

ISSN 2676-1432

# SIDDHARTHA JOURNAL OF ACADEMICS

Volume 4

July, 2022

*A Peer Reviewed Journal*



# SIDDHARTHA CAMPUS

BANGANGA, KAPILVASTU

## **Editorial Policy**

This is the Third volume of Siddhartha Journal of Academics, which is published once a year. The Journal publishes research-based original articles in different disciplines in English and Nepali languages. The Journal publishes the peer-reviewed articles, which may include research papers, review papers and book reviews of academic value so as to contribute in the fields of research and education. The articles should contain between 2500 to 5000 words. The articles are selected in terms of their research value and contribution.

- The articles submitted for the publication should not be published elsewhere in any language.
- The manuscripts should be typewritten with double spacing and wide margins on one side of A4 size paper, and a digital copy in MS Word or PDF format should be submitted without security control.
- All the illustrations should be properly captioned in numerical order.
- Citation must be in reference with APA or MLA format.
- Full text of the cited reference should be given in the reference at the end of the text.
- The journal prefers to publish the original contributions in the fields of education and pedagogy, social sciences, philosophy, applied aspects of language, literature and education, and field researches in Nepal.
- The selected manuscripts go through a double-blind peer-review process before publication.

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## **Editors**

Khem Raj Sharma

Krishna Prasad Khanal

Ramesh Poudel

## **Publisher**

Research and Publication Cell

Siddhartha Campus

Banganga, Kapilvastu

## **Editorial**

Established in 2048 BS, Siddhartha Campus, Banganga, Kapilvastu has been conducting bachelor's and master's programs in the faculties of education, humanities and management. Certainly, it is the demand of modern times that university level education be research oriented and dynamic. Both teachers and students need to be motivated to conduct research works, produce research-based articles and update themselves with new trends in the academic fields.

**Siddhartha Journal of Academics**, a multi-disciplinary research journal, intends to provide platform for the teachers and students interested to conduct academic researches and publish their articles. It will be beneficial for all those academicians and readers with diverse interests to serve their purpose.

This is the fourth volume of Siddhartha Journal of Academics, which is published once a year. The Journal publishes research-based original articles in different disciplines in English and Nepali languages. The Journal publishes the peer-reviewed articles, which may include research papers, review papers and book reviews of academic value so as to contribute in the fields of research and education. The journal prefers to publish the original contributions in the fields of education and pedagogy, social sciences, applied aspects of language, literature and education, and field researches in Nepal.

We are extremely acknowledged to the dignified professors and experts for their valuable suggestion and correction. Furthermore, we are highly obliged to all the contributors for their articles. We are also indebted to the campus management committee, campus administration, editors and the members of research and publication cell for encouraging supports for the publication.

Creative comments and suggestions are heartily welcome from the scholars and readers.

July, 2022

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**चुम उपत्यकाका परम्परागत चाडपर्वको सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन**

निरवहादुर गुरूड

**लेखसार**

यो लेख चुम उपत्यकामा चुम्बाहरुले मनाउने प्रमुख चाडपर्वहरुको बहुपक्षीय अध्ययनमा केन्द्रित रहेको छ । यो उपत्यका बौद्ध सम्प्रदायले सम्पन्न उपत्यका हो । यो उपत्यका हिमाली क्षेत्रमा पर्ने गुप्त नीधि क्षेत्रमध्ये वेयुल क्यिमोलुङ्गभिन्न पर्ने एउटा महत्वपूर्ण स्थान हो । धेरै पहिलेदेखि निषेधित क्षेत्र, भौगोलिक विकटताले गर्दा यहाँको संस्कृतिमा बाह्य प्रभाव न्यून देखिन्छ । त्यस्ता प्रमुख चाडपर्वलाई जीवन्त सम्पदाको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ । ती पर्वहरु बौद्ध दर्शनमा आधारित छन् । ल्होसार, साग्दावा, धाज्याङ, नारक, त्यहाँका प्रमुख पर्वहरुमा पर्दछन् । यस्ता चाडपर्वहरुका कुनै पक्षमा परिवर्तनका बावजुद निरन्तरता पनि रहेको पाइन्छ । यसर्थ यस उपत्यकामा मनाइने त्यस्ता पर्वहरुलाई उजागर गर्नु यस अध्ययनको उद्देश्य रहेको छ । यो निगमनात्मक विधिअनुसार गरिएको गुणात्मक प्रकृतिको अनुसन्धान हो ।

*शब्दकुञ्जी* : चुम उपत्यका, सम्पदा, संस्कृति, चाडपर्व, परिवर्तन निरन्तरता, बौद्ध दर्शन

**विषय प्रवेश**

हिमाली क्षेत्र बौद्ध सम्पदाले सम्पन्न क्षेत्रको रूपमा चिनिन्छ । चुम उपत्यकामा मनाइने चाडपर्वहरु कुनै न कुनै रूपमा बौद्ध धर्म, दर्शन तथा सिद्धान्तसँग सम्बन्ध रहेको पाइन्छ । त्यहाँ धेरै प्रकारका चाडपर्वहरु छन् । कुनै पनि पर्व सम्बन्धि बौद्ध मूल्य मान्यता रहेको छ । यसमा स्थानीय मौलिक मान्यता पनि हुन्छ । कुनै पनि चाडपर्व मनाउनुको पछाडि दार्शनिक महत्व जोडिएको हुन्छ । कुनै कुनै पर्व निश्चित गाउँमा मात्र मनाइने हुन्छ । कुनै पर्व उपत्यकाभरिकै सबै गाउँले मनाउने किसिमका हुन्छन् । कतिपय पर्वहरु सबै बौद्ध समुदायले मनाउने हुन्छन् भने कुनै कुनै पर्वहरु निश्चित क्षेत्रका बौद्ध समुदायले मात्र मनाउने गरेको पाइन्छ । एउटै पर्व पनि क्षेत्र, समुदायअनुसार मनाइने तौर तरीकामा फरक देखिन्छ । चाडपर्वले सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्धलाई मजबुद राख्न सहयोग गर्दछ । चाडपर्वहरु स्थानीय पेशा जस्तै: कृषि, पशुपालन, व्यापार, जीवनशैली, मौसम जस्ता पक्षहरूसँग प्रत्यक्ष वा परोक्ष रूपमा सम्बन्ध रहेको हुन्छ । यहाँ चुम उपत्यकामा मनाइने पर्वहरुमध्ये प्रमुख पर्वहरुको सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिकोणले अध्ययन गरिएको छ ।

**ल्होसार पर्व**

ल्होसार शब्दमा प्रयुक्त भएको ल्हो ले वर्ष वा वर्ग र सारले खासगरी प्राकृतिक चिजसँग सम्बन्धित नयाँ भन्ने बुझिन्छ । जस्तै : गुरूड भाषामा *ट सार* (नयाँ फूल अथवा कोपिला), *ननाँ सार* (नयाँ तोरी अथवा

भर्खर फुल्ल लागेको तोरी) नारे सार (नयाँ कोदो अथवा भर्खर फल्ल लागेको कोदो) आदि । ल्होसारलाई कतै कतै ल्होछार पनि भन्ने गरेको पाइन्छ । ल्होछार शब्द ल्हो र छारको संयुक्त रूप हो । जसमा ल्हो भन्नाले वर्ष वा वर्ग भन्ने बुझिन्छ भने छार भन्नाले मानव निर्मित नयाँ वस्तुलाई बुझाउँदछ । जस्तै : छार कुई (नयाँ कपडा), छार धिँ (नयाँ घर), छार नाँस (नयाँ गाउँ) आदि । यी शब्दहरूलाई सार कुई, सार धीँ, सार नाँस प्रयुक्त भएको पाइँदैन ।<sup>1</sup> यसर्थ ल्होसार भन्नाले नयाँ वर्ष, नयाँ साल भन्ने बुझिन्छ । नेपाली बृहत् शब्दकोशमा महायानी बौद्ध धर्मावलम्बीहरूले मनाउने नयाँ वर्षको पहिलो दिनलाई ल्होसार र सो दिन मनाइने पर्वलाई ल्होसार पर्व भनेर परिभाषित गरेको छ ।<sup>2</sup>

नेपालका बौद्ध समुदायमा खासगरी तोला ल्होसार, सोनाम ल्होसार र ग्याल्पो ल्होसार गरी तीन प्रकारका ल्होसारलाई प्रमुख मानिन्छ । तोला ल्होसार चन्द्रमास अनुसार मनाइन्छ । पौष महिनादेखि सूर्य दक्षिणबाट उत्तरायण हुने भएकोले रात छोटो हुँदै जाने र दिन लामो हुँदै जान्छ । यो ल्होसार इशापूर्व दोस्रो शताब्दीतिर न्यत्री चैनपोले तिब्बत एकीकरण गरी पहिलोपटक तिब्बत राज्य स्थापना गरेको तिथिमा मनाइन्छ । नेपाली पात्रो अनुसार यो पौष महिनामा पर्न आउँछ । भोट भाषामा यसलाई ग्यल दावा भनिन्छ । पौष पन्ध्रलाई तमुहरूले तमु ल्होसार भनेर मनाउँछन् । सोनाम ल्होसार माघ शुक्ल पक्ष प्रतिपदाको दिनमा मनाइन्छ । यहाँ सोनाम भन्नाले पुण्य, किसान जस्ता विभिन्न अर्थ दिन्छ । यसर्थ सोनाम ल्होसार भन्नाले पुण्य, नयाँ वर्ष भन्ने बुझिन्छ । किसान वर्गले मनाउने ल्होसार भएकोले यसलाई सोनाम ल्होसार भनिएको भन्ने अर्को तर्क पाइन्छ । ल्होसारमनाएपछि उनीहरू खेतीपाती लगाउन शुरू गर्दछन् । अर्को महत्वपूर्ण ल्होसार भनेको ग्याल्पो ल्होसार हो । भोट भाषामा राजालाई ग्याल्पो भनिन्छ । अर्थात् राजा तथा उच्च खानदानी वर्गले मनाउने ल्होसार भन्ने बुझिन्छ । योसन् १२२२ मा मंगोल वादशाहले तिब्बतमाथि विजय हासिल गरेको उत्सवको रूपमा फागुन शुक्ल पक्षमा मनाइन्छ ।<sup>3</sup> आजभोलि विभिन्न बौद्ध समुदायले आफूले मनाउँदै आएको ल्होसारलाई मनाउने तौर तरीका पनि परीवर्तन हुँदै आएको पाइन्छ ।

### ल्होसार पर्वको सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक अवस्था

नेपालको पूर्वी हिमाली क्षेत्रदेखि पश्चिम हिमाली क्षेत्रका विभिन्न गाउँहरूमा ग्याल्पो ल्होसार मनाइन्छ । ल्होसारको शुरूको तीन दिनमध्ये प्रत्येक दिनलाई फरक फरक नामले चिनिन्छ । जसमध्ये पहिलो दिनलाई लामा ल्होसार भनिन्छ । यो दिन परिवारभित्रै मात्र मनाउँछन् । यो दिन गुम्बामा गएर बत्ती, धुप बालेर पूजा गरिन्छ । दुखाडमा फलफूलहरू चढाउने चलन छ । यो दिन गाउँको गुम्बामा मात्र जान्छ । दोस्रो दिन गाउँका लाब्राड लामाहरूलाई सम्मान गर्ने, उनीहरूबाट आशिर्वाद लिने गर्दछ । यसलाई ग्याल्पो

1 जीत क्रौंम्छे, तमु, तमूसंस्कृति लेखसंग्रह, पोखरा: इन्द्र बहादुर चम्पु तमु, प्रकाशन मिति उल्लेख नभएको, पृ. १५०।

2 वासुदेव त्रिपाठी र अन्य (सम्पा.), नेपाली बृहत् शब्दकोश, काठमाडौं: नेपाल प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, वि.सं. २०७५, पृ. ११२७ ।

3 राजेश्वर थापा, ल्होसार, बहु-जातीय तथा बहु-राष्ट्रिय चाड, काठमाडौं: फुसुन प्रकाशन प्रा.लि., वि.सं. २०७५, पृ. ९-११ ।



लहोसार भनिन्छ । तेस्रो दिन धर्मपालहरूको पूजा गरिन्छ । यसलाई छ्योग्योम लहोसार पनि भनिन्छ । यो दिन भूत, प्रेत, गन्धर्व र डाकिनीहरू जस्ता शक्तिलाई थरिथरिका खानेकुराहरू चढाइन्छ । प्रत्येक घरमा नयाँ भण्डा, धाच्यो, लुङ्गा फेरिन्छ । चौथो दिनदेखि शुरू गरेर पन्ध्र दिन अवधिभर छरछिमेकी, आफन्त नातागोताको घरमा गएर भेटघाट, खानपीन गर्ने, मान्यजनहरूसंग भेट गर्ने, आशिर्वाद थाप्ने गरिन्छ, शुभकामना आदानप्रदान गरिन्छ ।<sup>४</sup>

शाक्यमुनि बुद्धले ऋद्धि प्रतिहार्य गरेको घटना ग्याल्पो लहोसारको यही पन्ध्र दिनभित्र पर्न जान्छ । शाक्यमुनि बुद्धले पहिलो धर्मचक्र प्रवर्तन, तुषितभुवन देवलोकबाट पृथ्वीमा अवतरण गरेको घटना (भोटः फाग्या देखेन) यसै समयभित्र पर्दछ । ग्याल्पो लहोसारपन्ध्र दिनसम्म धुमधामका साथ मनाइन्छ । यस अवधिमा गुम्बाहरूमा प्रणिधान (भोटः छ्याडुल मोन्लम) पाठ गरिन्छ । म्हु गुम्बा, राछेन गुम्बामा रिन्पोछे, गोस्से, खेन्पो गुरुहरूबाट धर्मदेशना गरिन्छ ।<sup>५</sup> त्यस्तै धर्मगुरुहरूबाट गृहस्थहरूलाई अभिषेक (भोटः वाङ्) प्रदान गरिन्छ ।

वर्षभरिमा फोहोर देखिएका घरका भित्ता वर्षमा यही समयमा एक पटक लिपपोत गरिन्छ । भित्ताहरूमा गहुँको पिठोले अष्टमाङ्गलिक, तथा अनेकौँ प्रकारका मौलिक बुट्टा अनि चित्रहरू बनाएर सजाइन्छ । घरभित्र प्रयोग गरिने पानी भने भाँडो (भोटः छुसाड), रक्सि राख्ने काठको भाँडो (भोटः पोड), भान्सामा प्रयोग गरिने भाँडाहरू, खाना पकाउने भाँडोहरू सबै सफा गर्छन् ।<sup>६</sup>

चुम्बा परिवारमा कुनै खाना खानुभन्दा अगाडि तथा दैनिक खाना खानुपूर्व परिवारको मूलीले भान्छा कोठाको दायाँतर्फ छ्योएजाडमा फुङ्गचढाइन्छ । त्यसपछि मात्र आफूले ग्रहण गर्दछ । छ्योएजाडमामूल गुरु, गुरु रिन्पोछे, मञ्जुश्री, महाकाल, बोधिसत्व, तारा, डाकिनी, अवलोकितेश्वरका मूर्तिहरू राखिएको हुन्छ । कतिपयको फोटोहरू राखिएको हुन्छ । तर त्यहाँ आफ्ना पितृहरूको स्मरणमा केही राखिएको पाइदैन । त्यसरी लहोसारलाई महत्वपूर्ण पर्व मानिए तापनि पितृहरूलाई खानेकुराहरू चढाउने चलन पाइदैन । दुई हप्तासम्म छरछिमेक आफन्तको घरमा गएर खाप्से, छ्याड, रक्सी, मिठामिठा कुराहरू खाने खुवाउने गरिन्छ । यसबेला युवायुवतीहरूले मौलिक दुल्लु गीत गाउने, स्याउरी नाच नाचेर मनोरञ्जन गरिन्छ । यस अवधिमा छरछिमेकमा अरूको घरमा पाहुना जाने र आफूले पनि पाहुना बोलाउने गर्छन् । यस्तो पर्वहरूमा

<sup>४</sup> उपल्लो चुमका युवा भिक्षु तेन्जिन ग्याल्जेन लामासंग मिति २०७७ कार्तिक ४ गतेद जुम प्रविधिको माध्यमबाट लिइएको अन्तरवार्ताबाट प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कको आधारमा ।

<sup>५</sup> उपल्लो चुमका युवा लामा तेन्जिन ग्याल्जेन लामासंग मिति २०७७ कार्तिक ४ गते लिएको अन्तरवार्ताबाट प्राप्त जानकारी अनुसार ।

<sup>६</sup> मन बहादुर पुन, एक तारा, काठमाडौं: मनास्लु मिडिया प्रा.लि., वि.सं. २०७४, पृ.५१ ।

<sup>७</sup> फुङ्ग भन्नाले कुनै पनि चिज आफूले खानुभन्दा पहिला घरको मूलीले आफूले मान्दै आएको देवी देवताहरूलाई चढाइएको खाने चिजलाई बुझाउँछ । कुनै नयाँ अन्नको उपभोग गर्नुभन्दा पहिला पितृदेवतालाई चढाइने अंशलाई पनि फुङ्ग भनिन्छ ।

बोलाएको घरमा जानै पर्छ । अन्यथा अपमान गरेको मानिन्छ । यसरी पाहुना मान्न जाँदा खाना नै खानुपर्छ भन्ने छैन । घरमा आउने अतिथिहरू, कुनै चाडपर्वमा आएका अतिथिहरूलाई रक्सी दिएर नै स्वागत गर्ने चलन छ ।<sup>१८</sup>

चुम उपत्यकामा दुई किसिमको ल्होसार मान्ने गरेको पाइन्छ । माथिल्लो चुममा ग्याल्पो ल्होसार र तल्लो चुममा सोनाम ल्होसार मनाइन्छ । चुम्लिङ, तांज्यु, लोक्पातिर सोनाम ल्होसार मनाउँछ । ल्होसारमा स्थानीय लामा गुरुहरूले आआफ्ना गुम्बाहरूमा सर्वसाधारण उपासक उपासिकाहरूलाई धर्मदेशना गर्दछ । यस अवसरमा कुनै वर्ष रिन्पोछे लामाहरूको उपस्थितिमा गृहस्थहरूलाई अभिषेक (भोटः वाङ) दिइन्छ । यहाँका मानिसहरू रिन्पोछे गुरुबाट अभिषेक लिन पाउनुलाई ज्यादै गौरव मान्दछन् । अभिषेक ग्रहण गर्नका लागि केटाकेटीदेखि बृद्धबृद्धाहरू गुम्बामा आउँछन् ।

### ल्होसार पर्वको आर्थिक पक्ष

ल्होसार पर्व समुदायअनुसार फरक फरक अवधिभरि मनाइएको पाइन्छ । यो ठाउँअनुसार पनि भिन्नता पाइन्छ । गुरुङ, तामाङ समुदायले परम्परागत रूपमा एक दिन मनाउँछन् । तर बसाइसराइ गरी काठमाडौं, पोखरा, चितवन जस्ता स्थानमा बसोबास गरेकाहरूले तीन दिन, साप्ताहिक पनि मनाउँछन् । चुम्बाहरूले पन्ध्र दिन लामो अवधिभरि मनाउँछन् । यसरी लामो समयावधिभरि मनाउँदा अतिथि स्वागत गर्ने, घरमा आएका अतिथिहरूलाई खाना खुवाउने, खाप्से, छ्याङ खुवाउने गरिन्छ । पर्वकै लागि नयाँ परम्परागत पोशाकहरूको व्यवस्था गर्दछन् । घरको छ्योएजाङमा निरन्तर बत्ती बाल्ने धुप बाल्ने गरिन्छ । त्यस्तै गुम्बाहरूमा प्रवचन गरिन्छ । उपस्थिति उपासक उपासिकाहरूले फलफूल, खानेकुराहरू चढाउँछन् । घरमा, गुम्बामा नयाँ धार्च्यो, लुङ्ताहरू फेरिन्छ । घर, बाटो, गुम्बाहरू सरसफाइ गरिन्छ ।

यसले गर्दा आर्थिक कारोबार केही भए पनि चलायमान हुन्छ । यसका साथै यस अवधिमा अन्य आफ्ना व्यवसाय, पेशा अनुसारका कार्यहरूमा भने निस्क्रियता देखिन्छ । यसले गर्दा पनि आर्थिक पक्षमा असर पर्दछ ।

गाउँमा मनाइने ल्होसारमा लामो समय मनाइए तापनि प्रत्यक्ष आर्थिक कारोबार हुँदैन । काठमाडौं आइ बसोबास गर्ने चुम्बाहरूले ल्होसार एक दिन चाहिँ बृहत रूपमा मनाउँछन् । यस दिन काठमाडौं बस्ने अधिकांश चुम्बाहरू एकै स्थानमा जमघट हुन्छन् । यसमा परम्परागत क्रियाकलापहरूका साथै युवाहरूबाट सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम, खेलकूद प्रतियोगिता जस्ता मनोरञ्जनात्मक कार्यक्रमहरू गर्दछन् । कार्यक्रमको धेरै वर्ष अगाडिदेखि नै चुम कल्याणकारी समितिले गर्दै आएको छ । कार्यक्रमका लागि सबैबाट आर्थिक सहयोग

<sup>१८</sup> उपल्लो चुमको लेरू गाउँका अट्टु लामासंग मिति २०७७ कार्तिक २३ गते लिएको अन्तरवार्ताबाट प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कअनुसार । वहाँ विगत लामो समयदेखि स्थानीय छेकम्पार प्रा.वि.को शिक्षक हुनुहुन्छ । युवाहरू बढ्दो सङ्ख्यामा विदेश तथा नेपालकै शहरी क्षेत्रतिर पलायन भइरहेको अवस्थामा वहाँले अध्ययन गरेर आफ्नै गाउँलाई कर्मथलो बनाउनु भएको छ ।

सङ्कलन गरिन्छ। ल्होसार सबैभन्दा ठूलो पर्वको रूपमा विविध कार्यक्रम गरी धुमधामका साथ लामो समय मनाइए तापनि प्रत्यक्ष आर्थिक कारोबार धेरै हुँदैन।

### काठमाडौंमा मनाइने चुम्बा ल्होसार

काठमाडौंमा बसोबास गर्दै आएका चुम्बाहरूले चुम्बा ल्होसार भनेर मान्दै आएका छन्। यसको लागि निश्चित मिति तोकिएको हुँदैन तर ग्याल्पो ल्होसारकै आसपासमा मनाइन्छ। ग्याल्पो ल्होसारको अवसरमा स्थानीय रिन्पोछे, लामाहरू, खेन्पो, गेस्से, आनी लगायत बालबालिका, युवायुवती, वृद्धवृद्धा जमघट हुन्छन्। यसको लागि तिथिलाई त्यति महत्व दिइदैन। ग्याल्पो ल्होसारलाई आधार मानेर केही दिन अघिपछि अनुकूल समयमा मनाउने गरेको पाइन्छ। यस्तो कार्यक्रम गुम्बामा मनाइन्छ। सो अवसरमा गुम्बामा धुपबाल्ने, बत्ती बाल्ने, लामाहरूबाट धर्मोपदेशहरू सुन्ने, एक आपसमा शुभकामना आदानप्रदान गरिन्छ। युवायुवतीहरूद्वारा आफ्ना मौलिक पहिचान दिने परम्परागत नाचगानका साथ सांस्कृतिक प्रदर्शन गर्दछन्।<sup>१९</sup> यसका साथै वर्ष भरिमा गरिएका खेलकुद, सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम, शैक्षिक क्षेत्रमा सफल भएका चुम्बा विद्यार्थीहरूलाई पुरस्कृत गर्ने, चुम उपत्यकाका लागि विभिन्न क्षेत्रमा विशेष योगदान दिने व्यक्तिहरूलाई सम्मान गर्दछ। काठमाडौंमा स्थायी अस्थायी रूपमा बसाइ सरी आएकाहरू सबैको भेटघाट गर्ने, नयाँ पिँढीका युवाहरूलाई आफ्नो मौलिक नाच, गीतहरू मार्फत आकर्षित गर्ने तथा जानकारी दिने उद्देश्यले ल्होसारको आयोजना गरिन्छ। काठमाडौंमा मनाइने ल्होसारमा युवा वृद्धवृद्धा, महिला, ठावा, आनी, लामा गुरुहरू, रिन्पोछेहरूको सहभागिता रहेको देखिन्छ।

काठमाडौं बस्ने चुम्बाहरूले ल्होसार कार्यक्रम स्वयम्भूस्थित मुस्ताङ्ग गुम्बामा मनाउँदै आएकोमा वि.सं. २०७७ मा आफ्नै समाज भवन निर्माण सम्पन्न भएपछि सबै कार्यक्रमहरू त्यहाँ मनाउने गर्दछन्। शोधार्थीले वि.सं. २०७४ र २०७५ मा काठमाडौं बस्ने चुम्बाहरूले आयोजना गरेको ल्होसार पर्वको प्रत्यक्ष अवलोकन गर्ने अवसर पाएको थियो। वि.सं. २०७५ मा चुम्बाहरूले २३ औँ चुम्बा ल्होसार मनाएका थिए। प्रत्यक्ष अवलोकनमा रिन्पोछे गुरु, चुम उपत्यकाका गेश्शे, खेन्पो, ठावा आनीहरू, बालबालिका, युवा, वृद्धवृद्धाहरू सबैको सहभागी भएको थियो। पर्व एक दिन, दिनभर बिहानदेखि बेलुकासम्मै मनाएका थिए। त्यसपछि वि.सं. २०७६ सालमा भने चुमकै सबैभन्दा वयोवृद्ध तथा समाजसेवी मे साङ्गेदोर्जेको मृत्यु भएकोले उनको स्मरण तथा सम्मान स्वरूप ल्होसार मनाइएन।

### साग्दावा पर्व

<sup>१९</sup> सन् २०१७ र २०१८ मा काठमाडौंमा मनाइएको चुम्बा ल्होसारमा शोधार्थी स्वयम् प्रत्यक्ष सहभागी भएका थिए। सन् २०१९ मा चुमका वयोवृद्ध समाजसेवी ९३ वर्षीय साङ्गे लामाको देहान्त भएकोले र सन् २०२० मा कोभिडकै कारणले काठमाडौंका चुम्बाहरूले जमघट भएर ल्होसार मनाएनन्।

सग्दावालाई सकदावा, सागादावा, साकादावा भनेर उच्चारण गरेको पाइन्छ। भोट पात्रो अनुसार २१ वटा नक्षत्र हुन्छन्। जस्तै: पहिलो महिनालाई छ्यु दावा, दोस्रो महिनालाई ओ दावा, तेस्रो महिनालाई नाक्या दावा वा सुम दावा भनिन्छ। यसमा प्रयोग गरिएको सग् शब्दले विशाखा नक्षत्र र दावा शब्दले महिना भन्ने बुझिन्छ। अर्थात् सग् नक्षत्र पर्ने महिना भएकोले सग्दावा भनिन्छ।

यस पर्वलाई शाक्यमुनि बुद्धको जन्म, बुद्धत्व प्राप्त र महापरिनिर्वाण भएको पुण्य तिथिको त्रिसंयोगको रूपमा मानिन्छ। यो बैशाख पूर्णिमामा मनाइन्छ। अथवा विशाखा तिथि पर्ने महिना भन्ने बुझिन्छ। यो एक महिनाभरि मनाइन्छ। अधिकांश स्थानमा जेष्ठ शुक्लपक्षको चतुर्दशीमा यसको आरम्भ गरिन्छ। यो पर्व मनाइने तरिका स्थानअनुसार केही फरक फरक देखिन्छ।<sup>१०</sup> नेपालमा धेरैजसो बौद्ध समुदायले बैशाख पूर्णिमामा बुद्ध जयन्तीलाई मात्र छुट्टै मनाउने गरेको पाइन्छ। विश्वका बौद्ध राष्ट्रहरूमा बुद्ध जयन्ती पूर्णिमामा मानिए तापनि मिति तथा मनाइने तौर तरिकामा भने भिन्नता पाइन्छ।<sup>११</sup>

विश्वका सबै बौद्ध राष्ट्रहरूमा शाक्यमुनि बुद्धको जीवनमा घटेका प्रमुख घटनाहरू जन्म, बुद्धत्व प्राप्त र महापरिनिर्वाणलाई त्रिसंयोगको रूपमा एकैचोटि मनाउने गरेको पाइँदैन। नेपालमा पनि विभिन्न बौद्ध समुदायले फरक फरक तरिकाले मनाएको पाइन्छ। हिमाली बौद्ध समुदायमा भने यसलाई शाक्यमुनि बुद्धको जीवनमा महत्वपूर्ण मानिने जन्म, बुद्धत्व प्राप्त र महापरिनिर्वाण भएको तीनवटा घटनालाई प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने त्रिसंयोगको रूपमा मनाइन्छ। तिब्बती सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रमा बसोबास गर्ने शेर्पा, ह्याल्मो, चुम्बा, लोवा, डोल्पोपा जस्ता समुदायले यस पर्वलाई उच्च महत्वका साथ मनाउँछन्। चुम उपत्यकामा पनि यस पर्व धुमधामका साथ मनाइन्छ। चुममा पनि सग्दावा पर्व तिब्बती पात्रोअनुसार चौथो महिना ( भोट: दावा सिपा) मा मनाइन्छ। यो नेपाली पात्रोअनुसार जेष्ठतिर पर्दछ। यो पर्वमा गुम्बाहरूमा न्युङ्ने ब्रत, धर्मदेशना, अभिषेक प्रदान गर्ने कार्यक्रमको आयोजना गरिन्छ। मुख्य गुम्बाहरूमा यस अवधिभित्र फरक फरक मितिमा न्युङ्ने आयोजना गरिन्छ। म्हु गुम्बामा ठावाहरू र राछेन गुम्बामा आनीहरू न्युङ्ने बस्दछन्। उपासक उपासिकाहरू पनि गुम्बामा गएर ब्रत बस्न सक्छन्।

### साग्दावा पर्वको सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक अवस्था

चाडपर्वले समुदायमा मानिसहरूको भावनात्मक सम्बन्धलाई कायम गर्दछ। यस्ता सम्बन्धलाई बलियो बनाउन सहयोग पर्वमध्ये साग्दावा पर्व पनि एउटा प्रमुख पर्व हो। यस पर्वको अवसरमा धर्मदेशना दिने, उपासना, ब्रत, पूजा गरिन्छ। सग्दावाको समयमा चुम्बाहरू सबै गुम्बामा जान्छन्। गुम्बामा

<sup>१०</sup> ड्वाङ बोशेर लामा, हिमाली क्षेत्रको नेपाली बौद्ध परम्परा, काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, वि.सं.२०६३, पृ.१५८।

<sup>११</sup> <https://youtu.be/I2EvLkiz8gM>, साग्दावा भनेको केहो ? यो महिनामा पुण्य साधना गरेको फल किन अरू बेलाभन्दा बढी हुन्छ?

छ्रयारग<sup>१२</sup>गर्ने तथा दान दिने गर्दछन् । त्यस्ता प्रमुख पर्वहरू मनाउनका लागि आवश्यक पर्ने आर्थिक सहयोग गर्ने भिन्दाग<sup>१३</sup>हरू हुन्छन् । सोही अवधिभरका लागि व्यवस्थापकीय कार्यमा गाउँलेहरूले हरेक वर्ष आलो पालो गर्दछन् । यसै पर्वमा समुदायका सबै घरबाट सहभागिता रहन्छ । यसर्थ यो पर्व सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा धार्मिक हरेक दृष्टिकोणले महत्वपूर्ण देखिन्छ ।

साग्दावालाई बुम्युर दावा पनि भनिन्छ । बुम्युर भन्नाले लाखौं भन्ने अर्थ लाग्छ । यो भोट पात्रोको ७ गते पर्दछ । यो विशेष तिथि भएको र यसै समयावधिमा तथागत बुद्ध तुषितलोकमा गइ माता मायादेविलाई धर्मदेशना गरी जम्बुद्वीपमा देवावतरण गरेको, महत्वपूर्ण गुरुहरूले यही समयमा अधिष्ठान, ध्यान साधना गरेको हुँदा यो अवधिलाई विशेष महत्व दिइन्छ । यस अवधिमा गरेको पुण्यकार्यको लाभ सामान्य समयको भन्दा लाखौं गुणा हुने विश्वास रहेको छ । साथै यही अवधिमा अकुशल कर्म गरेको भए पनि लाखौं गुणा अकुशल विपाक भोग्नु पर्ने हुन्छ ।<sup>१४</sup>

चुमका गुम्बाहरूमा तिब्बती चौथो महिनाको एकदेखि पन्ध्र गतेसम्म सोह्र दिनको ब्रत आयोजना गरिन्छ । यस अवसरमा कुनै कुनै वर्ष प्रमुख लामाहरूले धर्मदेशना र अभिषेक (भोट: वाङ्) दिन्छ । प्युरेन फू गुम्बामा तिब्बती पात्रोअनुसार चौथो महिनाकै १३ गतेदेखि १५ गतेसम्म ब्रत आयोजना गरिन्छ । जसमा १४ गते एक छाक मात्र खाना खान्छन् र १५ गते दिनभर निराहार ब्रत बस्छन् ।

चुम उपत्यकाको लाब्राडहरूको आआफ्ना मूल गुम्बामा हरेक वर्ष न्यूङ्ने ब्रतको आयोजना गर्छन् । समुदायभित्र रहेका ल्हाखाडहरूमा आमाहरू ब्रत बस्ने गर्दछन् । त्यसैगरी गाउँबाट अलि टाढाका गुम्बामा गाउँका बुबाहरू ब्रत बस्ने गर्दछ ।

### साग्दावा पर्वको आर्थिक पक्ष

साग्दावा पर्वमा प्युरेन फू गुम्बामा ब्रतको आयोजना गरिन्छ । यस ब्रतमा गुम्बामा बुर्जि गाउँका हरेक घरबाट अनिवार्य उपस्थित हुनु पर्ने नियम छ । यसमा अनुपस्थिति भएमा जरिवानाको व्यवस्था गरिन्छ । यसरी जरिवाना गर्दा प्रत्यक्ष आर्थिक वा जिन्सीको रूपमा नगरीकन गुम्बामा दीप प्रज्वलन गर्दा लाग्ने आर्थिक भार बहन गरिदिनु पर्दछ । यसले गर्दा जरिवाना भुक्तानी गर्दा समेत पुण्य लाभ हुने किसिमका धार्मिक कार्यमा लगाइनुलाई यहाँको मौलिक विशेषता मान्न सकिन्छ । पछिल्लो केही दशकदेखि

<sup>१२</sup> छ्रयारग तिब्बती बौद्ध अभ्यासअनुसार गुम्बा, ल्हाखाडहरूमा अनुयायीहरूले बुद्ध, धर्म र संघ अर्थात् त्रिरत्नको शरण परेर गरिने एक किसिमको ढोग भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

<sup>१३</sup> भिन्दाग भन्नाले भोट भाषामा दान दिने दाताहरूलाई बुझाउँदछ । तिब्बती परम्परामा कुनै पनि गृहस्थहरू कुनै न कुनै आफ्ना परम्परागत लामा अन्तर्गत आवद्ध भएर गुम्बासंग पनि प्रत्यक्ष जोडिएका हुन्छन् । त्यस्ता गृहस्थहरूले हरेक धार्मिक कार्यका लागि आर्थिक, नैतिक, भौतिक सहयोग गरेको हुन्छ । त्यसरी सहयोग गर्ने गृहस्थहरूलाई भिन्दाग भनिन्छ ।

<sup>१४</sup><https://youtu.be/I2EvLkiz8gM>, साग्दावा भनेको केहो ? यो महिनामा पुण्य साधना गरेको फल किन अरु बेलाभन्दा बढी हुन्छ?

यासागुम्बु<sup>14</sup>को व्यापारलाई प्रमुख आयस्रोतको रूपमा लिएको पाइन्छ । यासागुम्बा टिप्ने समय पनि यही समयतिरै पर्दछ । त्यसैले उनीहरू यासागुम्बु टिपेर यो पर्व मनाउन घर आइपुग्ने गरी समय मिलाउने गरेको पाइन्छ । यो समय तिब्बती पात्रोअनुसार चौथो महिनामा पर्दछ । परम्परादेखिनै यस समयमा न्यूङ्ने ब्रत आयोजना गरिन्छ । तर यासागुम्बु टिप्ने समयमै पर्ने भएकोले सो समय अगाडि नै ब्रत आयोजना गरिन्छ ।<sup>15</sup> यसरी यासागुम्बुलाई पनि एउटा महत्वपूर्ण आयस्रोतको रूपमा लिँदै गएपछि यसले गर्दा साग्दावा मनाउने समय र तरीकामा पनि प्रभाव परेको देखिन्छ ।

साग्दावा पर्वमा गुम्बामा जति पनि क्रियाकलापहरू, ब्रतहरू हुन्छन्, यस अवधिका लागि आवश्यकीय खानपीनमा लाग्ने खर्चको व्यवस्थापन गर्न पहिले नै कुनै न कुनै भिन्दाग्ले भूमिदान गरेको हुन्छ । त्यही जग्गाबाट आएको अन्नबाट खर्च व्यवस्थापन गर्दछ । यो प्रचलन परम्परादेखि नै कायम रहेको छ । गुम्बामा गरिने खास खास पर्व, पूजा सम्पन्न गर्नका लागि लाग्ने खर्चहरूको व्यवस्थापन गर्न त्यस्ता दान प्राप्त जग्गाको अन्नबाट गरिन्छ । चुममा एउटा निश्चित धार्मिक कार्यको लागि भनेर तोकेरै जग्गा दान दिने चलन पाइन्छ । यसरी दान दिइने जग्गालाई से भनिन्छ ।<sup>16</sup>

साग्दावा पर्ने चौथो महिनालाई पुण्य आर्जन गर्ने सबैभन्दा उपयुक्त महिना मानिन्छ । अन्य समयमा गरिने कुशल कर्मले भन्दा यस समयमा गरिने कुशल कर्मको पुण्यफल लाखौं गुणा बढी हुने मान्यता भएकोले सबैले यस अवधिमा शील पालना, दान तथा भावनाको अभ्यास गर्दछन् । यस अवधिमा महत्वपूर्ण ताल, गुफा, गुम्बाहरूमा तीर्थ जाने गर्दछन् । त्यस्तै सकेसम्म धेरै जप ध्यान गर्ने, मन्त्रोच्चरण गर्ने, गुम्बा मान्दाङलाई कोरा गर्ने चलन रहेको छ । त्यसैगरी लामा, आनी, संघलाई दान दिने, अनाथ, असहाय, गरीबहरूलाई दान गर्ने, अविद्यारूपि अन्धकारलाई हटाउने प्रतिकात्मक रूपमा दीप प्रज्वलन गर्ने, हिँडडुल गर्दा समेत हिंसा हुनबाट सतर्क रहने तथा सर्व सत्वप्राणीहरूलाई निर्भयपूर्वक जीउन दिने अभ्यास गरिन्छ ।<sup>17</sup>

चुम उपत्यकामा साग्दावा पर्व धुमधामका साथ मनाइन्छ । समुदायमा जताततै अध्यात्ममय हुन्छ ।

<sup>14</sup> यासागुम्बुलाई बोलचालीमा यासागुम्बा, कीरा पनि भनिन्छ । यासा भन्नाले आधा जिवीत र गुम्बु भन्नाले आधा भार भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यो एक विशिष्ट जडिबुटि हो, जो उच्च हिमाली क्षेत्रमा पाइन्छ । यसलाई क्याटरपिलर फङ्गस् भनिन्छ । यो जमीनभन्दा माथि जडिबुटि र जमीनमुनि कीराको रूपमा रहेको हुन्छ । यो वर्षमा एक पटक बैशाख जेष्ठ महिनातिर टिपिन्छ । यो औषधी अथवा यौनशक्ति बढाउनको लागि पनि प्रयोग गरिन्छ । चुम्बाहरूको लागि यसको व्यापारलाई प्रमुख आयको रूपमा पनि लिइन्छ ।

<sup>15</sup> खाइसार लाम्राङ छेवाङ घ्युर्मे लामासंग वि.सं. २०७७ साल कार्तिक १९ गते वहाँकै निवासमा अनौपचारिक कुराकानी गर्दा प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कअनुसार ।

<sup>16</sup> उपल्लो चुमका बाइछुक राप्तेन लामासंग २०७७ कार्तिक २३ गते लिएको अन्तरवार्ताको क्रममा प्राप्त जानकारी अनुसार । वहाँ युवा समाजसेवी हुनुहुन्छ । वहाँले खासगरी हिमाली क्षेत्रका गाउँलेहरूलाई औषधी, खाद्यान्न जस्ता राहत वितरण गर्ने जस्ता मानवकल्याणकारी कार्य गर्दै आएको छ ।

<sup>17</sup> <https://tibetpedia.com/lifestyle/religious-life/saka-dawa/>, साग्दावा, May 25, 2016, retrived on January 19, 2021.

यसले सामाजिक सम्बन्धलाई मजबुद बनाउने, पुण्यकार्यका लागि सबैलाई जागरण गराउने, दान गर्न उत्साहित गर्दछ। कुनै भिन्दाग्ले आफ्नो शेषपछि पनि समुदायलाई धार्मिक कार्यमा उपयोगी होस् भनेर पुण्यार्जन गर्नु अनुकरणीय कार्य हो। यसलाई आफ्नो दैनिक जिवीकोपार्जन गर्दै सबैको लागि पुण्यलाभ गर्ने अवसरको रूपमा पनि लिन सकिन्छ।

### नाराक पर्व

नाराक शब्द संस्कृत शब्दावली नरक शब्दबाट आएको हो। भोट भाषामा अ अक्षरलाई आ उच्चारण गरिन्छ। त्यसैले यो नाराक हुन गएको हो। अन्तिमको क अक्षरको उच्चारण ग हुन जाँदा नाराग् पनि उच्चारण गरेको पाइन्छ।<sup>19</sup> यसलाई नाराक, नारा, नाराग् भनेर उच्चारण गरिन्छ। डेस्याड उपत्यकातिर यसलाई एउटा पूजाको रूपमा लिइन्छ। चुम, नुब्रि उपत्यकातिर एउटा नाचको रूपमा लिइन्छ। नाराक नाचेर मनाइने पर्व भएकोले नाराक पर्व पनि भनिन्छ। चुम्बा भाषामा नाचलाई छाम<sup>20</sup> भनिने भएकोले नाराक छाम पनि भनिन्छ।

नाराक छामबाट पर्वको नाम नै नाराक पर्व भनिएको पाइन्छ। भोट भाषामा छाम भन्नाले नाच भन्ने पनि बुझिन्छ। यसलाई नारा पर्व पनि भनिन्छ। हिमाली बौद्ध समुदायमा निश्चित संस्कार, पर्व, उत्सव जस्ता अवसरमा नाचिने विशेष नाचहरू छन्। यस्ता नाचहरू विभिन्न बौद्ध सम्प्रदायअनुसार केही फरक फरक पाइन्छन्। जस्तै नेवारी बौद्ध समुदायमा प्रचलित चर्या नृत्य, मञ्जुश्री नृत्य, गुरूड तामाड जातिको मृत्यु संस्कारमा डुकुरा<sup>21</sup> लिएर नाचिने लामा नाचहरू बौद्ध संस्कृतिमा देखिएका नाचका प्रमुख उदाहरणहरू हुन्। यस्ता नाचहरूमा पञ्च बुद्ध, बौद्ध सिद्धान्त, दर्शन, तान्त्रिक देवी देवता, धर्मपाल आदि, बोधिसत्वहरूको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने किसिमका नाचहरू हुन्छन्। निड्मा परम्परामा पनि केही फरक पाइन्छ। यी सबै नाचहरूले सम्बन्धित समुदायको संस्कृति र धार्मिक अभ्यासमा बलियो सम्बन्ध कायम गरेको पाइन्छ। समुदायमा भएको धार्मिक विश्वासलाई विभिन्न नाच, अभिनयद्वारा प्रस्तुत गरिन्छ। यस्ता नाचहरू चाडपर्व, मृत्यु संस्कारमा नाचिन्छ। त्यस्ता नाचहरू विभिन्न पहिरन पहिरेर नाचिन्छ।

जे. कावाकिताका अनुसार यसलाई नारा छाम दुम्छो पनि भनिन्छ। यहाँ दुम्छो भनेको पर्व हो। यो वार्षिक रूपमा तिब्बती पात्रोअनुसार चौथो महिनामा मनाइन्छ, भने लुनार पात्रोअनुसार मे महिनाको अन्तिम

<sup>19</sup> घिमिरे, पूर्ववत्, पा.टि.नं.८, पृ.१२२।

<sup>20</sup> भोट भाषामा छामशब्दले खासगरी दुइवटा अर्थ दिएको पाइन्छ। एउटा धार्मिक परम्परा तथा संस्कारसंग सम्बन्धित नाच भन्ने अर्थ दिन्छ भने अर्को भनेको हिमाली बौद्ध परम्परामा प्रचलित निश्चित अवधिभर योग्य गुरूको निर्देशनबमोजिम बसिने ध्यानलाई पनि बुझाउँदछ।

<sup>21</sup> गुरूड जातिको मृत्युसंस्कार (अर्घुमा) मृतकको प्रतिक स्वरूप बाँस, काठ, चोया प्रयोग गरेर कोन आकारको बनाइएको हुन्छ। यसलाई संस्कारको दोस्रो दिन किलखोरको वरिपरि नाचिने नाच डुकुरा नाच हो। यहाँ किलखोर भन्नाले मण्डललाई जनाउँदछ। डुकुरालाई लामाको साथमा मृतकको छोरा छोरी, ज्वाइ, मावली गाउँका छोरीचेली सबै अर्घु गरिएको स्थानदेखि यथाशक्य पूर्वदिशामा गाउँभन्दा बाहिर गएर यस स्वरूपमा आत्म स्थापना (प्राण प्रतिष्ठा) गरिन्छ। अनि त्यस डुकुरामा आत्म बसेको विश्वास गर्दछ। यस कार्यलाई प्ल हेंबे अथवा आत्मा स्थापना गर्ने भनिन्छ।

हप्तातिर पर्न आउंछ । यो प्राचीन समयदेखि नै प्रचलित पर्व हो । यसले गाउँलाई शुद्धिकरण गर्छ । यो पर्व हेर्नका लागि आसपासका अन्य गाउँका मानिसहरू पनि आउंछन् । एउटा गाउँको नाराक पर्व सकिएपछि अर्को गाउँको नाराक नाच आयोजना गरिन्छ । यस नाचमा पुरुषहरू मात्र नाचिन्छ । नाचमा ह्याङ्गो, शङ्ख, सिङ्ग, घण्टा, *मिखाड*<sup>२२</sup> आदि बजाइन्छ । यसले गर्दा *मिखाडको* आवाजले प्रेत शक्तिहरूलाई वशमा राख्न सकिन्छ भन्ने विश्वास छ । दोस्रो त्यहाँ बोलाइएका आत्माहरूलाई *तोर्मा* बनाएर चढाइन्छ । तेस्रो भनेको *हुधो चिमी गुठी* बनाउनु हो । यो हुंगाले हान्ने एक किसिमको घुयेत्रो जस्तै हतियार हो । यसले अन्य नकारात्मक तथा प्रेतशक्तिलाई नजिक आउन दिँदैन भन्ने विश्वास छ ।<sup>२३</sup>

कुनै कुनै नाच विशेष पर्व, उत्सव, तिथिमा मात्र नाचिन्छ । कुनै नाच वार्षिक रूपमा, कुनै नाचहरू वर्षमा दुइ पटक नाचिन्छ । हिमाली बौद्ध समुदायमा गुरु पद्मसम्भव, बज्रकिलाय नाच, नाराक छामलाई बौद्ध समुदायमा प्रचलित महत्वपूर्ण नाचहरू मानिन्छ । तिब्बती पात्रोअनुसार पहिलो महिनाको अठार, उन्नाइस गतेतिर बज्रकिलाय (*भोटः फुर्छुड*) नाच नाचिन्छ । सोही महिनाकै अठ्ठाइस उन्नाइस गतेतिर पनि बज्रकिलाय नाच (*भोटः फुचेन*) नाचिन्छ । यो नाच गुरु पद्मसम्भवको सम्मानमा, तिब्बती दोस्रो महिनाको बाइस गते सयौँ देवीहरूलाई समर्पण गरेर नाचिन्छ ।<sup>२४</sup> हिमाली क्षेत्रमा नाचिने बौद्ध नाचहरूमध्ये चुम उपत्यकामा प्रचलित नाराक छाम एउटा विशिष्ट प्रकृतिको नाच हो । यस उपत्यकामा एउटै गुठी अन्तर्गतका गाउँहरूको सहभागितामा यो नाचको आयोजना हरेक वर्ष एक पटक गरिन्छ । उपल्लो चुममा तीनवटा लाम्राडहरूले लगभग एउटै समयमा तर फरक फरक मितिमा आयोजना गर्दछ । यो नाच खासगरी दुइवटा प्रमुख विषयसंग सम्बन्धित रहेको हुन्छ । जसमा एउटा हो, *फादो*मा रहेका मृतात्माको उत्तम जन्मको लागि गरिने कामना र अर्को वेयुल क्यिमोलुङमा मानव वस्तीको स्थापनासंग सम्बन्धित लोककथा यही नाचको नामबाट यस पर्वलाई नै नाराक पर्व भनिन्छ ।<sup>२५</sup> चुम उपत्यकामा नाराक पूजा दुइ दिन मनाइन्छ । नाराक नाचभित्र विभिन्न सात चरणका नाचहरू हुन्छन् । प्रत्येक चरणले फरक फरक विषय अभिव्यक्त गरेको हुन्छ । मृत्युसंग सम्बन्धित भएको हुँदा नाच शुरू हुनुभन्दा अगाडि लाम्राड लामाले त्यहाँ उपस्थित सबैलाई यसको अर्थ तथा महत्वको विषयमा स्पष्ट पारिदिन्छ । त्यसपछि मात्र नाच शुरू गरिन्छ ।

## नाराक पर्वको सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक अवस्था

२२ *मिखाड* भन्नाले मानिसको खुट्टाको नलीलाई बुझिन्छ । तिब्बती बौद्धसंस्कारका कुनै कुनै कार्यहरूमा यसलाई फुकेर बजाइन्छ ।

२३ कावाकिता, जे., साइन्टिफिक रिजल्टस् अफ द जापानीज एक्सपिडिसन टु नेपाल हिमालय १९५२-१९५३, *पिपल्स अफ नेपाल हिमालय*,

भोलुम तीन, क्योटो: फाउना एण्ड फ्लोरा रिसर्च सोसाइटी क्योटो युनिभर्सिटी, सन् १९५७, पृ. १८१ ।

२४ क्रिष्टोफ भोन फुरहर हेमिन्डोर्फ (सम्पा.), *तिब्बतीयन रिलिजिअज डान्सेज*, दिल्ली: पिलग्रमेज बुक प्रा. लि., सन् १९९७, पृ. ११-१२ ।

२५ लाम्राड पासड फुन्जो लामासंग वि.सं. २०७७ पौष १५ गते लिएको अन्तरवार्ता तथा तल्लो चुमका भो छिरिङ लामासंग गरिएको कुराकानीबाट प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कअनुसार ।



हिमाली बौद्ध समुदायका जनविश्वासअनुसार मानिसको मृत्यु भएपछि, *फादो*को अवधिमा मृतात्माले अनेकौं भयानक अनुहारहरू देख्छन् । त्यसबाट उसलाई ज्यादै भय र त्रास हुन्छ भन्ने मान्यता रहेको छ । यसरी देखा मृतात्मालाई त्रासमुक्त, भयमुक्त बनाउने अथवा जिवीत छँदै त्यस्ता दृश्य देखेपछि मृत्युपश्चात् मृतात्माले त्यसलाई राम्रोसंग चिनोस् भन्ने उद्देश्यले त्यस्ता भयानक, डरलाग्दो, क्रोधयुक्त अनुहारको मुकुण्डो लगाएर नाच देखाइन्छ । मानिसहरूले जिवितमै त्यस्ता अनुहार देखेपछि मृत्यु पछि *फादो*को समयमा मृतात्मालाई डर त्रास हुँदैन भन्ने लोक विश्वास छ । मृतकले आफू मरेको वा नमरेको थाहा पाउँदैन । उसले जिवीत व्यक्तिहरूलाई देखिरहेको हुन्छ तर मानिसहरूले उसलाई देखेको हुँदैन भन्ने लोक मान्यता पाइन्छ ।

*फादो*को समयमा त्यस्ता डरलाग्दो अनुहार देखा नाच्नेले पनि आफू त्यस्तो अनुहारमा नाचिसकेको र हेर्ने मानिसहरूले पनि मृत्यु भएपछि उसको मृतात्माले जिवीत छँदै देखिसकेकोले त्यसबाट डराउने वा तर्सिने हुँदैन । यसले गर्दा मृतात्मा नभङ्किने र लामाले सहजै आफ्नो वशमा राख्न सक्छ । यसरी मृतात्मालाई लाब्राडले मृत्यु भैसकेको बोध गराउँछ । त्यसपछि लामाले निर्देशन गरे अनुसारको बाटो खोजेर जानु भन्ने किसिमको मृत्युसंग सम्बन्धित प्रसङ्गहरूलाई यस नाचको माध्यमबाट प्रदर्शन गरिन्छ । यसमा गीतको शब्द हुँदैन । नाचमा घेलिङ, शङ्ख, ढ्याङ्गो, भ्याम्टा आदि बाजाहरू बजाइन्छ ।

नाराक नाच एउटा मनोरञ्जनपूर्णको साथसाथै ऐतिहासिक अर्थपूर्ण नाच पनि हो । यस पर्वमा सहभागी भएका मानिसहरू छ्याङ खाने, आपसमा कुराकानी गर्ने, विविध क्रियाकलाप गर्दछन् । यस नाचले आध्यात्मिक ज्ञान पनि दिने भएकोले मानिसहरू यसको अवलोकन गर्न आउने गर्दछन् । यसका साथै सहभागीहरू के खान्छन् ? के बोल्छन् ? के गर्छन् ? के लगाउँछन् ? भन्ने कुराको चासो हुन्छ । *छ्याङ* सेवनले गर्दा एक आपसमा विवाद हुने सम्भावना पनि हुन्छ ।<sup>२६</sup> त्यसैले लाब्राडहरूले नै त्यस्ता पर्वहरूमा *छ्याङ* खाने चलन हटाउँदै घ्यू चिया खाने चलन धेरै बढ्दै छ ।

यो नाच धेरै चरणमा नाचिन्छ । यो लाब्राडअनुसार केही फरक पाइन्छ । डा लाब्राडले नाच्ने नाराक नाचमा अठार जनासम्मको समूह नाचिन्छ । निले लाब्राडले धेरैमा उन्नाइस जना र खाङ्सार लाब्राडको बढीमा तेह्र जनाको समूहमा नाचिन्छ । नाच्नेहरूले भ्याम्टा, घेलिङ, ढ्याङ्गो जस्ता बाजा बजाएर नाच्छन् । यो नाच *कुन्ज्यो चिदुइ* र *काप्के* ग्रन्थलाई आधार मानेर नाचिन्छ । *काप्के* अनुसार नाचिने नाराक नाच हात खुट्टा बढी उचालेर र कुनै कम उचालेर नाचिने खालका हुन्छन् ।<sup>२७</sup> डा लाब्राड पासाङ फुञ्जो लामाका अनुसार आफूले नाच्ने नाराक छाम चाहिँ *काप्के* ग्रन्थको आधारमा नाचिने नाच हो । सबै लाब्राडहरूले

<sup>२६</sup> लिच्टर, डेभिड जोन, *पर्सन, एक्सन एण्ड कजेसन इन अ भोटो इथनिक*, लण्डन: डिपार्टमेण्ट अफ अन्थ्रोपोलोजी एण्ड द कमिटी अन् ग्राजुएट स्टडीज अफ स्टान्फोर्ड युनिभर्सिटीमा विद्यावारीधि उपाधिका लागि पेश गरिएको शोधप्रबन्ध पत्र, सन् १९८०, पृ.१३९ ।

<sup>२७</sup> डा लाब्राड पासाङ फुञ्जो लामासंग वि.सं. २०७७ पौष ७ गते लिएको अन्तरवार्ताबाट प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कअनुसार ।

नाच्ने नाराक नाचमा *फ्लादो* र *क्यिमोलुङ*मा मानववस्तीको उत्पत्तिसम्बन्धि कथाको प्रसंगचाहिँ सबैमा समान पाइन्छ । यो नाच मनोरञ्जनको लागि भन्दा पनि एउटा इतिहास तथा दर्शनलाई व्यक्त गर्न नाचेको पाइन्छ ।<sup>२८</sup>

गोदावरीस्थित ओसाल गुम्बाका प्रमुख तथा निले लाब्राडका अनुसार आफू अन्तर्गतका त्यस्तो नाच नाच्नेहरू छ्युले, फुर्वे, पाङ्दुनको नाराक नाचमा नाच्ने ठावाहरू हुन्छन् । ठावाहरू कुनै कारणले उपस्थित हुन सकेन भने पनि उसले आफ्नो सट्टा अरू कसैलाई पठाउनु पर्दछ । यो नाच कहिलेदेखि प्रचलनमा आयो ? भन्ने विषयमा यकीन समय थाहा नभएपनि तिब्बतमा निकै पुरानो प्रचलन भएको मानिन्छ । अठार जनाको सङ्ख्यामा नाच्ने नाचलाई *क्यल्वि म्हेन्दो कुरिम*<sup>२९</sup> भनिन्छ, जसको अर्थ राजालाई समर्पण गरी नाचिने नाच भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यो नाच नाचेपछि *तोर्मा* बनाएर चढाइने चलन छ । यसलाई *सोद्* भनिन्छ । यसरी *तोर्मा* बनाएर चढाइने चलन कर्मपा परम्परामा पनि देखिन्छ । यो पर्व आठ नौ दिनसम्म मनाइन्छ । शुरूको दुइ दिनचाहिँ विशेष नाच हुन्छ । पहिलो दिनको एउटा नाचमा एकलै नाचिन्छ, त्यस नाचलाई *पुठी*<sup>३०</sup> भनिन्छ । यसरी नाचनुको कारण गाउँको वरिपरि कुनै खराब शक्ति, बोक्सी, भूतप्रेतलाई त्यहाँ प्रवेश हुनबाट रोक्नु हो । यस नाचमा दुइजना बुढाबुढीको स्वरूपमा नाचिन्छ । उनीहरू शिकार खेल्दै *क्यिमोलुङ*को खोजीमा तल्लो चुमको रेन्जम गाउँमा आइपुगेपछि उनीहरूलाई हिंसा गर्न नहुने कुरा त्यहाँको एक जना मान्छेले बताएको कथालाई नाटकीय रूपमा प्रदर्शन गर्दछ । यसलाई *सुमो*<sup>३१</sup> भनिन्छ । यो नाच *क्यिमोलुङ*को उत्पत्तिसंग सम्बन्धित छ । त्यसपछि *सेन्जेन भ्योवा*<sup>३२</sup> भन्ने नाच नाचिन्छ । यस नाचमा बनमान्छेको स्वरूपमा चारजना नाचिन्छ । यस नाचको प्रमुख उद्देश्य मृतात्मालाई अन्य प्रेतात्मा बाट भङ्किन नदिनु हो ।<sup>३३</sup>

ब्लादो गर्दा बाटो नपाएर भौँतरिरहेका मृतात्मालाई लामाले विभिन्न तान्त्रिक विधिबाट आफ्नो वशमा ल्याउने प्रयास गर्छ । मानेन भने मन्त्रद्वारा बाँधेर वा कुनै पनि उपायले ल्याउँछ । मृतात्मालाई आफू मृत्यु भैसकेको थाहा हुँदैन । लामाले उसलाई मृत्यु भैसकेको बोध गराउने प्रयास गर्छ । तिमी मरिसक्यौ अब घरपरिवार, नाता आफन्तबाट कुनै प्रकारको आशा नगर, आशक्ति नहोऊ भनेर विभिन्न *सिपे* पाठ गरिन्छ । यहाँ *सि* भन्नाले मृत्यु *पे* भन्नाले ग्रन्थ अर्थात् मृत्यु हुँदा पाठ गरिने ग्रन्थ भन्ने बुझिन्छ । मृतात्मा डरलाग्दो देवताहरूको अनुहार देखेर शुरूमा आउन गाह्रो मान्छ । ती मुकुण्डोहरू त्यही क्रोधयुक्त डरलाग्दो देवताको

<sup>२८</sup> पासाङ फुन्जो लामासंग वि.सं. २०७७ माघ १ गते लिएको अन्तरवार्ताबाट प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कअनुसार ।

<sup>२९</sup> *क्यल्वि म्हेन्दो कुरिम* भन्नाले चुम उपत्यकामा प्रचलित नाराक छाम अन्तर्गतको विभिन्न प्रकारका नाचहरूमध्ये एउटा नाच हो, जुन नाच समूहमा नाचिन्छ । खासगरी यस प्रकारको नाच राजालाई समर्पण गरेर नाचिन्छ ।

<sup>३०</sup> *पुठी* भन्नाले नाराक नाच अन्तर्गत बनमान्छेको स्वरूपमा चारजना नाचिने एक किसिमको नाच भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

<sup>३१</sup> *सुमो* भन्नाले नाराक नाचको विभिन्न चरणका नाचहरूमध्ये *क्यिमोलुङ*को उत्पत्तिको किम्बदन्तीलाई प्रदर्शन गर्न दुइजना बुढाबुढीको रूपमा नाचिने नाच भन्ने बुझिन्छ ।

<sup>३२</sup> *सेन्जेन भ्योवा* भन्नाले नाराक छाम अन्तर्गतकै एउटा नाच हो । यस नाचमा बनमान्छेको स्वरूपमा चार जना नाचिन्छ ।

<sup>३३</sup> डा लाब्राड लामा पासाङसंग मिति २०७७ पौष १५ गते गरिएको अनौपचारिक कुराकानीबाट प्राप्त जानकारीअनुसार ।

अनुहार मानिन्छ । मृतकले आफू जिवीत छँदै ती मुकुण्डो जस्ता अनुहारहरू नाराक छाममार्फत देखिसकेको हुँदा उसले ती मुकुण्डोको दृश्य स्मरण गर्छ, अनि उ डराउँदैन र नजिकिन खोज्छ भन्ने विश्वास छ ।<sup>३४</sup>

यो पर्व दशैं तिहारको आसपास (कार्तिक-मङ्सिर)तिर मनाइन्छ । त्यसैले यसलाई दशैंसंग जोडेर पनि हेरिन्छ । दशैंमा हिन्दू शक्तिपीठहरूमा तथा घरघरमा अनगिन्ती प्राणीहरूको बली दिइन्छ । मानिसहरूको अज्ञानताका कारण हिंसामा परेका प्राणीहरूको मुक्तिको लागि नाराक पूजा गरिन्छ । ती प्राणीहरूले सुखावती भुवनमा जन्म लिन पाओस् भन्ने कामना गरी लाखौं दीप प्रज्वलन गर्ने, आक्रोशित देवीको पूजा गरिन्छ । यसबाट पूर्व अकुशल कर्मको विपाकलाई हटाउने साथै नरक लोकमा जन्मिनु पर्दैन भन्ने विश्वास रहेको पाइन्छ ।<sup>३५</sup> चुम उपत्यकाका गाउँहरूमा एउटै मौसमका फरक मितिमा मनाइन्छ । उपल्लो चुममा डा लाम्राडले एक वर्ष भोड गुम्बामा र अर्को वर्ष लेरू ल्हाखाडमा आलोपालो गरी आयोजना गर्दछ । खाडसार लाम्राडले चिफु गुम्बामा र निले लाम्राडले घोडे गुम्बामा आयोजना गर्दछ । निले लाम्राडले हरेक वर्ष ललितपुरको गोदावरीस्थित ओसाल गुम्बामा पनि एक हप्ता जति नाराक पूजा गर्दछ । यो पूजा समाप्त भएपछि नाराक नाचको आयोजना गरिन्छ । काठमाडौंमा बसोबास गर्दै आएका चुम्बाहरू ओसाल गुम्बामै गएर नाराक पर्व मनाउँछन् । पर्वमा आउनेहरूले फलफूल, दान, खादा चढाएर पूजा गर्दछन् । यहाँ आयोजना गरिने पूजापाठ तथा नाचका लागि यहीं आसपासका स्थानीय तामाड समुदायका लामाहरूलाई बोलाइन्छ । यसरी बोलाइने लामाहरू धेरैले लोसुम दासुम बसिसकेका हुन्छन् ।

### नाराक पर्वको आर्थिक पक्ष

नाराक पर्व एक दिन मनाइन्छ । यो गाउँको प्रमुख गुम्बामा मनाइन्छ । परम्परागत रूपमा यो पर्व दिउँसो नाचेर मनाइन्छ । तर आजभोलि राती पनि युवायुवतीहरूले नाचगान सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम गरी मनाइन्छ । यो नितान्त मनोरञ्जनको लागि पछि जोडिएको चलन हो । तसर्थ सबै ठाउँमा नहुन पनि सक्छ । यस पर्वमा पनि व्यक्तिगत तथा घरघरमा गरिने खर्चालु कार्य हुँदैन । यो लाम्राड लामाको अगुवाइमा सम्पन्न गरिन्छ । सम्बन्धित गाउँको लाम्राड अन्तर्गत रहेका प्रमुख गुम्बा मनाइन्छ । गुम्बामा गरिने तयारी, पूजाको लागि सरसामान, फलफूल, खानपीन, धुपबत्ती बाल्ने, सहभागि भएका मानिसहरूको लागि खानपीन, छ्याड, गुम्बामा चढाउने दान आदि खर्च हुने विषयहरू हुन् । परम्परागत रूपमा छ्याडको प्रयोग धेरै हुन्छ ।

धेरैजसो गुठीका सदस्यले आफ्नो मृत्यु हुनुपूर्व नै नाराक पूजाकै लागि भनेर गुम्बालाई जग्गा दान दिएको हुन्छ । त्यस्तो पर्वको लागि जग्गा दान दिनेलाई नारा से भनिन्छ । यहाँ से भन्नाले स्थानीयी भाषामा दान अथवा स्वामित्व हस्तान्तरण भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यस्ता से चुम उपत्यकाका प्राय सबै गुम्बामा गरिने

<sup>३४</sup> लामा पासाडसंग गरिएको कुराकानीबाट प्राप्त तथ्याङ्कअनुसार ।

<sup>३५</sup> चन्द्रकला घिमिरे, बुद्धिजम इन डेस्याड भ्याली: मोडर्न एण्ड पोष्ट मोडर्न कन्टेक्ट, लुम्बिनी बौद्ध विश्वविद्यालय, बौद्ध अध्ययन संकायमा बौद्ध अध्ययन विषयमा विद्यावारीधि उपाधिका लागि पेश गरिएको शोध प्रबन्धपत्र, सन् २०१६, पृ.१२२-१२३ ।

नाराक पर्वको लागि छ । त्यस पर्वको लागि आवश्यकीय छ्याङ् यही जग्गाबाट आउने अन्नबाट बनाइन्छ । त्यस जग्गाको आवादी गर्न गुठीभित्रकै सदस्यलाई दिइन्छ । यसबाट आएको अन्न आधा आफूले लिने र आधा नारा पूजाको लागि चाहिने खर्चको प्रयोजनमा लगाइन्छ । यसरी से दिने व्यक्तिले आफू मृत्यु भएर गएपनि समुदायलाई सेवा गरी पुण्य लाभ गर्ने विश्वास रहेको छ । खानपीन, दान दिक्षणाभन्दा यस पर्वमा पनि उल्लेखनीय आर्थिक क्रियाकलाप हुँदैन ।

### धाज्याडपर्व

धाज्याड शब्दावलीमा प्रयुक्त भएको धा को अर्थ धनुष तीर, बाँण भन्ने बुझिन्छ । ज्याड भन्नाले हान्नु भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यसर्थ धाज्याड भन्नाले धनुष हान्नु, तीर हान्नु, बाँण हान्नु भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यो एक किसिमको घोडा दौड पनि हो । तीर, बाँण तथा घोडाहरू शिकार खेल र युद्धमा पनि प्रयोग गरिन्थ्यो । घोडा दौडको प्रतिस्पर्धा तीर हान्ने प्रचलन अझै पनि डोल्पा, हुम्ला, जुम्ला, मुस्ताड, मनाडतिर निकै प्रचलित छन् । मुस्ताडतिर यो निकै प्रचलित छ । त्यहाँ यसलाई यातौड भनिन्छ ।<sup>३६</sup>तिब्बती समुदाय, नेपालको हिमाली समुदायको जनजीवनमा घोडाको प्रयोग दैनिक जीवनमा धेरै हुन्छ । चुम उपत्यकामा यो पर्वलाई दोस्रो महत्वपूर्ण पर्व मानिन्छ । धाज्याड पर्व खेतीबाली थन्क्याइसकेपछि मंसिर पौष महिनातिर मनाइन्छ । चुम उपत्यकामा पनि धाज्याड पर्व महत्वका साथ मनाइन्छ ।

धाज्याड पर्वलाई घोडे जात्रा पर्वको रूपमा पनि लिइन्छ । बुद्धकालमा पनि हात्ती, घोडा जस्ता जनावरलाई वाहनको रूपमा प्रयोग गरेको पाइन्छ । सिद्धार्थ बोधिसत्वको जन्म हुँदा कन्थक घोडा पनि एकै दिनमा जन्मेका कथाहरू छन् । उनले गृहत्याग गर्दा कन्थक घोडा चढेर नै सवारी गरेको प्रसङ्ग बौद्ध साहित्यहरूमा पाइन्छन् । शाक्यमुनि बुद्धको जिवनमा घोडाको सम्बन्ध धेरै ठाउँमा रहेको पाइन्छ । प्राचीन कालका युद्धहरूमा पनि घोडाको प्रयोग गरिएको, सम्राट अशोकले स्थापना गरेका स्तम्भहरूमा घोडाको मूर्तिलाई प्राथमिकताका साथ राखिएको देखिन्छ । गुम्बा, छ्योर्तेन, घरहरूतिर भुण्ड्याइएका धार्च्यो, लुङ्ताहरूमा घोडाको चित्र अंकित गरिएको हुन्छ । बौद्ध समुदायमा प्रचलित बाह्रवटा वर्ग गणना गर्न अथवा ल्होकोर<sup>३७</sup>मा घोडाले पनि एउटा वर्गको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछ । यसलाई तो ल्हो अथवा घोडा वर्ग भनिन्छ । हिमाली क्षेत्रमा पनि घोडालाई प्राचीन कालदेखि नै प्रमुख सवारी साधनको रूपमा लिएको पाइन्छ । यहाँको दैनिक जीवनमा घोडाको प्रयोग धेरै हुन्छ । मुस्ताडमा मनाइने यातौड पर्व, चुम उपत्यकामा मनाइने धाज्याड पर्वमा पनि घोडाको नै प्रयोग हुन्छ । यसले हिमाली समुदायको दैनिक जीवन तथा संस्कृतिमा

<sup>३६</sup> सुरोज गुरूडसंग मिति २०७६ कर्तिक १४ गते भएको कुराकानी अनुसार । उनी मुस्ताडस्थित मुक्तिनाथका होटेल व्यवसायी तथा समाजसेवी हुनुहुन्छ । साथै स्थानीय संस्कृतिको ज्ञाता हुनुहुन्छ ।

<sup>३७</sup> ल्होकोर शब्दको व्युत्पत्ति ल्हो र कोर मिलेर बनेको छ । यहाँ ल्हो शब्दले वर्ग भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यस्ता ल्हो १२ वटा हुन्छन् । हरेक वर्गले एक वर्षलाई जनाउँदछ । तसर्थ त्यही १२ वटा वर्गले एउटा वर्गचक्र पुरा गर्नुलाई ल्होकोर भनिन्छ ।

घोडाको महत्व रहेको देखिन्छ । लुङ्को अर्थ हावा वा वायु र ता को अर्थ घोडा भन्ने बुझिन्छ । लुङ्ताको उल्लेखित मन्त्रहरू हावाको माध्यमबाट फैलिन्छ, भन्ने मान्यता रहेको पाइन्छ ।

### धाज्याङ्गपर्वको सामाजिक तथा सांस्कृतिक पक्ष

चुम उपत्यकामा घोडा पालनले आर्थिक सम्पन्नतालाई जनाउँदथ्यो । पहिले पहिले घोडा एक मात्र निर्विकल्प सवारी साधन थियो । त्यसैले घोडा प्रयोग गरिने प्रचलन पाइन्छ । तसर्थ घोडासंग सम्बन्धित पर्वहरू पनि छन् । त्यस्ता पर्वहरूमा घोडा दौडाइने चलन छ । घोडा दौडको लागि वरिपरिको भूवनोट पनि फराकिलो समथल हुनु आवश्यक छ । त्यसैले उपल्लो चुममा यो पर्व मनाइन्छ । तर तल्लो चुममा भने धरातलीय असमानता, खोंच, पहाड, हिमाल भएको, समथर स्थान नभएकोले यो पर्व मनाइदैन ।

यो पर्व अन्नबाली थन्क्याइसकेपछि, कृषकहरूको उमङ्ग, सबैको जमघट, अर्को गाउँका पनि मानिसहरू आएर मनाइने र हरेक वर्ष मनाइने मनोरञ्जनात्मक पर्व हो । गाउँ गाउँमा यसको आयोजना गरिन्छ । यस पर्व हेर्न मानिसहरू एक गाउँबाट अर्को गाउँमा जान्छन् । यो पर्व सबैले हर्षोल्लासपूर्वक मनाउँछन् । यसले गर्दा गाउँ गाउँ तथा मानिसबीच सुमधुर सम्बन्ध कायम गर्दै सामाजिक सम्बन्धलाई पनि बलियो बनाएकोपाइन्छ । डाक्यूका छिरिड फुञ्जोको भनाइअनुसार यस पर्वको शुरुमा सबैले आआफ्नो देवतालाई पूजा गरेपछि, लाम्राडलाई बोलाएर गाउँको ल्हाखाडमा सामूहिक पूजा गरी घोडा दौडाएर अरू गाउँगाउँमा लगिन्छ । यो पर्व बाली थन्क्याएर सकिएपछि मनाइन्छ ।

पर्वको समयमा गाउँका तन्नेरीहरू विहानै जम्मा हुन्छन् । थरिथरिका ध्वजाहरू बाँधेको हतियार बन्दुक, भालाहरू बोकेर घोडालाई दौडाइन्छ । आआफ्ना घोडाहरूलाई गहनाले सकेसम्म कलात्मक र आकर्षक तवरले सजाइन्छ । चुम उपत्यकाभित्र जुनसुकै गाउँको धाज्याङ्ग भए पनि प्युरेनफुवाट शुरु गरिन्छ । यसले चुम्बाको संस्कृतिमा प्युरेन फुको महत्वलाई दर्शाउँछ । त्यसपछि विभिन्न गाउँ गाउँका गुम्बाहरूमा गएर पूजा गर्ने र दीप प्रज्वलन गर्दै अन्तमा आआफ्नै गाउँमा फर्किन्छन् । यसरी दौडाउने क्रममा बाटोमा पर्नेमान्दाड, गुम्बा, कानीहरूलाई दायँबाट घुमेर परिक्रमा गरिन्छ । हरेक गाउँमा पुग्दा त्यहाँका मानिसहरूले भव्य स्वागत गर्नुका साथै खानपीन गराउँछ । घोडा चढ्नेहरूले गाउँबाट निस्केर गुम्बामा पुग्दा, बत्ती बाल्दा, गुम्बाबाट गाउँमा फर्किँदा, गाउँलेहरूबाट आतिथ्यता ग्रहण गर्दै धेरै चरणहरू पार गर्दछन् । ती विभिन्न चरणहरूमा फरक फरक गीतहरू गाइन्छन् ।

घोडा दौड सकिएपछि सबै युवायुवतीहरू एक ठाउँमा जम्मा भएर रातभरि नाचगान गरी मनोरञ्जन गर्दछन् । यतिखेरको नाचगानमा कुनै धार्मिक मान्यता जोडिएको हुँदैन । यसमा केवल मनोरञ्जन गर्ने उद्देश्य रहन्छ । घोडा दौड प्रतिस्पर्धाको लागि नभएर मनोरञ्जनको लागि गरिन्छ । पहिले पहिले यो दौड सकिएपछि धनुष बाँण (तीर) हान्ने खेल खेलिन्थ्यो । यसले शिकारी युगको हिंसात्मक

क्रियाकलापलाई संकेत गर्दछ। चुम उपत्यकामा हिंसामुक्त क्षेत्र घोषणाको अभियान शुरू भएपछि यसको प्रभावले गर्दा यस किसिमको खेलहरू हटाइएको पाइन्छ।<sup>३८</sup> यो पर्व खेतीबाली थन्क्याएर मनाइने हुँदा यसले कृषि संस्कृतिसंग पनि सम्बन्ध राखेको हुन्छ। यस्ता परम्परालाई कायम राख्दै समय सापेक्ष परिवर्तन गर्दै ल्याएको पाइन्छ।

धाज्याङ पर्वसंगै मिल्दोजुल्दो मुस्ताङमा *यातोङ* पर्व मनाइन्छ। तर त्यहाँ घोडा दौडको आयोजना धार्मिक मान्यता तथा प्रदर्शनको लागिभन्दा पनि प्रतिस्पर्धाको लागि गर्ने गरेको पाइन्छ। यहाँ यातोङ पर्वले गृष्म ऋतु समाप्त भएको भन्ने बुझिन्छ।<sup>३९</sup> घोडा दौड प्रदर्शन अवलोकन गर्न अन्य गाउँका युवा, वृद्धवृद्धाहरू पनि उपस्थित हुन्छन्। यसरी धाज्याङ पर्वसंग मिल्दोजुल्दो पर्व अन्य बौद्ध समुदायमा पनि पाइन्छ।

धाज्याङ पर्वको व्यवस्थापन, संयोजनका लागि गाउँका गुठीयारहरूमध्ये दुइ दुइ घरले पालो गरी जिम्मेवारी लिएको हुन्छ। यो जिम्मेवारी प्रत्येक घरलाई वर्ष वर्षमा आलोपालो गरी दिइन्छ। यस्ता जिम्मेवारी लिने व्यक्तिलाई स्थानीय भाषामा *ल्हेना*<sup>४०</sup> भनिन्छ। यस्तो आलो पालो प्रणालीले सामाजिक सम्बन्धलाई निरन्तर तथा मजबुद बनाउन सहयोग गरेको पाइन्छ। यसबाट धाज्याङ पर्वले बुद्धकालदेखिको मानव जीवन र घोडासंगको सम्बन्धलाई देखाएको पाइन्छ। यसले हिमाली सभ्यतालाई पनि कायम राख्दै सामाजिक सम्बन्धलाई पनि बलियो बनाउँदै लगेको छ। यसका साथै बदलिँदो सामाजिक परिवेश अनुसार नयाँ पुस्तालाई पनि समावेश गरी पुस्तान्तरण गर्दै आएको छ।

यसरी धाज्याङ पर्वले बुद्धकाल देखिनै मानिसहरूको दैनिक जीवनमा घोडाको सम्बन्ध हिमाली सभ्यतालाई दर्शाउँछ। साथै चुम उपत्यकामा यसले सामाजिक सम्बन्ध कायम राख्न मौलिक संस्कृतिलाई सम्बर्द्धन गर्न सहयोग गरेको पाइन्छ। धाज्याङ पर्वमा गरिने धेरै क्रियाकलापहरू स्थानीय लाब्राङकै निर्देशन अनुसार गरिन्छ।

### निष्कर्ष

यस अध्ययनबाट चुम उपत्यकामा चुम्बाहरूले मनाउँदै आएका चाडपर्वहरू धेरै छन्। त्यस्ता परम्परादेखि नै मनाउँदै आएका पर्वहरूले त्यहाँको एतिहासिक सांस्कृतिक पक्षको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछ। त्यस्ता पर्वहरूप्रति स्थानीय मूल्य मान्यता, विश्वासमा निरन्तरता रहेको पाइन्छ। यसले चुम उपत्यकाको सामाजिक

<sup>३८</sup> अध्ययन क्षेत्रको स्थलगत भ्रमणको क्रममा स्थानीय मानिसहरूबाट प्राप्त जानकारीअनुसार।

<sup>३९</sup> रमेशराज कुँवर, *हिमालयन हेरिटेज, अ स्टडी अफ सोसाइटी, कल्चर र नेपालको धर्म संस्कृति*, काठमाडौं: लक्ष्मी कुँवर, सन् २०००, पृ. २६।

<sup>४०</sup> *ल्हेना* भन्नाले धाज्याङ पर्वको व्यवस्थापन गर्ने जिम्मेवारी लिएको व्यक्तिलाई जनाउँदछ।

सांस्कृतिक अभ्यासका निरन्तरतालाई पनि प्रतिनिधित्व गरेको छ । यस्ता पर्वहरूले चुम्बा समुदायको सामाजिक सद्भाव तथा आपसी सम्बन्धलाई पनि कायम राखेको छ । साथै त्यहाँका परम्परागत पेशा, व्यवसाय, अभ्यास, दैनिक जीवन, जीवनसंस्कारसंग सम्बन्धित मान्यताहरूलाई पनि यस्ता चाडपर्वले संरक्षण गरेको छ । यस्ता सम्पदाहरूमा आर्थिक कारण, आधुनिक विकासका कारण अभ्यासमा केही परिवर्तनहरू भएको छ । यसका बावजूद पनि समुदायका युवा पुस्ताहरूको सहभागिता तथा अन्यत्र बसाइसराइ गरी गएका चुम्बाहरूले पनि त्यस्ता पर्वहरूलाई उत्तिकै महत्वका साथ मनाएको पाइएकोले पुस्ता हस्तान्तरण पनि हुँदै गएको छ ।

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**Pāli Canonical Sources to the Cognitive Process (Citta- Vīthi)**

- Fanindra Kumar Neupane

**Abstract**

The *Theravāda Buddhism* has made a unique contribution to humankind by offering a theory of cognitive process (*citta-vīthi*). This theory has been broadly presented in the *Abhidhamma* commentaries and manuals- mainly in the works of Buddhaghosa, Buddhaddatta, and Anuruddha- although it is based on the description already found in the *Abhidhamma* canons i.e. the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and the *Paṭṭhāna*. Since it is widely assumed in the *Theravāda* tradition that the *Abhidhamma* teachings are detailed scholastic analysis and summary of the Buddha's teachings in the *Suttas*, this theory has been comprehensively described in the *Abhidhamma* commentaries and manual should have its base and root in the *Sutta* literature as well. The *Sutta* and the *Abhidhamma* canonical literature have implanted the seed of this theory, which is further developed more systematically in the post-canonical commentary and sub-commentary literature. This research is an attempt to examine the *pāli* canonical roots and bases of the theory of cognitive process that is interpreted in *Theravāda* Buddhism, especially in the *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* literature.

**Keywords:** Citta, Citta-vīthi, Pañcadvāra-vīthi, Manodvāra-vīthi, Abhidhamma

**Introduction**

Consciousness can be defined as a process of a person's being aware of the outer environment or about one's internal world. It is a subjective understanding of both the environment around us and our private internal world which is unobservable to others. Philosophy has attempted to comprehend this concept in terms of phenomenology and philosophy of mind. Western Psychology has defined this process as the awareness of the sensations, thoughts, and feelings being experienced at a given moment.<sup>41</sup> In the *Theravāda Abhidhamma* system, the theory of cognitive process has been defined as a law of consciousness (*citta-niyāma*) as there is a law of season (*utu-niyāma*), the law of a seed to grow (*bija-niyāma*), law of nature (*dhamma-niyāma*) and, law of action (*kamma-niyāma*). The theory of cognitive process discusses the pattern of consciousness (*citta*) that arises and passes away in a discrete series in a uniform order known as *citta-vīthi* in *pāli* language.

The *Abhidhammic* notion of the cognitive process has been identified as a perceptual process that is originated as a conditional relation between the sense- faculties and their respective objects. In this system, cognition is understood as the psychological experience of an enduring process. In this

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<sup>41</sup> Robert S. Feldman. *Understanding Psychology*, (New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Ltd, 2004), p. 132.



process, the sense objects are perceived and reacted according to certain laws and principles. The unique contribution of this philosophy is to reject the recognition of a permanent substantial agent (*Ātman*) for playing role in this process. Further, the Buddhist psychological system assumes that the cognition of an object is conditioned by every immediately succeeding and preceding consciousness event during its course. In the process, cognition begins from sensory contact and gradually leads to the comprehension of the object.

In the *Abhidhamma* model of the perceptual process, the *Citta-vīthi* about the five sense-doors has been described into six classes as per the six-sense door (*Vatthu*), their respective arising six consciousness (*Viññāṇa*) and six types of cognitive series according to the presentation of sense objects (*Visayappavatti*). The mind-door cognitive process also has been differentiated according to the sense-sphere *javana* process (*Kāma-javana Vīthi*) and absorption *javana* process (*Appanā-javana Vīthi*). Both the *Pañcadvāravīthi* and *Manodvāravīthi* processes are experienced by sensual world beings, the *rūpa* and *arūpa jhāna* practitioners and the *ariyas* contemplating for supra-mundane path (*magga*) and fruit (*phala*). According to *Abhidhamma*, the event of death is also a process of consciousness where the death consciousness (*cuti citta*) arises in the process of consciousness causing the present life into death. *Abhidhamma* highlights these processes intending to recognize which consciousness is responsible for the generation of mental defilements and to dictate the points of correcting them so that the cognitive process of attainment of enlightenment is ensured.

For the first time, the term *Citta-vīthi* rendered in the meaning of perceptual process that is mentioned here is used by Buddhaghosa in his commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* the *Aṭṭhasālinī* and his manual *Visuddhimagga*. The theory discussed in this literature is mainly based on a formulated theory of momentariness and the conception of *bhavaṅga*. However, the concept is based on the description that is already depicted in the *Abhidhamma* canonical works like *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* and *Paṭṭhāna*. The *Abhidhammic* theory of cognition is based on two basic ideas of early Buddhist psychology - 1. Mind is a process without an enduring substance and, 2. All psychological experience is a continuum of mental events.<sup>42</sup> This assumption carries the fact that cognition is not an immediate result of the contact between the sense-faculty and the sense-object, rather an event of processing that undertakes after the contact between the sense-faculty and sense-object. This assumption is the base for the development of the doctrine of the *citta-vīthi* in the post canonical literature which is found well established in the teachings of the *Nikāya* literature.

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<sup>42</sup> Y. Karunadasa. *The Theravāda Abhidhamma*. (Hong Kong: Centre of Buddhist Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2010), p. 138.

In the *Nikāya* literature, the concept of sense perception has been defined as the process that begins from a sensory contact and gradually leads to the comprehension of the object. In this literature, sense perception has been interpreted as a result of a continuum of innumerable mental events that undertake between these two events. In this way, the *Nikāya* literature presents the process of consciousness as an underlying mental function before one carries his/her physical and mental action. In this model of cognitive process, cognition is employed as *viññāṇa* and enumerated as the awareness arising depending on any of the six sensory domains (*āyatana*). It is considered not an isolated phenomenon, rather an aggregate existing in combination with the other four aggregates: form, feeling, perception, volitional formations- *rūpa, vedanā, saññā, saṅkhāra* in *pāli*.

The theory of the cognitive process is set out comprehensively in the *Abhidhamma* commentaries and manuals. Many scholars have claimed that Buddhaghosa developed this concept in his manual *Visuddhimagga* and the commentary to the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* the *Aṭṭhasālinī* mostly depending on the *Paṭṭhāna* literature. However, observing the *Nikāya* literature and other *Abhidhamma* canonical literature, it can be claimed that the root and base of this theory are already established in this literature. So, the present paper attempts to trace out the basis of this theory through canonical literature. In this paper, the theory of cognitive process from the *Abhidhamma* commentaries and manuals will be presented briefly and its bases depicted in the *Nikāya* and *Abhidhamma* canonical literature will be examined.

### Statement of the Problem

Theory of cognitive process (*citta-vīthi*) is comprehensively discussed in the *pāli* commentary and sub-commentary literature. The idea has been enumerated in the manuals of Buddhaghosa for the first time and later, it is further described in the *Abhidhamma* sub-commentaries. In the *Theravāda* tradition, it is assumed that whatever ideas discussed in the commentary and sub-commentary literature should have its root in the canonical literature. So, it can be supposed that the idea of *citta-vīthi*, also should have its origin in the *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* canons. So, the study problem of this work is as follows:

a. Is the theory of cognitive process (*citta-vīthi*) rooted in the *pāli Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* canonical literature? If this theory has its root in these literatures, in what ways is it depicted in these literatures?

### Research Objectives

The aim of this research paper is to assess the *Pāli* Canonical Sources to the Cognitive Process (*Citta- Vīthi*) and the specific objectives of this study are as follows:

a. To understand the theory of cognitive process (*citta-vīthi*) as it is explained in the *Abhidhamma* commentary and sub-commentaries.

b. To enumerate on how the theory of cognitive process (*citta-vīthi*) rooted in the *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* canonical literature.

### Significance of the Study

Many scholars claim that the doctrine of *citta-vīthi* is depicted in the manuals of Buddhaghosa such as *Visuddhimagga* and the commentary he wrote on *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, the *Aṭṭhasālinī*. However, while going through the canonical texts minutely, it is found that this doctrine has been grounded in these literatures already in the form of allusions and fragmentations, even though not in systematically as in the later commentary and sub-commentary renderings. The present research work is important to inquire whether the theory of cognitive process (*citta-vīthi*) which is for the first time depicted in the manuals of Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta has its bases in the *pāli* canonical literature such as *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma*.

### Research Methodology

The analytical research method has been applied in this research work. This methodology is useful for the evaluation of the facts and information related to the theory of cognitive process as it is depicted in the *pāli* canonical texts and its commentary and sub-commentary literature. This methodology involves critical thinking skills and helps the researcher to identify the claim and find out how the claim is true. The present work is limited to the study of *pāli* *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* literature pertaining to the cognitive process (*citta-vīthi*) in the tradition of *Theravāda* Buddhism.

### Discussion

#### Depiction of Cognitive Process in the *Abhidhamma* Commentaries and Manuals

Theory of cognitive process is supposed to be presented elaboratively in the post canonical literature like *Visuddhimagga* and *Aṭṭhasālinī* of Buddhaghosa and *Abhidhammāvatāra* and *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* by Buddhadatta and Aniruddha respectively. The cognitive process for the period between the birth and death has been explained in these literatures in detail. According to these literatures, when a visible object impinges at the faculty of the eye, the *bhavaṅga* consciousness (life-continuum) vibrates twice and is arrested. In the cognitive series, consciousness such as *āvajjana* (adverting), *cakkhuvīññāṇa* (eye-consciousness), *sampaṭicchana* (receiving), *santiraṇa* (investigating), *voṭṭhapana* (determining), *javana* (impulsion), *tadārammaṇa* (registering) follows one after the other without making any gap in between.<sup>43</sup> Buddhadatta's *Abhidhammāvatāra* which is supposed to be the contemporary of *Visuddhimagga* also mentions

<sup>43</sup> *Yāni*

*paṭisandhibhavaṅgāvajjanadassanasavanaghāyanasāyanaphusanasampaṭicchanasantiraṇavoṭṭhabbanajavanatadārammānucutivasena cuddasahi ākārehi pavattanti*

-*Visuddhimagga*, (*dutiyo bhāgo*), *khandhaniddeso, viññāṇakkhandhakathā* (*Chaṭṭha*

*Saṅgāyanā* CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)

fourteen modes of consciousness participating in the cognitive series very systematically.<sup>44</sup> In both of the literature, a similar pattern of the cognitive process has been found explained.

In *Abhidhamma*, the process of consciousness has been analyzed of six types from the point of view of its origination in the six sense doors. When six sense objects impinge on the six bases of respective sense doors, six types of consciousness and cognitive process arise.<sup>45</sup> This process is ensured in the involvement of basic four requirements i.e. sense base, their respective *ārammaṇa*, respective elements like light, space, air, water, earth and *bhavaṅga*, and, the *manosikāra* (attention).<sup>46</sup> Of the four causes which are required for arising of each type of *vīthi*, the sense base, their *ārammaṇa*, and respective elements are common requirements known by the modern science, but the fourth cause i.e. *manasikāra* is the contribution of *Abhidhamma* in respect to a true understanding of this process. *Abhidhamma* talks about eighty-nine types (One hundred and twenty-one in detail) of consciousness and among them, eighty consciousnesses are involved in this process in different functions i.e. five-door adverting (*pañcadvārāvajjana*), five consciousness (*pañcaviññāṇa*), receiving consciousness (*sampaṭichana*), investigating consciousness (*santiraṇa*), determining consciousness (*voṭṭhabana*), impulsive consciousness (*javana*) and retentive consciousness (*tadārammaṇa*) in case of sense door cognitive series.<sup>47</sup> Some consciousness namely two *upekkhā santiraṇa*, eight *mahā vipāka* and nine *mahaggata vipāka* totaling nineteen in number do not participate in this series are known as door free consciousness (*vīthimutta citta*).<sup>48</sup> These consciousnesses involve in the process of consciousness while they perform the rebirth function (*paṭisandhi*), the life continuum function (*bhavaṅga*), and the death function (*cuti*). All this consciousness arises and dissolves in a person at a tremendous rate of more than a thousand billion times per eye wink and there are about two hundred and fifty eye winks in a second.<sup>49</sup> Each consciousness has three minor moments (*khaṇas*). They are *uppāda* (arising), *ṭhiti* (static), and *bhaṅga* (cessation). After the cessation stage of one consciousness, there arises the subsequent consciousness. Hence, each unit of consciousness dissolves conditioning another consciousness,

<sup>44</sup>*Bhavaṅgāvajjanañceva, dassanaṃ sampaṭicchanaṃ; Santiraṇaṃ voṭṭhabbaṇaṃ, javanaṃ bhavati sattamaṃ. -Añña, Abhidhammāvatāro, Catuttho paricchedo, Ekavidhādiniddeso* (Chattha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Verson-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)

<sup>45</sup>*Cha vatthūni, cha dvārāni, cha ālambanāni, cha viññānani, cha vīthiyo, chadhā visayappavatti c'āti vīthisangahe chachakkāni veditabbāni.*

-Narada, *A Manual of Abhidhamma*. Buddhist Missionary Society, 1979, p.202.

<sup>46</sup> Bhikkhu Bodhi. *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma*. BPS Pariyatti Editions, 2000, pp. 151-152.

<sup>47</sup> Nandamālābhivamsa. *Fundamental Abhidhamma (Part I)*, Center for Buddhist Studies, 2005, p.83.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Mehm Tin Mon. *The Essence of Buddha Abhidhamma*, Mya Mon Yadanar Publication, 1995, p.131.

resulting in a continuous flow of thought moments without making any interval in between, like a stream.

The six types of consciousness processes are divided into two groups- the five-door process (*pañcadvārāvīthi*), which consists of the five processes occurring through the physical sense doors; and the mind-door process (*manodvārāvīthi*), which comprises the cognitive process that occurs through the mind-door.<sup>50</sup> The mind-door process always follows the sense door consciousness process taking the same object for its further cognition known as *tadanuvattika manodvāra vīthi* and, at times, the mind-door process occurs independently without following the sense object known as *suddha manodvāra vīthi*.<sup>51</sup> Sense objects impinge at the physical sense door and the mind door through six different ways. At physical sense doors, it is presented in four ways i.e. with very great intensity, great intensity, slight intensity, and very slight intensity affecting the process of consciousness in four ways. At the mind-door, sense objects impinge as clear and obscure objects affecting the mind-door process in two ways.<sup>52</sup>

### Depiction of Cognitive Process in the *Abhidhamma* Canons

The theory of cognitive process has been found well established in the *Abhidhamma* canonical literature. L.S. Cousins opines that to what extent it is to be found in the earlier works such as *Vibhaṅga* remains an open question, but the idea has been found well established in the seventh book of *Abhidhamma*, the *Paṭṭhāna*, which is supposed to be composed not later than the second century BCE.<sup>53</sup>

The first book of *Abhidhamma* the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* has presented the foundation of the theory of consciousness process while it explains the concept of *cakkhuvīññāṇa-dhātu*, *manodhātu*, and *manovīññāṇadhātu*<sup>54</sup> in its ‘*Cittuppāda*’ chapter. However, the idea arises in more detail in the later texts such as *Vibhaṅga* and *Paṭṭhāna*. In *Vibhaṅga*, the five-door *vīññāṇa* has been enumerated as arising not only due to the impingement of sense object to the respective sense door sensitivity but, one more function – the *pañcadvārāvajjana citta* together with its concomitant *cetasikas*- is added in the course of cognition. In this process, the *cakkhu*, *rūpa*, and *pañcadvārāvajjana dhammas*

<sup>50</sup>Bodhi, f.n.no. 6, p.152.

<sup>51</sup> Rewata Dhamma. *Process of Consciousness and Matter*, edited by Kumarvimamsa, Sitagu International Vipassana Academy, 2017, pp. 85-86.

<sup>52</sup> *Atimahantaṃ mahantaṃ parittaṃ atiparittañceti pañcadvāre manodvāre pana vibhūtamavibhūtañceti ch adhā visa yappavatti vedītabbā*. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaho*, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1998, p. 25.

<sup>53</sup> Cousins, L.S. ‘The *Paṭṭhāna* and the Development of the Theravādin *Abhidhamma*’ *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, edited by K.R. Norman, vol. 9, 1981, pp. 22-46.

<sup>54</sup> Kushala U Kyi Khin. *The Critical Study of the Process of Consciousness (Vīthi) in the Theravāda Tradition*. May 2018. Department of Pāli, Savitribai Phule Pune University. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, p.130.

are enumerated as functioning for the arising of the eye-consciousness by the non-disappearance condition (*avigata paccayo*) and co-nascence condition (*sahajāta paccayo*).<sup>55</sup> In the *manoviññādhātu niddesa*, *Vibhaṅga* explains about the arising of *manodhātu* (*pañcadvārāvajjana&sampañicchana* consciousness) after the cessation of *cakkhuvīññāna citta* and again this process is being followed by the arising of the *manoviññādhātu* in the process.<sup>56</sup> Here, the *manoviññādhātu* denotes of the *santiraṇa*, *voṭṭhabbana*, *javana*, *tadārammaṇa cittas* in the cognitive process one after the other.<sup>57</sup>

In *Vibhaṅga*, It can be seen the elaboration of the five-door and the mind-door process. In a process of five sense-doors, it sees the *manodhātu citta* preceding of all the consciousness in the process.<sup>58</sup> These *cittas* can be assumed as arising in the series as *pañcadvārāvajjana*, *cakkhuvīññāna*, *sampañicchana*, *santiraṇa*, *voṭṭhabbana*, *javana*, and *tadārammaṇa*. Similarly, for the mind-door process, *Vibhaṅga* explains that the *manoviññādhātu* arise depending on the *mana*.<sup>59</sup> *Sammohavinodanī*, a commentary written on *Vibhaṅga* further clarifies this statement by depicting 'mana' as *bhavaṅga* and *āvajjana* consciousness and the *manoviññāna* as *javana* and *tadārammaṇa* consciousness. So, according to the mind-door process, the consciousness process is a series of '*bhavaṅga*, *manodvārāvajjana*, *javana*, *tadārammaṇa*' consciousness one after the other in the cognitive series.<sup>60</sup>

In canonical *Abhidhamma*, *Paṭṭhāna* explains the cognitive process in more detail. It has explained all *dhammas* as four types of ultimate realities and how they are connected employing twenty-four types of causal relations. Out of these twenty-four relations, the *anantarapaccaya*, *samanantarapaccaya*, and *āsevanapaccaya* are found to present this process elaborative. *Anantarapaccaya* and *samanantarapaccaya* describe the consciousness that participates in the chain of cognitive series without leaving any gap in between. *Anantara* and *Samanantarapaccaya* are divided into three sections as *Dhātu*, *Niddesa*, and *Saṅkhepa* section. In the first section, the mind order (*citta-niyāma*) is explained by elements (*dhātu*). In this section, the process of consciousness

<sup>55</sup>Ibid, p. 167.

<sup>56</sup>...*cakkhuvīññādhātuyā uppajjitvā niruddhasamanantarā uppajjati manodhātu...manodhātuyā uppajjitvā niruddhasamanantarā uppajjati cittaṃ mano mānasam. pe. tajjāmanoviññādhātu. Abhidhammapiṭaka, Vibhaṅgapāli, dhātuvibhaṅgo, abhidhammabhājanīyaṃ (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>57</sup> U Kyi Khin, f.n.no. 14, p.167.

<sup>58</sup> '*tajjāmanodhātu sabbadhammesu vā pana paṭthamasamannāhāro uppajjati cittaṃ*' -*Abhidhammapiṭaka, Vibhaṅgapāli, dhātuvibhaṅgo, abhidhammabhājanīyaṃ (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>59</sup>*tajjāmanoviññādhātu manaṅca paṭicca dhamme ca uppajjati cittaṃ* -*Abhidhammapiṭaka, Vibhaṅgapāli, dhātuvibhaṅgo, abhidhammabhājanīyaṃ (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>60</sup>U Kyi Khin, f.n.no. 14, p.168.

has been represented in seven *dhātus*. The eye, ear, nose, tongue, and body are a basic foundation for each process that is followed by mind-element (*manodhātu*) and mind-consciousness element (*manoviññāṇadhātu*). Here, the process of consciousness is referred to by the name of *dhātu* i.e *cakkhuvīññāṇadhātu*, *manodhātu* and *manoviññāṇadhātu*,<sup>61</sup> but not as consciousness. Commentators have explained the *dhātu* by using the term consciousness running in the process. According to this explanation, the seven consciousness elements are classified into the five sense-door consciousness (10), three *manodhātu* (*pañcadvārāvajjana-1* & *sampaṭicchana-2*), and seventy-six *manoviññāṇadhātu* (remaining all *cittas*-76).<sup>62</sup> With this statement, it can be assumed that Buddha taught the consciousness process primarily as a process of *dhātu*, *viññāṇa*, *manodhātu*, and *manoviññāṇadhātu*. According to this interpretation, the three *cittas* called the *manodhātu* to involve a very weak grasp of the object. The five elements of sense consciousness are slightly stronger because they directly experience the object. But the *cittas* identified under the *manoviññāṇadhātu* are capable of a fuller and clearer cognitive grasp of their object.<sup>63</sup> This way, in *Abhidhamma*, the three elements as icon (C-M-M)<sup>64</sup> has been developed as a formula for the development of the consciousness process.

The second section describes much information about the process of consciousness. In the first section, three consciousnesses arise in the process whereas the remaining consciousness (*pañcadvārāvajjana*, *voṭṭhabbana*, *javana*, *tadārammaṇa*, and *bhavaṅga*) arises to complete the process in this section. So, the commentators have termed these consciousnesses as *manoviññāṇadhātu*.<sup>65</sup>

In this section, the process of consciousness has been presented by the seven ways as follows:

The preceding *kusala javana* consciousness and their concomitants are followed by subsequent *kusala javana* consciousness and their concomitants by contiguity condition.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup>...*cakkhuvīññāṇadhātu taṃsampayuttakā ca dhammā manodhātuyā taṃsampayuttakānañca dhammānaṃ anantarapaccayena paccayo. manodhātu taṃsampayuttakā ca dhammā manoviññāṇadhātuyā taṃsampayuttakānañca dhammānaṃ anantarapaccayena paccayo.*

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli, paṭhamo bhāgo, dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, paccayaniddeso, anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Verson-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>62</sup>Bodhi, f.n.no. 6, p.146.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Here, C=Cakkhuvīññāṇadhātu, M=Manodhātu, M=Manoviññāṇadhātu

<sup>65</sup>U Kyi Khin, f.n.no. 14, 152.

<sup>66</sup>*purimā purimā kusalā dhammā pacchimānaṃ pacchimānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anantarapaccayena paccayo.*

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli, paṭhamo bhāgo, dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, paccayaniddeso, anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

- I. The preceding *kusala javana* consciousness and their concomitants are followed by subsequent *avyākata* consciousness and their concomitants by contiguity condition.<sup>67</sup>
- II. The preceding *akusala javana* consciousness and their concomitants are followed by subsequent *akusala javana* consciousness and their concomitants by contiguity condition.<sup>68</sup>
- III. The preceding *akusala javana* consciousness and their concomitants are followed by subsequent *avyākata javana* consciousness and their concomitants by contiguity condition.<sup>69</sup>
- IV. The preceding *avyākata javana* consciousness and their concomitants are followed by subsequent *avyākata javana* consciousness and their concomitants by contiguity condition.<sup>70</sup>
- V. The preceding *avyākata javana* consciousness and their concomitants are followed by subsequent *kusala javana* consciousness and their concomitants by contiguity condition.<sup>71</sup>
- VI. The preceding *avyākata javana* consciousness and their concomitants are followed by subsequent *akusala javana* consciousness and their concomitants by contiguity condition.<sup>72</sup>

The Commentary and sub-commentary literature assert the arrest *bhavaṅga* (*bhavaṅgupaccheda*) being not other than the five-door advertent consciousness (*pañcadvārāvajjana*).<sup>73</sup> But, the ancient *Abhidhamma* scholars accept the *bhavaṅgupaccheda* being different from the *pañcadvārāvajjana*. In *Paṭṭhāna*, Buddha explains the *pañcadvārāvajjana citta* by the name of ‘*āvajjana*’, ‘*bhavaṅgaṃ āvajjanāya*’.<sup>74</sup> This statement clarifies that *pañcadvārāvajjana*

<sup>67</sup> *purimā purimā kusalā dhammā pacchimānaṃ pacchimānaṃ abyākatānaṃ dhammānaṃ anantarapaccaye na paccayo.*

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli, paṭhamo bhāgo, dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, paccayaniddeso, anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Verson-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>68</sup> *purimā purimā akusalā dhammā pacchimānaṃ pacchimānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anantarapaccaye na paccayo.*

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli, paṭhamo bhāgo, dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, paccayaniddeso, anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Verson-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>69</sup> *purimā purimā akusalā dhammā pacchimānaṃ pacchimānaṃ abyākatānaṃ dhammānaṃ anantarapaccaye na paccayo.*

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli, paṭhamo bhāgo, dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, paccayaniddeso, anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Verson-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>70</sup> *purimā purimā abyākatā dhammā pacchimānaṃ pacchimānaṃ abyākatānaṃ dhammānaṃ anantarapaccaye na paccayo.*

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli, paṭhamo bhāgo, dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, paccayaniddeso, anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>71</sup> *purimā purimā abyākatā dhammā pacchimānaṃ pacchimānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anantarapaccaye na paccayo.*

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli, paṭhamo bhāgo, dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, paccayaniddeso, anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>72</sup> *purimā purimā abyākatā dhammā pacchimānaṃ pacchimānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anantarapaccayena paccayo.*

- *Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli, paṭhamo bhāgo, dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, paccayaniddeso, anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>73</sup>U Kyi Khin, f.n.no. 14, p.156.

<sup>74</sup>*Abhidhamma Piṭaka, paṭṭhānapāli (paṭhamo bhāgo) dhammānulome tikapaṭṭhānaṃ, kusalattikaṃ, pañhāvāro, paccayānulomaṃ, vibhaṅgavāro, anantarapaccayo (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-*



*citta* arises after the *bhavaṅga citta*, and it is the beginning moment of the process of consciousness. So, according to this statement, the consciousness process runs as series of ‘*bhavaṅga*, *pañcadvārāvajjana*, *cakkhuvīññāṇa*, *sampaṭicchana*, *santiraṇa*’, which are followed by *voṭṭhabbana*, *javana*, *tadārammaṇa* and *bhavaṅga citta*s in the sequence.

### Depiction of Cognitive Process in the Nikāya Literature

In the *Nikāya* literature, the doctrine of the cognitive process can’t be found as a systematic elaboration as it is found in the *Abhidhamma* literature. However, the concept seems already implicit in these literatures commonly elaborated as the five aggregates, the twelve sense bases, the eighteen elements, dependent arising, and so forth.

The doctrine of momentariness is found as the root for the development of the theory of cognitive process in *Theravāda* tradition. The concept of momentariness supposes every mind and material phenomenon occurring in an uninterrupted flow of continuum caused by a *citta-niyāma*. Every phenomenon of mind and matter undergo three phases of sub-moment (*khaṇa*) - an instant of origination (*uppādakkhaṇa*), endurance (*ṭhitikkhaṇa*) and cessation (*bhaṅgakkhaṇa*) – for the completion of one moment, which is also known as the lifetime of the phenomenon.<sup>75</sup> The lifetime of a matter is seventeen times longer than that of consciousness, and this difference in the life span causes a consciousness process to occur.<sup>76</sup> The commentary literature has presented a full-fledged scheme of the doctrine of momentariness, however, this philosophy is rooted in the teachings of impermanence and the three characteristics of conditioned phenomena i.e. *anicca*, *dukkha*, *anatta* from the *Nikāya* literature.<sup>77</sup>

The principle of impermanence is part of the basic position of the Buddha’s teaching that all phenomena-physical and mental- are constantly subject to conditioned construction (*saṅkhāta dhamma*) and are dependently originated. *Sutta* literature like *Aṅguttar Nikāya*, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Khuddaka Nikāya* have enumerated that the conditioned phenomena have three moments of *uppāda*, *ṭhiti*, and *bhaṅga*, i.e. arising, presence and dissolving. In *Saṅkhatalakkhaṇa Sutta* of *Aṅguttaranikāya*, Buddha says that these three conditions are the reason of impermanence of mind and matter.<sup>78</sup> This point can be a base and root idea for the further development of the theory of cognitive process in the *Abhidhamma* literature.

3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)

<sup>75</sup>Mehm Tin Mon. *The Essence of Buddha Abhidhamma*. Mya Mon Yadanar Publication, 1995, p. 131.

<sup>76</sup>*Tāni pana sattarasa cittakkhaṇāni rūpadhammānamāyū-Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha, Vīthiparicchedo, Pañcadvārāvīthi anantarapaccayoti (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā* CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)

<sup>77</sup>Noa Ronkin. *Early Buddhist Metaphysics*. (London: Routledge, 2005), p.60.

<sup>78</sup>“*tīṇimāni, bhikkhave, saṅkhatassa saṅkhatalakkhaṇāni. katamāni tīṇi? uppādo paññāyati, vayo paññāyati, ṭhitassa aññathattam paññāyati. imāni kho, bhikkhave, tīṇi saṅkhatassa saṅkhatalakkhaṇāni*”*ti. sattamaṃ. - Aṅguttara Nikāya,*

The philosophy behind the origination of the concept of *citta-vīthi* in the *Nikāya* literature is the rejection of the concept of soul in the process of cognizing the outer world that was dominating in the current society.<sup>79</sup> In the contemporary *Upanishadic* philosophy, sense perception is attributed to the activities of the soul residing in the respective sense organs.<sup>80</sup> However, the Buddha rendered this function to the combination of sense faculty's sensitivity, sense objects, and sense consciousness. All happiness and unhappiness, sadness, miseries a person experienced in the world are considered as his or her sense cognition rather than worldly coincidence. Empirical teachings of the *Sutta-piṭaka* in this way are devoted to the ethical ground i.e. generation of the wholesome mind in the course of the cognitive process. These early teachings of the *Sutta-piṭaka*, later on, became the basis of the systematized theory of cognitive process in the post canonical *Theravāda* literature.

The general format of the cognitive process presented in the *Nikāya* literature can be cited for this paper from *Majjhima* and *Samyutta Nikāya*. For example, for the perception through the eye, *Madhupiṇḍika-sutta* from the *Majjhima Nikāya* presents a cognitive format beginning from the physical contact between five senses and their respective objects and which finally results in the sense consciousness. The process runs as follows:

“..*cakkhuñcāvuso, paṭicca rūpe ca uppajjati cakkhuvīññāṇaṃ, tiṇṇaṃ saṅgati phasso, phassapaccayā vedanā, yaṃ vedeti taṃ sañjānāti, yaṃ sañjānāti taṃ vitakketi, yaṃ vitakketi taṃ papañceti, yaṃ papañceti tatonidānaṃ purisaṃ papañcasaññāsāṅkhā samudācaranti atītānāgatapaccuppannesu cakkhuvīññeyyesu rūpes..*”<sup>81</sup>

According to this *sutta*, for the arising of *cakkhuvīññāṇa*, the *cakkhu* needs to contact the *rūpa*. The meeting of the three conditions for contact. Due to the contact of these three phenomena, there arises feeling. In the cognitive process, the feeling conditions for the perceiving (*Saññā*) and the perceiving condition for the person to think about (*Vitakka*). In this process, one complicates (*Papañceti*) on what one thinks about and based on what a person complicates, the perceptions & categories of complication assail him/her (*Papañcasaññāsāṅkhā*) concerning past, present, & future forms cognizable through the eye.

With this excerpt, it can be analyzed that the early Buddhist literature regards perception as the immediate impingement of the sense-organ with the respective sense object. This view can be

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*paṭhamapaṇṇāsakaṃ, cūlavaggo, saṅkhatalakkhaṇasuttaṃ (ChaṭṭhaSaṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>79</sup>Karunadasa, f.n.no. 2, p. 138.

<sup>80</sup>Ediriwira Sarachchandra. *Buddhist Psychology of Perception*. (Dehiwala, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Cultural Center, 2009), p.3.

<sup>81</sup> *Majjhima Nikāya, mūlapaṇṇāsapāli, sīhanādavaggo, madhupiṇḍikasuttaṃ (ChaṭṭhaSaṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

considered as a naive realism in counter to the *Upanishadic* recognition of soul during the time of the Buddha in India. The early rendering of the process can be analyzed as a complicated process, beginning from a simple sensation and proceeding by degrees to a discriminative apprehension of the object. The entire process is supposed to result in *papañcasāṅkhā* i.e. desire or attachment, so, the arising of *papañca* in a person is related to the process of sense-perception and the cessation of *papañca* by the means of complete cessation of the activities of the six spheres of contact. This process can be shown by the following diagram:

Impingement of Rūpa & Cakkhu → Cakkhuvīññāṇa; Meeting of Rūpa, Cakkhu & Cakkhuvīññāṇa → Phassa → Vedanā → Saññā → Vitakka → Papañca → Papañcasāṅkhā

In the early literature, the term *cakkhuvīññāṇa* has been interpreted as attention or awareness of the visual sense-faculty since it is shown arising before the *phassa*. In the process, *saññā* and *vīññāṇa* both have been rendered to mean consciousness and *saññā* is supposed to occur after *vīññāṇa* and is considered to recognize and evaluate the sense object. *Vedanā* has been taken as an emotional aspect in the cognitive process and is supposed to be a base for the arising of *saññā*. *Saññā* cognizes the object and plays the role of the subjective and intentional aspects in the perception. After the *Saññā* *Vitakka* argues about the object, then the process of proliferation occurs (*Papañceti*). Then in the process, one starts to think about a lot of things with regards to the present, past, and future things related to the objects. According to this format of perception, the way we deal with the sensations is the reason for our bondage to this world.

The *Nikāya* literature has highlighted the empirical teachings intending to upgrade an individual's perception level. These teachings are concentrated on encouraging the individuals to get free from their sorrow by the destruction of the *saññā*.<sup>82</sup> In these teachings, individuals' perceptions are appealed for the replacement of the *saññā* by the *paññā* in course of the perception process. We can cite an example from the *Mūlapriyāya Sutta* from *Majjhima Nikāya* on how the perception dominated by the *saññā* and *paññā* make difference in the cognitive process in the worldlings and the *arīya* persons when they have sense-perception of the phenomena of the earth (*Pathavi*).

<sup>82</sup>*etamādīnavam nātvā, dukkham saṅkhārapaccayā.*

*sabbasaṅkhārasamathā, saññānam uparodhanā.*

*evaṃ dukkhakkhaya hoti, etaṃ nātvā yathātatham.*

-*Khuddaka Nikāya, suttanipāṭapāḷi, mahāvaggo, dvayatānupassanāsuttam (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā* CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)

“puthujjano... pathaviṃ pathavito saññānāti; pathaviṃ pathavito saññatvā pathaviṃ maññāti, pathaviyā maññāti, pathavito maññāti, pathaviṃ meti maññāti, pathaviṃ abhinandati. taṃ kissa hetu? ‘apariññātaṃ tassā’ ti vadāmi.”<sup>83</sup>

This passage can be translated as 'a worldlyling recognizes the earth as earth, s/he conceptualizes earth, conceptualizes in the earth, conceptualizes from the earth, s/he conceptualizes that the earth is mine and s/he rejoices the earth. What makes it happen like this? It is due to his/her lack of understanding of the fact that they conceptualize like this.' As opposed to this, how an arīya person thinks is as follows:

“arahaṃ khīṇāsavo...sopi pathaviṃ pathavito abhijānāti; pathaviṃ pathavito abhiññāya pathaviṃ mā maññi, pathaviyā mā maññi, pathavito mā maññi, pathaviṃ meti mā maññi, pathaviṃ mābhinandi. taṃ kissa hetu? ‘pariññeyyaṃ tassā’ ti vadāmi.”

This passage can be translated as: ‘an enlightened person acknowledges the earth as earth, having acknowledged the earth as earth, he should not conceptualize the earth, he should not conceptualize in the earth, he should not conceptualize from the earth, he should not conceptualize that the earth is mine and should not rejoice the earth. What makes it happen like this? It is due to his understanding of the fact that he conceptualizes like this.’ Hence, in the *Mūlapariyāya sutta*, the Buddha emphasizes the development of the cognitive faculty of *abhijñā* in place of the *saññā* for the right perception.<sup>84</sup>

In the *Sutta* literature, the process of cognition is illustrated in terms of the cognitive factors which arise in the cognitive series with their specific functions. Cognitive factors such as sense consciousness, an integrated consciousness, *phassa*, *vedanā*, *saññā*, thinking, *papañca* (mental proliferation), *taṇhā* (craving), *upādāna* (clinging), and *anusaya* (underlying tendency) are always accord with a causal relationship to a great extent so that all *puthujjana* have similar reaction and experiences in a particular situation.<sup>85</sup> According to the early understanding of the cognitive process, these factors follow a similar pattern in each round. So, our cognition is the result of these factors, their functions, and processes that run repeatedly, continuously, and endlessly in the process.<sup>86</sup>

We can see the functions of many cognitive factors with their interactive and linear relationship. Many *suttas* have depicted the cognitive process as an interaction of factors and their

<sup>83</sup> *Majjhima Nikāya, mūlapaṇṇāsapāḷi, mūlapariyāyavaggo, mūlapariyāyasuttaṃ (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Verson-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

<sup>84</sup> Ralf Kestler. “Basics of Psychology in Pali Buddhism” *International Journal for Philosophy and Psychosomatic Medicine*, February 2012, p. 5. [IZPP 2-2012\\_Kestler.pdf](#). Accessed 10 July 2021.

<sup>85</sup> Han Tao, *Cognition in Buddhist Psychology: A Study of the Cognitive Functions in the Teaching of Causality in Early Buddhism*. (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, September 2017.), p. 42.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, p. 43.

functions. These *suttas* have shown how these factors interact as a causal relationship in the twelve links such as *phassa*, *vedanā*, *tañhā*, *upādāna*, *bhava*, *jāti* and other consequences caused by the *jāti*. In this causal series, the cognitive factors such as *saññā* and *saṅkappa-vitakka* are also supposed to arise in the process between the arising of *vedanā* and before the *tañhā*. In different *suttas*, these cognitive factors have been shown performing their relevant functions. For example, in the *Dasuttara*, *Phassanānatta*, *Migajala*, and many other *Suttas*, the model of cognitive process has been shown originated from the contact of six senses, their respective objects, and the resulting consciousness. These *suttas* have shown that the contact is in a way cause for the arising of the *vedanā* in the course of cognition. *Vedanā* further causes for the arising of the *saññā* which functions of discriminating the sense object.

*Saññā* has been shown as the conditions for the arising of thinking. In the *Dasuttara* and *Phassanānatta sutta*, the terminologies like *saṅkappa*, *vitakka*, *papañca*, *vinacchaya* have been rendered to denote the function of thinking.<sup>87</sup> The function of thinking causes the arising of *tañhā* (craving) and which further conditions for the emergence of the *upadāna* (clinging). In the *Salāyatanavibhaṅga*, *Mahātañhāsāṅkhaya* and *Chachakka Suttas* these functions have been shown very clearly. In the *Salāyatanavibhaṅga Sutta*, Buddha preached that the six internal and the external sense-media, the six bodies of consciousness and the contact should be known. In the *Sutta*, the Buddha appeals for the exploration of the eighteen intellects and the thirty-six states to which beings are attached should be penetrated. With the basis of this understanding, one should come out from their attachment.

The *sutta* further teaches that there are three frames of reference that a noble person should cultivate and cultivate, one becomes fit to instruct a group.<sup>88</sup> Factors and functions of the cognition thus depicted in this *Sutta* were found occurring in the sequence. The interpretations of the *suttas* this way reveal the fact that the *sutta* literature has presented how two or several factors of functions can be interdependent. This way, *Sutta* literature doesn't resort to the metaphysical or abstract doctrines to realize the Buddha's teachings as in the *Abhidhamma*.

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<sup>87</sup>*yathāsutaṃ yathāpariyattaṃ dhammaṃ cetasā anuvitakketi anuvicāreti manasānupekkhati.*

- *Dīgha Nikāya, pāthikavaggapāli, dasuttarasuttaṃ, pañca dhammā (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3,*

Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)

<sup>88</sup>*cha ajjhakkāni āyatanāni veditabbāni, cha bahirāni āyatanāni veditabbāni, cha viññāṇakāyā veditabbā, cha phassakāyā veditabbā, aṭṭhārasa manopavicārā veditabbā, chattiṃsa sattapadā veditabbā, tatra idaṃ nissāya idaṃ pajahatha, tayo satipaṭṭhānā yadariyo sevati yadariyo sevamāno satthā gaṇamanusāsītumarahati..*

- *Majjhima Nikāya, uparipannāsapāli, vibhaṅgavaggo, salāyatanavibhaṅgasuttaṃ (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyanā CD-ROM, Version-3, Igatpuri: Vipassanā Research Institute, 1999)*

### Conclusion

The complete information concerning the cognitive process can be enumerated through the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, however, the source of the theory is found in the canonical *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* literature. The model of sense perception depicted in the early *Nikāya* literature, the *Abhidhamma* canonical literature, and the *Abhidhamma* commentaries and the manuals can be marked as a little variation in terms of their advancement in describing the process.

In the early *Nikāya* literature, sense perception has been depicted as a process of cognition that is originated from the contact of sense-faculty, the sense-object, and the sense *viññāṇa*. In the process, the *viññāṇa* is followed by the *vedanā*. *Vedanā* has been taken as an experiential aspect of the cognition and is supposed to be a base for the arising of *saññā*. *Saññā* further cognizes the object and plays a role in the subjective aspects in the course of the cognition process. After the *saññā*, *vitakka* argues about the object, and then the process of proliferation occurs (*Papañceti*). Then in the process, one starts to think about a lot of things with regards to the present, past, and future things related to the objects (*Papañcasaññāsaṅkhā*).

In the *Abhidhamma* canonical literature, the cognitive process is enumerated in terms of *dhātu*, *viññāṇa*, *manodhātu*, and *monoviññāṇadhātu*. As the process depicted in this literature, when a visible object (*rūpa dhātu*) impinges on the eye (*cakkhu dhātu*), the eye-consciousness (*cakkhuvīññāṇa dhātu*) arises. In this process, the *cakkhuvīññāṇa dhātu* is followed by the *manodhātu* and the *monoviññāṇadhātu* respectively. This way, in the canonical *Abhidhamma* like *Paṭṭhāna*, these three elements as icons (C-M-M) have been developed as a formula for the development of a cognitive process. The theory of cognitive process is fully developed in the *Abhidhamma* commentaries and manuals as an incessant series of seventeen consciousnesses arising in the uniform order for a full-fledged physical sense-door cognitive process. According to this developed version of the doctrine, all types of cognition begin from the *bhavaṅga* and from which the mind adverts to the sense object. Every physical sense-door process is followed by the several mind-door processes for the full cognition of the object.

From the discussion so far, we can conclude that the *Abhidhamma* commentaries do not make any creation regarding the subject of *citta-vīthi*. Rather, their depiction of the doctrine should be understood as the further continuation and the development. The concept is found rooted in the early *Nikāya* and the canonical *Abhidhamma* literature as the original teachings of the Buddha.

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**The Six Buddhist Councils: Preserving and Propagating the Buddha's Teachings**

- Sharada Poudel, PhD

**Abstract**

This article explores the significance of the Six Buddhist Councils in the history of Buddhism. These councils, convened at different times, aimed to preserve and propagate the teachings of Gautama Buddha. By examining each council's historical background, purpose, proceedings, and outcomes, this article sheds light on their contributions to the development and dissemination of Buddhist scriptures and monastic discipline. Primary and secondary sources are analyzed to highlight the councils' significance in shaping Buddhist traditions.

*Keywords:* Buddhist councils, preservation, scriptures, monastic discipline, propagation, Buddhist traditions

**Introduction**

Since the passing of the historical Buddha, Siddhartha Gautama, Buddhist monastic communities, known as "saṅgha," have periodically assembled to address doctrinal and disciplinary issues and review and amend the contents of the Buddhist canons. These gatherings are commonly referred to as Buddhist "councils" (Pāli and Sanskrit: saṅgīti), with the term translating to "reciting together" or "joint rehearsal." Accounts of these councils are documented in Buddhist texts, indicating that they commenced shortly after the Buddha's demise and have persisted into the present day.

While the earliest councils are acknowledged as historical occurrences by all Buddhist traditions, the accuracy and particulars of these events remain contentious in contemporary Buddhist studies. The disagreement arises from conflicting accounts in various sources associated with Buddhist schools. Moreover, these narratives often enhance the authority and prestige of specific schools, adding complexity to assessing the historical accuracy of these accounts. Subhadda, the elderly monk, expressed joy upon Buddha's passing, anticipating freedom from rules and restrictions. He declared, "We have got rid of the Master." This statement alarmed Mahakassapa for several reasons. Firstly, the disrespectful comment occurred within the monk community. Secondly, Buddha's body still lay present, making such remarks inappropriate. Thirdly, Mahakassapa, having observed discord among Mahaveero's disciples after his passing, feared that without rules, monks might misbehave.

Mahakassapa was particularly worried about establishing false doctrines (Adhamma and Avinaya) after Buddha's mahaparinibbana. Confusion over what Buddha had permitted and

prohibited could lead to the demise of proper conduct. Buddha emphasized that only vinaya and dhamma should guide future sangha generations. Historical records in the Sutta and Vinaya Pitaka highlight the presence of rebellious monks during Buddha's lifetime:

- Devadatta's attempts to harm Buddha and create a schism in the Sangha.
- Unsettled disputes among monks in Ghositarama.
- Channa's arrogance and refusal to accept teachings.
- The unruly behavior of the Chabbaggiya monks at Jetavana.
- Rebellious monks, as mentioned in the Latukikopama Sutta, disregarded advice and rules, showing discourtesy towards Buddha and training-desiring monks.

Mahakassapa emphasized the importance of the Vinaya rules, noting that without them, rebellious monks might teach incorrect behaviors and teachings to their disciples, undermining the reputation of the Sangha. Buddhism, one of the world's major religions, originated with the teachings of Gautama Buddha in the 5th century BCE. As the Buddhist community grew, a need arose to preserve and safeguard the Buddha's teachings. This led to the convening four significant Buddhist Councils, each serving a unique purpose. This research article delves into these councils' historical context, objectives, proceedings, and outcomes, shedding light on their impact on the Buddhist tradition.

### **The First Buddhist Council**

***Historical Context:*** The First Buddhist Council was convened at Rajagrha, shortly after the Buddha's parinirvana, approximately in 483 BCE (Shrestha 105). It is believed to have taken place in the 5th century BCE, during the reign of King Ajata Satru. The Council was necessitated by the concern of the Buddha's disciples to preserve the purity of his Dhamma following his demise.

***Proceedings:*** Mahakassapa, a respected senior monk, presided over the Council. Upali, an expert in the Vinaya (monastic rules), and Ananda, the Buddha's cousin and personal attendant, played crucial roles. A gathering of five hundred bhikkhus, chosen through a vote by the general congregation, attended the Council.

The main focus of the proceedings was on settling the Dhamma and Vinaya. Mahakassapa questioned Upali on the Vinaya, addressing issues related to monastic rules. Similarly, Ananda was questioned on the Sutta-Pitaka, clarifying matters concerning the Buddha's discourses.

***Reason for the Council:*** The Council was primarily called to prevent the deterioration and misinterpretation of the Buddha's teachings after his passing. An irreverent remark by a monk named Subhadda, who questioned the necessity of adhering to strict discipline after the Buddha's demise,

further emphasized the urgency of convening the Council. Mahakassapa's concern for the future safety and purity of the Dhamma became a driving force in organizing the gathering.

***The Outcome of the Council:*** The First Council achieved several essential outcomes. It resulted in the compilation and standardization of the Vinaya and Sutta-Pitaka texts, ensuring the preservation of the Buddha's teachings in oral form (Gyawali 237).

In this council, Ananda faced significant opposition to his admission to the Synod, and Mahakassapa had initial reservations due to Ananda's failure to attain Arhathood. Despite achieving enlightenment just before the Council, Ananda was charged by the monks with various offenses, which he explained as follows:

- He could not formulate the lesser and minor precepts due to overwhelming grief at the impending death of the Buddha.
- While sewing the Master's garment, he had to tread upon it as he had no one to assist him.
- Ananda allowed women to pay their respects to the Buddha's body first, showing consideration for their feelings and spiritual progress.
- He should have requested the Buddha's permission to continue his study for a Kalpa (an extended period) influenced by hostile forces.
- Ananda advocated for the admission of women into the monastic Order, inspired by gratitude towards Mahaprajapati Gautami, who nursed the Buddha in his infancy.

In some versions of the Vinayas, additional charges were brought against Ananda. These included his failure to provide drinking water to the Buddha despite being asked three times and showing his private parts to people of low character. Ananda justified these actions by explaining that the water in the river was muddy and showing the privy parts served as a means to rid those individuals of their sensuality. Despite these charges, Ananda's explanations were deemed satisfactory by the Assembly. Consequently, he was allowed to be part of the First Buddhist Council and played a significant role in settling the Dhamma and Vinaya texts (Bapat 10).

Additionally, the Council imposed a Brahmada on Channa, the charioteer of the Buddha, for his arrogant behavior. Interestingly, this punishment eventually led to Channa's repentance and enlightenment, as he became an Arhat (Harvey 88). While some scholars have questioned the historicity of the First Buddhist Council, the unanimous tradition across different Buddhist schools attests to its significance in safeguarding the authenticity and integrity of the Buddha's teachings (Harvey).

### The Second Buddhist Council

**Historical Context:** The Second Buddhist Council took place in Vaishali, approximately a hundred years after the passing of Gautama Buddha, around 383 BCE (the exact timing could be more precise). It was convened due to disagreements and controversies within the Buddhist monastic community regarding certain aspects of the monastic discipline (Vinaya).

**Proceedings:** The council was called in response to a disagreement over the Ten Points (*dasa vatthuni*), considered unorthodox by Yasa, the son of Karnataka. The Vajji monks, who followed these points, punished Yasa for opposing their practices. This led to Yasa's expulsion from the monastic community.

**Reason for the Council:** The main reason for the Second Council was to address the controversies surrounding the Ten Points (*Dasa Vattuni*) and resolve the monastic community's disagreements. The council aimed to reaffirm the proper monastic rules and practices to maintain harmony and unity within the Sangha.

The Ten Points, as described in the Cullavagga, were as follows:

*Singilonakappa:* Carrying salt in a horn violated the rule against storing food.

*Dvarigulakappa:* Taking meals when the shadow is two fingers broad, contradicting the prohibition of eating after midday.

*Gamantarakappa:* Going to another village and having a second meal there on the same day, contrary to the rule against overeating.

*Avasakappa:* Observing the Uposatha ceremonies in various places within the same parish went against the residence rules in a designated area.

*Anumatikappa:* Seeking permission for a deed after it has been done violates monastic discipline.

*Acinnakappa:* Using customary practices as precedents, falling into the same category as the previous point.

*Amathitakappa:* Drinking buttermilk after meals in violation of the rule against overeating.

*Jalogirp-patum:* Drinking toddy, which contradicted the rule against consuming intoxicants.

*Adasakam-nisidanarp:* Using a rug without a fringe, against the prohibition of using borderless sheets.

*Jataruparajatam:* Accepting gold and silver, which was forbidden by the rule concerning ownership of valuable items.

Yasa openly declared these practices to be unlawful. After being excommunicated, he traveled to Kausambi and sent messengers to invite monks from the Western Country, Avanti, and the Southern Country to gather and resolve the matter, aiming to prevent the spread of irreligion and preserve the Vinaya (Bapat 11-12).

**Outcome of the Council:** The council was attended by around 700 monks, and after extensive deliberations, each of the Ten Points was declared unlawful. The practices advocated by the Vajji monks were deemed invalid and violated the monastic discipline (Vinaya). The council's unanimous decision confirmed the orthodox interpretation of the Buddha's teachings and upheld the traditional monastic practices. However, the council's outcome also led to a schism within the Buddhist community; due to the council's decision, a new sect known as the Mahasanghika emerged. This sect disagreed with the council's conclusions and held divergent views on doctrinal and monastic matters. The emergence of the Mahasanghika marked a significant division within the early Buddhist community.

### **The Third Buddhist Council**

**Historical Context:** The Third Buddhist Council took place around 236 years after the passing of Gautama Buddha, approximately in 250 BCE. It was held at Asokarama in Pataliputta, and the royal patronage for the council was provided by King Asoka (Poudyal 270). The Elder Venerable Moggaliputta Tissa was instrumental in organizing the council.

**Proceedings:** The Third Council involved the selection of 1,000 monks by Venerable Moggaliputta Tissa (Poudyal 270), who were tasked with reciting and reaffirming the Dhamma (teachings) and Vinaya (monastic rules). The recitation and affirmation process took about nine months to complete.

**Reason for the Council:** King Asoka's widespread support and generosity towards the Sangha resulted in many unwholesome and greedy individuals joining the monastic community. These new monks propagated heretical teachings and diverse views that deviated from the orthodox Theravadan teachings. Additionally, there were disputes among the 18 schools of Buddhism, each with its own Dhamma and Vinaya texts and differing doctrinal interpretations.

To address these issues and protect the purity of the Dhamma and the Sasana (Buddhist religion), Thera Moggaliputta Tissa called for the Third Buddhist Council. The council aimed to refute the heretical views put forth by non-Theravadan believers and establish Theravadan teachings as orthodox.

**The Outcome of the Council:** The Third Buddhist Council resulted in significant achievements.

Theravadan Teachings Affirmed: King Asoka's schism pillar edict was erected to end disruptive elements threatening the orthodox Theravadan school. The council's reaffirmation of orthodox teachings helped establish the Theravada tradition as the authoritative and authentic form of Buddhism (Poudyal 271).

**Compilation of Kathavatthu:** The council compiled the fifth book of the Abhidhamma Pitaka, Kathavatthu. This text examined and refuted the heretical teachings of non-Theravadan schools. Thera Moggaliputta Tissa systematically addressed 500 orthodox and 500 unorthodox statements to refute the diverse views and doctrines, thereby establishing the supremacy of Theravadan teachings (Poudyal 270).

**Overseas Missions:** One of the most significant outcomes was the dispatch of missionary monks to various regions around India and neighboring countries to spread Buddhism. These missions included sending monks to places like Kashmir & Gandhara, Mahisamandala, Vanavasi, Aparantaka, Maharatta, Yona countries, Himavanta, Suvannabhumi, and Tambapanni (Sri Lanka). The successful mission to Sri Lanka, led by Ven. Mahinda resulted in converting the Sri Lankan king and his subjects to Buddhism and introducing the Tipitaka (Buddhist scriptures) to the island.

The Third Buddhist Council played a crucial role in consolidating and propagating Theravada teachings, refuting heretical views, and expanding Buddhism to new regions, impacting, developing, and disseminating the Buddhist tradition.

### **The Fourth Buddhist Council**

**Historical Context:** The Fourth Buddhist Councils are significant events in the history of Buddhism, but scholars have questioned their historical accuracy. According to David Snellgrove, the accounts of the Third Council from the Theravada tradition and the Fourth Council from the Sarvastivada tradition are considered equally tendentious, making it difficult to establish the precise historical details surrounding these councils (Snellgrove 22).

**Proceedings:** The Fourth Buddhist Councils consist of two separate gatherings, each held by different Buddhist schools in different regions of India.

**Sinhalese Theravāda Fourth Council:** The Southern Theravāda school held its Fourth Buddhist Council in the first century BCE in Sri Lanka at Alu Vihāra (Aloka Leṇa) during the time of King Vattagamani-Abhaya (Valagamba) (BBC Religions, "Buddhism: The Fourth Council"). The council was convened at Alu Vihāra in response to a year of poor harvests and famine in Sri Lanka, which resulted in the death of many Buddhist monks due to starvation. Recognizing the danger of losing the teachings, the surviving monks decided to transcribe the Pali texts into written form to

preserve them for future generations, the first time Buddha's teachings, Tipitaka and Attakatha, were written in Palm leaf (BBC Religions, "Buddhism: The Fourth Council").

***Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda Fourth Council:*** The Sarvastivada tradition held its Fourth Buddhist Council in 78 AD in the Kushan empire under the patronage of Emperor Kanishka I (BBC Religions, "Buddhism: The Fourth Council"). The council was convened at Kundalvana Vihara (Kundalban) in Kashmir. Five hundred Bhikkhus were gathered under the leadership of Vasumitra to systematize the Sarvastivadin canon (Tripitaka with Vibhasha), translating it from earlier Prakrit vernacular languages into Sanskrit. This process lasted for twelve years and resulted in a compilation of scriptures and the emergence of the Vaibhāṣika tradition in Kashmir (BBC Religions, "Buddhism: The Fourth Council").

***Reason for the Council:*** The reasons for convening the Fourth Buddhist Councils varied for each school.

***Sinhalese Theravāda Fourth Council:*** The Fourth Council of the Theravada school in Sri Lanka was initiated to address the threat posed by famine, war, and the rise of the Abhayagiri vihara, which enjoyed the king's favor. The monks recognized the importance of preserving the oral teachings in written form to ensure their continuity, even in adverse circumstances (BBC Religions, "Buddhism: The Fourth Council"). ***Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda Fourth Council:*** The Sarvastivada tradition convened the Fourth Council in Kashmir to systematize their canon and translate it into Sanskrit to safeguard and propagate their teachings more effectively (BBC Religions, "Buddhism: The Fourth Council").

***The Outcome of the Councils:*** The Fourth Buddhist Councils' outcomes significantly impacted the preservation and transmission of Buddhist teachings in different regions.

***Sinhalese Theravāda Fourth Council:*** The Theravada Fourth Council in Sri Lanka resulted in the transcription of the Pali texts into written form, ensuring the continuity and dissemination of the Tipitaka (Buddhist scriptures) for future generations (BBC Religions, "Buddhism: The Fourth Council").

***Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda Fourth Council:*** The Sarvastivada Fourth Council in Kashmir led to the systematization and translation of their canon into Sanskrit (Gurung 92). Vaibhāṣika were written. The Vaibhāṣika tradition emerged as a result of this council, and its Abhidharma texts became central to the Vaibhāṣika lineage in Kashmir. However, the Sarvastivada school is no longer an independent school, and its Abhidharma tradition was inherited by the Mahayana tradition (BBC Religions, "Buddhism: The Fourth Council").

### **Fifth Buddhist Council**

***Historical Context and Proceedings:*** The Fifth Buddhist Council, held in 1871 in Mandalay, Burma, was under the patronage of King Mindon. Its historical context lies in the concern for preserving the purity of Gautama Buddha's teachings. The proceedings involved 2,400 monks presided over by senior bhikkhus: the *Venerable Mahathera Jagarabhivamsa*, the *Venerable Narindabhidhaja*, and the *Venerable Mahathera Sumangalasami*. The primary focus was reciting and analyzing the Pali Canon to detect any alterations, misinterpretations, or omissions. Their joint Dhamma recitation lasted five months.

***Outcomes of the Council:*** The council's outcomes were significant in two ways. First, it reaffirmed the authenticity of the scriptures by meticulously examining them. Second, it led to the Tripitaka's approval, inscribed in 729 marble slabs for posterity. The monks and numerous skilled craftsmen undertook the monumental task of crafting each slab. Upon finishing, these slabs were placed in exquisite miniature 'Pitaka' pagodas situated on a dedicated site within the precincts of King Mindon's Kuthodaw Pagoda at the base of Mandalay Hill from 1860 to 1868. This location, home to what is referred to as the 'largest book in the world,' preserves the result of their efforts to this day. It's worth noting that this council's recognition is predominantly confined to Burma (Mendelson 276). This helped preserve and propagate the teachings of Gautama Buddha in the Theravada tradition.

***Impact on Buddhist Traditions:*** While the Fifth Council was specific to Theravada Buddhism and had limited representation beyond Burma, its meticulous approach to preserving the canon influenced how other Buddhist traditions approached doctrinal purity.

### **Sixth Buddhist Council**

***Historical Context and Proceedings:*** The Sixth Council, convened in Rangoon in 1954 by Prime Minister U Nu of Burma, had the historical context of global collaboration. It aimed to collect and compile the Buddha's utterances, resulting in the Tripitaka. The proceedings involved 2,500 learned Theravāda monks who came from Myanmar, Cambodia, India, Laos, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Vietnam, presided over by Venerable Abhidhaja Mahraha Guru Bhadanta Revata.

In this council, the Buddhist Scriptures underwent a traditional recitation lasting two years, during which the Tripitaka and its related texts in various scripts were thoroughly examined. Any differences were carefully documented, necessary corrections applied, and all versions meticulously compared. Surprisingly, minimal variations were discovered in the content across texts. Upon official approval by the council, the entire Tipitaka and its commentaries were prepared for modern press printing and subsequently published in the Burmese script. This remarkable achievement was



made possible by the dedicated efforts of two thousand five hundred monks and numerous lay contributors. Their collaborative work concluded on the evening of Vesak, precisely on 24 May 1956, marking two and a half millennia since Buddha's Parinibbana (Nanda 2104).

**Outcomes:** The council successfully compiled the Tripitaka after unanimous approval by the assembly members. This reaffirmed the accurate transmission of the Buddha's teachings. The proceedings concluded on the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's Mahaparinibbana.

**Impact on Buddhist Traditions:** The Sixth Council, being a more inclusive and globally represented event, had a broader impact on shaping Buddhist traditions. It emphasized the importance of both theoretical (pariyatti) and practical (patipatti) aspects of the Dhamma. The collaborative effort ensured a shared understanding and propagation of the scriptures.

### Conclusion

The First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Buddhist Councils hold immense significance in the history and development of Buddhism. These councils were convened at different times and in various regions to address specific challenges and ensure the preservation and propagation of the Buddha's teachings. The First Buddhist Council, held shortly after the passing of Gautama Buddha, aimed to safeguard the Buddha's teachings and compile the Tripitaka, laying the foundation for preserving Buddhist scriptures and monastic discipline. The council's outcome led to standardizing the teachings and monastic practices, promoting unity within the Buddhist community. The Second Buddhist Council, approximately 100 years after the First Council, addressed disagreements and controversies within the monastic community. The council reaffirmed monastic rules and led to the establishment of the Theravada sect, emphasizing strict adherence to the original teachings of the Buddha. The Third Buddhist Council convened during Emperor Ashoka's reign, seeking to purify the monastic community from corruption and heretical views. The council resulted in the compilation of the Abhidhamma Pitaka, an analysis of Buddhist philosophy and psychology, and the rejection of heretical views, ensuring doctrinal purity. The Fourth Buddhist Councils, while historically debated, significantly impacted the preservation and transmission of Buddhist teachings in different regions. The Southern Theravada School's Fourth Council in Sri Lanka resulted in the transcription of Pali texts into written form, preserving the Tipitaka for future generations. On the other hand, the Sarvastivada tradition's Fourth Council in Kashmir led to the systematization of their canon and the emergence of the Vaibhāṣika tradition, which significantly influenced the Mahayana tradition. The Fifth Buddhist Council in 1871 was convened in Burma to ensure the purity of Theravada Buddhist teachings. It aimed to verify and authenticate the scriptures, respond to external influences, and establish a consensus among monks. The council, held under royal patronage, also

formalized the Tripitaka by inscribing it on marble slabs for posterity. The Sixth Buddhist Council, convened in Rangoon in 1954-1956, aimed to collect and review the Buddha's teachings. Led by Prime Minister U Nu and presided over by Venerable Bhadanta Revata, it involved 2,500 monks from various nations, reaffirming the Tripitaka text on the 2,500th anniversary of the Buddha's Mahaparinibbana.

Overall, the six Buddhist Councils played a pivotal role in preserving and propagating the teachings of Gautama Buddha. These councils, held at different times in various locations, contributed to the compilation, preservation, and standardization of Buddhist scriptures. They served as important milestones in the development of Buddhist traditions. By exploring their historical context, objectives, proceedings, and outcomes, we gain a deeper understanding of the efforts made by the Buddhist community to ensure the accuracy and continuity of the Buddha's teachings. These councils played a crucial role in shaping Buddhist traditions and safeguarding the transmission of Gautama Buddha's teachings.

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## Offences, Punishment and Rehabilitation in the *Vinay Pitak*: A Restorative Approach to Monastic Discipline

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### Abstract

The *Vinay Pitak*, a comprehensive Buddhist scripture, contains a rich repository of ethical and moral guidelines. This research paper explores the descriptions of criminal and other offences within the *Vinay Pitak* and the associated penalties. This paper explores the significance of discipline and ethical conduct in the *Vinaya Pitaka*, analyzing the categorization of offences, the purpose of punishments, and the emphasis on rehabilitation. The study also aims to shed light on the socio-ethical aspects of the *Vinay Pitak* and its potential relevance in contemporary ethical discourse. Its detailed account of offences and punishments provides valuable insights into the *Saṅgha*'s emphasis on maintaining order, harmony, and adherence to the Buddha's teachings. Through a systematic analysis of the text, this paper provides insights into the understanding of criminal behaviour and sanctions within the Buddhist monastic context. The *Patimokkha*, a crucial text within the *Vinaya Pitaka*, outlines the code of conduct for Buddhist monks and nuns. Its detailed system of offences and punishments reflects a unique approach to monastic discipline, emphasizing rehabilitation and restoring harmony within the monastic community. This paper examines the purpose of punishments in the *Patimokkha*, highlighting its restorative nature and its alignment with Buddhist principles of compassion and non-violence.

*Keywords:* *Vinaya Pitaka*, Buddhist monastic discipline, Buddhist ethics, criminal offences

### Introduction

The *Vinay Pitak*, a fundamental component of the Buddhist *Tripitaka*, is a canonical collection of texts that govern the ethical and disciplinary aspects of monastic life within the Buddhist tradition. While primarily focused on regulating the conduct of monks and nuns, it also contains valuable insights into the concepts of criminal and other offences, along with the corresponding penalties. This paper aims to delve into *Vinay Pitak*'s teachings on criminal offences, the ethical principles underlying them, and the penalties associated with offences. Furthermore, it seeks to examine the relevance of these teachings in contemporary ethical discourse and their potential applicability in wider societal contexts.

*Vinaya Pitaka* is depicted by Buddhist scholars as the constitution of the *Saṅgha*. It has a high place in the Buddhist tradition. After the *Mahaparinirvana* of Gautama Buddha, the *Vinaya Pitaka* became the only standard of unity, purity and discipline of the *Saṅgha*. Therefore, its place in

the *Saṅgha* is respected and proud. *Saṅgha* is also known as Buddha's rule. Because as long as the *Vinaya* rules are being practised, Buddhism will remain eternal. The rules governing the monks and nuns are found in the *Vinaya Pitaka*, in which there are separate rules for the monks and nuns. Therefore, it is also called the ethics of monks and nuns. In the *Vinaya Pitaka*, it is mentioned in detail why and under what conditions each rule was made, while the monks and nuns from different backgrounds are advised to achieve their spiritual goals in an environment of love and harmony. The *Vinaya Pitaka*, meaning "basket of discipline" in *Pali*, is the first and oldest section of the Tripitaka, the canonical collection of Buddhist scriptures (Prebish, 1975). It contains the rules and regulations for the Buddhist monastic community, known as the *Saṅgha*. In the Theravada tradition, the following five texts are included under *Vinaya Pitaka* – (a) *Mahāvāgga*, (b) *Chullavāgga*, (c) *Pācittiya*, (d) *Pārājika* and (e) *Parivāra*.

In *Sthaviravāda Vinaya*, there are 227 *Shikshāpada* or rules for monks and 311 *Shikshāpada* or rules for nuns. The *Khandhaka* provides additional rules and regulations for the *Saṅgha*, while the *Parivāra* is a commentary on the *Suttavibhaṅga* and *Khandhaka*.

The *Vinaya Pitaka* is a valuable source of information about offences and punishment in early Buddhism. It provides a detailed account of the types of offences that were considered to be punishable, as well as the punishments that were meted out for those offences.

The *Patimokkha*, meaning "to be freed" in *Pali*, serves as a comprehensive guide to monastic discipline within the early Buddhist tradition (Tambiah, 1984). It outlines a detailed set of rules and regulations for monks and nuns, categorized into four levels of severity: *pārājika*, *saṅghādisesa*, *pācittiya*, and *dukkāṭa* (Wijewardhana, 2018).

While the *Patimokkha* clearly defines offences and their corresponding punishments, its approach to discipline stands out for its emphasis on rehabilitation and restoring harmony within the monastic community (Keown, 2005). This paper delves into the purpose of punishments in the *Patimokkha*, exploring its restorative nature and its alignment with Buddhist principles.

### Statement of the Problem

The *Vinaya Pitak*, while primarily a guide for monastic life, addresses the issue of criminal and other offences in a systematic manner. However, these teachings are often overlooked in contemporary discussions on ethics and justice. This research paper aims to identify and analyze the descriptions of criminal and other offences and penalties in the *Vinaya Pitak* and evaluate their potential relevance in contemporary society.

The *Vinaya Pitaka*'s detailed account of offences and punishments raises questions about the purpose of punishment in early Buddhism. Was punishment intended to be punitive or rehabilitative? What were the Saṅgha's goals in establishing a system of offences and punishments?

### **Objectives of the Study**

This paper aims to explore the significance of discipline and ethical conduct in the *Vinaya Pitaka*. It will analyze the categorization of offences, the purpose of punishments, and the emphasis on rehabilitation.

### **Research Methodology**

The study is based on secondary sources and library methods to conduct an extensive review of scholarly articles, books, and academic journals related to the *Vinaya Pitaka* and Buddhist ethics. This paper is a qualitative research approach, using textual analysis of the *Vinaya Pitaka* to examine the concepts of offences, punishments, and rehabilitation.

### **Discussions**

The *Vinaya Pitaka*, the first and oldest section of the Tripitaka, serves as a comprehensive guide to monastic discipline and ethical conduct within the early Buddhist community (Horner, 1938). Its detailed account of offenses and punishments provides valuable insights into the Saṅgha's emphasis on maintaining order, harmony, and adherence to the Buddha's teachings (Tambiah, 1984).

#### **Categorization of Offences**

The categorization of offenses into four distinct levels – *pārājika*, *saṅghādisesa*, *pācittiya*, and *dukkāṭa* – reflects the varying degrees of severity attributed to different transgressions (Wijewardhana, 2018). This nuanced approach demonstrates the Saṅgha's recognition of human fallibility while upholding the high standards expected of those who have renounced worldly pursuits to pursue spiritual liberation (Keown, 2005).

#### **Pārājika Offenses: Protecting the Integrity of the Saṅgha**

*Pārājika* offences, considered the most serious offences, warrant expulsion from the monastic community (Harvey, 2013; Sankrityayan, 2008). These offences include sexual intercourse, stealing, killing a human being, and falsely claiming spiritual attainments (Anālayo, 2016; Sankrityayan, 2008). Their severity stems from their direct contradiction of the core principles of monastic life – celibacy, non-violence, honesty, and humility (Gethin, 1998; Sankrityayan, 2008). **Pārājika Offenses were the most serious offences, resulting in expulsion from the monastic community.** These include: sexual intercourse, stealing, killing a human being, falsely claiming to have attained a higher level of spiritual attainment

By imposing expulsion as the punishment for *pārājika* offenses, the Vinaya Pitaka underscores the importance of preserving the integrity of the Saṅgha (Prebish, 1975). These offenses threaten to undermine the community's foundation of trust, respect, and shared commitment to the Buddha's teachings. Expulsion serves as a reminder of the Saṅgha's unwavering commitment to its core values and the serious consequences of violating them (Wijayaratna, 1990).

### **Saṅghādisesa Offenses: Maintaining Harmony and Respect**

Saṅghādisesa offences, while less severe than *pārājika* offences, still necessitate a period of probation (Bhikkhu Bodhi, 2012). These offences include actions that disrupt the Saṅgha's harmony and potentially harm its reputation, such as causing a schism, making disparaging remarks about the Buddha or the Saṅgha, or engaging in inappropriate physical contact (Skilling, 2009). **Saṅghādisesa Offenses are** less serious offences, leading to a period of probation and requiring a formal meeting of the monastic community to restore the offender's status. Examples include: ejaculating semen, touching a woman with lustful intent, making disparaging remarks about the Buddha, the *Dharma*, or the Saṅgha, Causing a schism in the Saṅgha.

The probationary period imposed for *saṅghādisesa* offences serves as a time for reflection, repentance, and restoration of harmonious relations within the community (Kieschnick, 2003). This approach reflects the Saṅgha's belief in the potential for individuals to learn from their mistakes and reaffirm their commitment to the monastic path (Ray, 1994).

### ***Pācittiya* and *Dukkaṭa* Offenses: Cultivating Self-Awareness and Accountability**

*Pācittiya* and *dukkāṭa* offences, while considered minor transgressions, still require confession and acknowledgment (Tambiah, 1984). These offenses address actions that may not cause significant harm but still deviate from the ideal conduct expected of monks and nuns (Wijewardhana, 2018).

#### ***Pācittiya* Offences**

Minor offences requiring confession and a light punishment, often involve a specific act of repentance. Examples include: eating after midday, storing food for later consumption, accepting money or valuables, sleeping in the same room as a woman.

#### ***Dukkaṭa* Offences**

The least serious offenses, do not require formal confession but are still considered transgressions. Examples include: eating at an improper time, wearing improper clothing, using improper language, and engaging in idle chatter.

The requirement for confession and acknowledgement for *pācittiya* and *dukkāṭa* offences emphasizes the importance of self-awareness and accountability among monastic members (Keown, 2005). By openly admitting their offences, monks and nuns demonstrate their commitment to personal growth and adherence to the Saṅgha's ethical standards (Harvey, 2013).

The *Patimokkha* rules aim to maintain order and discipline within the monastic community, fostering an environment conducive to spiritual development. They emphasize ethical conduct, self-awareness, and accountability, guiding monks and nuns on the path to enlightenment.

### **Restorative Justice in the *Patimokkha***

The concept of restorative justice, which focuses on repairing harm and restoring relationships, aligns closely with *Patimokkha's* approach to punishment. Rather than solely imposing punitive measures, the *Patimokkha* emphasizes the offender's rehabilitation and reintegration into the monastic community (Anālayo, 2016).

This restorative approach is evident in the handling of *pārājika* offences, the most serious transgressions. While expulsion from the monastic community might seem harsh, it serves a dual purpose: protecting the integrity of the *Saṅgha* and providing the offender an opportunity for introspection and potential renunciation (Harvey, 2013).

For *saṅghādisesa* offences, a period of probation and a formal meeting of the monastic community is required for the offender's restoration. This process emphasizes confession, repentance, and reconciliation, allowing the offender to acknowledge their wrongdoing and seek forgiveness from the community (Kieschnick, 2003).

*Pācittiya* offences, considered minor transgressions, involve confession and a light punishment, often involving a specific act of repentance. These measures aim to guide the offender towards self-reflection and behavioral correction, reinforcing the importance of ethical conduct (Ray, 1994).

Finally, *dukkata* offences, the least serious offences, do not require formal confession but are still considered breaches of the monastic code. By acknowledging these minor offences, monks and nuns cultivate mindfulness and self-awareness, preventing more serious offences (Skilling, 2009).

### **Alignment with Buddhist Principles**

The *Patimokkha's* restorative approach to punishment aligns with core Buddhist principles, particularly compassion and non-violence. Rather than seeking retribution, the *Patimokkha* prioritizes the offender's rehabilitation and the restoration of harmony within the *Saṅgha* (Gethin, 1998). This compassionate approach reflects the Buddhist belief in the potential for individuals to change and grow. By providing opportunities for repentance and reconciliation, the *Patimokkha* encourages offenders to learn from their mistakes and progress on the path to enlightenment (Prebish, 1975).

The emphasis on non-violence is evident in the absence of corporal or capital punishments in the *Patimokkha*. Instead, the focus lies on addressing the root causes of offences, fostering self-awareness, and promoting ethical conduct (Horner, 1938).



### Conclusion

The *Vinaya Pitaka's* comprehensive system of offences and punishments highlights the early Buddhist community's commitment to upholding ethical standards and fostering a harmonious monastic environment. The emphasis on rehabilitation rather than punitive measures reflects the Buddhist belief in the potential for individuals to learn from their mistakes and progress on the path to enlightenment.

The *Patimokkha's* restorative approach to punishment stands as a testament to the early Buddhist community's commitment to compassion and non-violence. By emphasizing rehabilitation and restoring harmony within the monastic community, the *Patimokkha* reflects a unique and humane approach to monastic discipline.

The *Vinaya Pitaka's* detailed guidelines served as a crucial foundation for maintaining order and discipline within the Saṅgha, ensuring its continued existence and ability to transmit the Buddha's teachings across generations. The text's enduring relevance highlights the importance of ethical conduct and self-discipline in the pursuit of spiritual liberation.

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## **Acquisition Order of English Inflectional Morphemes: An Explanation from Grade Six Students in Rural Nepal**

- Sunita Kandel  
- Govinda Prasad Khanal  
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### **Abstract**

Second language researchers have shown growing interest to investigate how second language learners learn English grammar systems including morphemes. Although sufficient research exists on morpheme order studies, such studies are particularly lacking in the context of Nepal. This study intends to investigate the acquisition order of eight English inflectional morphemes by analysing the proficiency of Grade Six students in the inflectional morphemes. The data was collected through written questionnaires comprising objective questions, and were analysed numerically based on their accuracy. The study included 32 students randomly selected from Grade Six studying at private and community schools in Nepal. The study findings indicate the existence of some sort of natural order of acquisition of English morphemes, though not consistent and rigid, in which English second language learners acquire proficiency of English inflectional morphemes. It is suggested that because there exists some sort of natural order of acquisition, though not rigid, curriculum designers should maintain proper sequence in the presentation of learning materials horizontally and vertically for effective learning.

*Keywords:* acquisition, inflectional morphemes, first language morpheme order studies, second language morpheme order studies

### **Introduction**

How and in what sequence second language learners learn grammatical morphemes has become a matter of investigation since the 1970s. However, it is yet to be confirmed whether the claimed 'natural order' hypothesis with a belief that second language learning takes place in predictable order displaying a sequence of acquisition of grammatical morphemes (Krashen & Terrell, 1983), is functional in the EFL context of Nepal, a multicultural and multilingual Himalayan nation-state in South Asia. Morpheme order studies have been primarily concerned with uncovering the 'natural' order through which learners proceed in acquiring their language. Research called morpheme order studies first appeared in the 1970s to search for the natural order of language acquisition to support an innatist view of language acquisition (Larsen-Freeman, 1976). The supposition behind such studies is that 'there may be a consistent order in which first and/or second language learners acquire proficiency in the use of grammatical morphemes' (Kwon, 2005). The

studies by Brown (1973) and De Villiers and De Villiers (1978) were concerned with the acquisition of some grammatical morphemes in the first language, while Dulay and Burt (1973) and Dulay and Burt (1974) studied how morphemes are acquired in the second language. Teaching English as a foreign language to Nepali students for several years, we have noticed that learners accurately use certain morphemes such as '-ing' before possessive morphemes. As such this study intended to confirm whether any order of acquisition of inflectional morphemes existed based on the performance of Nepali EFL learners of English.

### English Inflectional Morphemes

Inflectional morphemes are those which 'mark such distinctions as the singular/plural contrast in nouns (book: book-s), the present tense/past tense contrast in verbs (walk: walk-ed) or the positive/ comparative contrast in adjectives (small: small-er) (Aarts & Aarts, 1982 p.19). Inflectional morphemes are not used to produce new words in the language, but rather to indicate aspects of the grammatical function of a word (Yule, 2009 p.64).

Inflectional suffixes never change the class of the root. For example, the addition of '-s', morpheme to the verb 'drink' does not change the word class of the verb, and the same is true with the addition of the morpheme '-ing' with the verb 'drink'. Furthermore, an inflectional morpheme occurs at the end position of a form; no further affixation in a form is possible after an inflection. According to Yule (2009, p. 64-65), inflectional morphemes are used to show if a word is plural or singular, if it is past tense or not and if it is a comparative or possessive form. English has only eight inflectional morphemes (or 'inflections') which are interestingly presented by Yule in the following example sentences:

Jim's two sisters are really different. One likes to have fun and is always laughing. The other liked to read as a child and has always taken things seriously. One is the loudest person in the house and the other is quieter than the mouse.

These examples show that two of the inflectional morphemes, '-s (possessive) and -s (plural) are attached to nouns. Four inflectional morphemes are attached to verb. There are two inflectional morphemes that are attached to adjective: -est (superlative) and -er (comparative). This can be presented as follows:

Noun +-s, -s

Verb +-s, -ing, -ed, -en

Adjective + -est,-er

Sometimes, possessive appears as -s' (students' union) and the past participle as -ed (I have explained).

### Morpheme Order Studies in First Language

The morpheme order studies began with the pioneering work of Brown (1973). He conducted a longitudinal study on three children named Adam, Sarah, and Eve, native English speakers. The study revealed that the three children learned English morphemes in roughly the same order, however, not necessarily at the same age. The pattern of development of morphemes in the children was clear through the data drawn from spontaneous speech. Brown's claim on the existence of a natural order of acquisition drew much attention from second language acquisition researchers. Brown selected fourteen grammatical morphemes in his study. He called them 'functors', as they were obligatory in certain contexts. The order of acquisition of fourteen 'functors' demonstrated by three subjects in Brown's longitudinal study can be shown in the following table.

**Table 1**

*Order of L1 Acquisition of English Morphemes in Brown(1973)*

Rank	Morpheme
1	Present progressive (-ing)
2/3	in, on
4	Plural (-s)
5	Past irregular
6	possessive (-s)
7	Uncontracted copula (is, am, are)
8	Articles (a, the)
9	Past regular (-ed)
10	Third person singular (-s)
11	Third person irregular
12	Uncontracted auxiliary (is, am, are)
13	Contracted copula
14	Contracted auxiliary

de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) carried out a cross-sectional study in which they elicited spontaneous L1 speech data from 21 children. They also used Brown's 14 functors in the study and analysed the results which appeared to be very similar to those of Brown (1971). The following was the order of acquisition of English morphemes after de Villiers and de Villiers.

**Table 2***Order of L1 Acquisition of English Morphemes after de Villiers and de Villiers (19973)*

Rank	Morpheme
1	Present progressive (-ing)
2/3	Plural (-s), on
4	In
5	Past irregular
6	Articles
7	Possessive
8/9	Third person singular (-s), Past irregular, Contracted copula
10/11	Contracted copula, Past regular (-ed)
12	Uncontracted copula
13	Contracted copula
14	Uncontracted auxiliary (is, am, are)

### **Morpheme Order Studies in Second Language**

The second language morpheme order studies were inspired by the work of Roger Brown (1972) in first language acquisition. In the case of second language acquisition, it is Dulay and Burt (1973, 74, 75) who carried out morpheme studies for the first time. They argued that child second language acquisition was similar to child first language acquisition which was known as the L1=L2 Hypothesis. Larsen-Freeman (1976) argued that the claim for the natural order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes based on first and second-language morpheme order studies cannot be fully explained in terms of the natural order hypothesis because the frequency of learning of limited grammatical morphemes could result through habit formation process and the learning of complex vocabulary and grammar could necessitate creativity.

Dulay and Burt assumed that children learn the rules of their second language in the ways in which they learn the rules of their first language. Being the supporters of mentalism, Dulay and Burt (1974a) developed a theory called 'creative construction'. According to them the theory of creative construction believes that the children gradually reconstruct the rules of the language they hear around based on the received language data and the process of hypothesis testing continues until they learn to produce perfect language based on the input data. They assumed that children reconstruct second languages in similar ways regardless of their NL or the language being learned. In other words, the process involved in the acquisition were assumed the same. Dulay and Burt (1973) conducted a cross-sectional study to find out the order of acquisition of eight of Brown's original

morphemes in Spanish-speaking children acquiring English as a second language incorporating 151 children and the study was cross-sectional based on the speech of three groups of Spanish-speaking children of different abilities. The method used for eliciting speech was the Bilingual Syntax Measure. They found that the acquisition sequences obtained from the three groups of children were strikingly similar (Mitchell and Myles 2004, p.40).

Dulay and Burt (1974 a) conducted another similar research, however, this time they included 60 Spanish and 55 Chinese children using the Bilingual Syntax Measure (BSM). The BSM consisted of seven coloured pictures about which children were asked questions designed to elicit responses on 11 of Brown's grammatical morphemes (Gas & Selinker, 2009). They found a similar acquisition sequence from the data elicited from Spanish and Chinese-speaking children. Dually and Burt (1975) extended their study to include 536 Spanish and Chinese-speaking children and investigated 13 of Brown's original morphemes. The results showed a similar pattern of development between the two groups of children. Dulay and Burt's (1974b) findings of the order of acquisition can be shown in the following table:

**Table 3**

*Acquisition order of ten grammatical morphemes*

Rank	Morpheme
1	Articles
2	Copula
3	Progressive
4	Simple plural
5	Auxiliaries
6	Past regular
7	Past irregular
8	Long plural
9	Possessive
10	3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular

*Source: Kwon (2005)*

Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974) conducted a similar study with adults. They engaged two groups of learners learning English. The first group was comprised of 33 native speakers of Spanish and the second group comprised of all non-Spanish (different 12 languages) 40 learners. BSM was the method of eliciting data. The result showed consistency with the results of Dulay and Burt studies. The following kind of acquisition sequence was observed.

**Table 4**

*Acquisition sequence of ten grammatical morphemes*

Rank	Morpheme
1	Present progressive
2	Plural
3	Contracted copula
4	Article
5	Past regulars
6	Possessive
7	Contracted auxiliaries
8	3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular
9	Possessive
10	3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular

*Source: Kwon (2005)*

Larsen-Freeman (1976) researched adults of different four language backgrounds relating to Arabic, Japanese, Persian, and Spanish, which revealed the following order of acquisition of ten morphemes in the study:

**Table 5***Acquisition of ten grammatical morphemes*

Rank	Morpheme
1	Present progressive
2	Copula
3	Article
4	Auxiliary
5	Short plural
6	Past regular
7	Singular
8	Past irregular
9	Long plural
10	Possessive

**Research Methods**

The purpose of this study was to find out the accuracy order of eight English inflectional morphemes based on the descriptive analysis of proficiency of those morphemes by Grade Six students learning English as a compulsory subject in community and private schools. The study also intended to examine to what extent the order of acquisition of inflectional morphemes by Nepali



students was compatible with initial morpheme order studies. The population of the study consisted of Grade Six students from Community and Private Schools in Banganga Municipality in Kapilvastu. The sample was selected from two secondary schools (community and private) selected purposively. Altogether 32 students were included in the study selected randomly comprising 16 students from each. The data was collected using a set of questionnaires comprising different tasks which included (a) a multiple-choice written test, (b) a fill-in-the-blanks written response test, (c) an oral dictation test, and (d) a transformation test. The correct responses were awarded with 1 mark, and incorrect responses were marked as zero. To collect the data, we took informed consent from the gatekeepers and the informants, and their voluntary participation and ethicalities were ensured. Firstly, the researchers went to the schools and talked to the authority (principal/head teacher) and explained the purpose and process of research to get permission to collect data. The questionnaire was administered to the selected participant students by visiting them in their schools and they were collected for analysis.

### Results and Discussion

The data collected through the questionnaire containing objective tests to test the proficiency on eight English inflectional morphemes have been presented holistically and school-wise, and they have been compared with the acquisition order of previous studies of Brown (1973), Dulay and Burt (1974b), Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974) and Larshen-Freeman (1975).

#### Holistic Presentation of Data

The data was collected from the Grade Six students of community and private schools using the questionnaire containing multiple choice, gap filling, dictation test, and transformation test items to find out their proficiency in eight English inflectional morphemes indicating the order of acquisition in terms of accuracy in the test items. The students' average score on all test types have been presented as follows.

**Table 6**

*Proficiency of inflectional morphemes by Grade Six students*

S.N.	Morpheme		Average Score		Rank
1.	Possessive	Singular	0.25	0.09	8
		Plural	0.11		

2.	Plural	-s	0.35	0.21	7
		-es	0.25		
		Irregular	0.04		
3.	3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular		0.28		6
4.	Present participle		0.49		2
5.	Past tense		0.35		5
6.	Past participle		0.41		4
7.	Superlative		0.54		1
8.	Comparative		0.44		3

The given table indicates the students' highest proficiency in the 'superlative', with an average score of 0.54. Similarly, the morpheme 'present participle' falls under the second rank with score of 0.49; 'comparative' falls under the third rank with 0.44; 'past participle' under the fourth rank (0.41); 'past tense' under the fifth rank (0.35); 'Third person singular' under the sixth rank (0.28); 'plural' morpheme under the seventh rank (0.21); and 'possessive' falls under the eighth rank with the average score of 0.17.

Analysis of possessive and plural morphemes into further categories generates the following sequence of acquisition:

### Table 7

#### *Acquisition order of inflectional morphemes by Grade Six students*

Rank	Morpheme
1	Superlative
2	Present participle
3	Comparative
4	Past participle
5	Simple plural, past tense
6	3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular
7	Long plural
8	Singular possessive
9	Plural possessive
10	Irregular plural

The table indicates that the students learned the superlative very early; past tense and simple plural were learned at the same time range. However, irregular plural was not learned until other morphemes were learned.

### School-wise Presentation of Data

Within the category of school-wise interpretation, data collected from the two schools, a private English medium school, and a government-aided community school have been presented.

The data collected from students of Grades Six has been presented school-wise including the average scores for each of the test items. The average scores on proficiency of eight inflectional morphemes are indicative of the order of acquisition of the morphemes selected in the study.

**Table 8***School-wise proficiency of inflectional morphemes by Grade Six students*

S.N.	Morpheme	Private School			Community School			
		Average	Score of	Rank	Average	Score	of Rank	
1	Possessive	Singular	0.71	0.35	6	0.21	0.17	6
		Plural	0.00			0.14		
2	Plural	-s	0.46	0.34	7	0.25	0.15	7
		-es	0.39			0.14		
		Irregular	0.17			0.06		
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular	0.35		6	0.23		5	
4	Present participle	0.55		5	0.41		1	
5	Past tense	0.57		4	0.13		8	
6	Past participle	0.58		3	0.24		4	
7	Superlative	0.78		1	0.30		2	
8	Comparative	0.63		2	0.62		3	

The information presented in the table indicates that the students of private school had the highest proficiency in the 'superlative' morpheme with a score of 0.78, while the community school students had the highest proficiency in the present participle with an average score of 0.41. The 'comparative' morpheme appeared in the second rank with a score of 0.63 for private school, while 'superlative' appeared in the same rank with 0.30 for community school students. While 'past participle' falls under the third rank with 0.58 for private school, there is 'comparative' in the same rank with 0.26 for community school. Similarly, the 'past tense' morpheme was in the fourth rank (0.57) in the category of private school, while 'past participle' was in the same rank with 0.24 in the category of private school. 'Present participle' was in the fifth rank (0.55) for private school, while '3<sup>rd</sup> person singular' in the same rank (0.23) for community school. 'Possessive' and '3<sup>rd</sup> person singular' morphemes fell in the sixth rank (0.35) in the private school category, while 'possessive' (0.17) fell in the same rank in the community school category. 'Plural' morpheme was in the seventh rank for both schools, however, with different scores. 'Past tense' morpheme appeared in the final position (0.13) in the category of community school, however, it was the plural (0.34) concerning the private school.

In terms of the distinction of 'possessive' into 'singular' and 'plural', and 'plural' morpheme into 'simple', 'long' and 'irregular', the acquisition order of the inflectional morphemes was found as follows:

**Table 9**

*Acquisition order of inflectional morphemes by Grade Six students of private and community schools*

S.N.	Morpheme	Average Score of Rank	
		Private School	Community School
1	Singular possessive	0.71	2
2	Plural possessive	0.00	11
3	Simple plural (-s)	0.46	7
4	Long plural (-es)	0.39	8
5	Irregular plural	0.17	10
6	3 <sup>rd</sup> person singular	0.35	9
7	Present participle	0.55	6
8	Past tense	0.57	5
9	Past participle	0.58	4
10	Superlative	0.78	1
11	Comparative	0.63	3

The given table indicates that the students of private school learned all the inflectional morphemes earlier except for plural possessive. Private school students of Grade Six tended to show better proficiency in the 'superlative' (-est), while it is the 'present participle' (-ing) to the community school students. 'Comparative' and 'long' plural fell in the same rank of third and eighth in both schools respectively.

### **Comparison of the Data with Major L1 and L2 Studies**

Here, the comparison has been made between the findings of major L1 and L2 studies and the current study. For the comparison, R. Brown (1973), Dulay and Burt (1974b), Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974), and Larshen-Freeman (1975) have been selected. Comparison has been made between the morphemes that are common in the current study and the selected studies.

**Table 10**

*Comparison of acquisition order of morphemes of previous studies with the current study findings*

L1 Study	L2 Studies			Current Study
Brown (1973)	Dulay and Burt (1974b)	Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974)	Larsen-Freeman (1975)	
1 Present	1 Article	1 Present	1 Present	1 Superlative

Progressive		Progressive		Progressive	
2.5 On	2 Copula	2 Plural	2 Copula	2 Present Progressive	
2.5 In	3 Progressive	3 Contracted Copula	3 Article	3 Comparative	
4 Plural	4 Simple Plural	4 Article	4 Auxiliary	4 Past Participle	
5 Past Irregular	5 Auxiliary	5 Past Irregular	5 Short Plural	5 Past Tense, Simple Plural	
6 Possessive	6 Past Regular	6 Possessive	6 Past Regular	6 3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Sing.	
7 Uncontracted copula	7 Past Irregular	7 Contracted Auxiliary	7 Singular	7 Long Plural	
8 Article	8 Long Plural	8 Third Person Present	8 Past Irregular	8 Singular Possessive	
9 Past Regular	9 Possessive	9 Possessive	9 Long Plural	9 Plural Possessive	
10 3 <sup>rd</sup> person Regular	10 3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	10 3 <sup>rd</sup> Person Singular	10 Possessive	10 Irregular Plural	
11 3 <sup>rd</sup> person Irregular					
12 Uncontracted Auxiliary					
13 Contracted Copula					
14 Contracted Auxiliary					

The current study shows that superlative is acquired before other inflectional morphemes. However, this was not included in the previous studies selected here. All the studies showed that ‘present progressive/participle’ is acquired before other morphemes. ‘Comparative’ morpheme, placed in the third rank and ‘past participle’ placed in the fourth rank in the current study, were not included in the previous studies mentioned above. Like Dulay and Burt, and Larsen-Freeman studies, current study also proves that ‘simple plural’ is acquired far before ‘long plural’. However, Brown and Bailey, Madden and Krashen have not distinguished between long and short plural. Their studies also show that ‘plural’ morpheme is acquired immediately after ‘present participle’. This study shows that ‘irregular plural’ is acquired later even after ‘singular possessive’, however, previous studies have not discussed the separate category like this. All the studies show that ‘past tense’ is acquired well before ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person singular’. Dulay and Burt (1974b) and Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974) showed that ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person singular’ is acquired immediately after ‘possessive’, however, Brown (1973) and the current study show that ‘3<sup>rd</sup> person singular’ is acquired right before ‘possessive’ morpheme. Thus, these studies indicated the possibility some sort of acquisition order of morphemes, though the order is not rigid, but flexible.

### Conclusion

The study findings reconfirmed the existence of some sort of ‘natural’ order of acquisition of English morphemes, though not consistent and rigid, in which English second language learners acquire proficiency of English inflectional morphemes. Despite slight variations, this study supports the expectations that the order of morpheme acquisition would be largely consistent across L2 English learners. This order also broadly corresponds to that observed in the studies of Brown (1973), Dulay and Burt (1973), Bailey, Madden and Krashen (1974) and Larsen-Freeman (1975). On the whole, ‘superlative’ was found to be acquired earlier than other morphemes incorporated in the study. ‘Present participle’ closely follows ‘superlative’, and ‘past participle’ closely followed the ‘comparative’ which in turn was followed by ‘present participle’. ‘Third person singular’ (-s/-es) and the ‘long plural’ (-es), possessive morphemes and ‘irregular plural’ were found more problematic to the learners which indicated that they are acquired later compared to other morphemes including ‘superlative’, ‘present progressive’, and ‘comparative’ morphemes. The study implies that because there exists some sort of natural order of acquisition, though not rigid, curriculum should be designed in such a way that the sequence is maintained, horizontally or vertically. Furthermore, teachers need to be aware of acquisition order so they learning tasks can be designed to fit to natural learning process.

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**Investigating into Financial Practices: Does Financial Literacy of Teachers Matters for their Financial Behavior?**

Ujjwal Adhikari

**Abstract**

This research intends to investigate how financial literacy affects the financial behavior of school-level teachers in Kapilvastu district. This context for research has been generated to answer whether the literacy is ultimate cause of financial practice behavior. Primary data-based descriptive research through close-ended structured questionnaire data was collected among school-level teachers in Kapilvastu, Nepal. The regression analysis was used to explore the relationship between independent variables and dependent variables. The relationship between financial literacy and financial behavior is significant. This paper showed that financial literacy acts as the cause of financial behavior. The study provided the proper ideas to policymakers on the extension of financial literacy via school-level curriculum.

*Keywords:* Financial Planning, Financial literacy, Financial Behavior, Financial knowledge

**Introduction**

The economy in Nepal has recorded not so increasing growth rate over the past few decades (Karki et al., 2020). There have been various initiatives from the government to increase the wealth of the nation and its citizens but these all seem insufficient. Individuals who have received financial education are more likely to be financially literate, which enables them to make wise financial decisions. Financial literacy is the mix of knowledge, skill, attitude, and behavior required to make wise financial decisions that will eventually contribute to financial well-being (Gupta & Kaur, 2014). Academically financial literacy and financial planning behavior-related issues are viable in research. Financial literacy and inclusion have been proven aid to economic growth and poverty reduction by various studies around the world (Andreou & Philip, 2018). Financial literacy has emerged as an important component of financial inclusion. The Government of Nepal has emphasized the necessity of an inclusive financial system in its various documents and has tried to achieve it (Chaulagain, 2017). It also aimed at financial literacy to influence the behavior of saving and reduce the economic burden of debt in people.

In 2020 Nepal Rastra Bank (NRB) announced the financial literacy framework to develop financially aware and capable citizens for prosperous Nepal. NRB aims to undertake financial literacy programs to assist people in making rational financial decisions and accessing appropriate financial products and services from banks and financial institutions (Bank, 2020). In detail, NRB is trying to enhance knowledge of using banking channels for making financial transactions and



converting these skills into behavioral changes. In this connection, the study has more rationale to determine the causing factors of the behavior of school teachers for personal financial planning. The framework is further based on financial literacy contents, which have been categorized according to the OECD Core competencies framework cited by Schuhen and Schürkmann (2014) such as financial concepts and planning and managing, as indicated by changes in financial knowledge, skills, and attitudes, behavioral changes, and financial outcomes. Financial concepts are more theory based disseminate informative content. Planning and managing include more application-based content that has a direct impact on skills, attitude, behavior, and outcomes. Lack of financial education can lead people to the pitfall of debt even with a high income so, these skills are important for a person's growth. Financial knowledge should be given to students at an early level in school, college, and university (Philippas & Avdoulas, 2020). To provide financial knowledge to the students, teachers should be literate and practiced. A sound personal financial plan allows individuals to be mindful of how they deal with financial matters (Adam et al., 2017). In this regard, individuals have to be prudent in strategizing what needs to be addressed and establishing a realistic timeline as and when their financial goals and objectives are to be achieved.

As per the data of the central bank, the financial literacy rate of Nepal has reached 57.9 percent, suggesting more than 40 percent of the population is still financially illiterate. NRB has highlighted its Strategic Plan setting a strategic objective as “Enhance Financial Literacy, Inclusion and Access to Finance”. Developing a financial inclusion index, promoting digital financial literacy, and policy priorities are also mentioned in the plan. The importance of financial literacy has also been mentioned in the Financial Inclusion Roadmap (2017-2022), which provides an overarching guideline for the strengthening of financial inclusion in Nepal. Meanwhile, the monetary policy of NRB has incorporated the provision of digital financial literacy, financial consumer protection, and the development financial literacy training manual in the framework of NRB. As mentioned in the policy, NRB will also coordinate with the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) to produce content for financial literacy in the school-level curricula. This attainment should be supported by the local level of government, which falls under their responsibility.

This study demonstrates the disparity between educational literacy and financial literacy. Educational literacy is not self-sufficient and does not provide the perfect understanding of true financial literacy. In reality, most people do not put their financial knowledge to use. According to the latest BFI statistics, just 72 percent of Nepalese individuals have a personal bank account, according to NRB (2020). However, the number of active bank accounts is fewer. A well-managed individual financial plan makes a person aware of the path they should take to address financial challenges.

The study has some rationale for developing the policy regarding financial literacy, planning, and practices. It also assists in enhancing financial knowledge and spreading it to common people via teachers. To develop investment-friendly activities which may assist in fulfilling some objectives of the budget of the government of Nepal which is to achieve a self-reliant economy. The research has significance in supporting the program of the government of Nepal termed “Education with Skill” which aims to promote education with skill, skill with labor, labor with employment, employment with production, and production with the market. This inter-connection joint financial literacy and their intention with financial behavior. To accomplish the directives of the government of Nepal to the Curriculum Development Center (CDC) for producing content for financial literacy in the school-level curricula. This attainment should be completed by the teachers. That’s why, the research gained the rationale of examining the financial literacy and behavior of teachers.

The research incorporated general and specific objectives. The general objective was to investigate the status of financial literacy of government school teachers and also collect the views and provide proper analysis of the intention of teachers towards financial behavior. The specific objective was to examine the relationship between financial literacy and the financial behavior of school teachers of Banganga municipality.

### **Literature Review and Hypothesis**

There has been an increase in interest in researching the effectiveness of financial education programs that can guide program development and refinement (Hilgert et al., 2003) and help educators find a method for dealing with community needs related to family financial management. Research on successful financial education methods is scarce. Some research suggests that the use of sound financial practices can provide families with greater wealth accumulation, but it is unclear whether there is a direct relationship between education and improved economic well-being (Schuchardt et al., 2009). Financial literacy programs are designed to help individuals adopt sound financial practices that promote economic health and improved quality of life (Braunstein & Welch, 2002).

Financial literacy involves an individual’s ability to interpret and understand basic financial concepts and to apply knowledge to make informed decisions (Kumar et al., 2017). A lack of financial knowledge could lead an individual into ineffective financial decision-making that contributes to financial problems (Balasubramnian & Sargent, 2020; Tokar Asaad, 2015). People have to make some financial decisions to fulfill their needs, therefore they have to be able to make the right financial behavior to reach financial well-being. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) describes financial literacy as knowledge and understanding of

financial concepts and risks, accompanied by motivation, skills, and confidence (Huston, 2010). Financial literacy is a measurement of a person's understanding of financial concepts and the ability and confidence to manage personal finances through making appropriate short-term decisions, long-term financial planning, and paying attention to economic events and conditions (Remund, 2010). Financial literacy and behavior have some role in determining purchasing patterns but the income level of individual should also consider to identify the purchasing behavior (Gustman & Steinmeier, 2004). Financial literacy is an essential component for making great financial decisions. Furthermore, financial decision-making has been widely acknowledged as one of the important factors that influence financial capability and financial well-being. Thus, identifying factors that are significantly associated with financial decisions is relevant and is one of the crucial issues for individual and national development. The research is based on the relationship between financial literacy and financial behavior. Financial behavior is determined by four factors termed as saving behavior, shopping behavior, long-term planning, and short-term planning. Financial literacy is measured by diversifying subjective knowledge, managing investment, managing insurance, and financial planning process. The major assumption of the study included:

There is a significant relationship between financial literacy and the financial behavior of school-level teachers.

### **Research Methods**

Research design is a strategy of obtaining information to conduct a study and generalizing and also providing the answer to various research questions (Bloomfield & Fisher, 2019). A primary data-based descriptive research design has been adopted in this research study. This design enables the generalization of findings in a large population.

This study used convenience sampling for survey research as members are selected based on their availability and convenience (Creswell et al., 2003). Sample size 380 is used in this research out of the school-level teachers of the Kapilvastu district from both private and community-based schools. The primary data was collected through a closed questionnaire survey in different sub-urban areas in Kapilvastu district. A five-point Likert scale was employed to collect the data. The self-administered questionnaire survey was conducted and questionnaires were distributed face-to-face and via e-mail. The questionnaire included two sections named a demographic and content section. The items of the content section were developed on a five-point Likert scale (1 to 5), varying between strongly disagree (1) to strongly Agree (5). The questionnaire to measure financial literacy is adopted from (Knoll & Houts, 2012), and items to measure financial behavior in terms of saving

behavior, shopping behavior (Varcoe et al., 2005), and long-term and short-term planning (Wagner, 2015). The study used descriptive and inferential statistics for presenting and analysing the data.

### Results and Discussion

Demographically diversified respondents were selected and their profiles including age, gender, marital status, monthly income, and academic qualification are presented here.

**Table 1.1**

*Distribution of Respondents by Demographic Profile*

Demographic Variables	Categories	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Age	20-30	103	27.1	27.1
	30-40	207	54.5	81.6
	40-50	55	14.5	96.1
	50-60	15	3.9	100.0
Gender	Male	247	65.0	65.0
	Female	133	35.0	100.0
Marital Status	Married	223	58.7	58.7
	Unmarried	157	41.3	100.0
Academic Qualification	SLC/SEE	16	4.2	4.2
	+2/ Inter	26	6.8	11.1
	Bachelor	139	36.6	47.6
	Master degree	198	52.1	99.7
	MPhil & PhD	1	0.3	100.0
Monthly Income	Below 20K	81	21.3	21.3
	20K-30K	23	6.1	27.4
	30K-40K	160	42.1	69.5
	40K-50K	87	22.9	92.4
	50K & Above	29	7.6	100.0

The majority of the respondents were aged 30-40 years old, representing 54.5 percent followed by 20-30 years. Out of the total respondents, 65 percent of the respondents were male and 35 percent of the respondents were female. This data shows the imbalance gender mix. As per the marital status of respondents, 58.7 percent of respondents were married and the rest were unmarried. The noticeable demographic fact was that 52.1 percent of respondents had completed their master's degree and above academically followed by bachelor's degree holders with 36.6 percent. As per the monthly income of respondents, a large portion of respondents fell on 30 thousand to 40 thousand income and was followed by the income level of 40 thousand to 50 thousand which showed that the similar income category.

### Descriptive Statistics of Constructs of Financial Behavior

**Table 1.2**

*Descriptive Statistics of constructs of financial behavior*

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Saving Behavior	380	3.8414	.60235
Shopping Behavior	380	3.7763	.67927
Long-term Financial Planning	380	3.7770	.67398
Short-term Financial Planning	380	3.8033	.63378
Valid N (listwise)	380		

Table 1.2 depicts the aggregate mean and standard deviation value of determinants of financial behavior. All of these mean values are near to agreed scale. The standard deviation of all variables is moderate, which reflects no more deviation in data.

### Descriptive Statistics of Constructs of Financial Literacy

**Table 1.3**

*Descriptive Statistics of all variables of financial literacy*

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Subjective Knowledge	380	3.9333	.64312
Managing Investment	380	3.8982	.68715
Managing Insurance	380	3.8596	.67031
Financial Planning Process	380	3.9105	.65527
Valid N (listwise)	380		

Table 1.3 depicts the mean value of all constructs of financial literacy incorporated in this study. All the mean values were near 4, which mean that the majority of the response agreed with the stated statement of these variables. The standard deviation was average for all variables, out of these the lowest standard deviation of subjective knowledge and the highest for managing investment.

### Regression between financial literacy and financial behavior

**Table 1.4**

*Model Summary*

Model	R	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj R <sup>2</sup>	Std. Error
	.785 <sup>a</sup>	.616	.615	.31935

a. Predictors: (Constant), FIN\_LIT

Table 1.4, shows the summary of a regression model. This test is used to determine the proportion of the percentage of the total variation in the dependent variable explained by the independent variables. The value of R<sup>2</sup> is 0.616 which means that independent variables have 61.6 percent influence towards the dependent variables. The rest percentage is influenced by the other variables that are not mentioned in this research. The value of R indicates that the model is perfectly

fitted and the fitness of all research questions of an independent variable and dependent variables are quite related to each other.

**Table 1.5***ANOVA*

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	61.780	1	61.780	605.782	.000 <sup>b</sup>
Residual	38.550	378	.102		
Total	100.330	379			

a. Dependent Variable: FIN\_BEH

b. Predictors: (Constant), FIN\_LIT

Table 1.5 provides the ANOVA summary for the overall significance of the regression model in terms of goodness of fit in explaining financial behavior. The model reached statistical significance of  $P = 0.000$  which indicates its significance at  $p < 0.05$ . The F-value is ( $F=605.782$ ,  $P=0.000$ ) which is statistically significant. This indicates a statistically significant relationship between financial literacy and financial behavior. This means that the independent variable (financial literacy) significantly predicts the dependent variable (financial behavior). This shows that the model and the data are well fit in explaining financial behavior.

**Table 1.6***Coefficient Analysis*

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.860	.125		6.906	.000
	FIN_LIT	.800	.033	.785	24.613	.000

a. Dependent Variable: FIN\_BEH

Table 1.6 depicts that the dependent variable financial behavior was regressed on predicting variable financial literacy. To test the  $H_0$ , financial literacy acquired the value of ( $\beta_1 = 0.860$ ,  $t = 6.906$ ,  $p = 0.000 < 0.05$ ). The p-value is 0.000 which is lower than the significant level of  $\alpha = 0.05$ . Therefore, the variable of financial literacy has a significant effect on financial behavior. Thus, the research hypothesis states that a significant relationship between financial literacy and financial behavior is accepted. The regression coefficient of financial literacy is 0.860 which means that a unit increase in financial literacy will bring 0.860 units respectively increase in financial behavior.

This study is an attempt to examine the various factors affecting financial literacy and financial behavior of school-level teachers. The findings of the inferential statistics identify

significant variables that affect financial literacy and behavior. The results of regression analysis revealed that there is a significant relationship between financial literacy and its selected determinants, financial behavior and its selected determinants, and financial literacy and financial behavior. Overall, financial literacy with financial behavior was examined and obtained a significant positive relationship at the level of significance 0.05. The findings on financial literacy are consistent with the results found by Andarsari and Ningtyas (2019); Younas et al. (2019); and Farida et al. (2021), as the study found the significance of financial literacy in predicting the financial behavior of school level teachers in Kapilvastu district.

### **Conclusions and Implication**

The study enriches the connection between financial literacy and financial behavior. Conceptually the study proposed the model for financial literacy in terms of four different concern areas named subjective knowledge, financial planning process, managing insurance, and managing investment and financial behavior with saving behavior, shopping behavior, long-term planning, and short-term planning then finally financial literacy and financial behavior with rigorous literature review and with the model fit. The study also showed good signs of literacy in school-level teachers, which provides a strong foothold for the progression of financial literacy and accordingly practices. Such good practice would enable more of the general public to reap the benefits of financial behavior. When effective financial behavior becomes widespread in the country, economic growth will be stimulated.

For research scholars or academics, the result and conclusion of the study will help to explore the research gap and develop a model with increased predicting power in the areas of financial literacy and behavior. During the completion of the study, some portion of the dependent variable is unexplained by independent variables, which may be the research gap for further researchers. Research scholars can use new independent variables to reduce errors and develop models with high predicting power. The results of this study will serve as a reference for academicians and practitioners in determining the most critical factors to concentrate on financial literacy and behavior.

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ISSN 2676-1432

# SIDDHARTHA JOURNAL OF ACADEMICS

Volume 4

July, 2022

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