint).



twenty-seven is given, and under Buddha Dipaṅkara, the twenty-fourth before Gotama, Gotama is said to have first made his vow to become Buddha. The other schools also mention Dipaṅkara, but the numbers and names of the others vary considerably. This implies a later and independent growth of the legend.

We do not know enough of the historical background of Buddhism to be able to say how the conception of a *bodhisatta*, a being predestined to buddhahood, began. With the belief in reincarnation the conception may well have originated among the Buddhists independently. But the Jains also have a list of twenty-three leaders preceding Mahāvīra, their last teacher. It is probable also that Mahāvīra's predecessor Pārśva, was a historical personage, so that for the Jains there was a starting point for the formation of a series. As both these leaders were earlier than Buddha, there was here also a starting point for a rival series by the Buddhists. It is, of course, possible to suppose that even before Buddha there were traditions of earlier Buddhas, but there is nothing in the texts to support this. The fact that there were stūpas to earlier Buddhas in Aśoka's time proves nothing, for the doctrine of earlier Buddhas was then established. The doctrine of a Bodhisatta as a being who acquires six or ten perfect virtues in order to attain Buddhahood is certainly later than the bulk of the Canon. Even the *Abhidhamma* work *Puggala-paññatti*, which describes different characters from that of the vicious man up to the perfect Buddha, makes no mention of the Bodhisatta.

We find descriptions of Buddha in the Scriptures which describe him merely as a great teacher. Not even his royal descent is there mentioned. He is described as one who has abandoned a great family circle, and has gone forth from a wealthy kṣatriya family. He is beautiful and virtuous and a great teacher. In the words of the formula to be used when meditating on Buddha he is "the Lord, the Arahāt, the fully enlightened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Sugata (he who has well gone), knower of the world, the supreme charioteer of men to be tamed, the Buddha, the Lord". This is not the humanized portrait of a divine being, but an expression of the belief in an historical being, a belief which remained in spite of all the growth in the wonderful qualities that became attributed to him. In the description in the *Majjhima* of his attaining enlightenment he is spoken of as acquiring those qualities which any arahāt attains. But as Buddha he differs by being the discover-

er of this attainment, and the attainment itself implies the possession of marvellous powers far beyond those of ordinary men. The qualities of a Buddha became an increasing list of powers possessed by him alone.

Already the Jains claimed omniscience for their leader. They are said to have held that he was "omniscient, all-seeing, and possessed complete knowledge and insight ; that whether walking or standing, asleep or awake, knowledge and insight were continually present". This claim is ridiculed by the Buddhists, and the omniscient teacher is described as so ignorant that he goes for alms to a house not knowing that it is empty, or as having to ask his way to a village. Buddha is represented as denying that he claims such omniscience. What he claims is the three knowledges, (1) that he remembers numberless past existences, as far back as he wishes, (2) that with his divine eye he can see beings passing away and being reborn according to their karma, (3) that with the destruction of the āsavas he has of himself attained and realized release of mind and knowledge in this life and abides in it.

These are the knowledges attained by all arhats, differing only in the length of time that they can remember. The question is raised in *Majjhima*, iii. 8, whether there is a monk endowed in every way with the qualities that the Lord possesses. The only difference there mentioned is that the Lord was the originator of the Path, the knower of the unknown Path, and the preacher of the Path that had not been preached. There we find the person of Buddha simply described in a way which is sometimes supposed to be a modern rationalized portrait. The special qualities and marvellous powers of Buddha are many, but we can see their growth from simple beginnings. The superhuman qualities ascribed to the arahat were enough to give them a start. We find them already developed in the ten powers (*bala*) of a Buddha :

(1) He knows what is possible as possible, and what is impossible as impossible.

(2) He knows the ripening of karmas, past, present and future.

(3) He knows whether all paths (of conduct) lead.

(4) He knows the many and various elements of factors of the world (existence).

(5) He knows the various intentions of individuals.

(6) He knows the faculties of their beings, whether quick or slow, etc.

- (7) He knows the impurity, purity, and growth of the trances, releases, concentrations, and attainments.
- (8) He knows numberless former existences.
- (9) With his divine eye he sees beings passing away and beings reborn according to their karma.
- (10) With the destruction of the āsavas he has of himself attained and realized release of mind and knowledge in this life and abides in it.

The last three of these are the three knowledges of the arhat and are those which Buddha was said to claim when he was asked if he was omniscient (p. 148). Apparently when that sutta was compiled there was no claim to omniscience.

But this quality came to be attributed to him, though not in the form adopted by the Jains. It is found in the latest parts of the Canon, and appears to be a development of the doctrine of the ten powers. How omniscience differs from the knowledge involved in the ten powers is discussed by Buddhaghosa in commenting on the above passage. Other schools, he says, say that the knowledge of the ten powers is not knowledge of particulars, while omniscience is. But Buddhaghosa points out that this is not the principle of division. Through the ten powers Buddha knows each one's particular duty, and omniscience is everything beyond this. It is ordinary human knowledge infinitely extended, but it is not the knowledge which produces release. By it one might know the trances or the magic powers, but not be able to perform them. One might know the Path, but could not thereby get rid of the depravities. That belongs to the three knowledges of the Path. They are intuitive and direct, and have to be realized.

The omniscience attributed to Buddha is not what the Jains claimed for their leader, the view that complete knowledge is continually present, but that Buddha can so direct his attention that anything can come within the "knowledge net" (*ñānājāla*, the range of his knowledge. Still further classification is found in the scholastic list of the five eyes of Buddha : (1) the eye of flesh, which is keen enough to see to the distance of a league ; (2) the divine eye (ninth power) ; (3) the eye of wisdom (*paññā*), which he possesses as the discover of the Path, (4) the Buddha-eye, by which he knows the hearts and intentions of individuals (5) the universal eye, or omniscience.



The attributes of Buddha go on increasing, but the development is modified by the rise of the *bodhisatta* doctrine, so that the whole doctrine is one of the development of an individual from the time when he makes the vow and practises and cultivates for ages all the qualities that finally result in Buddhahood. The further development of the Buddha doctrine must, therefore, be considered along with the teaching concerning a predestined Buddha.

The names and titles of Buddha are many. The *Mahāvvyutpatti* has a list of eightyone, many of them being merely poetical epithets. The best known of these is *Sākyamuni*, "the recluse of the Sākyas." His personal name, not found in the Scriptures, is given as Siddhāttha (Skt. Siddhārtha), "he whose aim is accomplished," The name Gotama (Skt. Gautama) is not a personal name, but the name of his clan or gotra, and practically corresponds to a surname. As the Gautamas were a brahmin clan, it has been surmised that in this case the gotra was really that of the brahmin through whom brahmin rites were introduced, just as the neighbouring tribe of Mallas were called Vasisthas from another brahmin gotra. The clan name was the usual name of address, unless a title was used and hence brahmins are represented as addressing him as Gotama. The title used by disciples is Bhagavat, "Lord," a term used also by the Jains and various Hindu sects for their special deity. The translation "Blessed One" is a mere transference from Christian hagiology.

The essential name is Buddha, "the enlightened." Jina, "conqueror," is also found, but the Jains have adopted it as the special title of their own leaders. The name Tathāgata occurs as the name by which Buddha refers to himself. The derivation is not quite certain, for it might mean either "thus gone" (*tathā-gata*) or "thus come" (*tathā-āgata*), but similar compounds like *su-gata* (well-gone) and *samyag-gata* (duly gone) make the former the more probable. The word is quite clear in its literal meaning of "having arrived at such a state". *Patim dṛṣtvā tathāgatam*, "having seen her husband reduced to such a condition," is said of Damayantī in the *Mahābhārata*. Buddhaghosa analyses the word in both ways, and explains it as "having come (and having gone) like the former Buddhas", i.e. having acquired the same qualities and performed the same essential actions. But Buddhaghosa goes on to take another meaning of *tathā*. If a thing is thus or so, it is opposed to what is not so, what is wrong, or perverse, *vitatha*. Hence an

adjective *tathā*, “true”, has been evolved, and Buddhaghosa, starting from this, finds six other meanings in it. There is no doubt that for the devout Buddhist all the meanings are there. We can, therefore, admit that “he who has won truth” fairly represents one meaning which the later Buddhists found in it, but this meaning has been deduced from *tathāgata*, and it cannot be proved that this, and not *tathāgata*, was the original form. There is no doubt that the *Mahāvastu*<sup>33</sup> (ii. 266) understood it in its primary meaning, where it makes Kala, the Naga king, thus address Gotama on the day of his enlightenment :

Even as Krakucchanda goes,  
Konakamuni, and Kasyapa,  
So dost thou go (*tathā gacchasi*), O great hero,  
Buddha to-day wilt thou become.

The Vinaya tells us that Buddha thereupon preached a discourse to the monks. The earlier account not only omits it, but says that Buddha instructed two of them while three went for alms, and then

---

33. One of the most important which still belongs to the old school of the Hinayāna is the Mahāvastu or Mahāvastu-Avadāna. Mahāvastu means “the great subjects,” i.e. the main subjects of the Vinaya, that is to say the admission to the order, etc., and coresponds to the Mahā-Vagga of the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka and the Vinayavastu (beside kṣudrakavastu, corresponding to the Culla-Vagga) of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Sarvāstivādins Cf. La Vallée Poussin, l.c., Mahāvastu-Avadāna means “the legends pertaining to the main subjects of the Vinaya.” H. Zimmer (in ZII 3, 1925, 201 ff.) seeks to prove that avadāna means the same as nidāna, “origin”, “original causes”, and he explains mahāvastu as “the great fact of salvation”.

The work calls itself a book of the Vinayapiṭaka according to the text of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The biography of the Buddha, which is the chief content of the Mahāvastu quite agrees with this doctrine, for it is profusely adorned with miracles. This work tells us scarcely anything new about the doctrine of the Buddha, nor even about special doctrines of the Lokottara-vādinās, this work is nevertheless of the utmost importance, because it has preserved many old traditions and old versions of texts which appear in the Pāli Canon too. The Mahāvastu is more especially valuable as a treasure trove of Jātaka and other narratives. The work is written entirely in “mixed Sanskrit”. It is only the embellishment which is borrowed from the Mahāyāna, while only a weak admixture of actual Mahāyāna doctrines and none of the Mahāyāna mythology is to be found in the Mahāvastu.

three while two went for alms, until they attained Nirvāṇa. In other words, the legend of the first sermon had not yet originated. It is of course possible to believe that in the story of the first sermon we have an old tradition independent of the Canon, but in the canonical account there is nothing to show that the compiler knew anything of it. It is this canonical account which is adopted in it. The commentators knew that Buddha must have preached a sermon, and in the Scriptures they found, just as they found his first enlightened utterance, the sermon which certainly contains the fundamental principles of Buddhism.

The *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, was once held to be one of the earliest in the Pāli Canon, but Rhys Davids' analysis of it,<sup>34</sup> which shows that most of it occurs in other parts of the Scriptures, makes it at first sight appear doubtful whether we have anything that may be called a whole. A closer examination however makes it clear that these passages are not strung together to make a *sutta*. They are separate discourses inserted in a continuous narrative. The narrative itself is a late legend, as the references to shrines and to methods of determining what are Buddha's utterances show. Some of the discourses may even be Buddha's words, but we have only the testimony of the narrator for holding that they were uttered on these particular occasions. We have good reasons to believe from their characteristic form that they were taken directly from the other parts of the Canon where they are still found. These parts are chiefly the *Aṅguttara* and the *Udāna*. The former work arranges all its matters according to the number of subjects discussed, and the *Aṅguttara* passages found in this *sutta* have exactly the same feature—such as seven conditions of welfare, five consequences of wrong doing, eight causes of earthquake, etc. The first of these passages is indeed stated to be one which Buddha had delivered at a previous time. Similarly the passages that occur in the *Udāna* all end in this *sutta* with the fervent utterance, the actual *udāna*, as in the collection of that name.

It is clear also that the narrative portion of the *sutta* was enlarged. Parallel narrative portions are found in the *Samyutta*. Three of the incidents have been made so extensive that in the Pali they are treated as separate *suttas*. These are the *Mahāsudassana-sutta*,

---

34. *Dial.*, ii. 72.



the *Janavāsabha-sutta*, and the *sampasadaniya-sutta*. The first of these in both the Tibetan and the Chinese recensions is incorporated in the *sutta*. The last of these (an enlargement of the 'lion-roar' of Sāriputta) is shown to be an addition from its absence in the Tibetan, and its omission is not a mere accident, but because Sāriputta's death is there said to have taken place at an earlier date. The nucleus of the whole, the account of Buddha's death from his last words down to the lamentations of the monks, also occurs as a separate *sutta*.<sup>35</sup>

As compared with the stories in the commentaries of Buddha's youth, the story of his death is an earlier document, but from its references to Buddha's conception and birth and to the legends of his being destined for universal kingship or Buddhahood it is clear that the legendary story of his birth was already in existence. The difference between them as historical documents is that the stories of the birth and infancy refer to an earlier time, of which details of biography and even the very basis are not likely to have been known or remembered. But at the time of Buddha's death there was a community which was interested in preserving a record of him, and which must have possessed many unwritten accounts. What his contemporaries actually knew and remembered we cannot tell, because what we possess is the tradition recorded in a formal manner at a much later date, but earlier than the time of Aśoka.<sup>36</sup> There is at least the attempt to give the record as a contemporary document, shown in the greatness of Pāṭaliputta being stated in the form of a prophecy. Except to the eye of faith this is evidence of a late date to be classed with the references to pilgrimages to shrines, the worship of Buddha, the three-fold division of the Scriptures, and the numerous miracles, all of which show the essential facts mingled inextricably with the dogmatic beliefs about the person of a Buddha.

The implied chronology of events in the *sutta* is vague, but sufficient to show that it is not consistent with later tradition. After Retreat, i.e. about the end of September, Buddha met the monks, and told them that he would attain Nirvāṇa in three months. This

---

35. *Saṃyutta*, i. 157 ; the most extensive comparison with other recensions is by Przyluski, JA., 1918, 85ff., 401ff. ; 1919, 365ff,

36. The final recension may be still later, for even the commentary admits that there are late additions, as will be seen below.

implies in the following December or January, and harmonises with the statement that the sāl trees (*shorea-robusta*) were in bloom out of season when he passed away.<sup>37</sup> But the date given in the later Pali tradition is three months later than this, full-moon day of Visākha (April-May),<sup>38</sup> and the fact that this is also the traditional date of the birth and of the Enlightenment is sufficient to suggest how it arose.

Hiuen Tsiang<sup>39</sup> also gives this date as the general tradition, but says that the Sarvāstivādins give the day of Buddha's death as on the eighth of the last half of the month Kārttika (October-November), *i.e.*, a week before full moon in this month. This cannot be made to fit the sutta, as it implies less than three months, but it is the date which Fleet has tried to establish as historical, and which he made 13 October 483 B.C.<sup>40</sup> His argument consisted in assuming that the year was 483 B.C., that Retreat would suitably begin 25 June, and that the prediction of his death uttered to Māra may be reasonably referred to the end of the first three weeks of Retreat. But the identical prediction was made also to the monks, and the very next day Buddha resumed his journey, which shows that the prediction is to be put at the end of the period of Retreat. The Sarvāstivādin tradition may be old, but there is nothing to show that it was canonical, and even if a precise canonical date should ever be found, it would remain more probable that it was an addition to the legend, rather than that a really old tradition had been lost by the compilers of our present sutta.

---

37. They could scarcely be said to be out of season in May. "Never quite leafless the young foliage appears in March with the flowers. The seed ripens in June." D. Brandis, *Indian Trees*, p. 69, London, 1906; cf. Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*, p. 440, Calcutta, 1874.

38. *Mrv.*, iii. 2; *Vin. com.*, i. 4 (*Vin.*, iii. 383).

39. Beal, ii. 33.

40. *The day on which Buddha died* JRAS 1909 p. 1ff.

## CHAPTER—I

### BACKGROUND OF BUDDHISM

From most of the contemporary literary sources we learn that in the sixth century B.C. India was broadly divided into sixteen political divisions. It is known as sixteen *mahājanapadas*. (Soḍasa-mahājanapada). These are Kāsi, Kośala, Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Ceti, Vamśa, Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha, Śūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gāndhāra and Kamboja.

*Kāsi*—Of the sixteen *Mahājanapada* *Kāsi* was at first the most powerful kingdom. The city of *Benaras* is the chief city in all India. Several *Jātakas* record that *Kāsi* was over two thousand miles in circuit. *Kāsi* was a great country in ancient times. “The combined testimony of many *Jātakas* and the *Mahāvagga* clearly proves that *Kāsi* was at one time a great, almost an imperial power, stronger than many of its neighbours including Kośala.”<sup>1</sup> It was later on came under the sway of *Kosalan* empire. Several *Jātakas* state that *Kāsi* extended over twelve leagues.<sup>2</sup> It was an independent kingdom in the pre-Buddha days but later on it was annexed to Magadha by *Ajātasattu*. *Vārāṇasī* (Benaras) was its capital. It flourished not only as an emporium of trade and commerce but also as a centre of brahmanic culture. “From the Buddhist texts it is quite evident that before the time of Buddha *Kāsi* was a powerful kingdom. But during Buddha’s time *Kāsi* lost its former glory and was, for some time incorporated into the kingdom of *Kośala* and some time into the *Magadhan* empire.”<sup>3</sup>

*Kośala*—The kingdom of *Kośala* was bounded on the west by *Puñcāla* on the south by the *Sarpikā* or *Syandikā* (Sai) river on the east by the *Sadanirā*. It corresponds to modern Oudh. Its capital was *Śrāvasti* (Sāvatthi). *Śrāvasti* has been identified with Sahet Mahet standing on both the banks of the *Rāpti*

---

1. Political History of Ancient India—H. C. Roy Choudhury. P. 67.

2. “Dvāḍasa-yojanikam sakala Bārāṇasī-nagaram”—

Sambhava Jātaka, No. 515. Sarabha-miga Jātaka, 483.

Bhūridatta Jātaka, 543.

3. Buddhist Centres in Ancient India, B. N. Choudhury. Page 65.



river adjacent to the borders of the districts of *Gonda* and *Baharaich* in Uttar Pradesh (*Ayodhyā*). *Sāketa* and *Śrāvastī* were well-known prosperous cities. “In the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. however, Kośala was a mighty kingdom which contended first with *Kāśī* and afterwards with Magadha for the mastery of *Madhya-deśa*.”<sup>4</sup> During Buddha’s time king of *Kośala* was Pasenadi (Prasenajit) who was a great patron of Buddha and then it was ruled by his son Viṇḍubha. Politically and commercially Kośala stood on the same level as Magadha, containing 80,000 villages. “But as far as Buddhism is concerned, Kośala could not boast of as many monasteries and hermitages as could Magadha. At the same time, however, it must be admitted that it was at the capital of Kośala that Buddha spent the latter part of his career as a teacher, delivered the largest number of discourses and framed the largest number of *Pātimokkha* rules; and it was here that the religion, which had passed its infancy in Magadha, developed into its full stature as found in the *Nikāyas*.”<sup>5</sup>

*Aṅga*—Aṅga was in the east of Magadha. It was separated from the latter kingdom by the river Campā. Campā’s modern name is Chandan. Aṅga was a powerful kingdom in ancient India. It was a prosperous kingdom. Campā was the capital of Aṅga. It has been identified with the Campānagara or Campāpuri. It was included in the kingdom of Magadha during the time of Bimbisāra. During the time of Buddha, the king of Aṅga was a wealthy noble man. According to the *Māhābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Harivaṃśa* the ancient name of Campā was Mālinī. Aṅga and the people are described in the pre-Buddhist literatures, e.g. the *Atharva Veda* (V. 22. 14); *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (11, 9); *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 22); *Rāmāyaṇa* (47, 14) and the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparva). According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* the king of Aṅga was invited at the horse sacrifice of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā”.<sup>6</sup> The *Mahābhārata* holds the names of Karṇa and Vasūpama as the rulers of Aṅga. Once the king of Magadha was defeated by the Army of Aṅga.

*Magadha*—Magadha was an important centre of political, commercial and other activities. It is in the Pātnā and Gayā

---

4. Political History of Ancient India—H. C. Roy Choudhury. Page 75.

5. Early Monastic Buddhism, N. Dutt. Vol. I, Page 157.

6. Buddhist Centres in Ancient India, B. N. Choudhury. Page 121.

districts of Bihar. Its capital was Rajgir (Rājagṛha) or *Girivraja*. At the time of Buddha it contained eighty thousand villages and about twenty-three hundred miles in circumference. According to the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, Brihadratha was the ruler of Magadha who was the son of Vasuchai-oparichara and the father of *Jarāsandha*. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* Vasu was the founder of Girivraja or Vasumati. The name of Magadha first appears in the *Atharva-Veda*. Magadha became the centre of Buddha's missionary activity after Kāśī. It was one of the most prosperous provinces during the reign of Bimbisāra. The discourses were delivered in the towns and villages of Magadha for the *paribbājakas* and non-brāhmanical sects or the Buddhist disciples. There are so many important sites in Magadha, the following may be mentioned : (i) Gayā, (ii) Uruvela, (iii) Rājagaha, (iv) Nālandā, (v) Pāṭaliputta, (vi) Ekanāla, (vii) Andhakavinda, (viii) Kallavāla muttagāma, (ix) Mātula etc.

*Vajji*—The Vajjis included eight confederate clans (*aṭṭhakula*). Among the Vajjis the old Videhas, the Licchavi's, the *Jñātrikas* were the most important and powerful. The Vajji territory lay north of the Ganges and extended as far as the Nepal hills. The *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas and Kauravas are associated with the Jñātrīs and the Lichchhavis were the subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly. There is a close connection of the Ugras with Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vṛjīan confederation.<sup>7</sup> The old territory of the Videhas had its capital at Mithilā which is identified with Janakpur within the Nepal border. The *Rāmāyaṇa* clearly distinguishes it from the region round Vaiśālī. The Licchavi capital was at Vaiśālī which has been identified with Besarh to the east of the Gaṇḍak in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. It is probably identified with the charming city called Viśālā in the epic.<sup>8</sup> A triple wall surrounded the town, each wall a league distant from the next, and there were three gates with watch-towers.<sup>9</sup>

The Jñātrikas were the clan of Siddhārtha. They had their seats at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma and Kollāga, suburbs of

7. Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. I, Page 26; Vol. III, 49; iv, 208.

8. Ram, Ādi, 45, 10.

9. Eka paṇṇa Jātaka, No, 149.

Vaiśālī. Buddhist tradition refers to the names of eminent Licchavis like princes Abhaya, Oṭṭhaddha (Mahāli), generals *Sīha* and *Ajita*, *Dummukha* and *Sunakkhatta*.<sup>10</sup>

*Malla*—In the *Mahābhārata*, the Malla territory is called Malla-raṭṭha, the Malla-rāshṭra. It was split up into two main parts which had for their capitals the cities of Kusāvati or Kusinārā and Pāvā. Malla is situated to the South of the country of Sākyas and Koliyas. In the Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta it is explained that the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, lay near the river Hiranyavati. Smith states that Kuśinagara (Kusinārā) was situated in Nepal. He tells more that the discovery was in the large stūpa behind the Nirvāṇa temple near Kasiā on the choṭa Gaṇḍak, in the east of the Gorakhpur district.

Cunningham identifies Pāvā with the village named Padaraona. The Mallas and the Licchavis are classed by Manu as Vrātya Kṣatriyas. They were the champions of Buddhism. The relations of the Mallas with the Licchavis sometimes hostile and on other occasions intimately. At the time of Buddha the Mallas became very powerful. They formed a democratic Government. Malla had a monarchical constitution at first. The Mallas had many important cities, namely, Bhoganagara, Anupiya and Uruvela kappa. There is an account of a conflict between Bandhula the Mallian, Commender-in-chief of the king of Kośala, and 500 elders of the Licchavis.<sup>11</sup>

*Cedi*—Cedi is also known as Ceti. It has been identified with modern Bundel Khand on the bank of the Yamunā. The capital of Cedi was Suktimati. According to the *Rigveda* and the *Mahābhārata*, Cedi was a very powerful kingdom<sup>12</sup> in the pre-Buddhist time. We get a legendary genealogy of Caidya kings in the Jātaka.<sup>13</sup> The *Mahābhārata* speaks of other Cedi kings like Damaghosha, his son Śisūpāla Sunitha and his sons Dhṛiṣṭaketu and Śarabha

10. Aṅguttara Nikāya, Nipāta III, 74, (P.T.S. Part. I, p. 220 f.); Mahāli Sutta, Dialogues of the Buddha, Part I, p. 198. Part III, p. 17. Majjhima Nikāya, I, 234 ; 68 ; 11, 252 ; The book of the Kindered Sayings, 1, 295. See Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India—B. C. Law.

11. Bhaddasāla Jātaka, no. 465.

12. Rigveda, VIII, 5, 37-39 ; Mahābhārata, M. N. Dutt, Ed. I, 7029.

13. Cetiya Jātaka.



who reigned about the time of the Bhārata war. The road from Kāśī to Cedi was unsafe.<sup>14</sup>

*Vaṁśa*—Vaṁśa is also known as Vatsa. It was situated on the southern bank of the Ganges of which Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam, on the Jumna, near Allahabad, was the capital. Vaṁśa is identified with the Vaśas of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* keeps it in the *Madhyadeśa*. It is described as a rich and prosperous country. But according to Lalitavistara the inhabitants were as rude and rough<sup>15</sup> (prāktam ca caṇḍam ca).<sup>16</sup> According to Huen Tsang, the country was 6000 li in circuit and its capital, Kosambi about 30 li. The country was of hot climate, it yielded much rice and sugarcane. The people were enterprising, fond of the arts and cultivators. They were of religious type.<sup>17</sup> “Udena, son of Parantapa, was the king of Vaṁśa in the time of Buddha. The district of Bhagga was a dependency of Vaṁśa, for we find Udena’s son, Bodhi, living there. Vaṁśa country lay to the South of Kośala and to the north of Avantī.”<sup>18</sup>

*Kuru*—Kuru was three hundred leagues in extent.<sup>19</sup> According to the Pali texts the reigning dynasty belonged to the Yuddhiṭṭhila gotta i.e., the family of Yudhiṣṭhira.<sup>20</sup> The capital was Indapatta or Indapattana, i.e., Indraprastha or Indrapat near modern Delhi. It extended over seven leagues.<sup>21</sup> Pali texts state that there are two Kuru countries, Uttara Kuru and Dakkhina Kuru. “Buddhaghosa records a tradition about the origin of the country. According to Buddhaghosa a group of people coming from Uttara Kuru with Mandhātā as their leader who became a Universal monarch of Jambudvīpa, settled down in *Jambudvīpa* and their settlement was known as Kuru. The *Mahābhārata* also refers to the Kurus and states that Dakṣiṇa Kuru vied with Uttara in its glory, splendour, prosperity and righteousness<sup>22</sup>. The country had very little political

---

14. Vedabbha Jātaka, no. 48.

15. Aṅguttara Nikāya, iv, pp. 252, 256, 260; Manorathapurāṇi, i, p. 306 f.

16. Lalitavistara, ed. Lefmann, p. 1.

17. Watters, 1, p. 366.

18. Buddhist Centres in Ancient India—B. N. Choudhury, p. 85.

19. Mahā-Sutasoma Jātaka, no. 537.

20. Dhūmakāri Jātaka, No. 413; Dasa Brāhmaṇa Jātaka, No. 495.

21. Jātaka, Nos. 537, 545.

22. Buddhist Centres in Ancient India—B. N. Choudhury, Page 29.

importance at the time of Buddha. It was one of the most powerful kingdoms in Pre-Buddhist period.<sup>23</sup> *Dīvyāvadāna* states that the capital of Kuru was at Hastināpur.<sup>24</sup> According to the *Buddhavaṃsa*, Buddha's razor and needle were enshrined at Indapatta.<sup>25</sup>

*Pañcāla*—Pañcāla is identified with the regions of North and North-East of Delhi, from the south of Himalayas to Chambal. This country had two parts Uttara or Northern Pañcāla and Dakṣiṇa or Southern Pañcāla. The Bhāgīratī (Ganges) formed the dividing line. The capital of Northern Pañcāla was Ahicchatra or Chatravatī, and the capital of Southern Pañcāla was Kāmpilya stretched from the Ganges to the Chambal. The history of Pañcāla from the death of Pravāhaṇa Jaivala or Jaivali to the time of Bimbisāra of Magadha is obscure. Pañcāla Janapada was to the east of the Kuru country.

*Matsya*—Matsya was the extensive territory between the hills near the Chambal and the forests that formed the borders of the Sarasvatī. The Macchas were a very powerful Kṣatriya tribe. It was probably at one time annexed to the neighbouring kingdom of Cedi. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a king named Sahaja who reigned over Cedis and also the Matsyas.

A family of Matsyas settled in the Vizagapatnam region in mediaeval times. Matsya was at Virāta-nagara or Bairat. Many famous Aśoka edicts have been discovered at Bairat.

*Śūrasena*—Its capital was at Mathurā<sup>26</sup> (Pāli Madhurā) which, like Kauśambī, stood on the Jumna. It has been identified with present Moholi five miles to the South-east of the modern city of Mathurā of Uttar Pradesh. Once Mathurā was a great centre of Buddhism. Archaeological excavations have explored many images of Buddha and *Bodhisattva*. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* the ruling family of Mathurā is the Yadu or Yādava family. The

---

23. Jātaka, ii, 214.

24. *Dīvyāvadāna*, p. 435.

25. *Buddhavaṃsa*, xxviii, 11.

26. The place was formerly called Madhuvana (Forest of Honey) where the demon chief Madhu and his son Lavaṇa reigned. Satrugna, Rama's step-brother defeated Lavaṇa and cutting the forest built the city of Mathurā. *Ramāyaṇa*, Uttara Kāṇḍa XXV, CVIII, *Harivaṃśa*, LV, 3061-63.

Yādavas were divided into various sects, namely, the Vitihotras, Sātvatas etc.

*Assaka*—Assaka (Aśmaka) was situated on the banks of the Godāvari. Its capital was Potali, Potāna or Podana.<sup>27</sup> It is identified with Bodhan in the Nizam's dominions. In the Sonananda Jātaka Assaka is associated with Avantī. Assaka included at that time Mūlaka and some neighbouring districts and thus its territory approached the southern frontier of Avantī. The Mahāgovinda Suttanta refers to Brahmadatta, king of the Assakas, as a contemporary of Sattabhu, king of Kālīṅga, Vessabhu, king of Avantī, Bharata, king of Sovira, Reṇu, king of Videha, Dhataratṭha, king of Aṅga and Dhataratṭha, king of Kāśī. The Assaka Jātaka tells us that at one time the city of Potali was included in the kingdom of Kāśī. The Culla Kālīṅga Jātaka mentions a king of Assaka named Aruṇa and his minister Nandisena.

*Avantī*—Avantī was once a flourishing kingdom of ancient India. Its name is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and *Skanda Purāṇa*. Avantī was the ancient name of Malwa. The capital of Avantī was Ujjeni. But the *Dīghanikāya* mentions Mahissati (Skt. Mahismati) as the capital of the country. The *Mahābhārata* distinguishes between the kingdoms of Avantī and Māhishmati, but locates Vinda and Anuvinda of Avantī. Near the Narmada, Avantī was ruled over by king Pajjota. In the *Thera* and *Therī-gāthā*, we get the names of a few other monks and nuns of Avantī.<sup>28</sup> There are three main trade routes in Avantī : (1) from the western coast with its seaports Suppāraka and Bharukaccha (2) from the Dakkhināpatha and (3) from Sāvatthi. It roughly corresponds to modern Malwa.

Ujjeni was also the birth place of the sister Isidāsi who attained arhathood. Padumavati, a courtesan of Ujjeni and her son Abhaya known as Abhaya-rājakumāra by Bimbisāra of Magadha, were born in Ujjeni.

*Gandhāra*—The kingdom of Gandhāra included within its boundaries the vale of Kāśmīra and the ancient metropolis of

---

27. Chulla-Kālīṅga Jātaka, No. 301.

28. Psalms of the Brethern, pp. 41, 42, 107, 149, 292, Psalms of the sisters, p. 30, 31.



Takshaśilā region. It was very fertile and its climate was accommodative. In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the throne of Gandhāra was occupied by Pukkusāti (Pushkarasārīn), who is said to have sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha. The Gandhārians (Gandara) appear among the subject people of the Achaemenidan or Achaemenian Empire. Rhys Davids states that Gandhāra (i.e. Kandahar) is a district of Eastern Afghanistan<sup>29</sup> whereas Vincent Smith refers to the North Western Punjab.<sup>30</sup> Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar states that Gandhāra included the Western and Eastern Afghanistan.<sup>31</sup>

*Kamboja*—Kamboja is associated with Gandhāra in literature and inscriptions. It is included in the Uttarāpatha. The *Mahābhārata* connects Kamboja with a place called Rajapura. Kamboja was a centre of Brahmanic learning in the later Vedic period. The *Majjhima Nikāya* holds the presence of Āryas in Kamboja.<sup>32</sup> Kambojas are credited with savage.<sup>33</sup> The *Mahābhārata* states that the Kambojan are represented as living under a monarchical constitution.

The religious condition of India during the period of 7th-6th centuries B.C. is of immense importance to know the religious background of the rise of Buddhism. In the philosophy of the Upaniṣads we find the urge for true knowledge of the ultimate reality. According to the Upaniṣads, some of which like the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Aitareya, Kauṣītaki Taittiriya, Chandyoga, Kena, etc are Pre-Buddhistic, the highest reality is Paramātman, the soul of the universe which includes Ātman, the individual soul. This period marked the transitional stage not only in the political and social field but also the thought of the people. The mental stir in the people of the age led the trend of opinion against the rigidity of vedic sacrifices. The mind of many religious leaders was directed to the attainment of peace and salvation in place of attaining heavenly life through performance of elaborate and expensive vedic sacrifices. The Kṣatriyas were gaining predominance over the high position occupied so far by the Brāhmaṇa purohitas.

---

29. Buddhist India, p. 28.

30. Aśoka, p. 120.

31. Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 54.

32. Majjhima Nikāya. II. 149.

33. Bhūridatta Jātaka. VI. 208.

This period witnessed religious freedom of the people who could freely choose their way of life. This freedom of religious outlook gave rise to several systems of faiths which existed side by side.

At the time of the appearance of Buddhism we get a list of sixty-two forms of philosophical speculations about soul or the self as mentioned in the Brahmajāla sutta. They are known as the sixty-two heresies (*Dvāsaṅgīhiyo diṭṭhiyo*) in the Pali literature. They may broadly be divided under the following heads :

(1) Four kinds of Sassatavāda (those who hold that the self or soul and the universe are eternal)<sup>34</sup>. Some people on account of their spiritual advancement develop the power (*abhiññā*) of remembering their former births (*pubbenivāsānussati*) up to a certain number. They may be divided into three categories according to the number of existences remembered by them. The fourth category belong to the conclusion that the world has been rolling on from eternity and will be rolling on for ever and that he will be born again and again.<sup>35</sup>

(2) Four kinds of *Ekaccasassatavāda* (those who hold that the self and the universe are eternal in some respects and in some not). According to the first type of *Ekaccasassatavāda*, there are some recluses and Brahmins who maintain that the world passes away after the lapse of a long period and all beings are reborn into the *Ābhassaraloka*. According to the cosmogonic speculations of the Buddhists, as also of some of the Upniṣadic teachers<sup>36</sup>, there were in the beginning no beings and the first to appear were the *Ābhassarā* gods, capable of taking shape at will, feeding themselves only with joy (*pīti*), self-luminous (*sayampabhā*) moving about in the sky and getting all that they desired.<sup>37</sup> After that, there appeared at palace of Brahmā (*Brahma-Vimāna*). One of the *Ābhassarā* gods

34. Cf. *Saṃyutta*, IV, p. 40

35. *Dīgha*, III, p. 109-110 : "Atītaṃ kho ahaṃ addhānaṃ Jānāmi, saṃvatṭi pi loka, anāgataṃ ca kho ahaṃ addhānaṃ Jānāmi saṃvatṭissati vā ti.

36. *Sumangala-Vīrasini*. 1, p. 110 : pakatiyā nibbattasattānaṃ natthitāya suññaṃ. Taitt. Up. II, 7 ; asad vā idam.agra āsit, Tato vai sad ajayato see Brhad Up. 1, 1-2. Cf. the Egg-legend in Chā. Up. 19; 1-3, See also RV, X, 129. To this conception, it seems the Chā. Up. (Vi, 2, 1) refers in the following words : Taddhaika āhur asad evedam agra āsīd ekam evādvitīyam. Tasmād asatah sajjāyata iti.

37. *Dīgha*, III, pp, 84-5.

came to be reborn in the Brahma Vimāna or the Brahma-world. At this the first being thinks that he is the Brahmā, the Great Brahmā, other beings are created by him. The other beings who are reborn into this world, think that he must be Brahmā, for he is born first. He is eternal. The second type gods are known as *Khiḍḍāpadosikā*.<sup>38</sup> This class of partial eternalist holds that the Nimmāṇarati, Paranimmita-vasavattī and such other gods, who are not given to excessive pleasure and enjoyment (*khiḍḍā*), exist eternally, while others do not.

The third type of gods are known as Manopadosikas. This class of partial eternalists believe that the *Cātummahārājikā* gods, who do not bear ill-will towards one another, exists eternally.

The fourth type of gods are known as the Takki *Ekaccasassatikas*. There are some recluses and Brahmins, who are addicted to logical reasoning, hold in the conclusion that, "this which is called eye and ear and nose and tongue and body is a self which is impermanent, unstable, not eternal, subject to change. But this which is called heart or mind, or consciousness is a self which is permanent, steadfast, eternal and knows no change, and it will remain for ever and ever."<sup>39</sup>

(3) *Antānantikā* (limitists and unlimitists) are those who hold that

- (a) the world is finite limited in extent and circular in shape ;
- (b) the world is unlimited in extent and is without in end ;
- (c) the world is limited upwards and downwards but unlimited breadthwise ;
- (d) the world is neither limited nor unlimited,

(4) Four kinds of *Amarāvikkhepikas* (evasive disputants).

There are some recluses and Brahmins who can not distinguish to draw a line of demarcation between good and evil deeds. When any question arises about good and evil, they cannot give categorical answer. The second type of the *Amarāvikkhepikas* hold practically the same arguments, "If the opinion of an *Amarāvikkhepika* be contradicted, he would bear ill-will or hatred and this fact proves that he was wrong and guilty of speaking a falsehood, and hence

38. *Dīgha*, I, p. 19 ; III, p. 31.

39. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, transl. by T.W. Rhys Davids part-I, p. 34.



would create a hindrance to his spiritual progress. Should he, however, obstinately adhere to his own view and not accept the view as corrected by his opponents, he would have *Upādāna* (cause or rebirth) and that would also be a hindrance to his further spiritual progress.”<sup>40</sup>

(5) *Adhiccasaṃuppannikovāda* ; (Fortuitous Originists),

Its other name was *yadṛcchā* (doctrine of chance). There are some thinkers who hold that the soul originates accidentally without any cause (*adhiccasaṃupponnika*).<sup>41</sup> There are some thinkers who take up *Vāyo-kasina* for meditation and then reaching the fourth *jhāna* understand that mind is the source of all troubles. The thinkers arrive at the conclusion that the soul and the world originate fortuitously and not as a result of any cause.

The second category refers to those who take up the above view-point due to their logical reasoning. “As a parallel to this doctrine, we may refer to the *Lokāyatikas* or *Bārhaspatyas* who hold that the happiness and misery of persons are brought about by the laws of nature, and that there is no other cause. It was by an accidental combination of elements that the living beings such as peacock of variegated colours or a human being is born. The conceptions of heaven and hell, merit and demerit, and so forth, according to them, are creations of designing minds.”<sup>42</sup>

(6) *Uddhamāghātanikasaññivāda* : Sixteen types of *Uddhamāghātanikasaññivādins*<sup>43</sup> (those who hold the existence of a conscious soul after death).<sup>44</sup> It has some bearing upon the doctrine of *Syātvāda* in Jainism. The sixteen conceptions are as follows ;

- (a) Soul is material (*rūpī*)<sup>45</sup> and remains healthy and conscious after death (*aroga param maraṇā saññī*).
- (b) Soul is non-material (*arūpī*) but remains healthy and conscious after death.
- (c) It is both, material (*rūpī*) and non-material (*arūpī*)

40. Early monastic Buddhism—N. Dutt, Vol-I, p. 64.

41. *Saṃyutta*, II, p. 20

*Dīgha*, III, p. 139, Chap. IV, p. 35-6,

42. Early Monastic Buddhism—N. Dutt, Vol—1, p. 66.

43. The *Aparāntakappikas*, according to the *Dīgha Nikāya*, number forty-four from the *Uddhamāghātanikas* to the *Diṭṭha-dhammanibbānavādins*.

44. *Dīgha*, I, p. 31 : *Majjhima*, 11, p. 229.

45. *Rūpi attā*, *Rūpa* is usually translated as ‘form’.

- (d) It is neither rūpī nor arūpī.
- (e) It is finite (anta)
- (f) It is infinite (ananta)
- (g) It is both antavān and anantavān.
- (h) It is neither antavān nor anantavān.
- (i) It is conscious in respect of one object (ekatta)<sup>46</sup>
- (j) It is conscious in respect of many objects (nānatta)<sup>47</sup>
- (k) It is conscious in respect of limited elements-(paritta)<sup>48</sup>
- (l) It is conscious in respect of unlimited elements (appamāṇa)<sup>49</sup>
- (m) It is quite happy (ekanta-sukhī)
- (n) It is quite unhappy (ekanta-dukkhī) e.g. when a being is in hell.
- (o) It is both—i.e., quite happy and unhappy
- (p) It is neither i.e., not happy and not unhappy.

(7) *Uddhamāghātanika*—asaññivāda :

(Upholders of the existence of unconscious soul after death)

These views are eight types as follows :

- (a) The soul is material (rūpī)
- (b) It is non-material (arūpī)
- (c) It is both material (rūpī) and non-material (arūpī)
- (d) It is neither, i.e., with no form and not without form
- (e) It is finite
- (f) It is infinite
- (g) It is both, i.e., finite and infinite
- (h) It is neither, i.e., not finite and not infinite.

(8) *Uddhamāghātanikanevasaññināsaññivāda* :

According to this doctrine the soul after death is neither conscious nor unconscious. There are eight types of beliefs as follows :

- (a) The soul is material (rūpī)
- (b) It is non-material (arūpī)
- (c) It is both material and non-material.
- (d) It is neither, i.e., with no form and not without form.

---

46. Similar to the Brahmakāyikā and subhakiṇṇā gods = 2nd and 4th Viññāṇaṭṭhitis (Dīgha, II, p. 69,

47. Similar to Ābhassarā gods = 3rd Viññāṇaṭṭhiti (Dīgha, II, p. 69.

48. Cf. Majjhima, I, p. 13.

49. Cf. Majjhima, II, p. 229.

- (e) It is finite
- (f) It is infinite
- (g) It is both i.e., finite and infinite.
- (h) It is neither, i.e., not finite and not infinite.

(9) *Ucchedavāā* : (Natthattavādins<sup>50</sup> = Annihilationists)

According to this doctrine there are seven kinds of beliefs as follows :

- (a) The soul has form (*rūpavā*) and is made of the four elements. It is born of parents.
- (b) The soul is divine<sup>51</sup> and has form. It belongs to the sensuous (*kāmavacara*) sphere.
- (c) The soul is divine and has form. It is created by mind (*manomaya*) and possesses all the parts of the body.
- (d) The soul is of the same nature as beings of the *ākāsānañcāyatana* 'the infinity of space'.
- (e) The soul is of the same nature with that of the beings of the *Viññānañcāyatana* the infinity of consciousness. (*anantaṃ viññāṇaṃ*)
- (f) The soul is like the beings of the *ākīñcāññāyatana* the plane of no obstruction.
- (g) The soul is of the same nature *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana*. It is the superior to the *Ākiñcaññāyatanupaga* gods. This type of soul is the best (*paṇita*).

10. *Diṭṭhadhmmmanibbānavāda* :

This type of doctrine believe in the attainment of Nibbāna in this very life.

There are five types of views as follows :

- (a) The soul can attain *Nibbāna* by enjoying the pleasures of the five senses, viz., *rūpa*, *rasa*, *śabda*, *gandha* and *sparsa*.
- (b) It can attain *Nibbāna* by leaving desires (*kāma*), evil thoughts and actions (*akusala dhamma*). It enters into the first *jhāna* (meditation).
- (c) It can attain *Nibbāna* by the way of the second *jhāna*.
- (d) It can attain *Nibbāna* by the way of the third *Jhāna*.

50. Saṃyutta nikāya, IV, p. 401.

51. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, 1, p. 120 ; Dibbo to devaloke sambhūto.



- (e) It can attain *Nibbāna* by means of the fourth Jhāna. In this stage, a person is beyond happiness and unhappiness, pleasure and pain. It is a pure state having only equanimity (*upekkhā*) and memory (*sati*).

Besides upholders of above mentioned views (*diṭṭhis*) there were other groups of ascetics and wanderers such as Parivrājakas, saṃghas or gaṇas, Acelakas, and distinguished heretical teachers whose brief accounts are given below :

Parivrājakas :

The Carakas of the Vedic period was the forerunners of the Parivrājakas of the 6th century B.C. At that time the students went to Gurugṛha for their education. After completing their education they wandered for finishing touch by acquiring knowledge in different countries for seven or eight months. At that time they came into contact with the various expositors of truth. The term *Parivrājaka* means one who takes pravrajyā (going out from house-hold life) with the object of attaining Him.

In the Pali works, the *Parivrājakas* mean wanderer who acquire knowledge from the distinguish religious teachers and philosophers, listen to their discourses and enter into discussion with them. (Udumbarika Sihanāda Sutta, Dīgha, III, p. 36ff.) Three hundred paribbājakas were dwelling at a *pāribbājaka-ārāma* near Rājgaha. They were making great noise and were engaged in discussions about kings, ministers, wars, articles of food and luxury, and such other desultory talks. They were approached by a distinguished lay devotee of Buddha apparently with the object of having some talks with them on religious or philosophical topics. He was followed by Buddha who at the very outset of his talk condemned the ascetic practices. Nigrodha, the leader of the *parivrājakas* endorsed Buddha's view by saying that he and his followers also were not in favour of the ascetic practices. Buddha did his best to convince them of the excellences of his teaching but failed to produce any effective impression. "Throughout the Nikāyas are scattered such accounts of Buddha or his disciples meeting *parivrājakas* and discussing with them such topics as the nature of the soul, value of ascetic life, 500 states of consciousness eternality or finiteness of the world and the soul, karma, knowledge of Buddha etc."<sup>52</sup>

---

52. Early Monastic Buddhism N. Dutt, Vol. I, p. 32.

There are some recluses and brahmins lived in company with female wanderers.<sup>53</sup> They used to tie the hair on the top of their head (*molibaddhā paribbājikā*). From this account we may think that at that time there was the existence of female wanderer (*paribbājikā*).<sup>54</sup>

**Saṅghas or Gaṇas :**

After forming the *porivrājakas* from time to time, groups may express their arguments to a certain teacher. Of these we may refer to the *Māgaṇḍikas*,<sup>55</sup> *Vekhanassas*<sup>56</sup> six heretical teachers, Gautama Buddha Sākya-puttiya-samaṇas); and to the Jaṭilas,<sup>57</sup> Teḍaṇḍikas,<sup>58</sup> Avirundhakas, and Devadhammikas.

**Acelakas**

The Acelakas (i.e. unclothed) refer to the group of ascetics who took on the practice of nudity. (a celo ti nagga-paribbājaka—AA II 383 ; MA II 354). According to the Buddhist literature they were naked heretical ascetics practising severe austerities. Probably they promulgated different theories. In the Pali literature the Acelakas, as an individual or a member of a sect, have been classified into three types, viz., (1) the Acelakas who practise austere ascetic practice such as going naked, having unrestrained habits licking hands clean etc (*acelako hoti muttācāro hatthāpalekkhano*); (2) Acelakas who used appellation of Acela before their names, e.g. Acela Kassapa, Acela Guṇa kassapa, etc. They practised, austerities such as 'dog-vow', 'cattle-vow' (i.e. behaving like a dog and a bull respectively); (3) Sometimes referring to the Acelaka's identical with the other religious sect like Ājīvikas, sometimes distinguished from them.

Throughout the Pali canon the teaching of the Buddha and the activities and discipline of his Order may be stated to the different from the doctrine and practices of six teachers who have been described of heretical and their followers round about the period preceding Buddha.

53. Majjhima Nikāya. I, p. 305.

54. Saṃyutta, III, pp. 238-240 ; Cf. Sutta Nipāta, II, p. 421-422.

55. Majjhima, I, p. 501-513.

56. Majjhima, II, p. 40-44.

57. Majjhima, I, p. 282.

58. Vinaya, II, 132-196 ; Lalita vistara, p. 239.

We get these names of the six such teachers from the Pali texts. They are :

- (1) Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta
- (2) Pūraṇa Kassapa
- (3) Makkhali Gosāla
- (4) Ajita Kesakambali
- (5) Pakudha Kaccāyana and
- (6) Saṅjaya Belaṭṭhiputta

These six teachers are respected by all. The *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dighanikāya* (P.T.S. Vol-I, p-57) mentions the name of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta. Buddhist texts mention Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta as a rival of Gotama Buddha. He was the elder and opponent contemporary of Buddha. Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta is the name of Mahāvira. The name is composed of two separate epithets, Nigaṇṭha and Nāṭaputta. He was nigaṇtha (nirgrantha) that means unfettered (abandhana). He was outwardly unclothed and inwardly free from all wordly bonds and ties. So his followers were called as Nigaṇṭhaputta and his lay followers were known as Nigaṇṭha-sāvaka. He was also called Nāṭaputta because he was a scion of the Nāya, Nāṭa or jñātr clan of Kṣatriyas. Buddha was called Sākyaputta because he was a scion of Sākya clan, so Mahāvira was called Nāṭaputta because he was a scion of the Nāṭa clan.

As the Buddhists are the followers of Buddha, the Jains are the followers of Jīna, the victor, a title applied to Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, the last prophet of the Jainas. Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta is described as a supreme personality, a great Brahmana, a great guardian, a great guide, a great preacher, a great pilot, and a great recluse. Both Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta and the Buddha claimed to be scions of two ruling clans of Northern India, and both of them declares themselves as kiriyavādins or upholders of a doctrine of action. Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta was senior in age to the Buddha.

Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, the elder contemporary of Buddha was a kṣatriya chieftain in Magadha, the modern Behar. He was born in 599 B.C. in the town of Kuṇḍanagara, a suburb of Vaisali and an important seat of Jñātrkas. He was therefore called Vesālī (Vasiālīka), a citizen of Vaiśālī. On the day of his birth the prisoners in Kuṇḍanagara were released. He was also called as a Videha because he was the son of Videhadattā. His parents fixed his name



as Vardhamāna or Prosperous One, because with his birth the wealth, fame and merit of the family increased. The Gods gave him the name of Mahāvira for his fortitude and hardihood in patiently hearing all sorts of privation and hardship. He was also known as Jñātr̥putra scion of the Jñātr̥ clan.

Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, was like his father, a kāsyapa. He lived in the house of his parents till they died. In his thirteenth year he married Yasodā, ksatriya lady belonged to the kaundinya gotra, and had by her a daughter named Anojjā (Anavadya) or Priyadarsanā. Anojjā was married to Yāmali, a kṣatriya, who became the followers and follow-workers of Mahāvira. In his thirteenth year, he lost his parents. Afterwards at the age of twentyeight with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana he fulfilled his promise of going out to establish a Universal religion of love and amity. For twelve years he led a life of austerities, visiting even the wild tribes of the country, called Rādha. From the end of these twelve years he attained omniscience. At the age of forty-two he was realised as omniscient, as a prophet of the Jainas or a Tirthaṅkara (the founder of the path) and had the titles Jina which means 'conqueror' - one who has conquered his passions and desires. It is applied to the liberated souls who have conquered passions and desires and karmas and obtained emancipation. He preached his religion for thirty years in Northern India.

For a year and a month Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta renounced the world. He did not leave off his robe. Thereafter he gave up his robe and became naked. Even while wore robe he used it only in winter. Then he meditated. He did not answer those who saluted him. For more than a couple of years he went without using cold water. He realised singleness, guarded his body. He meditated day and night undisturbed. He never cared for sleep for the sake of pleasure. He endured all hardship in calmness. Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta explained to him the severe ascetic discipline by which such powers could be obtained. With the supreme knowledge he meditated on himself for twelve years. During the thirteenth year, in the second month of summer, the light fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha on the bank of river R̥jupalī under a sal tree and the Uttaraphālguṇī, he reached the highest knowledge and intuition called Kevala which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed. He was then lost in deep meditation. He then proclaimed

himself a Jina, and became the head of a sect, called the Ājivika, "Ājivikism was, in fact, a third, heretical sect, beside those of Buddhism and Jainism, with both of which its relations seem to have been often far from cordial."<sup>59</sup> That Ājivikas and Jainas were originally on good terms and indeed is closely related. The near relationship of the two sects is confirmed by the Buddhist tradition associating Makkhali Gosāla and Pūraṇa Kassapa, the two chief-Ājivika leaders, with Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta or Mahāvira, as members of the group of six heretics with whom the early Buddhists waged a continuous war of words. Mahāvira lived thirty years as householder, more than full twelve years in a state inferior to perfection, something less than thirty years as a Kevalin, forty-two years as a (recluse), and seventy-two years on the whole. At the age of seventy-two in the town of Pāvā, Mahāvira died, freed from all pains. The Jainas place the event of Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa (demise) in 527 B. C. While the Buddhists place Buddha's Mahāparinirvāṇa in 544 or 543 B.C.

Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta is associated with five other Tirthaṅkaras who passed as notable personalities and leaders of thought.<sup>60</sup> The Nirgranthas are represented as a class recluses who use to drink hot water, rejecting-cold water.<sup>61</sup>

Mahāvira was one of the great teachers of mankind. He did not preach to others what he did not practised himself. He attained higher life through patience, forbearance, self denial, forgiveness, humanity. ahimsā, or non-harming, compassion and consideration, sufferings and sacrifice, love and kindness.

Mahāvira's teachings was "The infinite bliss is not reachable through the finite happiness of even so fortunate among men as the remaining monarchs, it is reachable only through dukkha or pain of foregoing and for saking all finite happiness. The formula suggests a two-fold enquiry : One regarding the nature of the goal, and the other regarding the nature of the path. The nature of the goal suggested is sukha or infinite, bliss, and the implication is

59. Basham A. L., History and Doctrines of the Ājivikas, p-3.

60. Aṅguttara Nikāya, P.T.S. p-206.

61. 'dhi' assa nigaṇṭho āhādhiko dukkhito bāḥagilāno sitodakapalikkhitto uṇhodaka paṭisevi. So sitodakaṃ alabhamānokālam kareyya. Imassapana gahapati Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta katthūpapattiṃ paññāpetitī. Upāli Suttaṃ, Majjhima Nikāya, P.T.S. Vol. I, p-376.

that it is attainable by human efforts, and the nature of the path suggested is dukkha or pain or foregoing and forsaking all finite happiness and the implication is that the path that leads to worldly happiness is not the path that leads to infinite bliss.<sup>62</sup>

Mahāvira's ultimate object is Nibbāna which consists in peace. Nibbāna is Mokṣa or liberation, mukti or deliverance.

The main system of Jainiṣm came to be known navatattva or doctrine of nine terms. The nine terms are as follows :

	(1) Jīva,	(2) Ajīva.	(3) Bandha.
Nine Terms	(4) Puṇya,	(5) Pāpa,	(6) Āśrava,
	(7) Saṁvara	(8) Karmakṣaya,	(9) Mokṣa.

The Jīva signifies all that has life and the Ajīva signifies the things without life. Bandha or bondage is of soul. Bondage is subjection of soul to the laws of birth and death, old age, decay, pleasure and pain brought about by the effect of Kamma. Puṇya (merit) and pāpa (demerit) comprehend all acts pious and sinful. It keeps the soul bound to the circle of births and deaths. Āśrava is that which comes to soul to be affected by sins. Saṁvara is the self-control by which the influx of sins is checked. Saṁvara comprehends the whole sphere of right conduct. Karmakṣaya is the wearing out of accumulated effects of karma on the soul by the practice of austerities. Mokṣa follows the final deliverance of the soul from the bondage of karma, the bondage of sin.

The Jainas point out that the different kinds of immediate (aparokṣa) and mediate (parokṣa) knowledge. Every object has innumerable characters. An omniscient being can obtain an immediate knowledge of an object. But imperfect beings look at objects from one particular point of view at a time. Such partial knowledge about some one of the innumerable aspects of an object is called by the Jain 'naya'. The story of the blind men who formed their ideas of an elephant by touching its legs, ears, tail and trunk respectively and thus came to quarrel about the real shape of the animal, illustrates this truth. They quarrelled because each thought that his knowledge was the only true and complete knowledge and should be accepted unconditionally. The quarrel was over as soon as each of

---

62. Law, B.C. : Mahāvira : His life and Teaching, p-63.

them realized that his knowledge was only of one of the many parts of the animal.<sup>63</sup> So *naya* means a standpoint of thought from which we make a statement about a thing. All truth is relative to our standpoint.

The doctrine *naya* is just what is termed *syādvāda* in the postcanonical works, and the *nayas* are no other than the seven modes of *syādvāda* (*saptabhaṅginaya*). The Jainas insist that every judgement (*naya*) should be qualified by some word like “somehow” (*syāt*, i.e., in some respect.)

Ordinarily, logic distinguishes two kinds of judgement, affirmative and negative. The Jainas distinguish seven kinds of judgement including these two. These two are the affirmative and negative judgement ordinarily recognized but the Jainas qualify each with ‘somehow’ (*syāt*). Affirmative judgements about a jar, e.g. would be like ‘somehow’. The jar is in the room. Somehow the jar is red. Symbolically represented as ‘somehow S is P’ (*syat asti*). Again, negative judgements about an object would be like somehow the jar is not outside the room. We find that the general form of all negative judgements is somehow S is not P (*syāt nāsti*) when we describe that the jar is some-times red and sometimes not, we must have a compound judgement like ‘somehow’ the jar is not red. The general form of this judgement would, therefore, be ‘somehow S is and also is not P’ (*Syāt asti ca nāsti ca*). A jar is black when raw, and red when it is baked. But if we are asked, what is the real colour of the jar, the reply would be that the jar cannot be described. Our judgement would be that ‘somehow S is indescribable (*syāt avaktavyam*). The other three, of the seven forms of judgement, are obtained by combining successively each of the first three standpoints with the fourth. Thus by combining the first and the fourth successively, we get the fifth form of judgement, ‘somehow S is P and is also indescribable’ (*Syāt asti ca, avaktavyam ca*). Similarly, combining again the second and the fourth successively we have the sixth judgement of the general form ‘somehow S is not P and is also indescribable’ (*Syāt nāsti ca, avaktavyam ca*). Lastly, combining successively the third with the fourth point of view, we get the seventh form of judgement, somehow S is P, also is not P and is indescribable too’ (*Syāt asti ca, nāsti ca, avaktavyam ca*). To sum up, Jaina logic

---

63. Jaccandha vaggo, Udāna, P.T.S. p. 62.



recognizes the following seven kinds of conditional judgement (saptabhaṅginaya) :

1. Somehow, S is P (Syāt asti)
2. Somehow, S is not P (Syāt nāsti)
3. Somehow, S is P, and is also not P (Syāt asti ca, nāsti ca).
4. Somehow, S is indescribable (Syāt avakta vyam).
5. Somehow, S is P and is also indescribable (Syāt asti ca, avaktavyam ca).
6. Somehow, S is not P, and is also indescribable (Syāt nāsti ca, avaktavyam ca).
7. Somehow S is P and is also not P and also indescribable (Syāt asti ca, nāsti ca, avaktavyam ca).

Syādvāda is realistic and therefore, not pragmatic, It is a kind of relativism, but is realistic and not idealistic. It is not scepticism. The syād mode was the real way of escape from the position of the dogmatist and that of the sceptic, from both of which Mahāvira recoiled.

Jainism was launched forth by its founder as a kiriyāvāda, which according to the Pāli texts is the same term as kammavāda or doctrine of action. In teaching of Mahāvira, kiriyāvāda is sharply distinguished from akiriyāvāda (doctrine of non-action), ajñānāvāda (scepticism) and vinayavāda (formalism).

Jñāna-Darśana and charitra-knowledge, Faith and Virtue are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism as taught by Mahāvira. Knowledge is characterised as right knowledge, Faith, as right faith and Virtue as right conduct. These three constitute the path to beauty, to liberation or Nirvāṇa. Knowledge is religious vision intention or wisdom that knowledge in a metaphysical sense. The Samyak darśana or right vision consists in an insight into the meaning of truths. Samyak darśana is intended to remove all doubt and scepticism from one's mind and to establish or re-establish faith. Man of knowledge is a man of faith and a man of faith is a man of action. Virtue consists in right conduct.

Mahāvira's world is painted as a gloomy picture. It represents that state of existence of the soul in which it has to undergo repeated births and deaths and all their concomitant experience. It is saṃsāra or course of life. Death appears like a boundless flood of water with its dangerous current.

Brightness of the prospect is opposite to gloomy world. The bright prospect of the religious life is as lived and taught by Mahāvīra.

The substances of this eternal universe are described as Jīva and Ajīva, soul and no-soul. Jīva means the conscious spirit and Ajīva means the unconscious non-spirit. Ajīva includes not only matter which is called 'Pudgala' but also space, motion, rest and time. Spirit, matter, motion, rest and space are called respectively Jīva, pudgala, dharma, adharma and ākāśa. Jīva is generally the same as the Ātman or the Puruṣa in other pluralistic schools, with this important difference it is identified with life of which consciousness is said to be the essence. The category of Ajīva is divided into 'matter' (pudgala) space (ākāśa) motion (dharma) rest (adharma) and time (kāla). Pudgala is used in Buddhism in the sense of soul while in Jainism it is used for matter. The characteristic of living substance is attention, consciousness. Mokṣa is the essential point in the teaching of Mahāvīra. It means emancipation from the bondage of the world. Soul (attā) and pudgala or individuality and personality play an important role in Jain philosophy. Karma plays an important part in Jain metaphysics. The three jewels or three excellences in Jain philosophy are right faith, right knowledge and right conduct just like Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha in Buddhist philosophy.

The Jainas recount the names of the twenty-four teachers (tirthaṃkaras). The first of these teachers was Ṛṣabhadeva. The last was Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta also named Mahāvīra (the great hero). The teacher who immediately preceded Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta was Pārśva-nātha.

In course of time the followers of Jainism were divided into two sects as the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. The difference between them lies of faith and practice. The teachings are accepted by both the sects. The question of clothes versus no clothes led to the great schism and division of the Jainas into the Śvetāmbaras (white robed) and the Digambara (skyclad or nude) sects. The Digambaras are more rigorous and puritanic, while the Śvetāmbaras are more accommodating to the common frailties of men. According to the Digambaras the ascetics should give up all possessions, even clothes whereas the Śvetāmbaras hold that they should put on white clothes. The Digambaras obtained perfect knowledge needs

no food and women cannot obtain liberation. The Śvetāmbaras do not accept these views.

Jainism spread all over India since Mahāvira's demise. The chronicles of Ceylon attest that it spread also in Ceylon. The sites of the Jain shrines, the architecture, sculpture and painting of which are still the most precious objects and admiration to all.

Jainism like Buddhism is a religion without God. The jains are sometimes called nāstikas or heretics. Jainism like Buddhism and in a sense even more than Buddhism, is intensely spiritual and ethical.

(2) Pūraṇa Kassapa—He was an old wise teacher. He was born in a Brahmin family. He held the view that a person cannot acquire merit by pious deeds such as gifts, sacrifices or austerities also demerit by impious acts such as killing, stealing, lying and so forth. He taught the theory of non-action (Akiriya-vāda). Dr. Barua states this view "passivity of soul". A soul according to this teacher is inactive (passive). Soul remains unaffected by the results of good or bad deeds. "This teaching is allied to that of Sāṅkhya as has been pointed out by the Jaina commentator Sīlāṅka, but it would be wide of the mark if we say Kassapa's teaching is the same as that of Sāṅkhya, for the latter school of Philosophy does not teach akiriya though it holds that Puruṣa is only an onlooker, an inactive agent, the functioning factor being the Prakṛti. It does not however deny the doctrine of Karman and the theory of transmigration."<sup>64</sup> The Vedantic or Mādhyamika View of the world also makes a person niṣkriya, for it teaches that the world in its diversity does not exist; hence all actions, a person is supposed to perform, are purely imaginary. Though it is risky to identify Pūraṇa's teachings with those of Vedānta or Mādhyamika or Sāṅkhya, there is no reason why teachings should be condemned as leading to moral depravity as the Majjhima Nikāya<sup>65</sup> wants to establish. The suggestion of Dr. Barua based on the Dīgha that Pūraṇa's teaching should be classified adhiccasaṃuppannikavāda is more appropriate, i.e., things happen fortuitously without any cause or condition, and have nothing to do with soul."<sup>66</sup>

(3) Makkhali Gosāla — He was a contemporary teacher of

---

64. cf., Keith, Sāṅkhya System (Heritage of India Series), page, 33.

65. Majjhima, 1, p, 404.

66. Early Monastic Buddhism, N. Dutt., Vol-I, page, 35-36.

Buddha. He belonged to the sect of the Acelakas or Naked Ones. He was originally a follower of Pārśvanātha, the first Jaina Tirthaṅkara. He gave up his old faith because he had a firm belief that living beings have only reanimation and not death. He carried a staff of bamboo (maskarin). In the second year of Mahāvīra's career Gosāla received his discipleship. He founded an independent school of thought known as the Ājīvika school.

He taught the doctrine of fatalism (niyatisaṅgati—bhāva) viz., a being's sufferings or happiness does not depend upon any cause or condition. A being is helpless. He cannot help himself even others. He cannot attain perfection (Vimutti) by exertion. He can transmigrate from one existence to another, and it is only after repeated existences that he will attain emancipation (śuddhi). The existences of a being are unalterably fixed (niyata). In every existence a being is endowed with certain characteristics (Saṅgatibhāva). This doctrine is called as ahetuka and akiriyadiṭṭhi.<sup>67</sup> This doctrine denies kamma (deed), kiriya (action) and viriya (energy).<sup>68</sup>

“Dr. Barua says that according to Gosāla, there are infinite gradations of existence, and each type of existence is eternal. The Pāli expression for the different types of existence is chalābhijātiyo, which means six types of human beings, the types being distinguished according to the qualities (guṇas)<sup>69</sup>. These fatalists, in the opinion of the Buddhists, have no hope of deliverance. Like the followers of other teachers,<sup>70</sup> they are liable to evil deeds. They belong to abrahmacariyāvāsas (those who lead impure lives) and are fond of eulogising themselves and disparaging others”,<sup>71</sup>

---

67. Majjhima Nikāya, I, page, 409 ; cf. II, p. 121.

68. Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, page, 287.

69. (i) Kaṇhābhijāti : Bird catchers, hunters, fishermen, etc.

(ii) Nīlābhijāti : Recluses who take to rigorous ascetic practices including the Sākyaputtiya Samaṇas.

(iii) Lohitābhijāti : Nigaṇṭhas who wear one piece of cloth.

(iv) Haliddābhijāti : Lay-devotees of Acelakas including Ājivikasāvakas.

(v) Sukkābhijāti : Ājīvika ascetics like Nanda, Vaccha, Saṅkicca. In the Majjhima (I, P. 238) these ascetics are said to be engaged in kāyabhāvanā and not cittabhāvanā.

(vi) Paramasukkābhijāti : Ājīvika saints.

See Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, p. 162, Aṅguttara, 111, p. 121.

70. Majjhima Nikāya, I, page, 401-2, See also I, p. 483.

71. Ibid., I, page, 524, Early Monastic Buddhism N. Dutt, Vol. I, page, 37-



(4) Ajita kesakambali—Ajita was an elder contemporary of Buddha. He was an out and out a materialist. According to him a being is composed of the four mahābhūtas (elements), viz.. earth, water, air and fire and ākāśa (space). After death the physical body breaks up into small pieces and merges in the four elements, while the indriyas (organs of sense), pass into space (ākāśa).<sup>72</sup>

There is no rebirth of transmigration. He states that a karma (action) good or bad does not produce any fruit. Dr. Barua points out that Ajita's doctrine is identified with Pāyāsi<sup>73</sup> who held that the soul is not an entity distinct from the body.

“In the Majjhima Nikāya<sup>74</sup>, Ajita's teaching is criticised as leading to improper acts, speech and thoughts, and to indulgences in worldly pleasures. Dr. Barua disagrees with the opinion expressed above and in its stead says that Ajita's teaching has a moral leaning inasmuch as it believed in life rather than in death, and it advocated proper service towards men when they are alive rather than honouring them after death. Dr. Barua, in fact, is trying here to justify the materialistic points of View”<sup>75</sup>

Ajita's materialistic teaching was known to all. The Lokāyata or Bārhaspatya School of philosophy became popular as the doctrine of Cārvāka. In the Nikāyas it is known as Uccchedavāda or the doctrine of annihilation after death or the doctrine of identity of the soul and body (Taṃ jīva taṃ sarīravāda). Ajita taught the doctrine of the Ucchedavāda.

(5) Pakudha Kaccāyana—He was also known as kakuda Kātyāna a younger contemporary of Pippalāda as given in the Prasnopaniṣad. There he is called Kabandhiṇ. Kakuda means he had a hump on his neck or shoulder. Pakudha was his personal name and Kaccāyana that of his gotra. The Kaccāyana was a brahmin gotra. He was born in a Brahmin family. He taught the doctrine of Akiriyavāda. This teacher states that a being is composed of seven elements, viz., earth, water, air, fire, pleasure (sukha), pain (dukkha) and soul (jīva). These seven elements eternally exist and

72. Majjhima Nikāya., I, p. 515.

73. Dīgha Nikāya, II, no. 23: Pāyāsisuttanta.

74. Majjhima Nikāya, I, p, 402,

75. Early Monastic Buddhism, N. Dutt. page, 38.

they are uncreated. "This teaching is classified in the Buddhist texts as Akiriyavāda as also Sassatavāda. It is akiriya inasmuch as it teaches that any act, good or bad, is not capable of bearing any fruit, and it is sassata as the elements remain in their original state unaffected by any composition whatsoever. From the Buddhist stand-point, this teaching is as undesirable as the ucchedavāda, for it also teaches moral irresponsibility leading men to evil deeds".<sup>76</sup>

(6) Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta—He was a founder of a school of thought and was highly respected in the country. He was an ajñānavādin, i.e., an agnostic or sceptic. He refuses to give a definite answer to questions dealing with ultimate problems. He is criticised as an Amarāvikkhepika (Eel-wrigglers) who did not give any Eel-wiggler. He was an eminent religious mendicant and founder of a religious order. He was the teacher of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Ultimately they left him and taking two hundred and fifty others joined the Buddhist Saṅgha. As a result of it sañjaya vomitted blood and died.

Social and economic conditions before the rise of Buddhism were congenial for Buddha's preaching his *Dharma* and gaining popularity. Varṇa (colour) was the main decisive factor of the four grades in the society, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya (Pali Khattiya), Vaiśya (Pali Vessa) forming the three upper classes and the fourth śūdra (Pali Sudda) the lowest strata in the society. But the caste system based on birth, was not rigid during the period. The superiority of the Brāhmaṇas by birth was confined only to a small class. On the other hand, the theory of Karma (Kamma), which was advocated by Buddha, was becoming more popular. The *Upaniṣads* and some discourses of Buddha reveal that people of the lower grade could also attain higher status in the society, if they would lead a good life<sup>77</sup> and act righteously.

People, it seems, could change their paternal professions. Such instance is found in a Jātaka<sup>78</sup> in case of Khatiya, who first took up the profession of a potter, after that he became basket maker (nala-kāra) and then turned a florist and last a cook (sūpikā). But he did not loose his caste thereby. Another Jātaka<sup>79</sup> relates a story of a

76. Early Monestic Buddhism—N. Dntt. Vol. 1. Page-39.

77. Cf. J. R. A- S. 1901. pp. 863 .

78. Jātaka, V, 290.

79. I bid, VI, 372.

setthi doing the work of tailor (tunnavāya) and potter (Kumbhakāra) without loosing his social rank. We find mention of Brāhmaṇa, who, leaving their original teaching or priestly job, were engaged in agriculture<sup>80</sup> (Kassakā), trade<sup>81</sup> (vaṇijjā), carpentry<sup>82</sup> (tacchakā) and hunting<sup>83</sup> (nesādā)

The Kṣatriyas who were, nobles, princes generally took up the occupation of a warrior, ruled over the country and the vaiśyas were trades man. The high position, occupied so far by the Brāhmaṇa priest could no longer be maintained during the rise of Buddhism. Some of the Kṣatriya kings, without engaging a Brāhmaṇa teacher, used to impart education to their sons. The *Gāmaṇi Caṇḍa Jātaka* (II, 257) gives account of a king who taught his son the Vedas and worldly duties (loka kattabbam).

The Śūdras or the people of lower status were engaged in the so-called lower professions (*hīnasippāni*) such as bird-catching, work of a dancer, potter (kumbhakāra), basket maker (nalakāra), carpenter (vaḍḍhaki), barbers (nāpita), leather work (cammakāra), etc. Below these people were the caṇḍālas or Pukkusas<sup>84</sup> who did the jobs of corpse-throwers (chavachadḍhakā), sweepers and 'methors'. There were the slaves, whose children also were, normally, considered as slaves. Most of the śūdras were household servants who received good treatment from their masters for being obedient.

The Āśrama system was one of the principal features of the society in the period before the rise of Buddhism. In the *Āraṇyakas* and the early Upaniṣads we find mention of three Āśramas, viz., Brahmacharya, Gṛhastha and Vānaprastha only. But in the later Upaniṣads, the Mahābhārata and the Dharmasūtras we read about the fourth Āśrama, viz., Sanyāsa, these four altogether completing the form of the successive stages of life.

In respect of marital relations (connubium) we find that both the customs of regular (anuloma) and irregular (pratiloma) marriages were prevalent in the society of this period. Irregular marriages between the bridegroom of higher or lower caste (vaṇṇa) and bride

---

80. Jātaka, III, 163 ; V. 68.

81. Ibid, V, 471 ; II, 15.

82. Ibid IV, 207.

83. Ibid, II, 200 ; Brāhmaṇadhammika Sutta, Suttanipāta.

84. Aṅguttara Nikāya, I, 162 : Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras. II, 301.

of lower or higher caste respectively were quite popular.<sup>85</sup> In such cases the child born was assigned to higher social rank possessed by any of the parents. Though there were restrictions as to commensality or right of eating together, the inter caste dining was fairly common. But on the part of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas eating together with the Caṇḍālas and Pukkusas was despised.

The economic condition of the people in the pre-Buddhist Indian society was fairly good. There were several land-routes which were used as trade-routes also in the country. One big road starting from Sāvatti (Śrāvastī) passed through Sāketa, Kosombī, Vedisā, Gonadda, Ujjayinī and Mahismatī situating in different kingdoms like Kosala, Kāśī, Pañcāla, Sūrasena, Avantī, etc. reached up Paṭiṭṭhāna (Pratiṭṭhāna) in south India (Dakkhiṇāpatha). The second important road, starting from Śrāvastī, passed through Setavyā, Kapilavastu, Kuśīnagar, Pāvā, Hastigrāma (Pali Hatthigāma), Bhaṇḍagrāma, Vaiśālī (Vesālī), Pāṭaliputra and Nālandā reached Rājagṛha.<sup>86</sup> Another road went to Uttarāpatha. On these main roads several big prosperous industrial cities and towns like Campā, Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Vārāṇasī, Ayodhyā, Sāketa, Śrāvastī, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā, Takshasilā, etc. were situated. Buddha's followers used these routes for preaching Dhamma. There were a number of crafts flourishing in the towns and villages. In the Jaina and the Buddhist literature occasional references to ivory and metal workers, stone-cutters, jewellers, dyers; confectioners, etc., besides carpenters, potters, basket makers, etc. are found.<sup>87</sup>

During this period the craftsmen (sippikā) and the traders (vāṇijjā) were not entirely dependent on the agriculture class. They fulfilled not only the needs of the villagers, but also supplied their products to the inhabitants of the towns and cities. They formed their respective guilds or corporations (Saṅgha, Śreṇi, Pūga and *Nikāya*), and each guild had its Head called Pramukha (Pamukha) or Jyeṣṭhaka (Jeṭṭhaka). In the *Jātakas* we find mention of Heads such as kammāra-jeṭṭhaka (Jātaka No. 387), mālākāra—jeṭṭhaka (No. 415), Vaḍḍhaki-jeṭṭhaka (No. 466), etc. In one Jātaka (No. 466) we find mention of 1000 carpenters living in a village.

---

85. Jātaka, IV, 38, 146 ; VI, 348.

86. Pārāyana Vagga, Suttanipāta.

87. Phys Davids, Buddhist India (Calcutta ed.), pp. 56-60.



The early Buddhist literature furnishes us account about the Setṭhis who were also head of guilds. The Setṭhis were of different kinds, viz. Mahāsetṭhi occupying the highest rank and Anusetṭhi and Uttarasetṭhi occupying the lower rank. Some Setṭhis possessed unlimited wealth. Anāthapindika, Menḍaka Migāra whò were contemporary of Buddha belonging to this rank. Even the kings honoured them.<sup>88</sup> Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā, the daughter-in-law of Migāra were famous for their support to the Buddhist Saṅgha. The craftsmen and traders also donated much for temples, hospitals and educational institutions, and also helped the poor and the needy. People of this period generally hoarded their wealth under the ground as there was no modern banking system.<sup>89</sup> The traders and the Setṭhis used lend money on interest. The rates of interest varied in accordance with the circumstances. According to the Vaśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra (II. 48-49) the rates of interest varied from 2% to 5%. It was considered derogatory for the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas to lend money on interest. In the Majjhima Nikāya (I. 463) we find such a term 'inatta i.e. oppressed by debt which reveals that there were also poor people who borrowed money on interest. Thus we observe that the economic condition of the people of Northern India, especially *Madhyadeśa* (Pali *Majjhimadesa*) was good and very sound. So people including the kings, nobles and the rich setṭhis could support different religious preachers. Even they were able to invite Buddha with a large retinue of followers in mid-day meal.

---

88. Cullavagga, VI, 4, 1 ; Dhamapada Aṭṭhakathā.

89. Jātaka Nos. 39, 73 and 137.

## CHAPTER—II

### FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS (Cattāri Ariya Saccāni)

Four Noble Truths (Cattāri Ariya Saccāni) are regarded as the quintessence of Buddhist teachings as propounded by the Master (Buddha) himself. The traditional exposition of the four truths is clearly stated in the *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta*<sup>1</sup> which is traditionally known as *Paṭhamadhammadesanā* or the very first religious discourse delivered by Lord Buddha. It is clearly asserted in the *Peṭakopadesa* “All that was uttered by Buddha from the day of his Enlightenment to that of his great decease, all fall within the scope of the Four Noble Truths”.<sup>2</sup>

Siddhārtha left his royal palace in a dark night on an auspicious day. Giving up his princely robe, he took to the life of a mendicant.

He approached the two renounced teachers, Āḷarakālāma and Ruddaka Rāmaputra. But he was not satisfied with their attainments. He left them and went to Uruvelā near Gayā. There he came across five recluses—Vappa, Bhaddiya, Assaji, Mahānāma and Aññātakondañña. They are called *Pañcavaggiyas*. For six years he practised severe penances, as a result of which his body became greatly emaciated. He thus realised the futility of severe penances and decided that those penances and extreme self mortification would not help solving his problem. He then began to take solid food. Noticing Gautama deviated from the path of austerity, the five recluses deserted him. They thought it would cause hindrance to them in their way of emancipation. They proceeded to Rṣipatana<sup>3</sup> (Deer Park) near Vārāṇasī in order to continue their ascetic pursuits. Gautama proceeded to the bank of the famous Nairāñjanā river and took his seat under a peepul tree, firmly

---

1. Mahāvagga, Vinaya, 1, Page, 10 ; Saṃyuttanikāya, P.T.S., Vol, v, page, 420.

2. B.C.Law. Concepts of Buddhism, page, 27, Na Kiñci Buddhānaṃ bhagavantānaṃ dhammadesanāya dhammacakkato bahiddhā ; tassa sabbāṃ suttāṃ ariyadhammesu pariyesitabbāṃ, Peṭakapodesa, Chapter, 1.

3. Isipatana

declaring that he would not leave his seat before the attainment of supreme knowledge.

At that time, a merchant named Senāni lived at Senānigrāma near Uruvelā. Sujātā was his daughter. She became devoted to Gautama. She desired to offer milk-rice to the God. So Sujātā came and gave him the food in a golden bowl. She approached the Bodhi tree and met a grass-cutter named Sotthiya<sup>4</sup> and gave him eight handful of grass for his seat. Crossed-legged he sat under a tree for meditation. Māra tried his best to debar him from his determination of gaining perfect knowledge (Enlightened) but failed. Gautama became the Buddha (an Enlightened One). The tree under which he had attained this knowledge came to be known as the Bodhi tree. Thereafter he left for R̥ṣipatana where the Pañcavaggiyas were dwelling. Buddha gave a discourse to these five old friends, the Pañcavaggiyas. This discourse is known as the Turning of the wheel of Law<sup>5</sup> which contains the ethical code of early Buddhism. It explains the four noble truths<sup>6</sup> —suffering<sup>7</sup>, origin of suffering<sup>8</sup>, cessation of suffering<sup>9</sup>, the path that leads to the cessation of suffering.<sup>10</sup> The essence of this preaching is also known as the Middle-path.<sup>11</sup> It is also otherwise known as Ariya aṭṭhaṅgi-kamagga consisting of eight noble paths—right view<sup>12</sup>, right thought,<sup>13</sup> right speech,<sup>14</sup> right action,<sup>15</sup> right livelihood,<sup>16</sup> right effort,<sup>17</sup> right mindfulness,<sup>18</sup> and right concentration<sup>19</sup>. The Middle Pāth explains the doctrine which keeps clear of the two extremes, namely sensual indulgence<sup>20</sup> and self-mortification<sup>21</sup> which lead to no good. The first part of the Dhammacakkapavattana-Sutta opens with the teachings of the Middle Pāth. The second part of the Sutta deals with the four noble truths which form the basis of Buddha's teaching. Buddha came to realise that desire

---

4. Svastika.

5. Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta. Paṭhamadhamma desanā. Mhāvagga, Vinaya I, page, 10 Saṃyuttanikāya. P.T.S. Vol, V, page, 420.

6. Cattāri ariya saccāni.

7. dukkha. 8. dukkha-samudaya. 9. dukkha nirodha.

10. dukkha-nirodha-gāminī paṭipadā. 11. Majjhima paṭipadā.

12. Sammā diṭṭhi. 13. Sammā Saṅkappa. 14. Sammāvācā.

15. Sammā kammanta. 16. Sammā ājīva. 17. Sammā vyāyāma,

18. Sammā Sati. 19. Sammā Samādhi.

20. Kāme Kāmasukhallikānuyogo. 21. Attakilamathānuyogo.

was the root of all evils that lead to repeated births and suffering. Once desires are extinguished one can rise above worldly temptations, one can get rid of births and its attendant desires and afflictions.

The term *sacca* in Pali (*satya* in Sanskrit) is derived from the root 'sat' which means being. It is not an ultimate truth but the factual truth experienced without delusion. According to Buddhism the truth is to be found in the relative conditions of things and events. The truth is to know and see the things as they are.<sup>22</sup> It is not a comprehension of the ultimate substance of matter. Factual truth is not dependent on the knowledge. All component things are transient. They produce suffering. The factual truth is explained by the Buddha in a fourfold way mentioned above.

Let us now explain the Four Noble Truths. According to Buddhism, the first noble truth, as already mentioned is suffering. There is only one problem in this world, that is suffering. The world is full of suffering. According to Buddha, world is established on suffering, is founded on suffering.<sup>23</sup> Everything is bound by suffering, unsatisfactoriness, conflict—conflict between our desires and the facts of life. Every person is living in the world of problems and sufferings. In Buddhism sufferings signify the day to day problems of human life; the problems of an individual, the problems of each and every family, the problems of each and every community, the problems of each and every nation or country which are the conglomeration of sufferings of each of them, what is suffering. The logic as propounded by Buddha reveals that association with uncongenial and undesired objects or state of things, separation from the desired objects or state of things, and disappointment from obtaining the so called desired object is suffering. Thus at every step of human life which is full of problems there exists suffering in the form of disharmony or insufficiency. Problems of food and clothing, problems of shelter, problems of our social life and surroundings are confronting us continuously and at every moment many new problems are cropping up before us in some form or other as we see for ourselves.

---

22. *yathā-bhūta-ñāṇa-dassana*.

23. *Dukkhe loko patiṭṭhito*. *Samyuttanikāya* I, page. 40.



Again dissatisfaction of human mind make these problems all the more acute, complex and longstanding. This discontent further brings forth in its trial all friction and distrust not only among the individuals but also among the communities and nations. There is thus constant struggle amongst the different nations of the world. People have grown pessimistic, the world is full of split personalities and sad doubts have grown all around. Constant arms race has been going on among the nations of the world. This distrust, this misgiving, this hatred and malice in the mind of the people are the resultant of craving or the sense of frustration in human mind. Life according to Buddhism is only full of sufferings. Through sense faculties man is attracted to sense objects. The pleasures derived from sensual satisfactions and enjoyments are not lasting. All things are changeable and cause suffering.

There are three aspects of sufferings. 1. *Suffering in its most ordinary form* :<sup>24</sup> 2. *Suffering of conditioned states* :<sup>25</sup> 3. *Suffering caused by change*.<sup>26</sup> Birth, ageing, disease, death, association with the unloved, dissociation from the loved, not getting what one wants are the ordinary suffering which are called dukkha-dukkhatā. The word Saṅkhāra means the thing which is subject to cause and effect. The five groups or aggregates<sup>27</sup> are suffering. They are the aggregates of matter of sensation, of perception, of mental formations and of consciousness. They are known briefly as nāma-rūpa, the psycho-physical entity. Rūpa includes the physical aggregate and nāma the remaining four aggregates.. Matter<sup>28</sup> constitutes the Four Great Primaries ;<sup>29</sup> i.e. solidity,<sup>30</sup> fluidity,<sup>31</sup> heat,<sup>32</sup> and motion.<sup>33</sup> Paṭhavi or Solidity is the element of expansion. This object occupies space. Āpo or Fluidity is the element of cohesion. The cohesive force in liquids is very strong. Tejo is the element of heat or temperature. The vitality of all beings and plants are preserved by this element. Vāyo is the element of motion. It is displacement. The second is the aggregate of feeling or sen-

---

24. dukkha-dukkhatā.

25. Saṅkhārā-dukkhatā.

26. Vipariṇāma-dukkhatā.

27. "Pañcupādānakkhandhe". Saṃyuttanikāya. P.T.S. Vol, III. page.47.

28. Rūpa. 29. Cattāri mahābhūtāni. 30. Paṭhavi. 31. āpo,

32. tejo, 33. vāyo.

sation.<sup>34</sup> Our feelings are included in it. Feelings may be pleasant, unpleasant and neutral. They arise from contact, i.e. seeing, hearing, smelling, touching, tasting and cognizing a mental object. These six kinds of feelings come from the eye, ear, nose, body, tongue and the mind respectively. Contact means the combination of the sense organs. The third is the aggregate of perception,<sup>35</sup> which is recognition of objects both physical and mental. Perception is of six kinds : perception of forms, sounds, smells, tastes, bodily contacts and mental objects. The fourth is the aggregate of mental formation.<sup>36</sup> It comprises all mental factors except feeling and perception. The fifth is the aggregate of consciousness.<sup>37</sup> consciousness is of six types. It has its basis and objects.<sup>38</sup> These five aggregates are not permanent. These are subject to change. The combination of these five constitutes a being. A being and the world are both constantly changing. Conditioned and compounded things are impermanent. Impermanent things are pain-laden sorrow-fraught. Vipariṇāma dukkha comes through unsatisfactoriness due to impermanence. Pleasant things are not permanent to a man who can experience it for a moment and they disappear. Things which are transient are suffering. Whatever is impermanent is suffering.<sup>39</sup> "All created things are sorrowful, when one by wisdom realises (this) he heeds not (is superior to) this world of sorrow, this is the path to purity."<sup>40</sup>

Suffering arises in men when he is faced with the facts of life such as ageing, illness, death and so forth. Detachment cannot bring about suffering. Vibhaṅga tells us "Birth is suffering, ageing is suffering, death is suffering, sorrow, lamentation, pain (physical) mental pain—despair is suffering, association with the disliked is suffering, separation from the liked is suffering, not to get what one

---

34. Vedanā. 35. saññā.

36. saṅkhārā. 37. Viññāṇa.

38. Will be discussed in the chapter on Paṭiccasamuppāda.

39. "Yad aniccaṃ taṃ dukkham."—Samyutta nikāya. P.T.S. Vol, III page, 22

40. "Sabbe Saṅkhārā dukkhā,

ti yadā paññāya passati

atha nibbindati dukkhe,

esa maggo Visuddhiyā."—The Dhammapada—S. Radhakrishnan.

page, 146. Verse, 276.

wishes that also is suffering, in brief five aggregates (as objects of the attachments) are suffering.”<sup>41</sup> Birth is the existence and the appearance of the aggregates. Ageing means decrepitude broken teeth, grey-hair, wrinkled skin, the dwindling of life, decay of the controlling faculties. Death is the breaking up of the aggregates, the destruction of the controlling faculty of vital principle. Sorrow is burning of mind, mental pain. Lamentation is the senseless talk, wailing sorrowful murmuring. Pain may be physical and mental. Physical pain is the uneasy painful feeling born of bodily contact. Mental pain is the uneasy painful feeling born of mental contact. Despair is the state of despondency. The five aggregates are the attachments of suffering. The aggregate of material quality, the aggregate of perception, the aggregate of mental concomitants, the aggregate of consciousness are the attachments. Birth, ageing, death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, mental pain, despair, five aggregates are the suffering of all persons. Desires for pleasures of the senses<sup>42</sup> lead to conflict.<sup>43</sup> It is an attachment of existence<sup>44</sup> and is a source of conflict. Desire for the annihilation<sup>45</sup> of the consequences of life produces more suffering. It is also source or origin of suffering. Saṃsāra or the world is an endless chain of suffering. Suffering means really any form of so-called existence in this world. Suffering is not lasting because it too is subject to change. Buddha says: The five aggregates are indeed a burden.<sup>46</sup> In the Dhammapada —

“Ah ! happily do we dwell — we who have  
no impediments. Feeders on joy shall we  
be even as the Radiant Devas.”<sup>47</sup>

41. The Book of Analysis—Pathamakyaw Ashin Thittila (Setthila) Aggamahā paṇḍita. page, 130.

“Jāti pi dukkhā, jarā pi dukkhā, maraṇaṃ pi dukkhaṃ,  
soka-parideva-dukkha domanassa-upāyāsā pi dukkhā,  
appiyehi sampayogo dukkho, piyehi vippāyogo dukkho  
yaṃ picchaṃ na labhati taṃ pi dukkhaṃ, saṃkhittena  
pañcupādānakkhandhā dukkhā”—Vibhaṅga Pali—

Saccavibhaṅga, Bhikkhu Jagadish Kassapa. page, 126.

42. Kāma-taṇhā. 43. dukkha.

44. bhava-taṇhā. 45. vibhava-taṇhā. 46. Saṃyuttanikāya, III. page, 26.

47. The Dhammapada—N. Mahāthera, page, 147.

“Susukhaṃ vata jīvāma yesaṃ no natthi kiñcanaṃ.  
Pitibhakkhā bhavissāma devā ābhassarā yathā.”

— The Dhammapada. Verse — 200.

According to Buddhism, the first noble truth, as already mentioned is suffering. "The scheme of the Four Truths, it appears, has an apt application to the teachings of Buddha, even though he may not have actually propounded it. Stcherbatsky has stated that there is nothing distinctive in the Four Truths, the meanings of which change according to the content poured into them. (Stcherbatsky — The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa pp. 55. fn. 1. He quotes from the *Nyāyavārtika* (ed. B.I. p. 13). "Etāni catvāryarthapadāni sarvāsvadhyātmavidyāsu sarvācāryairvarṇyanta iti.)

It is true that the formula happens in non-Buddhist systems also. (Thus in the *yogabhāṣya* on YS. ii-15 ; *Nyāyabhāṣya* on *Nyāyasūtras* 1.1.1 ; *Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya*—p. 6 (chowkh. ed). still, it must be remembered that nowhere else has such an importance been attached to it as within the Buddhist circle of thought.) Even so late and independent an author as Dharmakīrti says "Tāyo vā catuḥsatyaprakāśanam" *Pramāṇavātika* : 1.148 ed. with Manorathanandin's comy. in JBORES. 1938) cf. "Though the Hīnyānists and the Mahāyānists did not agree regarding the conception of Śūnyatā, there was no disagreement among them in regard to the fact that Buddha preached the Four Truths (*Āryasatyas*) and the Causal Law (*Pratītyasamutpāda*)" (N. Dutt. Aspects of Mahāyana Buddhism p. 49). It appears thus that the scheme arose originally within Buddhism and only later became current Philosophical Koine)

"Modern Scholars have generally held that the Four Truths belong to the most ancient state of the Buddhist doctrine, Mrs. Rhys Davids has, however, shown some cause for doubting it. As titular items, the Four Truths do not appear in the Fourth Nipāta of the AN, or the Saṅgiti Sutta of the DN. It may be noted that they do not form part of the list of the thirty seven *Bodhipakkhiya Dhammas* which are supposed to have been the dying charge of the Master. They doubtless occur in the present form of the first sermon, but it is possible that this form of the first sermon is the result of patchwork. When this possibility as well as the omissions mentioned above which have as yet not been satisfactorily explained—are taken into account, it seems difficult to be certain that the scheme of the Four Truths, made popular by Buddhism, belonged to its earliest stage."<sup>48</sup>

48. Pande, G, C. Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, page-397-398.



Stcherbatsky points out that dukkha is closely bound up with his View of Nirvāṇa. If Dukkha is the “Commotion” of “elements”, it is something “objective”, a real pervasive feature of the universe, and escape from it can come, consistently with the denial of “uccheda” only through non-experience.

Dukkha in the Nikāyas seems to mean primarily pain or disagreeable feeling<sup>49</sup> with AN, II. 415 “yo kho panāvuso ābādho dukkhaṃ etaṃ vuttaṃ bhagavatā”, cf. “Na ca mukhyameva duḥkhaṃ bāddhanāsvabhāvamavamṛsyate kintu tatsādhanaṃ tadanuṣaktaṃ ca sarvameva” (Nyāyamañjarī, Vizianagaram ed. p. 507) actual or potential, and secondarily through the extension of meaning, what may be proximately or remotely causal to such feeling. (cf. Vm. (Nāgarī. ed.) p. 349 “Thapetvā dukkhasaccaṃ sesaṃ dukkhasaccavibhaṅge āgataṃ jāti ādi sabbam pi tassa tassa dukkhassa vatthubhāvato pariyāyadukkhaṃ Dukkhadukkhaṃ pana nippariyāyadukkhanti vuccati”. cf. *Nyāyavārtika* p. 2 (chowkhamba ed.) where duḥkha is called “*Ekaviṃśatiprabhedabhinna*”.

Let us now discuss the second truth, origin of suffering. Having seen a sick man it is essential to discover the cause of his disease. Buddha points out the causes of suffering and thus suggests the administration of a cure. Buddhism has searched into the sources and origins of suffering and has come to discover that selfish desire or craving happens to be the basis of our problems, both individual and collective. These make our living all the more complex and make us power-loving and absolutely indifferent to the need and claims of others. Disappointment, delusion and sufferings in various ways and forms entail those who bear greed and hatred in them. Craving causes re-becoming, re-birth accompanied by passions for pleasures. Craving is of three kinds — craving for sense pleasures, craving for becoming, craving for non-existence. Craving causes rebirth. Craving is found accompanied with passionate lust and strong desire for getting this or that. For example, craving for sense pleasure leads to craving for becoming what however is worth while is craving for non-becoming.<sup>50</sup> Vibhava-taṇhā produces

---

49. Ibid page, 405.

50. The Book of Analysis — A.T. Mahapaṇḍita. p-133.

“Yāyaṃ taṇhā ponobhavikā nandirāga sabagatā  
tatratatrābhinandinī, seyyathidaṃ — Kāmatāṇhā.

Bhava-taṇhā, Vibhava-taṇhā.” Vibhaṅga, J. Kassapa. page, 129.

more conflict. It produces a sharper contrast between the delusive opposites of self and others. Thus it is clear that craving is the cause and effect of suffering. We see here seed and fruit, action and reaction. It makes and remakes the world as thirst for becoming. Life depends on the desires of life. All forms of appetite are included in craving. Greed, thirst, desire, affection, house-hold love denote craving. These are the causes of suffering. Avoiding the two extremes Buddha resorted to the Middle Pāth. This truth is enlarged by the twelve-linked formula which is known as the Law of Dependent Origination <sup>51</sup> Ignorance is the root cause of suffering. Man is attached to existence through his ignorance, craving and clinging. He continues his life round the “wheel of Existence’.

Here is discussed the third truth, cessation of suffering. <sup>52</sup> which is known as Nibbāna. <sup>53</sup> It is the path of absolute ending of suffering. Buddhism has discovered the cure of this human malady, since the sufferings are absolutely man-made and the problems are created by man. Cessation of suffering “is the entire dispassionate cessation of the forsaking of the discarding of, the freedom from, the non-attachment to that same craving.” <sup>54</sup> “The process of solving the complex and thereby ending the conflict will be, therefore, a process of eradication of the root-condition which was stated in the Second Noble Truth to be craving in its various expressions.” Hence “it is the entire waning, cessation, abandoning, rejection, liberation and detachment from that craving, that is called the third Noble Truth of the cessation of conflict.” <sup>55</sup> Cessation of craving brings about the cessation of clinging, which ceases the becoming of volitional tendencies and activities. This truth is the way of complete detachment from desires. It stops the worldly existence. It leads to the cessation of origin of suffering. It is free from all characteristics. It is beyond death and is signless. It is not a result of right means because right means has cause but Nirodha has no cause. It is unborn, unoriginated, uncreated. Nirodha is of two kinds—Sopādisesa and Nirupādisesa. When a saint is free

---

51. Paṭiccasamuppāda, discussed in the chapter of Paṭiccasamuppāda.

52. Dukkha-nirodha. 53. Discussed in detail in the chapter—Nibbāna.

54. The Book of Analysis — A.T. Agga Mahapaṇḍita. page, 86.

55. Encyclopaedia of Buddhism—G.P.Malalasekera. Vol, II. page, 88 :  
dukkha-kkhandhassa nirodha.

from all impurities and realises the truth, the five skandhas are still present and are called *sopādisesa nirodha*. When a saint lays down his mortal frame, when external life ceases, it is called *nirupādisesa nirodha*. It is the complete cessation from craving. It is clear that *nirodha* means *Nibbāna* which is the cessation, the extinction of craving or the extinction of suffering. *Nirodha* is the way of careful cultivation of the mind and produces unalloyed happiness and supreme rest from life. The third truth comprises the Dependent Origination which tells us that things of this world have cause and effect. So things are impermanent and productive of sufferings. The formula runs thus—

- (1) *Avijjāpaccayā saṅkhārā.*
- (2) *Saṅkhārāpaccayā viññāṇaṃ.*
- (3) *Viññāṇapaccayā nāmarūpaṃ.*
- (4) *Nāmarūpapaccayā saḷāyatanaṃ.*
- (5) *Saḷāyatanaṃpaccayā Phassa.*
- (6) *Phassa paccayā vedanā.*
- (7) *Vedanā paccayā taṇhā.*
- (8) *Taṇhāpaccayā upādānaṃ.*
- (9) *Upādānapaccayā bhavo.*
- (10) *Bhava paccayā jāti.*
- (11) *Jāti paccayā jarā.*
- (12) *Jarā paccayā maraṇaṃ.*

The fourth Noble Truth is the path leading to the cessation of suffering. The path consists of eight good practices. This truth deals with mental training of a man. It is a path leading to moral training. It is meditation or the development of mind. It helps to improve the process of cleansing one's speech, action and thought. It is the path which leads to a man for self-development and self-purification. It indicates a man from ignorance to full knowledge. The noble eight good practices may be called Middle Pāth because it avoids the two extremes. Indulgence in sensual pleasures which leads to harm and self-torture is also painful and leads to harm. Living in the palace Gautama knew that luxury and pleasure did not lead a man to true happiness and deliverance. Again after six years of rigorous mortification he did not get any reward. Avoiding these two extremes he followed a path of moral and mental training.

The eight-fold path may be divided into three sections ; 1. moral precepts<sup>56</sup> ; 2. mind control<sup>57</sup> ; and 3. wisdom<sup>58</sup>. These are held as the three-fold training.<sup>59</sup> These three are inter-related. They can't go alone. They go together supporting each other. Moral precepts strengthen meditation which promotes wisdom. wisdom helps to be free from ignorance. Thus one can clean one's speech, action and thought. Moral precepts are abstaining from physical actions. It is known as brahmacarya.<sup>60</sup> In Buddhism Sila consists of right speech, right action, right livelihood. Sila comprises love, modesty, tolerance, pity, charity and happiness. Concentration and wisdom are concerned with the discipline of mind. Sila is the code of conduct for the welfare and happiness of all human beings. These moral codes can make society secure and bring harmony and good relations among people. This code of conduct is of foremost importance (the first stepping stone) to the followers of Buddhism. It is the basis for the mental development of the followers of the Creed.

Mind control or concentration includes three other factors of the Noble Eight-fold path : They are Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration. These factors of the path are co-related. Right Effort and Right Mindfulness develop the good and thoughts. Right Concentration also helps one to clear one's mind. Concentration helps a man to improve his mind.

Wisdom consists of the two factors : They are Right View and Right Thought. This is the final stage of the Path. These thoughts help a man to cultivate all living beings. If a man lacks right thoughts, he may be intelligent but he would be considered really as a fool. A man can acquire a clear conception of the Four Noble Truths through Right View. Wisdom is the result of continued and steady practice of meditation. Moral precepts, Concentration and Wisdom act together for a common view. Purity of mind can be attained through the control of actions, both physical and verbal. A man can secure freedom of mind through self-exertion and self development.

Eternal solution of the human problems has been sought into its path leading to the cessation of suffering. This path or the noble course, progressively and steadily awakens the human mind to the

---

56. Sila. 57. Samādhi. 58. Paññā. 59. tividha sikkhā. 60. brahmacariya.



highest state of existence. Tolerance becomes wide, compassion becomes deep and serenity becomes the unfailing companion which neither the passions nor the problems of the human life can disturb, distract and diminish. The eight good practices are :

- (1) Right View<sup>61</sup> ; (2) Right thought<sup>62</sup> ;
- (3) Right speech<sup>63</sup> ; (4) Right action<sup>64</sup> ;
- (5) Right livelihood<sup>65</sup> ; (6) Right effort ;<sup>66</sup> ;
- (7) Right mindfulness<sup>67</sup> ; (8) Right concentration.<sup>68</sup>

The first path of the noble truth is known as Right View. Right view has a special meaning in Buddhism. It is different from popular meaning. In Buddhism Right View is the application of Insight to the five aggregates of clinging. It is the understanding of true knowledge. It is self-examination and self-observation. Right View has an important role for the remaining seven paths of the Noble Truth. Seven paths are guided by this path. Right View helps a man to gain Right Thoughts. When thoughts and ideas become clear, man's speech and action are also brought to a proper state. It will help a man for the development of right mindfulness. Right effort and right mindfulness guided by Right View will bring about right concentration. Thus Right View predominates on the remaining seven paths in Buddhism. There are two conditions to Right View. The first is hearing from others and the second is systematic attention. The first is external and the second is internal. What we learn from outside guides for our own views and thoughts. The second condition, systematic attention, is more difficult to cultivate. These two conditions learning and systematic attention help to develop Right View. One can see cause and effect, the arising and ceasing of all conditioned things through Right View. The intellectual discipline is Right View. It means the things of the world as they really are. It means realisation of the four noble truths. Knowledge of suffering, cause of suffering, cessation of suffering, the way leading to the cessation of suffering are the Right

---

61. Sammā diṭṭhi.

62. Sammā saṅkappo.

63. Sammā vācā.

64. Sammā kammanta.

65. Sammā ājīva.

66. Sammā Vyāyāma.

67. Sammā Sati.

68. Sammmā Samādhi.

View.<sup>69</sup> According to the Visuddhimagga, moral purification<sup>70</sup> and Perfection in mental exercise<sup>71</sup> are the basis of the Buddhistic View<sup>72</sup> about the nature of the Reality. One must know the nature of constituents of a being,<sup>73</sup> organs of sense and their spheres,<sup>74</sup> faculties<sup>75</sup> and spheres of existence,<sup>76</sup> the true meaning of truths, the law of causation. Right View is of two kinds, Mundane and Supramundane. Worldly actions and their results and the knowledge that accords with the Four Noble Truths is called mundane, Right View. When a man can attain his goal or the other of the four stages of realisation i.e. sotāpatti, sakadāgāmi, anāgāmi and Arahatta stage is called Supramundane Right View. It is the higher level of the purification of mind. The ordinary man can't feel the true nature of life for want to Right View. He is also unable to see the universal fact of life. The present world is full of sufferings. Right View brings the clear idea of real life.

Right Thought is the second factor of the Path. It comprises the wisdom. Right Thought is the result of Right View. Thoughts have an important role for the acts and words of man. Human beings have an intellectual power which acts behind all good deeds. Wrong words and works are the result of wrong thoughts of a man. But if a man has a systematic concentration on Right Thoughts he has to produce good results. Wrong words and deeds are the results of a wrong condition of mind. Right Thought is associated with renunciation, absence of ill-will, absence of cruelty.<sup>77</sup> Right View and Right Thought lead one towards the intellectual perfection. Right Thoughts mean renunciation, good-will and not harming or compassion. Thoughts of sense, desire, ill-will and harm in a person can lead to harming one's own self and others. These did not lead to Nibbāna. Thoughts of renunciation, good-will and compassion arising in a man would lead to good for oneself and

---

69. "Dukkhe ñāṇam, dukkha samudaye ñāṇam. dukkhanirodhe ñāṇam, dukkhanirodha gāmiyā paṭipadāya ñāṇam ayaṃ vuccati Sammā diṭṭhi" – Vibhaṅga – J. Kassapa. page-133.

70. Sīlavisuddhi. 71. Cittavisuddhi. 72. diṭṭhi-visuddhi.

73. Khandhas. 74. āyatanas. 75. indriyas. 76. dhātu.

77. "Nekkhamma Saṅkappo avyapādasāṅkappo, avihimsā saṅkappo – ayaṃ vuccati sammā saṅkappo." Vibhaṅga—J. Kassapa. Page. 133.

others. These develop one's mind and lead to Nibbāna. Thus a man makes his mind firm and concentrated. Then he attains to the first, the second, the third and the fourth jhāna and lastly he realises the Four Noble Truths. Delusion is the cause for ignorance which is rooted out by Right View. Sense desire and ill-will are cleaned away by Right Thought. Right View and Right Thought are supported by the remaining factors of the Noble Path. When a man's mind is full of lust, ill-will and stupidity it is impossible for him to see the things as they really are. But after the removal of these one can see clearly. A man cultivates his mind through good thoughts. Good-will and compassion will bring peace of the mind of a man. Good-will and compassion destroy ill-will, anger, cruelty and revenge. Anger, ill-will, hate arise in mind from conflict. A man can attain the highest Truth by giving up thoughts of sense desire. When a man becomes free from these desires he realises the Truth and reaches the stages of Right View. They are inter-related and lead to True Wisdom.

Right Speech depends on Right Thought. If the thoughts are right the speech also will be right. This fact is stated in the section on moral precepts. It controls a man's verbal and physical actions, his behaviour. It is a means. It leads to concentration ; again concentration leads to Wisdom. The Highest Goal, in Buddhism, is not attained at once. It is a gradual process and gradual training of mind. Mental purity is not possible without moral purity. Right behaviour is the basic principle for a lay follower. One should abide by the basic principles to purify one's mind through the five precepts for training which are known as Pañcasīla as stated below :

1. Refraining from killing anything that breaths.
2. Refraining from taking what is not given.
3. Refraining from sexual misconduct.
4. Refraining from speaking falsehood.
5. Refraining from intoxication.

Right Speech means "refraining from speaking falsehood, malicious words, harsh and frivolous talk."<sup>78</sup> Falsehood means to tell

---

78. Early Monastic Buddhism—N. Dutt. I, Page, 200.

"*musāvāda veramanī, pisunā vācāya verāmanī, pharusāya vācāya veramanī, ayam vuccati Sammāvācā.*" Vibhaṅga—J. Kassapa. Page, 133.

a lie. We should always speak the truth. To speak a malicious word is the evil of a man. The tale bearer's words may be sweet as honey but his mind is full of poison. We should always avoid the tale-bearing person. A sweet word can melt the heart of a man. A harsh word, an unpleasant gesture, a crooked smile turn a good man into a bad man. We learn from the *Dhammapada* that—

“Speak not harshly to any one ;  
Those thus addressed will retort.  
Painful indeed is vindictive speech ;  
Exchange-blows may touch you.”<sup>79</sup>

The last virtue is the frivolous talk of Right Speech. Man likes to tell an idle talk. Scandalous words cause hindrance to concentration. A man who speaks much does not become a wise man. The *Dhammapada* tells us—

“He is not thereby a wise man merely because he speaks  
much.

He who is secure, friendly, and fearless, is called wise.”<sup>80</sup>

A sage who keeps silent is called by the Pali word “*muni*”.

Thus speech dominates an important role in the life of a man. The character of a man is influenced by his speech. An honest man speaks what he acts.

Right Action is the second number of moral precepts in Buddhism. It is “refraining from killing, stealing and misconduct.”<sup>81</sup> One cannot kill, steal if one has thoughts of love and good conscience, but one is driven by thoughts of ignorance. Conduct builds character. A good character is the result of personal ex-

---

79 The *Dhammapada*—N. Maha Thera. Page, 97.

“mā voca Pharusam kañci vuttā paṭivadeyyu taṃ  
dukkhā hi sāraṃbha kathā paṭidaṇḍā Phuseyyu taṃ.”

The *Dhammapada*-verse, 133.

80. The *Dhammapada*. N. Thera. Page-193.

“Na tena Paṇḍito hoti yāvatā bahu bhāsati  
khemī averī abhayo Paṇḍito ti pavuccati.”

The *Dhammapada*. Verse, 258.

81. Early Monastic Buddhism—N. Dutt. Page, 143.

“Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī adinnā dānāveramaṇī, kāmesumicchācārā  
veramaṇī ayaṃ vuccati Sammā Kammanto.”

Vibhaṅga.—Jagadish Kassapa. Page, 133.



ertion. It is created by own effort. A man who has compassion abstains from killing. As life is precious to all, we should not kill life. But a cruel person, a robber can kill easily. The doctrine of *Kamma*<sup>82</sup> is one of the principal tenets of Buddhism. *Karma* means good or bad volitions. Man is responsible for his own deeds. The second is to abstain from stealing and to live honestly. Stealing is harmful to Society. We think that poverty is the root of stealing. There is some truth in it but not all. If people are idle and they misuse their talents they become poor. The third precept of Right Action is to abstain from wrong sexual behaviour. Self-control is the basis of sexual behaviour. Right Action is the fruit of past and present life.

Right Livelihood is the third and last factor of the morality group. Right Livelihood means refraining from earning livelihood by improper means. Some earn their livelihood by astrological or astronomical forecasts, interpretation of the nature of men, animal and things by their signs, acting as go-betweens between kings, taking part in marriage ceremonies, giving medicines and so forth.<sup>83</sup> These are held as improper means of livelihood. Right Livelihood is to bring true happiness to the individuals. It makes our society proper and gives a good relations among people. Unjust and wrong ways of living bring unhappiness and disharmony to the whole society. Men should try to live honestly and to earn money by right means, by right conduct. The recluses who should lead honest life, by leaving their homes to a state of homelessness. If each individual behaves well and leads a decent life in Society, there cannot be any evil to them. Real happiness depends on purity and peace of mind. Again it is said that poverty is the cause of crime. If the economic condition of society is good, crime is lessened and there is peace and harmony in society. The monk who has a holy life should avoid all wrong means of living. If his mind is not free from bondage and not clean and pure he cannot follow the path of purification, Right Speech, Right Action and Right Livelihood of the Buddhist Ethical code.

---

82. Will be discussed on the Chapter of *Kamma*.

83. Early Monastic Buddhism, I, N. Dutt. Page, 200.  
Vibhaṅga, Jagadish Kassapa, Page, 134.

Right Effort means the “Effort or exertion to remove the existing evil thoughts, to keep the mind free from being polluted by fresh evil thoughts and to preserve and increase the good thoughts.”<sup>84</sup> Right Effort falls under the group of concentration. Right Effort is inter-related and inter-dependent. It acts with the two factors of the group namely right mindfulness and right concentration. Mental progress cannot be possible without Right Effort. Right Effort removes the evil and unhealthy thoughts of a being. It promotes and maintains the healthy mental factors and develops concentration. Right Effort is actually the control of mind. If a man has no control of mind there will be no peace of mind. Right Effort guards evil thoughts which always try to creep the mind of a lazy man. The *Dhammapada* tells us that—

“The man who lives contemplating pleasure, with  
senses unrestrained, in food immoderate, lazy,  
inhert him verily Māra over-throws as wind a weak tree.”<sup>85</sup>

The control of mind is not easy. It helps to check inclinations and curb impulses. If a man makes no effort to check his wrong thoughts he is like a slave to that mind. He is not superior to the beast as they both eat, sleep and satisfy their sexual needs. The beasts cannot develop their mind but man can develop it. If a man lacks this quality for the development of thoughts his life is like a beasts of the forest. The function of Right Effort is four-fold, to prevent,<sup>86</sup> abandon,<sup>87</sup> develop,<sup>88</sup> and maintain.<sup>89</sup> Right Effort in Buddhism implies mental energy and not physical energy. Physical strength is dominant in animals but mental energy is in man who has power of thinking and checking all evil thoughts and cultivates healthy thoughts. One need not fight for the evil thoughts. Buddha’s Right Effort reached its highest when he sat under the *Bodhi Tree* for deep meditation and became the ‘Enlightened One’.

---

84. Early Monastic Buddhism, I, N. Dutt. page, 200.  
Vibhaṅga, J. Kassapa. page, 134.

85. The Dhammapada, N. Thera. page, 7.  
“Subhānupassim Viharantaṃ, indriyesu asaṃvutaṃ  
bhojanamhi amattaññuṃ kusītaṃ hīnavīriyaṃ  
taṃ ve pasahati māro vāto rukkhaṃ va dubbalaṃ”  
— The Dhammapada — verse, 7.

86. Saṃvara. 87. paḥāna. 88. bhāvanā. 89. anurakkhaṇa.

Sati-“mindfulness of all that is happening within the body and mind including feelings, and examination of the things of the world and at the same time suppressing covetousness (*abhijjhā*) and avoiding mental depression (*domanassa*).”<sup>90</sup> The stress is on mindfulness. Forbearance, harmlessness and compassion are virtues through which one brings protection to mind. These are the foundation of mindfulness. A man must be mindful and careful of his thoughts, words and actions. Right Mindfulness guards a man from wrong works, from deviating from the path of righteousness. It encourages a man to do good deeds. One protects oneself and others through Right Mindfulness. To protect oneself is self-discipline, self-training, both moral and mental training. If our mind is not strong we cannot help others. If a learned man lacks mindfulness he cannot make the best use of his learning. Lack of clear comprehension means no clear comprehension of purpose. The word Mindfulness means ‘clear comprehension’.<sup>91</sup> Mindfulness and clear comprehension are co-operative. Meditation depends on the three factors of the path : effort, mindfulness and concentration. They are co-related. Mindfulness plays an important role in the field of Insight. It is called Right Mindfulness because it neglects the wrong attention and prevents the mind from taking a wrong path. Sense-desire, ill-will lust, jealousy, pride and other wrong works upset our balance of mind. But our Right Mindfulness helps to check such harmful works. It strengthens a man’s character. Right Mindfulness is a mental factor which encourages the power of observation, right thinking and understanding. It is the only instrument in bringing concentration in mind. Right Effort and Right Mindfulness help to check all evil thoughts and develop the mind of a man. There are three types of Mindfulness. The first is contemplation of body. The second is contemplation of mind and the contemplation of feeling is the last and third type of Mindfulness. The contemplation of the body makes us realise its true nature. The contemplation of feelings are pleasant, unpleasant or neutral. People become depressed when they feel unpleasant sensations. This mental exercise of mindfulness helps a man to experience all feelings. The contemplation of mind tells us of

---

90. Early Monastic Buddhism, I, N. Dutt. page, 200.

Vibhaṅga, J, Kassapa, page, 134.

91. Sampajaññā.

the importance of studying our own mind. Thoughts of lust, hate and delusion are the root cause of all wrong-doings. These types of thoughts make a man dishonest and deviate a man from his real nature. But mind learns to control it. Right Mindfulness plays an important role in the sphere of wisdom. It helps a man for mental development.

Right Concentration is the mental exercise for man's inner development. It takes the form of silent prayer. Man is capable of gaining Psychic power through the development of mental power. Right Concentration is the four stages of mediation. The Buddhist meditation is not a state of auto-hypothesis or unconsciousness but it is the stage of mental purity where passions are extinguished. Concentration takes place in mind which is the most important element in Buddhism. Mental purity is very essential for the deliverance from suffering. Mental development is valuable for true happiness. Pure mind guards a man from lust, hate delusion. Control of mind is the stepping-stone to happiness. A pure and calm attitude proves a man of culture. Generally, a human being delights in sensual pleasures. But a perfect saint keeps aloof from sensual pleasures and bad states. He then attains and dwells in the first meditation, the second meditation, the third meditation and then the fourth or last meditation. In the first meditation a monk is accompanied by initial application. In the second stage of meditation a saint is without initial application, without sustained application with zest and pleasure born of concentration. In the third stage of meditation a monk abandons pleasures and pain and in the fourth stage of meditation a monk is free from either pain or pleasure. He is pure in mindfulness caused by equanimity.<sup>92</sup> All types of meditation in Buddhism lead to mental development. Right Concentration and Right View of path cannot be separated. They depend on each other. There are some hindrances<sup>93</sup> in the process of the development of mind. There are five in number. The first is sense desire.<sup>94</sup> It is lust for sense objects. Sensual desires obstruct mental development. They disturb the mind from proper meditation. The second is ill-will.<sup>95</sup> Ill-will is brought by the evil

---

92. Vibhaṅga. J. Kassapa, page, 135.

93. nivāraṇāni.

94. Kāmacchanda.

95. Vyāpāda.



sense desire. Lust and ill-will are based on ignorance. Ill-will also disturbs the mind of a saint. The third is sloth and torpor.<sup>96</sup> It makes the mind rigid. The fourth is restlessness and worry.<sup>97</sup> When the mind becomes restless it cannot concentrate. This mental agitation is harmful. The fifth and the last hindrance is sceptical doubt.<sup>98</sup> It includes doubt for attaining the meditation. A man can overcome the hindrances by thought,<sup>99</sup> sustained thought,<sup>100</sup> joy,<sup>101</sup> happiness<sup>102</sup> and unification of mind.<sup>103</sup> Sense-desire is removed by the unification of mind, ill-will by joy sloth and torpor by thought, restlessness and worry by happiness and doubt by sustained thought. A pure saint requires a lonely place for meditation but an ordinary man avoids loneliness. A sincere student is compared with a meditator. As a student requires a salient atmosphere for his deep study, a meditator also requires a silent place for his meditation.

The three factors of the group of samādhi namely, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration act together in support of each other. True wisdom enables a person to see things as they really are, to see the three characteristics of being<sup>104</sup> such as impermanence,<sup>105</sup> suffering,<sup>106</sup> and not-self.<sup>107</sup> Concentration cannot remove the latent tendencies but Wisdom can remove latent tendencies, even roots are removed. This is deliverance. It is Insight meditation,<sup>108</sup> that removes the latent tendencies. A meditator establishing himself in concentrative calm improves wisdom :

“Transient are all conditioned things”—

“Sorrowful are all conditioned things”—

“Soul-less is everything that is”<sup>109</sup>

Right Concentration is the state of highest truth. A man can attain this state through the Noble Eightfold Path which is common for all—for the house-holder and a renounced monk. These prac-

---

96. Thīnamiddha. 97. Uddhacca.kukkucca. 98. Vlcikicchā.  
 99. Vitakka. 100. Vicāra. 101. Pīti. 102. Sukha. 103. ekaggatā.  
 104. tilakkhaṇa. 105. anicca. 106. dukkha. 107. anattā.  
 108. nissaraṇa. 109. Vipassanā.bhāvanā.

tices would lead to cessation of pain and misery of worldly existence and the being will then grow up to be a fit receptacle for the supreme knowledge. One can reach at the height of mental development through these processes.

The Four Noble Truths are realised by the Arhats or Ārya and that is why those are called the *Ariya-sacca*. It is not realised by ordinary people. In a general sense, truth may be divided into two sections, such as relative truth and absolute truth. Relative truth is known as subjective truth, which is known to a subject. It is an act of the intellect and a process of evolution. Relative truth is depended on relative conditions. Absolute truth is not depended on relative conditions. Absolute truth is to be true without relation to anything.

The method of attaining the Four Noble Truths is comparable to the method followed by a physician. A physician at first diagnoses the illness ; next he finds out the cause of origin of the illness. Thereafter he determines the path of removal of the malady and lastly he applies the remedy just as suffering, cause of suffering, cessation of suffering and the path leading to the cessation of suffering enacted one after the other. Kern writes, "that these four satyas are nothing else but the four cardinal articles of Indian medical science, applied to the spiritual healing of making, exactly as in the yoga doctrine."<sup>110</sup> The first truth also relates to āhāra which is of four kinds. There are : Āhāra, āhāra-samudaya, āhāra-nirodha, āhāra-nirodha-gāmini paṭipadā. According to the *Visuddhimagga* there are seven kinds of suffering e.g. dukkha-dukkha, vipariṇāma dukkha, saṅkhārā dukkha, paṭicchana dukkha, apaṭicchana dukkha, pariyāya dukkha and nippariyāya dukkha.<sup>111</sup>

Four Noble Truths happen to be the central concept of Buddhism. A man who thinks deeply will realise these Truths in order to reach his goal, and his final deliverance. The first truth is

---

110 "Sabbe Saṅkhārā aniccā.....

Sabbe Saṅkhārā dukkhā.....

Sabbe Saṅkhārā anattā....."

The Dhammapada. Verse, 277-9.

111. Manual of Indian Buddhism, Kern. H. page, 46-47.

suffering (dukkha) which is nothing but man himself. The second truth is craving. Saṃsāra is another name of man. Nirvāṇa is the goal for deliverance from bondage. The third truth is the cessation of saṃsāra. So is the path, the last and the fourth truth—the Noble Eightfold Path. It raises a man from lower to higher levels of existence. It leads a man from darkness to light, from passion to a passionless stage. It indicates the path to purification and deliverance. It aims at the highest purification, perfect mental health. The Four Noble Truths should be contemplated in three aspects<sup>112</sup> for the factual truth must be known,<sup>113</sup> its function must be understood<sup>114</sup> and its accomplishment must be realised.<sup>115</sup> This truth makes a man religious, honest and virtuous. It is a must for the spiritual uplift of the mind of a man.

---

112. Visuddhimagga, P.T.S. Vol. II. page, 499.

113. tiparivaṭṭa. 114. sacca-ñāṇa. 115. kicca ñāṇa. 116. kata-ñāṇa.

## CHAPTER III

### DEPENDENT ORIGATION

(Paṭiccasamuppāda)

Dependent Origination<sup>1</sup> (*Paṭiccasamuppāda*) is one of the most vital concepts of Buddhism. It may be stated as one of the most subtle teachings of Buddha. It is a mode marked by the simple condition of happening of a phenomenon on the basis of its sole invariable antecedent phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> Generally speaking, the meaning of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* is 'arising on the grounds of a preceeding cause'. It is the causal chain of causation.

Scholars and writers have rendered this term in various words such as : 'Dependent Origination' or 'Depepdent Arising' or 'Conditioned Co-production' or 'Causal Genesis' or 'Conditioned Genesis' etc.

All existance is impermanent. It means becomming. All becoming is subject to the law of causation. Law of causation is the production of an effect out of a complement of cause and conditions. When the cause and conditions disappear the effect appears. The effect emerges from the destruction of cause and conditions. Cause and conditions are co-related. An effect can not happen without any cause and conditions. The cause of an effect vanishes, then the effect emerges. The cause can't exist in the effect. But the cause is always prior to the effect. The effect arises from an aggregate of cause<sup>3</sup> and conditions.<sup>4</sup> A seed is the cause of a plant. The soil, water, light etc. which promote the growth of the plant are its conditions. So a *hetu* is the principal cause and a *paccaya* is a concomitant condition. Only one cause can't produce an effect. it is also related with other concomitant conditions to produce an effect. An effect arises from a cause and a complement of conditions. A coconut is the principal cause of a coconut tree, and that tree may be again cause of many a coconut trees.

---

1. Skt. Pratītya samutpāda. Lalita Vistara—P. L. Vaidya Page—251-253

2. Tabbhāvabbhāvibhāvakāramattopalākkhito Paṭiccasamuppādanayo.

3. *hetu*. 4. *paccaya*.



The things of the world are neither due to one cause<sup>5</sup> nor those are causeless.<sup>6</sup> Things have many causes.<sup>7</sup> The Law of Dependent Origination is without beginning or end. Causation is dynamic, not static. A cause never perishes but only changes as a jar is made from clay. In this case the name clay is lost and the name jar arises.

Pratitya (Prati+i+tya) means after reaching (Prāpya) or depending on (apekṣya) and sammā means a right, utpāda<sup>8</sup> means arising. Combining all these we get the 'depending causes' rightly, This establishes that all things are produced of '*dependent origination*'.

Buddhaghosa states that Paṭiccasamuppāda is one of the four difficult subjects<sup>9</sup> to be comprehended. It is to be understood under four different aspects of the depth of knowledge<sup>10</sup> viz., meaning,<sup>11</sup> doctrine,<sup>12</sup> teaching<sup>13</sup> and penetration.<sup>14</sup> It should further be known according to the four different methods inherent in their meaning.<sup>15</sup> These are the method of unity,<sup>16</sup> method of diversity,<sup>17</sup> method of non-occupation<sup>18</sup> and of the nature of being<sup>19</sup> such. This formula is characterised thus : of becoming,<sup>20</sup> of happening of things,<sup>21</sup> of suchness,<sup>22</sup> of uncontrariness<sup>23</sup> and of this conditioned nature.<sup>24</sup>

According to the Bodhisuttas of the Udāna, the Buddha (Master), towards the close of the week after his first Enlightenment at the foot of the Bo-tree revolved within his mind three successive forms of Paṭiccasamuppāda— (1) Amuloma or order of becoming (i.e. usual) form in the first watch of the night, (2) Paṭiloma (contrarywise) or order of cessation, (3) Anuloma-Paṭiloma (co-ordinated) form, being a synthesis of the order of becoming and the order of cessation. The first form implies the second and the third is the logical fulfilment of the first two.

---

5. ekahetuka. 6. ahetuka. 7. nānāhetuka or anekahetuka.

8. Uppāda. 9. Catvāriduṣkarasthānāni. 10. Catvārigambhirasthānāni.

11. artha. 12. dharma. 13. deśanā. 14. prativēda. 15. Catvāra arthanayā. 16. ekatvanaya. 17. nānātvanaya.

18. abyāpāranaya. 19. evaṃdharma-tānaya. 20. dharmasthitatā.

21. dharmaniyamatā, 22. tathatā. 23. avirathatā, 24. idapaccayatā.

Buddha took his seat under the Bodhi tree, with the determination of acquiring enlightenment. It was here that the supreme knowledge came to the master and he had preached this knowledge to the first five disciples at Isipatana. Assaji was one of those five disciples, who, according to the Pāli text. *Mahāvagga* had explained this knowledge to Sāriputta one of the well-known early disciples of Buddha. According to Assaji Buddha had proclaimed that : “Things proceed from a cause, The Tathāgata has explained the cause. He has also explained the cessation. This is the doctrine of the Supreme Sage”.<sup>25</sup> This was what explained the Dependent Origination. Buddha realised immediately after His Enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gayā, the Supreme bliss of Emancipation when the seven days had elapsed. He emerged from the Samādhi. During the first watch<sup>26</sup> of the night, He thought over the Dependent Origination thus : when this exists, that comes to be, with the arising of this, that arises, namely, dependent on ignorance, volitional formations, dependent on formations, consciousness etc. In the middle watch<sup>27</sup> of the night He thought over the Dependent Origination thus : when this does not exist, that does not come to be, with the cessation of this that ceases, namely, with the utter cessation of ignorance, the cessation of volitional formations etc. In the last watch<sup>28</sup> of the night, He realised the Dependent Origination thus—when this exists, that comes to be, with the arising of this, that arises ; when this does not exist that does not come to be ; with the cessation of this, that ceases namely, dependent on ignorance, volitional formations etc. Thus the whole mass of suffering arises. But by the utter cessation of volitional formations and so on.....This is the ending of this whole mass of suffering. He realised the root cause of all sufferings and sorrows which is comprised in the second

---

25. “Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam hetum tathāgato āha ; tesam ca yo nirodho esam vādi mahāṣamaṇo.” *Mahāvagga*. Nālandā edition.—Page—40,

26. from 6 P.M. to 10 P.M. The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, *Udāna* —translated by F. L. Woodward. Part II. Page—1.

27. from 10 P.M. to 2 A.M. The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon, *Udāna*. F. L. Woodward. Part II. Page—2.

28. from 2 A.M. to 6 A.M. The Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon—*Udāna*. F. L. Woodward. Part II. Page, 3.

noble truth.<sup>39</sup> Analysing the origin of suffering<sup>40</sup> the master pointed out that the *nidānas* entwine man's consciousness and bind him to the gross world full of pain and sorrow. The Dependent Origination brings out the basic principles of knowledge<sup>41</sup> and wisdom<sup>42</sup> in the Saddhamma, the Good Law. It is not the work of some divine power. It is not a creation. Buddha discovered this eternal truth and solved the riddle of life and unravelled the mystery of being. The *nidānas* which are held at the root of all suffering are twelve in number. They are :

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) ignorance <sup>39</sup>           | (2) impression <sup>40</sup>          |
| (3) consciousness <sup>41</sup>       | (4) mind and matter <sup>42</sup>     |
| (5) six organs of sense <sup>43</sup> | (6) contact <sup>44</sup>             |
| (7) feeling <sup>45</sup>             | (8) desire <sup>46</sup>              |
| (9) attachment <sup>47</sup>          | (10) existence <sup>48</sup>          |
| (11) birth <sup>49</sup>              | (12) old age and death. <sup>50</sup> |

This is the wheel of life revolving day after day, from birth to death and death to birth. The complete causal formula specifies that :

Ignorance conditions impressions.

Impressions condition consciousness.

Consciousness conditions mind and matter.

Mind and matter condition the six senses.

The six senses condition contact.

Contact conditions feeling.

Feeling conditions craving or desire.

Desire conditions attachment.

Attachment conditions existence.

Existence conditions birth.

Birth conditions old age and death.

Briefly speaking, Law of causation is thus : "With ignorance as condition there arise (volitional) formations ; with formations as

---

29. samudaya satya.

30. dukkhavāda. 31. ñāpa. 32. paññā. 33. avijjā. 34. Saṃkhārā.  
35. Viññāpa. 36. nāmarūpa. 37. Saḷāyatana.

38. Phassa. 39. vedanā. 40. taṇhā. 41. upādāna. 42. bhava. 43. jāti.  
44. jarāmaraṇa.

condition, consciousness ; with consciousness as condition, mentality-materiality ; with mentality-materiality as condition, the sixfold base with the sixfold-base as condition, contact ; with contact as condition, feeling ; with feeling as condition, craving ; with craving as condition, clinging ; with clinging as condition, becoming ; with becoming as condition, birth ; with birth as condition there is ageing and death, and sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair ; thus there arises this whole mass of suffering. This is called the Dependent Origination.<sup>45</sup>

Let us now explain briefly the twelve *nidānas* comprising the dependent origination :

*Avijjā*—*Avijjā* is the non-comprehension of the four Noble Truths,<sup>46</sup> the past,<sup>47</sup> the future,<sup>48</sup> both the past and the future<sup>49</sup> and Dependent Origination. It may be identified with delusion.<sup>50</sup>

*Avijjā* or ignorance or delusion is one of the root causes of all unwholesome actions. All the wrong deeds are the result of ignorance. Ignorance is enunciated as the first link of the chain of the twelvefold Dependent Origination which can be illustrated by a circle. It is the cycle of existence, *bhava-cakra*.<sup>51</sup> Each and every factor of Dependent Origination can be joined together with the next one in the series. They are all inter-dependent. Nothing is independent or isolated. It is an unbroken process. It gives rise to birth and death. It accounts for the false sense of individuality. It is the cause of egoism. Ignorant persons regard the

---

45. The Pāth of Purification—Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, Page— 592. “*Avijjā paccayā, bhikkhave, saṅkhārā, saṅkhārā paccayā viññāṇaṃ, viññāṇa paccayā nāmarūpaṃ, nāmarūpa paccayā saḷāyatanaṃ saḷāyatana paccayā phassa, phassa paccayā vedanā, vedanā paccayā taṇhā, taṇhā paccayā upādānaṃ, upādāna paccayā bhava, bhava paccayā jāti, jāti paccayā jarāmaraṇa—sokaparideva—dukkhadomanassupāyā sa sambhavanti, evaṃ etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti. Ayam vuccati bhikkhave, paṭiccasamuppādo ti*”. *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa—Page 440.

46. ariya sacca. *Majjhima Nikāya*—Sammādiṭṭhi. See also the ref. in *Abhidharmakośa*, Vol.,-11, P-75 fn. 2 On the meaning of this ignorance cf *Abhidharmakośa*, Vol. II, p. 92.

47. Pūrvānta. 48, aparānta. 49. purvātāparānta. 50. moha.

51. bhava-cakka.



impermanent as permanent, the painful as pleasant, the soulless as soul, the godless as god, the impure as pure and the unreal as real. Further, ignorance is the non-perception of the conglomerate nature of the five aggregates.<sup>52</sup> It screens the truth. It is the cause of rebirth which is the cause of suffering. It is the result of evil effect, A blind man is unable to walk to his destination, so is one, blind of religious mind, who is unable to reach the path of Nibbāna.<sup>53</sup>

*Saṅkhārā*—*Saṅkhārā* denotes action which are :

(i) meritorious<sup>54</sup> such as offering of gifts and observance of moral precepts ; (ii) sinful such as killing and stealing and (iii) neither meritorious nor sinful<sup>55</sup> such as beliefs in eternalism and annihilationism. The formation of merit consists of thirteen volitions. These are the eight sensesphere profitable volitions and five fine-material profitable volitions. The formation of demerit consists of twelve unprofitable volitions ; the formation of the imperturbable consists of the four profitable volitions associated with the immaterial sphere. These three kinds of deeds may be (1) Physical<sup>56</sup> ; (2) Verbal<sup>57</sup> and (3) mental.<sup>58</sup> These bring about reactions. The Physical or bodily formation is bodily volition, the verbal formation is verbal volition and the mental formation is mental volition. The physical formation occurs in the body door and produces bodily intimation. The verbal formation occurs in the speech door and produces verbal intimation. Volition of direct knowledge is not connected here in these two cases. But the twenty-nine volitions are the mental formations. They arise in the mind door without originating any kind of intimation. These formations may be limited or unlimited, high or low, right or wrong, definite or indefinite. Due to lack of true knowledge, a person has the impression. It helps to bring about the happiness of the person.

---

52. pañcakkhandha. 53. duggatigāmiṇo hi kammaṣsa viśesa hetu avijjā.

54. pūṇyabhi saṅkhārā. 55. āneñja.

. In one ancient text already quoted it is called *Moha* and *Tamokhandha*, Candrakīrti says "Tatrāvidyātamaḥ sammoha iti paryāyāḥ." (ad *Mādhyamika kārikā*. XVII, 28 which seems to have an implicit reference to some such scriptural text as the refrain of the *Anamataggasam*),

56. kāyika, 57. vācasika. 58. mānasika,

The functions of impressions of previous life of a person help to be born again. It depends on the deeds of the past life of a person. Ignorance generates acts which leave impressions on the individual for determining his future existence. It also creates impressions on the inner organ. Re-birth in heavens is possible due to meritorious deeds, while non-meritorious deeds cause re-birth in hells and neutral deeds cause birth in the arūpalokas. Ignorance is the cause of formations.<sup>59</sup> “When it is said that *avijjā* is the *paccaya* of *saṅkhārā* it is meant that *avijjā* is the ground (ṭhiti) of the origin of the *saṅkhāras*, is the ground of their movement, of the instrument through which they stand (*nimittatṭhiti*), of their āyuhana (conglomeration), of their interconnection, of their intelligibility, of their conjoint arising, of their function as cause and of their function as the ground with reference to those which are determined by them.”<sup>60</sup> Out of *Avijjā-paccayā saṅkhārā*<sup>61</sup> dependent on Ignorance arises rebirth producing volitional formations. The term *Saṅkhārā* had also another meaning. In the statement ‘all compounded things are impermanent’<sup>62</sup> *Saṅkhārā* applies to all compounded and conditioned things i.e., all things that come into being as the effect of causes and conditions which also act as causes and conditions for other effects. Ignorance has taken root in man and it is the blindness that prevents a man from seeing his actions as they really are, and this promotes craving driving him on to further actions. If there were no ignorance there would have been no such actions like *Saṅkhāra*. A good rebirth even in the heavens is temporary and may be followed immediately by an unhappy rebirth. *Saṅkhārā* is used variously in the *Nikāyas*<sup>63</sup> but seems to signify in the sequence of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* the conative factors making for

---

59. ‘*Avijjā saṅkhārānaṃ paccayā ti*’—*Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa. Page, 453.

60. A History of Indian Philosophy. S. Dasgupta. Page. 93.

61. *San-skārah*. 62. ‘*sabbe saṃkhāra anicca*’—Taylor. A. C. *Paṭisambhidā-magga* (P. T. S.) Vol. I, page, 87.

63. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. IV. 100, 311, 313’ Ibid, III. 441 f; *Aṅguttara* II. 94, *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. 1, 26 f. Ibid III 443, Ibid VIII; Ibid I. 286; *Saṃyutta Nikāya* I, 6, 200 Ibid. II 191-193.

Ibid III. 132-134, Ibid. I, 188. 135 Ibid II. 82, The significance here is generally vague.

rebirth and persisting into another life. It is practically equivalent to *Kamma*.<sup>64</sup>

*Viññāṇa-Viññāṇa* (consciousness) means here *pratisandhi viññāṇa* (rebirth-consciousness) and *pravṛtti viññāṇa* (a continuous flow of mental states). *Pratisandhi*<sup>65</sup> *viññāṇa* is of nineteen kinds while *pravṛtti viññāṇa* is of thirty-two *laukika vipākas* (resultants). The word consciousness is of sixfold, e. g. eye-consciousness, ear-consciousness, nose-consciousness, tongue-consciousness, body consciousness and mind consciousness. Eye-consciousness is twofold e. g. profitable resultant and unprofitable resultant. Likewise ear, nose, tongue, and body are also two-fold. But mind consciousness is twenty-two fold, namely, two profitable and unprofitable resultant mind elements, three root-causeless mind-consciousness elements and eight sensesphere resultant consciousness with root cause, five of the material sphere and four of the immaterial sphere. So all the thirty-two mundane resultant consciousnesses are enclosed by these six consciousnesses. Here *Viññāṇa* is used in a technical sense. This is the germ of consciousness of the being entering into the womb of the mother, upholding the five elements of the new body. It is the product of the past karmas (*saṃkhārā*) of the dying man and of his past consciousness too. This consciousness is compared to a stream of river which flows from one existence to another. Good and evil actions of the past condition the conscious life in this present birth. Rebirth is caused by one's own good and evil actions. *Pratisandhi Viññāṇa* is a link between one existence to another. It is also conditioned, and, therefore, is not permanent ; consciousness comes into being and passed away yielding place to new consciousness. Thus the stream of consciousness goes on until existence ceases.

*Nāma-rūpa—Viññāṇa* leads to *nāma-rūpa* of the present life of a being. In the present life it is not possible for a being to get rid of ignorance and impressions of past life. *Nāma* denotes the non-

---

64. See Compendium of Philosophy, p, 274. Keith A.B. p. 100. Cf. "Punarbhavāya saṃskārānavidyānivṛtastathā. Abhisamkurute yāṃstairgatiṃ gacchati karmabhiḥ." *Mādhymika kārikā* (XXVI. 1).

65. The term *paṭisandhi* literally means relinking, reuniting, re-joining.

material or mental constituents<sup>66</sup> of a being, while *rūpa* the material only. All inanimate objects are included in the term *rūpa*. *Nāma* is the aggregates of four mental states : feeling,<sup>67</sup> perception<sup>68</sup> impression<sup>69</sup> and knowledge derived through sense organs.<sup>70</sup> The four sub-divisions of *nāma* and the fifth is *rūpa*. *Rūpa* denotes the four elements : earth,<sup>71</sup> water,<sup>72</sup> fire,<sup>73</sup> and air.<sup>74</sup> It comprises all the material objects. *Nāmarūpa* are called *Pañcakkhandha*. *Buddhaghosa* derives *nāma* from the root *√nam* meaning bend. Mind and matter denote *pratisandhināma* and *pravṛttināma* and *pratisandhirūpa* and *pravṛttirūpa*. *Pratisandhināma* means thirty-five volitions associated with nineteen *pratisandhis* while *pravṛttināma* denotes thirty-five *cetanās* (volitions) associated with thirty-two *laukika cittas*. But by *pratisandhirūpa* is meant the nineteen kinds of *pratisandhi* and *karmajarūpa* and by *pravṛttirūpa* is meant the *pravṛtticittaja rūpa*.

*Salāyatana-Salāyatana* denotes eye-base,<sup>75</sup> ear-base,<sup>76</sup> nose-base,<sup>77</sup> tongue-base,<sup>78</sup> body-base,<sup>79</sup> and mind-base.<sup>80</sup> *Cakṣāyatana* is the sensitivity of eye,<sup>81</sup> *śrotrāyatana* is the sensitivity of ear, *ghrāṇāyatana* is the sensitivity of nose, *jihvāyatana* is the sensitivity of tongue, *kāyāyatana* is the sensitivity of body and *manāyatana* is the sensitivity of mind. '*Manāyatana*' is a collective term for the many different classes of consciousness i.e. for the five kinds of sense-consciousness, and the many kinds of mind-consciousness. Hence, five bases are physical phenomena namely, eye, ear, etc., and the sixth base is identical with consciousness. *Māṇṇyatana* is of thirty-two *laukika vipākas*. *Nāma-rūpa* are mentioned as the condition<sup>82</sup> of the six sense-organs. These two, *Nāma* and *Rūpa* are the cause of six sense-organs. By *Nāma* is meant the three *khandhas*, namely, feeling, perceptions and impressions, *Rūpa* is the collection of the four great elements<sup>83</sup> e.g. earth, water, fire, and air, the six objects<sup>84</sup> viz., form,<sup>85</sup> sound,<sup>86</sup> smell,<sup>87</sup> taste,<sup>88</sup> touch,<sup>89</sup> objects of thought<sup>90</sup> and vitality.<sup>91</sup> If there were no mentality-

---

66. *cetasika*. 67. *vedanā*. 68. *Saññā*.

69. *Samkhārā*. 70. *viññāṇa*. 71. *paṭhavi*. 72. *āpo*. 73. *tejo*. 74. *vāyu*.

75. *cakṣāyatana*. 76. *śrotrāyatana*. 77. *ghrāṇāyatana*. 78. *jihvāyatana*. 79. *kāyāyatana*. 80. *manāyatana*. 81. *cakṣuprasāda*. 82. *paccaya*,

83. *mahābhūtas*. 84. *vatthus*. 85. *rūpa*. 86. *Sadda*. 87. *gandha*.

88. *rasa*. 89. *phoṭṭhabba*. 90. *dhamma*, 91. *Jivita*.



materiality, no sixfolds base could arise. Thus mentality-materiality and six-fold base are interrelated and inter-dependent. 'Sense' and "sense object" are here taken together.<sup>92</sup>

*Phassa—Saḷāyatana Paccayā Phassa*, dependent on the sixfold base arises contact. Phassa is produced by saḷāyatana. Phassa is of six kinds corresponding to the six kinds of bases. Eye-contact<sup>93</sup> is contact associated with eye-consciousness,<sup>94</sup> ear-contact is the contact associated with ear-consciousness, nose-contact is the contact associated with nose-consciousness, tongue contact is the contact associated with tongue consciousness and body base is contact associated with body consciousness. But mind contact is associated with twenty-two *laukika vipākas*. One form of contact is limited to one āyatana. Thus six sense-organa are the conditions of contact. We see that in the sixfold base or āyatanas, eye, ear, etc., they are the internal bases.<sup>95</sup> External to one's material body there are the corresponding five sense objects, form, sound, odour, taste and tactile. These mental objects are known as the six external bases.<sup>96</sup> These external bases are the food for one's internal bases. So they are interrelated. Thus it is evident that contact is conditioned by both the external sixfold base and the internal sixfold base. The visual contact is conditioned by the eye, the sound contact by the ear, the smell contact by the nose, the taste contact by the tongue, the bodily contact by the body and the mental contact is conditioned by the mind.

*Vedanā—Vedanā* also is of six kinds corresponding to the six sense-organs. Vedanā born of eye is vedanā associated with the eye consciousness, Vedanā born of ear is *Vedanā* associated with ear-consciousness, Vedanā born of nose is feeling associated with nose consciousness, *Vedanā* born of tongue is vedanā associated with tongue consciousness, Vedanā born of body is *vedanā* associated with body consciousness and *Vedanā* born of mind is vedanā asso-

---

92. āyatanas, Cf. *Majjhima Nīkāya*. I. 61, III. 32, 63, 216, 280 f. It is curious that the *Mahānidāna Sutta* not only omits *Avijjā* and "*Saṅkhāra*" but also *Salāyatana* ! It says "Nāmarūpapaccayā phasso ti" dividing "Phassa" into "Adhivacana samphassa" and "Paṭigba" and declaring both these inter dependent.

93. cakkhu phassa.

94. Cakkhu Viññāṇa. 95. ajjhattika-āyatana. 96. bahira-āyatana.

ciated with thirtytwo *laukika vipākas*. Feeling may be pleasant, painful and neutral. This feeling is the out-come of contact. Visual and other perceptions are related to feeling in eight ways, as conascence, mutuality, support, result, nutriment, association, presence and non-disappearance. But the mind contact is associated with mind door in the way only as decisive support. We see that with the arising of contact there arises feeling and it can never be stopped by any power or force. Seeing a form, hearing a sound, smelling an odour, tasting a flavour, touching some tangible thing cognising a mental object a person experiences feeling but we can not say that all beings experience the same feeling with the same object. An object may be felt pleasant by one, may be felt unpleasant by another and neutral by another. Feeling may differ in accordance with circumstances. Thus Feeling is conditioned by contact.

*Taṇhā*—*Taṇhā* is born of *Vedanā*. *Taṇhā* is of six kinds and there are six corresponding sources, i.e. the six doors of the sense-organs, craving for form,<sup>97</sup> craving for sound,<sup>98</sup> craving for smell,<sup>99</sup> craving for taste,<sup>100</sup> craving for touch<sup>101</sup> and craving for mind object.<sup>102</sup> Craving for form is the craving for the visible objects. Similarly craving for sound is the craving for the sound objects, craving for smell is the craving for odours. Craving for taste is the craving for the taste objects, craving for touch is the craving for bodily sensations and craving for dharma is the craving for mind objects. Craving for union is pleasant feeling, for severance form painful feeling and as desire not to be parted from that neutral feeling. In one's meditation there is no pleasure or pain tend to Nibbāna. Craving may be of three kinds, e.g., *kāma*, *bhava* and *vibhava*. When the craving creates a taste for the objects, it is called craving for sense desires. When the craving is associated with the eternity view and produces an attachment, it is called craving for becoming. When the craving is associated with annihilation, it is called craving for non-becoming. Greed, thirst desire, lust, inclination, affection, household love are the terms of *taṇhā* which denote 'Becoming' and this manifest itself as suffering, frustration, painful excitement etc. From craving

---

97. rūpa taṇhā, 98. sadda-taṇhā. 99. gandha-taṇhā. 100, rasa-taṇhā. 101. phassa-taṇhā. 102. dhamma-taṇhā.

there arises grief, fear etc. Craving is conditioned not only by pleasurable and agreeable feelings, but also by unhappy and unpleasant feelings. A person in distress craves and wants to get rid of it. He wishes for happiness and release. All sufferers want happiness, security and solace. Even the rich and the healthy crave for more and more pleasure.<sup>108</sup>

103. *Taṇhā*. – In the fixed wording for the second truth. *Taṇhā* is described as “Yāyaṃ taṇhā ponobhavikā nandirāgasahagatā tatrataṭṭarābbhinandini seyyathīdaṃ kāmataṇhā, bhava°, vibhava°.” This formula for the “origin of dukkha” (*Dukkhasamudaya*) occurs identically in Sanskrit version also. It is so quoted by Manorathanandin in his comy. on *Pramāṇavārtika* p. 74 (ed. JBORS 1938).

*Taṇhā* is the thirst or craving for pleasure. It originates in “piyarūpaṃ”. “sātarūpaṃ” (*DN.* II, p. 308). According to *Itv. suttas* 14-15, man (puriso) is not able to cross the faring on of the changeful world (ittha-bhāvaññathābbhāvaṃ saṃsāraṃ nātivattati) because he is fettered with craving (taṇhāsaṃyojana) and covered with ignorance (*Avijjā* = moha = tamokkhandha = Nivaraṇa). This is in essence not very different from Br. up., IV. 4. 5-6 where men are divided into “Kāmayamāna” and “Akāmayamāna”, The former alone wander through the worlds (lokas). “Atha khalvāhuḥ kāmamaya evāyaṃ puruṣa iti sa yathā-kāmo bhavati yatkraturbhavati tatkarma kurute yatkarma kurute tadabhisampadyate.” *Taṇhā* seems to have stepped in the place of karma.

On *Taṇhā* see SN. I, I. 65 : SN. I. 8.12 ; M.N. I. 6. II, 256 ; AN. IV. 100, III. 416 ; Sn. p. 36 (Nāg. ed). *Itv. Suttas* 30, 50, 58 and 105 ; Ud. p. 34. (Nāg. ed).

*Taṇhā* and *Avijjā*.—The relation of *Taṇhā* and *Avijjā* in the causation of dukkha presents a problem. Some doctors of Abhidharma considered the former alone as dukkhasamudaya, see Ledi Sadaw JPIS, 1914, 135. On the other hand, Buddhaghosa says “Bhagavā hi vaṭṭakhatam kathento dve dhamme sīsaṃ katvā katheti avijjam vā, yathāha.....(*A.N.* V. 113) .....bhavataṇham vā, yathāha.....(*A.N.*, V. 116).....” (*Vm.* p. 578). Of neither is there a first beginning. although both originate contingently. He further points out that some texts emphasize the one (e.g. *S.N.* II. II. 31), some the other (e.g. *S.N.* II. 84) and some both (eg. *S.N.* II, 23-4) (lb). This depicts the position of the *Nikāyas* soundly. It is the concurrence of *Taṇhā* and *Avijjā* that causes dukkha. See supra. This is clearly the position in *S.N.* II. 178 f. Cf. the gāthā from the *Saṃyukta* quoted in Ab, K. IV. p. 136. fn, 2. which sees the origin of dukkha in Karman, Tṛṣṇā and Avidyā. *A.N.* V, 113 calls *Avijjā* beginning less but “dependent” on the 5 Nivaraṇas.....

Chanda is the root of dukkha—*S. N.* I. 22. III, 232. 4. IV, 328-30 V. 272-3 ; M.N-III. 15, the parable of the bullocks and the yoke with reference to Chandarāga (*S.N.* IV. cittvagga ; *Sal, sam. sutta* 205 JJ 4-5 ; it is quoted in its Sanskrit version by Candrakīrti in his comy. on the *Catuhāṣatikā*, see Mem. A,S,B. III. p, 474,

*Upādāna*—*Taṇhā* leads to *upādāna*. *Upādāna* is of four kinds : *Kāma*, *diṭṭhi*,<sup>104</sup> *sīlabbata*<sup>105</sup> and *attavāda*.<sup>106</sup> *Kāma-taṇhā* is the cause of *kāmupādāna*. *Kāmupādāna* is mental concomitants rooted in greed,<sup>107</sup> *Diṭṭhupādāna* is the wrong view that there is no resultant of the gift. *Sīlabbatupādāna* is the belief that ceremonial observances lead to purification or liberation. *Attavādūpādāna* is the firm belief in the existence of one's soul or individuality. *Upādāna* is the mental state that clings to or grasps the object. *Upādāna* or clinging to sensuous desires interpreted to include all kinds of existence and clinging to views<sup>108</sup> are meant, the third and fourth i.e., *Sīlabbata* and *attavāda*. These are included in the *diṭṭhi upādāna*, wrong views. *Kāma* means both the craving and the craved objects.<sup>109</sup> When that craving for such desired objects becomes intensified, it is known as *kāma-upādāna*. This *upādāna* is born of craving.

*Bhava*—*Bhava* is of two kinds : *Kamma bhava* i.e. process of becoming and *utpattibhava* (rebirth) also process of becoming. *Kamma bhava* is twenty-nine *Kusala* and *Akusala cetanās* (wholesome and unwholesome volitions) and twenty ways of good conduct and of evil conduct associated with these *cetanās* (volitions). It leads to active side of life. *Upādāna* is the cause of *bhava*. *Kāmupādāna* is the cause of *kammabhava*. Other *upādānas* viz., *diṭṭhi*, *sīlabbata*, *attavāda* are the cause of *uppati bhava*. *Uppatti-bhava* is the resultant of thirty-two *laukika Vipākas* and thirtyfive *cetasikas* and the material phenomena produced by *Kamma*. By *uppati-bhava* is meant the three kinds of existence, such as *Kāma*, *rūpa* and *arūpa lokas*. *Uppatti-bhava* may be classified according to *khandhas*, beings of *kāma* or *rūpa-bhava* have five *khandhas*, *arūpa* and *nevasaññānāsaññāyatana bhavas* have only four, while beings of *asaññābhava* have one.

*Jāti*—*Jāti* means birth which is the appearance of the five aggregates of a being who is reborn. The living being is subject to the

---

104. *drṣṭi*.

105. *śīlavrata*.

106. *ātmavāda*.

107. *lobha-cetasika*.

108. *Kāma upādāna* and *diṭṭhi upādāna*.

109. *Kilesa kāma* and *vatthukāma*.



desire for re-existence, takes rebirth in future life. *Jāti* is controlled by *kammabhava* and not *uppattibhava*. Rebirth is dependent on certain external circumstances. Becoming is the condition of birth. Here birth means not the actual child-birth, but the appearance of the five aggregates, i.e., material form, feeling, perception, formations and consciousness in the mother's womb. This process is conditioned by *kamma-bhava*. The present birth is brought about by the craving and clinging *kamma-volitions* of the past births. The craving and clinging *kamma-volitions* of the present birth bring about future rebirth. Beings are heirs of their own deeds and through their deeds they must change. Thus *kamma* is the corollary of rebirth. Our mind and body are ever changing. Our karmic process is the force by virtue of which actions are followed by reactions. It is the energy of a present life which conditions a future life.

*Jarāmaraṇa*—Dependent on Birth arise Ageing and Death.<sup>110</sup> *Jarāmaraṇa* sokaparideva dukkha domanassa mean old age, death, grief, lamentation and sorrow. These are the causes of rebirth. These come through ageing and death. Birth is followed by ageing and death. Ageing and death are followed by birth and birth is again followed by ageing and death. It is not static because mundane things are not unchangeable. It is also moving in a whirl. Man wants to build hopes from his childhood but all his hopes and wishes are not satisfied. He must face death one day and thus death puts an end. Thus a man can not fulfil all his wishes and hopes during the brief span of life. Man is always changing<sup>111</sup> for good or for evil. Everything is his mind-made.

The term *Jarā* stands for the decay of the *khandhas*. *Marāṇa* is the passing away of those *khandhas*. The continuous flow of *khandhas* of a being gives rise to birth and death. There is a drastic change in *nāmarūpa* at the so-called death stage. This is just like a fruit which in a forest falls on the ground and then it bears fruits again, *Khandha* is also identified with a fruit in a forest. One *Khandha* gives rise to another *khandha*. According to Buddhism, this process is called rebirth. Life passes from one

---

110. *Jāti paccayā jarāmarāṇaṃ*.

111. Discussed in the Chapter of the doctrine of *Tilakkhapa*.

existence to another. This process is like a stream of water flowing continuously till it reaches the ultimate goal.

Paṭiccasamuppāda refers to three periods—the past, the present, and the future. *Avijjā* and *saṃkhāra* belong to the past. *Viññāṇa*, *nāma-rūpa*, *saḷāyatana*, *phassa*, *vedanā*, *taṇhā*, *upādāna* and *bhava* belong to the present. *Jāti* and *Jarāmaraṇa* belong to the future. In this wheel there are three connecting links.<sup>112</sup> Between volitional Formation, the last factor of the past and consciousness, the first factor of the present there is one link consisting of the past cause and present fruit. Consciousness, Mentality-materiality, Sixfold base, Contact and Feeling are the fruits in the present life preceded by Ignorance and volitional Formations of the past. As a result of these five factors there come also three factors, Craving, Clinging and Becoming. These will cause birth in the future. Therefore, between Feeling and Craving there is another link which consists of present fruit and present cause. Craving, Clinging and Becoming of the present will be the cause of Birth, Ageing and Death in the future. Therefore, there is a link between Becoming and Birth. The three links are thus—one between *Samkhāra* and *Viññāṇa*, one between *Vedanā* and *Taṇhā* and one between *bhava* and *Jāti*. There are four groups in this formula : 1. One causal group in the past, Ignorance, Volitional Formations. 2. One resultant group in the present—Consciousness, Mentality-materiality, Sixfold base, Contact, Feeling. 3. One causal group in the present—Craving, Clinging, Becoming. 4. One resultant group in the future—Birth, Ageing and Death. As already observed it has twelve factors. It has also twenty modes.<sup>113</sup> Thus in the past there are five causes and in the present there are five resultants. Similarly there are five causes in the present and five resultants also in the future. There are three rounds<sup>114</sup> in it. They are *Kilesa vitta*, *Kamma vitta* and *Vipāka vitta*. It has further two roots—*Avijjā* and *Taṇhā*. Lastly, it is taught in four different ways : (i) from the beginning to the end ; (ii) from the middle to the end ; (iii) from the end to the beginning and (iv) from the middle to the beginning. In this cycle of Existence there is nothing

---

112. Sandhi.

113. ākāra.

114. vitta.

permanent. All these factors are changeable. There is nothing of the kind of an enduring soul entity which passes from one existence to another. All the factors are dependent, conditional and changeable.

Effort has been made in what has been stated above to show that *Paṭiccasamuppāda* is one of the most fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. It speaks of ill and the cessation of ill. It is the doctrine of the conditionality of all physical and psychical phenomena. Buddha himself has declared, 'He who realises *pratitya-samutpāda* sees dharma (truth) and he who sees dharma (truth) sees *pratityasamutpāda*.'<sup>115</sup>

It is the most important philosophical doctrine of the Buddhists. It is rightly declared as the doctrine of cessation of phenomena<sup>116</sup> and all quiescence.<sup>117</sup> It may be thus summed up :

"This being, that becomes, from the arising of this, that arises, this not becoming, that does not become, from the ceasing of this, that ceases."<sup>118</sup> It is also known as *Nidāna* doctrine or the *Paccayākāra* (related condition). It further means origination of the world-order depending on causes, but from the absolute standpoint,<sup>119</sup> it means non-origination at all times and lead into Nibbāna, the goal of life according to Buddhism. Evidently this

---

115. "Yo paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati, yo dhammaṃ passati so paṭiccasamuppādaṃ passati ti"—Majjhima Nikāya. P. T. S., Vol. I. Page, 190-191.

116. prapañcopaśama.

117. Śiva.

118. Pali Dictionary, Rhys Davids. Page, 394.

"Imasmim sati, idaṃ hoti, imassuppādā, idaṃ uppajjati, imasmim asati, idaṃ na hoti, imassa nirodhā, idaṃ nirujjhatī,"—Saṃyutta Nikāya. P. T. S. Vol. II. page—65, 95, 96, 28; Majjhimanikāya. P. T. S. Vol. II. Page, 32. vol. I. 262, Vol.—III. 63; Udāna—R. Saṃkṛityāyana (Nāgarī), Suttas—1-2; Abhidharmakośa, Vol. II, pp-81-83 (which discusses the significance of saying separately "Asmim sati..." and "Imassa uppādā...");

Mūlamadhyamaka—kārikā—I. p. 55.

119. Paramattha sacca.

*Paṭiccasamuppāda* can well be held as the most cardinal philosophical concept in Buddhism upon which the entire edifice of the relation is established.

Buddha discovered the principle of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* during his Enlightenment<sup>120</sup> and found it too difficult for ordinary people, to have hesitated in preaching it. The small space given to it in the *Nikāyas* seems to indicate that his fear were not groundless.<sup>121</sup> The discovery of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* has been likened to that of an ancient city.<sup>122</sup> The comparison indicates that it was regarded as an objective and impersonal feature of phenomena. Buddha dichotomises his *Dhamma* in *Paṭiccasamuppāda* and *Nibbāna*.<sup>123</sup> Such a division of Truth into a fundamental two is not unknown in several other philosophies. Since *Nibbāna* is apparently the final principle or experience, *Paṭiccasamuppāda* may be designated as the principle of non-ultimate experience and what corresponds to it, in brief, as the principle of phenomenality, of the nature of things transcended in *Nibbāna*. The relation between the two appears to us parallel to the relation between Brahman and *Māyā* in the philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya.

*Paṭiccasamuppāda* is identified with *Dhamma*, *Buddha* and *Dhammatā*.<sup>124</sup> The *Samyutta Nikāya* (II. 25) and *Samyuktāgama*

120. *Dīgha Nikāya* – II. *Mahāpadāna sutta* ; *Samyutta Nikāya*. I, 6. 1. 1 ; 1b II. 1, Sutta 65 ; with the last compare the *Nidānasūtra* as found in Sanskrit in Touen Houeng by the Pelliot Mission (ed. Levi—in *Journal Asiatique* 1910 – Nov. Dec). The *sūtra* occurs twice in the *Āgamas*, Saṃ – Ā<sup>2</sup> *Nidānasamyukta* – Guṇabhadra's tr) and *Ekottarāgama* (Dharmanandin's tr) where it is placed in the “*Ṣaṭkanipāta*”. In the last independent Chinese translation of the *sūtra*, it is named “*Sūtra de la parabole de la Vieille Ville*” (op. cit. pp. 435-436). Was the Original title “*Puṣāṇanagaropama sūtra*”? cf. also the Gopalpur Brick Ins. which closely resembles *Samyukta Nikāya*. ii, 1. and belongs to C. 500 A.D. (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. 1938-547 ff. Johnston). So *Mahāvagga* (Brewster op. cit. pp. 49-50) ; *Udāna-suttas* – 3.

121. Cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *The Book of Kindred Sayings* (tr. of *Samyutta Nikāya* by Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward), II. p. ix ; Sākyā p. 152.

122. Cf. Barua *Mahābodhi*, 1944 March-April p. 60.

123. *Samyutta Nikāya*, II. pp. 105-106.

124. *Majjhima Nikāya*. I. 191.

*Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikas* de Nāgārjuna avec la *Prasannapadā* (Ed. L. de – Vallee Poussin), pp. 2, 50 ; *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, sub, Verse, 55,



describe it as independent, self-subsistent, and eternal reality (Dharmadhātu, Dharmānām dharmatā). The Mahimsāsakas and Pubbaseliyas declared it “Asaṅkhata” and the Mādhyamikas made it indifferently not only the principle of phenomenal unreality but also of transcendent reality. The Theravādins and Sarvāstivādins identified *Pratītyasamutpāda*<sup>125</sup> with the *Samskṛta-dharmas*. These views thus depart from the original standpoint in various ways.

An ancient text describes it as “deep, difficult to see, difficult to awake to”, beyond the realm of thought (atakkāvacaro).<sup>126</sup> Its difficulty arose from the fact that it was a principle apprehended in mystical intuition. It solved for Buddha the manifold antinomies of thought, the solution was incapable of being positively conceptualised. The only way to communicate it lay through negations.

All Buddhist schools, Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, are agreed over the authenticity of that well known formulation of the abstract principle of Paṭiccasamuppāda<sup>127</sup> which even Mrs. Phys Davids is prepared to grant as possibility the Founder’s own.<sup>128</sup>

125, *Kathā Vatthu* ; VI, 2 ;

L, Abhidharmakośa De Vasubandhu (traduit et annoté par Louis de la Vallée Poussin, 1923-1925), Vol, II, p, 77, fn, I,

126, “Adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro – ālayarāmāya kho pana pajāya,...duddasaṃ idam thānaṃ yadidaṃ idappaccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo...” (Dīgha Nikāya II page. 36 ; Saṃyutta Nikāya I, p, 136 ; Majjhima Nikāya, Suttas 26 and 85, cf, Lalitavistara I. 390, 395-7).

Buddhaghosa explains the profundity to be fourfold (Visuddhimagga pp, 412-13, Nāg, ed,) cf, Saṃyutta Nikāya II, 92, Dīgha Nikāya II, 55, (where also the expression idappaccaya” occurs),

Corresponding to the text just quoted the *Lalitavistara* has two Versions, The Shorter one closely approximates to the Pali text (see Lalitavistara, I, pp, 395-6), The most important respect in which it differs from the latter are : *i*) it does not introduce the distinction between Pratītyasamutpāda and Nirvāṇa. which the Pali version contains; in fact it is quite silent over Pratītyasamutpāda and speaks only of Nirvāṇa, *ii*) It introduces the phrases “śūnyatānupalambhaḥ” as an adjective of Nirvāṇa.

127. On the various interpretations of the term Paṭiccasamuppāda, see Visuddhimagga, 362-365 ; Abhidharmakośa, Vol. II, pp. 78-80 ; Mādhyamika Kārika, Vol. I, pp. 5-10.

128. Buddhism (Home University Library), p. 92.

One formula is well-known to all the schools. It runs thus : "ye dhammā hetuppabbavā", etc. "imasmim sati idaṃ hoti ; ...". These formulations, ought not to be taken literally, as if they were careful scholastic products.<sup>129</sup> Buddha's negation of the independence or self-subsistence of finite objects, in particular, of the empirical 'self' which is really equivalent to causally conditioned psycho-physical states. Common sense is adopted here that each individual person and thing enjoys the independence of its nature. From this conception we realise that the denizens of our finite world do not enjoy any absolute and sovereign right of existence.

Buddhaghosa points out that the emphasis in this formula is not an originations (uppādo) but on conditions and relations.<sup>130</sup> He states that "*Paṭiccasamuppādo ti paccayadhammā veditabbā.*"<sup>131</sup>

Vasubandhu identifies *Pratītyasamutpāda* with all "Saṃskṛta-dharmas".<sup>132</sup> The Mādhyamikas argue that the formula not only points out the causally conditioned character of individual objects, but goes deeper and hints at their logical instability.<sup>133</sup>

*Paṭiccasamuppāda* is the abstract law of contingency applied to "things" (dhammā).<sup>134</sup> It asserts that given anything, there is also given something else which is its necessary and sufficient condition.<sup>135</sup> The essential intention of *Paṭiccasamuppāda* was the purely negative one of denying the independent existence or reality of finite things.<sup>136</sup>

---

129. Which is, however, the attitude that Abhidharma naturally adopted e.g., see *Abhidharmakośa*, II, pp. 81 ff.

130. *Visuddhimagga*, 363-364.

131. *Visuddhimagga*, 364.

132. *Abhidharmakośa*, II, p. 73.

133. *Mādhyamika Kārika*, V, 1, p. 10.

"Asmin satīdam bhavati hrasve dīrghaṃ yathā satīti...hrasvampratītya hrasvamprāpya hrasvamapekṣya dīrghaṃ bhavatīti..." The Mādhyamika interpretation was altogether an innovation.

Cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*, II, 150 ; also *Aṅguttara Nikāya* 1, 258.

134. Cf. "Traiyadhvikāḥ Pratītyasamutpādaḥ ; ta eva ca Pratītyasamutpannāḥ" (*Abhidharmakośa*, Vol. II, p. 73, fn. 1).

135. Cf. "Tattha tabbhāvabhāvibhāvākārmattopalakkhito Paṭiccasamuppādanayo" (*Abhidhammatthasaṅgaho*—p. 140). See also *Compendium*, p. 187, 188 fn. 1.

136. Cf. "Yaḥ Pratītyasamutpādādbhūtārthamavalokate sa jānāti jagacchūnyamādimadhyāntavarjitaṃ (Mahāyānaviṃśaka-Nāgārjuna, verse 15, ed. Mm. V. Bhattacharya.

Paṭiccasamuppāda as the Middle Way—It is not nihilistic, and emphatically denied the total unreality of things. This comes out clearly in a few Suttas of Saṃyutta Nikāya where it is called the Middle Doctrine (Majjhena Dhammo). The middle way avoids the extremes of Being (Atthitā) and Non-being (Natthitā) to which the world is attached. Further explanation of the Middle Doctrine is given in terms of a set formula which ought to be regarded as a late misfilling of the original answer.<sup>137</sup> This sutta is apparently quoted in Khandha Saṃyutta, Sutta 90. Nāgārjuna quotes it by name *Kātyāyanāvavāda* and content, and it seems to have formed, the ancient source of his theory of Śūnyatā.<sup>138</sup> Candrakīrti states that this sūtra is common to all the sects, but the form in which he quotes it shows partial divergence from the Pali version and appears to contain a Mahāyānic misfilling.<sup>139</sup> The middle way is Śūnyatā and Śūnyatā is “svabhāvānutpattilakṣaṇā”. (Candrakīrti and Mādhyamika Kārika XXIV 18).

Conclusion about the 12 Nidānas—This treatment of Paṭiccasamuppāda repudiates the assumption that it was the result of deliberate thought on the part of any one individual, and consequently it is futile to attempt to uniquely determine the meaning of its terms and their relations. They are amenable only to a historical treatment. In its full grown form, consequently, it has about it an aura of vagueness, and in the details, even of inconsistency. To appreciate the oddities sometimes resulting from a long process of meandering growth is perhaps, more the historical student's task than to seek to reduce these to systematic uniformity.<sup>140</sup>

137. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya*, pp. 91-3.

138. *Mādhyamika Kārikā*, XV. 7.

139. *Mūlamadhyamaka Kārikā* (on XV. 7): “Idaṃ sūtram sarvanikāyeṣu paṭhyate..... Tathāstīti Kāśyapa.....

Dvayorantayormadhyam tadarucyamanidarśanamapratīṣṭhamanābhā-samaniketanamavijñaptikamidamucyate kāśyapa madhyamā prati-padā...”.

140. (a) *The interpretation of Paṭiccasam° in later Theravāda*: *Paṭiccasam°* is an extended statement of the fundamental principle that the Kammabhava of one life determines the Upapattibhava of another. Avijjā, taṭhā, upādāna, saṅkhāra and kamma constitute the Kammabhava, while Viññāṇa, Nāmarūpa, Saḷāyatana, Phassa and Vedanā, constitute the

Upapattibhava. The formula mentions only two elements of the kammabhava of the past life (the rest being implied in them), all the five elements of the present kammabhava (the rest being implicit), while it merely indicates the future upapattibhava by mentioning Jāti and Jarāmarāṇa. (Aung's note in "Compendium" pp. 262-264). On the explanation of the separate terms and relations see Vm. p. 369f. Avijjā is an obstruction to true vision, Saṅkhāra essentially conation—cetanā, viññāṇa—the 6 fold "resultant" consciousness and Nāmarūpa the remaining four khandhas. Bhava is two-fold-kamma° and upapatti°.

(b) *In Sarvāstivāda*: Vijñāna is the first moment of a new life arising out of pre-natal forces (Avidyā and Saṃskāra). The next seven members mark the development of the embryo into a child, youth and grown-up man. The stage of tṛṣṇā corresponds to that of sexual maturity. The last two members refer to the future life. All the elements are present throughout, the difference being only that of relative prominence.

(Stcherbatsky-Conception pp. 28-29). This interpretation, it may be observed, receives in some measure the striking though solitary support of *MN. I. 265-70*.

Rosenberg distinguishes between a popular and a philosophical interpretation of the formula. The former sees in it "eine *Lebensbeschreibung des bewussten Wesens* wobei diese Beschreibung drei aufeinanderfolgende Leben umfasst" (Die Problem—p. 211). Here the following term in the sequence is not derived from the preceding in any logical or dynamical sense, but it is determined by the latter in the sense "dasz er in der Folge des ersten in die Erscheinung tritt" (Ib. p. 215).

The task of philosophical interpretation is to explain the twelve-linked formula from the standpoint of the "Dharmatheorie" (Ib). From this standpoint there is "eine endlose Transformation des Dharmakomplexes, es erfolgt eine Umgruppierung der Substratelemente...die aber doch individual verschieden sind und sich niemals wiederholen" (Ib. p. 216)." In the Ab. K., Avidyā is defined as Pūrvakleśadaśā and Saṃskāra as old Karman (Vol. II. p. 62 fn. 1) Bhava is explained as "Bhavatyanena" (Ib. p. 64). That is, Bhava is equated to Kammabhava.

Pratītyasam° is considered to be fourfold—Kṣaṇika, Prākaraṣika, Sāmbandhika and Āvasthika (Ib. p. 65f). The first indicates that in any act of passion twelve factors are realized—Moha (Avidyā) cetanā (Saṃskāra), a certain vijñāna, concomitant skandhas (four or three), the senses, the application of these, feeling, rāga (taṇhā), the Paryavasthānas (like ahī, etc.—upādāna), action (Bhava) the production of all these dharmas (Jāti), their Paripāka (Jarā) and Bhaṅga (marāṇa). This emphasizes the immanence of Pratītyasam° in all life of passion (Kleśa). It is further, Prākaraṣika, being "Prabandhayukta" and Sāmbandhika, being "Hetuphalasambandhayukta" (Ib. fn. 1). It is Āvasthika since it consists of a succession of the states of the five skandhas. According to Saṅghabhadra, the Masters of Abhidharma held that Buddha taught Pratītyasam° in this last aspect (Ib. 66 fn. 5).



## CHAPTER IV

### THREE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT

(*Ti-lakkhaṇa*)

*Anicca*, *Dukkha* and *Anattā* are the three terms which occur in the Buddhist texts in connection with all discussions, relating to the principal characteristics of Buddhist thought. These are the three cardinal doctrines (*Ti-lakkhaṇa*) of Buddha's teachings and they form the core of Buddhist Philosophy.

Here we propose to discuss the 'Three characters of Buddhist thought. *Dukkha* is one of the '*Three Signs of Being*. Of the Four Noble Truths the First Truth is Suffering which means the non-fulfilment of one's desire. Suffering is felt by the people. This suffering may be physical and mental. "Whether Buddhas appear in the world or whether Buddhas do not appear in the world, it remains a fact, an unalterable condition of existence and an eternal law, that all karmic formations are subject to suffering (*dukkha*) This fact a Buddha discovers and masters, and after having discovered and mastered it, he announces, proclaims, preaches, reveals, teaches, and explains thoroughly, that all *saṅkhāras* are subject to suffering."<sup>1</sup> Buddha's view on *Dukkha* has been discussed in detail in the second chapter entitled "Four Noble Truths" of this book.

Next in importance is the doctrine of *Anattā* (*Anātman*) which was the subject matter of Buddha's second discourse delivered to his *Pañcavaggiya* companions. It is the common belief that in men there is an abiding substance called the Soul (*Ātmā*) which persists through changes that overcome the body, exists before birth and after death and migrates from one body to another. Buddha totally denies the existence of such soul. Buddha's contention was that a being was composed of five *Skandhas* and so the soul should be identical with any one of these five or with all the five taken together or with

---

1. The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy—A. B. Govinda. Page-90.

"sabbe saṅkhārā dukkhā"—*Paṭisambhidāmagga*. Edited by A. C. Taylor, P. T. S. Vol. I, Page-57.

something other than the five skandhas but as none of these alternatives are applicable to soul, Buddha strongly opposes the Upaniṣadic proposition relating to soul and propounds the theory that there is no soul. It may be mentioned in this connection that there were among his disciples to identify viññāṇa (vijñāṇa Consciousness) the fifth skandha with soul but this was not tenable in view of the fact that viññāṇa also is the subject to origin and decay, while soul according to the Brāhmanic thinkers was not so.<sup>2</sup>

Buddha was born in a society ruled predominantly by Brahmanical ideas. He could not go against the traditions of the contemporary age in a deliberate manner. In the field of belief he frequently refers to gods and demi-gods such as—Yakṣas, Nāgas. etc., mentioned in the Brāhmanical traditions as well as the popular traditions of the contemporary age. Belief in these entities was a corollary to the firm belief in the tradition of rebirth. As such he was not far removed from the common traditions of the society ruled by the Brahmanical thought. He, however, challenged the rights and authority of the people who claimed themselves to be Brahmins by birth. More birth would not give a person a status of Brāhmin. According to Buddha, a Brāhmin could be accepted as a Brāhmin if he possessed the virtues and qualities of a Brāhmin. Thus he was a supporter of the tradition of Kamma which determined the status and position of a living being. Kamma is the cause which determines the birth at a definite level. If a person does good work he is born in heaven and if he who does bad work, is born in a hell. We get an elaborate idea about *Vimāna* and *Peta-Lokas* in the texts called the *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu*. A person can attain Vimānaloka for his good deeds but for his bad deeds he visits the *Petaloka* and suffers. According to the Brahmanical concept it is the Ātmā i.e. soul which transmigrates or is born in a new state after death. Buddha himself was a firm believer in this tradition of rebirth. Tradition holds that Buddha himself had stated that he was born many times before he was incarnated as Siddhattha and had ultimately obtained *Nibbāna*. He, however, did not mention soul or ātmā. This is a crucial element in Buddhist thought. A being is bound to die and obtained a new birth until one is redeemed by obtaining *Nibbāna*. But the question remains as to who is this being that obtains birth and rebirth.

---

2. Early Monastic Buddhism—N. Dntt, Page-230.

'Anattā is one of the 'Three characteristics of being'. The Anattā doctrine teaches us that neither within the bodily and mental phenomena of existence, nor outside of them, can be found anything as a self-existing real Ego-entity, soul. It is the only really specific Buddhist doctrine with which the Buddhist teachings stands or falls. Like the teaching of the Four Noble Truths, it is a teaching peculiar to Buddhists. The doctrine of *Anattā* states that there is no permanent ego or self in the five khandhas which make up the personality of a being.

The Anattā doctrine establishes the theory of non existence of soul. It is the opposite of attavāda, Anattā means 'Not-self', *Non-ego, egolessness, impersonality. Attā means 'Self'*. Etymologically, *anattā* consists of the negative prefix an plus attā.<sup>3</sup> There are two main Pali forms of the word namely, attā (instr. attanā) and atta (instr. attena). Neither form seems to be used in the plural in the *Tipiṭaka*. The words attā and atta are used in several senses : (1) Its meaning 'one-self' or one's own, e.g., attahitāya paṭipanno na parahitāya (acting in one's own interest, not in the interests of others) or attanā va katam sādhu (what is done by one's own self is good) ; (2) It means one's own person, the personality both body and mind, e.g., in attabhāva (life), attapaṭilābha (birth in some form of life) ; (3) Self, soul, e.g., atthi me attā (do I have a soul ?)

Anattā is soul-less but 'Attā' is used without the negative prefix "an". The word 'Attā' simply means "self". It may be individual self or individual soul. Again it may be universal self. The universal self is different from the individual self. It is limitless. It is the true nature of all men and beings.<sup>4</sup> This self passes through all creation. In this respect Dr. R. P. Chaudhuri states : "It is indivisible. This universal self is the real self of man. There is no personal distinction between I, you and he—stemming from it. There is not one shred of individuality, no subject-object relationship whatever in the Self. The difference in selves is superficial. The Self, that remains after the ego is destroyed, is the universal Self."<sup>5</sup>

---

3. Ātman (Vedic Sanskrit).

4. Sarvabhūtāntarātmā.

5. The Indian Historical Quarterly. March, 1955. Vol. XXXI. No. 1. Interpretation of the "Anattā" doctrine of Buddhism : a new approach. R. P. Chaudhuri. Page 59-60.

The Self is the 'I' but the mind and body complex is not the real 'I' or self. When one says 'He is healthy', one identifies the Self with one's body. When one says 'He is worried', one identifies the Self with one's mind. This identification is universal. Attā forgetting its real nature believes itself to be the ego. The ego arises when the Self may be identified with the *Khandhas*. Ego and individual self are convertible terms.

According to the Pāli canon there are two types of self, the Big Self-Mahattā and the little self—Appātumā. The difference between the Big Self and the Small Self rests in one being the true self and the other being the false self. But in reality there is no truth in the existence of self. The concept about many selves is false and fictitious. They have no existence of their own. The ego self is an imposture or false. The universal self is real self not the individual self.

The doctrine of Dependent Origination is the doctrine of Non-self or absence of soul, which was the subject matter of Buddha's second discourse to his Brahmana companions. According to the Brahmanic thinkers, every living being has a permanent soul which is unaffected by the actions of an individual. It is regarded as the carrier of the effects of karma and is the link between one life and another. "Buddha as a student of Sāṅkhya and other Brahmanic schools of thought, was well acquainted with this doctrine and evidently he could not very well appreciate the Sāṅkhyan standpoint that soul or puruṣa was an inactive agent while intellect (buddhi) or egoism (ahaṅkāra) which issued out of *prakṛti* was an active agent. He found some reasoning in the conception of ahaṅkāra but none in that of Puruṣa." He declared that "everything wordly, without any exception, must be caused and conditioned, and ātman (soul) being a part and parcel of a living being could not be uncaused and unconditioned as upheld by the Upaniṣadic schools of thinkers. He was also unable to accept the Upaniṣadic proposition that the individual soul was not different from the Great soul,—the self-conscious reality, the manifestation of which is the phenomenal world. His contention was that a being was composed of five skandhas (mass of elements), and so the soul should be identical with anyone of these five or with all the five taken together, or with something other than the five skandhas."<sup>6</sup>

---

6. Early Monastic Buddhism—N. Dutt. Page 229-230.



Really speaking, "The soul is the abiding separate, constantly existing and indestructible entity which is generally believed to be found in man from the moment of his birth up to the time of his death, and to exist after his death in some other place, either heaven or hell, for all eternity."<sup>7</sup> Without a soul, there may not have immortality, and without immortality the life would not be worth living. The existence of a soul can make sure for each individual. Without this soul there can be no reward in heaven and punishment in hell.

Our body is composed of two main parts, the physical body—*rūpa* and the *mind—nāma*. These two components are to be our own. Our body is to be our own and continuous from our childhood. But unfortunately this body of ours cannot be considered to be our own. We cannot control it. It grows old and is subject to disease and death. Every part of this body gets decayed and ruined with the passage of time. Yet one remains the same person though his body continues to change. The child gradually turns into the youth, the youth grows to become an oldman. The mind however exists while the body thus changes from one stage to another. Mind is a compound of thoughts, feelings, consciousness etc. But mind also does not remain static. The mind is also always changing. No soul is however to be found in any part of our body or mind. Life is a phenomenon indeed, life is a series of succession of phenomena, produced by the law of cause and effect. A person's existence is not permanent but it is a succession of changing entity that is always passing from one phase into another. The continuity of a person is always maintained through birth in this life and in many other lives. Our present life is only a link in the chain of existence. The continuity of life is like the flame of a lamp. The lamp is identified with the life. The light appears from the lamp but oil and wick, lamp-holder and the air etc. are always changing. We think that the light is the same, yet it is not the same. An infant which gains a new birth is different from the old man who dies, yet both are called the same. The fire will burn till there is fuel to feed it. The life also continues as long as there is desire. All our action, thoughts and words are produced by this desire or craving. Life is like the current of a river. When we see a river and stand on the bank of it, we think that the river is the same.

---

7. The Buddha and his teachings—G. P. Malalasekera. Page 34.

But this is not correct since every drop of water which we see is always flowing away and is replaced by other. Hence the flow is not the same which was there a moment ago. The beginning and end of a river are not the same though the same water flows through its course. The flow of the stream from life is interrupted at death. Death comes about by the lapse of his natural term of life and by the exhaustion of Kamma. A sudden death is also like a lamp which may go out with the exhaustion of oil or wick or both or by a sudden *gust* of mind. The cravings of life do not get destroyed at one's death ; these cravings call for a fresh new life with its body and mind. The new body and mind are corollaries (the result) of the previous body and mind.

In most systems of religion or philosophy, the nature of man and his destiny centre mainly round the doctrine of the soul. "Some call it the principle of thought and action in man or that which thinks, wills and feels, knows and sees and, also, that which appropriates and owns. It is that which both acts and initiates action. Generally speaking, it is conceived as a perdurable entity, the permanent unchanging factor within the concrete personality, which somehow unites and maintains its successive activities. It is, also, the subject of conscious spiritual experience. It has, in addition, strong religious associations and various further implications, such as being independent of the body, immaterial and eternal.<sup>8</sup>"

The word *ātman* is found to occur in the earliest Vedic hymns. It means breath which is in the sense of life or is called 'self' or 'soul'. Every human being had in him a part of Brahman called *ātman* or the 'little self'. Brahman and *ātman* were one and of the same 'substance'. The *ātman* was an eternal 'substance'. The *Brahmajāla Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* holds that the 'self' (*attā*) and the Universe are to be treated from every point of view—positively, negatively and both. Some doctrines tell us that the self and the Universe are eternal.<sup>9</sup> Some others hold that the self and the Universe are annihilation.<sup>10</sup> Some again set forth that the self and the Universe have arisen without a cause.<sup>11</sup>

---

8. Encyclopaedia of Buddhism—Ed. G. P. Malalasekara—Fascicle—4. Vol. 1, Page 567,

9. Sassatavāda.

10. Ucchedavāda.

11. Adhiccasaṃuppanna.

During the life time of Buddha and before his appearance in this world and thereafter, the Buddhist teaching of Anattā or non-self stood to contradict all these ideas. The Buddha made no concessions to the doctrine of self. He denied that there is in man an ātman or a self that is permanent and unchanging. He is also denied that man is completely annihilated after death. Man may grow to be divine by his good thoughts, good words and good deeds. The characteristic of soullessness is the second discourse preached by the Buddha after his enlightenment to his five followers in the Deer-Park at Isipatana near Bārāṇasī. Preaching of this sermon took place on the full moon day of Āsāḍa. This discourse is declared after the "foundation of the rule of righteousness."<sup>12</sup> The *Anattā-Lakkhaṇa Sutta* tells us that the individual is a psycho-physical compound constituted of *Nāma and Rūpa*. It is the combination of *body* and *mind*. Physical and mental elements always undergo change. Our body is subject to change, so also our mind. Feelings or sensations<sup>13</sup>, perceptions<sup>14</sup>, mental formations<sup>15</sup>, consciousness<sup>16</sup>, are not permanent and not independent. They have no nature of their own and that is why these cannot constitute a permanent entity or soul. All these phenomena are of an impermanent nature and these are also subject to change. These are also painful because of an unfulfilled desire for performance cherished by them. Buddha declared to his disciples that material things are soulless.<sup>17</sup> Feelings are soulless.<sup>18</sup> Perceptions are soulless.<sup>19</sup> Formations are soulless.<sup>20</sup> Consciousnesses are soulless<sup>21</sup>.

*The Mahānidāna Sutta*<sup>22</sup> of the Dīgha Nikāya tells us that Self is feeling which is of threefold nature pleasant, painful and neutral. They are impermanent and as such pass away. In this Sutta we get

---

12. Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta—Mahāvagga. Nālanda Edition. Page 13.

13. Vedanā.

14. Saññā.

15. Saṅkhārā.

16. Viññāṇa.

17. "rūpaṃ bhikkhave anattā"—The Mahāvagga. The vinaya Pitakaṃ—H. Oldenberg. Vol. I, page 13.

18. "Vedanā anattā". Ibid. Page 37.

19. "Saññā anattā"—Ibid.

20. "Saṅkhārā anattā"—Ibid.

21. "Viññāṇa anattā"—Ibid, Saṃyutta Nikāya—P.T.S. Vol. IV, page 22, 24.

22. The Dīgha Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. II, page 55.

that there is a 'descent' of the consciousness into the womb of the mother preparatory to rebirth. There is a continuity of consciousness between the old and the new lives. According to the Buddha's doctrine, one's consciousness continues without break of identity. Buddha has denied self as belonging to visible form or to mind.

Let us now deal with attā as discussed in the Saṃyutta Nikāya. *The Bhāra Sutta* (Burden Sutta) of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* tells us about the burden, the taking of the burden, the grasping of the burden and the laying down of the burden. These five aggregates are burden<sup>23</sup>. The grasping of the burden is held as the craving which tends to re-birth.

The canonical text, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* tells us that matter is not Self because it has no core. Feeling, perception, formation and consciousness are soulless.<sup>24</sup> When a person meditates, it is like the flame of a burning lamp. The khandhas belong to self like a tree and its shadow, although they are separate entity. The khandhas are compared to smell and flower, though they are two separate entities. The khandhas are the container of the self as casket and the jewel. The doctrine of Not-self is a corollary to the teaching of impermanence. Therefore all things are impermanent and so they are subject to death and are without self. Thus, there is no self in things. Impermanent things are fraught with suffering and they are not autonomous. Existence is nothing, but it depends on a series of conditions. All things, mental and material, have no self-reality. "All the elements of being are non-self. When one by wisdom realizes (this), he heeds not (is superior to) (this world of) sorrow, this is the path of purity"<sup>25</sup>. self, have no individua

The question of self as in the *Milindapañho*, a non-canonical text deserves special attention. The *Milindapañho*<sup>26</sup> states that antong

---

23. "Katamo bhikkhave bhāro, Pañcupādānakkhandha tissa vacaniyam"—*Bhāravagga. Saṃyutta Nikāya—P.T.S. Vol. III. Page 25.*

24. "Vedanā, saññā, saṃkhārā Viññāṇam, cakkhum...pe...jarāmarañam aniccaṃ khayaṭṭhena, dukkham khayaṭṭhena anattā asāraṇaṭṭhenāti"—*Paṭisambhidāmagga. P.T.S. Edited by A. C. Taylor. Page 37.*

25. *Dhammapada—5. Radhakrishnan. Page 147.*

"Sabbe dhammā anattā ti yadā paññāya passati atha nibbindatī dukkhe, esa maggo Visuddhiyā"—*The Dhammapada—S. Radhakrishnan. Page 146. Verse 279.*

26. *Milindapañho—P.T.S. Page 86.*



the five khandhas, Viññāṇa is more identified with attā. In this text, "the illustration is elaborated in great detail and it is pointed out that when a person is indicated by giving him a name, it does not denote a soul but is merely an appellation for the five aggregates which constitute the empirical individual."<sup>27</sup>

Notice can next be taken about self as discussed in the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu and in the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. In the *Abhidharmakośa* it is stated that anātman is synonymous with skandha, āyatana and dhātu. The *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* holds that "The Buddhas have made known that there is the Self (ātman), they have taught that there is not-self (anātman), they have also taught that there is neither the self nor the not-self".<sup>28</sup> Impermanent things are suffering, what suffering is non-soul or not-Self.<sup>29</sup>

Some hold that the soul exists as a conscious entity after death. According to others it is unconsciousness. Some say that the individual ceases to exist after death and is annihilated. The Upaniṣads bear out a doctrine of the Self. The *Upaniṣads* maintain that there exists a self in one's personality. This Self is free from death and sorrow. Sometimes the self is identified with the physical personality. Sometimes the self is identified with the self in the dream-state or in the stage of deep sleep. The soul has a form because it appears in its own form. Some Upaniṣads hold that the soul may be separated from the body like the sword from its scabbard. Thus the soul may be separated from the body. The *Bṛhadaranyaka Upaniṣad* is famous for the concept of 'not this, not this'<sup>30</sup> doctrine establishing the unknowableness of the self by any process of reasoning. According to Śaṅkara, the self is known through argument and reasoning. In the works on *Vedānta* we frequently come across the term for soul i.e. 'ātman'.

---

27. Encyclopaedia of Buddhism—G.P. Malalasekera, Fascicle 4. Page 571.

28. The Basic conception of Buddhism—Vidhushekhara Bhattacharyya. Page 34.

"ātmety api prajñāpitam anātmety api deśitam buddhair nātmā na cānātmā kaścidity api deśitam."

*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*—Nāgārjuna XVIII. 6. Page 355.

29. "yad aniccaṃ taṃ dukkham" ti...

"Yam dukkham tad anattā" The *Saddhammapakāsinī*—Commentary on the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*—P.T.S. Vol. III. Page 639.

30. neti neti.

According to the *Sāṃkhya* system of philosophy the soul is held as having a plurality of existence. It is held as a unique, eternal, pervasive, and substantial matter.

Many Jains and the Ājīvikas were contemporaries of Buddha. According to them, the soul is identified with life. Human beings and everything in this Universe are held as being in possession of souls. According to Mahāvīra, one of the founders of Jainism, the body is identified with the soul as also different from it. It is same from one point of view and it is different another point of view. Jainism believes in the existence of soul in every object. The soul was also considered by the Jains to be intrinsically omniscient.

Buddhism is unique among all religious system as far as the concept of existence and Soul are concerned. The psycho-physical empirical categories have been denied as the character of soul in early Buddhism. Buddha is an anattāvādī. According to Him, existence transmigrates at first as a anattā and then it has changed into nothingness or Śūnya. But according to Brahmanical system, existence transmigrates from existence to existence till it merges into a state of eternity called Brahma. According to Buddha ātman was wrongly identified with what was not Ātman. "Whether Buddha appears in the world or whether Buddhas do not appear in the world, it remains a fact, an unalterable condition of existence and an eternal law, that all that exists (sabbe dhammā) is non-absolute (anattā i.e., without an unchangeable or absolute ego entity). This fact a Buddha discovers and masters, and after having discovered and mastered it, he announces, proclaims, preaches, reveals, teaches and explains thoroughly, that all that exists is non-absolute (without a permanent ego)."<sup>31</sup>

\* \* \* \*

Impermanence is one of the three characteristics of all existences. We know that everything is subject to the law of cause and effect. Impermanency of things is the rising, passing and changing of things or the disappearance of things. The things in the world do not

---

31. The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy, A. B. Govinda. Page 90.

persist in the same way but they are vanishing and dissolving from moment to moment. A man who performs an action at one moment does not remain the same at the next moment. The pessimistic view of worldly existence and possessions is based on impermanence. Buddha repeatedly reminded his disciples that all things are impermanent and subject to origin and decay. According to the Buddhists impermanence stands as the same with momentariness. The phenomenal objects are subject to change every moment, Anicca is treated as the basis for the other two,—dukkha and anattā.

The word 'anicca'<sup>32</sup> means impermanent. It is derived from the negative prefix 'a' plus nicca (permanent). 'Ni' means onward, downward and 'i' means to go.

Buddha declared to his first five disciples that everything in this creation is impermanent. At the same time he held that everything was suffering. He got over this problem of suffering when he realised the transient character of reality. But the two propositions 'that everything is suffering and that everything is impermanent' are inter-related. There is no being, there is only a becoming. Every individual being is unstable, temporary and has to pass away. Impermanence is a fact which is bound to a causal law and changes into another. This law depends on cause and some conditions. This impermanence is of three kinds :

- a) Impermanence of life period ;
- b) Momentary Impermanence ;
- c) The principle of Impermanence.

Impermanence of the life period may be explained by stating that when a man is born and he gradually grows in age, his life period changes every moment. A man's hair and nails grow with time and may be clipped at intervals ; yet we think that we have the same hair and nail that we had before. The things are destroyed every moment. The flame of a candle and the water of a stream always change and do not remain the same. Yet it is thought that light in the flame or water in the stream is the same. Though changing every moment yet we think that all these are as before. Our bodies

---

32. Skt.—anitya.

consisting of external objects and our mental or internal objects are withering or undergoing change every moment.

This impermanence also presupposes momentary impermanence. Everything is undergoing change every moment. A thing is an aggregate of what changes. Impermanence of life period gives us immediate experiences of duration and momentary experience gives us an experience of flow. Our particular body is only changing. A being of a past moment has lived but a being of a present moment will not live as in the past. Momentary impermanence, according to Buddhism, is the principle of impermanence. It denotes the principle of perpetual change which is happening at every moment in this world. It is to be stated that the principles of impermanence must be permanent or Universal. Universal of life and momentary impermanence are to be from the point of time temporal in Nature and the principle of impermanence is to be temporal in character. Saṃsāra which is illusory stands as a phenomenon of ceaseless change. That which is suffering is impermanent.<sup>33</sup>

Human body is a continual phenomena of flowing in and flowing out. Dead skin in the human body is constantly being removed and new skin is formed ; old cells are worn out and new cells produced. In human body there is a slow change from infancy to childhood, through youth and adolescence to maturity and old age. Human body is built upon four great entities.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, this body can last one year, two years, even a hundred years. But there is always a slow change through day and night. Therefore it can be said that this body is impermanent. It is formed but it is not independent. The five sense organs of man are not permanent. The eye is impermanent. It is changing and becoming, and the visible objects are also impermanent. Eye-consciousness is impermanent, changing and becoming. For this cause and condition i.e. eye cum visible objects originate eye-consciousness which is impermanent and is always changing. Eye-contact is also impermanent. Ear cum sounds, nose cum odours, tongue cum flavours, body cum tangibles and mind cum ideas are all impermanent. Materiality is impermanent.

---

33. "Yaṃ aniccaṃ taṃ dukkhaṃ yaṃ dukkhaṃ taṃ aniccaṃ"—

The Saddhammappakāśini. Commentary on the Patisambhidāmagga. P.T.S. edited by C. V. Joshi, Vol. III. Saccakathā Vaññāṇa. Page 595.

34. Mahābhūta,



Feeling or perception, formation or consciousness is also impermanent.<sup>35</sup> The same idea is indicated in the Samyutta Nikāya which states that materiality is impermanent, consciousness is impermanent, materiality is non-soul, feeling, perception, formations and consciousness are also non-soul.<sup>36</sup> All dharmas are impermanent, all dharmas are non-soul. Buddha declared that all that is impermanent, all that reasoning, is non-soul.<sup>37</sup> All things are impermanent. "All created things are impermanent (transitory) when one by wisdom realises (this) he needs not (is superior to) (this world of) sorrow, this is the path to purity. All creation is possessing. It is all suffering. It is all unreal. By recalling men to these principles, the Buddha summons the toiling."<sup>38</sup>

In this connection, Prof. Dasgupta observes : "Buddhism holds everything to be momentary so neither cause nor effect can abide. One is called the effect because its momentary existence has been determined by the destruction of its momentary antecedent called the cause. There is no permanent reality which does not undergo the change, but one change is determined by another and this determination is nothing more than that happening, this happened."<sup>39</sup>

Evidently Buddhism lays great emphasis on the aspect of non-permanence. The logic that has been discussed above had led the Buddhist savants to seek for an unassailable conclusion which would give a proper direction to the endeavours that could be recommended for the speaker of the truth. Indeed, truth is the most illusory element in the entire comprehension and Buddhism had made every effort to get through the mantle of illusion and arrive at what could be held as the illumination of truth. Endeavour has been made in all that has been made in all that has been stated above to gain an

35. "Rūpaṃ aniccaṃ.....vedanā, saññā, saṅkhārā, viññāṇaṃ.....aniccaṃ", Paṭisambhidāmagga. P. T. S. Vol. I. Page 37,

36. "Rūpaṃ aniccaṃ pa Viññāṇaṃ Rūpaṃ anattā, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhārā, viññāṇaṃ anattā, sabbe saṅkhārā anicca, sabbe dhammā anattā ti"—Samyutta Nikāya, P.T.S. Vol. III. Page 134.

37. Sabbam.....aniccaṃ, Samyutta Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. IV. Saḷāyatana vagga. Page 28.

38. The Dhammapada—S. Radhakrishnan. Page 146; Page 277.

39. A History of Indian Philosophy. S. Dasgupta Vol. I. Page 165.

idea as to how mind of the Buddhists was working to reach this ultimate truth. This was in their own way a solution that they had arrived at. This logic has been examined by quite a number of scholars and the inherent strength of the arguments could not be invalidated though there may be found many draw-backs and lacunae in the argumentation of the critiques. However, it cannot be denied that 'the Philosophy evolved by the Buddhists in their concept of Tilakkhaṇa (Dukkha, Anattā, Anicca) had certainly elements leading to conclusions through clarity of thinking and soundness of argumentation.

## CHAPTER—V

### DOCTRINE OF ACTION (KAMMA)

The Doctrine of Action plays a very important role in Buddhism. Action undertaken by beings, according to Buddhist belief, determines the prospects of one's future life and existence. The law of action is not imposed from nothing. It is worked into our nature. We cannot escape from the effect of our deeds. The past acts produce the present and the present produces the future. The law of action is one of the main principles of Buddhism. It tells us that there is a continuous relationship between the past and the present, that the present accords with the past and also future. When a man dies his physical organism which is the basis of psychical existence ends, psychical organisms are believed not to terminate but continue. The continuity of action is maintained between two lives separated by the phenomenon of death. Successive lives are linked by a chain of natural causation. The resulting character produces a new individuality. Philosophically speaking, the Buddhist concept stresses on the idea that a living being repeats the fruits one done by oneself. Taking a simple view it may be stated in this way—if one does work earning merit one moves closer to a better existence, ultimately reaching the height of one's expectation which is *Nirvāṇa*.

Thus, merits earned by one through performance of good work facilitate one to achieve higher stage of existence. The root of this conception can be met with in the life of Gautama himself. He was afflicted by the various stages of suffering as experienced by the living being during their existences. He was deeply moved by the sufferings of all living beings and had undertaken to think about and find out the means of deliverance from sufferings. This was the cause of his renouncing the ordinary house-holder's life and taking to the life of a mendicant. Ultimately at Bodh-gaya where he had undertaken penance to obtain the knowledge of deliverance he had at one stage, saw through all his previous incarnations and the work done by him and the merits he had earned by doing good work. This had given him the passage to obtaining *Nirvāṇa*, because of the endless chain of goodwork performed by him in the previous existences. Belief in this tradition is to be found in the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātakas*. Buddhist ideas and philosophical tenets had laid conside-

rable emphasis on this aspect of the speculations regarding the doctrine of Kamma contained in the *Tripitaka*. This concept led to the formulations of the rules of the conduct of the monks as well as the laity of the Buddhist Society. The texts, thereafter proceed to formulate the causes leading to good and bad works and how efforts are to be made in order to free one from bad work and save their conduct in a way not only from bad work but also to a course of positive good work leading to earning of merit. Buddha in his discourses delivered before the audience assembling to listen to him known to have told of the evil consequence of evil work and sinful activity and the merits which could be earned by performing good works.

Kamma (*Skt. Karma*) means action or work. Kamma means good or bad volition.<sup>1</sup> Kamma is both past and present deeds. Rightly speaking, Kamma is the law of cause and effect in the ethical sense. According to *Buddhaghosa* Kamma is consciousness and of three kinds e.g., body, speech and mind.<sup>2</sup>

The theory of Action (*Kamma*) is the most important and one of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. It has vital role in the becoming of a man. There are five natural laws of Kamma in Buddhism. They are as follows : (1) Utu Niyāma is the physical inorganic order. It means the sensorial phenomena of winds and rains, causes of winds and rains and nature of heat are also included in this group. (2) Bija Niyāma is the order of germs and seeds. It is the physical organic order. According to Buddhism Bija Niyāma is produced from seed e.g. rice is produced from rice-seed. (3) Kamma Niyāma is the order of action and result. It means desirable and undesirable acts which produce good and bad results. (4) Dhamma Niyāma is the order of Norm. It means the natural phenomena. (5) Citta Niyāma is the order of mind or psychic law. It means a process of consciousness, constituents of consciousness, power of mind etc. In the *Vāseṭṭha Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* emphasis is laid on kamma by which all beings are born of and subject to past deeds and it is on account of these

---

1. Kusala and Akusala cetanā.

2. "Cetanā ham...Kammam vadāmi cetayitvā

Kammam karoti kāyena vācāya-manasā."—Aṭṭhasālinī, Buddhaghosa.



kammas that one becomes a cultivator (Kassako), an artist (sippika), a thief (Coro), a soldier (yodhājīvo) etc.—“Kammanā Vattati loko Kammanā Vattati pajā, Kammanibandhanā sattā—rathassāṇiva yā yato.”

The Buddhist law of Kamma is not a fatalistic doctrine. These laws co-operate in the physical and mental realms.

There are various aspects of Action. Action may be studied in four ways : (1) Action according to the functions ; (2) action according to the strength of the effect ; (3) action according to the time ; (4) action according to the place where they produce their effect. Actions may also be grouped under the following four heads, i.e. (i) Reproductive<sup>3</sup> action ; (ii) Supportive action<sup>4</sup> ; (iii) Obstructive action<sup>5</sup> and (iv) Destructive action<sup>6</sup> ;

(i) Reproductive action is really a particular action which produces a particular effect. The particular effect helps and sustains. Reproductive action gives birth.<sup>7</sup> Due to such action a person goes from one existence to another. This action helps the future birth which is called “Janaka Kamma”,

(ii) Supportive action is auxiliary action. Supportive action helps reproductive action. It is a type of action which also helps the other types of action. But those actions are not powerful enough to cause birth after death.

(iii) Obstructive actions make the other actions weak. Obstructive actions weaken the results of the reproductive actions and resist the bad obstructive actions.

(iv) Destructive actions are those which destroy other actions. It is destructive of greed. The habit of making donation may be strong enough in order to destroy this greed. This act of donation is called destructive action. Actions done by the robber *Aṅgulimāla* and as such, by Devadatta, the cousin brother of Gautama may indeed be called destructive types of actions. Due to good reproductive action Devadatta was born in a royal family but due to his destructive action he died with misery.

At the time of paṭisandhi and pavattana the reproductive action is held as Vipāka Kamma and the kusala, akusala, cetanā are

3. Janaka Kamma,  
5. Upapīḷaka Kamma.  
7. Paṭisandhi.

4. Upatthambaka Kamma.  
6. Upaghātaka Kamma.

held as agents which produce kmmarūpa. The main place of producing vipāka is paṭisandhi. The active part of our life consists of such reproductive, supportive, obstructive and destructive actions. It is done at the Javanaṭṭhāna. The active part may be strong or weak or destroyed by the influence of uppattibhava of the past and present. If a being wishes to meditate on the kammaṭṭhāna it may be the active part of the present life. The active part is also supported and strengthened by favourable dispositions like saṃskāra of the past life. But unfavourable dispositions destroy it. In the present life good education helps that Saṅkalpa and bad education retards it.

The second type of actions are judged from the point of strength of the effect, namely—(i) weighty action<sup>8</sup> ; (ii) Proximate action<sup>9</sup> ; (iii) Habitual action<sup>10</sup> ; (iv) Reserve action.<sup>11</sup> (i) weighty action—Weighty action is a very serious type of action. It may be good<sup>12</sup> or bad<sup>13</sup>. Its function may be Janana, Upaṭṭhambaka, Upaṭṭilaka or upaghātaka.

Good action is of five fold aspect viz. arpaṇa dhyāna of Rūpāvacara—and the four fold arpaṇa meditation of Arūpāvacara (formless). The culture of action is performed in the world of desire.<sup>14</sup> This is technically known as mahadgata kamma. Kusala garukamma is really mental.<sup>15</sup> The bad weighty action are serious in nature found in the world of desire. This is of five kinds—murder of father, mother, arhat, bleeding caused to Buddha and creating schism in the Order.<sup>16</sup> Deeprooted false vision is also known as weighty action. But it may be removed before the dying moment. There is no interval between the time of performing of action and the time of its maturity<sup>17</sup>. This action is known as Anantajja kamma. Thus the word 'Garukamma' indicates the serious nature of actions either good or bad. (ii) Proximate action (Āsanna kamma)—Āsanna kamma means action performed at close proximity of time. It is maraṇāsaṇa kamma. This action indicates the last dying thought of the dying person. It may be good or bad. This indicates the moment and nature of the next life. Garukamma of the dying

- 
- |                    |                  |                   |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 8. Garuka kamma.   | 9. Āsanna kamma. | 10. Āciṇṇa kamma. |
| 11. Katatta kamma. | 12. kusala.      | 13. akusala.      |
| 14. Kāmaloka.      | 15. mano kamma.  |                   |
| 16. Saṅgha.        | 17. Vipākakāla.  |                   |

man in this life will be Janana kamma of next life. In absence of this, the proximate action indicates Janaka kamma. The proximate action may be weak. In that case it has no productive power. If any akusala nimitta or sign is found before the dying person, the well-wishers help him to think of his kusala kamma. This removes the akusala-nimitta. This may be called destructive action. This is the proximate action of the dying person. The manner of dying indicates that no akusala nimitta may be free to appear before a dying man. It indicates the revival of kuṣalasmṛti. This is too difficult for a person who has spent his life in evil thoughts.

A bad man may die happily because of a good action at the last moment. He may receive a good birth. As he has received a good birth he will be exempted from the effect of the evil actions, accumulated during his life time. A good person may die unhappily performing evil deeds at his last moment. (iii) Habitual action (Āciṇṇa kamma)—Habitual action is a type of action which is performed repeatedly. It may be good or bad. In the absence of weighty and proximate action, habitual action presents itself to dying consciousness. So the practice of good deeds have to be repeated so that it may be natural. Thus had actions if once done should never be done again. The thought of bad actions cannot get place in the mind, for if a point is repeated in thought, it may be called habitual action. Weighty and proximate action may be performed at the time of death but the habitual action of every life belongs to this life.

(iv) Reserve action (Katatta kamma)—It literally means “because done.” Reserve action is a very light type of action. This action is weaker than the former three kinds of actions. It has got no strength of yielding result. But its numerical strength is great ; it creates most powerful action. If the weighty action is present, it causes birth in the next life ; in its absence the function is done by Proximate action.

The third type of action is to be judged from the point of time, when such actions take to producing effects. Such actions are also of four types, namely : (i) Immediately effective action<sup>18</sup> ; (ii) Subsequently effective action<sup>19</sup> ; (iii) Indefinitely effective

---

18. Diṭṭhadhamma vedaniya kamma.

19. Upapajjavedaniya kamma.

action<sup>20</sup> ; and (iv) Defunct action.<sup>21</sup> (i) Immediately effective action (Diṭṭhadhammavedaniya kamma)—This is the action which is experienced in this very life. The time of vipāka of an action depends on the cittakasana of the Javanaṭṭhāna. An action bears fruit in the same life. This is called ‘Immediately effective action.’ If this action does not get any opportunity to give result in this very life or it is opposed by a powerful opposite action, it does not give fruit in future life.

(ii) Subsequently effective action (upapajjavedaniya kamma)—This action bears fruit in the next life. No fruit of such action bears in this life. Due to the effect of subsequently effective action one can get fruit after one’s death. King Ajātasattu, immediately after his death, was born in a state of misery.

(iii) Indefinitely effective action (Aparāpariya—vedaniya kamma)—The effect of the intermediate thought moments may take place in any life upto Nibbāna. This is called Indefinitely effective action. This action bears fruit at the time of birth or pavattana. Mahā Moggallāna was killed by the robbers due to his evil deeds done in previous life. This type of action is an instance of indefinitely effective action.

(iv) Defunct action (Ahosi kamma)—This type of action is ineffective and is unable to produce result in this life or even in the life to come. This type of action cannot produce result due to weakness or strong counter-action. It may be good or bad. According to the *Visuddhimagga*, action is of four kinds, they are : (i) Immediately effective action ; (ii) Subsequently effective action ; (iii) Indefinitely effective action ; and (iv) Defunct action. The immediately effective action is consciousness in all the cittas in the vṛtti of a Javana. This action produces its fruits during the life time of Atta bhava. If there is an action but no fruit, this is called defunct action. Subsequently effective action is the seventh Javana consciousness which produces effect. The five Javanacetanā are equal to Indefinitely effective action.

Action may be divided into four divisions in consideration of places where they produce their effects. These are : (i) Immoral

---

20. Aparāpariya vedaniya kamma.

21. Ahosi kamma.



actions which may ripen in the sentient plane ;<sup>22</sup> (ii) Moral actions which may ripen in the sentient plane ;<sup>23</sup> (iii) Moral actions which may ripen in the realm of form ;<sup>24</sup> (iv) Moral actions which may ripen in the formless realms.<sup>25</sup> These four types of actions are very important.

(i) *Kāmāvacara Akusala Kamma*—*Kāmāvacara* means that which roams in the world of desires. *Kāmāvacara* also indicates the state of a being which is low. The *kāmāvacara* mind is trifle, restless and unsteady. The actions done by such type of consciousness, when rooted in immoral hetus is called *Kāmāvacara Akusala Kamma*. The *Kāmāvacara Akusala kamma* can be studied in two ways, physical and mental. *Kāmāvacara* actions can be studied from the angle of consciousness, it is of twelve types.<sup>26</sup> These *kammas* have greed, hate and delusion as its root. *Kāmāvacara* may be moral, immoral and neutral. Actions manifest through different doors. Here are the three divisions of *kamma*, namely, bodily action, verbal action and mental action.<sup>27</sup> *Kamma* means volition, when awareness is present in volition called act. Bodily action is of three types, namely, taking life,<sup>28</sup> taking what is not given<sup>29</sup> and incontinence<sup>30</sup>. Life means a being. *Pāpātipāto* means a *vadha cetanā* of the person who knowing that there is life in the being and makes effort to take life. These efforts must be manifest either of the *Kāya* door or of the vocal door. So these are called *kāyakamma*. The verbal actions are of four types, namely, speaking lie<sup>31</sup>, slander,<sup>32</sup> using abusive languages<sup>33</sup> and frivolous talks.<sup>34</sup> As these types of actions are performed through the vocal organ, they are called *vacīkamma*. The mental actions are of three types, namely, covetousness<sup>35</sup>, ill-will<sup>36</sup> and false-view<sup>37</sup>. They are generally performed through mind. Therefore,

---

22. *Kāmāvacara Akusala kamma*.

23. *Kāmāvacara kusala kamma*.

24. *Rūpāvacara kusala kamma*.

25. *Arūpāvacara kusala kamma*.

26. *Cittupādavasena dvādasavidham*.

27. *Tīnī hi kammāni : Kāyakammaṃ vacīkammaṃ manokammaṃ ti—*  
*Aṭṭhasālinī, Buddhaghosa. Page 88.*

28. *Pāpātipāto*. 29. *adinnādānaṃ*. 30. *Kāmesu micchācāra*.

31. *musāvādo*. 32. *Pisunāvāca*. 33. *Pharusāvāca*.

34. *saṃphappalāpo*. 35. *abhiṇṇhā*. 36. *Vyāpādo*.

37. *micchādiṭṭhi*.

these are called Manokamma. Thus Akusala kamma are of ten types. Akusala kammās are rooted from Akusala hetus. Pāṇātipāto, Pharusavācā and Vyāpāda are rooted in Dosa. Kāmesu micchācāra, Abhijjhā and Micchādiṭṭhi are rooted in Lobha. Adiṇṇādāna, Musāvāda, Pisunāvācā and Sampapphalāpa are rooted in Lobha and Dosa, separately or jointly. Moha is common to all the Akusala Kammās. The three types of kammās manifest through the three doors.<sup>38</sup> It is said that kāyakamma is manifested by body.<sup>39</sup> Kāyakamma appears through the kāyadvāra. But sometimes it appears through the vacīdvāra. When a man speaks that he will murder his enemy, here the Kāyakamma which should be performed by kāyadvāra is performed by vacīdvāra. Similarly vacīkamma also is performed through kāyadvāra. When a man speaks a lie through the movement of body, here the vacīkamma is manifested through the kāyadvāra. Similarly the Manokamma is also performed through the Kāyadvāra and vacīdvāra. When a man steals consciously the property of a rich man, it is the Manokamma performed through the Kāya and Vacīdvāra. Doors and actions are not the same thing; so people is other and gate is another thing. Action moves through doors but the doors do not move their position.<sup>40</sup>

The Akusala Kāyakamma are of three types, namely pāṇātipāto, adinnādānaṃ, kāmesu micchācāro. Pāṇātipāto—According to Buddhaghosa atipāta means nipāta which means killing.<sup>41</sup> Life means a living being. It is also the living force, or Jivitendriya. Pāṇātipāto means vadhacetanā of a person. There are five essential factors—there is life in the being, consciousness of the existence of a living creature, intention of killing, effort to take life and consequent death. Such effort of killing is materialised by six factors, namely, one's own hands, instigation, missiles, permanent

---

38. "Tattha tīnī kammāni, tīnī kammadvārāni....."

—Aṭṭhasālinī, Buddhaghosa. Page 82.

39. "Kāyena ce kataṃ kammaṃ Kāyakamman ti vuccati".

—Aṭṭhasālinī, Buddhaghosa. Page 85.

40. "Kammena pi dvāram nāmaṃ labhati dvārena pi kammaṃ"—

Aṭṭhasālinī, Buddhaghosa. Page. 85.

41. "pāṇassa atipāto pāṇātipāto nāma"—Aṭṭhasālinī,

Buddhaghosa. Page 97.

devices, art and property. Killing is possible by the presence of five constituent factors of murders and six means of such actions. The evil effects of killing are short life, diseasefulness etc. Adinnā-dāna—Its meaning is to take what is not given. A thief, a robber fall under this group. Adinnādāna is a volition which takes place from an effort to take a thing which is possessed by others, knowing that it belongs to others. The intention of stealing falls under this group. In committing such an immoral act there are five essential factors, namely, the property of another, knowledge that it belongs to somebody else, intention of stealing and the removal of the property. The evil effects of stealing are poverty, dependent livelihood etc. Kāmesu micchācārā—It means wrong conduct in sensual pleasures. Sensual pleasure means the sexual intercourse. It is a volition performed in the Kāyadvāra. Thus kāyakkamma takes place in the Kāyadvāra.

As stated above the Akusala vacīkammās are of four types, namely, to tell a lie, to speak a slander, harsh speech, and frivolous talks. These are performed through the vocal organs. Immoral vocal act does not take place in the mind door. Vocal action takes place in the vacīdvāra. Among the Akusala vacīkammās the first one is the speaking a lie. False speech is the volition setting up the bodily and vocal effort for cheating others for some purpose. The evil effects of false speech are torment by abusive speech. Slanders speech means calumnious speech.<sup>42</sup> Such speech reduces love and respect to nothing. Its nature is to reduce to nothingness the integrity of others. The evil effects of slandering are the dissolution of friendship. Harsh speech<sup>43</sup> is a volition which is produced by bodily or vocal act and appears in other's heart. Harsh speech is harsh when it is harsh in words and from the heart. Parents' words are never harsh words because inspite of their speech being harsh, in reality it is not harsh because of the tenderness of their heart. So, in reality harsh speech is the speech which is harsh in words and in thought both. 'Frivolous talk' means senseless talk. Frivolous talk is useless talk. It is a type of immoral volition performed by the bodily and vocal efforts. It is meaningless, ignoble gossipings. A talk may be useless to one but useful to another

---

42. Pisunāvācā.

43. Pharusāvācā.

person. Thus the three types of immoral actions are performed through speech.

There are three types of mental immoral acts, namely—covetousness, ill-will and wrong view.

**Abhiijhā** i.e.—Immoral mental act takes place in the mind door and in the vocal door. It is the process of inclining towards the property of others. It reaches the course of action when there is greed and inclination to have the property of other. The evil of this covetousness is the undoing of one's person.

**Vyāpāda**—Vyāpāda is ill-will. It hindrances the welfare and happiness of others. It is one type of mental fault. It is performed through the mind-door. It indicates the thought of doing harm to them. The evil effects of ill-will are ugliness, various diseases etc.

**Micchādiṭṭhi**—Micchādiṭṭhi means wrong view. It is the absence of right view. There is no use in gift or there is neither the good result of good action nor the bad of the bad ones. The evil effects of wrong view are lack of wisdom, dullness etc. **Viññatti** is that which is thought of mind or the mind-door which is not seen by others. **Viññatti** makes the mind understand. Vinaya directs to restrain these types of outward conduct, **Kāya** and **vācā** are the basis of the Vinaya. Vinaya deals with bodily action and vocal action. Vinaya had no jurisdiction over mental action. Sutta deals with the mental action.

(I) **Kāmāvacara kusala Kamma**—Kāmāvacara kusala kamma is the opposite of kāmāvacara Akusala kamma. It is of three types according to the doors through which they manifest themselves. So there are the actions of body, speech and mind. We have got ten types of immoral actions. The moral acts are the abstinence from them. Thus the ten types of moral acts are the abstinence from life taking, theft, wrong conduct in sensual pleasures, to tell a lie, slandering, frivolous talk, harsh speech and disinterestedness, good-will and right views. The last three are the actions performed through mind. The abstinence is of three types, namely, (i) **Sampatta virati**; (ii) **Samādana virati**; and (iii) **Samuccheda virati**. **Sampatta virati** is the abstinence of these who have not observed any particular precept but who, reflect on their own birth, age, experience etc. **Samādana virati** is the abstinence of those who have observed the



precepts both during their life time and after the life-time. Samucceda-virati is the abstinence by way of eradication. It should be observed through the four-fold Noble Truth or Middle Path. We may say that out of ten Kusala actions the first seven are the volitions and abstinence and the last three are moral roots only. There are many good effects in the ten Kusala actions. One may come of a noble family for his virtuous actions. One may be happy for his noble work. There are eight types of Kāmāvacara Kusala Kamma expressed through Kāmāvacara Kusala citta as given below ;

- (1) mental delight, accompanied by knowledge, unhesitated and unsuggested.<sup>44</sup>
- (2) mental delight, accompanied by knowledge hesitated or suggested.<sup>45</sup>
- (3) mental delight, unaccompanied by knowledge, unhesitated and unsuggested.<sup>46</sup>
- (4) mental delight, unaccompanied by knowledge, hesitated or suggested.<sup>47</sup>
- (5) mental indifference, accompanied by knowledge, unhesitated and unsuggested.<sup>48</sup>
- (6) mental indifference, accompanied by knowledge, hesitated or suggested.<sup>49</sup>
- (7) mental indifference, unaccompanied by knowledge, unhesitated and unsuggested.<sup>50</sup>
- (8) mental indifference, unaccompanied by knowledge, hesitated or suggested.<sup>51</sup>

(iii) Rūpāvacara Kusala Kamma—This type of Kamma passes through the mental organ. It is a pure mental process. In the Rūpāvacara stage no action is performed through body and speech.

---

44. Somanassāsahagatāṃ ñāṇasampayuttam asaṃkhārikāṃ.

45. Somanassāsahagatāṃ ñāṇasampayuttam asaṃkhārikāṃ

46. Somanassāsahagatāṃ ñāṇavippayuttam asaṃkhārikāṃ.

47. Somanassāsahagatāṃ ñāṇavippayuttam asaṃkhārikāṃ.

48. Upekkhāsahagatāṃ ñāṇasampayuttam asaṃkhārikāṃ.

49. Upekkhāsahagatāṃ ñāṇasampayuttam asaṃkhārikāṃ.

50. Upekkhāsahagatāṃ ñāṇavippayuttam asaṃkhārikāṃ,

51. Upekkhāsahagatāṃ ñāṇavippayuttam asaṃkhārikāṃ,

This type of action belongs to meditation. But they differ in the constituents of jhāna which are five in number as follows : (1) The first stage of Kusala jhāna is of initial application<sup>52</sup>, consideration<sup>53</sup>, pleasant sensation<sup>54</sup>, joy<sup>55</sup> and one pointedness or concentration<sup>56</sup>. The second stage of Rūpāvacara kusala jhāna is with consideration pleasant sensation, joy and one pointedness or concentration. The third stage of kusala jhāna is of pleasant sensation, joy and one pointedness or concentration. The fourth stage of kusala jhāna is of joy and one pointedness or concentration. The fifth stage of kusala jhāna concerns with indifference<sup>57</sup> and one pointedness.<sup>58</sup> The purpose and object of the Rūpāvacara kusala jhāna stage are the same, i.e. the concentration of mind. In the first stage there are five constituents but in the second stage there are only four excluding initial application. In the third stage there are only three factors excluding initial application and consideration. The fourth stage deals with joy and one pointedness. In the fifth or last stage joy is substituted by indifference. The fifth stage remains with indifference and one-pointedness. (Ref. Edgerton C. Baptist, Study on Abhidhamma, pp. 50-51). In the last Rūpāvacara stage one remains neutral. It is the stage of the concentration of mind. It leads one to the path of Nibbāna. It is purely a Nibbāna stage. Thus the five Rūpāvacara kusala kammās are associated with the meditation upon the objects associated with some form.<sup>59</sup>

(iv) Arūpāvacara kusala Kamma—The Arūpāvacara Kusala kammās are mental. This type of action passes through mental organ. It differs according to processes of meditation. When one finds the mind concentration associated with form, he wants to take up the object for meditation which are formless.<sup>60</sup> It is his mental progress of meditation.

(1) Moral jhāna—Consciousness dwelling on the infinity of space.<sup>61</sup>

2) Moral jhāna—consciousness dwelling on the infinity of consciousness.<sup>62</sup>

3) Moral jhāna—consciousness dwelling on nothingness.<sup>63</sup>

---

52. Vitakka. 53. Vicāra, 54. plti. 55. sukha. 56. Ekaggatā.  
 57. Upekkhā. 58. Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. IV, Page 66-67,  
 59. rūpa. 60. Arūpa. 61. Ākāsañācāyatana kusala cittam.  
 62. Viññāṇañcāyatana kusala cittam.  
 63. Ākiñcanāyatana kusala cittam.

4) Moral jhāna—consciousness where in cognition is so extremely subtle, that it cannot be said whether it is or is not.<sup>64</sup>

There are only two factors present in the Arūpāvacara kusala citta, namely, indifference and one-pointedness. In the first stage the object is the infinity of space. In the second stage the object is infinity of consciousness. In the third stage, the object is nothingness and in the last stage the object is the cognition so extremely subtle, that it cannot be said whether it is or is not. In the formless stage there is the existence of kamma. But in this stage there is no scope of bad action at all. It is a state of calm and tranquility. It is the stage of good action. The meditation rises from lower to higher stage.

The Lokuttara type of consciousness are eight in number. Four are called the Magga and other four are called phala cittas. In the Magga stage a person cuts down the Saṃyoyanas and in the Phala cittas he realises that they have been uprooted. In the second stage he weakens the fourth and fifth fetters. He becomes then Sakadāgāmi who comes once again. In the third stage he will be Anāgāmi who will never come in this world. Though he does not realise Nibbāna he will be born in a pure State. He will achieve arhatship there. In the fourth stage he will be an Arhat. He attains there Sopādisesa Nibbāna. He is free from all bondages here. This is the stage of perfect knowledge leading to Nibbāna.

In the Vinayapiṭaka there is mention of two types of action, viz., Low and high.<sup>65</sup> A man's destiny depends on his action. A man reaps what he sows. His character is determined by his action and he works out his salvation. A person comes into physical life with a character and environment resulting from his actions in the past. A person is blind to the wheel of re-birth through his action. We now propose to give an idea of kamma as discussed in the *Nikāyas*. The *Nikāyas* which contain the authentic teachings of Buddhism, give some interesting information about action. When a man does good work he is placed in Heaven and when he does bad work he goes to the Hell. In the *Nikāyas* we find the mention of pleasures of Heaven and

---

64. Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana kusala cittaṃ.

65. "Kammaṃ nāma, dve kammāni, hinaṃ ca kammam ukkaṭṭhaṃ ca kammaṃ."  
Vinayapiṭakam—Hermann Oldenberg. Page 6.

the sorrows of Hell. These are reward and punishment of actions of a person. The Pali literature tells us about various Heavens and Hells. The Dīgha Nikāya of the Sutta-Piṭaka tells us about some of the heavens. In the Kevaḍḍha Sutta<sup>66</sup> Buddha relates to Kevaḍḍha how a bhikkhu of his congregation was troubled in mind by a certain problem. The bhikkhu practised a meditation and went to the world of gods. First he went to the Cātummahārājika gods, who sent him to the four Mahārājas of the Cātummahārājika heaven. They also sent him to the gods of the Tāvātimsa heaven; then he came to Yamadeva. Thereafter he went to Suyāma who sent him on to the Tusita gods and then he went to Santusita gods. From Santusita gods, he went to Nimmānarati gods and then he went Sunimmita and then he went to Paranimmita. From Paranimmita he was advised to go to the gods of the Brahma world<sup>67</sup> who sent him to Mahābrahmā. He asked him for the solution of the problem but could not answer, at last he went to Buddha who gave a satisfactory answer to him.<sup>68</sup> There are seven vedic regions, e.g. Bhū, Bhūvah, Svar, Maha. Jana, Tapas and Satya or the Brahmāloka. We see in the Tevijja Sutta the Union of men with Brahmā.<sup>69</sup> In the *Brahmajāla Sutta* we get a reference to Brahmā and his palace. We also get here two classes of gods, the khiddāpadosika and the Manopadosika. The Buddha says that the khiddāpadosika gods spend their time in laughing, playing and enjoying sensual pleasures. Then they fall down from there and are reborn in the human world. The Manopadosika gods think much of the other. On account of pollution of their mind they fall down from there and are reborn in the human world. This Sutta also tells us about the world of Radiance.<sup>70</sup> A being may fall from the Ābhassaraloka on account of loss of life or loss of merit. He is then reborn in the Brahmavimāna.<sup>71</sup>

We get some references of various grades of gods in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The Dhānañjāni Sutta furnishes some gods such as—

---

66. Dīghanikāya. P.T.S. Vol. I. Page 211.

67. Brahmakāyikanāma deva.

68. Dīgha Nikāya P.T.S. Kevaḍḍha Sutta. Page 211-223.

69. Dīghanikāya P.T.S. Vol. I. Tevijja Sutta, Page 235-48.

70. Ābhassaraloka,

71. Dīghanikāya. P.T.S. Vol. I. Brahmajāla Sutta. Page 17.



Cātummahārājika, Tāvatisa, Yama, Tusita, Nimmānarati, Paranimita-Vasavatti. One can reach the Brahmāloka after meditating on mettā, karuṇā, muditā, and upekkhā.<sup>72</sup> The influence of action on various states of the being have been brought out in the Cūḷakammavibhaṅga Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. A certain young man named Subha went to Buddha and asked who among the human beings are of the low State and who belong to high states. He also said that we see among the mankind people having short-life and long-life, ailing and healthy, the good looking and the ill-looking, the influential and the uninfluential, the poor and the rich, the low born and the high born, the ignorant and the intelligent.<sup>73</sup> Buddha replied thus—“every living being has kamma of its own, its influence, its causes, its relative, its refuge. It is kamma that differentiates all living beings into low and high states.<sup>74</sup> We also get mention of some special gods in the Anuruddha Sutta<sup>75</sup> of the *Majjhima nikāya*. “One becomes a parittābhādeva if he dies after finishing meditation on a small circle of light (parittamālokakāṣiṇaṃ). One becomes a appamāṇābhādeva if he dies after finishing meditation on a boundless circle of light (appamāṇālokakāṣiṇaṃ). One becomes a saṃkiliṭṭhābhādeva if he dies after finishing meditation on impure light. One becomes a parisuddhābhādeva if he dies after finishing meditation on pure light.”<sup>76</sup> Sāleyyaka Sutta gives a reference of all the gods of the kāmāloka, Rūpaloka and Arūpaloka. The persons who are pious may be born in the Cātummahārājika, Tāvatisa, yama, Tusita, Nimmānarati, Paranimitavasa-

72. *Majjhima Nikāya*, P.T.S. Vol. II. Dhānañjāni Sutta. Page 193-194,

73. Dissanti hi, bho Gotama, manussā appāyukā, dissanti Dīghāyukā, dissanti bavhābādhā, dissanti appābādhā, dissanti dubbaṇṇā, dissanti vaṇṇavanto, dissanti appasakkhā, dissanti mahesakkhā dissanti appabhogā dissanti mahābhogā, dissanti nīcakulīnā, dissanti uccakulīnā dissanti duppaññā, dissanti paññāvanto—

—*Majjhimanikāya*. P.T.S. Vol. III. Cūḷakamma-vibhaṅga Sutta, Page 202-203.

74. Kammassakā, māṇava, sattā kammaḍāyādā kammayoni kammabandhū kammappaṭisaraṇā. Kammaṃ satte vibhajati yaddimaṃ hīnappanitatāyāti.

—*Majjhimanikāya* P.T.S. Vol. III. Cūḷakamma-vibhaṅga Sutta. Page 203.

Aṭṭhasālinī. Buddhaghosa. Page 66.

75. *Majjhima Nikāya*. P.T.S. Vol. III. Page 147.

76. Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective—B. C. Law. Page 8.

vatti, Brahmakāyika and other heavens up to Nevasaññāyatana.<sup>77</sup> In the Brahmanimantanika Sutta in the *Majjhimanikāya* there is mention of many of the Brahmakāyika devas.<sup>78</sup> The *Samyutta Nikāya* also tells us that a person will suffer according to his act. If a person does an evil deed he will suffer for his deed.

In the *Aṅguttaranikāya* we get a reference of some gods e.g. Cātummahārājika gods, Tāvātimsa gods, Yama gods, Tusita gods, Nimmānarati gods, Paranimmitavasavattins, Brahmakāyikas and other gods superior to them. These devas have a good faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha and can claim for the Sotāpanna stage, go to the heaven, and do not fall into hell. The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* furnishes a good deal of information about the meritorious deeds. The *Aṅguttaranikāya* also tells us that if a man does evil deeds in body, speech and mind he will after death go to the Hell.<sup>79</sup> This *nikāya* tells us more that the unwise dishonest person performs three evil-deeds in body, mind and speech and the wise honest person does three good deeds through body, speech and mind.<sup>80</sup> An evil person will enter into hell after his death.<sup>81</sup> The *Nikāya* also has numerous references to the results of action. Buddha says that there are three types of the results of action.<sup>82</sup>

77. Majjhima Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. 1. Page 289.

78. Majjhima Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. I. Page 329.

79. "So kāyena ducaritaṃ caritvā vācāya ducaritaṃ caritvā manasā ducaritaṃ caritvā kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjati.

—Aṅguttara Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. I. Page 138.

80. Tīhi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato bālo avyatto asappuriso khatam upahatam attānaṃ pariharati sāvajjo ca hoti sānuvajjo viññūnaṃ bahuñ ca apuññaṃ passavati Katamehi tīhi ?

kāyaducaritena vacīduccaritena manoducaritena..... Tīhi bhikkhave dhammehi samannāgato paṇḍito vyatto sappuriso akkhatam anupahatam attānaṃ pariharati anavajjo ca hoti ananuvajjo viññūnaṃ bahuñca puññaṃ passavati. Katamehi tīhi ? Kāyasucaritena..... vacīsucaritena..... manosucaritena.

—Aṅguttara Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. I. Page 105.

81. "Kāyassa bhedaṃ paraṃ maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ upapajjeyya."—Aṅguttara Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. IV. Page 129.

82. "Tividhāhaṃ, bhikkhave, kammānaṃ vipākaṃ vadāmi—  
diṭṭheva dhamme upapajje vā apare vā pariyāye," —Aṅguttara Nikāya, chakkampatta. Jagadish Kassapa. Nibbedhika Sutta. Page 120.

Here comes the *Jātaka* tales which deal with the doctrine of kamma. The *Jātaka* tales are nothing but accounts of the previous existences of Gautama Buddha. The *Jātaka* tales are intended to give us the effects of kamma—both good and evil. A woman, carrying her child went to the future Buddha's tank to wash. A Yakṣhiṇī seeing the child developed a craving to eat it. This woman had become a Yakṣhiṇī because of her former sins. Buddha rebuked her saying. "O foolish woman, for your former sins you have been born a Yakṣhiṇī, and now do you still sin."<sup>83</sup> We see the effect of action in the *Rājovāda Jātaka* that when Brahmadaṭṭha was reigning in Bārāṇasī, the future Buddha returned to life and was re-born as a prince. After his father's death he ascended the throne, and ruled his kingdom with righteousness. He "practised charity and other good deeds, and so at the end of his life he went to heaven."<sup>84</sup> King Cetiya had suffered in the Avīci hell because he indulged in falsehood and abused a mendicant.<sup>85</sup> A person named Adhamma fell into the Avīci hell for having opposed the Bodhisatta who bore the name of Dhamma after death.<sup>86</sup> An acelaṅka promised not to reveal any secret but he revealed and broke his promise, as a result he fell into the Avīci hell.<sup>87</sup> The *Jātakas* speak of two hells, Khuradbhāra and Koṭṭisimbali. "In the Khuradbhāra hell the creatures are made to suffer."<sup>88</sup> In the Koṭṭisimbaliniraya, there is a Simbali tree on the bank of the river Vaitaraṇī, with blazing branches and leaves hanging over the water. Among the hellish creatures in the river, those who are

---

83. Buddhist birth stories—T. W. Rhys Davids. The birth as Great Physician, Mahosadha Jātaka. Introduction. Page xiii.

84. Buddhist birth stories—T. W. Rhys Davids. A lesson for kings. Rājovāda Jātaka, Introduction. Page xxiv,

85. "Mahājano Cetiyaṛājā isin akkositvā musāvādaṃ katvā Avicim paviṭṭho ti bhayappato ahosi." —Jātaka, Fausboll. Vol. III. Page 460.

86. Bodhisattena pana imāya gāthāy kathitakhaṇe yeva Adhamma rathe ṭhātum asakkonto avamsiro paṭhaviyaṃ patitvā paṭhaviyā vivare dinne gantvā Avicimhi yeva nibbatti, Jātaka, Fausboll. Dhamma Jātaka, Vol. IV. Page 103.

87. "...acelakassa sīsam sattadhāphāli, nisinnatṭhāne yev'assa bhūmi vivaraṃ adāsi. So paṭhaviṃ pavisitvā Avicimhi nibbatti .." Jātaka, Fausboll. Vol. V. Page 87.

88. Jātaka, Fausboll, Vol. V. Page 274.

guilty of adultery, attempt to get out of the river by those branches and as soon they get up with the help of the blazing branches they are burnt.<sup>89</sup> King Nimi was taken by Matali to visit the hells.<sup>90</sup>

The *Dhammapada* furnishes the effects of action. "The evil-doer grieves in this world, he grieves in the next, he grieves in both. He grieves, he is afflicted seeing the evil of his own actions."<sup>91</sup> And "the righteous man rejoices in this world, he rejoices in the next, he rejoices in both. He rejoices and becomes delighted seeing the purity of his own action."<sup>92</sup> Fools of little understanding are enemies to themselves. They wander about doing evil deeds which are the cause of bitter fruits.<sup>93</sup>

The *Apadāna* which is one of the canonical books mentions of 'glorious deed', or 'heroic deed'. It describes the glorious achievement of self sacrifice and piety. It also tells us that our misery is the result of our past evil deeds and our good and evil actions will be cause of joy and woe in this life. It describes pious deeds of Buddhist Arhats, monks and nuns. Man is the architect of his own destiny. Soṇa-Kuṭikaṇṇa was born in the country of Avantī in a

---

89. Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective. B. C. Law. Page 100.

".....evaṃ gabbhapātininaṃ nīrayaṃ dassetvā yattha paradārakā ca atit cāriniyo ca paccanti taṃ koṭisimbalinirayaṃ dassento ayomayā ti adimā, ta dubhatomabbhilambhantīti vetaraniyā ubhosu tīresu taṃ simbalinam sākhā olambanti te accimanto tite pajjalita sarirā sattā accimanto hutvā tiṭṭhanti; yojanan ti tigāvutam tesam sarirato sajantīti te paradārikā sattā nānāvidhe hi ā vudhehi kotthiya mānā ete Simbaliniraye abhirūhanti. Jātaka-Fausboll. Saṃkicca Jātaka. Vol. V. Page 275.

90. "Tato rājā aham avassam devalokam gamissāmi nīrayam tāva passissāmīti." Jātaka, Fausboll. Vol. VI. Nimi Jātaka. Page 105.

91. The Dhammapada—S. Radhakrishnan. Page 63.

92. The Dhammapada. S. Radhakrishnan. Page 65.

"idha modati pecca modati, katapuñño ubhayattha modati so modati, so pa modati disvā kamma visuddhim attano." The Dhammapada. S. Radhakrishnan. Page 63. Verse 16.

93. Caranti bālā dummedhā amitten eva attanā karonta pāpakaṃ kammaṃ yaṃ hoti kaṭukapphalam. —The Dhammapada. S. Radhakrishnan. Verse 66. Page 30.

very rich family. He was the son of Balasena. He had a great devotion for Buddha. He learned the Norm from the venerable Kaccāyana, the Great. Lastly, he entered the Order and won Arhatship. It was the good result of his good action. Thus, Apadāna tells us how a large number of men and women had reaped the ripe results of their age long efforts. Evil doer must go into hell but the virtuous are said to be "as good as gone to heaven already".<sup>94</sup>

Let us now deal with kamma as expounded in the *Itivuttaka*, *Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu*. The *Itivuttaka*, which is one of the books of canonical texts, states that the Lord Buddha had said that the persons who commit sins in body, mind and speech are reborn in hell after death. The persons who become thoughtful about wealth and fame are reborn in hell after death.

The *Vimānavatthu* and the *Petavatthu* are the two other canonical texts which may be mentioned here. The *Vimānavatthu* is a work that describes the splendour of the various abodes belonging to the Devas, who became the fortunate owners of those abodes in accordance with the degree of merit they had each performed. Here they spend their time enjoying pleasure. The lives of the Devas depended on the merits resulting from their good acts. When the Buddha was residing at Sāvātthi in the ārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana, King Pasenadi of Kosala made gifts on an immense scale. To imitate Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā each made liberal gifts for three days. At that time a bhikkhu came there for alms. A daughter who had a great faith in Buddha welcomed the bhikkhu and offered him a seat which was covered with a very nice cloth. In consequence of this meritorious deed, she was reborn in a golden Vimāna after death.<sup>95</sup> A woman of Sāvātthi saw a therā coming to her house for alms. She gladly offered him alms. As a result she obtained heaven. Once when the Buddha was at Sāvātthi there was a woman faithful to her husband. She was patient and was not subject to anger. She did not use harsh words. After death, she was reborn in the Tāvātimsa heaven. At Sāvātthi, a bhikkhu came to a house for alms. The daughter-in-law of the family was very glad and offered some portion of the cakes made

94. Buddhism—Primitive and Present—Coplesten (Reginald Stephen). Page 140.

95. The Vimāna vatthu. P.T.S. Nava Vimāna. Page 5.



in the house. The bhikkhu accepted her offerings and went away blessing her. As a result of her meritorious deed, she after death was reborn in the Tāvatisa heaven.<sup>96</sup> When the Buddha was at Kalandakanivāpa in Veḷuvana, Sirimā returned home after attaining the first stage of sanctification. She offered alms to eight bhikkhus every day. As a result of her meritorious deed she was reborn as a celestial nymph.<sup>97</sup> When the Buddha was at Jetavana at Sāvatti, a lay disciple went to Jetavana and told the Buddha that he would offer charity to four bhikkhus and his maid-servant was ordered to attend to the four bhikkhus daily. The maid-servant devoted herself to this sacrifice to the bhikkhus. As a result, she was reborn after her death as one of the beloved attendants of Sakka. In the Paricchattaka vimāna it is stated that a woman was reborn in the Tāvatisa heaven worshipping the Buddha with Asoka flowers.<sup>98</sup> A daughter of an upāsikā was reborn in the Tāvatisa heaven for her having been virtuous and free from anger.<sup>99</sup> A woman named Lakhumā was established in the Sotāpatti and was reborn in the Tāvatisa heaven after death because she prepared seats and supplied water for bhikkhus in the āsanāsālā daily.<sup>100</sup> A woman of Rājagaha was reborn in the Nimmānarati devas for offering her food and the ācāma which had been given her by the inmates of a house behind which she had taken shelter, to Mahākassapa.<sup>101</sup> Sonadinnā, a devoted upāsikā of Nālandā attained Sotāpatti and was reborn after death in the Tāvatisa heaven for serving bhikkhus, observing the precepts and the Uposatha.<sup>102</sup> Thus these stories tell us the various grades of heaven, the pleasures of the Tāvatisa heaven, the joys of the Buddhist Vimānas.

The *Petavatthu*, another canonical text helps us to know of the petas or spirits of the deceased according to the Buddhist belief. All the stories which have a moral lesson tell us about the effect of kamma after death. A bhikkhu was reborn as a peta with the face

---

96. Vimāna vattha. P.T.S. Uḷāra Vimāna. Page 24.

97. Vimāna vatthu. P.T.S. Sirimā Vimāna. Page 13-14.

98. Vimāna vatthu. P.T.S. Paricchatta Vimāna. Page 35.

99. Vimāna vatthu. Pallaṅka Vimāna, Page 26-27.

100. Vimāna vatthu. P.T.S. Lakhumā Vimāna. Page 17,

101. Vimāna vatthu. P.T.S. ācāmadāyika Vimāna. Page 17-18.

102. Vimānavatthu. P.T.S. Sonadinnā Vimāna, Page, 20.

like Sūkara for his unrestrained speech.<sup>103</sup> A bhikkhu who is unrestrained in speech created dissensions between two friends. As a punishment he was reborn as a peta named Pūtimukha.<sup>104</sup> Some persons were reborn as petas for their evil-deeds.<sup>105</sup> As a result of the evil-deeds, a husband and his wife were reborn as a peta and a petī respectively and used to beat each other with iron clubs.<sup>106</sup> Nandā, the wife of a householder was reborn as a petī for her evil-deeds. A miser and sceptic merchant named Dhanapāla, was reborn as a peta in a desert where he got nothing even water to drink and grain to eat.<sup>107</sup> A stingy and sceptic householder was reborn as a peta with a body without flesh and blood.<sup>108</sup> As a result of bad actions an unbelieving and uncharitable wife of a believing and charitable householder was reborn after death as a petī.

Let us now take up the doctrine of action as depicted in non-canonical texts. In the conversation between the king Milinda and Nāgasena as found in the famous Milindapañha, the effect of action is discussed in detail. Nāgasena said that, "O king, in the Blessed One's bazar for all manner of merchandise advantages are to be brought for karma according to requirement. And this, O King, is what is called." "The Blessed One's bazar of all manner of merchandise." "Long life good health, beauty, rebirth in heaven, high birth, Nirvāṇa—all are found for sale—There to be brought for Karma, great or small—in the great Conquerer's world famed bazar. Come, show your faith, O brethren, as the price, buy and enjoy such goods as you prefer."<sup>109</sup> King Milinda further told Nāgasena "those who die of Karma, or of journeying or of activity, or of old age, they all die in fullness of time, even he who dies in the womb, that is his appointed time, so that he too dies in fullness of time, and so of him who dies in the birth chamber or when he is a month old or at any age upto a hundred years. It is always his appointed time, and it is

---

103. Petavatthu, R. Saṃkṛityayana. Sūkara Petavatthu. Page 1-2.

104. Petavatthu, R. Saṃkṛityayana. Putimukho Petavatthu, Page, 2.

105. The Petavatthu, R. Saṃkṛityayana. "Pāpakammaṃ Karityāna Petaloke ito gatā." Tīrokuḍḍapeta, Page 3.

106. The Patavatthu, R. Saṃkṛityayana. Nāgapeta, Page 8.

107. Petavatthu, R. Saṃkṛityayana. Dhanapālapetavatthu, Page 17-18.

108. Petavatthu, R. Saṃkṛitayayana. Cūlaseṭṭhipeta, Page 18-23.

109. Sacred Book of the East. The Question of King Milinda, Rhys Davids, Page 230.

in the fullness of time that he dies. So, Nāgasena, there is no such thing as death out of due season. For all who die, die at the appointed time.”<sup>110</sup> The conversation between King Milinda and Nāgasena makes it evident that virtue takes a long time to die but guilt becomes evident at once even in this present life. The effect of karma become manifest in future birth.<sup>111</sup> Nāgasena was asked about what are to be “karma-born,” “Cause-born” and “season-born”; Nāgasena answered that “All beings, O King, who are conscious, are karma born (spring into existence as the result of karma). Tree and all things growing out of seeds, are cause born (the result of a pre-existing material cause). The earth, and the hills, water and wind—all these are season born (depend for their existence on seasons connected with water).”<sup>112</sup>

Once a person named Jotipāla had abused the Tathāgata but later came to know the Virtues of the Buddha, renounced the world, gained the fivefold power of insight and the eight-fold power of ecstatic meditation and was reborn into the Brahma heaven. Nāgasena says that it is because of difference in their kamma that men are not all alike. Some are long-lived, some short-lived. Some are healthy and some sickly. Some are handsome and some ugly. Some are powerful and some weak, some rich and some poor, some of high degrees and some of low degrees, some wise and some foolish. All these differences are caused by the difference in the karma performed by the individuals.

The *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa and the text *Pañcagatidīpanaṃ*<sup>113</sup> also tell us about the effect of Kamma.

The *Visuddhimagga* tells us that the bad effect of actions leads to suffering in hell. We get a description of the Avīci Hell in this text. The *Pañcagatidīpanaṃ* which is a poem of 114 verses gives us an idea of kamma illustrated through stories. It describes the different types of Hell—great and small. The principal hells are eight in number e.g. Saṅjīva, Kālasūtra. Saṅghāta, Raurava, Mahā-

---

110. Sacred Book of the East. The Question of King Milinda, P.T.S. Page 163.

111. Sacred Book of the East, The Question of King Milinda, Rhys Davids, Page 149.

112. Sacred Book of the East. The Question of King Milinda. —Rhys Davids. Page, 107.

113. Edited by M. Leon, Feer J. P.T.S. 1884, Page 152-161,

raurava, Tapa, Mahātapa and the very deepest Avīci. Besides these, there are the Lokantarika hells, and as many cold hells, namely the Arbuda, Nirarbuda, Aṭaḷā. Hahava, Huhava, Utpala, Padma and Mahāpadma. We get some names in the Pali canon, e.g. Aṭaḷā, Abbuda, Nirabbuda, Ahaha, Ababa, Kumuda, Uppalaka, Sogandhika, Puṇḍarika and Paduma. The persons who kill with lust, ill-will and stupidity will enter the Sañjīva Hell. They will suffer in this hell for one thousand years. Those who do harmful deeds to friends will go to Kālasutta Hell. Those who kill goats, sheep, jackals, hares, deer etc. will go to the Saṅghāta hell. The persons who cause mental and physical suffering to others have to go to the Roruva Hell. Those who steal things of gods and brahmins and steal the property of others have to go to Mahāroruva Hell. The persons who cause death of living beings have to go to the Tapa Hell. Those who cause the death of beings throwing them into greater Dāvadaha, fire etc. have to go to the Mahātapa Hell. Those who represent dhamma to be adhamma must go to Patāpāna Hell. Those who kill arhats will enter into Avīci Hell. "Those who neglect their friends on account of their price are reborn as dogs and asses. Those who are envious, cherish anger or become happy at sight of sufferings of others are reborn in Yamaloka and demon world."<sup>114</sup>

As met with in Buddhism, in Jainism also is found the effect of action in detail. According to the Jaina Philosophy, Karma is regarded as a reality. In Jain Philosophy action is of material nature. Thoughts and ideas influence our character and change our souls. Actions are thus substantiative forms, matter in a subtle form. These produce some kind of experience. Jīvas or living beings are guided by some actives in order to perform action. Unless there is some active, there cannot be any action. Thus motive stands relative to action. The problem of action in Jainism is closely related with the question of the bondages of the soul. Soul means mundane soul. The causes of bondage are held to be five in number, namely, Mitthādassana is primer i.e. natural.<sup>115</sup> The Mitthāñāṇa is of four kinds, namely Kiriyaṁvāda, akiriyaṁvāda, añāṇa and Vinaya and is held to be of 366 kinds in all. Avirati is of twelve kinds. It is non-rejection of violence. It leads to loss of control on mind and senses. Pamāda is absence of interest and

---

114. A History of Pali Literature. B. C. Law. Page 629. 115. Saṃsiddhi.

activities. It is of fifteen kinds. Kasāya is of twenty five kinds. The causes of bondage are Avirati, Pamāda, Kasāya, Yoga excluding Mitthādassana. Karma is not a quality of the soul. It takes effect and produce its fruits, some actions are also annihilated. Some neutralised and some become active. According to the action performed the Jīvas are born as gods, men, animals, heaven, earth and hell respectively.

According to all Indian traditions maintained by the Buddhists, the Jainas and Brahmanical Hindus man is the ultimate arbiter of his own fate and destiny, Indeed a man is what he has made of himself. His past actions are the determinant of what he is and his present actions of what he will be. Our pleasure is the fruits of our past good deeds. Our pain is the fruits of our past evil deeds. Action is the connecting link between one life of a being with another. Though Buddhism of course, denies the existence of soul but it admits the unbroken continuity of Action. The Buddhist conception of Action is moral but the Jaina conception of Action is physical. Action also conditions rebirth. Past action conditions the present birth, and present action with past action condition the future. The Buddhists believe that they are the architects of their own creators and destroyers. "The history of an individual", writes Radhakrishnan, "does not begin at his birth, but has been for ages in the making".<sup>116</sup> Action according to Buddhism, is not a mechanical principle, but it is organic in character. The man is the heir of the action of the dead man yet he is a new being. Action keeps a fine link in the life process when it is exhausted, individual existence terminates. The most important and fundamental doctrine of Buddhism is the theory of Action. Thus it is to be seen that the doctrine of Action (Kamma) plays a very significant part in Buddhism.

Buddha lays emphasis on mind which can make and unmake on accumulation of Kamma. Accordingly Kamma came to be defined as cetanā or volition. A person cannot be held morally or legally responsible for any action for his or her, if it is not intentional. Buddhaghosa in his *Aṭṭhsālinī* defines kamma as volition express in action (cetanā ahaṃ bhikkhave kammam vadāmi).<sup>117</sup> An action is no action until will is manifested in conduct.

---

116. *Atthasālinī*—Buddhaghosa, Page 88.



## CHAPTER VI

### N I B B Ā N A

Nibbāna (Skt. Nirvāṇa) is a very well-known term in Buddhism. It has a special connotation in the Buddhist Philosophy. There is a sharp contrast between the ideas of Nibbāna among the Hindus and the Buddhist. Nibbāna is the ultimate goal of the followers of Buddhism belonging to both monastic<sup>1</sup> and the lay<sup>2</sup> communities. There is no difference on the ultimate goal of their life. But there is a difference in the process of realization of Nibbāna. Both of them can attain to the blissful state by their moral conduct.

The word *Nibbāna* is composed of 'Ni' and 'Vāṇa'. Ni is a negative particle. Vāṇa means blowing, weaving or craving. Generally speaking, the term *Nibbāna* stands for going out of a lamp, or fire. This is indeed the popular meaning of *Nibbāna*. But according to Buddhist conception, *Nibbāna* bears the meaning of passing away of feverishness and restlessness. *Nibbāna* is a stage of existence in which the threefold fire of lust<sup>3</sup> ill-will<sup>4</sup> and stupidity<sup>5</sup> stand extinguished. *Nibbāna* is the stage in which spiritual well-being, security, emancipation, victory, peace and salvation are indicated. It is thus worthwhile to compare Nibbāna to the extinguishing of fire. But fire is usually extinguished by water or it may go out itself from lack of fuel. Fire in a lamp may not be blown out but may put out of the wick or due to lack of oil<sup>6</sup>. But Nibbāna, in its philosophical sense stands for an ethical state which can only arise from within. In this sense Nibbāna means release (Ni) from craving which is called vāṇa (lust). Nibbāna is thus immutable,<sup>7</sup> immortal,<sup>8</sup> secure,<sup>9</sup> eternal,<sup>10</sup> tranquil,<sup>11</sup> healthy,<sup>12</sup> safe,<sup>13</sup> undisturbed,<sup>14</sup> agreeable,<sup>15</sup> excellent,<sup>16</sup> pure,<sup>17</sup> calm,<sup>18</sup> and unconstituted.<sup>19</sup> The wise who has learned Dhamma, and has been freed from craving obtains Nibbāna. According to the

- 
1. Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis. 2. Upāsakas and upāsikās. 3. rāga.  
4. dosa. 5. moha. 6. Majjhima nikāya—P. T. S. Vol. I. Page 487.  
7. accuta. 8. amata. 9. khema. 10. nicca. 11. santa. 12. anitika.  
13. nirupaddava. 14. abhaya. 15. sāta. 16. paṇita. 17. sucl.  
18. sītala. 19. asaṁkhata.

Buddhist, Nibbāna is thus the stage of full enlightenment of the lamp of bodhi. Nibbāna stands for cooling off of all flames of ignorance,<sup>20</sup> thirst,<sup>21</sup> and suffering.<sup>22</sup> *Nibbāna* envisages a complete extinction of the fires of attachment and ultimate liberation from suffering. In this way Nibbāna is understood in its negative as the total extinction of everything in existence both body and mind.

According to the Theravāda school there are three kinds of misery :

- (a) suffering due to mental and physical causes ;<sup>23</sup>
- (b) mental and physical causes due to origin and destruction ;<sup>24</sup>
- (c) transformation from pleasurable sensation to painful ones.<sup>25</sup>

A holy man seeks release from those miseries by realising the formula of law of causation, four noble truths, the transitoriness,<sup>26</sup> essencelessness.<sup>27</sup> The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra states that "there is no real emancipation<sup>28</sup> without the realisation of Dharma-nairātmya. So the Hīnayānists do not actually reach mokṣa, they are only tossed up and down by the properties of things like a log of wood tossed by the waves."<sup>29</sup>

The Hīnayānists have depended only on their individual personality as the basis of their meditation.<sup>30</sup> By this they reach a state of "Śrāvaka-bodhi or Pratyeka-buddha-bodhi."<sup>31</sup> A Śrāvaka is compared to thing with sign and a thing without signs. A man can reach a stage envisaging animitta by realising the nimitta stage. The signless stage is beyond lust, ill-will and stupidity. This is the animitta stage which stands to be the stage of highest bliss. In this stage a man can get free from all worldly things. In this stage a man puts an end to all impurities.<sup>32</sup>

The Hīnayānists believe that in the reality of *saṃsāra*. They believe in the worldly miseries. A holyman who wants to be free from all miseries realises the form of the law of causation four

---

20. avijjā. 21. taṇhā. 22. dukkha.

23. dukkha-dukkhatā. 24. Saṃkhārā-dukkhatā. 25. Vipariṇāma-dukkhatā.

26. anicca. 27. anattā. 28. Mokkha.

29. Mahāyāna Buddhism—N. Dutt. Page 179. 30. Puggala-nimitta.

31. Mahāyāna Buddhism—N. Dutt. Page 179. 32. āsavas.

noble truths, essencelessness, transitoriness. His mind may be pure. His mind can be free from all passions. He gets himself free from all passing obstacles in the way to reach the stage of *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is the stage where there is no passion left in the mind of a holy man. The removal of this passion leads to the path of *Nibbāna*. The passions are held as hindrances in the path of attainment of emancipation. The removal of passion thus leads to the stage of *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is also held as supramundane.

*Nibbāna*, as the above observations hold, is the highest bliss, "At the beginning *Nibbāna* means simple faith in soul's immortality, its blissful survival in a paradise a faith emerging from practices of obscure magic."<sup>33</sup> It is also unconstituted. So *Nibbāna* has neither origin and decay nor any change. It remains the same for ever in its own characteristics. It is causeless<sup>34</sup> and indeterminate.<sup>35</sup> There is no individuality in *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is oneness, of one taste and is indescribable and unfathomable.<sup>36</sup> It is also free from disease and sorrow. It is inconceivable. It is inexpressible. It could only be realised within one's ownself. *Nibbāna* could not be communicated by one person to another. It is neither existing nor non-existing. It is eternal.<sup>37</sup> Rightly speaking, words cannot describe *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is beyond physical and mental pain. Reasons and intellect cannot scan it. *Nibbāna* is profound,<sup>38</sup> hard to comprehend,<sup>39</sup> serene,<sup>40</sup> excellent,<sup>41</sup> beyond dialectic,<sup>42</sup> abstruse<sup>43</sup> and only to be realised by the wise.<sup>44</sup> *Nibbāna* is described as "unborn, unoriginated, unconstituted, undecaying, undying, free from diseases, grief and impurities, it is the supreme and attained by the best exertion."<sup>45</sup> Elsewhere in the *Dhammapada* we find that *Nibbāna* can be obtained by the

---

33. The conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, TK Stcherbatsky, Preliminary, Page 1-2.

34. appaccaya. 35. avyākata.

36. Samyutta-Nikāya. Vol. III. P.T.S. Page 189.

37. Sassata. 38. gambhira. 39. duranobodho. 40. santo.

41. paṇito. 42. atakkāvacaro. 43. nipuṇo.

44. paṇḍitavedaniyo.

45. Early Monastic Buddhism—N. Dutt. Page 279.

".....ajātaṃ, ajaraṃ, abyādhim, amataṃ, asokaṃ, asaṃkiliṭṭhaṃ, anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ.....".

—Majjhimanikāya. I. Page 167.

“wise ones, meditative, persevering, always putting forth strenuous effort attain to nirvāṇa the highest freedom and happiness.”<sup>46</sup> Nibbāna is highest perfection.<sup>47</sup>

Nibbāna, the ultimate goal of Buddhism has been described in different ways in the Milindapañha, an important non-canonical work, in the following manner :

“Nibbāna has nothing similar to it. By no metaphor or explanation or reason or argument can its form or figure or duration or measure be made clear.”<sup>48</sup> “There is one quality of the lotus, O. King, inherent in Nirvāṇa, and two qualities of water, and three of medicine, and four of the ocean, and five of food and ten of space and three of the wish-conferring gem, and three of red sandal wood, and three of ghee and five of a mountain peak.”<sup>49</sup> As the lotus, O King, is untarnished by the water, so is Nirvāṇa untarnished by any evil dispositions. This is the one quality of the lotus inherent in Nirvāṇa.<sup>50</sup> Nibbāna is also identified with water. As water is cool and diminishes heat so also is Nibbāna which is cool and which diminishes the fever arising from all evil dispositions.<sup>51</sup> Nibbāna has been identified with medicine. As

46. The Dhammapada, Radhakrishnan. Page 66.

“te jhāyino sātatikā niccam daḥaparakkamā phusanti dhīrā nibbānaṃ yogakkhemaṃ, anuttaraṃ”, The Dhammapada, Verse 23.

47. Accanta-niṭṭhaṃ.

48. The Sacred Books of the East. The questions of King Milinda. T. W. Rhys Davids. Page 183.

49. The Sacred Books of the East. The Questions of King Milinda. T. W. Rhys Davids. Page 189.

“Padumassa mahārāja eko guṇo nibbānaṃ anupaviṭṭho, udakassa dve guṇā agadassa tayo guṇā mahāsamuddassa cattāro guṇā, bhojanassa pañca guṇā ākāsaṃ dasa guṇā, maṇiratanassa tayo guṇā, lohita-candanaṃ tayo guṇā, sappimaṇḍassa tayo guṇā, girisikharassa pañca nibbānaṃ anupaviṭṭhāti.” The Milindapañha. P.T.S. Page 318.

50. The Sacred book of the East. The Questions of King Milinda. T. W. Rhys Davids. Page 189.

“Yathā mahārāja padumaṃ anupalittam udakena, evaṃ eva kho mahārāja nibbānaṃ sabbakilesehi anupalittam. Ayam mahārāja padumassa eko guṇo nibbānaṃ anupaviṭṭho ti.”

—The Milindapañha. P.T.S. Page 318.

51. The Milindapañha. P.T.S. Page 318.

medicine is protection to beings tormented by poison, so is Nibbāna the protection of beings tormented with the poison of evil disposition.<sup>52</sup> It is further compared to the ocean. The Ocean has four qualities which are inherent in Nibbāna. An ocean is free from corpses so also is Nibbāna free from the dead bodies of all evil dispositions.<sup>53</sup> It is further compared to food. As food gives energy to all beings so Nibbāna puts an end to old age and death.<sup>54</sup> It is also compared to space. Space is not born. It is not reborn. It is incomprehensible. It cannot be carried off by thieves, rests on nothing. It is the sphere in which birds fly. So also is the Nibbāna. It is also like the wishing-gem pleases every desire so also Nibbāna pleases to the purified saints.<sup>55</sup> It is also identified with red-sandal wood, ghee and mountain peak. As the red sandal wood is too hard to get, so also Nibbāna is hard to attain.<sup>56</sup> As ghee is beautiful in colour, so also is Nibbāna beautiful in righteousness.<sup>57</sup> As the mountain peak is very lofty so also is Nibbāna very exalted.<sup>58</sup> Nibbāna is to be known by freedom from distress and danger, by confidence by peace, by calm, by bliss, by happiness, by delicacy, by purity, by freshness.<sup>59</sup>

Just as the flame of a lamp struck by the wind disappears and cannot be traced so also a perfect saint is free from all worldly attachment.<sup>60</sup> It is infinite and inexpressible. It is bereft of all dhammas. Nibbāna is like the extinguishing lamp. Nibbāna is separate from worldly existence. It is non-mental.<sup>61</sup> It is dissociated from mind.<sup>62</sup> It is beyond origin and non-origin. It is firm,<sup>63</sup> eternal<sup>64</sup> and changeless.<sup>65</sup> Nibbāna is unconstituted, undying, true, going across, undecaying, firm, signless, inexpressible, calm, quiet, excellent.<sup>66</sup> *Nibbāna* is a state without a fall.<sup>67</sup>

---

52. Ibid. Page 319.

53. Milindapañha. P.T.S. Page 320.

54. Ibid. Page 320.

55. The Milindapañha. P.T.S. Page 321. 56. Ibid. Page 321.

57. Ibid. Page 322. 58. Ibid. Page 322. 59. Ibid. Page 323.

60. Dīgha Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. II. Page 157. 61. acetasika.

62. citta vippayutta. 63. dhuva. 64. sassata.

65. aviparināma dhamma. Saṃyutta—Nikāya, P.T.S. Vol. III. Page 143.

66. Saṃyutta—Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol., IV. Page 373.

67. Saṃyutta—Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. III. Page 143.



“Health is the greatest of gifts, contentment is the greatest wealth, trust is the best of relationships, Nirvāṇa is the highest happiness.”<sup>68</sup> A mendicant delights in vigilance and looks with fear on thoughtlessness.<sup>69</sup> A road leads a man to his gain, so also is the road that leads to Nibbāna.<sup>70</sup>

*Nibbāna* is an ens. It is immortal. It has a heaven of peace, other shore, island etc.<sup>71</sup> By the use of the word “Atthi”, it indicates that *Nibbāna* is an ens not a non-ens. The *Milindapañha* tells us that Nibbāna has an existence.<sup>72</sup> Nibbāna has a cause for its realisation but there is no cause for its origin.<sup>73</sup> Nibbāna is so deep and subtle that an ordinary man cannot attain Nibbāna due to weakness of mind. So the ordinary man can’t reach the sineru mountain.<sup>74</sup> Nibbāna is compared to a vast ocean. It does not show any increase or decrease but water flows into it. It can’t be measured, so also is *Nibbāna* none can measure it. Water in the ocean one can see but can’t measure it. Nibbāna may be identified with air. We feel air but it is invisible so is Nibbāna which is invisible but holy man can feel it ; he can’t see it. As the ocean is free from corpose, so also is Nibbāna free from the dead bodies of all evil dispositions.<sup>75</sup> Nāgasena says against, “Nirvāṇa is all bliss, O King. There is no intermingling of pain in it.”<sup>76</sup> From the Psychological point of view Nibbāna is neither a substance nor a quality. Nibbāna is the highest state of ecstasy and cessation of consciousness and sensation.<sup>77</sup> Nibbāna is a

---

68. “ārogyaparamā lābhā saṃtuṭṭhi paramaṃ dhanam

Vissāsaparamā ñāti nibbānam paramaṃ sukham.”

—The Dhammapada. Verse 204. Majjhima-Nikāya. P.T.S.  
Vol. I. Page 508.

69. The Dhammapada. Verse 32. 70. The Dhammapada. Verse 75.

71. Itivuttaka—R. Samkṛityayana. Page. 34.

72. The Milindapañha—P.T.S. Page 270. 73. Ibid. Page 269.

74. The Milindapañha. P.T.S. Page 311.

75. The Milindapañha. P.T.S. Page 319.

76. The Sacred book of the East. The Question of King Milinda. Page 182.  
“Ekantasukham mahārāja nibbānam dukkhena amissan ti.”

—Milindapañho, P.T.S. Page 313.

77. saññāvedayitanirodha.

positive conception pointing to a certain life next engaged the serious attention of Buddhist Philosophers."<sup>78</sup>

The human passions are extinct in the *upādisesa* stage and *nirupādisesa* where all beings are extinct. *Sopādisesa* indicates the condition of a perfect saint where the five skandhas are still present, though the desire which attracts us to being is extinct. In the latter we have the cessation of all being consequent on the death of the saint. There seems to exist a distinction between one who is free and whose external life continues and one whose external life has ceased. A saint is inactive in the *sopādisesa* stage. The distinction between *Sopādisesa* and *Nirupādisesa* is thus a distinction between *Nibbāna* and *Parinibbāna*, dying out and complete dying out. *Parinibbāna* means absolute perfection of being. Perfect Arhats realise pleasant and unpleasant feelings in the *Sopādisesa* stage. *Sopādisesa* can be achieved in this life on the attainment of enlightenment (bodhi) but *Nirupādisesa* is no material substratum left. It is the stage of complete extinction of the khandhas. *Nirupādisesa* means the stage where nothing is left behind. It is also called *Mahāparinibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is not a stage to be attained by everybody. It comes to a perfect saint as a flash of light.<sup>79</sup> It helps to purify a saint's mind<sup>80</sup> and knowledge.<sup>81</sup> It is the fruit of perfect exertion.<sup>82</sup> A perfect saint is beyond conscious and unconscious stage<sup>83</sup> of life. In the stage of *Nibbāna* an arhat brings to an end his consciousness.<sup>84</sup> In the stage of *Nibbāna* an arhat achieves the highest mental stage through meditation. *Nibbāna* can't be attained through only meditation. Meditation is only a path to reach the stage of *Nibbāna*.

There are various forms of exertions and meditations at the preparatory stage for the realisation of *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is dissociated from wrong inclinations, e.g., desires,<sup>85</sup> passions,<sup>86</sup> impurities,<sup>87</sup> anger,<sup>88</sup> etc. *Nibbāna* is realisable in this world i.e., in this life if the endeavour of gaining is mature.<sup>89</sup> In the stage of *Nibbāna* there is calming down of all vital elements.<sup>90</sup> The way to reach *Nibbāna* is by means of following the eightfold path, the laws

78. Essays in Zen Buddhism—D.T. Suzuki, Page 54.

79. Obhāsa. 80. citta-visuddhi. 81. paññā-visuddhi āsavaṇaṃ khayanaṇa.

82. anuttaraṃ yogakkhemaṃ. 83. neva saññā nā saññā.

84. saññā Vedayita nirodha. 85. kāma. 86. kilesa. 87. āsava.

88. rāga. 89. dittheva dhamme. 90. sabbā saṃkhārā samotho.

of dependent origination, four noble truths and thirty seven elements of enlightenment.<sup>91</sup> A perfect saint is dissociated from worldly objects like wealth, property, relatives, friends, etc. and is associated to spiritual acquisitions like six higher powers,<sup>92</sup> meditations<sup>93</sup> and higher meditations.<sup>94</sup> A perfect saint is free from anything seen, heard, thought and known.<sup>95</sup> A perfect arhat is beyond love<sup>96</sup> or compassion.<sup>97</sup> He maintains voidness.<sup>98</sup> He lives without attention. A perfect saint can thus achieve the ideal state of perfection called Nibbāna. Nibbāna is interpreted as oneness,<sup>99</sup> and non-duality;<sup>100</sup> the State of vacuity. Saṃsāra is the opposite of Nibbāna. *Nibbāna* can't be intellectually realised, because it is beyond intellect. Nibbāna, realised as voidness, is the source of saṃsāric existence, yet transcends it. Even as the Sun remains unchanged but gives light and energy so Nibbāna remains Quiescent although the ultimate initiator of mundane activities. "The True State, Nirvāṇa, as the voidness like the Sun, shines unceasingly."<sup>101</sup>

In the state of *Nibbāna* there is no pain or sorrow. Nibbāna means the end of all agonies. A recluse attains equanimity and peace in the state of Nibbāna. Nibbāna signifies extinction of all sufferings. In the state of *Nibbāna* there is the relation of the transitoriness of all phenomena. Nibbāna produces non-attachment.<sup>102</sup> In this stage a recluse keeps away from self love just like an autumn lily is free from the hand.<sup>103</sup> In the stage of *Nibbāna* a wise man is free from all intoxications. The state of *Nibbāna* is the harbour of refuge, a cool cave, an island amidst the floods, safety, the home of ease; it is calm, detached, and tranquil. It is the place of bliss, emancipation, liberation, the transcendental, the end of suffering, the medicine for all evil, the unshaken, the ambrosia, the immaterial, the imperishable, the abiding, the further shore, the unending, the supreme joy, the ineffable, the holy city etc.

---

91. bodhipakkhiya dhammas.

92. abhiññās. 93. jhānas. 94. Samāpāttis.

95. Majjhima-Nikāya. P.T.S. Vol. III. Page 30. 96. mettā. 97. karuṇā.

98. suññatā. 99. advaya. 100. advaidhikāram.

101. The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation—W. Y. Evans Wentz, Page 5.

102. anuppāda.

103. The Dhammapada. Verse 285.

Realisation is the key to attainment of *Nibbāna*. A recluse comes to this stage through moral perfection, mental development and insight. One achieves moral perfection by purifying one's words and deeds through self-control. One can reach at the height of mental development through the process of meditation. A super developed mind can reach the light of insight.<sup>104</sup> Insight leads to the realisation of *Nibbāna*. So moral purity, mental development and insight are the means for realisation of *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is hard to attain without renouncing the world. Buddha used to teach that the life of a householder was impure and a hindrance to the spiritual progress while that of a recluse was pure and free. So he often persuaded the householders to renounce the world and become monks. A householder can attain the state of *Nibbāna* through the purification of mind. Various forms of exertions and meditations are recommended for the realisation of the supreme states. Knowledge about the four noble truths are the preparatory stage for the realisation of *Nibbāna*. These four noble truths are suffering,<sup>105</sup> origin of suffering,<sup>106</sup> cessation of suffering<sup>107</sup> and the path that leads to the cessation of suffering.<sup>108</sup> The first truth is the realisation of pain due to birth, decay, disease and death. Life is thus full of misery. The second truth is that all sufferings have causes. Cause and effect are co-related. An effect can't happen without a cause. The cause of misery is desire<sup>109</sup> for wordly objects. This desire may be of three kinds, desire for pleasure<sup>110</sup>, desire for existence<sup>111</sup> and desire for non-existence.<sup>112</sup> There is an inevitable chain of causes and effects known as dependent origination.<sup>113</sup> Nothing is permanent in this world. The misery depends on some conditions and it must cease if the causes and conditions of misery are completely removed. This is the third noble truth. The fourth noble truth is the path that leads to the cessation of all miseries. It is known as the noble eight-fold path otherwise called the middle path.<sup>114</sup> The middle path is to keep clear of the two extremes—one being the life of worldly pleasures and the other being the life of austere asceticism.

---

104. paññā.

105. Dukkha. 106. dukkha-samudaya. 107. dukkha-nirodha.

108. dukkha-nirodha gaminī paṭipadā. 109. taṇhā. 110. kāma.

111. bhava. 112. Vibhava. 113. Paṭicca-samuppāda.

114. Majjhima-paṭipadā.

The noble eight-fold path<sup>115</sup> is also a path held as the preparatory stages for the realisation of Nibbāna. This noble path consists of eight good elements viz., right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right exertion, right recollection and right meditation. This noble path deals with all aspects of spiritual progress. A recluse can acquire mental development through these spiritual practices and grow up to be a fit receptacle for the supreme knowledge. Through this practices one attains the fruits of sanctification.<sup>116</sup>

There are thirty-seven elements of enlightenment.<sup>117</sup> They are divided into seven-categories viz, four applications of mindfulness,<sup>118</sup> four right efforts,<sup>119</sup> four roads to power,<sup>120</sup> five ethical faculties,<sup>121</sup> five mental powers,<sup>122</sup> seven factors of enlightenment<sup>123</sup> and the noble eight-fold path. Four applications of mindfulness—the function of sati is conceived as a protective censor. It leads a man to emancipation. It has a close connection with the right meditation<sup>124</sup> and attains its perfection in the fourth stages of meditation. The four right efforts lead to *Nibbāna*. It depends on sila. The four roads to power are the super-normal power available to a recluse. Though this power a recluse attains the state of Nibbāna. The five ethical faculties are : (1) Physical faculties in general ; (2) sense-organs in particular ; (3) faculty, mental or moral ; (4) Stages to Arahatta ; and (5) modes of feeling. The five mental powers are : (1) faith ;<sup>125</sup> (2) exertion ;<sup>126</sup> (3) mindfulness ;<sup>127</sup> (4) meditation ;<sup>128</sup> and (5) insight.<sup>129</sup> Through these five mental powers a recluse attains the the state of Nibbāna. The seven factors of enlightenment are : (1) mindfulness ;<sup>130</sup> (2) wisdom<sup>131</sup> ; (3) exertion<sup>132</sup> ; (4) joy ;<sup>133</sup> (5) delight<sup>134</sup> ; (6) meditation<sup>135</sup> and (7) indifference.<sup>136</sup> Through these seven factors of enlightenment a recluse

---

115. Ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika magga.

116. Sāmaññaphala Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya.

117. Bodhipakkhiya dhammas. 118. Cattāro satipaṭṭhāna.

119. Cattāro sammappadhāna. 120. Cattāro iddhipādā.

121. Pañca indriyāni. 122. pañca balam. 123. Satta bojjhaṅga.

124. samādhi. 125. saddhā. 126. viriya.

127. sati. 128. samādhi. 129. Paññā.

130. sati. 131. dhamma. 132. viriya. 133. pīti. 134. pasānti.

135. samādhi. 136. upekkhā.



can purify his mind and attain the stage of *Nibbāna*. The noble eight-fold path has already been discussed above. This path is realised only by noble men ; so it is called the noble path. Each of these categories deals with the moral practices for the attainment of the ultimate goal. *Sīla-samādhi-paññā* is an important process for the attainment of the state of *Nibbāna*. The four stages of meditation are also progressive simplification of the mental process.

There are some stages that precede the stage of *Nibbāna*. The path to *Nibbāna* is divided into four stages, each of which is sub-divided into lower and higher stages called *Mārga* and *Phala* respectively. A recluse first attains the lower stage. Next the higher stage is to be achieved. The first stage is that of the *Sotāpanna*. In this state a recluse enters into the stream.<sup>137</sup> Through this stage one can remove one's wrong views and ascepticism while one reaches this stage. In this stage a recluse gets free from passions<sup>138</sup> and three factors<sup>139</sup> viz., error of individuality<sup>140</sup>, perplexity<sup>141</sup> and practice of rites and rituals.<sup>142</sup> There are various degrees of *sotāpannas*. After this first stage a recluse can attain the second stage which is called *sakadāgāmi*. In this stage a recluse will be reborn once in this world. He is free from all sensual desires, ill-will and passions. After the second *sakadāgāmi* stage a recluse can attain the third stage. The third stage is called *Anāgāmi*. In this stage a recluse will not be reborn in this world at all. He is above all fetters. In this stage he may be born in the *Devaloka*. In this stage he may be free from all bondages. After the third stage a recluse can attain the fourth stage. The fourth stage is called *Arhatta* stage. This is the last stage of sanctification. At this stage a recluse is never reborn. At this *Arhatta* stage a recluse becomes free from all bondages. This is the last stage on way to the realisation of the supreme *Nibbāna*. A recluse comes accross the various paths as a preparatory stage of mental purification and at last, if a recluse is able to overcome all these mental preparatory stages, he can attain the supreme stage. A recluse aims at attaining release from all bondages. The wise and righteous recluse clears the path leading to release.<sup>143</sup> A recluse can attain

137. Srotas. 138. kilesas. 139. samyojanam. 140. sakkāyadiṭṭhi.  
141. vicikicchā. 142. sīlabbataparāmassa.  
143. The Dhammapada. Verse 289.

wisdom through meditation and gets close to *Nibbāna*.<sup>144</sup> The goal of a recluse is self-realisation. He has no selfish end in view. This helps him enjoy happiness and he can help others also in attaining *Nibbāna*.

*Nibbāna* may be considered from both ethical and metaphysical points of view. From the former point of view it can be discussed negative and positive aspects of *Nibbāna*. Effort may now be made to examine the issue.

*Nibbāna* is free from desire. *The states of Nibbāna* is beyond wordly comprehension. It is free from thirst. If attempt is made to derive the word *Nibbāna*, it is found that there is a negative aspect in the word. So *Nibbāna* is a negation of worldly attachment, lust, ill-will, and stupidity. It is free from all impurities. It is free from danger,<sup>145</sup> disturbedness,<sup>146</sup> impurity,<sup>147</sup> calmlessness<sup>148</sup> and constitution.<sup>149</sup> It is free from ignorance.<sup>150</sup> It is the stage which is beyond wordly attachment.<sup>151</sup> It has no basis. It has no cause.<sup>152</sup> It is indeterminable.<sup>153</sup> It has no origin, no decay and no change. *Nibbāna* is free from all sufferings. It is the stage of *Animitta*. It is not a *Laukika* stage. It is the supramundane.<sup>154</sup> It is non-mental.<sup>155</sup> It is dissociated from mind.<sup>156</sup> It is beyond fetters and dialectic.<sup>157</sup>

Here comes the positive aspect of *Nibbāna*. *Nibbāna* is the perfection in *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*. In this stage, a recluse realises exertion,<sup>158</sup> purity,<sup>159</sup> the four noble truths, the noble eight-fold path and thirty-seven elements of enlightenment. It is peace and quietude. *Nibbāna* is firm, eternal and changeless. It is unconstituted. It is the place from which there is no fall.<sup>160</sup> It is secure. It is permanent. It is tranquil. It is excellent. It is calm. It is abstruse. It is profound. It is the supreme and attained by the best exertion. *Nibbāna* is the highest happiness.

---

144. The Dhammapada. Verse 372.

145. upaddava. 146. *abhaya*. 147. *asuci*. 148. *asīṭala*.

149. *saṃkhata*. 150. *avijjā*. 151. *upādhi*. 152. *appaccaya*. 153. *avyākata*.

154. *Lakottara*. 155. *acetasika*. 156. *citta vippayuttā*.

157. *atakkāvacāro*. 158. *tapas*. 159. *brahmacarya*.

160. *accutapadam*.

Mention may next be made of the metaphysical aspects of Nibbāna. *Nibbāna* is eternal, fixed. It is without past, present and future. It is unconstituted. It is unfathomable and immeasurable. It is supramundane. It is free from kāma, rūpa and arūpa. It is homogeneous.<sup>161</sup>

According to the *Kathāvatthu*, one of the texts of the Abhidhammapiṭaka, Nibbāna is described as real and eternal. The stage of Nibbāna is the absence of origin and decay. *Nibbāna* is firm and unchangeable. *Nibbāna* is opposite to knowledge.<sup>162</sup> It exists by itself like rūpa or chakkhu. It is opposite to morality,<sup>163</sup> contact<sup>164</sup> and feeling. It is dissociated from mind. It is unconstituted and beyond description. In the age of Kathāvatthu the Theravādins rigorously insisted on the oneness of Nibbāna<sup>165</sup> which was conceived as “Dhuvam sassatam aviparināmadhammam”,<sup>166</sup> anārammaṇa,<sup>167</sup> cittavippayutta.<sup>168</sup> Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* tells us that Nibbāna is ‘going out of the craving’. Nibbāna is quietude. Nibbāna is truth, transcendental, difficult to be seen, without decay, eternal, indescribable, immortal, happy, peaceful, healthy, pure and wonderful. Nibbāna is subtle. It has no hetu like anu. It is formless. In the state of *Nibbāna* a recluse attains the complete destruction of impurities. From Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu we learn that Nibbāna is unconstituted. *Nibbāna* is real and inexpressible. Nibbāna is only realised by the recluse. The Prajñāpāramitā records that *Nibbāna* is the idea of sameness. Nibbāna has no origin and decay. *Nibbāna* is identified with a monk. According to it a monk and *Nibbāna* are both in a state of non-existence. They are unreal.<sup>169</sup> They are same in character. We may realise about non-duality.<sup>170</sup> Everything in this world is illusion. The *Laṅkāvatāra* Sūtra points out non-duality of saṃsāra and Nibbāna. It further mentions that Nibbāna is the cessation of mind. Nibbāna removes the imaging intellect. Nibbāna is the transformation of Vijñānas. It is devoid of the mental distinctions. It is without existence and non-existence. It is not eternal and non-eternal, Nibbāna is voidness :

“Nirvānagati svabhāva sūnyatāhetu gocaram.”<sup>171</sup>

161. ekarasa, 162. Māṇa. 163. sīla. 164. Phassa.

165. Points of Controversy. P. 137, fn. 4.

166. Kathā vatthu, 1, 6. 167. Ibid. 9, 5. 168. Ibid. 14, 6.

169. Sūñña. 170. advaidhikāram.

171. Sūddharma Laṅkāvatara Sūtram—S. Vagchisarma. Page 81.

In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā inscription Nibbāna has been compared with one who has conquered attachment, ill-will and delusion.<sup>172</sup> It can bring happiness only to oneself. Pubbaseliyas, one of the branch of Mahāsaṅghikas conceived *Nibbāna* as a positive faultless state. It will not be irrelevant here to point out that the Milinda-pañha, a Pāli non-canonical work, also mentions that it practically makes no difference between a householder and a recluse in regard to the attainment of *Nibbāna* through the observance of the right conduct. The only difference is that the recluse attains Nibbāna more rapidly than the householder. Lastly, from the Mādhyamika-kārikā of Nāgārjuna we learn that Nibbāna is the extinction of passions. It further mentions that Nibbāna is of two kinds—Sopādisesa and nirupādisesa. *Nibbāna* is neither rejected nor attained. It is not destroyed. It is not eternal like non-void.<sup>173</sup> It is not suppressed and it does not arise. It is free from passion and hatred. The blissful stage of Nibbāna is the cessation of the entire phenomenal world.<sup>174</sup> *Nibbāna* has no causal basis. It is neither positive nor it is negative. The state of *Nibbāna* ends in both positive and negative considerations.

Above discussions indicate that Nibbāna is a stage which can be realised through supreme knowledge. In the state of Nibbāna one can be free from the bondages of past deeds. It is indeed, a noble conception. It is free from all kinds of bondages. It is the ultimate goal of all Buddhists. It is the end of misery produced by birth, disease, old age and the chain of rebirth. It is the goal of the spiritual pilgrimage. Perfect man clears his vision through practices and culture. Thus he realises the real state. An ordinary man is under delusion. He has son, property. But a perfect saint attains Nibbāna, a state of perfect rest and happiness. His mind is full of spiritual advancement. When a man attains a state of mind, he cannot distinguish himself from any other thing of the world or from the Absolute. Really, it is the state of perfect calmness and tranquility. All desires for this life and the next are extinguished on its attainment. It is the ideal, the highest good and the Summum bonum of life.

---

172. jita-rāga-dosa-moha.

173. asuñña.

174. prapañca

# APPENDIX

## THE FIRST SERMON

### Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta

#### English translation

Thus have I heard : Once the Lord was staying in the deer-park at Isipatana in Benares.

Then the Lord addressed the group of five monks :

These two extremes, O monks, are not to be practised by one who has gone forth from the world. What are the two ? That conjoined with the passions, low, vulgar, common, ignoble, and useless, and that conjoined with self-torture, painful, ignoble, and useless. Avoiding these two extremes the Tathagata has gained the knowledge of the Middle Way, which gives sight and knowledge, and tends to calm, to insight, enlightenment, Nirvāṇa.

What, O monks, is the Middle Way, which gives sight ... ? It is the noble Eightfold Path, namely, right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration. This, O monks, is the Middle Way...

(1) Now this, O monks, is the noble truth of pain : birth is painful, old age is painful, sickness is painful, death is painful, sorrow, lamentation, dejection, and despair are painful. Contact with unpleasant things is painful, not getting what one wishes is painful. In short the five khandhas of grasping are painful.

(2) Now this, O monks, is the noble truth of the cause of pain : that craving, which leads to rebirth, combined with pleasure and lust, finding pleasure here and there, namely the craving for passion, the craving for existence, the craving for non-existence.

(3) Now this, O monks, is the noble truth of the cessation of pain : the cessation without a remainder of that craving, abandonment, forsaking, release, non-attachment.

(4) Now this, O monks, is the noble truth of the way that leads to the cessation of pain : this is the noble Eightfold Path, namely, right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration. "This is



the noble truth of pain.' Thus, O monks, among doctrines unheard before, in me sight and knowledge arose, wisdom, knowledge, light arose. 'This noble truth of pain must be comprehended.' Thus, O monks, among doctrines unheard before, by me was this truth comprehended. And thus, O monks, among doctrines unheard before, in me sight and knowledge arose. (Repeated in the same words for the other truths, except that the second, the cause of pain, is to be abandoned, the third, the cessation of pain, is to be realised, and the fourth, the noble Eightfold Path, is to be practised.)

As long as in these noble truths my threefold knowledge and insight duly with its twelve divisions was not well purified, even so long, O monks, in the world with its gods, Mara, Brahma, with ascetics, brahmins, gods and men, I had not attained the highest complete enlightenment. Thus I knew.

But when in these noble truths my threefold knowledge and insight duly with its twelve divisions was well purified, then, O monks, in the world ... I had attained the highest complete enlightenment. Thus I knew. Knowledge arose in me, insight arose that the release of my mind is unshakeable ; this is my last existence : now there is no rebirth. Thus spoke the lord, delighted, the group of five monks, rejoiced in the Lord's utterance.

At the end of the sermon Koṇḍañña attained the knowledge that everything that is subject to origination is also subject to cessation. And the news that the Wheel of the Doctrine had been turned by the Lord was shouted by the earthdwelling gods. "The supreme Dhamma-wheel rolled thus by the Lord at Benares in the deer-park at Isipatana cannot be rolled back by a recluse or brahmin or deva or by Māra or by any one in the world"-

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### I. PRIMARY SOURCES

*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 6 vols. ; ed. by R. Morris and E. Hardy. London, Pali Text Society, 1885-1910. repr. 1961-1981.

(The) *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 4. vols. ; ed. by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap. Nalanda, Pali Publication Board, 1960.

*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Beng. trans. by Sumaṅgala Barua, Dharmādhār Bauddha grantha Prakāsaṇī, 1994.

*Apadāna*, 2 vols. ; ed. M. E. Lilley, London, Pali Text Society, 1925-1927.

*Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgani*, ed. E. Muller. London, Pali Text Society, 1897 revised reprint with indexes 1979.

(The) *Book of Gradual Sayings*, 5 vols. ; Eng. trans. of Pali *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, by F. L. Woodward and F. M. Hare. London, Pali Text Society, 1932-1936 ; repr. 1989-1994.

(The) *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, or Grouped Suttas, 5 vols. Eng. trans. of *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, by Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward. London, Pali Text Society, 1917-1930. repr. 1992-1994.

*Cūlavagga*, vol. II, 1880, repr. 1977.

*Dhammapada*, ed. O. Von Hinuber and K. R. Norman, London, Pali Text Society. 1994.

*Dialogues of the Buddha*, 3 vols. ; Eng. trans. of *Dīgha Nikāya* by T. W. Rhys Davids and Mrs. Rhys Davids. London, Pali, Text Society, 1899-1921. repr. 1973-1991.

*Dīgha Nikāya*, 3 vols. ; ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter. London, Pali Text Society, 1889-1910. repr. 1983-1992.

(The) *Dīgha Nikāya*, 3 vols. ; ed. by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap. Nalanda, Pali Publication Board, 1958.

*Dīgha Nikāya*, 3 vols. ; Beng. trans. by Bhikkhu Silabhadra. Calcutta, Mahabodhi Society, 1353-1361 B. S.

*Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, 2 vols. ; Eng. trans. of *Majjhima Nikāya* by Lord Chalmers. London, Pali Text Society, 1926-1927.

*Jātaka* ; ed. by V. Fausboll, 7 vols : London, Pali Text Society, 1877-1897. repr. 1990-1992.

(*The*) *Lion's Roar* : an anthology of the Buddha's teachings selected from the Pali canon ; ed. by David Maurice (U Ohn Ghine), London, Rider & Co., 1962.

*Madhyama-Nikāya* : Mula Pañcasasūtra ; Beng. trans. by Beni Madhab Barua, Calcutta, Yogendra-Rupasibala Tripitaka Board, 1940.

*Madhyama Nikāya*, Vol. 2 ; Beng. trans. by Dharmadhar Mahasthavira. Rangoon, S. B. Barua, 1956. repr. Dharmādhār Bouddha Grantha Prakāśani, 1993. Vol. III, Beng. trans. by Binayendra nath Chowdury, 1993.

*Mahāparinibbāna Sutta arthāt Tathāgater antimāvadāna* ; Beng. trans. by Dharmaratna Mahasthavira. Chittagong, Annapurna Barua, 1941.

*Mahāvastu Avadāna*, Vol. I ; ed. with Beng. trans. by Radhagovinda Basak, Calcutta, Sanskrit College, 1963.

*Mahāvagga*, vol. 1, 1879, repr. 1969.

*Majjhima Nikāya* ; ed. by V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers., and C.A.F. Rhys Davids. 4 vols. London, Pali Text Society, 1888-1925. repr. 1977-1993.

(*The*) *Majjhima Nikāya*, 3 vols. ; ed. by P. V. Bapat and Rahula Sankrityayana. Nalanda, Pali Publication Board, 1958.

*Manorathapūraṇī*, a commentary of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 5 vols. ; ed. by M. Walleser and H. Kopp. London, Pali Text Society, 1924-1968. repr. 1966-1979.

(*The*) *Middle Length Savings (Majjhima Nikāya)*, 3 vols. ; Eng. trans. by I. B. Horner. London, Pali Text Society, 1954-1959. repr. 1989-1993.

*Milindapañha* ; ed. by V. Trenckner. London, Pali Text Society, 1880. repr. 1986.

*Milinda-Tikā* ; ed. by P. S. Jaini. London, Pali Text Society, 1961.

- Maung Tin*, Pe. 3 vols. *The Path of Purity*, A trans. of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga*. London, Pali Text Society, 1975.
- Papañcasūdānī*, a commentary on the *Majjhima Nikāya*, 5 vols. ; ed. by J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi and I. B. Horner. London, Pali Text Society, 1922-1938. repr. 1976-1983.
- Parivāra*, vol. V, 1883, repr. 1982.
- Saṃyutta Nikāya*, 6 vols. ; ed. by Leon Feer and Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, Pali Text Society, 1884-1904. repr. 1975-1991.
- (*The*) *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, 4 vols. ; ed. by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap. Nalanda, Pali Publication Board, 1959.
- Samantapāsādikā*, Bāhira-Nidāna, 1881, repr. 1993.
- Sāratthapakāsinī*, a commentary on the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, 3 vols. ; ed. by F. L. Woodward. London, Pali Text Society. 1929-1937. repr. 1977.
- Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, a commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, 3 vols. ; ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids, J. E. Carpenter and W. Stede. London, Pali Text Society, 1886-1932. 2nd Ed. 1968-1971.
- Suttanipāta* ; ed. by Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith. London, Pali Text Society, 1965. repr. 1990.
- Suttanipāta Commentary*, 3 vols. ; ed. by Helmer Smith. London, Pali Text Society, 1916-1918. repr. 1977-1989.
- Suttavibhaṅga* Part I, vol. III, and *Suttavibhaṅga* Part II, vol. IV, 1882, repr. 1993.
- Theragāthā*, ed. H. Oldenberg, and *Therīgāthā*, ed. R. Pischel, London, Pali Text Society, 1883, 2nd ed. 1966 with Appendixes by K. R. Norman and L. Alsdorf, repr. 1990.
- Vibhaṅga* ; ed. Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 1904.
- Vibhaṅga Commentary* ; ed. Ven. A. P. Buddhadatta, 1923, repr. 1980.
- Vimānavatthu*, ed. E. R. Gooneratne, London, Pali Text Society, 1886.
- Vimānavatthu* and *Petavatthu* ed. N. A. Jayawickrama, 1977.
- Vinaya Piṭaka*, 5 vols. ; ed. by H. Oldenberg. London. Pali Text Society, 1879-1883. repr. 1969-1993.
- Visuddhimagga*, 2 vols. ; ed. by Mrs. Rhys Davids. London, Pali Text Society, 1920, 1921. repr. as one volume 1975.

## II. SECONDARY SOURCES

- Alabaster, Henry. *Wheel of the Law : Buddhism*, Varanasi, Indological Book House, 1972.
- Allen, G. F. (*The*) *Buddhas Philosophy*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1959.
- do *Buddha's words of Wisdom*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1959.
- Altekar, A. S. (*The*) *Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1991.
- Ashin, Thittla P. (*The*) *Book of Analysis (Vibhaṅga)* London, Luzac, 1969.
- Aung, Shwe Zan & Rhys Davids, T. W. *Compendium of Philosophy ;* London, Pali Text Society, 1910.
- Banerjee, A. C. *Buddha O Bauddha-dharma*. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1966.
- do *Buddhism in India and Abroad*. Calcutta, 1973.
- Bapat, P. V. *2500 Years of Buddhism*. Delhi, publication Division, 1959.
- Barua, B. M. *Studies in Buddhism*. Calcutta, Saraswati Library, 1974.
- Barua, D. K. *An Analytical Study of Four Nikayas*. Calcutta, Rabindra Bharati University, 1971.
- do *Viharas in Ancient India : a survey of Buddhist Monasteries*. Calcutta, Indian Publications, 1969.
- Basham, A. L. *History and doctrine of the Ājīvikas*. London, Luzac & Co. 1951.
- Beal, Samuel, *SI-YU-KI : Buddhist records of the Western World ;* trans. from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629), Delhi, Oriental books Reprint Corporation, 1969.
- do (*The*) *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, from the Chinese Sanskrit, London, 1875.
- Bhagvat, Durga N. *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence : Theravāda Vinaya Laws*. Poona Oriental Book Agency, 1939.
- Bhagavat, N. K. Readership lectures, 1924-25 : *The Buddhistic Philosophy of the Theravāda School*, as embodied in the Pāli Abhidhamma. Patna, Patna University, 1929.



- Bhattacharya, Sachchidananda. *(A) Dictionary of Indian History*. Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1967.
- Bhattacharya, Vidhusekhara. *Pāli Prakāśa : Pali bhāṣār sugam Vyākaraṇa, Pāṭhavalī O Sabdakośa*, Calcutta, Purusottam Bhattacharya, 1358 B. S.
- Bhikkhu, Rastrapal. *An Exposition of Kamma and Rebirth*, Hakimpura, Siliguri, West Bengal, 1965.
- Bhikkhu, T. M. C. *Milindapañha and Nāgasena Bhikkhu-sūtra*, Firma KLM, Calcutta, 1964.
- Burtt, E. A. *(The) Teachings of Buddha*. Ny. Mentor Books, 1955.
- Chakraborty, Uma. *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, 1987.
- Chan, Wing Tsit & Moore, C. A. *(The) Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, Bombay, Asia Publication. 1947.
- Chatterjee, H. N. *Comparative Studies in Pāli & Sanskrit alaṅkāras*, Pt. I, Calcutta, S. P. Bhattacharya, 1960.
- Chatterjee, S. & Dutta, D. *(An) Introduction to Indian Philosophy*. Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1968.
- Conze, Edward. *Buddha's Law among the Birds*. Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1955.
- Conze, Edward. *Buddhism : its essence and development*, New York, Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1951.
- Conze, Edward. *Buddhist Meditation*. London, Allen & Unwin, 1956.
- Childers, R. C. *(A) Dictionary of the Pali Language*, London, Trubner & Co., 1875.
- Choudhury ; Binoendranath, *Buddhist Centres in Ancient India*, Calcutta, Sanskrit College, 1982.
- Chowdhury, S. *Analytical Study of the Abhidharmakośa*, Firma KLM Private Limited, 1983.
- Copleston, R. S. *Buddhism, Primitive and Present*. London, Longmans, 1908.
- Cunningham, Alexander. *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*. ed. by S. N. Majumdar. Calcutta, Chuckervetty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd , 1924.

- Das, Asha. *Ananda—The Man and monk*. Calcutta, Maha Bodhi Book Agency, 1992.
- Dasgupta, Surendra Nath. *(A) History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I. London, Cambridge University Press, 1957.
- De, Gakul Das, *Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṅgha*. Calcutta, 1955.
- De Silva Vigir. *Life of the Buddha, Retold from Ancient Sources*, London, Phaidon Pr, 1955.
- Dutt, N. & Bajpai, Krishna Datta. *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh*, Lucknow, Publication Bureau, 1956.
- Dutt, Nalinaksa. *Buddhist Sects in India*. Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1970.
- Dutt, Nalinaksa, *Early Monastic Buddhism*. 1971.
- Dutta, Sukumar. *Early Buddhist manachism : 600 B.C.—100 B.C.* Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1960.
- Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, 2 vols. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1963.
- Eitel, E. J. *Buddhism in its historical, theoretical and popular aspect*. 2nd ed. London, 1873.
- Eliot, Sir Charles. *Hinduism and Buddhism : an historical sketch*, 3 vols. London, Edward Arnold & Co., 1921.
- Fick, Richard. *(The) Social Organisation in north-east India in Buddha's time*, Eng. trans. by Shishir Kumar Maitra. Indological Book House, Varanasi, Delhi, 1972,
- Frauwallner, E. *(The) Earliest Vinaya and the beginnings of Buddhist Literature*. Roma, ISMEO., 1956.
- Gard, Richard A. *Buddhism*. New York, George Braziller, 1961.
- Geiger, Wilhelm. *Pali literature and language ;* .Eng. trans. by Bata Krishna Ghosh. Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1943.
- Glasenapp, H. V. *Buddhism, a non-theistic religion*. London, Allen & Unwin, 1970.
- Govinda, A. *(The) Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy and its Systematic Representation according to Abhidhamma tradition*, Patna University, 1961.

- Grimm, George. *(The) Doctrine of the Buddha : the religion of reason and meditation.* Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1965.
- Gune, Pandurang Damodar. *(An) Introduction to Comparative philology.* Poona, Oriental Book House, 1962.
- Hackmann, H. F. *Buddhism as a religion, its historical development and its present conditions.* London, 1910.
- Halder, M. K. *History of Buddhism (Based on Sāsana Vamśa).* Calcutta, Firma KLM Private Limited, 1989.
- Hardy, R. S. *A manual of Buddhism in its modern development.* London, 1853, 2nd ed., 1880.
- Hardy, R.S. *Eastern Manichism.* London, 1850.
- Hardy, R. S. *(The) legends and theories of the Buddhists.* London, 1886.
- Hazra, K. L. *Constitution of the Buddhist Saṅgha.* Delhi, B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1988.
- Hodgson, B. H. *Sketch of Buddhism, derived from the Bauddha scriptures of Nepal.* London, 1975.
- Hopkins, C. Washburn. *Ethics of India.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1924.
- Humphreys, Christmas. *Buddhism.* London, Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1962.
- Jacobson, N. P. *Buddhism—the Religion on Analysis,* London, 1966.
- Jayatilleka, K. N. *Early Buddhist theory of Knowledge.* London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963.
- Jennings, J. G. *The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha.* Motilal Banarsidas, Varanasi, 1974.
- Jha, R. C. *The Vedantic and the Buddhist Concept of Reality as interpreted by Saṅkara and Nāgārjuna,* Calcutta, Firma KLM, 1973.
- Joshi Lalmani. *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India : during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.* Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1967.
- Keith, A Berriedale. *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon.* Varanasi, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1963.

- Kern, H. *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1898.
- do *The Saddharma-puṇḍarika, or Lotus of the True Law*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1965.
- Krom, N. J. *The Life of Buddha on the Stupa of Barabudur according to the Lalitavistara*, Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1926.
- Law, Bimala Churn. *Concept of Buddhism*, Kern Institute Leiden, 1937.
- do *(The) Buddhist/Conception of Spirit*, London, Luzao, 1936.
- do *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, Calcutta, Thacker Spink, 1925.
- do *A History of Pali Literature*. Kegan Paul, Trench Trulner & Co., Ltd., 1933.
- Magness, T. *Sammāditthi*, Bangkok, L. V. Vorapitaksanand.
- Mahasthavirā, Jñāniśvra. *Pāli Praveśa*. Chittagong, J. Bhikkhu, 1937.
- Majumdar, R. C. *The Age of Imperial Unity*. Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1990.
- The Classical Age*, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1988.
- (The) Vedic Age*. Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1990.
- Malalasekera, G. P. *Dictionary of Pali proper names*, 2 vols. London. John Murray, 1937-1938.
- do *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Colombo, Government of Ceylon, 1961.
- do *The Buddha and His Teachings*, Colombo, Laṅkā Bauddha Mandalaya, 1957.
- do *The Truth of Anattā*, Kandy, Buddhist Publication Society, 1966.
- McGovern, W. M. *An Introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism*, Varanasi, Sahityaratnamala Karyalaya, 1968.
- do *Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, Lucknow, India, 1976.
- Mishra, U. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Allahabad, Tirabhukti Publications, 1957.
- Mukherjee, R. K. *Ancient Indian Education*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1974.

- Murti, T.R.V. *(The) Central Philosophy of Buddhism : a study of the Madhyamika System*. London. George Allen & Unwin, 1960.
- Mutsuddi, B. *Pratityasamutpādanīti*. Chattagram Bani Press, 1939.
- Ñānaponika, T. *Anattā and Nibbāna*, Kandy, Buddhist Publication Society, 1959.
- Ñānatiloka, M. *The significance of Dependent Origination in Theravāda Buddhism*, Kandy, Buddhist Publication Society, 1969.
- Nu, U. *(The) Buddha*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1961.
- Oldenberg, Hermann. *Buddha : his life, his doctrine, his Order ;* Eng. trans. by William Hoey. Calcutta, The Book Company Ltd., 1927.
- Pande, Govind Chandra. *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Allahabad, University of Allahabad, 1957.
- Pargiter, F. E. *(The) Mārkaṇḍeya Pūraṇa*. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904.
- Radhakrishnan, S. *Gautama the Buddha*, Bombay, Hind Kitabs. 1946.
- do *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958.
- Rahula, Walpola. *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Colombo, M. D. Gunasena & Co. Ltd., 1956.
- Rapson, E. J. ed. *(The) Cambridge history of India*. Vol. I (Ancient India). Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1968.
- Raychaudhuri, H. *Political History of Ancient India*. Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1953.
- Rhys Davids, T. W. *Buddhist India*. Calcutta, Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., 1955.
- do & Stede, William ed. *(The) Pali Text Society's Pali—English Dictionary*. London, Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1966.
- do *(The) Questions of King Milinda*, Delhi, motilal Banarsidas, 1965.
- do *Buddhism : its history and literature*, London, Putnam, 1896.
- do *Manual of Buddhism*, London, Sheldom Press, 1932.



Rhys Davids, (The) History and Literature of Buddhism, Bharatiya Publishing House. 1975.

do Buddhist Birth Stories, London, Routledge, 1925.

Saddhatissa, H. *(The) Buddha's Way*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1971.

Sain Hilaire, J. B. *The Buddha and His Religion*, Sonarpur, Varanasi, 1932.

Sarkar, S. *A study on the Jātākas and the Avadānas : Critical and comparative*. Calcutta, Saraswat Literary 1981.

Sastri, Ajoy Mitra *(An) Outline of early Buddhism*, Varanasi, Indological Book House, 1965.

Simpson, W. *Buddhist Praying Wheel*, London, Macmillan, 1896.

Sinha, Jadunath. *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 2. Calcutta. Sinha Publishing House, 1956.

Stcherbatsky, Th. *The Soul Theory of the Buddhist*, Varanasi Bratiya Vidya Prakasan, 1970.

do *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, USSR, Leningrad, 1927.

Sthavir, P. *Paticcasamuppāda*, Calcutta, Prajñālok Prakasani, 1952.

Suzuki, D. T. *(The) Essence of Buddhism*, London, Buddhist Society 1947.

do *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, London. Buddhist Society, 1950

do *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul. 1957.

Thera, Piydassi. *Dependent Origination*. Kandy, Buddhist Publication Society, 1959.

do *(The) Buddhas Ancient Path*. Sri Lanka, Buddhist Publication Society, 1974.

do *Aspects of Buddhism*, Buddhist Publication Society. 1964.

Thomas, Edward J. *(The) History of Buddhist thought*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963

do *(The) Life of Buddha as legend and History*; London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1960.

Upadhyaya Gurusewak. *Buddhism and Hinduism*, Banaras Hinduism 1956,

- Valdya, P. L. *Lalitavistara*, Darbhanga, Mithila Institute, 1958.
- do *Mahāyānasūtra Saṅgraha*, Darbhanga. The Mithila Institute of Post Graduate Studies & Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1961.
- do *Avadānaśataka*, Darbhanga, Mithila Institute, 1958.
- Verman, V. P. *Early Buddhism and its Origins*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973.
- Wagle, Narendra, *Society at the time of Buddha*. Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1966.
- Walli, Koshalya. *Theory of Karman in Indian Thought*, Bharati Manisha, Varanasi, 1976.
- Warren, H. C. *Life of the Buddha ; buddhism in translation*, Cambridge, 1922.
- Winternitz, Maurice. (A) *History of Indian Literature* ; Vols. 1-3. tr. V. Srinivas Sharma, tr. Subhadra Jha. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1963, Reprn 1987.

### III. PERIODICALS

- (The) *Artyan Path*. Bombay.
- Jagajjyoti*, Calcutta.
- Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
- Journal of the Department of Pali, University of Calcutta*.
- Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum.
- Journal of the Pali Text Society*, London.
- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.

# INDEX

## INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Ajita Kesakambali—54, 63  
Aññātakonḍañña—69  
Anāthapiṇḍika—67, 145  
Abhaya—42  
Aśoka—1  
Assaji—69  
Ānanda—8, 10, 11  
Ājārakālāma—69  
Isipatana—93, 119  
Kamalaśīla—1  
Kevaḍḍha—140  
Gautama (Gotama)—14, 15, 16  
Jambudvīpa—43  
Jina—1  
Dummukha—42  
Dhataratṭha—45  
Nāgasena—147, 148, 156  
Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta—54  
Nigrodha—52  
Nimi—144  
Pakudha Kaccāyana—63  
Padumavati—45  
Puraṇa Kassapa—54, 61

Bārāṇasī—4  
Bimbisāra—46  
Buddha—1, 9, 10, 11, 17, 107  
Bodhisattva—17, 44  
Bhaddiya—69  
Makkhali Gosāla—54, 61, 62  
Mahānāma—69  
Mahāvīra—53, 122  
Māra—70  
Milinda—147, 148  
Yudhiṣṭhira—43  
Ruddaka Rāmaputra—69  
Vappa—69  
Vardhamāna—1  
Visākhā—67, 145  
Śāntarakṣita—1  
Saṅghaya Belaṭṭhi putta—54  
Sāriputta—64  
Sirimā—146  
Siddhārtha—41  
Sīha—42  
Sujātā—70  
Sunakkhatta—42

## GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

Akiriya-vāda—64, 149  
Akusala Cetanā—103  
Ajīva—57  
Aṭṭhakula—41  
Attavāda—103  
Attavādupādāna—103  
Atakkāvacaro—108  
Atthitā—110

Adhiccasa-muppannikavāda—  
49, 61  
Attabhīṭāya—115  
Attābhāva—115  
Attā—115  
Anattā—114-122  
Anicca—113, 122-126  
Anāgāmi—139, 161

- Antanantikā—48  
 Anattā-Lakkhaṇa Sutta—119  
 Aparāpariya-Vedaiya Kamma—132  
 Ahosi Kamma—132  
 Abhijjhā—134, 136  
 Amarāvikkhepikas—48, 64  
 Ariya-aṭṭhaṅgikamagga—70, 80-89  
 Ariya-sacca—89  
 Arūpāvacara kusala citta—139  
 Arūpāvacara kusala kamma—133, 138  
 Avijjā—15, 97, 105  
 Āciṇṇa Kamma—130, 131  
 Ajīvikas—122  
 Ātman—118, 121  
 Ābhassaraloka—47, 140  
 Āyatana—121  
 Āsrava—57  
 Āsanna Kamma—130  
 Ucchedavāda—51, 64  
 Uddhamāghātanika-asaññivāda—50  
 Uddhamāghātanika nevasaññi-nāsaññivāda—50  
 Uddhamāghātanikasaññivāda—49  
 Uppattibhava—104  
 Upādānapaccayā—78  
 Upādāna—49, 103, 105  
 Upekkhā—141  
 Ekaccasassatavāda—47  
 Katatta Kamma—130, 131  
 Kamma—114, 127-150  
 Kammabhava—103, 104  
 Kamma vitta—105  
 Kamma volitions—104  
 Karmakṣaya—57  
 Karmajarūpa—99  
 Karuṇā—141  
 Kātyāyaṇāvavāda—110  
 Kāma—101  
 Kāmupādāna—103  
 Kiriyāvāda—149  
 Kilesa vitta—105  
 Kāmāvacara Akusala Kamma—133  
 Kāmāvacara kusala kamma—133, 136, 137  
 Kāmesu 'micchācāra—134, 135  
 Kāyāyatana—99  
 Kusala cetanā—103  
 Kusala Jhāna—138  
 Khandha—104, 116, 120  
 Khiddāpadosika—140  
 Garuka Kamma—130  
 Cakṣāyatana—99  
 Cātummahārājika—48, 140, 141, 142  
 Cetanā—150  
 Janaka Kamma—129  
 Jarā—104  
 Jarāpaccayā—78  
 Jarāmaraṇa—104, 105  
 Jāti—103, 105  
 Jātipaccayā—78  
 Jihvāyatana—99  
 Jīva—57  
 Jhāna—82  
 Taṇhā—101, 102, 105  
 Taṇhāpaccayā—78  
 Tāvatiṃsa—146  
 Tipiṭaka—9  
 Tilakkhaṇa—113-126  
 Theravāda—18  
 Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda—51  
 Diṭṭhupādāna—103  
 Dukkha—5, 71-76, 113  
 Dukkha-dukkhatā—72

- Dukkhanirodha—6, 77  
 Dukkhanirodhagāmini-  
   paṭipadā—6  
 Dukkha samudaya—6, 76  
 Dhamma—14, 19, 107  
 Dhammacakkappavattana—3  
 Dhammādāsa—11  
 Dhammatā—107  
 Dhātu—121  
 Natthitā—110  
 Navatattva—57  
 Naya—57  
 Nāma—99, 117  
 Nāma-rūpa—98, 105  
 Nāmarūpapaccayā—78  
 Nidāna doctrine—106  
 Nibbāna (Nirvāṇa)—57, 77,  
   81, 82, 101, 106, 107, 114,  
   127, 151-164  
 Nimmānarati—48  
 Niyatisaṅgati bhāva—62  
 Nirupādisesa—77, 157  
 Nirodha—77  
 Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana—  
   103, 142  
 Paccayākāra—106  
 Pañcupādānakkhandhā—5  
 Paribbājaka (Paribrājaka)—  
   41, 52  
 Pañcavaggiyas—69  
 Pañcakkhandha—99  
 Paṭiccasamuppāda—91-111  
 Parinibbāna—157  
 Pisunāvācā—134  
 Puṇya—57  
 Pubbenivāsānussati—47  
 Pubbaseliyas—108  
 Pratisandhināma—99  
 Pravṛttināma—99  
 Pratisandhirūpa—99  
 Pravṛttirūpa—99  
 Pravṛtticittaja rūpa—99  
 Pratisandhiviññāna—98  
 Pravṛttiviññāṇa—98  
 Phassapaccayā—78  
 Phala—139  
 Phassa—100, 105  
 Brahmajāla Sutta—118  
 Brahma Vimāna—47  
 Bārhaspatya School—63  
 Bodhipakkhiya Dhammas—75  
 Bhava—101, 103, 105  
 Bhāra Sutta—120  
 Magga—139  
 Majjhena Dhammo—110  
 Majjhimadesa (Madhyadeśa)  
   —14, 43  
 Majjhima paṭipadā—5  
 Manāyatana—99  
 Manopadosika—140  
 Maraṇa—104  
 Mahāparinibbāna—157  
 Mahāyāna—20, 108  
 Mahānidāna Sutta—119  
 Mahāsaṃghika—20  
 Māgadhī—19  
 Micchādiṭṭhi—134, 136  
 Muditā—141  
 Musāvāda—134  
 Mettā—141  
 Mokṣa—57  
 Moral jhāna—138, 139  
 Rūpa—117  
 Rūpāvacara kusala kamma—  
   133, 137, 138  
 Rūpāvacara kusala jhāna—  
   138  
 Laukika Vipākas—99, 100, 101  
 Lokāyatikas—49  
 Varṇa—64



Vayadhammā-saṃkhārā—7

Vāyo-kasina—49

Viññānapaccayā—78

Viparināma dukkha—73

Vibhava-taṇhā—76

Vedanā paccayā—78

Śrotrāyatana—99

Sakadāgāmi—139, 161

Samādhi—93

Samādana virati—136

Samuccheda virati—136, 137

Sampapphalāpa—134

Sampatta virati—136

Salāyatana—99, 105

Salāyatana Paccyā Phassa—  
78, 100

Sayampabhā—47

Sassatavāda—47, 64

Samkhārā—72, 96, 97, 105

Samkhārāpaccayā—78

Samvara—57

Sīlabbatupādāna—103

Sotāpanna—161

Sopādisesa—77, 139, 157, 164

Skandha—113, 121, 157

Syādvāda—58

Hinayāna—108

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Bela Bhattacharya was born in a respectable brahmin family of Brindabanpur, Howrah, West Bengal, India. She passed the Higher Secondary Examination



from Baniban Girls' High School and graduated from Uluberia College. Subsequently she got herself associated with the study of Pali and Buddhism and obtained Master Degree in Pali, 1970 having stood First in the First Class

and awarded the University Gold Medal. She adorned herself with the degree of Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) in the First Class, passed Master Degree in Education (M.Ed.) and also obtained Diploma in Tibetan Language. The University of Calcutta conferred on her the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1979 for her thesis entitled STUDIES IN THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF BUDDHISM.

Now she is preparing a book entitled ROLE OF WOMEN TOWARDS THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM. At present Dr. Bhattacharya is serving the University of Calcutta as the Senior Lecturer in the Department of Pali and Lecturer in the Department of Language (Tibetan). She has contributed a large number of research papers on the different branches of Indology, published in several well known journals of India, such as Journal of the Department of Pali, University of Calcutta; Bodhipath, Vaisali, Bihar, Bulletin of Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim. She has dedicated herself to the study of Pali and Buddhism, Tibetology and research guidance to her students.

