



## ANUSAYA

(latent/underlying tendencies)

*All the suttas below have parallels in Chinese, Sanskrit and/or Tibetan.*

“But for pleasant feeling, Noble Lady, what tendency underlies it, for unpleasant feeling what tendency underlies it, for neither-unpleasant-nor-pleasant feeling what tendency underlies it?”

“For pleasant feeling, friend Visākha, the tendency to passion underlies it, for unpleasant feeling the tendency to repulsion underlies it, for neither-unpleasant-nor-pleasant feeling ignorance underlies it.”

*“Sukhāya panāyye, vedanāya kiṃ anusayo anuseti, dukkhāya vedanāya kiṃ anusayo anuseti, adukkhamasukhāya vedanāya kiṃ anusayo anuseti”ti?*

*“Sukhāya kho, āvuso visākha, vedanāya rāgānusayo anuseti, dukkhāya vedanāya paṭighānusayo anuseti, adukkhamasukhāya vedanāya avijjānusayo anuseti”ti.*

**MN 44**

Friend, seeing that matter is weak, my interest waned and dissatisfied, I destroyed ceased, gave up and released my mind from the latent tendencies of falling for and firmly holding matter. (idem with other khandhas).

*Rūpaṃ kho ahaṃ, āvuso, abalaṃ virāgunaṃ anassāsikanti veditvā ye rūpe upāyūpādānā cetaso adhiṭṭhānābhinivesānusayā tesaṃ khayā virāgā nirodhā cāgā paṭinissaggā vimuttaṃ me cittanti pajānāmi.*

**MN 112**

Enveloped by ignorance,  
Tied by the four ties,  
This body is sinking in the flood,

Caught in the net of underlying tendencies.

Yoked with the five hindrances,

Afflicted by thought,

Accompanied by the root of craving,

Hidden by delusion.

*Avijjāya nivuto kāyo,*

*catuganthena ganthito;*

*Oghasaṃsīdano kāyo,*

*anusayaajālamotthato.*

*Pañcanīvaraṇe yutto,*

*vitakkena samappito;*

*Taṇhāmūlenānugato,*

*mohacchādanachādito.*

### **Thag 10.5**

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Friends, even though a noble disciple has abandoned the five lower fetters, still, in relation to the five aggregates subject to clinging, there lingers in him a residual conceit ‘I am,’ a desire ‘I am,’ an underlying tendency ‘I am’ that has not yet been uprooted.

*Kiñcāpi, āvuso, ariyasāvakassa pañcorambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni pahīnāni bhavanti, atha khvassa hoti: ‘yo ca pañcasu upādānakkhandhesu anusahagato asmīti māno, asmīti chando, asmīti anusayo asamūhato.*

### **SN 22.89**

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"There is the case where a monk has developed insight preceded by tranquillity. As he develops insight preceded by tranquillity, the path is born. He follows that path, develops it, pursues it. As he follows the path, developing it & pursuing it — his fetters are abandoned, his underlying tendencies destroyed.

"Then there is the case where a monk has developed tranquillity preceded by insight. As he develops tranquillity preceded by insight, the path is born. He follows that path, develops it, pursues it. As he follows the path, developing it & pursuing it — his fetters are abandoned, his underlying tendencies destroyed.

"Then there is the case where a monk has developed tranquillity in tandem with insight. As he develops tranquillity in tandem with insight, the path is born. He follows that path, develops it, pursues it. As he follows the path, developing it & pursuing it — his fetters are abandoned, his underlying tendencies destroyed.

"Then there is the case where a monk's mind has its restlessness concerning the Dhamma well under control. There comes a time when his mind grows steady inwardly, settles down,

and becomes unified & concentrated. In him the path is born. He follows that path, develops it, pursues it. As he follows the path, developing it & pursuing it — his fetters are abandoned, his underlying tendencies destroyed.

#### AN 4.170

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This world, Kaccana, is for the most part shackled by engagement, clinging, and adherence. But this one with right view does not become engaged and cling through that engagement and clinging, mental standpoint, adherence, underlying tendency; he does not take a stand about ‘my self.’

He has no perplexity or doubt that what arises is only suffering arising, what ceases is only suffering ceasing. His knowledge about this is independent of others. It is in this way, Kaccana, that there is right view.

*Dvayanissito khvāyaṃ, kaccāna, loko yebhuyyena—atthitañceva natthitañca. Lokasamudayaṃ kho, kaccāna, yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya passato yā loke natthitā sā na hoti. Lokanirodhaṃ kho, kaccāna, yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya passato yā loke atthitā sā na hoti. Upayupādānābhinivesavinibandho khvāyaṃ, kaccāna, loko yebhuyyena. Tañcāyaṃ upayupādānaṃ cetaso adhiṭṭhānaṃ abhinivesānusayaṃ na upeti na upādiyati nādhitṭhāti: ‘attā me’ti.*

*‘Dukkameva uppajjamānaṃ uppajjati, dukkhaṃ nirujjhamānaṃ nirujjhati’ti na karikhati na vicikicchati aparapaccayā ñāṇamevassa ettha hoti. Ettāvatā kho, kaccāna, sammādiṭṭhi hoti.*

#### SN 12.15

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The desire, lust, delight, and craving, the engagement and clinging, the mental standpoints, adherences, and underlying tendencies regarding the form element: these have been abandoned by the Tathagata, cut off at the root, made like a palm stump, obliterated so that they are no more subject to future arising. (same for the other khandhas)

#### SN 22.3

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Venerable sir, how should one know, how should one see so that, in regard to this body with consciousness and in regard to all external signs, I-making, mine-making, and the underlying tendency to conceit no longer occur within?”

“Any kind of form whatsoever, Rahula, whether past, future, or present, internal or external, gross or subtle, inferior or superior, far or near—one sees all form as it really is with correct wisdom thus: ‘This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self.’ (idem with the other khandhas).

*“kathaṃ nu kho, bhante, jānato kathaṃ passato imasmiñca saviññāṇake kāye bahiddhā ca*

*sabbanimittesu ahaṅkāramamaṅkāramānānusayā na hontī”ti?*

*“Yaṃ kiñci, rāhula, rūpaṃ atītānāgatapaccuppannaṃ ajjhattaṃ vā bahiddhā vā oḷārikaṃ vā sukhumaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā paṇītaṃ vā yaṃ dūre santike vā, sabbaṃ rūpaṃ ‘netam mama, nesohamasmi, na meso attā’ti evametam yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya passati.*

## **SN 22.91**

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Develop the mind — well-centered & one — in the foul, through the foul.

Have your mindfulness immersed in the body.

Be one who pursues disenchantment.

Develop the theme/sign-less.

Cast out the underlying tendency of conceit.

Then, from breaking through conceit,  
you will go on your way at peace.

*Asubhāya cittaṃ bhāvehi, ekaggaṃ susamāhitaṃ;*

*Sati kāyagatā tyatthu,*

*nibbidābahulo bhava.*

*Animittañca bhāvehi,*

*mānānusayamujjaha;*

*Tato mānābhisamayā,*

*upasanto carissasī”ti.*

## **SN 8.4**

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- “Venerable sir, Blessed One, knowing and seeing in which manner do the latent tendencies of conceit in the form of “I be” in this sixfold conscious body and all external signs not occur.”

- “Rāhula, whatever matter in the past, in the future or at present, internal or external, hard or fine, un-exalted or exalted, far or near, all that matter is not mine, I am not in it and it is not my self. Thus it should be seen as it really is with right wisdom. (Idem with other khandhas).

- *kathaṃ nu kho, bhante, jānato kathaṃ passato imasmiñca saviññāṇake kāye bahiddhā ca sabbanimittesu ahaṅkāramamaṅkāramānānusayā na hontī”ti?*

- *“Yaṃ kiñci, rāhula, rūpaṃ atītānāgatapaccuppannaṃ ajjhattaṃ vā bahiddhā vā oḷārikaṃ vā sukhumaṃ vā hīnaṃ vā paṇītaṃ vā yaṃ dūre santike vā, sabbaṃ rūpaṃ ‘netam mama, nesohamasmi, na meso attā’ti evametam yathābhūtaṃ sammappaññāya passati.*

## **SN 18.21**

Also **SN 22.82**

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It must be because I-making, mine-making, and the underlying tendency to conceit have been

thoroughly uprooted in the Venerable Upasena for a long time that it does not occur to him, ‘I am the eye’ or ‘The eye is mine’; ‘I am the ear’ or ‘The ear is mine’ ... ‘I am the mind’ or ‘The mind is mine.’”

**SN 35.69**

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**AN 3.32** ++ (entire and major sutta on ahaṅkāramamaṅkāramānānusayā - underlying tendency to conceit).

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Not attached to being or producing, with right wisdom he envisages some noble peaceful state. That state too he has not realized completely. Of that state he has not dispelled all latent tendencies of conceit, all the tendencies of the craving to be, nor all the tendencies to ignorance.

*So bhava na rajjati, sambhave na rajjati, atthuttari padaṃ santaṃ sammappaññāya passati. Tañca khvassa padaṃ na sabbena sabbam sacchikataṃ hoti, tassa na sabbena sabbam mānānusayo pahīno hoti, na sabbena sabbam bhavarāgānusayo pahīno hoti, na sabbena sabbam avijjānusayo pahīno hoti.*

**AN 7.55** (see the all sutta - Purisagati).

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What a Tathagata sees is this: ‘Such is form, such its origination, such its disappearance; such is feeling, such its origination, such its disappearance; such is perception...such are fabrications...such is consciousness, such its origination, such its disappearance.’ Because of this, I say, a Tathagata—with the ending, fading away, cessation, renunciation, & relinquishment of all construals, all excogitations, all I-making & mine-making & underlying tendencies with conceit—is, through lack of clinging/sustenance, released.”

*Diṭṭhañhetam, vaccha, tathāgatena: ‘iti rūpaṃ, iti rūpassa samudayo, iti rūpassa atthaṅgamo; iti vedanā, iti vedanāya samudayo, iti vedanāya atthaṅgamo; iti saññā, iti saññāya samudayo, iti saññāya atthaṅgamo; iti saṅkhārā, iti saṅkhārānaṃ samudayo, iti saṅkhārānaṃ atthaṅgamo; iti viññāṇaṃ, iti viññāṇassa samudayo, iti viññāṇassa atthaṅgamo’ti. Tasmā tathāgato sabbamaññitānaṃ sabbamathitānaṃ sabbaahaṅkāramamaṅkāramānānusayānaṃ khayā virāgā nirodhā cāgā paṭinissaggā anupādā vimuttoti vadāmī”ti.*

**MN 72**

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When one is touched by a pleasant feeling, if one delights in it, welcomes it, and remains holding to it, then the underlying tendency to lust lies within one. When one is touched by a painful feeling, if one sorrows, grieves and laments, weeps beating one’s breast and becomes

distraught, then the underlying tendency to aversion lies within one. When one is touched by a neither-painful-nor-pleasant feeling, if one does not understand as it actually is the origination, the disappearance, the gratification, the danger, and the escape in regard to that feeling, then the underlying tendency to ignorance lies within one.

**MN 148** (see also the abandonment)

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Bhikkhus, there are these three feelings. What three? Pleasant feeling, painful feeling, neither-painful-nor-pleasant feeling. The underlying tendency to lust should be abandoned in regard to pleasant feeling. The underlying tendency to aversion should be abandoned in regard to painful feeling. The underlying tendency to ignorance should be abandoned in regard to neither-painful-nor-pleasant feeling.

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When one experiences pleasure,  
If one does not understand feeling  
The tendency to lust is present  
For one not seeing the escape from it. etc.

**SN 36.3**

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**Note from PTS:**

In the oldest texts the word usually occurs absolutely, without mention of the cause or direction of the bias.

Thag 10.5 Thag 16.6;

MN 112; SN 22.89,

SN 35.58-9, SN 45.43, SN 48.64;

A. i.44? (AN 1.585?); AN 4.170; AN 5.57, AN 5.200, AN 6.103.

The triplet obstinacy, prejudice and bias (*adhiṭṭhānābhinivesānusayā*)

SN 12.15; SN 22.3, SN 22.91, SN 22.112.

Occasionally a source of the bias is mentioned. Thus:

- pride (conceit) at SN 8.4, SN 18.21, SN 22.82, SN 22.124–125, SN 31.1-112, SN 35.70; AN 3.32, AN 7.55.

- doubt at MN 72.

- ignorance lust and hatred at SN 36.3, MN 148, At DN 33, DN 34; SN 45.141–148;

and AN 7.11-12 (no parallels), we have a list of seven anusayas, the above five and delusion and craving for rebirth.

(1) sensual passion (*kāmarāga*).

(2) aversion (*patigha*).

(3) conceit (māna).

(4) uncertainty/doubt (vicikicchā).

(5) wrong view (ditthi).

(6) craving for becoming (bhavarāga).

(7) ignorance (avijjā).

Hence—forward these lists govern the connotation of the word; but it would be wrong to put that connotation back into the earlier passages.

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