C. DYNAMIC LIFE OF A PRINCIPAL MONASTERY: A CASE STUDY OF NINE MONKS

Having described and analyzed the immediate circumstances of monastic life from the level of society, the organization and the individual, we shall now concentrate on the *actual* mode of life of nine Theravāda monks and see how they conceived their monkhood. The starting point is, as has been emphasized by Malinowski, that (monastic) life as it appears on the level of the individual becomes more apprehensible, actual and dynamic when illustrated by some concrete *cases* taken from real life.[306]

To study the dynamic life of one particular principal monastery requires fieldwork. The objective is to approach the monks and their mode of life in their natural habitat. It involves social interaction, a reciprocal communication between the fieldworker on the one hand, and the monk(s) on the other. Hence, fieldwork implies a personal involvement, but apart from that a sufficiently detached standpoint has to be adopted every now and then, if it is our aim to write a scholarly study. This dual role seems to be an inherent part of most fieldwork and the successive phases of *involvement* and *detachment* seem to provide the very dynamics of the fieldwork process.[307]

8. My fieldwork with Buddhist monks

The aim of my fieldwork was to collect material on the biographies of the monks concerned, their social relations both within and outside the monastery, and on their values, attitudes and norms in relation to the specific biography and life situation of each monk interviewed. When entering the field to conduct *guided interviews* and *participant observation*, I somehow became part of the situation studied, an *explicandum* which when properly analyzed illustrates not only the circumstances under which the fieldwork was carried out but also the mode of behaviour of the monks. Even I became a *case* in the sense that the behaviour of the monks and their feeling actualized during the period of fieldwork can be viewed in the light of the social interaction between the monks and myself.

As has been emphasized by Pelto, the starting point in field research is that each fieldworker is his own principal research instrument, and the various methods of investigation are alternative techniques for objectifying and standardizing the fieldworker's perceptions".[308] Four aspects in particular of my fieldwork proved to be of major importance when collecting the material: the circumstances of the fieldwork, my role and social position at the monastery, and the interview and observation techniques.

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[306] See, for example, Malinowski 1922, 12ff.

[307] I have dealt with this subject more extensively in another article, see Gothóni 1981a, 29-30.

8.1. The process of fieldwork. Throughout my period of fieldwork, which lasted from the end of October 1974 to the beginning of April 1975, I resided in the up-country in the house of a Sinhalese widow belonging to the *Goyigama* caste. I had come into contact with this woman through a friend of mine in Finland. The rented bed-sitter was used as a base, where I kept my research equipment, tape-recorder, camera, 16mm film camera, various books on anthropological methodology, papers and pencils. Originally my intention was to move into the monastery later on, as my research proceeded, but when the time came, I no longer got permission from the Chief Monk concerned.[309]

The process of fieldwork came to be divided into the following five phases (see the figure next page).[310] During the first phase, which lasted for little more than a month, I made initial observation rounds primarily in the Kandy district. I visited several monasteries, both *ārāmayas* and *pansalas* (see § 1.2.), and while going on the rounds, I usually carried a note-book and a camera with me. Later on in the evenings, I used to write down in my diary the events I had witnessed. Thus, I gradually got a fairly good picture of the organizational and social structure of Buddhist monasticism as it was practised in the up-country.

My entry into the case monastery was facilitated by two social contacts in particular. The first was the Sinhalese widow at whose house I resided during my entire period of fieldwork. She proved to be related to one of the Chief Monks (*Loku Hāmuduruvo*) residing in a nearby principal monastery. From numerous studies on the Sinhalese kinship system I knew that the most convenient way of establishing reliable and useful social contacts in Sinhalese society was to follow up kinship contacts.[311] I accordingly asked her to introduce me to the Chief Monk. As she belonged to the *Radalas*, the top *Goyigama*

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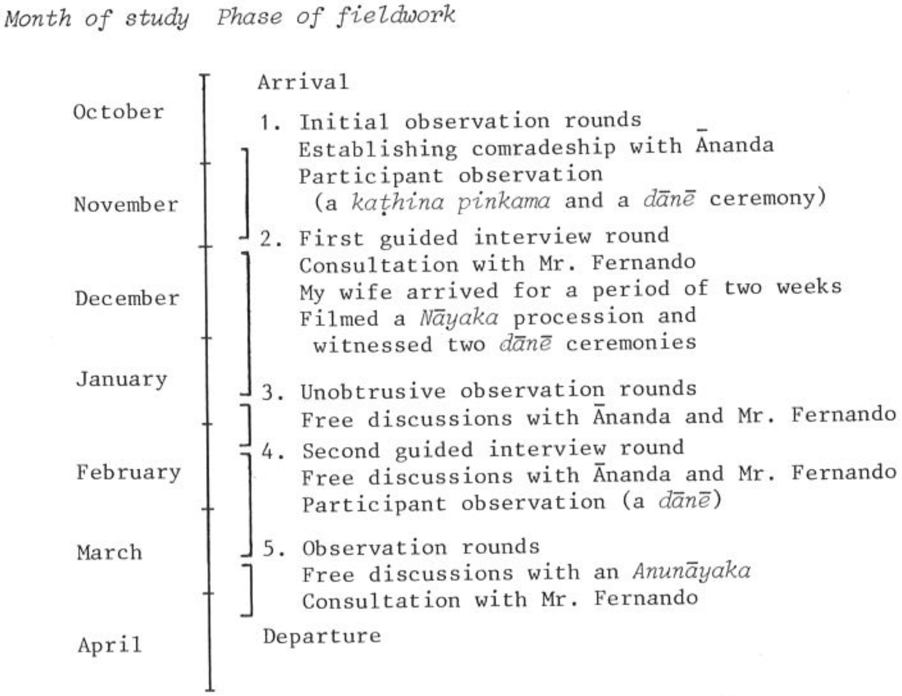
308 Pelto 1970, 90.

309 There is a single 8 mm documentary film on my living conditions, taken by my wife Raili Gothóni in January 1975. It runs for six minutes and is kept in the author's private library.

310 The following description of the process of fieldwork is based on the notes from the diary I kept during my period of fieldwork.

311 The usefulness of kinship relations in fieldwork has recently been discussed by Terwiel 1975, 32.



Month of study *Phase of fieldwork*

October
November
December
January
February
March
April

Arrival

1. Initial observation rounds
   Establishing comradeship with Ānanda
   Participant observation
   (a *kaṭhina pinkama* and a *dānē* ceremony)
2. First guided interview round
   Consultation with Mr. Fernando
   My wife arrived for a period of two weeks
   Filmed a *Nāyaka* procession and
   witnessed two *dānē* ceremonies
3. Unobtrusive observation rounds
   Free discussions with Ānanda and Mr. Fernando
4. Second guided interview round
   Free discussions with Ānanda and Mr. Fernando
   Participant observation (a *dānē*)
5. Observation rounds
   Free discussions with an *Anunāyaka*
   Consultation with Mr. Fernando

Departure

(each month is divided into four parts corresponding approximately to the four weeks in a month)

sub-caste, and all the monks at the monastery concerned were exclusively recruited from that caste (see § 6.1.4. and § 6.1.5.), her relative, the Chief Monk, granted his permission for my interviews and my planned study, probably because I was living at her house.[312]

My decision to choose that particular monastery was moreover facilitated by the practical consideration that the Chief Monk asked his senior pupil to help me conduct the planned interviews in Sinhalese. From that very day the senior pupil trained me in spoken Sinhalese about three days a week. Apart from having got an opportunity to practise Sinhalese and work on my rudimentary pronounciation, I was also given a chance to become acquainted with the daily routine of the senior pupil and gradually ensure myself a niche, a marginal social position within the monastery. Naturally, the senior pupil became my second important social contact. Being a Bachelor of Philosophy and Arts with first class qualifications from the University of Sri Lanka, Colombo campus, he was fluent both in English and in Sinhalese. Moreover, he was twenty four years old, the same age as I was at that time. For some time he had been planning to continue his studies at the university, but his Chief Monk did not want him to leave the monastery for another period of study (see § 8.2. and § 9.4.). There were thus several factors that contributed to our growing comradeship (see § 7.1.); one of these was our mutual interest in learning. In this case study I have given my key-informant[313] monk the pseudonym of Ānanda in order to ensure his anonymity.[314]

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[312] My first visit to the monastery took place one evening about a week after my arrival on the island. My hostess introduced me to her Chief Monk relative roughly as follows: "This Finnish gentleman is a university lecturer. He studies Buddhism and now wishes to have discussions with the monks concerning their mode of life and write his doctoral dissertation on it". The Chief Monk informed us that there were about 65 monks living in the monastery, only five of whom spoke English. I was therefore introduced to his senior pupil, who was fluent in English. The figure 65 turned out to be somewhat on the high side. According to my calculations there were no more than 42 monks actually living in the monastery. The rest of the monks registered were either studying at the university or living as Chief Monks at other monasteries located in the country-side and connected with their monastic abode at the principal monastery or they had just disrobed (§ 8.2.).
Fieldwork Diary 1974-1975, 18.

These were the immediate circumstances for my choice of that particular monastery as an object of research. As far as I could judge at the time, the monastery was indeed suitable for the kind of case study I was planning. The monastery I was looking for should namely[315]

a) be large enough to provide material on various categories of monkhood, for example, novices, younger and elder monks,

b) have the right to ordain monks,

c) represent a traditional rather than a modern monastery,

d) be confronted with the ongoing trends of modernization in Sinhalese society,

e) play an active part in Sinhalese religious life,

f) finally, be socially, culturally and politically significant.

The principal monastery I chose fulfilled these criteria.

During this first phase of fieldwork I moreover witnessed several Buddhist ceremonies, for example, a *kaṭhina pinkama* ("the preparation and distribution of robes") and a *dānē* ("food-giving") ceremony as well as flower offering rituals at the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy (*Daḷadā Māligāwa*). The ceremonies were documented either on slides or by shooting some 16mm film. The documentary references I collected included maps of the district, a map of the monastic area and statistical accounts. Moreover, I copied the register of the monks living in the monastery and made myself acquainted with the various reports and sessional papers published by the government press. Most of the material was collected either in the company, or at the suggestion of the monk Ānanda, who proved to be of indispensable assistance throughout my period of fieldwork.

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[313] For the concept of key-informant, see Pelto 1970, 95ff.

[314] Both the monastery and the monks of this study will remain anonymous. By this arrangement I hope to protect the monks, without whom this study could not have been carried out. Moreover, this practice is in accordance with the principles laid down by the American Anthropological Association in May 1971. For the ethical problems and dilemmas involved in fieldwork, I refer to previous articles of mine, see Gothóni 1977a and 1977b.

[315] These criteria were arrived at on the basis of the literature on Theravāda Buddhism, especially Bechert 1966, Bunnag 1973, Evers 1972 and Spiro 1972.

It was also during this first month that my daily routine became more or less fixed. I used to wake up between six and six thirty in the morning. About seven o'clock I went to meet Ānanda at his monastic house (*pansala*) and stayed there until about eleven o'clock. Sometimes I went there in the afternoons as well (usually I could not eat at the monastery), but generally I practised Sinhalese at my house or went to collect the material previously mentioned. In the evenings I used to discuss my fieldwork and other topics relevant to Buddhism for about an hour with Dr. Rune E.A. Johansson and his wife Margot, who were residing at the same house as I was. At that time he was writing his book entitled "The Dynamic Psychology of Early Buddhism". As the couple had lived in Sri Lanka already on several occasions, both of them were well acquainted with the circumstances of Buddhism on the island. Hence, I received much valuable advice from them on those evenings when we would listen to the news in English and have free discussions on the subjects dear to us. Later on in the evening I used to write in my diary and occasionally practise some yoga. Usually I went to bed about ten o'clock in the evening.[316]

The second phase of fieldwork consisted primarily of *guided interviews* with twenty monks and two laymen living in the case monastery. The questions[317] of the first interview schedule concerned the social contacts of the monks and the meanings and values attached to these contacts. Originally my intention was to study the social networks of the monks only, as I considered the six month period of fieldwork to be too a short a time for a fairly complex analysis. As time passed, I nevertheless decided to continue my fieldwork and formulated quite extensive questions on the biographies of the monks, kinship relations, values, attitudes and norms (see the appendix).

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[316] My first phase of fieldwork has been documented in my Fieldwork Diary 1974-1975, 1-41.

[317] For the various questions, see the appendix II.

The first interview round was conducted in the company of Ānanda, with whom I had translated the originally English questions into Sinhalese. I discussed the structured questionnaire, which was constructed on the basis of the previous observation rounds, extensively with Ānanda. He helped me to word the questions in such a way that the monks would clearly understand them. In every single interview it was Ānanda who introduced me to the various monks. The interview round proceeded primarily by tracing each monk's social contacts according to the social network theory (§ 10.1.).[318]

In the middle of this period I also made use of a layman key-informant, whom I will call Mr. Fernando, who was a retired government civil servant. He proved to be an excellent key-informant. Apart from helping me with the typing up of the recorded tapes of the first interview round, which was the principal reason why I needed his help, he also collected for me all kinds of newspaper articles on Buddhism and on the recent debate on Buddhist monks in Sri Lanka. In order to facilitate my interpretation of the monks' answers, he compiled, on his own initiative, a Sinhalese-English glossary of the words used in the interviews as well as glosses of some of the more difficult and important expressions.[319] Moreover, I managed to collect some interesting material at the end of this phase, when my wife Raili visited me for a period of two weeks. As I was conducting the interviews, Ānanda showed her around the monastery compound and introduced her to the monks. Thus she was able to do some observing of her own, while I was having a discussion with a monk (§ 8.4.).

During this phase I also filmed a *Nāyaka* procession and participated in the ceremonies held that day. I also witnessed two *dānē* ceremonies. As monks from several monasteries and the various *Nikāyas* participated in these ceremonies, I noticed with satisfaction how one of the Chief Monks of my case monastery seemed very proud as he introduced me to another Chief Monk belonging to one of the other *Nikāyas* and told him that I was studying Buddhism at his monastery under his supervision. Despite the fact that monasticism in Sri Lanka is divided into three *Nikāyas* (§ 1.2.), the monks from these various monastic fraternities seemed very friendly to each other since they participated in the same ceremonies.

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[318] Fieldwork Diary 1974-1975, 41ff and Interview Diary 1974-1975, 1ff.

[319] Our relationship therefore turned into one of friendship and Mr. Fernando continued to help me also following my period of fieldwork through correspondence until his untimely death in autumn 1979. In order to get a more detached view of my fieldwork, I interviewed Mr. Fernando concerning his impressions of my interviews with the monks, my social contacts with the monks etc. HYUL 75/99-101.

The third phase entailed the compiling of the second interview schedule with the assistance of my layman key-informant Mr. Fernando. During this two week phase, I made extensive observation rounds in the monastery compound at various hours of the day in order to establish the actual daily routines. The strategy used can be characterized after Sampson as *unobtrusive observation*. I arrived at the monastery at different hours each day and entered it along different pathways in order to hear and see what really took place and what the actual routines were.[320]

The fourth phase consisted of *guided interviews* with nine monks altogether. My intention was to interview the same twenty monks interviewed in the first interview round a second time. It was at this time, though, that my study began to be viewed with hesitation(§ 8.2.).[321] Eleven monks were unwilling to co-operate, despite the fact that one of the two Deputy Supreme Chief Monks (*Anunāyakas*) of the monastery had approved the interview questions.[322] Fortunately, the nine monks interviewed represent all the necessary categories of monkhood, i.e. novices, younger monks and elder monks (§ 10.3.).

The final phase consisted of observation rounds in the monastery compound over a period of two weeks. I conducted free discussions with the nine monks, particularly with the *Anunāyaka* previously mentioned. Due to the tension in the field, the Chief Monk had sent Ānanda to Colombo to arrange for his postgraduate studies.

This, then, was the overall pattern of my fieldwork. It must, however, be borne in mind that not every day was as intensive as the description might suggest. Due to tensions inherent in all fieldwork, I had to take a few days off every now and then, particularly during the third and fourth phase. I spent this time on the west coast, thinking over my social position in the field.

8.2. My niche and social position in the monastery. I arrived in the field as a foreigner, a stranger and an outsider. At the very beginning of my fieldwork, I bought myself the white Sinhalese national garment, *sudu sarama*, which was more comfortable than trousers in the warm climate. Only later did I notice that the monks were particularly fond of that dress, often telling me it was *lassonai*, "beautiful". By wearing the *sudu sarama* I had unpremeditatedly assumed the role of a humble Buddhist layman.

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[320] For the concept of unobtrusive observation, see Sampson 1968, 249ff.

[321] It is fairly commonplace that anthropologists become the target of suspicion during their period of fieldwork, see Berreman 1963, 3-4.

[322] I discussed the tensions in the field with the *Anunāyaka* in particular. He told me that although he approved the questions as good and essential, he could not persuade the other elder monks to co-operate. He did, however, co-operate himself until the very end of my fieldwork.

The house of the Sinhalese widow was thus the base from which I regularly made half day visits to the monastery, wearing a *sudu sarama* and carrying a tape-recorder or pulling it along on a cart (see the picture on the page 114). My fieldwork came to be a shuttle operation between my lodgings and the monastery. I passed the monastic border regularly, and thus was able to get an insight into both the life of a Buddhist family and the life of Buddhist monks. With Ānanda I could discuss the Buddhist ceremonies from the viewpoint of the monks, while with my hostess or Mr. Fernando I discussed the same ceremonies from the viewpoint of the laity. Properly speaking, I had two positions in the field, although my position in the monastery is of course more relevant to this study.

My comradeship with Ānanda and the fact that he instructed me in spoken Sinhalese about three days a week during the first month of fieldwork meant that my social position within the monastery became connected with him and in fact centred on his room, which was on the second floor of a two-storied house. His room became something of a *niche* for me, located in one of the corners of the monastery, a temporary place of retreat, where I could go almost any time of the day except during the meal, taken between eleven and twelve o'clock, or late in the evening. Nearly every interview round started from Ānanda's room. It was he who introduced me to the various monks and asked them for their cooperation and participation in the interview. Thus Ānanda provided me with a link to the monastery. After two or three interviews, which lasted for about three hours, we always adjourned to his room for tea and jaggory[323].

Since we Ānanda and I spent a good deal of time together in the eyes of the other monks my social position in the monastery gradually became that of Ānanda's friend. For about three months I was neither an outsider nor an insider in the proper sense of the term, rather, my social position can perhaps best be characterized as fluctuating between these opposite poles, in a *marginal zone*.[324] In a sense I was what Freilich has called a "privileged stranger", as I was granted the privilege of questioning the monks living in the monastery and recording the interviews and my observations.[325] My niche and social position in the monastery can be illustrated as follows.[326]

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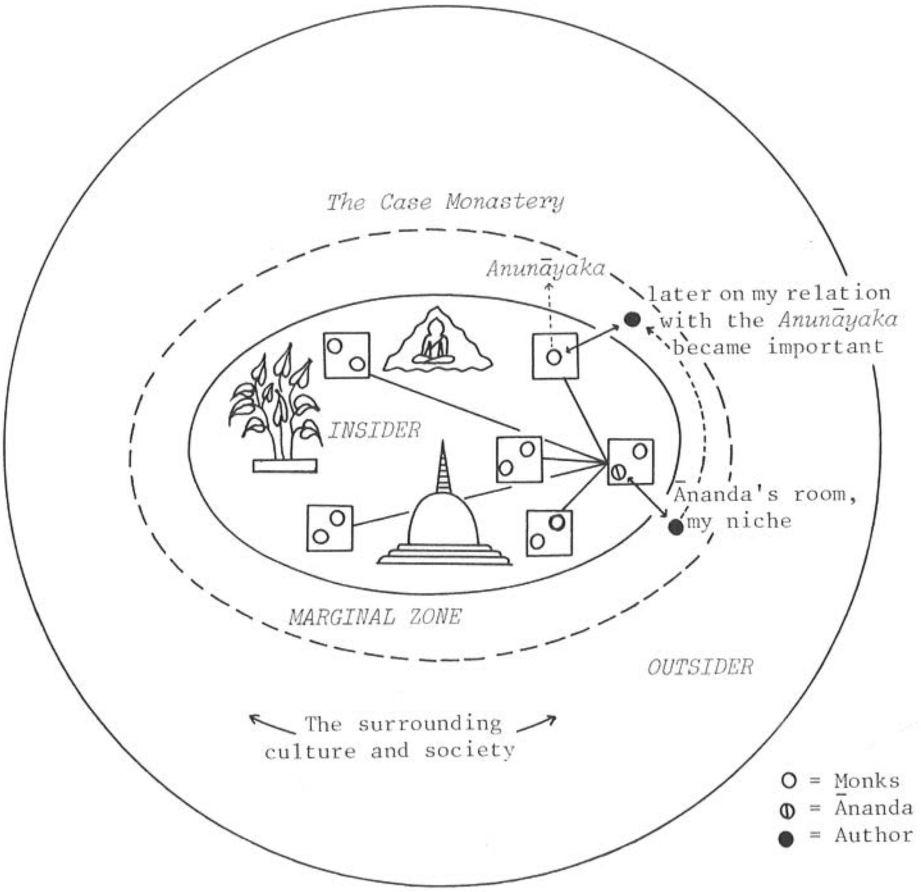
[323] Jaggory = sugar made from the sap of the Kitul palm.

[324] On the recent discussions on the concept insider versus outsider and on the role conflicts in fieldwork, see Jarvie 1969, 505-508 and Kloos 1969, 509-512. See also the comments, 512-523.


The Case Monastery
Anunāyaka
later on my relation with the Anunāyaka became important
INSIDER
Ānanda's room, my niche
MARGINAL ZONE
OUTSIDER
The surrounding culture and society
O = Monks
Φ = Ānanda
● = Author

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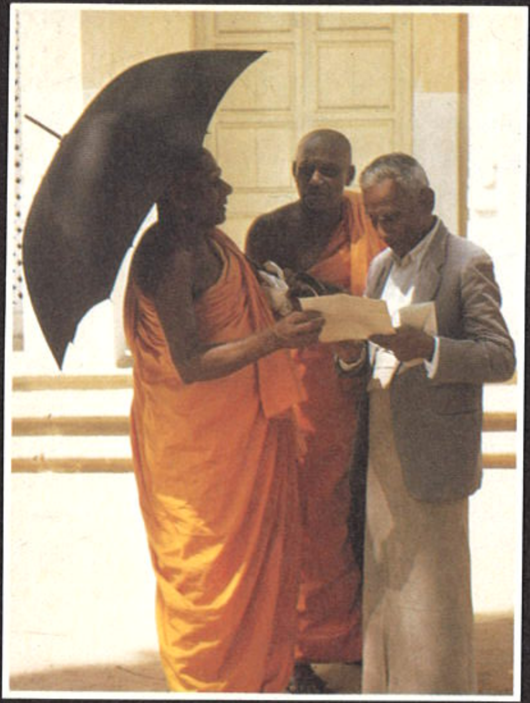
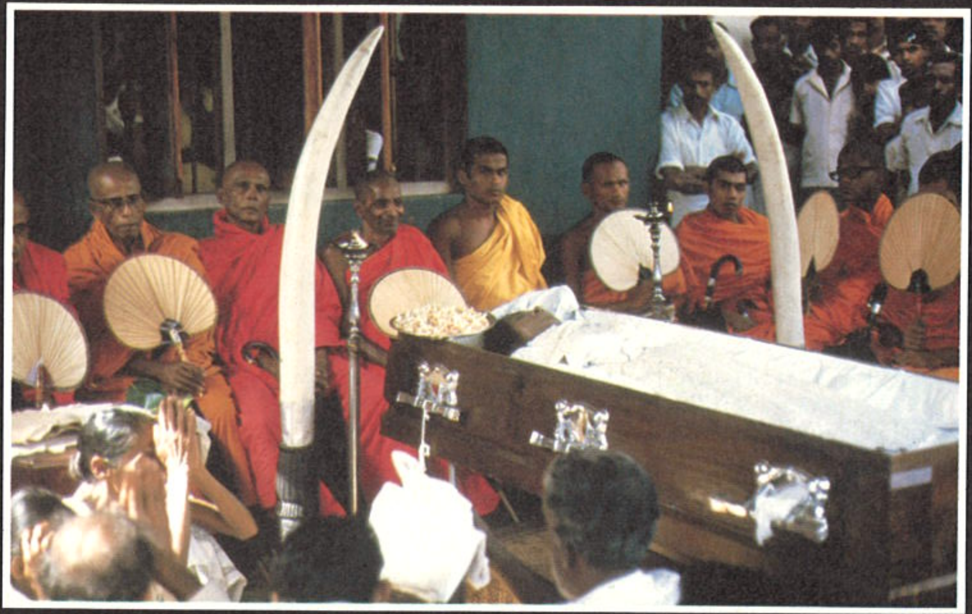
[325] For a recent discussion on the marginal category, I refer to Freilich 1977, 1-37. Freilich provides us with an excellent essay on the dilemmas encountered in fieldwork.

[326] As far as I can analyze my social position in the monastery, it seems as if the monks living there regarded me as Ānanda's friend. The interviews were granted to me mainly because Ānanda introduced me to the monks concerned and requested their co-operation. Thus it seems as if the monks were particularly co-operative, wanting to help their fellow monk, who the various Chief Monks generally considered to be a very good monk. It was also Ānanda who introduced me to the Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*) and the Deputy Supreme Chief Monk (*Anunāyaka*), who approved the project.

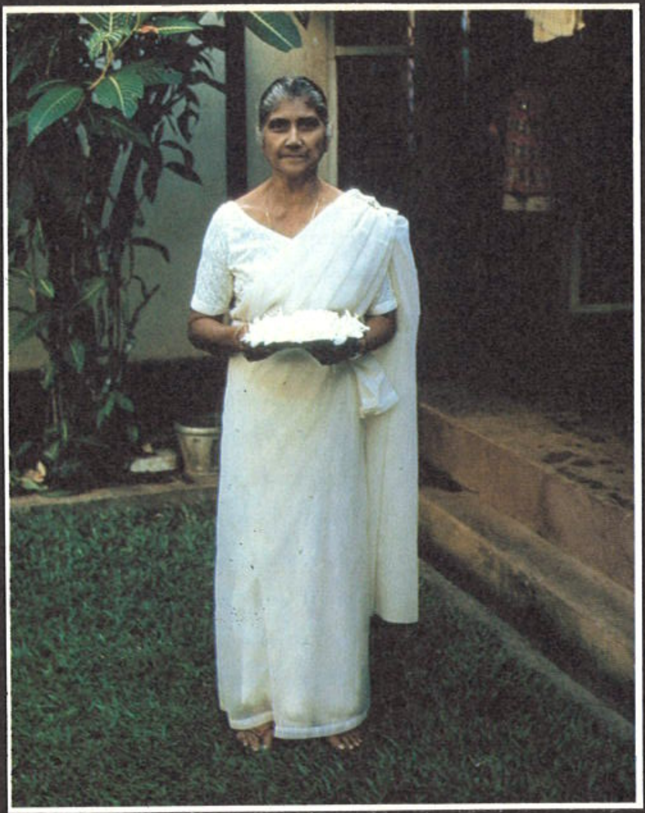


A layman official discussing the proceedings of the election of the *Diyavaḍana Nilamē* with two Chief Monks (§ 5.3.). Photo by the author, December 1974. (These monks are not included in this study).

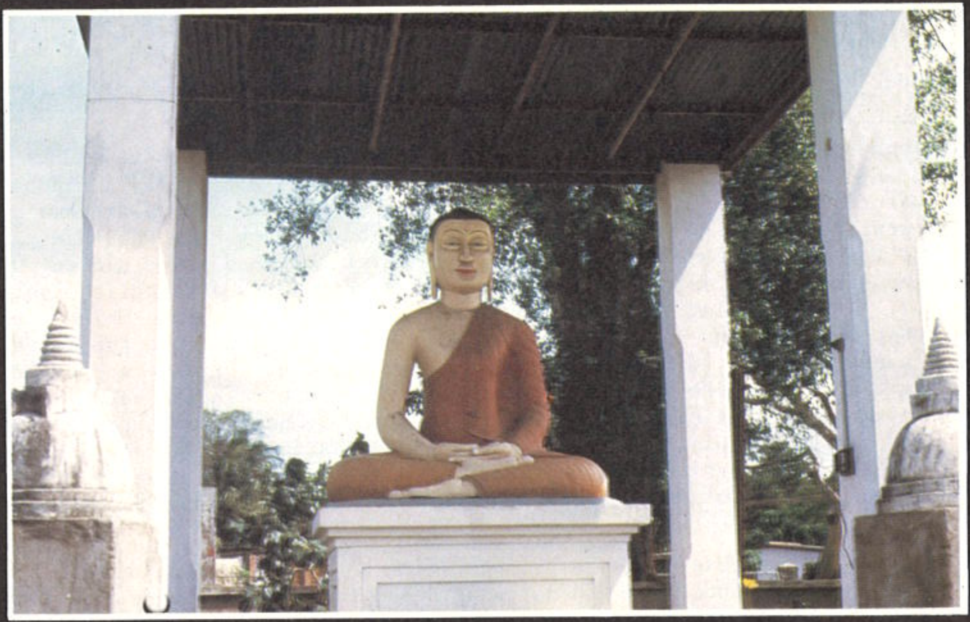
The author returning from the principal monastery to his lodgings, with the tape-recorder in tow. Photo Raili Gothóni, January 1975.



Generally there is quite a good relationship between the monks of the various fraternities (*Nikāyas*). Here monks from both the *Rāmañña* (the monks with both shoulders covered) and the *Syāma Nikāya* (the monks with the left shoulder covered) participate in a funeral held in the up-country. Photo by the author.



A noble Sinhalese women of the *Goyigama* caste on her way to a royal temple to pay homage to Buddha. Photo by the Author, December 1974.



Nowadays the Buddha images are also placed outside the monastery compound. Here the Buddha statue is placed in a cross-road in order to be visible to all. Photo by the author, February 1975.

In the fourth phase of the fieldwork period my social position within the monastery underwent a transition in the eyes of some of the monks from that of a marginal friend to that of an outsider. I would arrive at the monastery and greet Ānanda's Chief Monk as so many times before by bowing and with my hands in the venerating position, saying: *"Āyubōvan loku hāmuduruvo"* ("Greeting you, Chief Monk"). Usually the Chief Monk swung his head horizontally several times with a gentle smile, thereby indicating that he had recognized my arrival.One morning, however, his bearing was different. When I told him I would like to conduct another interview, he said this was not necessary and that he was very busy at the moment. I went up to Ānanda's room and told him that the Chief Monk seemed very embarrassed. Ānanda informed me that several days ago there had been a phone call from Colombo. Somebody had alleged that I was a Catholic missionary and that my purpose was to write negatively about the monastery. When I asked him who it was that had made the phone call and told these lies about me, Ānanda said that he did not know. Nor did the Chief Monk tell him or me about the matter and to this day the call remains a mystery.[327]

The only explanation that occured to me was that recently I had applied for an extension of my visa for another period of three months. For that purpose the Chief Monk had written me a recommendation in which he mentioned, among other things, that I was doing research at the monastery under his supervision and that I had been granted a scholarship from the World Council of Churches. Maybe this connection aroused his doubt. Although I tried to explain to the Chief Monk that I was not doing research for the Catholic Church, but solely in order to get my Ph.D., he did not change his mind. He said in fact that there had been other western scholars earlier who had written negatively about Buddhist monasticism and that he did not want to be a party to such intents. I unexpectedly became *involved* in a conflict that later proved to divide the monks living in the monastery into two groups. Nine monks were willing to co-operate, whereas eleven monks, some of whom were pupils of influential Chief Monks, did not want to take part in my project. Thus my social position shifted from my niche in Ānanda's room to the monastic house (*pansala*) of one of the *Anunāyakas* of the monastery. The *Anunāyaka* was very helpful in this situation and in fact considered my research important. Hence, I became a *case* in the midst of other cases.

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[327] This episode has been recorded in my Fieldwork Diary 1974-1975, 74ff as follows: "Little by little after I had explained the difficulty I had had on Saturday in doing the interview with some monks, he (Ānanda) became more 'confidential'. He told me that somebody (he did not know who) had phoned to the Supreme Chief Monk (the Supreme Chief Monk had asked him to come and discuss the matter with him) and said that I was a Catholic missionary ... Already during that meeting Ānanda had told the Supreme Chief Monk that there was no such danger, but that he should look into the matter ... Ānanda promised to help me. He said, however, that there were many problems involved with my study. First, there was the relation between Buddhism and Catholicism. Secondly, there were ... books and articles which had a negative bias towards it (Buddhism monasticism). Thirdly, there had recently been articles in the local newspapers that had been embarrassing because the *Perahära* had been compared with devil dancing. According to Ānanda all these things provoked hesitation."

Moreover, the Chief Monks were, according to Mr. Fernando, anxious about their pupils, whom they did not considered to be well enough acquainted with the *Vinaya* rules. This is why some of the Chief Monks had advised me to go to Colombo and interview the learned monks there. HYUL 75/101.

Reflecting upon my social position within the monastery in the light of my fieldwork and with the *detached* perspective of my writing-desk, the following circumstances seem to have complicated my social interaction with the monks.

In the first place, I had received a scholarship from the World Council of Churches. I thus became associated with Catholicism, a religion which from the Buddhists' viewpoint had caused perturbation, particularly during the colonial period. My connection with that institution seems automatically to have awakened the doubt of some of the monks. No longer did they regard me as a neutral scholar, but perhaps more as an intruder. Secondly, my decision to use a Buddhist layman, Mr. Fernando, for the time-consuming and difficult task of making a typescript of the tapes proved to be embarrassing to some of the monks.[328] I had discussed the matter with Ānanda but as he was too busy for that kind of work (he was both teaching and studying), he accepted my decision to use Mr. Fernando for this purpose. I introduced Mr. Fernando to Ānanda and he also conducted *guided interviews* (the second interview schedule) with five monks, one of whom was the *Anunāyaka* who had approved the questions as good, *bohoma hondai*. Thirdly, my decision to enter the field by querying the monks about their social relations might have led to some embarrassment. It might have been more appropriate to proceed the other way round and start with the questions concerning biography, values, attitudes and norms. On the other hand, it is quite common among the Sinhalese that one discusses kinship relations and other social relations. Therefore, it seems more likely to me that the first two circumstances were the releasing factors as regards the conflict.

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328 Berreman 1963, 3-4 discusses a similar impasse. He also used two different interpreters, namely, a young Brahmin and a retired Muslim school-teacher. See also Berreman 1962. One of the main dilemmas in fieldwork seems to be that a fieldworker needs several informants from various social categories in order to fulfil the methodological demands. This is often undesirable from the viewpoint of the informants.

Since this study is concerned with the mode of life of Theravāda monks, the behaviour of the monks in this conflict situation proved to be very illustrative indeed. Paradoxically, by becoming *involved* in this episode I gained an insight into the patterns of behaviour of the monks and it also became evident that I had not been regarded as an outsider, but indeed as a marginal person, a person who had succeeded in coming too close to the circles of the insiders. What then did I come to know as a result of this conflict? First of all, it became quite evident that the monks concerned lived in a very open relation with society in several ways. Though a foreigner, I was allowed to enter the monastery quite freely for several months. The reason for this was probably that I resided in the house of the widow related to the Chief Monk, but it is also true that most of the younger monks were very interested in learning and regarded me as a "university comrade" much in the same way as the monks had other laymen friends at the university. Thus, my comradeship with Ānanda was no exception but rather reflected the pattern according to which the monks established relations of comradeship with laymen on the university campus. As my relation with Ānanda was established and developed more or less under the eyes of his teacher, the Chief Monk, it is understandable that he felt our friendship had become too close and perhaps somewhat embarrassing. In order to separate us, he sent Ānanda to Colombo to arrange his studies for the next year. Ānanda was very happy with this decision. He could finally continue the studies he had so much longed to resume.

This episode clearly illustrates the strategy used by the Chief Monks when they want to exert their social control over their pupils and the younger monks. Somewhat before my arrival at the monastery one of the pupils residing in another monastic house (*pansala*) at the same principal monastery had been sent away by his teacher to another monastery connected with this monastery because of some quarrels. This pattern of behaviour, which could be labelled as forced withdrawal or an escape to a place for cooling off, seems to be common also among the Chief Monks. This was probably one of the main reasons why some of the Chief Monks had moved to live in village monasteries connected with their monastic houses at the principal monastery and showed up at the head monastery no more than once a month for the *Kārekasabhā* meetings (§ 6.1.1.). Consequently, the number of monks actually living in the monastery was much smaller than that suggested by the register (§ 8.1.).

Due to these circumstances the monastery was by no means homogeneous and undifferentiated, but rather it consisted of several groups or cliques of monks, some of which occasionally came into conflict with each other. This was the case especially in connection with the election of the successor of the chief incumbent of a monastic abode (*pansala*) if there was no will that clearly stated the wish of the deceased Chief Monk.[329] Therefore, in this study the dynamics and actual life of the principal monastery concern mainly those nine monks who decided to co-operate with me and help me with my project, although I have taken into account the other eleven monks in my analysis of the social relations of the monks as well.

8.3. Interview technique and interpretation of the interview material. Bingham and Moore have described the interview situation as "a conversation with a purpose"[330]. The purpose of my interviews was to collect material on the social relations of the monks as well as on their biographies, kinship relations, values, attitudes and norms.

Two different types of questions were used in the interviews, all of which were structured and guided.[331] The first type of question was what Cannell and Kahn have called "closed" questions in the sense that they require a precise answer, for example, with reference to time and place. The second type of question can be characterized as an "open" form in the sense that such questions allow the respondent to give any kind of answer connected with the topic of the question.[332]

As the interview was structured and guided, it is evident that the respondents tended to feel as if they were being interrogated. In order to minimize this attitude, I inserted several brief expressions to encourage the monks to be more forthcoming, to exemplify and to express their answers in other terms as well. According to the technique as presented by Cannel and Kahn, such "brief expressions of understanding and interest" were used as 'yes' (in Sinhalese *ov*) and 'hm'. One important and practical technique in this connection was the simultaneous use of such non-verbal expressions as the swinging of the head

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[329] For the relationship between social change and the interests of social groups in a religious movement, see Suolinna 1977, 45; 48ff.

[330] Cf. Cannell and Kahn 1968, 526.

[331] For structured interviews, see Pelto 1970, 100-105.

[332] "Closed" questions were, for example:
When did you meet him (the monk) for the first time? (Schedule I;2)
Where did you meet him? (Schedule I;3)
Apart from yourself, were there *any others present*? (Schedule I;6)

"Open" questions were, for example:
Why did you chose him to be your friend? (Schedule I;10)
What did you do in the evenings? (Schedule II;19)
What problems did you face? (Schedule II;31)

(a Sinhalese custom to express that one understood what had been said), the expression of surprise, the impression of not having understood, etc. When the respondent had finished his answer, but still appeared willing to discuss a point further, the word 'and' (*saha*) was inserted as a "natural request for additional information". Moreover, such brief questions as why, how, when, where, etc. were inserted as "requests for specific kinds of additional information".[333] This way of supplementing the structured interview proved to be quite useful, since the respondent usually continued his answers and obviously got the impression that I had followed his line of reasoning, was interested in the subject and wanted to hear more from him. It seems as if the interview became somewhat more dynamic and conversational thanks to the use of these brief expressions than a pure structured interview would have been. Nevertheless it remained guided.

When interpreting the interview material, the answers must be seen in relation to the structure and content of the various questions on the one hand, and the modes of expression by means of which the respondent manifested his thoughts and feelings on the other. As regards the "closed" questions, the problem is less complicated, because we usually have only a brief answer, yes or no, or a short statement of fact, a name, a place, a certain time, an event etc.

The answer to the "open" questions is more difficult to interpret. Some of the older monks, who were unwilling or unable to give spontaneous expressions of their thoughts and feelings, gave brief answers to these questions as well. Generally the younger monks were keener to give an extensive answer to every question. Most of the extensive answers to the "open" questions followed a clear pattern. The monk first repeated the question and then he continued with his answer. For example, the answer to question 63 in the second interview schedule was in one case as follows.[334]

Author: What are your future plans? (*Obē matu kriyā-mārgaya mokak-da?*)

Monk : My future plan of action (aim) is to do good to people for this world and the next, to spend a very good and successful life, to practise in the *sāsana* as a monk as far as possible and finally to realize *nibbāna*.

(*Magē matu kriyā-mārgaya mahajanayāṭa delova abhivurdhiya vädāsalasvalā magē jīvitāyat itā hoňda sārthakava jīvitāyak gata-karalā puḷuvan taram sāsanika purudda keti-karalā avasānyēdi Nivan avabodha pirima.*)

Answers of this structure seem to be the normal form of expression, because the same pattern occured also in those interviews conducted by Mr. Fernando.

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[333] For the brief expressions in interviewing, see Cannell and Kahn 1968, 581ff.

[334] The answer of monk number four, see § 9.5. HYUL 75/89, 7.

When interpreting the answers, the content must be viewed critically in relation to the status of the monk being interviewed, on the one hand, and the degree of internalization of the various canonical and traditional religious concepts, on the other. There was a slight tendency among the monks to give an idealized picture of their monkhood. When having a discussion with them, for example, about their aims in life (question 61ff); most of the nine monks answered that their aim was to overcome unease (*dukkha*) and rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and to achieve final freedom from rebirth (*nibbāna*). In an extensive answer to my brief expression 'and' (*saha*), two of the older monks clearly stated that they aimed at a successful life, which in fact referred to a good (social) career in the monastery. Younger monks, it seemed, were quite preoccupied with learning and studying and therefore knew or thought very little of the monastic conditions from the viewpoint of administration, a subject which was of primary concern for the older monks. Since none of the nine monks had actually lived a layman's life (all of them had entered the monastery between the ages of 13 and 19), they knew in fact very little of what it was like to be a layman. Consequently, their answer to question 65 of the second interview schedule (what is the most pleasant thing about being a layman?) should be seen more as a statement in line with orthodox doctrine than as a view based on personal experience. Generally, they considered a layman's life to be full of unease and further away from the release from rebirth than was the life of a monk. Due to these circumstances, the interpretation of the interview material is always carried out in relation to the monk who was responding and his life situation, biography and social position in the monastery.

8.4. Observation technique and the use of diaries. In his study on the "Argonauts of the Western Pacific", Malinowski emphasizes the importance of drawing "the line between, on the one hand, the results of direct observation and of native statements and interpretations, and on the other, the inferences of the author, based on his common sense and psychological insight"[335]. In the present study there were five different field situations calling for systematic observation.

First, there was the interview situation, during which I took notes concerning the social interaction between the interviewer and the respondent, the room of the monk concerned and the interview as a whole. I had a special Interview Diary in which I jotted down the details of every interview. Secondly, there were the hours of discussion with Ānanda, during which I made notes not only on the information he gave me, but also on our relationship, Ānanda as a key-informant and on various observations I had made during my stay at the monastery.

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[335] Malinowski 1922, 3.

Thirdly, I made notes during the spontaneous observation rounds, which I made every now and then in order to establish the daily routine of the monks. Fourthly, I tried to attend as a *participant observer* all ceremonies I was allowed to, such as "food-giving" (*dānē*) and "robe-giving" (*kaṭhina*) ceremonies as well as various processions that took place during my stay on the island. Fifthly, my wife also acted as an observer during the two week period she spent with me in Sri Lanka in January. She was able to obtain some information not available to me, especially as regards the younger monks' attitudes towards females and marriage. Her presence seemed to actualize these questions and subsequently it was easier for me to bring up these matters, which were usually regarded as "unnecessary questions". One of the Chief Monk was particularly fond of my wife and while I was interviewing the other monks he kept her company together with Ānanda and showed her his photograph album, which contained pictures of his family, his higher ordination ceremony and other ceremonial occasions. It later proved to be of great value to inquire where the monks in the various pictures resided nowadays, since in many cases about half of the monks in the pictures were said to have disrobed.

Apart from making notes in various diaries, I also used a camera. I took about two hundred photos and slides. Some of them were taken systematically, for example, the pictures of the monastery compound. The basic procedure, however, was to take photos in situations in which only one single event needed to be documented. The various ceremonies were filmed. Altogether I shot about one hour of 16mm film. Collier has illustrated quite clearly the usefulness of cinematography in anthropological research and has emphasized that "only the moving picture film can record the realism of the time and motion, or the psychological reality of varieties of interpersonal relations".[336]

My observation technique used in the field was closely connected with my role as a marginal friend in the monastery. Although I could take down notes in almost any situation — it was in fact expected of me — there were events I was not allowed to participate in due to my marginal status. According to Fink's terminology, my observation can therefore be characterized as "incomplete", as I was not allowed to attend the private meetings held by the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*) and neither was I permitted to be present at the ceremony of recitation of the monastic rules, *Pātimokkha*.[337]

The diaries proved to be indispensable when I proceeded to analyze the interview material. For Malinowski, the material preserved in diaries principally

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336 Collier 1967, 128.

337 Fink 1955, 60-68.

represented documents of *verbatim* statements and interpretations of the informants concerned.[338] In my study, the diaries consist of reports on events and situations which I witnessed and experienced during the period of fieldwork. The *verbatim* statements, however, were principally collected in connection with the interviews.

While in the field, I wrote down my experiences in the diaries very much from the viewpoint of one who is *involved*, i.e. as being in the midst of the process of fieldwork. The diaries therefore reflect fairly well the process of fieldwork, a fact which enabled me to analyze my social position in the field. When sitting at my writing-desk on the other hand, the notes preserved in the diaries take on the character of reports compiled by a writer who seems like a different person. During the process of analysis, which usually takes several years, one's point of view gradually crystallizes towards *detachment*. Due to the distance in both time and space, the same events and situations are viewed in a different light, in a more mature perspective. This oscillation between *involvement* and *detachment* is possible at the writing-desk, too, as the photos, slides and particularly the films represent in their own specific way memory-refreshing mirrors of the events and situations of the past, i.e. the "atmosphere" of the field.

8.5. The testimony of a case study. The idea of carrying out case studies in anthropology and in social science has partly been adopted from the tradition of medical and psychological research, in which case studies generally refer to a detailed analysis of an individual. Another impetus for case studies has been the circumstances of fieldwork. In the tradition of anthropological research (both cultural and social), the case studies have mainly concerned institutions, organizations, communities, tribes, villages, i.e. a single unit that can be defined rather clearly and often regionally.[339] So far only a few studies have concentrated on an individual.[340]

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[338] Malinowski 1922, 22-25.

[339] Gluckman 1967a, 173-178. See also Becker 1968, 232 and Kluckhohn 1945, 161ff.

[340] In the United States anthropology has diverged into differentiated disciplines, some concerned with the comparative study of social relations, some with the comparative study of the features of culture, and some with the comparative study of personality. Aberle's *Psycho-social Analysis of a Hopi Life-History* (1951) and Steed's *Personality Formation in a Hindu Village in Gujerat* (1955) are good examples of studies on individuals. In Finland Pentikäinen has concentrated on an individual in his anthropological study of Marina Takalo's life history entitled *Oral Repertoire and World View* (1978).

The tradition of research that has emerged from the epoch-making studies on the Trobriands by Malinowski have used cases principally in two ways. The starting point in these studies has been prolonged and extensive fieldwork, which has been carried out by means of *interviews* and *participant observations*.[341] The aim has been to describe and analyze how a specific people actually behave and live. Additionally, the anthropologists have gathered genealogies and censuses, drawn maps of villages and gardens, listened carefully to disputes and quarrels, obtained commentaries on all these incidents, collected *verbatim* statements from informants concerning customs and rituals and thereby learned to know their way of regarding and commenting on various events. On the basis of such a mass of material, the anthropologists have drawn a general outline of a given culture or social system (principles of organization, specific customs, social relationships etc.), the findings of which have been exemplified and illustrated by an apt and appropriate case.[342]

On the other hand, those following in the footsteps of Malinowski have in their studies first presented the case and then extracted the general precept of custom or social relationship from it. Gluckman, for example, has proceeded in this way and quite convincingly used a ceremonial opening of a newly built bridge to illustrate the extent to which Zulus and Whites were involved in a single social system.[343]

More recently anthropologists have started to treat each case as a stage in an on-going process of social relations between specific persons and groups within the framework of a given social system and culture. Attention has been focused principally on the type of *relation* discernible between events rather than on the events *per se*. The methodological point in this connection is that the analysis aims at tracing the relations within the specific groups involved both back in time and then forward as far as possible.[344]

The present monograph is a case study in a twofold way. First, we have described and analyzed Buddhist monasticism in the light of those cultural and social patterns prevailing in *one* particular principal monastery. These patterns continue to exist and function even after the death of the individual monk, so that they can be considered to provide the immediate circumstances of monastic life in the *case* monastery concerned. Most of the patterns originate from the time of the Kandyan kingdom, while the roots of some of them can be traced as far back as the time of the introduction of Buddhist monasticism to the island. Secondly, in the following chapter we shall attempt to illustrate the dynamics and function of these patterns, which to a considerable extent seem to be reflections from the society onto monastic life, by the actual modes of life of *nine* monks living within these circumstances.

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[341] I have dealt with this subject more extensively in a recent article of mine, see Gothóni 1981a.

[342] Malinowski 1922, 6-25. See also Gluckman 1967b, xii-xiv.

[342] Gluckman 1967b, xiv.

[344] Gluckman has preferred to call this use "the extended-case method", while van Velsen considers the concept "situational analysis" more appropriate. See van Velsen 1967, 129. See also Siikala 1979, 188-190.

The following source-critical considerations have proved to be of major significance in assessing the *testimony* of a case study. The first crucial question in this connection concerns the *representativeness* of the chosen monastery, i.e. to what extent is the chosen monastery a typical Theravāda Buddhist monastery. As was pointed out in the first chapter of this study (§1.4.), there are at least five different types of monasteries in Sri Lanka. These differ from each other both in respect of the daily routine of the monks and their relation to the laity. Although the external features of the monasteries such as the buildings, the monastery compound, and the other prerequisites of monkhood are of course the same, the various kinds of monasteries nevertheless involve quite a different mode of monkhood, which properly speaking is representative or typical *only* within the framework of the particular type of monastery within which it can be categorized.

The second question to be considered in this connection concerns the reliability and validity of the results of this case study. *Reliability* refers to the repeatability of both the process of fieldwork and the analysis done at the writing-desk. Obviously the process of each fieldwork project is unique in the sense that it cannot be repeated in exactly the same way because time has passed and the people studied have grown older and some perhaps even died. Moreover, each fieldwork process is in several ways developed in accordance with the personality of the fieldworker. It is therefore essential to try to record the process of fieldwork in such a way that the results can be checked with reference to the fieldwork and the material obtained.

As I tape-recorded all the interviews, which were conducted in Sinhalese, and carefully wrote down my observations in diaries, the material collected is as reliable as field material can generally be. In order to avoid misunderstandings, I had Mr. Fernando, who was fluent in both Sinhalese and English, transliterate all 37 tapes. This procedure enabled me to collect fairly reliable *verbatim* statements and interpretations of the monks concerned. My interpretation and analysis of the material was considerably facilitated thanks to the support given by Mr. Fernando, who in addition compiled a glossary for me in order to point out the nuances of the answers.[345] The diary material, on the other hand, gives a reliable picture of my fieldwork process (§ 8.4.). Moreover I recorded the atmosphere and situations in the monastery by taking slides and shooting films. These mirror the various phases of fieldwork and thereby provide an opportunity to re-examine the material and the results of the analysis.

Validity, on the other hand, is a source-critical concept that refers to the degree of quality, relevance and competence of the research material and the methods of research used to record what they purport to measure.[346] My aim was to concentrate on the biographies, the social relations and the values, attitudes and norms of the monks concerned. As I used previously prepared, structured interview schedules, the interviews were *guided*, but not necessarily determined (see § 8.3.). I used both closed and open questions. Due to my comrade relationship with Ānanda and the fact that I spent a considerable amount of time at the monastery compound, it was possible to check the interview material against the free interviews and my own observations. While I was at the monastery, it was especially easy to pay attention to the social relations of the monks. As regards the interpretation of the answers concerning the other issues, it turned out that the Chief Monks formulated their answers more in accordance with official views and the policy of the monastery. The younger monks, on the other hand, were more spontaneous and their answers tended to reflect the personal experience of monkhood. Hence, the Chief Monks can be considered to have expressed values, attitudes and norms of a traditional character, while the pupil's answers went beyond these, reflecting also modern values, attitudes and norms as well as the dilemma of reconciling university studies with being a monk.

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[345] When I interviewed Mr. Fernando about his impression of the way the monks answered the questions, he said that "there was no effort on their part to speak in an idealistic manner. The answers obtained from the different monks came out according to their way of practising (monkhood and) there was no effort on their part to hide what they were doing or what they felt about anything and things like that. That I say on the authority of the manner in which they answered the question. There was a variety in the answers, because no monk answered in the same way; each came out with his own opinion. By these questions you are able to elicit much information about the background of a monk, say from the time he left his home to the homeless state and to the time of his life in the monastery. And from their answers you can get an insight into the life of a monk." HYUL 75/99,3-4.

[346] For the concepts of *reliability* and *validity*, see Pelto 1970, 41ff. See also Suojanen 1979, 192-199.

Finally, I must point out that in writing this testimony of the mode of life of nine monks the accent was somewhat on the viewpoint of the younger monks. It is natural that the dilemmas of the younger monks proved to be more striking and interesting. Indeed, I identified myself more with the younger monks since Ānanda happened to be my own age. After all, everything we write is an interpretation. Ānanda interpreted his monkhood from an "experience-near" perspective, while I interpreted it from an "experience-distant" perspective.[347]

9. The biography of nine monks

9.1. On analyzing the biographical material. In comparative religion there are three traditions of research in particular that have dealt with biographical material, namely, the history of religion, the psychology fo religion and the anthropology of religion. In the field of anthropology, which is the primary concern in this connection, we usually distinguish between an unsolicited *autobiography*, a *biography*, which refers to a written history of a person's life in response to the questions of an anthropologists, and a *life history*, meaning a study of one personality in a specific cultural and social setting.[348]

Methodologically the biographical material has been approached from two different points of view. First, there are studies in which an attempt has been made to analyze the biography of individuals from the angle of life models within cultural models. The main line of thought has been that the *life models* in use provide and reflect a given culture's view and understanding of the ideal man. Therefore, the main focus of attention when including historical as well as mythical personages has not been the individuality of these personages *per se*, but their role in generating and personifying the life models prevailing in a given culture.

Secondly, there are studies that have primarily concentrated on collecting and recording the *life history* of an individual. Most of these studies have been carried out in non-literate and/or village societies. Therefore, the life history material has usually been analyzed in relation to the history of the prevailing culture and society. The emphasis has, however, been placed on the individuality or personality of the biographical subject.[349]

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[347] See Gothóni 1981a, 33-37.

[348] For the three traditions of research and their research material as well as the viewpoint of analysis, see Reynolds and Capps 1976, 1-33. For good introductions to the studies on the biographical material, see Kluckhohn 1945 and Langness 1965. In Finland, the analysis of life history material has recently been discussed by Pentikäinen 1978, 28-35; 58-76, and by Suojanen 1978, 36-106.

Both these approaches have been traced back to Paul Radin, who in the 1920's inaugurated and stimulated the anthropological interest in life history material by publishing the autobiography of a Winnebago Indian, Crashing Thunder. By stressing that the aim of his study was "not to obtain autobiographical details about some definite personages, but to have some representative middle-aged individual of moderate ability describe his life *in relation to* the social group in which he had grown up", Radin inaugurated the life model approach within a cultural model.[350] On the other hand, he also encouraged anthropologists to concentrate on biographical material *per se*, by using well documented autobiographical material as a basis for his research.

In the recent anthropological discussions on the problem of biography, one of the main issues has concerned the relationship between the cultural model and the individual life. In some non-literate societies it seems as if life is understood as a "one-possibility thing".[351] In these cultures there exist no alternative life models and consequently there is not any clear differentiation between the life of an individual and the life model of the culture concerned.[352] In many cultures we can, however, recognize several alternative life models. Many of them are connected with series of myths which provide them with their very basis, as Bateson has illustrated in his study on the Iatmul society.[353] Some life models have emerged as a result of the impact of a foreign culture. A case in point is Don Handelman's biographical study of Henry Rupert, the last shaman among the Washo Indians of western Nevada. Under such circumstances new life models are likely to emerge and Rupert, for example, synthesized new and traditional alternatives in an effort to create a life model capable of resisting the western impact.[354]

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[349] For this grouping of the studies, see Reynolds and Capps 1976, 8-9.

[350] Radin 1920, 2 (my italics). Radin published his first autobiographical account of a Winnebago Indian in 1913 in the *Journal of American Folklore*. In 1920 he published a volume on the autobiography of another Winnebago Indian, of which he said in the introduction that "many fortunate circumstances enabled the author to secure a rather lengthy autobiography from a member of a very prominent Winnebago family"(Radin 1920, 2). The final version of his material and analysis was published in 1926 entitled *Crashing Thunder, the Autobiography of an American Indian*, a version which was largely revised and added to with exhaustive explanations and comments by Radin.

[351] Reynolds and Capps 1976, 9-10.

[352] In his comparison of two Islamic leaders, Geertz has pointed out that "these men are metaphors. Whatever they originally were or did as actual persons has long since been dissolved into an image of what Indonesians or Moroccans regard to be true spirituality." Cf. Geertz 1968, 25-35.

[353] Bateson 1958, 160-163.

A similar case can be found in Sri Lanka. Anagārika Dharmapala (1864-1933), who became the leader of the Sinhalese-Buddhist lay movement in its revival of Sinhalese Buddhism at the turn of the century, solved his personal dilemma by creating a life model for the lay devotees. Ever since his early youth, he had experienced a tension in reconciling the traditional cultural model, which was the very stuff of his Sinhalese-Buddhist identity, and the foreign, western model, which provided a mode of life along with a system of belief in many ways alien to a Sinhalese who had grown up in a Buddhist family. To solve his dilemma, he created a code of lay ethics consisting of 200 rules for a Buddhist living in the world but not of the world. As a sign of having solved his problems he adopted the name Anagārika Dharmapala ("guardian of the doctrine"), which refers to a state of "homelessness" (*anagārika*), i.e. not feeling at home with the society that had become infiltrated with western modes of life.[355]

I collected the material on the biography of the nine Theravāda monks dealt with in this study by means of *guided interviews*. Owing to the fact that the life model of a monk living in a principal monastery proved to be quite fixed, the topics chosen concentrated on the major events on the monks' way to monkhood. Most of the monks had become novices already during their early adolescence. Only one monk had entered the monastery at the age of nineteen. Therefore, the questions concerned the monks' first visit to a monastery, the lower and higher ordination ceremonies, the education tests, the problems and difficulties experienced in monkhood. Some of the questions also concerned the monks' social background, their families and the interaction between the monks and their close relatives.[356] Additionally, I obtained some biographical details from the monastery's register book, which was kept by the secretary of the monastery.[357]

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[354] Handelman 1967, 444-464.

[355] His name was originally Hevāvitāranalāge Don David. For a detailed analysis of the life of Anagārika Dharmapala, see Obeyesekere 1976, 221-252.

[356] For the questions, see the appendix, interview schedule II, 1-52. For the description and interpretation of the biography of the nine monks, see the appendix III.

The aim of my analysis of the biographical material of the nine monks is not, however, to study the life and career of each individual monk separately and in depth. As their biographies to a very large extent proved to follow a certain dual-purpose pattern, namely, the process of rites of passage to the status of a full-fledged monk and career advancement to the top of the monastic hierarchy, the focus of attention is directed at analyzing the *life model* of the monks and the social and ritual passages in the various phases of monkhood in one particular principal monastery.

9.2. The domestic life model of the monks. Traditionally, there have existed side by side two life models of monkhood in Sri Lanka, namely, one concentring on meditation (*vipassanādhura*) and the other on learning and teaching (*ganthadura*). These can be termed the ideal path and the practical path (§ 4.2.). During the history of Buddhist monasticism in Sri Lanka there has been a recurrently actualized tension between these two life models of monkhood. The problem basically revolved around the degree of involvement of the monks in this-worldly activities on the one hand, and their tendencies to restrict recruitment in various ways, on the other.[358] Consequently, monasticism became divided into three separate fraternities (*Nikāyas*). Yet in the course of time the two fraternities (*Amarapura* and *Rāmañña*) which were originally founded as a protest against the oldest fraternity, the *Syāma Nikāya*, generated the same tendencies. There are in fact only a few monks whose life conforms to the ideal model of a Theravāda monk, while most of the monks in Sri Lanka adhere to a life model in which the fulfilling of *domestic* functions plays a central part in their life (see § 7.6.).

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[357] The content of the register book can be condensed into eleven points:

1) Village
2) Name as layman
3) Date of birth
4) Father's name
5) Date of lower ordination
6) Name as a monk
7) Name of ordaining monk and tutor
8) Name of monastery
9) Name of *Nikāya*
10) Name of *Mahānāyaka*
11) Date of higher ordination

There were, however, no details about where the various monks resided at the moment nor any indication of whether the monks had disrobed or not.

[358] As land ownership and property in Sri Lanka are so closely and affectively connected with the Sinhalese kinship system, it has so far proved impossible to establish a monastery which would not be subject to these traditional and cultural patterns (§ 6.1.).

As a result of the acculturation between Sinhalese culture and western culture, a third life model seems to have appeared, although only a few Sinhalese monks have practised it so far. It can be characterized as an *intellectual* model, concentrating on learning, teaching and writing not according to traditional Sinhalese patterns, but according to the western intellectual tradition. So far most of these monks are in fact occidental recluses who have moved to the island and adopted a mode of life that is a *synthesis* of the ideal model of a monk and the intellectual tradition of the West. Therefore, these monks can be regarded as Buddhologists in a similar sense as we have theologists in the West.

We may distinguish between three different life models of a Theravāda monk in Sri Lanka, namely, an *ideal* model, which implies renunciation and concentration on meditation principally according to the prescriptions of the Pāli Canon; a *domestic* model, which involves social and ritual role-performances according to the traditional patterns prevailing in Sinhalese culture and society; an *intellectual* model, which refers to a westernized form of monkhood in keeping with the traditional *ganthadura* model.[359]

All nine monks in this study principally followed the *domestic* model. Hence, as regards the monastic education, emphasis is placed on learning to perform domestic functions: recitation at the *dānē* and *pirit* ceremonies and speech-making, *baṇa*.[360]

9.3. The social background of the monks and their recruitment. All the *Syāma Nikāya* monks are recruited from the highest caste in the Sinhalese kinship system, the *Goyigama*, or "land cultivators".[361] The father's occupation in all nine cases was farming, the land cultivated varying from four to thirty acres and consisting of both dry and paddy land owned by the family. All the monks had spent their early childhood in village surroundings.

The monks came from families numbering three to eight children, both brothers and sisters. There was no consistent pattern as to which of the sons entered monastic life. Neither was there any preponderance of first-born son, although there were monks who were the eldest sons of their families.[362]

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[359] Spiro distinguishes between *nibbanic*, *kammatic* and *apotropaic* Buddhism from the viewpoint of the goal of life, see Spiro 1972.

[360] See the appendix III, case 4.

[361] For the selection of the nine monks, see § 8.2. and § 10.1.

[362] For the biography of the monks, see the appendix III.

All nine monks said that they had visited their village monastery (*pansala*) for the first time with their parents (usually the mother was mentioned) as a child of three to seven years of age. According to the monks it was a custom that the family visited the village monastery on *poya* days and in connection with *pinkamas* in order to acquire merit. The families went to the village monastery both to pay homage to Buddha and to give *dānē* to the monks, one of whom usually was a close relative of the family.

Three of the monks got their lower ordination at the village monastery, which belonged, however, to the principal monastery where they now lived. The rest of the monks got their ordination at the principal monastery. The relationship between the teacher and the pupil was in three cases (out of nine) that of a kinship relation (*māmā-bänā*). In the rest of the cases there was no kinship relation whatsoever. There was instead another interesting pattern discernible, namely, a tendency to restrict the recruitment of novices to the teacher's native village. This tendency seems to be a result of the structure of monasticism in Sri Lanka, i.e. the various village temples (*ārāmayas*) and the monastic abodes (*pansalas*) in the villages are usually owned by the principal monasteries (§ 1.2.). This is natural since the Chief Monk disposing of the official duties of the village monastery attached to his *pansala* in the principal monastery visits his native village from three to five times a month. Moreover, this tendency of restricting the recruitment of novices seems to result from the practice of naming the monastic houses (*pansalas*) within the principal monasteries after the name of the village whence the Chief Monk has come. If the name of the Chief Monk is, for example, Vattēgama Sumangala, the monastic house is generally known as Vattēgama Pansala, Vattēgama being the name of the native village of the monk Sumangala (§ 6.1.2.).

In the light of these circumstances, it seems quite understandable that the Chief Monk prefers to choose the novices from his own native village because of the close life-time relationship between him and the various families of the village and because of his personal interest in the continuity of the name of the *pansala* and the property attached to it. The recruitment of novices has thus gradually become restricted to some forty villages in the up-country. Most monks at the principal monastery have come from no more than twenty different villages. This analysis points to a tendency to restrict recruitment of novices to the native villages of the Chief Monks which can be considered to be a *reflection* of the historical, social and economic connection and relation of dependence prevailing between the principal monastery and the farmer families of a small number of up-country villages.

Indeed some monastic houses (*pansalas*) were inhabited by pupils from different villages, but this was usually a case of a close kinship relation between the teacher and the pupil or a monastic house with a good deal of property. These tendencies involved in the recruitment of novices mean that each monastic house (*pansala*) within the principal monastery constitutes its own lineage of pupillary succession, which is to a certain extent independent of the other monastic houses (see § 6.1.3.). These lineages can in many cases be traced back to the end of the 18th century and the early 19th century.

The lineage of pupillary succession is moreover recognizable from the name of the various monks. Within *Syāma Nikāya* it had become a practice already at the end of the 18th century that the teacher suggested the name the pupil should adopt. This is usually confirmed in the lower ordination ceremony. In some cases the pupil has been given the monkhood name of the teacher's teacher. If the name of the teacher's teacher were, for example, Pinnawala Dhammadassi and the name of the teacher Pinnawala Sōmānanda, then the name of the pupil would in some cases be Pinnawala Dhammadassi.

The interaction between the novice and his former family usually continues to be quite frequent notwithstanding the son's entrance into monastic life. Close relatives tend to visit the various monastic houses during their holidays, on *poya* days and on other ceremonial days, i.e. at least once a month, but generally twice a month for the specific purpose of performing "acts of merit" (*pinkama*). The relatives, of which the mother and the brother were most frequently mentioned, usually brought with them some small gifts such as fruit, vegetables, educational books etc. One of the most popular and highly appreciated gifts was called jaggory, a sweet which my host among others, held to be a delicacy. In the house were I stayed, it was seldom seen and usually only eaten in connection with some celebrations, although my host was by no means poor. The monks, however, were fairly well supplied with the sweet. When interviewing them in the various *pansalas*, I was quite often served tea and jaggory, especially in the company of the younger monks and nearly always at my key-informant's, monk Ānanda's house.

The characteristic feature of the social life in the principal monastery studied was that renunciation did not imply a complete isolation from society; rather, former social ties continued to play a significant part within monastic life.[363] First, the recruitment of novices was made exclusively on the basis of caste and in some cases even with reference to either kinship relations or relations in the native village. Secondly, there continued to be a close interaction between the monks and their relatives, an interaction which was frequently actualized on holidays and provided an important link between the monastic houses (*pansalas*) in the principal monastery and each monk's native village.

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[363] Bunnag has made the same observation in her study on Buddhist monasticism in Thailand, see Bunnag 1973, 86ff.

9.4. Synopsis of the monks' way to monkhood. On the basis of the interviews, the nine monks' way to monkhood can be condensed into sixteen main points. Apart from depicting the major events in the ritual passage to monkhood, these points also provide details on the social circumstances of the monks and the factors involved in their modes of life. The synopsis of the way to monkhood can be presented as follows.[364]

1) The first visit to a monastery (*pansala*)	- All the monks remembered having visited their village monastery for the first time with their parents when they were still children aged from three to seven years old.
2) The purpose of the first visit	- All the monks answered that the aim was to participate in "acts of merit" (*pinkama*) and to pay homage to the three main Buddhist symbols, namely, the *dāgäba*, the *bo* tree and the Buddha image. Five of the monks remembered that the visit took place on a *poya* day.
3) The reason for entering the monkhood	- Six monks answered that they had entered monkhood because they wanted to make "observances" and lead a 'religious' life. Also life in a monastery was so regular. Two monks said that they wanted to avoid the hardship of the outer world (*dukkha*) and one monk stated explicitely that he had come to the monastery, because his uncle (a Chief Monk) had asked him to become his pupil.
4) Lower ordination (*pabbajjā*)	- Seven of the monks received their lower ordination at an age of from thirteen to fifteen. One of the monks had entered the monastery at the age of seventeen and was therefore ordained at the age of eighteen and one Chief Monk had entered the monastery at the age of nineteen.
5) The teacher-pupil relationship	- There were three *māmā-bänā* relationships. As expected, the teacher (Chief Monk) controlled a great deal of property in all these cases. Three monks had close relatives in the village *pansala* from which they had moved to the principal monastery. Two monks had no close relatives in any monastery at all.
6) Social contacts	- During the novitiate (*sāmaṇera*), the relationship between teachers and pupils seems to have been good. However, no monk remembered any particular friend from the very first period of "monkhood".

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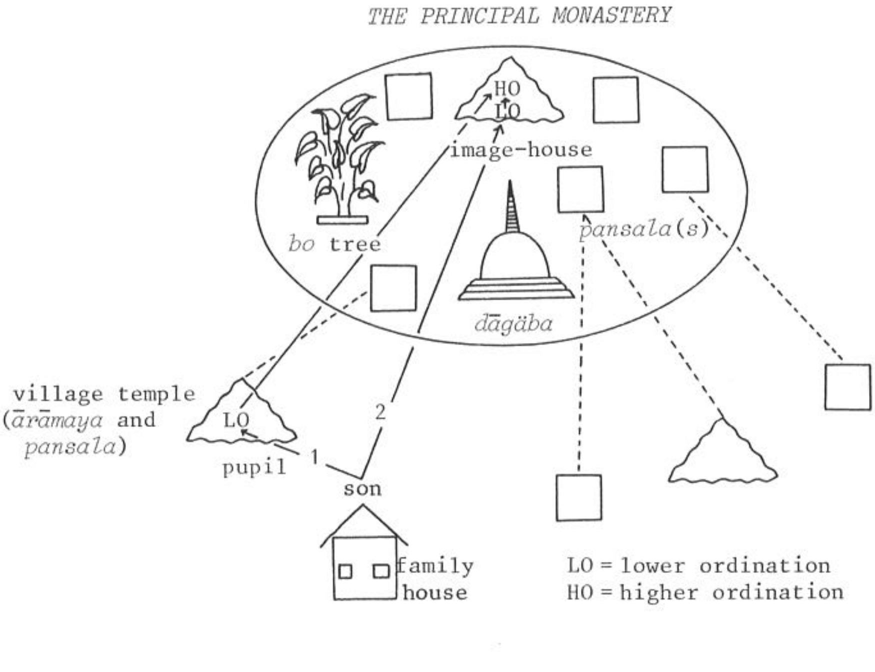
[364] For the documentation of the biography of the nine monks, see the appendix III.

7) School subjects	- All monks had studied Sinhala, Pāli and Sanskrit as the oriental languages and Asian history. The *Baṇa*, *Pirit* and *Katikāvata* books were generally mentioned in connection with their monastic education.
8) Daily routine	- Forenoons and afternoons were spent in the schools and in the evenings the pupils were occupied with memorizing various stanzas, monastic rules and regulations concerning the conduct of a monk. The pupils had in fact very little leisure time.
9) Higher ordination (*upasampadā*)	- Seven of the monks received their higher ordination at the prescriptive age of twenty. One of the monks had actually been ordained at the age of nineteen, since his twentieth birthday was only two weeks later. Ānanda was ordained at the age of twenty-two during his period of study at the university. One monk had not yet reached the age of twenty and therefore had not been ordained.
10) Examination at the higher ordination ceremony	- Three Chief Monks remembered having been asked to memorize passages from the *Baṇa* book. Five of the pupils answered that they had been examined on the *Baṇa* and the *Pirit* books and had been requested to memorize the ten precepts.
11) The organization of the higher ordination ceremony	- In all eight cases the higher ordination ceremony had been organized by the teacher, the tutor chosen by the teacher (usually his senior pupil), the parents and the lay supporters (*dāyakas*).
12) The monk's name	- All monks answered that they had received their monkhood name at the suggestion of their teacher.
13) Daily routine	- All monks answered that they paid homage to the *dāgäba*, the *bo* tree and the Buddha image twice a day, i.e. in the mornings and in the evenings. The monks also read quite a lot and the Chief Monks were especially busy taking care of their monastery (*pansala*) and its administration. The younger monks mostly studied. The material revolved around Buddhism and its history, the later aspect being of special interest to several monks.
14) School (*pirivēṇa*)	- Most of the monks had attended the same monastic school (*pirivēṇa*). Only the generation of pupils born in the late 1940's and the early 1950's had proceeded to the university. The elder generation had no university education whatsoever.
15) Social contacts	- The contacts leading to lasting friendship derived in all nine cases from the year prior to the higher ordination ceremony. The ties of friendship were usually established between pupils who were ordained at the same time (liminal personae, § 7.1.) or between pupils who shared the same interests, for example, university studies.
16) Difficulties and problems experienced during monkhood	- All difficulties and problems concerned adjustment to monastic life. General problems included questions such as memorizing, fulfilling the expectations of the laity and the elder monks, subject-

> ing oneself to monastic discipline and accounting for minor mistakes. Five monks said that they had not experienced any major difficulties in adjusting to monastic life. Three monks considered it difficult to memorize stanzas and passages from the books previously mentioned. One monk considered it difficult not to be allowed to visit the *dēvālē*.

Analysis of these nine cases indicates that the way to monkhood proceeds in two main ways. The starting point has in all nine cases been the village monastery (*ārāmaya* and *pansala*). Not only does such a monastery have a Buddha image house, but it also includes several monastic abodes (*pansalas*), all of which are connected with the principal monastery. The son of the family concerned usually has an uncle or some other close monk relative residing at the village monastery. Thus the son who is a prospective monk either (1) enters the village monastery as a newcomer and gradually gets his lower ordination there, whereafter he is moved to the principal monastery prior to his higher ordination or (2) he enters the principal monastery as a newcomer and gets both his lower and his higher ordination there. In nine cases studied, three monks had got their lower ordination at their village monastery, whereas the rest had got their at the principal monastery. These two ways to monkhood can be illustrated as follows.



THE PRINCIPAL MONASTERY
HO
LO
image-house
bo tree
pansala(s)
dāgäba
village temple
(ārāmaya and
pansala)
LO
pupil
1
2
son
family
house
LO = lower ordination
HO = higher ordination

9.5. The biography of the monks in relation to historical events. When we view the biography of the nine monks in relation to historical events in Sri Lanka from the time of birth of the oldest monk up to the date when I carried out my fieldwork (1974-1975), we arrive at the following graph (see the following page).

As the graph clearly indicates, the historical and social circumstances of monkhood are somewhat different for the older and the younger monks. The main differences lie in the area of political change and in education. The older monks grew up in a period of colonialism and social pressure, while the younger monks are now growing up in a period of transition and change in many fundamental aspects of the life of Sinhalese society. This notion is vital, since all the Chief Monks received their higher ordination before 1948, while only one of the younger monks was even born at that time. The age differences between the older and the younger generation thus varied from nineteen to fifty years. Naturally, the answers to the questions concerning values and attitudes in particular must be analyzed in relation to this circumstance. The preindependence period (up to 1948) and the period immediately following reveal some drastic changes. Particularly the years between 1954 and 1966 involved strong tendencies of revival within Sinhalese Buddhism (§ 4.4.1.), tendencies which resulted in a social tension between the traditionalists and the extreme modernists, both monks and laymen.

In a sense, the biography of each monk is, of course, unique and differs from that of every other monk, though the process of rites of passage is the same. The difference become apparent especially as regards the career of the monks after their higher ordination. Some monks climb to the pinnacle of the monastic hierarchy, others prefer to reside at another (village) monastery connected with their monastic abode (*pansala*) at the principal monastery. From the graph on the following page we can see that only two of the monks studied (4 and 9) have passed their entire monkhood at the principal monastery. The other monks have resided at various times in some other monastery (usually owned by the principal monastery) as well. In cases 2,3,5, and 7, the monks spent their novitiate either in their village monastery, which was connected with the principal monastery, or in a monastery near the monastic school where they studied. The first three of these monks even received their lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) at that monastery. All the monks, however, received their higher ordination (*upasampadā*) at the principal monastery. Two monks (2 and 6) had studied at the university. Two monks (3 and 7) had studied at a famous monastic school (*pirivēṇa*) and during that period stayed at another

THE CHRONOLOGY AND COMPARISON OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF NINE MONKS

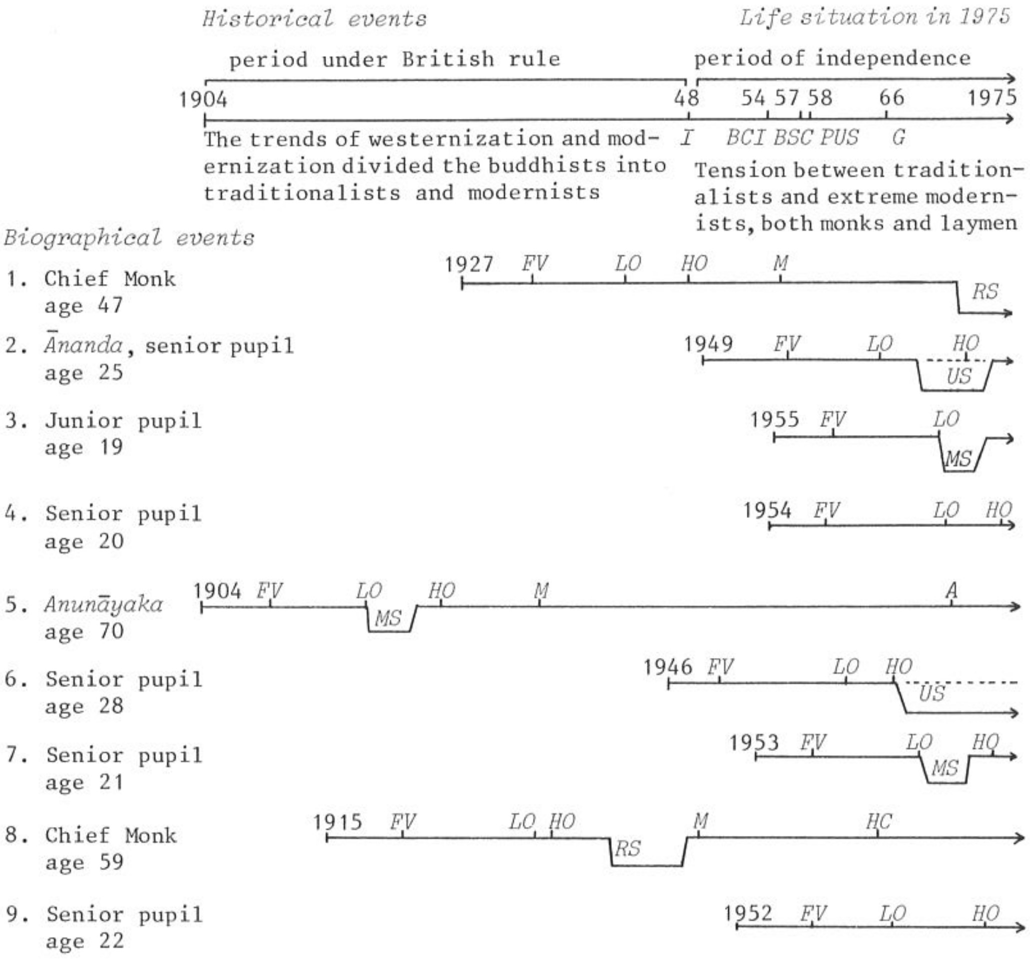


Table of abbreviations and signs

⊢⊣ = two years

¬_ = a break in a line refers to a move from the principal monastery to some smaller monastery belonging to the principal monastery or to a period of living in a monastery close to a monastic school or university

1904 = the date of birth of the oldest monk, 1955 is the date of birth of the youngest pupil and 1975 refers to the date when I left the field

A = *Anunāyaka*, the Deputy Supreme Chief Monk of the principal monastery

BCI = the Buddhist Committee of Inquiry

BSC = the Buddha Sāsana Commission

FV = the first visit to the village monastery

G = girls admitted to study at the Buddhist universities

HC = head of ceremonies at the monastery

HO = higher ordination

I = Sri Lanka became independent on 4 February 1948

LO = lower ordination

M = membership of the "Council of Monks" and chief monkhood

MS = monastic school, *pirivēṇa*

PUS = two *pirivēṇas* received university status, Vidyodaya and Vidyālaṃkāra

RS = resides in another monastery

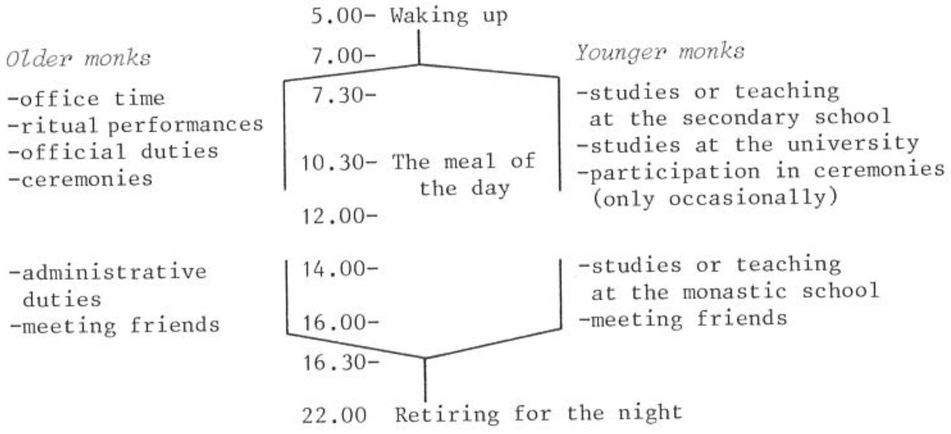
US = university studies

monastery. The three Chief Monks (1,5, and 8) had resided for a shorter period in another monastery belonging to the principal monastery (the first one still living there).

Apart from these differences, there were also differences as regards education. All three Chief Monks had received their education at the monastic school (*pirivēṇa*) before independence in 1948 and at a time when strong westernizing tendencies were affecting the traditional Sinhalese educational system. Consequently, the principal emphasis in the education of that time lay in the protection and preservation of the monastic tradition, its rites and ceremonies (see § 7.3. and § 7.4.). This tendency is fairly well reflected in the examination for the higher ordination. All the Chief Monks remembered having been asked to memorize passages from the *Baṇa* book, while the younger monks had had to memorize passages from the *Pirit* book, *Dhammapada*, the "Ten Precepts" (*Dasa Sil*) and parts from the *Katikāvata*.

Moreover, a sizable gap is discernible between the older and the younger monks in that the latter are in fact the first generation to receive a westernized education and in some cases also study at a university. The monks 4,7, and 9 are likely to continue their studies at either of the two Buddhist universities. Apart from the more secular subjects at the universities considerable emphasis seems to be placed on reviving Sinhalese Buddhism on the one hand, and the monastic traditions on the other. Attempts are being made to adjust the various Buddhist practices to contemporary circumstances. A considerable difference, then, can be seen in the everyday life situation of the older and the younger monks. This difference can be illustrated by comparing the structure of the daily routine of these two classes of monks.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE DAILY ROUTINE OF THE MONKS


5.00- Waking up
Older monks
7.00-
Younger monks
-office time
-ritual performances
-official duties
-ceremonies
7.30-
10.30- The meal of the day
12.00-
-studies or teaching at the secondary school
-studies at the university
-participation in ceremonies (only occasionally)
-administrative duties
-meeting friends
14.00-
16.00-
-studies or teaching at the monastic school
-meeting friends
16.30-
22.00 Retiring for the night

As can be seen from the graph, the older and the younger monks live part of their day according to two different models of monkhood. When the younger monks are living in another monastery near the school or university where they study, this division is even more pronounced. The older monks live according to the domestic model, fulfilling the functions related to it, while the younger monks are becoming more and more exposed to the intellectual model during their period at school and later at the university. No longer is the education controlled solely by the Chief Monk or the teacher proper. Nowadays also the secular teachers are instrumental in providing the monks' education. The younger monks are quite apparently having difficulties in synthesizing the "inherited" cultural model of a monk's mode of life, here called the domestic model, and the westernized intellectual model, which they encounter especially during their period of higher ordination. This dilemma of a young Theravāda monk can be illustrated further by the case of my key-informant, monk Ānanda.

9.6. The case of monk Ānanda. When I arrived at the principal monastery with my hostess, the Chief Monk of one of the monastic houses (*pansalas*) and his senior pupil Ānanda (a pseudonym) were the first monks I got to know. As Ānanda was assigned as my teacher in spoken Sinhalese and we together compiled and translated the questions of the first interview schedule, he gradually also became my key-informant. We worked quite a lot together for about four months and in many cases he provided additional information by describing the details of ceremonies he had attended but which I neither could nor was allowed to attend.

Moreover, he proved to be a typical monk of the younger generation at that monastery, despite the fact that he had studied at the university (he had taken his B.A.) and thereby experienced some of the dilemmas in synthesizing the domestic and the intellectual model of monkhood. Altogether Ānanda was a young monk of good conduct, good manners and modest behaviour. He had distinct ideas concerning monkhood and it seemed to me that he was on the point of finding his social position in the monastic community and adjusting himself to the domestic model of a monk. He was highly respected by the monks at the principal monastery, a fact that was very useful from the standpoint of my study.

9.6.1. The biography of Ānanda as described by himself. "I cannot tell you the date exactly, however, when I was (living) in the village; (when) very small, I (did) go to the monastery (*pansala*) with my mother and others, to our village monastery, the ancient royal temple (*vihāraya*).[365] I (did)[366] go there at the time when "merit-making ceremonies" (*pinkama*) were held, otherwise we usually (did) go there to get various kinds of information from the monks. We (did) go there ... to participate in the *pinkama* and to listen to the speech (*baṇa*). Moreover, we have to go to the *pansala* for various other matters. Whatever there is, we have to go there about once a day.[367] If there are groups of lay supporters (*dāyaka*) in the village, almost all of them go to the monastery."[368]

"(Already) as a child I knew that monks lead a very simple life with very few worries. I thought it would be very good to get accustomed, if possible, to such a life. It is good to get accustomed to a simple mode of life in order to cross this sea of endless births and deaths full of suffering (*samsāra*). When we live in this world, then we do not comprehend what truth is. The path to comprehend it, (involves) becoming a monk and pursuing the duties of a monk."

"I received the lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) on September the 2nd in 1964, in the ancient royal temple. In that temple, the Chief Monk (*Nāyaka hāmuduruvo*) and the Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*) ordained me. There were twenty-four others (to be ordained), none, however, from the principal monastery. As regards that temple, there was none there to be called a friend, (but) we knew the Chief Monk well."

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[365] This village monastery was an ancient royal temple "owned" by the Chief Monk of one of the houses (*pansalas*) of the principal monastery. As the village monastery consisted of several monastic houses (*pansalas*), Ānanda uses both the terms *pansala* and *vihāraya*.

[366] Although the verbs in some of the questions were in the past tense, Ānanda as well as the other monks usually used the present tense, when describing the past.

[367] Ānanda quite frequently speaks in the plural form "we", thereby indicating that he was not alone, but with his parents or with his fellow novices.

[368] This presentation of Ānanda's biography is edited on the basis of the verbatim material of his answers to questions 1-52 of the second interview schedule. The translation of the answers, originally in Sinhalese, has been done in consultation with Mr. Fernando. My aim has here been to present in comprehensible English an illustrative account of the biography of one case monk, my key-informant, monk Ānanda, whom I came to know best of all the monks. In order to preserve the "atmosphere" of the answers and to avoid misunderstandings I have, however, inserted the technical terms as well as my own comments in parentheses. HYUL 75/84, 1-5.

"There were many monks (*hāmuduruvo*) in the monastic school (*pirivēṇa*). There were about thirty or forty monks in our class alone. My teachers were Ven. Aluṭgama Dhammadassi (the Chief Monk of the village monastery) and Ven. Ambēvela Gunānanda[369] (Ānanda's present teacher, the Chief Monk at the *pansala* of the principal monastery where he resided nowadays)."

"In the early days before I became a monk, I used to go to the village monastery daily and read the *Baṇa* book to the novices (*sāmaṇera*), (and also) the temple primer and four or five *suttas* from the *Pirit* book. I studied the Pāli language."

"I had to go to the village monastery at eight in the morning and from eight to ten recite the lessons from memory. I was living in the village. We were taught various matters. At the beginning we went to the Image House to pay homage to the Buddha. We were explained the things that would be performed there, and when meditation was done, the way of doing it."

"Yes, before we received higher ordination (*upasampadā*), we have to learn at least the four sections of the *Pirit* book. We have to memorize all the twenty-six classifications of the *Dhammapada*. Apart from that, we have to know in full the essential things in the *Baṇa* book. Before higher ordination is given, the lessons are taken. In that examination, we have to give direct answers to the questions. When the monks of this principal monastery assemble (*Sangha Sabhāva*), we have to sit in front of them with hands folded in salutation. Then the Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*) or the Deputy Supreme Chief Monk (*Anunāyaka*) questions us. We have to answer them" (see § 7.2.3.).

"Four stanzas from the *Dhammapada* were put to me. Then from the *Pirit* book the section called *satthasara* (the one often used). The other things asked were the Ten Precepts (*Dasa Sil*) for the novices, the Ten Unsuitable Searchings (*Dasa Nēsana*) and the Ten Punishment Rites (*Dasa Danduvam Vat*). (The ceremony was arranged) by our venerable teachers and parents."

"The name is one essential thing in ordination. It is selected, decided upon and given by the Chief Monk (teacher). Later, if it becomes necessary to change the name after the higher ordination, this can be done with the approval of the Assembly of the Monks (*Sangha Sabhāva*)."

"At the very start, while studying Buddhist Scripture (*Baṇa* book), we have to get accustomed to Pāli and Sanskrit. I noticed it was a bit difficult in the beginning to study Pāli and Sanskrit. But later on it was not such a problem."

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[369] Fictitious names.

"The difficult thing in the life of a monk at the beginning is to get accustomed to it. After spending some sort of comfortable life in our homes, we have to get used to a life proper to a monk... After becoming a monk I got a lot of experiences, the ability to turn life into a simple one which is more subdued and tranquil than the present one of distress. As for me, up to now, I have not come across anything unpleasant in monastic life. If we learn something and live accordingly, we shall not come across anything unpleasant."

"I was staying in a monastery when I received my education at Colombo university. I was there from 1969 to 1974, five years. I am staying at the (principal) monastery where the teacher who ordained me is residing. Because of that I am staying there."

"I am not able to tell you exactly. Whatever there is, they come once in about three months. It is my brother who comes more often. It is not possible to give a fixed time. When he comes, he brings me robes etc., then apart from that, some kind of food. Sometimes he comes alone, sometimes in the company of others... Generally, I do not go home much. When I get holidays[370], I go to see my parents. Even without getting an invitation, I go home if there is some illness or distress."

"Among the monks in the (principal) monastery, I can speak of one relation who is our Chief Monk (*Nāyaka hāmuduruvo*) only. That is also not a close relationship, but a distant relationship.[371] He is the monk Ambēvela Gunānanda. The relationship, he is an uncle of mine. Other than him, I have another uncle, my mother's younger brother has donned robes in a monastery at Matale."

"More than my parents, it was the enthusiasm I had to become a monk. In a monk's life what fixes the mind more than anything else is (the fact) that there is some sort of satisfaction in life, the troubles and distress in a lay life, could be set aside to a great extent, the mind could be focused on a certain object of meditation, and there is a possibility of attaining something like a state of vision (*dhyāna*)."

"In that life, those who are living with their families, I have heard, usually have all sorts of worries, but I do not know them from personal experience."

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[370] As Ānanda had a three term teaching schedule (see § 7.3.) the word holiday refers to the vacation in between these terms.

[371] It is quite surprising that Ānanda considers the relationship between himself and his uncle to be one of a distant relationship. This may be a reflection of his wish to grow independent of his teacher.

9.6.2. Ānanda's biography and life situation: an interpretation. Ānanda's biography presents a typical picture of the social background and the recruitment of novices entering the principal monastery. He was one of the first monks at the monastery to have taken a B.A. degree from the University of Sri Lanka.

Ānanda was born on 13 December 1949 as the fourth child of a family of eight children, belonging to the *Goyigama* caste. The family lived in a typical upcountry village and Ānanda's father was a prosperous and hardworking farmer who had about 25 acres of land under cultivation. His mother was a gentle woman who devoted most of her time to the children. Ānanda's mother was also a very devoted Buddhist and he remembers how already as a child he regularly visited the village monastery (*ārāmaya*) on *poya* days with her, his father often being too busy, both to perform "acts of merit" (*pinkama*) and to meet her younger brother who had donned the robe and at that time was staying at one of the houses (*pansalas*) of the village monastery.

Ānanda said that the monks' appearance had made an unforgettable impression on him ever since his first visit to the village monastery. This is of course understandable since his uncle was staying at the monastery and he looked forward to meeting him. What is more, his mother and the other laymen highly esteemed the life of a monk.

In Sinhalese society there is usually a very close and affectionate relationship between mother and child. The relationship between father and son is often marked by reserve.[372] In Ānanda's case the father was particularly hard-working, a circumstance that presumably led to his untimely death during my period of fieldwork. The reserved relationship between Ānanda and his father can be illustrated by interpreting a dream that he told me he had had right after his father's death. "Two weeks ago, when my father died, I saw him being taken to the burial ground. My mother and the others were crying, but I was not."[373]

Perhaps Ānanda did not cry in the dream because as a Theravāda monk he had developed such mental fortitude that an affectionate bond no longer existed between him and his father. That would indeed be the Buddhist explanation.

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[372] The reserve inherent in the relationship between father and son was also the case with Anagārika Dharmapala, see Obeyesekere 1976, 230-231.

[373] I also asked some questions on dreams at the end of the second interview schedule. This quotation is taken from Ānanda's answer at the end of the second interview. HYUL 75/86, 16.

The following explanation, however, seems more likely. In the light of what we know of Ānanda's family, we can assume that there never existed a close bond of affection between him and his father. This was perhaps the very reason why Ānanda became a monk. His real father had in fact died symbolically long before the real event took place and Ānanda's uncle had become a kind of "foster-father" or "spiritual father" to him. He did not cry in the dream because the detachment had taken place already long ago in childhood and early adolescence.[374]

As was pointed out in connection with the Sinhalese kinship system (§ 5.5. and § 6.1.4.), there is often a close relationship between an uncle and a sister's son. For Ānanda, the relationship between him and his uncle was particularly affectionate during adolescence both because of the frequent visits to the monastery and because of the distant relationship between him and his father. In 1963 Ānanda's uncle came to the family house and asked his parents and himself whether he wanted to enter the village monastery. He agreed willingly, a decision which at the age of 13 proved to be quite natural with reference to his life up to then. Moreover, it was considered a great honour among the farmers to become a novice.

On 2 September 1964 Ānanda received his lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) at the ancient royal temple belonging to the principal monastery and became a selected pupil about to step into an old and highly prestigious lineage of pupillary succession. He was ordained by the Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*) himself and his uncle performed the offices of the robing tutor, being himself a son of the Supreme Chief Monk's sister. Ānanda succeeded very well in his studies and when he had finished the monastic school (*pirivēṇa*) his uncle sent him to the University of Ceylon (nowadays Sri Lanka) in 1969. After five years of studies, he returned to the principal monastery as a B.A. in 1974. In June 1972, his uncle arranged his higher ordination (*upasampadā*) and when Ānanda returned to the principal monastery in 1974, he moved to live at the house (*pansala*) of his uncle, in the same room where he had stayed during his holidays from the university.

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[374] This does not mean, however, that his father's death did not occupy his mind. When we discussed dreams in general he said that "of the dreams I can remember, there is one in which my father's corpse is being taken away. This dream made somewhat of an impression upon my mind. Because of that, I think, I am remembering it." HYUL 75/86, 16. According to Freud's interpretation of dreams one could consider Ānanda's dream of his father's corpse being taken away as a symbolic reference to Ānanda's final liberation from his father. The event did not strike him with grief as Ānanda had apparently come to terms with his relationship with his father long ago. See Freud 1976, 357ff.

When I arrived at the principal monastery in the beginning of November 1974, Ānanda had been living there for some months. During the three terms of the year (October to mid-December, mid-January to March and May to August) he was quite busy teaching both at the monastic school and at the secondary school nearby. Being an intellectual monk, he was highly esteemed among the elder monks at the monastery and many of the younger monks came to him for advice.

Ānanda still had some friends at the university who occasionally wrote to him and came to visit him. I particularly remember one monk who showed up while Ānanda and I were discussing the second interview schedule. His hair had grown a bit and his liberated student manners clearly indicated that he had been studying at the university for some time and having a good time there. When all three of us went to a monastery nearby he called a taxi and made quite a point of paying for the drive. While sizing up the life situation of the university monk, it occurred to me that it was very similar to my own life style during the early days at the university. The freedom from former social ties (in my case parents, in his the teacher) were occasionally experienced with such enthusiasm that we young adults behaved childishly from time to time. The visitor was certainly feeling intensely the freedom of not living with his teacher, the robing tutor, but at the university campus for monks.

These were certainly also the days and perhaps the feelings that Ānanda had recently left behind. The return from the university to the monastery marked a shift from a more flexible and free time schedule to the fixed and restricted routine of the principal monastery. Ānanda had finally chosen to step into the sandals of a monk proper, fulfilling the domestic functions and teaching young children both novices and laymen.

As the Chief Monk was the head of the house (*pansala*) where Ānanda lived and had been in fact his robing tutor he disposed of many means of restricting and controlling Ānanda's free time. One way was to keep him busy all the time by delegating to him all kinds of duties connected with the administration of the monastery (*pansala*). Another was to ask Ānanda to accompany him to *dānē* and *pirit* ceremonies only late the previous evening or early the same morning. As Ānanda was more or less obliged to go with his teacher, it was very difficult for him in practice to make any appointments without discussing the matter with his teacher since there was always something that could turn up and interfere with his plans.

Although Ānanda was on his way to making a good adjustment to the life at the principal monastery, he still longed to continue his studies at the university. As he had recently got his higher ordination and was still very young, he could not hope to become a Chief Monk for several years to come. His career at the monastery promised no rapid advancement, his teacher was still in his late forties, nor was Ānanda particularly interested in shouldering the duties of a Chief Monk. Therefore, he spent most of his free time reading books on the history of India, where he wished to travel some day, and on the history of Buddhism. Since we shared a number of interests in common, he willingly spent a great deal of his free time helping me with my studies. Our association thus turned into a relationship of comradeship. Apart from me, Ānanda also had another important social contact with a second uncle of his, who was an elderly monk living in a monastery nearby. It seemed to me that Ānanda had consciously looked for social contacts also outside the monastery proper in order to avoid conflicts with his teacher, who did not want him to continue his studies at the university. Therefore, it now seems to me that I arrived at the monastery at an opportune moment because Ānanda was in fact searching for marginal contacts and contacts outside the monastery as well, in order to satisfy his intellectual needs.

9.6.3. Ānanda's view of Buddhism and of the mode of life of a monk. Ānanda was a seriously devoted young Theravāda monk, who used every opportunity to study books on Buddhism and also read about current issues in the newspapers. He was well acquainted with the recent debate in the Sinhalese newspapers on monasticism and the modes of life of the monks.

The most fruitful hours of discussion usually took place after the interview rounds when we returned to his room for a cup of tea and a small piece of jaggory. On entering his room, he usually asked me: "are you satisfied with your discussion with the monks"? Thereafter he would continue: "is there anything else you would like to know"?

Sometimes he told me about letters he had received from friends at the university. This period was still very fresh in his mind. At other times he showed pictures of his higher ordination ceremony, his family and other friends. Common subjects of discussion concerned his duties at the school, the history of Buddhism and the places of pilgrimage in India. On the basis of these free discussions I constructed the second interview schedule (§ 8.1. and § 8.3.). The following sub-chapter has principally been compiled both from Ānanda's answers to the questions in the questionnaire and the many free discussions we had during the period of fieldwork. In it we seek to illustrate Ānanda's view of Buddhism and the mode of life of a monk.

The Buddhist view of life holds that this existence is but one of many, forming a link in a long and winding chain of births and deaths, a view referred to by the concept *saṃsāra*, the rounds of rebirths. Despite this overall perspective, the present life is considered not as deterministic or predestinated, but as a *dynamic phase* having an influence on future births and providing the possibility of attaining *nibbāna*, a state of (non-)being outside the wheel of existence, *saṃsāra*. Usually it is considered to take several rebirths before one can attain that transcendental state.

According to the Theravāda tradition, the chief means by which one can attain *nibbāna* is to become a monk (or nun). This is understandable because the mode of life of a monk implies a total involvement. Thus one is at least in principle able to pursue a full-time retirement for the particular purpose of following the path pointed out by Gautama Buddha. As life is characterized as *dukkha*, "unease" or "suffering", one of the main aims of a Theravāda monk is to find a way out of those labyrinths of the mind that provoke and fix the attention on various aspects of desire which fetter him to the revolving wheel of existence, *saṃsāra*.

Within this ideological frame of reference, Ānanda lived as a Theravāda monk who fulfilled the dual function of a teacher and a monk participating in domestic rituals and ceremonies. His mode of life can therefore be characterized not as one of full-time retirement, but rather as one of full-time involvement in a fixed pattern of social interaction between monks and laymen.

Although the final aim of a Theravāda monk is to free himself from the rounds of rebirths and to attain *nibbāna*, Ānanda told me that most of the monks at the principal monastery did not think this possible during a single lifespan. The monks considered their life to be too busy and to require too much involvement at various levels in the society to provide a proper setting for the attainment of this ideal goal.[375]

Being aware of the difficulties of practising in everyday life a "simple mode of life in order to cross the sea of endless births and deaths"[376], Ānanda had chosen to concentrate on developing his mind in this existence. By focusing his mind (*vipassanā bhāvanāva*) upon the three cardinal Buddhist objects of meditation known as impermanence (*anicca*), unease (*dukkha*) and non-*ego* (*anattā*), he aimed at gradually attaining a state of vision (*dhyāna*) which would enable him to understand more thoroughly the circumstances and dynamics of this life.[377] In everyday practice this meant that Ānanda read a lot of books concerning these matters, discussed these questions with another uncle of his who lived as a monk at a monastery nearby and thus trained himself to "keep away the harassing thoughts that plagued the mind"[378]. During his period as a novice, he had also practiced meditation (*vipassanā bhāvanāva*), but nowadays there was no time for that. Nor was Ānanda particularly interested in meditation. Being an intellectual monk, books had become one of his main resources in developing his mind.

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[375] HYUL 75/85, 11.

[376] HYUL 75/84, 1.

Although Ānanda explicitely said that the life of a monk implied "a simple life" and "a life content with little", his own mode of life was, however, quite complex, as we have seen. The surrounding society has changed rapidly. The distance between the monks and the laity has grown smaller all the time. Apart from participating jointly with laymen in various ceremonies and rituals, the monks associate with them also privately and frequently move around in the midst of the society taking care of official duties. Such mundane things as use of money and travelling have become commonplace in a monk's life. According to Ānanda, "it is difficult for a monk frequently to avoid the use of money, travelling by vehicles and living away from society".[379] He admitted that these things have gradually become necessities for monks living in present-day Sri Lanka.

9.7. The case of the Anunāyaka. When my relationship with Ānanda was interrupted at the end of the fourth phase of my fieldwork (§ 8.2.), the *Anunāyaka* of the principal monastery concerned became my most important social contact within the monastic compound. He was one of the oldest (b. 1904) and most esteemed of the monks at the monastery after the *Mahānāyaka*, who, by virtue of his position as the Supreme Chief Monk, was the highest in rank.

The *Anunāyaka's* biography presents us with an interesting case of monkhood in the sense that he had taken up the robe of a Buddhist monk of his own free will. He was born on 26 July 1904 as the fourth child of a wealthy family of six children belonging to the *Goyigama* caste. Like Ānanda's family, the *Anunāyaka's* family lived in an up-country village. His father was an influential

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377 HYUL 75/85, 5.

378 HYUL 75/85, 6-7.

379 HYUL 75/85, 11.

farmer who had about 30 acres of land under cultivation. As quite a few of the *Anunāyaka's* close relatives had taken up the robe of a monk, it does not seem surprising that from childhood on he was well acquainted with the mode of life of a monk and with the monastic tradition. Very early, it seems, he had made up his mind to become a monk and to make a career within the monastic tradition so familiar to his family.

9.7.1. The Anunāyaka's biography as described by himself[380]. "It is during the early days that you go. We usually go there (for the first time) at the age of between six and seven years, I understand. It was then that I went to (my native) village monastery (*pansala*). I went with my parents to pay homage (to Buddha) and to learn. It was my parents who told me to go (there)."

"(At that time) I understood that the monks keep very well the precepts (*sil*), they explain the 'religion' (*āgamaya*) to the people of the country, and I did know that they lead the people along a good path ... a useful thing for the real benefit of us all."

"As a layman until 14 years of age, I was in the school. At that time there was an examination called the Monitor's examination. After passing it, I felt that monastic life is better for me than a layman's life. Then I went to become a monk."

"(It was) of my own need. In order to develop my spiritual world and because of overcoming our 'unease' (*duk*). (I obtained my lower ordination) at the age of 14 in 1918 at (my native) village *pansala*. Naranwala Sumangala and Batagalle Siddhārtha[381] (were my most honoured teachers). I studied languages, Pāli and Sanskrit."

"I esteemed him (Naranwala Sumangala) very highly. He was a great teacher. Because of his kind graciousness at all times to guide me properly to prosperity, I achieved my prosperous goal. (In the evenings we did) the 'religious' (*āgamika*) duties, (we) performed the traditional duties of monks, payed homage to Buddha, recited and meditated upon the scripts, re-learnt what had already been studied ... did all these things."

"(I did get my higher ordination) at the principal monastery on May the 26th in 1924. To pass the higher ordination I had to know (by heart) a section from the book on how to preach (*banadaham*). I was asked that section. My parents and relatives (arranged the ceremony)."

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[380] Also this presentation of the *Anunāyaka's* biography is edited on the basis of the verbatim material of his answers to questions 1-55 of the second interview schedule. HYUL 75/90, 1-5. See also footnote 368.

[381] Fictitious names.

"I am the *Anunāyaka* of (one of) the principal monasteries of the *Syāma Nikāya* branch; therefore, because of the *Anunāyaka* position, I got that honorary title. The name Sumangala[382] belongs to our *pansala* lineage, (therefore) we use that monk name in everyday speech. My honoured teacher (suggested that name)."

"I did everything that is suited for monkhood. After joining the monastery, I studied the *Baṇa* book and other scriptures needed for monastic life. Then to further develop myself, I studied at the monastic school (*pirivēṇa*). I studied language, philosophy, the *Baṇa* book, philosophical books, grammer books ... those are the books you read."

"I did not face any such problems as need to be told. Once you undertake to become a monk, everything that is needed for monkhood must be done. To count any of them as difficult is not correct. As a monk you do not feel lonely. A monk has to live alone."

"(I have stayed) at the village *pansala* and at this *pansala* (at the principal monastery). From then to the present I have connections with (my native village *pansala*). Even now they are under my administration as long as I am alive (see § 9.4.)."

"In 1947 I was chosen to the "Council of Monks" (*Mahā Sangha Sabhāvaṭa*) of the principal monastery. Thereafter, in 1973 I was appointed *Anunāyaka* of that "Council of Monks". I am still continuing that good work. There are many things that have to be done for the fraternity. In order to act and administer them I stay here."

"Someone comes to see me at least once a week. My brothers, they come anytime they are free. They bring (me) the things needed for monkhood and materials needed to make food. I get their help in everything. When they come to visit me, they invite me to visit them when I am free. On my birthday I go."

"The present *Mahānāyaka* is my relative. (He is a) relative brother (cousin). (Moreover I have relative monks) at Mänikdiwela, at Kulugammana and also in many other regions."

"No, I chose to become a monk of my own accord. To become free of the obstacles and keep (my) mind fit. I expect as a living person to get rid of our 'unease' (*duk*) and pave the necessary path."

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382 Fictitious name.

9.7.2. The Anunāyaka's views of the mode of life of a monk: an interpretation. The *Anunāyaka's* biography states that he took up the robe of a Theravāda monk as the result of a personal choice, out of personal devotion, a circumstance which, as we have seen, is unusual within this monastic tradition. To the question whether his thoughts and ideas had changed during monkhood, he replied that he had not thought of anything else than an ascetic life, and that his decision had never changed.[383] He also said that one who wants to become a monk should have devotion.[384]

As regards the psychological reasons for his decision to become a monk, I do not think that there were any particular difficulties in his early adolescence that led to his decision. It seems, rather, as if he had as a youngster admired all of his relatives who had taken up the robe of a monk.[385] Perhaps the virtuous life of those monks had been frequently discussed and admired by his family. At all events, his renunciation seems not to have been so drastic as a foreigner and outsider would perhaps expect. It is more likely that he just followed a pattern of behaviour very familiar and common to his family. Consequently, he adopted the values of his family in shouldering the robe in order to embark on the glorious career of a monk, which is so highly appreciated and venerated by his family.

According to the *Anunāyaka*, the purpose of being a monk is to learn to be mindful, to gain control over worldly passions, to practise meditation, to make the mind happy in overcoming 'unease' (*duk*), to develop one's life to try to lead one's life as a worldly person in accordance with the *dhamma*, to get rid of the problems, sadness and our 'unease' and to attain enlightenment (*nivan* = freedom from the rebirth).[386] Living, whatever the form it takes, involves 'unease' (*duk*). Therefore, facing it daily and filled with joy some stage can be attained.[387] The purpose of leading a monk's mode of life is to get rid of 'unease' completely for the sake of the good of others and for one's own good. This can be done by doing the deeds required to attain freedom from rebirth (*nivan*).[388]

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[383] HYUL 75/90, 6.

[384] In the Interview Diary 1974-1975, 55, Mr. Fernando jotted down his impressions of the *Anunāyaka* as follows: "Calm and collected, he answered the questions. He had no difficulties in understanding the questions and repetition was necessary only in a very few instances. His answers were short but to the point *like those of one who had entered the Order of his own accord.*"

[385] The fact that the *Anunāyaka* had many relatives as monks also became evident in the discussion with Mr. Fernando after the interview. See Mr. Fernando's notes in the Interview Diary 1974-1975, 55.

[386] HYUL 75/90, 5.

[387] HYUL 75/91, 12.

Although the purpose of being a monk was to attain freedom from rebirth, the *Anunāyaka* explicitly said that he strove for a better rebirth. According to him, meditation was necessary for attaining freedom from rebirth. Meditation as well as preserving the Buddhist mode of life were mentioned as the two most important meritorious deeds. Moreover, he did mention offerings and the observing of the precepts.[389] As he considered himself to have good powers of mental concentration, he expected to attain enlightenment very soon. By that he did not, however, mean this life, but perhaps the next.[390] What seemed to be needed was a constant practising of meditation. By meditation he meant a concentrating of one's mind.[391]

As regards how a monk should behave, the *Anunāyaka* said that one should live for the happiness of the Buddhists, for the happiness of the world and for one's own happiness and prosperity in accordance with one's mind, in unison with one's mind, without disagreeing with one's mind and by doing kind, conscientious good deeds.[392] Earlier the alms-rounds were part of the daily routine but nowadays no alms-rounds are made from the monastery.[393]

The *Anunāyaka* considered smoking as totally unsuitable for a monk but according to him, some monks did smoke temporarily as a treatment for illness. It was quite common that the monks smoked during the cold period. Neither did he regard drinking alcohol or using money as befitting a monk. He said in fact that "there is nothing that needs to be bought for money. Money is not needed for a real monk (*bhikkhu*)."[394] Hiring a taxi did not fit in with an ascetic life either. Yet he didn't think it mattered if use of a vehicle was arranged through another person (*dāyaka*). He was quite against monks taking part in politics but did consider it necessary to go out and meet friends, "respectable friends" as he expressed it.[395]

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[388] HYUL 75/90, 5.

[389] HYUL 75/91, 10.

[390] HYUL 75/90, 7.

[391] HYUL 75/91, 10.

[392] HYUL 75/90, 6.

[393] HYUL 75/90, 6.

[394] HYUL 75/90, 6-7.

[395] HYUL 75/90, 7.

Practising astrology was in his view not suited for public demonstration, but astrology was considered necessary for the needs in the monastery to chose the times and days for the 'religious' observances and offerings.[396] He was somewhat ambiguous about monks studying at the university. He seemed to feel that the system now in use is not useful for the monastic life. He did not say, however, in what way he considered it not to be useful. Finally, he did not think it wrong for a monk to "own" property. He said in fact that "it is not wrong if what belongs to the monastery is being used for the development of the monastery, as an offering for the livelihood of the monks and for the development of the monastery."[397]

On the basis of the *Anunāyaka's* account of the monk's mode of life, one gets the impression that the teacher is the unquestioned authority and supervisor of the mode of life practised in the monastery. The *Anunāyaka* stated flatly that one who wants to become a monk *must obey* his teachers and adults. They must behave in such a way that the Buddhists among whom they move are happy.[398]

The rules of behaviour are taught by the teachers, i.e. the Chief Monks. A "Council" (*Sangha Sabhāva*) exists for making inquiries on the basis of which it (the "Council") takes the necessary action. The *Anunāyaka* also emphasized that when good work is done, recognition can be obtained.[399] Paradoxically, the *Anunāyaka* said that the regulations of the Buddha's time are what have to be observed whenever one becomes a monk, yet on the other hand, he also said that one cannot observe anything that is against the values of society.[400] This discrepancy between the regulations of the Buddhs's time and the circumstances of present-day life in the monastery seems to be one of the great dilemmas facing the system of upbringing novices and younger monks.

As the laity in fact provides the *conditio sine qua* for the existence of monasticism, it is understandable that the interaction between monks and laity has a significant bearing on the mode of life within the monastic compound. For the laity, the offering of a child to monastic life (*śāsanayaṭa*) means enjoying the privilege of Buddhisthood, and it is considered useful indeed for attaining freedom from rebirth (*nivan*).[401] Nevertheless, the usual interpretation is that it leads to a better rebirth.

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396 HYUL 75/90, 7.

397 HYUL 75/91, 10.

398 HYUL 75/91, 9.

399 HYUL 75/91, 8.

400 HYUL 75/91, 9.

401 HYUL 75/91, 11.

As to the question of how one becomes a Buddhist layman, the *Anunāyaka* said that one becomes an *upāsaka* by being in *regular* contact with the three fundamentals of the teaching of the Buddha, namely, Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha.[402] According to the *Anunāyaka*, being a layman implies always refraining from non-dhammic (*adharma*) way of life, leading a good life in accordance with the *dhamma*, trying as far as possible to lead a faultless life by observing the 'religious' precepts (*sil*) and leading a life that purifies one's mind. In this way a Buddhist person preserves the Buddhist way of life and in so doing attains perfect peace at the end by overcoming 'unease' (*duk*).[403]

The *Anunāyaka* quite consciously was a kind of a counsellor to many a layman and he stated that laymen occsionally change their habits because they temporarily have got lost in their minds. He held that those bad habits can, with the help of the monks, be adjusted in accordance with the Buddhist path.[404] A layman, too, should live his life for the prosperity of others as well as himself.[405]

As regards the attitude the monks should have when associating with females, the *Anunāyaka* said that it is desirable to treat female devotees as sisters and as mothers.[406]. Thus, it seems, the continual necessity of associating with females have been solved by regarding them within the frame of reference of the Sinhalese kinship system. Women were assigned to categories which would function "preventively" and enable the monks to keep their promise of celibacy. Moreover, the interaction between monks and laity most frequently takes place in public during such ceremonies as "food-offering" (*dānē*) and "protection-recitation" (*pirit*) and on so-called *poya* days.

Listening to the *Anunāyaka's* views of the mode of life of a monk, it sometimes seemed as if the answers to the questions concerned (II, 53-153) came out more according to how he thought the monk's mode of life should be rather than how it actually was in practice. The *Anunāyaka* quite evidently took the role of a "teacher" and a "guide" when Mr. Fernando interviewed him. Perhaps this attitude was due to the fact that Mr. Fernando was a Sinhalese-Buddhist layman.

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402 HYUL 75/91, 12.
403 HYUL 75/90, 6.
404 HYUL 75/91, 9.
405 HYUL 75/90, 7.
406 HYUL 75/91, 10.

One of the main concerns of an *Anunāyaka* is the upbringing of the novices and the younger monks. Therefore, his views quite honestly represent the standpoint of one occupying the social position of a Chief Monk, while Ānanda's views on the other hand can be regarded to reflect the life situation of the younger monks. In general it seems as if the *Anunāyaka* viewed his role as a Buddhist monk as one of a pioneer, who first himself has to come as close to the Buddhist goal of life (*nivan*) as possible in order to be able to teach the laity the path towards that goal. Thus he viewed himself as a guide in spiritual matters. What he actually seems to have aimed at and what he apparently enjoyed was being a monk, who during his long life had steadily grown in Buddhist wisdom to become a "wise man", one whose primary aim in life for the present moment was to guide the laity towards a better rebirth and finally towards freedom from rebirth. Perhaps this fundamental attitude was also one of the main reasons why he was so helpful to me even after some of the other monks felt my presence to be somewhat embarrassing.

10. Monks in networks of social relations

10.1. On analyzing the social relations of the monks. Network metaphors date back at least to George Simmel and the so-called formal school of German sociologists, who aimed at analyzing face-to-face relations from a structural point of view.[407] One of the first scholars to systematically apply a kind of network analysis was the social-anthropologist J.A. Barnes, who in his study of a Norwegian fishing village distinguished between unbounded and bounded social networks, centred on a single person (*ego*).[408]

The basic idea in the analysis of social networks is to discover by means of observation and interview techniques all the social contacts of a given person and thereby obtain an understanding of the actual social circumstances and patterns of life of that person. Network analysis is basically very simple. It asks questions as to who is linked to whom, the nature of that linkage, and how the nature of the linkage influences behaviour.

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[407] See White et al. 1976, 730. Simmel 1950 and 1955, so often cited by American sociologists, was first published in 1908. For Simmel's influence on American sociology, see Levine et al. 1971, 813ff.

[408] See Barnes 1954, 43 where the term network is used to form a multidimensional concept in order to denote a social field, where "each person has a number of friends and these friends have their own friends; some of any one person's friends know each other, others do not." See also Barnes 1969, 51-76 and Noble 1973, 4-5.

The network method of analyzing social relations has sprung from the ineffectiveness of the structural-functional model[409], which only took into account already existing groups. Since attention is centred on the social behaviour of a single person as an agent, difficulties arose concerning how to distinguish between him as a member of a certain group and the boundaries of the groups in general.[410] The group theory was found inadequate as a method of detecting social ties outside as well as inside the group. The level of analysis was then shifted from the so-called collective categories as defined by Durkheim (roles, offices, institutions or whatever that continued to exist independently of the particular individuals who might be transiently occupied with them)[411] to the face-to-face relations ramifying out in the society.

Ever since the 1960's the analysis of social networks has gained ground both among sociologist and anthropologists. Since the beginning of the 1970's scholars have set out in two main directions. Some have chosen to remain as close to the empirical level as possible and therefore focused their attention on the threads in a single network. Others have aimed at constructing complex and strictly mathematical models of analysis by studying the close-knit nature of interconnections within a network and the overlapping that exists between multiple types of networks for a given population.[412]

In the first approach, which will be the one used in this study, we find a three-step ramification, namely, *ego-egos-set*[413]. The threads in a single network are built up according to this principle. Several scholars have further broken down the third step, or the set, into a dichotomy. Barnes has referred to the third step by the terms bounded and unbounded social relations, Epstein by the terms effective and extended social relations and Bott by the terms close-knit and loose-knit social relations.[414]

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[409] On the critique of the structural-functional model, see Boissevain and Mitchell 1973, I-VII and Boissevain 1974, 9-23.

[410] In this study, which only concerns a small number of monks, the group theory is of little analytical value. It is rather the networks of the monks that reveal their actual mode of life and their aim in life.

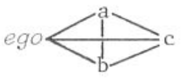
[411] See, for example, Durkheim 1938, 89-90 and 89-97.

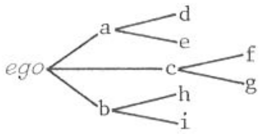
[412] See White et al. 1976, 731 and Boissevain 1979, 392-394. In this study I cannot find any use for the somewhat too strictly mathematical model of White et al. The aim of this study is to operate as close to the empirical level as possible in order to discover the actual circumstances and dynamics of monkhood.

[413] In order to maintain the analytical use-value I prefer 'set' (set of relationships) to the concept 'group'. Compare Banch 1973, 40.

[414] See Noble 1973, 5.

When analyzing the social relations of the monks, I found the distinction closed-set and open-set quite useful. In a closed-set those known to *ego* are also known to each other, while in an open-set those known to *ego* are not known to each other or have no contact with each other.[415]


CLOSED-SET


OPEN-SET

The material on the social relations of the monks dealt with in this study was collected principally during the first round of interview, the purpose of which was to trace the network of social relations of the monks within the monastic context, but also to some extent outside it. Special attention was paid to those laymen who were connected more or less regularly with the monastery. The result of the analysis was later double-checked both with reference to my observations in the field and in connection with the second round of interviews.

There were 42 monks altogether registered as living in or belonging to the monastery. I adopted the following strategy in order to get an adequate view of the social relations of the monks. I followed systematically in the footsteps of Ānanda, the monk who was my key-informant, and attempted to discover all his social contacts with the other monks and the social contacts of the latter with each other. I thus noticed that only 20 monks actually lived in the monastery on a regular basis. Eleven monks resided in their houses (*pansalas*) only occasionally. Of these, the senior pupils of Chief Monks came to the monastery only during their holidays as they usually lived either at the monastic school or on the university campus, where they studied or in some monastery nearby. The Chief Monks, on the other hand, usually visited the monastery only once a month in order to participate in the meeting of the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*), which assembled regularly once a month. The remaining eleven monks were either dead, living completely separated in another village monastery or just too old and ill to be interested in answering my questions. Consequently, the analysis of the network of the social relations of the monks at the principal monastery concerns twenty monks.

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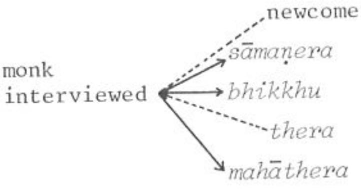
[415] Barnes 1954, 44 has stated with regard to the closed and open-set: "In modern society ... people do not have as many friends in common as they do in small-scale societies ... in primitive societies many of the possible paths leading away from any A lead back again to A after a few links; in modern society a smaller proportion lead back to A ... each individual tends to have a different audience for each of the roles he plays."

The aim of the analysis of the social relations of the monks is to detect the actual linkages between the various monks and thereby to construct the social network of the principal monastery. Thereafter the various types of social relations are studied in detail as to their constellation. Finally, an attempt will be made to analyze the main social contacts ramifying outside the monastery.

10.2. Choosing and establishing social contacts. Each monk interviewed was asked to tell me the names of his two best monk friends. As there were no newcomers and no *theras* living in the monastery at that time, the actual choice was made among three different categories of monkhood. We arrived at the following set-up.



(there was only one newcomer, who came to the monastery at the very end of my time there)

(there were no *theras* in the monastery)

Of the monks interviewed two were *sāmaṇeras*, nine were *bhikkhus*, and nine were *mahātheras*. The first interview question produced the following result as regards the choices:

2 *sāmaṇeras* chose two *bhikkhus* as friends
6 *bhikkhus* chose two *bhikkhus* as friends
2 *bhikkhus* chose a *bhikkhu* and a *sāmaṇera* as friends
1 *bhikkhu* chose a *bhikkhu* and a *mahāthera* as friends
7 *mahātheras* chose two *mahātheras* as friends
2 *mahātheras* chose a *bhikkhu* and a *mahāthera* as friends

N.B. No monk answered that he had no friends. The Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*) on the other hand insisted that all monks were in fact his friends!

From the answers given above it can be seen that, as was expected, neither a *sāmaṇera* nor a *mahāthera* chose each other as friends. In a couple of cases a *sāmaṇera* and a *bhikkhu*, and a *bhikkhu* and a *mahāthera* revealed great ties of friendship. Among the three actual age groups (in this monastery) there were, therefore, cases in which friendship crossed the age group boundaries. As regards the *sāmaṇera-bhikkhu* relationship, one reason was certainly the fact that they lived in the same house (*pansala*). Other factors, too, are involved in the friendship ties. In some cases they crossed the border from A to B and vice versa (see § 10.3.); an example in point is having the same interest in studying.

When I examined the time and place co-ordinates for forming the social contacts, I found that the answers given in the interviews supported my own observations. It was usually in the morning between 6.00 and 7.30 a.m. and in the evening between 6.00 and 7.30 p.m. that the monks met each other for private (*pudgalika*) reasons. If one takes a look at the daily routine (§ 7.5.), these hours are in fact the only ones possible during the week. Saturdays and Sundays were very often days set aside for ceremonies, either invitational or calendary.

The meetings lasted about one hour. The usual place to meet a friend was in the hall inside or just outside the house (*pansala*). I noticed that the monks often stood outside their houses, when they desired company. This seems to have been an implicit invitation to join a discussion.[416]

During these hours the monks seldom sat inside the house. The frequency of the meetings varied from daily occurrences to three times a week. In terms of duration, the contacts of the *sāmaṇeras* lasted from 2 to 3 years, those of the *bhikkhus* from 2 to 8 years and those of the *mahātheras* from 10 to 25 years.

The twenty monks interviewed lived in ten houses (*pansalas*) as follows:

a) in two houses the monks interviewed were a Chief Monk (*mahāthera*), his senior pupil (*bhikkhu*) and his junior pupil (*sāmaṇera*).

b) in one house the monks interviewed were a Chief Monk (*mahāthera*) and his senior pupil (*bhikkhu*).

c) in two houses the monks interviewed were two Chief Monks (*bhikkhus*), who had no pupils and still had one year left before acquiring the title *thera*.

d) in five houses the monks interviewed were Chief Monks (*mahātheras*) who were all members of the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*).

The two young Chief Monks who were not yet *theras* constituted something of a link between the three age groups. They had friends among both the senior pupils (*bhikkhus*) and the Chief Monks (*mahātheras*). They represented the new generation of Chief Monks and both of them had recently become members of the

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[416] On the regulations pertaining to the relations between monks, see Gothóni 1974, 73-74, where the relevant monastic rules (*Pātimokkha*) are summarized. As regards the traditional adjustments of the regulations (*Katikāvata*), see Ratnapala 1971, 148ff.

"Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*). One of them had "inherited" an old royal temple (*rājamahāvihāre*) and was now busy learning how to look after the properties connected with his *pansala*. The other was continuing his studies at the university. Both of them were in frequent contact with the leading Chief Monks at the monastery and maintained a good relationship with them.

Apart from these social contacts, which were freely chosen, there were of course the necessary official social contacts such as the relationship between a Chief Monk and his pupils or the contacts arising from ritual and institutional tasks which called for co-operation. All the monks living in the monastery of course knew each other but were not necessarily good friends with each other. Due to tensions between certain of the monks, some of them chose to live in another monastery some miles away from the principal monastery, while they still remained members of the "Council of Monks".

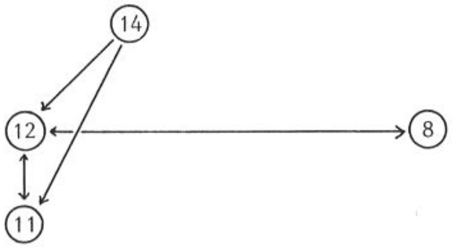
The monks' social contacts with laymen can be divided into two groups. First we have the formal and official contacts connected with rituals and ceremonies such as "food-giving" (*dānē*) and "protection-recitation" (*pirit*). These formal social contacts have been discussed in chapter B; here we shall consider only the informal social contacts that are based on choice. In the first round of interviews, I asked about the monk's two best lay friends as well. If we take a look at the three age groups, we can say that in general members of each group chose a layman friend of approximately the same age. There were only two exceptions. Two *sāmaṇeras* had lay friends of forty, approximately twenty years older than themselves. I noticed, however, that they were also particularly attached to the *mahātheras* within the monastery compound.

The usual time of meeting a layman was in the mornings and in the evenings for the older monks, while the younger monks met their lay friends at the school. The frequency of the meetings varied from three times a week to once a week. Contacts with the laity were less frequent than contacts within the monastery. The duration of the social contacts was about the same as in the case of monk friends, though there was a tendency for relationships between monks who had studied at the university and their lay friends there to be discontinued. Upon returning to the monastery, the monks often lost their friends, who usually either continued their studies or took up permanent residence in one of the larger cities.

10.3. The social network of the principal monastery. In constructing the social network of the principal monastery, five different aspects were considered, i.e. generation, time, space, frequency and duration. In addition, erally speaking, the twenty monks interviewed were the monks actually living, in the monastery, whereas the eleven monks designated N were only part-time residents of the monastery.

10.3.1. The social configurations of the network. When analyzing the various numbers and initials (monks) from the viewpoint of their relative positions, i.e. the way in which they are spatially arranged in a form or figure, all numbers and initials are considered as units in or parts of an actual social structure. In the analysis of the social configurations[418] of the units, it is not the units *per se*, but the units in relation to each other that are of importance for the present study.

The dominant centre of the social network is to be found in the closed-set 11, 12, 14 and 8. When we draw the configuration separately, we obtain the following picture.



Chief Monk 11, 12 and 14 clearly form a closed-set[419], while Chief Monk 8 is more marginal. The marginal position of Chief Monk 8 can probably be explained by the fact that he lived in the other area (namely B). He was quite busy looking after his ancient royal temples (*rājamahāvihāras*) and was therefore less frequently in touch with the other members of the closed-set, all of whom lived in area A and therefore met daily. Chief Monk 8 chose as his second monk friend a monk, here designated N, who lived in another monastery nearby; they were monkhood brothers who had acquired their education at the same time. An interesting point concerning the closed-set is the fact that both 12 and 14 chose 11 as their best friend. Chief Monk 11 was one of the young Chief Monks who were not yet *theras*. He had recently "inherited" a house (*pansala*) and an ancient royal temple. To my mind the interaction situation quite obviously revealed that 12 and 14 were constantly teaching the young Chief Monk how to look after his properties. In this way these interaction situations can be seen as representing the final phase in a long process of enculturation and socialization.[420]

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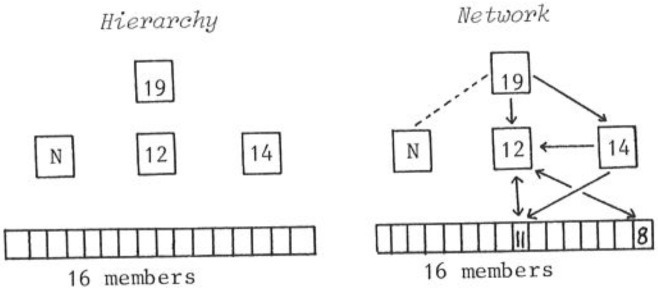
[418] Configuration = the relative position of entities in a social structure.

[419] For the closed-set and open-set, see § 10.1. For the centrality, see Boissevain 1974, 41-42.

Chief Monks 19, N above 14, 6, 20 and 13 are in a marginal position in this configuration. Nevertheless, 19 and N were at the very top of the hierarchy ("Council of Monks"). Chief Monk 6, 20 and 13 were influential on another level as they were completely involved in social, organizational and ritual matters. Chief Monk 6 was the monk in constant contact with the lay supporters (*dāyakas*) and was responsible for the arrangement of the various "food-giving" (*dānē*) ceremonies. Chief Monk 20 remained in his house only on ritual days, as he was in charge of an ancient temple and preferred to live there for most of the year. Chief Monk 13 preferred the life of a recluse, although he was a permanent resident of the monastery compound. He had very few social contacts with the other Chief Monks and was never mentioned in any interview.

When we compare the so-called actual social structure (network) with the conditional social structure (hierarchy) of the "Council of Monks" (as previously presented in § 6.1.1.), it becomes quite clear that the holders of the top positions in the jurisdictional body are not only respected for the prestige of their rank, but also for their personal qualities. The difference in outlook of these two social structures can be illustrated as follows.


COUNCIL OF MONKS

Hierarchy

Network

The conditional model and the actual realization of the social structures seem to provide a corresponding distinction between the static and the dynamic aspect of one and the same social setting. As the social network has shown, the pattern of respect does not in practice necessarily correspond to the pattern of friendship. The latter is more disposed to fluctuation and change than the former. Each era has a different dynamic outlook as regards the social structure, although the conditional setting may remain the same for centuries.

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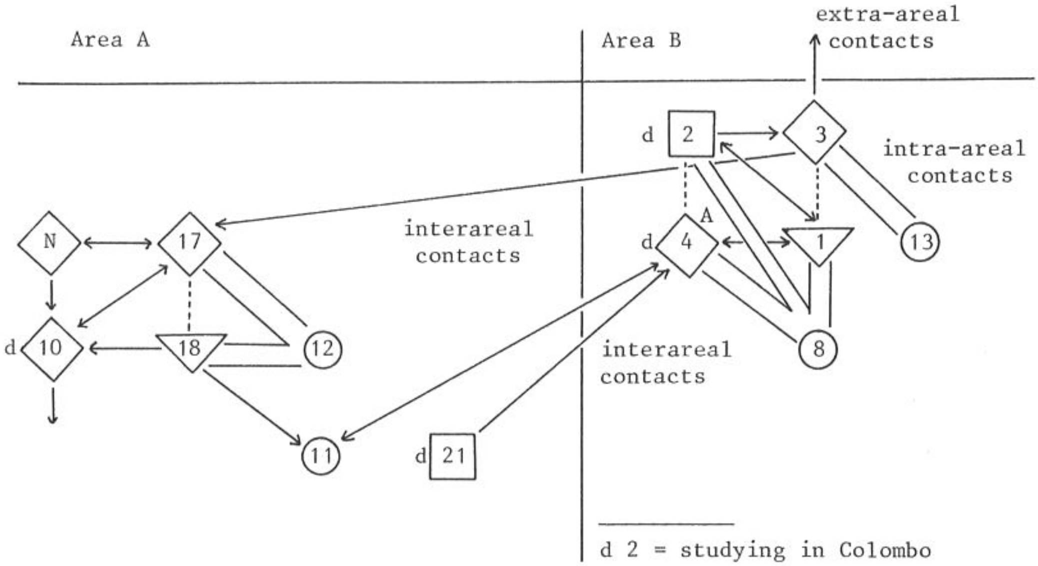
[420] For these concepts, see Williams 1972, 207-260 and LeVine 1973, 61-83.

The second central configuration to be analyzed is the teacher-pupil relationships. Three such relationships were considered in this study. Characteristic of all of them were interareal contacts on the part of the pupils. The configurations, viewed in isolation, can be depicted as follows.



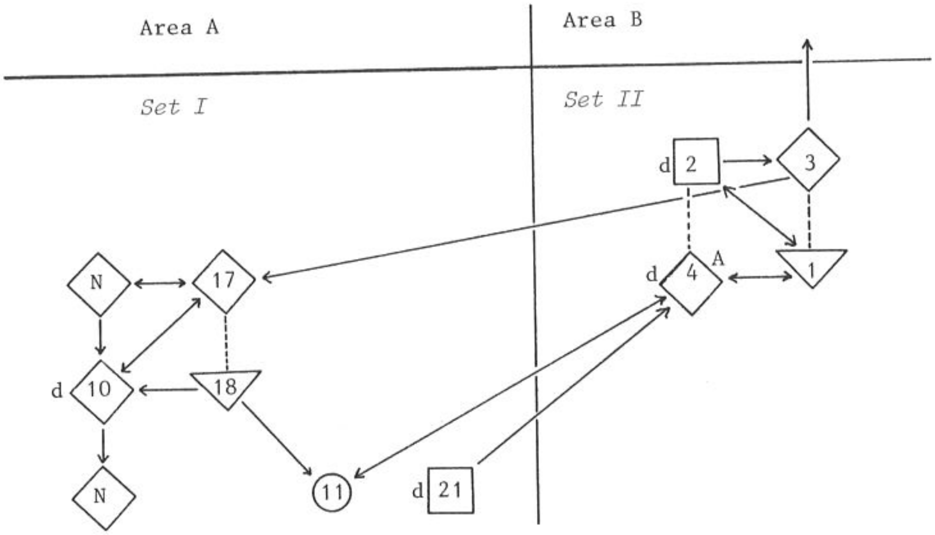
It may seem somewhat paradoxical that all the pupils except one (junior pupil 1) clearly showed a tendency towards interareal and in one case extra-areal social contacts. This configuration suggests that the pupils for one reason or another seemed to be avoiding their teacher (Chief Monk). The configuration is strange in that one would have expected (on the basis of the principles involved in recruitment (§ 6.1.3 and § 6.1.5), a closer relationship between teacher and pupil and a configuration orientated more towards their own immediate environment. This can be explained in several ways.

The most natural explanation is that the ties of friendship were established between young monks who had similar interests. For example, 17 and 10 were both interested in studying. As 10 had a B.A. degree from the University of Sri Lanka, it is natural that 17, also interested in studying, was looking for a social contact that could help him with his work. This explanation applies to 18 and 3 as well. Senior pupil 4, my key-informant, monk Ānanda, chose Chief Monk 11 (who also chose him, see arrow) because he had already finished his studies and was now preparing to become a Chief Monk. Chief Monk

11, having recently acquired his new status, was something of a mentor to Ānanda as regards the monastic community and the administrative tasks of the principal monastery.

The second explanation probably lies in the fact that the pupils aim at independence from their teachers, who have been responsible for their upbringing and education in most cases since they were thirteen years old. The situation is quite similar to that of any family, namely, the conflict between upbringing and growing independence. It is quite appropriate to say that the pupils are after all the "children" of their teachers (Chief Monks), especially since in some cases they are the sons of their sisters (*māmā-bänā*).

The third noteworthy configuration is formed by the social contacts of the senior pupils and the two junior pupils. We can here discern two closed-sets in particular:



A cursory glance at the two sets is enough to notice immediately that set I is much more closely knit than set II. In set I there is only one so-called lateral linkage[421], namely, that between 17 and 18. Since both of them are, however, pupils of the same teacher, even that linkage could be thought of as somewhat more closely knit. In set II the central monk is junior pupil 1, since he is the one with two arrows pointing to him and the only monk with no interareal contacts. On the other hand, in this set there are two lateral linkages and since senior pupil 2 is actually studying in Colombo and only stays at the monastery during his holidays, the whole set is only occasionally closed, being open most of the time. Senior pupil 4, Ānanda, is even more interareally orientated, a fact which makes the set even less closely knit. The differences between the cohesion in these two sets can also be explained by the fact that set I has come into being in a remote corner of Area A, in a house (*pansala*) in which the recent death of the Chief Monk meant that there was no direct, authoritative social control. These young monks almost invariably assembled in that particular house. Senior pupil 10 was the central figure in this set. As he was expected to become Chief Monk of that house in the near future, he was naturally favoured by his younger monkhood brothers.

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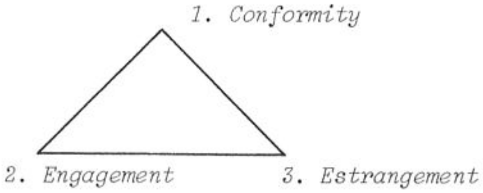
[421] On lateral linkages, see Boissevain 1974, 41-42.

Chief Monk 11 and senior pupil 21 (also soon expected to become a Chief Monk) occupy a special position in this configuration. As can be seen, senior pupil 4, Ānanda, has ties with both of these monks. It seems to me that this fact illustrates the twofold orientation of Ānanda. Chief Monk 11 can teach him what it is like to be a Chief Monk with administrative duties etc., while senior pupil 21, who has continued his studies, can keep him up to date on happenings at the university. Monks 11 and 21 can also be seen as forming links between the two areas at the same time as they provide a channel of communication between junior pupils and Chief Monks.

Apart from these closed-sets, there are also a number of open-sets, namely, 16 and two N:s, 13 and two N:s, 5-N-21, 6-N-8, and 20-N-12. In the first two open-sets we see an apparent orientation away from the monastery compound towards a separate monastery. The following three open-sets have one contact pole towards an N and the other pole firmly planted in the very centre of the monastery.

10.3.2. Orientation of action as reflected in the social configurations. We may discern three points of attraction when analyzing the various social configurations from the viewpoint of orientation of action. The three points should not, however, be seen as absolute but as tendencies, i.e. the monks tend to choose a life orientation which is directed towards one of these points. The first tendency can be characterized as "actions aiming at conformity", the second as "actions aiming at engagement" and the third as "actions revealing estrangement".



"Actions aiming at conformity" here refers to the strong tendency among the Chief Monks to bring up their pupils in such a way that they can easily assume the various administrative tasks when called on to do so, i.e. when the Chief Monk dies. In relationships 11-12-14 and 11 and 4 a strong tendency towards conformity was observable. In the first case the young Chief Monk 11 is instructed on how to behave as a Chief Monk and how to look after the various properties connected with his *pansala*. In the second case, senior pupil 4, Ānanda, is slowly moving away from study-orientated actions towards actions that are regarded as traditional and therefore as proper for a Chief Monk.

Relationships 10-17-18, 1-3 and particularly 6, 13, 21 and 20 are engagement-centred. The pupils are engaged in studying, while the Chief Monks, on the other hand, are engaged in social, ritual and administrative matters.

The third point or "actions revealing estrangement" manifests itself in two ways. First, a monk may disrobe. This is a tendency which seems to be on the increase (§ 7.4.). The second manifestation of estrangement is that the monks move to a separate monastery. We have highlighted this phenomenon in the social network by marking such monks with the sign N. Those monks designated N have not completely moved away from the principal monastery. They live there occasionally, especially during the meetings of the "Council of Monks" at the end of every month. Yet they are located closer to the point of estrangement than to any of the other points.

10.4. The types of social contacts. In the previous chapter the social network was plotted to discover the kinds of social configurations which exist within the principal monastery. We shall now examine the social configurations in terms of dyad and triad social contacts. The underlying idea is that it is precisely the dyads and the triads that provide us with the smallest units of analysis in each social setting. This idea was first presented by Simmel as early as 1908.[422] For the purposes of analytical clarity, our examination of these basic units of the social network will make use of the distinction between three types of social contacts viewed in terms of their structural cohesion, namely, a dyad, an open triad and a closed triad.

10.4.1. Presentation of the types of social contacts. The theoretical possibilities of illustrating social contacts within a limited set of points and a set of lines have been discussed by Mayhew and Levinger. Their schematic system will be used here for the purpose of illustration, because it is a convenient way to present the three types of social contacts and clearly indicates the structural differences between the types.[423]

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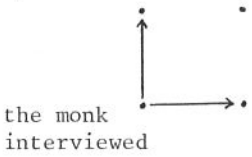
[422] Simmel 1908, 81-134; especially 126-130.

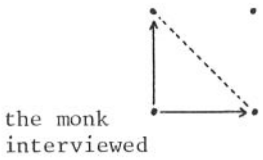
First, there are the dyad contacts, which can be presented as follows:



The system includes four limiting points (monks). The arrows show that only two monks at a time are involved in the social contact.

Each monk was requested to give the name of his two best friends among the monks. A dyad contact is set up when one of the choices is a monk who has not been chosen by anybody else. Moreover, his name shall not have been mentioned in any other interview nor is he to have been observed in any contact-situation. In the diagram presented above, the monk interviewed has two separate contacts and the chosen friends these contacts represent have no mutual contact. Finally, we must point out that each teacher-pupil relationship can be seen as a dyad contact, since it is inherently confidential.

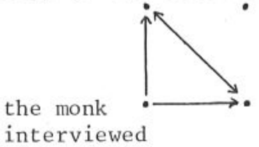
Secondly, there are open triads:



In an open triad the two friends chosen by the monk interviewed knew each other and had social contact because they lived in the same house (*pansala*) or because the third monk involved was a friend of the original dyad contact.

In an open triad setting all three monks involved tend to have common interests and they even meet each other separately. This kind of triad cannot, however, be considered to constitute a closed-set, because the two friends chosen by the monk interviewed did not choose each other as friends. This structural difference makes it useful to distinguish between an open and a closed triad.

Thirdly, we can construct closed triads:



In a closed triad the two friends chosen by the monk interviewed were also close friends.

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[423] Mayhew and Levinger 1976, 87-88. Four points will suffice in this study, since the total number of monks is small and the network concept has been implemented with closed and open sets consisting of no more than four monks at a time.

When we examine the social network of the principal monastery within the context of these three types of social contact, we arrive at the following conclusion: The three types of social contact differ not only in size and structure but also in orientation and apparently in function. It is noteworthy that there are eleven dyads, five open triads and five closed triads along with one teacher-pupil relationship in each grouping. Most of the dyads are characterized by an interareal or extra-areal orientation. The social contacts analyzed seem to reflect the circumstance that the monk stands with one foot inside the monastery compound and the other outside it. The open triads also have one extra-areal contact in three cases out of five. The closed triads, on the other hand, reveal a clear intra-areal orientation. The dominant centre set of the social network analyzed above is found, as was expected, in the closed triads.

By grouping all the monks and their chosen social contacts under the three types of social contacts, we arrive at the following. The numbers are taken from the social network and the first number in each sequence of contacts always refers to the monk interviewed, i.e. the monk from whose viewpoint the analysis is made.

1. Dyads

⎡10 - N o o b
⎣10 - N o⧺ b

⎡18 - 10 o o s
⎣18 - 11 o o s

⎡12 - 8 o + m
⎣12 - 11 o o m

⎡11 - 12 o o b
⎣11 - 4 o + b

⎡6 - N o⧺ m
⎣6 - 8 o + m

⎡21 - N o⧺ b
⎣21 - 4 o + b

⎡20 - N ⧺⧺ m
⎣20 - 12 ⧺ o m

⎡4 - 1 o o b
⎣4 - 11 o + b

⎡3 - N o⧺ b
⎣3 - 17 o + b

⎡8 - N o⧺ m
⎣8 - 12 o + m

⎡13 - N o⧺ m
⎣13 - N o⧺ m

13 - 3 ∧

2. Open triads

16 - N - N o⧺⧺ b

15 - N - 19 o⧺ o m

5 - N - 21 o⧺ o b

2 - 1 - 3 o o o b

1 - 2 - 4 o o o s

12 - 17 - 18 ∧

3. Closed triads

17 - 10 - N o o o b

N - 10 - 17 o o o b

19 - 14 - 12 o o o m

14 - 12 - 11 o o o m

7 - 8 - 12 o o + m

8 - 4 - 1 two∧

o = intra-areal contact between monks
+ = interareal contact between monks
⧺ = extra-areal contact between monks
∧ = teacher-pupil relationship
[= the two monk friends of the monk interviewed
s = *sāmaṇera*, junior pupil
b = *bhikkhu*, senior pupil
m = *mahāthera*, Chief Monk, teacher

These signs are placed after the codes so that the first "o" refers to 10 and the second "o" to N in the first dyad. The title *bhikkhu* "b" refers only to the very first code, i.e. 10 in the first dyad. The codes are arranged consecutively from area A to area B.

10.4.2. The dyads. Simmel was the first to notice the significance of number for social life. He came to the conclusion that the nature of a social setting (dyad, triad or larger group) bears a direct relation to its numerical magnitude. He expressed this as follows:[424]

> "Das Eigentümliche ist hier, dass die absoluten Zahlen der Gesamtgruppe und der in ihr einflussreichen Elemente, obleich ihre Relation als Zahlen die identische bleibt, doch gerade die Relationen innerhalb der Gruppe so merkbar verschieden bestimmen. Jene beliebig zu vermehrenden Beispiele zeigen, dass die Relation soziologischer Elemente nicht nur von den relativen, sondern zugleich von den absoluten numerischen Quanten dieser Elemente abhängt."

From this notion, Simmel proceeds to examine the elemental structures of social formations, namely, dyads[425] and triads, in order to pinpoint the concrete differences in structure, hence nature, between these two particular types. Simmel states that a dyad differs from a triad just the same as, say, a common destiny or joint enterprise, an agreement or secret between two persons (dyad) binds each of them in quite a different way than if three persons (triad) are involved. The basic determining characteristic lies in the fact that a dyad ceases to exist as soon as one of the persons involved dies. Conversely, a larger group can be immortal, at least in theory.

Simmel also describes the social structure of the dyad as being characterize by two negative attributes. The first is the non-intensification of the relationship by a third person and the second is the absence of any impediment to immediate and intimate reciprocity. There is no majority in a dyad, both parties are in an equal position and a co-responsibility is required of both for all collective actions. Accordingly, each of the two persons in a dyad is more frequently confronted with the condition "all or nothing" than is the member of a larger group.[426]

The characteristics of the dyads in this study are an intence interest held in common, frequent interaction and lasting friendship. There is strong co-responsibility in each dyad and my observations indicated that friendship tends to spring from the period of study, lasting up to the death of either of the monks involved. These characteristics are manifest in all dyads, though the junior monks' contacts are obviously of much shorter duration than those of the Chief Monks.

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[424] Simmel 1908, 58

[425] The English term dyad used in this study is borrowed from Wolff's translation of Simmel's term "Zweierverbindung". Wolff has also translated "Zweierverbindung" as union of two", see Wolff 1950, 123.

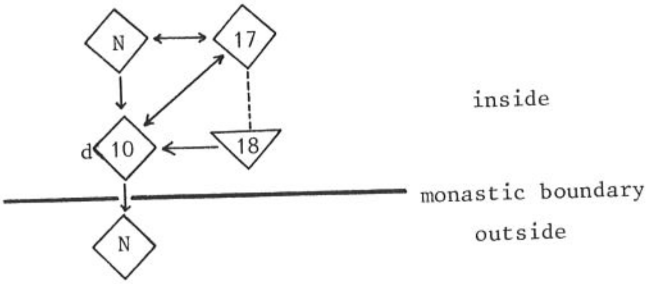
[426] See, for example, Simmel 1908, 81 and 92-93.

On the basis of an analysis of questions 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 21 and 24 in the first interview schedule[427], we can delineate two spheres of interest which tend to correspond directly to the life situation of the age groups of the monks and which consequently provide a perspective for evaluating the choice of social contacts. The immediate and predominant social setting of the junior pupils and some of the senior pupils was the school. As I expected, it was the school that provided the setting in which the two friends made their choices. Again, there were senior pupils who had studied or were still studying at the university and these monks therefore chose their friends from among student monks. Finally, the Chief Monks naturally chose their friends from among the group of Chief Monks.

The interest held in common were education on the one hand and monastic administration on the other. The interaction situations were at least as frequent as was the official routine, but the monks usually found considerably more opportunities to meet.

The most noticeable structural feature of the dyads was their twofold orientation. Two contradictory tendencies seem to be at work in the dyads. One is a tendency to establish social contacts outside the monastic area proper and the other is a tendency to maintain at the same time a secure and previously established social position within the monastery. The social network analysis yields the conclusion that most of the dyads are either inter or extra-areally orientated. Only 6 of the 22 social contacts were properly speaking intra-areal contacts.

Upon a closer examination of, for example, the configuration of the first dyad and its immediate setting in the social network, it is clear that dyad 10-N provides a channel for reflections from society onto the monastery. In par-



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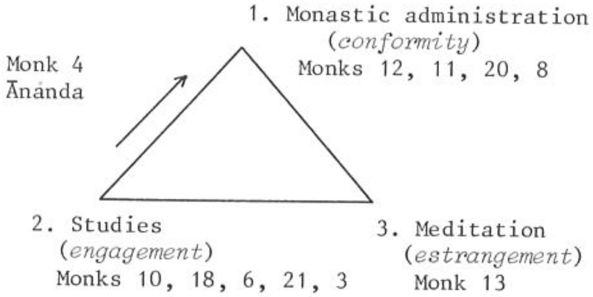
[427] The aim of the questions was to discover why the monks interviewed chose these two particular monks as friends. See appendix I.

ticular, several mainly educational reflections appear in the monastic life and confront old traditional values. We remember that monk 10 has a B.A. degree from the University of Sri Lanka and therefore belongs to the first generation of monks within the principal monastery to aquire a westernized education.[428] A similar configuration is observable among dyads 18-10, 11-4, 6-N, 21-N, 21-4, 20-N, 20-12, 3-N, 3-17, 8-N, 8-12 and twice for 13-N. These unofficial or private social contacts provide the structural linkages or channels through which the vitality of the monastery can be revived and maintained.

The eleven pair of dyads can be divided into three categories corresponding to the tendency points previously mentioned, namely, "actions aiming at conformity", "actions aiming at engagement" and "actions revealing estrangement". According to the content of the dyads we may distinguish between dyads that are actualized in carrying out monastic administrative duties, in study matters and in meditation.[429]



The first category of dyads applies to monks who are in charge of monastic properties and consequently have several monastic administrative duties. As we can see, the monks who belong to this category are the ones who constitute the very core of the social network; Monk 20 is an exception. Monk 4, Ānanda, occupies a transitional position. Since he has recently finished his studies, attempts are made to integrate him into the very core of the network. All monks in this category are Chief Monks, with the exception of Ānanda.

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[428] For westernized education in Sri Lanka, see Gombrich 1971a, 271-272.

[429] When asking the monks what the choice of their two colleague friends was based on, the junior and senior pupils generally answered that the reason was that they studied together, whereas the Chief Monks answered that it was because of their working together in the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*).

The second category of dyads applies to monks who are engaged in study either at the school or at the university. Of the five monks included here, only number 6 is a Chief Monk. The other four are junior and senior pupils. Monk 6 is the leading head of ceremonies of the various ceremonies and is also associated with several Buddhist organizations as the representative of the principal monastery.

The third category of dyads applies to monks who in spite of living in a traditional monastery, aim at the *vinaya* qualities that are characteristic of the fundamentalists. Only one Chief Monk shunned social interaction situations. He practised meditation regularly and seemed to me to be somewhat estranged from this particular setting.

Some monks, although they chose dyad contacts themselves, are nevertheless members of triads, for example, monks 10, 12, 11 and 4. The significance of the dyad contacts lies in their restricted number, each monk having only a few intimate dyad contacts. It is therefore not surprising that the dyad contacts have been of a permanent nature and constitute a friendship which lasts for years. In a structural sense they are comparable with the institution of marriage.

10.4.3. Open and closed triads. The social significance of the relationship between two persons (monks) is clarified even further by the presence of a third person. The triad is structurally entirely different from the dyad. Simmel pointed out very perceptively that as the number changes from two to three, the difference is much greater than the mere numerical shift would lead us to expect. He summarizes his extensive investigations on this subject in a sentence which perfectly captures the essence of the structure of the triad and the dynamics at work within it:[430]

> "Bei einer solchen wirkt nämlich jedes einzelne Element als Zwischeninstanz der beiden andren und zeigt die Doppelfunktion einer solchen: sowohl zu verbinden wie zu trennen."

When three persons comprise a relationship, there is not only a straight line of direct interaction between two persons but also and emphatically a broken line or indirect relation created by the presence of a third person. On the basis of this observation, Simmel continues his line of thought as follows:[431]

> "Es gibt kein noch so inniges Verhältnis zwischen dreien, in dem nicht jeder einzelne gelegentlich von den beiden anderen als Eindringling

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[430] Simmel 1908, 93.

[431] Simmel 1908, 93-94.

> emfunden würde, und sei es auch nur durch sein Teilhaben an gewissen Stimmungen, die ihre Konzentriertheit und schamhafte Zartheit nur bei dem unabgelenkten Blick von Auge in Auge entfalten können; jedes sensitive Verbundensein von zweien wird dadurch irritiert, dass es einen Zuschauer hat."

Simmel distinguishes the following characteristics of triads. The first and basic point is that the level of communication is less personal or private than it is in a dyad. With the introduction of a third person there can be a strong intensification of relations as well as an irritating disturbance and interruption of immediate reciprocity. Owing to the fact that the three persons involved in an interaction can never be in an equal position, there is always a fluctuation of the relations in a triad. As a result of this fluctuation, which tends to be unpredictable, the triad is less intensive and less tight than the dyad. The appearance of a third person, therefore, indicates a transition, a conciliation and an abandonment of absolute contrasts.[432]

On the basis of the configurations of the internal relations between the three parts involved, I distinguished between an open and a closed triad. In an open triad, those known to the *ego* do not know or have regular social contact with each other, while in a closed triad those known to the *ego* also know each other well.[433]

In the triads we find the same spheres of interest as in the dyads, namely, education and administration. Surprisingly, there is a correspondence between open triads and education on the one hand and closed triads and monastic administration on the other. The open triads consisted mainly of junior and senior pupils, except for monk 15, who was an old monk. The closed triads consisted of three Chief Monk triads and one senior pupil triad.

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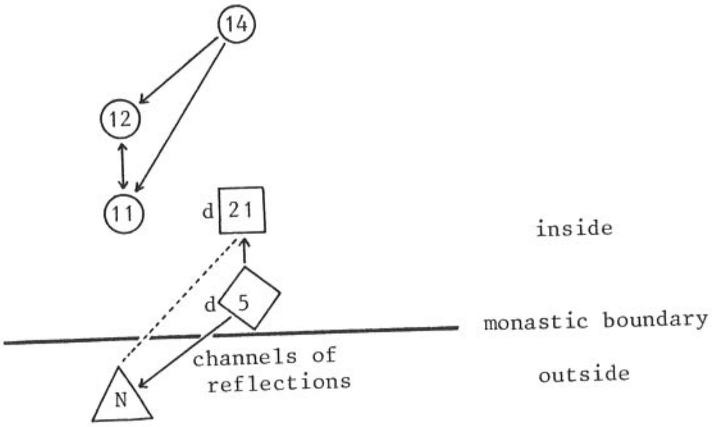
[432] Simmel distinguished three different types of triad configuration, the driving force or the dynamics in all three of which he considers to be social tension or conflict. He calls the three types "the non-partisan and the mediator", "the *tertius gaudens*" and "*divide et impera*", respectively. All three types of triad configuration are characterized by internal dynamics which reside in the fact that the three elements can never be alike, but that there is always a configuration of two in which the third is an outsider. In the first type of triad the third element is characterized as a non-partisan one, since it functions principally as a mediator. In the second type of triad, the third element is characterized as the one who enjoys the other two quarrelling, i.e. as the *tertius gaudens*. And finally in the third type of triad the third element is characterized as the one who controls the other two by keeping them separate, thus eliminating the possibility that those two might unite and rise up against him. See, for example, Simmel 1908, 103-133.

[433] See § 10.1.

The second important notion in this connection is that while the open triads include extra-areal contacts, the closed triads are exclusively intra-areal contacts. The open triads 2-1-3 and 1-2-4 must also be seen as an extra-areal contact, since monk 2 is studying in Colombo and only resides in the monastery during his holidays. These two triads are therefore actualized only during short holiday periods and Ānanda conveyed the idea that there is a general tendency for this kind of social contact to end if the student monk decides either to disrobe or move to live in another monastery.

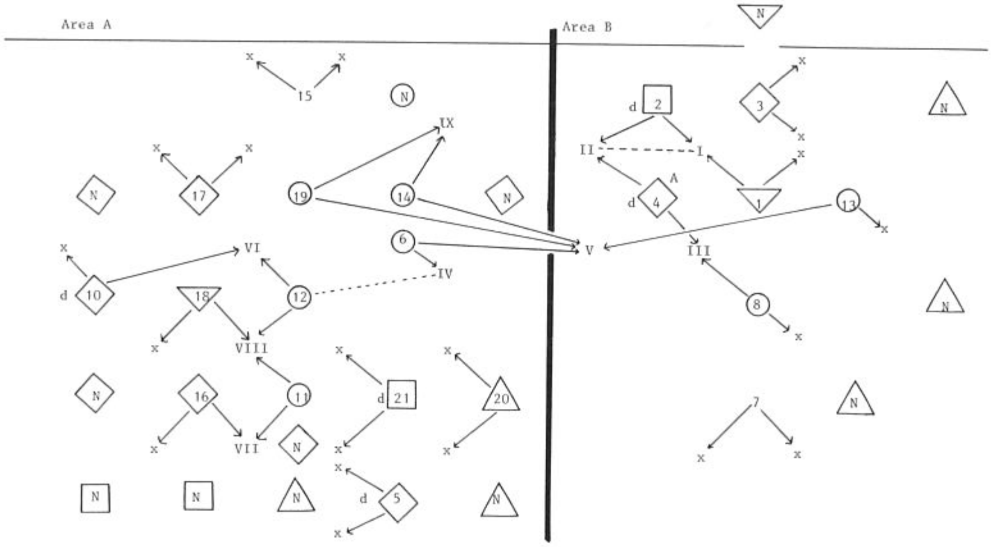
These notions can be clearly illustrated when we compare the structural configurations of an open triad with those of a closed triad. I shall take as examples the open triad 5-N-21 and the closed triad 14-12-11. When we take these out of the context of the social network, we are left with the following:



These two structural configurations clearly suggest that the difference between the two types of triads can be seen in the fact that the open triads lie on the edge of the total social network, while the closed triads lie in the very centre (see § 10.3.). Monk N in the open triad 5-N-21 lives in a small village monastery located several miles from the monastery compound. Monks 5 and 21 both have a B.A. degree from the university and are continuing their studies.

Considered in the light of the aims of this study — to discover reflections from the surrounding society on monastic life — the open triads are of special significance. Whereas the dyads were characterized as having a two-fold orientation, the open triads can be characterized as manifesting a period of transition. Since four out of five open triads consist of pupil monks, I am disposed to regard the open triads as signs of a new situation

THE EXTENDED SOCIAL NETWORK OF THE MONASTERY



○ = Chief Monks (*mahātheras*) except number 11, who is a Chief Monk and still a *bhikkhu*

◇ = senior pupils (*bhikkhus*)

▽ = junior pupils (*sāmaṇeras*)

□ = monks (*bhikkhus*) studying at university

△ = monks (*mahātheras*) living outside the principal monastic area looking after some smaller monastery (temple), who are still members of the "Council of Monks"

d = monks (*bhikkhus*) with a university degree

N = net, monks mentioned as being present in the contact-situation

I, II etc. = influential laymen, chosen by several monks as their friends

x = one monk's dyad social contact with a layman usually not known to the other monks

⟶ = a chosen contact

----------- = an observed contact

of several monks. These laymen also visit the monastery frequently. Two of them are teachers at the university and one is in the government service. The remaining two laymen in area A are a District Revenue Officer (DRO) and a Government Agent (GA), respectively. In area B the most significant lay contact is number V, who was the leader of the Temple of the Tooth (*Daḷadā Māligāwa*) and number III, the headmaster of a school closely connected with the monastery. The remaining two contacts were young students who at that time lived in one of the houses (*pansalas*).

The twenty laymen indicated by an x can be divided into two groups. First there are monks, both of whose lay contacts are indicated by an x. Secondly, there are monks who have one layman contact indicated with an x and another indicated by a Roman numeral. When we examine these two groups of lay contacts more closely, we are struck by the observation that these twenty contacts are similar to the dyads analyzed in the first social network. Of these twenty lay friends, only two were close relatives of the monk concerned. The remaining laymen were either school friends, students, teachers (at the school and at the university), friends from their native village, one Government Agent and one businessman.

If we compare the choices of the monk friends and the layman friends with each other, we can see that the choices were made on the basis of the same criteria, namely, education and administration or as the monks themselves expressed it, *sāsaṇa* duties.

The friends of the Chief Monks were usually laymen who in one way or another constituted part of the channels of interaction between the monastery and the surrounding society, for example, DRO's, GA's etc. (see § 5.3.). The friends of the junior and the senior pupils, on the other hand, were either lay students or teachers. On the basis of these notions, one may say that the life situation of the monks manifests itself on the choices of social contacts both as regards the monk and his layman friends.

The dominant centre of this extended social network corresponds to the centre of the previous network. Apart from monks 11, 12, 14 and 8, we also find monks 6 and 19 at the very centre of the network. This is not surprising, since we already know from the first network analysis that Chief Monk 6 is the one who has extensive contacts with lay supporters (*dāyakas*) and the one who is responsible for the arrangements of the various "food-giving" (*dānē*) ceremonies. From the correspondence between these two social networks we can see that the monks who were members of closed triads in the first social network are also members of a more closed circle of lay contacts in this extended social network. The members of the dyads and open triads, for their part, are equally involved in similar structural configurations.

The extended social network shows even more clearly than the first social network the borderline between the centre and the periphery or the marginal zone. Generally speaking, one can say that all the dyads in the extended network that consist of two x-contacts lie on the periphery, while the remaining configurations are more or less connected with the centre of the network. As we compare the social network of contacts exclusively between monks with the extended network of contacts between monks and laymen, we must bear in mind that in each case the analysis must be performed on a slightly different level. The notions from the first network are nevertheless confirmed as we examine the same monks in another social setting. What in the first network was observed as a tendency, appears in the extended network as a manifestation.

The final question to be dealt with concerns the distinction between a kin-net and a contact-net. The term kin-net here refers to a net of social contacts into which one is born. One cannot therefore choose one's own kin-net, apart from the kin-net which one becomes a part of through marriage. Conversely, the term contact-net refers to a net of social contacts which, within certain limits, one chooses for oneself during one's lifetime.

Seneviratne has dealt with this subject in a recent article and discussed the shift from a kin-net value-orientation to a contact-net value-orientation in connection with the recruitment of laymen for positions of leadership in Sinhalese society. Observations of several central appointments have led him to the conclusion that a shift has taken place from an earlier preference for persons with a traditional family background to a contemporary preference for a person with good academic and administrative (bureaucratic) qualifications. This means that a shift is observable from traditional to Westernized values.[434]

In the light of the merit doctrine which is central to the Buddhist ideology (see § 4.4.3.), it is not surprising that a similar way of thinking in terms of merit has arisen as regards practical worldly arrangements. If one were to speculate, one could expect Sinhalese Buddhists in the future to apply a twofold merit doctrine. On the spiritual level, they acquire merit for the alleviation of suffering, a better rebirth and finally the attainment of *nibbāna*, while at the same time on the mundane level they acquire educational merit in order to get as good an appointment as possible.

The fact that the contact-net is growing stronger all the time and is gradually being preferred to the traditional kin-net contacts, is readily observable in the extended social network. Only two of the lay contacts out of twenty-nine were kinship contacts. Since the monastery as a whole lives under conditions which in many respects differ from those that existed prior to independence in 1948, new kinds of channels of interaction between the monastery and society are to be expected and are, it would seem, necessary if the traditional monastic setting is to survive. The extended social network clearly indicates that even the monks themselves are aware of the great changes that are taking place in Sinhalese society. In what way this will affect the life of the monastery in the near future remains to be seen.

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434 See, for example, Seneviratne 1977, 70-71.

11. Values, attitudes and norms of the monks

11.1. On analyzing the values, attitudes and norms of the monks. Values, attitudes and norms have been examined and defined quite differently in various psychological, sociological and cultural anthropological studies. In psychology and social psychology, values and attitudes are considered to relate to sentiments, along with other human preferences, such as interests and opinions. Values have been considered to concern preferences for aims in life and ways of life in general, i.e. the very broad categories of activity, while attitudes have been considered to concern preferences for particular activities in a more specific way. Norms again are generally referred to as rules, in the sense of standards governing how something should be done. Norms define the limits within which action is to take place. In psychology, the main focus of attention has concentrated on values and attitudes and the study of norms has been more or less neglected.[435] Attitudes have been studied mainly by means of various scales, such as the Thurstone Attitude Scale, the Guttman Scale, the Agreement-Disagreement Scale and the Semantic-Differential Scale, in which a large number of statements relating to particular attitudinal objects and values are presented and the subject requested either to indicate his agreement or disagreement.[436] As regards the measurement of the values, there are no satisfactory general-purpose batteries of inventories available, since most of the value scales have been developed for particular research projects.[437]

In sociology the main emphasis has been placed on norms and less attention has been paid to values and attitudes. The American sociologist Robert A. Nisbet actually considers the concepts value and norm as equivalent. He writes:[438]

> "If there is a difference, it is not substantive but one of usage. Philosophers are more likely to use the word "value" in reference to one or another of the major norms of civilization — justice, freedom, equality, charity, and so on. Each of these is, however, no less a norm, no less a product of man's social heritage, than the most trivial of customs."

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[435] See, for example, McGuire 1968, 150-153.

[436] See Nunnally 1959, 300-312.

[437] For scales relating to values, see Rescher 1969, 63-65.

[438] Nisbet 1970, 232.

The concept of norm has recently been discussed by Cancian, who has written a study challenging the so-called traditional Parsonian theory. She distinguishes three types of normative beliefs and labels them 1) ranking norms, which refer to "evaluate differentially actions or individuals, on the basis of how well they conform to some standard", 2) reality assumptions, which refer to "taken-for-granted understandings about what good or bad actions are meaningful or possible in a given context", and 3) membership norms, which refer to "the standards for including or accepting a person within a group or social position".[439] Cancian's definition treats norms as shared beliefs. She follows the suggestion made by Homans, according to which norm is seen as "an idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to do, under given circumstances ..." Norms "are not behavior itself, but what people think behavior ought to be".[440]

In cultural anthropology, values have mainly been examined in connection with action in terms of the central core of meanings within societies. Clyde Kluckhohn writes, for example, as follows:[441]

> "There is a philosophy *behind* the way of life of each individual and of every relatively homogeneous group at any given point in their histories. This gives, with varying degrees of explicitness or implicitness, some sense of coherence or unity both in cognitive and affective dimensions. Each personality gives to this philosophy an idiosyncratic coloring and creative individuals will markedly reshape it. However, the basic outlines of the *fundamental values, existential propositions, and basic abstractions* have only exceptionally been created out of the stuff of unique biological heredity and peculiar life experience. The underlying principles arise out of, or are limited by, the givens of biological human nature and the universalities of social interaction. The specific formulation is ordinarily a cultural product. In the immediate sense, it is from the life-ways which constitute the design for living of their community or tribe or region or socio-economic class or nation or civilization that most individuals derive their mental-feeling outlook." (the italics are mine)

Kluckhohn also emphasizes that variations exist in the degrees of conscious awareness that individuals have of the value-orientations which influence their behaviour. By means of an ideal type scale, the variation can be registered on a continuum from the completely implicit to the completely explicit.[442]

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[439] Cancian 1975, 2-4.

[440] Homans 1950, 124. Cf. Cancian 1975, 7.

[441] Kluckhohn 1951, 409-410.

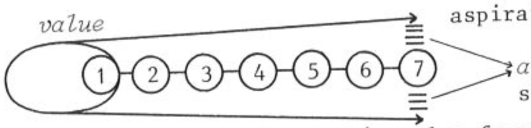
[442] Kluckhohn 1951, 411.

Consequently, the relation between the concepts value, attitude and norm, as used in this study, can be characterized as follows. Value and attitude represent successive points along a single continuum. Value is conceived as the basic or *ultimate viewpoint* of orientation in life and the aspiration to a quality of life (i.e. monkhood).[443] Attitude, on the other hand, refers to a *specific standpoint* manifested in connection with a particular state of affairs. Value lies closer to the core of an individual's personality than attitude, which provides more peripheral manifestations of these core values. Relatively speaking, values are therefore stable or fixed, while attitudes are more disposed to change.[444]

Norms are more specific and socially imperative than either of the other two concepts. There is always an *obligatory quality* in a norm. In relation to value and attitude, norm can be conceived of as a kind of *connecting link* between these two concepts.

This line of thought can be illustrated, for example, by the monastic rules known as *Pātimokkha*. The rules are classified in seven categories accompanied by a short explanation of the various ways of dealing with infringements and arranged successively according to the penalty for infringement from the most serious to the relatively venial.[445] As the most serious category demands expulsion from the monastic community, it has become a value in itself. The least serious category, on the other hand, requires only an excuse or an explanation and can therefore be regarded as being practically equivalent to the concept of attitude. This can even be confirmed by the fact that the monks themselves consider the minor rules to be merely carry-overs from the past and are in fact planning to reinterpret them and bring them up to date.

The relation between the concepts of value, attitude and norm can therefore be illustrated as follows:



aspiration to a quality of life

attitudes towards particular states of affairs

the categories of monastic rules from the most serious to the least serious (*pārājika*, *sanghādisesa*, *aniyata*, *nissaggiya*, *pācittiya*, *pāṭidesaniya* and *sekhiya*)

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[443] According to Rescher, the nature of values can be summarized as representing "a slogan capable of providing for the rationalization of action, by encapsulating a positive attitude toward a purportedly beneficial state of affairs". Cf. Rescher 1969, 9.

[444] For a definition of the concept of value, see Kluckhohn 1951, 411.

[445] On the *Pātimokkha* rules, see Gothóni 1974, 12-17. Bechert 1966, 250ff.

At both extremes of the chain (the most serious = 1, and the least serious = 7) we can see that it is to a large extent a matter of taste whether or not a norm is labelled a value at one extreme and attitude at the other.

We have approached values, attitudes and norms in relation to the monks' experiences of monkhood, i.e. in relation to their biography and life situation. The interview situation was therefore not conceived as one of measurement, but as one of "a conversation with a purpose".[446] The purpose was to discover the values, attitudes and norms of the various monks towards relevant and current topics which were frequently discussed in the Sri Lanka newspapers and in committees and commissions in which the revitalization of Buddhism in general and monastic life in particular have been the subject of intense debate.

The material on values, attitudes and norms of the nine monks dealt with in this study was collected principally during the second round of interviews. I decided not to use any self-report batteries of inventories, but instead to aim at a mapping of values, attitudes and norms by means of observing how these are manifested in speech and action, i.e. on the verbal and behavioural levels. Instead of imposing ethnocentrical statements from a westerner's point of view, the aim was to use a systematic interview schedule to map such subjects as seemed relevant on the basis of the three month period of investigation in the field. The mapping was carried out by means of open-ended questions such as:[447]

Question 31. What problems did you face?
-"- 33. Does a monk feel lonely?
-"- 35. What do you dislike about monastic life?
-"- 55. What is fascinating about monkhood?
-"- 56. What is fascinating about a layman's life?
-"- 57. What is difficult about monkhood?
-"- 61. What do you aim at in life?
-"- 66. What can you attain? What do you strive for?
-"- 68. How can you make it possible (successful)?
-"- 152. What is the purpose of life?

The questions were formulated in such a way that the tripartite threads of feeling, thinking and action, which have been observed by most scholars to be essential in this connection, were referred to in various contexts.

The approach can be defined as informant-centered because the focus of attention was shifted from tests and scales to the more or less free associations which the topics evoked in the informant's mind.[448] The answers were not conceived as expressions of facts, but emphatically as reactions in a specific interview situation. The limits of the approach used here are imposed by the use of a structured set of questions, although their open-endedness did allow a certain degree of freedom as regards the structure of the answer. This arrangement was necessary since limitations were imposed by the length of my stay and by the fact that I was far from being completely fluent in the Sinhalese language. One must therefore point out that values, attitudes and norms were mapped indirectly in connection with the topics of the questions. In this way the analysis consisted of two steps, that of the collection of so-called "soft" material on the one hand, and the analysis of that material on the other.

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[446] For the interview and observation techniques, see § 8.3. and § 8.4.

[447] For the format of the second interview schedule, see § 8.1. For the questions, see the appendix II.

The monks' answers do not always correspond to the original purpose of the questions. Occasionally the monks tended to answer according to some ideal pattern and not according to their actual thoughts and actions. As regards question six in the second interview schedule: "What did you know about a monk's life?", several monks answered not on the basis of their memory of the past, but on the basis of their present knowledge and experiences of monkhood. What in fact they did express in their answers were underlying values etc. in terms of the ideal life of a monk and not the day to day experience of monkhood. It was therefore necessary to evaluate the answers against the background of the material acquired through participant observation, i.e. the behaviour of the monks.

11.2. Values and attitudes of nine monks. The monks I came to know were in no way unusual, as a western reader might expect, but quite ordinary men with personal friends, interests, opinions, ideas, thoughts, plans for the future, ideas of good conduct, likes and dislikes, feelings, hopes, wishes, fears, problems and aims in life. The purpose of the second interview round was, therefore, to consider all these various aspects of monkhood and thereby arrive at a picture of the modes of life of monks rather from the viewpoint of human than ideal qualities.

Buddhist monkhood in Sri Lanka is here regarded as a profession in precisely the same way as we are accustomed to considering priesthood in the West. It is a way of life chosen by ordinary men, who in the course of time have become specialists in their own field. Most of the monks live up to a high standard of conduct. Although some of them fail to reach their standard in their everyday lives, others can be regarded as living up to an exceptionally high standard of conduct.

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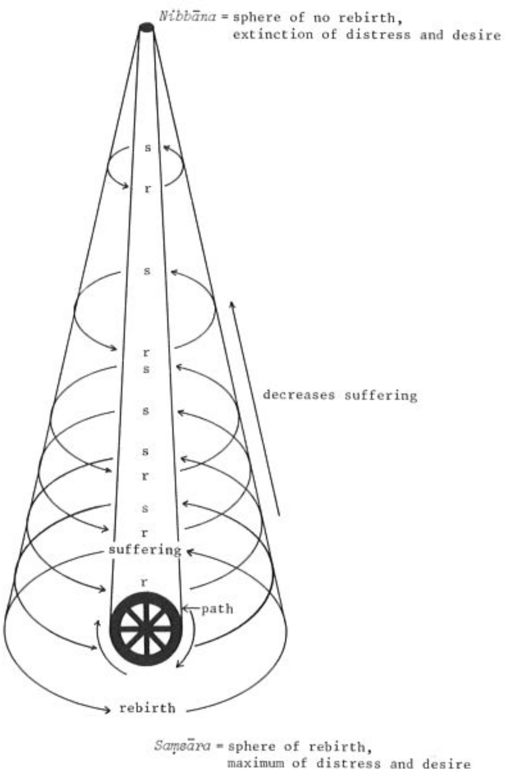
[448] For the anthropologist's approach and its informant-centredness, see Freilich 1977, 25ff and especially note 15.

11.2.1. The monks' ultimate value and goal in life. The most frequently used technical terms in the nine interviews were "suffering" (*dukkha*), "rounds of rebirth" (*saṃsāra*), "Buddhist Enlightenment" (*nibbāna*), "meditation" (*bhāvanā*), "moral good or merit" (*pin*), "moral sin or demerit" (*pav*) and "doctrine" (*dhamma*).[449] The relation between these technical terms can be illustrated by the following diagram. The monks seemed to conceive of two different spheres of understanding. The first can be referred to by the term *saṃsāra* and the second by the term *nibbāna*.


Nibbāna = sphere of no rebirth,
extinction of distress and desire
s
r
s
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s
r
decreases suffering
suffering
r
path
rebirth
Saṃsāra = sphere of rebirth,
maximum of distress and desire

In the *saṃsāra* sphere, the two main dynamic concepts are suffering and rebirth. As can be seen from the diagram, there are several circles, all of which refer to the rounds of rebirth. According to the monks, one can be relatively closer or farther away from *nibbāna*, a belief which is illustrated by several laminated circles. The path which leads away from the *saṃsāra* sphere consists of a canonical aspect, which applies to the monks only, i.e. the practising of the Eightfold Path (see § 4.4.) and a traditional aspect, according to which laymen, too, can acquire merit (*pin*). As regards the final goal or *nibbāna*, there was no clear awareness of its content. None of the monks considered they had reached the final goal. Two of the monks in fact answered that *nibbāna* is difficult to attain. It seemed, however, as if the monks believed that one could acquire some kind of a "*nibbāna* understanding" by systematically striving for progress in one's physical and mental state. Several monks in fact used the expression "*nibbāna* understanding" in referring to the *nibbāna* sphere. Since the ceremonies performed in the *dēvālēs*, i.e. the Buddhist shrines for gods, were in no way considered to have any positive effect whatsoever on one's "*nibbāna* understanding", they were generally held to be a sign of no "*nibbāna* understanding" at all.

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[449] Answers to questions 115-116, 127-131, 141-143. HYUL 75/83-99.

The question of one's goal in life elicited the following responses from the nine monks:[450]

THE GOAL IN LIFE

The nine monks	*1. The aim in life*	*2. Future plan*	*3. Means*
1. Chief Monk	"to progress well along the Path"	"to improve the position of the laity"	"by reflection"
2. Ānanda	"not to have another rebirth"	"do not have, do carry out duties in performing services"	"by living according to *dhamma*"
3. Junior pupil	"release from suffering"	"release from suffering"	"by living according to *dhamma*"
4. Senior pupil	"away from *samsāra* to *nibbāna* understanding"	"to help the public in this and the other world"	"by meditation"
5. *Anunāyaka*	"away from suffering to *nibbāna*"	"to reach *nibbāna*"	"by participating in ceremonies"
6. Senior pupil	"to live an organized life, to perform services"	"to finish education"	"through progress in education"
7. Senior pupil	"to live a good and virtuous life"	"to finish education"	"by participating in ceremonies in all rebirths"
8. Chief Monk	"to progress in this and the other world"	"to carry out duties"	"by meditation"
9. Senior pupil	"to live successfully"	"to finish education, to perform good services"	"by good education"

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[450] HYUL 75/83-99.

As we can see from the answers of the nine monks, their aims in life can be grouped under three headings. Four monks aimed to find a release from suffering and *saṃsāra*; two monks aimed at progress along the Noble Eightfold Path; and three monks aimed at an organized life within "society", a term which referred both to the monastic community and to Sinhalese society. The future plans of the nine monks were more individual and can be included under five headings. Two monks planned to improve the layman's position; two monks sought to carry out duties such as ritual services; one monk sought a release from suffering; also one monk planned to attain *nibbāna*; finally, two monks were occupied by the immediate concern of finishing their education. The means which the various monks resorted to were even more individual. Only two monks (senior pupil 4 and Chief Monk 8) referred to meditation, which would be the canonical position. Two monks referred in general to "living according to *dhamma*". Two monks considered the various ceremonies to be very essential; two monks referred to a good education; finally, one monk stated that his aims could be reached by means of reflection.

What kind of conclusion can we draw from this material? The first notion is that no clear pattern of answer emerged as regards the monks' goal in life. The answers were given quite individually. Moreover, it seemed as if the monks were not completely aware of their ultimate goal in life, but were rather occupied with the practical demands of their life situation. The second notion is that the Buddhistic goal of life was not understood from the viewpoint of personal experience, but rather according to the custom of the monastic tradition concerned. The monks seemed to be engrossed in particular life situations to the extent that secular matters like education and the organization of life had become more important than 'religious' advancement. Although there were many monks who used the technical terms *saṃsāra* and *nibbāna*, these terms nevertheless had no practical applications, or only a very few. Paradoxically, the monks aimed at *nibbāna* but nevertheless practised rather infrequent meditation.

When the monks were asked whether their beliefs and ideas had changed during monkhood, five answered no, while four said that they had acquired an understanding of the Path leading to *nibbāna* and also learned to control desire. Teachers, books and personal monk friends had constituted the most important sources of knowledge. When queried about their conceptions of meditation, education, university monks and politics, the answers fell into the following categories on a successive scale provided by the monks themselves when the answers were compared.

SCALE OF CONTEMPORARY ATTITUDES

Topics	bad	not necessary	good	progress	lead to *nibbāna*
meditation	0	0	4	3	②
education	1	0	2	⑥	0
university monks	0	3	⑤	1	0
politics	⑨	0	0	0	0

This table reveals several interesting points concerning the attitude of the nine monks. First, we can note that only two monks connected meditation with *nibbāna* in practice. The attitude towards meditation was positive. The configuration 4, 3, and 2, however, reflects the fact that meditation is not practised so much nowadays in the principal monastery. That this is the case became even clearer as we became aware of the fact that six monks considered education an important part of one's personal progress along the Path. University monks, however, were not regarded as positively as one might have expected. Altogether, three of the monks considered it unnecessary to study at the university and two of them were surprisingly senior pupils. Finally, we can see that all monks had a negative attitude towards monks involved in politics.

When asked whether it was possible to attain *nibbāna* without practising meditation, six monks answered "no". One monk said that meditation had to be practised; one monk answered that it would be difficult without practising meditation; and one monk thought that by participating in ceremonies, one would gradually attain *nibbāna*. Seven monks considered meditation and the keeping of the Ten Precepts (*Dasa Sil*) as the two most meritorious deeds. Two monks answered that "food-giving" (*dānē*) and the keeping of the Ten Precepts were the two most meritorious deeds.

11.2.2. How the monks viewed monkhood. Generally one can say that monkhood was not conceived *per se*, but in relation to the laity and the surrounding society. I have used the terms monkhood and laity in order to stress the fact that the monks themselves are aware that they constitute a group, while from their point of view, the laity represents a vast body of people and is only conceived of in relation to the monkhood.

First, there is the doctrinal interpretation according to which the monk's position lies in the sphere of potential release from suffering or unease (*dukkha*), while the position of the laity lies definitely in the sphere of suffering. The rituals (mainly "food-giving" and "protection-recitation") are considered to be the main points of connection between the monks and the laity and are believed to provide the "*field of merit*" for the laity and thereby the potential release from suffering through a cumulative process, i.e. by accumulating merit. Secondly, there is the fact that the life of the monks is an organized one with strict regimens and regular daily routines (§ 7.5.). From the monk's point of view, the life of a layman is difficult in the sense that it is unorganized, that it demands of each individual that he arranges his life and daily routine himself. For the monks, the daily routine and way of life is to quite a large extent modified by the monastic conditions, which in many respects are less pluralistic than a layman's life circumstances.

The most frequent expressions used in the interviews stated that being a monk indicated a "striving away from the rounds of rebirth (*saṃsāra*) and suffering (*dukkha*)", "freedom", "it is a free life", "comfortable living", "social services" (i.e. rituals), "learning" and "attending to the movements of one's mind". Generally speaking, the status of monkhood itself was considered virtuous, exemplifying a "good way of life".[451] In this connection there was no discernible difference between the conceptions of the younger and the older monks regarding monkhood. In terms of the concept of value, one can say that monkhood in and of itself was tantamount to a value or a goal since it always involved a constant effort towards progress along the chosen Path. Apart from this doctrinal standpoint, there was also the observation based on personal experience that the life of a monk was in many respects comfortable and free compared with that of a layman. Generally one can say that the monks considered their lives easier and less troublesome than those of laymen.

In all nine cases the role of the monk was conceived of as being very doctrine-centred. The main role of the monk was to follow the Buddhist Path (*dharmaya* and *vinaya*) and to keep the Ten Precepts (*Dasa Sil*). The traditional alms-round (*piṇḍapāta*) was no longer considered as belonging to the role of the monk. Chief Monk 8 said in fact that the principal monastery had not practised alms-rounds since 1950.[452] Interaction with the lay supporters (*dāyakayās*), on the other hand, had become very important for the monastery.

When I asked about the monks' attitude towards smoking, drinking, spending money, using taxis, buying private things, going out and meeting friends, taking part in politics and practising astrology, the answers were as follows:[453]

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[451] See the answers to question 55, HYUL 75/83-99.

[452] HYUL 75/95, 5.

ATTITUDES

The nine monks	a) smoking	b) drinking	c) spending money	d) using taxis	e) buying private things	f) going out and meeting friends	g) taking part in politics	h) practising astrology
1. Chief Monk	"no"	"no"	"yes"	"no"	"no need"	"can go" (occasionally)	"ought not go to extremes"	"no"
2. Ānanda	"not good but some do smoke"	"no"	"have to"	"no"	"no"	"can go"	"no"	"many practise but it is not for a monk"
3. Junior pupil	"private matter"	"no"	"because necessary"	"yes, to go to the village and the *pansala* lands"	"private things not necessary"	"sometimes"	"no"	"no"
4. Senior pupil	"no, but during cold period older monks smoke"	"not good"	"no, but nowadays have to"	"yes, to places which are difficult to get to"	"no"	"no, friends come here"	"no"	"no"
5. *Anunāyaka*	"no"	"no"	"no"	"no, if not necessary"	"no"	"yes, good friends"	"no"	"sometimes necessary"
6. Senior pupil	"some smoke, not good"	"no"	"can have"	"not for private drive"	"yes, for education"	"no, come here"	"no"	"sometimes"
7. Senior pupil	"difficult to say"	"bad"	"not necessary"	"yes, when go to village"	"yes, for necessary books"	"yes"	"no"	"can"
8. Chief Monk	"no"	"bad thing"	"is forbidden, but nowadays necessary"	"yes, to village"	"no"	"not necessary"	"no"	"yes"
9. Senior pupil	"no"	"no"	"no"	"no"	"no"	"no"	"unsuitable"	"unsuitable"

From the answers above we can see that the monks had a negative attitude towards smoking, but nevertheless it was indulged in periodically by older monks especially during the cold period from late November to early February. Several times I came across monks smoking small cigars, although I never saw them smoking cigarettes. Some of the younger monks occasionally smoked cigarettes. All monks had a negative attitude towards drinking and I never saw an intoxicated monk during my fieldwork period. The use of money was a somewhat more complicated matter. Although some monks had a negative attitude towards the use of money, most of them had a realistic view of the matter, saying that it was forbidden in the monastic regulations but was nevertheless a necessary prerequisite in modern Sinhalese society. The same position was discernible as regards the hiring of taxis, which was also considered appropriate when the Chief Monk had to visit his native village or the lands and temples belonging to his monastic abode (*pansala*). The attitude towards buying private articles was in general negative with the exception of things needed for education, such as books. Most of the monks had a positive attitude towards meeting friends. Some, however, considered it more appropriate if the friends came to visit them in the monastery. All monks had a negative attitude towards taking part in politics and one monk explicitly stated in the interview that taking part in politics was bad, because it divided the monks and in this way caused unnecessary schisms in monastic life.[454] The monks' attitude towards the practising of astrology was slightly positive and it was still practised to some extent. It did not seem to be a controversial subject.

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[453] See the answers to question 76, HYUL 75/83-99.

On the basis of these few questions concerning the external appearance or role-performance of the monk, we become aware of a tension between what living in a present-day principal monastery entails and what, on the other hand, is considered suitable according to the canonical monastic rules. As regards the use of money, taxis etc. and the meeting of friends, the monks' modes of life differ from what was originally laid down. Contemporary monks in this particular monastery cannot be considered recluses in the canonical sense of the term, but must be regarded as 'religious' specialists, who apart from performing their ritual tasks also have quite a number of administrative and client-therapeutic duties to attend to.

The monk's attitude towards monkhood demonstrates that they conceive of the monk's mode of life as contrasting with the layman's mode of life. They naturally have a positive attitude towards monkhood (since they have chosen to live as monks) and consider that way of life comfortable, free and highly prestigious. This latter value judgement is connected, as they pointed out, with "social services" (*samāja sēvāyaṭa*), i.e. rituals. Several monks said quite frankly that they found life in the monastery difficult at the very beginning, but that after a period of acclimatization they were quite content with the lot of a monk. The senior pupils in particular considered it somewhat of a strain that they were criticized mainly by "fundamentalist" laymen and monks for not following all the minor monastic regulations to the letter. The most frequently discussed topics in The Ceylon Daily News have concerned the question of whether monks should be allowed to have money or not, whether monks can be teachers or not and whether or not monks should teach subjects other than those closely connected with Buddhist Doctrine.[455] One of the main points in the dispute was whether the use of money was to be regarded as a minor precept or not. Those Buddhists who interpret and read the Pāli Canon literally generally hold the view that monks should not be allowed to have money at all, while those Buddhists who are of a more liberal persuasion and who aim at adjusting Buddhism to modern society consider the use of money as a necessity and a prerequisite for monks in modern Sinhalese society.

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[454] See HYUL 75/93, 7 and HYUL 75/95, 6.

[455] For the somewhat heated dispute, see CDN No 1/12 1976, 8/1 1977, 15/1 1977, 25/1 1977 and 7/2 1977.

The question of the properties connected with the monastery (*pansala*) showed the following. The attitude to property was quite individual. One monk said that property was not necessary. One monk remarked that monastic property had been acquired gradually during the history of the Buddhist *sāsana*. Four monks said that property helped to protect the Buddhist *sāsana*. One monk emphasized that property should not be used to make a profit and one monk remarked that property should not be regarded as essential. When asked whether they would like to be in charge of an ancient royal temple (*rājamahā vihārayak*), the answers were as follows. One Chief Monk was in fact in charge of two ancient royal temples and naturally answered "yes". One Chief Monk and a senior pupil also answered "yes". They considered it a duty to look after monastic property, since this ensured the continuity of the monastic tradition. One senior pupil answered "no" but added "yes , if someone asked me". Three monks answered "no", since they considered that looking after property would mean a great deal of trouble and anxiety. Two monks answered "no", considering that looking after property would deprive them of the freedom of monkhood.[456]

11.2.3. How the monks regarded the laity. That monkhood was conceptualized in relation to the laity became even clearer when viewed in light of the fact that monks held it to be very important for their fellow monks to be aware of the doctrinal belief that they provided a "field of merit" enabling them positively to affect the future rebirth of the laity. Monkhood was accordingly also conceived of as exercising the function of a *mediator*. This view entailed the corollary notion that the religious virtuosity of the monks was highly important, a goal towards which all monks should aspire. The closer the monk is believed to be to *nibbāna*, the more merit the laymen are believed to receive from one and the same "act of merit" (*pinkama*).

The monks' attitude towards the life of a layman was negative in the sense that in all nine cases it was connected with the doctrine of suffering (*duk-*

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[456] HYUL 75/83-99.

kha). When asked what was fascinating in secular life and what was difficult, five monks answered that they did not know. These answers reflect quite clearly the fact that none of the monks had actually lived the life of a layman. Ānanda said, for example, quite frankly: "In that life, those who are living with their families, *I have heard*, usually have all sorts of worries, but *I don't know them from personal experience*".[457] The remaining four monks said that it was difficult to live a good life as a layman. This view was connected specifically with the keeping of the Ten Precepts (*Dasa Sil*).

The monks' attitude towards females was apparently conditioned by the Sinhalese kinship terminology. Five of the monks said that females should be regarded as "sisters", "mothers" or "daughters". As we know from the analysis of the kinship system, the potential wife of a Sinhalese man must always stand in the cross-cousin position, i.e. *nänā*. The monks, however, never used the term *nänā* when speaking of females. Another common answer was that the monks should respect women. As regards the complicated question of western fashions like the mini skirt etc. the monks generally replied that such fashions were not suitable for their country. Four monks said that one should not focus one's attention on them, i.e. one should also, and particularly in this connection, practise Buddhist meditation and remain mindful.

The final problem to be dealt with under this heading concerns the monks' attitude towards friends. As we have mentioned above, monks have friends both among their fellow monks and the laymen. They meet these friends most frequently in two contexts: in rituals and in private. The most typical ritual contexts are the ordination ceremonies, the "food-giving" and "protection-recitation" ceremonies and the "full-moon" (*poya*) ceremonies. The private interaction situations are far more frequent and significant as regards values and attitudes. The following analysis of what the monks value in friendship and what attitudes they adopt is based on the answers to questions 10, 11, 18, 20, 22 and 24 in the first interview schedule.

A slight discrepancy in values and attitudes is discernible between the three Chief Monks and the six pupil monks. The Chief Monks valued their monk friends because they provided them, as they expressed it, with "good company" and because they "worked so much together for the protection of the Buddhist monastic tradition (*sāsana*)".[458] In their lay friends they valued good Buddhist qualities and behaviour, i.e. keeping the five precepts and participating in

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[457] The answer to question 58. HYUL 75/85, 6.

[458] HYUL 74/71, HYUL 74/76 and HYUL 75/82.

Buddhist ceremonies. Most of the lay friends were in one way or another connected with the administration of the monastery. Usually they oversaw the temple lands belonging to the principal monastery (§ 6.2.1.) or else held central positions in the district administration. The six pupil monks also valued their monk friends for their good company, but in this connection, they referred to their everyday life situation, all of them being students either at the monastic school or at the university. They considered their friends very learned and well educated and mentioned that they adhered to the Buddhist code of good conduct. They had met their layman friends either at educational institutes or else the ties of friendship originated as far back as childhood and their native village.

Good Buddhist conduct referred to the keeping of the precepts, on the one hand, and a thorough knowledge of Buddhist doctrine (*dhamma*) on the other. Moreover, it seems very important for the monks that their friends were interested in protecting Buddhism and the monastic tradition in particular. The monks also valued very highly those friends who aspired to progress along the Buddhist Path.

11.2.4. How the monks regarded the ceremonies. In Sinhalese society there are three ceremonies in particular that are of interest in this connection: the "food-giving" (*dānē*) ceremony (questions 131-136; 127-129) the "protection-recitation" (*pirit*) ceremony (questions 142-147) and the custom of bringing offerings to the "gods", *dēvās* (questions 137-138).

The "food-giving" (*dānē*) ceremony must be viewed in connection with the ideological belief which holds that through the act of accumulating "merit" (*pin*) laymen can gradually attain *nibbāna*. The "food-giving" usually takes place either in a private house or in a monastery. There are also smaller monasteries (*pansalas*) supported by laymen (*dāyakas*) who daily bring food to the monks living in seclusion. More common nowadays, however, is the practice of inviting monks to a layman's house for a *dānē*. *Dānēs* usually take place during periods of transition such as birth and death and for events like moving into a new home. The underlying idea is that by arranging a *dānē* ceremony, the layman concerned acquires merits. This is also how the monks conceived of the *dānē* ceremony. When they were asked why they thought the laymen arranged *dānē* ceremonies, all nine monks answered: "collecting merit for their future rebirths and finally *nibbāna*".[459] Observation of this practice suggests that in Theravāda Buddhism there are actually two ways of practising the Path leading to *nibbāna*. The first is that of becoming a monk and practising the Eightfold Path in every detail. The second one is that of remaining a layman and performing "canonized" ceremonies and thereby collecting merit for future rebirth and finally *nibbāna*. The first is, it seems, regarded as the more rapid way, but both lead to *nibbāna*.

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[459] HYUL 75/83-99.

We can get a rough idea of how frequently monks are invited to *dānē* ceremonies by counting how many *dānēs* the monks had participated in during the course of one month in 1975 (January). The answers were as follows. The first Chief Monk had been to two *dānēs*, the second Chief Monk (*Anunāyaka*) had been to five ceremonies, and the third Chief Monk to three ceremonies. Two senior pupils had not participated in any ceremony in January. One senior pupil had participated in eight ceremonies and the remaining three pupils in three, one and two ceremonies, respectively. On the basis of the frequency of occurrence during one month of the year, one cannot draw very far-reaching conclusions, but the result does suggest that some of the monks are more frequently invited than others. Often most of the senior pupils participated only if their teachers asked them to come along. Invitations are always issued to the Chief Monks.

The "protection-recitation" (*pirit*) ceremony must be seen in connection with the stress and strain of human life in this world (*laukika*). Generally *pirit* is chanted in connection with illness or death. It is believed that *pirit* chanting affords protection against various types of malevolent forces, apart from its effect of transference of merit to the dead person.

The nine monks interviewed had taken part in *pirit* ceremonies less frequently than they had in *dānē* ceremonies. The frequency of participation in *pirit* ceremonies varied from one to two times a month. All nine monks conceived of *pirit* as a form of "service" that was an integral part of the role of a monk. That conception was also confirmed by the fact that after the *pirit* ceremony, laymen usually organized a *dānē* ceremony to express their gratitude towards the monks.

The values and attitudes attached to these two ceremonies are as we can see, of vital importance for monks and laymen alike. From the layman's point of view, the ceremonies afford protection both as regards this mundane world (*laukika*) and the next (*lokottara*); the latter case involves the idea of ensuring an ascent gradually leading to *nibbāna*. Through this *ritualized reciprocity*, the monks, in turn, are guaranteed protection as regards the survival and continuity of the monastic tradition. Therefore the monks' attitude towards these ceremonies was quite convincingly revealed in the interview by the fact that they saw it as their duty to participate in these ceremonies. The role of the monk in these ceremonies can be seen in the dual perspective of a duty and a privilege.

The monks' attitudes towards the common practice among Buddhist laymen of bringing offerings to *dēvālēs* (Buddhist shrines to the gods) were divided. Four monks considered offerings to the "gods" (*dēvās*) of no value. Two monks did not approve of the practice, but said that one can go and "talk" to the *dēvās*. Two monks said that one cannot acquire merit by giving offerings to the *dēvās*. One monk answered that it was a duty to bring offerings to the *dēvās*. In answer to the question how the offerings to the *dēvās* would benefit their lives, eight monks stated that the laity hoped for assistance, favour, relief and protection in this mundane life (*laukika*). One monk said that the laity brought offerings to the *dēvās* because they had no "*nibbāna* understanding".

11.3. Norms of nine monks. The answers to the questions on norms (92-112) can be grouped under three headings, namely, the behaviour of the monks, the social control and the adjustment of norms to contemporary monastic conditions both external and internal.

11.3.1. The behaviour of the monks. The monks looked on their own behaviour in two different ways. The first perception can be characterized as doctrinal in that much of what the monks said about norms was of a collective nature. The four *Pārājika* rules [460] were frequently referred to as the absolute and obligatory norms. Moreover, canonical texts such as the *Pātimokkha* and the *Sikkhāpada* or the *Dasa Sil* were mentioned. Having cited these so-called doctrinal references, which the monks seemed to have thought I was expecting from them, they switched to a more personal level, one which reflected their present life situation. The second point of view, therefore, can be characterized as individual in that the answers of the various monks revealed discrepancies on the content level. On a structural level, however, we do find similarities. The answers reflected quite clearly what the monks considered proper behaviour and which aspects of it they currently paid attention to.

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[460] See § 7.2.3.

Chief Monk 1 answered that proper monkhood required at least a primary education, robes and the actual necessities. He placed particular emphasis on the external behaviour of a monk, since, as he pointed out, one should walk in a seemly manner and wear one's robe with due decorum.[461]

Senior pupil 2, Ānanda, said that simplicity and understanding was essential for monkhood. Being a graduate, it was natural that he should emphasize the quality of understanding.[462]

Junior pupil 3 said that one should not fix one's mind on the desires of this world and he was emphatic in his belief that one should avoid attending *dēvālēs*. It seemed to be a requirement that was a problem for him, since several times during the interview he brought up the question of *dēvālēs* and drew attention to the fact that a monk and a good Buddhist should avoid attending them.[463]

Senior pupil 4 emphasized an almost literal interpretation of the Pāli Canon as regards following the Path. He gave quite extensive answers on each question and it seemed to me that he had read so much about Buddhism and tried so hard to practice it that all his thoughts simply came gushing out. He had a very serious attitude towards monkhood and was very involved in the process of socialization, enculturation and internalization.[464]

Chief Monk 5, *Anunāyaka*, paid close attention to the Ten Precepts (*Dasa Sīl*) and seemed to be somewhat distressed by the existence of discrepancies in daily practice. This was probably why he did not go into detail, but answered only generally that a monk should avoid bad behaviour (i.e. the kind of behaviour that would give offence to the layman) and live according to the *Vinaya*. He was also quite concerned with the training of junior pupils.[465]

Senior pupil 6 concentrated on the regulation that a monk should avoid associating with females. This monk was studying at the university and as we know form earlier accounts, female students on the university campus tend to evoke feelings of desire by their very presence. It is, therefore, important to note that the dilemma experienced in this particular life situation is reflected in this monk's answer.[466]

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461 HYUL 75/83, 7-8.

462 HYUL 75/85, 9-10.

463 HYUL 75/87, 6-7.

464 HYUL 75/89, 12-13.

465 HYUL 75/90, 8.

466 HYUL 75/93, 9-10.

Senior pupil 7 fixed his attention not only on doctrinal matters but also on quite specific and perhaps peculiar things that should be avoided, namely, going to the cinema and the theatre.[467]

Chief Monk 8 said briefly that one should keep the precepts, as did senior pupil 9.[468]

On the basis of this brief mapping on the content level, we become aware of the different associations of each monk. On the structural level, however, we discover similarities. First, each monk had fixed his attention upon a particular matter, which for some reason had become essential in that particular life situation. It seems to me that in each case the life situation provided an actualization of some norm in the sense that a transgression of it was projected in a concrete situation, even though no transgression had ever actually taken place in reality. Secondly, actualization of a norm usually resulted in a dilemma personally experienced by the monk in question and this called for adoption of a personal standpoint as regards the conception and interpretation of that particular norm. It is only when actualization of a norm has taken place that we can consider a norm to have been properly internalized.

11.3.2. The social control. The social control over the behaviour and daily life of the monks was exercised mainly by the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*) and the District Chief Monks (*Nāyakas*). According to senior pupil 7, the social control functioned in practice in such a way that when an account was given (either by a monk or a layman) of a transgression or when a transgression came to the ears of the Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*), the latter began making enquiries and if the matter appeared to be serious, it was dealt with at the following *Kārekasabhā* meeting. It is also the *Kārekasabhā* that metes out the proper punishment.[469]

Ānanda explained this proceeding as follows:[470]

> "If there is any infringement of the rules, the governing body of monks of the district send a detailed report about the matter to the principal monastery. After that is done, at the principal monastery, the matter is discussed and if any punishment ought to be given to the errant monk, that is ordered."

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[467] HYUL 75/94, 7-8.

[468] HYUL 75/96, 8-9. HYUL 75/98, 8.

[469] HYUL 75/94, 7-8.

[470] HYUL 75/85, 9-10.

> "The decision is first taken by the monks in the district. After that it comes to the Assembly of Monks (*Sangha Sabhāva*) including the Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*). After it is sent to the Assembly of Monks, it is discussed there and the results are made known."
>
> "The punishment is imposed there. After that is done, the governing body of monks unanimously accepts it and takes actions accordingly. ... There is a rule to abstain from talking to such a person (an errant monk), and if that punishment is imposed, others refrain from talking with him."

When I asked who in practice supervises the behaviour of the monks, six monks answered that they controlled their own behaviour. One monk said quite explicitly that these matters were private. Three pupils said that their teachers controlled their behaviour. When asked whether the monks still confessed their transgressions and to whom they usually made these confessions, eight monks said that they did confess their transgressions, while one Chief Monk said that he confessed the deed in mind only and did not actually tell it to anyone. The pupils said that they confessed their transgressions to their teacher and to their friends. Two Chief Monks said that they confessed to the elder monks only, i.e. to their friends. As I was not allowed to be present either at a *Kārekasabhā* meeting or a *Pātimokkha*-recitation ceremony, it is of course impossible for me to know how such things were actually handled in practice. It seems to me, however, on the basis of the interviews as a whole, that confessions were made not in connection with the recitation ceremonies, but in the form of private discussions with good friends, whenever a bad conscience and the burden of guilt became too heavy to carry alone. Consequently, it was a confidential matter between good friends rather than a confession of transgression.

11.3.3. The adjustment of norms. The adjustment of norms to contemporary monastic conditions both external and internal has proved to be quite a dilemma for the Sinhalese Buddhists, both monks and laymen. When I asked the monks whether the monastic rules had changed during their time as monks, all of the nine monks answered that the rules had remained the same. In practice, however, it was impossible to keep some of the minor rules, like that relating to money, for example, which six of the monks considered a necessity in modern life. Three monks said that it was difficult to live within Sinhalese society. Quite an interesting mapping resulted when I asked (112) what the monks thought the reason was for the fact that it was not possible to follow all the rules laid down in the *Pātimokkha*. The answers were as follows:[471]

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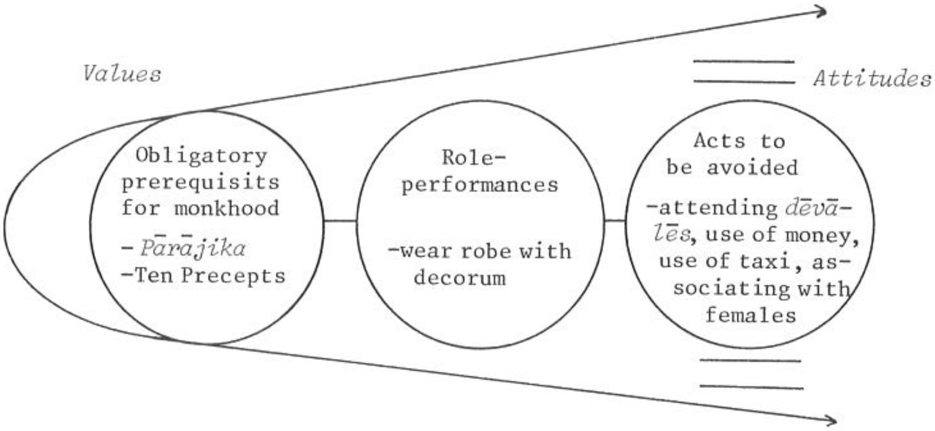
[471] HYUL 75/83-99.

The nine monks	*Answers to question 112*
1. Chief Monk	- "one can follow all the rules"
2. Ānanda	- "it is difficult because of association with the laity and society"
3. Junior pupil	- "many rules are impossible to follow"
4. Senior pupil	- "it is difficult to follow all the *sekhiya* rules because of questions of time, society, land and because of various interpretations of the rules"
5. *Anunāyaka*	- "only minor rules are impossible to follow"
6. Senior pupil	- "living in modern society makes it difficult to follow the rules"
7. Senior pupil	- "because of modern society"
8. Chief Monk	- "it is difficult to follow the rules to the letter"
9. Senior pupil	- "because of co-operation with the laity and society in general"

From the answers presented above, we can see that the monks thought that the minor transgressions were a result of the close interaction between monastic life and society. The monks have to perform so many tasks and duties and have so many role-expectations to fulfill that the role of the monk has shifted from one of solitude to one of reciprocity and, what is even more significant, to one of social involvement. Social involvement seemed in fact to constitute the main obstacle to the observance of the rules and it provided several minor dilemmas, which were usually solved in practice by a flexible interpretation of the monastic rules known as *Pātimokkha*.

11.3.4. Norms envisioned on a continuum. We can sum up our analysis of the norms by examining the material presented here in relation to the theoretical frame of reference presented in § 11.1. The previous analysis points to a system of norms incorporating two aspects, one into which they gradually become socialized but do not necessarily internalize to the fullest extent, and the other which they gradually internalize in relation to various personal experiences. These latter experiences then provide a new and intimate perspective on the traditional and institutional norms.

When we arrange the findings in correspondence with the theoretical frame of reference, we arrive at the following schematic representation (see the following page). We are here dealing with a continuum having two extremes, both of which function within the monastic community, namely, obligatory norms on the one hand and acts to be avoided on the other. In between these two extremes is the view of role-performance, or how a monk should behave. The


Values
Attitudes
Obligatory prerequisits for monkhood
- Pārājika
-Ten Precepts
Role-performances
-wear robe with decorum
Acts to be avoided
-attending dēvālēs, use of money, use of taxi, associating with females

first point lies at the very core of monastic life, while the second is concerned with behaviour outside the monastic area, the third point being peripheral. The acts to be avoided represent restrictions that have come into existence due to the drastic changes in the circumstances of monastic life since the inauguration of independence in 1948.

With reference to values and attitudes, the norms decrease successively in degree of obligatoriness from left to right, i.e. from value to attitude. In this way, the act to be avoided can also be seen as an attitude, since infringement would not produce any serious consequences, apart from the one labelled "associating with females". There are, however, other consequences of which the monks themselves are not fully aware. Today the monks in Sri Lanka have a large involvement in contemporary society and carry out various functions in teaching and administration. In all these social contexts there are occasions when a monk has to handle money, use a taxi etc. in order to deal with the matter efficiently. Monks studying at the university cannot completely avoid associating with females, whom they meet in the course of their studies. Since the monks have come to be involved in matters that are dealt with outside the monastery, it is quite natural that various problems arise, dilemmas which can never be actualized within the monastery. Therefore, one can conclude by saying that involvement creates dilemmas.