

APPENDIX

I. The first interview schedule

The following translations of the questions do not presume to be philologically precise but represent, rather, an attempt at preserving the wordings as translated and comprehended by my two key-informants, monk Ānanda and Mr. Fernando.

1. *Obagē hoṅda-ma yālu hāmiduru denāmakagē nam kiyanṇa?*
Tell me the name of your two best monk friends?

2. *Obeṭṭa oḥu paḷamiven-ma hamu uṇē kavāḍā-da?*
When did you meet him for the first time?

3. *Kohē-dī-da?*
Where did you meet him?

4. *Koccara kalekaṭṭa sārayak oḥu hamu uṇā-da?*
How often did you meet him at that time?

5. *Oba hamu vennē kohē-dī-da?*
Where were you accustomed to meet?

6. *Oba oḥu hamu uṇā viṭṭa venat aya ehi sitiyyā-da?*
Apart from you, were there any others present?

7. *Oba oḥuṭṭa dinapata katā-karanavā-da?*
Do you talk to him daily?

a) *Satiyaketa tun varak hō* - Three times a week or

b) *Satiyaketa varak* - Once a week

c) *Dina dahatarakata varak* - Once a fortnight

d) *Māsāyakata varak* - Once a month

8. *Oba oḥu dān hamu vennē kohē-dī-da?*
Where do you meet him nowadays?

9. *Oba ohu hamu unā viṭa venat aya ehi innavā-da?*
Apart from you, are there any others present?
10. *Oba obagē yālūa vaśayen ohu tōrā-gatte äyi?*
Why did you choose him to be your friend?
11. *Oba ohu samage yālu unē äyi?*
What is it that makes you friends?
12. *Obē yāluvaṭa tavat yāluvo innavā-da?*
Does your friend have any other friend that he meets often?
13. *Obeta ohu avasāna-varaṭa hamu unē kavādā-da?*
When did you meet him last?
14. *Obeta ohu hamu unā kohē-dī-da?*
Where did you meet him?
15. *Obē yālūa hamu unē velāve monavā-da kale?*
What was your friend doing when you met?
16. *Oba ohu hamu unā viṭa venat aya ehi sitiya-da?*
Apart from you, were there any others present?
17. *Sāmānyen oba ohu hamu vannē koi velāvaṭa-da?*
What time do you usually meet?
18. *Oba katā-kale monava gānna-da?*
What do you talk about?
19. *Oba sāmānyen katā-karannē monava gānna-da?*
What do you usually discuss?
20. *Oba kopamaṇa vēlanak katā-karanavā-da?*
For how long do you discuss?
- a) *pāyal vitara* - one hour
b) *ḍekak vitara* - two hours
c) *tunak vitara* - three hours
21. *Oba egānna katā-kale äyi?*
Why did you talk about that?

22. *Säma hāmuduru namak-ma mē gänna katā-karanavā-da?*
Does every monk talk about these things?
23. *Oba egänna hitannē monavā-da?*
What did you think about it?
24. *Oba venat aya samaga egänna katā-karanavā-da?*
Do you talk about these things with anybody else?
25. *Kavda, kavādā-da, kohē-dī-da, äyi, kavurun samaga-da?*
To whom, when, where, why, who is present?
26. *Oba koi hāmuduruvō-da säma dāma hamu vannē?*
Which monks do you meet every day?
- (The same questions were asked as regards the second monk friend)
27. *Obagē hoñda-ma yālu gihi dennekugē nam kiyanna?*
Tell me the names of your two best layman friends?
28. *Obē yālva mokak-da karannē?*
What does your friend do?
29. *Obē yālva koccara kalekaṭa sāraval-da pansalaṭa ennē?*
How often does your friend come to the monastery?
30. *Ohuṭa vayasa kiya-da?*
How old is he?
31. *Ohugē gama kohē-da?*
Where does he live?
32. *Oba mahana-vīmaṭa pera ohu bohō varak hamu uṇā-da?*
Did you meet him often before you became a monk?
33. *Oba nitarama ohu hamu vannē näti äyi?*
Why do you not meet him so often?
34. *Ohu mehi ennē näti äyi?*
Why does he not come here?

(Questions 1-26 were then asked of the informant as regards both his layman friends)

II. The second interview schedule

A. Biography

1. *Oba paḷamūven-ma pansalak bāli-ma piṇisa giyā kavādā-da?*
When did you go to a monastery for the first time?
2. *Oba bāli-ma piṇisa giyā mona pansalaṭa-da?*
Which *pansala* did you go to see?
3. *Oba ehi giyā mak-nisā-da?*
Why did you go there?
4. *Obē demavūpiyan obaṭa ehi yaṇṭa kṭvā-da? Mak-nisā-da?*
Did your parents tell you to go there? Why?
5. *Yam kisi hāmuduru keneku obē gedaraṭa pāmiṇa obaṭa ehi eṇṭa kṭvā-da?*
Did a monk come to your house and ask you to go there?
6. *Hāmuduru kenekugē jīvitaya sambandaya oba dāna-siṭiyā monavā-da?*
What did you know about a monk's life?
7. *Oba egāna sitiye monavā-da?*
What did you think about it?
8. *Obaṭa pāvīdi-vīmaṭa uvamanā-kalē mak-nisā-da?*
Why did you request to become a monk?
9. *Oba pāvīdi-bava lābuvē kavādā-da? Kohi-da?*
When did you obtain your "lower" (pre-monkhood) ordination?
10. *Oba pāvīdi-kalē kavda?*
Who ordained you?
11. *Ē velāvē pāvīdi-bava lābū venat yam kisi gihiyan sitiya-da? Kavda?*
Were there any laymen being ordained at that time? Who?
12. *Pansalē sitiya obē yāluwā kavda?*
Who was your friend in the monastery?
13. *Oba samaṣa pīrivēṇē yam kisi hāmuduruvan sitiya-da? Kavda?*
Were there any monks in the school with you? Who?

14. *Obē ācārya-varayā vūyē kavda?*
Who was your teacher?
15. *Obaṭa oḥu iḡennuvē monavā-da?*
What did he teach you?
16. *Oḥu sambandaya obē hāngīm monavā-da?*
What were your impressions of him?

Oḥu ḷāṅga oba akāmati yam kisivak tibunā-da?
Was there anything you did not like about him?
17. *Obaṭa oḥu iḡennuvē koyi velāvē-da?*
What time did he teach you?
18. *Oba paḍimci-vī sitiyyē kohi-da?*
Where did you reside?
19. *Oba savas-kalē monavā-da kalē?*
What did you do in the evenings?
20. *Obaṭa oḥu savasa iḡennuvā-da?*
Did he teach you in the evenings?

Oba sākacchā-kalē monavā gānā-da?
What did you discuss?
21. *Oba upasampadāva lābuvē kavādā-da? Kohē-da?*
When did you obtain your higher ordination? Where?
22. *Obaṭa upasampadāva dīmaṭa pera yam kisi parīkṣaṇa pāvāttuvā-da?*
Was there any test before you received higher ordination?
23. *Oḇen ovun āhuvē monavā-da?*
What did they ask you?
24. *Utsavaya piḷiyala-kalē kavda? Eyā pavatvana laddē kohi-da?*
Who arranged the ceremony? Where was it held?
25. *Obaṭa dān āti nama lābunē mak-nisā-da? Eyā yōjana kalē kavda?*
Why did you get the name you now have? Who suggested it?
26. *Pāvīdi-vīmen pasu oba dinapatā monavā-da kalē?*
What was your daily routine after your ordination?

27. *Oba giyē koyi pīrivēṇaṭa-da? Oba ehi giyē kā samaga-da?*
What school did you go to? Who did you go there with?
28. *Dānaṭa ārāmayē siṭina hāmuduruvan aturen ehala obaṭa hamu vunē koyi hāmuduru nama-da?*
Which of the monks now in the monastery did you meet at that time?
29. *Oba ehi monavā-da kalē?*
What did you use to do?
30. *Oba kiyevvē monavā-da? Obaṭa adhyāpanaya lābunē kesē-da?*
What did you read? How did you get your education?
31. *Obaṭa muḥuṇapānta siduvū gāṭalu monavā-da?*
What problems did you (happen to) face?
32. *Bhikṣū jīvitayē tibunu amāru dē mokak-da?*
What was difficult in the life of a monk?
33. *Bhikṣūvakata tanikama dānenavā-da?*
Does a monk feel lonely?
34. *Mahāna-vīmen pasu oba lābū itāma vādagat addākīm deka monavā-da?*
What were your two most important experiences after you became a monk?
35. *Ārāma jīvitayē oba apriya-karannē monavā-da?*
What do you dislike about monastic life?
36. *Ārāmayē hāra venat ārāmayaka oba nāvātī sitiya-da? Kohē-da? Avurudu kīyakata issarā-da? Kopamana kalakaṭa-da?*
Have you lived in any monastery other than this monastery. Where? How many years ago and for how long?
37. *Oba ārāmayē nāvātī siṭinnē manda?*
Why do you still stay in (this) monastery?
38. *Obaṭa obē jīvitaya saha oba gāna tikak kiyanna puḷuvan-da?*
Can you tell me something about your life and yourself?
- B. Kinship relations**
39. *Obē piyā kaḷa rakṣāva mokak-da? Oḥuṭa idam tibunā-da? Esēnam idam koccara pramāṇayak tibunā-da?*
What did your father do? Was he a landowner? If so, how much land did he own?

40. *Obē kiṭṭu nāyin oba bāli-ma sandahā koccara kalakaṭa sārayak enavā-da?*
How often do your close relatives come to see you?
41. *Vādima sārayak ennē kavda?*
Who comes most often?
42. *Ohu hō ā ennē sāmānyen koyi velāvaṭa-da?*
At what time does he or she usually come?
43. *Ohu hō ā obaṭa genennē monavā-da? Ohu hō ā ennē taniyama-da?*
What does he or she bring you? Does he or she come alone?
44. *Obē pavulē ayagen obaṭa lūbennē monavā-da?*
What do you get from the members of your family?
45. *Obē issara gederāṭa enasē ovun kopamana kalakaṭa sārayak obaṭa ārādhanā-karanavā-da?*
How often do they invite you to come to your former home?
46. *Ovun ārādhanā-karannē nātuva oba ehi yanavā-da?*
Do you go there if they do not invite you?
47. *Ārāmayē hāmuduruvan atarē nāyin innavā-da? Ē kavda?*
Do you have relatives among monks in the monastery? Who?
48. *Mona pansalē-da?*
What house?
49. *Kī denek innavā-da?*
How many?
50. *Nākama mokak-da?*
What is the relationship?
51. *Vena pansal-vala obaṭa nāyin innavā-da? Ē kohē-da?*
Do you have relatives in other monasteries? Where?
52. *Pārlimēntu mantrīn atara obaṭa nāyin innavā-da? Ē kavda? Nākama mokak-da?*
Do you have relatives among Members of Parliament? Who? What is the relationship?
- Obaṭa mahānūvara Rājayē Sēwaya karana nāyin innavā-da?*
Do you have relatives working in government jobs in Kandy?

C. Values and attitudes

53. *Bāla ḷamayin mahana-vīmaṭa kāmāti-da?*
Do young boys want to become monks?
54. *Obē demavupīyan obaṭa mahana-venna kīva-da?*
Did your parents want you to become a monk?
55. *Bhikṣu jīvitayē siṭa alavannē kumak-da?*
What is fascinating about monkhood?
56. *Gīhi jīvitayē siṭa alavannē kumak-da?*
What is fascinating about a layman's life?
57. *Bhikṣu jīvitayē amāru mokak-da?*
What is difficult about monkhood?
58. *Bauddha gīhi jīvitayē amāru mokak-da?*
What is difficult about the life of a Buddhist layman?
59. *Pāvīdi-bavē ātiṣayin vādagat vannē kumak-da?*
What is extremely important about monkhood?
60. *Gīhi jīvitayē ātiṣayin vādagat vannē kumak-da?*
What is extremely important about the life of a Buddhist layman?
61. *Jīvitayen oba balāporottu vennē kumak-da?*
What do you aim for in life?
62. *Obē aramuna mokak-da?*
What is your purpose?
63. *Obē matu kriyā-mārgaya mokak-da?*
What are your future plans?
64. *Pāvīddehi itāmat prasanna dē mokak-da?*
What is the most pleasant thing about being a monk?
65. *Gīhi-bavē itāmat prasanna dē mokak-da?*
What is the most pleasant thing about being a layman?
66. *Aramuna karā obaṭa ketaram dura ḷaṅgā venta puḷuvan-da? Oba kumak sandahā pariṣrama daranavā-da?*
What can you attain? What do you strive for?

67. *Obē aramunu karā laṅgā vīmaṭṭa puḷuvan-yayī oba sitanavā-da?*
Do you think it is possible for you to attain your aims?
68. *Eyā saphala karā-gannē kesē-da?*
How can you make it possible (successful)?
69. *Mahana-vī siti kalayē obē sitīm saha hāngīm venas-vī tibē-da?*
Have your thoughts and ideas changed during your monkhood?
70. *Eva venas-vī ättē kesē-da?*
In what way have they changed?
71. *Hoṅda adahas rāsak obaṭṭa läbunē kagen-da? E kavādā-da?*
Who have you received a lot of good ideas from? When?
72. *Obē balāporottu gāna oba katā-karannē kā samaga-da?*
Who do you talk to about your aims?
73. *Mē karunu gāna oba kerehi viśāla balayak äti-kalē koyi hānuduruvan-da?*
Which monk has had a great influence on you in these matters?
74. *Hoṅda hānuduru keneku hāsiriya yuttē kesē-da?*
How does a good monk behave?
75. *Ohu piṇḍapātē yanavā-da?*
Does he go on alms-rounds?
76. *Oba mēva-gāna hitannē monavā-da:*
What do you think of these:
- | | |
|--|---|
| a) <i>Dum bonta</i> | - Smoking |
| b) <i>Matpān bonta</i> | - Drinking |
| c) <i>Mudal pariharanaya karanta</i> | - Using money |
| d) <i>Taxiyak kuliyaṭa ganta</i> | - Hiring a taxi |
| e) <i>Pudgalika deval miladī ganta;</i>
<i>Ohuṭṭa mudal dī ganta puḷuvan</i>
<i>monavā-da?</i> | - Buying private things. What can he buy? |
| f) <i>Pitāta gos yāluwan</i> | - Going out and meeting friends |
| g) <i>Dēsapālanayehi yedīma</i> | - Taking part in politics |
| h) <i>Nākāt bāli-ma</i> | - Practising astrology |
77. *Gihiyaku hāsiriya-yuttē kesē-da?*
How should a layman behave?

78. *Oba vādi-vaśayen agaya-karannē pudgalayakuge mona viśeṣa lakṣaṇa-da?*
What characteristics do you value in a person?
79. *Keneku hoṅḍa jīvitayak gata kala yuttē kesē-da?*
How should one live a good life?
80. *Mē kala sitina samahara hānuduruvangē jīvita-vala mona dēval-da oba apriya-karannē?*
Which things do you not accept in the lives of some of the monks today?
81. *Gihiyakugē jīvitayē oba apriya-karannē mona dēval-da?*
Which things do you not accept in a layman's life?
82. *Mahānūvara karunu dekaḥ venas karanta obaṭa puḷuvan-kama tibēnam evita esē vahāma venas kalayutu karunu deka monavā-da?*
If you were able to change two things in Kandy, which would be the two most urgent things requiring change?
83. *Bhikṣu jīvitayē oba venas karanta kāmāti deyal tibē-da?*
Are there things in monastic life that you would like to change?
84. *Obē vivēka kālayēdi oba karanta kāmāti monavā-da? Udahārana tunak denna?*
What do you like to do in your leisure time? Give three examples?
85. *Obē aramunu karā laṅgā vīmaṭa obaṭa tiyena hākikam monavā-da?*
What possibilities do you have of attaining your aims?
86. *Kavadā esē karanta puḷuvan vēyayi oba sitanavā-da? Esē kirīmaṭa hāki-vannē mona mārgayen-da?*
When do you think it is possible? In what way?
87. *Obē aramunu gāna oba katā-karannē kā samaga-da?*
Who do you talk to about your aims?
88. *Obē aramunu gāna obē ācāryavarayā samaga sākacchā-karanavā-da? Esē nātnam no-karannē maṇḍa?*
Do you discuss your aims with your teacher? If not, why?
89. *Obē ācāryavarayā obē aramunu sambandaya rukul-dēnavā-da, upakāra-karanavā-da?*
Does your teacher support and help you in achieving your aims?
90. *Koyi vidhiyenda oḥu obaṭa udav-dennē?*
In what way does he help you?

91. *Obē ācāryavarayā anubalanuḍun adahas obaṭa tibē-da?*
Have you had any plans that your teacher did not support?

D. Norms

92. *Mahana-vīmaṭa uvamanā kenekuta ṁnā-karannē monavā-da?*
What is required of a person who wants to become a monk?
93. *Hāsiriyaṭu anḍama gāna yam kisi nīti saha niyamayan tibē-da?*
Udahārana tunak denna?
Are there any rules and requirements on how to behave? Give three examples?
94. *Obaṭa karanta idadī nāttē monavā-da?*
What are you not allowed to do?
95. *Mē nīti sambandaya niśchaya-karannē kavda?*
Who decides about these rules?
96. *Hāmuduruvarungē avinītakam hā nītipratipatti kāḍīm pāḷanaya karamu-*
labannē kesē-da?
How is the obedience and disobedience of monks controlled?
97. *Danduvamak pāna-vīmaṭa avaśya vuvahot ē sambandaya tīranaya-karannē kavda?*
If a punishment is required who decides about it?
98. *Danduvama kriyātmaka karannē kavda?*
Who carries out the punishment?
99. *Obaṭa prasan sāvaka lābiyahākkē kesē-da?*
In what way do you obtain recognition?
100. *Hāmuduru kenekuta sampūrnayen tahanamkara tibennē mona deyal-da?*
Which things are absolutely forbidden for a monk?
101. *Mona deyal-valinda vāla-kīmata nirdēśa-kara tibennē?*
Which things are recommended to be avoided?
102. *Obē bhikṣu jīvita kālayēdi Vinaya-nīti venas-kara tibē-da?*
Obē adahas monavā-da?
What is your opinion, have the rules changed during your monkhood?
103. *Pasuva mahana-vū ayata venas niyōga saha tahanam nīti panavā tibē-da?*
Have those who have been ordained later been subject to different orders and prohibitions?

104. *Hāmuḍuru kenekuta mē kala samajayē pilipādiya no-hāki mona nīti-da?*
Which rules are impossible for a monk to obey in present-day society?
105. *Gihiyaku visin pilipādiya-yuttē mona nīti-da?*
Which rules should a layman obey?
106. *Oba kusāl karanavā-da akusāl karanavā-da kiyā dāna-gannē kesē-da?*
How do you know if you are acquiring merit or demerit?
107. *Obē kriyāvan pāḷanaya-karannē kavda?*
Who controls your actions?
108. *Prāṭimōkṣa sajjhāyanā karanavita oba sāma vāradi kriyāvakma papocēranaya karanavā-da?*
Do you confess every wrong deed prior to the recitation of the prāṭimōkṣa rules?
109. *Obē vāradi kriyāvan (avāt) obē ācāryavarayāṭṭa papocēranaya karanavā-da?*
Do you confess your wrong deeds to your teacher?
110. *Obē vāradi kriyāvan papocēranaya karannē kāta-da?*
To whom do you confess your wrong deeds?
111. *Venat kondēsi yatatē no-hāki hō tahanam dē kumana avasthāvanhida kala-hākkē?*
Under which circumstances is it possible to act in a way which under other conditions would be impossible or forbidden?
112. *Prāṭimōkṣaye sāma nītiyakma pilipādiya no-hākkē mona kāranayak nisā-da?*
What is the reason why it is not possible to follow all the rules in the prāṭimōkṣa canon?

E. Values and attitudes

113. *Oba bhāvanā puruḍu-karanavā-da mona velāvanhida?*
Do you practise meditation? At what times?
114. *Oba nivan yāmata vīriya-karanavā-da?*
Do you strive for release (*nirvāṇa*)?
115. *Oba mīta vadā hoḍda punar-bhavayak sandahā vīriya-karanavā-da?*
Do you strive for a better rebirth?

116. *Ārāmayē bhāvanā purudu-karannē mona hāmuduruvan-da?*
Which monks practise meditation in the monastery?
117. *Oba vīriya-karannē kumak sandahā-da? Oba esandahā vīriya karannē manda?*
Oba kavru samaga-da ekaṭa vāda-karannē?
What do you strive for? Why do you strive for it? Who do you work with?
118. *Hāmuduruvaru strīn kerehi kesē pilipādiya yutu-da?*
What should a monk's attitude be towards females?
119. *Mini gown ādi batahira āndun mōstara gāna oba hitannē monavā-da?*
What do you think of western fashions like mini skirts etc?
120. *Ovungē daruvan samaga vīdivala hāsirena duppat mavuvarun gāna oba hitannē monavā-da?*
What do you think of poor mothers in the streets with their children?
121. a) *Bhāvanā gāna obē hāngīma mokak-da?*
What is your opinion of meditation?
- b) *Adhyāpanaya gāna obē hāngīma mokak-da?*
What is your opinion of education?
- c) *Viśvavidyāla hāmuduruvan gāna obē hāngīma mokak-da?*
What is your opinion of university monks?
- d) *Dēsapālanayehi gāna obē hāngīm mokak-da?*
What is your opinion of politics?
122. *Bhāvanā puhunu no-kara nivan yanna puḷuvan-da?*
Can you attain *nirvāṇa* without practising meditation?
123. *Obē hāngīmē hātiyāta kala hāki vādiyen-ma kusal sidu-vena karmayan dēka monavā-da?*
What in your opinion are the two most meritorious deeds that one can perform?
124. *Depala ayitiya pilibandava obē hāngīma mokak-da?*
What is your opinion about owning property?
125. *Oba purāna pansalak (rājamahā vihārayak) bharava sitinta kāmāti-da?*
Ē mak-nisā-da?
Would you like to be in charge of an old temple? Why?

126. *Kenekuta pin räskara-gata häki-da?*
Is it possible for a person to acquire merit?
127. *Pin siḍu-vannē mona kriyā-vangen-da?*
Which deeds are meritorious?
128. *Miya giya ayāṭa pin pamunu-vannē kesē-da?*
How is it possible for a person to transfer merit to dead persons?
129. *Daruvaku mahana-kṛimen demavupiyanta atvana yahapata kumak-da?*
In what way does it benefit parents when their child enters the Order?
130. *Janayā pin-karanta pelambennē mak-nisā-da?*
Why do people want to acquire merit?
131. *Gihyan saṅghayāṭa dan-dennē mona avasthā-valadī-da?*
On which occasions do laymen give *dānē* (meal) to monks?
132. *Dan-dīma gāna oba mokak-da sitannē? Dāna varga kīyak tibē-da?*
What do you think about *dānē*? How many types of *dānē* are there?
133. *Gihyan dan-dennē āyi?*
Why do laymen give *dānē*?
134. *Dānaya piliḡānīmen obaṭa lānena yahapata mokak-da?*
What do you gain by accepting *dānē*?
135. *Dānaya sandahā obaṭa lābena sāmā āvādhanā-vakma oba pili-gannavā-da?*
Do you accept every *dānē* invitation?
136. *Janavāri māsayēdi oba dāna kīyakata vādiyā-da?*
How many *dānēs* did you go to in January?
137. *Deviyanta karana puda satkāra gāna oba hitannē monavā-da?*
What do you think about the offerings to *dēva* gods?
138. *Gihyan dēvāla-valaṭa pūjā pavat-vannē mak-nisā-da?*
Why do laymen make offerings to *dēvālēs*?
139. *Oba nivan lābīmaṭa balāporottu-venavā-da?*
Do you want to attain *nirvāṇa*?
140. *Nāvata manushyā atmayak labanta oba balāporottu-venavā-da?*
Do you want to be reborn in a human form?

141. *Oba nāvata uppatiyak gāna viśvāsa karanavā-da?*
Do you believe in rebirth?
142. *Oba pirit sajjhāyanaya kirīmata avasāna-varata giyē kavadā-da?*
When did you last go to *pirit* chanting?
143. *Eya pāvāttuvē kōhi-da?*
Where was it held?
144. *Pirit sajjhāyanaya kirīma gāna oba hitannē monavā-da?*
What do you think of *pirit* chanting?
145. *Eyīn obata lābena yahapata mokak-da?*
What do you gain from it?
146. *Pirit sajjhāyanaya karanavita oba gāna hitannē monavā-da?*
What do you think about when you chant *pirit*?
147. *Pirit sajjhāyanayak asanavita oba egāna hitannē monavā-da?*
What do you think about when you hear *pirit* being chanted?
148. *Mona utsava avasthā-valadī-da obaṭa hāmuduruvan hamu-vannē?*
On what ceremonial occasions do you meet monks?
149. *Mona utsava avasthā-valadī-da obaṭa gihiyan hamu-vannē?*
On what ceremonial occasions do you meet laymen?
150. *Māhana-jīvitayē arthaya kumak-da?*
What is the purpose of leading a monk's life?
151. *Upāsaka keneku vannē kesē-da?*
How can one be a Buddhist layman?
152. *Jīvitayē paramāarthaya kumak-da?*
What is the purpose of life?
153. *Oba kumak arabhayā jīvat kumak-da?*
What do you live for?

III. The concise biographies of the nine Theravāda monks: an interpretation

The biographies of the nine Theravāda monks who were presented and analyzed as cases in chapter C of this study will be briefly documented in the following appendix. The description and interpretation of the biographies is based on material obtained from the register-book of the principal monastery concerned, on my personal observations and from the answers given by the monks to the first 52 questions of the second interview schedule. Quotations from the answers given by the monks are inserted in order to illustrate the individual monk's way of arguing and thinking. For the sake of completeness, the biographies of Ānanda and the *Anunāyaka* are also included in this section. The biographies are here presented in the same order as they were discussed in § 9.5.

Case 1

Chief Monk, age 47

The Chief Monk was born on 28 June 1927, the youngest son of a family of three children. He had one elder sister and one elder brother. For a family living on farming, the Chief Monk's parents were not particularly wealthy with only about seven acres of dry and wet land under cultivation. Therefore, his father had also made himself a career as a road supervisor, being a member of the District Road Committee that was responsible to an independent road construction contractor. His mother was a housewife working from early morning to late evening taking care of domestic duties and looking after the children. During the plantation and harvest time she worked in the fields. As is customary among farming families, the Chief Monk remembered as a child having regularly visited the village *pansala* with his parents to pay homage to the monastery and its monks and for "religious" (*āgamika*) purposes. It is noteworthy that the Chief Monk remembered having visited the village *pansala* with both his mother and his father, as usually only the mother was mentioned in the interviews. This was probably due to the fact that his father's career in the village depended on good and reliable relations with the influential monks.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, secular reasons (merit was collected for a better rebirth) also seem to have entered the picture when the parents had their youngest son enter monastic life.

475 For the problem of making a career within the Sinhalese kinship system, see pages 66-67.

In 1942, at the age of fifteen, he received his lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) at the principal monastery, seemingly at the behest of his parents. He was robed by a Chief Monk who was originally from the same village and rather recently had "inherited" a *pansala* in the monastic compound. This *pansala* had only a short lineage of pupillary succession. He himself said that he entered the monastery "because of the desire for an ascetic life".⁴⁷⁶ When I asked him to tell me briefly something about his life and himself, he said that "after taking up the monastic life, beginning the study of that life, living in the monastery, I suffered a lot for a long time. I can say that I am one who progressed of my own effort as I suffered my way through those difficulties and toiled hard. Now, however, there isn't much difficulty. I keep to my ascetic life and protect it. I care very much also for the 'religious' activities and the responsibilities to the public".⁴⁷⁷ He stressed that "you feel lonely at the young age; until about twenty years of age you feel lonely".⁴⁷⁸

When he entered the monastery, one of his teachers at the monastic school (*pirivēṇa*) was the late Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*) himself. Thus he joined a circle of novices coming from influential families in the up-country, most of whom at the time the interviews were made (1975) were Chief Monks of *pansalas* with an ancient tradition of pupillary succession. Four of his fellow novices are nowadays Chief Monks at the monastery concerned.

In 1947 he received his higher ordination (*upasampadā*) at the principal monastery. The ceremony was arranged by his robing teacher and by the lay supporters (*dāyakas*). At that time the questions in the examination for the higher ordination concerned the *Baṇa* book and the interpretation of the Buddhist doctrine and mode of life. In 1956 he became a member of the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*), about the same time as he "inherited" his teacher's *pansala*. Since 1973, the time he was passed by in the election of the Deputy Supreme Chief Monk of the monastery, he has been living mostly in his native village *pansala*, which belongs to his *pansala* at the principal monastery.

It seems to me that he was somewhat disappointed with his career at the monastery and therefore had withdrawn to his native village. During my period of fieldwork he came to the principal monastery only about once a month for the meetings of the "Council of Monks". My key-informant, Ānanda, was also well aware of his life situation. To all appearances, the election to the post of

476 HYUL 75/83, 1.

477 HYUL 75/83, 3.

478 HYUL 75/83, 3.

Anunāyaka had been quite dramatic and the Chief Monk here concerned never mentioned the name of the present *Anunāyaka* or any of the other Chief Monks in connection with questions concerning the social network of the monastery.

Case 2

Ānanda, senior pupil, age 25

Ānanda was born on 13 December 1949, the fourth child of a family of eight children. He had two elder brothers, one elder sister, two younger brothers and two younger sisters. His father was a prosperous and hardworking farmer who had about 25 acres of land under cultivation. His mother was a gentle woman who devoted all her time to domestic chores and the children. She was a very devoted Buddhist and Ānanda remembered having visited their village *pansala* with her as a child regularly on *poya* days. Apart from paying homage to Buddha, they also went to meet their uncle, Ānanda's mother's younger brother, who had taken up the robe and lived as a monk in the village *pansala*. Ever since his first visits to the village *pansala*, Ānanda said that the monks' had left an indelible imprint on his mind. In his words:⁴⁷⁹

"(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. When we live in this world, we do not comprehend what truth is. The path to comprehend it, (involves) becoming a monk and pursuing the duties of a monk."

"In the early days before I became a monk, I used to go to the village *pansala* daily and read the *Baṇa* Scripture book for the novices (*sāmaṇera banadaham pota*) and (such elementary books on the life of Buddha and his teaching and other issues of importance for the life of a novice as) *Buddhagajjaya*, *Sakaskadaya*, *Nāmāsthṭaka Satakaya*, *Nam Pota* and then the Temple Primer (*Pansal Hōdiya*). Moreover, in the beginning I studied four or five Protection Discourses from the *Pirit* book... I studied the Pāli language."

"I had to go to the village *pansala* at eight in the morning and from eight to ten recite the lessons from memory. 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."

479 HYUL 75/84, 1-2.

In 1963 Ānanda's uncle came to the family house and asked his parents and himself whether he wanted to enter the village *pansala*. Ānanda willingly agreed. Despite his young age — he was thirteen at the time —, this decision seems to fit in naturally with his ideals of life up to then. On 2 September 1964, he received his lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) in the ancient royal temple. Thus he became a 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, the Chief Monk, sent him to the University of Sri Lanka in 1969. In June 1972, his uncle arranged his higher ordination (*upasampadā*) ceremony, probably in order to strengthen his ties to the monastery following the periods of separation during the terms at university. When in spring 1974 Ānanda finally returned to the principal monastery as a B.A. after five years of study, he moved to live permanently in the *pansala* of his uncle, occupying the same room where he had stayed during his holidays from the university. In spring 1975 he began studying for his master's (see § 8.2. and § 9.6.).

Case 3

Junior pupil, age 19

The junior pupil was born in 1955 (date not known to me), the sixth son of a family of seven children. He had three elder brothers, two elder sisters and one younger brother. His father appears to have been a very modest and unpretentious man, satisfied with what he had, which was no more than two acres of highland and about half an acre of wet land. His mother was a housewife. She appears to have been the one who most frequently visited the village *pansala*.

The junior pupil remembered very well visiting the village *pansala* and his mother bringing "food-offerings" (*dānē*) to the monks in the monastery. Already as a young boy, he seems to have had a liking for monastic life. He said in fact himself that "I knew that it is very good to change from the lay society and to become a monk, to belong to the monastic community. That is, I thought in my early days that you can get over external problems and difficulties. I thought it is very good to become a monk, and once you take up monastic life,

there is a lot of relief from the problems of lay society. That is to say, it is the toil for both worlds (the present and the future world). I had that idea ... It was that expectation that made it necessary for me to become a monk. It was to get over the problems and difficulties in lay society".⁴⁸⁰

The quotation gives a fairly good explanation why this junior pupil entered monastic life. Apart from the "religious" motivations, one of the reasons for his very clear ideas of what made the life of a monk more advantageous than that of a layman was presumably the fact that his parents had continuously had difficulties in making ends meet. This is quite understandable given the number of children and the very few acres of land. It seems, then, that partly in order to guarantee their son a good education (he had proved to be quick to learn), they had expressed the wish that their son enter monastic life. The junior pupil gave the following account of his renunciation:⁴⁸¹

"During my early age, my parents had wished to lead me to a monastic life. Then, from my young days, I also had a liking for it in my mind... There (was) one of our relatives (who was) an ordained monk. (We) went to him and expressed (my) wish to become a monk. Having discussed (the matter) he said 'good' and thereafter he robed me."

The junior pupil was robed as a novice in spring 1969 in a suburban monastery near Colombo by a Chief Monk well known to the family. He stayed there until the autumn, whereafter he moved to an up-country village to attend the famous monastic school (*pirivēṇa*) located there. In spring 1974 he had moved to the principal monastery in order to prepare for the higher ordination examination, which was scheduled for summer 1975. To all appearances, he planned to begin his studies at the University of Sri Lanka. Indeed he was working out a course schedule for himself with the help of Ānanda and the other student monks in the monastic compound.

Case 4

Senior pupil, age 20

The senior pupil was born in autumn (?) 1954, the eldest son of a family of six children. He had two younger brothers and three younger sisters. His father was a farmer with altogether about fifteen acres of land, of which twelve acres

⁴⁸⁰ HYUL 75/86, 1.

⁴⁸¹ HYUL 75/86, 3.

was paddy (rice) land. His mother was a housewife who worked from early morning to late evening taking care of domestic duties.

The senior pupil had been born into a particularly devoted Buddhist family, which was one of the most active supporters (*dāyakas*) of their native village *pansala*. He explained the reason why his family went to pay homage to their village *pansala* as follows:⁴⁸²

"As we are *dāyakas* of the *pansala*, in accordance with what is taught by our Buddhist 'religion', we have to serve; since we are *dāyakas*, we are solely bound to do the duties that are for the development and progress of the *pan-sala*. Hence we perform the collective offerings to the Buddha, to his teaching and to the monastic community called the Triple Gem. (It) is the said way for us to obtain merit. Such good deeds... in accordance with the ancient Buddhist customs and traditions are necessary for living. In order to study them very well we go to the *pansala* and do the necessary deeds."

From early childhood on, the senior pupil regularly visited the village *pan-sala* and was well acquainted with monastic life. His decision to become a monk crystallized as follows:⁴⁸³

"Especially I thought, in accordance with what is taught in our 'religion' that in order to seek and develop the progress and prosperity of our two worlds, this meritorious righteousness is very good... (It) became a necessity to become a monk when I saw the customs, habits and traditional observances of the assembly of the monks and other residential manners of monkhood, all developing the pattern for the next world. In this world they (such manners) are very good, gentle and peaceful means that generate the desire (to follow the precepts of the Buddha) in the people. Therefore, I thought that this type of living is better than a lay life for me too. All these reasons made me become a monk."

On 8 May 1968, he received his lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) at the principal monastery. The robing ceremony was conducted by a Chief Monk who originally was from the same native village as the senior pupil. His studies at the monastic school succeeded extremely well, a success he himself commented on with pleasure:⁴⁸⁴

"After studying science and languages at a central high school, I came to the principal monastery in the year 1967 and entered the 'highly esteemed' mon-

482 HYUL 75/88, 1.

483 HYUL 75/88, 1.

484 HYUL 75/88, 4-5.

astic school (*pirivēṇa*) in January 1968... After being ordained on 8 May 1968, I began to study that very day all that was necessary for monks, and faced many examinations. Especially on the first part of the *Pandit* examination (the primary examination), I succeeded in obtaining a very high grade. The same year I passed the General Certificate of Education, the ordinary level examination called the GCE examination. Later I obtained in 1972 a pass on the highest level of the *Dharmacarya* examination (an examination required for teachers of the Buddhist doctrine, *dharma*), conducted by the Government Department of Cultural Affairs, which confirms the graduation called *Dharmacarya*. Then I studied and passed the second part of the *Pandit* examination (the intermediate examination)."

On 12 July 1974, he received his higher ordination (*upasampadā*). He recalled his recent higher ordination examination in the following words:⁴⁸⁵

"There are many things to be studied and done before the higher ordination. I studied the *Sekhiya* rules, the basis of meditation, the rules of daily observances, the four methods of acquiring merits, various passages from the *Dharmapada*, the *Pirit* book; moreover, the scriptures and doctrines had to be learnt by the monks, and all the rituals and customs (as well)."

"Then the Assembly of Monks (*Sanghasabhāva*) including the venerable Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*) assesses the knowledge through an examination. After the examination, if the assembly is satisfied and feels that the person has sufficient knowledge to lead the life of higher ordination successfully, then only the honoured assembly ordains that person."

"They questioned me on the *Pirit* book and listened to (my) *Pirit* chanting. There are twenty-six sections in the *Dharmapada*. They asked questions on the twenty-sixth section. Moreover, (they asked) questions on the four bases of meditation, on the *Sekhiya* rules and on the methods of meditation, on the ceremonies and on what the monks have to observe and so on. They questioned on many things."

At the time of my fieldwork, the senior pupil was preparing himself for the final part of the *Pandit* examination with great application and purposefulness. He seemed to view his career as a teacher in the monastic school as a highly esteemed *Pandita*, presumably as one occupying a position similar to that of his robing tutor, his teacher and Chief Monk. Paradoxically, although he was apparently very interested in learning and studying, he did not consider university studies to be suitable for a monk.

485 HYUL 75/88, 3.

Case 5

Anunāyaka, Deputy Supreme Chief Monk, age 70

The *Anunāyaka* was born on 26 September 1904, the fourth child of a family of six children. He had two elder brothers, one elder sister, and two younger brothers. His father was an influential farmer who had about thirty acres of land under cultivation. His mother was a housewife.

The *Anunāyaka* was born into a family, many of whose members had taken up the robe of a monk. The family had good connections with many of the wealthy and influential families in the up-country. It seems as if the *Anunāyaka* had had a good relation with his father and already during his childhood he adopted the values and attitudes of his father and the family tradition. He recalled his visits to the village *pansala* as follows:⁴⁸⁶

"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 (*śīl*), 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."

Consequently, he took up the robe of a monk as so many of his relatives had done before him. He evoked his renunciation as follows:⁴⁸⁷

"(It was) of my own need. In order to develop my spiritual world and in order to overcome 'unease' (*duk*)."

In 1918, at the age of fourteen, he received his lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) at his native village *pansala*. The offices were performed by a Chief Monk related to his family. The higher ordination ceremony (*upasampadā*) was arranged on 26 May 1924 at the principal monastery. He recalled the examination as follows:⁴⁸⁸

"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)."

In 1947, having received a *pansala* of his own, he was elected a member of the "Council of Monks" (*Kārekasabhā*). In 1973 he was appointed to the post of *Anunāyaka*, an appointment which evidently reflected the fact that most of the

486 HYUL 75/90, 1.

487 HYUL 75/90, 1.

488 HYUL 75/90, 2.

influential monks at the principal monastery still preferred a monk from one of the wealthy and influential families to occupy the higher posts in the monastic hierarchy. Moreover, the duties of an *Anunāyaka* appeared rather easy in his mind and, as I see it, he was probably the one most suitable for the difficult task of diplomacy involved in the administration of a principal monastery.

Case 6

Senior pupil, age 28

The senior pupil was born in autumn (?) 1946, the second youngest child of a family of seven children. He had three elder brothers, two elder sisters and one younger sister. His father was a farmer who cultivated about ten acres of land, an amount which the senior pupil considered sufficient for sustaining the family. His mother, assisted by the girls, did the housework.

The interview points to the fact that the senior pupil entered monastic life of his own accord. It seems, however, that he had a somewhat idealistic view of the life of a monk. He recalled as follows:⁴⁸⁹

"According to what I understand now, during my early days I actually thought of a monk as a person who leads an independent life in a calm, gentle, and peaceful manner. Then I thought in my mind that he performs his duties in the 'religious' field without any problems."

His decision to become a monk seems to have grown in his mind during the first years at the school. He recalls:⁴⁹⁰

"At the age when (I) went to school, (I) came to understand and gained much knowledge about Buddhism from books, similarly from the teachers. Moreover, (I) also comprehended and understood from the society (around me). Consequently, I too felt it is better to become a monk."

On 20 December 1962 he obtained his lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) at the principal monastery. The offices were performed by a Chief Monk who was a long-standing friend of the family. He characterizes his days during that period as follows:⁴⁹¹

489 HYUL 75/91, 1.

490 HYUL 75/91, 1.

491 HYUL 75/91, 2.

"There are 'religious' books that have to be learnt by heart. I learned them by heart. Then in the evening we (the novices) had to perform the offerings and ceremonies. I did them. Then after that, later in the evening at about seven to eight (o'clock), I studied the books that had to be learnt."

In 1966 he received his higher ordination (*upasampadā*) at the same monastery. Then in 1968 he went to study at the university in Colombo, Vidyālamkāra, where he had also met Ānanda.⁴⁹² The way he valued education becomes apparent in the following quotation:

"In my life as a monk I have realized that if you are a monk in this society, then you have to toil to achieve a (correspondingly) suitable knowledge, an education (in order) to explain and to perform the 'religious' duties in the proper manner... If not, in this society it is not easy to continue and fulfil the observances of a monk."

In 1973 he had got his B.A. degree and was preparing for the M.A. degree, a fact that also inspired Ānanda to continue his studies.

Case 7

Senior pupil, age 21

The senior pupil was born on 10 October 1953, the third son of a family of five children. He had two elder brothers, one younger brother and one younger sister. His father had about five acres of land under cultivation. His mother was a housewife as was customary among the farmers.

The senior pupil remembered having visited his native village *pansala* both with his mother and his father in order to pay homage to Buddha. It appears that his decision to enter monastic life had grown slowly in his mind during his early adolescence. According to his statements, neither a monk nor his parents asked him to take up the robe. When asked about his conception of monastic life in his early youth, he said that the life of a monk "is better than the other ways of living... In order to lead my life in the proper direction I got the method by being ordained to monkhood".⁴⁹³

In May 1967 he received his lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) at the principal monastery. The act of robing was conducted by a Chief Monk who himself had been

492 HYUL 75/91, 3.

493 HYUL 75/94, 3.

robed by a monk from the same village as the senior pupil came from. About a year after his ordination he stayed at another monastery near the monastic school (*pirivēṇa*) where he was studying. During that period he came to the principal monastery only during his holidays. In spring 1974, after he had received his higher ordination (*upasampadā*), he moved to live permanently in the principal monastery.

During my period of fieldwork, he was teaching at the monastic school of the principal monastery. In contrast to most of the younger monks, he did not seem to be particularly interested in university studies and for the time being he had no plans to continue his studies.

Case 8

Chief Monk, age 59

The Chief Monk was born in spring (?) 1915, the second son of a family of four children. He had one elder brother and two younger sisters. His father was a village chief (*gampatikama*), a social position in the village which is usually passed down from father to son. Presumably his father's wish had been that his son would take up that task after him. The family had about ten acres of wet and dry land under cultivation. During the interview not much was said about his mother (which was the case with most of the monks), but I understood that she was the one in the family who worked from early morning to late evening taking care of the duties in the house, looking after the children and their education and, during the plantation time working in the fields. It appears that the father was very dominating and up to the very last moment, he resisted his son's decision to become a monk, an episode which the Chief Monk remembered in the following words:⁴⁹⁴

"During the school age I went to the school. (It was during) the school life. That (life) got suppressed due to my father's and mother's dislike (of it). Even so, due to my strenuous, persuasive request, initiative and personal desire, my parents consented and thereafter I joined the monastic life."

The Chief Monk remembered having visited the neighbourhood village *pansala* with his parents ever since his early youth. His early impressions of the monks were that they worked for the prosperity and welfare of the public (people) and observed the ceremonial rites and precepts. He described his

494 HYUL 75/95, 3.

reason for renunciation as follows: "(When) I saw the monks doing this sort of good service, (I) thought that I too would like to follow that path".⁴⁹⁵

After persuading his father to consent to his decision to become a monk, he entered monastic life of his own accord at the age of nineteen. In 1934 he received his lower ordination (*pabbajjā*) at the principal monastery. He was robed by a Chief Monk whose home was in the same village. During his novitiate one of his main teachers at the monastic school (*pirivēṇa*) was the present Supreme Chief Monk (*Mahānāyaka*). In 1935 he received his higher ordination at the principal monastery, after only one year of being a novice.

According to the Chief Monk himself, everything in monastic life is difficult. As the most difficult problems he mentioned not being allowed to sleep enough (he usually did take his one o'clock nap), learning, going for alms with the alms-bowl, and finally winning over the teachers.

In the later part of the 1940's, the Chief Monk had lived for about five years in another monastery belonging to the principal monastery, but since 1950, when he "inherited" his teacher's *pansala*, he has lived at the principal monastery. Since the middle of the 1960's, he has been the head of ceremonies at the monastery and one could consider him having reached a social position within the monastery which is in a way similar to that which his father had occupied in the village community.

Case 9

Senior pupil, age 22

The senior pupil was born on 22 March 1952, the only (?) son of a family, many of whose members had taken up the robe of a monk. In the records not much was said about his parents. He described, however, his life up to the date of the interview as follows:⁴⁹⁶

"I had the desire for monkhood from (my) early days, and in 1965, in January, at my strong and fervent request, my father brought me along to the monastery. I must then have been about thirteen years of age. Then, on the 24th day in 1965, I was ordained into the monastic life (by a Chief Monk who was closely related)."

495 HYUL 75/95, 1.

496 HYUL 75/97, 3.

"First I obtained the preliminary education at the (royal) monastic school. Then I studied (at another) monastic school in preparation for the higher education. I obtained the primary examination (the first part of the *Pandit* examination ordinary level) at that school and passed four subjects, and also passed the General Certificate of Education ordinary level examination. Now I am preparing for the Intermediate examination."

"I obtained the higher ordination (*upasampadā*) on June 17th 1972 ... and now I am continuing my studies (for the third part of the *Pandit* examination)."