

THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN ĀNDHRADĒṢA: REFLECTIONS IN JĀTAKA TALES

**A Thesis Submitted during December 2016 to the University of Hyderabad
In partial fulfillment of the award of a Ph.D. Degree in Centre for Buddhist Studies**

by

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DECLARATION

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Parts of the thesis have been:

A. Published in the following publication:

1. IJMART (International Journal of Multidisciplinary Advanced Research Trends), Volume II, Issue VIII, October 2015 (ISSN: 2349-7408) pp.7-12.

and

B. Presented in the following Conferences:

1. South Indian History Congress, 34th Annual Session – 28th Feb., 1st & 2nd March 2014 Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu (National).
2. Mahatma Gandhi National Institute of Research and Social Action (MGNIRSA), Gandhian Studies Centre (GSC), National Seminar 30th January 2015, Hyderabad, Telangana (National).

Further, the student has passed the following courses towards fulfillment of coursework requirement for Ph.D./was exempted from doing coursework (recommended by Doctoral committee) on the basis of the following courses passed during his M.Phil program and the M.Phil degree was awarded:

Course Code	Name	Credits	Pass/Fail
1. BS 801	Pali language	4	Pass
2. BS 802	Introduction to Buddhism	4	Pass
3. BS 803	Pali Literature	4	Pass
4. BS 804	Research Methodology	4	Pass

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Acknowledgements

Foremost, I express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. P.S. Kanaka Durga, Associate Professor, Centre for Folk Culture Studies. Without her help, guidance and support, the completion of this thesis would have been impossible. She was always there with me. She motivated, guided, supported and advised me in both personal and academic life. I will ever remain thankful to her. Besides my supervisor I convey my heartfelt thanks to Prof. Y. A. Sudhakar Reddy, Head. Centre for Folk Culture Studies, for providing conceptual clarity, insightful comments and encouragement in working out my thesis. He also treated me on par with the students of his own centre and provided me all the available infrastructure to work in the centre. The unceasing guidance, shrewd comments and sharing of ideas by the above two widened my research from various perspectives.

My humble gratitude to Prof. Panchanan Mohanty, Dean, School of Humanities and Coordinator, Centre for Buddhist Studies for his kind cooperation. I earnestly acknowledge Prof. K. S. Prasad, former Coordinator of Buddhist Studies and present Head. Dept. of Philosophy for his affectionate treatment. I also thank my doctoral committee member Dr. M. N. Rajesh, Assistant Professor, Dept. of History for his help at every stage of my work. I deeply thank Prof. K.P. Rao, Dept. of History and

At this instance, I also express my special thanks to Mr. Kishore and Mrs. Dhanalakshmi for their help at times of need.

I thank the University of Hyderabad for providing me a platform to work. I also thank its staff members from whomsoever I have received

help. I offer my profuse thanks to Indian Council of Philosophical Research (ICPR) for providing me JRF grant in the course of my work.

Furthermore, I am grateful to the family of folk culture studies- Dr. Jolly Puthussery, Associate Professor, Mr. Naveen Kumar, Assistant Professor, Somaiah, Justin, Safia, Vahini, Safa, Atidhi, Sudharsan, Lakshman, Lingaiah, Hemanth, Kausik, Sivanarayana, Shekar and others.

I also thank my loved friends for their help at every stage of my research work like Kishore, Ranjith, Bhanu, Mallikarjuna, Ramu, Sudharsan, Pradyna, Sabita, Rani, Swetha, Dr.shekar, Melvin, Suresh, Charles, Manohar, Gowri, Dilli, Sunitha, Rizwan, Rajashekar, Dr.Bhimkumar, Paramesh, Srinath, Pratima, Santhiswaroop, Anuradha, Vital, Gampa Ravi, Pullanna and others. I will be grateful forever for your love and help.

Finally I conclude by saying that there are no words to define or express my feeling for the cooperation and support provided by my parents, brother, sister, wife, children and other family members. I simply say that I am very indebted to all of them.

Ravi Sankar K.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Buddhism is one of the major heterodox religious ideologies that sprouted in India during the sixth century B.C. to reverberate the growing resentment of society against the Vedic ritualism. The old Vedic religion resting upon the paradigms of *varṇāśrama dharma* and *jāti* emerged as the privilege of priestly and ruling classes. It was dominated by expensive and elaborate sacrificial ritual performances and Sanskrit religious texts, both of which were beyond the reach of common people belonging to the lower strata of the society. The caste proliferation due to foreign invasions (Indo-Bactrian warfare), urbanisation and growth of trade and commerce contributed for emergence of new professions and thereby communities resulting into social anarchy. The then existing conditions could not appease to the changing religious needs of these newly emergent classes for the Vedic religion has no sacred space for all alike. Thus dissent arose among the people was not limited to a particular caste or profession, but got permeated deep into different strata of the society. Hence, the disgusted sections of the society were in need of a new religious ideology that could reach the grassroots of the populace through (i) a popular language and (ii) simple adoptable ritual practices irrespective of their birth status.

The changes in the contemporary economic life, like deforestation and land reclamation contributed for the expansion of agrarian activities. New techniques were introduced in agricultural operations with the advent of Iron Age. For the first time slaves

were employed as labourers in the agrarian operations.¹ Paddy cultivation enriched the wet zones of the Indo-Gangetic valley and the surplus productions developed several agrarian industries and artisan communities who were specialised in several crafts. The craftsmen were organised into corporate bodies, called the *śreṇis* (guilds) which catered for the professional and community needs of their members. These guilds were organised from local village to that of national and international levels and interconnected with one another by an efficient office, to regulate the professional and communal behaviour of their members through a code of conduct, *śreṇi dharma*². These conditions led to the development of towns and trade centres which were connected by land and water routes. The trade and commercial activities expanded at different levels; local, national and international. The merchants were organised into caravans and carried their itinerant activities for long durations, sometimes even for years leaving their families. The urban setting of these times accommodated itinerant population seeking several professions and lively hoods. Such situation gave rise to certain features of town life like prostitution which is not treated favourably by traditional folk. Further deforestation and land reclamation resulted the incorporation of the tribal and pastoral communities into the realm of the mainstream society. Further their religious

¹R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India a Social History of the lower order down to circa A.D. 600*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. 1980. P.103.

²Kautilya in his *Arthaśāstra* refers to *Śreṇivala* (members belonging to guilds) and *śreṇi mukhyulu* (chiefs of the guilds who were connected to the king. pp. 26-27, cf.fn.2, 3, 4, 5 and p.30ff. R.K. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Poona: Oriental Book Agency 1922. Even *Kshatriya śreṇi* were also prevalent which depended upon both war and science of trade. *Kāmbhoja Surāshtra Kshatriya śreṇiyādayo vārttā śastropajīvanah*.

pantheon and belief system were integrated with the Vedic religion, like Rudra-Śiva, Paśupati and so on. Such socio-religious integration emerged new social system in which *varṇa-saṁkara*, i.e. caste infiltration was a prime feature. These new social groups desperately needed a sacred base to stabilise their existence in a way different from the age-old belief system and such necessity was gratified well in the newly emerged heterodox religious movements led by the proponents of Jainism and Buddhism. In the countryside also, new social groups sprang up to the forefront by the virtue of their wealth accumulated through different occupations. The greater part of land came to be owned by *Gahapati* (peasant-proprietors).

Further, the use of iron weapons revolutionized military equipment and added to political importance of warrior community, the *Kshatriyas*. They naturally claimed an equal position with the *Brāhmins* in other pursuits of knowledge. Such conflict between the interests of the *Brāhmins* and *Kshatriyas* is evident in many literary texts. As the *Kshatriya* rulers could survive only by regular collection of taxes, both the Brahmanical and Buddhist texts justified the collection of royal share from the peasant's produce on the ground that the King is the protector of the people (contract). Such symbiotic relationship between the rulers and the ruled sustained the power groups upto certain extent. In order to legitimize the royal share in the produce of the peasants, there arose a need for a religious back-up that would give spiritual sanction to it. Further the *Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya* conflict that arose with regard to the sharing of resources added fuel for the existing socio-religious life and fostered the expansion of the heterodox religions deep into the grassroots of the people's life³.

³*Jātaka* tales (Susima *Jātaka*, No.163, Gamani –Canda *Jataka*, No. 257, Mūla-pariyaya *Jātaka* No.245) abound on the issues of caste and Varṇa hierarchy. Positioning of the *Kshatriya Varṇa* next to *Brāhmaṇa Varṇa* in caste hierarchy was questioned and at times

As cited elsewhere above, the newly emerged social and economic life of the people did not match with the precepts of the Vedic ritualism and animal sacrifices. The resultant politico-religious unrest that sprang in Indo-Gangetic plane got permeated in to the grass-root level of the society cutting across different strata of the populace. The people were badly in need of a spiritual ideology that could comfortably situate their position in social hierarchy. In this context, so many new religious teachers sprouted and questioned the Vedic ritualism. Out of all such heterodox ideologies, Jainism and Buddhism, advocated by Vardhamāna Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha respectively appealed both the classes and masses alike for these two critically condemned ritualistic Vedic religion and *Varṇa* hierarchy. Further, the *varnasamkara* (caste infiltration) caused in the society due to foreign invasion and *anuloma-pratiloma* marriages, concomitant growth of trade and commerce and urbanisation etc, contributed for the raise of new castes and communities in the society. The extant Vedic religion cannot offer solace to such contemporary heterogeneous society since it is strictly confined to *Varṇa* hierarchy. Keeping in view all these conditions, the religious leaders diluted the religion into behavioural ethics, morale and purity of thought which one can easily embrace irrespective of their class or caste. The Buddhism preferred to use commoner's language Pāli as a medium of communication to spread its message among the masses. Besides, the religious scriptures meant for the elite converts, the preachers preferred to appropriate oral narratives in the form of tales, fables, exegesis and experiences to send the religious philosophy of Buddhism to the masses. The *Jātaka* tales, the *Theragāthā* and *Theiṅgāthās* were textualised in written form as

they claimed brāhmaṇhood by learning recitation of Vedas and Vedic literature. (Ed.), E. B Cowell, *The Jātaka*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1990.

Tripitakas. They exerted illustrious influence on the populace to impress upon the preachings of Buddha and Buddhism.

Significance of the topic:

Of these two religions, people got much fascinated to the doctrine of Buddhism rather than Jainism for the latter prescribed very stringent rules and restrictions to its adherents. The Jainism that questioned the centrality of rituals in Vedism gave significant space to ritual performances in every realm of its religious practices. Hence, Buddhism with its egalitarian ideology that centred ‘human’ as a Supreme Being⁴ could fascinate different sections of populace in the society and negotiate their religious anxieties. The entire doctrine of Buddhism carved according to the needs of the individuals. The space given for freedom of thought and expression in Buddhist path are unparalleled elsewhere in the history of the religions.

The doctrine of Buddhism emphasises more of ethical nature and it did not encourage abstruse enquiries about god and soul. It does not believe on *attā (ātma)* ‘enduring self’⁵ in the man but rather believes in the laws of *karma* (action) and *punarjanma* (rebirth). Buddhism believes in the *kārya-kāraṇa* (cause of action) as well as cause and effect (*kāraṇa-phalita*) relationship. The Buddhist philosophy holds that people are born again and again to reap the fruits of their *karma* and so every individual is the maker of his own destiny. Hence cessation of *karma* is suggested for saving one’s own self from the chain of birth and rebirth. To achieve this,

⁴Walpola Rahula. *What the Buddha Taught*, New York: Grove Press, 1959, p.03.

⁵The early Buddhists denied the existence of permanent ‘self’ in the ‘Man’. This theory emphasizes that human beings are mere physical and psychological constituents.

Buddhism advocated the middle path, i.e. the mid-way between extreme hedonism and extreme self-austerities. The nucleus of Śākyamuni's teachings lay in the "first sermon," especially in the doctrine of Four Noble Truths.⁶ Alongside, the principle of conditioned arising (*paticca-samuppada*), the doctrine of three characteristics (*Tilakkana*) and eight noble truths (*astāṅgamārga*)⁷ and the analysis of the human personality into its constituent parts (*skandhas*) are central to Buddhism.

The Four Noble Truths (*āryasatyas*) are considered to be the first sermon delivered by Buddha to his five disciples, after his enlightenment⁸. In this sermon he preached the four realities of life, explained how the mankind, due to ignorant of these truths, are entangled with the world and even showed the path to come out of it. The Four Noble Truths are; the truth of suffering, the truth of

⁶ Mircea Eliade (Ed.).*The Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, p-355.

⁷The sequence of the eight fold path is(i) *Samma-Ditthi*(right vision),(ii) *Samma- Sankappa* (right determination), (iii) *Samma-Vaca*(right speech), (iv) *Samma-Kammanta*(right action), (v) *Samma-Ajiva*(right livelihood), (vi) *Samma-Vayama*(right effort), (vii) *Samma-Sati*(right mindfulness) and (viii) *Samma-Samadhi*(right meditation). The eight fold path is grouped into three categories, which are as follows: *Samma-Sankappa* (Right determination), *Samma-Vaca* (right speech), *Samma-Kammanta* (right action), *Samma-Ajiva* (right livelihood) and *Samma-Vayama* (right effort) fall under the category of *Sila* (virtue). *Samma-Samadhi* (Right meditation) falls under the category of *Samadhi* (meditation). *Samma-Ditthi* (Right vision) and *Samma-Sati* (right mindfulness) fall under the category of *Panya* (wisdom). *Vide.* C.V.Joshi, "Life and Teachings "in *2500 Years of Buddhism*, (Ed.). P.V.Bapat, New Delhi Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1956, pp.21-34.

⁸Mircea Eliade (Ed.).*The Encyclopedia of Religion*, *supra*, p.540.

cause of suffering, the truth of cessation of suffering and truth of the path leading to the cessation of suffering⁹. The fourth truth enumerates the eight fold path (*āryashtāngikamagga*), to be followed by the living beings to end the suffering (*Dukkha*) and attain *nibbāna*. It develops awareness about the true nature of phenomena (reality) and eradicates greed, hatred, and delusion. Symbolically, in Buddhism the noble eight fold path is represented by a ‘wheel with eight spokes’ (*Dhamma Chakka*), representing the eight elements of the path¹⁰.

While explaining the suffering, Buddhism put forward three characteristics (*tilakkana*) of the universe; suffering must be seen as the background of impermanence, for Buddhism describes suffering as: “all things are impermanence (*anitya*), all things are suffering and sorrow (*dukkha*), and all the elements are being no self (*anātman*)”¹¹. In the same manner, while explaining the origin of suffering, Buddhism put forward the doctrine of dependant origination (*Paticca-samuppada-naya*) which consists of a cycle of twelve factors starting with the ignorance, which ultimately results in the birth, the twelfth in the cycle. The root cause of all suffering is ignorance(*avijja*) .As the *Dhamma* continued to spread cutting across the geographical boundaries in India and beyond, there arose many sectarian differences within the Buddhist order on the

⁹Bhadantacariya Buddhaghosha. *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga)*, (tr.) Bhikkhu Nanamoli, Taiwan: Taipei publishers, 1956. P-562.

¹⁰ The *Dharma Chakra* is one of the *ashtamangala* of Buddhism. The wheel depicts the cycle of *samsara* and noble eight fold path. *Hermann Goetz, The art of India: five thousand years of Indian art., New York: Crown, 1959, p.52.*

¹¹ Mircea Eliade, *The Encyclopaedia of Religion*, Op.cit. p- 541.

principles enumerated in *Tripitakas* especially in of *Vinaya* and *Dhamma* which soon led to dissent in the observance of *Sangha* order. This dissent contributed for the emergence of many versions and thereby variations in the interpretations of the original teachings of Buddha. These conditions resulted schism within religious order.

The first dissent among the Buddhist monks surfaced in the second Buddhist Council (C.383 B.C.), held at Vaisali. In this council, the agenda was to discuss on the issue of that whether to follow or not to follow the rules of discipline with regard to the use of some foods, materials and code of conduct called in the Buddhist literature as *Daśa Vatthuni* (literally means ten objects/ materials) by the monks hailing from Vajjian republic. Those monks that justified the need of *Daśa Vatthuni* for Buddhist religion came out of the Council and established another Sangha whose followers were later known as the *Mahāsamghikas*. The other group of monks denied following *Daśa Vatthuni*, for they believed that these ten principles were not originally found in the expressions of Buddha but were later incorporated into religious behavioural ideology by some other Buddhist monks. Hence they came out of the order and got consolidated as the *Theravādains* (*Sthaviravādins*) upholding *Theravāda*, the ‘School of the Elders’. Thus, the *Theravādains* who upheld orthodoxy in Buddhist ideology got prevailed in the society. It is evident that the first schism that occurred after the second Buddhist council influenced the emergence of two major schools of Buddhism –*Theravāda* and *Mahāsamghikas*, which further contributed for more complexity in the ideologies and their expressions in practical life.

The *Theravāda* School was split into ten sub-sects and the *Mahāsamghikas* into seven. These changes occurred within three or four hundred years after the *Mahāparinibbāṇa* of Buddha. But however, these different sects could not sustain their identities for a longer time for they either went into oblivion or fused with other

sects very soon after their origin. In due course of time two major philosophical views were surfaced as *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*. The terms *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* appeared first in the *Prajñāpāramita Śūtras* in approximately the second century AD.

The *Theravāda* School or the School of the Elders, otherwise known as the *Sthaviravāda* or the Southern Buddhism, is one of the sub- sects of *Hīnayāna* School. The term *Hīnayāna* (lesser vehicle) is pejoratively used by the followers of *Mahāyāna* tradition. Unlike *Mahāyānists* who advocate collective liberation, the *Hīnayāna* School sustains and endures on personal liberation/salvation. *Theravāda* the ‘Doctrine of the Elders,’ draws its scriptural inspiration from the *Tipiṭakas*, and other canons of Buddhism. Most of the scholars generally believe that the Buddhist traditional literature is an embodiment of the original teachings of Buddha¹². The ideology of *Theravādins* had been considered as ‘the nearest’ to the original preaching of Buddha. So their sayings got encoded not only in written but in oral literature which got spread by word of mouth through tales and myths related to the miracles of Buddha and adherents of Buddhism.

Theravāda, school of Buddhism is the oldest surviving Buddhist branch. It is relatively considered as conservative as it draws its doctrinal inspiration from the Pāli canons, the earliest surviving records of the Buddha's teachings. In Buddhism, man is regarded as a supreme being. There is nothing like any other supreme being. He is composed of five aggregates (*skandhas*) of physical and mental factors such as: *Rūpa* (form), *Samjñā* (name), *Vedana* (sensation), *Vijñāna* (consciousness) and *Sankara* (disposition) and his *Vimutti* (emancipation). Hence, Buddha asked

¹² R.H. Robinson, W.L. Johnson, and Thanissaro Bhikkhu, *Buddhist Religions: A Historical Introduction*, (Fifth edn.) Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 2005, p. 46.

his disciples to take refuge in their ‘ownself’ rather than wandering for refuge in ‘others’ selves’. Buddha expected that every individual should strive hard to ‘emancipate’ ‘one’s ownself’ from all bondages through his/her own personal wisdom and effort. He further warns his adherents that the *tathāgata* would only show the path of liberation (*Nibbāna*) and so the individual should effort to pass by it.

Buddha’s teachings were not esoteric, having mysterious practices and hidden and closed meanings. The doctrine expects its adherents to be more ethical but not to be enthusiastic in the matters of god and soul as they believed in the doctrine of *karma* that operates across of three generations-past, present. The simple and path-changing ideology of *Theravāda* Buddhism was welcomed by the populace for its doctrine was encapsulated in the form of tales, fables and exegeses and showered the message of Buddha to all, irrespective of social categories. The spiritual healing practices of the *Theravādins* with their scriptural chanting widely attracted the masses. Hence the *Theravādins* in order to reach the people through their teachings down to earth, they adopted three strategies:(i) juxtaposition of oral traditions along with the sacred scriptures /Buddhist canonical literature and (ii) use of vernacular language, the Pāli (iii) depiction of Jātaka tales, life scenes Buddha and other relevant episodes as narrative art on the walls of Buddhist institutions.

(i) Oral tradition in *Theravāda* teachings

Before the textualisation of Buddhist teachings in the form of *Tipiṭakas* and other canons of the religion, the dissemination of message was done orally to the audience ranging from the royalty to commoners. It was found genuine for the *Theravāda* preachers to use ‘verbatim of Buddha’s preachings’ embedded in oral versions of *Tipiṭakas* in their messages. They impressed the populace of different social groups by oral transmission of the ideology. The

four Buddhist councils put to discourse the then contemporary issues with regard to actualisation of the message of Buddha with regard to the rules of monastic life and His *Dhamma*. Further these councils contributed for the compilation of Buddhist canons for the benefit of its followers. In due course of time, Buddhist thought upheld by different schools of thought in different cultural zones was preserved in their respective languages. The Theravāda sect was successful in preserving their canons, recorded in the Māgadhi language in both oral and written traditions since the 1st cent. B.C. Pāli is a modern name of the language. It is still a controversy with regard to the issue, whether the Pāli and Māgadhi are the same or not.

The reason for the fascination of commoners towards the *Theravāda* Buddhism is that it preferred the people to recite simple prayers and observe some healing practices than performing elaborate and expensive rituals to get solace from mundane and spiritual apprehensions. To abstain from physical and psychological pain the adherents were supposed to perform some prayers. They are: *Angulimāla Sutta* (to diminish the labour pain of a pregnant lady), *Bojjhanga Sutta* (*mantra* for prevention of diseases), *Supubbana Sutta* (*mantra* of protection from fear), *Jinapanjara Gatha* (*mantra* for long life), *Atanatiya Sutta* (invocation to Buddha with his disciples, healer for disturbances, fear, worries etc.), *Seewalee Paritran* (to develop business and other monetary transactions), *Bhumi Sutta* (for land purification), *Khanda Parittan* (to destroy poison of snakes and other poisonous creatures), *Jalanananda Sutta* (for any problem of a girl), *Atavisi Piditha* (28 names of Buddha), *Satipatthana Sutta* (for a dying person) and etc. *Jayamangalagātha*, *Mahajayamangalagātha* are chanted on the occasion of marriage, entering a new house or any other good

occasions. It is believed that any problem can be solved by the power of a *Sutta* if chanted properly.¹³

(ii) Use of vernacular language, the Pāli to disseminate the message of Buddha to all alike:

The Theravādins adopted Pāli language to disseminate the word of Buddha to the grass roots of the society. They derived their ideology from the Pāli canon Tipiṭakas, which are considered to be the earliest surviving record of the Buddha's teachings¹⁴. They used colloquial style of narration in their preachings. The *Jātaka* tales which are embodiment of the *Dhamma* narrated by Buddha to his disciples were told and retold in the process of dissemination of message. The technique of telling the tale is highly realistic and appears that the event narrated in the tale is an experiential expression. The telling is a combination of reality and fiction for the teller deployed both animate and in animates metaphors and characters interacting with the human beings in social world. The metaphors used in the teachings are ever contemporary.

(iii) Depiction of Jātaka scenes of Buddha's life and Buddhist symbols as narrative art on the walls of Buddhist institutions like the *stūpas*, *chaityās*, *vihārās* and other public spaces like Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, Nagarjunakonda, Sanchi, etc, is another strategy to visually impress upon the laity besides oral and intellectual discourses conducted in the Buddhist pilgrimage centres.

¹³ Arpita Sen, *Pali TiPiṭaka Chanting: Oral Tradition of Theravada Buddhism*, New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre For the Arts, 2008, p.168. Down loaded on 12th July, 2016 from Website http://ignca.nic.in/PDF_data/IGNCA_Buddhagaya_report.pdf.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 46.

It is evident that the *Theravāda* Buddhism became a popular religious philosophy catering the spiritual needs of the people through its mode of preaching which juxtaposed oral, written and visual approaches to reach and comfort the needy of the people in the society.

The *Jātaka* tales, *thera* (male mendicants) and *theiṛ* (female mendicants) *gāthas* which were embedded in the *Piṭaka* literature were taken by the *Bhikkus* to spread the message of Buddha to the populace. It is because it is impossible for everybody to consult the *Tripitakas* and other Pāli literature to understand the religion. Hence the preachers picked up the most influential birth stories of Buddha textualised in the *Tripitakas* and passed the message of Buddha through them. Thus, the *Theravādains* successfully caught hold the pulse of the populace and disseminated the Buddhist thought up to the grass roots of the society orally thorough narrative tradition by using colloquial ‘idiom and ideology’, worldview, language and permeated deep into the grassroots of the society. In otherwords, the analysis of the *Jātaka* tales clearly establishes that characters, themes and life that is depicted in them are real metaphors of the contemporary society and the end of each story makes one to understand the precepts of the religion, emphasising on *astāṅgamārga* necessary knowledge and practice for being a Buddhist.

Buddhism in Āndhradēsa

Buddhism entered Āndhra during the life time of Buddha. During the six years of his struggle Gautama had with him certain companions, to whom he gave his first sermon after his enlightenment. In the names of these original followers, we have names like Kondanna, Bappa and Bhaddiya. Here at least the name of Kondanna is most familiar till this day in the Āndhra area. This does not seem to be a sheer accident. In the *Suttanipāta*, it is revealed that a Brahmin by name Bhāravi lived at Potāli on the

banks of the river Godavari, between the Janapadas, Assaka and Mūlaka. Once he dispatched his disciples by name Ajita, Tissa Metteya, Punnaka, Upasiva, Nanda Dhotaka, Hemaka, Todayya, Kappa, jatukami, Udaya, Bhadravudha, Posala, Mogharaja, and Pingiya to the holy presence of Buddha at Srāvasti. It appears that out of the sixteen disciples sent to the Buddha, Pingiya alone returned to Bhāravi at Potali while the remaining stayed back after embracing Buddhism.

Kathāvatthu and *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* also speak of *Andhaka* hegemony extending up to Magadha, (*andhakāvinda*, near Magadha, *andhakāvana* near *Srāvasti* and the various schools of *Andhaka* monks. The *Hinayana* phase of Buddhism datable to Mauryan period in Āndhrādēsa is marked by its relics at Amaravati, Bhattiprolu, Vaddmanu, Garikapudi, Guntupalle, Rampa Errabalem, post-Mauryan times at Jaggayapeta, Sankaram, Kapayaram, Ramathirtham, Dhulikatta, Kalingapatnam, Kondapur, Chandavaram, Kesanupalli etc; attests the wide prevalence of *Theravāda* Buddhism in Āndhrādēsa. In the later Satavahana and Ikshvaku periods, (after the 1st century A.D.) the influence of Hīnayāna got diminished due to the growth of Mahāyāna Buddhism owing to the changes in the nature of the contemporary state and other relevant socio-economic and cultural formations. The extensive patronage enjoyed by the Buddhism in the royal courts suggests its appropriation in polity. The concept of conquest, the *yuddhavijaya* was guised in the name of *dhammavijaya*. Thus the Asokan *Dhamma* is the transformation of Buddhism into a politico-religious ideology which got propagated officially through rock edicts in *Pāli* language and by special administrative officers like *dhammamahāmatras*. As the successors of the Mauryas in the south, the early Satavahana rulers continued to extend their patronage to *Hīnayāna* Buddhism besides reviving Vedic rituals to consolidate their power structure.

The ideology of Buddhism which emerged as a religious solace for soothing the dissent section of the society got permeated into the gross roots of the society through oral exegeses and expositions of the *bhikshus*, the *thera* (male) and *their* (female). They were textualised in the *Piṭakas*. The doctrine of Buddhism was embedded in the form of tales, fables and experiences of the *bhikshus* that got benefited by embracing the religion were orally propagated in the society. These oral traditions were literalised in the form of *Jātaka* tales, the enumerations of the previous births of Buddha. The oldest and largest collection of *Jātaka* tales form a part of the Theravāda tradition in the Pāli Canon. They are found in the tenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. The *Jātaka* is a collection of 547 stories, both in prose and verse form

The *Jātaka* tales functioned as an effective media to spread the ideology of Buddha to the populace. The Buddha himself used stories and fables to explain concepts like *kamma* and *rebirth*. His preachings reverberated the importance of ethics and morale among the mendicants as well as the people of different professions in the society. *Jātaka* stories speak eloquently of those human values, which contribute, to harmony, pleasure and progress. Further, the *Jātaka* tales give a vivid picture of the socio-economic life of those times; especially they throw flood of light on the dos and don'ts of the traders in their business. Though they are primarily associated with *Theravāda* Buddhism, like other Buddhist literature, some of the *Jātaka* tales too found place in *Mahāyāna* canons. One of the best known collections of Mahayana *Jātaka* stories is *Jātaka mala* ("garland of *Jātakas*"; also called the *Bodhisattvavadanamala*). The *Jātaka mala* containing 34 *Jātaka* s, written by Arya Sura; focus on the perfections, especially those of generosity, morality, and patience. The Buddhist shrines –*chaityas*, *stupas* and *viharas*– which were visited by the populace were adorned with the religious symbols like lotus, elephants, horse, serpent etc, and also the panels

depicting the Jātaka tales. Jātaka stories depicted on the *chaityas* at Amaravati, Nalanda, Ajanta, Ellora, Bharhut and Nagarjunakonda bear testimony to it. Interestingly, the messages given in the *Jātaka* tales cut across different sects of Buddhism for the analysis of each *Jātaka* tale reflects the most popular tenets of the preachings of the Buddha such as the four noble truths, the eight fold path and so on that were fundamental to all schools of Buddhism.

From the above it is evident that the *Theravāda* Buddhism which is considered as a sub-sect of *Hīnayāna* by the *Mahāyānists* practically functioned to permeate the message of Buddha to the classes and masses alike. He attempted to correct the behaviour of the people and save them from performing *pāpa* and *karma* for protecting them from the chain of birth and rebirth. This sect of Buddhism is significant because for the first time, the textual and oral forms of canons were juxtaposed in the process of giving the messages to the mendicants in the *Sangha*. Keeping in view the above discussion, my research focuses on how Buddhism, especially the *Theravāda* school of thought reached the gross roots of the people's lives through their teaching as reflected in the Jātaka tales which were nothing than the renditions of the people, by the people and for the people.

In the light of above discussion, the topic '*Theravāda Buddhism in Āndhrādēsa: Reflections in Jātaka tales*' is a very much potential, innovative and contributory study that throws fresh light on how Buddhist thought was constructed within the structure and functioning of Jātaka tales and their visual manifestations in narrative sculptures depicted on the walls of *chaityas* and *viharas*.

Nature and scope of the study:

The study proposes to (i) study socio-historical and politico-cultural milieu for the rise and spread of Buddhism with special focus on Āndhrādēsa (ii) bring out the nuances of Buddhism in Āndhrādēsa especially the *Theravāda* Buddhism as textualised in

the *Jātaka* tales- the birth stories of Buddha, *thera* and *theirgāthās*, the expositions and exegetic narratives of the male and female mendicants, canonical literature, inscriptions, art and architecture (iii) the manifestation of *Theravāda* philosophy in art and architecture of the Buddhist *stupas*, *chaityas*, monasteries etc, through *Jātaka* tales (iv) Analyse the textualisation process of the *Jātaka* tales to reveal how the Buddhist message is exemplified in the tales text, texture and context.

The geographical scope of the topic is Āndhrādēsa as defined in the ancient times during the Mauryan and Satavahana times¹⁵. The Āndhrādēsa of those times is bounded on the north by Kalinga, south by the southern part of the Nellore district. It extended from the coast far into the mainland in the west. The research proposes the study, analysis and interpretation of *Theravāda* Buddhism as reflected *Jātaka* tales embedded in their texts and also narrative art depicted on the walls of the Buddhist institutions flourished in Āndhrādēsa.

Survey of previous literature:

The literature survey in the thesis is done under two headings; 1) Historical works and 2) Philosophical works.

(I) Historical works

Ram Sharan Sharma, *Material Culture and Social Formations in India*, Delhi: Macmillan India Limited, 1983.

In this book, the author gives a systematic interpretation of the social formations of ancient India from the materialistic perspective. He holds that the surplus in production had played a significant role in ancient social class formations and in

¹⁵ K.Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras University Historical Series-No. 16, Madras: G.S.Press, 1941, p.2.

establishment of the state. The book contains eight chapters, each emphasising on different aspects. The first chapter, Problems of Social formations in Early India, discusses on different theoretical aspects that can explain structure, composition and functions of a society. The second and the third chapters deal with different aspects of early Vedic society. The fourth chapter is on later Vedic period and the fifth chapter explains the social dynamics of Upper Gangetic basin during 1000-500 B.C leading to the emergence of heterodox religions like Buddhism and Jainism. The seventh chapter deals interpret how material milieu contributed for the rise of Buddhism and the eight chapters interpreted the dynamics in the social evolution during the epic age. The concluding chapter is a bird's eye view on the over all aspects of the society from early Vedic to Buddha Age wherein he emphasised on the rise of *Mahajanapadas*, trade, urbanisation and agricultural economy, state formation and social stratification in post Vedic times.

D.N.Jha, *Ancient India in Historical Outline*, Delhi: Manohar Publications, 2008.

The author gives a comprehensive history of ancient India from pre-historic times till the age of the Gupta Empire from Marxist perspective. The introductory chapter discussed briefly about the views of the Christian missionaries, Utilitarian thinkers, early Orientalists, and Administrator-historians and counter-response of Indian scholars to them. The second and third chapters describe prehistorical cultures and Harappan and Vedic civilizations. The fourth chapter is on the material milieu for the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. The next chapter touched on the Mahajanapadhas, the rise of Magadha, Alexander's invasion and the features of monarchical and republic states. Then the following three chapters discussed the Mauryan Empire, India during 200BC to 300AD and the Gupta age, respectively.

K. Satyanarayana, *A Study Of the History and Culture of the Andhras*, Hyderabad: Visalandhra Publishing House, 1999.

This book has dealt with the history of so called Andhra Pradesh, i.e. the regions of Telangana, Rayalaseema and coastal Andhra from prehistoric times to beginnings of the medieval period, under five chapters. The first chapter is on the prehistory of *Andhras*, in which the life-journey of the primitive ancestors is depicted. The second chapter, titled; 'Living Prehistory' is the replica of the first chapter, since the author has held up the notion that some of the hill tribes inhabiting in the districts of Andhra are the living specimens of the prehistoric peoples. All the remaining three chapters are divided into two sub-sections. The first part of the third chapter is on the *Satavahana* age, whereas the second section is on the cultural transition from tribal culture to civilization. In this section the role of Buddhism is discussed. The two sections in the fourth chapter discussed on post *Satavahana* period and the background for the early feudal formations in Andhra respectively. The first section of the last and fifth chapter is on the political dynamics of early medieval Andhra, while the second section is on the rise and growth of feudalism.

A.S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984.

This work deals with different aspects of state in ancient India. It explains the origin, nature and different types of states in ancient India. It not only provides information on the origin and development of several political institutions, but also gives a detailed description of the administration as whole of the successive dynasties from Vedic to *Rastrakutas*.

T. Ainslie Embree, *Sources of Indian tradition, from the beginning to 1800*, 2nd edition, Viking: Penguin Books India (p) Ltd, 1991.

In this book, the author gives a comprehensive picture of different belief systems in India. The book is divided into five sections, each dealing with a particular tradition. The first section titled 'Brahmanical tradition: the Vedic period', deals with the Cosmic and ritual order in Vedic literature and the concept of ultimate reality in Upanishads. The second section is on Jainism and Buddhism. This section describes the origin, spread, doctrine, literature and schism in Jainism and Buddhism and also their views on state and society. The following section is on 'the Hindu way of life' in which the four ends of Man, different Hindu philosophies such as Vedanta and Sankhya and the concepts of Siva Bhakti, Vishnu Bhakti, and so on are discussed. In the fourth part, the foundations of Islam, Islamic kingship and mysticism in India are dealt. The last section provides comprehensive details on Sikhism.

B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao "*Religion in Andhra (A Survey of Religious Development in Andhra From Early Times Up to A. D 1325)*", Hyderabad: Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973 (First published) rpt. 1993 .

The book religion in Andhra is a comprehensive volume on the religious beliefs in Andhra from the earliest times. The book is broadly divided into four subsections with altogether eighteen chapters.

Section-I: It comprises of four chapters. The first chapter dealt on the literary and archaeological sources for the study of religion in Andhra. The second chapter deals about the people of Andhra and their home land apart from their political history. Third chapter is on the early belief systems like Animism, totemism and other practices. The advent of Brahmanism into Andhradesa was discussed in the fourth chapter.

Section –II: This section is exclusively on Buddhism in Andhradesa. This section contains four chapters; i.e. from chapters

fifth to eighth; in which the fortunes of Buddhism in Andhra; its advent, rise, climax and decline are dealt. The author has explained how the incorporation of local beliefs into Buddhism gave rise to the *Chaityaka*, *Mahayana* and *Vajrayana* systems. Peculiar principles of various Buddhist sects of Andhra, characteristics of Stupas in south India, main scholars of Andhradesa, origin of various Buddhist sects in India, patrons of Buddhist sects in Andhradesa and role of trade and commerce in the emergence and development of these sects in Andhradesa were discussed elaborately in different chapters. Fifth chapter is about the advent of Buddhism and causes for its wide acceptance. Early schools of Buddhism in Andhra like Mahasanghikas, Caityakas, Sailas and Theravādins are explained in the sixth chapter. Seventh chapter is on Mahāyānism, whereas eighth chapter is on Vajrayana Buddhism and decline of Buddhism in general. He proposed that lack of political support and rise of Hinduism are the reasons for the decline of Buddhism in Andhra.

Section-III: this section comprises of three chapter. This complete section is on Jainism. This section explains the rise, spread and decline of Jainism in Andhra.

Section –IV: this section is divided into seven chapters and is particularly confined to different traditions of Hinduism. This section discusses elaborately on different arenas like Vedic rituals, Puranic tradition, Bhakti concept, Vaisnavism, Saivaism, temple and Matha cults in Andhra.

B.S.L Hanumantharao, *Buddhism and Jainism in Andhra Desa*, Hyderabad: Telugu University, 1997.

This book explains how the cultural and social history of Andhra was shaped due to the impact of Buddhism and Jainism. It also explains the advent of Buddhism and Jainism and its acceptance by different groups of people. This books also deals with

the Mahayana and Sāilā sects of Andhra along with Theravāda a Buddhism.

B. S. L. Hanumantharao, *Boudhamu-Andhramu (Telugu)*, Hyderabad: Telugu University, 1995.

The work divided into 2 parts; the first part discusses about the Buddhism in Andhra, and the second part gives the history of the Andhra country. In the first part, the author briefly discussed about the birth of Buddhism, various reasons for its birth, its philosophy and causes for the decline of Buddhism. The briefly discuss about the Buddhism in Andhra, patronage of Buddhism by the rulers and trading communities. The work also refers to the art and architecture, spread of Buddhism to various parts of Andhra country and its influence on the people in the period between 300 BC-300 AD. The author also gives general information about two schools of Buddhism, Mahāyāna and Theravāda and its philosophers in the Andhra. He mentioned about the contribution of Andhra country to the *Theravāda* Buddhism and its relation with Sri Lankan *Theravāda* a sect. The book further sheds light on the Viharas like Mahisasana Viharas, Vanavihara and Vashivihara which had played a very important role for the development of *Theravāda a Buddhism* in Andhradesa.

B.Subramanyam, *Jātaka s in South Indian Art*, Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2005.

In this book, the author compared the Jātaka panels in South Indian art with that of North Indian art and drew reasons for the introduction of some regional elements in some of the Jātaka depictions in south Indian art. Nearly forty one *Jātakas* from different sites have been examined in detail with textual references. He further furnished information on contemporary society, economy and geography. The author utilized archaeological and literary sources to draw the conclusions. This work is a harmonious blending of both the textual references and art depictions.

K.R. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and The History of Andhra between 225 & 610 A.D.* New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989

The book provides interesting information on the archaeology of the Andhra country and its history between third and sixth centuries. It is divided in to two sections. In the first section the Buddhist remains in Andhra, the marbles of Amravati and Nagarjuna Bodhisatta were dealt. In part two the history of Andhra between 225 and 610 A.D. was given.

Sree Padma and A.W. Barber (Ed.), *Buddhism in the Krishna River Valley of Andhra*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.

It is an edited volume, containing elaborate discussions on various aspects of Buddhism in Andhra produced by different scholars in their own perspectives. Present work enhances the general understanding of Buddhism in Andhra and described the role of Andhra Buddhism in world history and its pivotal place in the development of various theories in Indian Buddhism. Each chapter in this edited volume deals with specific topic of Buddhism in Andhra and contributed a unique comprehensive picture of Buddhist culture before its emergence in the historical record (3rd Century BCE) and its final decline in the 12th Century AD.

Akira Shimada “The Great Railing at Amaravati: An Architectural and Chronological Reconstruction”, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 66, No. 1 (2006), pp. 89-141.

It delineates the relationship between Buddhist monasteries and cities in early historic India (300 BCE- 300 CE). Several conclusions were drawn on the location of the Buddhist monasteries by converging archaeological and Pāli canonical sources. A special emphasis was laid on the Buddhist sites in Deccan plateau, their location, distance, similarities and differences. The author opined

that the Buddhist *stupas* and monasteries contributed for the spread of Buddhism. It is evident that the areas outside early historic fortified cities of Amravati, Nagarjunakonda, Vaddamanu, and Sannathi were used for the disposal of the dead.

The evidences at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Sannathi reveal that Buddhist monks lived in burial sites and they might have played certain role in death rites of lay people. The archeological remains at these places confirm that these Buddhist sites were located very close to the place of trade and commerce and cremation. The author summarized that Buddhist monks had good relations with various sections of society.

I. K. Sarma, *Studies in early Buddhist Monuments and Brahmi Inscriptions of Andhradesa*, Nagpur: Dattsons publishers, 1998.

This work is a critical assessment by the author to reconstruct the story of forgotten cultures at regional level. The author has investigated in to the growth of Buddhism and Buddhist art in ancient Andhradesa. He is of the opinion that the Buddhism has entered Andhra during the life time of the master and there existed a system of communication between the north and the south in pre-Mauryan period. It is testified with the fact that the state formation was taking place in this part during the early historic period.

This book is altogether divided in to six broad chapters. In the first chapter he generally covered different aspects of Buddhism in Andhra; such as: literary and traditional accounts explaining the advent of Buddhism into Andhra, geographical and historical background of the land as well as dealt with some Buddhist sects and sights of Andhradesa. The second and third chapters provide an exhaustive account on Bhattiprolu and Guntupalle sites respectively. In the following chapter he explained Cavern inscription at Malekonda in Prakasam district and Rock cut Vestiges at Rampa Errampalem in East Godavari district. The last two chapters are on 'Correlations' and 'Appendix', respectively. The

last chapter discusses about the punch marked coins and Buddhist sites of Andhra.

2. Works on Buddhist Philosophy: The literature under this section throws light on different aspects of Buddhism such as its philosophy, literature, schism, Monastic life, etc.

E. B. Cowell (ed.), *The Jātaka*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1990.

It is produced in six volumes. Actually this was an English translation of the Pāli work, entitled '*the Jātaka*'. All six volumes, of this work are on 547 Jātaka tales that magnify the glory of the Buddha apart from illustrating the Buddhist doctrines and precepts with appropriate examples. The foremost interest of these legends lies in their relation to folklore giving a vivid picture of the social life and customs of ancient India.

A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 2004.

It gives an elaborative description on different aspects of Buddhism in twelve chapters. It deals with the socio-cultural and politico-economic conditions of India since from the Indus valley civilization. Then he deals with the factors responsible for the growth of different *Srāmana* schools along with Buddhism. After that he describes the life events of Buddha along with his doctrine. It further focuses on compilation of *Tipiṭakas* as well as on different schools of Buddhism.

Richard F. Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism a Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, Routledge: Abington, 2006.

This book throws light on the early and later Vedic traditions. He explained the social and religious scenario for the rise of Buddhism in ancient India. He added that the ideology and practices of Buddhism were given due space in the socio-historical

and religious formations of India. He further explained the Buddhist tradition prevalent in Srilanka. He upheld that Theravāda Buddhism and contemporary socio-cultural environment of the land had mutual influences on each other, thus contributing for religious syncretism between orthodox and heterodox spiritual ideologies.

Mohan Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1990.

This book exclusively deals with the origin of the Buddhist monastic community and different aspects like food, clothing, dwelling places, money, and other things to be followed by the members of the monastic community.

K. R. Norman, *A History of Indian Literature, Pāli literature including the canonical literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hinayana schools of Buddhism*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983.

It extensively deals with the Pāli literature. Basing on the type of literature, the book is divided into four chapters. The first chapter, 'the Pāli language and the Theravāda tradition', explains about the nomenclature and the historical development of the term *Pāli*; apart from describing the historicity of the Theravāda tradition. The remaining three chapters are based on different categories of Pāli literature; such as: Canonical, early post-canonical and later post-canonical literature. The chapter on canonical literature not only discusses on the division of the canons but also provides verbose elucidation of all the three canons. Under the early post-canonical literature, the early prose texts, chronicles in Pāli and the Pāli commentators are touched upon. The final chapter discussed on the later chronicles, commentators and other miscellaneous works.

Hirakawa Akira, *A History of Indian Buddhism from Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana*, Hawaii: University of Hawaii press, 1990.

It provides exceptionally comprehensive information on the first half of the Indian Buddhism. When Buddhism spread beyond India, certain aspects of Buddhism were emphasized in each area, generating a wide variety of interpretations and practices that suits to those particular geographical settings. But still Indian Buddhism retained its unique characteristic that were not emphasised in other regions. Hence the term Indian Buddhism is aptly used to distinguish it from the Buddhism of other lands. Most of the significant topics in Indian Buddhism are discussed very clearly in written form and in such a style that could be readily understood even to a general reader. The present volume covers from the period of the master to the early Mahayana phase. The work has proposed a new theory for the rise of Mahayana; that the Mahayana Buddhism has arose from an institutional base in which the stupa worship and the formulation of Mahayana sets of precepts, have contributed significantly. The author has divided Indian Buddhism into the following five periods. (1)Early Buddhism,(2) Nikaya or Sectarian (often called Hinayana) Buddhism, (3) Early Mahayana Buddhism, (4) later Mahayana Buddhism, and (5) Esoteric Buddhism. All these five periods are arranged in chronological order. The present volume covers the first three phases. The first period is confined to the description of the teachings of the Master and the establishment of the Sangha. Apart from that the views of Asoka on Buddhism is also covered in this section. The second period deals with the Sectarian (*Nikaya*) Buddhism. This period is mainly typified by the development of the scholastic *Abhidhamma* philosophy. In the third part the origins of Mahayana and the contents of its early scriptures are discussed.

Walpola Sri Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught* (Revised edition), New York: Grove press, 1974.

The author gives a comprehensive picture of the tenets of Buddhism. The book is divided into eight chapters. The topics deal

with the doctrine of Buddhism that is accepted by both the Theravāda ins and Mahāyānists such as the Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eightfold Path, the Five Aggregates, Karma, Rebirth, Conditioned Genesis (*Paticca-samuppada*), the doctrine of No-Soul (*Anatta*), and the Setting-up of Mindfulness (*Satipatthana*).

Jeffrey Samuels, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda a Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Reevaluation of the Bodhisattva-Sravaka Opposition”, *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 47, No. 3, Jul., 1997.

This article is an attempt to review one of the major distinctions regarding the path followed by Mahayanists and Hīnayānists; i.e. Bodhisattva ideal and *Arahant*, respectively. The *Mahāyāna* practitioners wish to become Buddhas by following the path of Bodhisattva whereas the others try to become *Arahants* by following the path of the Hearers or the Buddha’s disciples. While explaining the two models, the author has tried to trace out the scope of the bodhisattva ideal in Theravāda Buddhist theory and practice that fall under the category of *Hīnayāna* branch. In doing so, the author is neither proposing to overrule the distinctions between the two schools nor trying to do away with the very terms ‘Mahāyāna’ and ‘Hīnayāna’, but rather tried to explore the inherent oversimplifications in Hinayana-Mahayana dichotomy.

Joanna Rogers Macy, “Dependent Co-arising: The Distinctiveness of Buddhist Ethics”, *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol. 7, No. 1, spring, 1979.

This work is an attempt to correlate the doctrine of *Pathichasamupada* (dependent co-arising) with that of the current social dynamics. It means the dependent co-arising nature of reality, which is embedded in the Buddhist philosophy, is applied to explain the reciprocal dynamics between personal and social transformation. Initially, while explaining the theory of dependent co-arising, a structure of reality, it is asserted that the phenomenon

is impermanent, but not momentary and *Nibbana*, which can be attained through the cessation of suffering, is not separate from the realm of dependent co-arising, in fact, its causation lies in the overcoming of defilements compounded with greed, ignorance and aversion. Then in the following lines, the core Buddhist philosophy of Causation is applied to explain the social dynamics.

Ajay Mitra Shastri, “Buddhist Schools in Early Andhra”, *Indian Historical Review*, 2001.

This article talks about the origin of the Buddhist sects in Andhra and the evolution of these sects. Many of the conclusions were drawn by using the archaeological and literary sources. Early references of Buddhism in south India and causes for the emergence various Buddhist sects in India are discussed in detail. The offshoots of *Mahāsamghikas* like *Bahusrutiya*, *Caityakas*, *Rajagiriya*, *Siddharthaka* and the *Saila* schools (*Purvasaila* and *Aparasaila*) philosophical aspects are discussed in brief. Based on the inscriptions of Amaravati, the author holds that the *Purvasaila* and the *Aparasaila* schools might have practiced certain practices and they were named after their monasteries. The inscriptional evidences suggest that *Saila* schools enjoyed dominant position in Andhradesa during early centuries A.D.

V.V. Krishna Sastry, “Sects of Buddhism in Andhra”, in Aloka Parasher-Sen (ed.), *Kevala-Bodhi: Buddhist and Jaina History of the Deccan*, Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2004.

In this article, he evaluated the nature, philosophy, epicentres and monks of various Buddhist sects in Andhradesa. Article starts with the reasons for the schism in Buddhism and enlists the various Buddhist sects in India. He assumed that nine Buddhist sects had their base in Andhra. The author used inscriptional and literary sources to construct the plausible chronology of these sects. Due to the lack of sufficient archaeological sources the author could not fix the location of the

monasteries accurately. By utilizing major available sources the author tried his level best to study the philosophy and popularity of these sects in Andhradesa.

Naomi Appleton, *Jātaka Stories in Theravāda Buddhism Narrating the Bodhisatta Path*, London: Routledge, 2010.

This book examines the major collections of Jātaka tales (stories of the Buddha's previous births) in Pāli language as a distinct genre in Buddhist literature. Unlike many other western scholars who worked on Jātaka tales focused on translating or retelling the stories, or treating them as the folktales, Naomi Appleton, studied the *Jātaka* literature, with its own religious preoccupations and implications. Basing on the Pāli version of Jātaka tales, she explained the Theravāda doctrine and the *bodhisattva* path to reach *nirvāṇa*. She interpreted the Jātakas in the light of contemporary socio-cultural life.

Lacuna in previous research:

The scholarship on Buddhism is very extensive shedding light on its religious, ritualistic, philosophical, politico-historical and cultural perspectives. However, the existing researches in Buddhist studies are based mainly on the literary works, inscriptions and traditional canonical works. The Jātaka tales which were the embodiments of Buddhist ideology that were transmitted orally as narratives in the earlier phase are not thoroughly deployed in the study of Buddhism. When analysed, every *Jātaka* tale appears to be a miniature treatise on the religion, since it discloses the precepts of the faith, behavioural code of Bhikkus and populace, suggestions for the improvement of the life of Buddhists and other important tenets that are upheld by Buddha. The tales further show the schism that is being developed in the religion. However the research works on the Jātaka tales are limited either to translation or using its content for substantiating the arguments. Likewise, the existing scholarship on Buddhism in Āndhrādēsa is very limited and that too

confined mostly to the general aspects of Buddhism like; the advent and growth of Buddhism in Āndhra, different schools of Buddhism in Āndhra, and the Buddhist vintages of Andhra Pradesh. Besides that, by and large, it confined doctrinally to the Mahayana Buddhism, Acharya Nagarjuna and his works and geographically to the Krishna river valley, apart from the scholarship on Buddhist art in Andhra.

Except for a few, so far the researches conducted on Buddhism, especially on Theravāda in Āndhrādēsa are meagre. The religious philosophy of Buddhism either formed a chapter or section of the books. The epigraphical sources were privileged over the literary sources, the *Jātakas*, *gathas* and other contemporary Prakrit literature. The *Jātakas* which were the metaphors of the Buddhist way of practical life were not put to discourse in analysis and interpretation of data. Hence there is a need to revisit and reinterpret the sources especially the *Jātaka* tales to understand how a Buddhist through its behavioural and ethical base of religiosity could shake the roots of traditionalism and construct a society that rests on *Sīla* (virtues), *Samādhi* (meditation) and *prajña* (wisdom).

Hypothesis:

So far the researches on Jātaka tales and Theravāda philosophy projected it as Hīnayāna school of Buddhism and used it as a synonym to 'lesser vehicle'. This synonymic usage undermined the very *Theravāda* Buddhism as a distinct influential school of thought which reached the masses. In the thesis, it is hypothesized that the *Jātakas* are the embodiment of the experiential expressions intertwined with the original preachings of the Buddha, narrated to his disciples as tales in Pāli language to reach the grassroots of the society. The *Jātaka* tales themselves functioned as vehicles to reach people embedded with all precepts of the Buddhist thought interwoven with their texts and contexts. The Theravādins by adopting three pronged approach won the hearts of the populace; (i)

oral rendition of tales in public spaces; (ii) Piṭaka literature –written form and (iii) visual depiction of the tales of Jātakas and life scenes of Buddha as narrative art on the walls of Buddhist institutions.

Aims and objectives:

Keeping in view the hypothesis, the broad aims of study are to:

(i) Probe into the politico-historical and cultural milieu contributed for the rise and spread of heterodoxy in the form of Buddhism and its schism in India, especially in Andhradesa.

(ii) Revisit and reinterpret source material- the literary and archaeological evidences, especially the *Jātaka* tales to show how the lofty values of *tathāgata* brought to the reach of commoners and saved them from social anarchy.

(iii) Illustrate how the Theravāda Buddhism appropriated the colloquial language and narrative tradition through the Jātaka tales, experiences and expositions of the mendicants in the spread of Buddhism to different strata of the society.

(iv) Interpret how the religious precepts of *Theravāda* Buddhism are appropriated in the political philosophy of the dynasties in integrating state and society in Andhradesa during the regimes of its early rulers like the Satavahana and Ikshvaku.

Methodology:

Methodology is the systematic and theoretical analysis of the methods applied to solve the research problem. It involves various logical steps employed by the researcher in defining the research problem in due course of his research. For the current research: *Theravāda a Buddhism in Āndhrādēsa: Reflections in Jātaka tales*; which is based mostly on the textual analysis, historical and philosophical methods are employed to draw out valid and logical conclusions.

Historical method:

Historical research is the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of the available sources, to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events. It involves a critical inquiry of the past in order to reconstruct a faithful representation of the past. It is an analytical research involving different stages such as; (i) locating the research topic addressing past events, (ii) review of primary and secondary data, (iii) systematic collection and objective evaluation of data related to past occurrences with the help of techniques of criticism for historical searches and evaluation of the information and (iv) synthesis and explanation of findings in order to test hypotheses concerning causes, effects or trends of these events that may help to explain present events and anticipate future events. It is not a mere accumulation of facts and data or depiction of past events. It is a never ending vibrant report of past events, involving an analysis and explanation of those occurrences with an aim to recapture the nuances, personalities and ideas that influenced such events. It deals with discovery of data that already exists and does not involve creation of data using structured tools.

Generally four major approaches are employed to the study of the past. They are: qualitative approach, quantitative approach, content analysis and oral history. The qualitative approach is primarily based on the written and printed evidences, whereas the quantitative approach is sought to estimate the popularity of a particular textbook by tabulating the number of texts printed, basing on copyright records. This approach is presumed to have superior validity and generalizability. In content analysis the text itself is analysed. It includes both the earlier aspects. The first three approaches are based written or printed text as their database where as the fourth relies on living memory. Oral historians turn to the common folk to secure data.

These four approaches are not mutually exclusive. Many a times, according to the demand they are inclusive. This integration is possible, since the nature of historical research cuts across a variety of approaches, depending on the research question. In this method the technique of ‘source criticism’ plays a significant role. Use of the historical method to the current research, would enable the researcher to have a critical look at the sources, Viz; when, where and by whom was the source produced, what factors caused the source and the authenticity or the credibility of the source, etc.

Philosophical method:

The Philosophical method enables a researcher to look into different aspects of a ‘thing’ before drawing conclusion. Generally three common methods; such as ‘methodic doubt’, ‘argument’, and ‘dialect’; are applied in the philosophical method to making any valid judgements.

Methodic doubt: it is otherwise called a methodological skepticism, which advocates that ‘doubt is a route to certain knowledge’. So this method reminds one to be skeptic about the truth of all beliefs in order to determine which belief is certainly true.

Argument: An argument, in philosophy or logic, is a series of statements typically posed to draw out logical conclusions. Argument is of different kinds, out of which ‘deductive argument’ and ‘inductive argument’ are well known. In the former case statements are made to assert the truth of the conclusions. It is otherwise called as ‘truth preserving’ argument as the truth of the conclusion is bounded by the given premises. In the latter case, statements are made to support the conclusions that are probably true and here, unlike the deductive arguments, the premises support the truth of the conclusion.

Dialect: Dialect is a kind of argument to resolve the disagreement. Under this method the difference of opinion among

two or more scholars on any particular subject will be resolved by establishing 'truth' through a logical discourse. Hence, by applying the philosophical method that as well as the historical method to the current research, fair and logical conclusions would be drawn, by keeping aside the ambiguity in the subject.

Hermeneutic method:

Research process is an elaborate intellectual activity containing two major facets, (I) heuristics and (II) hermeneutics. In general Heuristics refers to experience-based techniques for problem solving, learning, and discovery. Hermeneutics is the art of interpretation. (I) Heuristics emphasizes on competence- the proficiency. It refers to the (i) author (teller /community) (ii) technical skills (strategies of rendering written or oral texts) and (iii) pre- knowledge (the pre-acquaintance of the author with the subject that is being dealt with).

(II) Hermeneutics relates to textual criticism which is of two types (i) external criticism (establishes authenticity of data by evaluating paleography, date and time) and deals with analysis of the text (ii) internal criticism (interpretation). Internal criticism is done by positive interpretative criticism and negative interpretative criticism. The positive interpretative criticism deals with critical textual analyses to establish literal, literary and real/cultural meaning of the text and the negative interpretative criticism looks for the intension as well as accuracy of the author. It further focuses on context analysis.

In the light of above discussion, the source material especially the text of the *Jātaka* tales are subjected to critical textual and contextual analyses to bring out how (i) the text is structured and situated in the contemporary context (ii) the precepts of the *Theravāda* were embedded in the theme and interplay of the characters in the tale (iii) the *Jātaka* texts can be depicted as dialogue and discourse in the process of interpretation. The fourth

chapter is completely based on hermeneutic method in which Jātaka texts and text analogues analyzed and interpreted.

Through historical method the politico-historical and cultural milieu that contributed for the rise, spread and schism of Buddhism over a period of time can be enquired. Likewise, by employing the philosophical method, the veritable philosophical tenets of Buddhism, would be drawn by constantly posing the elsewhere mentioned three basic philosophical methods. The deep rooted philosophical under pinning of Buddhism in the Buddhist folk tales; i.e. the Jātaka tales that worked as a medium for the propagation of the faith to the nook and corner of the countries and deep into the hearts of even the lay people, would be eked out through textual analysis of the Jātaka tales. Further both the methods would be of immense help in interpreting how the religious philosophy of Buddhism served as a medium for the appropriation of royal power by integrating state and society in Āndhradēsa during its pre and early Christian centuries.

Sources

The sources for the study are: primary and secondary. The primary sources include (i) literary and (ii) archaeological sources.

(i)The literary sources:

The literary sources include the Pāli canonical and post-canonical literature and Sanskrit works. They speak about the origin and spread of Buddhism and schism in the religion over a period of time. Further these works provide ample information on different aspects of Buddhism. The major Pāli literary sources for the study are the Tipiṭakas- *Vinaya*, *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* edited separately in distinct volumes by Pāli Text Society, London. There is no one comprehensive edited volume for every *Piṭaka*. Different sections of each *Piṭaka* were separately edited and Published by the Pāli Text Society of London.

The *Jātakas* that tell about the previous birth stories of Buddha are embodiments of Buddhist ideology in a nutshell and are meant for propagation of religion among the masses in the form of tales. The Sanskrit works like *Buddhacarita*, *Saundaranadana*, *Sadharmapundarika*, *Sutralankara*, provides ample information with regard to Buddhist way of life prevalent in the then contemporary texts. Though a vast literature exists in this regard, a few relevant books are being analysed in this section. A few of the literary sources are as follows:

I B Horner (tr.), *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, Vol. III (*Suttavibhanga*), Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2004.

The *Suttavibhanga*, the first section of *Vinaya Piṭaka* gives a detailed description of a set of 227 and 311 rules and regulations to be followed respectively by the *bhikkhus* and the *bhikkhunis*. This section is known as the *Patimokkha*. The *bhikkhus* should follow eight and *bhikkhunis* should observe seven categories of *Patimokkha* rules. They are: four *Parajika* (Defeat), thirteen *Sanghadisesa* (Formal meeting), two *Aniyata* (Undetermined), thirty *Nissaggiya* (Forfeiture), ninety two *Pacittiya* (Expiation), four *Patidesaniya*(Confession), seventy five *Sekhiya* (Training), and Seven *Adhikaranasamathddhamma* (Legal questions), thus giving a total of 227 rules for *bhikkhus*. The sections of rules for the *bhikkhunis* follow the same pattern except that they have no *Aniyata* class. The numbers are: *Parajika* (8), *Sanghadisesa* (17), *Aniyata* (-), *Nissaggiya* (30), *Pacittiya* (166), *Patidesaniya* (8), *Sekhiya* (75), *Adhikaranasamathddhamma* (7) making a total of 311.

I B Horner (tr.), *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, Vol.IV *Mahāvagga*, Lancaste: Pāli Text Society, 2007.

This book describes about ten *Suttas* that deals with the historical, biographical and doctrinal aspects of Buddhism. The most famous *Sutta* is the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* that gives an

account of the last days and the demise of Buddha and also the distribution of his relics. The *Mahānidana Sutta* explains the Cause and Effect relationship, and the *Mahasatipahana Sutta* dealing with the four Methods of Steadfast Mindfulness and practical aspects of Buddhist meditation are significant. It also includes the rules to be followed during ordination, and various procedures that monks are to perform during formal gatherings of the community.

I B Horner (tr.), *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, Vol. V (Cullavagga), Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001.

The book *Cullavagga* gives elaborate information on the Bhikkhus protocol and duties. It further delineates the rules and procedures for addressing offences committed within the Sangha. It provides information on the establishment of the *Bhikkhuni Sangha* and also the first and the second Buddhist councils.

I B Horner (tr.), *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, Vol. VI (*Parivara*), Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001.

Parivara, is a supplement to the *Vinaya*. Since some of the chapters of the *Parivara* are summaries of various sections of the *Vinaya*, it has been suggested that the *Parivara* is, in fact, older than the *Vinaya* and originally performed the same function towards it as do the *Matihds* for the *Abhidhamma* texts.

Maurice Walshe (tr.), *The long discourses of the Buddha, A Translation of the Digha-Nikaya*, Boston: Wisdom Publication, 1995.

It is the first of the five *Nikayas* containing thirty four long Discourses of the Buddha in three divisions: *Silakkhandha Vagga*, *Maha Vagga* and *Pathika Vagga*.

(a) *Silakkhandha Vagga* contains thirteen *Suttas* that condemns the ideologies of other contemporary religious doctrines and practices such as the sacrifices, self-mortification deeds, social inequalities etc. Further it mentions three different ways of

maintaining *Sīlam* (morality)-Minor Morality (*Culasīlam*), Middle Morality (*Majjhimasīlam*) and Major Morality (*Mahdsīlam*). The first one prescribes the basics of the morality applicable to all. The remaining two are the rules to be observed by *Sammana* and *Brahmans*.

(b) *Maha Vagga* consists of ten *suttas*, dealing with historical, biographical and the doctrinal aspects Buddhism. The most famous *Sutta* is the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta* that discuss about the last days and the passing away of the Buddha and the distribution of his relics. *Mahāpadana Sutta* sheds light on the historicity of the Buddha and last seven Buddha, the life story of the Vipassi Buddha. Doctrinally there are two important *Suttas*: the *Mahānidana Sutta* and the *Mahasatipahhana Sutta*. The former explains the Chain of ‘Cause and Effect’ and the latter with the four Methods of Steadfast Mindfulness and practical aspects of Buddhist meditation.

(c) *Pathika Vagga* comprises of eleven shorter discourses of a miscellaneous nature. This section explains how the Buddha rejected the severe asceticism practised by other sects. Further the text describes doctrine of the periodical evolution and dissolution of the universe, the accounts of Universal Monarchs and the thirty-two physiognomic characteristics of a great man.

I.B. Horner (tr.), *The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings (Majjima-Nikaya)*, Vol. II, Oxford: Pāli Text Society, 2001.

Majjima Nikaya consists of 152 *Suttas*. They enumerate the fundamental teachings of the Buddha and the contemporary social milieu. The *suttas* in this *Nikaya* throw much light on the social ideas and institutions of those days, and also provide general information on the economic and political life. Each *Sutta* explains a particular issue that shed light on the code of conduct of the people and also on different aspects of the society. For example the *Mūla-pariyaya Sutta* explains the cognitive processes of four types

of individuals- the untaught ordinary person, the discipline in higher training, the *Arahant*, and the *Tathāgata*. At another instance in *Sabbasava Sutta*, Bhikkus were taught seven types of restraints to abandon taints, the fundamental defilements that maintain bondage to the chain of birth and death. In another *Sutta* the Buddha enjoins the Bhikkus to be heirs in Dhamma, not heirs in material things. In *Ariya-pariyesana Sutta*, the Buddha explained the long account of his own quest for enlightenment from the time of his life in the palace up to his transmission of the Dhamma to his first five disciples.

Rhys Davids (tr.), *The Book of the Kindred Sayings (Samyutta-nikaya) or Grouped Suttas, Part II, The Nidana Book, Oxford: Pāli Text Society; 2000.*

It is divided into five sections (*Vaggas*). Each *Vagga* is contains information on each topic, such as *Nidana Vagga* explains on Causation, *Kandaka Vagga* on Aggregates, *Salayatana Vagga* on the six senses and *Mahavagga* on the fundamentals of the doctrine like eight fold path and so on.

F. L. Woodward (tr.), *The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Anguttara Nikaya) or More Numbered Suttas, Vol. I, Lancaster: Pāli Text Society, 2006.*

It is the fourth Nikaya and contains 9557 short *Suttas*. They are divided into eleven divisions known as *Nipatas*. Each *Nipata* is further divided into *Vaggas* which usually contain ten *Suttas*. Here eleven stages of *Dhamma* are discussed. *Anguttara Nikaya* is a source of information on Buddhist psychology and ethics.

The Khuddaka Nikaya

The fifth of the *Panchama Nikayas* and contains the largest number of treatises. Although the word '*Khuddaka*' literally means 'minor' or 'small', the actual content of this collection can by no means be regarded as minor. The miscellaneous nature of this collection is that it not only contains the discourses of the Buddha

but also include brief doctrinal notes mostly in verse forms in the accounts of personal struggles and achievements by *theras* and *therīs*, the birth stories, the history of the Buddha etc.

Bhadantacariya Buddhaghosha, *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga)* (tr.) Bhikkhu Nanamoli, Taiwan: Taipei publishers, 1956.

It is an extensive volume enumerating all the fundamental doctrines of the *Theravādins*; such as the *AryaSaccha*, *Astangikamagga*, and *Pathichasamupada* and so on in a detailed manner.

The Lotus Sutra (*Sadharmapundarika*) (Trans from the Chinese of Kumarajiva), Tsugunari Kubo and Akira Yuyama, Berkeley: Numata Centre for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2007.

The *Saddharma pundarika sutra*, also called the lotus Sutra or White Lotus Sutra, is about the Sublime Dharma. It was composed in its earliest form, probably during 100 B.C. -100 A.D. It is an anthology of forty seven hundred verses and was probably composed in the first century A.D. It highlights the *Upaya Kausala* (skilful means). Traditionally it is considered that it was taught by the Buddha for the spiritual upliftment of the world.

This work states that the three *Yanas* like *Sravakayana*, *Pratyekabuddhayana*, and *Bodhisattvayana* are not in fact three different paths leading to three goals, but one path, with one goal. The earlier teachings are said to be of 'skilful means' in order to help beings of limited capacities.

Andy Rotman (tr.), *Divine Stories (Divyavadana)*, Part 1, Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008.

The *Divyavadana* is a Sanskrit anthology of thirty eight Buddhist tales including the well-known *Asokavadana*. It may be dated to 2nd century C.E. These stories were explained by the Buddha to a group of disciples on 'how a particular individual,

through his actions in a previous life, enjoying a particular *Karmic* result in the present life'. It predominantly emphasises merit making (*Punya*) through offerings to enlightened beings or at *stupas* and other holy sites related to the Buddha.

These stories have frequently been used in the moral education for the mendicants in the monasteries and the laypeople. They were considered to be the word of the Buddha himself. These stories spread throughout Asia, as both narrative and narrative art, leaving an indelible mark on Buddhist thought and practice. Representations of these stories can be found across Asia, from Kizil in China to Sanchi in India to Borobudur in Indonesia. It is not hyperbole to say that these are some of the most influential stories in the history of Buddhism. This volume contains the first half of the stories in the collection.

E W Cowell (tr.), *The Buddhacarita or the Life of the Buddha by Asvaghosa*, New Delhi, 1977.

It is in classical Sanskrit and is one of the earliest Sanskrit dramas that survive partially. It is a voluminous poem recounting the life and the work of the Buddha from his birth to enlightenment. According to a Chinese traveller Itsing, it is extensively read throughout India.

E.H. Johnston, *The Saundarananda of Asvaghosa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1928. It is about the conversion of Nanda, Buddha's half-brother in to the order. The first half describes the Nanda's life and the second half with the doctrine of the Buddha. The work is centred on the love story of Sundari and Nanda.

(ii) The Archaeological sources

The archaeological sources include the contemporary inscriptions issued by the rulers and the populace, Buddhist architecture and art depicted on walls of *stupas*, *chaityas* and *viharas*. The numismatic evidences are also consulted. The study

of archaeological remains enables one to learn how the art depicted on the Buddhist *Stupas*, *Chaityas* and *Viharas* reflects the social life of the community. The inscriptions given by the rulers and the ruled during the times of the Satavahana times are being consulted.

The secondary sources

The secondary sources comprise of the published works related to Buddhism and the other topic of research related works. In literature survey, most of the secondary works related to the topic of research are being analysed. However, a harmonious blending of both the primary and secondary sources is done in the thesis to arrive at a genuine interpretation.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. A brief description of each chapter is given as follows:

Chapter I: Introduction: delineates the significance of the research topic, nature and scope of the study, survey of previous literature, lacunae in the previous researches, hypothesis, broad aims and objectives of study, evaluation of source material and a brief gist of the chapters in the thesis.

Chapter II: Cultural milieu for the Rise of Buddhism discusses the socio-economic and politico-religious backdrop for the emergence of the Buddhism as a predominant religious thought to reach the people's ambitions in the wake of the conditions cited above. All these factors are intertwined with one another in the emanation of new cultural formations including polity and economy. The chapter is divided into two sections. **Section A** describes the politico-cultural backdrop for the rise of Buddhism in Northern India whereas **Section B** establishes how in Southern India, especially in Āndhradēsa the contemporary socio-political conditions could successfully appropriate the religion, Buddhism; as a strategy in augmenting resources for the establishment of political powers and negotiation of conflicts in the society. Further this

section elucidates mutual interaction and influence of megalithic structures and Buddhist architecture in Āndhrādēsa before 4th century BC.

Chapter III: Doctrine of Buddhism: Emergence of Theravāda elucidates the origin of Buddhism, its doctrine and schism. The chapter is divided in to two sections. **Section A**, Life of Gautama Buddha: Onset of Buddhism as a doctrine gives a brief sketch of Gautama's biography, his transformation as Buddha and major precepts of the doctrine of Buddhism. **Section B** gives a comprehensive account of the schism in Buddhism and emergence of *Theravāda* School as a distinct Buddhist thought in India with special emphasis in Āndhrādēsa

Chapter IV: Theravāda Precepts in Jātaka tales and Buddhist Narrative Sculptures focuses on how *Theravāda* Buddhism was reflected in the texts of Jātaka tales expressed in the texts and narrative sculptures of Āndhrādēsa. The chapter focuses on how Theravāda Buddhism was reflected in the texts of Jātaka tales expressed in the texts and narrative sculptures of Andhradesa. Here the significance of *Jātaka* as source of Theravāda ideology is discussed. Further, the texts of the *Jātaka* are analysed to interpret how the precepts of *Theravāda* were textualised within the theme of the narrative as well as in the interaction of the characters in it. The chapter further discusses on the *Jātakas* were depicted visually as narrative sculptures on the walls of Buddhist institutions. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section 'Significance of Jātaka tradition' deals with its time of composition, authorship, nature; general structure and purpose are briefly discussed. In this section the *Jātaka* tales prevalent on the walls of Buddhist institutions in Āndhrādēsa are analysed to show how the *Theravāda* Buddhist precepts were expounded in birth stories of Buddha as Bodhisattva to show path of *nirvana* to the populace through his own experiential expressions of his previous lives. The message

given by Buddha through his *Jātaka* is critically analysed and interpreted from the perspective of Buddhist philosophy. In the second section, Theravāda in *Jātaka* tales and Narrative art of Āndhrādēsa is addressed. The purpose of depiction of *Jātakas* as visual narrative sculptures in the public spaces is also briefly discussed.

Chapter V: Conclusions discusses on the conclusions drawn in the research process. It further throws light on the scope of future research in the arena of Buddhist *Jātakas* from the perceptive of philosophy and social sciences.

Chapter II

Cultural milieu for the Rise of Buddhism

The Sixth century B.C. was an epoch in the annals of world heritage for it witnessed the advent of new technologies in the field of production, gradual transformation of petty kingdoms into empires and development of anxiety in the minds of kings, philosophers and common people with regard to the changes taking place in the social and religious urges of the people's lives. Throughout the world people's minds were stirred up by the issues related to religion and salvation. In this context new thinkers like Mahavira and Gautama Buddha in India, Zoroaster in Iran, Heraclitus and Parmenides in Greece and Confucius and Lao Tse in China came out with new religious philosophies which were supposed to be the religious behaviour to be observed by the people to resolve the then existing confusion and chaos in the society. In Indian context, similar changes like gradual disintegration of old tribal polities leading to the emergence of a large number of regional kingdoms, advent of new agricultural techniques, growth of trade and urbanisation, proliferation of castes, questioning of orthodox religious practices and rise of new religious philosophies took place¹.

¹ Ainslie T. Embree, *Sources of Indian tradition*, 2nd edition, Viking: penguin books India (p) Ltd, 1991, p.44.

The new religious ideologies, Jainism and Buddhism which got originated from the royal *Kshatriya* community spread deeply into nook and corner of India down to the *Āndhradēśa* soon after the death of their proponents, Mahavira and Gautama Buddha respectively². The messages given by both these religious leaders attracted the populace for they addressed to their then socio-religious cravings. Of these two the behavioural code embedded in the religious creed of Buddha became wide popular for the messages given by him were mostly in the form of oral narratives, like *Jātaka* tales-the birth narratives of Buddha. The language which he used in his renderings was Pali, the spoken language of the commoners of the region. Moreover each *Jātaka* tale is an experiential expression of Buddha which reflects the major propositions of his religious thoughts and practices. This narrative mode of transmission through popular language contributed much for the penetration of Buddhist philosophy deep into the lives of the populace ranging from the lay to elite alike. However, besides the ideological underpinnings, the contemporary conditions of

² Both these philosophers were for many years contemporary- they were born, lived, and died in or near the kingdom of Magadha, the modern Bihar. Mahavira, the son of a nobleman from Vaisali, the famous city on north of the Ganges, was a near relative to the royal family of Magadha. Gautama Buddha, although born farther north, in the Sakya territory at the foot of the Nepal hills, underwent his most memorable spiritual experiences at Bodh Gaya in Magadha, and spent many years of his ministry within the limits of that state. The Buddhist and Jain books, therefore, tell us much about the Vrijjian confederacy, of which Vaisali was the capital, and about Magadha, with its subordinate kingdom of Anga. A. Vinsent Smith, *Story of India, From the Sixth Century B. C. to the Mohammedan Conquest, Including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*, Vol. II, New York: Cosimo Classics Publishers, 2008, pp.10-12.

those times demanded much to the emergence of Buddhism as an alternate religious belief that appeased the people who were disgusted with the orthodox ritual centred dogma.

The present chapter discusses the socio-economic and politico-religious backdrop for the emergence of the Buddhism as a predominant religious thought to reach the people's ambitions in the wake of the conditions cited above. All these factors are intertwined with one another in the emanation of new cultural formations including polity and economy. The chapter is divided into two sections. **Section A** describes the politico-cultural backdrop for the rise of Buddhism in Northern India whereas **Section B** establishes how in Southern India, especially in *Āndhradēśa* the contemporary socio-political conditions could successfully appropriate the religion, Buddhism; as a strategy in augmenting resources for the establishment of political powers and negotiation of conflicts in the society. Further this section elucidates mutual interaction and influence of megalithic structures and Buddhist architecture in *Āndhradēśa* before 4th century B.C.

Section A

Different archaeological and literary sources throw light on the socio-cultural and politico-economic transformations in the middle Gangetic basin, during the latter half of the first millennium B.C. Abundance of information has been excavated by the archaeologists from Ahichchhatra, Hastināpur, Kausambi, Ujjain, Srāvasti and many more that find mention in Brāhmaṇical,

Jain and Buddhist literary texts³. Not only the early Buddhists and Jain texts but also the Vedas and Vedic literature and other Sanskrit literature shed light on different aspects of early Indian cultural history and philosophy. However the Buddhist Canonical texts such as the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (the disciplinary rules of the Buddhist Sangha), the *Sutta Piṭaka* (the doctrine of the religion) and the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (the metaphysics) are the basic texts to study Buddhist thought. The *Jātaka* tales that tell about the past lives of the Buddha are vital to understand and interpret the dynamics of socio-cultural life of the people during the latter half of the first millennium B.C. in the middle Gangetic plains. When the archaeological sources and the literary texts are juxtaposed the underlying social and economic transformation in north-eastern parts of India, encompassing eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar can be interpreted⁴.

Political milieu:

By the 6th century B.C. the use of iron implements was widespread in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and Western Bihar. Iron weapons helped the warrior classes to emerge as a political power and consolidate their authority over large territorial states. Thus, sixteen *Mahājanapadas* (great kingdoms) emerged either as prominent monarchies or republics and influenced the

³D.N. Jha, *Early India: a Concise History*, New Delhi: Manohar publishers, 2004, p.65.

⁴Ibid, pp.65-66.

contemporary polity⁵. In the age of the Buddha, these *Mahājanapadas* situated to the North of the Vindhya and the region extended between the North West Frontier and Bihar were in a flourishing state. The *Āṅguttara Nikāya*⁶, a Buddhist text substantiates the existence of *Shodasa Mahājanapadas*, the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*. By the sixth century B.C. of those sixteen, only Kāśi, Kosala, Magadha and Vajji retained their prominence. Later on Magadha could successfully absorb all the above domains into its authority, thereby establishing Magadhan hegemony in north-eastern India (present Bihar and Bengal regions)⁷. The newly emerged Magadha Empire required the absorption of tribal kingdoms along with their culture into its authority and laid foundations to a strong centralised administrative bureaucracy⁸. Bimbisara of Haryanka dynasty, the first ruler of Magadha established a strong polity stabilised by well built standing army in his state. He held his capital at Girivraja (Old Rajagriha) situated near Gaya. He adopted the policy of conquest and conciliation to emerge his kingdom as a powerful state. He fought with Brahmadatta of Anga and conquered his domains. He married the daughters of the kings of Kosala, Vaisali, Videha and Mathura and

⁵<http://www.historydiscussion.net/society/Mahājanapadas-monarchies-and-republics-during-the-post-vedic-period/569>

⁶ Kanai Lal Hazra, *The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1998, p.3.

⁷ D.N.Jha, *supra*, p.84.

⁸Jean C. Darian, 'Social and Economic Factors in the Rise of Buddhism', *Sociological Analysis*, Vol.38, No.3, autumn, 1977, pp.226-238.

annexed their kingdoms. Further he held friendly relationships with the rulers of Malwa and Gandhāra. Hence it is evident that by using the weapons of marriage, conquest and friendship; Bimbisara swallowed almost all the *Mahājanapadas* and made Magadha into the most powerful imperial power.

Ajātaśatru imprisoned his father Bimbisara and held sway over Magadha from B.C. 500 – 475. He subjugated the kings of Kosala, Malla and Vaisali and annexed their possessions. Magadha reached to glory under his reign. Ajātaśatru convened the first Buddhist Council at Rajagriha. Since the successors of the mighty Ajātaśatru were weak, the Sisunaga dynasty occupied the throne of Magadha. The dynasty was named after its founder, Sisunaga. Later, they were over powered by the Nandas. Mahāpadmananda was its founder. The Nandas ruled Magadha from B.C. 425 -325 B.C. He subjugated the kingdoms of Panchala, Kasi, Asumaga, Kuru, Mithila and Surasena and brought the whole of North India under his suzerainty. He made futile attempt to conquer Kalinga. As his successors were weak and could not maintain friendly relationships with the neighbouring states, they lost their sway over the entire Magadha territory. The Nanda dynasty came to an end with Dhana Nanda. His reign was coincided with the invasion of Alexander.

Social milieu:

New technological advancements- tools and implements; in agrarian operations contributed in surplus agricultural production for consumption as well as for exchange. The exchange relations lead to the organisation of trade and commerce at different levels- local, itinerant and international. It further contributed to the fragmentation and segmentation of society into

different caste cum professional organisations, guilds, each of which was consolidated into a distinct social group- *samaya*; with its own norms and values- *samayadharmā*; being regulated by its office- *samayasabha*. Examples abound in *Jātaka* tales with regard to the extensive influence exerted by the guilds on several issues of the professional and personal activities of their members. Further, migration of people from rural to urban areas and extensive commercial activities brought influential changes in the social life of the people. Caste infiltration due to territorial expansion and integration of tribals into the state and society and migration of people in the name of trade and commerce to different places contributed unrest in the psyche of the people for there was no alternate religious thought that could appease to their souls and guarantee a peaceful spiritual life. It is because the requisites of Vedic religion- norms of purity and pollution, hierarchy of social system, and ritual centrality in religious observances- were not suited to the people in such a caste proliferated society. Hence they craved for a religious ideology that could satisfy their spiritual needs with less or no emphasis on caste or class. In these circumstances the newly emerged heterodox sects, Jainism and more Buddhism found to be better to appease their social, political and economic needs.⁹ It can be surmised that the arrival of new people and new technologies, created multi-dimensional conflicts within the society like racial, social, economic and cultural or otherwise Aryan versus non-Aryan, Brahmin versus Kshatriya and Brahmana-kshatriya versus *Vaisya-Sudra* as well as rural collectivism versus urban

⁹Jean C. Darian, *Ibid.*,

individualism.¹⁰ Such unrest contributed for the emergence and popularisation of neo- religious ideologies which were expected to smoothen the discrepancies in different realms of the society.

By the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. the egalitarian nature of the tribal society was being gradually replaced by the *Varna* hierarchy. The later *Vedic* society was based on four fold *Varna* system and *Jati* paradigm, the former and latter respectively represents ‘ritual’ and ‘actual’ statuses. The four *Varnas*: *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdras* were not homogenous and were divided and subdivided into different *jātis* basing on their professions. In due course the *jātis* were crystallised into different castes, each of which were further branched off¹¹. The social life was regulated by *Varnasrama dharma*, wherein each *Varṇa* was assigned a well-defined *dharma* to be observed during each *āsrāma* (hermitage) - *brahmacharya* (celibacy), *grihasta* (house holder), *vānaprastha* (preparation for renunciation) and *sanyāsa* (renunciation) to make society function well without conflicts. These four *āśramas* are to be harmoniously synchronised through the successful observance of *Shōdasa samskāras* (sixteen sacraments)¹² which finally leads to salvation. Thus the life of an individual in every social order is kept busy through rights and responsibilities by performing rites and rituals.

¹⁰B S L Hanumantharao, *Buddhism and Jainism in Andhra Desa*, Hyderabad: Telugu University, 1997, p.1.

¹¹ Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India from the Origins to 1300 A.D.*, London: Penguin books, 2003, p. 63.

¹²<http://www.issousa.org/Content/scriptures/05%20English/sanskar%20English.pdf> dated: 20-10-2016.

The trespassers of the *varṇāśramadharmas* were penalised as per the punishments prescribed by the legal texts to different *Varnas*.

The *Puruṣasūkta*, in the tenth *mandala* of Rigveda, narrates the hierarchy of caste system. It says that from the mouth, shoulders, thigh and feet of primeval (*Viratpurusha*), the *Varnas*: *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kshatriya*, *Vatsya* and *Śūdra* emerged respectively¹³. Among these four only the first three ranks were given the status of *dvija*¹⁴ (twice born) for they were sanctioned to undergo *upanayana*, a sacrament (*samskāra*) that initiates one into first order of *āśrama* (*brāhmacharya*) and later eligibility for next sacrament, the marriage.

The *Brāhmaṇs* who were said to be emerged from the head of *Viratpurusha* were given higher rank in the society who looked after the priestly functions. The Brahmins besides enjoying certain privileges in the matters of status, exemptions from paying some taxes and capital punishment, they were bound to perform several duties like *shatkarmas* (Six duties) and *pancha yajnas* (five *yajnas*)¹⁵. The former includes *yajana* (performing of rituals), *dāna* (gifting) *pratigrāhana* (receiving gifts/donations),

¹³ Ram Sharan Sharma, *Sudras in Ancient India: A social History of the Lower Order down to Circa 600*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980, (first edition 1958), p.32.

¹⁴Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the mid-first Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990, p.44

¹⁵<http://www.kamakoti.org/kamakoti/articles/Dharma%20Bindu.pdf>
dated:21-11-2016 <http://www.dlshq.org/messages/householder.htm>
dated:21-11-2016.

adhyāyana (Vedic learning) and *adhyāpana* (teaching). The latter corresponds to five great daily *yajnas* (sacrifices) that were to be observed by every Brahmin householder. They are: (1) *Brāhma yajña* or *veda yajña* service to Brahmins or the *Vedas* or the sages (2) *deva yajña* , worship to Gods and elementals; (3) *pitri yajña*, reverence to ancestors, (4) *bhūta yajña* homage to beings and (5) *manushya yajña* ,respect to human beings. The punishments prescribed to Brahmins for the crimes they committed were less harsh when compared with other castes.

The *Kshatriyas* ranked second in society. The *Kshatriyas* were those who exert their *ksātra*, the coercive power emerged as the warrior class and became the rulers as kings whose duty is to protect the populace and regulate *varṇāśramadharmā* in their regime. The Buddhist text, Digha Nikaya applauds the *Kshatriyas* for being instrumental in reorganising the social order and bringing tranquillity in the people's lives through Buddhist ideals. It may be because Mahavira and Buddha who founded Jainism and Buddhism respectively hail from *Kshatriya* lineage. The Buddhist and Jain religious precepts based on the purity of character, meditation, ethics and morale were channelized into political ideologies to construct the philosophy of kingship which empowers the king to rule his kingdom.

The above two *Varṇas* supported each other's cause. The *Kshatriyas* claimed their right over the collection of grain. The *Brāhmins* facilitated the fiscal and administrative mechanism of the *Kshatriya* to legitimise their political power over the people through sacrificial rituals. In return the *Kshatriyas* paid the Brahmins a part of their share as *dāna* (gifting) and *dakshina* (ritual fee). But this mutual support between the upper two *Varṇas* was not always cordial. With the passage of time as the social and

the economic power of the ruling class increased, they claimed upper hand over the priestly class too. This resulted in the conflict between the upper two *Varṇas*¹⁶. In sharing of the resources, the *ksatriyas* attempted to eliminate the Brahmin classes that till then supported their emergence as potential ruling class as the sustenance of rituals burdened them due to changes in socio-economic orders. The *ksatriyas* like Mahavira and Siddhārtha themselves surfaced as the profounder of new religious ideologies that could accommodate the needs of changing social order evolving in the wake of caste proliferation through *anulōma* and *pratilōma* marriages on one hand and on the other predominance of trade and commerce in the context of urbanisation.

The *Vaiśyas* were ranked third in *Varṇa* order and were basically engaged in agriculture, cattle rearing and trade. They were the producing community and sustains the upper two *Varṇas* by supplying goods and services and supported the state thus justifying their origin from the thighs of *Virāṭpuruṣa* in *Puruṣasūkta*.

Sudras constituted the fourth *Varna*. The word *Śūdra* etymologically is derived from *ksūdra* which means ‘lesser’ or ‘low’ not in number but in status.¹⁷The only occupation prescribed to the *Sudra* Varna is to serve the above the three categories. As they were considered to have originated from the feet of the *Virāṭpuruṣa*, they formed the base of Indian society. They were

¹⁶Ram Sharan Sharma, *Material culture and social formations in ancient India*, New Delhi: Macmillan India limited, 1983, pp.74-81.

¹⁷Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State*, *supra*, p.50.

the labouring class.¹⁸ Some scholars opined that they might have been from the pale of *Āryan* society and upheld the view that they were reduced to the lowest position by the *Āryan* conquerors.¹⁹

Religious factors

In the Rig Vedic society the religious beliefs were simple, and the *Varṇa* division was flexible. The worldview was more egalitarian. By the later Vedic period the simple, flexible and egalitarian approach of the Rig Vedic period was lost completely. During this period rituals and sacrifices crept in to religion and had lost its inherent dynamic strength. Superstitions suppressed spirituality. Brahmins more often used religious beliefs for their personal gains and monopolized the study and practice of religion. Numerous religious ceremonies and meaningless costly practices including animal sacrifice dominated the scene. The *Varṇa* system was deliberately made rigid to keep non-Brāhmins away from religion. The egalitarian outlook was not even heard in those days. With the passage of time, due to technological and material advancement, vehement criticism against such system started.

Around the second half of the first millennium B.C., religion emerged as a significant behavioural code and ethical practice for many new preachers and wandering monks advocated against the existing orthodox ritualistic religions. This resulted in the development of many new philosophical ideas that catered to the needs of those people who were disgusted with the already

¹⁸ Ram Sharan Sharma, *Sudras in Ancient India*, *supra*, p.6.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.9.

existing burdensome beliefs of the Vedic philosophy. The Vedic philosophical tenets not only stressed more on rituals and sacrifices but also strictly countered the expanding urbanisation and cross border trade in order to protect the purity of the *Varṇa* system. This Vedic conception of the society no longer satisfied the requirements of people in the newly changed socio-political and economic setup. Though there developed *Upanishadic* thought opposing the Vedic rituals and sacrifices, its philosophical doctrines like the *Brahma*, the *Ātma* and other conceptions remained highly scholastic and were out of the reach of the common man. Likewise even the *Āryan Rishis*, the exponents of *Aranyakās*, dwelt in the forest, instead of living among the common men by providing answers to different questions encountered by the common folk in their day to day activities. So the dominant section of the society attempted to escape from the formalism of Vedic religion and to question the utility of rituals and the claim of the Brahmins to spiritual superiority. In doing so they even awaited new religious beliefs that would better cope up with the changed socio-political and economic set-up. The ideologues of new religious thoughts questioned ritual centred Vedic belief system and *Varṇa* hierarchy in the society. Of all such heterodox schools, especially Jainism and Buddhism, made vitriolic attack on animal sacrifice, that was done to acquire divine merits. Call for the protection of cattle wealth, particularly made these two religions instantly popular.

Economic factors:

The period witnessed new economic forces invigorated through the rapidly expanding commerce and increase in the number of artisans and their influence on society and the economy. Settled agricultural life, improved technology as well as trade and

commerce improved the social prestige and economic importance of the producing class too. Buddhist sources classifies land into three categories- best, middling and inferior and compares them respectively to Buddhist monks, lay followers and adherents of other religious ideologies²⁰. Further the literary sources mention the knowledge of irrigation, transplantation and deep ploughing which yielded good produce²¹. With enormous increase in the surplus, the producing class took up to trading which in turn enhanced their economic status and this made them to claim equal status in the society. Apart from that the restricted social mobility from one place to another on account of ritual pollution among traders and also restriction on use of certain resources acted as an obstacle to distant trade and urbanisation²². The use of iron during 6th century B.C. around eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar fostered significant advancements in the material life of the society. Many iron implements such as spearheads, daggers, lances, axes, nails and blades have been found from this region. The advance in metallurgy led to large-scale clearance of jungles and development of human settlements. Along with 'Ropar' and 'Jakhera', where the iron plough shares were found; there are many other evidences to prove that there was an extensive use of iron in the middle Gangetic basin around the same period²³. The use of iron implements like axe, share, sickle and others helped in the easy

²⁰ Ibid, p.99.

²¹ Ibid, pp.96-99.

²² Jean C. Darian, *supra*, pp.226-238.

²³ D.N. Jha, *supra*, p.66.

clearance of the thick forests and in turn paved the way for large scale settlements and introduced new agricultural techniques. The use of iron implements led to better cultivation. In fact the evidence of iron plough shares from the last phase of the PGW sites at Jakhera and also from Kausambi belonging to the NBP level, testifies that land is being tilled deep for better produce. Even the texts like *Astadhyayi* and *Suttanipata*, testify that the land was tilled twice or thrice. It means the cultivation was done at a deeper level. Furthermore there developed a technique of wet paddy. The land was also fertile, for the first time slaves and workers were involved into cultivation. Improved knowledge of cultivation and the use of effective implements enabled peasants to produce greater surpluses that helped the growth of crafts and towns. This found opposition and resistance from the existing social setup. The appropriation of iron implements in agricultural operations contributed for increase of yield from the fields which further lead to the growth in trade and commerce. These conditions resulted urbanisation and thereby spurt of urban centres to carry on commercial activities. Number of cities like Pataliputra, Kosambi and Vaisali developed.

As a whole altogether sixty towns were assigned to the period 600-300 B.C; out of which six urban centres were somehow associated with Gautama Buddha²⁴. Even the role of Alexander's invasion on India also had a positive effect in the growth of urban centres. The Greek's invasion opened up new trade routes and revealed the possibilities of mercantile relations between north-west India and west Asia. Above all the introduction of metal

²⁴ Ibid, p.68.

coins as a medium of exchange facilitated trade. These metal coins were issued and used by the merchants as a medium of exchange. Though there are evidences of coins during the Vedic period, it is doubtful about their usage as a medium of exchange prior to the Sixth century B.C.

Apart from the above mentioned economic advancement, through number of sources it is visible that there were the development of diverse art and crafts along with different service occupations like the washer man and dyer, the painter, the barber, the potter, the vehicle maker, the needle maker, the garland maker, the carpenter, the goldsmith, the metal smith, the silk manufacturers and many others. A Buddhist text *Dīghanikaya* mentions about 18 types of crafts. Tremendous development in crafts resulted in the specialisation of crafts, which signifies the division of labour. Besides this, similar group of artisans started to live in a particular region which was a sign of specialised markets. For example, we come to know, at a place called Vaisali, there were shops of 500 potters.

Many of these groups were well organised into guilds and generally lived in towns. These guilds were very powerful and each guild held a sway over the members of that particular guild. In fact from different Buddhist sources it is revealed that the members of a certain guild needed the permission of that particular guild too, along with their parents' permission to join the *Sangha*. These guilds enjoyed a significant authority in social, political and economic spheres. The head of the guild, '*Jetthaka*' and the '*setthi*', who in some sense acted as a financier or a banker and sometimes also acted as the head of a trade guild; were treated with respect even by the kings. Likewise a new social group known as *gahapatis* (peasant proprietors) were coming to the

forefront in the countryside. They too had a considerable influence in the society by the virtue of their wealth. They were too rich that some of them used to pay the wages to the royal army, some others donated a lot of wealth and land to the religious institutions and some others used to maintain their own bodyguards to protect themselves²⁵. Apart from agricultural products, even a substantial part of non-agricultural products formed a part of tradable goods. From Buddhist texts like Jātaka stories, one could get the information about the improved trade & commerce. During this period the important trade routes came into existence. Buddhist & Jaina monks followed the routes, which were being used by merchants. Buddha followed a long route from Rajgrih to Kusinagar. The story of a physician Jīvaka, informs an important route that existed between the region Taxila to Rajgrih and to Sravasti. The famous *Uttarapath* (Northern route) has been mentioned even by Panini. Buddhist texts shed information even on those merchants, who were carrying their tradable items even in thousand crafts.²⁶ Thus the economic transformations due to agricultural advancement, urbanisation, organised trade and commerce through highly hierarchised caste cum professional bodies, the guilds added flavour to the social life of the people and necessitated new spiritual ideologies to negotiate conflicts.

To sum up, stratification of the society into different social groups necessitated the state formation since the stratified groups

²⁵ Ibid, p.70-71.

²⁶ Appanaka Jataka, No. 1; E W Cowell (ed.), *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Vol. I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895.

become involved in internal conflicts; require contracts for agreements or results in the evolution of powerful elite²⁷. Establishment of state based society, parting away from a lineage based society initiated so many interrelated changes at many levels. The head of a tribe in a lineage society was treated on par with other people, where as in the state based society the power and prestige of the head of the state had increased tremendously. With the state formation the system of compulsory taxation came in to force. Improved agricultural and irrigational techniques, trade and commerce and other economic advancement in the society contributed for the raise in the taxes of the king, due to which a body of ministers for governing and standing army for protection came into existence. Besides the above, the king's military power also increased due to sophisticated iron weapons. On the other hand the accumulation of wealth in the hands of non-state organisations like guilds proved fatal to the king. From the inception, State prompted religion as a means to integrate people with it. Generally, monarchical states fostered religion as political ideology to bring forth moral binding and ethical code on the rulers and the ruled²⁸. Actually the need of the religion was two-fold for the states: firstly religion should somehow foster to promote large revenues to State to maintain its administrative and military mechanisms and secondly religion should prevent too

²⁷Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State*, *supra*, p.5.

²⁸P.S Kanaka Durga, 'Religious philosophy and kingship: studies in Jainism', in V. Kishanrao & A. Satyanarayana (eds.), *A Thousand Laurels-Saadik Naqui (Studies on Medieval India with special reference to Deccan)*, Hyderabad: Karshak art printers, 2005, Vol. II, pp.502-540.

great accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of non-state groups²⁹. But the existing Vedism did not cater to any of the above mentioned needs of the state. Rituals and sacrifices sanctioned by it emptied state's treasury and likewise its injunctions on many economic activities affected the State's resources. Hence the ruling class too awaited such new religious philosophies that would accommodate the above mentioned two demands. This process established an inseparability of politics and religion from one another in the state formation wherein belief system played a vital role in determining and consolidating the newly emerging kingship.

The newly emerging kingdoms during Ancient India were highly orthodox and rested on heroic kingship. Public display of power largely depended upon the valour and intimidation expressed through conquest and war on one hand, and on the other, imposition and collection of revenues through a system of taxation. Accession and annexation are marked as annals of the royalty and kingship and hence 'heroic kingship' emerged as a paradigm to the early dynasties that ruled the territories in India for the king is considered to be an expander and protector of the land and people. Performing of Vedic sacrifices like *Asvamedha*, *Rajasuya*, *Vajapeya* etc, symbolize the royalty and heroic kingship of the warrior/valorous kings. This attitude of the ancient state developed unrest in the society. The public display of power in the form of sacrifices and the extension of kingdoms through coercion proved burdensome on the taxpaying groups. Constant wars not only exhausted the resources but also disturbed the civic life. As

²⁹Jean.C Darian, *supra*, pp.226-238.

this kind of kingship proved detrimental to the society, people awaited such a kingship that would conquest people by piety, but not extension of kingdoms by oppression. Jainism and Buddhism aimed at winning the hearts of people by truthfulness, peace and tranquillity. They advocated *dhārmic* political ideology channelized through *dhārmic* kingship by upholding the basic traits of humanness, truthfulness and the virtues of non-violence, ethics and morality³⁰. Interestingly the philosophy of Buddhism that upheld the *Madyamārga*; avoidance of two extremes, like self-indulgence (*Loluppa*) and self-mortification (*Atta Kilamatha*), appeased people to a greater extent. In this context, the Buddhist ideology that insisted on individual efforts to realise one's own Karma and achieve salvation fascinated the populace. Thus the Buddhism gave an optimistic spirit to the disgusted to come out successfully from the troubled socio-religious anarchy of the contemporary times.

Section B

In *Āndhradēśa* the onset of Buddhism and the process of urbanization appeared to coincide with one another. The excavated Buddhist sites in Āndhra such as *Amaravati*, *Nagarjunakonda*, *Jaggayyapeta*, *Salihundam*, and *Sankaram* reveal that Buddhism was active in the region from the third century B.C. Trade, especially oversea trade gave fillip to Buddhism. It is also believed that the disappearance of trade with Rome sometime in the third century A.D. was concomitant to the disappearance of Buddhism.³¹ The conditions

³⁰P S Kanaka Durga, *supra*.

³¹Sree Padma, 'Material Culture and the Emergence of Urban Buddhism in Andhra', in Sree Padma and A.W. Barber (ed.),

in *Āndhradēśa*, the Southern dominions of India were quite different from that of the Northern India in many dimensions. The period from 800-400 B.C. refers to Megalithic period indicating transition from chalcolithic times.

Archaeological evidences suggest that from 2000 B.C. onwards, most of the protohistoric inhabitants of Andhra were migrated from the neighbouring Karnataka towards east along the banks of rivers Krishna and Tungabhadra³². People from Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Megalithic cultures practiced different patterns of disposing of their dead³³. The protohistoric Megalithic burial monuments were succeeded in the historical stage by monuments containing the relics of Buddha or famous Buddhist monks³⁴.

The people from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda who worshipped Buddhist *stupas* belong to Neolithic pastoral communities. Around 1500 B.C. these Neolithic communities began to use copper and this period is a transition to chalcolithic culture. There are no monumental evidences that belong to Neolithic-chalcolithic cultures in Āndhra. The earliest structures at Nagarjunakonda were underground

Buddhism in the Krishna River Valley of Andhra, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008, pp.11-12.

³²P. Ramachandra Murthy, *Megalithic Culture of the Godavari Basin*, Delhi: Sharada Publishing House, 2000, pp. 32–35, 58, and 113.

³³During the ancient times the dead people were buried with some goods that were generally associated with them when they were alive. Those goods were termed as ‘grave goods’ or burial goods in archeological terminology.

³⁴Sree Padma, *supra*, p.13.

dwellings aligned with postholes.³⁵ The dead were buried in pits and filled with cairn heaps.

The study of the skulls of those newly migrated neolithic-chalcolithic people in Āndhra revealed that majority of these early communities can be identified with Mediterraneans of the Proto-Australoid group. Their continued habitation can be traced back to the early historical period. By that time, Buddhism was the dominant form of religious expression.³⁶

Advent of Buddhism in Āndhradēśa: Megalithic Phase (800 B.C. – 300 B.C.):

In Āndhradēśa, the period between 800 and 300 B.C. belong to Megalithic phase. The transition from chalcolithic-neolithic to megalithic phase was continuous in Āndhradēśa. There was a cultural continuum in many practices though the new period was characterized by the use of iron implements, advancement in agricultural technology and production, building mechanism and crafts. The Megalithic culture provided dais for the process of urbanization in the first historical period (third century C.E.). The study of skulls in the lower Krishna valley and elsewhere in Āndhra revealed that the population in megalithic culture was heterogeneous. Some of these mixed groups shared their racial affinities with the people of early chalcolithic-Neolithic communities where as the others with the megalithic cultures of Karnataka.³⁷ The racial infiltration of communities contributed for

³⁵P. Ramachandra Murthy, *supra*, pp. 33–34.

³⁶Ibid, p. 169.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 169.

the emergence of new *jatis* taking varied profession in these places³⁸. The megalithic burials of fourth and third centuries B.C. influenced the Buddhist *stupas* in Āndhradēśa in their shape, plan, constructional procedures and selection of the natural spaces for their building activities.

Early Historic Phase (400–100 B.C.):

There was a gradual technological advancement in construction, metallurgy and agriculture during megalithic age. The iron tools- the plough, sickle, hoe, spade, etc; were used in the agrarian production. There was improvement in the water management by constructing reservoirs and irrigation channels. All these contributed in the vast increase of food production. The surplus agrarian production contributed for the consolidation of wealth through extensive trade organised by highly structured guilds which further fostered the urbanization. All these changes necessitated a highly centralised administrative system to protect the interests of varied professions from internal as well as external threats. The prevalence of thirty fortified cities in pre-Satavahana period bears testimony to it.

The fortified cities were ruled by the chieftains holding the titles like Maharathi, *Mahātalavara*, and *rajañya*. It reveals their statuses basing on their position in the royal court. Many of these rulers might be the followers of Buddhism as two *Brahmi* inscriptions from Pedda Vegi, belonging to the Satavahana period, mention that one Maharaja *Kakichi* was an inmate (*antevāsaka*) of a Buddhist

³⁸V. V. Krishnasastry, *The Pre and Early Historical Cultures of Andhra Pradesh*, Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1983, p. 106.

monastery.³⁹ The process of urbanization gained more momentum from the fourth century B.C. All these developments occurred simultaneously with the introduction of Buddhist religious culture. The *Milindapanha*, a contemporary Buddhist text provides information with regard to the planning of building towns and cities.⁴⁰ Several such cities like Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Dhulikatta, Kotilingala, Budigapalle, and Dharanikota were unearthed in excavations from *Āndhradēśa*. These sites belong to the early fourth century B.C. They contain the remains of fortifications and extravagant buildings, underground sewage systems, well planned roads, highly organised water supply mechanism, technologically advanced metallurgy and industries. The space was very well augmented and earmarked for common dwellings, workshops, public structures, palaces, proper roads and covered drainage systems. Excavation revealed the existence of the multi-storeyed structures having tiled roofs⁴¹.

Almost all of the towns and cities cited above developed as well established Buddhist centres. These sites were situated along the ancient trade routes and linked to the network of land and navigational routes leading to different parts of the subcontinent. In addition, the port towns, the prominent cities and urban centres were well connected with one another by land routes. The development of a network of trade routes enhanced the inland and foreign exchange relationships. These trade routes linked the north and *Āndhradēśa*. The excavations

³⁹Ibid, p. 19.

⁴⁰I. B. Horner (tr.), *Milinda's Questions*, Vol. I, London: Luzac & Company, 1969, p. 46.

⁴¹E. Siva Nagi Reddy, *Evolution of Building Technology*, Vol. I, Delhi: Bharatiya Lala Prakashan, 1998, p. 120.

from many Buddhist sites of Āndhra revealed northern black polished ware (NBPW) treated with copper riveting. They were akin to NBPW ware found in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. In addition, the uniformity of punch-marked coins belonging to fourth century B.C. found in many regions of the northern and southern India.⁴² Bead making industry from *Peddabankur* and terracotta figurines located in the mound of *Yelesvaram* establishes the exchange of commercial and social relationships of Buddhist institutions between Āndhradēsa and Northern India.⁴³

A burial from Chagaturu had a stone pavement with four upright stones at each of its four cardinal points. This style resembles to that of many Buddhist *stupas* in India.⁴⁴ The *stupas* at Amaravati and Yelesvaram festooned with an *ayaka* platform and pillars at the four cardinal points resemble the burial at Chagaturu. Another popular form of apsidal plan used in building early Buddhist *stupas* were expressed in a dolmenoid cist at Padra. Its base is built in an apsidal plan that was used to build huts ever since the Neolithic times. It was also employed in building *caitya grihas* to situate the *stupa* or other Buddhist symbols. Early *caityas* that were built with the apsidal plan were found at Bhattiprolu (3rd century B.C.) and Guntupalli (2nd century B.C.). The shape of a *svastika* is the other form of *stupa* construction in Andhra. The megalithic communities often used the

⁴²P. L. Gupta, *Punch Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Museums*, Hyderabad: Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1960, pp. 1–3.

⁴³Pisipaty Rama Krishna, ‘Megalithic Pottery: Cultural Contacts’, in P. C. Pant and Vidula Jayaswal (eds.), *Ancient Ceramics*, Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1997, p. 127.

⁴⁴E. Siva Nagi Reddy, Vol. II, *supra*, p. 230

svastika pattern in the construction of multichambered cists.⁴⁵ The influence of megalithic structures at the Buddhist sacred places is seen in the *svastika* shaped bases of the *stupas* found at Nagarjunakonda and Peddaganjam.⁴⁶

Interestingly, the architectural and structural adoptions from the earlier megalithic remains gave distinctiveness to the Andhra Buddhist structures. The tree and *naga* (hooded serpent) sculptural motifs of Buddhism spread beyond the boundaries of Andhra. Fergusson gives a vivid account of the *naga* and tree cults that were prevalent in pre-Buddhist societies of Andhra at Amaravati and the *stupa* decoration at Sanchi.⁴⁷ Fergusson held that the domination of *Nāga* motif at Amaravati gives an impression that whether the *chaityagriha* is dedicated to either Buddha or Naga. Both the *naga* and tree cults received veneration by the common folk throughout many parts of India. It seems that the local cults were integrated into the Buddhist mode of worship to accommodate the new entrants into the faith and make them homely with the new cult. It is also possible that since the Master was depicted as Naga in several *Jātaka* tales for Naga world is considered as a celestial domain.

Though there are records that speak of royal support to Buddhism in ancient Āndhra, the surviving inscriptional evidences from the region reveal that Buddhism was first attracted by traders and

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 228.

⁴⁶H. Sarkar and B. N. Misra, *Nagarjunakonda*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1987, p. 36.

⁴⁷James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship: From the Sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amaravati* Delhi: Indological Book House, 1971, pp. 92–226 and 235–238.

then gradually permeated deep into the grass roots of the society.⁴⁸ It is because the religion itself was solace for the then infiltrated society that required a spiritual and ethical control for regulation of values and norms. The traders who had a lot of scope to travel across the world were in need of a religion that reiterates their personal and professional lives. Thus Buddhism with its egalitarian as well as restrictive behavioural practices was found suitable for the business communities to flourish in their activities. Hence, the liaison between Buddhism and trade was quite evident. The literary tradition affirm that the initial converts of the Buddha soon after his enlightenment were two merchants- Tapussa and Bhallika. They became the first lay supporters of Buddhism.⁴⁹ From the above discussion it is evident that the Buddhism entered and advanced in Āndhradēsa along with the increased trade and commercial activities probably around fourth century B.C. or even before.

Satavahana period (200 B.C. —225A.D.)

The exchange of relationship between the traders and the Buddhist institutions on one hand and on the other with the rulers was quite evident in the inscriptions belonging to the Satavahana and pre-Satavahana periods. Inscriptions at Amaravati⁵⁰ and Bhattiprolu⁵¹ refer

⁴⁸Sree Padma, *supra*, p.25.

⁴⁹ E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1933, p. 139.

⁵⁰H. Luders, 'A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about 400', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, No. 1266, 1909–10, p. 150.

⁵¹A. Buhler, 'Bhattiprolu Inscriptions', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, (1894), No. 6, p. 328 and in No. 9, p. 329. These two inscriptions record donations given by a ruler called Kubiraka to the Buddhist stupa.

to the gifts made by the political chieftains of those times in support of the Buddhist *sangha*. The numismatic evidences speak about the lead of the rulers towards the growing trade relations.⁵² Further, the inscriptions of Bhattiprolu, Dhanyakataka, and Amaravati attest to the consolidation of agricultural and artisan communities into highly crystallised and hierarchised caste-cum-professional organizations, the guilds. They incorporate *gamas* (village agriculturalists), *nigamas* (traders), and *gōstis* (professionals). The hoards of unearthed punch-marked coins of the period and the abundant gifts given collectively by people belonging to such groups like *gamas*, *nigamas*, and *ghostis* signify their economic prosperity.⁵³ These inscriptions also mention various classes of workers like *dhamnikas* (corn-dealers), *malakras* (florists), *kolikas* (weavers), *tilapisakas* (oilpressers), *odayantrikas* (fabricators of hydraulic engines), *kasakaras* (braziers), *tesakaras* (polishers), *kamaras* (iron-workers) , *lohavaniyas* (iron-mongers), *kularikas* (potters?), *avesanis* (artisans) , and *lekhakas* (writers) some of whom were in the service of kings and *Mahabhojas*, *Cammakaras* (leatherworkers), *gadhikas* (perfumers), *suvanakaras* (goldsmiths), *manikaras* (jewellers), *mithikas* (stone polishers), *selavadhakins* (stonemasons), and *vadhakis* (carpenters). Workers connected with buildings are *nayakamisas*, *kadhicakas* and *mahakatakas*. Among these workers only *gadhikas*, *kammakaras*, *avesanis* and *lekhakas*, are mentioned in epigraphs from the eastern Deccan.⁵⁴ Their artistic taste was something unsurpassed. It is to their munificence that we owe

⁵²V. V. Krishnasastry, *supra*, pp. 11, 130, and 202.

⁵³P. L. Gupta, *supra*, pp. 2–3.

⁵⁴K. Gopalachari, *Early History of Andhra Country*, Madras University Historical Series- No.16, Madras: G S Press, 1941, p.113.

some of the Buddhist monuments of our period. At some places like Nasthullapur, apart from punch-marked coins, extensive hoards of Roman coins were also found.⁵⁵ It testifies the connection between Buddhism and trade.

Suttanipata, a Buddhist text holds that even during the life time of Buddha his teachings were more popular in *Āsmaka* and *Mulaka* regions of *Āndhradēsa*. The archaeological excavations at Kolhapur, Pittalkhora and Sapor in the west and Amaravati, Jaggayyapet and Bhattiprolu reveal that even long before the third Buddhist council and the reign of Asoka and also prior to the rise of the Satavahana in Deccan, *Āndhradēsa* got emerged as a strong hold of Buddhism. *Kathāvattu*, mentions that the *Andhakas*, the Buddhist monks from *Āndhradēsa* took active part in the deliberations of third Buddhist Council. Non inclusion of Āndhra among the regions to which Asoka sent his *dhamma mahamatras* for the propagation of Buddhism and mentioning in his XIII rock edict that people in his imperial domain, Andhra were following Buddha *dharma* makes one to understand that Buddhism was well established even during the life time of Buddha. The Chinese traveller, Yawan Chwang holds that Buddha visited and preached *dhamma* in *Āndhradēsa*. He describes a monastery in *An-To-Lo* (Āndhra) that near the south-west of monastery was an Asoka tope where Buddha preached, displayed miracles and received into his religion countless multitudes of people. The Buddhist literature refers to *Āsmaka* and *Mulaka* as *janapadas* in *Andhraratta* (Āndhradēsa). *Suttanipata* narrates a story of Bavari, a Brahmin teacher of *Āsmaka*, who sent his disciples along with his nephew Pingaya to Rajagriha to listen to preachings of Buddha and find out his claiming to *arihanthood*. All his disciples got turned into arihants. His nephew

⁵⁵P. L. Gupta , *supra*, pp. 27–28.

comes back and tells about the message of Buddha. Then Bavari turns into an *arahant*. The Buddhist monks in Āndhra region might have increased in numbers due to the royal support extended to Buddhist institutions and their patrons- the traders. Their migration to the north was two pronged one by wandering monks and the other by the traders who took up Buddhism. Since the two types of Buddhist populace from Āndhrādēsa dominated in that region, they became prominent as *Andhakas* and the places they dwelt was *Andhakavana*. *Mahavattu* mentions the existence of *Andhakavana* near Sravasti and *Andhakavinda* at Rajagriha. It is evident that monasteries were built for monks of Andhra in those places. The XIII rock edict of Asoka mentions that the Āndhras were living within the *rajavisaya* by observing *dhamma*. Asoka convened the third Buddhist council at Pataliputra (c.247 B.C) in which *Andhakas*, according to *Kathāvattu* took active part. It was after the third Buddhist council Asoka sent his *dhamma mahamatras* to different regions. The Ceylonese chronicles like *Mahāvamsa* attests that Mahadeva who was sent as a *dhamma mahamatra* to *Mahismandala* had a large following in Pallavamogga (present day Palnadu) wherein the famous Mahāyāna Buddhist centre Nagarjunakonda is located. The chronicle further attests that Mahadeva was accompanied by 14,60,000 followers to Ceylon from Pallavamogga for the consecration of *suvarnamanadala* stupa at Anuradhapura. It is evident that Mahadeva appears to be the custodian of the *Āndhrādēsa* with regard to the missionary activity of Asoka *dhamma*. Asoka, after the Kalinga war, was moved by the bloodshed and was attracted towards the Dhamma of Buddha. Then he destined to spread the message by (i) issuing rock edicts giving instructions to his officers for liberalising rules of administration to promote social harmony and comfort through the propagation of *dhamma* (ii) building *stupas* and *vihārās* for the monks for worship and stay and (iii) erecting pillars in the places of religious importance. The pillars were

erected to commemorate *dhammavijaya* on the principal thoroughfares leading out of his capital city or in important places connected to the life of Buddha. *Mahāvamsa* attributes construction of 84,000 *viharas* and stupas by Asoka in his realm. Though Yuan Chwang mentions construction of big stupas in Vengi region, the ancient Buddhist stupas at Bhattiprolu, Amaravati, Salihundam, Sankaram and Guntupalli had Mauryan connections.

The *Satavahana* dynasty was the first political power that could establish its might in Deccan, especially in Āndhrādēsa and continued the legacy of Buddhism in South India after the fall of Mauryan Empire. Though the Satavahana and Ikshvaku inscriptions attest to their staunch support and patronage extended to the Vedic sacrifices⁵⁶, they endured and sustained Buddhism and its institutions. They erected Buddhist *chaityas* and *vihārās* and also endowed them with lavish donations⁵⁷.

The contemporary conditions demanded the need for the Satavahana rulers to extend their support ambivalently to both the religions. Satavahana Empire was established in Deccan during the

⁵⁶The Nanaghat inscription of Naganika, wife of Satakarni I registers the celebration of Vedic sacrifices like *Asvamedha*, *Rajasuya*, *Agyadheya*, *Anvarambhaniya*, *Angirasatriratra*, *Chandogapavamanatriratra*, *Trayodasaratra*, *Dasaratra*, *Gavamayana*, *Bhagaladasaratra*, *Aptoryama*, *Angirasamayana*, *Gargatriratra* etc in their realm. Gautamiputra Satakarni was praised as *Ekabamanasa* (the only Brahmin), the upholder of *brahminical* religion; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVH, No. 11, p. 72; Siri Cantamula of Ikshvaku dynasty was credited to have performed the sacrifices – Agnisthoma, Agnihotra, Avamedha and Vajaperya; K.Gopalachari, *supra*, p.137.

⁵⁷*Samkhopala Jataka*, No. 524; E W Cowell (ed.), *supra*, Vol. V, 1905, pp.84-90

times when a strong reaction sprang against the heterodox religions in northern India in the favour of Vedic ritualism. But, by that time due to the missionary activities of Asoka Buddhism penetrated deeply into the soil of western and eastern Deccan especially in Āndhrādēsa and won the patronage of traders and commoners. In other words, the Buddhist institutions were economically sound and were in a position to influence the polity and society to a greater extent. Moreover, the society contained foreign populace, the *yavanas* and the *sakas*, most of whom were the adherents of Buddhism. In these circumstances, the newly founded empire cannot venture to outrightly support a religion like Buddhism which is already in contention with the revival of Brahminical Vedic ritualism. At the same time they cannot deny the existence of Buddhism as a prominent religious ideology that was already rooted in the soils of Deccan. In this context, they strategically balanced the situation. By political campaigns and conquests the Satavahanas established their imperial hegemony and sovereignty and legitimised their kingship, their empowerment to rule, by performing vedic *sacrifices* like *rajasuya* and *vajapeya*, thus stood as champions of the revival of Brahminical ritualism. The third king Satakarni I and his wife Naganika performed several Vedic sacrifices and Brāminical austerities. They performed the sacrifices like *ajnyadheya*, *anarāmbhaniya*, *Paundarika*, *rajasuya*, *asvamedha*, *saptadasatiratra*, *bhagala dasayatra*, *gargatiratra*, *Gavamayana*, *satartiratra*, *agnirasatiratra*, *agnirasavamayana*, *sadvarsa*, *Candomapavamanatiratra*, *agnisātatiratra*, *trayodaaratra*, etc; and donated approximately 37,000 *karsapanas* as *dana* (gift) and *dakshina* (ritual fee) in these ritual contexts⁵⁸. Gautamiputra Satakarni took to

⁵⁸B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, *Religion in Andhra: A Survey of Religious Developments in Andhra from Early Times to 1323*, Guntur: welcome Press, 1973, pp. 323-324.

the title *ekabamanasa*, which means literally the (only) ‘one Brāhmin’. It does not mean that he is the only Brahmin in their realm, but can be interpreted that he is the only person that could perform numerous Brāhmanical rituals that could champion his revival of Vedic ritualism. He crushed the pride and honour of the Kshatriyas (*ksatriyadarpa mana mardana*) and promoted the fortunes of the families of Brahmins (*dvijavara kutumba vivardhana*). He is said to have stopped the contamination of castes (*vinivartita cāturvarnya samkara*)⁵⁹. His successor Yajñasri was credited with the performance of several sacrifices⁶⁰. Tradition holds that Acharya Nagarjuna had persuaded Yajñasri and made him to extend his patronage to Buddhism. Interestingly as cited elsewhere in this chapter, the women folk of the Satavahana kings were generous to extend their benefaction to Buddhism. Gautami Balasri influenced her son Satakarni and her grandson Pulumavi to support Buddhism. The Nasik inscription⁶¹ of Pulumavi states that his father Gautamiputra Satakarni excavated a cave on *Tiranhu* hill and his mother donated the same to the monks of *Bhadrayani* School. He himself gave the village Pisajipalaka for the embellishment of the cave in the honour of his grandmother Balasri. Another inscription from Nasik attests to the donations made by Gautamiputra Satakarni and his mother Balasri to the monks of *Tiranhu* hill Chaitya⁶². The last Satavahana king visited Sriparvata on the occasion of *Vaisakha Purnama*, the Buddha Jayanti.⁶³

⁵⁹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 93.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 95-96.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, Vol. VIII, pp.60-65.

⁶² *Ibid*, pp.73-83.

The example of Satavahanas was followed by their successors, the Ikshvakus of Vijayapuri. Chantamula, the founder of Ikshvaku was the devotee of Mahasena-Virupaksa⁶⁴ and performer of Vedic sacrifices *Aśvavedha*, *Agnisthōma* and *Vajapeya*. He performed *Aśvavedha* under the shade of *Mahachaitya* as evidenced by an *Aśvavedha vedica* found in the Nagarjunakonda excavations⁶⁵. But the women of the Ikshvaku rulers were staunch supporters of Buddhism. Though Virapurushadatta and Rudrapurushadatta were supporters of Brahmanism, their ladies were upheld Buddhism. Chantisri, the sister of Ehuvala Chantamula repaired, extended and endowed the *Mahachaitya* at Sriparvata with huge donations⁶⁶. Rudradhara Bhattatika, the Saka prince of Ujjain and wife of Virapurushadatta gave innumerable donations to Buddhist institutions⁶⁷. *Upāsika* Bodhisri, belonging to the times of Ikshvakus constructed a chaitya hall with a flooring of slabs provided with all necessities at Chula Dhammagiri at Sri Parvata for the benefit of the monks that came from the Kasmira, Gandhara, Cina, Tavana, Tambapanni etc,. She also constructed a *chaityas* hall at Devagiri, a tank and a *varandah* and a *mandapa* at *Purvasaila*, a stone *mantapa*

⁶³ Ibid, Vo. XXXVI, pp.273 ff.

⁶⁴ Ibid, Vol. XX, pp. No. B2, C3 etc.

⁶⁵ B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao, 'Downfall of the Andhra Satavahanas', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1955, pp.61-64.

⁶⁶ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, *Nagarjunakonda Inscriptions*, No. B.5

⁶⁷ Ibid, Nos. B5 and B6

near the *Mahāchaitya* of Kantakasila (Ghantasala), three cells at Hirimuthuva, seven cells at Papila and a stone *mantapa* at Puspagiri⁶⁸.

Numerous inscriptions from Amaravati register gifts made to Buddhist institutions by merchants, artisans, townsfolk headed by merchants, *upāsakas* and *upāsikas*⁶⁹. The Ramireddipalli inscription of Virapurushadatta registers the consecration of a pillar by merchants⁷⁰. From Jaggayyapeta an artisan by name Siddhārtha made a gift of five *ayaka* pillars.⁷¹ Inscriptions from Rentala and Chinaganjam register the endowments made by the merchants to the Buddhist settlements and monasteries at Dhanyakataka. Kondapur was a flourishing centre for artisan and merchant communities⁷². One of the remarkable gifts of a slab with *puṇnaghata* to Amaravati stupa made by cobbler Vidhika, son of Naga, an *upajjaya*⁷³. He took his entire family- father, mother, brothers, sisters, wife, son, daughters, cousins and relations to visit the *stupa*. This record attests the popularity of Buddhism among the people in Āndhrādēsa.

It can be surmised that the rulers did not disturb social life by offending Buddhist and Jain religious activities, rather protected their

⁶⁸ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. No. XX, No.F.

⁶⁹ *Luder's List* Nos.1229, 1973, 1247, and 1303.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, No. 1261.

⁷¹ *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, No.189 of 1933-34; No 344 of 1936-37; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, pp.189ff.

⁷²G. Yazdani, 'Excavations at Kondapur, an Andhra Town, (c. 200 BC- 200AD)', *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXII, 1941, pp.171-85.

⁷³ *Upajjaya* is a person qualified to grant the higher ordination.

interests by extending their royal support. The political institutions balanced revival of Vedic ritualism with that of the popular heretical religions and could win and appropriate the support of all to sustain their power in the society. In the light of above discussion Buddhism entered *Āndhradēsa* even during the times of Buddha, but could get royal support till the times of Satavahanas. By that time, the teachings of Buddha were textualised in the form of canons spread orally as narratives, thus giving birth to *Jātaka* tale tradition and visually depicted on the walls of *chaityas*, viharas and other Buddhist institutions as narrative sculptures. By the time Buddhism was divided into several sects each spreading and functioning on their own doctrine, but retaining the core of *dhamma* of Buddha. The next chapter envisages the origin, doctrine, schism of Buddhism in general and *Theravāda* Buddhism in particular in which Pali was major medium of language believed to contain original teachings of Buddha.

Chapter III

Doctrine of Buddhism: Emergence of *Theravāda*

The contemporary socio-cultural and politico-economic commotions during the latter half of first millennium B.C. demanded the rise of new religious ideologies like Jainism and Buddhism to negotiate the situation. The pioneers of these two religions Vardhamana Mahavira and Siddhārtha hailed respectively from the *Jñātri* and the *Śākya* clans of *Kshatriya* lineage. Both the religions questioned the supremacy of *Brāhmanical* rituals and sacrifices, caste system and other social discrepancies. They critiqued orthodoxy upheld by the *Vedism*. At the same time these two ideologies believed in freedom of soul from the cycle of *janma* (birth) by elimination of *Karma* to save populace from *punarjanma*. They emphasized on behavioural code to achieve liberation. These ideologies were rooted in the essence of *Vedism* and *sutra* literature for both the philosophies borrowed certain norms with regard to the behaviour code of their adherents¹. Both the religions preferred to use the language *Prākṛit* than Sanskrit to populate their belief. However, the Jains visualised the attainment of liberation (*moksha*) through a process in different stages, *gunasthanas*. Liberation is preceded by achieving omniscience (*kevalajñāna*), the innate quality that is developed when occluding *karmas* were removed. The body ceases to function in the process of removal of *karma* and finally after the last vestiges of *karma* are drained, the body gets liberated (*siddha Śīla*) at the very top of the cosmos. The adherents of Jainism should attain to that status for becoming

¹T.W. Rys Davis, 'Buddhism', *The North American Review*, Vol. 171, No. 527 (Oct., 1900), pp. 517-527.

a *Tīrthāṅkara*. The ritual culture and ritual roles of its performers were highly elaborate and the objects of worship ranged from alter to big idols².

Jainism which emerged as a stratagem against the Vedic ritualism and social inequality cannot eliminate ritual centrality in their worship pattern or caste hierarchy in the dissemination of the message. Further, in Jain ritual order the rites of passages reached seventy two. Thus, Jainism appeared to be a solace for the higher classes of royal powers but not much to the lay people for the observances prescribed to all its followers was beyond the purview of everybody in the society. Jainism, owing to its stringent rules and predominance of ritual culture to be followed by its adherents and for other socio-political convictions, could not appease the commoners and rulers alike. It was much fascinated by the royal courts. Thus, there was still a need in the society to expect a religious ideology that could negotiate psycho-spiritual and politico-cultural anarchy in the state and society.

Of the other contemporary religious ideologies, *Lokāyata* or Cārvāka School of philosophy deserves mention. It is an Indian materialistic dogma that considered matter only as a reality and source of knowledge. It was propounded by Cārvāka. The philosophy uphold that individuals are made of four elements earth, water, fire and wind. They did not recognize sky as a constituent element of cosmos. It is because it cannot be perceived physically. For them living beings have neither a previous (past) nor a future (rebirth) life of existence. They upheld a materialist and hedonistic doctrine that could furnish their followers with all that could fit them in the contemporary society. *Lokal* literally means the world and the word *lokāyata* means the person who is centered around, or he/she who rely upon the life of the mundane world only. The followers of *lokāyatās* do not believe either in heaven or in hell and vice or virtue. They are strongly convicted to the affairs of the world of the then 'present' life. *Lokāyatās* believe in those things that could be seen, perceived and interacted in reality but not in abstract, imaginary and ideal

² A. Babb Lawrence, *Absent Lord: Ascetics and Kings in a Jain Ritual Culture*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1996, pp.11-14.

worlds. *Cārvākas* denied metaphysical concepts like reincarnation (*punarjanma*), extracorporeal *soul* (*ātma*), efficacy of religious rites, other world (heaven and hell), fate (*vidhi*) and accumulation of merit or demerit through the observance of certain rituals. They opine that all actions are spontaneous and come from inherent nature, the *svabhāva*. They refuted the supernatural causes to describe natural phenomena in human life. The aim of life for *Cārvākas* was to experience as much sensual pleasure as possible. To realize it, they rejected all forms of logic and reasoning as valid ways of knowing anything.

The newly emergent politico- religious and philosophical teachings that spurted against the Brāhmanical way of life in observing sacred practices rejected the unlimited authority of the Vedas and the priests. Such thinking got reflected in the preachings of Buddhism and other skeptics like (Saṅjaya Belatthiputta), materialists (Ajita Kesakambali), antinomians (Puraṇa Kassapa) atomists (Pakudha Kaccāyana), the most important ones in the 5th century BC were the *Ājīvikas*, who emphasized the rule of fate, the *Lokāyata* (materialists), the *Ajñanas* (agnostics) and the Jains, who emphasized that the ‘soul’ must be liberated from ‘matter’. Many of these new movements shared the similar conceptual verbatim - *ātman* (self or soul), *Dhamma* (rule or law), Buddha (enlightened one), *Nirvāṇa* (transcendent freedom), *saṃsāra* (eternal recurrence) *karma* (causality), and *yōga* (union) and held that the originally good Vedic doctrine was in need of reform.

In these circumstances, Buddhism emerged as a fertile ideology to rejuvenate the lives of the classes and masses alike. The emergence of Buddhism is based on the religious thought of Ancient India during the latter half of the first millennium B.C. During the lifetime of the Buddha himself, India was in a state of religious and cultural anarchy due to the reasons discussed in the previous chapter. Religious teachers, sects, mendicants and wandering monks increased in number. They advocated different philosophical views and religious practices in the society. In these circumstances, Buddhism, that questioned the efficiency of Vedic rituals and the caste system, adopted vernacular languages rather than Brāhmanical Sanskrit, to reach the people became the most successful in

that context. It is also held that Buddhism originated as a heretical ‘off-shoot’ of Brāhmaṇism. Buddha has been considered a great reformer of those times. Further, the ascetic thought of Buddha has been traced to the Yōga practices of pre-Vedic India. He was also called as *Śākyamuni* and claimed to have expounded the old path of previous Buddhas³.

The realm of the Buddhist ideology was wide to incorporate the sections of the populace that could not be comfortably and ritualistically positioned in the social hierarchy. The religion aimed its reach to the people at gross root level through the message in popular language *Prākṛit /Pāli*. Buddhist tradition explains how Siddhārtha Gautama born and brought up in a royal and luxurious family as a Kshatriya prince could renounce the worldly life and comforts at an early age of twenty nine. He relinquished the worldly pleasures in search of a final answer to the suffering of the human beings in this world. After disciplining himself for six years he could attain supreme enlightenment. He exhausted the entire remaining forty five years of his life to give message to the community of monks and nuns, the *Sangha* and the lay people about the truth he found through his experiencing.

The current chapter elucidates the origin of Buddhism, its doctrine and schism. The chapter is divided in to two sections. **Section A**, Life of Gautama Buddha: Onset of Buddhism as a doctrine gives a brief sketch of Gautama’s biography, his transformation as Buddha and major precepts of the doctrine of Buddhism. **Section B**, give a comprehensive account of the schism in Buddhism and emergence of *Theravāda* school as a distinct Buddhist thought in India with special emphasis in Āndhrādēsa.

Section A

Life of Gautama Buddha: Onset of Buddhism as a Doctrine

As a consequence to the dynamics of socio-political that were prevalent in the sixth century B.C. like many other new philosophies,

³ L.M. Joshi, *Buddhism: A Historical Survey*, Patiala: Punjab University, 1969, p. 1-3.

Buddhism also arose in north-eastern India around the same period to provide a religious solace to the people, who were in much discontentment against the existing system. The founder of the religion was Siddhārtha Gautama. There is no exclusive Canonical account that discusses the biographical events of the Buddha chronologically from his birth to *nirvāṇa*. However there are a number of intermingled sources in the canonical texts, both in *Pāli* and Sanskrit languages describing the life of Buddha -ancestry, birth, infancy, youth, renunciation, process of becoming the Enlightened, dissemination of message and *nirvāṇa*. The complete biography of the Buddha found in the later *Pāli* commentaries and chronicles as well as in the Sanskrit works, was woven out of those catered evidences.⁴ About his ancestry, a myth from *Ambaṭṭasutta* of *Dīghanikāya*, holds that he belonged to a Sākya clan⁵. Likewise the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* of *Dīghanikāya* enlists the names of Gautama's father and mother along with their royal capital.⁶

Birth of Siddhārtha:

The absence of hard bound facts is the major drawback for the study of early Buddhism. By and large the life and preachings of the Buddha influenced the Mauryan emperor, Asoka (274- 236 B.C.), who was instrumental in transforming Buddhism as a politico-religious ideology, 'Dhamma' to win people through *dhammavijaya* than by *yuddhavijaya*. Even the date of the Buddha's life is conjectured basing on Asoka's date. It is traditionally held that the death of Buddha took place 100 years before Asoka. The lifetime of Buddha was fixed between 563 and 483 B.C.

Buddhist literature provides ample information with regard to the birth of Buddha. He belonged to the *Sākya* clan. The *Sākya* clan dwelt

⁴ Edward J. Thomas, *The Life Of Buddha as Legend and History*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949, P.1.

⁵ Maurice Walshe, *Dighnikaya the long discourses of the Buddha*, Boston: wisdom publications, 1996, p. 111.

⁶ Ibid, p.201

along the Rohini River that flows in the Southern foothills of Himalayas. Śuddhodana, their king,⁷ ruled from Kapilavasthu. His queen was Māyadevi. They had no children for twenty years after their marriage. On one night the queen Māya got a dream, in which she saw a white elephant entering into her womb through the right side of her chest. She then became pregnant. The King and the people awaited the birth of a royal child that could be a boon to the *Sākya* clan. The Queen who was on the way to her parents' home for the delivery took rest at Lumbini Garden and delivered her princely child. The King was extremely happy with the birth of a male child and named him as Siddhārtha. The name literally means 'every wish fulfilled'. But the sudden death of Māyadevi made the palace sorrowful. Her younger sister Mahāprajāpati became the foster mother of Siddhārtha. She brought him up with much love and care.

Asita, a sage who lived in the nearby Himalaya Mountains, observed a sparkle in the castle. Considering it as an auspicious omen, he went to the palace and saw the child. He predicted the future of the newborn boy in the following words:

“This Prince, if he remains in the palace, when grown up, will become a great King and subjugate the whole world. But if he forsakes the court life to embrace a religious life, he will become a Buddha, the Savior of the world.”⁸

After listening to the prophecy, Śuddhodana was very happy. But he got worried that his son would leave the royal palace and live as an ascetic in the forests. When he was seven years old, Siddhārtha began his studies in the civil and military craft. But he was sensitive to the world of sufferings and miseries. He wanted to know the causes of all sufferings. On one day, during the spring season, he went out with his father to see the world outside the castle. Both of them watched a farmer tilling his fields. Then he found a bird

⁷ Isabelle Onians and Somadeva Vasudeva (eds.), *Life of Buddha by Asvaghosa*, (translated by Patrick Olivelle), New York: Clay Sanskrit Library and New York University Press, 2008, p.3.

⁸Bukkyo Dendo Kyonkai, *The Teachings of Buddha*, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2006, p.4.

came down to the ground and carried a small worm, tilled up by the plough of the farmer. He relaxed under a tree but was thinking deeply with regard to the death of the worm in the hands of a bird. He got worried that whether all living creatures kill one other. Siddhārtha who lost his mother in the infant stage was moved away by the incidences. Day by day the cause of suffering in the world became an issue to be solved in the human life.

Śuddhodana wanted to keep his son away from seeing any miseries and sufferings of the world. He told his servants to see that Siddhārtha is kept away from the worldly sufferings and pains. Tradition says that the king kept his son three palaces amidst forty thousand dancing girls. When he was sixteen years old, his father sent five hundred women to him as prospective brides. But he selected his cousin Yasodhara and won her by performing twelve marvellous feats in archery. Thus Siddhārtha led a luxurious life inside the royal household having three lotus pools and three palaces for three seasons, winter, summer and rainy seasons.⁹ Such comfortable life immersed Siddhārtha in worldly pleasures and joys of princely life. He was unaware of the realistic sufferings and pain and of people in the society.

In due course of time he came out his royal threshold. Near the Lumbini Park he came across the real miseries of life expressed in different forms. On the first day he saw a man who was drooped due to his age. He saw on the next day, a person suffering from some disease. Afterwards, he came across a dead body accompanied by people weeping for the deceased in grief. He was impressed by the sight and the words of a mendicant, whom he came across on his way. The mendicant told him that he was a wandering monk (*sramana*) and ascetic (*parivrajaka*). After having the above experiences, he understood that the highest goal of life is to be free from the fear of old age, decease anxiety of birth and death¹⁰. While he was going back to his palace he

⁹ U. N. Ghoshal, 'Studies in Early Buddhist Historiography', *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, No.2, Vol. XVII, June, 1941.

¹⁰ *Pade tu yasminn na jara na bhir na run na janma, Naivoparamo na cadhayah Tam eva manye purusartham uttamam na vidyat, Yatra punah punah kriya*; Asvaghosa: *Buddhacarita*, cited in P. V. Bapat (ed.), *2500 Years of Buddhism*, New Delhi: The Publications division, Government of India, 1956, p. X.

heard the news about the birth of his son. He named his as Rahula. The term 'Rahula' literally means 'fetter' or 'bond'. He considered his son as a link to continue his life as a house holder and worldly life. Hence he determined to renounce the world and seek enlightenment like an ascetic to attain *mōksha*¹¹.

Renunciation and enlightenment:

In the mid night, Siddhārtha finally looked at his wife and son in their palace. He ordered his charioteer, Channa, to load his favourite horse. He left his harem and his city, Kapilavatthu in search of truth. By morning, he crossed the river Anoma. He handed over his garments and other princely paraphernalia to his charioteer and took to the semblance of an ascetic. The prince went south to find solution to problem of suffering of the world. For the next six years, he tried to find meaning of life. There he impressed the king of Magadha, Bimbisara. They offered him half their kingdom to stay. Siddhārtha refused to take. He gave him a word that he would return to him with 'truth' if he could be able to find it. He became an exponent in meditation (*dhyāna*) and philosophy. During his pilgrimage he came in contact with two spiritual teachers. Firstly, he met Alara Kalama. He trained Siddhārtha to reach the 'sphere No-thing'. Siddhārtha mastered Alara's system. Alara was glad to declare that Siddhārtha was his equal in sphere of knowledge. Next, he went to Uddaka Ramaputta, another great teacher and philosopher. He taught him to attain the 'sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception', a higher mystical state than the sphere of no-thing. Siddhārtha did not satisfy with the knowledge that he had gained from them. He continued his search for the truth. He went to Senanigrāma in Urvula. There he met five mendicants. They used to practice different spiritual traditions. There Siddhārtha wore coarse cloths, refused to sit squatted or any way except on his heels. He stopped to wash his body. He allowed the dirt and dust to accumulate and fall from on their own. He slept in places where the birds ate rotten human flesh. Through self-denial he hoped to understand life, but failed. He described his physical state as follows:

¹¹ *Nara-pungava janma-mrtyu bhītaḥ sraṃaṇaḥ Prāvrajīto smi mokṣa-hetoḥ*, *ibid*, p.VI.

“Because of so little nourishment, all my limbs became like some withered creepers with knotted joints; my buttocks like a buffalo's hoof; my back-bone protruding like a string of balls; my ribs like rafters of a dilapidated shed; the pupils of my eyes appeared sunk deep in their sockets as water appears shining at the bottom of a deep well; my scalp became shriveled and shrunk as a bitter gourd cut unripe becomes shriveled and shrunk by sun and wind; . . .the skin of my belly came to be cleaving to my back-bone; when I wanted to obey the calls of nature, I fell down on my face then and there; when I stroked my limbs with my hand, hairs rotted at the roots fell away from my body”¹².

Siddhārtha realized that both luxurious living and asceticism would not bring truth nearer to him. He emerged a *Middle Way (madhyamārga)*, as a medium to find truth¹³. He demonstrated his newly emergent ‘truth’ to his fellow ascetics. He took normal meal in front of them and they left him disgusted. Gautama went to Gaya, a major north-eastern city in India. There, underneath a Banyan tree Ajapala Nigrōdha on full moon day (*Vaisakha purnima*) in May, he spread a mat under a fig tree near the Meranja River and assumed a lotus position. He swore to remain in that position until he learns the mysteries as well as the causes for the miseries of life. He was 35 years old that day.

“After sitting under the tree, Māra, the lord of the world of passion approached him and attempted to prevent him from attaining *Enlightenment*. Siddhārtha, however, sat in meditation unmoved. Siddhārtha was sustained by 10 *paramitas* (“great virtues”) that he had perfected during innumerable past lives as a *bodhisattva* (Buddha-to-be) in order to attain Enlightenment”¹⁴.

¹²*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Buddha*, Vol. III, Chicago: William Benton Publishers, 1981, p. 370.

¹³ Piyadassi Thera (tr.), *Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta: Setting in Motion the Wheel of Truth*, 1999, downloaded from web <http://www.accesstoinight.org/tipitaka/sn/sn56/sn56.011.piya.html> on 29th June 2016.

¹⁴ In order to attain Buddha hood, all bodhisattvas [i.e., those who aspire to become Buddhas] have to perfect, during innumerable lives, these 10 *paramitas*: charity, morality, renunciation, wisdom, effort, patience, truth,

The Buddhist texts upheld that Siddhārtha won a fierce battle with Mara before he attained Buddhahood. There are five kinds of Mara as described in the Buddha's teachings, namely (i) Deity (*devaputta*), (ii) Passion (*kilesa*), (iii) Karmic activities (*abhisakhra*), (iv) Aggregates (*Khandhas*), and (v) Death (*Maccu*) along with their ten armies of sense-desires, aversion, hunger and thirst, etc. Some scholars interpret that most of the battles with Mara were really a psychological struggle of Siddhārtha with worldly temptations¹⁵. The Buddha in the *Dhammapāda* no. 103 preaches that the persons that conquer themselves were greater than those that vanquish thousands of men for thousand times in the battlefield. Thus Buddha could overcome Mara along with his evil spirits after the sequence of deaths and births in stream of life.

In his vision, Siddhārtha perceived the path of his way to obtain liberation from *samsara*, or the cycle of rebirths. He gave up his ignorance with regard to the nature of the mundane world. He became the Buddha which means 'awakened one' and the 'enlightened one', The Buddhist scriptures say that Siddhārtha was beneath the papal tree for seven weeks and faced his first dilemma: should he keep his knowledge to his one's ownself or to share it with others. It was norm for monks in Gautama's sangha to keep information to themselves. He decided to spread the information that he acquired. One hundred miles from where he was 'Enlightened' and two months later, Gautama gave his first sermon, Isipatana in the Deer Park. He presented the 'Wheel of the Doctrine', celebrated as '*dharmacakra parivartana*' which mean that 'turning the wheel of dharma'. The wheel symbolizes the *Four Noble Truths*, the basic realities of life as per his experiences and teachings. The event of '*dharmacakra parivartana*' symbolically reveals Siddhārtha's attainment of sovereignty in the kingdom of *dharma* sustained by four pillars

determination, universal love, and equanimity. Downloaded from web <http://www.truthnet.org/pdf/Cults/11Buddhism.pdf> on 10th Oct 2016.

¹⁵G.C. Pande, *Studies in the Origins of Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2015, p. 381. (First Published in 1957).

of the truth, i.e. four noble truths. As a *ksatriya* king who denounced all his pleasures to reach the realities of human life, could establish his dharmic sovereignty in the empire of spirituality. After this Gautama founded the *Sangha*, (congregation) that comprises of monks, nuns and disciples.

Buddha attained Enlightenment by observing the Four Noble Truths (Ariya saccani), realizing the twelve links of Dependent Origination (*Paticca-samuppada*), mastering the Four Trances (rpa-jhana) and attaining the Three Superhuman Powers (te-vijja). Among these three teachings, the simpler version of the theory of the *Paticca-samuppada* might be a real technique that Buddha used during his meditation beneath the *bodhi*-tree before he attained his Enlightenment¹⁶. The concept of the *Āriya sacca* was officially proclaimed by the Buddha in his First Sermon entitled ‘The Wheel of Truths’ (*dhammacakkappavattanasutta*) to the group of five *bhikkhus* in the Deer Park in Isipatana near Benares (Vāraṇasī)¹⁷.

The *Mahāparinirvana*, the last journey of Buddha was in calm, fearless, self-controlled and solitary state of meditation. Several *Suttas* reported this process that the Buddha passed through first four form states of absorption. Passed by the first four states, he entered into the four formless states of absorption, and then the ‘cessation of cognition and feeling’. He then slowly reached back to the first state of absorption, went back to the fourth state and finally attained the *Parinibbāna*. For more than forty years the Buddha continued to instruct those who can follow to him. Finally, on his way to Kusinara in the district of Gorakhpur, a blacksmith by name Chunda invited Buddha and fed him with pig’s flesh which made him sick. He slowly proceeded to Kusinagara and there he had his last breath at the age of eighty.

¹⁶ Hirakawa Akira, *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*, Hawai'i: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, p. 28.

¹⁷ Narada Mahathera, *The Buddha and His Teaching*: Taiwan: The Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation, rpt. 1998, pp.48ff, downloaded from web <http://www.budsas.org/ebud/budtch/budteach00.htm> on 29th June 2016.

He thus, trespassed his duty as a householder for he left the home by dejecting his newborn child and wife, a new mother. He gave up the duties of *grihastha* for he was no longer interested in the traditional *varṇāśramadharmā*. He broke the path of *āśrama* and took to *sanyasa* by trespassing the thresholds of *grihastha* and *vānaprastha*. He renounced *karmayōga* prescribed to *ksatriyas* and went in search of *jnanayoga*, a path meant for Brahmanas to attain *mōksa*. To achieve it, he gave up *rajas* (inertia, darkness, anger, desire) for *sattva* (bliss, goodness, light, patience and truthfulness). Several *jataka* tales substantiate to the claiming of *brahmattva* (brahminhood) by having wisdom (*jñāna*)¹⁸ obtained through meditation that lead him to *sambōdhi*, the enlightenment. The journey of Siddhārtha from royal threshold to renunciation for attaining Buddhahood (salvation) by abstaining himself from *rajas* (driven by passion) and *tamas* (blinded by darkness), that are really pertinent to *ksatriyas*/rulers is a path-breaking achievement in the contemporary spiritual world. Emphasis on *jñāna* and *sattva* even for the commoners to attain deliverance from the fetters of the world is a nodal idea in the preaching of Buddha.

Nature of Buddha Dhamma:

The *Dhamma* preached by Buddha is a way of life prescribed to his followers for saving their lives from the chain of birth and death. Buddha said that all phenomenal existence have three interlocking characteristics: impermanence, suffering and no soul or essence. Under the theory of *Anāttavada* (no-soul doctrine), he held that all the living beings in the world do not have soul and no abiding essence. According to him an individual is composed of five components like body, feelings (of pleasure or pain), perception, volitions (including unconscious and inherited drives) and consciousness. Each in turn is not the self, for it is impermanent and so ultimately unsatisfactory. This analysis of the person into physical and mental components is exhaustive. So there is no space for ‘soul’ or ‘self’ as

¹⁸Samkhapala Jataka, No. 524; E W Cowell (ed.), *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Vol. V, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905, pp.84-90.

a separate entity¹⁹. Buddhism denounced all social distinctions among human beings and attributes to one's own *karma* for having the birth of eminence or subservience in society. The disciples of Buddha were drawn from different *varṇas* including *caṇḍālas*. Its doors were opened to women and men alike²⁰.

Fundamentals of the Doctrine of Buddha:

After the enlightenment, Buddha preached more than forty five years, till he attained *Parinibbāna*. Soon after this event, the First Buddhist Council was held by his disciples to codify the teachings of their master, Buddha²¹. All those preachings that were codified in this Council were renowned as the *Dhamma*²². The doctrine of Buddhist Dhamma revolves round the law of *karma*, actions that operate over three periods of life, past, present and future. *Karma* is based on the belief that people are crushed in the chain of births again and again to reap the fruits of their actions. The aim of the life should be the cessation of *karma* which prevents individuals from having sufferings in the cycle of birth and death. To achieve it, one should refrain oneself from doing all kinds of sins in their routine and ritual lives. To attain the wisdom of understanding the ideology of Dhamma propounded by Buddha, one should internalize and practice. Four Noble Truths, which he experienced through the course of his life. Since all the

¹⁹ Richard F. Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from ancient Banaras to modern Colombo*, London: Routledge, 2006. P.63.

²⁰ Chatsumarn kabilsingh, *Women in Buddhism (Questions and Answers)*, Bangkok: Thimmasat University, 1998.

²¹ According to Buddhist chronicles, the first Buddhist council (*sangiti/recitation*), was held at Rajagriha during the first three month monsoon retreat (*vassa*) after the Parinibbana of Buddha to standardise the Buddha's words into tradition. Five hundred *Arihants* gathered under the aegis of Mahakasyapa wherein the Vinaya and the Dhamma were recited by Upali and Ananda respectively; Richard H. Robinson and Willard N Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*, Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1997, p.51.

²² The *Dhamma* was organized into scriptures in *sutra* form for which it was eventually termed as *Sutta pitaka*. Refer to Hirakawa Akira, *supra*, pp.38-39.

teachings of Buddha were his experiential expressions, they were much nearer to the reality and won tremendous popularity among the classes and masses alike. The other guidelines meant for the purification of the adherents of Buddhism are :Eight fold path (*astāngamarga*), Five precepts(*panchaśīla*), three realities (*tilakkas*) ,theory of causation (*Paticcasamuppāda*) etc.,

The precepts of the Buddhist philosophy advocated by Buddha were well articulated in theoretical as well as in practical ways of in the life of the people. The Four Noble Truths viz: *dukkha* (suffering), *karana dukka* (cause of suffering), *dukkha nirōdha* (cessation of suffering) and *dukkha nirōdha gamini patipāda* (path leading to cessation of suffering) are the embodiments of realities of the human beings on the earth. These truths introduce to the incumbents about the veracity of their lives and lead them to find out the reasons not only for their pleasures and pains but also the ways to come out of them to reach eternal bliss. Thus the first truth tells about the nature of suffering in human life and the second truth establishes the causes for human suffering (*Patticchasamupāda*). The third truth enlightens the need of the people to strive hard for the cessation of suffering. The fourth truth is about the eight ways (*astāngamarga*) for the incumbents to follow for coming out of the sufferings of the world and attain Buddhahood²³. All the Four Truths are connected to each other by way of causal relationship. The right attitude to be developed towards suffering is explained in the Fourth Truth. The foremost position ascribed to right understanding is significant in this regard. These four noble truths are classified in to two groups. The operation of first two, the suffering (*Dukkha*) and the cause of suffering (*Dukkha kārana*) belong to a realm of birth and death which are cyclical in nature. Here birth and death are connected by causal relationship, one leading to the other and *vice-versa*. Continuation of this cycle immerses one in *Samsara* (worldly life). The other two, *dukkha nirōdha* (cessation of suffering) and *dukkha nirōdha gāmini patipada* (path leading to cessation of suffering) delineates the way how an individual traverses from *avijja* (ignorance) to *vijja* (wisdom) to reach

²³ Bhadantacariya Buddhaghosha, *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga)*, translated by Bhikkhu Nanamoli, Taipei, 1956, p.562.

Buddhahood. Here the movement is not cyclical, but spiral. Theoretically, in spiral movement, winding occurs continuously and gradually widening (or tightening) of curve takes place, either around a central point on a flat plane or about an axis so as to form a cone. When interpreted from the philosophical perspective, knowledge about the cessation of suffering and observance of eightfold path to put an end to suffering makes the individual/incumbent to move gradually from ignorance and move continuously upwards on the axis of *Dhamma* to attain wisdom and reach the ultimate. Buddha describes each noble truth in a slightly different way. He says that the first noble truth should be understood, the second noble truth should be abandoned, the third noble truth should be realized, and the last noble truth should be developed²⁴.

The Four Noble Truths:

Buddha, after attaining wisdom theorized the Four Noble truth. He held that the First Noble Truth is to be comprehended fully (*parinneyyam*), and already comprehended it fully (*parinnatam*). The Second is the one to be abandoned (*pahatakabbam*), and also already been abandoned (*pahinam*); the Third explains that which is to be realized (*sacchikàtabbam*), and already been realised (*sacchikatam*); and the Fourth is to be cultivated (*bhàvetabbam*), and already cultivated (*bhàvitam*).

(a) **Dukkha (suffering)**: It is the truth related to the issue of ‘suffering. It is based on five *Skandas* (aggregates) of human body. Theoretically, suffering is imminent to all living beings for they are naturally subjected to disease, ageing and death²⁵. There are a variety of *dukkha* (suffering). They are: *Viparinama dukkha* (suffering in change), *Sankara dukkha* (suffering due to formation) and *Dukkha- Dukkha* (intrinsic suffering). Apart from that there are also concealed suffering (*paticchana dukkha*), exposed suffering (*appaticchanna dukkha*), direct suffering (*Nippariyāya dukkha*) and indirect suffering (*Pariyaya dukkha*). *Dukkha- Dukkha* (intrinsic suffering) is related to the

²⁴ Geshe Tashi Tsering, *The Four Noble Truths*, Vol.1, Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2005, p.11.

²⁵ Bhadantacariya Buddhaghosha, *Supra*, p.506.

bodily and mental pains. It is individualistic in nature. *Viparināma dukkha* (suffering in change) is caused due to change from the pleasant to unpleasant feelings. *Sankara dukkha* (suffering due to formation) is associated with rise and fall in day to day life. The physical and mental afflictions - earache, headache, fever born of lust, fever born of heat, etc- are called concealed sufferings. The exposed sufferings to people are due to the subjection of thirty two tortures in their respective lives²⁶. Buddhist literature provides information on different kinds of suffering in human life. They are: 1. Natural suffering (*Svabhāva Dukkha*) it includes birth, old age, and death which are inevitable to every living on the earth, (2) Occasional suffering (*Pakinnaka Dukkha*) which is an unavoidable and cut across every section of society, (3) Constant suffering (*Nibadda Dukkha*) includes regular physical needs like hunger, heats, cold etc. (4) Sufferings produced by diseases (*Vyādhi Dukkha*) which are also unavoidable in life, (5) Consuming Suffering (*Santāpa Dukka*) are produce by ten defilement's (*Klāsas*) they consume their minds- lust, anger, delusion and others. These are the fires (*Udhrēka*) that burn the mind and have most influential consuming power, (6) Sufferings to due *Karma* (*Vipāka Dukkha*) are cause by indulging in evil activities, (7) Sufferings produce by quarrel (*Vivāda Moolaka Dukkha*) implies pain due to conflicting ideas and interest, (8) Suffering of aggregates (*Dukkha Khanda*) refers to the existence of five aggregate namely- corporeality (*Rūpa*), mental formation (*Sankhara*), feeling (*Vedana*), perception (*Sanna*), and consciousness (*Vijñāna*). These are all the sites of human suffering.

(b)***Dukkha kārana (the cause of suffering)***: In Buddhism, Craving (*tanhà*) incorporates all desires from passionate lust or cupidity to unrevealed affection and attachment of that kind. So, the Pali word '*tanha*', besides its interpretation as 'craving', had multiple connotations 'desire', 'lust', 'greed', 'attachment', 'love', 'affection', 'passion', 'thirst', 'yearning'.

Buddhists believe that every effect has a cause and nothing can be uncaused and so suffering also arises due to craving (*tanha*) and ignorance (*avijja*). Ignorance is the base of craving and the latter is the root cause for

²⁶ Ibid, p.568.

suffering. It is that *tanha* or craving which leads people to be crushed in the cycle of birth and death. It is shown in the following diagram:

Diagram No. I Relationship among *dukkha*, *avidya* and *tanha*



Buddha while describing the Second Noble Truth, he interpreted ‘craving’ as follows: Craving causes rebirth (*ponobhavikà*), along with pleasure and lust or desire (*nandiràgasahagatà*), and also search of happiness (*tatra tatràbhinandini*). It is a Craving for Sensual Pleasures (*kàmatanhà*). The Craving for being (*bhāva-tanhà*) is longing for continued existence. The Craving for Non-being *vibhāva-tanhà* is the way to personal annihilation. Buddha explained that all these cravings make the people to suffer in this world and make them to born again and again to execute their *karma* in a series of births. He advocates that *Avijja* (ignorance) is the citadel of craving. One can attain the *Arhantship*, the ‘end of craving in human life’ through the ‘Eradication of craving’. The craving is due to: the passion (*kilesa*) such as aversion (*dōsa*), attachment (*lōbha*), illusion (*mōha*), false views (*ditthi*), doubt (*vicikicchā*), conceit (*māna*), sloth (*thina*), restlessness (*uddhacca*), moral shamelessness (*ahirika*) and moral fearlessness (*anōttappa*).²⁷ Due to ignorance one fails to understand the reality. As long as one fails to understand that there is no independent permanent ‘self’, he believes in the real existence of his ‘self’. Then he automatically craves for those things that satisfy and benefit him and averse those which do not. Due to such ignorance, there arise the desire, greed, ill-will, hatred, anger, jealous, pride and a whole lot. Hence ignorance is the underlying cause and the desire,

²⁷Narada Mahathera, *supra*, p. 39.

greed, hatred and anger are the secondary causes for suffering. While explaining this truth Buddha has put forward the *Paticca-samuppada-naya* (doctrine of dependent origination). This theory is dealt in detail in the later pages.

c) *Dukkha nirōdha* (cessation of suffering): The third truth, *dukkha nirōdha* tells the need for putting an end to one's own suffering and also for having peace in every aspect of life to attain Buddhahood, *nirvana*. This cessation of suffering is the hub of third noble truth. By putting an end to ignorance, craving, desire, greed, hatred and anger suffering can be eliminated and peace may be attained.

Nibbāna.

It is unborn (*ajāta*), unoriginated (*abhāta*), unconditioned (*asamkhata*), unmade (*akata*), difficult to be seen (*duddasa*), difficult to be comprehended (*duranubodha*) and freedom from all fetters (*yogakkhema*). The ecstasy obtained by attaining 'nirvana' is inexplicable for it is beyond all mundane experiences. It is the highest expression of happiness (*nibbānāṃ paramāṃ sukhāṃ*). It is the eternal (*dhava*), happy (*sukha*) permanent (*nicca*), and pleasant (*subha*) state of expression that evaporates all defilements. It is the supreme happiness one experiences²⁸.

(d) *Dukka nirōdha gāmini paṭipāda* (path leading to cessation of suffering): This truth actually prescribes the path and process of putting an end to desires and attain *nibbana* (*nirvāṇa*). It is known as the *Ārya astāngika magga* (eight fold path meant for respectable people) that drives individuals who follow them to the cessation of *karma* and *Dukkha* (suffering) in human life. It is achieved by following *astangamarga* the eight fold path which is otherwise known as the *majjhima-paṭipāda*, the Middle Path for it negotiates the two extreme ends of human life. On one hand, it abandoned the ruthless indulgence of the people in the sensualist and pleasure seeking activities and on the other hand, it critiqued the ritual observances and bloody sacrifices in the name of religious ideologies. Hence, it is a Path of reason and prudence. It is a way to the avoidance of self-indulgence (*kamasukhallikanuyoga*) and self-

²⁸Ven. Pategama Gnanarama, *Essentials of Buddhism*, Singapore: Buddha Dharma Education Association, Inc, 2000, pp.70-80.

mortification (*attakilamathanu-yoga*). These were observed by Buddha prior to his attainment of Enlightenment.

The Fourth Noble Truth is both enunciation of a fact as well a practical path that leads to salvation. To have a comprehensive understanding of the truth, one should stride it. The fourth truth furnishes the individual with all those essential qualities that are needed for his/her spiritual development. They include *Samma Ditṭhi* (Right Understanding), *Samma Saṅkappa* (Right Thought), *Samma Vaca* (Right Speech), *Samma Kammanta* (Right Action), *Samma Ajiva* (Right Livelihood), *Samma Vayama* (Right Effort), *Samma Sati* (Right Mindfulness) and *Samma Samādhi* (Right Concentration). All these eight are interrelated and interdependent factors. In otherwords, they are mutually supportive, but not exclusive. Cultivation of one of these traits leads to that of the other and makes them all functional. Hence, leaning of one way *astāṅgamārga* would make the mendicant to assimilate the remaining too and ultimately attain *nirvana*. The *astāṅgamārga* substantiates eight mental entities, *cetasika* collectively expressed in the four classes of supramundane consciousness, *lokuttara citta*) whose objective is to attain *Nibbāna* (*nibbana*). They are: *pannaindriya*, the faculty of wisdom, *vitakka*, initial application, *virati*, three abstinences, *viriya*, energy, *sati*, mindfulness and *ekāggata*, right concentration respectively. Practice of all these manifest the attitude of the mendicant that struggle for liberation²⁹. The *astāṅgamārga* ensures the ethical and moral behaviour to its followers and finally drives him towards their liberation from the sufferings of the world. It sanctifies one's three avenues of action: body, speech and mind and contributes for the betterment of one's oneself and that of the others.

(1)Samyakdrīsti (right vision/understanding) is the right way to think about life and analyze the world through the eyes of the Buddha, i.e., by using wisdom and compassion. Primarily there are two-external and internal- factors that facilitate the Right Understanding. They are hearing from others (*paratoghosa*) and thoughtful reflection (*yonisomanasikara*).

²⁹ Narada Mahathera, *supra*, p.251.

(2)**Samyaksankalp** (right determination) develops **clear** and kind thoughts for constructing good and strong characters. Right Thought is constited by three traits: renunciation (*nekkhamma-sankappa*); development of the fellings of love, kindness and goodwill, avoidance of anger and hatred (*avyapàda sankappa*) and to desist violence (*avihimsaankappa*).

(3) **Samyagvak (right speech)** literally is the use of correct balanced speech. It can also be interpreted as ‘being balanced in conversation’. *Samyagvak* includes abstinence from lying and tale-bearing or back-biting (*pisunavaca*) and adherence to truth (*musavada*).

(4) **Samyakarma (right action)** warns that one should see one’s ownself before criticising the others. It deals with self-denial of three kinds of bodily misconduct: taking life, theft and misappropriation and sexual misconduct.

(5)**Samyagjiva (right livelihood)** suggests that one should choose one’s own livelihood in such a way that it does not hurt the others. The Buddha warns that one should not earn one’s livelihood by resorting to wrong ways. One’s right to earn livelihood should not hurt the others. Buddhist texts prohibit trading in five different commodities. They include: arms-*satthavanijja*, human beings-*sattavanijja*, flesh- *maüsavanijja*, intoxicating drinks-*majjavanijja* and poisons -*visavanijja*.

(6)**Samyagvyayama (right effort) emphasizes on conscious efforts to be made by the individuals on their way to salvation. They are** to (i) prevent the rise of half- baked or unwholesome thought process that was not yet developed that have not yet arisen (ii) abandon unwholesome thoughts that have been already disturbing (iii) develop wholesome thoughts, i.e. positive ideology that hadn’t arise and (iv) maintain wholesome thoughts that sprang already arisen in those that observe the path of liberation.

(7)**Samyasmriti (right mindfulness) can be interpreted as the awakening of right or positive memories in mind. Such awakening avoid** the wavering in the domains of the body, kayanupassana, sensation, *vedanànupassana*, mind *tànupassana* and mind-objects (*dhammànupassana*). The abstinence from the above leads to overcome grief, sorrow and lamentation and

attain purity by putting an end to the feeling of pain and pleasure. Thus *samyaksmṛiti* makes its followers to realize the truth and reality.

(8)*Samyaksamadhi* (**right meditation**) focuses on one thought or object at a time. It denotes the accomplishment of *jhana*, a lucrative meditative power. There are five hindrances/obstacles that deviate people from the path of liberation or deliverance. They are: *kamacchanda* - the desires for sensual pleasure, *vyapada*- the ill will, *thina-middha* - the sloth and torpor, *uddhaccakukkucca*- restlessness and worry, and *vicikiccha* - the skeptical doubt. When he/she accomplishes *jhana*, prefers to travel by meditative absorption -*jhananga* to get liberated. By practicing *ekaggata* (concentration) one can balance ill will by joy-*pati*, sloth and torpor by initial application -*vitakka*, restlessness and worry by happiness - *sukha* and skeptical doubt by application -*vicara*.

The *astāṅgamārga*, the Eightfold Path- the eight factors can be categorized under three categories -*silā*-virtue, *samādhi* -concentration and *pañña*- wisdom. This threefold division of Eightfold Path represents the three stages of spiritual progress. The *Majjhima Nikaya*³⁰ a Buddhist text held that the three fold division of eight fold path is not based on the sequence. It is opined that the Eightfold Path is arranged according to the three divisions. *Śīla*, the virtue, refers to ethical behaviour and moral discipline. *Silā* incorporates Right Speech (*samma vacca*), Right Action (*samma kammanta*) and Right Livelihood (*samma ajīva*). *Silā* is the site of spiritual development. It is the base to further advancement while passing along the Path. The *Silā* leads individuals to develop concentration of mind and attainment of the highest wisdom. The second category, *Samādhi* represents Right Effort (*samma vyayama*) Right Mindfulness (*samma sati*) and Right Concentration (*samma samādhi*). The attainment of *samādhi* or concentration makes mendicants appropriate their enthusiastic minds to learn the meaning of human existence and finally reach the highest wisdom- *pañña*.

³⁰ I B Horner, *The collection of Middle Length Sayings (Majjhima Nikaya), the First Fifty Discourses*, Vol. I, Lancaster: The Pali Text Society, 2007, pp. 362-363.

***Paticca-samuppada naya* (doctrine of dependent origination):**

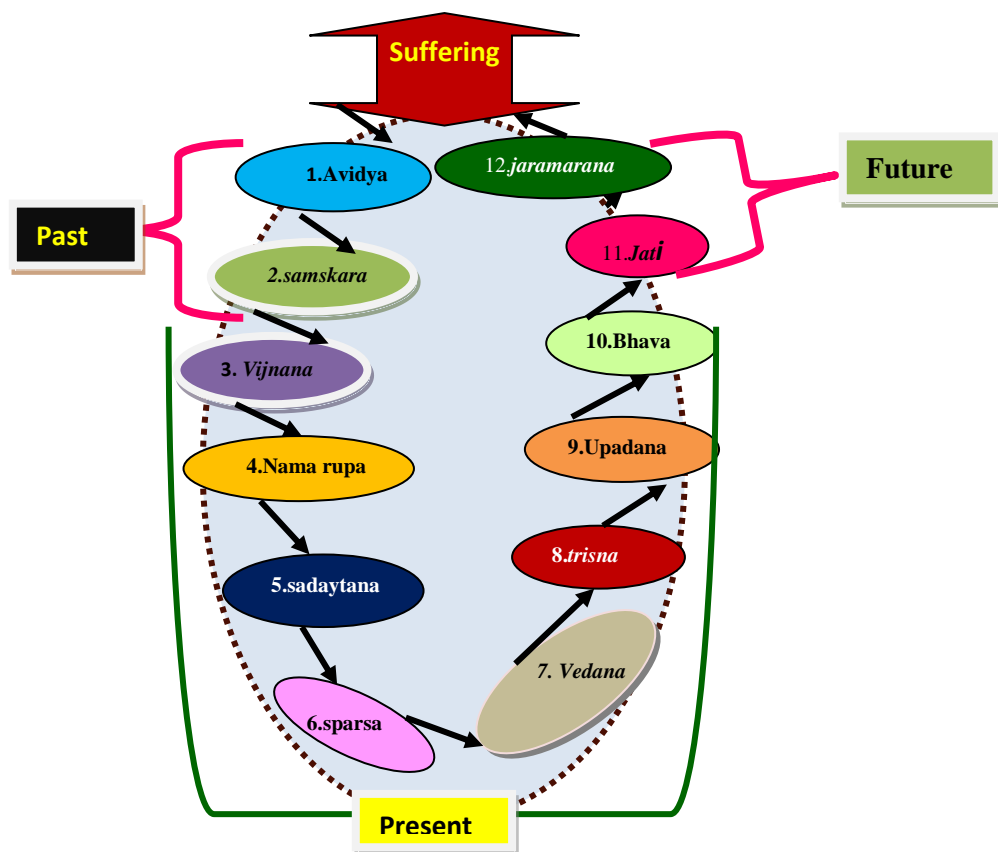
In the same manner, while explaining the origin of suffering Buddhist philosophy put forward the doctrine of dependant origination (*Paticca-samuppāda naya*) which consists of a cycle of twelve factors. Desires which may be positive or negative are the obstacles for liberation and are the root cause of all evil. In order to get liberation, first of all one has to realize the true nature of reality, for which the Buddha put forward *Pattichasamuppāda* (the theory of Dependent Origination). This is a complex formulation of a chain of twelve different factors, one leading to the other. The theory of dependent origination is elucidated in the second noble truth that explains the cause of suffering. It tells that in the empirical world everything is relative, conditional, dependent, subject to birth and death and therefore impermanent³¹. It is relative because every cause has an effect and vice versa. As it is relative, it is neither absolutely real (subjected to death) nor absolutely unreal (for it appears to arise). Buddha puts ignorance as the root cause of all suffering. The following is the chain of sufferings that operates cyclically one leading to the other

1. Ignorance -*avidya*,
2. Impressions of karmic forces –*samskāra*
3. Initial consciousness of the embryo –*vijñāna*
4. Psycho-physical organism-*nāma rūpa*)
5. Six sense organs including mind -*sadayatana*)
6. Sense of object in contact -*sparsha*
7. Sense of experience -*vedana*
8. Thirst for sense enjoyment -*trsna*
9. Clinging to this enjoyment –*upādāna*
10. Will to be born –*bhāva*
11. Birth or rebirth –*jāti*
12. Old age and death –*jarā marana*

³¹ Chandradhar Sharma, *A critical survey of Indian philosophy*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass publishers, 2003, p.73.

In the above list, the first two are related to the past life, the last two to the future life and the rest to the present life. It is a vicious circle of causation. It does not end with death, but in fact it is a beginning of new life. It can be put to an end only by killing ignorance, the root cause of all suffering. Similarly ignorance can be destroyed only through right realization of things that can be possible only through right knowledge. In the following diagram the relationship among these 12 units are shown.

Diagram No: II Diagram of *Paticca-samuppāda-naya*



***Tilakkana* (three characteristics):**

While explaining the suffering, Buddhism put forward the three characteristics (*tilakkana*) of the universe. Suffering must be seen as the background of impermanence, for Buddhism believes that (i) all things are

impermanence (*anitya*), all experience suffering and sorrow (*duhkha*), and all things sustain without ‘self’ (*anatman*)”.³²

***Pancaśīla*- the five precepts for code of conduct:**

1. To abstain from destroying life: It does not mean not abstaining from killing; it is also inferred that one should take care of other living beings. Through this precept the right to live for all beings is emphasized.

2. To abstain from stealing: besides abstaining from stealing the belongings of others, the laity should also uphold the pledge to protect the property of others. It recognizes the right to property of one’s own neighbours.

3. To abstain from illicit sexual relations: through this precept adultery is condemned, the legitimacy of the marriage is recognised and the faithfulness between the wife and husband is emphasised.

4. To abstain from telling lies: this precept asks the laity not to tell lies but only truth. It also asks the laity to be honest with others.

5. To abstain from liquor that causes intoxication and heedlessness: it is directly attached to the doctrine of Mindfulness, according to which many offences might be committed in semi-conscious state, induced due to the consumption of alcohol and other intoxicants. This precept asks the laity to be cautious about their actions and to remain mindful in word and deed.

These precepts inculcate the attitude of non-violence, loving-kindness and compassion among the laity. They are the embodiment of social values and the canonical texts maintain that the observance of those five precepts would not only establish stability and harmony but also make the society crime free.

Buddhist perception of *kamma* (*karma*)

The law of *karma* is a centrifugal and centripetal principle of the Buddhist philosophy. The entirety of Buddhist philosophy revolves round the causation of human actions and their repercussions in the form of *karma* and

³² Mircea Eliade (ed.), *supra*, p. 541.

punarjanma. Every precept of Buddha impregnates the idea of realization of Karma as the prime act for people to attain salvation. The word *Karma* (*Kamma*; in Pali) is a Sanskrit term meaning ‘action’. In Buddhism, *karma* is considered a volitional or willful action. The things people select or the life they enact are nothing than putting the ‘*karma*’ into ‘operation’. *Karma* mainly refers to one's intention or motivation while doing it as an action. It may be good or bad. Good *karma* produces good effects and bad *karma* bad effects. One being either good or bad is highly relative and exists within the cycle of continuity (*samsara*). An *Arahant*, do not accumulate *karma* though he enacts. It is because an *Arahant* is free from all defilements, illusion of self, ‘thirst’ of continuity, he will not have rebirth.

Though the laws of *karma* were originated in Vedic ideology it slightly differs in Buddhist thought. The former views *karma* as an operating in linear fashion to establish past-present-future continuum while the latter understands it as a cyclical process. . However, Buddhism agrees that the past determines the present as well as the future of the human life and connects it to the law of cause and effect (*kārya karna sambandha*) and actions (*Karma*). Buddha in *Anguttara Nikaya* (*Upajjhatthana Sutta* V.57) says that causing suffering to others will result in suffering to one’s ownself. In the same giving happiness to others will cause happiness for one’s ownself .He considered ‘human intention’ as the ‘loci’ of their good and bad actions. For him ‘intention’ is the primordial component of all mental faculties for it controls actions of the mind and determines whether one should be virtuous, non-virtuous, or neutral in conducting activities. Buddha holds that *karma* is of two types: (i) the action due to intention and (ii) the intended action.

The action of intention is the thought or impulse in an individual to engage in a physical or verbal activity. The intended action reflects the physical or oral expression of our intended thought or action. Though *Karma* refers to the ‘action of intention’ in general context it includes the intended action and also the seeds or remnant thoughts that are left in the mind as a result. Buddhists interpret the law of *karma* as another depiction of dependent arising (*paṭicca-samuppāda*), the law of cause and effect, whereby everything that exists arises due to specific reasons. From this perspective, the law of

karma is a sort of natural law that says actions are naturally followed by consequences, but not as the products of divine judgment. The Buddha emphasized that actions lead inevitably to appropriate consequences. For them *Kamma* is the law that governs moral determination. Rebirth is its corollary. Both *Kamma* (deeds/actions) and *punarjanma* (rebirths) are interrelated and fundamental doctrines in Buddhism. These two doctrines were prevalent in India before the advent of the Buddha. Like in the Vedic belief, Buddhism also emphasizes that the birth of a person depends upon his/her deeds (*karma*) either good or bad which are (i) accumulated across series of births (*sanchita*), (ii) due to destiny (*prārabdha*) and (iii) upcoming (*agāmi*). Buddhist thought answered the roots of the inequality prevailing amongst humankind. Buddhism upholds that inequality is not only due to inheritance and environment (nature and nurture) but also to the manipulation of the law of *Kamma* across the generation. In other words, it is the result of one's own inherited past actions and present deeds.

Buddha in *Majjimanikāya, Cullakammavibhanga sutta* replies to the question put by one of his disciples namely Subha with regard to the inequalities that are prevalent among the living beings of the world. Subha questioned as follows:

*“What is the reason, what is the cause, O Lord, that we find amongst mankind the short-lived (appāyukā) and the long-lived (dīghāyuka), the diseased (bavhābādhā) and the healthy (appābādhā), the ugly (dubbannā) and the beautiful (vannavantā), the powerless (appesakkā) and the powerful (mahesakkā), the poor (appabhogā) and the rich (mahābhogā), the low-born (nīcakulinā) and the high-born (uccakulinā), the ignorant (duppaññā) and the wise (paññavantā)?”*³³

Buddha He answers to the questions of Subha in terms of *karma* and *punarjanma* as follows: He gives a list of possible *karmas* people perform and the future births they get as a repercussion for their action. They are explained as follows:

³³*Majjhima Nikāya, Cullakammavibhanga Sutta*, No. 135, Cf. Venerable Nāgasena's reply to the identical question put by King Milinda. See Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 214.

- *“All living beings have actions (Kamma) determined on their own will or by inheritance or congenital, their kinsman, and their refuge.*
- *Kamma differentiates people into low and high states.*
- *If a person destroys life, is a hunter, besmears his hand with blood, is engaged in killing and wounding, and is not merciful towards living beings, he, as a result of his killing, when born amongst mankind, will be short-lived.*
- *If a person avoids killing, leaves aside cudgel and weapon, and is merciful and compassionate towards all living beings, he, as a result of his non-killing when born amongst mankind, will be long-lived.*
- *If a person is in the habit of harming others with fist or clod, with cudgel or sword, he, as a result of his harmfulness, when born amongst mankind, will suffer from various diseases.*
- *If a person is not in the habit of harming others, he, as a result of his harmlessness, when born amongst mankind, will enjoy good health.*
- *If a person is wrathful and turbulent, is irritated by a trivial word, gives vent to anger, ill-will and resentment, he, as a result of his irritability, when born amongst mankind, will become ugly.*
- *If a person is not wrathful and turbulent, is not irritated even by a torrent of abuse, does not give vent to anger, ill-will and resentment, he, as a result of his amiability, when born amongst mankind, will become beautiful.*
- *If a person is jealous, envies the gains of others, marks of respect and honour shown to others, stores jealousy in his heart, he, as a result of his jealousy, when born amongst mankind, will be powerless.*
- *If a person is not jealous, does not envy the gains of others, marks of respect and honour shown to others, stores not jealousy in his heart, he, as a result of his absence of jealousy, when born amongst mankind, will be powerful.*
- *If a person does not give anything for charity, he, as a result of his greediness, when born amongst mankind, will be poor.*
- *If a person is bent on charitable giving, he, as a result of his generosity, when born amongst mankind, will be rich.*
- *If a person is stubborn, haughty, honours not those who are worthy of honour, he, as a result of his arrogance and irreverence, when born amongst mankind, will be of low-birth.*

- *If a person is not stubborn, not haughty, honours those who are worthy of honour, he, as a result of his humility and deference, when born amongst mankind, will be of high-birth.*
- *If a person does not approach the learned and the virtuous and inquire what is good and what is evil, what is right and what is wrong, what should be practiced and what should not be practiced.*
- *What should be done and what should not be done, what conduces to one's welfare and what to one's ruin, he, as a result of his noninquiring spirit, when born amongst mankind, will be ignorant.*
- *If a person does approach the learned and the virtuous and makes inquiries in the foregoing manner, he, as a result of his inquiring spirit, when born amongst mankind, will be intelligent.*
- *The Law of Karma works forever, and the fruit of good deed will come in due course".³⁴*

In addition, Buddha's disciple Ananda mentioned that until the end of the present Dark Age, most human beings take successive lives and accumulate uncountable sins and misdeeds because of to their ignorance caused by their own karmic consequences. He showers the blessings of Amitabha and Avalokitesvara Buddhas of the heaven to those people that observe and disseminate *karmasūtras*.

The discourses on *kamma* upholds primary concern of *kamma* to the domain of individual's ethical responsibility. The Buddha took *kamma* from Brahmanas and the philosophical world of the Upanishads to emphasize its moral and ethical efficacy. *Kamma* is a description of the nature of existence and a principle with prescriptive force. It is this prescriptive aspect of it which best illustrates its importance. It is a principle which one takes as the foundation of one's ethical practice. This principle must be taken a priori as the basis from which to establish the Buddhist path to salvation. Thus the doctrine of *karma* in Buddhist ideology is a centrifugal and centri-petal force for attracting the populace deep into the faith and also for disseminating it wide across the world. Every precept of Buddhism encompasses the notion of

³⁴ Narada Mahathera, *supra*, pp. 221- 222.

cause and effect (*karma*) continuum through series of births and warns its adherents to get liberated from it by following the path prescribed by Buddha.

Karma and Gatis:

Buddhist thought upholds that all the living beings are born into one of the six realms of existence (*Samsāra*) and are getting squeezed under the wheels of life and death through the countless ages. It is because they were unable to abstain from their desire- the *tanha* and attain enlightenment. People also believe that after death they will be reborn in different statuses depending upon their deeds, *karma*. Such belief involves the experience of *karma* and karmic Retribution.

1. *Naraka gati*, Beings in Hell is the lowest and nastiest domain terrorised by torment and belligerence.
2. *Prēta gati*, the path of Hungry Ghosts is the realm of hungry spirits whose anxiety was not overcome and cravings (*Tanha*) were not eternally starved.
3. *Tiryagyōni gati* (Animals) is the state of the animals whose emotions are not balanced due to idiocy
4. *Asura gati* (demon) is the realm of demons whose minds were filled with the emotions like anger, jealousy and rivalry that provoke them towards perpetual warfare and agony. The *asuras* are demigods, semi-blessed ones who were powerful, fierce and quarrelsome. They are ambivalent having both good and evil in their thought as well as in expression.
5. *Manuṣya gati* is the human realm in which beings are both good and evil. Though the people are capable and potential to attain enlightenment they are blindfolded to it for they are immersed in *tanha*, the worldly desires.
6. *Dēva-gati* is the realm of heavenly beings. It is an embodiment of all pleasures. Here the *deva* (god) empowered with all heavenly traits. Some can rule over celestial kingdoms whereas most live in delightful happiness and splendour. They can survive over a countless ages. However, even the *deva*, gods also experience the world of suffering (*samsāra*). Because their celestial powers would blind them with all pride and prestige and throw them into death and decay.

Further Buddhism provides ample space for those who were enlightened. The four additional realms that are carved for them are: (i) *Srāvaka arahants* (ii) *Pratyēka buddhas* (iii) *Bodhisattvas* and (iv) *Buddhas*

The doctrine of *karma* centers round certain fundamental principles: “(i) the law of causality or the cause and effect. All *karmas* or the deeds result in the effect or bears result. In the case of volitional *karma*, they are classified as good and evil, right and wrong, just and unjust depending upon the intent of the doer. (ii) The law of personal responsibility upholds that the doer of karma or deed should be responsible for its consequences. Hence the liability for one’s own actions cannot be shifted to the other. (iii) The law of retributive justice warns that there is no escape for living beings from the consequences of his *karmas*. (iv) The karma is supposed to have no beginning, but it can have an end. The way to avoid the *karma* is to practice Eightfold path as prescribed by Buddha”³⁵.

A being is reborn as a result of ignorance (*Avidya*), craving (*tanha*) and resulting grasping (*upādāna*). Thus one can reborn in the higher realms by a force of virtuous acts of charity (*dāna*), moral conduct (*śīla*) and contemplation (*samādhi*). The sum results of these virtuous acts transferred to a formation of distinct consciousness. The consciousness frequently cultivated by thirst (*tanha*) and clinging leads to three lower worlds hell, hungry ghost and animal. Attainment of nirvana consists in eliminating these three causes by the development of insight or knowledge and elimination of craving and non-grasping. Hence, by the elimination of craving, one can attain the happiness in the present as well as in future existence. To achieve it one must practice meditation. The attainment of *nirvana* requires the extinction of *karma* in two ways, dictated by (i) *pāramita* and (ii) *tantra*. The former incorporates *dāna* (generosity), *dhyana* (meditation) *ksānti* (patience) *virya* (diligence), *śīla* (morality), and *prajña* (wisdom). Thus the *paramita* and *tantra* lead to the neutralization of *karma*. It requires *prajna* and *karuna*

³⁵ Thupten Tenzing, ‘Karma and Rebirth in Buddhism’ in *Bulletin Tibetology*, p.13 and *passim* pp.13-20, downloaded from [Websitettpp://himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/bot/pdf/bot_1996_01_02.pdf](http://himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/bot/pdf/bot_1996_01_02.pdf)

(compassion). Through these practices, one can experience the cessation of *karma*.

Nirvāṇa

In Buddhism the external world or phenomenal existence is *samskrta* (constituted) while that which is beyond phenomena is as *asamkrta* (unconstituted), i.e. *nirvaṇa*, *sūnyata* or *vijnāptimatratā*. The early Pali texts conceive *nirvana* as unborn, unoriginated, unconstituted, undecaying, undying, free from disease, grief and impurity; it is supreme end that is attained by best exertion. It was also considered as the highest perfection (*accanta nittam*) and it could be achieved only by the utmost exertion. The philosophy of *nirvana* is extremely subtle and too difficult to comprehend or visualize. *Suttanipata* gives a clear description of what *nirvāṇa* is as follows:

“Just as the flame of the lamp is struck by a gust of wind disappears and cannot be traced so also does a perfect saint freed from name and form disappear without leaving any trace. That which disappears is immeasurable, i.e., infinite and hence there are no worlds by which it can be spoken of. As it is bereft of all dhammas, it goes beyond the range of conventional language”³⁶.

Nirvāṇa is absolutely separate and different from the world and its constituents. It is non-mental (*acetasika*) and wholly disassociated from mind (*citta viprayutta*). The question of origin or non-origin does not arise in the case of *nirvana* because it is firm, eternal and changeless. It is the inconceivable transcendental reality. Buddha visualized the reality by attaining *bōdhi*, full enlightenment. He realized that *nirvana* was unconceivable and is highest truth which could be realized within one’s ownself. It is also inexpressible (*nippapanca*) and so no attempt should be made to describe it; it was so deep and subtle that it could not be communicated by one person to another. *Nirvāṇa* is neither existing nor non-existing would also befalling into heresies of eternalism (*sassala*) or annihilationism (*uccheda*). Within these limitations, the form and nature of *nirvana* had to be determined.

³⁶*Suttanipata*, 1074/6, cf., N. Dutt, “*Nirvana: Sunyata: Vijnaptimatratā*” [digital image].<http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/242576>, 1964. p.20, <http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/242576>.

Section B

Schism in Buddhism thought: Emergence of Theravāda:

Even during the life times of the Buddha, there were some people who encountered and questioned him and his way of life. His cousin, Devadatta was very much jealous for the influence and popularity of Buddha achieved. He requested Buddha to announce him as his successor. When Buddha refused to do so, he revolted and made many attempts to kill him. In his first attempt he even conspired with the king Ajatasattu to kill Buddha³⁷. To create crevice in the order, Devadatta disapproved the laxity of rules allowed by Buddha among the members of the *Sangha*. Devadatta advocated for stringent rules like living under the trees, avoidance of all invitations, abstinence from meat and fish and so on. He even parted from the *Sangha* with five hundred *Vajjian* monks.³⁸ Likewise there were also few monks like Upananda and others who took the earliest opportunity of relaxing the *Vinaya* rules. There were also people with perverse tendency to oppose a rule. It is because the rule always imposes dos and don't's upon the followers. There were also people who wished to live in ease and comfort. Hence restrictions of any kind laid upon the individual were looked at suspiciously. It is very much evident from the statement of Subhadda, who exclaimed immediately after hearing the death news of Buddha that he is no longer required to abide by the strict rules.³⁹

After the *Mahāparinibbāṇa* of Buddha, the Buddhist Community lacked a single supreme authority to look after the affairs of the *Sangha*. In

³⁷Devadatta tried three times to kill Buddha. In the first attempt he hired a man to kill Buddha, in the second he himself tried by hurling a huge stone at the Buddha from above a peak and in the third attempt he tried to kill Buddha by leaving a drunken fierce elephant on the Buddha. But Devadatta failed in all the attempts. Refer: http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning/buddhism/lifebuddha/2_5lbud.htm

³⁸Kanai Lal Hazra, *History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia with special reference to India and Ceylon*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1982, P.17.

³⁹Bibhuti Baruah, *Buddhist Sects and Sectarianism*, New Delhi: Sarup and Sons, 2000, p. V.

due course of time the community was split into numerous sects and schools on account of deviation from the *Vinaya* rules, doctrinal disputes and geographical variations.⁴⁰ All these school accused each other as having ‘wrong view’ (*mithyadrsti*) or ‘right view’ (*samyagdrsti*). Thus disagreement that sprang among the adherents of Buddha contributed for the split of Buddhism into different schools of thought each contributing its own way of functioning in the dissemination of the ideology and practice.

The word ‘sect’ or ‘school’ is actually referred to as *Acāriyavada* in Pali and as *Nikaya*’ in Sanskrit. The word *Nikāya* denotes to a set of people that are guided by the same rules. Likewise the word *Acariyavada*, implies oral teaching (*Vāda*) of a master (*Acāriya*). Thus the words sect and school are used interchangeably in the work to connote the Sanskrit term ‘Nikaya’ and the Pali term *Acariyavada*.

Scholars divided Buddhism in to a number of traditions basing on the chronology, geography and philosophy. Basing on their philosophy, scholars like Buston (1290-1364)⁴¹ and Taranath (1574-1608), classified Buddhism in to three categories. The first is the *Theravāda* School and the *Sarvāsthivāda* School. It emphasizes on *anātmakavāda*, the doctrine of ‘no-soul’ and the reality of the constituents, the Dharmas of the world. The second school is *Madhyamika*, which advocates *Sūnyata* the ‘ultimate emptiness in all phenomena. The third school *Vijñānavāda* rests more on the consciousness.⁴² Geographically, Buddhism is divided into Tibetan Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism and so on. Basing on the Vehicles (*Yānas*) that lead to salvation Buddhism is divided into three different schools. The three schools are the ‘*Hinayāna*’ (lesser vehicle), the ‘*Mahāyāna*’ (great vehicle), and the *Vajrāyāna* (diamond vehicle).⁴³ Tradition holds that the first schism occurred

⁴⁰Mircea Eliade (ed.), supra, p. 361.

⁴¹A Tibetan scholar who translated and systematized the Tibetan version of Indian *tripitakas*, known as *kanjur* (the word of the Buddha) and *tanjur* (commentaries and independent treaties).

⁴² Mircea Eliade (ed.), supra, pp. 335-336

⁴³ Ibid, p.336.

place in the second Buddhist council where the community was divided into *Sthaviras* and *Mahāsāṅghikas*.

The first schism

The *Cullavagga* of *Vinaya pīṭaka* and the Sinhalese chronicles confirms that the Second Buddhist Council was organized at Vaisali nearly after hundred years after the *Mahāparinibbāna* of the Master. In that congregation, discussion was conducted on the issue with regard to the breach of ten rules (*Dasavathuni*) to be observed by the monks. Yassa⁴⁴ objected to those ten rules for they were not in conformity with the prescriptions of the *Patimokka sutta*.⁴⁵

“The ten rules are enumerated as follows:

- (1) *Singilonakappa* - carrying salt in a horn (string articles of food).
- (2) *Dvangulakappa*- taking meals when the shadow is two fingers broad (eating food after midday).
- (3) *Gamantarakappa*_ taking of food in the adjacent village for the second time.
- (4) *Avasakappa*_ practice of the *uposatha* (the ritual observances that sanction the entry of the mendicant/ lay person into *matha*) ceremonies in varies places in the same *sima* (domain).
- (5) *Anumatikappa*- confirming an act without prior approval of it.
- (6) *Acinnakappa*- taking the customary practice as precedent to approve the later act.
- (7) *Amathitakappa*_ drinking of butter-milk after meals.
- (8) *Jalogimpatum*_ drinking of toddy.
- (9) *Adasakamnisidanam*_ using mat/rug without border.
- (10) *jataruparajatam* –acceptance of gold and silver as gift”⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ Yassa was a Buddhist monk from Kosambi. When he visited Vaisali he observed that the ten rules being followed by the Vaisalian monks were unlawful. See Nalinaksha Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publications, 1998, p.13.

⁴⁵ *Patimokka-sutta*, is a part of *Suttavibhanga* of *Vinayapitaka*. It lays down the basic code of monastic discipline. It prescribes 227 rules for a fully ordained monk and 311 for nuns.

⁴⁶ Nalinaksha Dutt, *supra*, pp. 15-16.

The translations of Vasumitra⁴⁷ by Tibetan and Chinese and other scholars advocated that the council was held only to settle the diverse thinking and opinions among the Buddhist scholars with regard to the five propositions put forward by Mahadeva⁴⁸ concerning the nature of Arhanth.

“The five dogmas of Mahadeva are as follows:

1. An *Arhanth* may commit a sin by unconscious temptation
2. One may be an *arhanth* and may not be aware of it
3. An *arhanth* may have doubts on the doctrine
4. One cannot attain *arhanthship* without a teacher
5. The noble ways may be by a shout, that is, one meditating seriously on religion may make such an exclamation as ‘how sad! How sad! And by so doing attains progress towards perfection the path is attained by an exclamation of astonishment’.⁴⁹

From the above discussion it is clear that what so ever may be the issues, it is evident that schism occurred in the Buddhist thought after the Second Buddhist Council. Those monks who adhered to the ten practices by relaxing the stringent rules of orthodoxy were known as the *Mahasanghikas* and the other section of monks were known as the *Theravadins* (*Sthaviravādins*). The verdict of the council favoured the latter group and they continued to follow the tradition.

The first dissent led the division of Buddhism into as many as eighteen distinct sects of Buddhism within a span of three to four centuries of the *Parinibbana* of the Buddha. Out of those eighteen schools, eleven were from (i) *Theravāda* and seven from (ii) *Mahasānghikas*.⁵⁰ All these eighteen schools according to different sources are tabled below:

⁴⁷ A Buddhist monk of 2nd Century CE from Gandhara. He presided over the fourth Buddhist council held in Kashmir.

⁴⁸ Mahadeva was a learned Brahmin from Mathura and was also the head of the kukkutarama monastery in Pataliputra which was patronised by the king. See Bibhuti Baruah, *supra*, p.vi.

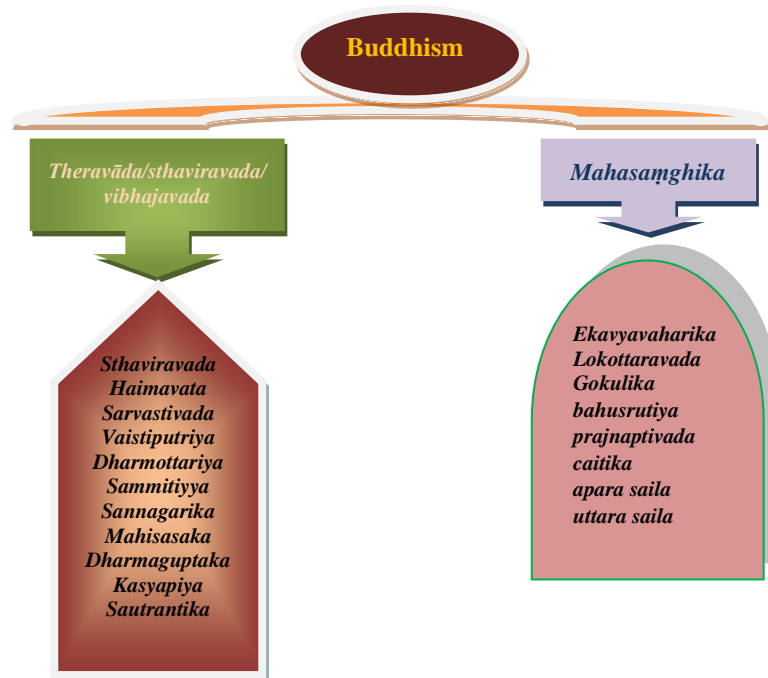
⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.vi.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.vi-vii.

Diagram No. III Division of Buddhism according to *Dipavamsa*⁵¹



Diagram No. IV Schism in Buddhism according to Vasumitra⁵²



⁵¹Ibid, p.43.

⁵²Ibid, p.44.

(I) Theravāda Buddhism

The term *Theravāda* is from Pali language and is derived from two words *Thera* and *vāda* which means respectively ‘elders’ and ‘discourse or doctrine’. The term *Theravāda* literally means, ‘the way of the Elders’ or ‘Doctrine of the Elders’. In Sanskrit, the term *Theravāda* is popularly known as *Sthaviravāda*. Those monks who supported and upheld the orthodox view point of Buddhism in the second Buddhist council were known as *Theravādins*. *Theravāda* is considered as the purer form of Buddhism for its theology and practices are akin to the actual renderings of teachings of Buddha encoded in the earliest Pāli scriptures. Further Pāli is the basic language used in the process of teaching the Buddhism.

Theravāda Buddhism appears to be more of a philosophy than a religion for it upholds Buddha as a human being. It neither considered Him neither a god nor a superhuman being. Theoretically, *Theravāda* Buddhism has no space for dogmas, blind superstitions, rituals, mediation through the priests or faith in an unseen God’. The most fundamental ideology of *Theravāda* Buddhism is depicted in the *Āryasatyās* (Four Noble Truths). The first noble truth is that suffering (*dukkha*) is inevitable and hence, everybody suffers. The second identifies the desire (*tanha*) as the root cause of suffering. The Third truth rests on the elimination of desire which would lead to the annihilation of suffering. The fourth stipulates the way to eliminate desire and its roots.

Language of Theravāda Teachings:

The *Theravāda* scriptures were found in Pali language. Pali is a vernacular language spoken in the region of the Gangetic valley during the life times of Buddha. Since the religion itself sprang up to reach the spiritual needs of the all including the commoners, Buddha expected that the medium of dissemination of his message should be in a language that can be comprehended to all. *Pali* is akin to Sanskrit language in certain aspects. It has a much simpler grammar without having any alphabet of its own. In Sri Lanka teachings of Buddha including Jatakas were literally textualised around 73

BC. Tradition holds that when a famine occurred in Srilanka, the people apprehended about the continuity of teachings after the demise of the monks who relied on memorization and recitation of scriptures while giving message. The question of sustenance and endurance of Buddhism after the death of the teachers haunted them. These circumstances necessitated textualisation of the messages in writing for which local alphabet or alphabet of each country was used in this process. Even though the Pali scriptures have adopted writing, they continued to use their repetitive forms to enhance the trait of rote learning process and memory process. Redundancy is always essential in mnemonic cultures to enhance the memorization and recitals skills in rendering scriptures. The Canon has three major sections: (i) the doctrine encompassing the discourses of the Buddha (*Sutta*), (ii) the monastic discipline (*Vinaya*) referring to the code of conduct and behavioural ethics of its inmates, incumbents and neophytes. *Abhidhamma* itself is the comprehensive scripture on the teachings of Buddha. Most of the scriptures of the *Mahāyāna* tradition were largely written down in Sanskrit. However, the most of the Mahāyāna discourses had no precise equivalents in the Pali language. It is generally accepted notion that Pali contains ‘the original teachings’ of Buddha and hence they are nearer to the self of the master.

Doctrine of Theravāda

Theravadins consider the Buddha’s teachings as highly practical and ethical for He expects people to abstain themselves from all kinds of evils to purify their minds. He emphasized on the practice of *Śīla* (character), *Samādhi* (meditation), and *prajña* (wisdom) to attain progress in human life. Even an ordinary house holder should also possess *śīla*, the character and should refrain himself from *dasa akusalakarmapatha*- the ten evil ways of life viz:-*Lobha-greed, Vyāpada-hatred, Moha-delusion, Mana-Conceit, Micchaditthi* -wrong view, *Vicikiccha-doubt, thinam-torpor, uddhaccam-restlessness, ahirikam-shamelessness, and Anottappam-recklessness*—covetousness greed for other’s belonging, *Vyapada*⁵³.

⁵³ Rhys Davids and Stede (1921-5), p. 217; and, Nyanatiloka (1988), entry for "kilesa," retrieved 2008-02-09 from "BuddhaSasana" at http://www.buddhanet.net/budsas/ebud/bud-dict/dic3_k.htm. cf

Samādhi often called as meditation leads one to attain the following abilities which are essential to reach *nirvana*. *Nirvana* equips the individuals with distinctive abilities that make a mendicant easy to reach the ultimate, the *moksha*. The abilities are discussed as follows:

“(i) Psychic ability (*iddhividha abhinna*), The abilities- to become many from one, and vice versa, to pass through walls and mountains, just as if through the air, to walk on water without sinking, as if on the earth, , to dive into the earth and rise up again, just as if in the water, to float cross-legged through the air, like a bird, , to touch the sun and moon with the hand etc.,.

(ii) The Divine Ear (*dibbasota-abhinna*) gives the ability to hear sounds heavenly and human, far and near.

(iii).Mind reading (*cetopariya abhinna*) brings the ability to know the thoughts of others.

(iv)Recollection of previous lives (*pubbenivasa abhinna*) furnishes divine memory to recollect the incidents of one’s past existences.

(v)The Divine Eye (*dibbacakkhu abhinna*) makes one to see all material forms and colours, whether far off or near, whether great or small”⁵⁴.

In Buddhist tradition there are two categories of Meditation. They are: *Samatha-kammaṭṭhana*- tranquility meditation and *Vipāssana kammaṭṭhana*-insight meditation. The former cultivates *lokiya samapatti*-eight mundane attainments. They are made up of *rupa jhāna*, the four ‘fine-material absorptions’ that is tangible things, and *arupa jhāna*, the four ‘immaterial absorptions’ the intangible.

Tranquility meditation can be realized by appropriating one or the other of forty objects of meditation. The list of these takes each object as the basis for the practice of calm meditation, which is then used for insight and

downloaded on 1st November, 2016., from [WW.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kleshas_\(Buddhism\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kleshas_(Buddhism)),

⁵⁴Mahasi Sayadaw, *Buddhist Meditation and its Forty Subjects*, Burma: Buddhasasana Council Press, 2013, pp. 1-2.

thought⁵⁵. The prime aim of meditation is to maintain mental balance for it makes to understand the reality of things in the world. Tranquility meditation could be learnt by inculcating *prajña*, insight. It incorporates *kasīṇa*, ten contemplation devices, *asubha*- ten impurities, *anussati*-ten reflections, *brahmavihāra*- four divine abidings, *arupa-jhāna*-four immaterial absorptions, *uhure-patikulāsanna*- one reflection on the loathsomeness of food and *catudhatuvavatthanaṃ*, one analysis of the four elements. In this list, each object is the basis for the practice of tranquility meditation meant to develop insight.

“1.Ten contemplation devices (*kasīṇa*) include (i)the earth device (*pathavi kasīṇa*),(ii)the water device (*apo kasīṇa*), (iii)the fire device (*tejo kasīṇa*), (iv)the air device (*vaayo kasīṇa*), (v)the dark-blue device (*nila kasīṇa*), (vi)the yellow device (*pita kasīṇa*), (vii)the blood-red device (*lohita kasīṇa*), (viii)the white device (*odata kasīṇa*), (ix)the light device (*aloka kasīṇa*), and (x)the bounded space device (*paricchinnakasa kasīṇa*).

ii. Ten inauspicious things (*asubha*), comprise (i)A bloated corpse (*uddhumatakam*), (ii)a black and blue discoloured corpse (*vinilakam*), (iii)a festering corpse (*vipubbakam*), (iv)a corpse cut in the middle (*vicchiddakam*), (v)a gnawed corpse (*vikkhayitakam*), (vi)a scattered corpse (*vikkhittakam*), (vii)a hacked and scattered corpse (*hatavikkhittakam*), (viii) a bleeding corpse (*lohitakam*), (ix)A worm-infested corpse (*puluvakam*), and (x)a skeleton (*atthikam*).

(iii) Ten reflections (*anussati*) includes (i) Reflection on the attributes of the Buddha (*Buddhanussati*), (ii)Reflection on the attributes of the Dhamma (*Dhammanussati*), (iii)Reflection on the attributes of the Saṅgha (*Saṅghanussati*), (iv)Reflection on one’s own virtue (*silanussati*), (v)Reflection on one’s own liberality (*caganussati*),(vi) Reflection on one’s own possession of the attributes of confidence (*saddha*), virtue (*sila*), learning (*suta*), liberality (*caga*), and wisdom (*paññā*), which lead to rebirth as celestial beings,(*devatānussati*), (vii)Reflection on nibbāna (*upasamanussati*), (viii)Contemplation of the inevitability of death (*maraṇānussati*),(ix)Contemplation on the thirty-two parts of the body, such as: head-hair, body-hair, nails, teeth,

⁵⁵ Sarah Shaw, *Buddhist Meditation: An Anthology of Texts from the Pali Canon*, New York: Routledge, 2006, pp.6-8.

skin, etc., (*kayagatasati*), and (x) Contemplation of in-breathing and out-breathing (*anapanassati*)

(iv) **Four divine abidings** are (*brahmavihara*), (i) Loving-kindness (*metta*), (ii) Compassion (*karuna*), (iii) Altruistic joy in the attainments of others (*mudita*), and (iv) Perfect equanimity (*upekkha*).

(v) **Four immaterial absorptions** (*arupa-jhana*) are (i) Contemplation of the realm of the infinity of space (*akasanancayatana*), (ii) Contemplation of the realm of the infinity of consciousness (*vinnanancayatana*), (iii) Contemplation of the realm of nothingness (*akincannayatana*), and (iv) Contemplation of the realm of neither-perception-nor-non-perception (*nevasannanasannayatana*)”⁵⁶.

It is believed that despite the practice of tranquility meditation, there is a possibility of one getting crushed in a series of birth and death. Hence the tranquility meditation should be accompanied by insight meditation to realize *nirvana* by which one can attain ultimate release freedom from the evils of human life. ‘Insight meditation’ can be obtained in two ways: (i) persons who practices the fundamental practices of tranquility to reach *nirvana* (*samatha yanika*), and (ii) those who straightly carries out the right practice of insight without doing fundamental practices or exercise of tranquility to gain *nibbāna* (*suddha vipassana yanika*). It is also held that the practice of meditation is done for the purpose of realizing *nibbāna* and thereby emancipating from the agony and torment in life through old age, misery, disorder, death and rebirth.

The attainment of *prajña* enables one to understand life. The knowledge in four noble truths, law of dependent origination make people to know phenomena of life process and interrelation among different facets of life. *Karma* functions as an axle of a rolling chariot and regulates the human actions. Thus, the entire universe is bound by the law of *karma*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 87,102-3, 113, 119,122, 123, 125,127, 135, 140, 146,158,163 and 173; *passim*.

The *Theravāda* believes that all the tangible and intangible perspectives of the world were connected to *Anitya*-impermanence and transience, *Dukha* -full of sufferings and *Anatma* –no soul. They held that the entire materials of the world are construed by two elements, namely, *nama* -the non-material part and *rupa* - the material part. These two consists of five constituent groups -(*skandas*-, viz: *rupa*- the material quality, and four non material qualities, *vedana*- sensation, *Sanjna*– perception,*samskara*-mental formatives, and lastly *vijnana* –consciousness. All these elements are further categorized into twelve sense organs– *āyatana*s, and eighteen *Dhātus*. The former contains the six external sense organs - the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind and the corresponding objects of sense both tangible and intangible which can be sensed by mind –*Dharmayātana* . In the latter, six consciousnesses are added to the list of the above twelve *ayatana*s, i.e., eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind and thus arrive eighteen *dhātus*.

Once people attain comprehension of the entire universe and the true nature of things, they begin to renunciate the earthly pleasures for they understood that all these material things are not substantial. Hence Theravadins balance two extremes - (i) indulgence in the pleasures of the senses and (ii) self-mortification. They observe the Middle path (*Madyamārga*), and get shaped on the lines drawn by the noble eight fold path. Finally they understand that all the sufferings of the world is due to craving –*tr̥sna*. Again *astangamārga* furnishes the individual all that is needed for the evaporation of *tr̥sna* of the life. Since it leads to the way of dispassionateness and finally to nirvana *Nirvana*. Thus one becomes an *Arahant* who is free from all aggregates that act as obstacles -*nivranas* in the way to reach salvation. One should give-up (i)Craving for fine-material existence -*rupa-raga* , (ii) Craving for immaterial existence -*arupa-raga* , (iii) Conceit-*mana*), (iv)Restlessness -*uddhacca*, and (v)Ignorance or delusion – *Avijja* together with all defilements –*kilēsa*.

Theravāda literature:

The first Buddhist council was convened soon after the *Parinibbana* of Buddha. It was attended by 500 *bhikkhus*. In that, Mahākassapa, a

prominent disciple of Buddha and also the chairman of the council asked Upali, a *shudra*, to recite the *Vinaya*, and Ananda to recite the *Dhamma*. As the two experts expounded the *Vinaya* and *Dhamma* in accordance with the questions put forward by the chair of the council, Mahakassapa; the other *theras* repeated their words after them. The Pali account did not mention the *Abhidhamma* specifically. *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa*, the Ceylonese chronicles mention that in the first Buddhist council only the *Vinaya* and the *Dhamma* were expounded and *Abhidhamma* formed a part of the latter. Ananda and Upāli, the disciples of Buddha were called upon to the Council to expound the teachings of Buddha as they heard and learnt. Ananda codified the *Sutta*. Upāli memorized the rules of *sangha* as codified in *Vinaya* by the master. When they recited the teachings of Buddha from their memory, the assembly considered them as authentic expositions of the Buddha and repeated those renditions along with them. “Ananda, at the beginning of the *suttas* used to introduced his recitation as ‘Thus have I heard’, which signify the teachings of the Buddha as memorized by him. This was probably the beginning of the system of the *bhanakas* (‘reciters’), who shared out the recitation of the *Dhamma* amongst themselves”⁵⁷. Pali *Vinaya-pitaka* refers to the second Buddhist council that was conducted 100 years after the death of the Buddha. It was convened to *resolve* a dispute with regard to the monastic discipline. This council in the *Vinaya* is also known as a *vinaya-sangiti*. It was attended by 700 *bhikkhus*. Revata, a senior monk asked the *thera* Sabbakamin, the president of the council about the discipline. In this council, Sabbakamin refuted the *dasavattuni*, ten points observed by the monks. The monks who supported the ‘observance of *dasavattuni*’ got consolidated as *Mahasanghikas*. They in due course of time, they emerged as *Mahayana* school of Buddhism. It was the first major schism in Buddhist ideology. With the passage of time, as the *Dhamma* continued to spread, there occurred further splits within both the *Theravadins* and the *Mahāsanghikas*.

⁵⁷ K. R. Norman, *A History of Indian Literature: Pali Literature, including the Canonical Literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hinayana Schools of Buddhism*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 5-9.

The third council took place during the reign of Asoka. *Dipavamsa* gives an account the third council. It was presided over by Moggaliputta, in which over 1,000 *bhikkhus* were present. Moggaliputta recited *Kathāvatthu* in third Buddhist council. He refuted all the other seventeen sub-sects of Buddhism, except the *Theravāda*. In this council the *Abhidhamma pitaka*, was recited.

The Theravāda Buddhist literature, Pali canonical literature:

After the death of Buddha, his teachings continued to spread across the world orally from preachers to the disciples to reach the message to the gross roots of the society. The *gathas* on the lives of the Buddha and the miracles that He had shown to the populace in his previous lives were textualised in *Khuddaka Nikāya* in *suttapitaka*. They were picked up and consolidated as birth stories of Buddha, the *Jatakas* which were described as histories of the previous lives of the Buddha⁵⁸. The *Jātakas*, the birth-stories of Buddha incorporated the moral principles and behavioral practices that the Bodhisattva had observed for self-development and perfection to attain Buddhahood.

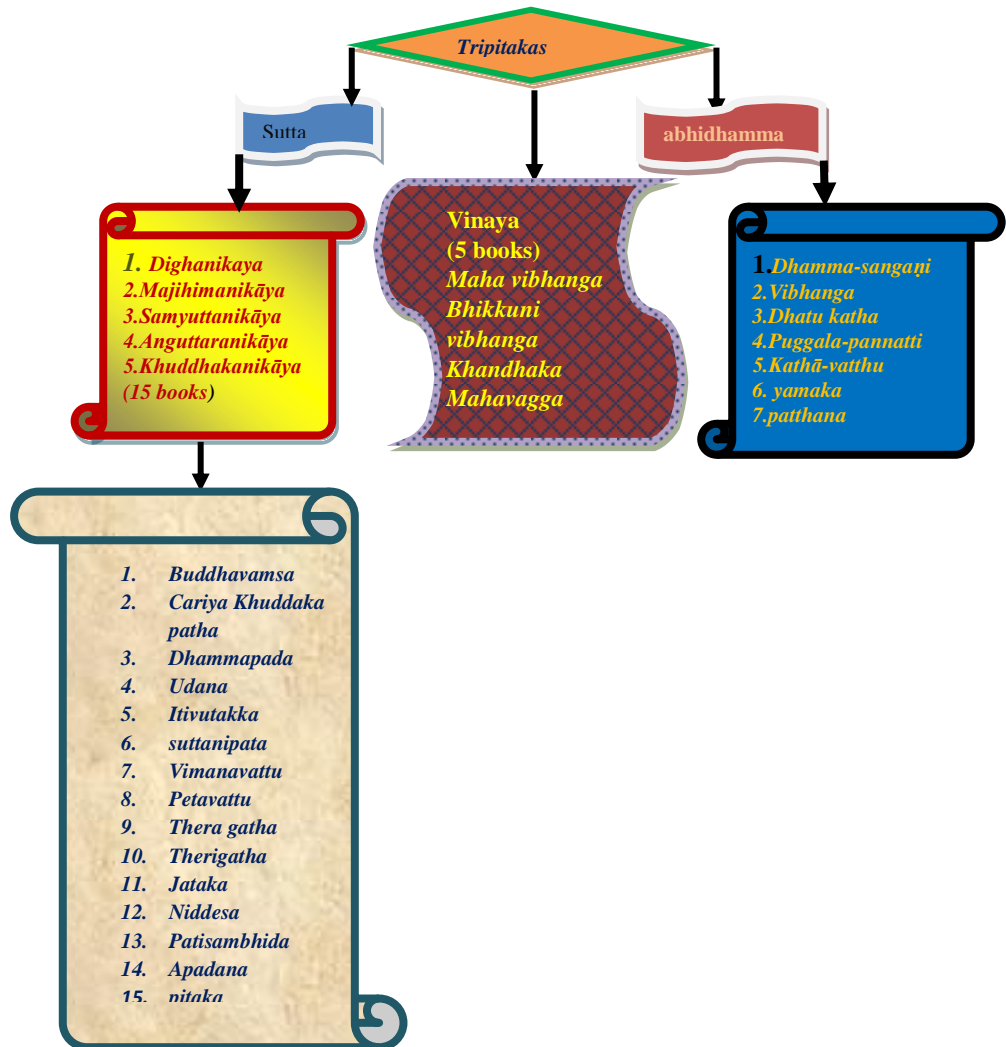
The *Mahāparinibbana sutta* reveals the apprehension of Buddha for the possibility of distortions in his teachings in the course of transmission. The first dissension took place in the council of *Vaisali* that was held to put into discourse the ‘breach’ of ten rules of discipline -*Dasa vatthuni* by the monks of Vajjian nearly a century after the occurrence of *Parinibbana* of the Master. The result of the council was the division of Buddhism into two distinct sects namely the *Theravāda* school and the *Mahasamghika* school. The former was more traditional and conservative whereas the latter was flexible with regard to several stringencies in the Buddhist practices. Thus, in course of time, the first split in the *Sangha* was followed by a series of deviations resulting as eighteen sects; eleven in *Theravāda* and seven in *Mahāsamghikas*. The latter called itself as *Mahāyāna* (the higher vehicle)

⁵⁸Arthur L. Basham, ‘The Evolution of the Concept of the Bodhisattva’, in Leslie S. Kawamura (ed.), *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981, p. 22.

for thy claim that their precepts have authentic and advanced path to reach Buddhahood. Anthe former was named as *Hinayana* (the lesser vehicle). Currently the *Theravādins* School is the sole surviving school of Buddhism that fall under the *Hinayāna* sect.⁵⁹

The following diagram No. gives a comprehensive picture of *Theravāda* Buddhist literature.

Diagram No:V. Theravāda Buddhist Literature



The term *Theravāda* literally means ‘the teachings of the elders’. It draws its doctrinal inspiration from the *Pali tipitakas*, the *Vinaya pitaka*

⁵⁹ Kanailal hajara, *History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia, with Special Reference to India and Ceylon*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1982, p.29.

dealing with the rules and customs of the *Sangha*, the *Sutta pitaka* containing the sermons and the utterances of the master and the *Abhidhamma pitaka* dealing with the higher doctrines. These are the earliest surviving records of the teachings of the Buddha⁶⁰. The schools hold that Buddha was also a human being like that of the others. . But he attained the highest state of knowledge, realized the truth and had acquired many super human qualities. The basic teachings of Buddha like four noble truths, eightfold path and theory of dependent origination, theory of soullessness and the doctrine of three characteristics formed the basic doctrines of *Theravāda* Buddhism. This school of Buddhism does not imbibe any additions into its traditional doctrine with the passage of time. With some additions, this core doctrine of traditional Buddhism occupied central position in all forms of Buddhism.

Both the *Theravadins* and the *Mahasanghikas* accept the cardinal principles of Buddhism. They did not differ on the fundamentals of Buddhism- the *āryasatyās*, the four noble truths, *astāṅgamārga*, the eight fold path, *anatta*, soullessness, theory of *kamma*, and theory of *paticca-samupāda*- dependent origination. On the other hand, they contradicted with each other on viewing the physical form of Buddha. The *Theravadins* viewed Buddha as a mere Human being and admits that he too had human foibles but certainly possessed certain super human qualities. Buddhism expects its adherents to be away from all sorts of evil acts and accumulate all that is good and to purify their thoughts and expressions. They held that one can achieve the above qualities by observing *Sila* (conduct), *Samadhi* (meditation) and *Pañya* (wisdom). But the *Mahasanghikas* attribute deity features to the Buddha and opposed the *Theravadin's* notion of human weakness to Buddha. The Theravadins processed different aspects of the life of the people through their philosophy. A brief overview of its views on sangha, state and participation of women in the religious life are given below.

⁶⁰ John T. Bullit, 'What is Theravāda Buddhism?', www.accesstoinsight.org/Theravāda.html, 4th march, 2013.

Theravāda Buddhism and the Sangha:

The monastic tradition of Buddhism is popularly termed as *sangha*. Buddha, after his first discourse with his five ascetic disciples, Kondanna, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahanama and Assaji started at deer park, in Benares⁶¹. The entry into the *sangha* was open to both monks and nuns but with some restrictions and restraints.⁶² The ascetics led both the itinerant and sedentary styles in their life course. Initially the monks traveled constantly to spread the word of Buddha and in some cases they stayed in one place for longer duration.

Literally, the word *sangha* implies a ‘crowd’ or ‘gathering’, which in the *Theravāda* tradition is specifically referred to the community of monks and nuns. The *sangha* do not incorporate lay-followers, but ‘*cattaro parisa*’, the fourfold assembly consists of *bhikkhu* (monks), *bikkhuni* (nuns), *upāsaka* (male lay followers) and *upāsika* (female layfollowers). The *sangha* is of two groups: *bikkhu-sangha* (the male order) and *bhikkhuni sangha* (the female order). It is commonly termed as *ubhatasangha* (twofold community). The term *chatudissa bhikkhusangha*, (the Community of the four quarters) is used to refer the entire Buddhist community from all directions. The same term is used in the *Vinaya* texts and in ancient inscriptions refer to the community's communal spirit and possession of assets.⁶³

Since the initial stage of monastic life was meant for training, youth were more preferred than the aged. It is because the Buddhist monastic tradition opines that the old people are not good at understanding, learning, speaking, preaching and remembering prescribed qualities required for being a monk⁶⁴. One cannot attain the *Arhantship* by mere admission into the

⁶¹ Mohan Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life, According to the Texts of Theravādin Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.2.

⁶² Initially Buddha was reluctant to start the order of nuns. Later with the intervention of his disciple Ananda, he started the order of nuns too. His foster-mother Mahapajapati became the first nun; Ibid, p.ix.

⁶³ Ibid, pp.1-2.

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp.3-4.

community by renouncing the world. Until one becomes an *Arahant*, one should be detached from all encumbrances throughout one's own spiritual life. A person to be admitted into *sangha* has to spend some time as novice under the guidance of a preceptor (*Upajjyaya*). Primarily, the candidate should be trained to have an admission into the *Sangha*. A special training is required for the incumbents belonging to other religious sects and elderly people. The person who accepts the 'monastic robe' without undergoing the Ordination ritual, cannot not be considered as the member of monastic community. Such trespassers were treated as the usurpers, *theyyasamvasaka*. *Vinaya Piataka* mentions that the bondage between the preceptor and the pupil should be same as that of between the father and son. Until, the major Ordination, the new and the female incumbents were not allowed to participate in the official meetings and legal issues pertinent to that monastery. There were certain prescribed behavioural codes to be followed by the members of the *sangha* with regard to their dwelling places, clothing, food, and so on in their day to day activities.

Vinaya (Vin II 166, IV 41) holds that under no circumstances monk should reserve a **dwelling** place for him and as it is against the rules of monastic life for no fixed abode should be allotted to Buddhist monks. Buddha and his disciples neither had a permanent abode nor stayed at the same place for a longer duration. Buddha along with his disciples used to travel extensively during day time and take rest in the night at some place offered to him by his lay followers, or at public parks or at forests. Buddha and his first disciples travelled for they got released from all the fetters of the world. Few months after his Enlightenment, "Buddha asked his disciples to take to the roads and travel for the good of the many; travel for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world; travel for the good, benefit and happiness of men and gods. Preach the Doctrine"⁶⁵.

Initially Buddha did not allow any **retreat** for the monks in their lives. They should travel in through all seasons. Because the lay people complained

⁶⁵Ibid, p.19.

that the monks during their travel in rainy season were treading on the small plants causing damage and also destroying many small creatures Buddha allowed them retreat during that season.⁶⁶ During the retreat all monks were obliged to stay, but not to settle at one place. They were not allowed to observe retreat in the open air, graveyard, and hollow tree, beneath an umbrella or an earthenware or salt jar. But they are allowed to stay with mercet caravans, take retreat in boats or travel with lay followers. Mostly monks used to retreat in cells.⁶⁷

Buddhist texts like *Dīghanikaya* (I-vv.71) *Majjimanikaya* (III-v.35) and *Aṅguttara Nikaya* (II-v.209) compare the robes -**clothes** of a monk with that of the wings of a bird. They hold that in the same way the birds carry their wings along with them during the course of their flight, the monks should also have their robes and begging bowl along with them. In other words, the monk should internalize the reality that the robes and bowl were meant to cover body externally and satisfy the hunger in the stomach. Buddha as well as his disciples did not consider nudity as a virtue. Rules about clothing were numerous than that of lodging and food. *Vinaya pitaka* informs that their garment was made up of two kinds of rag that were collected from burial grounds and scrap material procured from the streets and nearby shops. Later monks started to accept the robes given by lay people to them, which accrued all kinds of fabric to the community. Unlike lodgings and furniture that were owned by community, robes were regarded as the personal property of monks. The monks exchanged their robes. Nuns were also allowed to exchange robes but were not supposed to wear that of the other nuns without seeking their permission. Rules regarding the robes were framed over a period of time according to the context. A monk is personally allowed to own only three

⁶⁶ The rainy season lasted for four months from June to October. Out of that four months every monk has to observe retreat for three months, either at the beginning or at the end; Ibid, p. 20

⁶⁷ These cells are temporary shelters erected in forest, next to a river, in a valley or at a foot of the mountain but close to a village or a town. They were built either by the monks or by lay followers. Ibid, pp.20-21.

robes. He was not allowed to accept more than three. Later on, communal ownership was established on robes.⁶⁸

Dhammapada (v.39) comments upon the **food** of the monk and says that in the same way as a bee gathers nectar from a flower and flies away without harming its color or scent man/monk should live in a village. After taking up the monastic life, the monks should stop working for a livelihood for it was against the rule of the institution. It is because undertaking any profession after being a monk is considered as a locus of attachment to materials and worldly fetters. However, the rules did not prohibit the undertaking of manual labour - sweeping or repairing the monastery. Any kind of work to earn livelihood, is treated as irreconcilable with the path of spiritual life.⁶⁹ Buddha even criticized exhibiting miraculous powers for earning. Monks and nuns were allowed only to eat that what they were offered but not to hoard food. They could only obtain their food either by begging from house to house or by accepting an invitation by lay followers; if any.

The residents of Sangha, the monks and nuns were not allowed to earn either their living or accept or accumulate **wealth** and personal property. They were also forbidden not only from having the commercial and barter relationships but also from accepting the gifts of gold and silver⁷⁰.

With regard to the rules of **chastity** Buddhist monastery suggests to avoid over-indulgence in sensual pleasures or restraints like painful self-mortification, both of which were not good. To become a monk or nun, one should give up one's own family life. The unmarried should avoid the possibility of getting married. Women had to obtain permission from her husband and parents to renounce her family life for joining *sangha*. Abstinence of sexual relations was part of alienating from family life. In the initial days there were no rules to govern the behaviour of the members of the *sangha* for all the members were free from defilements. Framing of rules

⁶⁸ Ibid, pp.48-49.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p.56.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.76.

became inevitable basing on an incident with regard a monk called Sudinna *Kalandakaputta*⁷¹. He after joining the *sangha*, bending to the pressure of their parents had sexual intercourse with her former wife to make her pregnant. This made Buddha to draw rules prohibiting sexual intercourse. Nuns were not allowed to have any biological contact with men. Those monks who involve in defeat (sexual intercourse) were not given any expulsion, punishment, compensation and forgiveness that were generally atoned for the crimes like theft, murder and false boasting of superhuman powers. They were regarded as having left the community forever and never re-ordained back into the community.⁷² There are some rules that aim to eliminate temptation from the life of monks. Monks were not allowed to have sexual relations with women. They were not supposed either to utter obscene words or to converse on the erotic matters with women. Even touch of a women or even the edge of their clothes with any sensuous desire was abstained. Accusation of monks was regarded as a serious offence. There are rules that prohibit homosexuality and lesbianism. Bodily restrictions and constraints on senses and mind were enough to demolish the roots of desires. Meditation (*bhāvana*) was the only necessary prerequisite to regulate the mental and physical realms of human life. Renunciation from worldly fetters and self-control over one's own desires are the only means to reach the path of meditation.⁷³ So the mendicants were suggested to stay in **solitude** and practice **meditation** to attain concentration.

***Theravāda* Buddhism and the State:**

The *Theravadins* conceive religion as a conglomerate of cultural and politic economic formations of the state and society. It contributed much for the emergence of a kingship that channelizes the religiosity through polity. The *dhamma* of Asoka was nothing than the politico-religious ideology that stabilized his kingship in the wake of the unrest in his state due to his involvement Kalinga warfare. The *Dhamma* of

⁷¹Ibid, p. 90.

⁷² Ibid, p.94.

⁷³ Ibid, p.108

Theravāda enshrines rules for all the approved actions as they believe that *Dhamma* is a very complex and dynamic reality⁷⁴. Though the Mouryan state was a centralized administrative monarchy functioning on heroic kingship in course of time during the reign of Asoka it was articulated by *dharmic* kingship that rests on *dharma* defined by Buddhism.

Buddhism upheld good relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Buddha was one of the earliest thinkers to propose the contractual theory of kingship. Buddha viewed kingship to be the mere contract. *Dighanikaya* elucidates that the first king Mahāsammatta was chosen by the whole people.⁷⁵ It is said that out of greediness people took up evil and immoral practices. Then people gathered together and decided to choose one among them to check the evil immoral practices. That crept into the society like theft, censure, false speech and so on. For the subsistence of such elected person, people decided to offer a share of rice. In return, such an elected person had to look after the proper order and try to see that one's field and property should not be appropriated by others. Likewise he should also please the other people by his righteousness. Hence it is clear that the *Kshatriya* class originated from the same folk, he was in way different from the other people and his origin was quite natural and not otherwise. In Buddhist literature there are many evidences where the wicked kings were overthrown as a result of popular rebellion⁷⁶.

The basic teachings of Buddhism, i.e. *Āriya-Sachachani* -Four Nobel Truths, *Paticca-Samuppada-Naya*- Law of Depended Origination, *Dvadasa-Nidena-Bhāvacakka* -the cycle of twelve factors, *Majjhima*

⁷⁴ Frank E. Reynolds, "Theravāda Buddhism and Economic Order", *An interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol.2, No.2, 200 years of Chakri Dynasty, Northern Illinois University Centre for Southeast Asian Studies Publishers, Illinois, 1985, pp. 61-82.

⁷⁵ Ainslie T. Embree (tr.), *Sources of Indian Tradition, from the Beginning to 1800*, Vol.1, Viking: Penguin Books, 1991, pp.127-132.

⁷⁶ In fact when Munda's son Nagadas slew his father and continued the evil doer reign for twenty four years, the citizens wroth together and anointed the minister known by the name Sisunaga as king; who was proved to be worthy, and mindful of the good of all.

Patipada -Middle Path and *Atthangika Maggo* -Eight fold path backed the theory of dharmic kingship which is based on the virtues of *Sila* -(Right Determination, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood and Right Efforts), *Samadhi*-Right Meditation and *Paññya* -Right Vision and Right mindfulness of the rulers. The entitlements of Asoka, *Dēvanāmpriya*-loved by gods and *priyadarsi*-who could see right attest that his right vision made him lovable to gods. His thirteen rock edicts scattered throughout his realm authenticate his deployment of *dhamma* as a politico-religious strategy to articulate his royal power to his state and society. His concept of *dhammavijaya* instead of *yuddhavijaya* impregnates the ideal of *dhamma* which is more Asokan than Buddhist.

His first major rock edict prohibits the killing of living beings in name of sacrifices and festivals. He even bans killing of animals in the royal kitchens. Through his second major edict, it is known that the medical services were provided by Asoka in the core of his empire but in his peripheral realm- the *Cholas*, the *Pandyas*, the *Satyaputras*, the *Ceras* and in overseas like Ceylon and Greek. This medical care was for both the human being & animals. In the third major rock edict he commands *yuktas*, *rajukas*, *pradesikas* to undertake tour to promote *Dhamma* once in five years to explain to public the merit of observing the *Dhamma*.. The fifth major rock edict warns that who so ever neglect his reforms even in part tantamount to committing a sin.

The *Theravāda* Buddhism emphasises that the *Rajadhamma* of a king is to share equal love and compassion to all princess, courtiers, common people and slaves alike. Even the amount of tax to be collected by a ruler should never be more than ten percent of the crops. He should take less even in times of drought. Besides, the excessive labour for royal purpose should not be demanded and elderly should be completely exempted from the royal service. King should also lend loans without interest to those who wish to engage in trade and commerce⁷⁷. Besides the *Dhammic* actions of the king, even the *Dhammic* actions meant for the

⁷⁷ Frank E. Reynolds, “Theravāda Buddhism and Economic Order”, *supra*.

laymen and laywomen are also prescribed to promote social and material harmony.

Buddhism believes that one's current socio-economic status is the result of one's own *kamma*, accumulated during her /his previous lives. It is further said that not only *sanchita karma* (the *karma* accumulated throughout the previous lives) but also the, the compassion, generosity, ethical and moral virtues that one observes also determines the respective socio-economic status. According to *Anguttara Nikaya* alms giving enhances one's own merit. Buddhism says that one of the duties of a righteous ruler is to give financial aids to the poor⁷⁸. Buddha viewed that the increased wellbeing of an individual would be possible mostly by secluded and individual observances but not through organized bodies for it. All the members of a *sangha* or a monastery held collective control over its properties. The decision would be taken either through consensus or through majority opinion⁷⁹.

***Theravāda* Buddhism and the lay people:**

Though Theravāda Buddhism is highly monastic, it sheds light on the laity. The *Theravāda* literature contains a lot of verses instructing even the laity on the moral conduct. The *Vinaya* texts reveal that, from the very beginning the doctrine of the master attracted many lay followers into its fold. A few weeks after his Enlightenment, the master realized that everybody in the world cannot be a monk or a nun. It is because much of the populace is attached to the sensual pleasures of the world. So the Master decided to give a message to ordinary on how one should spend a genuine and gratified family life. The lay people were also ready to receive the advice of Buddha. Once a householder, Dighajanu asked Buddha to tell the path of getting happiness in the present as well as in his future without

⁷⁸ Frederic L. pryoy, "A Buddhist economic system in Practice: The Rules of State Policy Making of the ideal kings sought a 'Middle Way' between Right and Left", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 50, No.1, Jan., 1991, pp.17-32.

⁷⁹ Simon Zadek, "The Practice of Buddhist Economics? Another View", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 52, No.4, Oct., 1993, pp.433-445.

being away from family life and worldly pleasure ⁸⁰.The two merchants Tapassu and Bhallika, the first to accept Buddha as their master, immediately after his Enlightenment, a few weeks before His first discourse and the establishment of Buddhist monasticism, were the lay people. During the remaining part of his life, he met people from different faiths and brought many of them in to his fold. Of such lay converts Upali, a householder from Nalanda was one. He was a disciple of Nigantha Nattaputta before converting to Buddhism. Likewise, the two great kings that were contemporary to the Buddha, *Seniya Bimbisara (Srenik Bimbisara)* from Magadha and Pasenadi (Prasenajit) from Kosala also became the lay followers of Buddhism.

For the laity, mere accepting of Buddha did not mean renouncing the life. They simply became the followers of the Buddha and his teachings⁸¹. Irrespective of their social status, all those lay followers paid allegiance to the Master, his teachings and the community. This is how the concept of threefold Jewels (*ratanattaya or tisarana*). The laity got informally initiated as *upāsaka* (male) and *upāsika*(female) who are required to follow the five precepts (*Panca Sila*)- to abstain from (i)destroying life (ii) stealing (iii) illicit sexual relations(iv) telling lies (v) liquor that causes intoxication and heedlessness. These precepts inculcate in the behaviour of the laity the practice of compassion, love and non-violence. They are the embodiment of social values and the canonical texts maintain that the observance of those five precepts would not only establish stability and harmony but also make the society crime free. Buddha praised neither monks nor lay people with bad conduct⁸².

Buddhism unequivocally disregards any special privileges or disadvantages basing either on birth or profession. In the canonical literature there are a number of discourses addressing the laity, irrespective

⁸⁰ Mohan Wijayaratna, *supra*, pp.167-168.

⁸¹ Ibid, pp. 164-165.

⁸² Ibid, p.164.

of their status, on different aspects of life. The *Sigalovādasutta*, is about the promotion of friendly and harmonious relations among the members of the society. The *Parabhavasutta*, not only explains how a person might become poor and unhappy but also explains the ways to come out of it. The *Vasallasutta* elucidates how to emerge as a respectable and good person through proper behaviour. There are discourses even on earning, spending and saving money. The duties of a person towards every relationship in the respective families were prescribed in the *Mahamangala sutta*. Another work describes how a wife should behave towards her husband. These prescriptions were addressed to the daughter-in-law of Anantapindaka. In the *Nakulasutta* a list of eight essential qualities that ought to be possessed by an ideal wife are discussed. Such discourses furnish ample information with regard to how one can learn to maintain a prosperous marital harmony and happy life. The foremost duty of a good householder, according to the Master, is to procure an ethical and happy life in family relations. Buddhism advocated monogamy for its lay followers. In *Anguttaranikaya*, it is said that the marital bond between a pious and chaste couple can be compared that of a god and a goddess. But matrimony between a righteous man and an unethical woman is compared to that of a marriage between god and a corpse. If it is between an immoral man and a chaste woman is like that of between a corpse and a goddess. The marriage between two unethical and immoral partners is same as that of between two corpses⁸³.

Buddhism asks the lay people to be moderate in their sensual pleasures and to follow the five precepts, by which the laity will be renouncing a number of vices and pleasures. On full moon and new moon days, they are supposed to follow the Eight Precepts, *Uposatha sila*. During that period the lay follower has to abstain from sex completely but not only from illicit sex. There was some laity who by sitting at home put in to practice the monastic principles of renunciation. Most of the laity including men and women attained the highest realm of inner progress, *Sotāpanna*, entering the current -the first stage towards *Nibbana*,

⁸³ Ibid, pp. 169-170

Sakaddgāmi, once-returned -the second stage- one who will be reborn as a human being only once more, and *Andgāmi*, non-returned -the third stage- no further human rebirth. Anantapindaka attained the state of *Sotāpanna*. Visakha, a young girl reached the stage of *Sakaddgami*. Likewise Citta reached the state of *Andgami* and achieved the fourth meditative state. *Majjhima nikaya* holds that many numbers of lay people including men and women reached the highest stages of inner progress. The father of the Master, Śuddhodana, was one among those few to attain the fourth stage even while listening to a discourse given by his son. Yasa, the wealthy man and Khema, the queen of Bimbisara also reached the *Arahant* stage even before joining the monastic life⁸⁴.

***Theravāda* and economic relations:**

Buddhist ideology especially *Theravāda* itself is an oral verdict of Buddha that emphasizes on the morale and ethics in every dimension of human life. In the arena of trade and commerce the need of ethics is much warranted unethical business practices have direct economic consequences of the state. As discussed in the second chapter, since the religion itself emerged in the wake of urbanization and growth of commercial activities, its ideology catered for smoothening the social anarchy - irreligiosity, caste infiltration, unethical business practices, like cheating, illegality, illicit pleasures while being away from homes for trade. In practice, *tanha* is closely connected with the growth of unlimited wants leading to greed which finally leads to *dukkha*. Buddhist philosophy upholds the elimination of *avidya* (ignorance) and *tanha* (craving) and *dukkha* (suffering) through *vidya* (knowledge/ wisdom) and *astāngamārga* (eightfold path) to develop ethics in every walk of life in which trade is a part. When ignorance is replaced by wisdom one can distinguish between what is of true gain and what is not. Through appropriate use of *vidya* -wisdom, desires that were worthy would spring. That is, one develops the choice for 'the right'. The desire of true well-being in Buddhism is known as *dhammacanda* - desire for that which is right, *kusalacanda* -desire for being skillful. The motto of *caṇḍa* is *dhamma* or *kusaladhamma*, the truth and

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 172.

goodness. The Truth and goodness must be attained through effort. In this way *caṇḍa* leads to an action, unlike *tanha*, which leads to seeking. *Canda* arises from intelligent reflection, *yoniso manasikara*, whereas the *tanha*, is a part of the habitual stream of ignorant reactions. The valuing of objects in business was determined by *tanha and canda*. True value was being created by *canda*. The true value of a commodity can be determined by its capacity to fulfill the need for the welfare. But, artificial value is created by *tanha*, the capacity of a commodity to meet the anguish for contentment. The consumer should understand that whether the object is for *caṇḍa* or *tanha*.⁸⁵ Hence the business which involves both consumer and producer should be well aware of the epistemology of Buddhism. Thus philosophically these principles train the mind of the adherents to be free from over indulgence in the matters of commercial activities and restrain one's own self from amassment of wealth.

The *Theravāda* concept of *Dhamma* was not only associated with the concept of renunciation but also more or less associated with the judicious utilization of economic resources, goods and services.⁸⁶ Prohibiting the accumulation of wealth by the monks even the minimum maintains the purity of the community that the master had established. The monks are supposed to get their subsistence through charities from the laity. Even those laity who engages in production should carry on their work in accordance with the five basic precepts, *panchasila* – abstain from killing (*panatipata vramami*), refrain from taking other belongings (*adinnadana vēramani*), avoiding incorrect speech (*musavāda veramani*), abstaining from sexual misconduct (*kamesu micchacara veramani*) and the abstinence from the intoxicants (*suramerayamajja pamadatthana veramani*).

For better economic advantages it is desirable to forbid vices like alcoholism and betting games. Many of these financial discourses were

⁸⁵ Ven. P. A. Payutto, *Buddhist Economics A Middle Way for the Market Place* (tans by Dhammavijaya and Bruce Evans and Compiled by Bruce Evans and Jourdan Arenson, (1992 1st Edn) 1994, downloaded from http://www.urbandharma.org/pdf/Buddhist_Economics.pdf on 23rd May 2016.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

delivered to a wealthy merchant Anathapindika.⁸⁷ Buddhism was not antithetical to people becoming rich through honest means. It did not promote the lay people to trade in slaves, weapons, meat, alcohol and poisons; as it was impious. It did believe that richness would positively contribute to the success of the laity and on the other hand it is argued in Cakkavatti *Sihanadasutta* that poverty breeds offences like unethical behaviour, burglary and murder. In this discourse the king was advised not to be greedy, but rather generous and charitable. He should be more concerned about the welfare of the people.

Women and *Theravāda*:

Theravāda Buddhism treats women ambivalently in both positive and negative dimensions. On one hand, they were given equal status but on the other the birth of women was considered as low and mean. Till date, a few *Theravāda* Buddhist temples and monasteries exclude women for having from full membership in the *sangha*.

Positively speaking, all Buddhist traditions accepted fully Ordained women *Bhikkhunis* even when Buddha was alive. Buddha in his early teachings supported the full ordination of women in *Sangha*. It is substantiated in the following statement of Buddha, textualised in *Mahaparinirvanasutta* (3.vv.34-35).⁸⁸

Buddha thus emphasized the equality of men and women to attain *Nibbana*, when Ananda asked him if women could be able to get enlightened. The Buddha even praised female above male when he comforted king Pasenadi, who got disappointed when his queen gave birth to a girl baby⁸⁹. The Buddha actually ordained and praised at least 13 women, who were fully enlightened. Among them, the Buddha's own aunt and step-mother was the

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ *Mahaparinibbana Sutta Canto, 3. 34-35.*

⁸⁹ Saeng Chandngarm (Compiler), *Basis Buddhism*, Chiang Mai: Mahamakut Buddhist University, p. 101.

founder of the *bhikkhuni* order.⁹⁰ He ordained that the women could freely travel to the places wherever Buddha preached⁹¹. There are few *Jatakas* showing women in positive (albeit largely supportive) roles. In Janaka, Mahosadha, Candakumara and *Vessantara* women were shown in positive role supporting Buddha as his wife. Similarly in Temiya and *Sama Jātakas* women are shown in supportive roles in mother character.

On the other side, there are many negative narratives that wherein women never became *bodhisattva*. He never bore as female in his past lives. *Kunāla Jātaka* (Jataka no. 536) considers women as a sign of endangering monks' celibacy. It explains since women are base, fickle, ungrateful and deceitful, hence men should not trust them.⁹² They were considered as ungrateful and immoral who never care for their parents or brothers. Women were regarded as those who leave their near and dear during the period of suffering or misery. Hence, Buddha did not reveal his teachings to women. The female mind was compared to that of a monkey that jumps from one tree to that of the other. Thus their hearts were treated as oscillating like the 'rim of a wheel'. Buddhism considers women as 'sticky' as that of 'gum' all-devouring like fire; clever deceivers and impetuous like a river. At any given point of time women do no good.⁹³ Women seduce and betrays. They are angry, ungrateful, malicious and treacherous.⁹⁴ Jataka tales inform that women are open to all, like roads and taverns.⁹⁵ Those who were 'accomplished' and 'awakened' nether take the birth of females nor become hermaphrodites (bisexuals). Wise people concentrate on 'renunciation', and detachment from the cycle of birth and death. But Women are excluded from

⁹⁰ Dhammanada Bhikkhuni, *A Difference Voice*, Bangkok: Thai Tibet Center, 2010, p.42.

⁹¹ Denise Lardner Carmody, *Women and World Religions* (Tennessee: Abingdon, 1979), pp.45-46.

⁹² Kunala Jataka No. 536; E W Cowell (ed.), *supra*, Vol. V, pp. 219-215.

⁹³ Andabhuta Jataka, No. 62; E W Cowell (ed.), *Ibid*, Vo. I, 1895, pp. 151-155.

⁹⁴ Takka Jataka, No. 63; *Ibid*, pp. 155-158.

⁹⁵ Anabhirati Jataka, No. 65; *Ibid*, pp.160-161.

that state. Birth of women was treated as the fruition of bad karma.⁹⁶ Buddha's male birth in all his previous births was due to his good karma. The Bodhisattva path is denied to women. *Nidāna-katha* affirm that one must be male in order to become a *Bodhisattva*. Buddha said that it is difficult for a woman to become a 'full-fledged and enlightened Buddha'.⁹⁷ Even the commentaries on *Theravāda* tradition stressed that it difficult for a woman to become a *bodhisattva*, a passenger on the way to Buddhahood. Once a person initially aspires to attain Buddhahood and get confirmed by a 'Buddha of that time', rebirth as a woman is not possible. It is illustrated from the numerous previous birth stories of Buddha in which the Bodhisattva is born as a human, animal, serpent or god, but never as a female⁹⁸. Then the Buddha lamented that the longevity of the Sangha would be shortened by 500 years because of the admission of women to the Sangha.⁹⁹

The exclusion of women from being in the path of *Bodhisatta Theravāda* Buddhism never deny their potentiality to become 'awakened'. They can reach the stage of an arahant and lead the Buddhist community. They can pursue the highest realm in spirituality. It enlightens the women about their spiritual abilities. Further women can understand that their birth significantly lower to that of a male which is due to their bad *karma*. Further, it suggests that an appropriate aim for a Buddhist woman is to aspire to be reborn male.¹⁰⁰The Buddha actually ordained and praised at least 13 women,

⁹⁶ Mahanaradakassapa Jataka, No. 544; Ibid, Vol. VI, 1907, pp. 114-125.

⁹⁷'Bahudhātuka sutta' (Majjhima Nikāya 115); Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi (trans.), *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the Majjhima Nikāya*, Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995, pp. 925-30.

⁹⁸N Appleton, "In the Footsteps of the Buddha?: Women and the Bodhisatta Path in Theravāda Buddhism" *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Vol. 27, no. 1, 2011, pp. 33-51., 10.2979/jfemistudreli.27.1.33.

⁹⁹ Chatsumarn Kabil Singh, *Thai Women in Buddhism*, California: Parallax Press, 1991, p.27-30.

¹⁰⁰N Appleton, *supra*.

who were fully enlightened. Among them, the Buddha's own aunt and step-mother was the founder of the *bhikkhuni* order.¹⁰¹

Sub-sects in Theravāda:

The *Theravāda* Buddhism was divided into eleven sects. A few of them are briefly discussed as follows:

Mahisāsakas:

The *Mahisāsakas* got their name due to their geographical location in Mahismandala or Mahismati; the modern Maheswara on the bank of river Dipavamsa mentions that Mahisāsakas branched off from the *Sthaviravada* along with the *Vajjiputtakas* and gave rise to *Sarvastivāda* School. References to *mahisāsakas* occur from the inscriptions found at Nagarjunakonda and Vanavasi.¹⁰² *Mahisāsakas* fall into earlier and later *Mahisāsakas*. The former accepted most of the doctrines of the Theravadins while latter group agreed with the Sarvastivadins.¹⁰³ Like the Theravadins, the earlier *Mahisāsakas* believed in the simultaneous comprehension of truths. For them the past and the future did not exist, while the present and the nine *asamskrta dharmas* prevail. These nine *asamskrtas* were: (1) *pratisankhya-nirōdha*, cessation through knowledge; (2) *apratisankhya-nirōdha*, cessation without knowledge, i.e, through the natural cessation of the causes;(3) *ākasa*, space; (4) *anenjata*, immovability; (5) *kusala dharma tathata*; (6) *akusala dharma tathata*, and (7) *avyakrta dharma tathata*, suchness of the *Dharmas* that are meritorious and neither the one, nor the other; (8) *marganga tathata*; and (9) *Pratitya samutpada tathata*, or suchness of the factors of the path and suchness of the law of dependent origination. Alike the *Theravadins*, the *Mahisāsakas* too believed, that the *Arahants* were not subject to retrogression. For them, neither deva, god to lead a holy life, nor a heretic to attain miraculous powers. There was no *antar bhava*, or interim existence between this life and the next. The

¹⁰¹ Dhammanada Bhikkhuni, *A Difference Voice*, Bangkok: Thai Tibet Center, 2010, p.42.

¹⁰² Bibhuti Baruah, *supra*, p. 50.

¹⁰³ Kanai Lal Hazra, *supra*, p.30.

sangha included the Buddha. The charities given to *sangha* were more meritorious than those given to the Buddha. Of the eight factors of the noble eight fold path, right speech, right action and livelihood were not to be considered real factors since they were not mental actions. These were therefore to be excluded from the factors of the noble path.¹⁰⁴ They believed in the existence of the past, the future and *Antarabhāva* and believe that the *Skandas*, the *Ayatanas* and the *Dhatus* always exist in the form of seeds.

Sarvastivādins:

After the Second Buddhist council, Mathura became the seat of *Sarvastivādins* and from there it spread to Kashmir and Gandhara. But its geographical expansion was not limited to north alone. Its presence was felt even in the east as far as Saranath and Sravasti.¹⁰⁵ They believed that the things exist in three realms of life, i.e., the present, past and future. They questioned the dominance of an *Arahant* and maintained that he was subject to retrogression. They were also of the opinion that a *Srōta panna*, or an individual in the first stage, was not liable to such retrogression. Unlike the *Mahāsamghikas*, they negated the ‘transcendental powers’ ascribed to the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. They believed in *Antarabhava*- an ‘interim existence’ between the present and the future life. They held that the *bodhisattvas* were still ordinary people, *prthag*. Even the *Arhants* can also be subjected to their past actions and are yet to learn more. They had belief in the plurality of elements in the universe like the *Sthaviravādins*. For them, there were seventy-five elements out of which seventy-two are *samskrta*, the compounded, and the remaining three are *asamskrta*, the un-compounded. The three *asamskrata* are *akasa* (space), *pratisankya-nirōdha* (cessation through knowledge) and *apratisankya nirōda* (cessation, not by acquiring *vidya*, but reaching stage wherein one naturally comes out of all requirements to have cessation).

¹⁰⁴ Anukul Chandra Banerjee, “Principal Schools and Sects of Buddhism” in P V Bapat (ed.), *2500 Years of Buddhism*, New Delhi: The Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India, 1956, p.104.

¹⁰⁵ Bibhuti Baruah, *supra*, p.51.

Haimavatās:

The *Haimavāta* School was originally located in the Himalayan regions. They believed that the *bodhisattvas* are the ‘ordinary beings’ without having any extraordinary powers. For them, *Arahants* could be subjected to ignorance but could attain spiritual knowledge with the help of others.¹⁰⁶ They believe that even the gods are not holy for they do not lead the life of *brāhmacarya*. They further opined that the heretics cannot perform miracles and do not have supernatural powers.

Vatsiputriyas:

The *Vastiputriyas* were named after their original home Avanti. They were also called as *Sammitiyas*. Mathura and Sarnath were the prominent centers of *Sammitiyas*. During the reign of Harshavardhana, they became prominent and it is believed that Harsavardhana’s sister Rajyasri, entered the Sangha of the nuns of the *Sammitiyās*. The doctrine centres round the concept of ‘*pudgala*’ (a self, a personality) that pass through several existences before attaining *Nibbana*. They also believe that the *Arahant* is subject to fall from the religious life.¹⁰⁷

Dharmaguptikas:

The *Theravāda* monks that went towards north and used Sanskrit as the medium of their *Pitaka* literature were known as the *Dharmaguptas* or the *Dharmaguptikas*. The school is named after its founder Dharmagupta.¹⁰⁸ Some believe that they broke off from the *Mahisasaka* on the issue of differences in giving gifts. Unlike the *Mahisasakas*, the *Dharmaguptikas* felt that offering gifts to Buddha was more meritorious than that of the Sangha.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Kanai Lal Hazra, *Supra*, p.33.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 33-34

¹⁰⁸ Dharmagupta is identified with Dharmarakkitha, who went to north-western countries during as a part of missionary work during the reign of Asoka; See Kanai Lal Hazra, *supra*, p.30.

¹⁰⁹ Guang Xing, *The Concept of the Buddha its evolution from Early Buddhism to the Trikaya Theory*, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005, p. 67.

In the religious history of Central Asia and China, the *Dharmaguptikas* played a crucial role and had their own *sutra*, *Vinaya* and *abhidharma* literature. They greatly revered the *stupas* of the Buddha. Like the *Mahisasakas*, they also accepted that an *arahant* was free from passion and that heretics could not gain super natural powers. .

Kasyapiyas:

The *Kasyapiyas* were closer to the *Sthaviravādins*. The *Kasyapiyas* believe that the past actions ceases to exist ones they bore fruit, and those yet to ripen continues to exist.

Soutrantikās or Sankrantivādins:

The Pali tradition maintains that *Kasyapiyas* gave birth the $\bar{\text{c}}$, which in turn gave rise to *Sautrantikās*. But Vasumitra upholds that the two schools, viz: *Sankrantivādins* and *Sautrantikās* are identical. This school accepts the transmigration of a substance from the one life to the other. Of the five *Skandhas* of an individual, only one subtle *Skandha* transmigrates, which the *Kasyapiyas* School consider as the real *Pudgala*. It believes that every individual contains the potentiality to become a Buddha.

(II) *Mahāsamghikas*

It is held that the *Mahasamghika School* was the precursor of the *Mahayana* school. Even though they followed the rules of the *Vinaya*, they changed the interpretation of *sutra*. They denied a few portions of the canons that were accepted in the first council. Further they did not recognize, the *parivara*, the *Abhidamma*, the *patisambhida*, the niddesa and parts of the *Jataka* as the sayings of Buddha. They re-codified the texts of the *dhamma* and the *Vinaya* texts and included that were denied in Council of *Mahākassapa*. Thus, a twofold division emerged in the canon. These re-codified texts of the *Mahasamghikas* were designated as the *Acariyavada* which as distinguished from Theravāda that was compiled in the first council.

Yuan Chwang held that the *Mahāsamghikas* had a complete canon of their own and was which they divided into five parts, the *sutra*, the

inaya, the *Abhidharma*, the *dharanis* and miscellaneous. The *Mahavastu*, or the *Mahavastu avadana* in the only original work of the *mahasaghika* sect. It is the first text of the *Vinayapitaka* of the *Lokottaravadins* of the *Mahsanghika* School. They held that the *Buddhas* are *Lokottaras*, the supra-mundane powers that were nominally connected to the worldly life. Such perception of the Buddha contributed much to the emergence *Mahayana* philosophy. Inscriptions substantiate the existence of the *Mahsanghika* canon. The inscriptions from Amaravati, refer to the terms like *vinaya dhara*, *mahavinaya dhara* and *samyukta bhanaka* that denote monks and nuns. In the same way, inscriptions from the Nagarjunakonda contains the terms like *Digha-majjhima pamcamatuka Osaka vacakanam*, *digha majjhima nikaya dharena*, and so on. Basing on these evidences it can be surmised that the canon of the *Mahasanghikas* was in vogue as early as the first century A.D.

Two centuries after the death of Buddha, the *Mahasanghikas* sect got divided into *ekavyaharika*, *lokottaravada*, *kukkutika* (*Gokulika*), *bahusrutiya* and *prajnapativada*. The *saila* and *caityaka* schools emerged as more influential in south India, especially in Andhradesa. The Chaityakas got their name for they used to worship caityas (shrines). The *sailas* derived their name from the hills situated around the main centers of their activity. They were also known as the *Andhakas* in the Ceylonese chronicles for they were more popular in Andhradesa. The inscriptions from Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda mention the prevalence of the sects like *hamghi- ayirahaghana*, the *caityika-cetivadaka*, the *mahavadanaseliyana -apara mahavanaselia*, the *puvasele*, the *rajagiri nivasika -rajasaila*, the *sidhantika*, the *bahusrutrya* and the *mahisasaka*. All these sects belong to the *mahsanghikas*. The Amaravati *stupa* appears to have been probably constructed in the 2nd century BC, for its outer rail was erected in the 2nd century AD. The Nagarjunakonda represents the most important Buddhist site in South India. In this manner, the Mahasanghikas spread their activities both towards the north and the south but gained popularity in the south, especially in the Guntur and Krishna districts. Here sub-sects of *caityakas* and the *saila* won popularity.

The general doctrine of the *Mahāsaṃghikas* contains *Kathāvatthu*, the *Mahāvastu* and the works of Vasumira, Bhavya and Vinitadeva. The *bahusrutiyās* and *caityakas* which were the later offshoots of the *Mahasaṃghika* sect differed s from the original *Mahāsaṃghika* upto certain extent. Like the *Theravadins*, the *Mahāsaṃghikas*, accepted the cardinal principles of Buddhism as discussed elsewhere in the chapter. According to *Mahasanghikas*, the *Buddhas* are *lokottara*, the supramundane. Their physique, longevity and their powers are unimaginative and unrestricted. The Buddhas never sleep and dream and self-possessed. They are self they always remain in the state of *Samadhi*, meditation. They never preach by name and comprehend every issue in a moment, *ekaksanika citta*. Until Buddhas reach *parinirvana*, they have *ksayajnana*, knowledge of decay and *anutpadajnana*, knowledge of non-origination. Precisely, everything related to the Buddhas is viewed as transcendental.

The *Mahasaṃghika* interpretation of the Buddha as a deity later lead to the development of the theory of *trikaya* and concept of bodhisattva in *Mahayanism*¹¹⁰. For them, *boddhisattvas* are also supramundane/superhuman. They do not pass through the four embryonic stages of normal human beings. The way the birth of Buddha was conceived, they enter their mother's wombs as elephants and come out on the right side of the wombs. They never have the feelings of desire and lust, *kama*, malevolence, *vyapada* or injury *vihimsa*. For the benefit of the all sections of the society, they take their births they want on the earth. Thus the perceptions paved the way for the deification of Buddhas and the precept of *Bodhisattvas*.

A section of the *Mahāsaṃghikas* School, (the adherents of mahādeva) held that *arahant hood* is not the final goal of sanctification. The main beliefs of *Mahasanghikas* are as follows: “(i) The five *vijñānas* (sense perceptions) lead both to *saraga* (attachment to worldly matters) and *viraga* (non attachment to the same state), (ii)The *rupendriyas*, organs of

¹¹⁰Ibid, p.53

sense are mere flush. They themselves cannot perceive the *vijnanas* of the organs (iii)\One can eliminate suffering and obtain highest bliss (nirvana) through knowledge (*pragñā*), (iv)A *srotapanna* (one who has entered the path of sanctification) is liable to retrogress while an arhat is not. He is capable of knowing his own nature (*swabhāva*) through his *citta* and *caitasika dharmas*. He is also liable to commit all kinds of offences except the five heinous crimes (*pancanantaryani*), namely, matricide, patricide, the murder of an *arhant*, shedding the blood of the Buddha and creating split in the sangha. (v)Nothing is indeterminate (*avyakṛta*), i.e., the nature of things must be either good or bad for it can neither good nor bad. The original nature of the mind is pure; it becomes contaminated when it is stained by *upaklesa* (patience) and *agantuka* rajas (adventitious defilements). After death and before rebirth a being has no existence”¹¹¹.

It can be surmised from the above discussion that Buddhism which sprang as an alternate religious ideology to soothen the spiritual anarchy of the people in the wake of new socio-economic formations emerged as a solace for the people ranging from the rulers to the common populace for their respective reasons and catered for the peace and tranquility. The Buddhist doctrine was widened to accommodate the needs of different strata of people in different regions. Thus numerous schools emerged in Buddha’s ideology indicating the popularity of the religion among the monks, kings, preachers and populace alike. In order to reach people the Buddha’s verdicts were textualised in written form as *Tripitakas* and *suttas* and the same were popularized among the classes and the lay disciples through *Jataka* tales. The *Jatakas*, the birth stories are storied experiences of Buddha in course of his previous and the then current lives which were nothing than the reflections of Buddhist philosophy and way of life suggested to those who want to become Buddhists. The reputation of *Jātakas* was so wide that they were popularized to the public orally in religious gatherings and visually as narrative sculptures depicted in the public spaces like *chaityas* and other Buddhist institutions. The next chapter interprets how *Jātaka* tales reflect *Theravāda* Buddhist thought in

their texts, for the *Jātakas* are claimed to be the *Theravāda* Buddhist literature.

Chapter IV

Theravāda precepts in *Jātaka* tales and Buddhist Narrative Sculptures

The sole intension of the *Theravādins* was to disseminate the message of Buddha to the populace ‘as it is rendered’ during His lifetime. To realize it, the renderings of Buddha were codified and preserved soon after the Buddha’s demise in 5th century B.C. *Theravāda* is considered as the best preserved form of the original Buddhist path, which is still ‘untouched’ in the countries like Ceylon ever since the times of Mahindra Varma, the son of Asoka emperor who was sent to give the message of *Dhamma* during the year 240 B.C¹. Buddhism entered *Andhradesa* even during the lifetime of Buddha and got its roots stabilized there as evidenced by the rich archaeological evidences as discussed in the previous chapters. Hence *Theravāda*, being the earliest school among the other sects, emerged as a popular philosophy in *Andhradesa* for its nearness to Buddha’s original verdict and to the people ranging from royal palace to common people down to earth. The religion as a way of life was discussed through intellectual discourses among the monks in the Buddhist institutions. At the same time the message was carried to grassroots of the society by the wandering monks. They took the *Jātaka* tales from the *Khuddakanikaya* of *Suttapitaka* as paradigms to teach the message to the people. They are nothing than the experiences of Buddha in His previous births as – ‘an emerging Buddha’- before he got his Enlightenment. During his last birth as Buddha he achieved the supernatural power of knowing his own past, present as well as future and so he could enlighten and awaken his

¹ Power, John, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. India: Viva Books Private Limited, 2006, p. 206.

disciples by recounting his various experiences in His previous lives. Thus the birth of Jātaka tales took place. They were remembered and recorded by the followers soon after His *Mahaparinibbana*. Further the *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthās*² the experiential expressions of the Buddhist male and female monks respectively with regard to their lives before and after they accepted Buddha were also taken from the same Pāli text and recited by the monks to awaken their disciples from ignorance (*avidya*). Thus all sections of people received His message in written as well as in oral forms. Interestingly, all the public spaces like Buddhist *stupas*, *chaityas*, *viharas* and its other sacred and secular institutions were adorned with the narrative sculptures depicting the life scenes of Buddha and *Jātaka* tales to visually appease the masses and classes alike. The lively visual narrative sculptures clearly speak about theme and the dialogue of characters in the Jātaka stories. The numerous inscriptions recorded on the walls of *stupas* and monasteries at Buddhist sites like Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Bhattiprolu, Bhattiprolu, goli, Sankaram etc., bear testimony to the extensive patronage given to the religion in *Andhradesa*. The chapter focuses on how Theravāda Buddhism was reflected in the texts of Jātaka tales expressed in the texts

² The *Theragatha* contains a total of 264 poems, the *Therigatha*, 73, all attributed to early members of the monastic Sangha. Some of the poems are attributed to monks or nuns well-known from other parts of the Canon—such as Ananda and Maha Kassapa among the monks, and Mahapajapati Gotami and Uppalavanna among the nuns—whereas the majority are attributed to monks and nuns otherwise unknown. Both texts are landmarks in the history of world literature. The *Therigatha* is the earliest extant text depicting women’s spiritual experiences. The *Theragatha* contains the earliest extant descriptions extolling the wild beauties. Thanissaro Bhikkhu (Geoffrey De Graff) (ed. & tr.), *Poems of the Elders: an Anthology from the Theragatha and Therigatha*, Valley Center: CA, 2015, p.4; Downloaded on 18th June 2016 from the website <http://www.dhammadalks.org/Archive/Writings/TheragathaTherigatha151208.pdf>.

and narrative sculptures of Andhradesa. Here the significance of *Jātakas* as source of Theravāda ideology is discussed. Further, the texts of the *Jātakas* are analysed to interpret how the precepts of *Theravāda* were textualised within the theme of the narrative as well as in the interaction of the characters in it. The chapter further discusses on how the *Jātakas* were depicted visually as narrative sculptures on the walls of Buddhist institutions. The present chapter is done in two sections. The first section ‘Significance of Jātaka tradition’ deals with its time of composition, authorship, nature; general structure and purpose. In this section the *Jātaka* tales are analysed to show how the *Theravāda* Buddhist precepts were expounded in birth stories of Buddha as *Bodhisattva* to show path of *nirvana* to the populace through his own experiential expressions of his previous lives. The message given by Buddha through his *Jātakas* is also interpreted from the perspective of Buddhist philosophy.

In the second section, *Theravāda* philosophy as depicted in the *Jātaka* tales and Narrative art of *Āndhrādēsa* is addressed. The purpose of depiction of *Jātakas* as visual narrative sculptures in the public spaces is also briefly discussed.

Section I

Significance of *Jātaka* tradition

The content of the *Jātakas* found with the Southern Buddhists (*Theravadins*) contained the tales along with an extensive commentary upon each verse in them. It is held that the original book of *Jātaka* tales was found in Ceylon. It comprised of the *gathas* (the mythical accounts) with commentaries written in early Sinhalese language. Buddhaghosa later translated the *Jātaka* texts into Pāli about 430 A.D. It is believed that the Sinhalese original book was lost³. But there might have existed as a book

³E W Cowell (ed.), *The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, Vol. I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895, p. viii.

containing *Jātaka* tales in India by the end of first millennium B.C. i.e., between 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Some of the stories are of pre-Buddhist origin ranging down to the fifth Century CE.⁴ Winternitz, who observed the depiction of *Jātakas* on the *stupas* at Bharhut and Sanchi, held that the sculptors have followed the prose version and so they are of pre-Buddhist origin. The *Jātaka* tradition appears to have taken its present form in Ceylon around beginning of the 1st to 3rd century A.D.⁵ The extant Pāli text of the *Jātaka* been preserved in Ceylon, came down to India ‘as it is’. Fausboll had edited this text. He divided each *Jātaka* into three components- the tale or the storied lives or experiences of the society and religion, the frame, i.e., the structure of patterning the events in the tale, and the verbal interpretation of the tale. Initially, T.W. Rhys Davids translated *Jātaka* texts in 1880. Kern⁶ published *Jātaka Mala* in the year 1891. Later, J.S. Speyer⁷ in the year 1895 translated Aryasura’s *Jātaka Mala* (Garland of Birth Stories) into English. He says that the Aryasura’s *Jātaka Mala* is of higher pretense, composed in *Kavya* literary style. It is being used in the Northern Buddhist tradition. The *Jātakas* composed in Pāli are in simple and lucid prose style and is followed by the Southern Buddhists. The *Jātaka* which belong to different periods ranging from the early sixth century B.C (Pre-Buddhist period) down to the fifth century AD gives a comprehensive picture of the contemporary Indian society besides providing a harmonious and a homogeneous profile of the pre-

⁴ B. Subramanyam, *Jātakas in South Indian Art*, Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2005, p. 20.

⁵ Laurie Cozad, *Sacred Snakes: Orthodox Images of Indian Snake Worship*, USA: The Davies Group Publishers, 2004, p.82.

⁶ Hendrik Kern (ed.), *The Jataka Mala or Boddhisattvavadana Mala*, Boston: Ginn & Company, 1891.

⁷ J S. Speyer (tr.), *Jataka Mala or Garland of Birth Stories*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895.

Buddhist India. The *Sutta* and *Vinaya Pitakas* were generally considered earlier than the Buddhist Council of Vaisali. Hence *Jātakas* embedded in *Vinaya* were given the status of Buddhist literature.

The *Jātakas* are written in prose having poetic style. Etymologically the term, *Jātaka* got derived from *Jati*, a Sanskrit word that means ‘birth’ and *Jātaka* in *Pāli* can be interpreted as ‘born-thing’(thing that has born) or ‘happened-thing’ (thing that had happened)⁸. The *Jātakas* are otherwise known as tales, stories, parables, fables, adventures, legends, riddles, fairy tales, and birth stories⁹.The stories centre round the previous or past births of the Buddha which number altogether 547-550.¹⁰ The key concept in Buddhist thought is the universal law of *karma* and its articulation to the belief in *punarjanma* (reincarnation / rebirth), metempsychosis, and the recollection of past lives. The Buddhist ideology sprang with the intension of saving the lives from being crushed in the series of births and death by performing *karma*. Fundamentally, Buddhism revolves round the concept of *Karma* and its cessation which ultimately leads one to *Nirvana*. The prime theme of *Jātaka* tales is to illustrate how (i) *karma* makes individuals to suffer in a series of births (ii) one should bear the fruits of *karma*, either good or bad as considered by Buddha and (iii) Buddhist ideology and practices can save the populace from evil influences of karma in the lives and lead to liberation. The *Jātaka* tales are depicted as though Buddha was narrating them to his disciples and the populace with regard to his experiences as *Bodhisattva* during his previous births. The *Jātakas* depict *Bodhisattva* for

⁸ Caroline A F. Rhys Davids, *Stories of the Buddha*, Varanasi: Pilgrims Publishing, p. xi.

⁹ Rhys Davids, *The History and Literature of Buddhism*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1999, p. 42.

¹⁰Shambala, *The Shambala Dictionary of Buddhism and Zen*, Boston: Shambala Publishers, 1991, p.103.

goodness, love and compassion for the others. They illustrate his path of practice through a series of lives to purify himself and attain perfection in different qualities, such as philanthropy and selflessness, so that he could become the fully awakened Buddha in his last life. The *Jātaka* tales reveal how Buddha in his previous life did compassionate deeds - throwing him off a cliff so that on his death a starving tigress could feed herself and give milk to her cubs¹¹. Many of the stories describe not only great sacrifice but also great compassion and wisdom. This notion of the Buddha as *Bodhisattva* implies that there was only one *Bodhisattva* at a time working through many incarnations to become a Buddha.

The style of compilation of *Jātakas* as the experiential expressions of Buddha made them more authentic and genuine manifestations of Buddhist ideology. The *Jātaka* tales demonstrate the Buddhist philosophy-nature of the soul, *Astangamarga*, *Paramitas* etc., in the form of a tale as a dialogue between the Master and the listeners' or the teller and the told. In the *Jātakas*, the future Buddha was manifested in several incarnations both human and animal. As a human being he took the births of - king, teacher, Brahmin, outcaste, teacher, a compassionate prince, father, a cruel hunter, wise merchant, a mendicant etc., in animal incarnations as *Bodhisattva* included the lion, elephant, horse, bull, and monkey a snake, a rabbit, a swan, a fish, a quail, an ape, a woodpecker, a deer and an elephant¹². What so ever may be the guise of Buddha as *Bodhisattva*, the text of the *Jātaka* tales send His message on the Buddhist virtues, values and the way of life that one should live. Further the tales redundantly tell the efficacy of moral life and ethical behaviour in a Buddhist life. Thus the *Jātakas* are considered as the most significant constitutes of early

¹¹ Martine Batchelor, *The Path of Compassion: The Bodhisattva Precepts*, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2004, p.4.

¹²Sadhanchandra Sarkar, *A Study on the Jātakas and the Avadānas, Critical and Comparative*, Vol. I, Nagpur: Saraswat Library, 1981, p. 21.

Buddhist literature that shed light on almost all aspects of Buddhist way of life that the followers should live and lead. The *Jātaka* tales show the way to the mendicants ranging from king to slave and from a highly intellectual to a lay person, the path leading to meditation and finally liberation from the mundane world by attaining nirvana.

Time of the Jātaka compositions:

The exact year of composition of *Jātakas* may not be accurate for most of them were embedded in *Vinaya pitaka*. A.K. Warder held that the *Jātakas* appear to be the antecedents to the biographies of the Buddha as *Bodhisattva* and were written in later dates¹³. The text of the *Jātaka* tales prevalent among the southern Buddhist groups contains a story, an extensive commentary and an exhaustive explanation to the verses in it.

Although many *Jātakas* are considered as non-Buddhist or pre-Buddhist, for the prevalence of Vedic themes in them, the messages disseminated echo the ideology and practices prescribed by *Tathāgata*. The *Jātakas* found in Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend of Funk and Wagnall¹⁴ defines them as a collection of *gathas* arranged in 22 sections, according to the number of stanzas forming a *Jātaka*. These *gathas* have a prose commentary consisting of a story of the ‘present’ explaining why Buddha is telling the tale of the ‘past’, followed by the text of the *Jātaka* (the *gathas*) as the story of the ‘past’ life, a commentary of the *gathas*, and an integration of the two parts. They include fables, legends, moral tales and maxims. The *Jātaka* tales preserve the original form of the Indian folklore. These stories are not only pre-Buddhist in origin but are very old. It seems that all these diverse types of Buddhist literature was already in existence when the canon was compiled

¹³K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004, p.332.

¹⁴Maria Leach and Jerome Fried, *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, New York: Harper and Row, 1984, p. 40.

in its present form. The Buddhist *Jātakas* were found in many of the Indian languages which perhaps may be the translations from *Pāli* versions. Sanskrit and Tibetan *Jātaka* stories continue to manifest the *Buddhist* morality of their *Pāli* equivalents. In the process of telling and retelling, the tales were subjected to versions and variations in their expressions reflecting the changes that were brought to suit their respective cultures.

Later, in the sixth century, some of the tales got translated into Persian language and they were again retranslated into the languages of Greek, Latin and Hebrew¹⁵. According to an Italian scholar, the origin of several stories of al-Sindbad and Arabian Nights could be traced from the *Jātaka* tales¹⁶. The *Jātaka* stories were spread from India and attained a distinct position in the world's folk-literature, having versions and variations. But, they retained the essence of their compositions in the *Pāli* and thereby represented the cultural and religious fervour of the Buddhism and carried the message to the populace. Several *Jātaka* stories were considered to be older as they held their counter-parts in Jain canonical literature. The Buddhist or Jain orientation is very clearly marked in these stories. As the term *Jātaka* implies, these tales cut across generations in their continuity of themes and even characters. The rebirth motif is also dominant in the *Jātaka* tales and the moral tone is never left obscure¹⁷. They read like parables to teach certain truths, and are never meant for leisurely entertainment. There are also many *Jātaka* tales in the text of *Mahavastu* and they have no parallels in the *Pāli* collections. The

¹⁵Shanti Lal Nagar, *Jātakas in Indian Art*, Delhi: Parimal Publications, 1993, p. 41.

¹⁶A.S. Kulasuriya, 'Jataka', in W G. Weeraratne (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Vol.VI, Sri Lanka: The State Printing Corporation, 1996, p. 11.

¹⁷K.A. Panikker, *Indian Narratology*, New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2003, p. 97.

Dipavamsa tells that the *Mahāsasghikas* after their separation from the *Theravadins* made changes in the canons and discarded some of the *Jātakas*. It can be presumed that the text of the *Jātaka* tales belonging to two sects differ for they added or discarded some aspects from their literature after their schism.

The public spaces like the Buddhist institutions like chaityas, stupas and monasteries continued to extend their influential support for the propagation and popularization of the *Jātaka* tales among classes and masses. There are several *Jātakas* scattered within and outside the canonical *Pāli* literature. Many themes of the *Jātakas* found expression in the *Pancatantra* (animal tale) and *Kathāsaritsagara*. Some stories have parallels in the *Mahabharata* (*sibi Jātaka*) and in the *Ramayana* (*Dasaradha Jātaka*), the *Puranas*, and still others in Jaina literature¹⁸.

In all the *Jātakas*, the Buddha is projected as a hero, a secondary character, a spectator, an animal, a bird etc. These previous Birth Stories were told by the Buddha and narrated by his disciples on various occasions to their followers in support of the Buddhist doctrine, which conveyed a message that the good actions obviously yield a higher and better position in the next birth, while bad actions entail a lower position, as a consequence of which the attainment of *Nirvana* is postponed or differed. The general function of the *Jātakas*, then, is to illustrate how the *Bodhisattva*, in life after life, cultivated various virtues on the *Bodhisattva* path that ultimately contributed to his attainment of *Buddhahood*. Accordingly, most *Jātakas* portray Him as an exemplary figure, highlighting such features as his wisdom, compassion, and ascetic detachment. Many *Jātakas*, in fact, are explicitly intended to illustrate the cultivation of one of the six or ten perfections needed for the attainment of

¹⁸B.C. Law, *A History of Pāli Literature*. Delhi: Abhishek Prakashan, 2007, pp.214-215.

Buddhahood¹⁹. The *Jātaka* genre was thus used to assimilate an enormous variety of traditional Indian folklore into the Buddhist fold including some tales whose moral lessons were not especially true of the massive Pāli *Jātaka* collection, much of whose contents are likely non-Buddhist in origin, including many traditional animal fables, folktales, and fairy tales.

Structure of the *Jātaka* tales:

The tenth book of the *Khuddaka Nikaya* of the *Pāli* Tipitaka is called *Jātaka*. They are the tales depicting the Buddha's former births. It comprises 6653 verses, constituting 547 *Jātakas* arranged roughly by increasing number of verses in each of them. The *Jātakas* have been grouped under twenty-two *nipatas*, depending on the number of verses in each *Jātaka*. For example, the *Jātakas* in the *Ekanipata* contains one verse each, those in the *Bukanipata* two verses each and so on. As the *nipātas* proceed, the *Jātakas* become lengthier.

All the *Jātakas* are put into 22 *nipatas* (book). The first *nipata* contains nearly 150 stories. Each story has one *gatha* or a *sloka*. In the second *nipata*, there are two *gathas*. From third to 13th *nipatas*, there are 500 stories, each story having three or four *gathas*. In the 9th *nipata*, there are 150 *Jātaka* s. In 14th *nipata*, stories are found in poetry. Almost all the remaining *nipatas* contain more *gathas* and each *gatha* contains 10 to 14 stories. In 21st *nipata*, there are nearly 90 -100 *gathas*. In 22nd *nipata* there are 10 stories. Each *Jātaka* contains hundreds of *gathas*. The last *Jātaka* i.e., *Vessantara* contains 500 *gathas*²⁰.

Generally in *Pāli* version, each *Jātaka* tale is preceded by an elaborate introduction, known as the *Nidana-katha*. It tells about the

¹⁹Reiko Ohnuma, *Bodily Self-Sacrifice in Indian Buddhist Literature*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2009, p. 36.

²⁰B. Subramanyam, *supra*, p. 21.

Buddha's previous life and continues till he attains Buddhahood. Each tale begins with a preamble, the *paccuppanavatthu*, a narrative of the 'present' which tell the context wherein, the Master himself renders the *Jātaka* in question to the monks. It is followed by the *Atitavatthu*, the story of the past, that tell about the former birth of the Buddha. Every story tells about *Tathagata* who was still 'a being in the process of becoming Buddha'. The entire processing of the tale swings along the cycle of past- present- future continuum, the *karma*.

The general structure of the *Jātakas* contains four distinct parts. (i) Buddha's experiences of real life problem (ii) Buddha narrates a tale about one of his previous birth and life experiences. (iii) Deals with the meaning of the *Jātaka* and also how the *Jātaka* sheds insight on the issue posed in the tale and (iv) message in the form of a moral or ethics to be followed by the people. In the following five steps the *Jātaka* tales can be studied.

1. "Contextuality of the story (*Paccuppanna-vatthu*) or the background and the occasion which necessitated the Buddha to narrate the story;
2. Narrative of the past (*Atita-vatthu*), which depicts the narrative of the previous life of the *Bodhisattva*;
3. Recitation of the original *Jātaka* verse (*gatha*) to accentuate and impart the moral of the story;
4. Explanation of the verse (*Veyyakarana*)
5. Identification (*Samodhana* -Connection) of the characters of the stories at the time of the narrator (i.e., the Buddha)"²¹.

In the light of above structure, *Sasa Jātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 316) which is depicted in Amaravati monastery is taken as an example to analyze.

²¹ C.B. Varma, *The Illustrated Jātaka and Other Stories of the Buddha: Introduction*, New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts. Access to 2.7.2008. <http://ignca.nic.in/Jatakint.htm>.

Sasa Jātaka:

(i) *Pacchuppanna-vatthu*, **Contextuality of the story:** “The story was told by the Master while living at Jetavana, about a gift of all the Buddhist requisites. A certain landowner at Savatthi, they say, provided all the requisites for the Brotherhood with Buddha at its head, and setting up a pavilion at his house door, he invited all the company of priests with their chief Buddha, seated them on elegant seats prepared for them, and offered them a variety of choice and dainty food. And saying, "Come again tomorrow," he entertained them for a whole week, and on the seventh day he presented Buddha and the five hundred priests under him with all the requisites. At the end of the feast the Master, in returning thanks, said, "Lay Brother, you are right in giving pleasure and satisfaction by this charity. For this is a tradition of wise men of old, who sacrificed their lives for any beggars they met with, and gave them even their own flesh to eat." And at the request of his host he related this old-world legend”²².

(ii) *Atita-vatthu*, **Narrative of the past:** “Once upon a time when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta came to life as a young hare and lived in a wood. On one side of this wood was the foot of a mountain, on another side a river, and on the third side a border-village. The hare had three friends—a monkey, a jackal and an otter. These four wise creatures lived together and each of them got his food on his own hunting-ground, and in the evening they again came together. The hare in his wisdom by way of admonition preached the Truth to his three companions, teaching that alms are to be given, the moral law to be observed, and holy days to be kept. They accepted his admonition and went each to his own part of the jungle and dwelt there”.

²²*Jataka* No. 316; E W Cowell (ed.), *supra*, Vol. III, 1897, pp. 34-35.

And so in the course of time the Bodhisatta one day observing the sky, and looking at the moon knew that the next day would be a fast-day, and addressing his three companions he said, "Tomorrow is a fast-day. Let all three of you take upon you the moral precepts, and observe the holy day. To one that stands fast in moral practice, almsgiving brings a great reward. Therefore feed any beggars that come to you by giving them food from your own table." They readily assented, and abode each in his own place of dwelling.

On the morrow quite early in the morning, the otter sallied forth to seek his prey and went down to the bank of the Ganges. Now it came to pass that a fisherman had landed seven red fish, and stringing them together on a withe, he had taken and buried them in the sand on the river's bank. And then he dropped down the stream, catching more fish. The otter scenting the buried fish, dug up the sand till he came upon them, and pulling them out cried aloud thrice, "Does anyone own these fish?" And not seeing any owner he took hold of the withe with his teeth and laid the fish in the jungle where he dwelt, intending to eat them at a fitting time. And then he lay down, thinking how virtuous he was! The jackal too sallied forth in quest of food and found in the hut of a field-watcher two spits, a lizard and a pot of milk-curd. And after thrice crying aloud, "To whom do these belong?" and not finding an owner, he put on his neck the rope for lifting the pot, and grasping the spits and the lizard with his teeth, he brought and laid them in his own lair, thinking, "In due season I will devour them," and so lay down, reflecting how virtuous he had been.

The monkey also entered the clump of trees, and gathering a bunch of mangoes laid them up in his part of the jungle, meaning to eat them in due season, and then lay down, thinking how virtuous he was. But the Bodhisatta in due time came out, intending to browse on the *kuça* grass, and as he lay in the jungle, the thought occurred to him, "It is impossible for me to offer grass to any beggars that may chance to appear, and I have

no oil or rice and such like. If any beggar shall appeal to me, I shall have to give him my own flesh to eat." At this splendid display of virtue, Sakka's white marble throne manifested signs of heat. Sakka on reflection discovered the cause and resolved to put this royal hare to the test. First of all he went and stood by the otter's dwelling-place, disguised as a Brahmin, and being asked why he stood there, he replied, "Wise Sir, if I could get something to eat, after keeping the fast, I would perform all my priestly duties." The otter replied, "Very well, I will give you some food," and as he conversed with him he repeated the first stanza:

(iii) Gatha, Recitation of the original Jātaka verse:

*Seven red fish I safely brought to land from Ganges flood
Brahmin,
eat thy fill, I pray, and stay within this wood.*

(iv) Veyyakarana Explanation of the verse

The brahmin said, "Let be till tomorrow. I will see to it by and bye." Next he went to the jackal, and when asked by him why he stood there, he made the same answer. The jackal, too, readily promised him some food, and in talking with him repeated the second stanza:—

(iii) Gatha, Recitation of the original Jātaka verse

*A lizard and a jar of curds, the keeper's evening meal,
Two spits to roast the flesh withal I wrongfully did steal:
Such as I have I give to thee: O brahmin, eat, I pray,
If thou shouldst deign within this wood a while with us to stay.*

(iv) Veyyakarana, Explanation of the verse

Said the brahmin, "Let be till to-morrow. I will see to it by and bye." Then he went to the monkey, and when asked what he meant by standing there, he answered just as before. The monkey readily offered him some food, and in conversing with him gave utterance to the third stanza:—

(iii) Gatha, Recitation of the original *Jātaka* verse

*An icy stream, a mango ripe, and pleasant greenwood shade,
' Tis thine to enjoy, if thou canst dwell content in forest glade.*

(iv) *Veyyakarana*, Explanation of the verse

Said the Brahmin, "Let be till to-morrow. I will see to it by and bye." And he went to the wise hare, and on being asked by him why he stood there, he made the same reply. The *Bodhisatta* on hearing what he wanted was highly delighted, and said, "Brahmin, you have done well in coming to me for food. This day will I grant you a boon that I have never granted before, but you shall not break the moral law by taking animal life. Go, friend, and when you have piled together logs of wood, and kindled a fire, come and let me know, and I will sacrifice myself by falling into the midst of the flames, and when my body is roasted, you shall eat my flesh and fulfill all your priestly duties." And in thus addressing him the hare uttered the fourth stanza:—

(iii) Gatha, Recitation of the original *Jātaka* verse

*Nor sesame, nor beans, nor rice have I as food to give,
But roast with fire my flesh I yield, if thou with us wouldst live.*

(iv) *Veyyakarana*, Explanation of the verse

Sakka, on hearing what he said, by his miraculous power caused a heap of burning coals to appear, and came and told the *Bodhisatta*. Rising

from his bed of *kuça* grass and coming to the place, he thrice shook himself that if there were any insects within his coat, they might escape death. Then offering his whole body as a free gift he sprang up, and like a royal swan, alighting on a cluster of lotuses, in an ecstasy of joy he fell on the heap of live coals. But the flame failed even to heat the pores of the hair on the body of the *Bodhisatta*, and it was as if he had entered a region of frost. Then he addressed Sakka in these words: "Brahmin, the fire you have kindled is icy-cold: it fails to heat even the pores of the hair on my body. What is the meaning of this?" "Wise sir," he replied, "I am no Brahmin. I am Sakka, and I have come to put your virtue to the test." The *Bodhisatta* said, "If not only thou, Sakka, but all the inhabitants of the world were to try me in this matter of almsgiving, they would not find in me any unwillingness to give," and with this the *Bodhisatta* uttered a cry of exultation like a lion roaring. Then said Sakka to the *Bodhisatta*, "O wise hare, thy virtue known throughout a whole world." And squeezing the mountain, with the essence thus extracted, he daubed the sign of a hare on the orb of the moon. And after depositing the hare on a bed of young *kuça* grass, in the same wooded part of the jungle, *Sakka*²³ returned to his own place in heaven. And these four wise creatures dwelt happily and harmoniously together, fulfilling the moral law and observing holy days, till they departed to fare according to their deeds"²⁴.

²³*Sakka* in Pali and *Sakra* in Sanskrit is the ruler of the *Trayastrimsa*, heaven in Buddhist cosmology. *Sakra* is mentioned in many Buddhist sutras and is often shown consulting the Buddha on questions of morality. Together with Brahma he is considered a Dharmapala, a protector of Buddhism and its teachings. Downloaded from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%9Aakra_\(Buddhism\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C5%9Aakra_(Buddhism)) On 19th June 2015.

²⁴ *Jataka* No. 316; E W Cowell (ed.), *supra*, Vol. III, pp. 35-37.

(v)*Samodhana* -**Connection or Identification with the characters:** The Master, when he had ended his lesson, revealed the Truths and identified the Birth:—At the conclusion of the Truths the householder, who gave as a free-gift all the Buddhist requisites, attained fruition of the First Path:—" At that time Ananda was the otter, Moggallana was the jackal, Sariputta the monkey, and I myself was the wise hare."

In this *Jātaka* tale, the real life issue is to teach the landholder, the host of the Buddha and his disciples about the need to learn charity and self-sacrifice in serving the people who so ever come to them. In this process one may be ready to burn one's own self to ashes. In order to establish this virtue Buddha recited the story of a hare that followed all virtues and austerities that a Buddhist mendicant follows and sacrificed its flesh to a Brahmin who comes to it for alms by jumping into grass flames. The hare was no other than the incarnation of Buddha as *Bodhisattva*, when *Brahmadatta* was reigning Varanasi. In the tale hare and its friends-monkey, jackal and otter secured their food as per their life style. All the animals except hare offered their respective food to *Sakka* who was in the guise of Brahmin. But hare secured only grass which cannot be offered without seasoning. Since hare had nothing to season grass, it determined to offer its own flesh by burning itself in the *kuca* grass to Brahmin. The tale was intended to teach the landowner who fed Him and his disciples sumptuously for week days about the virtue of charity to the level of self-sacrifice and selflessness for reaching heaven. The virtue of charity essential for Buddhists is highlighted in this *Jātaka* as morale.

Throughout 547/550 *Jātaka* stories, *Bodhisattva* (future Buddha) was born as eighty three times as Bhikshu, fifty eight times as a king, forty three time as tree god, twenty six times as a preacher, twenty four times as a minister, twenty four times as a priest, twenty four times as heir apparent, twenty three times as a gentleman, twenty two times as a

scholar, twenty times as Indra, eighteen times as a monkey, thirty times as a merchant, twelve times as a wealthy man, twelve times as a rooster, ten times as a deer, ten times as a lion, eight times as a goose, six times as a an elephant, five times as a Garuda, four times as a horse, four times as a tree, three times as a potter, three times as an untouchable, two times as a fish, two times as an elephant rider, two times as a rat, one time as a carpenter, ironsmith, frog, hare etc. The Buddha did one or more good deeds of benevolence, renunciation, valour, wisdom, friendship and charity and in return of these pious actions done through innumerable past lives, he could achieve Enlightenment and liberation from the cycle of *Samsara*²⁵.The *Jātaka* tales illustrate how *Tathagata* cultivated the six perfections while he was and in the process of becoming Buddha.

In the following pages, the Buddhist *Jātakas* depicted in Andhradesa on various Buddhist institutions like *chaityas* and *viharas* are analysed systematically in a tabular form to reveal how they could disseminate the essence of *Theravāda* ideology to the people from the kings to the commoners alike and thus, awakened the spirit of Buddhahood among its adherents. About 34 *Jataka* tales that were prominent in disseminating the *Theravada* ideology were selected for analysis and interpretation.

Table No: 1. Analysis and interpretation of *Jataka* tales in depicted on the Buddhist institutions of *Andhradesa* .

²⁵B. Subrahmanyam, *supra*, p.21.

S.no .	Index No.	Name and Place	Context	Text of the Jataka	Characters and relationships in the story	Identification of the characters in the current birth	Message
1	18	Matakabhata at Amravati & Nagarjunakonda	This story was revealed by the master, to say that there is nothing good in putting a lot of animals to death in the name of feasts for the dead.	A Brahmin, who was well versed in the three Vedas, decided to sacrifice a goat to for giving a banquet to one who was dead.Later on after knowing the evils of killing, he made up his mind not to kill the goat. But as the time was ripe for the death of the goat, instantaneously, due to thunderbolt, it was killed.	Brahmadatta King of Benares. A Brahmin (World famed teacher and well versed in three Vedas) Tree-Fairy Goat	Buddha	The tale highlights two issues. (i) One cannot escape from karma-destiny. The goat was destined to die on prescribed day and time. Even if it was freed from killing in sacrifice, it died due to thunderbolt. (ii) The strength of karma is so strong that no force can curb it from taking its course escaping its affect.
2	26	Mahilamukha at Amaravatimaha	A mendicant, who was initiated by Buddha, instead of living on alms, began to eat in a monastery by name, <i>Gayasisa</i> , sponsored by the	Once upon a time when Brahmadatta was ruling Benares, bodhisattva was born as his minister. Suddenly, the wise royal elephant that never hurt anybody became cruel after listening to the conversation of thieves who sat behind the backyard of the royal garden and always talking about all evil and violent	Brahmadatta (King of Benares) Minister	Ananda Bodhisattva	The story highlights righteous living, <i>samyakjiva</i> ; a significant path of <i>Astangamarga</i> . Through this tale, Buddha cautioned his disciples to be aware of righteous and non-righteous ways of living. By listening to

			<p>royal family of</p> <p>Devadatta after listening to the latter's disciple. Thus Buddha's disciple was away from Master's path. In order to bring him back into His fold, he told a tale of an elephant which became cruel and killed its mahouts one after the other by listening to the conversation of thieves who always discussed on theft, murder and violence.</p>	<p>actions. Then it started to kill mahouts one after the other. The king entrusted the duty of enquiring the reason behind the cruel behaviour of the wise elephant to Bodhisattva. Then after the inquiry, bodhisattva found that the elephant was listening to the conversation of the hard-core thieves who always spoke on cruel deeds. Then Bodhisattva drove all the thieves and arranged some religious discourses so that the elephant could listen and become wise. After sometime, the elephant became wise.</p>	<p>Elephant (damsel-face)</p>	<p>traitorous brother</p>	<p>the unfair even the fair also becomes unruly. Hence one should follow right path (<i>samyakmagga</i>). The tale highlights the impact of the association of dishonest and vicious persons even on wise. Bodhisattva as a wise and clever minister instead punishing the elephant he could solve it by carefully plucking out the culprits responsible for the mishap.</p>
3	40	Khadranga at Amaravati	<p>The Master when he was at Jetavana told this story. It was about a certain Anantapindaka, a lay disciple who spent his possessions in charities and never</p>	<p>Buddha took to the birth of a bodhisattva. He was a treasurer at the time when Brahmadata was ruling Banares. By sixteen years age he attained all virtues and spent his wealth in giving alms to the ascetics after the death of his father. Once, a <i>pacceka Buddha</i> who was in the practice of <i>samapatti</i> came for alms. Buddha told</p>	<p>Brahamadatta, king of Benares</p> <p>Treasurer of Beneras</p>		<p>The Jataka explains the present and past experiences of Buddha with regard to the disturbances created by evil spirits when pious deeds are to be observed. The narrative of Anantapindaka and that of Mara discloses how evils get defeated in the presence of</p>

		<p>got disturbed by evil spirits who obstructed him in giving alms to the ascetics. In this story Buddha compared the Evil spirit to Mara who obstructed him in offering alms to Pacceka Buddha.</p>	<p>his attendants to offer food in his bowl. Then Mara, who always obstructed Buddha in pious deeds wanted to deprive <i>Pacceka</i> Buddha from taking meal. For this he created a pit of flames between the donor and the recipient. His intension was if <i>Pacceka</i> Buddha is prevented from eating food he would die and Buddha may be defamed. Master understood his mischief and wanted to cross the flames to offer food to the guest. When he stepped into flames, tuft of lotuses sprang beneath his feet. The guest received his alms. Mara left the place for his plan got refuted.</p>	<p>(human)</p> <p>Pacceka Buddha</p>	<p>Buddha</p> <p>Passed away and never born again because of his merit</p>	<p>Buddha and bodhisattva, the observers of sacrifice and piety. The jataka metaphorically tells that always evil spirits would obstruct the pious deeds in one or other forms. But the practitioners of Buddha's path should be ready for self-sacrifice in extending alms to the monks who observe <i>sampatti</i>, the meditation. <i>Sampatti</i> is very difficult to observe. Because Buddha himself told that "<i>dullahha saddha sampatti</i>".</p> <p>It means that it is difficult indeed to acquire a fullness of faith in the doctrine of good. <i>Saddha</i> means not simple faith but faith with wisdom. <i>Pacceka</i> Buddha had faith with wisdom. When Mara created obstacle in receiving alms by creating flames between Buddha and <i>Pacceka</i> Buddha, the former himself attempted to sacrifice to extend homage to</p>
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							the latter. The story highlights the significance of offering alms to monks who were in <i>samapatti</i> .
4	41	Losaka at Amaravati and Phanigiri	<p>The master when he was living at Jetavana told about an unlucky elder by name Losaka Tissa. He was son of a fisher man from Kosala. As soon as the unlucky Losaka Tissa entered the womb of his mother, the entire village met with three misfortunes. At first the entire village failed to catch a single fish when they went for fishing. In the second instance, the village was destroyed seven</p>	<p>In olden days, a disciple lived along with an elder monk in a village. The elder was virtuous, insightful and regular to his duties. One day, both of them visited the village for alms. There the elder Arahant was received warmly by the village head which caused jealousy in the disciple. He wanted to get rid off the arahant by hook or crook. When the village head gave food to disciple to pass it on to the Arhant, he threw it into fire and deprived him from food. For the sin of doing it, he became a living ghost. Due to this he became like a living ghost and was reborn in hell. He never got enough to eat. Later he was born as He was reborn as a dog, and later as a beggar. During his beggar's life he was called as Mittavindaka and reached Benares. There he joined a group of five hundred young Brahmins. From there also he was banished due to his stubborn and</p>	Mittavindaka (poor)	Losaka Tissa (monk)	<p>Losaka Tissa, being a monk did not give up <i>tanha</i>, craving due to <i>avijja</i> (ignorance). His craving for continued existence (<i>bhava tanha</i>) in the monastery , he could not bear with new incumbent on whom he developed attachment (<i>lobha</i>) and illusion (<i>moha</i>) of being permanent in a particular place or world , aversion(<i>dosa</i>) towards fellow monk , conceit (<i>mana</i>) and false view (<i>miccha ditthi</i>) towards others. Thus, he became restless (<i>uddancca</i>) and constructed his own <i>karma</i> which led him to take a chain of births having immense suffering in each life. Even in the end also his <i>karma</i> did not leave him free</p> <p>for he incurred the sin of</p>

			<p>times by fire. Thirdly, the village met the king's vengeance for seven times. Finally the family was banished. His mother left him</p> <p>after he began to walk. Then he was picked up by Sariputra and kept into the monastery as new incumbent. Later, he emerged as an Arahant.</p>	<p>fierce attitude. Later he came to a border village and married a miserably poor woman. Due to his arrival that village also faced a lot of misfortune. So the villagers also banished him. Then he along with his family went to the forest and there his wife and children were eaten by demons. Somehow he escaped</p> <p>and reached a coast, exactly on the day when the ship was putting to sea. On the seventh day of sail, the ship got struck and Mittavindaka was identified as the cause of their bane. So he was asked to leave the ship with the help of bamboo raft. After facing lot of hurdles he reached a place where he was caught hold by the royal servants as a thief. Then he was rescued from them by the Bodhisattva.</p>			<p>torturing the fellow monk. After a series of births as a ghost in the hell, a dog, beggar and poor man his sin did not leave him for his entire family was eaten by demons. Finally he was relieved by bodhisattva. The five realms of hell, <i>pretagati</i>, <i>tiryagyoni gati</i>, <i>asuragati</i>, and <i>manushyagati</i> were experienced by Mittavandaka and finally reached Buddha as his slave to attain <i>moksha</i>, the <i>Devagati</i>.</p>
5	72	Silavanga at Amaravati	<p>The Master when he was at the Bamboo grove told the episode of Devadatta. Devadatta ungrateful to the master and never recognized the</p>	<p>Once upon a time Bodhisattva was born as a beautiful white elephant in Himalayas and because of its white color it looked like a lump of silver. Its eyes were like the glittering diamonds He was embodiment of ten perfections (<i>dasa paramis</i>). He became the leader of 80,000 elephants. One day he found sin in the herd and hence</p>	<p>Brahmadatta king of Benares</p> <p>Good King Elephant</p>	<p>Bodhisattva</p>	<p>The story tells how one should be away from sin and the sinners. The tale further warns that how ungrateful people harm to those who had helped them. It enlightens how natural justice would punish the ungrateful people. The death of forester in the ditch</p>

			virtues of the His master.	detached itself from the remaining elephants and began to dwell alone in the forest. Because of its goodness, it was called 'Good King Elephant'. On one day a forester who was incarnation of Devadatta of Benares came to Himalayas, lost his belongings and also the way to come out of Himalayas. Then the then the elephant, the Bodhisattva rescued him and showed the way to go out of Himalayas. But the ungrateful Devadatta (forester) filled with greed conspires to sell the ivory tusks of bodhisattva, who offered him with smile. But finally the greedy man was swallowed by the earth. At that instance the tree fairy echoed the forest with these words -"Not even the gift of worldwide empire can satisfy the thankless and ungrateful!"	ungrateful man the Tree-fairy	Devadatta Sariputta	created by breaching of the earth is the best illustration to it. The story tells the extent to which people can go with greed, unthankfulness and ungratefulness in the world. One should possess the virtues of compassion (<i>Karuna</i>), Sacrifice (<i>Tyaga</i>), omniscience, gratitude and right understanding (<i>samma dhitti</i>). Use of consciousness (<i>Vijnana</i>) and helping the fellow beings in times of need are praised. The tale represents the characters of Sariputra and Devadatta with same emotions as they were in their current birth even in their previous births.
6	153	Sukara Jaataka at Nagarjuna konda	The master told to his followers at Jetavana about a certain elder who tried to befool Sariputta, by asking irrelevant questions to expose him as a layman. But finally he	Bodhisattva took to the birth of a lion and lived in cave of a mountain at the Himalayas. At that time, Brahmadata held his sway over Benares. Nearby that cave there lived many of boars. There was also a group of nuns living in the vicinity of the lake. On one day, the lion Bodhisattva after eating a buffalo went to lake to drink water. While going back to its cave, it saw a huge and healthy	Brahmadatta, king of Benares Lion	Buddha	The jataka says that one should not boast of one's own strength and disturb the elders who were already attained wisdom (<i>panya</i>). Such type of questioning of the elders for the sake of questioning would expose the questioner as a fool but never be considered as a

		<p>himself becomes fool. In this context, He gave the example of a boar who boasted about its strength and challenged with a lion.</p>	<p>boar. He decided to eat it on the next day as its stomach was full. The lion while going to this cave it was hiding from the boar thinking that the boar would not appear to him on the next day when it goes to eat it. But the boar understood the act of lion differently. It thought that the lion was scared of its strength and went back by hiding itself. Then the boar challenges that they should have a fight to find who were strong. The lion refused to fight on the same day for it was not hungry. So it asked to come on the other day to the same place to challenge their prowess. The boar took it as a pride and told its fellows that the lion got scared of its strength and asked it to come for fight in the coming week. But the fellows understood the nature of lion and warned that it did a grave mistake. When the boar asked them the way to escape from the danger, they advised it to sink and soak in muddy drainage, adjacent to the nunnery for seven days to accumulate dirt and dry the body till its smell becomes unbearable to lion when it goes for fight. The boar thus followed its advice and went to the lion for fight. The lion which came nearer to the boar to fight could not tolerate its</p>	<p>Sturdy boar</p>	<p>Ancient elder</p>	<p>wise man, but treated as an ignorant (<i>avidya</i>). Out of <i>avidya</i> only, the elder of the present birth challenged the Sariputra who attained knowledge and wisdom. In the same way, the elder who was a boar in its previous birth challenged lion (<i>bodhisattva</i>). The dignity and prowess of lion were taken as timidity by the boar and behaved proudly. It was his sheer ignorance (<i>avidya</i>) and non-attainment of <i>panya</i> (wisdom) dragged him into conflict with the lion, the king of animals. It is also a lesson to the feudatories that they should avoid the conflict with the royal groups due to ignorance which would otherwise may destroy their entire prowess. The negative attitude of Buddha towards the women in certain context gets reflected here. The stinky and muddy dung-hell which is near to the nunnery subtly suggests that the vicinity of women would</p>
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				<p>stinky body and horrific smell and goes back thinking that it can eat some other animal and survive rather than eating it. It went back. But the bear returned to its place told them that it defeated the lioncut they did not believe its words. The fellows convinced the boar that the lion is very intelligent and went back only to come again to their place and eat them all together. So they vacated that place.</p>			<p>distanciate the men from reaching goodness.</p>
7	159	<i>Mora At amaravathi</i>	<p>The master told the story while he was living in Jetavana. The tale was on a brother who was backsliding. It tells about a great saint who was disturbed by a woman.</p>	<p>Once, <i>Bodhisatta</i> took to the birth of a golden peacock which lived in Dandaka on a golden hill. He recited one magic charm to appease Sun and the other to eulogize the Buddha. Thus, he could get protection from all evils of the world. The queen of Benares Khema, in one of her dreams saw a golden peacock preaching to its disciples. She wanted that her dream may get realized. She informed the information to the King. He enquired the matter and ordered the hunters to seize the golden peacock. But they could not do it. So Khema died with the anguish for peacock. The king was angry. He gave an inscription telling that those who eat the flesh of a golden peacock would become endless. Till six successive generations after the king, nobody could hurt the peacock..</p>	<p>Brahmadatta, king of Benares</p> <p>King of those days</p> <p>Golden peacock (bird)</p>	<p>Ananda</p> <p>Buddha</p>	<p>The story conveys two aspects: negative and positive. In its negative aspect it explains how one will be trapped in the trans of woman. Buddha said that even those wise men who have not done any sin for seven hundred years, would transgress in a moment by hearing to a woman's voice. Women will transform even the holy people and make them impure. Due to attachment to his wife the king was in illusion (<i>maya</i>) and upheld the false view (<i>Miccha ditti</i>). In its positive aspect he highlights the importance of praying and the importance of <i>nirvana</i>.</p>

			<p>The king in the seventh generation employed a hunter to catch the golden peacock. Then the hunter trained a female peacock (peahen) to scream loudly at the moment she listens to his claps. He intended that the golden peacock would get disturbed with the call of the female peacock and would be caught. When the female peacock yelled, the Bodhisattva (male peacock), as he forgot to spell his routine chants, got tempted and caught in the trap of the hunter. He was taken before the king. He then told the rationale behind his capture. He accepted that he got golden color for his pious actions done in his previous birth as the king of the same city. It became peacock for its sin committed in its previous birth as the king. It further told that one cannot become young or deathless by eating his flesh for it itself is not an immortal being. Then the king asked him to substantiate his words. Then he showed the lake situated near to the city and also the golden chariot which he used for riding when he was a king. The king thereupon paid him great homage to the peacock and let it free to go back to <i>Dandaka</i>.</p>		<p>The golden peacock was safe from all the possible dangers due to daily praying. On a certain day due to disturbance from peahen it did not pray and was trapped in a noose. He explains that except Nirvana, all things are impermanent (<i>Anicca</i>), composite and transient (<i>kshanika</i>) in nature and subject to continuous birth (<i>Jati</i>) and death (<i>marana</i>). At the end of story the virtues like alms giving and good acts are praised. Here the doctrine of <i>Anatta</i>, and <i>Nirvana</i> are explained. The concept of attachment (<i>Upadana</i>), ignorance (<i>avijja</i>) and evils associated with them are explained. The king realizes that due to blind attachment and love towards his wife, he was ignorant of the fact and that made him to commit sins that entangle him in life cycle.</p>
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8	258	Mandhaaturaaja Jaataka at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda,	<p>It was narrated by the Buddha at Jetavana, about a brother who slipped back from the path. He fell in love with finely dressed women while passing through the streets of Savatthi for his When Buddha asked about it, he</p> <p>accepted. In this context Buddha said that even when the great monarchs and king of gods of the past failed to satisfy their lust, how an ordinary person like a brother could control the desire. In this context he narrated the story of Mandhata of the past.</p>	<p>Once, there was a king, an ancestor of Sakyans. He possessed seven jewels of a <i>Cakravarti</i> (emperor) and four supernatural powers. When he clasped his left hand and touched it with his right hand, seven types of jewels from the sky fell knee-deep., He was a prince, a Viceroy and a king successively each for a period of 84,000 years. His lived for <i>asankheyya</i> (innumerable) years. Since he was not satisfied with what he had, he visited the world of Devas on</p> <p>First he had gone to <i>Catummarajika</i> the place where he ruled. Even then, he was not satisfied and so went Tavatimsa. There he was invited by Sakka who gave him half of his kingdom. There, Mandhata reigned throughout his lifespan, thirty-six Sakkas. Each Sakka of life lasts for</p> <p>36,000,000 + 60 x 100,000 years. As the time passed, the craze of Mandhata got high and he wished to kill Sakka and confiscate his entire kingdom. But his greed for pushed him from heaven to the earth, i.e., back into his own park. The gardener declared his arrival to the royal family who provided a resting</p>	Mandhata; king possessed with Seven Precious things and Four Supernatural Powers	Buddha	<p>The tale depicts the chain of <i>tanha</i>, <i>dukha</i> and <i>dukha karana</i> in the life of human beings which always make their lives miserable and unhappy. Despite the efforts that people make to satisfy the desires (<i>tanha</i>), they are recurring. But</p> <p>finally nobody can escape from death. The tale suggests avoidance of <i>tanha</i> (desires) rather than making efforts to realize them and fall into the hell. The tale attests the empowerment of Mandhata with miraculous powers, the property of Bodhisattvas.</p>
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				place for him. There he was laid for dying. He was asked to give a message for his people. He wanted his people to know that people, despite their greatness would die and that he himself is an example to it. King Mandhata was no other than the Bodhisatta.			
9	313	Khantivadi at Amravati	Buddha, when he was at Jetavana monastery told the story of a wrathful brother. He says that wise men in bygone days never showed their anger, though they were exposed to severe physical tortures like whippings, cutting off hands, feet and nose. In this context, He narrated the story of a wise man that never had anger.	Long long ago, Kalabu, a king was ruling over his Kingdom from Kasi. At that time <i>Bodhisattva</i> took to the birth of Kundaka, in a wealthy family at Kasi. After the demise of his parents, he gave away all his extensive wealth and riches in charity. He became an ascetic and stayed in the Himalayas. Later on he returned to Kasi and stayed in the royal park. He was served by his being attended by the commander-in-chief. On one day, the king of Benares, Kalabu visited the park along with his harem. There he was drunk and fell asleep. The women who accompanied them happened to meet an ascetic who was giving a message. By the time the king woke up he did not see the women and found that they were listening to an	Kalabu , the King of Kasi Kundaka kumara, Brahmin (human)	Devadatta Cousin of Buddha (antagonist) Buddha	The tale emphasizes the need to attain perfections (<i>Paramis</i>) like patience or forbearance (<i>Khanti</i>), conquest of afflictions or defilements (<i>Kleshas</i>) to human beings to reach Buddhahood. <i>Bodhisattava</i> practiced all the ten <i>Paramis</i> , (listed in the Theravada literature) was victorious over anger (<i>Pathiga</i>). Hence he reached heaven. The king who wanted to test bodhisattva whether he had really patience and forbearance did not have these two. He did not digest his defeat due to his ignorance (<i>avidya</i>). Thus his impatience

				<p>ascetic. The king enquired on the topic of the message when he came to know that the subject of the sermon was on patience, he ordered that the ascetic's patience be tested. The king ordered to cut off the arms and legs of the ascetic. Despite the tortures the ascetic did not lose his patience. The furious king even after his defeat in the hands of the ascetic, did not control his anger and rashly left the garden. But on the way the earth was opened and was</p> <p>swallowed. He was taken to hell, <i>Avecci</i>. The ascetic died due to the wounds and goes to heaven.</p>	<p>Commander in chief of Kalabu .</p> <p>Courtesans</p>	<p>Sariputta (disciple)</p>	<p>and anger pushed him into hells and knowledge (<i>vidya</i>)</p> <p>about the need of patience, control over the feelings like jealousy (<i>Issa</i>), anger (<i>Pathiga</i>), and desire (<i>tanha</i>) etc, took Bodhisattva to heaven. The tale enlightens the crux of <i>karma</i> in human life.</p>
10	316	Sasat	The master told the story about the virtues of a wise	The Bodhisattva, once took to the birth of a hare and lived happily with his three best friends namely a monkey, a	Hare(animal)	Buddha	The story draws attention to the Buddhist virtues of self-sacrifice (<i>atma-parityaga</i>),

		hare that sacrificed its own flesh as a food to the god.	jackal and an otter. All these animals were friendly with one another. The hare was the spiritual guide of these three animals. On one day, the hare was watching the movement of the full moon. He informed his associates that on the next they should observe a ritual in which they must secure and give the food to any beggar who would approach them. Very early in the morning, all the animals went out. The otter located some fish which was buried in the sand, the jackal caught a dead lizard, meat and a jar of curds. The monkey collected some figs. Since nobody approached them for the food, they took them to their own abode. The hare ate only <i>kusa</i> -grass. But it could not be offered to anybody. Therefore, he decided to give his own body. Because of the illustrious decision of hare, the throne of Sakka was heated. Sakka in the disguise of a Brahmin came there to test the hare. He first went to the other animals and all them offered him with what they had. He then went to the hare and asked him for food. The hare asked him to collect faggots from the wood and make a fire. The hare told the Brahmin that he could offer only his flesh by putting his own self or body to	Jakkal Otter Monkey Brahmin	Moggalana Ananda Sariputta Sakka (divine being)	<p>alms giving (<i>dana</i>) and the moral law. In otherwords, the extent of gift giving should reach the level of burning of the one's own self. Since the four followed the virtue of alms giving, they got the blessings</p> <p>from divine being.</p> <p>Hare is replica of self-surrender and sacrifice, the necessary virtues in the process of gift making (<i>dana</i>).</p> <p>The tale establishes the possibility having ardent love and relationship among the animals that are genetically different</p> <p>from one another. The four animals- hare, monkey, otter and jackal are naturally quite different from one another in their behaviour. But all the different animals were articulated by the rules of the ritual <i>kappa</i> , that requires some austerities. As a part of the ritual they made gifting (<i>Dana</i>) to the extent that</p>
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				<p>the fire. Hare wished that the sin of killing his self should not be shared with Brahmin and burning of his self should not harm any living being- insects, works etc, that are in his skin. Keeping this in the mind, the hare shook its entire body to let out all the insects and worms that are hidden in its fur. After that, the hare jumped into the fire. The blessings of Sakka made the flames very cool. Afterwards, the Sakka revealed his identity. In order to disseminate the nobility of the hare to the entire world, Sakka painted the image of the hare on the moon as an icon of identity during the whole period of this Kappa.</p>			<p>permitted them. But the hare extremely put its body to fire and offered its self.</p> <p>The tale uphold the ‘sacrifice of the self’ to reach buddhahood. On the otherhand, the virtues like <i>dana, sila and tyaga</i> makes to forget their own natures and in-built rivalries and live happily.</p>
11	327	Kakati at Nagarjunakonda, Amaravati, Chandavaram	<p>The tale was told by the master to a brother in monastery while he was at Jetavana. The brother was discontented because of his infatuation for a woman and forgot the ethics of brotherhood. The master told the</p>	<p>Brahmadatta who was ruling Benares was succeeded by his son Bodhisattva. His chief queen was Kakati who was as beautiful as an Apsara. One day Garuda king came in the guise of a human being and played dice with him. Then he was attracted by the beauty of the queen Kakati and took her away to his palace. Bodhisattva sent his minstrel Natakavera in search of the queen and found her with Garuda king. There he happened to find favours of lady birds and returned home by sitting on its</p>	<p>King of Benares.</p> <p>The musician</p>	<p>Bodhisattva</p> <p>Natakuvara</p>	<p>The story conveys the message that ‘discontentment’ will be incurred through series of births if it is not controlled or negotiated. That’s why Natakavera who developed passion with lady birds in previous life carried it to his next birth as ‘dicontended brother of Jetavana monastery and did the same mistake. The way king Garuda realized the guilt of owning somebody’s</p>

			<p>Kakati episode as an example and warned against his deed. He emphasizes that safe guarding of woman is very difficult. He further said that one cannot save them even if they were kept in palaces built amidst oceans. .</p>	<p>wings. There was a dialogue between Natakuvera and Garuda king. Finally Garuda king accepts that he had done ‘a foolish blunder’ of bringing somebody’s wife and handed her over to Bodhisattva and forever he disappeared from there.</p>		<p>woman, he warned that the brother should also ward it off.</p> <p>Buddha enlightens that protection of woman is very difficult for she is source of attraction for committing blunders. Despite the situation of woman amidst the seven oceans, she can be taken away for the men cannot resist the temptation for them. This might be the reason for restricted entry of women in the monastery.</p>	
12	355	Ghata Pandita at Nagarjunakonda	<p>Buddha told this story when he was at Jetavana. The tale was on a a minister of the king of Kosala. The minister was kept behind bars by the king for listening to a mischief-maker.</p>	<p>When Brahmadata was ruling over Benares, once bodhisattva was born to him. He was named Ghata. He succeeded his father and began to rule righteously. On one day Ghata banished his minister from the service for his misconduct. Then he went to Vanka, the king of Savatthi and joined his service. The minister was revengeful. He influenced his king Vanka to invade the</p>	<p>Brahmadatta, King of Benares</p> <p>Gatta, son of Brahmadata</p> <p>Vanka, king of</p>	<p>Bodhisattva</p>	<p>The tale high lights the need of wisdom to people to arrive at rightful thoughts and judgments. T</p> <p>he King of Banares, Ghata is wise enough to trace the mischief of his officers and punish through banishment, an excommunication from the</p>

		<p>Later the king realizes his mistake and got the minister released. In this context Buddha narrated a similar event that had occurred in the past life. The story tells that even evil incidences that occur to people may sometimes also lead to happen virtuous experiences.</p>	<p>kingdom of Benares and drag Ghata tied in chains and push into the prison. There itself Ghata, the bodhisattva entered into ecstasy through his meditation. Thus, he sat cross-legged in the sky (air). At the mere glance of fit, Vanka understood his mistake requested for his forgiveness. He gave back bodhisattva his kingdom. But bodhisattva refused to accept it. He renounced his kingdom gave it to his ministers. He went to the Himalayas for practicing meditation. The meditation initiated him the path to reach the world of Brahma.</p>	Savatti	Ananda	<p>country to curb his further damaging to his power. But the king Vanka who extended patronage to the banished minister had no right understanding (<i>samyakdristi</i>), right determination (<i>samyak samkalpa</i>), right speech (<i>samyagvak</i>) and right action (<i>samyak karma</i>) to judge the adequacy of his minister's advice.</p> <p>So by listening to his minister, the king invaded the country of Bodhisattva and put him in the prison. But bodhisattva even if he was chained performed meditation, acclaimed ecstasy and sat in air and thus showed miracles. Thus he could mould his misfortune of being in prison into an opportunity to reach buddhahood and could renunciate his possessions to his ministers. By giving up his possessions, he could evaporate his <i>tanha</i> (desire) as well as his <i>dukha</i></p>
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							(suffering).The story conveys a message that any temporary attempt to remove sorrow (<i>dukkha</i>) is useless. It never brings any positive effect for future.
13	358	Culladhammapala Jaataka at Amaravati	The Master in Bamboo grove told the tale about Devadatta plan to kill Bodhisattva. When Buddha entered the hall of truth brothers were discussing about the plots woven by Devadatta like throwing rock, letting an elephant Nalagiri to kill Buddha. Then Buddha enquired the topic of their discussion and said that not only in this life also even in the past life to he killed his own son who was no other than Buddha himself. In this context he narrated	Mahapatapa once upon a time ruled over Benares. His chief queen was Canda. Bodhisattva was born to the king and queen. His name was Dhammapala. On one day when Canda was playing with her seven month old baby, the king entered the room. But she forgot to stand up in his honour even after she saw the king. So the king became furious. He cut the hands,feet and head of the baby and smeared the flesh of his body from sword-cuts in the form of a garland. He did not pay any concern to Canda's lamentation. By seeing it the heart of Canda broke she fell down dead. After this gruesome incident flames rising from Aveci (hell) surrounded the king and burnt him to ashes.	Mahapatapa, king of Benares Dhammapala, Son of Mahapatapa Chanda	Devadatta Buddha Mahapajapathi	The tale tells that killing is violation of <i>pancasila</i> and violence breeds violence. Mahapata killed his son due to anger that cropped up for his wife did not honour his coming by standing up. He killed his son violently and satisfied his ego. But that costed his death immediately in the flames fell from the hell. The doctrine of patience (<i>khanti</i>), compassion (<i>karuna</i>) and the virtue of charity are explained. Due to ego the king dug his own grave by killing his own son. It also highlights the need of good councilors to advise the king in right direction.

			a story.				
14	365	Ahigundika Jaataka at Amaravati	The Master told the story while living in Jetavana on an aged priest. He used to torture a young boy who was initiated into the order. In this context Buddha narrated a story of his past life in which a young sensitive novice was ill treated by a senior follower.	When Brahmadata was ruling over Benares, once upon a time the Bodhisattva was born in the family of a corn seller. When he grew up, he got his living by selling corn. In the same village there lived a snake charmer, who even used to tame a monkey. When a festival was proclaimed at Benares, the snake charmer handed over the monkey to the corn merchant and went to make money through snake game in the festival. The merchant fed the monkey with good food. On his return, the snake charmer drank in the festival and hit the monkey thrice with a piece of bamboo. So the monkey escaped from him and joined the crowd of fellow monkeys.	Brahmadatta, king of Benares Corn merchant Oldman Monkey	Buddha Snake charmer Novice	The message of this tale is that the master /caretaker /Senior should be cordial to incumbents. If they are humiliated, there may be a danger of rebellion or escape from the order. It warns that too much control would threaten the novices and disturb the monastic order and finally throw them into their pre-monastic life which is full of miseries. Further, the tale advises that the senior in the monastery should not be like the snake charmer who harassed his monkey. This tale is a message to the keepers of the orderly life in the monasteries.

15	371	Dighitkosala at Nagarjunakonda	<p>The story was narrated by Buddha at Jetavana about some quarrelsome neighbours from Kosambi who were also his followers.</p>	<p>Dighavu, the prince of Kosala, found the king of Benares in forest and then seized him to kill as he has killed Dighavu's parents. At the very moment he recollects the advice given by his parents that one should not harm the other. Instead one should sacrifice one's life to maintain peace. So Dighavu gave up his plan. Then, the king of Benares realizes the virtue of Dighavu. And give his daughter in marriage to him. From thence the relations between them were cordial and harmonious.</p>	<p>Dighavu, the prince of Kosala</p> <p>King of Benares</p>	Bodhisattva	<p>The tale disseminate the message of Buddha about three issues; (i) awakening good virtues like <i>ksama</i> (excuse) among children (ii) transformation of revenge into <i>ksama</i> (excuse) and (iii) upholding avoidance of ten defilements <i>klesha</i> (unwholesome actions), for human beings which otherwise would consume mental energies. The ten defilements are viz: <i>lobha</i> (greed), <i>dvesa</i> (hatred), <i>moha</i> (delusion,) <i>mana</i> (conceit), <i>mithya ditti</i>(wrongview), <i>vicikiiccha</i>(doubt) <i>thinam</i>(turpor-laziness) <i>uddhaccam</i>(restlessness), <i>ahirikam</i> (shamelessness) and <i>anottappam</i> (Recklessness) among the followers.</p>
16	404	Kapi at Nagarjunak	<p>The master told the story when he was at Jetavana at the time when Devadatta was</p>	<p>Bodhisattva once was born in the womb of monkey which happily survived in the garden of the king as the leader or the king of 500 monkeys. During the same time, Devadatta was also born as</p>	<p>King of 500 obedient monkeys (bodhisattva)</p>	Buddha	<p>The tale tells about the need of discipline and code of conduct for the army and also the ability for the leaders to foresee the danger and save</p>

		swallowed by mother earth.	<p>monkey and he too headed 500 monkeys.</p> <p>But he was not a good leader for he used to misguide his troop. One day a monkey of Devadatta excreted on the king's family priest when he was taking bath. Knowing this Bodhisattva left the garden with his troop, but Devadatta did not care about it. There happened a fire accident in the king's elephant camp. Many elephants were wounded. The priest keeping in mind the mischief of the monkeys of Devadatta advised the king that the monkey-fat is a good medicine to treat them. As a result king ordered to kill all the monkeys in the garden to treat the elephants with their fat.</p>	King of 500 disobedient monkeys	Devadatta	<p>his fellow beings from mishaps. Devadatta as a leader of his troop did not train his followers in proper conduct and did not apprehend the forthcoming danger from the royal priest and king. Hence his battalion was punished by the</p> <p>avenge of the priest. But Bodhisattva contrary to the situation shifted his abode along with his followers and saved them from the anger of the king. The strained relationships between Buddha and</p> <p>Devadatta get reflected in the Jataka tale. The latter is shown as an enemy even in the previous birth showing that enmity is being carried out from the previous birth. The Buddhist conception of dharmic kingship is based on the virtues of <i>Sila</i> (Right Determination, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Livelihood and Right Efforts), <i>Samadhi</i> (Right Meditation)</p>
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							and <i>Panna</i> (Right Vision and Right mindfulness) had been explained with the examples of Bodhisattva and Devadatta
17	443	<i>Chullabodhi at Amaravati</i>	It was told by Buddha in Jetavana, in reference to man, who was unable to control his passion and anger.	Bodhisatta, once was born as Bodhi, in an affluent family at Kasi. He studied in Takkasila. Though his parents got him married to a beautiful and suitable girl they lived a life which is free from passions of the mundane world. It is because both of them came from Brahma world. After his parent's demise, they gave up all their riches and took to ascetic life. One day, both of them came to the king's park. The after wondering at the beauty of the wife, he fell in love with her and took her to his palace. Later he realized that he cannot win her heart by force. So he brought back the woman back and asked him to accept her. But there the king fell in love with the wife of Bodhi and took her to his royal palace but he found that he could not win her forcibly. So he went to park and returned his wife. Bodhisattva had no reaction. He further said that he gave up anger and possessiveness for giving space to such emotions may tilt the mental balance. Further if these emotions once raise, they could not be curbed. After	Brahmadatta, king of Benares Ascetic Bodhikumara / wise man Ascetic lady	Ananda Buddha Rahula's mother	The ascetic couple was Bodhisattva, i.e., Buddha himself and Rahula's mother, his wife. This story informs that Takshasila was a great centre of learning. The tale highlights non-possessiveness toward wealth, property and even kith and kin. His renunciation of kingdom and staying with his wife in forests exemplifies the virtue of detachment. The desire of the king (<i>tanha</i>) for the wife of ascetic was an embodiment of infatuation (<i>moha</i>). The <i>dukha</i> due to <i>tanha</i> overwhelmed by <i>moha</i> yields people into unrighteous acts. The king is its personification. However, the tale depicts the realization of the king that one cannot win women only by force. This awakening made him to hand over her to Bodhisattva. He further learnt from Buddha that one should not allow

				sometimes, the wife dies and Bodhi reaches Himalayas.			anger to enter their mind for it could not be sublimated easily if once enter the mind. In other words, the tale signifies the avoidance of anger for It shows the tolerance of Buddha towards the king till the latter realizes his mistake.
18	455	Matiposaka Jaataka at Goli	The Master told the story when he was at Jetavana about a brother who took care of his mother. In this context the master told the tale about an elephant who too used to meticulously look after its mother in the forest.	When Brahmadata was ruling Benares, once upon a time the Bodhisattva was born as a white elephant in the Himalayas which was very bright and magnificent. It was surrounded by a herd of 80,000 elephants. He used to supply sweet fruits to his blind mother through his fellow elephants. But they ate all of them and did not send to the blind elephant. After understanding that the food sent by him was not reaching his mother, he left his kingdom and went to his mother to serve her on his own. From there it shifted to Moutain Candorana along with his mother and began to live happily. In due course a traveler who came to visit Himalayas missed the way. But with the help of	Brahmadatta King of Benares Elephant Lady elephant	Ananda Bodhisatta Mahamaya	In this jataka, Ananda was presented as the king of Benares, the elephant as bodhisattva. The old elephant was Mahamaya, Buddha's uterine mother. The tale emphasizes the need of human beings to take care of their parents during their old age. Even the animals also behave wisely to have concern for their parents. The way Bodhisattva left his royal treatment in the palace and went to take care of his mother, one should give up worldly pleasures and to serve their parents. The tale further

			<p>Bodhisattva elephant, he could come out of the Himalayas. Later on, when the royal elephant of the Benares King dies, this traveler informed the king about the elephant whom he met in the Himalayas and asked him to get it to their court. The king sent his people to Himalayas</p> <p>to bring the elephant to his palace. When went to Himalayas to capture the elephant, it replied that though it could defeat thousand elephants at a time it didn't want to do so. It is because he could not raise that much anger to fight as he had given up it. The he followed them to Benares. There his beauty and magnanimity was praised and treated by the king very cordially with lavish food. To their surprise, the elephant did not eat .When they enquired the elephant for not taking food, it told them that it eats food only with her mother. Then the king wondered and sent the elephant back to its blind mother. Then the king also went to the cave and lake where the elephant with its blind mother is living and constructed a palace for them. The king himself settled there to take care of them. In due course, the old elephant died and the <i>bodhisattva</i> went to a monastery. Later on, the king consecrated a huge sculpture of the</p>			<p>warns that one should not have anger for it is detrimental to peaceful living.</p>
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				elephant Bodhisattva. It in due course of time developed a pilgrimage centre to which people used to come and worship ritualistically.			
19	461	Dasaratha Jaataka at Nagarjunakonda	The Master told this story when he was at Jetavana about a landowner who neglected all his duties because of his indulgence in overwhelmed sorrow, caused due to the death of his father. As an analogy, he quoted the tale of Rama who did not weep at the death of his father and patiently waited till the time fixed by his father	Once upon a time Dasaratha, the king of Benares, renounced the ways of evils and reigned righteously. He had sixteen thousand wives. Out of them the eldest was made as the chief queen. She bego two sons; Rama-pandita or Rama and Lakkhana or Lucky and a daughter Sita. After sometime the chief queen died and another wife was given that place. She too gave birth to a son. On that occasion, Dasaratha promised her a boon. After seven years she reminded the king, of her boon and as per his promise she asked the king to make her son as his successor. For this the king, initially hesitated. But later he felt that women are treacherous and ungrateful. At some point of time she may hatch a	Dasaratha Rama Bharata Sita Lakkhana	Suddhodana, Buddha Ananda Rahulamata Sariputta,	It teaches renunciation (<i>Nekkhamma</i>), self-respect, and respect for elders and responsibility for the actions initiated. It informs that due to attachment one has to face sorrow (<i>Dukkha</i>). Attachment is due to <i>moha</i> (illusion) which deviates people from <i>samyakdrishti</i> (right vision), <i>samyakjnana</i> (right wisdom) <i>samyakkamma</i> (right action) and <i>Samyaksankalp</i> (right determination). Hence he warned the landowner not to get involved in <i>dukha</i> due to <i>bandha</i> (attachment) as it deviates him from <i>samyak</i>

		<p>is over and returned to his country to rule.</p>	<p>conspiracy to kill the children of his former queen. So he asked his children from former wife to go to the forest and return after twelve years and take charge of the kingdom. It is because that some soothsayers predicted the death of Dasaratha after twelve years. In the forest, Rama lived the life of an ascetic while Lakkhana and Sita served him with food and drink. Dasaratha died after nine years. The ministers refused to recognize, Bharata as king. Then he went to Rama in the forests and narrated the whole story. On hearing the death news of their father, except Rama, all others wept in sorrow.</p> <p>Later Bharatha requested Rama to come and rule the kingdom. But Rama, denied to come back for three more years, as per the order of his father.. As Bharata refused to take the throne, Rama sent his straw slippers with him. He kept those slippers on the throne and used to rule. When the judgements were wrong, the slippers would beat together and they keep silent if the judgment is right. After three years passed, Rama came back to Benares and ruled for 16,000 years along with his wife sita.</p>		<p><i>magga</i> (right path). He quoted the example of Rama. The story upholds the concept of <i>anicca</i> (impermanence) to put forward idea of renunciation from <i>bandha</i> (attachment) of worldly life.</p> <p>Interestingly, the tale represents Sita as the sister of Rama who married her after their return from the forest. He made her his queen. Though at the outset, the story resembles Ramayana, it is in contradiction with Valmiki Ramayana. This may be either local version preeminent during the times of the composition of the Jataka tales in that region or a folktale which used the popular and reverend names of the epics in orthodox religion. However, in Jatakas the motif of women taken away by somebody or eloped or married or having conjugal relationships with parallel cousins or mother are seen. The intension of highlighting these acts which were considered as sins by</p>
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							every religion is to enlighten those sinners that reaching feet of Buddha would cleanse their lives and lead them to <i>astangamarga</i> .
20	472	Mahaapaduma Jaataka at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda	It was told by Buddha in Savatthi about a certain Sister, named Cincamanavika; who out of jealousy, used all her skill to blame Buddha in the midst of monks. She along with few heretic monks conspired to defame the popularity of Buddha. So she accused Buddha of having illegitimate relationship with her. Finally gods involved in the matter to prove Buddha's innocence. In that context Buddha said that not only	Once upon a time, the Bodhisattva was born to chief queen of Brahmadata who was ruling Benares. He is called Paduma-Kumara. He was educated in all arts and accomplishments. In due course of time his mother died and the king made his other wife as chief queen. After sometime the king has to out to suppress the risings in the border, he kept his chief queen in the custody of Mahaapaduma thinking that it may be dangerous to take her with him. The expedition was triumphant. While making arrangements to his father's victory Paduma entered the apartment of the queen. She was struck by his astounding beauty and immediately fell in love with him. She invited him to come and lie with her. On his annoyed denial, she pretended illness. After the king returned, she accused the son of misbehavior with her. Despite the protest of his ministers and people, the king ordered that Paduma should be pushed from top of the robber's cliff. The deity of the mountain rescued his	Brahmadatta, king of Benares Mahapaduma Step mother of paduma Kumara The spirit The good snake	Devadatta Buddha Cincamanavika Sariputta Ananda	The tale depicts Devadatta as Brahmadata, Bodhisattva's father. .. The stepmother was Cincamanavika of the previous birth. The spirit that protected and helped Mahapaduma when pushed from cliff was Sariputta. Ananda was the snake that extended its help to Bodhisattva. As usual the unmindful behaviour and tale-listening character of Devadatta was constructed through Bodhisattva who could believe to his wife with regard to the behaviour of his own son and sentencing him for death by throwing from cliff. The devoutful disciples Ananda and Sariputta were real followers of Buddha throughout their births and thus they are helpful to their master, unlike Devadatta who had intolerance for Buddha

			<p>in this life, even in the past life too she did the similar mistake of false accusation upon him.</p>	<p>life and put him in the care of the Naga king. He took Paduma to his Naga world. There Paduma lived for an year. Paduma then reached the Himalayas and emerged as an ascetic. The king heard of this and went to offer him the kingdom, but Paduma refused to accept it by. After understanding the deceit and falsity of his wife, who tried to malign Paduma caused the queen to be flung from the Robber's Cliff.</p>			<p>ever since his childhood. The tale tells how women can blind men from their consciousness and make them to perform irrelevant and ill-deeds. The renunciation of power and worldly preasures as the highest virtues in Buddhism were exalted in the story in the character of Bodhisattva. The tale further highlights the need of the kings to have right vision (<i>samyak drishti</i>), right speech (<i>samyak vac</i>) <i>samyak karma</i> (right action) , <i>samyak Samadhi</i> (right meditation) and <i>panya</i> (wisdom) for prosperous rule. If the king doesn't have, these qualities, there may a possibility to listen to the others especially the women who may spoil the relationships and abuse power.</p>
21	478	Duta at Amravati	<p>The Master told the tale when he was at Jetavana to the disciples about his own intellect and</p>	<p>When the Brahmadata was ruling over Benares, the royal treasury was empty. He took to oppressive measures to fill his resources. At that time, bodhisattva was due to pay fee to his <i>guru</i>. He could</p>	Brahmadatta; King of Benares	Ananda	<p>In this he explains how he could enlighten the king about his duty to look after the ascetics and also to avoid oppressive means to fill the</p>

			wisdom in optimizing the resources.	collect 2 ounces of gold through alms and was on his way to see his guru to pay his fee. But he lost it in waters of Ganges when he was crossing it to reach his guru. He had no way to regain gold either from the people or from the King for the former were burdened with payment of taxes and the latter was busy in collecting the dues from people. But, Bodhisattva felt that it was right on the part of a mendicant to collect from king only. So he began to penance on the banks of Ganges till the king came and enquired the matter. The king gave him the required gold and satisfied Bodhisattva.	A young wise Brahmin The Teacher	Bodhisatta Sariputta	royal treasury. The tale further warns that the mendicants should depend upon the royal support only when there is no scope for alms from the people.
22	489	Suruci Jaataka at Amaravati	This story was told by the Master while dwelling in Savatthi about a great lay Sister, Vissaka who received Eight Boons from Buddha. On one day when the brothers were discussing about the great lay sister, who notwithstanding her womanhood,	Once upon a time, Mithila was being ruled by Suruci and Benares by Brahmadata. The sons of both the kings went to study at Takkasila and became friends. Then they both completed their education and before departing to their respective states, in order to keep their friendship alive, they agreed to establish marital relations in the future if they get son and daughter. Later the king of Mithila had a son and his name was also Suruci. Likewise Brahmadata had a daughter called Sumedha. She was wise. Then King Suruci sent embassy to Brahmadata to	Suruci king of Mithila Sumedha Visakkamma Sakka	Visaka Ananda Buddha	The story highlights monogamy, standing by words, good deeds and alms giving. Interestingly, the practice of polygamy in the royal families was questioned by Brahmadata and thus his daughter was given in marriage to Suruchi who was stuck by his word of not marrying for the second time. Later, convinced by his wife, though he married 16,000 thousand women to beget a successor, cannot impregnate

		<p>received eight boons. In this context Buddha said that Vissaka in her previous life as Sumedha received same kind of boons and narrated her story.</p>	<p>ask his daughter Sumedha in marriage for his son Prince Suruci . But Brahmadata said that he will give his only daughter to a person who will not go for second marriage. Prince Suruci, hearing the great beauty of Sumedha fell in love with her and promised that he will marry none other than Sumedha. So they two got married. They lived happily for 10,000 years but had no children. Then people insisted him to go for second marriage to beget successor, but he refused. But Sumedha, playing the role of mother and as well as wife of the king, on her own will selected totally sixteen thousand women from different strata of the society viz: warriors, courtiers, householders and, dancing girls They all dwelt in the palace for ten thousand years, but none of them conceived. Then Sumedha prayed for son, took up eightfold <i>sabbath</i> vows and sat in meditation. Then Sakka made god Nalakara to be born as the son of Sumedha. He was named as Mahapanada. He was brought up with pomp and glory. When he attained the age of sixteen, the king arranged a function for his son. For that he decided to build a palace. God Vissakamma came as mason and built the palace for him. The ceremonial function was splendid and went on for seven years. After seven years people</p>	<p>Mahapanda</p>	<p>Bhaddaji</p>	<p>them. But could beget through his royal wife Vissaka who surrendered herself to the practices of <i>Upasika</i>. Hence she observed <i>pancasila</i>, <i>astangamarga</i> and other needed rituals to beget children. The tale highlights how the revered practices would bless the upasikas and upasakas to realize their real needs. <i>Sabbath</i> vows include observance of five precepts (generally meant for monks) apart from Panchasila by the lay disciples, the <i>upasika</i> and <i>upasaka</i>. Panchasila vows are as follows: not to (i) kill, (ii) appropriate to himself property of another which has not been given to him (iii) tell a lie. (iv) indulge in sexual misconduct (v) drink any intoxicating drink. Additionally they have to follow five different rules. They are: not to (i) eat at forbidden time (i.e., after noon) (ii) take part in recreation activities like dancing, singing, music, etc;</p>
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				questioned the king that when the function be completed. Then king replied that it continues till his son laughs. Then two jugglers ,Bhandu kannu and Pandu kannu, who were known as Crop ear and Yellow ear tried to make him to laugh but failed. Then sakka sent divine dancer to make Mahapanada laugh. He performed half body dance and made him to laugh. Then the festival was ended. Then king Mahapanada at the end of his life went to the world of gods for his virtuous deeds.			(iii) wear garlands, apply perfumes and other beauty cosmetics, (iv) to lay on luxurious places for sleeping and (v) to accept gold and silver (money).
23	499	Siiviraaja Jaataka at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Gummadiduru	It was told by Buddha while dwelling at Jetavana, about the king Sivi who gave 'incomparable' gift like the eyes to those that came as mongers to him. The king of Kosala distributed alms to the monks in the monastery after the completion of 7days fasting, <i>uposatti</i> all the ascetics in the monastery were	Once upon a time the mighty King Sivi was ruling over the city of Aritthapura. The Great Being took birth as his son. They called his name Prince Sivi. He studied at Takkasila. After his father's death he became the king and ruled in righteousness by following the ten royal virtues and by forsaking the ways of evil. He used to distribute each day six hundred thousand pieces of money. But on one day he thought himself to gift even his bodily parts if someone aspires. Then Sakka wanted to test him. He approached the king in the guise of an old and blind Brahmin. He asked the king to give his eyes. The king willingly offered his eyes to the old man despite the resistance from his	King Sivi (bodhisattva) Savika, the physician The Sakka	Buddha Ananda Aniruddha	The tale highlights the significance of gifting (<i>dana</i>) in the life of people. Further gifting should go beyond physical and materialist objects and comforts. Gifting should reach the realm of self-sacrifice wherein one should sacrifice one's own body parts. The tale warns that the donor should not expect thanks from donee. The virtue of alms giving should be cultivated as an inherent trait and one should not gift the things the donor had but those that are wished by the donee.

		<p>given gifts that are required to them. He asked the Master the reason for not thanking him. Buddha replied that the giving and taking of all avaricious things never lead to heaven. The king was happy and presented an outer robe of Sivi to him. The master entered the hall of truth when they were discussing about gift given by the king of Kosala. Then said that there are kings who never were satisfied by giving external gifts gave their eyes. In this context the <i>Tathagata</i> told the tale of Sivi, the Bodhisattva</p>	<p>fellows. He called Sivaka, the surgeon, to take out his eyes. The surgeon delayed the process hoping that Sivi may withdraw his idea of giving eyes. But, all his efforts to prevent him from this charity were in vain. Finally Sivi forced the surgeon to do it fast. Sivi gifted them to Sakka. The king decided to give up the throne and wished to lead an ascetic life. But he gave up that plan of becoming ascetic as per the wish of the people. Having pleased with the charity of Sivi, the Sakka restored his eye sight. Sivi taught his subjects the importance of generosity and charity. After listening to him, all his people began to give alms and lead pious life.</p>			<p>This idea is upheld in the tale.</p>
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24	505	Somanassa Jaataka at Amaravati	<p>This story was told by Buddha at Jetavana monastery. The tale highlights the attempt made by Devadatta to kill Buddha not only in the contemporary life but also in previous birth.</p>	<p>Once upon a time the city of Uttarapanchala was being ruled by king, Renu and his wife was Sudhamma. During that time there lived an ascetic, Maharakkhita along with his 500 followers in the Himalayas. One day, on invitation he visited the king's court along with his followers. The king entertained them and provided them accommodation throughout the rainy season. When the rains were over they left the place. In the middle of their journey the ascetics rested under a tree and discussed about the king. Since the king had no sons the ascetics wished that he should have progeny. Upon hearing their talk, Maharakkhita told them that he king would get a son of soon. After hearing that from the mouth of Maharakkhita, one of the ascetics, a cheat, hoping to get gain thereby, pretended to be ill and parted from the group of monks. Then he returned to the palace and told the king that a son would be born to his queen Sudhamma. From then onwards he is called Dibbacakkhuka, the man of Divine Vision. The king showed him great honor and he continued to stay in the royal garden enjoying great luxuries.</p>	<p>Renu, king of Uttarapanchala</p> <p>Maharakkhita</p> <p>Dibba cakkhuka; false ascetic</p> <p>Sudhamma</p> <p>Somanassa</p>	<p>Sariputta</p> <p>Devadatta</p> <p>Mahamaya</p>	<p>The tale depicts Devadatta as Dibbacakkhuka who even in his previous birth as a person that attempted to kill Buddha who took the birth as Somanassa. Sriputra, a good associate of Buddha was Maharakkhika who predicted the birth of bodhisattva to Renu, the king. The mischievous disciple who overhears the blessing of Maharakkhika conveyed the same to the king who in turn entrusted the duty of taking care of his son Suddhamma in his absence. When Suddhamma identified the real nature of the ascetic, the latter plans to kill him by giving wrong message to the king. When the king ordered to kill Suddhamma, the latter reveals the truth. Then the king left the punishment to the people who stoned him to death. Suddhamma did not accept the worldly and courtly life for it is full of treachery and cheating and hence left for Himalayas. The spirit of extending</p>
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				<p>After sometime, Bodhisatta was born to them and was named as Somanassa. When the boy was seven years old, the king had to leave home to quell a border rising and Somanassa was left in charge of that ascetic. The boy soon discovered that the ascetic is more engaged with the worldly things and so he did not honour him. Then Dibbacakkhuka got angry and decided to kill him. So, on the king's return, Dibbacakkhuka complained to him that the boy had ill-treated him. Then the king summoned Somanassa and enquired. The boy exposed the cheating of the fake ascetic and went to Himalayas as he was disgusted with court life. Finally, the cheat was stoned to death by the people</p>		<p>Buddha</p>	<p>patronage to ascetics is shown in the tale. Further, dubious nature of atleast a few followers in the laity is attested in the character of Dibbacakkhuka. The king did not revenge for the act of the bad ascetic but left him free. But his <i>karma</i> and lust for wordly life pushed him towards death brutally. He reaped the fruit of his treacherous deed.</p>
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25	506	Campeyya at Amaravati nagarjunakondacha	<p>The Master told the story while glorifying the importance of fasting days. In this context he explained wise in the past renounced the glory of being a serpent king to undertake fasting days, <i>upsatha</i>.</p>	<p>Once upon a time there were two kingdoms, Anga and Magadha whose kings were in constant struggle to conquer the domains of one another. Between these two kingdoms the river Champa was flowing. It was the abode of snakes and was ruled by Champeyya. On one day the king of Magadha was chased by the warriors of Anga.</p> <p>The former wanted to drown in the waters of Champa rather than being caught by the latter. So he jumped into it along with his horse. There Champeyya, the king of snakes assured him that he would make him the king of the two kingdoms. Campeyya, through his miraculous powers, made him the king of two kingdoms. Then the king and his people paid tribute to the serpent king by upholding his glory by worshipping him on the bank of the river. At that time Bodhisattva was a poor man. He wished to take birth as Naga king after seeing the glory of the Naga king who had been worshipped by everybody. Due to the merit of his alms giving, Bodhisattva was born as Naga king, Campeyya. After understanding the violence involved in eating the frogs and other creatures, he repented for his birth as Naga. So, he observed</p>	<p>Snake charmer</p> <p>Sumana</p> <p>Campeyya</p> <p>Uggasen</p> <p>a</p>	<p>Devadatta</p> <p>Rahula's mother</p> <p>Buddha</p> <p>Sariputta</p>	<p>The miraculous powers of bodhisattvas are being projected in the story. Bodhisattva as a poor man had craved (tanha) for attaining the Naga form for he was being worshipped by all. His illusion (<i>maya</i>) of having comforts in the life of Naga yielded him into trouble of being born as a serpent and caught by snake-charmers. His prayers as a poor man were not for attaining liberation (<i>nirvana</i>) but for adored life as Naga. Thus he was pushed into troubled life in the hands of snake-charmers. But all his prayers and austerities that the snake as Bodhisattva Champeyya had observed to ward off the sins he acquired in Naga life for eating creatures helped him to learn pardoning (<i>ksama</i>), and patience (<i>khanti</i>) while he was with the snake charmer. Here <i>Sumana</i> (wife) was his savior. The tale highlights that prayers should be aimed at liberation but not for</p>
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				<p>religious vows to get rid of his snake life. But he was disturbed by the young female serpents. So he decided to come to the world of men to observe fast days. For this decision his wife Sumana cautioned him that the world of men was not safe. Then he showed her a lake and said that, if he was hurt, the water in the pond will become turbid, if carried by a bird, the water will disappear; if seized by a snake charmer, the water will turn to the colour of blood. Then he went to the world of men and started observing fast days and lived on an ant hill. There he was taken as a captive by a snake charmer who tortured him in various ways to make him to dance in public. He procured a lot of wealth by snake performances. On one day he thought that he may get more money if he arranges his snake performance in the audience of the king. So he went to king of Benares, Uggasena. In mean time, Sumana found that her husband was taken as captive by a snake charmer. After enquiring, she knew that the snake charmer was about to give a performance in front of the king of Benares. So she reached there and awaited in the air to see her husband. In the middle of the performance,</p>			<p>satisfying tanha which pushes individual into chain of births and deaths.</p>
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				Bodhisattva saw his wife in the air, felt shy and went inside the basket. Then the whole story was revealed to the king of Benares, and with his interference, the snake charmer set Campeyya free. After that Uggasena was taken to the Naga world and treated lavishly.			
26	514	<i>Chaddanta at Amaravati</i>	The story was told by the Master about the sin of a female novice	The Bodhisatta was born as Chaddanta, king of a herd of 8,000 elephants. His body was pure white with red face and feet. Seven parts of his body touched the ground. His chief consorts were Culasubhadda and Mahasubhadda. Owing to the preference given to Mahasubhadda by Chaddanta, Culasubhadda had grudge against him, and once when the Bodhisatta was entertaining 500 pacceka buddhas, she offered them wild fruits and made a certain wish. As a result she was reborn in the Madda king's family and was named Subhadda. Later she became chief consort of the king of Benares. Remembering her ancient grudge, she schemed to have Chaddanta's tusks cut off. All the hunters were summoned by the king and Sonuttara was chosen for the task. It took him seven years, seven months and seven days to reach	Chaddana. Head of herd of elephants. (elephant) Cullasubhadda (later Subaddha)	Female novice	This story highlights the negativity that stems from vengeance and also emphasizes how the personal acts (<i>karma</i>) of one's life results a series of births to dissolve past deeds..It also underlines personal sacrifice. Either love or jealousy or grudge will be carried out across births and cause for continuation of series of lives. The life of Culabhadda is an example to it. The feeling of jealousy (<i>issaa</i>) causes oneself to perish in sorrow (<i>dukkha</i>) and lose their life. It also says not to harm monks.Chaddanta's character is personification of self-sacrifice, the necessity to

			<p>Chaddanta's dwelling place. He dug a pit and covered it and as the elephant passed over it, shot a poison arrow. When Chaddanta realized what had happened, he charged Sonuttara but seeing that he was clad in a yellow robe he restrained himself. Having learned Sonuttara's story, he showed him how his tusks could be cut off, but Sonuttara's strength was not sufficient to saw them through. Chaddanta thereupon took the saw with his own trunk and, wounded as he was, and suffering excruciating pain from the incisions, already made in his jaws, he sawed through the tusks, handed them over to the hunter and died. In seven days, through the magic power of the tusks, Sonuttara returned to Benares -- but when Subhadda heard that her conspiracy had led to the death of her former lover and husband, she died of a broken heart. It was related in reference to a nun of Savatthi who, while listening one day to a sermon by the Buddha, admired his extreme beauty of form and wondered if she had ever been his wife. Immediately the memory of her life as Cullasubhadda, Chaddanta's consort came to her mind and she laughed for joy -- but on further recollecting that she</p>			<p>become a bodhisattva.</p>
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				had been the instrument of his death, she wept aloud.			
27	524	Samkaapala jataka at Amaravavati	This story was told by Buddha at Jetavana monastery about the holy days.	The king of Rajagriha, handed over the kingdom to his son Duyyodhana and got retired to live an ascetic life. His son used to visit him frequently to enquire his well-being. The king felt it inconvenient to lead his ascetic life in the city and went to Mahimsaka kingdom on the bank of river Kannapenna and lived there in a hut. There he was visited by the Naga king Sankhapala to whom he preached the Dhamma. At the same time Duyyodhana visited his father. There he saw the Naga king listening to his father. He got impressed by the great magnificence of the Naga king and aspired to take birth in the Naga world. After returning to his kingdom, Duyyodhana performed all meritorious deeds and was reborn in the Naga-world as per his wish. He became king in the name of Sankhapala. In the course of time he grew weary of his magnificence. So he destined to get liberation and performed religious vows. He left the Naga world on <i>uposatha</i> days and came to the human world keeping the fast while lying on an anthill near the Kannapenna. There he was taken	Duyyodana, son of king of Magadha (later Naga king Samkhapala) (human and rebirth as Naga king) King of Magadha King of Benares Alara	Buddha Kassapa (disciple) Ananda (disciple) Sariputta (disciple)	The story informs that after becoming old, king should leave the throne in favour of his son and take up ascetic life. He should not be attached to his kins. It tells about the need to have detachment (<i>Viveka</i> and <i>Viraga</i>) after certain age. It also highlights the wish of the humans to reach <i>naga</i> loka, the heaven which can be attained by those who perform all meritorious deeds prescribed by Buddha. Duyyodhana taking birth in the <i>nagaloka</i> for his meritorious acts explains the law of <i>karma</i> . It conveys that the actions in the current life are linked to the future births. So one should follow the virtues (<i>Sila</i>) and avoid all kinds of afflictions (<i>kilesas</i>) to achieve what one aspires and then to escape from birth and death. Alara by performing deeds of piety enjoyed a great life in Naga

				<p>captive by sixteen men roaming in the forest.</p> <p>They pierced him with spears and tied ropes to him in order to drag him along. Sankhapala showed no resentment for it may spoil the purity of the precepts. A landowner of Mithila called Alara saw his mistreatment and got him released. Thereupon Sankhapala invited Alara to the Naga world where he lived for one year. Later Alara became an ascetic and in due course visited Benares where he told the king the story of his visit to the Naga world. After the rains he returned to the Himalayas.</p>			<p>world and became an ascetic.</p>
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28	534	<i>Mahahamsa at amaravati</i>	<p>This story was told by the Master while he was in Bamboo grove. It was about Ananda's sacrifice of life to save Buddha from a wild elephant.</p>	<p>In the tale, the king of Benares was Samyama and his chief consort was Khema. On one day she had a dream in which she saw a golden goose preaching the Dharma to her from the royal throne. She wished that it would happen in reality. When the king knew her desire, he dug a pond to the north of the city in the hope of enticing golden geese to dwell there. He appointed a fowler called Khemaka to look after the pond. The plan succeeded and five different types of geese came, including the golden <i>paka</i>-geese. The Bodhisattva was once born as Dhatarattha, a king of 90,000 golden geese living in Cittakuta. Against his better judgment, King Dhatarattha was persuaded to feed on the pond near Benares. However, immediately he landed and was caught in a fowler's snare. He could not escape from it. He waited until the flock had finished feeding. Then he gave an alarm cry at which all the geese fled except Sumukha the commander-in-chief. When the fowler came, Sumukha offered to give his life for his master. After understanding the reason for which they were caught, asked to take them to the king to finalize the issue. Dhatarattha preached moral law to the</p>	<p>Head of ninety thousand geese. (bird) Dhatarattha Bodhisatta</p> <p>The fowler</p> <p>Queen Khema</p> <p>Samyama, The King of Benares (human)</p> <p>Sumuka(<i>geese</i>)</p>	<p>Buddha</p> <p>Channa (charioteer of Buddha)</p> <p>Nun Khema</p> <p>Sariputta</p>	<p>The story explains the Buddhist doctrines of 'cause of suffering' (<i>dukkha karana</i>), self-sacrifice (<i>atmaparityaga</i>), and non-killing; the first vow of the <i>Panchaseela</i>.</p> <p>The desire of the queen to listen to the preaching of geese which she heard in her dream was the cause of her suffering during the time of her pregnancy. She did not bother whether her dream could be realized or not. Hence she subverted her desire in the name of suffering and caused inconvenience to her husband. Dhatarattha(<i>bodhisattva</i>) along with his kins got trapped in pond and Sumukha was in life danger. However, Sumukha presented his loyalty and reverence by surrendering his self to the king in the lieu of his master thereby observing the <i>dasa paramitas</i>. The bond of loyalty between the master (Buddha) and the disciple (ananda) were well</p>
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				king and queen and after being paid great honor, returned to Cittakuta.	(bird)	Ananda	articulated in the Jataka. Khema who was a desirous queen in her past birth was a nun in the monastery of Buddha and was able to realize her dream of listening to the preachings of golden geese.
29	537	Mahaasutasoma Jaataka at Amaravati	This was told by Buddha to his fellow brethren to explain how he even when he was bodhisattva could convert Angulamali, a robber into the order.	Once upon a time Indapatta was ruled righteously by king Koravayya. The Bodhisattva was born to him in the name of Sutasoma. He was sent to Takkasila for education. At the same time Prince Brahmadata, son of the king of Kasi, was sent to Takkasila for learning. In course of their journey, they became friends. Sutasoma learnt very soon and assisted the prince Brahmadatta as his private teacher. They finished their education and went to their respective countries. The king of Benares Brahmadata never passed a day without eating meat. On one <i>uposatha</i> day the meat reserved for Brahmadata was eaten by a dog. The	King Sutasoma Man eating king (Brahmadatta) Kalahatti, commander in	Buddha Angulimala	In this story Sutasoma was bodhisattva and Angulamali, a robber was the cannibal king in the previous births. The story emphasizes on the doctrine of Panchasila like telling truth, not to take life and not to steal. It also gives a moral that one should not aspire for things that which does not belong to oneself. Even the king can be banished from the state if he behaves against the natural law. The story further enlightens how dangerous and addictive was the meat eating for one who

			<p>cook was unable to get meat. So he cooked the flesh of a recently deceased body and served Brahmadata. He found it very tasty and from then onwards he enjoyed the dish every day by killing his subjects. People complained to the commander in chief, Kalahatthi that there is some man-eating robber in the state. On the instructions of Kalahatthi, royal officers caught the cook while he was filling his basket with the flesh of a woman after killing her. In the enquiry he confessed that he is doing it for the king, who was habituated to eat human flesh. Then the king was asked to give up cannibalism. But he refused to give up eating human flesh. So the king was banished from the kingdom. Then the king and the cook dwelled in the forest by killing and eating the travelers. One day he even killed his cook and ate him. On another day he tried to kill a Brahmin who was travelling through the forest along with his followers. They chased the king and shot his feet with a lance. His foot was severely injured.</p> <p>Then king made a vow to the banyan tree that he would drench its trunk with the blood of 101 princes, If his foot were healed in seven days. The foot did heal within that time, and with the assistance of a Yakkha who had been his friend in a previous birth, managed</p>	<p>chief</p> <p>Brahmin Nanda</p> <p>Tree spirit</p> <p>Sakka</p>	<p>Sariputta</p> <p>Ananda</p> <p>Kassapa</p> <p>Anuruddha</p>	<p>addicts for such habit would not spare even human beings to satisfy their hunger. Such addiction would never leave space in the mind of eater for gratitude or thank giving. It is because; the man eater king killed even his cook who fed him with delicious meat dishes. Even to cure his wound also he wanted to sacrifice</p> <p>101 princes, i.e. bloodshed to drench the trunk of</p> <p>Till the entry of Sutasoma, he had thirst and hunger for blood and meat respectively. Sutasoma could persuade him to accept his four preachings and make him wise. The story asks one to observe <i>Upostha</i> days on full and new moon days. One should not take the life of other beings.</p>
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			<p>to capture one hundred kings and hanged them on the tree. On the advice of Sakka, the tree deity appeared before the man-eater and demanded that he should bring Sutasoma, Prince of Kuru to complete the number of his victims. Sutasoma had been the king's friend and private tutor at Takkasila. Anxious to appease the deity, the man-eater went to Sutasoma's park and hid himself in the pond where Sutasoma would take his ceremonial bath. At that time, on his way to the park to take ceremonial bath on the occasion of Phussa festival, he came across a Brahmin Nanda who offered to teach him four verses that he had learnt from Kassapa Buddha. Sutasoma promised to listen to them on his return from the park. But he was caught by the man-eating king. Then Sutasoma obtained leave from the man-eater on the promise that he would come back to him after hearing to the verses of Nanada. According to the promise, Sutasoma returned with the man-eater to the banyan tree.</p> <p>There Sutasoma preached the four verses and virtues of truth to the man-eater. It caused a change in the man-eater king and offered four boons to Sutasoma. Sutasoma chose the four boons as follows: (i) the man-eater should live for 100 years, (ii) the captive</p>			
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				<p>kings should be released, (iii) their kingdoms should be restored and (iv) he should give up his cannibalism. He happily agreed for all except for the fourth. But with great difficulty he accepted the fourth. He promised that he would not return to his vicious habits. Sutasoma returned to Indapatta. In gratitude for the tree-spirit's intervention, a lake was dug near the banyan tree and a village was founded on the spot where the man-eater was converted. The inhabitants used to offer prayers to the tree. This village was called as Kammasadamma .</p>			
30	543	Bhuridatta Jaatakaat Amaravati	<p>It was told by Buddha while dwelling in Savatthi about some lay brothers who were observing the fast days honestly. In this context</p>	<p>Once upon a time, Brahmadata was ruling over Benares. He made his son viceroy. In short time his son earned great fame. So his father felt scared that on one day his son may take over his kingdom. With this fear, he sent away his son in exile. Then the Prince continued to live on the banks of the Yamuna and there he fell in love with a</p>	<p>Bhuridatta Alambayana- Outcast Brahmin</p>	<p>Buddha Devadatta</p>	<p>Brahmadatta as ruler of Benares was jealous for his son's popularity and so banished him from the country thinking that he may take over the kingdom even when he was alive. Having attached to his power and prowess forgot that one day his son would be</p>

		<p>Buddha told that the lay brothers atleast had him as a teacher to guide them during their fasting times. But in olden days, the sages followed their rules of fasting without the gurus or initiators. In this context, he narrated a story of Bhuridatta, born in Naga world and practiced the fast days on his own.</p>	<p>Naga women and begot two children, Sagara-Brahmadatta and Samuddaja. Later, when the king of Benares died, the prince returned with his children to Benares to succeed the throne and his Naga wife returned to the Naga world. On one day the children, while playing in a lake saw a tortoise. They got frightened. The king summoned the tortoise and threw it into river Yamuna as a punishment. Caught in a whirlpool, the tortoise was carried to the Naga world whose king was Dhatarattha. There the Naga king enquired the tortoise of its whereabouts. The tortoise showed the presence of mind and said that it was sent by the king of Benares to propose marriage alliance between Dhatarattha and Samuddaja (daughter of the king of Benares). Upon knowing it, Naga messengers were sent to the Benares court to follow up marriage alliance. Meanwhile the tortoise disappeared. Brahmadata was horrified by the proposals but he could not refuse it for the denial of marriage may lead to total destruction of his kingdom. So the marriage took place between Dhatarattha and Samuddaja. She was taken to the Naga world and there</p>	<p>Somadatta</p> <p>Sudassana</p> <p>Acchimuki</p> <p>Subhanga</p>	<p>Ananda</p> <p>Sariputta</p> <p>Uppalavana</p> <p>Moggalayana</p>	<p>his successor and the ruler. He had illusion (<i>maya</i>) for his possessions. Buddha was the Bodhisattva by name Bhuridatta, was grandson of son of Dharadatta and great grandson of Brahmadata. Unlike his great grandfather, Bhuridatta had no attachment (<i>upadana</i>) for his likes and dislikes. So he wished to renunciate his nagahood, i.e. serpent form and give up its delicious food, frog and observe fasting, <i>uposatha</i>. In this process he was caught by snake charmers who harassed him to give performances in public audiences for money. He showed patience (<i>khanti</i>) even when his body and bones were crushed in dancing. The tale highlights the virtue of pardoning (<i>ksma</i>) and patience for he excused the snake charmer who was cursed by the sister and brother.</p>
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				<p>Dhataratha ordered throughout their country that no one should display their original nature; i.e. snake form in front of the queen. So she lived affectionately with her husband and begot four sons, namely Sudassana, Datta (later Bhuridatta), Subhanga, and Arittha. Dattaratha had a daughter too, born from another wife Acchimuki. On one day Arittha wanted to test his mother and assumed the snake form. She got frightened and screamed at the snake. When the king came to know the reason for the shout of his wife, ordered to kill his son. But finally excused on the request of his mother. In due course of time Datta visited Devaloka and decided to get rid of his snake life as it is habituated to eat frogs. So he took up fast days on an ant hill to attain merit. When he was observing his fast days, a Brahmin and his son Somadatta saw</p> <p>him and enquired his whereabouts. To escape from them Bodhisattva asked them to go to Nagaloka to fetch a lot of prosperity. During one such fast, Bhuridatta was captured by a Brahmin Alambayana and a villager. They crushed his bones and traveled about making him dance before large audiences under the power of a charm.</p>			
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				<p>When the Bhuridatta was not seen on the ant hill, his brothers and sister went in search of him in different directions. Subhanga and Accimukhi both went in one direction, found and rescued him by exhibiting some miraculous strength which reduced Alambayana to leprosy. The villager was also similarly punished. But finally the compassionate Bhuridatta pardoned them.</p>			
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31	545	Vidhurapandita Jaataka Punna Jaataka at Amaravati	<p>It was told by the master while dwelling in Jetavana, concerning the 'Perfection of Wisdom'. On one day the brothers were discussing about the ability of the master in crushing down the arguments of his opponents through his wisdom and wit. Then the master entered the hall of truth and enquired the topic of their discussion. In this context Buddha narrated a similar story of the past. He told that he had crushed down the arguments of his opponents by his wisdom when he was still seeking Supreme</p>	<p>Once upon a time Dhananjaya Korabba was ruling over the city of Indapatta. He had a minister named Vidhurapandita. He used to guide the king in temporal and spiritual matters. He subdued all the kings of Jambudvipa with his sweet tongue and great eloquence in matters of the law. At that time four rich Brahmin householders from Benares went to Himalayas and took up the ascetic life. Later those four sages because of their merit were born in four worlds as (i) king of gods Sakka (<i>devaloka</i>), (ii) king of the Naga world Varuna (<i>nagaloka</i>), (iii) Supanna, king in the palace of the Simbali lake (<i>Garudaloka</i>), and (iv) as King Dhananjaya (<i>bhuloka</i>). These four met in the garden of king Dhananjaya and disputed themselves in deciding the most superior among them. So they all went to Vidhura to resolve their problem. Then he tells that each is equally virtuous, like the spokes of a wheel. They are pleased with that answer and they gave presents to him. Later the Naga queen Vimala, came to know about the wisdom of Vidhura and longed to hear a discourse from him. Then she insists the Naga king to get Vidhura. She even threatened the king</p>	<p>The eldest queen Eldest son Varuna, the naga king Garulla king (Supanna) Sakka Vidhura pandita Dhanunjaya</p>	<p>Rahula's mother Rahula Sariputta Moggalayan Anuruddha Buddha Ananda</p>	<p>The tale disseminates the virtue of tolerance (Khanti) and friendship among creatures that hail from different worlds like <i>devaloka</i>, <i>nagaloka</i>, <i>garudaloka</i> and <i>manushyaloka</i>. The relationship between <i>naga</i> (serpent) and <i>garuda</i> (eagle) are inimical. Matrimony is shown between Yakka and Naga. Moreover, the kings of this world declared that they had forbearance for others because <i>Garuda</i> though likes snake as a delicious food, maintained friendship and gave up its eating. When the four friends competed with one another to establish their supremacy, Buddha negotiated their anxiety by giving equal importance to all in the same way as all spokes are important to a wheel. The story highlights complementary relations among the people hailing from different world and upholds (<i>metta</i>).</p>
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		<p>Knowledge. In that life he was born as Vidhura. Buddha reduced , Punṇaka, a general of Yakkha, who attempted to kill him to silence and made him to surrender his own self to Him (the Master) as a gift.</p>	<p>that she will die if he fails to get him to the Naga world. In mean time Punnaka fell in love with Irandi, the daughter of Naga. The king announced that his daughter Irandi will be offered to anyone who can get Vidhura to the Naga world. So Punnaka accepts the challenge and wins Vidhura from King Dhananjaya in a game of dice. Vidhura went with Punnaka, by giving a final teaching to Dhananjaya. On his way he teaches to the Punnaka and won his respect. Then Punnaka promised him to take back Vidhura to the human world. But he wished to go to the Naga world. There he preached to all and received a marvelous gem as a present from Punnaka.</p>			
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32	546	Mahaummagga Jaataka at Nagarjuna konda and Gummadiduru	<p>It was told by the master in Jetavana about his wisdom. When Buddha entered the hall of truth, the fellow brothers were discussing about the greatness of Buddha's wisdom. Then he enquired the topic of discussion and told them that he is wise even in his previous birth. In this context he narrated of Mahosadha, who was the law councilor of the king of Mithila.</p>	<p>In the bygone days, Mithila was ruled by king Videha and four sages, Senaka, Pukkusa, Kavinda and Devinda helped him in the matters of law and order. During that time, in the eastern town of Mithila, Bodhisattva was born as Mahosadha to his parents Sirivaddaka and Sumadevi. They were very rich merchants. Mahasodha was born with medicinal plant in his hand. He talked immediately after his birth. The king of Videha had an omen in his dream that a sage was born. After seven years, Mahasodha was appointed as the fifth counselor of the king. On many occasions he proved his wisdom against the other counselors and won over the friendship of queen Udumbara, the wife of Videha. He married Amaradevi who helped him to quash conspiracies against her husband. Eventually, Mahasodha escaped from the royal palace to save his life from the conspiracies woven on him by the other jealous counselors. He was hiding in a potter's hut. Seeing the injustice, the deity in the king's parasol put several questions to the king, knowing that none but Mahosadha could answer them. Then Mahosadha was called back to the palace. He answered the questions put</p>	<p>Videha king of Mithila</p> <p>Sirivaddaka, rich man</p> <p>Sumadevi, wife of Sirivaddaka</p> <p>Mahasodha</p>	<p>suddhodhana</p> <p>Mahamayadevi</p>	<p>In this Jataka Sirivaddhka and Sumadevi were identified in previous birth with Suddhodana and Mahamaya, of Buddha of the current birth. Queen Amara devi was Rahula's mother. Occurring of great incidents citing the birth of a great person and prediction of the birth of a great ascetic through the dreams is natural to the dawn of Bodhisattvas for they should display their spiritual powers through miracles. Because through miracles they can establish their uniqueness in the world and incorporate the lay persons in to the path of Buddha.</p> <p>Bodhisattva Mahasodha was represented as the personification of justice who conquered all defilements (<i>Dasa kilesas</i>). Bodhisattva did not give any opportunity to his accusers to kill him and incur sin upon</p>
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				<p>by the goddess to the king's satisfaction. Meanwhile the conspiracies of the four counselors were revealed and were punished. There also bodhisattva intervened to reduce their punishments. Under the new guidance of Mahosadha, the king took various measures to increase his power and glory. Spies were sent to every court and Mahosadha even used a pet parrot as a spy. On its travels, the parrot overheard the plot of Brahmadata, king of Kampilla, to invade Mithila. At first Brahmadata laid siege to Mithila, but could not win. So he combed a plan to lure king Videha through his own daughter, Pancalacandi. Videha decided against Mahosadha's advice to marry Pancalacandi. But the wise Mahosadha went to Uttarapancala to look after the marriage preparations. There he anticipated some danger and built a palace between the city and the Ganges. He also built two escape tunnels, one leading from Brahmadata's palace to the Ganges and the other, a smaller one, leading from the new palace to the other tunnel. When Videha arrived for the marriage, Mahosadha sent word to Brahmadata's queen, mother-in-law and Pancalacandi to come to the king's</p>	<p>Amara, wise and beautiful girl</p>	<p>Buddha</p> <p>Rahula's mother</p>	<p>them for his death and escaped from the royal court. Even after the four schemers were given punishments, Mahasodha helped them to come out of the guilt through lighter punishments indicating his practice of <i>ksama</i> (excuse) in his verdicts. Mahasodha who was Bodhisattva was a politico-legal and military strategicion who could solve every problem connected to the state and protect the king from every distress. The <i>dharma</i> of jury as protector of <i>rajadharma</i> is manifested in the character of Mahasodha as a legal adviser. He enlightened about the right path (<i>samyakmagga</i>) that the king should follow in executing law in the state.</p>
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				palace to celebrate the death of Mahosadha and Videha. Meanwhile Brahmadata had ordered that the whole city be surrounded. At this Videha was frightened and put himself in Mahosadha's hands. Then bodhisattva performed their marriage and arranged the escape of the king of Videha through the large tunnel. Bodhisattva remained there till Brahmadata arrives with his army and made him to realize his blunder. From then on Brahmadata and Bodhisattva became friends. And the two kings became allies. Later after the death of, Mahasodha spent the last years in the service of Brahmadata.			
33	547	<i>Vessantara at Nagarjuna konda, Amaravati,</i>	Buddha narrated the tale at Kapilavasthu seated in a Banyan grove when his kin folk did not pay him homage after his great return. To enlighten them about his spiritual attainments he showed some miracles and appeased their adoration. He	Once upon a time, Sivi was ruling over the kingdom of Jettutara. He was succeeded by his son Sanjaya, who was married to Phusati, daughter of king Madda. They had a son named Vessantara. He cultivated the habit of alms giving from his childhood. At the age of eight he even wished to gift his body parts also, if desired. He was married to Maddi at the age of sixteen. They had a son, Jali and a daughter, Kanhajina. In the meantime, the city of	Vessantara (human) Sivi, king of Jettutara Sanjana	Buddha Suddhodhana Mahamaya Yasodhara	The tale highlights the crux of Buddhism,i.e, the alms giving to the extent of self (one's own self) and extended self (one's belongings including wife, children, property tc..)Vessantara could sacrifice the prosperity of their nation; the white elephant to those who were really needy for the Kalings were suffering from famine. Vessantara could send his children who had royal births as slaves to others. The story establishes the need of

		<p>rose up in the air and shook off dust from his feet on the heads of Sakyan people. In second instance he caused a shower of rain to fall on them. The miracle was that those who wished to be wet, were wetted and those who did not, had not even a drop fallen upon their bodies. In this context Buddha narrated such a similar miracle of a shower of rain in his previous birth.</p>	<p>Kalinga was struck with famine. So the king of Kalinga, called a few Brahmins and enquired the possible solution to ward off it. They told him about the white elephant with Vessantara which would bring timely rains. So he sent few Brahmins to get the white elephant as a gift from Vessantara to save the kingdom from famine. King Vessantara gifted the white elephant to them. But it enraged the feelings of people of Benares for Vessantara had given away the boon of their kingdom, the white elephant. They forced the King Sanjana to banish Vessantara from the kingdom. Vessantara accepted the punishment and before leaving he performed a great alms giving called the “gift of the seven hundreds” (<i>Sattasataka</i>) in which seven hundred pieces of each item. Then he left the city, accompanied by his wife and children in a horse-drawn chariot. On his way to forest he first gifted his horses, then the chariot and resumed his journey on foot. Upon reaching his destination, there he found two hermitages: one for Vessantara and the other for his wife and children, built by Vissakamma on the advice of Sakka. There in exile too he was approached by</p>	<p>Pushati</p> <p>Maddi</p> <p>Jali</p> <p>Loyal courtier</p> <p>White elephant</p> <p>Jujaka</p>	<p>Rahula</p> <p>Ananda</p> <p>Maha kassyapa</p> <p>Devadatta</p>	<p>detachment for possessions and power for human beings and Vessantara stands as a testimony to it.</p> <p>The tale further highlights how self-sacrifice would bring back everything that one loses in course of their alms giving.</p> <p>Here Vessantara is shown as one who attained Samadhi with all psychic abilities, <i>iddhividha abhinna</i> .</p> <p>The abilities- to become many from one, and vice versa, , to pass through walls and mountains, just as if through the air, , to walk on water without sinking, as if on the earth, , to dive into the earth and rise</p> <p>up again, just as if in the water, to float cross-legged through the air, like a bird, , to touch the sun and moon with the hand etc. The tale emphasizes the need to perform miracles for</p>
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			<p>a Brahmin called Jujak to ask his children as gift to enslave them to Amittatapana and Vessantara did so. Then <i>Sakka</i> thought that again some vile creature may come and ask for Maddi. So <i>Sakka</i> himself, in the guise of Brahmin approached Vessantara and asked for Maddi's hand.</p> <p>Vessantara looked at Maddi and after getting her consent, he gifted her to Sakka. Then Sakka revealed his identity, gave Maddi back to Vessantara and granted him eight boons. Meanwhile, misguided by devas, Jujaka reached Jetuttara. There Sanjaya bought the children from him and Jujaka died of overeating. After that Sanjaya invited Vessantara back to his kingdom and handed over the throne. After that Sakka filled the royal palace with full of wealth to facilitate Vessantara to gift in future.</p>		<p>becoming an arahant and appease the disciples. This is final, 547th Jataka which shows Bodhisattva as the attainer of Buddhahood.</p> <p>He achieved divine memory to recollect the incidents from the past lives, <i>pubbenivasa abhinna</i></p> <p>However this jataka illustrates the highest level of sacrifice or dana culminated into the total surrender to the virtue of giving.</p> <p>Bodhisattva sacrificed his personal as well as his extended self including his son, daughter and finally his wife</p>
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From the above analysis it is evident that the protagonist of all the *Jātaka* tales is *Bodhisattva*, an emerging Buddha who got processed through several births of human and animal forms on his way to reach Buddhahood, the status of enlightened or awakened. The Theravadins interpreted the term *Bodhisattva* as an ‘unawakened’ or ‘pre-enlightened’ one. The *Jātakas* which are highly regarded as the possessions of the Theravadins depict the life of *Bodhisattva* as a period of getting trained in all good virtues of the life to attain *Brahmaloka*, the abode of Buddhahood. In almost all 547 *Jātaka* tales, *Bodhisattva* was subjected to several human strengths and weaknesses which he could successively overcome and finally become Buddha, the enlightened. To reach it, he had to strive through several lives as a normal human being on the earth. The perception of the Buddha by the Theravadins as a normal human being is best conveyed in the character of *Bodhisattva* in each and every *Jātaka* tale. The portrayal of *Bodhisattva* in *Jātaka* tales conveys the message that leading the life of a *Bodhisattva* furnishes the individuals with all virtues and traits that are needed for becoming Buddha in the next birth or pave the way to attain the Buddhahood. Hence the path to reach it is not an easy task. The *Jātakas* thus give a lucid picture of how one should reach the state of enlightenment by cutting across all the issues of the mundane world. The *Jātakas* further reinforce and reiterate the notion of *karma* and *punarjanma* around which the core of Buddhism is constructed. They emphasize that the continuous crush in the cycle of birth, death and rebirth awakens the struggle in the minds of individuals for liberation and thus they orient their lives towards the cessation of *karma*. This is being highlighted in the *Jataka* tales through the protagonist, *Bodhisattva* who took to different forms during his successive births as human and non-human and thus substantiates the essence of Buddhism in a nutshell.

The traits that were depicted by the *Bodhisattva* in the *Jataka* tales are synonymous with the ten *paramitas*, or perfections (giving, morality, renunciation, wisdom, effort, patience, truth-telling, resoluteness, loving-

kindness and equanimity) that a person should acquire in the process of becoming Buddha. According to John Strong, the *paramitas*, become “an explicit organizational principle in the Pali canonical text known as the Basket of Conduct (*Cariyapitaka*)” where one finds *Jātakas* illustrating each perfection”²⁶. The *Bodhisattva* appears to be an imagery or personification of Buddhist ideology permeating the ethical qualities and notion of *karma* throughout the tales into the minds of the followers.

Bodhisattva is always depicted in the *Jātakas* as one who took birth in different forms while Brahmadata was ruling Varanasi. The ancestors or successors of Brahmadata were not mentioned anywhere. In some instances Buddha himself was referred as Brahmadata.

Interestingly the *Jātaka* tales refer to the association of Buddha with his disciples -Sariputta, Moggalayana, Ananda, Uppalavana and others- even during his previous birth as *Bodhisattva*. The tales establish cordial relationship between the Master and disciples throughout the lives.

Buddha’s relationship with Devadatta, his cousin was always depicted in the *Jataka* tales as mischievous and treacherous attempt to malign or kill the Master. He is projected with same mindset during his previous birth when the Master was *Bodhisattva* as well as Buddha. Tradition gives different accounts with regard to the relationship between Buddha and Devadatta. *Hinayana* texts depict Devadatta as a Buddhist monk who was a Koliyan prince before he accepted ascetic life. Devadatta parted along with 500 other monks departed from the doctrine of Buddha and built his own *sangha*. Later on, Devadatta insisted that Buddha should fix the rules like the monks should live only in the forests, sustain on begging, should put on cloths oven from discarded rages, live

²⁶ John S. Strong, *The Buddha: A Short Biography*, Oxford: One World Publications, 2001, p. 27.

underneath the trees and give eating of fish and flesh. When Buddha denied imposing the rules upon the monks, Devadatta got wild and blamed him. Thus he parted from Buddha along with 500 followers belonging mostly to his own clan.

Ajatasattu extended his royal support to Devadatta. Devadatta asked Buddha to get retired from his Sangha and pass on its headship to himself. But, the Buddha denied. Devadatta secured mercenaries from Ajatasattu to kill Buddha. But, when they approached the Buddha, they were unable to carry out their orders but instead they were converted. Then Devadatta himself tried to kill Buddha by throwing a rock on him from the top of the hill while Buddha was passing on its slopes. As this plan was unsuccessful, he made an elephant by name Nalagiri to get fully drunken and crush Buddha when he was wandering for alms. But through his love and compassion Buddha could tame and win the elephant.

But the Mahayana texts give a different account. It is said that Devadatta was a good friend to him and only because of him, Buddha was able to fully endow with six paramitas; pity, compassion, joy, and indifferent, with thirty two features, the eight characteristics, the purple tinged golden colour, the ten powers, the four kinds of fearlessness, the four methods of winning people, the eighteen unshared properties, the transcendental powers and the power of the way. However, the *Jātaka* tales depict strained relationships between Devadatta and Buddha carried from their previous births and it is well demonstrated in the *Somanassa Jātaka*. The inescapability *karma* is well illustrated in *Matakabhatta Jātaka* wherein a goat even if it was let out by the sacrificer, got shot by a piece of rock broken by thunder in the sky.

In the tales Rahula was mentioned as the son of Sidhartha. The name of the wife of Buddha was not mentioned but she was referred as 'the mother of Rahula'. As usual Siddhodhana, Mayadevi and Gautami Pajapati were mentioned in the *Jātaka* tales as father, mother and foster

mother of Buddha. In the *Jātaka* tales *Bodhisattva*'s wife was Rahula's mother. He never trespassed the ethics of sticking on to one wife across births and thus emphasized the need to have 'sila' to attain Buddhahood. *Mahapaduma Jataka* (No. 472) illustrates the repercussions that if a woman wishes to develop illicit and incest relationships. The emphasis on *dana* to the level of self-sacrifice (*atma parityaga*) was well demonstrated in the *SibiJataka* and *Sasa Jatakas*. The *Vessantara Jataka* speaks about the need to have extraordinary generosity for those who wants to attain Buddhahood and it is the most important episode of the Buddhist world. Here prince Vessantara scarified his all belongings, including his wife and children and reached to the peak in the matters of the extreme extent of *dana* that one should reach to clear his/her way to enter the domain of Buddha.

The core of Buddhism lies in the compassionate treatment of animals as symbol of upholding non-violence against sacrificial centered Vedic rituals. Like any other *niti* literature of those times, animals were treated in the *Jataka* tales as the vehicles of disseminating the Buddhist thought to the populace. Thus the good nature of animals was the theme of several *Jataka* stories. Buddhism substantiates the latent potency of the animals for affection, enmity, heroism and self-sacrifice. *Jātakas* upheld that the animals are continuous with human beings and those perform sin would take the birth in animal realm. This is evident in many *Jātakas* tales where future Buddhas born in various animal forms. Thus the *Jātakas* tales effectively portray animals as humans having the same cognitive potentiality as that of humans. They could organize and strategize well for doing sacrifice. As cited elsewhere above, the best known being that of the hare in the moon (*Sasa Jātaka*) and the story of the heroic monkey leader who saved his tribe by making his own body part of a bridge for them to cross the Ganges (*MahakapiJataka*). In both the cases the animal

hero is said to have been the *Bodhisattva* in a previous birth. Animal-human ethics is well substantiated in almost all *Jātaka* tales.

As analysed in the above table each and every *Jātaka* tale is personification of Buddhist thought conveyed in a way that could touch the soul of the populace. In the next section the manifestation of the *Jātakas* tales on the walls of Buddhist institutions in the form of narrative art is discussed to show how visual media was deployed in the dissemination of the thought of Buddha successfully in creating the ‘visual imagery’ to what the populace had ‘heard’ from elders and ‘read’ in the scriptures.

Section II:

Jātaka tales as Narrative art in Āndhrādēsa

The *Jātakas* being the part of *pitaka* literature appealed the classes and masses alike for the process of disseminating the word of Buddha, constructed within the text of the tales through the interaction of the characters in them. Through the recitation of the tales or by conducting discourses upon them in the religious gatherings the Buddhist thought was kept active among the populace . The popular language Pāli instead of Sanskrit was the medium of transmission both verbally and literally. At the same time they were depicted on the walls of the Buddhist *stupas*, *chaityas*, *viharas* and other sacred and public spaces as narrative sculptures. The lively narrative sculptures of the *Jātaka* tales found in the Buddhist institutions are effective visual media for attracting the followers of Buddha to visit these places as the most sacred religious sites. A study of the *Jātaka* panels portrayed on the drum and dome of the *Stupas* in south India obviously suggests that each dynasty or ruler might have exercised certain options in selecting the *Jātakas* , based on two distinct ideological aspects viz., the moral or *Dhamma*, which the *Jātaka* preached and secondly acceptance of the particular *Jātaka* by the people at large in the society. For example, the Satavahanas ruled over Deccan for 400 years, have preferred few *Jātakas* out of many. Similarly, the kings of

Iksvaku dynasty (3rd Century A.D.) who ruled for nearly 100 years in some parts of the *Āndhrādēsa* and Karnataka after the Satavahanas, preferred some more new *Jātaka* stories in addition to the already existing ones for the portrayal of ideology. Thus, it appears that depending upon the taste, demand and popularity of the *Jātakas*, the rulers have selected for their portrayal to attract local masses at large, towards *Dhamma*.

Further it seems that the south Indian rulers gave preference to the *Jātaka s* in which *Bodhisattva* was projected as a universal monarch or king, whereas the North Indian rulers have given more preference to animal forms. In South India, the familiar and identified *Jātaka* tales reported from Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, Goli, Chandravaram, Gummadiurru, Phanigiri and Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh and Kanaganahalli in Karnataka are *Dipankara*, *Campeyya*, *Samkapala*, *Chaddanta*, *Vidhurapandita*, *Matiposaka*, *Sasa*, *Vessantara* etc. Out of forty *Jātakas* depicted on the walls of *stupas*, *chaityas* and *viharas* in *Āndhrādēsa* 27 are from Amaravati, 10 are from Nagarjunakonda and the remaining are from different places as cited above. A few *Jātakas* that were frequently depicted as narrative sculptures were taken to interpret how the narrative art and sculptures together with the oral preaching and written literature sustained the everlasting legacy of the Buddha's preachings on human civilizations till date India.

***Jataka* Depictions in Narrative Art**

Buddhist art is basically a narrative art²⁷. In that age with little literacy wherein listening to the renderings of written texts by the monks were not appealing to the lay mendicants, oral and visual forms of dissemination was best represented in the Buddhist art. Narrative art renders a tale as a current story or as a series of occurrences unfolded over

²⁷P.C. Jain and Daljeet, 'Narration: Essence of Buddhist Art', in *News Letter: Exotic India*, July, 2006.

a period of time. Thus the constituent nature of the *Jātakas* makes its artistic depiction on the walls as a versatile and lively narrative art. Narratives are depicted in a 'space' and are unfolded in 'time'. The artist in the narrative art, selects a technique of depicting the story and augments 'time' and 'space' within the artwork²⁸.

A contemporary Buddhist text *Mūlasarvastivādin Vinaya* suggests the prevalence of painted scrolls being and practice of painting on the walls of in those times. These evidences are indices to infer that Buddhist themes are explained in the art tradition. The context of the presentation of scroll paintings was the *Mahāparinirvana* of Buddha to be informed to Ajatasatru, his beloved disciple. A monk Mahakassapa ordered his minister, Varshakara to get prepared a scroll narrative representing the four 'great miracles' of Buddha - the Birth, the Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the Great Decease, keep it in a place that could catch the eye of the emperor. Thus the representation of four major events in the Buddha's life in 'scroll narrative art form' was continued not only in the Buddhist art but also in the entire narrative art world over. In another context of the text, the Buddha is said to have instructed Anathapindaka, the donor of Jetavana that the selected themes of Buddhist life should be painted on the walls of the monastery. He also cautioned the monks that they should not damage 'murals' by washing them or subjecting in them to the 'lighting fire'. He further advised them that they should take care of murals as they were influential in developing concentration of mind in the process of mediation. Thus narration, either oral or visual was the only device of communication in the ancient Indian society. Roland Barthes has defined the scope of narration as "international, transhistorical and trans-

²⁸ Vidya Dehejia, 'On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (Sep., 1990), pp.375 and 374–392.

cultural"²⁹.The Buddhist narrative sculptures and art, which was basically the aid of disseminating his message, was very distinct from other ideologies as Buddhism distanciated itself from the tradition of idol worship. Buddha considered art as an effective mean to accomplish meditation. The Buddhist art was conceived as a visual alternative depiction of its sacred scriptures. Thus the style of representation of Buddha and his thought emerged distinctly as narrative art. While narrating a tale in visual form - scroll painting or panel of sculptures- the chain of events unfolding the theme or episodes revolve round an action and progresses into time and space. Discourse was the common method of narration in the ancient times. A moral or a virtue was the hidden axiom of the narration with which discourse was initiated. In visual narration, the moral that the narrative form reveals is deductive and from here the entire discourse begins. The visual narrator in the Buddhist art was very choosy in selecting the precise episodes of his narration that could reveal the entire tale or life scenes of Buddha. The sculptors or the painters in Buddhist art were well aware of how to depict different actors and their emotions in the contemporary cultural context without disturbing the theme of the narrative. They took maximum care to augment space and time in their narrative art panels without affecting entire tale world and story realm of the narrative. In the literary narratives, the story itself maneuvers the time and space because both these two are expressed in the text of the narrative itself. But the narrative artist expands his canvas or panel to carve two distinct sets of architecture and other things representing two different places wherein the action occurs. The narrative artist appropriated similar indicators when portraying time and space.

²⁹ Roland Barthes and Lionel Duisit, 'An Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative', *New Literary History*, Vol. 6, No. 2, *On Narrative and Narratives*, (winter, 1975), p.237 and *passim*. pp. 237-272.

The major components of visual narration are: time and space, the essentials of progression, the agents of progression, protagonists etc. The most momentous constituent is its viewer. In Buddhist art, the viewer of the art piece is crucial for two reasons (i) the sequence of events that constructed the episodes and the chain of episodes that built the visual narrative need not always unfold in its artifact, but can open up also in the mind of the viewer the ability to reconstruct the story within his mind to the best of understanding and pre knowledge he had with regard to the theme of the narrative and (ii) the target viewers of Buddhist art were both the learned scholars of the Buddhist thought and the lay people who can rebuild the episode on the panel basing on the narratives they heard in the discourses and gatherings or new viewers who can grasp the essence of the depictions by viewing at a stone slab, painted wall or paintings.

The narrative art of Buddhist *Jātakas*- Styles of Depiction:

The style of representation of *Jātakas* in Narrative art mode was dynamic and very versatile. There are many types of narrative art depictions, such as monoscenic, continuous, synoptic, conflated, panoptic, progressive and sequential. In Āndhrādēsa the *Jātaka* tales are depicted in the following modes.

A **monoscenic** narrative corresponds to a single scene. In this form, the characters are not repeated and only one action would take place. Since the art piece represents single scene, the episode or story is easily identifiable in its context for it is self-revealing and explanatory. Monoscenic depiction is the simplest way of narrating a tale. In this type, the artist selects a popular episode or significant event of a tale and carves on the stone and did not look for its beginning and ending. It is possible that the artists would have assumed the viewers familiarity with the tale or episode and represent a significant part of the tale to bring into their consciousness about the entire story or event or a tale. The monoscenic

mode centers on a single event in a story, one that is generally neither the first nor the last, and which introduces us to a theme of action. Such a scene is usually an easily identifiable event from a story, and it serves as a reference to the narrative. This system of representation functioned well in India, as it did in the classical world, where tales were generally familiar to the viewer. The outcome of a story was known prior to its oral telling and prior to viewing its depiction in sculpture or painting. Monoscenic narratives must have enough potentiality to motivate the process of storytelling in the psyche of the viewer. The artist introduces the viewer a significant portion of the narrative and the latter remembers and recollects the remaining story and constructs the entire tale. The Matakabhatta *Jātaka* (Nagarjunakonda), *Kakati* Jātaka (Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda), *Mandhata* Jātaka (Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Gummadihorru) scenes representing departure of Buddha are monoscenic narratives.

Photo No. 1, **Mandhata *Jātaka* (Amaravati)**



Source:<http://images.library.wisc.edu/ArtHistory/S/50/1/2838771.jpg> downloaded on 12th July, 2016.

Photo no. 2, **Mandhata *Jātaka* at Nagarjunakonda**



source:https://s3.amazonaws.com/external_clips/1884707/nagarjunkonda-1.pdf?1464068596 downloaded from web on 12th July 2016.

Photo No. 3, **Departure of Buddha**



Source:https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amaravati_Mahachaitya downloaded from web on 14th July 2016.

A **continuous** narrative illustrates different scenes that construct the narrative within a single frame of the panel. Multiple actions of the actors and multiple scenes in the narrative are depicted in a ‘single visual field’ without any ‘dividers’ that demarcate one scene from the other. The progression of events that construct the narrative is defined through the redundant representation of the core character or characters. Such representation tells about the changes in movement of the repeating characters and also scenes or phases in the narrative art³⁰. Within a single frame, the successive episodes of a story or an episode are depicted in which the figure of the protagonist is repeatedly portrayed in the course of the narrative. Within a single visual field, consecutive time frames are represented without showing any dividers in it to distinguish one time frame from the other. Thus the spatio-temporal movement of the narrative is maintained in the narrative art. The understanding of continuous narrative demands awareness (i) within a single visual frame, more than one moment of time is represented, and (ii) frequent appearance of the protagonist signifies successive phases of action in the narrative art. The

³⁰Vidya Dehejia, *supra*, p. 386.

Sibi Jātaka and Vessantara Jātaka shown in the following photographs Nos. 4 and 5 respectively at Nagarjunakonda and Goli are the best examples for continuous style of narrative art tradition.

Photo No. 4, *Sibi Jātaka* at Nagarjunakonda



Source: <http://swamiindology.blogspot.in/2013/07/sibi-story-in-old-tamil-literature.html> downloaded from web on 14th July 2016.

Photo No. 5, *Vessantara Jātaka* at Goli



source: <http://ignca.nic.in/jatak038.htm> downloaded from web, dated 14th July 2016.

A **synoptic** narrative illustrates a ‘single scene’. Here the actors or characters of the event are shown many times within the frame to symbolize the multiple actions that are taking place in it. It makes the succession of the events in the episode unclear within the narrative. Synoptic narratives significantly furnish visual indices to the sequence of episodes in the narrative represented in visual form. But to the people who are unfamiliar with the story or the episode it is difficult to decipher the

meaning of it³¹. In the synoptic visual narratives priority is given to literary narratives, be oral or written that could really convince the viewer to understand and interpret it as a story. A medallion from the *stupa* at Amravati is an illustrious synoptic narrative art piece that represents *Chaddanta Jātaka*.

Photo No. 6, Chaddanta Jātaka at Amaravati



Source: <http://ignca.nic.in/jatak004.htm>. Downloaded from web, on 12th July 2016.

Like many other synoptic narratives, the interpretation of *Chaddanta Jātaka* is difficult. The ‘medallion’ portrays the story of Buddha’s previous birth as the elephant Chaddanta. The center of the medallion has only decorative carving which is in a circular pattern. It is a visual indicator to understand how the medallion has to be conceived and interpreted. Here the artist has left very less indication to understand the order.

“The medallion can be separated into 3 episodes with different scenes such as:

1. Chaddanta represents his chief queen with lotus.
2. Junior queen in offended.

³¹Ibid, p.383.

3. She, the junior queen, leaves to be on her own.
4. She lays dying, hoping for revenge.
5. A hunter aims an arrow at Chaddanta.
6. The hunter saws off Chaddanta tusks.
7. The hunter is seen departing with the tusks”.

Photo No. 7, ChaddantaJātaka from Goli



Source: <http://ignca.nic.in/jatak004.htm>, downloaded from web on 12th July 2016.

Conflated narrative is complementary to the synoptic mode, with which it shares many features. In this, the multiple events and the episodes of a story are presented. The protagonist in this form is conflated rather than being represented repeatedly as the story progresses. Such significant overlapping manner of presentation undermines temporal succession even further. The *Dipakara Jātaka* as shown in the following photograph No. 8 depicted in Nagarjunakonda is the living example to conflated mode of presenting the theme.

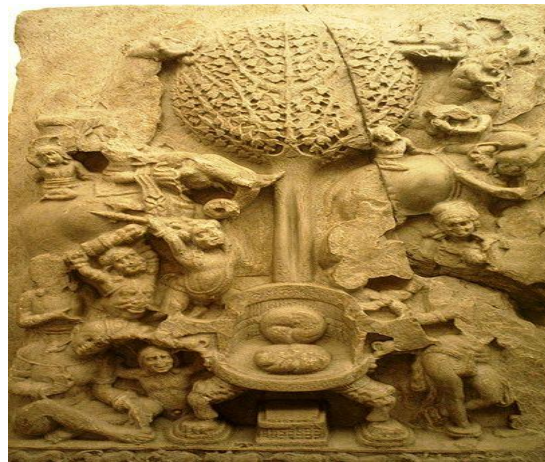
Photo No. 8, Dipankara Jātaka at Nagarjunakonda



Source: <http://ignca.nic.in/jatakint.htm>, downloaded from web on 14th July 2016.

A **panoptic** narrative art depicts multiple characters and scenes without repetition of characters. During an event, the actions are depicted either sequentially or simultaneously. The Mara's assault depicted in Amravati sculptures is an example to it.

Photo No. 9, Mara's assault; Amaravati



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amaravati_Mahachaitya downloaded from web on 14th July 2016.

A **progressive** narrative art tells a single scene wherein the characters do not repeat. The multiple actions take place to depict the

progression of the narrative in time and space. A progressive narrative could not be depicted as a group of simultaneous events but a succession that is dependent on its location or situation. In a single image, the actions shown by actors in the narrative art are shown and represent the present and future action.

A **sequential /linear** narrative art very much resembles to a continuous narrative with one major difference. A sequential narrative focuses on an enframement to construct 'temporal progression'. Each scene and action is represented as a unit within its frame. Each frame is considered as a particular scene occurring during a specific moment³². Sequential or successive episodes of the story are depicted in a linear or sequential pattern in which protagonist is repeatedly shown in every scene. The scenes are clearly demarcated from one another. A clear evidence for the sequential narrative art mode is depicted in vesantara *Jātaka* sculpted at Amaravati and life scenes taken from the life of Buddha found in the Nagarjunakonda sculptures.

Photo No. 10, Vesantara *Jātaka* from Goli



Source: <http://ignca.nic.in/jatak038.htm> downloaded from web, dated 14th July 2016.

Photo No. 11, Dighitikosala *Jātaka*, Nagarjunakonda

³²Ibid, p.386.



Source: K Krishna Murthy, *Nagarjunakonda: a cultural study*, concept publishing company, Delhi. 1977, plate XX.

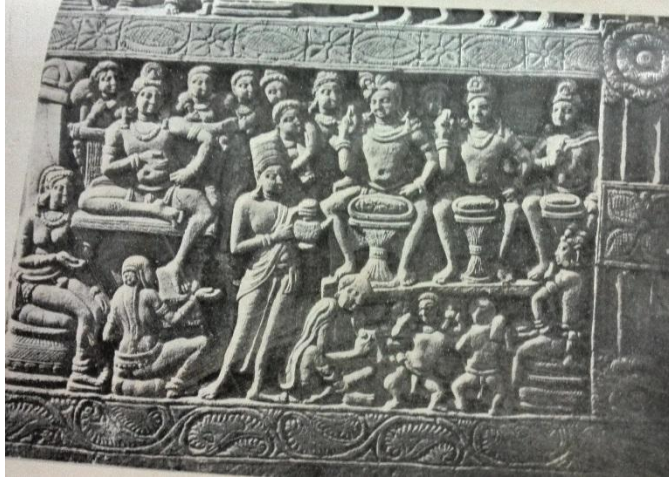
The scenes depicted in Nagarjunakonda sculptures are mostly in sequential narrative mode. The Birth and Mahaparinirvana episodes were beautifully depicted with clear demarcations of scenes embedded in the panel.

Photo No. 12, Mahaparinirvana scene from Nagarjunakonda



Source: Longhurst, *the Buddhist antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, Madras presidency, Memoirs of the ASI, No.54. ASI, New Delhi, 1999, plate:XXIX:C

Photo No. 13, Casting of horoscope Scene from Nagarjunakonda



Source: Longhurst, *the Buddhist antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, Madras presidency, Memoirs of the ASI, No.54. ASI, New Delhi, 1999, No.20

Sometimes the prevalence of the scenes scattered across the available space on the frame without any chronological order gives much space for the interpretation of the viewer or the observer. Thus the *Jataka* tales depicted on the walls of different Buddhist institutions were very interactive. The mere look at the panel makes the observers or the mendicants to recall the story that they heard or read in the literary sources and imprint in their minds to cognate the visual depictions with the oral and literal expressions of *Jataka* tales.

It can be derived from the above discussion that the *Theravada* Buddhism which is considered as the one that contains the ‘original’ preachings of Buddha rendered to the populace orally when he was staying in the monasteries and also in religious gatherings and discourses. The use of *pali* language by Buddha in dissemination of his message was one of the paradigm to understand that *Theravada* is much nearer to the actual teachings of Buddha and message was given in a language that could be understood by classes and masses alike. Hence *Jataka* tales are considered as the productions of Theravadins for they adopted narrative mode of transmission orally as well as visually to impress upon the body, mind and soul of the populace towards the Buddha’s path and attainment

of 'nirvana'. Thus the five hundred and forty seven *Jataka* tales were structurally patterned in such a way that they can be memorized, recited, remembered and rendered easily. The text of the tales contain the way how Buddha struggled throughout his previous births in different human and animal forms holding different positions as *Bodhisattva* to attain Buddhahood and finally *nivana*. The tales are impregnated with precepts of Buddha. The analysis of the *Jataka* tales made it clear that each and every narrative contain theory and practice of *Theravada* Buddhist path that has to be followed by its adherents. When analysed, the text of the tales reveals a message to the listener or readers that they should learn to attain the stage of *Paramita*. The animal and human continuity is shown through the births of *Bodhisattva* successively in these two forms and thus established the notion of causality and *karma* in the human life. They further created the fear of sin and also need of gifting (*dana*) exalted to the level of self-sacrifice (*atmaparityaga*) on the way to the path of *nirvana*. The successive past births of Buddha as *Bodhisattva* show gradual evolution of the Master's mind as an 'Enlightened' one. Buddha's life sets an example to those who wants to get liberated. In the same way the narrative art depicted on the walls of the Buddhist institutions furnish a live visual imagery to the populace to imprint the verbal or literal content of the Buddha's preachings in the minds of the populace.

Chapter V

Conclusions

The present thesis *Theravāda Buddhism in Āndhradēśa : Reflections in Jātaka tales* broadly shows how the Buddhist path was encapsulated within the text and structure of the Buddha's birth stories that contributed for the emergence of 'Jātakas' as special and fertile genre of study for future research in this field.

The extensive literature survey on Buddhism and other topic related works brought out some lacunae in the previous researches. Except for a few, so far the researches done on Buddhism, especially on *Theravāda* in Āndhradēśa are meagre. In the research process, the epigraphical sources were privileged over the literary sources especially the texts of *Jātakas*, *gathas* and other contemporary Prākṛit literature. The structure and texts of the *Jātaka* tales were not analysed to interpret them as the vehicles of communication to the populace. Hence there is a need to revisit and reinterpret the sources especially the *Jātaka* tales to understand how *Theravāda* as an original version of Buddhist thought attempted to construct a society that rests on *vidya* (knowledge) *sīla* (virtues), *Samādhi* (meditation) and *prajñā* (wisdom).

In the light of above discussion it is hypothesised that (i) the *Jātaka* tales that constituted the part of *Khuddaka nikāya* of *Vinaya piṭaka* were the real embodiments of Buddha's thought which aimed at reaching the people to the grass roots of society in the colloquial language in the form of tales, fables and myths. (ii) *Theravāda* sect of Buddhism is so egalitarian and integrative that it gave much scope to the exegesis and expositions of both the

male (*thera*) and female (*theri*) mendicants in the process of spreading the message of Buddha. (iii) The *Theravādins* strategically juxtaposed oral, written and visual (Buddhist narrative art depicted upon the Buddhist religious institutions) modes to disseminate the message of Buddha to people from different social strata.

Keeping in view, the above discussion my thesis aims to (i) shed light on the politico-cultural milieu for the rise and spread of Buddhism, especially *Theravāda* with special focus on Āndhradēsa (ii) interpret the doctrine of *Theravāda* as reflected in the literature, especially in *Jātaka* tales and canonical literature, inscriptions and narrative art depicted on the walls of the Buddhist *stupas*, *chaityas*, monasteries etc (iii) analyse and interpret the structure and content of the *Jātaka* tales to reveal how the Buddhist message was embedded in text, texture and context of their renditions .

The geographical limit of the topic is the Āndhradēsa that is being defined in the ancient times during the Mauryan and Satavahana times. The then Āndhradēsa was bounded on the north by Kalinga, south by the southern part of the Nellore district. It extended from the coast far into the mainland in the west. The present research studied the texts of 34 *Jātaka* tales and other sculptures connected to the life of Buddha that were depicted on the walls of the Buddhist institutions for the analysis and interpretation. Further, the depiction of *Jātaka* s as Buddhist narrative art is analysed. From this it is observed that the narrative art is nothing than the visual versions of oral/written *Jātaka* tales. The visual depictions of the *Jātakas* recall and remind the mendicants of the tales they heard or read and synchronize these two versions to their best understanding of the message of Buddha embedded within them.

Methodologically philosophical, historical and hermeneutical methods were employed in the research process. The primary and secondary sources employed in the study were discussed.

It is observed that different factors-social, political, religious and economic- factors contributed for the rise and spread of the heterodox religions especially Buddhism and *Theravāda* tradition in India in general and in Āndhradēsa with special emphasis.

In India, the sixth century BC witnessed the emanation of a heterodox spiritual ideology, the Buddhism. The Buddhist ideology emerged as a challenge to appease and negotiate growing resentment of the populace towards the ritual centred Vedic religiosity. It is held that the traditional Vedic religious practices construed on the citadel of Varna *dharma* and *jāti* privileged the priestly classes and ruling elite for the prescribed ritual practices were highly expensive. The Sanskrit religious works were not decipherable for the commoners. Further, the Indo-Bactrian invasions lead to caste proliferation, *Varna-samkara*. Deforestation and land reclamation contributed for the incorporation and integration of the tribal and pastoral communities into the mainstream society. The extensive agrarian activities due to the invention of iron implements being used in the agricultural operations led to surplus productions. For the exchange of the surplus through trade and commercial activities, there was a need for the mobility of merchant classes to establish centres of their business which contributed to the progress of urbanisation. These factors contributed to emergence of several new professions and communities resulting into the multiplication of several *jātis*, each of which got consolidated as a *sreni* or guild. They looked after the caste cum professional needs of their respective social groups and professions and maintained their solidarity through *śreni dharma* and organised through *sabha*. The trade and commercial activities spread as a network at local, national and international levels. The merchants were organised into caravans and carried their itinerant activities for a long period of time and space, across seas. The urban life of these times accommodates itinerant population seeking several professions and lively hoods. Such situation gave rise to certain features of town life like prostitution which is not treated favourably by traditional folk. Thus, the Varna based social hierarchy got fragmented

into several heterogeneous social groups whose spiritual interests cannot be appeased by the then extant religion for it did not have any sacred space for this amalgamated populace. Such spiritual anarchy created anxiety in the minds of the new social groups and awaited such a sacred ideology that sanctions a justifiable ritual space and peace in their religious life. In these circumstances, there was a need for a religion that could inculcate peace, truthfulness and forbearance in the minds of the populace to negotiate the conflicts situations that arise in the wake of social anarchy. In this context, the newly emergent religious ideologies of Jainism and Buddhism which questioned *Varna* based ritualistic religion and in built-in inequalities within the social structure appeased the populace very much. Further, these two religions alleviated the strictures that were embedded in the Vedic ritualism and emphasised on ‘purity’ of thought, word and action/behaviour. Interestingly the founders of these two religions, Vardhamana and Gautama Siddhartha both came from ksatriya lineage but tried to question the social inequalities that come in the way of reaching god. Of these two religious thoughts, Buddhism at the behest of Siddhartha, the emperor of Kapilavattu could emerge as a successful dogma for its egalitarian perspective of disseminating the spiritual message equally to all irrespective of their socio-cultural hierarchies attracted the populace. Siddhartha after his renunciation(*mahabhinishkramana*) from his worldly pleasures struggled hard to realise the cause of *duhkha* responsible for the entire *karma cakra* of the populace and liberated himself from the fetters of the worldly bondages and became Buddha. His victory over the senses of the mundane world was celebrated as *dharmacakraparivarthana* (turning the wheel of dharma) at Deer Park, where he was born, to symbolise his sovereignty and undisputed masterhood over the spiritual world of the universe.

Since the religion emerged as a relief for the people, Buddha wanted to keep his message within the hearts of the people who were in the grassroots of the society. Thus, he preferred to use the language of the people Pali as a medium of communication to disseminate his message among the

masses. Buddha emphasised memorization and repetition for remembering his message as a way to preserve his message not in the books but in the heart and soul of its adherents. Besides, the religious scriptures meant for the elite converts, the preachers preferred to appropriate oral narratives in the form of tales, fables, exegesis and experiences to send the religious philosophy of Buddhism to the masses. The *Jātaka* tales, the *Theragāthā* and *Therīgāthās* textualised in the *Tipitakas* had illustrious influence on the populace to get admiration for the preachings of Buddha and Buddhism. In a nutshell, the entire doctrine of Buddhism was designed as per the needs of those who were deprived of spiritual console. The space given for freedom of thought and expression in Buddhist path are unparalleled elsewhere in the history of the religions.

The essence of Buddhism lies in its behavioural ethics and disbelief in *attā (ātma)* ‘enduring self’ in the human being thrust on the laws of *karma* (action) and *punarjanma* (rebirth). It upholds the *kārya-kāraṇa* (cause of action) as well as cause and effect (*kāraṇa-phalita*) relationship. Buddhism strongly advocated that people will be crushed in the cycle of birth and death only to reap the fruits of their *karma* for people are makers of their own destiny. Thus cessation of *karma* leading to *nirvana* only can prevent an individual from falling under the wheels of life and death. To attain it, Buddhism prescribed *Madhya marga*, middle path between extreme hedonism and extreme self-austerities. The nucleus of *Śākyamuni*’s teachings lay in the ‘First Sermon’, especially in the doctrine of Four Noble Truths and also on the concepts of conditioned arising (*paticca-samuppada*), the doctrine of three characteristics (*Tilakkana*) and eight noble truths (*astāṅgamārga*) and the analysis of the human personality into its constituent parts (*skandhas*) are central to Buddhism. With its egalitarian philosophy, Buddhism was fascinated by the people ranging from the kings to that of a commoner for its precepts were down to the earth and followed by everybody without any inequality. As its realm expanded, there rose sectarian differences within the Buddhist Sangha on the prescriptions of *Tripitakas*

especially in of *Vinaya* and *Dhamma*. It soon brought resentment in the Sangha order. Such dissent brought several versions and thereby variations in the interpretations of the original teachings of Buddha and thus brought schism in Buddhism.

In the Second Buddhist Council (c.383 B.C) held at Vaisali discourse was on whether to follow *Daśa Vatthuni* or not in behaviour ethics of Buddhism. Those who supported its observance as obligatory on the part of the Buddhists got consolidated as *Sthaviravadins* or *Theravadins* and the other who denied and left to the interest of its followers were grouped as *Mahāsaṃghikas*. The *Theravādins* considered *Theravāda*, the school of elders as the oldest and the ‘original’ version of Buddha’s renderings as there were. Though *Theravāda* and *Mahāsaṃghikas* schools got divided into seven and seven sects respectively within three and four hundred years after the *Mahaparinirvana* of Buddha, in due course, they did not sustain their identities and got into oblivion. Later on, keeping in view the path they travelled to reach *nirvana*, they were well known as the followers of *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*. The terms *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* appeared first in the *Prajñāpāramita Śūtras* in approximately the second century AD. The oldest *Theravāda* was called by the *Mahayanists* as *Hinayana* school. It is a cross sectarian contempt with in a religious ideologies upholding the self and putting down the other.

However, the *Theravāda* Buddhism because of its claim as the oldest sect containing the ‘original verbatim of Buddha’s teachings’, emerged as a successful religious ideology by the time of Mouryan emperor Asoka and reached *Āndhradēsa* even when Buddha was alive. The doctrine expects its followers to be more ethical and moral in their behaviour and understand the theory of *karma* and its cessation to relieve their ‘own self’ from the cycle of births and deaths. The humble path-changing ideology of *Theravāda* Buddhism was greeted by the populace for its doctrine was encapsulated in way the form of tales, fables and exegeses to spread the message of Buddha to all. The spiritual healing practices of the *Theravādins* with their scriptural

chanting widely attracted the masses. They followed three strategies to reach the grass roots of the society . They were : (i) juxtaposition of oral traditions along with the sacred scriptures /Buddhist canonical literature and (ii) use of vernacular language , the Pāli (iii) depiction of Jātaka tales , life scenes Buddha and other relevant episodes as narrative art on the walls of Buddhist institutions. It is held that the Jātaka tales are of the creations of *Theravāda* Buddhists for their content reflects the every essence of Buddhist thought and practices that one should follow to get Liberation through the attainment of *Nirvaṇa*. It was illustrated in the past lives of Buddha as Bodhisattva, the emergent Buddha who through passing nearly 547 births could get ‘enlightened’ and attain *Nirvaṇa*.

The scenario in Northern and Southern India was different. By the time of Buddha, the *Mahajanapadas* were on the verge of collapse and beginning of the empire construction was noticed for Magadhan Empire was built by *Nandas* and latter by Mouryas by the fourth and third centuries BC. Buddhism which was dominant in northern India reached Andhra even during the life times of Buddha. However, the end of Mouryan period witnessed Vedic revivalism under the Sunga dynasty. These conditioned influenced the contemporary rulers in Southern India

In Southern India, especially in Āndhradēsa the overall contemporary conditions could successfully appropriate the religion, Buddhism; as a strategy in augmenting resources for the establishment of their political powers by the Satavahanas and the Ikshvakus. Since Buddhism entered Āndhradēsa even during the life time of Buddha, it has a possibility of having mutual interaction between the megalithic structures and Buddhist architecture in *Āndhradēsa* before 4th century BC. The Satavahana and Ikshvaku dynasties upheld both the Buddhist and Brāhmanical institutions simultaneously and successfully augmented the both the resources for the wellbeing of the state and society. The then contemporary society necessitated a spiritual ideology that could inculcate compassion, patience, sacrifice and non-violence in the populace for every dynastic shift naturally

creates socio-religious anarchy for the temples and other such institutions of the enemies would be the target of attacks. Buddhism which upheld all the good virtues among the populace was predominant in South India even before the Satavahana rule. Theravāda emerged successfully for its nearness to the teachings of Buddha. Hence the successive rulers Satavahanas and Ikshvaku found this religious thought to be suitable to negotiate the transition period during the dynastic shifts and continued their patronage to Buddhism by constructing Buddhist Chaityas, Viharas and stupas that attracted people from all over the world. While the queens and lay women extended patronage to Buddhist institutions, their kings Satavahana and Ikshvaku rulers revived Vedic ritualism and performed the sacrifices that legitimated their new political status. The rulers optimised Buddhist ideology as a buffer zone to establish their new religious identity without any friction for the rulers supported both these religious thoughts.

By that time, the teachings of Buddha were textualised in the form of canonical literature and thus *Jātaka* tales embedded in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* emerged as famous stratagem to transmit the Buddha's message. The *Jātaka* tales which were structured with built in message of Buddha were rendered orally in the religious institutions and gathering. They were visually depicted on the walls of *chaityas*, *viharas* and other Buddhist centres of activity as narrative sculptures to concretise the preachings of Buddha in the minds of the commoners. However, by the end of the Satavahana Buddhism got divided into several sects each spreading and functioning on their own doctrine, but retaining the core of *dhamma* of Buddha. The *Theravāda* Buddhism was also one such sect of Buddhism which flourished well in these times for it retained actual renderings of Buddha on mendicants and their way of life.

The term *Theravāda* is derived from two words *Thera* and *vāda* which means respectively 'elders' and 'discourse or doctrine'. The term literally means, 'the way of the Elders' or 'Doctrine of the Elders'. In Sanskrit, the term *Theravāda* is known as *Sthaviravāda*. Those monks who accepted the orthodox

view of Buddhism in the second Buddhist council emerged as *Theravadins*. *Theravāda* is considered as the purest form of Buddhism for its doctrine and ritual practices are akin to the original renderings of Buddha encapsulated in the earliest Pali scriptures. Further Pali was the basic language used in the teaching process the Buddhism to the lay and the elite people. That's how *Jātaka* tales became a popular genre that depicted *Theravāda* philosophy in a nut shell.

Theravāda Buddhism appears to be more of a philosophy than a religious belief for it considers Buddha as a human being who struggled through 547 births as bodhisattva to get enlightened and liberated for *nirvaṇa*. They depicted Buddha as one who is very much nearer to our soul. For them Buddha was neither a god nor a superhuman being. Theoretically, *Theravāda* Buddhism has no space for dogmas, superstitions, blind beliefs, rituals, mediation through the priests or faith in an unseen God'. The most fundamental ideology of *Theravāda* Buddhism is depicted in the *Āryasatyas*, Four Noble Truths. The First Noble Truth is suffering, *dukkha*, is inevitable and hence, everybody suffers. The second identifies the desire, (*tanha*) as the root cause of suffering. The Third Truth rests on the elimination of desire which would lead to the annihilation of suffering. The fourth stipulates the way to eliminate desire and its roots. *Theravādins* consider the Buddha's teachings as highly practical and ethical for He expects people to be away from all sorts of evils to sanctify and purify their souls. He prescribed the practice of *Śīla* (character), *Samādhi* (meditation), and *pragñā* (wisdom) to reach advancement in spiritual life of a human being. The *Theravāda* expects even an ordinary house holder should maintain *śīla*, the character and should refrain himself from *dasa akusalakarmapatha*- the ten evil ways of life (viz:-*Lōbha-greed*, *Vyāpada-hatred*, *Mōha-delusion*, *Mana-Conceit*, *Micchaditthi -wrong view*, *Vicikiccha-doubt*, *thinam-torpor*, *uddhaccam-restlessness*, *ahirikam-shamelessness*, and *Anottappam-recklessness*—covetousness greed for other's belonging, *Vyapada*). The crux of *Theravāda* Buddhism lies in its principle of *karma*. It holds that one's present socio-economic status is the result of one's

own *kamma*, accumulated during the previous lives. . It is further said that not only *sanchita karma* (the *karma* accumulated throughout the previous lives) but also the, the compassion, generosity, ethical and moral virtues that one observes also determines the respective life statuses. The entirety of Buddhist philosophy revolves round the causation of human actions and their repercussions in the form of *karma* and *punarjanma* the latter is corollary of the former and *vice versa*. The six realms of human life –*naraka* (hell), *p̄eta* (devil), *tiryagyonī* (animal), *asura*(demonic), *manushya* (human) and *deva* (divine)- that an individual reach upon their deeds in their previous births. The four additional realms created for the enlightened ones were : (i)*Sravaka arhats* (ii)*Pratyeka buddhas* (iii) *Bodhisattvas* and (iv)*Buddhas*.

It is obvious from the study that that the acts of charity (*dana*), moral conduct (*sīla*) and contemplation (*samādhi*) and attainment of *nirvaṇa* requires the extinction of *karma* in by reaching *parāmita* incorporating *dāna* (generosity), *dhyāna* (meditation) *ksānti* (patience) *virya* (diligence), *sīla* (morality), and *prajñā* (wisdom) which finally leads to *nirvaṇa*.

Further it is observed that the *tanha* is closely connected with the growth of unlimited wants which if not realised leads to *dukkha*. Buddhist philosophy upheld that one should the abstain from *avidya* (ignorance) , *tanha* (caraving) and *dukha* (suffering) and acquire *vidya* (knowledge/ wisdom) and follow *astāngamarga* (eightfold path) to develop ethics in every sphere of life particularly in the realm of trade. Through appropriate use of *vidya* -wisdom, desires that were worthy would spring and unworthy would disappear.

It is understood that Buddhism found an answer to inequality and declared that ‘inequality’ is not only due to inheritance and environment (nature and nurture) but also to the manipulation of the law of *Kamma* across the generations. Thus the doctrine of *karma* concept in Theravāda Buddhist ideology for every precept of it contains the notion of cause (*karya*) and

effect (*karma*) continuum through series of births and warns its adherents to get liberated from it by following the path prescribed by Buddha. The *Theravāda* thus upheld the ways to attain nirvana through the behavioural ethics and neutralisation of *karma* by practising the precepts of Buddha. It is further observed from the analysis that the notion of *karma* and reaping of its fruits awakened in the minds of the people the fear of sin which would lead them to chain of births and deaths. Thus Buddhist teaching helped them to understand the behavioural code and ethics one should observe for the cessation of karma and its repercussions.

It is evident that the Buddhist doctrine was widened to accommodate the needs of different strata of people in different regions. It got reflected in the division of Buddhism into several sects. In order to reach people the Buddha's verdicts were textualised in written form as *Tripitakas* and *suttas* and the same were popularized in the society through the *Jātaka* tales. The *Jātaka s*, the birth stories are storied experiences of Buddha during the course of his previous and the then current lives which were nothing than the reflections of Buddhist philosophy and way of life suggested to those who want to become Buddhists. The reputation of *Jātaka s* was so wide that they were popularized to the public orally in religious gatherings and visually as narrative sculptures depicted in the public spaces like *chaityas* and other Buddhist institutions. *Jātaka s* were claimed to belong to the *Theravāda* Buddhist literature for they are embodiments of its doctrine.

Basing on the study and analysis of the texts of the *Jātaka s* in the context of which they were composed, it is observed that they have a structure or pattern in which each birth story of Buddha as *Bodhisattva* is told. The structuring is done in such a way that at the end the *Jātaka* tale the function of telling the story by Buddha to his disciples is given in the form of a message. The *Jātaka* tales were arranged in such a way that *Bodhisattva* got emerged gradually as an enlightened Buddha through 547 episodes. The last 547th one is the *Vessantara Jātaka*, the story about the ultimate sacrifice of king Vessantara as the *Bodhisattva*. The sacrifice of his ownself as well as that of his extended

self-wife, son and daughter was the utmost sacrifice that exalted him to the state of Buddha. The content of the tale when analysed clearly showed how each and every Theravāda precept was justified in the course of actions in the narrative. In the thesis 34 *Jātaka* tales depicted on the walls of *chaityas*, *viharas* and *stupas* in Āndhradēsa at Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, Nagarjunakonda, Goli etc, were analysed as to show how the *Jātaka* texts functioned as the symbols of sustenance for the spread of the *Theravāda* ideology of Buddhism in an easily understandable way to the classes and masses alike by using simple metaphors that were prevalent in the contemporary world view. In Andhra, the depiction of *Vessantara Jātaka* depicting upholding the virtue of sacrifice as a final destiny of *bodhisattva* to reach Buddhahood in the sculptures of Amaravati and other places suggests that the spread of the ideology of *Theravāda* Buddhism reached optimum popularity among the populace with regard to the Buddhist values and virtues to be developed within them.

It is observed that the *Theravāda* Buddhism which is considered as the one that contains the ‘original’ oral preachings of Buddha’ to the populace when he was at the monasteries and also in religious gatherings. The use of *pāli* language by Buddha in dissemination of his path was one of the paradigms to interpret that the *Theravāda* is much nearer to the teachings of Buddha. The message was given in a language that could be comprehended well by the classes and masses alike. Hence *Jātaka* tales are considered as the productions of Theravadins for they adopted ‘narrative mode of transmission’ orally and visually to impress upon the words, thoughts and actions of the populace towards the Buddha’s path to attain ‘nirvaṇa’.

Further, the five hundred and forty seven *Jātaka* tales were structurally patterned in such a way that they can be memorized, recited, remembered and rendered very easily. The text of the tales contain the way how Buddha struggled throughout his previous births in different human and animal forms taking different statuses as *bodhisattva* to reach *nirvaṇa*. The analysis of the *Jātaka* tales made it clear that each and every narrative contains

theoretical and practical dimensions of *Theravāda* Buddhist path to be observed by its adherents. The continuity of animal and human forms in succession shown through the births of Bodhisattva established the notion of causality and *karma* in the human life. They further created the fear of sin and also need of gifting (*dāna*) exalted to the level of self sacrifice *atmaparityaga* on the way to the path of *nirvaṇa*.

It is observed that the successive past births of Buddha as bodhisattva show gradual evolution of the Master's mind as an 'Enlightened'. Buddha's life sets an example to those who want to get liberated. In the same way the narrative art depicted on the walls of the Buddhist institutions furnished a lived visual imagery to the populace to imprint the verbal or literal content of the Buddha's preachings in the minds of the populace.

To conclude, it can be said that the *Jātaka* literature is a potential area of research from philosophical, historical, religious and other social sciences perspectives for each tale though appears as a birth story of Buddha, it is a complex whole that can be studied from different dimensions. As long as the *Jātaka* tradition survives, the *Theravāda* sustains successfully and vice versa for both of them are mutually complementary to one another. In other words, the doctrine is well expressed in the genre *Jātaka* s and the latter stands as the metaphor of the former.

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