

A Comparative Study of Perspectives on Women in Buddhist Jātaka Literature and Sutta Discourses

Rev. Kudakathnoruwe Vineetha Thero BA (Hons) (SJP) MA (KEL) M.Phil. (SJP)

Department of Pali and Buddhist Studies, University of Sri Jayewardenepura, Nugegoda, Sri Lanka

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2026.100801022>

Received: 06 September 2026; Accepted: 11 September 2026; Published: 24 September 2026

ABSTRACT

The survival of human beings relies upon male female union. However, numerous opinions regarding females could be seen throughout the history. Therefore, this topic has been constantly discussed in various religious, philosophical and social forums. Indian society which is considered as the emblem of great eastern civilization; consists of conflicting thoughts about being born as a woman and those ideas were created through ancient religious beliefs. Among these opinions; the Buddhist philosophical view regarding this concept can be understood by referring to related sources. Thus, according to sutras; being born as a woman was not considered as a repercussion of a previous sin yet in *Jātaka* literature it was mentioned as a sin. Therefore, the research problem of this study focuses on reviewing this issue. Hence, the main objective of this research is to investigate on the reasons of how such a discrepancy occurred in one teaching and to examine the holistic view-point of the Buddhists regarding this matter. In order to conduct this research, data gathered through literary sources have been analyzed by using the qualitative research methodology. According to '*Mahānārada-kassapa Jātaka*' in *Jātaka* literature; being born as a female is a consequence of a sin. In order to get a release from that sin and to be born as a male in next birth; a female should respectfully and dutifully serve her husband. This however confirms male domination. Yet, according to the sutra, *Samyoga-Visamyoga Dhamma-Pariyāya*, the gender of a person at birth is framed through that person's mental status. This means an effect of a psychological karma. With reference to other discourses; a woman will not get underestimated by any spiritual or intellectual aspect. Buddhism accepts the concept of karma and its associated consequences. However, a human being will not become special due to his or her gender; instead, the appreciation and consideration will be given due to a person's skills and capacity manifested in different circumstances. This fact is practically proven in several instances such as bestowing priesthood to women, enabling them to reach spiritualism and granting special responsibilities. The above-mentioned privileges never happen under the blessings of a male. Thus, the ideology on women portrayed in *jātaka* literature is quite contradictory with the ideology of women presented in the initial source of other discourses in *Sutta Piṭaka*.

Keywords: Feminism, Karma, Buddhism, *Jātaka* Literature, Male Dominance

INTRODUCTION

Family is the smallest unit of the society and these units have been created in all underdeveloped or civilized societies. In every family two prominent characters are visible; the woman; playing the role of the wife and the man; playing the role of the husband. However, in certain civilizations in human history; 'man' was considered more powerful than 'woman'. In another society; 'man' was considered superior to 'woman' and in such circumstances 'women' were underestimated. Religion therefore has become a main factor which affects an individual and a community. Further, religion, philosophy or other beliefs have also affected this inequality among men and women. Everybody in this society; expects mutual reconciliation through any religion or philosophy. However, unfortunately sometimes that religion itself drags people into various extremes. Thus, religion has especially created a huge impact on fostering different social attitudes about women. Therefore, in certain circumstances in Buddhism; being born as a woman is considered as a sin of a previous birth. The actual truth of this opinion can be clearly identified only by investigating the concepts of other Sutta discourses.

‘Itthi’ means a woman and she plays different roles in society such as a mother, a sister and a wife. The word ‘janani’ refers to mother. It depicts the idea of giving birth. However, there are several opinions about the birth and survival of human beings. Yet, the most acceptable accurate evidence is that; all human beings get a life because of a reunion of a father and a mother. Further, a mother’s great sacrifice is immeasurable. A woman is always quite sensitive to her family even as a wife or as a mother and she interferes all household chores and matters directly or indirectly. Even though a woman plays a massive role in the household; the society has underestimated her. Yet, the amazing factor is that; even in this developed civilized society still in some communities, people underestimate women by the name of the religion.

There was not a good impression on women in Indian society where Buddhism was established. It was mandatory for a woman to bear up pain caused by the society and social norms throughout different circumstances of life. Thus, the woman did not get the privilege to relish essential human rights. The pseudonym ‘*Asūryampaśyā*’ (असूर्यम्पश्या) refers to a woman who does not see the sun and that directs to the woman as she is restricted to her home. In such a background, Buddhism exemplifies the need of giving freedom to women securing their human rights. According to the intellectuals; “The attitude towards women in Buddhism differed from the religious and social attitudes of other contemporary faiths in India.” However; whether people accepted those changes because of the opinions which were deeply rooted in society for thousand years; is still questionable. According to Semitic religions such as Jewish, Christian and Islam that are popular even today believe that ‘Adam’ and ‘Eva’ as the first form of human beings. According to the belief of these religions; the Almighty God has taken a rib from a human being and created the forms of a ‘man’ and a ‘woman’ and it was stated that a woman was born because of the man. As per the Buddhism; such a distance in the birth of a man and a woman was not exemplified. Yet, in certain jataka stories in Buddhism manifest extremist opinions about femininity such as ‘being born as a female is a sin committed in a previous birth’. The Buddha's teachings are categorized into three parts: the *Sutta*, *Vinaya*, and *Abhidhamma*. The *Sutta Pitaka* is further subdivided into five collections: the *Dīgha Nikāya*; *Majjhima Nikāya*; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*; *Khuddaka Nikāya*. The *Khuddaka Nikāya* comprises fifteen texts, one of which is the *Jātaka Book*. Consequently, the views regarding women found in the *Jātaka Book* (The Book of jātaka Tales) stand in contradiction to other teachings contained within the *Sutta Piṭaka*. However, an in-depth study should be done about including such extremist ideas into Buddhism. Miss. I. B. Horner, in her book ‘Women under Primitive Buddhism’ has made a short study on women. Moreover, L.S. Dewaraja has done a study under the theme of ‘The Position of Women in Buddhism’ and the role of women was studied according to Buddhism. Yet it is a study on secondary sources.

Research Problem

There are diverse opinions regarding women, the social recognition of women and the religious beliefs. In early Indian religious background; especially in the civilizations such as ‘Mohandojaro Harappa’ a female was venerated deeply. However, during the period of Brahmins; women lost their position in society due to male dominance. Again, in Ascetic Era; certain humane aspects could be seen regarding women. Meanwhile, the principal teachings of Buddhism have bestowed a social recognition equally for both men and women. Materialistic and spiritual rights have also been granted to women. Nevertheless, certain sources appeared in jataka literature manifest opinions related to male dominance yet they were not applicable to the other sources of Buddhism. It is a notable fact that the teachings regarding women found in the other Nikayas of the *Sutta Pitaka* differ from those in the *Jataka Book*, which belongs to the same *Pitaka*. Therefore, this research problem focuses on the need of investigating on such sources.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is a study based on Buddhism which investigates on the fact that being born as a woman is a result of a sin committed by that particular individual during the journey of samsara. This study was carried out based on Buddhist sources related to women and data gathered through primary and secondary sources were analyzed by utilizing the qualitative research methodology. This study was primarily limited to jataka literature in Buddhist Sutta Pitaka and other Buddhist Sutta Literature and their relevant sources. The research problem outlined above pertains to the Suttas of the *Sutta Piṭaka* and the contents of the *Jātaka*

Book. Consequently, the scope of this research is defined by the *Sutta Piṭaka* and relevant secondary sources.

Objectives of the Research

As per the sources of Buddhism; various opinions could be seen regarding the birth of a female. Although in Buddhism a physically different attitude was portrayed on men and women; it has not been changed by their capacity and intellectuality. Nevertheless, a totally different idea was conveyed to the society in *jātaka* literature. According to that, being born as a woman was considered as a sin committed by an individual in the previous birth. Hence, the main objective of this research is to elucidate the above-mentioned element along with the teachings in sutras. Further, it is expected to study about the reasons for the controversies derived from Buddhist Literature. Accordingly, the karmic law that decides the birth of a female does not only affect her birth but it also impacts the entire ordinary social life of a woman. As per the teachings of Buddhism, it is expected to discuss the human rights of a woman when considering women's social rights. Another important objective of this research is to investigate that gender was not prioritized in the Karmic law presented in Buddhism.

DISCUSSION

As stated by Buddhism, all living beings irrespective of their gender being born into this world as a result of the power of an unfinished sin. If an individual deviates from all the sins in the world and practices all good deeds throughout his/her life; will finally attain the supreme bliss of Nirvana. There is no particular evidence in according to Buddhist teachings that only women be born into the world as a result of sins. Yet, in *jātaka* literature and other sources that were developed later on; only reveal that the reason to be born as a woman is actually a result of a previous sin.

As previously mentioned, the *Jātaka* Book is one of the fifteen texts comprising the *Khuddaka Nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka*. It is a collection of stories recounting the past lives of Gautama Buddha prior to his attainment of Enlightenment. The stories within it illustrate the ten Paramitas (Perfections) that must be fulfilled by one striving to realize the truth according to Buddhist teachings. According to Sri Lankan *Theravāda Pāli* Buddhist literature, the Book of *Jātaka* Tales comprises 447 stories. Through these narratives, concepts relevant to Buddhism such as Karma and its consequences, morality, rebirth within *Samsāra* (existence), the law of cause and effect, the virtues of a Bodhisattva, and the nature of human thought are illustrated. In addition, the social, religious, political, economic, and cultural background is also revealed through it. Consequently, there are differing views among scholars regarding its authorship, origins, editing, and certain aspects of its content. Nevertheless, it is one of the texts held in reverence by Buddhists. The 544th story in the *Jātaka Pāli* collection is the *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka*. As previously mentioned, it contains a perspective on women that is not found elsewhere in the *Sutta* literature. The excerpt relevant to that matter is provided below.

Yō icchē puriso hotu – Jāti jāti punappunam

Pardāram vivajjeiya – dota pādova kaddamaṇ

According to the above verse; if an individual is willing to be born again as a male in his future lives as well; he must not have any sort of sexual intercourse with a wife of another man. This exemplifies that being born as a woman therefore; is a punishment bestowed upon an individual as a result of adultery.

Yā icche puriso hotuṇ - Jāti jāti punappunam

Sāmika apacayeiya – indanva parmcārikam

According to the above verse; if a woman is willing to be born as a male in her future life; she must treat her husband devotedly in the present life. This statement thus highlighted male dominance and such attitudes not align with the teachings of the other discourses in Buddhism. The *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka* is primarily presented to illustrate the Perfection of Equanimity (*Upekkhā-Pāramitā*). It also addresses ethical concepts

according to Buddhism, such as good and bad karma and their respective consequences. However, the above-mentioned idea is a matter of discussion. A teaching conveying such a meaning does not appear in general discourses. Therefore, this point found in the *Jātaka* literature needs to be examined with the teachings presented in other Suttas in Buddhist discourses.

Yet it was not mentioned as a result of being born as a woman in next birth. Hence, the affection, attention and care shared equally between the husband and wife are considered as a respectful human quality. However, neither of them has to be unnecessarily subservient to each other. Yet, the opinions included in *jātaka* literature regarding the above matter should also be considered thoroughly.

In accordance with the teachings of Buddhism, the prime focus of Buddhism is to renunciate entire living beings from the endless torment of *samsāra*. The three marks of existence (Thrīlakshana); the impermanence (Anicca), suffering (Dukkha) and non-self (Anatta) analyze the world and the living beings. The noble path (Ariya Magga) of the threefold training (*Tri-shikhā*) such as morality (Sīla), concentration (*Samādhi*) and wisdom (*Prajñā*) is the path which everybody should follow in order to reach the termination of this endless torment of *samsara* and that does not have any restrictions in terms of the gender of a person. Moreover, the gender of a person has not become a barrier to develop one's generosity (Dāna), morality (Sīla) and meditation (Bhāvanā) as well. Hence, the gender of an individual is of no concern whatsoever during the journey of practicing Buddhism and its principles.

As stated by '*Singālovāda sutra*', if a husband appreciates his wife without devaluing her, bestowing her valuable gifts and showing affection without being disloyal and in return if a wife treats her husband with love and care, being polite to his relatives and friends, being faithful to the husband, protecting his wealth and being talented at managing all household chores; such an intimate bond is valuable in terms of a healthy continuation of a familial relationship. Being faithful to the spouse has been mentioned as a crucial factor in this sutra and it emphasizes the fact that; being born as a woman is not something that can be underestimated at any point.

The above-mentioned facts were preached by Lord Buddha in his sermons; regarding the expectations of the duties and responsibilities of a husband and a wife towards each other in the past society. Further, those needs still stand as the expectations of men and women at present as well.

Rūpavā Hoti - Being pleasant in appearance

Dakkho ca Hoti - Being efficient at work

Sīlavato Hoti - Being disciplined and well-mannered

Bhogavā Hoti - Being wealthy

Pajancassa Hoti - Being fertile

Even the above facts do not vary from a man to a woman. It all includes the worldly pleasures aspired in the common mind set of all human beings. Even though, a person was born as a male into this world; if he does not fulfill the basic requirements to live in this society as a well-accustomed social being; he will definitely get rejected from society. If a woman in return; is accomplished with all divine qualities and leads a respectable social life; she will receive a great appreciation.

Nevertheless, it is a quite negative attitude to underestimate women. Unfortunately, such evil thoughts were incorporated into Buddhism as basic Buddhist principles and that itself was a disgrace to the main concepts of Buddhism. The '*Samyoga-visayoga-dhamma-pariyāya*' Sutta of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* addresses the question of whether being born as a woman is the result of a sin committed in a past life. It clearly explains that birth as a man or a woman is determined by one's mental state. Furthermore, it identifies the specific mental disposition that leads to rebirth as a woman. This demonstrates the influence of *kamma* driven by intention, rather than implying any inherent prejudice based on gender.

'Itthi bhikkhave ajjhattam itth'indriyam mana-sikaroti, itthi-kuttam, itthā-kappam, itthi-vidham, itthi-c-chandam, itthi-s-saram, itthā-laṅkāram. Sā tattha rajjati, tatrābhiramati. Evam kho bhikkhave, itthi itthattam nāti-vattati.'

A lady always concentrates on her physical appearance, attitudes, beauty, preferences and the feminine grace in general. She lives upon them and gets enormously attracted to all the elegance of femininity. Besides, she constantly admires the physicality of men, men's attitudes, their preferences, lifestyles and she is eventually quite interested in associating with men and being in their company. Thus, when women live with such desires, deeply adore and esteem femininity; they get more attached to it and that very fact can truly lead them to be born as a woman even in her next birth. Therefore, it is obvious that women get their birth as a female mainly due to the mental satisfaction they acquire by being a woman and engaging in the lifestyle of a woman. Hence, that mental status, thoughts and actions affect the karmic law and creates an impact on the birth of a woman. Similarly, the birth of a man is also decided by his mental status, thoughts and actions.

'Puriso bhikkhave, ajjhattam puris'indriyam mana-sikaroti purisa-kuttam purisā-kappam purisa-vidham purisa-c-chandam purisa-s-saram purisā-laṅkāram. So tattha rajjati tatrābhiramati. So tattha ratto tatrābhirato bahiddhā itth'indriyam mana-sikaroti itthi-kuttam itthā-kappam itthi-vidham itthi-c-chandam itthi-s-saram itthā-laṅkāram..... Evam kho bhikkhave, purise purisattam nāti-vattati.'

A man always concentrates on his physical appearance, attitudes, beauty, preferences and the masculinity in general. He lives upon them and gets highly attracted to all the elegance of masculinity. Besides, he constantly appreciates the feminine grace, feminine attitudes, their preferences, lifestyles and he is eventually quite interested in associating with women and being in their company. Thus, when men live with such desires, intensely admire and esteem masculinity; they get more attached to it and that very fact can truly lead them to be born as a man even in his next birth. Consequently, it is evident that the mental status of both men and women result in deciding their next birth in the same gender. In addition, the sutra *'Saṃyoga-Visaṃyoga Dhamma-Pariyāya'* also exemplifies the psychological mindset that affects a man to be born as a woman in next birth and a woman to be born as a man in next birth.

If a woman is not immensely attracted to her physical appearance, attitudes, beauty, preferences and the feminine grace; if she does not live upon them and does not overwhelmingly admire the elegance of femininity. Besides, she does not constantly get attracted to the physicality of men, men's attitudes, their preferences and lifestyles. Above all, if she does not profoundly admire and esteem her femininity; she will be able to obtain the birth of a male in her next life.

According to the above statements; it is apparent that, if a woman does not overwhelmingly appreciate femininity; wishes to be born as a male in next birth and performs all mental and physical activities with the hope of being a man in next birth; will be able to get a birth as a man. It does not emphasize that a woman should be unnecessarily subservient to her husband in order to be born as a man in next birth. Lord Buddha has clearly preached that a similar kind of a mental status impacts if a man intends to be born as a woman in next birth. As per the descriptions given above; it is understood that adultery is not only the main reason to decide a person's gender at his or her birth. According to *Saṃyoga-Visaṃyoga Dhamma-Pariyāya sutra*; the birth of a male or a female is decided by his or her actions, behaviours, desires, preferences and the practices in the present life. Such actions and thoughts that occur physically or mentally result in deciding the birth of a person with his or her karma.

In *Āveṇika-Dukkha Sutra*; five types of suffering which every woman undergoes were mentioned. *'Katamāni pañca? Idha bhikkhave mātu-gāmo daharova samāno patikulam gacchati, Mātu-gāmo utunī hoti. Mātu-gāmo gabbhinī hoti. mātu-gāmo vijāyati. mātu-gāmo purisassa pāricariyam upeti.* The five types of suffering are as follows; a young girl leaves her own relatives and goes to live with her husband's family, menstruation: biological cycles and associated pain or discomfort, pregnancy: the physical toll and burden of carrying a child, childbirth: the pain and risk involved in giving birth. Serving a Man: the traditional social expectation of having to attend to and serve a husband. Out of them; three reasons are biological. Two

reasons are socio-cultural factors. However, there are some opinions regarding the impact of the karmic law on biological factors. Thus, it cannot be concluded as an issue of karma.

According to the statement; "A woman child, O lord of men, may prove even a better offspring than a male. For she may grow up wise and virtuous, reverencing her mother-in-law and being a devoted wife." (*Itthīpi hi ekacciya, seyyā posa janādhīpa; Medhāvinī sīlavatī, sassudevā patibbatā*). Lord Buddha has asserted the fact that not only men but also women act intellectually according to different circumstances. Nevertheless, if a person is being born as a woman as a result of a sin, she may not be able to get such a reverence. Thus, it is rather unreasonable to take decisions upon gender.

As mentioned earlier, Lord Buddha; in his path of enlightenment has never introduced methods of morality and meditation separately for men and women. All living beings should follow one clear method to obtain liberation from all worldly pleasures. Thus, gender will not be a barrier or a blessing to obtain such a pure freedom. Even this fact suggests that femininity is not a consequence of a sin committed in previous lives. The *Accharā Sutta* of the *Samyutta Nikāya* demonstrates that both women and men are equally capable of attaining liberation and fulfilling the spiritual practice. This is made clear by the passage: "Any woman or man who has such a vehicle, by means of this vehicle, has drawn near to extinguishment." Further, it is shown that every person has the capacity to decide his/her next birth or liberation depending on his or her thoughts, expectations, lifestyle and behavioural patterns. Human qualities have always been considered thoroughly when identifying their values; thus, gender has not become a crucial matter in any of those circumstances. Accordingly, in Buddhism femininity has never been mentioned as a sin committed in the previous birth yet it may have been stated in other religions.

With reference to the above information; showing reverence to men or debasing them is not included in Buddhism. Throughout the history, men have become the pillar of the family since they devote themselves to protect and raise their families. Therefore, men have been recognized and rewarded due to that exact reason. It has also rejected the fact that women should be submissive to male dominance.

Scholars discuss the relationship between ancient Indian folktales and the *Jātaka* tales. Buddhists regard all *Jātaka* tales as the words of the Buddha; however, characteristics indicating that certain stories from Indian folklore were adapted to align with Buddhist principles can be observed. B. Subrahmanyam emphasizes this point in the book *Jātakas* in Buddhist Thought and Art. A similar view is presented by K.R. Norman in the work 'A History of Indian Literature'. Accordingly, there are also debates regarding the history and authorship of the Jataka story literature. This does not imply that the *Jātaka* literature is not a Buddhist text; it is certainly linked to the foundational literature of Buddhism the inclusion of the *Sukhavihāri Jātaka* and the *Tittira Jātaka* in the *Cullavagga Pāli* serves as an example. It is evident that certain editorial modifications have taken place within it. The primary focus of our research was to examine the inconsistency between the *Mahanaradakassapa Jataka's* explanation of how *kamma* and its results influence a person's birth as a woman and their subsequent rebirth as a man, and the teachings found elsewhere in the *Sutta Piṭaka*.

CONCLUSION

According to Buddhist sources, the birth of a woman differs physically from that of a man. The "Avenika-dukkha Sutta" highlights this distinction while simultaneously reflecting the attitudes prevalent in past societies. However, a woman is not intellectually inferior, nor is she lacking in cognitive ability; this is confirmed by sources such as the "*Therigathā*." Furthermore, Buddhism acknowledges the right of women to engage in social, religious, and political activities. Even today, not all women enjoy equal privileges in life. The regard accorded to men and women varies according to the social, cultural, and religious backgrounds of different countries; for instance, women in the West, the Middle East, East Asia experience varying levels of privilege. Nevertheless, even in these countries, there are women who are deprived of rights or are less privileged. If being born as a woman were solely the result of unwholesome deeds committed in past lives, then all women would necessarily be deprived of rights and opportunities; yet, in reality, some women in society enjoy high levels of privilege. This demonstrates that a woman's freedom, happiness, sorrow, or suffering is influenced by socio-cultural factors, as well as the social stratum to which

she belongs a dynamic that affects both men and women. According to Buddhism, the influence of Karma plays a role in whether or not individuals enjoy certain privileges. Furthermore, any woman has the capacity to find solutions to the suffering she endures; she possesses the necessary ability to do so. Buddhism never teaches that one is destined to live a life of perpetual suffering and poverty; no one should endure such endless misery simply by resigning themselves to the belief that it is their Karma. Consequently, women can reclaim their strength and empower themselves by realizing their vast potential; they possess the will and the capability to stand independently. In this context, the notion found in the *Mahānārada Kassapa Jātaka* suggesting that ‘one is born as a woman due to sexual misconduct with another man's wife or another woman's husband, and that a wife must treat her husband with respect to be reborn as a man’ is a subject of discussion. Moreover, this research reveals that there is insufficient evidence within other sources of the *Sutta Piṭaka* to substantiate that specific claim.

REFERENCES

1. Buddhist Dictionary, (2000), Liyanage, Siri, Buddhist Cultural Center, Dehiwala.
2. B. Subrahmanyam, (2009), *Jātakas in Buddhist Thought and Art*, Vol. I. Delhi: BKP.
3. Early Buddhist Perspective on Women and their Emancipation as Depicted in the *Therigāthā*, (2018), Rev.
4. U. Ananda, Colombo Arts Biannual Refereed Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, II (4), Colombo.
5. I. B. Horner, (1930), *Women under Primitive Buddhism: Laywomen and Almswomen*, London.
6. K.R. Norman, (1983), *A History of Indian Literature*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
7. Oxford Dictionary of World Religions (1996) Oxford Dictionary of World Religions. Oxford: Oxford University Press, London.
8. Pali-Sinhalese Dictionary, (1998), Polwatte Buddhaddatta Thero, Buddhist Cultural Center, Dehiwala.
9. The Connected Discourses of the Buddha, (2000), Tran: Bhikkhu Bodhi, Wisdom Publications, USA.
10. The *Dīgha-nikāya*, Vol. II, (2015), ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, PTS., London.
11. The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha: A New Translation of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. (1995), ed. 2. Ñāṇamoli, B. and Bodhi, B. Wisdom Publications, USA.
12. Rahula, W., (1974), *What the Buddha taught* (2nd ed.). Grove Press, New Yourk.
13. The *Jātaka* or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births (Volume II), (2013), ed. E.B. Cowell, PTS, London.
14. The *Aṅguttara-nikāya*: Vol II, (1995), ed. Richard Morris, PTS, Oxford University Press, London.
15. The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, (2012), Vol. III, ed. Richard Morris, Dr. Hardy, PTS, Oxford University Press, London.
16. The Position of Women in Buddhism, (1981), L. S. Dewaraja Buddhist Publication Society, Kandy.