B. CIRCUMSTANCES OF LIFE WITHIN A PRINCIPAL MONASTERY

4. Buddha and Sinhalese Buddhism*: a historical and ideological survey

Buddhist monasticism as it appears in Sinhalese culture and society is a religio-social phenomenon with a history that goes back as far as the third century B.C., when Buddhism first arrived on the island of Sri Lanka (Ceylon). Through various processes of adaptation and interaction it has subsequently been cast in its present mould. Although Sinhalese society has gone through many changes over a period of more than 2000 years, Buddhist monasticism has nevertheless survived relatively unchanged.[90] This has been possible partly because of the close and reciprocal relationship between monasticism and the kingdom (later the state) and partly because monasticism proved to be a firm shelter against intrusion on the level of organization, though degeneration did take place from time to time on the level of individual monks.

4.1. The idea of buddhahood. The word "Buddhism" is derived from the term *"buddha"*, which literally means "awakened" or "enlightened". Usually the term *"buddha"* refers to the founder of Buddhism, who according to the Pāli Canon (*Tipiṭaka*) is known as Siddhattha Gotama (Skr. Siddhārtha Gautama). After Gotama experienced enlightenment he was generally recognized as the Enlightened One, *Buddha*. Therefore, in the proper sense of the term, Buddha not only indicates the founder of Buddhism, but also the idea of enlightenment. The basic line of thought is that any man or woman, who decides to aspire to enlightenment according to the teaching of Buddha (*dhamma*), can experience this fulfilment, i.e. become completely aware of the idea of buddhahood.[91]

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* The term Sinhalese Buddhism does not in this connection denote the little tradition (see § 4.4.2). By Sinhalese Buddhism is simply meant the form of Buddhism prevailing in Sinhalese culture and society.

90 According to Gombrich 1971a, 294ff, change has been organizational rather than ideological.

91 Snellgrove 1978, 22. See also Gothóni 1980, 40.

Buddha taught that life is characterized as *dukkha*, a word which I have translated as "unease".[92] The word refers to the notion that the life cycle consists of birth and death and in between of various kinds of experiences, such as, illness, pain, unhappiness, suffering, misfortune, hopelessness, sorrow etc., which all tend to bring about a diffuse holistical feeling of "unease". The immediate origin of this "unease" is the passionate and egocentric desire (*taṇhā*) for sense-pleasures. The ultimate cause is, on the other hand, to be found in the previous lives. The teaching of Buddha proclaims that this life is only one of a number of rounds of rebirths (*saṃsāra*). Therefore, if one wishes to put an end to "unease", one has to take an aloof and indifferent attitude towards the desire inherent in human nature.

The compass according to which one should set a course once one has gained awareness of "unease" is known as the Noble Eightfold Path (*Ariya-Aṭṭhaṅgika-Magga*). It consists of the following eight points, which daily should be reflected upon and systematically cultivated: 1) the right vision (*sammā-diṭṭhi*) of the circumstances of human life, 2) the right intention (*sammā-saṅkappa*) as regards the aim of liberation, 3) the right speech (*sammā-vācā*), avoiding telling lies, tale-bearing, harsh language, and vain talk, 4) the right action (*sammā-kammanta*), avoiding killing, stealing, and unlawful sexual intercourse, 5) the right livelihood (*sammā-ājīva*), living a modest life, avoiding occupations which affect the welfare of other beings, 6) the right effort (*sammā-vāyāma*), living in complete awareness of the aim, but avoiding immoderate striving towards it, 7) right mindfulness (*sammā-sati*) concerning the fourfold reflection, namely, on the body, the sensations, the mind and the phenomena, and 8) the right meditation (*sammā-samādhi*), which leads to a transformation of consciousness.[93]

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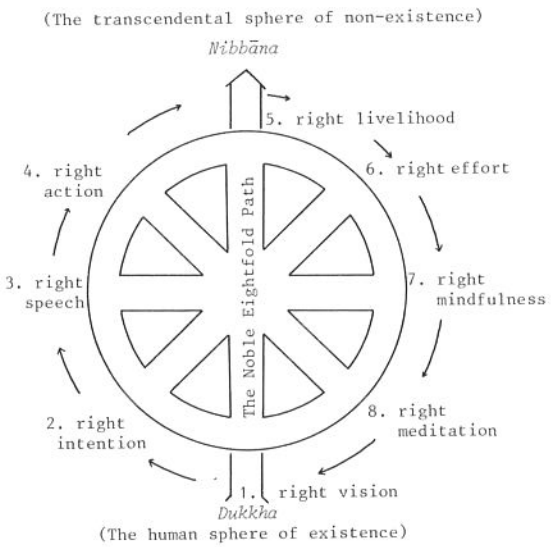
92 *Dukkha* has generally been translated as "suffering". Gombrich 1971a, 69, translates it as "unhappiness". As *dukkha* refers to the opposite of *sukha*, which means "ease", "well-being" and "happiness", I prefer to translate it as "unease" in order to point out the aspect of mind rather than body. The word "unease" can be considered to indicate a psycho-somatic imbalance, the experience of which is signified by the word *dukkha*. For the Four Noble Truths as expressed in the Pāli Canon, see *Digha-nikāya* II, 305-312 and *Mahāvagga* I, 6:17ff.

93 The teaching of Buddha (*dhamma*) consists, according to Theravāda Buddhists, of three main points: the Four Noble Truths (*Cattāri Ariyasaccāni*), the Noble Eightfold Path (*Ariya-Aṭṭhaṅgika-Magga*) and the Non-self (*Anattā*). For an excellent interpretation of the teaching of Buddha, see Govinda 1969, 67-74. See also Gombrich 1971a, 69ff and Rahula 1967. For the idea of "dependent origination" (*paṭiccasamuppāda*), see Johansson 1979.

The first two points are recognized as *paññā*, which means wisdom and knowledge. The following three points are grouped under the concept of *sīla*, referring to morality, i.e. the right intention is put into practice. The remaining three points are grouped under the concept of *samādhi*, which denotes the principle of concentration.

According to the world-view of Theravāda Buddhism there are two spheres of reality, namely, a human sphere of existence generally considered to be biological, psychological and sociological in nature and a transcendental sphere of non-existence, which is regarded as a completely different kind of reality. In the Buddhist terminology these spheres of reality are referred to by the technical terms *dukkha* ("unease") and *nibbāna* ("extinction of unease"). The ideal life aim of a Buddhist is to experience enlightenment, to become a *buddha*, and thereby attain *nibbāna*, which is characterized as a state in which there is no "unease" and no rebirth.[94]

The Noble Eightfold Path leading towards the transcendental sphere of non-existence is thought to proceed spiral-like (see § 11.2.1.). The right vision becomes more profound the more one systematically practices the Path, finally attaining enlightenment.[95] The transformation of consciousness can be illustrated as follows.



94 *Digha-nikāya* II, 305-312. See also Gothóni 1980, 40-41.

95 Govinda 1969, 69ff.

Buddhist doctrine takes the view that man has no "soul" or "self". This idea of Non-self (*Anattā*) is one of the main features of Buddhism, which distinguishes it from Hinduism. *Anattā* is a negation of the term *attā* (the Pāli term for *ātman*) and it refers to a denial of the existence of an immortal part of living creatures, i.e. a "self". As the Buddhist teaching nevertheless recognizes rebirth, it is not the "self" or "soul" that is considered to be reborn, but the *kamma*, the force of past actions. An unenlightened person is therefore thought to be fettered by his *kamma*, which means that his lot in life is determined by actions in previous lives. This idea refers to a principle (probably older than the teaching of Buddha) according to which a good action will improve one's status at rebirth, a bad action diminish it.[96]

The practice of the Noble Eightfold Path was originally considered to require a full-time involvement, probably because it was a common custom to become a wandering almsman in India at the time of Buddha (ca. 560-480 B.C.). In the canonical scriptures this custom is known as the passing "from home to homelessness" (*agārasmā anagāriyan*).[97] Consequently, the teaching of Buddha has traditionally been practiced mainly in monasteries. The ordinary way of life has been abandoned principally in order to minimize the multitude of factors that cause "unease", such as family problems, economical difficulties and social pressure. The monastery accordingly became the social setting within which the teaching of Buddha was preserved, taught and practised. As will be apparent from the following pages, the monks did not live, however, in complete isolation, but a complex system of interaction between monks and laity emerged already during the life time of Buddha. Nowadays the patterns of interaction are clearly institutionalized and in a special way connected with the salvation of the laity (§ 4.4.3.).

4.2. The establishment of Sinhalese Buddhism.[98] Buddhism arrived on Sri Lanka in the third century B.C., during the reign of the Sinhalese king Devānaṃpiya-tissa (ca. 250-210), who was a contemporary and friend of the Indian Emperor

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96 Gombrich 1971a, 72-73. See also *Anguttara-nikāya* I, 223 and *Mahāvagga* I, 6:17ff.

97 *Majjhima-nikāya* III, 33. See also Dutt 1962, 41-45.

98 The standard history from the earliest times to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 is Ray's *History of Ceylon*, published in two parts, 1959 and 1960. Equally useful is Rahula's book *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, published 1956. From the 16th century onwards historical writing has been fragmentary. Malalgoda's study *Buddhism in Sinhalese Society, 1750-1900*, published 1976, covers the most important period in the recent history of Buddhism on Sri Lanka. De Silva's (ed.) book *Sri Lanka: a survey*, is also a useful book in this connection. For further details, I refer the reader to the bibliography by Bechert 1973b.

Aśoka.[99] According to the narrative in the *Mahāvaṃsa* ("the Great Chronicle"), Buddhist monasticism was officially brought to the island by Aśoka's son Mahinda, who was accompanied by four other monks, a novice, and a layman disciple.[100] As five monks was the minimum quorum needed to perform the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) ceremony, through which a novice becomes a monk (*bhikkhu*), Mahinda's group formed the smallest possible community of male monks.[101]

The meeting between king Devānaṃpiyatissa and Mahinda took place, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, in a park now known as Mihintalē, located about eight miles to the east of the city of Anurādhapura. During his 26 day stay there, Mahinda delivered several speeches on the teaching of Buddha. Devānaṃpiyatissa, it is told, was delighted with the speeches. Thus, the first Buddhist monastic community was established in the royal pavilion of the Mahāmegha park just before Mahinda left the island. Somewhat later the famous Mahāvihāra ("the Great Monastery") was founded in the very same compound.[102]

This great missionary event became a landmark not only in the religious, but also in the political history of Sri Lanka. Just as king Aśoka had adopted the role of protector and promotor of Buddhism in India, so too did king (Devānaṃpiya)tissa and some of his successors assume the Mauryan royal title *devānaṃpiya* ("beloved of the gods") as a sign of the closeness of the relationship between the monastic community and the institution of kingship.[103] Hence, a triple macro-social structure emerged, which consisted of the monastic fraternity, the kingdom (state) and the laity.

The patterns of interaction as regards the relationship between Buddhist monasticism and the kingdom were originally formed by king Aśoka. He had created an ideology which saw the king as being under an obligation to defend monasticism in a twofold way; namely, it was his duty to curb any deviation from

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99 As there had been a constant intercourse between South India and Sri Lanka ever since the time of king Vijaya, who founded the Sinhalese nation in the 5th century B.C., information concerning Buddhism had actually reached the island much earlier. The missionary event has, however, been considered as the official turning point in the history of Sri Lanka.

100 *Mahāvaṃsa* XIII-XIV.

101 Rahula 1956, 48ff. Gombrich 1971a, 27ff.

102 Ray 1959, 111; 137-138. Rahula 1956, 10-13; 58-61.

103 Malalgoda 1976, 12.

orthodox doctrine, on the one hand, and to expel monks who violated the basic monastic rules, on the other.[104] As Bechert has stated, the closeness of the reciprocity implied some advantages also to the king, since the expulsion could be carried out not only for religious reasons but in pursuit of political interests as well.[105] This was the ideology adopted by Devānaṃpiyatissa and his successors.[106]

In addition to the teaching of Buddha and the Aśokan ideology, also a number of symbols, rituals and practical arrangements were adopted from the Buddhist civilisation in India. The most salient symbols were the *bo* tree, the *dāgäba* or *stūpa* and somewhat later the Buddha image statues. These symbols became very early objects of veneration. Many of the *dāgäbas* are considered to enshrine the corporeal relics of Buddha. Especially the tooth relic, which later was placed in *Daḷadā Māligāwa* ("the Temple of the Tooth) in Kandy, has become one of the most sacred objects of veneration in Sri Lanka.[107]

King Devānaṃpiyatissa, who officially became the protector and promotor of monasticism in Sri Lanka, arranged a number of grandiose ceremonies for the benefit of the monastic community. The monastic community and its ceremonies became central events and the laity began to participate more frequently and in masses. Within a century many hundreds of monasteries and *dāgäbas* were built, great and small, and *bo* trees were planted all over the island. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* all Sinhalese became Buddhists, since it was the Sinhalese people who were appointed to protect the monastic fraternity (*sangha*).[108] This account in the Chronicle shows that the relationship between Buddhist monasticism and the Sinhalese population was created about the same time as both parties acquired a significant foothold on the island.[109]

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104 Bechert 1961, 51-52.

105 Bechert 1970, 763-764. See also Ray 1959, 167ff.

106 In order to ensure the establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, Aśoka assembled and sent to Devānaṃpiyatissa all that was necessary for an Indian royal consecration. In the *Mahāvaṃsa* the following list is given: "a fan, a diadem, a sword, a parasol, shoes, a turban, ear-ornaments, chains, a pitcher, yellow sandalwood, a set of garments that had no need of cleansing, a costly napkin, unguent brought by the nagas, red-coloured earth, water from the lake Anotatta and also water from the Ganges, a spiral shell winding in auspicious wise, a maiden in the flower of her youth, utensils as golden platters, a costly litter, yellow and emblic myrobalans and precious ambrosial healing herbs, sixty times one hundred wagon loads of mountainrice brought thither by parrots, nay, all that was needful for consecrating a king ..." *Mahāvaṃsa* XI:28-32. Cf. Ling 1973, 176ff.

107 *Mahāvaṃsa* XVII-XIX and XXVIII-XXXI. Malalgoda 1976, 13-14. Rahula 1956, 56ff.

108 *Mahāvaṃsa* VII:1-5 ; VII:72-74. Gothóni 1976, 66-67.

109 Gothóni 1976, 66. See also Bechert 1973a, 13 and Ray 1959, 135ff.

The central doctrine of Buddha asserted that the path to liberation from "unease" (*dukkha*) was practically inaccessible to the laity, since it entailed a world renunciation. The Sinhalese solution to this crucial dilemma emerged gradually with the development of secondary goals pointing the way for the laity. The concept of Noble Eightfold Path was accompanied by the idea of "merit-making" (*puñña kamma*), which held that ordinary laymen could in the course of time (usually in perspective of several rebirths), reach the primary goal, *nibbāna*. The basic idea, according to the re-interpretation, was that the monks and the monastery provided a "field of merit" (*puññakkhetta*) for the laity. The laity could thus acquire merit by participating in the various festivals, ceremonies and acts of veneration, as well as by giving alms and gifts to the monasteries and the monks. This arrangement reduced the gap between the monks and the laity and established a pattern of interaction between the two groups.[110]

This division between the ideal path and the practical path also affected the mode of life of the Buddhist monks in the process of adaptation to Sinhalese culture and society. The monks became divided into two categories, namely, those who were primarily supposed to teach (*ganthadura*, "having books as their burden") and those who mainly had "meditation as their burden" (*vipassanādhura*). A second distinction was made on the basis of the dwelling areas: the monks belonged to the "village- or town-dwelling" (*gāmavāsin*) group or the "forest-dwelling" (*āraññavasin*) group.[111]

In accordance with these distinctions, the forest-dwellers lived in secluded forest caves or huts, devoting their time to meditation and hence practising the ideal path of liberation prescribed in the teaching of Buddha. Consequently, these monks had only a slight social significance apart from exemplifying the ultimate ideals of Buddhism. The village- or town-dwellers, on the other hand, acquired far greater social and political prestige and significance. By establishing recurrent contacts with the laity and the secular authorities as well as by arranging various ceremonies and festivals, these

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110 Malalgoda 1976, 13-17. Gombrich 1971a, 70-79 ; 226-243. Gombrich 1971b, 203-219.

111 Rahula 1956, 196. Malalgoda 1976, 19ff. The former division still corresponds to the present situation, while the latter is only a formal or theoretical distinction. Few monks nowadays live in the forest, the majority of them residing in villages or towns. The village or suburb dwellers are, however, still called *āraññavasins*. Gombrich 1971a, 269-270. See also § 1.4.

monks came to perform vital religious or spiritual as well as socio-political functions in the society of which they became a major part.[112]

The peaceful establishment of Sinhalese Buddhism was interrupted in the second century B.C. by invasions from the South Indian Tamils, who for 44 years managed to take control of Anurādhapura, the capital city. The invaders were finally defeated by king Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya (ca. 101-77 B.C.), who created the victory slogan "not for kingdom, but for Buddhism".[113] A second invasion came in the first century, but it was successfully defeated by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (ca. 29-17 B.C.). In commemoration of the close relationship between the monastic fraternity and the kingdom, Vaṭṭagāmaṇī founded a great monastery known as Abhayagiri.[114]

As ever since the arrival of Buddhism on the island Mahāvihāra had been the major monastery, hallowed by Mahinda himself, a rivalry soon cropped up between the monks of Abhayagiri and those of Mahāvihāra. Several centuries later, a third great monastery was founded, known as Jetavanārāmaya.[115] Thereafter Buddhist monasticism (*sangha*) came to be divided into three parallell branches, a triad which has characterized monasticism in Sri Lanka ever since (§ 1.2.). The main reason for the rise of rival monastic fraternities (*Nikāya*) seems to have been the invasions from South India. Another major cause was the tendency to restrict recruitment to the highest caste (§ 6.1.4.).[116]

If we look at monasticism from the viewpoint of its autonomy and the rise of what has been called the traditional monasteries[117], the numerous donations (paddy lands, monastic areas, buildings, the gradual establishment of shrines etc.) both by the Sinhalese kings and by wealthy laymen seem to have played an important part in the interaction between the various principal monasteries and the kingdom. The relationship was, to a great extent, probably a consequence of the fact that the kings of ancient Sri Lanka were obliged to seek support against those Kandyan Sinhalese forces that openly showed their

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112 Malalgoda 1976, 19ff.

113 Rahula 1956, 79.

114 Rahula 1956, 82ff. See also de Silva 1977, 33ff.

115 For the different monastic fraternities in Sri Lanka and their history, see Geiger 1960, 207-211. Bechert 1966, 210ff.

116 For the details of the *sāsana* reform, see Bechert 1974, 19-31.

117 Bechert 1973a, 10-11 distinguishes between canonical, traditional and modern Buddhism.

disrespect towards kings who were descendants of South Indian royal houses and had Tamil blood.[118] In many respects the principal monasteries came to be an indicator according to which critics of the royal house measured the good will of the kings. It came in fact to be a *tertius gaudens*[119] ("the third, who enjoys"), since it constituted the apex of a triangle or triad of which the Sinhalese laity and the king and his regime formed the other angles. The upshot of this privileged position was that the principal monasteries had accumulated an enormous amount of property by the 16th century.[120]

4.3. The crisis of Sinhalese Buddhism. The colonial period, which began in 1517 A.D. when the Portuguese occupied the coastal areas, brought about great social, political and religious change on the island. Geographically it came to be divided into two regions, the island's coastal areas and the up-country area, which formed a more or less isolated[121] region in the centre of the island. This geographical and historical setting is responsible for the dichotomy of the Sinhalese population: Up-country and Low-country Sinhalese.[122]

During the early colonial period, European culture flourished primarily in the southwestern and northeastern coastal areas of the island. Since neither the Portuguese (1517-1638) nor the Dutch (1638-1796) succeeded in capturing Kandy, that up-country district remained independent (until 1815), constituting an autonomous force in the centre of the island (see § 5.1.).[123] For the Kandyan or Up-country Sinhalese, the main disadvantage of this isolation was that whereas both the Tamils and the Low-country Sinhalese received a basically European education, a qualification required for the highest position in the local administration, the up-country area remained cut off in this respect.[124]

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118 Ray 1959, 292ff. Rahula 1956, 68-71.

119 For the term *tertius gaudens*, see Simmel 1908, 111ff.

120 Rahula 1956, 68ff; 92-111. Evers has stressed in several articles that the driving force behind the development of "monastic landlordism" was the desire of the laity to earn "merit" through donations, see Evers 1969, 686.

121 For the term isolation. see Pentikäinen 1968, 108.

122 For the population and the social structure of Sinhalese society, see Bechert 1966, 199-210. Yalman 1971, 14.

123 The name Kandy is a European corruption of the Sinhalese expression *Kanda uḍa raṭa* meaning "the country above the mountain". Malalgoda 1976, 49. See also Codrington 1939, 132.

124 The isolation was by no means complete, but relative, as the Kandyan Sinhalese, especially the kings, had many trade contacts with the Europeans in the coastal areas. Ryan 1961, 467-468; 471ff. Malalgoda 1976, 61ff.

The period was critical for Sinhalese Buddhism primarily in two ways. First, there was the encounter with European culture, (acculturation) which gradually led to a breakdown of the traditional Sinhalese-Buddhist identity. With the introduction of Catholicism and Protestantism, a split occurred in the Sinhalese group in the form of a conversion (a virtually inevitable consequence of the novel circumstances) to one or the other of the intruding religions. Consequently, Buddhism lost most of its prominence as a national religion, particularly in the coastal areas. The Sinhalese Christians (mainly Protestants) achieved economic and political ascendancy, though the majority of the Sinhalese were, and still are, Buddhists.[125]

Secondly, a continuous decline in higher ordination (*upasampadā*) took place. According to Vāchissara, three circumstances sped up the process of decline. First of all, many of the monks disrobed and chose to remain novices (*sāmaṇera*) or laymen (*upāsaka*) in order to avoid the obligations connected with higher ordination, pursuing the primary interest of looking after landed properties (both those attached to the monasteries and those they inherited from their peasant families), because a proper monk (*bhikkhu*) was not allowed to engage in such activities.[126] Secondly, there evolved a custom, especially during the period of the Kandyan kingdom, of ordaining novices (*sāmaṇeras*) solely from one group, the Up-country Sinhalese and later on even more exclusively from one and the same caste only, the *Goyigama* caste.[127] This restriction of the lineage of ordination is, however, understandable if we consider the fact that after the island had been invaded by the Portuguese and

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125 Gothóni 1976, 70-71.

126 Vāchissara 1961, 111; 122. The process repeated itself several times from the end of the 16th century to the end of the 17th century, when the number of duly ordained monks (*bhikkhu*) declined continuously since there was no regularly performed ordination ceremony. The last ordination ceremony before the great re-establishment of higher ordination from Thailand in 1753 is recorded to have taken place in 1697, when 33 novices received *upasampadā*-ordination and 120 entered the order as *sāmaṇeras*. For a discussion of this question, see Malalgoda 1976, 55ff. Vāchissara 1961, 111-117.

According to *Milindapañha*, there are ten things that cause men to neglect the implications of the yellow robe, or tempt them to cast it off after it has been assumed: 1) mother, 2) father, 3) wife, 4) children, 5) poor relations (the thought will come that these relatives ought to be provided for, which cannot be done by the recluse), 6) friends, 7) property, 8) the desire for wealth, 9) the desire for worldly honour and 10) the love of pleasure. Cf. Hardy 1850, 32.

127 This restriction seems to have had its historical roots in the ancient time of the Tamil incursions when the Low-country Sinhalese were more open to influences than the Kandyan Sinhalese, who for their part have been more conservative and traditional. Gombrich 1971a, 306ff.

the Dutch, who settled down in the maritime cities, the refugees from the coastal areas were not regarded as completely trustworthy.[128]

Thirdly, there gradually developed a practice of ordaining only one's own kinsmen in order to ensure the reliability of the novices recruited and the continuity of the property "inherited" through the lineage of pupillary succession. The situation soon arose in which only a close circle of relatives were able to obtain higher ordination and seldom were non-relatives admitted to the monastery.[129] Thus, the teacher-pupil connection became a blood relationship involving the choice by each teacher of only one pupil.[130] This practice seems to have been one of the main causes for the disappearance of duly ordained monks (*bhikkhu*).

By 1753 the situation had deteriorated so far that no longer were there the minimum number of five monks with *upasampadā* ordination required to perform a duly constituted higher ordination ceremony. A new tradition of higher ordination was accordingly re-introduced from Thailand by twenty-five monks led by Upāli thero.[131] The monastic fraternity was thereafter called *Syāma Nikāya*, referring to the origin of the tradition of higher ordination.

The revival of Buddhist monasticism was mainly the result of the relationship between the king of Kandy Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha (1747-1781) and the last *Sangharāja*[132] Välivitiyē Saraṇankara (1698-1778).

Most of the monasteries that grew up (either as restored or as new ones) were linked to one another both through allegiance to common places of origin and through informal ties of teacher-pupil relationships. Organizationally all

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128 Vāchissara 1961, 114-117.

129 Vāchissara 1961, 114-117. Vāchissara's analysis is somewhat vague as regards these questions. From the socio-political point of view it seems as if the up-country in fact provided the conditional precedent for the rise of a lineage system of ordination that corresponded to the caste and the kinship system, a pattern which seems to originate in the period of the Tamil incursions.

130 Vāchissara 1961, 370.

131 Vāchissara 1961, 259; 314-331. Malalgoda 1976, 61ff.

132 In the early stage, Välivitiyē Saraṇankara appears to have stood as formal head, *Sangharāja*, presiding over both of the principal monasteries in Kandy. The office of *Sangharāja* lapsed, however, with his death in 1778, partly because there was no monk acceptable to both of the leading monasteries Malwatta and Asgiriya and partly because of the rivalry between these monasteries, which is why they were referred to as the "twins". Malalgoda 1976, 67ff.

the monasteries on the island came under the jurisdiction of either Malwatta Vihāraya or Asgiriya Vihāraya, which have been the two leading monasteries (*pārśvayas*) in Kandy ever since.[133]

The social hierarchy of each of the principal monasteries consisted of a *Mahānāyaka* ("Supreme Chief Monk"), who was appointed by the king and assisted by two *Anunāyakas* ("Deputy Supreme Chief Monks") and a committee of *Nāyakas* ("Chief Monks") and *Vihārādhipatis* ("Chief Incumbents") selected from the greater monasteries within each division. The most important aspect of the centralization was that higher ordination (*upasampadā*) ceremony was confined to the two Kandyan monasteries about the year 1765 by royal decree. The provincial monks were instructed to bring their pupils to Kandy to be examined for higher ordination.[134]

After 1815, when the British took possession of Kandy and the entire island assumed colonial status, also the Kandyan or Up-country Sinhalese fell from power and the monarchy was abolished. At the same time Buddhism was forced out as the state religion and there was an attempt made to replace it with Christianity. Abolition of the monarchy meant the discontinuance of the tradition of the relationship between the principal monasteries and the kingdom, since protection, the bestowing of gifts and the conferring of prestige were functions no longer provided by the king. This radical change on the macro-level led to a period of crisis in Sinhalese Buddhism in general and in Buddhist monasticism in particular.[135]

The Colonial Government had a profound effect on the educational system. Traditionally education had been in the hands of the Buddhist monks. Since the government along with the missionaries established a great number of new schools and colleges over a short period, the educational curricula rapidly shifted from a Buddhist-orientated teaching designed mainly for the requirements of monks — it must be borne in mind that laymen also attended the monastic schools — to a teaching which basically trained for a secular career and therefore proved to be particularly attractive for the laity.[136]

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133 See § 1.2.

134 For the monks' edification, Saraṇankara created a code-book called *Katikāvata*, in which he pointed out 1) the evil practices which the monk should give up and 2) the qualities required of a novice at the time of attaining higher ordination. For details, see Vāchissara 1961, 354-360, Malalgoda 1976, 68-69 and Ratnapala 1971.

135 For the occupation of Kandy, see Codrington 1939, 172ff. The relation between Buddhism and Colonial Government is well treated in Evers 1964, 324-326.

136 Malalgoda 1976, 233ff.

English was adopted as the second official language. Sinhalese culture no longer occupied a position of prestige and many of its channels of influence gradually became blocked up, so that European customs began to replace traditional forms. This naturally weakened the Sinhalese sense of identity in the maritime cities. Most of the rural areas, on the other hand, remained Buddhist. Especially in many interior parts of the island the Buddhist monks still remained the only teachers of the inhabitants, since neither the government nor the missionaries organized any education in these remote areas.[137]

The reaction of the Sinhalese to European influence can be summarized as follows: solidarity was preserved and a steadfast adherence to traditional forms as well as the worship of relics lingered on in many of the interior villages of the island. The urban population, on the other hand, became divided into citizens who, having acquired a European education, were working in the service of the Colonial Government. The major cities were also the seat of a cultured upper class, which endeavoured to give its allegiance both to the old and the new cultural forms. Members of this group carried on a form of rational political activity on behalf of Buddhism and the Sinhalese cultural inheritance.[138]

Influential up-country monks formed a third group. They were extremely active in strengthening the position of monasticism by preserving the traditional *sāsana*-kingdom relation, which had now become a *sāsana*-state relation. Their policy was to exercise their influence in order to ensure that the Colonial Government replaced the deposed king in protecting monasticism and confirming the rights and duties of the various monasteries. In Article 5 of the Kandy Convention of 1815, the British finally guaranteed to safeguard and maintain the rites, ministers and places of worship of the Buddhist religion.[139]

Whereas the leading monasteries in the up-country and in Kandy seem to have withdrawn into their shell and remained there up to the time of independence (1948), enjoying the protection of the Kandy Convention, influential low-country monks and laymen took a more aggressive attitude and embarked on a

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137 For a detailed analysis of this question, see Malalgoda 1976, 192-255.

138 Gothóni 1976, 70-71.

139 Hayley 1923, Appendix, 78. Cf. Bechert 1966, 231ff. See also Smith 1966, 459 and Evers 1964, 324ff. For the disestablishment of Buddhism, see Malalgoda 1976, 106-128.

programme of Buddhist reform as early as the end of the 19th century. The withdrawal of state support accelerated this process and led gradually to the segmentation of monasticism. The high-caste monopoly of religious life collapsed and the religious centre shifted from Kandy to the low-country. A new era with a decentralized monastic structure was inaugurated.[140] A number of low-caste fraternities sprang up which were in constant need of direct support from the laity. Over the years these fraternities evolved into independent units with their own higher ordination and with their own chief monks in charge of internal administration. Hand in hand with this process of decentralization another process began, which Malalgoda has called the process of laicization. This term refers to the fact that during this time an increasing number of laymen became involved in roles of religious leadership.[141]

4.4. The features of present-day Sinhalese Buddhism. Sri Lanka became an independent nation in 1948, after a period of more than four centuries of domination first by the Portuguese (1517-1638), then by the Dutch (1638-1796) and finally by the British (1796-1948). It was, however, particularly during the last 150 years as a British colony that the framework was provided for the economic, governmental, political, religious and educational systems still operative in 1974 when I began my fieldwork. Accordingly we now turn to three of the basic features of present-day Sinhalese Buddhism.

4.4.1. Trends of revival. Already during the period of British rule several trends of revival can be discerned. Firstly, monasticism became decentralized as new fraternities were established, the two most significant of which were the *Amarapura Nikāya* (1802) and the *Rāmañña Nikāya* (1864). These fraternities were both founded in the low-country as a protest of the low-caste against the establishment in Kandy, which after the death of Saraṇankara (1778) readopted the practice of ordaining novices from the *Goyigama* caste only.[142] Secondly, laymen began to participate more actively in the revival and reform of Sinhalese Buddhism both as *dāyakas* ("donors")[143], working primarily on a local basis supporting particular so-called low-caste monasteries, and as leaders of Buddhist lay organizations.

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140 See § 1.2.

141 Malalgoda 1976, 259ff.

142 Malalgoda 1976, 87ff and 161ff.

143 Malalgoda 1976, 237ff.

The many reforms in education, employment and government and a number of other areas spawned a widening group of educated laymen. Many of them felt a crisis of indentity in being Sinhalese-Buddhists in an environment of Christian domination. Eventually there arose a modernist movement[144], led by Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864-1933), which sought to resolve the dilemma of the Sinhalese through reforms in Buddhist practices as well as in social and political matters.[145]

There were two streams of European thought in particular that deeply influenced the English-educated Buddhists in Sri Lanka at the turn of the century. The first of these were the theosophists, whose influence on Buddhism was primarily organizational; The second group was comprised by scholars and philosophers from Europe.

In the beginning modernism was mainly devoted to the search for the "purest form" of Buddhism as taught or supposed to have been taught by Buddha and his first disciples.[146] Later there was a shift from a purely intellectual interest to the setting up of political forms of activity based on models borrowed from Christianity, with its system of educational institutes and religious organizations that constituted channels of influence. During this initial phase much effort was put into the reinforcement of Sinhalese self-awareness by stressing the fact that they were the true heirs to the Sinhalese-Buddhist tradition. It was also during this phase that language, culture and religion were connected with each other to form an integral and central part of Sinhalese identity.[147]

After the independence of 1948 the modernist movement took on an even more political colouring. The Buddhist Committee of Inquiry (1954) and the Buddha Sāsana Commission (1957) were set up. These were two organizations which attempted to get monks to participate in a comprehensive programme of reform. One of the main aims was to reform the principles of temple land ownership and its linkage with the teacher-pupil relationships.

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144 For a detailed documentation on the modernist movement, see Bechert 1966, 37-108.

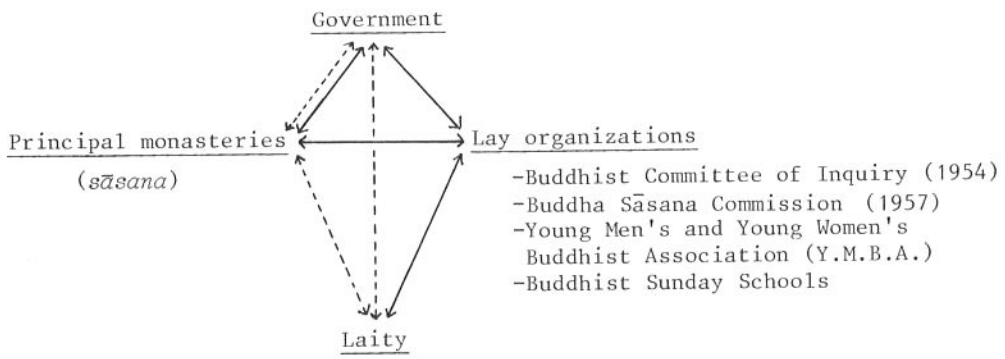
145 Gombrich 1971a, 54ff. The term modernist movement refers to the circumstance that it had its root in the encounter between the Sinhalese and the Europeans.

146 Bechert 1966, 37ff.

147 See, for example, Swearer 1970a, 257ff. Bechert 1966, 47ff.

The establishment of these two bodies generated a tension between the traditionalists and the extreme modernists (who have also been called revivalists), a tension which has not yet been wholly dissipated. The main point of dispute seemed to be (and still seems to be) whether the reform should be an internal affair of an individual fraternity (*Nikāya*) or a matter for all Buddhists, i.e. the laity as well. The second point was whether it should be purely a religious matter or whether it should be connected in some way with political issues as well.[148]

The extreme modernists have emphasized the need for a centralized organization and for reform as regards the principles of property ownership and inheritance within the *sāsana*. The leading monasteries, on the other hand, have cited the authority of the Kandyan Convention of 1815, which in principle objects to the intrusion of laity and government into the internal affairs of the monastic communities.[149] The present situation constitutes a *status quo*. It can be illustrated as consisting of four parts whose interrelationship forms the very basis of the dynamics of revival of present-day Buddhism in Sri Lanka, namely, the principal monasteries of the three fraternities (representing *sāsana*), the government, the laity proper and various lay organizations.



- - - - - - = non-political, non-organized influence
———— = political, organized influence

148 The reform programmes are published as *Bauddha toraturu parīkṣaka sabhāvē vārtāva*, Balangoda 1956; *The Betrayal of Buddhism, An Abridged Version of the Report of the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry*, Balangoda 1956, and *Buddha śāsana komisan vārtāva*, Sessional Paper XVIII-1959, Colombo 1959. Cf. Bechert 1966, 267-287. See also Swearer 1970a, 260ff. For the history of *sāsana* reform, see Bechert 1974.

149 For my discussion on this problem, see Gothóni 1976, 72-74.

Before 1948 the influence of the laity was mostly non-political and non-organized. The opinion of the laity concerning the conduct of the monks was more or less ignored by the up-country monks. In the low-country the relationship between the monks and the laity was, however, more reciprocal. The main interacting parts were the leading monasteries of the various fraternities (*Nikāyas*) and the government.

After 1948, and especially with the establishment of the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry (1954) and the Buddha Sāsana Commission (1957), a storm blew up between the parts concerned. The criticism by the laity of the conduct of the monks was no longer merely a vague rumour, but an organized body of opposition that began to produce reports in support of its allegations. As this activity was non-governmental, the final area of dispute still lay between the principal monasteries, on the one hand, and the government, on the other.[150] In the face of this mounting pressure the Supreme Chief Monks (*Mahānāyakas*) of the principal monasteries stated clearly, especially as regards the *Syāma Nikāya*, that the Commission had no right to investigate the internal affairs of the *Nikāya* and that the *Nikāya* would not co-operate with the Commission.[151] Finally in 1961 Sirima Bandaranaike officially proclaimed that the government would not interfere with the *Vinaya* rules.[152] The struggle between the different forces within Sinhalese Buddhism was won by the principal monasteries and up to now these traditional monasteries have managed to preserve their identity intact. Yet this controversy left its imprint on Sinhalese Buddhism. One of its results was that the *Syāma Nikāya* began a reform of their monastic code-book (*Katikāvata*) in 1960. As far as I know this project has not yet been completed.

4.4.2. The position of Buddha in the Sinhalese pantheon. One of the characteristic features of Buddhism in general and of Sinhalese Buddhism in particular is the invariable presence of so-called non-Buddhist religious elements. Partly as a reaction against the earlier emphasis on the orthodoxy of Theravāda Buddhism and partly as a result of recent observations in the field, the term *syncretism* came into use as an interpretation of the fact that the religious life of the Sinhalese Buddhists seemed a mixture of

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150 For the *sāsana* reform, see Bechert 1966, 267-288.

151 Bechert 1966, 282.

152 Bechert 1966, 284.

traits.[153] Scholars have advanced slightly different interpretations of this problem. Nevertheless there seems to be a consensus according to which Sinhalese Buddhism consists of two interrelated configurations. The following themes may illustrate the way scholars have labelled this biform relationship: Buddhism and animism[154], Buddhism and popular religion[155], Buddhism and Hinduism[156], Buddhism and spirit cults[157], and a great tradition and its Burmese vicissitudes[158].

The discussion[159] on the syncretism of Sinhalese Buddhism has been taken up by Gombrich, who in his exhaustive study on the beliefs and practices of the Sinhalese Buddhists came to the conclusion that "supernatural beings were as much a part of the Buddha's universe as they are of a Buddhist villager's universe today." Furthermore, "the presence of 'Hindu' or 'animist' supernaturals in the Buddhist's universe is not a novel or syncretistic feature, but has always been the case."[160] Finally, Gombrich argues that "so long as Buddhists continue to treat gods as a kind of supermen, able to grant favours to suppliants, but still ultimately of limited life and powers and subject to moral law, their beliefs are not syncretistic."[161]

Gombrich's standpoint is supported by Obeyesekere, who has made a detailed analysis of the position of Buddha in the Sinhalese pantheon. Obeyesekere distinguishes between five different levels in the *pantheon* hierarchy.

At the top is Buddha, who occupies a supreme, unquestionable and presidential position vis-a-vis the deities. He is not viewed as a deity in the conventional sense. Buddha has no influence upon life on earth. He is adressed commemoratively as a person who has transcended his humanity. According to Obeyesekere, his outstanding characteristics are "his compassion, benevolence, and non-punitiveness: he is goodness incarnate."[162] The extraordinary

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153 See, for example, Leach 1962, 84-85.

154 Ames 1964.

155 Bechert 1977, 1 and Bechert 1978, 217-233.

156 Leach 1962, 80-102.

157 Tambiah 1970.

158 Spiro 1972.

159 For a summary of the recent discussions, see Kirsch 1977, Evers 1977 and Bechert 1978. For a comment on Ames 1964 and Obeyesekere 1963, see Evers 1965 and 1977.

160 Gombrich 1971a, 48-49.

161 Gombrich 1971a, 49.

162 Obeyesekere 1966, 5.

position of Buddha in the pantheon is further demonstrated by the fact that in the performance of every Buddhist ritual his veneration always takes precedence over that of the other deities.[163]

The crucial point in this connection is the question of the "presence" of Buddha in the various rituals. The Sinhalese consider Buddha as "living" in some sense, although the contradictions inherent in this statement have not been completely worked out either dogmatically or cognitively. Obeyesekere has presented the interpretation that Buddha is venerated cognitively, though psychologically he is perceived as living.[164] He thinks that the solution to this conundrum lies in the use of relics (*dhātu*). The Sinhalese say that Buddha is present in his relics (*Buduhāmuduruvo dhātuvala jīvamānava innava*).[165] These relics are, for example, placed in the *dāgäba* ("relic chamber"), and are nowadays regarded as an object of great and frequent veneration, the Sinhalese expression being "venerable relic" (*dhātun vahanse*). Thus it seems to be the relic which constitutes the pinnacle of veneration and which has the connotation of "life force" or "vital principle".[166] It is a question of an immanent presence only and therefore the Sinhalese cannot seek from Buddha any assistance or help in everyday matters.

Sakra, the protector of the universal Buddhist *sāsana* is placed just slightly below Buddha in the pyramidal hierarchy of the Sinhalese pantheon. Sakra is referred to in myths only and is hardly ever worshipped in practice. He is believed to have delegated his authority to Saman, who is the protector and guardian of the Buddha *sāsana* in Sri Lanka. On this second level we also find Vishnu, Skandha (Kataragama), Nāta and Pattini, all of whom are deities of equal status, although in ritual practices at least it seems as if Skandha, nowadays preferably referred to as Kataragama, occupies quite a popular position among the guardian deities.[167] These deities are believed to be both primitive and benevolent, although their sphere of influence is restricted to punishing humans for transgressions or sins.[168]

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163 Obeyesekere 1966, 5-6. Schalk 1976, 91.

164 Obeyesekere 1966, 6.

165 Obeyesekere 1966, 8.

166 Gombrich has further elucidated this problem by showing us that amongst the village laity a certain Buddha force (*Budubalaya*) is considered to exist, although Gautama Buddha is physically dead. Gombrich 1971a, 141. See also Gothóni 1980, 46ff.

167 Gombrich 1971a, 168ff and 172-174. For the rise of the Kataragama cult in Sri Lanka, see Obeyesekere 1977, 391ff.

168 Obeyesekere 1966, 9.

The third level comprises several deities of equal status, whose main task is to preside over certain districts and localities. These regional deities have more or less the same attributes as the guardian deities.

The fourth level consists of demons and other inferior deities. The fifth and final level comprises ghosts and the malevolent spirits (*prētas*) of dead ancestors. The supernatural beings on the two lowest levels are viewed as thoroughly evil and thought to cause harm gratuitously, i.e. they are "irrationally punitive".[169]

The following illustration presents the picture as given by Obeyesekere, which is a simplified diagram of the Rambadeniya pantheon.[170] The sketch is basically a cognitive map of the world.[171]

	Level	*Name of deity*	*Attributes*
Pan-Sinhalese deities	1.	BUDDHA	pure good
		SAKRA, protector of the universal Buddhist *sāsana*	
	2. Guardian deities:	Saman Vishnu Kataragama Nāta Pattini	rational punitiveness "just gods"
Local deities	3.	District deities	
	4.	Demons	irrational punitiveness pure evil
	5.	Spirits	

Obeyesekere has made the following suggestion as regards the relation between Buddhism and the so-called non-Buddhist religious elements:[172]

> It would then be desirable to approach the religion of the Burmese or Thai impersonally or holistically simply as Thai or Burmese Buddhism, and the religion of the Sinhalese as Sinhalese Buddhism. Viewed in this perspective, Thai or Sinhalese Buddhism is the little tradition — that is, the religion of the masses (little community) in these countries, whereas the great tradition of Theravāda Buddhism is really the religion of the greater community of monks, intellectuals, and scholars.

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169 Obeyesekere 1966, 9.

170 Further details on the pantheon and the local deities are given in Obeyesekere 1966, 6 and Ames 1966, 44-45.

171 For the expression "a cognitive map of the world", see Gombrich 1971a, 144-145.

172 Obeyesekere 1963, 142.

Obeyesekere's way of treating the distinction *great* and *little tradition*[173] has been discussed by Bechert, who holds that it is incorrect[174], by Gombrich, who considers it useful[175], and by Spiro, who does not fully accept it but still uses it[176]. Bechert criticizes Obeyesekere's interpretation mainly on the point that it equates the little tradition with Sinhalese Buddhism. As for the distinction itself, there is no disagreement. Bechert accepts it and uses the term "great tradition" to denote the literary high-culture and high-religion, i.e. Buddhism and the various organizations connected with it and "little tradition" to refer to the local popular religiosity (even called folk religion), which differs from one Buddhist country to the next (Burma, Cambodia, Sri Lanka and Thailand).[177]

According to the Sinhalese-Buddhist way of thinking, there are two spheres of reality. Buddhist monastic tradition (*sāsana*) is considered to function in a "supra-mundane" (*lokottara*) sphere, while the popular (sometimes called non-Buddhist) beliefs are seen in relation to "mundane" (*laukika*) matters. *Lokottara* refers to a sphere of reality which is viewed as beyond the rounds of rebirth (*saṃsāraya*). The Buddhist *sāsana* is, then, regarded as providing an instrument for ascension to the "supra-mundane" sphere and the final life goal of a Buddhist is to achieve *nirvāṇaya*. *Laukika*, on the other hand, refers to a sphere of reality which is viewed as of the world, within the rounds of rebirth. As the so-called religious needs of man are in many ways connected with the problems of life in this world, laymen naturally seek help from the gods in mundane affairs, because *sāsana* does not provide its followers with relief in this sphere. In spite of appearances, this does not contradict the teaching of Buddha. Buddha never denied the existence of gods. He described them merely as impermanent beings and in connection with, say, the *pirit* ritual for protection, practised frequently in every Theravāda Buddhist country, the gods can be viewed as functioning in an intermediate sphere situated between the two main spheres of reality.[178]

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173 For Redfield's distinction *great* and *little community*, see Redfield 1956, II, 41ff.

174 Bechert 1968a, 269ff.

175 Gombrich 1971a, 154ff.

176 Spiro 1972, 5.

177 Bechert 1968a, 271 and 295. See also Bechert 1978, 221 and 224.

178 For a discussion of the "popular religion" of the Sinhalese, see Bechert 1976, 512ff and Bechert 1978, 217-233.

4.4.3. Merit-making as the path of the laity. The idea of acquiring merit (*pinkama*) is connected with the Buddhist teaching of *kamma* and rebirth. According to the Buddhist view, "action", *kamma*, provides the fundamental drive of continuity as regards the rounds of rebirth (*saṃsāra*). It is the force behind past actions. Consequently, *pinkama* is the dynamic aspect of *kamma*, i.e. the manifestation of good intention (§ 4.1.).[179]

The Pāli Canon tells us that already during Buddha's lifetime there were laymen who generously supported the wandering almsmen and donated not only food but houses where they could reside during the rain-periods. These deeds gradually became recognized as meritorious and the idea evolved that the monks constituted a "field of merit" for the laity. Although it was generally considered impossible for a layman to eradicate "unease" (*dukkha*) completely and reach *nibbāna*, there arose the belief that the laity could build up a kind of "spiritual bank account" (as Gombrich has expressed it[180]) by performing meritorious deeds (*pin dīma*) thereby attaining a better rebirth. It was previously stated that *nibbāna* was the ultimate goal. In practice it is, however, rebirth that is the focus of attention and a better rebirth is generally considered to be attainable only through the acquisition of merit (*pin*). Conversely, a bad rebirth is the price of demerit (*pav*).[181]

In practice, the ordinary layman acquires merit by keeping (demerit by breaking) the five precepts (*pan sil*):[182]

Pānātipātā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
I undertake the precept to abstain from taking life.

Adinnādānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
I undertake the precept to abstain from taking what is not given.

Kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
I undertake the precept to abstain from wrong conduct in sexual desire.

Musāvādā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.
I undertake the precept to abstain from telling lies.

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179 Gombrich 1971a, 246ff.

180 Gombrich 1971a, 204.

181 Gombrich 1971a, 73-74.

182 For a translation of the Pāli stanzas, see Gombrich 1971a, 65.

Surāmeraya-majja-ppamāda-ṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.

I undertake the precept to abstain from intoxicating liquors, which occasion heedlessness.

These five precepts constitute the passive, static, and doctrinal way of acquiring merit, while the list of ten good deeds (*dasa kusala kamma*), though non-Canonical, are widely practised and can be seen as the active and dynamic aspect of the doctrinal principles. The ten good deeds are: giving (*dānē*), morality (*sīla*), meditation (*bhāvanā*), transferring merit (*patti*), rejoicing in another's merit (*pattānumodāna*), performance of religious rites (*veyyāvacca*), paying homage (*apacāyana*), preaching (*desanā*), listening to preaching (*suti*) and right beliefs (*diṭṭhiju*).[183]

In practice most major *pinkamas* ("acts of merit") take place in a monastery, for example, during each quarter day of the moon (*poya*), normal places for a *pinkama* being the sacred *bo* tree, the *dāgäba* and the *vihāragē* (image-house). The most common *pinkamas* that take place at a householder's (*gihi*) house are "food-giving" (*dānē*) to monks and the ritual "recitation of protection" (*pirit*).

Apart from the five precepts, there are three more precepts that a lay devotee (*upāsikā* = woman, *upāsaka* = man) is supposed to observe[184], namely,

Vikāla-bhojanā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.

I undertake the precept to abstain from eating at the wrong time.

Nacca-gīta-vādita-visūka-dassana-mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhusana-ṭṭhānā veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.

I undertake the precept to abstain from seeing dancing, music, vocal and instrumental, and shows; from wearing garlands, perfumes and unguents, from finery and adornment.

Uccāsayana-mahāsayana veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.

I undertake the precept to abstain from high beds and big beds.

It has been the custom for elderly people to take the eight precepts (*aṭa sil*) as a way of life. The rest of the laity, if they observe the eight precepts at all, usually do so once a year at Wesak, the full moon in May, which is the anniversary of the birth, enlightenment and death or *parinibbāna* of Buddha. During my stay in up-country I noticed, however, that the *poya* days (each quarter day of the lunar month) are becoming quite popular among the laity and that many observe the eight precepts for those particular days.

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183 Gombrich 1971a, 73-74. See also de Silva 1974, 122-123.

184 Gombrich 1971a, 66. See also de Silva 1974, 73-74.

Some laymen regard it as a matter of religious and social prestige to practice the precepts and thereby acquire merit.

For the novices (*sāmaṇeras*) there are in addition two precepts. The seventh is divided into two subprecepts, as shown above, and the tenth is [185]

Jātarūpa-rajata-paṭiggahana veramaṇī sikkhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi.

I undertake the precept to abstain from accepting gold or silver.

The ten precepts (*dasa sil*) are hardly ever observed in Sri Lanka for a limited period of time only, but are usually a question of life-long renunciation. Very few laymen undertake all ten precepts, although the possibility exists in theory. Those who undertake the observance of all the precepts usually becomes novices in one of the three fraternities (*Nikāyas*). The one exception is the unofficial order of nuns. There are quite a number of women who have undertaken the ten precepts and live a homeless and solitary life. These women are easily recognized by their shaven heads and they wear yellow or white robes. They have no higher ordination (*upasampadā*) and therefore cannot be recognized as proper nuns, i.e. *bhikkhunīs*.[186]

In connection with the ten precepts (*dasa sil*) there are a few lines in the Pāli, the recitation of which is the most frequent religious act of the Buddhists. The Sinhalese radio begins broadcasting at six o'clock in the morning with this recitation. In the morning, every true Buddhist goes directly to his private shrine room and recites these lines. Moreover, every single religious ceremony begins with them. The lines run as follows:[187]

Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa. (Three times)

Veneration to the Blessed *arahat*[188] truly fully enlightened.

Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, Saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi. (Three times)

I go to Buddha for refuge, I go to the Doctrine for refuge, I go to the Fraternity for refuge.

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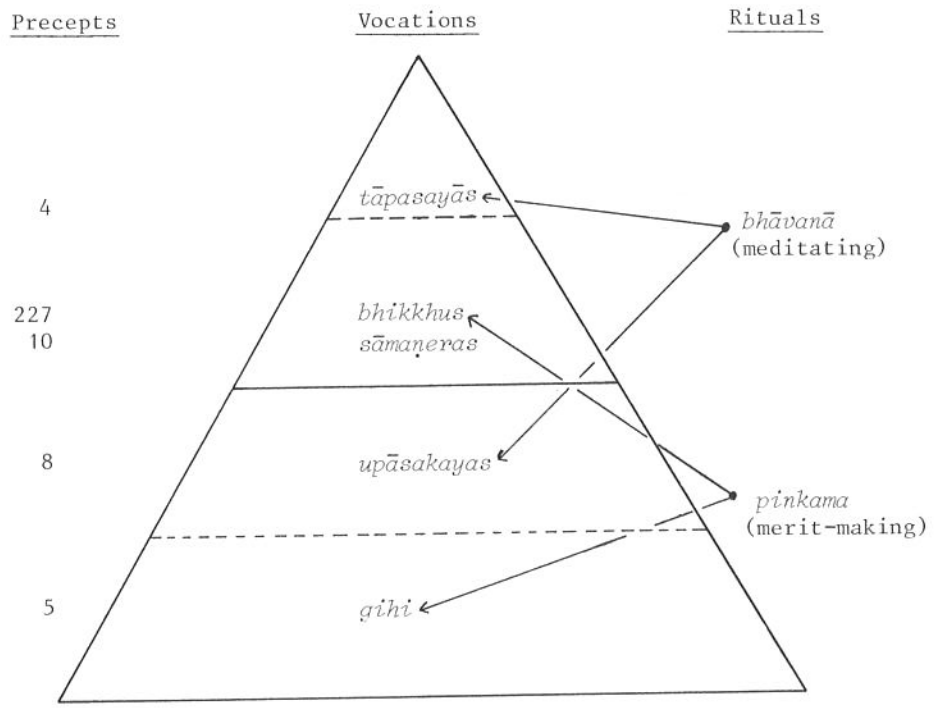
185 Gombrich 1971a, 66.

186 According to Gombrich 1971a, 28; 32; 67, an Order of nuns was originally established in Sri Lanka by Mahinda's sister, Saṅghamittā, in the 2nd Century B.C., as only a nun can admit a woman to the Order. Nowadays the Order of nuns has died out completely. It could not be reinstated for lack of Theravādin nuns elsewhere and thus the Order of nuns became extinct in Sri Lanka. From the viewpoint of the rites of passage (§ 7.1.), the social position of the women living as hermits is that of a lay devotee and they are known among the Sinhalese as *upāsakās* or *upāsakā māṇiyō*, *māniyō* being an extremely honorific word for 'mother'. Their mode of life is in principle the same as that of the hermit monks. See also Bechert 1966, 256ff.

187 For further details, see Gombrich 1971a, 64.

188 *Arahat* is a Buddhist technical term referring to any enlightened person. In this context it refers to Gautama Buddha.

Ames has depicted the interdependence between monks and laymen as a pyramidal hierarchy in which the Buddhist householders (*gihi*) form the base and the hermit monks (*tāpasayā*) form the apex.[189]



The primary vocational differentiation of the Sinhalese Buddhists resides in the division between a monastic-dwelling monkhood and a household-dwelling laity. In practice each is further subdivided into hermit monks (*tāpasayās*) and village monks (*bhikkhus*)[190], on the one hand, and lay devotees (*upāsakayās*) and ordinary householders (*gihi*), on the other. The precepts (*sil*) are also graded hierarchically and correspond to these vocations.

There are furthermore two partially overlapping and complementary ritual systems. The first is that of merit-making (*pinkama*), which is the primary

189 Ames 1964, 29-30.

190 In this connection Carrithers 1979, 297ff makes a distinction between reform monks and domesticated *sangha*. Domestication is used to refer to the close interdependence between the village or town monks and the householders, the laity at large.

mode of interaction of householders and village monks. The second is what Ames calls meditation (*bhāvanā*) and is considered as the concern of the hermit monks and the lay devotee.[191]

5. The socio-cultural environment: the level of society

In the historical survey presented here we analyzed the relationship between the principal monasteries and the kingdom, later the state. As we have seen, many of the practical arrangements for the mode of life of the monks and the laity evolved during the long process of adaptation and interaction. The terms *cultural*[192] and *social*[193] refer to essential aspects of the external milieu of Buddhist monasticism. We shall now look at those aspects on the level of society which have proved to be formative for the life within the principal monastery concerned.

5.1. Habitat and natural resources. Sri Lanka extends from latitude 5^{o} 55' to 9^{o} 50' north and from longitude 79^{o} 40' to 81^{o} 55' east and is an island of 25.000 square miles.[194] Climatically, Sri Lanka is divided into a Dry Zone

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191 In the Burmese setting Spiro distinguishes between two soteriological systems, which he calls *nibbanic* and *kammatic*, respectively. Spiro writes: "Since its major concern is with release from the Wheel, or *nirvāṇa* (*nibbāna*), nibbanic Buddhism is an appropriate term for normative soteriological Buddhism. Non-normative soteriological Buddhism, concerned with improving one's position on the Wheel by improving one's *karma* (*kamma*), is appropriately termed kammatic Buddhism." Spiro 1970, 12.

In relation to the pyramidal hierarchy presented by Ames, one could consider those monks and laymen who concentrate on meditation as practising nibbanic Buddhism, while those involved with merit-making basically practice kammatic Buddhism.

192 Hoebel defines culture as "the sum total of integrated learned behavior patterns which are characteristic of the members of a society and which are therefore not the result of biological inheritance". He furthermore points out that "culture is wholly the result of social invention ... It is transmitted and maintained solely through communication and learning ... Culture is non-instinctive", Cf. Hoebel 1958, 7.

193 Allardt, for example, connects the term social with two different aspects of religion. The first focuses on the institutional nature of religion, the other on the group nature of religion. An overall viewpoint in the sociology of religion is that particular emphasis is placed on the interrelationship between religion and other social phenomena. Cf. Allardt 1970, 7-8.

194 For a detailed survey of the physical environment of Sri Lanka, see de Silva 1977, 3-30. Yalman 1971, 18-23.

and a Wet Zone. The up-country is located in the Wet Zone.[195] The annual mean air temperature in this part of the island is 75,9 degrees Fahrenheit (24,4°C). From March to June the average temperature is approximately 77,2°F (25,1°C) and falls only to 72,4°F (22,5°C) in December, which is the coldest month.[196] The total annual rainfall is roughly 77.44 inches. From January to September the rainfall varies from 3-7 inches monthly. Most of the rain falls during October, November and December, 13.26, 14.94 and 7.73 inches respectively.[197] Economically, the Dry Zone is the more backward part of the island, the Wet Zone being the more prosperous.

The Kandy district, located in the central province of the up-country, differs considerably from the rest of the island. Its geographical profile consist of high mountain walls, narrow ravines, deep valleys, and lofty plateaus, all watered by sixteen rivers and many waterfalls.[198] The area has been called the up-country or the hill-country and has usually been referred to in connection with the Kandyan Sinhalese or the mountain people of Sri Lanka.[199]

The obverse side of the coin shows us the Low-country Sinhalese living mainly in the rich southwest, a people who are regarded as the most cosmopolitan of all the ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. They are both a rural and an urban people. The land is good for growing rubber and coconut and four big cities are located in this fertile area of the Wet Zone: Colombo, Galle, Ratnapura, and Matara.[200]

The climatological and geographical conditions may be illustrated on a map as follows:

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195 Statistical Abstract of Ceylon, 1970-1971, 1.

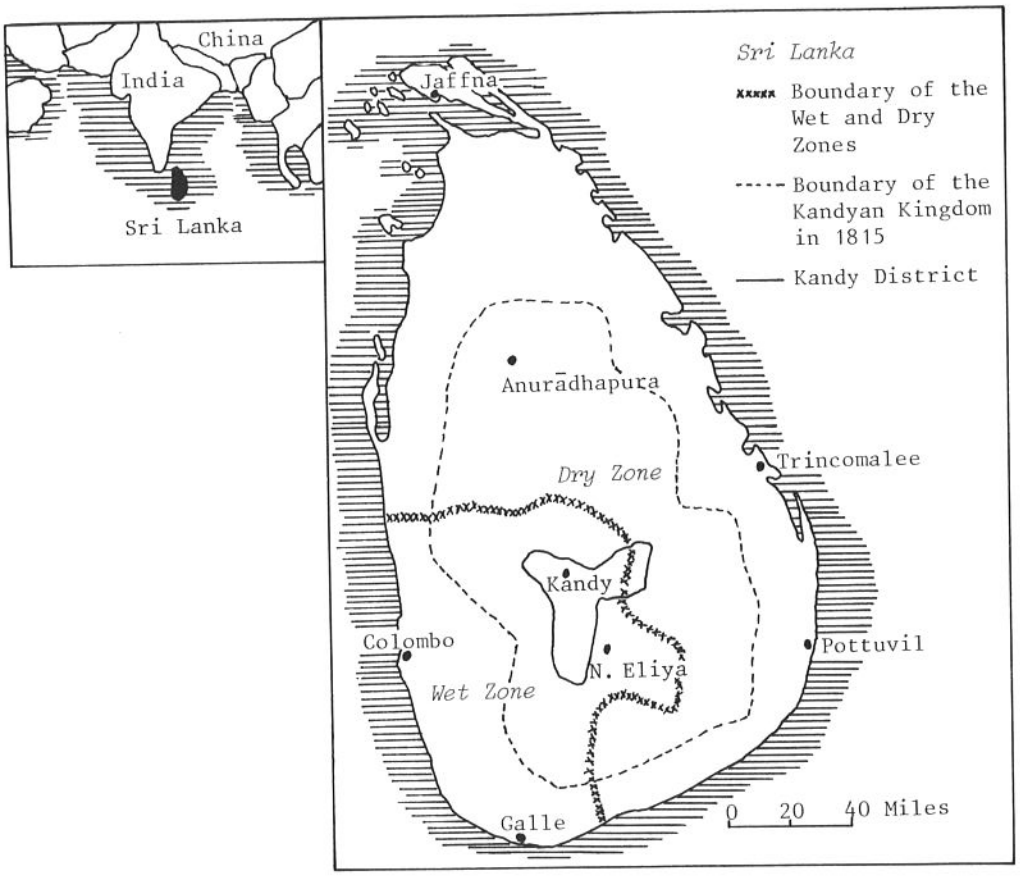
196 Department of Census and Statistics 1970-1971, 16.

197 Ibid.

198 Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 13ff.

199 The Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 26 describes the geography as follows: "The ruggedness of their territory has insulated them from the outside world, and they are regarded as hard-working, proud and conservative. They are rice growers and have terraced many of the mountainsides, constructing irrigation channels that guide water from one level to the next down the slopes. The Indian Tamils, who also occupy the Hill-country, live and work in the southeast position of the Hill-country ... Most of them are employed on the large tea estates."

200 Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 27.



As regards the relationship between traditional Buddhist monasticism and the habitat of the up-country, two points in particular seem to have been of major significance from time to time. First, the up-country, as a result of the invasions of the maritime areas by the Portuguese, Dutch and British, became a more or less isolated area in the middle of the island from the early 16th century up to 1815. It was the terrain of the area in particular that precluded its occupation until 1815, when the British succeeded in penetrating the narrow ravines and marched into the city of Kandy.[201]

Secondly, the up-country was located in the Wet Zone, an area that was large enough and practically self-supporting, and whose climate and geography pro-

201 For the isolation, see § 4.3. Vāchissara has pointed out that the isolation was an essential factor in creating the lineage system of higher ordination which prevails in the up-country. Vāchissara 1961, 114ff.

vided a milieu where monasticism could flourish in isolation. The area guaranteed an autonomous position in the face of constant invasions, an autonomy the British upheld in a way even after 1815.[202] In practice Buddhist monasticism came to function as the surviving repository of Sinhalese culture and the Buddhist "religion" (*āgamaya*).[203]

Natural resources, which have provided the economic basis of traditional monastic life are another aspect of the relation between the external milieu and Buddhist monasticism. The main income, during the past hundred years, has been derived from agriculture, which includes tea, rubber, coconut, paddy, cocoa and highland crops. In modern times these crops account for more than 90% of the real national income from the agricultural sector. The indexes of agricultural production in 1970 were as follows:[204]

1970	*The whole island*	*Kandy district*
tea	204,3	192,3
rubber	257,6	17,0
coconut	129,1	20,9
paddy (rice)	462,9	37,4

The statistics show that the Kandy district accounts for nearly all the tea plantations. This is due to the fact that the best tea is grown in the up-country at elevations of over 6,000 ft. above sea level. Sri Lanka being the second largest producer of black tea in the world, this district enjoys considerable wealth. The other three crops are grown more extensively in the Wet Zone of the island than in the Dry Zone. Of these, paddy in particular is connected with Buddhist monasticism. Most of the principal monasteries own quite large paddy fields. Consequently, the principal monasteries of the *Syāma Nikāya*, for example, are completely self-supporting in food (§ 4.2. and § 6.2.).

Apart from these agricultural products, the island also possesses mineral resources, including the precious stones for which the island has been famous for centuries. Other important minerals are graphite, mineral sands

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202 For the influence of geology upon the history of Sri Lanka, see Ray 1959, 7-8.

203 For a discussion of the term "religion" in the Sinhalese context, see Gombrich 1971a, 58ff.

204 Statistical Abstract of Ceylon 1970-1971, 101-102; 105-107. See also de Silva 1977, 213-256.

and several types of clay. While these are produced for export, kaolin, clay, limestone, feldspar and quartz are used in domestic industries. No coal, oil, copper, lead or zinc has been discovered on the island.[205]

5.2. *Population*. The population of Sri Lanka is heterogeneous and divided into ethnic groups according to three criteria: language, history and religion. The majority group is the Sinhalese, speaking a distinctive language (*sinhala*) which is related to the Indo-Aryan tongues of North India. There are about 4,5 million Low-country Sinhalese and 2,5 million Kandyan Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. Most of the Sinhalese are Buddhists.[206]

The second group consists of Tamils, of whom the Ceylon Tamils are the descendants of a Tamil-speaking group who migrated from South India (between 100 B.C. and 900 A.D.), and of the comparatively recent immigrants, the Indian Tamils and their descendants, who came over to work on the tea-plantations (1800 A.D.). There are about one million Tamils altogether in Sri Lanka. They are predominantly Hindus.

The third group, which comprises some 500 000 inhabitants, consists of the Moors[207], whose mother tongue traditionally is Tamil and religion Islam. Most of them earn their living as merchants.

The fourth group comprises the Burghers and the Eurasians, of which there are about 50 000 altogether. Burgher refers to the offspring of Dutch colonists and native-born women. Similarly, Eurasians are children of English plantation owners and female Tamil ex-plantation workers.

Finally, there are the Malays, who adhere to the religion of Islam. The ancestors of the 25 000 Malays in Sri Lanka were soldiers brought over from present-day Malaysia by the Dutch.

The total population of Sri Lanka is estimated at 12,711,000 inhabitants. The Kandy district accounts for 1,187,170 inhabitants and is the second largest district after Colombo. According to government statistics, 154,576 of this number are under 18 years of age. The density of population in the district is 1,299 persons per square mile.[208]

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205 Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 20ff.

206 For further details on the population, see de Silva 1977, 109-127 and Bechert 1966, 199-204.

207 A Portuguese usage. The Moors are descended from Arab traders, who arrived at various times over the past 900 years.

208 Department of Census and Statistics 1971, 33.

For the whole island, the statistical picture of the population in relation to religion is as follows:[209]

1971	*The whole island*	
Religion	Adherents	Ethnic groups
Buddhists	8,567,600	Sinhalese
Hindus	2,239,300	Tamils
Muslims	909,900	Moors and Malays
Christians	986,700	Burghers and Eurasians
Others	7,600	Veddas and others

The Kandy district, which has been regarded as the citadel of Buddhism ever since the colonial period, has the following statistical profile:[210]

1971	*Kandy district*
Religion	Adherents
Buddhists	733,012
Hindus	308,717
Muslims	104,469
Christians	40,375
Others	0,597

The statistics above reflect the historical situation: Buddhists form the majority, but Hindus constitute a very large minority. The Buddhists are predominantly Sinhalese, while the Hindus are Tamils. From the viewpoint of social status one may say that most of the Hindus are from lower strata, especially in Kandyan society, since most of them work on or are connected with the tea-plantations, the largest of which are located in the up-country.

5.3. Field administration. The Central Government extends its authority to the field by means of Government Agents (GA in kachcheries), each of whom is in charge of each of the 9 provinces and 22 districts. There are also a number of "village servants" (*grama sevakas*) who constitute the basis of the field administration. They are locally recruited government officials. Each district is further divided into revenue divisions, altogether 133 in number.[211]

The district is the basic unit of local administration, to which the Central Government appoints a Government Agent (GA). The task of a GA is to co-ordinate

209 Department of Census and Statistics 1971, 38.

210 Ibid.

211 For further details, see Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 231-233 and de Silva 1977, 353-369.

and supervise district administration and monitor the activities of field officers of the various central ministries operating under his jurisdiction. He also has developmental responsibilities and is assisted in these extensive duties by land officers, a food controller, and assistant registering officer, a vital statistician, a financial officer, District Revenue Officers (DRO) and others concerned with developmental and public welfare activities.

The sub-units in a district are under the charge of DRO's. The DRO is responsible for co-ordinating the activities of field personnel from the technical and developmental departments of various ministries which operate under his jurisdiction. He is assisted by a District Co-ordinating Committee, which consists of departmental representatives, a DRO, and at most two chairmen of the village council.

As an example of the nature of the connection that exists between government servants who work in field administration and the monks, I shall give a brief account of the election of the *Diyavaḍana Nilamē*, the controller and director of the *Daḷadā Māligāwa* (the Temple of the Tooth), which took place on 1 February 1975. There were a total of 241 persons who voted. The following categories had the right to vote: The Supreme Chief Monks (*Mahānāyakas*, MN) of the two leading monasteries of the *Syāma Nikāya* in Kandy, the former *Diyavaḍana Nilamē* (DN), the monks registered as in charge of ancient royal temples (*rājamahāvihāras*), the controllers of the up-country *dēvālēs* (*Basnāyaka Nilamē*, BN), the Trustees of the Buddhist temples (*ārāmayas*), either monks or laymen, with an annual income of Rs. 1.000 and registered with the Public Trustee, the DRO's and the Assistant Government Agents (AGA).[212]

According to the account of my key-informant, monk Ānanda (see § 8), the numerical division of the 245 persons who had the right to vote was as follows:[213]

MN	2
DN	1
Monks . . .	54
Trustees . .	39
BN	37
DRO	110
AGA	2
Total	245

212 *The Ceylon Daily News*, Dec. 25th, 1974, 2; *Dinamina*, Jan. 21th, 1975, 3; *The Ceylon Daily News*, Jan. 30th, 1975, 1; *Ceylon Daily Mirror*, Jan. 30th, 1975, 1. These newspaper clippings and other material are preserved in my scrap-book, 4; 9-10; 14; 19 and 22.

213 According to this account four persons did not vote. The details are preserved in the notebook I kept on the discussions with Ānanda, 61-62;67-68.

Numerically, the DRO's constitute the largest group. The influence of the 56 up-country monks is, however, greater than suggested by their proportional representation, as many of the Trustees are closely connected with the monks concerned (see § 6.2.1. and § 6.2.3.). Moreover the monks can exercise great influence in matters that concern monasticism as these are the same categories as have the right of decision in several matters concerning appointments to various government services as well as field administration and politics.

In the two recent elections of the *Diyavaḍana Nilamē* (DN) the DRO's appear to have played an important role. It seems as if ability combined with wealth has replaced family status as the important factor in the election. Even the monks, themselves the bearers of traditional qualifications (lineage), seem to have favoured academic and bureaucratic qualifications. The traditional kinship system is apparently gradually loosing its significance as regards appointments. Social contacts combined with ability and suitability seem to have replaced the traditional qualification of kinship and caste.[214]

5.4. Caste. As regards the Sinhalese and Tamils, the population of Sri Lanka is divided into castes and sub-castes. In modern Kandyan society more than half the Sinhalese population is *Goyigama* (cultivators of the soil), the other main castes being, in order of size, *Vahumpura* (jaggory makers), *Navandanna* (artisans including smiths of all types), *Hena* (washers to the higher castes) and *Berava* (tom-tom beaters).[215]

Practically all Sinhalese are Buddhists and their castes are very similar to those of the Hindu system. The essential difference between the Sinhalese and the Hindu systems is that although the Brahman occupies a central place in the Hindu system, he has no place whatsoever in the Sinhalese system. Paradoxically, Buddhist monks and "nuns" are regarded as the purest and holiest individuals in Sinhalese society, principally because of their monkhood and not so much because of their caste position.

Although the caste system has divided the population into categories, the difference in everyday life, especially in the town, is historical rather than real, except as regards marriage.[216] Caste is fundamental in any mar-

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214 For an analysis of the election of the *Diyavaḍana Nilamē*, see Seneviratne, 1977, 70-71.

215 For a detailed documentation of the Sinhalese caste system, see Ryan 1953, 93-94, where a list of the castes is published. See also Yalman 1971, 89ff and Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 105,

216 Ryan 1953, 206.

riage arrangement. In other respects, however, the caste differences are not at all obvious to the outside observer. The residential areas are not segregated, the castes living together in the same area. Clothing is identical and it is almost impossible to detect a person's caste when one encounters him in the street. Thus the castes can be considered to represent rather static conditions within which people live. The kinship system, on the other hand, is the dynamic aspect of the caste system and it is far more important in everyday life, especially in the villages, where life is organized around the concept of kinship.[217]

5.5. *The kinship system.* The Sinhalese kinship system is divided into two intermarrying exogamous patrilineal groups. The first group is constituted of one's own (*ego*) patrilineal kin consisting of father (*appa*) and father's sister (*nändā*); elder brothers (*aiyā*) and elder sisters (*akkā*); younger brothers (*malli*) and younger sisters (*naṃgi*); sons (*putā*) and daughters (*duva*). The second group consists of the categories of affinal relatives, mother (*amma*) and mother's brothers (*māmā*); male cross-cousins (*massinā*) and female cross-cousins (*nänā*); sons of siblings of the opposite sex (*bänā*) and daughters of siblings of the opposite sex (*lēli*).[218]

The kinship and marriage connection has been characterized as *bilateral* and *cross-cousinal*. The cross-cousin in question need not necessarily be (and hardly ever is) in practice a genealogically defined person, but one who belongs to a classificatory kinship category.[219]

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217 Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 102-105. See also Tambiah 1965, 131ff.

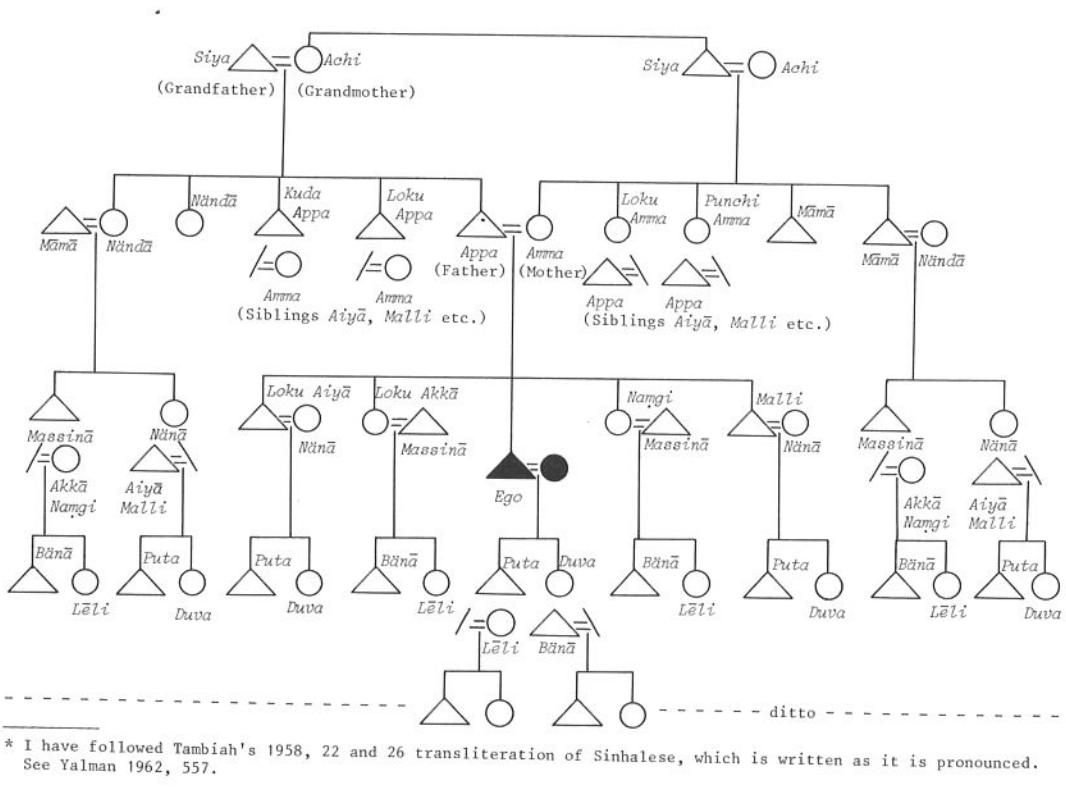
218 A vast number of books and articles have been written on the Kandyan Sinhalese kinship system, which is probably one of the most frequently and deeply analyzed cognitive system in anthropological literature. The material is taken mainly from villages, which consist of Sinhalese-speaking Buddhists, most of whom belong to the *Goyigama* caste. The economy is based primarily on paddy cultivation.

Studies on kinship can be roughly divided into those which consider kinship as a "thing in itself", explaining it on the basis of cross-cultural comparison and those who approach it as a kind of epiphenomenon or conphenomenon associated with the hard practical facts of land use and property allocation. Another useful distinction is the terminology in common use along with its rules vis-a-vis everyday behaviour. For references, see Tambiah 1958, 22 and 26 and the notes of this sub-chapter.

219 Tambiah 1965, 136-137. See also pages 134-140, where he criticizes Yalman's thesis for not being empirical.

According to the terminology, an ideal type of marriage always takes place between a male and a female belonging to the category of *massinā* and *nānā* respectively chosen from the same generation (*parampara*). Thus *ego* may only marry a person of his own generation. In a set of three generations, brothers and sisters are prohibited as sexual partners (generation one), the children of a brother and a sister may intermarry (generation two), but their children are again prohibited as sexual partners (generation three).[220] The categories here mentioned are, however, quite broad and the system of cross-cousin marriage can be further divided into two types, namely, the *matrilateral* and the *patrilateral*.[221] The Sinhalese kinship terminology can be illustrated as follows.

THE SINHALESE KINSHIP SYSTEM *



* I have followed Tambiah's 1958, 22 and 26 transliteration of Sinhalese, which is written as it is pronounced. See Yalman 1962, 557.

220 Yalman 1962a, 566.

221 Thus all parallel cousins are forbidden to marry. Yalman 1962b, 560. *Matrilateral* = mother's brother's daughter, *patrilateral* = father's sister's daughter, see Tambiah 1958, 26ff.

Another important pattern of behaviour, particularly in a Kandyan marriage, concerns the choice of place of residence, either *dīga* or *binna*. In a *dīga* marriage, the woman goes to live at the husband's house (*patrilocal* residence). In *binna*, on the other hand, the husband comes to live at the wife's parental house (*matrilocal* residence) and the children take the wife's parental name of house (*gedera*). Whereas a *binna* marriage is less prestigious, it is preferred when a father who has no sons wants descendants to carry on his name and to inherit his property.[222] This is also the case when an "outsider" (*pita minissu*) is assimilated into the family. Thus the Dravidian terminology linked with a bilateral reckoning of kinship is ideal for transforming peripheral kinship positions into more central ones, if the situation so demands.[223]

Moreover, the Sinhalese kinship terms, *gedera* (house) and *pavula* (family) constitute two different sets of kinship relations, namely, father-son and *aiyā-malli*, on the one hand, and *māmā-bänā* and *massinā-massinā*, on the other. The *gedera* name is derived either from an ancestral house with a locality reference or is traced to a real or fictitious ancestor. Thus, the *gedera* includes the aspect of descent and locality. The *gedera* has also been defined as a nuclear family, consisting of a wife, her unmarried children and a husband.[224] Therefore, the *gedera* is above all a unit of people who take their meals together.

The term *pavula* has a range of meanings in Sinhalese. Yalman distinguishes a) wife, b) family, c) "kindred".[225] Leach makes further distinctions: d) the "ideal" *pavula*, which comprises the direct biological descendants of one woman and e) the "effective" *pavula*, which is a group of kinsmen allied together for some specific political purpose.[226] Tambiah stresses that the *pavulas* are elastic in the sense that their boundaries and the allegiance of their marginal members change with the situation.[227]

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222 Tambiah 1958, 28-30.

223 For the Dravidian terminology, see Dumont 1953, 34-39. According to Kandyan custom, both *polyandry* and *polygamy* are permissable, although polygamous unions are not legally recognized by the state. Yalman 1960, 90.

224 Tambiah 1965, 163. Yalman 1971, 102. Yalman uses the term *ge* instead of *gedera*.

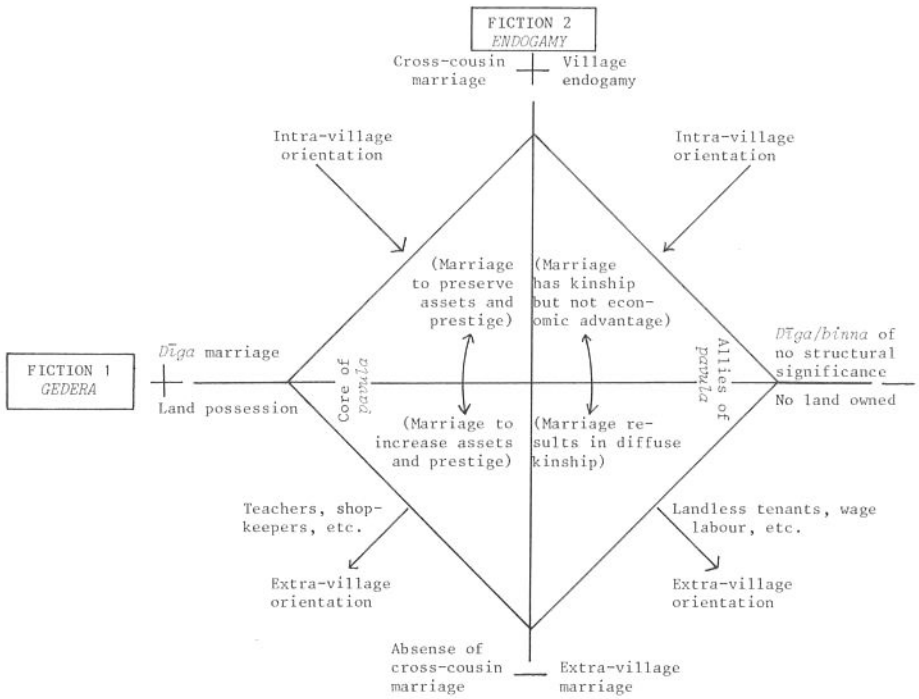
225 Yalman 1960, 89-90.

226 Leach 1961, 104-106.

227 Tambiah 1965, 164.

One of the main social functions of the kinship system is to prevent the confusion of authority with property rights. Since the *bilateral* character of the system admits the rights of women as regards property and particularly land, the marriage of a *nänā* is of interest to the whole kin. The *nänās* retain their claim to property rights upon marriage. Hence the father's mother's brothers and the brothers of the *nänā* concerned may endow her with a large dowry in order to bring influential men into the family. If, however, she marries an "outsider"[228], he is assimilated into the family and thus the land remains within the family (*binna* marriage).

In his analysis of the Sinhalese kinship system, Tambiah summarized the results in a diagram with four segments, constructed on a set of horizontal vertical axes. He has pointed out that the segments signify the alternatives of action open to individuals living in different economic circumstances.[229]



228 Yalman 1962b, 551 uses the concept "outsider" in referring to a man not of the *massinā* category and not belonging to the same kinship system, in contrast to an "insider", who is the "ideal" type of *massinā*.

229 Tambiah 1965, 168-170.

> The diagram contains a horizontal axis which I have called Fiction 1 (*Gedera*) and a vertical axis which I have called Fiction 2 (*Endogamy*). Each axis is a continuum ranging from + to - in regard to the major structural elements, which are contained in the fictions. Thus in regard to *gedera* the two primary elements are the practice of *dīga* marriage and the possession of land ... Similarly the *endogamy* fiction is made up of cross-cousin marriage and village endogamy: the *degree of presence or absence* of these has structural implications for kin grouping. The two axes contain four sectors and the diagram states the implications for intra-village / extra-village orientation, nature of marriage and *pavula* formation for persons falling in the various sectors. (Italics mine - RG)

Tambiah's analysis stresses that kinship is understandable only in connection with property. The orientation of each segment, therefore, is as follows:[230]

> 1. Propertied persons are the core and leaders of *pavula* factions in the village, which are instruments for advancing their power and prestige. This makes it necessary for them to act as patrons to less well-endowed kin and clients, and to *expand their kinship network* in the village through appropriate marriage alliances. At the same time elite elements will be faced with the temptation to increase assets and prestige by denying marriage with poorer kinsfolk and to forge alliances with their equals in other villages. Thus there will always be a *dual orientation* in the kinship behaviour of propertied elements. It is this segment that produces persons with *extra-village orientations* such as local officials, teachers, lesser white collar workers and shopkeepers. *Within the village* the propertied leaders are the spearhead of factions, which are vertical structures linking patron and client; in their extra-village aspect these leaders forge lateral networks with their equals and also attempt to better their status by consorting with their superiors.
>
> 2. In the case of elements that have little or no property, the form of residence after marriage has no real structural significance. Men of little property, economically of client and tenant status, are allies of factions formed by propertied elements rather than village politicians themselves. Marriage with similarly placed kin has kinship advantages, but it hardly brings material benefit; hence marriage *outside* the village frequently takes place and results in migration and diffuse and ineffective kinship ties. Thus village elements with little property also swing between the poles of a *dual orientation* that is both intra- and extra-village. (Italics mine - RG)

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230 Tambiah 1965, 169-170.

6. The socio-economic setting: the level of organization

When considering the social and the economic aspects of monastic life, attention is here focused on the relationship between the monastery concerned and the surrounding culture and society. On the level of organization, the principal monastery constitutes a society within a society, a society in miniature in the sense that the social composition of the fraternity tends to be a *reflection* of the social and economic patterns prevailing in the surrounding society.

6.1. The social organization of the monasteries. There is no centralized organization of monasticism in Sri Lanka. From the viewpoint of social organization, the monasteries are linked to one another in such a way as to constitute a complex network. Five different types of monasteries were distinguished in chapter A (§ 1.4.). A distinction was made between a principal and a subordinate monastery. The subordinate monasteries are usually owned by a principal monastery, of which there are several in each fraternity (*Nikāya*). As the subordinate monasteries were originally donations given to a principal monastery, they are located throughout the up-country. Consequently, a principal monastery functions as a centre, a co-ordinating body, in which the administration, jurisdiction, higher ordination (*upasampadā*) and to some extent the monastic education are controlled and carried out (§ 1.2.).

The various principal monasteries owe allegiance to different monastic fraternities (*Nikāyas*). Therefore the network of monasteries constitutes a heterogeneous and independent system of monasticism.[231] The ideological basis is, however, the same in all principal monasteries. The greatest difference concerns the principles of recruitment of novices (*sāmaṇeras*), which is dependent on the caste and kinship systems. The basic rules and ritual practices are nevertheless the same. The organizational structure differs only slightly in the various principal monasteries. The following documentation refers particularly to *Syāma Nikāya*, but as several scholars have pointed out, the *Amarapura Nikāya* and the *Rāmañña Nikāya* have quite a similar system.[232]

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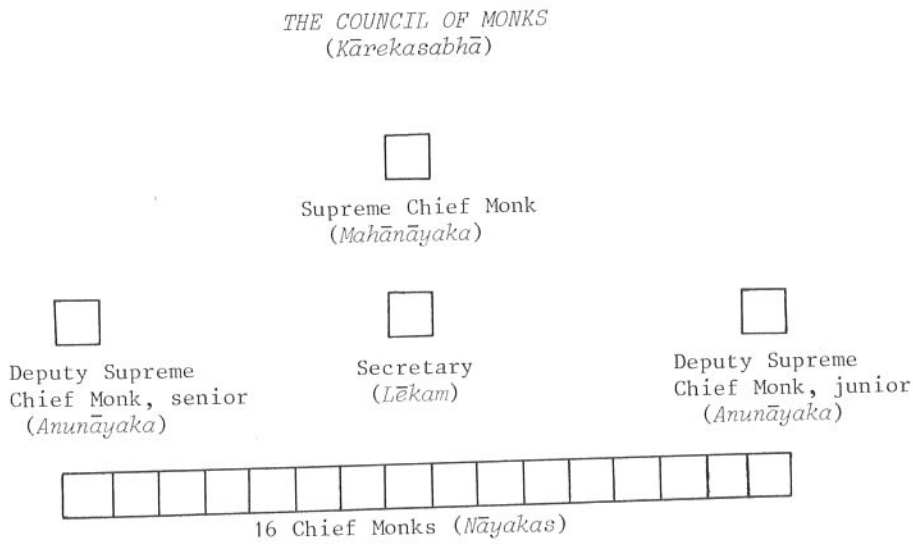
231 Bechert 1966, 213ff.

232 See, for example, Gombrich 1971a, 310ff.

6.1.1. The organizational structure of the principal monastery. The authoritative body of each principal monastery is known as the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*), consisting of twenty monks who exercise control over the entire network of monasteries belonging to its own administrative and jurisdictional unit (§ 1.2.). It is this body that dictates the religious practices and interprets and accommodates both the 227 monastic rules, known as *Pātimokkha* and the current monastic code-book known as *Katikāvata*, with respect to time and space.[233] The "Council of Monks" is a veritable dynamo of official reforms and changes in monastic life. The structure of the "Council of Monks" can be illustrated as follows.[234]



The "Council of Monks" assembles at least once a month, usually at day of the full moon (*poya*), in connection with the recitation of the 227 monastic rules, *Pātimokkha*. At the top of the hierarchy there is a Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*) who is the head of the principal monastery concerned. He usually has three assistants immediately under him, two of whom are called Senior and Junior *Anunāyakas* respectively and the third a Secretary (*Lēkam* or *Lēkakachari thero*) simply by virtue of his function. The title of a Chief Monk

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233 For the slight difference between the various monastic fraternities, see Bechert 1966, 213ff.

234 Evers 1968a, 28ff does not rate the Secretary highly, though my observations certainly indicate that in practice the Secretary occupies a key post of great influence, one which may lead either to that of *Anunāyaka* or directly to that of *Mahānāyaka*.

of a particular residential unit (*pansala*) is *Vihārādhipati*, but when he is the Chief Monk of a certain region, he is known as *Nāyaka*. The only prerequisite for the 16 members is higher ordination (*upasampadā*). According to the information supplied by Bechert, there are more than thirty Supreme Chief Monks in Sri Lanka, all of whom head similar hierarchies.[235]

The members of the "Council of Monks" are selected from among those monks who have a higher ordination, i.e. *bhikkhus*. When a seat is left vacant, a monk, if he is a Chief Monk, applies directly to the Supreme Chief Monk for the seat; but if he is a senior pupil of a Chief Monk, he applies indirectly for the seat through his teacher, who then takes the matter up with the Supreme Chief Monk.

The Supreme Chief Monk is elected by the members of the "Council of Monks" according to his suitability, and it is the senior *Anunāyaka* who is usually chosen. There are, however, cases in which seniority has been ignored. The *Anunāyakas* are elected in the same manner as the Secretary, who in practice is usually appointed by the Supreme Chief Monk according to the criterion of suitability.

The work and duties of the "Council of Monks" can be summarized as follows:

1) Election of the Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*)
2) Election of the Senior and Junior *Anunāyakas*
3) Election of the Secretary (*Lēkam*)
4) Election of the Provincial (*Palāṭ*) Chief Monks (*Nāyakas*)
5) Election of the District (*Pradeśa*) Chief Monks (*Nāyakas*)
6) Election of the Supervisor (*Adhikaraṇa*) Chief Monk (*Nāyaka*)
7) Election of the Chief Monk (*Vihārādhipati*), in case not mentioned in the will of the former Chief Monk
8) Conferment of higher ordination (*upasampadā*)
9) Investigation of complaints concerning monks either by their peers or by the laity, termed the Holy Inquests (*Sanghadhikaraṇa*)

The list of duties was given to me by several monks who where members of the "Council of Monks" in the case monastery concerned. The official work of jurisdiction as set out, for example, in H.W. Tambiah's article *Buddhist Ecclesiastical Law* occasionally seems to be more prescriptive than actual. It states, for example, that [236]

> the Ecclesiastical Courts have exclusive jurisdiction (1) to regulate the internal discipline of the clergy; (2) to suspend or dismiss from office or expel from the priesthood any member of the clergy for any crime or misdemeanour; (3) to reprimand the clergy for committing minor ecclesiastical offences or omitting to perform duties: (4) to appoint a suc-

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235 Bechert 1966, 213.

236 Tambiah 1962, 93-94.

> cessor to a vacant incumbency where the ordinary line of succession fails or where the appointment made by the *Mahānāyaka* (chief priest)[237] is disputed. The right to dismiss a priest from office is not exclusive, but exercised concurrently with the Courts.

This dismissal of monks, which seems to have been one of the major problems of the "Council of Monks" during the colonial period (§ 4.3.), is no longer a particularly urgent question. Only in very rare instances are monks expelled from monkhood nowadays. It is rather the other way round. Instead, one of the most immediate problems of the various principal monasteries today is the constantly increasing number of monks who disrobe, doing so not as a result of any particular infringement, but because they find the life of a layman more suitable (§ 6.1.3.).

6.1.2. The pansala system. Each principal monastery consists of a conglomeration of residential units (*pansalas*) both within the monastic area proper (*sīmā*) and outside the area as single monasteries (*pansalas*) or monasteries with a temple (*ārāmayas*). These are connected with and subordinated to the "Council of Monks" through the Chief Monks (*Vihārādhipatis*), who are responsible for the administration of the units and their possession. Each *pansala* is independent as regards its internal arrangements, such as the administration of the properties attached to the unit, the admission of pupils (*pabbajjā*) and the performance and controlling of the different ritual activities that take place in the various monastic areas. Each *pansala* is furthermore independent in the respect that it is usually the Chief Monk who appoints his successor in his will. Consequently, each *pansala* is named after the Chief Monk. If the name of the Chief Monk is, for example, Vattēgama Sumangala, then the *pansala* is generally known as Vattēgama pansala.[238]

From the viewpoint of the internal hierarchy, each *pansala* is equal regardless of its location. In practice, however, they exercise a varying degree of influence depending on the amount of land and other properties they possess. A complete or ideal *pansala* consists of five inmates, all of whom occupy a different status in the monastic hierarchy.

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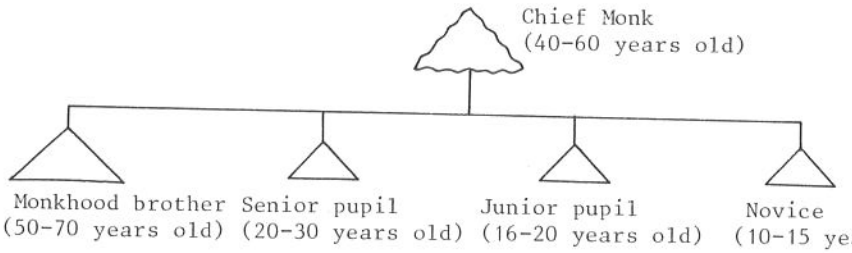
237 The term Chief Priest came into use during the colonial period as a result of the encounter between Buddhism and Christianity and has been until recently the English equivalent of *Nāyaka*. As we here are dealing with Buddhist monks, it is more appropriate to speak of Chief Monks. In the paragraph cited, *Mahānāyaka* is translated incorrectly. It should be Supreme Chief Monk and not just Chief Priest, which refers either to a *Vihārādhipati* or a *Nāyaka*.

238 The name is fictitious. For the parallel between the name of the *pansala* and the name of the *pavula* (family), see § 1.3. ; § 5.5. and § 6.1.4.

THE IDEAL PANSALA



The head of the *pansala* is usually known as the Chief Monk, in Sinhalese as *Loku Hāmuduruvō* ("Big Lord"), but officially called *Vihārādhipati* ("Chief Incumbent").[239] A Chief Monk is usually between forty and sixty years old. He may have obtained a *Nāyaka*-ship if he occupies a position of influence, but he may also live a solitary life if the *pansala* is located in the forest.

A complete or ideal *pansala* also houses other inmates. Very often an elder monk, an ordination brother of the Chief Monk and without a *pansala* of his own, lives as a brother in monkhood in the *pansala* of his friend. He may have been a junior pupil of some Chief Monk and therefore been left without a *pansala*, upon the death of the teacher with the consequence that the senior pupil "inherited" the *pansala*. In three cases I came across, these monks were quite ailing, frequently hard of hearing and therefore looked after by the Chief Monk. They were usually kind old monks who spent their time reading books on Buddhism in their rooms or in the garden. Sometimes they were to be found sitting outside the house in the shade, either reading newspapers or just chatting with some of the younger monks.

In a vital *pansala*, a new generation is also represented, consisting of one senior pupil (having the higher ordination), one junior pupil (having the lower ordination) and finally a novice[240], a newcomer having no ordination whatsoever. Many of the pupils or at least the one designated to succeed as

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239 See, for example, Evers 1972, 8.

240 The technical term for a novice is *sāmaṇera*. Therefore, in most of the studies we do find novice and *sāmaṇera* used synonymously. In practice this is somewhat misleading, since *sāmaṇera* actually refers to a novice having the lower ordination. Apart from these, there are also young boys, novices or newcomers, who are only ten years of age and have no ordination whatsoever. From the viewpoint of *rites of passage*, the former have been preliminarily incorporated into the monastery, while the latter find themselves in an intermediary phase (see § 7.1.).

head of the *pansala*, are nephews of the Chief Monk, i.e. sister's sons. In the *Syāma Nikāya* most of the monks have entered the monastery as young boys of between ten and fifteen years of age. These receive their lower ordination usually within a couple of years after their novitiate.[241] As for the number of pupils, I noticed, along with Evers, that the more properties the Chief Monk administered, the more pupils he chose to live in his *pansala*.

Apart from the monk inmates, the larger *pansalas* also have templeboys and other servants who wait on the monks and take care of all kinds of small household chores.[242] In some cases even university students are allowed to live in a room in the *pansala*. Such students usually assist the Chief Monk in carrying out his numerous administrative tasks.

Monastic rank, in ascending order, is as follows: novice or newcomer (no ordination), novice proper, i.e. *sāmaṇera* (lower ordination), monk, i.e. *bhikkhu* (higher ordination), elder monk known as *thera* (ten *vas* years since higher ordination) and supreme monk, *mahāthera* (twenty *vas* years since higher ordination).[243] This differentiation is quite significant in a number of contexts, such as "food-giving" (*dānē*) ceremonies, where the seating is arranged according to *vas* years.

6.1.3. The system of pupillary succession. There are two ways of establishing a teacher-pupil relationship. The first one is through the ritual of robing a person (*pabbajjā*), often a young boy, who must be at least ten years of age. The ritual is usually carried out by the senior pupil of the Chief Monk, who in many cases has also chosen the novice. By this act the Chief Monk's senior pupil becomes the official robing tutor of the novice (*sāmaṇera*). This usually takes place during Wesak (April-May) when the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) ceremony is also held.[244] In many cases the robing tu-

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241 The information is taken from the register-book of the case monastery concerned.

242 For comparative documentation and an analysis of the organizational structure of Buddhist monasteries, see Evers 1968a, 28-29.

243 The term *vas* is derived from Pāli and actually means rain. As a technical term it came to refer to the rain-period in India, during which the monks were supposed to stay within the monastery compound. It became a custom to perform the ordination ceremonies during this period. A *vas* year is therefore calculated according to the years that have passed since higher ordination.

244 For an account of the Wesak festivals, see de Silva 1974, 158-160. See also Bechert 1966, 100 and 348.

tor will later (when his pupil has reached the prescribed age of twenty) present the *sāmaṇera* for higher ordination, which is the second form of establishing or, as it is regarded, confirming a teacher-pupil relationship.

It is thus the Chief Monk who in many cases determines the pupillary succession of the following one and a half generations, since he chooses the pupil as his own senior pupil. The principle involved here is officially recognized as the "rule of pupillary succession" (*siṣyānu śiṣya paramparāva*). This arrangement assures that the number of inmates of a *pansala* is usually kept quite constant.[245]

It is on the basis of this system that the transmission of properties to one's own pupils and in many cases one's own kinsmen (nephews) take place. Those monks who have had no opportunity to succeed their teacher have either in the course of time built a new *pansala* within the monastery compound with the help of donations from the king and in some cases wealthy noblemen or they have chosen to live as brothers in monkhood in the *pansala* of one of their ordination brothers.[246]

We shall illustrate the significance of the system of pupillary succession by giving an account of the two main ways of transmitting the *pansala* and its allied property in the case monastery. First, there is the case of a *pansala* housing one Chief Monk and three pupils. The Chief Monk's monkhood brother is not included here, since he plays no part in the system of pupillary succession in the case monastery concerned.

The Chief Monk (Ch) is the head (*Vihārādhipati*) of the *pansala*. In the "first generation", S is the Chief Monk's senior pupil (*bhikkhu*) and J his junior pupil. The Chief Monk's novice is N, but at the same time the senior pupil functions as his (N's) robing tutor. This practice means that the junior pupil hardly ever acquires property, because the main lineage goes through the senior pupil to the novice, who becomes the senior pupil of the new Chief Monk.

As a result of this system of pupillary succession, the junior pupil's options are to move to another smaller monastery or temple belonging to the

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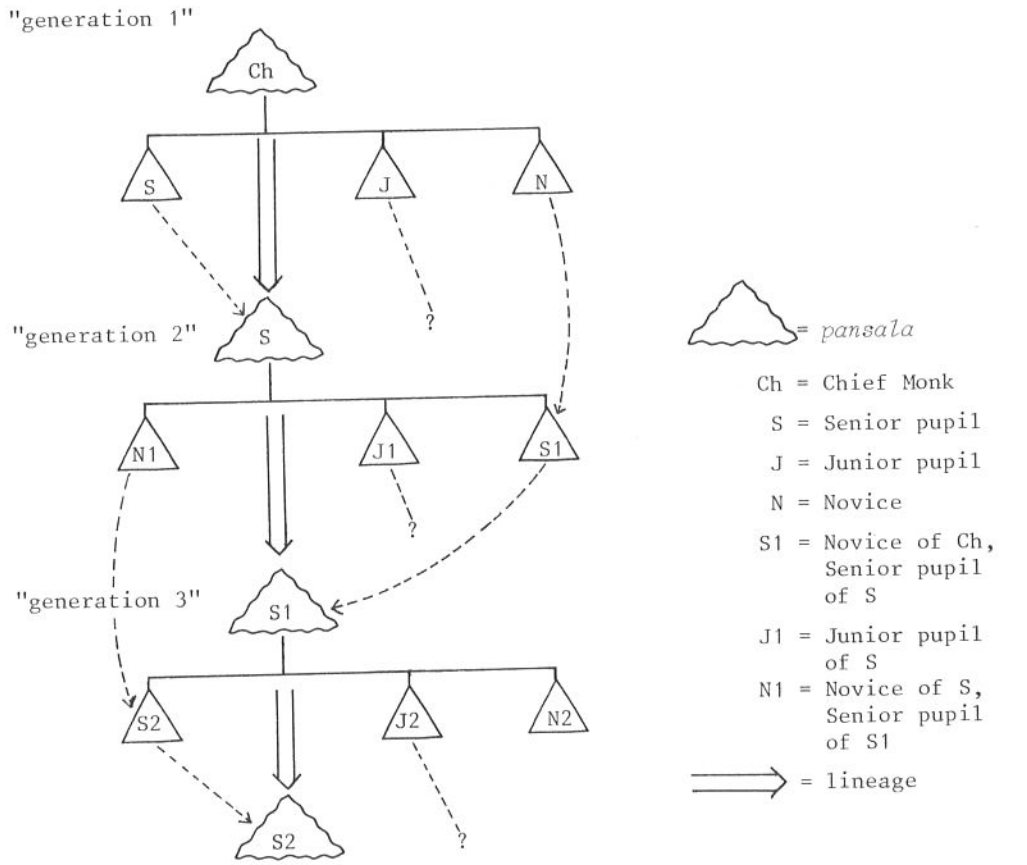
245 When the successor is a close relative, the lineage is called *jñāti paramparāva* or *sivuru paramparāva*. Evers 1967, 705, Gombrich 1971a, 316.

246 It must be stressed that the property here referred to is officially considered as the property of the entire principal monastery, *Sanghika*, but the actual control and virtual ownership rests with the Chief Monk. See Tambiah 1962, 82ff.

principal monastery, build a new *pansala*, stay within the *pansala* as a monk-hood brother without pupils, or disrobe. My observations pointed to the fact that there were quite a number of junior pupils that had disrobed.[247]

SYSTEM 1

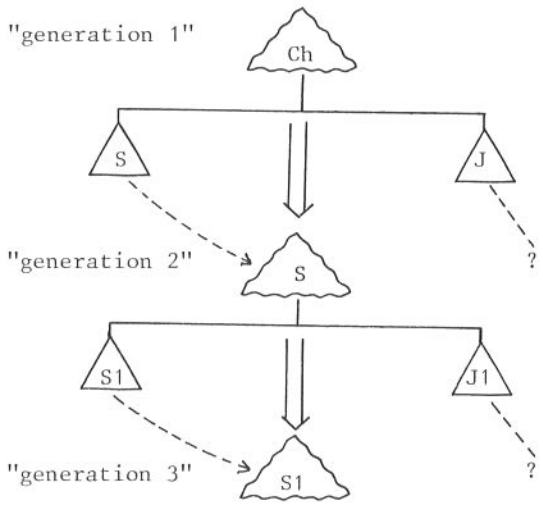


247 This analysis is based on material from the unofficial register-book of the case monastery. For the theory and various analysis of the "rule of pupillary succession", see Evers 1967, 707ff and Kemper 1973, 120-127.

It is very difficult to give any accurate estimates, because there are no official statistics on the disrobing of monks. My own observations were based on pictures of higher ordination ceremonies held in the case monastery. In these pictures of about eight *upasampadā* monks, usually four to five monks had disrobed. I was shown five such pictures of newly ordained monks.

The second case is that of a *pansala* inhabited by one Chief Monk and two pupils only. This social composition is usually found in monasteries in which the Chief Monk concerned "owns" only a little property or none at all.

SYSTEM 2



This system involves a straight lineage in which the senior pupil inherits his teacher's *pansala* and the junior pupil has to choose one of the alternatives previously mentioned. If the second pupil is a novice and the senior pupil functions as a robing tutor, then the second pupil naturally inherits the *pansala* after the senior pupil.

In practice these two ideal systems are mixed in various ways. Occasionally disputes arise between the pupils as to the right to the inheritance of the *pansala*. In such cases the matter is taken to court. Much depends, however, on the last will of the Chief Monk of the *pansala* concerned.

6.1.4. The kinship system within the principal monastery. As has been pointed out throughout this study, monasticism is not examined *per se*, but in relation to Sinhalese culture and society. Accordingly, one of our main concerns here is the various kinds of social and cultural *reflections* from society onto monastic life. The kinship system is one of the most apparent and distinct of these reflections. As was pointed out previously (§ 4.3.), the Chief Monks' tendency to restrict the admission of pupils to a close circle of relatives proved to be one of the major circumstances that accelerated

the process of decline during the colonial period. The last *Saṅgharāja* Välivitiyē Saraṇankara made great efforts to reform monasticism, but soon after his death in 1778 the practice of restricting higher ordination to the *Goyigama* caste was readopted by the *Syāma Nikāya*. This restriction, which is part of a pattern that recurs from the earliest days of monasticism in Sri Lanka, raises the question: What dynamics governed the formation of this practice?[248]

When approaching this question from the viewpoint of the history of monasticism in Sri Lanka, the following circumstances seem decisive. Ever since the introduction of monasticism to the island, there has been a close relationship between the king and the leading monasteries. The king required reliable and co-operative monks, the monastery required reliable and tradition-assured novices and the laity required monks of good conduct. Regular provision for the essential needs of a monastery's inmates, the performance of its rituals, and the maintenance of its buildings, meant that the monasteries had to have a stable source of income. Accordingly, there evolved the practice of endowing the leading monasteries with property in form of land and irrigation works. The town-dwelling monks in particular acquired great social and political prestige as a result of this practice, which by the end of the 16th century had put an enormous amount of property in the hands of the leading monasteries.[249] Naturally, much was expected from both the novices and the monks.

The incessant invasions by the South Indian Tamils and later during the colonial period by the European overlords stimulated efforts to find precautions against intruding influences. These invasions led to the division of the island into an autonomous up-country region and a colonial low-country region.

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248 Evers was one of the first scholars to pay attention to the connection between kinship and transmission of property within monasticism in Sri Lanka. He arrived at the following conclusion: "a monk selects a relative as his pupil only if he controls temple property that the pupil might inherit, the greater the temple property to be inherited, the closer the kinship relation between teacher and pupil tends to be". Finally he stresses that the teacher is a kind of "male mother" to his pupil. Cf. Evers 1967, 706-708.

For the most recent discussions of caste in the monastery, see Bechert 1966, 219-220, Gombrich 1971a, 294-317, Kemper 1973, Malalgoda 1976, 87-105; 144-172 and Yalman 1971.

249 For the origin of the practice of endowing monasteries with property in form of land and irrigation works, see Gunawardana 1979, 53-57. See also Rahula 1956, 68ff and 92-111. Evers has stressed in several articles that the driving force behind the development of "monastic landlordism" was the desire of the laity to earn "merit" through donations and gifts, see Evers 1969, 686.

The leading monasteries in the up-country had cause to doubt the trustworthiness of the refugees and inhabitants of the low-country since there were but few means by which they could check and confirm the social and political background of these people. Approaching the pattern of restriction in the light of these circumstances we can readily understand how the Chief Monks of the various *pansalas* in the up-country secured their future by robing close relatives. They sought trustworthy individuals to shoulder the yellow robe (§ 4.2 and § 4.3.).

Monks are not allowed to marry. This, of course, means that there is no natural recruitment of pupils. When approaching the question from the viewpoint of psychology and the kinship terminology we have discussed, it is a striking but natural fact that the Chief Monks have (when possible) robed as senior pupil their sister's or brother's son. The kinship terminology and the principles involved in the cross-cousin marriage[250] provide patterns of behaviour that are reflected from society onto monastic life in such a way as to constitute a *symmetry* that represents an almost "natural" recruitment (see the illustration on the following page).

In Sinhalese society there is usually a very close relationship between an uncle (*māmā*) and a nephew (*bänā*). According to the kinship terminology, the *bänā* is a categorial "son" of any *māmā*. As the Chief Monks or teachers frequently are between the ages of 30 and 40 and the novices are selected as pupils between the ages of 10 and 15, the teachers stand in a natural *māmā-bänā* relationship as to their pupils. These pupils are thus as real *bänās* ("sons") as the teacher can ever get without having a wife. The *māmā-bänā* relationship, especially if it is a blood relation, is in fact an extension of family ties into the domain of monasticism (§ 5.5.). Moreover, young boys were probably considered to be more reliable as novices than grown-up men, whose affection for the teacher would naturally have been different than that of the boys.

Psychologically, the practice of restricting higher ordination to close relatives is quite understandable from the viewpoint of the will, which in this connection has a twofold significance. First, there is of course the problem of the inheritance of the *pansala* of the Chief Monk and the property attached to it. As we pointed out in § 5.5., the question of the transmission of landed property is of great concern in connection with marriage. This is also

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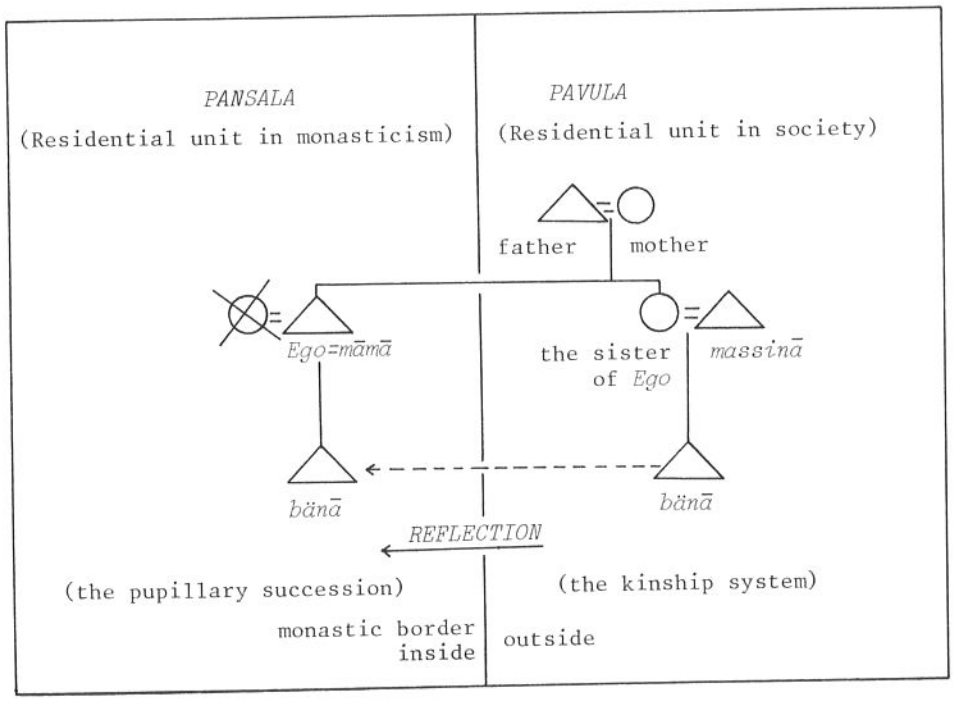
250 For the cross-cousin marriage, see Yalman 1962b, 556ff and Yalman 1971, 150-188. See also § 5.5.

true of the teacher-pupil relationship. Pupillary succession is therefore nearly always mentioned in the will of the Chief Monk concerned. Secondly, there is, of course, the question of the transmission of a spiritual will. The teacher views himself as a link in a long and winding chain, as part of a tradition that is to be transmitted to new generations. The better the relation between himself and the pupil, the more satisfied he feels as regards the transmission of his spiritual will.

The kinship system as *reflected* in the system of pupillary succession can be illustrated as follows.



Finally, the practice of restricting higher ordination to the *Goyigama* caste should be viewed in connection with the attitude of the laity. As Sinhalese society in general and Kandyan society in particular have been and still are divided according to caste and sub-caste, it is understandable that the *Goyigama* laymen find it difficult to pay proper respect to a low-caste monk. Consequently, the three monastic fraternities (*Nikāyas*) in Sri Lanka have become reflections of the society in the sense that the social constellation within each fraternity and its monasteries tends to correspond to the social constellation of the group of lay supporters in the society.[251]

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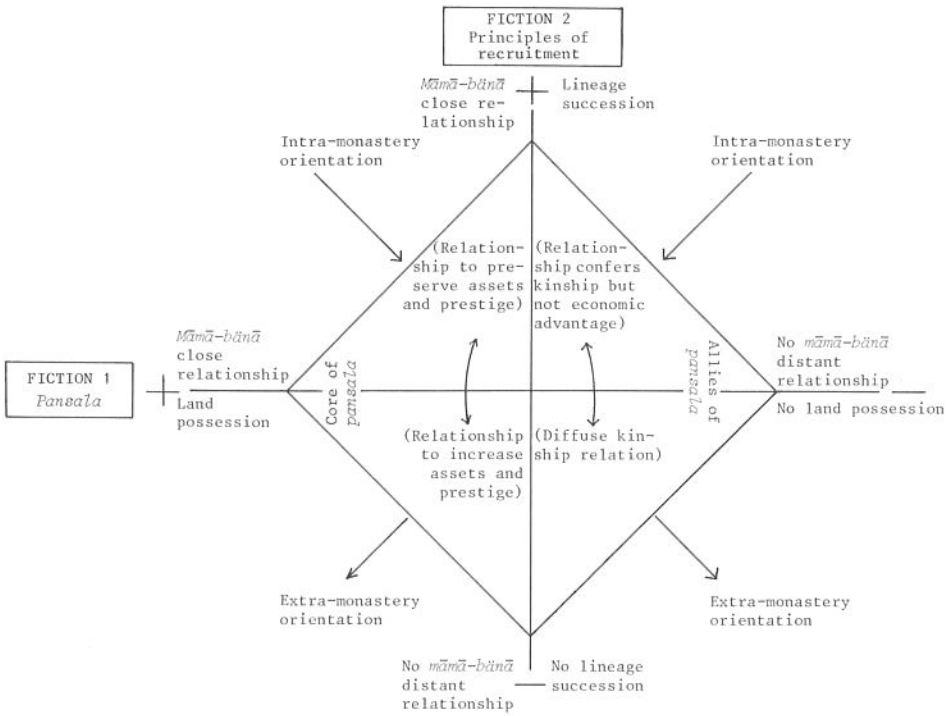
251 See, for example, Gombrich 1971a, 307-317.

6.1.5. The socio-economic circumstances and the recruitment of novices. In his resumé of the Sinhalese kinship system, Tambiah has pointed out quite convincingly that kinship should not be examined in isolation, but in relation to the socio-economic circumstances in which each person finds himself.[252] The usefulness of his analysis lies in his illustration of the "field of alternatives" as a scale on which each individual has a specific position.[253] Applying the Tambiah's diagram (§ 5.5.) to the *pansala* system and its relation to the principles of recruitment of novices, we obtain the following diagram.



The diagram comprises a horizontal axis referred to as Fiction 1 (*pansala*) and a vertical axis which is called Fiction 2 (principles of recruitment). Each axis is a continuum ranging from + to - with regard to the major structural elements, which are contained in the respective fictions. The two primary elements for the *pansala* are the *māmā-bānā* close-distant relationship and lineage succession, which here indicates that a *pansala* has an unbroken continuity of teacher-pupil relations. The *degree of presence or absence of these has structural implications for the social constellations in each pansala*. The two axes contain four sectors and the

252 Tambiah 1965, 167-171.

253 See § 5.5.

diagram illustrates the implications for intra- and extra-monastery orientation, the nature of the relationship and the *pansala* constellation for monks occupying the various sectors.

The propertied monks form the core of their respective *pansalas* and act as leaders. Usually the same group of monks constitutes the "Council of Monks" of a principal monastery. These monks are powerful and have great social prestige. Their position both within the monastic hierarchy and in the society often enables them to act as patrons, a circumstance which is conducive to the expansion of their social network both as regards their own kinship relatives and with regard to other influential persons in the society. It seems as if much of the prestige stems from economic circumstances. Many monks are therefore faced with the temptation to increase their assets and their prestige, reinforcing the latter by restricting recruitment to their peers in general and their own kin in particular.

Tambiah's distinction between an intra- and an extra-village orientation is of great value particularly when studying monasticism during a period of change. From the viewpoint of the Chief Monk, who robes the pupil, the intra-monastery orientation will definitely aim at guaranteeing the preservation and continuity of monasticism. A special interest is, as we have seen, the succession of the Chief Monk's lineage and transmission of property.

As Evers has pointed out in cases where a great deal of property is involved, this is done by robing a close *māmā-bänā* relative.[254] When there is little or no property, the Chief Monk may robe a more distant relative, who nevertheless very often belongs to the *bänā* category, although the relationship is not of the blood tie type. It is precisely this distant *māmā-bänā* relationship that seems nowadays to rival the close one in importance.

Apart from having an intra-monastery orientation, every Chief Monk also has an extra-monastery orientation, which enables him to increase his assets and prestige. Much of the power and prestige rests with personal social contacts since many monasteries are not closed, but rather relatively open religio-social systems, in which monks meet laymen either inside or outside the monastery compound.[255]

No strict regulations are enforced as regards each monk's circle of male acquaintances and many of the social contacts are in fact both of an official and a personal nature. Friendship often grows out of frequent co-operation.

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254 Evers 1967, 708.

255 Bunnag 1973, 86ff has quite convincingly pointed out the relative openness of the Buddhist monastic system.

With the extra-monastery orientation in mind, a Chief Monk will therefore sometimes robe a distant relative when the novice may provide influential connections and a new set of social contacts which are beneficial to the monastery. It is partly through this kind of arrangement that many contacts are established with important local officials, teachers, politicians etc. It is precisely because of these circumstances that the Chief Monk who control a great deal of landed property choose a large number of pupils, most of whom cannot claim a close *māmā-bänā* relationship.[256]

A Chief Monk with little or no property usually exercises less influence within the hierarchy of the principal monastery. Consequently, the number of pupils has no real socio-structural significance unless the Chief Monk is very ambitious and aims at establishing a new *pansala* lineage. In practice the main task of such a Chief Monk is therefore to assure the lineage succession of his *pansala* and, as was depicted in the second system of pupillary succession, only one pupil is required for a proper succession.

Each monk is embedded in a web of social networks as well as ritual ones. A monk with less property is, however, relatively less involved, as his ambitions may be of a more other-worldly character than those of monks who possess large amounts of property. He is often not concerned with increasing his assets and prestige, but with pursuing his individual interests. He may study some particular subject, concentrate on meditation or actively participate in various societies of either a religious, socio-religious or religio-political character. There are also many cases in which a monk with no property and with relatively little chance of inheriting a *pansala* disrobes in order to be able to exploit the education he has acquired. Consequently, a monk may pursue his calling in a *variety of ways* also within a principal monastery, depending on the socio-economic circumstances and the alternatives offered by the Chief Monk and the "Council of Monks".

6.2. The economic basis. Originally the economy of the monasteries was quite simple. What the monks most urgently needed was food and a small house or place to live in. These necessities were provided by wealthy laymen who were particularly attracted by the teaching of Buddha (*dhamma*).

As far as food was concerned, a practice existed whereby each monk did a daily alms-round (*piṇḍapāta*, which entailed the monk's going begging food

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256 Evers 1967, 707 has distinguished between *patrilateral* and *matrilateral* relationships, but as far as I can see, the distinction is of small value for our analysis, because the kinship system is not used literally but categorically within the principal monasteries.

from door to door every morning at about ten o'clock. The houses and various dwellings (*pansalas* and *ārāmayas*) were on the other hand acquired in the form of donations, a practice which became regarded as particularly meritorious for the laity concerned (§ 4.4.3.).

As a result of the practice of giving gifts and donations many monasteries gradually acquired considerable wealth. Therefore, most monasteries nowadays own a little land, which has been granted over the years either by the kings or wealthy laymen. Principal monasteries usually own quite a large amount of land, a circumstance which gives them an *autonomous* position in Sinhalese society. There is, then, no need for alms-rounds. Since many of the monasteries tend nowadays to be located in or near the town and, additionally, there are a great number of monks in principal monasteries, the practice of alms-rounds is in fact considered impractical.[257]

The shift from an individual alms-round and life of seclusion to the life of the larger monasteries with their rosters for a group of householders or a special lay organization (*dāyaka sabhāva*) to take care of the cooking in the monastery kitchen, presumably occured when there were hardly any unlanded monasteries. We still may encounter a few modern fundamentalist monks, as Gombrich prefers to call them, who now and again revert to the practice of alms-rounds, yet this sight is relatively unusual in Sri Lanka of today.[258]

6.2.1. The system of temple lands. The economic basis of most of the principal monasteries of the *Syāma Nikāya* was re-established at the same time as the new tradition of higher ordination was adopted from Thailand in the early 1750's. Then as now the stability of the economy rested on the ownership of land and control over the performance of temple services.[259] Two parallel systems of so-called temple lands emerged; the *vihāragam* and the *dēvālagam*.

A *vihāragam* refers to land granted by the king to a Buddhist principal monastery (*vihāraya* or *ārāmaya*) and a *dēvālagam* to land granted by the king to the temple of deities (*dēvālē*). In this study we focus particular attention upon

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257 Gombrich 1971a, 277. Gothóni 1976, 76.

258 Gombrich 1971a, 277-278.

259 The practice of donating land to monasteries is very old and the first reports on land-granting in Sri Lanka are mentioned in *Mahāvaṃsa* XXXIII and XXXVIII, referring as far back as to the first century B.C. For a brief history of land-granting, see Evers 1969, 686-687.

the *vihāragam*, as that is the type of temple land connected with the *pansala* system.[260] The amount of land owned by or attached to Buddhist monasticism in Sri Lanka in the 1960's has been estimated by Evers at approximately 135.000 acres of *vihāragam* in the Kandyan up-country. Thus, about ten per cent of all paddy land within this area is attached to various monasteries.[261]

Temple lands (*vihāragam* and *dēvālagam*) are divided into two basic categories, namely, *baṇḍāra* and *paravēṇi paṅguva* respectively. These two categories overlap. The description is written from the viewpoint of the former, since this includes the latter, although in quite a complex way.

A *baṇḍāra* land is officially owned by a principal monastery, but in practice it is attached to a particular *pansala* and therefore controlled by its Chief Monk (*Vihārādhipati*). A *baṇḍāra* land consists of [262]

1) the site of a *pansala* and the monastic area attached to it,
2) paddy fields (*mutteṭṭuva*), which are usually cultivated by the tenants of certain *paravēṇi paṅguva(s)*. The Chief Monk of a *pansala* (*Vihārādhipati*) and the principal lay officer of a temple of a deity (*Basnāyaka Nilamē*) are supposed to use this income for the maintenance of the temple, administrative expenses and certain rituals or temple festivals.
3) shares of temple lands (*maruvēṇa paṅguva*), which are leased to tenants for a three year period against payment of half the crop to each temple lord (*andē*).

The *paravēṇi paṅguva* land, on the other hand, is owned by villagers who are peasants. They have the right to mortgage, inherit or sell the land. Whoever owns this land is, however, obliged to perform temple services (*rājakāriya*) under the supervision of the Chief Monk.[263] Since the performance of temple services hardly ever takes place nowadays, the Chief Monk often controls his share by renting *baṇḍāra* lands to holders of *paravēṇi paṅguvas*. Thus, non-

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260 For further details, see Evers 1972, 4-12.

261 Evers 1969, 687-688.

262 Evers 1972, 78.

263 Evers 1972, 87-92. Primarily and literally *rājakāriya* means "service to the king". During the time of the Kandyan kingdom "important monasteries were endowed with land grants in much the same manner as the important chiefs were. The donations were made by the king out of his own lands (*gabaḍāgam*) and in both cases he exchanged his economic assets for non-economic assets of some sort or another. The chiefs who received lands (*nindagam*) were entitled to the dues and services (*rājakāriya*) which were formerly rendered to the Crown by the tenants of those lands. The dues and services were similarly transferred to the monks and monasteries in the case of *vihāragam*, or temple lands". Cf. Malalgoda 1976, 74.

performance of temple services can be legalized and sanctioned by eviction from *baṇḍāra* lands.

The *paravēṇi paṅguva* consists of two parts, the *gamvasama* and the *nilavasama*, each of which includes a number of shares (*paṅguvas*). The *nilavasama* is further divided into four kinds of *paṅgus*, which differ in the type of temple service attached to them and in the caste affiliation of their tenants.[264]

6.2.2. Sources of income and expenditure. Although the major part of the income of the principal monasteries is derived from land, one should not forget such centres of pilgrimage as the Adam's Peak (*Śrī Pāda*) and the Temple of the Tooth (*Daḷadā Maligāwa*), which receives large sums in the form of offerings. When we summarize all the potential sources of income connected with monasticism, we must not forget that but a few principal monasteries have access to all of them, while the majority of the monasteries have access only to some.[265]

CHIEF MONK
(Vihārādhipati)

Ownership of land (*Baṇḍāra*)	Control over services (*Paravēṇi paṅguva*)	Meritorious deeds (*Pinkama*)
a) farms out the land to sharecroppers on three year contracts	a) rents *baṇḍāra* land to the holder of *paravēṇi paṅguvas*	a) offerings by the laity to ancient temples and objects of veneration
b) rents the land to tea, rubber or coconut estates on long-term leases	b) the tenants of the *gamvasama* act as supervisors of *muttetṭuvas*	b) offerings by the laity to centres of pilgrimage
c) hires overseers and teaplanters or rubber tappers and sells their products to the factories	c) the servants of the *nilavasama* perform services, for example, in the Temple of the Tooth	c) donations and other meritorious deeds by the laity

In theory all the income received from the various sources belongs to the principal monasteries of the monastic fraternities (*Nikāyas*), but as Evers has pointed out the income usually accrues to the Chief Monk of the *pansala* from which the source of income derives.[266]

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264 Evers 1972, 80-85.

265 Evers 1969, 688-691.

266 Evers 1972, 78-80. Evers' study on the economic basis of one Royal Temple (*Lankātilaka*) in Sri Lanka was in part written as a critique of the system in use in that he emphasizes the "landlordism" of the monastery.

The income and expenditure should in principle be submitted to the Public Trustee in Colombo, but the lack of effective financial control allows the Chief Monks to exercise discretion in the handling of their finances. The income from a *baṇḍāra* land allows for capital formation, though in practice most of it is used to cover the day-to-day costs of organizing temple festivals and administering the monastery. In large monasteries it can also be used to pay for the living expenses and education of the monks.

The income from *paravēṇi paṅguvas*, on the other hand, is usually spent as soon as it is received.[267] The *paravēṇi paṅguvas* are nowadays economically less important for the monasteries than *baṇḍāra* lands, although in point of ritual activities and religious and social prestige, both are of great importance.

The following account of outgoing monies can be given to exemplify the usual items of expenditure.[268]

a) maintenance of buildings and roads
b) lighting
c) food, medical costs, clothing, feeding of attendants and servants
d) offerings to Buddha
e) temple festivals
f) salaries and wages
g) wages for tea plantation workers etc.
h) travelling expenses of the Chief Monk
i) stationery, postage etc.

6.2.3. The network of social contacts arising from the economic basis. The previous account shows that a major shift took place when the practice of going on alms-rounds evolved into a complex economic system.[269] This shift has been noticed, for example, by Weber, who termed it "monastic landlordism" and by British officials, who saw in it a manifestation of "Buddhist temporalities".[270]

In order to understand the significance of the economy of the various *pansalas* concerned, we shall view it in relation to its network of social contacts.

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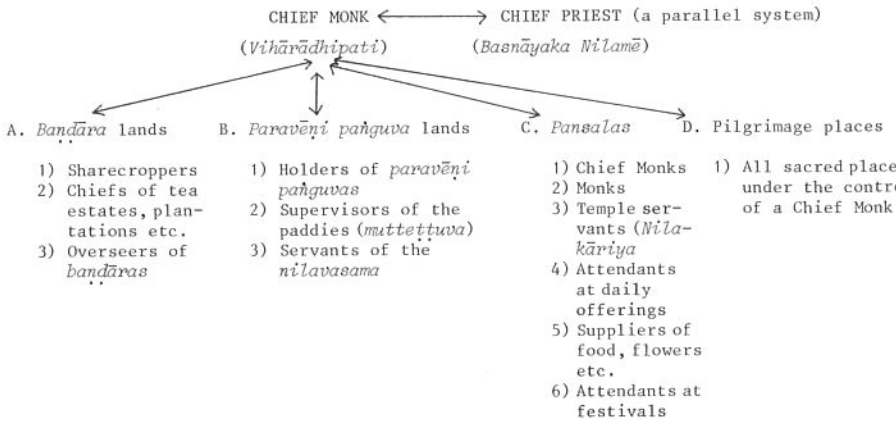
267 Evers 1972, 78.

268 See, for example, Evers 1969, 690 and Evers 1972, 79.

269 The monks of my case monastery, for example, told me that since the early 1950's none of them have gone out on alms-rounds.

270 Weber 1958, 257. Cf. Evers 1969, 685.



We can distinguish four main channels of income, connected on various ways, with a given *pansala*. The first two linkages consist of the *bandāra* and *paravēṇi* lands. We have referred to the other two channels as *pansalas* and pilgrimage places. The main social contacts have been mentioned under each heading and, as can be seen from the diagram above, there is a wide network of social contacts, both within monasticism and outside, to society at large. This social network provides a stable basis for monasticism in Sri Lanka. As the Chief Priests (*Basnāyaka Nilamē*) of the various (hindu) temples of the deities (*dēvālē*) constitute a similar network of social contacts, it is apparent that these two leaders who are the heads of parallel systems and often collaborate together can exert considerable influence in matters of monastic or religious importance.[271]

7. A monk's learning and role-performance: the level of the individual

To become a Buddhist monk (*bhikkhu*) in Sri Lanka does not necessarily imply a complete severing of former social ties, but rather a passing from one social status to another. To become a monk involves establishing a new kind of reciprocity with society. The monk does not live in seclusion, but specific

271 For further details of the various linkages connected with landed property, see Ryan 1953, 211-217. For the parallel system, see Evers 1972, 99-100.

patterns of social interaction and he is subject to rigorous social and ritual obligations.

As each Chief Monk in the principal monastery relates to a wide circle of acquaintances, one of his tutorial tasks is to assist the novice to acquire a mastery of all the new roles with which he is likely to interact. Therefore, he is not only a spiritual guide in the practice of meditation, but also an instructor who trains the pupil in ritual performance and in the modesty of demeanour which befits a monk and corresponds to the various role-expectations of society.

7.1. The theory of rites of passage. The theory of *rites of passage* was originally presented by van Gennep.[272] His basic idea has lately been interpreted as structural. According to van Gennep's definition, *rites of passage* denote rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age. In the process of the individual's transfer from one *social status* to another, van Gennep distinguished three distinct and successive phases, namely, the detachment from the previous position (*séparation*), the intermediary phase between two positions (*marge*) and the taking up of the new position (*agrégation*). From the viewpoint of the ritual sequences, he regards the rites of separation as *preliminal* rites, those performed during the transitional stage as *liminal* (or threshold) rites, and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world as *postliminal* rites.[273]

These lines of thought have recently been further elaborated by Turner, who in several studies has called particular attention to the transitional stage, which he prefers to call the *liminal* stage. From the viewpoint of social composition, the "liminal" period (the duration of which may vary considerably) is regarded as an anti-structure in contrast with the social structure of the stable stage. During that period, the initiands or the neophytes, in this case the novices, must obey their instructors, the Chief Monks, implicitly, and accept arbitrary punishment and test without complaint. Since the neophytes are degraded from their earlier social position to the lowest status in the new social composition, there is a strong tendency among those to be

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272 Arnold van Gennep published his theory as early as 1908 under the title *Les rites de passage*. This theory was quite unknown in Anglo-American scholarly circles until 1960, when the study was translated into English. For the theory I refer to the English edition, see van Gennep 1960, 10-11. For recent discussions on the subject, see Turner 1977 (1969), 94ff; Honko 1979, 369-390 and Pentikäinen 1979, 154ff.

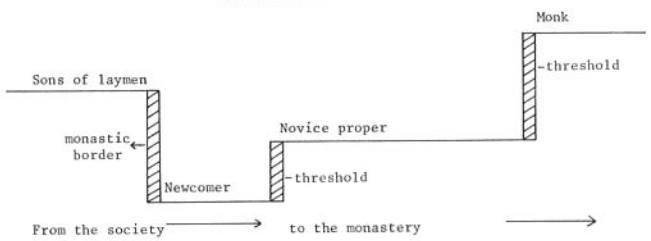
273 van Gennep 1960, 21.

initiated (the liminal *personae*) to develop an intense comradeship. In this particular life situation, the secular distinctions of rank and status disappear or are homogenized. When analyzing liminality, Turner uses the concept *communitas* to refer to a group of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders. In liminality, *communitas* characterizes the relationship between those jointly undergoing the ritual tradition.[274]

7.2. The ritual passage to monkhood. The years of training to become a full-fledged monk (*bhikkhu*) can be viewed as a process of ritual passage of long duration, each single sequence of which involves initiation into the next phase. The long duration of the ritual passage from layman to monkhood is the result of the rule stipulating that the minimum age of twenty must be reached before higher ordination (*upasampadā*) can be performed. Since the novices arrive at the principal monasteries of the *Syāma Nikāya* as pupils usually at an age of between ten and fifteen years the maximum length of training prior to higher ordination works out to ten years (see § 6.1.4. and § 6.1.5.).

The ritual passage to monkhood involves three phases, the first of which is rather informal, while the following two phases consist of rituals that confirm the shift of social status. Applying the theory of rites of passage, we arrive at the following picture.

*THE RITUAL PASSAGE TO MONKHOOD**



	1. *Séparation*	2. *Marge*	3. *Agrégation*
Phases:	Preliminal phase	Liminal phase	Postliminal phase
	The newcomer is usually chosen by the Chief Monk, who asks the parents to give their son as a novice. Sometimes a *dānē* is held as a sign of gratitude on behalf of the parents.	The newcomer obtains official confirmation of his "going forth" through a ritual known as lower ordination (*pabbajjā*), whereby he becomes a novice proper.	The novice proper obtains official confirmation of monkhood through the ritual known as higher ordination (*upasampadā*), whereby he becomes a full-fledged monk.
Status:	The newcomer is known as an *upāsaka* in that he undertakes the eight precepts.	The novice proper is a *sāmaṇera* in that he undertakes the ten precepts.	The monk is a *bhikkhu* in that he undertakes the 227 monastic rules known as *Pātimokkha*
Signs:	White robe	Yellow robe Hair shaved (Begging-bowl)	Yellow robe Hair shaved (Begging-bowl) Umbrella

* See Leach 1976, 78.

274 Turner 1979, 94ff.

7.2.1. The newcomer: arrival at the preliminal stage. In his study on the *rites of passage*, van Gennep states his idea of a threshold as follows: "Precisely: the door is the boundary between the foreign and domestic worlds in the case of an ordinary dwelling, between the profane and sacred worlds in the case of a temple. Therefore to cross the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world."[275]

Most of the monks of the *Syāma Nikāya* have arrived at the principal monastery as young boys who have left their families (*pavula*) and their homes (*gedara*) and moved permanently into the abode (*pansala*) of a Chief Monk. Many of them are the sons of the sisters of the Chief Monk concerned or at least usually belong to that kinship category (*māmā-bänā*).[276] Some had become acquainted with the monastery (*pansala*) already during earlier visits with their parents, others as lay pupils in the monastic school (*pirivēṇa*).[277] Usually, the newcomer is chosen by the Chief Monk, who asks the parents to give their son as a novice. Sometimes a "food-giving" (*dānē*) ceremony is held as a sign of gratitude on behalf of the parents. At the beginning, the stay of newcomers is quite informal and members of the families come and visit them every now and then, say, between once and twice a month.

When doing my fieldwork I had the opportunity to witness the arrival of a newcomer in one of the *pansalas* that I studied. One could easily notice that all the older pupils as well as the Chief Monk took good care of the newcomer and introduced him in a pleasant and "fatherly" way to the monastic setting and life. He was regarded as a younger brother indeed and was in fact the youngest son of the sister of the Chief Monk concerned. The newcomer was hardly ever left alone, but had always someone around him, apparently to make him feel at home from the very beginning, thereby avoiding the onset of homesickness.

During this *preliminal* period, the ten year old boy wore a special vestment, a white robe, which set him apart from novices proper and monks. It was the vestment of a Buddhist lay devotee (*upāsaka*), a token of separation, i.e. the first step in the process of renunciation leading to the state of homelessness (*anagārika*).[278] The shift of status (the arrival at the preliminal stage)

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275 van Gennep 1960, 20.

276 See § 5.5. ; § 6.1.4. and § 6.1.5.

277 See § 9.5.

278 On the concept of token, see Gothóni 1980, 39-41 and 52ff.

was initially visible primarily by virtue of the special vestment, but later on the severity of the undertaking of the eight precepts could also be noticed from the modest demeanour of the newcomer, particularly as he walked around in the monastery compound.

The main role connected with the new status is that of a junior pupil. The aim of the newcomer is to prepare himself for lower ordination, the first confirmation of having gone from home to homelessness (*agārasma anagāriyaṃ pabbajati*).[279] From the viewpoint of the newcomer's parents, the son's new status confers on them a "field of merit" (*puññakkhetta*), which is one of the central ideological themes in the interaction between monks and the laity in Sri Lanka (see § 4.4.3.).

7.2.2. The novice proper in liminality. The next step (*marge*) towards full-fledged monkhood lies in official confirmation of renunciation. The Chief Monk either robes the newcomer himself or chooses a tutor for this task from one of his elder pupils (§ 6.1.3.). It is usually the senior pupil of a Chief Monk who becomes the newcomer's tutor.

The structure of the lower ordination ceremony (*pabbajjā*) can be condensed to three points, namely,[280]

a) Physical preparation, i.e. hair, eyebrows and beard are shaved
b) Recitation of the Three Refuges (*Tiratna*)
c) Recitation of the Ten Precepts (*Dasa sil*)

With this *initiation rite*, the newcomer becomes a novice proper, a *sāmaṇera*. The visible tokens of the new status are the yellow robe and the begging-bowl (nowadays hardly ever used in Sri Lanka), both of which indicate that the renunciation is official and serious. Nowadays the begging-bowl is a token kept most of the time on the shelf in the novice's room, the hands being occupied instead by an umbrella, which is in everyday use both for protection from the rain and the sun. The umbrella is, however, not given

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279 For the history of renunciation in Theravāda Buddhism, see Dutt 1962, 45ff. For a socio-anthropological interpretation of the *anagārika* role, see Obeyesekere 1970, 52ff and 1976, 221-252.

280 For the lower ordination as performed by the *Syāma Nikāya*, see the *Katikāvata* of Amuṇugama Rājaguru Sirinivāsa Piyadassī, the *Mahānāyaka* of the Malwatta Vihāraya from 1920, published in *Mahanuvara ... abhinava katikāvata saha Baṇadaham pota* by Maḍugallē Siddhārtha, Colombo 1957. Cf. Bechert 1966, 214. See also Dickson 1963 (1874), 1-18.

From the viewpoint of ritual confirmation there is a clear distinction between a newcomer and a novice proper. Literally *sāmaṇera* means the pupil or the follower of a *samaṇa* (Skr. *śrāmaṇa*), namely, a wanderer, recluse. After the establishment of the ritual of robing a follower or pupil, the term was adopted to denote the official status of a pupil.

in connection with the ordination ceremony, but usually after such ceremonies as "food-giving" (*dānē*) and "protection-recitation" (*pirit*).[281]

The main role connected with the confirmed status of a novice is still that of being a pupil, very often that of a junior pupil. Yet, an essential difference can be perceived between the position of a newcomer and a novice proper. In the first phase the aim of being a newcomer is mainly individual, i.e. preparing oneself for the lower ordination (*pabbajjā*). After the ordination, the aim is to prepare oneself for ritual performances as well as to acquire the modesty of behaviour befitting a monk and corresponding to the various *role-expectations*. From now on it is not just a personal matter. It is a concern of the monastery as a whole, since each of its inhabitants who wear the yellow robes is a representative of the monastery and connected with the laity through its provision of a "field of merit". The better the conduct of the monk, the more merit the laity acquires.

For a novice (*sāmaṇera*), the process of learning involves a twofold task. The first aim is to grow spiritually in such a way that the novice learns to give speeches and knows how to interpret the teaching of Buddha (*dhamma*). The cardinal method in this respect is meditation (*bhāvanā*), which is the fundamental aspect of the life of a Buddhist monk. The second task involves learning those ritual patterns that are to be performed later on. One of the main performances involves recitation, a technique which follows a distinct pattern.

Apart from learning to recite by heart the Three Refuges (*Tiratna*) and the Ten Precepts (*Dasa sil*), the novice also has to study the *Katikāvata*, which is the book of regulations that provides the principles of adjustment of the original monastic rules (*Pātimokkha*). The *Katikāvata* of interest in this connection is the one promulgated by the king Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha (KRK I, 1753 A.D.) directly after the re-establishment of the new higher ordination (§4.3.). Seventeen years later it was revised (KRK II) to include a body of rules concerning the administration of the principal monasteries as well.[282] The more recent *Katikāvatas* include only small additions to those promulgated during the so-called traditional period of Buddhist monasticism in Sri Lanka.

The content of the 18th century *Katikāvatas* can be summarized under eight headings.[283]

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281 Concerning the umbrella in Sinhalese Buddhism, see Gothóni 1980, 52-55.

282 For the translation and analysis of the various *Katikāvatas*, see Ratnapala 1971. In this connection particularly, page 228.

283 Ratnapala 1971.

a) A historical introduction from the birth of Gautama Buddha up to the establishment of the *Katikāvatas* by various monarchs.

b) Principles of examination for lower ordination.

c) Principles of examination for higher ordination.

d) Standards required for the appointment of *Sthavira*.[284]

e) Standards required for the appointment of *Mahāsthavira*.

f) Numerous and detailed prescriptions on the behaviour of a monk and the proper attendance at rituals and participation in routine duties.

g) Regulations concerning the administration of the principal monasteries (*Vihārayas*).

h) Instructions concerning the recitation of the *Katikāvata*.

There were several reasons for establishing a *Katikāvata*. First, there was the question of reforming monasticism. On several occasions the monasteries had shown signs of degeneration. In 1753 the process had gone so far that a new lineage of higher ordination had to be brought from Thailand. In connection with the establishment of the new monastic tradition, the last *Sangharāja* Välivitiyē Saraṇankara therefore considered it useful to promulgate a *Katikāvata* to exert a beneficial influence on the conduct of the monks.

Secondly, the *Pātimokkha* rules had been laid down more than two thousand years ago. Since then both the external and the internal circumstances of monastic life had changed considerably. New circumstances raised new problems. The original rules needed to be adjusted to modern conditions. Therefore, the *Katikāvata* was compiled as a practical handbook of precepts for the everyday life of the monks (§ 4.3.).[285]

Apart from these official codes of regulations there are nowadays also practical exercises arranged especially in connection with the ritual performances. The Chief Monk usually takes with him the eldest pupils when he attends ritual ceremonies. As the recitation is for the most part performed collectively, these occasions are well suited for the preparation of the novices for their future tasks.

According to Turner, the neophytes tend to establish intense circles of comradeship during the liminal period. In my case monastery there were only few novices, i.e. junior pupils. Therefore, the ties of comradeship naturally crossed the border of social status. The novices were members in circles of comradeship, where three out of four were monks, i.e. senior pupils. The

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284 *Sthavira* = *Thera*, see Bechert 1966, 211.

285 See Ratnapala 1971, 10-11. Many of the principal monasteries of the various fraternities have their own *Vihāraya Katikāvatas*.

decisive factor as regards comradeship seems to have been a common interest in studies (§ 10.).

7.2.3. The monk: arrival at the postliminal stage. The final step in the ritual passage involves the confirmation of monkhood through the ritual of higher ordination (*upasampadā*). The ceremony is the same as that of lower ordination, but after the recitation of the Ten Precepts (§ 4.4.3.), the novice who is to be ordained is examined and questioned by senior monks (*theras* and *mahātheras*). Dickson's account of an ordination in one of the principal monasteries in the up-country, a short essay written immediately after he had witnessed a higher ordination ceremony, provides us with the following example of an interrogaction.[286] "They inquire of the candidate as follows:

> Have you any such diseases as these? Leprosy? No, lord. Boils? No, lord. Itch? No, lord. Asthma? No, lord. Epilepsy? No, lord. Are you a human being? Yes, lord. Are you a male? Yes, lord. Are you a free man? Yes, lord. Are you exempt from military service? Yes, lord. Have you come with the permission of your parents? Yes, lord. Are you of the full age of twenty years? Yes, lord. Are your alms-bowl and robes complete? Yes, lord. What is your name? Lord, I am called Nāga. What is the name of your preceptor? Lord, my preceptor is called the Venerable Tissa."

The status of a monk (*bhikkhu*) implies full membership of the monastic fraternity. A monk may and should attend such rituals as the recitation of the monastic rules (*Pātimokkha*), the offering of flowers every morning and evening and all those various religious ceremonies in which monks and laymen participate and interact (§ 7.5.).

The monastic rules (*Pātimokkha*), which number 227 altogether, are generally held to belong to the oldest and most original part of the Pāli Canon (*Tipiṭaka*).[287] The *Pātimokkha* is still recited at the meetings of monks held on the new and full moon days, namely, every fortnight and which are known as a *poya* day (Pāli *uposatha*).

My key-informant, monk Ānanda (§ 8.2.), told me that nowadays the *Pātimokkha* is mainly a ceremony of recitation and the original purpose of providing an opportunity for confession of infringements is no longer a central part of the ceremony, except in very rare instances. The rules recited are classified and arranged successively according to the penalty for infringement, ranging from the most serious to the relatively venial. There are altogether seven categories of rules (*Pārājika*, *Sanghādisesa*, *Aniyata*, *Nissaggiya*, *Pā-*

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286 Dickson 1963 (1874), 16.

287 Thomas 1951, 15-26. For an analysis of the various strata in the *Pātimokkha* rules, see Gothóni 1974, 12-17.

cittiya, *Pāṭidesaniya* and *Sekhiya*) and an eight section which provides different procedures in cases that arise under the particular categories. In this connection I shall only quote and translate the first category, known as *Pārājika*, the rule-violation which leads to permanent expulsion from the monastery.[288]

THE PĀRĀJIKA RULES

1a. *Yo pana bhikkhu methunaṃ dhammaṃ paṭiseveyya pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso 'ti.*

Every monk who should indulge in sexual intercourse is guilty of an action demanding expulsion.

2a. *Yo pana bhikkhu adinnaṃ theyyasaṃkhātaṃ ādiyeyya yathārūpe adinnādāne rājāno coraṃ gahetvā haneyyuṃ vā bandheyyuṃ vā pabbājeyyaṃ vā coro 'si bālo 'si mūlho 'si theno 'sīti, tathārūpaṃ bhikkhu adinnaṃ ādiyamāno ayaṃ pi pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso 'ti.*

Every monk who should take by means of theft what has not been given to him, in such manner as kings, catching a thief in the act of stealing, would flog him or banish him, saying: "You are a robber, you are foolish, you are wrong, you are a thief", — even so a monk, taking what is not given him, is guilty of an action demanding expulsion.

3a. *Yo pana bhikkhu sañcicca manussaviggahaṃ jīvitā voropeyya satthāharakaṃ vāssa pariyeseyya, ayaṃ pi pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso 'ti.*

Every monk who should intentionally deprive a human being of life, or should look about so as to be his knife-bringer, is guilty of an action demanding expulsion.

4a. *Yo pana bhikkhu anabhijānaṃ uttarimanussadhammaṃ attūpanāyikaṃ alamariyañāṇadassanaṃ samudācareyya iti jānāmi iti passāmīti, tato aparena samayena samanuggāhiyamāno vā asamanuggāhiyamāno vā āpanno visuddhāpekkho evaṃ vadeyya: ajānaṃ evaṃ āvuso avacaṃ jānāmi, apassaṃ passāmi, tucchaṃ musā vilapin ti, ayaṃ pi pārājiko hoti asaṃvāso 'ti.*

If a monk should boast, with reference to himself, of a state of further-men, sufficient Aryan knowledge and insight, though not knowing it fully, saying: "This I know, this I see". then not long afterwards, he, being pressed or not being pressed, fallen, should desire to be purified and should say: "Your reverence, I said that I know what I do not know, see what I do not see, I spoke idly, falsely, vainly", this is an action demanding expulsion.

Apart from these rites of passage, each monk acceeds to the title of *thera* after ten years and the title of *mahāthera* after twenty years of monkhood.

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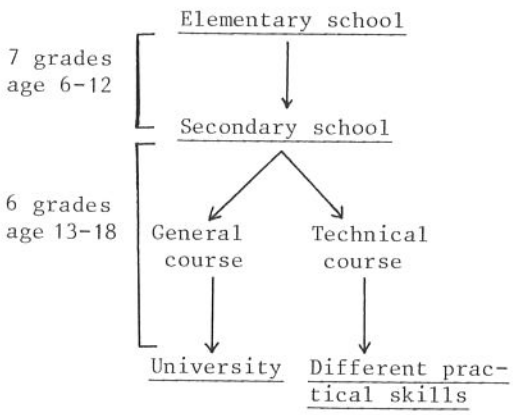
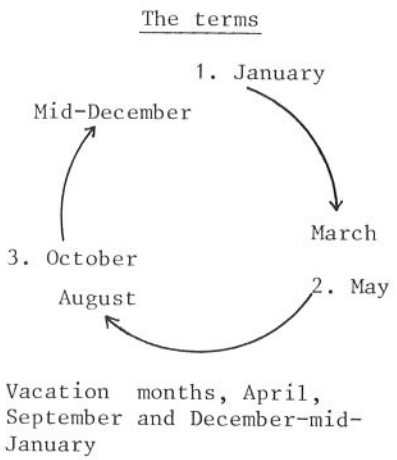
288 *Vinaya Piṭakaṃ* III, 21; 45; 71 and 90.

Since the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*) constitutes the very core of the monastic hierarchy, consisting of only twenty seats (§ 6.1.1.), only a few of the monks can make a career within the monastic organization. Consequently, there occasionally arise great disputes as to who shall be elected as a member of the "Council of Monks".

7.3. The school system. Apart from the purely monastic education, there nowadays exists a parallel and compulsory school system for both novices and laymen. A simplified outline of the educational system in Sri Lanka can be illustrated as follows.

EDUCATION





Nearly all novices (*sāmaṇeras*) attend the elementary and the secondary school. Recently a fairly large number of them read for the B.A. degree at one of the four universities on the island.

In 1966 the government grouped the 9.555 schools into six categories: 1) free government schools, 2) private schools, both tuition and nontuition, 3) estate schools, operated by plantation owners for the children of their employees, 4) monastery schools (*pirivēṇas*), 5) night schools and 6) special schools. In 1966 enrollment was as follows (see the following page).[289]

The schools that interest us in this context are the monastery schools. Classified as junior, senior and university, these schools are all operated by Buddhist monks, but they must abide by a government code in order to receive grants. Novices and lay people of both sexes attend *pirivēṇa* classes at all

289 Ceylon Yearbook 1968, 223.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN CEYLON, 1966

Type of school	*Number of schools*	*Enrollment*	*Teachers*
Government	8,361	2,383,968	85,953
Private	103	60,511	2,912
Tuition	(54)	(22,050)	(1,202)
Nontuition	(49)	(38,461)	(1,710)
Estate schools	852	79,911	1,276
Pirivēṇas	217	29,103	1,715
Night schools	14	1,858	63
Special schools	8	840	62
Total	9,555	2,556,191	91,981

levels. Monks, usually the senior pupils (*bhikkhus*) of the Chief Monks, teach the often small elementary classes. The relationship between students and teachers tends to be tutorial.

Apart from religious studies, the pupils are taught reading, writing, arithmetic and, at more advanced levels, astrology and ayurvedic medicine (a system of healing based on homeopathy and naturopathy, with an extensive use of herbs).[290] In 1958 two *pirivēṇas*, Vidyodaya and Vidyālaṃkāra were accorded university status by the government.

7.4. The specialization dilemma in education. A monk must go through two parallel systems of education: a traditional monastic education and an education based on a Western model. Monks are therefore faced with the problem of integrating these two systems of learning. Both systems provide a different point of view and their aims are partly contradictory. The former prepares students mainly for the performance of religious roles in rituals etc., while the later prepares the student for social and secular functions such as salaried teaching in government schools.

Novices and young monks must decide whether to obtain higher education at the universities modelled on the western system or to opt for a separate monastic college with a specifically monastic membership and curriculum. The shift in education from a traditional to a modern, westernized system in which the pursuit of knowledge (*vidyāva*) predominates, while wisdom (*paññā*), traditionally the supreme value in Buddhist education, ranks lower since it is not pragmatic, has proved a dilemma for Buddhist monasticism.

Today, a number of monks participate in both systems of education and obtain high grades in their examinations. On completing their studies at the univer-

290 Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 154-155.

sity, the monks return to their monasteries (*pansalas*) and assume their functions as religious leaders in rituals and ceremonies. Some of them also take jobs as salaried teachers in government schools. These monks have two sets of roles, the one providing a religious pattern of behaviour and the other a secular and social pattern of behaviour. The different roles are actualized in various situations.[291]

Apart from the difficulty of learning to perform these different sets of roles, there is the dilemma of *role-contradictions*. The canonical view of a monk as a solitary recluse as well as the traditional view of a monk as the leader of a village and a man of the highest learning, knowledge and wisdom, defines a role that stands in conflict with the situation of today. As a result of the uniform system of education, there are nowadays more educated laymen (both male and female) than monks. Many of the traditional patterns of role-performance are criticized by the laity. New modern movements have emerged and many monks, especially those who are young have to live under considerable social pressure owing to the fact that traditional values, norms and attitudes are criticized as being non-Buddhist in the sense of not being in accordance with

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291 An extensive account of role theory and role analysis is given in Siikala 1978, 52-64.

Traditionally, Sinhalese education was predominantly Buddhist. Its aim was to develop the moral and spiritual abilities necessary for the growth towards Enlightenment and the qualities of a good citizen. According to Ames, the traditional educational structure can be characterized as pyramidal. The first level consisted of *apprenticeship* training in crafts, trades, and skills provided by the various castes in general and families in particular. The second and strictly speaking Buddhist form of education was provided by the *village school* operated by lay village literati and sometimes by monks. The third level of education was given in the Buddhist *monastery schools* (*pansalas*) and *colleges* (*pirivēṇas*) operated exlusively by monks within the monastery compound.

With the arrival of the Europeans in the 16th century, a fourth level or aspect of education was promulgated by Western culture, namely, the *missionary schools* (§ 4.3.). With the end of the colonial period at the beginning of the 20th century there were already as many missionary schools as there were Buddhist monastery schools and colleges. This rapid change, which eroded the monks' control over lay education and gave the Buddhist laity a western Christian-orientated education, made traditional education simply one system among many and resulted in a growing separation between lay and monastic education. This shift led to an upgrading of lay standards and a downgrading in the quality and prestige of monastic education for monks. The impact of western education on traditional Buddhist orientated education was so great that the entire educational system had to be restructured and reorganized.

For references, see Ames 1967, 24-25 and the Area Handbook for Ceylon 1971, 148-149. For a similar shift in education in the western world in 1050-1130, see Cantor 1960, 47-67.

the Pāli Canon. Moreover, there are various political activities aiming at a revival of monastic life and a redefining of the principal of monastic conduct.[292]

Learning the role of a monk has become somewhat of a problem largely owing to the increased interest that the laity has shown towards reforming monasticism. The role-expectations of various social groups and organizations that attempt to interfere in monastic life and its practices often involve elements that conflict with traditional monastic life in Sri Lanka.[293] It is not surprising that so many young monks between the age of 20 and 25 disrobe when the dilemma of monkhood becomes acute whilst they are studying at a university. This problem will be dealt with more extensively in Chapter C.

7.5. The daily routine. The daily routines of the monks vary with the type of monastery in question (§ 1.4.) and the monk's position within the monastic hierarchy. The various routines for the case monastery studied can be illustrated as follows.

THE DAILY ROUTINE OF THE MONKS

Hour	*Chief Monk*	*Older monk*	*Senior pupil*	*Junior pupil*	*Newcomer*
5.00	wakes up, changes robes, washes, drinks morning tea				
5.30- 6.00	picking of flowers, offering flowers at the *dāgāba* and the *budugē*				
6.00- 7.00	walks around within the monastery compound and talks to other monks		sweeps the garden and arranges the rooms		
7.00- 7.30	all monks take their morning meal at the same time				
7.30-10.30	office time meeting laymen in official and private matters looks after properties ritual performances studying teaching	participates in ceremonies reads books meets friends	teaches or studies at the university sometimes participates in ceremonies	attends school sometimes participates in ceremonies	attends school
11.00-12.00	THE MAIN AND ONLY MEAL OF THE DAY				
12.00-13.30	all monks rest				
14.00-16.00	administrative duties meets friends	meets friends reads books	teaches or studies	attends school	attends school
16.00-17.00	afternoon tea and rest				
17.00-19.30	walks around in the garden, talks to other monks, everyone has his leisure time				
19.30-20.00	evening tea				
20.00-20.45	picking of flowers and offering as in the morning				
21.00-22.00	everyone has leisure for reading or meditation				
22.00	all monks retire				

292 Concerning the dilemma of the monk's role, see Rambukpota 1965, 32-34.

293 For the rise of a lay Buddhist movement, see Swearer 1970a, 255ff. See also Ryan 1961, 472ff and § 4.4.1 of this dissertation.

The structure of the daily routine is roughly the same in all monasteries despite the differences in activities and functions.[294] Every monk wakes up at about 5 a.m. and retires for the night at about 10.00. p.m. Offerings and meals are at fixed times, barring illness. The main and only meal of the day must be finished before noon. The monk's day consists of two working periods divided by the main meal and a short period of rest, and of morning and evening ceremonies performed regularly.

A complete or ideal monastery (*pansala*) houses monks of five different categories (§ 6.1.2.) : a chief monk, an older monk, a senior pupil and a junior pupil, and a newcomer. As we can see from the routines depicted above, the monks living in a principal monastery are not only occupied with meditation and ritual performances, but they are also involved in secular activities such as having office hour(s), meeting laymen for various matters, administering their monastery's properties and teaching in government schools and universities. The younger monks' day is nearly completely taken up by study.

The Chief Monk takes care of the administration of the monastery and all the so-called "clerical duties" connected with such an institution. The older monk participates in various ritual ceremonies and often functions as the Chief Monk's counselor in weighty matters. The senior pupil either teaches at the monastery school (*pirivēṇa*) or at the government school nearby or studies at the university, usually at the University of Sri Lanka, Colombo campus. The junior pupil attends the monastery school. The newcomer is looked after by the Chief Monk and usually also by the senior pupil who will be his robing tutor within a year or so.[295]

7.6. Monthly and yearly ceremonies and festivals. The Sinhalese Buddhist use a lunar calendar, which is consulted when organizing ceremonies, festivals, pilgrimages and processions (*perahäras*). All the ceremonies derive their names from a lunar month. In this connection we shall consider only those ceremonies and festivals which provide the immediate setting for close interaction between the monks and the laity and therefore enhance the prestige of monkhood. Moreover, it is precisely in these religio-social settings that the monks' role-performances are actualized. The main *calendar* ceremonies are as follows.

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294 The differences in activities and functions of the various types of monasteries are treated in § 1.4.

295 The daily routine of the monks as presented here is based on the material collected from the case monastery studied, principally by means of *interviews* and *participant observation*.

a) Nowadays *poya* is a public holiday in Sri Lanka. *Poya* is derived from the Pāli word *uposatha*, referring to the quarter days of the lunar calendar, i.e. every full moon, half moon and the fortnight between these two days. On *poya* days laymen come to the monastery (usually to the first type of subordinate monastery, § 1.4.) to offer flowers and light the oil lamps. Many laymen also undertake the eight precepts (*aṭa sil*) for the holy day and the day following (§ 4.4.3.).

These days are also special for the monks, who follow the old custom of reciting the monastic rules known as *Pātimokkha*. According to the canonical practice, each monk should confess failure in the observance of any of the rules, but in practice the recitation has become a ritual, especially in the principal monasteries, and nowadays it is solely a kind of reminder devoid of a confession function.[296]

b) A very important feast day is the *Wesak* (March-April), when Buddha's second visit to Sri Lanka in the fifth year after his Enlightenment is believed to have taken place. It is on this day that the ordination ceremonies are held in the principal monasteries. *Wesak* received an added impetus in May 1956, when worldwide celebrations of the 2500th anniversary of Buddhism, the *Buddha Jayanti*, took place.

c) About a month after the Wesak festival, Buddhist pilgrims flock in thousands to Anurādhapura, the ancient capital city of Sri Lanka to celebrate the *Poson* festival (May-June). This festival marks the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka by Mahinda thera (§ 4.2.).

d) The *Äsala* festival (July-August) assumed far greater significance after it came to be associated with the festival of the tooth relic. The culmination of the festival is the "procession of the Temple of the Tooth" (*Daḷadā Māligāwa perahära*). This festival has also become one of the great tourist attractions as the procession goes right through the main streets in Kandy.

e) Highly important from the viewpoint of life within the monasteries is the *Il* ceremony (October-November), which marks the end of a three month retreat (*vas*) of the monks. This long retreat ends with a so-called *kaṭhina pinkama* in early November. The word *kaṭhina* means "raw cotton", but in ritual use it refers to the ceremonial act in which a group of laymen hand over a robe to a particular monastery. In Sri Lanka as in other Theravāda Buddhist countries

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296 de Silva 1974, 107-109.

it has become a festival in which influential laymen participate and not only donate a new robe but also make other offerings of great worth and social value.

These ceremonies and festivals are the framework of the Buddhist calendar in Sri Lanka. They are nowadays markedly *national* in character, being ceremonies peculiar to the Sinhalese-Buddhists, providing an integration of traditional religious values and national political aspirations and aims. The large number of participants in many of the festivals means that their structure is very stereotyped. Role-expectations are easily fulfilled since they are more collective than individual, more impersonal than personal. The great masses of the laity, who are so willing to travel and participate in festivals held all over the island, in fact provide the solid basis on which monasticism rests. It is particularly during these festivals that one becomes aware of the importance of the laity and the tremendous force they represent in supporting the various monasteries.

The ceremonies and festivals also have an *international* character. Diplomats and ministers from other Theravāda Buddhist countries often attend these ceremonies and bring a variety of gifts to the principal monasteries and above all to the most sacred places. An example which comes to mind is the basket for the tooth relic donated by the Japanese and valued at Rs. 512.000 or 21.504.000 Yen.[297] These "merit-actions" (*pinkama*) also have a political significance.

7.7. Interaction between monks and laymen. Being a Buddhist monk embraces several roles, many of which branch out into society on various levels. It is therefore not seclusion, but reciprocity that is the pre-eminent feature of the monk's role. The shift from the status of a novice (*sāmaṇera*) to that of a monk (*bhikkhu*) involves not only a shift in status, but also an entering into new kind of reciprocity, the characteristics of which are more social than asocial, ritualistic and fixed than informal and free.

Sarbin has defined the active nature of role as a "patterned sequence of learned actions or deeds performed by a person in an interaction situation".[298] In interaction, role-performance is "the overt enactment of what one conceives to be one's own appropriate role in a given situation".[299] Conceived

297 de Silva 1974, 151.

298 Sarbin 1954, 225.

299 See, for example, Honko 1969b, 122.

from the viewpoint of reciprocity, status or position should be defined or considered especially in connection with role-expectation, which provides in fact the dynamic aspect of role-playing.[300]

The great ceremonies and festivals are complemented by minor and more personal, domestic rituals which the monks perform during times of celebration (birth and marriage) or crisis (illness and death). Usually performed in a layman's house, these rituals in fact provide the very core of interaction between monks and laymen. There are two rituals which are of particular importance for the laity and which contribute to their willingness to support the monasteries.

The first ritual is generally known as *dānē*, a term which is a Sinhalese form of *dāna*, literally meaning "giving", but nowadays used as a technical term referring to the lay custom of giving food to a group of monks. *Dānē* is ideologically connected with merit (*pin*) and is one way of acquiring it.[301] The structure of *dānē* can be summarized as follows.

a) a layman visits the monastery during office hours and invites some monks to dinner (*dānē*) in his house.

b) the required number of monks arrive in procession, with a sacred relic borne on the head of the host.

c) the layman serves the monks, who sit on cushioned seats arranged on the floor.

d) after the meal the monks recite the sacred texts[302] and give a speech (*baṇa*).

e) the whole proceeding ends before noon with the offering of betel and other small "paraphernalia" such as sandals, umbrellas etc.

The monks invited are often life-long friends of the host family. The same monks tend to perform the rituals during the life history of the family, from birth to death and "after". *Dānē* is often connected with *pirit* chanting, which it usually brings to a close as a mark of gratitude on behalf of the people of the house. *Dānē* is also held in memory of a dead person on the one week, three month, six month and one year anniversaries of the moment of death. As the number of monks required for the performance of the ritual varies according to its length, such an occasion usually provides an opportunity for teaching the younger monks, as the Chief Monks are accompanied by their eldest pupils.

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300 See Siikala 1978, 52-64.

301 For the other forms of *pinkama*, see § 4.4.3.

302 For the details, see de Silva 1974, 93-98

The second ritual is generally known as *pirit*.[303] It is a typical *rite of crisis*[304], held on special occasions, at which certain texts from the Pāli Canon are recited to avert evil. *Pirit* is a Sinhalese form of *paritta* meaning literally "protection", but nowadays used as a technical term referring to the custom of inviting monks to recite sacred texts from the *pirit pota* (the book containing stanzas of protection) at a sick bed, to commemorate a death, to consecrate a new building, to avert a public misfortune, to celebrate the opening of Parliament or merely to acquire merit. This practice is believed to be the most potent of all safeguards against malicious beings and to ensure health, prosperity and other blessings.[305]

We may now summarize the main aspects of the role-performance of the monks living in the principal monastery studied. From the viewpoint of the laity, the monk is traditionally not only a recluse, but also and expressly a living embodiment of the ideal life. He is (has been) a guide in spiritual matters and, what is of utmost importance, he provides a "field of merit" for the laity. From the monk's standpoint, the relationship with laymen is necessary for the maintenance of monastic life. Originally, the whole system was built on donations and gifts. In the course of time the monasteries acquired wealth, thereby securing autonomy. This enhanced the monks' status and prestige and gave them the leeway scope for a more liberal interpretation of the performance of the role of the monk.

When the Sinhalese Buddhists became aware of the contradiction between the canonical and the traditional role of the monk at the end of the 19th century, religious leaders emerged and so-called revival movements came into being, aiming at revitalization, reformation and in that sense at the modernization of monastic life. The role-performances of the monks living in the traditional and especially the principal monasteries were criticized as being worldly and modern fundamentalist monasteries were founded mainly with the support of educated and westernized Sinhalese laymen. The traditional appearance of the monk with his umbrella has only recently been regarded as non-canonical. Attempts have been made to re-introduce the practice of alms-rounds. In the traditional monasteries as well as in the modern monasteries, the urgent question of today concerns the adjustment of monastic life to the values, attitudes and norms prevailing in Sinhalese society.

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303 The details of the *pirit* ceremony as practiced in Sri Lanka are given in Schalk 1972. This is the most recent and detailed study on the subject. See also de Silva 1974, 83 and Yalman 1964, 120-121.

304 For the *rites of crisis*, see Honko 1979, 377ff.

305 For the malicious beings and the Sinhalese pantheon, see § 4.4.2.