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Bending the Body, Keeping the Mind Upright:
The Pedagogy of Bodily Comportment in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya

By

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Doctor of Philosophy

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By

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Abstract

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By Upali Sraman

This dissertation explores the pedagogical and ethical implications of bodily comportment on how *vinaya* (Buddhist monastic discipline) is integrated into the daily routine of a newly ordained monk. A disciplined life is expressed through bodily comportment and through interactions with others. Such comportment cultivates habits of embodied attention with an attitude of care toward both the community and the environment in which one lives. A monk with disciplined bodily comportment is deeply self-aware and also sensitive to potential transformative effect of such comportment on others.

Beginning with various "scenes of instruction" involving novice monks in the canonical Vinaya narrative texts belonging to the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, the dissertation moves on to examine a training manual for novice monks attributed to the Indian Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, along with its commentary, attributed to the Buddhist scholar Kamalaśīla. The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya canonical texts and related commentaries and manuals continue to be utilized in Tibetan monastic education to this day.

Based on these texts, this dissertation foregrounds questions pertaining to the underlying pedagogical visions of Buddhist educators in order to transform newly ordained monastics into publicly-visible Buddhist monks who embody important social and ethical norms. The dissertation analyzes how Vinaya texts self-referentially describe Vinaya as a subject of study in the monastic curriculum, focusing on how narratives and various bodily practices such as filtering water for communal consumption and prostrating in front of elder monks are used to cultivate interior and exterior qualities such as devotion, embodied attention, and inter-personal care.

My research broadly explores how Buddhist educators conceive and implicitly theorize ethical transformation as rooted in the relations between monastic members performed through routinized activities. As such, my research also reveals a broader notion of *vinaya* as a disciplined practice of kinesthetic awareness, which will contribute to educational practices outside of Buddhist monastic context.

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courses online, his lectures helped to deepen my knowledge of canonical Buddhist texts. Reading the Vinaya texts through a pedagogical lens is an inspiration I have received from his writings and the informal conversations I had with him. I cannot claim that I was successful in following all the advice I received from Bhante Anālayo. Nevertheless, in times of difficulties I reminisced the insightful words of Bhante Anālayo and found some direction and much solace in them.

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Introduction

Monasticism is centrally-visible in the full spectrum of Buddhist cultures, and monastic discipline, or *vinaya*, is often regarded as the lifeblood of the Buddhist monastic order. Without such discipline, it is argued, there would be no monasticism and thus no Buddhism.[1] But in what does monastic discipline consist? This dissertation proposes that there are two distinct ways of thinking and talking about monastic discipline: first, as a subject of monastic education, transmitted and encoded in canonical texts and commentaries, and second, as a way of life transmitted directly from teachings to students living in monastic communities. We refer to the first of these as Vinaya, naming a genre of texts and rules that can be studied and memorized, and the second as *vinaya*, a way of living in the world through the disciplining of bodily comportment and mental attitudes. Both aspects of monastic discipline together are signalled through the compound Vinaya/*vinaya*. There has been surprisingly little academic research on how Vinaya/*vinaya* is taught and learned. It is to this gap in our scholarly knowledge that my project is addressed.

Main Argument and Clarification of Terms

This study focuses on the training of newly ordained monks in their first years of monastic life. We focus mainly on novices (*śrāmaṇera*),[2] who observe ten precepts, with some reference as well to fully ordained monks (*bhikṣu*) who take higher ordination (*upasampadā*) vows to observe over two-hundred and fifty precepts.[3] In some instances, in Vinaya texts, new monks are referred

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[1] See chapter two on a discussion on the importance of *vinaya*.

[2] Our study focuses almost exclusively on male novice monks (*śramaṇera*). A study of female novice nuns (*śramaṇerika*) is desirable but beyond the scope of this dissertation.

[3] The exact number of vows depends on the Vinaya lineage and differs as well for fully ordained monks (*bhikṣu*) and nuns (*bhikṣuṇī*).

to as *navakabhikṣu*, literally "new monks" (see chapter 2); in other instances, we can identify new monks based on the narrative context and the stories describing their behavior and the lessons they learn after their initial ordination. This focus on newly ordained monks turns our attention directly to the aspects of Vinaya/*vinaya* that must be learned if one is to live as a monk according the norms of monastic discipline. In addition to observing such essential rules as refraining from acts like killing, engaging in sexual intercourse, stealing, and telling lies, Buddhist monks are further required to follow the proper norms of conduct befitting the monastic lifestyle. Monastic training thus involves activities that newly ordained monks are required to do from the moment of waking up in the morning until going to bed at night. The instructions on daily routine include guidelines for bodily comportment pertaining to the correct way of wearing robes, walking in public places, eating, using the toilet, and so on. Monastic training is also concerned with how newly ordained monks relate to each other and how they behave in the presence of their teachers. This dissertation is dedicated to an exploration of what is taught at a deeper level through such quotidian instruction. As such, in this dissertation, Vinaya/*vinaya* is understood as an integral part of monastic training that includes but is not at all limited to the observation of monastic precepts and rules.

The main argument of this dissertation is that Vinaya/*vinaya* is an integrative system of monastic pedagogy aimed at developing kinaesthetic awareness with transformative foresight. By integrative monastic pedagogy, I refer to the integration of diverse elements of Buddhist practice and precepts within the daily routine of a novice monk. By transformative foresight, I refer to how the monastic scholars and teachers foresee the possibility of ethical transformation as the anticipated goal of the monastic training based on the education in Vinaya/*vinaya*. In other words, as a form of education, Vinaya/*vinaya* integrates important ethical values within the activities and rituals that a new monk is required to perform every day in order to cultivate a habit of embodied

awareness of how one expresses oneself in relation to other individuals as well as to one's larger environment, including material objects and non-human animals. Monastic training anticipates that the values and habits of awareness cultivated through the daily performance of a host of required duties will foster deep ethical, psychological, and spiritual transformation in the new monks.

Before going further, it is relevant here to give some more details regarding the meaning of the word *vinaya*, which is used widely across the Buddhist monastic traditions historically found in South and Southeast Asia. We can begin with two traditional etymological explanations. First, the Sanskrit and Pāli term *vinaya* is composed of two elements, *vi-* and *naya*. In this compound, *naya* is derived from the verbal root *nī* which means to lead, to guide, to take and so on, and the prefix *vi-* expresses division. The term *vinaya* thus literally means "leading away" or "removing," by which is indicated the core Buddhist project of the removal of suffering, pain, mental and emotional afflictions, and so on. In this way, the word itself already hints at the transformative potential of the practices involved in *vinaya*. Interestingly, the Tibetan tradition renders the term *vinaya* as *'dul ba*, which is a transitive verb meaning to tame or control, which the Tibetan translators understand primarily in the sense of controlling or taming the senses. Again, this points at the transformative potential of the practices of *vinaya*.

Second, acoording to another analysis of the Sanskrit and Pāli term *vinaya*, *vi-* and *naya* have different meanings. On this traditional etymology, the prefix *vi* can be understood as representing the word *viśeṣa* (in Sanskrit) or *visesa* (in Pali), both of which carry the meaning of "special." The word *naya* on this reading is understood as indicating "the way, method, conduct, path etc."[4] In

[4] Maria Heim points out that Buddhaghosa, the renowned Theravāda Pali commentator of the fifth century CE, interprets the prefix *vi-* to simultaneously indicate *vividha* (various), *vidū* (wise), and *visesa* (special). According to Buddhaghosa, *vinaya* "contains various and distinctive methods and because it disciplines body and speech." See Heim, *Voice of the Buddha*, 193.

this sense, the term *vinaya* would mean "special way," "refined conduct," "fine method," and so on. In Buddhist monastic training, this special way involves learning to live a disciplined life following the norms of conduct as taught by the Buddha. Kalyāṇamitra, a ninth-century Vinaya commentator, defines *vinaya* as a "system for the norms of good conduct" (*kun tu spyod pa'i tshul* or **samudācāra-naya*).[5] We discuss what is meant by the norms of conduct that are particular to the life of a monk in detail in chapter 3.

In addition to these foundational meanings relevant to monastic discipline, the term *vinaya* is also used in the context of conversion, where it occurs in the sense of leading a person from one kind of religious practice or way of being to another as one becomes a follower of the Buddha.[6] This usage reminds us that *vinaya* is in the first-place process of a transformation and only secondarily a topic of monasic texts. We will see as well when we examine the story of the young woman Viśākhā in chapter 3 below that the term can be used outside of a strictly monastic context to refer to anyone who has cultivated a disciplined bodily and mental comportment. Additionally, as already alluded to above, the term *vinaya* can refer to a traditional classification of Buddhist literature, which in this dissertation we refer to using the proper name Vinaya (with upper case V and set in roman type). In such contexts, the term Vinaya refers to the large body of texts pertaining to monastic discipline that is one of the three "baskets" (*piṭaka*) of the Buddha's teaching that collectively make up the Buddhist canon (the other two being Sūtra and Abhidharma). Also, included under the classification of Vinaya are the many extra-canonical textual sources including indigenous commentaries. Since both canonical and extracanonical Vinaya texts are a source for

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[5] Kalyāṇamitra, *Vinayavastuṭīkā* (*'dul ba gzhi rgya cher 'grel pa*), 'Dul ba (Vinaya), Derge. Tengyur. Vol. 156.235a.: '*dul ba zhes bya ba ni kun tu spyod pa'i tshul*. The Sanskrit phrase **samudācāra-naya* is my reconstruction. The concept of *samudācāra* has been discussed in detail in chapter 3.

[6] This meaning of *vinaya* is evident in the following sentence that occurs in the context of Śāriputra converting a group of ascetics who were antagonistic to Buddhist monastics: …*āyuṣmān śāriputraḥ teṣāṁ vinayakālaṁ jñatvā tatsamīpe vṛkṣamūlasyādhastāc caṅkramyamāṇas tiṣṭhati* (Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu*, 23).

our understanding of the historical development of Vinaya/*vinaya*, and since *vinaya* includes within it the proper study of Vinaya, we begin with an overview of the Vinaya corpus that serves as our point of departure.

Vinaya Textual Sources

Ancient and medieval India saw the development of a plethora of different Buddhist monastic traditions, all of which developed their own collections of Vinaya texts. While some of these are known to us only by reputation, the Vinaya texts of several traditions have survived either in fragments or in complete form. In particular, complete Vinaya collections of six major traditions have survived: those of the Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, Mūlasarvāstivāda, Lokottaravāda, Sarvāstivāda, and Theravāda monastic traditions.[7] Of these, there is no longer any living monastic community for the Mahīśāsaka, Lokottaravāda, and Sarvāstivāda Vinaya traditions. The Vinaya texts of the remaining three traditions, however, have been preserved and are studied and used for legal, ritual, and ethical purposes to this day. The Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, preserved in Chinese, is in use mainly in East Asian countries; the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, preserved in Tibetan and partially suriviving in Sanskrit, is in use mainly in Himalayan regions and in Mongolia; and the Theravāda Vinaya, preserved in Pāli, is in use mainly in South and Southeast Asian countries. Regardless of tradition or lineage, the canonical Vinaya texts of these diverse traditions are all regarded by their monastic followers as the authentic words of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), and they generally all have a similar structure.

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[7] For a general introduction to the Vinaya texts of different Buddhist traditions, see Clarke, "Vinayas," 60–87; Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 165–80; Prebish, "The Vinaya," 96-116; Prebish, *A Survey of Vinaya Literature* and and Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes in China.* For the history of the ancient Buddhist monastic schools, see Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 517–49.

Vinaya text collectionss are generally comprised of three key parts: 1) the *Vibhaṅga*, or collection of texts containing monastic rules (*śikṣāpada*) for monks and nuns, elaborated along with their narrative contexts; 2) the *Khandhaka* (in Pāli) or *Skandhaka* (in Sanskrit), or collection of the texts dealing with various aspects of monastic life including an account of the life of the Buddha and the first Buddhist monastic community; and 3) the *Pātimokkha* (in Pāli) or *Prātimokṣa* (in Sanskrit), or collection of texts containing the monastic rules presented in isolation without the stories of the *Vibhaṅga*. In addition, the different traditions also have supplementary Vinaya texts.

Of these collections, only the canonical Theravāda Vinaya texts, known collectively as the Vinayapiṭaka or "Basket of Vinaya" and preserved in Pāli, have been translated into English in their entirety.[8] Based on the English translation of the Theravāda Vinaya texts, which have been available for more than a hundred years, it is possible to gain substantial knowledge about the subject matter with which Vinaya texts generally deal. However, using only one set of Vinaya texts to make generalized conclusions about the entirety of the genre of Vinaya of other traditions or monasticism in ancient India can be misleading.

Currently there is a surge of academic interest in the Vinaya texts of other traditions beyond that of the Theravāda in order to gain a broader understanding about Vinaya literature, with the most notable interest in the voluminous set of texts comprising the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. My project takes part in this move towards expanding our understanding of the Vinaya by focusing on the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition. Most contemporary and traditional scholars believe that the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya was originally written in Sanskrit, though at present, only some of the texts are available in that language. The entire Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya corpus is, however, available in both Tibetan and Chinese translations, with some discrepancies. As I am not able to

[8] See Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. 1–6.

read classical Chinese of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, I have consulted the available Sanskrit versions and otherwise have relied on the Tibetan translations. Although my project is not primarily a comparative study of the Vinaya texts, I have consulted the Theravāda Vinaya in a few instances where it provides important additional information relevant for describing the monastic training of new monks.

The texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya as preserved in the Tibetan Kangyur (*bka 'gyur*), the collection of canonical texts considered to be the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), are as follows, listed in the order in which they appear in the Kangyur.

1) *Vinayavastu*. This important work contains seventeen chapters with elaborate narratives on monastic life, including stories that touch upon such varied topics as the procedures for ordination, performance of various periodical rituals, monastic etiquettes, the making of robes, and so on. The individual chapters of the *Vinayavastu* are often presented as separate volumes which can range from twenty pages to up to five hundred pages. We examine narratives from a number of these individual chapters, including the *Pravrajyāvastu* ("Chapter on Going Forth"), the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* ("Chapter on Medicine"), the *Cīvaravastu* ("Chapter on Robes"), and the *Śayanāsanavastu* ("Chapter on Beds and Seats"). The *Vinayavastu* also contains texts that parallel closely with the *Khandhaka* section of the Theravāda Vinayapiṭaka.
2) *Prātimokṣasūtra* (*Prātimokṣa* for short). This work contains lists of monastic rules (*śikṣāpada*) for male and female novices and fully ordained monastics. The *Prātimokṣasūtra* parallels closely with the Theravāda *Pātimokkha*, though the latter contains fewer rules. In addition to the rules, a distinguishing feature of the

Prātimokṣasūtra is that it contains a poetic eulogy on the importance of monastic discipline and the benefits of observing monastic vows.

3) *Vinayavibhaṅga*. This lengthy collection contains elaborate narrative accounts that are presented as the original contexts for the introduction of the monastic rules for monks and nuns that are enshrined in the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. According to the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, the Buddha did not introduce any rules for regulating his disciples during the first twelve years after the initial formation of the monastic community. After twelve years, however, a monk named Sudinna, at the instigation of his mother, had sexual intercourse with his former wife in an act that represented a transgression of the celibacy that monks were traditionally expected to observe. Following this incident, the Buddha introduced a new rule explicitly prohibiting monks from having sexual intercourse. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* begins with the narrative of Sudinna, which provides the context to explain the Buddha's first monastic rule.[9] The subsequent narratives in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* all follow the same general structure: a monk acts in a way that violates or disrupts the unregulated norms of monastic life; other monks or devotees witness this action and censure the monk; the matter is reported to the Buddha; the Buddha summons the accused monk to confirm the misconduct; the Buddha criticizes the monk for the conduct and introduces a rule so that monks in the future will not commit that act. In this way, the narratives of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* are ostensibly presented for the introduction of a new rule. Yet the narratives do more than this, as they also touch on a wide variety of topics and issues relevant to monastic life and the

[9] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 35–68 includes a study of this narrative and the *pārājika* rule that it explains (a *pārājika* rule is one that, when violated, results in explusion from the monastic community).

everyday aspects of monastic training. As such, the *Vinayavibhaṅga* narratives are of particular interest in this dissertation.

4) *Vinayakṣudrakavastu*. This text contains discussions on the minor monastic rules.
5) *Vinayottaragrantha*. This final work in the larger collections contains a systematic presentation of monastic rules from the previous texts. The *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* and *Vinayottaragrantha* are similar to the *Parivārapāli* in the Theravāda tradition.[10]

Of all the Vinaya texts, the *Prātimokṣa*, containing just the monastic rules without the contextualizing stories of the *Vibhaṅga*, has gained distinct recognition as being the most important Vinaya text. One reason for this may be that the *Prātimokṣa* is crucial for ritually establishing a valid monastic lineage. In fact, the differences among Buddhist monastic traditions generally can be traced back to the expansions of the *Prātimokṣa* which was initially used to establish a Buddhist monastic order in a particular place.[11] Generally, the *Prātimokṣa* is memorized by monastics, especially those who receive higher ordination. It is also recited during the fortnightly gatherings (Sanskrit: *upavastha*; Pāli: *uposatha*) of monastics for ritual confession or purification.

Apart from the canonical texts, all traditions of Vinaya, including the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, have voluminous collections of commentaries and sub-commentaries on these foundational works. For example, in this dissertation, I have referenced the commentary on *Kalyāṇamitra, Vinayavastuṭīkā* , a commenatary on the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu* by the ninth-century Vinaya scholar Kalyāṇamitra and the *Vinayavibhaṅgapadavyākhyāna*, a commentary on *Vinayavibhaṅga* by the seventh-century scholar Vinītadeva. The most famous

[10] These texts supplement the other texts by discussing additional themes or presenting topics that were not discussed in the other texts.

[11] Nattier and Prebish, "*Mahāsāṃghika Origins: The Beginnings of Buddhist Sectarianism*", 237-278.

Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya commentator is the seventh-century scholar Guṇaprabha. In his work titled *Vinayasūtra*, Guṇaprabha has a unique approach to commenting on the Vinaya texts by compiling a list of compact summaries based on the canonical texts. Guṇaprabha also composed separate auto-commentaries on his own *Vinayasūtra*. It is only recently that contemporary scholars have started paying attention to the uniqueness of Guṇaprabha's approach to interpreting Vinaya.[12]

As a genre, the commentaries on the canonical Vinaya texts have their own styles and it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to read them independently. They generally need to be read along with the root texts on which they are based. Additionally, for the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya tradition, most of the commentaries have not survived in Sanskrit and must be accessed through their Tibetan translations as preserved in the Tengyur (*bstan 'gyur*), the portion of the Tibetan canon dedicated to commentaries and independent treatises written mainly by Indian Buddhist masters. This dissertation focuses mainly on the canonical sources as contained in the Kangyur; I have consulted the Indian Vinaya commentaries only to seek explanations of key terms. The future trajectory of Vinaya studies, as I suggest in chapter 1, lies in further focused study of these commentaries.

Beyond the canonical texts and their immediate commentaries, we find other manuals intended as textbooks for teaching Vinaya to novice monks. Among Tibetan monastics, one of the first Vinaya texts that novice monks study and memorize is Nāgārjuna's second-century work, *A Manual in Fifty Verses for the Training of Novices in the Noble Mūlasarvāstivāda* (*Āryamūlasarvāstivādīśrāmaṇerakārikāpañcaśat*), which we will refer to hereafter as the *Śrāmaṇerakārikā* or *Fifty Verses*. This work, available only in Tibetan translation, presents the

[12] See Hong, "Guṇaprabha" and "Some Remarks on Vinaya Master Gunaprabha." See also Bapat and Gokhale, *Vinaya-Sutra and Auto-Commentary*; Nietupski, "Guṇaprabha on Monastic uthority and Authoritative Doctrine," and Yonezawa, "The Vinayasūtra and the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya."

essence of monastic discipline, laying the foundation of proper conduct for novices and outlining their vows. In the fifth chapter of this dissertation, I examine what is taught in the *Śrāmaṇerakārikā* with the aid of a commentary attributed to the eighth-century scholar Kamalaśīla. However, the various schools of Tibetan Buddhism each also have their own further indigenous Tibetan commentaries on the *Śrāmaṇerakārikā*. Such commentaries are significant for their portrayals of discipline being taught through daily routines, including those that both exemplify and create the relationship between teacher and novice. Among these are such physical actions as gently knocking on the door to the teacher's room and waiting to hear the teacher signalling with a finger snap before entering, prostrating with joined palms, carefully washing the teacher's alms bowl, and so on. These descriptions expand our sense of Vinaya/*vinaya* so as to include not only legal matters but also etiquettes, bodily comportment, and a way of cultivating attentiveness to habitual actions that are performed every day. As such, the training manuals are important for addressing the key questions on monastic education that underlie the different chapters in this dissertation.

Guiding Questions

The intervention this dissertation makes in the field of Vinaya studies lies in the questions it seeks to answer. The key question addressed in this dissertation is the question of how is Vinaya/*vinaya* taught, both as a subject of monastic study and as monastic a way life. What is taught through many narratives illustrating monastic etiquettes and norms of conduct as found in the Vinaya texts? What is conveyed through the descriptions of everyday routines prescribed in the *vinaya* manuals for training novices? To answer these questions, my dissertation focuses on the pedagogical methods and visions of *vinaya* in the Vinaya texts. Whereas contemporary scholars have mostly studied Vinaya texts as sources for understanding the nature of Buddhist

monasticism in ancient times or as documents for discovering the history of Buddhist monastic law, this dissertation eschews historical questions, seeking instead to gain a deeper understanding of what Vinaya/*vinaya* education aims to achieve in terms of the ethical, psychological, or spiritual formation of individuals who follow Buddhist monastic life.

I believe that engaging with such questions requires us to read Vinaya texts in new ways, ways that are attentive to the larger practices of *vinaya* as a way of life. Three of my methodological choices in this regard deserve mention here. First, I study self-referential passages in Vinaya texts to understand what we can learn about *vinaya* from the way Vianya texts describe the study and practive of *vinaya* (chapter 2). Some of these self-referential passages contain specific descriptions about the difficulties involved in the study of Vinaya/*vinaya*, benefits enjoyed by a student of Vinaya/*vinaya*, and the goals of monastic life accomplished by the study and practice of Vinaya/*vinaya*. Such descriptions help us to gain a nuanced understanding. The self-referential passages illustrate that Vinaya/*vinaya* is more than rules and precepts. The education of monastic discipline informed by Vinaya study is concerned with shaping a particular way of life, one enhanced by *vinaya*. In particular, I emphasize that metaphors used in the self-referential passages, such as when *vinaya* is referred to as the fertile soil, are not mere poetic embellishment, but are important pedagogical strategies for reflecting on the transformative effect of studying andVinaya and embodying *vinaya*.

Second, in addition to a careful consideration of the self-referential passages, I also propose that it is important for us to read Vinaya texts intertextually. To give an example, in chapter 3, I explore a narrative about an unmarried young woman named Viśākhā who is described as *vinayasampanna*, i.e., one who embodies *vinaya* in her everyday activities. I use the various qualities reflected in the description of Viśākhā to reflect on instances where monks are described

similarly, even when the word *vinayasampanna* itself is not explicitly used. Reading the narratives in light of each other helps us to gain a nuanced understanding of embodied *vinaya*, which is pedagogically significant for new monks to draw attention to their bodily gestures and movements.

Third, I read the Vinaya narratives not as mere background to the Vinaya rules but as depictions of the complex relationships and ethical issues with which Buddhist monks grapple. As remarked above, except for the *Prātimokṣa*, most of the canonical Vinaya texts contain abundant narratives that illustrate different aspects of Buddhist monastic life. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* in particular contains extensive narratives that serve as the background for the introduction of new rules for monks. In Buddhist studies, we often overlook the fact that these narratives are about monks, written by monks, preserved by monks for hundreds of years, and are meant to be studied by and taught to monks (even as the narratives include non-monastic characters and topics). One of the notable features of the Vinaya narratives is that they present examples of monks behaving in ways that would not be considered ideal in any valuation of appropriate conduct. These extensive stories of "bad monks" in the Vinaya texts raise questions such as: Why did those Buddhist monks who were responsible for the preservation and transmission of Vinaya knowledge put so much effort into preserving stories that do not present either Buddhist monks or the Buddhist monastic institution in a good light? Additionally, why do the narratives contain so much detail that does not initially seem to be directly related to a rule in question?

One quick, albeit partial, answer to such questions is that the narratives may serve as a source of monastic humor, as much as they are also sites of ethical reflection (discussed in chapter 4). That is, some of the descriptions of mean and absurd behavior of monks in the Vinaya narratives, such as when one monk pretends to be a ghost in order to stop other monks from their

studies, are infused with a sense of humor.[13] The pedagogical value of the Vinaya narratives lies in their illustrations of monks acting out of desire, ignorance or ill-will towards others and moving the monks to reflect on the ethical complexities presented. The narratives are in part didactic, suggesting which actions are to be done or avoided, but their significance goes beyond the rules that are presented in the conclusions by highlighting tensions inherent in monastic communities and providing monks with a means to acknowledge these problems and recontextualize them within the framework of a life of *vinaya*. I propose that a fruitful approach to exploring the Vinaya narratives is to read them without dismissing their relationship with the rules, but nevertheless taking into full account the narrative complexity that is found in the sequence of events that lead up to the formation of a rule to see what *else* is being transmitted in the preservation and transmission of these often-humorous studies.

In my research, I observe that although the narratives themselves are often elaborate and raise multiple issues, the structure of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* allows only one rule per narrative at the conclusion of the story. Many key issues in the narratives therefore remain unaddressed if one looks only at the final result: the rule. From a methodological point of view, I argue that we must keep in mind the pedagogical use of the narratives for monastic *vinaya* training, if we are to make sense of this structure and of the relationship between the narratives and the rules. In other words, it is important for us to consider what is taught when the rules are taught on their own, and what is taught when they are accompanied by narratives? Alternatively, we can also ask: what do the narratives teach that the rules do not?

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[13] On humor in Vinaya texts, see Schopen, "The Learned Monk as a Comic Figure: on Reading a Buddhist Vinaya as Indian Literature"; and Clarke, "Locating Humour in Indian Monastic Law Codes: A Comparative Approach."

This dissertation takes as its premise Martha Nussbaum's insights that (i) the conventional language of philosophy and ethics in propositional terms is not adequate to understand views "that emphasize the world's surprising variety, its complexity and mysteriousness, its flawed and imperfect beauty," and that (ii) the literary form in which such views are expressed is as important as the content itself.[14] Nussbaum teaches us that literary forms such as narratives can help us to see better the complicated nature of ethics in everyday life, in a way that may not be possible through reductive language or systematic lists of rules. Attending only to the lists of rules in the Vinaya texts is not adequate to understand the messiness of everyday life where ethical practice envisioned in and through Buddhist monasticism is cultivated. Rather, it is through reading Vinaya narratives with careful attention to all the details that we can gain a broader understanding of the complexities of ethics in Buddhist monastic life in particular and in human life more generally.

In my reading of Vinaya texts, I am aware that the experiences of new monks as described in the narratives resonate with experiences I have gone through as a novice monk. In particular, the descriptions of new monks going to bed hungry at night, being criticized by devotees for not following appropriate monastic etiquettes in public places, and being bullied by older monks, all evoke personal memories and incidents I have witnessed during my monastic training. My monastic experiences lead me to see a realism in the narratives, even if they may not be exact historical records. I often find myself smiling at these familiar experiences, recognizing that young monks in the past were not that different from us after all. I also feel that the narratives of monks behaving inappropriately – occasionally acting out of aversion and beating each other – are not meant to dissuade the monastic readers. On the contrary these narratives depict how monks can be

[14] Nussbaum, *Love's Knowledge*, 3.

overpowered by negative emotions just as anyone else can be. The inevitable shortcomings and failures must be acknowledged if one were to make any progress spiritually and ethically. In this way, as I read the Vinaya texts as a Buddhist monk, I find that the texts often speak to me personally. They tell me that abiding by *vinaya* is not always easy, but that attempting to do so can improve my life by helping me to be attentive to my actions and to be more caring to my relationships and surroundings.

Chapter Outline

The follow section provides an overview of the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter 1, Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Studies: Trends and Trajectories

The first chapter presents a critical assessment of the major trends in contemporary Vinaya studies. The general observations on what contemporary scholars have focused on in their study of Vinaya texts are applicable to all Vinaya traditions, but I have highlighted specific examples of studies on the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts. I point out in this chapter that philological studies that involve critical editions, translations of Vinaya texts, and specific concepts in Vinaya still continue, as they must. However, three other major trends in Vinaya studies can be identified: these are studies based on socio-historical, legal, and ethical perspectives. The socio-historical perspective looks at the Vinaya texts as documents for reconstructing a history of Buddhist monasticism in ancient India. The legal perspective looks at the Vinaya rules and narratives in terms of Buddhist monastic law and focuses mainly on how offences or transgressions and punishments are determined according to the Vinaya codes. The ethical perspective looks at the Vinaya rules and narratives as providing guidelines for living a good life, sources for ethical reflection, and illustrations of practices for achieving Buddhist soteriological goals. Although the

Vinaya narratives have mainly been studied as sources for the historical study of Buddhist monasticism in ancient and medieval India, or else have been regarded as relatively trivial background to the monastic rules, I argue in this chapter, following Bhikkhu Anālayo, that the narratives have a more complicated pedagogical function. Chapter 1 concludes with some remarks on the potential and significance of studying Vinaya commentaries and training manuals in which Vinaya educators systematize the core teachings of Vinaya/*vinaya* and present these teachings in a more easily accessible manner for monastic students.

Chapter 2, Self-referentiality in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya: Pedagogical and Hermeneutic Implications

In the second chapter, I make a case for distinguishing Vinaya (with upper case V) as texts, *vinaya* (lowercase v and italicized) as a way of life, contrasting both of these with *vinayakarma*, or monastic rituals. An expert on the Vinaya texts, for instance, is referred to as a Vinayadhara (literally, an "upholder of the Vinaya"). A Vinayadhara is first and foremost an authority of the Vinaya texts and rules, but ideally he is also expected to be one who embodies *vinaya* as a way of life. For this reason, I discuss in some detail what it means to be a Vinayadhara. This chapter also deals with Vinaya as texts and illustrates that such texts are deeply self-referential, arguably more so than other genres of Buddhist texts. Here, I define self-referentiality in reference to passages in which the Vinaya texts refer to or discuss the study of Vinaya texts directly while demonstrating the importance of Vinaya as a subject for monastic training. The self-referentiality found in Vinaya texts directly indicates how such texts are to be taught, read, interpreted, and used in ritual contexts. These self-referential passages further insist that the study and practice of Vinaya can effect ethical transformation. I argue that such claims are not mere strategies for promoting the texts but have deeper significance for how Vinaya texts are meant to be studied. The subsequent chapters then

outline some of the "scenes of instructions"[15] in order to illustrate how the study and practice of Vinaya can bring about ethical transformation.

Chapter 3, Outer as Reflecting the Inner: Gestural Routines and the Performance of Monkhood

This chapter builds on the distinction from the second chapter between Vinaya as texts and *vinaya* as a way of life. While the second chapter deals with Vinaya as texts, the third chapter is devoted to understanding what it means to embody *vinaya* as a way of life. To do this, I draw on narratives from the *Vinayavastu* and the *Vinayavibhaṅga* to demonstrate how *vinaya* is depicted as an embodied quality enhancing a particular way of life, expressed, for instance, in terms of modesty, humility, serenity and so on. I examine how Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts describe what it means to be a *vinayasampanna*, a person endowed with *vinaya*. Inspired by the works of Erving Goffman, Marcel Mauss, and Carrie Noland, I argue that *vinaya* involves bringing awareness to one's existing habits, inclinations, and perceptions in order to reorient them with a greater degree of attentiveness in relation to one's bodily gestures, one's objects of use, and the people and places with whom and with which one interacts. I argue that this increasing kinesthetic self-awareness is key to how *vinaya* is integrated into monastic training and as a form of education.

Chapter 4, Teachers, Friends, and Rivals: Caring Relation and Ethical Frailty in Vinaya Narratives

The fourth chapter discusses the ideal relationship between new monks and their teachers. I argue that the relationship between teachers and their pupils as depicted in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya is defined by care. The Vinaya texts also outline specific responsibilities of a teacher, such

[15] Jordan, Teaching Bodies, 67-79.

as providing their students with material needs, giving them instructions, nursing them in sickness and so on. One of the characteristics of the Vinaya texts is that they depict the restlessness and mischief of young monks in what strikes me as a remarkably realistic manner. The steps teachers take to train the misbehaving novices illustrate their caring relations. A major part of this chapter is dedicated to a set of confrontational narratives describing the contentious relationship between a group of naïve teenage monks (the "group of seventeen") with a group of older, and seemingly unreliable or even unethical, monks (the "group of six"). I argue that despite the high ideals of Buddhist monasticism as reflected in the Vinaya rulse, these confrontational Vinaya narratives portray the inevitable ethical frailty that comes with being human so that the monastic community is not idealized. My analysis focuses on the pedagogical benefits of depicting stories of ethical fraility as well as the use of humor and other narrative devices.

Chapter 5, "Protect the Training Like Own Body": Integrative Pedagogy with Transformative Foresight

This chapter moves away from the canonical texts and focuses on Nāgārjuna's training manual, the *Śrāmaṇerakārikā*, and its commentary by Kamalaśīla. Based on the the daily routine of a monk as outlined in these texts, I argue that the Vinaya manuals present an integrative pedagogy with transformative foresight. Of the several features of integrative pedagogy of the Vinaya manuals, the most important is the way in which ethical values are integrated into daily activities from morning until night. This pedagogy involves training in devotion, embodied attention, interpersonal care and institutional cohesion, and removal of afflictive emotions.

First, according to the manuals, Buddhist educators aim to inculcate devotion to the Buddha as an ethical practice. This is illustrated through conversion narratives many of which are found in canonical Vinaya texts. In addition, the commentarial exposition on the Buddha's omniscience

and other qualities at the beginning of the text also seem to be intended to generate deep devotion to the Buddha. Second, naming the step-by-step process of an action (e.g., filtering water) and even bodily gestures, highlights a new monk's training in attention by focusing on his own bodily movements in the presence of the teacher and often others, and being mindful of particularities of time and space. Third, the training of a new monk is deeply connected to inter-personal care in using personal or communal objects. This is illustrated, for instance, by detailed accounts of using water, nursing each other in the times of sickness and so on. The manuals aim to teach an organizational aesthetics rooted in historical awareness of the Buddhist monastic institution as a treasured heritage. Monks, for instance, are encouraged to think of their actions in terms of the monastic reputation. Fourth, the manuals aim to teach the recognition and removal of afflictive emotions through a variety of methods.

Conclusion

The dissertation ends with a short Conclusion in which I outline the key themes addressed in the dissertation and point out the significance of ethnographic research as a possible direction in Vinaya Studies. I am highlight the importance of exploring how Vianya/*vinaya* is taught in order to understand how Buddhist monastic training operates and the kind of individual Buddhist monasticism aims to form. I also suggest that Vinaya studies as a sub-field in Buddhist studies would benefit tremendously by ethnographic research on monastic training.

Chapter One
Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Studies: Trends and Trajectories

As stated in the Introduction to this dissertation, the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya comprises a voluminous literary corpus. Most studies on the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya to date have been philological in nature, mostly involving critical editions of texts.[16] Only two chapters of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu*, namely, the *Pravrajyāvastu* ("The Chapter on Going Forth") and *Bhaiṣajyavastu* ("The Chapter on Medicine") have been translated in their entirety into English.[17] However, the absence of a complete translation of the entire Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya collection

[16] In 1932, Sylvan Lévi became one of the very first scholars to inform us about the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya when he published his "Notes sur des manuscrits Sanscrits provenant de Barmiyan et de Gilgit" in the *Journal Asiatique*. The discovery of the Gilgit manuscripts was a huge boon to the study of the world's literary history in general, not to speak of Buddhist Studies. Nalinaksha Dutt subsequently edited the Gilgit manuscripts of Buddhist Sanskrit literature wherein the texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu* appeared as Parts 1, 2, and 3 of the third Volume which were published in 1954. Dutt, in his edition, provided a very important introduction summarizing the contents, pointing out the linguistic peculiarities, and indicating the parallel sections of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu* and the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka. Photographic copies of the Gilgit manuscripts were published within the period 1959–1974 by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra in *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts (Facsimile Edition)*. Sections of the Sanskrit *Vinayavastu* were again edited by Sitangsusekhar Bagchi and published as Part I (in 1967) and II (1970) in the sixteenth volume of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts series from Mithila Institute of Darbhanga. Erich Frauwallner was among the earliest to undertake studies on the disciplinary literature of all the Buddhist schools in *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature* published in 1956 from Rome. In his *Sarvāstivāda Literature*, Anukul Chandra Banerjee dedicates an extensive chapter (pages 79–100) on the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, where he called it the Tibetan Vinaya. In the years 1977–78, Raniero Gnoli published standard editions of several of the Mūlasarvāstivāda texts like *Śayanāsanavastu*, *Adhikaraṇavastu*, and *Poṣadhavastu* in an text series published from Rome. In 1994, Charles Prebish published *A Survey of the Vinaya Literature* as the first volume of the Dharma Lamp Series published from Taipei, Taiwan; pages 84–126 of this survey contain a very good summary of the seventeen texts of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu*. In more recent times, Jampa Losang Panglung (1981) did an analytical study of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya narratives in German and published as *Die Ergähstoffe Des Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya Analysiert Auf Grund Der Tibetischen Übersetzung* from Tokyo. Some scholars have done independent philological studies on different sections of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. Philological studies on the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya continue as Shayne Clarke published a standard facsimile edition of the Gilgit Manuscripts in 2014.

[17] See Bibliography. In addition to these two chapters, the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣasūtra* has also been translated into English. The rest of the chapters from the *Vinayavastu* and the *Vinayavibhaṅga* are in the process of being translated into English by the 84000-translation project.

into English or any modern language for that matter has not prevented contemporary scholars from exploring the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya narratives and rules from various perspectives based on the available Sanskrit fragments of some texts as well as the Chinese and Tibetan translations.

In this chapter, I identify three main approaches that have dominated Vinaya studies in general and the study of Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya in particular to date. These are (i) the socio-historical approach, aimed at reconstructing a history of Buddhist monasticism; (ii) the legal approach, aimed at understanding how Vinaya functions as monastic law and it has influenced legal systems in Buddhist countries; and (iii) the ethical approach, aimed at understanding how Vinaya texts, rules, and narratives can help us to think about ethics and the formation of monastic subjects. This is not a comprehensive catalogue or review of the entirety of scholarly works in Vinaya studies. Instead, based on the three approaches just named, this chapter aims at providing an overview of the major contributions in the field, identifying what kind of questions these three approaches seek to answer, how they differ in the methodologies they use, and how they shape our understanding about Vinaya texts and *vinaya* as a way of life.

In the conclusion to this chapter, I will also make some observations about the future trajectory of Vinaya studies in terms of the texts that will need to be studied and the kind of questions we still need to explore. These include greater attention to the commentaries to the canonical texts, to training manuals, to narratives, and to the ethnographic study of Buddhist monastic pedagogies.

1.1. Socio-historical Approach to Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya

The recent increasing academic interest in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya (subsequent to the initial philological interest spurred by the discovery of Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda manuscripts at

Gilgit) has been almost entirely inspired by the works of Gregory Schopen, most of whose works are directed to how Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya can be used as sources for reconstructing a history of Buddhist monasticism. The historical interest in Vinaya narratives responds to a long-standing Euro-American perception of the early Buddhist monks and nuns stereotyped as wanderers, with no property, and disconnected from all social ties.[18] Such a stereotype ironically was formed in part on the basis of the "Rhinoceros Horn Discourse" (*Khaggavisāṇa-sutta*) of the Pāli *Suttanipāta*, an influential text in the Theravāda tradition, which recent scholars have pointed out does not, in fact, describe a typical Buddhist monastic community, but rather describes a type of figure known as a *pratyekabuddha* or solitary Buddha.

The "Rhinoceros Horn Discourse" has influenced the academic study of Buddhist monasticism in two major ways. First, it seems to present us with a Buddhist monastic community composed of spiritual seekers who unceasingly engage in ascetic practices such as meditation and other spiritual activities, thus becoming the embodiment of moral and virtuous conduct. Second, the isolation of the monastic community from the society as seen in this work has led scholars to consider the Buddhist monk, in general, to be an asocial and individualistic person. Max Weber, for example, is well known for expressing this view characterizing "Buddhistic monastic ethic" as "principally an asocial course."[19]

While there might be some modicum of truth to both these characterizations of the Buddhist monastic community, recent studies have shown that they do not represent the proper image of Buddhist monasticism. The human aspect of the Buddhist monks and nuns is overlooked, both in the excessive preoccupation to present them as moral exemplars and in the portrayl of the

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[18] Bailey and Mabbett, *The Sociology of Early Buddhism*, 18.

[19] Weber, *The Religion of India*, 218.

monastic community as comprised of as anti-familial and anti-social individuals who are entirely dispassionate about worldly matters and concerns.[20] Most importantly for us, this stereotypical conception of the Buddhist monk is very much a modern scholastic construction, based on a very narrow selection of texts. The "Rhinoceros Horn Discourse," Shayne Clarke states, "seems to be antithetical to the religious life as envisioned by the authors/redactors of monastic law codes."[21] It is to rectify this overly idealized vision of Buddhist monasticism that scholars have turned to iconographic, epigraphic, and archeological sources, as well as the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, the largest of the monastic law codes, seeking to develop a "balanced study of Indian Buddhist monasticism."[22] This balanced study pays close attention to the material culture, monetary matters, family relationships, and different kinds of activities of monks, not limited to spiritual quest alone.

Whether such a strict ascetic life, with complete disconnection from society, was ever the norm in the Buddhist monastic community cannot be established with certainty, and indeed seems somewhat unlikely. Sukumar Dutt argues that although the very first community of monks followed a wandering lifestyle, it soon

> became just an ideal, while the actual practice of the Buddhist Bhikkhus diverged more and more from it. As *āvasa*s [dwellings] were staked out, *vihāras* [monasteries] constructed and cenobitical societies gradually developed at these centres and were organized, the ideal of the eremitical life was thrust more and more into the background.[23]

However, Dutt's view that Buddhist monasticism developed from eremitical to cenobitical communities has been disputed. Mohan Wijayaratne, for instance, illustrates that from the very beginning of Buddhist monasticism, the wandering and the settled life existed simultaneously.[24]

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[20] Clarke, *Family Matters in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms*, 14.

[21] Clarke, *Family Matters*, 17.

[22] Clarke, *Family Matters*, 16.

[23] Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, 95.

[24] Wijayaratana, *Buddhist Monastic Life*, 1-17.

In other words, there were those who preferred a wandering lifestyle, resting in a place only for a short period of time, and there were others who were settled in a place, travelling only periodically. Within the Vinaya literature we find many passages containing explicit encouragement for multiple members of the community to live together in harmony. Periodical seclusion was also recommended for spiritual practice and growth of the monks and nuns.[25]

Gregory Schopen, a major contributor in the study of Buddhist monasticism based on the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts, claims that the nature of Buddhist monastic life in India was much more complicated than the picture presented above. Schopen, in fact, talks of "monasticisms" in the plural, drawing our attention to the fact that there was more than one kind of monasticism, both at any given time and through history where Buddhist monasticisms can be periodized into early, early medieval, and late, to use Schopen's system. The period Schopen seeks to portray in his studies is, "for lack of a better term," the "early medieval period," which is historically at least two hundred years after the Buddha and coincided with the period of the Kuṣāna Empire.[26] In order to understand that complex history of the various stages of the monasticism, Schopen argues that a methodological shift is also necessary. In this methodological shift, Schopen proposes that instead of relying in the texts of a single tradition, we must consult the Vinaya texts of different schools.

The picture of the Buddhist monasticism presented by Dutt, Wijayaratne and many others was based mainly on the Pāli Vinayapiṭaka. On the other hand, the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, being the largest of all the surviving Vinaya textual traditions, presents a multifarious picture of the Buddhist monastic community, with many elaborate narratives, as we have seen. Scholars like Schopen, Clarke, and Jonathan Silk, who are active in the recent studies on Mūlasarvāstivāda texts,

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[25] Anālayo, "Viveka," 720–722.

[26] Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, 2.

assert that a comparative method, studying the different traditions of the Vinaya together, would be more fruitful to understand the complex history of Buddhist monasticism. Although such comparative studies had been undertaken earlier, they were mostly from a philological or monastic legal perspective. Thus, comparative study of Buddhist Vinayas for understanding the history of Buddhist monasticism is very significant as it helped us take a step forward in Vinaya studies.

Schopen is even more careful in his methods by asserting that textual sources alone are not sufficient. For Schopen, the Euro-American academic study of Buddhism "gives overriding primacy to textual sources."[27] Schopen further claims that, scholars preoccupied with the study of Buddhist ideas overlook the actual lives of the monks and nuns who lived by these ideals. Schopen points out that the material conditions of the monasteries where monks and nuns lived have gained little attention from contemporary scholars. As a result, Euro-American scholars (including figures like Weber) have equated the emergence of Buddhism in India with the Protestant Reformation and painted a caricatured picture of Buddhist history that Schopen claims "may reflect our own religious history and values more than the history and values of Indian Buddhism."[28] In order to do justice to the history of Indian Buddhism, Schopen has drawn our attention to the significance of the archeological and epigraphic records of India. What is central to Schopen's methodology is juxtaposing the Mūlasarvāstivāda with those epigraphic and archeological materials. Regarding the value of such an approach, Schopen states,

> …the more we learn about this Code [the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya], the clearer it becomes that it explicitly deals, often in great detail, with specific religious and monastic practices, ideas, and motives that we know from epigraphic and archeological sources were also current in North India both before and after the rise of the Kuṣānas, that it uses the same titles for learned

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[27] Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, 2.

[28] Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks,* 19.

> monks and certain kinds of laymen, and describes – often again in greater detail – some of the same elements of material culture that we find there.[29]

There is no doubt that the material remains of the Kuṣāna Empire is useful in substantiating the historicity of the information in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. One of the foremost advantages is that the dating of the material records is more trustworthy as it is established following scientific archeological methods. Juxtaposing these material records with textual sources is very efficacious in dating the texts and validating the historicity of the information contained in them. Thus, Schopen claims, that the major sections of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya represents the "middle period" of Buddhist monasticism.[30]

Nevertheless, the efficacy of Schopen's emphasis on the use of material remains of ancient India to study Buddhist monastic history has also been called into question by contemporary scholars. First, as asserted by Bhikkhu Sujāto, these material remains are extremely few and available often in fragmentary forms.[31] Jonathan Silk similarly remarks that "inscriptional sources are also tantalizing, but ultimately insufficient."[32]Although, the epigraphic and inscriptional sources do expand our knowledge of the material culture of the Buddhist monasteries, for the most part, they do not dramatically change or challenge our understanding of the texts. Second, most of the major claims of Schopen and other scholars regarding "who the Buddhist monk was in India" are in fact established relying primarily on texts. Thus, in the study of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, there is an implicit assumption that the information contained in this literature *does* reflect

[29] Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 21.

[30] Schopen, *Fragments and Figments of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 76.

[31] Sujāto, *A History of Mindfulness*, 29.

[32] Silk, *Managing Monks*, 15.

some reality of the actual life of monks and nuns in medieval India. Nevertheless, only some of this information can be validated by means of the archeological and epigraphic records.

One of the key questions that scholars seek to answer using these various methodologies is: Who exactly a Buddhist monk was in ancient or medieval India? This question seeks to nuance and complicate the perception of Buddhist monk that was shaped by the "Rhinoceros Horn Discourse." We have already noted the curious fact that this *sutta* is traditionally (i.e., according to the Theravāda view) not considered to be a description of Buddhist monastic community at all. Regarding this, Bhikkhu Anālayo states,

> From the viewpoint of tradition, then, the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* was apparently never meant to represent the norm for an ideal Buddhist monasticism. Instead, its purpose was to depict what happens precisely when there is no Buddhist monasticism. The few who reach awakening on their own during such a period become Pratyekabuddhas and, in contrast to a Buddha, do not start a monastic community of disciples. So, the solitary lifestyle eulogized in the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta*, just as the *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta*'s depiction of the bodhisattva dwelling in total seclusion from human contact, does not seem to be meant to depict normative behaviour to be emulated by Buddhist monastics.[33]

The view that the "Rhinoceros Horn Discourse" is a description of the lifestyle of a *pratyekabuddha* and that it depicts "what happens precisely when there is no Buddhist monasticism" is supported by its commentary as well.[34] Such being the case, it is somewhat surprising that this discourse became so influential in the Euro-American conception of Buddhist monks. In recent studies, contemporary scholars deconstruct the perception of Buddhist monks shaped by this *sutta*, and portray his human, social, and material dimensions. From this perspective, the monk is not idealized as someone invested in spirituality alone, but is shown as

[33] Anālayo, "The Mass Suicide of Monks in Discourse and Vinaya Literature," 38.

[34] Anālayo, Ibid.

someone with many faults, who is affected by worldly concerns, monetary issues, family matters, and is responsible for various types of duties. Schopen states,

> Ascetic monks, meditating monks, and learned monks appear in our *Vinaya* by and large only as slightly ridiculous characters in unedifying, sardonic, and funny stories or as nasty customers that "good monks" do not want to spend much time around.[35]

The "good monk" that Schopen is referring to "is a construction foreman, an art-promoter, an entrepreneur, sometimes a shyster, and sometimes a saint."[36] Such remarks give an impression that the monastic community vastly degenerated from the Buddhist spiritual ideals. In deconstructing our conception of the idealized Buddhist monk, there is an implicit danger of going to the other extreme of presenting him as overly materialistic through such remarks as follows:

> Our Code [Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya], for example, does refer to ascetic, meditating monks, but when it does so in any detail, such monks almost always appear the butt of jokes, objects of ridicule, and – not uncommonly – sexual deviants. They are presented as irresponsible and of the type that give the order a bad name. There are texts in our Code where, for example ascetic, cemetery monks manage only to terrify children; where ascetic monks who wear robes made from cemetery cloth are not even allowed into the monastery, let alone allowed to sit on a mat that belongs to the Community; tales whose only point seems to be to indicate that meditation only makes you stupid; texts about monks who meditate in the forest and cannot control their male member and so end up smashing it between two rocks, whereupon the Buddha tells them, while they are howling in pain, that they, unfortunately, have smashed the wrong thing – they should have smashed desire; and a tale about another monk who meditated in the forest and, to avoid being seduced by a goddess, had to tie his legs shut. The goddess being put off by this then flung him through the air and he landed – legs still tied – on top of the king, who was sleeping on the roof of his palace. The king, of course, was not amused and made it known to the Buddha that it would not do to have his monks being flung around the countryside in the middle of the night. The Buddha then actually made a rule forbidding monks to meditate in the forest! Texts and tales of this sort are numerous in our Code.[37]

While this description may reflect some aspects of the reality of the "middle period" of Indian Buddhism, and while the narratives Schopen references really do appear in the Mūlasarvāstivāda

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[35] Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, 19.

[36] Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, 20.

[37] Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, 26.

Vinaya texts, his summation in this passage nevertheless also sheds a very negative light on the moral character of Buddhist monks. From this description, one gets an impression that majority of the monks at this period were corrupted by carnal desires. This vision of Buddhist monasticism stands in almost complete contrast to the spiritually oriented, meditating monks found presented in the "Rhinoceros Horn Discourse." Indeed, on this vision such virtuous and sober monks had no influence or voice over the community and in fact, as the quote above shows, they were mocked at by the corrupt monks.

Leaving aside the question of historical reality, stories such as the ones referenced by Schopen here in this passage have definitely generated great interest in the Mūlasarvāstivāda narratives. Many questions arise, both within the narrative world of the Mūlasarvāstivāda texts and in relation to the actual historical context in which the texts were produced. For example, why do the texts present a vision of the monastic community becoming so degenerate? Did this reflect the reality on the ground or is there some other, pedagogical reason for this depiction? If the narratives reflect an historical reality, what could have been the causes that led to such a degeneration of Buddhist monasticism? Although it may not be possible to resolve these questions at this stage, there are many instances in the Mūlasarvāstivāda narratives in which monks, both virtuous and nonvirtuous, are presented as facing major problems. It remains an important and open question as to how we should interpret such passages.

One problem that the monks faced according to these narratives was the ongoing maintanence and repair of monastic buildings. Let us consider a Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya passage that Schopen has used for some of his conclusions. Drawing our attention to the following passage, Schopen states that the lay donors who had initially sponsored the construction of the monasteries

"were not, strictly speaking, obliged to maintain their monasteries and could only be encouraged to do so."[38] The passage reads:

> The faithful had built many monasteries, [but] only a few monks observed the rains retreat at Śrāvasti. The [monasteries] generally remained empty. [Therefore,] the donors did not enjoy the merit (*puṇya*) which comes with use (*paribhogānvayaṃ puṇyam*). And the [monasteries] were inhabited by the wind [or swindlers, *vātaputra*].
> The Blessed One said: All [the monasteries] should each be assigned two, three, or four [monks] according to the number [of monks available]. All should be used.
>
> Someone should stay at the forenoon, someone at noon, someone at the afternoon, someone at night. But the monks did not perform this action. They were distracted.
>
> [Schopen's translation henceforth:] The Buddha said: The donor should be encouraged to make repairs (*dānapatir utsāhayitavyāḥ*). If just that succeeds, it is good. If it does not succeed then they are to be repaired with Community assets (*sāṃghika*). If that is not possible, insofar as it is possible, to that extent restoration is to be done. The rest must be tolerated (*anye vyupekṣitavyāḥ*).[39]

Examining the entire context of this passage, one notices that it tells us more than just the problem of maintaining the monasteries. It tells us, in fact, that while there were monasteries donated with faith, in some cases there were not enough monks to live in these monasteries. As a result, the monasteries were decaying, and, if we allow both possibilities of the meaning of the word *vātaputra,* the monasteries were either inhabited by swindlers or winds. The donors were, according to the above passage, not willing to repair them.

The problem of monasteries remaining empty due to the lack of monks appears in many passages of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. In a proper history of Buddhist monasticism, we need to inquire into such problems as what could have been the reasons that there were only few monks

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[38] Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*, 27.

[39] Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, 35: *srāddhaiḥ prabhūtā vihārāḥ kāritāḥ; śrāvastyām alpā bhikṣava varṣā upagatāḥ; te śūnyakās tiṣṭhanti; dānapatīnāṃ paribhogānvayaṃ puṇyaṃ na bhavati; vātaputraiś cāvāsyante; bhagavāṇ āha: sarve uddeṣṭavyāḥ pratyekam ekaikasya dvau trayaś catvāro vā yathāpramāṇataḥ sarve paribhoktavyāḥ, kvacit pūrvāhṇe sthātavyam, kvacin madhyāhne, kvacid aparāhṇe, kvacid rātrau vastavyam iti; bhikṣavas te punaḥ karma na kurvanti pralubhyante; bhagavān āha: dānapatir utsāhayitavyaḥ; sa vai saṃpadyata ity evaṃ kuśalam, no cet saṃpadyate sāṃghikena pratisaṃstartavyāḥ; na cet śakyate yāvatāṃ śakyate tāvatāṃ saṃskāraḥ kartavyaḥ, anye vyupekṣitavyāḥ iti*.

observing rain's retreat (*varṣāvāsa*) in Śrāvasti. A major challenge in the study of the history of Buddhist monasticism is determining whether it possible to know those causes by means of the textual and epigraphic sources available to us. What is also important, I think, in this context is that the donors, and the Buddha, were concerned about being deprived of the merits to which they were entitled. Apparently, if monks did not use the monasteries, the donors would not receive the merit (*puṇya*) that would otherwise ensue to them through the monk's use of the monastery.[40] We see in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya and in contemporary Buddhist literature that there was a great emphasis on merit. The idea of *puṇya* undoubtedly played a very significant role in the maintenance of the monastic order, and here we also see that the Mūlasarvāstivāda texts are urging monks to consider the impact of their actions on the spiritual progress of the lay donors.

The monks of the middle period Buddhism, as recorded in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, also faced other kinds of challenges and threats from the larger society. The following passage, for example, shows how difficult it was for monks meditating in the forests.

> Then, some monks having undertaken forest-life started to live in forests. They were robbed by thieves. Having been robbed, they approached Brahmin houses seeking for robes. Having fallen into misfortune, they gave up their lessons, studies, recitations, yoga, and attention. The monks reported this circumstance to the Blessed One. When this happened, the Blessed One said "some support should be made for the monks living in the forest." It was said by the Buddha "some support should be made for the monks living in the forest." The monks established [the support] in places that were hidden. A forest monk having taken the bowl and robes that were established, closing the door left with his keys. There arose some conflict with the other forest-dwelling monks. Then the Buddha said, the support for the forest monks should be kept in the open space.[41]

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[40] Rotman, *Visualizing Faith in Early Indian Buddhism*.

[41] Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu*, 36: *… tadā kecid bhikṣava āraṇyakatvaṃ samādāya araṇye 'dhyavasthitāḥ; te tatra coraiḥ muṣyante; muṣitāḥ santaḥ brāhmaṇagṛhapatikulebhyaś cīvarārthaṃ paryeṣṭim āpadyamānāḥ riṃcanty uddeśaṃ pāṭham svādhyāyaṃ yogaṃ manasikāram; etat prakaraṇam bhikṣavo bhagavata ārocayanti; asyām utpattau bhagavān āha: āraṇyakānāṃ bhikṣūṇām arthāya vastu sthāpayitavyam iti; uktaṃ bhagavatā: āraṇyakānāṃ bhikṣūṇām arthāya vastu sthāpayitavyam iti; bhikṣava aprakāśe sthāpayanti; āraṇyako bhikṣuḥ pātracīvaraṃ sthāpayitvā dvāraṃ baddhvā tāḍakam ādāya prakrāntaḥ; anyeṣām āraṇyakānāṃ bhikṣūṇām vighāto jātaḥ; bhagavān āha: prakāśe sthāne āraṇyakānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ vastu sthāpayitavyam iti…*

This passage illustrates that the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya does contain references to forest monks but their existence was portrayed as threatened by dangers. It also indicates that there were internal conflicts (*vighāta*) within the monastic community, although the precise details are not mentioned. In another passage in the *Poṣadhavastu,* the "Chapter on the Fortnightly Ritual," there is a detailed account of places where monks practiced meditation but were disturbed due to various reasons. Two more extracts from Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya will suffice in this instance to illustrate that the Mūlasarvāstivāda depicts a period of Buddhist monasticism when the forest monks faced manifold challenges. Perhaps these passages show a transitioning phase of Buddhist monasticism when forest wandering was becoming increasingly difficult.

> They meditated in the forest. They fell on the way of thieves, swindlers, lions, tigers and panthers. They informed this situation to the Buddha. The Buddha said "meditation should not be practiced in the forest."[42]

> They meditated in places near to the villages. The unfaithful ones made jokes out of them. The Buddha was informed this situation. The Buddha said "that place should be fenced by branches and leaves."[43]

These passages indicate that the monks are situated within a larger society. This society had thieves who robbed the meditating monks and unfaithful people who made fun of those monks. Assuming that there is some factual accuracy reflected here, these types of passages illustrate why monks would decide to live in more static and organized monasteries in order to avoid these dangers. How were those monasteries maintained? Questions like this are addressed by Jonathan Silk.

[42] Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. III, Part II, Poṣadhavastu*, 73; Hu-von Hinüber, *Poṣadhavastu*, 264: *…te araṇye bhāvayanti, coradhūrtasiṃhavyāghradvīpīnāṃ gamyā bhavanti, etat prakaraṇaṃ bhikṣavo bhagavata ārocayanti, bhagavān āha, nāraṇye yogo bhāvayitavyaḥ …*

[43] Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. III, Part II*, *Poṣadhavastu*, 73; Hu-von Hinüber, *Poṣadhavastu*, 264: *te grāmasamīpe samāgatya bhāvayanti, aśrāddhā avasphaṇḍayanti, etat prakaraṇaṃ bhikṣavo bhagavata ārocayanti, bhagavān āha, sa pradeśaḥ śākhābhir vā kiṭakair vā veṣṭayitavyaḥ.*

Jonathan Silk in his pioneering contribution *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhism*, addresses the same question, regarding what the Buddhist monk actually was in India, but locates it in a broader institutional context.[44] Silk's study is very significant as it provides textual references for the debates between the ideal, meditating monk and the social, materialistic monk. Silk emphasizes that the Vinaya literature portrays the meditation monk as superior to those who only engaged with textual studies, ritual practice, or managing monastic chores. Silk highlights the rich vocabulary for the various "monastic vocations" of monks who served as "managers" and "administrators" in the Buddhist monasteries. In the absence of any primary texts specifically addressing the administrative and managerial matters of Buddhist monasteries, Silk consults all the available sources, epigraphic and textual, admitting that since the "inscriptions are tantalizing but ultimately insufficient," we are left with "drawing majority of the materials from *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* and Theravāda."[45]

As the Buddhist monasteries continued to expand, it would have been definitely impossible for the monks to involve only in spiritual/meditative practices. There were surely many monks who held various responsibilities to maintain the logistic matters of the monasteries. What sort of a bureaucratic system, if any, did the monasteries have? What was their administrative structure? What criteria were followed to divide their responsibilities? How did the monks and nuns maintain their donations? How did they manage to repair the monasteries? Questions of this type, generally ignored and considered as inconsequential in Buddhist studies, constitute the subject of Silk's

[44] Silk, *Managing Monks*, 11.

[45] Silk, *Managing Monks*, 16.

inquiry. There is no doubt that, addressing these questions adequately will significantly enrich our understanding of the institutional dimension of Buddhist monasteries.[46]

Another major theme addressed in the recent studies on the history of Buddhist monasticism concerns the family relationships of Buddhist monks. Clarke, in his book, *Family Matters in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms,* contests the idea that the Indian Buddhist monks and nuns in the middle period severed all ties with the members of their families. Clarke claims that modern scholarship has failed to understand the phrase "going forth from home into homelessness" which is used referring to those who got ordained as monks or nuns under the Buddha.[47] What Clarke shows us is a "family-friendly Buddhist monasticism" wherein monks and nuns continued interact with their family members in various ways even after ordination. He further demonstrates how these interactions affected in the formulation of certain monastic rules.

Clarke shows that, far from severing all ties, there were monks who continued contact with their families; some visited former wives who were still living the household life and sometimes these monks were sexually seduced by these wives; some got ordained along with several family members; some women who got into the Buddhist monastic order at an early stage of pregnancy and other nuns who were raped gave birth to babies in monasteries while continuing to live as nuns. Methodologically, Clarke argues that previous scholarship on the Buddhist monasticism has been based solely on the Pāli *sutta*s, which he expresses by saying "we have placed all of our eggs in one basket, the Suttapiṭaka of the Pāli canon."[48] On the other hand, he also claims that

> One's understanding of what it meant to be a Buddhist monk in India changes dramatically depending on which source materials one consults. Previous

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[46] For a review of Silk's book, see Kieffer-Pülz, "Review of *Managing Monks.*" Kieffer-Pülz points out the difficulties involved in a project aimed at reconstructing the administrative roles and organizational structure and hierarchies of Buddhist monasteries. She also provides valuable directions and suggestions for future researchers.

[47] Clarke, *Family Matters*, 3.

[48] Clarke, *Family Matters*, 154.

> scholarship has tended to privilege one side of the story, reconstructing Indian Buddhist monasticisms, primarily on the basis of the *sutta* materials. As we have seen, however, our Vinaya texts present Indian monastic Buddhism as a religion in which the family was not shut off.[49]

It is undeniable that the narratives in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya collection contain a tremendous amount of detail about the lives of Buddhist monks. However, Anālayo points our attention to the fact that the kind of family relationships of Buddhist monks that Clarke portrays is also available in the *sutta*s or discourses of the four *nikāya*s[50] of the Pāli Suttapiṭaka. Anālayo also presents instances in support of his statement such as where the Buddha interacted with his son Rāhula, meditated together with him and considered the monks as his sons. Thus, Anālayo maintains that the *suttas* do not present Buddhist monks and nuns as severing all connections with family upon going forth. Such examples have been put forward to suggest that the relationships among the Buddhist monks and nuns were held together by "a variety of pseudofamilial ties" and that the "kinship structures" of the contemporary society have been "reduplicated within the *sangha* in a variety of ways."[51] Anālayo, echoing Wijayaratne quoted earlier, also establishes that the *sutta*s and the Vinaya texts do not present two different modes of Buddhist monasticism but they are complimentary to each other. Thus, Bhikkhu Anālayo, establishes that keeping a continued connection with members in the family was not a strange matter in Buddhist monastic communities. Anālayo, however, also emphasizes that "excessive intimacy with one's own family," as in the story of Sudinna who ended up having sexual intercourse with his former wife, could lead to the breach of vows of celibacy and cause regress in spiritual practice.

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[49] Clarke, *Family Matters*, 75.

[50] The four volumes of the canonical discourses of the Buddha as preserved in Pāli language and studied in Theravāda tradition.

[51] Anālayo "The Mass Suicide of Monks in Discourse and Vinaya Literature," 31.

1.2. Legal Approach to Vinaya Studies

Studying the Vinaya texts from a legal perspective, scholars are interested to explore how the rules in these texts, especially as codified in the *Prātimokṣa*, function as laws that govern Buddhist monastic communities. From a traditional point of view, "A legal reading attempts to understand legal implications from the viewpoint of tradition."[52] One basic question explored from this perspective is how the classification of offences listed in the *Prātimokṣa* is used in identifying miscreants and litigating punishments. Seven general principles in the legal procedures of the Vinaya have been identified.[53] They are such as: (i) punishment is valid only if a rule is already in existence; (ii) those with mental or physical sickness are not culpable for violating a rule; (iii) only intentional violation of a rule is punished, an act of negligence is not as grave; (iv) the gravity of the offences are considered based on various factors (e.g., a stolen object must be the value of five *māsaka*); (v) absolution of offences occurs through declarations in the fortnightly gathering of the assembled monastic community; (vi) all ordained members in a local community are equal as regards the access to the requisites; (vii) decisions are made through the consensus of a community.

The question about the actual application of the Vinaya legislation is also posed in the historical context of understanding the consequences of violating the *prātimokṣa* vows based on narratives in the Vinaya texts. For instance, Clarke questions the traditionally held assumption that a monk or nun committing one of the grave offences called *pārājika*, or "defeat," is necessarily expelled or excommunicated.[54] Illustrating this, Clarke examines a Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya story of a matricide who later became a monk and eventually, when it was revealed that prior to

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[52] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 221.

[53] These are helpfully outlined by Petra Kieffer-Püilz although I have paraphrased them differently. See Kieffer-Pülz, "What Can the Vinayas Tell Us about the Law?"; and von Hinüber "Buddhist Law According to the Theravāda Vinaya: A Survey of Theory and Practice."

[54] Clarke, "When and Where is a Monk No Longer a Monk," 115ff.

becoming a monk he had committed the gravest sin of killing own mother, he was expelled from the community by the Buddha. Clarke shows that in this story, after being expelled from one monastic community, this monk joined another monastic community. Clarke suggests that the legal term *asaṃvāsa*, as a punishment for grave offences, should be understood not as excommunication but as meaning "not in communion" with a particular, local monastic community. While the monk was not in communion with the former community, he was able to join a different community, and thus still continue to remain as a monk. Thus, Clarke suggests,

> the case of the matricide monk can be best explained if we accept that monastic ordination is twofold in nature. That is, ordination refers not only to membership in the Community of the Four Quarters, or, what in scholarly shorthand is referred to as "the Buddhist [monastic] order," but also to membership in a specific time and place in a named community, a local *sammukhībhūta saṅgha*.[55]

The distinction between the legal consequences of monastic laws within a local community and a more generic universal community is thought provoking. Anālayo points out that the matricide monk in Clarke's example joined another community by concealing that he was a matricide and that he had been expelled by the Buddha. Citing a variety of texts, from the Vinayapiṭaka and the Suttapiṭaka, Anālayo contends that the punishment of such an offence involves the loss of status as a fully ordained monk and deprivation from all the privileges. In Anālayo's own words,

> Thus, a fully ordained monk who has lost his status of being in communion can still continue to live at the very same monastery in which he was staying when his breach of morality happened. His being no longer in communion only refers to his inability to function any longer as a fully-fledged member of the monastic community in legal matters, such as participating in the recital of the code of rules, to stay with the earlier example. Having lost the right to consider himself a fully ordained monk, he can either live at the monastery as a lay disciple or else, as mentioned in the commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya passage related to the phrase *paṭikaroti* "according to the Dharma," he can do so having become a novice.[56]

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[55] Clarke, "When and Where is a Monk No Longer a Monk," 135.

[56] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 26

Thus, having himself become defiled, such a monk is no more suitable to pass on the monastic lineage unless he follows proper procedures of reentering the order by first becoming a novice once again. How these rules were actually implemented historically is of course difficult to ascertain, as Anālayo asserts that the Vinaya texts are not exact historical documents. "Vinaya narrative," as Anālayo states, "is not comparable to a record of case-law precedents in modern judicial proceedings, but much rather serves teaching purposes in the context of legal education in a monastic setting."[57] Anālayo's insistence on reading the narratives for their "teaching function" is quite significant and I will discuss it in more detail in the subsequent section on the ethical approach to Vinaya studies. Simply stated, this is a methodological position that illustrates the cases of violators of Vinaya rules as examples of the many possible vulnerabilities of monastic life so that new monastic recruits can stay away from these pitfalls. In that sense, Anālayo argues, the narratives in the Vinaya have a similar function to that of the Jātakas (stories depicting past lives of the Buddha).

Vinaya scholars insist that the Vinaya narratives can illuminate us about the legal practices in ancient India. Schopen, for instance, has analyzed several Vinaya narratives that depict legal issues related to the maintenance of the Buddhist monastic property, i.e. dealing with the belongings of a monk after his death. Schopen also explored narratives about the debts of a person who eventually becomes a monk, and on some occasions, dies without having repaid the debts. In such circumstances, the monastic properties were used to repay the dead monk's debts.[58]

The ways in which Buddhist monastic law influenced legal practices in Buddhist cultures have also drawn considerable academic interest. Beginning with India, several scholars have

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[57] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 20.

[58] Schopen deals with this question in several essays, including "Dead Monks and Bad Debts: Some Provisions of a Buddhist Monastic Inheritance Law."

insisted that Vinaya, considered as law, must be studied in comparison with the Hindu Dharmaśāstras. Schopen points out that according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya "[Buddhist monks appear to have had knowledge of the *dharmaśāstras*,"[59] and that, the inheritance law of lay people might have influenced the monastic community and as a result, certain Vinaya rules departed from ascetic ideals.[60]

Malcolm Voyce similarly argues "Vinaya should not be seen as customary law, but as a wider system of jurisprudence linked to Dharmaśāstra principles and precepts."[61] Voyce sees the Vinaya and the Dharmaśāstra as illustrating the legal pluralism in ancient India, where Dharmaśāstra was the dominant legal system and the Vinaya, being limited to Buddhist monasteries, was subservient to it. Voyce illustrates that this examining "situations where monks had to adhere to wider notions of wider Indian society based on notions of purity and pollution."[62]

Nandasena Ratnapala explores the compatibility of the legal system in Buddhist Vinaya according to western legal vocabulary.[63] In the same vein, Rebecca Redwood French, a leading scholar of Buddhist law, shows how Vinaya influenced the laws of South and East Asian countries. French sees value in studying Vinaya as law "to provoke new conversations" in order to "increase our understanding of the basic concepts in Buddhist Law to a level at least commensurate with our understanding of Christian law, Jewish law, Muslim law, and Hindu law."[64] In comparison to legal

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[59] Schopen, "Dead Monks and Bad Debts," 138.

[60] Schopen, "Dead Monks and Bad Debts," 137. In Schopen's own words, "Mūlasarvāstivādin were repeatedly told by their own Vinaya that not just the rules governing monastic inheritance, but a whole range of practices required of them that departed from ascetic ideals and the idea of voluntary poverty, were instituted in direct response to lay criticism."

[61] Voyce, "The Vinaya and the Dharmaśāstra: Monastic Law and Legal Pluralism in Ancient India," 33–34.

[62] Voyce, "The Vinaya and the Dharmaśāstra," 36.

[63] Ratnapala, "Probation – The Heart of Buddhist Disciplinary Law." See also Ratnapala, *Crime and Punishment in the Buddhist Tradition*.

[64] French, "What is Buddhist Law? Opening Ideas," 878.

systems in these different religions, French shows, the value of Vinaya rules lie in their being embedded within narratives, being used not only for solving legal disputes but also ethical formation, and including various etiquettes and modes of comportment that do not strictly fall into the legal category as understood in the western sense.

In the most recent decades, the legal function of the Vinaya has become prominent in connection with issues surrounding women's ordination, particularly when groups of women following Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda monastic traditions became interested to gain full ordination (*upasampadā*) as *bhikṣuṇī*s (i.e., fully ordained nuns). This was complicated by the fact the lineages of *bhikṣuṇī*s have been broken and lost in the Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda monastic traditions. Thus, the Vinaya texts of these traditions have come under careful scrutiny to determine their positions on how to restart a lost ordination process in the absence of a Buddha. Arguments for the revival of the *bhikṣuṇī* ordination have been offered based on contemporary discourses of gender equality as well as scriptural references to the Buddha's fourfold assembly (of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen). Arguments against the revival of *bhikṣuṇī* ordination has been offered based on traditional Buddhist and Vinaya teachings that hold that only a Buddha can restart an ordination lineage and that a quorum of fully ordained *bhikṣuṇī*s is required for any future *bhikṣuṇī* ordination to take place. Some Buddhist traditions also feel the need to safeguard their authenticity against certain western values. Thus, as Anālayo puts it, "the controversies at times turn into a clash between two ideological constructs, which oppose each other in a way that can be compared to a positive and a negative image in photography."[65]

Anālayo therefore proposes the possibility of solving the issue through a careful study of the Vinaya texts, and by adhering to the Buddhist values of compassion and benefitting all sentient

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[65] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 305–306.

beings. Anālayo, in an influential essay, clarifies that within the Theravāda Vinaya there are two rules: one where the participation of male and female monastics are required to give ordination, and another where male monastics can give ordination to female candidates in places where there are no female monastics.

In the absence of a continuous ordination lineage of *bhikṣuṇī*s in the Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya traditions, the only surviving *bhikṣuṇī* lineage, that of the Dharmagupta tradition which exists mainly in East Asian countries such as China and Taiwan, has been used to give full ordination to women in Theravāda and Mūlasarvāstivāda traditions. The validity of such an ordination of Theravāda or Mūlasarvāstivāda female monastics when the vows have been administered by *bhikṣuṇī*s following a different system of Vinaya has met with severe criticism from traditionalists. While some completely reject this ordination, others in support of it argue that the *bhikṣuṇī* ordination in Dharmagupta tradition was historically started with the support of Theravāda nuns and now it is returning the debt. Furthermore, in Sri Lanka, for instance, the lineages of *bhikṣuṇī* ordinations coming from different countries, e.g., Korea and Taiwan have given rise to new divisions among the newly ordained Buddhist nuns.[66] The debates on the ordination are ongoing. Only time will tell how the different traditions of Buddhism negotiate the issue of the complete acceptance of the fully ordained bhikṣunīs.

1.3. Ethical Approach to Vinaya Studies

The ethical approach to the study of Vinaya texts has sought to answer several important questions such as: What role do the rules and narratives in Vinaya texts play in the ethical formation of monastics who follow and read them? What are the best ways to characterize or

[66] Kawanami, “The *Bhikkhunī* Ordination Debate.”

theorize the ethics in Vinaya and what kind of ethics is espoused in the Vinaya texts? What contributions can the ethics found in Vinaya texts make to contemporary western ethics and how can we use western ethical concepts to understand Vinaya rules? Important in the ethical approach to Vinaya studies is a tendency to distinguish it from ethics as manifested in Buddhist doctrinal and philosophical texts. This stance is validated based on the amalgamation of rules and narratives in the Vinaya texts. Since the mode of discourse is different, insofar as ethical life is understood, interpreted, and problematized through narratives rather than through logical arguments as in philosophical treatises, the ethics in Vinaya texts also must be conceptualized differently, acknowledging the role of narratives.

Pointing out the fact that Buddhist texts in general and the *Prātimokṣa* in particular contain lists of rules for good life, Damien Keown observes,

> the Five Precepts and the rules of the Vinaya, these are typically presented simply as injunctions, rather than as conclusions logically deduced from explicitly stated values and principles. In other words, the Precepts are simply announced, and one is left to figure out the invisible superstructure from which they are derived. Thus, although Buddhism has normative teachings, it does not have normative ethics.[67]

Methodologically it seems that Keown's observation is based on the list of rules but the narrative contextualization of the rules has not been taken into consideration. In response to Keown's observation, Anālayo reminds us to keep in mind the broader vision of the Vinaya, i.e. freeing the mind from defilements (*āśravas*). From this point of view, Anālayo argues that the "Buddhist counterpart to normative ethics could be found precisely in the notion of freeing the mind from the influxes."[68] Anālayo further asserts that restraining from unwholesome words and actions, which

[67] Keown, "Buddhism: Morality without Ethics?" 50.

[68] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 330.

Vinaya rules aim to do, is meant to ultimately purify the mind. Normative here seems to have been interpreted almost in terms of a teleological function of the Vinaya.

Moving away from the inclination to theorize the ethics in the Vinaya as normative or not, there is a tendency to focus on how the Vinaya rules function in the context of individual practice. Voyce, for instance argues that it is "not instructive to read Buddhist texts against generalized standards. Rather, it is more productive to regard ethics as creating a space for the ethical, not in a normative sense but one arising from personal practice as related to individual circumstances."[69] Emphasizing on the experiential dimension of an individual's ethical actions and results, i.e. "the ultimate point of reference for the choices involved in a proposed action lies in the purity and wholesomeness of each individual action," Voyce, proposes that "Buddhist ethics should be seen as empirical."[70] Voyce seems to be hinting at an understanding of Vinaya where the ethical is to be understood in relation to how each individual monastic relates with the Vinaya rules.

Fifield, who has studied the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda Vinaya for his doctoral dissertation, similarly states "Discipline is designed to restrict bad deeds (and results) and promote good deeds (and results)."[71] Furthermore, the Vinaya rules take into account the effect of one's actions on others "both within the monastic community and in relation to wider society." Fifield further argues how Vinaya, in fact, works to enhance the project of meditative practices, like insight or *vipaśyanā*. From this perspective, the Vinaya rules are aimed at generating terror by seeing the nature of sensual pleasures, in describing the terrible results one would experience after violating a Vinaya rule. In his words, "The pleasures of the senses (*kāmaguṇa*) are described as

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[69] Voyce, "From Ethics to Aesthetics: A Reconsideration of Buddhist Monastic Rules in the Light of Michel Foucault's Work on Ethics," 299.

[70] Voyce, "From Ethics to Aesthetics," 299.

[71] Fifield, "Discipline and Ethical Formation in the Mahāsāṅghika Lokottaravāda Vinayapiṭaka," 119.

things of terror (*mahadbhaya*), but that terror is not a base emotion. It is a cultivated aesthetic reaction based on a true perception of the world attained through *vipaśyanā*."[72]

While some scholars, based on their reading of certain Vinaya texts, maintain that meditation practice was declining in medieval India,[73] Fifield's assertion that the practice of Vinaya rules itself is aimed at seeing the reality in its true light, adds an important dimension to how we understand meditation in Vinaya texts. Fifield shows several ways that the Vinaya rules aim at purifying the mind, a goal generally understood to be achieved through meditative practice. One way, Fifield illustrates, is by creating a habit through regular practice of the Vinaya rules in a ritualized context or through personal reflections on the rules and consequences of violating them in a daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, and yearly routine. These routinized contexts for reflection, involving recitation of the *Prātimokṣa*, not only remind the monastics of the mode of life they are supposed to follow but also cultivate a disciplined reaction to the senses and sense objects that lead to the violation of vows. Fifield also shows that the Vinaya narratives illustrate how the generation of fear and remorse can also lead to mental purity.[74] "The *prātimokṣa* rule, and the sentiments of fear and remorse associated with transgressions, provides additional tools of restraint, in case inner discipline is ineffective," and, further, "[t]he sentiment of remorse is the path back to purity, but this is only possible when the rules are present and known."[75] In that sense, the narratives, sometimes using elaborate and exaggerated language, illustrate the negative results of violating Vinaya rules in order to generate fear in the minds of monastic recruits and remorse if

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[72] Fifield, "Discipline and Ethical Formation," 45.

[73] Bass, "Meditation in an Indian Buddhist Monastic Code."

[74] Fifield, "Discipline and Ethical Formation," 155.

[75] Fifield, "Discipline and Ethical Formation," 184.

they breach a vow. It is through this process, Fifield convincingly argues, that the Vinaya functions as a mechanism for ethical formation.

Bhikkhu Anālayo points out the "teaching function" of the Vinaya narratives which is important, as he states,

> in the context of legal education that is, as an integral part of the Vinaya project of inculcating the moral values believed to be enshrined in the rules and thereby fostering the corresponding behavior among monastics."[76]

Pointing out the pedagogical function of the Vinaya narratives, Anālayo furthers opines,

> Keeping in mind the teaching function of Vinaya narrative helps to remain aware of the possibility that at least parts of the stories may reflect the needs and concerns of those responsible for the teaching, transmission, and codification of the different Vinayas, not their actual experiences.[77]

Focusing on the teaching function of the Vinaya narratives shifts our attention away from historicity of the events and characters. In other words, regardless of whether the stories demonstrate actual lives of Buddhist monastics in medieval India, they still have pedagogical significance as they teach the importance of Vinaya rules, living an ethical life, and the dangers that one comes across while observing the monastic vows. Stories that demonstrate monks succumbing to sensual desires (most notably Sudinna who had sex with his former wife), Anālayo asserts, illustrate the "possible pitfalls" of which monastic recruits must be aware. Furthermore,

> Executing this teaching task, then, requires not only going through all kinds of permutations of how celibacy can be broken, graphically depicting what should be avoided. It also requires inculcating a keen awareness in the newly ordained monk that he may easily be drawn into doing something that has rather grave consequences.[78]

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[76] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 56,

[77] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 64.

[78] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 60.

Viewed from this perspective, the Vinaya narratives depict the many different ways the vows can be broken so that monastics can identify and avoid them. One such is excessive socialization with the members of own family, as in the case of Sudinna. Vinaya narratives also dramatize certain events, such as the death of a number of monks who committed suicide after meditating on the impurities wrongly. "The more dramatic the tale," Anālayo states, "the better the lesson will be learned."[79] The stories also teach how Buddhist ethical values are different, compared to the other ascetic practices involving extremes of self-mortification. In the teaching context of Vinaya, Anālayo states, certain narrative tropes such as the "group of six" monks or nuns also add an entertaining component. Anālayo further writes,

> the mere mention of the notorious group of six creates an anticipation of yet another caricature of monastic behaviour to be avoided. Together with the providing of some entertainment, this would help to keep the details of the respective rule better in mind. [80]

This approach does not deny the historical significance of the narratives. Anālayo's observations encourage us to look at the didactic and moral lessons contained in the Vinaya narratives.

While these studies generally emphasize that the Vinaya rules and narratives have an ethical function, Damchö Finnegan points the ethical complexity in Vinaya texts. Finnegan shows how we can characterize the ethics in Vinaya narratives in a way that can not only engage in productive dialogues with western ethics but also broaden our understanding about living in the world ethically. In her unpublished doctoral study, Finnegan explores "the forms of ethics practiced by Buddha and other figures depicted in the narratives of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, and enjoined on its ideal readers."[81] Finnegan also connects her exploration to "how gender matters in

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[79] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 18.

[80] Anālayo, *Vinaya Studies*, 57.

[81] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too: Ethics and Gender in the Narratives of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya," 64.

Buddhist monasticism, and why" and claims "to lay groundwork for later projects to allow the Mūlasarvāstivāda's vision of Buddhist ethics to speak to other conversations outside Buddhist studies or gender studies."[82]

Finnegan helpfully distinguishes between two orientations in the way Buddhist ethics has been studied by contemporary scholars. First, there are those who utilize western ethical categories to explain aspects of Buddhist teachings. Helpful as they are, there is a methodological lacuna in this orientation, as one would first identify a concept in western ethics and curtail one's selection of materials from Buddhist texts to map onto that concept.

On the other hand, the "second orientation participates in an interpretative turn within Buddhist studies that seeks to redress a long-standing de-historicizing and de-contextualizing tendency in the field."[83] "Along with a concern to historicize," Finnegan adds, "this orientation in Buddhist ethics is committed to taking seriously the literary forms in which Buddhist ethical thought is transmitted, understanding that the form and content together are productive of meaning."[84] Finnegan's study of Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya participates in this second orientation. Finnegan specially focuses on "why it is that this text devoted to monastic formation should have chosen narratives as the most satisfying genre to work in," and, "what we as a scholarly community may be missing by focusing on the abstracted rules."[85] This is an approach to the study of Vinaya that is markedly different from the ones that are "focused on the list of rules that collectively regulate the life of monastic institutions and individuals."[86] Finnegan carefully points out, "one

[82] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 64–65.

[83] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 159.

[84] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 160.

[85] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 67.

[86] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 66.

feature that the narratives allow us to see, but the rules are less likely to reveal if taken in isolation, is the Vinaya's extreme attentiveness to human particularity."[87] Using "ethical particularism," a term originally introduced by Charles Hallisey, Finnegan illustrates how Vinaya rules emerge and are modified, based on this "attentiveness to human particularity."[88]

The Vinaya narratives themselves, Finnegan points out, espouse "an ethics of care" of which the Buddha is the highest practitioner. The Buddha often takes into consideration all the particulars of a person and is able to correctly assess the ethical potentials. Finnegan is also careful to demarcate this form of ethics from situational ethics, as it is not merely a response to different situations, but an ethics based on and directed to address the particularities of a person. However, oftentimes many monks in these Vinaya narratives fail to practice the "ethics of care" as they are not able to correctly assess the particularities but work based on prior assumptions. Finnegan uses a story where Buddha's chief disciple Ānanda was not able to see the enlightening potentials of a woman and gives her a lesser sermon. Thus, Finnegan astutely observes, "For all ordinary beings, this ethics of particularity is *per se* an ethics of imperfect care."[89] However, Finnegan illustrates through her study that "the Mūlasarvāstivāda also insists that ordinary beings are capable of moving beyond the ordinary; they are understood to be capable of enlightenment, and thus of eventually reaching a moment of offering perfect care."[90] Thus, the good life envisioned in the Vinaya rules and narratives is not merely one that instructs how to abstain from bad conducts but also to cultivate an ethics of care, developing an attentiveness to human particularities, and engaging with them in a caring way so as to go beyond the ordinariness of imperfect care.

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[87] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 67.

[88] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 68.

[89] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 81.

[90] Finnegan, "For the Sake of Women, Too," 82.

1.4. Concluding Remarks: Future Trajectories

The above review shows that Vinaya studies in general and the study of Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya in particular is a vibrant field. Vinaya has been studied from various perspectives that gave rise to important conversations regarding the history of Buddhist monasticism and the legal and historical aspects of the Vinaya. Here I make three observations on the future that Vinaya studies may take.

First, most of the studies discussed above are based on canonical texts; the Vinaya commentaries remain largely understudied. Future studies on Vinaya must take into account the extensive Vinaya commentaries in order to understand how Buddhist thinkers have interpreted Vinaya and what we can learn from the interpretive tools that they used. The Vinaya commentators and writers of training manuals for novices systematize Vinaya rules in a way that is conducive for pedagogical use. Exploring these texts is paramount to understanding the intellectual history of how Buddhist thinkers developed a system of thinking based on Vinaya. Such an endeavor will also allow us to delineate how Buddhist scholars view Vinaya as a subject of study in comparison to or in relationship with other genres of texts such as sūtra, Abhidharma, prāmāṇa and so on. They will also allow us to see more clearly how the Vinaya texts are related to *vinaya* as a way of life.

Second, the vernacular interpretations of the Vinaya, trying to be faithful to the canon, at the same time making helpful amendments, need to be explored. This also includes the way Vinaya/*vinaya* is taught in different monastic traditions in our times. In the Tibetan context, following the Mūlasarvāstivāda, Vinaya/*vinaya* is taught using training manuals, through staged debates, and through annual rain's retreats. The teaching roles are also distinguished between a Vinaya scholar, who teaches Vinaya texts in formal classrooms, and a disciplinarian, who oversees

the everyday behavior of monks. Exploring these two roles in depth will surely shed light on the pedagogical schemes implemented in the Vinaya. Other Buddhist monastic traditions do not necessarily have the same institutional structures to teach discipline. However, they too have systems in place train new monks the art of monastic life. Future studies must take into account how Vinaya texts are used in monastic education, how a disciplined life of *vinaya* is lived inspired by these texts, and how oral instructions and everyday interactions with others also shape the life of a novice monk.

Third, despite the major scholarly publications discussed, we have still do not have a full understanding of such fundamental questions such as: How does one study Vinaya? What kind of values and internal qualities does the study of Vinaya help to cultivate in a person? How do Vinaya as text and *vinaya* as a disciplined way of life complement each other? In short, we still do not have a deep understanding of how the study and practice of Vinaya impacts in the formation of ethical subjects. My dissertation is a small step towards a better understanding of Vinaya by incorporating commentaries and manuals for training novices, by exploring the distinctions between Vinaya as a text and *vinaya* as a way of life, and by outlining some of the values and inner qualities an ideal student of Vinaya is expected to cultivate.

Chapter Two
Self-referentiality in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya: Pedagogical and Hermeneutic Implications

The aim of this chapter is to illustrate that the self-referentiality found in Vinaya texts has pedagogical functions as well as hermeneutic implications for how Vinaya texts are to be taught, read, and interpreted. Self-referential passages—meaning passages in which Vinaya texts reference or discuss the study of Vinaya/*vinaya* directly—demonstrate the importance of Vinaya as a subject for monastic education and how *vinaya* discipline functions as a way of life. These passages show, among other things, why studying Vinaya texts is difficult, what kinds of benefits an authority and upholder of Vinaya might enjoy, and how instructions on Vinaya are to be given and received. This chapter argues that understanding what is meant by the term *vinaya* as a system of monastic vows and as a way of life requires us to pay close attention to the self-referential metaphors and scenes of instructions in the Vinaya texts.

2.1. Vinaya Metaphors to Live By

Addressing the International Seminar on Tipitaka/Tripitaka held in Bodh Gaya, India, in 2018, His Holiness the Fourteenth Dalai Lama stated that the survival of the Buddha *śāsana*[91] depends on Vinaya/*vinaya*.[92] In this statement, His Holiness reiterated a widespread sentiment that is reflected in a Tibetan proverb that says,

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[91] The term *śāsana* (Tib. *bstan pa*) is generally translated as instruction or teaching. However, when used in relation to the Vinaya, *śāsana* refers to the Buddhist tradition or heritage as a whole.

[92] *'dul ba 'dzin rgyu ni sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa 'dzin mkhan gyi rmang gzhi lta bu chags kyi yod pa bka' btsal 'dug.* "Upholding the Vinaya is akin to being the foundation for those who uphold the Buddhist heritage." The Dalai Lama,

> If there is no monastic community (*gde 'dun*, *saṅgha*), there is no teachings of the Buddha. If there is no discipline (*'dul ba*, *vinaya*), there is no monastic community.[93]

The idea is that there is an integral and interdependent relationship between the teachings of the Buddha, the monastic community, and the Vinaya/*vinaya*. Vinaya as text and *vinaya* as a practice of discipline (in other words, Vinaya/*vinaya*) is the fundamental building block on which the community and the teachings of the Buddha can be sustained. This attitude to Vinaya/*vinaya* is shared by most of the Buddhist monastic traditions across Asia. For instance, a proverbial statement in the Theravāda tradition of South and Southeast Asia similarly proclaims: "The *vinaya* is the lifeblood of the Buddha's teachings (*sāsana*). As long as *vinaya* exists, so long will the *sāsana* also survive."[94] Thus, Vinaya/*vinaya* is not only indispensable for the sustenance of the Buddha's teachings, but it is also the very basis on which the Buddhist community and Buddhist heritage at large sustains.

Within the Buddhist textual and the living monastic traditions, Vinaya/*vinaya* is defined in two main ways, as we have seen. First, it is understood as the literary genre of texts, the Vinaya, containing the disciplinary rules and regulations for Buddhist monastics, along with supporting narrative materials. Second, it is understood as discipline itself as a way of life, the *vinaya*, a mechanism of monastic training intended to inculcate the habits and attitudes of a Buddhist monastic. While Vinaya texts can be identified fairly conveniently, the function of *vinaya* as a way

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Radio Free Asia, December 22, 2018. URL: https://www.rfa.org/tibetan/sargyur/his-holiness-the-dalai-lama-addressed-two-day-conference-on-three-scriptural-collections-bodhgaya-12222018101839.html. The same news is also reported in *Voice of Tibet*, December 22, 2018. His Holiness, in the *Advice from Buddha Śākyamuni*, his own Vinaya manual for monks, also extracts verses praising the importance of Vinaya/*vinaya* from classical canonical texts and works of Indian and Tibetan scholars.

[93] *dge 'dun med na bstan pa med / 'dul ba med na dge 'dun med /.* I am grateful to Geshe Ngawang Phende and Khenpo Jamphel Tshultrim for sharing this proverb with me.

[94] See Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā-Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā*, 13: *bhante, mahākassapa, vinayo nāma buddhasāsanassa āyu. Vinaye ṭhite sāsanaṃ ṭhitaṃ nāma hoti. Tasmā paṭhamaṃ vinayaṃ saṅgāyāmā 'ti.*

of life has many layers which require us to pay close attention to a wide range of evidence, including the Vinaya narratives and the specific ways in which disciplinary rules and precepts (*śikṣāpada*s) are presented in the texts. Unveiling the layers of meanings and the functions of *vinaya* is the task of this dissertation. A good place to begin our enquiry, as we do in this chapter, is to examine how the Vinaya texts themselves refer to the importance of Vinaya/*vinaya*, both as a literary genre and system of discipline. This is what I refer to as Vinaya's self-referentiality.

Self-referentiality is widely used as an analytical term in academic fields such as philosophy, psychology, and literature.[95] In literary analysis, self-referentiality is sometimes used synonymously with self-reflexivity, self-awareness, and meta-reflection. Fundamentally, in literary contexts, self-referentiality indicates a situation in which a text refers back to itself – whether by talking about its origin, questioning or problematizing its genre, or reflecting on a key concept within the text.[96] By doing so, a text is not merely serving as a source of information, but rather it is also drawing attention to its own structure and existence in a fashion that requires the reader or listener also to do so. In other words, the focus is not only the subject or content that is being taught or conveyed. The text makes itself the subject of attention. Self-referentiality is prominently used in religious literature, most notably with regard to the revelation and transmission of religious scriptures.[97] Within Buddhist literature, self-referentiality is visible, for instance, in the way that a text is recognized to be authentic *buddhavacana* (word of the Buddha) and in the expression of the benefits of reading, reciting, memorizing, and reproducing a religious text. Examining such features in the Mahāyāna sūtras, Alexander James O'Neill concludes that,

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[95] See, for example, Gohrbandt and von Lutz, *Seeing and Saying: Self-Referentiality in British American Literature*.

[96] For self-referentiality in religious texts, see the articles in Wild, ed., *Self-Referentiality in the Qur'ān*. For the usage in specifically Buddhist scriptures, see O'Neill, "Self-referential Passages in Mahāyāna Sūtra Literature."

[97] See Wild, "*Why Self-referentiality?*", 1-23.

"Self-referential passages in the Mahāyāna literature appear to act to promote the status of the text and its preservation and propagation—these three elements are also inseparable and come with one another."[98] Self-promotion, then, is a prominent feature of the self-referential passages in Mahāyāna sūtras as much as in other genres of texts.

In the statement from the Theravāda tradition quoted above, we see Vinaya's self-referentiality reflected in its emphasis on *vinaya* being the lifeblood of the Buddhist heritage as a whole. Self-referentiality in Vinaya texts is not merely a strategy for self-promotion or a sales pitch, so to speak. When *vinaya* is called the lifeblood of the Buddhist heritage, the reference is not only to the texts that contain the monastic rules, but, more importantly, to the embodied practice of a disciplined life inspired by the Buddha. What is emphasized in the lifeblood metaphor is that *vinaya* brings the teachings of the Buddha to life and gives vitality to the tradition itself. We shall see that the function of *vinaya* is often described with such metaphors. Looking at such metaphors closely is vital to understand what *vinaya* is.

According to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, metaphors are not merely linguistic flourish, but contain within them more complicated "conceptual systems" and "structures of actions."[99] "Conceptual systems" here refers to the attitudes and patterns of thinking which are expressed through metaphors, which serve something like a shorthand. Similarly, "structures of actions" refers to the series of activities implied and invoked by a metaphor.[100] This distinction is useful to understand traditional *vinaya* metaphors as well. Often ignored, these *vinaya* metaphors create vivid imageries that contain and suggest ideas and activities crucial to Buddhist monasticism.

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[98] O'Neill, "Self-referential Passages in Mahāyāna Sūtra Literature," 54.

[99] See Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 2.

[100] Think, for instance, the series of ideas and actions that are encapsulated in the following metaphors "Argument is war" and "Argument is dance" presented in detail by Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 3.

These metaphors also highlight the ethical transformations that a life of *vinaya* entails through the nuances of their expression. Since such metaphors typically appear in the invocatory verses at the beginning of Vinaya texts, they are often ignored in contemporary Vinaya studies. However, upon close reading, it becomes quite evident that these metaphors often present a highly specific vision of *vinaya* by indicating the transformative work of *vinaya* in shaping a person. They are also widely used by contemporary teachers in their instructions as a way of reminding monks and nuns of the goals of their monastic life and how observing *vinaya* can help them achieve these goals.[101] The *vinaya* metaphors are therefore significant not only because they demonstrate the self-referentiality in the Vinaya texts as a pedagogical device, but, also because they are ideally expected to be used by monks and nuns for their own self-reflection. From a pedagogical point of view, therefore, the *vinaya* metaphors hold great significance. Vinaya rules are too numerous to commit to memory for many, but the metaphors instantly leave an impression in the mind of a listener and can be used as pith instructions by a teacher, and as convenient aids for reflection by a diligent student.

In the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts, *vinaya* is frequently compared to the earth or the ground (Tibetan: *sa*; Sanskrit: *bhūmi*), and is referred to as the "foundational support" (Tibetan: *gzhi*; Sanskrit: *āśraya*). For instance, one important work from the Mūlasarvāstivāda corpus, the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, states:

> Just as the earth is the foundational support for various beings,
> and just as grain is born from it,
> the *vinaya* is the foundational support for the observers of vows,
> and merits similarly arises from these.[102]

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[101] See, for instance, the list of quotations on the importance of *vinaya* in Dalai Lama, *Advice from Buddha Śākyamuni*, 1–9. Tibetan teachers in their oral instructions and written Vinaya texts often use such praises of *vinaya* to describe what *vinaya* is about.

[102] *Vinayavibhaṅga* (*'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*). In: *'Dul ba*, Bka' 'gyur. Derge, Vol. 5 (ca) 21a:. *ji ltar sa ni skye dgu rnams kyi gzhi / de las 'bru rnams skye bar 'gyur ba ltar / de bzhin 'dul ba'ang sdom brtson rnams kyi gzhi / de bzhin de las bsod nams rnams kyang skye //.*

When *vinaya* is compared with the earth or soil on which plants grow, this indicates a way of life that is fertile and capable of producing merits and other virtues in a person. The imagery of the *vinaya* being the foundational support like the earth also evokes in the minds of readers or listeners a sense of stability (as compared to quicksand, for instance). The *vinaya*, thus, provides a stable and fertile ground upon which the entirety of Buddhist practice can be cultivated and nourished. This metaphor applies to *vinaya* in at least three ways, as it anticipates the following actions: 1) undertaking the *prātimokṣa* vows that initiates one's commitment to follow a disciplined life taught by the Buddha; 2) observing the *vinaya* rituals involving confessions and recitation of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*; and 3) engaging in self-reflection aimed towards ultimately achieving the soteriological goals of Buddhist practice by reducing afflictive emotions. We shall see how each of these provide the fertile ground for the monastics to cultivate and sustain their practice.

Undertaking *prātimokṣa* vows

Traditionally, the Vinaya texts, and specifically the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, provide the textual basis for the ordination procedures when Buddhist monasticism is to be instituted in a new place. However, again traditionally speaking, Buddhism is only considered to be fully established in a place if and when there are native monks (including nuns as well in the most ideal scenario) who are successfully ordained, who observe the *vinaya* themselves, and who are able to transmit to others not only the Vinaya texts, but also the ways of reading, interpreting, and practicing Vinaya/*vinaya*. The *Prātimokṣasūtra* contains the extensive list of rules (253 for monks and 364 for nuns in the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition) that Buddhist monastics with full ordination vows are expected to follow.[103] In many Buddhist traditions, certain rules from the *Prātimokṣasūtra* are

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[103] For a comparative list of the number of monastic rules in different schools of Buddhism, see, Clarke,. 62). "Vinayas." In *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, edited by Jonathan A. Silk, Vol.1: 60–87. The most important precepts common to both monastics and lay followers, with slight variations in wording and manner of practice, are refraining from killing living beings, refraining from stealing, refraining from sexual misconduct (complete celibacy for monks),

extracted to form manuals for novice monks. Some teachers might require the candidates for full ordination (*bhikṣu* or *bhikṣuṇī*) to memorize the relevant *Prātimokṣasūtra* from their tradition before initiating an ordination ceremony. A continuous transmission of the ordination vows based on a *Prātimokṣasūtra* is deemed essential for the sustenance and credibility of a Buddhist monastic lineage. What is significant is not mere memorization of the rules, but the deliberate undertaking of vows to observe the lifestyle based on them.

It is worth noting here that in Tibetan Buddhism, the notion of a *prātimokṣa* vow is broad and includes not only the vows of monks and nuns but also those of lay male and female devotees (*upāśaka* and *upāśikā*), who can transmit lay *prātimokṣa* vows in their own right.[104] Other traditions of Buddhism, too, have five precept requirements for lay followers; however, these precepts are generally administered by the monastic members holding higher vows. Nevertheless, the role of *vinaya*, specifically in the forms of the *prātimokṣa* vows, is important for formally beginning Buddhist practice in whatever capacity – whether as a lay person or as a monastic. In this sense, *vinaya* is understood as the undertaking of vows as the foundational requirement for initiating one's practice of the Buddhist spiritual path, and becoming a member of the Buddhist community (*saṅgha*).[105]

Observing vinaya rituals (*vinayakarma*)

Once admitted as a member of a community (*saṅgha*), an aspirant is required to make a commitment to follow the vows strictly.[106] They are also required to renew the vows with a teacher

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refraining from telling lies, and refraining from intoxicating drinks. The vows and precepts of novice monks will be discussed in the next chapter.

[104] There are seven types of *prātimokṣa* vows based on seven types of practitioners. In the Tibetan system, the vows are further classified as threefold: the *prātimokṣa* vows, bodhisattva vows, and Vajrayāna *samaya* vows.

[105] Miller et al., "The Chapter on Going Forth" *from The Chapters on Monastic Discipline*, 1.400–1.527.

[106] ibid.

periodically, especially when vows have been violated, whether intentionally or by mistake. For ordained monastics, the number of vows and associated rules are numerous and the consequences of transgressing certain vows are severe. Monastics are traditionally required to gather every fortnight with fellow members of the community to recite the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. Such communal recitation functions as a ritual purification of the vows and also provides an opportunity to admit one's own faults and for the community to decide upon the necessary steps if any member has committed any of the major offences (the most serious ones being the breaking the vow of celibacy as a monk, taking life, stealing, and telling lies). The term *vinaya* in this context, therefore, refers neither to the texts nor to the way of life, bur rather to the legal and ritual acts (*vinayakarma*) carried out in these fortnightly gatherings. Using the textual form of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, the *vinayakarma* rituals create contexts for participants to examine their own lives in community. These ritual ceremonies are settings in which we notice that the Vinaya as text and *vinaya* as a way of life distinctly come together. Vinaya texts thus have more practical relevance and are used more regularly than other texts.

The invocatory verses in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Prātimokṣasūtra* emphasize the significance of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* as a text as well as the practice of undertaking *prātimokṣa* vows, as is demonstrated in the following excerpt from the opening verses:

> "When I will have attained *nirvāṇa,*[107] just this will be your teacher." Thus, the one who is self-arisen, with respect, emphatically praised [the *prātimokṣa*] in front of the assembly of monks. (8)
>
> Even this word "Buddha" is extremely rare in the worlds. Obtaining the human state is extremely difficult. Going forth is also exceedingly rare. (9)

[107] The Tibetan phrase, *mya ngan'das gyur na*, literally means "When I have become one who has passed beyond anguish." Here the reference is to the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa*, i.e., to when the Buddha passes away.

> Similarly, among those who have gone forth, excellent fulfilment of the precepts (*tshul khrims*, *śīla*) is very rare. Even when the precepts are made completely pure, finding a good companion is difficult. (10)
>
> Emergence of the Buddha in the world, birth as a human being, going forth, excellent fulfillment of the precepts, and obtaining an excellent companion – having obtained these difficult to obtain, (11)
>
> those who observe the vows (*sdom brtson*), being the wise ones who wish good for themselves, and wish to accomplish these fruits, will should make an effort in order to listen to the *Prātimokṣa*. (12) [108]

Citing a statement of the Buddha in this extract, the *Prātimokṣasūtra* recognizes itself as replacing the Buddha when he is physically no more, saying "just this will be your teacher." This sentiment is similar to a statement in the Pāli texts where the Buddha is supposed to have said before his great demise (*mahāparinibbāna*): "The teaching (*dhamma*) and discipline (*vinaya*) taught by me will be your teacher after my passing away."[109] Here the philosophical teachings and ethical practices related to various restraints are distinguished as *dhamma* and *vinaya* respectively. The *Prātimokṣasūtra*, in the extract above, seems to encompass both the *dharma* and the *vinaya*. The term *prātimokṣa* refers to the text itself as much as to the observance of the vows and restraints outlined in it.

Thus, the *Prātimokṣasūtra* self-referentially elevates itself as the representative of the Buddha, and demands to be treated with the same level of respect and earnestness as one would

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[108] *Prātimokṣasūtra* (*So sor thar pa'i mdo*), *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). In: *Bka' 'gyur*. Vol. 5 (ca): 2a. The Sanskrit version is available only in fragments. I have mainly used the Tibetan version here although I have consulted the Sanskrit. The Tibetan reads: *// nga ni mya ngan 'das gyur na / 'di ni khyed kyi ston pa'o zhes / rang byung nyid kyis gus bcas par / nan tan dge slong tshogs 'dun bstod // 8 // sangs rgyas zhes bya'i sgra 'di yang / 'jig rten dag na rab tu dkon / mi nyid rnyed pa shin tu dka' / rab tu byung ba shin tu dkon // 9 // de bzhin rab tu byung rnams kyi / tshul khrims phun sum tshogs rab dkon / tshul khrims yongs su dag gyur kyang / grogs bzang shin tu rnyed par dka' // 10 // 'jig rten sangs rgyas 'byung ba dang / mi dang rab tu byung ba dang / tshul khrims phun sum tshogs pa dang / grogs bzang rnyed dka' rnyed gyur nas // 11 // mkhas pa bdag la legs 'dod cing / de dag 'bras bcas byed 'dod pa'i / sdom brtson rnams kyis so sor thar / mnyan pa'i phyir ni 'bad par bya // 12 //.*

[109] *Dīgha-Nikāya. Vol. II.* (2014, p. 154): *yo vo, Ānanda, dhammo ca vinayo ca mayā desito so vo mamaccayena satthā.*

treat the Buddha in his presence. The Buddha is the ultimate example of one who embodied the *Prātimokṣasūtra* and is presented as the ideal to be emulated. It is through the *Prātimokṣasūtra* that those who become his followers, especially the monastics, have an opportunity to encounter the Buddha. The preciousness of being initiated into the *Prātimokṣasūtra* is cherished by emphasizing just how rare it is for a Buddha to appear in this world. Thus, the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, as the most important of the Vinaya texts, ritually speaking, is not only a text required for the ordination procedure, it is also a document that holds the authority in place of the Buddha for the monastic traditions based on it. The metaphor of *vinaya* as the ground for monastic practice is applied here quite literally to the quintessential Vinaya text. By emphasizing the preciousness of living a life by the *prātimokṣa* vows, the self-referential passages here are aimed at preparing the minds of its readers or listeners to pay unwavering attention. Verse 12 in particular indicates the ritual use of the text – someone reading and inviting others to listen attentively for their own good.

Engaging in self-reflection:

We saw that in the Sanskrit, the term derives from the verbal root *vi-√nī* which means "to lead," "to guide," "to drive away," and so on. The *vinaya* thus drives away the obstacles that hinder the progress on the path to freedom. It also has the meaning of "to tame," and is translated in Tibetan as *'dul ba* (literally "taming" or "subduing") to mean taming the senses. The act of taming senses requires a process of self-reflection with regard to how one reacts to external sensory objects and provocations. The individual rules of training (*śikṣāpada*) within the Vinaya are interpreted in this respect as important to curtail negative inclinations and inculcate ethical conduct. The disciplinary precepts (*śīla*) involving various restraints of the senses are regarded as foundational for building an ethical profile conducive for accomplishment in the contemplative practices (*samādhi*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). It is in this regard that the enterprise of Buddhist spiritual practice is characterized as training in higher ethical conduct (*adhiśīlaśikṣā*), training in higher mind

(*adhicittaśikṣā*), and training in higher wisdom (*adhiprajñāśikṣā*). Noteworthy are also the metaphors used to demonstrate the preciousness and function of *prātimokṣa* which we find in the verses of praise at the start of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*:

> Having worshipped with the crown of my head the foremost of beings, the one who has surpassed the ocean of suffering that has no depth and end, I will unveil in the assembly of the noble ones the repository of jewels of training precepts (*śikṣāpada*) of the omniscient one. (2)
>
> This is the *Prātimokṣa*, the center of [gaining] stability and the very essence, of the entire ocean of the Buddha's Vinaya, immense, without bottom or end. (3)
>
> This indeed is the supreme guide[110] of all the teachings of the king of the true dharma. This is the great store for the goods of training for the assembly of monk (*bhikṣu*) traders. (4)
>
> This is the very medicine that completely removes the poison of those who have strayed because of unstable precepts. This is the iron hook for the young ones with two feet, confused by youth. (5)
>
> This is the means that lifts one up from *saṃsāra* that is deeper than the ocean. This is the bridge that is ascertained for those going over to good destinies. (6)
>
> This is the path that defeats the afflictive emotions, the supreme guide of the very king. This is indeed established as the foundation, the ladder that leads to the city of freedom. (7)[111]

Thus, of all things that are precious, *prātimokṣa* seems to be the most valuable possession one may have. It is remarkable that the *prātimokṣa* is said to be not only "the essence of all things" but also

[110] The Sanskrit reads: *saddharmālekhyasaṃgrahaḥ*, ("This is the complete accumulation of the portraits of the true dharma"). See Banerjee, *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit: Prātimokṣasūtra and Bhikṣukarmavākya*, 5.

[111] *Prātimokṣasūtra* (*So sor thar pa'i mdo*), *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). In: *Bka' 'gyur*. Vol. 5 (ca): 1b-2a: *sdug bsngal rgya mtsho gting mtha' med rgal ba / 'gro ba'i gtso la spyi bos phyag 'tshal te / thams cad mkhyen pa'i bslab gzhi dkon mchog snod / 'phags pa'i tshogs kyi dbus su dbye bar bya // 2 // sangs rgyas 'dul ba gangs chen mtsho / gting mtha' med pa thams cad kyi / gnas pa'i snying dang snying po ni / so sor thar pa 'di yin no // 3// 'di ni dam chos rgyal po yi / chos kun gyi ni 'dren pa mchog / 'di ni dge slong tshong tshogs kyi / bslab zong tshong khang chen po yin // 4 // tshul khrims 'chal bas zin rnams kyi / gdug pa rnam sel sman 'di yin / 'di ni lang tshos rnam 'khrul pa'i / rkang gnyis gzhon nu'i lcags kyu yin // 5 // mtsho pas zab pa'i 'khor ba las / sgrol ba'i rgal thabs 'di yin te / 'di ni bzang 'gror 'gro ba yi / nges pa'i chu lon zam pa yin // 6 // 'di ni nyon mongs phamb byed lam / rgyal po yi ni 'dren pa mchog / 'di ni thar pa'i grong 'jug pa'i / them skeas gzhi dang 'dra bar gnas // 7//.*

the cure for all maladies. Providing stability, i.e. not being destabilized by various afflictive emotions, is again emphasized as the primary function of *prātimokṣa*. Notable is that the vastness of the Vinaya textual corpus is referred to with the metaphor of ocean and the *Prātimokṣasūtra* is presented as its essence (verse 3). While the expanse of the Vinaya texts is vast like an ocean where one might feel lost, *vinaya* as a way of life is a stable ground and the *Prātimokṣasūtra* helps to achieve that stability. The *Prātimokṣasūtra* is also referred to as the guide that precedes all other teachings and it is also the storehouse of the training (verse 4). The metaphor of monks being traders or merchants also heightens the value of the embodied practice of *vinaya*. In a context of mercantile transactions, where goods are exchanged through some currency, monks embodying *prātimokṣa* vows and living according to the *vinaya* usually receive gifts and respect without any exchange of money. Thus, the metaphor probably indicates the material benefits that also result from the observance of *prātimokṣa* vows. The metaphor of the iron hook (*aṅkuśa*, *lcags kyu*) highlights the rather stricter function of disciplining those who have been strayed from their vows possibly even implying the implementation of some force and experience of pain (verse 5). However, we can read this metaphor also as indicating that just as a fish hook is used to catch fish that are beneath the surface, the iron hook of *prātimokṣa* will also catch those who find themselves lost by broken vows. In that sense, it has a protective function. I believe what is transported from the imagery of fish hooks or hooks used for training animals such as elephants to the context of monastic training is not the literal act of violence inflicted by others, but the experience of pain that one may go through while keeping oneself away from distractions. These metaphors show while *prātimokṣa* has an instrumental value to cross over the ocean of *saṃsāra*, the work involved in living by the *prātimokṣa* may not be easy. Thus, the ethical training of the *vinaya*, enshrined in

the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, is regarded as the foundation of Buddhist spiritual practice, with the text going so far as to claim that it is the stepping stone for training in omniscience.

The self-referential passages in Vinaya texts teach us what we should focus on in the study of Vinaya/*vinaya*. In what ways, for instance, does Vinaya as text and *vinaya* as disciplinary system function as the basis of Buddhist practice? We are encouraged to not focus only on the list of rules, but also the relationship of the rules to a person. The *vinaya* metaphors in particular give us a glimpse of how *vinaya* operates on a person. Appearing at the beginning of *Prātimokṣasūtra*, the above passages play an important role in shaping the expectations and attitudes of its readers and listeners. The indispensability and preciousness of the Vinaya/*vinaya* are expressed quite unequivocally in the verses quoted above.

The self-referentiality in the Vinaya, however, is not limited only to invocatory verses. Numerous passages within Vinaya texts discuss the study and practice of *vinaya*. For the remainder of this chapter, I focus on one such passage containing an elaborate discussion on the study of Vinaya and its benefits in the *Śayanāsanavastu* ("Chapter on Beds and Seats") of the *Vinayavastu*. What is striking in the *Śayanāsanavastu* discussion are the honest and vivid descriptions of monastic students' reaction to the subject of Vinaya. By describing the difficulties involved in the study of Vinaya, the benefits that an upholder of Vinaya/*vinaya* enjoys, and the bodily postures of students and teachers, the *Śayanāsanavastu* takes us into a deeper understanding of what Vinaya/*vinaya* is, how Vinaya/*vinaya* is to be taught, and what Vinaya/*vinaya* does to a person.

2.2. Vinaya: A Difficult Subject of Study

The self-referential passages discussed above present the value and significance of Vinaya texts and discipline in positive terms. The difficulties involved in the observance of vows or

practice of *vinaya* are suggested rather implicitly, for instance, by stating that those who authentically observe the precepts are rare. The invocatory verses also demonstrate the promise of *vinaya*, if practiced diligently, in laying the foundation and eventually securing the soteriological goals as taught by the Buddha. The *Śayanāsanavastu*, however, is more direct about the difficulties involved in the study of Vinaya. Using terms that also appear regarding other genres of texts, the following passage illustrates that Buddhist texts deliberately speak of the difficulties involved in reading or studying them as if to express a sense of empathy with their readers and listeners. At the same time, the following passage also indicates that the study of Vinaya demands the reader or listener to engage with care and attentiveness. As a prelude to the benefits that an upholder of Vinaya (Vinayadhara) enjoys, the *Śayanāsanavastu* states,

> The discourses (*sūtra*) and philosophical outlines (*mātṛkā*) have been established by the Blessed One among deities and humans. Sūtras or discourses are among the nāgas; *mātṛkā*s among the deities. Vinaya, however, is deep, illuminates what is deep, hard to perceive, hard to realize, with many intentions, and involving activities of the world. Because it is deep, with many intentions, and involving activities of the world, monks are not enthusiastic to read the Vinaya. It is only natural, therefore, that the Buddha speaks extensively regarding any factor that causes the degeneration of the *śāsana*.[112]

This passage appears almost three-fourths of the way into the *Śayanāsanavastu*, and is not directly related to the preceding narrative, which contains a story on caring for the sick. However, from the perspective of the reader, the sudden attention to the difficulty in the study of Vinaya texts has a disruptive function as it suddently talks about Vinaya/*vinaya* itself. In doing so this passage makes the reader self-conscious about the text that is in front of them. It forces one almost

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[112] Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu,* 44: *bhagavatā sūtraṃ mātṛkā ca devamanuṣyeṣu pratiṣṭhāpite, sūtraṃ nāgeṣu; vinayas tu gambhīraḥ gambhīrāvabhāso durdṛśo duravabodho bahusaṃdhir lokākṣarapratisaṃyuktaḥ; bhikṣavo vinayaṃ gambhīratvāt bahusaṃdhikatvāt lokākṣarapratisaṃyuktatvāc ca notsahante paṭhitum; dharmatā caiṣā yenāṅgena śāsanaṃ parihīyate tasya buddhā bhagavanto 'tyarthaṃ varṇam bhāṣante.*

immediately to step back and reconsider what is being read, how is it being read, and, what, in fact, it is to read. First it establishes that Vinaya as a subject of study and practice is different from the *sūtra*s and *mātṛkā*s. Non-human beings such as *nāga*s and *deva*s were taught *sūtra*s and *mātṛkā*s respectively; Vinaya/*vinaya* was taught only to humans. It suggests that the transformation that takes place through the observance of the discipline of *vinaya* to curtail individual faults and cultivate wholesome habits is only possible for humans. Second, *Śayanāsanavastu* tells us why Vinaya is difficult and monks are not enthusiastic to study it. By using adjectives that are also used for *dharma* (contained in the *sūtra*s and *mātṛkā*s), which will be discussed shortly, it shows that Vinaya is difficult in just the same way other subjects are also difficult. Yet, due to being endowed with many intentions and involved with matters and activities of the world of humans, the study of Vinaya has certain difficulties of its own.

Vinaya's self-referentiality in this instance does not only state a fact or provide information; it also problematizes our understanding of the practice of reading Vinaya texts by drawing attention to its depth, profundity, many intentions, and relationship to the activities of the world. The language of depth (*gambhīra*) in Buddhist texts is generally used for terms, phrases, or ideas to emphasize their excess of meaning. In other words, by stressing that something is deep and profound, it requires closer attention to look beyond the surface or explicit meaning. Unraveling the deeper meanings is not always an easy task to accomplish by mere cognitive or intellectual exercise. It also requires the ability to connect the concepts with one's everyday experiences in a personal manner.

In this regard, it is interesting that in the *Divyāvadāna*, a collection of narratives with close historical ties to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, we find that the *dharma* is similarly characterized as difficult using the first four of the adjectives from the above list as follows: "My *dharma*

(teaching) is deep (*gambhīra*), illuminates the deep (*gambhīrāvabhāsa*), hard to perceive (*durdṛśa*), and hard to realize (*duravabodha*)."[113] The statement appears in a story of a monk named Panthaka who needed three months to memorize only two lines of a pithy instruction given to him by the Buddha. The two lines are "I remove filth, I remove impurity."[114] Panthaka gained a reputation of being the dullest monk for his failure to memorize and grasp the meaning of these two lines. The Buddha realizing that Panthaka needed a different method of teaching, asked him to clean the monks' sandals and shoes, while reciting this verse. While cleaning the sandals and shoes, one day Panthaka reflected on the impurities within himself. This helped Panthaka to clear the blockage in his mind, which were due to his actions in a past life, and eventually gained the highest accomplishments. The blockage in Panthaka's learning capacity seems to be that he could not connect what he was memorizing with his experience in the world.[115] When actually cleaning sandals and shoes of other monks, Panthaka was able to confront the unclean elements (*kleśas*) within himself. This reflection helped Panthaka to understand the deeper meaning of the verse.

When the Buddha referred to the *dharma* as deep and so on in the context of this story, what is referred to is not only the content of his teaching which is profound indeed, but also his pedagogical methods. The Buddha, because of his skills in teaching, knew that merely memorizing the text by repetition of words was not sufficient for Panthaka. He needed a more embodied approach where the mundane activities of cleaning sandals and shoes eventually helped him attain a profound spiritual breakthrough. Panthaka knew what the words of the verse meant, he just did not know what it meant *for him*. The Buddha then had to give an extra push to Panthaka as a way

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[113] Vaidya, *Divyāvadāna*, 492: *gambhīro me dharmo gambhīrāvabhāso durdṛśo duranubodho 'tarko 'tarkāvacaraḥ, sūkṣumo nipuṇapaṇḍitavijñavedanīyaḥ*. Translation in Rotman, *Divine Stories: Part I*, 212.

[114] Vaidya, *Divyāvadāna*, 492: *rajo harāmi, malaṃ harāmi*.

[115] See McClintock, *Ethical Reading and the Ethics of Forgetting and Remembering*, 189–90 for a discussion of Panthaka's difficulties with recollection and his breakthrough after cleaning the sandals.

of creating the condition and preparing him to grasp the deeper meanings of this verse. The depth of certain teachings is realized though putting them into a context, a point of reference from lived experience. While the Buddha's method of teaching in this context was particular to Panthaka, it has broader implications with regard to how one reads and engages with religious texts. Most importantly, it shows that a reader or receiver of a text requires some preparation to comprehend what has been taught. Engaging with the scriptural texts requires the ability to grasp the depth of meaning by connecting it within oneself and in relation to activities and experiences in the world. The term *dharma* here is not reserved exclusively for conceptual or theoretical teachings, but for the teaching of the Buddha in general. Similar to the use of the work *śāsana*, *dharma* here encompasses the entirety of Buddha's teachings and thus does not seem to exclude *vinaya*.

The profundity of the *dharma* and the *vinaya* alike, in terms of their conceptual meanings and practical relevance to everyday experience, is referred to with the same adjectives. Someone receiving an instruction, reading a text, commenting on or, in our case, even translating them, requires a method of reading, listening, and thinking that could draw out the meanings that are deep and hard to perceive. This requires paying close attention to the words themselves. By stating that the *dharma* and *vinaya* are "deep" (*gambhīra*), the semantic complexity of the texts is emphasized. The phrase "illuminating what is deep" indicates not only what is in the text but also the capacity of the text to shed light onto deeper aspects of the person, the reader or listener. For example, in Panthaka's case, it helped to shed light on the deeper impurities in his own mind and habits. The expressions "difficult to see" (*durdṛśa*) and "hard to realize" (*duravabodha*) both seem to indicate the experiential dimension of engaging with the texts. The ability to see and realize what is behind the surface meaning of the disciplinary rules is crucial for reading Vinaya texts. For instance, while some might complain that certrain rules are too restrictive, others might see

that they are in fact conducive to gaining freedom from afflictive emotions. By underscoring the difficulties, these adjectives also point out that despite the challenges, it is not impossible to "see" and "realize" the *dharma* and *vinaya*. This possibility is further enhanced by the long list of benefits that will be discussed later in this chapter. The challenge for a reader or listener then is to read Vinaya texts to see and realize the *vinaya* as discipline and way of life for the benefits enjoyed by personal transformation.

The last two descriptions, i.e., being "with many intentions" (*bahusaṃdhi*) and "involved with the activities of the world," are specific to Vinaya. The phrase "with many intentions" (*bahusaṃdhi*) is rather ambiguous from the Sanskrit version of the text. *Saṃdhi*, derived from *saṃ*-√*dhā* (to put, place, appoint etc.) literally means "combination, conjunction" and so on.[116] As such, it also means the "juncture" "knot" or "connection," i.e., the point where things come together. How the literal meaning of the word applies in the present context is not very clear. Due to the evident obscurity of the literal meaning of *saṃdhi* in the Sanskrit version, it is safe to rely on the Tibetan version of the text where *bahusaṃdhi* is translated as "with many intentions" (*dgongs pa mang ba*), which is warranted by the use of this term in various Buddhist Sanskrit texts as well.[117] Within the Buddhist commentaries (especially in the Mahāyāna tradition and its Tibetan reception), *saṃdhi* is used as a hermeneutical term. The critical practice of reading and interpreting Buddhist texts is regarded as a venture into unraveling the intentions of the Buddha. The *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* is a prominent example of such hermeneutical practice in the Mahāyāna texts. In our present context, this also seems to suggest that understanding the function of the

[116] Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1143.

[117] For the meaning of *saṃdhi* in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, see Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, 557. See also, Powers, *Hermeneutics and Tradition in the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra,* for a detailed exploration of the various interpretations of this terms in Indian and Tibetan commentaries.

Vinaya, both as texts and discipline, requires certain training in grasping their varied intentions. It is concerned with not only the surface meanings of the rules (often involving restrictions) but what the words are meant to accomplish. Students of Vinaya, therefore, should be attentive to not only what the words mean, but also to what their intentions are.

The phrase translated here as "activities of the world" is even more obscure in the Sanskrit edition of the text. The Sanskrit expression is *lokākṣarapratisaṃyukta*, which means "involving the letters of the world." If we take this to be a correct reading, it perhaps refers to the fact that Vinaya texts deal with language of the everyday life, often using colloquial terms, whereas *sūtra*s and *mātṛkā*s use more philosophical vocabulary. Even today scholars with many years of training in reading Vinaya often come across words that were possibly used in the now extinct spoken languages of medieval India. Yet, although I translate it as words, *akṣara* is usually translated as letters, alphabets, or sounds, and hardly ever as language. Here again I think it is safe to accept the Tibetan rendering of this phrase as "involving activities of the world" (*'jig rten gyi spyod pa dang mthun pa*), which when translated back into Sanskrit would be **lokācārapratisaṃyukta*. This is a remarkable characterization of Vinaya as it seems to imply that Vinaya uses not just the language of the everyday but also involves ordinary activities of the world. The subject matter of the Vinaya are often expressed in terms of what one should do and one should not. Because of the Vinaya's use of mundane language and activities, for a more cerebral person, it is perhaps not as exciting to study compared to, for instance, the philosophical texts. Here, this passage highlights the pragmatic dimension of Vinaya texts involving the complexity of the quotidian life.

Despite the fact that monks apparently are not enthusiastic about the study of Vinaya, there is a lot at stake in the proper education of *vinaya*. In fact, to reiterate the point stated earlier, the tradition very clearly holds that *vinaya* is the very foundation of Buddhist practice.

2.3. Benefits of Studying the Vinaya

In the above discussion on the invocatory verses from the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, I noted how the function of *vinaya* is characterized through metaphors. Some of these metaphors also indicate that observing the *vinaya* genuinely yields various benefits, the foremost of which is the removal of afflictive emotions. The *Śayanāsanavastu* takes us a step further in elaborating the kind of benefits or advantages (*āniśaṃsā*) that an upholder of Vinaya (Vinayadhara) enjoys, providing us with a detailed list of thirty-five benefits, grouped into seven sets each containing five items.[118] There is no title for each of these sets within the *Śayanāsanavastu* itself. But on close reading we can notice that each set captures a recognizable theme. We can also recognize that as we read from the first item to the last, there is a progression moving from benefits pertaining to broader institutional contexts to more specific personal abilities. I have therefore taken the liberty to provide a title that loosely captures the key theme of each set to help us understand the nature of these benefits. In order to inspire the otherwise unenthusiastic monks to study the Vinaya texts and live a disciplined life, the Buddha here extolls the following benefits for one who upholds the *vinaya*, the Vinayadhara.

Being treated with respect within the community and among other ascetics (1–5)

> He is placed at the front in the assembly of the fourfold community.[119] His disciplinary admonitions and instructions are not dependent on others.[120] He becomes the owner of the internal treasury of the perfectly awakened

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[118] Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu*, 45-47. The Tibetan version of this list is found at *Śayanāsanavastu* (*Gnas mal gyi gzhi*), In: *'Dul ba.* Bka' 'gyur. Derge, Vol. 3 (ga) 316a-316b.

[119] *puraskṛto bhavati catasṛṇāṃ parṣadām*. Tib. *'khor bzhis mdun du bdar ba yin /.* The fourfold community referred to here consists of of male monastics (*bhikṣu*), female monastics (*bhikṣunī*), male lay followers (*upāśaka*), and female lay followers (*upāśikā*).

[120] *aparāpratibaddhāsya bhavaty avavādānuśāsanī*. Tib. *gdams ngag dang rjes su bstan pa gzhan la rag ma las pa yin /.* This can be interpreted in two possible ways: first, he follows the teachings, regardless of whether others are following them or not. Second, being an authority on Vinaya he does not have to rely on others for giving disciplinary admonitions and instructions.

Buddhas of the past, present, and future.[121] He abides sitting at the center of other ascetics and brahmins.[122] He is devoted to the happiness and wellbeing of many people for the stability of the true dharma.[123]

Being modest about own qualities and a support for others (6–10)

His accumulation of the disciplinary precepts (*śīla*) is well protected and well concealed.[124] He becomes approachable [for instruction] among the fourfold assembly.[125] He becomes a refuge for the individuals who are inclined to be or are affected by remorse.[126] He lives being an authority in the community.[127] He wins over the disinterested ones into own true dharma.[128]

Being skilled in the interpretations of the Vinaya/*vinaya* (11–15)

He draws out the meaning without contaminating or confusing them.[129] He becomes thoroughly convinced or certain in the discernment of meaning.[130] His training rules are maintained very well.[131] He lives with an expansive heart manifesting light.[132] He brings light to the people left behind.[133]

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[121] *atītānāgatapratyutpannānāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhānām abhyantarakośadharo bhavati*. Tib. *'das pa dang / ma 'ongs pa dang / da ltar byung ba'i yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi nang gi mdzod srung ba yin /.* The specification of internal treasure (*abhyantarakośa*) perhaps indicates the inner workings of the minds of the Buddha. Another way to explain would be the Vinayadhara becomes an insider who has access to the treasury of the Buddhas.

[122] *pareṣāṃ śramaṇabrāhmaṇānām mūrdhānaṃ āsādya tiṣṭhati.* Tib: *dge sbyong dang bram ze gzhan rnams kyi spyi bo la 'dug pa yin /.* The phrase *mūrdha* (*spyi bo la*) also indicates top or crown. It perhaps means that the Vinayadhara is given higher seats.

[123] *bahujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya ca pratipanno bhavati saddharmasthitaye.* Tib: *dam pa'i chos gnas par bya ba'i phyir dang / bslab pa'i ched kyi phyir skye bo mang po la phan pa dang / skye bo mang po la bde bar zhugs pa yin no /*. The Tibetan version of the text has "for the sustenance of the true dharma and the for the sake of the training (*śikṣā*), he is devoted for the benefit and happiness of others."

[124] *svo 'sya śīlaskandhaḥ sugupto bhavati sugopitaḥ*. Tib: *'di'i rang gi tshul khrims kyi phung bos legs par sbas pa yin /.* Another interpretation of this item may be that he protects the training precepts as a group, i.e., he does not let any of the precepts to be lost or broken.

[125] *abhigamanīyo bhavati catasṛṇāṃ parṣadām.* Tib: *'khor bzhis mgon sum du bsu bar bya ba yin /.*

[126] *kaukṛtyaprasṛtānāṃ pudgalānāṃ pratiśaraṇabhūto bhavati*. Tib: *gang zag 'gyod pa skyes pa rnams kyi ston par gyur pa yin /*.

[127] *viśāradaḥ saṃghamadhye viharati*. Tib: *dge 'dun gyi nang na bag tsha ba med pas gnas pa yin. /* The Tibetan version reads "He lives being fearless (*bag tsha med pa*) in the community."

[128] *pratyarthinaḥ svasaddharme gṛhṇāti*. Tib: *chos dang mthun pas phyir rgol ba tshar gcod pa yin no/* The term *pratyathinaḥ* could also mean hostile people, those who wish harm... According to the Tibetan version – with his fellow practitioners of the dharma, he eliminates the hostile forces.

[129] *asaṃsaktam artham uddharati*. Tib: *don ma 'dres par bsrel ba yin /.*

[130] *suviniścito bhavati arthaviniścaye.* Tib: *don rnam par gtan la dbab par bya ba la shin tu nges pa yin /.*

[131] *śikṣāpadāny asya sugṛhītāni bhavanti.* Tib: *de'i bslab pa'i gzhi rnams legs par bzung ba yin /.*

[132] *ālokajātena cetasā bahulaṃ viharati.* Tib: *sems kyi snang pas mang du gnas pa yin /.*

[133] *paścimāyā janatāyā ālokaṃ karoti.* Tib: *skye bo phyi ma rnams kyi snang ba byed pa yin no /.*

Being an embodiment of vinaya exuding brightness (16–20)

> In whichever places the Vinayadhara lives, that direction is brightened by the appearance of my light, appearance of the luminosity, and splendor, I live with little wants in that place. That direction does not become empty of me.[134]

Knowing the particulars of the rules in terms of the origin and revision (21–25)

> He knows the arising [of a disciplinary rule].[135] He knows the declarations [of the disciplinary rules].[136] He knows the supplementary rules.[137] He knows the contradictions.[138] He knows the internal sanctions.[139]

Knowing sources of obstructions and staying away from them (26–30)

> He knows the obstructive conditions.[140] He knows the unobstructive conditions.[141] He instructs.[142] He guides.[143] He becomes capable of providing support for the coinhabitants.[144]

Knowing the gravity and lightness of transgressions (31–35)

> He knows the transgressions.**[145]** He knows the non-transgressions.**[146]** He knows the gravity [i.e., the heavy rules].**[147]** He knows the lightness [i.e., the

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[134] These benefits are not very clear to me. Specifically, benefits 16, 17, and 18 use the words *ālokajātā, avabhāsajātā* and *prabhāsajātā* all synonyms for light or brightness. In Sanskrit, *ālokajātā me dik khyāti avabhāsajātā, prabhāsajātā, alpotsuko 'haṃ tasyāṃ diśi viharāmi, aśūnyā ca me dik khyāti yasyāṃ diśi vinayadharaḥ pudgalaḥ prativasati*. Tib.: *phyogs gang na gang zag 'dul ba 'dzin pa gnas pa'i phyogs de ngas snang ba skyes pa dang / gsal ba skyes pa dang / 'od skyes pa dang / 'od skyes par mthong phyogs der rang thugs khral chung ngur gnas/phyogs de ngas stong pa ma yin par mthong ngo /.*

[135] *uptattiṃ jānāti*. Tib: *byung ba shes /.*

[136] *prajñaptim jānātiḥ.* Tib: *bcas pa shes /.* This and the next items probably indicate that the Vinayadhara knows the ritual procedures of doing *vinaya* rituals.

[137] *anuprajñaptiṃ jānāti*. Tib: *rjes su bcas pa shes /.* Pali: *Anupaññatti*: a supplementary regulation or order.

[138] *pratikṣepaṃ jānāti*. Tib: *bkag pa shes /.* Pali: *Paṭikkhepa*: opposition, negation, contrary.

[139] *abhyanujñāṃ jānāti*. Tib: *rjes su gnang ba shes pa yin no /.*

[140] *antarāyikaṃ jānāti*. Tib: *bar du bcod pa rnams shes /.* This and the next items seem to be future oriented.

[141] *anantarāyikāṃ jānāti*. Tib: *bar du gcod ma yin pa rnams shes /.*

[142] *avavadati*. Tib: *'doms par byed /.*

[143] *anuśāsti* Tib*: rjes su ston par byed /.*

[144] *pratibalo bhavati sārdhaṃvihāryantevāsikānāṃ niśrayaṃ grāhayitum*. Tib: *lhan cig gnas pa dang nye gnas rnams kyi 'char 'jug nus so /.*

[145] *āpattiṃ jānāti*. Tib: *lhung ba byung ba shes/*

[146] *anāpattiṃ jānāti*. Tib: *lhung ba ma byung ba shes/*

[147] *gurvīṃ jānāti*. Tib: *lci shes*. Heavy rules here probably refer to the four *pārajikā* pertaining to breaking the vow of celibacy, killing a human, telling lies, and stealing. The skill of the Vinayadhara here seems to be that he knows in what way the violation of a rule is considered heavy or light [as in the next item].

> subtle rules] in the same way.[148] His instruction concerning the *Prātimokṣasūtra* is also described extensively.[149]

A lot can be said about these sets of benefits. The first of these sets shows the position of the Vinayadhara within the Buddhist community by stating how others consider him as a figure of authority. The last three of these sets refer to how the Vinayadhara becomes an expert with regard to specifics of rules regarding what constitutes transgressions, non-transgressions, expertise in conducting *vinaya* rituals and so on. Moving from the first to the last items in this entire list three main aspects of a Vinayadhara seem to be emphasized here: (i) in terms of being an authority of *vinaya*; (ii) in terms of how he presents himself (i.e., his bodily dispositions and manners of interacting with the world); and (iii) in terms of how others perceive or interact with him. Focusing on these aspects with some details might give a sense of what kind of an individual is meant to form though the study of Vinaya texts and practice of *vinaya* as a way of life.

Regarding the first aspect, the Vinayadhara apparently becomes an authority of Vinaya/*vinaya*, in both the senses of texts and discipline. He not only reads and understands the Vinaya texts thoroughly, he also integrates the *vinaya* in his own life. The Vinayadhara is, therefore, the most ideal student or scholar of the Vinaya. Being an expert in the subject, he thoroughly knows the rules as they are, i.e., by the letter. For instance, he knows what constitutes the minor and major rules, their origins, their amendments, what does and does not count as a transgression, and so on (e.g. items 21-27). Most importantly he also knows the rules by the spirit, i.e. by drawing out the meanings that are implicit and understand the application of a rule based on a context (e.g. 11, 12). These perhaps suggest interpretive skills to grasp the many intentions

[148] *laghvīṃ jānāti*. Tib: *yang ba shes shing /.*

[149] *prātimokṣasūtroddeśo 'sya vistareṇoddiṣṭo bhavati.* Tib: *de so sor thar pa'i mdo gdon pa la rgyas par zhugs pa yin no /.*

of *vinaya* (*bahusaṃdhi*) that we discussed before. Because of being an authority of all the specifics of Vinaya he is also able to have students to stay with him as attendants and train them. All of these affirm that the Vinayadhara is an expert in all the aspects of the semantic, the syntactic, and the pragmatic matters of the Vinaya.

As regards the second aspect, the Vinayadhara presents himself as one who knows how to take care of his moral precepts, keeping them well-guarded, but not flaunting or being boastful about them. He does so keeping in mind the greater purpose of the benefit and happiness of many, not just for himself, and for the longer duration of the teachings of the Buddha. While he protects his own vows and precepts, he has nothing to hide (i.e., holding secrets or resorting to deceitful means for serving own interests at the expense of others). The uprightness of his discipline makes him fearless. He moves around within and outside of his community with confidence. These features reflect that the Vinayadhara presents himself as a moral exemplar. This is specifically indicated with the item (8) mentioning that the Vinayadhara uplifts those assailed by remorse (perhaps due to breach of rules). His expertise also allows him to instruct and guide others who fall behind (e.g., items 28, 29, 30). These qualities suggest that the Vinayadhara lives in a relationship of interpersonal care with others. The expertise and determination he gained through living a life of *vinaya* does not remove him away from his fellow monastics, but enables him to guide others. The practice of *vinaya* is thus a very personal and social enterprise.

The repeated use of the image of luminosity perhaps suggests that the study and practice of *vinaya* bring forth light both literally and metaphorically. It can be understood, for instance, in the sense of the ideal Vinayadhara embodying a brightness in his deportment and expressions. This also suggests how his presence and uplifting words can brighten someone feeling gloomy, due to an emotional burden (e.g., remorse). In that sense the practice of *vinaya* has a therapeutic

dimension as well. It can also refer to the fact that the enterprise of undertaking the spiritual practice in Buddhism is aimed at discarding the darkness of ignorance (*avidyā*). The very first step in this enterprise is the observance of the *vinaya*. It indicates, echoing the sentiments that began this chapter about the *vinaya* being the foundational support and lifeblood of Buddhist heritage, that the light of the Buddha will not extinguish wherever and as long as the Vinayadharas live. In other words, a Vinayadhara embody the presence of the Buddha within himself (e.g. items 3, 20).

As for the third aspect, the Vinayadhara, because of being an authority on the subject, is regarded with high esteem by others (e.g. 1, 2, 4, 5). In any assembly consisting of own community or that of others he is placed at the center. Thus, he is one whose guidance is sought after by others. The fact that he is not challenged when he makes a statement about the *vinaya* also implies his effective ability to resolve conflicts within the monastic community. The study of the Vinaya thus comes with a great responsibility not only for individual practice but also to lead the community, including the ones who are disinterested or those who fall behind.

It is striking to note that these benefits do not mention anything explicitly about soteriological goals of the *vinaya* in the way other forms of Buddhist education and spiritual practices, for instance, the study and practice of mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthānas*), are usually described with regard to the various spiritual attainments (e.g., *dhyānas*). This is not because the study of Vinaya texts and observance of *vinaya* discipline have no relevance for Buddhist soteriology. On the contrary, as observed above, the survival of Buddhism as a tradition depends on the successful study and transmission of *vinaya*. Proper observance of the *vinaya* lays down the foundation for progress towards freedom (*vimukti*) as envisioned in Buddhist spiritual practice.

Further, Vinaya is discussed not only in relation to disciplinary rules but in relationship with others. Vinaya in that sense is understood in relational terms, functioning as a binding force,

and helping in the formation of individuals who embody the presence of the Buddha within themselves and work for the greater benefit of the community. The list of these benefits has a pedagogical function as it is intended to motivate the monks to study the Vinaya. The pedagogical value of the Buddha declaring these benefits is reflected in the event that follows after the Buddha encourages the monks through this list – to be discussed in the section below.

2.4. How to Study the Vinaya?

Given that Vinaya is so vital and that a Vinayadhara enjoys so many benefits, it is only reasonable that monks should put maximum effort to study Vinaya and practice *vinaya*. This is indeed what happens after the Buddha encourages monks with the lists of benefits discussed above. All the senior and junior monks, assembled to study Vinaya with the Venerable Upāli (Tib. Nye bar 'khor), who was known as the foremost of those skilled in the context and origins of the Vinaya. Because of teaching Vinaya to large crowds, Upāli becomes feeble, weak, and he faints.[150] This incidence in turn creates the condition for the Buddha to clarify another important aspect – i.e. the bodily postures of students and teachers are important when Vinaya lessons are taught and learnt. In fact, it won't be too far to state that Vinaya as a subject is entrenched within *vinaya* as a way of life, i.e. in the postures. An awareness of the postures when the interactions between a teacher and pupil are taking place is as important as the subject that is being learnt. The importance of the embodied and relational aspects of *vinaya* are thus emphasized in the following recommendations:

> A teacher teaches in the four postures of walking, standing, sitting, and lying down. If the teacher is standing, a novice student should prostrate in front of the teacher before receiving an instruction and ask about the teacher's well-being, respectfully bowing his body, but

[150] Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu*, 47: *bhagavatā vinayasya varṇo bhāṣita iti sthavirasthavirā bhikṣavaḥ sotsāhā vinayaṃ paṭhitum ārahdhāḥ; tena khalu samayenāyuṣmān upālī agro 'bhūd vinayanidānasamutpattikuśalānām; sthavirasthavirā bhikṣavo vinayaṃ paryavāpnuvanti iti satkṛtyoddeṣṭum ārabdhaḥ; sa utpāṇḍuko jātaḥ kṛśālako durbalako mlāno prāptakāyaḥ*

> keeping an upright mind. While walking, the student should always be one step behind the teacher. If the student is older in biological age and the teacher is older in monastic age, the student does not have to do the prostration. If the teacher is standing - the student should accept the instruction after having prostrated, asking about his well-being (lit. harmony of the bodily constituents), and sitting in a lower seat. The same applies if the teacher is seated or lying down.[151]

Here the lessons taught could be oral instructions or based on texts (e.g. taught in a classroom setting). These interactions between a teacher and a student are akin to what Mark Jordan refers to as "the scene of ethical instruction."[152] A scene of instruction, as Jordan describes it, consists of place, such as room or a garden; a time, ranging from a few minutes to many years; and characters, real or imagined, including incorporeal beings such as deities. Speaking within the context of Christian ethics, Jordan suggests that engaging with a biblical scene of instruction, through re-narration, through written texts and oral narratives, and re-presentation, through images, paintings, and so on, itself evokes ethical reflection.

In the context of studying Vinaya, we see that the *Śayanāsanavastu* presents an elaborate "scene of instruction." First we see that the Buddha acknowledges the difficulty of studying the Vinaya and explains why monks are disinterested. As a reader of Vinaya texts today we can feel the tone of empathy evident in that acknowledgement of Vinaya being a difficult subject of study for various reasons. At the same time when the Buddha shows the numerous benefits of Vinaya, monks are overly enthusiastic leaving their teacher fainted. The Buddha then prescribes the proper

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[151] Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu*, 47–48): *uddeśadāyakasyāhaṃ bhikṣavoḥ bhikṣor āsamudācārikān dharmān prajñāpayāmi; uddeśadāyakenā bhikṣuṇā caturbhir āryapathair uddeśo dātavyaḥ; caṅkramyamāṇena tiṣṭhatā niṣannena nipannena ca; uddeśagrāhakena bhikṣuṇā tṛbhir āryapathair uddeśo grahītavyaḥ; uddeśagrāhako bhikṣur uddeśadāyakasya bhikṣoḥ sacet cāṅkramyamāṇasyāgacchati navakaś ca bhavati tena sāmīcīṃ kṛtvā dhātusāmyaṃ pṛṣṭvā kāyam avanāmya ṛjukacittena sagauraveṇa padaparihāṇikayā uddeśo grahītavyaḥ; atha vṛddhatarako bhavati, tena dhātusāmyaṃ pṛṣṭvā kāyam avanāmya ṛjukacittena sagauraveṇa padaparihāṇikagā uddeśo grahītavyaḥ; sacet tiṣṭhata āgacchati navakaś ca bhavati tena sāmīcīṃ kṛtvā dhātusāmyaṃ pṛṣṭvā utkuṭukena kṛtvā nīcatarake vā āsane niṣadya ṛjukacittena sagauraveṇoddeśo grahītavyaḥ; atha vṛddho bhavati tena dhātusāmyaṃ pṛṣṭvā utkuṭukena sthitvā nīcatarake vā āsane niṣadya ṛjukacittena sagauraveṇa uddeśo grahītavyaḥ; yathā tiṣṭhata evaṃ niṣaṇṇasya nipannasya ca yojayitavyam*.

[152] Jordan, Teaching Bodies, 67-79.

postures for giving and receiving Vinaya instructions. These bodily postures are as important as the actual lessons taught. A valid question to ask ourselves is: What difference does following the postures make in the way one learns Vinaya, both as text and as a discipline to live by? We can compare these postures, for instance, with reading a Vinaya text on our own in the comfort of a sofa in our house or at the desk in library. The difference in what is learned through reenacting the postures is quite significant in the experience of the teacher and the pupil.

Although these instructions are applicable to all monastic students, the *Śayanāsanavastu* mentions specifically that it is the newly ordained monks (*navaka bhikṣu*) who should follow these in particular. What we see in the recommendation of these postures is an orientation of new monks into the customs and etiquettes of Buddhist monasticism. The characters here are the new monks and their teachers. The education thus begins with learning to position one's body in the appropriate manner in the presence of a teacher. Full-body prostrations, enquiring about the teacher's well-being, and bowing while "bending the body keeping the mind upright" precede the lessons and oral instructions. The fascinating detail about simultaneous attention given to the act of bending the body and keeping the mind upright indicates a process of training in humility and submission accompanied by mental clarity and rectitude. The place of instructions extends from the teacher's bedroom to actual classroom settings to the streets and corridors, where one has to walk one step behind the teacher. In terms of the time, the education continues throughout the day; it is not limited within a specific time-frame.

These factors reflect basic civility and courteous behavior. They also show a form of education where a student's bodily postures impact the success of his learning. In that sense, the process of learning *vinaya* is embodied in a way different from memorization or recitation of texts, or other contemplative practices. The content of the teacher's didactic instructions, as I understand

it, could vary. But the *vinaya* is in the postures or bodily comportment. It is through the enactment of these postures that *vinaya* is actually learnt and lived, not by mere reading of texts. The same manners of comportment could apply even if the students are receiving lessons on a different subject or interacting with the teacher regarding everyday matters. In that sense, these instructions regarding bodily postures are not necessarily about a specific subject matter, but rather concern how one maintains one's body in the presence of and while interacting with teachers.

The Buddha also further mentions that the way greetings are exchanged between students and teachers are different based on their monastic ages. If the student is a neophyte, he has to do the full-body prostrations; but if the student is older in monastic ordination age than is the teacher, he does not have to do the full-body prostrations.[153] These distinctions in etiquettes have developed over the centuries. For instance, in the Tibetan monastic tradition, irrespective of one's monastic age one has to prostrate in front of a high reincarnate lama, especially the head of a lineage (e.g. Dalai Lama, the head of dGe lugs lineage) even if the lama is only three or four years old from birth.[154] The scene depicted in the *Śayanāsanavastu* reflects medieval Indian Buddhist monastic etiquettes. While some aspects of the monastic hierarchy are maintained, here, the relationship is also demonstrating respect and regard for each other. Thus, Vinaya learning takes place in a relationship that is bound with mutual respect and civility. Practicing *vinaya* is a civility that is also an illustration of teacher's and student's mutual awareness of each other's presence. It is not merely learning rules, but also involves living it in the everyday life.

[153] Monastic ordination age refers to the time that has elapsed since one's full ordination. Senority is determined by ordination date. Nevertheless, it is possible that one's teacher might be younger both in terms of biological age and even in terms of ordination age. The prostrations etiquettes take such nuances into account.

[154] The monastic age of a reincarnate lama, however, is considered to be counted spanning through several births. In each birth the vows are only renewed.

The Buddha further specifies that the teacher should give instructions being one who practiced well, familiarized well, and is without any suspicion or doubt. Thus, the ideal teacher has thorough knowledge of the texts and familiarity gained by own practice. Similarly, the student should receive the instructions having questioned very well, accepting (the lessons) well, and being without suspicion or doubt. If the instructor and the student do not follow these manners of comportment, the Buddha says, it is not according to the appropriate conduct[155] as enunciated, and it would be an act of transgression.

2.5. Conclusions

The self-referential passages above do not merely praise the Vinaya texts and discipline as a publicizing strategy. Passages like the ones highlighted above show that the Vinaya texts through the self-referential passages not only illustrate the ideal practice of learning the *vinaya*, but also demands the students to engage with it in particular ways. Through the use of metaphors, list of benefits, and scenes of instructions, the self-referential passages describe how the practice of *vinaya* affects a person, how Vinaya texts are to be read, and how discipline is to be enacted through bodily postures. The salient feature of *vinaya* as a way of life is that it is an embodied practice expanding throughout one's daily activities. I have illustrated that paying attention to the scenes of instructions is crucial for understanding the role of Vinaya as a subject of study and of *vinaya* as a disciplinary system in Buddhist monastic training. One point emphasized throughout this chapter is that Vinaya education is not just a memorization of the rules. It is also established throughout that Vinaya is a difficult subject of study. The emphasis on the difficulty involved in

[155] Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu*, 47: *uddeśadāyakena bhikṣuṇā svabhyastaṃ suparicitaṃ niḥsaṃdhigdhaṃ ca kṛtvā uddeśo dātavyaḥ; uddeśagrāhakenāpi suparipṛṣṭam sūdgṛhītaṃ niḥsaṃdigdhaṃ ca kṛtvā uddeśo grahītavyaḥ; uddeśadāyako bhikṣur uddeśagrāhakaś ca yathāprajñaptān āsamudācārikān dharmān na samādāya vartate, sātisāro bhavati.*

the study of Vinaya seems designed to show empathy to the students. At the same time, we can also learn much from how these passages describe the transformative work of *vinaya* in shaping a person. From the hermeneutic point of view, a Vinayadhara's capacity to draw out the meaning without contaminating them is an ideal we as modern readers of Vinaya texts can also aspire to achieve. Expressions such as deep, many intentions, involved with the norms of the world and so on outline points a modern reader must attend to when reading and interpreting Vinaya texts.

Chapter Three
Outer as Reflecting the Inner: Gestural Routines and the Performance of Monkhood

In the previous chapter, I made a distinction between Vinaya as referring to the texts, and *vinaya* as referring to a disciplined way of life. I have discussed how the Vinaya texts, specifically the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, are used for ritual purposes, and we have seen the benefits (*āniśaṃsā*) an ideal Vinayadhara (i.e. Vinaya expert) would enjoy. A Vinayadhara is first and foremost an authority of the Vinaya texts and the rules contained in them. However, as the list of benefits illustrates a Vinayadhara is also ideally someone who embodies *vinaya* and lives a disciplined life.[156] The role of a Vinayadhara, in some ways, can be compared to a student or expert of law in modern times. One who studies law in order to become a lawyer or a judge in a court may know all the legal matters within their field of specialization, but that does not assure that they themselves will not violate or misuse the laws. A Vinayadhara similarly knows the disciplinary rules, their revisions with narrative contexts, and how to solve a dispute or carry out a *vinaya* ritual (*vinayakarma*), but they may not always follow the rules themselves or embody the *vinaya* in the way they are expected to.

In this chapter, I discuss how Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts describe what it means to be a *vinayasampanna*, i.e. a person endowed with *vinaya*. Although for our practical purpose *vinaya* is translated as "discipline", it encompasses a wide variety of ethical qualities, values and habits

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[156] It will be seen in the next chapter, in one of the examples of the group of seventeen monks, that being a Vinayadhara does not always mean that a monk behaves very well. One member of the group of seventeen who became Vinayadhara used a Vinaya rule to plot against another monk as a revenge. See the account of the group of seventeen in *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. ja.:201a – 203a.

that are embodied by a person and are expressed through their gestures and manners of comportment.

Before discussing further, a quick distinction must be made here between two closely related terms: *vinayasampanna* (endowed with discipline) and **śīlavān* (from Tibetan *tshul khrims dang ldan pa*, meaning "endowed with virtues or precepts"). For a Buddhist monk, being a **śīlavān* means deliberately undertaking the *prātimokṣa* vows and living in a way that befits the life of a monk, such as refraining from killing, sexual misconduct and so on. In the Vinaya texts, the term *tshul khrims dang ldan pa* (**śīlavān*) appears widely, in fact more so than *vinayasampanna*, in reference to what qualifies a good teacher and a good monk. Kalyāṇamitra, a ninth-century scholar, in his commentary to the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu*, makes a fine distinction between these two qualities. According to this commentary, **śīlavān* is defined as "the person who has *śīla*… The awareness that he does not have an occasion to break the *śīla*, and therefore this is a wholesome factor, is indeed what should be known as being a **śīlavān*."[157] *Śīla* is further defined in this commentary as "that [practice] which reverses one from [morally] harmful things and so on,"[158] and, "it has the characteristic of abandoning the faults that are "naturally objectionable" or "intrinsically bad" (**prakṛti-sāvadya*)."[159] The faults that are naturally objectionable for a monk are the *pārājika* offences, such as engaging in sexual activities, stealing,

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[157] Kalyāṇamitra, *Vinayavastuṭīkā ('Dul ba gzhi rgya cher 'grel pa),* 'Dul ba (Vinaya), Derge. Tengyur. Vol. 156.273a: *de la tshul khrims dang ldan pa zhes bya ba ni gang la tshul khrims yod pa de ni tshul khrims dang ldan pa ste / 'di la tshul khrims 'chal ba'i skabs med pa'i phyir des na 'di ni dge ba zhes bya bar shes pa de ni tshul khrims dang ldan pa nyid yin par rig par bya'o /.*

[158] Kalyāṇamitra, *Vinayavastuṭīkā ('Ddul ba gzhi rgya cher 'grel pa),* 'Dul ba (Vinaya), Derge. Tengyur. Vol. 156.208b: *tshul khrims zhes bya na ni 'tshe ba la sogs pa las ldog pa'o /.*

[159] Kalyāṇamitra, *Vinayavastuṭīkā ('Dul ba gzhi rgya cher 'grel pa),* 'Dul ba (Vinaya), Derge. Tengyur. Vol. 156.274b: *tshul khrims zhes bya ba ni rang bzhin dang bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba dang bcas pa spong ba'i mtshan nyid do /.*

killing, and telling lies.[160] Similarly, in the larger society, the term **śīlavān* seems to be used for a deliberate undertaking and observance of vows and precepts. For instance, when a woman who became pregnant after an illicit relationship was repeatedly questioned by her friend, she replied saying "since I am a virtuous person (**śīlavān*), do not make a false allegation against me."[161] What is intended to mean here, I think, is that the woman is claiming to be virtuous in the sense of keeping her marital vows, although she was clearly lying, as she revealed later on. *Śīla* is thus concerned with undertaking of vows breaking which result from a psychological process of deliberation and has moral consequences.

On the other hand, *vinayasampanna*, as we will see in this chapter, is used for a wider variety of habits and conducts (*ācāra*) that do not necessarily have direct ethical or moral consequences, but still play a vital role in inter-personal interactions. In the compound *vinaya-sampanna*, I take *vinaya* as it is defined in the *Vinayavastu* commentary as follows: "*vinaya* is the system or norms of [good] conduct (**samudācāra-naya*)."[162] While *śīla* refers to conscious undertaking of a set of vows and precepts to live specific lifestyle adhering to some fundamental ethical principles, *vinaya* in the sense of *samudācāra* encompasses a larger category of everyday activities. *Śīla* enhances *vinaya*, but does not encompass all the norms of good conduct (*samudācāra*) that are included in *vinaya*.

In this chapter, I will discuss the "norms of conduct" that are core concerns of *vinaya*. Based on selected narratives that illustrate "scenes of instructions" from the Mūlasarvāstivāda

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[160] There are, of course, various conditions that are taken into consideration before deciding if any of these offences are punishable.

[161] *Vinayavibhaṅga*, *'Dul ba,* Derge. Vol. ca. 120a. and again in 121b: *kho mo tshul khrims dang ldan pa yin gyis khyed cag brdzun gyi skur bas kho mo la kun du ma spyod cig*.

[162] Kalyāṇamitra, *Vinayavastuṭīkā ('Dul ba gzhi rgya cher 'grel pa),* 'Dul ba (Vinaya), Derge. Tengyur. Vol. 156, 235a: *'dul ba zhes bya ba ni kun tu spyod pa'i tshul.* The Sanskrit phrase *samudācāra-naya* is reconstructed by me.

Vinaya texts, I will demonstrate how *vinaya*, understood in terms of "norms of conduct" in everyday activities, is depicted as an embodied quality enhancing a particular way of life, expressed in terms of modesty, humility, serenity, and so on. Surveying its use in Indian classical texts including those from non-Buddhist traditions, Minoru Hara states that, beginning with an etymological meaning of "taking away," *vinaya* is used in a wide range of contexts to mean removal of physical and mental pains, controlling animals, training of warriors, education and so on.[163] Hara even refers to the use of *vinayasampanna* to mean "education in decorum" in the Mahābhārata. In a Jaina text named Aupapatik Sutra, *vinayasampanna* is used to mean modesty.[164] Considering these usages, we can see that the general category of *vinaya* is not unique to the Buddhist monastic community. Rather, Buddhist monasticism embraces the idea of *vinaya* found in the larger society, focalizes on it and enhances its meanings to facilitate the training of monks and nuns. However, despite the shared use of *vinaya*, the norms of conduct (*ācāra* or *samudācāra*, to be discussed in detail below) in the different religious, cultural and monastic traditions are not always the same.

I argue that, integrated into the Buddhist monastic training and as a form of education, *vinaya* involves bringing awareness to one's existing habits, inclinations, and perceptions in order to re-orient them with a greater degree of attentiveness to oneself, one's objects of use, and people and places with whom one interacts. Implicit in this need for attentiveness to one's bodily habits and perception is also an ethical responsibility to those who use visual experience of seeing Buddhist monastics in the public space for inspiration to affirm their convictions or augment their practice. As an embodied quality and a way of life, *vinaya* operates in an intersubjective mode,

[163] Hara, "A Note on the Sanskrit Term Vinaya (English Summary)," 52–54.

[164] Muni, Sarasa, and Bothara, *Illustrated Aupapatik Sutra*, 385.

where the physical demeanor of a person is reckoned as a crucial factor for important exchange or alliance to occur between individuals. In short, training in the "norms of conduct" that helps to cultivate embodied *vinaya* is significant because of the profound transformative affect it can potentially give rise to in onlookers.

At the outset, it is relevant here to reiterate that I do not read the narratives in the Vinaya texts as definite historical records of individuals who existed and behaved in exactly the way they are described.[165] While we cannot deny the sense of realism we find in some of the descriptions of interactions between the characters, my concern is to understand how the Vinaya texts portray the ideal behavior of a person endowed with *vinaya* and what function these narratives would have in monastic training. Thus, instead of reading Vinaya texts from a socio-historical perspective, I am interested in the pedagogical value of the scenes described in the narratives for training new monks.

3.1. *vinaya* as an Embodied Quality: The Case of an Unmarried Woman

The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts contain notable illustrations that help us understand the wider usage of *vinaya* within and outside of Buddhist monastic context. In this section, first, I will illustrate the qualities of a *vinayasampanna* through the example of Viśākhā, the daughter of a rich man named Balamitra in the city of Campā. Then in the subsequent sections, I will show how the similar qualities are applied for a Buddhist monastic, even when the term *vinayasampanna* itself is not explicitly used. I argue that a *vinasampanna* person is capable of affecting an onlooker aesthetically and ethically just by their presence. In other words, embodied *vinaya* is not a shallow

[165] For a rich discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of the historical interpretation of Vinaya narratives, see Langenberg, "On Reading Buddhist Vinaya: Feminist History, Hermeneutics, and Translating Women's Bodies," 6ff.

or scripted performance without any significance, it has an aesthetic and ethical value the presence or absence of which influences how an onlooker would interact and form alliances with a person.

In the Buddhist literature, Viśākhā is one of the most celebrated female personalities.[166] She is known for her humility as much as her dexterity in maintaining household matters, her generosity to renunciant ascetics, the clarity of her thinking, and her intellectual capacity to grasp the teachings of the Buddha. She is described in the *Cīvaravastu* ("Chapter on Robes"), part of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu*, as "beautiful and young (*rūpayauvanavatī*), endowed with good manners and discipline (*nayavinayasampanna*), wise (*paṇḍitā*), and charming in the way she moves around (*paṭupracāra*)."[167] Thus, Viśākhā's physical attributes of beauty (*rūpa*) and youth (*yauvana*) are augmented by her good manners, discipline, wisdom, and charm.

Once when going for a walk in the garden with her friends, Viśākhā was noticed by a brahmin matchmaker whose attention was drawn to her because of the distinctive way she held her body that revealed that she was internally poised and attentive.[168] The matchmaker who secretly followed Viśākhā and her friends quickly noticed that when others were fickle and restless (*durvṛttaceṣṭita*), Viśākhā was gentle in her movements, walking with ease and self-awareness and crossing a river with serene deportment (*śāntena īryapathena*). She enjoyed the surrounding but did not lose her composure. The brahmin followed the group of these young women, paying special attention to Viśākhā and how she compared with her companions, until it started raining. The other girls, who had forgotten to bring their umbrellas with them – a sign of their carelessness – quickly

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[166] For a brief account on her in the Therāvāda texts, see entry no. 5 on Visākhā in Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*.

[167] Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. III. Part 2, Cīvaravastu*, 53: *viśākhā nāma duhitā rūpayauvanavatī nayavinayasaṃpannā paṇḍitā paṭupracārā.* Tibetan at *Vinayavastu*, *'Dul ba*, Dege. ga. 72a: *bu mo sa ga ma zhes bya ba gzugs bzang ba / dar la bab pa / tshul dang dul ba dang ldan pa / mkhas pa / g.yer ba zhig yod pa de*.

[168] Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. III. Part 2, Cīvaravastu*, 54.

went to a temple to take shelter from the rain, while Viśākhā who had her umbrella with her remained outside. The brahmin matchmaker took this opportunity to talk to Viśākhā.[169] The brahmin recounted the previous descriptions of Viśākhā's behavior on the way. Regarding each of her reactions to the surroundings the brahmin asked some questions in the following manner. Note in this conversation that Viśākhā is referred to as *vinayasampanna* by the brahmin.

> That brahmin who saw her such characteristics and with the curiosity arising from that, started asking questions from that girl.
>
> "Girl, whose [daughter] are you?"
>
> "Balamitra's daughter."
>
> "Daughter, may I ask you questions? Will you be angry because of that?"
>
> She, being furnished with a smile first, said "Father, ask. What is there to be angry about?"
>
> "Daughter, all of those girls go running, jumping, falling down, laughing, shaking their bodies, singing – doing these and other disgraceful conduct. But you, who are endowed with discipline, go to the garden with movements in gentle steps."
>
> She said, "All girls are parents' goods to be sold.[170] If while jumping up and falling down, my hands or feet were to be broken, who would want me? Neither will I [want to] be a burden for my parents."
>
> "Daughter, this is excellent (*śobhanaṃ*)! Let me ask another question. These girls kept their cloth on one side and without the second cloth (*dvitīyavastra-*

[169] The fact that they talk outside in the open area is also significant because it shows that Viśākhā is beyond suspicion. Talking to a stranger within closed doors is considered to be problematic for a woman in the world of these texts.

[170] The fact that she describes women as "goods to be sold," (*vikreyaṃ dravyaṃ*) might sound quite disturbing to a modern reader. The reference here is to the fact that women are usually married off when they reach the appropriate age. There are few vocational options for women. Damchö Diana Finnegan discusses this statement in terms of how Viśākhā defines her relationship to her own body within the larger contexts of family and marriage in Indian society as reflected in Vinaya narratives. She states, "In this startling reply, Viśākhā asserts that her body is not her own possession but one she is safeguarding for her parents. It is both to their advantage not to have to care for her throughout her whole life, and to hers, and so Viśākhā's relationship to her body is presented as a way to secure her own wellbeing and that of others. For this to work, she must treat her body as if it were indeed an article of trade." Finnegan, "'For the Sake of Women, Too,'" 266.

viyuktā)[171] they suddenly went down [into the river] and started playing. You again, lifted up the clothes only when there is water flowing down."

"Father, women need to be with modesty and shame. It is not proper, if someone saw me uncovered or naked."

"Daughter, who did see you there?"

"Father, indeed, I was seen by you."

"Daughter, this is also excellent. Let me now ask this. These girls first served themselves, and later served the people around. You, again, first served the people around, and later served yourself."

"Father, we who sustain on the fruits of merits, all times are auspicious for us. Those who sustain on the fruits of a bad place, take a fat meal at any place and anytime."

"Daughter, this is also excellent. Let me ask this. The whole world wears a pair of boots in the dry place, but you again in the water. Why is that?"

"Father, people are fools. Boots should be put on in the water. The reason is that a wooden log is visible on the dry land, but stones and pebbles, thorns, pieces of oyster shells, and pieces of conches are not visible in the water. Therefore, one should wear boots in the water, not in the dry place."

"Daughter, this is also excellent. Let me ask this next question. These girls held umbrellas in the sun, but you do so under the shade of trees. What is the logic here?"

"Father, people are fools. Umbrellas should actually be held in the park. The reason for this is: the park is constantly crowded by tree-dwelling animals; birds defecate and urinate, and they cause branches to fall. That is not the case in the open space. It is there rarely, and even then, falls slowly. Therefore, umbrellas should actually be held in the park."

"Daughter, this is also excellent. Let me ask this next question. These girls have entered the temple, but you are standing in the open space."

"Father, actually we should stand in the open space. We should not enter the temple."

"Daughter, what is the reason for that?"

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[171] The idea is that the girls were almost naked or half naked. Viśākhā, in contrast, did not lift up her clothes until she was submerged in the water.

> "Father, these empty temples are always made full by rogues, swindlers, and frauds. If by going there, someone defiles my body and limbs, would that not be a dishonor to my parents? Better then, is death in the open space. Yet, entering the empty temple is not to be done."[172]

Needless to say, the matchmaker was supremely impressed not only by the manners of Viśākhā, but also by her explanations for her actions. He wasted no time before heading out to meet Viśākhā's parents with the marriage proposal. I understand that some aspects of this episode, such as an older man secretly following a group of young women and Viśākhā stating that "women are goods to be sold by parents," might be disagreeable to the sensibilities of our times. Within the narrative world of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts and ancient Indian culture more broadly, however, such actions and statements seem to be acceptable. Matchmakers looking for ideal candidates for a marriage alliance in public places seems to be a normal occurrence, and Viśākhā

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[172] The original Sanskrit text appears in: Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. III. Part 2. Cīvaravastu*, 54–56: *sa brāhmaṇas tasyās tādṛśalakṣaṇapracārān dṛṣṭvā tato jātakutūhalas tāṃ dārikāṃ praṣṭum ārabdhaḥ / dārike kasya tvam / balamitrasya duhitā / putri pṛcchāmi / tena kiñcit tvayā kopaḥ karaṇīyaḥ / sā smitapūrvaṃgamā kathayati / tāta pṛccha / ko 'tra kopaḥ / putri sarvā eva dārikā dhāvantya utpatantyo nipatantyo gātravikṣepaṃ kurvantya imāni cānyāni ca durvṛttaceṣṭitāni kurvantyo gacchanti tvaṃ punar vinayasaṃpannā mandagatipracāratayā ābhiḥ (55) sārdham udyānaṃ gacchasīti / sā kathayati / sarvā dārikā mātāpitror vikreyaṃ dravyam / yadi mama utpatantyā nipatantyā vā hastaḥ pādo vā bhidyate ko māṃ prārthayate / na tv ahaṃ yāvajjīvam eva mātāpitroḥ poṣyā bhaviṣyāmi / putri śobhanaṃ gatam etat* / idam aparaṃ pṛcchāmi / etā dārikā vastrāṇy ekānte sthāpayitvā dvitīyavastraviyuktāḥ sahasāvatīrya krīḍitum ārabdhāḥ / tvaṃ punar yathā pānīyam avatarati tathā tathā vastram anayasi / tāta hrīvyapatrāpyasaṃpanno mātṛgrāmaḥ / yadi māṃ kaścit paśyaty apāvṛtām ayuktam / putri kas tvāṃ tatra paśyati / tāta tvayaiva tāvad ahaṃ dṛṣṭā syām / putri śobhanam etad api gatam / idam aparaṃ pṛcchāmi / etā dārikāḥ pūrvam ātmanā bhuktvā paścāt parijanaṃ bhojayanti / tvaṃ punaḥ pūrvaṃ parijanaṃ bhojayitvā paścād ātmanā bhuṃkṣe / tāta vayaṃ puṇyaphalopajīvinyaḥ satatam evāsmākaṃ parva / etā kusthānaphalopajīvinyaḥ kadācit karhicid udārabhojanaṃ labhante / putri śobhanam etad api gatam / idam aparaṃ pṛcchāmi / sarvalokaḥ śuṣke upānahau dhārayanti / tvaṃ punaḥ udake / kim etat / tāta mūrkho lokaḥ / udaka eva upānahau dhārayitavyau / yat kāraṇaṃ sthale sthāṇur dṛśyate kaṇṭakaḥ pāśāṇaśarkaraḥ śuktiśakalikā śaṃkhasūke khaṇḍikā ca / (56) jale tv ete na dṛśyante / ato jala evopānahau dhārayitavyā na sthale / putri śobhanam etad api gatam / idam aparaṃ pṛcchāmi / etā dārikā ātape chatraṃ dhārayanti tvaṃ punar ārāme vṛkṣacchāyāyām / kātra yuktiḥ / tāta mūrkho lokaḥ / ārāma eva chatraṃ dhārayitavyam / yat kāraṇaṃ nityam ārāmaḥ śākhāmṛgaiḥ pakṣibhir ākīrṇaḥ / pakṣiṇa uccāraprasrāvaṃ kurvanti / asthikhaṇḍaṃ pātayanti / śākhāmṛgā uccāraprasrāvaṃ kurvanti / ardhaparibhuktāni phalāni pātayanti / calasvabhāvatvād itaś cāmutaś ca śākhāntare saṃkrāmaṃ kurvanti / kāṣṭhakhaṇḍāni pātayanti / abhyavakāśe ca tan nāsti / kadācit syāt taṃtu laghunipāti / ata ārāma eva chatraṃ dhārayitavyaṃ nābhyavakāśe / putri śobhanam etad api gatam / idam aparaṃ pṛcchāmi / etā dārikā vātavarṣe devakulaṃ praviṣṭās tvaṃ punar abhyavakāśe sthitā / tāta abhyavakāśa eva sthātavyam / na devakulaṃ praveṣṭavyam / putri kātra yuktiḥ / tāta etāni śūnyadevakulāni nityam eva viṭavātaputradhūrtakair aśūnyāni / yadi mama praviṣṭāyā kaścid aṃgapratyaṃgāni parāmṛśati na tv evaṃ mātāpitror me ayaśasyatā bhavati / varam abhyavakāśe prāṇaviyogaḥ / na tv eva śūnyadevakulapraveśaḥ.* A Tibetan translation of this passage is found at *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge. ga. 72a-74a

probably knew that as well. The most relevant point for us to consider here is what the text presents as the ideal qualities of a woman who is regarded as *vinayasampanna*. Two key points from this conversation deserve to be highlighted in order to understand the embodied *vinaya* of Viśākhā in everyday life.

First, Viśākhā's *vinaya* is described in terms of her conduct or *ācāra*, how she moves with gentle steps and how she reacts to her surroundings. Viśākhā's behavior is contrasted with others who are referred to as displaying disgraceful conduct (*durvṛttaceṣṭitāni*). Viśākhā is aware of the the significance of her movements in public places within the society in which she lives. She knows that her actions and bodily movements have meaning and consequences for her own physical safety as well as in the matter of seeking marital alliances. In other words, she displays all the features of "an ideal woman" as described in the South Asian literature and cultures.[173] While other girls are engrossed in games and laughter, Viśākhā remains aware of her surroundings. She knows that they are being followed by the brahmin matchmaker. Viśākhā's responses to the matchmaker's questions demonstrate that her *vinaya* is also imbued with an attitude of care for herself and her family. She serves food to others before herself. She knows that incurring a physical injury due to a reckless action or being harassed by rogues could make her a burden to her parents and damage their reputation. In the similar way, as we will see below, the actions of *vinaya* in a monk or nun also directly impact the reputation of the Buddha and monastic institution as a whole.

Another important feature of Viśākhā's embodied *vinaya* is that despite her conformity to the expected norms of conduct and manners of an ideal woman, she is also unique and independent in her thinking. She is able to make her own decisions, not going by the rules or conventions that

[173] Bader, *Women in Ancient India: Moral and Literary Studies*.

everyone follows regarding the use of boots or umbrellas. She does not seem to display any feeling of awkwardness about her actions and choices.

Second, this episode from the story of Viśākhā shows that the behavior, the bodily way of being, and the way one conducts oneself in open public places are seen and sometimes scrutinized by others. It is the brahmin matchmaker who calls her *vinayasampanna*, not Viśākhā herself. Referring to oneself as *vinayasampanna* is akin to telling people how modest one is. I refer to the gaze of the brahmin matchmaker in this episode as "the onlooker's gaze." An onlooker sees the outer physical appearance and conduct of a person as reflective of inner qualities. Appearance here is not taken as deception, but rather as crucial for signaling one's inner virtues. This is especially true for women who are being observed by matchmakers looking for potential candidates for marriage proposals. The matchmakers read the behavior of women to ensure that they found the right person for their clients. In the similar way, we shall see later in this chapter that people also constantly scrutinize the behavior of monks when they are in public places.[174]

In sum, it is notable in this episode of Viśākhā that the term *vinaya* to is seen to indicate an attractive embodied quality and is used even in lay society. Being endowed with *vinaya* means that Viśākhā is self-aware about her movements, she is able to see herself as others see her, and she has a natural disposition to discipline her actions through an attitude of care. The distinctness of a disciplined body becomes even more evident when it is contrasted against bodies that are not considered to be disciplined. On the one hand, Viśākhā's friends seem to exercise some freedom of movement while jumping around and bathing in the river. On the other hand, Viśākhā's poised movement of her body is regarded as an admirable quality as she is endowed with *vinaya*. Her body has its own agency with a capacity to elicit affable reactions from onlookers. It is evident

[174] Nuns are also similarly scrutinized, though unfortunately I do not have room to discuss their stories here.

that the general usage of the term *vinaya* in the larger lay society is not lost within the Buddhist monastic community.

3.2. *Ācāra* or the Captivating Conduct: The Case of a Buddhist Monk

The Vinaya texts employ many epithets to refer to the Buddha. The Buddha is prominently described as the one who is supremely disciplined, thus embodying *vinaya*, and he is said to be surrounded by disciples who are also disciplined. A recurring passage in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts is illustrative of the embodied *vinaya* of the Buddha. One of the instances where this phrase occurs is in the context of converting sixty young men who were picnicking at a park. While they were immersed in their enjoyments, their valuables were stolen by one of the women who came with them. Later when they realized what happened they started looking for the woman and saw the Buddha seated under a tree. The Buddha is described in the following manner.

> The Blessed Buddha …is charming, pleasing, with tranquil senses, calm mind, supremely taming and appeasing the mind, splendor shining like a mound of gold.[175]

Here we see again the trope of the embodied *vinaya* of the Buddha contrasted against a group of undisciplined, affluent young men. They were so disoriented in their world of enjoyment that they were not attentive to their personal belongings. Seeing the Buddha in a physical demeanor completely different from their own had a transformative effect on their minds, which eventually led them to become the Buddha's disciples. The institution of Buddhist monasticism is based on

[175] Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu,* 149–50.: *bhagavantam anyatarad vṛkṣamūlaṃ niśritya niṣaṇṇaṃ prāsādikaṃ prasādanīyam śāntendriyaṃ śāntamānasaṃ parameṇa cittadamavyupaśamena samanvāgataṃ suvarṇayūpam iva śriyā jvalantam*. Tibetan translation at *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge. Vol. nga 52b: *bcom ldan 'das mdzes pa / dad par 'os pa/ bzang po zhi ba / thugs zhi ba / thugs mchog tu dul ba / zhi ba dang dul ba dang ldan pa / gser gyi mchod sdong lta bur gyur pa / dpal gyis 'bar zhing shing gi drung na brten te bzhugs pa mthong ngo //.*

the Buddha's vision of an ideal community for ethical training, and the monks and nuns are expected to emulate the demeanor of the Buddha.

Let us look at how the embodied *vinaya* of a Buddhist monk named Aśvajit, one of the Buddha's first disciples, is described. Here the term *vinayasampanna* is not explicitly used but the monk's *ācāra*, or norms of conduct and manners of bodily comportment, is extolled are similar to that of Viśākhā. This occurs in the *Pravrajyāvastu* ("Chapter on Going Forth") as a part of the long narrative account of how two of the Buddha's chief disciples, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, who are also known as Upatiśya and Kolita, became members of the Buddha's monastic community. The two are presented in this text as ideal students whose arrival was anticipated and predicted by the Buddha himself.

According to the *Pravrajyāvastu*, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were both from distinguished brahmin families. Śāriputra was known for his brilliance in Vedic wisdom. Maudgalyāyana was in line to succeed his father as the chief advisor or chaplain to a king. Both had a large number of students. It was through their students – who learned about each other's teachers while collecting firewood – that the two distinguished brahmins first became curious about one other. When they finally met, they became instant friends and formed a deep bond out of common intellectual and spiritual interests. This led them on a journey with a spiritual quest to find a teacher who could give them, what the referred to as "ambrosia." First they studied under Sañjaya, who professed his philosophy as teaching that "The Dharma is truth and nonviolence. The peaceful, ageless, immortal, and unwaning state is Brahman."[176] When they became Sañjaya's students eager to learn the meaning of this statement and enhancing the reputation of Sañjaya,

[176] Miller et al., "The Chapter on Going Forth," 1.203. I use this excellent translation of *Pravrajyāvastu* on Śāriputra's ordination story unless I notice significant differences that require my own translation.

many including their own students followed suit. After Sañjaya's death, they realized they had not yet found the "ambrosia" that they had been seeking. Then they embarked on a journey with the pledge "Whoever finds such ambrosia first, he shall share it with the other."[177] They set forth on a journey to Rājagṛha where the Buddha was staying, following Sañjaya's earlier suggestion that the Buddha might know the answer to their quest.

They eventually arrived in the city where the Buddha lived.[178] The Buddha seeing them in his divine vision "thought, 'Will these two be captivated by the Teacher or by his disciples?' and saw they would be captivated by disciples." Continuing in this vein, the Buddha "thought 'What will be their way into the renunciant order? Will they be captivated by miracles or by conduct [*ācāra*]?' Thinking that, he saw they would be drawn by conduct." He thus decided to send Aśvajit "whose conduct he saw would captivate them, for conduct like his captivated gods and men." Aśvajit understood that he could beg for his alms in the area where the two seekers could easily find him. The next day, when Aśvajit was collecting alms, Śāriputra spied him from a distance. Aśvajit was

> radiant in his coming and going, his gazing ahead and his gazing to his left and right, his arms drawn in and his legs extended, dignified by his robe, shawl, and begging bowl. Śāriputra thought to himself, "So, this is what the renunciants who come to live here in Rājagṛha are like. Never in my life have I seen anyone carry himself like this renunciant. I must approach him and ask, 'Monk, who is your teacher? Why have you gone forth? Whose Dharma do you favor?'"[179]

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[177] Miller et al., "The Chapter on Going Forth," 1.219.

[178] The translations in this section are from Miller, et al., "The Chapter on Going Forth," 1.283–288 except where noted.

[179] My translation here follows the Tibetan text as found in *Pravrajyāvastu*, 'Dul ba, Derge, Vol. ka. 32b-33a. *de'i tshe na kun du rgyu nye rgyal po'i khab tu bya ba zhig gi phyir spyod yul du zhugs pas tshe dang ldan pa rta thul 'gro ba dang / ldog pa dang / chung zad blta ba dang / rnam par blta ba dang / bskum pa dang / brkyang ba dang / snam sbyar dang / chos gos dang lhung bzed thogs pa mdzes pas rgyal po'i khab na bsod snyoms la rgyu ba thag ring po kho na nas mthong ngo / / mthong nas kyang 'di snyam du sems te / rgyal po'i khab 'dir rab tu byung ba ji snyed cig lhags shing gnas pa dag las 'di lta ste / rab tu byung ba 'di'i spyod lam lta bu ni bdag gis sngan chad 'ga' yang ma mthong bas bdag de'i gan du song ste /.*

This is how an ideal encounter between a student and a teacher is described in the *Pravrajyāvastu*. In this, when the ideal student sees a teacher, he is able to tell to himself *this is what I was looking for*, and *this is what I want to be like*. Śāriputra was "captivated" by Aśvajit's bodily comportment – the manner in which he was carrying his body – even before hearing any formal teaching. When reflecting in this manner he also thought to himself that there must be a teacher whose teachings reflect in the bodily comportment of his students. When they met, Aśvajit told Śāriputra about his teacher, the Buddha, and recited a short verse summarizing the Buddha's teaching of causality:

> Those phenomena that arise from causes,
> The Tathāgata himself has taught
> That they have a cause and also a cessation.
> The Great Śramaṇa is the one who thus proclaims. [180]

Śāriputra then had the final conviction that he had found an indication of the "ambrosia" he was looking for. The way he reported this encounter to Maudgalyāyana is also noteworthy. When Maudgalyāyana encountere Śāriputra again, he said, "Venerable, your faculties are clear and your complexion lustrous. If your skin is so radiant, does that mean you have found ambrosia?"[181] Śāriputra replied, "I have found *someone worth venerating*" (emphasis added).[182]

This scene of Śāriputra's encounter with his teacher Aśvajit illustrates that bodily comportment not only reflects the inner qualities of a person but is also an ideal indicator of a good teacher. This is the kind of comportment that can *captivate* an onlooker to take up an ethical practice. There is an aesthetic component to this comportment that makes the student feel drawn

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[180] Miller et al., "The Chapter on Going Forth," 1.292. This famous verse, sometimes known as the *pratītyasamutpāda-gāthā*, or "verse on dependent arising," is often thought to epitomize the Buddha's entire teaching. See Boucher, "The *Pratītyasamutpādagāthā* and Its Role in the Medieval Cult of the Relics."

[181] The Tibetan text in *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. ka. 33b: *tshe dang ldan pa khyod kyi dbang po rnams ni rnam par rang bzhin gyi mdog ni yongs su dag / pags pa'i mdog ni shin du dkar na khyod kyis bdud rtsi rnyed dam / tshe dang ldan pa rnyed do / /tshe dang ldan pa de'i phyir chos ston cig / de nas kun du rgyu nye rgyal gyis de'i tshe tshigs su bcad pa smras pa / chos rnams gang dag rgyu las byung ba dang / /...*

[182] Miller et al., "The Chapter on Going Forth," 1.297.

to the teacher. Just as a woman with embodied *vinaya* is worthy of marital alliance, a monk with similar conduct inspires future students. Such comportment makes the students want to be with the teacher. The convenience of recruiting such students as remarked by the Buddha himself is that, they do not need separate injunctions for discipline. They are the ideal students because they are self-disciplined, as they are willing to venerate one worthy of veneration they also see a version of their own future in the bodily disposition of their teacher.

Comparing the comportment of Aśvajit with the behavior of a teenage monk – ordained with his father who was an ex-businessman and got bankrupt – will illuminate the need for integrating elaborate instructions on bodily comportment in Buddhist monastic training. Having lost all hopes of rebuilding his business when the father decided to go forth and become a monk, his son who is not yet fifteen years old decided to follow suit. They went to a Buddhist monk and expressed the desire to go forth. The monk, whose name is not mentioned in the text, seems to have "had a liking" for both the father and the son and allowed them to go forth. The monk also taught them "all factors of good conduct" (*kun tu spyod pa'i chos, āsamudācārikā dharmāḥ*) and said,

> gentle sir, beasts do not feed beasts. The large city of Śrāvasti is your place of activity and is your fatherland. So, get your alms and support yourselves.[183]

The next day, early in the morning, they took their bowls and robes and went out for begging alms. On their way, the son saw bread being heated in a bakery store and asked his father to get the bread for him. When the father asked for the bread, saying "Gentle sir, please give that bread to this novice," the baker said, "Noble sir (*'phags pa*), no one eats without money, so, give me some coins

[183] This seems to be a common instruction given to newly ordained monks. See, *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*. Dege, Vol. ka. 74b-75b for this story. This specific instruction is in 75a as follows: *bzhin bzangs dag ri dgas kyis ri dgas mi sos/ mnyan yod rgya che la rang gi spyod yul dang yab kyi yul yin gyis bsod snyoms sgrubs la 'tsho bar gyis shig /.*

(*karshapanas*)."[184] The father of course did not have any money. When the baker refused to give the bread and he told his son that there are other bakery stores from where they could beg. As he tried to get hold of his son's arms to take him away, the son "jumped back (*'phags pa*), fell down near him (*de rgan rgyal du 'gyel nas*), and began to cry (*ngu bar brtsams so*)."[185] When onlookers found out that the novice was his son they "rebuked, made fun of, and slandered him saying "what good is to let the drop of one's blood (*khrag gi thigs pa*) go forth?"[186] The onlookers' condemnation of the conduct of the novice, whom they saw not as a monk but just a young boy, and the fact that he was allowed to go forth at such a young age is quite obvious. While there are much that can be discussed about this episode, the most important point here is how the narrative shows volatility of young children even when they are ordained as monks. The propriety of a monk's behavior in the public places has not fully settled in him yet.[187]

In sum, similar to the Viśākhā's episode, Aśvajit's movements are described in terms of his conduct (*ācāra*) and gestures (*īryapatha*), that are attractive (*śobhana*, Tib. *mdzes pa*). Aśvajit's gestures are befitting his mode of life and aligned with the goals of a Buddhist monk. The way he presents himself in the public place brings about a transformative affect on Śāriputra. However, everyone who saw Aśvajit on the road probably were not inspired in the same way to follow his path. The pleasant reactions of others were probably expressed by giving alms.

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[184] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*. Dege, Vol. ka. 75a.: *des smras pa/ bzhin bzangs dge tshul 'di la khur ba byin cig / des smras pa / 'phags pa rin ma mchis par mi gsol gyi / 'di ltar kār ṣā pa ṇa dag gi slad du gsol lo / / bzhin bzangs kho bo cag ni rab tu byung ba yin pas kho bo cag la kār ṣā pa ṇa dag ga la yod /.*

[185] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*. Dege, Vol. ka. 75a.: des smras pa/ dge tshul 'di bgrang ba mang po dag slong bar byed kyis tshur shog 'dong ngo zhes des de sor mo dag nas bzung ste 'phags pa dang / de gan rgyal du 'gyel nas ngu bar brtsams so/

[186] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*. Dege, Vol. ka. 75a.: *de gnyis skye bo phal po che'i tshogs kyis mthong nas de dag gis smras pa/ shes ldan dag 'di'i dge tshul 'di su zhig yin/ bu yin no/ /de dag khrag gi thigs pa 'di rab tu phyung bas ci zhig bya zhes smod par byed/ phyar ka gtong bar byed/ kha zer bar byed*

[187] Later on, when the matter is reported to the Buddha, he makes a rule saying that children below fifteen years of age should not be allowed to go forth.

This narrative presents the transformative potential of the physical demeanor of a monk. Why, one may ask, is such movements of the body, (Viśākhā's gentle steps", Aśvajit's "walking, gazing just ahead, gazing to his left and right" and so on), are admired? I argue that it is because the onlookers read these movements as an expression of an individual's inner qualities, fore-most of which are having self-awareness of own bodily movements and being able to see oneself through the gaze of others. The outer expressions of *vinaya* thus has an aesthetic and emotional appeal. On the other hand, the behavior of the novice causes much embarrassment to his father and receives censure from the public. What is remarkable about the Vinaya texts, as will be discussed soon, is that we see in them a conscious effort to illustrate the kind of monastic conduct that is either censured or praised by the onlookers. These texts also demonstrate how unfavorable remarks are integrated in the monastic training. The monastic training involves extensive listing of bodily gestures that is intended not merely to avoid such embarrassing occurrences, as in the above example of the novice monk, but to create individuals who are self-aware about their conduct. Thus, the purpose in including such stories is not merely to conform to the social expectations but also to illustrate the importance of norms of conduct in cultivating an embodied *vinaya*.

3.3. *vinaya* as a Way of Life: An Interpretive Framework

As a way of life, *vinaya* is not just concerned with a defined set of monastic rules and vows, but the whole conduct of an individual, including how one behaves both in the public and private places. In the words of the American sociologist Erving Goffman, we can refer to this as the "presentation of self in everyday life."[188] Goffman uses dramaturgical vocabulary and the

[188] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.*

metaphor of a theatrical performance to explain everyday social interactions. In a theatre, there is a "backstage", hidden from the public view, where actors prepare themselves for a particular play. What is presented to the public in the "frontstage" is a neat performance that is expected to be flawless.[189] In order to convince the audience, actors on a stage must forego their own personal dispositions and assume the persona of the roles they are performing. They must believe at least temporarily but persuasively that they are the individuals whose behavior and gestures they imitate. In our everyday life, too, according to Goffman, we behave differently in private and we perform a role conforming to the prior expectations of the individuals we interact with in order to accomplish our tasks at hand, and leave a favorable impression of us in their minds.[190]

We always want to make sure that we present ourselves in a way that is appropriate for the socially and culturally ascribed positions and roles we inhabit befitting the time and place we are in. We are taught to control our impulse and be mindful of our words, mannerisms, and bodily gestures in order to protect our individual reputation and the name of the family or institution to which we belong.

This should not lead to the skepticism that our every interaction is fake or that people do not genuinely mean the things that they do or say.[191] On the contrary, the interactions even those with predictable statements (e.g. "how are you" as a form of greeting) are scripted and agreed upon as standard norms of proper behavior in a society, in order to facilitate effective interpersonal interactions. This notion of propriety includes our dress code, manners of talking, body gestures

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[189] Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, 78: "The frontstage behavior language can be taken as the absence (and in some sense the opposite) of this. In general, then, backstage conduct is one which allows minor acts which might easily be taken as symbolic of intimacy and disrespect for others present and for the region, while front region conduct is one which disallows such potentially offensive behavior."

[190] Our public persona veils our private persona.

[191] Although there are instances of deception when people assume fake identities and actually say things they don't mean for personal gains. Such an interaction is also a performance.

and so on that are expected to be polite, respectful and conform to the norms of the society and culture where we grow up or live. Culturally scripted or not, routinized performance of certain etiquettes and gestures in a given situation trains our bodily habits in particular ways, so that those gestures become core parts of our habitus[192] and identity. Social etiquettes of proper behavior are often taught by elders and learned and performed through repeated process of imitation. The examples of Viśākhā and Aśvajit illustrate how a favorable presentation of the body (and self) is rewarded by forming new positive relationships, while the example of the young novice monk exemplifies the opposite. Based on these cases we can now identify and discuss in detail some general features of how embodied *vinaya* operates as a way of life.

First, *vinaya* involves the performance of "norms or manners of conduct" (*ācāra*), a term we have already come across several times in this and the previous chapter.[193] *Ācāra* refers to the vast stock of customs, rituals, and cultural practices in the South Asian region (and the term can be used broadly for any society and culture). The cases of Viśākhā's encounter with the brahmin matchmaker and Aśvajit's encounter with Śāriputra are good illustrations of *ācāra* within the South Asian cultural context. Viśākhā is described as skilled in the norms of conduct (*paṭu-pracāra*, here *pracāra* is synonymous with *ācāra*[194]), and Aśvajit is one who is able to attract or draw people near through his conduct (*ācāra*, expressed through his bodily comportment).

As a broad term for social norms and customs, *ācāra* encompasses a wide variety of cultural practices ranging from table-manners to religious rituals. Filial piety, etiquettes of

[192] I use habitus as defined by Pierre Bourdieu in the following manner: "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures . . . without in any way being the product of obedience to rules." Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.

[193] Where it was mentioned that one of difficulties of studying the Vinaya (here *vinaya* is also implied) is it involves "the norms of conduct in the world" (*lokācāra-pratisaṁyutta*).

[194] See Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 131, for *ācāra* and 657 for *pracāra*. See Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, 357, for a reference to *pracāra* in Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

interpersonal interactions, rites of passage and so on are important factors of *ācāra*. In fact, it has been rightly pointed out by contemporary scholars that, within the South Asian religious and cultural contexts, the performance of *ācāra* in everyday life is so ubiquitous that a sharp demarcation between the religious and secular is often not so easy to make.[195] While some *ācāra*s (how we eat, bathe, etc.) are common, there are other practices that can vary based on caste, region, profession, or social classes. Contemporary scholars have also noted to some extent the similarity between the *ācāra* in Brahmanical Dharmaśāśtra, and Buddhist Vinaya texts.[196]

My concern here is not to compare the *ācāra* in the Brahmanical and Buddhists traditions, nor am I interested here to establish the *ācāra*s as a legal category – although I recognize both these as worthy projects.[197] Instead, I am interested in the role *ācāra* plays in inter-personal interactions, and how we can explain its function in the formation of an (ethical) individual. The extensive narratives in the Vinaya texts, such as the ones I have cited above, give us a glimpse of the existing *ācāra* in the larger society where Buddhism grew. We also see in Vinaya narratives, as I will discuss further in this chapter *ācāra* is used as norms of conduct that are appropriate for Buddhist monastic training.[198]

A recurring phrase in the Vinaya texts describes the initial subject of education for a novice monk is the *āsamudācārikā-dharma* (translating tentatively here as "all factors of good

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[195] Davis, *The Spirit of Hindu Law*, 178: "Religious legal systems such as Hindu law remind us that legal, or at least law-like, processes and institutions function in even the most ordinary of human contexts, that law is not necessarily the sole province of the state, and that law enables human flourishing as much as it constrains human vice."

[196] Voyce, "The Vinaya and the Dharmaśāstra."

[197] Davis, *The Spirit of Hindu Law*, 158, suggests a study of Indian legal history should begin based on *ācāra*.

[198] While there is some overlap between the Brahmanic and Buddhist *ācāra*s, there are also important distinctions between them. I agree with many contemporary scholars of Vinaya texts, that there is a lot of room for comparison between Brahmanical Dharmaśāstra texts and Buddhist Vinaya texts. But I think we do not achieve much if our purpose is to conclude who borrowed from whom. It would be far more fruitful I think if we were to explore what the *ācāra*s are actually meant to do, for instance, in terms of creating ethical individuals or maintaining social order etc., in both within Brahmanic and Buddhist texts.

conduct")[199] also appearing as *samudācāra*.[200] Both these terms seem to be interchangeable in terms of referring to monastic conducts. Nevertheless, *āsamudācārikā-dharma* seems to be preferred in a ritualistic context and *samudācāra* seems to refer to conduct or activities more generally. Kalyāṇamitra in his commentary, the *Vinayavastuṭīk,* explains the compound *āsamudācārikā-dharma* as follows: *āsamudācārikā* to mean "all the ordinary activities (**vyavahārika karma*)" and *dharma* to mean the "rituals (*cho ga, vidhi*)."[201] In any case, both *samudācāra* and *āsamudācārikā-dharma* are used to refer to a wide variety of the *ācāra* that are not only necessary for the smooth functioning of the monastic institutions, they are also important for creating a recognizable monastic habitus. Lists of the *āsamudcārikā-dharma*s are scattered in canonical Vinaya texts. Post-canonical Vinaya texts including commentaries and manuals for training novices, which will be discussed more elaborately in the fifth chapter, systematize these in terms of the daily routine of a Buddhist monk. The role of *ācāra* for the training of novices will be discussed in the next two chapters as well. It will suffice here to mention that their pedagogical significance for the formation of an individual (monk's or nun's) *vinaya* cannot be overstated.

Second, *ācāra* is expressed through the performance of and is visible in the *īryapatha* (body movements or gestures) – a term also we had encountered briefly in the previous chapter in the context of the appropriate postures of giving and receiving instructions. *Īryapatha* refers to the

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[199] Negi, *Tibetan – Sanskrit Dictionary*., Vol. 1, 42. Here *kun tu spyad pa* as rendered *ācaret*, *samudācāret*, *āsamudācārikaḥ*, and *kun tu spyad pa'i chos* as *āsamudācārikān dharmān* based on Vinayavibhaṅga. Thus, *āsamudācārikaḥ* and *samudācāra* seem to be interchangeable, although I think there are subtle differences in their usages in some narrative contexts. One key difference I think is that sometimes *āsamudācārika-dharma* (I am using the compounded form for convenience) is used in a more ritualistic context, whereas *samudācāra* is used for conduct more generally.

[200] See, a long and very useful entry on *kun tu spyod pa* in Duff, *The Illuminator: Tibetan-English Encyclopedic Dictionary*.

[201] Kalyāṇamitra, *Vinayavastuṭīkā ('Dul ba gzhi rgya cher 'grel pa),* 'Dul ba (Vinaya), Derge. Tengyur. Vol. 156.273a: *kun tu spyad pa'i zhes bya ba ni kun du tha snyad bya ba'o // chos dag ces bya ba ni cho ga dag go /*. The Sanskrit term *vyavahārika-karma* is reconstructed for *tha snyad bya ba*.

movements and gestures of the body. Both the actions of Viśākhā and Aśvajit are described in terms of their body movements and how these movements are interpreted by their onlookers as a positive reflection of their inner qualities and values. The body movements of Viśākhā and Aśvajit have already certain positive meanings culturally ascribed to them as pleasant or favorable for an important relationship to move forward. However, as evident through Viśākhā's friends and the young novice monk, not everyone spontaneously starts behaving in that ideal manner, with an awareness of their social role and the public places they are in. Some level of cultivation and habituation of such awareness to regulate one's body are vital to make their "presentation of self" more pleasant to the onlookers.

Study of embodied *vinaya* as a way of life is invariably connected to a study of gestures. Critical study of embodiment and gestures has become a major focus of inquiry in the contemporary academic fields of phenomenology, sociology, ethnography, dance studies, and so on. There are some similarities in the way *ācāra* and *īryapatha* are presented within Buddhist monastic texts and how embodiment is discussed in these fields.

More specifically, the notion that certain skills and cultural knowledge are transmitted through the "techniques of the body" or "the art of using the human body"[202] as outlined by Marcel Mauss and further developed by Carrie Noland, is particularly relevant to the focus on bodily gestures (*īryapatha*) in the monastic training. Mauss defines "techniques of the body" as "the ways in which from society to society men know how to use their bodies."[203] Mauss draws a parallel between the techniques of using various instruments (e.g. think about bows and arrows for hunting) and the way humans learn to use their bodies and he further states,

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[202] Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," 74.

[203] Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," 70.

> The body is man's first and most natural instrument. Or more accurately, not to speak of instruments, man's first and most natural technical object, and at the same time technical means, is his body.[204]

Through a long and robust process of socialization, as children and as adults, humans learn to act using their bodies and gestures effectively to communicate and adapt in new circumstances. Mauss further states, "I call technique an action which is *effective* and *traditional* …There is no technique and no transmission in the absence of tradition."[205] What Mauss means by "effective and traditional," I think, is how certain "techniques of the body" (e.g. hunting skills, or dance moves) are known to be efficient within a particular culture and are preserved for successive generations.[206]

Carrie Noland advances the concepts of Marcel of Mauss in terms of the study of gestures and gestural routines. Noland defines "gestures" as "learned techniques of the body", "the means by which cultural conditioning is simultaneously embodied and put to the test."[207] She further explains,

> Culture is both embodied and challenged through corporeal performance, that is, through kinetic acts as they contingently reiterate learned behaviors. Gestures are a type of inscription, a parsing of the body into signifying or operational units; they can thereby be seen to reveal the submission of a shared human anatomy to a set of bodily practices specific to one culture. At the same time, gestures clearly belong to the domain of movement; they

[204] Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," 75.

[205] Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," 73.

[206] Mauss illustrates these further with the techniques of swimming and hunting.

[207] Noland, *Agency and Embodiment: Performing Gestures, Producing Culture*, 2. Noland, also states (16–17), "By 'gesture,' then, I mean something like 'technique of the body' in Mauss's sense of a way of sleeping, standing, running, dancing, or even grimacing that involves small or large muscle movements, consciously or unconsciously executed. Although too broad, perhaps, the term has the advantage of allowing us to name any use of the body that can become a source of kinesthetic feedback, and thus agency. My aim is to construct a theory of how a biologically and/or culturally informed use of the body affords a type of awareness that is 'agentic' in the sense that it plays a role in what a subject does and feels. Gestures, of course, interact with other information-gathering processes of the mind and body."

> provide kinesthetic sensations that remain in excess of what the gestures themselves might signify or accomplish within that culture.[208]

Reiterating learned behaviors, creating what Noland refers to as "gestural regime" or "gestural routine" helps to establish culture and cultural practice in the body. In the same way, although we do not have a Vinaya word exactly corresponding to culture, we can see in the case of Viśākhā and Aśvajit, that *ācāra* is learned and expressed through the *īryapatha*. The social process of transmission of the "techniques of the body" to children is not always an easy or smooth process. For example, a child learns to walk after many failures. These failures indicate body's initial reactions and reluctance to learning new "gestural routines" or "techniques of the body". Body's initial reluctance to acquire new techniques is referred to as "biological resistance" by Mauss and as "kinesthetic feedback" and "interoceptive or kinesthetic resistance" by Carrie Noland.[209] These failures make the body aware of the new techniques and the moment of learning can be traced to such instances of resistance.[210] The study of gestural routines that are integral to Buddhist monastic training will shed light to the meanings that certain bodily gestures are associated with.

Third, a person who embodies *vinaya* regulates their behavior with a greater degree of self-awareness. For Viśākhā, it means regulating her gestures being aware of herself as a woman who is in the care of her parents, moving around in public places. What is important in all of these is her awareness of what is to come and things that could happen, i.e. not merely the present but also awareness of the future. Such an awareness includes being mindful and discerning the dangers in certain types of self-expression and spaces, and regulating her behavior to avoid those pitfalls.

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[208] Noland, *Agency and Embodiment*.

[209] Noland, *Agency and Embodiment*.

[210] Here it is clear that a psychological process is interwoven with phenomenological experiences and bodily movements.

Similarly, Aśvajit also moves his body with great self-awareness. We will see later in this chapter that, an ideal Buddhist monk needs to be aware of his identity as being a disciple of the Buddha, his material dependence on others, and his caring responsibility to the fellow monks. The final goals of a young woman waiting to get married and Buddhist monks are different, but the fact still remains that awareness of the goal (material, marital, spiritual, organizational harmony etc.), and being determined to achieve it, is also crucial to self-discipline the behavior of a person. Additionally, modesty and shame are qualities as much commendable for monastics as they are for women. Without digressing too much, we can state safely here that the cultural expectations of how women and Buddhist monastics ought to behave with self-awareness in the public places are similar in many ways.

Fourth, *vinayasampanna* person's conduct is ideally imbued with an attitude of care for herself and the people she is living with. Viśākhā's care is demonstrated by her concern for her parents, as she does not want to be a burden to them, and for her friends as she serves food to them before eating herself. She also sees the religious and spiritual benefits of her actions as she thinks about acquiring merits (*puṇya*). For a monk or a nun, this care is directed to the fellow monastics and the reputation of the Buddha and Buddhist monasticism. Buddhist monastics are expected to be always aware of the dangers (*ādīnava*) of their actions including karmic and soteriological consequences, and in terms of damaging institutional reputation, especially when they are in the public places. In the monastic context, an attitude of care is evident within the vows and precepts as well. For instance, the precept pertaining to refraining from killing is not only a legal concern but also an expression of care. An attitude of care is expressed as *ādāra*, which can be translated as "care, regard, respect" and so on.[211]

[211] We will have an occasion to discuss the relationship between *ādāra* and *vinaya* further in the fifth chapter.

Fifth, the gestures and the discursive rationalization of a *vinayasampanna* person's conduct yields onlooker's positive response such as "that is excellent" or "that is beautiful" (*śobhanam etat* or *śobhanam gataṃ*). *Śobhanam* can be translated into English as "beautiful," "befitting," "appropriate," and so on. In Tibetan, it is translated as *legs so* (good, excellent, well done etc.) or *mdzes pa* (good, beautiful, attractive etc.). Its opposite, i.e., *aśobhanam* can be used to refer to anything that is disgusting or any behavior that is morally repulsive. One might react to something done or said by others saying *śobhanam* for aesthetic appeal, for instance when a person's clothing, a song, or a scenario is beautiful. One might also react to something as *śobhanam* because it is exactly the way it is meant to be done or said. In that sense, it would mean appropriate and befitting the particular context. Little children hopping on the street while walking might be endearing or *śobhanam* to watch, but that is not so for adults, hence *aśobhanam*. While Viśākhā's mannerisms wear considered as *śobhanam*, her friends jumping on the streets, removing their clothes in the public places, and eating before considering about others, are all examples of *aśobhanam*. *Śobhanam* is also used in the questions of moral ambivalence. For example, the very first disciplinary rule (*śikṣāpada*) was introduced after the monk Sudinna had sexual intercourse with his former wife, being induced and encouraged repeatedly by his mother who wanted an heir.[212] Considering the norms of marital life, filial piety, and duty to his parents, Sudinna did nothing wrong.[213] As far as the duty of a son towards his family is concerned, Sudinna's action is *śobhanam*. However, doing so as a monk who had taken the vow of celibacy was considered a major transgression. When he realized what he had done, Sudinna experienced a long period of remorse, and confessed his conduct to his fellow monks who reported the matter to the Buddha.

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[212] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol.ca, 22b.ff.

[213] In fact, according the Mūlasarvāstivāda version of this narrative, contrary to his mother's expectations, Sudinna's son also ended up becoming a monk and later an arahant.

The Buddha rebuked him severely and Sudinna admitted that his actions were detestable (*mi mdzes pa*[214]). Thus, the key concern for the monk's conduct is whether it is considered to be appropriate for monks within the norms of monastic life.

Sixth, the list of these interpretive terms would be incomplete without mentioning *saṃvara*, the observance of ethical restraint. While some amount of moral restraint (e.g. not killing, not stealing, etc.) is expected to be practiced by people of all walks of life, it is particularly critical for the dignity of a monk or nun. In the above example of Sudinna, we see that practice of celibacy is not restricted for lay people, but it is the central practice of monastic life. Sudinna needed to refrain from sexual activity to maintain his monastic *saṃvara*. In fact, the practice of *saṃvara* is so important that it has emerged as the umbrella term for the Buddhist monastic vows.[215]

Saṃvara is also used for impulse control. For instance, in situations where one is provoked to be angry, one maintains *saṃvara* to control oneself, and to not allow oneself to burst out in anger. The numerous training precepts (*śikṣāpada*) for Buddhist monks of various stages show the many ways *saṃvara* is to be practiced.

Here we must make a distinction between *vinaya*, *saṃvara*, and *śikṣāpada*. Vinaya is the broader term for disciplined or refined way of life. *Saṃvara* is the practice of restraint, which requires us to sharpen our faculty of awareness not to be agitated by or give in to sensory provocations. *Śikṣāpada* refers to the individual training rules or precepts to keep in mind, functioning as a mode of education in order to practice *saṃvara* and live a disciplined life. I think it is possible to follow a disciplined life, as we see that Viśākhā is referred to as *vinayasampanna*, without consciously knowing the *śikṣāpada*.

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[214] This term can be a translation of *aśobhanam* or *aprasāda*.

[215] In the Tibetan context, its translation *sdom* is used for the kind of vows one undertakes.

For the Buddhist monastic community, however, undertaking to observe *saṃvara* with the *śikṣāpadas* relevant to a monastic stage signifies a commitment to follow a particular lifestyle and practice that ought to be ideally aimed at achieving the spiritual and soteriological goals as espoused in Buddhism. In the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition, the Buddha did not introduce a *śikṣāpada* for twelve years since the beginning of his monastic community and until Sudinna's transgression, mentioned above.[216] In the absence of the *śikṣāpadas*, first monks already had moral restraints (*saṃvara*) and were following the ideal norms of conduct (*vinaya* as defined in terms of *samudācāra-naya*). *Śikṣāpadas* have a pedagogical purpose to train new monks in the service of cultivating *saṃvara* and *vinaya*.

In sum, while there are differences between the social role and the conduct of a woman and a Buddhist monastic, these general constituting features of a *vinayasampanna* person are applicable to both in different degrees. The meaning and application of *vinaya* is enhanced in the monastic context as a monk or nun additionally has strict vows – saliently the vow of celibacy – and other ritual obligations. Monastics are also expected to live a life of restraint as regards engaging in sensory pleasures. Whether in the monastic context or in the larger society, a *vinayasampanna* person is aware of the existing *ācāra* and is expected to behave according to these *ācāras*. A *vinayasampanna* person is also self-aware with regard to one's gestures in a way that has aesthetic appeal and receives favorable response from an onlooker. These are also the factors that are taught to an individual in the process of socialization and in the training of a monk.

[216] The Buddha taught a shorter form of the prātimokṣa mainly to control one's body, speech, and mind. *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol.ca:22a – 22b.: *bcom ldan 'das kyi nyan thos kyi dge 'dun lo bcu gnyis su skyon med cing chu bur med la / bcom ldan 'das kyis nyan thos rnams kyi so sor thar pa'i mdo gdon pa yang mdor bsdus te / sdig pa thams cad mi bya ste / /dge ba phun sum tshogs par bya / / rang gis sems ni yongs su gdul / / 'di ni sangs rgyas bstan pa yin / / lus kyi sdom pa legs pa ste / / ngag gi sdom pa'ang legs pa yin / / yid kyi sdom pa'ang legs pa ste / / thams cad du ni sdom pa legs / / kun du bsdams pa'i dge slong ni / / sdug bsngal kun las rab tu 'grol / / ngag rnams bsrung zhing yid kyis rab bsdams te / / lus kyi mi dge ba dag mi byed cing / / las lam gsum po 'di dag rab sbyangs nas / / drang srong gsungs pa'i lam ni thob par 'gyur / / zhes ston par gyur to /.*

What follows next is a discussion on the pedagogical value of the gestural routines which are meant for cultivating kinesthetic awareness in order to bring about a transformative affect in onlookers.

3.4. Gestural Routines, Kinesthetic Awareness, and Transformative Affect

The *Vinayavibhaṅga* describes the morning routine of a monk named Udāyin as part of his daily *samudācāra* in the following manner.

> Staying in the village or in the town, Udāyin always rose up early. He sprinkled water around the monastery, wiped carefully, applied cow-dung to smear [the floor], washed his hands and feet outside of the monastery, and brushed his teeth. Then, putting on the undergarments, taking the bowl and robe, he went to the village or the town for alms, without guarding his body (*lus ma bsrung*), without restraining his senses (*dbang po rnams ma bsdams*), and without establishing himself in mindfulness, (*dran pa ma nye bar ma bzhag pa*). Then he returned after collecting alms, had his meal, kept his bowl and robes back, washed his feet and entered the monastery, in order to practice contemplation (or meditation *nang du yang dag 'jog gi phyir*).[217]

The narrative further states that Udāyin was not able to engage in his contemplative practice. This failure was a result of not "guarding his body (*lus ma bsrung*), not controlling his senses (*dbang po rnams ma bsdams*), and not establishing himself in mindfulness, (*dran pa ma nye bar ma bzhag pa*)" while he was in the town for begging alms. His mind became restless with desires triggered by what he saw while begging alms and consequently his meditation was not very effective. It is noteworthy that Udāyin's *ācāra* during begging alms was in contrast to the *ācāra* of Aśvajit.

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[217] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. ca.: 201a-201b.: *tshe dang ldan pa 'char ka'i kun tu spyod pa ni grong ngam grong rdal gang na nye bar rten cing gnas pa der nang par sngar langs te / gtsug lag khang du chag chag 'debs par byed / legs par nyug par byed / ba lang gi lci ba sar pa'i byug pas skud par byed cing / de gtsug lag khang gi phyi rol du rkang pa gnyis bkrus nas lag pa gnyis bsnyal te so shing bor nas snga dro sham thabs bgos / lhung bzed dang chos gos thogs te grong ngam / grong rdal de nyid du lus ma bsrungs / dbang po rnams ma bsdams / dran pa nye bar ma bzhag par bsod snyoms la 'jug cing / de grong ngam / grong rdal der bsod snyoms brgyus nas zas kyi bya ba byas te / phyi ma'i zas kyi bsod snyoms las phyir log pas lhung bzed dang / chos gos mkhos su phab ste/ rkang pa gnyis bkrus nas nang du yang dag 'jog gi phyir gtsug lag khang du 'jug par byed do/ /gal te de'i sems 'dod pa la 'dod chags kyis kun nas dkris par gyur na / des rang gi yan lag gi rnam pa las su rung bar byas te / lag pa gnyis kyis bzung nas rtsol bar /.*

The deliberate steps required to guard the body movements, restraining the senses, and establishing in mindfulness – are what I refer to collectively as kinesthetic awareness. This awareness helps to regulate the movements of the body and senses with mindfulness. We see here a notable narrative moment – the actions of Udāyin before leaving for alms are mentioned one by one, implying that he was aware of what he was doing. The text does not mention in detail what he did and saw on the way to and from his begging alms – as an example of the absence of deliberate awareness during this time.

A monk in the narrative world of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya sustains typically by begging alms. This is not a moment outside of their monastic training or spiritual practice. On the contrary, as we saw in case of Aśvajit as well, it is a central part of a monk's daily routine. How one conducts oneself affects one's progress in the spiritual practice as well as generating pleasant reactions in the minds of onlookers. This is what I refer to as transformative affect. I use transformative affect to explain how the bodily comportment and demeanor of a person endowed with *vinaya* generate pleasant reactions in others, inspire them to change their own relationship to themselves, and lead them to form deep spiritual relationships with other. Aśvajit's self-awareness and well-regulated body movements brought about such a transformative affect in Śāriputra.

Guarding the body movements, restraining the senses, and establishing oneself in mindfulness are meant to happen as a practice of kinesthetic awareness while the physical act of begging alms happens simultaneously. A major focus of Buddhist monastic training is concerned with cultivating this habit of awareness of one's body movements as and when one is performing different tasks. The pedagogical methods of the Vinaya texts illustrated through the extensive narratives focus on naming the body movements and showing the dangers of not being aware of them. In this section, I explore how the need for awareness is integrated within the monastic

training of new monks in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. Based on some select scenes of instructions, I show how the pedagogy of "gestural routines" or "techniques of the body"[218] is enacted within the monastic and social settings of a Buddhist monk in order to cultivate kinesthetic awareness and facilitate transformative affect in others.

The career of a newly ordained Buddhist monk begins by imitating other monks and performing the expected norms of monastic conduct. However, sometimes it is hard to make a clear distinction between a "backstage" and a "frontstage" in Goffman's terms, for the performance of the role of a Buddhist monk. The extensive lists of the *samudācāras* or the *āsamaducārika dharma*s in the Vinaya texts consist of how a monk is supposed to behave in all kinds of situations, the most public of events to their own private individual residences. Even when one is not in the presence of a human onlooker, the role of a Buddhist monk is played on a larger stage including the cosmological and the natural worlds with invisible deities and animals as witness and co-performers. In an ideal situation, a Buddhist monk cannot be "out of character".[219]

To understand the pedagogical significance of how "techniques of body" are taught, we might find it helpful to consider the example of *l'onioi*[220] from the Maori culture, cited by both Mauss and Noland. Carrie Noland describes *l'onioi* as is "a sequence of movements that exaggerates the sway of the hips while walking." Noland further explains,

> The "*onioi*" is taught only to girls (Mauss does not indicate precisely when) through repeated drilling; girls who fail to practice this walk are verbally scolded for "not doing the *onioi*". Initiation rituals later provide further occasions for gender distinctions to be imposed through gestural routines inscribed on the bodies that perform them. However, this early interchange

[218] I use "gestural routines" and "techniques of the body" interchangeably for *īryapatha*.

[219] Later Vinaya commentaries and manuals of training novices, that we will discuss in chapter 5, state that a novice monk should consult their teachers on every matter except when one needs to go for such actions as defecating, urinating, brushing teeth. Daily routine of a novice monk is therefore expected to be intentional and regulated. Although it is needless to say, individual monks might and do fail to live up to their expected roles.

[220] Mauss himself writes the spelling as onioni while I think the proper spelling is l'onioi

> between mother and daughter establishes gender as something that is acquired on the level of movement.[221]

Onioi is an important marker of how a young girl eventually starts to walk and behave like an adult woman in the Maori culture. From this observation, let me highlight three points that are also relevant to how body techniques are taught to monastics. First, a gestural routine is imitated and has to be repeated many times before one is able to move around with confidence. Second, this particular form of walking is not biologically acquired but learnt and transmitted socially. Mauss even points out that there is hardly any technique that is biological (biologically we only have the raw material of the body). By repeating the "gestural routines" young girls will learn to move around as women with confidence. Gender is thus learned and performed through imitating others. Monkhood similarly is also performed on the level of movement. Third, failure to perform the *onioi* receives strong negative feedback, both social and biological. It is taught by mothers "scolding" their daughters and telling them to do it the right way. Rebuking for not being able to do a technique right is a universal method of teaching and exercising authority. Who has this authority in monastic training is important to consider.

Noland also points out that the exaggerated movements of the hips create painful sensations indicating body's resistance to the new technique. Becoming conscious of that resistance is an important moment of education. Often we also learn techniques and move our bodies without being fully aware of the movements. But the moment of resistance is biological feedback system making known something new is happening on the level of the body. When teaching new techniques or in our case correcting the behavior of an adult monk, as is the case in some narratives we will consider here, the resistance is also psychological reflecting one's reluctance to change.

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[221] Noland, *Agency and Embodiment*, 26.

With these observations, for the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the role various "techniques of the body" and "gestural routines" play in the shaping of a monk's persona and the pedagogical devices employed to teach these techniques. All of these are serving the broader concern of this chapter, i.e., how *vinaya* functions as a disciplined way of life. We can begin with a simple but broad question, how does one learn to become a Buddhist monk? We partly addressed this question in the previous chapter, when discussing the undertaking of *prātimokṣa* vows essential to becoming a member of the Buddhist monastic community. Even prior to taking vows, transformation starts with major changes on the body such as by shaving one's hair (mostly head hair although some traditions emphasize shaving eye brows.). Such changes on the physical level dramatize the shift from one kind of a lifestyle to a completely different one and inadvertently requires the monastic candidate to start paying attention to the disjuncture. Shaving head and the ritual acceptance of the vows help to ritually initiate the monastic training. Needless to say, the newly ordained monk continues to learn the role by regularly performing it afterwards. This requires him to imitate the "techniques of the body" by following other monks.

The process of training thus involves the daily performance of gestural routines in different situations while interacting with other people, fellow monastics, and the environment. As mentioned earlier, in the Vinaya texts, the initial subject of the education for a newly ordained monk is mentioned as the *āsamudācārika-dharma* or in shortened form *samudācāra*. Defining its Tibetan translation *kun tu spyod pa*, Tony Duff mentions that it does not refer to any conduct, but "it is a particular behavior that one has adopted for a specific purpose," and that it is often associated with a motivation (*kun slong*).[222] Various lists of the *āsamudācārika-dharma*s include all matters of proper conduct and manners of comportment appropriate for monks. In one such list

[222] Duff, *The Illuminator: Tibetan-English Encyclopedic Dictionary*. See, "*kun tu spyod pa".*

of *āsamudācārika-dharma*, the Buddha even states how a monk should prepare for a long journey, taking the essentials such as the robes, water filter, alms bowls, etc. and ensuring that one has a place to rest and restore one's energy from the fatigue of travelling on the road. This advice was given when a young monk accidently killed his old father, who was also a monk, while trying to carry him on the back and run in order to arrive at a monastery in time for meal.[223] One of the key concerns of the *āsamudācārika dharma* is to teach the practical skills that a life of a monk requires in the different circumstances wherein they find themselves. In the context of incidents like the one just mentioned, the Buddha includes additional stories detailing the need for being skillful when one is doing something to take care of others. For instance, the Buddha says in a past life story, the same son trying to drive away a fly that sat on his father's head, hit his father with a club that missed the fly but killed his father instead. Thus, we will be amiss if we read the *āsamudācārika dharma* only as a list of rules. Embedded within narratives, they are meant to teach why and how one needs to be skillful when interacting with others, ensuring that wrong movements of the body even when done out of care do not produce ill-fated results.

One of the most prominent classifications of "techniques of the body" is seen in the set of "training rules," known as the *sambahulā-śaikṣadharma* (henceforth *śaikṣadharma*).[224] The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavibhaṅga contains 116 *śaikṣadharma* rules. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* itself does not categorize them with titles, but for our convenience's sake we can list them in the following order.

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[223] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. ca.: 160a.

[224] For discussion on the training rules (*sekhiyadhamma* in Pali) based on Theravāda Vinaya texts, see Salgado, "Tradition, Power, and Community among Buddhist Nuns in Sri Lanka"; Samuels, *Attracting the Heart*; Dhirasekera, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*; and Holt, *Discipline*.

Śaikṣadharma in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavibhaṅga[225]

Rules on clothing (wearing under-garment, robe etc.)	1–10
Rules on body movements (going to people's houses)	11–29
Rules on proper behavior when sitting in people's houses	30–38
Rules on consumption (eating and drinking)	39–72
Rules on washing alms bowls	73–82
Rules on preaching the dharma	83–110
Rules on throwing/releasing body waste	111–114
Rules on climbing trees	115–116

The *Vinayavibhaṅga* presents these rules interwoven with narratives which generally have a fixed formula such as: a group of monks (mostly the group of six) does something that is disparaged by faithful onlookers; the onlookers suggest or remind that it is not a monk-like behavior; the matter is reported to the Buddha; and the Buddha introduces a new training rule. From a pedagogical perspective and in the context Buddhist monastic training, the formulaic narrative is as important as the rules. These narratives present a typical scene of a monk interacting with the world, presenting themselves in ways that can be either praised or disparaged by the onlookers. They show us many ways the actions of a monk can be regarded as problematic. Pedagogically, the new monks are therefore expected to be aware of their bodily gestures and manners of comportment in the public space, to imagine the reactions of faithful onlookers, and regulate their behavior accordingly. I do not suggest that every monk must memorize all of the hundred and sixteen training rules before they can move around, although memorization of these is not uncommon in monastic education. In addition to being taught by someone or reading from books, certain gestural routines can also be learned by imitating. We should not imagine therefore that monks move around with a book containing a list of these techniques to see what they got

[225] I am following the presentation of the *śaikṣadharmas* in the *Vinayavibhaṅga*. In the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, where the monastic rules are codified, there are 108 *śaikṣdharma* rules. It is not a result of excluding any rule from the *Vinayavibhaṅga,* but a result of combining some of similar *śaikṣadharma*s into one item.

right or wrong. The key point I emphasize here is the basic concern underlying these training: develop a habit of being attentive to bodily gestures (norms of monastic conduct at large) as it helps to cultivate kinesthetic awareness which can bring about transformative affect in others. Cultivating a habit of being attentive to the bodily gestures is also imbued with a sense of care.

It is not necessary to present here the entire list of the 116 *śaikṣadharma*. Our purpose here being to understand the significance of the *śaikṣadharma*, it will suffice to take a look at some of the narratives that problematize certain "techniques of the body" as not appropriate for monks. These narratives illustrate for us three key functions of the *śaikṣadharmas*: first, they aim to create a uniform monastic conduct where Buddha's disciples are expected to behave in a recognizable way. Second, the rejection of some techniques by faithful devotees, and introduction of a training rule with a new technique or gesture by the Buddha, are meant to facilitate devotional reaction and the possibility for transformative affect in the minds of the onlookers. Third, and this I think is the most important reason for including them as part of monastic *vinaya*, the techniques are meant to illustrate the importance cultivating a habit of kinesthetic awareness for own well-being and as an expression of care for others.

The following is the narrative context for the first *śaikṣadharma* training rule in the MSV *Vinayavibhaṅga*.

> The Blessed Buddha was staying at the Deer Park of Ṛṣivadana in Vārānasi. At that time, the Buddha established the monkhood (monasticism) itself by making the five (*lnga pa*, first five disciples) faultless. Then, continuing with [their] prior habits (*sngon goms pa'i sbyor ba*), they wore their undergarments just like a layman.
>
> The faithful (*dad pa can*, *śraddhāvan*) brahmins and householders saw them and said, "noble ones, you wear your under-robes just like the rich people, the business people, and captain or leader of merchants wear. The monks then reported this to the Blessed Buddha. Then as the Blessed Buddha contemplated, "what the householders said is true. How did the disciples of the past perfectly awakened Buddhas, wear the under-garments?", the

> gods/deities said to the Blessed Buddha, "Venerable, that is like the deities of the Pure Abode."
>
> The Blessed Buddha himself also had the knowledge and vision of how the deities of the Pure Abode were. Then the Blessed Buddha said to the monks, "that being the case, my disciples should recite this disciplinary rule (*bslab pa'i gzhi*, *śikṣāpada*, basis of training) in the Vinaya: "I train to wear the under-garment in round/circular manner (*zlum por*, *parimaṇḍala*ṃ)."" After the Blessed Buddha said to train wearing the undergarments in the circular shape, the five started wearing the undergarments in the circular shape.
>
> Similarly, the close five, the eminent fifty, the excellent group of sixty, and others who were ordained by those who were dispatched by the Blessed Buddha started wearing the under garments in a circular shape.[226]

Let me highlight three key points from this narrative. First, the first five disciples of the Buddha are stated to have been already "free from faults" meaning that they have made significant progress in the Buddhist spiritual path. Their progress is measured in terms of their ability to counter afflictive thoughts and emotions. Being free from faults also means that they will not deliberately do anything that is ethically wrong. The monks wearing undergarments like rich people is therefore not an ethical issue per se, not at least in the sense of major transgressions of a monk, but an issue having to do with the presentation of the monk's body in public places. According to the cultural ethos reflected in these narratives, development of ethical qualities as an monastic practice is not only a psychological transformation, it also requires some change in the presentation of one's body

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[226] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. nya. 240a-240b: *gang gi tshe bcom ldan 'das kyis lnga pa dag skyon med pa la 'jug pas dge slong nyid la bkod pa de'i tshe na de dag sngon goms pa'i sbyor bas sham thabs khyim pa bzhin du gyon par byed nas/ bram ze dang khyim bdag dad pa can dag gis mthong nas smras pa/ 'phags pa dag ji ltar khyed sham thabs gsol ba 'di ltar nor can dag dang tshong dpon dag dang / ded dpon dag 'tshal bar bgyid do zhes zer ba'i skabs de dge slong rnams kyis bcom ldan 'das la gsol pa dang / bcom ldan 'das kyis dgongs pa/8-1-240b khyim pa dag zer ba bden gyis ngas sngon gyi yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyi nyan thos dag sham thabs ji ltar gyon par gyur pa bsam mo snyam du dgongs pa dang / lha rnams kyis bcom ldan 'das la gsol pa/ btsun pa 'di lta ste/ gnas gtsang ma'i ris kyi lha rnams ji lta ba bzhin no/ /bcom ldan 'das nyid la yang 'di lta ste/ gnas gtsang ma'i ris kyi lha rnams lta bur mkhyen pa dang gzigs pa byung ngo / /de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge slong rnams la bka' stsal pa/ de lta bas na nga'i nyan thos rnams kyis 'dul ba la bslab pa'i gzhi 'di ltar gdon par bya ste/ sham thabs zlum por bgo bar bslab par bya'o/ /bcom ldan 'das kyis sham thabs zlum por bgo bar bslab par bya'o zhes bka' stsal nas/ dge slong lnga pa dag gis sham thabs zlum por bgo bar brtsams so/ /de bzhin du nye lnga dag dang mngon par mtho ba lnga bcu dang / bzang sde'i tshogs drug bcu dang / gzhan yang bcom ldan 'das kyis brgyud pas dge slong dag gis rab tu phyung ba gang dag yin pa de dag gis kyang sham thabs zlum por bgo bar brtsams so/*

in the public. In some ways, blunders of presentation in the public places can cause enormous embarrassment to the monks and the monastic institution, and may even lead to question their credibility.

Second, in the eyes of the onlookers there is a disconnect between the lifestyle of the monks and their style of wearing the under-robes. Why is the monks' manner of wearing under robe an issue for the onlookers? The remarks made by the "faithful" people pointing out the *aśobhanam*, indicate that there is a confusion between the roles, i.e. monks who are renunciants wearing robes in a way that reminds them of the wealthy aristocratic people. This suggests that these first monks were probably wearing under robes in the way they used to before becoming monks.[227] This is the negative social feedback for the performance not having their desired affect in the minds of the audience. For the onlookers, the monks need to look the part they are playing in order to reflect not only their inner ethical qualities, but also to distinguish from other people in the manners of clothing. The onlookers use visual experience in order to evoke devotion and undertake their own ethical practice. The robe here functions as visual aid, almost like a unwritten contract between the monks and the faithful devotees for devotional and affective, not to speak of the material, exchange to happen effectively. All of these is to say that the devotees have pointed out the need for a new technique of wearing the undergarment for Buddhist monks. The technique for monastic training is co-created through the feedbacks of the devotees. The members of the society are part of the

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[227] Remember that they are the first five disciples without any precedent as to proper monastic etiquettes. They probably followed existing ascetic (*śramaṇa*) styles of wearing robes, but it still reminds people of something else. Bhikkhu Anālayo makes a similar remark regarding the monastic dress of early Buddhist monks "the proper way of sewing up and dying robes appears to have been decided only at a later stage of development of the monastic order. In view of this, during the early historical stages of the monastic community its members were possibly not easily distinguishable by their outer appearance as Buddhist monks, as they may have just dressed in the way used in general among recluses and wanderers roaming the Ganges valley." See, Bhikkhu (2005, p. 134.) "The Seven Stages of Purification in Comparative Perspective", *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka*, Vol. 3.

larger "social infrastructure" in which the Buddhist monastic education takes place, and they play a very important role in the training of a Buddhist monk.

Third, the Buddha accepts the feedback from the devotees positively and immediately contemplates on the need to introduce a new technique or style for wearing the undergarments. To interpret Buddha's willing acceptance of these comments merely because of the material reliance of the monastic community on the lay people for alms etc. would be too simplistic.[228] Instead, it is a reflection of Buddha's own *vinaya* of humility that the feedbacks, even when they are negative, are taken positively to shape the monastic community. This is in contrast to a large number of narratives where monks are adamant and unwilling to change (as we will see is the case with the six monks) even when their faults are pointed out distinctly by others. The Buddha then models a new technique following the ways past Buddhas taught their disciples to wear their undergarments, which is also the way deities of Pure Abode (*Śuddhāvāsa*) wear. This does two things at once. First, it presents the new technique of wearing the undergarment in the circular shape as a legacy from the past buddhas, thus ascribing for lack of better term a theological framework to it. This also helps to establish the distinct monastic and institutional identity for the disciples of the Buddha. Second, by stating that this mode of wearing undergarments is a reflection of the deities in Pure Abode, there is an other-worldly ascription to the monk's body. Thus, Buddhist monastics are humans performing through their techniques of wearing robes a legacy from past buddhas and are expected to play deity-like role for inspiring their faithful devotees.

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[228] Handy, *Indian Buddhist Etiquette and the Emergence of Ascetic Civility*, 249. Here Handy states: "Whatever the religious goals of the early Buddhist institution may have been, we must never forget that material support of the monastery was a basic requirement for its continued success. The authors of Buddhist monastic law codes were clearly aware of this fact, and also that their religion was a new and possibly unwelcome addition to a majority culture of Vedic Brahmanism. By incorporating etiquette standards of that culture, Buddhists appear to have been consciously positioning themselves as a subculture equally as civilized (or even more civilized) than the status quo, and therefore worthy of material donations and new membership. "

Thus, it begins a gestural routine to be followed by subsequent monks. These remarks taken by the Buddha seriously establishes an effective tradition for the posterity. This does not just establish a gestural routine for wearing undergarments for the future monastics, but also shows that the feedbacks of lay people are integral part of the formation of monastic body. It also inspires self-reflection.

The fact that these techniques are to be used pedagogically is illustrated through the succeeding narrative involving the group of six monks who refuse to wear the robes as prescribed above, choosing instead to wear the robes high up, which reminded the onlookers of rogues and swindlers.[229] The group of six are a rebellious band of monks presented in the Vinaya texts almost as a synonym for miscreants, as they violate every expected norm of monastic conduct. They try to justify their resistance to following the norms by claiming to teach the onlookers a lesson. This of course does not go well with the onlookers. When the matter is reported to the Buddha, the Buddha introduces a new rule stating that monks should train to not wear the under-robes too high up. Each of the rules in this way show us a distinct technique of the body creating a gestural routine that monks need to perform and be aware of in the public places. All the rules are prefaced by the Buddha stating that the disciples are to be trained in these, thus implying their pedagogical significance. The ten rules for wearing inner robes (1-7) and the upper robe or the *cīvara* (8-10) indicate that monks need to be mindful of their monastic uniform. The undergarment (*nivāsanaṃ*)

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[229] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. nya. 241a.: Then when the group of six were ordained, they started wearing the robes raised up very high. The faithful brahmins and householders who saw them disparaged them saying, "noble ones, you should not wear the under garment so high up as it is not in accordance with the way/manner and only the children of rogues, gamblers, and frauds wear like this." They (the group of six) said, "wise men, we have a purpose [wearing it like this]." They asked, "what is the purpose/necessity?" "[so that] First, you yourselves would be removed from ignorance and trained." They (the householders) rebuked/disparaged them even more. Then the other monks reported this [matter/occurrence] to the Blessed Buddha. the Blessed Buddha contemplated what the householders said is true and said, "monks, that being the case, my disciples should recite this disciplinary/training rule (*śikṣāpada*, rule of training) in the Vinaya, "I shall train to not wear the robe very high up. "

is to be worn in a circular fashion, not dangling around, or raised too high up. It should not be worn in a way that makes the shapes of the trunk of an elephant, a palm leaf, a rice ball, or the hood of a serpent. Similarly, the outer robe (*cīvara*) also is to be put on in a circular fashion, not raised too high up or hanging down too low.

One of the key considerations in the beginning narrative, discussed above, is what the devotees are reminded of when they see the monks. This shows why a particular gesture is not *śobhanam* or appropriate for a monk. The twenty rules on the body movements on the way to people's houses are illustrative of the problems that certain gestures have because of what they remind to the faithful devotees and what the devotees consider as revealing about the monks themselves. For instance, when "the six monks walk spreading their arms and legs,"[230] the devotees remark, "noble ones, little children (*khye'u*), drunken people (*ra ro ba*), ghosts (*'byung po*), flesh-eaters (*piśāca*) who are conceited (*sha zas brlams pa dag*) go spreading arms and legs like, it is not in accordance with the way (*tshul dang mthun ma lags*) [of the monks] and do not walk like this."[231] This results in the Buddha introducing a training rule for the monks to be well covered and restraint (*susaṃvṛta*) in their body as they walk. When "the six monks were going to the people's house creating [loud] noise because of frivolous talk (*byung rgyal*, *pralāpa*)"[232] also the devotees are reminded of little children, ghosts, and flesh eating haughty piśācas, and the Buddha similarly makes a training rule for monks to not create loud noise when going to people's houses. Here are few more of the body gestures of the monks and the remarks of the devotees to show how the Vinaya texts teach monks the importance of being aware when walking to people's houses and

[230] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. nya. 243a: *rkang pa rkyong bar byed cing khyim gzhan du 'dong*

[231] ibid.

[232] ibid. *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. nya. 243b.

taking seats. These narrative contexts paraphrased here also illustrate the importance of generating the right impression in the mind of devotees.

> The six monks looking up while walking collide with animals (like elephants, horses) and fell in dirty pits. Devotees tell that the observers of stars and the blind walk looking up like that.[233]
>
> - The six monks walk looking too far and wide and take the wrong paths. Devotees remind that the observers of stars and the watchmen look far and wide like that.[234]
>
> - The six monks walk on their toes. Devotees remind that children playing with bamboos make their soles like that.[235]
>
> - The six monks shake their bodies while walking. Devotees remind that only prostitutes, elephants, and female sheep (*ba glang ma*?) do that.[236]

In all of these situations the monks are angered by the comments, which is an expression of their resistance to accept criticisms. While the monks feel humiliated, the Buddha accepts the remarks of the devotees as reasonable, saying *what they said is true*, and introduces a new training rule for monks. These remarks of the devotees illustrate how the disciples of the Buddha are expected to look different from other categories of people in the society. Contrary to common explanations of how Buddhist monks were trying to conform to the larger brahmanic culture, we see in such

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[233] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. nya. 243b.: *drug sde dag mig yengs shing khyim gzhan du 'gro ba na de dag glang po che 'khrul pa dang lhan cig 'dom pa dang / rta 'khrul pa dang / shing rta 'khrul pa dang / rkang tang 'khrul pa dang 'dom zhing de dag gis brngos shing phul ba na mi gtsang ba dang / rdzab kyi khung dang / phyag dar gyi khrod du sgyel nas/ bram ze dang / khyim bdag dad pa can dag smod par byed de/ 'phags pa dag skar ma la rtog pa dag dang / mig btsums pa dag bzhin ci'i phyir gzigs/ sa la gzigs na ci nongs/ 'di ni tshul dang mthun pa ma lags kyis/ 'di ltar yengs shing ma bzhud cig /*

[234] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. nya. 244a.: *drug sde dag mig rgyang ring por lta zhing khyim gzhan du 'dong ba na/ de dag spyod lam nyams shing lam shor ba la sogs par gyur nas/ bram ze dang / khyim bdag dad pa can dag smod par byed de/ 'phags pa dag skar ma la rtog pa dag dang / bya ra ba dag 'di ltar lta bar bgyid pas 'di ni tshul dang mthun pa ma lags kyis 'di ltar gzigs*

[235] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. nya. 246a.: *tsog pus khyim gzhan du 'dong nas/ bram ze dang khyim bdag dad pa can dag smod par byed de/ 'phags pa dag 'gros nyams pa dag dang / rkang bam can dag dang / byis pa khye'u dag 'di ltar bgyid pas 'di ni tshul dang mthun pa ma lags kyis 'di ltar ma mdzad cig /*

[236] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. nya. 246b.: *drug sde dag lus bsgyur zhing khyim gzhan du 'dong bar byed nas/ bram ze dang / khyim bdag dad pa can dag smod par byed de/ 'phags pa dag gzugs 'tshong ma dag dang / glang po che dag dang / bal glang mo dag 'di ltar mchi bas 'di ni tshul dang mthun pa ma lags kyis 'di ltar ma bzhud cig /*

remarks, a tendency to establish a distinct style of behavior for the Buddhist monks. What the devotees see in these gestures of the monks is an attitude of playfulness, sometimes even uncouth like rogues, and not at all the self-awareness required of a monk. Such behavior also does not bring about a transformative affect in the onlooker's minds.

The risk in such behavior, done out of playfulness or sheer carelessness, is evident when the monks collide with animals or falling into dirty pits. We do not read these narratives as actual records of historical evidences that there was actually a group of six monks who behaved in this manner, although the stark realism in them is undeniable (i.e. we cannot deny that people do behave this way). Instead, we see these narratives as pedagogical materials for monks to know what happens when one behaves in such manner – encountering mishaps like taking wrong paths or clashing with animals, and being humiliated by onlookers. The clashing with animals and falling into dirty pits can be read both as literally and metaphorically – read literally, monks not being careful of their body movements would actually face such mishaps; interpreting metaphorically, the pits and animals signify regress in the monastic training.

These examples illustrate that the *śaikṣa-dharma* rules are not meant merely to avoid social criticism from faithful devotees. Instead they are meant for being used to train newly ordained monks. By pointing out repeatedly that their specific gestures are not appropriate for the monks, i.e. "not in accordance with the way", these texts suggest, in Carrie Noland's terms, a process of "de-skilling" and "re-skilling"[237] of gestural routines is required in the monastic training. In other

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[237] Noland, *Agency and Embodiment: Performing Gestures, Producing Culture*, 175. Here Noland describes gestural routine and kinesthetic resistance further as follows: "I want to underline here is that gestural routines are particularly vulnerable to processes of de-skilling and re-skilling; these processes undermine the culturally regulated body discourse relation and produce intense kinesthetic and affective experiences of dissonance. To a surprising degree, an acquired action, an operating chain such as throwing a certain way, can be unlearned, and in certain cases resignified. In short, the moving, trained, and trainable body is always a potential source of resistance to the meanings it is required to bear. Gestural routines arguably provide a broader field of experience rich with possibilities for experimentation, refinement, and—in a cultural frame—subversion. Practices involving the limbs and head are clearly visible and,

words, monks behave in ways that they are accustomed to as lay people. They already know how to walk, eat, put on robes and so on. They just need to reo-orient their techniques of the body befitting their monastic identity and lifestyle. The process of training requires them to be more intentional in their gestures, regardless of how simple or insignificant they seem. They need to regulate their gestural routines with a greater degree of self-awareness as monks. Failure to do so does not warrant a legal punishment, but a social criticism from the faithful onlookers. Such failure reflects one's lack of awareness about own body movements, how one walks and where one looks at, that can trigger various emotions, like it happened to Udāyin.

3.5. Conclusions

In conclusion, this chapter illustrates the importance of gestural routines in monastic training. My discussion illustrates that monks' material dependence on the lay people for alms is not the only reason why the Buddha accepts the criticisms of the faithful devotees, and creates new rules introducing new "techniques of the body" for the monks. It is also not a mere exercise of authority and power. Instead, following Mauss' encouragement we can see how "the basic education in all these techniques consists of an adaptation of the body to their use."[238] Mauss reminds us how in Stoicism body is put to test in order to "teach composure, resistance, seriousness, presence of mind, dignity, etc."[239] In our case, I argue that the monastic norms of conduct (*ācāra*) and "techniques of the body" presented in the form of the *samudācāra*, *āsamudācārika-dharma*, and *śaikṣadharma* in the Vinaya texts, demonstrate the practical skills

because they involve several linked movements, can often be manipulated, remixed, thereby causing overt dissonance with respect to the gendered identities they are supposed to support."

[238] Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," 74.

[239] Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," 74.

necessary for the performance of monkhood and for making progress in the ethical self-formation. Foremost of these skills is the cultivation of kinesthetic awareness in order to facilitate transformative affect in the onlooker's minds.

Following Mauss, I further argue that, we should read the "techniques of the body" in *śaikṣadharmas* as a process of co-creation of a system of monastic training through monks' initial mistakes and active criticisms and feedbacks from faithful onlookers. All of these are done not merely to preserve or sustain an existing social order or conform to an existing brahmanic cultural ideology. Looking at the comportment of Viśākhā and Aśvajit, we see a recognition of how humans affect each other through bodily comportment. They illustrate how an awareness of bodily movements and gestures can be not only an act of self-care (such as preventing one from encountering mishaps), they can also lead to a greater understanding of oneself, and contribute to forming successful marital or spiritual alliances. A disciplined body seems to compromise certain freedom of movement (compare Viśākhā with her friends, and Aśvajit with the novice monks), yet it has its own agency to affect others aesthetically and ethically. It is in this sense that, I read the "techniques of the body" in monastic training as meant to cultivate kinesthetic awareness for transformative affect.

Chapter Four
Teachers, Friends, and Rivals:
Caring Relation and Ethical Frailty in Vinaya Narratives

Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya narratives include many stories highlighting the affective bonds monks share with their teachers and friends as well as the rivalry between monastic groups. In this chapter, by analyzing selected "scenes of instruction" as well as stories about conflict, I illustrate how the Vinaya envisions relationships of novice monks with their teachers, friends, and rivals to impact their monastic experience and ethical formation. I argue that according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, the ideal disciplinary education of newly ordained monks should be rooted in "caring relations," even though the relationships between individuals might also be defined by familial, legal, or ritual obligations.

I use the idea of "caring relations" as a conceptual tool for thinking about moral education and care ethics in a way similar to that defined by feminist philosopher and educator Nel Noddings. Noddings considers relations between individuals "as ontologically basic and the caring relation as ethically basic." She states that

> Taking relation as ontologically basic simply means that we recognize human encounter and affective response as a basic fact of human existence. As we examine what it means to care and to be cared for, we shall see that both parties contribute to the relation; my caring must be somehow completed in the other if the relation is to be described as caring.[240]

Thus, the very fact of being human means that we exist in relation to others (beginning with our parents), and we often define the formation or break-up of our relationships in terms of

[240] Noddings, *Caring: A Relational Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*, 4.

care. We typically stay close to those who exhibit care for us, and we distance ourselves from those who do not care for us or do sharply the opposite. Animals and other species are also not excluded from this fundamental need for care. However, even though care is basic in relationships, how different cultures and different individuals express and define care can vary. For instance, while it is customary to say "thank you" as an appreciation for an act of care in some cultures, in other cultures caring, acts are acknowledged not verbally (which would be seen as awkward), but rather with other reciprocal acts of care.

In this chapter, we will see how the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts demonstrate the importance of caring relations in monastic education by assigning specific titles and outlining expected duties and obligations in a way that is understood to be conducive for pedagogical use. We examine narratives that illustrate how the presence or absence of care affects the success or failure of education, thus problematizing the relationship dynamics where power and authority can be misused. Many unexpected events in everyday life challenge relationships within the monastic community and the narratives bring to the forefront important ethical issues resulting either from impulsive actions or from the lack of care. In this sense, we see it is not only the interactions between members within a particular relationship that are defined by care; the texts themselves also exist in a caring relation with their readers by outlining an ideal way of life while pointing out the inevitable frailties of being human. This latter function of the Vinaya texts—that of illustrating the ethical frailties inherent in the fact of being human—has a therapeutic function for its readers, especially the monastic recipients of the texts. Seeing that the characters in the Vinaya narratives also struggle with living up to higher ideals of monastic life can be a source of comfort for monastic readers as they recognize that their own failings are natural. Similarly, stories of monks having

major spiritual breakthroughs despite earlier limitations and failures can also provide inspiration to monastic readers while also signaling that all humans have the potential to transform ethically.

Closely analyzing "scenes of instruction" based on selected narratives, I make three key points to support my argument in this chapter. First, the relationships and affective bonds that new monks share with other monks are integral for their education (as discussed in 4.1 and 4.2). There is perhaps no novelty in asserting that an individual's relationships with the members in a community impact their formation of ethical and emotional character. Nevertheless, the ways in which the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya narratives characterize these primary relationships and the pedagogical visions they demonstrate deserve close attention for at least two reasons: (a) these narratives are reflective of practices that may have actually existed; and (b) the narratives set a precedent for the ideals, practices, and infrastructures of Buddhist monasticism that later Buddhist authors and scholars also aspired to achieve. Exploring the relationships of novice monks in particular is significant precisely because these relationships largely determine how a Buddhist monastic institution perpetuates and sustains itself responding to internal and external challenges.

Second, I argue that the Vinaya texts demonstrate a remarkable degree of awareness and sensitivity to the developmental phases and affective bonds of young children (as discussed in 4.2 and continued in 4.3). Vinaya narratives depict the unruliness of young monks as well as the creative methods teachers use to train them. The narratives are particularly true-to-life as regards the depiction of the practical challenges young monks may face. Often presented in a humorous manner, these narratives present the hardships of young monks in a remarkably realistic manner that monastic recipients can identify with. For Vinaya teachers, these narratives can potentially serve as aids to deal with troublesome monks, specially how to resolve monastic conflicts with care.

Third, I also argue that the narratives with flawed characters in the Vinaya texts serve an essential pedagogical purpose for monastic readers in that they illustrate that to live an ethical life is to come face to face with one's own ethical frailty (as discussed in 4.3 and 4.4). The narratives present scenes with events and characters that are relatable to monastic readers to illustrate the consequences of unreflective actions. As they portray problematic characters in Buddhist monasteries, they also lead us to contemplate on how we live our own life in the way we affect the people we live with.

4.1. Preceptors and Instructors

In any educational context, having a favorable relationship between teachers and students is definitely conducive for successful learning to happen. The significance of relationship between teachers and students is highlighted in a fascinating story in the *Pravrajyāvastu* ("Chapter on Going Forth"), the first chapter of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu*. At the end of a three months' rain's retreat (*varṣāvāsa*) in Rājagṛha, the Buddha decides to go for a tour in the southern mountains. He tells his attendant Ānanda to inform other members of the monastic community and to ask those who were interested in joining the Buddha to prepare for the journey. When asked if they would like to accompany the Buddha, some of the older monks decline, saying they are too old to go for a long journey, and some of the new monks decline, saying that they would rather stay with their preceptors (*mkhan po*, *upādhyāya*) and instructors (*slob dpon*, *ācārya*). On the day of the tour, the Buddha notices that the community escorting him is smaller than usual, and he asks Ānanda the reasons for it. The ensuing conversation illustrates an important aspect of the apprenticeship of new monks:

When the Blessed Buddha travels in places, it is natural for him to turn around on the left side, just like an elephant, to see those who are not trained very well, those who are not well composed, and those who are fallen into disarray when carrying the loads.
The Buddha asked, "Ānanda, the community of the Tathāgata looks small today. What is the reason for it? What is the cause?"

"Venerable One, I asked some of the elder monks and many of the new after the rain's retreat. The elder monks said, 'Venerable Ānanda, we are not able to go together with the Blessed Buddha because we have become old.' The new monks said, 'Venerable Ānanda, we cannot accompany the Blessed one. That is because we are new and our preceptors and instructors are not going. Since our preceptors and instructors are not going, we will need to return quickly in a rush. So, we have to look for a [new] reliance [or support] again and again.' Venerable One, that is the reason and that is the cause for the community of the Blessed Buddha being small."

"Ānanda, that being the case, I allow those who have passed five years [since ordination] and are endowed with five qualities to travel in the regions, not staying put in [one] place. The five qualities are (i) They know what is a downfall; (ii) they know what is not a downfall; (iii) they know the light or subtle offences; (iv) they know the weighty or serious offences; (v) they recite the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, read the supplements, and complete it."[241]

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[241] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 170b-1173b: *sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das ljongs rgyur gshegs pa rnams kyi chos nyid ni la las legs par ma sbyangs pa dang / legs par ma bgos pa dang / khur thogs pa'am/ gcig tu ma gyur tam snyam pas sku thams cad kyi g.yasde nas bcom ldan 'das kyis sku thams cad kyi g.yas nas glang po che'i lta stangs kyis rnam par gzigs so/ /bcom ldan 'das ljongs rgyur gshegs pas sku thams cad kyi g.yas nas glang po che'i lta stangs kyis rnam par gzigs na de bzhin gshegs pa'i 'khor nyung bar gzigs so/ /gzigs nas kyang sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni mkhyen bzhin du rmed par mdzad pa ste/ mkhyen bzhin du rmed pa/ mkhyen kyang mi rmed pa/ dus su rmed pa/ dus las yol bar mi rmed pa/ don dang ldan pa rmed pa/ don dang mi ldan pa mi rmed pas sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni don dang mi ldan pa rmed pa la chu lon gyis zlog par mdzad pa yin no/ /de la sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni don dang lan ldan pa rmed pa la dus mkhyen pa yin pas sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis tshe dang ldan pa kun dga' bo la rmas pa/ kun dga' bo da ltar de bzhin gshegs pa'i 'khor nyung bar gyur pa'i rgyu ni gang yin/ rkyen ni gang yin/ btsun pa rgyal po'i khab 'dir dge slong gnas brtan dag ni nyung / gsar bu dag ni mang du dbyar gnas par mchid kyis 'tshal cing / dge slong gnas brtan rnams ni 'di skad ces/ tshe dang ldan pa kun dga' bo bdag cag ni bcom ldan 'das dang thabs cig ljongs rgyur 'gro mi nus so/ /de ci'i phyir zhe na/ bdag cag rgas pa'i phyir ro/ /zhes mchi/ dge slong gsar bu rnams kyang 'di skad ces/ tshe dang ldan pa kun dga' bo bdag cag kyang bcom ldan 'das dang thabs cig ljongs rgyur 'gro mi nus so/ /de ci'i phyir zhe na/ bdag cag gsar bu yin la bdag cag gi mkhan po dang slob dpon mi 'dong bas bdag cag gi mkhan po dang slob dpon dag mi 'dong na myur du ldog pa dang / skyen par ldog dgos pa dang / 'di lta ste gnas btsal bas yang dang yang du btsal bar bya dgos pa'i phyir ro zhes mchi ste/ btsun pa da ltar de bzhin gshegs pa'i 'khor nyung bar gyur pa'i [1-1-71b]rgyu ni de lags/ rkyen ni de lags so/ /kun dga' bo de lta bas na lo lnga lon pa chos lnga dang ldan pas mi gnas par ljongs rgyur 'gro bar rjes su gnang ngo / /lnga gang zhe na/ ltung ba shes pa dang / ltung ba ma yin pa shes pa dang / yang ba shes pa dang / lci ba shes pa dang / so sor thar pa'i mdo gdon pa dang / rgyas pa bklags pa dang / thon pa ste/ lo lnga lon pa chos lnga po de dag dang ldan pas mi gnas par ljongs rgyur 'gro bar bya ste/ 'di la 'gyod par mi bya'o.* Here the term *thon pa* is a little ambiguous. I translate it as *completely* in connection to the *Prātimokṣasūtra*. See a translation of this in *"The Chapter on Going Forth"*: 1.572 where, however, *thon pa* is left untranslated.

The fact that the older monks were reluctant to go for a journey to the southern mountains due to their advanced age, even if it meant an opportunity to accompany the Buddha, is perhaps not surprising. It is striking, however, that even though the new monks had the chance to travel with and learn from the Buddha himself, they preferred to stay with their preceptors and instructors. The reason they give for declining the opportunity amounts in part to a logistical issue insofar as any separation from their preceptors and instructors would entail the need for them to find a new reliance. The term "support" (which could also mean refuge) here translates the Tibetan term *gnas*, a common Tibetan translation for a wide range of Sanskrit terms, including *sthāna*, *āśraya*, *niśraya*, *bhūmi*, *saṃvāsa*, and so on, most with the literal meaning of a basis or a place but also with the connotation of a residence or dwelling. The term *gnas* thus can possibly refer both to actual residential places, and metaphorically to the individual preceptors and instructors. In other words, the new monks have already been assigned residential places along with preceptors and instructors on whom they rely for their education. Going on tour with the Buddha would mean not only that the course of studying with their instructors would be disrupted temporarily, but also, they might have to find new residential places and new preceptors and instructors during the tour as well as when they returned. The response of the young monks reflects a valid concern for the disruption that the travel might cause in their relationshop with their current preceptors and instructors .

It is striking as well to notice that in the disinterest of the young monks to join the Buddha, they are neither overly excited nor do they see the Buddha as a celebrity figure, as he is so often presented in narratives, especially in our times. The pragmatic concern of the new monks here is illustrative of some of the core concerns of Buddhist monastic training. The new monks have rightly discerned that regardless of the greatness of the Buddha, they must stay close to their

preceptors and instructors. The magnificence of the Buddha's personality might serve as a source of devotional inspiration, but what matters for furthering their education without disruption is the time spent with their immediate preceptors and instructors. The refusal to join the Buddha also probably indicates that the students feel a certain level of comfort, accessibility, and affection with their current preceptors and instructors—sentiments that they do not feel when it comes to the Buddha. This Vinaya narrative seems to be conveying that the place of a novice monk is with his immediate preceptor and instructor, but it is also interesting that the monks themselves understand this. It is not something that they need to be told.

The Buddha's response to the concerns of the new monks implies the need to determine how long had passed since a monk was no longer considered a novice and thus could travel on their own. This led the Buddha to specify that new monks should remain in the close care of their preceptors and instructors for at least five years in order to gain a strong foundation in the matters of monastic discipline and precepts. At this point in the narrative, Venerable Upāli, the most prominent Vinayadhara, being an expert in the Vinaya who kept a record of all the rules with their accompanying narrative contexts, asks two clarifying questions. First he asks, "Is it alright for a monk who has passed six years, recites the *Prātimokṣasūtra*, reads the extensions or supplements, but has not completed it, to go on the tours in the regions without staying put in [one] place]?"[242] The Buddha replies in the negative and again emphasizes the five-year and five-qualities requirement. In other words, merely knowing about the transgressions and being able to recite and read the *Prātimokṣasūtra* are not sufficient. In addition, they must have passed five years learning what will or will not lead to their downfall from the monastic status and they must also know what

[242] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 171b.*: btsun pa dge slong lo drug lags la / des so sor thar pa'i mdo gdon pa dang / rgyas pa bklags pa dang / thon pa ma lags na / des kyang mi gnas par ljongs rgyur mchi bar bgyi'am / nye ba 'khor mi bya ste /.*

constitutes the weighty and subtle transgressions. Memorizing the *Prātimokṣasūtra* and the various lists of transgressions perhaps would not require five years. The Buddha's insistence suggests not only that the monks are expected to gain a thorough knowledge of the Vinaya texts and monastic transgressions within this period, but they are also expected to internalize and learn to live by the ethos of monastic life, before they can move around without the guidance of an instructor.

Upāli then seeks clarification by asking about a hypothetical situation in which the novice monks have made unusual progress very quickly: "If monks have the three knowledges (*gsum rig pa*, *trividyā*)[243] and abandon the three impurities (*dri ma gsum*, i.e. *rāga, dveṣa, moha*), can they go on tours in the regions without staying put in [one] place?"[244] To this question as well, the Buddha replies in the negative and again emphasizes that they must have passed five years, and have all of the five qualities. It is remarkable that the Buddha emphasizes even an extraordinary novice monk who has somehow managed to achieve the aspired goals of the Buddhist spiritual practice, must nevertheless make sure to have passed five years with his preceptors and instructors, not to mention be endowed with the five qualities, before travelling on his own without his preceptors and instructors. This is reminiscent of the metaphor of *vinaya* as the foundation of Buddhist teachings discussed in chapter two since substantial knowledge of the Vinaya as text and precepts (*śikṣāpada*) as well as embodying *vinaya* as a way of life are both consider to be essential for a new monk, regardless of their spiritual attainments.[245] Even those who have accomplished the three knowledges and abandoned the three afflictive emotions, thereby achieving the freedom

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[243] Attaining the three knowledges is a general marker of one's accomplishment in Buddhist spiritual practice. Traditionally they are: remembrance of former rebirths, the divine eye, extinction of all afflictive emotions. Achieving these also means that one has attained *nirvāṇa*.

[244] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 171b.: *btsun pa gsum rig pa/ dri ma gsum spangs la/ de lo lnga ma lags shing chos lnga dang mi ldan na des kyang mi gnas par ljongs rgyur mchi bar mi bgyi'am/ nye ba 'khor mi bya'o// /*

[245] It does not however mean that the new monks should not go on tours in the regions. It just means that they should not do so on their own, without being accompanied and guided by their instructors.

or liberation (*vimukti*) as defined on the Buddhist path, are not exempt from this need to deeply internalize and abide by the *vinaya*. To stress again, the monastic precepts and *vinaya* as a way of life both need to be learned. And this is best accomplished not by memorizing texts or meditating on an object in isolation, but rather by staying under the close supervision of and in intimate relation with one's preceptors and instructors. This kind of close apprenticeship is necessary because learning *vinaya* is a matter of becoming familiar with a new way of life, often requiring a radical reorientation of former habits, attitudes, and perceptions about and relationship with the world. Thus, the relationship with preceptors and instructors forms a crucial part of "the social infrastructure"[246] in which the education of the new monks takes place.[247]

Thus, while the education of the newly ordained monks does include formal instructions on Vinaya as text or precepts, as noted in the previous chapters, it also happens throughout the day. We have seen that the first things new monks are taught soon after ordination are the factors or norms of good conduct (*āsamudācārikā-dharma*s). The *Pravrajyāvastu* tells us that during the very early initial phase of the Buddhist monastic community, the newly ordained monks did not have preceptors and instructors. During this time while the self-disciplined monks behaved well and had no need for additional guidance, there were others who did not know or act according to the proper monastic norms (*ācāra*). The *Pravrajyāvastu* presents two kinds of situations that motivated the practice of formally assigning preceptors and instructors to guide newly ordained monks. The first situation pertains to the bodily comportment of monks in public places, especially when they are in the presence of householders. The situation is described in the following manner:

[246] Long, "Textual Interpretation as Collective Action," 192. Long uses "social infrastructure" to refer to the specific relationships within which acts of reading (education more generally) takes place. For example, if a child learns how to read from a primary care-giver, the relationship the child has with the caregiver shapes the child's attitude to learning, not only the content (e.g. alphabets) that is learned.

[247] For an insightful discussion on reorientation of bodily habits in everyday activities, see Peckhruhn, "*Meaning in Our Bodies*"; Bourdieu, "*Outline of a Theory of Practice*".

> In that way, those [monks] went forth and received full ordination with neither preceptors nor instructors. Therefore, they are not trained very well and they do not wear the robes very well. They go to the houses of brahmins and householders making clamorous and loud noise in a reckless manner. There they ask for food and make others ask for food. They ask for vegetables and soup[248] and make others ask for vegetables and soup. They do other such things that go against the ethos of the teachings.[249]
>
> Other ascetics (*tīrthikas*) and knowledgeable people censured, disparaged, and slandered the monks, saying "These monks of the sons of the Śākyan have no preceptors and no instructors. Therefore, they are not trained very well and they do not wear the robes very well. They go to the houses of brahmins and householders making clamorous and loud noise in a reckless manner. There they ask for food and make others ask for food. They ask for vegetables and soup and make others ask for vegetables and soup. Who would give alms to these shaven headed monks?[250]

This vignette indicates that at least some among the new monks did not observe basic norms of civility and had no self-control when they talked and moved around in the presence of others or went to people's houses. More importantly, they did not know how to take care of their own bodies. That is to say, in terms of the interpretive terms introduced in the previous chapter, the new monks did not conform to the monastic norms of conduct as their actions were inappropriate (*aśobhanam*) in the eyes of the onlookers. Their lack of appropriate compotment necessitated having preceptors and instructors who could train the new monks in the appropriate norms of conduct that conform

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[248] *sran tshod* short for either *sran ma* and *tshod ma* or *sran ma'i tshod ma* which could mean vegetable of a particular kind, soup made of a particular kind of vegetable such as bean, lentils etc. or soup in general. I translate it as vegetables and soup to allow for the wide possibilities of what the monks could ask for.

[249] I take *bstan pa* (*śāsana*) here not just to refer to what the Buddha taught but what they teachings are meant to represent and how the teachings are to be manifested in everyday interactions.

[250] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 48a-48b: */de ltar rab tu byung zhing bsnyen par rdzogs pa dag mkhan po med pa dang / slob dpon med pas legs par ma sbyangs pa dang / legs par ma bgos pa dang / sgra mthon po dang / sgra chen po dang / rgod bag gi spyod lam gyis bram ze dang khyim bdag gi khyim dag tu 'dong zhing de dag der zas slong bar byed/ zas slong du 'jug par byed/ sran tshod slong bar byed/ sran tshod slong du 'jug par byed cing bstan pa dang 'gal ba gzhan dag kyang byed nas / gzhan mu stegs can dag shes ldan dag shākya'i bu'i dge sbyong 'di dag ni mkhan po med pa dang / slob dpon med pas legs par ma sbyangs pa dang / legs par ma bgos pa dang / sgra mthon po dang / sgra chen po dang / rgod bag gi spyod lam gyis bram ze dang khyim bdag gi khyim dag tu 'dong zhing de dag der zas slong bar byed / zas slong du 'jug par bye d/ sran tshod slong bar byed / sran tshod slong du 'jug par byed de/ dge sbyong mgo reg 'di dag la su zhig bsod snyoms sbyin pa dang / bya bar sems zhes smod par byed / phyar ka gtong bar byed / kha zer bar byed do/*

to the monastic lifestyle, could aid the monks in their practice, and could make the monks behave in a manner that is agreeable to the laity who would then feel motivated to offer alms.

The second reason for assigning teachers and preceptors pertains to the care of sick monks. The *Pravrajyāvastu* tells us, "when a sick monk even died because of not having a nurse to take care of him, the monks reported this to the Buddha."[251] After these occurrences,

> [T]he Blessed Buddha contemplated, "I should assign preceptors and instructors so that my disciples would mutually draw each other near and take care of the sick ones." Contemplating like this, he said, "that being the case, I permit the preceptors and instructors to allow going forth and to give full ordination."[252]

The ninth century scholar Vinītadeva in his commentary to this text explains that the relationship between a monastic teacher and his student is comparable with the relationship between a father and son. It is through loving kindness (*byams pa, maitrī*), according to the commentary, that they come closer to each other.[253] This indicates that the ideal relationship of preceptors and instructors with their students is based on care. We see that the crucial responsibilities of the preceptors and instructors involve teaching the proper *ācāras* to the new monks and caring for them when they are sick. These passages also illustrate why new monks would be reluctant to go on a journey without their preceptors and instructors. We should remember that some of the novice monks might still be quite young.

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[251] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka 48b: *dge slong nad pa zhig kyang nad g.yog dang bral bas shi bar gyur pa'i skabs de bcom ldan 'das la dge slong rnams kyis gsol pa dang*.

[252] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka 48b: *bcom ldan 'das kyis dgongs pa / ngas nyan thos rnams gcig gis gcig bsdu ba'i phyir dang / nad pa rnams la rim gro bya ba'i phyir mkhan po dang slob dpon dag gnang bar bya'o snyam nas bka' stsal pa / de lta bas na mkhan po dang slob dpon dag gis rab tu dbyung bar bya ba dang / bsnyen par rdzogs par bya bar gnang ngo*. See a translation of this text in "*The Chapter on Going Forth"*: 1:377-378.

[253] Meaning that they will have the opportunity to assemble and gather together (*ngas nyan thos rnams gcig gis gcig bsdu ba'i phyir).* The commentary explains this phrase as follows: "The phrase "**so that they would mutually draw each other near"** means so that they would generate loving kindness (*byams pa*) toward each other in the manner (*tha snyad*, *vyavahāra*) of a father and son (*gcig gis gcig bsdu ba'i phyir zhes bya ba ni pha dang bu'i tha snyad kyis gcig gis gcig la byams pa bskyed pa'i phyir ro*)." See, *Kalyāṇamitra, Vinayavastuṭīkā , 'Dul ba*, Derge Vol. 156:237b. This important part of the passage is omitted in the 84000 translation. See "*The Chapter on Going Forth*": 1.377-378.

In the *Pravrajyāvastu*, the Buddha gives a list of five types of instructors and two types of preceptors:

> What are these five types of instructors? The instructor for novices, privy advisor, the ritual performer, the giver of reliance (*gnas*), and the instructor of recitation. The instructor for novices is the one who administers [the rituals for] going for refuge and the training precepts. The privy advisor is the one who reveals while keeping it a secret/private.[254] The ritual performer is the one who does the questioning [thrice] and [final] ritual action as the fourth.[255] The giver of support is the one near whom one stays even for a day. The instructor of recitation is the one who makes them recite a verse with four lines three times.[256] What are the two types of preceptors? They are the one who allows going forth and the one who grants full ordination.[257]

It is not easy to determine whether all the five types of instructors listed here existed in every monastery in ancient India. It is quite possible that this list indicates five roles of an instructor rather than indicating actual offices with these names. In other words, the same instructor may well have filled more than one role in places where it may not have been logistically possible to assign five instructors for newly ordained monks. Or it is possible that things looked quite different on

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[254] That is, the instructor helps the novice to reveal his fault in order to help him lift up from remorse in confidentiality. The instructor does not reveal it to others.

[255] This is a *vinaya* ritual where the ritual performer makes an announcement three times to see if any participant has an objection to a ritual procedure. If there is no objection then he makes final announcement that the consensus has been reached.

[256] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 67a: *slob dpon lnga gang zhe na/ dge tshul gyi slob dpon dang / gsang ste ston pa dang / las byed pa dang / gnas sbyin pa'i slob dpon dang / klog pa'i slob dpon no/ /dge tshul gyi slob dpon gang zhe na/ gang gis skyabs su 'gro ba dang / bslab pa'i gzhi dag byin pa yin no/ / gsang ste ston pa gang zhe na/ gang gis gsang ste bstan pa yin no/ /las byed pa gang zhe na/ gang gis gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis las byas pa yin no/ /gnas sbyin pa'i slob dpon gang zhe na/ gang gi drung du zhag gcig tsam yang gnas pas 'dug pa yin no/ / 1-1-49aklog pa'i slob dpon gang zhe na/ gang las tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa tsam yang lan gsum du bzlas te bzung ba yin no/ /*. See a translation of this passage at "*The Chapter on Going Forth"*: 1:379. I followed this translation for rendering *gsang ste ston* as "privy advisor". In this translation, the phrase *gnas sbyin pa'i slob dpon* is rendered as: giver of instruction with the explanation in footnote 117 that they take *gnas sbyin pa* as *gnas kyi slob dpon*. However, based on the explanation in the original text and the commentary here I think *gnas* is support in the sense of providing residence or shelter. It can be also translated as refuge in the sense of providing moral guidance. According to the commentary such reliance/refuge helps to increase the accumulation of virtues (*de la gnas pas dge ba'i tshogs 'phel ba'i phyir ro*). See, *Kalyāṇamitra, Vinayavastuṭīkā,* 'Dul ba, Derge. Tengyur. Vol.156: 238a.

[257] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 67a: *mkhan po gnyis gang zhe na/ rab tu 'byin par byed pa gang yin pa dang / bsnyen par rdzogs par byed pa gang yin pa'o/.* Acording to the commentary, if these responsibilities are performed by one individual monk then he is the preceptor (upādhyāya), if by two then both are preceptors. *Kalyāṇamitra, Vinayavastuṭīkā ,* 'Dul ba, Derge. Tengyur. Vol.156: 238a.

the ground. For our purposes, however, it is enough to notice that the passage makes an important distinction between the roles of the preceptors and the roles of the instructors. The difference is mostly a ritual one insofar as it is a preceptor who transmits the precepts and vows to the newly ordained monks, and it is the instructors who hold the key responsibility for the new monks' education and other activities related to monastic discipline.

The canonical Vinaya texts and the training manuals to be discussed in the next chapter devote a great deal of attention to the duties of monks and how new monks should organize their daily routine. Care is ingrained in these duties. The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya *Uttaragrantha* (henceforth the *Uttaragrantha*) in particular presents a more systematic outline of the responsibilities of monks holding different offices at the monastery. Here let us first survey the duties of preceptors and instructors, the key members in the monastic "social infrastructure" for the education of a new monk, as presented in the *Uttaragrantha*, and then we will explore in this and following sections "scenes of instructions" that illustrate aspects of the relationship between the instructors and new monks, and how *vinaya* is transmitted to new monks in formal and informal settings.

The relationship between the students with their instructors as presented in the *Uttaragrantha* is one of mutual service and care. A preceptor can also have in his care co-resident monks (*sārdhaṃvihāri*) as students and attendants. The typical role of an instructor (*ācārya*) is to teach various subjects relevant for the monastic education and particularly the *ācāra* – the etiquettes and norms of conduct. Although their roles are differentiated in terms of the ordination rituals (i.e., who actually administers the ordination procedures of a new monk), both the preceptor and the instructor are equally responsible for the education of new monks. The *Uttaragrantha* makes several lists of the duties of the preceptors, instructors, novices, attendants, co-resident

monks, and so on. The lists presented here can be regarded as the ideals that the preceptors and instructors are supposed to follow. In actual practice it may not be as easily accomplished, as we will see in some of the narratives we examine subsequently. The duties of the preceptor are presented in the *Uttaragrantha* as follows:

> A preceptor trains the co-resident monks; clarifies; instructs; admonishes; turns them back from the harmful actions (*pāpa*); introduces them to wholesome or skillful actions (*kuśala-karma*); curtails them from harmful friends; brings them to the company of virtuous friends; gives them alms bowls, robes, nets or filters, cups, waistbands, and recollection objects [for meditation]; asks questions repeatedly; gives instructions; makes them do the recitations; makes them do mental cultivation; lifts them up from wrong doing; nurses them if they are sick; establishes them in what is to be abandoned or makes them abandon the unwholesome factors; makes them rest their minds very well within; establishes them harmoniously to understand the qualities of the guru. A preceptor lifts the co-resident monk up from whatever discomfort or disease he is going through.[258]

From the above passage, we learn that the role of the ideal preceptor encompasses at least three main aspects: (i) providing the co-resident monks with material needs such as alms bowls, robes, water-filters etc.; (ii) taking care of their ethical and spiritual growth with the necessary instructions to avoid what is harmful, do what is good, provide objects for mental cultivation, and ensure that the co-resident monks do not associate with those who have ill motives; and (iii) nursing the co-resident monks in moments of sickness and uplifting them from mental disturbances. Since the duties of the instructors mostly overlap with these, they are not listed separately in the *Uttaragrantha*. It is mentioned that both the preceptor and the instructor must

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[258] *Vinaya Uttaragrantha,'Dul ba,* Derge. Vol. pa. 302b: *mkhan pos lhan cig spyod pa'i rnams bslab par bya / gsal bar bya / bsgo bar bya / rjes su bstan par bya / sdig pa las bzlog par bya / dge ba la gzud par bya / sdig pa'i grogs po las bskal bar bya / dge ba'i bshes gnyen la gzhar bar bya / lhung bzed kyis bsdu bar bya / chos gos dang / dra ba dang / phor bu dang / ska rags dang / rjes su dran pa dang / slar 'dri ba dang / lung bsgo ba dang / kha thon la gzhug pa dang / yid la byed pa la gzhug par bya / nyes pa las bslang ba dang / na na nad g.yog bya ba dang / spong ba la gzhug par bya ba dang / nang du yang dag 'jog la 'jug pa dang / bla ma'i khyad par chud par bya ba la mtshungs par spyod du gzhug par bya / lhan cig spyod pa phyogs gang na mi bde bar gnas pa de nas dbyung bar bya ba de ni mkhan po'i bya ba zhes bya'o //.*

fulfil their duties with enthusiasm and that the students must regard them as their “guide” (*ston pa, śāśtā*). The *Uttaragrantha* also mentions that if the preceptors and instructors see a person to be unfit for a monastic training, they are not obliged to accept that person as a student. Similarly, if a student does not make progress under an instructor, the student can seek a different instructor if that option is available.[259]

The Vinaya texts also make similar lists of duties and responsibilities of the students to their preceptors and instructors. In the next chapter, we will explore these in greater detail to better understand the ethical values and qualities taught and cultivated through them. In the remainder of this chapter, we take a look at some cases from the canonical Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts that illustrate some “scenes of instructions” of new monks. These cases will illuminate to some extent the intricacies of monastic training, as well as how formal and informal relationships with instructors, friends, and rivals impact one’s progress or regress and how *vinaya* is taught and learnt in many unexpected ways.

4.2. Child Monks and a Pedagogy of Care

In this section, I will discuss a case from the *Pravrajyāvastu* describing the ordination of two young boys, who are nephews of Ānanda. This case has pedagogical significance for two reasons in the context of our current discussion: first, it illustrates a recruitment and ordination process of young boys at the monastery, and second, it demonstrates the initial difficulties of getting the young novices to obey the instructors and do their studies. The case also presents fascinating details demonstrating how the two novices were disciplined not by formal instructions

[259] *Vinaya Uttaragrantha, ’Dul ba,* Derge. Vol. pa. p.305b.: *de ste mkhan po nyid rung ba ma yin la tshul dang mi ldan na ma zhus par song yang bla ste /* “Then if the preceptor himself is not suitable and is not endowed with the proper way (*tshul dang mi ldan*), it is alright for the co-resident monk to leave without informing him.”

on precepts or conduct, but by employing what educators and philosophers like Nel Noddings refer to as pedagogy of care.[260]

The story, summarized here, begins by stating that Virūḍhaka, the son of king Ajātaśatru, has destroyed the Śākyan clan of Kapilavastu in an unprovoked war. The two nephews of Ānanda survive the mass massacre in the city. A group of merchants finds them, recognizes who they are, and gives them a ride to the place where their uncle Ānanda was residing. Hearing about the annihilation of all the members of his family, Ānanda is overwhelmed with sadness and grief and considers keeping his nephews with him. But he is worried that the food acquired from begging alms in the city is too little to feed three individuals. Seeing his worry, other monks encourage him and tell him, "If these two boys offer the monks herbs, flowers, and fruits, the monks will give them the leftovers from their begging bowls in return."[261] Ānanda then agrees to allow his nephews to serve these other monks in exchange for their food. However, after a few days the young monks stop serving the older monks, and Ānanda has to resort to going for alms to share whatever he receives with his nephews. As a result of not having enough for himself to eat, Ānanda "became pallid, emaciated, feeble, withered, thin, and weak."[262] The steps Ānanda takes to care for his nephews have a toll on his body.

When the Buddha finds out what has happened, he asks Ānanda if he intends to let these boys go forth as monks, and Ānanda responds that he does. Then the Buddha makes a statement that those intending to go forth cannot only stay at the monastery; they must also be supported by the monks. In other words, accepting the young boys into the monastic community comes along

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[260] Noddings, *Caring: A Relational Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*, 70.

[261] "*The Chapter on Going Forth*," 4.6. The translation for this narrative in general is quite good. I only occasionally re-translate some sections when I feel that a little more literal rendering of some words might be more useful in light of the larger pedagogical concerns of my dissertation.

[262] "*The Chapter on Going Forth*," 4.7.

with the responsibility to make sure that they have all the requisites for their wellbeing. This formal acknowledgement by the Buddha legitimizes the young boys' stay with the monks, and the monks are also now obliged to share their food with them. However, after a few days the monks "began to complain,"[263] probably because they now no longer receive sufficient food for themselves.

The Buddha finds out that Ānanda has still not let them go forth and he enquires as to why. Ānanda replies "Venerable, the two of them are not yet fifteen," referring to an older rule that those seeking to go forth must be fifteen years old. The Buddha asks "Can the two boys scare crows away from the *saṅgha*'s sleeping quarters?"[264] Ānanda replies that they can indeed throw stones to scare crows. The Buddha makes the following rule saying, "In that case, Ānanda, I give my permission to allow freely the going forth of those as young as seven years old, provided they can scare away crows." Ānanda then allowed the two to go forth.

The story so far raises several practical issues that are of great significance for the recruitment and education of young boys in monastic institutions. First, orphan children who have nowhere to go often find a refuge in the Buddhist monastic community.[265] Having an uncle at the community makes it convenient, but we can imagine that there were many children and adults who would join the Buddhist community simply because there is no place to go. A revision of the older rule that limited the age of going forth to youths who were age fifteen or older (discussed in chapter 3) become a practical necessity to accommodate such orphaned children. In this way, the monastic institution itself as a whole becomes a place of refuge and care for the orphans. There are however numerous logistical challenges in caring for and accommodating new members in a monastery.

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[263] "*The Chapter on Going Forth*," (4.13).

[264] "*The Chapter on Going Forth*," ibid.

[265] See for instance the story (*Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba.* Derge, Vol. ca 513a-517a.) of monk Sirika's two nephews who came to stay with their maternal uncle after the death of both their parents who were hunters. Unlike Ānanda's nephews, these boys stayed as laypersons and did not go forth.

Second, although initially other monks willingly cared for the two boys, contrary to our expectation, some of the monks do not seem eager to welcome child monks. The fact that they cannot afford to feed two young orphans suggests that the monastery is not as affluent as we might imagine it to be or that the other monks are simply not sympathetic to these young boys (for whatever reasons).[266] Although the monks were initially enthusiastic in having these boys at the monastery and were willing to share food with them, they subsequently refuse to do so, illustrating either that food was scarce at the monastery or that caring for someone without formally defining a relationship with them is regarded as optional. Begging alms seems to be the only sustainable way to support the boys. It is then left to the boys' blood relatives to feed them until they themselves go forth as monks and can support themselves by begging alms. Affective bonds are thus crucial for their sustenance.

Third, the reasoning behind the Buddha's revision of the previous rule about not allowing boys below fifteen to go forth as monks is also significant because it is motivated by an intention to accommodate the boys within the monastic institution and find a way to support them. In the new rule, he says that they can be allowed to go forth if the boys are seven and can throw stones to scare away crows. What role does scaring crows play here? From a developmental point of view, it probably suggests that at the age of seven the boys are able to defend themselves from being attacked by crows that snatch away food and create various noises and annoyances at the monastic premises. Throwing stones to drive away crows also indicates the young boys' ability for self-understanding and bodily agency. They are mature enough to understand their bodily movements make change. While the older monks need someone to keep an eye on their robes and

[266] It is also not impossible that some monks might find it onerous, if not galling, to stay with royal children.

food to protect them from crows, young novices would probably find this to be an amusing job.[267] By scaring away disturbing crows, the boys can also participate in a relationship of care. Even as young as seven they are able to do things that benefit the other monks. As they participate in a relationship of care the exchange becomes mutual and the older monks probably feel no hesitation to offer them food. They problem at the beginning seems to be that the older monks refuse to give them food, when it feels like an endless charity. The two orphans then finally go forth, which means, just to remind ourselves, that they become novices.

In sum, the primary consideration of the Buddha in revising the former rule and creating a new rule in order to allow them to go forth is based on care. And, the service young boys are assigned to do is also defined in terms of a relationship of reciprocal care.

Then comes the question of their monastic training. Initially, it seems, they did their studies well, but after a few days, "they began to disobey (literally not listen to what they are told to do)."[268] Maudgalyāyana, who is a reputed as the best among the instructors for novice monks, asks Ānanda why he does not make them study. In response Ānanda says, "if they do not want to listen to me(*mi bya bar sems na*, literally give a thought to it), what can I do? But I should make them do their study."[269] Maudgalyāyana leaves it to Ānanda to try and train the two novices but Ānanda does not have much success. Despite his best efforts the two novices continue to disobey their uncle Ānanda. They are still not doing their studies. Maudgalyāyana comes back to ask what is going on and Ānanda expresses his frustration saying, "Venerable, why is it that I cannot make

[267] See, Langenberg, "Scarecrows, Upāsakas, Fetuses, and Other Child Monastics in Middle-Period Indian Buddhism." For a critical discussion of this article, see, Kieffer-Pülz, "Buddhist Children and Misunderstood Crows." Kieffer-Pülz establishes that crow-scaring is not a separate monastic status prior to becoming a novice. It is a job that novices of young age were asked to do.

[268] "The Chapter on Going Forth," 4.16, translates this as "They began to misbehave"

[269] ibid. See the Tibetan at *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 85b: *gnas brtan bdag la mnyan par mi bya bar sems na bdag gis ji ltar bya*

them listen to me?"[270] Maudgalyāyana too agrees that they do not listen to him either.[271] Then Ānanda says, "their mind must be shaken up with some force (*yid byung bar gyi shig*)."[272]

Noteworthy in these interactions is that the affective bond Ānanda shares with his nephews seems not to allow him to be a strict instructor. Since they are orphans already we can imagine why it might be hard for Ānanda to employ harsher modes of instruction despite the two novices being repeatedly neglectful of their studies. It is also remarkable to see Maudgalyāyana, who is known for his ability in training young novices, admit that they disregard his instructions also. Through these descriptions we see how the *Pravrajyāvastu* is remarkably realistic in the depiction of young children's behavior. The fact that the young novices are at a monastery with some of the most renowned Buddhist monks and even with the Buddha himself makes no difference at all to how they behave. When the instructors realize that their usual methods of instruction are not very effective to discipline the misbehaving novices, they contemplate other ways for training them, in order to "shake up their minds," so to speak. Maudgalyāyana takes up the responsibility to try out other skillful methods to train the novices. Since this is one of the rare scenes of instructions where we see instructors devising effective methods for training novices, it is relevant to reproduce it here in full.[273]

Maudgalyāyana tells the two novices to take their seats in order to do their daily practice. As he is leading them, Maudgalyāyana uses his psychic powers to create a manifestation of beings from hell realms. There the hell beings who are cut, sliced up, knocked down, ripped apart and so

[270] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 85b: *de gnyis kyis de la yang zhag nyung shas shig bklags nas de la yang mi nyan par brtsams pa dang*.

[271] ibid.

[272] Sanskrit equivalents of *yid 'byung ba* are *udvega*, *saṃvega*, *nirvedaḥ* etc. Negi, *Tibetan – Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. 13, 5804.

[273] "The Chapter on Going Forth," 4.18–4.31.

on cry out loudly.[274] The two novices ask, "Noble one, what is this?" Maudgalyāyana tells them to take a closer look. So they do and they see the following scene:

> Some were being sliced apart by saws, some were being ground in mills, and some were being melted down in boiling vats. When they saw two boiling iron vats standing there empty, they asked, "Gentlemen, will no one be put into these two?"
>
> "No," they replied. "For the two sons of noble Ānanda's sister have gone forth and yet lazily pass their time. When their time has come and they die, they will be reborn here, so these two vats have been reserved for them.[275]

Needless to say, the two novices witnessing the frightening sight of the hell and overhearing the conversation are terrified. They say to each other "If we're recognized, they'll put us in those vats this very day."[276] They quickly run back to Maudgalyāyana and report what they saw. Maudgalyāyana advises them to be diligent in their studies because pain and suffering like the beings in hell befall on those who spend their time being lazy.

> The two nephews began to apply themselves to their studies with diligence. If they thought of the beings in the hell realms in the morning, they would not even eat; if they thought of them in the afternoon, they would vomit up what they had eaten. Thus, it was that the two of them became pallid, emaciated, feeble, withered, thin, and weak.
>
> Maudgalyāyana said, "Ānanda, the two have become dispirited." [He replied,] "Elder, now they must be inspired.[277]

Realizing that the effect of the hell scene was too strong on the minds of the young novices, Maudgalyāyana decides to inspire them. He calls them for practice for the second time. This time on the way he creates a heaven realm where the gods or deities are playing different kinds of music

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[274] *Pravrajyāvastu, 'Dul ba*, Derge, Vol. ka. 86a: *de na tshe dang ldan pa maud gal gyi bu chen pos phyogs gcig tu sems can dmyal ba dag tu sprul te/ de na gcod pa dang / 'tsheg pa dang / rdung ba dang / 'dral ba la sogs pa'i sgra dag grag go/*

[275] "The Chapter on Going Forth," 4.19-4.20. This translation is quite good so I refrain from retranslating this section.

[276] "The Chapter on Going Forth," 4.19-4.20.

[277] "The Chapter on Going Forth," 4.27.

with "the sounds of the vīṇā, ektara, balari, mahāti, and the sughoṣaka."[278] In the scene, there are two palaces "strewn with beds and divans replete with goddesses." Seeing that two of these palaces had no occupants, some gods asked others who those palaces were for. Then others answered, "The two sons of noble Ānanda's sister have gone forth, and since they act and apply themselves diligently, when their time has come and they die, they will be reborn here."[279] The two novices seeing the scene of the heaven and hearing the conversation between the gods became filled with joy. They report what they have seen to Maudgalyāyana who advises them to keep studying hard with diligence in order to receive such benefits. As they study hard and practice diligently, they quickly become arhats. The senior monks in the community were surprised that young boys, with such a short span of training can become arhats, while they had been following the monastic rules and living as monks for years but had no such attainments.

The two scenes of instruction, one with images of hell beings and the other involving gods, are quite self-explanatory. But what is noteworthy is that disciplining of misbehaving novices does not take the form of instructing them on Vinaya rules or any kind of monastic etiquettes. While such education on the Vinaya is not irrelevant, and is in fact necessary, Maudgalyāyana as a skillful instructor has focused on what would be immediately transformative. The visions of hell beings in distress and doing disgusting things at once creates an emotion of fear and a shock (*saṃvega*).[280] The novices seeing the hell beings and hearing the conversations about them realize that neglecting their studies can have potentially terrible consequences. The hell beings speaking among

[278] "The Chapter on Going Forth," 4.27.

[279] "The Chapter on Going Forth," 4.27.

[280] Coomaraswamy, "Saṃvega, Aesthetic Shock."

themselves indirectly also speak to the novices who overhear them talking about the novices, rendering the lesson deeply personal. The skillful teaching methods of Maudgalyāyana strike exactly the right chords to motivate the novices to study seriously. At the same time, the two scenes of instruction also suggest that there needs to be a balance; while the hell beings create an extreme reaction of disgust and despair, so much so that the novices cannot even eat properly, the gods of heaven playing soothing music help to uplift their spirits. Their hard work pays off when they eventually become arhats by removing the mental afflictions.

In terms of monastic pedagogy, the significance of this Vinaya narrative is that an effective instructor must be able to generate a deep sense of urgency in the minds of their students. To balance out this sense of urgency, the good instructor must also know how to inspire their students. However, the same teaching may not work in the same way for every student. In this case, even though the novices were quite young, they were able to make a major breakthrough in their practice. Some of the elder monks who had been observing the disciplinary rules and precepts for years are perplexed that the two novices made such rapid progress in such a short time. The Buddha later explains that their attainments in this life were the maturation of their cumulative karma from previous lives.

In sum, the discussions between the two teachers reflect an effective pedagogy of care. As part of this pedagogy of care, teachers are not always gentle – at times, they employ strategies to shake up the minds of students by showing unplesant and fearful images, at other times, they also inspire the students by showing pleasant and delightful images. We also see in this narrative the transformative potential of individual monks however young they might be.

However, not every novice can make such rapid spiritual progress like the two nephews of Ānanda. There are many who go through more complicated challenges in adapting to the monastic lifestyle. Some of these will be discussed in the next section.

4.3. Institutional Rules and Tacit Principles of Friendship

While care is vital in forming meaningful and flourishing relationships within a monastic community, the training of a new monk also involves many challenges. Vinaya texts portray numerous cases of the different types of challenges that new monks face as they learn to follow the monastic lifestyle. In addition to dealing with adverse environmental conditions or dispraging comments from unsympathetic people in the society, monks also have to learn to deal with their own inevitable shortcomings of being human. Such shortcomings, that I refer to as ethical frailty, become apparent when they behave inappripriroately to each other and sometimes they even end up in conflicts. Such narratives have pedagogical significance for two reasons: first, they reveal the consequences of responding to monastic conflicts with or without attitudes of care, and second, they also demonstrate that despite ethical frailty individual monks can still work to transform themselves ethically and spiritually.

For the remainder of this chapter, I explore a set of narratives pertaining to a group of seventeen teenage monks in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* which, to remind us again, is well known for providing background contexts for monastic rules found in the *Prātimokṣasūtra*.[281] The narratives concerning the group of seventeen are particularly useful in illustrating how the narratives in *Vinayavibhaṅga* have greater pedagogical significance andthey are not just vehicles for the introduction of rules. Through the depiction of the experiences of this group of seventeen, who

[281] All the texts translated from the Tibetan translation of the Vinaya texts in this section are mine.

arte sometimes in conflicting relationship with the group of six, the *Vinayavibhaṅga* portrays the life and education of new teenage monks with a great degree of realism and humor, even if their historicity cannot be verified. We learn from these narratives that, similar to what we might find in any educational institution, one of the challenges of the new monks involves navigating their relationships with other monks. The narratives about the group of seventeen and their rivalry with the group of six sometimes present extreme examples of how things can become contentious between two groups. Neither group is presented as exemplifying behavior to be emulated by other monks; rather the narratives themselves serve to illustrate the tendencies of young monks who occasionally find themselves in trouble due to their adolescent proclivities or due to the bullying tendencies of other exploitative senior monks.

I will first look at the narratives that portray the experience of these monks and then I will discuss what lessons we can elicit from them about monks' relationship to rules and *vinaya* as a way of life. It is important to look at these cases in their fullness not only because of what they teach about monastic education, but also for their literary qualities. The skillful techniques of story-telling found in the narrative format makes the stories enjoyable to read as many of the narratives also portray several layers of the experiences of new monks. Reducing them into a single rule does not do justice to these experiences nor to the complexity of monastic life.

Let us begin with the ordination of the group of seventeen monks as described in the *Vinayavibhaṅga*.[282] When the Buddha was staying at Jeta's Grove, the pleasure park of Anāthapiṇḍada in Śrāvāsti, the Buddha's chief disciple Maudgalyāyana allowed a group of seventeen young boys "to go forth and gave them the full ordination (*rdzogs par bsnyen pa*,

[282] *Vinayavibhaṅga*, In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja 283b-287a

upasampadā).” After their ordination, by the end of the very first night “at dawn”[283] they were tormented by the loss of strength due to hunger. The Buddha heard them crying from a distance, calls his attendant Ānanda, and asked, “Ānanda, who are these many children crying loudly inside the pleasure park of Anāthapiṇdada?” Ānanda told the Buddha what happened and then the Buddha says the following.

> Ānanda, do monks give full ordination, the essence of monkhood to individuals younger than twenty? Ānanda, a person younger than twenty is of such a character that they are not able to endure all the things that may come their way, such as cold, heat, hunger, thirst, wind, sun, gadflies, mosquitos, contact with snakes and scorpions, bad words spoken by others, bad things coming their way, unbearable, rough, intense, unpleasant, and life-threatening, painful feelings of the body. They are also not able to endure and accept happily, that they have to disregard about the defilements.”[284]
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> Then the Blessed Buddha gathered the community of monks…[and] said to Maudgalyāyana, “Maudgalyāyana, is it true that you gave full ordination to those who are not twenty years old?”
>
> “Venerable One, yes!”
>
> The Blessed Buddha criticized him in many ways, saying it is a lack of diligence, it is unreasonable, and it is an unexamined act. Then the Blessed Buddha, after speaking in praise of diligence, reason, and examined action, said, “Monks, that being the case, after seeing ten benefits very clearly a disciplinary rule is to be made for the disciples, in the Vinaya.” …
>
> “My disciples should recite this disciplinary rule: From now onwards, if monks give full ordination into the monkhood to an individual who is not twenty years old, that is a downfall.”[285]

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[283] *tho rangs kyi dus*, last watch of the night. “*The Chapter on Going Forth*,” 2.21. translates it as “twilight”.

[284] *Vinayavibhaṅga*, In: *’Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka’ ’gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja 283b: *kun dga' bo dge slong dag gang zag lo nyi shu ma lon pa dge slong gi dngos por rdzogs par bsnyen par byed dam/ btsun pa bgyid do/ /kun dga' bo gang zag lo nyi shu ma lon pas ni grang ba dang / tsha ba dang / bkres pa dang / skom pa dang / rlung dang / nyi ma dang / sha sbrang dang / sbrang bu mchu rings dang / sdig sbrul dag gis reg pa dag dang / gzhan las tshig gi lam ngan pa smras pa dang / ngan pa 'ongs pa dag dang / lus kyi tshor ba sdug bsngal mi bzad pa/ rtsub pa/ tsha ba/ yid du mi 'ong ba srog 'phrog par byed pa byung ngo cog dag mi bzod cing / zag pa dag la ci mi snyam par bya ba yang mi bzod cing dang du len mi nus pa'i rang bzhin can yin no/ /gang zag lo nyi shu lon pas ni grang ba dang / tsha ba dang / bkres pa dang / skom pa dang / rlung dang / nyi ma dang / sha sbrang dang / sbrang bu mchu rings dang / sdig sbrul gyi reg pa dag dang / gzhan las tshig gi lam ngan pa smras pa dang / ngan pa 'ongs pa dag dang / lus kyi tshor ba sdug bsngal mi bzad pa dang / rtsub pa/ tsha ba/ yid du mi 'ong ba srog 'phrog par byed pa byung ngo cog bzod cing zag pa dag la ci mi snyam par bya ba yang bzod cing dang du len nus pa'i rang bzhin can yin no/*

[285] *Vinayavibhaṅga*, In: *’Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka’ ’gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja 283b-284a: *de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis byung ba 'di dang / gleng gzhi 'di dang / skabs 'di la dge slong gi dge 'dun bsdu ba mdzad do zhes bya ba la sogs pa snga ma*

Let me point out three key points in the ordination account of the "group of seventeen." First, they are introduced as a group, without identifying their names, mentioning their exact age, or telling us anything regarding the family background. This seems quite unusual considering how attentive the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts usually are in giving detailed background accounts of key figures. The fact that the group of seventeen, appearing in more than ten stories, is quite prominent in the Vinaya texts, makes us wonder why the narrators do not feel the need to tell us anything about their background. The emphasis seems to be that the Vinaya texts want us to see them as a group of teenagers with common behavior, not as separate individuals. This is an indication of their friendship sharing strong affective bonds and how they function as a unit, which has great significance in the monastic community. Parallel versions of this story are recorded in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Pravrajyāvastu* and the Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka as well. The *Pravrajyāvastu* version contains no significant difference.[286] According to the Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka,[287] this group was from affluent families and their parents decided to make them go forth in order to avoid hardships in the household life. The Pāli version contains a list of possible vocations for young men, worth noting.

> Now at that time in Rājagaha a group of seventeen boys were friends; of these the youth Upāli was the chief. Then it occurred to Upāli's parents: "By what means could Upāli, after our demise, live at ease and not be in want?" Then it occurred to Upāli's parents: "If Upāli should learn writing, so would Upāli,

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bzhin no/ /sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni mkhyen bzhin du rmed par mdzad pa ste zhes bya ba la sogs pa yang snga ma bzhin te/ sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis tshe dang ldan pa maud gal gyi bu chen po la rmas pa/ maud [7-1-284] bgal gyi bu khyod gang zag lo nyi shu ma lon pa dge slong gi dngos por rdzogs par bsnyen par byed pa bden nam/ btsun pa mad do/ /sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis mi brtson pa dang / mi sbyor ba dang / ma brtags par spyod pa rnam par smad pa mdzad do/ /de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis brtson pa dang / sbyor ba dang / brtags te spyod pa'i bsngags pa brjod nas dge slong rnams la bka' stsal pa/ dge slong dag de lta bas na phan yon bcu yang dag par gzigs pas 'dul ba la nyan thos rnams kyi bslab pa'i gzhi bca' bar bya ste zhes bya ba la sogs pa snga ma bzhin no/ /nga'i nyan thos rnams kyis 'dul ba la bslab pa'i gzhi 'di ltar gdon par bya ste/ yang dge slong gang zag lo nyi shu ma lon pa dge slong gi dngos por rdzogs par bsnyen par byed na ltung byed do/

[286] Except that the consequence of giving full ordination to a person without asking if they are twenty years age is mentioned as "being a great transgression" (*'gal tshabs chan du 'gyur*)

[287] *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. III., 10-14.

> after our demise, live at ease and not be in want." Then it occurred to Upāli's parents: "But if Upāli learns writing, his fingers will become painful. If Upāli should learn calculation, so would Upāli, after our demise, live at ease and not be in want." Then it occurred to Upāli's parents: "But if Upāli learns calculation, his breast will become painful. If Upāli should learn money-changing, so would Upāli, after our demise, live at ease and not be in want." Then it occurred to Upāli's parents: "But if Upāli learns money-changing, his eyes will become painful. Now there are these recluses, sons of the Sakyans, pleasant in habit, and pleasant in conduct, having eaten good meals they lie down on beds sheltered from the wind. Now if Upāli should go forth among the recluses, the sons of the Sakyans, so would Upāli, after our demise, live at ease and not be in want."[288]

The Pāli version further says that Upāli overheard these deliberations of his parents and is thrilled at the prospect of becoming a Buddhist monk himself. He quickly went to ask his friends if they would join him and they reply saying "If you, master, will go forth, we likewise will also go forth."[289] All of them then went back to ask permission from their parents who consented by saying "All of these boys desire the same, they are bent on what is good."[290] Then, just as in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* version, they all went forth and became fully ordained monks (the Pāli version does not mention Maudgalyāyana as their preceptor). After going forth, they became hungry, weak, and cried out saying "Give conjey, give rice, give solid food."[291]

The key point to note from the Pāli version is that, unlike the stories we have seen previously in which young boys become Buddhist monks because of poverty or being orphaned in a war, here we a see a group of young men whose parents were quite wealthy. It is also notable, that the parents' motivation to make their children Buddhist monks is not solely based on the consideration of the monastery being a place of comfort, but also because they perceive the monks

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[288] *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. III., 10.

[289] Ibid.

[290] *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. III, 11.

[291] Ibid.

as "pleasant in habit (*sukha-sīlā*) and pleasant in conduct (*sukha-samācārā*)."[292] In other words, in addition to the comforts of monastic life, it is the lived *vinaya* of monks, displayed in their bodily habits and manners, that motivate the parents to consider monkhood as a worthy vocation for their children. The monastic training, they would imagine, is one where such individuals with pleasantness of habit and conduct are created. But, what we see through the experience of these new monks is that the life of a monk is anything but comfortable. The young boys had overwhelming enthusiasm and a youthful adventurous zeal to become Buddhist monks but within the first night of their monastic life they meet their first challenge – dealing with hunger. This leads us to the next point I want to highlight.

The problem in the ordination of the group of seventeen, as pointed out by the Buddha, is not that they were allowed to go forth, but, that they were given full ordination (*bsnyen rdzogs, upasampadā*).[293] We have seen above that the Buddha already permitted the going forth of boys as young as seven years old – their status then would be that of a novice (*dge tshul, śrāmaṇera*). We can assume from this that those who receive the full ordination, are expected to be committed and matured in their decision to live a monastic life knowing full well what it entails. This involves their ability to withstand the hardships that will inevitably come their way. We have seen at least from the Pāli version of the story that the group of seventeen embarked into the life of a monk with great enthusiasm, but without a clear understanding of the physical challenges of living at a monastery. The Buddha's criticism of Maudgalyāyana in *Vinayavibhaṅga* version is focused on the need to be more vigilant in the recruitment process of new monks, to see how rational it is to give full ordination to a candidate considering their age and commitment, and to exercise proper

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[292] Ibid.

[293] In Tibetan the full form is also known as: *bsnyen par rdzogs pa*.

scrutiny before accepting them. While the Buddha criticizes Maudgalyāyana for giving full ordination to the group, he does not say that it is wrong to let them go forth. This probably suggests that the Buddha would not have objected if Maudgalyāyana had given them only novice ordination.

After this, the Buddha made a long list of what monks might have to endure. These can be categorized under the extremes of physical and emotional pain (e.g., hunger, the afflictive emotions, and so on), natural or seasonal obstacles (e.g., cold, heat, mosquitoes etc.), and social criticism (e.g., unsympathetic people saying harsh words). It does not mean that the monks are always subjected to these extremes, but rather that such criticisms inevitably do come on the way of monks, as seen within the narrative world of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts, perhaps more frequently than we would expect. Part of monastic training involves cultivating an ability to endure all manner of physical hardships, natural and seasonal challenges, and social criticisms. In the case of vulnerable teenagers like the group of seventeen, the elder monks have an additional responsibility to explain the norms of monastic life with care. The response of the elder monks in the Pāli version also shows consolation as a form of temporarily assuaging new monks. They say:

> Wait, your reverences, until it turns light. Should there be conjey, you shall drink it; should there be rice, you shall partake of it; should there be solid food, you shall eat it. But should there not be conjey or rice or solid food, having walked for alms, you shall eat.
>
> But those monks, being spoken to thus by the monks, cried out just the same: "Give conjey, give rice, give solid food," and they soiled the bedding and made it wet."[294]

Mere consolation thus is not very effective for calming the group of seventeen. The response of these elder monks did not clearly indicate that there was food in storage at the monastery.[295] Speaking in a tone of affection and care, the elder monks encouraged the new monks to wait until

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[294] Ibid.

[295] Even if there is – they are probably attentive to the practice of refraining from eating until daybreak.

it is time to break their nightlong fast and have their morning meal. But the new monks were insistent and their monastic career thus began with the realization of a reality that monastic life is not a place for physical comfort, they cannot get what they want even after crying for it, and that they need to eventually cultivate resilience in the face of these feelings. Here we see that the pedagogy of care is employed with an empathic recognition of the hunger of the seventeen, yet the ideals of monastic practice are also maintained as the elder monks asked them to wait until daybreak.

The ordination story is presented in such a way that even modern monks in relatively poor monasteries and in Buddhist cultures with strict rules about eating in the evening can identify with the experience of the group of seventeen. While the monastic rule that comes out from this story is about not giving full ordination to boys younger than twenty, the story itself expresses a deep sense of empathy with its monastic readers. The fact that the narratives know what their readers experience and are able to resonate with their readers make them perennially relevant. Thus, the Vinaya texts with such narratives itself exits in a relationship of care with its readers.

The stories of the group of seventeen are significant also for their realistic portrayal of teenage behavior, indicating the need for Vinaya educators to be attentive to the general inclinations of monks in this age group. Even after becoming monks with full ordination and living with the community in the same monastery as the Buddha, they behave just as any young teenage boys would do. The way they interact with each other and respond to external criticisms as a group – demonstrates that young monks have their own subgroups where members affect each other and do many things below the radar of institutional regulation. I discuss the relationship and adolescent proclivities displayed in these stories by highlighting three aspects: first, their youthful pride and emotional vulnerability, second, their friendship and playfulness, and third, their rivalry and

competition with the group of six. I will discuss the first two aspects in this section and the third one with more details in the following section (4.4). Instances where they demonstrate these aspects are opportunities for them to reflect on their own thoughts and conduct, and they also illustrate ethical issues in monastic life for their readers.

Their youthful pride is illustrated in a rather amusing story in *Vinayavibhaṅga*.[296] After their ordination, one day when they went out for begging alms, a group of women make the following remarks while beating their chests:

> [W]hoever gave birth to them, they are not able to feed[297] these [boys]. [They were allowed to go forth] as soon as they were born.[298] They cannot follow along after entering a well in the gap between or up to the thighs. [299] What can they possibly achieve?[300]

The young monks did not take long to realize the sarcasm in this statement. To be fair, it begins with a concern for their parents, who – these women assume – probably allowed these boys to become monks because they are unable to feed their children. I have noted above that the Mūlasarvāstivāda version of the story does not tell us the family background of these boys and if they actually are from poor families. But the parallel Pāli version does tell us that that is not the case. Although these women remark sarcastically that these boys are not full adults, they are right in assuming (which they do based on the monk's appearance) that these young monks do not have

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[296] *Vinayavibhaṅga*, In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja. 151a-152b.

[297] *kha lan tshwas 'gengs*, lit. fill the mouth with salt.

[298] *skyes ma thag gi*.

[299] This is an intelligent use of language. The imagery has two possible meanings one literal and the other implied. The literal meaning is that the young monks do not seem to be capable of drawing water from a well. The implied meaning is that they are not old enough to have a physical (sexual) relationship with a woman. I am grateful to my friend Sonam Sherpa for explaining the double meanings of this phrase.

[300] *Vinayavibhaṅga*, In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja. 151a: *bud med kyi yul ni sred pa spyad pa yin pas/ bud med kyis de dag mthong nas brang brdungs te smras pa/ 'di dag skyed pa gang dag gis 'di dag skyes ma thag gi kha lan tshwas 'gengs par ma nus pa dang / brla phrag tu khron pa bcug ste 'brangs par mi nus pa de dag gis ci thob/*

any spiritual accomplishment yet. In other words, looking at the outer appearance of these monks, the women become skeptical of their inner qualities. Their sarcastic remark is an example of the social criticism that the Buddha mentioned as an experience monks have to face.

The words of the onlookers hurt the young monks' egos badly. They believed and took these words personally despite the apparent insults, and they became determined to work hard to earn their respect. The teenage monks told each other, "It is better[301] if we abandon our meal. It is not acceptable to hear such nasty words."[302] Then they all went back to the monastery, and they "persevered with as much vitality as they had in their body for the wholesome factors. Then, when the vitality faded away they lay down and slept."[303] Later in the day, when they became hungry again and their determination was weakened, they saw a group of people picnicking near the monastic residence and they recited a verse of the Buddha aloud so that the picnickers could hear it.[304] Finally, they were invited to the picnic where they had a full meal. This matter was eventually reported to the Buddha who makes the rule that eating at improper times like this is prohibited.

In the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, this narrative appears as the background story for the rule that prohibits eating at improper times. But, reading the story closely we encounter several important issues, among which is how young monks are easily affected by criticisms of onlookers. Facing criticism and disparaging words are in fact two of the hardships that the Buddha had stated a monk

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[301] *bla'i,* more tolerable.

[302] *Vinayavibhaṅga*, In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja. 151a: *bdag cag gis zan bcad par gyur pa ni bla'i tshig ngan pa rnam pa 'di lta bu dag thos par gyur pa ni mi rung ngo…*

[303] Ibid. *ji srid du lus la mdangs yod pa de srid du dge ba'i phyogs la tron byas nas/ gang gi tshe lus la mdangs yal bar gyur pa de'i tshe na glos phab ste nyal ba*

[304] *Vinayavibhaṅga*, In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja. 151a: The verse they spoke is this: */mgon po khyod kyi legs gsungs mang po dag /rgyu dang mi rgyu'i 'jig rten 'di na spyod/ /bkres mnyam lus kyi tshor ba ma mchis pa/ /thub pa de ni khyod kyi legs gsungs mchog /*

Translation: "O protector excellent things told by you are many. "Those with wealth and without wealth, live in this world, without going through the bodily pain of the experience of hunger." Oh, sage, that excellent statement told by you is the supreme,"

encounters. One of the lessons on discipline here is learning not to be affected by such criticisms. Because the young monks were easily swayed by the remarks of random onlookers on the street, people saying mean words that are actually true, they missed their meal when it was the appropriate time. Later on, still without significant spiritual progress, tormented by hunger, they had to yield and ask for food from random strangers. An alternative and ideal reaction to the remarks of the female onlookers would have been to just listen to what they said, accept that yes, they had not made any significant spiritual progress yet, but would work on it, and continue begging alms. The amusing portrayal of youthful behavior makes this a fun story to be shared among monastic recipients. Thus, the story has a larger significance beyond being a mere background to the rule about not eating at improper times.

As friends, the group of seventeen always worked, studuied, and moved around together as they also cared for each other. One story describes the close-knit nature (and occasional slippage) in their friendship with remarkable details as follows.[305]

> …when a task was given to one from the group of seventeen, all of them joined together [to do that task]. And at one time, when someone happened to hear the dharma all night, all of them joined and worked hard together. Later in the day, when [the opportunity] to hear the dharma occurred in the communal bath house, there also all of them joined and worked hard together. Again, another day, when it was the duty for one of them to be the monitor, that day also, all of them were there decorating the monastery. Then, when the monitor was working hard, this thought occurred to one of them, "since I am feeling tired, perhaps I should sleep. Sixteen people are quite sufficient to do the work together!" In exactly the same way, this thought occurred to each of them, and one by one the sixteen of them went to sleep.
>
> The monitor alone did all the work for the entire night. When the night passed, in the morning he collected the butter lamp cups, opened the gate, sprinkled water around the monastery, swept the floor, and being aware of the time, arranged seats [in the dining hall], spread incense around the stupa, and standing above the monastery, he began to ring the bell [for breakfast].[306]

[305] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja. 253b-255b.

[306] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja. 253b: *de'i tshe na bcu bdun sde dag gal te cig la las su bsgo ba bab pa na yang de dag thams cad bsdongs te byed do/ /ci tsam dus gzhan zhig na gtsug lag khang der mtshan thog thag tu chos mnyan pa byung nas der de dag thams cad kyis bsdongs te tron byas so/ /phyi de nyin*

After hearing the bell, as the others were coming to the dining hall to have their meals, they saw that the monitor was frantically trying to finish his job. They all realized what happened – i.e. the monitor was left alone to do all the work while the sixteen of them went to sleep. Realizing also that a subtle principle of their friendship had been violated, as they had always helped each other out in the past but had abandoned him now, they decided to meet him after the meal to ask for forgiveness. After the meal, the older ones embraced him by the neck and the younger ones held his feet, asking him to forgive them. He remained silent without displaying any emotion but disappointment. Then one of them starts tickling him, an expression of their closeness as friends. Very soon the monitor bursts out laughing and "he even says I forgive you."[307] Seeing that he liked being tickled everyone started tickling him at once. He lost his breath, choked and died on the spot.[308]

When the other monks fond out that a member of the group of seventeen is dead, their responses created a commotion, some even yelling and shouting at each other saying such things as "monks with little to do, why do they tickle each other?" and so on.[309] The incident was eventually reported to the Buddha, and he introduced a training rule prohibiting monks from

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par dge 'dun gyi bsro gang du chos mnyan pa byung nas der yang de dag thams cad kyis bsdoms te tron byas so/ /de'i phyi de nyin par bcu bdun sde las gcig la dge skos bab nas de'i nyin mo yang thams cad [7-1-254a] kyis gtsug lag khang brgyan te 'khod do/ /de nas dge skos tron byed pa'i tshe bcu bdun sde las gcig la blo byung ba bdag ni chad kyis nyal lo/ /mi bcu drug gis ci'i phyir tron mi nus snyam mo/ /de de bzhin du re re la yang blo de lta bu byung nas gzhan bcu drug po thams cad so sor nyal du dong ngo / /dge skos de 'ba' zhig gcig pus mtshan thog thag las byas te mtshan mo nam nangs pa dang mar me'i kong bu dag bsdus/ sgo dag phye/ gtsug lag khang chag chag btab byug pa byas te dus shes par byas nas stan bshams shing mchod rten gyi 'khor sar bdug spos brims te gtsug lag khang gi steng du 'greng nas gaṇḍī brdung bar brtsams so/ /

[307] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja. 254a: *de dang ches bshes pa cig yod pa des ga ga tshil byas pa dang des dgod par brtsams te bzod do zhes kyang zer ro/*

[308] In spite of mentioning in this story that one member died, they are still referred to as the group of seventeen in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* . The death of the monitor is not recounted in any other story.

[309] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge. Vol. ja. 254a: *ge slong don nyung ngu dag ci'i phyir dge slong dag dge slong la sor mos ga ga tshil byed ces smod par byed/*

tickling each other because it could result in accidental deaths. This comedy of errors is presented in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* as the background for the rule prohibiting monks from tickling each other. However, on close reading, it is clear that the story is not really or only about tickling.

As we learn from the detailed descriptions in the story, there are subtle principles of friendship that are vital for the monks' relationship to each other. The friends do not constrain themselves strictly by the rules but help each other out by doing things together even when a task is assigned to only one individual. We also learn that while there surely is some structure in the education system and monastic routine, education nevertheless seems to happen somewhat organically and in all kinds of places including in the communal bath house. There too when a teaching is given to one of them, others join the teaching voluntarily. They also do not seem to have any problem staying up at night listening to a dharma talk. However, when one of the group members becomes a monitor (*dge skos*), we see a hierarchy being created. Whereas before they were all equal and doing things together, now one of them has an official tag and is probably regarded in a more important position than the others. As a result, their enthusiasm for group work slowly dissipates, and their need for sleep becomes more important.[310]

We also see in this story a universal teenage tendency to sneak out of work. This gives us a valuable insight into how the group dynamics of teenagers change when a hierarchy is introduced inside the team. The story also shows the ups and downs of friendship as the teenagers navigate how their egalitarian principles of friendship needs to co-exist with the necessary hierarchy of the monastic institution. And, when the young monks express their friendship physically by tickling each other, that can be over-done sometimes. The rule becomes a reminder for monks to maintain some restraint even when expressing friendship.

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[310] We see how individual monks are weighing their obligations to friends and bodily experience of sleepiness.

Further, this story is significant for providing us a description of the duty of a monitor and what a typical early morning routine looks like for a monk in training. These duties are by no means peripheral to their education or monastic practice, they are integral to it. As a way of life, discipline (or *vinaya*) for a new monk involves fulfilling such duties at the monasteries. The larger lessons of the story about the dynamics of friendship interspersed with performing everyday duties of a monk, can be easily missed if our focus is only on the rule about tickling.

These narratives of friendship are important to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences – some as part of the regular routine, and some as accidental occurences – that eventually shape the life and character of individual monks. The impact friends have in each other's ethical formation becomes more evident in the next set of stories that depict the group of seventeen in confrontational relationship with the group of six.

4.4. Monastic Rivals and the (Mis)use of Rules

The *Vinayavibhaṅga* contains at least six cases of direct confrontations between the group of seventeen and the group of six. As they illustrate with more surprising details the challenges and ethical frailty of monks in training, these narratives also clarify the importance of care in monastic relationships. Without care, the monastic rules can be easily misused and manipulated by those with devious motives. Vinaya scholars and teachers therefore need to be extra careful about learning the correct interpretations of rules with narrative details to avoid the possibility of the rules being misused.

In at least six of the stories about the group of seventeen, we see that a great challenge for the group is navigating their relationship with the group of six. Initially, our texts show that the

group of seventeen "served the group of six, associated closely with them, and revered them,"[311] indicating a relationship of admiration and respect. But the seventeen eventually found out that the group of six were quick to take advantage of their innocence and vulnerability. They contrived to get chores done by members of this new and younger group of monks. The two groups got into direct confrontations when Udāyin, a senior member of the group of six, asked the seventeen to do some chores for him. In one case, they refused what Udāyin asked them to do, retorting quite strongly, "are you our teacher or preceptor?"[312] A furious Udāyin replied, "you idiots (*glen pa*), what else are you doing now (i.e., you are not doing anything else)?" and then he punched one of them. Then all of them start crying as they fell on the ground saying, "he hit me, he hit me!"[313] The commotion created a crowd of curious monks flocking to know what happened. Some of them questioned Udāyin as to why he punched them and he replies that he had hit only one of them. When they asked the seventeen why all of them started crying they say "if we did not, he would have hit all of us."[314] Then some monks remarked, "monks with little to do, why do they punch each other?"[315] and the matter was reported to the Buddha. The Buddha then made a rule saying that monks should not hit each other. This shows even monastic institutions must be careful about the potential of older monks to act as bullies and to harass younger monks.

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[311] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge, Vol. ja. 182b: *de'i tshe na de dag drug sde dag la sten par byed/ snyen par byed/ bsnyen bkur byed do/*

[312] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge, Vol. ja. 182b: *de dag gis smras pa/ khyod kho bo cag gi slob dpon nam/ mkhan po yin nam ci/ mi byed do/*

[313] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge, Vol. ja. 183a: *des glen pa dag khyed gzhan ci zhig byed ces de 7-1-183a dag las gcig brdegs pa dang / de dag thams cad kyis bdag cag brdegs so/ /bdag cag brdegs so zhes phyis gan du 'gyel te ngu bar brtsams so/*

[314] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge, Vol. ja. 183a: *gal te ma ngus na thams cad rdeg par 'gyur ro/*

[315] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge, Vol. ja. 183a: *dge slong don nyung ngu dag ci'i phyir dge slong dag khros 'khrugs rngam par gyur te yi ma rangs nas dge slong la rdeg par byed ces smod par byed/ phyar ka gtong bar byed/ kha zer bar byed pa'i skabs de dge slong rnams kyis bcom ldan 'das la gsol to/*

However, even subsequent to the introduction of this new rule, Udāyin did not refrain from asking the seventeen to do chores and harassing them if they refused. In one instance, after the seventeen refused what Udāyin ask them to do, he held one of them by the neck and threw him at a distance. The narrative reporting what happened next is worth presenting here verbatim, for its portrayal of an act of disobedience culminating into active rivalry between monastic groups.

> They [the group of seventeen] said, "Venerable ones, we have been humiliated by the group of six even for whatever little things. Because of all that [humiliation] we have learned very little. Therefore, we want to increase our learning. So, from now onwards, it is not necessary to ask even a small question from the group of six."
>
> Having said this, they went to another monk and said "Venerable, please teach us." He said to them "Alright!" and then they started studying with him.
>
> [A few days later], Upananda [one of the group of six] said, "Venerable Udāyin, these days the group of seventeen do not serve us, they do not associate with us, and they do not revere us."
>
> Udāyin said, "After I threw them out, they started becoming learned."
>
> [Upananda said:] "Venerable Udāyin, we hit a sleeping snake with an iron. As long as these idiots are with little learning, so long will they serve us, associate with us, and revere us. Whenever they become learned, expert in Sūtra, expert in Vinaya, and expert in the matrix (i.e. Abhidharma), they will become malicious and unbeatable. At that time, they will want to dominate us."
>
> Udāyin said: "By whatever means, I will do such things that they will not become learned, they will completely relinquish possessing any learning." Then he went to them [the group of seventeen] and said, "Hey group of seventeen, have you not started striving really hard?"
>
> They said: "Yes, we have started!"
>
> "What is the point of such striving?"
>
> "[So that] we possess learning."
>
> "What is the point of possessing learning?"
>
> "We will become greatly learned."
>
> "What is the point of becoming greatly learned?"

"The sense faculties will mature completely."

"What is the point of completely maturing the senses?"

"We will gain stability and exhaust the toxic inflows (*āśravas*) that hold us back?"

"You can never gain freedom and exhaust the toxic inflows."

"Venerable Udāyin, have we committed the actions that have extreme consequences (*ānantariyā-karma*)? Or, is it that we have severed the roots of wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*)?"

"You have neither committed the actions that have extreme consequences, nor have you severed the roots of the wholesome factors. Even then, however, have you not heard that the Blessed Buddha said 'If any person who is a monk has received full ordination, the essence of monkhood, before reaching the age of twenty, that person is not [considered as] fully ordained. Those monks are reproached.' Since you received full ordination before reaching twenty, you can never gain stability and exhaust the toxic inflows."

After hearing that, they [the group of seventeen] sat there lost in thought and when their teacher came, he asked, "Why are you sitting here being lost in thought? Come and receive some teachings."

They said "Teacher, what is the point of receiving the teaching?"
[They repeat all of Udāyin's questions.]

Then the teacher said, "If you have heard that, have you not heard that the Blessed Buddha also said that it is not a downfall for the ones who do it first? Since you were the ones who did it first, receiving the full ordination before the age of twenty, now, come receive instructions. By the way, who made you remorseful [i.e. caused disturbance in the mind]?"

"Venerable, it was Udāyin."[316]

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[316] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge, Vol. ja.250a 250b: *btsun pa 'char ka bcu bdun sde dag de bar bdag cag la sten par mi byed/ snyen par mi byed/ bsnyen bkur mi byed do/ /'char kas smras pa/ kho bos de dag bskrad nas da ltar thos pa 'dzin par brtsams so/ / btsun pa 'char ka khyod kyis bdag cag gis sbrul nyal ba lcag gis gzhus so/ /ji srid du glen pa de dag thos pa nyung ba de srid du de dag bdag cag la sten par byed/ snyen par byed/ bsnyen bkur byed kyis/ gang gi tshe de dag thos pa mang por gyur cing mdo sde 'dzin pa 7-1-250b dang / 'dul ba 'dzin pa dang / ma mo 'dzin pa dang / gdug cing pha rol gnon par gyur pa de'i tshe na de dag bdag cag la gnod pa bya bar sems par 'gyur ro/ /'char kas smras pa/ kho bos de dag ci nas kyang thos pa 'dzin par mi 'gyur ba dang / thos pa bzung ba las kyang yongs su nyams par 'gyur ba de ltar bya'o zhes de dag gi gan du song ste 'di skad ces smras so/ /kye bcu bdun sde dag shin tu brtson 'grus brtsams sam/ de dag gis smras pa/ brtsams so/ /brtson 'grus kyis ci bya/ thos pa bzung ngo / /thos pa bzung bas cir 'gyur/ mang du thos par 'gyur ro/ /mang du thos pas cir 'gyur/ dbang po yongs su smin par 'gyur ro/ /dbang po yongs su smin pas cir 'gyur/ nges pa la 'jug pa dang / zag pa zad par 'gyur ro/ /khyed nges pa la 'jug pa dang / zag pa zad par 'gyur re skan/ btsun pa 'char ka kho bo cag mtshams med pa'i las dag byas pa'am/ dge ba'i rtsa ba chad pa yin nam ci/ khyed cag 'tshams med pa'i las dag byas pa yang ma yin/ dge ba'i rtsa ba chad pa yang ma yin mod kyi 'on kyang khyed kyis bcom ldan 'das kyis yang dge slong gang gang zag lo nyi shu ma lon pa dag dge slong gi dngos por rdzogs par bsnyen par byed na gang zag de yang rdzogs par bsnyen par mi 'gyur la/ dge slong de dag kyang smad par 'gyur ro/ /zhes gsungs pa ma thos sam/ khyed cag lo nyi shu ma lon par rdzogs*

After this lengthy exchange, the matter was subsequently reported to the Buddha. The Buddha then created a rule that monks should not knowingly make another monk remorseful. The rule here again addresses only the fact that Udāyin makes the seventeen remorseful. It does not address the sequence of events that preceded and because the occasion for the Buddha's creation of the rule. Any given monastic rule, as we have noted already, addresses only one issue; and any given Vinaya narrative is connected to one and only one rule. But the narrative highlights many more complicated issues than can be reduced to one rule. In the above case for example, there are four key moments that illustrate the relationship dynamics between these groups.

First, the younger monks speak out after realizing that they have been repeatedly exploited by an older monk who inappropriately asks them to do chores for him. This is taken as an important moment as they decide to stop following the group of six and to instead start to study hard with another teacher. In their resolve to become learned, we see how a negative action brings up positive results. If subservience to the monastic elders is considered a virtue, a praiseworthy etiquette of *vinaya*, then the reaction of the seventeen is perhaps not so exemplary. Conforming to cultural norms of the larger society, disobeying one's elders is generally considered an impolite behavior in the *vinaya* as well. However, the seventeen take this abusive situation as a wakeup call for them to relinquish their ties with the exploitative group of six and to find a teacher who would not harass

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par bsnyen pas khyed cag nges pa la 'jug pa dang / zag pa zad par 'gyur re skan/ de dag gis de thos nas sems khong du chud cing 'khod pa dang / de dag gi slob dpon 'ongs nas des smras pa/ gzhon nu dag ci'i phyir sems khong du chud cing 'khod/ tshur shog la thos pa zung shig /de dag gis smras pa/ slob dpon thos pa bzung bas cir 'gyur/ ….. khyed kyis de ni thos na bcom ldan 'das kyis las dang po pa la ltung ba med do zhes gsungs pa de ma thos sam/ khyed cag las dang po pa yin pas rdzogs par bsnyen par gyur gyis tshur sheg la lung nos shig /gzhan yang 'di ltar khyed sus 'gyod pa bskyed/ btsun pa 'char kas so/ /dge slong don nyung ngu dag ci'i phyir dge slong dag bsams bzhin du dge slong la 'gyod pa skyed par byed ces smod par byed/ phyar ka gtong bar byed/ kha zer bar byed pa'i skabs de dge slong rnams kyis bcom ldan 'das la gsol to/

them in the same way. In that sense, they are commendable in their determination to study hard and to recognize an abusive situation. We see here the younger group of monks have some agency to stand up to a bully and select teachers who are kind.

Second, the elder Udāyin does not seem to have any problem with these monks studying hard, but his friend Upananda sees the danger in allowing them to become learned. It is because of Upananda's instigation that Udāyin generates the malicious motive to dissuade the group of seventeen from studying. We have seen how friends can elevate each other to do good, but here friends also lead each other to do terrible things.

Third, this story also highlights the innocence of the seventeen in terms of how easily they can be swayed and disturbed. Even though they had been previously exploited by Udāyin, they nevertheless still easily trust his words and feel depressed when he chastises them. For a monastic educator, then, it becomes important to keep a check on such vulnerability of their students. The new teacher of the group of seventeen plays his role very well – by explaining to them the actual context of the rule by reminding them of its larger story (in which they themselves played a role!).[317] It is one of the duties of a teacher, Vinaya texts teach us, to lift up the spirits of their students in the moments of doubt and depression and to help them understand the larger context of their own disciplinary training.

Fourth, and this I think is the most important point, Udāyin uses an existing Vinaya rule to create remorse in the minds of the seventeen. His use of the rule, however, relies on only a partial interpretation that helps him to achieve his malicious objective. The fact that monastic rules and the words of the Buddha can be misused in this way is a very important lesson that can be drawn from this narrative because it encourages monks to inquire into the fuller account of the rule with

[317] This is discussed in 4.3 above.

its own narrative context. It also shows that rules can only accomplish so much in disciplining an individual because the rules themselves can be misused by persons with malevolent intent. From a pedagogical point of view, this story prompts monks to be alert to the uses and misuses of rules. The rules when implemented without an attitude of care becomes instruments for domination.

The dangers in the misuse of rules is illustrated in another story,[318] showing the confrontations between these two groups, but the roles are reversed. In this story, Udāyin is said to have become arhat[319] already and the group of seventeen are no more the gullible teens. They became learned as they had aspired. Then one day they told each other:

> It has been a long time since we were harassed by the group of six. Others did not harass us as much as Nanda and Upananda did, Nanda did not harass us as much as Upananda did, so come, let us do the act of expulsion[320] from the place for him [i.e. let's kick him out!]."
>
> Then one of them said "Elder brothers, we will not be able to do the act of expulsion from the place for Upananda because their elder brother Nanda is skilled in debate. There should be a distraction created for him." Saying this, they went near Nanda and said "Elder, respect to you!" [He said] "Venerable ones, be at ease!"[321] [They said], "The robes of the Elder stink badly!"
>
> "Boys, since I have grown old, the co-resident and the attendant monks have also grown up and they ignore me. So, from now onwards I will not be able to take care of the robes."[322]
>
> "Give us the robes so that we can wash them!" Nanda gave the robes to the group of seventeen. They said "Elder, we will wash all the robes at once, so give us all the robes." Nanda put on the old ragged ones, and gave all the robes to the group of seventeen.
>
> The group of seventeen changed the robes[323] made them into bed sheets. Then they rang the bell, went to Nanda and said "Elder, there is a small communal act (*saṅgha-karma*). Please come as we ring the bell."

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[318] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge, Vol. ja: 201a-203b.

[319] That is he attained the highest attainments in Buddhist spiritual practice.

[320] *dbyung ba'i las*, *utkeṣepanīya-karma*. One of the five legal actions to be taken against a wrong doer.

[321] *ārogya*- this exact word is used in the Tibetan.

[322] *chos gos kyi las, cīvarakarma* can mean anything from putting on the robes to washing, sewing them etc.

[323] It is not fully clear what is meant by *'gyur byed kyis btshal nas*…

Nanda said "Boys, how would I go into the midst of the community of monks being in this state?"

The communal act offers [an opportunity for] a vote[324] to those monks, who possess the dharma.[325] Then when the entire community of monks is in agreement[326] the oldest plaintiff (*codaka*) said to Upananda at one side, "Venerable, do you remember saying to the group of seventeen such things as "I will tear your bellies apart and encircle the Jeta's grove with the intestines?"

"Venerable ones, what is the point of opening wounds that have healed naturally? That indeed is a past event."

They said "In the Vinaya, the Blessed Buddha already made a disciplinary rule (*śikṣāpada*) for the disciples concerning acts of specifically the past time." Having said that, they swiftly and urgently did the act of expulsion from the place for Upananda.

Upananda after being given the act of expulsion from the place came to elder brother Nanda and started crying. Nanda said "Upananda, why are you crying?" Upananda said "I have been given the act of expulsion by those with black bowls."[327] Nanda said "whoever gave the act of expulsion from the place to my brother may they be thrown away from the village, the city, the valley, and the three realms. However, those who have been given the act of expulsion from the place, have no village, no city, where would they live?[328] They should ask for forgiveness."

In this way, they did the act of exclusive disagreement, "Whoever did not assemble there? I.[329] The teacher (*ācārya*) gave vote there. Did I know that it was for giving the act of expulsion to my younger brother? Since we do not give our vote to this kind of actions of the community,[330] I deny my vote. I gave the vote faultily."[331]

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[324] *'dun pa, chanda* probably vote.

[325] *chos dang ldan pa*, *dhārmika*, righteous persons.

[326] *mthun par gyur pa*, *anukūla*

[327] *lhung bzed nag po can, kālapātradhārī* is probably a nickname.

[328] *ci sdod cig* – this grammatically little absurd because of an imperative particle.

[329] Nanda is regretting not being physically present in the communal act – *saṅghakarma*

[330] communal ritual actions – *dge 'dun gyi bya ba*, *saṅghakarma*.

[331] *Vinayavibhaṅga,* In: *'Dul ba* (*Vinaya*). *Bka' 'gyur*. Derge, Vol. ja.201a-202a: *tshe dang ldan pa dag bdag cag yun ring po nas drug sde dag gis tho btsams te/ ji ltar dga' bo dang nye dga' gnyis kyis tho btsams pa ltar yang gzhan dag gis tho ma btsams la/ ji ltar nye dga'as tho btsams pa ltar yang dga' bos tho [7-1-201b]ma btsams kyis tshur shog /de gnas nas dbyung ba'i las bya'o/ /de na gcig gis smras pa/ phu nu bo dag de'i phu nu bo dga' bo rtsod pa la mkhas pas bdag cag gis nye dga' gnas nas dbyung ba'i las bya bar mi nus so/ /de brel ba bskyed par bya'o zhes de dag dga' bo'i gan du song ste smras pa/ gnas brtan phyag 'tshal lo/ /tshe dang ldan pa dag a rog gya/ gnas brtan gyi chos gos dag dri ma can du gyur to/ /bu dag kho bo rgas par gyur pas dge slong lhan cig gnas pa dang / nye gnas dag gis kyang rgas pa'i phyir brnyas te phyin chad chos gos kyi las byed du mi btub bo/ /bdag cag gis gnas brtan gyi chos gos dag bkru bar bgyi yis chos gos dag tshur stsol/ dga' bos bcu bdun sde dag la chos gos dag byin no/ /de dag gis yang smras pa/ gnas brtan chos gos dag cig car bkrus chos gos thams cad tshur stsol/ dga' bo rnyang rnying dag gyon te chos gos*

Let me highlight three key points from this. First, despite previously harassing the teenage monks in the above instances, Udāyin in this story is mentioned as an arhat. It does not say exactly what he did that make him arhat. The fact that he becomes an arhat despite repeatedly harassing younger monks shows the possibility of every individual to transform themselves. What the story seems to indicate is not that the monks who do terrible things are deviating from an ideal, but rather that even monks with good intentions have a complicated journey. While some of the actions would appear to be problematic, and readers might consider Udāyin as having a terrible character for those actions, the sudden mention of his attainment of *arhant-ship* makes the readers rethink their own prior judgments. This is a moment in the narrative that surprises the readers and leads them to ponder the untold events in the account of Udāyin. What could he have done in the gap of the untold events that would led him to this transformation? The reader is also led to contemplate on the transformative capacity of every individual.

Second, although previously the group of seventeen were vulnerable, perhaps eliciting empathetic reactions from the readers, we see in this story that they can be equally vengeful. They

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thams cad bcu bdun sde dag la byin no/ /bcu bdun sde dag gis chos gos de dag 'gyur byed kyis btsal nas gnas mal bshams te/ gaṇḍī brdungs nas dga' bo'i gan du song ste smras pa/ gnas brtan dge 'dun gyi bya ba cung zhig mchis te/ gaṇḍī brdungs kyis tshur spyon/ dga' bos smras pa/ bu dag kho bo 'di 'dra ba'i gnas skabs kyis dge 'dun gyi nang du ji ltar 'gro bar bya/ dge 'dun gyi bya ba chos dang ldan pa la 'dun pa 'bul lo/ /de nas dge 'dun thams cad 'dug cing mthun par gyur pa na dge slong gleng ba po rgan pa'i mtha' logs su 'dug ste nye dga' la rmas pa/ btsun pa nye dga' khyod kyis bcu bdun sde dag gi lto dral te rgyu ma dag gis rgyal byed kyi tshal bskor bar bya'o zhes bya ba de lta bu'i tshig smras pa gang yin pa de dran nam/ tshe dang ldan pa dag rma sos pa dag dral te ci bya/ de ni 'das pa'i don yin no/ /de dag gis smras pa/ bcom ldan 'das kyis 'das pa'i dus kho na las brtsams te 'dul ba la nyan thos rnams kyi bslab pa'i gzhi bca' ba mdzad do zhes de dag gis nye dga' la gya tshom du nan gyis gnas nas dbyung ba'i las byas so/ /nye dga' gnas [7-1-202a]nas dbyung ba'i las byas nas phu bo dga' bo'i gan du song ste ngu bar brtsams pa dang / dga' bos smras pa/ nye dga' ci'i phyir ngu / nye dga'as smras pa/ lhung bzed nag po can dag gis kho bo gnas nas dbyung ba'i las byas so/ /dga' bos smras pa/ gang dag gis kho bo'i nu bo gnas nas dbyung ba'i las byas pa de dag grong dang / grong khyer dang / ljongs dang / khams gsum nas gnas nas phyung bar gyur cig /'on kyang gnas nas dbyung ba'i las byas pa rnams la grong dang / grong khyer med dam ci sdod cig dang bzod pa gsol bar bya'o/ /'di ltar de dag gis mi mthun pa kho nar las byas so/ /gang zhig der ma 'dus/ kho bo'o/ /slob dpon gyis der 'dun pa phul lo/ /ci kho bos bdag gi nu bo gnas nas dbyung ba'i las byed par shes sam/ kho bo dge 'dun gyi bya ba de lta bu la 'dun pa mi 'bul gyis kho bos 'dun pa ma phul lo/ /kho bos 'dun pa nyes par phul lo/

scheme against Upananda and quite perceptively pass a harsh judgment to expel him in the communal hearing. Pedagogically the most important lesson in this case is that the narrative shows us that being a Vinayadhara, an expert in the Vinaya, does not mean that one automatically refrains from bad actions. A Vinayadhara knows the Vinaya rules well enough to convict a person as a form of retaliation, but the inner transformation of a Vinayadhara may still be questionable, allowing them to still connive against other monks. Moving from one story to another, we notice it is not possible to take sides as to who is right or who is wrong. The stories make us reflect on the complicated nature of monastic life and ethics.

Third, Nanda is mentioned as an expert in debate. But since he is not able to join the communal hearing he sends a vote by proxy before realizing that it would be used against a member of his own group. He wants to take his vote back in support of his brother but doing so would invalidate the communal hearing and set a bad precedent. The Buddha's rule at the end of the story is to be careful before one gives one's vote. Nanda here is doing two things – first trying to stand up for his brother, second, trying to discipline his own brother by explaining him the rule and asking him to beg for forgiveness. Thus we see a heartening moment when the affective bonds shared by members within a group are particularly important. Despite the terrible things they did in the past, they also rely on each other for comfort and influence each other to do the right thing.

4.5. Conclusions

The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya presents the ideal education of a monk as taking place within a pedagogical setting – where the teachers and students are considered to replicate a father-son relationship. The teachers express their care by providing material needs, nursing during moments of sickness, and overseeing the spiritual growth of the students. As caregivers who are responsible

for the ethical discipline and training of their students, teachers sometimes employ methods of teaching that shake up the students' minds in a dramatic way. It is also a responsibility of the teachers to inspire joy in their students. All of these are done in the spirit of wholesome growth. The students, on the other hand, are not passive receivers of the care. They play an important role in this caring relationship by serving the teachers. The duties of students will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The descriptions on the behavior of the group of seventeen give us an inside view of monastic education. In particular, they depict quite vividly the challenges faced by young monks and the importance of friendship in order to face the challenges. As friends, they help each other out in completing their tasks, but as humans they also submit to natural feelings of tiredness and sneak out of work. These experiences inadvertently create conditions for deeper reflections on how they live and interact with others. They in turn become resource for ethical reflection for the readers and listeners of these narratives.

The "confrontational narratives" depict conflicts between the two groups of monks in such a way as to demonstrate that the Vinaya texts do not idealize Buddhist monasticism, but instead present the "flawed and imperfect beauty"[332] of the everyday life in a monastery. As they sometimes portray characters who even mistreat and harass others for fun or power, these narratives resist being reduced to mere illustrations of rules. Instead, reflecting on our own reactions of shock, surprise, or amusement as we read them, we can begin to understand what lessons these narratives do or do not teach their audiences, i.e., traditional Buddhist monastics as well as modern lay readers.

[332] Nussbaum, *Love's Knowledge*, 3.

By observing the relationships of the members of the two groups in the confrontational narratives, I come to the following conclusions: (i.) it is clear that monks do not live only by a set of rules in their daily lives; (ii) Vinaya narratives help us see that there are also implicit bonds, tacit principles, and psychological factors operating, all of which are sometimes problematized in the stories about relationships between friends (and their opponents) in a monastic sub-group; (iii) sometimes friends can be more effective in furthering ethical self-formation than their teachers can and sometimes friends also can lead friends to do terrible things; (iv) the conflicts between groups highlight the messiness and the frailty of ethical practice in everyday life; and that (v) the messiness depicted in these narratives is oriented to readers, creating for them conditions to learn how to see the consequences of such conflicts, to avoid them, and/or be amused by them.

Used in a pedagogical context then, we can see Vinaya texts envisioning a mode of training where precepts and rules of a virtuous life are laid out within extensive narratives. But the narratives show how ethical practice is problematized after monks create problems for each other, disrupting the communal life. These are also not presented as behaviors to be emulated. Yet, we see within the narratives and outside of it, such questions are raised again and again to mark that disruption of the communal life. Despite the inevitable flaws and imperfections that come with being human, the narratives also show that monks can transform themselves ethically and spiritually. The underlying motivations for Buddhist monastic training as outlined in Vinaya texts is an unwavering faith in that enduring possibility of ethical transformation. In the following chapter, I take a closer look at the core components of the monastic training and what it aims to achieve in an ideal situation.

Chapter Five
Protect the Training Like One's Own Body: Integrative Pedagogy with Transformative Foresight

The previous chapters discuss the education of a novice monk as illustrated within the narrative world of canonical Vinaya texts. As they are so large, containing such a great variety of topics interspersed with rules and narratives, the canonical Vinaya texts are not used in their entirety when teaching novice monks. Instead, Buddhist scholars and educators have compiled shorter manuals for training novices extracting from the Vinaya texts they perceive to encapsulate the gist of monastic discipline. In cases where the brevity of the manuals seemed to necessitate additional explanations, new commentaries were written.[333] These manuals and their commentaries present monastic precepts with selected narratives from the canonical texts. In these manuals, however, a distinct vision of monastic training becomes apparent as they employ what I refer to as an integrative pedagogy with transformative foresight.[334]

As a reminder, let me say again that by integrative pedagogy I refer to the integration of different elements of Buddhist practice and precepts within the daily routine of a novice monk and by transformative foresight I refer to the possibility of ethical transformation as the anticipated goal of the monastic training outlined in these manuals. Vinaya manuals' integrative pedagogy

[333] This is similar to a trend in Theravāda tradition about which Professor Charles Hallisey observes: "Theravadins found the Vinaya both too little and too much. They found it too little in so far as the canonical text required elucidation and clarification, and as a result, massive commentaries and glossaries were written on it; …. They found it too much in so far as the size of the canonical Vinaya made it unwieldly and they consequently wrote diverse summaries and compendiums...." See Hallisey, "Apropos the Pali 'Vinaya' as a Historical Document: A Reply to Gregory Schopen," 206–7.

[334] I do not claim that the writers of the manuals are inventing something new that did not exist in the canonical texts. Instead, what I mean here is that the pedagogical vision of teaching monastic discipline is easily palpable in these manuals which are relatively more concise compared to the canonical texts.

with transformative foresight can be illustrated by looking at how the manuals interpolate important ethical ideas and practices within the daily activities of the monks. For example, filtering water involves paying attention and it is also important for cultivating the ethical awareness of the importance of protecting the safety of lifeforms in water. Thus, by transformative foresight I also acknowledge the fact that the daily enactment of this practice is important to cultivate a habit of attention to and care for living beings, including one's fellow monastics who will consume the water (for more on the example of filtering water, see section 5.3 below).

To trace how these manuals present a distinct vision of monastic training, in this chapter, I first introduce the most prominent manuals for training novices and outline how they present their visions of integrative pedagogy with transformative foresight. Then I discuss four key elements of this integrative pedagogy for monastic education that are found in these manuals and their commentaries: (i) devotion, (ii) attention, (iii) care and institutional cohesion, and (iv) removal of afflictive thoughts and emotions.

5.1. Training Manuals, Integrative Pedagogy and Transformative Foresight

Within the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya tradition, the genre of manuals for training novices has emerged as a distinct subset of Vinaya texts. Some of these manuals were originally written by Indian authors, but they continue to be used as handbooks for newly ordained monks in Tibetan monastic education even to this day. One of the most prominent manuals is known as *Āryamūlasarvāstivādīśrāmaṇerakārikāpañcaśat* (*A Manual in Fifty Verses for the Training of Novices in the Noble Mūlasarvāstivāda*, henceforth abbreviated as *Fifty Verses*), which is attributed to the Indian scholar Nāgārjuna and which survives only in Tibetan translation. Whether this Nāgārjuna is the same as the celebrated Buddhist philosopher of the second century BCE is

not certain, although that is certainly the understanding of the living Tibetan tradition. A detailed commentary on this manual, also surviving only in Tibetan and known by its recreated Sanskrit title as the **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa* (*Memory Aid for the Manual of Training Novices in Fifty Verses*, henceforth abbreviated as the *Memory Aid*) is attributed to the eighth-century Buddhist scholar Kamalaśīla, who played an important role in the establishment of Buddhist monasticism in Tibet. Another prominent manual of the same name as the text attributed to Nāgārjuna, the *Āryamūlasarvāstivādīśrāmaṇerakārikā*, composed not in fifty but in three hundred verses, is attributed to the eighth-century Kashmiri scholar Śākyaprabha. Two Indian commentaries on this text are available in Tibetan translation, one attributed to Śākyaprabha himself and the other to Kamalaśīla. Tibetan scholars have referenced these texts extensively in their own Vinaya commentaries which they wrote in Tibetan. Tibetan scholars also composed commentaries directly on the Indian manuals, a trend that continues to this day. The enduring popularity of Indian manuals for training novices can be gauged to some extent in the Tibetan written and oral commentaries used extensively in Tibetan monastic education.

The core teachings of the *vinaya*, particularly the ten precepts of a novice monk (to be discussed in 5.5), are generally the same in all the manuals and commentaries. However, the manuals exhibit significant differences in their arrangements, thus revealing the pedagogical thinking of their authors that is otherwise tacit. An extensive study of such features of all of these manuals and commentaries is beyond the reach of this dissertation and the present chapter focuses only the *Fifty Verses* attributed to Nāgārjuna and its commentary, attributed to Kamalaśīla, the *Memory Aid*. The *Fifty Verses* is of particular interest to us because even though its discussion of the ten precepts of a novice monk occupies the greatest portion of the text, it also gives an account of the typical daily routine of a novice monk. Beginning with what an ideal novice does in the

morning, just after waking up, this manual outlines the activities of the novice throughout the day until the time of going to bed. In his commentary, Kamalaśīla elaborates on the key points outlined in Nāgārjuna's manual by the way he perceives structures in the text. Although Nāgārjuna's manual is not divided into different sections, Kamalaśīla divides the *Fifty Verses* into eight sub-sections or chapters as follows:

1. Exposition (*bstan pa*) on praise (*bstod pa*) and prostrations (*phyag tshal ba*)
2. Taking up the [practice of the] training (*bslab pa nyams su blang ba*)
3. Activities that should be done in the morning (*snga dro'i dus na las gang bya ba*)
4. Activities that should be done after taking meals (*zas kyi bya ba byas pa'i 'og tu las gang bya ba*)
5. The bases of defeat (*phas pham pa'i gnas*)
6. The bases of subtle rules of training (*bslab pa phra mo'i gnas*)
7. Activities to be done in the afternoon and onwards (*phyi dro phan chad ji ltar bya*)
8. Exposition on how fruition works (*'bras bu ji ltar bya ba bzhin du bstan pa*)

Even a cursory glimpse at this structure reveals that the *Fifty Verses* and its commentary are meant to train a novice monk to live the monastic life by following a specific daily routine. Noteworthy here is that the *Fifty Verses* does not begin by separating major monastic precepts, such as the "defeats" (*pārājika*), and "subtle rules of training (**kṣudrānuśikṣā*; both to be discussed in detail in 5.5) for independent consideration, but rather places consideration of such major precepts and rules of training amidst other activities that a novice monk is required to do during the day.

The *Fifty Verses* and its commentary employ integrative pedagogy in two main ways. First, like other Vinaya manuals and commentaries, these works incorporate non-Vinaya topics such as doctrinal and philosophical concepts into the topic of the Vinaya. For instance, when explaining

why one pays homage to the Dharma, Kamalaśīla gives a brief exposition on the four noble truths, one of the core doctrinal teachings of Buddhism. Similarly, Kamalaśīla also provides instructions on meditation, a topic not usually treated in canonical Vinaya texts but not infrequently encountered in Vinaya manuals. The manuals and their commentaries thus encourage us to think of monastic training as an inclusive education system by pointing out that the seemingly different Buddhist genres of texts, concepts, and practices exist in a complementary relationship to each other.

Second, and most importantly for our investigation, Vinaya manuals integrate the fundamental training precepts within the daily routine of a monk. For instance, as mentioned above, while describing how to filter water, Kamalaśīla emphasizes that the novice must not allow any lifeforms to die in the water. Similarly, Khenpo Thinley Dorjey (Mkhan po phrin las rdo rje), a modern Tibetan commentator on the *Fifty Verses*, explains that when a novice is buying any items from a shop, if a shopkeeper miscalculates the amount and takes less money than the actual price of the object, the novice monk should not feel delighted about that. Instead, the novice monk should point out the miscalculation and give the right amount for what he bought.[335] Thus, the ethical ideals of caring for living beings and being honest while engaging in monetary transactions are illustrated with ordinary activities that a novice monk does on a daily basis.

As I have said before, I understand transformative foresight in the sense that the ideal Buddhist monastic training is meant to generate ethical transformation in individuals. It does not mean that every individual monk undertaking the monastic vows and following the daily routine as prescribed in the Vinaya texts would invariably experience such transformation, but rather that

[335] *Dge tshul lnga bcu pa'i khrid zin tshul khrims gsal ba'i nyin byed ces bya ba*. By Mkhan po phrin las rdo rje. Swoyombhu: Kathmandu. 2012. p.115.

Vinaya authors recognize ethical transformation as a pertinent and desirable possibility. We saw in chapter four that Ānanda's nephews had major spiritual breakthroughs, despite being very young in age and new to training, due to skillful intervention of their teacher and the timely fruition of their past karma. In contrast, some of the older monks who had been practicing a life of *vinaya* for many years were surprised at not experiencing such a breakthrough. While the spiritual journey of individual monks may differ, the monastic training is intended to bring about transformation by teaching specific values in relation to specific practices, relationships and situations. Vinaya education aims to engender transformation beginning with a change of bodily and verbal actions designed to lead to a gradual reorientation of psychological, ethical, and cognitive habits eventually resulting in deeper spiritual realization. Kamalaśīla lays out the transformative foresight of the practice of monastic discipline based on Vinaya at the outset of the *Memory Aid* as follows:

> For example, after planting seeds in soil, sprouts come up depending on the seeds, leaves depending on the sprouts, stems depending on the leaves, flowers depending on the stems, and fruits depending on the flowers. In the same way, depending on the soil-like precepts (*śīla*), the heap of concentration arises like sprouts and so on; [and] depending on the heap of concentration (*samādhi*) arises the flowerlike heap of wisdom (*prajñā*). Then, after the heaps of wisdom have arisen, the heap of complete liberation and the fruit-like heap of vision of the primordial wisdom of complete liberation arise. That being the case, because precepts are the foundation that give rise to all the virtues, one must be meticulous in guarding the precepts.[336]

Similar to the self-referential passages from *Prātimokṣasūtra* discussed in chapter two, this statement at the beginning of the text locates the monastic precepts within a larger framework of Buddhist practice, presenting in a succinct manner a conception of Buddhist spiritual practice

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[336] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 4b: *dper na sa gzhi la sa bon btab nas sa bon la brten nas myu gu/ myu gu la brten nas 'dab ma/ 'dab ma la brten nas sdong bu/ sdong bu la brten nas me tog /me tog la brten nas 'bras bu 'byung ba de bzhin du/ tshul khrims sa gzhi dang 'dra ba la rten nas myu gu la sogs pa lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin gyi phung po 'byung ngo / /ting nge 'dzin gyi phung po byung nas de'i 'og tu me tog lta bu'i shes rab kyi phung po 'byung ngo / /shes rab kyi phung po byung nas de'i 'og tu rnam par grol ba'i phung po dang / rnam par grol ba'i ye shes mthong ba'i phung po 'bras bu lta bu 'byung ngo / /de bas na dge ba thams cad 'byung ba'i gzhi tshul khrims yin pa'i phyir tshul khrims bsrung ba la nan tan bya'o/*

beginning with moral restraints and ending with the realization of freedom from afflictive thoughts and emotions. It is interesting that the progression from the practice of precepts to concentration, wisdom, and liberation is presented as natural process. Kamalaśīla's sequence of metaphors sets up the new monastic student to anticipate that as a result of the first steps of their monastic training in *vinaya*, by undertaking the precepts that are fertile like soil, the monk may expect that other ethical qualities and virtues will flourish.

Like other Vinaya manuals, the *Fifty Verses* and the *Memory Aid* incorporate the following four core trainings into their integrative pedagogy with transformative foresight, each of which will be the topic of a separate section in what follows.

1. Training in devotion expressed through performing daily rituals and prayers directed to the Buddha and serving one's teachers (discussed in 5.2).
2. Training in attention expressed through how one engages one's body and senses in relation to other individuals and the larger environment (discussed in 5.3).
3. Training in care and in generating institutional cohesion expressed through how one serves others and acts with an attitude of preserving the harmony within the Buddhist monastic community (discussed in 5.4).
4. Training in the removal of afflictive thoughts and emotions which come to one's attention by recognizing the harmful effects of deeper psychological afflictions and which are removed through disciplining oneself so that one will not succumb to the dangers of sensory provocations (discussed in 5.5).

Single activities can integrate all of these trainings, as can be seen in the training rule regarding wearing robes that was discussed in chapter three. The Buddha instructed the monks to wear robes in a circular fashion in the manner of the deities of the heavenly realm known as the Pure Abode

(*śuddhāvāsa*), who were said to have preserved the style of clothing of the monastic community of previous Buddhas. I argued in chapter three that the new rules were formed for training new monks to wear the robes in a circular fashion in order to express devotion to past Buddhas. Devotees seeing the monks dressed in that way would also exhibit a pleasant reaction, enhancing their faith. For a new monk, learning to wear the robe correctly is also part of training in attention as new monks need to learn to be careful to not let any corners of their robes dangle down or stick up and so on. Instead of wearing clothes as they want, following the appropriate monastic style of clothing is also training in care for the community, because it helps to establish a uniform and cohesive monastic culture. An individual monk's inappropriate conduct could bring a bad reputation for the entire community. By following the right manner of wearing robes, a novice monk creates a habit of paying attention to the simplicity and the ideal purpose of living the monastic life. It can even become a training in removing afflictive emotion if the novice contemplates the defects in being proud and arrogant because of one's appearance or fashion. In the past, monastic robes were often made from rags collected from cemetery grounds. This is an expression of simplicity for monks who gave up the comforts of the household life. If any monk considers wearing robes as another statement of fashion to express conceit, that would defeat the purpose of monastic life. Thus, the single act of wearing the monastic robe potentially integrates all four trainings in it (devotion, attention, care, and removal of afflictive thoughts and emotions).

Although every activity prescribed for a novice monk can combine all of these trainings, I illustrate in what follows the way in which the *Fifty Verses* and its commentary contain specific instructions directly concerned with one or more of these trainings in particular. In the remainder of this chapter, I will illustrate each of these four trainings by pointing out how they are integrated within the daily routine of a novice monk. As the manuals are based on canonical texts, I also

integrate relevant sections and insights from canonical texts where, to illustrate how these four elements of trainings are integrated in daily life.

5.2. Training in Devotion

The Vinaya texts generally present Buddhist monastic training within a framework of devotion, which is often expressed in relation to the Buddha or to one's immediate teachers (*guru*). Devotion here is understood within a broader context involving attitudes of deep admiration, conviction, respect, and care that lead one to undertake a practice. At the same time, devotion also should be expressed through physical gestures in quite specific ways. The *Fifty Verses* states,

> After one goes forth faithfully
> into the teachings of the Śākyan lion,
> one must protect the training (*śikṣā*) like one's own body
> focusing firmly on one's resolve.[337] (verse 2)

Here faith is like a driving force for undertaking the monastic training. The Tibetan word translated here as "faithfully" is *dad pa* which can be a rendering of two Sanskrit words *śraddhā* and *prasāda* both of which are translated as "faith", "confidence," "trust" and so on.[338] In addition, *prasāda* also has the meaning of "pleasantness," "joy," "tranquility" and so on. Thus, the monastic training assumes that the ideal monk is one who undertakes this training and lifestyle out of deep faith, conviction, and joy.

The *Fifty Verses* states that after becoming a monk with faith one must guard the training in the same way one would protect one's body. In his commentary, Kamalaśīla points out that protecting the body requires one to be attentive to the objects and circumstances such as thorns

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[337] *Āryamūlasarvāstivādīśrāmaṇerakārikā*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge. 1b: */shākya seng ge'i bstan pa la/ /dad pas rab tu byung nas ni/ /brtul zhugs brtan pas rab bsgrims te/ /bdag gi lus bzhin bslab pa bsrung /*

[338] Negi, *Tibetan – Sanskrit Dictionary*, Vol. 6. p. 2173 for *dad pa*. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 388 for *prasāda* and p.534 for *śraddha*.

and poison that might cause one's death. At the same time, one must also know how to nourish the body with food, medicine and so on. Guarding one's training similarly requires a monk to be attentive to circumstances that could lead one to dwindle in the practice as well as knowing how to nourish one's monastic vows.

The practice of devotion itself is one of the chief ways a monk can nourish his vows. The word used to express devotional engagement with the Buddha and one's guru is *gus pa* which is the common Tibetan rendering for the Sanskrit word *ādara*. Etymologically *ādara* is derived from the verbal root of *ā-dṛ* which has several meanings such as "to regard with attention," "attend to," "be careful about," "respect," "honor," "reverence…".[339] Although translated here as devotion in order to emphasize its religious usage, *ādara* has the sense of treating someone with affection, care, and respect. In contemporary South Asian languages such as Bengali, Hindi, and Sinhala, *ādara* is also used to express love (romantic, paternal, maternal, and so on). These general meanings of *ādara* are applicable in the context of how a novice monk is trained to relate with the Buddha, his teacher, and fellow monks. In other words, *ādara* in this sense is an expression of devotional love, care, and affection which a novice monk cultivates by daily re-enactment of certain rituals and duties to the Buddha, his teachers, and fellow monks.

In this section, I first discuss how *ādara* is integrated within the daily activities of a novice monk while doing prostrations to the Buddha and taking care of the *guru*. Then I highlight some examples from the canonical texts on the social and karmic consequences of actions done with or without *ādara*. The *Fifty Verses* depicts *ādara* not just as a mental attitude but as a synchronized daily performance involving mind, body, and speech. The *Fifty Verses* and its commentary outline specifically how devotion is to be performed as the first major topic of the texts.

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[339] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 138.

In verse 3, the *Fifty Verses* states that a student should wake up at the last hour of night, that is just before daybreak (in other words, around four in the morning in most locations, but in any case before the sun rises), and should recite religious texts until the daybreak. Then he washes face, cleans his teeth, and performs prostrations to the Buddha with devotion (*gus pa, ādara*).[340] In the commentary, Kamalaśīla elaborates on what prostrating with devotion means and how one performs devotion with body, speech, and mind.

> The statement "prostrates with devotion" refers to doing prostrations with devotion, which also has three types: 1) prostration with devotion through the body, 2) prostration with devotion through speech, and 3) prostration with devotion through the mind.
>
> Here, prostrating in a calm manner while touching the ground with five parts of the body[341] (*lus smad lnga sa la gtugs*) refers to prostration with devotion through the body.
>
> Extolling the Tathāgata with a melodious tone that is neither too fast nor too slow is prostration with devotion through speech.
>
> The Buddhas, the Blessed ones of the past to whom one has shown devotion with the body are the great compassionate ones endowed with perfect and complete virtues for having abandoned all the faults and thus becoming the protectors and refuges for all sentient beings. They are the basis for [the generation of] merit for all beings in *saṃsāra* and hence they are the refuge for prostration. Thinking in this way is the prostration with devotion through the mind. Producing this kind of thought in the beginning and following that one should prostrate with body and speech.[342]

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[340] *Āryamūlasarvāstivādīśrāmaṇerakārikā*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 1b*: nam gyi cha smad mal nas langs/ /nam langs bar du kha ton bya/ /gdong dang so yi dri bkrus nas/ /rdzogs sangs rgyas la gus phyag 'tshal/*

[341] The five parts are probably the two feet, two knees, and the forehead.

[342] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 8a: *gus phyag bya zhes bya bas gus par phyag bya ba la yang rnam pa gsum ste/ lus kyis gus par phyag bya ba dang / ngag gis gus par phyag bya ba dang / yid kyis gus par phyag bya ba'o/ /de la lus smad lnga sa la gtugs te zhi ba'i tshul gyis phyag bya ba ni lus kyis gus par phyag bya ba'o/ /mi drag mi dal ba'i dbyangs kyis de bzhin gshegs pa la bstod pa ni ngag gis gus par phyag bya ba'o/ /lus kyis gus par phyag bya ba'i sngon rol du sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das ni nyes pa thams cad spangs pas yon tan phun sum tshogs pa dang ldan pa thugs rje chen po can zhes sems can thams cad kyi mgon dang skyabs su gyur pa/ 'gro ba thams cad kyi bsod nams kyi gzhi yin pas phyag bya ba'i gnas yin no snyam du sems pa ni yid kyis gus par phyag bya ba ste/ de lta bu'i sems sngar bskyed la de nas gdod lus ngag gis phyag bya bas phyag bya'o/*

The above descriptions are quite self-explanatory in laying out how devotion is expressed in the postures of the body, in the words recited while praising the qualities of the Buddha, and in the kind of thoughts to be contemplated. The attention to detail in terms of how the five parts of the body must touch the ground while reciting the eulogies being "neither too fast, neither too slow" suggests the idea of a disciple firmly grounded in the present moment who is free from anxiety or torpor. By being attentive to these details while doing the daily prostrations to the Buddha, an ideal student cultivates a habit of the bodily performance of devotion that includes kinesthetic awareness and contemplative attention which he then enhances with repeated practice.[343]

Kamalaśīla and the authors and commentators of other Vinaya manuals generally do not discuss what needs to be done if a lapse in one's devotional engagement occurs. Moreover, it seems to be taken for granted that a novice monk repeats at least the physical and verbal devotional practices daily. Kamalaśīla states that the fitting attitude to accompany these prostrations is to remember the host of qualities of the Buddhas such as that they are "compassionate ones," they are "endowed with perfect and complete virtues," they have "abandoned all the faults," they have become the "protectors and refuges (*mgon pa dang skyabs su gyur pa*) for all sentient beings," and they are "the basis of the [generation of] merit (*bsod nams kyi gzhi*) for all beings in *saṃsāra*."[344]

Thus, devotional prostrations to the Buddhas are expressions of admiration for what they have accomplished and what the Buddhas represent for the novice's own possibilities of cultivating such goodness and merits. In other words, bringing these qualities to mind is required for the

[343] Of course, not every novice student does this willingly every day, as general tendencies of reluctance due to laziness or lack of motivation might keep them away from such a commitment. The other possibility is that a novice monk might perform the prostrations following all the details, but in his heart an attitude of devotional love may not appear. Nevertheless, giving up the practice because of not feeling devotion in the heart one day or because of any other reason does not seem to be conducive for the novice's progress in their ethical formation and building a strong relationship with the Buddhas of the past.

[344] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 8a

novice to see what the Buddhas did for the cultivation of these ethical qualities serving as an inspiration for the novice to abandon his faults and be free from *saṃsāra*. Therefore, merely developing devotional thought is insufficient; verbal expression and bodily prostrations are also required. These performances help to engage the entire person in acts of devotion which can be felt in the body.

According to the *Fifty Verses*, in addition to enacting devotion to the Buddhas, a novice is to interact with his teachers with devotion as well. The term "teacher" (*bla ma, guru*) is used here as a common term for monastic preceptors and instructors. However, while including teachers in one's morning prostrations is encouraged, interactions with teachers happen person-to-person in real time and devotion is also importantly expressed through serving teachers. The consequence of acting with or without such devotion thus impacts real-world relationships. One example is when a novice invites a teacher to have meal. The *Fifty Verses* states (verse 10),

> When it is the right time for having meal,
> the novice who holds monastic resolve prostrates
> and joins his palms in a prayer posture with devotion
> and tells his teacher, "please accept food."[345]

Commenting on this verse, Kamalaśīla gives some examples of lack of devotion (*ma gus pa, *anādara*) in bodily actions and speech. In terms of bodily action, stretching one's legs and feet out towards the guru is a sign of disrespect. In terms of speech, making inappropriate noises such as laughing loudly like a horse is considered to be an expression of lack of devotion to the guru. Instead, the novice "keeps the body and the mind calm and controlled" when inviting the teacher to partake of a meal.[346] These descriptions illustrate that attentiveness to bodily gestures of

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345 *Āryamūlasarvāstivādīśrāmaṇerakārikā*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 2a: *de nas dus rig phyag byas te/ /de bzhin gus pas thal sbyar nas/ /'tshal ma 'tshal zhes bla ma la/ /brtul zhugs can gyis de ltar zhu/*

346 **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 11a: *lag pa brkyang ba la sogs pa byed pa dang / ngag gis ma gus pa rta gad byed pa la sogs pa btang la/ lus dang ngag zhi ba dang dul bar bya ste/*

politeness is important for devotional interaction with one's teacher. Expressing devotion in the presence of a teacher is integrally connected to being mindful of how one moves one's body and what kind of sounds one makes. In short, body and mind must be calm and tamed. Re-enacting this in everyday interactions with teachers therefore becomes an important part of monastic training.

Apart from these specific descriptions of devotion to the Buddha and one's teachers, Vinaya texts also illustrate other ways of cultivating devotion. From a pedagogical point of view, for instance, devotion in the sense of admiration of the Buddha's qualities is prominently inspired by the invocation "homage to the omniscient one" (*namo sarvajñāya*) at the beginning of a Vinaya text. This invocation allows Vinaya teachers to discuss why the Buddha is referred to as "omniscient" (*sarvajña*). The omniscience of the Buddha is also represented by the *Prātimokṣasūtra* itself, as we saw in chapter two where we noted that the text refers to itself as replacing the Buddha when he is no more present physically. The relationship with the *Prātimokṣasūtra* enacted in its memorization and ritual use is thus also an expression of devotion. Devotion in this sense is a practice expressed in the ritual use of the text and in everyday observance of the *prātimokṣa* vows. For a new monk, understanding the text he is required to memorize and recite as standing in for the Buddha, the supreme object of devotion, could be a powerful motivator for applying himself and might fill the experience with joy and reverence.

In addition to these explicit practices of devotion, the Vinaya texts also contain elaborate narrative accounts on the life of the Buddha detailing his various spiritual practices, struggles, attainments, and tales of converting people, all of which also have devotional significance. These Vinaya narratives describe the Buddha as a teacher and as a founder of the monastic community in a way that is meant to inspire devotional reactions. In the *Fifty Verses*, for instance, the Buddha

is referred to with the well-known epithet, "the lion of the Śākyans." While commenting on this phrase, Kamalaśīla elaborates,

> The expression "lion" shows the perfect purity of the mind. For example, a lion with a heroic mind is not frightened by wild animals. Similarly, because the Blessed Buddha possesses a mind that has obtained the four bases of fearlessness, the *māra* [the evildoers] and the non-Buddhists *tīrthikās* … cannot overpower and frighten the Buddha. And, just as the lion strongly overpowers other wild animals, in the same way, the Buddha outshines and frightens the [evil] *māra* and the non-Buddhists. That is why the Buddha is called the lion. That being the case, the roaring of the lion indicates the purity of the mind.[347]

We can easily imagine that such remarks presenting the Buddha as a hero would capture the imagination of a young novice. Devotion is channeled through an emotion of admiration and even awe for the extraordinary prowess of the Buddha in taming his mind and in his capacity to defeat others. The metaphor of the lion also generates a sense of joy and security in the mind of the novice monks as he sees himself in relationship with the invincible Buddha, whom he takes as a protector.

5.3. Training in Attention while Performing Daily Tasks

Training in attention is understood in the sense of learning to focus on an object or activity with care and without being distracted. Attention is in direct contrast to restlessness, a state of mind that makes it difficult to accomplish any task satisfactorily. Within a common presentation of Buddhist teachings and spiritual practices outlined in terms of a threefold structure of morality (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*prajñā*), training in attention would be included in

[347] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 6a-6b. *seng ge zhes bya bas thugs rnam par dag pa ston to/ /dper na seng ge ni dpa' bo'i sems dang ldan pas ri dgas rnams kyis mi skrag cing ri dgas rnams seng ges zil gyis gnon pa dang 'dra bar sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyang mi 'jigs pa bzhi brnyes pa'i thugs 167-1-6bdang ldan pas bdud dang mu stegs pa ri dgas dang 'dra bas sangs rgyas zil gyis mi non cing skrag par byed mi nus la/ sangs rgyas ni bdud dang mu stegs ri dgas dang 'dra ba rnams zil gyis gnon cing skrag par byed pas na sangs rgyas la seng ge zhes bya ste/ de bas na seng ge'i sgras thugs dag pa ston to/*

the category of concentration (*samādhi*). However, it is noteworthy that attention is also an integral part of the domain of practicing morality or precepts (*śīla*) as it involves being aware of how one uses one's body and speech in any given situation.

It may be helpful to note here that some aspects of training in attention have been discussed in previous chapters. In particular, as discussed in chapters two and three, the importance of attention can be seen in the canonical Vinaya texts that outline different parts of an activity with specific details. For instance, when a novice monk receives instructions from his teacher while walking, he is instructed to be always one step behind the teacher (chapter two). Such instructions require the novice monk to be attentive not only to what the teacher says but also to how fast or slow the teacher walks so that the novice can pace his own steps accordingly in order that he can be one step behind always. Similarly, when wearing robes, the novice monk is instructed to be attentive and to ensure that the underrobes are hanging neither too high nor too low (chapter three). The *Fifty Verses* and the *Memory Aid* state that before entering the teacher's room, the novice must use the door knocker in a gentle manner and wait for the teacher to snap his fingers to give permission to enter. While knocking on the door too loudly would be considered rude, knocking too softly would not be effective because the teacher might not hear it at all. One can generalize from this one case and see that a new monk needs to learn how to be careful and attentive when performing these daily tasks however small they may seem.

The most conspicuous example of training in attention while performing daily tasks is one we have already considered, that is when the *Fifty Verses* and its commentary take pains to give detailed instructions on filtering water. This is an ideal example of integrative pedagogy as it incorporates training in attention, cultivating habits of compassionate care, and gaining practical skills—all in the everyday act of filtering water. Kamalaśīla, elaborating on the terse verses in the

Fifty Verses, states that filtering water requires some skills and practical knowhow. These skills can be enumerated in the following manner, although Kamalaśīla himself does not number them as such.

First, Kamalaśīla states that there are five types of water that may be suitable for use:

> the water within one fathom boundary around the fence of a pond, the water in springs (or wells) and so on, the water of a virtuous monk, the water for the community of monks, and the [other] water [from rain, waterfall etc.] that one can trust [to be safe for use].[348]

Being attentive to these distinctions would make the job of a novice monk easier so that he would not mix up types of water safe to use with unclean water. The ability to discern different types of water is particularly important when collecting water from natural sources such as wells, ponds, rivers, waterfalls, and so on. Knowing which water is safe for consumption and which water is suitable for other uses is also important. Any mix-up due to negligence might not only cause inconvenience for other monks, it could potentially create health risks.

Second, Kamalaśīla makes a list of different types of tools for filtering water. Some of these tools are pots and strainers (**parisravrana*) that can be of circular shape, triangular shape, or clothes that can free the lifeforms.[349] The key point to note here is that the novice must know how to use the filters in the right way so that no lifeforms are killed. The *Fifty Verses* states that one with poor eyesight, for example, with eyes affected by cataracts, must not undertake the duty of filtering water. The ability to see clearly is essential for such a task. When filling up a pot or

[348] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge 9b-10a: */chu rnam pa lnga ni bdag gis ma btsags ma brtags kyang spyad du rung ba'i chu ste/ lnga gang zhe na/ kho ra khor yug 'dom gang du brtags pa'i chu dang / khron pa la sogs pa dang / dge slong yon tan can gyi chu dang / dge [167-1-10a] 'dun gyi chu dang / yid ches pa'i chu'o/*

[349] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge 9a: /*de la chu tshags lnga ni ril ba dang / gru gsum pa dang / yu ba can dang / chos can zhes bya ba dang / grol bar byed pa'i ras so*/. All the five items are not clear to me. Specially *yu ba can* and *chos can*.

pitcher, the novice must "examine meticulously, without spending too much time, to see if there are any living beings or not" (verse 6).[350] Commenting on these instructions Kamalaśīla states,

> While examining even with clear eyesight, if one looks for a long time, spreading the eyes [widely], the eyes might get dizzy (*mig zi zi por*), because of which one would not see the living beings. Therefore, while examining with clear eyes, one should examine again and again until there is certainty that there are no living beings. That is why the text says "examine meticulously." That means one should look until there is certainty and no doubt with regard to the absence of living beings."[351]

The emphasis on carefully examining the water repeatedly, not spreading the eyes too widely, and surveying the water until one attains certainty are all important aspects of the novice monk's training in attention which is vital for ensuring the safety of the lifeforms in the water. Even after examining thoroughly when a novice is certain about the absence of lifeforms, the novice should not stop paying attention since it is possible that other lifeforms such as flies and mosquitoes may suddenly drop into the filtered water. How a novice monk removes the lifeforms in such a situation is described as follows:

> If there are living beings that adventitiously come into the liquid for consumption, the skill (*rig pa*, *vidyā*) to filter them out carefully, without injuring them, is indeed [what is meant by] "filtering." With regard to the skill to remove them using one's hands … one should carry them to their own places without hurting them, so that they do not die. There, since the beings that live in cold water, would be injured if they are carried to warm water, they must be carried only to cold water. Since the beings that live in warm water would be injured if they are carried to cold water, they must be carried to warm water only. In case one does not do so accordingly, but rather drinks the water with the lifeforms included in it, or due to not carrying the lifeforms

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[350] *Āryamūlasarvāstivādīśrāmaṇerakārikā*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 2a: */nya phyis la sogs med na yang / /khyor ba 'am 'dab mas bum pa dgang / /chu yi skye bo che chung rnams/ /yun ni ring bar nan tan brtag*

[351] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge: 9a-9b: *chu brtag pa yang mig nad kyis phog pa'am/ mig ling tog gis khebs pas ni mi brtag gi mig gsal bas chu na gnas pa'i srog chags phra mo dang sbom po rnams yod dam med brtag go/ /mig gsal bas brtags na yang yun ring du mig bgrad de bltas na mig zi zi bor 'gyur bas srog chags mi mthong ba'i phyir yun mi ring bar yang nas yang du mig gsal bas brtag ste/ srog chags med par yid ches kyi bar du brtag go/ /de bas na nan tan brtag ces smos te/ srog chags med par yid ches shing the tshom med [167-1-9b] kyi bar du blta'o zhes bya ba'i don to/ /ci'i phyir de ltar brtag ce na/ de'i phyir snying rje can gyis zhes bya ba smos te/ rab tu byung ba rnams ni sems can gyi sdug bsngal sel bar byed pa'i snying rje dang ldan pa yin pas/ de'i phyir sems can gyi gnod pa bsal ba'i don du srog chags yod dam med brtag go/*

> to their own places, if they end up dead as a result, one obtains as many faults of wrongdoing as the number of lifeforms there are.[352]

It is clear from these instructions that the skills needed for filtering water require the novice monk to be gentle in the way he uses his body, especially using his hands, when removing the lifeforms. The novice also needs to have some knowledge about the different types of lifeforms and where they live, since otherwise by placing them in the wrong place he could harm them as well. If out of negligence the novice fails to filter the water in these ways, he accrues faults of as many wrongdoings as the number of dead lifeforms. The wrongdoing here is not a deliberate act with malicious intent; rather, it is clearly a failure of attention.

Third, according to the *Fifty Verses* and Kamalaśīla's commentary, a novice monk needs to follow these instructions on filtering water and ensure that the lifeforms are safe because of compassionate care. Going forth and becoming a monk in the Buddhist community means that the novice monks embark into a practice of compassion.

> Those who have gone forth (*pravrajita*) are the ones endowed with compassion who dispel the suffering of the sentient beings. That is why they need to examine whether there are lifeforms or not, in order to avoid any harm to the sentient beings.[353]

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[352] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge: 9a: *btsags pa dang kha zas kyi khu ba la glo bur du 'ongs pa'i srog chags yod na legs par ma snad par btsags par rig pa ni btsag /lag pas bsal bar rig pa ni legs par bsal la so so'i gnas su ma snad ma shi bar bskyal bar bya'o/ /de la chu grang mo la gnas pa'i srog chags rnams chu dron mo la bskyal na gnod par 'gyur bas chu grang mo nyid du bskyal lo/ /chu dron mo la gnas pa'i srog chags rnams chu grang mo la bskyal na gnod par 'gyur bas chu dron mo nyid du bskyal lo/ /gal te ma byas par srog chags dang bcas pa'i chu 'thungs sam/ srog chags rnams rang rang gi gnas ma yin par bskyal te/ shi bar gyur na srog chags kyi grangs du yod pa'i nyes byas kyi grangs kyang de snyed cig 'thob bo/*

[353] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge: 9b: *rab tu byung ba rnams ni sems can gyi sdug bsngal sel bar byed pa'i snying rje dang ldan pa yin pas/ de'i phyir sems can gyi gnod pa bsal ba'i don du srog chags yod dam med brtag go/ /gal te chu las skyes pa'i srog chags ni med kyi sbrang bu la sogs pa glo bur du 'ongs pas chu de srog chags dang ldan par gyur pa dang / kha zas kyi khu ba la sogs pa la glo bur gyi srog chags yod par gyur na de dag dor bar ji ltar bya snyam pa la khu ba rnams rab tu brtags te spyad par bya zhes bya ba smos te/ chu btsags pa dang kha zas kyi khu ba la glo bur du 'ongs pa'i srog chags yod par gyur na yang yod dam med legs par brtags te spyad par bya'o/ /*

Filtering water in the way recommended in these texts is an exercise in compassion and care for the living beings from the microscopic to the human. In this sense compassion is not just an attitude that a monk develops in an isolated place in meditation. Compassion and care are inculcated and deepened every day through the performance of such activities which in turn nurture the young monk's understanding of himself as living in relationship to others, including his fellow monks, his teachers, and indeed all living beings. This brings us to the topic of care, to which we now turn.

5.4. Training in Care and Institutional Cohesion

Within Buddhist monastic education as described in these Vinaya texts, training in devotion and attention are innately connected with a sense of care. In this section, we first encounter a few more examples of how the manuals incorporate specific acts of care in the training of a novice monk. Then, I point out how care is essential for keeping the monastic community together which I illustrate further with a case from the canonical Vinaya texts. This case is significant as it shows how monks interpret each other's actions in terms of *ādara*.

Although within the Buddhist monastic institutions the teacher-student relationship is hierarchical, with teachers always occupying a position of greater prestige and privilege than students, the relationship is nevertheless rooted in reciprocal care. In fact, ideal monastic relationships—especially the one between teacher and pupil—cannot thrive without such care. One of the many responsibilities of teachers, as highlighted in chapter four, is to provide essential material things (e.g., robe, begging bowl, etc.) to their students. The teacher also nurses the students in moments of sickness and uplifts them when they are going through psychological remorse or find themselves under the influence of bad company. In return, the novice serves the teacher every day, also as an expression of care.

Vinaya texts outline in detail specific acts of care that a novice monk does while attending to his teacher. The *Fifty Verses* state that as the novice enters the teacher's room in the morning, he should first enquire about the health of the teacher and ask if the teacher has any instructions for him. The teacher would then state if he needs anything specific or different from usual. If not, the novice is permitted to continue with the regular duties of the day. Some of these duties are as follows:

> He should do whatever is required by the guru,
> such as: prepare the [toilet] seat, the place for water,
> the toothpick, soap or washing powder for cleaning [the body],
> and he should wash the begging bowl, and so on.[354]

While serving the teacher by doing these regular duties, Kamalaśīla specifies in his commentary that the teacher might have other needs as well, such as washing and sewing the robes, sweeping the floor and so on. In other words, some of the duties are fixed, while others need to be attended as circumstances arise.

From a pedagogical point of view, there are at least three implications in terms of the training and ethical formation of a novice monk who performs such duties on a daily basis. First, the novice monk cultivates a disciplined habit through the practice of waking up before the teacher and having everything ready in advance and on time. Second, the novice monk learns what it means to take care of an individual who is not biologically related to him. The teacher-student relationship in Buddhist monasticism is sometimes referred to as being modelled after the father-son relationship. The relationship of monastic teachers with their students is established by rituals and through the exchange of religious and spiritual teachings. The students' regard is also ideally more reverential towards his teacher than it is with his own biological parents. Even then, it is not impossible that

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[354] *Āryamūlasarvāstivādīśrāmaṇerakārikā*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 2a: */stan chu sa dang so shing dang / /'dag pa'i chal yang sta gon bya/ /lhung bzed bkru la sogs pa dang / /bla ma'i dgos pa thams cad bya/*

the novices would have some qualms or feelings of discomfort (or an occasional grudge even) having to wake up so early in the morning in order to take care of his teacher, preparing his toilet seat, water and so on. The fact that these duties are vital parts in the daily routine means that a novice has the opportunity to encounter both the feelings of reverence and the feelings of discomfort that come with serving others. This is an important step in cultivating habits of caring for others and it is easy to see how such habits would take on special importance for anyone beginning monastic training. It is also easy to see that such habits would become constitutive of a way of monastic life which values compassionate care for living beings.

Third, the performance of these regular duties is also important for the smooth functioning and cohesion of the monastic community. What I mean by cohesion is how monks are held together by mutual acts of care and the way they affect each other's ethical formation. Teachers and students can thrive only if they perform their own duties and responsibilities well. The ideal teacher fulfils his responsibility by teaching and providing what the students need. In turn, if the novice fails to do his duties well, such as not collecting and filtering water on time, that would create a great inconvenience for the teacher and others who are dependent on him. In terms of monastic training, the student learns to see himself in relation to the others and how his actions also affect others.

Emphasizing this need for care and cohesion in monastic community in the canonical Vinaya texts, the Buddha mentions repeatedly that there are ten reasons for introducing Vinaya rules for monastic training. As they convey quite clearly the importance of thinking in terms of community it is pertinent for us to consider them here as well. Accordingly, the Buddha states he introduces a training rule (*śikṣāpada*):

1. for keeping the community together,
2. for making the community excellent,
3. for the community to live happily,
4. for subduing the individuals who have no remorse [for bad actions],

5. for those who have moral shame to live happily,
6. for those without deep faith to cultivate deep faith,
7. for those with deep faith to increase their deep faith,
8. for the defilements of this life to be restrained,
9. for the defilements of the next life to be reversed or destroyed, and,
10. for increasing the well-being (*phan pa*) of the many people following the noble life according to my [i.e. Buddha's] teachings.[355]

Thus, the need for an attitude of care is so fundamental in monastic discipline that all the teachings in Vinaya can be said to be based on two key concerns: first, enhancing a sense of cohesiveness of the monastic community, and second, for creating conditions for individuals to achieve their potentials for ethical and spiritual transformation.[356]

What happens if monks do not have an attitude of care and regard for each other? We have seen in the confrontational narratives in chapter four how the absence of reciprocal care can create unpleasant conflicts between monks. As discussed in chapter four, the group of six enjoyed being revered and served by the younger group of seventeen monks, but did not reciprocate the care. On the contrary, instead of helping them in their studies the group of six exploited the seventeen. This eventually led the seventeen to find their own way and study with a teacher who would care for them. We also noted that without care Vinaya rules can be used as instruments for domination. Therefore, care is essential even in the way one learns and interprets Vinaya rules in order to avoid the misuse of power.

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[355] *Vinayavibhaṅga, 'Dul ba,* Derge, Vol. cha. 40b. *dge slong dag de lta bas na phan yon bcu yang dag par gzigs pas 'dul ba la nyan thos rnams kyi bslab pa'i gzhi bca' bar bya ste/ 'di lta ste/[ ]dge 'dun bsdu ba'i phyir dang / dge 'dun legs par bya ba'i phyir dang / dge 'dun bde bar gnas par bya ba'i phyir dang / gnong mi bkur ba'i gang zag rnams tshar gcad pa'i phyir dang / ngo tsha shes pa rnams bde bar gnas par bya ba'i phyir dang / mngon par ma dad pa rnams mngon par dad par bya ba'i phyir dang / mngon par dad pa rnams phyir zhing dbyung bar bya ba'i phyir dang / tshe 'di'i zag pa rnams bsdams par bya ba'i phyir dang / tshe rabs phyi ma'i rnams bzlog pa'i phyir dang / nga'i tshangs par spyod pa skye bo mang po la phan pa yangs par gyur pa lha dang mi rnams kyi bar dag la yang dag par rab tu bstan pa yun ring du gnas par 'gyur ba'o/ /*

[356] The ten reasons are not directly referenced by Nāgārjuna and Kamalaśīla in their texts but they are ubiquitous in Buddhist monastic traditions.

In addition to the examples discussed in chapter four, let us look now at an instance from one of the canonical Vinaya texts that illustrates how absence of care (*anādara*) can lead to divisions in the monastic community even threatening the survival of the monastic institution. Among the many confrontational narratives discussed in chapter four, the most prominent case of monastic disputes is a conflict between two groups of monks known as the Vaiśālī group and the Kauśāmbī group based on the regions from where they came. This conflict forms the basis for an entire chapter, the *Kauśāmbakavastu* ("Chapter on Kauśāmbī"), in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinayavastu*. The conflict is significant for us because it illustrates how absence of care, here specifically referred to as *anādara*, can threaten the cohesion of the monastic community.

The narrative in brief is as follows: A monk from Vaiśālīwhile travelling in different regions arrives in Kauśāmbi. Being exhausted from the journey, he approaches a Buddhist monastery in Kauśāmbi for rest. The monks exchange greetings and later on engage in discussions on the teachings of the Buddha in the Sūtra, Vinaya, and so on. When the Vaiśālīmonk proposes that a *sūtra* must be read and interpreted in a certain way, a monk from the Kauśāmbī disagrees and presents a different interpretation of the *sūtra*. The disagreement draws the two monks apart as they become increasingly antagonistic. Afterwards, the host monk of Kauśāmbī is intent on finding faults in everything that the Vaiśālīmonk does.[357] Thus, the relationship between the two monks is rough from the start. It seems that this disagreement in interpreting the Buddha's teaching might have contributed to the subsequent increase in hostility between the two.

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[357] Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* Vol. III. Part II, *Kauśāmbakavastu*, 173-174: *atha vaiśālako bhikṣur apareṇa samayena janapadacārikāṃ caran kośāmbīm anuprāptaḥ / sa mārgaśramaṃ prativinodya kośāmbakasya bhikṣoḥ sakāśam upasaṃkrāntaḥ / upasaṃkramya parasparaṃ prativinodya sūtravinayābhir dharmeṣu viniścayaṃ kartum ārabdhau / tatraikaḥ kathayati / evam etat sūtraṃ paṭhitavyam* / ayam asya sūtrasyārthaḥ dvitīyaḥ kathayati [MSVII 174] / nedaṃ sūtram evaṃ paṭhitavyam* / nāsya sūtrasyāyam arthaḥ/ tava ayuktam* mama yuktam* / tava sahitam* / mamāsahitam* / taveti / tatas tayoḥ parasparaṃ vairuddhyam utpannam* / kośāmbako bhikṣur vaiśālakasya randhrānveṣaṇatatparas tiṣṭhate /*

It was an agreement (*kriyākāra*)[358] in the monastery that a monk who sees that the bucket is empty in the toilet must fill the bucket himself or inform a janitor (*upadhivārika*).[359] Not doing so would be considered an expression of lack of care (*anādara*)[360] and an offence that is to be resolved by formal apology.[361] One day, the duty of janitor falls on the Vaiśālīmonk. On that day as all the monks are getting ready to go to a devotee's house for the forenoon meal, the Vaiśālīmonk hears from another monk who used the bathroom that the bucket was not completely empty. Assuming that he did not need to fill up the bucket because it was half full, the Vaiśālīmonk joins other monks for the meal. After returning, the Kauśāmbī monk is furious that the bucket is not full. He convenes a communal hearing against the Vaiśālīmonk with the charge that the visiting monk has not filled the bucket completely and thus failed to do his duty. The Vaiśālīmonk does not accept it as an offence and does not plead guilty which lead him to be expelled from the community. This expulsion enrages the other monks who were from Vaiśālīwho see this as an unjust use of monastic rules. The dispute between the two monks eventually becomes a conflict between two groups of monks – the Vaiśālīgroup versus the Kauśāmbī group. The situation becomes so intense that even the Buddha's efforts are not successful in resolving the issue.[362]

The significance of this story in the context of this chapter is threefold. First, it illustrates the downside of monks identifying too strongly with their regions instead of thinking of the

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[358] It is another word for rules that are set for certain duties and responsibilities to be done by monks for the community.

[359] We saw in chapter four that monks take turns in becoming monitors. Similarly, the responsibility of a janitor also falls on different monks in turn.

[360] Note that *anādara*, opposite of *ādara* discussed in 5.2, is used here to expressed acts of care in everyday life.

[361] Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. III. Part II, Kauśāmbakavastu*, 174. *saṃghena cāyam evaṃrūpaḥ kriyākāraḥ kṛtaḥ / yaḥ paśyed varcaskumbhikāṃ riktāṃ tucchāṃ nirudakāṃ tenodakasya pūrayitvā yathāsthāne sthāpayitavyā upadhivārikasya vārocayitavyā / varcaskumbhikā riktā tiṣṭhatīti / na ced ātmanā pūrayati nāpy upadhivārikasyārocayati tasyānādaro bhavati / anādarāc ca taṃ vayaṃ pāyantikām āpattiṃ deśayiṣyāma iti /*

[362] This conflict continues for sometime until some devotees decide to stop offering the meals to the monks. The conflicting monks realizing that they are losing support goes to the Buddha and apologizes for the mistake.

Buddhist monastic community as a whole unit. As they quickly take sides, instead of considering the unity and wellbeing of the community, it becomes increasingly impossible to bring them together. Second, even such basic duties as filling the bathroom buckets with water is considered as an act of *ādara*. Not doing the duties properly is referred to as an expression of *anādara* which can put the communal harmony at risk. Third, without a basic sense of interpersonal respect, monastic unity and institutional cohesion cannot be sustained. The unity becomes especially difficult if individual monks are intent on finding faults in each other. The Kauśāmbī monk is quick to implement an existing rule to accuse the Vaiśālīmonk for his carelessness in filling out the bucket completely. While he charges the Vaiśālīmonk as being negligent, his own tendency of finding fault in others is also an example of *anādara*. This is yet another case of ethical frailty.

Despite the higher ideals of care and unity, the narrative shows how easily individual monks can be fixated on their own views to the detriment of peace in the community. Expression of care, cordiality and institutional cohesion are therefore integrally related and form some of the core ideals of monastic training. This narrative also clarifies further that without care, the mere legalistic interpretation of the monastic rules is not useful when the harmony of the community is compromised. More importantly such lack of care and monastic disharmony are not conducive for the monks to realize their ethical and spiritual transformation, which we discuss below.

5.5. Training in Removing Afflictive Thoughts and Emotions

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, Buddhist monastic training is aimed at ethical and spiritual transformation. Kamalaśīla states this process of transformation in terms of a progression from precepts as the basis that allows the monks to move on to develop concentration, wisdom, and freedom. The transformation begins by creating conditions that allow an individual

to recognize the thoughts and emotions that create suffering for themselves and others. In addition to these, there are also specific instructions for helping students to recognize afflictive thoughts and emotions. An inability to recognize these will naturally prevent one from applying the antidotes in meditation. In the Vinaya texts, much of the novice's preliminary training can be seen as contributing to the capacity to recognize his own failings.

The *Fifty Verses* and the *Memory Aid* demonstrate an integrative approach to training novices in removing afflictive emotions in at least two ways. First, somewhat unusual for a Vinaya text, the *Fifty Verses* and its commentary include direct instructions on the specific types of contemplative practices that act as antidotes to afflictive thoughts and emotions. Studying texts and doing recitations are also prescribed as exercises for contemplative practice in order to cultivate a habit of continuous awareness so that one would not be overpowered by afflictive emotions. Second, these texts illustrate the observance of monastic precepts also by incorporating them within the daily activities and highlighting how they help to remove afflictive emotions. I discuss each of these in turn.

We first consider the presentation of meditation as an antidote for afflictive thoughts and emotions. The discussions above and in the previous chapters indicate that a novice does not engage in the study of texts or in meditation all the time. Instead, the training of a novice focuses mainly on performing various duties in a monastery. The activities they perform throughout the day are meant to cultivate a habit of devotion, attentiveness, and a sense of care and cohesion that are vital for the maintenance of the monastery. However, apart from these duties, there are designated times for the novice to engage in meditation (*sgom*, *bhāvanā*) and to study texts. The *Fifty Verses* and its commentary explain that after the lunch or forenoon meal, when there is no other work to do for the monastery, the novice must engage in his study and practice. In an ideal

situation, a preceptor or instructor would give him specific instructions for meditation. The meditation practice is meant to curtail the afflictive emotions in the mind. The following instructions from the commentary are noteworthy in this regard.

> Regarding this, the individuals who are prone to sensual desires meditate on impurities. Individuals who are prone to aggression meditate on being pleasant and appreciating all beings as good friends and close relatives. Individuals who are prone to confusion or delusion meditate on the characteristics of dependent co-arising in the forward and backward manner. Individuals who are prone to discursive thinking meditate on the breath moving in and out. These meditations are indeed to be understood as the doors to the deathless. They are the cause for attaining *nirvāṇa*. Were these contemplative practices or whatever supreme instructions to be heard from a preceptor or instructor, the novice should contemplate on them after the meals.[363]

Here it is assumed that individuals have certain natural temperaments or proclivities such that one or another afflictive emotion might be dominant in a person. The meditation instructions are presented as antidotes to the respective afflictive emotions they remove. Some individuals are inclined to sensual desires. When their desires for delightful things become excessive, they find it difficult to remain satisfied and content. As a result, such desires lead to discontent and suffering. Contemplating on impurities or the disgusting aspects of life helps to not only balance their perspectives but also to remove these desires for sensual pleasures. Some individuals are inclined to aggression, becoming hateful and angry with the slightest provocation or even with no provocation at all. Being engulfed by negative and aggressive thoughts means that they can also easily resort to violence. As an antidote, therefore, they are encouraged to develop positivity by focusing on the pleasant aspects of life and appreciating the good qualities of others. Some are

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[363] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge:11b-12a. */de la 'dod chags la spyod pa'i gang zag gis ni mi gtsang ba bsgom mo/ /zhe sdang la spyod pa'i gang zag gis ni sems can thams cad gnyen bshes dang nye du bzhin du sdug pa dang phangs par bsgom mo/ /gti mug la [167-1-12a] spyod pa'i gang zag gis ni rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba lugs bzhin 'byung ba dang lugs las bzlog pa'i mtshan nyid bsgom mo/ /rnam par rtog pa la spyod pa'i gang zag gis ni dbugs phyi nang du rgyu ba bsgom mo/ /sgom pa 'di dag ni bdud rtsi'i sgo zhes bya ste/ mya ngan las 'das pa thob pa'i rgyu yin no/ /gal te bsam gtan 'di dag la sogs pa man ngag gang mkhan po dang slob dpon la thos nas zas zos pa'i 'og tu bsam gtan bya'o/*

inclined to deluded thoughts such that they perceive the world and even their own experiences in a way that does not accord with reality. In order to develop a realistic understanding of the world and of their own experience, they are encouraged to meditate on how everything arises based on causes and conditions. In particular, they are advised to focus on the links of the dependent arising such that they will come to understand the root causes of their own suffering with the idea that this will allow them to remove those causes more readily. For those individuals who are inclined to discursive thinking, meditation on breathing in and out is recommended. This will help them to shift their attention from abstractions of discursive thinking to the solidity of the body. All of these are meant to effect transformation in their habits of thinking and interacting with the world. The practices are aimed at the eventual attainment of *nirvāṇa*.

In addition to these specific instructions on meditation, the *Fifty Verses* and its commentary also outline how a novice should engage in their study of texts in order to cultivate mindful attention and awareness conducive to removing afflictive thoughts and emotions.

> If there are no instructions for meditative contemplation [given by the guru], one should study by doing recitation or by reading the scriptural texts. Similarly, when studying, one must do so with utmost exertion. Having done the *maṇḍala* prayers and made the offerings etc. one should make offerings to the deities and *nāgas*[364] so that the mind is composed in a one-pointed manner without distraction. One should do that in a balanced manner: not forcing too much, not relaxing too much. After studying also, the merit should be dedicated to oneself and to all sentient beings.[365]

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[364] Literally meaning serpents, *nāga* refers to semi-divine beings, who are supposed to be admirers of Buddhist teachings and practices. They are also supposed to be protectors of Buddhism.

[365] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge,12a: *rab tu 'bad de klag par byed/ /ces bya bas bklag par bya ba bstan te/ gal te bsam gtan bsgom pa'i man ngag med na bklag par bya ste kha ton bya ba 'am/ dharma glegs bam la bklag par bya ba'o/ de ltar klog pa'i dus na yang rab tu 'bad de bklag par bya'o/ /dkyil 'khor dang mchod pa la sogs pa byas la sems ma yengs par rtse gcig tu bsdus nas lha klu la sogs pa la chos kyi sbyin pa bya'o/ /ha cang yang mi drag ha cang yang mi dal bar ren par bya ste/ zur phyin par bklag go/ /bklags pa'i rjes la yang bsod nams bdag dang sems can gyi don du bsngo'o/*

In these recommendations, noteworthy is the instruction on maintaining continuous and one-pointed concentration while doing different activities such as – reading, recitation, making *maṇḍala* offerings, and making offerings to deities and *nāgas*. Just as importantly, the novice is to be careful not to exert too hard and not too relax too much.[366] At the same time, the novice must remember to dedicate the merit for own progress and to all sentient beings. The practice in cultivation of awareness is therefore not limited to a certain kind of meditation exercise, but in all kinds of activities so that the novice would not succumb to afflictive emotions.

Needless to mention that not every novice would accomplish this feat – maintaining continuous awareness – all at once. The key point here is how the Vinaya educators envisioned an ethical training in cultivating a habit of awareness through routinized activity that a novice does during the day. It is by working through potential failures and through constant reminders from texts and teachers such as these that a novice would progressively move towards a greater degree of self-awareness becoming accustomed to the contemplative practices.

Next we can turn to the practice of guarding the precepts to curtail the afflictive emotions. In addition to the various norms of conduct (*ācāra*) and monastic duties that have been discussed in the previous chapters, there are ten core precepts that are fundamental to the status and training of a novice monk. The ten precepts are presented in terms of activities that the novice must refrain from engaging in. These are classified into two categories: 1) natural wrongdoing (*rang bzhin gyi kha na ma tho ba*, *prakṛti-avadya*), and 2) designated wrong-doing (*bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba*, *prajñapti-avadya*).[367]

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[366] These extremes are traditionally illustrated with the simile of the musical instrument known as *vīṇā*, which would not work if the strings are too tight or too loose.

[367] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 7a: *brtul zhugs zhes bya bas ni rang bzhin gyi kha na ma tho ba dang / bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba'i bslab pa la bya'o/ /de la rang bzhin gyi kha na ma tho ba'i bslab tshig ni phas pham pa bzhi'o/ /bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba'i bslab tshig ni chang mi btung ba la sogs pa rnam pa drug go/*

The first of these, natural wrong-doing, contains the four precepts concerning refraining from killing, stealing, sexual conduct that leads to the loss of celibacy, and telling lies. Failure to refrain from these activities weakens the vow or monastic resolve, and in some extreme cases a novice might need to be disrobed or expelled from the monastic community. In other words, these actions are intrinsically bad. In the Vinaya texts, the technical term most commonly used for the natural wrongdoing is *pārājika*, which literally means defeat. That is because when a monk commits these acts, it means that his monastic resolve or vow has been lost such that even if they continue to remain in the robes their integrity is compromised. The commentary to the *Fifty Verses* presents the correspondence between the four *paradises* and the afflictive emotions in the following manner:

> There are three causes: aversion (*zhe sdang, dveṣa*), likes and desire (*'dod chags*, *rāga*), delusional confusion (*gti mug, moha,*). Here, the defeat of killing living beings occurs because of aversion, the defeats of taking what is not given and practicing the ignoble conduct [i.e. loss of celibacy] occur because of likes and desires, [and] the defeat of telling lies occurs because of delusional confusion.[368]

The commentary further states that the afflictive emotions are so powerful that they can completely negate the possibility of attaining *nirvāṇa* if a monk is not diligent in the observance of the precepts by refraining from committing these wrongs. In addition to cultivating a sense of care, the psychological benefits of observing the precepts are indicated in terms of the possibility of curtailing the arising of afflictive emotions and facilitating the cultivation of more wholesome mental factors.

[368] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 12b: *de la phas pham pa rnam pa bzhi ste/ srog gcod pa dang / ma byin par len pa dang / mi tshangs par spyod pa dang / brdzun du smra ba'o/ /phas pham pa 'byung ba'i rgyu ni rnam pa gsum ste/ zhe sdang dang / 'dod chags dang / gti mug go/ /de la zhe sdang las ni srog gcod pa'i phas pham pa 'byung ngo/*

The "designated wrong-doing" refers to actions that are agreed upon as not appropriate for monks as these actions can be obstructive for the monks' spiritual practice. There are six of these: consuming intoxicating drinks, engaging in music and dance, applying fragrant ointments, using high (that is, luxurious) beds and seats, eating at the improper time, and using valuables such as gold, silver, and so on. These are designated wrongdoings specifically for monks; for a layperson undertaking these precepts, especially the precept to refrain from the use of money, would not be practical. For a monk, however, refraining from these is conducive for curtailing the arising of afflictive emotions. The relationship between the "natural wrongdoing" and "designated wrongdoing" is stated in the following manner while describing what it means to focus with attention:

> The expression "focusing firmly" is focusing through body, speech, and mind. These are taught in order for the four defeats to not occur at all, and they also protect [an individual] so that that the minor faults do not occur. Moreover, if one is to protect a large tree, one should in no way destroy the surrounding wall and fence. In the same way, in order for the defeats to not occur at all, if the minor or subtler training rules that are like the walls and fences are protected so as not to break them, [by just that] the disciplinary precepts (*śīla*) are also protected firmly.[369]

Thus, although referred to as *phra mo*, meaning minor or subtle rules, the designated wrongdoings are not insignificant by any means. These minor rules are meant to protect a novice monk from succumbing to the grave offences of the natural wrongdoing. The commentary further illustrates that refraining from each of these minor rules contributes to the removal of afflictive emotions.

[369] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 7a: *brtul zhugs zhes bya bas ni rang bzhin gyi kha na ma tho ba dang / bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba'i bslab pa la bya'o/ /de la rang bzhin gyi kha na ma tho ba'i bslab tshig ni phas pham pa bzhi'o/ /bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba'i bslab tshig ni chang mi btung ba la sogs pa rnam pa drug go/ /brtan pas rab bsgrims te zhes bya bas ni lus ngag yid gsum gyis rab tu bsgrims la phas pham pa mi 'byung bar bya ba'i phyir bstan pa ste/ nyes pa phran tshegs kyang mi 'byung bar bsrung ba'o/ /de yang shing chen po bsrung na de la bskor ba'i ra ba dang shing thags [167-1-7b] rnams ci nas kyang mi gzhig par bya'o/*

For instance, the novice must refrain from consuming alcoholic drinks because such drinks obscure the clarity of mind (*gsal ba nyams su*).[370] When the mind is not in its natural state and a person is not able to think clearly because of being overpowered by intoxication, they can say harsh words and even kill other people. That is why the novice must guard himself and not consume intoxicating drinks, not even as much as the tip of a grass contains.

The novice must refrain from engaging in music, songs, and dance because such actions lead to arrogance.[371] The example given here from canonical texts is that of the group of six monks who were once insulted by a group of professional actors. In order to avenge the insult, the group of six organize a musical show of their own which attracts so many people in the audience that the professional actors go out of business. As such actions are inappropriate for the vocation of monks, the Buddha prohibited the performance of music, songs, and dance. The prohibition is particularly important in cases where monks such as the group of six act out of aversion. The commentary states, however, that even when participating in ritual songs and music – with the use of various drums – the novice must direct his attention to the qualities of the Buddha and *dharma*. None of these practices are to be done for enhancing one's pride.

Similarly, the novice also must refrain from the use of fragrant ointments because it exaggerates one's self-image. The commentary states the novice must not look at one's own reflection in the mirror or in water in order to develop attachment to one's own body.[372] However,

[370] Paraphrased here from **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 23a: *'di ltar sdong bu ste bu ram shing btsir ba las byas pa dang / me tog 'bras bu ste rgun 'brum la sogs pa sbyar ba'i khu bas myos shing dran pa nyams par 'gyur bar rig nas bdag nyid kyang rtsa mchog gis mi btung ba la gzhan la yang sbyin par mi bya zhes ston to/*

[371] Paraphrased here from **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 25a: *'di ltar glu dang gar la sogs pa dngos po gang bsten cing gnas na dregs pa dang rgyags pa skye bar 'gyur ba'i dregs pa'i yan lag gam dngos po de yang spangs na brtul zhugs gnas pa*

[372] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 23a: /lus kyi mdog mdzes pa dang chags pa skye bar bya ba'i phyir me long dang chu dang ba la blta bar mi bya/

when medically necessary, herbal ointments can be used. If a sponsor makes an offering of fragrant ointments, the novice may use it in a very small quantity in order to satisfy the sponsor, but he should also remove it as soon as possible.[373]

The novice must refrain from using higher and luxurious beds because doing so gives rise to the afflictive emotion of superiority conceit.[374] When using higher seats or cushions during ritual performances, the novice must keep in mind that everything is impermanent. The commentary mentions specifically that leather seats and cushions made from the skin of rare animals must not be used unless in extreme situations when a novice is extremely sick and needs it.

The novice must refrain from eating at inappropriate times, meaning that he should not eat in the afternoon or evening, unless it is advised by a physician or one is travelling in places with different customs.[375] The reason given for this precept is for ease in practicing meditation. Overeating can also lead to drowsiness and obstruct the cultivation of the quality of mental alertness.

The sixth and the final precept in the designated wrongdoings category involves refraining from the use of valuables objects such as gold, silver, money etc. The novice is advised to use them only for purchasing the most essential items of robes and medicines. They must not engage

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[373] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 24b: yon bdag dad pa can 'ga' zhig dri 'bul te lus la mi bskur mi rung na yang yid bsrung ba'i phyir skad cig tsam bskus la yon bdag song ma khad du ma tshor bar dbyi'o/

[374] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 24b: mal stan mthon po dang bzang po dang chen po la nyal na mal gyi bde ba la chags shing rlom sems 'byung ba'i phyir dang / gzhan du na bkra mi shis par yang 'chad pas nyal bar mi bya'o/

[375] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 25b: *snga dro zos pas 'tsho bar mi nus na phyi dro yang zo cig ces sman pas bsgo na nyes par mi 'gyur ba dang / lam du zhugs te dpag tshad gcig tsam du 'gro ba*

in investment business. If possible the assistance of a devotee should be sought to deal with matters related to finance.[376]

These instructions on meditation and observance of the precepts, as summarized here, illustrate what Buddhist educators envision to achieve through monastic training. This presentation has great pedagogical significance for a novice. First, the novice also learns from the beginning of his monastic training the importance of self-reflection with regard to the kind of thoughts and emotions that occur in the mind and the bodily experiences of various pleasures. Recognizing these experiences accurately is important for succeeding in the meditation so that the novice can use the right antidotes, i.e. the type of meditation technique that is important for the removal of the afflictions. Buddhist educators skillfully integrate these complex ideas into the daily activities of a monk. Even if a novice has not experienced the full spectrum of emotions all at once, he gains familiarity with these techniques of transforming his negative thoughts and emotions. These techniques will be at his disposal when he needs them.

Second, these are presented in terms of strategies of self-care—i.e., caring for the well-being of the mind and body in order to progress towards wholesome ethical and spiritual transformation. If overpowered by afflictive thoughts and emotions, the novice does not only cause suffering for himself but also for others. The novice is made to contemplate that the practice of refraining from the "designated wrongdoings," even if it means relinquishing some comforts such as the use of luxurious beds or enjoyment of music, is for the protection of his own ethical and spiritual health.

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[376] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 26a-26b: *bsod nams bya ba zhig tu bsams 167-1-26b te tshong gi khe spogs bya dgos na yang bdag nyid kyis mi bya'i/ khyim pa gzhan la bcol bar bya'o/*

5.6. Conclusions

It is clear from the above discussion that the Buddhist monastic training is not concerned with cognitive or intellectual growth alone. Instead it is aimed at the education of the whole person and important ethical teachings are incorporated seamlessly within the daily routine of a monk. The integrative pedagogy employed by Vinaya scholars has several important implications for how we think about *vinaya* and Buddhist ethics.

First, training of a novice is presented within a large cosmological framework. From the morning the novice learns to think about the Buddhas of the past as he performs prostrations in their name. He also invokes guardian deities and *nāga*s and dedicates the merits of his prayers to these beings. In addition, serving his teacher is a crucial part of his training. In all of these prescribed activities, the novice learns to think in terms of the relationship he has with his teacher, fellow monks and the larger network of beings in the universe. Acts of devotion, attention, care, and the removal of afflictive emotions are not designed for individual well-being alone but for the well-being of this larger network of beings. A disciplined life based on Vinaya education is meant to enhance a sense of institutional cohesiveness through an attitude of care in order to facilitate a flourishing monastic community. In other words, in an ideal situation individual monks would do their duties with care so that the entire community and the monastic institution can thrive. This would not be possible to achieve if monks do not have attitudes of care.

Second, the ethical actions are not always determined by whether an action is accompanied by intentionality. Kamalaśīla states that even if a fly or a mosquito were to fall and die in the water adventitiously, it nevertheless is still considered to be the fault of the monk filtering the water. This implies that a novice monk must learn to take ethical responsibility for the unfavorable consequences of his negligence. Similarly, one of the reasons for prohibiting alcoholic drinks

according to Kamalaśīla is that the intoxication caused by such drinks might lead the novice to lose mental alertness and do harmful things.[377] In extreme situations of drunkenness, the novice might end up killing other living beings without his knowledge or intention. Therefore, physical actions, or lack of attention while performing a task, have major ethical consequences.

Third, training in devotion, attention, care and removing afflictive emotions happen not merely on a conceptual level. They must be performed through the mind, body, and speech through ritualized performance of specific daily tasks. As Vinaya teachers list the mundane tasks that need to done in specific ways they also show that even basic norms of conduct (such as they way we knock the door) have ethical significance and as they reveal aspects of the individual's character.

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[377] **Śramaṇapañcaśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*. In: Bstan 'gyur. Vol. su (167). Derge, 18b: *gong du smos pa'i chang gi rnam pa de dag 'thungs shing gzhan la blud na bdag dang gzhan gyi sems rang bzhin du gnas shing gsal ba nyams su myong ba'i dran pa nyams pas lus kyis rjes su rdeg btsog/*

Conclusion

Why Vinaya/*vinaya* Pedagogy Matters

The academic field of Vinaya studies continues to expand by addressing significant issues of socio-historical, legal, and ethical significance. Within this expanding field, this dissertation foregrounds questions related to the pedagogy of Vinaya. The central question guiding this study is the question of how is Vinaya taught – both as a subject imparted through texts in a monastic curriculum and as a way of life transmitted through the cultivation of bodily comportment and mental attitudes. Along the way, this dissertation also explores what *vinaya* as a way of life involves and what values and ethical qualities are cultivated through the transmission of *vinaya*. I focus on what Mark Jordan in another context refers to as "scenes of instruction,"[378] examining how such scenes within Vinaya texts depict the training of new monks and asking what these scenes can teach us about our own engagement with Vinaya and *vinaya*. The first chapter sets the stage by giving an overview of Vinaya texts and scholarship to date on *vinaya*. Chapters two to five then engage the above questions from different perspectives which also unveil the many layers of meaning and practice associated with Vinaya/*vinaya*. Given the richness of its topic, this dissertation has not resolved these questions fully. Nevertheless, this study represents an example of how sustained reflection on the pedagogy of Vinaya/*vinaya* may have great significance for understanding how Buddhist monastic education operates and the kind of individuals Buddhist monasticism aims to form. In this conclusion, I highlight some of the key themes that permeate

[378] Jordan, Teaching Bodies, 67-79.

the chapters in this dissertation and suggest possible ways forward in exploring Vinaya pedagogy, including the need to rethink the methodological approaches for Vinaya Studies.

In terms of methodology, this dissertation has tried to privilege those self-referential passages in Vinaya texts that aim to tell us what Vinaya/*vinaya* is, how one should engage with Vinaya/*vinaya*, and what benefits accrue to a life informed by Vinaya/*vinaya*. Examining such self-referential passages is methodologically useful as it helps us to see Vinaya texts in their own terms based on how they describe themselves. The Vinaya texts consistently claim both that their contents and that living a life according to *vinaya* can transform people's lives. The most meaningful thing one can do – so the Vinaya texts claim – is to study Vinaya texts and to practice *vinaya* as a way of life. The persistence with which Vinaya texts claim their transformative potential are not just strategy of self-promotion or poetic embellishment. The self-referential passages exhibit an extraordinary level of confidence as they also employ various metaphors to describe how engagement with the Vinaya texts and the cultivation of *vinaya* in everyday life is integral for the ethical formation of Buddhist monastics. The self-referential passages also have a rhetorical power that shapes how readers perceive Vinaya and Buddhist monasticism. As students of Vinaya, it is important that we take these claims with the earnestness they deserve in order to fully understand their significance and practical implications.

As we focus on the self-referentiality in Vinaya texts, a host of other important questions present themselves: how can we study the transformation that Vinaya texts describe as being fostered by the study and practice of Vinaya/*vinaya*? How does Vinaya/*vinaya* operate in relation to people? Is it possible for students outside of the Buddhist monastic context to study Vinaya/*vinaya* in that transformative way? And what do we miss if we overlook these claims about the transformative capacity of Vinaya/*vinaya*? This dissertation has attempted to address these

questions to some extent. Focusing on the pedagogy of Vinaya/*vinaya* is one step toward addressing these concerns which require continued engagement and sustained reflection. We also need to be open to the variety of interpretive tools and methods that can contribute to a richer reading and understanding of the texts and practice.

In addition to studying the self-referential passages and the metaphors (such as when *vinaya* is referred to as the earth where all the merits grow) informed by literary imagination, the study of Vinaya texts can also benefit from an ethnographic approach in order to gain a deeper understanding of how texts shape the lives of monks and how the lived experiences of monastics shapes what they see and read in the texts.

The extensive narratives in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya texts can also be read as ethnographic documents, albeit coming from a distant past and based on notes taken by authors whose names we will never know. The historical details of characters and events portrayed in the Vinaya texts cannot be verified with anything close to certainty, yet more often than not, they contain seemingly realistic portrayals of how humans behave and affect each other in profound ways. Reading the Vinaya narratives carefully paying attention to the important details will help us gain a more nuanced understanding of what *vinaya* means, how *vinaya* operates in everyday life, and what a life of *vinaya* involves.

The Vinaya narratives reveal that *vinaya* in everyday life is not limited to monastic precepts (*śīla*) and rules (*śikṣāpada*). Instead, *vinaya* is an embodied quality that can affect others ethically and aesthetically. The term *vinaya* is widely used in South Asian cultures to refer to qualities of humility, modesty, and politeness. We learn that embodied *vinaya* also involves performing norms of conduct (*ācāra*) specially when a monk is in a public place or interacts with others. Elaborate "gestural routines" and "techniques of the body" – part of the monastic *ācāra* – as outlined in

Vinaya texts are not presented as strict rules for controlling individual monks but as strategies for monastic training. We see in the narratives certain gestures of the body generate favorable reactions (*śobhanam*), while others generate disgust in the minds of onlookers. An individual endowed with *vinaya* has great degree of kinesthetic awareness and an attitude of care for the others. In short, as an embodied quality *vinaya* operates in an intersubjective mode, where an individual has deep self-awareness and their bodily comportment or the way of being has the capacity to bring about a transformative affect in others.

Vinaya texts are taught by teachers and the rules in Vinaya texts can be memorized. However, *vinaya* as a way of life is to be cultivated by imitating others who have *vinaya*, staying in close relationship with teachers, and cultivating a continued practice of seeing oneself in relation to others. Interpersonal care and a sense of community are inbuilt within Buddhist monastic training which requires the need for seeing oneself in relational terms.

Informed by ethnographic methods and literary imagination, we can also engage Vinaya texts productively by asking questions pertaining to the deeper ethical qualities that monks are meant to inculcate while doing mundane duties. For instance, taking a case that is discussed in chapter two, when a novice is asked to follow the teacher one step behind when the teacher is walking and giving instructions, the focus of the training is not limited to the oral lesson alone. As the novice needs to constantly pay attention to how fast or slow the teacher walks – the novice eventually cultivates a sense of intersubjective awareness so that he can synchronize his own steps to conform to the pace of his teacher. In addition to the words the teacher says, the novice needs to know where the teacher typically takes a turn, where he is likely to stop and what else the teacher is doing with the movements of his body. By closely associating with the teacher and attending to

the movement of his body in this manner, the novice begins to have a sense of how the teacher thinks and relates to the world around him.

The ideal relationship between a teacher and a pupil, as depicted in the Vinaya texts, is established on care. The ideal teacher provides the students with material needs, nurses them in moments of sickness, inspires them when they experience remorse and come under the influence of bad company. The training of a novice monk involves serving the teacher in many ways – such as preparing his toothbrush, sewing his robes, nursing him in moments of sickness – all of which are opportunities for the novice to cultivate a habit of caring for an individual who is not biologically related to him. By encountering his own emotions of reverence and occasional reluctance, the novice learns what it means to take care of others. As compassionate care is a core concern of Buddhist monastic training, such duties form an important part of the daily routine and the education of a novice monk.

Even as the Vinaya texts point out that ideal relationships must be based on care, they also contain many narratives of monks with questionable characters. Monks in the Vinaya texts are not always ideal examples of living ethically. If we look at these narratives through a socio-historical perspective, we might consider them as presenting a degenerate form of Buddhist monasticism. Reading these narratives as sources of monastic education, we see that these narratives with monks of questionable ethical behavior have great pedagogical value because they are meant for specific kind of readers, i.e. Buddhist monks in training. The Buddhist monks who preserved these narratives were well aware of the problematic behavior of the characters in these narratives. Yet they took great pains in preserving these and translating them into different Asian languages.

The pedagogical value of Vinaya narratives lies not only in their function of prescribing norms of good conduct, but also in their portrayal of how individuals fail to live up to the ideals

of monastic life. By presenting characters who face manifold challenges from unfavorable environments, unsympathetic people in the society, and monastic bullies, the Vinaya narratives also have therapeutic function as they provide sources of comfort for young monks undergoing these challenges themselves and contain various strategies for coping with and resolving personal remorse and communal conflicts.

A productive reading of the Vinaya narratives would be to focus on how they create the possibility of, what Sara McClintock refers to as "ethical autopoiesis in which individuals fashion and refashion their subjectivity in relation to both self and world through a process of more or less conscious reflection on issues of moral significance."[379] Buddhist narratives in general and Vinaya narratives in particular have ample examples of characters who engage in this kind of fashioning and refashioning their subjectivity by contemplating on issues of moral significance. An important and worthy task for students of Vinaya would be to see if it is possible to engage in "ethical autopoiesis" ourselves as we read Vinaya narratives. In other words, can we also engage with Vinaya narratives in order to "fashion and refashion" our "ethical subjectivity"?

Reiterating a point I mentioned in the Introduction to this dissertation and discussed further in chapter four, I argue that according to the Vinaya narratives living an ethical life means coming face to face with one's own ethical frailty. Ethical transformation cannot occur effectively until and unless one is ready to acknowledge one's own ethical flaws. The Vinaya narratives create the conditions for "ethical autopoiesis" in two ways: first by presenting characters and events that are relatable to their monastic readers. For many monastic readers, the narratives can serve as mirrors where they can see versions of themselves. As the narratives have a therapeutic function for its readers, they also show the chain of reactions and unfortunate consequences of unreflective

[379] McClintock, "Ethical Reading and the Ethics of Forgetting and Remembering," 185.

actions. Second, the Vinaya narratives also indicate the possibility of transformation, so that terrible actions done out of rage or animosity do not have to limit our potentials as humans. Stories of ethical transformation within the narratives can serve as inspirations to the readers to explore the potentials for their own transformation.

Before closing this dissertation, I would like to emphasize that since both Vinaya and *vinaya* are closely connected to monastic training, they must be read in relation to each other. In other words, as a way forward in Vinaya studies we need to continue exploring how both Vinaya and *vinaya* are integrated in monastic training. This can be done in two ways: first, we need to examine the Vinaya manuals and commentaries that are meant to be used in monastic education. As a genre of texts, as discussed in chapter five, Vinaya manuals and commentaries present an integrative pedagogy that incorporates training in devotion, embodied attention, care and institutional cohesion, and removal of afflictive emotions. By integrating precepts and rules within the daily routine of a monk and incorporating other genres and topics such as meditation instructions, Vinaya manuals and commentaries present a distinct vision of Buddhist monastic pedagogy. By exploring these manuals in-depth we can learn how canonical Vinaya texts are used as sources for monastic education and how Buddhist educators have historically envisioned the ideal training of a novice monk.

Second, by conducting ethnographic research on contemporary Buddhist monastic communities we will gain a more robust understanding of the ways in which Vinaya/*vinaya* informs the lives of monks and nuns in our times. What role does Vinaya/*vinaya* in fact plays in the lives of Buddhist monastics?

Notable ethnographic research works on Buddhist monasticism have already revealed important dimensions of contemporary Buddhist monastic cultures that deserve to be mentioned.

For instance, past studies have explored such diverse themes as the role of communal and bodily practices during the ritual performance of debates in a Tibetan monastery;[380] the political, economic, and transnational factors involved in the education of monks in a remote village in China;[381] and the role of emotion in forming bonds between senior monks, novices, and lay people in the Theravāda context of Sri Lanka.[382] Valuable as they are, these studies do not take the issue of teaching Vinaya/*vinaya* as a central focus.

Since *vinaya* exists not as an abstract concept but in lived experience, ethnographic research can present a closer view of the experiences of monastics whose lives are affected by Vinaya/*vinaya*. Future ethnographic studies on Buddhist monasticism must address such questions as: how does a person learn to become a monk? How are the Vinaya texts used in rituals? What role do formal and informal settings in monastic training shape education of a novice monk? In the context of Tibetan Buddhism, how is the role of a Vinaya specialist and a disciplinarian different in shaping the ethical life of a novice monk? And, how does Vinaya as a subject of monastic education integrate other subjects in monastic curriculum (e.g. logic, Abhidharma etc.)? It is also possible that people's *vinaya* may be shaped by aspects of life that have nothing to do with Vinaya.

As we continue to explore these questions, we will understand in a deeper way how Buddhist monastic system has survived for centuries. Vinaya texts have changed and monastic practices have gained new meanings and diverse interpretations. Despite the changes caused by various social, historical, and political factors that transformed Buddhist monasticism, the core ideals of *vinaya* have been preserved in the different Buddhist communities. Recognizing fully the

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[380] Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*.

[381] Borchert, *Educating Monks: Minority Buddhism on China's Southwest Border*.

[382] Samuels, *Attracting the Heart: Social Relations and the Aesthetics of Emotion in Sri Lankan Monastic Culture*.

enduring capacity of *vinaya* to transform people's lives in profound ways can also enrich our own ethical lives. It is with this acknowledgement that I extract the following verse.

> Just as the earth is the foundational support for various beings,
> and just as grain is born from it,
> the *vinaya* is the foundational support for the observers of vows,
> and merits similarly arises from these.[383]

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[383] *Vinayavibhaṅga* (*'Dul ba rnam par byed pa*). In: *'Dul ba (Vinaya,* p. 41*)*. Bka' 'gyur. Derge, Vol. 5(ca):. *ji ltar sa ni skye rgu rnams kyi gzhi/ de las 'bru rnams skye bar 'gyur pa ltar/ de bzhin 'dul ba'ang sdom brtson rnams kyi gzhi/ de bzhin de las bsod nams rnams kyang skye//*.

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