

Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies

Volume 20 • Number 2 • 1997

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93-2/20.2
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93.07.98

The Early Saṃgha and the Laity¹

There were sharp boundaries between monks and laymen in early Buddhist and Theravāda Buddhist societies. The aim of this article is to show how the relationship between the Saṃgha and the laity originated and was maintained in early Buddhism. My main source is the *Vinaya-piṭaka* of the Pali Canon. Sources of secondary importance are the *Sutta-piṭaka*, the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthās* and the *Catuspariṣatsūtra* which is a Sanskrit parallel to the first 24 chapters of the *Khandhaka* section of the *Vinayapitaka* in Pali.

To illuminate the relationship between the Saṃgha and the laity I will employ two concepts from Bryan WILSON's sociology of religion: *conversionism* and *introversionism*. In his book *Religious Sects* WILSON gives a definition and a general typology of sects.² Although his own application of the typology is limited to groups within the Christian tradition his categories are of such a general kind that they can be applied elsewhere. WILSON draws attention to the need for a typology the relevance of which is not limited to groups within the Christian tradition:

If the sociology of religion is to move forward, we must create categories which allow us to study comparatively the social functions and development of religious movements. As a consequence, such studies must shun categories dictated too specifically by the characteristics of a particular theological tradition. Obviously, the types we can use are still drawn mainly from the material at our disposal, especially from Christian movements. But it is imperative that we should try to enlarge their application, and, if needs be, modify their formulation in the light of this extension of their meaning, so that we shall have a series of analytical instruments which will no longer be centred on a particular civilization and religion (in this case, Christian).³

1. I would like to thank the Norwegian Research Council for financial support during my work on this article.
2. WILSON, Bryan R.: *Religious Sects. A Sociological Study*, London 1970.
3. WILSON, Bryan: "The Typology of Sects", In *Archives de Sociologie de Religion*, vol.16. (1963). Trans. by ROBERTSON, Jenny M. p.49-63.

I take this as an invitation to apply WILSON's types in the study of other religious traditions than the Christian. In my opinion, WILSON's typology gives us a useful framework for the study of the early Saṃgha and the social processes that took place in the early stages of Buddhism. WILSON defines a sect in terms of eight qualities which will be present in the religious community. Buddhism was a sect according to WILSON's definition.

WILSON distinguishes seven cardinal types of sects based on the nature of the sects' response to the world. They are the *conversionist*, the *revolutionary*, the *introversionist*, the *manipulationist*, the *thaumaturgical*, the *reformist* and the *utopian*. These are not static categories. One sectarian movement can have elements of different orientations and a sect *can*, and in most cases *will*, move from one category to another over time. Thus, the typology is suited to measure *change* in a sect's orientation toward the world.

Gordon.W. ALLPORT used the concept of *extrinsic vs intrinsic motivation* for religious behaviour.⁴ A person who has an extrinsic orientation uses religion to achieve other ends; the religion is not the ultimate goal in itself. His relationship to religion is instrumental and the beliefs can be shaped accordingly to fit his mundane desires. The heterodox systems served important functions in the pursuit of worldly or *extrinsic* goals for certain parts of Indian society. For instance, by subscribing to Buddhism the Kṣatriyas could undermine the authority of the Brahmins, and the new religious ethic seems to have suited an emerging urban merchant class.⁵ However, in the case of early Buddhism I believe that it was first of all members of the lower strata of society who had mundane motivations for joining the Saṃgha. I will look at the motivation of those who came for the security and status of monkhood and those who came "purely for a comfortable living" as PACHOW says.⁶ As I will show, this extrinsic motivation is abundantly documented in the *Khandhakas* of the *Vinayaṭīka*.

4. For a review of this concept, see HUNT, Richard A. and KING, Morton B. in Malony, Newton H. (ed.). *Current Perspectives in the Psychology of Religion*, Grand Rapids 1977, pp. 138-159. See ALLPORT, G.W. and ROSS, J.M. pp. 116-137 for the concept used to understand religion and prejudice.

5. SIMSON, G. v.: "Der zeitgeschichtliche Hintergrund der Entstehung des Buddhismus und seine Bedeutung für die Datierungsfrage", *Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung* IV. 1 (1991). Ed. by H. Bechert, Göttingen, pp. 90-99.

6. PACHOW, W.: *A Comparative Study of the Pratimoksa*, Santiniketan 1955, p. 66.

I have introduced three concepts that I will apply in my approach to the textual material: introversionism, conversionism and extrinsic motivation. The aim of this article is to show that early Buddhism changed from a conversionist to an introversionist relationship to the world and that this process was a consequence of the extrinsic motivation of the potential members of the Saṃgha.⁷

1. Extrinsic Motivation

In chapter I.39 of the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (MV from now on) people go forth because they are afflicted with the five diseases which were prevalent among the people of Magadha and they cannot get the attendance of the physician Jīvaka Komārabhacca outside the Saṃgha as he is too busy caring for the King and the monks. Typically, they ask themselves whether they should go forth among the sons of the Sakyans; then monks would look after them and the physician would attend to them.⁸ In MV.I.40 some soldiers join the Saṃgha in order to escape military service. In MV.I.41 a thief has gone forth to hide. In MV.I.42 a thief breaks out of jail and joins the order. It has been decreed by King Bimbisāra that nothing should be done against the sons of the Sakyans, and therefore the criminal feels safe among the recluses. In MV.I.43 a man is on the run, having committed a crime. In the royal palace it is written that this man should be killed when seen.⁹ He joins the Saṃgha to hide. In MV.I.44 and 45 men who have been scourged and branded as punishment join the order of monks. In MV.I.46 a debtor goes forth among the monks in order to escape his creditors. In MV.I.47 a slave has run away and taken shelter in the Saṃgha. In MV.I.48 a metal-smith joins the order to hide from his parents. In MV.I.49 a group of boys with Upāli as their leader goes forth in order

7. It will be clear that I am interested in the Buddhist texts, first of all the *Khandaka* of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, as a source of information about society at the time of the Buddha. The presupposition that reliable information can be extracted from this text may, of course, be questioned. I have tried to clarify the historical value of the *Khandaka* in BREKKE, Torkel: "The Skandhaka of the Vinaya Piṭaka and its Historical Value", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie* 42, 1998 (forthcoming).

8. *yaṃ nūna mayāṃ samanesu Sakyaputtiyesu pabbajeyyāma, tattha bhikkū c' eva upaṭṭhahissanti Jivako ca Komārabhacco tikicchissatīti.*

9. *yattha passitabbo tattha hantabbo 'ti.*

to live at ease. Getting up in the night they cry out for food.¹⁰ These are examples of extrinsically motivated monks.

If we look at the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā*, we find more passages about monks and nuns who were motivated by worldly goals. According to Dhammapāla's commentary, the poor and hard-working Sumangala of *Theragāthā* XLIII joins the order because he sees that the recluses live in sheltered lodgings, dress in delicate robes and eat well. He is admitted to the order by the Thera simply out of compassion. In Ramanīyavihārin of *Theragāthā* XLV we have a typical example of the kind of monk who throughout the history of Buddhism made the Saṃgha the object of accusations of laxity.

Reborn in this Buddha-age at Rājagaha, as the son of a leading citizen, he lived in youthful wantonness. One day he saw the king's officers arresting an adulterer, and growing agitated, he listened to the Master teaching, and left the world. As a bhikkhu, but still susceptible to fleshly lusts, he made himself a well-garnished chamber, well furnished as to food and drink, seat and couch; and so he ever dwelt. For this reason he was known as Ramanīyavihārin (Pleasant-lodge Brother).¹¹

Nīta of *Theragāthā* LXXXIV was the same kind of monk.

When grown up he thought: "These Sākiyan recluses are very lucky in that they are well provided with all necessities. It is a happy life, that of a member of the Order." So he entered it to get pleasure from it, paid scant attention to his exercise, ate his fill, spent the day in idle talk, and slept all night long.¹²

Adḍhakāsi of *Therīgāthā* XXII joins the Saṃgha to escape her life as a prostitute. The same is the case for Ambapālī of *Therīgāthā* LXVI. Discussing the case of a prostitute joining the Saṃgha, K. MYLIUS writes: "Das war sicherlich kein Einzelfall, und es gibt allerlei Hinweise der zeitgenössischen Quellen, dass der Saṃgha nicht ausschliesslich aus edlen Motiven aufgesucht wurde."¹³

But it was not only Buddhists who were extrinsically motivated. Or, to put it differently, people who wanted to adopt a religious life in the pursuit of an easy living sometimes had other, and perhaps better, opportunities than the Buddhist Saṃgha. A.K. WARDER argues that there existed a broad milieu of ascetics and wanderers before the great

10. *yāguṃ detha, bhataṃ detha, khādaniyaṃ dethā* 'ti.

11. *Theragāthā* XLV, Trans. RHYS DAVIDS Mrs.: *Psalms of the Early Buddhists. Psalms of the Brethren*. London 1913, p. 49-50.

12. *Theragāthā* LXXXIV, *ibid.* p. 81.

13. MYLIUS, Klaus: *Geschichte der altindischen Literatur*, Bern 1988, p. 312.

heterodox sects and that the organized schools originated as a consequence of changes in the society.

No doubt the ājiva was embraced by many who wished to escape the need to work or the responsibilities of family life, not to speak of conscription, forced labour, or slavery, and was a carefree existence very different from the life of strenuous asceticism, complicated discipline, and intensive study required of members of most of the organized sects afterwards (although freedom from all worldly cares was always stressed.)¹⁴

Thus, according to WARDER, Buddhism originated in a religious environment where extrinsic motivation was common.

The problem of extrinsic motivation for joining the Saṃgha had no ultimate solution. On the contrary, it seems to have grown as the number of monasteries rose and their wealth and prestige increased. According to R.A.L.H. GUNAWARDANA the kings of medieval Sri Lanka were constantly engaged in purifying the Saṃgha by expelling unsuited monks.¹⁵ M. CARRITHERS says that the Saṃgha of Ceylon came to be seen as consisting of two parties; one was the village-Saṃgha with their involvement in lay life and the monasteries' control of vast areas of land for cultivation, the other was the forest-dwellers and ascetics.¹⁶ Melford SPIRO discusses the motivation of the Burmese monks in similar terms.¹⁷ According to SPIRO, the Burmese distinguishes between three types of motivation to join the Saṃgha: first, religious motives; second, the desire to escape the miseries of worldly life; third, the wish for an easy life. SPIRO'S first category corresponds to Allport's intrinsic motivation whereas both the second and the third would be aspects of extrinsic motivation. Most of Spiro's informants say that the larger part of the Burmese monks joined the Saṃgha in order to escape miseries or have an easy life. They are extrinsically motivated. Because of their easy living there are five times as many monks as there would be otherwise,

14. WARDER, A.K.: "On the Relationship between Early Buddhism and Other Contemporary Systems", *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18 (1956), p. 47.

15. GUNAWARDANA, R.A.L.H.: *Robe and Plough. Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*. Tucson 1979, pp. 137-139.

16. CARRITHERS, Michael B.: "They will be Lords upon the Island: Buddhism in Sri Lanka", In *The World of Buddhism*. Edited by Heinz BECHERT and Richard GOMBRICH, London 1984, p. 143.

17. SPIRO, Melford E.: *Buddhism and Society. A Great Tradition and its Burmese Vicissitudes*. California 1982, p. 321 ff.

the informants claim.¹⁸ Although the monks themselves give nobler motives for their decision to join the Saṃgha, SPIRO is clearly of the opinion that the extrinsic motivational factors are very important in the recruitment of monks. According to SPIRO, almost all monks are from poor village families. This is also the case in Thailand.¹⁹ The Saṃgha offers a higher standard of living and a higher status for poor villagers than they would achieve outside the order. The order also offers a possibility of getting an education for poor youngsters.

It seems, then, that we have a situation in modern Theravāda countries with antecedents in the earliest Saṃgha. The modern situation – where poor people are motivated by the increase in living standard and status – is not new. From the stories of the *Khandhakas* it seems that extrinsic motivation was a problem already at the time of the Buddha. In the rest of this article I will show how this tendency toward extrinsic motivation has, from the very start, been an essential force in the shaping of the relationship between the Saṃgha and the laity and thus in the shaping of the structure of Buddhist societies.

2. The Consequences of Extrinsic Motivation

The Saṃgha always depended on the support of the laity. To receive support, the monks had to be, or at least appear as, pure and distinguished individuals. The Saṃgha had to stand out as a body worthy of support. The monks were expected to lead lives devoted to high religious ideals and they were expected to light up the world with their holiness. People who joined the order simply to benefit from its security and the spiritual and material support it enjoyed corrupted the Saṃgha. Very early it became necessary to bar these people out. It was essential to show the world that the monks took no interest in worldly pleasures. This need brought about a change in the early Saṃgha's relationship to the world. By physical separation and by segregation by outward appearance the Saṃgha withdrew from the world to cultivate and demonstrate its own holiness and aloofness. It was a change from an outwardly-minded *conversionism* to withdrawal and segregation; to *introversionism*.

18. *ibid.* p. 322.

19. *ibid.* p. 325.

2.1. From Conversionism...

In WILSON's typology, conversionism is one of the seven basic responses to the world that a sect can adopt.²⁰ I use the term *conversionism* to denote the great emphasis which is put on the conversion of new members to the Saṃgha and the lack of restrictions in admittance. The early Buddhists seem to have engaged in fervent and competitive proselytizing activity both toward other sects and toward Brahmins and other important members of society.

In the *Khandhaka* section of the *Vinayaṭṭaka* we have the most detailed description of the early stages of the Buddhist Saṃgha available in Buddhist literature. Its account starts right after the enlightenment of Gotama. The young prince is now a Buddha, but he has no congregation yet. Initially, he does not want to experience the weariness and vexation caused by the dull intellects of his potential pupils and he must be persuaded by Brahmā Sahāmpati to teach the Dhamma. The first question which arises is to whom he should first preach. He decides to approach the group of five ascetics with whom he previously has practiced asceticism. These five form the first Saṃgha.

Part I.7 of the MV is about the conversion and going forth of Yasa, the son of a rich merchant of Benares and about the conversion and going forth as a lay-disciple of Yasa's father. The Buddha uses his charisma to win over Yasa as a monk and his father as a lay-disciple. When the great merchant sees his son who has run away from home in order to join the Buddha's following he begs him to come home for his mother's sake.²¹ When the merchant asks his son to come back, the Buddha tells him that Yasa cannot turn back to the low life and enjoy sensual pleasures as he did before when he led the life of a householder.²²

In MV I.8. the mother and former wife of Yasa take refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṃgha as lay-disciples and become the first women lay-disciples using the three-word formula.²³ In MV I.9

20. WILSON, *Religious Sects*, pp. 36-48.

21. *mātā te tāta Yasa paridevasokasampannā, dehi mātu jīvitān ti.*

22. *abhabbo kho gahapati Yaso kulaputto hīnāyāvattitvā kāme paribhuñjitum seyyathāpi pubbe agārikabhūto 'ti.*

23. *tā 'a loke paṭhamam upāsikā ahesum tevācikā.*

four friends of Yasa approach the Lord and are ordained. In MV I.10 sons of other families in Benares approach the Lord and are ordained.

In MV I.11. the Buddha tells the monks to walk out and preach Dhamma. He is approached by Māra who tells the Lord that he is bound by all snares but the Buddha tells Māra that he is freed from all snares and that Death is destroyed. Māra gives up and disappears.

In MV I.12. monks bring in from different regions people who wish to go forth and who want ordination and the Buddha allows the monks to let go forth and ordain where they are without coming to him. Of course, this must have been necessary for Buddhism to have a substantial geographical expansion. The Buddha gives the rules as to how the ordination should be carried out by the monks.

In MV I.14. the Buddha meets thirty young men in a forest. One of these men had no wife and a prostitute was brought along for him. While they were amusing themselves, the prostitute took their belongings and ran off and the men are looking for the woman when they meet the Buddha. The Buddha asks them what would be best for the men, to look for the woman or to look for the self. The men agree that it would be better if they should look for the self. The Buddha preaches and the men see Dhamma and are converted.

It is clear that the early Buddhists tried to win followers. But there were other sects with the same ambitions. In the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* King Ajātasattu is tormented by the fact that he has killed his own father, King Bimbisāra, and in his affliction he is unable to enjoy himself like kings are supposed to in their spare time. The ministers each recommend that he go to see one of six religious teachers: Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalī, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belatthiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. However, King Ajātasattu has already paid visits to the six heretics and his mind has not been appeased. But when a councillor suggests that he seek out the Buddha for guidance, the King finally sees some hope and prepares his elephants for a nocturnal excursion. He arrives at Jivaka's mango grove where the Buddha is staying. But before the Buddha will soothe the King's mind with his superior doctrine and his superior pedagogical skills, the King is asked to give an account of the six heretics' answers to his question.

According to A.L. BASHAM, the doctrines ascribed to Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla and Pakudha Kaccāyana are probably all

aspects of early Ājīvikism.²⁴ Ajita Kesakambalī represents materialism that must have been a forerunner of the Cārvākas, Nigaṅṭha Nātaputta may be identified with Mahāvīra and the account of Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta may be a satirical description of agnostic teachers' unwillingness and inability to answer metaphysical questions. From the testimony of the *Sāmaññaphalasutta* and other texts, it appears that there was a high degree of competition among the different sects and their leaders.²⁵

In the *Tevijjasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, the Buddha is approached by two young Brahmins who ask whether the teachings of the various Brahmin teachers Addhariyā, Tittiriya, Chandokā and Bavarikā lead to the same right goal. The answer is that only the path of the Buddha leads to salvation. Another story of competition between the great sect-leaders is found in chapter V of the *Cullavagga* of the *Vinayaṭīka* (CV from now). Here, a great merchant in Rājagaha makes a wooden bowl out of a block of precious sandal-wood. He puts it on a high pole and declares that whoever is a perfected one and has psychic power and gets the bowl down from the pole shall have it. Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Nātaputta the Jain approaches the merchant and claim the right to the bowl. However, it is a Buddhist, Piṇḍola the Bhāradvāja, who actually wins the contest. He rises above the ground, takes the bowl, circles Rājagaha and lands by the house of the merchant. However, when the Buddha hears this he reproaches Piṇḍola the Bhāradvāja and he forbids the monks to exhibit psychis powers to householders.

The competitive element in the proselytizing activity of early Buddhism is clearly expressed in MV.I.15-20. In these passages the Buddha demonstrates to a community of matted hair ascetics his superior magical powers. He performs many wonders, showing complete mastery over all beings and over time and space. When the matted hair ascetics want

24. BASHAM, A.L.: *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, Delhi 1981.

25. In the *Mahāparinirvānasūtra* 40, the same sect leaders as in the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* are the subject of discussion. Here, it is Subhadra who approaches the Buddha and asks why each of these different leaders profess their own, special doctrine. The Buddha explains that only his doctrine leads to the desired goal of Arhatship because it is the only doctrine in which the Aryan eightfold path is found. Outside Buddhism there are no real Śramaṇas nor real Brahmins. WALDSCHMIDT, Ernst: *Die Überlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha. Eine Vergleichende Analyse des Mahāparinirvānasūtra und seiner Textensprechungen*. Göttingen 1944, p. 227 ff.

to worship their sacrificial fires, it is only with the psychic powers of the Buddha that they are able to chop sticks and kindle and extinguish the fires.²⁶

In MV I.15 the Buddha arrives in Uruvelā. He approaches the matted hair ascetic Kassapa of Uruvelā and asks him if he can spend a night in the fire-room. Kassapa does not object but warns the Buddha that there is a fierce king of nāgas, a terribly poisonous snake in the room.²⁷ To the amazement of the matted hair ascetics the Buddha masters the snake with his superior power. In MV I.16 the Buddha stays in a jungle thicket near the hermitage of Kassapa of Uruvelā and in the night the four great kings having illuminated the whole jungle thicket approach the Lord to hear Dhamma. Kassapa is amazed and admits to himself that the Buddha has great powers.²⁸ But he thinks himself to be of higher perfection.²⁹ In MV I.17 Sakka, the Lord of the gods, approaches the Buddha to hear Dhamma and the same happens as in I.16.

In MV I.19. Kassapa is stubborn in his belief that he is of greater perfection than the Buddha in spite of the wonders performed by the latter. In this passage the competition between the two is even more clearly expressed. A great sacrifice is to be held and the whole of Aṅga and Magadha brings along solid food and soft food and go to attend. Kassapa is worried that the Buddha shall perform a wonder in front of the people so that his gain and honour shall increase and his own decrease.³⁰ The Buddha, however, knowing with his mind the mental reflection of Kassapa goes away and does not show himself. When Kassapa asks him why he did not come to the sacrifice the Buddha tells the ascetic that he knew his thought. Again Kassapa is amazed but he can still not admit that the Buddha is greater than himself.

In MV I.20 the competition between the Buddha and the matted hair ascetic reaches its climax. The Buddha performs many wonders. Sakka

26. *tena kho pana samayena te jaṭilā aggī paricaritukāmā na sakkonti kaṭṭhāni phāletum ... atha kho bhagavā Uruvelakassapaṃ jaṭilaṃ etad avoca: phāliyantu Kassapa kaṭṭhānīti. phāliyantu mahāsamaṇā 'ti. sakid eva pañcakatṭhasatāni phāliyiṃsu. ... sakid eva pañca aggisatāni ujjaliṃsu. ... sakid eva pañca aggisatāni vijjhāyiṃsu..*

27. *caṇḍ' ettha nāgarājā iddhiṃ āsiviso ghoraviso.*

28. *mahiddhiko kho mahāsamaṇo mahānubhavo.*

29. *na tv eva ca kho arahā yathā ahan ti.*

30. *sace mahāsamaṇo mahājanakāye iddhipātīhāriyaṃ karissati, mahāsamaṇassa lābhasakkaro abhivaḍḍhissati, mama lābhasakkaro parihāyissati.*

digs a tank for the Lord to wash his robe and the great god puts down a rock for him to knead it. A *devatā* in a tree bends down a branch for the Lord to hold on to when he climbs out of the water. Sakka puts down a new rock for him to stretch out his robe. Kassapa is impressed by these wonders but still believes himself to be superior to the Buddha. Now the Buddha exhibits complete mastery over space and time by moving at will to other worlds where he picks fruits and flowers and offers them to Kassapa. The ascetic, however, refuses to admit that the Buddha is of greater perfection.

Then the matted hair ascetics want to tend their fires. However, they are unable to chop sticks because of the power of the Buddha. On the Lord's command five hundred sticks are chopped. The ascetics cannot kindle the fires nor extinguish them. At the Buddha's command the fires are kindled and extinguished. Moreover, the Buddha makes five hundred fire vessels (*mandāmukhi*) for the ascetics to warm themselves by after plunging in and out of the river. Then a flood comes and the Buddha makes the water pull back and walks on dry ground. Kassapa is still not convinced of the Buddha's superiority.

In spite of the wonders performed, the leader of the matted hair ascetics believes himself to be of greater power and of greater religious perfection than the Buddha. Each time a wonder is performed, Uruvela-kassapa must admit to himself that this recluse is of great power, "but he is not a perfected one as myself".³¹ The Buddha grows tired of Uruvela-kassapa's stubbornness.

Then it occurred to the Lord: "Now for a long time it will occur to this foolish man, Truly the great recluse is of great psychic power, of great might; but yet he is not a perfected one as I am. Now suppose I should deeply stir this matted hair ascetic?" (*yam nūnāhaṃ imaṃ jaṭilaṃ saṃvejeyyan ti.*) The Lord spoke thus to the matted hair ascetic Kassapa of Uruvelā: "Neither are you, Kassapa, a perfected one nor have you entered on the way to perfection, and that course is not for you by which you either could be a perfected one or could have entered on the way to perfection."³²

In other words, the Buddha wants to bring about *saṃvega*, an emotional disturbance which leads to religious motivation, in the ascetic to convert him to Buddhism. The only reason for the Buddha to be staying with the matted hair ascetics is to win them over to his own sect and this is his

31. *mahiddhiko kho mahāsamaṇo mahānubhāvo, na tv eva ca kho arahā yathā ahan ti.*

32. MV.I.20.17. Trans. I.B. HORNER.

only motivation to humiliate Uruvelakassapa. As a symbol of the Buddha's victory, the ascetics cut off their matted hair, and they let their braids, carrying poles and their devices of fire-worship be carried away with the water. The two other Kassapas³³ join the Buddha with all their followers as well. The next step (MV.I.22) is to make the three announce their abandonment of fire-worship and false doctrines in public and in the presence of King Bimbisāra. The victory of the Buddha is complete.

Kassapa decides to fare the brahmafaring³⁴ under the Buddha. All the matted hair ascetics, Kassapa of the River and Kassapa of Gayā with all their followers, decide to follow his example. They cut their hair and let all their implements of fire-worship be carried away with the water. Such passages express a high degree of competition between the Buddha and other religious leaders.³⁵

In the MV I.23 we have the account of a competition with another religious leader. Sañjaya is staying in Rājagaha with his following. Among these are Sāriputta and Moggallāna. The two have agreed that whoever attains the deathless first shall tell the other. One day Sāriputta sees Assaji, one of the original following of the Buddha, and he understands that Assaji has entered the path of perfection. Sāriputta follows Assaji on his alms-round in the town waiting for a suitable opportunity to ask him about his teacher and his Dhamma. Assaji tells him in few words about the Lord and his Dhamma and Sāriputta realizes that this is the path to perfection. He returns to his friend, Moggallāna, and announces the good news.

In MV I.24 Sāriputta and Moggallāna decide to leave their group and join the Buddha instead. When they announce their plans of leaving, the other followers of Sañjaya want to go with them. Sañjaya tries to make them stay, but he is not able to make them change their minds. The

33. Kassapa of the River is described by Dhammapāla in the commentary to *Theragāthā* CCIII as carrying on a hermit's life with 300 ascetics on the banks of the river Nerañjarā; hence his name. Here he recalls the fortunate day when the Buddha came to Nerañjarā and he regrets his fire-worship and false religion.

34. *brahmacariyaṃ caritum*

35. The narration of the conversion of the Kāśyapas is more detailed in the Sanskrit, the Tibetan and the Chinese than in the Pali version. Interestingly, they all give the Buddha's motive for approaching the Kāśyapas as the wish to subdue that Brahmin or Śramaṇa in Magadha through which he can win over the greatest number of followers. This adds to the feeling of conversionism and competition.

Buddha sees the two friends coming in the distance and he predicts that they will be his most eminent disciples. Again the victory of the Buddha is complete. Indeed, the competition ends in the death of Sañjaya.

The clearest and most famous expression of the quest for converts is found in MV I.11 where the Buddha tells the monks to walk out in the world for the welfare, blessing and happiness for *devas* and men and teach Dhamma which is lovely at the beginning, lovely in the middle and lovely at the end. It is interesting to see this missionary ideal together with a statement in CV.V. Here, the Buddha forbids monks to recite his speeches in metrical form and tells them to learn the word of the Buddha in their own dialect.³⁶ These passages give an impression of a sect with a wish to convert which is reminiscent of protestant Christian sects. The account of general Siha, a disciple of the Jains (MV VI.31), also expresses a competition between the sects, in this case the Buddhists and the Jains, and a proselytizing activity of the Buddha.

If we move from the *Vinaya-* to the *Suttapiṭaka*, we find several examples of the conversionist quality of early Buddhism. In the *Udumbarikā Sihanādasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, the Buddha has a clash with the religious leader Nigrodha. In a long conversation, the Buddha tries to convince his opponent that his kind of asceticism is useless. This conversation is interesting because it reveals much about the relationship between the Buddha and other teachers. For instance, it seems that the Buddha has been charged of too intense proselytizing. Concluding his speech on the uselessness of asceticism, the Buddha says:

Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think: The Samaṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to get pupils; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let him who is your teacher be your teacher still. Maybe, Nigrodha, you will think: the Samaṇa Gotama has said this from a desire to make us secede from our rule; but you are not thus to explain my words. Let that which is your rule be your rule still.³⁷

One gets the impression that the success of the Buddhists is too much for the competing teachers and that the Buddha is used to accusations about ruthless missionary activity among members of other sects.

Another example of the uncompromising competition with non-Buddhists is the *Ambaṭṭhasutta* where the Buddha discusses pride of birth with a rude young Brahmin, Ambaṭṭha. Here, the Buddha asks questions about Ambaṭṭha's lineage to show that the young Brahmin's

36. *anujānāmi bhikkave sakāya niruttiyā bhuddavacanam pariyāpunitun ti.*

37. Translated by T.W. RHYS DAVIDS. *Dialogues of the Buddha*. London 1977.

feeling of superiority is without foundations. Ambaṭṭha knows that the answer to the Buddha's question will be humiliating to himself. But the Buddha forces him to reply in a way which is typical for competitive debates:

If you do not give a clear reply, or go off upon another issue, or remain silent, or go away, then your head will split in seven pieces on the spot. ... At that time Vajrapāni stood above Ambaṭṭha in the sky with a mighty mass of iron, all fiery, dazzling, and aglow, with the intention, if Ambaṭṭha did not answer for the third time the question asked by the Lord in accordance with Dhamma (*Bhagavatā ... sahadhammikaṃ pañhaṃ puṭṭho*), there and then to split his head in seven pieces.³⁸

No wonder, the Buddha often gets the answers he seeks from his adversaries. There are a number of passages in the Buddhist literature that reflect competition and envy between the different sects over the success in conversion. There also existed envy between the sects over material and spiritual support from the world. For instance, in the *Udumbarikā-sihanādasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, there is a quarrel between the Buddha and the religious leader Nigrodha. The Buddha explains to Nigrodha the blemishes of the ascetics.

And again, Nigrodha, an ascetic sees a certain recluse or Brahmin receiving attentions (*sakkariyamānam*); being revered (*garukariyamānam*), honoured (*māniyamānam*) and presented with offerings (*pūjiamānam*) by the citizens. And seeing this he thinks: The citizens pay attentions to this fellow who lives in luxury (*bahulājīvam*); they revere and honour him, and present him with offerings, while to me who, as ascetic, live a really austere life (*lūkhājīvim*), they pay no attentions, nor reverence, nor honour, nor offerings!³⁹

Envy also arose between different Buddhist communities as the religion developed. In Sri Lanka under Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (43-17 B.C.) a split occurred between the Mahāvihāravāsins and the Abhayagirivāsins as a result of the King's personal gift of the Abhayagirivihāra to the thera Mahā-tissa.⁴⁰

38. *ibid.* vol.II, p. 116-117.

39. *ibid.* vol.IV, p. 40.

40. Mahāvamsa XXXIII, 92-97. (GEIGER, Wilhelm (ed.): *The Mahāvamsa*, London 1908) The Mahāvamsa itself says that Mahā Tissa was expelled for the offence of having frequented villagers, but both W. RAHULA (*History of Buddhism in Ceylon. The Anurādhapura Period*, Colombo 1966, p. 83) and R. GOMBRICH (*Theravada Buddhism. A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*, London 1988, p. 158) say that the real reason was probably the treach to the authority and prestige of the monks of the Mahāvihāra.

Joy MANNÉ has made a distinction between three types of *suttas* in the *Sutta Piṭaka*; Sermons, Consultations and Debates. The competitive element in the religious life is expressed in the *suttas* that MANNÉ has called *Debates*, especially the *Dramatic Debate* with its structure of a challenge, a refutation of the view of the adversary and finally a defeat where the adversary either asks to become a lay-follower or is totally converted and asks to become a monk. In order to gain followers and converts, early Buddhism needed an initial message which was attractive and entertaining to people and which showed that the Buddha's Dhamma is better than that of other teachers. Typical examples are the *Sona-daṇḍasutta*, the *Kassapasīhanādasutta* and the *Sāmaññaphalasutta*. A Debate is an exercise in publicity, MANNÉ says:

It is an opportunity for propaganda. Something is always at stake. Not only must the best questions be asked, and the best answer given, but converts must be won and lay support must be gained. Under these circumstances we may expect that, appropriate to the situation, a particular presentation of the Teaching is given. We expect this to be religiously sound, but exaggerated, because the Debates were public competitive occasions.⁴¹

By the identification of a range of *suttas* where the goal is the winning of converts, Manné demonstrates the conversionist quality of the early Buddhists.

2.2. ... to Introversionism

Over the last few pages I have looked at the tendency in early Buddhism to compete with other religious groups for converts. The group that formed around the Buddha was constantly trying to recruit new members and a large proportion of the converts were motivated by the prospect of status, material support and the escape from obligations in society. However, early in the life of the Saṃgha changes set in. When a sect withdraws from society and tends toward seclusion WILSON calls the reaction *introversionist*. I will use this term to cover four important aspects of early Buddhism: the gradual development of strict *admission procedures*, the emphasis on *unity*, the mental segregation by *outward appearance* and the physical segregation by separate *dwellings*; i.e. the development of monasticism. I will now look at how the early Saṃgha's

41. MANNÉ, Joy: "Categories of Sutta in the Pāli Nikāyas and Their Implications for Our Appreciation of the Buddhist Teaching and Literature", *Journal of Pali Text Society* XV (1991), p. 73.

relationship to the world changed from conversionism towards introversionism and how this change is reflected in the early Buddhist texts. My primary source is still the *Khandhakas* of the *Vinayapitaka*.

2.2.1. Admission procedures

An important element of the introversionist tendencies of the early Saṃgha is the gradual development of the rules for admission. As explained above, the subject matter of the *Pravrajyāvastu* of the *Skandhaka*, which is found in Pali in MV.I.25ff., is the admission to the Saṃgha and the rules for newly ordained monks and novices. Monks who do not have preceptors go for almsfood wrongly dressed and they behave wrongly. They are criticized by lay people. The Buddha allows a preceptor.⁴² MV I.25-27. The Buddha gives a large number of rules about how the preceptor and the one who shares his cell (*saddhivihārika*) should behave towards each other.

In MV I.28 the Buddha abolishes the ordination by going to the three refuges. He allows instead to ordain by a motion and a resolution put three times.⁴³ MV I.29 to 31 treat further restrictions on ordination. It is clear that the Saṃgha is reacting to a need to protect itself from members that destroy the purity and the aloofness of the Order. Many of the restrictions come as the result of the ordination of persons whose motivations are purely mundane. The Saṃgha is closing its borders; it is becoming more introversionist in its relation to the world. Discussing the development of the ordination proceedings, I.B. HORNER says:

Regulations have to increase to meet a complexity of emergent eventualities. The resources, *nissaya*, the minimum number of monks composing an Order competent to ordain, the number of years a monk must have been ordained before he is reckoned as suitable or competent to ordain others, living in dependence, *nissāya vatthum*, on a teacher, giving guidance, *nissayam dātum*, the qualities that a monk should be possessed of in order to ordain, and the ordination and probation of former members of other sects, and the age at which a person may be ordained, are all subjects brought under review. The inner life of the Order had to be safeguarded as much as had its relations to the world outside.⁴⁴

42. *anujānāmi bhikkave upajjhāyam.*

43. *yā sā bhikkave mayā tīhi saraṇagamanehi upasampadā anuññātā, tāham ajjatagge paṭikkhipāmi. anujānāmi bhikkave ñatticatutthena kammena upasampādetum.*

44. HORNER, *The Mahāvagga*, p. X.

The candidate also had to undergo a period of preparation and instruction between the preliminary admission and final admission. I.B. HORNER suggests that this may be a way of dealing with the drawing power of the Buddhist Order.⁴⁵

In MV I.32 and 33 a new office is introduced by the Buddha; that of the teacher.⁴⁶ This is an aspect of the growing organization of the Saṃgha. MV I.33 and 34 give rules for the behaviour of pupils towards teachers and vice versa. I.35 also treats the relationship between teachers and pupils. MV I.36 and 37 give a large number of instances when a monk may or may not ordain. These are further steps towards stricter rules for admission.

MV I.38 gives restrictions on the ordination of the former members of other sects. If a former member of another sect refutes his preceptor and returns to the other sect and later comes back to join the Saṃgha, he should not be ordained. Members of other sects who desire ordination in the Saṃgha should be given a four month period of probation before ordination. This contrasts with, for instance, the episode of the matted hair ascetics in the introduction where the Buddha uses all his magical skills and humiliates the leader of the rival sect in his attempt to convert the ascetics to his teaching. The attitude towards the outside world and towards potential converts has changed. The Saṃgha is becoming more intent on defending its borders against people with the wrong motivation.

In MV I.39-48 thieves, murderers, debtors, run away soldiers and sick and hungry people wish to join the Saṃgha as a way to solve their problems. Restrictions on motivation are laid down in order to keep these out. The Saṃgha must protect its purity from corruption. The concern with the purity of the group is a typical feature of the introversionist sect.

In MV I.49 the Buddha gives the rule that a man under twenty years of age should not be ordained.⁴⁷ and in MV I.50 a boy under fifteen years should not be let go forth.⁴⁸ These are important regulations contributing to the organization of the Saṃgha and the tightening of its borders. In MV I.51 the puzzling exception is made that a boy under

45. *ibid.* p. XI.

46. *anujānāmi bhikkave ācariyaṃ.*

47. *na bhikkave jānaṃ ūnavīsativasso puggalo upasampādetabbo.*

48. *na bhikkave jānaṃ ūnappannarasavasso dārako pabbājetabbo*

fifteen years of age can be let go forth if he is able to scare crows (*kākuṭṭepaka*).

In MV I.56-60 rules concerning novices are given by the Buddha. From MV I.61 more restrictions on ordination are given. I.64 and I.65 forbid matricides and parricides to be ordained. MV I.66 and 67 forbids a murderer of a perfected one, a seducer of nuns, a schismatic and one who sheds the blood of an Arhat to be ordained.

In MV I.69 the Buddha gives instructions that one who has no preceptor should not be ordained nor should one who has an order as preceptor, one who has a group as preceptor, one who has a eunuch, one who had one living in communion as it were by theft as preceptor, one who had one gone over to another sect as preceptor, one who had an animal, a matricide, a parricide, a murderer of a perfected one, a seducer of a nun, a schismatic, a shedder of an Arhat's blood or a hermaphrodite as preceptor. Thus, I.69 has regulations to prevent further corruption of the Saṃgha by letting people who should not have been ordained in the first place act as preceptors.

In MV I.70 further cases in which one should not ordain are given. One who had no bowl was ordained. He received his alms food in his hands. People were irritated because the newly ordained monks looked like members of other sects. One without robe was ordained and he walked naked for alms food. People were irritated because he looked like the members of other sects. MV I.71 gives instances of physical injuries or illness in which one should not let go forth. One who had his hands cut off was ordained, one who had his feet cut off, one who had his ears cut off, one who was lame, one who was deaf etc. Physical deformation is seen as a threat against the purity of the Saṃgha.

MV I.72 has instructions not to give guidance to the unconscientious and not to live under the guidance of the unconscientious. In MV I.73 the Lord allows monks to live without guidance under three circumstances; if one is travelling on a high-road, if one is ill, if one is tending one who is ill and if one is staying in the forest. In MV I.75 the Buddha defines the age for ordination to be twenty years from conception. MV I.76-79 are further specifications regarding ordination. In MV I.76 the full ordination procedure is described.

2.2.2. Unity

A central issue in the development towards an introversionist relationship to the world is the emphasis on the unity of the Saṃgha. The unity of the Saṃgha seems to have been a primary expression of its purity. Let us look at the theme of unity in some of the later passages of the *Kandhakas*.

In MV X there is a story about dissensions. In Kosambī a monk is suspended because of an offence he has committed. He does not accept his suspension. He approaches a group of monks who take his side against the group that has suspended him. Thus, a dispute arises in the Saṃgha. The Buddha tries to settle the dispute. He goes to Sāvatti and stays in the Jeta Grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's monastery. Now the lay-followers of Kosambī decide to put pressure on the trouble-making monks by withdrawing all their respect and offerings. The monks of Kosambī go to Sāvatti in order to settle their dispute in the Lord's presence. The Buddha instructs the monks in Sāvatti on how they should behave towards these monks. The monks arrive and the case is settled. The Buddha gives rules on how disputes in the Saṃgha should be handled and how schism and dissension should be avoided. These passages illustrate the emphasis on unity and the necessity of settling disputes among the monks.

In CV I monks who are followers of Paṇḍuka and Lohitaka make strife arise in the Saṃgha. The Buddha gives instructions on how a formal act of censure (*tajjanīyakamma*) should be carried out against the followers of Paṇḍuka and Lohitaka. The Buddha tells the monks under what circumstances a formal act is invalid and under what circumstances it is valid. He tells them under what circumstances a formal act of censure should be carried out against a member of the Saṃgha and how a monk should behave after such an act has been carried out against him. Then follows the circumstances under which a formal act of censure should or should not be revoked and how it may be revoked. This chapter contains a number of other accounts of monks who get into conflict with the Saṃgha. In sum, it gives seven different formal acts to be carried out by the Saṃgha as reactions to different transgressions.

In the CV III, the venerable Udāyin has fallen into an offence. He does not conceal his offence and he must perform *mānatta*.⁴⁹ Then Udāyin falls into new offences, but now he conceals them for one day, two days, three days etc. Again he must perform *mānatta* but only after a probation (*parivāsa*) according to the number of days the offence has been concealed. Then Udāyin falls into an offence during the probation and later during the *mānatta*. A number of different combinations of offences – concealed or not, fallen into during probation or *mānatta* etc. – are described. The chapter is extremely detailed and repetitive in style.

The CV II deals with the observances for monks who are under probation and those undergoing *mānatta*. Upāli asks the Buddha questions pertaining to the subject. The point seems to be to make the monks under *parivāsa* and *mānatta* distinguish themselves clearly from the rest of the Saṃgha.

The CV IX deals with the objection against participation in the Uposatha ceremony. The Buddha is sitting surrounded by monks on an observance day but he is unwilling to recite the Pātimokkha because the assembly is not entirely pure. Moggallāna sees the individual who is not pure and throws him out. Then the Buddha tells the monks about the eight strange and wonderful qualities of the ocean and eight strange and wonderful things in the Dhamma and discipline. He declares that he will no longer carry out the observance and will not recite the Pātimokkha; from now on the monks must do it themselves. He instructs the monks to suspend the Pātimokkha for listeners who have an offence. He goes on to describe the cases in which the suspension of the Pātimokkha is valid or not. In short, this chapter is about the purity of the Saṃgha, which is the central concern of introversionist sects.

The CV IV is also concerned with questions of purity and dignity of the Saṃgha in the eyes of monks and lay-people. It contains stories about the venerable Dabba the Mallian, Gagga who was insane and in his madness said and did unworthy things and Uvāla who tells a conscious lie while being examined for offences. There is a great concern with how to settle disputes and problems in the Saṃgha. The unity of the sect is essential for its purity.

49. I.B. HORNER does not translate *mānatta* but has *discipline* in brackets. PTS Pali-English Dictionary expresses doubts as to the etymology of *mānatta* but describes it as “a sort of penance, attached to the commission of *sanghādisesa* offence”.

The issue of unity is elaborated in CV VII, the chapter on the split of the Saṃgha. Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, Devadatta and Upāli go forth in the Buddhist Saṃgha. Devadatta attains psychic powers. Through his psychic powers he is able to impress prince Ajātasattu. He becomes obsessed with the fame and respect that he gets through his powers and he wishes to become leader of the order of monks. Devadatta suggests to the Buddha that he take over the leadership of the Saṃgha. The Buddha rejects this, saying that he would not even hand over the order of monks to Sāriputta and Moggallāna, much less to the evil Devadatta. The Buddha instructs the order to carry out a formal act of information⁵⁰ against Devadatta.

2.2.3. Appearance

The appearance of the monks and nuns is a central concern in the *Vinaya* texts. This issue is essential because the dignity and aloofness of the monk is linked to how he looks and how he behaves. The thirty *Niḥsargika Pātayantika Dharmas* of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* are concerned with the robes and bowls of the monks. Wearing the right kind of robe in the right way is essential for the appearance of a monk. The *Śaikṣa Dharmas* are very detailed rules for how to wear the robe (rules 1-18)⁵¹ and about how to enter and how to sit in a layman's house (rules 19-61) and how to receive food (rules 63-88) and a number of rules on general appearance when dealing with lay-people. It seems that the *Śaikṣa Dharmas* were laid down in order to make the distinction between monk and lay-follower clear and to make the monks appear serious, cool and dignified. The ninety *Pātayantika Dharmas* of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* are also about the behaviour of monks. Typically a monk must not be seen together with a nun (rules 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 35) nor with a lay-woman (rules 30, 43, 65, 70) and he must eat in a proper way (rules 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42).

The subject matter of MV.VIII is the monks' clothes. For an overview of the rules on clothing, the rules of MV.VIII should be compared with the *Niḥsargika Pātayantika Dharmas* of the *Prātimokṣa Sūtra*. The chapter starts with the interesting account of Jivaka Komārabhacca. The

50. *pakāsaniyakamma*. The function of this formal act seems to be to free the Saṃgha of any responsibility as to the words and action of a particular monk.

51. In the following I use the enumeration made in PACHOW, W.: *A Comparative Study of the Pratimoksa*, Santiniketan 1955.

story of Jivaka introduces the permission to wear robes given by lay-followers. The Buddha becomes sick through a disturbance in the humours of the body. Jivaka restores the health of the Lord and asks a boon. He asks the Buddha to allow the use of householder robes for the monks. The Lord consents. Clothes of different materials are presented to the order of monks. The Buddha allows six robe-materials: linen, cotton, silk, wool, coarse hempen cloth and canvas. (MV VIII.3). A number of rules are given regarding the acceptance, storage, distribution and dyeing of robes. The Buddha walks with Ānanda from Rājagaha to Dakkhināgiri. On the way he sees the fields of Magadha and he asks Ānanda whether he is able to make robes like the fields. Ānanda makes robes and he receives applause and respect for his skill. Then follow rules on the number of robes allowed for one monk. The Pali *Vinaya* has the rules of the *kaṭhina* in MV VII, i.e. before the chapter on clothes and robe materials. The detailed regulation of this ceremony reflects the importance of appearance in the monks' intercourse with the laity. All association must follow strict rules. If the rules are broken, punishment against the monk is carried out.

In CV I the venerable Seyyasaka lives in company with householders and in unbecoming association with householders. The Buddha tells the order to carry out a formal act of guidance (*nissayakamma*) for Seyyasaka. Instructions on how and under what circumstances a formal act of guidance should be carried out are given. He also tells them how and under what circumstances an act of guidance should be revoked.

Monks who are followers of Assaji and Punabbasu in Kiṭāgiri engage in all kinds of bad habits. A righteous monk passes Kiṭāgiri on his way to Sāvattī where the Buddha is staying in the Jeta Grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's monastery. On behalf of the only decent lay-person in Kiṭāgiri he reports the bad habits of the monks to the Buddha. The Buddha sends Sāriputta and Moggallāna to Kiṭāgiri to carry out a formal act of banishment (*pabbājaniyakamma*). Instructions are given on how a formal act of banishment should be carried out and how and under what circumstances it may be revoked.

In CV V monks use different kinds of begging-bowls made of precious materials. The Buddha allows the use of two kinds of bowls: iron bowls and clay bowls. A large number of rules concerning bowl-rests and the treatment of bowls are given. Then follow a large number of rules pertaining to robes, then some rules about sandals, water-

strainers, filters, mosquito-nets etc. Some rules are given about bathrooms, pools and tanks.

CV VIII is exclusively concerned with the appearance of monks. Some monks enter a monastery in an unbecoming manner and the Buddha lays down a custom (*vatta*) for how to enter a monastery. Minute rules are laid down for how to take off the sandals, how to wipe them and dry them, how to wash the feet, how to drink, how to carry bowl and robe, how to ask for a lodging in the monastery, how to make the bed, how to wipe the bed, how to move a chair, how to sweep the ground etc. There are elaborate rules for how to behave in the presence of lay-people. These repetitive passages are identical with passages in MV.I.25. The very detailed prescription reflect a deep concern with decorum. The monk must do every movement in a controlled and proper manner. It is clear that the central issue is to appear calm and dignified. A few passages may demonstrate the concern for a pure and uplifted appearance. The monk should enter a village carefully and unhurriedly (*sādhukam ataramānena gāmo pavisitabbo*). The monk must go amidst the houses properly clad (*supaṭicchannena antaraghare gantabbam*), well controlled (*susamvutena*), with downcast eyes (*okkhittacakkhunā*) not lifting up the robes (*na ukkhittakāya*), without laughter (*na ujjhaggikāya*), with little noise (*appasaddena*) etc. Almsfood should be eaten attentively (*sakkacam piṇḍapāto bhūñjitabbo*), too large pieces should not be made (*nātimahanto kabalo kātabbo*), the whole hand should not be put into the mouth while eating (*na bhūñjamānena sabbo hattho mukhe pakkhipitabbo*) one should not talk with food in the mouth (*na sakabalena mukhena vyāharitabbam*) etc. Rules like this cover large parts of the *Khandhaka*s of the *Vinayaṭīṭaka* and they show the great emphasis that the Buddhist Saṃgha put on outward appearance both in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of the monks themselves.

2.2.4. Dwellings

An important element in the Saṃgha's transition from a conversionist to an introversionist relationship to the world is the order's dwellings; its spatial localization in society. In the beginning, the Saṃgha was a wandering lot. A typical feature of the life of renunciators is homelessness. The Buddhist renouncer is required to leave home to the extent where he does not even feel "at home" in his own body. However, the Saṃgha early became tied to place. In MV III.1 people criticize the sons of the Sakyans for walking around during the winter, the hot season and

the rains and trampling down crops and grasses and destroying many little creatures. In reaction to this, the Buddha allows the monks to enter upon the rains, which means that they should stay indoors in one place during the rainy season.⁵² In MV III.2 he informs the monks of the two right times for entering upon the rains. In MV III.4 he forbids the monks *not* to enter upon the rains.⁵³ This is the start of the Saṃgha's tradition of staying in buildings.

The CV VI is about the dwelling-places of the monks. Considering the subject matter of the chapter, one would perhaps expect to find the CV VI, i.e. the Pali version of the *Śayanāsanavastu*, among the other chapters on the day to day life of the Saṃgha at the *beginning* of the *Khandhakas*. E.FRAUWALLNER suggests that it is found toward the end simply because the life in monasteries became important at a later date. Thus, it is a reflection of the growing introversionist tendencies. In the CV VI, the monks stay in forests and under trees, in the open air etc. A merchant suggests that he build dwelling-places for the monks and the Buddha allows this. Other people start building houses and a number of problems occur. The Buddha allows different kinds of devices – doors, windows, drapery – to keep snakes, rats, ants etc. out and he allows different types of furniture for the comfort of the monks. He allows different ways of applying colour to the walls, the sleeping places and the ground. He allows assembly halls, porches, different kinds of fences, different kinds of roofs etc.

Then the story of Anāthapiṇḍika is told. Anāthapiṇḍika goes to Rājagaha to visit his wife's brother who is a great merchant. In Rājagaha he meets the Buddha and becomes a lay-follower. He offers a meal to the order of monks. When he returns to Sāvattī he buys a pleasure grove belonging to prince Jeta and makes a monastery for the Saṃgha. The Buddha and his order stay at the Jeta Grove and Anāthapiṇḍika is instructed to prepare the Jeta Grove for the use of the order.

Problems arise over dwelling-places and the Buddha instructs the order to assign lodgings. A large number of rules are given concerning dwelling places. Problems arise over the distribution of food and the Buddha instructs the order to appoint an issuer of meals (*bhattuddesaka*). He instructs the order to appoint monks to a number of other

52. *anujānāmi bhikkave vassaṃ upagantun ti.*

53. *nā bhikkave vassaṃ na upagantabbam.*

functions concerning the daily life of the Saṃgha; lodging, clothing and food.

To sum up, the rules that I have looked at under four headings testify to a change in the Saṃgha's relationship to the world. Firstly, its borders were tightened in that the rules for admission grew stricter. Secondly, the emphasis on unity and the fear of Saṃghabheda is a typical aspect of the growing introversionist tendencies. Thirdly, the interaction with lay people was regulated in detail and the segregation from the laity was expressed in the distinguishing and uniform appearance of the members of the Saṃgha. Fourthly, physical borders were built in the form of monastery walls.

3. Conclusion

Let me sum up the conjecture of this article in a few sentences. Buddhism originated as a conversionist movement which I took to mean that it emphasized proselytizing activities and an open relationship to the world. The religious renouncers of India at the time of the Buddha enjoyed status and material support from the common people. Therefore, the sect of the Buddha attracted many individuals who were extrinsically motivated. When the outside world observed that a large part of the monks joined the Saṃgha for purely profane reasons, the status of the monks fell. This reaction of the laity is described again and again in the *Khandhakas* with standard phrases like *manussā ujjhāyanti khīyanti vipācenti: kathaṃ hi nāma samaṇā Sakyaputtiyā...* "People looked down upon, criticized, spread it about, saying: 'How can these recluses, sons of the Sakyans ... etc.'"

If the Saṃgha had let its holiness and purity be corrupted by the wrong motivation of its members, the crucial material support and respect from the laity would have failed. To stay pure, both in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of the sincere monks, the Saṃgha had to tighten its borders on the extrinsically motivated applicants. In order to stay aloof, the order had to withdraw from the world, and the monks had to maintain a dignified and holy appearance. Introversionist tendencies developed. But the introversionist tendencies made the Saṃgha an even better object of support. The more introvert the Saṃgha became and the more its purity was emphasized, the more support it received. The less interest its members took in material values, the more attractive it became as an object of devotion and as a receptacle for offerings. Again, the growing support and wealth of the order led to a growing

number of extrinsically motivated applicants for membership which led to a need to withdraw and cultivate the purity of the Saṃgha.

This mechanism presupposes an Indian setting where the status of the renouncer is high and where there is a general belief in rebirth and *karma* and a need for merit-making among common people. I have shown that this process is expressed in the early Buddhist literature. However, the dynamic is not restricted to ancient times. In the introduction I referred to similar features in medieval and modern Sri Lanka and modern Burma reflected in the research of M. CARRITHERS, M. SPIRO and R.A.L.H. GUNAWARDENA.

I have suggested an explanation of the relationship between the Buddhist Saṃgha and the laity which emphasizes the unintended consequences of the behaviour of the members of the Saṃgha. Extrinsic motivation among the members and potential members of the Saṃgha leads to introversionism. Introversionism leads to more support from the laity. Support from the laity leads to extrinsic motivation. Thus, we have a self-enforcing mechanism. It is a good circle, and in the historical periods when the Saṃgha has been able to maintain the balance, it has led to a certain degree of stability in Buddhist societies. The structure of Theravāda Buddhist societies are the best example of this built-in conservatism. The crucial point in the circle is the introversionism, the constant need to bar out the wrong people and to purify the Saṃgha by getting rid of lax and greedy monks. When the Saṃgha fails on this point, the mechanism turns around, and we end up with an evil circle. The Saṃgha is seen as impure and lax, support from the laity fails, and the Saṃgha becomes less able to restore its purity.⁵⁴

54. This mechanism has been mentioned in R. GOMBRICH, *op. cit.*