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Special Vol. on 129th Years of Celebration of Maha Bodhi Society of India and
89th Anniversary of Mulagandha Kuti Vihara

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Dharmadoot is the annual journal of the Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath, Varanasi (U.P.). The Journal seeks to publish quality, peer-reviewed articles (both English and Hindi) on any aspect of Pali and Buddhism. Contributions should be submitted to the Editors. Books for Review should also be sent to the Editor Prof. Bimalendra Kumar (Email: bimal_bhu_60@yahoo.co.in).

With best wishes on the occasion of the
**129th years of celebration of Maha Bodhi
Society of India and 89th Anniversary of
Mulagandha Kuti Vihara**



**Mulagandha Kuti Vihara (1931-2020)
Sarnath- The First Preaching place of the Buddha**

The importance of Sarnath:

- Preaching of the First sermon by the Sakyamuni Buddha to His first five disciples “Dhammacakka-pavattana Sutta”.
- Second sermon of the Sakyamuni Buddha, “*Anatta Lakkhana Sutta*”.
- First disciple Attains “Sotapanna”(Kondanna Thera).
- Arahathood of first five disciples after hearing the Second Sermon.
- Ordination of Yasa Kula-Putra.
- Emerging of first followers of the Triple Gem : The Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha.
- Sakyamuni Buddha Sending sixty Arahats to propagate His Dhamma.
- Sakyamuni Buddha spending the first rainy retreat.
- Beginning of the holy word “Sadhu” with veneration to the Sakyamuni Buddha.

From the Founder

I welcome you to this hallowed spot, sacred to the Buddhists of Asia as the place where the Devatideva Sakyamuni preached the first Discourse known as the. Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta to the five Bhikkhus 2520 years ago.

The time has now come to elevate India to a state of progress. No progress is possible if internecine quarrels continue. The ancient Buddhist Bhikkhus followed the path of renunciation when they carried the sociological ethics of Aryan civilization to Japan, Korea, China, Siam, Cambodia, Burma and Ceylon. What happened to the wonderfully sublime literature that existed in India in the Buddhist period? No trace of it is found in India; but fortunately the whole literature exists in its fulness in Buddhist lands. Europeans study Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan in the hope of re-discovering the forgotten teachings of the Samma Sambuddha, which saw the light first in India 2520 years ago. But the sons of India have no idea of the wealth that exists in the wonderful Buddhist literature and very few sons of the soil think of discovering the gems that are embedded therein.

After an exile of 800 years the Buddhists have returned to their own dear Holy Isipatana. It is the wish of the Maha Bodhi Society to give to the people of India without distinction of caste and creed the compassionate doctrine of the Samma Sambuddha. I trust that you would come forward to disseminate the Arya Dhamma of the Tathagata throughout India.

(Anagarika Dharmapala 11.11.1931 on Opening Ceremony Day
of the Mulagandha Kutya Vihara)

The Editor-in Chief's

We are delighted to place the Kartika Purnima Volume of Maha Bodhi Society of India's Sarnath Research Journal '*Dharmadoot*' in the hands of scholars, students, research scholars, Dhamma friends and lovers of Pali & Buddhism. We hope that the scholars around the world will appreciate and support our academic efforts. Many Tipiṭaka and Dhamma books in various languages viz. Pali, English and Hindi were published by Maha Bodhi Society of India (MBSI) in the past. These sacred Tipiṭaka books were readily available at all the centers of MBSI including HQ at Kolkata a few decades ago. The said Tipiṭaka books were used in teaching at the UG and PG level in Universities in India and other countries in the past. Unfortunately, these publications of Tipiṭaka books were stopped due to some unknown reasons for the last thirty to forty years and the Publication Department of MBSI did not function properly. Now, Maha Bodhi International Publications & Media Committee has been reconstituted and initiatives are being taken for re-publishing all the previous Tipiṭaka books. It will be humble tribute to the Great scholars of Pali and Buddhism, who took lot of efforts and hardship in writing/editing the texts. It will also pay benefits to the Society in general and great lovers of Buddhism in particular through this noble project.

Further Maha Bodhi International Publication & Media Committee, MBSI, organized a National Webinar on the occasion of 156th Birth Anniversary Celebration of Bodhisattva Anagarika Dharmapala on 17th September, 2020 on the topic 'Resurgence of Buddhism in the 19th Century-the Approach of Anagarika Dharmapala' and 'Revival of Pali-The language of Buddha'. More than twenty scholars of India presented their papers on these two themes.

We are glad to receive encouraging response from eminent scholars to our invitation for contributing their research papers and books reviews. Without their active support and cooperation, this volume would not have been published as planned. We extend our gratitude to all the contributions for this Journal *Dharmadoot*.

Bhavatu Sabba Maṅgalaṃ

Ven. P. Sewali Thero

General Secretary

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The Managing Editor's Note

I am glad to bring out this volume of *Dharmadoot* Journal on the occasion of 86th annual function of Mulagandhakuti Vihara, Sarnath, Varanasi. Last year, an Editorial Advisory Board of this Journal was constituted. We are fortunate to receive cooperation from eminent scholars for joining the *Dharmadoot* Journal as members of Editorial Advisory Board. It is with their valuable suggestions that we have been able to accomplish this task and bring out this volume. We are also extremely thankful to our contributors for this volume. In spite of COVID-19 epidemic, they found time to contribute their research papers and Book Reviews for our Journal. I express my gratitude to all the contributors for this Journal.

Bhavatu Sabba Maṅgalaṃ

Ven. K. Medhankara Thero

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Bhikkhu-in-Charge, Maha Bodhi Society of India,
Sarnath Centre, Varanasi-221007

The Editor's Note

I am very happy to place this Volume No. 86 of *Dharmadoot* Journal to scholars, researchers and great lovers of Pali and Buddhism for their comments and feedback. The present volume contains twenty-six articles in Hindi, English and two Book Reviews in Hindi and English.

To bring out a new Volume of the Journal is like planting a seed and nourishing it to see as a grown plant. It needs systematic and constant touch with scholars of Pali and Buddhism and reminding again and again to contribute their research papers for this Journal. It is with their valuable contributions that we have been able to accomplish this task and bring out this volume. I sincerely acknowledge the inspiration and encouragement given to us by the scholars. Keeping in view of the quality of the research papers, this Journal has been placed in the UGC Care-List last year. The Society is thankful to the authorities of UGC for granting this status to the Journal.

I also appreciate the efforts of Rev. P. Seewali Thero, General Secretary, MBSI and Rev. K. Medhankara Thero Joint Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society of India & Bhikkhu-in-Charge, Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath Centre for their support in bringing out this volume in time.

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***Theravāda* and (*Mūla*) *sarvāstivāda*: Is *Theravāda* Really Most Ancient and Original?**

Prof. Charles Willemen

Rector, International Buddhist College, Thailand

In the *Journal of Buddhist Studies* 13(2016): 141-153 *What Happened to the Majority? Observations about Early Buddhist Schools*, and 14 (2017): 227-233 *Mahāsāṅghika and Mahāyāna, Further Notes*, I published the results of the study of the development of schools, *nikāyas*. In the Indian cultural area a school is not doctrinal, but defined by its *vinaya*, the rules for monks and nuns. There may be different doctrinal views, but as long as the *vinaya* does not change, there is no schism, *saṅghabhedā*. The material for the study of early Buddhist schools has been thoroughly investigated by such scholars as A. Bareau, P. Demiéville, A. Hirakawa, É. Lamotte, J. Masuda, K. Tsukamoto, and others. I just analyse and combine the information, drawing some conclusions. The veracity of these conclusions is obvious when one sees that the conclusions, the suppositions, “work”, explain what so far has been obscure.

Very recently Zhang Juyan, in an article for the *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies* 19 of 2018, convincingly shows that bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is the Venerable Visākha Pañcālīputta of Pali sources. This inevitably leads to the conclusion that even in the time of the Buddha his disciples may have had different opinions. Even from the very beginning opinions, which we now call Mahāsāṅghika, seem to have existed among Buddha’s immediate disciples. Mañjuśrī is to Mahāsāṅghika schools what Avalokiteśvara is to traditional Sthaviravāda schools. The schism only happened when there was a disagreement about the *vinaya*. A Chinese source, the *She Lifu wen jing* 舍利弗问经 *Śāriputrapariṣcchā*, T.XXIV 1465, *Questions of Śāriputra*,

only existing in an anonymous translation made between 317AD and 420 AD, informs us that the first schism is the result of the majority, the *mahāsaṅgha*, not wanting to hear about any addition of minor rules to the *vinaya*. The *sthaviras*, seeing the discussions among the members of the *saṅgha*, wanted to bring a bit more discipline to the *saṅgha*, but the majority did not agree. So, one may say that a *vinaya* dispute, which actually was the result of doctrinal disputes, caused the first schism. This must have happened in Pāṭaliputra, shortly after the synod, *saṅgīti*, in Vaiśālī, ca.380 BC. When Śāriputra, who is the wisest for the traditional *saṅgha* schools, asks the questions, one may conclude that the text belongs to the Mahāsāṅghikas. The Buddhist community these days has two very influential *vinaya* traditions. I mean the Sarvāstivāda one, also known as Mūlasarvāstivāda since the end of the seventh century, and the Theravāda one since ca. 20 BC.

(Mūla) Sarvāstivāda

The history and development of this school has often been explained in scientific journals and publications. The terminology has misled more than one scholar. One should also look at the schools based on non-Indian material. I summarise the results of new insights. During the reign of Aśoka (264-227 BC) the *saṅgha*, order, experienced new developments. The traditional *saṅgha*, minus the *pudgalavāda* Vātsīputrīyas, who had left the traditional order ca. 280 BC, held a synod in Pāṭaliputra, on Mount Kukkuṭa. This resulted in a win for the traditional order, now calling itself Vibhajyavāda (distinctionist, analyst), and in a loss for the new Sarvāstivādins. After that the traditional order spread all over the Indian cultural area. They became known as Mahīśāsaka, *mahī*, the earth, being India. Ca. 20 BC, a conservative “orthodoxy” with an *abhidhamma* of seven texts spoken by the Buddha in heaven, was written down in Śrī Laṅkā, reacting against Vibhajyavāda developments after Aśoka. They became known as Theravāda. The language of their sacred texts, Pāli, was later called Pāli. Sarvāstivādins also spread out. They became numerous in northern India and in the Gandhāra

cultural area, especially in Bactria. In the time of king Kanīṣka (reign 155-179 AD) a Sarvāstivāda synod started in Kaśmīra. It probably ended early in the third century, after the king had passed away. There a new “orthodoxy” was established, with a Sanskrit *abhidharma* of seven texts, said to be proclaimed by the Buddha in heaven, and with an abbreviated *vinaya* in ten recitations, the *Daśabhāṇavāra*, *Shi song lü* 十颂律, T.XXIII 1435, leaving out most of the illustrating stories, *dr̥ṣṭāntas*. The rules did not change, but the resulting *vinaya* was a much shorter, “modern” text in only ten recitations. This second century then saw the beginning of independent *avadāna*, story-telling literature. The central text of the seven *abhidharma* texts was a rewritten *Aṣṭagranthaśāstra*, *Eight Compositions*, now called *Jñānaprasthāna*, *Developing Knowledge*. Ignorance or delusion had always been the main problem for the traditional schools, especially for the Sarvāstivādins. They used the term *śāstra*, treatise, not *upadeśa*, explanatory discourse, as their opponents, the Prajñaptivādins did. There were many commentaries, *Vibhāṣās*, on the old *Aṣṭagrantha*. So, a new commentary was needed for the new *Jñānaprasthāna*. This was the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, *Da piposha lun* 大毗婆沙论, *Great Commentaty*. Because of this commentary the new “orthodox” Sarvāstivādins in Kaśmīra were known as Vaibhāṣikas.

The traditional Sarvāstivādins did not believe that the *abhidharmaśāstras* were spoken by the Buddha. Only the *dharma*, the *sūtras*, and the *vinaya* were spoken by the Buddha. They had *śāstras* too, outlining practical ways to arhatship, but those were not spoken by the Buddha in heaven. The traditional Sarvāstivādins could now be called Sautrāntikas, because they believed that the *sūtras*, not the *śāstras*, were the word of the Buddha. The traditional ones also became known as Dārṣṭāntikas, because they kept the traditional, long *vinaya*, with all its “illustrations”, stories, to the rules. It is not impossible that some Sautrāntikas used the “modern” abbreviated *vinaya*, in which case they were not Dārṣṭāntikas. The terms Sautrāntika and Dārṣṭāntika

go together, just as the compound *dharmavinaya*. The traditional Sarvāstivādins were doctrinally quite heterogeneous. Over time, and in different areas views changed, but they all believed that “everything exists”, whatever “everything” and even “exists” may mean. Because in China the abbreviated *Daśabhānavāra* was widely used, the term Dārṣṭāntika, *Piyuzhe* 譬喻者 is not well known.

The term Sautrāntika, *Jingliang bu* 经量部 is well known. *Bu* means *nikāya*, *vinaya* school. A group within a school is referred to as *pai* 派. Abhidharma in China was practical, traditional, non-Vaibhāṣika. When the traditional *abhidharma*, e.g. the *Aṣṭaśāstra*, was translated in 383 AD, a doctrinal *abhidharma* school, *Pitan zong* 毗曇宗, came into existence. When Vasubandhu’s (ca.350-430 AD ?) *Kośabhāṣya* appeared in Chinese translation by Paramārtha in 567 AD, this school was replaced by a *Kośa* school, *Jushe zong* 俱舍宗, and later by a new *Kośa* school, when Xuanzang 玄奘’s new translation of 654 AD appeared. *Abhidharma* in China was Sautrāntika. Xuanzang translated the “orthodox” *Vaibhāṣika abhidharma* just before it was disappearing in India itself. This theoretical *abhidharma* never became popular in China. At the end of the seventh century the term Mūlasarvāstivāda appears in India. They followed the traditional, long *vinaya*. This school went to Tibet and to China. Their *vinaya* was partially translated to Chinese by Yijing 义净 (635-713 AD). One may see Mūlasarvāstivādins as the continuation of traditional, heterogeneous Sautrāntika-Dārṣṭāntika Sarvāstivādins.

The Vaibhāṣikas were now seen to be one more sub-group of heterogeneous Sarvāstivādins. Mahīśāsakas in the Gandhāran area, e.g. Asaṅga, end fourth century, were seen as very close to, as a group of traditional Sarvāstivādins too. This was quite different from southern Mahīśāsakas, who lost to Theravāda in Śrī Laṅkā. Sarvāstivādins had continually changing yogic practices, *yogācāra*. They constantly took in or

developed new forms of yogic practice. They continually reacted to their opponents, the Mahāsāṅghikas, who called their own form of Buddhism *Mahāyāna*, a great vehicle, a term first recorded in writing in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, *Daoxing (Yogācāra) bore(prajñā) jing* 道行般若经. The Indian text probably dates from the first century BC. Because the traditional order used some of their practices and ideas, they called the result *Mahāyāna* too. So, there was Sarvāstivāda *Mahāyāna*. One may think of Asaṅga's *yogācāra*, taking in Prajñāptivāda Mahāsāṅghika Madhyamaka. Sarvāstivāda and Prajñāptivāda had been opposites ever since Aśoka's days. In China there were many more famous instances of Sarvāstivāda *Mahāyāna*. e.g. "Pure Land" Buddhism, and Chan/Zen 禪. These were originally Sautrāntika based doctrinal schools. When Mahāsāṅghikas take over an originally Sarvāstivāda text, they call the result *ekayāna*, unique vehicle. e.g. The *Lotus Sūtra*.

As the yoga of Sarvāstivādins continually developed, they finally also took in traditional Hindu (Durgā and Bhairava) yogic practices. This kind of Buddhism, depending on initiation, *abhiṣeka*, *guanding* 灌顶, initiation or consecration, is esoteric Buddhism, known as *mantrayāna*, etc. They use the *Mūlasarvāstivādivinaya*. So, they are Sarvāstivāda monks and nuns, even though their yoga is different. Those who did not take part in the action and reaction process were called *Hīnayāna*, lesser vehicle. Meant are the schools which have a *Buddhabhāṣita abhidharma*, an "orthodoxy" spoken by the Buddha himself. Meant are the Vaibhāṣika Sarvāstivādins and the Theravādins, and also the southern Mahīśāsakas, who stayed close to their co-Vibhajyavādins.

Theravāda

Immediately after the Buddha's life (ca.563-483 BC?) had ended, at the age of approximately eighty years of age, the *saṅgha* held a synod, laying down the law, the doctrine, *dharma (sūtras)* and the *vinaya*. They did not have a special name for themselves.

When the first schism occurred, ca 340 BC, shortly after the Vaiśālī synod (ca.380 BC?), they still did not have a special name for themselves. They were just the *saṅgha*, as opposed to the majority, the *mahāsaṅgha*. After that, the Vātsīputrīyas left, ca. 280 BC. In the time of Aśoka (264-227 BC) a synod was held and a group branched off, namely the Sarvāstivādins. The traditional order now used the term Vibhajjavāda, analyst, distinctionist, for themselves. This was an excellent term, used by the Buddha for himself. He had said that one should understand, and only then believe. Ignorance, *avidyā*, or delusion, *moha*, was the worst of the three fundamental afflictions. Because of it there were the two opposites of anger, *dveṣa*, and desire, *rāga* too. The Buddha had used the term Vibhajjavāda for himself in *Aṅguttaranikāya* (Numerical Discourses), *Dasakanipāta* (Book of Tens), *Sutta* 94.

So, the traditional order had an excellent name for themselves. Development did not stop there. Vibhajjavādins spread all over the Indian cultural area, *mahī*, from Gandhāra to Śrī Laṅkā. In Gandhāra, Dharmaguptakas split off. They said that offerings, *dāna*, should be offered to the *stūpa*. They were still Vibhajjavāda. Traditional Vibhajjavādins, called Mahīśāsakas when they were all over the Indian cultural area, said that offerings should continue to be offered to the *saṅgha*. In the Himālayan region another group separated from traditional Vibhajjavādins, namely the Kāśyapīyas. Not much is known about them. Around 20 BC a new, conservative Vibhajjavāda “orthodoxy” was written down in Śrī Laṅkā. It had seven *abhidhamma* texts, spoken by the Buddha in heaven, not on earth. The text which shows this “orthodoxy” best is the *Kathāvatthu*, *Points of Controversy*. Between Aśoka and 20 BC a development had taken place among traditional Vibhajjavādins, Ca. 20 BC in Śrī Laṅkā the “orthodoxy” returned to Aśoka’s Vibhajjavāda. We know them as Theravāda now. They presented themselves as the original *saṅgha*. During Aśoka’s synod the traditional *saṅgha* for the first time had a special name for themselves, namely Vibhajjavāda. Ca. 20 BC a traditional part of the *saṅgha* returned to that Aśokan

Vibhajjavāda. Their *abhidhamma* was written down as having been spoken by the Buddha only in 20 BC. Such *abhidhamma* clearly establishes a new “orthodoxy”. Pali, its language, may have started in northern India, but in the immediate post-Aśokan era it developed into what we now know as Pali.

I limit myself to traditional schools. I do not elaborate the development of the Mahāsāṅghikas, those who originally did not want to have a stricter *vinaya*, not changing anything. The Lokottaravādins, being quite far from Magadha, in Gandhāra, developed their separate *vinaya*. They are the proverbial exception. In the time of Aśoka traditional Mahāsāṅghikas were called Bahuśrutīyas, learned ones. Both terms, Bahuśrutīya and Vibhajjavāda, are equally intellectual sounding. Prajñaptivādins, who separated from the traditional Bahuśrutīya Mahāsāṅghikas, seem to have kept the same *vinaya*, but they were intellectually the opposites of Sarvāstivādins.

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Bhārukaccha, Dvāravatī, and Sīhapura: Three Important Cities of Gujarat as Known in Early Indian Buddhism

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At least three important settlements from falling within the territory of modern Gujarat have been mentioned in the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*. These were Bhārukaccha, Dvāravatī, and Sīhapura. Bhārukaccha/Bharu is mentioned as a *pattana/pattanagāma* (seaport), *vaṇijjā* (trading centre), and *puṭṭabhedanam* (entrepôt) in Bharu country where people went for trade.¹ Bharu was also the name of a king who ruled from here.² In some of the commentaries of the texts of Pāli *Tipiṭaka*, Bhārukaccha is also mentioned as a *nagara* (city).³ There was regular trade between Bhārukaccha, Suppāraka, and Suvanṇabhūmi⁴ and in the *Jātakas* we hear of merchants sailing from Bhārukaccha to *Suvanṇabhūmi*, doubtless putting in at one of the seaports of Tambapaṇṇī (Sri Lanka), for Tambapaṇṇī was another *entrepôt* of overseas commerce.⁵

Bṛghukaccha is the Sanskrit rendering of Bhārukaccha which means 'high coast land' and the city is exactly situated on a high coast land. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, Bhārukaccha is a corruption of Bhīrukaccha (Marsh of Bhīru). This settlement was founded by Bhīru, one of the three persons who managed to get away from the kingdom of Sikkhaṇḍi, the parricide king of Sauvīra, when it was destroyed by a furious sandstorm, following the assassination of Rudrāyaṇa, ruler of Roruka.⁶ According to this account, Bhārukaccha is a corruption

¹*The Jātaka*, ed. V. Fausböll, London: Trübner & Co: 1977-1897 (henceforth *J*), iv.137; *The Mahā-Niddesa*, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin & E.J. Thomas, London: PTS, 1978. Vol. i: 155.

²See Bharu Jātaka (Jātaka No. 213) and *Suppāraka Jātaka* (Jātaka No. 463).

³*The Paramattha-Dīpani Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā: The Commentary of Dhammapālācariya*, ed. F.L. Woodward, London: PTS, 1954, Vol.ii: 141.

⁴*J*.iii.188; *the Apadāna*, ed. M.E. Lilley, London: PTS: 1927 (henceforth *P*), vol. ii: 476.

⁵*J*.ii. 127, iv.190.

⁶*The Divyāvadāna*, ed. P.L. Vaidya, Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1959: 586.

of Bhārukaccha (Marsh of Bhīru). The fame, prosperity, and wealth of Bhārukaccha were due almost entirely to its extensive maritime commerce and strategic location, providing an outlet for the settlements of both the Deccan and northern India. The references appear to be not earlier than the Mauryan period in the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*. Bhārukaccha was over twenty *li* in circuit at the time of the visit of Xuanzang⁷ and in the country of Bhārukachhapa, there were over ten monasteries with more than 300 monks, who studied the Mahāyāna and the Sthavira teachings.⁸

Bhārukaccha is identified with modern Bhāruch located at 21° 42' Lat. N and 72° 59' Long. E. It is almost impossible to excavate Bharuch as the high mound on the bank of the Narmadā, though compact and extensive, is almost completely occupied by the busy town thriving on it. This leaves only the eroded peripheral fringes on the riverside at the eastern and southeastern limits available for examination. The limited excavations⁹ conducted through vertical trenches, showed three periods of occupation. The beginning of period I is put in the third century BCE by the excavator. A mud-rampart with a deep ditch on the outside was constructed at the same time as the beginning of the settlement. No structural remains were exposed except ring-wells. In the next period, the rampart appears to have been provided with heavy brick revetments. This period continued till about the seventh-eighth centuries CE after which it was abandoned. Period III belongs to modern times when the rampart was built afresh. The smaller settlement of Nāgala on the opposite bank of the Narmadā, where a stone-blade industry was found, probably goes back to at least c.800 BCE.¹⁰ F.R. Allchin also found the remains of extensive early brick structures north of the mound, probably including the bases of two *stūpas*.¹¹

Bharu Jātaka and *Suppāraka Jātaka* are two important Jātakas associated with Bhārukaccha. According to the *Bharu Jātaka*, once the Bodhisatta was a leader of a group of 500 ascetics. Once they all came to Bhārukaccha for salt and vinegar, and took up their residence towards the north of the city under a banyan tree. Another group of ascetics

⁷*The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, tr. Rongxi Li, Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, Berkeley, 1996: 337.

⁸*Ibid.*338.

⁹*Indian Archaeology: A Review*, New Delhi, 1958-59: 69; 1959-60: 19.

¹⁰Allchin and Allchin 1982: 326. See also *Indian Archaeology: A Review*, New Delhi, 1961-62: 11- 12.

¹¹Personal communication with F.R. Allchin.

likewise took up their residence to the south of the city under another banyan tree. Next year, the second group returned a little earlier and took up their residence under the banyan tree located towards the north as the tree towards the south had withered away by that time. This led to a dispute between the two groups and they sought the intervention of Bharu, the king of Bharudesā, in the matter. First the king decided in favour of one group but later changed his mind after being bribed by the other group. The gods, angry with the king, submerged the whole of Bharu, 300 leagues in extent, under the sea. The story was told to the Kosalan king Pasenadi who took bribes from heretics and gave permission to them for building a centre near the Jetavana. Even when the Buddha's disciples later tried to approach the king in this connection, he refused to see them. The Buddha then went himself to see the king and successfully dissuaded the king from giving permission for an act which would have resulted in unending dissensions.¹²

According to the *Suppāraka Jātaka*, the Bodhisatta was once a master mariner of Bhārukaccha. After he became completely blind as a result of injury caused by salt water, the king of Bharu appointed him a valuer and an assessor. He did good service to the king by correctly evaluating various things meant for the king, but the king paid him very poorly. So he left the king's service in disgust. Later, some merchants hired him as a captain for their ship and through his experience and wisdom he was able to steer the ship to Bhārukaccha safely through a dangerous storm. This story was related in connection with the Buddha's perfection of wisdom.

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Vijaya, the first king of Sri Lanka, spent three months at Bhārukaccha while on his way from Suppāraka to Sri Lanka, after having been exiled by his father, the king of Lāṭa.¹³

Vaḍḍha Thera, Vaḍḍhamātā Therī, and Malitavambha Thera belonged to Bhārukaccha. Vaḍḍhamātā Therī was an arahant and the mother of Vaḍḍha Thera. After the birth of Vaḍḍha she joined the Saṅgha after having heard a monk preach and became an arahant. She severely took Vaḍḍha to task when the latter visited her alone and

¹²This episode is also mentioned at *the Sārattha-ppakāsīnī*, Buddhaghosa's commentary on *the Saṃyutta Nikāya*, ed. F.L. Woodward, vol. 3, London: PTS, 1977: 218-219.

¹³*The Dīpavaṃsa* (henceforth *Dīp.*), ed. & tr. with intro. B.C. Law; *The Chronicle of the Island of Ceylon or the Dīpavaṃsa*, *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Colombo, 1959: i.13-15.

without his upper robe. Upset by the rebuking, he hastened back to his monastery, and, during the afternoon siesta, developed insight, and became an arahant. Later, when he asked for her advice, she readily gave it and encouraged him. Later, Vaḍḍha is known in early Indian Buddhism as an eloquent preacher of Buddhism.¹⁴ Malitavambha Thera was the son of a brāhmaṇa of Bhārukaccha and entered the Saṃgha under Pacchābhū Thera. It is mentioned in the *Theragāthā* that he preferred to live where no amenities, except food, were available, and before long he became an arahant.¹⁵

The *nagara* of Dvāravatī/Dvāraka with a mountain on one side and sea on the other, was the *rājadhānī* of king Sivi.¹⁶ According to the *Apadāna*, this city existed at the time of Siddhattha Buddha.¹⁷ According to the *Petavatthu* and its commentary, this city was located in the kingdom of Kamboja.¹⁸ Perhaps it was Kaṃsabhoja, the country of the ten brothers known as the Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā,¹⁹ who as pointed out in the *Jātakas*,²⁰ desired to conquer the whole of India. According to the legend available in the various Pāli texts,²¹ these ten brothers were the sons of Devagabbhā and Upasāgara. At Devagabbhā's birth it had been foretold that the lineage of Kaṃsa would be destroyed by one of her sons. Thus, each time a son was born to her, fearing lest he be put to death, she sent him secretly to her serving-woman, Nandagopā. Nandagopā had married Andhakaveṇhu and, by good fortune, daughters

¹⁴*The Therīgāthā* (henceforth *Thī*), ed. K.R. Norman & L. Alsdorf; London: PTS, 1966: vv 204-212; *The Therīgāthā Commentary* (henceforth *ThīA*), London: PTS, 1891: 171-172. See also *DPPN*. II.819-820.

¹⁵*The Theragāthā*, (henceforth *Th*) ed. K.R. Norman & L. Alsdorf; London: PTS, 1966: vs. 105; *Paramatthadīpanī*, *Dhammapālācariya's Commentary on the Udāna, the Theragāthā, the Therīgāthā, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Itivuttaka, the Vimānavatthu, and the Petavatthu*, eds. F.L. Woodward, E. Hardy, E. Muller, D.L. Barua *et al*, 3 vols., London: PTS, 1952-1956, vol.i.210-211.

¹⁶*J*.vi.421.

¹⁷*Ap*.i.200.

¹⁸*The Petavatthu*, ed. N.A. Jayawickrama, London: PTS, 1977: 21.1 and 2; *Paramatthadīpanī*, *Dhammapālācariya's Commentary on the Udāna, the Theragāthā, the Therīgāthā, the Cariyāpiṭaka, the Itivuttaka, the Vimānavatthu, and the Petavatthu*, eds. F.L. Woodward, E. Hardy, E. Muller, D.L. Barua *et al*, reprint, London: PTS, vol.3, 1956: 113.

¹⁹*DPPN*.I.1128.

²⁰*J*.iv.79.

²¹*J*.iv.79-81; *J*.v.18, 267; *The Vimānavatthu*, ed. N.A. Jayawickrama, London: PTS: 1977: 58. The summary here is from *DPPN*.I.108-109.

were born to her at the same time as sons to Devagabbhā. She sent all these daughters to Devagabbhā in exchange for the latter's sons. Devagabbhā give birth to ten sons in all who came to be known as Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Candadeva, Sūriyadeva, Aggideva, Varuṇadeva, Ajjuna, Pajjuna, Ghaṭapaṇḍita, and Aṅkura.²² They also had a sister known as Anjanadevī. On growing up, the brothers became highway robbers and became notorious as the Andhakaveṇḥudāsaputtā. When the king learnt of the true identity of the ten brothers, he made various plans to kill them. For instance, on one occasion, he hired two famous wrestlers, called Cānura and Muṭṭhika to kill them. These wrestlers challenged the ten brothers to have a public wrestling match with them. Baladeva accepted the challenge and killed both of them. While dying, Muṭṭhika uttered a prayer to be born as a yakkha; his wish was fulfilled, and he was born as such in the Kāḷamattiya forest. On another occasion, when the king's men tried to capture the brothers, Vāsudeva slayed both Kaṁsa and his brother Upakaṁsa by throwing a wheel which cut off their heads. After destroying Kaṁsa, the brothers took on the sovereignty of Asitañjana and decided to set on a campaign to conquer the whole of Jambudīpa. After conquering Ayodhyā, they proceeded to Dvāravatī, which had the sea on one side and mountains on the other. This city had four gates.²³ At first they failed to take it, because when the goblin, guarding the city, gave the alarm, the city would rise up in the air and settle on the sea till the enemy disappeared. Later they succeeded with the help of Kaṇhadīpāyana who advised the brothers to fix the city down with chains. They made the city their capital and lived here after having divided it into ten parts. On discovering the mistake, Aṅkura gave his share to his sister and he himself took to trade. With the passage of time many sons and daughters were born to the brothers. Once the sons earned the ire of the sage Kaṇhadīpāyana by dressing up a lad as a woman and asking him about the gender of the child to be born. The sage declared that it would be “A knot of acacia wood with which will be destroyed the line of Vāsudeva.” They made fun of the sage besides kicking him. Seven days later the child gave birth to a knot of acacia wood. They burnt this wood and cast the ashes into a river. From those ashes sprang up an *Eraka*-plant near the city gate of Dvāravatī. One day, while having fun in the water, the

²²Similarities with the Kṛṣṇa legend of this story are quite obvious. E.W. Cowell visualizes in this story the kernel of a nature-myth (J.iv.51n). See also *DPPN*.I.108-109.

²³J.iv.83.

kings, with their families and followers, began a sham fight and plucked branches from the *Eraka*-plant to use as sticks. The branches turned into weapons in the hands, and they were all killed with the exception Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Añjanadevī, and their chaplain, all of whom ran away in a chariot. Thus was the curse of the sage fulfilled. While on the run, they entered the Kaḷamattiya forest where Muṭṭhika had already been living as a yakkha. On seeing Baladeva, Muṭṭhika assumed the form of a wrestler and challenged him to a bout. Baladeva consent to it and was eaten up by the yakkha like a “radish-bulb.” Vāsudeva moved ahead on his way with the remaining members of his clan and at night lay in a bush. A hunter, mistaking him for a pig, stabbed him with a spear. When Vāsudeva heard that the hunter’s name was Jarā (Old Age) he reconciled himself to death. Thus they all died and only Añjanadevī survived. However, in the *Kumbha Jātaka* (Jātaka no. 512) it is suggested that the Andhakavehṇuputtas perished due to alcoholism. Later, Sivi, Vāsudeva’s son by a *caṇḍāla* woman, reigned here. The city later perished.²⁴

Modern Dvārakā is situated on the western coast of Saurāshṭra at 22° 22’ Lat. N and 69° 05’ Long. E just where the land juts out more prominently into the sea than anywhere else on the peninsula. The eleven references to this settlement are related to the famous cult of Vaiṣṇavism, which became prominent towards the beginning of the Common Era. The excavations at Dvāravatī showed six phases of habitation.²⁵ The lowest habitation placed at or a little before the Common era, but not much earlier, revealed no structures, but the inhabitants used wood, iron, and fine pottery. The pottery was well baked mostly having a reddish surface. In the second phase, shapes become extremely specialized. Red Polished Ware appeared to be a clear copy of wares of Roman empire. Both these phases were covered by the sea one by one and put together produced a small mound twenty-four feet high. Possibly the engulfment of one of these phases is the one that is mentioned in the *Jātakas*. The beginning of the third period was placed in the fifth-seventh centuries CE. In this phase foundations of houses were secured by stone-filling over which a regular platform of stones was laid. Besides this constructional feature, it was interesting

²⁴J.iv.421.

²⁵*Indian Archaeology: A Review*, New Delhi, 1962-63: 7; 1979-80: 25-29; H.D. Sankalia “Antiquities of Modern Dwarkā, or, Dwarkā in Literature and Archaeology,” *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1963 (38): 74-84.

to find in the debris and walls of this period, mouldings and finials of temples with small spires in the neighbourhood.

Sīhapura was a *nagara* built in the west of Sothivatī by the third son of king Upacara/ Apacara of the Mahāsammata dynasty.²⁶ According to the Sri Lankan chronicles, Sīhapura was founded by Sīhabāhu and it was the capital of Lāṭa and the birthplace of Vijaya, the first king of Sri Lanka.²⁷ According to legend,²⁸ Sīhabāhu's father was a lion and mother a princess of Vaṅga. His hands and feet were like the paws of a lion. At the age of sixteen, he escaped his father's kingdom along with his mother and sister called Sīhasīvalī. Later he murdered his father for a reward and was offered the throne of Vaṅga. But he refused this and founded his own city of Sīhapura in his native country of Lāṭa. Here he lived with Sīhasīvalī, whom he made his consort. Lāṭa is generally identified with modern Gujarat, the Larika of Ptolemy.²⁹ Sīhapura may be identified with Sihor (spoilt form of *Sīhapura*) in Gujarāt, thirteen miles west of Bhaunagar, 21° 43' Lat. N and 72° 00' Long. E on the slope of the Sihor range of hills. The old site of this settlement is about half a mile south of Sihor and is known to have been extremely old.³⁰ The references to Sīhapura are difficult to date in the absence of the historicity of the personalities related to it.

If the number of references to a particular settlement in the Pāli *Tiṭṭaka* were to be used as the criterion of its importance to early Indian Buddhism, then that order of importance would appear to be as follows:³¹

²⁶J.iii.460

²⁷Dīp.ix.4, 5, 43; *The Mahāvamsa* (henceforth *Mhv*), ed. W. Geiger, London: PTS, 1908: vi.35, 36.

²⁸Dīp.ix.2-6; *Mhv*.vi.11-12, 24-38; viii.2, 6. See *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (henceforth *DPPN*), ed. G.P. Malalasekera, London: PTS, 1937-38, vol.II:1169.

²⁹See *DPPN*.II.776.

³⁰*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.xxii.360.

³¹Based on K.T.S. Sarao, *Urban Centres and Urbanisation as Reflected in the Pāli Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas*, Delhi: Vidyanidhi, 1990: 180-182, 213-222.

Settlement	Vinaya	Jātaka	Jātaka	Apadāna	Buddhavamsa	Petavatthu	% of Total
Bhārukaccha	02	14	00	00	00	16	.34
Dvāravatī	00	06	01	01	05	13	.28
Sīhapura	00	01	00	00	00	01	.02
Total	02	21	01	01	05	30	.64

As Gujarat was located outside the Majjhimadesa, Buddhism appears to have reached here around the beginning of the Mauryan period and thus one is not surprised that the numbers of references to settlements from Gujarat constitute only about .64% of the total number of references to various settlements in the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*.

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Bone, Stone and Throne: Exploring the Rise of Relic Veneration Cult and its Impact Upon Pre-Modern Chinese Society

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Prologue

The introduction of the tradition of venerating relics associated with the physical and spiritual body of Gautama Śākyamuni by both members of the royal house alongside the Buddhist clergy was an epochal event in the history of Buddhism in China, primarily owing to the fact that for several centuries in the following, the rise of the relic veneration cult was to trigger distinctive trends and tendencies in the Chinese Buddhist monastic life, both at the individual and institutional level, which in turn were to closely define Chinese Buddhist monastic culture in very different terms, compared to earlier times, and also eventually impact pre-modern China's socio-political, cultural and intellectual environment. The aim of this study here is to investigate when, how and in what manner the relic veneration cult struck its roots in China, and also to explore the possible consequences it might have created in every domain of pre-modern China's religious and secular life. The study here proceeds from the understanding that not every aspect of Chinese Buddhism was a faithful imported version of its Indian counterpart, and also the fact that as the newly transmitted forms of Buddhism over centuries came in touch with the ground conditions available in the Chinese soil, it created newer versions for adaptation to the foreign social, cultural and political climate of China. That which limits the scope of the research investigation here is the fact that ideas, beliefs and practices, as well as religious sentiments and emotions associated with those, evolve over long periods of time, over large expanse of spaces, against specific conditions in the backdrop, most of which can hardly be captured within fixed parameters of written texts and documents, and therefore, gleaning over residues from the past in the form of legends, hearsays and oral traditions, although lacking empirical evidence, takes

us a few steps closer towards attempting to understand the emotional and psychological state of mind of the diverse groups of peoples, who, while living through different periods in time, across different places around the world engaged in the veneration of Buddhist relics.

Relic and Relic Veneration: Perspectives, Approaches and Interpretations

Venerating relics associated with that of Gautama Śākyamuni and decorating *stūpas* in order to accumulate merit, has for long been attested in the history of Buddhism, as far back as the second century B.C.E., while interpretations of the term relic and investigation of the practices of venerating the same, are issues of much recent origin. The word 'relic' in the western context as represented in the English language fails to capture much of the original Indian socio-cultural context and the philosophical backdrop which remains deeply embedded in the idea of the term. A relic in the original Indian Buddhist context does not feature as an object only, but rather as an embodiment of ideas and practices, having emerged in response to the very specific conditions of the times. The idea of a relic originates in the idea of the bodily remains of the historical Buddha, having later on been provided with other attributes. An early close reference to the same can be found in the Sanskrit version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* wherein the Buddha's remains are termed as *asthi* (bones)¹ and is specifically meant to be collected and placed in a golden urn. It has also been clarified in the same text that those bodily remains which retained their osseous nature would be considered under the category of *asthi*, including teeth, collarbones, neck bone, forehead bone, chest bone, *uṣṇīṣa* bone and finger bone.² This then proves that within the system of Buddhist funerary culture, cremation in fire followed by collection of bones and ashes was an accepted and desirable practice. It has been pointed out by Buddhologists like Gregory Schopen in his discussion of a passage in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* that the practice of cremating the dead bodies of Buddhist monks in fire was first advocated by the historical Buddha himself in contrast to the former practice of abandoning corpses in the open, as a measure to refute claims of the Brahmanical religion that Buddhist mortuary practices led to an impure environment. In support of the above claims there also exists in circulation the legend of the historical Buddha's bodily remains being distributed equally amongst the eight contending kingdoms after the Lord's *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, followed by their enshrinement.

Complications in interpretations, marked by serious contestations and unsettling disputes arise from this very point, surrounding the question as to which category of followers within and outside of the Buddhist monastic institutions got involved in the veneration of relics and further exploring the various kind of benefits, if at all, to be arguably derived from such acts. While some scholars, basing themselves upon an interpretation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, have been of the opinion that members of the Buddhist monastic community were prohibited from conducting śarīra-pūja, scholars like Gregory Schopen and Kevin Trainor have argued that this was only confined to the performance of funeral ceremony and not related to relic veneration. Both Schopen and Trainor convincingly validate their statement based upon a study of the donative inscriptions from Sanchi and Bharhut in eastern India, and the rock cut monasteries from western India which corroborate the fact that members of the monastic community as early as the 2nd century B.C.E. were involved in venerating *stūpas* and relics.³ The entire concept of relic veneration is perhaps rooted in a tendency on the part of both members of the clergy as well as lay devotees to relate to the founder of the *dharma*, the first and the most important of the Three Jewels *Triratna*, in the absence of his physical presence, marked by both temporal and spatial gap. The historical Buddha's teachings or *dharma* which correspond to the second jewel, and monastic order or *saṅgha*, which corresponds to the third jewel, have all been kept alive through the process of transmission of teachings and organization of monastic institutions, down the centuries.

It is undeniable that throughout the Buddhist world across the globe there is hardly any Buddhist site to be found which does not enshrine some physical remains of the historical Buddha, or some object closely associated with him, or some trace of his presence enlivened by his association with his body, his teaching or his community of followers.⁴ Buddhist tradition acknowledges the fact that as far back in history as the 3rd century BCE, the Indian emperor Asoka had enshrined relics of Gautama Śākyamuni after his *Mahāparinirvāṇa* at eighty four thousand different sites spread across his empire by building commemorative *stupas*.⁵ In the Theravada world, according to Buddhaghosa of the fifth century, possession of a relic was one of the most crucial defining features that would constitute a proper monastery in theory and practice. Yet again in a Southeast Asian tradition, it is so asserted

that after the Buddha's *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, the gods distributed his eighty four thousand body hairs and nine hundred thousand head hairs throughout the universe.⁶ However with regard to the issue of merit making and benefit reaping emerging out of the veneration of relics, the Pāli canonical texts are found to stand in direct diametrical opposition to the Mahāyāna sources. While the former rules out the possibility of attaining *arhatship* through the worship of relics and reliquaries in the physical absence of a living Buddha to offer oral instructions, the latter contends in favour of attaining merit through such acts. Śāntideva devotes a whole chapter to the praise of the worship of stupas in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, in which he is seen quoting numerous sūtras all designed to show that even the smallest act of devotion towards the relic of a *Tathāgata*, when accompanied by right mental resolve can put one on to the path to highest Buddhahood. *The Lotus Sūtra* is also found to assert that those who circumambulate a stupa and venerates it, "some realize *arhatship*, others attain *pratyekabuddhahood* and yet others in immense numbers raise their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment."⁷

In each of these traditions just mentioned above, in relation to their respective stand on the concept of relic veneration as it has emerged, one identifies a common link amongst them all, which is a desperate and honest attempt by followers of the *dharma*, although unclear whether these were members of the monastic order or lay devotees, or both, during the initial days of the origin of this tradition to reach out to the historical Buddha, and establish an association with him and his teachings through the commemoration and veneration of relics in his physical absence. It is by far difficult to derive the exact origin in time and place of the relic veneration episode in the history of Buddhism, and an equally challenging academic exercise to establish with adequate evidence the people who were the first to have encouraged and popularized this concept, and their supposed intention behind it. Buddhologists during different periods in time with regard to their interpretation of the status of relics in the Buddhist tradition have shared their concerns, doubts, and apprehensions.

John S. Strong suggests that western scholars began their research on Buddhist objects of devotion from fairly two broad perspectives, namely, the Catholic perspective and the Protestant perspective, the first affirming the ongoing presence and power of the supernatural in

these objects, and the second, maintaining its ontological absence and viewing these as material symbols or signifiers of a “divine” power or being whose locus is elsewhere or one who passed away.⁸ Each of these perspectives discussed above carry their share of prejudices, the reason being, first, that these scholars were far removed from the time and space when and where this tradition originated, and second, that they attempted to analyze this phenomenon from their respective Christian orientations. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the second or the Protestant perspective is believed to have predominated the study of Buddhism. It was for long presumed by western researchers of Buddhism that the true spirit of the *dharma* was understood with full philosophical clarity by the cultured monastic elite only, and that relic veneration and image worship were thus, the practice of the unrefined Buddhist laity. However, in more recent scholarship, there has been a noticeable deviation from this standpoint of argument, as Buddhologists of the stature of David Snellgrove⁹, Robert Sharf and Gregory Schopen continued to emphasize upon the need to critically examine the material culture of Buddhism in general, and relic veneration culture in particular, exclusively from the perspective of the followers of the tradition, rather than from that of researchers imposing their analytical tools and passing opinions. Suffice it to say, that amidst claims and counter claims to establish the pattern and the trajectory of the development of the relic veneration tradition, one arrives at an undisputed understanding of events, and it is the fact that it was through this practice that the historical Buddha has continued to live on through the ages, and that the biography of the Venerable One is still kept going. John S. Strong very categorically explains that the relics are not just mortal osseous remains of the Master during his lifetime in this world as Gautama Śākyamuṇi only, but also those of him during all of his previous births. The relics furthermore also include the remains of the previous seven Buddhas, including the last three born in our present *bhadra*kalpa, namely, Kracucchanda, Kaṇakamuṇi and Kaśyapa.¹⁰ The culture of relic veneration therefore, very clearly goes beyond relics, and draws into its complex, variegated matrix, popular legends portraying the lives and deeds of each of the *buddhas* and *bodhisattavas* through aeons, fantastic tales narrating the miraculous divine powers of the relics as they are transported to distant countries, to heavens and *nāga* world, and propagandistic literature legitimizing the rule of emperors as *cakravartin* kings across empires.

Relic Veneration Cult in China: Exploring its Origin through History

From the third century onwards, the Chinese Buddhist monastic community, with its newly founded Buddhist order and unique communal social system became cognizant of the fact that they were born at a time in history and in a land that were both distanced from that of the founder of the religion they revered. The peripheral status attributed to China in both Brahmanical and Buddhist literature aroused in them, as what has just been mentioned as ‘borderland complex’. This psychological complex, prevalent in the psyche of the Chinese Buddhist scholar-monks, justified their visit to sites associated with the life and teachings of the Buddha, paying homage to the relics and shrines. This in turn reassured them indirectly of an imposed direct presence of the Buddha in these material objects and thereby succeeded in making up for the temporal and spatial gap between the Buddha and his religion on the one hand and the recipients of the faith in a foreign land after the passage of several centuries on the other. This tendency of recognizing the presence of the Buddha in material objects such as statues, halls and reliquaries in temples, as has been identified by Stephen Teiser, later paved way onto the Sinicized version of the prevalent Indian concept of seeking refuge in the Three Jewels, *Triratna*, wherein Sinicized refuge in the Buddha contained an extended implication now, bringing in material objects to represent and make up for the absence of the historical Buddha.¹¹ Similarly divinatory objects stood for seeking refuge in the *Dharma*, and lastly refuge in the *Sanḡha* was liberalized to include temple lands, lodgings and resident farmers in regard to Chinese adherents of the Dharma. The Aśokan legend, despite its authenticity having been challenged on several occasions, depicting the Mauryan king gathering all of the scattered relics of the Buddha following his cremation, redistributing them and building an incredible number of eighty four thousand *stūpas* within a span of just one day, across the whole of Jambudvīpa, perhaps sowed into the Buddhist tradition, the very first seed of relic veneration. The earliest such reference in extant Chinese literary sources, is one that is available in Sengyou’s sixth century Buddhist bibliographical literature, *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏记集 (*Collection of Records Concerning the Translation of the Tripitaka*, T.2145), which clearly mentions that the legend associated with the life of Aśoka and with his construction of eighty four thousand commemorative *stūpas*, was in circulation in China during the reign of King Sun Quan (r.

222-252 C.E.) of the Wu Dynasty (222-280 CE). It owes its popularity to a belief that the Sogdian monk and translator Kang Senghui (d. 280 C.E.), when challenged by King Sun Quan to demonstrate the power of Buddha's remains in response to the narration of King Aśoka's meritorious deeds of building commemorative structures, produced a five color emitting relic after three weeks of fasting. Despite repeated attempts to destroy the aforementioned relic, it survived miraculously. This then influenced King Sun Quan to build the first Buddhist *stūpa* in China at the imperial capital of Jianye (present-day Nanjing).¹² This legend though authenticated by Sengyou's *Chu sanzang jiji*, has been kept aside by many a scholar as being a mere tale, far removed from reality. Instead they have argued that there could possibly have been a growing popularity of the relic veneration cult in and around the sixth century, when Sengyou's catalogue was compiled, but the credit was given to the Aśokan legend, perhaps to predate the origin of the relic veneration concept in China.¹³ The other major reason behind the growing popularity of the Aśokan legend was the free circulation of quite a number of hagiographic accounts of the king around the fourth century. Zurcher mentions the presence of an approximate number of ten texts circulating in China during the aforementioned period. With the exception of the translated version of the Aśokan legend titled *Ayu wang zhuan* 阿育王傳 (*Aśokarājavādāna*, T.2042), attributed to the Parthian monk An Fajin, the rest of the others have eventually been lost. It also enlists another text in its entry, titled, *Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經 (*Aśokarāja Sūtra*, T.2043), having been rendered into Chinese by Sengjiapoluo (Saṃghabhara?) in 512 C.E. The two aforementioned texts were instrumental in generating a fundamental idea amongst members of Chinese clergy, lay devotees and royal family about relic veneration and the merits associated with it.

Keeping in line, was then the *Lotus Sūtra*, one of the most influential and the earliest Buddhist texts to have been circulated in China in about 255 C.E. It is also known to have advocated the tradition of making lavish offerings to the relics of the Buddha. Quite a few other relevant texts, made their way into the circle of Chinese clergy, like the *Jin'guangming jing* (*Suvarṇaprabhāṣa {uttamarāja} Sūtra*, T. 663), which explicitly recorded the historical Buddha having propounded the fact that veneration of relics could help establish the "most superior field of merit" (*zuishang futian*). In addition, there was also the apocryphal

text *Tiwei poli jing* (Sūtra of Trapuśa and Bhallika), the content of which has also been found to have been clearly reflective of the five kinds of merit that could be accumulated by circumambulating stūpas, namely having a good complexion in the following life, a fine voice, rebirth in heaven, being reborn in an affluent family and attaining a path leading to *nirvāṇa*.¹⁴

It, however, took quite a few centuries before these legends and Buddhist biographical and canonical literary pieces, often in translated versions, could finally reach out to lay devotees, to Chinese clergy and members of the imperial house. Dissemination of the concept of relic veneration in theory and popularization of the same in practice are two related but divergent domains. And it was not before another three or four centuries since the earliest recorded history of Buddhist transmission in China that the practice of relic veneration gained momentum.

Popularization of Relic Veneration Cult: Exploring Shi Faxian's Contribution

From textual sources it can now be discerned that it was around the fifth century when the tradition of venerating relics of the historical Buddha or his images or other reliquaries began to first gain its popularity in pre-modern Chinese society and that Shi Faxian, the Chinese pilgrim-monk-scholar perhaps can be accredited to have played a critical role in this. In 399 C.E., Shi Faxian had set out from the Chinese capital city of Chang'an during the reign of the eastern Jin dynasty for the distant western regions in search of authentic codes of Buddhist monastic discipline (*vinaya*). During his fourteen years of travel across the inhospitable terrains of central and north China, central Asia, north Afghanistan, Pakistan, northwest of India, eastern India's gangetic plains and the island kingdoms of Sri Lanka and Java and Sumatra, he closely observed the varied and complex Buddhist monastic rituals and cultural practices in each of the kingdoms thus visited, and upon his return to China meticulously recorded them in his travel narrative, *Fo Guo Ji* (alternately known as *Shi Faxian zhuan*) around 416 C.E.¹⁵ Although the relic veneration tradition was already a much popular practice in almost all of the kingdoms in which Shi Faxian had set foot upon, however for the monastic and lay community of China this practice was yet to strike its roots. His travelogue *Fo Guo Ji* was the first written source of its kind in Chinese Buddhist history

to have documented with utmost precision the elaborate ceremonies associated with the worship of the Buddha's image, of venerating the Buddha's relics, and of offering prayers and other precious items to *stūpas* where the relics were housed. Shi Faxian's travel narrative also made a ground breaking effort in introducing to the Chinese audience the symbiotic association between the Buddhist monastic fraternity and the ruling house of the countries visited by him, something that was very uncommon and yet to be practiced in China. A detailed study of the information shared by Shi Faxian in his travel diary corroborates the facts mentioned above.

In the kingdom of Yutian (Khotan), one of the most prosperous of the central Asian oasis states along the southern Silk Route, Shi Faxian recorded the existence of a monastery *Gomati (Qumodi) Vihāra*, the monastic community of which in close association with the royal house took part in the Buddha's image procession ceremony by constructing a beautifully decorated pavilion like structure, set a top a four wheeled chariot, richly adorned with seven precious jewels. The image of the Buddha bearing intricate carvings in gold and silver, flanked by two Bodhisattvas on either side was taken out on the first day of the fourth month and venerated by the king, queen, ministers, imperial ladies and attendants alongside all members of the monastic community. Next in the course of his journey, at the kingdom of Jiecha, Shi Faxian attested the presence of the Buddha's stone-spitting bowl (*pīk dāna*) which he mentioned to be of the same colour as that of his alms bowl. There was also housed in the kingdom of Jiecha, one of Buddha's teeth upon which was raised a stupa. Further on at the kingdom of Tuoli, he was introduced to a popular legend of a certain *arhat*, believed to have ascended to *Tuṣita* heaven three times and then to have sculpted the image of *Maitreya Bodhisattava*. On festive occasions, the image was known to emit brilliant light and princes of all neighbouring countries made offerings to it.

The kingdom of Wuchang (Uḍḍīyāna), located to the northwestern frontier region of India, was reputed in Buddhist circles to have bequeathed the impression of the historical Buddha's foot during his travel to this region. The miracle associated with this original foot print of Lord Buddha suggested that the footprint altered in size, growing big and small, depending upon the intensity of the follower's faith in the *dharma*. There was also a rock present in this kingdom of Wuchang

where the Buddha was believed to have dried his clothes and a site commemorating the incident of Buddha's conversion of the malevolent dragon, Apala. Another kingdom, Suheduo on the Silk Route stood witness to the legend of historical Buddha in his previous birth to have dedicated his own flesh in exchange for a dove's to satiate the hunger of the predator, an eagle. At the kingdom of Jiantuowei, thus was told to Shi Faxian that as Bodhisattva, Lord Buddha in his previous life had also donated his eyes as alms to another person. In order to commemorate this charitable act, Shi Faxian reported the construction of a stupa at that site. Similarly, according to Buddhist legend popular in the kingdom of Zhushashiluo (Takṣaśilā), Lord Buddha had donated his eyes away as part of an alms giving gesture, the site also having been commemorated with a stūpa. In the kingdom of Fulousha (Peshawar), legend and hearsays attested the presence of the Buddha's alms bowl, which was believed to possess miraculous powers. Shi Faxian documented in his travel narrative the belief that despite repeated attempts and employment of various agencies by a certain Yuezhi king during his military campaign against the said kingdom, he failed to carry away the Buddha's alms bowl. Later the same king is known to have erected a stupa at the same site and regular obeisance was paid by the monastic community members and lay devotees alike. Offering of flowers and precious stones, and burning of incense were some of the regular features of the Buddhist cultural practice there.

At the kingdom of Najie, in the city of Xiluo was housed the Buddha's parietal bone, extensively plated with gold leaves and decorated with seven precious elements, such as to create an anvil like structure. It was completely overshadowed by coloured glaze or porcelain at the bottom, while the top of it was decorated with pearls. Shi Faxian also recorded the elaborate security measures undertaken by the ruler of the state to ensure the relic's safety. The daily worship ceremony would include offering of flowers and incense sticks by the king and soon after by members of the monastic community to the sound of beating drums, blowing of conch shells and striking of copper cymbals. About half a *yojana* from the city of Najie was a rock cavern where the Venerable One had left his shadow which appeared lovely bright and golden in colour, but would become indistinct upon drawing close to it. A hundred paces west of the shadow was the site where Lord Buddha during his lifetime had shaved his head and clipped his

nails. Shi Faxian also briefly mentioned the presence of Buddha's tooth relic and his religious staff made of gośirachandana at this kingdom. At a *vihāra* located at a distance of four days away on foot was also believed to be housed Buddha's robe or *kāṣāya*. In the kingdoms of north and central India visited by Shi Faxian there still remained in circulation, numerous legends associated with the life of the Venerable Master. At Sengjiashi (Sankāśya), stūpas were raised to commemorate important events in the life of the historical Buddha, such as the place where *Bhikṣuṇī* Utpala adored the Buddha, spot where he cut his hair and clipped his nails, site where the three former Buddhas and Śakyamuṇi sat down, where they walked for exercise, or sites where certain marks and impressions were left by the feet of the different Buddhas. In the kingdom of Shaji, Shi Faxian was introduced to the site where residents believed that the historical Buddha had cast away a section of the twig used for cleaning his teeth (*dantakaśṭa*) and which upon striking the ground grew up to seven feet. Upon his arrival to Lanmo (Rāmagrāma) near Kapilavastu, Shi Faxian was informed that the king of the city had obtained a share of the relics of the Venerable One's body and had erected a stupa to venerate the same. About four *yojanas* from this site was another stupa, believed to have been raised over the ashes collected and preserved after the burning of the body of the Lord. Likewise, legends supported the claims that in Kuśinagara when the Licchavis had followed the Buddha to the scene of his nirvāṇa, the Buddha had left his alms bowl with them as souvenir, and that in Wangshecheng (Rājagṛha) the then ruler Ajātaśatru had built a *stūpa* over the share of Buddha's relics which he had obtained. Shi Faxian recorded in his travel narrative that further on, in the city of Jiaye (Gayā) he had viewed the shadow left by the historical Buddha at the time of his attainment of perfect wisdom, which was still visible at the time of his visit. During his onward travel and stay at India's eastern coastal city of Tāmralipti (Tamluk), Shi Faxian noted the presence of several images of the Buddha at various Buddhist *saṅghārāmas* which were worshipped regularly and Shi Faxian confessed of having taken impressions of those figures. Sailing to the country of Shiziguo (Sri Lanka), Shi Faxian came to know that the historical Buddha's tooth relic was housed there and that a *stūpa* adorned in precious substances was erected to venerate the holy object. He further narrated that lavish ceremony was conducted on the eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth day of

the month and that a large congregation of monks would participate in the celebration. Further that every year in the middle of the third month the tooth relic would be brought out, led by a magnificent procession along the central thoroughfare of the city and would be housed at the Abhayagiri monastery for ninety days during which religious offerings would be made by vast crowds of people.

From the aforementioned information shared by Shi Faxian in his travelogue, it is quite evident that both the Buddhist monastic community members and the Buddhist lay devotees of China around the fifth century were introduced to practical ways of associating with the *dharma* and connecting with its founder father, although distanced from these in both space and time. The detailed eye witness account of Shi Faxian might also have served as a manual for guiding the Chinese Buddhist followers towards conducting the rituals and ceremonies related to the veneration of relics and worship of images. Besides these, the popularization of the relic veneration cult in fifth century China set into motion a series of waves of consequences which eventually changed the face of Buddhism in China in the centuries that followed.

Impact of Relic Veneration upon China's Social, Political and Cultural Life: Issues of Concern

One of the most crucial areas of impact of the rise of the relic veneration cult was felt within the psychological domain of the practitioners and followers of the *dharma*, irrespective of whether they were members of the Buddhist monastic order or the laity. It has time and again been attested in the corpus of Chinese Buddhist biographical and bibliographical literature that there existed a certain psychological irritant in the minds of the eminent monks, most of who have been known to have expressed their sorrow and frustration for having been born at a time when the Venerable One had already departed from the world, and also for having been born at a land so distant from the origin of the fountain head of the *dharma*. This psychological condition has been identified by Antonino Forte as 'borderland complex'. Relics have long been differentiated into three broad categories, bodily relics (*śārīrika cetiyam*), items used by the Buddha (*uddesika cetiyam*) and objects built in commemoration of the Buddha (*pāribhoga cetiyam*). As sacred remains of the historical Buddha and also as objects closely associated him, the relics seemed to be able to bridge for the first time

the spatial and temporal gap between the followers and the founder of their faith.¹⁶ This way the Chinese Buddhist community could relate to their faith through concrete objects rather than only abstract teachings.

Another notable consequence was the rise in the number of Chinese Buddhist monks who desired to visit the sacred land of Shendu (India) and pay obeisance to the sites which housed the physical remains of their deceased master. The period in Chinese history from the fifth century onwards, therefore, witnessed a regular movement of Chinese Buddhist monks and pilgrims to India, and up until the seventh century, during the time of Xuanzang and Yijing this became part of the regular religious court missions between our two countries, something that only Buddhism and no other Chinese indigenous philosophical school could bring about.

The idea of merit making was deeply ingrained within the concept of relic veneration and therefore the popularization of venerating Buddhist relics and reliquaries encouraged the import of sacred Buddhist items from India to China, contributing considerably to trade activities between the two countries. This in turn served a variety of other purposes, facilitating material exchange, raising of commemorative monuments, and creating the first ever nexus between the rulers of the state and Buddhist clergy. The Sinicized concept of *Triratna*, for the first time ever, popularized the import of sacred objects with their Buddhist connections into Chinese society.

As mentioned earlier, the meritorious deeds of King Aśoka as a *cakravartin* ruler, noted for his efforts in disseminating the *dharma* beyond the borders of *Jambudvīpa* and to have erected eighty four thousand stūpas on the relics of the Buddha in one single day was already quite popular through the circulation of his biography *Ayu wang zhuan* amongst the Chinese audience. Moreover, Shi Faxian upon his return to China after his sojourn to India is also known to have translated the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* for the Chinese monastic community which contained the story of the distribution of Buddha's relics and the building of reliquary monuments by secular rulers. Furthermore, the narration of various miraculous incidents and events in connection to the relics of the Buddha across the central Asian, India and Sri Lankan Buddhist kingdoms through his eye witness account consolidated the belief of the followers in the miraculous powers of the Buddhist relics and their

spiritual dependence on them. In the course of the next two centuries there were reported incidents of sudden miraculous discovery of Buddhist relics in various parts across China, transforming it gradually into a legitimate Buddhist realm, as part of the extended Aśokan empire of *Jambudvīpa*. Thus, China was gradually transformed from being a peripheral Buddhist country into a much revered legitimate central realm of Buddhism.

Finally, the relic veneration cult came to impact the internal orientation of the Chinese ruling house, and influenced their relation with the Chinese clergy. Around the sixth and seventh century, Chinese rulers are reported to have employed relics to legitimize their authority over the Chinese empire. The following instance from history would help clarify the claim made above. Emperor Wu (r. 502-549 C.E.) of the Liang dynasty was one such ruler who was recognized as one of the most devout Buddhist emperors of China, known to have rebuilt the Aśokan stūpa at Jiankang and to also have lavishly venerated the relic housed in it. As per records in Chinese Buddhist literature, while venerating the relic, Emperor Wu discovered a golden image at the stūpa, bearing an inscription confirming it to have been sponsored by the daughter of King Aśoka. The circulation and propagation of this story with the help of the use of Buddhist paraphernalia provided leverage to the claim of Emperor Wu as one of the most competent, able-bodied, virtuous secular rulers of the Chinese realm. The discovery of the Aśokan relics in sixth century China further provided the Chinese Buddhist clergy with greater credibility to prove the superiority of the *dharma* they were associated with. Much like their previous rulers of the Northern Wei and Sui dynasties, the rulers of the Tang period in China are also known to have been associated closely with lavish relic veneration ceremonies. The Famen monastery, located in what was once the Fufeng commandery in the Qi prefecture of Tang China, and house to the most reputed finger bone relic of the historical Buddha demands a close critical watch here. Soon after its discovery by a certain Zhang Liang (d. 646 CE), Governor of the Qi prefecture, the finger bone (gu) along with two inscribed tablets dating back to Northern Zhou and Western Wei period was placed at the Famen monastery. It won recognition from the imperial house of the Tang when Emperor Taizong came to power by successfully suppressing the rebel forces of Xu Jue at the Fufeng commandery, the credit he would assign to his act of

ordination of eighty monks from the local region and indirectly to the blessings of the auspicious relic at Famen monastery. Thereupon, the Famen finger relic being venerated regularly by the Tang imperial house and the Famen monastery being offered huge amounts of donation from the royal house and laity came to be reported in Buddhist apologetic literature in the context of severe criticism by the Confucian scholar, Han Yu as well as in the travel narrative of the ninth century Japanese monk Ennin during his pilgrimage to China. On another occasion, the Tang emperor Gaozong during the days of prolonged illness was noted to have depended upon the miraculous healing powers of the Famen finger relic and for the regeneration of his failed health.

During the last decades of the ninth century, relics, to a certain extent lost their original feature and came to be viewed as objects with therapeutic and merit-making values. Under the influence of the then prevalent esoteric Buddhist school, relics also became ingredients for esoteric rites and the tradition of relic veneration came to be allied with the practice of self-immolation or mutilation of certain body parts. Although it is unclear as to how and why the relic veneration ritual took upon these extended new features, James Benn observes that these were associated with the overzealous cultic practice, derived from Sinitic apocrypha. John Kieschnick is of the opinion that through such acts of self-sacrifice, the adherents attempted to internalize the sanctity of the sacred objects.¹⁷ With the close of the Tang dynasty, rulers like Suzong (r. 752-762), Dezong (r. 779-805), Xianzong (r. 805-820) and Yizong (r. 859-873) revealed that their psychological reliance upon the Famen finger relic had much to do with the success of their military suppression of political upheavals which at that time was quite common place. A lethal combination of esoteric rituals and the relic veneration cult thus yielded results that were unseen and unheard of in the earlier centuries in China. Thus the tradition of relic veneration diversified intensively and created new genres in the Chinese socio-cultural, political and intellectual environment.

Epilogue

The pattern of Buddhist dissemination in China is noted to have been irregular, and the process rather erratic. Since the time of the initial transmission of the *dharma* to the foreign soil of China around the first century C.E. up until the time of its maturation around the eighth century C.E., Buddhism was crafted with great ingenuity, and cast into

a China specific mould, having been mixed with Chinese indigenous ideas and beliefs, and adapted to suit the receptivity quotient of her peoples. The percolation of Buddhist concepts and teachings into the social fabric of China occurred over a span of several centuries, and impacted different groups of people with different intensity at different periods in time. From the archaeological and textual evidences at hand, it might be concluded that between the first and fourth centuries, Buddhism lived on as a foreign faith amongst immigrant residents of China, except for few members of the Buddhist clergy, dwelling and working in cities like Pengcheng, Luoyang and Chang'an, all of which were cosmopolitan by nature and were located on the cross roads of the main trading channel of the transnational Silk Route, giving rise to a hybrid version of the Buddhist faith. The Chinese common masses were typically drawn towards the mortuary implications of the *dharma*, towards the idea of an afterlife, and the concept of *karman*, rebirth and suffering, rather than the Buddhist philosophical doctrines, as becomes obvious from some of the earliest Buddhist imagery discovered on the rock surfaces of Mount Kongwang, located in the southwest region of the modern coastal city of Lianyungang in Jiangsu Province. The ruling class, on the other hand, rarely associated themselves with the newly imported foreign religion except for occasions when they are reported to have offered sacrifices to the Buddha in continuation of such practices under the Huang Lao cult, or to have sculpted his image as a foreign deity on their tombs in the hope of being granted immortality. The Buddhist monastic community in China during this time remained engaged in scholastic activities, related to the translation of sutras, and abiding by the fundamental precepts of monastic disciplinary codes. Buddhism, thus, between the first and fourth centuries failed to penetrate into the inner circles of Chinese society, much less within the strata of the royal house. This scenario is found to change drastically from the end of the fifth century and the popularization of the relic veneration tradition was one of the crucial events in this. For the first time in the history of Buddhism in China the relic veneration tradition brought both the general populace and the aristocracy in direct and close contact with the founder and the faith. The relics of the historical Buddha began to serve as a psychological and spiritual refuge for the common people during their course of suffering in the mundane world. Legends narrating the miraculous powers of the relics, fantastic tales surrounding their origin, and stories prophesying the possible union with the historical Buddha Gautama Śakyamuni, Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī,

Buddha Amitabha, and Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara through veneration of the relics appealed to the emotional needs of the common Chinese man, one which both Confucianism and Daoism had failed to address. The general people's hope in retribution, dependence on prayers, and reliance on offerings eventually helped Buddhism penetrate deep within China's complex, heterogeneous social matrix. Similarly, from the perspective of the ruling house members, veneration of relics helped them to gain merit (physical, material and spiritual), served to appease the followers of the faith, led to the legitimization and consolidation of their rule, and contributed in building a nexus between the clergy and the bureaucracy. The relic veneration cult in China is seen to have progressed along four specific phases, with each of these phases having added a distinctive character to this tradition; the first being the phase of its initial introduction between the third and fourth century C.E. when the Aśokan cult and the legends of his relic distribution were circulated through hagiographic accounts of his life and deeds, the second being the phase of practical information sharing with regard to this practice around the fifth century C.E., as happened through the transmission of Shi Faxian's travel narrative *Fo Guo Ji*, having led to large scale import of Buddhist religious items, relics, reliquaries to conduct such ceremonies, and to have encouraged Chinese pilgrims in their westward journey to the central Asian and Indian kingdoms to pay homage to the monasteries housing such relics, the third being the phase of royal involvement in lavish veneration ceremonies in close association with the Chinese Buddhist clergy between the sixth and eighth century C.E., resulting in the use of relics as a tool for political legitimization of their rule, while also seeking the blessings of the relics for regeneration of fallen health and for acquiring merit. This third phase also witnessed the sudden accidental miraculous discoveries of relics within the territorial expanse of China, thus converting it into a legitimate central Buddhist realm, and the fourth and final phase around the ninth century C.E., when in admixture with the rising Buddhist esoteric cult, relic veneration tradition unfortunately got associated with acts of self-immolation and self-mutilation of body parts. In response to the above mentioned developments within the domain of China's relic veneration tradition, Buddhism in China could consolidate its position amongst almost all of China's social circles. With the active involvement of the common masses and the engagement of the royal family members in the relic veneration tradition, China successfully got transformed into an extended territory of the Buddhist *Jambudvīpa*, paving its way

into becoming the future abode of Mañjuśrī at Mount Wutai Shan in Shaanxi Province, for Avalokitesvara at Mount Putuo in Zhejiang Province, of Samantabhadra at Mount Emei in Sichuan Province and that of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha at Mount Jiuhua.

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Muktālatā Avadāna and Kṣemendra

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The term Avadāna primarily means good, illustrious, heroic noble act or illustration of not knowing with example. It sometimes designate Buddhavaçana and constitutes seventh of the twelve Dharma Pravacana of Buddha's words. There must have been a vast literature under this section but we only find four main works in print viz. Divyāvadāna, Jātakamālā, Avadāna-kalpalatā and Avadāna śatakam.

According to kalpadruma Avadānamālā, scholars specialized in Avadāna literature were known as Avadāna-kovid or Avadānika just as monks were called Sūtradhara, Vinayadhara and Abhidhārmika. Avadāna literatures are similar to Jātaka literature but the difference that Jātaka stories refer to the past life of Buddha as Bodhisattavas in various animal form, whereas in Avadāna Buddha himself plays an important role. Avadāna and Jātaka don't carry such type of higher philosophical and meditational Buddhist teachings. Hence, works like Jātaka, Avadāna, Theragāthā, Therīgāthā, Cariyāpiṭaka, Buddhavaṃsa etc. don't find place in Tripiṭaka. They are found to have a place in the Vinaya and Sutta-Piṭaka in their Pali and Sanskrit Versions.

Avadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra was published by the *Asiatic Society Calcutta*, in its *Bibliotheca Indika Series* during 1888-1912. This was an edited Sanskrit version transcribed from the transliteration in Tibetan in *Nar-thang* edition with its Tibetan translation. This manuscript was obtained by late Shri Saratchandra Das in 1882 from Lhasa the capital city of Tibet. The manuscript he acquired was of *Nar-thang* edition, which included a Sanskrit transliteration and a Tibetan translation. The root text is still available in the *Tan-gyur* collection.

Later, on the basis of the above-mentioned text, P. L. Vaidya prepared a revised edition of only the Sanskrit version leaving out the Tibetan portion, which was published by *Mithila Institute, Darbhanga*, in 1959. Shakya Sribhadra of Kashmir had presented a text of this *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra to the renowned scholar of Tibet, Sa-

skya Pandit Kunga Gyaltsen, in 1202 A.D. Seventy years later under the patronship of Dogon Chosgyal Phagspa, the guru of Kubilai Khan and the renowned translator of “the degenerate era”, namely Shongton translated it into Tibetan for the first time with the help of the great Indian poet Laksmikara. Later Choskyong Sangpo, together with his disciples, revised the Tibetan translation. During the fifth Dalai Lama’s reign translator Dar-Ngawang Phuntsog redacted the Tibetan version and restituted some incomplete Sanskrit verses with the help of an Indian Pandit. The Dalai Lama at whose instance it was made to comprise in the ‘Shol Edition’ of Potala approved the work.

According to Saratchandra Das this text didn’t earn much fame in Tibet in the beginning because many scholars were not even ready to accept it as Buddha’s Avadāna. Moreover, they thought that a layman like Ksemendra couldn’t have been well-versed in Buddhist field for he was a Kashmiri Brahmin not much related to Buddhist studies. They further argued that there could be many other Avadānas on other great personalities besides the Buddha. However, we are fortunate enough having many commentaries on *Avadānakalpalatā* written by Tibetan scholars such as Kachen Yishe Gyaltsen, Ngawang Jigdags and Sogpo Ta Yang etc. Some scholars also have annotated on this text. For instance, there are the Notes of great translator Pang Lodoe Tenpa, Black Notes (written in black ink) of Jigmed Dagpa and Red Notes (written in red ink) of Lha Jigten Wangchug. It seems their interest was not abated in their *Avadānakalpalatā* of Ksemendra as its Tibetan translation has been redacted several times. This translation became so popular among Tibetan scholars that it was considered to be a matchless literary work. Almost every Tibetan poet looked upon it as a model for literary composition, a source of true inspiration. Kāvya and Mahākāvya of later period were immensely influenced by this work in their style and choice of metaphor, The influence of *Avadānakalpalatā* did not remain confined to literary circles; it had a new wave of painting style in which all the one hundred eight Jātaka-tales were depicted on *thangkas* and wall paintings.

On the other hand the other translations of *Avadānas* such as of the 34 Jātaka stories of *Jātakamālā* bear few illustrations on *thangkas* and in wall paintings, and have not been so popularly referred by the Tibetan poets. The *Narhang* wooden blocks of complete 108 *Avadānas* of the *Avadānakalpalatā*, illustrated in *thangkas*, have made the complete set

of illustrations of *Avadānakalpalatā* accessible to all. Popular tradition asserts that paintings of 108 *Avadānakalpalatā* are found to be painted on the wall of great temple of Lhasa Tsuglag-khang and even on the wall of the stūpas too. The popularity of this *Avadānakalpalatā* reached to such an extent in Tibet that Tibetans paid more attention and interest in the *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarānanda* of Aśvaghōṣa. Indeed this *Avadānakalpalatā* was accepted in Tibet from the very beginning as related to Buddha's past lives as Bodhisattva because the author had clearly classified the effectiveness of six *pāramitās* in *Avadānakalpalatā*. Besides, this text consists of the principal features of Buddha's Avadāna. i.e. 1) generation of the Awakening Mind, 2) accumulation of merit for three countless kalpas, 3) subduing the four hindering demons and 4) attainment of the ultimate state of Buddhahood.

Years ago, 7th Avadāna of *Avadānakalpalatā* by Kṣemendra was included in the syllabus of Sanskrit language of our University but without Hindi translation students were having problem. I'd been asked to take this burden, as there was no translation of the *Avadānakalpalatā* in Hindi or any other Indian Language. I've edited both Sanskrit and Tibetan versions and translated into Hindi and English both.

Kṣemendra traced *Muktālatavadānā* in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* of the Buddhist canon *Adhikaraṇa-Vastu*. In *Vinaya-Vastu* this *Avadāna* is found in prose. Kṣemendra left few accounts in his verses and made casual changes. Because when Muktālatā saw Buddha's painting along with his teaching on “Ārya Aṣṭāṅgika Mārga and Pratītyasamutpāda” (Eightfold noble path and Dependent Origination) she attained the fruit of the Srota-āpatti (perfectly earning the stream). She expressed her joy with these words:

I bow to the perfect Mediciner,
 The Buddha having ability to cure the illness,
 Though remaining far,
 With purified prajñā eyes,
 I bow to the perfect Mediciner,
 The Buddha, who frees from fear and illness,
 Though remaining far.

In the *Vinaya-Vastu* the name of this daughter of Simhala king occurs as Muktaka, while Kṣemendra called her Muktālatā. Kṣemendra's

description has it that śaśiprabhā after hearing the great compassion of Buddha, which is equal to all beings, from her husband Mahānāma, went to the site where Buddha stayed. The *Vinaya-Vastu* says śaśiprabhā went with Prajnāpati Gautamī. Further it says that when Rohita, the maid-servant of śaśiprabhā was sent to bring pearl garland from home she thought a while with deep breath and expressed her sorrow in such way-

“Where today its difficult to see the face of the Conqueror with impiety, And hear the immaculate Dharma from the Tathāgata’s mouth. Indeed, slavery is being under others’ power and full of sorrow, This is bad, obtained from the karma of my past lives. ”

Kṣemendra gives this account in his own words with some alterations. When Rohita reluctantly eked her way to home to bring pearl garland for śaśiprabhā, Buddha himself saw with his divine eyes and recalling her offerings and deep faith to former Buddhas, he thought of her liberation from the life of slavery and gave her teaching though miracle. Kṣemendra’s intention was to depict her liberation from the cyclic existence. In *Vinaya* this account occurs as-

Oh virtuous lady! Where there is birth,
There is death, thinking thus,
On the virtue preached by me,
Should you practice with generating diligence.

Kṣemendra varies here too. According to the root text in *Vinaya*, Sīmhala king named her Muktaka after 21 days in consultation with the ministers reminiscing a shower of pearls at the time of her birth. Kṣemendra is silent about the number of days when the king had consulted the ministers and named her; he attributed the name to the shower of pearls. When Muktālatā heard the Dharma essence in verses through the merchants from Magadha, she with deep faith sent a letter to the Buddha as follows-

Respected by gods, demons and human beings,
Encompassing definitely the states of birth, disease and fear,
Oh sage! Thou have earned renown,
May you gratify me with the share of nectar (of discourse).

Upon this Buddha asked expert painters to paint him on cloth but

they could not do so. At last Buddha asked them to show the cloth and he reflected his shadow on the cloth through the rays of his body. Thereafter, painters painted with colour and Buddha sent it to Muktaḷatā with Dharma teachings beneath it.

The *Avadānaśataka* has also one *Muktāvadāna* in which a maid from *Srāvastī* called Mukta is stated to have been born with a pearl-headgear. Thus, the two *Avadāna Muktaḷatā* and *Muktā* bearing superficial similarities are not identical in form or content.

Although the main characters of the *Avadāna* are Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and god-beings all the accounts are, in one or another way, related to the past lives of the Buddha and Buddha's noble actions.

The *Avadāna* shows through a variety of stories the Buddha's teachings dealing with the *pāramitās* to be practiced by the Bodhisattvas. Besides the practices of concentration and meditation the text also features different spheres of knowledge, such as arts, politics and ethics. In addition, it touches on the history, culture and social life of the people of those times.

It is said that Kṣemendra took upon himself the task of composing this work under the frequent request of a few Brahmins in the beginning and later at the persuasion of his friend. After finishing three *Avadānas*, he found the work very stiff and left it there. However, the Buddha himself is said to have appeared in his dream and encouraged him to complete the text. In the introduction to this text by Somendra, the son of Kṣemendra, it has been said,

The Lord Victorious One, himself encouraged him in the dream,
And so he resumed to collect the *Avadānas*. (Intro. AK 11)

Consequently, with the help of Virabhadra, the then well-known scholar of Buddhist literature, Kṣemendra finished 107 *Avadānas*. It took a long period of 27 years to complete the work. According to Buddhist tradition 108 is an auspicious number. Probably Somendra was influenced by this tradition and so he created one more *Avadāna* to complete the counting as he said *'My father composed 107 Avadānas,*

*I, Somendra, too have created one
to fulfil the auspicious count.* (Intro. AK 14)

Scholars have different opinions regarding the time of Kṣemendra.

Nevertheless, we are able to find material from Somendra's own introduction, on the basis of which we may put Kṣemendra in the beginning of the 11th century. The author himself threw some light about himself in his own text *Dasāvatarācarita* in which he indicated his father's name as Prākasendra. Most scholars have not accepted Kṣemendra's poetry as an excellent poetry. However, Somendra said that there were two traditions of poetry writing in India at that time, one was the eastern tradition of poetry, which was pleasing to hear, but difficult in meaning and it was a mixed style of prose and poetry. The second was the southern style that was not pleasing to the ears but profound in meaning and was only in poetic style. His father Kṣemendra got influenced by the second style and accordingly composed his text only in the poetic style, as it is said in Somendra's introduction,

Following one way of style (i.e. poetry only)
 which is profound but unpleasing to hear,
 (He) described the garland of the Buddha's Jātaka (story).”

(Intro. AK 8)

The present *Avadāna* is the 7th branch of *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra and is known as *Muktālatāvadāna*. This *Avadāna* mentions an account related to Buddha in which karma (action) is accepted as the main force while at the same time pride is regarded as the cause of downfall. The karma performed is never exhausted before fruition as it is said in the *Avadānaśatakam* (Mithila edition 13/2),

The karma of the sentient beings,
 Is not exhausted even after one hundred kalpas.
 When the conditions gather and the right time arises,
 It certainly ripens.

It further states that there is no other merit greater than that of generosity (giving) and there is no enemy as big as slavery. The author in this *Avadāna* described these facts beautifully. It is the story of Princess Muktālatā (hence the title) who was the daughter of the King of Sindhala (presently Sri Lanka). In one of her previous lifetimes, she became Ratnāvati, the wife of Mahādhana, a merchant of Varanasi. She was beautiful, young and rich, as a result of which she became proud and neglected all kinds of religious activities. After the death of her husband the childless Ratnāvati was remorseful for her previous

karmas and so she confessed all her wrong doings by making offerings at the stūpas and offering a garland of pearls to the Buddha's Saṅgha with utmost devotion.

Eventually, as a result of her previous bad karmas, she took rebirth as a slave of śaśiprabhā a rich woman of the Shākya clan, and suffered for many years. Subsequently, as a result of her later good karma, she was reborn as a princess of the Siṃhala king. While she was taking birth, there occurred a shower of pearls from the sky. Therefore, the king named her Mukṭālatā (Pearl Creeper). This is mentioned in the text itself as follows:-

At the time when she entered the womb and took birth,
Rains of pearls fell from the sky.
This daughter of the Siṃhala king
Came to be known as the Pearl Creeper. (AK 7/48)

When she grew up she heard about the Buddha through the merchants of North India, Automatically, a deep faith arose in her due to the predisposition of her past lives. Hence she sent a message to the Buddha who, already knowing about her with his clairvoyance, sent her in return a drawing of himself. Below the drawing, he instructed the following Dharma teachings- taking refuge in the three jewels, five precepts, pratītyasamutpāda and the eightfold path of the Āryas. When she saw the Buddha's drawing she felt a sensation as if she really saw the Buddha himself. Later, she studied and practiced the Buddha's instruction and, as a consequence, she got rid of the entire darkness of ignorance and obscurations that she had developed from the beginningless time. Ultimately, as a result of her continuous practice and meditation she attained Nirvāṇa and became an Arhat.

As a fruition of this merit,
She became Pearl Creeper,
The daughter of the Lord of Siṃhala,
And also attained complete Nirvāṇa. (AK 7/83)

Mindfulness as a Comprehensive Path for Self-Liberation: Some Responses from Early Buddhism

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Mindfulness, I declare, is all-helpful - Buddha,
(*Samyutta Nikāya*, 46:59)

All things can be mastered by mindfulness – Buddha
(*Anguttara Nikāya*, 8:83)

Abstract

Mindfulness has been occupied as one of the cornerstones of Buddhist practices and philosophy. It has different meanings, origins, applications and diverse perspectives. The *satipaṭṭhāna sutta* describes the principal objects of mindfulness. *Satipaṭṭhāna* means attending with mindfulness. Mindfulness of body is the foundation for the subsequent *satipaṭṭhānas* by paying attention to bodily sensations. The basic formula which recurs in the *satipaṭṭhānā sutta* and the *satipaṭṭhānā samyutta* says that “the one who dwells contemplating the nature of arising in the body; he dwells contemplating the nature of arising and vanishing in the body. The same is applicable with regard to *vedanā*, *citta* and *dhammas* too. Further in the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* it is said that four *satipaṭṭhānas* said to be the bindings for the mind of the noble disciple in order to subdue his or her memories and thoughts based on household life. An attempt has been made in this paper to explain *sati* from early Buddhist literature and the relation between *sati* and *saññā*. Further, the paper examines the four establishing factors of mindfulness namely the body, feelings, mind and *dhammas* lead an individual to the path of awakening or self-liberation.

Key Words: Mindfulness, *satipaṭṭhāna*, *sati*, *saññā*, *Abhidhamma*, *Anguttara Nikāya*, body, feelings, mind, *dhammas*.

Introduction:

The concept of Mindfulness occupies a significant place in Buddhist practice and philosophy. Buddhist followers, mainly who follow Theravāda tradition are advocates of Mindfulness. Mindfulness can

be defined as a function or quality of mind. Often it is also described as something to be practiced or cultivated. In the Noble eight fold path, right mindfulness is one of the components which lead to the final religious goal. It has been said in the Buddhist canons that those who have undertaken the four establishments of mindfulness have undertaken the noble path. Thus mindfulness (*sati* in Pali literature) is considered to be a practical aspect. Etymologically the Pali term *sati* derives from the Sanskrit word *smṛti* which means memory. But in early Buddhism to the term memory, new connotations were given. According to T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids¹ *sati* has been translated by different people in different ways namely conscience, attention, contemplation, insight and meditation. Gyatso² translated *sati* into two ways namely recollective memory and memory of the past and mindfulness. Apart from all these interpretations a good way of understanding the etymology of *satipaṭṭhāna* is found in a passage from *Āṅguttara Nikāya*³ which says ‘He himself one who mindfulness is present or established, and he rouses another to establishment of mindfulness. *Vanapattha Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*⁴ suggests that *sati* is associated with the verb *upaṭṭhāti* which means ‘stands near’ or ‘is present’ or ‘appears’ etc. That means *satipaṭṭhāna* means ‘the standing near of *sati*’ or ‘the presence of *sati*’. Therefore, *satipaṭṭhāna* means ‘bringing about of mindfulness’ or ‘establishment of mindfulness’. In this *sati* is understood as ‘mindfulness’.

According to the Buddhist first noble truth, there is suffering in this world. All men are suffering in this world. Suffering arises from the fires of lust, hatred and illusion. Hence the fault is theirs, and arises from the illusion of self. As this illusion arises and resides in the mind, the mind must be purified by a strenuous course of training which will destroy the illusion. Further, it produce and the awareness that instead the conscious awareness of reality in which there is mind-only and no-self. This process is known as mental liberation (*bhāvanā*). Thus, aiming and attaining mental liberation is very important aspects of self-liberation.

In Theravāda Buddhist tradition, serenity meditation is not essential for the realization of *nirvāṇa*, but the *sine qua non* of liberation is insight meditation, for which *sati* is a paradigm practice. According to Ven. Rahula ‘this is called *vipassanā- bhāvanā* (insight meditation). This is the true Buddhist meditation. It is taught by the Buddha in

many discourses, but the *satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* (discourse on the presence of Mindfulness) is undoubtedly the most complete and most important of them all⁵. In *satipaṭṭhāna* stage the mind is controlled, trained to see things as they are without emotion or thought of self and prepares an individual for the final approach to enlightenment. With this background an attempt has been made in this paper to explain *sati* from early Buddhist literature and the relation between *sati* and *saññā*. Further, the paper examines the four establishing factors of mindfulness namely the body, feelings, mind and *dhammas* leads an individual to the path of awakening or self-liberation.

The relation between *Sati* and *Saññā*:

According to Hamilton⁶ many passages in the *Nikāyas*, *saññā* has a function of recognition or identification. Further, Hamilton points out that most satisfactory translation of *saññā* would be apperception which implies both that its function is discriminatory and also that it incorporates a function of assimilation or comprehension of what has been perceived so that identification can take place.

In *Abhidhamma* literature, *Aṭṭhasālinī* interprets *saññā* has noting as its characteristic and recognition as its property⁷. This interpretation conforms to the modern explanation of *saññā* in the *Sutta-piṭaka* as ‘apperception’. Based on the *Abhidhamma* definition of *saññā* Gethin observes, in its capacity of labelling or marking, *saññā* must be understood as playing a major role in the psychology of memory at least as far as this is conceived of as a simple matter of recognition and recall⁸. From the *Abhidhamma* explanation of *saññā*, Gethin says, it is apparent that many of one’s so called ‘memories’ are simply conceptions or ideas based on a particular perspective of what occurred in the past. These are all misconceptions, the product of *saññā* associated with unskilful consciousness. The point is that as far as *Abhidhamma* is concerned our ‘remembering’ fails to reflect properly the way things truly are. From this it is evident that *saññā* is associated with unskilful or unwholesome (*akusala*) consciousness produces ‘memories’ as ‘misconceptions’, which in turn bring about ‘recognition’ or ‘apperception’ of incoming sensory data in a wrong way. In fact this is a vicious circle.

On the other hand Gethin⁹ observes that, *sati* is seen as a particular kind of ‘remembering’, when developed it ‘remembers’, as it were, properly. In Sanskrit the word *sati* refers to ‘to remember’ and ‘be

mindful of?. For C.A.F Rhys Davids¹⁰ *sati* is a Pali equivalent for *smara* which is derived from the Sanskrit word *Smr* found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. Further it states, when they do remember then they would be able to hear, consider, and recognize¹¹. It is through memory that one recognizes one's children and cattle¹².

Indriya saṃyutta gave the following definition of *sati*: “And Monks, what is the faculty of *sati*? Here, Monks, a noble disciple is possessed of *sati*, endowed with supreme ‘mindfulness and discrimination’ (*santinepakka*), is one remembers, who recollects what was done and said long ago. He dwells contemplating the body as a body..... feelings.....mind..... He dwells contemplating *dhammas* as *dhammas*, ardent, fully aware, possessed of mindfulness, in order to remove covetousness and dejection concerning the world¹³.

From the above quotation it is clear that “He dwells contemplating the body as a bodyconcerning the world” is a standard description of the four kinds of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*). The definition of *sati* not only involves memory or recollection, but also discrimination or identification. Mindfulness and discrimination denotes recognition rather than just remembering. This can be evident from *Aṅguttara Nikāya* which says, “Monks, five kinds of knowledge arise separately in those who have the capacity of discriminating (*nipaka*) and mindful (*patissata*). They will develop immeasurable concentration. According to *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, those who are discriminating (*nipaka*) and mindful (*patissata*) are able to acquire five kinds of knowledge, which refer to the identification of the characteristics of immeasurable concentration namely as being pleasant, being unworldly etc.¹⁴

In the above definition of *sati*, the four *satipaṭṭhānās* also involve both recognition and memory. The basic formula which recurs in the *satipaṭṭhānā sutta* and the *satipaṭṭhānā saṃyutta* says that “the one who dwells contemplating the nature of arising in the body; he dwells contemplating the nature of arising and vanishing in the body. The same is applicable with regard to *vedanā*, *citta* and *dhammas* too¹⁵. Apart from these *satipaṭṭhāna sutta* describes many practices as ‘he understands’ (*pajānāti*) the experiences or objects in the way they are.¹⁶ From this it is evident that *satipaṭṭhāna* practice is to develop accurate identification of the true nature of experiences or objects observed. Further in the *Dantabhūmi Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* it is said that four *satipaṭṭhānas* (which will be discussed later) said to be the

bindings for the mind of the noble disciple in order to subdue his or her memories and thoughts based on household life. Accordingly *sati* and four *satipaṭṭhānas* involve both recollection and proper identification. These two support reciprocally and the unskilful consciousness.

From this it can be concluded that *sati* and *saññā* plays a similar role in cognition along with memory and recognition. To strengthen this statement we can observe some of the cases from *Aṅguttara Nikāya* V 108-112. *Asubhasaññā* is the same as one of the practices in the *satipaṭṭhāna sutta* namely seeing the body as full of many kinds of impurity¹⁷. There is another case which says, ‘the description of *asubhasaññā* is the sentence: *iti imasmiṃ kāye asubhānupassī viharatī*, which is similar to form to *kāye kāyānupassī viharatī* in the basic *satipaṭṭhānai* formula. In these cases, the notions of *sati* and *saññā* seem to be interchangeable. In the proper functioning of *saññā*, the *sati* plays a decisive role and the practice of *sati* consists in developing wholesome (*kusala*) cognition. It is a perfect and undistorted form of *saññā*. In fact, overcoming cognitive problems is crucial to self-liberation which is done by *sati*.

Besides, explaining the relationship between the *sati* and *saññā*, the emphasis on understanding the four ways of *satipaṭṭhāna* meditation. This is because the four ways of establishing mindfulness can be put into practice and simultaneously led an individual to self-realization. The early Buddhist literature describes four main areas of practice for the establishing of mindfulness. They are a) the body b) the feelings c) mental states d) *dhammas*. Regarding these four practices a detailed exposition is found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna sutta* and *Mahā satipaṭṭhāna sutta* of the Theravāda tradition of the Pāli canon. Along with Pāli canons, there are two discourse collections namely *Madhyama āgama* and *Ekottarika āgama* in Chinese translation.

The Body as an establishing factor of Mindfulness:

The body as an establishment of mindfulness there are three topics available. Firstly, the body’s anatomical constitution, Secondly, the body as made up of material elements and thirdly the stages of decay of a corpse that has been left out. Firstly i.e., body’s anatomical constitution, requires reviewing its various parts namely its hair, nails, teeth etc.¹⁸ This type of reviewing could presumably take place by way of an internal meditative scanning of the body as a reflective sensation.

The examination of the body's anatomy should be taken from the perspective of the 'impure' or 'unclean' nature of some of its parts.¹⁹ The words 'impure' or 'unclean' carry out the instruction of purposive element of evaluation. The point of this mode of evaluation is not to nurture in the practitioner an attitude of negativity towards the body. The evaluation in mindful practice is meant as a detergent that purifies the mind from sensual attachment to the body, a cleansing process whose final aim is a balanced attitude. Contemplating in one's body means one experience joy in oneself by removing evil thoughts and being free from worry and dejection.²⁰

Secondly, contemplating of the body in terms of the elements is based on the four elements of earth, water, fire and air. *Madhyama āgama* version additionally mentioned space and consciousness along with four elements. The point of such contemplation is to recognize the presence of these elements as qualities like hardness, wetness, temperature and motion within the body. Understanding this exercise can lead to the insight into the no-self nature of the body.

Thirdly, contemplating the body as a stage of decay requires being aware of the stages of decay through a corpse would go when left out in the open. When this stage is applied to oneself, generating the understanding that one's own body is bound to pass away. Undertaking such contemplation can be based on having seen a rotting corpse. Later when it is applied to one's own body or that of others, reflecting that they all share the same nature. This exercise reveals the impermanent nature of the body, whose final destination is none other than the death.

The feelings as a establishing factor of Mindfulness:

The second of the four ways for establishing mindfulness is feelings. These feelings work according to their affective qualities into pleasant, unpleasant and neutral. In this category the important task is to be aware of the affective input provided by feeling during the early stages of the process of perception, before the onset of reactions, projections and mental elaborations regarding what one has experienced.

The above mentioned three types of feelings can be differentiated into worldly and unworldly types.²¹ By dividing into two types, the practitioner also realizes whether he or she is worldly or unworldly. Further it introduces an ethical appraisal between worldly feelings caused by mundane and unworldly feelings caused by renunciation.

The Mind as an establishing factor of Mindfulness:

The mind as an establishing factor of mindfulness covers the presence or absence of unwholesome (*akusala*) states of mind, where the mind is under the influence of lust, anger or delusion. In order to avoid these *akusala* activities, the mind has to be trained in a proper way. Thus, one has to develop motivative forces at work in the mind. Contemplation of the mind or cultivating the mind which involves recognizing the presence or absence of higher states of mind, thereby including experiences that take place during more advanced stages of meditation practice.

The *dhammas* as an establishing factor of Mindfulness:

The *dhammas* as an establishing factor of mindfulness regarding to early Buddhist meditation becomes more prominent. These are two topics that are common to the canonical discourse versions are two sets of mental qualities known in the Buddhist tradition are hindrances and awakening factors. Hindrances for mindfulness are sensual desire, ill-will, sloth and torpor, restlessness, worry and doubt. These hindrances obstruct the functioning of the mind when one tries to learn something.²² Thus these hindrances or impediments have to be identified, and then removed. Meditating without knowing a way out of a hindrance is a form of wrong meditating won't yield any results.

Overcoming the hindrances is a pre-condition for the awakening factors. Mindfulness occupies first place in the list of awakening factors, serving the function of providing a foundation for the cultivation of the remaining awakening factors namely energy, joy, tranquillity, concentration and equanimity. When the overall emphasis is on the mindfulness it stands as a foundation for progress on the path of awakening or self-liberation.

Along with four establishing factors of mindfulness, mindfulness of breathing is taken up in the *Ānāpānasati sutta*. *Ānāpānasati sutta* clearly explains how each establishing factor of mindfulness correspond four steps of each can proceed through sixteen steps altogether. The explanation is like the following:

- (a) The Body as an establishing factor of mindfulness
– become aware of breath (Neutral)

1. Long breath
2. Short breath
3. Experiencing the body
Calm stage wherein no
bodily activities
- (b) The feelings
 5. Experience joy
 6. Experience happiness
 7. Experience mental
activities
 8. Calm state wherein no
mental activities.
- (c) The Mind
 9. Experiencing the mind
 10. Gladden the mind
 11. Concentrate the mind
 12. Free the mind
- (d) The *dhammas*
 13. Impermanence
 14. Eradication
 15. Cessation/dispassion
 16. let go/ cessation.

In this way, mindfulness of breathing could be undertaken as a comprehensive meditation practice which proceeds through the four ways of establishing mindfulness.

The *Peṭakopadesa* text in the Theravāda tradition, in its sixth chapter tries to associate four *satipaṭṭhānas* with five *khandhas*. The five aggregates are the four grounds for individual existence. The aggregate of form is the body as a ground, the aggregate of feelings as feelings, the aggregate of apperception and the aggregate of volitional activities are *dhammas* and the aggregate of consciousness is mind as a ground for individual existence.²³

Satipaṭṭhāna saṃyutta sutta 42, may cast some light to understand the four factors of *satipaṭṭhāna* and five *khandhas* based on Buddhist theory of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). It explains:

“By the arising of food comes the arising of the Body → By the ceasing of food comes the ending of the body → By the arising of contact comes the arising of feelings → By the ceasing of contact comes the ending of feelings → By the arising of name-and-form comes the

arising of mind (*citta*) → By the ceasing of name-and-form comes the ending of mind. → By the arising of attention (*manasikāra*) comes the arising of *dharmas*. → By the ceasing of attention comes the ending of *dharmas*.²⁴⁷

Conclusion:

Buddhist philosophy assisted by modern psychology offers a valuable perspective on why the practice of mindfulness (*sati*) is efficacious in achieving the individual self-liberation. The essence of *sati* consists in the proper functioning of *saññā* which is the essential point in the cognitive process. *Sati* prevents *saññā* from going astray to conceptual proliferation and thereby develops a wholesome process of cognition conducive to the gnosis that brings about liberation. The transformation of *saññā* by *sati* also prevents feelings from developing into emotional agitation which causes the underlying tendencies to lie latent in a person and bind him to the cycle of rebirths. *Sati* conducts the wholesome functioning of *saññā*, so that one can properly identify reality abandon wrong views and maintain emotional equanimity, *upekkhā*. The path to liberation through the four establishing factors of mindfulness represents a systematic process of refining the cognitive apparatus and reducing emotional disturbance in order to prepare the mind for the ultimate goal or self-liberation of the individual.

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4. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 104-107.
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8. Gethin, R.M.L, *The Buddhist path to Awakening*, 2nd Edition, Oxford, One world publications, 2001, p.41.
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13. Saṃyutta Nikāya V 198: *katamañ ca, bhikkhave, satindriyaṃ? Idha, bhikkhave, ariyasāvako, satimā hoti paramena satinepakkena samannāgato cirakataṃ pi cirabhāsitaṃ pi saritānussaritā so kāye kāyānupassī viharati. pe. vedanāsucitta.....dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhā domanassaṃ.*
14. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III 24.
15. *Saṃyutta Nikāya* V 183: *Samudayadhammānupassī (vā) kāyasmim viharati, vayadhammānupassī (vā) kāyasmim viharati, samudayavayadhammānupassī (vā) kāyasmim viharati.....*
16. *Majjhima Nikāya* I 56: *dīgaṃ vā assasanto: dīgaṃ assasāmī ti pajānātīi.*
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Impact of Environment on Mind Development: A Critical Study with Reference to the Forest Meditation in Buddha's Time

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1. Introduction

The study discusses whether there is a significant effect of the environment on mind development. In order to inquire this, the study mainly pays attention to the statements made by the Buddha in various Suttas regarding forest environments. The study searches why Buddha encouraged followers to go to forest to engage in meditation. Furthermore, the study tries to explore the characteristics of forest environment which help to minimize thoughts, concentrate and mind development. Prior to inquire the impact of environment, the study explores the effecting factors to mind development and then identify the priority of environmental factor among them. Then the study discusses the importance of environment for mind development.

The environment can be identified as a miraculous combination of human beings, animals, trees, soil, and water and so on. They exchange oxygen and carbon dioxide for their mutual survival. The environment can basically be classified as natural environment and artificial (man-made) environment. People change the basic setting of the natural environment and develop the artificial environment for their comfortable continued existence. In the modern society, since the main focus is given to develop the artificial environment, basic setting of natural environment has been damaged severely. As a result of that, the human beings and animals have to face a lot of consequences.

The trees are one of the most important factors in the environment. Various types of experiments have been done to understand the behavior of trees. Various parts of trees and creepers are used as food and medicine for both human beings and animals. Furthermore, in addition to Buddhist people, Hindu community as well tends to

associate with Bo tree to find peace of mind. Although the relationship between human beings and the environment should be valid for present period, people have not given more attention to protect environment in order to get its benefits to have their mental development. As a result of that, people have to live with full of stress in this artificial and noisy environment and finally, they are suffering with lots of psychological issues and incommunicable diseases. In this study, realizing the truth of the world according to the teaching of the Buddha is considered as mind development. Many evidences can be found in Buddhist literature that how the Buddha encouraged his followers to stay in the forests for mind development. Therefore, the study firstly identifies the effecting factors for mind development and secondly discusses the forest meditation in Buddha's time in order to reveal the characteristics of forest environment which help to concentrate and develop the mind.

2. Research Question

The research question is whether there is a significant effect of the environment on mental development. If there is a significant effect, the study researches the effecting factors of the environment based on the forest environment according to the teaching of the Buddha. In order to inquire this, the following sub areas will also be studied.

- Why did the Buddha encourage followers to go to forest to engage in meditation?
- Characteristics of forest environment and how they help to minimize thoughts, concentrate and develop the mind

3. Research Methodology

The study collected information from primary and secondary sources in Pāli Buddhist literature in order to understand the importance pointed out by the Buddha regarding forest meditation for the development of mind.

4. Literature Review

Desire is arisen due to unavailability of real understanding about the world and therefore human beings suffer a lot. Those are called Puthujjana and they think that people, objects and phenomena exist separately in this world. Although this generates due to egoism of Puthujjana, that person cannot live without the help of environment. Therefore, there is no one can be identified as "I" who lives separately

from the environment. If a person can develop his view beyond that level, that person exceeds the puthujjana stage. The living environment of a person affects to his spiritual development. The Buddha also stayed at village called Senāni for his enlightenment. Most of followers of the Buddha also selected forest dwelling for spiritual development. The Buddha as well promoted and appreciated such places for mental development.¹ Ven. A Dammapāla points out that the life style of monks in forest monasteries has started urbanizing due to minimizing the engagement of meditation exercises, increasing the usage of technical knowledge, enhancing the close relationships with the society and subjective knowledge receives from education institutions.² That is why it is somewhat difficult to observe mind development of forest monks today when it is compared with Buddha's time.

With the increment of the attention to the psychology field in the world, many researchers have started to investigate the impact of family environment on brain development or mind development of children. In the study by Arranz et al, logistic regression analysis has been carried out using proposed model which included age, gender, number of older siblings, number of younger siblings, quality of attachment evaluation and performance during the task that children were given. Bretherton et al (1990) contributed the concept of the attachment figure as a secure base from which an infant can explore the world. In addition, she formulated the concept of maternal sensitivity to infant signals and its role in the development of infant-mother attachment patterns. HOME scale was developed by Caldwell and Bradley (1984) to measure the environment of the child. (HOME – Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment). In this study, the percentage of children classified as securely attached who responded correctly to the task proved significant. No significant relationship was found with other variables. The study proposes the development of a multi causal model in order to continue their research into the optimum family environment for theory of mind development.³

The above study explores the development of mind of children and affecting factors by using some basic activities within the mundane

¹Senadheera, D. D., Jeeva Ajeeva parisaraya pilibanda Bauddha vighay,1995, PGIPBS, Colombo

²Dammapala Ven. A, *Sri Lankave Aranya Bikshu Sampradaya pilibanda Shasthriya Adyanayak*, 2007, PGIPBS, Colombo

³Arranz et al, *Family Context and Theory of Mind Development*, 2001, Faculty of Psychology, Basque, Country University, Spain

level. However, many studies can be found in the world that discuss regarding environment and the development of brain. Hence, the current study will be more important because it discusses regarding the development of mind of adults up to supra mundane level and multi supporting factors in a forest environment for them.

5. Discussion

5.1 Identifying the effecting factors for Mind Development

In order to identify the effecting factors for mind development, the study pays attention to several case studies in the time of the Buddha. After the enlightenment, the Buddha thought about Alārakālāma to preach dhamma because he is capable of understanding it as he has lessened the level of defilements.⁴ However, he had passed away previous night. Although Alārakālāma had personal capability to understand dhamma and realize the truth, he missed that opportunity as he did not meet the teaching of the Buddha. Therefore, this case reveals two factors for realization namely availability of teaching of the Buddha and personal capability. When the Buddha preaches dhamma to Yasa, he understood it just like absorbing ink to a clean cloth.⁵ This simile shows the level of personal capability of Yasa. The final advice of the Buddha is to awake the power of dhamma which is available in you and try to realize the truth because everything is impermanence and it is useless to cry.⁶ This advice clearly highlights the personal capability of a person and the importance of awakening it. The Buddha advised the first set of 60 monks that there are people with personal capability and therefore go and preach dhamma to them. If they do not hear dhamma, they are not able have higher benefit of it.⁷ This means that the teaching of the Buddha (Dhamma) is the most important factor to realize the truth and the personal capability is necessary to understand it. Ven. Raṭṭhapala lived in the village called Cullakottitha lonely and had physical and mental rest and realized the truth by following the teaching of the Buddha.⁸ Raṭṭhapala left his luxurious residence and changed his living environment to a village after becoming a monk and that environment helped him to realize the

⁴Mahinda Sangarakkhitha Kollupitiye, *Budun wadala Buddha charithaya*, Sammera Publisher, 1999,p.114

⁵Ananda Maithri Balangoda, *Buddha Charithaya*, YMBA Colombo, 1930, p.88-90

⁶Perera Ariyapala, *Theravadi Baudha Darshanika – Sanskruthika Samiksha*, Godage, 2011, p.18-19

⁷Ananda Maithri, Ven. Balangoda, *Buddha Charithaya*, YMBA Colombo, 1930, p.92

⁸De Soyza A P, R, *Rattapala Sutta*, MN 3, Godage, 1956,p.1154

truth. Hence, the environment can be identified as another factor which helps to realize the truth. Furthermore, there was a baron (*Mahā dhana Situ*) who had perfections to reach arahantship during the Buddha's time, but he was unable to achieve it because he had addicted to alcohol due to association of bad friends (*pāpa mitra sevanāya*).⁹ This shows that the effect of people in the environment to a person to realize or not realize the truth especially even to a person who has perfections. When Ven.Rāhula matured enough to reach arahantship, the Buddha accompanied him to the forest called Andha to preach dhamma.¹⁰ This instance represents all the three factors identified so far. In addition to that, it can be found in various suttas that the Buddha encouraged his followers saying “araññagathova” to live in the forest for meditation to realize the truth. Hence, the factors which help for mind development can be summarized as follows.

1. Availability of the teaching of the Buddha
2. Personal capability (perfection, level of low defilements etc)
3. Forest Environment

The third factor, forest environment helped for monks to practice the teaching of the Buddha successfully to enhance their personal capability to realize the truth. Furthermore, even the monks who realized the truth were fond of living in forest environment. Therefore, importance of forest environment is very high for monks in both before and after their realization.

5.2 Importance of Forest Environment

The forest is a pure setting of the natural environment. It has its own characteristics. When a hermitage (*araṇya*) is made in a forest, small cottages (*kuṭi*) have to be built for the survival of monks with the minimum harm to the basic setting of the natural environment of the forest. In order to research the impact of forest environment on mental development, the study expects to examine the characteristics and the settings of forest hermitages because those are the places where lots of monks engage in meditation to develop their mind.

Mental development up to achieving Nirvāṇa through meditation is the main focus of the teaching of the Buddha. Furthermore, characteristics of the environment such as silence and calmness have

⁹Buddhadatta, Ven. Polwatte, *Baudda Darshanaya*, Ananda Books Company, 1960, p.98

¹⁰Cūlarāhulovāda Sutta, MN III, PTS, p.575

also been highly appreciated in Buddhist teaching. The Buddha also changed the environment from palace to the forest in order to have his enlightenment. The various suttas in Pali Buddhist literature can be identified to study the way that the Buddha has elaborated and appreciated the natural forest environment.

The people who protect and develop forests and natural resources and make environments for monks to live are able to gain merits during both day time and night time.¹¹ Arañña Sutta in Aṅguttara Nikāya points out several qualities of a person who reaches forest environment to engage in meditation.¹² This further confirms that qualified people were encouraged by the Buddha because their objective is pure. However, some people go to forest for meditation with various types of objectives. Among them, those who go to forest with the intension of destroy defilements and gain experience the noble silence are the most suitable people for forest meditation.

In *Mahāgosiṅga Sutta*, Ven. Sāriputta makes a discussion about for whom this Gosiṅga Sālavana exists. He elaborates the attraction of Gosiṅga sālavana in this discussion with Ven. Moggallāna, Ven. Kassapa and so on. Finally, they reached the Buddha and put forwarded this question. The Buddha answered that Gosiṅga Sālavana exists for those who keep their body straight and maintain their mindfulness in meditation. This also shows that how the Buddha encouraged his followers to associate with natural forests to develop their mind.¹³ In a question raised by a god, the Buddha explains that the skin color of my followers who engage in meditation in forest with one meal per day will be very bright because they do not suffer with what was in the past and they do not expect what they do not receive. This clearly proves that while the forest environment helps to develop the mind, the developed mind helps to maintain the skin color of body in a pleasant level.¹⁴

While the forest proves a calm and silent environment to the people to meditate, it also makes some sort of disturbances as well. A group of monks came back to the Buddha from a forest due to such disturbances. However, the Buddha guided them to go and meditate at the same place after delivering Metta sutta. That guidance of the Buddha really helped that group of monks to have a good understanding about the behavior of

¹¹ Vanaropa Sutta, Saṃyutta Nikāya I, PTS, 1973, p.60

¹² Arañña Sutta, Aṅguttara Nikāya III, PTS, 1976, p.219

¹³ Mahāgosiṅga Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya I, PTS, 1964, p.517-521

¹⁴ Arañña Sutta, Saṃyutta Nikāya I, PTS, 1973, p.11

invisible beings in this world.¹⁵ Engaging meditation in a forest is a real challenge due to various reasons including lack of facilities. Therefore, the Buddha frequently visited forests where his followers meditate to search their basic needs. Once the Buddha reached the forest called Gosiṅga Sālavana to visit Ven. Anuruddha, Ven. Nandiya and Ven. Kimbila.¹⁶

As an answer to the question made by Brahmin called Janussoni, the Buddha explained the challenging life in forest and the Buddha also thought before enlightenment that living in forest is a very difficult task. However the Buddha further pointed out that if a person has some bad actions, bad words, bad thoughts and so on, he has to face difficulties with danger thoughts due to negative behavior in the forest. If the behavior is positive, there is no reason to be in danger in forest life.¹⁷

5.3 Characteristics of Forest Environment for Mind Development **Minimizing mental attachments**

According to Tevijja Vaccagotta Sutta, Vaccagotta asks Buddha that whether a person is able to terminate suffering after he dies without destroying desire to the thing he uses in his lay life. The Buddha replied to Vaccagotta that nobody can terminate suffering without destroying desire to aforesaid things.¹⁸ This shows the importance of destroying desire to the things what people use in their lay life. That is why a monk goes to forest to be away from things available in the society and gradually minimize desire to those things. Even a lay person can go to forest in order to reach this goal. Brahmāyu Sutta in majjhima nikāya explains that the Buddha does not take alms with desire for its taste. It clearly shows that the Buddha does not make mental attachments for anything even for alms due to its taste.

Silence

As *Dammacetiya sutta* in *Majjhima Nikāya* says, the king Kosala needed to visit a natural park to have relaxation and the king informed it to his officer called Dīghakārāyana. Then the King visited the park and the park was silent without any noise and with pure air and it is a better place to have a rest and a better place to make secret conspiracies. When the king reflects about this environment, the Buddha came to his mind and he wanted to see Buddha in a place like this. Then the king

¹⁵*Metta Sutta, Khuddaka Nikāya I*, PTS, 1978, p 20-22

¹⁶*Culagosiṅga Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya I*, PTS, 1964, p.495

¹⁷*Bhayabherava Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya I*, PTS, 1964, p.40

¹⁸*Tevijja Vaccagotta Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya II*, PTS, 1973, p.255

went to the village called Medālupa to see Buddha.¹⁹ This shows the close relationship between the Buddha and the environment because the king, a follower of the Buddha reaches a natural forest, the Buddha came to his mind. This further proves how a silent environment tends to develop thoughts for spiritual side. The forest is a silent place when it is compared with the general society. Therefore, the Buddha always instructed his followers to be silent to maintain that valuable characteristic in the forest.

According to Chāthuma Sutta, the Buddha has stayed at Nelli forest in the Chāthuma town. In the meantime, around five hundred monks have come with Ven. Sāriputta and Ven. Moggallāna to see the Buddha. Since they have started chatting with the residential monks, they all have made a big noise in the forest monastery area. Then the Buddha has asked “Who made a big noise like fishermen at a place where fishing?” and the Buddha has banished them without giving opportunity for them to meet the Buddha. The behavior of the Buddha corroborates that how the Buddha has appreciated the silence in the place where the Buddha lives. However, with mediation of people in Shakya caste in the area and Sahampati Mahā Brahmā, the Buddha allowed the monks to come and meet him.²⁰

Loneliness, fearlessness and self confidence

Subāhu therā says that thundering is just like a song with this rain. My hut (kuṭi) is comfortable for me because it is sealed from the rain water and the cold wind. My mind concentration is entirely at kāyagātāsati meditation. Another similar situation of rain and thundering is explained by Uttiya therā that I am alone here in the sealed hut. This proves that most of monks in the forest experience the loneliness in the forest and it helps to minimize thoughts and concentrate the mind. Sambula Kaccāna therā says that the rain makes a sound of “gala gala” and I am alone in the dreadful cave. However, I have no feeling of fear and that is my nature. Furthermore, Yasoja therā gāthā reveals the importance of loneliness saying that when there are more people, it creates noise and noise disturbs the mind concentration.

Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa therā gāthā says that the Buddha has spent much time even in the night at the open space in the forest. This proves that the Buddha did not have a doubt of any kind of harm from animals in the forest and it further shows the high level of self confidence and the mutual relationship even with animals.

¹⁹*Dhammacetiya Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya II, PTS, 1973, p.551*

²⁰*Chāthuma Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya II, PTS, 1973, p.206*

There is no other person in front or behind of the monk who lives alone in the forest. Therefore, it is easy to live with the mental happiness. So, Ekavihāriya thera says that I go to the forest where the Buddha praised to live alone. This clearly shows that living with a second person promotes defilements of the mind. Aññakoṇḍañña thera says that the monk lives alone with the rest like a Brahmā who live with the enjoyment of dhyāna. If there are more people, it is just like living in a village and it is not suite for a monk.

Mahāmogallāna thera gāthā says that the thera threats the māra in the Bhesakaṭṭha forest and this shows the fearlessness of the forest monk.²¹ Tālapuṭa thera expresses his imaginations before become a monk about a supra mundane life which he likes to reach. He says that “I am waiting for the time that I can go to the forest to live alone in order to live without desire. Then I can understand the all the births in saṃsāric journey are impermanence.” He further says that “I need to break attachments which develop due to passion similar to breaking a strong fence or an ion chain and I need to go to forest to live alone.” This is also a good evidence to understand the importance of living alone to minimize desire. Tālapuṭa thera gāthā further explains the freedom of loneliness and it is just like a deer who behaves freely in the attractive natural forest.

Mental and Physical rest and lack of responsibilities

According to *Cūlasakuludāyi sutta*, it is highlighted that the importance of the places like forests, under a tree, mountains, stone caves, burial grounds, empty places and so on to have physical and mental rest. When a monk goes to such a place, the monk does not have any thought about a possession of that place and therefore mental attachment to the place where he lives is nil. Furthermore, he does not have any responsibilities in that place and there is no anyone to communicate. Hence, he can experience the real physical and mental rest in that silent forest environment. As *Danañjāni sutta* in *Majjhima Nikāya* says, the Brahmin called Danañjāni asked Ven. Sāriputta to come and drink some milk from his cattle pound. While Ven. Sāriputta rejected his request because Ven. Sāriputta has already taken food and Ven. Sāriputta requested that brahmin to come near to certain tree where Ven. Sāriputta has planned to have a rest there. This shows that Ven. Sāriputta accompanied Brahmin to a suitable place to have dhamma talk without talking at cattle pound where Brahmin has lots of

²¹De Soyza A P, Mahāmogallāna Thera Gatha, KN 2, Godage, 1956,p.717

responsibilities. Hence, it is quite clear that lack of responsibilities and mental and physical rest are very important factors to concentrate mind to listen dhamma.

Importance of being away from the society

Cūlasakuludāyi sutta shows that defilements will not be promoted in the mind of the person who maintains the control of faculties of the body. There are lots of barriers in lay life because lay life is a good platform to make defilements.²² That is why the Buddha has advised to be away from the society and to be familiar with a simple life. The sutta further says that when thoughts related to passion and defilements of the monk are released, it is possible to memorize his previous births. Furthermore, *Piyajātika* sutta explains how suffering occurs based on loving things. A father suffers a lot due to death of his loving son. When that father meets the Buddha, Buddha tries to convince him regarding sufferings due to loving people or things. However, that father was unable to grasp the message of the Buddha.²³ As long as a person takes someone or something with strong mental attachments in a family or a society, that phenomenon generates suffering. Hence, if a person lives away from the society, he does not have phenomenon to love and therefore he does not have sufferings. *Ghoṭamukha* sutta in *Majjhima Nikāya* says that lay life is a supportive platform to build defilements easily. That is why it is important to being away from the society after becoming a monk.

No opportunity to maintain egoism

According to *Māgandhiya Sutta*, Buddha says that people promote egoism because they try to become the owners of everything due to desire. Hence, they generate kammic power and they face to rebecoming process due to kamma.²⁴ Since there is no opportunity to promote egoism in the forest, that environment helps to minimize egoism and to break the rebecoming cycle. On the other hand, egoism automatically generates when compare with others in the general society. However, when a monk lives alone in a forest, the monk is able to control his mind easily without promoting egoism.

Importance of a simple life

Gaṅgātīriya therā explains the simple life he had with a hut made by three palmyra leaves near to the Gaṅgā river. His bowl is just like

²²De Soyza A P, *Cūlasakuludāyi sutta*, MN 3, Godage, 1954, p.1120

²³De Soyza A P, *Piyajātika Sutta*, MN 3, Godage, 1954, p.1249,1250

²⁴De Soyza A P, *Māgandhiya Sutta*, MN 3, Godage, 1956,p.1030

a bowl which is used to scatter water to a dead body. The robe is also from a dead body (Pāṃśukūla). This shows how a simple life helps for realization. Tissa therā gāthā points out that the monk who has lots of food, robes and residences makes enemies. Therefore, it is important to understand the danger of collecting of things more than enough for a monk to have a simple life and it helps to get rid of craving. It is quite clear that forest is the most suitable place to have a simple life without collecting ample things and to live without fear of enemies. Ekavihāriya therā says that the monk likes to live under the natural trees of the mountains with using cold water in the forest. Therefore, it is clear that the forest environment highly support to maintain a simple life which is necessary for mind development.

6. Conclusion

This study explores the impact of environment on mind development. The environment can be identified as a miraculous combination of human beings, animals, trees, soil, and water and so on. Firstly, the study pays attention to understand the common factors affected for the realization in Buddha's time based on several case studies in Buddhist literature. This reveals main three factors as follows.

1. Availability of the teaching of the Buddha
2. Personal capability (perfection, level of low defilements etc)
3. Forest Environment

Main focus of this study "Environment" came to the third place of above factors because some people were able to realize the truth without going to the forest. However, the Buddha encouraged many followers to go to the forest and the forest environment helped them to practice Buddhist teaching such as mindfulness, mind concentration successfully and to improve their personal capability as well. Furthermore, the monks who realized the truth as well continuously associated with those environments and therefore the study confirms that there is a significant impact of environment on mind development.

The study further reveals the affecting factors in forest environment for realization the truth. Among them, loneliness helps to enhance the fearlessness and self confidence to tolerate many challenges in the forest with minimum facilities. Since the life in the forest is away from the society, mental attachments can be easily controlled to a minimum level and it helps to develop mind concentration and mindfulness too. Mental

and Physical rest, lack of responsibilities, silence of the environment are the other helping factors which help to develop the mind of human beings.

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The Pāli Version of Mahāsuññata-sutta and its Parallel in Tibetan Canon

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The *Mahāsuññata-sutta*, a greater discourse on emptiness, talks about the different perspective of emptiness. The historical Buddha taught this discourse to Venerable Ānanda at Nigrodh-ārāma in Kapilavastu. A fifth century Pāli commentator Buddh-āghosa, in the commentary of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, refers this discourse by an alternative title “*Gaṇabheda*,” which means breaking up the crowd [by enjoying solitude] (PS IV, 157, 13). Fortunately, this discourse has at least three complete versions: Pāli *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Chinese-*Madhyama-Āgama*, and Tibetan-*Mahāsūtra*.

The objective of this paper is to compare different episodes recorded in the Pāli version of *Mahāsuññata-sutta* with its Tibetan parallel. It also aims to understand the nuances of the twofold emptiness, namely, internal or inward (*ajjhataṃ*) and external or outward (*bahiddhā*) as given in the *Mahāsuññata-sutta*.

Place of the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* in Pāli and its Parallel in Tibetan Canon

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* is the 122nd *sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*. This is the second of the tenth *suttas* in the *suññata-vagga* of *Uparipaṇṇāsaka* (MN III 109, 19–118, 8).

Tibetan classifies this *sutta* as one of the *Mahāsūtras* of Mūlasarvāstivāda. It is *sūtra* number 12 in the collection of Nges don mdo. The Tibetan equivalent of the title of this *sutta* is *mdo chen po stong pa nyid chen po zhes bya ba* with its Sanskrit title *Mahāsūnyatā-mahāsūtra* (var. *Mahāsūnyatāsūtranāmamahāsūtra*). It can be found in the general *sūtra* section (*mdo sde*) of the Tibetan Kanjur. According to the *Nges don mdo* translators and the Tibetan colophons of the *Them spangs ma Kanjurs*, this *sūtra* belongs to the first dispensation.

Early Translation Activities in Tibet

Samyé (bsam yas), the first monastery of Tibet was established as a result of victory over indigenous religious traditions of Tibet by the second “dharma king” of Tibet Tri Songdétse (c. 740–798), great Indian masters Padmasambhava, and Śāntarakṣita in 775 CE. The King had a strong feeling that Buddhism would never flourish in the land of snow until they translate Buddhist scripture in their own language. This great intension led the king to invite translators from India, Kashmir, and China. With the establishment of the Mūlasarvāstivāda monastic lineage, the systematic translation of Indian Buddhist texts took place by the end of 8th century.

Translators and Transmission of the *Mahāsuññata-sutta*

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta*, one of the nine Mūlasarvāstivāda *mahāsūtras* was translated by the effort of three great masters, namely, Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye shes sde in the early 9th century.

Transmission of Mahasūtras—in India and Tibet—is uncertain. We also do not know about the seat of Mūlasarvāstivāda School from where the manuscripts were obtained. However, the association of Jinamitra suggests the country Kashmir.

The Structure of the Discourse

The discourse has three major sections: opening, the main body, and closing. Although, the structure of the discourse in both—Pāli and Tibetan version—is same and has the same content, the Tibetan translation varies with Pāli version at some instances and it gives some additional information.

Opening

The Tibetan version begins with the formula, which the Pāli version agrees, I quote— ’di skad bdag gist hos pa dus gcig na/ bcom ldan ’das ser skya’I gnas na shing nya gro dha’i kun dga’ ra ba na bzhugs so// [thus have I heard at one Time. The *Bhagvan* was dwelling at the pleasure grove of Nyagrodha at Kapilavastu.] As per Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, King Śuddhodana donated this park to the Buddha while the Pāli tradition believes that Nigrodha, a Śākya, donated it (Skilling 1997, 371). There were two *vihāras*¹ built within the Nigrodhārāma,

¹The two *vihāras* are named as Kālakhemaka (dus bde) and Ghaṭāya (ltag pa ri?). Buddhaghosa, in the commentary of Majjhima Nikāya, also mentions about two

which clearly indicates that the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* is not the discourse, which the Buddha taught on his first return to Kapilavastu after his enlightenment.

The sūtra states that Buddha taught at Nigrodhārāma, where a large number of monks gathered together to make robes, which the Buddha had not seen before. The *Papañcasūdanī* clarifies the number of monks as 10 or 12. I quote- *ito kira pubbe bhagavatā dasa dvādasa bhikkhū ekaṭṭhāne vasantā na diṭṭhapubbā.* (PS IV, 155, 18)

Main body

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* can be categorised under the following six heads:

(i) Dwelling alone leads to awakening and liberated mind

The Buddha warns the monks that too much social concern is obstacle in gaining happiness of renunciation, of seclusion, of peace, and of awakening. However, if a monk does not delight in sociality and dwells alone then he gains happiness, which leads to unshakable liberated mind.

(ii) Tathāgata's Mode of abiding (*vihāra*)

The Buddha instructed to the Ānanda- material form (*rūpa*) is impermanent. If one gets delight in the manifestation of material, it will lead to sorrow, lamentation, pain and displeasure. Here, we can also see a few differences in the Pāli and Tibetan version. In Pāli, the Buddha talks about the **Tathāgata** that he dwells in emptiness **internally**² and does not give any attention to **any sign- *sabbanimittānaṃ amanasikārā ajjhataṃ suññataṃ upasampajja viharitum.*** (*Majjhima Nikāya III 236, 3*) Whereas, the Buddha, in Tibetan version, states **his own attainment** that he dwells having directly attained (outward) emptiness **externally** by passing beyond **any perception of material form.**

(iii) Dealing with emptiness

Likewise the above section, the overall order of the Buddha's attainment in Tibetan is outward...inward...outward-inward whereas Śākyans called khemaka and Ghaṭa. He says he is called kālakhemaka because of his dark complexion— *tattha kālakhemakassā ti chavivaṇṇena so kāḷo. Khemako 'ti pan 'assa nāma and ghaṭāya ti evamnāmakassa sakkassa.*

²The PPS refers the Buddha's dwelling in emptiness internally as his fruition attainment- *suññatan ti suññataphalasamāpatti* (PPS IV 160, 11)

the Pāli refers inward....outward....inward-outward for Tathāgata's attainment. However, many modern scholars such as I B Horner, Bhikkhu Ñānamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi translate this section in English, which varies to each another.

The PS states *ajjhattasuññatam ti idha niyakajjhattam-* as being pertaining to one's own five aggregates, *bahiddhā ti parassa pañcasu khandhesu-* as being pertaining to the five aggregates of another, and *ajjhatabhiddhā ti kālena ajjhattam kālena bahiddhā-* as "at time inwardly at time outwardly" (PS 161). Moreover, the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* provides a list of twenty-five³ emptinesses in the *Suññakathā* (MN 2.10), which refers *ajjhattasuññam*⁴ as the absence of a self or of anything permanent in the senses, while *bahiddhasuññam*⁵ intends the same in relation to sense-objects (cf. Anālayo 2011: 175). It also refer *dubhatosuññam*⁶ as which is inwardly the eye, ear, nose,... and, those which are outwardly visible form, sound, smell..., both these are empty.

In Pāli, the term *ajjhattam*, *bahiddhā*, and *ajjhatabhiddhā* is used as an adverb, however, we do not know whether these term terms are used as an adverb or as an adjective in Sanskrit fragments as it does not survive anymore. The Tibetans translate it as *nang stong pa nyid*, *phyi stongpanyin*, and *phyi nang stongpanyid*. Nevertheless, these three terms can be seen in Sanskrit in *Vibhāṣā* and in *Prajñāpāramitā* as *adhyātma*

³*Suññasuññam, saṅkhārasuññam, vipariṇāmasuññam, aggasuññam, lakkaṇasuññam, vikkhambhanasuññam, tadaṅgasuññam, samucchadasuññam, paṭippassaddhisuññam, nissaraṇasuññam, ajjhattasuññam, bahiddhāsuññam, dubhatosuññam, sabhāgasuññam, visabhāgasuññam, esanāsuññam, pariggahasuññam, paṭilābhasuññam, paṭivedhasuññam, ekattasuññam, nānattasuññam, khantisuññam, adhiṭṭhānasuññam, pariyoḡāhaṇasuññam, sampajānassa pavattapariyādānam sabbasuññatānam paramatthasuññam.*

⁴*Ajjhattam cakkhuṃ... sotam.... ghāṇam..... jivhā....kāyo.....mano suñño attena vā attaniyena vā niccena vā dhuvena vā sassatena vā avipariṇāmadhammena vā. Idam ajjhattasuññam.* (Paṭis 181)

⁵*Bahiddhā rūpā suññā ...pe...dhammā suññā attena vā attaniyena vā niccena vā dhuvena vā sassatena vā avipariṇāmadhammena vā. Idam bahiddhāsuññam.* (Paṭis 181)

⁶*Yaṃ ca ajjhattam cakkhu ye ca bahiddhā rūpa ubhayametam suññam attena vā attaniyena vā niccena vā dhuvena vā sassatena vā avipariṇāmadhammena vā. Yaṃ ca ajjhattam sotam ye ca bahiddhā saddā.... Yaṃ ca ajjhattam ghāṇam ye ca bahiddhā gandhā..... Yaṃ ca ajjhattam jivhā ye ca bahiddhā rasā.... Yaṃ ca ajjhattam kayo ye ca bahiddhā phoṭṭabbā..... Yaṃ ca ajjhattam mano ye ca bahiddhā dhammā ubhayametam suññam attena vā attaniyena vā niccena vā dhuvena vā sassatena vā avipariṇāmadhammena vā. Idam dubhatosuññam*

śūnyatā (nang stong pa nyid), *bahirdhā śūnyatā* (phyi stong pa nyid), and *adhyātmabahirdhā-śūnyatā* (phyi nang stong pa nyid). It should be noted here that the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* refers *ajjhattasuññatam* to the six bases—from eye to mind— and *bahiddhāsuññatam* as to six outer bases—visible form to mind object. *Ajjhatta-bahiddhā* refers to the both bases—inner and outer.

The Tibetan version refers nine verbs for settling, taming, calming and concentrating the mind, however, the Pāli version does not provide the same list. It only refers to four verbs, which can also be found in other Pāli *suttas* such as *Kāyagatāsatisutta* and *Dvedhāvittakkasutta*. I quote- *tena Ānanda, bhikkhunā ajjhattameva cittaṃ saṅghapetabbaṃ sannisādetabbaṃ ekodi kātabbaṃ samādahātabbaṃ* (MN III, 111).

The *sutta*, for settling the mind inwardly, also suggests the way. The Tibetan version states that a meditator attains the first *dhyāna* of meditation while the Pāli version speaks of four *jhānas* in a successive order. The simile of a skilled bath-attendant (khrus mkhan mkhas pa; *dakṣaḥ snāpakaḥ*) is used, in this context, in the Tibetan version while it is absent in Pāli version. However, the same simile of a skilled bath-attendant (*dakkho nhāpako*) can be seen in other Pāli *suttas* of DN and MN. Both the versions agree that, it is only after settling the mind inwardly, a meditator can proceed for outward emptiness. If the mind is still unsettled, one should attend inward... outward... inward-outward... imperturbable (as per Pāli) and outward...inward...outward-inward...imperturbable (*ānañja*) [as per Tibetan.] In addition, Pāli version informs that if the mind is settled (or not) to any particular *jhāna*, he/she realizes the same in each *jhāna*- *itiha tattha sampajāno hoti*. This phrase is missing in Tibetan version.

(iv) Clear comprehension of a monk in various abiding (*vihāra*)

There are also some variation in the Pāli and the Tibetan versions. This section mainly deals with eight topics in which a monk is fully aware of the moment, namely, *caṅkama*, *ṭhāna*, *nisīdana*, *sayanā*, *vitakka*, *kathā*, *kāmaguṇa*, and *khandha*. Out of these, the two—standing (*ṭhāna*) and lying down (*sayanā*)— is missing in the Tibetan version. The Tibetan version, after each section, states monk is ‘mindful and aware’ (*de de la dran pa dang/shes bdzin can du ’gyur ro/*) while Pāli says monk is ‘aware’ (*itiha tattha sampajāno hoti*).

For walking back and forth (*caṅkama*), the Tibetan version gives a passage, which is missing in Pāli version— *In the open-air walking*

area outside the residence, the monk should walk back and forth, with faculties collected inwardly, with mind not staying outward, perceiving before and after.⁷ (cf. Skilling 1997, 384) The Pāli simply states *so caṅkamati*. However, the close similar passage on walking meditation can be seen in the Aṅguttara Nikāya.⁸

Like the previous section, here, the Pāli version simply states *so nisīdati* and the Tibetan has longer passage, which is missing in Pāli version. But again Aṅguttara Nikāya (AN III 320,9, cf. Skilling 1997, 385) offers almost the similar passage. The only difference in the passage is that the Tibetan states that monks wash their feet outside the monastery, while Pāli says nothing about it.

The next section is about *vitakka*, where both—Pāli and Tibetan—agrees the same content. It says a monk should be freed from three unwholesome thoughts.

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* lists the *kathā*, which a monk should converse. The Pāli version states of 10 (8 similar with Tibetan) topics (*kathā*)⁹, however the Tibetan version gives fifteen (seven different) topics, they are— *mi stsogs* (*anapacaya*), *yo byad bsñungs pa* (*saṃlekḥā*), *spong ba* (*pahāṇa*), *'dod chags dang 'bral ba* (*virāga*), *'gog pa* (*nirodha*), *stong pa nyid* (*sunñātā*), and *rkyen 'di pa nyid kyi rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba* (*idappaccayatā-ṣaṭṭicasamuppāda*).

Again, as per Pāli version a monk (*ariyasāvako*) examines his mind that if any thought is born of any five *kāmaguṇas*. Although this phrase is missing in the Tibetan version, it gives some additional information— *sem kun tu 'byung ba*, The Buddha instructs to Ānanda saying that there is no arousal of mind apart from any of the five *kāmaguṇas*.

Ariyasāvaka examines to comprehend if his mind possesses any concept of self (I-ness) with respect to *khandha*. For the word ‘self or I-ness’, the Pāli version mentions of *asmimāna*, however, the Tibetan version provide three terms, namely, *asmīti māna*, *asmīti chanda*, *asmīti anusaya*. However, the PS (IV 164, 14) reads— *tattha so pahīyati ti rūpe*

⁷kun dga' bo dge slong des gtsug lag khang gi phyi rol bla gab med pa'i chag sar dbang po mams nang du bsdun shing/ yid phyi rol du ma song bar/ snga phyi'i 'du shes kyois bcag par bya' o/

⁸tato pacchāpuresaññī caṅkamaṃ adhiṭṭheyyāsi antogatehi indriyehi abahigatena mānasena. (AN IV 87,1)

⁹Sīla, samādhi, paññā, vimutti, vimuttiñāḍassana, apiccha, santuṭṭhi, paviveka (not in Tibetan), asaṃsagga, and viriyārambha (not in Tibetan).

asmī ti māno asmī ti chando asmī ti anusayo pahīyati. Pāli version also suggests to examine arising and ceasing of aggregates but it misses two paragraphs¹⁰ that of Tibetan.

(v) Disciple- teacher Relationship and the Three Afflictions

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* criticises that disciple who has taken up the study of the discourses and does not properly practise the path accordingly, *sutapariyattim uggahetvā pi tad anucchavikam anulomapaṭipadam na paṭipajjati.* This criticism fits with the Venerable Ānanda, who heard the most by the Buddha himself but could not get progress in his own liberation by the same time. A disciple, for gaining realisation of liberation, should follow the teacher's advice that treats as an inspiration.

A teacher is a philosopher, a guide, who attracts an audience of brahmin and householder, town people and country folks in his solitude.¹¹ His teaching derives from logic and intellectual speculations.¹² The three Affliction (Pāli: *upaddava*, Tib.: *gnod pa*)– for the teacher, disciple, and the holy life– is described here.

(vi) Act towards Tathāgata with *mettā* not with enmity

The Buddha instructs Ānanda to that how should he treat him friendly. The Tibetan version uses the simile of a potter, where the Buddha says that he is not going to treat Ānanda like a potter treats his material. The similar lines (not as a simile) is available in the *Cullavagga* (Vin II 186, 21- 187, 16)– the first spoken to Mahāmoggallāna, the second to the monks. The context of this simile is not very much clear here. However, a potter cares so much for this raw product. He burns the product, when

¹⁰Kun dga' bo 'phags pa nyan thos kysis ma la bdag gis nye bar len pa'i phung po lnga po 'di bdag la nga'o snyam pa'I nga rgyal dang/ nga'o snyam pa'i dun pa dang/ nga'o snyam pa'i bag la nyal ma spangs shing/ yongs su ma shes la/ ma bkag/ ma bsal bay od dam/ 'on te bdag gis nye bar len pa'i phung po lnga 'di dag la nga'o snyam pa'i nga rgyal dang/ nga'o snyam pa'i dun pa dang/ nga'o snyam pa'i bag la nyalma spangs shing/ yongs su ma shes la/ ma bkag/ ma bsal ba med ces/ yang dang du nye bar len pa'i phung po lnga po di dag la rang gi sems so sor brtag par bya'o// kun dga' bo gal t edge slong de de ltar so sor rtog pa'i tshé bdag gis nye bar len pa'i phung po lnga po 'di dag la nga'o snyam pa'i nga rgyal dang/ nga'o snyam pa'i dun pa dang/ nga'o snyam pa'ibag la nyal ma spangs shing/ yongs su ma shes la/ ma bkag/ ma bsal ba yod par shes par gyut na//

¹¹ In Tibetan, it says– householder and wanderer. Again, solitary dwelling is missing in the *Mahāsuññata-sutta*; can be seen in the other sutta of Pāli.

¹²This again, a Tibetan passage can be found elsewhere in Pāli such as the *Brahmajāla sutta*.

it is burnt, he tests again and again just as the teacher tests his disciple again and again. (cf. Analayo 2011, 702)

Closing

Both—the Pāli and the Tibetan— reports that Venerable Ānanda gets rejoiced by the Blessed one’s words. The Tibetan version ends with summary verse (bar sdom; *antaroddāna*) in eight lines.¹³ The Pāli version does not uses any *Uddāna*.

Concluding Remarks

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* is very rich and long in content. It is cited by the Asaṅga in *Yogācārabhūmi* and in the *Abhidharmakośa* and the *Vyākhyāyukti* by Vasubandhu.

If we talk about the title of the *sutta*, which basically illustrate emptiness, we find that it has a loose connection with some of the topics.

The Pāli version of the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* is almost close to the Tibetan version in content. However, there are many instances where we see different phrasing and order. The Tibetan version also provides much additional information, which are missing in the Pāli version of the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* but their parallel are available in the other Pāli *suttas*. One of the most striking order for practicing emptiness in Pāli runs as inward...outward...inward-outward while Tibetan reads outward...inward...outward-inward.

At the end, I must say the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* opens a window to compare various topics with other Mahāyāna sūtras.

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¹³- 'phags pa 'I bde dang dus sbyor dang/a
- gzugs dang mchog dga dge slong dang/
- khros ril phyi stong nyid stsogs dang/
- ting nga 'dzin la sems gzhol dang/
- 'chag pa dang ni 'dug pa dang/
- mnam rtog gtam dang 'dod yon tan/
- phung po gcig dkar nyan thos dang/
- gnod dang mdza' bshes tshar bead pa'o/

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Abbreviation

AN	Aṅguttara Nikāya
DN	Dīgha Nikāya
MN	Majjhima Nikāya
Paṭis	Paṭisambhidāmagga
PS	Papañcasūdanī
Vin	Vinaya Piṭaka

The Cult of Buddhist Relics: Genesis and Significance of Veneration

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As seen today, the Buddha's relics have captured a very crucial role in Buddhist world because the followers sought after the Buddha's relics as representation of the Buddha. After the passing away of the Buddha at Kusinārā, his body was sumptuously honored and worshipped by people from all walks of life in Jumbudvīpa at the time (ancient India) in the state of *cakkavattin* manner and cremated in a sandalwood pyre. The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the canonical account of the last days of the Buddha, stated that only the bones of the body were remained behind after the cremation of the Buddha's corpse. Miraculously, the four *tooth bone* (*Danta dhātu*), two collar bones (*Aku dhātu*), neck-bone (*Greevā dhātu*), two collar bones (*Lalāṭa dhātu*) were remained not broken. It is said that bones of the other party of the body remained in the size of broken green seed (*Mugga*) and the size of broken rice (*Taṇḍula*). All these remains of the Buddha were called Relics (*Dhātu*).

Aim and Objective:

The aim and objective of this paper is to examine the genesis and significance of the various types of Buddhist relics and its veneration. In this way, it will be able to appreciate the historical basis of relics in Buddhism. This is because the relics play an integral role in Buddhists' spiritual life. Generally, most Buddhists have higher respects for Buddha's relics that housed in a shrine-room or a *Stūpa* in a monastery or at intersection. For a majority of lay followers, a shrine is a place or an object to remind them of the Buddha and by which they remember to observe their religious obligations through the taking of the Three Refugees and Five Precepts on a regular basis. In Buddhism, unlike other religions, the shrine is not the place to ask for favors or appease the Buddha but to renew our pledge to follow his instructions to train ourselves – “not to do any evil, to cultivate good, and to purify one's

mind.” It is a sanctuary, far from the maddening crowd, where the ordinary lay followers can still connect in a symbolic sense, with the Omniscient Buddha in order to gain the inspiration to practice the *Dhamma*.

In general conception, Buddhism is understood as the original teachings of the Buddha and it is believed that it has nothing to do with such things as relics. The worship of relics, be they bones, hair, teeth, or any other substance of the body of a saint, is a mistake. . . . The soul of Buddha is not in his bones, but in his words, and I regard relic-worship as an incomplete development in which devotees have not as yet attained to full philosophical clearness”.¹ Along these lines, it was often assumed that those who had reached “full philosophical clearness” were the cultured monastic elite, while those who had not worshiped relics and images were the laity. The existence of relics in the Buddhist tradition, when it was recognized at all, was thus seen as a concession to the superstitious and devotional needs of the lay populace. Espoused by prominent scholars such as Hermann Oldenberg, this “two-tiered” view lingered well into the twentieth century and may, indeed, still be found.²

The veneration of the physical remains of the Buddha has long been regarded as an aberration of the Buddha’s original teachings, contradicting the law that there is no self, and hence no physicality to attach to. Yet after his cremation, the Buddha’s remains known as *sarīra* (relics), were distributed to many kings, and ever since they have constituted an important focus for lay and monastic devotionism. Although this has traditionally been interpreted as a concession to the needs of the masses for a figure to worship, an increasing number of studies over the past decades has revealed first that relics have always been an important part of the Buddhist religion, and second that there is a great diversity in practices regarding relics, reflected in complex doctrinal explanations that justify the continued relevance of the Buddha’s physical body. In other words, especially but not exclusively in Mahāyāna Buddhism, there is a variety of strategies that serve to incorporate the relic cult into mainstream Buddhist practice.³

¹Carus 1897: 123; See Trainor 1997: 18–23.

²See Bareau 1962: 269 and 1974b: 285; and Ling 1973: 167–74. For a discussion of Brown’s (1981) “two-tiered” thesis in the study of Buddhism, see Ray 1994: 15–23; Hermann Oldenberg, 1928: 377.

³Faure, Bernard. *The Rhetoric of Immediacy. A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. press. 1991: 137-43.

The Origin of Relic Worship

The following conversation between the Buddha and Ānanda in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* is often quoted as that monastics are not allowed to participate in worshipping the stūpa.⁴ When Ānanda asks, “What should we do, sir, regarding the body of the Tathāgata?” the Buddha replies, “Do not trouble yourselves (*tumhe*), Ānanda, with worship of the body (*sarīra-pūjā*) of the Tathāgata. You should strive for the true goal (*sadattha*)..... There are wise warriors (*khattiya-pañḍitā*), wise brahmins, and wise householders (*gahapati-pañḍitā*) who have faith (*abhippasannā*) in the Tathāgata; they will worship the body of the Tathāgata.”⁵

Here “we” refers to the monastic Order; lay people such as warriors, brahmins and householders are mentioned in contrast with the Order of monks. Apparently this passage seems to suggest that *sarīra-pūjā* is deemed inappropriate for the members of the Order, especially for monks like Ānanda who have not yet attained arahantship. Monks are advised to strive for the highest goal, not to worship the body of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa defines the true goal (*sadattha*) as the highest goal, namely arahantship;⁶ he bears in mind that relic worship does not lead directly to attaining Nibbāna.

In fact, various classification schemes dividing relics into different categories were developed by the Buddhist tradition. If we look again at the account with which we began the preface to this book, Daorong’s description of what he found in *Nagarahara*, it is easy to see that there were actual remains of parts of the Buddha’s body (bones, teeth, and hair), objects that once belonged to the Buddha (the staff), things associated with the Buddha’s teaching (the sinking stupa and the inscription), and then a host of more ambiguous traces of the Buddha’s former presence (his shadow image, his footprints, and the rock where he washed his robe). The first three of these items correspond pretty much to important Indian relic classification schemes that distinguish (1) body relics, (2) contact relics, that is, objects that the Buddha owned or used or with which he was closely associated, such as bowls, robes, bodhi trees (or in this case, his staff); and (3) dharma relics, by which was meant either whole sutras, or a dharma verse (such as the “ye

⁴ For the references, see Schopen (1991, 199 fn 7).

⁵ DN ii: 141.

⁶ DA ii p. 583. Buddhaghosa defines *sadattha* as one’s own good at DhA iii p. 160.

dharma . . .” formula given earlier), or a dharani, or anything somehow recording the Buddha’s teaching.⁷

Originally, his ashes were to go only to the Sakya clan, to which Buddha belonged; however, seven royal families demanded the body relics. To avoid fighting, Brahmin Doṇa divided the relics into ten portions, eight from the body relics, one from the ashes of Buddha’s cremation pyre and one from the bucket used to divide the relics.⁸ After the Buddha’s *Parinibbāna*, his relics were enshrined and worshipped in *Stūpas* by the royals of eight countries which are:

1. Ajātasattu, king of Magadha
2. Licchavis of Vesālī
3. Sakya of Kapilavatthu
4. Bulis of Allakappa
5. Koliyas of Rāmagāma
6. Brāhmin of Vethadīpa
7. Mallas of Pāvā
8. Mallas of Kusinārā

When the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang visited India centuries later, they reported most of these sites were in ruin. In some versions of the legend of King Aśoka, when he began his journey to collect the relics, he still believed them to be held in the original eight *Stūpas*.⁹ The *Lokapaññatti Sutta* tells the story of King Ajātasattu of Magadha who collected the Buddha’s relics and hid them in an underground *Stūpa*. The Buddha’s relics were protected by spirit-powered mechanical robots (*bhūta vahana yanta*) from the kingdom of Roma visaya until they were disarmed by King Aśoka. The *Asokāvadāna* narrates how Aśoka redistributed Buddha’s relics across 84,000 *Stūpas*, with the distribution of the relics and construction of the *Stūpas* performed by Yakshas.¹⁰

The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* attests that of the Buddha’s four eye-teeth (canines), one was worshipped in Indra’s Heaven, the second in the

⁷See Bentor 1994: 16.

⁸*The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, Robert E. Buswel Jr. & Donald S. Lopez Jr. (eds.), New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014, p. 458.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 571.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 670.

city of Gandhāra, the third in Kāliṅga, and the fourth in Rāmāgāma by the king of the Nāgas. Annually, in Sri Lanka and China, tooth relics would be paraded through the streets. In the past, relics have had the legal right to own property; and the destruction of *Stūpas* containing relics was a capital crime viewed as murder of a living person. A Southeast Asian tradition says that after his *parinirvāṇa*, the gods distributed the Buddha's 800,000 body and 900,000 head hairs throughout the universe. In Theravāda, according to the fifth century Buddhaghōṣa, possessing relics was one of the criteria in Theravāda for what constituted a proper monastery. The adventures of many relics are said to have been foretold by Buddha, as they spread the *dharma* and gave legitimacy to rulers.¹¹

Interestingly, there narrated that all the Buddha's relics would one day gather at the Bodhi tree where he attained enlightenment and would then form his body sitting cross-legged and performing the twin miracle. It is even claimed the disappearance of the relics at this point will signal the coming of Maitreya Buddha. In the *Nandimitravādāna* translated by Xuanzang it is asserted that the Buddha's relics will be brought to *parinibbāna* by sixteen great *Arhats* and enshrined in a great *Stūpa*. That *Stūpa* will then be worshipped until it sinks into the earth down to the golden wheel underlying the universe. The relics are not destroyed by fire in this version but placed in a final reliquary deep within the earth, perhaps to appear again.

The Buddhist Veneration of Relics

If the precise historical circumstances and specific religious practices that gave rise to the Buddhist cult of relic veneration at present remain the objects of a good deal of speculation, it is nevertheless clear from both textual and archeological evidence that the relic cult played a central role in the popularization and geographical spread of the Buddhist tradition. Veneration of the relics of the Buddha, by both his lay followers and monks, has been a widespread feature of Buddhist devotional practice since very early times if not right from the day on which the Buddha died and was cremated (possibly in 483 B.C.).¹² And the evidence suggests that the third-century BCE reign of the Indian

¹¹Dhammaditti Thera, *The Daḥāvansa: The History of the Tooth-Relic of Gotama Buddha*, M.C. Swāmy (tr.), London: Oxford University, 2007, p. 84.

¹²Karel Wener: *The Place of Relic Worship in Buddhism: An Unresolved Controversy?* Published in *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture*, Vol. 12, February 2009: 7-28.

emperor Aśoka marked an important turning point in that process of expansion.¹³

For approximately two centuries after the Buddha's death in the late fifth century BCE, the Buddhist tradition had a limited sphere of influence, confined mainly to the area of Magadha with some following in Avanti and along the western coast of India.¹⁴ The situation changed dramatically, nevertheless, under the patronage of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (c. 270-230 BCE). We know of Aśoka's support for Buddhism both from textual sources and archeological remains. The *Asokāvadāna*, which constitutes a small portion of the voluminous Sanskrit text, the *Dīvyāvadāna*,¹⁵ preserves a legendary account of Aśoka's efforts on behalf of the Buddhist *sāsana*. Dating to around the second century CE, but based on earlier traditional materials, the text was probably composed in north-west India in Sarvātivādin circles, and translations of it enjoyed great popularity in central Asia, China, Japan, Korea, Tibet, and Southeast Asia.¹⁶ Additionally, a number of other ancient texts in several languages preserve legendary accounts of Aśoka's support of Buddhism.¹⁷ While the mythological character of these accounts has rendered them problematic historical sources for European and American scholars, their works nonetheless illuminate the paradigmatic quality that the Buddhist tradition has ascribed to Aśoka as the ideal lay-disciple and Buddhist ruler.

Parākrama Pandita's Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* represents a text that deals primarily with the Buddhist cult of relics as traditionally practiced in Sri Lanka. Recent scholarship has shown that practices of enshrining and venerating objects associated with the historical Buddha are

¹³For an analysis of the role of Aśoka in the spread of Buddhism to Sri Lanka, see G. Yamazaki, "The Spread of Buddhism in the Mauryan Age – With Special Reference to the Mahinda Legend," in *Acta Asiatica* 43 (1982) 1-16. Yamazaki stresses the importance of western Indian Buddhist communities in the early development of the Sri Lankan Buddhist tradition.

¹⁴Etienne Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Saka Era*, Sara Webb-Boin (tr.), Louvain: Peeters Press, 1988, p. 640.

¹⁵The Sanskrit *Asokāvadāna* is presently extant only as part of the *Dīvyāvadāna*, but it does survive in two Chinese translations, which represent version of the text, the *A-yü wang chuan* (*Taishō daizōkyō*, text no. 2042), and the *A-yü wang ching* (*Taishō daizōkyō*, text no. 2043).

¹⁶John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Asoka: A Study and Translation of the Asokāvadāna*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, pp. 19-37.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 16-36.

ancient and widespread throughout the Buddhist world. Whereas earlier generations of Buddhologists often ignored or derided relic veneration as superstitious and extraneous to the moral teachings of the *Dhamma*, scholars now write with more interest and tolerance for Buddhist relics. Archeological research in India supports the view that the earliest material evidence of the Buddhist tradition is directly linked with the cult of relic veneration, a cult observed at least as far back as the time of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka (c. 270–230 BCE), if not before.¹⁸ It therefore seems that Buddhist devotees began venerating a range of relics associated with the Buddha shortly after his death, which scholars believe occurred sometime between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE. Parākrama Paṇḍita's text is of value here, since it offers some explanation as to why and how relics of the Buddha were traditionally venerated.

Theravāda Buddhism has traditionally employed a threefold classification in discussing relics. This system divides relics into bodily relics or the corporeal remains of the Buddha (and sometimes of enlightened monks called *arahants*), relics of use or objects believed to have been used by the Buddha when he was alive, and commemorative relics or images made of the Buddha after his death. This classification has led to circumstances in which numerous relics of the Buddha have been attested to throughout Asia. Although there is plenty of evidence for relics as objects of esteem and desire in countries other than Sri Lanka, the *vaṃsa* literature supplies ample textual referents to the importance of the relic cult in Sri Lankan Buddhism. For instance, the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* highlights the deposit of an eighth of the Buddha's corporeal remains in what it calls the Relic Shrine of Golden Garlands in Anurādhapura. The history of the Bodhi Tree, considered a relic of use, is detailed in the Pāli and Sinhala versions of the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*. These and several other *vaṃsas* are significant for their representations of the events and veneration of particular relics of the Buddha said to have been obtained by ancient kings and enshrined in the island.

While the Buddhist cult of relics in Sri Lanka has been exceptionally well described and highlighted in several *vaṃsas*, relic veneration there shares several similarities with the worship of relics in other lands. Relics of the Buddha are frequently believed to possess miraculous

¹⁸Kevin Trainor, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lankan Theravāda Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 45.

powers and attributes, and may be venerated for both worldly and otherworldly ends. In Japan, for instance, relics came to be associated early on with apotropaic powers for protecting the imperial family and the state.¹⁹ Generally speaking, monarchs in largely Buddhist lands could reinforce their image as devout rulers by public displays of Stūpa building and ceremonies honoring relics in their possession, which served to legitimate their power and authority in society. Indeed, legendary accounts of King Aśoka's construction of 84,000 relic shrines throughout his reign testify to both his piety and his attempt to make visible his authority throughout the empire.

At the same time, relic veneration in Buddhism is intimately linked with acts of merit (*puññakamma*), whereby people who venerate objects associated with the historical Buddha may expect to earn some good fortune in the future for a sincere display of devotion in the present. According to the logic of Theravāda, even though the historical Buddha passed away from this world into an unconditioned, transmundane state called *parinibbāna*, which is held to be totally beyond the realm of repeated rebirth known as *samsāra* in Indic thought, a person may give devotional offerings (*pūjā*) of items such as flowers and incense or even make simple gestures of respect to relics and receive something beneficial in return. The benefits thought to come from venerating relics are not the result of any intervention on the part of the Buddha, but rather are taken to be the results of the well-intentioned, well-performed act itself through the impersonal *kammic* workings of cause and effect. In other words, the Buddhist theory of *kamma* affirms that certain wholesome actions will inevitably produce good effects sometime in the future. The unripened consequences of good karma are also known as “merit,” which constitutes one of the desired ends to which many Buddhist practitioners aspire when venerating relics.

As a Buddhist goal, merit is exceedingly popular throughout all Buddhist communities in Asia. Deliberate acts of moral righteousness and devotion are routinely performed by people of all backgrounds in the expectation that they will earn merit and benefit from their actions in their present lifetime or a future rebirth. From the Theravāda perspective, merit gained from venerating relics or any other such act can be conducive to good health and good fortune in the present, and it

¹⁹Brian D. Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Medieval Japan*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000, p. 62.

may even help to affect a good rebirth in the future. However, strictly speaking, it cannot help one to achieve *Nibbāna*, the total extinction of suffering and rebirth, as only selfless, morally wholesome conduct such as that which is found in higher states of meditation is conducive to the ultimate transcendence of desire and ignorance to a blissful, indescribable state. Nevertheless, meritorious acts may still set the stage for spiritual progress at a later time, as such acts are sometimes held to purify a person's mind and reinforce morality, both of which are accomplishments that serve to bring people closer to *nirvāṇa*.

Parākrama's Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* is a work that extols acts of merit performed at relic shrines. As such, its narrative encourages relic veneration, while tending to ignore the practice of meditation and austere living associated with forest monks in the tradition. However, it would be misleading to conclude that this work was therefore a text directed only to the laity. Gregory Schopen has convincingly shown that monastic participation in the relic cult appears in the earliest eras. He finds evidence in ancient inscriptions from the earliest *Stūpas* that monks actively participated in the construction and worship of relic shrines.²⁰ The view affirming monastic involvement in relic veneration is substantiated further in the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa*'s accounts of monks who fashioned and donated bricks to build the Great Relic Shrine. Parākrama's text asserts that monks have many appropriate roles to play in the construction and veneration of relic shrines. As such, it intervenes in medieval debates over the proper duties of monks and suggests that even "forest-dwelling" monks who spend the greater part of their time in meditation should also actively support and participate in the relic cult.

According to the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa*, there are various reasons for Buddhist practitioners to venerate relics. Since such acts are defined as meritorious, it is in a person's own interest to make offerings with a focused and composed mind. At many points the text explicitly spells out the benefits of venerating relics of the Buddha, making it nearly impossible for a reader or listener of the text to overlook the merit gained from doing so. The text also reinforces scholarly arguments, which hold that relics function to make a Buddha, who is absent from the world, materially present for devotees who wish to honor him and

²⁰Schopen, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 92-93.

experience his power.²¹ Although it remains to be seen whether the Buddha's passing away in nirvāṇa actually constitutes a "problem" for Buddhists that is overcome through the presence of his relics, as some have claimed, the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* ascribes to relics miraculous powers to take the form of the Buddha and, equates relics to the living Buddha in other ways. In one account, for instance, the monk Mahinda requests a king to obtain relics in order to satisfy his wish to "see" the Buddha. Another reason for venerating relics in the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* is to fulfill one's obligations to the historical Buddha. Devotees are obliged to act out of indebtedness to the Buddha for his unlimited giving and self-sacrifice on behalf of all sentient beings.²² Parākrama's text highlights this moral obligation to show gratitude as a beneficiary of the Buddha's past acts and turns relic veneration into an ethical practice, an idea that is discussed in more detail below.

In sum, the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* provides us with important insights into the multivalent significance of the Buddhist relic cult. We learn that relics were popular focal points for Buddhist devotion, giving rise to sometimes elaborate ritual activity performed in honor of the Buddha. We also see how kings such as Aśoka and Duṭṭhagāmaṇī employed relics to display their power and piety. The text also portrays Buddhist relics as instruments for spreading the Buddhist religion to new lands and defining local landscapes with centers of devotional activity and sacred power. The Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* depicts in vivid detail how relics are used, in John S. Strong's words, to express and extend the "life-and-death story" of the Buddha, connecting durable physical objects of veneration to specific incidents in the Buddha's biography while continuing to spread his presence to new locales long after his death.²³ Numerous other texts address and exemplify the Buddhist relic cult, but the Sinhala *Thūpavaṃsa* is additionally important since it appears to be the oldest extant text composed in a literary form of a vernacular language to emphasize relics and their associated practices in Theravāda Buddhism. This notion suggests that Parākrama's text may have coincided with, or even helped to inaugurate, the beginnings of a medieval upsurge of interest and activity in the Buddhist relic cult in Sri Lanka.

²¹For arguments on the presence of the Buddha in his relics, see Strong, *Op. Cit.*, 1983, pp. 101-109.

²²Ruppert, *Op. Cit.*, p. 37.

²³Strong, *Op. Cit.*, 2007, pp. 5-7.

According to the *Mahāvamsa*,²⁴ after he had established the Buddha *Sāsana* in Sri Lanka, Ven. Mahinda indicated to King Devānāmpiya Tissa, the need to build a relic *Stūpa* to represent the Buddha's presence in Sri Lanka. The king agreed to build the *Stūpa* and asked him to procure the Buddha's relics. Ven. Mahinda dispatched the *sāmaṇera* Sumana to Pāṭaliputta in India to ask King Aśoka to donate the Buddha's relics in his possession to Sri Lanka. Sumana was the son of the Therī Saṅghamittā before she renounced the world. So he was the grandson of King Aśoka.

The old king was filled with great joy at seeing his beloved grandchild and immediately filled up the alms-bowl used by the Buddha, with relics. Taking the capacity of the alms-bowl to be about 4.5 liters, this means that a large quantity of the Buddha's relics, together with the Buddha's alms-bowl went to Sri Lanka. There is no doubt that this munificence of Aśoka was due mainly to the wisdom of the Venerable Mahinda in sending Aśoka's grandson Sumana to ask for the relics on behalf of the people of Sri Lanka.

In sum, we now may delightedly jump to the conclusion that the relics in Buddhism especially of the Buddha are regarded as effectively equivalent to the living presence of the Buddha for the purposes of devotion, gaining merit, and the propagation of Buddhism. The Buddha discouraged any excessive blind veneration paid to his physical form. To the monk Vakkali who was full of devotion and love for him, the Buddha admonished him thus: "*What good will it be to see this foul body? He who sees the Dhamma (Teaching) sees me. Seeing the Dhamma is seeing me, seeing me is seeing the Dhamma.*"²⁵ However, for the lay follower whose mind is generally inclined to faith and devotion, and who desires to venerate the Buddha's corporeal relics, it is worthwhile paying a visit to the main four Buddhist sacred places such Bodhgaya or else the Holy City of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka, where he/she can venerate the Bodhi Tree as well as many *Stūpas* containing Buddha relics donated by King Aśoka in the third century BCE. Unlike India, the majority of people in Sri Lanka are Buddhists. They hold the *Stūpas* in great esteem, going barefoot within the *Stūpa* grounds, venerating the Buddha with offerings of flowers and reverential salutations, whereby

²⁴*The Mahāvamsa or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, Wilhelm Geiger (tr.), reprint, London: PTS, 2012, p. 105.

²⁵S. vol. 1, p. 321.

their hearts become calm and happy, and setting a fine example for visitors to follow.

Interestingly, there narrated that all the Buddha's relics would one day gather at the Bodhi tree where he attained enlightenment and would then form his body sitting cross-legged and performing the twin miracle. It is even claimed the disappearance of the relics at this point will signal the coming of Maitreya Buddha. In the *Nandimitravadāna* translated by Xuanzang it is asserted that the Buddha's relics will be brought to *parinibbāna* by sixteen great *Arhats* and enshrined in a great *Stūpa*. That *Stūpa* will then be worshipped until it sinks into the earth down to the golden wheel underlying the universe. The relics are not destroyed by fire in this version but placed in a final reliquary deep within the earth, perhaps to appear again.

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Buddha's Method of Discourse and Methodology of the Kathāvatthu: An Analytical Study

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Methodology

The methodology of this research work is **Historical** and **Analytical**. The study has been conducted based on primary and secondary sources. The A. P. A. Methodology as well as parenthetical style for the reference and citation has been followed throughout the paper.

Buddha's Method of Discourse

The Buddhist method endeavors to include all the truths, which previous thinkers had grafted on the old theories concerning 'Soul' and its destiny, while at the same time rejecting those theories. It endeavors to retain all the philosophic truth, which previous thinkers had grafted on the theosophies the results of the 'Soul' theories while rejecting those theosophies themselves.

The following are the reasons given by the Buddha for rejecting the old theories:

1. All those speculators about the soul, either in the past or the future do not have sufficient evidence. They see only one side of the doctrine or shield.
2. Such kinds of soul-speculations do not lead to *Nibbāna*.
3. Such theories are really derived from the hopes, the feelings, and the sensations arising from the transient phenomena.

Moreover, these theories belong to the realm of hastily formed empirical opinions (*Dṭṭhi vāda*) and but not the higher wisdom (*Paññā*). By comparison with the pre-Buddhistic methodology, firstly Buddhists hold a position somewhat similar to the current Agnostic position. Secondly, while acknowledging the importance of feeling and intellect,

it lays special stress upon the regulation and the cultivation of the will. Thirdly, it distinguishes between lower and higher wisdom. (Ramaiah, 1989, p. 127-128)

The Buddha developed a unique method of resolving contradictions. It seems that He was often criticized for accepting opposite standpoints. He is reported to have remarked that He has propounded the doctrines, which are *Ekāmsikas* (one-sided), and the doctrines, which are *Anekāmsikas* (many-sided). The Buddha proclaims that He is not an *Ekāntavādin*, but He is a *Vibhajjavādin*. Through *Vibhajjavāda* Buddha presented his own analytical method. The *Vibhajjavāda* consisted of division, classification, qualified negations or qualified affirmation. The analysis is to be made by way of questioning each part of a theory to be discussed, with acceptance or rejection of each one on a fairground. (Tripathi, 2016, p. 83-84)

By his analytical method, Buddha classified all the philosophical questions into four categories, *Ekāmsā-vyākaraṇīya* (answerable in positive or negative terms), *Vibhajjavādena-vyākaraṇīya* (answerable by division and analysis), *Pratitraṣeṇa-vyākaraṇīya* (answerable by putting counter-questions) and *Sthāpanīya* (to be answered by silence or to be set aside). This was per his philosophy of avoiding extremes the *Madhyamā praṭipadā* (the middle path). There can be two aspects emerging out of any theory, and they may form two extremes. Avoidance of these two extremes is the middle path by rejecting the two extremes. The word *Anekāmsika* was probably another name for *Anekānta*. (Tripathi, 2016, p. 84)

The way Buddha applied the technique of *Vibhajjavāda* in his discourse led to the development of *Anekāntavāda*. He not only resented an alternate world-view, but he also encouraged arguments preset and discussions. Before his enlightenment, he had met many Philosophers and thinkers of his times. His quest for enlightenment has been termed as *ariyapariyesana* (The Noble Quest) in Pāli *Tipiṭaka*. During his restless wandering and search for knowledge, the Buddha met Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka Rāmaputta (Pande, 2015, p. 377). Saṅgha Belaṭṭhaputta, Purāṇakaśyapa, Makkhali Gosāla and Ajitakeśakambalin, were Buddha's contemporaries. Pakudha Kaccāyana was a humpbacked philosopher, belonging to the Ājīvaka sect in fifth century BCE. These philosophers have been raising questions on prevailing norms. The

Buddha rejected their views and ideas. He is reported to have described, Makkhali Gosāla, an exponent of Ājīvaka sect, as “a burden on earth” a person responsible for leading people astray. He also launched a crusade against the hypocrisy of the priestly class. Rather than launching a movement for protest, the Buddha kept open all the doors for debate and discussion. (Tripathi, 2016, p. 85)

The Buddha and his followers developed a specific method of indulging in *kathā* (discussion). It had been termed as *paṭipucchā-kathā* (*pratipucchā kathā*-delivering a discourse by way of asking questions). The *genre* of *dharmakathā* (discussion of *dhamma*) was cultivated and practiced with the advent of the Buddha. The basic tenets of the theory of *kathā* were also evolved with Buddha’s discourse on *dhamma*. For instance, we see that *Kathāvatthu* mentions *anuyogya* (inquiry) *āharaṇa* (illustration), *paṭiññā* (proposition), *upanaya* (application of reason), *niggama* (conclusion) and *niggaha* (capture or defeat) as various techniques of *kathā*. (Tripathi, 2016, p. 86)

The teachings of ‘not-self’ have always been regarded as a central doctrine of the Buddha. A characteristic method used by the Buddhists to break down the false idea of self (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) was to use analysis. In early Buddhism, the main method was to systematically determine those things, which are taken to be the self, hold them up for investigation, and find on scrutiny that they do not possess those features, which we ascribe to a self. Thus, the five aggregates are described as the basis for forming self-theories. However, on reflection, they are seen to lead to affliction, which is not how a self is conceived, so they fail to fulfil the criteria of a self. In the *Suttas*, this method was exemplified by the disciple Kaccāyana (Dpv. IV. 9)¹, who was known as the foremost of those able to analyses (*vibhajjati*) in detail what the Buddha taught in brief. This analysis, or *Vibhaṅga*, was gathering momentum during the period of the Third Council. However, *Vibhajjavāda* represents the *Abhidhamma* movement as an analytic approach to *Dhamma* in general, and as a critique of the ‘self’ in particular. It would also seem appropriate to describe the Buddha as a *Vibhajjavādin*, equivalent to saying he was an *Anattavādin*. (Sujato, 2006, p. 59). However, the word *Vibhajjavādins* signifies both (Ronkin, 2005, p. 24) an epithet for the Buddha and the name of the school, whose members considered themselves to preserve the undistorted teachings of the founder.

¹*Vibhajjanamhi Kaccāno, Koṭṭhito paṭsamhidā. Anne p’ atthi mahātherā agganikkhittakā bahū.*

Style and method of the compilation of the *Kathāvatthu* are in the form of a dialogue. *Kathāvatthu* is the only text of *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, which is interpretative in nature. The *Kathāvatthu* is a book about the method (Ganeri, 2001, p. 485-492). It describes, for the benefit of adherents to various Buddhist schisms, the proper method (way) to be followed in conducting a critical discussion into an issue of doctrinal conflict. The *Kathāvatthu* offers a particularly clear example of a text whose richness and interest lie elsewhere than in its anticipation of deductive principles and propositional laws.

An elaborated catechetical style (Ronkin, 2005, p. 30) is the hallmark of the *Kathāvatthu*. The *Kathāvatthu* has compiled ‘to refute’ or, more precisely, ‘to ward off’ i.e., *paṭibahanattham* (Kv-a. xvii) or ‘to repudiate’ the dissentient views held by the different sectarian groups, which had arisen regarding the improper interpretation of the Buddha’s teachings.

In order to do so, the text follows the two following methods:

The first is what may be called the logical method, which is implemented through such means as analyzing concepts, determining their limits and drawing their logical implications.

The second is to appeal to the authority of the statements of the Buddha in order to show whether a particular view confirms or not with the word of the Master. Since a large number of issues arise from a misunderstanding of the text, both parties of the debate refer to the statements of the Buddha to support their own case.

The manner of presentation of the issues is dialogical. The discussions run in the form of dialogues between the *Theravādins* (*sakavādi*) and the opponent (*paravādi*) who may belong to one among many rival schools. The dialogue seems to follow a well-developed mode of debate, which is based on mutually agreed upon canons of logical reasoning and categories of exegesis (explanation).

It is essential in the normative framework of the *Kathāvatthu*, that there is a distinction between the global aims of the dialogue as a whole. A talk (dialogue) conducted in accordance with the prescribed method of the *Kathāvatthu* is called a *vādayutti*. The goal of a *vādayutti* is the reasoned examination (*yutti*) of a controversial point in and through a novelistic dialogue (*vāda*).

Abbreviations

1. Dpv: *Dīpavaṃsa*
2. Kv-a: *Pañcappakaraṇaṭṭhakathā* (*Kathāvatthu-Aṭṭhakathā*, commentary)

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Role of Pāli Language in Promoting Cultural Heritage

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Introduction

Pāli is the language of Buddhist texts of Theravāda tradition. The term Pāli was originally used to refer to canonical texts or passage rather than to a language. The language of the Theravāda literature is a version of a dialect of Middle Indo-Āryan, composed by homogenization of the dialects in which teachings of Lord Buddha were preserved and orally transmitted¹. And thus it became the necessary step to have a standard language in which Dhamma and Vinaya could be codified so that Buddhism can spread far beyond its place of birth.

The Sinhalese chronicle² literature states that the Pāli canon was written down in the first century B.C.E. The language of the Buddhist Pāli Canon on one hand continued to be influenced by the commentators and grammarians and on the other hand by the native languages of the countries in which Theravāda Buddhism flourished over the centuries. The oral transmission of the Pāli canon continued for several centuries after Buddha's Mahāparinibbāna. At that time no single script was developed for the language of the canon. Scribes used their own scripts of their native languages to transcribe the texts and the Buddhist texts of different Buddhist countries represented by their manuscripts show evidence of interweaving.

The main structure of Pāli canon as it exists today is threefold, although the commentarial tradition developed several ways of classifying Pāli canon. The three main divisions of Canon are known as piṭakas and the canon itself is called the Tipiṭaka, where the term piṭaka is called the "basket". The canon is divided into Vinaya (monastic rules and discipline), Suttas (the Dhamma discourses) and *Abhidhamma* (analysis of the teaching). Although Buddhists refer to the Tipiṭaka as

¹A course in Pāli Language, audio lectures by Bhikkhu Bodhi based on Pāli book by Gair and Karunatileke.

²Mahāvamsa and Dīpavamsa.

Buddha-vacana, i.e., the word of the Buddha, but there are texts within the canon which are attributed to specific monks like Ven. Sāriputta³ or related to an event post-dating the time of Buddha's lifetime.⁴

Pāli is not only a language but it is a vehicle which preserved Buddha's timeless teachings for centuries and thus it influenced the cultural heritage of various Buddhist traditions to a greater extent which would be discussed in this paper.

Research Problem

When we talk of role of Pāli in promoting cultural heritage, it is obvious that it means the role played by the message ingrained in Pāli Language. So in order to study interrelationship of Pāli and Cultural Heritage, we need to study the interrelationship Buddhist teachings with Cultural Heritage.

Different Buddhist traditions around the world share certain common fundamental features such as basic Buddhist doctrine of the four noble truths and conditional reality. Over the centuries a similarity has developed over other factors also like appearances of temples, architectural design and the cultural activities associated with temples. Although different parts of the world have exhibited great diversity in reflecting different cultures, these different cultures have a common basis which connects them and that is Dhamma. Thus Pāli Based Buddhism plays an exemplified role in promoting Buddhist Culture through Buddhist art, Buddhist architecture, Buddhist Pāli Chanting, etc. As Buddhism expanded from the Indian subcontinent to other parts of the world it adopted the artistic and cultural elements of host countries.

Hence to study the influence of Pāli Buddhism on promoting cultural heritage, we need to study different cultural elements such as Buddhist Economics, Buddhism and health, Buddhist art, Buddhist architecture, Pāli chanting Traditions, Buddhist festivals, Buddhist Pilgrimage.

Research Methodology

Data Collection Process: A deep survey of Pāli Language and Literature to study how it influenced the emergence of different cultures, thus establishing cultural heritage.

³Texts like Niddesa and Paṭisambhidāmagga.

⁴ Like Milindapañho which was written after many centuries of Buddha's Parinibbāna.

Deductive Study: To analyze the collected data through deductive reasoning and using available research done related to the topic.

Explorative Analysis: Self exploration by interacting with different Buddhist Cultures and understanding the influence of Pāli Texts in different cultures. Furthermore interacting with different Monastic traditions⁵ to understand how Buddha's teachings in Pāli language enrich their culture with chanting, Meditation teachings, etc.

Purposive Sampling: Sampling of data collected from texts and studying their relationship in establishing cultural heritage.

Literature Review

Although various works are being done separately either on history of Pāli language or emergence of different Buddhist Cultures, not much work is done in the interrelation study. Thus this research paper tries to establish relationship of Pāli language and its role in establishing cultural heritage.

In the *Sutta Piṭaka*, Buddha gave many social teachings like how to deal with one's financial matters⁶, regarding maintaining one's health⁷, etc. He further gave other teachings like how to deal with the bodily remains after cremation ceremony of Buddha.⁸ And in *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Buddha also taught the relevance of visiting pilgrimage sites related to Buddha's Birth, Enlightenment, First Discourse, and Passing away⁹. These teachings of Buddha are preserved in Pāli texts influencing different cultures which will be dealt with in this Paper.

Discussion

Let us now discuss the influence of Pāli Language on promoting cultural heritage. This section deals with the study of different cultural elements which are as follows:

⁵Especially Pa Auk Sayadaw Burmese tradition and Ajahn Chah Thai Forest Monastic Tradition.

⁶*Dīgha Nikāya, Sigālovāda Sutta.*

⁷*Aṅguttara Nikāya*: The teachings on meditation especially walking meditation helps to establish physical and mental well being.

⁸Relics were to be used in the construction of Stūpas, where disciples could pay homage, and it later developed as an important aspect of Buddhist architecture.

⁹*Dīgha Nikāya, Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.*

Buddhist Economics:

Economics or the way in which one's livelihood is carried out and the production demands which are accordingly met, forms an integral part of any culture. Buddhist economics is an important part of Buddhist culture. Buddhist Economics focusses on social well-being rather than materialistic consumerism. And well being lies not in maximizing material consumption but emotional, social and physical well-being, which lies in a simple and contented life, and in the way by which one practices rightful livelihood, is also one of the important limb of Noble Eightfold Path.

Furthermore as mentioned in the *Sigālovāda Sutta* of Pāli text of *Dīgha Nikāya*, Buddha says that any income which is earned in one's profession should be divided into four parts.

- One part, i.e., 25% of the income should be enjoyed and used wherever one wants.
- Two parts, i.e., 50% of the income should be invested in the profession itself.
- One part, i.e., 25% of the income should be kept for emergencies.¹⁰

Buddhism and health:

In Buddhism, mental health is of supreme importance and one must strive towards maintaining physical and mental well being by practicing moral deeds with regards to bodily activity like practicing non-violence, Brahmacharya¹¹ and truthful speech. Although some form of physical discomfort is totally unavoidable like disease and old age. Physical suffering is inevitable like death, for which taking any form of medicine is not prohibited. But the medicines taken should not have intoxicating effect which clouds the mental faculties. Thus any physical illness must be dealt with by cultivating patience and steadfastness because it provides a special opportunity to develop wisdom.

- The best way to reduce physical discomfort is to change one's dietary plans, i.e., to focus more on vegetarianism since it is based upon the principle of *Tikoṭiparisuddhi*¹²(reflective

¹⁰*Sigālovāda Sutta.*

¹¹Abstaining from sexual misconduct, *Sāmaññaphala Sutta.*

¹²Ancient Indian Buddhism and Ahimsā by Prof. K.T.S. Sarao, accessed at www.purifymind.com (at 11.30 A.M on 2 Oct 2019).

upon the principle of non-violence of living beings).

- Buddhism also lays special emphasis on fasting on special days which helps to revitalize body and mind. Any form of organ transplant is viewed as a form of generosity.
- Furthermore, uposatha days are being practiced by laity every week to avoid untimely eating of food, i.e., Vikāla Bhojananā veramaṇī¹³ (not to eat solid foods after 12 noon). In fact monastics observe this precept throughout the year except in case of illness¹⁴.

Buddhist art:

Buddhist art originated in the Indian subcontinent around 6th to 5th century B.C. The first aniconic phase of Buddhist art avoided direct representation of the Buddha. But later on, in around 1st century CE, iconic phase followed which focused more on direct representation of the Buddha's image. From this iconic phase, Buddhist art diversified greatly as it evolved while adapting to different features of the new countries where Buddhism spread. In the earliest form of Buddhist art, the Buddha was represented using signs and symbols like footprints or empty throne. But in later period he was represented in human form. From the 5th century B.C. to the 1st century B.C., the theme of Buddhist art revolved around the life of the Buddha and his previous lives. This phase is defined as the aniconic phase of Buddhist art. The iconic phase started from the 1st century CE whereby the Buddha was given more realistic human features and characteristics.

Buddhist architecture:

The beginnings of Buddhist architecture can be dated back to 3rd century B.C. when the Mauryan emperor Asoka established Buddhism as the state religion and encouraged the usage of architectural monuments to spread Buddhism in different parts of his kingdom.

Evidence shows that Buddhist architecture developed in South Asia roughly around third century B.C. Buddhism inspired three types of structural architectural design which are: **Stūpas, Vihāras and Caityas**.

¹³Part of Eight Sīlas of Anāgārika training.

¹⁴Bhikkhu Pātimokkha Precepts.

- Stūpas: Basically Stūpa is a burial mound which contains relics of Buddha or his Noble Disciples. The relevance of these dome shaped monuments lies in the veneration of the relics of the Buddha and other Shravaka Disciples. The earliest existing stūpa is that of Sāñci in Madhya Pradesh. But with the passage of time, stūpas were gradually incorporated into caitya-gr̥has or stūpa halls, which was further exemplified by the development of Ajanta and Ellora caves in Maharashtra.
- Vihāras: Vihāras, on the other hand, were developed to accommodate the increasingly growing Buddhist monasticism, for example, Nālandā Vihara in Bihar. Vihāras were monastic establishments that have residence for monastic community, i.e., monks and nuns.
- Caitya: The third type of Buddhist architecture is the caitya. It is an assembly hall which contains a stūpa but without relics. The central hall of the caitya allows one to do the circumambulation of the stūpa within it.

Pāli Chanting traditions:

Buddhist chant is the chant used by different Buddhist sects, including many genres in many cultures like Thai Buddhist Chanting, Burmese Pāli Chanting. But following chants are common to all these traditions which include:

- Paritta Chanting.¹⁵
- *Tikaṇṇhāna* Chanting and chanting of important suttas like *Dhammacakkavattana sutta*, *Mahāsamaya sutta* and *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*.
- *Metta Sutta*, *Maṅgala sutta*, etc.

Above mentioned Pāli suttas are used in almost all Buddhist traditions of Theravāda lineage be it Vipassanā tradition of Sayagyi U Ba Khin, Forest Pa Auk Tradition of Myanmar or Ajahn Chah Forest Tradition of Thailand. This proves that Buddhist Chanting tradition unites various Buddhist culture throughout the world.

Most Buddhist Culture involve chants in some form and some

¹⁵Protective chants.

also make use of instrumental music for this purpose¹⁶. Chanting has a multi-dimensional purpose and it can act as an offering to the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. It can also act as a means of memorizing Buddhist texts and also a form of mental cultivation or meditation.

In order to develop a positive vibration and aura, Pāli Chants are generally very soft and peaceful. Pāli Chants play a central role in everyday cultural practices of Buddhists since it is practiced in almost all important ceremonies such as weddings (Blessing and Auspicious Chants) and funerals (Funeral chants).

These chants are designed to calm emotional energy, calm the thinking process, overcome the sensual desires, and allow practitioners to understand natural phenomenon since they provide peaceful conditions for the development of wisdom.

Asoka's contribution in spread of Buddha's teaching which helped in establishment of cultural heritage: To study Pāli or Theravāda tradition influence on promoting Buddhist Culture, we need to have a close look on role of Great King Aśoka in promoting Buddhist culture. He is chiefly attributed for his efforts to spread Buddhism throughout major parts of South East Asia. He is especially attributed of a series of rock and pillar inscriptions and missionary activities which provide a lot of information about his reign and policies.

He took multi-dimensional efforts to propagate Buddhism, built shrines, monasteries and inscribed Buddha's teachings on rocks and pillars. He sent missionaries to countries like Burma, Sri Lanka, etc. He sent his own son and daughter, Ven. Mahinda and Sanghamitra to Sri Lanka to spread Buddhism there¹⁷. Despite Aśoka's dedication to Buddha's faith, he was tolerant of other religions also.

Archaeological evidences also show that Buddhism was widespread in this area. Aśoka stambha and inscriptions are widespread in various parts of South-East Asia which show significance of these areas as centers, where Buddhist Culture flourished in ancient times.

The inscriptions engraved on stone pillars are the best example of Buddhist cultural art, especially the Sarnath Pillar, which serves as the

¹⁶Vajrayāna Buddhism especially four Tibetan Buddhist traditions namely Nyingma, Kagyu, Sakya and Geluga.

¹⁷Vaiśa Literature.

Indian national emblem. And not to forget, the 24-spoked Aśhokan Wheel which represents itself in the Indian National Flag is a fine artefact of Ashokan period.

Buddhist festivals:

Buddhist festivals of Theravāda tradition are also an important part of Buddhist culture. Features of Buddhist festivals may include the traditional Pāli chanting, which is also a feature of some Buddhist festivals in Theravāda Buddhist countries. Festivals of Buddhist countries in East, South and Southeast Asia include some aspects of Buddhist culture, however they are considered cultural festivals rather than religious ones.

The main festivals or special occasions which are celebrated by Buddhist laity and monks are as follows -

- Asālha Pūjā: It commemorates the occasion of Buddha's first discourse, Dhammacakkapavattana Sutta. It generally falls on full moon day of July.
- Māgha Pūjā: It is an occasion which celebrates the chanting of *Ovāda Pātimokkha*¹⁸ by Buddha in front of 1250 Arahants on the full moon day of February.
- Vassa: It is the rain retreat of three months during which monks do not wander from one place to another but live in one particular place practicing intense meditation.
- Vesākha: It is the occasion of Buddha's birth, enlightenment, and final passing way. It generally falls on Full moon day of May.
- Uposatha: Celebrated weekly in which lay persons practice eight sīlas of Anāgārika. It is observed on full moon, no moon, and the quarter moon days.

Buddhist Pilgrimage:

Furthermore the significance of four holy places (Lumbini, Bodhi Gaya, Sarnath, Kushinagar)¹⁹ are mentioned in the Pāli Canon which become Eight with reference to the latter Pāli commentaries with the inclusion of four more holy Places of Buddhist Pilgrimage.

¹⁸It commemorates the occasion of chanting of monks' disciplinary rules by Buddha.

¹⁹*Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.*

- Lumbini: Buddha's Birth Place.
- Bodh Gaya: The Place where Buddha realized Enlightenment.
- Sarnath: The Place where Buddha preached his first discourse, i.e., *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta*.
- Kushinagara: The place where Buddha took Parinirvāṇa.
- Shravasti: The Place of Twin Miracles where Buddha performed supernormal Powers, it is also the place where Buddha spent largest number of rain retreat at Jeta Grove²⁰ and Pubbārāma Vihāra²¹.
- Rajgir: Here the Buddha subdued the drunken elephant Nalagiri.
- Sankassa: Place where Buddha descended to earth from Tāvātimsa heaven (after a stay of 3 months, teaching his mother the Abhidhamma teachings).
- Vaishali: The capital of Vajjian republic where monkey offered honey to Buddha.

This evidence proves how much significance, Pāli texts have in promoting Buddhist Pilgrimage which in turn promotes cultural heritage. In the Pāli text of *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Buddha put emphasis on the significance of pilgrimage of holy sites in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta. Thus around these teachings of visiting holy sites, a tradition of pilgrimage has slowly and gradually developed which is uniting several parts of the world. Since each country has developed its own pilgrimage sites, either it be the Angkor Wat in Cambodia, or Holy site of Tooth Relic in Sri Lanka, or Shwedagon Pagoda of Myanmar. These places have developed an international interest worldwide especially among the Buddhist population which unites different cultures very efficiently and effectively.

Conclusion

Pāli literature which contains Buddha's teachings in the Pāli language is the spirit of Buddhism. Buddha himself said in *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* that Dhamma and Vinaya taught by him should be regarded as a

²⁰Monastery offered by Anāthapiṇḍika where Buddha spent 19 rain retreat.

²¹Monastery offered by Mother Visākhā where Buddha spent 6 rain retreat.

teacher after his passing away. So, considering these teachings, several Buddhist traditions have been developed around Dhamma and Vinaya.

From the above discussion, it is validated that Pāli Language played a very important role in promoting cultural heritage. Thus, this research paper establishes relationship of Pāli Language in emergence of Cultural Heritage. Pāli language is a broader term, which includes not only the language but also the literature for which this language acted as a vehicle. Thus, this language which acted as a tool for preserving texts of Pāli Based Buddhism plays an exemplified role in promoting Buddhist Culture through Buddhist art, Buddhist architecture, Buddhist Pāli Chanting, Buddhist festivals, Buddhist Pilgrimage, etc. As Buddhism expanded to other parts of the world, it adopted different artistic and cultural elements of other countries as well, thus establishing cultural heritage which revolved around the original teachings of Buddha, ingrained in Pāli Language.

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Tārā Cult: The Lost Religious Practice in the Adjoining Area of Bodhagayā, India

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The more one knows about the early days of Buddha, his enlightenment and foundation of Buddhism, the less one aware of the origin, and development of Buddhist sects. This may be because of two reasons: one—because there are very little sources and two—the composition of the written data was done very late (Bhattacharya 2010: 174). The period after the death of Gautam Buddha had more or less witnessed the same consequences as any great empire of the world faces after the loss of an august king i.e. the Buddhism had split into many sects same as a great empire divides into many kingdoms after the death of a great ruler. During this period Buddhism had gone through various interpretations, assessments, rectifications, reformation to meet the demands of numerous changes, from the followers of Buddhism. It needed flexibility to adapt to the diverse beliefs of the different people existing in different parts, this eventually brought different sects in Buddhism. The reasons behind the formation of separate Buddhist sects are mentioned by Arindam Bhattacharya in his Ph.D. Thesis (Bhattacharya 2010: 176), “*geographic dispersion and isolation; selective patronage; contact with non-Buddhists; disagreements over disciplinary codes; the absence of single institutional authority; the divergent views of influential teachers; specialization in segments of Buddhist scripture; and, finally doctrinal disagreement.*” However the possibility of many schools/sects in Buddhism is due to comprehensive and multifaceted teachings of Gautam Buddha, which encouraged his disciples for unrestricted interpretation (Suzuki 1907:5). There are more than twenty different schools were existed after the death of Gutama Buddha (Suzuki 1907:1).

The reason for the origin of different sects in Buddhism, one thing is very clear that, Mahāyāna is credited for creation of Tārā cult. She was the popular deity in India in early century after Christ (Bhattacharyya 1974:67). It was the time of Mahāyāna’s huge acceptance by the

Buddhist followers. The Mahāyāna belief system had tremendously helped to create this new religious ideology since it implies that, Buddha is eternal with the Trikāya body and therefore he neither dies nor born. This perception gave birth to the concept of five dhyāni Buddhas viz. Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Rantasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. The five Dhyāni Buddhas in Mahāyāna Buddhism is the conception of Tārā cult; since, each of the Dhyāni Buddha is associated with a Boddhisattva and a goddess called Tārā (Bhattacharyya 1974:67).

This is another matter that Tārā is a quite familiar goddess in Buddhist and Brahmanical mythologies and she holds the same place in Buddhism as Goddess Durgā has in Brahmanism. She represents as Śakti of Avalokiteśvara same as Durgā regarded as the Śakti of Śiva (Shastri 1998:12). She is described in Mahāyāna as the primordial female energy and consort of Avalokiteśvara. She helps her devotees in all sorts of dangers, calamities and eight Mahābhayas (great dangers). Not only that, the Boddhisattva achieves his goal by the fulfilment of pāramitā that can only be possible through her because she is also a goddess of Prajñāpāramitā (Bhattacharyya 1974:67). In fact, in Mahāyāna pantheon she is regarded as the Supreme Being, 'the mother of all the Buddhas and Boddhisattvas as mentioned in Mahāyāna (Shastri 1998:12). It is therefore clear that, Tārā has same stature as Durgā in Brahmanism. In fourth-fifth century CE both the goddesses etymologically and conceptually regarded same (Dasgupta 1960:116).

It is, however, a matter of debate whether her origin is Brahmanic or Buddhist and in the course of such debate one should not forget that, Mahāyāna school of Nāgārjuna has been frequently reprehended for diluting Brahmanic elements into Buddhism (Nagao 1900:23). In case of Tārā cult, we see Brahmanism and Buddhism stand in closer proximity. The very word of 'Tārā' has a link to the most ancient literature of India, i.e. Vedic literature. In Yajurveda the word 'Trā', means 'Saviour' which is used for God Śiva (Bhattacharyya 1974:68). Although, any form of Tārā mentioned as a Goddess is outrightly absent in early religious texts (Shastri 1998:12). In both the pantheon Tārā is regarded as Śakti with only one difference i.e. of her counterpart. In Brahmanic pantheon she is the Śakti of Śiva and in Buddhist pantheon she is the Śakti of Avalokiteśvara (Shastri 1998:14). Over all every prominent Indian pantheon has mentioned about Tārā even Jainism also mentions about Tārā. According to Sritattvanidhi, she is described as

one of the goddess of Dasa Mahāvidyā, who has power of hunger. And in both the Jain Sects (Digambara and Śvetāmbara) she has different iconographic articulations yet she is treated as Yakṣiṇī (Srivastava 1978:35). She is Dhāriṇī Yakṣiṇī in Śvetāmbara (Srivastava 1978:35) and Yakṣiṇī of Chandraprabhā in Digambara (Shastri 1998:10). The Tantra also gives due place to Tārā. Thus, all the indigenous religions of India have taken Tārā into their belief system. Yet the Tārā has Brahmanic orientation which is clearly mentioned in the words of K. K. Dasgupta (Dasgupta 1960:116-117) - “Mother Goddess of Buddhist pantheon owes her origin to Brahmanical counterpart”. Ironically Tārā has become very popular and important in Buddhist pantheon rather than in any other indigenous pantheon of India.

Hitherto, Tārā cult is present in all chief Indian pantheons which indicates towards her popularity and position in the heart of devotees and in the religious world. Giving to the answer on the question of beginning of Tārā cult is very aptly stated by K. K. Dasgupta in these words, (Dasgupta 1960:117) *“it is generally held that Asaṅga grafted the Yoga system on to the Mahāyāna school sometimes in the fourth-fifth century A.D. and as a result, the female principle came to be adored along with the male principle in the same manner in which the Hindus worshipped Śiva or Śakti or Devī.”* In Jharkhand the beginning of Tārā cult is created to Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. The 8th century CE is a very imperative period in the eastern political and religious history of India as it is marked by the foundation of Vajrayāna pantheon of Buddhism (Upadhyaya 1978:320) and beginning of Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar (Banerji 1981:3). Both these new establishments have made far reaching influence in Buddhism and in the socio-cultural and political history of eastern India in general and Jharkhand in particular. The Pāla dynasty of Bengal occupies an important place in the history of Jharkhand since during their ruling period one can see drastic socio-cultural changes in the peripheral areas of this state due to very important segment of religious policy along with other factors like long and stable reigning period nearly four centuries. After the downfall of Harshvardhana the Pāla dynasty came in the political scene in the middle half of eighth century CE and lasted till twelfth century CE (Dasgupta 1976:33). In this long duration of ruling period the devoted Buddhist Pāla rulers had given patronage in every possible way to the Mahāyāna Buddhism like land grants, construction of mahāvihāras, and temples.

In the course of the support and royal patronage to Mahāyāna Buddhism the Pāla rulers even propagated this religion in hilly and forest areas like Jharkhand. Indeed the introduction of new religion in the form of Mahāyāna Buddhism and worship of Tārā cult in some part of the present Jharkhand is due to some clear reasons like first- the religious policies of Pāla rulers, second- the geographical location of Jharkhand that falls in between present Bengal, Bihar and Odisha. In ancient time the Bengal, Bihar and Odisha were chief Buddhist centres and the land of Jharkhand had provided a connecting route to Bihar, Bengal and Odisha. On the basis of the Xuan Zang account, Sir Cunningham mentions that, (Cunningham 1871:431), “*I think that the pilgrim must have returned to Tamluk from Kirana Suvarna before proceeding to Odra.*” In his statement the place name Odra stands for the present Odisha, Tamluk represents the present West Bengal whereas Kiraṇa Suvarṇa is the early name of the present areas of Jharkhand and Chhattishgarh (Cunningham 1871:425-432). So the land of Jharkhand was already known to the Buddhist Pilgrims as a connecting route of Buddhist centres like Bodhgayā, Tamluk and Odra in the time of Xuan Zang visit to India in 5th century CE. Thus, during Pāla reign in the present Jharkhand villages which had fell in the proximity of connecting route automatically got special attention and consequently small temples had been constructed in those route areas. In such temples, the Buddhist and Brahmanical icons got an equal place. Presence of Buddhist and Brahmanical images is one of the very recognizable features of Pāla religious policy. So even though, the Pāla rulers were followers of Buddhism, they also extended support to Brahmanical cult (Dasgupta 1976:37).

In Jharkhand, the evidences of Tārā cult is located in present Hazāribāgh and Chatrā districts. The Hazāribāgh district has two sites and Chatrā district has one site which is close to Bodhgayā. The Hazāribāgh and Chatrā districts of Jharkhand are making the southern boundary of Gayā district of Bihar therefore, politically these districts may be treated as separate areas but geographically they are very close.

Let us now take a closer look of the iconography of Tārā. The first Tārā is located in the Lohāndī village of Ichāk Block of Hazāribāgh District. Lohāndī village is situated towards NH 33 (the highway connecting Patna) about 8 Km from Ichāk Block office and about 16 Km. from Hazāribāgh Town. At this village, the Tārā is adoring in

a newly constructed temple and worshiped as Goddess Pārvatī. The village is inhabited by the Ahir caste. The statue of Goddess Tārā is about 3ft high, made up of light brown basalt stone. The image shows every minute detail of the body, from well proportionate body to inch by inch decoration and attributes. At first look, of the image makes any one to admire the artistic skill of the sculpture. The lines of drapery plates, sharp body curves, and hair with fringe lines hanging down to shoulders, the stupi crown on the head yet the front hair style has not missed out are some good examples of the artistic skill. She is wearing light jewellerys on the neck, arms, foot and ears. Her hands are mutilated and her face is defaced in such a way that only the eyes are visible. Due to broken hands one cannot recognize the image yet the Utpala (lotus) towards her left hand side gives the clue that she must have hold it in her left hand whereas the right hand may be depicted in Vara Mudrā since Utpala is very significant flower that is associated with Tārā and in all the major seven forms of Tārā one can see the Goddess holds Utpala in her left hand whereas executed Vara Mudrā by her right hand (Bhattacharyya 1985:135). Therefore, in this image Utpala plays major role to identify it as Tārā. She is standing on the double lotus pedestal.

Looking into other traits of Goddess Tārā of Lohāndī site further exposes her companions standing by her either sides. To right side companion is having fat body unlike the other companion standing towards left side. The full description of the right side companion is like this: she has bulky body with four arms and fierce face expression like demon. In her front right hand she holds sword whereas the back right hand stretched upward without holding anything. The front left hand holds Kaṭorā (skull cup), and same like back right hand, the left back hand is raised and holding nothing. A garland of human skull is hanging at the waist. She puts blouse as her upper garment and drapery for lower garment. Beneath her foot a woman attendant is sitting with joining both her hands. The companion standing to the left side of Tārā is slim with two hands. She is holding Chaowri in her right hand whereas in left hand too she holds something with is not very clear. The Chaowri in her right hand suggests that she may be an attendant of Goddess Tārā.

The second Tārā is located in Shekhā village of Hazāribāgh township, hardly 7 Km away from the main Hazāribāgh town towards the east. Unlike the Tārā of Lohāndī village the image of this Tārā is

well preserved and in better condition. The well proportionate body is reflecting from the execution of fully rounded limbs, curved waist, feminine features through heavy breast, and round belly, radiant face, and slim body. With similar execution of the Tārā of Lohāndī, the Tārā of Sekhā also wears light jewellery, clearly visible on her body part of wrist, neck, arm, feet, ear and head. Similar like Lohāndī her hair plates are hanging down to shoulders and her front hair arrangement is clearly visible through the crown.

Like Lohāndī the Goddess Tārā of Sekhā is holding Utpala in her left hand and right hand is depicted in Vara Mudrā. The miniature votive stūpa is carved on the top of the right hand side which recalls the Tārā of Lohāndī. The Goddess Tārā is curved along with her attendant to her left and a companion to her right hand side. The attendant standing in Pratylibdhā (crossed leg) posture whereas her hands are joined in Praṇāma Mudrā. The companion is standing to her right hand side. She has four hands holding sword in her front right hand and right back hand is raised upward without holding anything. Similarly in the left front hand she holds kaṭorā of human skull whereas back left hand is raised upwards and is empty. A garland of human skull is hanging down from her waist. She looks very ferocious.

In the course of describing Tārā cult, the third Tārā is very important from historical and archaeological point of view. The Tārā is presently being worshiped in the Bhadrakālī temple in Itkhorī of Chatrā District. The figure is made of black basalt stone. However the image has lost its natural beauty as it is painted with black colour by her devotees. She has depicted with two hands which is decorated with armlets and bangles. The left hand is shown holding the stalk of a full bloomed Utpala and right hand, is presented in Varada Mudrā. This is what the position we can see in previous images. The figure is standing on a double lotus pedestal. She is adorned with a stupī crown on her head; kuṇḍala in her ears; a tiara on her forehead; and necklace around her neck. Through the Tārā of Bhadrakālī temple one can imagine the missing facial features of the previous two Tārā i.e. sharp and pointed nose, elongated and wide open eyes, arched like eyebrows, smiling lips, plumpy cheeks. A halo is enhancing her sanctity from behind her head. Unlike the previous Tārā images two miniature stūpas are depicted on both the sides. A decorated rectangular block of stone is placed on the top of a bekī of a square pillar on both sides. A lion on each side of the

pillar is carefully depicted on the stele. The figure is carved artistically which is appeared through thin, curved waist and prominent breasts. She is wearing a saree on the lower body and a decorative band is around her waist. The artist had made every possible effort to show the folds of the saree by giving thin contour on it. To the right side of goddess attendant Ekajaṭā is shown holding a sword in her right hand. And another attendant Aśokakāntā Mārīcī is standing to her left, whose right hand is in Abhaya Mudrā. The deity is shown standing on a double lotus seat carved on the rāhāpaga of a trīrathā pedestal. Throughout the rāhāpaga and koṇikapaga an inscription is carved along with figurative representations. To the extreme left (from the viewer side) projection (koṇikapaga) of the pedestal, the figures of a horse and an elephant are being carved. The horse canopied by an umbrella and a bag tied on its back. The elephant also carries a similar bag but has no canopy. Out of seven Buddhist ratans these two animals may represent the same. The central projection (rāhāpaga) of the pedestal shows three tripods, each carrying an object of ritual significance like a conch-shell, a sacred pot and possibly a fruit from left to right. The right projection (koṇikapaga) shows two human figures, possibly couple donor (Deweidi, Kumar, Minz & Roy 2019: 18).

After the detail description of the prevailing Tārā cult in the Jharkhand region ultimately reveals that amongst many forms of Tārā, Khadiravani Tārā was mainly worshiped by the people of this region or the ruler of this region had encouraged the development of Tārā cult. In Buddhist Pantheon Khadiravani Tārā is described in green colour and for this reason she is also known by the name of Śyāmā Tārā (Bhattacharyya 1985:227). She has no specific posture so one can see her either in sitting or standing posture (Bhattacharyya 1985:227). The other identifying feature of Khadiravani Tārā is her two deity attendant called Ekajaṭā and Aśokakāntā Mārīcī (Bhattacharyya 1985:227). In context to her two deity attendants, the description of the two Tārās i.e. Tārā of Lohānd and Tārā of Itkhorī is in accordance to the description mentioned in Sāadhanamālā since both the images are clearly delineated with Ekajaṭā and Aśokakāntā Mārīcī. In this series the Tārā of Sekhā does not have the image of Ekajaṭā deity. Yet the clear cut presence of Utpala assures the image is nothing but it is Khadirāvānī Tārā.

Another important part of the Tārā of Lohāndi and Itkhor are having inscription. The Khadirāvānī Tārā has the inscription on the top of the

statue which is written in two line and contains the mantra of Devī Tārā. The inscription can be read as follows (Kujur 2010:27):

“Siddham ye dharma [he] tu prābhava hetu teshām tathāgato hyavadat teshām chā yo nirodha yevam vādi mā” (first line of the mantra)

“hasramanah” (second line of the mantra)

“Siddham” is written in symbol.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the character is northern class of alphabet. Epigraphically the period belongs to 10th to 11th century CE.

The Tārā of Itkhori bears the inscription on the pedestal that completes in two splits. The reading can be made as follows (Deweidi, Kumar, Minz & Roy 2019: 106):

- L1. /// haya=cāmaṃ mahāmanuṣyānām ma(nāma)dhīnatvana
/// sta[t*]putra rāṇakaśrī-
- L2. /// bhāsūva(?)ka śūta(suta) śrīś-cakkrapāṇi-bauddha ///
dyamāna vinirggatāya ///
- L3. /// padambha[u] (?) /// [ma]yāsthāpitāpracaram [ā]dya
bhaṭṭārikāpra-
- L4. dāna
- L5. kī (r)ttir-īya[m*]rāṇakaśrīcakha(śa)kasya
- L6. parameśvara śrīmahendrapāladevarājye sa
- L7. mvat 8 [/*] jyeṣṭho(ṣṭha) śu di 15

The inscription has historical significance which tells that, the image is donated by Rāṇaka named Cakṣaka in the year 8 of the reign of the paramount king Mahendrapāla, a Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar who ruled in the middle of 9th century CE (Deweidi, Kumar, Minz & Roy 2019: 106). The Tārā of Sekhā does not bear any inscription yet on the basis of relative dating it may belong to the period between 10th to 11th Century CE.

Thus epigraphically, the period of the practise of Tārā cult in this region may fall within the time bracket of 10th to 11th Century CE. In

this part of Jharkhand (Districts of Hazāribāgh and Chatrā) the traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism does not go beyond 10th Century CE. Thus, during Pāla rulers of Bengal and Bihar the Mahāyāna Buddhism had extended to new and non-traditional areas like Jharkhand with Pāla's wonted religious tolerance policy mainly exhibiting towards Brahmanism. That's why Brahmanic icons like Śīva Liṅga, Suryā, Umā Maheśwara can also be seen in all the three sites of Tārā cult.

With all these facts, a very interesting aspect of Mahāyāna Buddhism of this region reveals about the prominence of Goddess worship in the form of Tārā cult. In the light of archaeological observation the possibility of the practise of Tārā cult cannot be ignored. The foremost thing is the discovery of Tārā goddess in three places cannot be treated as coincident. In all the three places the image of Tārā is very prominent which can be proved by its size and by the presence of inscriptions on the stele of Tārā images. The geographical position is another factor which reiterate the practice of Tārā cult in this region. In this regard, the Khādirvānī Tārā of Itkhorī may get special mention on the present discussion. This place (Itkhorī) is the nearest site from present Bodhgayā hardly 40 Km south of present Bodhgayā. Further, the mention of two important rivers is very essential first –Mohāne and second Nirañjanā. Itkhorī is situated on the bank of river Mohāne and Bodhgayā the place where Siddhārtha Gautama got enlightenment is situated on the bank of Nirañjanā. Both these two rivers originates at Simariā, Chatrā district of Jharkhand. Both these rivers join 8 Km south of Gayā and known as Phālgu (Srivastava 1996:58). For construction of probable ancient route from Bodhgayā to Tamralipti and Odantā, the path way of both the rivers may play significant role. And at such cross road the discovery of Khādirvānī Tārā with inscription supply flood of hope towards the prevalence of Tārā cult. The epigraphic records of Pāla rulers also suggest their devotion towards Buddhist Goddess Tārā. In this context the Nesari Plates of Rāṣtrakūṭa Govinda III while recording the latter's act of snatching away the royal banner of the Pāla king Dharmapāla informed that his banner had bore the effigy of Tārā (Dasgupta 1960: 123). The historical source of the time of Pāla kings also suggests that, how the king, ministers, and powerful men of Pāla dynasty had involved in the propagation of Tārā cult in his kingdom (Dasguptan1960:123). This historical proof is also confirmed by the inscription on the stele of Tārā in Itkhorī site which tells the image is

donated by Rāṇaka named Cakṣaka.

Overall the presence of Tārā images along with historical and archaeological sources indicate that, how in between tenth to eleventh century CE the Buddhist goddess got huge popularity among the devotees of all social classes that ultimately pave the way towards the origin of Tārā cult in the adjacent place of Bodhagayā.



Figure 1: Goddess of Tārā from Lohāndi village



Figure 2: Goddess Tārā from Sekhā village.

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Social Engineering of Lord Buddha Based on Pāli Literature

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Introduction

Social Engineering is a modern concept. It is the use of centralized planning in an attempt to manage social change and regulate the future development and behavior of a society.

This term was first time introduced by the Dutch industrialist J. C. Van Marken (de) in 1894. He introduced the term **social engineers** in an essay. The idea was that modern employers needed the assistance of specialists - social engineers - in handling the human challenges, just as they needed technical experience i.e. traditional engineers to deal with non-human challenges. The term came to America in 1899, when the notion of “social engineering” was also launched as the name of the task of the social engineer in this sense.

Social engineering has been very much discussed theme in different disciplines particularly in Political Science, Sociology and Religious Studies. It has become a discipline in social science that refers to efforts to influence particular attitude and social behaviors on a large scale. Whether by governments, media or private groups in order to produce desired characteristics in a target population.

Social engineering can also be understood philosophically as a determined phenomenon where the intention and goals of the architects of the new social construct are realized.

Social engineers use the scientific method to analyze and understand social system in order to design the appropriate methods to achieve the desire results in the human subjects.

Although the concept of social engineering was not prevalent at the time of Lord Buddha but almost all elements of it were available in some different forms. As a social engineer Lord Buddha used different methods to mould the attitude of the people to establish the kingdom

of Dhamma which provided the good living place for people of every section of society. His kingdom of Dhamma was based on equality of all on the basis of action and not on the basis of birth.

In this research paper researcher has tried to focus on main two themes - (i) equality on the basis of action (ii) equality to women. Ample materials are available in Pali Literature on the theme of social engineering done by Lord Buddha.

Social engineers used the scientific method to analyze and understood social systems in order to design the appropriate methods to achieve the desire results in the human subjects.

Researcher has tried to explore all the methods used by Lord Buddha which are preserved in Pali Literature.

Throughout the centuries the caste system has been a black spot on the golden history of India. Positive thinking of caste system has provided some cohesive fabrics in particular groups of people but whole Indian community had been badly suffered by social distinctions arisen due to caste system.

The present pattern of caste system has taken its full shape during the medieval period, but it was prevalent from beginning of Indian society in different names and forms. In the beginning it was known as varṇa.¹

By different meaning the term varṇa can be seen in Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda, the Dharmasāstras, the Epics, the Buddhist texts, the Jain texts, the Sikhs texts. The term refers to social classes in Brahminical texts like Manusmṛti. These and other Hindu literatures classified the society in the principle into four varṇas:

Brahmins which includes priests, scholars and teachers,
Kshatrias which include rulers, warriors and administrators,
Vaishyas which include agriculturalists and merchants and
Shudra which include labours and service providers.²

¹Varṇa is a Sanskrit word derived from the root vr, meaning to cover, to envelop, to count, to classify, to consider, to describe, to choose etc. The term means a type, order, colour or class.

²In Puruṣa Sūkta of Ṛgveda the classification appears as Brahman, Rajanya, Vaishya and Shudra forming the mouth, arm, thighs and feet at the primordial Purusha respectively.

Steadily and slowly this division of social hierarchy has become so rigid and deep rooted and exists even today in different forms. Throughout the history of Indian societies, we come across the social inequality in the name of varṇa, gotra, jāti or class. Whole Indian societies have been divided on the basis of castes from more than two thousand years ago to till now.

When the Portuguese came to India in the sixteenth century, they found the Hindu community was divided into many separate groups, which they called Castes³ meaning tribes, class or families. The name stuck and became usual word for the Hindu social group. In attempting to account for the remarkable proliferation of castes in eighteenth and nineteenth century India, authorities credulously accepted the traditional view that by a process of intermarriage and subdivision the three thousand or more castes of modern India had evolved from four primitive classes, and the term “caste” was applied indiscriminately to both varṇa or class and jāti or caste proper. This is a false terminology, castes rise and fall in social scale and old castes die out and new ones are formed, but the four great classes are stable.⁴

Caste is the development of thousands of years, from the association of many different racial and other groups in a single cultural system. It is very difficult to find out its origin conclusively. There are many assumptions, hypothesizes, and theories to trace the origin of caste system. But all these are the concerns of historians and sociologists. Here we would only like to point out that such type of social inequalities were always prevalent in the Indian social order.

Caste system is generally associated with Hinduism but we cannot ignore the hard reality that it is being observed by the followers of every religion in India in one way or another.

Research Problem

Social Engineering has emerged as a new concept in modern time in different disciplines of social sciences. But the methodology used in social engineering today was prevalent in ancient societies in different forms. The aims and objectives of social engineering have been almost the same throughout the centuries. In sixth century B.C., the Lord Buddha had molded and reshaped the whole India towards a better society. He

³Basham, A.L., *The Wonder that was India*, p-149.

⁴Ibid., p-149.

adopted the different methods to establish the kingdom of Dhamma in which every person enjoyed a respectful life with equality, kindness and self dignity. There is a need to analyze all the methods adopted by Lord Buddha in the light of modern context of social engineering which is being used in different sphere of life. We have tried to analyze some of the methods forwarded by Lord Buddha which had given the Dhamma vast acceptance in the Indian society.

Research Methodology

Karl Eugen Neumann, in his preface of the translation of the Majjhimanikāya, once wrote: “One who knows Pāli needs no light from outside.”⁵ Being the students of Pāli, we feel proud having heard such statement by the great scholar of Pāli. We have taken this statement very seriously. Ample materials on every sphere of life are available in Pāli language and literature. The canvas of Pāli language and literature is very vast and it covered from sixth century B.C. to modern time. Our research problem is concerning with the methodology of the Lord Buddha. So related to our research problem ample materials are available in the Tipiṭaka. We have gone through the Suttas of Tipiṭaka which provide the light to solve our research problem. Our research problem is to analyze the methods used by Lord Buddha to reshape the society in the light of modern concept of social engineering. We have studied the concern suttas and picked out the points according to our research problem. As we know that voluminous secondary materials are available on different suttas of Tipiṭaka, we have also taken such materials in our accounts according to our need.

Review of Literatures

There are a number of suttas in the Tipiṭaka which give much information and solutions related to our research problem. These suttas may be enumerated as follows:

1. Assalāyana Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya
2. Ambaṭṭha Sutta of Dīgha Nikāya
3. Madhura Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya
4. Vāseṭṭha Sutta of Sutta-Nipāta
5. Vasala Sutta of Sutta-Nipāta
6. Esukāri Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya.

⁵2500 Years of Buddhism, p.172.

These suttas provide the primary source of information. We have studied them thoroughly. We have tried our best to pick out those materials which are relevant to our research problem.

We have studied a number of books which provide secondary source of information related to our research problem. Some books may be enumerated here:

1. *2500 Years of Buddhism* edited by P.V.Bapat
2. *The Buddha and His Teachings* by Narad Maha Thera
3. *Pāli Sāhitya kā Itihāsa* by Bharat Singh Upadhyay
4. *The Wonder that was India* by A.L. Bhasham
5. *Origin and Nature of Ancient Indian Buddhism* by K.T.S. Sarao

All these books are written on different topics on Pāli and Buddhism. We have gone through the chapters which are related to our research problem. Sometimes contents of the chapters are directly related to our research problem and sometimes they are indirectly related. We chose the contents which are relevant to our research problem to draw a conclusion.

Discussion

Social Thought of Lord Buddha

In known history of mankind the Lord Buddha was the first historic personality who not only argued against the social hierarchy based on the birth but he opened the door of the Buddhist Saṅgha to all sections of the society. He denounced all claims to superiority on the ground of birth as the Brahmins claimed all the times.

By the beginning of the age of the Buddha, caste system with its gross inequalities had been well established in Indian society. It had become both functional and hereditary.⁶

As it has been mentioned earlier that at that time the society was divided into four great castes technically known as varṇa- Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. This social order determined and fixed man's place in the society by the fact of his birth in a particular caste. Brahmins were supposed to be superior than all other classes

⁶Sarao, K.T.S., *The Origin and Nature of Ancient Indian Buddhism*, p-111.

The Shudras were denied all the benefits. They were even denied the privilege of hearing the holi scriptures and learning the deeper mysteries of the life. They were denied education and fixed low in the social hierarchy which was so brutally fixed that they could never escape from its vicious tentacles.

The Lord Buddha revolted against this vicious social order. He asserted absolute equality of all men. Once he was travelling and preaching to the people. On the way he became thirsty, he stopped to ask for water from a woman at wayside well. The woman, perceiving him to be a noble man, said, “sir, I am of low caste, I cannot give you anything to eat or drink”. Then the disciple of Buddha, Ānanda said, “Friend, I donot ask for your caste, I ask for water.” He drank water taking from that low caste man⁷.

The Brahmins occupied to important place in social order that it seems that there were only two functional classes in the society i.e. Brahmins and non- Brahmins. The Buddha felt that class equality could be only realized when the supreme authority of the Brahmins might be challenged. In the first phase in transforming into a casteless society he challenged the supreme position of Brahmins in social order. He placed Kshatriyas on the top of social heirarchy. Thus in Pāli literature the social order has enumerated as- Kshatriya, Brahmins, Vaishyas and Shudras. In Pāli literature, there are a number of suttas where the Buddha (or his important disciples) is represented as holding discussions with renowned Brahmins and ultimately bringing them around to his own way of thinking, These suttas may be enumerated as follows:

Assalāyana Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya

Ambaṭṭha Sutta of Dīgha Nikāya

Madhura Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya

Vāseṭṭha Sutta of Sutta-Nipāta

Vasala Sutta of Sutta-Nipāta

Esukāri Sutta of Majjhima Nikāya

In all these Suttas, the Buddha challenged the supreme authority of Brahmins on the basis of birth. He says-

⁷from Ravindranath Tagore’s play Chandalika Based on buddhist religion.

NA JACCĀ VASALO HOTI, NA JACCĀ HOTI BRĀHMAṄO.
KAMMUNĀ VASALO HOTI, KAMMUNĀ HOTI BRĀHMAṄO.⁸

By birth one does not become an outcast.
By birth one does not become a Brahmin.
By act one becomes an outcast.
By act one becomes a Brahmin.

Here a beautiful verse from the *Dhammapada* may be quoted in which Lord Buddha tried to define a Brahmin. He says-

NA JAṬĀHI NA GOTTEHI NA JACCĀ HOTI BRĀHMAṄO.
YAMHI SACCAÑCADHAMMO CASO SUCI SO CABRĀHMAṄŌ.⁹

Not by the matted hair, not by the lineage, not by birth a man becomes a Brahmin; he in whom there is Truth and Dhamma (Religion), he is the happy and he is the Brahmin.

Lord Buddha: The Father of Interfaith Dialogue

Interfaith dialogue means the communication, dialogue and cooperation among different faiths and religious groups. There are eighteen noticeable religions of the world and a large number of faiths exist in different parts of the world. Due to extensive expansion of information technologies the whole world has become a global village. This has created much tension among different faiths. To ease these tensions there is an easy way to have a dialogue among the concerning faiths. Many organizations of interfaith dialogue are working and many are coming up.

Lord Buddha has recognized the power of interfaith dialogue. The Pāli literature is full of dialogues of Lord Buddha. With the people of different faiths in direct way and sometimes in indirect way. He had direct dialogue with Brahmins as appeared in many Suttas. He had a unique type of dialogue with Six heretical thinkers via some persons. In *Sāmaññaphalasutta*¹⁰ Lord Buddha made dialogue with Six heretical thinkers via King Ajātasattu.

Similarly in *Brahmajāla Sutta*¹¹ Lord Buddha avoided direct

⁸*Suttanipāta, Vasalasutta*, p.34

⁹*Dhammapada*, verse no 393.

¹⁰*Sāmaññaphalasutta*, *Dīghanikāya*, p.55-65.

¹¹*Brahmajālasutta*, *Dīghanikāya*, p.29-34.

dialogue with Supriya Parivrājaka who was uttering insulting words about the Buddha, his teachings and his saṅgha. The disciple of Supriya Parivrājaka, Brahmadaṭṭa Māṇava was praising . In such a situation , Lord Buddha responded as

“Monk, if anyone spoke words which insult me, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, don't let this thing prompt you to hate, take revenge and turn against them. If , because of this , you become angry or annoyed , then it will become an obstacle in your quest to liberate yourself and cause you upset. However, if someone speaks insulting or false accusations about me , the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, then you should state which is wrong and point out the mistake by explaining that because of this proof and that, then that is not true or it is not like that, that kind of thing is not us or occurring in us”

“But if someone praises me, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha do not let this thing make you feel proud, joyful and happy. If you act like that, then it will become an obstacle in your efforts to achieve your own final liberation. If someone speaks like that you, should state which is right and show this fact by saying, based upon this and that fact, it is indeed so: that thing does indeed exist in us, or is true about us.”

On the basis of minute observations, we can easily say that Lord Buddha initiated the interfaith dialogue, some 2600 years ago which has become a global platform for world peace today.

The Buddha adopted Democratic Method in Every Sphere of Life

The Buddha was the first historical personality in the history of mankind who tried to serve the interests of the masses and was concerned with their happiness. In the beginning of his journey he communicated sixty arahattas as-

“Go forth, O Bhikkhus, for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for good, benefaction happiness of gods and men. Let not two go by one way¹².”

Lord Buddha not only talked about masses but he always adopted a democratic way method in every walk of life. Though he belonged to an aristocratic family , his life and works were those of a democrat. He travelled widely, for forty five years preaching to the common

¹²Mahāvagga, p.35.

masses. He formed the Saṅgha to communicate with the masses. The constitution and working of the Saṅgha was based on a democratic process. Everyone who was ordained as a Buddhist monk could be a member of the Saṅgha in a particular locality and all official business in a formal meeting of the Saṅgha was transacted according to democratic principles. Every member has a vote and the decision of the Saṅgha was taken by a vote of majority. When a complicated issue came up before the Saṅgha, it was referred to a selection committee, whose recommendations had to be placed before the Saṅgha for ratification.¹³

Lord Buddha revolted against bad practices in the society

We commonly even today experience that bad habits, bad things and bad practices continue by healthy, wealthy and mighty people of the society. There are very few people who condemn such bad practices. One who shows the courage to condemn bad practices has to suffer a lot in the hands of powerful people.

At the time of Buddha, many bad practices were prevalent in the society. These bad practices were observed not only in the public domain but also in the thinking process of the people. We may quote one example here; the cult of sacrifice was dominant phenomena in the society. In the sacrificial ceremony a large number of animals were killed. In the Kuṭadantasutta,¹⁴ we see that “ Seven hundred bulls, seven hundred bullocks, seven hundred heifers, seven hundred goats and seven hundred rams were all tied up to the sacrificial post.”

Thus we see in a single sacrificial ceremony altogether there were three thousand different animals which were bought to be killed. This number may be exaggerated but it is clear from this statement that a large number of animals were killed such during sacrificial ceremonies. Such type of sacrificial ceremonies had created tension in the society, in many ways.

Firstly oxen were killed which were the base of the agriculture. The decreasing number of oxen's clearly showed the slowdown in agriculture and ultimately in economy. Secondly, to manage so many animal was not an easy job. It needed a lot of money. Thus such types of sacrificial ceremonies were not within the reach of common masses. Thirdly, the low work like dragging animals for sacrifice was the duty

¹³2500 years of Buddhism, p.4.

¹⁴ kuṭadantasutta, Dīghanikāya, p.137.

of the shudras.

Lord Buddha not only condemned such type of sacrificial ceremonies in different ways but he clearly put the idea that such types of ceremonies were fruitless. Thus the Buddha had tried to reshape society in which there was no such sacrificial ceremony in which no animals needed to be killed.

Lord Buddha Compared Dhamma to a Raft

In modern time the meaning of Dhamma may be taken as Buddhism or religion. This may be defined simply as the means to enlightenment or emancipation. The Lord Buddha compared Dhamma to a raft¹⁵. The idea of the parable of the raft lies in the concept of means and end. There is a person who comes to a large body of water and he is trying to cross the other side. So he starts to assemble the grass, sticks, leaves and rope to make a raft. When the raft is ready, he relies on the raft, the raft to keep him afloat and he makes his way across the body of water to reach the other side. After reaching the other side he is supposed to leave the raft and not to carry it along on his back. At the conclusion, Lord Buddha said -

“In the same way, monks, I have taught the Dhamma compared to a raft, for the purpose of crossing over, not for the purpose of holding onto. Understanding the dhamma as taught compared to raft, you should let go even of Dhamma to say nothing of non- Dhamma”¹⁶.

It is a simple distinction between the goal and the means. The goal is to get across the river. The mean is the raft. Once you get across the river, there is no point in carrying the raft along with you. In short, it is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end.

In modern parlance, its function is purely instrumental and therefore its value is only relative. This of course does not mean that it can be dispensed with. When we have arrived safely on the other shore, the raft may indeed be abandoned; so long as we remain on this side, or still paddling across the stream, it is indispensable.¹⁷

This type of parable provided by Lord Buddha was easily grasped by the common masses to understand that the Dhamma is a mean and not the end.

¹⁵*Alagaddūpana Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya.*

¹⁶from translation of Thanissaro Bhikkhu.

¹⁷*2500 years of Buddhism*, p.170.

Lord Buddha used the language of common masses to preach the Dhamma

Language is the best means of communication. It expresses thoughts, emotions, feelings and desires of human beings. It plays an essential role in cultural, social and psychological aspects in all societies. The language which is very close to our emotions can be seen as the most effective tool of communication.

Mother language is the most effective tool for communication. Most difficult things can be easily understood when expressed in mother language.

Lord Buddha used the language of common masses to preach the Dhamma. At the time of the Lord Buddha, the literary language was Chāndasa. He used the common language which was spoken by general masses at the time. That language is known today as Pāli.

In Cullavagga we have come to know about a dialogue of the Lord Buddha with the two Brahmins. The two Brahmins requested the Buddha to collect Buddhavacana in Chandasa¹⁸.

But the Buddha refused their request and addressed the monks -

I permit, O monks, everyone to learn the Dhamma in his own language¹⁹.

It had become very easy to understand the Dhamma in own language.

Conclusion

Lord Buddha was the Great Personality who not only reconstructed the Indian society but gave light in the heart of people to ponder over human value which is base of human life. We may say the Great Social Engineer. By social engineering He established the kingdom of Dhamma in which all people could live with kindness, humanity and equality.

Lord Buddha revolted against the bad practices which were very predominant phenomenon in the society. Those bad practices were not only harming the basic fabric of human society but also deteriorating the human dignity and economic life of the people. He condemned the

¹⁸*Sakāya niruttiyā Buddhavacanaṃ dusenti, hand mayam bhante Buddhavacanaṃ chandaso aropemati.*

¹⁹*Anujānāmi, Bhikkhave, Sakāyaniruttiyā Buddhavacanaṃ pariyāpunituṃ.*

cult of sacrifices in many ways and tried to establish a society based on non-violence.

Lord Buddha provided a very simple philosophy which attracted the larger section of society. His Dhamma was based on three simple steps- *sīla*, *samādhi* and *paññā*. These three steps lead to a condition where there is no suffering that means *Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ Sukhaṃ*.

Lord Buddha used the language of common masses to preach His Dhamma so that every person of society could be able to understand what He was saying. He also adopted the democratic method in every sphere of life so that every person might take some responsibility to build a great society.

Thus we can say that social engineering of Lord Buddha was great. His methodology of social engineering is still relevant and can be applied by social engineers to make society for the best place to live in.

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हिन्दी

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The Essence of Buddhist Practice

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The paper elaborates the meaning of the famous stanza mentioned in *Dhammapada* as follows:

Do not commit any sin,
Accumulate perfect merit.
Tame one's mind,
This is the teachings of Buddha.

The first line, *Do not commit any sin* refers to abstaining from all the negativities i.e. either natural sin or proscribed sin. Natural sin is applicable for all the sentient beings commencing from hell beings to gods where as proscribed sin is applicable only for those who have taken Buddhist vows.

Regarding the natural sin, if any non-virtuous action is committed consisting of all the five things of i. basis/foundation, ii. motivation, iii. application, iv. result and v. emotional affliction, then that non-virtuous action is considered as hundred per cent non-virtuous action.

For example, 1) applying with a killing, the definition of killing is stated by Ācharya Vasubandhu in *Abhidharmakośa*, (chapter 04 Verse 73ab) as: *killing others with having motivation (to kill)*.

- i. Basis: basis must be a sentient being. Though there is a debate about the definition of sentient being but in a nutshell the phenomenon must be breathing or must have the potential to breath. This excludes plants etc. as sentient beings though they are accepted as having life according to science and some other schools.

One complicated thing at present situation is; what about the killing of euthanasia patient by doctor through injecting the patient when the doctor is requested by the patient? Is it virtue or non-virtue? This is a debatable subject.

- ii. Motivation: In Buddhism, motivation makes the action virtue and non-virtue. Therefore, i. the person must have the motivation of killing, ii. the person must know the other as

sentient beings and iii.killing only that particular sentient beings without missing the target.

Suppose, there are two persons, Devadutta and Dharmadutta. Someone wants to kill Devadutta and hit a stone and instead of hitting the stone to Devadutta he missed the target and killed Dharmadutta. At that situation because of not having motivation to kill Dharmadutta the person has committed only 80 percent non-virtuous action of killing. One has to apply with other examples also.

When one kills other sentient beings such as insects and so forth while driving etc. in accident without having motivation to kill then it is also consider as 80 percent and so forth but surely not a hundred percent killing.

- iii. Application: after having the motivation to kill others when the person either commits the act of killing by himself or hiring or ordering other person to commit.

What about committing suicide? Is it hundred percent killing or not? In some text such as Acharya Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, (chapter 4 Verse 73cd) it described only killing others. The reason is that, suppose two persons are fighting and they mutually killed but the person who died later had committed hundred percent killing and not by the person who died before because the first person has not completed the result i.e. killing since the second person was alive when the first person is dead. This is applicable at modern rules also because police can and will punish only to the second person who is alive and not the first person who is already dead. In Māhāyāna sutra tradition it is stated that committing suicide uproots the opportunity of that person to take 500 human rebirths whereas in Māhāyāna's Vajrāyana tradition it is similar with killing god or Buddha.

- iv. Result: after committing all the activities of killing others and when the other person is dead.
- v. Emotional affliction: all the above mentioned four things have been done through having emotional affliction of desire, hatred, ignorance, jealousy, competitive mind, pride and so forth.

As previously described, among the five factors, motivation is the main but in grossly one should consider all the five factors have twenty marks each. So, any act of killing is done with all the five factors then that killing is considered as hundred percent killing whereas when any factor is missing then one has to minus twenty marks each and it

becomes either 80 percent or 60 percent and so forth of killing.

Killing having the emotional affliction of desire is like killing animals to eat and so forth.

Killing having the emotional affliction of hatred is like killing enemies in battle field and so forth.

Killing having the emotional affliction of ignorance is like animal sacrifice and so forth.

2) Regarding the stealing, the definition of stealing is stated by Acharya Vasubandhu in *Abhidharmakośa*, (chapter 4 Verse 73cd) as: *stealing means taking other's wealth either through power or hiding.*

- i. Basis: basis must be a thing, property or wealth belonging to others.
- ii. Motivation: the person must know that the wealth belongs to others and have a motivation to steal it. If someone takes others wealth through mistakenly then that is not considered as stealing.
- iii. Application: stealing the things either by himself or hiring or ordering other person to steal.
- iv. Result: after stealing the thing the person must have a motivation of thinking that now he got the thing or the thing belongs to him. Here, one thing to discuss is, suppose a person has stolen a pen from India and he took it to USA via Europe. The rate of pen is 25 Rupees in India, one Euro in Europe and two dollars in USA. So, the question is what amount of money he has stolen? As expressed previously, in Buddhism the motivation is the main factor. Therefore, it depends on the timing of arising his motivation thinking that he got the pen or the pen belongs to him.
- v. Emotional affliction: all the above mentioned four factors have been done through having emotional affliction of desire, hatred, ignorance, jealousy, competitive mind, pride and so forth.

One has to apply above mentioned five factors with rest of the non-virtuous actions of **3)** sexual misconduct, **4)** lying, **5)** divisive words, **6)** harsh words, **7)** senseless talk or gossip, **8)** envious or covetous mind, **9)** harmful intention and **10)** wrong views.

Regarding the proscribed sin if any one transgresses either Buddhist

lay person's commitment, novice monks' rules, fully ordained monks' rule, Bodhisattva vow or Vajrayāna vow's rule then those are considered as proscribed sin.

The second line, *Accumulate perfect merit* refers to all the virtues activities starting from taking refuge to attaining the excellent qualities of Buddha such as meditating on rarity to obtain human body consisting eighteen pre-requisites, impermanence, Karmic causality, renunciation on cyclic existence, fault of cyclic existence, meditating on loving kindness and compassion, meditating on four sort of mindfulness, meditating on four noble truths, noble eightfold path, practicing calm abiding (*samatha*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*), thinking on dependent origination, six perfection and so forth. In brief, try best not to harm others if one cannot help them. Among the above mentioned topics if one practices six perfections then all the practices are included as follows:

i) Perfection of Generosity /Giving. Generosity has 4 sections:

1)Word meaning: Generosity is called *dāna* in Sanskrit. *da=daridra*=poverty or poor. *na=nasa*=removing (Sakya Pandita's Illuminating the Sage's Intend, *thubpai dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*, Sakya Students' Union, Varanasi). Removing poverty is called Generosity¹.

2) Characteristics: Giving things to other people with intention to help.

Characteristics of the perfection of generosity is: Not only giving things to other people but whatever be the wealth obtained as a result of that in next life, that is also dedicated to the others.

Or- to become the perfection of generosity it should be endowed with three qualities: 1) one should think that in order to attain Buddhahood one has to practice six perfections and generosity is one of them. 2) The receiver/recipient, the donor and the material things do not exist inherently but exist as a dream nature which means all the three are empty in nature. 3) Dedicating the virtues of giving in order to attain Buddhahood for the sake of all the sentient beings.

3) Classification: i) Giving teachings- which means without aiming at material things, which makes the cause to accumulate merit, and teaching the meaning in accordance with the scripture. ii) Giving material things- which means giving anything excluding teaching and

¹Sakya Pandita, Das, Sanjib Kumar (Tr.) *Muninata-Prakaśa*, Leh: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2008,p.30.

saving life and iii) Giving Protection- Saving the life of sentient beings.

Or one may classify the generosity into two: i). Generosity of lay person: mostly giving material thing ii). Generosity of monks: mostly giving teaching. Giving Protection is for both of the monks and lay people.

Or one may classify the generosity into two. i). Pure generosity and ii)) impure generosity. i). Pure generosity is endowed with the characteristics of generosity as explained before. ii). Impure generosity is giving alcohol, drug, poison, weapons, others' wealth and so forth and also giving right thing with wrong motivation.

4) Benefit of Generosity: The person will become rich in next life as stated by Acharya Nagarjuna in Precious Garland, *Ratnālaya*.

Generosity (makes) rich and higher realms (achieve) through moral conduct. Physical beauty by patient and glory through effort. Peace through concentration and liberation by wisdom. Compassionate person can fulfill all his wishes. [5:38]

In order to become oneself in the Perfection of Generosity it is not compulsory to fulfill the wishes of all the sentient beings which is not possible but one should give the things that one has and dedicate also its results to all the sentient beings. This is the way of practicing all the six perfections. Otherwise, Buddha would not have completed the Perfection of Generosity because one can still see many poor people.

2) Perfection of Moral conduct. Moral conduct has 4 sections:

1) Word meaning: Moral conduct is called *sīla* in Sanskrit. *si=śīta=śītala* = Cool or peace. *la= labdha*=to obtain or to achieve (Sakya Pandita's Illuminating the Sage's Intend, *thubpai dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*, Sakya Students' Union, Varanasi Publication). The person who practices moral conduct can achieve physical and mental peace in a temporary manner and ultimately the person will obtain the peace of liberation².

2) Characteristics: Making a proposition in mind that one will abandon the harm to others and act in accordance with that proposition.

3) Classification: i. the moral conduct that abandons the natural sin and ii. the moral conduct that abandons the proscribed sin.

Or i. The moral conduct that controls only the bad behavior (which

²Sakya Pandita, Das, Sanjib Kumar (Tr.) *Muninata-Prakaśa*, Leh: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2008,p.30.

means making promise that one will not commit non-virtuous action but not promising that one will do good thing) ii. Moral Conduct that collects all the virtuous phenomena (which means making promise that not only one will abandon non-virtuous action but accumulate all the virtuous commencing from taking refuge to excellent qualities of Buddha). iii. Moral Conduct that helps only the other sentient being (which means making promise that if it benefits other sentient being then one will commit non-virtuous action it does not matter if oneself will take birth in hell). This is the act only for great Bodhisattvas.

Or one may classify Moral Conduct as: i. Moral conduct that protects from fear (which means taking refuge not to take birth in lower realms in the next life) ii. Moral conduct that aspires for the higher realm (which means taking refuge aiming at higher realms in next life) iii. Moral conduct that indicates renunciation towards the cyclic existence, (which means taking refuge for complete liberation from the cyclic existence).

4) Benefit: If the person practices generosity but does not practice moral conduct then the person will take birth in lower realms like Nāga, rich man's dog, horse and so on. So to obtain higher realms moral conduct is the must and for the liberation meditation is the main.

In order to become oneself in the Perfection of Moral Conduct it is not compulsory to save the lives of those sentient beings who are going to be killed which is not possible but one should have perfect motivation of abandoning the fault of body, speech and mind. Otherwise, Buddha would not have completed the Perfection of Moral Conduct because one can still see many people are being killed.

3. Perfection of Patience. Patience has 4 sections:

1) Word meaning: Patience is called *kyanti* in Sanskrit. *khyā*=*khyobya* means agitation. *tī*=*śānti* means peace, calm or pacification. To pacify the mental agitation is called Patience (Sakya Pandita's Illuminating the Sage's Intend, *thubpai dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*).

2) Characteristic of patience is: Not becoming angry when someone harms you. This should be practiced through mind and it is not necessary to receive a blow from all the people to become perfect in patience as Shantideva states in *Bodhisattvacharyāvātāra* (Chapter.....Verse.....):

It is not possible to cover whole of the world by leather, but just covering the feet of oneself by leather is sufficient. In the same manner one cannot stop all the external enemies but if one stops angry mind

then there is no need to stop others.

It is true, otherwise, Buddha would not have completed the Perfection of Patience because one can still see many angry people.

3) Classification: i) Patience to adopt the problem: adopting physical and mental problem in order to abandon the non-virtues and to practice the virtues. One should think that Lord Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the past had adopted this kind of problems and at the end they attained Buddhahood and one should also has to practice this to attain Buddhahood. Or not giving opportunity for physical and mental problems to overcome onesown dharma practice but one should overcome the problems as Sakya Pandita had stated in Elegant Saying, *Sakya Legs Bsad*.

Person may face problems while studying and cannot become scholar who desires pleasure. One who attaches to minor happiness cannot attain greater happiness.[1:26]

ii) Patience concentrating on the nature of phenomenon: (a) concentrating on the nature of conventional truth: If one says the nature of sentient beings is bad: then why one reacts towards the sentient beings who is bad in nature? It is like hitting a fire and telling it not to burn.

If one says the nature of sentient beings is good but the fault is temporary: then one should react only to that temporary being and not to the person who is good in nature. For instance when there is smoke, to eliminate the smoke one should directly hit at the smoke and not to the space as Ārya Deva had stated in Four Hundred Verses, *Catu śataka*, (Varanasi Publication):

Buddha sees emotional afflictions as enemy and not the person related with it.

As doctor eliminates the disease of the patient and not the patient.

(b) Concentrating on the nature of ultimate truth: In ultimate truth all the three (1.agent = the person who does harm, 2.Action= act of harming and 3. recipient = person who is harmed) do not exist because all are empty.

iii) Thinking that one who does harm is necessary to practice dharma such as the angry attendant of *Atiśa*.

It is well-known in Tibet that once upon a time, when Indian master

Atisha was in Tibet, he had an angry Indian attendant. Tibetan people complained to *Atiśa* to remove the attendant. For this, *Atiśa* said: ‘ He is like my teacher. The reason is, because of his anger, I practice patience’.

Or, one should think as follows in order to remove anger or tension:

Question: Do you have any problem? Answer: No, then no need to worry.

Question: Do you have any problem? Answer: Yes.

Question: Is there a solution? Answer: Yes. Suggestion: then apply the solution and no need to worry.

Question: Do you have any problem? Answer: Yes.

Question: Is there a solution? Answer: No. Suggestion: then worrying is useless. So, do not worry as Shantideva states in *Bodhisattvācāryāvataāra*:

If one can change the situation then no need to worry.

If one cannot change the situation then worrying is useless.

4) Benefit: Due to practicing patience the person can obtain beautiful body and many followers.

4) Perfection of Effort or Enthusiasm. Effort has 4 sections:

1) Word meaning: Effort is called *Vīrya* in Sanskrit. *Vi=Var=supreme/Boon. Ya=Yantra=to apply.* Applying to the supreme virtue is called effort (Sakya Pandita’s *Illuminating the Sage’s Intend*, *thubpai dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*³).

2) Characteristics: Entry into virtue with pleasure or enthusiasm.

3) Classification: i) effort of armor or wearing army uniform: Before doing the virtuous action, making proposition in mind that one will do such and such type of virtuous action. For instance, it is like wearing an army uniform before going to war. ii) Effort of application: Directly practicing the virtue. Like fighting in the battle field and iii) unsatisfactory effort: Not giving up the effort no matter how much one has collected the virtues until or unless one attains Buddhahood. Like an effort to destroy the enemy forever. Generally it is said that should not be so greedy for wealth but regarding with the virtue one should practice virtues unless or until the person attains Buddhahood.

³Sakya Pandita, Das, Sanjib Kumar (Tr.) *Muninata-Prakaśa*, Leh: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2008, pp.63-64.

4) Benefit of effort: all the qualities depend upon the effort. So if you have effort then all the temporary and ultimate results will be achieved as there is a saying: 'Where there is a will there is a way.'

5) Perfection of Concentration. Concentration has 4 sections:

1) Word meaning: concentration is called *dhyāna* in Sanskrit. *Dha=dhara*=to hold or to control. *na=mana*=mind. Controlling the mind or focusing the mind is called *dhyāna* (Sakya Pandita's Illuminating the Sage's Intend, *thubpai dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*⁴).

2) Characteristics- concentration of mind in order to attain Buddhahood.

3) Classification: i) concentrating to attain peace in this very life (which means having attachment to the joy of meditation). ii) Concentrating to attain supreme qualities: i.e. to obtain clairvoyance and so on. iii) Concentrating to benefit sentient beings: meditating on space treasury and so on.

Or i) Worldly concentration (which means concentration by means of coarseness and subtleness which has a potential to lead till the peak of cyclic existence). ii) Transcendental concentration (which has a potential to attain liberation because of meditating on no self). Meditation on loving kindness, compassion, enlightened Mind (*bodhicitta*), impermanence, tranquility and so forth fall under the perfection of concentration. Meditation on Loving Kindness etc. in the lack of emptiness or no self the practitioner cannot attain liberation and remain in the cyclic existence.

4)Benefit: Concentration produces tranquility or calm abiding. From that it dissolves the emotional affliction in temporal manner and brings clairvoyance etc. and ultimately with the meditation on emptiness or no self the person will attain liberation or Buddhahood.

6) Perfection of Wisdom. Wisdom has 4 sections:

1) Word meaning: wisdom is called *Prajñā* in Sanskrit. *Pra*=supreme and *Jñā*=consciousness. Supreme among the consciousnesses is called wisdom (Sakya Pandita's Illuminating the Sage's Intend, *thubpai dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*, Sakya Students' Union, Varanasi Publication, year Page).

2) Characteristics: Understanding the phenomena in accordance with the nature.

⁴Sakya Pandita, Das, Sanjib Kumar (Tr.) *Muninata-Prakaśa*, Leh: Central Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2008, pp.102-103.

3) Classification: i) Worldly wisdom: the wisdom, which is common in all either believer or non-believer in religion such as the knowledge of art, medicine, grammar, logic and so forth.

ii) Transcendental wisdom: the wisdom which is achieved from the holy teachings such as the wisdom of realizing the impermanence etc. 16 aspects of four noble truths and the emptiness of all the phenomena. Or one may classify it into three: Wisdom of Listening, Wisdom of Contemplation and Wisdom of Meditation.

4) Benefit: temporary benefit: due to having wisdom one will not confuse in worldly conventional activities and ultimately one will attain omniscience stage of Buddhahood.

Among the six perfections generosity and patience are mostly the practice for lay people because most of the lay people have wealth and more enemy. Therefore, they have to practice generosity and patience. Giving teaching is for monks. Monks have less wealth and less enemy, therefore, they have to practice less giving and patience.

Moral conduct and concentration are the practice for monks because they avoid distraction and abide in solitude. For the lay people it is difficult even to observe one-day precepts. It is also difficult for them to meditate because of distraction to take care for their relatives and home duties. Effort and wisdom are necessary for both of the monks and lay people.

Order of the perfections:

(i) Preceding perfections are inferior and succeeding are the superior with comparison. For instance generosity is inferior compare with moral conduct, and moral conduct is superior compare with generosity and so forth.

(ii) Preceding perfections are coarse and succeeding are subtler with comparison. For instance generosity is coarse compare with moral conduct, and moral conduct is subtler compare with generosity and so forth. Here coarseness and subtlety refers to easiness and difficulty to put in practice.

Why six perfections are necessary?

To attain Buddhahood the collection of the accumulation of merit and spontaneous wisdom are the must. These two accumulations are included in the six perfections i.e. first five perfections are the accumulation of merit and the last perfection is the accumulation of

spontaneous wisdom. So, all the practices are included within these six perfections.

The third line, *Tame one's mind* is supreme among them because all the teachings of Buddha is related with the method to tame the mind. It is important to know that the definition of mind is luminosity and awareness. The nature of mind is not affected by any of the emotional affliction. If the nature of the mind is affected by emotional affliction then it is meaningless to practice to remove emotional affliction such as making an effort to make coal into white colour. Therefore, since the nature of mind is not affected by emotional affliction then it is reasonable to practice to remove emotional affliction such as making hardship to remove the dirt of gold so that one can see actual yellow gold. One has to tame the mind since the mind is similar to wild monkey. As monkey jumps from one branches to another branches of trees in the same manner the mind continuously thinks adopting and leaving different kind of phenomena. The mind is also like a mad elephant as Śāntideva states in *Bodhisattvācāryāvātāra*:

As one has to tie a mad elephant without having loosen with stable pillar in the same manner one should tie one's mind with the pillar of concentrating on dharma. [5:40]

Sometimes, mind and conventional self are synonyms as stated in Sūtra (quoted in the autocommentary to *Madhyamakāvatāra* of Candrakīrti, Sakya Students' Union, Varanasi Publication, Chapter 6):

Oneself is the lord of oneself, how can others become lord? Scholars will attain higher realms if oneself is properly tamed.

So, here, taming the self and mind are synonyms. Furthermore, it is stated in Sūtra (quoted in the autocommentary to *Madhyamakāvatāra* of Candrakīrti, Sakya Students' Union, Varanasi Publication, Chapter 6):

Oneself is the lord of oneself, and oneself is also the enemy of oneself. Whether one has done good or wrong oneself is the witness. [Una-Gong-pa Rap-Sal, p. 473]

One may say that taming the mind or uprooting of emotional affliction is not possible due to three reasons: i. The emotional afflictions are the nature of mind therefore one cannot uproot them. ii. Though one can uproot them but no one knows how to uproot them and iii. even though one removes the emotional afflictions for a while they will arise again just like a dirt on our body.

Refutation- i. The emotional affliction are not a nature of the mind because the conventional nature of the mind is luminosity and emotional afflictions are temporal otherwise when a person becomes angry his anger should be existed for ever and so on. ii. The cause of emotional affliction is the self-grasping and there is an antidote for it which is the meditation on selflessness. iii. Due to abandonment of self-grasping the person will not wander in cyclic existence just like extinguishing of fire due to perishing of fuel. Therefore, one must practice as *stated as Śāntideva states in Bodhisattvācāryāvātāra :*

One who wants to practice must control or tame one's mind. If one cannot tame one's mind then one cannot practice. [5:23ab]

Śāntideva, again, states in *Bodhisattvācāryāvātāra:*

One who wants to tame one's mind is requested with folded hand to practice mindfulness and introspection with effort. [5:23cd]

Therefore, the knowledge of the mindfulness, introspection and antidotes are important as follows:

i. Mindfulness: mindfulness means knowing what is granted and what is restricted by the Buddha. Or knowing what is to be adopted and what is to be abandoned. Or having the clarity of rules and regulations and knowing good and wrong activity of body, speech and mind.

ii. Introspection means just having knowledge of what is to be adopted and what is to be abandoned is not sufficient until or unless the person judges activities of body, speech and mind. For example, when one applies with the activities of body, suppose, a person is going.

When the person is performing the activity of going he should make examination on his activity of going such as: why he is going? Is he going to do a virtuous thing or non-virtuous thing or neutral? If he is going to do a virtuous thing such as circumambulation to stūpa and so forth then continue or proceed it. If he is going to do a non-virtuous thing such as going to fight with other people and so forth then discontinue his going. If he is going to do a neutral thing which is neither virtue nor non-virtue such as going for morning walk or evening walk then try to convert this walk into virtuous thing such as circumambulation to stūpa and so forth so that it becomes double benefits of collection virtue as well as achieving physical health.

In a same manner, when one applies with the activities of speech, suppose, a person is going to say something to other people. Before

saying something he should make examination on his mind such as: why or what he is going to say? Is he going to say some virtuous thing or non-virtuous thing or neutral? If he is going to say a virtuous thing such as discussion on some important topics on loving kindness, compassion and so forth then continue or proceed it. If he is going to say a non-virtuous thing such as arguing or abusing other people and so forth then discontinue his speech. If he is going to say a neutral thing which is neither virtue nor non-virtue such as saying hello and hi and so forth then try to convert this saying into good words such as 'good to see you' and so forth.

When one applies with the mental activities, suppose, a person is thinking something. He should make examination on his mind what he is thinking? Is he thinking some virtuous thing or non-virtuous thing or neutral? If he is thinking a virtuous thing such as loving kindness, compassion and so forth then continue or proceed it. If he is thinking a non-virtuous thing related with increasing of emotional affliction then discontinue his thinking. If he is thinking neutral thing which is neither virtue nor non-virtue such as thinking of vase and so forth then try to convert this thinking into virtuous thing such as loving kindness, compassion and so forth.

iii. Antidotes: After having mindfulness and introspection then it is much easier for the practitioner to tame the mind relying on antidote to the emotional afflictions of desire, hatred, ignorance, jealousy, competitive mind, pride and so forth in the following manner:

Meditation on Ugliness can reduce desire or attachment. Meditation on Loving Kindness can reduce hatred. Meditation on Patience can reduce anger. Meditation on Dependent Origination can reduce ignorance. Meditation on Jealousy can reduce jealousy. Meditation on Competitive Mind can reduce competitive mind. Meditation on Pride can reduce pride. Meditation on Breathing can reduce conceptual thought and so forth.

The summarization of Buddhist practice can be put in two factors as Ācārya Vasubandhu has stated in *Abhidharmakośa*:

The holy teachings of Buddha has two aspects which are the nature of discourse and realization. The preservation of them are only explaining and practice. [9:01]

So, though constructing big temples, big monastic school buildings etc. become favourable conditions to attain the wisdom of listening,

contemplation and meditation but constructing the building itself is not a preservation of Buddha Dharma.

Therefore, preservation of Buddha Dharma means:

- i. If anyone teaches the discourses of three fundamental divisions (*tripiṭaka*) of Discourse (*sūtra piṭaka*), Monastic Discipline (*vinaya piṭaka*) and Manifest Knowledge (*Abhidharma piṭaka*) or listens to them is called preservation of Buddha Dharma from the perspective of Discourse.
- ii. If anyone practices the three trainings (*trīśikṣā*) of moral conduct (*sīla*), concentration (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) then, it is called preservation of Buddha Dharma from the perspective of Realization.

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Observation on Three Buddhist Ethical Terms: Kusala, Akusala and Kiriyā as reflected in the Pāli Literature

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Abstract

Early Buddhist doctrine stands in the middle position based on *kamma*, rebirth, and Nibbāna. *Kamma* is the result of volition (*cetanā*) that made the individual do either wholesome (*Kusala*) or unwholesome (*Akusala*) deeds. Early Nikāyas say that the Buddha is perfect in *Kusala*. Nevertheless, in *Abhidhamma*, there is no role of *Kusala* state at mundane level (*Lokīya*) in relation to ethics alluded to Arahants. What it mentions is *Lokuttara Kusala* (*magga citta*) referring to ethical acts of the Buddha and Arahant. In addition, the term “*Kiriyā*” is the ethical value for them in mundane level (*Lokīya*). Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to observe the three ethical terms “*Kusala*, *Akusala*, and *Kiriyā*” in Buddhist soteriological path through analyzing reference to in early Nikāyas, *Abhidhamma* and their commentaries. By analyzing these texts, it will be seen that *Abhidhamma* designates *Kusala* for Arahant into *Lokuttara Kusala* (*magga citta*) as the highest psychological and ethical state by way of destroying defilements (*kilesā*). This is done differentiating three dimensions: Nibbāna, *Kusala*, and mental factors (*alobha*, *adosa*, *amoha*, *saddhā*, *vīriya*, *sati*, and so on).

Keywords: *Kusala*, *Akusala*, *Kiriyā*, *kamma*, Nibbāna, early Buddhism, *Abhidhamma*.

Introduction

Buddhist literature describes three ethical terms as *Kusala*, *Akusala* and *Kiriyā*. Of them, *Kusala* and *Kiriyā* are two ethical terms in relation to what should to be done as right, and *Akusala* is what should not to be done. Among them, according to *Abhidhamma*, it commonly accepts that mundane *Kusala* and *Akusala* are performed by trainees (*sekkha*)

and ordinary person (*puthujjana*). *Kiriyā* is mererly action achieved by the Buddha and Arahant (*asekkha*) in earthly state.

However, in early Buddhism, what it is found is only two ethical terms as *Kusala* and *Akusala*, it does not directly mention *Kiriyā* in an ethical sense.¹ On the other hand, what is said in *Nikāyas* is that the Buddha and Arahant are perfect in *Kusala* (*kusaladhammasampanna*). *Abhidhamma* literature formulates the ethical term *Kiriyā* for the Buddha and Arahant. Moreover, the commentarial tradition divides *Kusala* into two aspects as *vaṭṭagāmikusala* and *vivaṭṭagāmikusala*. Thus, based on these ethical terminology and concepts in the Pāli literature, this paper aims to observe these three ethical terms in order to understand the Buddhist psycho-ethical state in soteriological path.

In the course of this study, it is hoped to show that the Buddha defines and presents *Kusala* and *Akusala* in terms of ethical, psychological meanings related to the soteriological path, rejecting and changing the social caste system forced by the Brahminical tradition at that time in India.² Besides, it is also seen that the division of *Kusala* into two types as *vaṭṭagāmikusala* and *vivaṭṭagāmikusala* is to enhance the concept of *Kusala* based on the idea of egocentric and non-egocentric attitude when performing the *Bodhipakkhiya Dhamma* for the purpose of attainment of Nibbāna. A change is seen in the *Abhidhamma* with the interpretation of ethics for Arahant by introducing the term *Kiriyā* (functional citta), signifying that *Kusala* is not a state of Nibbāna. However, when it is closely examined the concept of *Lokuttara* in *Abhidhamma*, it refers to the noble persons as *Kusala* who has arrived at the highest psychological and ethical state with the eradication of greed (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*), but not a state of Nibbāna itself.

Research problem

Therefore, the research problem of the paper is to observe and underscore, how far these three ethical terms in relation to the Buddhist soteriology in early Buddhism and *Abhidhamma* are consistent and coherent? On the other hand, how far the *Abhidhammic* analysis and synthesis of psychological and ethical states are identical or not with the primary teaching of the Buddha?

Literature Review and Preliminary consideration

In the field of Buddhist studies, some scholars interpret the Pāli

phrase as “*puññañca pāpañaca bhāhitvā*”³ in referring to the enlightened person who is beyond good and bad, and that it is the same idea that is found in Upaniṣad’s liberation concept.⁴ On the contrary, P.D. Premasiri says that Nibbāna is the highest level of moral perfection (*Kusala*) that one can attain in early Buddhism.⁵ It means that the Arahant is not beyond good and bad; but he transcends both *puñña* and *pāpa* and *Akusala*. According to him, the early Buddhist concept of *Kusala* and *puñña* are different. The former gives the ultimate goal of attainment of Nibbāna and, the latter gives the outcome in the samsaric process.

In our study, as the preliminary consideration,

- 1). It agrees with the idea that *Kusala* and *puñña* are different ethical concepts in early Buddhism. But according to our understanding of reference in the early canon, *Kusala* and *puñña* give the result in the future. The difference is that *Kusala* supports to the cessation of *dukkha*; and on the other hand, it discards *pāpa* and *Akusala*. In addition, *puñña* does not facilitate the attainment of liberation, but increases merits.⁶ Therefore, it can be considered that *Kusala* refers to *puñña* and *Kusala* itself, but *puñña* is not the identical as *Kusala*.
- 2). The Buddha and Arahants are, when they attain Nibbāna, beyond *puñña*, *pāpa*, and *aksuala*, but perfect in *Kusala*.⁷ Therefore, early Buddhism holds that the enlightened person is perfect in *Kusala*. However, *Abhidhamma* substitutes the ethical term *Kiriya* (functional citta) regarding Arahant in his performance of good deeds in his daily life.

Research Methodology

This study is a textual research. It will utilize the primary sources such as early *Nikāya*, *Suttanipāta*, *Dhammapada*, and *Itivuttaka* texts, *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and *Kathāvatthu* from *Abhidhamma* texts by way of analyzing these three ethical terms in order to understand the psycho-ethical meaning in Buddhist soteriology.

Discussion

Kusala and *Akusala* in early *Nikāyas*

Indian traditions of pre-Buddhist evaluate the human behavior through the actions of *puñña* and *pāpa*.⁸ The Buddha introduced the

new ethical terms and concept as *Kusala* and *Akusala* by rejecting the social caste system and labor system (*vaṇṇadhamma*) based on the authority of Divine God. *Kusala* and *Akusala* related to the ethics (*sīla*) that is the basic one in three trainings (*tisikkhā*): *sīla*, *samādhi*, *paññā*. Regarding these new ethical concepts, generally, the former supports the attainment of happiness (Nibbāna) in this life and future life. The latter shows how an individual is led to suffering (*dukkha*).

In relation to these two ethical terms, the *Appaṇṇaka sutta* and *Kālāma sutta* are the best source to analysis for non-Buddhist and Buddhist in order to demonstrate how the wise person should undergo any loss in this life as well as future life. Firstly, the *Appaṇṇaka sutta*'s advice is on the premise that *kamma* and rebirth theory relative to an ordinary man (*puthujjana*), is unthinkable and inconceivable.⁹ Therefore, he should understand it as the nature of reality grounded on the faith (*saddhā*) upon the triple gem (Buddha, Dhamma, and Saṅgha). This is based on the view that a person will not lose faith regarding the relation of the impact of his moral deeds on his life situation in the present and future life. For a person who does not believe in *kamma* and rebirth will lose if he does bad actions in this life. Therefore, it is seen that the Buddha exactly clarifies what is *Kusala* as ten wholesome actions and *Akusala* as ten unwholesome actions in various suttas in early canon for ethical and social contexts. This is to justify that the *kamma* and rebirth will result from individual's *Kusala* and *Akusala* actions. The ordinary person who has no extra-ordinary knowledge (*abhiññā*) did not see this saṃsāric process as a dynamic manner consequential from the good and bad *kamma* accumulated by individual. This process is besetted with ignorance and craving (*avijjā* and *taṇhā*) beginning of which inconceivable.¹⁰

Another way of looking at saṃsāric process on the basis of *kamma* is that it is a 'verifiable law'. K. N. Jayatilleke believes that it is a doctrine derived as an inductive inference on the basis of the data of extra-sensory perception.¹¹ The Pāli canon says that a person who possesses the clairvoyance (*Dibbacakkhu*) can perceive the occurrence of rebirth of beings according to their good and evil actions.¹²

Therefore, the *Appaṇṇaka sutta* shows *Kusala*, *akusala* and *puñña*, *apuñña* pertaining to the philosophical contexts of Eternalism (*sassatavāda*), Nihilism (*ucchedavāda*) and Middle position.

(*majjhimadesanā*). This discussion can also be summarized as follows:

1. Nihilist accepts neither *puñña* nor *pāpa*.
2. Eternalist accepts *puñña* and *pāpa*; believes nihilism as *pāpa*.
3. Buddhist accepts *Kusala*, *Akusala*, *puñña* and *pāpa*; perceive eternalism as *puñña* and Nihilism as *pāpa*.¹³

While accepting these four ethical terms, Buddhism faces the problem of explaining how these ethical actions: *Kusala*, *Akusala*, *puñña*, *pāpa* give the consequences in this life as well as in the *samsāra* relating to Buddhist soteriology? In relation to this, *Mahāvacccha sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* describes that the wanderer Vaccha who posed the unanswered questions (*avyākata-pañha*) requesting the Buddha to preach to him about *Kusala* and *Akusala* in brief. Hence, the Buddha's answer is greed, hatred and delusion are *Akusala* and non-greed, non-hatred and, non-delusion are *Kusala*.¹⁴ He states also that killing living beings, taking what is not given, misconduct in sensual pleasures, false speech, malicious speech, harsh speech, gossip, covetousness, ill will, wrong view; these ten actions as unwholesome. Then abstention from these *Akusala* actions is called wholesome course of action.¹⁵ In this manner the Buddha explains ten unwholesome actions and the opposite as ten wholesome actions. The Buddha explaining the nature of Arahant, makes the following observation:

“When a bhikkhu has abandoned craving, cut it off at the root, made it like a palm stump, done away with it so that it is no longer subject to future arising, then that bhikkhu is an arahant with taints destroyed, one who has lived the holy life, done what had to be done, laid down the burden, reached the true goal, destroyed the fetters of being, and is completely liberated through final knowledge.”¹⁶

Therefore, the enlightened person who is Arahant abstains from the unwholesome and perfect in wholesome condition. The wanderer Vaccha asked a series of questions regarding the eradication of fetters (*saṃyojanā*) and attainment of Nibbāna concerning *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhunī*, *upāsaka* and *upāsikā* who are clothed in white living in celibacy (*gihī odātavasano brahmacārī*) and yet leading sensual life (*gihinī odātavanā kāmabhoginī*). The Buddha's answer is that there are many followers of him who have eradicated the fetters and attained Nibbāna. Here, a question can be raised in relation to the noble persons

(*ariya-puggala*) who have not ended the saṃsāric process, how can their *Kusala kamma* give the result in the future? This is an interesting and problematic question and early Buddhism does not give a clear clarification.

In the *Sammādiṭṭhi sutta*, Ven. Sāriputta says that when a noble disciple has understood the unwholesome and the root of the unwholesome, the wholesome and the root of the wholesome, he entirely abandons the underlying tendency (*anusaya*) to lust, he abolishes the underlying tendency to aversion, he extirpates the underlying tendency to the view and conceit 'I am,' and by abandoning ignorance and, arousing true knowledge he, here and now, makes an end of suffering. In that way too a noble disciple is one of right view, whose view is straight, who has unwavering confidence in the Dhamma, and has arrived at this true Dhamma."¹⁷ Therefore, the noble person has understood the nature of *Kusala* and *Akusala* according to their degree of destruction of defilements (*kilesā*) and he will never commit the unwholesome actions.

Therefore, *Sammasādaniya Sutta* illustrates the *Kusala* states as the thirty-seven enlightenment factors: the four bases of mindfulness (*cattāro satipaṭṭhānā*), the four modes of right endeavor (*cattāro sammappadhānā*), the four bases of psychic power (*cattāro-iddhipādā*), the five faculties (*pañcendriyāni*), the five powers (*pañcabalāni*), the seven factors of enlightenment (*satta bojjhaṅgā*), and the Noble Eightfold Path (*ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*).¹⁸ In this sense, *Kusala* is the dhamma which connotes skillfulness. Therefore, the Buddha says that an Arahant is a skillful person because he had cut off '*kosa*' known as *kamma* or *khandha*, *āyatana* and *dhātu* through mundane and world-transcending insight knowledge.¹⁹ The Buddha himself says that he and his followers are skillful in this life and the next life what is called *khandha*, *āyatana*, and *dhātu*.²⁰

Here, the question is raised whether the Buddha and the noble persons need to perform *Kusala* dhamma? In this case, in the *Bhāhitika sutta*, Ven. Ānanda says that the Buddha not only praises the abandoning of all unwholesome states, but that he acts in accordance with his word by having abandoned all unwholesome states as well, and he possesses wholesome states (*kusaladhammasampanna*).²¹ Therefore, the Buddha still performs the wholesome (*Kusala*), though he cuts off the

unwholesome states. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* says that the noble disciple abandons the unwholesome and develops the wholesome, abandons what is blameworthy and develops what is blameless, and maintains himself in purity.²²

Accordingly, in the *Bhāhitika sutta*, Ven Ānanda says that the Buddha is called perfect with wholesome (*kusaladhammasampanna*). In the *Udāna* it describes that the Buddha has been reconsidering the abandonment of all unwholesome states of mind and cultivation of all wholesome.²³ He is said to have abandoned *puñña* and *pāpa*. It is correct to say that an enlightened person from *sotāpanna* to arahant will not commit any of the ten unwholesome actions for the reason that they have understood the Dhamma with right knowledge (*sammādiṭṭhi*). Thus, it can be found in most of the suttas the Pāli phrase as “*ārādhako hoti ñāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalaṃ*”.²⁴ It means that the noble person is satisfied with what he had understood and cultivates the true way, the Dhamma that is wholesome.

Therefore, it can be shown the fact that the early *Nikāyas* characterizes the two terms *Kusala* and *Akusala* in the ethical sense through action (*kamma*) as well as in the psychological sense through Dhamma: *Bodhipakkhiya-Dhamma* and greed, hatred and delusion respectively. *Kusala* and *Akusala* are the ethical concept for the Arahant as well as a trainee person (*sekkha*), including ordinary person in this present life and the future life. To give more clarification, Arahant is one who has discarded *puñña*, *pāpa*, *Akusala*; cultivated *Kusala*. Additionally, there is no more life for him. In contrast, *Kusala* performed by trainees can give the consequence of happiness *puñña*, *Akusala* can produce suffering *apuñña* for those who has not yet emancipated from the cycle of birth and death.²⁵

The nature of *Kiriyā citta* in *Abhidhamma*

Dhammasaṅgaṇī, the first book of *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, mentions *sahetuka-kāmāvacarakiriyā citta* in the group of *avyākata* traits as *Kusala dhammā*, *Akusala dhammā*, and *Avyākata dhammā*.²⁶ According to the analysis of *Abhidhamma*, this *citta* is the psychological and ethical ideal for an Arahant at mundane level. *Abhidhammic* works use the technical term *Kusala* more rather often than *puñña* though it does not make any clear *distinction* between *Kusala* and *puñña*.

Unlike the early *Nikāyas*, without using *Kusala* terminology, it mentions the nature of *Kiriyā citta* as *manodhātu kiriyā neva kusalā nākusalā na ca kammavipākā*: indifferent, neither good nor bad and having no fruit of *kamma*. The functional consciousnesses (*Mahākiriyā citta*) which has reached the impulsive state (*javana*) is fruitless like the flower of an uprooted tree.²⁷ These consciousnesses arise only in Arahants. It differentiates the ethical nature of a wordling person who have not yet realized *Nibbāna* and, trainees (*sekka*) who has been realized *Nibbāna*. In the nature of *Mahākiriyā citta*, it excludes the three abstinences *cetasika* (*viratī*): right speech (*sammāvācā*), right action (*sammākammanto*), and right livelihood (*sammā-ājīvo*) because Arahants, having cut off all defilements, do not need to deliberately refrain from evil deeds. This idea seems to against to the idea given in *Nikāyas* concerning the Buddha or Arahants who have abandoned *Akusala* and became perfect with *Kusala*.²⁸

However, *Kiriyā* also has the nature of *Kusala* performing generosity, loving kindness, and wisdom but excludes these three abstinences *cetasika*. The reason is that as mentioned above, they do not need to deliberately avoid unwholesome acts. This is the difference between *Kusala* and *Kiriyā* consciousness. On the other hand, the Arahant has eliminated all fetters, while the trainees have not yet discarded them.

The division of *Kāmāvacara Kusala* and *Mahākiriyā citta* in *Abhidhamma* is because of the fact that in *Nikāya*, nature of *Kusala* is more clearly concerned with the understanding of *Kammanirodha* and eradicating of fetters according to the degree of noble person. As it has mentioned above, the arahant has no more cankers or fetters to be eradicated and the trainees have to practice *Kusala* in order to eradicate cankers or fetters in this life as well as future life. Therefore, this *Abhidhamma* analysis is more logical and consistent in the path of Buddhist soteriology and ethics, than the position given in the *Nikāyas*.

It can be traced as *Kiriyā* terms and its nature got developed in the *Nikāyas* that *Abhidhamma* exclusively employs to ethical ideal for the Arahant. In *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, the Buddha is called a *kiriyāvādī* (doctrine of deeds) and *akiriyāvādī* (doctrine of non-doing) in relation to his teaching of doctrine.²⁹ He proclaims non-doing with regard to bodily, verbal, and mental misconduct and various kinds of bad unwholesome qualities. doing with regard to good bodily, verbal,

mental conduct and numerous kinds of wholesome qualities. Besides, the Buddha and Arahant are mentioned as *Kiriyāvāda*, in performing the actions of *Kusala* as ‘*Kiriyā*’.³⁰

Kammanirodha* (cessation of suffering), *Kusala* and *Kiriyā

The Buddha says that volition (*cetanā*) is called *kamma*.³¹ According to *Abhidhamma*, all psychological states are associated with volition or motivation. Non-greed, non-hatred- non-delusion and greed, hatred, delusion are the causes for the origination of *Kusala kamma* and *Akusala kamma* respectively. Therefore, any *kamma* fashioned through, born, caused, originated by greed, hatred and delusion, ripens wherever the individual is reborn. Whenever that *kamma* ripens, it is there that one experience its result, either, in this very life, or in the future rebirth, or on some subsequent occasion. It is also said that any *kamma* action caused and originated by three wholesome roots is abandoned when the three unwholesome roots have vanished; it is cut off at the root, made like a palm stump, demolished so that it is no more subject to future arising.³²

Kammanirodha sutta of *Samyutta Nikāya* says two types of *kamma* as new *kamma* (*navakamma*) and old *kamma* (*purāṇakamma*).³³ The six faculties: eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body and the mind are old *kamma* to be seen as generated and fashioned by volition, as something to be felt. The new *kamma* is whatever action one does now by body, speech, or mind. Therefore, the Buddhist liberation is attained through the cessation of bodily action, verbal action and mental action through practicing the noble eightfold path. In this sense, the Arahant’s actions cannot give the result in the future life for they have no more life with the attainment of the element of Nibbāna without residue remaining (*anupādisesanibbānadhātu*). *Kammanirodha* here means experience of liberation with the cessation of three actions. That is what the Buddha says as *sabbasaṅkhārasamatho* (tranquilization of all mental and physical formations). That is called the attainment of Nibbāna with the residue remaining aggregates (*saupādisesanibbānadhātu*), non-continuance of wholesome and wholesome roots (*ubhinnaṃ appavatti nirodhasaccaṃ*).³⁴

The understanding of the unwholesome and the root of the unwholesome, the wholesome and the root of the wholesome by way of the Four Noble Truths is called *sammādiṭṭhi* (right view).

The *Mahācattārīsaka sutta* divides the noble eightfold path into two facets as mundane path (*Lokiya*) and supramundane path (*Lokuttara*). It differentiates the noble eightfold path into *Lokiya* and *Lokuttara* as follows:

“Right view, I say, is twofold: there is right view that is affected by taints, partaking of merit, ripening in the acquisitions; and there is right view that is noble, taintless, supramundane, a factor of the path.”³⁵

Here the mundane factors are the ones affected by taints, they are linked with unwholesome roots, give the consequences in the future and occurs the continuity of the five aggregates in the saṃsāric process. On the contrary, the supramundane factors are noble, taintless, without unwholesome roots and not clinging to five aggregates, after the dissolution of the body, there is no continuity of the five aggregates. It mentions that the noble eightfold factors in relation to mundane level as “*Puññabhāgiyā*”. What it means is that it gives the result of merit in saṃsāric process. The commentary of the *Sammādiṭṭhi sutta* also refers to two types of right view: mundane right view (*Lokiya sammādiṭṭhi*) and supramundane right view (*Lokuttara sammādiṭṭhi*). The knowledge of bad and good result of *kamma* (*kammassakatāñāṇaṃ*) and the knowledge of in accordance with the truth (*saccānulomikañāṇa*) is called mundane right view and the wisdom associates with the noble path and fruit is called supramundane right view.³⁶ So, this division is in line with the description given in *Mahācattārīsaka sutta*.

Therefore, the commentarial tradition categories *Kusala* into two types as *vattaṅgāmikusalā* and *vivaṅgāmikusalā*. The former is *Kusala* conduces to the round of births is the tenderness of mind parents towards (their) sons and daughters, and of sons and daughters towards (their) parents, by virtue of their attachment. The latter is also *Kusala* which opposes the round of births is the thirty-seven factors belonging to enlightenment beginning from the four bases of mindfulness. Out of them the end result of *puñña*, which is conducive to the round of births is the might and glory of a universal monarch in the world of men, and that of Nibbāna, which is the fruit of the path.³⁷

There are three types of individuals as ordinary persons (*puthujjana*), trainees (*sekkha*), and trained persons (*asekkha*). Sensually wholesome consciousnesses arise in the ordinary and trainees, and functional consciousnesses appear in Arahant. Therefore, it is seen that *Abidhamma*

texts classify *Kusala* and *Kiriyā* citta on the basic of the psychological and ethical value of the individual's level at mundane. The sensually wholesome consciousnesses are associated and accompanied by the wholesome roots of non-greed or generosity, non-hatred or loving kindness, and non-delusion or wisdom. It is noteworthy that these consciousnesses are always associated with three abstinences (*viratī*): right speech (*sammāvācā*), right action (*sammākammanto*), and right livelihood (*sammā-ājīvo*); which are the factors included in the noble eightfold path (*maggaṅga*). The first two can be accounted as the first seven wholesome factors: *pāṇātipātā veramaṇī kusalaṃ, adinnādānā veramaṇī, kāmesumicchācārā veramaṇī, musāvādā veramaṇī, pisuṇāya vācāya veramaṇī, pharusāya vācāya veramaṇī, samphappalāpā veramaṇī*. The last three unwholesome factors: *abhijjhā* (Covetousness), *vyāpāda* (ill will), and *micchādiṭṭhi* (wrong view) are replaced by the good qualities that is non-greed, non-hatred and non-delusion. But functional consciousness does not have these three abstinences (*viratī*) for the reason that Arahant has discarded unwholesome roots and; there is no need to put effort to abstain from unwholesome actions. The division of sensually wholesome consciousnesses (*Kusala*) and functional consciousness (*Kiriyā*) can be more easily understood by understanding of *kammanirodha* and *Kusala nirodha* that are mentioned in the early Buddhism according to Buddhist psychology and morality.

In the meantime, it rejects the idea of the morality that is identical with the sphere of Nibbāna, but what has to be understood, according to psychological analysis and synthesis, is that the liberated mind (*vimuttacitta*), that is for those who have attained the four paths and four fruits (*magga-phala*), transcendental wholesome consciousnesses (*Lokuttara-kusalacitta*), take Nibbāna as their object (*ārammaṇa*) for the living Arahant.³⁸ In *Samaṇmuḍika sutta*, the Buddha says that the bhikkhu who is perfect with ten noble right paths including right knowledge (*sammāñāṇaṃ*) and right deliverance (*sammāvimutti*) is called perfect in wholesome (*sampannakusala*), excellent in wholesome (*paramakusala*). Therefore, *Mahācattarīsaka sutta* makes the difference between trainees (*sekkhā*) and Arahant (*asekkhā*) by means of perfection of noble eight and ten factors respectively. In *Abhidhamma* it becomes *Lokuttara Kusala* citta which is the highest psycho-ethical ideal in realization Nibbāna. Therefore, it can be divided into three types of *Kusala* as *vaṭṭagāmī-kusala, vivatṭagāmī-kusala*, and

viṭṭupaccheda-kusala.³⁹ Here, the latter refers to the *Lokuttara magga* citta which eliminated the defilements completely.

***Kathāvatthu* debate on the highest Psycho-Ethical State**

In the *Kathāvatthu*, there is a debate on the identification and differentiation of Nibbāna with *Kusala*, and mental factors (*alobha*, *adosa*, *amoha*, *saddhā*, *virīya*, *sati*, and so on). It reads as follows:

The sphere of Nibbāna is good.

- 1) Th.—Do you imply that it has a mental object, involving a mental process of adverting, reflecting, coordinating, attending, willing, desiring, aiming? Is not rather the opposite true?
- 2) These things we can predicate of all morally good mental states—of disinterestedness, love, intelligence, faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, understanding. But if we cannot predicate them of Nibbāna, then is the element of Nibbāna not rightly called morally good.
- 3) A.—But is not the element of Nibbāna faultless? If so—and you do assent—then it, not being immoral, is moral.⁴⁰

Nibbānadhātu kusalāti? Āmantā. Sārammaṇā, atthi tāya āvaṭṭanā...pe... paṇidhīti? Na hevaṃ vattabbe...pe... nanu anārammaṇā, natthi tāya āvaṭṭanā, ābhogo samannāhāro manasikāro cetanā patthanā paṇidhīti? Āmantā. Hañci anārammaṇā, natthi tāya āvaṭṭanā...pe... paṇidhi, no ca vata re vattabbe – “nibbānadhātu kusalā” ti.

Alobho kusalo sārammaṇo, atthi tassa āvaṭṭanā...pe... paṇidhīti? Āmantā. Nibbānadhātu kusalā sārammaṇā, atthi tāya āvaṭṭanā...pe... paṇidhīti? Na hevaṃ vattabbe ... Nibbānadhātu kusalā sārammaṇā, atthi tāya āvaṭṭanā...pe... paṇidhīti? Na hevaṃ vattabbe...pe...

Na vattabbaṃ – “nibbānadhātu kusalā” ti? Āmantā. Nanu nibbānadhātu anavajjāti? Āmantā. Hañci nibbānadhātu anavajjā, tena vata re vattabbe – “nibbānadhātu kusalā” ti.⁴¹

In the above debate, three facts are included: Nibbāna, *Kusala*, and the wholesome mental factors.⁴² The problem is how they are interconnected in the Buddhist soteriological path? Whether these three things are identical or different? Theravāda Abhidhamma does not accept the idea

of good (*Kusala*) identification with the sphere of Nibbāna. In addition, other moral wholesome mental factors such as non-greed, non-hatred, non-delusion, faith, endeavor, mindfulness, concentration, wisdom are included in the list of *Kusala*. Nevertheless, what should be noted here is that these wholesome mental factors are *Kusala* that take the Nibbāna as the object (*ārammaṇa*, *ālambaṇa*) in the Buddhist soteriological path. According to *Nikāyas* and *Abhidhamma*, this realization occurs by means of four stages in order to totally eliminate the fetters. This is the experiential path, rather than metaphysical. Therefore, Lance Cousins says that ‘it is a fact of experience as an aspect of the saving truth taught by the Buddha, but not a separately existing reality ‘somewhere else’.⁴³

The *Rathavinīta sutta* in which the dialogue between Ven Sāriputta and Ven Puṇṇa, mentions in this problematic issue. The two elder monks discuss about the seven purifications (*sīlavissuddhi*, *cittavissuddhi*, *diṭṭhivissuddhi*, *kaṅkhāvitaraṇavissuddhi*, *maggāmaggañānadassanavissuddhi*, *paṭipadāñānadassanavissuddhi*, *ñānadassanavissuddhi*) in relation to final Nibbāna without clinging (*anupādāparinibbāna*).⁴⁴ What Ven Puṇṇa Mantāniputta says is that these seven purifications do not support directly to the final Nibbāna without clinging, but leading to the supramundane path (*Lokuttara*). Among them the first six purifications are mundane path (*Lokīya*) and the last one is the supramundane path (*Lokuttara*). Therefore, according to *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and *Kathāvatthu*, the good morality (*Kusala*) cannot be designated as sphere of Nibbāna, but it is *Lokuttara*. However, early *Nikāya* texts mention the Buddha and Arahants as *sīlavā ariyasīlī kusalasīlī kusalena sīlena samannāgato*.⁴⁵ Therefore, the Buddha is a virtuous person, noble virtuous person, wholesome virtuous person, and perfect with wholesome virtuous. What it meant is that whenever he performs his verbal, mental and physical bodily deeds for the sake of benefits of the beings, they all are functionals (*Kiriyā*). For this reason, the Buddha is called *kammavādī* and *kiriyāvādī*.⁴⁶ The enlightened person has destroyed his *kamma* and craving (*taṇhā*) defilements (*kammakkhaya*, *kilesakkhaya*). Therefore, he is free from suffering (*dukkhakkhaya*).⁴⁷ Thus, his actions cannot produce the result in the future for the reason that he has removed the I-making, mine-making, and underlying tendency to conceit (*ahaṃkāra-mamaṃ āramānānusaya*).

Conclusion

As mentioned above, taking into consideration the saṃsāric process as the reality through rational faith (*ākāravatisaddhā*) and inductive and inferential knowledge (*abhiññā*), in early *Nikāyas*, *Kusala* is generally characterized into two aspects: ten wholesome factors, their roots, and *Bodhipakkhiya-Dhamma*. It has also been categorized in *Abhidhamma* as sensual sphere wholesome, material wholesome, immaterial wholesome and *Lokuttara* wholesome consciousness. Among them, it gives *Lokuttara Kusala* into four stages as a psychological and ethical state in realization of Nibbāna through annihilation of *Akusala*. However, in the Buddhist ethical philosophy, Nibbāna as the highest level of moral perfection (*Kusala*), and the cessation of greed, hatred and delusion (*rāgakkhaya*, *dosakkhaya*, *mohakkhaya*) becomes important issue. This is seen from *Kusalakathā* of *Kathāvatthu*. Nevertheless, this psycho-ethical condition in realization of Nibbāna occurs simultaneously. Therefore, what the *Abhidhammic* scholars refer to is that this state is called *Lokuttara*, giving the name and concept of Nibbāna as a means of the object (*ārambana*) of highest ethical ideal state (*Lokuttara Kusala*), rejecting the identification of Nibbāna with ethical consciousness or cessation of greed, hatred, and delusion. To solve this problematic issue, *Abhidhamma* introduces the concept of *Kiriyā*. This term can be traced in early *Nikāyas* in relation to ethical clarification. The ten wholesome actions based on mindfulness are *Kusala* (*vivaṭṭagāmikusala*) that are necessary factors for the noble persons who have perfected in their wholesome qualities as well as the ordinary persons who are yet to reach perfection. Herein, *Kusala* which connotes the fulfillment of merits (*puñña*, *Vaṭṭagāmikusala*) cannot supports directly to the attainment of cessation of suffering (Nibbāna), but it can be cultivated to enhance the saṃsāric life.

End Notes

1. Nigaṇṭho Nāṭaputta formulates the doctrine of action (*kiriyā*) neglecting the psychological conditions of action that had been underscored by the Buddha in later. MN I 373 See also Kalupahana, 2017, p.17.
2. Buddhist doctrine of *kamma* totally rejects the ‘*vaṇṇadhamma*’ of Brahmanical social caste system. MN II 177, 196, Sn 136 Vs
3. Dhṃ 267, 412 Vs; SN 525, 641 Vs.
4. S, Tachibana, 1987, p. 54-5. see also Premasiri, 1990, p.145

5. Ibid. P.147
6. DN II 136
*Dadato puññaṃ pavaḍḍhati,
Saṃyamato veraṃ na cīyati;
Kusalo ca jahāti pāpakam,
Rāgadosamohakkhayā sanibbuto.*
7. Premasiri, 2016, p. 90
8. *Loc.cit.*, p.145
9. Abeynayake, 1984, p. 203
10. SN II 178
11. Jayatilleke, 2010, p. 459; Premasiri, 1990, p. 156
12. DN I 82, 161, 209; MN I 22, 35, 70, 284; SN II 122, 127, 213
13. Del Toso, 2008, p. 53
14. According to the *Sammādiṭṭhi sutta*, these factors are called roots of unwholesome and wholesome (*akusalamūla*, *kusalamūla*) respectively.
15. MN I 489 In *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, it is mentioned in terms of *sādhu asādhu*, *ariyadhamma anariyadhamma*, *attha anatta*, *dhamma adhamma*, *sāsava anāsava*, *anavajjā sāvajjā*, *atapanīya tapanīya*, *apacayagāmī ācayagāmī*, *dukkhavipāka sukkhavipāka*, and so on. AN V 273-6 PTS.
16. MN I 489; Ñāṇamoḷi & Bodhi, 2009, p. 596
17. MN I 47; Ibid. P. 133
18. DN III 102; cf. MN I 223
19. Sn 525 vs; Bodhi, 2017, p. 922
20. MN I 226-7; MN-a II 266
21. MN II 116
22. AN IV 108
23. Ud 66 PTS. *bhagavā attano aneke pāpake akusale dhamme pahīne paccavekkhamāno nisinno hoti, aneke ca kusale dhamme bhāvanāpāripūriṃ gate.*
24. MN II 181, 197; SN V 18 “*Khattiyakulā cepi, brāhmaṇa, agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajito hoti, so ca tathāgatappaveditaṃ dhammavinayaṃ āgamma pāṇātipātā paṭivirato hoti, adinnādānā paṭivirato hoti, abrahmacariyā paṭivirato hoti, musāvādā paṭivirato hoti, pisuṇāya vācāya paṭivirato hoti, pharusāya vācāya paṭivirato hoti, samphappalāpā paṭivirato hoti, anabhijjhālu hoti, abyāpannacitto hoti, sammādiṭṭhi hoti, ārādhako hoti nāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalaṃ*”.

25. MN I 415-9
26. Dhs 1
27. Dhs-a PTS; 15. Maung Tin, 1976, p. 385.
28. See also Karunadasa, 2014, pp. 95-6.
29. AN IV 179 PTS, Vin I 233.
30. AN I 287,
31. AN III 415 PTS.
32. AN I 134-6 PTS. Bhikkhu Bodhi, 2012, p. 230.
33. SN IV 132 PTS.
34. DN-a III 766; MN-a I 72; AN-a II 283
35. Bodhi, 2009, p. 934.
36. MN-a I 196.
37. DN.a III 848. “*Tattha duvidhaṃ kusalaṃ vaṭṭagāmī ca vivaṭṭagāmī ca. Tattha vaṭṭagāmīkusalaṃ nāma mātāpitūnaṃ puttadhītāsu puttadhītānañca mātāpitūsu sinehavasena mudumaddavacittaṃ. Vivaṭṭagāmīkusalaṃ nāma “cattāro satipaṭṭhānā”ti ādibhedā sattatiṃsa bodhipakkhiyadhammā. Tesu vaṭṭagāmīpuññaṃ pariyosānaṃ manussaloke cakkavattisīrīvibhavo. Vivaṭṭagāmīkusalassa maggaphalanibbānasampatti.*” The translation is from Premasiri, 2016, p. 88.
38. Cf. MN II 28
39. See AN II 34, III 35; Itv 88; Kvu 45 PTS. Nibbāna as *Viṭṭupaccheda*. Therefore, *Lokuttara Kusala citta* can be said as *vaṭṭupacchedakusala*. This is our own understanding as to the terminology. Herein Premasiri says that this division is Ven. Buddhaghosa’s conscious of differentiating the ethical concepts between *puñña* and *kusala*. However, according to our opinion, *Kusala* as two division is later Buddhism interpretation of *Kusala* ethical concept grounded on the reality of saṃsāric process based upon the faith. Therefore, it evaluates the ethical concepts of *Kusala* as Dhamma.
40. Zan Aung and Rhys Davids, 1979, p. 339.
41. Kvu 585 PTS. the commentary says that *Anḍhakas* make no such distinction, and call Nibbāna ‘good’ just because it is a faultless state. See also Law, 1939, p. 223.
42. It is noted here that *Kusala* is the psychological ethical state that is impermanence (*annicca*) though it is the perfection of ethics as “*sumum bonum*” for Arahant. In early *Nikāya*, cessation of greed, hatred, and delusion is *asaṅkhata*. But it has been rejected and discussed in Pāli commentaries. See *Visuddhimagga, Saṃmohavinodanī*. 51 PTS. Nibbāna

assuming object is also a problem in Buddhist philosophy due to the fact that *Sabba sutta* in *Samyutta Nikāya* mentions what is called all (*sabba*). Here it will not discuss in details.

43. Cousins, 1983-4, p. 109.
44. MN I 147-50 PTS
45. DN I 115, 132; MN II 116. AN I 287, IV 180-3. Vin I 233-4-5, 242 PTS.
46. DN 115, MN II 167. AN I 62. “*Kiriyaṃ vadāmi cāhaṃ, brāhmaṇa, akiriyaṃ vadāmi cā*”ti. “*Yathākathāṃ pana bhavaṃ gotamo kiriyavādī ca akiriyaṃ vadāmi cā*”ti?
 “*Akiriyaṃ kho ahaṃ, brāhmaṇa, vadāmi kāyaduccaritassa vacīduccaritassa manoduccaritassa, anekavihitānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ akiriyaṃ vadāmi. Kiriyaṃ kho ahaṃ, brāhmaṇa, vadāmi kāyasucaritassa vacīsucaritassa manosucaritassa, anekavihitānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ kiriyaṃ vadāmi. Evaṃ kho ahaṃ, brāhmaṇa, kiriyavādī ca akiriyaṃ vadāmi cā*”ti.
47. SN V 86 PTS. “*taṇhakkhayā kammakkhayo, kammakkhayā dukkhakkhayo*”. Cf. MN II 214.

Abbreviation

AN	Aṅguttara Nikāya
AN-a	Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
DN	Dīgha Nikāya
DN-a	Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
Dhp	Dhammapada
Dhs	Dhammasaṅgaṇī
Dhs-a	Dhammasaṅgaṇī Aṭṭhakathā
Itv	Itivuttaka
Kvu	Kathāvatthu
MN	Majjhima Nikāya
MN-a	Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
PTS	Pali text society
SN	Samyutta Nikāya
Sn	Suttanipāta
Vin	Vinaya
Vs	Verse

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Mahārahanīti: An introduction to unknown Pāli Nīti Text

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Among the *nīti* texts available in Pāli the following books can be included:

1. *Lokanīti* (Ln);
2. *Dhammanīti* (Dhn);
3. *Mahārahanīti* (Mhn);
4. *Rājanīti* (Rn);
5. *Sutavaḍḍhananīti* (Svn);
6. *Pāli-Cāṇakyanīti* (PCn);
7. *Gīthivinayasāṅghanīti* (Gvsn);
8. *Kavidappananīti* (Kdn);
9. *Nītimañjarī* (Nm);
10. *Suttantanīti* (Stn);
11. *Nāradakkhadīpanī* (Ndd);
12. *Caturakkahadīpani* (Crd);
13. *Lokaneyyappakaraṇa* (Lnp).

A brief introduction of principle *nīti* texts in Pāli is given in the *Lokanīti: Devanāgarī Saṃsakarāṇa Evaṃ Hindi Anuvāda* (Kumar 2015, 1-56), the *Śramaṇadharmā-vimarśa* (Kumar 2016, 9-26) and the *Pāli-Cāṇakyanīti: Devanāgarī Saṃsakarāṇa Evaṃ Hindi Anuvāda* (Kumar 2018, 23-44). Hence, to avoid repetition, detailed account of only the Mhn is given here.

Title

It seems that the title Mhn might have been given to the text on the basis of the first word of the first verse of the book, *mahāmahārahaṃ sakyamuniṃ nīvaraṇā-vaṇā*. According to Heinz BECHERT and Heinz BRAUN (1981: lviii),

“As for the title of *Mahārahanīti*, in stanza 3 the word *lokanīti* is found in a way to suggest that it was the original name of the book which was later replaced by the same *Mahārahanīti* derived from the first word of the work (Braun 1975: 26). This was probably done to avoid confusion of the text with the work now known as *Lokanīti*.”

Though this is only an inference which may be right too, but the first verse, on the basis of which the author of the Mhn has given the title, Mhn to the text, as Bechart and Braun pointed out, was not the composition of the author himself. The author of the Mhn had taken the first verse from the *Saddanīti* (Dhātumālā II.559) the book of a Pāli grammar. Thus, we can say that the title of the work is given on the basis of a verse taken from the work *Saddanīti*.

Meanings

The word *mahāraha* has been used in various meanings in the Pāli Canon and their auxiliary texts (see *Therīgāthā* 343, *Apadāna* 1.2, *Buddhavaṃsa* 2.354). This word is made by a combination of two words: *mahā* + *araha*. The word *mahā* is an adjective, which can be used in the sense of ‘big’, ‘huge’ etc. The word, *araha* is also an adjective that means ‘right’, ‘worthy’, ‘authoritative’, ‘venerable’, ‘proper’ and ‘useful’. According to the Buddhist tradition, a person who has destroyed the *āsravā*-s or mental defilements, who has crossed over the path of purity, who has become perfect, who has almost reached the state of the Buddha, who has attained the state of higher mental purity than the noble non-adept states of being a stream-enterer, once-returner and non-returner (Pāli Hindi Dictionary I. I. 560) is called an *arahant*. Thus, the meaning of *mahāraha* (Sanskrit *mahārha*) can be, ‘very venerable’ or ‘very worthy’.

The word, *nīti* is widely used in the Indian languages. This word has been used through various interpretations in Modern Indian languages apart from Sanskrit and Pāli. The word, *nīti* is derived from the root *ni* in both Sanskrit and Pāli. The meanings of the word *nīti* given in Sanskrit and Pāli dictionaries are, ‘guidance’, ‘direction’, ‘organizing’, ‘practice’, ‘behavior’, ‘propriety’, ‘limit’, ‘moral practice’, ‘morality’ etc. The word *nīti* appearing in the Pāli Grammar the *Saddanīti* expresses, ‘ordinance’ or ‘rule’. The *Padarūpasiddhi*, another Pāli grammar text, explains the word *nīti* as derived from the root *ni* with the feminine suffix *ti* which means ‘to carry’, ‘*nīyati etāyāti vā nīti*’. In the

form of a scripture, the word *nīti* refers an art that suggests the nature of conduct, manner of behavior, code of conduct regulated for social behavior, rules and customs regarding moral behavior, principles and doctrines established for the maintenance and security of governance, and cleverly carried out practices. In totality, *nīti* scripture is conjoined with mundane actions that introduce one to the pragmatism of the world. We can mark it as a science connected with secular doctrines/teachings. Aphorisms (*subhāṣita*), wise sayings (*sūkti*), proverbs (*lokokti*) etc. can also be included in *nīti*. Thus, Mhn may be attributed the meaning, “A Great Revered or an Excellent Book of Ethics.”

Mahāraha and Mahāra

If we see from the point of view of phonetics, *mahāraha* can change into *mahāra*. The word *mahāra* can be made by the elision of the aspirate ‘*ha*’. Today we refer to a particular community by the word ‘*mahāra*’ which has been residing in the state of Maharashtra and its borders. We can see the etymology of this word *mahāra* in the Pāli literature. The word for Maharashtra in the Pāli is *maharāṭṭha*. In the Pāli after adding the cases and suffixes, we get forms like *maharāṭṭhaṃ* (*Samantapāsādikā* I.46, *Sāsanavaṃsa*, *Mahāvāṃsa*), *mhāraṭṭhaṃ nāma* (*Sāsanavaṃsa*), *mahāraṭṭhake* (*Samantapāsādikā*, *Sāsanavaṃsa*), *mahāraṭṭhako* (*Padarūpasiddhi*), *maharāṭṭhagāmaṃvāsītheresu* (*Sāsanavaṃsa*), *mahāraṭṭhagāmaṃvāsīno* (*Sāsanavaṃsa*), etc. According to phonetics, *mahāraha* and *mahāraṭṭha* can change into *mahāra*. The historical background of this word dates back at least to the time of Asoka, the Maurya Emperor because just as the Theravāda tradition believes, Buddhism officially arrived in Maharashtra at the time of Asoka. This is notified in the *Samantapāsādikā* (I.48) as, *Mahādhammarakkhitatthero pana mahāraṭṭhaṃ gantvā mahānārada-kassapakātakakathāya mahāraṭṭhe pasādetvā caturāsīti pānasahassāni maggaphalesu patiṭṭhāpesi. terasasahassāni pabbajimsu. evaṃ so tattha sāsanam patiṭṭhāpesi.*

Having gone to Maharashtra, Mahādhammarakkhita Thera pleased the residents of Maharashtra and established 84,000 beings in the Path (and its) results. Thirteen thousand people were renounced. In this way he established the teachings of the Buddha there.

It can be definitely said, on the basis of this discussion, that the use of the word *mahāra* is from the Maurya period where it did not

express a particular ‘caste’ or ‘community’ but was used in the sense of ‘excellent’. The residents of a region are addressed by the same name of that region on the basis of geographical structure. Just as the residents of Punjab are called as ‘Punjabi’, people from Bengal are called as ‘Bengali’, residents of Gujarat are called ‘Gujarati’, so also the residents of Mahārāṭṭha can be called ‘Mahāra’. It is ascertained that at least the initial use of the word *mahāra* was geographical and social, in that, the word *mahāra* was used to refer to a region and the residents of that region. When the word began to refer to a particular caste is a subject of a separate research.

Sources

It can be said after considering the sources of the Mhn that this book is based on the ballads and verses from various texts. In the current edition sources of 163 verses out of 254 verses are determined whereas sources of 91 are not. Out of 163 verses whose sources are determined, 95 verses are from the Sanskrit *nīti* texts and 68 are from texts of the Pāli tradition. In the same way 217 verses out of 254 verses are found in the Dhn and 50 from the Ln texts. If we look at the Mhn with reference to the Dhn, one thing that becomes absolutely clear is that the author of the Mhn must have selected the Dhn as the main source for compilation of his book. It seems that the author himself did not use the Sanskrit and the Pāli sources which we have been able to determine as the sources of the verses. The author already had Dhn in front of him and he composed his book on the basis of it. There is a detailed analysis of the sources of Mhn in Concordance (*anviti*) (p. 139-152) and if we look at it, one thing becomes clear that Dhn must have been available to the author of Mhn. That is why the number of verses parallel to Dhn is the highest (216). An analysis of the sources indicates that the *Jātaka*-s are referred to the mostly among Pāli sources. Next comes the *Theragāthā*. Some of the Pāli texts like the *Saddanīti* (written by Aggavaṃsa from Arimaddana in Burma in 1154 CE), the *Subodhālankāra* (written by Saṅgharakkhita in Sri Lanka in the latter half of the 12th century), and the earliest Pāli dictionary the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (ascribed to Moggallāna or Navamoggallāna of Sri Lanka in the late 12th century) which are not known to contain verses on *nīti*, are also used as sources. As far as marking the Sanskrit sources is concerned, sources of 97 verses have been located. The texts in the tradition of Cāṇakya are most widely used. Even though the sources of 91 verses are still not found, it can be said

that there are a very few verses that could be recognized as the original creations of the author of the Mhn. The way in which the authors of Pāli *nīti* texts have compiled their books on the basis of various Pāli and the Sanskrit sources, indicates that these unmarked verses must also be based on one or the other Pāli or the Sanskrit sources, even though we are not able to recognize them now.

Author and time

Not much information about the author and the time of the composition of the Mhn is available. A short note about the author has been written in the 1929 edition of this text (BECHERT and BRAUN 1981: lvi-lix) according to which, the name of the author is Mahāsīlavaṃsa. He was born near Toṅ tvañ krī in the year sakkarāja 830 (1468 CE). A look at Mahāsīlavaṃsa's compositions indicates that king Dutiya-min-khaung or Sirisudhammarājādhipati (1470 CE) patronized him (cf. Bode 1909: 43). It is said about him that he had composed the *Mahārahanīti-Nissaya* which was available in five manuscripts and which was lost for four hundred years. In one of the manuscripts 243 verses are collected and there is an epilogue which was written by Chakkindābhisiri in Ava. According to this epilogue, the Pāli verses were composed by Mahāsīlavaṃsa and *nissaya* by Chakkindābhisiri. The other four manuscripts also contain 243 verses but they do not have the epilogue. Mahāsīlavaṃsa is remembered for his compositions in the Burmese literature of 15th Century. His compositions contain information about the Burmese Atthayojanā of the *Parāyaṇavatthu*, the *Sumedhakathā*, the *Buddhālaṃkāra*, the *Pabbhantara*, the *Nettipakaraṇa* (see Bode 1909: 43). But we do not get any information even from Bode's book that Mahāsīlavaṃsa could have also composed the Mhn. Bechert and Braun inform that,

“It is not improbable that the work was compiled by him or at least during his age but it is impossible to make a more definite statement because Mhn is not mentioned in the lists of his works available from other sources.”

Even though there is no information about the author of the Mhn in other sources, we can at least say according to the Burmese tradition that Mahāsīlavaṃsa is the author of this text and the time of the book can be 15th Century.

A question can be raised after looking to the sources of the Mhn is that whether Mahāsīlavaṃsa should be called the author of the Mhn or just a compiler of *nīti* verses. This question is necessary also because out of the 254 verses, 216 verses directly correspond to the verses in the Dhn. Apart from these, there are many other verses which are also not the creations of the author. As we can see in concordance, the author of Mhn has collected verses on *nīti* even from books like the *Saddanīti*, the *Subodhālaṃkāra*, the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* etc. even though we have not been able to mark sources of all verses, it seems that the author of the Mhn did not compose a single verse himself. He has composed this book by collecting verses from different sources. It is difficult to point out the purpose of the author in composing a book by collecting data from the Dhn and other sources. It is highly probable that it was an attempt to present the contents of the Dhn in brief.

Mahārahanīti, Dhammanīti and Lokanīti

After careful scrutiny of the Mhn and the Dhn, it becomes clear that the author of the Mhn made extensive use of the Dhn to compose his book. Out of the total 254 verses, 216 verses are either the same or appear to be inspired by the verses from the Dhn. Many times even the sequence of the verses in both the books is same, e.g. Dhn 14-15 = Mhn 10-11, Dhn 36-17 = Mhn 24-25, Dhn 38-43 = Mhn 34-39, Dhn 46-48 = Mhn 53-55, Dhn 123-128 = Mhn 129-134, Dhn 272-282 = Mhn 164-167 etc. In three instances the sequence of the verses from Sanskrit and Pāli ballads is the same in Mhn and Dhn (see Dhn 167-168 = Mhn 200-201, Dhn 202-203 = Mhn 245-246, Dhn 205-206 = Mhn 252-253). The author has clearly made improvements in the sequence of the ballads and in the Palitization of Sanskrit verses in comparison to the Dhn. Therefore, we can naturally reach at a conclusion that the Mhn must have been composed after the Dhn and the author must have used the Dhn for his book. There are only four verses in the Mhn and the Ln that are same (see Mhn 4/ Ln 2, Mhn 74 / Ln 58, Mhn 178 / Ln 122, Mhn 186 / Ln 130). After seeing this similarity we can come to a conclusion that being unacquainted with a compilation of any other book, the authors of the Mhn and the Ln must have used the Dhn for the composition of their books.

Meter

The author of the Mhn has mainly used the Siloka meter of eight

letters for his book. The tendency of the author to give importance to short meters is visible even in the transformation of Sanskrit verses. If we throw light on the 254 verses of Mhn, we see that 240 verses are set in the Siloka meter. Apart from this verse nos. 79, 80, 112, 163, 195, 196, 197, 207, 253, 254 are in Tiṭṭhubha (Sanskrit Triṣṭhubha), verse nos. 162, 208 in Jagati, verse no. 111 in Pahāsini (Sanskrit Prahārsiṇī) and verse no. 206 in Vasantatilakā.

Subject Matter

The subject matter of the Mhn is divided into five *kathā*-s. Of the first three verses, the author, bowing to the Great Śākya Sage, calling the Buddha as one who is free from fetters, who is beyond and free from cravings, and the author paid his salutation to the Buddha.¹ Then in the second verse the author says that the Buddha won over the wicked recluses as the world was filled with unrighteousness.² In the third verse the author states the propriety of creating the book saying that the book was composed to win over the malicious people. This third verse contains the word Ln and it seems that the original name of the book was Ln but because there already existed a book of the same name the name of this book was changed to the present name the Mhn on the basis of the first word of the first verse.³ Thus, the name of the book, the worship of the revered and the purpose of creation of the book are mentioned in the first three verses of the book.

After the first three verses, the author divided the rest of the book in five Chapters (*Kathā*-s). The Chapters are: the *Paṇḍitakathā*, the *Sambhedakathā*, the *Mitrakathā*, the *Nāyacakathā*, the *Itthikathā*. The author has used the word *kathā* for the division of the book into chapters which is not seen in the other Pāli Nīti Texts. Even in the Ln, the book prior to the Mhn, the division of the book was into *kaṇḍa*-s. There is no word used for the division in the Dhn. The author of the Mhn must have had books like the *Milindapañha* before him in which the division of *kathā* is found, as the *Bāhīrakathā*, the *Opammakathā* etc. As far as the use of the word *kathā* is concerned, Nyāya Philosophy classified *kathā*

¹*Mahāmahārahaṃ sakyamuniṃ nīvaraṇā raṇā.*

muttaṃ muttam sudassanaṃ vande bodhivaraṃ varaṃ.

²*Muniṇā muniṇāgena duṭṭhā pabbajitā jītā.*

yathā yathā asadhammapāraṇā pūraṇādayo.

³*Tathā tathāgatovādanugāyaṃ lokanītiyaṃ.*

vidunā katayogena jeyyā vānatthakārino.

in three parts, namely, 'vāda', 'jalpa', and 'vitaṇḍa'. The meaning of 'vāda' is to arrive at the truth, the meaning of 'jalpa' is wangling and 'vitaṇḍa' is used in the sense of irrational discussion.

The first chapter of the Mhn is *Paṇḍitakathā*. There is a collection of 77 verses (verses 4 to 80) in this chapter. The *Paṇḍitakathā* begins with an explanation of the importance of *nīti* in the lives of humans. *Nīti*-s are described as 'the essence of beings', 'a friend', 'a teacher' and 'like a father', and an ethical person is called as 'having good intellect', 'prudent' and 'one who can perceive or understand things of welfare'.⁴ The whole subject matter of *Paṇḍitakathā* is not centered around one subject; the author has freely included other topics in it. For instance, there is discussion about sweet speech (Mhn 7, 8), eloquent speech, harm in over speaking (Mhn 11), subject related to carelessness (Mhn 14, 15), who is really wise (Mhn 16), donator (Mhn 17), who is worshipped everywhere (Mhn 17), for whom no one is a stranger (Mhn 18), who does not cross limits (Mhn 21) etc.

The second chapter of the book is *Sambhedakathā*. The verses included in this chapter are verses from 81 to 112. The chapter begins with a description of how the day of an intelligent and evil man starts. Elements of grief and fear do not cause sorrow to a wise man, the science that suppresses pride and that subdues a person can produce pride in a wicked man (Mhn 85), even a trifling done by the virtuous is indelible like a mark on a hard rock (Mhn 86), the wealth of righteous people, even though less, is worthy of usage like the water of a well (Mhn 87) etc. are explained with beautiful similes. In the answer of the question, who is the strongest, it is said that lion is the strongest among animals with legs, the ant is the strongest among insects, a king is strongest among men and death is the strongest of them all (Mhn 90)⁵. While answering the question, which people remain devoid of scientific knowledge, it is said that 'one who sleeps more, enjoying sexual pleasures, desirous of happiness, voluptuous, idle, and busy in actions, these seven kinds of people remain devoid of learning (M. N.93)⁶. Thus, the author has collected *nīti* verses on different subjects

⁴*Nītidhā jantunaṃ sāro mittācariyā ca pītarā.*

nītimā subuddhi byatto sutavā atthadassimā.

⁵*Sapādānaṃ balī sīho puḷvako kipīlikā.*

naro tato balī rājā sabbesaṃ antako balī.

⁶*niddālukāmamodo ca sukḥito bhogavālaso.*

nicchando karnmārāmo ca satt'ete satthavajjitā.

in the second chapter.

The third chapter of the book is *Mitrakathā*. It contains verses from 113 to 163. The chapter begins with a description of foolish person even though the name of the chapter indicates ‘a friend’.⁷ Though the chapter contains 51 verses in all, only 16 verses discuss about a friend and things related to friends. Basically the issues regarding fools, wicked and friends are included in this chapter. Therefore, we can say that the name of the chapter is not appropriate as far as the subject matter is concerned. It would have been better if the author divided the verses accordingly in these three subjects. It seems that the author had to make such an inappropriate division due to the compulsion of dividing the entire book into just five parts.

The fourth chapter of the Mhn is *Nāyakakathā*. A general meaning of the word *nāyaka* could be ‘a person who governs people according to his own order’, e.g. a social or political leader, a king, master etc. This chapter consists of 34 verses from 164 to 197. While explaining ‘how a country becomes prosperous and weak’ it is said in the beginning of the chapter that when a farmer, a merchant, a minister and a virtuous wise recluse are all prosperous then the nation also becomes prosperous (Mhn 164)⁸, and the nation becomes weak when they (i.e. a farmer, a merchant, a minister and a virtuous wise recluse) become weak (Mhn 165). This chapter throws light on how a king should rule over his kingdom, how should a king implement a tax and on such other issues related to a king.

The fifth and last chapter of the Mhn is *Itthikathā*. There are 56 verses in this chapter. It may appear from the name of the chapter that matters related to only women would be discussed in this chapter, but in reality, only 23 verses (198- 219, 229-230) are such that are related to women in some way or the other. The remaining verses (220-228, 231-254) are related to various subjects. It seems that the author has not classified the subject matter properly according to the name of this chapter. In this chapter also the analysis of women is carried out in the well-known typically masculine mentality. We can see this with a few illustrations. The first verse of *Itthikathā* calls a woman deceptive/illusory and

⁷*Katvāna kusalaṃ kammaṃ katvānakusalaṃ pure.
sukhitaṃ dukkhitaṃ hontaṃ so bālo yo na passati.*

⁸*Kassako vāñijo ’macco samaṇo sutasīlavā.
tesu vipulajātesu raṭṭhaṃ pi vipulaṃ siyā.*

cautions us not to deliberate with a woman in solitude without being cautious even if the woman is a mother, a sister or a daughter (Mhn 198)⁹. While describing the sexual enjoyments of women, a verse from the Pāli Kunāla Jātaka is quoted with the explanation that ‘if every woman had eight husbands who are brave, strong and fulfilling all desires, even then she desires a ninth one (because her sexual) desires are never fulfilled’ (Mhn 201)¹⁰. While explaining the fickleness of women it is told that ‘they talk to someone, look at someone else with bodily gestures and think about yet another in their minds’ (Mhn 202)¹¹. Therefore, ‘even if a man with a thousand tongues, lives for a hundred years and talks with great effort, can the description of the vices of women be over?’, of course not (Mhn 203). Women are classified into fire, water, fools, snakes and royal people in this chapter and it is said that one should deliberately stay away from them because all of them can take away your life in an instant (Mhn 204). Similarly, women are grouped with wicked men, poison, animals with horns, diseases, rivers and royal family as all these cannot be trusted (Mhn 205). The wise call trust in a young woman as the door to death (Mhn 207). While explaining how difficult it is to trust women with a simile it is said that ‘one who believes in women completely, could obstruct the wind with a net, overturn an ocean with one hand or clap with one hand’ (Mhn 208)¹².

Conclusion:

In the light of above observation, one thing is clear that the Mahārahanītikāra had composed this text only with the *gāthā*-s taken from the Ln and the Dhn and some other Pāli texts. Very few *gāthā*-s have been composed by the Mahārahanītikāra himself. In this way, despite being a new and independent text, the Mhn has not added some

⁹*Mātarā puttīyā vā pi bhāginiyā vicakkhaṇo.
na vivittāsane mante nārī māyāvīnī nanu.*

¹⁰*Ekamekāya itthiyā aṭṭhaṭṭhapatino siyuṃ.
sūrā ca balavanto ca sabbakāmarasāharā.
kareyya navame chandaṃ ūnattā hi na pūrati.*

¹¹*Lapanti saddhiṃ aññena passant’ aññaṃ savibbhamā.
cittakaṃ cintayant’ aññaṃ nārīnaṃ nāma ko piyo.*

¹²*Vātañca jālena naro parāmase.
osiñcaye sāgaraṃ ekapāṇinā.
sakena tālena janeyya ghosaṃ.
yo sabbabhāvaṃ pamadāsu ussaje.*

new ideas to *nīti* literature of Pāli. It might be possible that due to this fact the text was not well noticed in Burmese Buddhist academia.

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A Field Survey of Historical Guṇamati Mahāvihāra

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Guṇamati, a Buddhist monk, was an expert on consciousness, which was the only school that existed in Southern India around the sixth century CE. He was considered as one of the great scholars of this school during that period. He was the great master of Nālandā Saṅghārāma. It seems the name mentioned in catalogue of Nanjio would be the same mentioned by Xuanzang because the date of that Guṇamati is before the Xuanzang's journey (Nanjio, 1882, p. 377). However, we are getting at least three references of Guṇamati which are well described by Thomas Watters (Watters, 1905, pp.108-110) in his book. On the name of that Guṇamati, there was a monastery in Magadha region which is described by Xuanzang in his diary, fortunately this is the only important source to know this place except A.S.I. reports based on Xuanzang's diary.

According to the Xuanzang's diary, after visiting the Tilāḍhaka Saṅghārāma and the mountain where a stūpa was erected on the spot where Buddha stood and saw Magadha (Watters, 1905, p.108), we can see a similar account in Pāli literature too. In Pāli version (Kashyap, 1956, p.303), Buddha saw the Magadha's paddy field and said that the robes of a monk should look like the paddy field of Magadha¹. But this place is around Rājgira area according to Pāli source which is not in the direction and place mentioned by Xuanzang. After this place Xuanzang went towards 30 Li, North-west side and reached Guṇamati monastery (Watters, 1905, p.108) which is considered to be situated near the slope of mountain near modern-day's village Dharawat (Dharaut), Jehanabad District.

There was a monastery which was backed by the ridge, the high chambers being hewn out of the cliff. In this monastery, there were fifty monks, and they all believed in the Mahāyāna (Great vehicle). It was ¹*“passasi no tvaṃ, ānanda, magadhakhettaṃ acchibaddhaṃ pālibaddhaṃ mariyādabaddhaṃ siṅghāṭakabaddha”nti? “Evaṃ, bhante”ti. “Ussahasi tvaṃ, ānanda, bhikkhūnaṃ evarūpāni cīvarāni samvidahitu”nti? “Ussahāmi, bhagavā”ti”*

built in the memory of Guṇamati who was considered as a Bodhisattva, who vanquished here during the discussion on the great Sāṅkhya scholar Mādhava. Xuanzang described that discussion and the result of Mādhava's defeat (Watters, 1905, p.108).

According to the story of Xuanzang (Rongxi, 1996, pp. 208-12): "Once upon a time, there was a Brahmin named Mādhava on this mountain, who was a follower of the theories of the Sāṅkhya school and practiced the same diligently. He was an expert in both Buddhist and heretical doctrines and could speak well on the principles of non existence and existence. His fame excelled that of his predecessors and his virtue won the respect of his contemporaries. The king esteemed him as a national treasure and the ministers and common people honoured him as their teacher. Scholars of neighbouring countries accepted his style of learning, respected him for his virtue and regarded him as a pioneer. He was indeed a learned and erudite man. He lived on the fief of two cities in an abode surrounded by feudal lands.

At that time Guṇamati Bodhisattva of South India was known as a person of intelligence and he had this reputation ever since he was only a child. In his childhood, he was very clever in learning, had thoroughly mastered the Tripiṭaka, and perfectly understood the Four Noble Truths. When he heard that Mādhava's theories were most profound and obscure, he decided to frustrate his vanity. He sent a disciple to the Brahmin with the following message, "I respectfully inquire after Mādhava's health and hope you are living in peace and happiness. It befits you to forget about fatigue and make a good review of your past learning. In three years I shall put an end to your good repute."

In the second and third years, he repeated the message to the Brahman. When he was about to start on the journey [to see the brahman] he wrote another letter to him, saying, "The time is drawing to an end. How is the progress of your studies? You should know that I am coming soon." Greatly worried and afraid, Mādhava warned his disciples and asked feudal tenants should not take any śramaṇa or heathen, and he told them to pass the notice to all others and not to infringe the admonition. At that time Guṇamati Bodhisattva came with his staff to of Mādhava's fief but the tenants, in keeping with the pre arrangement, refused to give him lodging.

According to our traditional knowledge, that debate between Mādhava

and Guṇamati lasted several days, each day after feeling more and more difficult in answering the question of Guṇamati, Mādhavācārya took rest giving the excuse of old age. Finally, due to shame, he died then his wife went there for debate with Guṇamati, then Guṇamati knew about the death of Mādhava by seeing the face of his wife. Thus, Guṇamati won the debate.

It seems that similar stories travelled in Magadha region at that time because I have encountered almost the same story during my visit to Mahisi Village in Saharsha district of modern Bihar in 2017, which is a famous Tāntric place for Hindus who worship Ugra-Tārā (Buddhist deity) as a Hindu deity. Tārā is a Buddhist deity having Buddha's figure on the top of the head but according to their tradition, they consider it a Hindu deity. This place appears like a location of Tāntric Buddhism which might be converted into a Hindu *Tāntrika Pīṭha* after the decline of Buddhism in Magadha. In this village, there is a popular story of the great debate of Maṇḍana Mishra and Ādi Śaṅkarācārya.

According to this story, when Ādi Śaṅkarācārya started his journey to defeat other sectarian views, he reached Prayāga (Allahabad) where Kumārila set fire to burn himself for betraying his teacher from whom he had learned stealthily the tenets of Buddhism. Kumārila recognized Śaṅkara, narrated to him his work against the Buddhists, his awareness about Śrī Śaṅkara's Bhāṣyas and his desire to write a Vārtika (explanatory treatise) on his Bhāṣyas.

Kumārila explained how he was not in a position to break his vow of expiation and therefore asked him to meet his disciple Maṇḍana Mishra. He added that if Śaṅkara could defeat Maṇḍana Mishra, it would be possible to clear all obstacles in the mission that Śaṅkara had undertaken. Maṇḍana Mishra's actual name was Viśwarūpa and he was the most renowned protagonist of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā School which is the ritualistic interpretation of the Vedas. Śaṅkara then proceeded to Maṇḍana's place called Mahishmati, in the present-day Bihar. According to some scholars, the present Mahisi (Position: 25° 51' 13.104" N 86° 28' 11.46" E) village of Saharsa district is the ancient Mahishmati. According to another theory it is at the confluence of the Narmadā and Mahishmati rivers, near Omkarnāth in Madhya Pradesh.

However I have visited Bihar's Mahishi and they (villagers) told me the folklore of that place and showed me the ruined home of

Maṇḍan Mishra (Seems Buddhist remains), and they told me a similar story that this village was so enlightened that the even parrot of Maṇḍan Mishra could speak fluent Sanskrit and lower caste people could also speak Sanskrit. The wife of Maṇḍana Mishra was also a good scholar. Śaṅkarācārya and Maṇḍan Mishra had a debate in which the judge was Maṇḍan Mishra's wife, and the debate continued for seven days and at the end, Maṇḍan Mishra was defeated. Then the judge of this debate who was wife of Maṇḍan Mishra said that this was only half victory of Śaṅkarācārya, because she is the better-half her husband. She asked him to defeat her also to get a complete victory. She asked him some questions related to sex. Śaṅkarācārya was a monk (Hindu sage) who had no experience of these things so he took permission for some time and entered the body of a dead person. Then he understood the answer and defeated her.

It seems that this story can be genuine but it is also possible that it was copied to Hindu literature later on because Śaṅkarācārya belongs to 8th CE but the story of Guṇamati belongs to the sixth century CE. This story was described by Xuanzang who visited India before Śaṅkarācārya's incident and so we need further research to verify the veracity of this story.

Now we come to the place described by Xuanzang, as we know that this place has not been mentioned in Buddhist literature widely. If we see the place based on Xuanzang's diary we will reach around Dharaut Village which has a vast amount of Buddhist antiquities (Picture attached in annexure) and mounds (Location: Position: 25° 3' 27" N 85° 3' 13" E). Scholars have widely recognized this place with Guṇamati Vihāra among which Beglar (Beglar, 1878, pp.37-39; Cunningham, 1883, p.54) was the first person who has recognized this place as Guṇamati Vihāra. After Xuanzang, we get the name of this place from Francis Buchanan (Jackson, p.11) who visited this location on 20th November which is mentioned in his diary quite briefly.

Besides this Major Kittoe, paid a visit and he also did not give much information (Kittoe, 1847, p. 402). Alexander Cunningham (Cunningham, 1871, pp.53-55) visited this place twice (in 1862 & 1880) and mentioned this place in his map but he did not give any details or identified it with that village in his book "Geography of Ancient India". Beglar (Beglar, 1878, pp.37-39; Patil, 1998, p 115) also visited this

place and mentioned the ruins in his report of the year 1872.

Dharaut village is situated in the north-west side of renowned Barabar hills, from where the hill of Siddheshwar Mahādeva temple can be easily seen at a distance of 10 kilometers. It is believed that this place is known by some other names like Kañcanapura, Dharmapuri, Dharmapura or Dharmāvara (Cunningham & Garricks, 1883, p. 41). These names came from the folklores related to the legendary King Padmachakra whose son named Chandrasena is believed to have excavated the tank called *Chandokhar Tāl*. Various local legends exist about this legendary Raja Chandrasena but neither he nor his father is mentioned in any reliable historical source. The legends further offer no clue concerning the historical interpretation of the ruins at the place (Patli, 1998, p 115). When I visited this place in 2020, I found the same story related to this place.

Cunningham has given a detailed report in his report published in 1862-65 as well as he has given the sketch plan of showing the location of various ancient remains available in Dharaut village in his report of 1880-81 (Cunningham & Garricks, 1883, pp.39-46). Cunningham mentions that two distinct ridges are running from west to east, two miles in length with three peaks named Sakeya, Gureya and Dhaoli. The nearest road from Barabar to Dharawat lies through a pass between the Gureya and Dhauri hills (Cunningham, 1871, p.54). In his report of 1880-81, he mentioned that there was a road from Barabar to Dharawat through a pass between the Gureya Hill and Kunwa Hill. He identified the hypothesis of Kunwa (Koonwa) as Gunava which is resembling the similar phonetics of Guṇava (Guṇamati) and can be easily identified with it (Cunningham & Garricks, 1883, p.40), I also think that this monastery was destroyed later and the name of Guṇamati became Kunma then Kunwa (Koonwa).

Nowadays, that mountain is known as Guṇi as per the information given by villagers of Dharaut, which is also similar to the first four characters of Guṇamati. Presently, we can see few other roads but it is still the shortest route for this place which is around 13 kilometers in distance mentioned by Cunningham. Cunningham observed that the northern ridge consists of a single hill named Ratani, which in former days was occupied by some establishment of the Buddhist people. On the northern slope of the hill, two brick terraces have been built up

against a rock. He also gave some additional information related to the Buddhist establishment in that place (Cunningham, 1871, p.54).. He had noticed two broken Buddhist figures, and beneath it, there are four others, of which one bears the usual Buddhist formula of “*Ye Dharmā Hetu Prabhavā*” in the script of the 9th or 10 CE. Cunningham could not make out a plan of the building as it was badly disturbed. Most of the images found here by the villagers had been carried off to the modern temples in the surrounding villages. Three Buddhist images were, however, still found left in 1880-81 of which one was of a life-size figure in excellent preservation, which I could not find at that place during my visits and the remains were almost neglected. On 2nd February 2020, I visited this village again and could get three inscribed images from different places. I also found one inscription on Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara’s pedestal which is at Narsimha temple, which was almost faded because of using colour and water on it by Hindus, which was inscribed on the right side of pedestal near the legs. It was so faded that I couldn’t take a clear picture of Avalokiteśvara (Picture No. 1).

Picture No. 1: Inscription on the pedestal of Avalokiteśvara, Narshimha Temple, Dharaut, Pic. Arun Kumar Yadav



The second inscription (Picture No. 3) I found on one broken statue which was lying outside among several statues (Picture No. 2) of the modern temple (Picture No. 5) of *Mahiṣāsura Mardinī* (Local: Kālī Temple, Location: 25°3’27” NL, 85°3’13” EL) on the *Gaḍha* (Mound mentioned by

British people, in Bihar generally people call mound as *Gadha*) which I recognised as “*Ye dharmā hetu prabhavā..*” (Picture No. 3)

Picture No. 2: Inscribed statue (right side) along with other sculptures lying outside temple, Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav



Picture No. 3: Inscription on broken statue lying in front of Mahiṣāsura Mardīnī Temple, Dharaut, Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav, 02/02/2020



In the temple, they worship *Mahiṣāsura Mardīnī* (Image No. 4) statue which was damaged itself and Kālī statue (Picture No. 6) while

few Buddhist votive stūpas lying inside and outside of temple as well as one Buddhist statue.

Picture No. 4: Image of *Mahiṣāsura Mardinī* in Kālī temple, Dharaut, Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav, 02/02/2020



Picture No. 5: Image of *Mahiṣāsura Mardinī* Temple (Kālī temple), Dharaut, Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav, 02/02/2020



Picture No. 6: Image of Kāli at Kāli temple, Dharaut, Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav, 02/02/2020



I found a third inscribed image (Picture No. 8) among several other statues and votive-s (Picture No.7) outside of *Buḍhavā Mahādeva* Temple (Location: 25°3'22" NL, 85°2'46" EL) which was the longest inscription among all three inscriptions which I could not decipher (Picture No.8).

Picture No. 7: Inscribed statue among other statues at Buḍhavā Mahādeva Temple, Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav



**Picture No. 8: Inscribed statue at Buḍhavā Mahādeva Temple,
Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav**



According to Cunningham, there was a large tank called Chandokhar Tāl to the north of the Ratani Hill (Picture No. 1; Location: 25°3'22" NL, 85°2'45" EL). Surprisingly, Xuanzang has not discussed any huge pond and it is very strange how he has ignored this pond. So we can guess that it has been dug up later. According to Cunningham, that pond was 200 feet in length and 800 feet in width, he had seen one Mahādeva (Shiva) temple (Location: 25°3'29" NL, 85°1'58" EL, Picture No.9) also in the same location. Near that temple is another Narshimha Temple (Picture No. 10; Location: 25°3'29" NL, 85°1'58" EL) which was in small size but during my visit, I saw quite a big temple having the Narshimha statue (Picture No. 11) only inside the temple.

I asked the question about the age of the statue. The priest told me that his forefathers told him that it is around 40 years old and also informed me that once the statue was stolen from temple, it seems that Cunningham has mentioned the same temple but not the same statue. Inside Mahādeva temple, there are several statues of Hindu gods and goddesses which seems newer, but in the surrounding of the temple, I could see a few statues votives related to Buddhism.

**Picture No. 9 : Mahādeva Temple, Dharaut; Picture:
Arun Kumar Yadav; 25/01/2020**



**Picture No. 10, Narshiṃha Temple, Dharaut; Picture: Arun Kumar
Yadav, on 25th January 2020**



Picture No. 11, Narshīma Statue, Dharaut; Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav, on 25th January 2020



Regarding Chandrokhār Tāl they told me the story related to King Chandrasena but it was not detailed like Cunningham's report which he heard from local people. It is worth mentioning here the story of Cunningham which he heard by Bal Govind Upadhyaya (Cunningham & Garricks, 1883, p. 41), as follows:

There was a king called Padmachakra, whose ministers were Bhisam or Bhikham; neither of them had a son, and through both were old, they were induced to make a pilgrimage to some Rishi on the bank of the Ganges, after which the King had a son named Chandrasena, and his minister also had a son named Bhoranand. Chandrasena had a fight with his sister's son named Somadatta whom he slew; but after the battle, the king found that he could not release the dagger from the hand which had killed him.

One day a thirsty calf came towards him and the Rājā placed a pot of water before it and the calf drank up eagerly. Immediately, the

dagger became loose in his grasp. “Then the Raja, in remembrance of this event, determined to make a pond, which should extend as far as his horse could travel without stopping. By the minister’s advice, he turned his horse’s head to the south, and the animal was accordingly soon brought to stand-still by the Kunwan Hill. The next morning the king himself dug out five baskets of earth, and his followers did the same, except Rajput soldier, who sat still with his sword in his hand. When Raja asked him why he did not bring some baskets of the earth like the rest, he replied that he was a soldier and was used only to carry arms and letters.

On hearing this, the *Rājā* (King) gave him a letter to Bhikham, King of Lanka or Ceylon, and ordered him to bring back a *lāṭa* or a monolith pillar, to place in the middle of the pond. Bhikham accordingly gave up the pillar which the soldier carried; but as he got near Dharawat the cock crew, and he was therefore obliged to drop it at once at a place now called *Lāṭa* (Lat village), only three kosa (mile) to the east of Dharawat, where it still lies”. This is the well-known monolith of *Lāṭa*, eight miles to the east of Dharawat. It is 53 feet long without either an ornament or an inscription.

When I investigated that *Lāṭa*, then I found that same *Lāṭa* in a village named *Lāṭa* just in the northeast direction of Dharaut village, there is an extraordinary monolith lies in open field which is same as described by him as follow: *Lāṭa* (means a granite column) (Picture No. 12; Location: 25°6’48” NL, 85°10’0” EL), measuring 53.1 feet long. The capital and pedestal are quadrangular, the former is 86 inches long and 36 inches in diameter; the base is 70 inches long and 40 in diameter. The shaft has 16 plain sides and 38.5 inches above, the pedestal contracts its diameter suddenly by about 3 inches. The sides are quite straight and well-cut but are not polished. The pillar is lying horizontally, about half of its thickness sunk into the earth and is placed amid cultivated plain without the smallest trace of old buildings or tanks near it. On the pedestal and capital are two cavities like those of a mortar used for beating rice, which is shown as the marks made by the heads of two anonymous persons who brought the pillar from Nepal.

Picture No. 12: Pillar at Lāṭa village, Gaya; Picture; Arun Kumar Yadav, 02/02/2020



The local tradition of Lāṭa village asserts that it was intended to be placed in the Chandokhar tank at Dharawat. It entirely resembles the granite of Barabar hills and so we can guess that it was probably been cut there and has been carried so far on its way to Kundilpur. But, I was told a little bit different stories during my visit in 2020, according to the old man around 85 years old that according to folklores, this stone is the peace of bow of Sītā which they call it as Jāṭa or Jāṭa baba, as we know by a legend that the bow of Sītā is of Mahādeva which cannot be lifted by ordinary men, Lord Rama lifted this bow during his marriage ceremony as it was a mandatory requirement that who will lift the bow can only marry Sītā .

He also told me that two demons were carrying this lāṭa (peace of Sītā 's bow) to the other place, and there was a curse that if they put down it at any place then it could not be lifted again and work should be done before rising the sun. The work would have done on the same night as demons are more powerful in the night but the demons heard the sound of the earth smith's working sound while crossing this village and they were frightened by the sound and thought soon sun will be rising and they will be killed, so they threw the pillar in this place and ran away. So no one could lift this pillar after that incident. According to the local people this incident created a curse on the village,

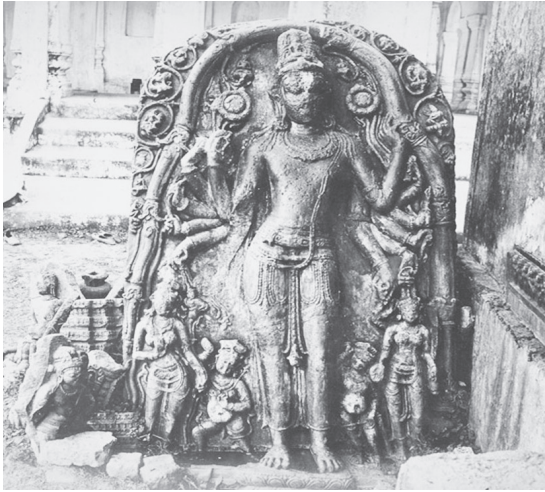
according to which *Pachapauniyā* {Five castes: Dhobi (Washerman), Kahāra, Kumhāra (Earth Smith), Nāu (Barber), Baḍhai (Carpenter)} will not have a baby boy if they live in this village. So only people from Bhumihar and Brahmin castes live here. In this village, nothing else has historical value except this Lāṭa and one mound outside the village in northern direction.

Many other fanciful legends were told of Raja Chandrasena, one of which relates how he went to Sankal-dwipa, where he married a fairy. The pond formed by Raja Chandrasena is still called after him as Chanda Pokhar (The meaning of Chandra is moon and the Pokhar means pond). This word is shortened to Chandokhar and Chunnokhar. A. Cunningham had seen one temple in the western bank of the lake, where he had seen two nearly perfect statues (Location: 25°3'29" NL, 85°1'58" EL) along with numerous fragments of sculpture and small votive stūpa in which one sculpture was life-size figure which was identified as Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Cunningham, 1871, p. 54) which was 5 1/2 feet in height having 12 arms with different armaments, animals, horse, elephant, etc and also the famous line "*Ye Dharmā Hetu prabhavā...*". In his report of 1861-61, A. Cunningham identified that statue as Bodhisattva Avlaokiteśvara (Picture No. 13 & 14) which is known as Bhairava (Name of Hindu deity) by villagers (Cunningham, 1871, p. 54) but in 1880-81's description he described very well but did not give any name (Cunningham & Garricks, 1883, p. 42).

It appears that Cunningham made a small mistake in giving the location of this statue, according to the first report (Cunningham, 1871, p. 54) it is the eastern side of the lake while according to the second report (Cunningham & Garricks, 1883, p. 42) it is placed on the western side of Chandrokhar tank. In my opinion, the first location is the correct description, even on 25th January 2020, I have seen the same statue (Picture No. 14), standing in the open air on the ground outside between Narsimha temple and Mahādeva temple, supported by the plinth of Narsimha temple. Cunningham (Cunningham, 1871, p. 54) has noticed several statues containing the row of Buddhas and several fragments of a votive stūpa and two slabs of *Navagraha* or "nine planets" beside the statue of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, which can be seen in the Picture no. 13, in those sculptures only a few slabs containing the row of Buddhas can be seen beside the statue of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and the panel of *Navagraha* or "nine planets" is missing from that place

(Picture No. 13) and they might be stolen. Besides this, he had noticed (Cunningham, 1871, p. 54) numerous fragments of the sculpture under a Pipal tree (Bo tree) and two of them had the inscription of the 9th-10th century. Now they are also missing from that place. All the pictures of that place are mentioned in the annexure of Dharauat.

Picture No. 13: Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara; Picture Courtesy : Thomas Fraser Peppé-1870, British Museum



Picture No. 14: Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara; Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav, 25th January 2020



Alexander Cunningham (Cunningham, 1871, p. 55) found an extensive mound to the north-east of Chandrokhar Tāla and he guessed that that mound was the remains of the former town of Dharawat. In the north-west corner of the mound, there were two small eminences, which may be the remains of the temples, based on several remains he suggested that it should be a seat of Buddhist community about 8th-9th CE.

In Dharawat, Alexander Cunningham excavated some mounds on the hill. He had seen some mounds on the Kunwaan mountain. During my visit, I saw the three remains of mound on the top of the mountain which is marked in the picture (Picture No. 15 Locations of Stūpa-Stūpa No. 2 ; (Location: 25°5'27" NL, 85°2'34" EL); Stūpa No. 1 (Location: 25°3'11" NL, 85°3'49" EL); Stūpa No. 3 (Location: 25°3'11" NL, 85°3'49" EL).

Picture No. 15: Remains of Stūpa on the top of Goonwan (Guni) Mountain and view of Chandrokhar Tāl, Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav, 25/02/2020



Besides this, he had excavated a mound situated around the village in which he found a half-life- size female statue which was deposited in the temple, a small figure having Buddhist characters “*Mahā Samaṇa*” which according to him should belong to Gupta period i.e. not later than 6th CE. which are untraceable now. In February 1882, he excavated some part of the monastery on the hill in which he found several Buddhist monastic remains. When Beglar visited this place after ten years, he found that the villagers had dug out several things and left

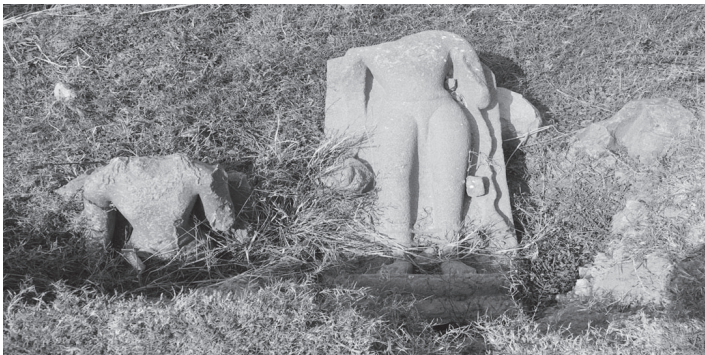
almost nothing other than some remains.

I have been also reported that several things were there earlier but now almost everything has vanished. Mr. Deepak Dangi, a heritage lover of this village told me the story of a nearby ruined monastery that had a statue called *Ḍheluā Bābā* (In common language a piece of stone or solid piece of soil is called '*Ḍhelā*' and Bābā means God). The villagers used to hit that statue. I could not find one statue beside a solid piece of stone at that place. Mr. Dangi told me that they still do it at this place but statue is damaged or stolen, but since his childhood he heard all these stories. Close to that place I noticed two statues in the open field (Picture No. 17).

Picture No. 16: Ancient Remains of Guṇamati Monastery where they also use stone as *Ḍheluā Baba*, Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav



Picture No. 17: Buddha's statue lying in the field near Guṇamati Vihāra, Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav



Here, it is worth mentioning the similar story of Nālandā (Tripathi, 1998, pp. 260-61). Because of Brahmanical interference, one Buddha's statue is being worshipped by villagers as *Teliyā Bābā* (Oily God) (Picture No. 18) who is an incarnation of *Bhairava* (Hindu god). In the past, another Buddha's statue was there near to *Teliyā Bābā* which was known as *Ḍheluā Bābā* (In common language a piece of stone or solid piece of soil is called '*Ḍhelā*' and *Bābā* means God). Now due to great popularity and frequent visits of foreigners, this Place (*Teliyā Bābā*) becomes famous as 'Black Buddha'. Now, this temple is a very famous destination of Thai Buddhists. But the priest of that temple is a Hindu Brahmin and he told me that he knew that it was a statue of Buddha. But he insisted that it was Bhairav who was incarnated.

According to the local myth related to *Teliyā Bābā* and *Ḍheluā Bābā*, when a child affected by anaemia used to visit *Teliyā bābā* who was very healthy, so that prayed they if his kids would be healthy like *bābā*, they will pour the body of *Teliyā bābā* with *Tela* (Oil). Before visiting or after visiting they used to throw a stone on *Ḍheluā Bābā* (Picture no. 19 in Nālandā Museum) which belongs to 11th-12th CE, so that *Ḍheluā Bābā* will go and request *Teliyā bābā* to recover their child as soon as possible so that the next day, they will not beat him again. Here we can see that both are Buddhist Statutes but one gained prominence after linking it with Hinduism and one was beaten, even this tradition is still going on. Due to the continuous damage, *Ḍheluā Bābā* changed his place to Nālandā Museum in the year 1956, and people forgot that statue but myth continued and later on a prominent statue of *Mārichi* (Buddhist Goddess, Picture No. 20) which is not far from *Teliyā bābā*, was used to worship as *Durgā* in the temple, which is also known as *Ḍheluā Bābā* and people still beat it as per old tradition.

So, the owner of that land prepared a shelter for that statue and put the narrow spaced gate so that people cannot throw stones. He told me that even till date people try to do it and shown me stones and pallets in the *Mārichi* temple.

Picture No. 18: *Teliyā bābā Bhairava Teliyā Bhaṇḍāra*, also known as Black Buddha, Nālandā , Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav



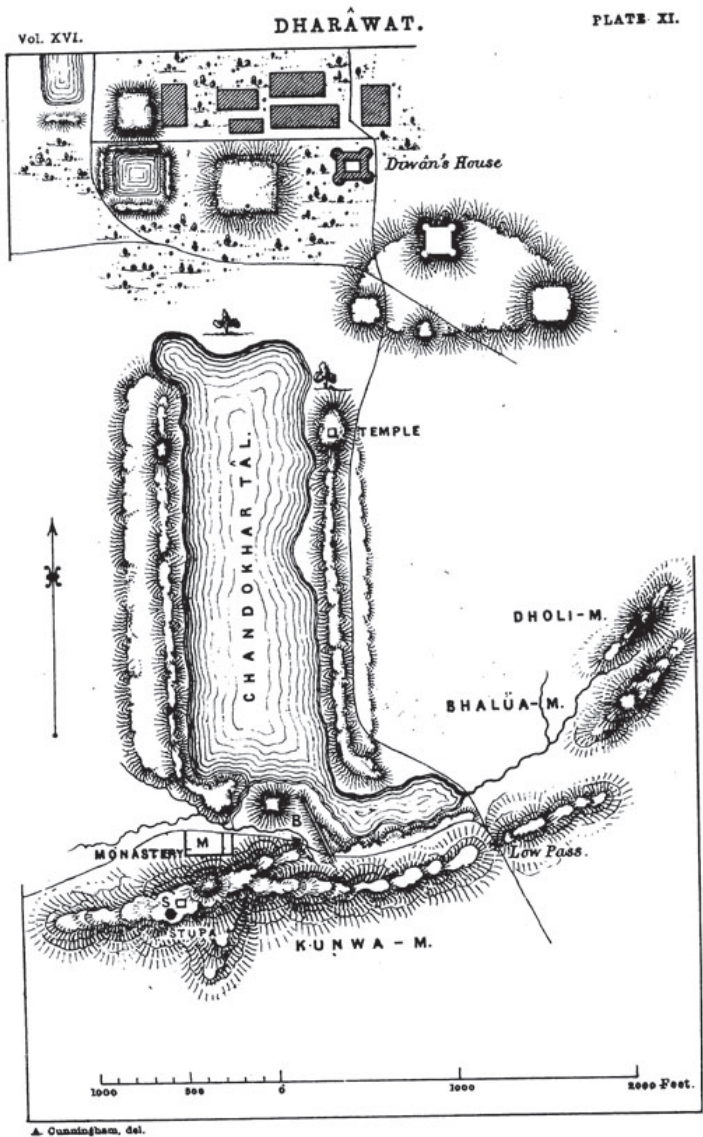
Picture No. 19: *Ḍheluā Bābā* which is now in Nālandā Museum, Nālandā , Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav



Picture No. 20: Buddhist Deity Mārichi which is known as Durgā and Dhelūā Bābā now a days, Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav



Map No. 1, Map Courtesy: Alexander Cunningham



Alexander Cunningham had provided several other important descriptions of that Place which are very important to understand the

scenario of that period after Xuanzang's description. He had also drawn a map of Dharawat and described mounds, monasteries, the stūpa, etc which can be seen in Map No.1. He had found several clay seals on which Buddhist images and characters are written These belong to the Gupta period to 10th -11th CE. He had also found a silver punch-marked coin (Picture No. 21) which he placed around 3rd-4th BC; he also found some burial ground near Gunava mountain. Beglar had also seen some monastic remains near the low approach road for Barābara hill where he had seen a burial ground also (Beglar, 1878, pp.37-39; Patil, 1998, pp.117-18).

Picture No. 21, Courtesy: Alexander Cunningham



Mr. Dangi told me that this village is famous for six ponds and six Gaḍha (mound) which can be seen in this village although other ponds are much smaller than Chandrokhar. According to him on some *Gaḍha* (mounds) now people live here but can be identified, he also told me that even today in digging we find several antiquities and statues which are kept in a personal collection. During my visit Mr. Deepak Dangi showed me his personal collection in which we can see the several clay sealing, pottery, NBP, toys, etc which can be related to even Mauryan period according to the views of my archaeologist friend.

**Courtesy: Mr. Deepak Dangi's Collection of Antiquities;
Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



I have seen three to four mounds in my visit in which one is known as Gaḍha par second one is known as Diwan's house which is known as *Diwan ki Kacahari*. People are living on other mounds but they could also be identified easily. I have also seen many temples inside the villages in which there were many Hindu and Buddhist sculptures. Among them, the most important one was near Buḍhavā Mahādeva Sthān which is lying in the field known as Nāga Sthāna. The statue is protected by Nāga (Snake) and so this place is called *Nāgasthāna* (Place of snake). It is a beautiful statue in two pieces.

Picture No. 21 & 22 : Statue at Nāgasthāna, Dharaut, Pic: Arun Kumar Yadav, 02/02/2020



All the important pictures related to the places attached in annexure with a description of finding Place. In conclusion, we can say that Dharawat is a very ancient village having important Ancient Buddhist historical relics inside its land which was only described in Xuanzang's diary in 7th CE. This place needs proper attention and preservation so that we can again glorify the legacy of Guṇamati Mahāvihāra on world map.

Annexure (Dharaut/ Dahrawat)

**Statue of Jambhala at Narsimha Temple,
Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



**Buddhist Relief at Narshimha Temple,
Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



**Buddhist Relief at Narshimha Temple,
Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



**Buddhist Relief at Mahādeva Temple,
Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



**Buddhist Images and Relief at Mahādeva Temple,
Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



**Broken statue of Śiva Pārvati and Buddhist Relief at Mahādeva
Temple, Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



**Votive Stūpa inside Mahādeva Temple,
Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



**Votive Stūpa outside Narshimha Temple,
Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav**



Decorative pillar outside Narshimha Temple, Picture: Arun Kumar Yadav



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The Economic Thoughts of Gautama Buddha with special reference to the Parābhavasutta

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Abstract

The *Suttanipāta* is an important and ancient text of Pāli Tipiṭaka literature. The *Parābhavasutta* of the *Suttanipāta* is an important discourse which suggests a fine guideline to be free from downfall in family life because its preachings give causes of downfall and essential practices of ethics which can avoid those failures including financial or spiritual decline. It helps in the protection of wealth as well as moral values which are very essential for a peaceful and happy human life.

Keywords: *The Suttanipāta, the Uragavagga, the Parābhavasutta, attha, dhana*

Introduction

The *Suttanipāta* is one of the most important works of the *Suttapiṭaka*.¹ The subject matter of this book is classified into five sections which are known as *Uragavagga* (Snake Chapter), *Cūlavagga* (Lesser Chapter), *Mahāvagga* (Great Chapter), *Aṭṭhakavagga* (Octet Chapter), and *Parāyaṇavagga* (The Chapter on the Way to the Far Shore). It consists of 1149 verses, with some prose passages, arranged in five vaggas.² The first section entitled the *Uragavagga* consists of twelve discourses and the *Parābhavasutta* is the sixth discourse of it as well as the *Suttanipāta*.³ The *Parābhavasutta*⁴ has been preached

¹Bimala Churn Law, *A History of Pali Literature*, Delhi: Indological Book House, 1983, p.232.

²K.R. Norman, *A History of Indian Literature*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, p.63.

³*Gandhavamso* (Ed.) Bimalendra Kumar, Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1992, p.3.

⁴*Suttanipāta* (Ed. & Tr.) Bhikshu Dharmarakshit, Delhi: Motilal Banarasisiddas Publishers Private Limited, 2010, pp.24-29.

by Gautama Buddha in prose and poetry style. The introduction of the discourse is given in prose style. In addition to it, it consists of twenty five Pāli verses. The questions have been asked by deity, and the answer of the asked questions have been given by Gautama Buddha. Hence, the causes of the downfall have been described in the form of twelve verses. The subject matter of this discourse is just opposite to the theme of the *Mahāmaṅgalasutta*, the sixteenth discourse of the *Suttanipāta*. But, it is very useful for family life as well as ordained life.

Gautama Buddha's View on Wealth

Buddhism provides a righteous way of healthy and peaceful life. It is not only preached for monks and nuns to gain spirituality but also for welfare of householders. It is true that Gautama Buddha was not an economist, but never denied the importance of wealth in happy human life. He had not shown His interest in formulating a systematic economic philosophy.⁵ No one can say that He did not give any economic philosophy, as He had preached many discourses related to the economic development of lay community. He did not disregard the welfare and materialistic development of lay community and preached His *dhamma* for the welfare of both. We find many discourses which give unique guideline for the righteous management of wealth. In this connection, the *Parābhavasutta* of the *Suttanipāta*⁶ is also one of the discourses which describes about the economic thoughts of Gautama Buddha.

Wealth plays very significant role in the fulfillment of necessities of a happy human life. In Pāli literature, the term '*dhana*' is used for wealth and one more word '*attha*' is used in the sense of welfare and wealth, also in the sense of success. It relates to the various aspects of man's socio-economic development such as the economy, politics, education, health, law and morality.⁷ According to Gautama Buddha, wealth should be utilized for food, clothing and shelter, attending to parents, wives, children and servants, illness and other emergencies, charity, treating relatives, treating guests and visitors, alms in memory of the departed, meritorious acts to offer merit to deities; payment of

⁵Gyanaditya Shakya, *Human Values and Buddhist Ethics*, Nagpur: Sangyan Prakashan, 2020, p.275.

⁶*Gandhavamsa* (Ed. & Tr.) Gyanaditya Shakya, Ahmadabad: Reliable Publishing House, 2017, p.30.

⁷Gyanaditya Shakya, *Human Values and Buddhist Ethics*, Ibid., p.276.

taxes and dues to the state.⁸ The wealth is classified into two parts that are material wealth and spiritual wealth.⁹ The material wealth consists of money, movable and immovable property, house, cattle etc. Buddhist literature mentions that the cattles were the greatest asset for agriculture and were helpful for economic development in life. From the cattle, man obtains many useful things like milk, ghee, curd, butter etc. which he uses as food and sells for money also. The spiritual wealth is the thing which can be achieved through the practice of the righteous path preached by Gautama Buddha. The spiritual wealth can be considered as mental property, which can be gained by monks and lay people both.

The Economic Thoughts described in the Parābhavasutta

The *Parābhavasutta* is well known discourse which describes about the causes of downfall of the failures of human life. However, it teaches about the protection of wealth which helps to provide the economic security. In this connection, the economic thoughts of Gautama Buddha based on the *Parābhavasutta* may be understood in the following ways:

One who wants to enjoy human life and, also wants to achieve economic prosperity, one has to avoid the love towards bad people, avoid the hate towards good people, and avoid the beliefs of vicious in each and every moment of life. One, who has avoided these three things in one's life, may protect one's wealth. After protecting wealth, one can achieve the real happiness and prosperity in human life. That is why; Gautama Buddha advised His followers not to associate to the evil companions and should always associate with noble men. Friendship with the wicked person brings unfortunate, decline in wealth and moral values. In the *Parābhavasutta*, He said:

*Asantassa piyā honti, sante na kurute piyaṃ.
Asataṃ dhammaṃ roceti, taṃ parābhavato mukhaṃ.*¹⁰

The vicious are dear to him. In the virtuous he finds nothing pleasing. He favors the creeds of the vicious - this is the cause of one's downfall.

The heart of bad person is filled with bad thoughts. Due to the bad

⁸*The Book of the Gradual Sayings (the Aṅguttara-Nikāya) (Vol.II)* (Tr.) F.L. Woodward, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited, 2006, p.65.

⁹Gyanaditya Shakya, *Human Values and Buddhist Ethics*, Ibid., p.276.

¹⁰*Buddha's Teachings Being The Suttanipāta or Discourse-Collection* (Eds.) Lord Chalmers, Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited, 1997, p.28.

mental factors, the bad person does bad deeds in his life, and is far away from the real happiness. If one, who comes in the contact of bad person, bad habits like laziness, extravagance, taking the intoxicating liquors, spirits, drugs, etc. may occur. The association of bad people plays an important role in the economic life of human beings. The association of bad people may destroy the person financially. Due to the heedlessness, person cannot earn wealth. It is very common that person has to waste his earned wealth for the fulfillment of bad habits, and also has to borrow money from relatives and friends. One, who loves bad people or bad friends, may lose his earned wealth. Because of this type of bad friends, one may not get the right ways to earn wealth for one's life. Hence, one should avoid bad company for the protection of wealth. The avoidance of bad people brings happiness and economic prosperity. Because of these various disadvantages, one should abstain from the love towards bad people, so that one can be able to protect one's wealth for the gain of economic prosperity.

The habit of love towards bad people may be the cause of the development of jealousy and hate towards good people, and it is very common also. But, one should not hate the good people or friends. Having thought about these types of various disadvantages from the association of bad people or the love towards the bad people, Gautama Buddha taught to avoid such harmful people. In the *Maṅgalasutta* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, He said that having disassociation with the foolish persons, association with the wise persons and honoring the honorable person; this is the best auspicious omen (blessings).¹¹ Due to the hatred towards good people, one may start to follow the wrong path, and also may not be able to protect one's wealth or earn wealth for future life. One may face many economic problems in life. The association of good people brings happiness and peace in life. Good friend or virtuous person may show the right path, and also suggests the right thing which may be helpful for the protection of wealth. It is true that the economic development of a person depends on the association of good people. Hence, one should abstain from the hatred towards good people for the sake of economic security and the protection of many other problems.

¹¹*Asevanā ca bālānaṃ, paṇḍitānañca sevanā. Pūjā ca pūjanīyyānaṃ, etaṃ maṅgalamuttamaṃ. Khuddakapāṭho* (Ed. & Tr.) Bhikshu Satyapala, New Delhi: Buddha Triratna Mission, 1992, p.15.

The beliefs or doctrines of good people can be followed, but the *dhamma* or conduct practiced by bad people should not be followed. Having followed the doctrines of bad people, one may face various problems and suffering in life. One may develop or learn the bad habit of the wastage of money from the bad person. Due to this bad habit, one may start the bad deeds like sexual misconduct, taking alcohol, taking intoxicants etc. The usage of intoxicating liquors, spirits and drugs destroys the earned wealth, and also one cannot earn money in future properly. Because of these types of bad deeds, one's life will be full of economic problems, and economic condition may be pathetic. Hence, the avoidance of beliefs or doctrines of vicious helps in the protection of wealth, and improves the economic life of human beings.

The sound sleep makes a person healthy. A good sleep is needed for the development of healthy mind and body. But, the excess of sleep makes a person indolent. One should avoid sleeping in day time. If a person becomes habitual of this habit, then, this bad habit may affect the working style at the place of work or job. Such lazy person cannot do his responsibilities or perform well, and he may be terminated from his job. Then, he will lose the means of earning money. To fulfill or enjoy his sleep, person may not get appropriate job also. Such person may not be able to satisfy the owner of company, institute etc., and his service may be terminated due to this lazy behavior. In this way, the habit of more sleeping may be the cause of one's poverty. Hence, one should avoid from the sleepy nature to be free from economic problems in life. According to Gautama Buddha, the sleepy nature is the cause of the downfall of a person. In the *Parābhavasutta*, He said:

*Niddāsīlī sabhāsīlī anuṭṭhātā ca yo naro
Alaso kodhapaññāṇo taṃ parābhavato mukhaṃ.*¹²

The man who is drowsy, fond of society, not industrious, indolent and who manifests anger - this is the cause of one's downfall.

The person who is fond of society has to face difficulties in his economic development as well as spiritual development. Such person used to wander here and there to pass his valuable time or to meet friends or relatives. The wastage of precious time is also harmful for the gain of economic prosperity. The proper use of time creates or gives opportunity to earn money. It is difficult for such person to concentrate

¹²Buddha's Teachings Being The Suttanipāta or Discourse-Collection, Ibid., p.28.

his mind. Due to the instability of mind, person cannot get any job to earn money. In case, he gets job, then he cannot do his responsibilities at his work place properly. He cannot be strengthened economically in his life, but he weakens himself financially by wasting precious time of life. Hence, one should avoid the fond of society for the achievement of economic prosperity.

Hard work is essential for prosperous and cheerful life. The habit of hard-working plays very significant role in human life. The entire development or success of a person depends on one's diligence. One, who earns one's livelihood on the basis of efforts, achieves success. The indolent person spends the wealth received from his ancestors always, and he cannot become prosperous financially by earning wealth. Therefore, hard work is the right path to earn wealth. The industrious person achieves good name and fame in society. In the *Appamādavagga* of the *Dhammapada*, Gautama Buddha says that whosoever is energetic, mindful, pure in conduct, discriminating, self-controlled, right-living, and vigilant, his fame steadily increases.¹³

The avoidance of heedlessness reduces the suffering of life, and the practice of heedfulness brings prosperity and happiness in human life. Due to the negligence, one cannot do one's physical or mental activities properly. Because of heedlessness, one cannot earn wealth through job also. Hence, one cannot strengthen one's economic condition. The heedless always postpones his daily duties, and this habit brings negativity in thoughts and efforts which are very harmful for the achievement of economic prosperity. The heedless neither gets economic development nor spiritual development. That is why; Gautama Buddha blamed the heedlessness, and He appreciated the practice of heedfulness in His teachings. For the abandonment of heedlessness, He said that heedfulness is the path to the deathless, heedlessness is the path to death. The heedful do not die; the heedless are like the dead.¹⁴

The avoidance of anger is needed for the continuation of happiness and calm in human life. Angry person may lose the opportunity of a good job due to his anger. Such person cannot maintain good relationship

¹³*Uṭṭhānavato satimato sucikammaṣa nisammakārino. Saññatassa ca dhammajīvino appamattassa yaso'bhivaḍḍhati. The Dhammapada* (Ed. & Tr.) K.Sri Dhammananda, Taipei: The Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation, 2006, p.85.

¹⁴*Appamādo amatapadaṃ pamādo maccuno padaṃ. Appamattā na mīyanti ye pamattā yathā matā. The Dhammapada*, Ibid., p.83.

with his owner and colleagues, and he may be terminated from his job on the basis of this bad habit. Because of minor issues, angry person may kill somebody or damage other things. Having seen these types of various disadvantages, one ought to get rid of anger for the sake of one's economic prosperity. To get rid of anger, Gautama Buddha taught that conquer anger by love, conquer evil by good; conquer misery with liberality; and the liar with truth.¹⁵ It is true that angry person is not able to maintain good behavior with his customers at work place like shop etc. Such person is not liked by the customers, and it creates negative impact on the income. Hence, having avoided anger, one should develop friendliness towards all for the achievement of economic prosperity.

Husband and wife should be faithful to each other, and should practice the moral life for the achievement of happy family life. If husband and wife live their life on the basis of morality and faith, they will not involve in the act of sexual misconduct. Gautama Buddha taught for the practice of the third precept for the establishment of good environment in society. He says that *kāmesumicchācārā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi*.¹⁶ It means that I take the precept to abstain from sexual misconduct. One, who is not satisfied with his wife, may start the bad action of sexual misconduct. Such person is seen with females and the wives of others, and is also seen with the prostitutes, due to these habits the social prestige of such person is also destroyed in such situation. In addition to it, the economic condition of person becomes very pathetic. One has to waste and spend the valuable money for the fulfillment of sexual desire by the practice of prostitution (debauchery) and one may lose one's job due to the involvement in such bad habits, and such person cannot do his job properly. Hence, the downfall of a person starts economically. Having understood the disadvantage of sexual misconduct in the achievement of economic prosperity, one ought to get rid of the bad act like sexual misconduct. In the *Parābhavasutta*, He says:

*Sehi dārehi asantuṭṭho, vesiyāsu padissati.
Dissati paradāresu, taṃ parābhavato mukhaṃ.*¹⁷

Not contented with one's wives, if one is seen amongst courtesans and the wives of others - this is the cause of one's downfall.

¹⁵*Akkodhena jine kodhaṃ asādhuṃ sādhunā jine. Jine kadariyaṃ dānena saccena alikavādināṃ. The Dhammapada, Ibid., p.441.*

¹⁶*Khuddakapāṭho, Ibid., p.6.*

¹⁷*Buddha's Teachings Being The Suttanipāta or Discourse-Collection, Ibid., p.30.*

The usage of intoxicating drugs helps in the downfall of human beings. The habit of taking liquor may be responsible for a person to become a gambler. People waste a lot of money in gambling and intoxicants. There are six dangers of gambling like, as winner he begets hatred; when beaten he mourns his lost wealth; his actual substance is wasted; his word has no weight in a court of law; he is despised by friends and officials; he is not sought after by those who would give or take in marriage, for they would say that a man who is gambler cannot afford to keep a wife.¹⁸ Addiction to gambling is considered as a serious social and economic evil. Gautama Buddha pointed out that gambling destroys one's wealth and property very fast.¹⁹ Due to these bad habits, one has waste one's time, health, and wealth, so one faces the financial problems. It is seen that due to the greed or to earn more wealth, one starts gambling, but one loses the earned and saved money. In this type of situation, gambler sells jewellery and other precious things. Sometimes, one has to take loan for the fulfillment of one's wrong desires or sell the property. Finally, one becomes full of economic insecurity or instability. Having thought about these many disadvantages, Gautama Buddha taught for the practice of fifth precept in which He says that *surā-meraya-majja-pamadaṭṭhānā veramaṇi sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi*. It means that I undertake the training precept of abstention from any opportunity for negligence due to liquor, wine and besotting drink.²⁰ The nature of wasting money or resources is also an important cause for the economic instability or poverty. He says that to place in authority a woman given to drink and squandering, or a man of a like behavior - this is a cause of one's downfall.²¹ Hence, one should not to be a womanizer, a drunkard, a gambler for the protection of money. In the *Parābhavasutta*, He says:

*Itthidhutto surādhutto, akkhadhutto ca yo naro.
Laddhaṃ laddhaṃ vināseti, taṃ parābhavato mukhaṃ.*²²

The man who is a womanizer, a drunkard, a gambler, and one who squanders whatever he possesses - this is the cause of one's downfall.

¹⁸*Dialogues of the Buddha III (The Dīghanikāya)* (Ed.) T. W. Rhys Davids, Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 2002, pp.175-176.

¹⁹Gyanaditya Shakya, *Human Values and Buddhist Ethics*, Ibid., p.285.

²⁰*Khuddakapāṭho*, Ibid., p.6.

²¹*Itthisoṇḍim vikiraṇiṃ purisaṃ vā'pi tādisaṃ. Issariyaṃim thāpeti taṃ parābhavato mukhaṃ. Buddha's Teachings Being The Suttanipāta or Discourse-Collection*, Ibid., p.30.

²²Ibid., p.28.

Conclusion

The material prosperity should be obtained through righteous sources keeping the moral values in mind; money is not evil thing but important is that how this wealth is gained and utilized in life. To earn money is essential for the achievement of happy and peaceful human life. In the same way, the avoidance of money wastage is needed; otherwise person cannot save money for the fulfillment of the requirements of life, and the economic life will be affected. The ways of the wastage of money are like the outlets of the great tank which makes it waterless and dries that tank which is filled with the water of rain. Hence, the restraint on the means of the wastage of money is very much essential. It is reality that the earning of money is easy, but the protection of earned wealth is very difficult task. In addition to it, the proper usage of earned wealth is not easy because everyone does not have the knowledge of the management of earning and spending the wealth. The *Parābhavasutta* taught by Gautama Buddha is more relevant in terms of the protection of money. Hence, it can be said that the teachings found in this discourse are very significant with point of view of Buddhist economic philosophy, and should be followed by the people for the attainment of economic stability as well as the establishment of healthy and peaceful society.

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पालि-कथा साहित्य की प्रमुख विधाएं

डॉ० उमाशंकर व्यास

नव नालन्दा महाविहार, नालन्दा, बिहार

कथा-साहित्य विश्व साहित्य की प्राचीनतम एवं प्रमुख विधाओं में से एक है। यह वस्तुतः मानव-सभ्यता के अभ्युदयकाल के जितना ही पुरातन है। कथाएं मनोविनोद की ही नहीं, अपितु ज्ञान-संवर्धन एवं धर्मोपदेशों के सशक्त माध्यम के रूप में अत्यंत प्राचीन काल से ही सृजनात्मक रचनाकारों द्वारा ग्राह्य होती रही है। कथाओं में जिज्ञासा एवं कुतूहल के ऐसे तत्त्व समाहित रहते हैं जिनके कारण कथाएं आबालवृद्ध सभी के लिए समान रूप से आस्वाद्य हैं। कथाओं में सुहृद-सम्मत एवं कान्ता-सम्मित उपदेश प्राप्त होता है जो सुनने में मधुर तथा समझने में सुगम होता है। यही कारण है कि बौद्ध, जैन एवं वैदिक, इन तीनों धार्मिक परंपराओं में धार्मिक आचार, आध्यात्मिक तत्त्व-चिंतन तथा नीति एवं कर्तव्य के संदेश का प्रकाशन कथाओं के माध्यम से किया गया है। भारत की इन तीनों धार्मिक परंपराओं के आगम ग्रन्थों में सिद्धान्त निरूपण तथा दर्शन के गंभीर विषयों को सुस्पष्ट करने के निमित्त कथाओं का अवलंबन ग्रहण किया गया है। गूढ से गूढ विचारों तथा गहन अनुभूतियों को सरलतम रूप में जन जन तक पहुंचाने के लिए वैदिक एवं औपनैपदिक ऋषियों, बौद्ध स्थविरों तथा जैन तीर्थंकरों एवं गणधरों ने कथाओं के जिन आधारों को अपने अपने धर्मों के विकासेतिहास के प्रारम्भिक चरणों में दृष्टान्तों, उपमाओं, उपाख्यानों एवं अर्थवादों आदि के रूप में ग्रहण किया उनकी परिणति ही कालांतर में इन तीनों धार्मिक परंपराओं के समृद्ध कथा-साहित्य के रूप में हुई। परंतु इस समृद्ध कथा-साहित्य के एक अतिमहत्वपूर्ण स्रोत के रूप में प्राचीन भारत की लोक संस्कृति की अमूल्य धरोहर को नजर अंदाज करना भी उचित नहीं होगा क्योंकि लोक-कथानकों (Folk-Tales) परिकथाएं, पशुपक्षियों की कथाओं तथा दादी-नानी आदि की युगों से चली आ रही कथाओं से बौद्ध, जैन, वैदिक परंपराओं का कथा-साहित्य अत्यधिक उत्कृष्ट एवं समृद्ध हो सका है। बौद्धों एवं जैनों ने विशेष रूप से लोक-साहित्य के समृद्ध क्षेत्र से कथानकों को लेकर उनमें अपनी अपनी धार्मिक मान्यताओं से संगति बैठाने हेतु उन्हें रूपांतरित कर दिया। कहीं-कहीं रूपांतरण के कारण मूल कथानक का काव्य-सौन्दर्य नष्ट हो गया है, जबकि अनेक रूपांतरणों में मूल काव्य-सौन्दर्य को अक्षत रखा जा सका है। पालि कथा-साहित्य के उद्भव एवं विकास की सामान्य पृष्ठभूमि यही है।

पालि-निकायों के सामञ्जस्य-सुत्त जैसे कुछ सुत्तों से यह स्पष्ट संकेत मिलता है कि भगवान बुद्ध ने तिरच्छान विद्याओं के अंतर्गत राजकथा, महामच्चकथा आदि को परिगणित करते हुए प्रव्रजित भिक्षु को ऐसी कथाओं से प्रतिविरत रहने का निर्देश देते हुये यह संकेत भी दे दिया था कि

ऐसी कथाएं वस्तुतः सम्फप्पलाप नामक वचीदुच्चरित की श्रेणी में ही आती हैं।¹ दूसरी ओर पालि-विनय-पिटक के महावग्ग नामक भाग के कुलपुत्र यश आदि की दीक्षा के रमणीय कथानकों में यह वर्णित है कि उनकी शरण में आये हुये नवागंतुक व्यक्ति को बुद्ध आर्य सत्त्यों आदि की समुक्कंसिका धर्म देशना देने से पूर्व उसके मानसिक धरातल को मृदु, विनीवरण एवं कर्मण्य बनाने की दृष्टि से उसे स्वर्ग-कथा, शील-कथा एवं दान-कथा जैसी कथाएं (या कथन) एक कुशल शिक्षक के रूप में कहते थे। पालि-साहित्य के दीर्घकालीन इतिहास के प्रारंभिक चरण से लेकर उत्तरकाल तक रचित पालि-कथा साहित्य के यथार्थ स्वरूप के निर्धारण में बुद्ध के परस्पर-विरोधी जैसे प्रतीत हो रहे इन दो प्रकार के निर्देशों से पालि-साहित्य कितनी मात्रा में तथा किस रूप में प्रभावित हुआ है, इसकी जांच करने के क्रम में कुछ संभावनाएं बलवती प्रतीत होती हैं-

1. यह सुविदित है कि बौद्ध भिक्षुसंघ में प्रारंभ से ही दो प्रकार की मानसिकताओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाले भिक्षु थे। लोक कथानकों को भिक्षुओं की चित्त-विशुद्धि के लिये बाधक मानने वाली मानसिकता अरण्यवासी, धुतंगधर भिक्षुओं की थी, जो सुत्तपिटक के प्रथम चार निकायों, अभिधम्म पिटक के सात प्रकरणों तथा पटिसम्भिदामग्गो जैसे ग्रंथ में संगृहीत बुद्ध की समुक्कंसिका-देसना अथवा परमत्थ-देसना के साहित्यिक स्वरूप में मूर्तिभूत हुई है। दूसरी ओर कविता एवं कथानकों को सद्धर्म का सशक्त संप्रेषण-माध्यम मानने वाले, उदार दृष्टिकोण वाले भिक्षुओं ने आम आदमी के बीच सद्धर्म के व्यापक प्रसार हेतु कथानकों के माध्यम को अत्यंत प्रभावी माना। इसी उदार मानसिकता की व्यावहारिक परिणति के प्राचीनतम चिह्न पहले चार निकायों के धार्मिक एवं नैतिक शिक्षाओं के प्रकाशक कथानकों तथा विनयपिटक के दीक्षा कथानकों में भी देखे जा सकते हैं। उत्तरकाल में इसी उदार मनोवृत्ति को सुप्रसिद्ध जातक कथानकों, थेरगाथा, थेरीगाथा, बुद्धवंस, पेतवत्थु, विमानवत्थु तथा चरियापिटक के जीवनवृत्तों, बौद्ध संस्कृत में रचित अवदान-साहित्य एवं ललित-विस्तर आदि में व्यावहारिक धरातल पर अवतरित होते हुये देखा जा सकता है। दूसरी ओर अरण्यवासी, अथवा धुतंगधर भिक्षुओं की मानसिकता की पुष्टि सिआम देश के शासक के आदेश से पालि-तिपिटक का संपादन कर रहे धर्माचार्यों द्वारा, जातक, अपदान, चरियापिटक, पेतवत्थु, विमानवत्थु एवं बुद्धवंस जैसे संग्रहों को तिपिटक में अन्तर्भूत न किए जाने के ऐतिहासिक साक्ष्य द्वारा भी हो जाती है। संभवतः इन धर्माचार्यों ने यह अनुभव किया कि जातक एवं अपदान आदि के आख्यान एवं कथानक भले ही अत्यंत पवित्र हों परन्तु सद्धर्म के महत्वपूर्ण (शील, समाधि, प्रज्ञा आदि) विषयों पर भगवान बुद्ध द्वारा कहे गए उन वचनों की बराबरी कैसे कर सकते हैं, जिसमें ऐसे कथानक हैं ही नहीं, और यदि है भी तो उन्हें

¹दी०नि०, पृष्ठ 58.

गौण स्थान प्राप्त है।

2. पालि-साहित्य में अट्टकथा, कथावत्थु तथा सग्गकथा आदि शब्दों में प्रयुक्त 'कथा' शब्द का अर्थ कहीं भी कहानी आख्यान अथवा कथानक आदि के रूप में काव्यशास्त्रियों द्वारा परिभाषित, वह काव्य विधा नहीं है, जिसमें वस्तु (कथा-सूत्र), पात्र, संवाद, देशकाल, शैली एवं उद्देश्य आदि अङ्गों का होना आवश्यक होता है। पालि साहित्य के प्रारंभिक चरणों में कथा का सामान्य अर्थ वचीद्वार से व्यक्त होने वाला एक वाचसिक कर्म है। भगवान बुद्ध ने चित्त को ही कर्मों का मूल मानते हुए कहा है कि लोभ, द्वेष एवं मोह से ग्रस्त चित्तवाला व्यक्ति जब भी कुछ कहेगा तो वह सम्मावाचा न होकर मिच्छावाचा होगा तथा उसके विपाक के रूप में उसे दुःख भोगना होगा।² राजकथा, चोरकथा आदि भी मिच्छावाचा के सम्फपलाप नामक अङ्ग के ही रूप में है। अतः बुद्ध ने आचार-परक एवं धर्म प्रकाशक विविध रूप के कथनों से विरत रहने का निर्देश न देकर मन को अस्थिर एवं अशांत बना देने वाले राज कथा आदि से विरत होने को कहा था।

त्रिपिटक में उल्लिखित कथा विषयक इन मन्तव्यों का वास्तविक आशय कुछ भी रहा हो परंतु त्रिपिटक की अन्तर्वस्तु के अवलोकन से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि अत्यंत प्रारंभिक चरण से ही नवाङ्ग बुद्धशासन में जातक एवं सुत्त तथा इतिवृत्तक आदि के रूप में आख्यानों या कथानकों के मूल विद्यमान थे, जो कालांतर में पुष्पित एवं पल्लवित होकर पालि के समृद्ध कथा-साहित्य के रूप में भारतीय साहित्य के क्षितिज में देदीप्यमान हुए। पालि-वाङ्मय में संस्कृत एवं प्राकृत के वाङ्मयों के समान काव्यशास्त्रीय लेखन प्राप्त न होने तथा संस्कृत के काव्यशास्त्रों में पालि-कथासाहित्य सहित पालि काव्यत्व का किसी भी प्रकार का परीक्षण न किए जाने के कारण पालि कथाओं की मूल-प्रकृति, कथानक-संविधान, चरित्र-चित्रण, शैली तथा उद्देश्य जैसे तत्त्वों पर आधारित कथानकों के प्रकार आदि पर कोई भी पारंपरिक विवेचन उपलब्ध नहीं है, फिर भी संस्कृत एवं प्राकृत कथानकों के विविध प्रकारों के समान पालि कथानकों के विविध रूपों का वर्गीकरण विषय, पात्र, शैली एवं भाषा आदि के आचार पर किया जा सकता है।

भाषा-शैली के आधार पर पालि-कथानकों का वर्गीकरण निम्नलिखित रूप में किया जा सकता है:-

- i. उपमाओं, दृष्टान्तों एवं निदर्शनों के रूप में निकायों एवं विनय खंडकों के गद्य में पालि कथा-साहित्य का प्रारंभिकतम स्वरूप देखा जा सकता है। उदाहरण के लिए दीघनिकाय के सामञ्जस्य सुत्त में श्रमणजीवन के प्रत्यक्ष लाभों के प्रकाशन हेतु दिए गये कर्मकर सेवक तथा निष्ठावान करदाता गृहस्थ के दृष्टान्त तथा नीवरणों को

²धम्मपद-1

नष्ट कर चुके साधक के मानसिक उपशमभाव के विशदीकरण हेतु दिए गये ऋणमुक्त, रोगमुक्त एवं कारागारमुक्त व्यक्ति द्वारा अनुभूत सुख के जीवन्त निदर्शन यद्यपि कथा के कथोपकथन जैसे आधारभूत तत्त्वों से रहित है परन्तु ये आगे चलकर विकसित होने वाले कथानकों की ठोस आधार भूमि तो हैं ही।³

- ii. धनियसुत्त, थेरगाथा, थेरीगाथा आदि की गीतियों में हमें गीति आख्यान दृष्टिगत होते हैं, जिनमें उत्कृष्ट कवित्वमय भावसंप्रेषण के साथ-साथ कथोपकथन एवं घटना-प्रवाह जैसे कथा के आवश्यक तत्त्व भी प्राप्त होते हैं।
- iii. कसिभारद्वाजसुत्त तथा वसल-सुत्त जैसे अनेक सुत्तों में गद्य-पद्य मिश्रित चम्पू शैली में रोचक कथानकों के विकास का अगला चरण देखा जा सकता है।
- iv. दीक्षा-कथानक- विनय पिटक के महावग्ग में कवित्वमय एवं प्राचीन गद्य में वाराणसी के धनी व्यापारी के पुत्र यश, तीस भद्रवर्गीय मित्रों, सारिपुत्त एवं मोगल्लान की प्रव्रज्या कथाएं अत्यंत रोचक एवं कवित्वमयी शैली में तथा प्राञ्जल गद्य में वर्णित है। महावग्ग के महाखन्धक नामक प्रथम अध्याय में ही बुद्ध कथानक के बोधि-प्राप्ति, प्रथम धर्मोपदेश, प्रथम शिष्यों की प्रव्रज्या तथा राजगृह में वेणु-वन के दान आदि घटनाएं प्राचीन चरण के प्राञ्जल गद्य में वर्णित हैं। उपालि दारकवत्थु तथा जीवक से संबद्ध कथानकों में सूक्ष्म हास्य व्यंग्य के तत्त्वों से कथाओं के काव्य सौन्दर्य में चार चांद लग गये हैं।
- v. बुद्ध जीवनी के कथानक- निकायों तथा विनय पिटक के खन्धकों के कवित्वमय गद्य में बुद्ध कथानक तथा बुद्ध के प्रारम्भिक चरणवाले कथानक जातक कथानकों की आधारभूमि तैयार करते हुये देखे जा सकते हैं। विनय पिटक के महावग्ग के प्रारम्भिक भाग में बोधि प्राप्ति से लेकर सारिपुत्त एवं मोगल्लान को प्रव्रजित करने तक की घटनाएं कथानक के कलेवर में वर्णित हैं। वहीं इसी संग्रह के उत्तर वर्ती भाग में बुद्ध के कपिलवस्तु जाने तथा कुमार राहुल को प्रव्रजित कराने के रसाप्लावित कथानक हैं।

चुल्लवग्ग में श्रावस्ती के धनी व्यापारी अनाथ पिण्डक, देवदत्त द्वारा तैयार किये गये षड्यंत्रों तथा महाप्रजापति गौतमी के अनुरोध पर भिक्षुणी संघ की स्थापना किए जाने की घटना से संबद्ध कथानक हैं। खन्धकों के ये दीक्षा-कथानक भी प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से बुद्ध के वर्तमान जीवनचरित्र से संबद्ध हैं परन्तु निकायों के कुछ सुत्तों में बुद्ध के वर्तमान जन्म के कथानक दीघ-निकाय के महापरिनिब्बान-सुत्त, मज्झिम-निकाय के बोधिराजकुमार सुत्त, पासरासि सुत्त (अरिय-परियेसना-सुत्त), महासच्चक सुत्त तथा अंगुलिमाल सुत्त आदि में मनोरम गद्यबंध में वर्णित है तथा उत्तरकाल में विकसित बुद्धचरित, सौन्दरनन्दम्, ललित-विस्तर तथा जातकट्टवण्णना की

³दी.नि. पृष्ठ 63-65.

निदान कथा के बुद्ध चरित-कथानक के महत्त्वपूर्ण स्रोत हैं। दूसरी ओर निकायों के ही कूटदन्त-सुत्, महासुदस्सन-सुत्, मखादेव-सुत् तथा महागोविन्द आदि सुत् के कथानक जातकों, अपदानों, अवदानों तथा चरियापिटक में पूर्णरूप के विश्वविश्रुत कथानकों के प्राचीनतम चिह्नों तथा जातक कथानकों आदि के प्रेरणा स्रोत के रूप में विशिष्ट महत्त्व रखते हैं।

यद्यपि जातक, अपदान, चरियापिटक, बुद्धवंस, विमानवत्थु एवं पेतवत्थु किसी-न-किसी रूप में बुद्धों, प्रत्येक बुद्धों एवं सारिपुत्त आदि महास्थविरों के पूर्वजन्मों से संबद्ध है तथा सभी में यह सामान्य संदेश भी मुखरित हुआ है कि कृष्ण (कलुषित) कर्मों का विपाक कृष्ण तथा शुक्ल कर्मों का विपाक शुक्ल होता है, परन्तु जातक, अपदान, चरियापिटक एवं संस्कृत अवदानों में संकलित कथानकों की भाषा- शैली एवं अन्तर्वस्तु में कुछ समानताएं होते हुए भी इनमें सुस्पष्ट पार्थक्य प्रदर्शित करने वाले अनेक प्रभेदक तत्त्व भी हैं। पालि कथा-साहित्य के इन विविध संकलनों के संभावित अन्तःसंबंधों की प्रकृति तथा इनके साम्य एवं वैषम्य आदि का अनुशीलन इस कथा साहित्य के किसी भी वस्तुपरक मूल्यांकन के लिए वाञ्छनीय है। इसी क्रम में पालि-जातकों तथा पालि अपदान के आलोक में बौद्ध-संस्कृत में रचित अवदान-कथानकों का तुलनात्मक संक्षिप्त समीक्षण भी इस लघु-निबन्ध का अन्यतम अभिप्रेत है।

ध्यातव्य है पालि भाषा में रचित कथा साहित्य में जातक कथाएं सबसे अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण तथा सबसे अधिक लोकप्रिय होने के साथ-साथ साहित्यिक सौन्दर्य की दृष्टि से संपूर्ण विश्वकथा साहित्य की अमूल्य धरोहर हैं। यहाँ जातक कथानकों से संबद्ध विविध पक्षों पर प्रकाश न डालते हुए इतना ही कहना पर्याप्त है कि मूलतः गाथाओं में रचित तथा आगे चलकर जातकद्वयणना के रूप में गद्य-पद्यात्मक चम्पूशैली में विशदीकृत 547 अथवा 550 कथाएं बुद्ध के पूर्वजन्म की कथाएं हैं, जब कि वे बोधिसत्त्व थे। किसी कथा में वे (बोधिसत्त्व) नायक हैं, किसी में साधारण पात्र और किसी में साधारण दर्शक। कथा से संबद्ध किसी भी देव, मनुष्य, पशु एवं पक्षी आदि को बोधिसत्त्व बनाकर जनता के बीच प्रचलित लोककथानक को जातक कथानक बना देने की प्रवृत्ति स्पष्ट रूप से इन कथानकों में देखी जा सकती है। जातक कथानकों के नायक बोधिसत्त्व की जिस विशिष्ट अवधारणा का विकास उत्तरकाल में छः अथवा दस पारमिताओं के परिपालन की अवधारणा के साथ महायान में प्राप्त होता है, उसके सुस्पष्ट चिह्न, विशेष कर पारमिताचर्या की सुस्पष्ट अवधारणा, जातक कथानकों में प्राप्त नहीं होती।

खुदकनिकाय के ही अन्तर्गत जातकों के समान विशालकाय एवं विषय की दृष्टि से समृद्ध एक अन्य कथानक संग्रह अपदान है। इसमें जातक कथानकों जैसा साहित्यिक सौन्दर्य नहीं है। जातकों के समान अपदान में भी पूर्वजन्म एवं वर्तमान जन्म की कथाओं के रूप में दो भाग हैं परन्तु जातकों में जहाँ पूर्व जन्मों के कथानक हैं वही अपदान में थेरों एवं थेरियों के पूर्वजन्मों के कथानक हैं। संपूर्ण अपदान पद्य में है जबकि जातक कथानकों का परवर्ती रूप चम्पूशैली में है। थेर-अपदान नामक मुख्य खण्ड में सारिपुत्त आदि को दीपकर आदि पूर्व बुद्धों की पुष्प, फल, आसन आदि से पूजा करने

तथा उस पूजा के प्रभाव से इस जन्म में अर्हत्व प्राप्त करने की बात करते हुए दिखलाया गया है। पूर्व बुद्धों की पुष्प आदि से पूजा अर्चना तथा इसके प्रभाव से अर्हत्व प्राप्ति जैसी बात जातक कथानकों में प्राप्त नहीं है। बुद्ध अपदान में “पुब्बकम्मपिलोति” (पूर्वकाल में किए गए कर्मों की गूदड़ी) विषयक तत्त्व भी जातकों को अपदान से पृथक् करते हैं।

पालि- जातकों तथा पालि अपदानों का ही बौद्ध-संस्कृत-प्रतिरूप अवदान-कथानकों का अत्यन्त समृद्ध बौद्ध कथा-साहित्य भी बौद्ध कथा साहित्य की महत्त्वपूर्ण लेखन विधा है। अतः पालि-जातको, पालि-अपदानों तथा बौद्ध-संस्कृत के अवदानों के अन्तःसम्बंधों की प्रकृति भी संक्षेप में परीक्षणीय हो जाती है।

अवदान, अपदान एवं जातक

बुद्धवचनों के अनेक प्रभेदों (अङ्गों) में एक अङ्ग के नाम के रूप में अथवा एक विशिष्ट स्वरूप वाली लेखनविधा के नाम के रूप में अवदान शब्द का प्रयोग देखा जाता है। बौद्ध संस्कृत-लेखनों में प्राप्त द्वादश धर्म-प्रवचनों की सूची में अवदान को सातवां स्थान दिया गया है।⁴ हडसन ने अवदान को कर्म-विपाकों अथवा इस लौकिक अस्तित्व में कार्यरत आचरण-मीमांसा का विवेचन बतलाया है। अवदान-शतक के सौ कथानकों में से आधे कथानकों तथा दिव्यावदान के अनेक कथानकों का निष्कर्ष या निहितार्थ भी “कर भला हो भला, कर बुरा हो बुरा” इस सुपरिचित मुहावरे के रूप में निम्नलिखित बुद्ध-घोषणा के रूप में देखा जा सकता है:- “इति हि भिक्षतः एकान्तकृष्णानां कर्मणामेकान्तकृष्णो विपाक एकान्तशुक्लानमेकान्तशुक्लो व्यतिमिश्राणां व्यतिमिश्रस्मान्तर्हि भिक्षव एकान्तकृष्णानि कर्मण्यपास्य व्यतिमिश्राणि चैकान्तशुक्लेष्वेव कर्मस्वाभोग करणीय इत्येव तो भिक्षवः शिक्षितव्यम्”।⁵

परन्तु बर्नाउफ (BURNOUF) की दृष्टि में (Introduction, P. 64) अवदान की यह परिभाषा अपूर्ण है। वास्तव में स्वयं शाक्यमुनि बुद्ध के अपने जीवनकाल में अथवा किसी पूर्व-बुद्ध की स्थिति के बहुत पहले के अतीत काल में अथवा सम्राट अशोक या उनके समकालीनों के शासनकाल में वस्तुतः घटित वास्तविक घटनाओं को चित्रित करने वाले तथा स्वयं सर्वज्ञ बुद्ध अथवा उनके उपगुप्त जैसे किसी अर्हत् शिष्य द्वारा कहे गये कथानकों के माध्यम से कर्म सिद्धान्त तथा कर्म के सर्वोच्च बल को प्रतिचित्रित करना अवदानों की अनिवार्य प्रकृति है। बर्नाउफ जैसे आधुनिक समालोचकों का यह मन्तव्य भी बौद्धपरम्परा में कथमपि ग्राह्य नहीं हो सकता कि अवदान-कथानकों के अनेक कथानक कोरी कल्पना मात्र हैं:-

“Aligender recitas ligendeires”⁶

⁴कर्म, Manual of Buddhism पृष्ठ 17.

⁵अवदानशतक, जिल्द दूसरी, पृष्ठ 6 Ed by Speyer, J.S. 1902, सेन्ट पीटर्सवर्ग.

⁶R.L. MITRA, The Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal, p. 17.

ध्यातव्य है कि बौद्धों के संस्कृत-साहित्य के बाहर अवदान शब्द का प्रयोग उत्तम एवं वीरतापूर्ण कार्यों अथवा उत्कृष्ट धार्मिक कृत्यों के अर्थ में किया गया है। उदाहरणार्थ महाकवि कालिदास के रघुवंश-महाकाव्य में यह कहा गया है कि अपने शिष्य के अवदानों (वीरतापूर्ण कृत्यों) से सन्तुष्ट विश्वामित्र से राम ने अलौकिक शस्त्र प्राप्त किए:-

“मुने.....अवदानतोषितात्”⁷

कुमारसम्भवम् में भी इसी अर्थ में ‘अवदान’ शब्द का प्रयोग प्राप्त होता है।⁸ इसी प्रकार दशकुमारचरित के उत्तरखण्ड के द्वितीय उच्छ्वास में दण्डी ने भी उत्तम वीरतापूर्ण कृत्य के ही अर्थ में ‘अवदान’ शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। इसके टीकाकार पण्डित तारानाथ तर्कवाचस्पति ने “पूर्वावदानेभ्यः” की व्याख्या “पूर्वेषाम् ख्यातवृत्तेभ्यः” शब्द से की है।⁹ एक श्रद्धालु बौद्ध-लेखक द्वारा रचित (जातकमाला नामक) एक पुस्तक में दो स्थलों में इस शब्द का प्रयोग उत्तम कृत्यों के ही अर्थ में किया गया है।¹⁰ ऐसा लगता है कि पहले इस शब्द का प्रयोग अधिक व्यापक अर्थ में किया जाता था। अमरकोश में (बौद्ध शब्दावली के विवेचन क्रम में) इसका अर्थ “कर्मवृत्तं” अथवा “भूतपूर्व चरित्र” रूप में किया गया है। अमरकोश में ही ‘अपदान’ को भी ‘अवदान’ का ही पाठान्तर भी कह दिया गया है:-

“अपदानमित्यपि पाठः”¹¹

इससे ‘अवदान’ एवं ‘अपदान’ ये दोनों शब्द परस्पर में परिवर्तनीय से प्रतीत होते हैं। परन्तु बौद्ध-संस्कृत-साहित्य में अपदान शब्द का प्रयोग अति विरल है। नौवीं सदी के कम्बोडिया के एक संस्कृत-अभिलेख में ‘अपदान’ शब्द अवश्य दृष्टिगत होता है।¹² Retropolitum Dictionary में अपदान शब्द के प्रयोग के केवल दो उदाहरण बतलाये हैं।¹³ बौद्ध-संस्कृत-साहित्य में ‘अवदान’ नामक जो लेखन-विधा है वही पालि साहित्य में ‘अपदान’ कहलाने लगी, इस तथ्य के कारणों का विनिश्चय करना भी दुरूह है। इस बात की संभावना भी नहीं है कि अवदान शब्द की उत्पत्ति पालि-त्रिपिटक के ठीक से न समझे गये अर्थ वाले ‘अपदान’ शब्द से हुई। यह संभव है कि एक दूसरे से अत्यल्प प्रभेदवाले अपदान एवं अवदान ये दोनों शब्द प्राचीन प्रयोगों (स्थलों) में एक दूसरे के समीप या अगल-बगल विद्यमान रहें हों। इस शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति भी संदिग्ध है। संभवतः वैदिक कर्मकाण्ड से संबंधित अवदान शब्द को “वीरतापूर्ण कार्य” अथवा साहस भरे कारनामों के कथानक का अर्थ देने वाले अवदान से पृथक करके देखना भी ठीक नहीं है। स्पेयर की दृष्टि में दोनों

⁷रघुवंश, 11-21; ‘मुने: प्रापदस्त्रमदातोषितातः’।

⁸दी.नि. पृष्ठ 63-65.

⁹पृष्ठ 84, पा०टि० 2,

¹⁰जातकमाला, 3.23, 5.2.

¹¹अमरकोश 3.2..3. ‘अवदानं कर्मवृत्तं इत्यमरः’

¹²जर्नल एशियाटिक, 1908, पृ० 209; स्पेयर जे.एस. द्वारा अवदानशतकम् की भूमिका पृष्ठ 111 में उद्धृता

¹³रघुवंश, 11-21; ‘मुने: प्रापदस्त्रमदातोषितातः’।

ही शब्द अव अथवा उप उपसर्गपूर्वक अवखण्डनार्थ $\sqrt{\text{दा}}$ धातु से निष्पन्न है, इसलिए अवदान/अपदान का सही तात्पर्य (अन्यों से) काटकर (या अलगकर) रखी हुई अथवा चुनी हुई क्रिया, वस्तु आदि है। वैदिक कर्मकाण्ड की भाषा में 'अवदान' शब्द का प्रयोग देवताओं को दी जा रही हविस के भागों (आहुतियाँ) के अर्थ में हुआ है। किन्तु सामान्य बातचीत में इस शब्द का शाब्दिक अर्थ 'दूसरी चीजों से अलग कर एक विशिष्ट चुनी हुई चीज तथा लाक्षणिक तात्पर्य भव्य साहस भरा कृत्य अथवा उत्तम वीरतापूर्ण क्रिया कलाप होता है। परन्तु स्वयं बौद्ध-परम्परा में अवदान शब्द का अधिक सामान्य प्रयोग उन कथानकों की विषयवस्तु सूचित करने हेतु प्राप्त होता है जिनमें उत्तम साहसपूर्ण दान आदि कुशल कर्मों तथा उनके कुशल विपाकों को दिखलाने के साथ-साथ कृष्ण कर्मों के कृष्ण-विपाक को भी दिखलाया गया है।

जातक एवं अवदान

बौद्धों की अवदान नामक लेखन-विधा उन्हीं की जातक नामक साहित्यिक विधा के साथ निकटतापूर्वक सम्बद्ध है। दोनों की कुछ समान बातें निम्नलिखित हैं-

1. दोनों का प्रमुख अभिप्रेत बुद्धों द्वारा प्रकाशित सधर्म में उपदिष्ट आचारपरक शिक्षाओं के विशदीकरण के उद्देश्य से कहे गये कथानकों का समुन्नयन या महिमागान है।
2. दोनों का प्रयोग उपदेश देने के उद्देश्य से किया गया है।
3. भगवान् बुद्ध की नैतिक शिक्षाओं की मूल-प्रकृति के ये दोनों ही (इस आशय में) संवाहक हैं क्योंकि इन दोनों की मुख्य प्रवृत्ति यह प्रदर्शित करना है कि कभी विश्राम न लेने वाले संसार के विशाल एवं असीम चक्र के अन्तर्गत प्रत्येक प्राणी की जीवन यात्रा तथा उसकी नियति के स्वरूप-निर्धारण में कर्म की अप्रतिरोध्य एवं सर्वव्यापी भूमिका सर्वोपरि महत्व रखती है तथा दूसरी ओर दोनों का समान उद्देश्य अपने श्रोताओं के मनो को इस तथ्य के प्रति आश्वस्त कराना है कि प्रत्येक प्राणी में ऐसी निजी क्षमता है जिससे वह शुक्ल कर्मों का सम्पादन कर भविष्य में मूल्यवान् परिणाम प्राप्त कर सकता है।

परन्तु दोनों के मध्य एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अन्तर यह है कि जातक कथानकों में बोधिसत्त्व को एक कथानक का मुख्य पात्र होना अनिवार्य है जबकि अवदान कथानकों में ऐसा होना आवश्यक नहीं है। यद्यपि बहुत सारे अवदानों में भी बोधिसत्त्व एक महत्त्वपूर्ण पात्र के रूप में दिखलाई पड़ते हैं। अतः इस आधार पर प्रत्येक जातक को अवदान कहा जा सकता है परन्तु प्रत्येक अवदान जातक नहीं हो सकता। यह कहना अधिक उपयुक्त होगा कि ऐसे जातक, जो बोधिसत्त्व के अपने बलिदान के वीरतापूर्ण कृत्यों का विशदीकरण करते हैं, बोधिसत्त्वावदान कहलाते हैं। वास्तव में इसी कारण से जातकमाला का दूसरा नाम बोधिसत्त्वावदानजातकमाला भी रखा गया है तथा

आचार्य क्षेमेन्द्र ने इसी कारण अत्यन्त मनोहर शैली में लिखी गई अपनी कवित्वमयी रचना का नाम अवदानकल्पलता रखा। इसमें भगवान बुद्ध के एक से भी अधिक महान कृत्यों के कथानक है और इनमें से अधिकतर वास्तविक जातक हैं। अतः यह आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि अवदानों के संग्रहों में हमें सुस्पष्ट जातक कथानक सरलता से मिल जाते हैं। अवदानशतक का लगभग पूरा का पूरा चौथा दसक इन्हीं जातक कथानकों से युक्त है। वास्तव में पाण्डुलिपियों में चौथे दशक में जोड़ी गई पुष्पिका में इन कथानकों को बोधिसत्त्व जातक कहा गया है।

अवदान एवं जातक ये दोनों ही बौद्ध-लेखन विधाएं बुद्ध की गम्भीर पारमार्थिक देशना अथवा बौद्ध धर्म के गम्भीर एवं उच्च स्तर से सम्बद्ध नहीं है। सामान्य जनों की बहुत बड़ी संख्या को धार्मिक/आध्यात्मिक आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने की दृष्टि इन्हें बौद्ध-साहित्य में स्थान प्रदान किया गया है। अवदान/जातक यह दावा भी नहीं करते कि इनकी विषयवस्तु कुछ इने-गिने भिक्षुओं को शील, समाधि एवं प्रज्ञा का सैद्धान्तिक (परियत्ति) ज्ञान देने के उद्देश्य से तैयार की गई है। संभवतः इसी कारण सिआम राष्ट्र के शासक के आदेश से पालि-त्रिपिटक का संपादन कर रहे थाई धर्माचार्यों ने जातक, अपदान, चरियापिटक, बुद्धवंस, पेतवत्थु एवं विमानवत्थु जैसे संग्रहों को अपने त्रिपिटक में अन्तर्भूत नहीं किया। संभवतः इन्होंने यह अनुभव किया होगा कि अपदान आदि के ये आख्यान एवं कथानक भले ही अत्यन्त पवित्र हों, परन्तु सद्धर्म के वैसे महत्त्वपूर्ण विषयों पर भगवान् बुद्ध द्वारा कहे गये वचनों की बराबरी पर इन को कैसे रखा जा सकता है जिनमें या तो ऐसे कथानक हैं ही नहीं अथवा यदि है भी तो उन्हें यहाँ गौण स्थान प्राप्त है।

अतः यह सुस्पष्ट है कि अवदानों एवं जातकों आदि के ये शिक्षाप्रद कथानक धर्म-प्रचार के लिए अत्यधिक उपयुक्त माध्यम हैं। सीधे-साधे सामान्य श्रोता-जनों को दिये जा रहे धर्मोपदेशोंके अन्दर रखे गये ये कथानक धर्म के प्रति श्रद्धा-दीप को प्रज्वलित करने एवं इसे सुदृढ़ करने में खास भूमिका अदा करते हैं।

निष्कर्ष के रूप में यह कहा जा सकता है कि भारतवर्ष की वैदिक, बौद्ध एवं जैन इन तीनों महान् धार्मिक परम्पराओं ने कथाओं तथा आख्यानों का उपयोग अपने-अपने धार्मिक सिद्धान्तों के व्यापक प्रचार-प्रसार के निमित्त समान रूप से किया है। तीनों धार्मिक परम्पराओं का कथा-साहित्य अत्यन्त समृद्ध है तथा तीनों में इस साहित्य का उद्देश्य केवल अपनी-अपनी धार्मिक मान्यताओं का मात्र विवरण देना ही न होकर व्यावहारिक जीवन के लिए दिशा-निर्देश देना भी था। वैदिक परम्परा का विशाल कथा साहित्य ऋग्वेद के संवाद सूक्तों से लेकर आधुनिक काल तक रचित संस्कृत कथा-साहित्य के रूप में विशिष्ट पहचान प्राप्त कर चुका है। प्राकृतों, संस्कृत एवं अपभ्रंश भाषाओं में रचित जैन-कथा-साहित्य भी अत्यन्त विस्तृत एवं विशद है। बौद्ध-परम्परा में पालि-भाषा में निबद्ध जातक कथाएं तथा इनका उपजीव्य कथा साहित्य विश्वविश्रुत हैं। यद्यपि जैन तथा बौद्ध कथानकों की संरचना का उद्देश्य समान रूप से धर्म का व्यापक प्रसार था परन्तु दोनों के कथानकों

के स्वरूप में पर्याप्त विभेद था। उदाहरण के लिए बौद्ध भिक्षुओं ने अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल से कही जा रही लोक कथाओं या दन्त कथाओं जैसे पुराने स्रोतों से कथाओं का चयन तो किया परन्तु अपने धार्मिक उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के निमित्त उन्होंने अनेक मूलकथाओं को ही नष्ट कर दिया। इसके विपरीत जैन-लेखकों ने ऐसा नहीं किया। इसी कारण जहाँ पंचतन्त्र के असंख्य संस्करणों में बौद्धों का एक भी संस्करण अभी तक अप्राप्त है वहीं 'पंचाख्यानक' नाम से पंचतन्त्र का एक लोकप्रिय संस्करण जैन कथा साहित्य में सुरक्षित रखा गया है। इसके कथानक न केवल भारत में अपितु जावा, सुमात्रा, हिन्दचीन आदि में भी लोकप्रिय हैं। दोनों परम्पराओं में कथानकों द्वारा संदेश दिये जाने के स्वरूपों में भी पार्थक्य है। जहाँ पालि-जातकों आदि की कथाएं अतीत की घटना के साथ जुड़ी रहती हैं तथा सीधे सपाट शब्दों में कथानक का संदेश दे देती हैं वहीं जैन कथाएं वर्तमान से संबद्ध हैं तथा कथा का संदेश व्यंग्यात्मक रूप से कहकर कथानक के काव्य सौन्दर्य में चार चांद लगा देती हैं। इसी प्रकार वैदिक परम्परा के संस्कृत-कथा-साहित्य एवं पालि-कथा-साहित्य के अन्तः कलेवर एवं बाह्य कलेवर की संरचना में भी अनेक विभेद हैं, जिन पर गम्भीर परीक्षण वाञ्छनीय है।

सन्दर्भ-ग्रन्थ-सूची

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न्यायसूत्रों में बौद्ध दर्शन के समान प्रमा तथा प्रमाण का अभेद

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बौद्ध दर्शन में, मुख्यतया दिङ्नाग तथा धर्मकीर्ति के द्वारा, प्रमा तथा प्रमाण का भेद नहीं स्वीकार किया गया है। इसके विपरीत न्याय वैशेषिक परम्परा में प्रमा तथा प्रमाण का सुस्पष्ट विभाग स्वीकार किया गया है, प्रमा के कारण को प्रमाण माना जाता है। वहीं दिङ्नाग तथा धर्मकीर्ति एक ही ज्ञान को प्रमा भी मानते हैं तथा प्रमाण भी मानते हैं। न्यायसूत्रों का अध्ययन भी कुछ इसी प्रकार का संकेत देता है। यहाँ पर भी प्रमा तथा प्रमाण का भेद दिखायी नहीं देता है। प्रस्तुत आलेख इसी उद्देश्य को केन्द्र में रखते हुए लिखा जा रहा है कि न्यायसूत्रों में प्रमा तथा प्रमाण विषयक कैसी दृष्टि प्रकट होती है। सूत्र-ग्रन्थ संक्षिप्त होते हैं। इस कारण सूत्रों में सामान्यतया अनेक सिद्धान्तों पर बहुत ही सार रूप में विचार हो पाता है। अनेक बार तो अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्त भी बहुत ही संक्षेप में विवेचित हो जाते हैं और उनके विषय में विस्तृत जानकारी के लिए हमको भाष्य, वार्तिक तथा अन्य व्याख्याग्रन्थों पर निर्भर करना पड़ता है। इस क्रम में भाष्यकार, वार्तिककार तथा टीकाकारों का अभिमत भी मूलकार के अभिमत के साथ एकरूप हो जाता है। प्रस्तुत आलेख में मेरा उद्देश्य न्यायसूत्रों में प्रमाणविवेचन को आधार बना कर विचार करना है। इस क्रम में मुझे अपनी व्याख्या स्वीकृत विचार परम्परा के विरोध में जाती दिखती है क्योंकि मेरा उद्देश्य न्यायसूत्रकार के वास्तविक तात्पर्य को खोजने का है। यह ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि परम्परा सूत्रकार के वास्तविक तात्पर्य के साथ-साथ ही चले यह आवश्यक नहीं है। बल्कि परम्परा उस मार्ग पर चलती है जो अधिक युक्तिसंगत होता है, जिसको तर्क के आधार पर संरक्षित कर पाना अधिक सम्भव होता है। परम्परा द्वारा दिये गये उत्तर को सीधे-सीधे निराकृत नहीं किया जा सकता और यह मेरा उद्देश्य भी नहीं है। सच्ची बात तो यही है कि परम्परा का अनुसरण करते हुए ही सुसंगततम व्याख्या की जा सकती है। परन्तु मूलकार के वास्तविक तात्पर्य का अन्वेषण अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि इससे भारतीय ज्ञान परम्परा के विकास को अधिक व्यवस्थित रूप से समझ पाना सम्भव होगा। मेरे इस प्रयास को इसी रूप में समझा जाये, यह मेरा निवेदन है। इसमें मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचता हूँ कि न्याय सूत्रों में प्रमा तथा प्रमाण का विभाग उस प्रकार से स्वीकृत नहीं था जैसा परवर्ती नैयायिक स्वीकार करते हैं बल्कि यहाँ पर भी बौद्ध दर्शन की तरह प्रमा तथा प्रमाण का प्रायशः अभेद ही स्वीकार किया गया है।

न्याय सूत्रों में प्रमाण पर केन्द्रित बहुत थोड़े से ही सूत्र हैं। प्रथम अध्याय के प्रथम आह्निक में उद्देश और लक्षण के प्रसंग में प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानि 1-1-3, इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानमव्यपदेश्यमव्यभिचारि व्यवसायात्मकं प्रत्यक्षम् 1-1-4, अथ तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानं पूर्ववत्

शेषवत् सामान्यतोदृष्टञ्च 1-1-5, प्रसिद्धसाधर्म्यात् साध्यसाधनमुपमानम् 1-1-6, आपोपदेशः शब्दः 1-1-7, सः द्विविधः दृष्टादृष्टार्थत्वात् 1-1-8 इस प्रकार से केवल छह सूत्र प्रमाण के विषय में प्राप्त होते हैं। द्वितीय अध्याय में परीक्षा प्रकरण के अन्तर्गत अनेक सूत्र प्राप्त होते हैं जो प्रमाण के विवेचन से सम्बद्ध हैं। प्रथम अध्याय में प्रमाण पर सामान्यतया केन्द्रित कोई भी सूत्र उपलब्ध नहीं होता। यहाँ तक कि प्रमाण का सामान्य लक्षण भी किसी सूत्र में सीधे-सीधे प्रतिपादित किया गया हो यह नहीं दिखायी देता। केवल प्रमाणविभागपरक सूत्र ही प्रमाण सामान्य पर केन्द्रित है। परन्तु परीक्षा प्रकरण में इस विषय में अनेक सूत्र प्राप्त होते हैं जिनके आधार पर प्रमाण के स्वरूप के विषय में कुछ निर्धारण किया जा सकता है।

न्यायसूत्रकार प्रमाण के विषय में अपना विवेचन प्रमाण के विभाजक सूत्र से प्रारम्भ करते हैं प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानि (1-1-3)। यद्यपि सामान्य परिपाटी यह है कि पहले सामान्य लक्षण किया जाये फिर विभाग किया जाये। परन्तु यहाँ पर इस परिपाटी का अनुपालन नहीं किया गया है। सूत्रकार द्वारा प्रमाण की परिभाषा न करके सीधे-सीधे प्रमाणों का विभाग करना कई एक विप्रतिपत्तियों को जन्म देता है। आखिरकार सूत्रकार ने इस परिपाटी का अनुपालन क्यों नहीं किया होगा? सूत्रकार की दृष्टि में प्रमाण का स्वरूप क्या रहा होगा? परम्परा इन विप्रतिपत्तियों को दूर करती है। परवर्ती नैयायिक इन सभी प्रश्नों का समाधान देते हैं। भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन बताते हैं कि यह कोई अनिवार्यता नहीं है कि लक्षण करने के उपरान्त ही विभाग किया जाये, ग्रन्थकार की अपनी भी कुछ स्वतन्त्रता होती है। बहुधा ऐसा भी होता है कि विभाग करने के उपरान्त लक्षण प्रस्तावित किया जाता है। सूत्रकार गौतम ने ही कई एक स्थलों पर विभाग के उपरान्त लक्षण किया है और कई एक स्थलों पर लक्षण करने के बाद विभाग किया जाता है। जैसे कि प्रमाणों और प्रमेयों का विभाग करने के उपरान्त लक्षण किया गया है और छल जैसे कई एक स्थलों में लक्षण करने के उपरान्त विभाग किया गया है।¹

परन्तु समस्या केवल इतनी ही नहीं है। प्रमाण का तो लक्षण बाद में भी कहीं पर नहीं किया गया। परम्परा यह समाधान देती है कि प्रमाण इस शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति से ही प्रमाण का लक्षण निकल आता है। करणार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय के योग से प्र उपसर्ग युक्त मा धातु से प्रमाण शब्द की निष्पत्ति होती है। प्र उपसर्ग से युक्त मा का अर्थ ज्ञान (ज्ञानविशेष या उपलब्धिविशेष) होता है, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है। प्रमाण उपलब्धि के साधन हैं यह समाख्या के निर्वचन के सामर्थ्य से अवगत होता है। वात्स्यायन भी यही दावा करते हैं।² जयन्त भट्ट तो यह कहते हैं कि सूत्रकार ने एक ही सूत्र से दो बातें कह दी हैं एक तो यह कि प्रमाण चार ही होते हैं और दूसरा प्रमाण सामान्य का लक्षण।³ प्रमाण सामान्य का लक्षण क्या है? इस प्रश्न पर जयन्त भट्ट वही बात दुहराते हैं कि जिससे विषय प्रमित हो रहा हो वह प्रमाण है, इस प्रकार करण अर्थ का अभिधान करने वाले प्रमाणशब्द से प्रमाकरण यह अर्थ बोधित होता है।⁴ परन्तु वात्स्यायन तथा जयन्त भट्ट तथा इसी प्रकार के अन्य आचार्यों के इस दावे पर भरोसा करना क्या उचित है? क्या सचमुच में समाख्यानिर्वचनसामर्थ्य से (प्रमाण शब्द की

व्युत्पत्ति के आधार पर) यह निश्चित रूप में अवगत होता है? मुझे लगता है कि यह दावा पूरे विश्वास के साथ नहीं किया जा सकता। प्रमाण शब्द की समाख्या का निर्वचन रीतियों से भी सम्भव है और अन्य दर्शन परम्पराओं में उस रीति से निर्वचन किया भी गया है। ल्युट् प्रत्यय केवल करण अर्थ में होता हो ऐसा तो है नहीं। करणाधिकरणयोश्च⁵ इस पाणिनीय सूत्र के द्वारा करण और अधिकरण इन दो अर्थों में ल्युट् प्रत्यय का विधान किया गया है। इसके साथ ही साथ एक अन्य पूर्ववर्ती सूत्र भावे ल्युट्⁶ के द्वारा भाव अर्थ में भी ल्युट् प्रत्यय का विधान प्राप्त है। वस्तुस्थिति तो यह है कि पाणिनि के अनुसार प्रथमतः विहित होने के कारण भाव अर्थ में ल्युट् प्रत्यय की प्रधानता दिखायी देती है। इस स्थिति में यह कहना तब तक सही नहीं हो सकता जब तक कि न्यायसूत्रकार गौतम कहीं पर किसी सूत्र के द्वारा करणार्थक ल्युट्प्रत्यय को बताने वाली इस व्याख्या के साथ अपनी सम्मति न प्रदर्शित कर रहे हों। परन्तु जहाँ तक हमारी दृष्टि जाती है, न्यायसूत्रकार गौतम कहीं पर भी इस व्याख्या के साथ अपनी सम्मति नहीं प्रदर्शित कर रहे हैं। यह बात तो ठीक है कि प्रमाण शब्द का प्रयोग सूत्रकार ने प्रमा के अधिकरण के लिए नहीं किया होगा क्योंकि प्रमाता ही प्रमा का अधिकरण होता है और उस प्रमाता को आत्मा के रूप में प्रमेयों में अन्तर्भूत किया गया है। द्वितीयतः प्रमाणों का जो चातुर्विध्य प्रस्तावित किया गया है वह भी प्रमाधिकरण अर्थ में प्रमाण शब्द का प्रयोग स्वीकार करने में बाधित होगा। परन्तु भाव अर्थ में प्रमाण शब्द का प्रयोग सूत्रकार द्वारा क्यों नहीं किया गया होगा? इसमें कोई भी बाधक प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं होता जिसको सूत्रकार ने उपलब्ध कराया हो। ध्येय है कि न्याय की विपरीतध्रुवीय बौद्ध परम्परा में दिङ्नाग और धर्मकीर्ति इत्यादि आचार्यों के द्वारा प्रमा तथा प्रमाण का अभेद स्वीकार किया गया है। यह कहा जा सकता है कि दिङ्नाग और धर्मकीर्ति इत्यादि आचार्यों का काल न्यायसूत्रकार से बहुत बाद का है, इस कारण किस प्रकार से उनके द्वारा जिस प्रकार से व्याख्या की जा रही है, उसको आधार बनाकर भावार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय को समझा जा सकता है? इस प्रश्न से अपनी सम्मति देते हुए भी यह कहने में कोई असुविधा नहीं है कि हमारे सामने दोनों भी विकल्प खुले रहते हैं। परवर्ती व्याख्याकारों ने करणार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय समझ कर इसकी व्याख्या की है, इससे भावार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय का प्रसंग निरस्त नहीं हो जाता। यदि भावार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय का विधान करके प्रमाण शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति की जाये, समाख्या की जाये तो प्रमाण शब्द ज्ञानार्थक भी हो सकता है। इस विप्रतिपत्ति की स्थिति में किस पक्ष को स्वीकार किया जाये? शायद यह कहा जाये कि भाव अर्थ में ल्युट् प्रत्यय करना सूत्रकार को अभिप्रेत नहीं रहा होगा क्योंकि उस स्थिति में तो ज्ञानविशेष को ही प्रमाण से कहा जायेगा और ज्ञान को सूत्रकार ने प्रमेयों के अन्तर्गत रखा है। परन्तु प्रमा और ज्ञान पर्याय तो नहीं हैं, ज्ञानविशेष प्रमा है, तथा ज्ञानविशेष अप्रमा है। इस कारण प्रमाण में भावार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय की सम्भावना को इस आधार पर बिलकुल ही दूर नहीं किया जा सकता।

यदि हम भाष्यकार, वार्तिककार, तात्पर्यटीकाकार आदि आचार्यों द्वारा दिखाये मार्ग पर चलें और यह मान लें कि करणार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय करके प्रमाण शब्द की सिद्धि होती है, उसी को दृष्टिगत

रखते हुए सूत्रकार ने लक्षण प्रस्तावित किये हैं तो यह अधिक सरल मार्ग होगा। परन्तु यह व्याख्या न तो सूत्रों के पौर्वापर्य के साथ पूर्ण संगत दिखती है और न तो यह सूत्रकार का सच्चा अभिप्राय प्रतीत होती है। यदि केवल सूत्रों के आधार पर प्रमाण शब्द के अर्थ का अन्वेषण किया जाये तो प्रतीत होता है कि भावार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय का विधान करके प्रमाण शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति को स्वीकार करना सम्भवतः अधिक संगत होगा।

प्रमाणों का चातुर्विध्य प्रस्तुत करके सूत्रकार सीधे-सीधे प्रत्यक्ष का लक्षण प्रस्तुत करते हैं। यहाँ पर विचारसन्दर्भ का संज्ञान यदि लिया जाये तो यह लक्षण प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का ही होना चाहिए क्योंकि प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण ही पूर्वपरामृष्ट है। समग्र न्याय वैशेषिक परम्परा इस प्रत्यक्ष लक्षण को प्रत्यक्ष प्रमा का लक्षण मानती है न कि प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का। परम्परा यह कहती है कि करण का भेद क्रिया के आधार पर किया जाता है इस कारण यदि क्रिया की परिभाषा कर दी गयी तो उस क्रिया के करण की परिभाषा भी पूर्ण हो गयी।⁷ यह कहा जा सकता है कि प्रत्यक्ष प्रमा का लक्षण करके सूत्रकार उसमें तत्करणम् जोड़कर प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का ही लक्षण प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं। यानी सीधे-सीधे प्रमाण का लक्षण प्रस्तुत न करके सूत्रकार द्वारा घुमाकर प्रमाण का लक्षण प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

अनुमान के लक्षण पर विचार करें तो अनुमान का लक्षण सूत्रकार ने जो प्रस्तावित किया है वह है तत्पूर्वकम्। तत् शब्द पूर्वपरामर्शक होता है, तत् शब्द से उसी का बोध होता है जिसकी चर्चा पूर्व में की गयी हो। इस कारण अनुमान का लक्षण हुआ प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वा अनुमान के इस लक्षण को अनुमिति प्रमा पर भी लागू किया जा सकता है और अनुमान प्रमाण पर भी। न केवल इतना ही अपितु जिस रूप में यह लक्षण प्रस्तुत है उसका अनुसरण किया जाये तो यह लक्षण न केवल अनुमान पर बल्कि उपमान और शब्द प्रमाण पर भी लागू किया जा सकता है।⁸ परवर्ती व्याख्याकार इस प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्व को इस रीति से व्याख्यायित करते हैं कि इस लक्षण की अतिव्याप्ति उपमान और शब्द में न हो। जयन्त भट्ट ने न्यायमंजरी में इन दोनों विकल्पों पर चर्चा की है तथा सिद्धान्तित किया है कि इसको अनुमान प्रमाण के फल यानी कि अनुमिति प्रमा पर लागू किया जा सकता है और अनुमान प्रमाण पर भी। परन्तु यदि अनुमान प्रमाण के ऊपर सीधे-सीधे तत्पूर्वकत्व को लागू किया जाये तो भी कोई असुविधा नहीं है। अनुमान प्रमाण के रूप में स्वीकृत व्याप्तिज्ञान या परामर्श प्रत्यक्षपूर्वक होता ही है। यदि अनुमान प्रमाण प्रत्यक्षपूर्वक है तो अनुमिति प्रमा तो प्रत्यक्षपूर्वक होगी ही। इसी स्थल पर जयन्त भट्ट तत् पद के द्वारा प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का परिग्रह किया जाये या प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण के फल यानी प्रत्यक्ष प्रमा का ग्रहण किया जाये इस पर भी विचार करते हैं। सिद्धान्त के रूप में यह स्थापित करते हैं कि तत् पद के द्वारा प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का परिग्रह भी किया जा सकता है और प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण के फल यानी प्रत्यक्ष प्रमा का परिग्रह भी किया जा सकता है।⁹

परन्तु उपमान के बारे में क्या कहेंगे? उपमान की परिभाषा सूत्रकार ने दी है प्रसिद्धसाधर्म्येण साध्यसाधनमुपमानम् 1-1-6, वह उपमिति प्रमा की परिभाषा नहीं है। बल्कि उपमान प्रमाण की परिभाषा है। इसी कारण भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन उपमान लक्षण का अर्थ करते हैं कि प्रज्ञात के

सामान्य से (समानता से, सादृश्य से) प्रज्ञापनीय का प्रज्ञापन ही उपमान प्रमाण है¹⁰ उपमान प्रमाण का जो निर्वचन किया गया है, उससे तो सीधे-सीधे भाव अर्थ ही ध्वनित होता है। प्रसिद्धसाधर्म्यात् साध्यसाधनम् उपमानम् प्रसिद्ध साधर्म्य के आधार पर साध्य की सिद्धि करना ही उपमान है, इस वक्तव्य से करण अर्थ द्योतित न होकर भाव अर्थ ही प्रतीत होता है क्योंकि साधन क्रिया को यहाँ उपमान कहा जा रहा है। करणार्थक ल्युट् प्रत्यय करते हुए प्रमाण शब्द का अर्थ जब हम समझने का प्रयास करते हैं तो उस तरह से व्याख्या करने में प्रक्रिया का गौरव होता है। हमको यह बताना पड़ता है कि सूत्रकार ने पहले तो प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान तथा शब्द इस प्रकार से प्रमाणों का विभाग किया, उसके बाद प्रमाण का लक्षण न करते हुए प्रथमतः प्रमा का लक्षण प्रस्तुत किया।

इसी प्रकार से शब्द की जो परिभाषा सूत्रकार प्रस्तावित करते हैं आमोपदेशः शब्दः 1-1-7 वह भी शब्द प्रमाण का ही लक्षण है। वह शाब्दी प्रमा का लक्षण नहीं है। इस प्रकार चार प्रमाणों में सूत्रकार ने सुस्पष्टतया दो प्रमाणों का सीधे-सीधे लक्षण किया है और दो के बारे में यह स्पष्ट नहीं है कि वहाँ पर सूत्रकार ने प्रमा की परिभाषा की है या प्रमाण की। यदि प्रमाण शब्द को भावार्थक ल्युट् के द्वारा सिद्ध माना जाये तो प्रसिद्धसाधर्म्येण साध्यसाधनमुपमानम् 1-1-6, इस उपमान लक्षण में भाव अर्थ में ही अर्थ की संगति दिखायी दे रही है। इस स्थिति में प्रमाकरण प्रमाणम् इस परिभाषा को आधार बनाकर अगर हम प्रमाण को समझने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं तो वह सूत्रकार से समर्थित नहीं हो पा रही है, ऐसा मुझको लगता है।

यदि सूत्रकार प्रमाण का ही विवेचन कर रहे हैं तो प्रमाण का क्या लक्षण उनको बुद्धिस्थ रहा होगा? सीधे-सीधे सूत्रकार कहीं पर भी प्रमाण की परिभाषा तो प्रस्तावित नहीं ही कर रहे हैं। वे तो सीधे-सीधे प्रमाण का विभाग करने के उपरान्त प्रमाणविशेषों, प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान तथा शब्द की परिभाषा ही प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं। सूत्रकार जिस प्रकार से एक नवीन ग्रन्थरचना पद्धति का अनुसरण कर ग्रन्थ रच रहे हैं जिसमें उद्देश, लक्षण तथा परीक्षा का प्रावधान है। तो प्रमाण सामान्य का भी लक्षण उनको देना चाहिए था। गौतम जैसे शास्त्रप्रणेता के लिए यह बहुत बड़ी असावधानी या लापरवाही कही जायेगी कि वे दावा तो एक नवीन सरणि से शास्त्रप्रणयन का करते हैं, परन्तु उसको अपने ग्रन्थ में ही वहाँ पर ही लागू नहीं करते जहाँ पर यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। आखिर सबसे अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण तत्त्व के विषय में ही इस प्रकार की असावधानी को क्या कहा जायेगा? प्रमाण समस्त तत्त्वों में प्रधान है इसमें तो सन्देह नहीं किया जा सकता।

न्यायभाष्य की प्रथम पंक्ति में प्रमाणमर्थवत् इस प्रकार से वात्स्यायन ने उल्लेख किया है। इस प्रकार से उल्लेख करते हुए वात्स्यायन ने अर्थवत्त्व को ही प्रमाण का लक्षण बताया गया है। इसकी व्याख्या करने के क्रम में न्यायवार्तिककार ने यह बताया है कि प्रमाणमर्थपरिच्छेदकम्¹¹ परन्तु अर्थपरिच्छेदकत्व को प्रमाण का लक्षण मानने पर अयथार्थ अनुभव में, संशय में और भ्रम में प्रमाण के लक्षण की अतिव्याप्ति होगी क्योंकि अर्थपरिच्छेदकत्व तो इनमें भी विद्यमान है। इस कारण वाचस्पति मिश्र अर्थपरिच्छेदकत्व को अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व के रूप में व्याख्यायित करते हैं।

वाचस्पति मिश्र का तात्पर्य यह है कि प्रमाण केवल बोधक होने के कारण यानी अर्थ का परिच्छेदक होने के कारण अपने विषय का निश्चय कराने में समर्थ नहीं होता है अपितु बोधक होने के साथ-साथ अर्थ का अव्यभिचारी होने पर ही अपने विषय का निश्चय कराने में समर्थ होता है।¹² जयन्त भट्ट चारों प्रमाणों का एक सामान्य लक्षण बताने के लिए अपना निष्कर्ष इस प्रकार से प्रस्तुत करते हैं कि प्रत्यक्षलक्षण सूत्र से अर्थोत्पन्नम्, अव्यभिचारि तथा व्यवसायात्मकम् इन तीन पदों का आकर्षण कर लिया जाता है। ये तीनों ही अर्थोत्पन्नता, अव्यभिचारिता तथा व्यवसायात्मकता चारों ही प्रमाणों में समान रूप से विद्यमान हैं।¹³ इन तीनों ही विशेषणों की सार्थकता बताते हुए जयन्त भट्ट कहते हैं कि अर्थोत्पन्न विशेषण से फलविशेषण बनाते हुए स्मृतिजनक, अव्यभिचारि पद से विपर्यय का आधान करनेवाले और व्यवसायात्मक पद से संशयजनक प्रमाण का व्युदास हो जाता है।¹⁴ निष्कर्ष के रूप में जयन्त भट्ट सिद्धान्त प्रस्तुत करते हैं कि इस प्रकार यह बात आती है कि अर्थविषयक, असन्दिग्ध तथा अव्यभिचारि ज्ञान जिसके द्वारा उत्पन्न होता है, वही प्रमाण है। इस प्रकार एक ही सूत्र से सूत्रकार ने प्रमाणसामान्य का लक्षण तथा विभाग दोनों ही कर दिया है।¹⁵

जयन्त भट्ट द्वारा प्रस्तुत व्याख्या विश्वसनीय तो है परन्तु इसके साथ कुछ अन्य समस्याएँ हैं। पहली समस्या यह है कि यह एक प्रौढिमात्र प्रतीत होती है। आखिर किस प्रकार से अनुमान, उपमान तथा शब्द प्रमाणों के द्वारा उत्पन्न प्रमाओं में अर्थोत्पन्नत्व का समन्वय किया जा सकेगा? क्योंकि अनुमान तो त्रिकालविषयक होता है फिर किस प्रकार से भूतकालीन तथा भविष्यत्कालीन विषय का ज्ञान करानेवाली अनुमिति और शाब्दी प्रमाएँ भविष्यत्कालीन और सुदूर भूतकालीन अर्थ से उत्पन्न हो सकती हैं? इसका समाधान करने के लिए अन्ततः यही मानना पड़ेगा कि अर्थोत्पन्नत्व का अभिप्राय अर्थविषयकत्व यानी सविषयकत्व से है। परन्तु अर्थविषयकत्व को अर्थोत्पन्नत्व से एकरूप नहीं समझा जा सकता। दूसरी समस्या यह है कि सूत्रों के साथ इनका योजन कैसे होगा? सूत्रों में यदि एक ही रीति से विभिन्न प्रमाओं का लक्षण किया गया होता और फिर तत्करणत्वेन प्रमाणों का लक्षण करने का संकेत होता तो यह कर पाना आसानी से सम्भव था। ये विशेषण उन पर संगत होते तथा वे व्यवस्थित रूप से लागू किये जा सकते थे। परन्तु सूत्रकार ने ऐसा किया नहीं है। साक्षात् प्रमाण का ही लक्षण करते हुए शब्द का विवेचन सूत्रकार ने किया है। परन्तु वही स्थिति प्रत्यक्ष तथा अनुमान के विषय में नहीं दिखती। यह लक्षण प्रत्यक्ष प्रमा का लक्षण है या प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का यह स्पष्ट नहीं हो पाता। इसी प्रकार अनुमान के लिए प्रस्तुत लक्षण अनुमिति प्रमा का है या अनुमान प्रमाण का यह भी सुस्पष्ट नहीं है।

जयन्त भट्ट द्वारा प्रतिपादित पक्ष कुछ संशोधनों के बाद स्वीकार्य हो सकता है। जयन्त भट्ट के अनुसार प्रत्यक्ष लक्षण से अर्थोत्पन्नम्, अव्यभिचारि तथा व्यवसायात्मकम् इन तीन पदों का आकर्षण कर प्रमाणसामान्य का लक्षण बनाना चाहिए। मुझे लगता है कि इस प्रकार से लक्षण बनाने की अपेक्षा अव्यभिचारि तथा व्यवसायात्मकम् इन दो अंशों का आकर्षण कर प्रमाणसामान्य का लक्षण निर्मित करना अधिक संगत होगा। यह अव्यभिचारित्व तथा व्यवसायात्मकत्व समस्त

प्रमाणों में व्याप्त है। यद्यपि निर्विकल्पक ज्ञान में व्यवसायात्मकत्व का व्यवस्थापन सम्भव नहीं है, परन्तु न्यायसूत्रकार के मत में निर्विकल्पक प्रत्यक्ष मान्य है इसमें भी सन्देह ही है।¹⁶ इसमें भी केवल अव्यभिचारित्व को ही प्रमाण का लक्षण मान लेना अधिक संगत है। किसी भी प्रमाण को प्रमाण होने के लिए अव्यभिचारी होना आवश्यक है, अपरिहार्य है। यही अव्यभिचारित्व ही प्रामाण्य है। अव्यभिचारित्व का अभिप्राय है अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व। इसी को प्रामाण्य मानने के लिए तात्पर्यटीका आदि में भी सम्मति दी गयी है। वस्तुतः तो अर्थवत् में नित्ययोग अर्थ में मतुप् का विधान करते हुए भाष्यकार के अर्थवत् पद की संगति बेहतर तरीके से लगायी जा सकती है।

मितिः सम्यक् परिच्छित्तिस्तद्वत्ता तु प्रमातृता।

तदयोगव्यवच्छेदः प्रामाण्यं गौतमे मते।। (न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि कारिका 4-5) इस प्रकार से उदयनाचार्य न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि में जब मिति को सम्यक् परिच्छित्ति के रूप में तथा प्रामाण्य को सम्यक् परिच्छित्ति के अयोगव्यवच्छेद के रूप में व्याख्यायित करते हैं तो उसमें प्रमाण का परिच्छेदकत्व तो अन्तर्भूत होता ही है उसमें उनका आशय भी अव्यभिचारित्व या अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व को ही प्रमा का लक्षण स्वीकार करने में है। यदि अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व को प्रमाण का लक्षण माना जाये तो भी कोई असुविधा नहीं है, न केवल अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व प्रमा में विद्यमान है अपितु प्रमाण में भी उसी प्रकार से संगत है।

परन्तु क्या एक ही प्रकार का अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व सभी प्रमाणों के ऊपर लागू किया जा सकता है? प्रत्यक्ष ज्ञान में जो अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व है वैसा ही शब्द प्रमाण के ऊपर नहीं लागू किया जा सकता है क्योंकि प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण ज्ञानात्मक है। ज्ञान का जैसा अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व होगा वैसा वाक्य का नहीं होगा। परन्तु न्यायसूत्रकार ने इन सारे विषयों पर स्वयं ही गम्भीरता से विचार कर लिया होगा और बाद के आचार्यों के लिए विचार करने के लिए कुछ भी नहीं छोड़ा होगा, यह सोचना हमारा भोलापन होगा तथा समस्या का अतिसरलीकरण होगा। जिस बात के लिए सूत्रकार का सीधा-सीधा अभिमत दिखता है वह अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व को ही प्रमाण का लक्षण मानने के पक्ष में दिखता है क्योंकि प्रमाण पद की व्युत्पत्ति के आधार पर जो भी अर्थ निकालने की कोशिश हम करें, परन्तु उसके समर्थन में सूत्रकार के किसी कथन को साक्ष्य के रूप में उपस्थापित कर पाना शक्य नहीं है। इसके विपरीत प्रमाण का विभाग करने के बाद प्रथम प्रमाण प्रत्यक्ष के लक्षणसूत्र में सुस्पष्ट रूप से अव्यभिचारि पद का संग्रह किया गया है। इस अव्यभिचारि पद का प्रयोग यह सुस्पष्ट संकेत देता है कि यदि इस पद को प्रत्यक्ष के लक्षण में नहीं दिया जाये तो प्रत्यक्ष का यह लक्षण प्रत्यक्ष प्रमा और प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का लक्षण नहीं बन सकेगा। अव्यभिचारित्व ही इसको प्रत्यक्ष प्रमा और प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का लक्षण बनाता है। इस कारण यह स्वीकार करने में कोई असुविधा नहीं है कि सभी प्रमाणों पर यह परिभाषा लागू हो सकती है। सूत्रों में जिस प्रकार से पदों की अनुवृत्ति करने की परिपाटी रही है, उससे इस बात को बल मिलता है कि सम्भवतः गौतम अव्यभिचारित्व को प्रमा और प्रमाण के लक्षण के रूप में सभी प्रमाणों पर लागू करने का अभिमत रखते रहे होंगे। समाख्यानिर्वचन

सामर्थ्य से परिच्छेदकत्व अर्थ को प्रमाण सामान्य के लक्षण के रूप में स्वीकृत करने की अपेक्षा अव्यभिचारित्व को या अर्थाव्यभिचारित्व को प्रमाण सामान्य के लक्षण के रूप में स्वीकृत करने पक्ष में सूत्रकार की वाचिक संगति दिखने के कारण यह पक्ष अधिक संगत प्रतीत होता है।

प्रमा तथा प्रमाण के विभाग के विषय में यह प्रतीत होता है कि सूत्रकार के मस्तिष्क में या तो प्रमाण और प्रमा को लेकर उतना सुस्पष्ट विभाग नहीं रहा या अधिक सटीक रूप से कहा जाये तो सम्भवतः वे प्रमाण और प्रमा को अलग-अलग नहीं ग्रहण कर रहे हैं। अगर इस रूप में सूत्रकार के अभिमत को हम समझें तो ऊपर के विरोधाभास स्वयं ही दूर हो जायेंगे। न्यायभाष्य तथा न्यायवार्तिक का एक सावधान निरीक्षण इसके समर्थन में आवश्यक रूप से कुछ बिन्दु उपलब्ध कराता है। न्यायभाष्यकार वात्स्यायन प्रमाण शब्द के द्वारा दोनों का बोध आवश्यक मानते हैं ज्ञान का भी तथा ज्ञानसाधन का भी। उनके अनुसार प्रत्यक्ष पद से दो अर्थ अभिप्रेत हैं सन्निकर्ष तथा ज्ञान क्योंकि प्रतिविषय वृत्ति को ही प्रत्यक्ष कहा जाता है।¹⁷ यद्यपि भाष्यकार ने इस प्रकार से सन्निकर्ष तथा ज्ञान दोनों के लिए प्रमाण शब्द का प्रयोग करते हुए भी दोनों के फलों में भेद किया है। जब सन्निकर्ष प्रमाण है तो ज्ञान फल है और जब ज्ञान फल है उस समय हान, उपादान तथा उपेक्षाबुद्धियाँ फल होती हैं।¹⁸ इस कारण सन्निकर्ष तथा ज्ञान दोनों में ही प्रमाकरणत्वरूप प्रमाणत्व संगत होता है। परन्तु न्यायवार्तिककार इसकी संगति दूसरे प्रकार से दिखाते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि **समस्त प्रमाण अपने विषय के प्रति भावसाधन होते हैं यानी कि समस्त प्रमितियाँ प्रमाण होती हैं।**¹⁹ विषयान्तर के प्रति ही उनकी करणसाधनता होती है यानी विषयान्तर का जब उनके द्वारा ज्ञान होता है तो वे प्रमासाधन होते हैं।²⁰ यह वक्तव्य व्याख्या की अपेक्षा करता है। इसका अभिप्राय यही समझना उचित प्रतीत होता है कि वस्तुतः प्रमिति ही प्रमाण होती है, प्रमिति होते हुए ही वह अपने विषय में प्रमाण होती है, प्रमिति की अपने विषय में यह प्रमाणता भावसाधन होना ही है। परन्तु उसी प्रमिति की अन्य विषय के प्रति करणसाधनता होती है। अर्थात् जब उस ज्ञान के आधार पर ज्ञानविषय के बारे में हानोपादानोपेक्षाबुद्धि होती है तो वही प्रमिति करणसाधन अर्थ में प्रमाण बनती है। जिस प्रकार से बाद के नैयायिक प्रमा तथा प्रमाण के विषय में आत्यन्तिक विभाग मानते हैं, उस रीति से यदि विचार किया जाये तो प्रमिति अपने विषय के प्रति कभी भी प्रमाण नहीं कही जा सकेगी क्योंकि इनके अनुसार प्रमाण होने का अर्थ प्रमा का करण होना ही है प्रमिति किसी भी प्रकार से अपने विषय के लिए प्रमितिकरण नहीं हो सकेगी।

ध्यातव्य है कि नव्यन्याय की परम्परा में इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्ष को ही प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण माना जाता है परन्तु उद्योतकर केवल इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्ष को प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण माननेवाले किन्हीं आचार्यों के मत का इस प्रकार से खण्डन करते हैं—कुछ लोग सन्निकर्ष ही प्रमाण है ऐसा बताते हैं, वह न्यायसंगत नहीं है क्योंकि दोनों ही विषय के परिच्छेदक होते हैं सन्निकर्ष भी और ज्ञान भी। (इस कारण दोनों को ही प्रमाण मानना चाहिए) इसलिए जो इस विषय में एकान्तवादी हैं, एक को ही प्रमाण मानते हैं (दोनों को प्रमाण नहीं मानते) उनके मत में दोष होगा।²¹

स्पष्ट रूप से उद्योतकर उन आचार्यों और दार्शनिकों के अभिमत की आलोचना कर रहे हैं जो केवल प्रमाकरण को ही प्रमाण मानते हैं और इसके साथ ही साथ उन आचार्यों के अभिमत की भी आलोचना कर रहे हैं जो केवल प्रमिति को ही प्रमाण मानते हैं। ध्येय है कि परवर्ती न्याय परम्परा में प्रमाकरण को ही प्रमाण माना गया है और लिङ्गाग, धर्मकीर्ति इत्यादि बौद्ध दार्शनिक प्रमिति को ही प्रमाण मानने का पक्ष रखते हैं। उद्योतकर इन दोनों मतों की आलोचना करते हुए जो कुछ भी परिच्छेदक होता है उसको प्रमाण मानने का पक्ष रखते हैं। उद्योतकर का पक्ष है कि ये दोनों ही पक्ष ऐकान्तिक हैं, इस कारण गलत हैं। यदि प्रमाण शब्द के व्युत्पत्तिलभ्य अर्थ को लिया जाये तो लोक में उसी को प्रमाण कहा जाता है जो परिच्छेदक होता है। इस प्रकार का प्रामाण्य प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान तथा शब्द चारों ही प्रमाणों में विद्यमान है। इसका निहितार्थ यह भी है कि प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान और शब्द इन चारों में ही प्रमाकरणत्व की संगति उतनी अपेक्षणीय नहीं है जितनी परिच्छेदकत्व की। इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में प्रमा और प्रमाण के मध्य विभाजकरेखा सुस्पष्ट नहीं रहती। अर्थपरिच्छेदक होने के कारण इनका प्रमाणत्व बन जाता है, प्रमाण होने के लिए अर्थ का परिच्छेदक होना मात्र अपेक्षणीय है प्रमा के प्रति करण होना नहीं। इसी कारण अनुमान शब्द की जैसी व्युत्पत्ति वात्स्यायन ने प्रस्तुत की है कि मितेन लिङ्गेन लिङ्गिनोऽर्थस्य पश्चान्मानम् अनुमानम्, मित लिङ्ग के द्वारा लिङ्गी अर्थ का पश्चात् मान (परिच्छेदन) ही अनुमान है, उस पर उद्योतकर प्रश्न उपस्थित करते हैं कि यह व्याख्या तो युक्त नहीं रहेगी क्योंकि इस प्रकार से जिसको अनुमान प्रमाण के द्वारा समझा जा रहा है उसका कोई फल नहीं रहेगा। प्रमाकरणात्मक प्रमाण होने के लिए फल का होना तो अनिवार्य है और वह सम्भव नहीं है क्योंकि अर्थ तो प्रमित हो गया।²² इस प्रकार से प्रश्न उठाकर इस प्रश्न का समाधान उद्योतकर दो प्रकार से प्रस्तुत करते हैं प्रथम समाधान यह है कि मित (ज्ञात) लिङ्ग के द्वारा लिङ्गी अर्थ का पश्चात् मान (परिच्छेदन) जिससे होता है वह अनुमान है।²³ उद्योतकर दूसरा समाधान यह देते हैं कि ठीक है, लिङ्ग के आधार पर अर्थ की प्रतिपत्ति ही अनुमान है। इसमें जो यह दोष दिया जा रहा है कि फलाभाव है, करणात्मक साधन होने के लिए अथवा भावसाधन होने के लिए फल का होना आवश्यक है, तो उसका समाधान यह है कि हान, उपादान और उपेक्षाबुद्धियाँ ही फल हैं।²⁴ उद्योतकर द्वारा किया गया यह सारा विवेचन दो बातों की ओर संकेत करता है। पहला तो यह कि न्यायसूत्रकार को सम्भवतः परिच्छेदकत्वरूप प्रमाणत्व अभिप्रेत रहा होगा। दूसरा संकेत अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है। वह यह है कि अनुमान के ऊपर वस्तुतः प्रमाकरणत्व रूपी प्रमाणत्व लागू नहीं किया जा सकता है। क्योंकि अनुमान का कोई फल नहीं है, अनुमान एक प्रक्रिया है, जिस प्रक्रिया से हमको विषय का ज्ञान होता है, उसमें उस प्रकार से किसी एक को हम प्रमाण नहीं मान सकते जैसा कि परवर्ती नैयायिक मानते हैं। इसी बात को थोड़ा आगे ले जाते हुए इस प्रकार से समझना अधिक युक्तिसंगत प्रतीत होता है कि सम्भवतः न्यायसूत्रकार के लिए सारे ही प्रमाणों को प्रक्रिया के रूप में समझना अपेक्षित रहा होगा।

इतना ही नहीं है, हम वाचस्पति मिश्र को भी हम उद्योतकर के इस पक्ष के समर्थन में संकेत देते हुए पाते हैं। वाचस्पति मिश्र इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नम् इत्यादि प्रत्यक्ष लक्षण में यतः इस पद

का अध्याहार कर यत् तथा तत् का नित्यसम्बन्ध होने के कारण जिससे इस प्रकार का ज्ञान उत्पन्न होता है, उसको प्रत्यक्ष कहते हैं, इस रीति से प्रत्यक्ष के लक्षण को समझने की आवश्यकता पर बल देते हैं। परन्तु द्वितीय विकल्प के रूप में यह भी सुझाव देते हैं कि इन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नम् इत्यादि प्रत्यक्ष लक्षण के द्वारा इन्द्रिय तथा अर्थ के सन्निकर्ष से उत्पन्न ज्ञान को भी प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण माना जाना चाहिए इस प्रकार की स्थापना प्रस्तुत करते हैं। इस कारण इस लक्षण से इन्द्रिय तथा अर्थ के सन्निकर्ष से उत्पन्न विशेष्य ज्ञान जो कि प्रत्यक्ष का फल है और लिंगपरामर्शात्मक भी ज्ञान भी संगृहीत हो जाते हैं, इस कारण इस लक्षण की उस प्रत्यक्ष ज्ञान में अव्याप्ति नहीं होती है।²⁵

प्रमा और प्रमाण का विभाग यदि आवश्यक माना जाये तो उस स्थिति में हमको वात्स्यायन द्वारा प्रदर्शित रीति से प्रमाता, प्रमाण, प्रमिति और प्रमा इस प्रकार से अर्थों के चार प्रकारों को स्वीकार करना आवश्यक होगा।²⁶ परन्तु सूत्रकार के मस्तिष्क में भी इन चारों का विभाग रहा ही होगा, इसमें सन्देह है। प्रमाण और प्रमिति के विभाग के विषय में यह सन्देह अधिक गहरा है। इसका एक साक्ष्य नागार्जुन भी उपलब्ध कराते हैं। न्यायसूत्रकार के सबसे प्रखर और तीखे आलोचक नागार्जुन विग्रहव्यावर्तनी में ग्राह (ज्ञान), ग्राह्य (ज्ञेय विषय) और ग्रहीता (ज्ञाता) ये तीन तथा प्रतिषेध, प्रतिषेध्य और प्रतिषेद्धा ये तीन मिलाकर छह तत्त्वों की सत्ता स्वीकार करनी पड़ेगी।²⁷ इस प्रकार से पूर्वपक्ष प्रस्तुत करने के उपरान्त उसको अगली कारिका से दृढ़ करते हैं कि यदि ग्राह (ज्ञान), ग्राह्य (ज्ञेय विषय) और ग्रहीता (ज्ञाता) ये तीनों नहीं हैं तो समान युक्ति से प्रतिषेध, प्रतिषेध्य और प्रतिषेद्धा भी नहीं हैं।²⁸ अन्त में सिद्धान्तपक्ष के रूप में इन छहों को ही मायिक बताते हुए नागार्जुन न्याय सिद्धान्त का खण्डन करते हैं। निश्चय ही यदि नागार्जुन के समक्ष गौतम द्वारा प्रस्तुत प्रमिति तथा प्रमाण का विभाग रहा होता तो उन्होंने ग्राह (ज्ञान), ग्राह्य (ज्ञेय विषय) और ग्रहीता (ज्ञाता) केवल इन तीनों का ही निषेध नहीं किया होता। अपितु ग्राहक का भी निषेध किया होता क्योंकि तभी नागार्जुन द्वारा किया गया गौतम का निषेध पूर्णता प्राप्त करता। स्मरणीय है कि वात्स्यायन ने यह दावा बहुत ही बलपूर्वक प्रथम सूत्र की भूमिका के अवसर पर ही किया है कि प्रमाण, प्रमिति, प्रमाता तथा प्रमाण इन चार विधाओं में अर्थतत्त्व परिसमाप्त हो जाता है। यह प्रतीत होता है कि नागार्जुन की आलोचनाओं के आलोक में वात्स्यायन ने न्यायसूत्रों की पूरी प्रमाणमीमांसीय संरचना को ही एक नवीन आधार देने का प्रयास किया है।

यह स्वीकार करने में कोई अन्तर्विरोध नहीं है कि प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान तथा शब्द चारों ही प्रमाणों का लक्षण एक ही समान रूप में, एक समान सरणि का आश्रय ग्रहण करते हुए सूत्रकार ने किया है। वस्तुतः यहाँ पर न तो प्रमाणफल की और न ही प्रमाण की परिभाषा सूत्रकार के द्वारा दी गयी है अपितु प्रमाण की प्रक्रिया को बताया गया है। यह स्वीकार अधिक युक्तिसंगत तथा उचित जान पड़ता है कि सूत्रकार इन सब स्थलों पर क्रमशः प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान तथा शाब्दी प्रक्रियाओं का ही लक्षण कर रहे हैं। यही स्वीकार करने में सूत्रकार का विवेचन अधिक संगत दिखता है। इसका कारण यह है कि यदि परम्परा का अनुसरण करते हुए यह माना जाये कि प्रत्यक्ष

लक्षण में प्रत्यक्ष प्रमा का लक्षण किया गया है और उसी प्रकार अनुमान में भी प्रमा का लक्षण किया गया है तथा उन दोनों में भी यतः इस पद का अध्याहार करते हुए हम प्रमाण का लक्षण समझ लेते हैं। इसी अभिप्राय से सूत्रकार ने प्रत्यक्ष तथा अनुमान का लक्षण प्रस्तुत किया है। तो इसमें सबसे बड़ी समस्या यह है कि उपमान तथा शब्द प्रमाण का तो सूत्रकार ने सीधे-सीधे लक्षण प्रस्तुत किया है। प्रसिद्धसाधर्म्यात् साध्यसाधनमुपमानम्, तथा आत्मोपदेशः शब्दः कहते हुए सूत्रकार ने उपमान तथा शब्द प्रमाणों का सीधे-सीधे लक्षण प्रस्तुत किया है। इन दोनों में कहीं पर भी प्रमा का लक्षण नहीं दिया गया है। यद्यपि इन दोनों के लक्षणों में भी एक भेद है, उपमान में उपमान की प्रक्रिया का लक्षण किया गया है तथा शब्द में सीधे प्रमाण का। सुसंगति तो तब होती यदि सूत्रकार ने सभी प्रमाणों का लक्षण एक ही प्रकार से सीधे-सीधे प्रस्तुत किया होता। इसी का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत लेखक के द्वारा किया जा रहा है कि वस्तुतः न्यायसूत्रकार गौतम ने प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, उपमान तथा शब्द तीनों ही स्थलों पर प्रमाण का ही सीधे-सीधे लक्षण किया था। इसके समर्थन में यह तथ्य भी प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है कि परीक्षा प्रकरण में भी न्यायसूत्रकार प्रमाण तथा प्रामाण्य की परीक्षा तो करते हैं, परन्तु कहीं पर भी प्रमा की परीक्षा नहीं करते। यद्यपि यह कहा जा सकता है कि प्रमाण तथा प्रामाण्य की परीक्षा में प्रमा की परीक्षा भी अन्तर्भूत हो जाती है परन्तु इस प्रश्न का क्या उत्तर दिया जा सकता है कि गौतम जैसा व्यवस्थित दार्शनिक आखिर किस कारण प्रमा तथा प्रमाण के विभेद को कहीं पर भी सुस्पष्टतया प्रकट नहीं करता? इस कारण यही मानना उचित जान पड़ता है कि यह तो परवर्ती नैयायिक थे जिनको प्रमा तथा प्रमाण का विभाग आवश्यक लगा क्योंकि इस विभाग के आधार पर नागार्जुन द्वारा प्रस्तुत चुनौतियों का सामना करने के लिए एक सुव्यवस्थित मार्ग खुल रहा था जबकि प्रमा तथा प्रमाण को एक मानने पर नागार्जुन के आरोप अधिक तीखे हो रहे थे। प्रमेय की सिद्धि प्रमाण से होने पर प्रमाणों की सिद्धि किससे होगी, यदि अन्य प्रमाणों से तो चार से अधिक प्रमाण स्वीकार करने पड़ेंगे, तथा प्रमाण की सिद्धि स्वतः तो स्वीकार की ही नहीं जा सकती। इस प्रकार के अनेक आरोपों से बचना प्रमा तथा प्रमाण के बीच एक भेद स्वीकार करते हुए सम्भव हो सकता था। भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन ने यही कार्य किया। यह ध्येय है कि विग्रहव्यावर्तनी में नागार्जुन ने केवल प्रमाण का ही सन्दर्भ लिया है, कहीं पर भी प्रमा तथा प्रमाण दोनों का सन्दर्भ नहीं लिया है। नागार्जुन द्वारा की गयी सारी आलोचना प्रमा तथा प्रमाण को अभिन्न मानते हुए की गयी है। भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन ने प्रमा तथा प्रमाण को भिन्न रखने का प्रस्ताव किया। इस कारण नागार्जुन की आलोचनाओं की पकड़ से निकलना सम्भव हो सका।

सन्दर्भ एवं पादटिप्पणी—

1. तत्रोद्दिष्टस्य प्रविभक्तस्य लक्षणमुच्यते यथा प्रमाणानां प्रमेयस्य च, उद्दिष्टस्य लक्षितस्य च विभागवचनम् यथा छलस्य वचनविधातोऽर्थविकल्पोपपत्त्या छलम् तत् त्रिविधम् इति। न्यायभाष्य 1-1-3
2. उपलब्धिसाधनानि प्रमाणानीति समाख्यानिर्वचनसामर्थ्याद् बोद्धव्यम्—प्रमीयते अनेनेति करणार्थाभिधानोऽयं प्रमाणशब्दः। वहीं

3. एकेनानेन सूत्रेण द्वयं चाह महामुनिः। प्रमाणेषु चतुःसंख्यं तथा सामान्यलक्षणम्। न्यायमंजरी प्रथमखण्ड पृ.41. जयन्त भट्ट, न्यायमंजरी, चक्रधर, ग्रन्थिभंग व्याख्या, सम्पादक गौरीनाथ शास्त्री, सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी, 1982
4. सामान्यलक्षणं तु प्रमाणपदादेव समाख्यानिर्वचनसामर्थ्यसहितादवगम्यते प्रमीयते येन तत् प्रमाणमिति करणार्थाभिधायिनः प्रमाणशब्दात् प्रमाकरणं प्रमाणमवगम्यते। वही
5. पाणिनीय सूत्र 3-3-117
6. पाणिनीय सूत्र 3-3-116
7. करणस्य क्रियाभिन्नभेदमूर्तिकतया करण का भेद क्रिया के भेद से हुआ करता है। यह सन्दर्भ अत्यन्त प्रसिद्ध है।
8. सर्वप्रमाणानां प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वादिति। न्यायवार्तिक 1-1-3, पृ.185. न्यायवार्तिक, न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका तथा तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धि से समस्त सन्दर्भ न्यायदर्शन, चतुर्ग्रन्थिका, न्यायभाष्य, न्यायवार्तिक, तात्पर्यटीका, तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धि से समन्वित सम्पादक अनन्तलाल ठक्कुर, मिथिला शोध संस्थान, दरभंगा, 1967 से लिए गये हैं।
9. उभयथापि न दोषः। न्यायमंजरी, पृ.186,
10. प्रज्ञातेन सामान्यात् प्रज्ञापनीयस्य प्रज्ञापनमुपमानमिति यथा गौरैवं गवय इति।
11. प्रमाणं तावदर्थपरिच्छेदकम्। न्यायवार्तिक पृ.7
12. न हि प्रमाणं तत्त्वेनानवधारितं बोधकत्वमात्रेण स्वगोचरावधारणायालं तावन्मात्रस्य तदाभाससाधारण्यात्, अपितु बोधकत्वैकार्थसमनवेतेनाव्यभिचारित्वेन। तदेव हि प्रामाण्यम्। तात्पर्यटीका पृ.24
13. अशुद्धप्रमितिविधायिनस्तु प्रामाण्यं प्रसज्यत इति स्मृतिसंशयविपर्ययजनकव्यवच्छेदाय प्रत्यक्षसूत्रादर्थोत्पन्नमित्यव्यभिचारीति व्यवसायात्मकमिति च पदत्रयमाकृष्यते। तद्धि प्रमाणचतुष्टयसाधारणम्। न्यायमंजरी पृ.41
14. अर्थोत्पन्नपदेन फलविशेषणेन स्मृतिजनकम्, अव्यभिचारिपदेन विपर्ययाधायि, व्यवसायात्मकपदेन संशयजनकं प्रमाणं व्युदस्यते। वही पृ.41-42
15. अतश्चैवमुक्तं भवति अर्थविषयमसन्दिग्धमव्यभिचारि च ज्ञानं येन जन्यते तत् प्रमाणमित्येकस्मादेव सूत्रात् सामान्यलक्षणं विभागश्चावगम्यते। वही पृ.42
16. द्रष्टव्य सच्चिदानन्द मिश्र, प्रारम्भिक न्याय में प्रत्यक्ष की अवधारणा, उन्मीलन, 2013, पृ.72-90, जयपुर
17. अक्षस्याक्षस्य प्रतिविषयं वृत्तिः प्रत्यक्षम्। वृत्तिस्तु सन्निकर्षो ज्ञानं वा। न्यायभाष्य 1-1-3
18. यदा सन्निकर्षस्तदा ज्ञानं प्रमितिः, यदा ज्ञानं तदा हानोपादानोपेक्षाबुद्ध्यः फलम्। वहीं
19. सर्वञ्च प्रमाणं स्वविषयं प्रति भावसाधनम्, प्रमितिः प्रमाणम्। न्यायवार्तिक 1-1-3, पृ.184
20. विषयान्तरं प्रति करणसाधनम् प्रमीयतेऽनेनेति प्रमाणम्। वहीं
21. केचित्तु सन्निकर्षमेव प्रत्यक्षं वर्णयन्ति। न तन्न्यायम्, प्रमाणाभावात्। सन्निकर्ष एव प्रमाणमिति न प्रमाणमस्ति। उभयं तु युक्तम्, परिच्छेदकत्वात्। उभयं परिच्छेदकं सन्निकर्षो ज्ञानञ्च। एकान्तवादिनस्तु दोष इति। वहीं।
22. मितेन लिङ्गेन लिङ्गिनोऽर्थस्य पश्चान्मानम् अनुमानमिति न युक्तम्, फलाभावात्। एतस्मिन् व्याख्यानेऽफलमनुमानं प्राप्नोति। किं कारणम्? अर्थस्य मितत्वात्। न्यायवार्तिक पृ.184
23. नैष दोषः, मितेन लिङ्गेन अर्थस्य पश्चान्मानं यतो भवतीति ब्रूमः। वही

24. भवतु वायमर्थो लैङ्गिकी प्रतिपत्तिरनुमानमिति। ननु च फलाभावो दोष उक्तः? न दोषः, हानोपादानोपेक्षाबुद्धीनां फलत्वात्। वही
25. अत्र च यत इत्यध्याहृत्य यत्तदोर्नित्यसम्बन्धात् तत्प्रत्यक्षमिति प्रमाणवाचि प्रत्यक्षपदं योजनीयम्। एवं च ज्ञानप्रामाण्यपक्षेऽपि यत् तद्विशेष्यज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षफलं लिङ्गपरामर्शो वा तदपीन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षोत्पन्नत्वाद्युपेतत्वेन भवति प्रमाणविशेषणमिति नाव्यापकत्वं लक्षणस्येति। न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीका पृ.209
26. चतसृषु चैवंविधास्वर्थतत्त्वं परिसमाप्यते। न्यायभाष्य 1-1-1
27. नन्वेवं सत्यस्ति ग्राहो ग्राह्यञ्च तद्ग्रहीता च ।
प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्यं प्रतिषेद्धा चेति षट्कं तत् ॥ विग्रहव्यावर्तनी १४
28. अथ नैवास्ति ग्राहो न च ग्राह्यं न च ग्रहीतारः ।
प्रतिषेधः प्रतिषेध्यं प्रतिषेधारोऽप्यत न सन्ति ॥ वही १५

पालि त्रिपिटक में बौद्धन्याय परम्परा के बीज

प्रो. विजय कुमार जैन

विभागाध्यक्ष, बौद्धदर्शन विभाग एवं निदेशक, राष्ट्रीय संस्कृत संस्थान (मानित विश्वविद्यालय) लखनऊ परिसर,
विशाल खण्ड-4, गोमती नगर, लखनऊ

भारतवर्ष में बौद्ध दर्शन एवं न्याय का विकास भगवान् बुद्ध से लेकर ग्यारहवीं शती के आरम्भ तक होता रहा, जिसे प्रसिद्ध रूसी दार्शनिक श्चेरबात्स्की (Stcherbatskey) ने बौद्ध न्याय को तीन समान कालों में विभक्त किया है। प्रथम काल 500 ई. पूर्व से प्रथम शती ई., द्वितीय काल प्रथम शती से 500 ई. तथा तृतीय काल 500 ई. से 11वीं शती का प्रारम्भ अथवा 1000 ई- तक निर्धारित किया है।

पण्डित जगन्नाथ उपाध्याय त्रिपिटक के विविधसुत्तों में प्रभावकारी प्रवचनों एवं तर्कपूर्ण शैली को वाद विधि के संदर्भ देखते हैं। उदान के आयुसंखारोपम सुत्त में बुद्ध के अतिवृद्ध हो जाने पर मार कहता है कि अब आप आयुसंस्कार समाप्त कर निर्वाण लाभ कर लें। उसके उत्तर में बुद्ध ने कहा- *न तावहं पापिम, परिनिब्बयिस्सामि याव मे भिक्खु उप्पन्नं परप्पवादं सहधम्ममेन सुनिग्गहितं निग्गहेत्वा सप्पाटिहारियं धम्मं देसेस्सन्ती* 'ति। अर्थात् जब तक हमारे भिक्षु तर्क और युक्ति में इतने पटु नहीं हो जायेंगे कि प्रतिपक्षियों द्वारा उठाये प्रश्नों का पूर्ण समाधान कर सकें और अपने सिद्धान्त को स्थापित कर सकें तब तक मैं निर्वाण लाभ नहीं करूँगा। आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति प्रमाणवार्तिक में बौद्धप्रमाणमीमांसा का सम्बन्ध बुद्धवचनों से स्थापित करते हुए कहते हैं कि- *'यत्किञ्चिद उदयधर्मकं तत्सर्वं निरोधधर्म'* वचनों द्वारा बुद्ध ने उत्पत्ति एवं निरोध रूप साध्य-साधन के बीच व्याप्ति बताकर अनुमान को प्रदर्शित किया है।

**ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुस्तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत्,
तेषां च यो निरोध एवं वादी महाश्रमणः॥**

यह गाथा मूल रूप से पालि में पाई जाती है। आर्यअष्टांगिक मार्ग में बुद्ध ने सम्यग्दृष्टि (सम्मादिट्ठि) को सर्वप्रथम एवं प्रमुख स्थान दिया। बौद्धन्याय में इसी सम्मादिट्ठि का विकास हुआ है। प्रमाण का लक्षण सम्यग्ज्ञान किया जाता है।

सम्यग्ज्ञानपूर्विका सर्वपुरुषार्थसिद्धिरिति तद्व्युत्पाद्यते। (न्यायबिन्दु-1)

त्रिपिटकों में कहीं-कहीं तककी अथवा तक्किक एवं विमंसी शब्दों का भी प्रयोग अवश्य हुआ है। यथा-

इध, भिक्खवे, एकच्चो समणो वा ब्राह्मणो वा तक्की होति विमंसी।

- ब्रह्मजालसुत्त (दीघनिकाय) 1-32

याव सम्मा सम्बुद्धा लोके नुप्पज्जन्ति न तक्किका सुज्झन्ति
न चापि सावका, दुदिट्ठी न दुक्खा पमुच्चरेति। - उदानम्- 6-10

जो तत्कालीन तार्किक लोगों के परिचायक प्रतीत होते हैं। विद्याभूषण इन्हें सोफिस्ट (वितण्डावादी) मानते हैं अभिधम्मपिटक के कथावत्थुप्पकरण (255 ई. पू.) में पटिज्जा (प्रतिज्ञा), उपनय एवं निग्गह (निग्रह) शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है जो स्पष्टतः न्याय की पारिभाषिक शब्दावली में मिलते हैं। पालिभाषा में नागसेन रचित मिलिन्दपञ्च नामक ग्रंथ भी वाद विद्या के प्रयोगात्मक रूप को प्रस्तुत करता है, इसमें मिलिन्द राजा का नागसेन से वाद-प्रतिवाद होता है।

दलसुख भाई मालवणिया ने धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप की प्रस्तावना में यह प्रतिपादित किया है कि पालित्रिपिटक में ऐसे अनेक सुक्त हैं जिनमें भगवान् बुद्ध ने अपने विरोधियों के मन्तव्यों का विविध युक्तियों से निरास कर अपने मन्तव्य की स्थापना की है। उन्होंने अपनी युक्तियों का आधार व्याप्ति को नहीं, किन्तु दृष्टान्त को बनाया है। दृष्टान्त का तत्कालीन वादप्रक्रिया में विशेष महत्त्व था। जात्युत्तरों में भी साधर्म्य एवं वैधर्म्य दृष्टान्तों का प्राचीन काल में प्रयोग होता रहा है।

त्रिपिटकों के आधार पर वसुबन्धु ने अभिधर्मकोश (7-2-4) में ज्ञान के दश प्रकार निरूपित किए हैं, यथा- धर्मज्ञान, अन्वयज्ञान, संवृतिज्ञान, दुःखज्ञान, समुदयज्ञान, निरोधज्ञान, मार्गज्ञान, परचित्तज्ञान, क्षयज्ञान और अनुत्पादज्ञान। इन ज्ञानों का प्रमाणमीमांसा के साथ आचार्यों ने कोई सम्बन्ध स्थापित नहीं किया है, किन्तु आगे चलकर प्रत्यक्ष एवं अनुमान के रूप में जो दो प्रमाण माने गए हैं, उनमें इन ज्ञानों का समावेश संभव है।

इस प्रकार त्रिपिटकों के रचनाकाल तक वाद विद्या या यत्किञ्चित् प्रयोग अवश्य था, किन्तु प्रमाण का व्यवस्थित या शास्त्रीय स्वरूप उभरा नहीं था।

बौद्ध परम्परा में समस्त व्यवस्था प्रमाण द्वारा की जाती है। यहाँ तक कि बुद्ध के वचनों की भी तर्क से परीक्षा करनी होती है तथा प्रामाणित होने पर ही उपादेयता सिद्ध होती है।

तापाच्छेदाच्च निकषात् सुवर्णमिव पण्डितैः।

परीक्ष्य भिक्षवो ग्राह्यं मद्रचो न तु गौरवात्॥ -तत्त्वसंग्रह

बुद्ध के काल में बौद्ध लोग तर्क या न्याय प्रणाली से अनभिज्ञ नहीं थे या प्रमाण-प्रमेय आदि का विचार उस समय विकसित नहीं था। अनेक प्राचीन महायान सूत्रों में स्वभावहेतु, कार्यहेतु तथा अनुपलब्धि हेतु का स्पष्ट प्रयोग उपलब्ध है। ये सूत्र बुद्ध के बहुत बाद के हैं- ऐसा मान भी लें तो भी नागार्जुन से काफी पहले के सूत्र हैं।

नागार्जुन के शास्त्रों में प्रमाण-प्रमेय तथा हेतु आदि के विषय में सूक्ष्म विचार है। उन्होंने सम्यग्लिङ्गों के द्वारा सस्वभावता का निषेध किया है। अतः यह विचारधारा निर्मूल है कि विग्रहव्यावर्तनी में प्रमाण तथा प्रमेय का सर्वथा खण्डन किया गया है और नागार्जुन प्रमाण-प्रमेय

आदि नहीं मानते, प्रमाण तथा प्रमेय आदि के लक्षण में नागार्जुन और अन्यो में अन्तर हो सकता है।

आचार्य असंग के शास्त्र बोधिसत्त्वभूमि एवं सङ्ग्रहों में प्रमाण-प्रमेय आदि का विस्तृत विवरण उपलब्ध है। हो सकता है कि वैभाषिक आचार्यों द्वारा विरचित प्रमाण या न्याय शास्त्र में उपलब्ध न हों!

सौत्रान्तिकों ने वस्तुजगत् के देशिक और कालिक विस्तार को समाप्त कर वस्तु का क्षणमात्र अस्तित्व सिद्ध किया और प्रमेयों की संख्या में कमी करके तत्त्व की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त सूक्ष्म दर्शन प्रस्तुत किया। इस तरह वस्तुजगत् के संकोच के साथ प्रातीतिक जगत् का विस्तार बढ़ता गया। प्रातीतिक के विस्तार एवं विश्लेषण से प्रमाण-मीमांसा और ज्ञानमीमांसा के विस्तार को बल मिला। नागार्जुन ने ज्ञानमीमांसा के ही आधार पर वस्तुजगत् के स्वाभाविक अस्तित्व का निषेध किया और शून्यता की महत्ता स्थापित की। अस्तित्व के निराकरण से यह प्रतिफलित हुआ कि जीव और जगत् की प्रमुख समस्याएँ प्रातीतिक या विचारजगत् की है। वस्तुतः अस्तित्व एक विकल्प या एक दृष्टि है, जिसका निषेध आवश्यक है। इसके विपरीत अनस्तित्व भी एक दृष्टि है, जो कथमपि सम्यग् दृष्टि नहीं है। फलतः अस्तित्व और नास्तित्व दोनों का निषेध कर नागार्जुन ने एक नए माध्यमिक दर्शन का सूत्रपात किया, जिसका प्रमुख प्रतिपाद्य शून्यता या निःस्वभावता है। बौद्ध आचार्यों का न्याय परम्परा में योगदान इस प्रकार है-

मैत्रेय- योगाचार दर्शन के संस्थापक आचार्य मैत्रेय ने विज्ञानवाद से सम्बद्ध अनेक कृतियों का निर्माण किया जिनमें बोधिसत्त्वचर्यानिर्देश, सप्तदशाभूमिशास्त्र, योगाचार एवं अभिसमयालंकारिका प्रमुख हैं। इनमें *सप्तदशाभूमिशास्त्र ग्रंथ वादविद्या* की सामग्री प्रस्तुत करता है। इस ग्रंथ में वाद विषय, वादाधिकरण आदि का निरूपण है, साथ ही आठ प्रकार के प्रमाणों का निरूपण है। वे आठ प्रमाण हैं- सिद्धान्त, हेतु, उदाहरण, साधर्म्य, वैधर्म्य, प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान एवं आगमा वाद से सम्बद्ध अन्य सामग्री में वादकर्ता की विशेषताओं, निग्रहस्थान आदि का निरूपण है।

मैत्रेय के अनुसार साध्य की सिद्धि के लिए प्रतिज्ञा को हेतु एवं दो उदाहरणों का समर्थन मिलना चाहिए। मैत्रेय ने गौतम प्रणीत उपमानप्रमाण का उल्लेख नहीं किया है। मैत्रेय का समय तीसरी शताब्दी माना जाता है।

असङ्ग- असङ्ग बौद्ध विज्ञानवाद के प्रतिष्ठित आचार्य एवं वसुबन्धु के ज्येष्ठ भ्राता थे। ये 350 ई. से विद्यमान रहे होंगे, ऐसा श्री राहुलसांकृत्यायन का मत है।³ आचार्य असङ्ग ने 12 कृतियों का निर्माण किया, जिनमें अधिकतर अभी भी चीनी एवं तिब्बती अनुवादों में सुरक्षित हैं। इनके प्रमुख ज्ञान ग्रंथों में महायानोत्तरतंत्र, सूत्रलङ्कार, योगाचारभूमि, बोधिसत्त्व-पिटकावादा का नाम उल्लेखनीय है। असङ्ग के न्याय का संक्षिप्त सार उनके प्रकरणार्थवाचा के ग्यारहवें खण्ड में मिलता है।

असङ्ग की कृति योगाचारभूमिशास्त्र ने विशेष प्रसिद्धि अर्जित की, अतः विज्ञानवाद को योगाचार दर्शन के नाम से ही जाना गया। असङ्ग के समय तक न्याय का विशेष विकास नहीं हुआ था। वे योगाचारभूमिशास्त्र में प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान एवं आगम- ये तीन प्रमाण स्वीकार करते हैं, तथा प्रतिज्ञा, हेतु एवं दृष्टान्त- इन तीन को अनुमान का अवयव अङ्गीकार करते हैं।

असङ्ग के योगाचारभूमिशास्त्र एवं प्रकरणार्थवाचाशास्त्र में वाद, वादाधिकरण, वादाधिष्ठान, वादालंकार, वादनिग्रह, वादनिस्सरण, वादबहुकारधर्म आदि का भी निरूपण है जो वादविद्या की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

वसुबन्धु- असङ्ग के छोटे भ्राता वसुबन्धु का जन्म गंगाधर राज्य के पुरुषपुर नगर में हुआ था। ये प्रारम्भ में वैभाषिक थे, किन्तु असंग के द्वारा योगाचार (विज्ञानवाद) में दीक्षित कर दिए गये।⁷ अतः इन्होंने वैभाषिक एवं योगाचार दोनों सम्प्रदायों में लेखन कार्य किया। परमार्थ ने इनका समय 316 ई. से 369 ई. प्रतिपादित किया है। भारतीय एवं चीनी विद्वानों ने वसुबन्धु को बोधिसत्त्व कहा है। वसुबन्धु की अनेक रचनाएँ हैं, जिनमें प्रमुख हैं- (1) अभिधर्मकोश एवं भाष्य (2) विंशिका (3) त्रिंशिका (4) मध्यान्तविभंगभाष्य (5) त्रिस्वभावनिर्देश (6) पंचस्कन्धप्रकरण (7) कर्मसिद्धिप्रकरण एवं (8) वादविधि।

इनमें न्यायशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित रचना वादविधि है।⁹ सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण ने तर्कशास्त्र नामक ग्रंथ को भी वसुबन्धु की रचना बतलाया है जो स्पष्टतः न्यायशास्त्र की चर्चा से युक्त है। विंशिका एवं त्रिंशिका को विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धि नाम से भी जाना जाता है। यह विज्ञानवाद का विशद विवेचन करती है। प्रस्तुत प्रसंग में वादविधि एवं तर्कशास्त्र का परिचय अपेक्षित है।

वादविधि- तत्कालीन वादविद्या का सम्पूर्ण चित्र वसुबन्धु की रचना वादविधि में देखा जा सकता है। किसी तर्क के प्रामाण्य का निर्धारण कैसे हो, इसका वादविधि में सुन्दर चित्रण है। पंचावयवों में से उपनय एवं निगमन के अतिरिक्त तीन अवयवों (प्रतिज्ञा, हेतु एवं दृष्टान्त) को इसमें स्थान दिया गया है। दिङ्नाग की प्रमाणसमुच्चयवृत्ति एवं जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि की टीका में वादविधि के कुछ अंश हैं। वादविधि का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद स्टीफन एनेकर की पुस्तक सेवन वर्क्स आफ वसुबन्धु (Seven works of Vasubandhu) में उपलब्ध है।

तर्कशास्त्र- कुछ चीनी विद्वानों एवं सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण ने तर्कशास्त्र को भी वसुबन्धु की रचना ठहराया है। तर्कशास्त्र का परमार्थ (530 ई.) ने चीनी अनुवाद किया था, जिसका पुनः संस्कृत उद्धार जी. टुची ने अपने Pre-Dinnaga Buddhist texts on Logic from Chinese sources में किया है। परमार्थ ने तर्कशास्त्र पर एक टीका भी लिखी थी, किन्तु वह लुप्त हो चुकी है।

तर्कशास्त्र में तीन प्रकरण हैं। प्रथम प्रकरण न्याय वचन पर है, द्वितीय प्रकरण जाति पर तथा तृतीय प्रकरण निग्रहस्थान पर है। जाति विवेचन के सम्बन्ध में वादविधि एवं तर्कशास्त्र में काफी साम्य है। बौद्ध सम्मत त्रैरूप्य हेतु का सर्वप्रथम उल्लेख तर्कशास्त्र में मिलता है। इसमें पक्षधर्म,

सपक्षसत्त्व एवं विपक्षव्यावृत्ति रूप त्रिलक्षण हेतु का स्पष्ट निर्देश है। प्रारम्भ में हेतु के दो भेद किये गये हैं, उत्पत्तिहेतु एवं व्यञ्जनहेतु।

द्विविधो हेतुः । उत्पत्तिहेतुः व्यञ्जनहेतुश्च।

जिस प्रकार गौतम प्रणीत न्यायसूत्र में 22 प्रकार के निग्रहस्थानों का वर्णन है उसी प्रकार तर्कशास्त्र में उन्हीं 22 प्रकार के निग्रहस्थानों का निरूपण हुआ है। दोनों के नामों में कोई अन्तर नहीं है। तर्कशास्त्र में यह प्रतिपादित किया गया है कि यदि किसी को निग्रहस्थान प्राप्त हो जाय तो उसके साथ वाद नहीं करना चाहिए। खण्डन में तीन प्रकार के दोष बतलाए गए हैं- विपरीतखण्डन, असत्खण्डन, एवं विरुद्धखण्डन। ये तर्क अथवा वाद की दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। यदि खण्डन इन तीन दोषों से युक्त होता है तो निग्रहस्थान माना जाता है। हेतु के समान त्रिविध हेत्वाभासों का भी निरूपण है। हेत्वाभासों के नाम हैं- असिद्ध, अनैकान्तिक एवं विरुद्ध। इस प्रकार तर्कशास्त्र में वादविद्या के साथ-साथ प्रमाणविद्या का भी अच्छा निरूपण है।

नागार्जुन- न केवल बौद्ध दर्शन में अपितु सम्पूर्ण भारतीय दर्शन में नागार्जुन का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है। वे माध्यमिक सम्प्रदाय के संस्थापक आचार्य थे। नागार्जुन ने सत्, असत्, उभय एवं अनुभय इन चार कोटियों से बहिर्भूत शून्य तत्त्व का निरूपण किया। नागार्जुन के लिए न बाह्य प्रमेय अर्थ सत् है और न प्रमाण सत् है। वे प्रमाण का खण्डन कर प्रमेय का भी खण्डन कर देते हैं तथा शून्य तत्त्व को सिद्ध करते हैं। प्रमाणवाद के सन्दर्भ में उनकी शून्यता का अर्थ है- वह प्रज्ञा जो किसी सत्य को आत्यन्तिक रूप से सत्य नहीं मानती।

नागार्जुन (113-213 ई.) की प्रमुख रचनाएं हैं- (1) मूलमाध्यमिककारिका (2) युक्ति षष्टिका कारिका (3) विग्रहव्यावर्तनी (4) वैदल्यसूत्रप्रकरण आदि। मूलमाध्यमिककारिका माध्यमिक संप्रदाय का प्रथम ग्रंथ है। इसमें आर्य नागार्जुन ने न्याय के पारिभाषिक शब्दों का यदा-कदा प्रयोग किया है यथा- चौथे अध्याय में 'साध्यसम' शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है। युक्तिषष्टिका में युक्तियों अथवा तर्क के सम्बन्ध में साठ कारिकाओं की रचना की है। न्याय-शास्त्र के सन्दर्भ में नागार्जुन की जो कृति प्रसिद्ध हुई, वह है विग्रहव्यावर्तनी। विग्रहव्यावर्तनी की विषयवस्तु को प्रमाण-शास्त्र के सन्दर्भ में जानना उपादेय है।

विग्रहव्यावर्तनी- यह ग्रंथ प्रमाणवादियों के तर्कों का उपस्थापन कर उनका आमूल खण्डन करता है। नागार्जुन ने संभवतः गौतमीय न्यायसूत्र में प्रणीत प्रमाणचर्चा को ही अपने खण्डन का लक्ष्य बनाया है, क्योंकि वे ग्रन्थ के प्रारम्भिक श्लोकों में न्यायसम्मत चार प्रमाणों (प्रत्यक्ष, अनुमान, शब्द एवं उपमान) का उपस्थापन करते हैं फिर प्रमाण को जड़ से उद्घाटित करने का प्रयास करते हैं।

नागार्जुन का तर्क है कि इन चार प्रमाणों से यदि धर्म या अर्थ का अस्तित्व सिद्ध होता है तो इन प्रमाणों को किस प्रमाण से सिद्ध किया जायेगा? यदि ये अन्य प्रमाण से सिद्ध हैं तो अनवस्था दोष आता है, क्योंकि फिर उस प्रमाण के लिए भी अन्य प्रमाण की कल्पना करनी होगी, और यदि

ये प्रमाण अग्नि की भाँति स्वतः प्रकाशक हैं तो अग्नि स्वतः प्रकाशक नहीं होती, उसका अपने को प्रकाशित करने का स्वभाव अंधकार में भी होना चाहिए। यदि प्रमेय की सिद्धि बिना प्रमाणों के हो जाती है तो उनको सिद्ध करने हेतु प्रमाण का उपयोग निरर्थक है।

यदि च प्रमेयसिद्धिरनपेक्ष्यैव भवति प्रमाणानि।

कि ते प्रमाणसिद्ध्या तानि यदर्थं प्रसिद्धं तत्॥ -विग्रहव्यावर्तनी, 44

इस प्रकार नागार्जुन को प्रमाण की सत्ता मान्य नहीं है। वे तो शून्यता में ही सत्य का दर्शन करते हैं। इसलिए उन्होंने कहा है- “यदि मनुष्य शून्यता में विश्वास करता है तो वह प्रत्येक वस्तु में विश्वास करता है और यदि मनुष्य शून्यता में विश्वास नहीं करता तो वह किसी भी वस्तु में विश्वास नहीं करता।”

प्रभवति च शून्यतेयं यस्य प्रभवन्ति तस्य सर्वार्थाः।

प्रभवति न तस्य किञ्चिन्न प्रभवति शून्यता यस्य॥ -विग्रहव्यावर्तनी, 70

वैदल्यसूत्र प्रकरण को भी नागार्जुन की रचना माना गया है। इसका अपर नाम प्रमाणविहेठन अथवा प्रमाणविध्वंसन है। यह ग्रंथ भी विग्रहव्यावर्तनी की भाँति प्रमाण का खण्डन करता है। इसका तिब्बती अनुवाद मिलता है। संस्कृत में यह अनुपलब्ध है। G. Tucci ने अपनी पुस्तक Pre-Dignaga Buddhist texts on Logic from Chinese sources, में चीनी स्रोतों से बौद्ध न्याय के चार प्राचीन ग्रंथ उपलब्ध कराये हैं- उपायहृदय, तर्कशास्त्र, शतशास्त्र एवं विग्रहव्यावर्तनी। इनमें प्रारंभिक दो संस्कृत में अनूदित हैं तथा अन्य दो का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद उपलब्ध कराया गया है। इनमें उपायहृदय एवं विग्रहव्यावर्तनी को नागार्जुन की, तर्कशास्त्र को वसुबन्धु की तथा शतशास्त्र को आर्यदेव की रचना माना गया है।

उपायहृदय- चीनी स्रोतों से उपलब्ध उपायहृदय या उपायकौशलहृदय ग्रंथ को कुछ विद्वान् नागार्जुन की रचना मानते हैं, किन्तु उपायहृदय का अंतरंग अध्ययन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि यह नागार्जुन की रचना नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि नागार्जुन प्रमाण विरोधी थे जबकि उपायहृदय में प्रमाणों का बिना खण्डन किए विस्तृत निरूपण है। प्राचीन प्रमाणशास्त्रीय विद्या में उपायहृदय का स्थान महत्त्वपूर्ण है। जी. टुची के अनुसार इसके दो बार चीनी भाषा में अनुवाद हुए हैं। पहला अनुवाद बुद्धभद्र ने किया था जो अनुपलब्ध है तथा दूसरा अनुवाद किकियाये ने किया है जो अभी उपलब्ध है। इस ग्रन्थ का जापानी भाषा में अनुवाद उई ने किया है। उन्होंने इसका संपादन एवं विवेचन करते हुए चरकसंहिता से इसकी तुलना की है।

उपायहृदय के प्रथम प्रकरण में गौतमीय न्याय के चार प्रमाणों का ही उल्लेख किया गया है। अथ कतिविधं प्रमाणम्? चतुर्विधं प्रमाणम्। प्रत्यक्षमनुमानमुपमानमागमश्चेति। तथा उनमें प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण को इसलिए श्रेष्ठ प्रतिपादित किया गया है, क्योंकि अन्य तीन प्रमाण प्रत्यक्ष के आश्रित रहते हैं। चतुर्षु प्रमाणेषु प्रत्यक्षं श्रेष्ठम्। कुतः पुनः प्रत्यक्षं श्रेष्ठमिति चेदपरेषां त्रयाणां प्रमाणानां

प्रत्यक्षोपजीवकत्वाच्छ्रेष्ठम्। प्रत्यक्ष में किस प्रकार भ्रम हो सकता है इसे उपायहृदय में सोदाहरण समझाया गया है। अनुमान के पूर्ववत्, शेषवत् एवं सामान्यतोदृष्ट- तीन भेद किये गये हैं अनुमानं त्रिविधं पूर्ववत् शेषवत् सामान्यतोदृष्टं च। तथा उनका विस्तृत निरूपण है।

उपायहृदय में इन आठ हेत्वाभावों का निरूपण है- वाक्छल, सामान्यछल, संशयसम, कालातीत प्रकरणसम, वर्ण्यसम, सव्यभिचार एवं विरुद्ध। प्रथम प्रकरण के प्रारम्भ में वाद का प्रयोजन एवं महत्त्व प्रतिपादित किया गया है तथा फिर आठ प्रकार के वाद धर्मों का निरूपण हैं वे आठ वाद धर्म हैं- दृष्टान्त, सिद्धान्त, वाक्यप्रशंसा, वाक्यदोष, प्रमाण, प्राप्तकालवाक्य, हेत्वाभास और वाक्छल। इन आठों वादधर्मों में से प्रत्येक का भेदोपभेद पूर्वक वर्णन किया गया है। उपायहृदय में वाद का प्रारम्भ सद्धर्म की रक्षा के लिए किये जाने का विधान है न कि प्रसिद्धि अर्जित करने के लिए। वादारम्भोपि तथैवाधुना सद्धर्मरक्षणेच्छया न तु ख्यातिलाभाय।

द्वितीय प्रकरण में विभिन्न प्रकार के निग्रह स्थानों का निरूपण है। निग्रहस्थानों को इसमें वाद के महाकण्टक एवं दुःख रूप बताया गया है तथा उनका शीघ्र निवारण करने का परामर्श दिया गया है। एतानि निग्रहस्थानानि वादस्य महाकण्टकानि गम्भीरदुःखानि ज्ञेयानि, द्रुतं च हेयानि। तृतीय प्रकरण में निग्रहस्थान पूर्वक प्रागभाव, प्रध्वंसाभाव आदि पर विचार किया गया है तथा चतुर्थ प्रकरण में जाति का विवेचन हुआ है।

इस प्रकार प्रमाणशास्त्र एवं वादविद्या की दृष्टि से उपायहृदय प्राचीन बौद्ध रचनाओं में सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है।

आचार्य दिङ्नाग ने प्रमाणसमुच्चय नामक विशुद्ध प्रमाणशास्त्रीय ग्रंथ की रचना कर अन्य दार्शनिकों के लिए चुनौतीपूर्ण कार्य किया। परमार्थतः बौद्ध प्रमाणवाद का व्यवस्थापन दिङ्नाग से आरम्भ होता है। दिङ्नाग का भारतीय प्रमाणशास्त्र के विकास में महान् योगदान है; क्योंकि दिङ्नाग के अनन्तर ही न्याय, मीमांसा, जैन आदि दर्शनों में प्रमाणमीमांसा के सम्बन्ध में गहरा ऊहापोह हुआ।

सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण ने सम्पूर्ण भारतीय न्यायशास्त्र को तीन भागों में बांटा है- प्राचीन न्याय, मध्यकालीन न्याय एवं आधुनिक न्याय। प्राचीन-न्याय का आधार वे गौतम प्रणीत न्यायसूत्र को बनाते हैं, नव्य-न्याय का आधार गंगेश की तत्त्वचिन्तामणि को स्वीकार करते हैं, मध्यकालीन न्याय की सम्पूर्ण बागडोर बौद्ध नैयायिक दिङ्नाग एवं जैन नैयायिक सिद्धसेन को सौंपते हैं।

वैभाषिक एवं सौत्रान्तिक सम्प्रदाय के आचार्य प्रमाणमीमांसीय शास्त्रों के निर्माण की ओर उन्मुख नहीं हुए। उनका प्रमुख ध्येय तत्त्वमीमांसीय शास्त्र एवं उनकी व्याख्याओं की ओर रहा। महायान शाखा ने प्रमाणमीमांसा में कुशलतापूर्वक भाग लिया। माध्यमिक सम्प्रदाय ने प्रमाण का उद्घाटन किया तो योगाचार सम्प्रदाय ने प्रमाण को स्थिरता प्रदान की। माध्यमिक सम्प्रदाय के

संस्थापक आचार्य नागार्जुन ने गौतम प्रणीत न्याय अथवा प्रमाण का अनौचित्य प्रतिपादित कर उस पर ऐसा प्रहार किया कि नागार्जुन के पश्चात् लम्बे समय तक बौद्ध दर्शन में प्रमाण पर विचार ही नहीं हुआ। कालान्तर में योगाचार सम्प्रदाय के वसुबन्धु एवं दिङ्नाग ने फिर बौद्ध दर्शन में प्रमाणविद्या की स्थापना की। धर्मकीर्ति, धर्मोत्तर आदि ने उसे पल्लवित किया, किन्तु माध्यमिक सम्प्रदाय में शान्तरक्षित एवं कमलशील के अतिरिक्त किसी भी आचार्य ने प्रमाणमीमांसा में सक्रिय रूप से भाग नहीं लिया। दिङ्नाग सम्प्रदाय में दिङ्नाग के अतिरिक्त धर्मकीर्ति, धर्मोत्तर, अर्चट, प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त, शान्तरक्षित, कमलशील, दुर्वेकमिश्र, ज्ञानश्रीमित्र, रत्नकीर्ति, मोक्षाकरगुप्त आदि प्रमुख हैं। श्वेत्बात्स्की ने बौद्ध-न्याय में दिङ्नाग एवं धर्मकीर्ति के द्वारा प्रतिपादित न्याय एवं प्रमाणमीमांसा का ही समावेश किया है।

श्वेत्बात्स्की, शान्तरक्षित एवं कमलशील को मूलतः माध्यमिक सम्प्रदाय का आचार्य मानते हैं, तथा दिङ्नाग द्वारा न्याय को आगे बढ़ाने के कारण इनको माध्यमिक योगाचार अथवा माध्यमिक सौत्रान्तिक सम्प्रदाय में रखते हैं।

वसुबन्धु, दिङ्नाग, धर्मकीर्ति आदि समस्त मूर्धन्य दार्शनिक योगाचार सम्प्रदाय में हुए, किन्तु सूक्ष्मदृष्टि से अध्ययन करने पर यह भलीभाँति विदित होता है कि बौद्ध प्रमाणवाद विशुद्ध विज्ञानवाद की देन नहीं है। दिङ्नाग, धर्मकीर्ति, धर्मोत्तर आदि समस्त बौद्ध नैयायिक बाह्य अर्थ की भी सत्ता स्वीकार कर प्रमाण व्यवस्था का स्थापन करते हैं, अतः विज्ञानवाद के व्याख्याकार विज्ञानवादियों को दो श्रेणियों में विभक्त करते हैं- *आगमानुयायी एवं युक्त्यनुयायी*। आचार्य असंग, वसुबन्धु आदि को वे आगमानुयायी श्रेणी में स्थापित करते हैं, क्योंकि ये सप्तभूमिशास्त्र एवं अष्टप्रकरणादि शास्त्रों का अनुसरण करते हुए अपने मत की स्थापना करते हैं तथा अष्टविज्ञान के सिद्धान्त को भी स्वीकार करते हैं। दिङ्नाग, धर्मकीर्ति आदि आचार्यों की परम्परा को वे युक्त्यनुयायी श्रेणी में रखते हैं, क्योंकि ये आचार्य कथित आलयविज्ञान एवं क्लिष्ट मनोविज्ञान की सत्ता नहीं मानकर युक्ति का अनुसरण करते हैं।

श्वेत्बात्स्की, दिङ्नाग, धर्मकीर्ति आदि दार्शनिकों को विशुद्ध विज्ञानवादी नहीं मानते, उन्हें उनमें सौत्रान्तिक बौद्धों के भी लक्षण दिखाई पड़ते हैं, अतः वे इन दार्शनिकों को सौत्रान्तिक-योगाचार नामक नयी श्रेणी में स्थापित करते हैं। धर्मेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री ने भी इसका समर्थन किया है। 3 दासगुप्ता ने दिङ्नाग को वैभाषिक या सौत्रान्तिक सम्प्रदाय में रखा है। सत्कारी मुकर्जी ने इस सम्प्रदाय को दिङ्नाग-सम्प्रदाय ही कहा है। श्रीनिवास शास्त्री ने इसे बौद्ध दर्शन का न्यायवादी सम्प्रदाय माना है।

प्राचीन बौद्ध दार्शनिक दुर्वेकमिश्र एवं प्राचीन प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक वाचस्पतिमिश्र इन्हें सौत्रान्तिक मानते हैं।

वस्तुतः दिङ्नाग सम्प्रदाय के दार्शनिकों ने प्रमाणमीमांसा का प्रतिपादन विज्ञानवाद के अनुसार

गौण रूप से एवं बाह्यार्थवाद की अपेक्षा प्रमुख रूप से किया है। *प्रामाण्यं व्यवहारेण* (प्रमाणवार्तिक 1-7) '*प्रमाणमविसंवादि ज्ञानम्*' (प्रमाणवार्तिक, 1-3) आदि कथनों के साथ प्रत्यक्ष-लक्षण में 'अभ्रान्त' पद, प्रत्यक्ष-भेदों में इन्द्रिय-प्रत्यक्ष एवं मानसप्रत्यक्ष, स्वलक्षण एवं सामान्यलक्षण रूप बाह्य प्रमेय आदि का प्रतिपादन बाह्यार्थ को स्वीकार करने का ही संकेतक है। धर्मकीर्ति ने वैसे प्रमाणवार्तिक में विज्ञप्तिमात्रता का विचार करते समय स्वसंवेदन को ही उपचार से अर्थवेदन कहा है- *स्वविदप्यर्थविन्मता* (प्रमाणवार्तिक 2-350)।

यहाँ पर दिङ्नाग, धर्मकीर्ति, धर्मोत्तर, प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त, अर्चट, शान्तरक्षित, कमलशील, दुर्वेकमिश्र आदि समस्त बौद्ध नैयायिकों को किञ्चित् मान्यता भेद होते हुए भी दिङ्नाग-सम्प्रदाय में रखकर समस्त बौद्ध प्रमाणमीमांसा को दिङ्नाग के सम्प्रदाय का अंग समझते हैं।

दिङ्नाग- दिङ्नाग वस्तुतः बौद्ध-न्याय अथवा बौद्ध प्रमाण-शास्त्र के संस्थापक थे। तिब्बतियों ने उनको जम्बूद्वीप का अलंकार कहा है। सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण आदि विद्वानों ने दिङ्नाग को न केवल बौद्ध न्याय का पिता कहा है, अपितु उन्हें मध्यकालीन भारतीय न्यायशास्त्र का जन्मदाता माना है। दिङ्नाग काञ्ची में पैदा हुए, किन्तु उनके समय के सम्बन्ध में अनेक विप्रतिपत्तियाँ रही। आचार्य राहुल सांकृत्यायन ने उन्हें 425 ई. तथा ई. फ्राउवालनर ने उन्हें 480 से 540 ई. के मध्य सिद्ध किया है। मसाकी हत्तौड़ी कुछ संशोधन के साथ उनका काल 470 से 530 ई. सिद्ध करते हैं। ई. फ्राउवालनर द्वारा निर्धारित समय अधिक प्रचलन में रहा है, किन्तु जैन दार्शनिक मल्लवादी जिन्होंने अपनी कृति द्वादशारनयचक्र में दिङ्नाग मन्तव्यों को शब्दशः उद्धृत किया है, की प्रशस्ति उन्हें इससे भी पूर्व ले जाती है। क्योंकि प्रशस्ति मल्लवादी को विक्रम सं- 414 (357 ई.) में निर्धारित करती है।

दिङ्नाग के पूर्व गौतम के न्यायसूत्र पर वात्स्यायन द्वारा भाष्य रच दिया गया था, किन्तु भाष्य का प्रतिद्वन्द्वी न्याय का कोई ग्रंथ नहीं था। दिङ्नाग ने उसे नई दिशा दी, तथा बौद्ध विज्ञानवादी दृष्टि से सौत्रान्तिक दृष्टि का भी समावेश करते हुए न्याय की नवीन प्रस्थापना की। दिङ्नाग ने न्यायशास्त्र के फैलाव में चिनगारी का काम किया। दिङ्नाग की न्यायविषयक अवधारणाओं, चिन्ताओं एवं प्रस्थापनाओं को प्रत्युत्तरित करने के लिए न्यायदर्शन में उद्योतकर, मीमांसादर्शन में कुमारिलभट्ट एवं प्रभाकरगुप्त, जैन दर्शन में मल्लवादी जैसे विशिष्ट आचार्यों ने विस्तृत, गहन एवं युक्तिपूर्ण रचनाओं को जन्म दिया। धीरे-धीरे सभी दर्शनों में न्याय या प्रमाणशास्त्र के स्थापन की दृष्टि विकसित होती गई और पारस्परिक खण्डन-मण्डन तथा वाद के द्वारा प्रमाणशास्त्रीय ग्रंथों का निर्माण होता चला गया।

बौद्धाचार्य दिङ्नाग जन्म से ब्राह्मण थे। उनके प्रथम गुरु वात्सीपुत्रीय नागदत्त थे एवं द्वितीय गुरु वसुबन्धु थे। न्यायशास्त्र पर रचित उनकी प्रमुख रचनाएँ हैं- (1) आलम्बन परीक्षा (2) त्रिकालपरीक्षा (3) हेतुचक्र समर्थन (हेतु चक्र-उमरू) (4) न्यायमुख (न्यायद्वार) (5) प्रमाणसमुच्चय (सवृत्ति) और

(6) हेतुमुख। इनमें से अभी तक प्रमाणसमुच्चय का प्रत्यक्ष परिच्छेद एवं आलम्बन परीक्षा ही संस्कृत भाषा में अनूदित हो पाए हैं। 'न्यायप्रवेश' भी संस्कृत में उपलब्ध है, किन्तु इसे दिङ्नाग अथवा उनके शिष्य शंकरस्वामी की रचना समझा जाता है। अन्य रचनाएँ चीनी या तिब्बती भाषा में सुरक्षित हैं।

प्रमाण-समुच्चय- दिङ्नाग की यह उत्कृष्ट एवं सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध रचना है। इसमें न्यायशास्त्र अथवा प्रमाणविद्या का सम्यक् निरूपण है। मध्यकालीन-न्याय का विकास इसी पर केन्द्रित हैं मीमांसा, सांख्य दर्शन आदि दर्शनों में जो न्यायविद्या का विकास हुआ है, वह दिङ्नाग के प्रमाणसमुच्चय पर अवलम्बित है। दिङ्नाग का प्रमाणसमुच्चय नहीं होता तो संभव है न्याय एवं मीमांसा दर्शनों में उद्योतकर व कुमारिलभट्ट जैसे तार्किकों की रचनाओं का उदय नहीं होता, क्योंकि दिङ्नाग के प्रमाणसमुच्चय का खण्डन करने के लिए ही उद्योतकर एवं कुमारिलभट्ट ने क्रमशः न्यायवार्तिक एवं श्लोकवार्तिक का निर्माण किया। मल्लवादी के द्वादशारण्यचक्र एवं सिंहसूरि की न्यायागमानुसारिणी टीका में भी प्रमाणसमुच्चय का खण्डन हुआ है। दिङ्नाग का प्रमाणसमुच्चय बौद्धेतर दार्शनिकों के लिए एक चुनौती था। इसमें न्याय वैशेषिक, मीमांसा एवं सांख्य दर्शनों का खण्डन तो किया ही गया है, किन्तु अपने पूर्ववर्ती बौद्ध दार्शनिक वसुबन्धु के प्रतिपादन का भी यथासंभव खण्डन कर किया गया है, इसलिए प्रमाणसमुच्चय भारतीय प्रमाणविद्या की एक अद्वितीय कृति कही जा सकती है।

प्रमाणसमुच्चय का संस्कृत मूल उपलब्ध नहीं है, किन्तु उनका तिब्बती अनुवाद तेन्जुर कलेक्शन्स (Bstanhgyur Collections) में सुरक्षित है। इसके प्रत्यक्ष परिच्छेद को पुनः संस्कृत में लाने का प्रयास दो विद्वानों ने किया है। प्रथम प्रयास एच.आर. रंगास्वामी अयंगर ने किया। उन्होंने प्रमाणसमुच्चय नामक पुस्तक में प्रत्यक्ष परिच्छेद का संस्कृत अनुवाद प्रस्तुत किया, जो मैसूर विश्वविद्यालय, मैसूर से सन् 1930 ई. में प्रकाशित हुआ। उन्होंने प्रमाणसमुच्चय के साथ दिङ्नाग की स्ववृत्ति को तो दिया ही है, किन्तु उससे सम्बन्धित स्थलों को न्यायवार्तिक, न्यायवार्तिक-तात्पर्यटीका, तत्त्वार्थराजवार्तिक, सन्मतितर्कप्रकरणटीका, तत्त्वसंग्रहपञ्जिका, श्लोकवार्तिक आदि ग्रंथों से तुलना हेतु उद्धृत भी किया है। यत्र तत्र जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि की विशालामलवती टीका भी दी है। द्वितीय प्रयास जापानी विद्वान् मसाकी हत्तौडी ने सन् 1967 ई. में किया। उन्होंने दिङ्नाग आन पर्सेप्शन (Dignaga, on perception) नामक अपनी पुस्तक में तिब्बती अनुवाद, संस्कृत रूपान्तर के साथ अंग्रेजी अनुवाद तथा आलोचनात्मक व्याख्या प्रस्तुत की है जिसका प्रकाशन, 1968 ई. में हार्वर्ड विश्वविद्यालय प्रेस, केम्ब्रिज, मसाचुसेट्स से हुआ है। इनसे पूर्व राण्डले ने न्यायवार्तिक एवं उसकी टीका से दिङ्नाग के ग्रंथों के कुछ अंश फ्रेगमेण्ट्स फ्रॉम दिङ्नाग (Fragments from Dignaga) में संकलित किये थे जिनका प्रकाशन 1926 ई. में रायल एशियाटिक सोसायटी, लन्दन से हुआ था। मुनि जम्बूविजय जी द्वारा संपादित एवं गायकवाड़ ओरियण्टल सीरीज में प्रकाशित चन्द्रानन्दवृत्ति युक्त वैशेषिकसूत्र में प्रमाणसमुच्चय के प्रत्यक्ष, स्वार्थानुमान, परार्थानुमान

एवं दृष्टान्त परिच्छेदों का वैशेषिक मत की परीक्षा से सम्बद्ध तिब्बती अनुवाद प्रकाशित हुआ है। इसके अतिरिक्त प्रमाणसमुच्चय, उसकी वृत्ति एवं विशाला टीका के वैशेषिकमत से संबद्ध अंशों को संस्कृत में भी दिया गया है, जो दिङ्नाग के अध्ययन के लिए महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। जम्बूविजयजी द्वारा ही संपादित जैन ग्रंथ द्वादशारनयचक्र में भी प्रमाणसमुच्चय के प्रथम चार परिच्छेदों का कुछ अंश संस्कृत एवं तिब्बती भाषा में प्रकाशित हुआ है, जो दिङ्नाग के अध्ययन हेतु उपादेय है। इसके प्रथम भाग का प्रकाशन आत्मानन्द जैन सभा, भावनगर, गुजरात द्वारा सन् 1966 ई. में किया गया था। उनके अनन्तर वहाँ से ही इसके दो अन्य भाग और प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं।

प्रमाणसमुच्चय में कुल छह परिच्छेद हैं- (1) प्रत्यक्ष (2) स्वार्थानुमान (3) परार्थानुमान (4) दृष्टान्त (5) अपोह एवं (6) जाति। प्रमाणसमुच्चय की सम्पूर्ण विषय वस्तु का अनुमान इसके परिच्छेद विभाजन से ही हो जाता है कि इसमें प्रमाणमीमांसा का सर्वांग विवेचन हुआ है। प्रत्यक्ष-परिच्छेद में कल्पनापोढ ज्ञान को प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण कहा गया है तथा वसुबन्धु, सांख्य एवं न्यायदर्शन में प्रतिपादित प्रत्यक्ष-लक्षणों का खण्डन किया गया है।

दिङ्नाग दो ही प्रमाण स्वीकार करते हैं- प्रत्यक्ष और अनुमान। क्योंकि उनके अनुसार दो ही प्रमेय हैं- स्वलक्षण और सामान्य लक्षण। *अत्र प्रमाणं द्विविधमेव। कुतश्चेत्। द्विलक्षणं प्रमेयम्। स्वसामान्यलक्षणाभ्यां भिन्नलक्षणं प्रमेयान्तरं नास्ति।* प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण का विषय स्वलक्षण है एवं अनुमान प्रमाण का विषय सामान्यलक्षण। द्वादशारनयचक्र में प्राप्त स्वार्थानुमानपरिच्छेद एवं परार्थानुमान परिच्छेदों के अनुसार दिङ्नाग त्रिरूपलिङ्ग से अनुमेय अर्थ का ज्ञान होने को स्वार्थानुमान एवं स्वदृष्ट अर्थ के प्रकाशन को परार्थानुमान कहते हैं। अपोह द्वारा शब्द से विवक्षा का ज्ञान मानना दिङ्नाग की मौलिक देन है।

प्रमाणसमुच्चय पर अनेक टीकाएँ लिखी गयीं। स्वयं दिङ्नाग ने उस पर वृत्ति की रचना की थी, किन्तु वह भी प्रमाणसमुच्चय के समान तिब्बती अनुवाद में सुरक्षित है। बुतोन के अनुसार ईश्वरसेन ने भी प्रमाणसमुच्चय पर व्याख्या लिखी थी, किन्तु वह सम्प्रति अनुपलब्ध है। प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध दार्शनिक धर्मकीर्ति ने प्रमाणसमुच्चय पर 'प्रमाणवार्तिक' नामक वार्तिक ग्रंथ की रचना की थी जो सम्प्रति संस्कृत में उपलब्ध है एवं बौद्ध न्याय-शास्त्र का प्रतिनिधि ग्रंथ है। जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि ने प्रमाणसमुच्चय पर विशालामलवती नामक टीका की रचना की थी जो तिब्बती अनुवाद में ही सुरक्षित है। उसके कुछ अंश जम्बूविजय जी द्वारा संपादित वैशेषिकसूत्र में अवश्य मिलते हैं। मसाकी हतौडी एवं अयंगर की रचनाओं में भी इसके कुछ अंश उल्लिखित हैं। मसाकी हतौडी का कथन है कि जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि रचित प्रमाणसमुच्चयटीका पर धर्मकीर्ति के प्रमाणवार्तिक का प्रभाव है।

आलम्बनपरीक्षा- दिङ्नाग की यह रचना विशुद्ध रूप से प्रमाणशास्त्रीय नहीं है, क्योंकि इसमें आलम्बन प्रत्यय की चर्चा ही प्रमुख प्रतिपाद्य है। दिङ्नाग ने तार्किक आधार पर इसमें विज्ञानवाद को प्रतिष्ठित किया है तथा बाह्यार्थवाद का निरसन किया है। आलम्बनपरीक्षा लघुकाय रचना है,

जिसका प्रकाशन संस्कृत रूपान्तर के साथ अडयार पुस्तकालय, मद्रास से सन् 1946 ई. में हुआ है। ऐयास्वामी शास्त्री ने इसमें दिङ्नाग की स्ववृत्ति, परमार्थ एवं ह्येनसांग के चीनी अनुवाद, धर्मपाल की संस्कृत टीका एवं उसका अंग्रेजी अनुवाद भी दिया है।

न्यायप्रवेश- बौद्ध न्याय की एक प्राचीन एवं संक्षिप्त रचना न्यायप्रवेश है। न्यायप्रवेश के रचयिता दिङ्नाग थे अथवा उनके शिष्य शंकरस्वामी, यह अभी तक निश्चित नहीं हो सका है। तिब्बती शाखा के विद्वान् इसे दिङ्नाग की रचना सिद्ध करते हैं, तथा चीनी शाखा के विद्वान् इसे शंकर स्वामी की कृति के रूप में अंगीकार करते हैं। प्रथम मान्यता के समर्थक सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण, पं. विधुशेखर भट्टाचार्य, एवं कीथ आदि विपश्चित् हैं, तथा द्वितीय मान्यता के समर्थक ऊई, सुगिउर, दुची, दुबियंस्की, मिरनोव आदि बुधजन हैं।

दिङ्नाग के न्यायद्वार या न्यायमुख से न्यायप्रवेश एक भिन्न रचना है। टुबियंस्को एवं कीथ आदि विद्वान् इसको सप्रमाण सिद्ध करते हैं। कीथ ने यह भी सिद्ध किया है कि न्यायप्रवेश का निर्माण न्यायद्वार के पश्चात् हुआ है, क्योंकि न्यायप्रवेश की शैली न्यायद्वार से विशद है तथा उसमें न्यायद्वार में गृहीत चौदह दूषणाभासों को ब्राह्मण परम्परा का समझकर छोड़ दिया गया है।

न्यायप्रवेश में साधन, पक्ष, हेतु, दृष्टान्त, पक्षाभास, हेत्वाभास आदि की संक्षिप्त एवं विशद चर्चा है। इसमें प्रत्यक्ष एवं अनुमान दो प्रमाण निर्दिष्ट हैं। न्यायप्रवेश पर जैनाचार्य हरिभद्रसूरि की टीका न्यायप्रवेशवृत्ति तथा पार्श्वदेवगणि की उस पर पञ्जिका है। यही एक ऐसी बौद्धन्याय कृति है जिस पर किसी जैनाचार्य की वृत्ति अथवा टीका विद्यमान है। जैनाचार्य हरिभद्र एवं पार्श्वदेवगणि ने अपनी वृत्ति व पञ्जिका में बौद्ध प्रमाण-सरणि को सुरक्षित रखा है।

धर्मकीर्ति (620-690 ई.)- दिङ्नाग के पश्चात् बौद्ध न्याय में सर्वाधिक कीर्ति धर्मकीर्ति को मिली है। धर्मकीर्ति भी दिङ्नाग की भांति दक्षिण भारत के ब्राह्मण परिवार में पैदा हुए। नालन्दा में वसुबन्धु के वृद्ध शिष्य धर्मपाल से सर्वप्रथम दीक्षा ली तथा फिर दिङ्नाग के शिष्य ईश्वरसेन से इन्होंने दिङ्नाग-न्याय को समझा। दिङ्नाग-न्याय को समझने में ये अपने गुरु से भी आगे निकल गये तथा दिङ्नाग प्रणीत प्रमाणसमुच्चय पर वार्तिक की रचना की जो प्रमाणवार्तिक के नाम से ख्यातिप्राप्त है।

धर्मकीर्ति के समय के सम्बन्ध में विद्वानों में मतभेद है। चीनी यात्री ह्येनसांग ने भारत भ्रमण (629 ई. से 645 ई.) में जिन बौद्ध विद्वानों एवं तार्किकों का उल्लेख किया है उनमें धर्मकीर्ति का नाम नहीं है। ह्येनसांग ने नालन्दा के प्रसिद्ध विद्वानों की नामावली में निम्न नाम गिनाए हैं- धर्मपाल, चन्द्रपाल, गुणमति, स्थिरमति, प्रभामित्र, जिनमित्र, ज्ञानमित्र, शीघ्रबुद्ध और शीलभद्र। धर्मकीर्ति का नामोल्लेख न करने के सम्बन्ध में साधारणतः यह कहा जाता है कि उस समय धर्मकीर्ति प्रारम्भिक विद्यार्थी होंगे। एतदर्थ सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण आदि विद्वान् धर्मकीर्ति का समय 635-650 ई तक मानते हैं। राहुल सांकृत्यायन 600 ई. मानते हैं। महेन्द्र कुमार न्यायाचार्य इनका समय 620 ई. से

690 ई. निर्धारित करते हैं। इत्सिंग ने भारतयात्रा (679 ई. से 695 ई.) के विवरण में धर्मकीर्ति का भी नाम दिया है। इससे प्रतीत होता है कि धर्मकीर्ति निश्चित रूप से 600 ई. से 700 ई. के मध्य रहे थे। इस प्रकार महेन्द्रकुमार न्यायाचार्य द्वारा निर्णीत समय (620-690 ई.) उपयुक्त प्रतीत होता है।

धर्मकीर्ति अपने न्यायग्रंथों में उद्योतकर, भर्तृहरि एवं कुमारिल का खण्डन करते हैं। तिब्बती परम्परा में कुमारिल एवं धर्मकीर्ति को समसामयिक कहा जाता है, किन्तु कुमारिल दिङ्नाग का खण्डन करते हैं और धर्मकीर्ति कुमारिल का। अतः कुमारिल की रचना श्लोकवार्तिक के पश्चात् ही धर्मकीर्ति ने प्रमाणवार्तिक की रचना की होगी। उद्योतकर का न्यायवार्तिक भी धर्मकीर्ति की कृति से पूर्व रचा दिया गया था। धर्मकीर्ति का समय दिङ्नाग के प्रशिष्य होने के कारण उनसे 40-50 वर्ष बाद माना जा सकता है। महेन्द्र कुमार न्यायाचार्य ने भर्तृहरि का समय 600-650 ई., कुमारिल का समय 600-680 ई. तथा धर्मकीर्ति का समय 620-690 ई. स्वीकार किया है।

आचार्य धर्मकीर्ति के सात ग्रंथ हैं- (1) प्रमाणवार्तिक (2) प्रमाणविनिश्चय (3) न्यायबिन्दु (4) हेतुबिन्दु (5) वादन्याय (6) सम्बन्ध परीक्षा, और (7) सन्तानान्तरसिद्धि। श्वेताम्बरी के अनुसार इनमें प्रमाणवार्तिक सर्वप्रमुख है तथा शेष छह गौण या इसके ही छह पाद हैं। एक अन्य व्याख्या के अनुसार प्रथम तीन ग्रंथ शरीर हैं और शेष चार उसके पाद। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि ये सातों ग्रंथ दिङ्नाग के प्रमाण समुच्चय की व्याख्या में लिखे गये हैं। राहुलसांकृत्यायन प्रमाणवार्तिक में ही प्रमाणसमुच्चय की व्याख्या का सम्पूर्ण समावेश स्वीकार कर लेते हैं। उनके अनुसार प्रमाणसमुच्चय के मंगलाचरण प्रत्यक्ष, स्वार्थानुमान एवं परार्थानुमान परिच्छेदों की व्याख्या में प्रमाणवार्तिक में क्रमशः प्रमाणसिद्धि, प्रत्यक्ष, स्वार्थानुमान एवं परार्थानुमान परिच्छेद लिखे गये हैं तथा प्रमाणसमुच्चय के अवशिष्ट परिच्छेदों दृष्टान्त, अपोह एवं जाति के विषय में पृथक् परिच्छेद नहीं लिखकर धर्मकीर्ति ने यथाप्रसंग इनकी व्याख्या का चार परिच्छेदों में अन्तर्भाव कर दिया है। धर्मकीर्ति प्रणीत ग्रंथों के प्रमाणविनिश्चय को छोड़कर समस्त ग्रंथ प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं।

1. प्रमाणवार्तिक- उपलब्ध बौद्ध-न्याय ग्रंथों में धर्मकीर्ति रचित प्रमाणवार्तिक अप्रतिम है। प्रमाणवार्तिक ने बौद्ध न्याय में महती ख्याति अर्जित की है। यह मूलतः दिङ्नाग के प्रमाणसमुच्चय पर निर्मित है, किन्तु कालान्तर में टीकाकारों की लेखनी का विषय प्रमाणवार्तिक बन गया। बौद्धेतर दार्शनिकों के द्वारा भी यह ग्रंथ प्रमाण-चिन्तन का लक्ष्य बनाया गया। वाचस्पतिमिश्र, जयन्तभट्ट, अकलघड्क, विद्यानन्द, व्योमशिव आदि दार्शनिकों ने प्रमाणवार्तिक से उद्धरण देकर उनका खण्डन किया है।

धर्मकीर्ति रचित प्रमाणवार्तिक उद्योतकर के न्यायवार्तिक एवं कुमारिल भट्ट के श्लोकवार्तिक पर सीधा प्रहार कर बौद्ध न्याय-पताका को ऊँची उठाता है, फलस्वरूप बौद्धेतर दार्शनिकों के लिए यह आलोच्य एवं निरस्य बना रहा है।

प्रमाणवार्तिक में चार परिच्छेद हैं- 1. प्रमाणसिद्धि 2. प्रत्यक्ष परिच्छेद 3. स्वार्थानुमान परिच्छेद

एवं 4. परार्थानुमान परिच्छेद। इन चार परिच्छेदों में स्वार्थानुमान परिच्छेद पर स्वयं धर्मकीर्ति की वृत्ति है, अतः कुछ विद्वान् इन चार परिच्छेदों में स्वार्थानुमान को प्रथम मानते हैं। वे इसका क्रम इस प्रकार रखते हैं- 1. स्वार्थानुमान 2. प्रमाणसिद्धि 3. प्रत्यक्ष एवं 3. परार्थानुमान। पं. दलसुख मालवाणिया का मन्तव्य है कि चारों परिच्छेदों का प्राकृतिक क्रम “प्रमाणसिद्धि” से प्रारम्भ हुआ होगा, किन्तु प्रमाणवार्तिक पर वृत्ति लिखते समय अनुमान को अधिक महत्त्व प्रदान करने हेतु स्वयं धर्मकीर्ति ने इसका क्रम बदल दिया होगा।¹ हम “प्रमाणसिद्धि” से ही इसके परिच्छेदों का प्रारम्भ स्वीकार करते हैं।

“प्रमाणसिद्धि” परिच्छेद प्रमाणसमुच्चय के मंगलाचरणश्लोक की व्याख्या में ही समाप्त हो जाता है।

**प्रमाणभूताय जगद्धितैषिणे प्रणम्य शास्त्रे सुगताय तायिने।
प्रमाणसिद्धयै स्वकृतिप्रकीर्णनात् निबध्यते विप्रसृतं समुचितम्॥**

द्वितीय परिच्छेद में प्रत्यक्षप्रमाण तथा तृतीय एवं चतुर्थ परिच्छेद में अनुमान-प्रमाण की चर्चा है। प्रत्यक्ष-परिच्छेद में ही सामान्य, अनुमान, अनुपलब्धि अन्यापोह आदि की भी यथाप्रसंग चर्चा है। इसी प्रकार स्वार्थानुमान परिच्छेद में आगम, पौरुषेयत्व आदि की चर्चा हुई है।

प्रमाणवार्तिक के टीकाकारों या भाष्यकारों में देवेन्द्रबुद्धि, शाक्यबुद्धि, प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त, यमारि, रविगुप्त, मनोरथनन्दी, कर्णकगोमी आदि प्रमुख हैं। इनमें अधिकांश व्याख्याकारों ने स्वार्थानुमान परिच्छेद को छोड़कर तीन परिच्छेदों की व्याख्या की है। शङ्करानन्द, शाक्यबुद्धि एवं कर्णकगोमी ऐसे दार्शनिक हुए हैं जिन्होंने मात्र स्वार्थानुमान परिच्छेद की व्याख्या की है। आचार्य मनोरथनन्दी ने सम्पूर्ण चारों परिच्छेदों पर वृत्ति लिखी है। यह संस्कृत में भी उपलब्ध है। अन्य व्याख्याएँ या भाष्य जो संस्कृत में उपलब्ध हैं, वे हैं- प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त का प्रमाणवार्तिक भाष्य, धर्मकीर्ति की स्वार्थानुमान परिच्छेद पर स्ववृत्ति एवं कर्णकगोमी की उसी परिच्छेद पर स्ववृत्ति-टीका। अन्य व्याख्याएँ तिब्बती भाषा में सुरक्षित हैं।

2. न्यायबिन्दु- धर्मकीर्ति की यह रचना संक्षेप में है।² बौद्धन्याय के अनुसार प्रमाण-स्वरूप, प्रमाण-विषय, त्रिविध हेतु एवं हेत्वाभास आदि का सारगर्भित एवं स्पष्ट विवेचन इस ग्रंथ में उपलब्ध होता है। 209 सूत्रों में ग्रंथित यह तीन परिच्छेदों में विभक्त है- (1) प्रत्यक्ष परिच्छेद (2) स्वार्थानुमान परिच्छेद और (3) परार्थानुमान परिच्छेद। प्रथम कारिका में प्रमाण का लक्षण समाहित है।

इस पर सौत्रन्तिक मत का अधिक प्रभाव है, क्योंकि इसमें स्वलक्षण एवं सामान्यलक्षण का प्रतिपादन स्पष्टतया बाह्यार्थ के रूप में किया गया प्रतीत होता है।

न्यायबिन्दु पर अनेक प्रमुख टीकाएँ हैं- विनीतदेव की टीका, शान्तभद्र की टीका, धर्मोत्तरटीका आदि। विनीतदेव की टीका तिब्बती अनुवाद में उपलब्ध है तथा इसका बिब्लोथिका इण्डिका में

कलकत्ता से सन् 1913 में प्रकाशन भी हुआ है। शान्तभद्र की टीका तिब्बती एवं संस्कृत दोनों में उपलब्ध है, किन्तु शान्तभद्र के मतों का खण्डन धर्मोत्तर, अकलङ्क आदि आचार्यों के ग्रंथों में मिलता है। दुर्वेक मिश्र ने भी शान्तभद्र का उल्लेख किया है। धर्मोत्तरकृत टीका सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध हुई है। कमलशील द्वारा न्यायबिन्दु-पूर्वपक्ष-संक्षेप एवं जिनमित्र द्वारा न्यायबिन्दुपिण्डार्थ की भी रचना की गयी है, किन्तु इनके तिब्बती अनुवाद मिलते हैं, संस्कृत मूल एवं अनुवाद उपलब्ध नहीं हैं।

3. प्रमाणविनिश्चय- इसमें प्रमाणवार्तिक में प्रतिपादित विषयों को ही संक्षेप में प्रस्तुत किया गया है। इसके आधे से अधिक श्लोक प्रमाणवार्तिक से ही गृहीत है। यह मूल संस्कृत में अनुपलब्ध है, इसका तिब्बती अनुवाद उपलब्ध है। इसके तीन परिच्छेद हैं- प्रत्यक्ष, स्वार्थानुमान और परार्थानुमान। इसकी धर्मोत्तरकृत टीका तथा ज्ञानश्रीभद्र कृत टीका भी तिब्बती भाषा में उपलब्ध है। ध्वन्यालोक के कर्ता आनन्दवर्धन की भी इस पर धर्मोत्तर टीका होने का उल्लेख मिलता है।

4. हेतुबिन्दु- यह हेतु के लक्षण, स्वरूप एवं उसके प्रकारों से सम्बद्ध है। न्यायबिन्दु के समान यह भी सूत्रों में निबद्ध है। स्वभाव, कार्य एवं अनुपलब्धि हेतुओं का इसमें विशद निरूपण है। हेतुबिन्दु पर अर्चट की टीका है तथा उस पर दुर्वेकमिश्र का आलोक है, जिन्हें क्रमशः हेतुबिन्दुटीका एवं हेतुबिन्दुटीकालोक (अर्चटालोक) कहा जाता है। हेतुबिन्दुटीका का दुर्वेकमिश्र के आलोक के साथ ओरियण्टल इंस्टीट्यूट बड़ौदा से 1949 ई. में सुखलालसंघवी तथा मुनिश्री जिनविजय के संयुक्त संपादन में प्रकाशन हुआ।

5. सम्बन्धपरीक्षा- धर्मकीर्ति की यह कृति मूलरूप में अनुपलब्ध है, किन्तु जैनाचार्य प्रभाचन्द्र ने प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड तथा वादिदेवसूरि ने स्याद्वादरत्नाकर में इसकी कारिकाएँ उद्धृत की हैं। प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड में 22 कारिकाएँ उद्धृत हैं, जिन पर स्वयं प्रभाचन्द्र ने व्याख्या लिखी है। इनका पृथक् प्रकाशन बौद्धभारती, वाराणसी से प्रभाचन्द्र की व्याख्या सहित 1972 ई0 में हुआ है। इससे पूर्व श्री राहुल सांकृत्यायन ने 1953 ई. में प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य की प्रस्तावना में 22 कारिकाओं को उद्धृत किया है। सम्बन्धपरीक्षा में संयोग, समवाय आदि सम्बन्धों की परीक्षा की गई है।

6. वादन्याय- यह पूर्णतः वाद-विद्या से सम्बन्धित रचना है। इसमें धर्मकीर्ति ने निग्रहस्थान का लक्षण किया है तथा न्यायदर्शन सम्मत समस्त निग्रहस्थानों का खण्डन किया है। असाधनांग वचन एवं अदोषोद्भावन नामक निग्रहस्थानों की स्थापना भी की है। असाधनांगवचन से वादी का तथा अदोषोद्भावन से प्रतिवादी का निग्रह निरूपित किया गया है। वादन्याय पर प्रसिद्ध बौद्धाचार्य शान्तरक्षित ने विपिञ्चचतार्थ नामक व्याख्या लिखी है। मूल वादन्याय का प्रकाशन महाबोधि सोसायटी, बनारस से सन् 1933 में हुआ था, किन्तु शान्तरक्षित की व्याख्या सहित बौद्ध भारती, वाराणसी से सन् 1972 में प्रकाशित हुआ है। आर. सी. पाण्डे के संपादन में भी इसका प्रकाशन हुआ है।

7. सन्तानान्तरसिद्धि- यह विज्ञानवाद में अपने से भिन्न विज्ञान सन्तानों की सिद्धि से सम्बद्ध

प्रकरण ग्रंथ है। यह मूल संस्कृत में उपलब्ध नहीं हो सका है। विनीतदेव की टीका के साथ तिब्बती भाषा में उपलब्ध है। इसका अंग्रेजी अनुवाद श्रेरबात्स्की द्वारा किया गया है।

धर्मकीर्ति के समस्त टीकाकारों को श्रेरबात्स्की ने तीन वर्गों में विभक्त किया है। प्रथमवर्ग शब्दार्थपरक व्याख्या करने वाले टीकाकारों का है, जिनमें देवेन्द्रबुद्धि, शाक्यबुद्धि, विनीतदेव, शान्तभद्र एवं मनोरथनन्दी प्रमुख हैं। द्वितीय वर्ग तत्त्वज्ञान एवं दार्शनिक हार्द को स्पष्ट करने वाले टीकाकारों का है, जिनमें धर्मोत्तर प्रमुख है। ये सब काश्मीरी थे। अतः श्रेरबात्स्की इस वर्ग को काश्मीरी वर्ग भी कहते हैं। इस वर्ग के अन्य दार्शनिक थे आनन्दवर्द्धन, ज्ञानश्री, शंकरानन्द आदि। तृतीय वर्ग धार्मिक टीकाकारों का था जिनमें प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त सर्वप्रथम है। यह वर्ग जिन, रविगुप्त एवं यमारि के दृष्टि भेद से पुनः तीन उपसम्प्रदायों में विभक्त किया गया है। धर्मकीर्ति के प्रमुख टीकाकारों में धर्मोत्तर, प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त एवं अर्चट की टीकाएं हैं।

धर्मोत्तर- धर्मकीर्ति के प्रमाणग्रंथों के दार्शनिक पक्ष को सर्वप्रथम व्यवस्थित एवं तार्किक शैली में धर्मोत्तर ने प्रस्तुत किया। धर्मकीर्ति अपने जीवन काल में उनके ग्रंथों का जैसा योग्य टीकाकार देखना चाहते थे, वैसा टीकाकार उनके मरणोपरान्त धर्मोत्तर के रूप में पैदा हुआ। श्रेरबात्स्की धर्मोत्तर को मूलतः काश्मीरी ब्राह्मण बतलाते हैं। धर्मोत्तर को तिब्बतियों द्वारा अत्यधिक आदर एवं सम्मान दिया गया है। वे धर्मकीर्ति के ग्रंथों का दार्शनिक विश्लेषण ही नहीं करते, अपितु नया चिन्तन एवं दृष्टिकोण भी देते हैं।

धर्मोत्तर ने धर्मकीर्ति के प्रधान ग्रंथ प्रमाणवार्तिक की टीका की। उन्होंने प्रमाणविनिश्चय एवं न्यायबिन्दु ग्रंथों की विस्तृत टीका भी है। प्रमाणविनिश्चय की टीका का मूल रूप संस्कृत में अनुपलब्ध है, तिब्बती अनुवाद में सुरक्षित है। न्यायबिन्दुटीका से भी यह विशाल है। संभव है उसके समान महत्त्वपूर्ण भी होगी। धर्मोत्तर के अन्य चार ग्रंथों का भी उल्लेख मिलता है, वे हैं- प्रामाण्यपरीक्षा, अपोहप्रकरण, परलोकसिद्धि एवं क्षणभंगसिद्धि।

धर्मोत्तर का समय श्रेरबात्स्की ने 800 ई. के आस-पास निर्धारित किया है। राहुल सांकृत्यायन ने 725 ई. माना है, किन्तु पं. दलसुख मालवणिया ने उन्हें 700 ई. से भी कुछ पूर्व का स्वीकार किया है।

न्यायबिन्दुटीका- धर्मकीर्ति के न्यायबिन्दु पर धर्मोत्तर की यह टीका विस्तृत, विशद एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण है। न्यायबिन्दु की टीकाओं का इसका सर्वोत्तम स्थान है और इसका प्रमाण इस टीका पर लिखी गयी उपटीकाएं हैं। इससे पूर्व जो टीकाएं की गयीं वे शब्दार्थपरक थीं, किंतु धर्मोत्तर की इस टीका से तात्विक अभिप्राय को स्पष्ट करने का कार्य प्रारम्भ हुआ। इस टीका का आकार 1477 श्लोक परिमाण आंका गया है।

न्यायबिन्दु की उपटीकाओं या टिप्पणों का क्रम इस प्रकार है- (1) मल्लवादी कृत धर्मोत्तर

टिप्पण (2) तात्पर्यनिबन्धटिप्पण (3) न्यायबिन्दुटीकाटिप्पण (4) धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप

मल्लवादी कृत धर्मोत्तरटिप्पण की प्रतियां जैसलमेर एवं पाटन के भण्डारों में विद्यमान है। मल्लवादी नाम से टिप्पणकार जैन प्रतीत होते हैं, किन्तु ये द्वादशारनयचक्र के कर्ता मल्लवादी क्षमाश्रमण से भिन्न हैं। इनका समय पं. दलसुख मालवणिया ने 700-750 ई. के मध्य स्वीकार किया है। तात्पर्यनिबन्धटिप्पण की एक ताड़पत्र प्रति मुनि पुण्यविजय जी को प्राप्त हुई थी, किन्तु इस पर लेखक की प्रशस्ति एवं नाम नहीं है। न्यायबिन्दुटीकाटिप्पणी का संपादन बिब्लि ओथिका बुद्धिका नं. 11 में श्रेरबात्स्की ने किया है, जो सेन्टपीटर्सबर्ग से 1909 ई. में प्रकाशित हुई है, किन्तु वह अपूर्ण है। इसके भी लेखक का नाम अज्ञात है। न्यायबिन्दुटीका पर अनुटीका धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध है, अतः उसकी चर्चा दुर्वेकमिश्र के प्रसंग में आगे अलग से की गयी है।

अर्चट- धर्मकीर्ति के टीकाकारों में अर्चट का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है। अर्चट का दूसरा नाम धर्माकरदत्त है जो उन्हें भिक्षु के रूप में प्रस्तुत करता है। अर्चट काश्मीरी थे ऐसा लामा तारानाथ के कथन से ज्ञात होता है। पं. सुखलाल संघवी ने अर्चट को धर्मकीर्ति के पश्चात् तथा धर्मोत्तर, प्रज्ञाकर गुप्त, आदि के पूर्व का मानकर उन्हें सातवीं सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध एवं आठवीं सदी के पूर्वार्द्ध में निर्धारित किया है।

दुर्वेक मिश्र के हेतुबिन्दुटीकालोक एवं स्वयं अर्चट की टीका से विदित होता है कि अर्चट की तीन कृतियाँ थीं- क्षणभंगसिद्धि, प्रमाणद्वित्वसिद्धि एवं हेतुबिन्दुटीका, किन्तु दुर्भाग्य से इनमें हेतुबिन्दुटीका ही वर्तमान में उपलब्ध है, जो सन् 1949 ई. में ओरियण्टल इंस्टीट्यूट, बड़ौदा से पं. सुखलाल संघवी एवं मुनि जिनविजय के संपादन में प्रकाशित हुई है।

हेतुबिन्दुटीका- धर्मकीर्ति की रचना हेतुबिन्दु पर अर्चट की टीका बौद्ध प्रमाणशास्त्र के लिए वरदान है। यह मूलग्रंथ के प्रत्येक शब्द का स्फुट रूपेण विश्लेषण करती है। इस टीका से ही पं. सुखलाल संघवी ने धर्मकीर्ति का हेतुबिन्दु तैयार किया है। जो हेतुबिन्दुटीका के परिशिष्ट में उपलब्ध है।

हेतुबिन्दुटीका में स्वभाव, कार्य एवं अनुपलब्धि रूप त्रिविध हेतुओं का विस्तृत विवेचन उपलब्ध होता है। यथाप्रसंग क्षणिकवाद में अर्थक्रियासिद्धि आदि का वर्णन किया गया है। पक्षधर्मत्व, सपक्षसत्त्व, विपक्षव्यावृत्ति रूप त्रिरूपत्व हेतु का विधान करने के साथ असिद्ध, विरुद्ध व अनैकान्तिक हेत्वाभासों को समझाया गया है। अर्चट ने हेतुबिन्दुटीका में जैनदर्शन के सिद्धान्त स्याद्वाद का 45 पद्यों में खण्डन प्रस्तुत किया है। द्रव्य एवं पर्याय में कथञ्चित अव्यतिरेकता का प्रतिपादन करने वाले समन्तभद्र के श्लोक का भी अर्चट द्वारा खण्डन किया गया है। इसी प्रकार उन्होंने जैन दार्शनिक उमास्वामि के सत्त्वक्षण विधायक सूत्र 'उत्पादव्ययध्रौव्ययुत्तफ़ं सत्' (तत्त्वार्थसूत्र, 5-29) का भी निरसन करते हुए सत् को क्षणिक सिद्ध किया है।

प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त एवं प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य- प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त ने धर्मकीर्ति की उत्कृष्ट रचना प्रमाणवार्तिक पर भाष्य की रचना की है, जिसे प्रमाणवार्तिकालंकार या प्रमाणवार्तिक भाष्य कहा जाता है। प्रमाणवार्तिकालंकार धर्मकीर्ति के प्रमाणवार्तिक के तीन परिच्छेदों पर लिखा गया भाष्य है। इसमें स्वार्थानुमान परिच्छेद पर भाष्य नहीं है। इसके गद्य एवं पद्य का कुल परिमाण 16,200 श्लोक जितना आंका गया है। श्री राहुल सांकृत्यायन ने प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त को धर्मकीर्ति का प्रशिष्य कहा है तथा इन्हें, तिब्बती परम्परानुसार 700 ई. के आस पास रखा है। सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण, श्रेरबात्स्की आदि विद्वानों ने उन्हें 10वीं शताब्दी का दार्शनिक स्वीकार किया है, किन्तु जैनाचार्य अकलङ्क (8वीं शती) अपने विभिन्न न्याय ग्रंथों में, अनन्तवीर्य (9वीं शती) सिद्धिविनिश्चयटीका में, विद्यानन्द (9वीं शती) अष्टसहस्री में तथा प्रभाचन्द्र (11वीं शती) प्रमेयकमलमार्तण्ड में प्रज्ञाकर का उल्लेख करते हुए भूरिशः खण्डन करते हैं। जयन्तभट्ट एवं उदयन भी प्रज्ञाकर का खण्डन करते हैं। अतः प्रज्ञाकर को आठवीं सदी के प्रारम्भ से आगे नहीं ले जाया जा सकता। महेन्द्रकुमार न्यायाचार्य इन्हें 670-724 ई. के मध्य प्रतिपादित करते हैं। चीनी यात्री इत्सिंग अपने यात्रा विवरण में प्रज्ञागुप्त नामक विद्वान् का उल्लेख करता है, जो न्यायाचार्य को प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त ही प्रतीत होते हैं।

श्रेरबात्स्की के अनुसार प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त धार्मिक परम्परा के टीकाकार थे। अनेक सन्दर्भों में प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त धर्मकीर्ति के टीकाकार ही नहीं, अपितु उनसे स्वतन्त्र विचारक भी प्रतीत होते हैं। जैनदार्शनिक अकलङ्क अपने न्यायग्रंथों में प्रज्ञाकर का भूरिशः खण्डन करते हैं। अकलङ्क के टीकाकार वादिराज न्यायविनिश्चयविवरण में तथा अनन्तवीर्य सिद्धिविनिश्चयटीका में प्रमाणवार्तिकालङ्कार का बहुभाग उद्धृत करते हैं। प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त के भाष्य की अपेक्षा मनोरथनन्दी की वृत्ति धर्मकीर्ति के अभिप्राय को समझने में अधिक सहायक सिद्ध हुई है, क्योंकि वह शब्दार्थपरक होते हुए भी धर्मकीर्ति के अभिप्राय को अधिक सक्षमतापूर्वक स्पष्ट करती है। दूसरी बात यह है कि यह वृत्ति प्रमाणवार्तिक के चारों परिच्छेदों पर लिखी गयी है। तथापि विस्तृत एवं व्यापक अध्ययन के लिए प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त के प्रमाणवार्तिकभाष्य का महत्त्व निर्विवाद है।

शान्तरक्षित और कमलशील- ये दोनों आचार्य उत्तर भारत में मगध के निवासी थे। दिङ्नाग एवं धर्मकीर्ति के बाद ये दोनों दार्शनिक बौद्ध न्याय को कुछ भिन्न दृष्टिकोण के साथ प्रस्तुत करते हैं। गंगानाथ झा ने इनका समय 705 से 764 ई. निर्धारित किया है। शान्तरक्षित गुरु थे एवं कमलशील उनके शिष्य। ये दोनों नालन्दा विहार में रहे फिर तिब्बत चले गये थे।

शान्तरक्षित एवं कमलशील माध्यमिक सम्प्रदाय के आचार्य थे। माध्यमिक सम्प्रदाय भी दो प्रकार के हैं- प्रासंगिक एवं स्वातन्त्रिक। शान्तरक्षित स्वातन्त्रिक सम्प्रदाय से सम्बद्ध थे। श्रेरबात्स्की ने शान्तरक्षित एवं कमलशील को माध्यमिक-योगाचार अथवा माध्यमिक-सौत्रान्तिक के मिश्रित सम्प्रदाय से सम्बद्ध माना है। डॉ. जगन्नाथ उपाध्याय ने उन्हें स्वातन्त्रिक-माध्यमिक सम्प्रदाय से सम्बद्ध मानकर उसे व्यवहारविज्ञानवाद कहा है। वे कहते हैं कि वसुबन्धु, दिङ्नाग एवं धर्मकीर्ति

के द्वारा पारमार्थिक विज्ञानवाद स्वीकृत था, किन्तु शान्तरक्षित एवं कमलशील व्यावहारिक विज्ञानवादी थे। सरल शब्दों में इसे यून कहा जा सकता है कि दोनों माध्यमिक होकर भी विज्ञानवादी थे और उन्होंने तत्त्वसंग्रह एवं उसकी पञ्जिका का निर्माण कर सौत्रन्तिकविज्ञानवादी होने का प्रमाण दिया है।

शान्तरक्षित की प्रमुख रचना है- तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह। उनकी दो अन्य रचनाओं का भी उल्लेख मिलता है- 1. धर्मकीर्ति के वादन्याय पर विपञ्जिका एवं 2. मध्यमकालङ्कारग्रन्थ। कमलशील ने तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह की व्याख्या में तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहपञ्जिका नामक टीका की रचना की है। उनके एक अन्य ग्रंथ न्यायबिन्दु पूर्वपक्ष संक्षेप का भी उल्लेख मिलता है।

तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह एवं तत्त्वसङ्ग्रहपञ्जिका- आठवीं शताब्दी में रचित बौद्ध-न्याय की महत्त्वपूर्ण कृति तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह आचार्य शान्तरक्षित की अनुपम रचना है। यह 3645 कारिकाओं में निबद्ध है। इस पर आचार्य नागार्जुन की माध्यमिक कारिका एवं धर्मकीर्ति के प्रमाणवार्तिक का प्रभाव लक्षित होता है। तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह में प्रमेयों की परीक्षा प्रमाण-परीक्षा की अपेक्षा अधिक हुई है। जिनमें प्रकृति, ईश्वर, पुरुष, शब्द, ब्रह्म, आत्मा, स्थिरभाव, कर्मफलसम्बन्ध, द्रव्य, गुण, कर्म, सामान्य, विशेष, समवाय, शब्दार्थ, स्याद्वाद, श्रुति आदि की परीक्षा मुख्य है। प्रमाणों में प्रत्यक्षलक्षण, अनुमान, शब्द, उपमान, अर्थापत्ति, अभाव, सम्भव, ऐतिह्य आदि की परीक्षा करने के साथ प्रामाण्यवाद की भी परीक्षा की गयी है। शान्तरक्षित ने अविद्धकर्ण, शङ्करस्वामी, भावविविक्त, योगसेन, लक्षणकार, सुमति, पात्रस्वामी, पुरन्दर आदि उन विभिन्न विद्वानों के भी मन्तव्यों का उपस्थापन एवं खण्डन किया है जिनका आज कोई ग्रंथ उपलब्ध नहीं है। शान्तरक्षित का तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह धर्मकीर्ति के प्रमाणवार्तिक की अपेक्षा सुगम है।

तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह पर कमलशील की पञ्जिका गद्य में निबद्ध है। यह शब्दानुलक्षी व्याख्या होकर भी ग्रंथ के हार्द को कुशलता के साथ स्पष्ट करती है। शान्तरक्षित जिन विपक्षी आचार्यों के मत का बिना नाम लिए पूर्वपक्ष के रूप में उपस्थापन करते हैं, कमलशील अपनी पञ्जिका में उनका नामोल्लेख भी करते हैं। जैनदार्शनिक सुमति एवं पात्रस्वामी के मतों का उपस्थापन एवं खण्डन इसका निदर्शन है। तत्त्वसङ्ग्रह पञ्जिका में दिङ्नाग मन्तव्यों को भी स्पष्ट किया गया है।

दुर्वेक मिश्र- दुर्वेकमिश्र का समय सतीशचन्द्र विद्याभूषण, सुखलाल संघवी आदि ने दसवीं शताब्दी का अंतिमपाद एवं ग्यारहवीं शती का पूर्वार्द्ध स्वीकार किया है। दुर्वेकमिश्र जितारि के शिष्य थे। दुर्वेकमिश्र के चार ग्रंथों का उल्लेख मिलता है- 1. धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप 2. अर्चटालोक (हेतुबिन्दुटीकालोक) 3. स्वयूथ्यविचार एवं 4. विशेषाख्याना। इनके अतिरिक्त क्षणभंगसिद्धि एवं चतुःशती नामक रचनाओं का भी दुर्वेकमिश्र ने स्वयं उल्लेख किया है। इनमें से प्रथम दो ग्रंथों को राहुलसांकृत्यायन तिब्बत से लाए थे। उनका संस्कृत में प्रकाशन भी हो गया है। धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप का प्रकाशन भोटदेशीय संस्कृत ग्रंथमाला के अन्तर्गत द्वितीय पुष्प के रूप में काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल

रिसर्च इंस्टीट्यूट, पटना से सन् 1955 ई. में पं. दलसुखभाई मालवाणिया के संपादन में हुआ। हेतुबिन्दुटीकालोक का प्रकाशन हेतुबिन्दु एवं उसकी टीका के साथ गायकवाड ओरियण्टल सीरिज में 1949 ई. में पं. सुखलाल संघवी एवं मुनिजिनविजय के सम्पादन में हुआ। स्वयंथ्यविचार, विशेषाख्यान, क्षणभङ्गसिद्धि एवं चतुःशती ग्रंथों का धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप या हेतुबिन्दुटीकालोक में उल्लेख मिलता है। किन्तु वे अभी तक उपलब्ध नहीं हुए हैं।

धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप- न्यायबिन्दुटीका पर उपलब्ध अन्य सब टिप्पणों से धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप अधिक विस्तृत हैं यह वस्तुतः धर्मोत्तर टीका के लिए प्रदीप है। इसकी मुख्य विशेषता है कि इसमें पूर्वपक्ष उपस्थापित करके धर्मोत्तर के मन्तव्य की व्याख्या की गयी है। धर्मोत्तरप्रदीप की भाषा प्रौढ, सुश्लिष्ट एवं मुहावरों से युक्त है। दुर्वेक व्यर्थ की चर्चा करना एवं खींचखांच कर अर्थ निकालना पसन्द नहीं करते। टीका में अनेक स्थानों पर वे पूर्व टीकाकारों के मन्तव्यों का भी उल्लेख करते हैं। दुर्वेकमिश्र के अनुसार न्यायबिन्दु सौत्रान्तिक मत की दृष्टि से लिखा गया ग्रंथ है, योगाचार मत के साथ इसकी कुत्रचित् संगति बैठ जाना आनुषंगिक है, मुख्य नहीं, दुर्वेकमिश्र ने धर्मोत्तर के अभिप्राय को कुशलता से स्पष्ट किया है तथा कुत्रचित् विचार भेद भी प्रकट किया है। उनका यह प्रदीप बौद्धन्याय के अध्ययनार्थ महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

हेतुबिन्दुटीकालोक- धर्मकीर्ति रचित हेतुबिन्दु पर अर्चट ने टीका की थी। अर्चट की टीका पर दुर्वेकमिश्र ने आलोक की रचना की है, जिसे हेतुबिन्दुटीका या अर्चटालोक के नाम से जाना जाता है। इसमें दुर्वेकमिश्र ने अर्चट की टीका पर विशद व्याख्या की है एवं यथावसर बौद्धेतर मन्तव्यों का उपस्थापन कर उनका निरसन किया है। अर्चट का अनुकरण करते हुए भी दुर्वेक ने कहीं कहीं उनसे असहमति प्रकट की है। स्वभाव, कार्य एवं अनुपलब्धि- इन तीनों हेतुओं की दुर्वेक ने विशद व्याख्या की है। इसका भी प्रकाशन पं. सुखलाल संघवी द्वारा संपादित हेतुबिन्दुटीका के साथ हुआ है।

हेतुबिन्दुटीकालोक में दुर्वेकमिश्र ने जैनों द्वारा मान्य उत्पादव्ययध्रौव्यात्मक सत् का खण्डन किया है। उन्होंने समन्तभद्र की आप्तमीमांसा की कारिकाओं को भी इस सन्दर्भ में उद्धृत किया है। जैनग्रन्थ वादन्याय के रचयिता (संभवतः कुमारनन्दी) को स्याद्वादकेशरी की उपमा देते हुए उनके मत को उद्धृत कर² टीकाकार कुलभूषण की विस्तृत व्याख्या प्रस्तुत की है तथा फिर उसका खण्डन किया है।

प्रमाण लक्षण

अर्थ के साथ ज्ञान का जो सादृश्य होता है, वही प्रमाण है अर्थात् जिस विषय से जो ज्ञान उत्पन्न है, वह उस विषय के सदृश होता है। यह प्रत्यक्ष और अनुमान दोनों पर लागू होता है।

प्रत्यक्ष ज्ञान में-प्रत्यक्ष से जब नील सादृश्य ज्ञान अनुभूत होता है तब यह नील है इस प्रकार का ज्ञान व्यवस्थापित होता है। अनुमान ज्ञान भी नीलाकार उत्पन्न होकर नीलबोध निश्चित करता

है। इस सारूप्य लक्षण प्रमाण से स्पष्ट होता है कि बुद्धि ही प्रमाण है, इन्द्रियादि प्रमाण नहीं है जैसा कि नैयायिकादि स्वीकार करते हैं।

बौद्ध आचार्य कहते हैं कि हेय या उपादेय वस्तु के त्याग का ग्रहण करने का अतिशय साधन ही है, अतः वही प्रमाण है। इन्द्रिय के रहते हुए भी प्रवृत्ति नहीं होती यदि तद्विषयक बुद्धि न हो। यह ठीक है कि प्रत्येक अर्थ और प्रत्येक इन्द्रिय के भेद से ज्ञान का भेद होता है तथापि विषय सारूप्य के बिना ज्ञान-विशेष निर्दिष्ट ही नहीं हो सकता।

प्रमाण के भेद- बौद्ध परम्परा में प्रमाण के दो भेद हैं- प्रत्यक्ष तथा अनुमान। शब्दादि प्रमाणों का अनुमान में ही अन्तर्भाव समझा जाता है।

लक्षण- प्रमाणवार्तिक में प्रमाण का लक्षण इस प्रकार किया गया है-

प्रमाणमविसंवादिज्ञानमर्थक्रियास्थितिः।

अविसंवादनं शाब्देऽप्यभिप्रायनिवेदनात्॥ - प्रमाणवार्तिक 1-3

अविसंवादी ज्ञान ही प्रमाण माना जाता है, अर्थ की क्रिया का नाम अविसंवाद है, शब्दज्ञान में भी वक्ता के अभिप्रेत अर्थ का निवेदन होने के कारण प्रमाणता मानी जाती है। आगे कहा है कि-

वक्तृव्यापारविषयो योऽर्थो बुद्धौ प्रकाशते।

प्रामाण्यं तत्र शब्दस्य नार्थतत्त्वनिबन्धनम्॥ - प्रमाणवार्तिक 1-4

अर्थात् वक्ता का व्यापार है- विवक्षा, उसका विषयीभूत जो घटादि पदार्थ बुद्धि में प्रतिभाषित होता है, घटादि शब्द उसी का प्रमाण (अनुमापक लिङ्क) माना जाता है, अर्थ तत्त्व का प्रतिपादक नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि उसके साथ शब्द का सीधा सम्बन्ध नहीं है।

गृहीतग्रहणान्नेष्टं सांवृतं धीप्रमाणता।

प्रवृत्तेस्तत्प्रधानत्वाद् हेयोपादेयवस्तुनि॥ - प्रमाणवार्तिक 1-5

सोऽयं घटः यमद्राक्षमः तं स्पृशामि- इत्यादि स्थलों पर प्रत्यक्षदर्शन के अनन्तर उसी विषय का एकत्व स्थिरत्वादि कल्पनाओं से संवलित द्वितीय ज्ञान प्रमाण नहीं माना जाता, क्योंकि वह गृहीत विषय का ही ग्राहक होता है, अनधिगत अर्थ का प्रकाशन नहीं होता।

यद्यपि त्वगिन्द्रिय अपने द्वारा अगृहीत घटादि का ग्राहक है, तथापि इन्द्रियादि को प्रमाण न मानकर ज्ञान को ही प्रमाण माना है, क्योंकि प्राणी की प्रवृत्ति उपादेय पदार्थ के ग्रहण एवं हेयार्थ के परित्याग के उत्पादन में ज्ञान की ही प्रधानता देखी जाती है।

विषयाकारभेदाच्च धियोऽधिगमभेदतः।

भावादेवस्य सद्भावे स्वरूपस्य स्वतो गतिः॥ प्रमाणवार्तिक 1-6

अर्थात् धी (ज्ञान) में उद्भूत विषयाकारों के भेद से अधिगम (अर्थ-प्रतीति या प्रमात्व) का भेद एवं उसके भावाभाव पर प्रमात्व का भावाभाव निर्भर है, अतः विषयाकारों के द्वारा ही प्रमात्व की उत्पत्ति होती है, प्रमात्व स्वतः उत्पन्न नहीं, स्वतः तो केवल ज्ञान के स्वरूप की ही अवगति होती है।

प्रामाण्यं व्यवहारेण शास्त्रं मोह निवर्तनम्।

अज्ञातार्थ प्रकाशो वा स्वरूपाधिगतेः परम्॥ -प्रमाणवार्तिक 1-7

अर्थात् अग्नि ज्ञान में प्रामाण्य (प्रमात्व) तभी सिद्ध होगा, जबकि दाहपाकादि व्यवहार की कसौटी पर अग्नि तत्त्व खरा उतर जाया लौकिक व्यवहारों के अवयवीभूत स्वर्गापवर्गादि पदार्थों का मोह (अज्ञान) शास्त्रोपदेश के द्वारा निवर्तित होता है।

अज्ञातार्थ प्रकाशकं प्रमाणम्- प्रकाश पद का अर्थ है 'ज्ञान' वह ज्ञान प्रमाण है, जिसका विषय अज्ञात हो। स्वरूप (स्वलक्षण) का ज्ञान हो जाने के पश्चात् जो सामान्य लक्षण का अनुमान ज्ञान होता है, वह भी अज्ञात स्वलक्षण विषयक होने से ही प्रमाण होता है।

'अज्ञातार्थ प्रकाशः' जिसके द्वारा विषयवस्तु प्रकाशित की जाय उसका नाम है- प्रकाश। अज्ञातार्थ का प्रकाशक ज्ञान प्रमाण होता है।

सांवृत (आविधक या शुक्ति-रजतादि भ्रम) ज्ञान अज्ञातार्थ का प्रकाशक नहीं होता, अपितु रजतादि दृष्ट पदार्थ ही शुक्ति में कल्पित होता है।

परमार्थ (व्यावहारिक) रजत से अभेदारोप करके **'इदं रजतम्'**- ऐसा व्यवहार होने लगता है।

यहाँ पर 'अर्थ' शब्द के द्वारा परमार्थ का ही अभिधान किया जाता है।

परमार्थ 'अद्वैत रूपता' है [न्याय बिन्दु में स्वलक्षण तत्त्व को परमार्थ सत् कहा गया है] तदेव परमार्थसत् (न्या- वि- 1/14)] स्वलक्षण तत्त्व विज्ञप्तिमात्रता का अद्वैत तत्त्व है, वार्तिक पद्य में इसका स्पष्टीकरण 'अविज्ञाते स्वलक्षणे' से होता है ज्ञाननिष्ठ परमार्थ प्रकाशनता ही प्रमाणता है। अतः ज्ञान के स्वरूप को स्वतः गति और प्रामाण्य का ज्ञान व्यवहार से, अतएव कहा गया है **'प्रामाण्यं व्यवहारेण'** इन प्रमाणलक्षणों में पारमार्थिक प्रमाण का यह (अविज्ञातार्थ प्रकाशन) लक्षण है और पूर्व-प्रदर्शित (अविसंवादिज्ञान) व्यावहारिक प्रमाण का लक्षण है।

अनुमान प्रमाण की प्रामाणिकता

अभिप्रायतः अर्थात् अनुमान ज्ञान अविसंवादी होने के कारण प्रमाण माना गया है। बाह्य विज्ञान वासना-वासित विनेयों (शिष्यता) की अपेक्षा को ध्यान में रखकर अनुमान को भी प्रमाण मान लिया है। वस्तुतः स्वसंवेदनात्मक एकमात्र प्रत्यक्ष ही प्रमाण है, अन्य कोई प्रमाण नहीं, जिस-जिस मार्ग से अधिकारी जनों का तत्त्व-मार्ग में अनुप्रवेश हो सके वही कल्प भगवान अपनाते गए हैं। अतः विरोध उपस्थित नहीं होता।³

यह प्रश्न उपस्थित किए जाने पर कि अनुमान के विषयीभूत सामान्यलक्षण पर विश्वास क्यों नहीं?

उत्तर है- 'स्वलक्षणविचारतः'।

भगवान में प्रमाणता

तद्वत् प्रमाणं भगवान् अभूतविनिवृत्तये।

भूतोक्तिः साधनापेक्षा ततो युक्ता प्रमाणता॥

'तद्वत् भगवान् प्रमाणम्' अर्थात् अज्ञातार्थ विषयक आर्य होने के कारण भगवान् बुद्ध प्रमाण माने जाते हैं, क्योंकि उनके द्वारा उपदिष्ट दुःखादिरूप चार आर्यसत्य अविश्ववादी और प्रमाणान्तर से अज्ञात हैं।

नमस्कार श्लोक में भगवान के लिए जो 'प्रमाणभूताय' कहा गया है, वहाँ भूतपद का ग्रहण अभूत (नित्य ईश्वरादि) की निवृत्ति के लिए किया गया है अर्थात् ईश्वरादि नित्य पदार्थों को प्रमाण नहीं माना जा सकता, क्योंकि प्रमाणता सदैव साधन सापेक्ष ही होती है।

बुद्ध की प्रमाणता में 'तायित्वाद' आदि साधनों का निर्देश है।

समीक्षा- विद्वानों द्वारा बौद्ध प्रमाण की समीक्षा इस प्रकार की है-

सम्यक् ज्ञान दो प्रकार का है- अर्थक्रिया का निर्भासक और अर्थ-क्रिया-समर्थ वस्तु में प्रवर्तक। इनमें जो प्रवर्तक है उसकी यहाँ परीक्षा की जाती है। वह (निश्चयात्मक ज्ञान) पूर्ववर्ती होते हुए भी (वास्तविक) अर्थ-प्राप्ति का साक्षात् कारण नहीं है। सम्यक् ज्ञान होने पर पहले देखे हुए विषय का स्मरण होता है। स्मरण से इच्छा उत्पन्न होती है, इच्छा से प्रवृत्ति और प्रवृत्ति से (वास्तविक) प्राप्ति। इसलिए वह प्रवर्तक ज्ञान (अर्थ-क्रिया की अनुभूति रूप प्राप्ति का) साक्षात् हेतु नहीं है। अर्थ-क्रिया-निर्भासक ज्ञान यद्यपि साक्षात् प्रापक है तथापि वह परीक्षा का योग्य विषय नहीं है जिसमें बुद्धिमान् लोग संशयालु होते हैं, उसी की परीक्षा की जाती है अर्थक्रिया के निर्भास के विदित होने पर पुरुषार्थ सिद्ध हो जाता है। इसलिए प्रयोजनार्थी आशंकायुक्त नहीं रहते। इसलिए उसकी परीक्षा नहीं की जाती। इसलिए परीक्षार्ह असाक्षात् कारण-रूप सम्यग्ज्ञान को बताने के लिए कारण-शब्द छोड़कर पूर्व-शब्द का ग्रहण किया गया है। पुरुष की इच्छा का विषय ही पुरुषार्थ कहलाता है। इच्छा विषय को लेने की अथवा छोड़ने की हो सकती है। हेय और उपादेय के अतिरिक्त कोई तीसरी राशि नहीं है। उपेक्षणीय वस्तु अनुपादेय होने के कारण हेय ही है। पुरुषार्थ की सिद्धि का अर्थ है त्याग अथवा ग्रहण। कारणाश्रित सिद्धि की उत्पत्ति कही जाती है, ज्ञानाश्रित सिद्धि अनुष्ठान कहलाती है। हेय का त्याग और उपादेय का उपादान अनुष्ठान है।

प्रदर्शक, प्रवर्तक और प्रापक में वास्तविक अभेद पर व्यावृत्तिमूलक या तात्त्विक भेद-

दुर्वेकमिश्र के अनुसार प्रावर्तकता को ही प्रापकता कहने का अभिप्राय यह है- यद्यपि विषय को साक्षात् कर उसके अनुरूप निश्चय को उत्पन्न करते हुए कोई ज्ञान प्रदर्शक कहलाता है, अन्य

ज्ञान प्रदर्शित करते हुए ही बाह्य प्रवृत्ति का कारण बनते हुए प्रवर्तक कहलाता है, अन्य कुछ ज्ञान प्रवर्तन के द्वारा बाह्य प्राप्ति का निमित्त होता हुआ प्रापक कहलाता है। तथापि ज्ञान का वही प्रवर्तकता आदि प्रेरक व्यापार अथवा बाह्य-प्रवृत्ति का कारण-भाव प्रदर्शक से अन्य नहीं ठहरता है, क्योंकि ज्ञान न तो किसी पुरुष को ठेल सकता है, और न किसी विषय को जन्म देता है, और इस तरह से सामान्य अर्थ में वह प्रवर्तन अथवा प्रापण नहीं कर सकता। इसलिये वस्तुतः सभी ज्ञान के प्रवर्तन और प्रापण-व्यापार निश्चयानुगामी उपलब्धि के अतिरिक्त कुछ नहीं हैं। इसलिये इस स्थिति में प्रथम ज्ञान को ही प्रमाण निर्धारित किया जाता है और इसलिये प्रदर्शकता आदि का वस्तुतः अभेद होता है, यद्यपि उसका व्यावृत्तिमूलक भेद रहता ही है। इसलिये ये प्रदर्शक, प्रवर्तक और प्रापक शब्द कृतकत्व और अनित्यत्व आदि के समान पर्याय नहीं हैं। (इन शब्दों से वही वस्तु किन्तु अनेक रूप सूचित होते हैं।)

प्रदर्शित के प्रापण में पुनरुक्ति नहीं-

यदि वस्तुगत अर्थभेद के अभाव में पुनरुक्ति की आपत्ति को कहा जा रहा है तो कुछ दोष नहीं है क्योंकि, वस्तुगत अर्थ-भेद हमें अभिप्रेत नहीं है, पर यदि कहा जाय कि तब भी पुनरुक्ति होती है और ऐसा नहीं कहा जाना चाहिए, तब तो आपत्ति का क्षेत्र बहुत बढ़ जायेगा। तब यह क्यों कहा जायेगा कि अर्थाभेद के कारण यह भी नहीं कहना चाहिये कि 'कृतकत्व अनित्यत्व को सिद्ध करता है'।

यदि यह आशय हो कि शब्द के प्रयोग की अपेक्षा से भी अर्थाभेद है तो उत्तर यह है कि इस प्रकार का अर्थाभेद असिद्ध है।

अर्थात् अर्थ को साक्षात् प्रदर्शित कर उसके अनुरूप निश्चय को उत्पन्न कर प्रवर्तन के द्वारा बाह्य प्राप्ति का साक्षात् अथवा योग्यतया हेतु बनते हुए ज्ञान संवादक होता है। वास्तव में प्रवर्तक का और प्रापक का प्रमेय की उपलब्धि-रूपी प्रदर्शन-व्यापार से अतिरिक्त कोई व्यापार नहीं है, इसलिए प्रवर्तकता और प्रापकता का उससे भिन्न कोई प्रेरण व्यापार नहीं है।

प्रमाण=प्रापण-शक्ति-

विषय की प्राप्ति की सम्भावना प्रदर्शित होने के कारण वास्तविक प्राप्ति न होने पर भी विषय को ज्ञान के द्वारा प्रापित कहा जाता है। इसीलिये ज्ञान की प्रापण-शक्ति ही उसका प्रामाण्य है। यह प्रापण-शक्ति प्राप्य अर्थ से अस्तित्व का लाभ करती है, क्योंकि जिस प्रकार प्रवृत्ति होती है वह (बाह्य) प्राप्ति के योग्य होना चाहिए।

प्रामाण्य का निश्चय-

इस प्रापण-शक्ति अथवा प्रामाण्य का निश्चय सभी अर्थक्रिया की अनुभूति में और अनुमान में स्वतः ही होता है। प्रवर्तकता प्रत्यक्ष में कहीं स्वतः होती है, कहीं परतः। स्वतः वहाँ होती है जब अभ्यास के कारण सब ओर से भ्रम की शंका निरस्त हो, जहाँ निद्रा आदि से अनभिहत

होकर प्रत्यक्ष-ज्ञान निकट-देशस्थ वस्तु का ग्रहण करता हो, जबकि व्यंजक के अधीन अन्य प्रकार की अभिव्यक्ति की आशंका न की जा सके। ऐसी स्थिति में विषय के रूप के संवेदन से ही ज्ञान सत्यार्थक निश्चित होता है। अन्य प्रकार के प्रवर्तक प्रत्यक्ष का प्रामाण्य अर्थक्रिया के अनुभव रूप स्वतः प्रमाण ज्ञानान्तर से निश्चित होता है। अथवा अव्यवहित पश्चाद्गती विषय के दर्शन से मध्यवर्ती भ्रान्ति के संशय के हटने से निश्चय होता है।

सम्यग्ज्ञान=प्रमाण और प्रमाण-फल- प्रो. धर्मचन्द्र जी के शब्दों में सम्यग्ज्ञान धोखा न देनेवाले ज्ञान को कहते हैं। लोग भी पहले दिखाई हुई वस्तु को प्राप्त करानेवाले व्यक्ति को सच्चा कहते हैं। इसी प्रकार स्वयं प्रदर्शित वस्तु को पहुँचानेवाला ज्ञान सच्चा या संवादक कहा जाता है।

(व्यवहार में वस्तु को देखना, उसे प्राप्त करने के लिए क्रिया एवं उसकी प्राप्ति- ये तीन अलग-अलग बातें हैं। ज्ञान के विषय में यह अभिप्राय नहीं है कि पहले जो वस्तु जानी गई वही कालान्तर में प्रयत्नपूर्वक वस्तुतः पाई जाय, तब ज्ञान को सच्चा मानना चाहिये। यहाँ तात्पर्य अधिक सूक्ष्म है। ज्ञान में वस्तु जैसी भासती है वैसा ही उसका निश्चय होना चाहिये। ये दोनों एक ही ज्ञान के दो व्यापार हैं- वस्तु के स्वरूप को प्रकट करना, और उसके स्वरूप को प्रयोजनीय अर्थ के रूप में निश्चय करना। इन दोनों व्यापारों में सामंजस्य या संवाद होना चाहिये। चमकती रेत के भासित होने पर 'यह जल है' इस प्रकार का निश्चय नहीं होना चाहिये। इनमें पहला व्यापार ज्ञान का प्रदर्शक व्यापार है। दूसरा प्रवर्तक या प्रापक)

प्रदर्शित वस्तु की ओर 'ध्यान का' प्रेरित करना ही ज्ञान के लिए उसका प्राप्त कराना है, अन्य कुछ नहीं, क्योंकि ज्ञान वस्तु को बना कर या उठा कर नहीं देता बल्कि ध्यान को उसकी ओर करते हुए उस तक पहुँचाता है। ध्यान को उसकी ओर करने का अर्थ भी यही है कि वस्तु का स्वरूप प्रयोजनीय अर्थ के रूप में प्रदर्शित होता है। ज्ञान किसी को भी किसी ओर जबदरस्ती नहीं ठेल सकता।

सम्यग्ज्ञान में प्रमाण और प्रमाणफल दोनों संगृहीत हैं। वही ज्ञान वस्तुग्राहक के रूप में प्रमाण है और वस्तु-निश्चय के रूप में प्रमाणफल है। वस्तु का ग्रहण और वस्तु का प्रदर्शन एक ही बात है। जैसे कि वस्तु का निश्चय और उसकी प्राप्ति एक ही बात है।

इसलिए वस्तु की प्राप्ति ही प्रमाणफल है। वस्तु के प्राप्त होने पर, अर्थात् ज्ञान के द्वारा प्रयोजनीय अर्थ के निश्चित होने पर, यह माना जायेगा कि ज्ञान ने व्यक्ति को प्रवृत्त किया और वस्तु तक पहुँचाया। इसीलिये प्रमाण का विषय पहले अप्राप्त होता है (अर्थात् नई बात प्रकट करनेवाला ज्ञान ही प्रमाण कहलाता है)। जो ज्ञान पहली बार वस्तु का ग्रहण करता है उसी से व्यक्ति प्रेरित होकर वस्तु तक निश्चय के द्वारा पहुँचा माना जाता है। उसी वस्तु में दूसरा ज्ञान और अधिक कुछ भी नहीं कर सकता। इसलिए पूर्व-परिचित विषय की फिर से सूचना देनेवाला ज्ञान प्रमाण नहीं माना जाता। जो वस्तु सम्मुख देखी जाती है उसकी प्रवृत्ति का विषय बनना (अर्थात् प्रयोजनीय

अर्थ के रूप में निश्चय) भी प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण के द्वारा ही माना जाता है। क्योंकि जिस वस्तु में प्रत्यक्ष का साक्षात्कारात्मक व्यापार उसके अनन्तर ही उत्पन्न हुए विकल्प के द्वारा निर्धारित होता है, जैसे जल के प्रत्यक्ष के अनन्तर ही 'यह जल है' इस विकल्प का प्रत्यक्ष निर्धारण होता है, उस वस्तु का प्रदर्शक प्रत्यक्ष होता है। इसलिए जो वस्तु इस तरह से जानी जाती है कि मानो सामने देखी हो, वह प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण के द्वारा प्रदर्शित कही जाती है और उसी के द्वारा वह प्रयोजनीय अर्थ के रूप में निश्चित भी मानी जाती है।

इसके विपरीत अनुमान हेतु के देखने से निश्चय उत्पन्न करते हुए प्रवृत्ति के विषय को दिखलाता है। इस प्रकार प्रत्यक्ष-प्रमाण वस्तु को नियत किन्तु सम्मुख प्रकाशमान रूप में दिखलाता है जबकि अनुमान उसे नियत किन्तु हेतु-सम्बद्ध रूप में दिखलाता है। दोनों ही नियत वस्तु के प्रदर्शक हैं इसलिये वे प्रमाण हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त अन्य प्रकार का ज्ञान प्रमाण नहीं है।

जिस वस्तु को प्राप्त किया जा सकता है उस (शाक्यप्राप्तिक) वस्तु को प्रतिबिम्बित करते हुए ही ज्ञान प्रापक होता है और प्रापक होने के कारण ही प्रमाण होता है। इन प्रमाणों से अन्य ज्ञान के द्वारा प्रदर्शित अर्थ कहीं अत्यन्त विपरीत होता है, जैसे मरीचिका में जल जो कि अस्तित्वहीन होने के कारण प्राप्त नहीं किया जा सकता, कहीं अस्तित्व और नास्तित्व में अमर्यादित होता है, जैसे संदिग्ध वस्तु। इस प्रकार की अस्तित्व-नास्तित्व से युक्त वस्तु जगत् में नहीं है इसलिये प्राप्त नहीं की जा सकती। नियामक को बिना देखे प्रवृत्त हुए हेतु-रहित विकल्प के द्वारा भी अस्तित्व और नास्तित्व में अनियत वस्तु ही प्रदर्शित की जा सकती है और वह प्राप्त नहीं की जा सकती। इस प्रकार अत्यन्त विपरीत अथवा संदिग्ध वस्तु को प्रदर्शित करते हुए अन्य प्रकार का ज्ञान प्रमाण नहीं है, क्योंकि उसकी प्रदर्शित वस्तु प्राप्त नहीं की जा सकती।

प्रयोजन-सिद्धि के इच्छुक लोगों के द्वारा अर्थ-क्रिया को समर्थ- (प्रयोजन-सिद्धि में समर्थ) वस्तु की प्राप्ति के लिए ज्ञान की खोज की जाती है। जैसा वे ज्ञान खोजते हैं वैसा ही शास्त्र में विचारा जाता है। इसलिये अर्थक्रिया में समर्थ वस्तु का प्रदर्शक ही सम्यक् ज्ञान होता है; जो वह प्रदर्शित करता है वही उसे प्राप्त कराना चाहिये। क्योंकि अर्थाधिगति की प्रापक का स्वभाव कहा गया है। प्रदर्शित वस्तु से अन्य वस्तु आकार, देश और काल के द्वारा होती है क्योंकि विरुद्ध धर्म का संसर्ग ही वस्तु को भिन्न करता है। देश, काल, आकार का भेद ही विरुद्ध धर्म का संसर्ग है। इसलिए अन्य आकार से युक्त वस्तु का ग्राहक ज्ञान आकारान्तर से युक्त वस्तु में प्रमाण नहीं है। जैसे पीतशंख का ग्राहक ज्ञान शुक्ल शंख में प्रमाण नहीं है। एक देश में स्थित वस्तु का ग्राहक दूसरे देश में स्थित वस्तु का ज्ञान नहीं है, जैसे कि चाबी के छेद में दीखती हुई मणि की प्रभा का ग्राहक ज्ञान कमरे के अन्दर ही मणि में प्रमाण नहीं है। और न एक समय की वस्तु का ग्राहक ज्ञान दूसरे समय की वस्तु का प्रमाण- जैसे कि आधी रात में मध्याह्नकालीन वस्तु का ग्राहक स्वप्नज्ञान आधी रात की वस्तु में प्रमाण नहीं है।

यह शंका हो सकती है कि दर्शन=प्रतिभास का समय और है, प्राप्ति=निश्चय का समय और है। किन्तु जिस समय की वस्तु का ज्ञान होता है वही प्राप्त होनी चाहिये। यह प्राप्ति कालान्तर में होते हुए

भी दृष्ट और प्राप्त वस्तुओं के अभेद के निश्चय से उनकी एकता सन्तानगत समझनी चाहिये।

सम्यग्ज्ञानपूर्वक में 'पूर्व' का अर्थ कारण है। कार्य से पूर्व होने से कारण को 'पूर्व' कहा गया है। कारण शब्द के ग्रहण से पुरुषार्थ-सिद्धि का साक्षात् कारण समझा जाता है। पूर्व शब्द सिर्फ पूर्ववर्ती के लिए है।

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संक्षेपिका

छठी शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व में धार्मिक आन्दोलन का प्रभाव हम बौद्ध धर्म की शिक्षाओं तथा सिद्धान्तों को पालि त्रिपिटक के रूप में देख सकते हैं। बौद्ध शिक्षण पद्धति का आरम्भ स्वयं भगवान बुद्ध ने किया था, जिसमें सरल एवं सुगम जनसाधारण की बोलचाल की भाषा में जीवन के विभिन्न तत्वों का समावेश था। पालि त्रिपिटक को ईसा पूर्व प्रथम शताब्दी में श्रीलङ्का के अनुराधपुर महाविहार में लिखित रूप प्रदान किया गया। बौद्ध धर्म के समुचित ज्ञान के लिए इस धर्म के त्रिरत्न- बुद्ध, धम्म तथा सङ्घ तीनों का अध्ययन आवश्यक है। गुरुकुल परम्परा से चली आ रही प्राचीन शिक्षा पद्धति का बौद्ध काल में परिवर्तन हुआ और अब मठों तथा विहारों में शिक्षा दी जाने लगी।

आरम्भ में बौद्ध शिक्षा मूलतः उन्हीं के लिए था जो बौद्ध धर्म में दीक्षित होना चाहते थे। किन्तु बाद में जब इस बात की आवश्यकता महसूस हुई कि बौद्ध धर्म के प्रचार के लिए जनसाधारण की सहानुभूति प्राप्त करना आवश्यक है। अतः शिक्षा का झुकाव सर्वसाधारण के प्रति होना स्वाभाविक था। परिणामतः उपासकों के अलावा जनसाधारण वर्ग भी बौद्ध शिक्षण केन्द्रों पर जाकर शिक्षा प्राप्त करने लगा। इस तरह सङ्घ ने न केवल योग्य भिक्षुओं को जन्म दिया, बल्कि बौद्ध शिक्षा के प्रचार-प्रसार हेतु बौद्ध शिक्षण संस्थाओं के अंतर्गत नालन्दा तथा विक्रमशिला जैसे प्रमुख विश्वविद्यालय एवं अनेक विद्यापीठ प्रसिद्ध थे। ये सभी संस्थाएँ अपने अनुशासन युक्त शिक्षा के लिए प्रसिद्ध थीं। इन शिक्षण संस्थाओं की सफलता तथा इनके शिक्षा सम्बन्धित उच्च मानदण्डों से आकृष्ट होकर चीन, तिब्बत, बर्मा, कोरिया, जापान, श्रीलङ्का आदि सुदूर देशों के विद्यार्थी यहाँ विद्याध्ययन के लिए आते थे।

शब्द कुँजी- बौद्ध शिक्षण, बौद्ध शिक्षा, बौद्ध केन्द्र, भिक्षु, उपासक, नालन्दा, विक्रमशिला।

प्रस्तावना

शिक्षा का दर्शन एवं धर्म से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है। भारतीय शिक्षा प्राचीन काल से ही दार्शनिक सिद्धान्तों से जुड़ी रही है। परिस्थितियों में परिवर्तन के फलस्वरूप दार्शनिक विचारधाराओं में परिवर्तन होता रहता है और तदनुसार शिक्षा व्यवस्था भी परिवर्तित होता रहा है। सत्य तो यह है कि दर्शन का व्यावहारिक रूप शिक्षा है और शिक्षा का सैद्धान्तिक रूप दर्शन। वह दर्शन, दर्शन नहीं है जिसका शिक्षा पर प्रभाव न हो और वह शिक्षा, शिक्षा नहीं है, जिसकी दार्शनिक पृष्ठभूमि न हो। (Kumari, 2017, p.14) छः सौ ईसा पूर्व से लेकर बारहवीं शताब्दी तक के काल को बौद्ध काल की संज्ञा दी जाती है। वैदिक कालीन शिक्षा में कर्मकाण्ड की प्रबलता, पुरोहितवाद का उदय, शिक्षा पर ब्राह्मणों का एकाधिकार, शूद्रों एवं नारी शिक्षा की उपेक्षा, वैदिक धर्म की शुद्ध भावना का लोप

एवं धीरे धीरे अनैतिकता का बोलबाला के फलस्वरूप बौद्ध धर्म का उदय हुआ। बौद्ध धर्म के प्रचार प्रसार हेतु बौद्ध विहार तथा मठों की स्थापना हुई। बौद्ध विहार या मठों का एकमात्र कार्य नये बौद्ध भिक्षुओं को दीक्षित करना था। परन्तु धीरे-धीरे इन मठों या विहारों में सभी धर्मों की शिक्षा दी जाने लगी। बौद्धकाल में शिक्षा मनुष्य के सर्वांगीण विकास का साधन था। इसका उद्देश्य मात्र पुस्तकीय ज्ञान प्राप्त करना नहीं था, अपितु मनुष्य के स्वास्थ्य का भी विकास करना था। बौद्ध युग में शिक्षा व्यक्ति के शारीरिक, मानसिक बौद्धिक तथा आध्यात्मिक उत्थान का सर्वप्रमुख माध्यम था। बौद्ध साहित्य में व्यक्ति के चरित्र का निर्माण करना शिक्षा का महत्व, उद्देश्य बतलाया गया है। चरित्र एवं आचरणहीन व्यक्ति की सर्वत्र निंदा की गई है (Sengupta, 2016, p. 7)। भारतीय समाज में वैदिक धर्म अपनी अनेक विकृतियों, अंधविश्वासों, निरर्थक कर्मकाण्ड और जातिवाद के दुष्परिणाम को झेलते हुए अपनी अन्तिम सांसे गिन रहा था। ऐसे में वैदिक युग की सामान्य जनता को त्रस्त करने वाली जीवन पद्धति और शिक्षा-प्रक्रिया के विरुद्ध प्रतिक्रिया को साकार रूप देते हुए एक नवीन विचारधारा वाले धर्म, दर्शन और जीवन-शैली की स्थापना हुई, जिसका प्रभाव लगभग 500 ई०पू० से 1300 ई० तक रहा। अपने अंतिम चरण में यह धर्म भारत में अपना प्रभाव लगभग खो चुका था, किन्तु वर्मा, चीन, जापान, स्याम, तिब्बत और श्रीलंका में इसने पर्याप्त ख्याति अर्जित कर ली थी। यही वह समय था, जब भारत में वैदिककाल में प्रचलित 'वैदिक धर्म' जो 'ब्राह्मण धर्म' के नाम से भी जाना जाता था, हिन्दू धर्म का प्रारंभ माना जा सकता है। तब से लेकर आज तक हिन्दू धर्म और उसकी शिक्षा-पद्धति में अनेक परिवर्तन हुए, किन्तु उसका मूल आधार जिसमें वेदों की महत्ता को स्वीकार किया गया है, आज भी कायम है। (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 63)

Methodology (पद्धति)-

इस शोध कार्य के सम्पादन में ऐतिहासिक शोध विधि को प्रमुख विधि के रूप में अपनाया गया है। ऐतिहासिक शोध विधि के अंतर्गत विवरणात्मक पद्धति का प्रयोग किया गया है। शोध पत्र का आधार मूल ग्रंथ तथा इनके अनुवाद और सहायक ग्रंथ है। उद्धरणों के स्रोत को दर्शाने के लिए अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय ए०पी०ए० (A.P.A.) सन्दर्भ शैली का प्रयोग किया गया है, ए०पी०ए० (A.P.A.) सन्दर्भ शैली के अन्तर्गत पारेन्थेटिकल (Parenthetical) उद्धरण-पद्धति का प्रयोग किया गया है। तथा पूरे शोध पत्र में साईटेशन (Citation) का पालन किया गया है।

बौद्धकालीन शिक्षा के प्रमुख उद्देश्य-

बौद्धकालीन शिक्षा ने निर्वाण प्राप्ति पर सर्वाधिक जोर दिया जो वैदिककालीन शिक्षा के आध्यात्मिक विकास के समान ही था। परन्तु बौद्ध-कालीन शिक्षा ने नैतिकता के पक्ष को सबल पक्ष मानकर नैतिक पक्ष पर अधिक ध्यान दिया। किसी भी प्राचीन ग्रन्थ में शिक्षा के उद्देश्यों का आधुनिक शिक्षा सिद्धान्त के अनुसार वर्णन नहीं प्राप्त होता तथापि बौद्ध ग्रन्थों में इससे सम्बन्धित जो उल्लेख मिलते हैं उनके आधार पर हम बौद्ध शिक्षा के उद्देश्यों तथा आदर्शों की जानकारी कर सकते हैं। इन्हें इस प्रकार रखा जा सकता है-

शिक्षा के माध्यम से निर्वाण की प्राप्ति-

बौद्ध शिक्षा का प्रमुख उद्देश्य निर्वाण की प्राप्ति है। बौद्ध धर्म में निर्वाण का अर्थ बुझ जाने से है, तृष्णा का बुझ जाना, वासनाओं का शांत हो जाना। तृष्णा और वासना से ही दुःख होता है। दुःखों से पूरी तरह छुटकारा पाना ही निर्वाण है दूसरे अर्थों में कहा जाए तो तृष्णा का निरोध ही निर्वाण है (सुत्तनिपातपालि, 1998, पृ० 244)।¹ निर्वाण के लिए जीवन में उदारता, दया, करुणा, सत्य, अहिंसा, पवित्रता, शुद्धता, त्याग, तप, बलिदान और मानवता आदि गुणों का होना बहुत आवश्यक है। अतः बौद्ध शिक्षा प्रणाली में इनको सर्वाधिक महत्व दिया जाता था। भगवान बुद्ध के अनुसार इस संसार के समस्त दुःखों का कारण अज्ञान है, अतः उन्होंने निर्वाण की प्राप्ति के लिए ज्ञान के विकास पर बल दिया। बौद्ध शिक्षा का यह प्रमुख उद्देश्य एवं आदर्श था।

व्यक्तित्व का विकास करना-

बौद्ध शिक्षा द्वारा बालकों के व्यक्तित्व का सर्वांगीण विकास किया जाता था जिससे बालक अपने परिवार, समाजिक, धार्मिक एवं आर्थिक क्षेत्रों में अपने जिम्मेदारियों का निर्वहन कर सकें। बौद्ध शिक्षा पद्धति में विद्यार्थी के बौद्धिक विकास के साथ-साथ शारीरिक विकास का भी पूरा ध्यान रखा जाता था। शिक्षा के द्वारा विद्यार्थी में आत्म-सम्मान, आत्म-विश्वास, आत्म-संयम, विवेक-शक्ति, न्याय-शक्ति आदि गुणों का उदय होता था जो उसके व्यक्तित्व को विकसित करने में सहायक थे (कुमार, 2008, पृ० 30)।

नैतिक चरित्र निर्माण पर बल-

बौद्ध धर्म में नैतिक चरित्र के निर्माण तथा शील पर अधिक जोर दिया जाता था जिससे छात्रों में कर्तव्य पालन, सत्य वचन, सदाचरण एवं धर्माचरण जैसे अनेक गुणों का विकास हो सके। बौद्ध धर्म में आत्मसंयम, करुणा और दया का सबसे अधिक महत्व है। बौद्धों की दृष्टि से जो इनका पालन करता है, वही चरित्रवान है। इस चरित्र निर्माण के लिए बौद्ध मठों एवं विहारों में छात्रों को प्रारम्भ से ही 10 नियमों का पालन कराया जाता था (शुक्ल, 1993, पृ० 68-71)। उन्हें सादा जीवन जीने और विनयपूर्ण व्यवहार करने में प्रशिक्षित किया जाता था और बुरे कर्मों से दूर रखा जाता था।

बौद्ध धर्म का प्रचार प्रसार करना-

बौद्ध शिक्षा द्वारा बौद्ध धर्म का प्रचार एवं प्रसार करना भी एक महत्वपूर्ण उद्देश्य था। बौद्ध भिक्षुओं एवं मठों और विहारों द्वारा बौद्ध धर्म का प्रचार एवं प्रसार किया जाता था। मठों और विहारों में नियमित रूप से व्याख्यान, शास्त्रार्थ-सम्मेलन, शंका समाधान तथा प्रदर्शनी आदि विधियों के द्वारा धर्म एवं अध्यात्म पर चर्चा होती थी। इस चर्चा में भिक्षु-गुरु व शिष्यों दोनों की सक्रिय भूमिका होती थी (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 74-75)।

¹ "तण्हाय विप्वहानेन निब्बानं इति वुच्यति"।

सामाजिक आचरण की शिक्षा-

बौद्ध धर्म सामाजिक कल्याण की भावना का पक्षधर रहा है। उस समय व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ की भावना बहुत बलवती थी। गरीब वर्गों पर अत्याचार किया जाता था। इसमें सबसे अधिक बल करुणा और दया पर दिया गया है। बिना करुणा भाव के एक मनुष्य दूसरे मनुष्य के दुःखों को नहीं समझ सकता। यदि ईमानदारी से सोचें-समझें तो मनुष्य के दुःखों का कारण स्वयं मनुष्य ही अधिक होते हैं। वैदिक काल में प्रायः शिक्षा उच्च वर्णों को दी जाती थी, वहीं बौद्ध काल में कर्म की प्रधानता पर शिक्षा पर जोर दिया जाने लगा (सुत्तनिपातपालि, 1998, पृ० 105)²

बौद्धकालीन शिक्षा की विशेषताएँ-

बौद्धकालीन शिक्षा की प्रमुख रूप से दो विशेषताएँ थीं जो निम्नलिखित हैं-

1. शिक्षा प्रणाली

वैदिक काल खण्ड में गुरुकुल तथा बौद्ध कालखण्ड में मठों तथा विहारों में शिक्षा प्रदान की जाती थी। यहाँ पर प्राथमिक स्तर से उच्चस्तर तक शिक्षा प्रदान की जाती थी। शिक्षा का द्वार समान रूप से सभी लोगों के लिए खुले थे।

2. संस्कार

बौद्ध धर्म में मुख्य रूप से दो संस्कार होते हैं- पब्वज्जा तथा उपसंपदा।

i. **पब्वज्जा-** बौद्ध काल में शिक्षा का प्रारम्भ 'पब्वज्जा' संस्कार से होता है। 'पब्वज्जा' का शाब्दिक अर्थ है गृह त्याग करना। इस संस्कार का अभिप्राय यह है कि बालक अपने परिवार और पूर्व स्थिति का परित्याग करके, संघ में प्रवेश करता था। मठ के सबसे श्रेष्ठ भिक्षु के द्वारा यह संस्कार कराया जाता था। पब्वज्जा के लिए प्रायः 6 से 8 वर्ष तक के बालकों को लाया जा सकता था।

पब्वज्जा में संस्कारित होने के समय बालक को सर्वप्रथम बाल मुंडवाकर घर के पुराने वस्त्र बदल कर काषाय वस्त्र धारण कराये जाते थे। वो बालक उपाध्याय के चरणों में अपना माथा टेककर शरणत्रयी लेता था। अर्थात् बालक बुद्धं सरणं गच्छामि, धम्मं सरणं गच्छामि, संघं सरणं गच्छामि का जोर से उच्चारण करता था। पब्वज्जा संस्कार के पश्चात् बालक 'सामणे' अथवा 'श्रमण' कहलाता था। इसके बाद बालक को अपना विद्यार्थी-जीवन एक भिक्षु के रूप में व्यतीत करना पड़ता था (सिंह, 2013, पृ० 176-205)।

ii. **उपसम्पदा-** पब्वज्जा के माध्यम से संघ में प्रवेश कर लेने के बाद श्रमण अथवा सामणे को गुरु भिक्षु के पास रहकर लगभग 20 वर्ष तक शिक्षा ग्रहण करनी होती

²"न जच्चा वसलो होति, न जच्चा होति ब्राह्मणो। कम्मुना वसलो होति, कम्मुना होति ब्राह्मणो"।।

थी। इन 20 वर्षों की शिक्षा के बाद जब छात्र उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त कर लेते थे तो उनके समक्ष दो विकल्प होते थे। पहले विकल्प के रूप में वे शिक्षा कार्य छोड़कर गृहस्थाश्रम में प्रवेश कर सकते थे तथा दूसरा विकल्प आजीवन संघ का सदस्य बनकर पूर्ण रूप से भिक्षु व गुरु के रूप में पुनः शिक्षित होना था। जो छात्र दूसरे विकल्प का चयन करते थे, उनका उपसम्पदा संस्कार किया जाता था (सिंह, 2013, पृ० 176-205)।

बौद्ध काल में शैक्षिक संरचना- (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 74)

बौद्ध शिक्षा में निम्नलिखित तीन स्तर प्रचलित थे-

- i. **प्रारंभिक शिक्षा-** प्रारंभिक शिक्षा पब्वज्जा संस्कार से प्रारम्भ होती थी। यह सामान्यतया 6 वर्ष की आयु से 12 वर्ष की आयु तक चलती थी तथा निःशुल्क होती थी।
- ii. **उच्चशिक्षा-** प्राथमिक शिक्षा के बाद लगभग 20 वर्ष तक छात्रों को उच्च शिक्षा प्रदान की जाती थी। इस शिक्षा के लिए केवल योग्य एवं इच्छुक श्रमणों को ही अनुमति दी जाती थी तथा उनसे कुछ शुल्क भी लिया जाता था। उच्च शिक्षा के बाद कुछ छात्र गृहस्थ जीवन के लिए चले जाते थे तथा कुछ योग्य व इच्छुक छात्रों का आगे की भिक्षुक शिक्षा के लिए उपसम्पदा। संस्कार किया जाता था।
- iii. **भिक्षु शिक्षा-** भिक्षु का उच्चतम स्तर था जीवनपर्यंत बौद्ध मिसु बनकर शिक्षा ग्रहण करना। इस शिक्षा को प्राप्त करने वाले भिक्षु ही संघ के उच्च कोटि के पदाधिकारी, संचालक, गुरु भिक्षु के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित होते थे। यह शिक्षा प्रायः 8 वर्ष की अवधि तक चलती थी।

बौद्धकालीन शिक्षा के केन्द्र

बौद्ध युग में शिक्षा का बहुमुखी विकास हुआ। वैदिक युग से चली आ रही धार्मिक शिक्षा का बौद्ध युग आते आते काफी कुछ परिवर्तन हुआ। वैदिक शिक्षा अपना मूल स्वरूप खोकर लगभग पूरी तरह ब्राह्मणीय शिक्षा का रूप धारण कर चुकी थी, जिसमें ब्राह्मण जाति ने अपना वर्चस्व स्थापित कर लिया था। आरण्यक और पुराणों के प्रभाव के कारण जन्मगत जातिवाद भी प्रचलन में आ चुका था। ऐसे वातावरण में छठी ई०पू० में भगवान् बुद्ध का अवतरण हुआ। उनका प्रभाव जनमानस पर इतना अधिक पड़ा कि शिक्षा के जो केन्द्र कभी वैदिक शिक्षा के प्रमुख गढ़ हुआ करते थे, उनमें बौद्ध शिक्षा प्रदान की जाने लगी। गुरुकुलों का स्थान संघों द्वारा संचालित मठों और विहारों ने ले लिया तथा गुरु और आचार्य की जगह भिक्षुओं ने ले ली। तक्षशिला, काशी, कांची, मिथिला आदि वैदिक युग के गढ़ थे जो बौद्ध काल में बौद्ध शिक्षा के प्रमुख केन्द्रों के रूप में स्थापित

हो गए, किन्तु बौद्ध शिक्षा ने चूँकि पूरी तरह से वैदिक धर्म का परित्याग नहीं किया था, इसलिए इन शिक्षा-केन्द्रों में वैदिक शिक्षा-पद्धति और बौद्ध शिक्षा-प्रणाली दोनों का संचालन समानान्तर रूप से होता रहा (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 97)।

1) नालन्दा-

भौगोलिक स्थिति:-

वर्तमान बिहार की राजधानी पटना से दक्षिण पूर्व दिशा में लगभग 43 मील तथा प्रसिद्ध बौद्ध-तीर्थ राजगृह से उत्तर की ओर लगभग 7 मील की दूरी पर स्थित है (Cunningham, 1871, p. 468)। प्रारंभ में यह एक गाँव था, जो महात्म होने के कारण बौद्ध धर्मानुयायियों के लिए विशेष महत्व रखता था।

नालन्दा का शैक्षिक परिसर:-

चीनी यात्री ह्वेनसांग लिखता है कि नालन्दा का संस्थापक शक्रादित्य था, जिसने बौद्ध धर्म के त्रिरत्नों के प्रति महती श्रद्धा के कारण इसकी स्थापना करवायी थी। शक्रादित्य की पहचान कुमार गुप्त प्रथम से की जाती है। सर्वप्रथम कुमार गुप्त ने इसे बौद्ध संघ को दान दिया था। उसके बाद बुद्धगुप्त, बालादित्य आदि राजाओं ने नालन्दा को संरक्षण प्रदान किया और अनेक बौद्ध विहारों का निर्माण करवाया (कुमार, 2008, पृ० 24)। ह्वेनसांग के अनुसार (Beal, 1884, pp.168-170) नालन्दा एक आम्रवन था जो कि लगभग 500 व्यापारियों ने 10 करोड़ स्वर्ण मुद्राओं के मूल्य से भूमि क्रय करके नालन्दा के शैक्षिक परिसर के निर्माण के लिये महात्मा बुद्ध को दान की थी³ इसके बाद अनेक राजाओं ने इस परिसर के निर्माण में अपनी-अपनी भूमिका अदा की जिससे इसका कुल परिसर लगभग 1 मील लम्बी और आधा मील चौड़ी भूमि पर फैल गया था। दूसरे चीनी विद्वान इत्सींग के अनुसार इसके विस्तृत प्रांगण में कई मंजिला केन्द्रीय भवन, लगभग 300 सुन्दर एवं आकर्षक अध्ययन-अध्यापन कक्ष, पुस्तकालय भवन, छात्रावास भवन तथा 300 भिक्षु छात्रों के आवासीय भवन आदि बने हुए थे। इसके अधिकृत भूमि में 200 से अधिक गाँव थे जो विभिन्न पीढ़ियों के राजाओं द्वारा मठ में दिए गए थे (Vidyabhusan, 1921, p. 515)।

प्रवेश प्रक्रिया एवं आयु सीमा:-

नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय के शिक्षार्थी अपनी उच्चकोटि की नैतिकता एवं विद्वता के लिए दूर-दूर तक प्रसिद्ध थे। नालन्दा के पूरे परिसर में यद्यपि लगभग 10,000 भिक्षुओं की विशाल संख्या वाले छात्रों की प्रवेश प्रक्रिया अत्यन्त कठोर और जटिल थी। प्रवेश के लिए सर्वप्रथम विद्वान द्वारपालों द्वारा छात्रों की कठिन मौखिक परीक्षा ली जाती थी। ह्वेनसांग के वर्णन के आधार पर यह पता चलता है कि मात्र 20 प्रतिशत छात्र ही प्रवेश परीक्षा में उत्तीर्ण होकर प्रवेश ले पाते थे। यहाँ तक कि विदेशी छात्र भी निश्चित रूप से यह नहीं कह सकते थे कि उनका प्रवेश हो जाएगा। प्रवेश के लिए इस विश्वविद्यालय में कम से कम 20 वर्ष की आयु का होना आवश्यक था (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 100)।

³यह बाद के युग के किसी बौद्ध विद्वान को दिया गया होगा न कि स्वयं बुद्ध को।

शिक्षक तथा छात्र:

नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय की सहज अनुमान इस तथ्य से लगाया जा सकता है कि वहाँ पर 1500 से अधिक प्रकाण्ड विद्वान और विशेषज्ञ शिक्षक कार्यरत थे। ह्वेनसांग के समय यहाँ का प्रधान और विश्वविद्यालय का कुलपति शीलभद्र (Bose, 1923, p.110) थे जो अनेक विषयों में पारंगत थे। उक्त 1500 से अधिक शिक्षकों में शीलभद्र के अतिरिक्त आर्यदेव (Bose, 1923, p.107), धर्मपाल (Bose, 1923, p.113), चन्द्रगोमिन (Bose, 1923, p.116), शान्तरक्षित (Bose, 1923, p.123), पद्मसम्भव (Bose, 1923, p.126), कमलशील (Bose, 1923, p.131), बुद्धकीर्ति (Bose, 1923, p.137), वसुबन्धु, नागार्जुन, चन्द्रपाल, आर्यअसंग, जिनमित्र तथा प्रभामित्र आदि विद्वानों की ख्याति दूर-दूर तक फैली हुई थी (Watters, 1904, pp.164-165)। इस विश्वविद्यालय में पढ़ने वाले लगभग 10,000 छात्रों में देश-विदेश से आये छात्रों की संख्या बहुत अधिक होती थी। विदेशी छात्रों में प्रायः जापान, चीन, तिब्बत, कोरिया, बर्मा, स्याम, जावा, सुमात्रा और श्रीलङ्का के छात्रों की संख्या अधिक होती थी (Watters, 1904, pp. 164-165)।

विश्वविद्यालय का दुःखद अंत-

1205 ई० में कुतुबुद्दीन ऐबक के सेनापति बख्तियार खिलजी ने नालन्दा पर आधिपत्य स्थापित करके इस विश्वविद्यालय को क्रूरतापूर्वक नष्ट करवा दिया। इसके भवनों को धाराशायी कर उनमें आग लगा दी गई। पुस्तकालयों को जलवा दिया गया और विद्वान शिक्षकों की बेरहमी से हत्या करवा दी गई। लगभग 1000 वर्ष तक अपनी आभा बिखेरने वाला शिक्षा का यह महान मन्दिर आज खण्डहरों के रूप में एक स्मृति शेष बनकर रह गया है (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 102)।



नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय के अवशेष
- गूगल चित्र से साभार



नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय के भग्नावशेषों का वृहद दृश्य -
गूगल चित्र से साभार

2) विक्रमशिला-

विक्रमशिला में स्थित बौद्ध विहार भी बौद्ध शिक्षा का प्रमुख केन्द्र था। यह विश्वविद्यालय तत्कालीन मगध राज्य में गङ्गा के रमणीय तट पर स्थित पहाड़ी के ऊपर निर्मित किया गया था। 8 वीं शताब्दी में पाल शासक धर्मपाल ने भागलपुर से 25 कि०मी० दूर इस विहार की आधारशिला

रखी थी, जिसने लगभग चार शताब्दी तक प्रमुख शिक्षण-संस्था के रूप में भारत एवं विदेशों में ख्याति अर्जित की थी। पाल शासक धर्मपाल ने यहाँ अनेक बौद्ध मठ और विहारों का निर्माण कराया था (Vidyabhusan, 1921, pp. 519-520)।

प्रवेश की प्रक्रिया:

अन्य बौद्ध शिक्षा केन्द्रों की तरह विक्रमशिला में भी प्रवेश का प्रमुख आधार द्वारों पर विद्वान पण्डितों द्वारा ली जाने वाली प्रवेश परीक्षा होती थी।

शिक्षक एवं शिक्षार्थी:

विक्रमशिला में 108 योग्य एवं कुशल भिक्षु लगभग 3000 छात्रों का शिक्षण कार्य करते थे। इस केंद्र में बहुत से विदेशी छात्र आकर विद्याध्ययन करते थे। शिक्षकों में दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान, रत्नवज्र, लीलावज्र, कृष्ण समर, वागीश्वर कीर्ति तथा नरेन्द्र आदि भिक्षुओं की ख्याति दूर-दूर तक फैली हुई थी। कुल मिलाकर यहाँ लगभग 144 विद्वान भिक्षु थे (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 104)।

पुस्तकालय:

इस परिसर में एक विशाल पुस्तकालय की स्थापना की गई थी, जिसमें विभिन्न धर्मों, दर्शन, व्याकरण, भाषा तथा अन्य लौकिक विषयों की दुर्लभ पुस्तकें संग्रहित की गई थी (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 104)।

परिसर का अंत:

नालन्दा की तरह इसका भी अन्त बहुत दुःखद हुआ था। इसका कार्यकाल 8 वीं शताब्दी से 12 वीं शताब्दी के अंत तक समुचित रूप से पूरा हुआ, 1203 ई० में कुतुबुद्दीन ऐबक के सेनापति बख्तियार खिलजी (Das, 1902, p.869) ने इसे तहस-नहस कर दिया। इसके भवन तुड़वाकर नष्ट कर दिए गए, पुस्तकालय जला दिए गए और विद्वान शिक्षकों की हत्या कर दी गई। इस प्रकार प्राचीन भारत के इस गौरवशाली इतिहास की अब यादें ही रह गई (Vidyabhusan, 1921, p.520)।



3) वल्लभी:

वल्लभी प्रचीन भारत का एक नगर है, जो पश्चिमी भारत के सौराष्ट्र में और बाद में गुजरात राज्य, भावनगर के बन्दरगाह के पश्चिमोत्तर में खम्भात की खाड़ी के मुहाने पर स्थित था (Cunningham, 1871, pp.316-317)। बौद्ध धर्म के दो उपधर्मों हीनयान और महायान में नालन्दा परिसर में महायान को प्रमुखता दी गई थी, तो वल्लभी में हीनयान का अधिक प्रभाव था (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 102)। 100 विहारों और 6000 भिक्षुओं का विवरण ह्वेनसांग ने भी दिया है। बौद्ध शिक्षा का प्रधान केन्द्र होने के कारण दूर-दूर के स्थानों से विद्यार्थी यहाँ शिक्षा ग्रहण करने के लिए आते थे (कुमार, 2008, पृ० 25)।

प्रवेश प्रक्रिया-

नालन्दा तथा विक्रमशीला की ही भाँति यहाँ भी प्रवेश परीक्षा देनी पड़ती थी।

शिक्षक एवं छात्र:-

इस विश्वविद्यालय में लगभग 200 विद्वान शिक्षक भिक्षु और 6000 छात्र भिक्षु विशाल कक्षों में सामूहिक रूप से अध्ययन-अध्यापन में संलग्न थे। यह नालन्दा की अपेक्षा अधिक समृद्ध था, यहाँ से शिक्षा प्राप्त करने वाले स्नातकों को राज्यसेवा का अवसर प्रदान किया जाता था। ऐसा संभव नहीं होने पर उन्हें जीविकोपार्जन के लिए आर्थिक सहायता प्रदान की जाती थी (Bose, 1923, pp. 29-30)।

परिसर का अंतः

लगभग 750 ई० तक इसका वैभव और उत्कर्ष निरन्तर बना रहा। लेकिन 12 वीं शताब्दी के बाद मुस्लिम आक्रमणों के प्रभाव से यह संस्थान भी प्रभावित हुआ और क्रमशः यह अपना शैक्षिक महत्त्व खोता चला गया (सिंह, 2016, पृ० 176)।



वल्लभी विश्वविद्यालय - गूगल चित्र से साभार

4) जगदल-

जगदल बौद्ध धर्म की तंत्र विद्या का केन्द्र था। यह विद्यापीठ अवलोकितेश्वर को समर्पित था और यह नालन्दा की परम्परा पर आधारित था। इसका निर्माण 11 वीं शताब्दी के आरम्भिक काल में पाल वंश के राजाराम पाल द्वारा बंगाल के रामावती नामक नगर में गंगा के रमणीय तट पर किया गया था (Bose, 1923, p.143)। तिब्बती विवरणों के अनुसार यहाँ पर कई पुस्तकों का तिब्बती में अनुवाद हुआ था। प्रसिद्ध कश्मीरी विद्वान शाक्य श्रीभद्र, जो कि नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान थे, ने नालन्दा, विक्रमशिला और ओदन्तपुरी विश्वविद्यालयों के नष्ट होने के बाद यहाँ प्रवेश लिया था। उन्होंने सात वर्ष तक इस विश्वविद्यालय में अध्ययन किया था। मुस्लिम आक्रमण को अवश्यम्भावी जानकर वह 1203 ई० में तिब्बत चले गये। शाक्य श्रीभद्र को तिब्बत में बौद्ध धर्म की तंत्र विद्या का प्रचारक होने का श्रेय दिया जाता है। इनके अलावा यहाँ विभूतिचन्द्र (Bose, 1923, p.145), दानशील (Bose, 1923, p.150), शुभकर (Bose, 1923, p.154), मोक्षकर (Bose, 1923, p.155) तथा सुधाकर आदि प्रसिद्ध विद्वान थे। अनेक तिब्बती छात्रों ने यहाँ आकर अध्ययन एवं अनुवाद कार्य किए थे। लगभग 1203 ई० में मुस्लिम शासकों द्वारा बौद्ध शिक्षा की इस महान संस्था का नाश कर दिया गया (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 105-106)।



जगदल विश्वविद्यालय - गूगल चित्र से साभार

5) ओदन्तपुरी-

इसे उदन्तपुरा अथवा उड्डन्तपुरा के नाम से जाना जाता है। ओदन्तपुरी नामक बौद्ध विश्वविद्यालय मगध राज्य में स्थित एक महत्वपूर्ण शिक्षा का केन्द्र था। किन्तु इसके विषय में बहुत अधिक जानकारी उपलब्ध नहीं है (Bose, 1923, p.156)। एक लेख के अनुसार मगध में पाल वंश के आने से बहुत पहले ओदन्तपुरी विहार की स्थापना की जा चुकी थी (University of

Ancient India, 1906, p.21)। तिब्बती इतिहासकारों के अनुसार, ओदन्तपुरी विश्वविद्यालय में लगभग 12,000 छात्र थे। यह विश्वविद्यालय वज्रयान सम्प्रदाय तथा तंत्र विद्या का केन्द्र था। ओदन्तपुरी विश्वविद्यालय प्रतिभाशाली विद्वानों एवं विद्यार्थियों का गढ़ था। विक्रमशिला के आचार्य श्री गंग यहाँ के छात्र रह चुके थे। यहाँ के बौद्ध भिक्षु प्रभाकर ने 'सामुद्रिक व्यंजन वर्णन' नामक ग्रंथ का तिब्बती भाषा में अनुवाद किया था (Cordier, 1914, p.484)। यहाँ की शिक्षा नालन्दा की भाँति निःशुल्क थी। इसकी प्रसिद्धि तिब्बत में अधिक हो गई थी। ऐसा माना जाता है कि तिब्बत में पहले मठ की स्थापना 949 ई० में ओदन्तपुरी से प्रेरित होकर ही की गई थी। इसका पराभव कब और किन कारणों से हुआ, इस बारे में कोई पुष्ट इतिहास ज्ञात नहीं है (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 106)।



ओदन्तपुरी विश्वविद्यालय - गूगल चित्र से साभार

6) नादिया-

11 वीं शताब्दी के मध्य बंगाल और जलांगी नदियों के संगम पर स्थित तत्कालीन नवद्वीप नगर में स्थापित किया गया था (Vidyabhusan, 1921, p.523)। ऐसा इतिहास प्राप्त होता है कि नवद्वीप नगर को गौड़ राजा लक्ष्मणसेन (Mitra, 1881, p.256) ने अपनी राजधानी के रूप में बसाया था तथा पालवंश के राजाओं द्वारा यहाँ स्थापित किए गए शिक्षा केन्द्र की प्रगति में सहायता की थी।

इस शिक्षा केन्द्र के शैक्षिक विकास में 'जाटव चिन्तामणि' का लगभग कण्ठस्थ रूप में गहन अध्ययन करके आये विद्वान वासुदेव सार्वभौम का विशेष योगदान रहा। इन्होंने नादिया में न्याय-शास्त्र के अध्ययन का प्रारम्भ किया। आगे चलकर इनके साथ इनके शिष्यों और रामभद्र, गदाधर

भट्टाचार्या, रघुनाथ-शिरोमणि और मथुरानाथ आदि विद्वानों के संरक्षण में एक नवीन न्याय-विभाग की स्थापना की गई। इस प्रकार यह केन्द्र बौद्ध धर्म के साथ-साथ संस्कृत, न्यायशास्त्र, तर्कशास्त्र तथा तंत्रशास्त्र की उच्च कोटि की शिक्षा का एक प्रमुख केन्द्र बन गया था (पाठक, 2010, पृ० 107)।

उपसंहार

प्राचीन कालीन बौद्ध शिक्षा पद्धति भारतीय शिक्षा का स्तम्भ माना जाता है जिसने शिक्षा के विकास में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। यदि देखा जाए तो हमारे देश में चाहे कितने भी बदलाव किए गए हों पर प्राचीन शिक्षा पद्धति को योग्य माना जाता है, प्राचीन पद्धति में भारत को विश्वगुरु माना जाता है। विद्वानों ने शिक्षा को प्रकाशस्रोत, अंतर्दृष्टि, ज्ञानचक्षु और तीसरा नेत्र आदि उपनामों से विभूषित किया है। उस युग की यह मान्यता थी कि जिस प्रकार अंधकार को दूर करने के लिए प्रकाश की आवश्यकता होती है, उसी प्रकार व्यक्ति के सब संशयो और भ्रमों को दूर करने के लिए शिक्षा आवश्यक है। बुद्ध के जन्म से पूर्व वैदिक शिक्षा का बोल बाला था किन्तु बुद्ध के बुद्धत्व प्राप्ति के बाद शिक्षा का स्तर पूरी तरह बदल गया। वैदिक काल में केवल ब्राह्मण अथवा ऊँचे वर्णों को ही शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का अधिकार था किन्तु बौद्ध काल में इसका स्तर पूरी तरह बदल गया। इसमें सभी जातियों का प्रवेश होने लगा तथा इसके साथ स्त्रियों को संघ के माध्यम से शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का अधिकार मिल गया, जिससे बौद्ध काल में महिलाएं खुलकर बाहर निकली और शिक्षा प्राप्त करने लगी। बौद्धकाल में ही गुरुकुल परम्परा को त्याग कर विश्वविद्यालयों का निर्माण होने लगा और शिक्षा प्राप्त करने केवल भारत के ही विद्यार्थी नहीं अपितु विदेशों से छात्र आकर यहाँ शिक्षा ग्रहण करने लगे। इस प्रकार नालन्दा, वल्लभी, जगदल, विक्रमशिला, नादिया तथा ओदन्तपुरी जैसे प्रसिद्ध शिक्षण संस्थाओं के अतिरिक्त बुद्ध के समय और उनके उपरान्त वैशाली, राजगृह, श्रावस्ती और कपिलवस्तु जैसे सुविख्यात नगर भी बौद्ध शिक्षा के प्रमुख केन्द्र बन गए थे। मुसलमानों द्वारा पुस्तकालयों का नाश किया गया, विद्वानों को मारा गया, जिससे बौद्ध धर्म का हास भारत में हुआ, अन्यथा शायद नहीं होता। यहाँ के विद्वानों को विदेशों की तरफ न जाकर विदेशी विद्वानों को भारत की ओर रुख करना पड़ता।

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पोराणभारतरट्टुम्हि गामजीवनप्पकारो (सुत्तनिपातस्स विसेसाधारेण)

प्रो. चौडूरि उपेन्द्र राव

संस्कृत-प्राच्यविद्याध्ययनसंस्थानम्, जवहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालयः, नवदिल्ली

तिपिटकगन्थेषु सुत्तनिपातस्स पभूतं लोकप्पियत्तं विज्जति। अस्स गन्थविसेसस्स भासा पोराणा होति । पाचीन-वेदिकभासाय पभावो अस्सगन्थस्स भासायं विज्जति। सेय्यथापि, पच्चयासे, चरामसे, भवामसे, सुवाना, अवीवदाता, उपासकासे, पण्डितासे, धम्मासे, ब्राह्मणासे, इच्चेतादिसानि पदानि सुत्तनिपातस्स अनेकासु गाथासु पयुत्तानि अहेसुं, एतादिसानि पोराणानि पदानि अञ्जेसु पालिगन्थेषु न दिस्सन्ति। वेदिकभासाय निमित्तत्थ-पकासका पच्चया तवै, तवे इच्चेते सुत्तनिपातस्सिं पयुता भविंसु, सेय्यथापि, उण्णमेतवे¹ इच्चादि। जनेत्वा ति ठाणे जनेत्व ति पयोगो, कुप्पटिच्चस्सन्ति² इच्चेते पयोगा वेदेसु पयुत्तभासा विय दिस्सति।

सुत्तनिपातम्हि पयुत्तानि छन्दांसि पि वेदेसु पयुत्तानि छन्दांसि विय दिस्सन्ति। तम्हि गन्थम्हि अनुट्टुप्, तिट्टुप्, जगती इच्चादि वेदिकछन्दांसि पयुत्तानि अहेसुं³। न केवलं पन भासा, अमुम्हि गन्थम्हि ये विचारा दिस्सन्ति, यानि पन वण्णनानि कतानि, तानि वेदेसु कतानि होन्ति। देवजनस्स पन समगवण्णनं एत्थ दिस्सति। गामजीवनं सुन्दरं वण्णितं अहोसि धनियसुत्तम्हि।

तेन समयेन धनियो गोपो महीनदी-तीरे पटिवसति। गुन्नं पालनतो सो गोपो ति वुच्चति। तस्स हि तिसमत्तानि गो-सहस्सानि होन्ति, सत्तवीससहस्सा गावो खीरं दुय्हन्ति। धनियो एको गोपो अहु। गोपा नाम एकम्हि व ठाने न होन्ति। वस्सिके चत्तारो मासे थले वसन्ति, अवसेसे अट्टमासे यत्थ तिणोदकं सुखं लब्धति, तत्थ वसन्ति। तस्स सत्त पुत्ता, सत्त धीतरो, सत्त सुणिसा, अनेके च कम्मकारा भविंसु। एते गोपा वस्सस्स निमित्तं जानन्ति। कदा वुट्ठि हेहिस्सति ति ते जानन्ति। यदा सकुणिका कुलावकानि रुक्खग्गे करोन्ति, कक्कटका उदकसमीपे द्वारं पिदहित्वा, थलसमीपद्वारेण वळ्ळजेन्ति, तदा सुवुट्ठिका भविस्सतीति ते गोपा गण्हन्ति। इमिना पकारेण ते गोपा वस्सस्स निमित्तं जानन्ति। एदिसा विसया अम्हाकं पाचीनभारतस्स विज्जाणं कथेन्ति। कस्सका निपुणा भविम्हा। गावो व तस्स गोपस्स धनं भविंसु। “नत्थि गो-समितं धनं”न्ति पालि साहिच्चम्हि वुत्तं⁴ धनियसुत्तम्हि गहसुखस्स ज्ञानसुखस्स च तुलना कता। धनियगोपो पुत्तेन, भरियाय, धनेन, धञ्जेन च सम्पन्नो भवि। सो एको सुखजीवनसम्पन्नो कस्सको भवि। वस्सकालम्हि सो इमिना पकारेण गायति सुखेन,

“पक्कोदनो दुद्धखीरोहमस्मि अनुतीरे महिया समानवासो।

¹सुत्तनिपातस्स गाथा २०६

²Ibid ७८४

³देक्खन्तु- सुत्तनिपातो, (मराठी-भासानुवादेन) डा. बापटेन सम्पादिता, तत्थ भूमिकायं पु ३६-३७.

⁴सं. नि. १.१३; नेत्ति. १

छन्ना कुटि आहितो गिनि, अथ चे पत्थयसी पवस्स देव’^१॥

सिद्धभक्तो, गावो दुहित्वा, गहितखीरो, च अहं भवामीति अत्थो। महामही-नामिकाय नदिया तीरस्स समीपे अनुकूलवत्तिना परिजनेन सद्धिं वसमानो, तिणपण्णच्छदनेहि अनोवस्सका कता कुटी। अग्गि जालितो। (तेसु तेसु ठानेसु अग्गि ‘गिनी’ति वोहरीयति।) सब्बं सम्मा होति, तेन देव इदानि यदि इच्छसि, उदकं मुञ्च ति वदति। अस्स पन विसेसत्थो सुत्तनिपातस्स अट्टकथायं वित्थरेण पकासितो^६।

सो गोपो गायति,

‘‘अन्धकमकसा न विज्जरे, कच्छे रूळहतिणे चरन्ति गावो।
वुट्ठिम्पि सहेय्युमागतं, अथ चे पत्थयसी पवस्स देव’^१॥

पिङ्गलमक्खिका, मकसा, नत्था तेसु दिनेसु द्वे कच्छा अहेसुं – नदीकच्छो च पब्बतकच्छो चा इध नदीकच्छो ति अत्थो। गावो सञ्जाततिणं भत्तकिच्चं करोन्ति। आगतं वुट्ठिम्पि खमेय्युं। एत्थ ये अन्धकमकसा अहेसुं, ते सन्निपतित्वा रुधरे पिवन्ता मुहुत्तेनेव गावो अनयब्यसनं पापेन्ति, तस्मा वुट्ठित-मत्तेयेव ते गोपालका पंसुना च साखाहि च मारेन्ति, तेसं अभावेन गुन्नं खेमतं, कच्छे रूळहतिणचरणेन अद्धानगमनपरिस्स अभावो वुत्तो। मे गावो, द्विक्खत्तुं वा तिक्खत्तुं वा वुट्ठिम्पि सहेय्युं’ ति पकासेति।

तिपिटकगन्थपठना जानाम यं तम्हि पोरणसमयम्हि बुद्धस्स किच्च्वेसु पुरेभत्तकिच्चं, पच्छाभत्तकिच्च्वन्ति द्वे किच्च्वे अहेसुं ति। बहुपोरणसमयम्हि भगवा बुद्धो एकम्हि दिने मगध-पदेसम्हि विहरन्तो एकम्हि ब्राह्मणगामे पविट्ठो। एकाणाळाति तस्स गामस्स नामं अहोसि। दक्खिणागिरि ति एको पब्बतो राजगहं परिवारेत्वा ठितो अहोसि। तस्स पब्बतस्स दक्खिणपस्से एको गामो अहोसि, तस्मिं गामे भगवा बुद्धो पुरेभत्तकिच्चं निट्ठापेत्वा कसिभारद्वाजं ब्राह्मणं पस्सति, तं दिस्वा तत्थ गन्त्वा, भगवा तेन सद्धिं भासणं अकासि^९।

सो कालो वप्पकालो अहोसि। वपनकालो नाम बीज-निक्खिपन-कालो। तत्थ द्वे वप्पानि अहेसुं, कललवप्पं, पंसुवप्पं चा सो होति पंसुवप्पं। तत्थ पठमदिवसे मङ्गलवप्पं होति। तत्थायं

^१सुत्तनिपातस्स धनियसुत्तं १८

^६अयं पन अत्थवण्णना – एवमयं धनियो गोपो अत्तनो सयनधरे महासयने निपन्नो मेघत्थनितं सुत्वा ‘‘पक्कोदनोहमस्मी’ति भणन्तो कायदुक्खवूपसमूपायं कायसुखहेतुञ्च अत्तनो सन्निहितं दीपेति। ‘‘दुद्धखीरोहमस्मी’ति भणन्तो चित्तदुक्खवूपसमूपायं चित्तसुखहेतुञ्च। ‘‘अन्तूरी महिया’ति निवासद्वानसम्पत्तिं, ‘‘समानवासो’ति तादिसे काले पियविष्पयोगपदद्वानस्स सोकस्साभावं। ‘‘छन्नूना कुटी’ति कायदुक्खापगमपटिघातं। ‘‘आहितो गिनी’ति यस्मा गोपालका परिक्खेपधूमदारुअग्गिवसेन तयो अग्गी करोन्ति। ते च तस्स गेहे सब्बे कता, तस्मा सब्बदिसासु परिक्खेपग्गिं सन्धाय ‘‘आहितो गिनी’ति भणन्तो वाळमिगागमननिवारणं दीपेति, गुन्नं मज्झे गोमयादीहि धूमग्गिं सन्धाय डंसमकसादीहि गुन्नं अनाबाधं, गोपालकानं सयनद्वाने दारुअग्गिं सन्धाय गोपालकानं सीताबाधपटिघातं। सो एवं दीपेन्तो अत्तनो वा गुन्नं वा परिजनस्स वा वुट्ठिपच्चयस्स कस्सचि आबाधस्स अभावतो पीतिसोमनस्सजातो आह – ‘‘अथ चे पत्थयसी पवस्स देवा’ति। खुदकनिकाये, सुत्तनिपात-अट्टकथा, (पठमो भागो)।

^१Ibid 20

^९एत्थ ‘जातब्बं होति, ‘‘भगवाति भाग्यवा, भग्गवा, भत्तवाति भगवा। (सुत्तनिपातस्स अट्टकथायं उरगवग्गो)

उपकरणसम्पदा होन्ति, तीणि बलिबद्ध-सहस्सानि उपट्टापितानि होन्ति, सब्बेसं सुवण्णमयाणि सिङ्गानि होन्ति, रजतमया खुरा होन्ति, सब्बे सेतमालाहि सब्बगन्धसुगन्धेहि पङ्गुलिकेहि च अलङ्कता होन्ति, बलिवद्धा पन परिपुण्णङ्गपच्चङ्गा, सब्बलक्खणसम्पन्ना होन्ति, एकच्चे काळा होन्ति, अञ्जे अञ्जनवण्णायेव होन्ति, एकच्चे सेता फलिकवण्णा होन्ति, एकच्चे रत्ता पवाळवण्णा, एकच्चे कम्मासा मसारगल्लवण्णा होन्ति।

पञ्चसता कस्सकपुरिसा, सब्बे अहतसेत-वत्थनिवत्था मालालङ्कता दक्खिण-अंसकूटेसु ठपितपुप्फचुम्बटका दस दस नङ्गला एकेकगुम्बा हुत्वा गच्छन्ति। नङ्गलानं सीसञ्च युगञ्च पतोदा च सुवण्ण-पिनद्धा होन्ति। पठमनङ्गले अट्ट बलिबद्धा युत्ता होन्ति, सेसेसु चत्तारो चत्तारो होन्ति, अवसेसा किलन्तपरिवत्तनत्थं आनीता होन्ति। एकेकगुम्बे एकमेकं बीजसकटं एकेको कसति, एकेको वपति। इमिना पकारेण पालि-साहिच्चस्स सुत्तनिपातमिह पोरानभारतरट्टस्स गामजीवनप्पकारो सम्मा वण्णितो अहोसि।

इमिना पकारेण सुवण्णस्स तेसु दिनेसु पभूतो पयोगो अहोसि। कस्सका वत्तमान-कालं विव निद्धना न अहेसुं। ते पन अद्धा अहेसुं।

एत्थ पन एको विसयो जातब्बो होति। पालिभासायं पयुत्ता अनेक-सद्दा इदानि अम्हाकं पादेसिकभासासु दिस्सन्ति, तं यथा नङ्गला ति सद्दो तेलुगु भासायं 'नागलि' ति पयुत्तो होति अञ्ज पि। सुत्तनिपातस्स व खग्गविसाणसुत्तमिह एका गाथा अत्थि, तं यथा-

दिस्वा सुवण्णस्स पभस्सरानि, कम्मरपुत्तेन सुनिट्टितानि।
सङ्गट्टमानानि दुवे भुजस्सिं, एको चरे खग्गविसाणकप्पो^१॥

इमायं गाथायं यो 'कम्मरपुत्तेन' ति सद्दो आगतो, सो दट्टब्बो होति, एतस्स सद्दस्सत्थो होति 'सुवण्णकारो' ति। एसो सद्दो अञ्ज पि तेलुगु-भासायं लोहकारत्थे दिस्सति। हिन्दी-भासायं पन एसो सद्दो न सुवण्णकारत्थे, दिस्सति, न वा लोहकारत्थे। इमिना पकारेण पालिभासाय सद्दा केचि सुदूरवत्थिसु पदेसेसु पविट्टा, इदानि ते सद्दा न मागधेसु दिस्सन्ति, न वा कोसलेसु। दूरट्टितेसु दक्खिणापदेसु दिस्सन्ति।

तेसु पन दिनेसु कसिकम्मकरा सब्बे पि मनुस्सा अट्टा अहेसुं, कसिभारद्वाजो पि ब्राह्मणो अट्टो अहोसि। सो पन सुगन्धगन्धेहि विलित्तो पञ्चसतग्घनकं वत्थं निवासेत्वा सहस्सग्घनकं एकसं करित्वा एकमेकस्सा अङ्गुलिया द्वे द्वे कत्वा, वीसति अङ्गुलि-मुद्दिकायो धरति, कण्णेसु सीहकुण्डलानि धरति, सीसे च ब्रह्मवेठनं पटिमुञ्चित्वा सुवण्णमालं कण्ठे कत्वा ब्राह्मणगणपरिवुत्तो कम्मन्तं वोसासति। तस्स भरिया पि ब्राह्मणी अट्टा व अहोसि। सा पन अनेक-सत-भाजनसु पायासं पचापेत्वा महासकटेसु आरोपेत्वा गन्धोदकेन न्हायित्वा सब्बालङ्कारविभूसिता ब्राह्मणी-गणपरिवेड्डिता कम्मन्तं अगमासि।

गेहम्पस्स ब्राह्मणस्स सुन्दरं, समुद्धं च अहोसि। तं पन सब्बत्थ गन्धेहि सुविलित्तं होति, पुप्फेहि सुकतबलिकम्मं होति, खेत्तञ्च तेसु तेसु ठानेसु समुस्सितपटाकं अहोसि। परिजनकम्मकारेहि सह कम्मन्तं ओसटपरिसा अट्टतेय्यसहस्सा होन्ति। सब्बे अहत-वत्थ-निवत्था, सब्बेसञ्च पायासभोजनं

^१सुत्तनिपातस्स खग्गविसाणसुत्तं ४८

पटियतं अहोसि। तत्थ सब्बे व मनुस्सा समाना अहेसुं । सामिनो'पि पायासं खादन्ति, सेवका'पि पायासं भुञ्जन्ति।

तेहि जनेहि तेसु दिनेसु सुवण्ण-रजत-कंस-तम्ब-मयानि भाजनानि पयुत्तानि अहेसुं । कसि भारद्वाजो ब्राह्मणो पन बलिकम्मं कारापेत्वा रतनसुवण्णबन्धूप्राहनायो आरोहित्वा रतनसुवण्णदण्डं गहेत्वा “इध पायासं देथ, इध सप्पिं देथ, इध सक्खरं देथा”'ति वोसासमानो विचरति। तत्थ बुद्धो एक्कोव गच्छि, भगवतो सिस्सा भिक्खवो न गच्छिरे। यदा भगवा एक्कोव कत्थचि उपसङ्गमितुकामो होति, भिक्खाचारवेलायं द्वारं पिदहित्वा अन्तोगन्धकुटिं पविसति। ततो भिक्खू ताय सञ्जाय जानन्ति – “अज्ज भगवा एक्को'व गामं पविसितुकामो' ति। तस्मा तायं वेलायं भिक्खू भगवन्तं नानुबन्धिंसु। कसिभारद्वाजो ब्राह्मणो भगवन्तं गाथाय अज्झभासि, बुद्धो'पि भगवा इमिना पकारेन तस्सुत्तरं यच्छति ।

“सद्धा बीजं तपो वुट्ठि, पञ्जा मे युगनङ्गलं।
हिरी ईसा मनो योत्तं, सति मे फालपाचनं¹⁰॥

इमायं गाथायं अनेके सद्दा गामजीवनस्स, कसिकम्मन्तस्स च परिचायका होन्ति। बीजं हि कसिया मूलं होति। तस्मिं बीजे सति कत्तब्बतो, असति अकत्तब्बतो, तप्पमाणेन च कत्तब्बतो। बीजे सति कसिं करोन्ति, बीजे असति न करोन्ति कसिं । बीजप्पमाणेन च कुसला कस्सका खेतं कसन्ति, न ऊनं “मा नो सस्सं परिहायी”'ति, न अधिकं “मा नो मोघो वायामो अहोसी”'ति। तम्हा बीजमेव मूलं कसिया 'ति सुत्तनिपातस्स अट्टकथायं दिस्सति ।

इमायं गाथायं गामजीवनस्स पकासका युगनङ्गलं, इसा, योत्तं फालपाचनं ति सद्दा च पयुत्ता । एतेसं सब्बेसं वत्थूनं कसिकम्मस्मिं पयोगो होति । इमिना पकारेन एते सद्दा कसिकम्मस परिचायका होन्ति ।

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¹⁰सुत्तनिपातस्स कसिभारद्वाजसुत्तं ७७

पालि साहित्य में वर्णित अनित्यता का तत्त्वसंग्रह के स्थिरभाव परीक्षा में विस्तार

डा. श्रीमती राका जैन

लखनऊ

प्रस्तावना-

पालि साहित्य में अनित्य-दुःख-अनात्म के सिद्धान्त को केन्द्र बनाकर ही दर्शन दिखाई देता है। यह जगत् अनित्य-दुःख और अनात्म रूप है और इनका ज्ञान न होना ही अविद्या है। चार आर्यसत्त्यों में दुःख का प्रतिपादन अनित्यता के आधार पर किया गया है। भगवान् बुद्ध के दर्शन का सारांश इस अनित्य-दुःख-अनात्म में समाहित है। यह सिद्धान्त उपनिषद् के वाक्य सच्चिदानन्द-सत्, चित् और आनन्द का ठीक उल्टा है। भगवान् बुद्ध ने सभी उपादान स्कन्धों एवं आयतनों को नष्टवान् होने से अनित्य बतलाया है तथा अनित्यता के स्वभाव के कारण उन्हें दुःखरूप एवं दुःख के कारण अनात्म रूप कहा है-

“यदनिच्च तं दुक्खं, यं दुक्खं तदनत्ता, यदनत्ता तं ‘नेतं मम, नेसोहमस्मि, न मेसो अत्ता’ति।”¹

लोक की अनित्यता का प्रतिपादन करते हुए भगवान् ने लोक संज्ञा का अर्थ ‘लुज्जल’ बतलाया है। चक्षु, रूप, चक्षुवेदना, चक्षु, संस्पर्श, चक्षु वेदना एवं श्रोतादि लज्जित होते हैं।² ‘प्रलोकधर्मा’ नाशवान होने से ‘लोक’ ऐसा कहा जाता है।³ लोक को शून्य कहा है। यह आत्मा से शून्य है। अनित्यता के आधार पर अनात्म की सिद्धि होती है।

संसार के प्राणी नाम-रूप से जाने जाते हैं। यह नाम संज्ञा भी कहलाने मात्र के लिए है⁴ जिस प्रकार ‘रथ’ नाम की कोई वास्तविक चीज नहीं होती, उसके विभिन्न हिस्सों को मिलाकर रथ यह नाम दिया जाता है, उसी प्रकार पांच स्कन्धों से उत्पन्न छः इन्द्रियधारी प्राणी को ‘सत्त्व’ नाम से अभिहित किया जाता है।⁵

बौद्धदर्शन की नींव पंचस्कन्धों एवं प्रतीत्यसमुत्पाद के सिद्धान्तों पर निर्भर है। पांच स्कन्धों के निरन्तर बदलते रहने के अतिरिक्त किसी चेतन आत्मा-ब्रह्मा का बौद्ध तत्त्ववाद में स्थान नहीं है। धर्म या घटन अपने हेतु से ही उत्पन्न होती है। हेतु से उत्पन्न होने वाले धर्मों का हेतु और उसका निरोध इतना ही तथागत का वाद है-

“ये धम्मा हेतुप्पभवा, तेसं हेतुं तथागतो आह ।

तेसं च यो निरोधो एवं वादी महासमणो।।”

जो हेतु से उत्पन्न है, वह अनात्म है, अनित्य है, दुःखरूप है- इस बात को जो अपनी प्रज्ञा से देखता है वह इस दुःख रूप संसार से मुक्त हो जाता है-

सब्बे धम्मा अनत्ताति यदा पञ्जाय पस्सति।
अथ निब्बिदति दुक्खे, एस मग्गो विसुद्धिया।।

सब्बे संखारा अनिच्चाति यदा पञ्जाय पस्सति।
अथ निब्बिन्दति दुक्खे, एस मग्गो विसुद्धिया।।

सब्बे संखारा दुक्खाति, यदा पञ्जाय पस्सति।
अथ निब्बन्दति दुक्खे, एस मग्गो विसुद्धिया।।

- सत्ता के लिए नित्य, स्थिर या कूटस्थ होने का स्थान नहीं है। सत्य या सत्ता शब्द का प्रयोग बौद्धविचारकों ने अनित्यता के लिए ही किया है जो अनित्य नहीं, परिवर्तनशील नहीं, क्षण-क्षण बदलने वाला नहीं, वह असत् है। जगत्-उसी तरह बदल रहा है, जिस तरह दीपक की लौ। दीपक की लौ की तरह पांच स्कन्ध निरन्तर परिवर्तित होते हैं।

काय, जिह्वा, घ्राण, चक्षु, कर्ण और मन- ये छः इन्द्रियां एवं इनके विषय भी, स्पर्शन, रस, गन्ध, दर्शन, श्रवण और मनन अनित्य है- सब्बे संखारा अनिच्चा ति।

समस्या का अनुसन्धान प्रश्न-

पालि त्रिपिटक में इस प्रकार अनित्यता का पर्याप्त वर्णन है जिसको आचार्य शान्तरक्षित ने किस तरह तत्त्वसंग्रह के स्थिरभाव परीक्षा में प्रतिपादित किया है यह अनुसन्धान का विषय है।

शोधपद्धति-

अनित्यता पर पूर्वपक्ष में जो प्रश्न उठाए गए उनका उत्तर आचार्य शान्तरक्षित ने अनित्यता के विस्तार रूप क्षणिकवाद के रूप में दिया। पूर्वपक्ष को प्रस्तुत करते हुए स्वपक्ष रखा गया है।

साहित्य समीक्षा-

आचार्य आविद्धकर्ण, आचार्य कुमारिलभट्ट और भाविविक्त उद्योतकर के साहित्य के आधार पर उनके मत की समीक्षा करते हुए आचार्य शान्तरक्षित ने स्थिरभाव की परीक्षा की है।

सभी दुःखों का मूल 'सक्काय दिट्ठि' है। पंच-स्कन्धात्मक शरीर में, वर्तमान देह में या नश्वर देह में आत्मा तथा आत्मीय दृष्टि-अहंकार और ममकार रखना सत्कायदृष्टि है। 'स्वकाये दृष्टिः आत्मात्मीयदृष्टिः- ऐसा चन्द्रकीर्ति कहते हैं। सत्कायदृष्टि से दूर रहने के लिए ही अनित्यता के सिद्धान्त को तथागत बुद्ध ने बतलाया। अनित्यता का विकसित स्वरूप ही तत्त्वसंग्रह के स्थिरभाव परीक्षा में क्षणिकता के रूप में मिलता है।

बौद्धों के लिए एकमात्र यथार्थ या सत् प्रापक क्षण ही है, अन्य सब कुछ व्याख्या, विचार-

सृजन या कल्पना है, दूसरी ओर बौद्धेतर यथार्थवादी सत्ता-अस्तित्व के तीन-द्रव्य-गुण-कर्म और पदार्थ-भाव के चार - सामान्य-विशेष-समवाय और अभाव- ये सात भेद करते हैं जिनमें अपनी-अपनी विषयगत यथार्थता तत्त्वसंग्रहकार शान्तरक्षित अनित्यता के सूक्ष्म रूप क्षणिकता से समीक्षा करते हैं।

चर्चा-

आचार्य शान्तरक्षित ने स्थिरभाव परीक्षा में पूर्वपक्ष के रूप में सात बिन्दु रखे, यथा-

अविद्धकर्ण के अनुसार-

1. संसार में सत्ता दो तरह की है- नित्य और अनित्य, तीसरा कोई विकल्प नहीं।

उद्योतकर के अनुसार-

2. सत्ता का विनाश हर पल नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि इसके कारण हर पल मौजूद नहीं।
3. सत्ता कार्य को उत्पन्न किए बिना भी मौजूद रह सकती है और उसे अस्तित्व के रूप में माना जा सकता है।
4. यदि हम सत्ता की क्षणिकता पर विचार करते हैं तो कार्य उनके द्वारा उत्पादित नहीं किये जा सकते हैं और वस्तुओं का क्षणिकरूप में नहीं मान सकते हैं।

कुमारिल के अनुसार-

5. एक वस्तु की पहचान भी गैर-क्षणिकता को स्थापित कर सकती है क्योंकि यह स्मृति से अलग हैं

भाविविक्त के अनुसार-

6. सूर्य, चन्द्र आदि जैसी सत्ता का विज्ञान- जैसी उस क्षण की केवल कुछ वस्तुएं हैं। लेकिन सत्ता हमेशा है। ये क्षण हो सकते हैं क्योंकि वे ज्ञान और सत्ता की वस्तुएं हैं।
7. अनुक्रम से, विज्ञान की श्रृंखला का, वस्तु के संबंध में यह प्रतिभास होना चाहिए कि जो क्षणिक न हो।

आचार्य शान्तरक्षित द्वारा प्रस्तुत इन सात पूर्वपक्षी बिन्दुओं की समीक्षा इस प्रकार की गई है।

1. अविद्धकर्ण के उत्तर में आचार्य कहते हैं कि- विनाश दो तरह का है- एक सत्ता में निहित रहता है जो हर पल बदल जाता है अनुभवातीत है, व्यय होता है। जबकि दूसरा, एक वस्तु के बारे में पूरी तरह से गायब हो जाता है (ध्वंस)। हम यह भी स्वीकार करते हैं कि विनाश का कारण है क्योंकि दूसरों द्वारा ऐसा मानना पड़ता है लेकिन आगे यह कहा है कि इस तरह के विनाश को कारणहीन (हेतु रहित) कहा जाता है। दूसरे प्रसंग में विनाश को एक विशेष घटना नहीं कह सकते हैं जो केवल समय होता

है। यह विनाश आकाश-कमल की तरह अस्तित्व हीन एवं केवल सत्ता के नष्ट हो जाने को विनाश कहा जाता है। यह ‘‘दूसरों के द्वारा ग्राह्य एक अलग (भिन्न) वस्तु नहीं है। इसलिए यह कोई कठिनाई नहीं है हम यह विचार करते हैं कि प्रत्येक वस्तु क्षणिक है और वह विनाश भी हेतुरहित है।

2. आचार्य उद्योतकर उत्तर देते हैं कि क्षणभंगुर वस्तु के नष्ट होने में, विनाश के दो अलग-अलग प्रकार में से एक निहित है। इसके दो तरह के पहलू हैं अर्थात् क्षणभंगुर वस्तुओं के एक प्रकार का नष्ट होना और क्षणिक वस्तु के असमान प्रकार के लिए स्थान देना। इस पहली विलुप्ति का कोई हेतु नहीं है। विनाश के दूसरे प्रकार के लिए स्थान है, जब एक प्रकार की क्षणिक वस्तु पूरी तरह से नष्ट हो जाती है और दूसरी प्रकार की क्षणिक वस्तु इसका स्थान ले लती है इस प्रकार के विनाश के हेतु और सहायक परिस्थितियां होती हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, जब एक बर्तन का किसी छड़ी से टुकड़े-टुकड़े कर दिए जाए तो घड़ी आदि की मदद अंतिम क्षण का क्षणभंगुर बर्तन अगले क्षण में वृद्धि को पा लेता है।
3. भाविविक्त योगीसेन का उत्तर है कि ऐसी कोई वस्तु नहीं है जो शाश्वत हो जैसे अन्तरिक्ष आदि, यदि उसे स्वीकार करना जरूरी है तो वे क्षणिकता के रूप में निश्चित ही स्वीकार करेंगे, वस्तुएं केवल अस्तित्व में हैं जब उन्हें अपेक्षित कार्यों के उत्पादन करने में सक्षम होना चाहिए, नहीं तो वे अस्तित्व हीन है। नित्य (शाश्वत) वस्तुएं, यदि अस्तित्ववान है, यकायक सभी कार्यों को सटीक बनाना चाहिए और अनुक्रम में एक के बाद एक नहीं होना चाहिए, क्योंकि वे कार्य के उत्पादन की शक्ति रखे हैं। या यह नित्य सत्ता एक कार्य उत्पन्न करने के लिए सहायक परिस्थितियों की उम्मीद करते हैं तब उन्हें समझ में आ जाना चाहिए कि वे किस क्षमता में पदार्थ के हेतु (कारण) की सहायता कर रहे हैं यदि वे शाश्वत वस्तु की शक्ति को तैयार कर रहे हैं तब उस शक्ति का कार्य के कारण के रूप में, विचार करना चाहिए, शाश्वत वस्तु के रूप में नहीं। क्योंकि ये शाश्वत सत्ता अपने कार्य के उत्पादन में सक्षम नहीं है, उन्हें सत्ता-रहित (अस्तित्वरहित) के रूप में मानना चाहिए। यदि आप कहें कि सत्ता की परिभाषा यह नहीं है कि जो एक कार्य के उत्पादन के योग्य है, लेकिन केवल एक जो स्वाभाविक अस्तित्व है, यहां हम बौद्ध यह कहते हैं कि हम किसी भी वस्तु के स्वाभाविक अस्तित्व पर विचार नहीं करते हैं, और वह अस्तित्व अकेले एक सत्ता के स्थिरभाव को स्थापित नहीं कर सकता है।
4. यदि सत्ता को क्षणिकवाद के रूप में स्वीकार करते हैं, तब सहायक परिस्थितियां उसी कार्य के उत्पादन में पदार्थ के हेतुओं की सहायता करती है जो पदार्थ के हेतु, कार्य

करने के लिए अपेक्षित हैं। पहले क्षण में हेतु और परिस्थितियां एक तरह से संयोग करती है, ताकि अगले क्षण में कार्य के उत्पादन में सक्षम हो। हेतु की सहायता से कार्य उत्पन्न करने में परिस्थिति बदलाव (परिवर्तन) हो जाता है। यदि वस्तुएं नित्य है और यदि सहायक सामग्री उसमें शक्ति उत्पन्न करती है तो उन्हें हेतु के रूप में क्यों रखना चाहिए?

5. कुमारिल का निराकरण आचार्य करते हैं कि पहचान (स्वीकृति) को एक धारणा के समान उपयुक्त ज्ञान नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि यह वस्तुओं को लगातार मानता है, भले ही वे हर क्षण को अलग कर रहे हैं। यदि दूसरों के द्वारा उपयुक्त ज्ञान को ग्रहण किया जाता है फिर भी यह स्मृति से भौतिक रूप से भिन्न नहीं है जिसे उचित ज्ञान के रूप में विचार किया जाता है।
6. भाविविक्त की युक्ति की आचार्य समीक्षा करते हैं। विज्ञानवादियों के अनुसार बाह्य जगत् सत् नहीं है। इसलिए सूर्य, चन्द्र आदि जैसी कोई वस्तु नहीं है। विज्ञान को छोड़कर, जो कि क्षणभंगुर हैं इसलिए यह दूसरों के लिए बेकार है, जो सूर्य की मदद से सभी चीजों की क्षतिपूर्ति को परिभाषित करने का प्रयास करते हैं।
7. उद्योतकर की समीक्षा करते हैं कि- एक प्रकाश की लौ हर क्षण अलग है- यह सभी दार्शनिकों के द्वारा स्वीकार की जाती है। फिर भी यह एक और लगातार ज्ञान में प्रतिबिम्बित होती है। यदि इस तरह की भावनाएं उपयुक्त नहीं होती हैं तो अन्य चीजों का ज्ञान क्यों नहीं होना चाहिए और अमान्य (अनुपयुक्त) मानना चाहिए क्योंकि ऐसा विज्ञान वस्तुओं का अनुभव करता है, जो प्रतिक्षण भिन्न है जैसे बचपन, यौवन आदि एक होकर भिन्न हैं। इसलिए सत्ता की अ-क्षणभंगुरता स्थापित नहीं की जा सकती है।

तत्त्वसंग्रह के मत में दो प्रकार का विनाश होता है- एक अनुभवात्मक विनाश जिसे प्रध्वंस कहते हैं⁶ और दूसरा अनुभवातीत जिसे विनाश-विनश्वरत्व अथवा अनित्यता-क्षणिक कहते हैं। प्रथमतः किसी घट का हथौड़े के प्रहार से प्रध्वंस है द्वितीयतः घट का कालगत विनाश है, एक अगोचर, अत्यन्त क्रमिक, सतत्- अनित्यता जो किसी भी यथार्थ का सारतत्त्व है अतः आचार्य शान्तरक्षित का कथन है कि स्वयं यथार्थ को ही विनाश कहते हैं- **“यो हि भवः क्षणस्थायि विनाश इति गीयते”**⁷ यह अहेतुक होता है, हथौड़े के प्रहार के समान यह स्वयं ही उत्पन्न होता है⁸ क्योंकि यह वस्तु या यथार्थ का स्वभाव है और यथार्थ अनित्य है। किसी वस्तु का विनाश सदैव उसकी पूर्वसत्ता का अनुगमन करता है। यह यथार्थ चलभाव-स्वरूप होता है, यह निरंश होता है। इसे अंशों में विभक्त नहीं किया जा सकता है। इसका नाशत्व इसके निष्पन्नत्व के साथ ही निष्पन्न होता है, अन्यथा नाशत्व यथार्थ का स्वभाव नहीं होता। इस प्रकार सत्ता और अभाव एक ही वस्तु को दिए गए दो नाम हैं, ठीक उसी तरह जैसे बालेय और रासभ- दोनों एक ही पशु-गधा को दिए गए भिन्न नाम हैं।⁹

“यो हि भवः क्षणस्थायी विनाश इति गीयते”¹⁰ अर्थात् क्षणिक वस्तु अपने विनाश के भाव को व्यक्त करती है। आचार्य शान्तरक्षित द्वारा प्रतिपादित यह कथ्य अत्यन्त उल्लेखनीय है। यह स्पष्ट रूप उस सत् या यथार्थ का दर्शन कराता है। प्रत्यक्षतः यह अनुभवात्मक वस्तु नहीं है जिसे स्वयं उसका विनाश कहा जा सके। कोई भी इस बात को अस्वीकार नहीं करेगा कि जब हथौड़े के प्रहार से कोई घट भग्न होकर टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जाता है तब उसका अस्तित्व नहीं रह जाता। किन्तु इस प्रत्यक्ष अनुभवात्मक परिवर्तन से पृथक् एक अन्य कभी भी आरम्भ न होने वाला और कभी भी न रुकने वाला, अत्यन्त क्रमिक, सतत् परिवर्तन, एक प्रवाहमान अनुभवातीत परमार्थसत् होता है। मिट्टी के लौदे से घट का निर्माण तथा उसका टूटकर टुकड़ों में परिवर्तित हो जाना नवीन गुण है। अर्थात् ये एक निर्बाध परिवर्तन की श्रृंखला के कुछ विशिष्ट क्षण हैं। इस प्रक्रिया में कुछ भी शाश्वत नहीं है, कोई भी स्थिर तत्त्व नहीं है, चिरस्थायी स्थूल पदार्थ का विशुद्ध कल्पना मात्र कहा गया है, ठीक वैसे ही, जैसे एक चिरस्थायी स्थूल आत्मा की धारणा है। अतः आचार्य शान्तरक्षित का कथन है कि प्रत्येक क्षण में उस सत्ता का कुछ भी लेश नहीं रह जाता, जिसका पूर्व क्षण में अस्तित्व रहा होता है। क्षण अनिवार्यतः विविक्त होते हैं। प्रत्येक क्षण अर्थात् प्रत्येक क्षणिक वस्तु, अपने निष्पन्नत्व के साथ ही विनष्ट हो जाती है, क्योंकि उसकी सत्ता दूसरे क्षण तक नहीं रहती। इस आशय में प्रत्येक वस्तु स्वयं अपने विनाश को व्यक्त करती है। यदि गत क्षण का कुछ अंश बाद के क्षण में भी बना रहे तो इसका अर्थ ‘नित्यता’ होगा क्योंकि जिस प्रकार यह दूसरे क्षण में बना रहा, उसी प्रकार तीसरे और उसके बाद के क्षणों में भी बना रहेगा। स्थिर का अर्थ ‘नित्यता’ है। यदि पदार्थ की सत्ता है तो वह अनिवार्यतः क्षणिक है। परमार्थ सत् का द्रव्य-गुण में विभाजन नहीं किया जा सकता- यह निरंश और क्षणिक है।

आचार्य सत्ता की स्थिरता को स्वीकार नहीं करते। उनके अनुसार सत्ता स्वयं सतत् विनाश है, अतः उसका अस्तित्व चलता रहेगा, अर्थात् प्रत्येक दशा में विनाश के किसी या कारण की अपेक्षा किए बिना ही सत्ता विनष्ट और परिवर्तित होती रहेगी। सत्ता के धर्म स्वभावतः क्षणिक हैं- ‘स्वरस-विनाशिनः सर्वे धर्माः।’¹¹ ये उस परिवर्तन को, जो सदैव और स्वतः ही होता रहता है, उत्पन्न करने के लिए किसी अतिरिक्त परिस्थिति की अपेक्षा नहीं रखते।

जिस प्रकार प्रत्येक घटना के हेतुओं और दशाओं की सामग्री की वह घटना अनिवार्यतः अनुसरण करती है, क्योंकि सामग्री उपस्थित रहने पर अन्य किसी बात की आवश्यकता नहीं होती और वह सामग्री ही स्वयं घटना होती है। उसी प्रकार प्रत्येक वस्तु अपने स्वभाव से ही क्षणिक या नश्वर होती है, उसके विनाश अथवा परिवर्तन के लिए अन्य किसी कारण की आवश्यकता नहीं होती।

उपसंहार-

पालित्रिपिटक में पंचस्कन्ध, छः इन्द्रियों एवं उनके विषयों को नित्य नहीं माना गया है। पालि साहित्य में वर्णित अनित्यता का विस्तार आचार्य शान्तरक्षितकृत तत्त्वसंग्रह में ‘यत् सत् तत्

क्षणिकम्' की पुष्टि रूप में मिलता है। जो यथार्थ है उसका विनाश होगा ही। यथार्थ का स्वभाव ही विनाश है, विनाश बिना हेतु के भी हो सकता है। यथार्थ का पर्याय विनाश किया है। इस तरह पालि अनित्यता का विस्तार पश्चात् कालिक साहित्य में हुआ है जिसमें तत्त्वसंग्रह के स्थिरभाव परीक्षा के आधार पर यहां यह प्रस्तुति दी है। इस तरह बुद्ध के वचनामृत के रूपमें मिश्रित अनित्यता ने बौद्धदर्शनिकों में क्षणिकता का रूप ले लिया है। यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि क्षणिकता का विकास बुद्धवचन अनित्य-दुःख-अनात्म की सिद्ध के लिए विकसित हुआ है।

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बुद्धवाद में कायव्यवस्था

प्रो. रामनक्षत्र प्रसाद

नवनालन्दा महाविहार, नालन्दा

विश्व के प्रायः सभी आस्तिक दर्शनों में पृथ्वीलोक के अतिरिक्त अन्य कई अदृश्य लोकों की परिकल्पना दिखायी देती है। इनमें स्वर्ग, नरक, पाताल, देव, दानव, प्रेत, तिर्यक्, यक्ष, गन्धर्व, किन्नर आदि के उल्लेख मिलते हैं। सभी लोकों के सभी प्राणियों की शारीरिक संरचना, आकार-प्रकार आदि के वर्णन भी उपलब्ध होते हैं। उनके आयुप्रमाण, गुणदोष आदि भी ग्रन्थों में वर्णित हैं। बुद्धवाद भी उन्हीं में से एक है। इसके अन्तर्गत श्रावकयान तथा महायान दोनों परम्पराओं में सत्त्वों के कायस्वरूप की चर्चा बुद्ध तथा उनके परवर्ती शिष्यों द्वारा अनेकत्र व्यापक रूप से की गयी है, किन्तु दोनों यानों के विचारों में किञ्चित् भिन्नता अवश्य दृष्टिगत होती है। जहाँ महायान में इस विषय पर विस्तृत चर्चा दिखायी देती है वहीं श्रावकयान में अपेक्षाकृत न्यून विवरण मिलते हैं। पालि त्रिपिटक एवं अट्टकथाओं में अन्य सभी सत्त्वों के कार्यों की साधारण नय से तथा बुद्धों के कार्यों की विशेष रूप से द्विधा चर्चा की गयी है, जब कि महायान के अन्तर्गत दो, तीन, चार तथा पाँच प्रकारों के भी उल्लेख मिलते हैं, जिनका महायानसूत्रालंकार ग्रन्थ में तीन की संख्या में समाहार किया गया है। श्रावकयान के ग्रन्थों में भी तीन प्रकार के कार्यों का वर्णन किया गया है। यहाँ दोनों ही यानों में वर्णित नय से कार्यों पर विचार अभिप्रेत है, अतः प्रथमतः साधारण नय से अन्य सत्त्वों की कायव्यवस्था का उल्लेख किया जायेगा तदनन्तर बुद्धकार्यों पर विचार किया जायेगा।

सत्त्वों के विभिन्न कार्यों के वर्णन के प्रसंग में यहाँ दो कार्यों का उल्लेख किया गया है— नामकाय तथा रूपकाय। नामकाय उन सभी चित्तसंस्कारों को कहते हैं जिनमें वेदना, संज्ञा, चेतना, स्पर्श, मनसिकार तथा नाम आते हैं।

रूपकाय के अन्तर्गत चार महाभूत तथा चार महाभूतों के उप्पादा रूप, आश्वास-प्रश्वास, निमित्त, उपनिबन्धना आदि कायसंस्कार आते हैं।

एत्थ कायो^१ति द्वे काया- नामकायो रूपकायो च। कतमो नामकायो? वेदना, सञ्जा, चेतना, फस्सो, मनसिकारो, नामञ्च नामकायो, ये च वुच्चन्ति चित्तसङ्घारा- अयं नामकायो।

कतमो रूपकायो^१ति चत्तारो महाभूता, चतुन्नञ्च महाभूतानं उपादायरूपं अस्सासो पस्सासो च, निमित्तञ्च उपनिबन्धना, ये च वुच्चन्ति कायसङ्घारा- अयं रूपकायो।^१

^१पटिसम्भिमामगपालि, नालन्दा संस्करण पृ. २१२

इन कार्यों के पदस्थान के विषय में यह कहा गया है कि नामकाय अविद्या का पदस्थान है तथा रूपकाय तृष्णा का पदस्थान है। यह इसलिए कि रूपी भवों में अध्यवसान तथा अरूपी भवों में सम्मोह होता है। इसका अभिप्राय यह है कि रूपस्कन्ध रूपकाय है तथा चारों अरूपी स्कन्ध नामकाय। इन पाँच स्कन्धों के तृष्णा एवं अविद्या उपादान हैं। पुनः तृष्णा के कामोपादान तथा सीलव्रतोपादान और अविद्या के दृष्ट्युपादान तथा आत्मवादोपादान ये दो-दो उपादान हैं। नेत्तिप्पकरण में कहा गया है-

तत्थ तण्हा द्वे उपादानानि कामुपादानं सीलव्वतुपादानञ्च। अविज्जा द्वे
उपादानानि दिट्ठुपादानं अत्तवादुपादानञ्च।²

इसी प्रकार आस्रवों के सन्दर्भ में रूपकाय की उत्पत्ति के कारण कामास्रव एवं भवास्रव हैं तथा नामकाय की उत्पत्ति के कारण दृष्ट्यास्रव तथा अविद्यास्रव हैं।

तत्थ रूपकायो कामासवस्स भवासवस्स च पदट्ठानं। नामकायो दिट्ठासवस्स
अविज्जासवस्स व पदट्ठानं।³

यहाँ रूपकाय के स्वरूप के विषय में कहा गया है कि सत्त्वों के अंगप्रत्यंगों एवं केश आदि धर्मों के पुञ्ज के कारण हस्तिकाय, रथकाय आदि व्यवहारों के समान ही काय कहना अभिप्रेत है। जिस प्रकार समूह के कारण उसी प्रकार केश आदि कुत्सित धर्मों के आय अर्थात् आगमन के कारण भी यह काय कहलाता है। उत्पत्ति के प्रदेश को आय कहा गया है।

कुच्छित्तानञ्चि परमजेगुच्छानं सो आयो?ति पि कायो। आयोति उप्पत्तिदेसो। तत्रायं
वचनत्थो- आयन्ति ततो ति आयो। के आयन्ति? कुच्छिता केसादयो। इति कुच्छित्तानं
केसादीनं आयो कायो।⁴

बुद्धदेशनाओं के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि इस लोक में नव सत्त्वलोको के नव आवासलोक होते हैं। इनका एक संक्षिप्त विवरण नीचे दिया जा रहा है।

1. नाना आत्मकायिक तथा नाना आत्मसंज्ञी सत्व- मनुष्य, एक प्रकार के देव तथा कुछ विनिपातिक सत्व।
2. नाना आत्मकायिक तथा एकात्मसंज्ञी- प्रथम उत्पन्न ब्रह्मकायिक देव।
3. एक आत्मकायिक तथा नाना आत्मसंज्ञी- आभास्वर देव।
4. एक आत्मकायिक तथा एक आत्मसंज्ञी- शुभकीर्ण देव।

²वही पृ. २८९

³पेटकोपदेस, पञ्चमभूमि

⁴वहीं, महानिदेस अट्टकथा, कामसुत्तनिदेसवण्णना

5. असंज्ञी, अप्रतिसंवेदी- असंज्ञी सत्त्वा।
6. रूपसंज्ञाओं के सर्वथा अतिक्रमण तथा प्रतिघ संज्ञा के अस्त हो जाने के फलस्वरूप नाना आत्मसंज्ञाओं का मनसिकार न करने के कारण अनन्त आकाश में रहने वाले सत्त्वा।
7. आकाशानन्त्यायतन का सर्वथा अतिक्रमण कर अनन्त विज्ञान में रहने वाले- विज्ञानायतनी सत्त्वा।
8. विज्ञानायतन का सर्वथा अतिक्रमण कर 'कुछ नहीं है' वाले- आकिञ्चनायतन सत्त्वा।
9. आकिञ्चनायतन का सर्वथा अतिक्रमण कर 'न संज्ञा न असंज्ञा' वाले- नसंज्ञीनासंज्ञीलोक सत्त्वा⁵

उपर्युक्त में प्रथम चार सत्त्वावास रूपी तथा बाद के पाँच अरूपी हैं। पूर्व के चार सत्त्वावासों में ही रूपी सत्त्व होते हैं। इसलिए पालि आगमों में इन्हीं चार लोकों के प्राणियों के कार्यों के वर्णन मिलते हैं। अन्य पाँच लोकों के प्राणियों का नामोल्लेखमात्र किया गया है।

नव सत्त्वावासों में प्रथम मनुष्यलोक है जहाँ सभी लौकिक प्राणियों, कुछ देवों तथा कुछ विनिपातिकों का संग्रह होता है। उन सभी प्राणियों के काय, संज्ञायें नाना प्रकार की होती हैं। इस अपरिमाण चक्रवाल में अपरिमाण मनुष्यों के वर्णसंस्थान के चलते कोई भी दो एक समान नहीं हैं। संयोगवश वर्णसंस्थान एक समान होने पर भी उनके अवलोकन, विलोकन में असमानता दिख ही जाती है। इसीलिए ये प्राणी नानाकायिक कहे गये हैं। उनकी प्रतिसन्धिसंज्ञायें भी भिन्न-भिन्न होती हैं, अतः ये नानात्मसंज्ञी कहलाते हैं। छः कामावचर देव नील, पीत आदि के भेद से भिन्नवर्ण तथा द्विहेतुक एवं तिहेतुक के आधार पर भिन्नसंज्ञा वाले होते हैं। चार अपायों से विनिर्मुक्त कुछ विनिपातिक यक्षिणी, पुनर्वसुमाता, प्रियंकरमाता, पफुस्समित्रा, धर्मगुसा आदि अन्य वैमानिक प्रेत का अवदात, कृष्ण आदि के आधार पर तथा कृश एवं स्थूल के भेद के कारण नानाकायिक होते हैं। उनकी संज्ञायें भी नानाविध होती हैं। वे देवों के समान अधिक प्रभावशाली नहीं होते अपितु कृपण मनुष्य की भाँति अल्प प्रभाव वाले, उन्हें आवास एवं भोजन दुर्लभ होते हैं तथा वे दुःखों से पीड़ित रहते हैं। उनमें से कुछ कृष्णपक्ष में दुःखी तथा शुक्लपक्ष में सुखी होते हैं, अतः वे सुखभोग से पतित होने के कारण विनिपातिक कहे जाते हैं।

प्रथम उत्पन्न ब्रह्मपारिसद, ब्रह्मपुरोहित तथा महाब्रह्मा ब्रह्मकायिक कहे जाते हैं। प्रथम उत्पन्न से तात्पर्य है प्रथमध्यान से उत्पन्ना संक्षिप्त, मध्यम, विस्तृत तथा अतिविस्तृत के भेद से वे सभी देव नानात्मकायिक तथा प्रथम ध्यान के कारण संज्ञा की एकता के कारण नानात्मकायिक तथा एकात्मसंज्ञी कहलाते हैं।

⁵वही पृ. २८९

मशाल से निकलती चिनगारियों के समान जिनके शरीर से आभा निकलकर चारों ओर फैलती है ऐसे आभास्वर देव कहे जाते हैं। द्वितीय तृतीय ध्यान की सीमित, मध्यम तथा उत्तम के नय से भावना करके क्रमशः सीमित, मध्यम और अप्रमाण आभा के कारण वे भी आभास्वर देव तीन प्रकार के होते हैं। उन सभी के काय एक समान विस्तीर्ण होते हैं किन्तु संज्ञा अवितक्कविचार तथा अवितक्कअविचार के कारण भिन्न होने से वे एकात्मकायिक तथा नानात्मसंज्ञी कहे जाते हैं।

शुभकृष्ण अर्थात् शुभ से व्याप्त, शुभ शारीरिक प्रभायुक्त वर्ण के कारण सौष्टवयुक्त। इन देवताओं की आभास्वर देवताओं के समान शरीर से आभा निकलकर नहीं फैलती है। वे भी सीमित, मध्यम तथा विस्तृत के भेद से सीमित तथा अप्रमाण शुभकृष्ण होकर उत्पन्न होते हैं। इन सभी देवों को एकात्मकायिक तथा चतुर्थ ध्यानांग के कारण एकात्मसंज्ञी जानना चाहिए। इस प्रकार चार सत्त्वावासों में उत्पन्न सत्त्वों के काय संज्ञा आदि के विषय में पालि अट्टकथाओं में विस्तार से देखा जा सकता है।⁶

यहाँ बुद्धेतर प्राणियों के विषय में संक्षिप्त कथन के पश्चात् बुद्धकायों के विषय में कुछ विस्तार से कहा जायेगा। दीघनिकाय के महावग्ग में बत्तीस महापुरुषलक्षणों के वर्णन के प्रसंग में कहा गया है कि भगवान बुद्ध सिंहवत् पूर्वकाय हैं अर्थात् जिस प्रकार सिंह का काय आगे से परिपूर्ण होता है उसी प्रकार बुद्ध का सम्पूर्ण काय परिपूर्ण होता है। **महापुरिसस्स पन सीहस्स पुब्बकायो विय सब्बो पि कायो परिपुण्णो होति।**⁷ शारीरिक सौष्टव हेतु जहाँ-जहाँ विनत-उन्नत, संस्थान-विसंस्थान की आवश्यकता होती है उसी के अनुरूप दीर्घ के स्थान पर दीर्घ तथा ह्रस्व, स्थूल, कृश, पृथुल, अनुवर्तित स्थानों पर तदनुरूप ही शारीरिक संस्थान होता है। इस प्रकार नाना प्रकार के पुण्यचित्रों से चित्रित, दस पारमिताओं से सज्जित महापुरुष के आत्मभाव को संसार के सभी शिल्पी तथा सभी ऋद्धिमान उनके काय का प्रतिरूप भी नहीं बना सकते।

भगवान ने कहा भी है— **‘मनापियेव खो, भिक्खवे, कम्मविपाके पच्चुप्पट्टिते येहि अङ्गेहि दीघेहि सोभति, तानि अङ्गानि दीघानि सण्ठन्ति। येहि अङ्गेहि रस्सेहि सोभति, तानि अङ्गानि रस्सानि सण्ठन्ति। येहि अङ्गेहि थूलेहि सोभति, तानि अङ्गानि थूलानि सण्ठन्ति। येहि अङ्गेहि किसेहि सोभति, तानि अङ्गानि किसानि सण्ठन्ति। येहि अङ्गेहि पुथुलेहि सोभति, तानि अङ्गानि पुथुलानि सण्ठन्ति। येहि अङ्गेहि वट्टेहि सोभति, तानि अङ्गानि वट्टानि सण्ठन्ती’ति।** इति नानाचित्तेन पुञ्जचित्तेन चित्तितो दसहि पारमीहि सज्जितो महापुरिसस्स अत्तभावो, लोके सब्बसिप्पिनो वा सब्बइद्धिमन्तो वा पतिरूपकम्पि कातुं न सक्कोति।⁸

पालि ग्रन्थों में वर्णित नय से बुद्ध का सुप्रतिष्ठितपादता आदि बत्तीस महापुरुषलक्षणों तथा

⁶पटिसम्भिदामग्ग, परिञ्जेय्येनिद्देसवण्णना नालन्दा संस्करण २१२

⁷महावग्ग अट्टकथा, महापदानसुत्तवण्णना, द्वितिसमहापुरिसलक्खणवण्णना

⁸वहीं

ताम्रनख, तुंगनख आदि अस्सी अनुव्यञ्जनों से युक्त एक आश्चर्यकर एवं अद्भुत रूपकाय ही उत्तम रूपकाय है। वासना आदि सभी क्लेशों के प्रहाण से उपलब्ध एक परिशुद्ध काय धर्मकाय है। **विसुद्धिमगटीका** इस अर्थ को इस प्रकार दीपित करती है—

‘तम्बनखतुङ्गनखादिअसीतिअनुव्यजनेहि सुप्पतिट्टितपादतादीहि द्वत्तिंसाय महापुरिसलक्खणेहि विचित्रो अच्छरियब्भुतो रूपकायो एतस्सा’ति रूपकायो। सह वासनाय सब्बेसं किलेसानं पहीनत्ता सब्बाकारपरिसुद्धसीलक्खन्धादिगुणरतनेहि समिद्धो धम्मकायो एतस्सा’ति धम्मकायो।’⁹

भगवान् बुद्ध का यह धर्मकाय एक विशेष काय है। तथागत धर्मवचनों को हृदय से चिन्तन कर वाणी से व्यक्त करते हैं, अतः उनका यह काय धर्मकर्मा होने के कारण धर्मकाय ही कहलाता है। धर्मकाय होने से ब्रह्मकाय भी है। श्रेष्ठ के अर्थ में धर्म ब्रह्म भी कहलाता है। धर्मभूत होने से ब्रह्मभूत है। **धम्मभूतत्ता एव ब्रह्मभूतो।**¹⁰ भगवान् ने स्वयं कहा है कि जो धर्म को देखता है वह मुझे देखता है तथा जो मुझे देखता है वह धर्म को देखता है— **यो खो वक्कलि धम्मं पस्सति सो मं पस्सति, यो मं पस्सति सो धम्मं पस्सति। धम्मज्झि, वक्कलि, पस्सन्तो मं पस्सति मं पस्सन्तो धम्मं पस्सति।**¹¹ इसी प्रकार आर्यों के विषय में भी जानना चाहिए। आर्यजन भी बुद्धवचनों को हृदयंगम करने और उसे व्यक्त करने के कारण बुद्धश्रावक ही होते हैं। वे भी बुद्ध के समान धर्मकाय होते हैं। **‘सुतवा च खो, भिक्खवे, अरियसावको अरियानं दस्सावी, अरियधम्मस्स कोविदो अरियधम्मे सुविनीतो, सप्पुरिसानं दस्सावी सप्पुरिसधम्मस्स कोविदो सप्पुरिसधम्मे सुविनीतो- मनसिकरणीये धम्मे पजानाति अमनसिकरणीये धम्मे पजानाती’ति।**¹² थैरीगाथा में महापजापतिगोतमी की यह गाथा भी इसी अर्थ को द्योतित करती है।

संवद्धितोयं सुगत रूपकायो मया तवा
अनिन्दितो धम्मकायो मम संवद्धितो तथा।¹³

संयुत्तिकाय की अट्टकथा के वक्कलिसुत्त में इस आशय को इस प्रकार स्पष्ट किया गया है। नवविध लोकोत्तर धर्म ही तथागत का काय है। इस प्रकार श्रावकयान में प्रथम काय रूपकाय तथा नामकाय के भेद से दो हैं। द्वितीय धर्मकाय है अविभक्त है, अतः यहाँ तीन कार्यों की व्यवस्था दिखायी देती है— **‘नवविधो हि लोकोत्तरधम्मो तथागतस्स कायो नामा’ति।**¹⁴

महायान आगमों में बुद्ध के दो, तीन, चार तथा पाँच कार्यों के वर्णन मिलते हैं जिनका आचार्य

⁹विसुद्धिमगटीका १/८ मरणानुस्सतिकथावण्णना

¹⁰दीघनिकाय अट्टकथा, अगञ्जासुत्त, चतुवण्णसुद्धिवण्णना

¹¹संयुत्तिकाय, खन्धसंयुत्तं, वक्कलिसुत्त ४४०

¹²मज्झिमनिकाय, सब्बासवसुत्त पृ. १, ३

¹³थैरीगाथा, महापजापतिगोतमीथैरीगाथावण्णना

¹⁴संयुत्तिकाय, खन्धसंयुत्त, वक्कलिसुत्त ४४०, नालन्दा संस्करण

असंग द्वारा व्यवस्थापित कायस्वरूप में तीन में समाहार किया गया है। इन तीन कार्यों की चर्चा ही अधिकतर विद्वानों द्वारा की जाती है। तथागत का प्रथम रूपकाय निर्माण तथा सम्भोग के नाम से दो नामों में विभक्त है। बुद्ध का मांसलोहितनिर्मित, विज्ञानसम्प्रयुक्त, पञ्चनियतविनिर्मुक्त लौकिक काय है। साधारणतया लोक में सभी रूपी निर्माणकाय के अन्तर्गत ही समाविष्ट हैं, किन्तु तथागत का बत्तीस महापुरुषलक्षणों से युक्त काय उत्तम काय कहा गया है। दूसरा सम्भोगकाय है जहाँ निर्माणकाय भी उसी प्रकार साथ ही विद्यमान रहता है जिस प्रकार आकाश में चन्द्रसूर्य के उदित होने पर उनके बिम्ब समुद्र में भी साथ ही दिखायी देते हैं। इस निर्माणकाय का अतिक्रमण करके बोधिसत्व महासत्व निम्नलिखित पञ्चनियत से समन्वागत होकर धर्म का सम्भोग करते हैं।

1. स्थाननियत- अकनिष्ठ क्षेत्र।
2. परिवारनियत-आर्यबोधिसत्वमात्र।
3. धर्मनियत-महायान का धर्म।
4. कायनियत-बत्तीस लक्षणों और अस्सी अनुब्यञ्जनों से अलङ्कृत।
5. समयनियत-संसार के प्राणिशून्य होने तक विद्यमान होना।

इन पाँच नियतों में धर्मसम्भोग को पूर्ण कर बोधिसत्व इस काय का अतिक्रमण कर तथता स्वरूप धर्मकाय को प्राप्त करते हैं। यह धर्मकाय निर्वाणधातु भी कहा जाता है। यहाँ धर्मकाय का आधार प्रज्ञा है तथा रूपकाय का आधार उपाय है। पुद्गलनैरात्म्य एवं धर्मनैरात्म्य के ज्ञान को प्रज्ञा कहते हैं। महाकरुणा, बोधिचित्त एवं पारमिताओं की पूर्ति उपाय है। इसका अभिप्राय यह है कि साधक उपाय के लाभ से रूपकाय को प्राप्त करता है तथा प्रज्ञा के अधिगम से धर्मकाय को प्राप्त करता है। आचार्य असंग द्वारा प्रणीत प्रमुख ग्रन्थ महायानसूत्रालंकार में बुद्ध के धर्मकायप्राप्ति के परावृत्तियों का उल्लेख किया गया है। यह परावृत्ति का मार्ग ही बोधिसत्वों को बुद्धत्वलाभ कराने में कारण है। इसी कारण बुद्ध विशिष्टतर होते हैं। उनका कथन है-

पञ्चेन्द्रियपरावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम्,
मनसोऽपि परावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम्,
सार्थोद्ग्रहपरावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम्,
विकल्पस्य परावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम्,
प्रतिष्ठायाः परावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम्,
मैथुनस्य परावृत्तौ विभुत्वं लभ्यते परम्।
इत्यमयपरावृत्तावमेय विभुता मता।¹⁵

पञ्चेन्द्रिय की परावृत्ति में इन्द्रियों के कर्मों को विपरीत दिशा में अपनयन ही परम विभुत्व

¹⁵महायानसूत्रालंकार, बोध्यधिकार ४१-४८

कहलाता है। इसी प्रकार मन, विकल्प, प्रतिष्ठा और मैथुन को विपरीत दिशा में ले जाना ही विभुत्वलाभ में कारण होता है। असंग का कहना है कि इसी परावृत्ति के मार्ग से साधक पुद्गलनैरात्म्य तथा धर्मनैरात्म्य को प्राप्त करते हैं। इन अनात्मभावों का ज्ञान ही शून्यता है। शून्यता का ज्ञान ही प्रज्ञा कहलाती है। प्रज्ञा के बल से अशेष सत्त्वों के क्लेशों के शमन के लिए करुणा उत्पन्न होती है। इस प्रकार बोधिचित्त से समन्वागत बोधिसत्व पारमिताओं की पूर्ति कर दस भूमियों में सुखपूर्वक विहार करता है। दस भूमियों का अतिक्रमण करके बोधिसत्व धर्म काय को प्राप्त करते हैं। यह धर्मकाय बुद्धकाय के नाम से भी जाना जाता है।

इस प्रकार अत्यन्त संक्षेप में बुद्ध के भिन्न-भिन्न कार्यों का वर्णन किया गया। इससे प्रतिभासित होता है कि श्रावकयान और महायान में सत्त्वों के शरीरधातु एवं निर्वाणधातु का स्वरूप कुछ अंशों को छोड़कर एक समान ही है। दोनों ही यानों में तीन कार्यों की व्यवस्था प्रमुखरूप से दिखायी देती है। साथ ही महायान के कुछ अन्य वादों में यत्र-तत्र चार तथा पाँच कार्यों के भी वर्णन मिलते हैं जिनका अन्तर्भाव तीन कार्यों में करके आचार्य असंग ने इस विषय में रूचि रखने वालों के लिए सरलीकरण को उपस्थापित कर बहुत बड़ा उपकार किया है, इसमें लेशमात्र भी संशय नहीं है।

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पालि साहित्य में वर्णित भगवान बुद्ध का आर्थिक चिंतन

डॉ० प्रीति कुमारी दूबे

प्रोफेसर, पालि एवं बौद्ध अध्ययन विभाग, कला संकाय

काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी-221005

सम्यक् सम्बोधि की प्राप्ति के अनन्तर भगवान बुद्ध ने पैतालीस वर्षों तक जम्बूद्वीप के ग्राम, निगम, जनपदों में 'बहुजनहिताय बहुजनसुखाय' के पावन उद्घोष से चारिका करते रहे। इस अवधि में जहाँ-जहाँ जिन-जिन जीवन-धन्य-पुरुषों को लक्ष्य कर तथागत की वाणी निःसृत हुई, आज हमें 'बुद्धवचन' के रूप में प्राप्त है, जैसा कि अट्टसालिनी में कहा गया है- 'पंचचत्तालीसवस्सानि पुप्फदामं गन्थेन्तेन विय, रतनावलिं आवुनन्तेन विय च कथितो अमतप्पकासनो सद्धम्मो मज्झिम बुद्धवचनं नाम।'

भगवान बुद्ध के उपदेश या बुद्धवचन मुख्यतः संगीतियों के माध्यम से 'पालि साहित्य' के रूप में संकलित है जिसमें मूलतः सुत्तपिटक, विनयपिटक तथा अभिधम्मपिटक शामिल है। प्रस्तुत लेख का मुख्य उद्देश्य 'पालि साहित्य' के आधार पर भगवान बुद्ध के 'आर्थिक दर्शन' को प्रस्तुत करना है। दरअसल तथागत के आर्थिक चिंतन का आधार 'सम्यक् आजीव' है। 'सम्यक् आजीव' आर्य अष्टांगिक मार्ग का पाँचवाँ अंग है जिसे शील के अन्तर्गत समाहित किया जाता है।

भगवान बुद्ध ने 'सम्यक् आजीव' पर गम्भीर चिन्तन किया। पालि साहित्य में 'सम्यक् आजीव' दो रूपों में दिखाई देता है-

क. मिच्छा-आजीव से विरत रहना ही सम्यक् आजीव है। अब मिच्छा-आजीव क्या है? मिथ्या जीविका के कई रूपों की चर्चा दीघनिकाय के सीलकखन्ध वग्ग के 'महासील' खण्ड में मिलती है। यहाँ तथागत सैकड़ों व्यवसायों को मिथ्या कहा है जिनमें से कुछ मिथ्या आजीविका का नाम इस प्रकार है-

1. अङ्गविद्या, लक्षणविद्या, क्षेत्रविद्या, कणहोम आदि मिथ्याजीविका है।
2. मणिरत्नों की जाँच, गाय, बैल, बकरी, मृग, स्त्री-पुरुष आदि का लक्षण बताना भी मिच्छाजीविका है।
3. राजा के जीत या हार की भविष्यवाणी करना, चन्द्रग्रहण, सूर्यग्रहण, नक्षत्रों की चाल बताना तथा उसकी गणना करना आदि कृत्यों को भी भगवान बुद्ध ने मिथ्या आजीविका कहा है।
4. अकाल की भविष्यवाणी, वस्तुओं के क्रय-विक्रय का अनुमान, हस्तरेखा,

कवितावाचन से जीविका चलाना इत्यादि क्रिया-कलाप भी मिथ्याजीविका का ही पर्याय है।

5. आवाह-विवाह या तलाक का मुहूर्त बताना, उधार-ऋण की वापसी का उपाय बताना, गर्भ में पुत्र-पुत्री को बताना, आत्मा को बुलाना, देवता बुलाना, सूर्यपूजा करना, उन्नति हेतु मंत्र का अभ्यास करवाना आदि को तथागत ने मिथ्या आजीविका कहा है।
- ख. पुनः तथागत ने कहा कि सम्यक् वचन तथा सम्यक् कर्म से युक्त होकर आजीविका का निर्वहन करना ही 'सम्यक् आजीव' है। तात्पर्य यह है कि 'आजीविका' मिथ्या वचन के द्वारा सम्पादित न हो। यहाँ मिथ्या वचन में चार प्रकार के वचन शामिल हैं- मुसावाद (झूठ बोलना), पिसुणावाचा (चुगली करना) फरुसावाचा (कठोर वचन बोलना) तथा सम्फप्पलाप (व्यर्थ बोलना)। तथागत का निर्देश है कि मिथ्या वचन से धन-संग्रहण न किया जाए।

पुनः भगवान बुद्ध मिथ्या कर्मों के द्वारा भी अर्थ संग्रहण को उचित नहीं मानते थे। यहाँ मिथ्या कर्मों में तीन प्रकार के कर्म शामिल हैं- पाणातिपात (हिंसा करना), अदिन्नादान (चोरी करना) तथा अब्रह्मचरिय (व्यभिचार करना)। तथागत ने ऐसी आजीविका का समर्थन किया है जो सभी जीवों के हितों को ध्यान में रखकर प्राप्त की गई हो- सब्बपाणभूतहितानुकम्पी¹। इस प्रकार भगवान बुद्ध अर्थ-संग्रहण के समावेशी रूप का समर्थन करते हैं।

अंगुत्तर निकाय में भगवान बुद्ध ने उपासकों को निर्देश दिया कि वे पाँच प्रकार के व्यापारों से विरत रहें क्योंकि उसमें हिंसा की संभावना है। इस प्रकार तथागत अहिंसा युक्त व्यापार के समर्थक है। पाँच व्यापार इस प्रकार हैं जिसे भगवान बुद्ध ने रोका है-² शस्त्रों का व्यापार (सत्थ वणिज्जा), जानवरों का व्यापार (सत्त-वणिज्जा), मांस का व्यापार (मंस-वणिज्जा), मद्य का व्यापार (मज्ज-वणिज्जा) तथा विष का व्यापार (विस-वणिज्जा)।

अतः पालि साहित्य में जीविकोपार्जन के साधनों में सर्वत्र निर्दोष ढंग को ही श्रेष्ठ बताया गया है। धम्मपद में कहा गया है कि जिस प्रकार भ्रमर विभिन्न पुष्पों पर जाकर उनसे रस लेकर अपनी आजीविका चलाता है उसी प्रकार भिक्षु गाँव में विचरण करते हुए बिना किसी पर भार बने जीविकोपार्जन करें-

**यथापि भमरो पुप्फं, वण्णगन्धं अहेठयं।
पलेति रसमादाय, एवं गामे मुनी चरो।³**

¹ब्रह्मजाल सुत्त, दीघनिकाय.

²विभज्यवाद, पृ. 113.

³धम्मपद, गाथा संख्या-49.

पुनः भगवान् बुद्ध आजीविका का मूल लक्ष्य- 'भूख शांत' करना बताया है क्योंकि भूख ही सबसे बड़ा रोग है। धम्मपद में कहा भी गया है- जिघच्छा परमा रोगा⁴ इस रोग को दूर करने का एकमात्र औषधि है- खाद्यान्न (भोजन) की उपलब्धता। इसी कारण तथागत ने संयुक्त निकाय में खाद्यान्न को सबसे बड़ा धन बताया है- नत्थिधान्य समं धनं। पुनः खुदकनिकाय के प्रथम ग्रन्थ खुदकपाठ में सर्वप्रथम यहीं प्रश्न उठाया है कि मनुष्य के लिए सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण व आवश्यक वस्तु क्या है? स्वयं उत्तर देते हुए तथागत ने कहा भी कि सभी प्राणी के लिए भोजन एक आवश्यक वस्तु है- सब्बे सत्ता आहरद्वितिका।

तथागत के खाद्यान्न को प्राप्त करने के लिए कृषि कार्य पर बल दिया। सुत्तनिपात के कसिभारद्वाजसुत्त⁵ में भगवान् बुद्ध ने स्वयं की साधना-पद्धति का कृषि के क्रियाकलापों से तुलना करते हुए अपने को कुशल तथा दक्ष कृषक बताते हैं- “अहं पि खो, ब्राह्मण! कसामि च वपामि च, कसित्वा च वपित्वा च भुंजामि” ति” अर्थात् ब्राह्मण! मैं भी जोतता और बोता हूँ और जोत-बोकर खाता हूँ। इस सुत्त में कृषि के आवश्यक उपकरणों (जैसे- बीज, जुआठ, हल, फाल व छेकुली, निराई, कटाई, बैल आदि) की चर्चा करते हुए कृषि-कार्य को महत्व प्रदान किया है जो इस प्रकार है-

“सद्धा बीजं तपो वुट्ठि, पज्जा मे युगनङ्गलं।
हिरि ईसा मनो योत्तं, सति मे फालपाचनं।।
कायगुत्तो वचीगुत्तो, आहारे उदरे यतो।
सच्चं करोमि निदानं सोरच्चं मे पमोचनं।।
विरियं मे धुरधोरहं, योगक्खेमाधिवाहनं।
गच्छति अनिवत्तन्तं, यत्थ गन्त्वा न सोचति।।
एवमेसा कसी कट्ठा, सा होति अमतप्फला।
एतं कसिं कसित्वान, सब्बदुक्खा पमुच्चती” ति”।।

अर्थात् 'श्रद्धा मेरा बीज है, तप वृष्टि है, प्रज्ञा मेरी जुआठ और हल है। लज्जा हरीष (हल का दण्ड) है, मन नधना है, स्मृति मेरा फाल और छेकुनी है। शरीर से संयत हूँ। वचन से संयत हूँ। भोजन और पेट के प्रति संयत हूँ। मैं सत्य की निराई करता हूँ। अहंत्व की प्राप्ति ही मेरा फसल काटना है। मेरा वीर्य बैल है और निर्वाण की गाड़ी है। वह बिना रूके चलती है और वहाँ चली जा रही है जहाँ जाकर शोक नहीं करना होता है। इस प्रकार की गयी कृषि अमृतफलदायी होती है। इस कृषि को करके मनुष्य सारे दुःखों से मुक्त हो जाता है।'

पुनः संयुक्त निकाय के यज्ञ सुत्त तथा दीघनिकाय के कूटदंत सुत्त में भगवान् बुद्ध ने पशुओं की हिंसा वाले यज्ञों का विरोध किया ताकि पशु बच सकें और जब पशु बचेंगे तो बेहतर कृषि

⁴धम्मपद, गाथा संख्या-203.

⁵सुत्तनिपात, पृ. 18-20.

होगी और जब अच्छी कृषि होगी तो लोगों को पर्याप्त भोजन मिलेगा और लोग सुखी जीवन व्यतीत करेंगे। कूटदंत सुत्त में भगवान बुद्ध ने कहा है कि प्रत्येक देश (राज्य) की जिम्मेदारी है कि वह अपने नागरिकों को कृषि हेतु बीज उपलब्ध कराये तथा गो रक्षा हेतु प्रयास करें। इससे देश का आर्थिक विकास होता है और शांति बनी रहती है- “जनपदे उस्सहिंसु कसिगोरक्खे, तेसं राजा, महाविजितो बीजभत्तं अनुप्पदासि”⁶

भगवान बुद्ध के ‘आर्थिक चिंतन’ में कृषि कार्य के साथ-साथ उद्यमिता व शिल्प कला को भी पर्याप्त महत्व दिया गया है। भगवान बुद्ध ने सुत्तनिपात में स्पष्ट कहा है कि शिल्प सीखना मंगलकारी होता है-⁷

**‘बाहुसच्चं च सिप्पं च, विनयो च सुसिक्खितो
सुभासिता च या वाचा, एतं मङ्गलमुत्तमां॥’**

अर्थात्- “बहुश्रुत होना, शिल्प सीखना, शिष्ट होना, सुशिक्षित होना और सुभाषण करना- यह उत्तम मङ्गल है।”

पुनः कूटदंत सुत्त में तथागत ने कहा है कि प्रत्येक देश का यह कर्तव्य है जो नागरिक व्यापार के इच्छुक हों उन्हें व्यापार के लिए पूँजी दें- **भूपालो जनपदे उस्सहिंसु वाणिज्जाय, तेसं पाभत्तं अनुप्पदासि।** पुनः प्रत्येक देश का यह भी दायित्व है कि जो लोग नौकरी के इच्छुक हों, उन्हें उनकी योग्यता के अनुसार नौकरी दें⁸ यदि ऐसा होता है तो उस देश या समाज को अनेक लाभ प्राप्त होते हैं, जो इस प्रकार हैं-⁹

- इससे लोग कोई ऐसा कार्य नहीं करेंगे जिससे जनता को कोई हानि या कष्ट हो।
- जब सबको नौकरी मिलेगी तथा व्यापार में उन्नति होगी तो इससे कर या धन (टैक्स) इकट्ठा होगा जिससे देश का आर्थिक विकास होगा- भूपालो रासिको अहोसि।
- लोगों को जब लाभ होगा तो राज्य में शांति व कानून व्यवस्था कायम होगी- जनपदा अकण्टका अनुप्पीला।
- मनुष्य अपने घरों में निर्भय होकर जीवन व्यतीत करेंगे- मनुस्सा मुदा मोदमाना विहरिंसु।

भगवान बुद्ध के आर्थिक चिंतन में एक बात जो सर्वत्र मिलती है वह है- सुपात्र को दान देना। दरअसल दान देने से निर्धनता तो कम होती ही है, धन का समान-वितरण भी होता है। कूटदंत

⁶दीघनिकाय, पृ. 146.

⁷सुत्तनिपात, पृ. 67.

⁸दीघनिकाय (भाग-1), पृ. 146.

⁹दीघनिकाय (भाग-1), पृ. 146.

सुत्त में 'दान यज्ञ' के महत्व की चर्चा की गई है।¹⁰ पुनः दान यज्ञ से भी ज्यादा महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य 'विहार निर्माण' को बताया गया है।¹¹ इस प्रकार विहार निर्माण को महा दान बताया गया है। चक्रवर्त्तिसीहनाद सुत्त में भी कहा गया है कि राजा को निर्धनों को धन देना चाहिए ताकि निर्धनता कम हो और लोग सुखी पूर्वक जीवन व्यतीत कर सकें। संयुक्त निकाय के 'आदित्त सुत्त'¹² में भी दान देने की बात की गई क्योंकि दान देने वाला व्यक्ति समाज में प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त करता है तथा मृत्यु के बाद स्वर्ग का अधिकारी बनता है-

दिन्नं सुखफलं होति, नादिन्नं होति तं तथा।
चोरा हरन्ति राजानो, अग्निं डहति नस्सति॥
अथ अन्तेन जहति, सरीरं सपरिग्गहं।
एतदजाय मेधावी, भुज्जेथ चा।
दत्त्वा च भुत्त्वाच यथानुभावं।
अनिन्दितो सग्गमुपेति ठानं।

अर्थात् दान देना अच्छा होता है। दान न देने वालों के धन का हरण चोर तथा राजा कर लेते हैं या फिर उस धन को अग्नि जलाकर नष्ट कर देती है और अन्त में दान न देने वाला व्यक्ति अपना शरीर भी छोड़ देता है। अतः इस तथ्य के जानकार मेधावी व्यक्ति को भोग्य वस्तुओं का दान करना चाहिए और उसका भोग करना चाहिए। यथानुभाव भोग करने वाला और दान देने वाला व्यक्ति समाज में प्रतिष्ठित होकर अंततः स्वर्ग को प्राप्त करता है। पुनः सुत्तनिपात के पराभव सुत्त में भी कहा गया है कि जो व्यक्ति सम्पन्न होते हुए भी अकेले स्वादिष्ट भोजन ग्रहण करता है तो यह उसके पराभव (अवनति) का कारण हैं। अतः निर्धनता कम करने के लिए सक्षम लोग सुपात्र को दान अवश्य दें।

भगवान बुद्ध ने सिगालोवाद सुत्त में उन कारणों की चर्चा की है जिससे सम्पत्ति का नाश होता है जैसे- शराब आदि का सेवन करना, चैराहे पर सैर करना, जुआ खेलना, नाच-तमाशा में समय व्यतीत करना, आलस्य में फँसना (पमादो मच्चुनो पदं) तथा बुरे मित्र की संगति करना। पुनः तथागत ने यह भी बताया है कि व्यवसाय में इन चार प्रकार के लोगों से दूर रहना आवश्यक है जो परधनहारक, बातुनी, सदा मीठा बोलने वाला तथा हानिकर बात में सहायक हो। सिगालोवाद सुत्त में ही तथागत ने 'धन-प्रबंधन' का एक नियम भी बताते हैं।¹³

चतुधाविभजे भोगे, स वे मित्तानि गन्थति।
एकेन भोगे भुंजेय्य द्वीहि कम्मं पयोजये।।
चतुत्थं च निधापेय्य आपदासु भविस्सति॥

¹⁰दीघनिकाय (भाग-1), पृ. 155.

¹¹दीघनिकाय (भाग-1), पृ. 156.

¹²आदित्त सुत्त, संयुक्तनिकाय (भाग-1), पृ. 30.

¹³सिगालोवाद सुत्त, दीघनिकाय-(भाग-3), पृ. 145.

अर्थात्- 'धन (भोग) का विभाजन चार भागों में करें। कमाई के एक हिस्से को स्वयं भोगें, दो भागों को अपने व्यवसाय में लगायें तथा चौथे भाग को आपातकाल में काम आने के लिए छोड़ दें।'

निष्कर्ष:

उपरोक्त विवरण तथा विश्लेषण से स्पष्ट है कि तथागत के आर्थिक चिंतन में 'सम्यक् आजीविका' का विशेष महत्व है और इसके लिए वे मिथ्या आजीविका का निषेध करते हुए सम्यक् वचन व शुद्ध मन से आजीविका प्राप्त करने पर जोर देते हैं। पालि साहित्य में कृषि कार्य के साथ-साथ उद्यमशीलता, व्यवसाय व शिल्पकला को भी पर्याप्त महत्व दिया गया है। बुद्ध का यह भी मानना था कि दान हमेशा सुपात्र को ही दें। वे 'धन प्रबंधन' को भी आवश्यक मानते हैं। इस प्रकार बुद्ध के 'आर्थिक चिंतन' में व्यावहारिकता, निरंतरता तथा समावेशन तीनों लक्षण विद्यमान हैं जो आज भी प्रासंगिक जान पड़ते हैं।

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पालि साहित्य एवं पर्यावरण

प्रो० हर प्रसाद दीक्षित

अध्यक्ष, पालि एवं थेरवाद विभाग, सम्पूर्णानन्द संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी-२

भारतीय धर्मशास्त्रों में मान्यता है कि इस सृष्टि का निर्माण प्रकृति देवी से ही हुआ, इसी से ही संसार का पालन-पोषण होता है तथा प्राणियों का विस्तार, विकास एवं विनाश का परिणाम भी इसी प्रकृति से ही जुड़ा है, इसे महाशक्ति की भी संज्ञा दी गयी है भारतीय संस्कृति में प्रकृति को कभी भी जड़ नहीं माना गया, आदिकाल से ही वह प्राणियों द्वारा पूजित होती रही है। तथा आज भी धर्मप्राण मानव इस महाशक्ति की स्तुति, पूजा एवं प्रार्थना करते हैं। यह प्रकृति ही जीव के अन्दर विद्यमान चेतनाशक्ति को विकसित करने में समर्थ है।

मनुष्य या किसी भी प्राणी का निर्माण पाँच तत्त्वों द्वारा होता है, पृथ्वी, जल, अग्नि, वायु तथा आकाश। उसका जीवन प्रकृति पर ही आधारित है, प्रस्तुत लेख “पालि साहित्य एवं पर्यावरण” में पर्यावरण एवं प्रकृति संरक्षण पर भगवान बुद्ध के दृष्टिकोण, भिक्षुओं का प्रकृति-प्रेम, पर्यावरण की रक्षा से विकास एवं पर्यावरण प्रदूषण से विनाश आदि बिन्दुओं पर विचार किया जा रहा है।

वैसे तो तथागत प्रवेदित पञ्चशीलों, यथा अहिंसा, अचौर्य, ब्रह्मचर्य, सत्यभाषण एवं मद्यपान से विरति आदि सिद्धान्तों का सम्यक् रूप से पालन करने वाला मानव कभी प्रकृति के नुकसान, दोहन एवं उसके विनाश की परिकल्पना नहीं कर सकता, बुद्धशासन में प्रव्रजित होने वाला भिक्षु या उपासक का सम्पूर्ण मानवता के अभ्युदय एवं निःश्रेयस की कामना ही जीवन का प्रमुख लक्ष्य होता है। भगवान बुद्ध द्वारा आविष्कृत एवं देशित आर्यसत्य, अष्टाङ्गिक मार्ग, ब्रह्मविहार, प्रतीत्य समुत्पाद एवं कर्मफल का सिद्धान्त आदि के सम्बन्ध में जो उन्होंने देशना प्रदान कर मानव समाज पर कृपा की है उसी सत्परिणाम से ही आज तक मानव प्राणिहिंसा, चोरी आदि बुरे कर्मों में भय देखता रहा है। जिस प्रकार सम्पूर्ण जगत दुःखमय है, उसके मूल में तृष्णा है, उसी प्रकार सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि प्रकृतिमय है, उसके संकट का मूल कारण भोगविलास जन्य संस्कृति ही है और वर्तमान में तृष्णाजन्य पाप ही सम्पूर्ण मानवता को विनाश के कगार पर खड़ा कर दिया है, प्राणी जगत का अस्तित्व ही खतरे में डाल दिया है, आज कामोपभोगजन्य तृष्णा के समूल उच्छेदन की आवश्यकता है, अष्टाङ्गमार्ग के सभी अंग जीवन को सुखमय, शान्तिमय एवं सत्कर्ममय बनाने में तथा ऐहिक एवं पारलौकिक दुःख के निवारण करने में समर्थ है हिंसा का मानवता में कोई स्थान नहीं है।

न तेन अरियो होत्ति, येन पाणानि हिंसति।
अहिंसा सब्बपाणानं, अरियो ति पवुच्चति।¹

¹धम्मपद, गाथा-270।

“पर्यावरण” दो शब्दों से मिलकर बना है, परि + आवरण, ‘परि’ अर्थात् चारों ओर एवं ‘आवरण’ का अर्थ है घेरना, इस प्रकार जो चारों ओर से घेरे हो, घिरा हो। पृथ्वी, वायु, अग्नि, जल, आकाश एवं वनस्पति आदि जो कुछ भी वातावरण में विद्यमान है, जिनसे मानव प्रत्यक्ष अथवा अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से प्रभावित है, वही ‘पर्यावरण’ है, पर्यावरण ही जीवन है, इसके बिना जीवन की कल्पना नहीं की जा सकती।

सम्यक् सम्बुद्ध के जीवन की महत्त्वपूर्ण घटनायें प्रकृति की गोद से ही जुड़ी हैं। उनके जन्म से लेकर महा परिनिर्वाण तक का तादात्म्य सम्बन्ध वृषों से रहा। महामाया देवी जब पितृगृह जा रही थी तो कपिलवस्तु एवं देवदह के बीच ‘लुम्बिनी’ नामक शालवन में एक शालवृक्ष के नीचे उनका जन्म हुआ, वटवृक्ष के नीचे उन्होंने ‘सुजाता’ की खीर ग्रहण की, तदनन्तर ‘अश्वत्थ वृक्ष’ की छाया में बुद्धत्व प्राप्त हुआ, ज्ञान प्राप्ति के अनन्तर क्रमशः अश्वत्थ, अजपाल² एवं राजायतन वृक्षों के नीचे ही विमुक्तिसुख का आनन्द लेते हुए चार सप्ताह व्यतीत किये तथा शालवृक्ष के नीचे ही महापरिनिर्वाण हुआ।

बुद्ध के पूर्ववर्ती बुद्धों की परम्परा में जो चौबीस बुद्ध हुए, उन्हें भी अश्वत्थ, शाल, वट, पुण्डरीक, शिरीष, उदुम्बर नाग एवं कदम्ब आदि किसी न किसी वृक्ष के नीचे ही ज्ञान प्राप्त हुआ।³ जातक कथाओं से ज्ञात होता है कि बोधिसत्व ने जो पाँच सौ पचास बार विभिन्न योनियों में जन्म लिया, उनमें 43 बार वे वृक्ष देवता के रूप में ही प्रकट हुए। वृक्षपूजा का माहात्म्य बुद्ध से पूर्व भी था, जो सम्पूर्ण भारतीय वाङ्मय में वनस्पति जगत का संरक्षण, पर्यावरण के संरक्षण एवं प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्य के चित्रण के रूप में उपलब्ध होता है वृक्ष देवता की पूजा एवं उपासना आदि से भी संकेत मिलता है कि वृक्ष में निवास करने वाले भूत-प्रेत, यक्ष, देव अर्थात् कोई दैवीय शक्ति किसी प्रकार की हानि न पहुँचाये तथा सुखमय जीवन बनाने के लिए प्रसन्न हो जायें।

पालि साहित्य में स्थान-स्थान पर वन, अरण्य, उपवन, अटवि, पवन आदि की चर्चा की गयी है। बौद्ध भिक्षुओं का सम्पूर्ण जीवन वनों, वृक्षों के समीप ही बीता था क्योंकि ध्यान भावना के लिए शान्त, एकान्त, निर्जन एवं हरा-भरा प्राकृतिक वातावरण ही उपयुक्त रहता है वनों के साथ नदी, पर्वत, गुहा एवं कन्दरायें आदि भी साधक के लिए उपयुक्त स्थान माने जाते हैं, ऐसे प्राकृतिक एवं रमणीय वातावरण से सम्पन्न स्थल का महत्व एक तपस्वी ही जान सकता है। एक बार भारद्वाज ब्राह्मण उस वनखण्ड में गये, जहाँ बुद्ध साधनारत थे। उसने देखा कि इस घोर भयानक, शून्य एवं निर्जन अरण्य में, जहाँ न गीत है, न वाद्य है, फिर भी वे प्रसन्नमन एकान्त अरण्य में बैठे हुए हैं।

**गम्भीररूपे बहुभेरवे वने, सुञ्जं अरञ्जं विजंनं विगाहिया।
अनिञ्जमानेन ठितेन वग्गुना, सुचारुरूपं वत भिक्खु ज्ञायसि।⁴**

²महावग्ग, पृ० 5-7।

³जातक प्रथम भाग, आनन्द कौशल्यायन हि०अ०।

⁴सं०नि० प्रथम भाग, पृ० 29।

वनों के महत्व से सभी परिचित है, वनों के रहने से ही जल, जीव, अन्न एवं अन्न से ही जीवन का अस्तित्व है। ये प्रकृति के अमूल्य धरोहर हैं, तथा प्राकृतिक संसाधन के महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत हैं। आज जिस तरह वनों का विनाश हो रहा है, वह प्रकृति की विकृति का बहुत बड़ा कारण है, वृक्षों की कटाई से मानव अनेक प्रकार की समस्याओं से जूझ रहा है, भूगर्भ का जल स्तर घट रहा है, आक्सीजन में कमी हो रही है, अनावृष्टि एवं अतिवृष्टि से कृषि एवं वातावरण प्रभावित हो रहा है, ध्वनि प्रदूषण भी बढ़ रहा है। जिस नगर, शहर में वृक्ष अधिकाधिक पाये जायेंगे, वहाँ ध्वनि प्रदूषण का स्तर कम रहेगा। भगवान बुद्ध ने अपने धर्मप्रचार के समय अनेक आरामों, विहारों, उद्यानों, वनों, पर्वत एवं नदी के तट पर वर्षावास करते हुए तथा वहीं वासस्थल बनाकर प्रकृति के संरक्षण एवं उसके महत्व को बढ़ावा दिया। उन्होंने भिक्षुओं को प्रव्रज्या देते समय जीवन-निर्वाह के चार निश्रय (साधन) आलम्बन निर्दिष्ट किये थे, उसमें से दो साधन शयनासन एवं भैषज्य पूर्णरूपेण प्रकृति से ही जुड़े थे— “रुक्खमूलसेनासनं निस्साय पब्बज्जा”⁵ “पूतिमुत्तिभेसज्जं निस्साय पब्बज्जा”⁶। प्रव्रज्या के बाद भिक्षु के शयनासन के लिए वृक्षों के नीचे वास करना ही उसके शरीर सुख के विषय में आलम्बन होता है तथा औषधि के रूप में प्रमुख रूप से गोमूत्र की औषधि से जीवनपर्यन्त काम चलाना होता है।

‘वनरोप सुत्त’ में पर्यावरण के महत्व पर कहा गया है कि उद्यानों, वनों में वृक्ष लगाने वाले, नदियों पर पुल बनवाने वाले, जल पिलाने की व्यवस्था करने वाले एवं कुआँ खोदवाने वाले व्यक्ति पुण्य के भागी होते हैं, तथा ऐसे व्यक्ति शील सम्पन्न एवं धर्ममार्गारूढ़ होकर स्वर्ग को प्राप्त करते हैं।

**आरामरोपा वनरोपा, ये जना सेतुकारका।
पपं च उदपानं च, ये ददन्ति उपस्सयं॥
तेसं दिवा च रत्तो च, सदा पुञ्जं पवड्ढति।
धम्मट्ठा सीलसम्पन्ना, ते जना सग्गामिनो॥⁷**

वुट्टिसुत्त⁸ में बीज को श्रेष्ठ एवं वृष्टि को सर्वोत्तम माना गया है। कृषि कर्म के महत्व पर पालि साहित्य में अनेक प्रसंग उपलब्ध होते हैं। ‘कसिभारद्वाज’ ब्राह्मण के यहाँ भगवान बुद्ध जब भिक्षाटन के लिए जाते हैं, तो वह कहता है कि हे श्रमण! मैं जोतता हूँ, बोता हूँ, तथा जोताई, बोआई करके खाता हूँ। आप अपने को कृषक कहते हैं किन्तु आपकी कृषि को मैं नहीं देखता हूँ ‘कसामि वपामि कसित्वा च वपित्वा च भुञ्जामि’⁹ तब बुद्ध कहते हैं कि श्रद्धा, तप, लज्जा एवं स्मृति आदि ही मेरा बीज, वृष्टि, युग, नङ्गल, दण्ड, जोत हैं। मैं वचन एवं आहार के विषय में संयत हूँ, सत्य से निराई करता हूँ, निर्वाण की प्राप्ति मेरा फसल काटना है —

⁵महावग्ग, विनयपिटक, पृ० 83-84।

⁶वही, विनयपिटक, पृ० 85।

⁷सं०नि०, पृ० 381।

⁸सं०नि० प्रथम, पृ० 10।

⁹सु०नि०, कसि०भा०सु०, पृ० 14।

सद्धा बीजं तपो बुद्धि, पञ्चा मे युगनङ्गलां।
हिरि ईसा मनो योत्तं, सति मे फालपाचनां।
कायगुत्तो वची गुत्तो, आहारे उदरे यतो।
सच्चं करोमि निदानं, सोरच्चं मे पमोचनां।

अङ्गुत्तर निकाय में कृषक के तीन शीघ्र करणीय कृत्य बतलाये गये हैं, यथा “इध, भिक्खवे, कस्सको गहपति अच्चाचिकानि करणीयानि, कतमानि तीणि सीघं सीघं खेत्त सुकट्टं करोति सुमतिकत्तं.....खेत्तं सुकट्टं करित्वा.....बीजानि पतिट्ठापेति.....सीघं उदकं अभिनेति पि अपनेति पि।”¹⁰ कृषक शीघ्रता से जोतता है, ठीक से जोतकर उसमें बीज बोता है, तदनन्तर उसको जल से सींचता है, अधिक होने पर निकाल देता है।

इसी प्रकार अन्न का दान देने वाला बल, शक्ति, सामर्थ्य देता है, वस्त्र का दान देने वाला वर्ण प्रदान करता है।

“अन्नदो बलदो होति, वत्थदो होति वण्णदो।”¹¹

वर्षा ऋतु के समय प्राकृतिक, रमणीय वातावरण में निवास कर रहे ‘धनिय गोप’ गार्हस्थ जीवन से प्रसन्न होकर मेघदेव से याचना करता है कि मैं मही नदी के तीर पर। स्वजनों के साथ वास कर रहा हूँ, मैंने कुटी छा ली है, आग सुलगा ली है, हे मेघदेव! चाहो तो खूब बरसो। मकखी और मच्छर यहाँ नहीं हैं, कछार में उगी घास को गौवें चरती हैं, पानी पड़े तो उसे वे सह लें। अब हे देव! चाहो तो खूब बरसो। यहाँ पर वर्षाकाल में नदी के तट पर निवास कर रहे इस संतुष्ट ग्वाले का प्राकृतिक प्रेम अद्वितीय है।

“छन्ना कुटि आहितो गिनि, अथ चे पत्थयसी पवस्स देव।”¹²

“अंधक मकसा न विज्जरे, कच्छे रुल्हतिणे चरन्ति गावो।

वुट्ठि पि सहेय्युं आगतं, अथ चे पत्थयसी पवस्स देव।”¹³

“भयभेरव सुत्त में बुद्ध अरण्यवास की महत्ता के बारे में बतलाते हुए कहते हैं कि मैं दो कारणों से अरण्य वनखण्ड में रहता हूँ—

1. इसी जन्म में अपने सुखविहार के खयाल से।
2. बाद में आने वाली जनता पर अनुकम्पा के लिए, जिससे वे भी त्यागवृत्ति सेवन कर मेरा अनुगमन कर सुफल की भागी हो।¹⁴

¹⁰अं०नि० तृतीय, पृ० 315 (लवणकपालसुत्त)।

¹¹सं०नि० १ पृ० 36।

¹²सु०नि०, धनिय सुत्त, पृ० 4।

¹³वही, धनिय सुत्त, पृ० 4।

¹⁴अत्तनो च दिट्ठधम्मसुखविहारं सम्पस्समानो, पच्छिमं च जन अनुकम्पमानो.....। म०नि० प्रथम, पृ० 49।

मज्झिमनिकाय के 'महासारोपम सुत्त' में 'देवदत्त' के प्रसंग में बुद्ध ने सार के विशाल वृक्ष की उपमा को बड़े युक्तिपूर्ण ढंग से भिक्षुओं को देशित करते हुए कहा है कि यह लौकिक लाभ-सत्कार शाखा, पलाश, छाल के समान है, जैसे कोई (दृढ़काष्ठ) चाहने वाला, सार की खोज में निकला पुरुष किसी सारमय विशाल वृक्ष के पास जाकर 'सार' की उपेक्षा कर उसकी शाखा, पत्र, कोपल को सामान्य समझकर तोड़ लावे, अथवा कोई छाल या पर्पटिका ही ले आवे, उसी प्रकार आलसी भिक्षु प्रव्रजित हो, प्रमादी होकर धर्म के सार को न समझते हुए धर्मविज्ञान का शाखा-पलाश-छाल के ग्रहण तुल्य आचरण कर उसी में पूर्णता मानता है ऐसा भिक्षु दुःखार्णव में डूब जाता है।¹⁵

सूत्रों में वन, आराम, विहार, उद्यान, बगीचों आदि के दान देने का विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है- मगधराज बिम्बिसार' ने बुद्ध एवं भिक्षु को 'वेणुवन'¹⁶ का दान दिया था, श्रावस्ती के श्रेष्ठि 'अनाथपिण्डिक' ने विशाल एवं साधन-सम्पन्न सुन्दर 'जेतवन'¹⁷ का दान दिया था, वैशाली की 'अम्बपालि'¹⁸ गणिका ने सुन्दर 'आम्रवन' का दान तथा श्रावस्ती की मृगारमाता ने पूर्वाराम' विहार का दान दिया था। 'बुद्ध' ने 'विहार दान' को 'श्रेष्ठ दान' की संज्ञा दी है, राजगृह के जीवक कौमारभृत्य¹⁹ का आम्रवन, मद्रकुक्षि मृगदाव²⁰ एवं लट्टिवन²¹ भी प्रसिद्ध हैं। इसी प्रकार अन्य वनों, आरामों का भी पिटक में सर्वत्र उल्लेख मिलता है, जहाँ पर बुद्ध गये या वास किये थे, यथा- 'इसिपतन मिगदाव', उक्कट्टा का 'सुभगवन', वाराणसी-उरूवेला मार्ग पर 'कप्पासिय वनखण्ड' गोसिंग का सालवन, राजगृह का तपोदाराम, उजु में कण्णकत्थल मिगदाय, श्रावस्ती के पास अन्धवन, पाटलिपुत्र का कुक्कुटा'राम²² कजंगल का मुखेलुवन, कौशाम्बी का घोषिताराम, नलकपान का पलाशवन, नाल का पावारिकाम्बवन, मिथिला का मखादेव आम्रवन, साकेत का अञ्जनवन, सीहवन, महावन, तपोवन, करण्डक, दण्डकारण्य एवं हिमालय के समीप का सागौनवन आदि जहाँ राजा इक्ष्वाकु²³ के चार निर्वासित पुत्रों का वास हुआ। इसी तरह अनेक पर्वतों, समुद्रों, झीलों एवं नदियों आदि का भी उल्लेख प्रासंगिक है।

राजगृह²⁴ के पास गिज्झकूट, पण्डव, वेभार, इसिगिल एवं वेपुल्ल पर्वत, गया का गयाशीर्ष पर्वत, हिमवन्त, मल्लगिरि, अहोगंग, इसिधर, उदकपब्बक नेरू, युगन्धर, चित्तकूट एवं तिकूट

¹⁵म०नि०, म०सा०सु०

¹⁶म०व०, महाखन्धक, पृ० 59 बौद्ध भारती।

¹⁷भगवान बुद्ध, बुद्ध विहार, लखनऊ।

¹⁸दीघ निकाय, द्वितीय महापरिनि० स० द० 255।

¹⁹विनयपिटक, हि०अ०, रा०स० पृ० 289।

²⁰वही, पृ० 140, 396।

²¹वही, पृ० 95।

²²वही, पृ०

²³बुद्धकालीन भूगोल, भरतसिंह उपा०, पृ० 94-95।

²⁴वही, भरतसिंह उपा०, पृ० 146।

पर्वत आदि।²⁵ **समुद्रों में-** अग्निमाल समुद्र, खुरमाल, दधिमाल एवं बलभामुख आदि। **झीलों में-** अनोतत्त कण्णमुण्डा, खेम, चक्कदह, छदन्त, सिंवली झील आदि। **नदियों में-** गंगा, यमुना, अचिरवती, सरभू, हेमवती, नेरञ्जरा, नम्मदा, कोसिकी, सीदा, मिगसम्मता, वेत्तवती, भागीरथी, नदी आदि।

वनस्पतियों एवं जीव-जन्तुओं की रक्षा के लिए बुद्ध ने अनेक नियम बनाये थे, यदि कोई भिक्षु वृक्ष, तृण आदि को काटकर वनस्पतियों को नुकसान पहुँचाये तो उसे 'पाचित्तिय' दोष लगेगा।

“भूतगाम पातव्यताय पाचित्तिय”²⁶

‘वर्षावास’ के विधान में भी वनस्पतियों के संरक्षण करने की बात प्रकारान्तर से प्रतिपादित होती है क्योंकि यदि भिक्षु वर्षाऋतु में सर्वत्र चारिका के लिए जायेगा तो मार्ग में अनेक प्रकार के जीव-जन्तुओं एवं पत्तियों, तृणों को नष्ट करेगा, जिससे जीवहिंसा के साथ वनस्पतियों पर भी संकट आयेगा। योगावचर को शील पारिशुद्धि करने के लिए जो तेरह धुताङ्गों के धारण करने की शिक्षा दी गई है, उसमें मुख्य रूप से ‘आरण्यकाङ्ग एवं ‘वृक्षमूलिकाङ्ग’ को ग्रहण करने का विधान है। भिक्षु ग्राम के शयनासन त्यागकर ‘आरण्यवास’ का सेवन करे, ऐसे ‘आरण्यवास’ में ही साधक चिन्तन एवं ध्यान में लीन रहेगा, यथा- विसुद्धिमग्ग’ में—

**पविवित्तो असंसिद्धो पन्तसेनासने रतो।
आराधयन्तो नाथस्स वनवासेन मानसं॥
एको अरञ्जे निवसं, यं सुखं लभते यति।
रसं तस्स न विन्दन्ति, अपि देवा सइन्दिका॥²⁷**

‘थेरगाथा’ में भिक्षुओं के प्रकृति- प्रेम को बड़े ही सुन्दर ढंग से व्याख्यायित किया गया है, क्योंकि भिक्षुओं का जीवन प्रकृति से गहरे रूप में सम्बद्ध था, यथा- ‘वनवत्थ’ स्थविर धर्मसाधना से आत्मसन्तुष्ट पर्वतों की सुन्दरता का वर्णन करते हुए कहते हैं कि नीलमेघ के समान वर्णवाले, सुन्दर, शीतल एवं पवित्र जल वाले ‘इन्द्रगोप’ से ढँके हुए ये पर्वत मुझे अत्यन्त रमणीय लगते हैं—

**नीलब्भवण्णा रुचिरा, सीतवारी सुचिन्धरा।
इन्द्रगोपक सञ्छन्ना, ते सेला रमयन्ति मां॥²⁸**

मयूरों के नर्तन एवं उनके सौन्दर्य का वर्णन ‘चूडक’ स्थविर के अनुसार- वे कैसे है? उनकी सुन्दर शिखा (कलङ्गी), सुन्दर नेत्र, नील ग्रीवा, सुन्दर मुख एवं वाणी वाले मयूरे हरित घासयुक्त भूमि पर मनोहर नृत्य कर रहे हैं।

²⁵वही, भरतसिंह उपा०, 25।

²⁶पातिमोक्ख सुत्त, पृ० 25, बौद्धभारती।

²⁷विसुद्धिमग्ग, धुताङ्गानिदेश भिक्षु धर्मरक्षिता

²⁸थेरगाथा, पृ० 7, बौद्धभारती।

‘नन्दति मोरा सुशिखा, सुपेरबुणा, सुनीलगीवा सुमुखा सुगज्जिनो।’

इसी प्रकार ‘रामणैय्यक स्थविर’- चिड़ियों की चहचहाहट एवं झींगुरों की सुनसुनाहट से साधना के समय मेरा मन एकाग्र होता है। ‘गोधिक’²⁹ स्थविर-वर्षा ऋतु में साधना करते हुए कहते हैं संगीतमय वर्षा हो रही है, मेरी कुटिया सभी प्रकार से छायी हुई है, हे मेघ! यथेच्छ बरसो।

इसी प्रकार ‘उदायि’ भिक्षु द्वारा- हेमन्त ऋतु समाप्त हो गया। वसन्त ऋतु आ गया, पृथ्वी हरित तृण से आच्छादित हो उठी है, वनखण्ड सुप्त हो गये हैं, मार्ग जाने योग्य हो गये हैं, ‘हे भन्ते, फल की इच्छा से अपने जीर्ण को छोड़ (किशलयों से युक्त हो) ‘वृक्ष’ अंगार वर्ण के (लाल वर्ण) हो गये हैं, वे अर्चिम (अग्निशिखा) के सदृश प्रभासित हो रहे हैं। यथा—

अंगारिनो दानि दुमा अदन्ते,
फलेसिनो छदनं विप्पहाया
ते अच्चिमन्तोव पभासयन्ति।³⁰

‘मिलिन्दप्रश्न’ के समुद्रवर्ग एवं पृथ्वी वर्ग में बीज के गुण, शाल वृक्ष को कमल के गुण एवं समुद्र के गुण बतलाये गये हैं तथा पृथ्वी, जल, तेज, वायु, सूर्य एवं चन्द्र आदि गुणों के समान भिक्षु को भी गुण सम्पन्न होने के प्रयास करने चाहिये। जिस प्रकार समुद्र मोती, मणि, वैदूर्य, शङ्ख, शिला, मूँगा, स्फटिक आदि नाना प्रकार के रत्न धारण करता है, उन्हें छिपाये रहता है, वह फैलने नहीं देता, वैसे ही योगसाधक भिक्षु को उपकारक के साथ रहना चाहिये। यथा- समुद्र में गंगा, यमुना, अचिरवती, सरयू आदि नदियों के गिरने तथा आकाश से वर्षा का पानी गिरने के बाद भी कोई परिवर्तन नहीं होता, न अपनी सीमा लाँघता है, उसी प्रकार भिक्षु को लाभ, सत्कार, प्रशंसा एवं वन्दना आदि पर भी शिक्षापदों को नहीं तोड़ना चाहिये तथा समुद्र के समान स्थिर होना चाहिए।³¹ जल, तेज, वायु, पर्वत, आकाश एवं चन्द्र में जो गुण विद्यमान है, वैसे ही योगसाधक भिक्षु को भी गुण सम्पन्न होना चाहिए। ‘महाराहुलोवाद’³² सुत्त में भी पृथ्वी, जल, तेज, वायु आदि महाभूतों के समान भाव का प्रसंग साधक भिक्षु के लिए अनुकरणीय है। ‘महावग्ग’ के ‘भैषज्यस्कन्धक’ में रोगी भिक्षु के लिए प्राकृतिक वनस्पतियों की जड़ पुत्र, पुष्प, छाल एवं फल से निर्मित औषधियों के सेवन करने का विधान बतलाया गया है।³³

इस प्रकार सम्पूर्ण पालि वाङ्मय में प्राकृतिक संसाधनों की महत्ता एवं उसकी संरक्षा के लिए स्थान-स्थान पर प्रसंग उल्लिखित हैं। हमारी प्राचीन संस्कृति आरण्यक या तपोवनी संस्कृति के रूप में जानी जाती है, किन्तु आज मानव की अन्तहीन तृष्णा प्रकृति के सभी जीवों की हत्या एवं

²⁹धेरगाथा, पृ० 19 बौद्धभारती।

³⁰अतिक्रन्तो हेमन्तो, वसन्तसमयो, अनुप्पत्तो.....निदानकथा

³¹मिलिन्दपञ्च, पृ० 427।

³²म०नि०, म०प०, पृ० 788, बौद्धभारती।

³³अनुजानानि भिक्खवे, कसावानि भेसज्जानि, निम्बकसावं, कुटज कसावं नत्तमालकसावां महावग्ग, पृ० 335, बौद्धभारती।

वनस्पतियों के नष्ट करने पर तुली है, ऋषियों, तपस्वियों एवं महापुरुषों द्वारा देशित एवं आचरित त्याग-वृत्ति को ग्रहण न करते हुए भोगवृत्ति को ही जीवन का प्रमुख लक्ष्य निर्धारित कर लिया है। प्रकृति से सामंजस्य को छोड़ उसे विनष्ट करने के लिए उद्यत है, जिसके दुष्परिणाम से, अधिक वृष्टि, अनावृष्टि, पृथ्वी के तापमान में वृद्धि, भूजलस्तर में अत्यधिक गिरावट अनेक प्रकार की बीमारियों एवं अमानवीय अपराधों से प्राणिजगत प्रकृति का अस्तित्व संकट में फँस गया है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में आज हमें कारुणिक शास्ता द्वारा दी गयी अमृतोपम देशना-अहिंसा, सत्य, अचौर्य, मैत्री, करुणा एवं दया आदि को अपने जीवन में व्यवहृत कर, आत्मसात कर, सम्पूर्ण जीवों, वनस्पतियों एवं पर्यावरण की रक्षा के लिए मिलकर प्रयास करना होगा, जिससे सम्पूर्ण प्राणियों का जीवन सुखमय एवं कल्याणमय हो सके।

“सुखिनो वा खेमिनो होन्तु, सब्बे सत्ता भवन्तु सुखितत्ता॥”³⁴

³⁴वि०म०, ब्रह्मविहार सुत्ता।

Book Review

भेसज्जमञ्जूसा-समीक्षात्मक टिप्पणियाँ

प्रो. संघसेन सिंह

पूर्व आचार्य (संस्कृत-पालि), बौद्ध अध्ययन विभाग, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय, दिल्ली

आचार्य विमलेन्द्र कुमार (आचार्य व अध्यक्ष, पालि और बौद्ध विद्या विभाग, काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय, वाराणसी) द्वारा सम्पादित 'भेसज्जमञ्जूसा' की समीक्षा का कठिन कार्य मुझे सौंपा गया है। मैं सम्पादक और प्रकाशक को धन्यवाद ज्ञापित करता हूँ कि उन्होंने मुझे इस कार्य के लिये सक्षम और उपयुक्त समझा।

नागरी लिपि में मुद्रित 'भेसज्जमञ्जूसा' में अधोलिखित अंग हैं—

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ग्रन्थ का मूलपाठ पृष्ठ 516 पर समाप्त होता है। अन्त में समापन के रूप में 'इति रसायनपद्धतिसङ्गहो सट्ठि' और 'इति भेसज्जमञ्जूसा समत्ता' अंकित हैं। इनके बाद 'निगमन-

कथा' और अतिरिक्त कोलोफोन (Colophon) (पुष्पिका) अंकित है। इसके अन्त में और अन्तिम रूप से अन्त में दो संस्कृत के स्वस्तिक-वाक्य अंकित हैं, जो यों हैं—'सिद्धिरस्तु' 'सुभमस्तु'

यहाँ पर विचारणीय बिन्दु अधोलिखित हैं—

- i. 'सट्टि' के स्थान पर 'सट्टिमो' अथवा 'सट्टो' होने चाहिये। क्योंकि यहाँ पर पूरणवाचक पद की आवश्यकता है। चूँकि यह मूलपाठ में अंकित है, अतः सम्पादक पाद-टिप्पणी देकर छुट्टी ले सकते हैं। 'सट्टिमो' रूप के लिये मिलाइये मोगल्लान व्याकरण सुत्त—'सतादीनमि च' 4.53 से।
- ii. 'निगमन-कथा' शीर्षक (Title) सम्पादक के द्वारा अनधिकृत रूप से जोड़ा गया है। 'निगमन' शब्द संस्कृत भाषा का है और अन्यत्र अन्य अर्थों में प्रयुक्त होता है। संभवतः यह शब्द पालि भाषा से बाहर का है।
- iii. सिद्धिरस्तु और सुभमस्तु और भी गंभीरता के साथ विचारणीय हैं। इन सभी पर सम्पादक की उपयुक्त टिप्पणियाँ होनी चाहिये।
- iv. ग्रन्थ (भेसज्जमञ्जूसा) की समग्र समीक्षा के क्रम में जिन बिन्दुओं पर चर्चा की जानी है, उनमें प्रथम और अन्य इस प्रकार हैं—
 1. ग्रन्थ के मुख्यपृष्ठ पर सम्पादक महोदय ने दो अनधिकृत चेष्टायें की हैं—
 - I. ग्रन्थकार का नाम विवादपूर्ण होने के कारण, उसे अंकित न करने का बहाना ढूँढ लिया।
 - II. सम्पादक शब्द को न अंकित करके ग्रन्थकार होने का भ्रम पैदा कर दिया। इसको यों रखा जा सकता था—

(तथा) कथित ग्रन्थकार अनोमदस्सी रचित

भेसज्जमञ्जूसा

लिप्यन्तरकार- सम्पादक

विमलेन्द्र कुमार

2. (क) विषयसूची के संबन्ध में अध्यायों के नामकरण में असावधानी बरती गई है। कहीं पद्धति तो कहीं पद्धतिसङ्गहो। पालि भाषा का नियम है कि नामों, पदों, शब्दों आदि का उल्लेख किये जाने पर उन्हें प्रथमा विभक्ति एक वचन में रखा जाता है। कसन, सास, अतिसार, पमेह आदि पदों को कसनं, सासो, अतिसारो, पमेहो आदि के रूप में लिखा जाना चाहिए।

(ख) सामान्य सूची आदि के साथ जुड़े कोष्ठकों में पालि शब्दों का प्रयोग न करके हिन्दी शब्दों का प्रयोग किया गया है, जबकि ग्रन्थ पालि भाषा का है यथा सामान्य सूची (पद्धति 1-22 तक)। इसे यों रखा जा सकता था (पठमाय पद्धतिया द्वाबीसतिं याव) इत्यादि।

(ग) 'सामान्य सूची' पद से कुछ भी स्पष्ट नहीं होता। क्योंकि 'सामान्य' शब्द विशेषण है। इसके साथ नाम पद अथवा संज्ञा पद की आवश्यकता है।

'अग्नि' शब्द का उल्लेख तीन बार हुआ है उनमें से एक में 'अग्नि' को पञ्च-महाभूतों से सम्बन्धित बताया गया है। सवाल उठता है कि 'पञ्चमहाभूत' किस परम्परा के अनुसार ? बौद्ध या ब्राह्मण ? बौद्धों ने तो चार ही महाभूत माने हैं। यह त्रुटि ग्रन्थकार की है अथवा सम्पादक की। स्पष्ट नहीं।

3. ग्रन्थ के प्राक्कथन, प्रस्तावना आदि के विषय में बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है कि भारत में उच्च कोटि के बौद्ध पण्डित भी 'भेसज्जमञ्जूसा' जैसे ग्रन्थ को Glaring Illustration of Applied Buddhism (एप्लाइड बुद्धिज्म का सुस्पष्ट दृष्टान्त) मानते हैं। सवाल उठता है कि जब तथागत भिक्षुओं को भेसज्ज की बातें बता रहे थे, तो क्या वे Applied Buddhism को apply (प्रयोग) कर रहे थे ? कहा जाता है कि यदि किसी का मन (चित्त) आविष्ट (obsessed) हो जाय, तो ऐसा ही होता है।

4. ग्रन्थ के कोलोफोन को ध्यान से और शब्दशः पढ़ने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि ग्रन्थ के लेखक उच्चकोटि के अभिमानी (Conceited जन्म के विषय में और लौकिक प्रतिष्ठा के विषय में) थे। प्रव्रजित होने पर भी पूरी तरह विनीत नहीं हो सके। सवाल उठता है कि उपसम्पन्न होने पर 'वण्ण' तो समाप्त हो गया फिर 'ब्राह्मणवंसावतंसेन' कैसे हुये और 'पञ्चपरिवेणमेळाधिपेन' आदि आदि कह कर अपनी श्रेष्ठता कैसे बघारने लगे?

5. ग्रन्थ तैयार करने की ग्रन्थकार की योजना बहुत स्पष्ट है। पूरे ग्रन्थ-वस्तु को साठ पद्धतियों (=परिच्छेदों) में रखा गया है। इनमें से प्रथम अठारह में आयुर्विज्ञान के मूल सिद्धान्तों को रखा गया है, जबकि शेष बयालिस में रोगों के नाम, लक्षण, उपचारविधि आदि बताये गये हैं।

इस ग्रन्थ से भारत और श्रीलंका में आयुर्विज्ञान (=आयुस्-शास्त्र=आयुर्वेद, वेद=ज्ञान) के इतिहास पर पर्याप्त प्रकाश डाला गया है। उस युग में (12वीं-13वीं सदी ईसवी में) चिकित्सा और चिकित्सा-शास्त्र की क्या स्थिति थी, यह इस ग्रन्थ से पूर्णतः स्पष्ट हो जाती है। विस्तार से पढ़ने पर ऐसा लगता है कि तत्कालीन चिकित्सकों का पूरा ध्यान आरोग्य-लाभ और आयुष्य-प्राप्ति पर था। इसीलिये बहुत सी बातें लोगों

की मान्यताओं और विश्वासों पर आधारित हो गई थीं। इसीलिये उपचार-विधि का एक अंश लोगों के ऐसे ही विश्वासों और मान्यताओं पर टिका हुआ था। अरिष्ट (संस्कृत अरिष्ट) पर इतनी निर्भरता संभवतः जन-विश्वासों पर ही टिकी हुई थी। ऐसा इसलिए भी रहा होगा कि हर घटना के पीछे प्रायः 'काकतालीय न्याय' का भी हाथ माना जाता है। ताड़ के पेड़ से फल का गिरना और उसी पेड़ पर कौवे का बैठना - दो अलग-अलग बातें हैं। फिर भी सामान्य लोग उन्हें एक मानकर उसमें कारण - कार्य भाव आरोपित कर देते हैं। पूर्वापर (पूर्व+अपर) के विश्लेषण पर परिणाम अन्य ही निकलता है। 'अरिष्ट' आधुनिक शोधकर्ताओं के लिए एक विषय है, जिस पर गंभीर और गहन और सघन चर्चा होनी चाहिये।

रोगी के इलाज या उपचार के प्रयोजन से किसी वैद्य, हकीम या डॉक्टर के पास जाने से पहले मार्ग में धर्मग्रन्थों के पाठ या मृदंग आदि बाजों की ध्वनि के सुनाई पड़ने पर रोगी के रोग-निदान में सहायता मिलती है या यों कहें कि उनसे रोगी के रोग के दूर होने की संभावना बढ़ जाती है आदि बातें अरिष्ट के प्रसंग में बताई गई हैं। ऐसी बातों को आयुर्विज्ञान की चर्चा में सम्मिलित किया जाय या नहीं - यह विचारणीय विषय है। किन्तु यहाँ शोध का एक बिन्दु यह भी है कि यदि यह ग्रन्थ श्रीलंका में लिखा गया था तो वहाँ बारहवीं-तेरहवीं सदियों में वेदाध्ययन की क्या स्थिति थी। क्या वहाँ ब्राह्मण-धर्म इतना व्यापक था कि वेदाध्ययन या वेद-पाठ की ध्वनि स्थान-स्थान पर सुनाई पड़ती थी। या फिर ब्राह्मण कुल में जन्में (सम्भवतः भारत में) लेखक की यह अपनी निजी मान्यता थी। उसने ग्रन्थ में उस स्थल पर तिपिटकपाठ को स्थान क्यों नहीं दिया? क्या बौद्धधर्म की मान्यताओं का प्रचार-प्रसार दुर्बल था? या फिर यह तथ्य इस ग्रन्थ के भारत में लिखे जाने की ओर संकेत करता है? इस विषय पर विस्तार से चर्चा होनी चाहिये।

6. ग्रन्थ के सामान्य परिचय वाले भाग में वर्तनी और व्याकरण की अनेक त्रुटियाँ पाई गई हैं। इस संक्षिप्त समीक्षण में उनका सिलसिलेवार उल्लेख करना संभव नहीं। किन्तु उनका ठीक किया जाना बड़ा आवश्यक है। उदाहरण के लिये पृष्ठ XXXVIII पर पहले पैराग्राफ के अन्तिम वाक्य को देखें। उसी पृष्ठ पर 'भेसज्जमञ्जूसा' की विषयवस्तु एवं इसके 'परिच्छेद' शीर्षक के अंतर्गत 'रूप्यन्तर' पद का प्रयोग है। उसके स्थान पर 'लिप्यन्तर' पद अधिक उपयुक्त प्रतीत होता है।
7. ग्रन्थ-पाठ में स्थान-स्थान पर सुधार की आवश्यकता है। डैश और हाइफन में भेद किये जाने की आवश्यकता है। संस्कृत के संयुक्त वर्ण पालि-पाठ में 'दाल-भात में मूसलचन्द' के रूप में घुस गये हैं, उन्हें बारीकी से देख-देख कर हटाया जाना चाहिये।

उदाहरण के लिये पृष्ठ 3 पर देखें 24 वीं गाथा में 'खुप्पिपास्ररुचीहि' छप गया है। यह संस्कृत का 'क्षुत्पिपासा' है। पालि में 'खुप्पिपासा' रूप बनेगा। पालि में 'गरु' शब्द है। उसके स्थान पर इस ग्रन्थ में प्रायः 'गुरु' छप गया है। इसी प्रकार के अन्य अनेकों उदाहरण हैं।

8. आयुर्विज्ञान के इस अनूठे ग्रन्थ का सम्पादन वास्तव में बड़ा कठिन काम है। विद्वान सम्पादक प्रो० विमलेन्द्र कुमार ने इसको रोमन लिपि से नागरी लिपि में करके बहुत बड़ा काम किया है। आशा है इसका अगला संस्करण पूरी तरह त्रुटि-विहीन होगा। इस ग्रन्थ का हिन्दी अनुवाद भी होना चाहिये है। प्रो० विमलेन्द्र कुमार पूर्णतः सक्षम व्यक्ति हैं। आशा की जाती है कि वे निकट भविष्य में इस कार्य को भी पूर्णता प्रदान करेंगे।
9. गाथा- प्रथम- पाद-अनुक्रमणिका के विषय में कहा जा सकता है कि 'अनुक्रमणिका' के स्थान पर 'सूची' शब्द का प्रयोग उपयुक्त प्रतीत होता है। ग्रन्थ में आई गाथाओं को अकारादिक्रम में रखकर उनके क्रम को तोड़ दिया गया है। अतः वे सूची की श्रेणी में आ गई हैं। इसे यों रखा जा सकता है- गाथा-सूची (प्रथमपाद के अकारादि क्रम से)।

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Book Review

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Pāli Nīti Sāhitya Granthamālā – 2

Paṇḍitatherena parivattitā

Pāli-Cāṇakyanīti

Devanāgarī Edition and Hindi Translation

Ujjwal Kumar

Foreword – George Cardona

Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi.

Pages : 128

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Reviewer : **Sharmistha Chakraborty**

M.Phil. Scholar, University of Calcutta

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Pāli-Cāṇakyanīti Edited by Ujjwal Kumar is a valuable book for the students of Pali and Buddhist Studies. Ujjwal Kumar translated the Devanāgarī Edition of *Pāli Cāṇakyanīti* composed by Paṇḍita Thera in Hindi. The foreword of this book has been made by Emeritus Professor of University of Pennsylvania, George Cardona who is an American linguist, Indologist, Sanskritist and scholar of Pāṇinian grammar and who has been described as ‘a luminary’ in Indo-European, Indo-Aryan and Pāṇinian linguistics since the early sixties. Cardona has made the University of Pennsylvania a center for Sanskrit learning in North America along with Prof. W. Norman Brown, Ludo Rocher, Ernest Bender, Wilhelm Halbfass and several other Sanskritists.

Professor Cardona, in the very beginning of his Foreword to the work of Ujjwal Kumar (Hindi translation of *Pāli Cāṇakyanīti* of Paṇḍita Thera) has expressed his pleasure for writing the same and has also acclaimed him and designated his work as a complement of the work of predecessors like Ludwik Sternbach, great Polish Sanskrit scholar, in the conclusion of his foreword.

This book has a separate chapter with examples of how Sanskrit

and Pali figurative words should be properly translated and applied in Hindi. In this chapter Professor (Retd.) Angraj Chowdhury, Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda, Bihar has given his valuable opinion as to how a single word may be used in different meanings as per their context to clear the meaning of a verse in Hindi. Before the main part of the book begins, he has elaborately discussed this exemplifying his opinion at page no. 46. There he has quoted a verse in which the word 'sāraṅga' has been used eight times with different meaning each time. He has cited a few examples from the verses also. There are some verses in *Nitī*-literature where the same word has been used repeatedly in different ways like 'bhūṣaṇa', 'naṣṭa', 'krūra', 'balaṃ', etc. The word 'bhūṣaṇa' is in verse no. 8 and in verse 26, there is the word 'krura'. Now the word 'bhūṣaṇa' has been used four times in verse no. 8. Each time it has been used only as an ornament in relation to the object. In verse no. 26 the word 'krūra' has been used twice with different meaning such as when it is associated with a snake, it is used in 'fearful' sense, and when it is associated with bad people, it is used in the sense 'hurtful'. Again the word 'naṣṭa' in verse no. 80 is certainly a rhetorical word but it is antithetical to 'bhūṣaṇa'. When applied to a brahmin, a king, a prostitute and an aristocratic wife, the word 'naṣṭa' is used in a negative sense, whereas the word 'bhūṣaṇa', also a rhetorical one is used in a positive sense. Further, in verse no. 62 the word 'balaṃ' has been repeatedly used but with the same meaning to bring clarity to the verse. So it is made clear that according to the application of the words the meanings get changed in a verse. Thus Professor Angraj has described this in his chapter through the application of remarkable examples which are especially acceptable in translation literature. This process of translation is evident in this book making it comprehensible to all people besides the persons associated with the subject. As a result, the book is equally appreciated by all the scholars who are involved in translation work. This important commentary of Professor Chowdhury and its inclusion in the book by Dr. Kumar has greatly increased the acceptability of this book among the readers.

As mentioned by Dr. Ujjwal Kumar at page 43, in his introduction that his work is based on two Burmese editions of the 'Cāṇakyanīti', one by Paṇḍita Thera, published in 1955 and the other an online edition. The text of Paṇḍita Thera which Dr. Kumar has translated is titled as 'Cāṇakyanīti'. The word 'Pāli' preceding 'Cāṇakyanīti' has been

added by Dr. Kumar himself (P.42). The Pali text of 110 verses has been presented in the book in Devanāgarī, followed by Hindi and the corresponding Sanskrit verses.

Paṇḍita Thera translated the Sanskrit *Cāṇakyanīti* in Pali in the form of verse. By translating *Pāli-Cāṇakyanīti* into Hindi Dr. Ujjwal Kumar has presented an impeccable book to Pali scholars. He has made the translation in Hindi explaining the Pali verses translated from Sanskrit by Paṇḍita Thera. By his lucid and classy translation providing the underlying meaning of the verses in brackets Dr. Kumar has made a great effort to make the meaning of the verses explicit to the readers. He has used the conventional Hindi language deliberately while translating as he himself said in his introduction.

The book is quite interesting and at the end of the book Dr. Kumar has given an exciting list of the verses, i.e. the verse-index and he has given an excellent word-index where all the words from the Sanskrit as well as Pali version have been catalogued in very appropriate manner. Dr. Kumar has given the verse-index followed by the word-index to make it easier for the readers to have a quick look at its contents. Following the features of an index, Dr. Kumar has given the verse-index and word-index at the end of the book very systematically and thus has greatly enhanced the ultimate value of his book. For verse-index he has given the verse number followed by the quarter of the quoted part of that verse. Similarly, for word-index he has again mentioned the verse number followed by the particular quarter in which the quoted word is used.

The table of contents is easy to read and accurately formatted. It is followed by a list of abbreviations and bibliography respectively. The bibliography, though usually is given at the end of the book, has been placed before the introduction of the book. Alphabetical order in respect of the writers in preparing the list of all the sources used in the book has been broken as 'GRAY, James' has been inserted between 'KUMAR, Ujjwal' and 'MALALASEKERA, G[unapala] P[iyasena].

In the bibliography it is noticed that Dr. Ujjwal Kumar has consulted a number of Books and journals of eminent writers and even a few research papers of Heinz Braun titled "*Bearbeitung des Pāli-Werkes Lokanīti*" and "*Dhammanīti and Mahārahanīti, Zwei Texte der Spruchliteratur aus Birma*", etc. in writing his immaculate edition.

Among the eminent writers whose books or articles in various journals have been consulted, Heinz Bechert, Mabel Haynes Bode, James Gray, Gunapala Piyasena Malalasekera, Suniti Kumar Pathak, Ludwik Sternbach, Richard Carnak Temple, Thomas R. Trautmann, etc. are worthy to be mentioned.

In his fairly lengthy introduction, Dr. Kumar has given a brief description of Pāli *Nīti* literature and established the importance of *nīti-sāstra* in ancient Indian literature. He then mentions the names of the texts of *nīti*-literature and describes a few of them. Dr. Kumar elaborately describes *Cāṇakyanīti* and its place in Pali *nīti* literature.

Again, though the words ‘*Avataraṇikā*’ and ‘*Bhūmikā*’ are synonymous and are used in both Pali and Sanskrit as well as in Hindi language, perhaps Dr. Kumar has kept both these words of which ‘*Avataraṇikā*’ was used by Paṇḍita Thera in Pali and Dr. Kumar has translated it in Hindi as ‘*Bhūmikā*’.

In verse no. 25 at page no. 64 the second word of the first quarter in the first line ‘*parihantavvo*’, which is shown as parallel of the Sanskrit word ‘*parihartavyo*’. But here the author (Paṇḍita Thera) did not accept the reading what is written in the ‘*Cāṇakyanīti*’. In the *Cāṇakyanīti* the reading is ‘*parihartavyo*’. The parallel form of the Sanskrit in Pali should be ‘*parihattabbo*’. And that meaning should be appropriate as the word indicates avoidance of that person. But the meaning of Pali word indicates “worthy to be killed”. Dr. Kumar, in the footnote, has interrogated whether the Pali rendering of the word be accepted and left on the readers for its justification. Thus Dr. Kumar has given a new dimension of this book to its readers.

In verse no. 26 at page no. 64 in the fourth quarter of second line, the last word is ‘*nibāyyate*’ which in Sanskrit is read as ‘*nivāryate*’. In the Middle Indo-Aryan languages, generally in conjugational form middle (*ātmanepada*) does not occur and only active (*parasmaipada*) is used. In Sanskrit the form ‘*nivāryate*’ is an application of passive voice which is used in middle form as per Sanskrit grammatical rules. Since Pali along with other Middle Indo-Aryan languages, does not hold the middle system, the form ‘*nibārīyati*’ should be used as it is quoted in the footnote. But in Pali verse the form becomes ‘*nibāyyate*’. This is simply an application of assimilation. And due to the elision of ‘*r*’, ‘*y*’ is doubled. In *Pāli-Cāṇakyanīti*, perhaps this form has been accepted

for metrical adjustment, otherwise the influence of Sanskrit into Pali is visible.

As per phonetic rules of assimilation in Middle Indo-Aryan languages, such as Pali and Prakrit, dissimilar conjunct does not take place. So in verse no. 54 at page 78 the third word of the first quarter in the first line 'vākyam' is a specimen of the influence of Sanskrit into Pali. So in the Sanskrit word 'vākyam', due to the cause of assimilation, the 'y' should be elided making the remaining 'k' doubled. And as per rule of phonology in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages the preceding vowel of a conjunct gets short. So the Sanskrit word 'vākyam' should transform in Pali as 'vakkam'. Although the language Pali, in many cases, follows Sanskrit rules and many Sanskrit forms are found in Pali, even then the rules of phonology in Middle Indo-Aryan languages cannot be avoided.

In verse no. 55 at page 78 the fourth word in the second line (3rd quarter) is 'savvatra' in Pali and 'sarvatra' in Sanskrit. The language, Pali comes under Middle Indo-Aryan, the branch of the Indo European Language group. One of the vital points of Pali phonology is assimilation where dissimilar conjunct consonant turns into one class. So in the word 'sarvatra' there are two conjunct consonants in dissimilar mode. As per rule the 'r' and 'v' become 'vv' by applying the rule of assimilation. In the same way, 'tra' should be 'tta' by applying the rule of assimilation. But in the text this rule has not been followed. In Middle Indo-Aryan Language like Prakrit the conjunct 'tra' turns into 'ttha' in some cases in certain conditions. So the word 'atra' becomes 'ettha', 'kutra' becomes 'kattha'. In the same way 'savvatra' should turn into 'savvattha' in Pali. So the reading of the text should be corrected as 'savvattha'.

Similarly, in verse no. 71 at page 85 the first word of the third quarter in the second line 'appamādam-anālasyaṃ' is a specimen of the influence of Sanskrit into Pali. So in the Sanskrit word 'apramādam-anālasyaṃ', due to the cause of assimilation, the 'y' should be elided making the remaining 's' doubled. And as per rule of phonology in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages, the preceding vowel of a conjunct consonant gets short. So the Sanskrit word 'appamādam-anālasyaṃ' should transform in Pali as 'appamādam-anālassaṃ'. But in the text this rule has not been followed. 'sya' in Sanskrit becomes 'ssa' in Pali; but in verse no. 71 there is 'sya' in both Sanskrit and Pali. So it may be

inferred that the influence of Sanskrit on Pali language is obvious.

In verse no. 93 at page 94 the fourth word 'dutiye' in the second quarter in the first line and the first word 'tatiye' in the third quarter in the second line should be read as 'dutiye' and 'tatiye' respectively. This subtle change of 'ī' into 'i' has been mentioned and skillfully illustrated by Dr. Kumar, giving reference in the foot note.

In verse no. 97 at page 96 the second word in the third quarter in the second line is read as 'thīpi'. The Sanskrit equivalent is 'strī api'. We know that in Middle Indo-Aryan languages the conjunct consonant is clustered with maximum two consonants. But the condition is, the conjunct should be in non-initial position. The word 'strī' becomes 'itthī' in Pali and Prakrit. In initial position no conjunct consonant is possible in Middle Indo-Aryan languages. So 'thī' would be the form in Pali. The other part of this compound is 'anyahrdo' which is rendered into Pali as 'aññāsattā'. Actually this Pali form does not correspond with the Sanskrit form. So the reading in the footnote 'anāsattā' (Sanskrit *anāsaktā*) seems to be incorrect. But in Pali the term 'añña' has come from Sanskrit 'anya'. Like the feature of Māgadhi Prakrit, Pali has also the special feature of changing 'nya' into 'ñña'. So the term in Pali 'añña' has come from 'anya'. But in the footnote the reading is 'anāsattā'. So here this 'ññ' is not the proper application of 'ana'. However, this 'aññyāsattā' should be rendered from 'anyāsaktā', which seems to be wrong in this context. So here is one phonological problem that exists in this word. Intelligibly Dr. Kumar has referred to the book of Sternbach in the footnote for better understanding.

In didactic literature in Buddhism Dr. Ujjwal Kumar has stated in his note of the verse no. 110 at page no. 102-103 that as the first word in the fourth quarter in the second line 'rajaka' (washer man) in Sanskrit *śloka* has a different reading as 'rajana' (cloth painter) in the Pali *śloka*, there might be other manuscripts with the author. Hence, both the words may be accepted.

At page no.103 in the concluding *śloka* it has been mentioned that Cāṅkya had written one hundred and eight *ślokas* which have been started in the book from serial no. 3. It would have been better had the *ślokas* of Cāṅkya been started with serial no. 1 instead of serial no. 3.

The verse of serial no. 1 at page no. 53 in the preface is originally taken from the Cāṅkyaṅgī with little modification as per the teaching

of Buddhism. The second line of the original verse is set as the first line and the second line is composed by the Thera himself. The original verse is as under:

praṇamya sirasā visnum, trailokyādhipatim prabhum.
nānāsāstrodhrtam vaksye, rājanītisamuccayam.

The second line of this verse in the book is not in the *Cāṇakyanīti* but is taken from other sources. It is not the composition in original Pali. It is taken from other didactic literature in Sanskrit. The very first line of the original verse in Sanskrit has been deliberately avoided as that does not fit to the ethos of Buddhism. So converting the second line of the verse into first, the second line has been incorporated fitting with the Buddhist spirit.

Buddhism does not always conform to the ethical doctrine of Hindu philosophy. So is done in rendering of *Cāṇakyanīti* into Pali with some difference. The very first verse of *Cāṇakyanīti* starts with the benediction of Lord Vishnu which is logically discarded in *Pāli-Cāṇakyanīti*. The second line of that verse, based on policies, has been set in the first line and accordingly the Thera has composed the second line to justify the ethical doctrines of Buddhism.

However, it must be admitted that the work of Dr. Ujjwal Kumar is very commendable and a useful one for the researchers on its subject.

Notes & News

(August, 2019 to July 2020)

73rd Independence Day Celebration of Maha Bodhi Schools at Sarnath:

Independence Day Celebration of India is a regular event in the Maha Bodhi Schools at Sarnath. The children and staff of Maha Bodhi Inter College, Maha Bodhi Balika Vidyalaya and Maha Bodhi Primary School took part in the national celebration on 15th August, 2019. Prof. Ram Mohan Pathak, Vice – President, Maha Bodhi Society of India & VC – Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Chennai was the Chief Guest on the occasion. Inspiring speeches and patriotic programmes were presented by student contestants of Maha Bodhi Schools.

155th Birth Anniversary of Anagarika Dharmapala cum Dharmapala Jayanti:

On 17th September, 2019 Dharmapala Jayanti was celebrated at Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath Centre with the organization of a 'Dharma Sabha' in the Bodhi – Tree Complex of Mulagandha Kuti Vihara. Following distinguished dignitaries were present on the occasion: Prof. Rajaram Shukla, Hon'ble Vice – Chancellor, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi as the Chief Guest; Prof. Har Prasad Dixit, Head of Deptt.– Pali & Theravada, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi as Guest of Honour; Prof. Ram Mohan Pathak, Vice – Chancellor, Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Chennai as the President; Prof. Bimalendra Kumar, Head of Deptt.– Pali & Buddhist Studies, BHU; Governing Body Member – Maha Bodhi Society of India; Vice–President, Managing Committee – Maha Bodhi Inter College, Sarnath as the Chief Speaker. Ven. Dr. K. Medhankara Thero, Joint Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society of India & *Bhikkhu-in-Charge*, Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath Centre gave the Welcome Speech. Prizes were distributed among the Contestants of Essay, Drawing and Speech Competitions and also the Winner & Runner-up teams of *Dharmapala Memorial Football Tournament* held on the occasion. Prof. Ramesh Prasad, Deptt. of Pali & Theravada, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi gave the 'Vote of Thanks' at the end.

88th Anniversary of Mulagandha Kuti Vihara/Annual Kathina Puja Ceremony (10 – 12 Nov. 2019) :

On the occasion of the 88th Anniversary of the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara and the Holy Relics Exposition, a host of Dhamma activities were organized as follows:

6th International Conference on “Pali & Buddhism” :

Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath organized the *Sixth International Conference* on ‘*Pali and Buddhism*’ in the sacred Bodhi-Tree courtyard of Mulagandhakuti Vihara, Sarnath, Varanasi from November 10-11, 2019. The *Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath, Varanasi* organized the conference under the main theme of “***Role of Pāli Literature in Promoting Cultural Heritage***”. The Annual Bi-Lingual Magazine ‘Dharmadoot’ of Sarnath Centre was released on 11th Nov. 2019.

Sacred Relics (Sarīra Dhātu) Exposition :

The Sacred Relics of the *Tathagata* Buddha were opened for veneration by the devotees, pilgrims and general public on 10, 11 & 12 Nov. 2019. Thousands of Buddhist devotees, pilgrims, visitors and local public got the rare opportunity to offer veneration and respect to the Sacred Relics of the *Tathagata* Buddha. Buddhist Devotees from all over the world were the meritorious ones to benefit immensely on the auspicious occasion. The annual Sacred Relics Exposition 2019 was most meritoriously sponsored by the ***Ven’ble Vietnamese Sangha, and Devotees from Vietnam.***

Mahā Paritrāṇa Chanting :

On the night of 10th Nov., the ‘*Mahā Paritrāṇa Desanā*’ chanting was organized in the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara. A number of Monks, Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Lay-followers took part in the Chanting, which is a meritorious ceremony, being an integral part of the Anniversary Programme during Karthik Purnima every year.

Kathina Chīvara Pooja :

Kathina Chivara Puja & Maha Saṅgha Dāna was offered on 11th November after the veneration and worship of the Buddha with over 200 monks and Ven’ble Lamas from various national/international monasteries of Sarnath along with *Vassavas* monks, partaking of the occasion with immense devotion and dedication towards the *Sāsana*. Kathina Chivara Puja & Maha Saṅgha Dāna was sponsored by ***the Ven’ble Vietnamese Sangha, and Devotees from Vietnam.***

Sacred Relics Procession :

The annual *Sacred Relics Procession* consisting of 2000-3000 devotees, pilgrims, school children was held on 12th Nov. 2019 around the Sarnath locality on the auspicious Karthik Purnima.

Dharma Sabha on the 88th Anniversary of the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara :

The 88th Anniversary of the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara was celebrated on **12th Nov, 2019 at 3:00 p.m.** on the auspicious day of Karthik Purnima. On the 88th Anniversary, Mr. Austin Fernando, His Excellency the High Commissioner of Sri Lanka in India was present as the 'Chief Guest'; Shri Ravindra Jaiswal, Hon'ble Minister of State (Independent Charge), Govt. of Uttar Pradesh as 'Guest of Honor'; Prof. Rajaram Shukla, Vice-Chancellor, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University as the 'Chief Speaker'; Dr. Indresh Kumar– National Executive Member (RSS) and Patron – Muslim Rashtriya Manch (MRM) as 'President'; Ven'ble P. Seewalee Thero, General Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society of India; Ven'ble K. Medhankara Thero, Joint Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society of India & Bhikkhu-In-Charge, Sarnath Centre; Dharmadoot members, Governing Body members, Life members took part in the Anniversary Celebration. A gathering of 2000-3000 people consisting of School children, Devotees, Pilgrims, Tourists and localities assembled on the occasion.

86th Annual Function (Prizes Distribution & Cultural Programme), Maha Bodhi Schools & College, Maha Bodhi Vidya Parishad on 13th Nov., 2019 :

The 86th Annual Function of Maha Bodhi Schools and College was celebrated on **13th Nov. 2019** in the premises of the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara at Sarnath. The students, staff and parents of the Mahabodhi Schools assembled together to celebrate this event in the most befitting manner. The meritorious students in academic and extra-curricular were rewarded suitably and at the momentous occasion, a colourful cultural event was presented by the students and staff of the Mahabodhi Schools before the audience.

Republic Day Celebration 2020 :

The 71st Republic Day Celebration of India was celebrated by Maha Bodhi Society of India/Maha Bodhi Schools and College on 26th January 2020 at the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara premises.

Founder's Parinirvāṇa Anniversary:

87th passing away ceremony of the founder of Maha Bodhi Society of India – Bodhisattva Anagarika Dharmapala was observed on 29th April, 2020 at the Sarnath Centre. Buddha Puja and Sutta chanting was held in the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara in the morning by the resident Bhikkhus. A Sanghadana was offered on the occasion.

Ratana Sutta Chanting:

In view of the Covid – 19 pandemic, chanting of *Ratana Sutta* was organized at the MBSI Sarnath Centre on 15th April, 2020 as a prayer for the swift freedom of humanity from this pandemic. This precious recitation formula in the Pali Canon comes directly from the Buddha as a method to ward off Famine, Pandemic, Natural disaster, etc. It is also recited as a mark of protection and purification from evil influences.

2564th Buddha Jayanti Celebration:

Buddha Purnima was observed on 7th May, 2020 at the MBSI Sarnath Centre. In the morning, Buddha Puja and Sutta chanting was performed in the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara by the Dharmadoot monks and resident monks.

Ven. K. Medhankara Thero, Joint Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society of India & Bhikkhu-in-Charge, MBSI Sarnath Centre arranged an On-line Buddha Purnima celebration in collaboration with various Buddhist organizations and institutions. A Buddha Purnima message in relevance with the existing Covid situation was given by the Bhikkhu-in-Charge via the Internet to devotees and followers all around the world.

On the auspicious day, in view of the grim Covid – 19 situation and consequent lockdown, free ration distribution programme was organized by the MBSI Sarnath Centre as a charitable work towards the poor and the destitute in the Sarnath region.

A Sanghadana was arranged for the resident monks. In the evening, Dipadana was offered around the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara and the Sacred Bodhi Tree court-yard.

***Dhammacakkappavattana* Day Observance on 5th July, 2020:**

This day marks the deliverance of the First Sermon by the Buddha to the First Five Ascetic Disciples at Isipatana, Migadaya, Sarnath. As per Theravada tradition, from *Ashadha Full-moon*, the tradition of *Vassa* (Rainy-Retreat) begins. The observance of *Vassa* is a yearly

tradition at the Sarnath Centre. Vassa rituals were carried out on the auspicious day in the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara. The Dharmadoot monks at the Sarnath Centre traditionally entered into the Vassa practice. Ven. K. Medhankara Thero, the Bhikkhu-in-Charge delivered an On-line message to Bhikkhus all around the world entering into Vassa for having a successful and fruitful Vassa. A Sanghadana was offered on the occasion. Vassa practice will continue till *Karthik Purnima*.

VVIP Visits:

Sri Lankan Prime Minister Shri Mahinda Rajapaksa visited Mulagandha Kuti Vihara on 9th Feb. 2020. Ven. P. Seewalee Thero, General Secretary, MBSI and Ven. K. Medhankara Thero – Joint Secretary, MBSI & Bhikkhu-in-Charge, Sarnath Centre and monks welcomed him. A special religious ceremony was held in the Vihara alongwith the veneration of the Sacred Relics of the Buddha. Hon. K.N.D. Devananda, Minister of Fisheries & Aquatic Resources; Hon. B. P. Ranaweera, Member of Parliament, Mr. G. Senerath, Secretary to the Hon. Prime Minister accompanied the Hon. Prime Minister. Hon. Ravindra Jaiswal, Minister of Stamp & Registration Fee, Govt. of U.P. was among the delegates from the Indian side. A humble refreshment party was organized in the Office, MBSI Sarnath Centre.

VVIP Visits:

UP Governor – Hon. Anandiben Patel along with some of her family members visited the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara on 11th Feb. 2020. Ven. K. Medhankara Thero, Bhikkhu-in-Charge, other monks and MBSI Members welcomed her. She offered prayers to the Buddha in the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara. A memento was presented to her by the Bhikkhu-in-Charge.

Charitable Activities:

With the on-going Covid – 19 Pandemic and subsequent Lockdown necessitated by it, the poor and the needy people could hardly make ends meet. To relieve them a little from their excruciating suffering and to support them in their basic livelihood during this difficult time, the MBSI Sarnath Centre has so far carried out *Free Ration distribution programmes* on 27 May and 19 June, 2020 in addition to such charitable programmes organized on auspicious days. Such programmes are expected to continue in future in pursuance of the charitable nature of the MBSI.