

For centuries, the reputation of the early Conservative Buddhist schools had been stigmatized by the term "Hinayana", used indiscriminately to label them. The Pali/Sanskrit word "Hinayana" means "low, undesirable, or despicable vehicle." This label is highly derogatory and false. Today the law considers it as defamatory! Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike are strongly advised to stop using it to describe any Buddhist school, whether existing or extinct. There is no legal or moral justification in using this libellous term anymore! There is no Hinayana in Buddhism.

Dhammapada verse 408 says:
 "He who utters gentle, instructive, and true words, and who does not offend anyone by speech, — him I call a brahmana (enlightened)".

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No Hinayana in Buddhism

By Chan Khoon San & Kâre A. Lie

The Gift of Dhamma excels all gifts.

No Hinayana in Buddhism

By Chan Khoon San & Kâre A. Lie

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Cover Design

Front cover shows the famous Reclining Buddha image in Kusinara, India. Its unique facial expression evokes the bliss of peace (*santisukha*) as the Buddha passes into final liberation, *Mahaparinibbana*.

Preface

For centuries, the reputation of the Conservative Buddhist schools had been stigmatized by the term “Hinayana”, used indiscriminately to label them. The Pali/Sanskrit word “Hinayana” means “low, undesirable, or despicable vehicle”. It is a contemptuous term coined by early Mahayanists to label all the early Conservative schools that did not subscribe to the Mahayana doctrine.

There is no Hinayana in Buddhism. There never was. Hinayana is a false derogatory term! Today the law considers it as defamatory. Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike, are strongly advised to stop using it to describe any Buddhist school, whether existing or extinct. There is no legal or moral justification in using this libellous term anymore!

Gentle speech and courtesy are two Dhammas taught by Lord Buddha that lead to welfare and happiness. When gentle speech and courtesy are practised among the Buddhists, there is goodwill; then harmony and unity will prevail, irrespective of the school or vehicle they follow.

I wish to thank Mr. Kåre A. Lie for permission to publish his fine article “The myth of Hinayana”, which has provided accurate information on the subject. The kindness of Ven. Nyanaramsi of SJBA, in giving his valuable advice, is gratefully acknowledged. I thank Sis Wooi Kheng Choo for checking the texts and giving useful suggestions.

Bro. Chan Khoon San, 3 September 2011

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The myth of Hinayana

Kare A. Lie

In the centuries around the birth of Christ there was a radical development going on in Buddhism. A new school was born, and its adherents called it Mahayana. How this new school differed from the earlier schools, can be found in any history of Buddhism. Here we will concentrate on one of the results of this schism: the term **Hinayana**.

The adherents of the older schools criticized the Mahayanists, especially for creating new sutras, forging the word of the Buddha. The Mahayanists on the other side reacted to that critique by accusing their opponents of not understanding the teaching of the Buddha at all and for being narrow-minded egoists. The debate got heated, and accusations flowed from both sides. Then some brilliant person at the Mahayana side of the debate created the word pair “**Mahayana-Hinayana**”, and it stuck. They called their opponents Hinayana, and this word worked excellently as an insult – with a simplicity and parallelity to Mahayana that any fool could grasp.

Hinayana is a highly derogatory term. It does not simply mean “Lesser vehicle” as one often can see stated. The second element of hina-yana – that is “yana” – means vehicle. But hina very seldom has the simple meaning of ‘lesser’ or ‘small’. If that had been the case, the Pali (or Sanskrit) texts would have used it in other connections as an opposite of maha – big. But they don't. The opposite of maha is “culla”, so this is the normal word for “small”.

The term Hinayana is an echo of a debate long dead – or rather a debate where the one party is dead and the other one is shouting to the winds.

Who were the opponents who were labeled Hinayana? Theravada? Probably not! At the time when Mahayana was born, **Theravada had mainly “emigrated” to Sri Lanka**, and could hardly be counted among the dominating schools on the Indian mainland – where the Mahayana-Hinayana debate took place.

Theravadins are only sporadically mentioned in Mahayana works. In *Karmasiddhiprakarana* Vasubandhu respectfully calls them “the honorable Tamraparniyas” (Tamraparni was a name for Sri Lanka), and he does not call them “Hinayana”. The most influential of the old schools at that time was **Sarvastivada**, so they were the most probable but hardly the only target for the “Hinayana”-invectives.

Now the Sarvastivada and the other early schools of India at that time are long dead, except Theravada, but the debate and the arguments found their way into the Mahayana sutras, as for instance is apparent from the anti-Hinayana propaganda in the Lotus sutra - and keep echoing in the Mahayana and Vajrayana teaching.

Today there is confusion, for the Mahayanists /Vajrayanists use the term Hinayana in three different ways:

- 1) In the historical sense: Pre-Mahayanist schools are called Hinayana.
- 2) Modern Theravada is confused with Hinayana.
- 3) The term Hinayana is used for an internal part of the Mahayana/Vajrayana teaching.

Let's have a closer look on these three usages.

1) Some assert that the word Hinayana as a term for the earlier schools is a usage that belongs to the distant past only. This is not correct. It can be found in several modern reference works, and in more specialist literature it can for instance be found in H.V. Guenther, *Buddhist Philosophy In Theory and Practice*, citing Tibetan works from the 18th and the 20th century.

2) As an example of confusing Hinayana with Theravada, I will quote from the **Bibliography of Jane Hope** (Jane Hope studied with Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche.), *Buddha for beginners*, printed in 1995 (I only have the Norwegian version available, so I hope my retranslation back into English will not be too inaccurate): “Hinayana Buddhism. A good introduction to the traditional Hinayana Buddhism is *What the Buddha Taught*, Walpola Rahula ... From a present point of view and written by two Westerners trained in the Theravada tradition, is ... *Seeking the Heart of Wisdom*, by Joseph Goldstein & Jack Kornfield.”

3) Now for a persistent confusion that has its basis in Tibetan Buddhism. Some say that Hinayana and Mahayana from very early on are two terms used to describe two different spiritual attitudes, and quote from the 7th chapter ("Loving Kindness and Compassion") of the Tibetan classic *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation* written in the 10th century, where the author, Jé Gampopa refers to Hinayana as “lower capacity” (“theg pa dman pa”).

The paragraph reads as follows: “Clinging to the well-being of mere peace (1) signifies the lower capacity attitude (2) wherein the longing to transcend suffering is focused on oneself alone. This precludes the cherishing of others and hence there is little development of altruism. [...] When loving kindness and compassion become part of one, there is so much care for other conscious beings that one could not bear to liberate oneself alone. [...] Master Manjushrikiirti has said: “A Mahayana follower should not be without loving kindness and compassion for even a single moment”, and “It is not anger and hatred but loving kindness and compassion that vouchsafe the welfare of others.”

The footnotes to this passage read as follows:

(1) The Tibetan zhi.ba means "peace". It is translated as "mere peace" in this section of the book, since it is used by Gampopa to denote the relatively compassionless peace that results from developing only concentration meditation.

(2) **Hinayana: “lesser capacity” often translated as “lesser vehicle”**. The term implies the ability to carry a burden. In this case the burden is oneself since one's commitment is to bring oneself to liberation, not everyone (as is the case in the Mahayana, the "greater capacity").

The problem and confusion here is of course that this analysis does not refer directly to the Pali/Sanskrit word Hinayana, but to its Tibetan translation “theg pa dman pa”. This is a key issue, as will be shown below.

The word “Hinayana” is not Tibetan. It is not Chinese, English or Bantu. It is Pali and Sanskrit. Therefore, the only sensible approach for finding the meaning of the word is to study how the word “hinayana” is used in the Pali and Sanskrit texts. The second element, -yana, means vehicle. There is no dissent about this. How then is "hina" used in the canonical Pali texts?

Every Buddhist knows the first recorded sermon of the Buddha, the **Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta** spoken to the five ascetics who became the first five bhikkhus. There the Buddha says: “These two extremes, monks, are not to be practised by one

who has gone forth from the world. What are the two? That conjoined with the passions and luxury, low (**hina**), coarse, vulgar, ignoble and harmful.”

Here the Buddha clearly denotes the path not to be practised, as hina.

Knowing that the sutta style often use strings of synonyms this way, so that they strengthen and define each other, one can regard “coarse, vulgar, ignoble and harmful” as auxiliary definitions of “hina” in this case.

In other Pali texts and commentaries “hina” often occurs in the combination “hina-majjhima-panita”, that is: “bad - medium – good.” In the context of “hina - majjhima – panita” (or sometimes only “hina – panita”) the word “hina” is always used as a term for undesirable qualities, like for instance hatred, greed and ignorance. **It obviously means “low, undesirable, despicable” and not “small” or “lesser”.**

The commentary *Mahaniddesa-atthakatha*, one of the texts where this triad occurs, defines the word thus: hinattike hinati lamaka (In the hina-triad “hina” is “lamaka”). Now the PTS Dictionary defines “lamaka” in this way: “insignificant, poor, inferior, bad, sinful. The usual synonym is “papa”. And “papa” means "bad, evil". So it seems the definitions go from bad to worse here. The commentary then gives examples, and explains that desires that cause rebirth in niraya (hell, purgatory) are hina.

Now for Sanskrit texts! In *Lalitavistara* we find a version of the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta, where the word “hina” is used exactly as in the above citation from the Pali-version of that sutta.

In *Mahayanasutralankara* by Asanga, which is a very representative Mahayana text, we find something of interest for our quest. Asanga says: “There are three groups of people: hina-madhyama-vishishta...(bad–medium–excellent).”

This expression is parallell to the Pali: hina-majjhima-panita, and goes to show that the **Mahayanists who coined the term “hinayana”, regarded “hina” as a derogatory term, with the same meaning as in the Pali texts.**

A very interesting text is an edition of the *Catusparishatsutra* where the text is presented in four parallell columns: Sanskrit, Pali (Mahavagga), Tibetan and a German translation from a Chinese version. Here again, we find the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta. We have already looked into the Sanskrit and Pali. The German version from the Chinese says: "Erstens: Gefallen zu finden an und anzunehmen die niedrigen und üblen Sitten der gewöhnliche Personen."

It is a little unclear whether it here is "niedrigen" (despicable) or "üblen" (evil, bad) that corresponds to "hina". But it at least is clear that the strongly negative connotation of “hina” was carried over into the Chinese translation. So far nothing had changed from the Pali and Sanskrit meanings.

In the Tibetan column, we find that the Tibetan word "dman-pa" takes the place corresponding to the Sanskrit "hina", matching the above quote from Jé Gampopa. **And here we have the cause of later confusions and misunderstandings of the term “hinayana”.**

Let us see what Tibetan-English dictionaries say about "dman-pa": Sarat Chandra Das' Dictionary says: "dman-pa: low, in reference to quantity or quality, little". Jaschke's Dictionary is even more enlightening: "dman-pa: 1. low, in reference to quantity, little. 2. in reference to quality: indifferent, inferior (Skt: hina)."

It thus seems that the Sanskrit word hina, which without any reasonable doubt means "of low quality", came to be translated by the Tibetan word dman-pa, which has the double meaning "low quality" and "low quantity". And the above quote from Jé Gampopa seems to indicate that many Tibetans henceforth read only the latter of those two meanings into it, as "lesser capacity", "lower capacity", so that the meaning was distorted from "low quality" to "low quantity".

Thus we see that the confusion arose from the fact that dman-pa has two meanings in Tibetan. **Hinayana – originally meaning “vehicle of despicable quality” – thus acquired the new meaning “vehicle of lower capacity”.**

But this is a result of a wrong method. It is of course wrong to project the new Tibetan meaning back onto the Sanskrit/Pali word, and say: “this is the meaning of Hinayana, because this is how the Tibetan masters explain it.” What the Tibetan masters explain, is the Tibetan word dman-pa, not the Sanskrit word hina.

Therefore it is clear that one cannot assert that Hinayana has the ‘mild’ meaning that the Tibetan tradition has given it, via the Tibetan word dman-pa.

Hinayana is not Tibetan! It is Sanskrit/Pali, and its harsh, derogatory meaning is unchanged by any attempts of mitigation.

What then, is Hinayana? Is it Theravada Buddhism?

No, that is both insulting and probably also historically wrong. Is it a spiritual attitude inside the Mahayana and Vajrayana system? No, that is the Tibetan "theg pa dman pa", the lower capacity attitude, and not the Sanskrit Hinayana, “the inferior vehicle”.

Therefore, there is no Hinayana. Hinayana is nothing but a myth, although a confused & disruptive one, and wise Buddhists ought to lay that word at rest on the shelves of the Museum of Schisms, where it rightly belongs, and find other words to denote those spiritual attitudes that they wish to define.

No Hinayana in Buddhism

Bro. Chan Khoon San

According to **Venerable J. Kashyap**¹, the term “**Hinayana**” was coined by early Mahayanists out of contempt for the Conservative schools that did not subscribe to the new Mahayana doctrine.

In 1950, the World Fellowship of Buddhists inaugurated in Colombo, unanimously decided that the term “**Hinayana**” should be dropped when referring to Buddhism existing today in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, etc.

In spite of this, there are still modern writers who continue to use this derogatory term to describe Theravada Buddhism, e.g., Bibliography of Jane Hope, on page 4 of this book.

I have read in the Internet an article entitled “**What is Theravada?**” by Maung Kyauk Seinn, which says: “the term Hinayana is now a thing of the past. If the term be used today it should mean any or all of the sects now sunk into oblivion. There exist at present only two schools of Buddhism: Theravada and Mahayana. The two must be friendlier with each other and be more united in contributing their shares to everlasting peace of the world.”

What it means is: “Hinayana” is still used today to mean the early Conservative schools, which are all extinct. In fact many writers still use this term, thinking there is historical justification in doing so from the Mahayana point of view. Well, think again! Hinayana is a false derogatory term. **Wikipedia**² & other encyclopedias define a false derogatory word used to describe another person as **defamatory**. So there is no legal or moral justification in using this libellous term anymore!

In the **Kesaputta Sutta** to the Kalamas, the Buddha advised: “When there are reasons for doubt, uncertainty is born. So in this case, Kalamas, don’t go by oral tradition, by lineage of teaching, by hearsay, by a collection of scriptures, by logical reasoning, by inferential reasoning, by reflection on reasons, by the acceptance of a view after pondering it, by the seeming competence of a speaker or because you think: “The ascetic is our teacher.”

When you know for yourselves that, ‘These qualities are unskillful; these qualities are blameworthy; these qualities are criticized by the wise; these qualities, when adopted & carried out, lead to harm & to suffering’ then you should abandon them” (I am sure the wise will censure the use of “Hinayana” to label the Conservative schools that did not subscribe to Mahayana.)

1. Use of word “Hinayana” in Malaysia

In Malaysia, the national and official language of the country is Bahasa Malaysia (BM). The word “**hina**” in BM is translated as “mean, humble, degraded, lowly (of persons)”; “**menghinakan**” is to “insult, despise, or humiliate”. The meaning is the same as the Pali/Sanskrit equivalent because this BM word is derived from Sanskrit. In Malaysia, most followers of Mahayana are educated in Chinese. The majority are unfamiliar with the Pali language and the term “Hinayana” is alien to them. When referring to Theravada, the polite

ones will use the term “**Southern school**” while the condescending ones will use the term “**Small vehicle**”, revealing their conceit.

In contrast, many Malaysian followers of Tibetan Buddhism are English-educated & many Tibetan Rinpoches and teachers who visit Malaysia give talks in English or translated into English. There is little doubt that some of these Tibetan teachers may be responsible for the use of this derogatory term without being aware of its meaning in Pali. As explained by Mr. Kåre A. Lie, the persistent confusion on the use of the term “hinayana” has its basis in Tibetan Buddhism.

Once, I was introduced as a Buddhist of the Sri Lankan tradition to someone from a Tibetan Buddhist society in Klang. Immediately he remarked: “Oh, You are following Hinayana!” When I told him that “hinayana” is a rude word, he appeared surprised and answered that his teacher taught him the word.

2. Two Dhammas taught by Lord Buddha, which lead to welfare and happiness

Gentle speech and courtesy (*sākhalyañca paṭisanthāro* in Sangiti Sutta, Digha Nikaya) are two Dhammas taught by the Buddha that lead to welfare & happiness. They are universal qualities esteemed by wise people of all religion, race and creed, because they promote mutual respect, harmony and peace among mankind.

So it is ironic that there are Buddhist teachers today, who don't use polite words when referring to the Conservative schools, but still label them “Hinayana”, a derogatory term that will hurt the feelings of its followers. Yet these teachers go around preaching compassion, kindness and peace to everybody but act with disdain towards their co-religionists of the Conservative schools for no other reason than the fact that the latter followed the Arahantship ideal taught by Lord Buddha and did not accept their new doctrine!

3. Discard derogatory term ‘Hinayana’ to promote Harmony and Unity

In **Akkosa Sutta of Samyutta 7. 2**, Lord Buddha shows the proper way to respond to insults, not by keeping silent, but by teaching the abuser thus: “In the same way, brahmin, that with which you have insulted me, who is not insulting; that with which you have taunted me, who is not taunting; that with which you have berated me, who is not berating: that I don't accept from you. It's all yours, brahmin. It's all yours.”

“Whoever returns insult to one who is insulting, returns taunts to one who is taunting, returns a berating to one who is berating, is said to be eating together, sharing company, with that person. But I am neither eating together nor sharing your company, brahmin. It's all yours.”

All Buddhists are advised to stop using the term “Hinayana”, a false derogatory term, which is defamatory. Today, information is so easily and freely available that it is ironic there are still modern writers and speakers who continue to use this term “Hinayana” when referring to the early Conservative schools. These writers and speakers may not have any intention to be derogatory. But they did not stop to consider that the use of such language might hurt the feelings of devotees of the Conservative schools. They simply followed what their own

teachers or writers had said or written without verifying the meaning. **It is like “a file of blind men each in touch with the next: the first one does not see, the middle one does not see, and the last one does not see.”** (See Canki Sutta for simile of file of blind men.)

I am confident that all polite and gentle people, Buddhists & non-Buddhists alike, will stop using the word “**Hinayana**” to describe any Buddhist school whether existing or extinct, once they come to know its **derogatory** meaning. Even the mitigated English version “small or lesser vehicle” is condescending. It is time to replace it with a more accurate, polite term “**Conservative or Early Buddhism**” or the Pali word “**Nikaya**”.

When referring to Buddhism existing today in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, etc., the proper term to use is “**Theravada**”, the original name of this Conservative school.

Gentle speech and courtesy are two practices taught by the Buddha that will lead to welfare and happiness. They promote mutual respect, harmony and peace among mankind. So let’s discard this libellous term “Hinayana” in all our speech or writing. It is imperative to address all the early Buddhist schools with greater respect.

4. Who were the Conservative Schools?³

According to **Warder**⁴ (Indian Buddhism) the Eighteen Conservative Schools or **Nikayas** arose sometime between one hundred to two hundred years after *Parinibbana*, i.e., sometime between the Second and Third Buddhist Councils. They were called “**Hinayana**” (Mean or Inferior Vehicle), a contemptuous term amounting to verbal abuse coined by followers of Mahayana who wanted to exalt their own doctrines and belittle the earlier forms of Buddhism.

Due to its **derogatory nature**, the term ‘Hinayana’ should be dropped when referring to the early Conservative Schools or Nikayas.

According to the **Mahavamsa**⁵, after the Second Council, (1) **Mahasanghika** seceded from the original *Sangha* and produced two schools (2) Gokulika and (3) Ekavyoharika. From Gokulika, arose (4) Pannatti and (5) Bahulika or Bahussutiya and from these the (6) Cetiya sect making with the Mahasanghika a total of six.

From the (7) **Theravada**, two more groups seceded, namely (8) Mahimsasaka and (9) Vajjiputtaka. Vajjiputtaka produced (10) Dhammuttariya, (11) Bhaddayanika, (12) Channagarika and (13) Sammitiya while Mahimsasaka produced (14) Sabbathivada and (15) Dhammaguttika. From Sabbathivada (16) Kassapiya split off and later produced (17) Samkantika and from this (18) Suttavada.

NOTE: In another account by **P. V. Bapat**⁶, Mahasanghika produced seven schools and Theravada eleven. The doctrines of these schools are described on pages 28-33 of this book.

According to **Rhys Davids**⁷, evidence from the Mahavastu, the main text of the **Lokuttaravadins** (an offshoot of the Mahasanghika furthest removed from Theravada) shows very little of its teaching that could not have been developed from Theravada. The difference was the prominence given to legendary matters and in the consequent inattention to ethical

points. **In fact, all the early schools looked upon Arahantship as the ideal of a good Buddhist, not Bodhisattaship!**

However their concept of the Arahant and other doctrinal matters differed from the Theravada giving rise to the composition of the **Kathavatthu**⁸ by Ven. Moggaliputta Tissa, President of the Third Buddhist Council. The reader should refer to the Kathavatthu for the full refutation of the heretical views held by the various schools.

In most of the cases, the difference between one school and another may be ascribed to **geographical factors** rather than to doctrinal differences. The first serious differences before the Schism found the Buddhists tending to separate into a western group around the great triangle of **Kosambi–Mathura–Ujjaini** and an eastern group at **Vesali**. In the case of Theravada, events of the Second Council showed that the monks of the west, especially of **Kosambi** and **Avanti** dominated this group.

The first group to secede, i.e., **Mahasanghika** remained in and around **Pataliputta** as their main centre while **Theravada** dominated at **Avanti** and spread rapidly into Maharashtra, Andhra and down to the Chola country as well as **Sri Lanka**.

Soon after the Second Council, **Mathura** became the first centre of the **Sabbathivadins** and from there, their influence radiated all over Northern India, particularly in **Kashmir** and **Gandhara**.

The **Kassapiyas** in fact were a group of Theravada cut off from the mainstream Theravada by the seceded Sabbathivadins and for a long time they maintained contact with their original base at **Sanchi**.

More widespread were the **Sammitiyas**, who spread across Avanti and Gujarat to form their main centre at **Sindhu** while the **Lokuttaravadins** branched out as far away as **Bactria**.

The majority of the Eighteen *Nikayas* were short-lived but some grew in strength and survived for several centuries, notably: **Theravada**, **Sammitiya**, **Sabbathivadin**, **Mahasanghika** and **Lokuttaravadins**.

Hsuan Tsang who visited India in AD 629-645 estimated the Buddhist *bhikkhus* in India and the adjacent countries to the Northwest at less than two hundred thousand, three-quarters of them belonged to these five *Nikayas* and the remaining quarter belonged to Mahayana. Eventually the Mahayana expanded northwards and eastwards to Central Asia and China, eclipsing the *Nikayas*.

Of the *Nikayas*, Theravada established itself in Sri Lanka & Burma and spread to other countries in S.E. Asia. Today, it is the only Conservative school existing after Buddhism disappeared from India after Muslim conquest in 12th century AD.

Note: The Chinese pilgrims Fa Hsien & I-tsing belonged to the Sammitiya or School of Right View while Hsuan Tsang belonged to Mahayana.

5. Doctrines of the Conservative Schools

A) Mahasanghika and Related Schools.

Mahasanghika or School of the **Great Assembly** (attended by ten thousand monks & laymen) is acknowledged as the first *Nikaya* to secede from the original *Sangha* after the Second Council. They had their main centre at Pataliputta but later on migrated from Magadha in two streams, one northwards and the other towards the south.

The southern group settled down in Andhra Pradesh around Amaravati and Dhanakataka, their branches concentrating at Nagarjunakonda, dwelling on the mountains around.

The Pali version has been fully borne out by the inscriptions discovered in these areas, namely, the Pubbaseliyas, Uttaraseliyas or Aparaseliyas, Siddhatthikas and Rajagirikas, collectively designated as **Andhakas** by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Kathavatthu*.

Of the northern Mahasanghikas, he mentioned the Ekabboharikas, Gokulikas, Pannattivadins and Bahusuttika. However except for the Gokulikas, their views have not been referred to in *Kathavatthu*, indicating perhaps they ceased to retain any practical importance at all.

- 1) **Gokulika** (Skt. Kukulika) — The doctrine of this school considered the world to be red-hot with misery and devoid of happiness, a *kukkula*, due to the misunderstanding of the Fire Sermon.
- 2) **Ekavyoharika** (Skt. Ekavyavaharika) — This school was hardly known in later times and was probably re-absorbed into the Mahasanghika.
- 3) **Bahulika** (Skt. Bahusrutiya) — This school emphasized religious knowledge and erudition (*bahusutta* = learning).
- 4) **Cetiyavada** (Skt. Chaitiyavada) — This school emphasized the *cetiya* or shrine worship. It is identified with the **Lokottaravadins** because the Mahavastu, which is an avowed text of the Lokottaravadins, gives prominence to the worship of *cetiyas*.
- 5) **Pannattivada** (Skt. Prajnaptivada) — the concept (= *pannatti*) school
- 6) **Purvasaila** and **Aparasaila** (= Uttarasaila) — refer to the schools of Andhra country whose followers were called the “East-Cliffmen” and “Opposite Cliffmen” respectively. Part of the **Andhaka** schools.

B) Theravada (Sthavira) and Related Schools

Theravada means the doctrine of the Elders and was the original *Sangha* from which the other schools seceded. Its texts are written in Pali, recognized as the vernacular language used by the Buddha.

- 1) **Mahisasaka** — named after Mahisaka country where this school was formed. Like Theravada, the Mahisasaka adhere to the view that an *Arahant* is beyond the reach of any seduction and cannot relapse.
- 2) **Vajjiputaka** (Skt. Vatsiputriya) — probably formed by Vajjian monks who did not join the Mahasanghika but branched out independently later. They prepared a new recension of the *Abhidhamma* based on the belief of the existence of a personality or *puggala*, a belief shared by the Sammitiyas. Both schools were called **Puggalavadins**.
- 3) **Dhammuttarika** (Skt. Dharmottariya) — Higher *Dhamma* school, an offshoot of the Vajjiputtakas and were found in Aparanta on the coast of Maharashtra at the port of Soparaka and places nearby.

- 4) **Bhaddayanika** (Skt. Bhadrayanika) — “Auspicious” vehicle, an offshoot of Vajjiputtaka. The Bhaddayanikas formulated the doctrine of “*anupubbabhisamaya*” – that realization of the Four Noble Truths is acquired in segmentary order
- 5) **Channagarika** (Skt. Sannagarika) — School of six towns, an offshoot of Vajjiputtaka. To them is attributed the doctrine of *Dukkhaharoti*, the utterance of the word “*dukkha*” leads to knowledge (*nana*).
- 6) **Sammitiya** (Skt. Sammatiya) — from “*samma ditthi*” means the school of Right View. It ascribes its origin to Mahakaccana but Mahavamsa puts it as an offshoot of Vajjiputtaka. The only remarkable doctrine of the Sammitiyas is that regarding the nature of the *puggala*, which served as the carrier of the five *kandhas* or aggregates through births and rebirths of beings. Like the Sabbathivadins they also held that there is an *antarabhava* — an intermediate state between the death of a being & its rebirth.
- 7) **Sabbathivada** (Skt. Sarvastivadin) — derived from “*sabba athi*” or “everything exists” and refers to the doctrine of this school. They held almost the same views about the human life and the universe as the Theravadins, in the non-existence of soul, in impermanence and the law of *Kamma*. However the Sabbathivadins believed in the reality of the five aggregates (*khandhas*) that compose a being as against the Theravadin’s view of their unreality. Thus they admitted the reality of *khandhas* as existing in all times – past, present and future.
- 8) **Dhammagutika** (Skt. Dharmagupta) — started in Gujarat and Sindhu and named after the Greek missionary Dhammarakkhita or Dharmagupta who was sent there after the Third Council. This explains why it was not mentioned in the *Kathavatthu*.
- 9) **Kassapiya** (Skt. Kasyapiya) — named after the founder Ven. Kassapagotta, who with Ven. Majjhima propagated Buddhism in the Himalayan region. It is identical with the **Haimavata** School.
- 10) **Samkantika** (Skt. Sautrantika) — This school denied the authority of *Abhidhamma* and admitted only that of the *suttas*. Hence they were closer to the **Suttavadins** who followed the doctrine of the *suttas*.

7. References

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