Mindfulness in Pāli Nikā yas: Origin and Incubation Anand Singh

Śramana tradition has been instrumental to develop number of meditational practices. Some of these practices are based on rigorous austerities and some of them were evolved on faculty and mental development. The mindfulness tradition developed by the Buddha was based on śramanic tradition and middle path was fundamental of this tradition. It has been a wider debate about origin of this technique. Some have the views that it has been directly seen by the Buddha. The examination of the Pāli Nikāyas show that the Buddha evolved it through experiments and experiences. The impact of Non-Vedic tradition, existing before the time of the Buddha is quite visible on it. The paper explores such ideas and trying to introspect some fundamentals about its non-Vedic origin

In the hoary past Indian ascetics stormed their mind to evolve various types of meditational practices to attain a particular stage of psychological state or higher end of knowledge. They invented different methods depending upon the posture, practice, and problems occurring in their time. Such practices led to various types of *yogic* postures and ways of concentration with specific terminology. There is an understanding of the true nature of realization through which a complete transformation of mental arousing develops and by which the person is exonerated out of the groove of melancholic life cycle. The understanding of the nature of an object is true knowledge of the transience which exposes adherence to sorrow of all components and of the emptiness of all objects. This knowledge of the essential emptiness of all objects is called the realization of the supreme void. It helps to remove conception of a self, the craving, and suffering which spring from that conception. It accentuates the limit of the mindfulness attainable in the Buddha's dispensation and leads to accomplish emancipation from all bondage of ignorance and the attainment of the highest happiness. In words of analytical knowledge (patisambhida magga) it is said that the supreme void is to quit of all kammic conformations, the giving up of all clinging to rebirth, detachment, cessation, and attaining *nibbāna*. The way of the arousing of mindfulness (satipatthana magga) is the summum bonum of the Buddhas. The antiquity of such tradition is known in India since emergence if its first civilization. In the later Vedic age it became sporadic movement with different types of traditions and practices. During the age of the Buddha many such practices have been practiced by *śramanic* traditions. Alexander during his marches to the northwest part of India in 4th century BC met number of such ascetics meditating in different postures and contemplating. The Greek writers called them Gymnosophists (naked ascetics). Alexander was very much impressed with one of them Kalanash or Kalanos which accompanied him to Macedonia and resided there. Alexander also met another ascetic Dandames in the deep forest of Gandhāra.1 The Buddha's idea on mindfulness could be seen as extension of such features and it was supposed to be neither static nor invented. It was evolved and matured in different time and space.

The origin of practice of mindfulness and its fructification in Buddhism are highly speculative. At one end it has been endorsed and propagated that mindfulness technique was totally invented by the Buddha but historical examination of the *Mahāsatipa??hana Sutta* and other *suttas* related to mindfulness give the idea that the Buddha might have evolved it with his own ingenious as well as borrowing from his predecessors and contemporaries. Nevertheless the Buddha rediscovered and institutionalized it as core Buddhist practice with certain additions and inventions. During his long and arduous journey of six years from mahābhini?kramana to nibbāna, the Buddha met number of people who had interacted and influenced him. Two of such ascetics were ?lāra Kalāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta who had taught Siddhārtha the teachings of 'sphere of nothingness (?kiňcaňňayatana)' and 'neither consciousness nor unconsciousness (nevasannanasannayatana)' respectively.2 While tracing antiquity of mindfulness tradition in Buddhism Louis de La Vallé Poussin proposed that the Buddha came into contact with ?lāra Kalāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta and the Pāli sources exhibit that several of Buddhist traditions were borrowed from non-Buddhist traditions already existing in the Ganga valley at the time of the Buddha. Such cultural exchanges and religious adaptations were not new in the Indian tradition.3 André Bareau argues that the Buddha had no interaction with these two teachers. He examines the *Mahiśāśaka Vinaya* and found that there is no interface between these two teachers and Siddhārtha. The Buddha's intention to teach them does not mean that he already met them.⁴ Johannes Bronkhorst accepts Bareau's argument that the Mahiśāśaka Vinaya mentions that the Buddha intended to teach ?lāra Kalāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta but it does not inform that they were his teachers. Originally this idea was not the part of Buddhist tradition but incorporated later when the Buddha thought to teach them his newly discovered doctrine.⁵ Both these arguments are based on the Mahiśāśaka Vinaya which is of later origin in early centuries of common era. It was developed in Avanti, the southern and northwest part of the Indian subcontinent. Two important observations can be made, first the early Buddhism during its expansion has some transformation and absorptions of local practices. Secondly, it is already explored in the Pāli Vinaya that both were the teachers of Siddhārtha. The Mahisāśaka Vinaya did not mention such evidences.

The study of Pāli *suttas* corroborate the idea that the Buddha interacted with ?lāra Kalāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta before his *nibbāna*. The *Ariyaparivesana Sutta* says that Siddhārtha received teaching of 'sphere of nothingness' and mastered it. Kalāma acknowledged his scholarship and regarded him as a great scholar.⁶ The imminence of ?lāra Kalāma as a great thinker has also been acknowledged in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*.⁷ It informs about Pukkusa, a follower of ?lāra Kalāma and citizen of Malla *janapada* who later became disciple of the Buddha. He praised that ?lāra practiced great meditation as once he was meditating in a courtyard and he neither saw nor heard noise of five hundred bullock carts passing by him though he awake and conscious. It may be assumed that the Buddha may have adopted some of his practices of mindfulness and discarded rest of his ideas. After renouncing ?lāra, Siddhārtha moved towards Vaišali and met another teacher Uddaka Rāmaputta who taught him doctrine of 'neither consciousness nor unconsciousness' Uddaka learnt his doctrine from his father Rāma. The Buddha recognized his teaching but was not fully satisfied, so left him to discover the real truth.⁸ The Buddha had high

regard for him and considered to teach him but he was no more when he became enlightened. Rāma, the father of the Uddaka was the great teacher of his time. The *Vassakāra Sutta* of the *A?guttara Nikāya* mentions his meritorious deeds and king Eleyya, Yamaka, Moggala, and others as his disciples. There is no confusion in Pāli literature about meeting of Siddhārtha with the two teachers and their meditational acumen. How their teachings influenced the Buddha, became a debate but both put some impact on him and it is somehow accepted that Uddaka's preaching of 'neither consciousness nor unconsciousness' corresponds to fourth *jhāna* mentioned in the *Mahāsatipa??hāna Sutta*.

The origin and antiquity of meditational practice in India is pre-Buddhist. The Nagara Sutta of the Sa?yutta Nikāya says that the Buddha himself rediscovered an ancient path just as an awakening person in a forest saw a road that led to an ancient city founded by the men of early ages.¹¹ It has been accepted that the four satipa??hānas were not existing during the age of Siddhārtha but rediscovered by the newly awakened one. Brāhma Sahampati applauded the efforts of the Buddha to rediscover it.12 It further mentions that sammasati was rediscovery of ancient path. 13 The literary as well as archaeological evidences suggest that *yogic* practices existed during pre Buddhist time. The reminiscences of such ideas could be traced in the Indus Valley Civilization. The depiction of three horned deity in *padamasana mudrā* on seal number 420 from Mohenjodaro in the Indus Valley Civilization resembles with the ascetic tradition. This seal was discovered by Ernest Mackay during 1928-29 excavation of Mohenjodaro in DK-G area, Block I.14 Thomas McEvilly says that the *yogi* of Mohenjodaro is not three faced but had four faced. The meditating posture of this deity resembles to the Jain tirthānkara and the Jain iconography depicts tirthānkara as four faced deity symbolising propagation of their teaching in all four directions. Such iconographical details are available in Jain literature, the ?carānga Sūtra and the Kalpa Sūtra.15 John Marshall identifies it with Proto – Siva (Pasupata) as *yogi* is surrounded by number of animals i.e. elephant, buffalo, rhinoceros, tiger, and two deer sitting near his feet. He has been associated with animals in later Brāhmanical tradition.¹⁶ The view of John Marshall is not well recognised among many scholars as Śiva, a benevolent god is of later origin. The yogic tradition that emerged in the Indus Valley Civilization has some glimpses in the Vedic age. The earliest literary evidence of muni (ascetics in ecstasy) has been found in the Rigveda. 17 The famous Keśi Sukta of the Rigveda describes muni as long haired (keśi), clad in dirty cloths (piśanga vasatimala), walking in air (vātāraśanah) or flying (antarikshanapatati). 18 Macdonell says that the munis must have been quite well known in the *Vedic* age but their deep knowledge about mediation and cosmology was not accepted by the Vedic people. They are not accepted by the purohitas of the Vedas who practiced yajnas which were quite different from muni tradition. The motive of yajnas was mainly material wealth and daksinas.¹⁹ The munis were generally involved in meditative practices and used to attain higher level of trances. The Aitareya Brāhamana mentions a muni Atisa renowned for his trances.²⁰ The Buddha's idea was not new but influenced by non-Vedic yogic tradition existed in India since the Indus Valley Civilization. The Buddha seems to have added some features to give it new shape. L M Joshi wonderfully argues that:

'What was the original source of thought of the historic munis, yatis, and śramanas? It

would be absurd to think that Buddhism and Jainism or the Sa?khya and Yoga or the anti Vedic spiritual thoughts or the older Upani?ads appeared suddenly in the sixth or fifth century BCE. The fashionable theory of "revolt" or "reaction" and "reform" within the Vedic Brāhmanism are gratuitous, wholly conjectural and without any evidence. The Upani?ads themselves prove that non-Vedic, Non-Brāhmanical and non-Aryan influences were at work; the pre-Upanisadic Vedic texts prove that there were in pre-historic India a non-Aryan and Non-Vedic Munis and Yatis or ascetics. Finally the archaeological remains of Mohenjodaro and Harappa prove that there were ascetics or yatis and yogins in India in the second millennium before Christ.'21

The Buddha might have learnt such idea either from his contemporaries or his predecessors. The great *munis* and enlightened persons of early periods (*pubbakehisammāsamabuddhehi*) may be acknowledged as the Buddhas of pre-historic ages, the awakened *munis* and *yatis* of pre-Upani?adic and non-Vedic śramanic traditions, that the Buddha himself accepted as the *tathāgatas*. It may be argued that all the Buddhas and the *Pacekkabuddhas* accepted in Buddhist tradition may be historical and humans. Some mythological features might be added in it. The six Buddhas: 1.Vipassī, 2. Sikhi, 3. Vessabhu, 4. Kakusandha, 5. Konagamana, and 6. Kassapa referred in the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Sa?yutta Nikāya* as immediate predecessors of the Buddha were primarily real human *sramanic* teachers whose historicity has been shrouded in mythological legends.²² The Buddha adopted many of their ideas.

The Buddha evolved his mindfulness technique over the years. Bhikkhu Anālayo has examined number of suttas reflecting discovery and development of the satipa??hāna.23 The Satipa??hāna Sutta of the Sa?yutta Nikāya,²⁴ the Satipa??hāna Vagga of the A?guttara Nikāya²⁵, the Sati Vagga of the A?guttara Nikāya²6, the Satipa??hāna Vibhanga,²7 the Satipa??hāna Katha²8 explain different stages of the satipat?hānas. Some shorter versions are also known in the Sa?yutta Nikāya²⁹ and the A?guttara Nikāya.³⁰ Rupert Gethin says that the mindfulness practice in the Pāli literature has been mentioned approximately 25 times. It finds place in the ten of the thirteen suttas that consists the Silakkhandha Vagga of the Dīgha Nikāya, eight times in the Majjhima Nikāya and twice in the A?guttara Nikāya. The shorter versions of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Majjhima Nikāya also mention mindfulness.³¹ The description of the meditative path described in the Samaňňaphala Sutta has been considered as standard one.32 The Satipa??hāna Sutta incorporates an exposition of meditation practice that could be embedded in about forty places of the Pāli Nikāyas.³³ These examples show that the Buddha evolved various dimensions of the satipa??hāna at different places in different times. The final development of the satipa??hāna took place at Kammasaddhama, a town of the Kuru *mahājanapada*. Here he exhorted all four stages of the satipa??hāna. These are the contemplation about the body, mind, feeling, and the dhamma.34 The Mahāsatipa??hāna Sutta contains a more detailed analysis of four stages of jhāna than found in the Dhammacakkapabāttana Sutta or the Airvaparivesana Sutta. The Buddha delivered this *sutta* with some purpose in the Kuru country. The land was centre of Brāhmanical cults and yajnas. The Kuru-Panchāla region was also known for deep knowledge of Vedic philosophy which was developed under patronage of Panchāla king Pravahana Jabāli. The Buddha thought that final form of the *satipa??hāna* can be taught in the region where people can understand it properly. It may also be possibility that such idea based on *sati* can be considered superior to Vedic rituals and speculative thoughts. The Panchālas maintained its reputation as a home of Brāhmanical culture in the later Vedic age. The great scholars belonging to that region indulged in newly found love for philosophical speculation and thought rather than engaging themselves in sacrificial rituals. The great philosopher king Pravahana Jabāli was contemporary of king Janaka of Mithila and he was in philosophical debate with Aruni , Śvetaketu, Śilaka Śālāvatya and Chaikitāyana Dālbhya.³⁵ This land was suitable for the Buddha to propound superiority of his meditation practice that is why the *Mahāsatipa??hāna* and the *Satipa??hāna* Sutta were delivered in Kuru region.

Lily De Silva says that the final exposition of the *Satipa??hāna Sutta* was made when Buddhism spread from Magadha region to Kuru-Panchāla region and beyond. It was because of advance nature of the *Mahāsatipa??hāna Sutta* and people of this region were superior in subtle knowledge.³⁶ In this land of philosophy the Buddha delivered many important *suttas* at Kammasaddhama in the Kuru country and for it the Buddha visited here many times.³⁷ The Buddha also gave exposition of the *Māgandiya Sutta*³⁸, the *Mahānidāna Sutta*³⁹, the *?naňjasppāya Sutta*⁴⁰ at Kammasadhamma. Tha *Māgandiya Sutta* shows discontent against the Buddha by the followers of the Brāhmanical religion and the Buddha exhorted great exposition of his teachings to convert brāhmana Māgandiya. The *Sa?yutta Nikāya*⁴¹ and the *A?guttara Nikāya*⁴² tell about discussion on ten noble states (*ariyavava*) and causal relations. Both these sermons were preached at Kammasadhamma. Buddhism praises intellectual calibre of people of this region and says that because of their high intellectual wealth, these *suttas* were preached.⁴³ The Buddha taught here discourses on *satipa??hāna* because of ability of the people of Kuru to learn this deep doctrine. It is said that:

'The inhabitants of the Kuru country-bhikkhus, bhikkhunis, upasaka, upasikas- by reason of their country being blessed with a perfect climate, and through their enjoyment of other comfortable conditions, were always healthy in body and mind. They, happy with healthy mind and bodies, and having the power of knowledge, were capable of receiving deep teachings. Therefore the blessed one, perceiving the ability to appreciate this profound instruction proclaimed to them this discourse on the Arousing of Mindfulness, which is deep in meaning, having set up the subject of meditation, in arahatship, in twenty places. For even as a man, having got a golden basket should fill it with diverse flowers, or indeed having got a golden casket should fill it with precious jewels of the seven kinds, the blessed one, having got a following of the Kuru land people, dispersed, it is said, deep doctrine. Likewise on the very accent, there in the Kurus, the Blessed one, taught other deep teachings: the Mahanidana Sutta, Maha-satipatthana Sutta, Saropama Sutta, Rukkhupama Sutta, Rathapala Sutta, Magandiya Sutta, and the Anenjasappaya Sutta.'44

The *Digha Nikāya* speaks that the Bodhisattva Vipassī meditated *dhammanupassana* on the five aggregates. It shows that the *satipa??hāna* was an ancient path preached by previous Buddhas. The practice was forgotten but rediscovered by the Buddha.⁴⁵ Recently another dimension

of antiquity of Buddhist mindfulness has been explored. Georgious T Halkias examined Buddhist identity of Kalanos from Takshaśila who visited with Alexander to Macedonia. He lived in Macedonia for some years and later performed self-immolation. 46 His recognition as a Buddhist mendicant gives new interpretation to Buddhist meditative tradition especially in the northwest part of India. The close examination of the Buddhist mindfulness practices shows that the Buddha never recommended extreme and rigorous methods of meditation. The satipa??hāna has no place for extreme hardship or self sacrifice. It shows evolutionary trend and from the Ariyaparivesana Sutta, the Anāpanasati Sutta, Samaňňaphala Sutta to the Satipa??thāna Sutta, it has been modified several times. The Buddha adopted the majjhimamagga to attain jhāna and even sometimes all four stages of *jhāna* were not mandatorily recommended and a person can attain higher end of knowledge by following only one stage i.e. body, mind, feeling, and dhamma. If any spurious tendencies crept in the meditational practice in the 4th century BC, definitely it could be checked and reformed by Aśoka. Gandhāra was the part of the Mauryan empire and Aśoka was first posted as viceroy and then the emperor. He issued stern actions against the monks who were creating dissidence and fissiparous tendencies in Buddhism. The schism edict of Sānchī, Sārnāth, and Kośambī mention his efforts to reform Buddhism and mode of punishment against the errant bhikkhus but such noticeable change in meditational practice has not been recorded. Even the Pāli literature does not mention stern meditative tendencies like self sacrifice. Only in the Mahāyāna literature idea of self sacrifice by the bodhisattva was accepted. The 'living tradition' of Buddhism in Gandhāra region does not recognise such practice. Gandhāra art is one of the most fascinating characteristics of Buddhism. If the Buddhist monks were naked and performed self-immolation in this region, such visual narratives must have been depicted in its art but it is not found so far. The meditative techniques shown by Kalanos does not show any linkage with the satipa??hāna, the ever existing meditative tradition of Buddhism. He may be a Jain ascetic or an Ajīvika as both categories had naked tradition in the 4th centuries BC. It may be argued that the gymnosophists were Jains.⁴⁷ The argument was contested on basis that Jain monks from Mathurā had cultural linkage with Gandhāra that only started in early common era. 48 Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha was patron of Jainism and he had close contact with Gandhāra and its king Pushkarasārin (Pukkusāti). He sent royal embassy in the court of Magadha. 49 So the cultural links of Mathura, Jainism, and Gandhāra can be sought since the age of Mahāvīra and Bimbisāra.

The satipa??hāna as an enlightening path has been explicitly described in the Satipa??hāna Sutta of the Majjhi?a Nikāya⁵⁰. It has been elaborately explained in the Mahāsatipa??hāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya⁵¹. The term satipa??hāna can be explained as a compund of sati and upa??hāna. The sati denotes mindfulness and upa??hāna corresponds to being placing near or adhering to something related with mindfulness.⁵² It discusses progressive sequence. The contemplation of the body begins with conceiving and doing specific body postures and contemplating about the anatomical details. It leads to second stage to contemplate about the feelings and shifting the level of jhāna from physical level of awareness to more subtle consciousness which reflected in form of pleasant, unpleasant, worldly, and unworldly nature. The unworldly feeling prelude to thinking about ethical proposition about wholesome and unwholesome status of mind. Contemplation

of mind introspects the existence or absence of four unwholesome status of mind i.e. lust, anger, delusion, and distraction. The efforts to inquire these obstacles or hindrances leads to higher level of jhāna. The main motive is to get rid of paňca-nivāranas i.e. desire, aversion, sleepiness and tiredness, agitation and depression, and doubt. 53 After crossing these hindrances the contemplating of dhamma arises which covers five aggregates and the six sense spheres. The analysis further leads to awakening. It also tells about the mental qualities to attain these stages i.e. one should be hardworking (atāpi). Knowing truth (sampājaňa), mindful (sati) and free from desire and discontent (vineya abhijhadomanassa).⁵⁴ The term atāpi is related to word tapas which means selfmortification and practices of munis and yatis. The Buddha did not adhere the idea of selfmortification for attainment of *nibbāna*. 55 He truly denounced it and propounded the middle path. He was neither in favour nor against of physical austerities. Its support can be taken if helpful in removing unwholesome status of mind. It will not only lead to awakening and such mental progress is necessary for development of sati.56 The Buddha accepts that he did some of the rigorous penances for achieving enlightenment but it did not lead to nibbāna.⁵⁷ He recommends mental austerities to remove unwholesome thought. His form of practice is mainly mental not physical and it was not like a ordinary tapassi. He says that the meditation should be like tuning of lute whose string is not too tight or too loose.⁵⁸ Rhys Davids says that tapas in Buddhism connotes with retirement to forest for meditation and atapi is related to dwelling alone in forest and in seclusion to meditate for attainment of jhāna. 59 The majjhimamagga is the best way to attain nibbāna and it should be followed by avoiding excessive and inordinate hardship.

The middle path enabled the Buddha to cross the ignorance. The word sampājaňa or sampājaňati can be categorised into pajānati (knowing) with prefix sam (together).⁶⁰ It is way to wipe out the unwholesome tendencies and inculcate right knowledge. The Buddha recommends direct insight into knowledge and defined path of the tathāgata is the only way.⁶¹ He did not completely denied the oral tradition but apprise of its limitations. The lesson learnt from oral tradition might me wrongly remembered or interpreted. It may be convincing but practically unsound because it is based on false premises. 62 The term sati denotes remembrance. ?nanda was had great expertise in this field and he was praised by the Buddha for it. ⁶³ After the mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, ?nanda was given responsibility to recollect discourses of the Buddha. 44 In field of mindfulness it is instrumental for six recollections (anussatis) i.e. of the Buddha, the dhamma, the sa?gha, of one's ethical conduct, of one's liberality, and of heavenly beings (devas).65 Another form of recollection can be attained through deep meditation is the recollection of one's past lives (pubbesivasanussati).66 Sati is a one of the central part of Buddhist teachings. It has been incorporated as a foundation of Buddhist teachings as it is part of eightfold path (sammasati), part of the faculties (indriva) and powers (bala). It has been accepted as constituent of awakening factors (bhojjhā?ga).⁶⁷ The fruit of attaining true knowledge from the contemplation is to renounce the hindrances and attain four *jhānas* with state of sublime joy, happiness, mindfulness and equanimity. It inculcates various potencies (iddhis) such as ability to walk on water, fly in the air, and different sorts of knowledge (abhňňa). The best part of it is to learn the true nature of suffering, its arising, its cessation, and way of its cessation that leads to nibbana. 68 The sequence of the satipa??hāna is to attain jhāna from grosser to more subtle stage. The initial level of contemplation leads to development of *sati* and later stage makes way for contemplation of four noble truths and attainment of *nibbāna*. Its main emphasis is on realization of true character of phenomenon as they exist and occur. The contemplative exercises mentioned in the *Satipa??hāna Sutta* are seen as mutually complementing each other but their sequence may be altered to fulfil the requirement of each individual.⁶⁹ The *?nāpanasati Sutta*⁷⁰ mentions that how mindfulness with the help of breathing can be developed in such a way that it covers all segment of four *satipa??hānas*. It implies that breathing exercise leads to cover all dimensions of *satipa??hāna*. However it is also introspected that all four *satipa??hānas* are necessary to get the insight. One particular meditation practice can be instrumental as a primary object of meditation. The other aspects of *satipa??hāna* will deliberately be contemplated even if in a secondary manner.⁷¹ The *Satipa??hāna Sutta* says that the perusal of all four *satipa??hāna* leads to higher end of knowledge of non-returning and *arahatship*.

The aim of the mindfulness is to lessen the conceptualizing proclivities in human beings and lead them towards appreciating the real nature of the objects. The Buddha propounded that one can achieve it by practicing pure mindfulness, and letting transience, the other characteristics of the mental and bodily objects become clear by dint of concentrated action. The true understanding of reality could be achieved on profound personal experience. The experience that the Buddha rediscovered with his own contemplative experiences. Continued practice of the arousing of mindfulness instils into practiser—the habit of systematic or proper attention (yoniso manasikara) regarding the details of objects and accustoms him to introspect all phenomena for their inherent characteristics of transience. Thus he gradually learns to turn away from the worldly views and look at them by way of condition, cause, dependent origination etc. It conjoins in spirit one with the dhamma. The Buddha says that—my dispensation leads to deliverance in such way that is crowned with arahantship. He pronounces that four arousing of mindfulness is the only way for the purification of beings, for the overcoming of dukkha, for the annihilation of suffering and grief, for attaining the right path, and of nibbâna.

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- 37. G P Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Delhi: MLBD, Vol.1, 2007, p.520.
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- 39. Dīgha Nikāya, II,55, Sa?yutta Nikāya, II,92
- 40. Dīgha Nikāya, II,290, Majjhi?a Nikāya, I,55
- 41. Sa?yutta Nikāya, I,501
- 42. A?guttara Nikāya, V29ff
- 43. Saratthappakasini, II,89
- 44. Sylvain Chamberlain-Nyudo, *The Way of Mindfulness, The Satipatthana Sutta and its Commentary by Soma Thera*, Threefold Lotus Kwoon Press and Lulu.com, 1998, pp.42-43
- 45. Dīgha Nikāya, II,35
- 46. Georgious T Halkias, op. cit. p.164
- 47. R C Craven, *A Concise History of Indian Art*, Oxford: OUP, 1976, p.33 (The Buddha did austerities during his wandering for *nibbāna*. The *A?guttara Nikāya* mentions that Siddhārtha resolved that let my flesh and blood dry and I will not give up, *A?guttara Nikāya*, I, 50, The *Majjhi?a Nikāya* says that he will not change his posture until he gets enlightenment. *Majjhi?a Nikāya*, I, 219. These experiences were pre-*nibbānic* and the Buddha refuted such austerities and preferred mental one.)
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- 49. Hemchandra Raychaudhry, *Political History of India*, New Delhi: Cosmos Publication (reprint), 2006, p.166.
- 50. Majjhima Nikāya, I, 55-63
- 51. Dīgha Nikāya, II, 290
- 52. Anālayo, op. cit. p.29
- 53. *Majjhi?a Nikāya*, III,135-36.
- 54. Anālayo, op. cit. 17-20
- 55. Sa?yutta Nikāya, I,103, V,421
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- 61. *Majjhi?a Nikāya*, II, 211
- 62. Ibid. I,520, II, 171
- 63. A?guttara Nikāya, I,24
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