

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE FOUNDER'S AUTHORITY,  
THE COMMUNITY, AND THE DISCIPLINE IN EARLY  
BUDDHISM AND IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

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**TITLE:** A Comparative Study of the Founder's Authority,  
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**SCOPE AND CONTENTS:** The evidence of this study is valuable in showing the dissimilarities and the similarities of the two world religions, Buddhism and Christianity. The ultimate difference in spiritual outlook may be summed up in the statement that Buddhism is gnostic and autonomus while Christianity is eschatological and heteronomus. As for the similarities, both religions have the authority of a great spiritual figure who became the founder, leader and ultimate source of all that is essential in each. The founders' personality and teachings were basic in developing the unity, discipline and life styles which emerged. Also there are striking similarities in the moral teachings, human organization and disciplinary life styles of the two religions. Further from this study it is evident that Buddhism was not merely an individualistic religion nor merely an ethical code or philosophical system but a religion with a social structure similar to Christianity. Also this study in bringing to light the authority of the founder, the unity of the community and the patterned disciplinary life of common responsibility in early Buddhism has made a discovery which many Buddhist scholars had previously overlooked.

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the similarities and dissimilarities between early Buddhism and early Christianity, in regard to the authority of the founders; the nature of the communities; the understanding of discipline in the respective communities.

Buddhism is discussed in Part I, Christianity in Part II. A thorough examination of the topics listed above is undertaken within each group because, as observed by Max Müller,<sup>1</sup> "Before we compare, we must thoroughly know what we compare." In Part III, the early Buddhist and Christian communities are compared.

Each of the first two parts is divided into three chapters, dealing respectively, with the founder's authority, the community response to the founder and to his teachings, and the nature of discipline in the community. Emphasis in both parts is on the "authority" of the founder in the views of the early Buddhist and Christian disciples, and on how this authority and the founder's teachings were commemorated and followed by the members of the community, in relation to the goal of unity among the followers.

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<sup>1</sup>  
Cited in, J. Wach, The Comparative Study of Religions, New York, Columbia University Press, 1958, p. xi.

To the discussion of Buddhism is added a consideration of whether the early community constituted a church or an esoterical  
2  
community. This topic is included only in the discussion of Buddhism because the early Buddhist community, unlike that of the early Christians, consisted of both a monastic community and a laity, and these must be compared. In addition, the subject of the essence of the discipline which developed in response to the founder's teaching is discussed with regard to both the Buddhist and Christian communities.

This comparative study appears significant for several reasons. The two religions being considered here are both great world religions, which Matzutani called "the two most sublime  
3  
religions mankind has ever had." A comparative study of these religions may permit followers of each faith to learn from the other. This may lead to a better general understanding of the

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2  
S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, Bombay, India, 1960, p. 48, "Kern observes that Buddhism is properly a monastic institution, and the laity is but accessory (Ibid., p. 72). Dr. Archibald Scott finds the broadest distinction between the Christian Church and the Buddhist Church in the fact that the work of the former lay outside the limits of the church. Of Buddhism, he says "Its lay associates, however numerous, were but the fringes of religious communities. When, therefore, deterioration in the order set in, reformation of it by the people was hopeless" (Buddhism and Christianity, p. 272).

3  
P. Matzutani, A Comparative Study of Buddhism and Christianity, Tokyo, The Young East Association, 1957, p. 1.

religion of other peoples, and help to avoid strife among peoples of different religious faiths. As Parrinder wrote, "The construction of a world-wide harmony is too great a task to be undertaken except with religious faith."<sup>4</sup>

But in studies of this kind attention has to be paid to something not sufficiently paid heed to so far. As Richard Gard has observed:

Most of the attempts to compare or contrast Buddhism and Christianity are unsatisfactory because they tend to deal with doctrinal contexts, without sufficient reference to their historical and institutional contexts, and they usually do not employ an established comparative method of analysis or common terminology.<sup>5</sup>

As Gard's comments indicate, most comparative studies to date have been inadequate in their treatment of the historical and institutional aspects. To fill this void has been one of the objectives of the present study. As Matzutani has noted:

Usually, when two religions are compared, the analysis is biased in favor of the writer's own religion. He starts with preconceived conclusions and his aim really is to defend and uphold his own religion and thus disparage the other. Such a comparison, however minutely it may be treated, can never be called a scholarly

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G. Parrinder, Comparative Religion, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1962, p. 118.

5

R.A. Gard, "Buddhism", A Reader's Guide to the Great Religions, ed., Charles Adams, New York, The Free Press, 1965, p. 90.



work.

One of the purposes of the present study, therefore, has been to bring a more objective approach to the comparison of Buddhism and Christianity.

Parts I and II contribute some new information and interpretations concerned with topics which themselves have been the subjects of considerable debate, e.g., the problems of Buddha's authority, the unity of samgha, the unity of the Church, and the nature of discipline in each community. In Buddhism, it is generally believed that dharma, not Buddha, was the basis of authority (see Part I, Chapter I). In Christianity the authority of Christ has generally been accepted, but the present study seeks to introduce some new points into the discussion. Many scholars have denied the existence of unity in the early Buddhist community and have, instead, emphasized individuality, but the unity of samgha is as much stressed in this study (see Part II, Chapter IV). There is no dearth of books about these issues in Christianity, and theories regarding Christ as the source of both disunity and unity have been much debated among scholars. In these studies the nature and role discipline does not appear to have been adequately discussed in relation either to Buddhism or to Christianity. Hence its emphasis in this dissertation.

Finally, a study of the similarities and differences of these two great religions in matters pertaining to authority, community, and discipline may not only contribute to an understanding of these topics themselves, but may also help to explain the vitality and strengths of these religions and provide partial explanation of their success as world religions.

The three topics discussed in this dissertation - authority, community, and discipline - are all essential aspects of each religion, and are inseparably related to one another. In both, community and discipline appear to be grounded in the authority of the founders. Discipline, for example, must of necessity follow some basis of authority. Therefore, the authority of the founder must be considered. Because discipline is practised by the community, the nature of the community must be investigated. There could be no purpose of discipline without the community and its founder. Without the founder, the community and its discipline would not have come into being. Therefore, early Buddhism had the three jewels - Buddha, dharma (vinaya), and sangha - which were understood both in a particular and in an interrelated unitary sense. Likewise, in early Christianity one finds an inseparable unity between Christ, the Church, and the understanding of the teaching, and the discipline. Further, Christ and the Church are regarded as one as the body of Christ.

The reason that the Buddhist discipline rather than dharma

in toto is discussed in this dissertation is that doctrinal aspects have already been extensively discussed by other authors.<sup>7</sup> The primary purpose of the present author is to consider the more practical aspects. This is in keeping with an observation made by E. O. James: "... the main interest and purpose of the discipline have been the maintenance of society, the well being of mankind and the continuance of the natural order as they exist here and now."<sup>8</sup> The discipline was central to the whole Buddhist understanding - an understanding which was focused on the objective of the attainment wisdom through moral discipline. In Christianity, Matthew's Gospel and Paul's letters indicate that moral teachings as discipline in Christ were a very important part of the Christian communal life. In the respective religions both discipline and doctrine had noteriological significance related to the authority of the founder and to the maintenance of unity among his followers. However, in the present study doctrinal matters are given only secondary consideration.

In order to describe and discuss comparative patterns in each of the early communities, the author considers the self-understanding of the disciples, rather than relying on a historical-institutional approach. Such consideration of the self-understanding of the members of each community provides an objective basis for the

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, Bombay, 1960. pp. 6-9.

<sup>8</sup> E.O. James, Comparative Religion, New York, Barnes & Noble, 1938 (reprinted 1961), p. 305.

discussion of these communities which could not be obtained by considering them strictly from a modern viewpoint. Therefore, original texts have been used as the primary sources of information. More recent works serve only a supplementary function.

Such topics as the influence of either of these two religions upon the other, or syncretism as the basis of both religions, or the superiority of one over the other are not within the scope of the present study.

Important sources of information on early Buddhism which have been used in this study are:

The Tripiṭakas in translation: Vinaya Pīṭaka (Books of Discipline); Sutta Pīṭaka: Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha); Majjhima Nikāya (Further Dialogues of the Buddha); Samyutta-Nikāya (Book of the Kindred Sayings); Anguttara-Nikāya (Book of the Gradual Sayings); Dhammapāda (A Collection of Verses); Sutta-Nipat (A Collection of Discourses); Theragāthā (Psalms of the Early Buddhists), and also Chinese translation of the original texts, namely: Ssu Fen Lu; Shih Sung Lü; Mo Keh Sung Chih Lü (Mahāsaṅghika-Vinaya); Ta Chih Tu Lun; Chung A Han Ching; Tza A Han Ching; Tseng-yi A Han Ching; Shan-Chien-Pi-P'o-Sha (A Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā).

Secondary selective sources include S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism; E. J. Thomas, Buddha, The History of Buddhist Thought; H. Oldenberg, Buddha; H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism. The following Japanese works are considered: H. Ui, Indo Tetsugaku Kenkyu.

[A Study in Indian Philosophy], Vol. 4; Watsuji, Genshi Bukkyo no Jissen Tetsugaku [Practical Philosophies in Primitive Buddhism]; M. Sato, Genshi Bukkyo Kyodan no Kenkyu [A Study of the Early Buddhist Order in the vinya pitaka]; A. Hirakawa, Ritsu no Kenkyu [A Study of the vinaya pitaka]; K. Tsukamoto Shoki Bukkyo Kyodanshi no Kenkyu [A History of the Early Buddhist Order]; K. Hayajima Shoki Bukkyo to Shakai Seikatsu [Early Buddhism and Social Life]; H. Nakamura Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritsu [The Formation of Early Buddhism].

The study of Christianity has been based primarily upon the New Testament, especially on Paul's letters, the Synoptic Gospels, Acts - important original sources. Later works consulted include: R. Williams, Authority in the Apostolic Age; J. McKenzie, Authority in the Church; P. Benit, The Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ; A. Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period; G. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth; J. Weiss, Earliest Christianity; R.P. Martin, Carmen Christi; J. Jeremias, New Testament Theology Part I; D. L. Dungan, The Saying of Jesus in the Churches of Paul; J. G. Davies, The Early Christian Church.

Comparative studies of religions which have been consulted during this study include: J. Wach, The Comparative Study of Religions; Edmunds and Anesaki, Buddhist and Christian Gospels; T. Sterling Berry, Christianity and Buddhism; Winston L. King, Buddhism and Christianity; Nakamura, Hikaku Shisho Ron [A Study of Comparative Thought]; B. D. Kretser, Man in Buddhism and

Christianity; R. Garbe, India and Christianity; Archibald Scott, Buddhism and Christianity; etc.

Most studies of early Buddhism have relied almost exclusively on Pāli texts. The use of Chinese translations of texts not available in Pāli, and the use of important Japanese studies of early Buddhism not available in English provide a balanced perspective of the available material on the aspects of Buddhism which are the concern of this thesis. Many previous studies have lacked such a balance.

In conclusion I would like to make a few remarks to explain the form used in citing non-English references, the in-text use of non-English terms, and, finally, my understanding of the scope and significance of some difficult English terms which are central to this thesis.

All of the translations of Chinese and Japanese source material are my own and I must assume full responsibility for them. For the convenience of the readers I have transliterated the Chinese and Japanese characters into Roman script throughout the footnotes. Following the transliteration I have included my translation of it enclosed in square brackets. The full form, with the Chinese or Japanese characters, is given in the bibliography.

I have used translated versions of the Sanskrit and Pāli texts. In the citations as well as in the bibliography the citations follow the form used by the translator; in all cases the Sanskrit or

Pāli are given in Roman script followed by the translation of the title enclosed in round brackets.

In the Sanskrit and Pāli translations themselves two form problems occur: (1) depending on the text and the translator some key terms which are not translated into English are used variously in their Sanskrit or Pāli form, or in both forms, i.e., Sanskrit "dharma" and Pāli "dhamma". In my citation of the material I have not altered the translator's form. In the text of the thesis I have followed the Sanskrit forms, and where I thought it might serve as a convenience to the reader I have included the Pāli form in round brackets. (2) It is becoming increasingly common in "popularized" works on Indian Religion to capitalize certain key Sanskrit or Pāli terms (i.e., Dharma/Dhamma) and to overlook the academic rule that non-English terms be italicized or underlined. The general rule which is used as a guideline to capitalization in the English language - that the particular use of a term is capitalized, while its general use is not - does not apply to Sanskrit for two reasons: (i) the devanagari script does not have capitalized forms, so, to include them in the Romanized form of the script is artificial, and (ii) those terms which one finds capitalized most often are the very terms which have such a fullness of meaning that it is often superficial to attempt to designate between the "particular" and "general." Because of this I have used the Sanskrit in the small case and underlined all Sanskrit and Pāli terms; proper names are the only exception to this rule.

Two terms which occur throughout the thesis require brief consideration: (i) the term "early" in studies such as this often gets one embroiled in textual-historical questions. It was not possible within the scope of this thesis to consider such involved questions. My intent is to put forward an interpretation of a set of religious phenomena and in the attempt to facilitate this task I have used the term "early" in a broad but not careless manner to refer to the period spanned by three generations after the deaths of Buddha and Christ which, even more generally, would be about one-hundred years.



PART I

EARLY BUDDHISM

## CHAPTER I

### THE AUTHORITY OF BUDDHA:

#### AN EXAMINATION OF THE VIEWS OF THE EARLY DISCIPLES

In this chapter the authority of the founder according to the views of the early Buddhist disciples is discussed.

In order to discuss religious discipline in Buddhism, it should first be asked: To what extent and in what way is understanding of authority related to the Buddha? It should also be asked: What is the central authority of all of the Buddhist schools which have very different ideas, although all of them claim to be Buddhist? This discussion however will be limited to the first three generations after the founder.

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<sup>1</sup> Buddhism contained so many different schools that it is difficult to find common factors. For example, Hinayāna is more individualistic, Mahāyāna, more universal, Tantric Buddhism (left wing) emphasized the sexual idea, which seems to be a rejection of the early disciplinary prohibition of sex for monks. Zen Buddhism in general denied the succession of the traditional scriptures and traditions, and had a very practical emphasis. The Nichiren sect of Japan emphasized militancy; killing enemies of Buddha was seen as proper action, and was praised, contrary to the original prohibition of killing. Although all of these claim to be Buddhism, Tantric Buddhism appears influenced by Hinduism, Zen by Taoism and Confucianism, and Nichiren by Shinto and Confucianism, although all have some Buddhist aspects.

Views vary as to whether or not Buddha was accepted as an authority. Some scholars, including Ui, Watanabe, S.Dutt, Humphreys et al., answer this question in the negative; others, including Keith, Matsumoto, Jayatilleke, Kitagawa, et al., answer in the affirmative.

2

From Buddha's death to the Second Council. Cf., R.A.Gard "Buddhism" C.J.Adams op. cit.: "The dates of the Buddha are still problematical: the Thevavadins in Burma, Ceylon, and India give 624-544 B.C.; and those in Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand one year later, 623-543 B.C.; Whereas the Mahāyānists, especially in Japan, and most Western scholars have various opinions, such as 566-486 B.C. (the preferable date), 563-483 B.C. or 558-478 B.C.; in any case, all agree that the Buddha had a life-span of 80 years." p.109. Cf., E.J. Thomas The History of Buddhist Thought, London, 1933, (reprinted 1967), "The Cullavagga (Ch. 12) also gives an account of the Second Council. We are told that a hundred years after the death of the lord, (Buddha)." pp. 29-30.

3

Negative views: H. Ui says, "Buddha had no special controlling power; Buddha was one of the members of saṅgha." Indo Tetsugaku Kenkyu, vol. 4. (A Study in Indian Philosophy), Tokyo, 1965, p.414; S.Watanabe states that the discipline of Buddhism did not have any authority, but autonomy as pure independent morality; therefore, no other authority than oneself. Bukkyo (Buddhism), Tokyo, 1967, p.91; According to S.Dutt, "In Buddhism there existed no central authority or central control ... Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, London, 1962; C. Humphreys states "There is no 'authority' in Buddhism." p.28. A Popular Dictionary of Buddhism, London, 1926, pp. 38-39.

4

Positive views: A.B.Keith states, "Thus happily enough, is a bridge built between the final authority of the Buddha and the demand of the individual for respect to his intellectual independence." Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon, India, 1962, p.35; B.Matsumoto says that during Buddha's life time and also for a hundred years after Buddha's death, it was not believed that anyone existed who could be the vicar of Buddha. Their respect for Buddha could not be transferred to any other person: So says Bukkyoshi no Kenkyu (A Study of Buddhist History), Kyoto, Japan, 1928, p.18; K.M.Jayatilleke states "The

An important text in Buddhism states that Buddha repudiated his own leadership and suggested truth (dharma) as an authority. He said:

'Now the Tathāgata, Ananda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the order is dependent upon him.' And he went on to say: 'therefore O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth.'

S. Dutt suggested that it is not unreasonable to to accept this statement from the early Buddhist texts. Whether or not these are the actual words of Buddha, they provide a record of the belief held by the first Buddhist disciples that such was, in effect, Buddha's last pronouncement.<sup>6</sup>

If one accepts this statement, it can be interpreted to mean that Buddha denied his own authority during his lifetime and

Arahat ... had to accept on faith and therefore almost the whole theory of Buddhism had to be accepted on the authority of Buddha alone." Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge, London, 1963, p. 400; J.M. Kitagawa says, "During his lifetime, Buddha was the final authority in the life of the Community, deciding all matters of doctrine and practice even though he may not have meant his decisions to be binding in the years to come. It is said that Buddha on his death-bed urged his followers to depend solely on the Dharma as the guiding principle of their path. But the Dharma was not self-evident: it was the Dharma taught and interpreted by Buddha that his followers accepted." Religions of the East, Philadelphia, 1960, p. 171.

5

Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part II, Vol. III, by T. W. Davids, Pali Texts Society tr. London, 1910, reprinted 1959, Mahā Parinibbāna-Suttanta II, 100, pp. 107-108. The term "dharma" is discussed at length in footnote 7 of this chapter.

6

S. Dutt, The Buddha and Five After-Centuries, Ahmedabad: Great Britain, 1955, p. 96.

developed dharma-vinaya as the authority for the Buddhist community. The question might still be asked whether the early Buddhist disciples neglected the question of the Buddha's authority.

If Buddha's disciples neglected this question, why should Ananda have asked Buddha about leadership or authority and about who would succeed the Buddha after his death, and not simply have asked other arahats? The asking of the question itself indicates that Buddha's opinion on the matter was essential, that is, Ananda regarded the Buddha's opinion as the authoritative opinion. If they accepted dharma-vinaya as an authority, is it not still the case that it was the Buddha's teachings which were the basis of what was considered authoritative however impersonal those teachings may have been in the vinaya form? This would seem to indicate that the question of authority should not be too closely tied to the purely historical question of the Buddha's personality as a leader.

The author's argument in this section, therefore, is that Buddha's authority was affirmative in the historical sense, in that the early Buddhists accepted their founder's teachings as authoritative, although, ultimately, these teachings were to be transcended.

Let us examine first the relationship between Buddha and dharma. In his lifetime Buddha denied any claims to authority as the master of the Order, and also declined to nominate a successor. On the contrary, he suggested dharma as the principle authority for his disciples. After his death, therefore, they recognized the dharma as the guide of the community and thus solved the problem of

authority in obedience to Buddha's own mind. It seems natural that after Buddha's death his disciples interpreted authority in accord with the founder's teaching. This appears to have been a primary characteristic of early Buddhism. dharma is the universal law,

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Cf. S.C. Banerjee, Dharma Sutras, A Study in Their Origin and Development, Calcutta, Punthi Pustak, 1962, p. 1. But, "dharma" is one of those Sanskrit words which defy an exact rendering into English. While "religion" is rather a loose English equivalent of "dharma", "duty" fails to convey all the senses in which the word has been used in ancient Indian literature. The best definition of "dharma" appears to have been given by Jaimini in the words "codanalaksano" "rtho dharma" that is to say "dharma" consists in beneficial directions. These directions, however, are manifold: They direct us in our lives as individuals and also as members of the society. They teach us how to conduct ourselves in matters both religious and secular. Cf. Th. Stcherbatsky, The Central Conception of Buddhism, Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 62-63. Stcherbatsky notes: "The conception of a dharma is the central point of the Buddhist doctrine. In the light of this conception Buddhism discloses itself as a metaphysical theory developed out of one fundamental principle, viz. the idea that existence is an interplay of a plurality of subtle, ultimate, not further analysable elements of Matter, Mind, and Forces. These elements are technically called 'dharmas', a meaning which this word has in this system alone. Buddhism, accordingly, can be characterized as a system of Radical Pluralism (sanghātavāda): the elements alone are realities, every combination of them is a mere name covering a plurality of separate elements. The moral teaching of a path towards Final Deliverance is not something additional or extraneous to this ontological doctrine, it is most intimately connected with it and, in fact, identical with it.

The Connotation of the term "dharma" implies that -

1. Every element is a separate (prthak) entity or force.
2. There is no inherence of one element in another, hence no substance apart from its qualities, no Matter beyond the separate sense-data, and no Soul beyond the separate mental data (dharma-anātman-nirjīva).
3. Elements have no duration, every moment represents a separate element; thought is evanescent, there are no moving bodies, but consecutive appearances, flashings, of new elements in new places (ksanikatva).
4. The elements co-operate with one another (samskṛta).
5. This co-operating activity is controlled by the laws of causation (pratītya-samutpāda).

which was discovered by the Buddha through his enlightenment. It was, let it be repeated, discovered by Buddha and not created by him. As the title itself indicates, he was the knowledge-conqueror since he attained it, or more strictly speaking, he won it by a struggle. As it is stated in a sūtra: "The world's Honored One, Buddha, in the world of all the devas, demons, Brahman, monks, Brahmin, only Buddha was able to attain and realize the Great Wisdom (mahāmati) or omniscience by himself."

6. The world-process is thus a process of co-operation between seventy-two kinds of subtle, evanescent elements, and such is the nature of dharmas that they proceed from causes (hetu-prabhāva) and steer towards extinction (nirodha).

7. Influenced (sāsrava) by the element "avidyā", the process is in full swing. Influenced by the element 'prajñā', it has a tendency towards appeasement and final extinction. In the first case streams (santāna) of combining elements are produced which correspond to ordinary men (prthag-jana); in the second the stream represents a saint (ārya). The complete stoppage of the process of phenomenal life corresponds to a Buddha.

8. Hence the elements are broadly divided into unrest (duhkha), cause of unrest (duhkā-samudāya-avidyā), extinction (nirodha), and cause of extinction (mārga-prajñā).

9. The final result of the world-process is its suppression. Absolute Calm: all co-operation is extinct and replaced by immutability (asamskrta-nirvāṇa). Cf. Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, Ann Arbor, 1962, reprinted 1967, pp. 92-94. Also, "In an ontological sense dharma is (la), a transcendental reality which is real in absolute truth and in the ultimate sense ... (lb) dharma is 'the order of law of the universe, immanent, eternal, uncreated.' ... As reflected in the conduct of life, dharma means the moral law, righteousness, virtue, right behaviour, duty and religious practice... The dharmic facts of 1 and 2 as interpreted in the Buddha's teaching. The word then means 'doctrine', 'scripture', 'the truth' (cognitive, and not ontological as at la), 'sacred text' or a 'doctrinal text' (often as distinct from vinaya)."  
Daito-Shuppansha in the Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary says of the term: "dharmas/ dharma," "Etymologically, it means something that maintains a certain character always and becomes a standard of things. I. Laws, truth, righteousness. II. The universal norms or laws which govern human existence. III. The Buddha's teachings; the Buddhist canon. IV. Good deeds that have no defilements ... VI. The whole universe as the object of thought." Tokyo: 1965, p.107.

The dharma or the doctrine was taught by the Buddha. He gave it lips. Without dharma, there was no Buddha, but whether there was a Buddha or not, dharma would always exist. Being the 'eternal dharma', it was inherent in the true nature of things, and the Buddha rediscovered what had presumably been discovered before<sup>10</sup> but now was lost. Therefore, whoever could find dharma and thereby attain kinship with Buddha's enlightenment, would be attuned to the reality which the Buddha proclaimed. The Buddha said that through respect and wholehearted study of this dharma, one would attain<sup>11</sup> enlightenment. Thus Buddha's injunction to his disciples to go directly to the dharma was perfectly consistent with his understanding of himself and his relationship to the dharma. Buddha was an independent man who accepted no authority other than his

8

H. Oldenberg, Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order, tr. William Hoey in English, London, 1832, p.84.

9

Tsa A Han Ching, Vol. 3, P'o-l'uo-men Ching 7, 82 (53):

"世尊於諸世間 諸天魔梵沙門婆羅門中,大智能自證知"

Cf., Samyutta-Nikāya (Kindred Sayings), Part 1, by Mrs. R. Davids, Pali Text Society tr. London, 1917, reprinted 1971. The Brahmin Suttas 7, 1: 'O brahmin, I know of no one throughout the world of gods, Maras or Brahmas, recluses or brahmins, no one human or divine, who could so admonish that Exalted One, Arahāt, Buddha Supreme. Nevertheless, go thou, brahmin, and then thou wilt know.' p. 200.

10

Cf., E.J. Thomas, op.cit., p. 175.



experience which showed to him a truth. This truth subsequently expressed by him in the positive form of the dharma. If dharma was the Universal Law, whoever reached Buddha's enlightenment, would be akin to the Buddha in the relationship to dharma.

This is all theoretically true, but the principal question for us is, "How did his disciples react to him and to his authority?" Did they take his injunction literally and actually act according to it, or did they take the injunction and the man as the author of the injunction in some inseparable unity which became integral to their understanding of the dharma? The latter seems to be the case. The disciples, moreover, depended on Buddha's authority during his life-time itself and especially afterwards. If they were not dependent on his authority why then did Ananda ask Buddha but not others (arahats), about the succession of the leadership and instruction of the community?

In Majjhima-Nikāya, there is a report that Vassakara and Gopakamoggallana asked Ananda about the successor of Buddha after his death, which goes like this:

As to this, the brahman Gopaka-Moggallana said to me:  
Is there even one Monk, Ananda, who is possessed in every

11

Cf., Samyutta-Nikāya (Kindred Sayings), Part 1, "This Norm (dharma) then, wherein I (Buddha) am supremely enlightened - what if I were to live under it, paying it honour and respect!" p. 175. Cf., H. Matzutan Toyo Shiso no Keisei ( Formation of Eastern Thought ), Tokyo, 1964, p. 269. Cf., Hsiang ying pu ching Tien Majjhima-Nikāya, 6, 2, "Kung ching" (Nan Chuan pp. 238-240) Tsa a han ching, 44, 11 (Taisho 2, 32, 1-2).

way and in every part of all those things of which the good Gautama, perfected one, fully Self-Awakened One, was possessed? When this had been said, I braham, spoke thus to the brahman Gopaka-Moggallana: 'There is not even one monk ... But the disciples are now way following after him.' "Is there, good Ananda, even one monk who was designated by the good Gotama saying; After my passing this one will be your support, and to whom you might have recourse now?" There is not even one monk, brahman, who was designated by the Lord who knew and saw, perfected one fully Self-Awakened One, saying: 'After my passing this one will be your support, and to whom we might have recourse now.' But is there even one monk, Ananda, who is agreed upon by the order and designated by a number of monks who are elders, saying: 'After the Lord's passing this one will be our support, and to whom you have recourse now?' "There is not even one monk, brahman, who is agreed upon by the order ... and to whom we might have recourse now."

"But as you are thus without a support good Ananda, what is the cause of your unity?"

We, brahman, are not without support; we have a support, brahman. Dharma is the support." <sup>12</sup>

However, Ananda said that no monk appointed by the Buddha's successor or by the Buddha was to take his place. Then both of them asked, 'If this was so, without having a leader (one to guide them), how could the community have unity?' If the community did not have a head, who could control the monks; so that there would be harmony in the community? At that time, religious communities in India were generally controlled and harmonized by their leaders. It was

accordingly assumed that Buddha controlled his community. But then was there a leader after his death? Ananda's answer was that there was no one like Buddha who possessed dasa pāsādaniyā dharma. The meaning of this statement is that if anyone was equal to Buddha, he could succeed Buddha's position, but, clearly, in Ananda's mind there was nobody equal to him. Therefore, there was no question of succession. Buddha's authority as the head of the community was not transferrable. He was head by virtue of having discovered the dharma and known it as no other man had. So Ananda said that we must depend on dharma.

13

Buddha, however, taught that the individual monk should find his own dharma. The disciples, moreover, generally accepted Buddha's dharma as authoritative, apparently depending on the impersonal authority of the Buddha, as contained in the collective teachings of the Buddha. Also they did not appoint a leader - either because they were obeying the Buddha's word, or because they could find no person who was fit to take his place. Here then the

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M. Sato "Genshi Bukkyo no Kyodan Rinen" [The Community Idea in Early Buddhism], Ed. S. Yoshimura, Bukkyo Kyodan no Kenkyu [A Study of Buddhist Community], Kyoto, Japan, 1968, p. 85.

question of the unity of the community also seems to have been in the minds of the disciples. They did not want to jeopardize the unity. Therefore, they accepted the impersonal authority of the Buddha for the sake of the unity of the community.

Professor Nakamura develops an argument contrary to the position I have taken from the fact that there was no distinction between the first five monks and the Buddha. If Sakya was super-human, he suggests, then the Buddha's disciples could not reach equal status with the Buddha. The super human status of the Buddha, he thinks, is a later concept developed by theologians,<sup>14</sup> and constitutes a distortion of the historical truth. Nakamura's statement suggests the equality of the monks and the Buddha inasmuch as the arahats reached equal status with the Buddha. This appears to be historically true. Accordingly, one could assume that Ananda asked the Buddha only about the succession after his death in that Ananda was not one of the arahats, and therefore did not possess knowledge of the equality between Buddha and the arahats.

The above opinion runs counter to certain facts: if the arahats and the elders had equality with Buddha why would the monks in the First Council have asked Ananda about Buddha's teaching on dharma? Furthermore, when they compiled the dharma-vinaya they

looked for its foundation in Buddha's own words. One disciple's report goes like this:

'Thus have I heard from Buddha, in the first place, brethren.' From the mouth of the Exalted One himself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the Law, this the teaching of the Master, 'Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that brother.' This brethren you should receive as the first Great Authority.<sup>15</sup>

The Buddhist scriptural reports mention the place, the time, the people who were there, and the situation of the presentation of the dharma. They state that dharma-vinaya was not based on the monks' own knowledge, but on what the Buddha had taught. Although all of the dharma which they recorded could not actually have been Buddha's own words,<sup>16</sup> they put many of those words in Buddha's mouth in order that they might gain authority.

This indicates that if the early Buddhist community wanted to establish or even change dharma-vinaya, then only the Buddha had the authority to do so. Thus, although in theory no

15

Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta (The Book of the Great Decease), op.cit., pp. 125-126.

16

Cf. S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, Bombay, India, 1924 (reprinted 1960), p.7.

one could alter the dharma-vinaya after the Buddha's death some modification was effected and legitimated by invoking Buddha's

17

name.

In view of the above discussion, it appears that Ananda asked the Buddha, not because he was not an arahat, but because he represented the Buddhist monks who had adopted the same attitude which Ananda had. In the First Council, when the first lines of Buddha's words were presented by Ananda, every elder and monk wept and, "laid down his head under the master's words."

18

Matsumoto states that during the Buddha's life-time and for a hundred years after his death the Buddha's disciples were unable to find anyone who could replace the Buddha. Their respect for the Buddha could be transferred to no other person. Nakamura himself qualifies his view regarding the equality of Buddha and the monks with the suggestion that it was not true historically but only in the theoretical sense.

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It is essential now to try to see what the Buddha thought

17

Y. Takahashi, "Kai To Sono Kiban" (Discipline and its foundation: problems in discipline), Ed. Nihon Bukkyo Gakukai, Bukkyo Ni Okeru Kai no Mondai (Problems in Buddhist Discipline), Kyoto, Japan, 1967, p.2.

18

Matzutani, op.cit., p.318.

19

Matsumoto, op.cit., p.18.

of this question. He evidently did believe in equality in the ideal sense, but in practice he allowed distinctions which many scholars have overlooked probably because they were too concerned with the question of equality. There is no doubt that Buddha himself believed in complete democracy concerning the possibility of attaining the realization of the dharma. The saṅgha was a democratic community which basically had no caste discrimination; all members practising dharma-vinaya were equal and all aimed at the same goal, i.e., nirvāṇa. Oldenberg states:

No caste in this band (of Buddha): Whoever will be Buddha's disciple renounces his caste. In one of the speeches which the sacred writings put in Buddha's mouth, it is said on this subject: "As the great streams O disciples, however many they be, the Gangā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, Mahī, when they reach the great ocean, lose their old name and their old descent, and bear only one name, these four castes, Nobles, Brahmins, Vaiçya and Çūdra, when they, in accordance with the law and doctrine which the perfect one has preached, forsake their home and so into home-lessness, lose their old name and old paternity, and bear only the one designation, 'Ascetics, who follow the son of the Sakya house.'<sup>21</sup>

If the Buddha's disciples saw the difference between the Buddha and the arahats, what were the main reasons for this distinction? "Buddha" means "enlightened one." During Buddha's lifetime, the name "Buddha" was applied only to the Buddha himself in the

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Cf. Uī, op. cit., p.414; H. Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo (Primitive Buddhism), Tokyo, 19 , p.146.

21

Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 152.

community; his disciples, enlightened through his teachings, were<sup>22</sup>  
called "arahats" (holy ones, respected ones) but not "Buddhas."

According to the Majjhima-Nikāya, Ananda declared:

There is no monk entirely and completely endowed with those qualities with which the Lord, the Arahāt, the all-enlightened, was endowed. For the Lord was the producer of the unproduced path, the preacher of the path. But now the disciples are followers of the path, being endowed with it afterwards.<sup>23</sup>

The arahats and the Buddha differed in that the latter was the originator of the Path, the knower of the unknown path and the preacher of the unpreached path who had discovered it.<sup>24</sup>

The Buddha was also omniscient (sarvavid) in a sense in which the arahats were not.<sup>25</sup> When the Buddha was claimed to have been omniscient and the concept of 'emancipation by intellectual knowledge alone' (paññāvimutta) had developed, there would have been a wide and unbridgeable gulf between the Buddha and the arahats. The arahats, not

22

Cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, Early Buddhism, London, 1908: "There are distinct traces in our earliest documents of a development of thought in the views of his followers regarding the personality of their master, in their Buddhology." p. 48.

23

Thomas, op.cit., p.212, Majjhima-Nikāya (Middle Length Sayings), III, 8.

24

A. Shastri, An Outline of Early Buddhism, Varanasi, India, 1965, pp. 25-26.

25

E. Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, Ann Arbor, 1962 (reprint 1967), p.169.



having developed the jñānas, could not and did not verify the fact of rebirth through karma. It was a truth which they accepted on faith. Also, the Buddha had ten powers (daśa-bala-mahā-balasa), but only three types of this knowledge were shared by the arahats. Although the arahats were also enlightened, they could not reach the true perfection which the Buddha had because the Buddha claimed the power of remembering his previous existences in which he had cultivated his virtue to an extraordinary degree. The arahats, not having this power, could not reach the perfect life style of the Buddha, and therefore sometimes made mistakes in this life.

Furthermore, dharma-vinaya was equated with the Buddha himself and not with the arahats, because the monks believed that only the Buddha's wisdom and virtue constituted the perfect nature; what he said and what he did were synonymous. One of his great disciples states: "The world's most venerable Buddha is this eye, this wisdom, this righteousness, this Law. Buddha is Dharma-lord, and Dharma-general. His speech explains righteously the categories of reality; all righteousness is explained according to him."

Also, Conze states:

If the doctrine of the Buddha had been just a saying of some person or individual, it would lack in making authority. As a

26

Jayatilleke, op.cit., p.400

27

Shastri, op.cit., pp.26-27.

matter of fact, it emerged from the spiritual principle, from the Buddha nature, which lay hidden in that individual Śakyamuni, and which as we might say 'inspired' him to understand and to teach the truth. His disciples considered the Buddha the Tathagata, or speak of his dharma-body.<sup>29</sup>

Even though the Buddha was a historical person and the son of a man, the nature attributed to his character differed from that attributed to others. Through his longer cultivation of virtue, he must have attained to the ideal character. Thus, as seen by his disciples, he had an ideal supernatural character which they could not reach.

Therefore his chief disciple, Sariputta, praised the Buddha in stating:

All monks observed that Buddha had no defects in body, speech or mind (or will) ... in three realms (Trailokya), he is the only honoured One. There is nobody able to equal him. Because he is Supreme, and most honoured one ... Buddha had committed no sins in his relationships with the people ...<sup>30</sup>

This represents Buddha's character as being superior to that of an ordinary human being.

28

Chung A Han Ching, Vol. 128: 迦旃延尊 '世尊, 是眼, 是智, 是義, 是法, 法王, 法將, 說真諦, 諦義, 現一切義'

29

Conze, op.cit., pp. 35-36.

30

Tsang-yi A Han Ching, Vol. 24, (Shan Chu P'in Vol. 32):

"觀衆如來 無身口意過 --- 三界執導 無能及者, 最尊最上  
如來無雙於"

Cf., Suttanipata, (A Collection of Discourses) op.cit.:

"Adoration be to thee, O Noble man, adoration be to thee O thou best of men; in the world of men and gods there is no man equal to thee." p. 94. Cf., B.C. law, "Early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters", p. 39, "The early Buddhist brothers and sisters belonged to a distinct religious Order and school of thought in respect of which the position of the Buddha was that

In the disciples' views, dharma is impersonal, yet in the Buddha it harmonized with his personality and thus appealed personally to his people; for example, his thirty-two marks expressed his omniscience. Therefore, the Buddha was not only different from and superior to men, including the arahats, but also his teaching represented the unparalleled authority for his disciples. Thus the Buddha's personality blended with his teaching.

Professor Warder states that, "The doctrine not the teacher (Buddha), was the center of interest throughout." This author agrees in general that the doctrine was the center of interest but would add that the doctrine was manifest in the teacher. At least, the historical truth seems to be that the Buddha's doctrine, as interpreted by his disciples' understanding, is grounded in his authority as the great teacher.

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of Saṅgha (founder of an Order), Gaṇi (leader of a following), and Gaṇā (a band of followers), the epithets usually applied to the contemporary founders of different Orders and leaders of different schools of thought." 1. Dīgha, I. p.48; Suttanipāṭa, (A Collection of Discourses) op.cit. p.39.

31

A. Hirakawa, Ritsuzo no Kenkyu [A Study of the Vinaya-Pitaka], Tokyo, 1970, p.516.

32

Cf. I.B.Horner, "Buddhism: The Theravāda", ed. by R.C.Zachner, The Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths; "The Dharma I have taught and the Vinaya I have laid down - that after my passing is to be your teacher", (Dīgha-Nikāya, III, 84), the body of dharma, applicable only the Buddha and not even to arahats, points in this same direction, so the Milindapāṇha, a later and post-cononical work, could say: "The Lord can be designated by means of the dharma-body" (Milindapāṇha 75), even though he himself has entered on parinirvāṇa ... Thus while the unending dharma exists the Lord exists and cannot be called extinct. p. 282.

Here, the author wishes to illustrate the Buddha's personal authority as the great teacher more fully. If the Buddha had no spiritual authority of character as a great teacher how could his doctrine have been trusted and accepted by his disciples?

Buddha proclaimed himself as the Buddha and thus said:

Victorious over all, omniscient am I  
Among all things undefiled,  
Leaving all, through death of craving freed,  
By knowing for myself, whom should I point to?

For me there is no teacher,  
One like me does not exist,  
In the world with its devas  
No one equals me.

For I am perfected in the world,  
A teacher supreme am I,  
I alone am all-awakened,  
Because cool am I, nibbana-attained.

To turn the dharma-wheel  
I go to Kasi's city,  
Beating the drum of deathlessness,  
In a world that's blind become?<sup>34</sup>

In the same context he said, "I am the knower of everything, and winner of everything" and consequently "come to me." Herein he claimed and proclaimed that a pure moral character and a perfect wisdom were united in him.

33

A.K.Warder, Indian Buddhism, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1970, p.43.

34

Majjhima-Nikāya, (Middle Length Sayings) Vol. I by I.B. Horner, Pali Texts Society tr. London, 1954, 26. Ariyapariyesanāsutta I, 171, pp.214-215.

The story of the founding of the Buddhist community illustrates this understanding:

Then I, monks, walking on tour, in due course arrived at Benares, Isipatana, the deer-park and the group of five monks. Monks, the group of five monks saw me coming in the distance, and seeing me they agreed among themselves, saying, 'Your reverences,' this recluse Gautama is coming, he lives in abundance, he is wavering in his striving, he has reverted to a life of abundance. He should be neither greeted, nor stood up for, nor should his bowl and robe be received; all the same a seat may be put out, he can sit down if he wants to. But as I, monks were not able to adhere to their own agreement; having approached me, some received my bowl and robe, some made a seat ready, some brought water for washing the feet, and they addressed me by name and with the epithet 'your reverence.' When this had been said, I monks, spoke thus to the group of five monks: 'Do not, monks, address a Tathāgata by his name or by the epithet 'your reverence'.' Monks, the Tathāgata is one perfected, (172) a fully self awakened One. Give ear, monks, the deathless is found, I instruct, I teach dharma.<sup>35</sup>

This episode tells us that though the Buddha's former companions had resolved to treat him without respect, they changed their minds and respected him because his attitude and figure were somehow different from theirs: they advanced to meet him and then washed his feet. They respected and were attracted to the authority of his personality. They respected him without having heard his teaching. It was later that Buddha's teaching impressed them.

An episode of the Mahāvagga in the Vinaya Texts, further supports this fact because, before becoming a Buddhist, Sariputta met Assaji and asked,

'Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess?'

Assaji replied, 'There is, friends, the great Samana Sakyaputta, an ascetic of the Sakya tribe; in His, the Blessed One's name have I retired from the world; He, the Blessed One, is my teacher; and His, the Blesses One's doctrine do I profess'.<sup>36</sup>

However, vinaya always presented similar patterns of those who led a homeless life. Most of these monks searched for the teacher and then became his disciples. It is made clear that they embraced the teacher first, and then explored his teaching.

Buddha's disciples, seized by respect for his personality,<sup>37</sup> formed the small community of both monks and lay people. Buddha's disciples left their wives, children and relatives, and gave up their household belongings and valuables to enter the samgha. Because the Buddha exhibited genuine worth, they respected him and responded to him. To them, the Buddha was more important than life and property, more important than anything else in their lives.<sup>38</sup> To them the historical Buddha was the person who grasped dharma, but he was also the living example of the truth, the teacher of men and of gods. Thus the

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Vinaya Texts, Part I, Mahāyagga, op.cit., 23, 3-4, p. 145; cf., S. Dutt, Buddha and Five After-Centuries: "The questions which the wanderers used to ask on meeting one another for mutual recognition and acquaintance. (see supra pp.34-35) imply that, in the formation of a sect in the wanderers' community, there were three constitutive principles, viz. (I) Headship or the existence of a recognized Teacher (Sattha), (II) A distinct system of Faith (Dharma), and (III) Discipleship (Uddesa). The Buddhist sect must have originally had this common organization." cf., M. Sato, "Genshi Bukkyo no Kyodan Rinan" (Ideal of Early Buddhist Community) Bukkyo Kyodan no Kenkyu, op.cit., Says, "In Suttanipāta and Āgama, Buddha is called as the person who possessed samgha (samghin) and the person who has gana." p.84.

37

Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo, op.cit., p.144.

people recognized the absolute authority of Buddha and followed his leadership. They believed in him as the immovable truth. The Path (dharma) which he walked was the way of enlightenment, and they were constrained to practice his teaching.

Among them there were two differing attitudes. One group sought to imitate Gautama Buddha's life, to adopt his life style, and to become like the Buddha himself. Others sought to be enlightened as he was, but failed to adopt his life style.

When they became his disciples, they confessed,

'I take my refuge with Buddha; I take my refuge in the Doctrine: I take my refuge in the Order.' At the fortnightly confession, the liturgy of which is among the oldest of all the monuments of Buddhist Church life, the monk, who leads in the confession, charges the brethren who are present, not to conceal by silence any sins which they have committed, for silence is lying, 'And intentional lying, O brethren, brings destruction; thus hath the Exalted One said.' And the same liturgy of confession describes monks, who embrace heresies, by putting in their mouths these words: 'Thus I understand the doctrine which the Exalted One hath preached etc.' Throughout, it is not an impersonal revelation, nor is it the individual's own thought, but it is the person, the word of the Master, the Exalted One, the Buddha, which is regarded as the source of the truth and holy life.

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38

Matzutaní, op.cit., p.14

39

Watsuji, Genshi Bukkyo no Jissen Tetsugaku [ Practical philosophies in primitive Buddhism ], Tokyo, 1927, p.170.

40

Yoshimura, op.cit., p.3.

41

Oldenberg, op.cit., p.75.

The Three Jewels (triratna) were always central to the Buddhist community as the guiding principles for the Buddha's disciples. They lived in obedience to this authority. The Buddha was accorded the first place among the Three Jewels of the Buddhists. The Buddha's disciples were influenced by his great personality,<sup>42</sup> people took refuge in him spiritually; they trusted in the Buddha<sup>43</sup> and in his analysis. Not only the lay people but the arahats also had to accept him on faith, and, therefore, almost the entire theory of Buddhism had to be accepted on the authority of the Buddha<sup>44</sup> alone. B.M.Barua has written on the nature of this faith:

The Abhidharma definition of faith assumes a popular character when it is restated in terms of Buddhaghosa's commentary, 'Faith is a trusting and taking refuge in the Buddha and other Jewels - the Doctrine and the Order. It is an act of believing in the sense of plunging, breaking, entering into qualities of the Buddha and the rest, and rejoicing over them.'<sup>45</sup>

The disciples started with a faith which was grounded in knowledge. One could not think of the doctrines of the Buddha by the independent light of reason; they had to be taught and explained.<sup>46</sup> According to Keith, faith was the means by which one might cross the depth of the river of existence to the safety of nirvāṇa. He also

42

Mizuno, op.cit., p.27.

43

Mrs. Rhys Davids, A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, London, 1923, p.14.

44

Jayattilleke, op.cit., pp. 400-401.

45

B.M.Barua, "Faith in Buddhism," B.C.Law Ed. Buddhistic Studies, Calcutta, India, 1931, pp. 332-333; cf. Atthasālinī, p. 145.



observes on the nature of faith:

The teaching of (the) Buddha saves him who has faith, but destroys the faithless. Ratnakṛta tells us 'Here the Tathāgata alone is my witness, the Tathāgata knows, I do not know; but I shall try to discover or verify this myself;<sup>47</sup> boundless is the enlightenment of the Buddhas'. Those who have mere faith and mere affection for the Buddha are destined to heaven. However, faith means confidence, trust, and belief in the instruction of the teacher Buddha.<sup>48</sup>

The Buddha emphasized that his disciples should not accept his teachings out of mere respect. He enjoined on them to test his personality and his teachings for themselves in order to find out whether they were true or false, and through their own reason and experience to fully attain to the truth. In addition to faith then, reason was an important aspect of Buddhism. This point is made by Jayatilleke when he says,

This attitude is well expressed in a late verse, which appears in the Tattvasaṃgraha (3588) and the Tibetan version of

46

Keith, op.cit., pp.34-35.; cf. Dīgha-Nikāya II, op. cit., 88-89, XVI, Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, 34; The Exalted One beheld the people who wished to cross to the opposite bank looking some of them for boats and some of them for rafts of wood, and some of them for rafts of basketwork; and as he beheld them he break forth at that time into this song,

'They who have crossed the ocean drear  
Making a solid path across the pools  
Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts -  
These are the wise, these are the saved indeed.'

47

Ibid., pp.35 - 36.

48

Jayatilleke, op.cit., pp. 34-38.

the Jñānasamuccayasāra [cf. V, Bhattacharya, The Basic conception of Buddhism, Calcutta, 1934, p.11, fn.9.]. It reads as follows: 'Just as wise men (test a claim to be gold) by burning, cutting, and rubbing (on a touch stone), my statements, O monks, should be accepted after examination and not out of respect for me.' This verse is not found in the Nikāyas but it reflects the attitude of the Buddha as often represented in the Nikāyas. The Buddha is anxious to see that his statements are not accepted out of respect for his authority as the teacher - the very thing that he condemns in the Kālāma Sutta. On one occasion he asks, 'would you, O monks, knowing and seeing thus say, "our teacher is respected, we say out of respect for our teacher" (M. I. 264).' The monks submit that it is not so.<sup>49</sup>

Indeed, the Buddha suggested to his disciples that they should understand his truth by analytical reasoning. By this one can assert that the Buddhist faith is reason-oriented. Also, his teachings (on suffering, on 'five skandas', and on 'twelve links') were analytical and capable of being understood through reason. Nevertheless, Buddhist dharma could not be grasped by logic alone (D.N. I p.187). Buddha is said to have left unexplained (avyakta) the ten questions regarding the eternity or non-eternity of the soul (jīva) with the body (śarīra), the difference between them, and the nature of the Tathagata after death.<sup>50</sup> Reason was chained to practical experience. The disciples had to trust the Buddha and his teachings and to verify them through practise and experience. Early Buddhism emphasized the enlightenment

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49

Ibid., pp. 390-391.

50

Shastri, op.cit., pp. 157;423. See also, N. Dutt, op.cit., pp. 44-49.

51

experience. This stemmed from an initial trust in the Buddha's personality and in his teachings which were accepted as authoritative without entirely sacrificing the rational aspect of freedom. Thus a bridge was built between the authority of the Buddha and the demands of the followers for their intellectual independence.

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It was not possible to acquire dharma without acceptance of this authority. Thus, evidently it was believed to be impossible to acquire dharma without accepting the authority of Buddha as an omniscient teacher and following the example of his personality. Buddha's disciples regarded the Buddha as being superior to Brahmans, other men and even gods, because his teaching was great, and because his personality and moral virtue exceeded that of the others.

If we compare and analyze the story, of "the conversion of Sāriputta and Moggallāna" and the story of "Devatta" they give some indications about the Buddha's authority; the general authority of a teacher in Buddha's time appears evident in the first episode. When Sāriputta and Moggallāna wanted to move to the Buddhist community from Sanjaya's community, Sanjaya attempted to stop them. He promised them that he would divide his community leadership into three parts and that he would give each of them one part of the leadership, retaining the third part for himself. The three of them would lead the community. Sāriputta and Moggallāna rejected this offer, and moved to the Buddhist

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Cf., Keith, op.cit., stresses Buddha's superhuman knowledge and argues against thinking that his name was founded on "dialectic accompanied by reasoning or experience, made of individual intuition" p. 35; cf., M.N. i, 71; cf., S.N. iii, 103).

community. If we interpret Sanjaya's words correctly, a teacher had absolute authority of leadership; if he chose to give the leadership to someone else he could do so. While, in practise, this differed from the situation in the Buddhist community, the people of that time generally viewed the question of leadership in Buddhist community in this light.<sup>53</sup>

Next we examine the story of Devatta:- Toward the end of the Buddha's life, Devatta, his cousin and one of his disciples, wanted to assume the role of the leading authority in the Buddhist community and asked Buddha about it. Kern provides an account of Devatta's position: "Sometime afterwards, the story goes, when the Lord, sojourning in the Bambu grove, was preaching the Law. Devadatta rose from his seat, and reverentially made the proposal that the Lord, on account of his age, should leave the leadership of the congregation of monks to him, Devadatta."<sup>54</sup> This request was made three times but was refused by the Buddha: "Buddha told him that he was not going to name any successor of his, not even his best disciples like Sariputta and

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Ibid., p.35.

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M. Sato, Bukkyo Kyodan no Seiritsu to Tenkai ( Formation and Development of Buddhist Community ), Tokyo, 1967, p.25.

54

H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, Varanasi, India, 1968. He also says, "Already long before the epoch enmity had sprung up in the breast of Devadatta against the Lord, whose growing fame and influence filled him with jealousy." p. 38.

55

Moggallana, not to speak of an evil-minded person like him." Upon his refusal, Devatta conspired with King Ajatasatru to kill the Buddha. He first hired sixteen men to murder the Buddha, but instead these men became followers of Buddha. He next attempted to kill the Buddha with a large rock, but succeeded only in injuring his foot. Devatta then sent the wild elephant, Natagrha, to kill the Buddha, but again was unsuccessful.

If the Buddha did not have the authority to bestow the right of leadership, why then did Devatta propose that the Buddha should transfer it? Why did the Buddha refuse? When the Buddha refused to give Devatta the leadership, why did Devatta attempt to kill him, three times, and finally start another community? There are two reasons why the Buddha did not transfer his authority to Devadatta. First, the Buddha's authority was based on his own personal attainment, and hence not as such transferable. Secondly, he obviously did not think that Devadatta was the fittest person to wear the mantle of chief disciple. On the other hand, when Sariputta and Moggallana followed him, he said:

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"This pair of disciples will be my chief, my eminent pair!" It was on the basis of this that the early Buddhist communities generally recognized these two as the chief disciples.

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N. Dutt, op.cit., p.107.

56

Horner, "Buddhism: The Theravāda", op.cit., p.281.

In the Sutta-nipāta we read the following:

Sela:

Wholly awake thou dost profess to be,  
 Rajah of Dharma and without a peer;  
 Thou say'st; By Dharma do I roll the wheel?  
 But who's thy marshal, Gotama, thy squire,  
 The Master's man? who keeps a roll for thee  
 This wheel of Dharma thou hast set aroll.  
 The master (Buddha):  
 The wheel by me set rolling, said the Lord  
 The wheel of Dharma, Sela, without peer,  
 'Tis Sariputta who keeps, that aroll 57  
 He is the heir born to the Man-thus-come.

When some mendicants wished to move to a western province to live, they come to the Buddha to seek permission. He asked them, "Have you got leave, brethren, from the venerable Sariputta?" "No master ...", they replied. "Then get leave from ... Sariputta. He is the patron of those who live the righteous life along with him." 58

Furthermore, in the early sources of the Jain scriptures, Sariputta appears as the leader of the Buddhist community and the Buddha himself is ignored. It is important from a historical point of view that an outside source mentions Sariputta's position as the leader of the Buddhist community. 59 However, it is important to note that

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Sutta-nipāta, (A Collection of Discourses) tr., E. M. Hare, Vol. III and IV, London, 1947, 555-557, p.88.

58

Samyutta-Nikāya (Kindred Sayings) Vol.III, op.cit., p.6.

59

Cf., Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritsu, op.cit., p.390. Cf., Isibhasiyam. "Ein Jaina-Text der Frühzeit." Von Walter Schubring. Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1942, Nr. 6; 1952, Nr.2. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht in Göttingen. ch.38 (Pali: Sātiputta Buddha-Sanskrit:

Sariputta was the leader of the community precisely because the Buddha appointed him as his chief disciple and representative in the community. <sup>60</sup> Sariputta's general career was highlighted by his role <sup>61</sup> as an interpreter of the Buddha's doctrine and as a catechizer. (He would appear to be the Buddhist counter-part of Simon Peter, but we shall later see how similar and dissimilar the two are).

Sariputta praised the Buddha as follows:

Buddha had no defects in body, speech, or mind ... In three realms, he is the only honoured one (Buddha). There is nobody able to equal him, because he is supreme and most honoured one. Buddha had committed no sins in his relationships with the people.<sup>62</sup>

Unless the Buddha believed in the right to give authority to another and unless his disciples accepted the leadership role vested on Sariputta; how could Sariputta possibly have been appointed his chief disciple? We shall notice later how this is still different

Sariputra Buddha.)

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Cf., Majjhima-Nikāya, (Middle Length Sayings), Vol. III, 29, p.81; "Monks, if anyone speaking rightly could say of a man: 'He is the Lord's own son, born of his mouth, born of dhamma, formed by dhamma, an heir to dhamma, not an heir to material things' - speaking rightly he could say of Sariputta: 'He is the Lord's own son, born of his mouth, born of dhamma, formed by dhamma, an heir to dhamma, not an heir to material things.'"

61

Law, "Early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters", Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.XI, 1945, p.48.

62

See footnote 30, this chapter.

from the power by which authority was transmitted by Christ to Peter and the other disciples).

The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttanta relates an episode which is of interest:

Now at that time the venerable Maha Kassapa was journeying alone the high road from Pava to Kusinara with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren ... Now the venerable Mahā-Kāśyapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance; and when he had seen him he said to that naked ascetic; 'O friend! surely thou knowest our Master?' 'Yes friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week! ...' On that of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought ... Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had been received into the order in his old age was seated in that company! And Subhadda the recruit in his old age said to those brethren: - 'Enough, sirs! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told: - 'This beseems you, this beseems you not! But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!' 63

The episode indicates that one of his former disciples maintained that the strict rules given by the Buddha were incumbent upon the disciples during his life-time, but now, upon the Buddha's death, these rules were no longer binding. Accordingly, the disciples called the First Council and compiled the dharma-vinaya. This confirms my point that the Buddha was authorized by the disciples to control the community.

During the life-time of the founder, the Buddhist order or sangha was unified under the leadership of the Buddha. One sūtra illustrates this point clearly:

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63

Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta (The Book of the Great Decease), op.cit., D. 11, 162, (19-20), pp.183-184.



Buddha asked a monk 'How old are you monk?' He said 'I am one year old.' At that time there were many Buddhist monasteries in the districts, but if he belongs there he was as if he were one year old without Buddha's acceptance: So that Buddha was always the center.<sup>64</sup>

Many local sanghas were democratically organized, but wherever the Buddha was present that place became the center of the general Buddhist community.<sup>65</sup> Buddha laid down laws for the disciples; he alone was the law-giver. Each rule which purported to be a statement of right was stipulated in a serious deliberation by the Buddha after a particular situation had actually arisen; therefore he was also the judge.<sup>66</sup> Early Buddhists claimed that the scriptures were given by the Buddha, and not formulated by them. In fact, the scriptures could be given by the Buddha in part only; later additions were numerous.<sup>67</sup> The

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M. Sato, "Genshi Bukkyo no Kyodanrenen" ["The Community Idea of Primitive Buddhism"], S. Yoshimura, Ed. Bukkyo Kyodan no Kenkyu, op.cit., p.90.

65

Ibid.

66

S.Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, op.cit., p.23.

67

Cf., S.Dutt, "Vinaya Pitakam", Journal of the Department Letters, Vol. X, Calcutta, India, 1923; "Rules which are inconsistent with each other and which clearly belong to different stages in the evolution of Buddhist monachism are thus placed on the same chronological level by putting them into the mouth of Buddha." p.26.

disciples generally claimed that they formulated no dharma, but that they accepted Buddha's dharma as authoritative.

Buddha had authority, as the leader who was both law giver and the judge of his disciples. He craved for a democratic way of life for his community, and he chose not to exercise strong authority over the teachers of other religious communities of his time.

We come now to consider Buddha as the "King of Dharma"

Pāli: cakkavati= Sanskrit:) cakravartin . What manner of king was he? He was not a king in the secular sense - that was obvious. But then, was he the son of a king? Oldenberg answers this question thus:

A wide-spread tradition represents Buddha as having been a King's son. At the head of this aristocratic community there must certainly have been some one leading man, appointed, we know not by what rules, with the title of King, which can scarcely in this case have indicated more than the position of primus inter pares. But the idea that Buddha's father Suddhodana enjoyed this royal dignity is quite foreign to the oldest forms in which the tradition regarding the family are presented to us: rather, we have nothing more or less to contemplate in Suddhodana than one of the great and wealthy landowners of the Sakya race, whom later legends first transformed into the "great King Suddhodana."<sup>68</sup>

The above statement appears to have been accepted by some  
69

scholars. But, even though he was not a king's son if the early Buddhist disciples understood the Buddha as the "Son of King", or as the "King of Dharma", there must have been some factor of kingship reflected in

68

Oldenberg, op.cit., p.99.

69

Watanabe, op.cit., pp.90-91.

Buddha himself which gave his disciples the notion that he was the "King of Dharma." This might sound curious, but in the context of his authority in the community the point becomes credible. An interpretation of the "four gates" story connected with his Great Renunciation (mahātyāga), in which he saw the four signs - the old man, the sick man, the dead man and the monk - is required to clarify this point, for it seems highly unlikely that Sakya would not have known about old age, sick man, death or asceticism until he was twenty-nine years old. There is, then, some special reason for the story.

In his time, as a young man born to a respectable family, he would have been governed by two lofty goals: Either to be the ideal king (cakravartin) who would unite the world, or to live a homeless life and become a saint in order to control the spiritual world. However, the concept of being the ideal king apparently seemed unpracticable to him since he was just the son of a wealthy landowner. This is so even if it is accepted that he was the son of the elected chief of the small Sakya clan, for, at that time, small kingdoms or tribes were fighting

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Matsutani, op.cit.: "In that time, Kings and new thinkers, appeared as great figures, so that young people were evidently impressed by them." P.257. Cf., Chang-pu Ching Tien (Dīgha-Nikāya), vol. 26, (Chuan Lun Sheng Wang Tzu Hou Ching); Part 8, pp. 73-96.

71

H. Dutt, op.cit., p.31.

and amalgamating one another, and the Śākya tribe, being small, had little power. As the king's son, he would have had little chance of becoming a cakravartin. In fact, his tribe was destroyed during his own lifetime. Buddha states that one who was born in a Kshatriya family of little means, but who has an excessive desire to seek the position of King of This World would bring ruin upon himself.<sup>72</sup> It could be argued that this is a judgement reflective of the Śākya's predicament.

There is no record Gotama attempted to expand the Sakya's earthly kingdom which was already declining at that time. He sought the goal of the eternal, spiritual kingdom. He, therefore, chose a homeless life.<sup>73</sup> The alternatives of his predicament are expressed in the story of his birth: "If he chooses a worldly life, he will become the Buddha."<sup>74</sup> Sato makes the following observation on this point: "Here is embodied the prophetic idea of Buddha as King of Dharma, and

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Matzutani, op.cit., p.357. cf., Hsiao-pu Ching Tien, Ching Chi 6, "Pai Wang Ching", 24 Chieh (Chuan 24, p.4).

73

Sato, Bukkyo Kyodan no Seiritsu to Tenkai, op.cit., p.31.

74

Oldenberg, op.cit., pp.82-83; cf., Thomas, op.cit., p.4; cf., Shastri, op.cit.: He says, "They furnish the list of thirty-two major and eight minor marks (anuvyañjana) which, according to popular belief, indicated that the individual would either become a universal ruler (cakravartin) or a Buddha. The attribution of these marks to the Buddha is probably due to the borrowing of the popular belief in their efficacy." p.24. cf., Conze, Buddhism, Its essence and Development, New York, 1959, says: "A list of 32 'marks of a superman' often supplemented by a list of 80 'subsidiary marks', described the most salient features of the Buddha's 'glorious body.' The list of the 32 marks is common to all schools, and it must be fairly old." pp.36-37.

it may constitute a basis for the traditional comparison of Buddha with a secular king, and Buddha's teaching as the mighty "wheel of <sup>75</sup> dharma (which will) crush all evil in its path." According to some Buddhologists, the dharma-cakra represents, symbolically, the sphere of power of universal rule or the spiritual reign of the King of <sup>76</sup> Dharma. This may account for the claim that in the Buddha's funeral <sup>77</sup> proceedings the Emperor saluted him.

All of this indicates that the "spiritual" kingdom of the Buddha was established as a better alternative to an earthly kingdom. Buddha himself was referred to a royal lineage which he renounced in order to become a different kind of king. He said; "They are Adikkas by family, Sakiyas by birth, from that family I have wandered out, not <sup>78</sup> longing for sensual pressures."

75

Sato, Bukkyo Kyōdan no Seiritsu to Tenkai, op.cit., p.32.

76

Thomas, op.cit., pp. 221-222.

77

Sato, Bukkyo Kyōtan no Seiritsu to Tenkai, op.cit., p.32.

78

Sutta-nipāta (A Collection of Discourses) tr. V. Fausboll, Sacred Books of the East, Ed. F.M.Müller, Vol.X, Part II, Motilal, Cf., Matzutani, op.cit., p.253; cf., Watsaji, op.cit.: "In the Vinaya of four division, ten lines of mystical kings were said to constitute Buddha's lineage." p. 44.

The term "sakya" means "Sun-Family descended." It expresses the pride of his family as descendants of the Sun. The Sun or heaven symbolized a king or emperor in ancient India, Greece and even Japan. Thus the Buddha has been acclaimed as the "Sun-hero."<sup>79</sup>

Thus Buddha would have been royalty-conscious; whether a secular king or King of Dharma the assumption of regal authority would have been inevitable. Like a secular king, who is highest among the people, he would have had the ruling function in the kingdom of his community (samgha).

Furthermore, the monks were called "sons of the spiritual Sakya kingdom," and lost their narrow caste position as soon as they entered his community. The relationship of the Buddha, as the King of Dharma, to the disciples as his people was like that of a father to his sons and daughters.<sup>80</sup>

A father, like a king, has authority over his people and protects them from their enemies. Buddha called his monks "my people"

79

Oldenberg, op.cit., pp. 72-73.

80

Cf., Nakamura, "Keisei Tojo no Kyodan" (Bukkyo Kyodan no Kenkyu), op.cit., pp.2-9 (a) Monks as Buddhas; Son of Buddha (Therag 536; 889; Therag 63;385). (b) Buddha's real son; Putto Buddhassa Oraso (Therag, 174; 348). (c) Nuns; Buddha's real daughter: Orasā Dhītā Buddhassa (Therag 46) cf., 385. (d) Monks; Buddha's 'Successor' or 'My Son', cf., Therag 1168; 1169; 1248), dāyāduka (Therag 1142).

(māmaka), and would address one as "my son" which meant "successor", just as a son is his father's successor. All of Buddha's disciples are frequently called Buddha's true or genuine sons, putta orasā,

81

'sons of the breast.' The Samyutta-Nikāya states:

The Exalted one said 'Be it revealed to thee,  
Vangisa.' Then the venerable Vangisa extolled  
the Exalted One in his presence with suitable verses:  
To-day on feast-day, for full purity,  
Five hundred brethren are together come,  
Such as have cut their fetters, but their bonds,  
Seers who are free from rebirth, and from ill,  
And as a king who ruleth all the world,  
Surrounded by his empire everywhere,  
Driving throughout this earth that ends in sea,  
So him, who is our victor in the war,  
The peerless Master of our caravan,  
We followers attend and wait upon,  
Who hold the triple lore, slayers of death,  
All we are sons of the Exalted One,  
No sterile chaff may amongst us be found,  
I worship him who strikes down craving's dart,  
I greet the offspring of the sun's great line.<sup>82</sup>

81

Thomas, op.cit., p.59, cf., Therag 295; 41; 348; 536; cf.,  
Samy.iii 83,

Who understand the Khandhas five,  
in the good doctrine live their life,  
worthy of praises, righteous men,

These are the Buddha's genuine sons.

So Kasyapa the Great describes himself, Samy.ii, 221, and Buddha tells his disciples, when asked who they are, to say that they are true sons of the Lord (Dīgha.iii, 84).

82

Samyutta-Nikāya, (Kindred Sayings) Part I, tr. by Mrs. R. Davids, Pali Texts Society, London, 1917 (reprinted 1971), pp.243-244.

At that time, a king was required to be a teacher through moral example, and, similarly, Buddha was, as an omniscient, the teacher of dharma. Because of Buddha's relationship to the Sakya family tradition, he saw his disciples as his sons. The disciples trusted him as their father; he had the authority of a king in the presenting dharma and they were pleased to be called the sons of Sakya. The Buddha was the king of dharma, and the disciples happily accepted the spiritual status of sons in the community (sangha).

According to early Buddhist scriptures, it was essential for the monk to leave his home and give up everything. But Buddha seems to have been an exception to this rule when it came to his family relations. After an absence of twelve years, the Buddha visited his father at Kapilavastu, where he performed several miracles and converted many Sakyas to his Path. He visited his home town several

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M. Muller, "Buddha and Buddhism", ed. M. Müller, Studies in Buddhism, Calcutta, India, 1953, p.6; cf., N. Dutt, op.cit.: "Suddhodana: The king with a large retinue proceeded towards the Nyagrodha hill to welcome the prince, now a recluse. He was then thinking within himself what a great son he had, endowed with all the auspicious signs which prognosticated his sovereignty over the whole of Jambudvipa, but alas! He was now living on alms collected from door to door. Buddha could easily read his thoughts and then in order to convince the king that he was far greater than a sovereign ruler, he rose up in the sky and walked; there to and fro as if he was entering into the river water. The exhibition of miracles produced the desired effect on the mind of the king and the Sakyans accompanying him." p.104.



times. The Sakya people considered it a great honour that their tribe had produced the Buddha, and they respected him very much. When the Sakya people were celebrating the completion of their new assembly hall, they invited Buddha to be the first to enter the hall and give the blessing for the eternal happiness of the castle of Kapilavastu. The Buddha entered first accompanied by his disciples,<sup>84</sup> and did what his relatives requested. This procession was similar to one wherein a king, surrounded by his people, entered his new government house.

In the community, Sakya's people played a very important role, especially when the monks edited the dharma-vinaya, and gave it authority. At that time dharma was authorized by Ānanda, the Buddha's life-long secretary and cousin, and vinaya was authorized by Upāli. Both Ananda and Upāli held positions of significance in relation to doctrinal authority, and both had come from the Sakya family. Devatta who rebelled against Buddha and founded his own community, which suggests that he was a person of considerable importance, was also his cousin.

His son Rāhula also had special status as the son of the Buddha, even though a story recounts that he was so disrespectful to the great disciple Sāriputta and that Buddha criticized his manner.

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84

M. Anesaki, Kompon Bukkyo [ Primitive Buddhism ], Tokyo, 1910, p.111.

85

Buddha's father was also converted.

As noted previously, at first the Buddha did not allow nuns to enter the Buddhist community, but, finally, he gave permission for them to do so. Even though the Buddha did not deny that men and women were equally able to become enlightened, he did not accept this in the practical sense. He seemed to believe that women presented a threat to the purity of the community, and he stated that if nuns entered the sangha, the Buddhist dharma would be shortened from a thousand years to five hundred years. Most religious orders of that time did not admit women to a homeless way of life, because, except in the larger cities, police power had not developed to the extent that it was possible for women to lead a homeless life. A homeless life was especially hazardous for women in mountainous areas under the conditions prevailing at that time, as some recorded cases of injuries to nuns show. The Buddha accepted nuns because his step-mother, his own wife, and many Sakya women wanted to be nuns. His step-mother was the head of the nuns' community. These points indicate that the Buddha subconsciously viewed his ideal kingdom as Sakya-family-oriented. This orientation was accepted by his disciples, who became members of the spiritual kingdom of Sakya.

85

Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo Sono Shiso to Seikatsu ( The Thought and Life of in Early Buddhism ), Tokyo, 1970, p.149.

86

Watanabe, Bukkyo no Ayumi ( Steps of Buddhism ), Tokyo, 1967, p.33.

The Buddha's disciples regarded him as the "King of Kings," the highest position among men over whom he had control through dharma. The duty of this ruler was to teach people the principles of good conduct and to conquer the earth, not through use of force, but by dharma, and to justly build his spiritual kingdom which was oriented toward peace and unity.

Evidently, Buddha did not accept the divinely oriented authority of the Vedas, the Brahmins, or the caste division. He believed that only his experience of universal dharma was authoritative. The Buddha's dharma-vinaya was fundamentally different from the caste-dharma, the metaphysico-social basis of Hindu holy community, which emphasized each person's doing his given caste duty as the only route to liberation.

87

Warder, op.cit., p.175.

88

M. Müller says: "Buddha refused to allow the Vedas any independent authority whatever and this constituted the fundamental difference between the two philosophies." Cf., Mizuno, op.cit., p.242: "Such were the three important principles of Brahmanism since the days of Brahmanas and which were the thoughts of (divine dispensation of the Vedas," 'all-in-all ritualism', and the 'absolutism of the Brahmins.' "The Brahmins looked up to the Vedas as absolute truth and recognized its authority; they made it that rituals and prayers could dominate over all fates of man, and that the Brahmins were by birth the highest and gods of the earth. Buddhism negated the authority of all these. Because of this, Buddhism was badly hated by Brahmanism and this was one of the chief reasons why Buddhism had lost its own place in India." op.cit., p.11.

89

Kitagawa, op.cit., p.169.

Buddha's disciples believed the Buddha to be an omniscient teacher who was grounded in the dharma. They believed that the Buddha's personality had balanced both his teachings and his actions, and they desired to follow his teaching and example in their attempts to attain nirvāṇa. Lay followers especially trusted Buddha's teaching because of his personality and his way of life. Buddha as teacher occupied the dominant position in the life of the people who loved and worshipped him. Scriptural study meant nothing to the lay people who were only attracted by the example of the teacher, Buddha. Only through their faith in, and dependence on him would they make progress.<sup>90</sup> Long after Buddha's death, the stūpa worship was developed because of lay people's deep faith in and reverence for Buddha himself.

Dharma and the example of the Buddha's impersonal nature were understood to be identical as far as their authority over the people was concerned. Buddha as the King of Dharma acted much like a secular king as defined by the Hindu understanding of dharma but without any divine or metaphysical sanction. A king in Hinduism should be ruled by dharma, caste-dharma, rather than by relying on his own judgment alone. Thus caste-dharma was primary, and the king as the guardian and executor of the dharma was unique. Likewise as King of Dharma, Buddha had authority to rule his people through dharma. Buddha was the transmitter of dharma-vinaya and the disciples trusted him and followed his dharma.

The Mahāyāna concept of dharma-kāya over which the Buddha ruled as king may not have been there from the very earliest days. But even at the earliest stages there were some similar links between the Buddha and dharma. As an omniscient teacher he presented a living example of dharma in his teaching and in his character. There was no clear separation between these two even in his time. Without the great personal authority of the teacher's person and example, his doctrine could scarcely have succeeded in its world-mission. Irving Babbitt, was right when he observed:

The fact is that one cannot read long in the Pali records without getting the impression of a definite doctrine and a definite personality. For the personality of Buddha, which seems to many even more impressive than the doctrine, one needs to turn from the Dhammapada to other portions of the canon, especially to certain Suttas of the Dīgha-nikāya.<sup>91</sup>

Buddha was superior to men, Brahmans, or gods, and, therefore, became a teacher as the dynamic supreme authority. In Buddhism, however, the authority exercised by the founder was different from that in Christianity, for the authority was never absolute, nor did it bring in the instrumentality of any divine being like the Holy Spirit, so central a notion in Christianity. The disciples of the Buddha understood the Buddha's authority as that of the omniscient teacher and of the king of dharma who ruled his community by dharma, and could not separate Buddha's doctrinal authority from the personal example of his life. Buddha asked for wisdom rather than the faith of his disciples, and the impersonal authority grounded in the dharma continued in that same form and that form only.

## CHAPTER II

### THE NATURE OF THE SAMGHA (The Buddhist Community)

#### Introduction

In this chapter the nature of the Buddhist community as reflected in the understanding of early Buddhist disciples is discussed.

In order to discuss the subject it is presented in four parts centred around four questions as follows: (1) Did the samgha become a 'church' or an esoteric community? (2) Was there the character of religious unity in early Buddhist community? (3) What was the nature of the original discipline in the samgha? These are three aspects of a single related topic and seem most important for discussing the nature of the community. (4) In what sense was the Buddha a source of unity?

As an introduction, the following topics are examined:

- (1) Importance of the subject;
- (2) Definition of the community;
- and, (3) Religious discipline.

## 1. Importance of the Subject

E.J. Thomas draws into focus the importance of studying the saṅgha when he states:

... the Buddha-word includes also the rules of the community which was founded for the purpose of practicing the new life. To begin by analysing the Doctrine without first examining the community and the circumstances in which it originated would be likely to lead to quite arbitrary results. The movement began not with a body of doctrine but with formation of a society bound by certain rules.<sup>1</sup>

Buddhism did not start with religious teaching only; the formation of the religious community was central from the beginning. Without a knowledge of the religious community, one could not fully comprehend the Buddhist doctrines. Early Buddhism seems to consist of a balance between knowledge of the doctrines and their practice within the community. When one speaks of doctrines, they are not to be separated from practical training, ascetic practices, or life in the saṅgha.

Many scholars study Buddhism only as a philosophy. S. Dutt considers this an erroneous approach. He says:

Hence it is that the ancient Buddhist Saṅgha, through which Buddhism as an organized religion actually developed, has received far less than its due share of attention. But the history of Buddhism cannot be viewed apart from the growth and development of the Buddhist Saṅgha, and, apart from the organization of monastic life and community, ancient Buddhism is at best an abstraction ... The tendency to comprehensive treatment and the adoption of the philosopher's stand-point, that prevail among writers on Buddhism, ... On

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E.J. Thomas, The History of Buddhist Thought, London, 1933 (reprinted 1967), p.14.

reading, for instance, the meagre accounts of the Buddhist Saṅgha, out of all proportion to the importance of the subject, in the popular pages<sup>2</sup> of Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Kern and other writers ....

This methodological clarification is necessary in order to understand the essence of Buddhism. Theory should be balanced with consideration of the practical aspects, such as the community and discipline, which seem to be much less studied than the philosophical doctrines.<sup>3</sup>

It seems important to study the original pattern of the Buddhist community not only in its relationship to discipline, but also in relation to the question as to whether the early Buddhist community constituted a "church" or an esoteric community. (I use the term "church" in a very tentative sense. In the West the term involves the questions of institution and authority, the very questions which the first portion of this work endeavors to explicate with regard to "early" Buddhism). Different scholars express different opinions on this matter.

H. Oldenberg says: "But if the order (Buddhist) be regarded as the ideal unit of believing monks over the whole face of the earth, ... yet in actual life the order never appears in this universal sense. There is really not one order, but only orders, communities of

<sup>2</sup> S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, Bombay, 1924 (reprinted 1960), pp. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 6-7.



the monks sojourning in the same discese." With a slightly different emphasis J.H.Kern states, "Buddhism is properly a monastic institution, and the laity is but accessory." In opposition to Kern's position S. Dutt said that there was no difference between monks and lay people. H. Nakamura supports Dutt, but adds a qualification. He states that the earliest Buddhist community consisted both of monks and lay people, because everyone who gathered to admire Buddha had the same status, but when the community was developing, there was a division between monks and lay people.

The sangha, the Buddhist community, was called "unity of monks (or assembly)." Unity was inherent in the nature of the community. Therefore, the Buddhist community, being one of the oldest religious communities, has stood as an example of unity for religio-sociological studies. Hayazima has observed that a major problem in modern times is the conflict between society and the individual, for which modern

<sup>4</sup> H. Oldenberg, Buddha: His Life, His Doctrine, His Order, London, 1882, p. 340.

<sup>5</sup> J.H.Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, Strassburt, 1896, reprint Varanasi, India, 1968, p.72.

<sup>6</sup> S. Dutt, Monasticism, op.cit., pp. 63-65.

<sup>7</sup> H. Nakamura, Gotama Buddha, Tokyo, 1969, p.251.

10

social services have found no fundamental solution. Study of the Buddhist community as an ideal of unity could perhaps help modern pluralistic societies, torn by selfish pursuits of individual interests, in their search for unity and peaceful coexistence.

## 2. Definition of the Community (saṅgha)

First let us discuss the meaning of the word "saṅgha", which occurs in Pāli, Sanskrit, and is translated into Chinese. In Pāli the meaning is not so precise: Literally it means "comprising"; hence "multitude, the order, the priesthood, the clergy, the Buddhist church, community." <sup>11</sup> In Sanskrit, "saṃ-gha" is defined as "close contact

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Vinaya Texts, Part II, tr. by T.W. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, Oxford, 1882 (reprinted in Delhi 1965), Mahāvagga, X. 4. 4, p. 310. Cf., Ssu Fen Lu Hsing-Shih Chao, Taisho Taizokyo: "Saṅgha means, 'A community gathered together.' If some members are present in the assembled community, while others absent from the community, then it is impossible to achieve the great result through the Law." Vol. 40, p. 6.

9

A. Hirakawa states that the ways adopted by Buddha for achieving peace, would be important for the study of religious sociology, Ritauzo no Kenkyu (A Study of the Vinaya-Pitaka), Tokyo, 1970, p. 1.

10

K. Hayjima, Shoki Bukkyo to Shakai Seikatsu [ Early Buddhism and Social Life ] Tokyo, 1934, pp. 1 ff.

11

T.W. Rhys Davids, and William, Pāli-English Dictionary, London, 1921, reprint 1959, p. 667.

or combination, and collection or assemblage ... multitude; any member of people living together for a certain purpose; society, association, company, community, church, the whole community or collective body of monks." In Chinese, it is translated as "multitude" (衆) and "unity" (和, 聯合). It also means "assembly, society or church or monastic order."

Now, let us examine some Buddhist texts. The Mahāvagga states: "In this way, Lord, do we live in unity and concord, without quarrels, like milk and water (mixed together) and looking at each other with friendly eyes." The Dhammapāda also states: "Happy is the arising of the awakened, happy is the teaching of the true Law, happy is harmony in the Order, happy is the devotion of those who dwell in harmony." The Ta Chih Tu Lun says: "Samgha is called an assembly (of Buddhist monks); when many bikkhus were together in one

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M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1889, reprinted 1960, p. 1129.

13

S. Mochizuki, Mochizuki Bukkyo Daijiten, (Mochizuki Buddhist Great Dictionary), vol. 4, Tokyo, 1936, reprinted 1963, pp. 3017-3018. Cf., H. Ui, Indo Tetsuzaku Kenkyu (A Study in Indian Philosophy), V. 4, (reprinted 1965) p. 5.

14

W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, Taipei, Taiwan, China, 1934: "... Samgha, an assembly, collection, company, society. The corporate assembly of at least three (formerly, four) monks under a chairman, empowered to hear confession, grant absolution, and ordain. The church or monastic order, the third member of the Triratna. The term (衆) used alone has come to mean a monk, or monks in general." p. 420.

17

place, saṅgha." Also, The Ssu Fen Lu states: "United, the monks held firmly to the Dharma, never neglecting to follow it. They were in harmony, joyful, free from disputes, learning under the same teacher, becoming like the sum of milk and water, living within the Buddhist law. Thus they advanced, living in physical  
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comfort and spiritual joy."

In the light of the above statements, we see that the term "saṅgha" is not only used to refer to the Buddhist community of monks, but also, in a broad sense, it is used to refer to the assembly of Buddhist monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. Also, saṅgha, as a community of people living together for a certain purpose, means that these people came together through the Buddha, joining together with one another for the purpose of practising his teachings, attaining freedom from suffering, and the reaching of nirvāṇa.

In the Buddha's time, the term "saṅgha" was applied not only to the Buddhist community but also to the assembly of religious leaders

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Vinaya Texts, Part II, Mahāvagga, op.cit., X. 4, 4.

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✓ The Dhammapada, 194, tr. I. Babbitt, New York, 1936, reprinted 1965, p. 31.

17

Ta Chih Tu Lun [Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra], Vol. 2, Taisho, Vol. 25, p. 80: "云何名僧伽。善哉。善哉。比丘。是名僧伽。"

18

Ssu Fen Lu, Vol. 5, Taisho, Vol. 20, p. 595: "...和合僧法堅持不捨。僧伽

歡喜不捨。同一師學。如水乳合。於佛法中。有證證在。"

who gathered together with their disciples. However, within the context of Buddhism, saṃgha primarily meant "unity of monks." The saṃgha had its beginning when Buddha taught his dharma to five monks near Benares and they returned to the Buddha. The designation "saṃgha" was applied to any Buddhist order or gathering of three or more monks, and constituted one of the "three treasures" along with the Buddha and the dharma. The Chinese character for "saṃgha" incorporated the character for both "individual" and "community." Since "saṃgha" or "gana" means "community", it cannot correctly be applied to one monk. From ancient times, "saṃgha" has been used in China for one monk, but this is not the correct use of this term.

The saṃgha was also called "gana," but the Buddhists more often used "saṃgha", while the Jains more often used "gana." This usage may be related to the concept of gana which refers to groups of people in the context of Upanisads. The reference occurs in the

19

Vinaya Texts, Part II, by T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, Delhi, 1882, reprinted 1965, Mahāvagga, Viii. 24, 6; Cf., Ssu Fen Lu, Taisho Taizokyo, Vol. 22, p. 595: "僧者四比丘若五若十乃至無量。"

20

U1, op.cit., pp. 6-7. Cf., Footnote 11, this chapter.

21

H. Nakamura, "Keisei tojo no kyotan", (The Formation of the Community) Ed. S. Yoshimura, Bukkyo Kyodan no Kenkyu, [A Study of Buddhist Community], Kyoto, Japan, 1968, p.6.

Brhad-āranyaka Upaniṣad as follows: "Yet he did not flourish. He created the Viś (the commonalty), those classes of gods who are designated in groups (ganāśa). The Vasus, Rudras, Adityas, Visvedevas and Maruts." The term "ganāśa" was applied to organized groups comparable to guilds of people in agriculture, industry, commerce, etc. The word "gana" had long been used for a system of political government, comparable to "republic."

Jayaswal conjectures that, "the Buddhist brotherhood, the Saṅgha, was copied out from the political Saṅgha, the republic, in its constitution." In ancient India, some tribes had two kinds of ganas: one was controlled by one king, the other, by two or more rulers or a council known by the name "rājya". There were several kinds of aristocratic unions and oligarchies. Such communities would be called royal families, and in them the head of the community was the highest in rank. Among the ancient Indians, a father, his children

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S. Radhakrishnan, Ed. tr., The Principal Upaniṣads (Brhad-āranyaka Upaniṣad I 4. 12), London, 1953: "sa naiva vyabhavet, sa viśam aśṛjata, yāny etāni devajatāni Ganāśa ākhyāyante, vasavo rudrā adityā viśvedevā maruta iti." p. 169.

23

H. Nakamura, "Keisei Tchuno Kyotan," op.cit., p. 6.

24

K.P. Jayawal, Hindu polity, India, 1934, p.103.

25

R.D.Bhandakar, Lectures on the Ancient History of India, Calcutta, 1919, p. 169. Cf., K. Tsukamoto, Shoki Bukkyo Kyodanshi no Kenkyu [ A History of the Early Buddhist Order ], Tokyo, 1966, p.345.

and their husbands and wives, and their children lived together, constituting the family. Several families made up a tribe, each tribe having a head. A king was elected to serve as head of a community of tribes, with his authority limited by the council of the tribes. Thus political organization had developed in India even in very ancient times. The politically organized community under a king and council was called saṃgha or gana. During Buddha's time, there existed five monarchies - Kāśī, Videha, Kōśala, Magadha, and Mahājānpāda - and eight republican nations (Gana-rājya) - Śākya, Licchavi, Videha, Malla, Koliya, Moriya, Bṛī, and Bhagg. It was usual for a republican nation facing

26

collapse to be annexed to an absolute monarchy. S. Dutt states:

The political constitution of many tribes in the area that first came under the influence of Buddhism and from wherein early times Buddhist Bhikkus were largely recruited was of a republican type. In these small tribal republics, the authority vested in monarchy in a personal ruler was exercised by an assembly, oligarchical or democratic. The people were quite familiar and conversant with free institutions like voting, committee, popular tribunals, and collective legislation. Many of them were transplanted in the Buddhist Saṃgha, when after the decease of the founder, the need arose for a constitution for the Saṃgha.<sup>27</sup>

The terms "gana" and "saṃgha" appear in Vedic literature, used

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U1, op.cit., p. 11: H.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 184-204. Cf., K. Tsukamoto, op.cit., p. 333.

27

S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, op.cit., pp. 119-120.

to refer to a political union or organization of tribes in which the laws of the tribes were amalgamated, and where the official decisions were then made by an intertribal council (sabhā, samāja, or samiti).<sup>28</sup>

The organization of the Buddhist community was modeled after the republican system of political organization, rather than the monarchic system. The republican government of tribes was the ideal of bikkhu saṅgha, and its rules formed the basis of the saṅgha's rules for religious practice. Sociologists generally interpret the Buddhist saṅgha meetings as being modeled after the tribal councils' law (dharma)-preaching halls (dharma-samāja "law-meetings," sāmājya, mahāsāmājya, "religious community council").<sup>29</sup>

The official application of the name "saṅgha" to the Buddhist community occurred, according to Nakamura, in Asoka's time, and prior to that the Buddhist people were frequently called "sakyanputtiya samanas" (sons of Sakyaputta), indicating a father-and-sons<sup>30</sup>  
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<sup>28</sup>  
R.S.Sharma, Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India, Motilal Banarsidass, 1955. Cf., K. Tsukamoto, op.cit., p.344.

<sup>29</sup>  
Cf., H. Nakamura, Indo Kotaiishi (Ancient History of India), Vol. I, Tokyo, 1963, pp. 234-236. Cf., K. Tsukamoto, op.cit., p.344.

<sup>30</sup>  
Cf., H. Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritzu [ The Formation of Early Buddhism ], Tokyo, 1969, p.241.

<sup>31</sup>  
T.W.Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, New York, 1903, p.143.



32

relationship between Buddha and his disciples. Buddha called his followers "my followers" (<sup>33</sup>māmakā) or "disciples" (<sup>34</sup>savaka). The saṅgha, as noted above, was modeled after the republican form of political organization, but the Buddhist community was primarily a monk community. Buddha, during his lifetime, was head of the community, and controlled the community as an omniscient teacher and the community's only leader. After his death, his teaching remained the only authority. Therefore, the Buddhist community cannot accurately be described as a truly democratic community, since, as noted above, only the Buddha had authority as law-transmitter and judge, and as the only source of dharma. When changes in the dharma became necessary, the community had no authority to enact them. The early Buddhist community, however, consisted of Buddha and his teaching-centered organization; it combined the democratic saṅgha with the leadership of Buddha, who was not the absolute head but rather the teacher of dharma.

32

Theragāthā (Psalms of the Early Buddhist Brethren) No. 536, tr. by Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, 1909, reprinted 1964, "... who that which is insuperable hath o'ercome. And father of my Father art thou, Sakiyan, To me thou, Gotamid, art grandsire in the Norm." P.251. Cf., Putto Buddhassa oraso "the very Buddha son" , Ibid., No. 174, p. 135.

33

Sutta-nipāta (A Collection of Discourses), tr. V. Fausboll, Ed. Max Muller, Oxford, 1880, reprint 1968, Atthakavagga, Garasutta 6. 3, No. 806, "That even of which a man thinks 'this is mine' is left behind by death: Knowing this, let not the wise (man) turn himself to worldliness (while being my) follower (makako)." Cf., Ibid., No. 927, p. 176.

34

Theragāthā (Psalms of the Early Buddhist Brethren),

### 3. Religious Discipline

Religious discipline consisted of rules for the maintenance of order through restraint of the monks' activities within the <sup>35</sup> sangha. The sangha as a group feared that if there were no restraints on the monks' conduct some individuals would yield to external temptations and neglect their monastic responsibilities. Furthermore, since the sangha had been formed for the common purpose of following the teachings of the Buddha these teachings would not have been respected if the sangha had not had control over the monks' <sup>36</sup> activities. Discipline also served to distinguish the Buddhist community from other communities. For example, the elegance of the monks' three robes, required by Buddhist discipline, distinguished <sup>37</sup> the Buddhist monks from the Brahmins and the Jains. Moreover, if

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op.cit., No. 1241: "And one of these, from meditation come, Full fair his gracious Master to behold - Thy true disciple, mighty Hero, see! Low at they feet Vangisa worships thee." P. 404. Cf., B.C.Law, "Early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, Calcutta, p.42.

<sup>35</sup>

T.T.Kimura, Genshi Bukkyo Shisoron [ The Theory of the Thought of Primitive Buddhism ], Tokyo, 1936, p.384.

<sup>36</sup>

G. Kyono, tr. Ritsu Bu. I. Shibunritsu Kaidai, Kokuyaku Issai Kyo, Tokyo, 1929, p.1.

<sup>37</sup>

Op.cit., Vinaya Texts, Part II, op.cit., p.212. Cf., Shih Sung Lu, Vol. 27, Taisho, Vol. 23, p.194. Cf., M. Monir-Williams, Buddhism, 1989 (reprinted 1964), Varanasi, India, and S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, Bombay, India, 1960, p.17.

neither the saṅgha, nor the discipline had been formed nor promulgated, then Buddhism could not have been perpetuated. Without the community, it would have been impossible to maintain discipline, because it was the community which collected and developed the disciplines. This appears to be a reason why the notion of the saṅgha was understood together with Buddha and dharmā as one of the Three Treasures.

Whether the saṅgha became a "church" or an esoteric community is of obvious importance in relation to religious discipline. It must be established whether or not the practice of religious discipline was largely confined to the community of monks. The unity of the community is also closely related to religious discipline in early Buddhism. Buddha established rules of religious discipline for the sake of unity among his monks, even though they came from different backgrounds and developed separate communities. Also, discipline served to preserve the essence of the community as a group gathered for a common purpose, with a congenial, common spirit. If the monks had sought to reach purity and to rectify their mistakes individually, without discipline imposed by the community, the community would have appeared to be disorganized and lacking in unity. In discussing discipline, these two topics, viz., the kind of communities which practised discipline, and unity as the major contribution

of discipline, should be considered simultaneously, because "samgha" has the inescapable meaning of "unity of monks." For the reasons given above, the discussion of religious discipline and the samgha cannot be separated. The discussion of the samgha is essential to the discussion of discipline. Hence we turn to the question of the samgha. Also, it seems most important to discuss the nature of the samgha, or community, and the unity of samgha, these being two aspects of a single topic related to discipline. We return to the main theme of the chapter.

#### I. The Nature of the samgha: three main questions

Now, in investigating the nature of the samgha we must raise the question whether the samgha became a "church" or an esoteric community. The settlement of matter seems to be important in relation to religious discipline in early Buddhism. But before we are able to enter that question it must be first established whether or not the practice of religious discipline was largely confined to communities of monks. Secondly, we must find out whether Buddhist communal unity prevailed chiefly among monks or whether lay people were also included. Only then can we raise the question as to whether the early Buddhist community constituted a church or an esoteric community.

# 1. A monkish community

Accordingly, therefore, let us first consider why the early Buddhist community has been considered to be a monkish community. We find the early use of the words "bhikkhu-saṃgha" and "bhikkhuni-saṃgha," indicating that saṃgha consisted of bhikkus (monks) and bhikkunis (nuns) as regular members, and are led to surmise that the early saṃgha was an ascetic community from which laymen (upāsaka) and lay women (upāsika) were excluded.

Although the universal saṃgha is now seen as extending to the three worlds, it is evident that the early "Four Quarters saṃgha" was fundamentally a monastic association, of monks and nuns. The Vinaya Pitaka informs us that it did not include lay people.

The saṃgha consisted primarily of bhikkus and bhikkhunis. This was also true of the "Four Quarters saṃgha," since it was understood to be an extension of the individual saṃghas. There were four categories of followers - monks, nuns, lay men, and lay women - but this does not mean that there were four organized groups. The lay people, who had been selected in the early days of Buddha's life,

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S. Yoshimura, "Kodan Ken Kyu no Katei," S. Yoshimura, Bukkyo Kodan no Ken Kyu (A Study of Buddhist Community), Kyoto, Japan, 1968, p. 96.

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A. Hirakawa, Genshi Bukkyo no Kenkyu (A Study of Primitive Buddhism), Tokyo, 1964, p.41. Cf., S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, op.cit., p.13.

belonged to samgha only as individuals, rather than as part of an  
 organized group such as the monks or the nuns.

According to the Mahāvagga, after Buddha became enlightened,  
 he was undecided as to whether he should deliver the dharma, but,  
 following the advice of the god Brahmah, he began to transmit it.  
 The legend of Brahmah's advice obviously is a later addition;  
 nevertheless it can be assumed that the Buddha underwent some inner  
 psychological torment as to whether or not he should present the  
dharma to the people.

Why, then, did the Buddha hesitate to preach the dharma?  
 The dharma which the Buddha taught was not some kind of hidden truth,  
 to be taught to special students only, following the tradition of the  
 Vedas, but it was difficult of comprehension unless one had superior

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A. Hirakawa, op.cit., p.13.

42

Vinaya Texts, Part I, Mahāvagga, op.cit., 1, 5, 4: "Blessed One, thought: 'Alas! the world perishes! Alas! the world is destroyed! If the mind of the Tathagata, of the holy, of the absolute Sambuddha inclines itself to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine.' And Brahma Sahampati ... said to the Blessed One: Lord, may the Blessed One preach the doctrine, may the perfect One preach the doctrine! there are beings whose mental eyes are darkened by scarcely any dust; but if they do not hear the doctrine, they cannot attain salvation." p. 86. Cf., T. Kimura, Genshi Bukkyo Shiso Ron (A Theory of Thought in Early Buddhism); Tokyo, 1936: "There is a paradoxical aspect in Buddha's thinking in that he employed elements of Brahmanism in presenting Brahman, lord of the Brahman world, a cultural deity. Because Buddha related to people in Brahman society, it would not have been possible to disregard the faith of this society. Therefore, Brahman was presented as praising and supporting Buddha and as asking Buddha to teach the Dharma to the people. Ideally, however, to those who accepted and understood Buddha's teaching, Buddha expressed skepticism

wisdom. Presumably the Buddha felt that it might be useless to attempt to transmit the dharma to people who were ignorant. Also, the Buddha gained the dharma through the utmost application of his strength in mental and physical cultivation. Those who were unable to apply themselves, because of their ties to worldly desires and pleasures, and the limitations imposed by secular conditions at the time, would find it extremely difficult to attain dharma.

When the Buddha did decide to present the dharma he wanted primarily to teach monks rather than laymen. This does not mean

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about Brahman existed, instead of being an imaginary being comparable to a young girl's dream lover who did not really exist." pp. 25-26.

43

Buddhist Suttas, tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XI, Oxford, 1881, reprinted New York, 1969, Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta (The Book of Great Decease): "I (Buddha) have preached the truth without making my distinction between esteric and esoteric doctrine: for in representation of the truths, Ananda, the Tathagata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps something back." p. 36. Cf., Radhakrishnan, The Principal Upanisads, op.cit., "The face of truth is covered with a golden dish (hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasvāpihitam mukham)," p. 577. Cf., B.U. V. 15:1.

44

Vinaya Texts, Mahāvagga op.cit., 1, 5, 2: "I (Buddha) have penetrated this doctrine which is profound, difficult to perceive and to understand which brings quietude of heart, which is exalted, which is unattainable by reasoning, abstruse, intelligible (only) to the wise ... Now if I proclaim the doctrine, and other men are not to understand my preaching, there would result but weariness and annoyance to me."

45

Ibid., 1, 5, 3, " ... with great pains have I (Buddha) acquired it."

46

that he was uninterested in laymen, but that he believed that laymen were unprepared to receive the dharma. He apparently believed that monks were prepared to receive it because they had renounced their homes for a homeless life practicing asceticism to free themselves from worldly ties and were searching for a higher way of life and cultivating this objective. For example, the Mahāvagga states that<sup>47</sup> when the Buddha decided to teach monks, rather than teachers.

When he learned that they had passed away, he then selected five<sup>48</sup> of his former companions, and preached the dharma to them as they walked the long way to Benares. Thus Buddha preached the dharma-cakra (the Wheel of the Law) to five monks, who had already entered the ascetic life. When one monk understood the dharma, and asked to become Buddha's disciple, Buddha accepted him, along with other monks, and, thus, founded the samgha. He said, "Come,<sup>49</sup> O Bhikkhu," and ordained them, but he did not say, "Come," to laymen.<sup>50</sup> At that time there were six monks including Buddha, in his community.

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If he had not been interested in laymen, why would he have sent his disciples on a mission to them?

47

Vinaya Texts, Mahāvagga, op.cit., 1, 6, 1, 2, 3, 4.

48

Ibid., 1, 6, 5.

49

Ibid., 1, 6, 35.

50

Ibid., 1, 6, 47: "At that time there were six Arahats (persons who had reached absolute holiness) in this world." p. 102.



Previously, two merchants named Papussa and Bhallika had become followers of the Buddha and the dharma as laymen, but there was then no saṅgha. If two members had not been enough to establish saṅgha, then the two of them might have joined with the six monks<sup>51</sup> and established the saṅgha. However, when the saṅgha was begun, the two laymen were excluded. Evidently it was intended that the saṅgha should be a monk community, with laymen excluded from full membership.

dharma was given (primarily) to monks because since it involved philosophical methods of analysis, it was they who could use it to draw up categories of doctrines, such as the "Four Noble Truths" and the "Noble Eightfold Path," the "Anātman" doctrine, and the doctrine of "Twelve Links," etc. As already noted, some<sup>52</sup> exceptionally well-qualified lay people were taught by the Buddha. Even though one understood the dharma, the dharma required a sort of sanctity, such as celibacy, and the restricting of one's desires so<sup>53</sup> as to lead a spiritual, disciplined life. This balanced the Buddha's teachings with a practical way of life.

The Sutta-nipāta states: "A householder's work I will also tell you, how a Savaka is to act to be a good one; for that complete

51

Ibid., 1, 4, 5.

52

Vinaya-Pitaka (The Book of the Discipline), Vol. V, tr. I.B. Horner, London, 1952, reprint 1963, cullavagga 6, 15: "Then the Lord thanked the (great) marchant or Rajagaha in these verses: ... To these food and drink, raiment and lodgings. He should give, to the upright, with mind purified. (Then) these teach him dhamma dispelling every ill; He, knowing that dhamma, here attains nibbana, cankerless." p. 206.

Bhikkhu-dhamma cannot be carried out by one who is taken up by  
 54  
 (worldly) occupations."

In other words, dharma was based on the ethical grounds of self-denial and self-discipline. Indulgence of one's passions was regarded as a hindrance in the course of training to be an arahat in order to attain nirvāṇa, which is described as a state of bliss and freedom from rebirth. Thus, the necessity of discipline, seems to constitute the primary difference between monks and laymen.

Hunabashi seems to have observed correctly that:

The principles of the path of monks and nuns were discipline, meditation, wisdom, the theory of conditional causation and the 'Four Noble Truths.' The path of lay people was pūṇa, which consisted of giving alms to the monks, the theory of lay discipline, and the heavens where those living in this world can be reborn.<sup>55</sup>

Buddha, however, gave other worldly promises than those of nirvāṇa for monks and, correspondingly, he spoke of various stages of

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E. Thomas, op.cit., pp. 12-13.

54

Sutta-nipāṭa, 9, (A Collection of Discourses), tr. V. Fausboll, ed. F. Max Muller, The Sacred Books of East, Oxford, 1881, reprinted Motilal Banarsidass, 1968, p.65.

55

K. Hunabashi, "Genshi Bukkyo ni-okeru Shutsukado to Zaikado ", (Ways of monks and ways of laymen in early Buddhism) , Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenkyu, [ A Study of Indian and Buddhistic Studies ], Vol. 3, No. 1, 1954, p.34.

heaven for lay people. Buddha said that nirvāṇa was primarily for monks, but that a few lay people would also reach it, although most lay people would go to heaven. Because the lay people should support not only the monks but also the poor through their alms-giving, he encouraged them to work hard to earn money, to conserve their property by avoiding waste. For monks, in contrast, he prohibited labour and money, and required them to give up all worldly things for the pure life. The Sutta-nipāta states: "He who did not go too fast forward, nor was left behind, having seen that all this in the world is false, that Bhikkhu leaves this and the further shore, as a snake (quits its) old worn-out skin." But for layman,

Anguttara Nikāya states:

If one dwells in a fitting dwelling-place,  
And friendship makes with Ariyans,

56

Vinaya-piṭaka (The Book of the Discipline), Cullavagga, 6, 9, 2, op.cit.: "Then the Lord thanked the householder Anathapindada in these verses. They ward off cold and heat and beasts of prey from there ... He, knowing that dhamma here, attains nibbana, cankerless." p.230. See Ibid., 6, 15, Talaka, 1, 93. Cf., Eliot, op.cit., p.249. Cf., E. Conze, Buddhism: its essence and development, New York, 1951, reprinted 1959, "The Questions of King Milinda, it is true, somewhat grudgingly admit ... that also a layman can win Nirvana, but add at once that he must then either enter the order, or die. In any case, a layman could attain Nirvana in this life only if he had pursued a monastic life in some former existence ... ." pp. 53-54.

57

Hayaḥjima, op.cit., p.585.

58

Sutta-nipāta (A Collection of Discourses), No. 392, op.cit., p. 2.

And perfectly applies the self,  
And hath aforetime merit done,  
There rolls upon him wealth of crops,  
Fame, good report and happiness.<sup>59</sup>

However, his encouragement of the layman to earn money and secular blessings differs from the ascetic attitude fundamental to his dharma. If Buddha had really believed that laymen should have regular status in the saṅgha, why would he not have given the dharma equally to monks and laymen, and encouraged both to strive toward the goal of nirvāṇa? Monks who belonged to the saṅgha would reach the four phalas (stages of sainthood), but laymen could only advance to the stage of the ānagamin (non-returner from heaven). Even after reaching the ānagamin's stage, they would still retain some illusions which could prevent their attaining the state of arathood. Thus it appears that although Buddha's Path to nirvāṇa was not entirely closed to laymen it was primarily for monks.

Let us now consider the disciplines, the Buddhist vinaya, which it is generally believed were made for monks. Of the ten

59

Anguttara Nikāya (The Book of the Gradual Sayings), Vol. II, VI, i, 31, tr. F.L.Woodward, London, 1933 (reprinted 1962), p. 35.

60

William Edward Soothill, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, op.cit.: "The four phala, i.e., fruitions, or rewards: srota-apanna-phala, sakradāgmi-phala, anāgāmi-phala, arahat-phala, i.e., four grades of saintship; See 須陀洹果, 阿那含果 and 阿羅漢果. The four titles are also applied to four grades of śramanas: yellow and blue flower śramanas, lotus śramanas, meek śramanas, and ultra-meek śramanas." p. 177.

61

Daito Shuppansha, ed., Japanese English Dictionary, Tokyo, 1965, p. 60.

62

rules set out by Buddha, five applied equally to monks and laymen, with the exception that a layman is permitted a sexual life with his wife only. If a monk did not obey these five rules, then according to parājika rules, he would be deprived of all the rights of a monk and be expelled from the sangha. For a monk, this would be like a sentence of death, for he would be forbidden to reenter the sangha and would be deprived of the context most conducive to the attainment of nirvāṇa. For a layman, however, there was generally no punishment if he did not obey these rules. Buddha's other five rules applied to the monks only, not to the lay people. Monks, for example, were forbidden to eat after noon, to sleep in a comfortable bed, and to have money, while lay people, in contrast, were permitted to enjoy such things. These rules for monks were based on practical

62

E. Thomas, History of Buddhist Thought, London, 1933, reprinted 1967: "The rules for novices (samaneras) are contained in the ten rules of training.

- (1) Refraining from killing living things,
- (2) From taking what is not given,
- (3) From unchastity (orincontinence),
- (4) From falsehood,
- (5) From intoxicants,
- (6) From eating at unseasonable times,
- (7) From seeing displays dancing, singing, and music,
- (8) From the use of Garlands, scents, and unguents,
- (9) From the use of a high or a big bed,
- (10) From receiving gold and silver." pp . 25-26.

Cf., Hsiao-Pin Pan-jo-po-lo-mi-to-ching, Taisho, vol. 6: 阿惟越致相品  
 不殺生，不偷盜，不邪淫，不妄語，不兩舌，不惡口，不綺語，  
 不貪愛，不瞋恚，不邪見，十善道 Taisho, Vol. 8, p.564,  
Khuddakapatha, 2, Vinaya, 1. 83.

63

Hirakawa, Ritsuzo no Kenkyu, op.cit., p.442.

considerations for life in the saṃgha. Eating in the afternoon, for example, would interfere with meditation, for which this period was reserved. The required three robes afforded protection from cold winter nights, since the monks did not live in houses. Money might tempt them to go astray from their ascetic lives. Lay people, however, could eat in the afternoon, so as to have more energy for more work, through which they could earn more money to support the monks. Since they lived in houses, they needed no restrictions as to their clothing. Such activities as taking a meal at the "wrong time," i.e., afternoon, or drinking wine, or sexual acts (with one's wife), although impure for monks, were innocent enough for laymen. Monks, who gave up everything secular, put on kāśāya, the three required robes of a monk, brown in colour, while lay people, who lived a secular life with only the five rules of upāli, put on white garments. Also, begging for food, wearing rags, sleeping at the foot of a tree, and using only decomposed urine as medicine, applied only to monks, and not to laymen.

Monks obeyed the rules of discipline which led them to liberation, to nirvāṇa. Monks received the saṃgha's ceremony of upasampāda. Accordingly, the expedient method of giving the whole rules by stages is very important, and makes the difference between

64

A.Hirakawa, Ritsuzo no Kenkyu, op.cit., p.675.

65

H.Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo [ Early Buddhism ], p. 154.

66

monks and secular men. The precepts that the Buddhist monks and nuns should follow consisted of 227 rules for monks and 311 for nuns. Receiving upasampāda meant the receiving of one's qualification to be a monk (bhikkhu-bhava). The spiritual power of precept-observance was communicated to a monk during this ceremony. If one who had not received upasampāda was found to be living in the sangha and acting as a monk, he would be called an enemy and would lose the right to receive upasampāda forever.

68

Therefore, Buddhist discipline was primarily for monks. They were dependent on lay people and had to behave so that lay people would respect them and give them alms. It seems significant that there is no record in the sutras of any lay people's having participated with the monks in the compilation of Buddha's dharma-vinaya, even though some of them might have heard Buddha's dharma.

66

Cf., Watanabe op.cit., p. 130. Cf., Thomas op.cit., p.21.

67

M. Sato, Genshi Bukkyo Kyodan no Kenkyu (A Study of the Early Buddhist Order in the Vinaya Pitaka), Tokyo, 1963, pp. 6-9. Cf., Hirakawa, Ritsuzo no Kenkyu, op.cit.: "Moreover, the term 'pratimoksa-vibhanga' is found in the Taisho No. 143, vol. 23, p. 176 b,c, and the Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya, Taisho No. 1425, vol. 22, pp. 412 b, 544 c, Refer. p. 302, while the term 解二百五十戒証 Vibhanga of the 250 Precepts appears in the 大智度論 Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra ." p. 11.

68

Hirakawa, Ritsuzo no Kenkyu, op.cit., p. 521.

Furthermore, if Buddha seriously considered the lay people to be part of the sangha, why did he not make rules about their basic life-events such as births, marriages, funerals, and offerings to the dead? Why did he let them continue to follow Brahmanism in their religious ceremonies, which would qualify them for heaven, after death? This total lack of provisions for the ordinary events of life in the early Buddhist sangha would show that the sangha as originally conceived by the founder was meant only for the monks. A community of ascetic celibacy, of monks and nuns could not have been a community in the wider or ordinary sense.

Regarding the nation of heaven, Anguttara-Nikāya states, "... who never takes life, nor speaketh lies, Nor goes to another's wife, takes things not given, Nor drinks strong drink, is not addict of these Hate - breeding things - moral is he, 'tis said: 69 At death that wise man will arise in heaven." The Hindu ideas of the dharma still controlled much of lay life. Ssu Fen Lü also states: "Buddha taught that the law for layman required him to 70 preach his discipline and doctrine and the law of rebirth in heaven."

69

Anguttara-Nikāya, V, XVIII, 174, op.cit., p.151. Cf., footnote 54 this chapter. Cf., Katha Upanisad, I, 1, 18: "trīnācīketas trayam etad viditvā ya evam vidvāms cinute nācīketam, mṛtyu-pāśan purataḥ prānodya sokatigo modate svarga-loke." "The wise man who has sacrificed thrice to Nacīketas and who knows this three, and so knowing, performs meditation on fire throwing off first the bonds of death and overcoming sorrow, rejoices in the world of heaven." Radhakrishnan, The Principal Upanisads, p.602.

70

Ssu Fen Lu, 18, Taisho vol. 22, p.69: 菩薩曰 謂法者,

觀施, 說戒說, 生天之法'



Still on the question of the layman Monier Williams says:

"... he (the layman) was already bound to do so by the rules of Hindu caste and family-religion. The chief test of his Buddhism was his readiness to serve the monks. It was for this reason, I think, that lay-adherents were not called, as might have been expected, Sravakas, 'Hearers', but simply Upasakas, 'Servers,' and in the case of women Upasikas. They could not be called disciples of Buddha in the truest sense, unless they entered his monastic order."<sup>71</sup>

Jaini also claims that, "A Buddhist layman might worship the Buddhas and support the monks with food and shelter, yet he was dependent on the Brahman priests for ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death, and was guided by them according to the law-  
72  
books of Manu."

The Buddha prohibited monks from becoming involved with secular matters relating to birth, commerce, death ceremonies, or incantations. Thus he made a distinction between monks and the lay people who served them, since he wanted the monks to be devoted only to the spiritual life. Therefore, since the Buddha saw funerals as secular matters only with which monks should not concern themselves, he requested before his death that his own funeral be conducted by lay people and not by monks.

The Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta narrates the following:

71

M. Monier Williams, Buddhism, op. cit., p. 89.

72

P. S. Jaini, "SRAMANAS" their conflict with Brahmanical Society," Chapters in Indian Civilization, Vol. I, Classical and Medieval India, Joseph W. Elder, ed. A. K. Narain, p. 78.

"(Ānanda asked) what are we to do, Lord, with the remains of the Tāthāgata? Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tāthāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good.! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ānanda, among the nobles, among the Brahmans, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tāthāgata; and they will do honour to the remains of the Tāthāgata."<sup>73</sup>

This indicates further how the Buddha distinguished between monks and laymen. That the Buddha did not concern himself deeply with family and secular life may be one of the reasons that Buddhism declined in India. It was perhaps ignored by the lay people who continued to follow Hinduism which considered these matters. Although many early Buddhist monks lived near large cities and contacted the royal families and rich merchants, such contacts were not because of a positive attitude toward secular life. Rather they maintained their negative attitude toward secular life, and were devoted to the ascetic monasticism which they practiced.

## 2. The layman's position

What exactly, then, was the layman's position in the sangha? If monks and lay people were followers of the same three treasures, the Buddha, the dharma, and the sangha, it would have been very dif-

difficult for lay people to have been completely excluded from the sangha. A scriptural text explains it as follows: "Whoever had learned Buddha's scriptures and his truth, all were Buddha's  
74  
disciples." Where this scripture mentions the holy disciples (āryasāvaka), it includes not only monks but also lay people in this  
75  
category. Also lay people of exceptionally high quality could learn not only the Buddha's teachings as it applied to lay people but they could also study the theory of causation and the Four Noble  
76  
Truths, just like the monks.

A. Nakamura also supports the view that all of the people who respected Buddha and gathered together, monks and lay people, had at first the same status, but he adds that, as the community expanded, the distinction was made between monks and lay people. He states that early Buddhism consisted simply of a community of people who gathered from different places because of their attraction to the Buddha's

74

Cf., Fo Ban Nee Huan Ching, Taisho, Vol. I. pp. 164-166. Vinayapitaka (Book of the Discipline), vol. I, op.cit., (Translator's Introduction): "A common designation of the monastic followers of Gotama was samana Sakyaputtiya, recluses (lit. sons of the) Sakyans, or Sakyan recluses. This was also used of them by the laity (e.g., Vin. iii, 43, 136, 172-pp. 67, 234, 299 below), including these occasions where the monks had given them cause for complaint (vin. iii, 44, 73, 119-pp. 70, 125, 200 below)."p .iii.

75

Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritzu, op.cit., pp. 227- 228.

76

Vinaya Texts: Mahāvagga, 7, 10, 11, op.cit., pp. 24-25;  
cf., Hunabashi, op.cit., p.35.

personality. Gotama called the people who gathered "my people" (māma). Those who returned and became dependent upon him were called "disciples" (sāvaka). The original meaning of this word may have been "to hear the teaching" (meaning the same as the Sanskrit term "śrāvaka"). Gotama's disciples were called "disciples of Buddha" (buddha-sāvaka) or (buddhassa sāvaka) meaning the hearers of Buddha (samma-sambuddha-sāvaka) or "Gotama's disciples" (gotama-sāvaka). The term "sāvaka" was applied not only to monks but also to lay people. This application of "sāvaka" to lay people is found in many places in old Buddhist scriptures. The term "holy disciples" (ariya sāvaka) was also applied to pious lay Buddhists. The same was true in Jainism. Monks and lay people appear to have had the same status as the people who heard his teaching (sāvaka). In this sense, they were equal, and there was no difference between monks and lay people. However, as the samgha developed and gained in importance, monks were considered to be higher than lay people (or, lay people to be lower than monks). Some time later, lay people were designated "serving men" (upāsaka), which means that lay people served monks. In the early days, it appears that laymen and monks participated together in meetings of purity in the Buddhist monasteries, although later these meetings were restricted to monks only. Without the lay people's alms, monks could not engage

77

Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo no Sei Ritsu, op.cit., pp. 227-228.

78

S.Watanabe, Bukkyo, Tokyo, 1967, p.129.

in spiritual cultivation. Monks provided spiritual leadership and were respected by the laymen. The Buddha gave rules for the lay people as well as for the monks, although some of the lay people's rules were not the same as those for the monks. Also there were eight punishments, applicable when monks did wrong to laymen and, conversely, when laymen did wrong to monks.

The goal of the lay people was the heavens where those living in this world could be reborn - quite the same thing as popular Hindu notion of heaven. This, however, does not seem to have been their ultimate goal. In the Anguttara-Nikāya the Lay-Disciple states:

Seeing hell's fearfulness, shun wickedness;  
Wise men shun that, firm set in Ariyan Dhamma,  
Not harming aught that breathes where progress is;  
Lie not, not knowingly touch things ungiven;  
Live gladly with thine own, leave others' wives;  
No man should drink strong drink that dulls  
the thought; ...  
Who serve the good-wise men and by wise men,  
Held wise-go to the deva-realm, or here  
Are born within some clan; and as wise men  
In gradual course attain Nirvāṇa's bliss.<sup>81</sup>

Lay people were taught that the heaven of rebirth was not the only goal open to them, and that if they sought wisdom and practised

liberation of the mind they might seek the ultimate liberation of  
 82  
nirvāna. Although rebirth in heaven was the primary aim of lay  
 people, nirvāna was not closed to them. Lay people had both possible  
 goals, the heaven of rebirth and also nirvāna, although nirvāna does  
 not appear to have been their primary objective.

Through the Middle Path, Buddha rejected both extremes of  
 pleasure-seeking in secular life and extremes of asceticism in  
 monastic life. He required that one, even though a layman, should  
 give alms to monks and to the poor so that he might restrain his own  
 desires. Monks were told that, although they were leading a homeless  
 life, they should not accede to the adoption of extreme asceticism as  
 a means of reaching nirvāna. Thus, through the law of revision as  
 the Middle Path, the Buddha established a pluralistic order, with  
 monks being primary and the laity being secondary. This made it  
 possible for monks and lay people to coexist.

For both monks and laymen, what was most important appears to  
 have been the correct and sincere following of the Buddha's teachings.  
 Whether one was a monk or a layman, if he practised the Buddha's

Hayajima, op.cit.: "The idea of heavens was not taught in  
 early Buddhism. The concept of heaven in early Buddhism was similar  
 to that in Vedic literature generally. A single heaven for lay  
 people (Aśoka-the sorrowless), was, also mentioned in the context of  
 almsgiving, discipline, and reborn heaven. This was one ideal realm  
 of heaven, not heavens, in the plural. In this connection, it could  
 be supposed that Buddha used the word "heaven" for a state preparatory  
 for the absolute state of Nirvāna." p.701.

teachings correctly, he would reach nirvāṇa. The Buddha established separate rules for monks' and laymen's lives, because of the differences in their modes of living, but the foundation of the rules for both monks and laymen was the similar ultimate good leading to nirvāṇa, or to heaven. Rules for lay people dealt with almsgiving, family ethics, economics, and the layman's moral code. For example, the Kulavagga states: "Let him dutifully maintain his parents, and practise an honourable trade; the householder who observes this strenuously goes to the gods by name Saeyampabhas."<sup>83</sup> The Mo-ho-seng-chih-lu also states:

Buddha said that a layman could provide a good well along a heavily traveled road, where travelers could drink; or plant fruit trees, or a cool, refreshing forest by the road; or build a bridge or provide a boat where a road comes to a river; and give alms, especially to a monk or a community of monks. He should cultivate pure discipline, and seek to attain wisdom so that he could give up feelings of petulance and greed. The reward of such virtue would be his advancing through rebirth in the heavens or the world of men.<sup>84</sup>

Buddhist social practice is fundamentally different from "social work" in the secular Western sense of the term. It is derived from the ideal of the Bodhisattva. One's real life in Buddhist

83

Sutta-nipāta, op.cit., No. 403, Kulavagga 29, p.66.

84

Mo-ho-seng-chih-lu, vol. 4, 34 T, Taisho-Taizo Kyo, vol. 22, pp. 260-261:

世尊(以偈答天子)曰 曠路作好井 種樹固果施 櫛林施淨涼  
橋般渡人民 布施修淨戒 智慧捨慳貪

social practice involves both the spiritual and the material; the Bodhisattva's compassion and selflessness were the grounds for

85

altruism. The Samyutta-Nikāya states:

On a 'certain occasion the Exalted One was staying near Kapilavatthu in Banyan Park.' Now Mahānāma the Sakyan went to see the Exalted One ... and said this: 'Pray, lord, how far is one a disciple?' 'By going for refuge to the Buddha, Mahānāma (Saṃgha), to the Norm (Dharma) and to the Order, one is a disciple.' 'But lord, how far is a disciple virtuous?' 'From the time when a disciple abstains from killing, from stealing, from wrong conduct in sensual lusts, from falsehood and from addiction to the neglect caused by intoxicants, - thus far, Mahānāma, a disciple is virtuous.' 'But, lord, how far is a disciple a believer?' 'Herein, Mahānāma, a disciple believes in the wisdom of the Tathāgata, thus: He it is, the Exalted One ... teacher of Devas and mankind, a Buddha, an Exalted One. Thus far, Mahānāma, a disciple is a believer.' 'But lord, how far is a disciple given to generosity?' 'Herein, Mahānāma, a disciple dwells at home with a heart freed from the taint of stinginess. He is open-handed, pure-handed, delighting in self-surrender, one to ask a favour of, one who rejoices in the dispensing of charitable gifts. Thus far, Mahānāma, a disciple is given to generosity.' 'Pray, lord, how far is a disciple blessed with insight?' 'Herein, Mahānāma, a disciple is a sage, blessed with insight into the rise and fall of things, insight which is Ariyan, penetrating, going on to the utter destruction of ill. Thus far, Mahānāma, a disciple is possessed of insight.' 86

There were, however, common rules for both laymen and monks:

to study the dharma, and to believe that the Buddha, the saṃgha, and the dharma are one. There were different practices to be followed but the objective of enlightenment was the same.

85

Hayajima, op.cit., pp. 733-734.

86

Samyutta-Nikāya, Part 5, LV. XI. IV, vii, op.cit., pp. 338-339.



Historically, the sangha seems to have been primarily a monkish community. Thus it might seem that Buddha had primarily no concern about secular matters. Ultimately, however, monks and laymen alike belonged to the Buddha's realm (sangha), through the dharma, even though the teachings given to monks and laymen were different, and had different aims. The alms-giving of laymen, as a love-experience corresponded to the religious discipline and wisdom of the monks. Both had vision of a reality beyond dukkha, whether toward in terms of heaven or nirvāṇa. Although the Buddha was primarily concerned with monks, these monks were an inner, elite group whose purpose was to lead the people and to build the kingdom of the Buddha. The Buddha taught the dharma for all through this inner, elite group - the monks. If the Buddha had not been interested in the lay people, why would he have required his monks to be missionaries, and why would he have lived his own whole life as a missionary? He rejected no one who wanted to join his lay disciples. He ordained them, visited the places where they lived, and gave them rules. Historically, lay people were not full members of the sangha, although they were included in the concept of the sangha. In the Buddha's kingdom monks and lay people had different functions, the monks being the inner group, the laymen the outer group, but fundamentally they were all sons of the Sakya kingdom through universal dharma.

However, the sangha was primarily a monkish community. The laity were secondary rather than equal participants, but they were

not completely excluded from the sangha. The lay people, although not regular members of the organized sangha, individually belonged to the sangha in the fuller sense. They remained part of the Hindu community as far as secular matters were concerned, but they belonged to Buddha's "spiritual" kingdom which was centered on the Buddha as the King of Dharma.

## II. Was there the character of religious unity in early Buddhist community?

In this section, the nature of the early Buddhist community as a "unity" is discussed. It was previously emphasized that although each of the early Buddhist communities was organized as a separate body it was independent and autonomous. Ever remaining in mutual dependence, the Buddha's teaching and the discipline were essentially united in an ideal relationship. Therefore, it can be asked: How did each community perpetuate the founder's teachings and thoughts? How did members live together obediently in a particular way, with common adherence to the Buddha and the dharma as a guiding factor?

This is illustrated in "sangha" which generally means "unity of community." According to the Pali-English Dictionary, sangga

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87

Cf., S.Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, op.cit., p.19, p.64; cf., Hirakawa, Ganshi Bukkyo no Kenkyu, op.cit., p.307.

88

(from sam-agga) means being in unity, harmonious. Also, the

Chinese characters 和合 mean "to blend, unite, be of one mind,

89

harmonize." What these definitions indicate in common is that the

Buddha and his disciples apparently wanted to make the sangha a

realization of the ideal, unified, orderly community. Therefore,

the monks seemed to hold the same belief as their teacher, i.e., that

dharma and vinaya were not only the same but also held up the same

goal for men - to be arahats and to attain nirvana. Their aim to

be as one, however, was not easily achieved; even in early Buddhism,

there were seeds of disunity. Thus, before examining the major topic

i.e., religious unity of the community, it seems necessary to discuss

the factors of disunity in early Buddhism. Hence let us turn to it

below:

#### 1. Factors of disunity

90

(A) Cakrabhedā (破法輪僧): Devattata's episode

Devattata asked the Buddha to transfer the leadership of the sangha to him. As already noted, the Buddha refused to do so.

88

T.W.Rhys Davids, and William Stede (The Pali Text Society Pali-English Dictionary), op.cit., p.681.

89

Soothill, op.cit., p.253.

90

Hirakawa, Shoki Daijo Bukkyo no Kenkyu (A Study of Early Mahayana Buddhism), Tokyo, 1968, p.678. Cf., V.V. Gokhale, Abhidharmakosa Karika, p. 89; Ta-p'i-p'o-sha-lun, Vol. 116, Taisho Taizokyo, vol. 27, p.602; Chu-she-lun, vol. 18, vol. 29, p.93.

Devattata also suggested five restrictive rules of conduct to the Buddha, which the Buddha did not entirely accept, suggesting instead that monks should be free to choose whether or not they would follow these restrictions. Consequently, with five hundred other monks, Devattata started a new community which the record reveals as having lasted several hundred years. This new community separated from the Buddhist community. Devattata challenged the Buddha's leadership and the new community changed from the sangha to another sect, known as the cakrabhedā, which means "the split circle"; that is to say, the broken sangha or "schismatic sangha." This not only disrupted the religious order of Buddhism, but it also caused a dogmatic separation from dharma, which resulted in the destruction of Buddhist dharma. This is the earliest schism. In fact, it was not really Buddhist at all as it constituted a challenge to Buddhism and to Buddha himself. It was a paralleled religious community.

91

(B) Karmabhedā (破羯磨僧)

The term "karmabhedā" indicated a varied interpretation within one sangha, wherein such division was not accompanied by the neglect of the Buddha's teaching and the notion of karma (duty). These sects or groups were divided from the main stream of Buddhism but still claimed to be Buddhist in essence.

91

Ibid.

About one hundred years after the parinirvāṇa of Buddha, there was a conflict between the Sthaviravādins and Mahāsaṃghikins. The elders claimed that the ten rules should be strictly obeyed, whereas the "innovative" monks (recognizing certain exceptions) claimed that some of these rules need not be strictly adhered to.

(C) The conflict between dharma and vinaya

a. Two groups, the vinaya-dharma and the dhamma-kathika, quarreled. Even though the two factions later became reconciled, this quarrel emphasized the difference between vinaya and dharma.<sup>92</sup>

b. When Buddha was living at Kosambī in Ghosita Park, Bhikkhu Bahiya, who lived with the elder Amuruddha, wanted to break up the community. Thereto, the Anguttara-Nikāya cites four reasons:  
... immorality (a wicked nature), impurity, a suspicious behaviour,  
<sup>93</sup>  
and covert deeds.

(D) Differences of personal opinions among monks

The Kosāmbīya-sutta states that at Koṣāmbīya many monks became so agitated in arguments that there was no harmony or peace. A Chinese

92

E. Kanakura, Indo Chusei Sai shin shi, vol. II, [ A Spiritual History of Medieval India ], Tokyo, 1969, pp. 198-199.

93

Anguttara Nikāya (The Gradual Sayings), op.cit., Vol. II, IV, XXIV, 239, p.244: Cf., Nanten Daizokyo, 18, p.418.

translation of the same material pictures these disputes as follows:  
 Monks had become deeply committed to their own opinions, and were  
 given to fighting and making accusations, and to committing many  
 kinds of offences. Sometimes confrontations between monks led not  
 only to vehement arguments in support of their respective views,  
 but even to attacks upon each other with sticks or swords.

In the foregoing paragraphs we have some of the main  
 factors of disunity. However, during the Buddha's lifetime, -  
 excluding Devadatta's revolt - the community appears generally to  
 have been united under his leadership and teaching. After his death,  
 they appear to have undergone a crisis of disunity.

94

Majjhima Nikāya, vol. 1: "... If, monks, a monk, disputatious,  
 quarrelsome, contentious, lives, wounding with the weapons of his  
 tongue, to this extent is his mind obsessed." P.323. Also, Kaya,  
Nanten Daizokyo, vol. 10, p.54: "拘禁比丘恒好闘訟犯諸惡行  
 西行而相説説成時刀杖相加", p.626;  
 and E. Frauwallner, The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist  
Literature, Rome 1956, pp. 3, 103ff.

95

Kanakura, op.cit., p.6.

96

In Dīgha Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part III, 117, 1  
 (XXIX, Pasadika suttanta), tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, London, 1921, reprinted  
 1971, we read that "... at his Buddha's death the Niganthas became  
 disunited and divided into two parties, in mutual strife and conflict,  
 quarreling and wounding each other with wordy weapons: - Thou dost not  
 understand this doctrine and discipline; but I do understand it. Thou  
 art in the wrong; I am in the right ... ." p.111. Cf., S.Miyamoto,  
Chudo-shiso oyoby Sono Hatdats (The Thought of Middle Path and Its  
Development), Tokyo, 1944: "We are informed that when another in-  
 novative teacher, Nigantha Mathaputta, died, his followers became  
 divided into two groups, who clashed with each other because of dif-  
 ferent opinions about his teachings, discipline, and practices. This  
 indicates what is likely to happen in new movements generally after the

At the meeting of the First Council, a monk who said that members of the community were free to do whatever they wished, seems to have expressed the opinions of many of those present. Furthermore, problems had arisen and would arise in the future because of differences of opinion about religious matters. Therefore, the council was convened in order to determine the correct views and for the purpose of promoting unity, the disciples recited in unison the teachings left by Buddha. Also, they made dharma-vinaya the authority for the whole Buddhist community. At this point let us return to the main topic.

## 2. Religious unity of the community

First, let us discuss the teaching of the Buddha (dharma), the discipline of Buddha (the sila-vinaya), and the person of the

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death of the founder; there is always the possibility of division, as happened in Buddhism very much like the way it has happened in other movements. According to the Pasadika-Suttanta the relationship between Buddha and his disciples involved inherent elements of disunity as well as of unity." p.65.

97

For an example, Vinayapitaka, vol. V, Cullavagga, XI, I, II, States op.cit.: "Reverent Purana, dhamma and discipline have been chanted by Monks who are elders, submit yourself (upehi, as at V, IX, 3, 3, towards the end) to this chanting." "Your reverences, well chanted by the elders are dhamma and discipline, but in that way that I heard it in the Lord's presence, that I received it in his presence, in that same way will I bear it in mind." p.402. Cf., S.Dutt, op.cit., pp. 18-19; and Kanakura, op.cit., pp. 196-197.

Buddha, all of which were employed for the sake of promoting the unity of the community.

(A) The dharma-unity

One of the most important expressions of the unity within the Buddhist community was given by Ananda, as recorded in the Majjhima Nikāya, (Gopaka-Moggallāna-Sutta), where we read: "... as you are thus without a support good Ānanda, what is the cause your unity?" "We, brahman, are not without support; we have a support, brahman. Dharma is the support." This passage seems to be grounded in Buddha's remark to Ānanda which was one of his last commands: "... the truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you."

The above passages seem to indicate that for the sake of unity after the Buddha's death, dharma-vinaya was instituted as the guide to the community, in the place left vacant by Buddha. Therefore, it appears that the dharma was the principal means of achieving this unity. Having said this, it is now useful to examine the specific

98

Majjhima-Nikāya (Middle Length Sayings), vol. III, by I.B. Horner, Pali Text Society tr. No. 31, London, 1967, 108 Gopakamoggallānasutta XII, p.60.

99

T.W. Rhys Davids, tr., Buddhist Suttas, Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta, Chapt. Vi. I, The Sacred Books of the East, ed. Max. Müller, vol. XI, 1881 (reprinted New York, 1969), p.112.



ways, in which the dharma (the Middle Path) contributed to the unity of the Buddhist community.

(i) The Middle Path

The Middle Path meant avoidance of two extremes. This matter is expressed well by the following statements made, as the tradition believes, by Buddha himself. They concern both practical living on the one hand and theoretical belief on the other:

a. Monks, these two extremes should not be followed by one who has gone forth as a wanderer. What two? - Devotion to the pleasures of sense, ... and (on the other) devotion to self-motivation, ... By avoiding these two extremes the Tāthāgata has gained knowledge of that middle path. Cohidi giveth vision, which giveth knowledge, which causeth calm, special knowledge, enlightenment, Nibbana.<sup>100</sup>

b. Thus far, Kaccaya, he has the right view. Everything exists: - this is one extreme. Nothing exists: - this is the other extreme. No approaching either extreme the Tathagata teaches you a doctrine by the middle (way).<sup>101</sup>

The practical formula of the Middle Path expressed in the first statement recommended avoidance of the extremes of asceticism and hedonism. The theoretical formula expressed in the second likewise counsels avoidance of the extremes of belief in being and belief in

100

Saṃyutta-Nikāya (Kindred Sayings), Part V by F.L.Woodward, Pali Text Society tr. No. 16, London, 1965, Mahāvagga, LVI, Sacca-Saṃyutta, op.cit., pp. 356-357.

101

Saṃyutta-Nikāya (The Book of the Kindred Sayings), Part II, tr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, XII, 2, 15, London, 1922, reprinted 1952, p. 13.

non-being - both of these are inconsistent with the Middle Path.

The doctrine of the Middle Path is grounded in the theory of

dependent origination (pratītya-Samutpāda, or paticca-Samuppāda).<sup>102</sup>

Buddha called his teaching 'doctrine by the middle' (dhammo

majjhena) as all things are "causally continuous (or collective)

<sup>103</sup>uprising." Secondly, it leads to the positive practice of the Noble Eight-Fold Path which leads to nirvāṇa.

How, then, did one practise the Middle Path? It cannot be held that Buddhism as conceived by its founder was not really ascetic at all. It was somewhat ascetic in a moderate way and hence avoided the extremes of hardship and physical self-denial practised by some other contemporary movements such as Jainism. Jainism emphasized the principle of non-possession, believing that this led one to spiritual development. Buddhism avoided this, because it was felt that the undergoing of too great physical hardship might hinder the development of wisdom. Likewise, it was held that a life of pleasure disturbed the holy life required of monks. Therefore, moderate asceticism in life and non-adherence to any view of being, as well as of non-being in doctrine were considered the only

102

H. Matzutani, Bukkyo Kairon (Introduction to Buddhism), Tokyo, 1968, pp. 141-142.

103

Saṃyutta-Nikāya (The Book of the Kindred Sayings), Notes, op.cit., vol. II, p. V.

safe rules. Evidently, it called for an understanding which was essentially dialectical; as the dialectic was pursued further  
 104  
 the Middle Path came better into view.

The Buddha also saw the Middle Path as the logical principle of unity in the community. When problems of disunity arose in the sangha he wanted unity within the community, not as a matter of right vs. wrong but in a manner which was paradoxically transcendent  
 105.

of right and wrong. The following is worth noting: The Kosambi monks were divided into two disputing groups. The Buddha did not say which group was right or which was wrong. Rather, he suggested that, for the sake of unity within the community, it would be justifiable to say that one faction was right even though it appeared to be wrong, or that one was wrong even though it appeared to be  
 106

right. Also, in the story of Devattata mentioned earlier, the Buddha neither outrightly accepted Devattata's five suggested rules

104

Op.cit., p. viii.

105

Hayaajima, op.cit., p.58.

106

Hirakawa, op.cit., p.601; Ganshi Bukkyo, op.cit., p.133. Cf., Vinaya-pitaka, vol. I, Sanghadisasa, XII. 1, 2, op.cit., pp. 310-312. Cf., Vinayapitaka, vol. I,X, 2, op.cit.: "The order, harmonious, on friendly terms, not quarrelsome, dwells comfortably under a single rule." "A second time they should say ... A third time they should say ... If he gives it up, this is good. If he does not give it up, it is an offence of wrong-doing." p.301.

nor did he entirely reject them; instead, he said that the monks  
 should be free to choose whether or not to follow these rules. <sup>107</sup>

This appears to indicate his concern for peaceful coexistence in Buddhism. The Buddha applied the principle of the Middle Path to promote unity and coexistence among the different Buddhist factions. He had supreme concern for the unity of the community; the ethical aspects of his teachings were thus directed to achieve unity.

He always took into consideration the time, the place, and the people inasmuch as the causes were always related to problems which had arisen as a result of factors of time and place. <sup>108</sup> For

107

Cf., Vinaya-pitaka (The Book of the Discipline), Vol. I, op.cit., Saṃghādisesa, X, I-III, pp. 296-300.

108

Dīgha Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part III, tr. T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, London, 1921, reprinted 1971. paṣādika-suttanta XXIX, iii, 134: "... If the past meant what is true, what is fact, and what does redound to your good, concerning that the Tathagata knows well the time when to reveal it." p.28. For example: It seems that for collective living and the maintenance of order in the saṃgha, they needed rules for food, clothing, and life generally. If each person had followed his own inclinations, communal life would have been impossible. Regarding the hour of rising, the times for eating, the kind of clothing, and the use of the common property of the saṃgha, rules were needed which did not relate to concepts of good and evil, but merely enforced the pragmatic requirements of communal living.

example: After the Buddhist community expanded, harmony and discipline in the community could not have existed if Devattata's suggestions had been adopted. Also men were prohibited from living in the forest for there was the question of their safety and the problem of creating temptation for the monks. This emphasis on minute practical matters does not mean, however, that there was any lack of universally significant laws.<sup>109</sup> Also, before his death, Buddha even suggested that minor rules<sup>110</sup> might be abolished to avoid such controversy.

In considering the Middle Path, it is important to note that the Buddha chose a balanced pragmatic standard for this community in the interests of unity, rather than the imposition of a transcendent moral judgement.

#### (11) The theory of the dependent origination

As it has already been said that the notion of the Middle Path rested on the theory of dependent origination pratītya-samutpāda or

109

E. Conze, Buddhist Thought in India, Ann Arbor, 1967, "Dharma is the order of law of the universe, ... dharma means the moral law ...," p. 93.

110

Buddhist Suttas, op.cit. Cf., Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta, op.cit.: "When I am gone, Ananda, let the Order, if it should so wish abolish all the lesser and minor precepts." p.112.

111  
paṭicca-samuppāda, we must now turn to it. Briefly, it is expressed  
 as follows thus: 'this' being, 'that' becomes; from this arising  
 of this; this not being that becomes not; from the ceasing of this,  
 112  
 that ceases.

The sūtra also states:

Conditioned by ignorance activities come to pass,  
 conditioned by activities consciousness; thus  
 conditioned (arises) name-and shape; and sense  
 arises, contact, feeling, craving, grasping,  
 becoming, birth, decay-and-death, grief, suffering,  
 ... even such is the uprising of this entire mass  
 of ill. But from the utter fading away and ceasing  
 of ignorance (arises) ceasing of activities, and  
 thus comes ceasing of this entire mass of ill. 113

This concept of dependent origination was not a special  
 feature of Buddhism, but had been an ideal common to many others  
 114  
 before Buddha. What was unique in the Buddhist view was that the

111  
Majjhima-Nikāya (The Middle Length Sayings), Vol. I, op.cit.,  
 28 Mahāhatthipadopamasutta, 1, 191: "This was said by the Lord:  
 Whoever sees conditioned genesis (the dependent origination) sees  
 dhamma, whoever sees dhamma sees conditioned genesis." p.237.

112  
Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Vol. II, XII, 3, 21, p.23.

113  
Op. cit., p.13.

114  
 For the presence of the theory in Sāṃkhya-yoga see, H. Jacobi,  
Der Ursprung des Buddhismus aus dem Sāṃkhya-yoga, Göttingen, 1896, pp.  
 1 ff. Rhys Davids, Early Buddhism, London, 1908, pp. 85-86. For its  
 presence in Jainism see, Nakamura, Genshi Bukkyo no Shiso, II [ Thought  
of Early Buddhism ], Tokyo, 1971, pp.77-84.

doctrine of production by causation, leading to the Middle Path, was  
concerned not with metaphysics but with practical considerations. <sup>115</sup>

This concept of the Middle Path promotes cooperation among individuals and groups. It holds that if one takes an extreme partisan position, one can lose his self-control and with it his sense of direction in life. Therefore, it exhorts one to eschew any extreme position and to follow the Middle Path, which presents the coalition between opposing sides and a high degree of mutual cooperation and continuous identity as the norm and essence of life. Thus, by following the Middle Path, minor factions should be drawn toward middle positions. This is the principle of unity and harmony. The doctrine of production by causation as expressed in the Middle Path unifies all the followers in Buddhism.

### (iii) The Eight-fold Path

This theory of the Middle Path must be grounded in the practice of the Noble Eight-fold Path. The Sacca-samyutta says as follows: "... What, monks, is that middle path which giveth vision ... Nibbana? Verily it is this Aryan eightfold way, to wit: Right view, right aim, right speech, right action, right living, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration ..." <sup>116</sup> The Noble Eight-fold Path

115

Cf., Samyutta-Nikāya (The Book of the Kindred Sayings), Vol. II, XII, 5, 48, p. 53; Miyamoto, op.cit., p.56.

116

Samyutta-Nikāya (The Book of the Kindred Sayings), Part V, sacca-samyutta, p.357.

117

oriented to the right view examining both sides led ultimately to the good (right) view. Therefore, the Middle Path is put forth in the following verse: "To refrain from all evil, to achieve the good, to purify one's own heart -- this is the teaching of the Awakened."<sup>118</sup>

When a controversy arose in the interpretation of dharma, it was not to be dealt with by arguments and strife,<sup>119</sup> but through open-minded discussion, so that the truth might be discovered in a spirit of inquiry, without the loss of the spirit of peace. By following the Middle Path, one should be able to develop the ability to discriminate between good and bad, right and wrong.<sup>120</sup> Following the Middle Path, one would be aware of how and when one could serve the cause of justice.

Therefore, the Dhammapāda says, "A man is not just if he carries a matter of violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and leads others, not by violence but justly and righteously, and who is guarded by the Law and intelligent,

117  
Thomas, op.cit., p.192.

118  
The Dhammapāda (A Collection of Verses), No. 183, p.30.

119  
Cf., Suttanipāta (A Collection of Discourses), No. 907, p.173.

120  
Hayajima, op.cit., p.216.



be is called just."<sup>121</sup>

(iv) nirvāna

The aim of the Middle Path was to reach nirvāna. nirvāna, therefore can be equated with the Middle Path which led its followers to avoid the two extremes of either self-mortification or self-indulgence.<sup>122</sup>

Although nirvāna is beyond man's powers of description, interpretations of nirvāna can be given as follows: First, through physical (sīla), mental (citta or saṁādhi), and intellectual (pañña) effort one would reach a state of individual liberation, and attain

121

The Dhammapada (A Collection of Verses), op.cit., p.41. Cf., C.V.Joshi, "Life and Teaching," P.V.Vapat, ed., 2500 Years of Buddhism, Delhi, 1959, p.26. Speaking of this Noble Eightfold Path, Dr. Rhys Davids says: "If this Buddhist ideal of perfect life is remarkable when compared with the thought of India at that time, it is equally instructive when looked at from the comparative point of view." American Lecture, p.139; cf., Miyamoto, op.cit., p.49. The teachings of Buddha, as King of Dharma, were primarily presented as the war-cry which would fight for justice and destroy evil. It was summoned to turn the dharma-cakra, or wheel of dharma, to build the new moral social order. dharma's universal applicability and its availability to all not only contributed to equality within the Buddhist community but also led to a common goal for all its members.

122

Marada, "Nibbāna," B.C.Law, Buddhistic Studies, Calcutta, 1931, p.573.

123

Arahatship as Buddha had, yet still be able to retain his individual status in the community. As one who was enlightened, the individual would renounce self-interest, and progress toward purity of mind.

The Ākaṅkheyya sutta states: "... attain to Arahatship, to emancipation of heart, and emancipation of mind, let him then fulfill all righteousness, let him be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within ..."

124

Also, there is the concept of nirvāṇa as a perfect life in arahatship. One entered the Noble Path with concern for each of one's fellow men, and had pity for his ignorance, sympathy with his weakness, equanimity, and an all-pervading feeling of deep and lasting love. Therefore, the life of such an individual would constitute an ideal pattern for other monks to follow in living peacefully together. Secondly, nirvāṇa could be compared to the sea, to which all rivers flow: The Anguttara-Nikāya states: "... All the great rivers: the Gāṅgā, the Yamunā, the Airavatī, the Sarabhū and the Mahā, on reaching the mighty ocean, lose their former names and identities and are reckoned simply as the ocean ... the mighty ocean has one (unmixed

125

123

Thomas, op.cit., pp. 190-191; S.Dutt, op.cit., p.139. Cf., T.W.Rhys Davids, "Introduction to the Maha-Sudassana Sutta." Buddhist Suttas, pp. 243-244. Cf., Samyutta-Nikāya (The Book of the Kindred Sayings), Part II, XI, 2, 16, p.14.

124

Buddhist Suttas: Ākaṅkheyya Sutta, 19, op.cit., p. 218.

125

Cf., T.W.Rhys Davids, Early Buddhism, London, 1908, pp. 59-64.

126

taste), the taste of salt." Thus nirvāna may appear monistic. In  
 this "sea," all would be parts of nirvāna, not the particularisms of  
 "I" and "you." There would be no necessity for struggle with self-  
 exaltation; ideal unity in mutual support would be possible.

127

The Samyutta-Nikaya states: "This, too, is a matter hard to  
 discern, to wit, the renunciation of all substrates of rebirth, the  
 destruction of natural cravings, passionlessness, cessation, Nirvāṇa." 128  
 This means that nirvāna would eliminate all actions related to hatred,  
 delusion, and the like. In attempts to describe nirvāna people call  
 it a state in which suffering and disease disappears, the pure mind  
 is liberated, and the heart is set at rest. 129 There would be no seeking  
 of self-interest; as in Buddha's great harmonious spirit, everybody  
 would be one through ethical perfection. nirvāna solved the problems  
 of old age, sickness, and death by treating them as objective  
 conditions; it reached states of non-old-age, non-sickness, and non-

126  
Anguttara-Nikāya, Vol. IV, 2, 19, pp. 136-137. Cf., Sato  
 (Genshi Bukkyo no Kyodan Rinen), op.cit., p.83.

127  
 M.Dutt, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 292, In Pali Texts therefore  
 the problem of non-duality is not mentioned. Nibbana is described  
 as one and only one and that it is of one taste (ekarasa). Nirvāna,  
 according to the Buddhists of all times, is absolutely different from  
 everything which is worldly or is constituted causally.

128  
Samyutta-Nikāya (Kindred Sayings), op.cit., Part I, 1, 136, p.172.

129  
 A.T.Bhm, Philosophy of the Buddha, New York, 1958, pp.80-81.

death deductively, and achieved unity through welding harmony with  
 130  
 complete perfection in impermanency and non-self. Through the  
 Buddha's teaching one could experience liberation and thereby reach  
nirvāṇa through dharma. Thus, nirvāṇa consists of an indivisible and  
 131  
 eternal peace, which is communicated to the Buddhist community,  
 called to "unity," through the monks called "peace monks."

### III. What was the nature of the original discipline in the saṅgha?

In the ideal sense, dharma was important as a source of  
 unity within the saṅgha. From a practical viewpoint, religious  
 discipline (sīla-vinaya) was necessary as a basis of unity in the  
 daily life of the monks in the saṅgha.

Although the saṅgha included arahats, most of its members  
 were ordinary monks and nuns. Therefore, if the Buddhist community  
 was to be unified with a definite purpose, rather than being a  
 heterogeneous group, religious discipline was necessary for the unity  
 of the Buddhist community.

130

G. Watanabe, Buddha no Kyosetsu [Teachings of Buddha],  
 Tokyo, 1935, pp. 479-480.

131

Saṃyutta-Nikāya (Kindred Sayings), I, 1, 2: "Let him  
 aspire after the final peace (The final peace (accanta-santi) termed  
Nirvāṇa). Ibid., I, 2/1: "Happy the mastery of them and the peace!  
 ('Vūpasamo' express both 'mastery' and 'peace.' A Synonym for  
Hibbāna ...)."

Reasons for the necessity of discipline included the following:

The Buddhist community included not only those who had become monks for purely religious reasons but also many who had joined for secular reasons, such as dislike for the rulers of other communities. Many uneducated people and young people were present in the community. Many members of the community had come from other sects, and did not know how to behave as Buddhists; for example, they did not know how to dress acceptably, or might argue vociferously in the dining room. When Sariputta met Asvajit he was attracted to Buddhism because of Asvajit's "respect-inspiring" appearance. This illustrates a positive value of discipline, and also indicates that in the earliest days of the Buddhist community there was an effort made to maintain the purity and unity of the community through the control of discipline. Had there been no such aspect of purity and respect of the public, including the lay people who gave alms, how could it have attracted new followers and developed so rapidly?

Since the sangha rejected thieves, slaves, sick people, young people, et al., it may be asked how the Buddha himself could have rejected them, and why he did not accept them and make good monks of them. The Buddha appears to have rejected such people for the sake

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132

Cf., Hirakawa, Hitsuzo no Kenkyu, pp. 658-659.

133

Vinaya-pitaka (Book of the Discipline), Vol. 4, Mahāvagga 1, 76, 1, p.120; cf., Nanten Daizokyo, Vol. 3, pp. 159-160; cf., Nakamura, Kaisai tochu no Kyotan, p.13.

of the unity and purity of the saṃgha, because they constituted a potential source of disorder and disunity which could have led to the destruction of the saṃgha.

How then did the Buddha exercise his discipline of the first  
134  
ten rules for the purpose of harmony in the community?

### 1. The ten rules

The ten rules for monks not only enabled them to progress in their cultivation of the higher life but also constituted the basis of unity in the saṃgha. For example, "Do not Kill" was an  
135  
expression of compassion toward men and animals. This was a very important aspect of the unity of brotherhood as it inculcated loving reverences for one another. The admonition "Do not tell lies" built up trust among the members of the community, since lying would always present the danger of division in the life of the community. "Do not claim superiority" prohibits that which would destroy the necessary feeling of equality in other members of the community. These rules seem to have been the ground of the harmony of the community.

134

See footnote 62, this Chapter.

135

Dhīgha Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Vol. 1, II, Sāmañña-phala, 62:43: "And now, O King, is his conduct good? In this, O King, that the Bhikkhu, putting away the killing of living things, holds aloof from the destruction of life. The cudgel and the sword he has laid aside, and ashamed of roughness, and full of mercy, he dwells compassionate and kind to all creatures that have life." p.79. Cf., Nanten Taizokyo, Vol. 6, p.95.

Some of these applied only to monks, rather than to the lay people, because they were very important to monastic communal life, but not to the lives of laymen. If a monk violated one of these special rules, he was banished from the community; this penalty was the spiritual death for a monk. This penalty was imposed because of the importance of unity through purity in the community.

## 2. Seven rules governing disputes (saṅgha-kammas)

When disputes arose among the monks threatening the unity of the saṅgha, the disciplinary court passed judgments concerning right and wrong. Therefore, seven disciplinary laws (saṅgha-kammas, or provisions for allaying disputes), were introduced and certain punishments for transgressions were imposed for the sake of preserving unity.

In connection with the seven provisions, it should be noted that four of them arose out of a 'formal dispute' (adhikarana) viz.

(i) vivādādhikarana: a dispute on a point of dharma or vinaya (the Second Council 'ten dispute law'); (ii) anuvādadhikarana, or a dispute relating to the state of a bhikkhu's opinions, morals, character, conduct or manner of life; (iii) āpattādhikarana or a dispute bearing upon the kind or category of offence alleged against a bhikkhu, and  
 (iv) kiccādhikavana, a dispute regarding the validity of an act.

136

We may discuss the seven rules governing disputes (sangha-  
137  
kanas) as follows:

(A) sammukhā-vinaya ( 現前毘尼 )

The court which considered offences demanded the following:  
(i) the presence of the party concerned; (ii) the lawfully  
constituted assembly; (iii) that it should be based on knowledge of  
vinaya, i.e., the rules of process proper to the case; and (iv)  
the dhamma, i.e., the doctrines. However, no settlement of a dispute,  
nor the application of discipline, could be carried out in-camera:  
the settlement or the trial must be open, and the law, both procedural  
and substantive must be followed and applied. This is very important  
because after the Buddha's death, dhamma-vinaya had to be the central  
authority to unite the sangha. If there could be different opinions  
and interpretations, without the founder's own authoritative standards,  
there would be a serious threat of division in the community. Therefore,  
sammukhā-vinaya was most essential to the solution of problems of dis-  
unity.

(B) sati-vinaya ( 憶念毘尼 )

137

Cf., S. Dutt, Ibid., pp. 113-114; Sato, Genshi Bukkyo Kyodan no Kenkyu, pp. 330-340; cf., Tsukamoto, op.cit., pp. 348-352.

138

S. Dutt, op.cit., p. 91; cf., Sato, op.cit., pp. 343-383.



When a person had been falsely accused, and had asked to be acquitted of charges against him, he would be examined by the sangha. If he was to be found innocent, certain specified conditions would have to be met.

The Cullavagga states:

Monks, there are these five legally valid properties in giving a verdict of innocence: If the monk is pure and without offences; and if they reproach him; and if he asks; if the Order gives him a verdict of innocence; if it is by rule, the assembly being complete. These, monks, are the five legally valid properties in giving a verdict of innocence.<sup>139</sup>

(C) patinākarana (自言招承)

Unless one confessed his guilt, it was assumed that any judgment against him by the sangha could be in error. The Cullavagga (Cullavagga) states that: "No official act, O Bhikkhus is to be carried out against Bhikkhus who have not confessed themselves guilty whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a dukkata offence."<sup>140</sup>

(D) amūha-vinaya (不妄思尼)

139

Vinaya-Pitaka (The Book of the Discipline), tr. I.B. Horner, Vol. V, Cullavagga, IV, XI, 4, p. 105.

140

Vinaya Texts, Part III, trs. T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, Cullavagga, IV, 7, 1, p. 23.

When one had committed a sin when he was not in his right mind, but was believed by others to have been sane at the time of the offence, he would be acquitted if he could demonstrate that he had in fact not been in full possession of his faculties at the time. He would do this in several ways: (i) if he could say, "I do not remember"; (ii) if he could say, "I remember it, sirs, but as if in a dream"; or (iii) if he had a dispensation to the effect from the sangha.<sup>141</sup>

(E) yebhuyyasika ( 集毘尼 )

When they were not able to settle a disputed question, the sangha would decide by majority vote. The Kullavagga states: "... Blessed One, I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority ... ." <sup>142</sup> Also, the following conditions were required: Again the Kullavagga states:

Which are the Ten in which the taking of votes is invalid? When the matter in dispute is trivial - when the case has not run its course that is, when the necessary preliminaries of submission to arbitration have not been carried out - when regarding the matter in dispute the Bhikkhus have not formally remembered, or been formally called upon to remember, the offence - when the taker of votes knows that those whose opinions are not in accordance with the law will be in the majority, or probably may be in the majority - when he knows that the voting will result in a schism in the Sangha -

141

Op.cit., IV. 6, 1, pp. 20-21.

142

Op.cit., IV. 9, 1, p. 25.

when he is in doubt whether the voting will result in a schism in the Saṅgha - when the votes are irregularly given - when all do not vote equally - and when they do not vote in accordance with the view which they really hold. These are the ten cases in which voting is invalid.<sup>143</sup>

(F) tassapārpiyyasika (見早相試)

When there was confusion as to a monk's guilt or innocence as a result of his having confessed to a sin and later retracted his confession, his guilt would be determined by a majority vote. Five aspects of the attitude of the monk and three questions about the sin of which he was accused, had to be determined. These are given by the Kullavaga as follows: "To wit - he is impure he is shameless - a censure has been set on foot against him - the Saṅgha carries out the Kamma - it carries it out lawfully, and in full quorum ... three things ... is characterized, it is against the Dhamma, and against the Vinaya, and difficult to settle."<sup>144</sup>

(G) pinavatthāraka (草覆地法)

143

Op.cit., IV, 10, 1, pp. 26-27.

144

Op.cit., IV, 12, 1, p.30; cf., op.cit., IV, 11, 2: "Let the venerable Saṅgha hear me. This Bhikkhu Uvala, being examined in the midst of the Saṅgha with an offence, when he has denied it then confesses it, when he has confessed it then denies it, makes countercharges, and speaks lies which he knows to be such. If the times seem meet to the Saṅgha, let the Saṅgha carry out the Tassapārpiyyasikā-Kamma against the Bhikkhu Uvala. This is the motion." p.29.

When disputes among monks at court became prolonged, with much complex and conflicting testimony, it was suggested that the disputing factions themselves resolve their differences peacefully, rather than by resorting to force, or by having a judgment imposed upon them from the outside. The Kullavagga expresses it this way:

" ... Blessed One ... I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle a matter of this kind by Tinavattharaka the covering over as with grass ... And this, O Bhikkhus, is it to be settled. All are to meet together in one spot."<sup>145</sup>

### 3. upavasatha (general meeting of monks)

All monks were required to attend any upavasathā, or general meeting of monks, which they could reach within one day's journey.<sup>146</sup> If any monk was prevented from attending due to illness, he was to send a report on the purity of his deeds and agree to abide by any decisions made by the Council. Decisions made at these meetings were by unanimous vote, or if a unanimous vote did not materialize, by the decision of the majority. These decisions were to be followed by all,

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145

Op.cit., IV., 13, 1-2, pp. 31-32.

146

Cf., Vinaya-Pitaka, Part I, Saṃghadisesa, K. 2: "Harmonious means: an order belonging to the same community is established within the same boundary." p. 300. Cf., Satp, op.cit., pp. 198-199.

according to prior agreement. This principle was established to avoid disunity. When disagreements developed, public institutions such as saṅgha-karma existed to mediate the disputes. If a number of monks left one saṅgha and started a new saṅgha, because of differences of opinion, the two communities were permitted to coexist in the same district, with neither being expelled. The upavasathā, which brought together monks of different individual saṅghas within a district, was established to promote the ideal of unity in the Buddhist community as a whole.

#### 4. The monk teachers

According to the Mahāvagga, the Buddha said:

Monks, I allow a teacher. The teacher, monks, should arouse in his pupil the attitude of a son; the pupil should arouse in his teacher the attitude of father. Thus these, living with reverence, with deference, with courtesy towards one another, will come to growth, increase, maturity in this dhamma and discipline ...

Junior monks would have a monk-teacher who instructed them in the dharma and trained them in the vinaya, so that they would properly perform the duties of monastic life. A monk-teacher was generally one

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147

See Chukamoto, op.cit., p. 147; see also Sato, op.cit., p. 199.

148

Vinaya-Pitaka (Book of the Discipline), tr. I.B. Horner, Part 4, Mahāvagga, 1, 32, 1, p.79.

149  
 who had followed the monastic life at least ten years. The relationship between the monk-teacher and his students was like that between a father and his sons. The junior monks were required to obey the instructions of the monk-teacher. Sariputta and other great disciples of the Buddha came from the ranks of these monk-teachers. They became leaders of the community and advanced the cause of unity among its members.

Theoretically, there were no class distinctions in the Buddhist community. In practice, however, it was found that the sangha, being a social community, required the recognition of classes among its members for the purpose of maintaining order. An "inner group" of five classes was established in the sangha, consisting of the bhikkhus (monks), bhikkhunis (nuns), and three classes of candidates - the samanera, samaneri, and sikkhamaṇa. These latter groups were bhikkhu and bhikkhuni centered, and were of primary importance in the sangha. In addition, two lay classes constituting an "outer group," were established - the upāsaka and the upāsika.  
 150  
 The bhikkhunis had five more strict rules to obey than did the bhikkhus. Thus, although the nuns were part of the monastic community, the order was monk-centered.

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149

Op.cit., Mahāvagga, 1, 35, 1.

150

H. Ui, Indo Tetsugaku Kenkyu, Vol. 4, [A Study in Indian Philosophy], Tokyo, 1965, p.45.

# 5. The 'Four-quarters sangha' (catuddesa sangha)

Let us now discuss the individual sangha and the 'Four-quarters sangha' in relation to unity. These two levels of the sangha were organized by the Buddha, in order to create an organic unity of the part and the whole. The individual sangha consisted of those members gathered within a specific, limited district. Each of these individual sanghas developed independently, under the common influence of the Buddha's teaching. Because the monks were spread over a large area and means of travel were slow, it was not possible for all of the monks to meet together. In the universal 'Four-quarters sangha', there could easily have been no unity among the individual sanghas.

Therefore, the "Four-quarters sangha" included all of the monks and constituted the ideal foundation for all of the district sanghas. It did not, however, exist as a central political organization. dharma-vinaya belonged to the 'Four-quarters sangha', and, therefore, no individual sangha could change it. Thus, ideally, every sangha practised the same dharma-vinaya. Also, it was intended that the 'Four-quarters sangha' should possess all the property of the sangha as a principle of universal ownership of property.

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151

Hirakawa, op.cit., p. 684.

152

Sato, op.cit., pp. 89-91.

Therefore, according to the Mahāvagga, the Buddha said:

"... whatever many goods, many requisites are there, these are for the Order of the four quarters (catuḍḍesa saṅgha) - those who have come in, those who have not come in - they are not to be divided up."  
153

Such property as buildings and furniture were decreed to belong to the 'Four-quarters saṅgha', with every monk having an equal right to use any part of it. Therefore, no monk or individual community would be dominated by possessions. Because the dharma-vinaya belonged to it, and because it held all property, the 'Four-quarters saṅgha' was very important for both ideal and practical unity among the individual saṅghas.

#### IV. In what sense was the Buddha a source of unity?

The Buddha should now be discussed as a source of unity, because the unity of the Buddhist community seems to have been based  
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fundamentally on the Buddha's personal authority. Having been the founder of the community, the Buddha was its leader, and his disciples

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Vinaya-Pitaka (Book of the Discipline), tr., I.B.Horner, Vol. IV, Mahāvagga, VIII, 27, 5, pp. 435-436.

154

This is discussed in Chapter I; cf., M. Anesaki, Kompon Bukkyo [ Primitive Buddhism ], Tokyo, 1910, p. 377.



were dependant upon him as the basis of the dhamma-vinaya. The Buddha said: "Hush, Vakkali! What is there in seeing this vile body of mine? He who seeth the Norm (dharma), Vakkali, he seeth me: he who seeth me, Vakkali, he seeth the Norm (dharma). Verily, seeing the Norm (dharma), Vakkali, one sees me: seeing me, one sees the Norm (dharma)."<sup>155</sup>

The Buddha had desired that, after his death there would be unity in the community through the dhamma-vinaya. The Buddha's teachings became the center of the community, because his disciples longed to continue to belong to the field of excellence exemplified by the Buddha. The Buddha's personality was the foundation of the sangha, not only during his lifetime but also after his death, because the dhamma-vinaya was not claimed by the disciples to have been made by them but to have given by the Buddha. Instead they viewed the dhamma-vinaya as being the collected words of the Buddha, which they<sup>156</sup>

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155

Samyutta-Nikāya (Kindred Sayings), Part III (XXII, 87), tr. F.L. Woodward, London, 1954 (first published 1925), p. 103; see also Hayajima, op.cit., p.454.

156

See, footnote 98 this Chapter. Cf., S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India; Dutt relates that the patimokkha formula is: "If a Bhikkhu did such-and-such an act, he was guilty of (a named offence); the Vinaya formula, posting the Buddha as the Law-giver (Sattva), is: 'I allow you, Bhikkhus, to do or refrain from doing such-and-such an act'." p. 74.

157

had no authority to change. Since they believed that no one could change the dharma-vinaya but the Buddha himself, no council was established to enact changes in the law, even though there might have been different interpretations and understandings of his teachings, and even though it became very difficult to follow all of the laws as the social conditions changed after the Buddha's death.

158

Although the sangha had developed as a universal community, different interpretations of the Buddha's teachings arose, and communities in different districts developed independently. The Buddha's disciples respected the Buddha's personality and had faith in the dharma as right teaching; they practiced his discipline in

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Y. Takahashi, "Kai to sono kiban," (Sila and its foundation), ed. Nihon Bukkyo Gakukai, Bukkyo ni okeru kai no Kenkyu (A Study of Sila in Buddhism), Kyoto, 1967, p. 2.

158

Ibid., p. 2.

159

See the previous Chapter on, "Section of unity," pp. 108-109. Cf., Oldenberg, op.cit., pp. 340-343.

160

Theragāthā, op.cit., No. 510:

"When first I saw the blessed Master, Him

For whom no fear can anywhere arise,

A wave of deep emotion filled my soul

At sight of Him, the peerless man of Men." p.243.

search of truth. However, the Buddha was the origin of the dharma-vinaya, which was the basis of Buddhism. The dharma-vinaya was understood to be the practical expression of the Buddha's vision which seemed to be the only possible basis for the existence of the sangha.

Although the Buddha's dharma-vinaya became the foundation of ideal unity in the sangha, without the Buddha himself, the dharma-vinaya was inadequate as the basis for unity. The dharma itself and the life of the sangha had been grounded in the Buddha's personality because it could be said that the dharma was the Buddha's wisdom and the sangha was the Buddha's compassion, the expression of Buddha's love. <sup>161</sup>

It is important to note that dharma-vinaya had arisen from the historical Buddha, whose personality had always been at the center of the community. It should also be noted that his people gathered because they were attracted to him personally, and that they wanted to obey the dharma which he taught and to become his disciples with the objective of attaining to nirvana. Like members of other ascetic groups, they returned to their teacher, the Buddha and his teaching, and started a community. This original community, which was centered on the teacher, the Buddha and his disciples, was the model after which other Buddhist communities were patterned.

In summary, the Buddha's leadership, as head of the community, was the primary basis of unity in the early Buddhist community. A balance developed between the dharma and the vinaya as the spiritual successors of the Buddha's personal authority. The Buddha, as noted above, used the dharma-vinaya as a means of developing unity in the sangha. First, dharma, as the formula of the Middle Path, appears to have constituted the ideal basis of unity in the sangha. From a practical viewpoint, the Middle Path, instead of imposing decisions as to right and wrong upon the different opinions in the community, transcended these differing opinions and balanced them for the sake of peaceful coexistence. Thus the Buddha's ethics were exercised relatively, rather than absolutely. The concept of the Middle Path gave rise to the "doctrine of dependent origin," which held that everything is related to everything else.

Also, the doctrine of anātman ('no soul' or 'soullessness') seems to provide the ethical basis for self-denial, for the sake of cooperation among the members of the community. However, in the ideal sense, the Middle Path was right-view oriented, even though on the practical level good and bad were transcended and allowed to coexist for the sake of unity. Ultimately, right should be the goal of the community, because the Buddha was the "King of dharma" and he would destroy evil through good in order to build the moral order. Furthermore, nirvāṇa provided a monastic all-embracing ideal of unity in the sangha. The understanding of nirvāṇa, as the essence of peace, was the

ground for the monks being called "peace monks." It is note-worthy that the voluntary practices followed by these monks were oriented not only toward individual perfection but also toward a unified community.

For the sake of unity in the sangha, the Buddha also used religious discipline to maintain order in the community. This discipline, which as vinaya, included rules enforced by punishments, was balanced with sila, which, as spiritual cultivation, was also designed to promote unity within the community.

The unity of the community was also promoted by the following aspects of Buddhist community organization: the "Four-quarters sangha" as the ideal foundation of the universal sangha; the upavasatha ("general meetings of monks"), at which all the monks in attendance made decisions democratically; and the leadership in dharma-vinaya provided by the monk-teachers for their disciples.

However, the sangha respected the disciplines which it claimed had been made by the Buddha. This was so because the community itself desired unity. Discipline not only led to unity through ethical cultivation, i.e., the obeying of discipline for personal perfection, but it was also held to be the means of attaining nirvana. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Buddha's disciplines also seem to have been based primarily on the concept of the Middle Path. 162

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162

Cf., Drakaeier, Kingship and Community in Early India: "The Buddha is the most famous of these who questioned the old ways, and the

In the first place, the Buddha's disciplines seem to be comprised of a collection of the Buddha's judgments, which had been made as problems arose from specific, actual situations. Therefore, the Buddhist community did not claim to have a divinely originated, absolute, monistic model of ethics such as is claimed by the Judaeo-Christian tradition in, for example, the Ten Commandments, which had to be obeyed because they were given by God. The Buddha wanted a transcendent concept of right and wrong in the spirit of the Middle Path. He used a pluralistic model of ethics for the sake of the unity of the community.

Similarly, a community decision that a monk was guilty of a sin was not made in an absolute sense. For example, if a monk believed that he had committed an offence, he was supposed to expiate it voluntarily; the rules were not primarily enforced by others. If

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answer he proposed was in essence psychological. It involved a discipline that aimed at no less than the transcendence of the dichotomy of subject and object." .283. For example, see B.G. Gokhale, "Buddhist Social Ideal," ed. M. M. Law, Gautama Buddha, 25th Century Volume, 1956: "The five commandments for the laymen, namely, abstinence from violence, stealing, falsehood, immorality and drinking intoxicating liquors, were a simple formalization of the four pillars of society and became the basis of Buddhist social ethics. When to these were added Faith in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, respect for elders and women (Cf., the seven conditions of stability as preached to the Vajjis by the Buddha, Mahāparinibbāṇa Sutta, Piṭha Nikāya, S.B.E., XI, pp. 3-5), disciplining of the mind in the way of righteousness, the formulation of the Buddhist social ethics was completed. These ideals were postulated as a middle way between the two extremes of aggressiveness resulting in constant preoccupation with acquisitiveness to the exclusion of all other considerations and indulgence leading to dissipation and degradation. Reason, moderation, harmony, a constant awareness of the primacy of righteousness, the ennobling nature of charity as a way of life, compassion and wisdom were the norms which were now constantly put before society. This society was conceived of as "universal." pp. 38-39.

a monk found it difficult to decide whether his actions had constituted an offence or not, he was required to trust the decision of others, and if others said that he had sinned, he accepted their judgment and confessed, as required by vinaya. This was required for peace in the community, lest dissention arise within the community when some monks claimed they had not sinned and others claimed that they had.

The unity of the sangha was primarily based on the Buddha's personal authority, with the dharma-vinaya being the means of unity. The Buddha, not only during his lifetime but after his death, led the sangha towards unity through dharma-vinaya. Without the unifying force of the Buddha's personality, dharma-vinaya could not have constituted the basis for unity after the Buddha's death, and the sangha would have become a disorganized community.

The community was the place in which to learn the Buddha's teaching, and to practise his discipline; to purge oneself of impurity, and to strive for liberation in nirvana. It was centered on the Buddha as the external origin of dharma-vinaya, and it was dependent on him as head of the community.

Objectively, the sangha wanted to unify itself through dharma-vinaya. Actually, however, the life in the monastic community was focused on the Buddha's personality and his teaching. Therefore, a Buddha-centered religious community was desired not only for monks but

for all human beings everywhere. The Buddha's personality and teaching were the foundation of his kingdom, although the unity of the community discipline, and community organization were the means of attaining this kingdom. The Buddha's ethics were the means by which the community was unified. It appears significant that, although the Buddha's teaching consisted fundamentally of moral discipline for individual perfection, its true orientation was towards a unified community in which moral authority would be respected.

It was not only in the early Buddhist community but for all generations that the Buddha would be head of the community, and that his personality, through the influence of his example would be a unifying force along with dharma-vinaya. Thus the Buddha's great personality and influence in the early Buddhist community became the universal basis of unity for Buddhism.



### CHAPTER III

#### DISCIPLINE IN THE EARLY BUDDHIST COMMUNITY

##### INTRODUCTION

We now turn to discipline in the early Buddhist community. As a prelude, we introduce an important opinion which argues against the view that we were developing in the previous chapter, according to which dharma and vinaya along with the Buddha were sources of unity in the community. We argued that the vinaya had its source in the Buddha's teaching, and that the Buddha himself, after his death, lived through the dharma and the vinaya in the sangha. The opinions of Watsuji are different. He particularly disputes the view that the vinaya originated from the Buddha himself. Thus he writes:

The community does not actually appear to have received its laws directly from so great a personality as Buddha during his lifetime. Instead, the law appears to have been produced by the community itself, at a time when its leaders who were comparatively incompetent and lacked the power to influence many people significantly. Evidence for this view exists in the emphasis in the law on the exclusion of persons from the community. It is not conceivable that a great religious leader would have rejected sinners, cripples, public servants, or young people. Because of Buddha's stature as a great and honorable leader, I cannot accept this attitude as representing his own beliefs. To the best of my knowledge there is no evidence in the Sutra-Vinaya that the law came from Buddha.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Watsuji, Genshi Bukkyo no Jissen Tetsugaku ( Practical Philosophies in Primitive Buddhism ); Tokyo, 1927, p. 65.

In this argument, it seems to be suggested that discipline, especially in its vinaya aspect, was not important - first because it had not come from the Buddha, secondly, because the influence of the Buddha's great personality over the community would have eliminated any need for formal rules, and, thirdly, because the rules were mostly of later origin, and had been devised by relatively insignificant leaders. Watsuji, however, would not entirely deny that the Buddha's leadership had contained some disciplinary elements; for example, he notes that "he (Buddha) would preach to the people that they should overcome lust."<sup>2</sup>

Watsuji bases his argument on two grounds, namely: that the Buddha's personality was so great that he could not have made such rules; and, that there is no evidence that the disciplinary rules were given by the Buddha - instead, Watsuji suggests that his followers appear to have attributed the rules to him.

The author is not primarily concerned with the historical question of whether the rules of discipline were entirely the Buddha's<sup>3</sup> or whether they were the creation of his disciples. Watsuji appears to have been correct, to a degree, in stating that Buddha's personality was so great that the early Buddhist community would not have needed such rigid and detailed rules as those given in the vinaya. The making of so many rules appears to be inconsistent with the Buddha's emphasis

<sup>2</sup>  
Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>3</sup>  
Cf., S. Dutt, Early Buddhist Monachism, London, 1924, p. 29.

on noble attitudes, practised in self-cultivation, which would cause his monks to be well-disciplined. A sūtra, in fact, states that during the first fifteen years of the Buddha's mission there were no disciplinary rules, so well did his disciples behave.<sup>4</sup> This does not mean, however, that one can accept Watsuji's conclusions that the rules were not attributable to Buddha and were, therefore, unimportant.

Theragātha appears to be correct when he writes: "What the training doth prescribe (was) revealed to us by glorious Gotama."<sup>5</sup> The discipline is important primarily because it was based on the Buddha's personal authority. Tradition claims that all of the discipline originated with the Buddha, who not only gave it but also practised and exemplified it.<sup>6</sup> Without the Buddha's authority, the discipline would not have been obeyed by the monks of the sangha; they respected it because it had been given by the Buddha rather than being mere moral laws.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the Buddha's teachings were not merely

<sup>4</sup> Cf., H. Ui, Indo Tatsugaku Kankyu [A Study in Indian Philosophy], Tokyo, 1965, p.34.

<sup>5</sup> Theragātha (Psalm of the Early Buddhist Brethren), tr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, 1909 (reprint 1964), p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Dīgha Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part II, trs. T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, 154, London, 1910 (reprinted 1959): "Buddha says ... Ananda, ... The Truths, and the Rules of the Order, (which) I have set forth and laid down for you all." p. 171. Vinaya-Pitaka (The Book of the Discipline) Vol. V by I.B. Horner, The Sacred Book of the Buddhist, Vol. II, London, 1952 (reprinted 1963). Cullavagga XI, 1, 9, has this to say: "Then the venerable Ananda spoke thus to me at the time of his attaining nibbana: 'If the Orders Ananda, after my death is willing, the leader and minor rules of training may be abolished'." p.398. Cf., B.C. Law, "Early Buddhist Brothers and Sisters," p. 42.

philosophical; practice of the moral discipline was required. They  
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 together formed the basis of all Buddhist systems. Also, the  
 discipline was the great guide for the cultivation of the ascetic  
 9  
 life. Therefore, physical and moral discipline as a means of  
 rectifying mistakes and as a means of making pure monks was of the  
 10  
 essence of the Buddhist Way. To become an arahat and thereby to at-  
 tain nirvāṇa required an individual effort in spiritual awakening and  
 called for the practice of the discipline as the cultivation of the  
dharma preached by the Buddha. Without the spiritual authority of  
 the Buddha, there would have been no basis for obeying his discipline.

The Buddha's mission lasted for more than forty years, during  
 which time his followers lived in monastic communities. Had these  
 communities been so long without rules, disorder would likely have  
 arisen, and the survival of the communities would have been jeopardized.

7  
 Cf., T. Kimura, Genshi Bukkyo Shiso Ron ( A Study of the Thought  
 in Early Buddhism ), Tokyo, 1936, p. 13; cf., Kitagawa, Religions of the  
 East, Philadelphia, 1960, p. 175.

8  
 Cf., H. Beck, Buddhismus: Buddha und seine Lehre 1, Berlin,  
 Leipzig, 1916, p. 125; cf., M. Walleiser, Die Philosophische Grundlage des  
 alten Buddhismus, 1904; cf., H. Oldenberg, Buddha, pp. 230 f. The  
 scholars named above apparently did not consider Buddha's teaching to  
 have been philosophical. The Buddha seems to have been unwilling to  
 discuss such philosophical problems as self, soul, and life after death.  
 This does not mean, however, that the Buddha's thought was not philoso-  
 phical. His concepts of no-self, the five skandhas, dependent origi-  
 nation, the Four Noble Truths, etc., were certainly philosophical al-  
 though the Buddha does not seem to have been interested in a system of  
 philosophy. His not providing answers to questions on philosophical  
 matters indicates a deeper philosophical approach to these questions.

9  
 S. Watanabe, Bukkyo Buddhism, Tokyo, 1967, p. 88.

Therefore, for the communities to endure as "united" and "purely moral-oriented" communities, discipline was not only important but essential.<sup>11</sup> Although the Buddha's spiritual authority was indeed great, how could he have controlled so many people who were spread over so large a territory, without formal discipline? In the Buddha's time, with transportation being primitive, he could not bring his personal influence to bear on all of the communities at all times.

Watsuji, therefore, not only appears to have failed to realize the importance of the discipline but also seems to have been in error in stating that there is no ground for believing that the discipline originated with the Buddha. Certainly the major elements of the discipline came from the Buddha himself. The author however, does

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Kimura, op.cit., p. 384,

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Discipline, combined with the Buddha's teachings, was very important for the unity of the Buddha's early community. Krestser, however, does not seem to be entirely in agreement with this view, in the following statements from his book (Man in Buddhism and Christianity), Calcutta, 1954: "The problem of the neighbour therefore, even within the Sangha itself, is not taken seriously. The Sangha is not a community, which is bound together by bonds of interior necessity, it is a collection of individuals, who help each other to attain Nibbana. The structure of the Sangha is atomistic. In any case, the anatta doctrine, which is the fundamental postulate of Buddhism, makes community life impossible." p. 106. Although having correctly perceived the individualistic aspect of the Buddhist community, Krestser seems to have missed the aspect of unity; the Buddha's desire to establish an ideal society is expressed not only in his discipline but also through his compassion. It is not true that the anātman doctrine made the formation of a true community impossible, as Krestser has maintained. On the contrary, anātman, non-desire and the self sacrificial aspects seem to be conducive to unity. Also the Buddha's spiritual authority, on which his teaching and discipline were based, constituted a basis for unity in the community.

not deny that some of the rules were of later origin.<sup>12</sup>

The above discussion not only demonstrates the importance of the subject of discipline but also indicates, indirectly, why religious discipline should be discussed in connection with "the authority of the founder" and "the unity of the community."

### Definition of the discipline

In the early writings of the Buddhist tradition, the discipline was usually referred to as both "śīla" and "vinaya." "sikkāpada,"<sup>13</sup> "upasampadā," and "pratimokṣa" were also used.

In the Pali language, the word "śīla" means "nature,"<sup>14</sup> "character," "moral practice," "Buddhist ethics," etc. "vinaya" means "driving out" or "rule" ("... judging"). In Sanskrit, "vinaya" means<sup>15</sup> "removing" or "training," "discipline," "education." In Chinese,

12

S. Dutt, op.cit., p. 13.

13

A. Hirakawa, "Kairitsu yori mitaru Bukkyo no Shinrikan" ("A Buddhist view of truth in the light of discipline") . ed. S. Miyamoto, Bukkyo no Kompon Shinri [A Foundational Truth of Buddhism] , Tokyo, 1957, p. 261.

14

T. W. Rhys Davids, and M. P. William, Pāli-English Dictionary. London, 1921 (reprint 1959), p. 623.

15

A. A. Macdonell, A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, Oxford, 1929 (reprint 1969), p. 284.

discipline is called "sīla-vinaya," the two terms being used together,<sup>16</sup> but this combined word cannot be found in the Tripitaka. "sīla" could be translated by 戒 or 尸羅 meaning "precept," "command," "prohibition," "rule," "discipline," or "morality," "vinaya" could be translated to<sup>17</sup> 毘尼, 毘奈耶, to "discipline under control." Because the rules<sup>18</sup> were supposed to extinguish all evil they were called vinaya.<sup>18</sup>

The term "vinaya" has also five meanings as Pyi-ni-Mo-Ching states: 1. confession, 2. obedience, following, 3. extinguishing,<sup>19</sup> destruction, 4. resolution, judgment, and 5. abandonment. Because of this combination of several elements, the term therefore appears similar in meaning to the Pāli understanding of term.

The term "sīla" as expressed by Dhammapāda also means the inner spiritual aspect of moral nature in relation to autonomous practice: "To refrain, from all evil, to achieve the good, to purify one's own heart ..." <sup>20</sup> "sīla," however, is related primarily to spiritual attitudes and self-discipline rather than to rigid rules and prescribed punishments; "vinaya", in contrast, as "rules" or "judge," regulated the

16

Cf., A. Hirakawa, op.cit., p. 262.

17

W. E. Soothill and L. Hodous, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, Taipei Taiwan, China, 1934, p. 444.

18

Pyi-ni-Mo-Ching, Taisho, Vol. 24, p. 801.

19

Op. cit., Vol. 7, Taisho, Vol. 24, p. 842.

20

The Dhammapada, No. 183, tr. I. Babbitt, New York, 1936 (reprinted 1965), p. 30.

21

external aspects of the lives of monks and nuns. It was heteronomous in nature and required specific punishments in certain cases.

It does not seem correct, therefore, to equate "śīla" with "vinaya", because the former deals with moral nature, autonomous self-discipline, and inner spiritual development, whereas the latter is obligatory in nature and pertains more to legalistic matters affecting the community. Also, vinaya originated as a result of misconduct by monks in the saṅgha. The origin of śīla is related to the general disciplinary rules for monks among other sects of the

22

time.

The śīla and the vinaya did, however, have many rules in common. Taking a broader view, it can be said that, primarily, śīla, and, secondarily, vinaya, supplement each other in fulfilling the spirit of the Buddha. Without the vinaya, it would have been difficult for śīla alone to bring about moral order and unity in the community; the saṅgha needed the law and correspondent punishments in order to maintain order. Without śīla, the individual effort of the moral mind could not by itself have developed to achieve the true spirit of

21

Vinaya-Pitaka (Book of the discipline) Vol. I: "... governing and regulating the outward life of monks and nuns in monastic orders founded by Buddha." P. vii. Cf., Dīgha-Nikāya part 1. 2. (p. 63). 42: "When he has thus become a recluse he lives self-restrained by that restraint that should be binding on a recluse." p. 79. Cf., S. Dutt, op.cit.: "We have so far considered Vinaya in its purely external aspect - vis-a-vis state and society at large. In this aspect, the Vinaya is a body of conventional laws (Samaya) of a Saṅgha or 'association-group'." p. 82.

22

L. Masunagai, Kompon Bukkyo no Kenkyu [ A Study of Primitive Buddhism ], Chita, Japan, 1948, p. 370.



discipline. Both sīla and vinaya were, however, claimed to have been given by the Buddha, and were to be evenly balanced in order to provide adequate direction to the example of the Buddha's enlightenment and to follow his way of life. But sīla was of necessity primary, because if there were no strong spiritual attitude of self-discipline, it would be very difficult to practice vinaya. Therefore, the Buddha seems to have emphasized the inner moral attitude, and to have considered rules to be a secondary necessity for the purposes of communal life.

#### Contents of the disciplines

##### a. Sīla (individual discipline)

The Brahma-Gala Sutta in the Dīgha-Nikāya describes the moral discipline (sīla) as consisting of three aspects: kūla (minor), majjhima (middle), and maha (major). The three are enlarged upon as follows:

23

1. The kūla-sīla enjoins that one must refrain from the following:

- (1) the killing of living things;
- (2) the taking of what has not been given;
- (3) unchastity;
- (4) lying words;

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23

Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha) Part I, Vol. II, tr., T. W. Rhys Davids, Pali Texts Society, London, 1899 (reprinted 1969), Brahma-gala Sutta No. 1, 1, 7-10, pp. 3-6.

- (5) slander;
- (6) rudeness of speech;
- (7) frivolous talk;
- (8) causing injury to seeds or plants;
- (9) taking more than one meal per day, attending shows and fairs;
- (10) adorning, or ornamenting oneself with garlands, scents, and unguents;
- (11) accepting large and lofty beds;
- (12) silver or gold;
- (13) accepting uncooked grain;
- (14) accepting raw meat;
- (15) accepting women or girls;
- (16) accepting bondment or bondwomen;
- (17) accepting sheep or goats;
- (18) accepting fowls or swine;
- (19) accepting elephants, cattle, horses, and mares;
- (20) accepting cultivated fields or waste;
- (21) acting as a go-between or messenger;
- (22) buying and selling;
- (23) cheating with scales or bronzes or measures;
- (24) crooked ways of bribery, cheating, and fraud; and,
- (25) maiming, murder, putting in bonds, highway robbery, dacoity, and violence.

24

2. The majjhima-sīla requires one to avoid the following:

- (1) injury to seedlings and growing plants;
- (2) use of things stored up;
- (3) visiting shows;
- (4) games and recreations;
- (5) use of high and large couches;
- (6) adorning and beautifying the person;
- (7) low conversation;
- (8) wrangling phrases;
- (9) acting as go-betweens; and
- (10) deception and patter.

25

3. The maha-sīla stipulates:

Whereas some recluses and Brahmins, while living on food provided by the faithful, earn their living by wrong means of livelihood, by low arts, ... recluse holds aloof from such low arts."

And, in the same context, it asks one to avoid the following:

- (1) palmistry, auguries, prognostication, thirst;
- (2) knowledge of the signs of good and bad qualities;
- (3) soothsaying of the victory or the defeat of chiefs;
- (4) foretelling through the moon, the sun, or a star, etc.;
- (5) foretelling good harvest, of tranquillity, of disturbances;
- (6) foretelling arranging a lucky day for marriages; and,
- (7) offering gifts to a god if a certain benefit is to be granted.

24

Op.cit., No. 5: 11-20. pp. 6-16.

25

Op.cit., No. 5: 21-27. pp. 16-26.

Although the first five prohibitions, in kūla śīla which consisted of general rules for moral living, were applicable to both laymen and monks, the kūla śīla was otherwise a discipline specifically meant for monks. The prohibition of more than one meal per day, and of recreational activities and worldly possessions were rules by which monks led their ascetic lives.

The majjhima śīla are similar, and repeated some of the provisions of the kūla śīla, such as the prohibitions of recreation, imprudent acts and speech, etc. More emphasis is placed on achieving material possessions.

Primarily, the mahā śīla prohibited such activities as palmistry and foretelling the future. At that time, these practices were being engaged in by Brahmanic priests, specifically in the Atharva-vedic rituals in which magical charms and incantations were used, and astronomical and astrological prognostications were made. <sup>26</sup>

In essence, these three aspects of śīla concerned individual moral disciplines for the self-cultivations of monks. All emphasized "giving up" and "leaving behind" those things and acts which were against the rules. These rules were not externally imposed, but were provided so that they might be voluntarily accepted by the monks who would thereby be able to imitate the ideal life and personality of the Buddha. The three sets of rules supplemented one another as means for achieving the ideal monastic life.

The discipline presented in the Sāmañña-phala Sutta is the same in content. In this scripture, the collections of disciplinary rules are called ariya-sīla-khandha. Here it is said that if one practised these rules, he would acquire: "The confidence of heart, absence of fear, resulting from the consciousness of right doing."<sup>27</sup>

The Dhammapada also states: "To refrain from all evil, to achieve the good, to purify one's own heart - this is the teaching of the Awakened."<sup>28</sup>

In all of these writings, sīla is presented as "right moral discipline," consisting of avoiding all evils, doing good, purifying oneself, and achieving confidence of heart. The first four rules of the kūla-sīla are universal moral principles; the remainder were adopted by the Buddha from other religions, such as Brahmanism and Jainism, and reorganized to provide individual spiritual and moral discipline for his disciples. For example, the first four rules of the kūla-sīla are similar to rules in Jainism and in the Chāndogya Upanishad.<sup>29</sup> The sīla, therefore, seems to represent common aspects of<sup>30</sup>

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Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part II, Vol. 1, tr., F. Max Müller 63, London, 1899 (reprinted 1969), p. 58.

28

The Dhammapada, op.cit., p. 30.

29

Cf., Nakamura, op.cit., pp. 123-124. Cf., Dīgha-Nikāya Part 3, 48, p. 43.

30

Cf., The Principal Upanisads, ed., S. Radhakrishnan, London, 1953, III, 17.4: "And austerity (tapas), almsgiving (dāna), uprightness (arjasa), non-violence (ahiṃsa), truthfulness (satyavacana), these are the gifts for the priests." p. 396.

the disciplines of the monks of the time. What appears to be a unique aspect of Buddhism is that the sīla was grounded in the Buddha's enlightenment experience. "For wisdom, oh Gotama, is purified by uprightness, (sīla) and uprightness is purified by wisdom."<sup>31</sup>

Wisdom, the goal of the discipline, was not just knowledge acquired through experience or reasoning but a transcendent experience of enlightenment. It was achieved through moral discipline, and proper meditation. Therefore, the Sāmañña-Phala Sutta states:

With his heart thus serene, made pure, translucent,  
cultured, devoid of evil, supple, ready to act, firm  
and imperturbable, he applies and bends down his mind  
to the modes of the wondrous Gift.<sup>32</sup>

The Saṃyutta-Nikāya also states:

Whose doth wrong the man that hath no guile: -  
The pure in heart and from all error free -  
On him, poor fool, his wicked act recoils,  
Like fine dust that is thrown against the wind,

The man discreet, on virtue planted firm,  
In intellect and intuition trained,  
The broth ardent and discriminant,  
'Tis he may from this tangle disembroil.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>  
Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part II, Vol. 1,  
p. 156.

<sup>32</sup>  
Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part II, Vol. 1,  
p. 88.

<sup>33</sup>  
Saṃyutta-Nikāya (The Book of the Kindred Sayings), Part I,  
tr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, London, 1917 (reprinted 1971), p. 20.

Meditation, in Buddhism as in other sects, was not a sleep like state but a process of mental concentration. In Buddhism, however, meditation was oriented toward developing a pure mind and a holy life. This relationship between meditation and ethical discipline was very important in Buddhism, but such a relationship did not exist in all other sects.

Thus the Buddha's great example was both the foundation and the exemplification of the discipline. Although in outward appearance the rules were similar to those of other sects of the time, the spiritual aspect of the discipline is different. Because Buddhism saw wisdom as the "Middle Path", it accepted neither the severe asceticism of Jainism nor the metaphysical pursuits of Brahmanism such as were centered around the Brahman-Atman debates. A balance of "right speech", "right action," and "right livelihood" - all determined in the light of the "Middle Path" were central to the concept of the Eight-Fold Path as the Buddha's way.

The teachings of Buddhism and those of Ta-Chu-Chy-Lo-Ching seem to have certain striking similarities in this respect. As for the latter, wisdom involves the realization of the weariness of existence; the realization of non-desire; and the realization of seeing the truth. We can see how Buddhism's emphasis on the disciplinary value of moral

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Chung-A-Han-Ching (Ta-Chu-Chy-Lo-Ching), Vol. 58, Taisho  
Vol. 1: " " P. 780. Cf.,  
Majjhima-Nikaya, Vol. 1, 43. 292, pp. 350-351.

behavior, and the motive of an action rather than the result, etc., appear very similar.

The Wu Fen Lu states: "If one has no intention of stealing, he will not offend the law against stealing; if one has no intention of killing, he will not offend the law against killing." <sup>35</sup> It should be noted that the Buddhist inner moral discipline, as demonstrated by the Buddha's enlightenment experience, led, through meditation, to the truth (dhamma) of the Buddha.

### The vinaya

Let us next discuss the vinaya aspect of discipline, which was oriented toward life in the sangha rather than being concerned strictly with the individual. The patimokkha consisted of 227 <sup>36</sup> rules for monks and 311 for nuns. These rules, in contrast to those of śīla, provided specific punishments for infractions. In general, these rules emphasized prohibitions, having been designed to prevent evil acts in the community. The encouragement of good behaviour, however, was a secondary component of these rules; receiving discipline,

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Wu Fen Lu, Taisho, Vol. 22: "律... 戒心不犯... 戒律" P. 184. Cf., Shan-Chien-Pi-Pu-Sha A Chinese version by Sanghabhacira, tr., P. V. Bapat, A. Hirakawa, Poona, 1970: "The Vinaya-master said: 'If you have not taken it with the intention of stealing it, you should have been guilty of no offence'." p. 236.

36

Cf., H. Hirakawa, A Study of the Vinaya-Pitaka, Tokyo, 1970, pp. 15-18; pp. 434-478.



<sup>37</sup>  
upasatha, and vārsika, for example, were specifically recommended.

<sup>38</sup>  
The patimokkha consisted of eight parts. The first, pārāṭika (波羅夷法), was related to the following kinds of sins: 1. carnal sins, with women or with animals; 2. theft, i.e., the taking of anything not given; 3. despising of any form of life, ranging from deliberate killing to the very thought of killing; and 4. the claiming of extraordinary qualities or powers. If any of these sins were committed by a monk, he was never again allowed to reside among the bhikkhus. These sins were not forgivable, even if confessed to, and so this banishment was a capital sentence for a monk. Therefore these rules determined whether or not one could be a bhikkhu and thus implied the deeper significance of sin.

<sup>39</sup>  
The second, saṅghādisesa (僧殘法), dealt with sins of

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H. Ui, Bukkyo Kyoten Shi [A History of Buddhist Scriptures], Tokyo, 1957: "Upasatha was observed every fifteen days, the monks then repeating the Patimoka, confessing their sins, expounding doctrine and precepts, thus purifying their lives. Also during the rainy season from April 15th to July 15th, the monks curtailed their usual activities, such as wandering about and collecting alms, and remained in the Sangha for a period of mental training, involving meditation, attendance at lectures, and study of the Buddhist Sutras, etc. At this time they also confessed their sins." p. 75. Cf., Wu Fen Lu, (翻經支那和陸五律) Taisho Vol. 22: "是中須羅提木叉者,以此戒防護諸僧增長善法於瞿曇族最高初門故名焉須羅提木叉。" p. 122.

<sup>38</sup>

Cf., Vinaya-Pitaka (The Book of the Discipline), Part 1, Vol. III. 11-109, pp. 21-191. Cf., Ssu-Fen-Lü Vol. 1. Taisho Vol. 25, pp. 571 ff.

sexual thoughts and touching girls, verbal expression, greed, false accusations, dissention, blaming others, leading a dissolute life, hindering the unity of the saṃgha, etc. If a monk wanted to attain purity, he should confess to the saṃgha any sins he committed, even if they were not detected by others. If one confessed later, the prescribed period of banishment would be equivalent to the length of time he had concealed the sin. When one of the rules of the sāṃghādisesa was violated, the saṃgha had the power to decide whether or not the monk should be forgiven. These sins were less serious than those covered by the pārājikā, and one who violated these rules could be permitted to remain in the saṃgha, or, if banished, could be readmitted by a vote of at least twenty monks. Therefore, these rules were called sāṃghādisesa.

The third, aniyatā<sup>40</sup> (不定戒), dealt with allegations by a lay woman that a monk had committed a sexual sin, but which were not supported by adequate evidence, or when it was difficult to determine whether a sexual sin violated the pārājikā or sāṃghādisesa. In such a situation, it was decreed, that, if a monk did not confess, he should accept the judgment of the community.

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Op.cit., Vol. III. 110-186, pp. 192-329. Cf., Chi-Jiau-Ta Nanten, Vol. 4, pp. 62-63.

40

Op.cit., Vol. III, 187-193, pp. 330-339.

41

The fourth, nissaggiyā-pācittiya (捨墮法), prohibited possession of material goods other than such basic necessities as the cassock and the alms bowl. Gold, silver, and money, and the buying and exchange of material possessions were forbidden. Any monk who had acquired such possessions was to offer these goods to the saṅgha, thereby divesting himself of all such possessions, and confess his guilt to at least four monks. If he gave the prohibited possessions to the saṅgha, he might then be permitted by the saṅgha to continue using these articles. Money, however, was strictly prohibited for monks and could not be returned by the saṅgha.

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The fifth, pācittiya (戒2提法), forbade careless actions, lies, duplicity, abusive language, drinking, staying with women, etc. Such sins should be confessed to four or more monks in one's saṅgha.

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The sixth, pāṭidesaniya (戒3提法), prohibited monks from receiving any food from nuns either which the nuns had been given as alms or which they had been given at the home of lay people. Monks who might face dangers in their travels in the gathering of alms could not attempt to avoid the dangers by asking laymen to bring the alms

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Cf., Vinaya-Pitaka (The Book of the Discipline), Part II, tr. I. B. Horner, London, 1940 (reprinted 1969), Vol. III, pp. 195-266; pp. 1-163.

42  
Op. cit., Vol. IV, 1-74, pp. 164-314.

43  
Op. cit., Vol. IV 75-184, pp. 315-416; cf., Vinaya-Pitaka (The Book of the Discipline), Part III, tr. I. B. Horner, London, 1942 (reprinted 1969), pp. 1-102.

to the monastery. Violations of these sins were to be confessed to one monk.

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The seventh, sekhiya ( 戒學法 ), consisted of rules for the wearing of clothes, table manners, receiving laymen, and entering cities and towns. If he so wished one who had violated these rules could confess to his elders and ask forgiveness. Otherwise, he could repent privately, because no object punishment was prescribed for these offences.

45

The eighth, adhikarana-samatha-dharma ( 戒靜法 ), provided for the quelling and settlement of disputes which arose in the sangha.

In summary, the pātimokkha seem to reflect other Buddhist rules. The predominance of sexual prohibitions is evidently due to the importance of the monks renouncing the world. Buddhist prohibitions seem to have developed as a result of the Buddha's own observations of unfortunate incidents among his followers. The rules were designed to be practised in the light of the Buddha's example, to enable his followers to emulate his moral example. The individual decisions of the monks to follow these rules for self-cultivation made their minds pure and thus receptive to enlightenment. A balance

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Cf., Vinaya-Pitaka, (The Book of the Discipline) Part III, Vol. IV, 185-206, pp. 120-152.

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See Chapter II. Cf., Vinaya-Pitaka (The Book of the Discipline) Part V. Cullavagga VII, 5.4: "Having split an harmonious order, (Sangha.) he boils for an aeon in hell." p. 288. Cf., Nanten Vol. 4, p.313.

between śīla and vinaya was the objective; with this balance one might be led to experience enlightenment. The positive aspects of establishing goodness of character in the monks is important. Likewise, the banning of thievery and the prohibition against contempt for life, and the prohibition against self-exaltation, reflected norms of conduct followed throughout civilized society. The Buddha imposed these rules not only to promote good behavior within the community of his followers, but, also, in order that his monks might be respected by persons of other sects. Adherence to these rules by all of the monks would result in the development of a unified, pure community. The pātimokkha was also designed to prevent luxuries, carelessness, etc., and to ensure that the monks' spiritual discipline was not hindered. Last, but not least, the rules were meant to enable the monks to better relate themselves to laymen as well as to promote harmonious life within the saṅgha. The pervading interest was the maintenance of unity in the saṅgha.

The basic difference between vinaya and śīla is that punishments, ranging from light to severe, were imposed by vinaya. These punishments were required primarily because the saṅgha as a community, desiring unity in moral purity, required rules for the control of misbehaving monks. Second, these rules of discipline guided the monks toward moral perfection. Third, if the community did not have punishments as a means of enforcing its rules, its authority could be lost, leading in turn to a loss in the support of the community by the lay public. Punishments were therefore imposed by the vinaya although

punishments were not its main concern. Sins, except for those in the first category, were forgivable if the monk's intentions were not found to be grossly evil, and if confession was made. Moreover, these rules were not absolute; minor rules could be given up if they were found to be unnecessary under conditions other than those which prevailed in India when the Buddha gave them.

Oldenberg sees the pātimokkha as the basis of the whole body  
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 of Buddhist church law. This opinion seems to be correct in part because the pātimokkha is indeed church (samgha) law, but the role of sīla in balance with pātimokkha as the basis of Buddhist ethics seems to have been missed by Oldenberg. The law is important as the result, but morals are important as the motivation. The objective of the law was control for the sake of social order. Morals, however, were concerned with a higher order, without which the law could not be perfect. Therefore, pātimokkha provided for the confession of sins  
 47  
 of a type which differed from worldly sins. The development of the ideal society envisioned by the Buddha was not dependent upon externally enforced law, but upon self-motivation which resulted from self-discipline.

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Oldenberg, op.cit., p. 331.

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Cf., Hirakawa, op.cit., p. 209. Cf., Vinaya-Pitaka Part I, Vol. III, 19: "... Can it be that you, reverend Sudinna, lead the Brahma (monk)-life dissatisfied?" "I do not, your reverences, lead the Brahma-life dissatisfied. I have done an evil deed. I have indulged in sexual intercourse with my former wife. That is why, your reverences, I am remorseful ... to lead the Brahma-life, complete and purified." p. 34.

The monks imitated the Buddha's great personal example through the balanced discipline of śīla-vinaya. Self-cultivation was combined with communal discipline, both positive and negative, to develop moral perfection, and thus to establish an ideal moral society in the saṅgha, with the aim of nirvāṇa.

### Alms

In the early Buddhism, the term "bhikkhu" means "an  
48 almsman," one who was dependant on alms for maintaining his life. The monks, however, differed from ordinary beggars seeking material needs in that their begging bowls were of "sacramental character."  
49 The begging bowl was, moreover, the Buddha's badge of sovereignty, representing his freedom from the secular world and his rejection of  
50 the position as an earthly ruler. This distinction is made clearly in several texts. The Majjhima-Nikāya states:

Having heard that dhamma, he gains faith in the Tathagata, and leaves home endowed with this faith that he has acquired, he reflects in this way: The household life is confined and dusty, going forth is in the open; it is not easy for one who

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Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. 1, London, 1921 (reprinted 1962): "SK. Bhikshu, beggar or mendicant, because they live on alms." p. 237, n. 1. The term "bhikṣacārya" (living by alms, occurs in Bṛihad-Ar. Up. III 5, 1.

49

S. Dutt observes that like the muni the bhikkhu is homeless for the sake of "the higher spiritual life" and that his is a sacramental renunciation of home and kin. Attention is also called to Rgveda X. 136 in support his concept; op.cit., p.36.

lives in a house to fare the Brahma-faring wholly fulfilled, wholly pure, ... After a time, getting rid of his wealth, ... getting rid of his circle of relations, ... having cut off his hair and beard, having put on saffron robes, he goes forth from home into homelessness.<sup>51</sup>

The Sutta-nipāta explicitly compares the householder with the Buddha's understanding of a virtuous man:

Two whose mode of life and occupation are quite different, are not equal: a householder maintaining a wife, and an unselfish virtuous man. A householder (is intent) upon the destruction of other living creatures, being unrestrained; but a Muni always protects living creatures, being restrained.<sup>52</sup>

A householder's work I (Buddha) will also tell you, how a Savaka is to act to be a good one; for that complete Bhikkhu-dhamma cannot be carried out by one who is taken up by (worldly) occupations.<sup>53</sup>

Let him not kill, nor cause to be killed any living being, nor let him approve of other killing, after having refrained from hurting all creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world.<sup>54</sup>

Because thou savest my longing, and carriest me across my doubt, adoration be to thee, O Muni, who hast attained the (highest) gain in the ways of wisdom; O thou who art a true Kinsman of the Adikkas, thou art compassionate.<sup>55</sup>

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E. Conze, Buddhism: Its Essence and Development, New York, 1951 (reprinted 1959), p. 55.

51

Majjhima-Nikāya (The Middle Length Sayings), Vol. 1, 170, tr. I. B. Horner, London, 1954 (reprinted 1967), p. 224.

52

Sutta-nipāta (A Collection of Discourses), tr. V. Fausboll, ed. F.M. Müller The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. X, Part II, Motilal Banarsidass, 1881 (reprinted 1968), No. 219, p.35.

53

Ibid., No. 392, p. 65.

54

Ibid., No. 392, p. 65.



Let his mind be free from attachment, let him not think much (about worldly affairs), let him be without defilement, independent, and devoted to a religious life.<sup>56</sup>

The Ambattha Sutta also states:

For whosoever Ambattha, are in bondage to the notions of birth or of lineage, or to the pride of social position, or so connection by marriage, they are far from the best wisdom and righteousness. It is only by having got rid of all such bondage that one can realize for himself (100) that supreme perfection in wisdom and in conduct.<sup>57</sup>

These passages seem to indicate that in leaving home for a homeless life, and in depending on alms, the monk expressed his belief that the Buddha's personality, as expressed in his teachings (dharma-vinaya), led to enlightenment. The Buddha's teachings stressed that unless one renounced selfish desires and worldly competition it would be very difficult to achieve personal liberation or the ideal society of "true peace." The monks, therefore, were required to leave their families, give up personal property, cut their hair, don cheap clothing, and beg for all their genuine needs. A monk should not seek worldly power or pleasures. For their aims of liberation, peace

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Ibid., No. 540, p. 93.

56

Ibid., No. 717, p. 130.

57

Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha) Part II, Vol. 1, 3, 2, p. 123.

58

Cf., The Dhammapāda, op.cit., (No. 186, 187): "There is no satisfying lusts even by a shower of gold-pieces; he who knows that lusts have a short taste and bring suffering in their train is wise. Even in heavenly pleasures he finds no delight; the follower of the Supremely Enlightened One (Buddha) delights only in the destruction of every craving." pp. 30-31.

of mind, and virtue, monks were enjoined to practice moral discipline in order to reach enlightenment - either individually, or within a monastic community. Manual labour was considered to be unworthy for monks, and it was prohibited so that they could concentrate on spiritual matters. Therefore, in early Buddhism, monks were economically unproductive, and were dependent on the lay people for their livelihood.

Alms-seeking did not originate with the Buddha; begging monks had existed before the Buddha's time, as the Four Gates episode indicates. In the Vedas, the "world-forsaking almsman" is unknown; in the Upanisads, however, it is significant that mention is made of "world-renunciation," in the use of such terms as "bhikṣu," "sannyāsin," "parivrajaka," "avadhūta," and "paramahansa." The conclusion of scholars such as E. J. Thomas that the origin of almsmen is not of the vedic tradition appears to be acceptable.

Although it is not the author's primary intent to discuss the origin of alms-seeking, which seems to be a development related to the sociological conditions of the time as well as to "spiritual

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Cf., Sato, op.cit., p. 119.

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S. Dutt, op.cit., p. 36.

61

Op. cit., p. 37.

62

See, E. J. Thomas, The History of Buddhist Thought, London, 1933 (reprinted 1967), p. 11.

factors," let us briefly consider the historical background. Unlike the Chan monks of China and Japan, monks in India never engaged in manual labour to earn their livelihood. The Chinese appear to have disapproved of begging, and therefore called the monks "alms-teachers" in order to make them more worthy of respect. In India, in contrast, alms-seeking by monks was both traditional and respected.

Perhaps the institution of alms-seeking monks will become somewhat more understandable if they are put in the proper socio-economic conditions of India in that age. During the Buddha's time, India was a vast, fertile land with a good climate; two crops a year were harvested. In most years, there was no shortage of food, and conditions were thus good for monks to seek alms. People whose material needs were well satisfied might come to ask whether material concerns alone were sufficient, and therefore leave their material quests in order to find spiritual peace. Such people, therefore, were receptive to the teachings of a leader such as Buddha.

Moreover, agricultural production at that time was shifting from the nomadic herding of animals to the raising of field crops. Under these conditions, the animal sacrifice required in Brahmanism became less feasible and less acceptable to many people. As the concepts of private ownership, an anti-war sentiment, and the morality

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<sup>63</sup> Cf., Nakamura, op. cit., p. 215.

of not killing or stealing were developing, social justice was  
 64 increasingly required.

Also, Brahmanism was in a state of disintegration. The  
 Brahmins claimed to be like gods in matters of religious authority,  
 65 and, moreover, appeared to have become corrupt through their pursuit  
 of worldly desires. Therefore, it was necessary to return to the  
 original spirit that the Brahmins had possessed as moral and  
 spiritual teachers. These tendencies could lead to the development  
 of the ascetic movements. Many Brahmanic teachers, most prominently  
 some of those mentioned in the Upanisads were themselves turning  
 to a life of renunciation.

The Buddha appears to have left his home for a monastic  
 life because of the influence of these Brahmanic teachers. The  
Chândogya Upanisad relates as follows: "There are three branches  
 66 of duty, sacrifice, study and almsgiving-austerity, ..." Bṛhad-  
āraṇyaka Upanisad also extolls the life of religious renunciation  
 as follows:

It is that which transcends hunger and thirst, sorrow and  
 delusion, old age and death. The Brahmanas, know that self,  
 having overcome the desire for sons, the desire for wealth,

64

Cf., Y. Takahashi, "Kai to sono Kiban" "Discipline and  
 its foundation" , pp. 3-4. (Problems in Discipline) ed. Nihon Bukkyo  
 Gakukai, Bukkyo niokeru Kai no Mondai [Problems in Buddhist Discipline]  
 Kyoto, Japan, 1967, pp. 3-4.

65

Cf., H. Matzutani, Toyo Shiso no Kaisei [Formation of  
Eastern Thought] , Tokyo, 1964, pp. 98-107; p. 200.

66

Radhakrishnan, op.cit., (Chândogya Up. 11, 23, 1.) P. 374.

67

the desire for worlds, live the life of mendicant.

The fourth āśrama of Brahmanism has been often connected with this passage. In the Brahman's understanding of dharma, artha, and kāma it was considered more important to remain at home so as to produce descendents for religious service. The fourth stage, that of the śamnyāsa (the mendicant) was to come after the other three had been fulfilled. The Buddha, however, felt that the period of leaving home for a monastic life (mendicacy, "śamnyāsa") was the more important, and therefore to be undertaken without delay. He thus deviated from the vedic tradition. Among both Brahman and non-Brahman monks, however, worldly desires appear to have been transcended by their desire to achieve liberation (mokṣa or nirvāṇa) through an ascetic life; their spiritual aims appear to have exceeded their concern with material things. The Upaniṣads appear to have been primarily concerned with metaphysical questions such as the brahman-atman equation whereas the Buddhist tradition was more concerned with moral and disciplinary matters. Vedic Brahmanism and the Upaniṣads do, however, place some emphasis on moral aspects as well, and the

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67

Cf., Ibid., p. 678 (Mundaka Up. 1, 2, 11).

68

Takahashi, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

69

Dutt, op. cit., p. 41.

70

Cf., S. Kanakura, Indo Kotai Seishinshi ( A Spiritual History of Ancient India ) . Tokyo, 1939 (reprinted 1948), pp. 408-409. Cf.,

Buddha appears to have derived many of his moral disciplines from  
<sup>71</sup>  
 these sources. The main difference seems to be in the religious  
 or metaphysical emphasis of Brahmanism. Brahmanist writings, like  
 those of Buddhism, require that one should not kill, but there is  
 the exception that in the case of ritualistic sacrificing to God,  
<sup>72</sup>  
 killing is justified as being proper and meritorious. The ascetic  
 life was permissible only for members of the twice-born castes,  
 whereas in Buddhism there were no such restrictions based on caste.  
 In Brahmanism, the Kshatriya caste (soldiers) were required by  
dharma to kill other people in wars, but in Buddhism no killing was  
 permitted under any circumstances.

Buddhism placed more emphasis on universal ethics. Asceticism  
 in both the Buddhist and Jain traditions emphasized morality, but  
 differed in that Jain asceticism was extreme, while Buddhism always  
 chose moderate asceticism in the light of the truth of Middle Path.

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The Thirteen Principal Upanishads, tr., R.E. Hume, Oxford, 1921 (reprinted  
 1965), (Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad 4, 5, 6): "... Lo, verily, it is  
 the Soul (Atman) that should be seen, that should be pondered be  
 heartened to, that should be thought on, ... that should be pondered  
 on, O Maitreyi." P. 145. Also, ibid., 4, 3, 22: "... a mendicant  
 is not a mendicant; an ascetic is not an ascetic. He is not followed  
 by good, he is not followed by evil, for then he has passed beyond  
 all sorrows of the heart." pp. 136-137.

71

H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, Delhi, India (reprinted  
 1968), p. 68.

72

Cf., H. N. Law, ed., Gautama Buddha: 25th Centenary Volume,  
 1956, p. 3.

Monks were restricted to collecting alms in the morning, so that alms-seeking might not hinder their meditation in the afternoon. Laymen were to give the monks not only food but also clothing, medicine and lodging. As the samgha developed, laymen contributed clothing and food to the district samgha, which divided these gifts equitably among its members. The lay people also donated monastery buildings, and other common articles which were held by the universal samgha.

73

The monks could accept alms not only from Buddhist laymen but also from non-believers of any class. The good intentions of the almsgiver were considered more significant than the amount of the gift. When Sīha, a Licchavi general who had been a supporter of the Jains, was converted, the Buddha told him to continue to give support to the Jain community.

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73 Cf., Anguttara-Nikāya (Gradual Sayings), Vol. II, tr., F.L. Woodward, London, 1933 (reprinted 1962), pp. 63-64.

74

Sato, op.cit., p. 124.

75

Cf., Anguttara-Nikāya (Gradual Sayings), Vol. 4: "... Let the Exalted One accept me as a lay-disciple, ... 'Your family Sīha, for many a day has been as a well spring to the Niganthas, wherefore deem it right to give alms to those who approach you.' Monks, there are these four floods of merit, floods of things profitable, bring happiness, giving the best things, whose fruit is happiness, leading to the heaven world, leading to what is dear, delightful and pleasant, to profit and happiness. What are the four? ... giver of the robe, ... giver of almsfood, ... giver of lodging, ... giver of requisites and medicines for use in sickness ..." p. 127.

Monks were not required to thank laymen for alms, because, by giving to monks, laymen curtailed their own desire for possessions and thus accumulated virtuous deeds. Thus laymen increased their chances of going to heaven, and finally of attaining nirvāna itself.

According to the karma theory, merit was related to individual good or bad, and by giving alms to monks, laymen could aspire to a comfortable future life in a heavenly world. Therefore, if a layman was guilty of "the turning down of the bowl," his punishment would not be light, as Rys Davids rightly observes. He would be barred from the framework for the salvation of laymen, and thus he would have a "spiritual death sentence."

Let us consider whether the ascetic life (monastic) lived in self-motivation as Oldenberg has argued. The Mahāvagga states: "The recluse Gautama gets along by making (us) widows, the recluse Gautama gets along by breaking up families." The Buddha, in taking husbands from wives and sons from parents to lead them to the monastic life, it was argued, took them away from such worldly responsibilities as supporting their families and society. Therefore, their "world-negating" attitude might be interpreted as egoistic and self-centered. In Indian and even more in the Chinese traditions, the

76

Cf., Rhys Davids ("Discipline"), Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed., J. Hastings, 1912, IV, p. 714.

77

H. Oldenberg, Buddha, tr., W. Hoey, London, 1882, p. 67. Op.cit., p. 175; p.355.

78

Vinaya-Pitaka (Book of the Discipline), Vol. IV, 24, 5, tr., I. B. Horner, London, 1951 (reprinted 1962), p. 56.



family was a central concern, and one who evaded his family responsibilities would be condemned as being selfish. It must be noted, however, that the Buddha did not entirely rule out such secular responsibilities as supporting one's family. He prohibited people in the service of the king, as well as children without their parents' permission, from entering the monastic life, precisely because he did consider the secular aspects. Evidently he did not want to bring persons who were necessary to the functioning of society into his monastic community.

Kern has also commented on the Buddha's inconsistencies, noting that at one time he said that, "Those who are wise abandon their children, or a man leaves his poor wife to become a monk," but at another time he said that "One's wife is the best friend, and a wife is the most excellent of goods." Although from an objective viewpoint these appear to be inconsistencies the Buddha did actually give different ethics to monks and to lay people. His ethics for monks emphasized renouncing worldly interests, while those for lay people emphasized living in society and family, but both ethics had the common factor that they were designed for the purpose discipline. Because of the Buddha's vision of nirvāṇa, it does seem true that the worldly life received less emphasis, but by the vision the worldly life was not denied. The Buddha's monks left home not just for the

79

Sato, op.cit., p. 100.

80

Kern, op.cit., p. 69.

sake of individual liberation, but, also, so that they could become educated in self-discipline in the sangha. The sangha served as a school in moral training which qualified them to become teachers. <sup>81</sup>

By following the Buddha's example and teachings, they developed the ability to remove the this-worldly suffering of others as well as their own. <sup>82</sup> Monks did not by any means live in idleness; in fact, they led a strenuous life, in restraining their desires, meditating, and developing moral discipline. Through their humble life of begging they developed dignity of character and provided an example for the laymen. They provided laymen with spiritual and moral instruction, and helped lay people not only to face temporary earthly problems, but also to develop individual peace, which in turn contributed to a peaceful society. The practice of good moral

81

Hayashima, op.cit., pp. 733-734. Cf., Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha) Vol. II, 28: "That is what they call a Wanderer, because, my lord, he is one who has gone forth." "What is that, to have gone forth?" "To have gone forth, my lord, means being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good actions, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmlessness, thorough in kindness to all creatures." p. 22. See also, the Majjhima-Nikāya (Middle Length Sayings) Vol. II, 27: "He, being thus one who has gone forth and who is endowed with the training and the way of living of monks abandoning onslaught on creatures, ... he lives kindly, scrupulous, friendly, and compassionate towards all breathing things and creatures." p. 224.

82

Cf., Anguttara-Nikāya (The Gradual Sayings), Vol. II: "He, possessed of this Ariyan mass of morals and this Ariyan restraint of the faculties and this Ariyan mindfulness and composure ... then abandoning the hankering after the world, he abides with heart freed therefrom: having regard for the welfare of everything that lives he purges his heart of the taint of ill-will." p. 224.

life would be reflected in the elimination of evil in the individual mind and in the world in general; the world would be changed through the elimination of the suffering of both the individual and society, and the bringing of justice and compassion.<sup>83</sup>

In summary, dependence on alms was fundamentally related to moral discipline. In the fullest sense, monks did not merely escape from the world. Although their primary concerns were not this-worldly, their way of life also constituted a means of serving society through ethical leadership, compassion, and intellectual power. By following the Buddha's great example monks were able to lead the people as teachers.

#### Economics

In early Buddhism, the Buddha's disciplinary rules in the area of economics were significantly different for monks from those for lay people. The economic rules for monks were negative whereas those for the laity were positive. Let us first consider the rules of economics for monks. The Nissaggiya Pācittiya Dhamma states that,

Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall receive gold or silver, or get some one to receive it for him, or allow it to be kept in deposit for him - that is a Pācittiya offence involving forfeiture.

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83

Cf., Ta-Shih-Ching Vol.2,6.28 Taisho Vol. 17, p. 670. Cf., Watsuji, op.cit., p. 255; cf., H. Ui, op.cit., p. 41.

We also read,

Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall engage in anyone of the various transactions in which silver is used - that is a Paṭittiya offence involving forfeiture.

And, in the same context:

Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall engage in anyone of the various kinds of buying and selling - that is a Pakittiya offence involving forfeiture.<sup>84</sup>

The Buddha prohibited the monks from the possession of money and from "buying and selling." For about one hundred years after parinirvāṇa (parinibbāṇa), i.e., until the Second Council, the monks appear to have generally adhered to these rules and possessed no money.<sup>85</sup> Why did the Buddha prohibit the possession of money by his monks, and counsel them to learn to live without it? First, poverty and the renunciation of material possessions were seen as being necessary in order to free the monks from material desires. Second, these rules eliminated the possibility of competition in material aspects between the monastic community and secular society. Moreover, the ideal of universal brotherhood in the saṅgha required that all property be shared equally by all the members. With the necessities of life divided equally there would be no strife for material goods to jeopardize the

84

Vinaya Texts, Part I, trs. T.W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, Delhi, India, 1881 (reprinted 1965), pp. 26-27. Cf., Ssu-Fen-Lu Taisho, Vol. 22: "沙門釋子販賣錢財得錢來且却上布玉" '若比丘自手捉金銀若錢教人捉若置地' p. 619.

85

Cf., Vinaya-Pitaka (Book of the Discipline), Part 5, XII, p. 407.



Marshall also noted that archeologists have found many kinds of coins beneath the floors of monastic cells and in various convenient hiding-<sup>88</sup> places in ancient Buddhist monasteries in India. One scripture states that when the Buddha returned to his home town, Rahula asked<sup>89</sup> him to give him his "heritage" as his mother had suggested. This indicates the possibility that even though the Buddha had embarked upon a homeless life, property still may have belonged to him.

Also, there is evidence that many of the early Buddhist monastic communities became rich, held extensive tracts of land, and received ample financial support from kings, merchants, and<sup>90</sup> other wealthy lay people, although in theory, all property, including

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customary is allowable; the practice concerning unchurned butter-milk is allowable; it is allowable to drink unfermented toddy; a piece of cloth to sit upon that has no border is allowable; gold and silver are allowable." Cf., Ssu-Fen-Lü 四分律 Vol. 54 Taisho Vol. 22, p. 970; cf., Wu-Fen-Lü 五分律 Vol. 30 Taisho Vol. 22, p. 194; Mo-He-Seng-Chi-Lü 摩訶僧祇律 Vol. 33 Taisho Vol. 22, p. 493; Shih-Sung-Lü 四分律 Vol. 60 Taisho Vol. 23, p. 452. Cf., H. Nakamura (Genshi Bukkyo no Seiritsu), p. 325.

88

Shastri, Ibid., p. 138.

89

E. Frauwallner, The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature, Rome, 1956: "During a visit in Kapilavastu, the former wife of the Buddha sends him his little son Rahula to claim from him his heritage, whereupon the Buddha charges Sariputta with admitting Rahula in the order." p. 76.

90

Cf., Vinaya-Pitaka (The Book of the Discipline), Vol. V, tr., I.B. Horner, London, 1952 (reprinted 1963), Cullavagga, VI, 4, 1-10, pp. 217-223; cf., Nanten Taizokyo (南無大藏經), Vol. 4, pp. 237-244.

money, belonged to the "Four-quarters Saṃgha " and not to a particular saṃgha. The kings received no taxes from monks or monasteries, which, in effect, were extraterritorial of the secular nations. Buddhist monasteries came to be criticized as being luxurious, and, in fact, many people may have entered the saṃghas because of the prospect of living in luxury. Although some monks did possess money or live in luxurious surroundings, most monks continued to respect the rules and lived a simple life in poverty, without money.

Let us next discuss the economic rules for laymen. Although the monks were prohibited from possessing money, the laymen, in contrast, appear to have been encouraged by the Buddha to earn money. For them, money was seen as a blessing by means of which they could contribute to the livelihood of the monks and thereby acquire merit toward getting to heaven.

Also, some of the Buddha's teachings, such as his five moral disciplines for laymen, seem to have an ascetic intended to promote the earning of money by lay people. As a further example, is the fact that Buddha spoke against dissipation of wealth by lay people.

The Sigālovāda Suttanta states:

And which are the six channels for dissipating wealth?  
 The being addicted to intoxicating liquors, frequenting  
 the streets at unseemly hours, haunting fairs, the being  
 infatuated by gambling, associating with evil companions,  
 the habit of idleness. ... Too cold! too hot! too late!  
 such is the cry. And so past men who shake off work that  
 waits the opportunities for good pass by.<sup>91</sup>

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91

Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part III, 184-185, trs. T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, London, 1921 (reprinted 1971), pp. 176-177. Cf., Chang-Shih-I-Sheng-Ching, Taisho Vol. 1, p. 70.

It is also stated in Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta that, "... the wrong-<sup>92</sup>  
 -doer devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth."

The Buddha's encouragement of laymen to control their desires did not mean that they should despise money. On the contrary the Buddha regarded money as being of great importance, and wanted the laymen to use it sensibly, instead of squandering it on their personal desires. Also, the Sigālovāda Suttanta states:

Who is virtuous and intelligent, Shines like a fire  
 that blazes (on the hill)  
 To him amassing wealth, like roving bee  
 Its honey gathering (and huring naught)  
 Riches mount up as ant-heap growing high.<sup>93</sup>

Also, it is written in Anguttara Nikāya that,

If one dwells in a fitting dwelling-place  
 And friendship makes with Ariyans  
 And perfectly apply the self  
 And hath aforetime merit done  
 There rolls upon him wealth of crops  
 Fame, good report and happiness.<sup>94</sup>

The text emphasizes that merchants should work hard and earn money, by saying: "... (one) possessed of three characteristics of a shop-keeper is incapable of acquiring wealth he had not before, of holding what he gets, or increasing what he holds. What three? Herein, monks, the shopkeeper at early dawn attends not closely to his work, nor yet

92

Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part II, 84, 23, p. 90.

93

Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part III, 189, p. 180.

94

Anguttara-Nikāya (Gradual Sayings), Vol. II, 31, Tr. F.L. Woodward, London, 1933 (reprinted 1962), p. 35.



95

... midday, nor again at eventide."

In the Eight-Fold-Path, "right living" has also the meaning of right economic living, as a moralization of livelihood. The Sutta-Nipāta exhorts one to "practise an honorable trade." All of these teachings indicate that early Buddhists understood that laymen should combine capital-earning practices with moral discipline - that making money while practising the discipline of self-denial constituted the lawful and virtuous way of life. It is important to note that the Buddha's approval of capital-earning practice was conditional upon the layman's valuing money neither for its own sake nor as a means of gratifying one's own selfish desires. Specific rules for laymen required them to serve others, including family members, other relatives, guests, recluses, Brahmins, etc. Therefore, the Sigālovāda Suttanta states:

When the good layman wealth has so amassed  
Able is he to benefit his clan.  
In portions four let him divide that wealth.  
So binds he to himself life's friendly things.  
One portion let him spend and taste the fruit.  
His business to conduct let him take two.  
And portion four let him reserve and hoard;  
So there'll be where withal in times of need.<sup>97</sup>

95

Ibid., p. 188; cf., Chai-Sau, Taisho, p. 23; p. 353.

96

Sutta-nipāta (A Collection of Discourses), 403, p. 66; cf., Anguttara-Nikāya Vol. II: "So, housefather, the same Ariyan disciple, with the wealth acquire by energetic striving ... lawfully gotten, ..." p. 97.

97

Dīgha-Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Vol. III, 189, p. 180.

... Anguttara-Nikāya also declares:

Now, housefather, that same Ariyan disciple, with the wealth acquired by energetic striving, amassed by strength of arm, won by sweat, lawful and lawfully gotten, is the doer of four deeds.

... the Ariyan disciple makes himself happy and cheerful, he is a contriver of perfect happiness, and makes his mother and father, his children and wife his servants and workman his friends and comrades cheerful and happy, he is a contriver of perfect happiness.

... maker of the fivefold offering, namely: to relatives, to guests, to departed petas, to the rajah and to the devata. Gift to all such recluses and brahmins as abstain from sloth and negligence, who are bent on kindness and forbearance who tame the one self, calm the one self, cool the one self ... to such he offers a gift which has highest results, gift heavenly, resulting in happiness and leading to heaven.<sup>98</sup>

The Buddha's greatest concern, however, appears to have involved the material assistance given by laymen to monks. He appears to have considered it to be significant that if one had no money, he could not contribute to the monks, and, thus, he would lose opportunities to acquire merit for going to heaven.

The Vinaya Pitāka states that,

If a monk (not being ill and not invited) accept food from a believing family which is too poor to give alms, he must confess his fault.<sup>99</sup>

The Buddha presumably established this rule because of his compassion for the poor, and his concern that they should not be

98

Anguttara Nikāya (Gradual Sayings), Vol. III, pp. 75-76.

99

Vinaya-Pitāka (Book of the Discipline), Vol. III, IV, 180, p. 112.

exploited. But, it is apparent that supporting the monks economically was still a religiously meritorious act for the laity.

The essence of the Buddha's economic rules for laymen is that they should acquire money not for its own sake, but as a means of service. They should follow the Middle Path, avoiding the extremes either of luxury or poverty, and imitate the Buddha's compassionate life. He called upon them to support monks and monasteries, as well as their families and relatives, and to contribute to society through such works as building bridges. Material assistance and social works were seen as an external expression of spiritual enlightenment. Spiritual discipline and material service were to be balanced for acquiring merit.

Buddhism was not greatly concerned with economic systems, or plans for secular society. Rulers were advised to prevent poverty, which could be the root of so many evils, by such means as grants to the poor, economic assistance to farmers, and capital grants to merchants, as well as through the general encouragement of commerce. A pragmatic view for the sake of spiritual discipline it recommended a kind of monastic communism for the sangha and prohibited the possession of money by the monks. Its prescription of capital-earning for the lay people, being for the sake of service, was also aimed at spiritual discipline for other-worldly merit - in terms of either heaven or nirvāṇa.

## Laymen

Rhys Davids observes: "Of any formal discipline of laymen<sup>100</sup> in knowledge or faith we hear nothing." If Rhys Davids understands "discipline" as meaning community rules enforced by punishments, comparable to the vinaya for the saṅgha, then, except in the matter<sup>101</sup> of "the turning down of the bowl," there does indeed seem to be no formal discipline for laymen. Laymen had no such organization as the saṅgha. Therefore, communal rules providing formal discipline and punishment were not possible. It may also be that formal discipline for laymen is not provided for in the early Buddhist scripture because the dharma-vinaya was compiled by monks, and no reference is made to lay participation.

However, Rhys Davids also says in his "Introduction to the Sigālovāda Suttanta" that,

In this Sutta, he (Buddhaghosa) writes, nothing in the duties of housemen is left unmentioned. This Suttanta is called the Vinaya of the Housemen, further And truly we may say even now of this Vinaya, or code of discipline, so fundamental are the human interests involved, ...<sup>102</sup>

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100

Rhys Davids, "Discipline (Buddhist)", ed., Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 4, p. 714.

101

Cf., Vinaya Pitāka (Book of the Discipline), Vol. V, Cullavagga, V, 20, 3: "Then the Lord addressed the monks, saying: Because of this, monks, let the Order turn the Licchavi vaddha's bowl upside down, let it impose non-eating with the Order. Monks, if a lay-follower is possessed of eight qualities his bowl may be turned upside down: if he tries to non-receiving (of gains) by monks, if he tries for non-profiting by monks, if he tries for non-residence for monks, if he reviles and abuses monks, if he causes monk to break with monk, if he speaks dispraise of the Awakened One, if he speaks dispraise of dhamma, if he speaks dispraise of the Order, I allow you,

Rhys Davids seems not to deny the existence of discipline for laymen even comparable to vinaya, although he did not actually equate the discipline for laymen with the formal discipline of vinaya for the samgha. That the Buddha did in fact establish religious discipline for laymen appears unquestionable not only from the Sigālovāda Suttanta but from other scriptures as well. This discipline was designed not only for individual cultivation, but also to provide the necessary wisdom for life in society.

Let us discuss the laymen's ethics. As we indicated previously, the five ethical principles for laymen were not developed in minor details like the monastic rules. Instead, they were general guidelines for righteous life within the community. Special emphasis is placed on sexual purity for laymen. The Buddha says that one should

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monks, to turn a layfollower's bowl upside down if he is possessed of these eight qualities." p. 173

102

Dīgha Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Vol. IV, p. 169.

103

Eliot, op.cit., p. 250.

104

Cf., Dīgha Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Vol. II, 86: "Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer through his practice of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer, strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad; thirdly, whatever society he enters - whether of nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, or members of a religious order - he enters confident and self-possessed; fourthly, he dies without anxiety, and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some happy state in heaven." p. 91

have sexual relations only with one's wife, and that, "... he who is not content with his wife, and plays with other girls, will be destroyed,"<sup>105</sup> and that, "... one who is rich, but does not support his parents, will be ruined."<sup>106</sup> These passages indicate the Buddha's respect for family life, and the importance he attached to mutual trust among family members. The Eight-Fold Noble Path seems to apply not only to monks but also to laymen, because it deals with right living in both moral and material aspects.

Now, let us examine the Sigalovada Suttanta. This sutra was given by the Buddha to young Sigala, an upasaka's son, who practised daily worship of the devas of earth and sky - to the east, south, west, and north, to the nadir and the zenith - and in so doing, he honoring his father's word before his death. The Buddha taught his lay disciples better ways to worship. First, he asked them to give up four practises: "destruction of life, the taking what is not given, licentiousness, and lying speech."<sup>107</sup> He added: "And now, O young householder, does the Ariyan disciple protect the six quarters: Parents as the east, teachers as the south, wife and children as the west, friends and companions as the north, servants and work people as the nadir, religious teachers and brahmins as zenith."<sup>108</sup>

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105

Cf., The Sutta-nipata (A Collection of Discourses), No. 107, tr., V. Fausboll. The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. X, Oxford, 1881 (reprinted 1908), p. 19.

106

Ibid., No. 97, p. 18.

107

Digha Nikaya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Vol. III, 181, p. 174.

109

A more detailed explanation is given as follows: 1) Children should support their parents and keep the family traditions; 2) parents should show their love to their children, exhort children to follow the ways of virtue, train them for a profession, and guide and protect them; 3) pupils should serve their teachers and be receptive to their instruction, and, reciprocally, teachers should love their pupils and teach them well; 4) a wife should be ministered to by her husband; he should show his respect for her through courtesy and faithfulness, and by entrusting her with responsibility; a wife should love her husband, be faithful to him, and fulfill her duties of hospitality; 5) a man should treat his friends as well as he treats himself, showing them generosity, courtesy, and benevolence; he should love and protect a friend, guard his property, and take care of his family in the time of trouble; 6) a master should only require reasonable labour of his servants and employees; he should assist them in their work, provide them with food and wages, tend them in sickness, share unusual delicacies with them, and grant them leave at intervals; 7) servants and employees should love their employer; they should rise before he does, and retire later than he; they should be content with what he gives, do their work well, and speak well of him among others; 8) one should show affection for recluses and Brahmins in actions, speech and thoughts, and welcome them into one's

108

Ibid., 188-189, p. 180

109

Ibid., 189-192, pp. 180-183.

home and supply their needs of the moment; 9) recluses and Brahmins should show their love for the clansman, lead exemplary lives, exhort the clansman to good, and teach him to do so.

All of these disciplines are for laymen. They contained universal moral aspects, and presumably many came from Brahmanism.<sup>110</sup> However, there is a different emphasis in Buddhism from that in Brahmanism, in that the latter says that one should sacrifice and worship in order that God might bestow material rewards. Buddhist ethics replace this orientation with the requirement of loving service to one's family and fellow man, not in hope of material blessings from God, but in order to acquire merit for the future. The Saṃyutta-nikāya says: "Love and compassion doth the Enlightened<sup>111</sup> feel towards another when he teacheth him." The Buddha seems to<sup>112</sup> have replaced the man-God transaction of worship with a man to man relationship of loving service and reverence for one another - as if

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Kern, op.cit., Ang. N. II: "In spite of the forementioned dogma, Buddhism has wisely adopted many articles of morality and pious customs flowing from the sources of the Brahmanist code. When the Master command that the pious Buddhist householder, gahapati ariyasāvaka, ought to perform the five Balis: to the family, the guests, the Pitaras, the king, and the gods." p. 68.

111

Saṃyutta Nikāya (Kindred Sayings), Vol. 1, p. 139.

112

Op.cit., IV, 4, 39, p.50.



all men are like gods in some way. This discipline for laymen may therefore be viewed as being related to the principle of the Middle Path, with harmony within the family and love for one's fellow man combining to build the ideal family and social relationship through moral discipline.

If the Buddha was primarily concerned with the monks in the sangha, with his discipline being chiefly intended for them, and if his teaching emphasized "other-worldly" vision, it may be asked whether Buddhism contains any social ethics at all. The answer appears to be affirmative, as the foregoing discussions of laymen's ethics in economics, family life, and interpersonal relationships indicate. He gave general instructions, not systematic rules, for princes, and for society as a whole. The Buddha had good relations with rulers and economic leaders during his lifetime, and enjoined such men from becoming monks because they were needed in society. The "Four-Gates" episodes, although literally dealing with individual misery, can be seen as symbolizing the social miseries of the time.

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Cf., Frauwallner, op.cit., p. 75.

114

Cf., B.G.Gokhale, "Buddhist Social Ideal," ed., N.N.Lav, Gautama Buddha, 25th Centenary Volume, 1956: "These are significantly described as an old man, an ailing man, a dead body and a recluse. It is possible to interpret these as symbols not only of the different phases of an individual's life but also as those of the changing social scene. The first three may be taken as portents of the sense of anxiety from which the old society now on the verge of a transformation, was suffering while the figure of the Recluse was the traditional answer to the challenge of the times. Siddhartha himself became a Recluse and practised severe austerities." pp. 31-32. Cf., Majjhima Nikaya, I, pp. 162-163.

The Buddha did not spend his whole life in secluded, ascetic, meditation, but, instead, was an active missionary and righteous leader of the people. This appears to indicate his social concerns. Whether the Buddha can be considered a social revolutionary however, may be questioned. Although this is not the topic of this chapter, it may be said that the Buddha appears to have been concerned with liberating people from enslavement to material things, and that he wanted to provide moral and spiritual guide-lines for society.

The Buddha also provided directions for political leaders. Five disciplines relate to kings and their ruling over their people. They were called upon to set a moral example for their subjects and to establish peace - not by law but by justice. For example, the

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Ibid., p. 39; cf., Ul, op.cit, pp. 54-58;

III, 6, 59: "Now, master Gotama, he who goes forth as a Wanderer from this or that family, from the home to the homeless life, tames only the single self, calms only the single self, leads to Nibbana only the single self. So what I say is, thus he is proficient in a practice of merit that affects only one person, as a result of his going forth (as a Wanderer). 'Well, brahmin, as to that I will question you. Do you answer as you think fit. Now what think you, Brahmin?' In this connexion a tathagata arises in the world, an Aravant who is a Fully Enlightened One, perfect in knowledge and practice, Wellfares, World-knower, in comparable Charioteer of men to be tamed, Teacher of devas and mankind, a Buddha, an Exalted One. He says thus: 'Come! this is the way, this the practice, proficient in which I make known that incomparable bliss which is steeped in the holy life, by my own powers of comprehension realizing it. Come ye also! practice so that ye too may be proficient therein, so that ye too by your own powers of comprehension may realise it and abide therein.' Thus this teacher teaches dhamma and others to practise to attain that end. Moreover there are many hundreds, many thousand, many hundreds of thousands of sudi. Now what think you, brahmin? Since this is so, is it a practice of merit affecting only one person or many persons; that is, the result of going forth as a Wanderer? 'No, Master Gotama. It affects many persons, this going forth'." p. 151-152.

rules of non-possession and non-stealing, as applied to kings, can be interpreted as indicating that by giving up their desires for possessions they could devote their energies to serving the interests of the people.

The Buddha's ideal and practice of moral equality among the four castes in the samgha seems not only to have constituted a challenge to the Brahmins' claim of superiority by birth, but, also, to have presented an ideal of equality in society. 116

The Buddha seems to have emphasized a republican form of government in the samgha, 117 although his own position of authority seems to have retained monarchical characteristics of the traditions which preceded him. His application of republican government to the religious community, which appears to be a reflection of his concepts of equality 118 in both spiritual and material matters, could be interpreted as providing a model for the ideal political system.

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Cf., Hayaajima, op.cit., p. 693; cf., K. Mizuno, Primitive Buddhism, tr., K. Yamamoto, Ube, Japan, 1969, pp. 10-11.

117

A. K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, Delhi, 1970, pp. 164-165.

118

Cf., Dhammapada, op.cit.: "A man does not become a Brahmana by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahmana." P. 90. Cf., Majjhima-Nikāya, (Middle Length Sayings) Vol. II, 199: "Therefore I do not speak of 'better' because of birth in a high-class family. But as to this, Brahman, someone from a high class family may refrain from slanderous speech, from harsh speech, from gossiping, and be not covetous, not malevolent in mind, of right." p. 368.

The introduction of moral disciplines into the saṃgha may be a Buddhist innovation without precedent in Indian religions. The Buddha's monastic rules for the saṃgha were designed to make morally new men of the members, and to create an ideally disciplined society which could serve as a model of dharma and an inspiration for secular society.

As we discussed previously, the Buddha's efforts to attain peace in the saṃgha also had their applicability to society.

119

Buddha gave a list of ten virtues for a king:

1. A king should possess integrity and tolerance.
2. He should accept criticism given by his able ministers.
3. He should give gladly to his people and should be happy when they are happy.
4. He should impose taxes strictly according to law.
5. He should open and close the palace gates at the proper times.
6. He should not becloud his mind with wine.
7. He should avoid laughing with delight or pleasure, and maintain his dignity at all times.
8. He should administer justice according to law and not according to his personal feelings.
9. He should promote harmony among his ministers and discourage rivalry.
10. He should always be careful about his health.

The Buddha's special discipline for kings provided for personal moral virtue which would be reflected in the community through their righteous administration, taxation, judgment, etc. By following these rules, a king would set a moral example for his people. Also when the Buddha was in Rajagṛha, the Magadha king Ajatasattu, who wanted to conquer Vajji, sent his minister Vesali to the Buddha to inquire about the possibility of this venture. The Buddha told Vesali about the highly developed discipline of the Vajjians, in which lay their strength.

120

The Mahā-Parinibbāna-Suttanta states:

1. As the Vajjians forefather thus often, and frequent the public meetings of their clan; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.
2. As the Vajjians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord.
3. So long as they enact nothing not already enacted, and in accordance with the ancient instructions of the Vajjians, as established in former days.
4. So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words.
5. So long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction.
6. So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed to fall into desuetude.<sup>121</sup>

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Dīgha Nikāya (Dialogues of the Buddha), Part II, p.78; cf., Nanten, Vol. 7, pp. 29-35.

121

Ibid., pp. 29-35.

This indicates that the Buddha considered three things to be essential for political strength, namely: that a society should maintain the tradition and have harmony in order to preserve  
 122  
 peace and lawful life within it, and that proper laws should be made and strictly adhered to; that individuals should be of good moral character, and that the integrity of the family should be respected; and, that religious worship should be practised, and shrines and arahats should be respected and supported. Thus the Buddha taught that the strength of a nation depended not on its arms but on ethical discipline as a means toward righteous living with a balance of political familial, and religious aspects. He taught that the moral and spiritual values of discipline could be the basis of an ideal society. It was because the Buddha's spiritual authority and moral example so greatly influenced the lay people that he was able to provide a spiritual and ethical foundation for society.

PART II

EARLY CHRISTIANITY

## CHAPTER IV

### THE AUTHORITY OF JESUS IN THE COMMUNITARIAN SELF-UNDERSTANDING OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

In this chapter we will consider the authority of Jesus as an aspect of the communitarian self-understanding of the early Christians. Our approach to the theme of authority is historical; but, as we limit our consideration of this theme to early Christian self-understanding, the history in question is not the history of Jesus but the history of early Christian faith.

It is clear that, on the testimony of the primitive Church itself, the authority of Jesus was the very mandate of the Church's existence. In the Church's consciousness it had itself been called into existence by the authoritative voice of Jesus. But, the most fundamental and important observation is that Jesus spoke with plenary and decisive authority in token of his resurrection from the dead. It was "the paschal experience" of the earliest Christians which accounts, as sine qua non condition, for the Church's conviction of being the community of eschatological salvation. In the self-awareness of the Church, Easter is the ground and explanation of Christian existence. Adolf Schlatter put the matter this way:



First of all the Church did not regard herself as the creation of the Christians, not even as the creation of the apostles. Neither Peter nor Paul claimed to have made her. Since the Event of Easter gave her existence, she knew herself to be the creation of Jesus. That the Christ showed himself to the disciples was his act, vouchsafed to the disciples, not brought about by them. In her own view of herself, the church belonged to Christ because she was fashioned by him.<sup>1</sup>

But once this fundamental point has been clearly made, we must ask whether the pre-paschal Jesus had authority for early Christianity. The answer must be yes. By Easter the pre-Easter Jesus is invested with authority. The Easter event is taken as the validation of the Jesus who proclaimed, argued and taught, and who was rejected and crucified. The "what" of Jesus' authority is his every word and act; the "why" of his authority is the divine vindication of his resurrection from the dead. We might add here that the "how" of the exercise of that authority which the Church itself derived from the risen Christ was given in Jesus' fulfillment of the role of Servant, a matter of basic importance for the Church's self-understanding. The resurrection, for early Christianity, did not introduce a cleavage between the Jesus of history and the risen Christ. On the contrary, it established the controlling continuity between them by investing the history of Jesus with the power of divine approval.

The structure of our inquiry can, therefore, be described this way: We do not here assume the faith stance of primitive Christianity.

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A. Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period, tr. Paul P. Levertoff, London, 1961, p. 4.

We are concerned to investigate precisely this faith, and, in terms of it, to consider the Jesus of history as supremely authoritative for the Church in virtue of his resurrection from the dead. We are dealing historically with the faith-consciousness of primitive Christianity. To pass over the significant role which the public career of Jesus played in the consciousness of the Church would be to neglect data of fundamental significance.

2

Early Christians did not distinguish between Jesus and Christ. Accepting Jesus' vision of things as supremely authoritative, they put their trust in Jesus' teachings (Acts 8:13-14; Rom. 10:17) and were loyal to him as Lord of life and death, King of his kingdom (Rev. 19:16). Christ was accepted in and through faith. Christians did not attempt to explain the resurrection, but they left no doubt that they viewed it realistically, as event, as fact. Yet, its fact-character was only a base for more probing reflection. These priorities, together with their significance for the authority theme, can be studied in the developed Lukan form of a narrative bearing on the risen Christ: The Disciples en route to Emmaus.

## I. The Authority of the Risen One

### 1. Emmaus (Lk. 24:13-35): A Case Study

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J. M. Robinson, A New Quest of the Historical Jesus, London, 1966, p. 78; cf., C.F.D. Moule, The Phenomenon of the New Testament, London, 1967, p. 46.

Through Luke's story of the two disciples who met the risen Christ on the road to Emmaus we may study the role of the resurrection of Jesus in the early Christians' self-understanding. We will make four points: (1) The resurrection of Jesus shows that in the early Christian consciousness his authority was divine and divinely revealed, and therefore, it had to be accepted in faith rather than by reason. (2) The resurrection validates as authoritative the whole past teaching and total career (including the suffering) of Jesus. (3) Read in the light of faith, the scriptures of Israel testify to the Messiahship and Messianic authority of Jesus. (4) Finally, we will show that the Emmaus narrative is not isolated, but rather is typical of the early Christian consciousness.

Before discussing these points, it appears in order to provide an outline of this narrative: Two disciples were walking to Emmaus, leaving Jerusalem. It is not a victorious picture. They were depressed and without hope. Their allegiance to Jesus of Nazareth seemed to have been a mistake.<sup>3</sup> Their hopes that he was the one to redeem Israel had led only to disappointment. They were evidently aware of reports of the resurrection of Christ (Lk. 24:22-24), but their having left Jerusalem in a state of depression indicates that they were not convinced of the accuracy of these reports.

On the way they encountered an unknown stranger who walked and

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<sup>3</sup>  
H. Zahrnt, The Historical Jesus, tr. J.S. Bowden, London, 1963, pp. 123-124.

spoke with them. He talked about the meaning of "suffering" and about the "glory" of the Messiah. They invited him to join them at the supper-table. When he broke the bread, they recognized him and he disappeared. Then they believed in his resurrection, saying, "The Lord has risen" and returned to Jerusalem to rejoin the other disciples.

This narrative shows that the resurrection of Jesus, in early Christian consciousness, was accepted in faith, as divine revelation, rather than through reason. First, this story shows that the risen Christ revealed himself to the disciples as a man who could speak and eat with them, rather than as a god or angel. It is significant, however, that he appeared to these disciples as a stranger, whom they could not recognize with their natural eyes. His body, in this narrative, was different from that before Easter. A similar lack of recognition appears in other accounts of the resurrection. Since, according to this account, "he took the bread and blessed it," and, then, "their eyes were opened, and they recognized him," Christ's body seems to be related to another dimension, as an appearance of glory.

Because the early Christians' belief in the resurrection was based not on reason but on faith, it required conviction that Jesus was the risen Christ with the authority of Lord. Their eyewitness of the risen Christ was not rational but transcendent of reason; without faith, the resurrection could not be accepted. This point is illustrated in

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<sup>4</sup>  
P. Benoit, The Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, tr. B. Weatherhead, New York, 1969, p. 277.

this story, since these disciples doubted the resurrection even though they had heard about it from the women and other disciples. Even when the risen Christ walked with them they could not recognize him. Moreover, there is no record that the risen Christ appeared to his enemies, rather than only to his disciples. It is important that, in this story, the risen Christ was revealed as the Messiah, who told of the redemptive meaning of his suffering and glory, and that his disciples accepted this in faith.

The risen Christ took the initiative in appearing before his disciples, using both "catechetical" preparation such as explaining Scripture, and the liturgical approach of the Eucharist, to reveal himself. It was the risen Christ who "opened their eyes of faith," so that the disciples recognized him.

"Did not our hearts burn within us," they exclaimed - "while He talked to us on the road, while He opened to us the scriptures?" This is how these disciples on the road to Emmaus arrived at the formula for their confession of faith - "The Lord is risen." In the Lukan redaction this faith correlated perfectly with the story of the empty tomb (Lk. 24:1-7).

Next, the question may be asked whether the resurrection validates as authoritative the whole past teaching and total career, including the suffering, of Jesus. If this question is answered in the affirmative, it may then be asked how, and also whether or not, the pre-resurrection Jesus also had messianic authority in Christian understanding.

The passage in Luke, "we had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel" (Lk, 24:21a) seems to indicate that the disciples understood that Jesus had messianic authority not only after the resurrection, but also during his earthly life. It should be noted that, according to the New Testament, Jesus refused to accept his messiahship during his life time, but in spite of this fact his disciples and the crowds witnessed his messianic authority. It should be noted that, although Jesus never said, "I am the Messiah," he did not deny it, either, as for example, when Peter said to him, "you are the Christ" (Mk. 8:29-30).

As understood by early Christians, Jesus was the prophet like Moses who taught the Torah to the people. By feeding the multitudes with bread in the wilderness, he symbolically acted, again, as the new Moses and eschatological redeemer of his people. The early Christians found evidence of Jesus' messianic consciousness in his assuming the authority of judgment (in the forgiving of sins), in his miracles (cf., esp. Jn. 7:31), and perhaps most clearly in his cleansing of the Temple (cf., Zech. 9:9). Indeed, in all his efforts to free the world of Israel from the demonic realm, he appeared to them to accomplish a messianic role.

The disciples' concept of Jesus as the "Savior of Israel," however, seems before Easter to have been based on Jewish "theocracy politics." In this tradition, the Messiah was seen as one who would have worldly authority, and would destroy the enemies of his Jewish kingdom. The Messiah, in this concept, would employ pressure in order to exercise authoritarian control. When Jesus died at the hands of his enemies, on the cross, this naturally led to disappointment and a feeling that the expectations of his followers had not been fulfilled.

In relation to the traditional Jewish concept of the Messiah as the victorious worldly king, Jesus' suffering on the cross was grossly incongruous.<sup>5</sup> Thus the death of Jesus brought an end to hopes that he was the Messiah. It was the risen Christ who explained the redemptive significance of his death, and opened the minds of the disciples to faith, by saying:

O foolish men and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory? And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself. (Lk. 24:25-27)

It was the risen Christ who explained that his suffering and glory constituted the fulfillment of the prophecy of the scriptures.

Through the eyes of their faith, the disciples saw Jesus' death in a new light after the resurrection. Then his death was seen as having redemptive power, and as being a continuation of his teaching and his self-sacrificial way of life as a servant of mankind. Through the resurrection, in their understanding, Christ began his new rule as Lord, not with worldly power but with the authority of love.

Read in the light of the disciples' faith, the scriptures of Israel testified to Christ's Messiahship. Luke 24:25-27 is interpreted by H. C. Kee as follows:

... the main force of ... Luke is to affirm the real presence of Christ among His people in the interpretation of the Scripture and in the Eucharist. The Threefold

Hebrew Canon (Law, Prophets and Psalms) has its fulfillment in Jesus, attesting that he is the One through whom the redemptive purpose of God is being consummated.<sup>6</sup>

In these passages, Luke 24:19-21; 25-27, Cleopas indicates that he had hoped that Jesus would exercise political authority, and bring about the release of Israel from oppression. He learns through faith that the glory into which the Messiah entered was other-worldly. Also, Christ's glory is here related to the concept of a king who would be an universal ruler with spiritual authority, as told of in Daniel 7:14, which says that to the "Son of Man" was given "dominion, glory and kingdom," and that "all people, nations, and languages should serve him."

Jesus' suffering on the cross here acquires new meaning, when related to Isaiah 53, where the martyr's death is presented as being the fulfillment of God's purpose, although there is no suffering-Messiah concept in the Old Testament. In all of these ways, the Emmaus story presents the concept of Jesus as the King, as the Suffering Servant, and as glorious spiritual ruler.

The Emmaus narrative is not an isolated story. First, it is evident that the account itself is not an invention of Luke. The tenor of passages such as "Moreover, some women of our company amazed us, they were at the tomb early in the morning and did not find his body" (Lk. 24:22-23), or, "The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon!" (Lk. 24:34), indicate a pre-Lukan tradition.



Second, the Emmaus story has substantial parallels which derive from the early days of the Christian community. We will consider three of them.

2. First Parallel: 1 Cor. 15:3-8

Bornkamm states:

And so he fans anew the dying flame in their hearts, and they experience his presence at the evening meal. Of course, even the disciples at Emmaus cannot hold him as they might an earthly travel companion. The risen Christ is not like one of them. He vanishes from them again but in the words that he speaks to them and in the supper he eats with them, they have the pledges of his resurrection and presence.<sup>7</sup>

This text deals with Paul's witness to the resurrection of Jesus. 1 Corinthians 15:1-8 is perhaps the oldest extant faith formulation testifying to the risen Jesus.<sup>8</sup> It is contained in a letter written about A.D. 56 or 57, about 25 years after the death of Jesus. Paul's conversion had taken place about three years after Jesus' death between A.D. 33 and 35.<sup>9</sup>

Two points should be made, namely that Paul claimed both to have inherited the tradition of resurrection faith and to be an independent witness to the risen Christ (Gal. 1:11-16; 1 Cor. 9:1; 2 Cor. 5:14-17; 4:6). In saying "I delivered to you as of first

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G. Bornkamm, Jesus of Nazareth, tr. J. M. Robinson, London, 1969, p. 185.

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Cf., J. Weiss, Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A.D. 30-150, Vol. I, tr. F. C. Grant, New York, 1937 (reprinted 1959), pp. 23-24; cf., Bultmann, op.cit., p. 82.

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Weiss, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 15; cf., Zahrat, op.cit., p. 126.

importance what I also received" (1 Cor. 15:3), Paul indicated that he had himself inherited this tradition.<sup>10</sup> Apparently he adopted the earliest creed and further developed it, as O. Cullmann has argued.<sup>10'</sup>

It must also be noted, however, that Paul stated that his apostleship and his gospel had been received directly from Christ, rather than having been taught or transmitted to him by man (Gal. 1:11-12). His apostleship and gospel, though coherent with Jerusalem, cannot therefore, be regarded simply as part of the Jerusalem tradition or as an extension of the teachings of the Apostles; rather, they represent an independent witness to the risen Christ.

From where or whom could this faith-formula have come? There are several possibilities. He could have received it when he went to Jerusalem and met Cephas and James (Galatians 1:18-19) or, it could have come

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Weiss, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 15; cf., Zahn, op.cit., p. 126.

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J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, p. 101: "... that the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper did actually circulate as an independent piece of tradition, as we have just suggested in our analysis of the Markan and Lukan accounts of the Supper, is confirmed by 1 Corinthians 11:23-25. Paul here quotes the words: 'For I received of the Lord what I also delivered to you' (1 Cor. 11:23). There should never have been any doubt that 'to receive' (παράλαμβάνειν) and 'to deliver' (παράσσειναι) represent the rabbinical technical terms kibbel min and masar le (p. Ab. I, I ff., etc.), so that 1 Corinthians 11:23 says nothing other than that the chain of tradition goes back unbroken to Jesus himself. Immediate proof of this is provided by 1 Corinthians 15:1 ff., where Paul similarly reminds the Corinthians of an old-established tradition, the kerygma, and in so doing uses the same terms 'to deliver' and 'to receive' (v. 3, 'For I delivered ... what I also received'). For it can be established on linguistic grounds that the kerygma here quoted (which runs from 1 Cor. 15:3b 'Christ' to v. 5 and 6) was not formulated by Paul."

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O. Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confession, 1949, pp.23,45,53.

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from a Greek-speaking mixed community such as Antioch. Paul in any case was evidently not the originator of this account. This supports our contention that faith in the resurrection was central to early Christianity.

Paul's order of witnesses in verses 5-8 is chronological.

Weiss writes:

The fact that Peter was the first to see the risen Lord is the most certain historical fact in this whole obscure history. It is at the same time a fact of the first importance, historically, for upon it rests the new development, and through it we are to understand the historical position of Peter. Peter is without question the first man in the primitive community.<sup>12</sup>

As Peter had been the first of the twelve disciples to confess, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. 16:16), so he is presented in Acts (1:15; 2:14 ff., etc.) as being the leader of the earliest community; this not only agrees with but explicitly correlates with the Emmaus story: "'The Lord has risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon.'" (Lk. 24:34)."

John 20-21: Resurrection and the position of Peter's restoration to the position of leadership is clear in Jesus' farewell charge to Peter: "Feed my sheep" (Jn. 21:15-19). Thus it was acceptable that Peter should become the first leader of the earliest community, which was Easter-oriented. Had Peter not been the first to see

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E. Kasemann, Essays on New Testament Themes, tr. W. J. Montague, London, S.C.M. Press, 1964, p. 49.

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Weizsacker, Apostolic Age, pp. 11 ff; cited in Weiss, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 24-25.

the risen Jesus, he could not have become the first leader. Also, if this were not true, how could Paul have so written, at a time when many of the first generation of disciples and believers were still living? This, therefore, seems to have been a widely accepted belief rather than merely Paul's opinion. Why, then, is this not recorded in the other gospel records - with "the empty tomb" stories, for example?

Again, the conversion of James, and his becoming a leader of the Jerusalem Church, was probably the result of his having experienced the risen Christ.<sup>13</sup>

Paul witnessed to an experience of the risen Christ on the road to Damascus. "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" he wrote, and "He [God] was pleased to reveal his Son (Christ) to me in order that I might preach him among the gentiles; I did not confer with flesh and blood ...," (Gal. 1:16-17).

All of these testimonies of witnessing (faith formulas) the risen Christ were accepted as eyewitness accounts of historical events in the self-understanding of the early church.

It also appears to be significant that individuals - Peter, James, and himself - were named as witnesses to the risen Christ. Because

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H. Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries, tr. J. A. Baker, Stanford, A & C Blade, 1969, p. 20.

they were leaders of the early Church, this might emphasize that their charismatic authority for the leadership of the community had been given by the risen Christ for the sake of unity and discipline within the community.

3. Second and Third Parallels: A Pre-Pauline Hymn (Phil. 2:6-11) and the Speeches in Acts

Philippians 2:6-11, is a Christological hymn emphasizing the universal authority which belongs to Jesus Christ through God's exalting him as Lord. The question remains as to whether the hymn is Pauline or Pre-Pauline.

It would appear from the hymn's reference to "death" and "exaltation", that its kerygma is non-Pauline rather than Pauline. Paul's usual terminology in speaking of the above events is "cross" and "resurrection". Although Paul does refer to the "cross" in the passage under discussion, his reference seems to be an addition of his own, explaining the kind of "death" Christ experienced. Also, although "exaltation" presupposes the resurrection, the hymn does not actually employ the term "resurrection". A further argument supporting the view that Philippians 2:6-11 was not original with Paul, can be made from a linguistic study of the passages in question. Indeed,

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R. P. Martin, Carmen Christi, Cambridge, 1967: "The evidence of the unusual language may here be assembled. The first writer thoroughly to examine the vocabulary and draw attention to the hapax legomena and rare expressions was Lohmeyer, on the Continent, while

E. Lohmeyer may be right in thinking that the Philippians hymn was  
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 written first in a semitic tongue and later translated into Greek.

A.M. Hunter and W.K.L. Clarke did the same thing for English readers. Supplementary studies have followed by L. Cerfaux, P. Henry, J. Jeremias and E. Schweitzer.

(a) Many of the key-terms are hapax legomena in the entire New Testament: ἈΠΛΑΥΜΟΣ is absent from the LXX and quite rare in secular Greek. ὤτερουφού appears in an Old Testament citation in I Clement xiv. 5, which is the only other reference intended in Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, Lexicon, p. 849. The threefold enumeration of the universe in verse 10: ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταγών is unique in the New Testament, while καταγέγονας is a New Testament hapax and is unknown in the LXX.

(b) Some words and expressions are used in an unusual way. κεόω is found only once elsewhere in the New Testament. This is in the Markan appendix at Mk. xvi. 12. The verb 'he emptied himself', translating ἐκένωσεν presents an interesting problem. The verb κεύω is used in four other places in Paul (Rom. iv. 14; 1 Cor. i. 17; ix. 15; 2 Cor. ix. 3), but never with the precise meaning it has in Phil. ii. 7. There it is used absolutely in contrast to the other Pauline usages which are in the passive voice, except 1 Cor. ix. 15 which has the verb in the active voice. But as Lohmeyer acutely observed the other references construe the meaning of the verb *sensu malo*, in contrast to Phil. ii. 7. The phrase ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου is something of a unique specimen in the Pauline writings. His customary term is 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' (1 Cor. i. 2, 10 v. 4, vi. 11; Col. iii. 17; 2 Thess. i. 12, iii. 6). ἐμφάνη occurs again in Paul only in 1 Corinthians vii. 31 in reference to 'the appearance' of the world; while ὑπακούω 'obedient' has a special meaning in the context of Phil. ii. 8, which is not found elsewhere. In classical Greek it usually connotes political obedience (cf., Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon (1940), s.v.). In the two other New Testament examples, it is obedience to men (to Moses, Acts vii. 39; to Paul himself, 2 Cor. ii. 9) which is in view. In the sense of religious obedience to God its usage in Phil. ii. 8 is unique in canonical literature, while the masculine singular form is only rarely attested (no examples in Liddell-Scott-Jones *ut supra*). " p. 44.

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Ibid., "Traits of style which are 'impossible' in Greek; phrases which appear to be simply 'translation equivalents' from a Semitic language into Greek; and the use of words and expressions which are drawn directly from the Old Testament", he writes, "... all these facts indicate the Semitic provenance of the hymn in its putative original form." p. 27.

Again, there are theological reasons for taking the hymn to be non-  
 16  
 Pauline.

Turning now to a discussion of the Philippian hymn's emphasis on the universal authority of the risen Christ, we find that this emphasis seems to reflect Isaiah 45:23, where it is written, "To me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear." The passage in Philippians makes it clear, however, that universal authority has been given to Christ not simply because of his pre-existence with God but precisely because of his obedience to God. This is why "God exalted him." In spite of Paul's use of the hymn to emphasize the ethical requirements of Christianity, i.e., its need for a Christ-like humility, the hymn's own main emphasis is on the exaltation of Christ  
 17  
 as Lord of all things. Therefore the hymn is primarily a confession

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It is to be noted also that the non-Pauline concepts of Jesus, equality with God" (cf., 1 Cor. 15:28) speaks against Paul's having formulated Philippians 2:6-11. Moreover, as R.H.Fuller remarks concerning the hymn's reference to Christ taking the form of a servant: "Paul never makes use of any of the servant language, except where he is quoting tradition which he has received from Pre-Pauline Christianity." R. H. Fuller, The Mission and Achievement of Jesus, 1954, p. 57.

17

1 Peter 3:21 f, states: "... the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, with angels, authorities, and powers subject to him."

Both 1 Peter and Philippian hymn are saying that Christ's authority is a cosmic one and He is to be confessed as Lord and His function is redemptive.

of faith in the lordship of the risen Christ and a superlative parallel to the Lukan accent on this theme.

The missionary speeches of Acts testify clearly enough to the resurrection of Jesus as the context for and key to his authority. But do they represent an early, pre-Lukan, testimony to the Easter-character of Christian faith and thought?

On this subject there has been considerable debate. Let us examine Acts 2:14-40, 8:32-35, to determine whether or not these passages represent pre-Lukan testimony. The principal argument of those who contend that these passages were freely composed by Luke, rather than being derived by him from earlier testimony is that the objectives of the earliest Church did not require or foster the compilation of  
18  
kerygmatic discourses.

Evans found it difficult to envision a Sitz im Leben for the preservation of the speeches of the apostles, and concluded thereby that their words and deeds were not regarded by the early Church as being comparable to the material of the Gospels. He believed that the speeches of the apostles were not regarded as requiring compilation until considerably later. Only after the apostles were no longer living and preaching, in his view, did writers resort to presenting their speeches as models for the preaching of the Gospel.

Contrary opinions are presented in such works as C. H. Dodd's The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments.<sup>19</sup> in which it is contended



that the speeches recorded in Acts derived from pre-Lukan traditions or sources, and do indeed represent first generation Christian preaching.

Let us first examine the passage from one of these speeches, "You crucified (Jesus)... but God raised him up" (Acts 2:23-24). The question is whether this passage represents theological archaism or Lukan theology, or whether yet another explanation must be found. This treatment of Christ's death and resurrection differs in any case from that in the Pauline letters, e.g., in Rom. 8:1-4, 2 Cor. 5:21. In the public speeches of Acts Christ's death does not appear as soteriological. The death is the work of men: "You crucified (him)"; God's act is to undo this: "But God raised him up."

Paul, in contrast, attributed a deeper theological significance to the cross when he wrote: "I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20), or when he said that (by the crucifixion) God had "condemned sin in the flesh" (Rom. 8:3):

Writers like M. D. Goulder have rightly observed that the speeches are stylistically Lukan.<sup>19'</sup> But is it likely that Luke should have accepted the theme of expiatory death in Lk. 22:19c<sup>19"</sup> and have consciously omitted it, because he did not really accept it, in the speeches of Acts? This seems unlikely. Perhaps, then, the explanation

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Cf., C. H. Dodd, Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments, London, 1936, P.36, P.46.

19'

M. D. Goulder, Type and History in Acts, London, 1964, p.82.

19"

Cf., J. Jeremias, The Eucharistic Words of Jesus, op.cit., pp. 169, 234-238, 251-255.

of the missing motif in the speeches of Acts is that, though the early Christians expressed this theme in catechesis for believers (didachē) (cf., the formulas such as 1 Cor. 15:3-5 and Rom. 4:25), they omitted it from public proclamation to unbelievers (kerygma).

These two passages from Acts, therefore, are interpreted here as being indicative of pre-Lukan contributions. The developing kerygma of the resurrection of Jesus provided the basis of his authority in the earliest understanding of his disciples.

## II. The Authority of Jesus as the Founder of a Community

### 1. The Authority of Teacher and Exorcist

Jesus, in early Christianity,<sup>d</sup> was rightly called a teacher ("rabbi": Mt. 17:24; 26:18, Mk. 5:35, Jn. 11:28; 20:16c: "rabboni" which means "Teacher") because, like the rabbis, he had "disciples", and, also, because he was sought out by a wider circle of people who wanted to hear his teachings.

According to the account in Mark, the people questioned themselves in a way which correlated the power to cure with the authority to teach: "What is this? A new teaching! With Authority he commands even the unclean spirits, and they obey him (Mk. 1:27). Again, in Matthew, Jesus taught them as one who had authority, and not as their scribes (Mt. 7:29)."

His teaching was inseparably related to his person (cf., Mk. 5:30; 14:62, Lk. 5:17; 6:19, Jn. 10:19; 19:10) inasmuch as it was

prophetic in character rather than philosophical. It implied the power<sup>20</sup> to carry out a distinctive, God-given, mission.

Historically, Jesus' teaching had been centered on the Kingdom of God (Mt. 3:2; 4:23; 6:33; 10:7; 18:3; 19:14; 25:34; 26:29, Mk. 4:43) and this specific prophetic self-understanding was presupposed in the Christian consciousness. Christians saw him (in memory as well as in their own experience) as a divine teacher sent by God. This had two aspects. He was one whose words and deeds were truly his own,<sup>21</sup> and, also, he transmitted the Word of God. He was Truth itself, as the Johannine testimony put it. He did not merely say: "Thus says the Lord." He also said: "It was said to you of old ... but I say to you" (Mt. 5:21 f.; 27 f.; 31 f.; 33 f.; 38 f.; 43 f.).

To the Christian community he was the Christ of the heavenly Kingdom; in the words of Peter, "the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mt. 16:16). As it was God who had made Peter aware of this (Mt. 16:17), so it was God who made the Christian fellowship aware of this. And, as Jesus shared the authority of his Kingdom with his

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F.C. Grant, An Introduction to New Testament Thought, pp. 211-213.

21

H. Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries, p. 4; M. Kahler, The So-Called Historical Jesus and the Historic Biblical Christ, tr. C. E. Braaten, Philadelphia, 1966: "The Counsellor has guided the evangelists into all the truth, which is Jesus Christ himself (Jn. 16:13; 14:6; 16)." pp. 93-94.

disciples (Mark 6:12-13), so the Church had no authority whatever apart from him and were therefore dependent on him. In the Lukan form of the promise to the disciples, Jesus says:

As my Father appointed a Kingdom for me, so do I appoint for you that you may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Lk. 22:29-30).

Jesus' authority, in fulfillment of the messianic promise, was exercised in both teaching and action. Moreover, the scope of his power extended to the realm of devils.<sup>22</sup> In the last analysis, the cures and the casting out of devils were, in Christian interpretation, the exercise of a power superior to that of "teacher" or even "prophet": It was "royal power," that of the King in his Kingdom. For the exousia or power of Christ was that reserved for the Son of Man (cf., Lk. 12. 32 or Mt. 28:18 with Dn. 7:14). The exercise of this power, however, was in loving service, modeled on the Servant of Yahweh in the Book of Isaiah (42:1-9; 49:1-13; 50:4-9; 52:13; 53:12)

Passages illustrating Jesus' view of how the disciples' share in his (royal) exousia was to be exercised are found in Mk. 10:45 par. and perhaps best of all in the Johannine account of his washing the feet of his disciples (Jn. 13:2-17).

The source of its authority was the risen Lord, but the model

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22

Campanhausen, op.cit., p. 5.

of the exercise of authority was the servant.

Thus,

the Son of man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many (Mk. 10:45).

As we saw, also, in Paul's citation and expansion of the hymn in Philippians 2:6-11, death on the cross was the final symbol of this sacrificial service. When his disciples argued over who would be the greatest of them he said:

You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. It shall not be so among you; but whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever would be first among you must be your slave (Mt. 20:25-27).

The same ideal is enshrined in the statement, "Whoever humbles himself like this child, he is the greatest in the Kingdom of heaven"

(Mt. 18:4, Mk. 9:33-37, Lk. 9:46-48). Thus, Jesus was taken to embody kingship and service, authority and humility, power and

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kindness.

Now, we may consider the Christian views of Jesus' authority in relation to the Law of Moses. These views are various, but they tend to belong to two quite different types. We will call them the Matthean and the Pauline. In the Matthean view, Jesus came, not to annul the Law but to perfect it (5:17).

F. C. Grant interprets this as follows:

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23

Mckenzie, Authority in the Church, New York, 1966, p. 31.

According to Matthew (5:17-20) Jesus had not the slightest intention of abrogating the law, but meant to deepen and widen its application, thus "fulfilling" or completing it. He then preceded to reinforce this deeper interpretation and wider application both with the authority of the original Law giver (God) and with his own messianic authority as well.<sup>24</sup>

J. Jeremias also observes that:

Jesus, then, is countering the insinuation (ἡ ὑποψία) that he is an antinomian: his task is not the dissolution of the Torah but its fulfilment. The rendering of ἑσχατὴν ('add) by πληρωσάτω in Greek aptly expresses the fact that the purpose of the 'fulfilling' is the reaching of the complete measure. We have here the idea of the eschatological measure, which Jesus also uses elsewhere; πληρωσάτω is thus an eschatological technical term. In other words, in Matt. 5:17, Jesus is claiming to be the eschatological messenger of God, the promised prophet like Moses (Deut. 18:15; 18), who brings the final revelation and therefore demands absolute obedience. In fact, this claim of Jesus that he brings the concluding revelation is to be found throughout his sayings ... Jesus proclaims that the divine will in the basileia stands above the divine will as expressed in the time of the Old Testament (Mk. 10:1-12). ... The presence of the spirit is a sign of the dawn of the time of salvation. Its return means the end of judgment and the beginning of the time of grace. God is turning towards his people. As bearer of the spirit, Jesus is not only one man among the ranks of the prophets, but God's last and final messenger. His proclamation is an eschatological event. The dawn of the consummation of the world is manifested in it. God is speaking his final word.<sup>25</sup>

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Grant, *op.cit.*, p. 76; cf., Bultmann, *op.cit.*: "According to rabbinic ideas the Messiah, when he comes, will also act as a Teacher of Torah, (cf., Seidelin *ZNT* 35 (1930), 194 ff.; Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jud. Gemeinde* (1934), p. 218 -- the Church already possesses Jesus' exegesis of the law and in his "But I say unto you!" hears him speak as Messiah. In his words they already have the wisdom and knowledge which according to the belief of the apocalyptic writers the Messiah will someday bestow. Mt. 5:17(I. 18-19, Lk. 12:32, Mk. 10:16, "Behold, I have given you authority to tread upon serpents and scorpions; ... and nothing shall hurt you" (Lk. 10:19). p. 47.

25

J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology Part One The Proclamation of Jesus*, tr. J. Bowden, London, 1971, pp. 84-85.

The first great presupposition is that Jesus brings the final revelation which completes the Law.

The second point is that the Matthean Jesus' radicalization of the Law expresses a code of messianic discipleship. It is not intelligible apart from the "realized eschatology" of messianic salvation already achieved in principle.

The Pauline view of Jesus and the Law works on very different and much more personal presuppositions. Paul saw history as charged with and under the control of sin and death. But if the trespass of Adam is the key to the misery of history, obedience to Christ is the key to the happy resolution of history. The Law had only been a tool of sin and death. With Christ's victory over these powers, a new era has come, stamped by freedom -- not only from sin and death, but from the Law.

Here, the authority of Christ seems to be presented in a way contrary to the Matthean vision of things. But there are important points of contact between the two views. In both instances the cue for the Christian present is the messianic mission of Jesus. And underneath the conceptual opposition between Matthew and Paul lies a common radicalization of God's demand from man. The conceptual schemata differ, but the moral idealism and life style proposed by both meet at almost every point. In part, no doubt, this is due to Paul's assimilation, into his own scheme of things, of "the commands

26  
of the Lord."

When Jesus cast out devils, the scribes said, "He is possessed by Beelzebul, and by the Prince of Demons he casts out the demons." (Mk. 2:22). Thus, even enemies are pictured as acknowledging Jesus' authority over the realm of the evil spirits.

Therefore, Campenhausen rightly says:

The impact of Jesus' authority is shown most directly precisely in the non-human, 'demonic' realm. Jesus possesses 'authority' over the demons.<sup>27</sup>

Jesus and the evangelists conceived of devils as rulers with power over those earthly things, including sickness (Mt. 10:25; 12:14; 17; Mk. 3:22, Lk. 11:15; 18:7) and death (Heb. 2:14), which mitigated against the rule of God. If one was sick, this was taken as being an indication of Satan's power. The devils were presented as commanders of military forces (Lk. 10:19) or even as rulers over a kingdom, as indicated by the reference to, "Satan as master of the

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D. L. Dungan, The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul, Philadelphia, 1971: "Paul was 'sheltering himself' behind the authority of the Lord because his readers would generally have recognized who was speaking in Paul's words. ... The warning that many of the parallels (where Paul does not say he is depending upon a word of the Lord) are to be accounted for as common Jewish tradition must still be rigorously heeded. But at least this much may be agreed upon: The alleged contrast between Pauline Christianity and that branch of the early Church which preserved the Palestinian Jesus-tradition that finally ended up in the Synoptic gospels is a figment of the imagination. In fact, they were one and the same branch -- for precisely in Paul's careful preservation of, and yet selective and discriminating obedience to, the Lord's commands, do we see prefigured the characteristic traits of the Hellenistic Christian gospel editors." p. 150.

27

Campenhausen, op.cit., p. 5; cf., Kee, op.cit., p. 136.

28

Loc. cit.



house" (Mt. 10:25). <sup>29</sup>

The aim of Jesus' miracles, such as exorcism, healing, and raising from the dead (Lk. 21:12 ff.; 10:16, Mk. 1:21-28; 9:25) was to fight the devils whose evils made men slaves, and through God's authority, to gather a people freed from sickness and fear for the coming of God's Kingdom. <sup>30</sup> However, the curing of the sick and the casting out of devils were also the basis of a dramatic christology (Mk. 6:5, Lk. 5:17). <sup>31</sup>

Jesus argued:

But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you (Lk. 11:20).

Thus he presented himself to the Christian consciousness as one whose Messianic authority <sup>32</sup> transcended nature and history. The devils

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Jeremias, New Testament Theology, op.cit., pp. 88-89.

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Kee, op.cit., p. 136.

31

Campanhausen, op.cit., p. 6.

32

Williams, op.cit., p. 83; cf., Gogel, op.cit., Vol. 1: "Jesus did heal the sick, or, according to the interpretation which was given of sickness in the setting in which he lived, that he did cast out demons. There is no need to distinguish between the healing of the sick and the casting out of demons, for according to the ideas of the time sickness was caused by the action of demons ... Jesus, it is impossible, to distinguish quite clearly between the activity of the healer and the activity of the prophet or the Messiah." pp. 220-221.

he cast out were tools of the Reign of Satan, and their broken power signified the transfer of the world from that reign to the reign of God.

## 2. The Old Temple and the New

The Gospels present several versions of the saying about the destruction of the Temple (cf., Mt. 26:61, Mk. 14:50; 15:29, Jn. 2:19). In the Johannine form Jesus says: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up" (Jn. 2:19). Here the phrase "raise it up" relates to the body of Jesus who was risen. Thus he himself becomes the new temple of the eschaton. Jesus, according to Bertil Gartner, seems to have believed that his authority replaced the authority of the temple which was now obsolete. In the Christian consciousness Jesus' death and resurrection was seen as a sacrifice and the acceptance of the sacrifice by God. He therefore became head of the new assembly of believers which replaced the temple.

At this point we may consider the exchange between Simon and Jesus at Caesarea Philippi as reflected in the consciousness of the Matthean Church. In response to a question posed by Jesus himself, Simon confessed him as, "the Christ, the Son of the living God"

(Mt. 16:16). Jesus' response included the following words: "And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock, I will build my church"

(Mt. 16:19). Here, the name "Peter" and "this rock" are in the linguistic root (Kp' or Petra), indentical. Also according to John 1:42, "'So you are Simon the son of John? You shall be called Cephas' (which means Peter)." Kâphas transliterates Aramaic Kêpâ' whereas Petros (Greek for "Peter") translates it. The word means "massive rock or bed-rock."<sup>34</sup>

Kêpâ' or-Képhas is more than merely a personal name. Neither ܚܦܬܐ in Aramaic nor Kephaz in Greek was used as a name prior to the Christian period. Purely personal names were not translated from one language to another. But ܚܦܬܐ was not only transliterated (Kêphas), it was also translated (Petros, from petra but with a change from the feminine ending 'a' to the masculine ending 'os').<sup>35</sup>

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Cf., J. Ringger, "Petrus der Fels. Das Felsenwort. Zur Sinndeutung von Mt. 16, 18, vor allem in Lichte der Symbolsprache", 271-346, eds. M. Roesle, O. Cullmann, Begegnung der Christen, O. Karrer Festschrift, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, 19: "1. Peter refers to Peter personally; 2. Behind the Greek words lie the Aramaic ܚܦܬܐ equivalents, in which the word-play is even more pronounced; 3. One of the translations for the Aramaic Kêpâ' is "rock." But may not Aramaic Kêpâ' mean also, or primarily, "stone" in the Matthew text? No. The context supports One does not build on a "stone", but rather on a "rock" foundation." p. 273.

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Cf., Ringger, op.cit., p. 276.

Kepa or Kephias, or Petros is a completely new name. It appears nowhere outside the New Testament in Greek literature as a name. When applied to Simon, then, what is the precise meaning of "massive rock" or "bed-rock"? <sup>36</sup>

All of the Gospels indicate that Jesus conferred a special status on Peter by calling him the "rock." In the Old Testament (Gn. 17:5; 32:29, Is. 62:3; 65:15) and in rabbinic usage, names were bestowed by God for special purposes, such as to attest to a promise or to impose a specific task. <sup>37</sup> The symbol of the "rock" has several possible meanings. First, it possesses a symbolism as the "Cosmic rock" or "rock of the world." That is, it is the Earth's exact centre, or navel. It evokes the divine act of creation, and the theme of the top of the mountain as the point of entry to the heavens. Under the rock is "the netherworld." And, on earth, the rock designates the appropriate site of the central cultic sanctuary or temple. <sup>38</sup> Second, the relation of the "cosmic-rock" symbolism to the petra-logion designates Simon as the "rock-ground" upon which the

36

Loc. cit.

37

Kittle, ed., Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Vol. 1, Michigan, 1964, p. 19.

38

Jeremias, Golgotha, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 68 ff.

messianic community is established.<sup>39</sup> Third, the image of the rock foundation is exactly paralleled in rabbinic literature, where Abraham and the twelve patriarchs are equivalently referred to as the "rock of the world" (Mt. 11:7-9, 25-30).<sup>40</sup> The text on Abraham is especially interesting: He is the rock that braves the subterranean floods and bears the House of God.

In the designation of Abraham as the "rock" we discover a Jewish preparation for the view that Jesus, and later the Apostles, became the rock-foundation. So, here, Peter is declared to be the "foundation rock" of the new temple, the messianic people. When we consider other attributes of the cosmic or "holy" rock, the scriptural portion in Matthew 16:18 becomes intelligible as a unit:

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Ringger, op.cit., p. 282; cf., Ringger's "Das Felsenwort" (section III-IV): This is primarily a detailed analysis of the rock-symbolism in Jewish sources which Jeremias had worked out. In Section IV Ringger adds some extra material: Qumran: 1. The juxtaposition of "gates of Hades" and the "Power of the underworld" as in Mt. 2. God provides for the devotees a rock of comfort, safety, etc., which cannot be shaken by the power of the underworld. 3. We have here the same rock-foundation upon which the eschatological community is based as in Matthew. 4. The Qumran literature (especially the Thanksgiving Psalms) makes it clear that Jesus could easily have spoken of "his EKKLESIA" which he would build on the cosmic rock. However, in the Qumran community, the rock which could build a community is not interpreted in terms of an individual (like Peter). pp. 282-287.

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J. Jeremias, Angelos, pp. 107 ff., and especially A. Oepke, op.cit., pp. 150 f. Also note the Rabbinical explanation of Isaiah (chapter 53) in Strack Billerbeck, Kommentar Zum N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch, Vol. 1, p. 733; Jeremias "Golgotha", p. 73.

the rock, the ekklesia which will be built on the rock, the importance of the nether-world, and the reference to the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven are all related.

Although all of the Evangelists use the name Peter, only the Gospel of Matthew contains the account of the meaning of this name as it was related by Jesus. It should be noted, however, that before Jesus gave Peter this name, Peter had confessed: "You are the Christ, the Son of the Living God" (Mt. 16:16); thus the faith of Peter<sup>41</sup> accounts for his having been given this name. The authority to participate in Christ's mission to Israel was given not only to Peter but to all of the disciples.

These commissions indicate that their preaching was to be the proclamation of the coming Kingdom. The authority to cast out demons resided in the fact that the apostles were united with Jesus in his fight against the powers of evil (Mk. 3:13-15). Jesus also promised that the Twelve would be with him in the coming Kingdom, and would judge with him, as he said:

As my Father appointed a Kingdom for me, so do I appoint for you; that you may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Lk. 22:29-30).

This indicates that Peter and the other disciples were co-workers with Jesus in the building of his Kingdom. Through their

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Jeremias, New Testament Theology, op.cit., p. 238.

faith, they shared in his messianic function, and would participate in the Last Judgment and salvation. Not only did they share the power of judging, but they also exercised disciplinary power within the Church for the sake of unity.

The true "rock" was Christ (1 Cor. 10:14) as the head of the Church. The meaning of Peter as the "rock" is that he would participate in the messianic function of Jesus as his messenger. Therefore, only Jesus was the source of the authority; the others shared in this authority as co-workers.

Both Peter and the others have, then, a derived authority, and no authority other than what is derived from the authority of Christ. It is because Christ was empowered by God to bring the Church into being that the churchmen -- Peter, John, James, Paul -- could themselves claim and exercise authority. Hence the rock theme in Matthew is merely a representative text, richly paralleled (in terms of the theme of Church authority deriving from Christ's own authority) elsewhere in the New Testament. Jesus founded the Church, says the New Testament. Indeed, in early Christian consciousness, every aspect of its life derived from him. We will study only the most significant parallel: the Pauline view of authority.

### 3. Pauline Apostleship

How Paul could defend his claim to apostleship is an important problem. Apostleship had hitherto been claimed only by those who had

received it from the historical Jesus, and there was no provision for apostolic succession.<sup>42</sup> Paul had had no association with the historical Jesus like Peter, who had been the first of the Twelve, and who had been told by Jesus that he would build his Church on him (with his faith). Nor did he have a blood relationship to Jesus, as had James, whose having been the first brother of Jesus had doubtless been important in his having become a leader of the Church at Jerusalem.

Under these circumstances, what then was Paul's self-understanding of the basis of his apostleship? Paul claimed that his apostleship had been given to him directly by Jesus after he had risen through his experience (Gal. 1:15-16; cf., 1 Cor. 9:1-2). Because Jesus had called him directly, Paul's apostleship was independent of his mere human authority.

42

Walter Schmithals, op.cit.: "Certainly the apostolate of Paul cannot be brought into agreement with the self-interpretation the Twelve." pp. 58-59. And, on the basis of this awareness K. H. Rengstorf's article, in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, I. G. Kittle, ed., tr. by Geoffrey W. Bromiley discusses, "... the special nature of Paul's position among the other apostles of Jesus, 'wherein by the other apostles' are meant the twelve disciples of Jesus. But unfortunately we do not learn on which side all the rest of the apostles stand." pp. 441-442.



He believed, therefore, that he could belong to the circle of apostles and have the same authority as the other apostles. He refers to his authority as, " ... the authority which the Lord has given me for building up and not for tearing down" (2 Cor. 13:10; 11:8). He also said, " ... for he who worked through Peter for the mission to the circumcised worked through me also for the Gentiles" (Gal. 2:8).

However, from having been a leader of the opposition to the Christian movement, Paul had become a missionary preaching of the Christ. Without his encounter with the risen Christ, this could not have been possible.

Then I went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. And I was still not known by sight to the Churches of Christ in Judea. They only heard it said 'He who once persecuted us is now preaching the faith he once tried to destroy' and they glorified God because of me (Gal. 1:21-24).

The Apostles and the Jerusalem Council recognized Paul as an apostle to the Gentiles and accepted his experience as a commission  
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from Jesus. Therefore, they sent Paul to the Gentile churches as a missionary even though some of his theological views differed from those of the Jewish Christians on some important points, such as the  
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status of the Law of Moses.

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44  
Campanhausen, op.cit.: "The fundamental event, which brought his apostolate, his gospel, and his success, was the encounter with Christ on the Damascus road; it was because of this even the great apostles at Jerusalem could not do otherwise than recognize his authority." p. 35.

45  
Bultmann, op.cit., pp. 54-57.

46

Paul's position as "the thirteenth witness" forced him to argue the basis of his authority in a way which would set him on a par with Cephas and the Twelve. He opened his argument in the first chapter of Galatians and brought it to a conclusion in the second chapter. Paul's Gospel was not "from man", nor "according to man." Yet, he laid before the Jerusalem authorities "the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, lest somehow I should be running or had run in vain" (Gal. 2:2). A satisfactory resolution of this seeming contradiction was offered by J. G. Lightfoot:

47

The words ... must be taken to express his fear lest the Judaic Christians, by insisting on the Mosaic ritual, might thwart his past and present endeavors to establish a Church on a liberal basis. By conferring with them ... he might not only quiet such lurking anxiety (mepos) as he felt, but also, if there were any lack of unanimity, win them over to his views.

The way in which Paul here deals with the issue of authority is illuminating. His own authority, like that of the Jerusalem authorities, derived directly and entirely from the risen Lord. But the exercise of authority, once again, was conditioned by humility, practicality, and concern for harmony with the others. Paul deliberately evoked the image of the Isaian Servant as his own apostolic model, and offered himself as the model for the life of the Churches he begot in the name of Christ.

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C. Burchard, Der dreizehnte Zeuge, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970, pp. 174-183.

47

J. B. Lightfoot, The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, 1865 (reprinted in 1962, Grand Rapids), p. 103.

48

D. M. Stanley, The Apostolic Church in the New Testament, Maryland, 1967, pp. 371-372.

## CHAPTER V

### RESPONSE TO THE FOUNDER: ECCLESIAL COMMUNITY

In this chapter ecclesial communion in faith and practice will be considered in relation to Jesus as the "author of salvation" (Heb. 10:1-18) and the founder of the Church (Mt. 16:17-19).

Jesus' central proclamation bore on the Kingdom of God. The Church was related to the Kingdom, in the early Christian consciousness, as its harbinger and organ. The Church appeared as the eschatological community, mediating God's act of final salvation. Since Jesus' "holy remnant", destined to be saved, was an open rather than a closed group, the life of the Church was marked by disciples called to help in the mission of Christ, to be his successors in proclaiming the Kingdom. The Church was not, then, the Kingdom itself but the community preparing for the Kingdom in the last days.

Our understanding of the ecclesial life of early Christianity is through the New Testament writings, each of which represents a certain "field of meaning." These fields of meanings are diverse and variously related to one another. If we are to understand the life of early Christianity, we must take account of this diversity of texts and of the many-sided diversity revealed by the texts, e.g., various groups of different background, different historical and social

situations, and diverse responses to Christ.

The most far-reaching diversity in early Christianity was that between "Jew and Greek," or, more exactly, between Christian-Jew and Christian-Greek. But, as we learn from Acts, the tensions arising from this division were preceded by similar tensions in the all-Jewish Christian Church - tensions arising from division between Hebraioi and Hellenistai (Acts 6); that is, Aramaic-speaking Christian Jews and Greek-speaking Christian Jews.

No doubt, the whole of primitive Christianity considered itself, its style of life, its faith and hope, its prayer and its mission, its values, aspirations and ambitions, to be nothing other than response to Christ. But, the concrete form and thrust of the response differed from language-zone to language-zone, from group to group, and from generation to generation. Our present purpose is to consider the basic impulses toward unity and diversity, to survey the most fundamental diversity, its character and roots, and to try to discern the meaning of the variety of proposals aimed at effecting a deep and lasting Christian unity.

The great test of early Christian ecclesial life lay rooted, as we have indicated, in the cleavage between Jew and Greek. The Christian response to Christ rightly -- indeed, necessarily -- took ecclesial form, and the breach between Jew and Greek threatened precisely the ekklesia. This situation defines and limits the following survey of Christian ecclesial life as revealed by the various New Testament writers.

### 1. The Basic Impulse Toward Unity

Every voice in early Christianity was raised in favour of Christian unity and against divisions in the Church. Paul insisted on the accord between the pillars of the Jerusalem community and himself (Gal. 2:1-10). The Markan redaction makes the point (as we shall see) that in and by the Eucharistic, Christ, Jew, and Greek were one (Mk. 8:13-21). For Matthew the Church was founded on the single "rock of Peter" (Mt. 16:18-19). Luke/Acts recounted and celebrated the resolution of Church conflicts (Acts 6:1-6; 11:1-18; 15:1-29). Just as the Johannine Jesus was about to embark on the journey to his death, he prayed solemnly for the unity of the Church (Jn. 17:1-26). The main theme of the deuterio-Pauline masterpiece, the Epistle to the Ephesians, is precisely unity in the name of, " ... one body and one spirit ... one hope ... one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all" (Eph. 4:4-6). To Ignatius of Antioch the faithful were to be "... attuned to the bishop as the strings to a harp," so that "Jesus Christ is sung" - Christians taking their "key" from God and singing "with one voice" (Eph. 4).

Why this profound impulse to unity? Was there a single thrust behind the particularity of circumstances and motivations? Behind the variety of persons and diversity of times, was there a radical oneness in the impulse toward unity? This question is not, perhaps, completely answerable; yet the mass of early Church reflections

on unity does seem to exhibit a certain continuity.

Our point is not to demonstrate this continuity. It is, rather, to try to capture the most substantial and permanent issue supposed by all the above writers.

All of these writers understood their faith, their worship, and their corporate life to be a response to God, or, more precisely, a response to God's saving act in Christ. The Church was called into being by one God and was united by one common faith in Christ Jesus as Lord and Messiah (cf., Gal. 3:26 f.; 1 Cor. 1:2). The Church established a continuity between Israel and the new people of God (Rom. 9:1 ff.). Thus, as Israel, the chosen people of God, had had religious unity based on their covenant with one God, so the members of the Church, as the new people of God, had unity through the New Covenant with Christ and their belief in "him alone" (Phil. 2:10). It should be noted that the New Covenant, being with the people of God as a whole, was oriented to community rather than to individualistic life. The unity of the Church, then, was basically grounded in response to a unified divine act. It was not, in any case, a merely social arrangement.

From this viewpoint, we may allude briefly to the Pauline struggle over whether the Law was necessary for salvation. The conflicting attitudes may be summed up, for our purposes, as "Paul vs. the Judaizers." And here the issue was defined by Paul's question, "What did God do in Christ?"

So far as we know, the Judaizers' stand was settled, not by answering this question, but simply by reference to the revelational and traditional status of the Mosaic Covenant. Paul's views, to the contrary, turned on the soteriological all-sufficiency of the paschal mysteries of Christ: If Christ was all-sufficient, the torah was not necessary. So Paul argued the converse: If the torah was necessary for salvation, Christ's paschal mysteries were lacking! But this contradicted the faith formulas of the Jerusalem Church itself, and, worse, it downgraded the cross.

Here, then, we have a dramatic instance of the imperative of unity in the sphere of faith. Such internal realities, moreover, inevitably found external expression, which, in the Christian context, primarily consisted in baptism and the Eucharist. Baptism and the Eucharist provided a degree of unity in ritual and substance which counteracted the centrifugal forces of geographic expansion and cultural diversity. When Paul wrote to the Church in Rome in the fifties of the first century, there was, of course, no official formulary creed as yet. The Romans were simply admonished to be obedient from the heart to "the pattern of teaching" (the baptismal confession) (Rom. 6:17). Paul was concerned that diversity among individuals and groups should not lead to chaos, but, rather, should contribute to unity. This is indicated in the statement that all things should be done for edification (1 Cor. 14:26), for "God is not a God of confusion but of peace" (1 Cor. 14:33). These lines may indicate an intent on Paul's part to establish fixed liturgical forms

(e.g., benedictions, doxologies, and hymns).<sup>1</sup> The "sacraments" have their sense and context in the "People of God" - a single, corporate personality.<sup>2</sup> Ancient Oriental peoples were predominantly concerned with corporate life, in contrast to the modern Westerners' emphasis on individualism. For example, God said, "I am the Lord . . . . I will take you for my people, and I will be your God;" (Exod. 6:6 f.). Old Testament attitudes were reflected in the early Church, to which the concept of being the New Israel meant to be a nation with religious unity. The Church was seen as an organism. In the New Testament understanding, it was the Church which was a social reality; there was no individualism within it. All of the metaphors relating to the Church are corporate in character, e.g., the Israel of God, the elect, the Body of Christ, the communion of Saints, the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, and the messianic banquet.

Secondary elements in the impulse toward unity include Church regimen. The Apostles appear to have had some sort of authority over the management of the churches, the teaching of the Gospel, and the answering of questions from the people. For example, the Apostles and missionaries visited different communities, and were understood to be

<sup>1</sup>  
J. G. Davies, The Early Christian Church, London, 1965, pp. 63-64.

<sup>2</sup>  
A. Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period, tr. P.P. Lavertoff, London, SPCK, 1961, p. 10.



the leaders of all the churches. Therefore, when Peter visited the Gentile churches, they welcomed him. Also, when Paul visited Jerusalem, he was accepted as a Gentile missionary, even though elements of the Jerusalem community disagreed with his view of the Law. Paul did not build the Roman Church, but sent a letter to this church through his apostolic authority. Through the teachings of the Apostles and missionaries, and through their letters which were sent from one congregation to another, spiritual unity was developed.

## 2. The Major Diversity in Earliest Christianity

Paul's letter to the Galatians indicates a bitter division among Christians. The controversy was between Paul's Law-free gospel and the Judaizers' insistence on the torah as necessary for salvation. The controversy involved an attack on Paul, and Paul's defence and counterattack. Here we are not concerned with "who was right" in this debate, but exclusively with what was at issue. At issue was the problem of "Jew and Greek." The Jew thanked God that<sup>3</sup> "Thou hast not made me a Gentile." In one sense he shared the world of Gentile culture, in another he deliberately cut himself off from it. Indeed, the prescriptions of the torah divided him from the Gentile world and gave him an identity - now admired, now resented - by Gentiles. Did Christianity make any difference to the division and

antipathy epitomized in the phrase "Jew and Greek?" Paul maintained that it did: "There is neither Jew nor Greek ... for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28). But, concretely, did this not merely mean that the Jew had ceased to be a Jew with the result that, in pragmatic effect, all had become Gentiles (though by pure theologoumenon all might be titled "Israel")? So it must have seemed to many a Jewish Christian, who preferred that, in the Christian fellowship, Gentiles, in fact as well as in name, should become Jews.

The sheer power of the division between "Jew and Greek" was felt in various ways within Judaism, e.g., in the form of a division between those who cultivated Greek cultural idealism and those who repudiated it. The single difference of mother-tongue (Semitic or Greek) involved numerous satellite differences even in Jewish religious culture and constituted a division among Jews. When Jews and Gentiles alike became Christians, the old division of Jew and Greek was imported into the inner arena of Christian ecclesial life. This was at the root not only of the bitter conflict reflected in Galatians, but of the main tensions recorded in Acts. We will begin our account of the responses of the various New Testament writers to the problems rooted in "diversity" by simply fastening on the major diversity summed up in the phrase "Jew and Greek."

### 3. New Testament Responses: The Book of Acts on the Earliest Christian Response to the Major Diversity

Acts 6:1-6 reveals the existence of tension between Christian "Hebrews" and "Hellenists", i.e., Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking

Jews. Tensions between the two groups developed as the membership of the Church increased. The Hebrews' neglect of the Hellenists' widows in the daily distribution of alms led to criticism and protest. To avoid disharmony, the particular problem was resolved by the selection of seven Hellenists to administer this type of service.

The problem of disunity, however, had a more fundamental basis than that of any specific issue. The Hebrews were conservative and the Hellenists were liberal.<sup>4</sup> Their concepts of Christ, consequently, differed in emphasis. The Hebrews appear to have emphasized the relationship of Christ to the Jewish Temple and the Law. They viewed Jesus as the flowering of Israel and never so much as imagined an existence outside of and apart from Judaism. To the Hellenists, in contrast, "Jesus of Nazareth" replaced the Temple and the torah, as Stephen's sermon indicates. In sum, the Hebrews viewed Christ as the crown of Judaism whereas the Hellenists seemingly took him to be its successor.

Acts 8:1 recounts:

On that day a great persecution arose against the church in Jerusalem: and they were all scattered throughout the reign of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles.

This passage records that, after the death of Stephen, persecution by the Jews forced many Hellenists who had been members of Stephen's circle to leave Jerusalem. Although these Hellenists left to preach

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<sup>4</sup> Cf., L. Goppelt, Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times, tr. R.A. Guelich, London, Adam & Charles Black, 1970, p. 55; cf., F.C. Grant, An Introduction to Testament Thought, p. 271.

the Gospel in various parts of Judea and Samaria, the Apostles remained in Jerusalem. This appears to indicate a different emphasis on the part of the Apostles from that of the Hellenists, one which was sufficiently acceptable to the Jews that the Apostles were permitted to remain in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> The Apostles evidently sided with the Jewish Christians in balancing the Temple and Law with faith in Christ, whereas Stephen had rejected the importance of Temple and Law, and had emphasized faith in Christ only. This interpretation is supported by Stephen's own sermon, and in the accusation of Stephen by those who condemned him to death, that, "This man never ceases to speak words against this holy place and the law" (Acts 6:13). Jewish persecution, however, appears to have been selective rather than general, being directed specifically against Stephen's circle and other progressive elements. The Hebraioi seem to have achieved peaceful coexistence with officialdom by observing the Law and attending the Temple.

It appears very significant, that the Hellenists took a positive attitude toward the Gentile mission, as indicated in Acts 11:19-20, where it is recorded that:

Those who were scattered ... travelled ... speaking the word to none except Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who coming to Antioch spoke to the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus.

With the preaching of Jesus to the Greeks and the founding of

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<sup>5</sup>  
Cf., S. Yamatani, Kristokyo no Gigen, [Origin of Christianity] .  
Vol. 1, pp. 216-219.

the Church at Antioch, Gentiles were admitted to membership in the Christian community for the first time without the requirement that they be circumcised as Jews.<sup>6</sup> Thus it was accepted that one could believe in Christ without subjection to Jewish Law. It should also be noted that the Church at Antioch, which was "legitimized" under Barnabas, with the help of Saul, was the first to include Jews and Gentiles together (vv. 22-26). Schlatter has observed that Jews and Greeks had equal rights within the church at Antioch:

Since the time of Seleucid Kings, the Jews at Antioch had enjoyed 'isopolicity', i.e., equal political right with the Greeks, a privilege of which they were very jealous (Josephus, Bell. Jud. VII, 43-5). In the same way now the Christian church gave Jews and Greeks equal rights in their fellows.<sup>7</sup>

Because of the departure of the community at Antioch from the Law-and-Temple-orientation of Judaeo-Christianity, it was here that the disciples were first called "Christians," and the worship of Christ replaced Temple-worship, thus reflecting the movement toward universalism.

It should be noted that the Cornelius affair, recorded in Luke (10:1-11:18), indicates that the Gentile mission had not been unquestioningly accepted by the earliest Palestinian church. Such passages as Mt. 28:18 f.; Mt. 16:16; Lk. 24:45; Acts 1:8, which indicate that the Church had received a universal mission from Christ,

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Schlatter, op.cit., p. 108.

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Loc. cit.

appear not to be historical, as indicated by the views widely held in the early Church. Instead, the early community seems to have assumed that the Gentiles might be saved by divine intervention in the last hour of the world. Peter, however, claimed that he had baptized and eaten with the uncircumcised Gentile Cornelius because of a divine revelation to him through a vision at Joppa. With the acceptance of Peter's communitarian change of heart by the Church, a new departure was launched in the mission of the Church to the Gentiles.

The first journey of Paul and Barnabas in their world mission was preceded by the gathering of a group of prophets and teachers at Antioch, who said that, "The Holy Spirit said, 'Set apart for me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them'" (Acts 13:2). The "prophets and teachers" then laid their hands upon Paul and Barnabas, and sent them on their way, but significantly, Paul and Barnabas saw themselves as having been divinely appointed by the Holy Spirit, with the "prophets and teachers" having acted only as the Holy Spirit's agents. Paul, the real leader, acting as God's initiate, established the new mission of Messianic salvation for the world. The Church thus accepted its world mission as constituting a continuation of God's previous activity in history, and as being a response to divine inspiration transmitted by the Holy Spirit.

Significantly, however, the Church's acceptance of its mission to the Gentiles was to lead to problems of disagreement between Gentiles and Jews on such issues as the importance of the Law and the Temple. These problems are discussed more fully in the following paragraphs.

In Acts 15:1-2, the problem of diversity within the Church, which had developed as a consequence of the Gentile mission, appears more serious. There appear to have been two basic reasons for the existence of this problem. One is indicated by Acts 15:1:

Some men came down from Judea, and were teaching the brethren, 'unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved.'

Whether these men had come with the right of supervision or not, it seems probable that their attitude toward the Law reflected that which prevailed in Jerusalem. The second cause of problems was the matter of ritual purity. Dupont comments:

Of all the laws of purity James wished (Gentile Christians) to retain only those whose religious significance seemed universal: the eating of meat offered to idols involved a certain participation in sacrilegious cult (cf., 1 Cor. 8-10). Blood in concreto is life and this belongs to God alone. Hence the Law's prohibition concerning it (cf., Gen. 9:4; Lev. 17:10-14) was of such character as to explain the repugnance of the Jew toward dispensing the Gentiles from it. The meat of strangled animals is an analogous case. Irregular marriage unions figure in the present context in virtue not of morals but of legal purity.<sup>9</sup>

The basic disagreement, however, was between Paul's position of "freedom from the Law by faith in Christ," and the opposite position which called for a balance between Christ and the Mosaic Law of God as a condition for salvation which the Gentile Christians should have to obey. The Church was faced with a choice between formal unification or accepting different conditions for Jewish and Gentile members. Paul did not deny that the Law expressed what God willed in the moral life of man. He refused, however, to accept the Law as being a condition required for salvation through Christ. Therefore, he did not accept circumcision as being a necessary condition for a Gentile to become a Christian. Following considerable discussion and debate, Paul and Barnabas and some others went to Jerusalem to discuss this question with the Apostles and elders there. The basic division within the Church at this time was really whether Christ or the Law and Christ was the ground of salvation.

The Hebrews understood the Gospel to be presenting them with a unique privilege, and therefore continued to attend the Temple and to keep the Law. James, for example, was called a "righteous man" in the Jewish sense, because of his adherence to the Law. The conservative Hebrews were opposed to Paul's idea of a Law-free life transcending the bounds of race and making salvation available to all. They believed that it was through fulfilling the Law that one would





share in messianic salvation through the grace of God. They contended that to share in this messianic salvation, one must become one of the "chosen people" of God, Israel, which meant that one must be circumcised. Therefore they argued for circumcision as a prerequisite to entering the Church. Paul, in contrast, believed that only Christ was central, and that such matters as succession from the Church at Jerusalem, and the keeping of the Law by the Gentiles, were secondary. The differences between Paul's understanding of Christ and that of the conservative Hebrews (the party of the Pharisees) who tried to suppress Paul's teaching (15:4) led to the threat of a serious disruption within the early Church.

The diversity within the earliest Christianity signified by the phrase "Jew and Greek" was at bottom a diversity in the understanding of Christ and His role. It probably never occurred to the most conservative elements of the earliest Palestinian Church that the coming of the Messiah could signify anything other than the final validation of the Mosaic economy of religion. If, as we saw above, faith in Christ was the ultimate ground of Christian unity, differences in the theological explication of that faith were a source of tensions.

Those who, according to Acts, responded to the tensions were the leaders of the Jerusalem community - the Twelve and, later, James "the brother of the Lord." What did their responses consist of? First, the Twelve, when faced with complaint over inequities in "the daily distribution," responded with the introduction of a structural re-

organization of the community, giving the Hellenistai their own community officers. Second, the community followed the interpretation of Peter in approving, as already divinely validated, the entry of Gentiles within the Christian fellowship without reference to circumcision or torah observances. If we correct in understanding Acts 15 as an account telescoping two distinct issues - that of circumcision (15:4-12) and, that of observance of the ritual Law (15:13 ff.) - the Jerusalem community decided, under Peter, that, as a general principle and not merely by way of exception, the circumcision of Gentile converts was unnecessary, and they again decided, under James, that Gentile Christians need observe only the most fundamental and universal of the prescriptions of the ritual of the torah. These responses to the practical problems raised by the underlying issue of "Jew and Greek" were diverse in character (structural reorganization, conversion policy, prescriptions on life-style) but one in inspiration. They were all aimed at securing and preserving ecclesiastical unity. The basic impulse toward unity overrode the divisions of "Jew and Greek."

#### 4. The Response of Paul

According to Paul, the members of the Galatian churches were "turning to a different gospel" (Gal. 1:16; cf., Gal. 1:2; 1 Cor. 16:1), and straying from the Gospel of Christ. The Jewish Christians were

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 legalistically oriented, and followed the "Law." Paul, therefore, told them that they would have to choose between "law" and "faith" (Gal. 3:2). Evidently, a split developed between Paul, who presented the Gospel of salvation through faith in Christ, without the Law, and the "Judaizers" who insisted that adherence to the Law was essential to salvation. Because of Paul's desire for unity among the churches, he viewed this division as a serious crisis and emphasized that there was only one Gospel. Anyone preaching another gospel should be cursed (Gal. 1:7-9).

Those who challenged Paul's claim to apostleship seemed to consider his mission to be dependent on its recognition by the leaders at Jerusalem. Paul, then, should have to obey the dictates  
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 of Jerusalem on all matters of importance. They may also have argued that, since Paul had not lived with Jesus like the other Apostles, how could he know the true Gospel? How could he reject the traditions which the Apostles had received directly from Jesus? His antilegalism was seen as a rejection of tradition in favor of his own

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11  
 Grant, op.cit.: "The normal Jewish response, and likewise the Christian Jewish, is the still later one of the Epistle of James (2:18-26). 'Show me your faith apart from your works, and I by my works will show you my faith ... A man is justified by works and not by faith alone ... For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, so faith apart from works is dead'." p. 310.

12  
 Schlatter, op.cit., p. 170.

self-styled gospel. The question was also posed: If the people rejected righteousness according to the Law, how could Christianity endure by faith alone?<sup>13</sup> Therefore, they insisted that the Jerusalem leaders be followed and both Gospel and Law be lived. The challenge to Paul presented by these legalists had an import throughout the Galatian churches. Many rejected Paul's teaching and adopted torah observances, just like the Jerusalem Church.

Insofar as "Gospel without Law" versus "Gospel plus Law" was the basis of the division within the Galatian churches, Paul's opponents did not deny the Gospel as such.<sup>14</sup> Kerygma was of importance to them, because the original apostles believed in Jesus as Lord, in his atoning death, and in his future coming.

Paul, therefore, had to decide between his desire for unity within and among the churches, and his position on "Gospel-only." He stood for "Gospel only" and said that there was none other. In support of this stand, Paul argued that his apostleship was independent of tradition, and that both his apostleship and the word had been received from Christ (Gal. 1:1; 1:12), not through tradition.

Rejecting the adequacy of the Law for salvation, Paul said, "No man is justified before God by the Law" (Gal. 3:11) and "Law was

<sup>13</sup>

Grant, op.cit., pp. 310-311.

<sup>14</sup>

Schlatter, op.cit., p. 170.

our custodian until Christ came ... we are no longer under a custodian" (Gal. 3:24-25). By arguing against the necessity of the law, Paul also argued against the universal supremacy of the Jerusalem Church. He criticized Cephas because the latter had eaten with Gentiles, before men came from James, but then drew back and ceased to eat with the Gentiles (cf., Gal. 2:11 ff.). This appears to indicate that Paul wanted complete acceptance of the truth of the Gospel (Gal. 11:14), unmodified by the Law.<sup>15</sup>

Because the Gospel was independent of the Law on some points, such as eating with Gentiles, Paul in this episode appears to be demonstrating in his own sphere, that he was no less an authority than the great Apostle Peter. Peter's dining with Cornelius (Acts 10: 11:3) indicates that Peter did not differ with Paul on the propriety of eating with Gentiles, but that Peter respected the authority of James, whereas Paul did not. Luke wrote that "Paul and Barnabas (were) appointed to go up to Jerusalem" (Acts 15:2), but Paul said that he went to Jerusalem "by revelation", i.e., because Christ had told him to do so (Gal. 2:1-2), and not because the leaders at Jerusalem had so ordered him. Although Paul

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Cf., H. Lietzmann, A History of the Early Church, Vol. I, tr. B. L. Woolf, New York, The World Publishing Company, 1963: "Paul ... began to avoid table-fellowship with the 'unclean.' The logical result was, plainly, that the Lord's Supper could not be observed in common, and two sections of the church became distinct and separate communities." p. 108.

emphasized his independence from Jerusalem, he did not entirely rule out a relationship with the Jerusalem Church.

Why, then, did Paul openly reject the "Gospel plus law" position of the Jerusalem leaders, rather than accept its being taught for the sake of an external appearance of unity? Paul appears to have believed that without the spiritual "unity of the Gospel," which meant salvation through faith only, Christianity could not have stood on its own. If the Gospel was balanced with the Law, and Christ's redemptive power through the cross and resurrection were not seen as the only route of salvation, then Christianity would remain just a sect within Judaism. Also, through the Law, the Jews claimed their superiority as the elect by birth. This belief would have made impossible any real equality and unity through faith in Christ. Finally, if one could be saved through obedience to the Law, human pride would predominate over the grace of Christ.

Paul, therefore, appears to have believed that, in the Galatian situation, spiritual unity by faith in Christ without the Law was essential (cf., Gal. 3:14; 6:29). He strove for this spiritual unity through emphasis on his apostolic authority and on Christ's teachings. Ethical qualities were presented as being the gift of the Holy Spirit (cf., Gal. 5:1-6:10).

Paul's emphasis on the "Gospel alone" in the Galatian situation freed Christianity from being a sect of Judaism and established Christian unity as being based on "Christ alone":

There is neither Jew nor Greek,  
 There is neither slave nor free,  
 There is neither male nor female;  
 for you are all one in Christ Jesus (Gal. 3:28).

Although this attitude was essential for spiritual unity, Paul was not entirely successful in his relationship with the Jerusalem Church. Therefore, even though Paul did not entirely reject tradition, the seeds of disunity among the earliest churches were sown.

In Corinth unity was endangered by the dependence of the people upon their favourite leaders. Theological differences had developed. In this situation, Paul emphasized that Christ was the source of unity because the Church was the "body of Christ."

Therefore, in speaking to the divided Corinthians, Paul asked, "Is Christ divided?" Groups had arisen within the Church which said, respectively, "I belong to Paul" (those emphasizing the Gospel of pure faith?) "I belong to Apollos" (Christianity as wisdom?), "I belong to Cephas" (Jewish Christianity?) or, simply, "I belong to Christ." This diversity related to cultural factors, but it also related to theological factors: the reference of religious allegiances to particular teachers. Therefore, Paul explicitly disengaged himself from "the Pauline party," asking, "Was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized in the name of Paul?" (1 Cor. 1:13). Paul's point: The centre of unity is Christ and no other; his authority as crucified and risen was unique and non-transferable; no one but Christ could be the head of the Church.

Paul's explanation of the Church as "the Body of Christ" represents Christ as the center of the Church and Church unity as

comparable to that of a living organism (1 Cor. 10:16-17).

Paul's source for the conception of the Church as "body"  
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 need not detain us.

The important question is, rather, what his use of the theme tells us of his response to the crises of unity. Paul drew on the "body-of-Christ" theme in a variety of contexts, all of them parenthetic. We will consider three cases. First, he argues: "Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Cor. 10:17). Here, as the unity of the Church is wholly derived from unity with Christ, unity may have a "sociological" aspect, but it is essentially a theological category. It does not belong under the rubric "response to Christ"; rather, it creates the new rubric "Extension of Christ," and the extension is effected by participation in the Eucharist. Second, what Paul says of the Eucharist has its parallel in what he says of baptism: "For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body - Jews or Greeks, slaves or free - and all were made to drink of one Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:13). Once again, unity is conceived theologically, for it is effected sacramentally. The achievement of unity, therefore, is an instance of "become what you are." Concretely, the imperative is an imperative to bridge gulfs, to

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W.L.Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles, Cambridge, 1939: "The church as a body, of which the individuals were members, was derived from the stoic common-place of the state as a body in which each member had his part to play ... ." p. 161.



transcend differences, to live in peace and to work together without jealousy or self-seeking; and this imperative is rooted in sacramental fact. Out of the fact of baptism and the eucharist must arise a shared life:

There are many parts, yet one body. The eye cannot say to the hand, "I have no need of you," nor again the head to the feet, "I have no need of you."  
(1 Cor. 12:20-21)

Christian vocations, such as apostleship, administration, and preaching of the Word, are seen here as gifts of the Holy Spirit. There were "varieties of gifts," Paul wrote, "but the same spirit" (1 Cor. 12:4). Since the diverse vocations were all seen as gifts of the Spirit, different classes of community leaders should respect one another and work together for the community. Much of what Paul says of leadership roles within the Church correlates very well with his body-of-Christ theme. Thus:

... God has appointed in the church first apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, then healers, helpers, administrators, speakers in various kinds of tongues (1 Cor. 12:28-29).

The vocations of all these persons were seen as gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor. 12:4), and their functions were guided by the Spirit. Paul believed that all of these vocations were precisely for the sake of order in the Church.

We have been discussing Paul's response to the problem of ecclesial divisions, and we have been discussing it in the larger context of ecclesial unity as a response to Christ. The theme "the Body of Christ" stands somewhat outside the limits of the rubric "response to Christ," but it does so, as it were, by excess. The theme is not

only relevant to our larger concerns, it also illustrates the usefulness of distinguishing between particular responses within the community to its founder. The response of Paul is that of a theologian. As such, it is a response whose significance abides as a resource for the post-Pauline Church (as the Epistle to the Ephesians richly testifies).

We have already made reference to the common impulse of the New Testament writers with respect to Church unity. Now we will take up in somewhat greater detail the responses of writers other than Paul to the difficulties for unity springing from the division between Jew and Greek. These writers are the Synoptic evangelists and the unknown author of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

### 5. The Synoptics' Responses

Without pretending to break new ground, we may recall that for Mark it was in the church and specifically by common participation in the one loaf that is Christ (cf., 1 Cor. 10:17) that the antipathy of Jew and Greek was resolved and healed. In ch. 6-8 Mark offers a sequence of narratives bound together by the catchword "bread" or "loaf". The sequence, which prominently includes the two multiplications of bread, ends with the story of the disciples' crossing the Lake with Jesus:

Now they had forgotten to bring bread; and they had only one loaf with them in the boat. And he cautioned them, saying, "Take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod." And they discussed it with one another, saying, "We have no bread." And being aware of it, Jesus said to them, "Why do you

discuss the fact that you have no bread? Do you not yet perceive or understand? Are your hearts hardened? Having eyes, do you not see, and having ears, do you not hear? And do you not remember? When I broke the five loaves for the five thousand, how many baskets full of broken pieces did you take up?" They said to him, "Twelve," "And the seven for the four thousand, how many baskets full of broken pieces did you take up?" And they said to him, "Seven." And he said to them, "Do you not yet understand?" (Mk. 8:14-21).

The text is enigmatic in certain details. Why is Jesus represented as cautioning the disciples against the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod? There would seem to be some conscious play of ideas linking the "leaven" of Jesus' question with the "bread" the disciples had forgotten to bring. And why the detail that there was (after all) one loaf in the boat? Finally, what is the sense of the last questions put by Jesus.

All comes clear with the recognition that the key to the text is a set of related symbols.

That the disciples "have no bread" is refuted, in Jesus' view, by the memory of bread aplenty. But this sets us already on the plane of symbols and practically excludes a non-symbolic reading of the passage. A further observation confirms this: The final questions of Jesus imply that the riddle of bread galore vs. "no bread" is somehow resolved and illuminated not only by remembering the multiplications of bread but also by answering the question of how many baskets full of broken pieces were gathered after each occasion. These numbers are, as the text states, "twelve" and "seven." Now, we know that "twelve" has special reference, in Mark as in the rest of

the New Testament, to Israel (Mk. 3:13-19; Mt. 19:28 par.; Acts 26:7 etc.); but it should be noted that "seven" has special reference to the Gentiles (cf., the seven nations God destroyed in the land of Canaan, Acts 13:19, and the seven nations of the Gentiles which the Essenes thought God would destroy through Israel in the last great War, IOM 11:8-9). These two symbolic numbers correlate with the observation that the second multiplication of bread took place in Gentile lands ("the region of the Decapolis," Mk. 8:31). The multiplications, then, relate respectively to Jew and Greek. Jesus himself is their provider. Indeed, it is he that the "one loaf" signifies. "No bread?" On the contrary, Jesus is bread sufficient, bread of life for the whole world! Concretely, it is the Eucharistic Christ who represents this for the Church, and it is in the Church that the division of Jew and Greek is thereby broken down. The Eucharistic motifs in 6:41 and 8:6 (blessing, breaking, giving: cf., 14:22) support this reading. The "leaven" of Herod and of the Pharisees is, accordingly, to be interpreted in all probability along lines of political and racial separatism or nationalism, reinforcing the old division of Jew and Greek.

We look in vain for a comparable theme in the Gospel of Matthew. Rather than the pattern of reconciliation, in the Church, of Jew and Greek, we find the substitution of Greek for Jew:

I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the sons of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness; there men will weep and gnash their teeth (Mt. 8:11-12).

The sequence of missions is also remarkable: first, Jesus (15:24) and his disciples (10:5) are divinely sent to Israel along. Then, once risen from the dead, Jesus sends his disciples to the world of the Greek:

All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you ... (Mt. 28:18-20a).

No provision is made here for a second try with the Israel which had  
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rejected and crucified Jesus. Though some scholars see an implicit reference to Israel in the expression "non-believers" Matthew at any rate does not make the reference clear. Nevertheless, the Church which issues from the work of Jesus is in fact created around the nucleus of the Twelve, whose eschatological function was to judge "the twelve tribes of Israel" (Mt. 19:28), and who themselves were Jews. The Church is the rightful prolongation of the life of Israel. Its charter is a code of discipleship in which the torah comes to full flower. Its life is modelled on that of the Lord, so fulfilling the word of promise and prophecy which was Israel's heritage. What Matthew offers, then, is the vision of a universal Church. Israel is not excluded from it by design. But the vision reflects the harsh fact that Israel did not come into this Church.

The Lukan scheme of things similarly features the passage of salvation from the Jewish to the Greek world. It is, however, noteworthy that in the Acts of the Apostles the tensions between Jewish and

Greek Christians are explicitly narrated and their resolution emphasized. Here the response to what we have called "the major diversity" in early Christianity was unambiguously grounded in a common response to Christ; even more fundamentally, it was grounded in God's saving action in Christ. Thus, it was not the Law that had saved the Jewish Christian, and, as time showed, the Law was not so much as a prerequisite condition of this saving action. Peter speaks to the Jerusalem community about the baptism of Cornelius and his entourage:

... the Holy Spirit fell on them just as on us at the beginning. And I remembered the word of the Lord, how he said, 'John baptized with water, but you shall be baptized with the Holy Spirit.' If then God gave the same gift to them as to us when we believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, who was I that I could withstand God (Acts 11:15-17).

The entry of the Greek into the community of messianic salvation is represented by Luke as legitimized in advance by the divinely granted vision of Peter at Joppa, from which he concluded that "God shows no partiality." Thus, the opening to the world of the Greeks throws a powerful light on the economy by which the Jew was saved as well. That is, God's action and man's response are clarified in terms of "faith alone" (Acts 15:11). Perhaps this was conceived, by the first Jewish Christians who acknowledged it, as grounding a church of two "peoples" (Jew and Greek). It may be, in short, that Luke has preserved a fragment of Jerusalemite tradition in the words he attributes to James in Acts 15:14:

Symeon has related how God first visited the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name ...

What is clear, in any case, is the Synoptics' common conviction that the problems relating to unity in the Church are not grounded in the will of God but are obstacles to God's will and are to be dealt with as such; that the division of Jew and Greek in the Church is just such an obstacle; that the victory of unity over division is comprehended in the action of God saving and sustaining the Church; that the Church's own effort to heal divisions and find solutions is no mere social instinct but precisely response to the saving action of God.

#### 6. The Response of the Epistle to the Ephesians

The situation to which the Epistle to the Ephesians is addressed seems to be an atmosphere of Gentile Christian indifference to Jewish Christianity. This is the reverse of the problem which Paul faced, and yet Paul himself glimpsed it in the Epistle to the Romans, where he warned Gentile believers not "to boast", and told them "do not become proud, but stand in awe" (11:20).

Ephesians seeks to recover the moment of wonder that even the Greek had been saved. Once the problem had been to win a place in the Church for the Greek. Now it was to keep a place for the Jew. The tack taken by the writer is to recall the course of the Greek from his origins in the darkness of idolatry to his entry into the light of Israel's heritage:

And you be made alive, when you were dead through the trespasses and sins in which you once walked, following the course of this world, following the prince of the

power of the air, the spirit that is now at work in the sons of disobedience ... Therefore remember that at one time you Gentiles in the flesh, called the uncircumcision by what is called the circumcision, which is made in the flesh by hands - remember that you were at that time separated from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world (2:1-2; 11-12).

God's solution to the division of Jew and Greek had been the Secret kept through the ages until the fullness of time. But now the Secret is cried out from the housetops: Christ had died for all men "and you who once were far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ" (2:13). Therefore Christ "is our peace, who has made us both one and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility" (2:14). The economy of "the Secret that is Christ" is one of unity in salvation. Jew and Greek alike live in and by the body of Christ and as co-sharers of the promised Spirit (3:6).

The significant point is that, though the roles are changed, Jew and Greek are once again summoned to unity in Christ as response to Christ. The theme of unity is therefore seen in a theological perspective. Our contention that, in the self-understanding of early Christianity, the very being of the community relates to its founder as a response to a call, is verified in all the relevant sources from the earliest to the latest. (Ephesians probably dates from the 80's of the first century, and thus belongs to the later letters of the epistolary corpus attributed to Paul.) In the most generic sense of "structure", the structure of Christianity is, by its own testimony and in its own self-understanding, the result of a response to its founder.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE AUTHORITY OF DISCIPLINARY DECISIONS IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The treatment of this chapter has been so conceived as to provide materials from early Christianity for comparative study with early Buddhism, since it is with respect to this issue that similarities and dissimilarities become readily apparent, while in the previous ones, although quite as important, they lie somewhat beneath the surface. Hence the choice of the topic "the community's discipline"; here we find material for ready comparison. But, we are also concerned to settle on comparative materials susceptible of treatment in terms of our basic inquiry: the relation of the community to its founder as conceived by the community itself (or, as expressed in the community's own self-understanding). Hence the precise question determining how we will deal with this material: "What is the authority of early Christian discipline?" Insofar as, in the early Christian self-understanding, the authority for disciplinary arrangements is Christ himself, the whole question of discipline is situated in the context of the "response to the founder."

Now, we will deal with "discipline" in two ways: (a) as a total set of arrangements which define a life style and (b) as a set of particular decisions made to meet ad hoc problems. As we are concerned

with "the authority" which stands behind disciplinary arrangements, particular disciplinary decisions should prove to be especially helpful: Decision-makers imposing some disciplinary decrees are usually called on to offer a justification for it. Thus, we learn what "warrants" are held in honour by the community.

To discuss discipline in the first sense, we shall examine Mt. 5; Mt. 18; Acts 5; 1 Cor. 5-6. In the second sense, special and important disciplinary cases appear in Acts 15: 12-29; 1 Cor. 7:10-16.

### 1. Life Style

Matthew 5 presents a code of discipleship. Is this the equivalent of an ecclesial discipline characterizing the life style of the Matthean Church? First of all, it would seem that there are here no specific "rules for discipline", such as excommunication. We do find, however, a variety of references to concrete particulars (monogamous marriage, prohibition of oaths, etc.) as well as the general principle that "not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the law" and the proclamation that Jesus himself has come "not to abolish" but "to fulfill" (plerossai) the law and the prophets (5:17-18). There is a genuine "discipline" being spelled out in Mt. 5, evidently because the Church is the real audience of the Sermon, and the Church is considered to be, not a conglomeration of individuals, but a community of saints. Thus, the "discipline" of the Matthean Church embraces

every topic occurring in the Sermon, and the whole of this discipline is presented as charged with the authority of Christ.

Let us pause to consider some aspects of this life-style. It is a life oriented toward interior and secret piety as conditioning entry into the Kingdom. For achieving self-discipline, Matthew evidently believed that the torah was compatible with the Christian faith. Jesus said that he had come "not to abolish ... but to fulfill" the law and the prophets (Mt. 5:17), and: "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the Kingdom of Heaven" (Mt. 5:20). This appears to present the torah as basic to the direction taken by the Church, and Jesus as the true interpreter of the torah. But more than interpreter, he is also the proclaimer of the torah brought to its completion.

Christ as the "fulfiller" of the Law defines a new righteousness as the condition of entry into the kingdom; for "fulfiller" here means "filler full." It is Christ who brings the torah to its divinely appointed fullness or measure of perfection.<sup>1</sup> The Matthean Christ, then, asked that Christians should not only obey the prescriptions forbidding lying, murder, and adultery, but also transcend them by not even thinking about such acts. For example, he said:

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<sup>1</sup>  
J. Jeremias, New Testament Theology. The Proclamation of Jesus, New York: Scribners, 1971, "The concluding revelation," pp. 82-85.

You have heard ... 'You shall not kill'; ... But I say to you that every one who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment. You have heard ... 'You shall not commit adultery.' But I say to you that every one who looks at a woman lustfully has already committed adultery with her in this heart. (Mt. 5:21-28)

Positively, Christ promoted the development of individual moral perfection, to be sought through a saintly life style modelled after God's perfection. He strongly emphasized such virtues as "purity in heart," holiness, humility, honesty, sincerity, love of one's neighbour, and love even of one's enemies. He called upon his followers to "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven" (Mt. 5:16).

These passages may be interpreted as indicating first, that religious discipline was based on believing discipleship by which the disciple accepted the completed torah, and second, that sanctification through inner discipline was more dependent on moral purity rather than on ritual practices (e.g., Mt. 5:23-26). They indicate, moreover, that discipline was inwardly directed, rather than consisting of conformity to legalistic rules imposed and enforced by the community. Righteousness was seen as derived, not from the Law, but from the response of faith in Christ. This faith was directed toward the seeking of God's kingdom. It required repentance, recreation, divine orientation, and God's forgiveness.

The life style required by Christian discipline, as presented by Matthew, was divinely oriented and characterized by a piety that concealed its asceticism (Mr. 6:1-6, 16-18). It was a rigorous life style, requiring renunciation, in which individual acts were set in the social context of the believing community. Discipline was Church discipline, as both the Gospels and New Testament letters testify. Its rigour was intended to bring about an orderly and pure community with high standards, one made up of persons responding to an eschatological call.

The discipline implied in the Gospel of Matthew does not seem to have remained sufficient for the needs of the growing community. As its membership increased, specific disciplinary regulations came into being, motivated by a certain communitarian self-understanding. It was necessary for the sanctity of the community that the incorrigible sinner be excluded. Matthew presents Jesus as having asserted that the divine authority of "binding and loosing," belonged to the Apostles.<sup>3</sup> Historical critique (the question of to whom Jesus gave this authority) is not the issue here. For our purposes we may note simply that the origin of this disciplinary authority was attributed to Jesus by the early disciples, for the sake of a sanctified and united community.

Perhaps we should discuss, at this point, two repeatedly observable phenomena relevant to early Christian discipline, which require explanation: "unhistorical attribution" and "chain of command."

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<sup>3</sup>  
Ch. 18 is directed to community leaders, not to the community as such. Cf., J. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 238.

By "unhistorical attribution" we refer to the readiness of the Christian community to attribute to Jesus disciplinary dispositions which historical critique assigns to early Palestinian Jewish Christian communities. Chapter 18 is an example:

In the first place it is improbable that Jesus should have given detailed instructions for church discipline to be observed in the post-Easter community, and v. 17c.

"let him be to you as a Gentile and a tax collector" seems strange on the lips of one who sought out precisely the company of tax collectors and sinners; secondly, from the standpoint of literary criticism, the comparison with Lk. 17:3 f. shows that the logion preserved there in its original form -- which merely gave point to the duty of forgiveness in personal relationships -- has been recast in Mt. 10:15-17 to become, in secondary fashion, an instruction on the disciplinary treatment of sinful members of the community.<sup>4</sup>

It is evident that the discipline of the community has been conceived as charged with the authority of Christ. What does this tell us of the self-understanding of those unknown Christians who made this kind of connection? It tells us that Jesus was taken to be the all-sufficient and exclusive source of Christian life. For Jesus was not only the God-given model of the Church and the spokesman divinely authorized to define God's will for Christians, but he was uniquely those things. Everything which, for whatever reason or from whatever source, seemed to point out the right way to the Church was therefore spontaneously considered to derive somehow from him: "for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must

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C. H. Hunziger, Judisches Erbe in der urchristlichen Kirchenzucht (unpublished, Habilitationsschrift) Göttingen, 1955, Part III, pp. 3-5.

be saved" (Acts 4:12). "Unhistorical attribution" is accordingly a precious index to the self-understanding of the earliest Church as enshrined in its disciplinary code.

The "chain of command" indicates a second important facet of this self-understanding. More proximate sources of authority were either reduced to the authority of Jesus, as we have just seen, or they were grounded in that authority on the principle that,

He who hears you hears me  
and he who rejects you rejects me,  
and he who rejects me  
rejects him who sent me (Lk. 10:16).

Thus three points emerge with clarity: (1) the authority of those who functioned as leaders in the Church was an authority derived from Christ; (2) the authority of Christ was, however, not absolute or ultimate, but was itself derived from God the Father; (3) these derivations were such that, in the case of Christ as in the case of those whom he commissioned, no less an authority than that of God himself was operative. This correlates well with the total "economy" of salvation presupposed in early Christian life. Prayer, for example, was directed to God the Father. In Christian thought the call to salvation originated with the Father; the scheme of history was defined by his "sending" Moses and the prophets and, climactically, the Son; and numerous titles (such as "saviour") fundamentally belonging to the Father were bestowed on Christ precisely insofar as he was conceived to be the Father's chosen instrument. In this way the "chain of command" situates the discipline of early Christian communities in an explicitly "theological" or "God-the-Father-centered" context.

Now we may consider the style of life and thought implied by the discipline of "binding and loosing."<sup>5</sup>

The authority of "binding and loosing," as expressed in the Semitic languages, was authority to prohibit and to allow, to reject and to accept, to condemn and to acquit. The rabbis claimed the power to bind and to loose, especially in the sense of making decisions on how the Law was binding and on what it permitted. In the New Testament "binding and loosing" is Christ-centered. It takes its meaning from the New Testament conception of the mission of Christ. The authority which the Gospel of Matthew represents as given to the Apostles includes, it would seem, all the senses of "binding and loosing": the power to declare what is prohibited and what is allowed, to admit into the community and to exclude from it, and (in close accord with the latter function) to mediate the forgiveness of sins (Cf., Acts on baptism) in the now of the Church's life. It is difficult, at any rate, to find the point at which "binding and loosing" in Matthew is limited. Thus, in some sense the reign of God entered the world through Christ's grace and power. As expressed in John 20:22-23, the Apostles are armed with the Holy Spirit: "Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." The authority of the disciples, then, was expressed in terms of the gift of Christ, namely, the Holy Spirit. The words of Christ, as recorded in Matthew 18:20 ("Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them") indicate that the



authority of judgment, of forgiveness, and of excommunication was exercised in the name of Christ, and was based upon Jesus' authority to forgive sins (Mk. 2:5-10). This maximalist reading of the text we propose as probable.

Acts 5:1-11 is the story of Ananias and his wife Sapphira, members of the Jerusalem community who pretended to give the total proceeds from a property sale to the community, while actually holding back on part of the money. They were condemned by Peter, and they died as punishment. What does this episode tell us of early Christian discipline and of the self-understanding implied by it?

The Ananias and Sapphira affair offers us privileged access to the idealism of early Christian discipline. In the restored community of Israel, no one was to be poor (Deut. 15:4), for his brother would open his hand to him (cf., Deut. 15:8) in a practical living out of the precept of love of the neighbour as of oneself.<sup>6</sup> This ideal is reflected particularly in the story of the rich young man, the Matthean form of which betrays a specific Sitz im Leben, namely the test of those petitioning entry into a Palestinian Christian Community.<sup>7</sup> "Community of goods" (in some less than absolute form, cf., Acts 5:4) is thus made to derive from Jesus himself as guide to the

<sup>6</sup> J. Schmitt, "L'organisation de l'église primitive et Qumran" La secte de Qumran et les origines du christianisme (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959) 217-231; p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> Cf., Schmitt, art. cit. 228-230. Cp. IOS 1.

"way" variously described as the way to "life" (Mt. 19:16 f.) and as the "perfect" way (Mt. 19:21).<sup>8</sup> Once again we meet the early Christian trait of tracing communitarian idealism and practice back to the authoritative word of Christ.

Let us next discuss the life style in the Pauline Church and its relationship to the authority of Christ. Generally, Paul seems to have emphasized that divine discipline consisted of two aspects, namely, baptismal and external discipline. The aim of both aspects was to develop the Church as the body of Christ, i.e., as a community of the purified, with an eschatological outlook. This discipline included an element of asceticism, but did not call for renunciation of life in the world. Thus the discipline appears to have reflected the spirit of Jesus (cf., 2 Cor. 6:14). Loyalty to the authority of Christ as the head of the community was of paramount importance.

Baptismal discipline was inner discipline. It consisted of living in a new spirit as part of Christ's body, to bear "the fruit of the spirit" (Gal. 5:22-23), and to practice moral behavior (cf., 1 Thess. 4:1-12). This means that the Holy Spirit dwelt within the Church through the discipline of the members, who repented and were sanctified by faith. Their loyalty to Christ through the Holy Spirit required them to live according to a high moral standard, and to maintain their purity of life. Baptismal discipline, therefore, was Christological and divinely-oriented rather than being a purely human discipline.

Although this inner, baptismal discipline was of fundamental importance in the Pauline Church, outer, or communal, discipline became necessary as increasing membership brought with it increasing problems of disunity and unethical conduct.

Evidently, Paul imposed an outer discipline, consisting of prohibitory rules, and enforced them through the penalty of excommunication,<sup>9</sup> as did the synagogue (1 Cor. 16:22; Gal. 1:8). Paul used the primary laws from Jewish tradition as the basic framework of his discipline. He developed modifications, however, in the light of Christ's teachings. Numerous pragmatic considerations, moreover, are evident in his instructions.

We might consider the Pauline style of communitarian discipline in two examples provided by 1 Corinthians.

In 1 Cor. 5:1-15, we find Paul urging that gross sinners such as the man "living with his father's wife" be excommunicated for the sake of the purity of the fellowship. If a member was judged to have sinned, the Church could decide, through the divine power of the Holy Spirit, whether to excommunicate him or whether to accept his confession and repentance before the assembly.<sup>10</sup> Paul's words, "Shall I come to you with a rod ..." (1 Cor. 4:21), are indicative of Apostolic authority. This authority was based fundamentally on the Spirit, and was practiced as the sacred Law of God by charismatic individuals such as Paul.

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A. Schlatter, The Church in the New Testament Period, tr. Paul P. Levertoff, London, 1961, pp. 179-180.

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E. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol. II, New York, 1951 (reprinted 1955), p. 233.

The excommunication of sinners (1 Cor. 16:22; Gal. 1:8) followed the practice of the synogue, which was based on the commandment in Deuteronomy 17:7, "So shall you purge the evil from the midst of you." Of the man living with his father's wife (1 Cor. 5:1 ff.) Paul said that the community should "deliver him to Satan" that, at the last day, his spirit might be saved.

Paul specifically told the Corinthian Christians to refrain from disputes before secular tribunals (1 Cor. 6:1-8) because he knew<sup>11</sup> that traditionally "Greeks love to go to law." This injunction appears to be related to the practice among the communities of the Jewish Diaspora of deciding disputes among their members before their own forum. Paul believed that the response of the Church, as a community of saints, to Christ, should lead its members into a higher order of ethical practices than that of the secular community. Consequently, he felt that it would bring shame upon the Christian community if its members were judged by outsiders. Moreover, the Christian community, being instructed by the words of Christ through the Spirit, should be qualified to judge not only its own, but also non-Christians, and even angels (1 Cor. 7:25, 40; 14:37). By Christian standards, the judgments reached by non-Christians might be unjust.

Paul himself does not here make explicit the grounds on which he instructs his community. He seems to expect that the community

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A. Schlatter, op.cit., p. 180.

he writes to will itself perceive the incoherence with Christian life and ideals of the stand opposite his own. The situation, that is, speaks of itself against the incestuous man and against public litigation. At the same time it is clear that Paul speaks with authority. In 1 Cor. 2:1-16 this is "pneumatic" authority, and in 1 Cor. 7:40 he says: "And I think I have the Spirit of God." Such charismatic gifts should not, however, be artificially separated from Paul's authority precisely as an "apostle" (9:1-7), as one divinely sent to bring men to the obedience of faith. In the end, this is Paul's final word about himself as it is the first word in his letters (Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 1:1; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:1; etc.).

## 2. Test Cases of Discipline

It is clear that the authority of the Apostolic Decree recorded in Acts 15 (cf., Acts 21:25) is divine. True, it represented the consensus of the community. But this must be balanced by the extraordinary word of James: "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" (Acts 15:28). The authority of the decree may correctly be regarded as "communitarian" and "Apostolic" and "pneumatic." Indeed, these are concretely one.

As presented in Acts 15:29, the Apostolic Decree required Christians "to abstain from what has been sacrificed to idols, and from blood and from what is strangled, and from unchastity." These rules were derived primarily from the Old Testament Holiness Code,

recorded in Leviticus 17:18-13; 18:1; 26 and in Genesis 9:4-6.

The prohibition against eating food which had been offered to pagan idols did not, then, originate with Jesus. The disciples who followed Jesus during his earthly life were Jews, who had not been faced with this decision. This problem arose later after Gentiles joined the Christian community. J. Dupont comments:

... of all the laws of purity James wished (Gentile Christians) to retain only those whose religious significance seemed universal: the eating of meat offered to idols involved a certain participation in sacrilegious cult (Cf., 1 Cor. 8-10). Concretely, blood is life and this belongs to God alone. Hence the Law's prohibition concerning it (Cf., Gen. 9:4; Lev. 17:10-14) was of such a character as to explain the repugnance of the Jew toward dispersing Gentiles from it. The meat of strangled animals is an analogous case. Irregular marriage unions figure in the present context in virtue not of morals but of legal purity.<sup>12</sup>

It is significant that the Apostolic Decree presented by James maintained the tradition of "binding and loosing" precisely in terms of the Holy Spirit. James, in presenting these decrees, attributed them to the judgment of "the Holy Spirit and [of] us." It is clear that the decision was authorized, in the Christian view, by divine discernment and authority. In short, the words, "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" appear to say that the Spirit transcends individuals and rules, and that the decisions of the Council expressed this. Ultimately, it was Christ who rules as Lord and head and who was the chief author of the decisions, for ultimately it was he who sent -- or rather "poured out" -- the Spirit on the community (Acts 2:33).

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<sup>12</sup> See Chapter III, footnote 9, this work.

In 1 Corinthians 7:10, Paul gave the Corinthian Church disciplinary instructions concerned with marriage, saying "I give charge, not I but the Lord." There followed a prohibition of divorce and remarriage. Now, this is presented, not as Paul's own idea, but no doubt on the basis of Christ's commandment: "What ... God has joined together, let not man put asunder" (Mk. 10:9), and his statement that "every one who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery" (Lk. 16:18; Mt. 19:9). Paul's instruction indicates that the words of Christ were remembered as authoritative. In form the words "not I but the Lord" recall the Septuagint and the torah. Jesus' prohibition of divorce (Mk. 10:11 ff.; Mt. 5:32; 19:9; Luke 16:18) completed and perfected the torah, but in a way which practically repealed it, for according to the torah a husband could divorce his wife on his own volition (Deut. 24:1).<sup>13</sup> Thus the authority of Christ as the basis of the discipline is here explicit in Paul.<sup>14</sup> He evidently established the basis of the prohibition to prevent anyone from contesting it in a community where sexual immorality and a devalued attitude toward marriage had led to problems concerned with divorce.

In discussing mixed marriages, on the other hand, Paul wrote, "To the rest I say, not the Lord ... " (1 Cor. 7:12). Here it appears that Paul imposed rules through his own authority, as well as transmitting those proclaimed by Jesus. This distinction, and the fact that

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Jeremias, op.cit., p. 10.

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Cf., D. L. Duncan, The Sayings of Jesus in the Churches of Paul, Philadelphia, pp. 81-93.

Paul himself made this distinction, are important. The question arises as to whether the authority by which Paul made such rules was "apostolic" and "theological" or merely human and "sociological." The answer must be the former alternative. For, what did Paul do in making this rule but extend the spirit of Jesus' teachings to a situation not specifically covered by the words of Jesus himself? The rule was imposed by Paul in the context of divine authority, through carefully distinguishing the words of Jesus from the word by which the Holy Spirit guided the Church: "I have no command of the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy" (1 Cor. 7:25).

An example of Paul's pragmatic attitude is seen in his position on mixed marriages and divorce. Ideally, in the light of Jesus' teaching, there should be no divorce. However, Paul said that if the non-Christian member of a mixed marriage wanted a divorce, the couple could separate. Otherwise, the ensuing strife and ill-will could adversely affect family life and the faith of the Christian partner, and might spread to become a disruptive influence in the congregation. Paul wanted to apply the basic principles of Jesus' teaching in relation to the exigencies of the actual situation, in order to foster peace and unity within the Church.

In conclusion, it will hardly be amiss to summarize and to offer complementary reflections on the authority of early Christian discipline.

"Unhistorical attribution" to Jesus himself of particulars in the early Christian life style shows that what counted for the first Christians was not so much the New Testament Church's memory of Jesus



as its present possession of the Spirit.

The "chain of command" motif situates early Christian discipline in an explicitly theological context. At the same time it is clear from Paul that there was some point in distinguishing a Word of the Lord himself and a word of Church leaders.

It should now be clear that the purposes of early Christian discipline were unequivocally religious. A first purpose was the unity and purity of the Church community as it came under challenge and strain, first in the transition from the pre-paschal discipleship of Jesus to the Easter Church, and then in the transition from torah culture to the Gentile culture of the Mediterranean basin. It should further be borne in mind that the discipline of the early Church was a part of "the obedience of faith" and thus retained its prophetic character even as it came to terms with new particular problems.

Lastly, we should remark that the New Testament Church's conception of the moral life of man is ultimately irreducible to matters of Church discipline. Thus, Matthew's Gospel teaches that the eschatological destiny of mankind finally hinges on the service of one's neighbour in such wise that the saved and the damned will be equally astonished on the day of judgment that all their lives they had dealt with an anonymous Lord. "Lord, when did we see thee hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison ...?" The final answer is: "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me" (Matt. 25:31-46).

**PART III**

**COMPARATIVE STUDY**



## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages we have been studying the very early beginnings of Buddhism and Christianity, up to about a hundred years in each case, in terms of three specific and distinct aspects of both religions, viz., the authority of the founder, the community, and the discipline. In each case we have been aided by the respective scriptures which record them within the bounds of uncertainties which, due to the imperfections of historical and literary critical study, still persist, a situation which is even more true of the Buddhist texts than the Christian. Such a special investigation seems to be warranted because of both striking similarities and dissimilarities. It need not be demonstrated that Buddhism and Christianity are two of the greatest of the world religions and the first two to claim global and universal allegiance and that a comparison of the two at this basic level is somehow in order.

So far we have been noting both the points in common and the points of difference. What we have noted leads us to point out an important religious phenomenon, namely that there are two great missionary world-religions, taking their origin from two of the greatest spiritual figures in world history, with many parallel ideas of ethics, communitarian structure and life-style, which manifest striking

similarities in secondary characteristics although the primary source would appear to be vastly different. That such a significant phenomenon lies here is the thesis which is being worked out in these pages. Not a few similar traits appearing in two widely different religions which arose in two different areas of the world, in time removed from each other by about five hundred years, are enough to make a research worker stop and look closer. But as one looks closer, one also sees that the headwaters of each stream are very different from the other, revealing very different spiritual worlds. The results of the investigation have been appropriately distributed, according to a scheme, in the foregoing pages. We may now do no more than summarize and focus the important issues already dealt with.

### 1. The Authority of the Two Founders

In comparing early Buddhism and early Christianity we must first concentrate on the question of authority, which naturally calls for a comparison of the authority of the respective founders.

As understood by the first Christians the basis of Jesus' authority was the fact of the Resurrection. Jesus' authority was heteronomously oriented, being above the Law and equivalent to that of God himself. His disciples accepted his authority through faith. The authority of the Buddha, in contrast, was based on doctrine (dharma) and on his own position as a law-giver. His authority was autonomously oriented, with no claim to be divine. It was accepted by his disciples through wisdom.

Let us now compare the divine-heteronomous, faith-oriented authority of Christ with the human-autonomous, wisdom-oriented authority of the Buddha. Jesus' authority was based on the belief entertained by the disciples that as Christ he was the Son of God who had risen from the dead and who was Lord of all things. The authority of the founder as the risen one had to be accepted by faith rather than by reason. The disciples' experience of the risen Christ is transcendent of reason in nature. The Christian scriptural documents say that it was initiated by Christ and accepted by his followers. Christ's divine authority as expressed through such acts as his healing the sick and raising the dead had to be accepted by faith.

Jesus' earthly life was held to be consistent with his divine nature, as indicated by his teaching, his performance of miracles, his casting out of demons. Therefore, the kerygma - his life, death, and resurrection - had to be accepted primarily through faith rather than through analytical knowledge; they did not belong, essentially, to the realm of reason. Because such events as the miracles and the resurrection could be accepted only through faith, not through reason, the establishment of Christianity depended upon divinely revealed authority. The developing kerygma of the resurrection of Jesus provided the basis for his authority in the earliest understanding of the disciples. It was necessary for Christ's disciples to receive him through the "confessional formula." Christ's messianic authority was not like that of the Buddha who taught dharma. His authority differed in that he was above the laws and teaching, having equal

authority with God himself. Briefly speaking, the authority of Jesus had, in the understanding of the disciples, the following constitutive parts: The belief that Jesus rose from the dead was obviously the most fundamental, as already observed, and it was based not on any rational analysis but on faith. There was the belief that Jesus was the saviour of Israel which was based on Jewish theocratic politics, involving the kingship of the Messiah - this was a very basic notion. There was the acceptance of the authority of Jesus as the teacher - Rabbi. The Church combined the authority of Christ, with the Old Testament model for it, viz., the Servant of Yahweh; it also combined it with the laws of Moses - not to annul but to fulfill. Further the Church looked upon Jesus as the one sent by God to found the Kingdom; accordingly his authority was exercised in both teaching and action, and hence superior to that of the teachers and prophets, and carrying with it the "royal power," the power to cast out demons.

The Buddha's authority, by contrast, was fundamentally dependent on the dharma-vinaya, which consisted of universal principles which he had discovered through his experience of enlightenment (wisdom); divinity was not a factor at all. One led by "knowingeyes" attained nirvāṇa through wisdom, with no one else's help. By following this pattern, the

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<sup>1</sup>  
Sāmyutta-Nikāya, (Kindred Sayings) op.cit., Part I: "This Norm (dharma) then, wherein I (Buddha) am supremely enlightened - what if I were to live under it, paying it honour and respect!" p. 175.

Buddha's disciples attained the power to live according to dharma strictly through their own efforts. The Buddha's personal authority was secondary to that of dharma, although his disciples were dependent upon his teaching (dharma-vinaya) in order to reach their ultimate goal. Their faith differed from that of Christ's disciples in that it was based on understanding (initially faith and later wisdom). The sūtra thus requires "entering by faith and attaining<sup>2</sup> by wisdom."

The existence of dharma was independent of the Buddha. The Buddha was respected because he was fully enlightened; that is, the Buddha's followers respected him because they respected dharma, and he had attained dharma and exemplified it. A sūtra says, "For us,<sup>3</sup> Lord, these things have the Exalted One as their guide, their resort." This passage implies the feeling among the Buddha's disciples that if there were no Buddha, the dharma could not be present. Also, they<sup>4</sup> were dependent upon the Buddha in order to understand dharma, and

<sup>2</sup> Ta-chih-tu-lun [Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra], Taisho, vol. 25, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Samyutta-Nikāya, (Kindred Sayings) op.cit., Part II, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Majjhima-Nikāya, (Middle Length Sayings) op.cit., Vol. 1, 317: "For us, Lord, things (dharma) are rooted in the Lord for their conduit, the Lord for their arbiter." p. 379.

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therefore had faith in the person of the Buddha. This faith in the Buddha, however, differed from faith in Christ in that the Buddha was not himself the end but only the means to dharma, whereas Christ was understood by the first Christians to be the end itself.

During the Buddha's lifetime, his disciples were dependent on his personality for the development of the community. After his death, the dharma-vinaya was emphasized as the ultimate authority of the community. The Buddha's teachings were accepted not through divine faith but through rational analysis. They could be experienced through wisdom.

The Buddha said that the truth was not hidden from the diligent seeker. Each disciple could learn the dharma through his own efforts. Therefore, the earliest disciples did not lay primary emphasis on faith in the Buddha himself, but stressed instead the understanding of his teachings (law and discipline) and the practice of these teachings for the purpose of attaining nirvāṇa through one's own efforts.

Why did the Buddha's disciples obey the discipline? Their position was not like that of the Christians, who were dependent on the

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Suttanipāṭa, (A Collection of Discourses) op.cit.: "Thou hast passed to the end of and beyond pain, thou art a saint, perfectly enlightened, I consider thee one that has destroyed his passions, thou art glorious, thoughtful, of great understanding, O thou who puts an end to pain, thou has carried me across." P. 93. Cf., Keith: "he (Buddha) is the finder of the way, who taught the saving texts, and founded the order within whose bosom alone is sainthood to be won." p. 133. Kitagawa, op.cit.; "Not only was he the discoverer of the central doctrine, the one who has lived it and reached the goal." p. 175.



divine authority of Jesus and had absolute faith in him. The Buddhists' obedience was not a heteronomous response to the duty imposed by God, but, instead, was practised primarily for the liberation of each individual. Autonomy was emphasized - the Buddha and communal faith were secondary. The heteronomous, "other-power" oriented authority of Christianity, and the autonomous, "self-power" oriented authority of Buddhism, led to soteriological differences. A comparison of the following episodes provides contrasting pictures of the soteriological authority of the Buddha and Christ.

According to the "mustard seed story," Gautami, a woman, brought her dead boy to the Buddha and begged him for help. The Buddha did not use a miracle to raise the boy from the dead but said:

You did well, Gautami, in coming hither for medicine. Go enter the city, make the rounds of the entire city, beginning at the beginning and in whatever house no one has ever died, from that house fetch tiny grains of mustard seed.<sup>6</sup>

Gautami had faith in the Buddha, and visited every house in the city, but she could find no house in which no one had ever died. So she realized that death had not come only to her family but everybody was subject to it. Thus her sorrow was relieved and she laid her son away in the burial ground. She sought to become a disciple of the Buddha and was accepted by him.

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E. A. Burtt, The Teaching of the Compassionate Buddha, New York, 1965, p. 115.

When Jesus heard that a ruler's daughter had died he said, "Do not fear, only believe, and she shall be well." He came to the ruler's home and said, "Do not weep, for she is not dead but sleeping." They laughed at him, knowing that she was dead. But, taking her by the hand he called, saying "child arise", and her spirit returned and her parents were amazed.<sup>7</sup>

The "mustard seed story" tells us that Buddha as the great teacher did not use miracles to give life back to the dead child or to solve the problem of the woman's heavy heart. Instead, he made her solve the problem of death through her reason and her psychological experience of impermanency of human life, and thereby freed her from anxiety over death and converted her to be his disciple. That means that he was regarded as a teacher whose wisdom was superior to that of others, but he was not looked upon as God. Therefore, he did not use miracles. It was a rational trust, neither absolute faith in him nor trust in divine authority, that he asked of his disciples.

The story of Jesus differs from that of the Buddha. Jesus was the Son of God and also had absolute divine authority. Thus he invited belief in himself, and raised the dead child through a miracle. He demonstrated his power to win even over death. Christ's authority was divine, as creator and redeemer, because of his miracles, and the resurrection, and his authoritative teaching. The New Testament

<sup>7</sup>  
Luke 8:49. —

presents Jesus' Messianic authority as being his own, in his God-appointed capacity accepted through faith by his disciples. The Buddha's authority was not considered divine by his disciples, although it was regarded above that of gods or other men. Hence the authority is abstract in character - that of the Truth (dharma) itself. He rejected the concept of the creation of the world or the immortal soul. He was a redeemer through his soteriological doctrine, but this does not imply that people were expected to be saved through him. Instead, they saved themselves by following his soteriological doctrine (dharma) and his examples through wisdom.

The Buddha's teachings (law and disciplines) were also akin to basically universal moral principles, "stopping evil, doing good,"<sup>8</sup> although they did not form the core of the teaching. They provided a moral foundation for the requisite discipline for the goal of liberation in nirvāṇa. The Buddha and his disciples did not seek nirvāṇa through the help of any extraneous power. Rather, through wisdom, meditation, and the practice of moral discipline they sought their own liberation.

Christianity depended on the authority of Christ, which was the foundation of its faith. Without faith in the crucifixion and the resurrection of Christ, there could be no salvation - so the early Christians held. Faith in Christ was primary; moral perfection was dependent on it.

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Dhammapada: "An evil deed is better left undone, ... a good deed is better done, ..." 314, p. 48.

In Buddhism, in contrast, faith in the Buddha himself was not primary, the emphasis was on understanding his teaching and on the practices of meditation and moral discipline. Moral perfection was of primary importance for the liberation which the Buddha exemplified. Thus the sources of Buddhist wisdom and Christian belief are very different. In early Buddhism prayer was never addressed to the Buddha, nor for that matter to any god who controls human destiny. Buddhists do not ask gods for grace, but instead, seek inner self-enlightenment through meditation and moral discipline. Christianity has an essential orientation towards God so that man as a sinner needs God's forgiveness through his faith for salvation. Buddhism, to the extent that it does not consider any idea or original condition of human existence, takes no account of the conception of sin. It proceeds from the framework of the actuality of human life alone and seeks a path of liberation entirely within its boundaries. It implies no notion of restoration; nirvāṇa is not restoration but beyond it. Liberation is dependent on introspection, in which one destroys and frees himself from ignorance (avidyā), (avijñā) and desire (trsnā), (tanha). One's mind and consciousness permit one to reach the final solution. The Buddhist, therefore, is not dependent on a god or gods.

The dualism of good and evil is basic to Christianity and not basic to Buddhism. This difference has great consequences for the idea of the founders' authority in early Christianity and in early Buddhism respectively. The demons spoken of in Christianity may be

contrasted with Mara of Buddhism. The demon of Christianity can be described as an evil power in the universe, opposed to God and control-line the world. It is destroyed by Christ. The early Christians recognized Christ's authority even over the demons. Mara, in contrast, is seen as a psychological temptation which arises within the individual as an expression of his inner psyche, interfering with his practice of moral discipline.

The Buddha's authority is related to enlightenment; the understanding of dharma is of primary importance. Christ's authority, in contrast, is related to faith. Christ, therefore, was hailed as the God-man, whereas the Buddha was the dharma-man. As the above discussions have indicated, there were indeed certain similarities between early Buddhism and Christianity. The disciples in both communities regarded the founders as great persons in relation to soteriology. The teachings of both founders, and the communities they gathered, became the power of their respective movements. Therefore, it would be very difficult to discuss discipline in these communities without considering the authority of their respective founders.

The authority of both founders was soteriologically oriented. The basic difference is that Christ's authority was his own, and his followers believed in him, whereas the Buddha used dharma and taught that one could save himself through enlightenment by following the Buddha's own example.

The Buddha's soteriological objective was nirvāṇa, "the ultimate peace"; Christ's was "the Kingdom of Heaven" or "the everlasting life."

The orientation of Christian discipline is largely historical in context, whereas Buddhist discipline is universally oriented.

These two religions are similar in that both founders had authority as soteriological, historical personalities. In both, the disciples were dependent upon the personality of the founder. Both developed as universal religions. The Buddha and Christ were independent teachers, although they were spiritual Kings. Their leaderships were unique in history. Christ differed from other prophets in the Judaic tradition, in that whereas his predecessors had presented themselves as servants of God who transmitted God's own words, Christ claimed to be the Son of God and the Messiah, and to have divine nature like that of God himself through his resurrection. Unlike the prophets, he proclaimed laws on his own authority as the creator of Law. No prophet or priest had claimed, like Christ, to be equal to God.

The Buddha had a powerful personality which was not regarded as divine in the early tradition. In the Hindu tradition, teachers, priests, and gods had not been sharply distinguished. Some humans had been in part priests but had also been, themselves, the objects of prayer and divine worship. Other gods had not been historical personalities; rather, they were powers of cosmic existence. The sages of Brahmanism had taught the secrets of Reality as hidden truth, but, unlike the Buddha, they had not taught with personal authority, and none had become the founder or leader of a religion.

Judaism differed from Brahmanism in that none of its historical personalities had been considered divine. Both traditions were alike,

however, in that their historical personalities had spoken as teachers. No personality in either case had had the unique authority like that of the Buddha, or had claimed to be equal to one God above all gods, like Christ. Both the Buddha and Christ transformed traditional, ceremonial religion into personal religion.

Having discussed the soteriological differences between the two founders' authorities, let us now discuss the soteriological similarities. Both the Buddha and Christ were the founders of their communities, and powerful personalities of authority. Both present soteriological patterns as saviours, as teachers of righteousness, and as spiritual kings of their communities (or kingdoms).

Both the Buddha and Christ were teachers of disciples, and both believed that their mission was to establish righteousness. Therefore, each community was formed in a pattern of teacher-and-disciples, and was soteriologically oriented. Both the Buddha and Christ asked their disciples to "Come and see," although Christ called them to himself, whereas Buddha called them to his dharma.

The authority of the Buddha, as teacher of dharma, was primarily grounded in his dharma. However, since his teaching authority was higher than that of the gods, it was claimed that the Buddha, as the

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E. O. James, Comparative Religion, New York, 1938, reprinted 1961: "Founder Buddha ... did say 'Come unto me.' Gautama was content to give his disciples dharma and leave them to work out their own salvation not as redeemed sons of God but as creatures bound to earth by the law of Karma till they could secure release by their own unaided efforts, and thus enter the passionless peace of Nirvana." p. 313.

liberated man, was praised by the highest god. The Buddha's authority, therefore, was human authority as teacher of men and of gods. He had developed his authority as a human teacher through long spiritual cultivation. The development of his authority culminated in his enlightenment experience and in his becoming the teacher of the Law. From a soteriological standpoint, salvation was not reached through Buddha himself but through dharma. Thus dharma was supreme, and the Buddha was subordinate to it. dharma existed as a universal principle independent of the existence of the Buddha. It should be noted, however, that Buddhist dharma became manifest and was taught only as a result of the Buddha's enlightenment. From a practical viewpoint, therefore, dharma was established by the Buddha. Prior to the experience of the Buddha, dharma already existed, according to Buddhist belief, but mankind knew nothing of it. The Buddha's disciples, therefore, claimed that their dharma was originated by the Buddha, and were dependent on him. Without the Buddha, dharma had no meaning for them. Even though they might develop an understanding of dharma through analytical and intuitive knowledge, their reasoning was grounded in trust in the Buddha's personality and patterned after his personal example. The disciples received the teacher as a father, and desired liberation through following his Law. Liberated arahats who had received the Law from the Buddha's mouth and had become enlightened wanted to become equals of their teacher. The Buddha, however, was uniquely omniscient and perfect in virtue and wisdom as a result of spiritual cultivation in former lives which his disciples had not



practised. An arahat might attain equality with the Buddha in a spiritual sense but not historically.

It should also be noted that, after the Buddha's death, and dharma-vinaya was proclaimed to be the final authority, whether dharma was right or wrong depended on whether or not it was really the word of the Buddha. Without the backing of the Buddha's authority, dharma was not accepted as being true dharma.

The divine authority of the risen Christ had to be accepted by faith in the light of the divine life of Jesus, reflected in his teaching, miracles, and the casting out of devils. Jesus, like the Buddha and others, was called a teacher, but, Jesus exercised divine power. His authority as a teacher was derived from his having been sent by God. He taught new laws. His prophetic authority was not merely that of a human teacher. He taught with divine personal authority; his words and deeds were his own. He was the fulfillment of Law and prophecy. As the sign of his being the God-teacher, he performed miracles, in which he cured the sick, raised the dead, and drove out demons.

Jesus wanted to fulfill the Law, not to destroy it. Laws were dominant in the Old-Testament tradition, and they were exceeded only by God's own authority. No one could change the Law. Jesus, however, did change the Law. He forgave sins against the Law. He gave new commandments. His interpretation of the Law was different. The laws of the Old Testament emphasized outward obedience to specific rules; Jesus'

emphasis was that inner motivation was more important. Jesus' interpretation of the laws focused on the spirit of the laws in the light of God and man; the teachers of his time, in contrast, concentrated on minor details.

He was the teacher of righteousness and the fulfiller and the correct interpreter of the laws, and the creator of a new Law with divine authority. He accepted the value of the Law, but transcended it. As the risen Christ and the Messiah, messianic salvation was achieved through him. He was the saviour-teacher of his people.

The divine authority of Christ was faith-oriented, in contrast to that of the Buddha, which was philosophical and wisdom-oriented. The Buddha, however, did have authority. When he asked his disciples to come, they obeyed because of his omniscience and his ethical purity. The Buddha, therefore, was the matrix of the community. He referred to the members of the community as his people or his sons. His disciples left their homes to follow him because they respected the historical person of the Buddha, his teachings, and his living example as teacher of men and gods. Because he exemplified the dharma through his personal authority his disciples followed him and his teachings in order to keep the dharma.

When it is said that the disciples followed the Buddha, what is meant, more precisely, is that they followed the soteriological personali-

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Majjhima-Nikāya, Vol. III, 29: "Monks, if anyone speaking rightly could say of a man: 'He is the Lord's own son, born of his mouth, born of dhamma, formed by dhamma, an heir to dhamma, not an heir to material things' - speaking rightly he could say of Sariputta: 'He is the Lord's own son, born of his mouth, born of dhamma, formed by dhamma, an heir to dhamma, not an heir to material things'." p. 81.

ty of the Buddha. The Buddhist ideal of nirvāna is sought through the Four Noble Truths and analysis of self. These approaches are not so much related to wisdom and analytical reason as they are to the following of the Buddha's personal example. It was because of the disciples' faith in the Buddha and their dependence upon him that they developed soteriological convictions and decided to follow him and to practice his teachings.

The Buddha and Christ were both teachers of their disciples, and both appear to have viewed their missions as being the fulfillment of what lay behind them in their respective religious heritages. Although Christ gave "new" commandments and the Buddha presented "new" universal principles, the messages were similar in some respects. Both placed ultimate demands upon their followers in the form of self-abnegation, non-violence, sexual purity, minimization of human needs, preference of the higher to the lower, fearlessness, etc. The Buddha preached the dharma as its transmitter and as judge, presenting such principles as the Four Noble Truths, purity of mind, and moral perfection. He emphasized wisdom, meditation, and moral purity so that the arahat might be free from suffering. He preached righteousness for the spiritual kingdom and gave his followers the vision of nirvāna. Likewise, Christ desired not to abolish the law but to deepen it and extend its application. Christ presented a radically new kind of righteousness as the means by which man would become perfect and free from sin, and would enter the Kingdom of God. It should be noted that

Matthew and Paul express different ethical emphases; the former laid more stress on human, moral perfection, the latter on the fruits of the spirit, but both present Christ's moral commandments as being absolute.

Both were soteriological personalities. Their "words and acts" provided the examples of how to live up to the Law which they gave to their disciples. The Buddha was a teacher who preached the dharma; the dharma lived in him and through him, although this relationship was considered only accidental and of no essential value, except for facilitating meditations. Those who followed his example would achieve liberation (nirvāṇa). Likewise, Christ's disciples followed the Law of Christ, which they accepted as a code, for messianic disciples. But the code of morality, as far as early Christianity was concerned, was in no way separable from Christ. The code lived in him and through him. But he himself was its spirit and essence, and the relationship of the code to him was essential and not accidental. It not only facilitated meditation but called for belief. Both the Buddha and Christ were believed by their disciples to be omniscient teachers. The Buddha's virtues and wisdom were held to be perfect, and he was seen as being of supranatural character, with fore-knowledge of events such as his death. Christ, also, appears as being perfect and having fore-knowledge of his death (Mark 8:31; John 1:45-51; 2:24-25). Both had great disciples, such as Sariputta and Peter. Sariputta confessed the Buddha as the greatest of men; Peter confessed Jesus as the Christ. Both were regarded the greatest of teachers and religious examples; Christ however was worshipped as the "God-man",

the Buddha as the "dharma-man." Both said, "Come unto me." Gotama taught his followers that their salvation was up to them, and that through their own efforts they could reach nirvāna; Jesus, as the divine man, asked his followers to believe in him, and stated that He would free them from sin for salvation in his Kingdom. Jesus used miracles for the sake of salvation. The Buddha forbade the performance of miracles by his disciples. In summary, both the Buddha and Christ had soteriological authority as saviour teachers who preached righteousness in order to establish a spiritual kingdom. The vision of both was primarily not this-worldly.

Both the Buddha and Christ appear to have held similar images of themselves as rulers of their respective kingdoms. This similarity in self-conception is reflected in the similarity of the kingdoms which each sought to establish. Neither the Buddha nor Christ were born to royal status. The Buddha was born into a noble family and associated with people of the upper classes, but was not actually a king. Christ was born in a lower-class family and drew his disciples generally from the lower classes as well. Both developed a kingly consciousness on their own, and this self-understanding was reflected in the attitudes of their disciples toward them.

There is also a similarity in the life stories told of the Buddha and of Christ, if the question of the historical accuracy of these stories is disregarded, the accounts of the birth of the Buddha and Christ are similar, and each is said to have been exceptionally precocious during his early years. Each renounced worldly wealth and

power for soteriological reasons. Each was tempted - Buddha by Mara, Christ by Satan. The Buddha experienced the dharma, Christ experienced God's will.

The Buddha, as the King of Dharma, saw it to be his duty to teach his people the principles of good conduct. He strove to guide the world through righteousness rather than by force, and to save and protect his people through his moral example. Also, in referring to his disciples as his people or as his sons, the Buddha established a relationship comparable to that of a father and his sons. He called Sariputta his general for the presentation of his dharma. The Buddha's status as the King of Dharma was in effect that of a saviour.

As the Messiah, Christ not only taught his people but also judged them and forgave their sins. Through his cleansing of the temple and his casting out of demons, he established God's rule and his Kingdom. Christ, like the Buddha, did not become a secular ruler or leader. Christ's disciples were disappointed in this because, in the view of the Jewish "theocracy politics," the "Saviour of Israel" was to be a secular ruler who would defeat the enemies of the Jews and establish a secular Jewish kingdom.

In summary, both the Buddha and Christ had spiritual authority derived from their soteriological power as rulers of their respective kingdoms. The Buddha's personal authority as the founder of his community was similar to Christ's authority as Teacher and King. An

important difference, however, is that the authority of the Buddha was strictly anthropocentric; he did not claim divine authority like that of Christ. The Buddha adhered to the Hindu pattern in that he recognized dharma as being higher than himself, but he did not accept the theology and ontology of Hinduism.

## 2. Unity of the Community

In both the early Christian and the early Buddhist communities, unity was primarily a response to the authority and the teaching of the founders, even though these communities differed in their theological and human understanding of their respective founders, and in their relative emphasis on the person of the founder rather than on his teaching. In both communities, the founder was accepted as the head of the community, as teacher, and as the only true lawgiver and judge. Unity was based on the unchallenged authority of Christ in the Christian community, and on the dharma-vinaya personified by the Buddha in the Buddhist community.

Each of these communities comprised a spiritual family of those who had responded to the call of the founder. The followers of the risen Christ, or the dharma-vinaya as personified by the Buddha, had a common loyalty which served as a unifying factor in the community. In doctrinal, ethical, and disciplinary matters, the commandments of Christ, and of the Buddha as the personification of dharma-vinaya, were accepted as binding by all the members of the community. This resulted in a common practice of the founder's teaching, and a common adherence to the founder's goals, these being guiding factors toward a common

purpose, pursued with a congenial spirit in common purity.

Both Christianity and Buddhism emphasized discipline, in response to the founder, as a source of unity. Ethics, communal laws, and punishment were accepted as the founder's directions for the holding together of the community. In cases when disunity presented problems, final judgment was always based on obedience to the Buddha's teaching of the dharma-vinaya, in the Buddhist community, and on obedience to the commandments of Christ, in the Christian community. At least, decisions were always expressed in terms of adherence to the founders' commandments, although the historicity of the words attributed to the founders may in some cases be questionable. This common loyalty to the respective founders' teachings was essential to the unity of the communities; otherwise, diversity could arise and persist unchallenged.

In both communities, unity was promoted by the emphasis on the "new race," in which all were equal. In Christianity, all were made equal through faith; in Buddhism, through virtue. This new equality transcended the old inequalities based on nationality or caste.

Inner and outer discipline, as a reflection of the founder's teachings, was essential to the development of each community as a community of the elect, with inner discipline being of greater importance in both. The members of each community, in their drive toward sainthood, modelled their life style after that of the founder.

Although Buddhism had no notion of divinely instituted legis-



lation, and although Christianity developed no lengthy list of specific rules comparable to those of Buddhism, both communities imposed punishments upon violators for the sake of preserving the community. The ultimate punishment was excommunication.

Another similarity between the two communities is that both included leaders who transmitted the authority of the founders and who lead and taught the people. The Christian Apostles, however, differed from the Buddhist monk-teachers in that the Apostles were charismatic, divinely oriented leaders, whereas the monk teachers humanly oriented. The role of the Apostles in perpetuating and spreading the words of Christ, and that of Ananda and Upali in transmitting the dharma-vinaya are comparable in their contributions to the unity of their respective communities. The role of James and the Apostolic Council in restoring unity when dissension arose between the Jewish and Gentile Christians has its counterpart in Sariputta's reuniting the separatist followers of Devadatta with the Buddhist community.

As well as being similar with respect to their unifying influences, the two communities were similar in the nature of the diversity which arose within them. In both communities, differences were primarily between liberal and conservative responses to the founder, with social and cultural factors having been of secondary importance. In the Christian community, differences developed between the liberal Greeks who followed Paul, and the conservative, law-observing Jews. There was no comparable situation in early Buddhism.

There was, in both Buddhism and Christianity, a tremendous anxiety to preserve the existence of the community. This was ac-

completed only through resisting any tendency toward division or disobedience. Also, there was a sense of the vulnerability and precariousness of the community, which made tolerance of schisms within the community almost impossible. This means that there was always a sense of persecution. The response to persecution reflected the model of the founder in each community. The Christians felt it was their supreme privilege to court martyrdom, while the Buddhists reacted more rationalistically.

In Christianity the authority of Christ was expressed ontologically - in logos, doctrine, etc. In Buddhism, there was no such ontology. In Christianity, the founder's role in relation to the law is essential (agape), whereas in Buddhism, the founder's role is instrumental (maitrī). The question may be asked: Did discipline develop in each case through gradual response to situation, which were not anticipated from the very beginning, rather than through appreciation of a pre-existent body of knowledge?

In Christianity, the ultimate norm was held to be above any law. But all discipline was in some sense engendered by the community measuring itself by its transcendent norm, Christ. Law and discipline, although important, were not integral to the truth itself, but the community, as the bearer of the truth, enforced the Law and discipline in order to survive as a community. In early Buddhism, discipline was more integral to the teaching; it was in fact part of the teaching, and was credited to the founder himself.

In Christianity, the ground of unity was Christ himself, who was head of the Church, with the members being considered parts of his body. The community was theologically and ontologically oriented, regarding its faith, sacraments, liturgical forms, and communal life as a response to God's saving acts through Christ. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit gave the members of the community a sense of unity in that they saw themselves as being led by one Spirit, who called them into one body as the people of God in the New Covenant.

In Buddhism, the ground of unity was the dharma-vinaya, personified by the Buddha, who was regarded as an omniscient teacher of dharma. The Buddhist community was a pluralistic, humanly oriented group of individuals who had gathered to learn and practise dharma as exemplified by the Buddha. Loyalty to dharma was of paramount importance, and apart from it there was no independent notion of loyalty to the Buddha as such. dharma was personified by the Buddha, and the Buddha himself was what he was because of it, not the other way round.

A fundamental difference between Buddhism and Christianity is that, while Christianity was ontologically and divinely oriented, Buddhism taught dharma as being represented by the "Middle Path," and adhered to the principle of "dependent origination." It sought unity through avoiding extremes, by rejecting a clear-cut distinction between "right" and "wrong" ideas, and through denial of the self in order to coexist with other persons and groups within the community.

The Christian community, as comprised of the "people of God," represented deductive unity. The Buddhist community, which emphasized individual self-discipline, was in contrast, characterized by inductive unity. This was the basis for the soteriological differences between the two communities. The Church was communally oriented toward the Kingdom of God, whereas in saṃgha it was the individuals who sought nirvāṇa.

The concept of the Church in the New Testament community of Christians would be hardly comprehensible without the idea of the Kingdom of God. As the Gospel according to Luke puts it supposedly in the words of Jesus: "As my Father appointed a Kingdom for me, so do I appoint for you that you may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." (Lk. 22:29-30). Further, Christ was empowered by God to bring the Church into being. Jesus founded the Church, says the New Testament explicitly; every aspect of its life in early Christian consciousness derived from Him.

The ideal of the Kingdom, as the telos, determined the character of the Church. In Buddhism, the ideal end of striving was nirvāṇa, and that determined in turn the character of the saṃgha. nirvāṇa was in no way related to the Buddha as the founder of the saṃgha; the founder has no role as founder in respect of nirvāṇa. In Christianity as the New Testament understands it, Christ the founder of the Church had also a special relation to the Kingdom because his work was primarily to found the Kingdom. The whole Church itself was a response to the

founder. The samgha, on the other hand was only a functional community and the response there was merely to the human authority of the founder, to his wisdom.

The Church was clearly depicted as response to a divine act. The Church established a historic continuity with Israel - a historic community - as in this worldly replica of a transcendent community, and was far from being a merely human arrangement.

The Church invalued the concept of "the people of God", made real by the Sacraments, which in turn received in it their sense and context. The Church was clearly conceived as an organism. All the metaphors of the Church, such as the Israel of God, the body of Christ, the elect, the Communion of Saints, the fellowship of Christ, etc., were corporate in character.

In Christianity, where Christ is primary and Law is secondary, loyalty to Christ is emphasized (more than is loyalty to the Buddha in Buddhism). This is expressed not only in Christ's command to "follow me," but also in the symbolism which portrays Christ as a husband and head of the community and the Church as a bride. In Buddhism, the Buddha is regarded as a father who teaches his sons the ethical discipline which they must practise if they are to know dharma and experience the enlightenment necessary in order to attain nirvana.

The intimate relationship between Christ and the Church was one of the essential ideas in the New Testament. This intimate relation invented a wholly new character upon the corporate community. It always saw its foundation elsewhere, in the person of Jesus Christ. Here we notice a radical difference in Buddhism. This may be also

because Buddhism came out of a religion (Brahmanism) without a conception of a visible (and transcendent) centre of corporate identity as a people, as was present in Judaism in the form of the Temple and Yahweh. In Brahmanism the centre of identity was a metaphysical one, which co-existed with a heterogeneous and pluralistic ritual structure, both of which the Buddha totally rejected. The great issues that divided Buddhism from Brahmanism were ritual and metaphysical.

But when we turn to early Christianity we note that the very fact that there was a controversy between Paul and the Judaizers on the question of Law or Faith centered around the Jerusalem Christians and their practice has no parallel within early Buddhism. Whether the Buddhist samgha retained Hindu ritual laws was not an issue; rather it was an indifferent and fundamentally irrelevant matter. For one thing, there was no issue of absorbing the community back to Brahmanism until about the early medieval period of the Puranas. There was not late-comer like Paul. (Later, in the Puranas it was the Buddha who was absorbed into Hinduism as an avatār.)

"Peace" in the Christian community was due to God's saving action through Christ's death and the response of the members to it. It was, therefore, divinely bestowed. In Buddhism, however, the members sought to establish a common purpose with a congenial spirit in common purity, through their following the dharma-vinaya and the example of the Buddha. Unity, therefore, was achieved through the members' own initiative.

The first Christian leaders were depicted as charismatic. They were said to have been led by the Holy Spirit by whom they were given all authority. The idea of the community as the extension of Christ is uniquely Christian, with no parallel in early Buddhism. Although the accounts of decision-making in the Jerusalem Church indicate the existence of an element of democracy, the leadership of the Holy Spirit made this element unnecessary. The Buddhist community, in contrast, adopted gana - "political union on a republican model." It promoted unity through democratic decisions made in the light of teachings decided on questions of discipline. The monk-teachers had leadership functions, but their leadership was not regarded as being charismatic, nor as essential.

The major rules regarding conduct, e.g., not to kill, commit adultery, or lie, were similar in the Buddhist and Christian communities. The many strict rules of Buddhism, e.g., the 250 rules of pātimokkha, along with its judges and courts of law, and its general meeting of monks (upavasatha) provided Buddhism with additional basis of unity which were lacking in early Christianity.

### 3. Discipline in the Community

Discipline constituted a response to the founder's authority in both the Buddhist and Christian communities. The nature of the discipline in the respective communities, however, was intrinsically different. First of all, it must be mentioned that the difference

between the human autonomous orientations and divine, heteronomous orientations holds good in the case of discipline as in the case of the authority of the founder and the community. In Christianity, discipline was related to a chain of command, from God, to Christ, through the Holy Spirit. Discipline, therefore, was achieved through help of the Holy Spirit rather than strictly through human effort, the latter being secondary in importance. In Buddhism, the commands were essentially rational precepts, almost self-explanatory, and the origin of it was the Buddha's own historic (or rather "cosmic") discovery, and there is no power to back it up other than the power of the individual in concert with the community as such.

Early Buddhist discipline, unlike that of Christianity, was based on "self-power". In practising this discipline, the members of the community followed the Buddha's example and his disciplinary directives in order to achieve enlightenment and attain nirvāṇa. Discipline was balanced with wisdom and meditation. Early Christian discipline, in contrast, was based on "power." According to its tradition, prophets had been chosen and sent by God, and thereby represented the theological, God-centered nature of this discipline. Christian discipline required faith in Christ. The life-style which it required was modelled after the perfection of God ("Be ye perfect even as my heavenly Father is perfect" Mt. 5:48), and was to be practised through the Holy Spirit, the gift of God for this purpose.

At patimokkha, the Buddhist monks confessed their sins, repented before the assembly, and were forgiven by the assembly. In



the early Christian community, in contrast, one made confessions of sins in the community and was forgiven ultimately by the Holy Spirit. Therefore, Christianity practised the external discipline of baptism, to purify the members of the community as members of the body of Christ.

Both Buddhism and Christianity used expulsion from the community as a last resort of punishment for sins such as murder, adultery, and lying. In both communities, expulsion constituted a spiritual death sentence. In Buddhism, punishment was imposed by the assembly of members. In Christianity, punishment was imposed by the charismatic Apostles or by the community through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, as the expression of the will of the Spirit.

Discipline in both communities had ascetic elements. In the Buddhist community, the monks were required to renounce the worldly life. The laymen, of whom this was not required, were of secondary importance in the community, and therefore Buddhism was little concerned with family life, marriage, and divorce. Christianity did not require renunciation of the worldly life, and matters pertaining to family life, therefore, figured more prominently in its discipline.

The difference in the disciplines of the early Buddhist and Christian communities have become more evident as we consider them in the light of the difference between the respective religious communities, a task which we have already undertaken. The Christian community included all members of the Church. It was an open community,

and all who joined followed the same disciplinary practices, and aimed for the same kingdom. There were, to be sure, inner groups, such as the Twelve Apostles, but their importance was secondary, the existence and functions of these inner groups being oriented toward the good of the community as a whole. The Buddhist community, while theoretically open to all, was primarily a monastic community. This monastic community was a closed one, comprising of elected members. The aim of the monks was nirvāna. The place of the laity in early Buddhism was definitely secondary, their primary function being to provide material assistance to the monks and nuns. Since the achievements of the monks and nuns would be difficult for the laity to emulate in their secular environment, their immediate aim was to attain to a heaven, rather than nirvāna. This basic difference in the nature and composition of the two communities was responsible for a basic difference in their disciplinary practices. In Christianity, the same discipline applied to all members, whereas in Buddhism, discipline was primarily concerned with the monks and nuns, rather than with the laity. Although the discipline of the early Buddhist and Christian communities differed in their fundamental aspects, there were significant similarities in their secondary aspects. These similarities will be considered in the following paragraphs.

Disciplinary authority in both communities was derived from the founder, without whom there would have been no reason for disciplinary practice. No disciples in either community replaced the founder in having authority as the final source of discipline. In both

communities, the purpose of discipline was to achieve unity and purity, to establish a community of saints as "new men", who would be purified through doing good and avoiding evil. Therefore, in both ritualistic practices were rejected and spiritual and moral discipline was emphasized. Buddhism did make use of laws taken from Brahmanism and Jainism, these laws being adapted in the light of the Buddha's example. Likewise, Christianity adapted the laws of Moses, which were reinterpreted in the spirit of Christ.

In both communities, discipline was more inwardly directed than it had been in previous societies. In their earliest years, neither community had many strict or well-defined rules, depending instead upon the righteousness of the members. This situation changed in both, however, as membership increased. The Buddhist community became troubled by the entry of incorrigible sinners and other unqualified persons into its ranks, and consequently developed the rules of vinaya. The Christian community gradually changed from a torah-oriented one, with its members being mostly Jewish, into a Gentile one. As its membership came to consist largely of people, who had no background of following the rules of the torah, the Christian community found it necessary to establish its own rules. Under the influence of Paul, both moral and organizational disciplines were increasingly emphasized and specific rules were established and enforced.

In both, the objective of an extraordinarily pure community with high moral standards was sought through an ascetic life style.

with material interests renounced. The Christian community, however, in doing so did not accept a two-level system as did the Buddhists.

Economic discipline also followed the two-level system in Buddhism, while it retained the one-level approach in Christianity. The Buddhist monastic system was similar to the Christian in that both emphasized common possessions of all property. But at the lay level in Buddhism there was room for capitalistic accumulation and individual ownership of wealth. The practices in these communities differed from purely materialistic communism in that the purpose of the communitarian practices was spiritual and moral, rather than physical, well being of the members. In both the sangha and in the Church, material goods were shared for the sake of brotherhood, so that peace could be established without quarrels arising over possessions, and so that the members could devote themselves to the spiritual life without worrying about material things.

In the Christian community, emphasis was on the use of material things to serve others. In the Buddhist community, the laymen were encouraged to acquire material possessions through their work. In this community, also, material goods were not valued out of self-interest but for the use in the service of others, so that the person so using them might acquire merit.

In both communities, the purposes of discipline were primarily non-worldly in their orientation. It should be noted, however, that in neither community were material needs and persons outside the community ignored. The withdrawal from the world as practised by the

Buddhist monks may appear self-centered, but the monks acted as teachers, i.e., as morally qualified leaders who could lead others out of social suffering. Laymen in the Buddhist community used their money in social service in expression of their "compassion of life." The role of deacons in "New Testament" Christianity in "serving tables" is comparable, in that by providing for the material needs of the people they freed them from slavery to material goods.

Finally, a few sentences may be devoted to pointing out in summary what we have gained by the present research. We have considered an aspect of history of two of the world's leading missionary religions in their original formative periods. Needless to say, Buddhism and Christianity were both founded and developed as universal religions. Each sought to replace great, earlier traditions, which go back to great antiquity, through the authority of a great figure who became the founder, leader and ultimate source of all that is essential in each. The followers of each founder elected to join together as a community in order to practise and propagate the founder's message. They have spread through history, covering the major part of the globe in each case - two world-religions, offering different routes to the solution of mankind's ultimate ills. A close look at their early early histories, at the time of their seminal formations and immediately after that, has been found to be both instructive and revealing.

Their dissimilarities are as striking as their similarities. The ground upon which the dissimilarities are to be placed contributes

to the ultimate difference in their spiritual outlook: In Buddhism it is gnostic, in Christianity it is eschatological. This great difference cannot be overcome. This then seems to account ultimately for the differences in the conceptions of the authority of the founders, communitarian structures, disciplines, and life-styles. It is indeed fascinating, however, that from two widely different outlooks, strikingly similar moral teachings, human organizations, disciplines, life-styles, and personalities could emerge, as indeed has seemed to be the case with Buddhism and Christianity.

Further, there is one other fruit that this study has yielded. It has seldom been realized that such things as authority and community have had a very important place in early Buddhism; they have been held to be primarily aspects of Christianity, and Buddhism was commonly thought to be a fairly rationalistic and individualistic religion. This study has shown that such a notion as that, i.e., that early Buddhism was merely individualistic, and analytically rational and ethical without a proper "religious" authority and community is too one-sided to be correct. Buddhism - in having a foundation of authority, as well as a pattern of disciplined life of common responsibility in a community and a community structure which harked back to that foundation - qualifies to be called a "religion", rather than an ethical or philosophical system. In that this was rather like early Christianity itself, one can see how they became two of the greatest and most influential of the world religions.

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