South Asian Studies
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rsas20

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Published online: 14 Oct 2014.

To cite this article: Sam van Schaik (2014) Married Monks: Buddhist Ideals and Practice in Kroraina, South Asian Studies, 30:2, 269-277, DOI: 10.1080/02666030.2014.962322
To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02666030.2014.962322

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Married Monks: Buddhist Ideals and Practice in Kroraina

Sam van Schaik*

The British Library

This article examines the documents recovered from the Central Asian kingdom of Kroraina (Chinese Shanshan 鄯鄯), from the third to fourth centuries, as rare records of the way Buddhism was adapted outside of India during the Gupta period. In particular, the evidence for the existence of married Buddhist monks (śramana) is examined, and the reasons why this situation might have developed are explored. The introduction examines in brief the evidence for monastic marriage in other Buddhist cultures, concluding that only in Meiji-era Japan was this situation both widespread and supported by the ruling powers. This is followed by an overview of the sources, documents in Gāndhārī from the archaeological site of Niya, which reveal the existence of śramana with wives and children, and manuscripts in Sanskrit which show that the normative ideals of Buddhism, including the pratimokṣa vows of monks and nuns, were not unknown in this region. Finally, a possible explanation for the state-sanctioned existence of married monks is presented in the context of the Buddhist state rituals described by the pilgrim Faxian in the neighbouring kingdoms of Khotan and Kashgar.

Keywords: Buddhism; Kroraina; Gāndhārī; Sanskrit; Kharoṣṭhī; celibacy; ritual; kingship

Introduction

There are always compromises and adaptations involved in establishing a religious tradition outside of its original context. The kingdom of Kroraina provides an opportunity to look closely at one example of how Buddhism was adopted outside of India using archaeological sources rather than received history. The finds of the Niya and Loulan sites of administrative documents in Gāndhäuser provide a detailed (if incomplete) picture of the daily life of Buddhist monks in the region during the third to fourth centuries CE. One aspect of Buddhist life in Kroraina that has often been remarked on, but has not been explained, is the existence of married monks.¹

Married monks are not unknown in other Buddhist cultures, but there has been confusion on this matter in the history of western descriptions of Asian Buddhism. For example, in early works on Tibetan Buddhism, it was often asserted that there were ‘married Lamas’ in certain sects of Tibetan Buddhism. However, such claims mistook the nature of practitioners found in the Nyingma, Sakya, and Kagyu schools, who wear robes similar to members of monastic orders, but who are not ordained, and therefore do not follow the pratimokṣa vows. They are never considered ‘monks’ (dge slong) in the Tibetan tradition itself.² Tibetan histories do tell of the existence of a class of quasi-monks in the tenth century:

jo bo mched gnyis byams pa chos ’khor rnams khris thog
du spyan drangs nas mchod pa byas/ rtags rang gis
bhangs nas sham thabs gong ba can gon/ skra gzhon
bregs gtsug phud bzha pag pa dbyar zla gsum dbyar gnas
byed zer nnas gtsug lag khang du sbdad nas gtan khriams
ingga sring/ de nas dgo’i dbye byed zer ste grong du khyim
thab byed/ ming dgra bcom gtsug phud can zer ba mang
po byung nas skye bo’i mchod gnas byed/

They performed a ceremonial enthronement of the two Jowo statues and the statue of Maitreya Dharmacakra, and made offerings to them. Adopting the characteristics of the statues, they wore cassocks with collars, tied up their hair on top of their heads and shaved the rest. Saying that they were performing the three months’ summer retreat, they stayed in the temples while observing the five rules for laypeople. Then, saying that they had performed the closing ceremony of the retreat, they returned to the villages as householders. Many of these so-called ‘arhats with topknots’ appeared, acting as priests for the ordinary people.³

These ‘arhats with topknots’ are said to have flourished in central Tibet at a time when the imperial support of Buddhism had collapsed with the end of the Tibetan empire, and the transmission of the vinaya is said to have been lost. The existence of these characters is presented in the traditional histories as a sign of the decline of Buddhism, a symptom to be concerned about, and one that was to be eradicated with the re-establishment of the vinaya lineages in the late tenth century.⁴

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It is possible to speak of the existence of married monks in Japan, but this must be understood to be a culturally specific phenomenon that arose out of particular historical circumstances. It was the monk Saichō (767–822 CE), founder of the Tendai School in Japan, who introduced the concept of a married monk in the face of resistance from other Buddhist schools and the Japanese government. Essentially, his innovation was to extend the definition of a monk to one who has received only the bodhisattva vows of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The bodhisattva precepts, which had already been popular in China since at least the fourth century, could be conferred on monks or lay people as a vow to honour the Mahāyāna ideal of working to end the suffering of all sentient beings. Though it became common for Tendai monks to marry, this was not the case in other Buddhist


2. Photograph of the excavation of site N.xxvi in Niya, one of the houses in which śramaṇa lived. Photo 392/27(89), (c). Courtesy of The British Library.
monastic establishments, which held that the bodhisattva precepts did not confer monastic status. The non-ordained priests of the Jōdo Shinshū also remained in the minority.\(^5\)

In fact, in Japan, as in China, government regulation of Buddhist communities tended to enforce the vinaya against the perceived decadence of the monasteries, using the monastic code itself to constrain and control the activities of the monasteries. As one scholar puts it, the Japanese Sōniryō laws for regulating the Buddhist monasteries were introduced in the reign of Emperor Temmu (676–686 CE) to ‘make every priest and nun into an efficient agent of support for what has been called Temmu's imperial system’.\(^6\) Just as monastic celibacy was the subject of government enforcement, the sudden decline of celibacy was the result of government intervention in the Meiji period (1868–1912 CE), when new regulations eliminated the stricture of celibacy.\(^7\)

While this revised idea of what it meant to be a monk became more common in Japan in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it has not been generally accepted in other Buddhist cultures.\(^8\) As Richard Jaffe states in his study of this phenomenon:

> The departure of Japanese Buddhism from the monastic and ascetic emphasis of most other forms of Buddhism is striking. The Japanese Buddhist clergy are unique among Buddhist clerics in that the vast majority are married, but they continue to undergo clerical ordination and are considered members of the sangha (sōgya) by both the Buddhist establishment and parishioners alike.\(^9\)

Thus it is only in Japan in the late nineteenth century that we have clear case of married monks being socially and legally accepted. The vigorous survival of the ideal of celibacy elsewhere belies the narrative of ‘decline’ and ‘degeneracy’ that is often invoked in discussions of culturally specific Buddhist practices outside of India. This is not to say that in other Buddhist cultures monks always kept their vows of celibacy; we know that this was not the case.\(^10\) This brief historical overview suggests that monastic communities have occasionally abandoned celibacy in certain situations. However, in the one well-documented instance of a widespread, sustained, and legally accepted form of non-celibate Buddhist monasticism that we know of, the primary cause for the abandonment of celibacy appears to have been state intervention. Let us now look at how relevant this might be for the Buddhists of Kroraina.

### Kroraina’s married monks

The most numerous and useful sources on Buddhism in the kingdom of Kroraina are the documents found at the archaeological site of Niya.\(^11\) The town, which was known at the time as Čađota, was relatively small. Padwa describes it as a ‘sparsely populated and very rural landscape of agricultural land stretched along canals, with scattered farms, hamlets, and individual residences, but lacking any densely inhabited central town’.\(^12\)

Over seven hundred and sixty documents were excavated from Niya and neighbouring sites by Aurel Stein in the early twentieth century, and are now housed in the collections of the British Library and the National Museum of India.\(^13\) Most of these are letters, composed in the Gândhari language and written in the Kharoṣṭhī script on wooden tablets. The documents, which may be either rectangular or wedge-shaped, were bound with string and sealed with clay. Usually the cover tablet was inscribed with the name of the addressee and the content of the letter was on the inner sides of one or both tablets. Many documents were addressed to, or sent by, a local official holding the title of cozo. Some were sent directly to, or from, the king of Kroraina. Most deal with problems or disputes arising from unpaid taxes, loans that had not been repaid, and the buying and selling of property, goods, and slaves.\(^14\)

Some of these disputes were between people identified as šrāmannā, the Gândhāri equivalent of the Sanskrit śrāmana, a word that, in the Buddhist context, usually refers to a monk. The documents show not only that these šrāmannā were involved in the buying and selling of goods, property, and slaves – activities that are well documented in other Buddhist monastic communities – but also that they had wives and children. One of these documents, found in Or.8211/1374, an undertype, contains the following letter:

\[(2) \text{šrāmannā budhavarma manṣṭreti yathā šrāmannā śāripūtreṇa denuga anto-} (3) \text{āsā paride dhiu umyeva gida šāripūtreṇa sa dhiu (4) šāripūtreye šrāmannā budhavarmaṇga jātavena bharya dīta taya sīriye šārṣa- (5) tīva dhiu pumāvatiyae ma ma šrāmannā jīvalo athamaṣa bharya didī lu- (6) ati se athama mṛta sa pu šrāmannā budhavarma taya dhiu pumāvatiyae…}
\]

The šrāmannā Budhavarma says that the šrāmannā Śāripūtra received as an adopted child from Denuga Anto his daughter called Śārṣateyae. The śrāmannā Śāripūtra gave this daughter to the śrāmannā Budhavarma as his wife in lawful marriage. The daughter of that woman Śārṣateyae, Pumāvatiyae by name, was given as wife to the śrāmannā Jīvalo Athama. This Athama died. Then this śrāmannā Budhavarma, of that daughter Pumāvatiyae…\(^15\)

According to this text, a woman was adopted by a śrāmannā, and subsequently both the adopted woman and her daughter were married to two other śrāmannā. Here the term is ‘given as a wife’ (bharya dīta/dīdhī). Another document, KI 474 (N.xxii.iii.8 + 11) mentions
‘the wife of the śramanna Samgapala’. These documents suggests that men and women, or boys and girls, could be brought into the Buddhist community through adoption (a practice also seen outside of the Buddhist context), and a woman would then sometimes be married to a śramanna. Such practices appear to be regarded as normal, and were only recorded because a problem that led to a dispute arose, in this case the death of the śramanna Athama.

This raises the question of the role of these śramannas, and how they were distinct from other social groups. Or.8211/1443, an oblong tablet, contains a list of social groups, including the śramanna:

(1) cožboana kranaya Līpyeasa ca līhati apsu opgeya tascuc caṣgeya śramanna bhaṛavādhisga ca mantra deti aδhe punnivade sarva tranghadhare (2) gotha bhatara jamaṇa śramanna bhaṛavādha vurcuṣga sa ca ede jamaṇa tusmahu cavaḷa aja ya divaṃṣaṃmi iṣa anitavo sati ede jamaṇa aja na iṣa anisyaṭa (3) prahare(4) 20 20 10.16

The cožbos Kranaya and Līpyeaya, they give instructions to the apsu Opgeya, the tascuc Caṣgeya, and the śramanna Bhaṛavādhi. From there, from Pumni, all the officials, housewives, śramannas, brahmans, and vurcuṭas, these people are to be quickly brought here by you today. If you do not bring these people here today, fifty strokes [is the penalty].

According to this document, the śramanna were a separate class, and distinct from ordinary householders, a distinction that is underlined by the celibacy of the monastic class in most Buddhist cultures. Nevertheless, here they were recognised in law as having wives and children and responsibility towards them. One possibility is that these married śramannas did maintain their vows of celibacy, not consummating their marriages, and brought children into their family units through the practice of adoption.17 This may be supported by the fact that several of the Niya documents concerning adoptions involve śramannas, and two name the adopted child as a śramannera, a novice monk.18

The evidence of these householder śramannas in Niya cannot simply be extended to the whole of the kingdom of Kroraina. Nevertheless, the documents show that the family connections of the śramannas were legitimated by law. Given the interest of the kings in regulating Buddhist communities, this could hardly have been a local phenomenon that went unnoticed. Therefore, it is likely that it took place in other parts of the kingdom as well.

Communities and practices

The archaeological evidence shows that a large group of śramannas in Niya (or Cadota) lived in three neighbouring properties: N.xxi, N.xxv, and N.xxvi (using Stein’s identification numbers). All three properties were houses, and while the concentration of documents mentioning śramannas indicates their presence in all three, N.xxv in particular seems to have been a scriptorium in which Stein discovered what he referred to as a ‘hidden archive’. Padwa points out that ‘of 9 literary and Buddhist documents discovered at Niya, 7 were discovered at this settlement’.19 Another nearby structure, N.xv, may have been a small Buddhist place of worship. These structures do not differ significantly from other houses in the Niya site, so it appears that the śramanna did not live in essentially different quarters from the other inhabitants of the town.

Some idea of the way that the monks of Cadota were regulated is given by the text of an edict from the king of Kroraina handed down to the śramanna community, now housed in the National Museum of India. The cover tablet lists the ‘regulations for the community of monks [bhiṣuṣamga] at Cadota’, and the rules themselves are detailed on the verso (the under-tablet is missing):

(1) samvatsare 10 mahanuvava maharasya jītumga devap [tra] mahāgi [ma]se mase 10 2 divase 10 iṣa... (2) mi khaṇvanemc bhiṣuṣamga cadoṭi bhiṣuṣamgaṣya kriya-kara prañapta śrayati navaka bh... (3) vṛdhasya na śrotam maniśati vṛdh rati bhiṣu abhombata hutamati udhī devaputraṇa bhiṣuṣam... (4) ysa purathā eta kriyakara prañapta vṛdhā śilaprabha pumāṣena vihar-avala ete samgaṣya... (5) re samgaṣkarani kartavya yatha dharmena pruchidavo yo bhiṣu 6 samga[kara]ni sarva edeṣa [karta]... (6) yena bhiṣuṣamga atamamna bha-veyati yo bhiṣu samgaṣkarani na anuvarteyati taṣa... (7) dadavo paṭa 1 yo bhiṣu posathakarmaya nānuvarteyati taṣa damdheta paṭa 1 yo bhiṣu posatha... (8) karma nānmaṭreṇa grihasta codina praviṣayati taṣa damdadaṇvo paṭa 1 yo bhiṣu bhiṣuṣamga prahara... (9) devati mṛdaka paṭa 4 1 madya paṭa daśa 10 asimatra paṃcadaśa 10 4 1 yo grihasta śramannaṣa pra...20

In the tenth year of his majesty the great king, Jitugha Mahagiri, son of heaven, in the twelfth month, tenth day... the community of monks in the capital laid down regulations for the community of monks in Cadota. It is heard that the novices do not pay attention to an elder; they disobey the old monks. Concerning this these regulations have been laid down by his majesty in front of the order of monks. The elders Śilaprabha and Pumāṣena (are to be) in charge of the monastery (viharavala). They have to administer all the activities of the community. (Disputes) are to be examined in accordance with the dharma. All the activities of the community of monks are to be administered by them... so that the community of monks shall be content in mind (atamamna). Whichever monk does not partake in the activities of the community of monks shall pay a fine of one roll of silk. Whichever monk does not take part in the posathā ceremony his penalty is (a fine of) one roll of silk. Whichever monk at the invitations to the posathā ceremony enters in householder’s dress shall
pay a fine of one roll of silk. Whichever monk strikes another monk (in the case of) a light (blow the fine is) five rolls of silk, (in the case of) a moderate (blow) ten rolls of silk, (in the case of) an excessive (blow) fifteen rolls of silk. Whichever household to a śramamṇa…

The king himself handed down the regulations detailed in this document, though day-to-day administration was delegated to the community’s elders (ṛdhā). The king’s involvement with the Buddhist community that is evident here can be interpreted as an aspect of the self-identification of the Kroraina royal line with Buddhism. This is evident in the longer royal titles given in some of the documents, for example: ‘the great king, the king of kings, the great, the victorious, the just, abiding in the true dharma, his majesty the great king Amkvaṅga, son of heaven’. Some of these titles seem to have been adopted directly from the Kushan kings. In a recently discovered Kharosthi inscription from Endere, an honorific title applied to the same king refers specifically to the Mahāyāna. The following is Richard Salomon’s conjecturally reconstructed reading:

(1) bhataragaśa maharayaśa ra[ṇā[raṇa saha] maha[manta] jayantaśa dharmavigya [+ one or more additional titles]  (2) sa amitra-marthaṇaśa vrayam-balasa pari-grasta-vana-maṇaśa deva manuṣya-sampa[]+]jitaśa mahayaṇa-sam- (3) pratidaśa saca-dharma stidaśa maha[mova (sa] maharayaśa (amgokaḥ sah) vatsa(?)

In the year… of the lord, the great king, the king of kings, the great, victorious, pious… crusher of his enemies, who is his own army, whose name is well-received, who is worshipped by gods and men, who has set forth on the Mahāyāna, who is fixed in the true dharma, of great majesty, the great King Amgoka… The names of the supervisors of (?) are Okaripa, Sirsa, and Kutre. This (???) at Hinarga.22

The epithet ‘one who has set forth in the Mahāyāna’ (Gāndhāri mahāyāna-sampratida, Sanskrit mahāyāna-samprasthitā) also appears in a document from Niya addressed to a local official (coṣbo).23 It points to an early association of the royal Buddhist cult with the Mahāyāna, which we know from later sources was also a feature of Khotanese Buddhism.

The specific rules and fines levied by the king in the Niya document (cited above) concern the monks’ behaviour during the performance of the posatha (or upo-satha) ceremony of group confession. In the translation above, ‘monk’ is bhikṣu (Sanskrit bhikṣu) and only in an incomplete sentence at the end does the term śramanṇa appear. Thus, we should keep in mind the possibility that the words bhikṣu and śramanṇa referred to different roles in this monastic community. The rules do not mention celibacy, but since the text is not complete (the under-tablet probably contained more text), this may not be significant. On the other hand, it is interesting that the king had to reinforce a rule against the monks arriving at the posatha ceremony in lay clothes, which suggests that at least some monks only put on their robes for ceremonial purposes. This, which is reminiscent of the description of the Tibetan ‘arhats with topknots’, would be a violation of the vinaya.

This raises the question of how well known the strictures of the vinaya were in Kroraina. A few of the manuscripts from Niya do give a sense of the moral and doctrinal aspects of Buddhism. Two Sanskrit texts, inscribed on the rectangular tablet Or.8211/1393 and the wedge-shaped under-tablet Or.8211/1401, provide moral instruction of the kind found in the sūtras, emphasising the impermanence of wealth and happiness and the suffering caused by greed and desire. For example, ‘first a man prospers, then he languishes; first he is praised, then blamed; first he grieves, then he rejoices; first he gives, and then he begs’.24 In Or.8211/1393, the dangers of associating with women are communicated in the same pithy style: ‘if he is liked by women, nothing pleasant results from that; women are like the edge of [a] razor; who would speak praise of them?’.25

Thus, the ideals of renunciation and celibacy, central to Buddhist monastic culture, are present among the manuscripts from Niya. The actual texts of the monastic code are partially represented in only one manuscript from Niya, Ki 510 (from N.xxiv). This fragment is too damaged and incomplete to be placed in a particular vinaya tradition; its verses appear towards the end of several versions of the Prātimokṣa-sūtra as well as in the Udaravarga.26 Nevertheless, it provides evidence of the presence of at least one vinaya text in the region. Another manuscript mentions the pratimokṣa vows (pratimokhe sa[vam]ra) that are taken by all monks.27 These texts, few as they are, do suggest that the Buddhist communities in Cadota were aware of the codes of behaviour expected of Buddhist monks.

The role of ritual

If the strictures of celibacy laid down in the monastic code were generally understood, why were married śramanṇa tolerated at all? The possibility that I want to explore here is that married śramanṇa fulfilled the need for monastics in Buddhist rituals in the absence of a fully ordained monastic community. One clue to the ritual practices of the Buddhist community in Cadota is the large wooden plank Or.8211/1682, which contains part of a Sanskrit prayer on the ritual of bathing for the Buddhist monks. This text, which may have been written down for recitation at such a ritual, extols the qualities to be gained by performance of bathing; and the involvement of lay sponsors is indicated in the mention of ‘he who provides material for removing
dirt, he who provides oil for rubbing, and he who provides a dry bath.  

The regulations in KI 514, coming from the king, also show the close relationship between the ruling elite and Buddhist groups. Taking this into account, along with the association of the royal line with a Buddhist identity, as indicated by the Endere stone inscription, it would be surprising if there was no regular practice of rituals ratifying the king's Buddhist identity and relationship with the Buddhist establishment. Such rituals are described in the neighbouring Central Asian states of Khotan and Kashgar in the account of Faxian's travels at the end of the fourth century. Faxian's account does contain a description of Kroraina itself, though it is very brief: 'their king has received the dharma, and there may be some four thousand monks belonging to the hinayana'. In Khotan, Faxian's account describes an annual religious festival involving the royal court and the Buddhist monasteries:

其城門上張大幀幃。事事嚴飾。王及夫人婭女皆住其中。翟摩帝僧是大乘學。王所敬重。最先行像。離城二里作四輪犂車。高三丈餘。狀如行殿。七寶莊校。懸絳幡蓋。像立車中二菩薩侍。作諸天侍從。皆以金銀瑩盛懸於虛空。像去門百步。王脫天衣易著新衣。徒跣持花香從出城。迎像頭面禮足散花燒香。像入城時。門樓上夫人婭女遙遙眾花紛紛而下。

Over the city gate they stretch a large awning with all kinds of ornamentation, under which the king and queen and court ladies take their place. The monks at Gomati monastery follow the Mahayana, which is deeply venerated by the king; and it takes first place in the procession. At a distance of two to four li from the city, a four-wheeled image-car is made, over thirty feet in height, looking like a moveable temple and adorned with the seven preciosities, with silk banners and embroidered canopies. The image of the Buddha is placed in the middle of the car, flanked by two bodhisattvas and a host of divine attendants, beautifully carved in gold and silver and are suspended in the air. When the images are one hundred paces from the city gate, the king takes off his cap of State and puts on new clothes; walking barefoot and holding flowers and incense in his hands, with attendants on each side, he proceeds out of the gates. On meeting the images he bows his head down to the ground, scatters the flowers, and burns the incense. When the images enter the city, the queen and court ladies who are on top of the gate scatter far and wide all kinds of flowers that flutter down and thus the splendour of decoration is offered up complete.

In Kashgar, the account describes a more elaborate, but similar, festival held every five years:

般遮越師漢言五年大會也。會時請四方沙門。皆來雲集。集已莊嚴眾僧坐處。懸絳幡蓋。作金銀蓮華著僧座後。鑱淨坐具。王及群臣如法供養。或一月二月。或三月。多在春時。王作會已復勸諸群臣設供供養。或一日二日三日五日乃至七日。供養郡畢。王以所乘馬鞍勒奉使國中貴重臣騎之。並諸白幃種種珍寶沙門所須之物。共諸群臣發願布施眾僧。布施僧已還從僧頭。

Both ceremonies are arranged around acts of giving by the king and government. These donations would have been largely symbolic of more regular financial operations. An example of the latter in Kashgar is described immediately after the passage above, in which the monks receive annual tithes in return for providing a portion of the wheat harvest on their land. The ceremonies offer an emblematic ritual version of the everyday economic activities of monastic Buddhists and their lay patrons. This process, which Jacques Gernet calls 'the circuit of giving', is an exchange of money or goods for religious merit, leading to an improved position in this life or the next. The Central Asian ceremonies cast the king in the role of supreme giver; he thus also had the claim to be supremely meritorious.

The social and ritual structure of Buddhist kingship in Central Asia may well have been influenced by the Kushan Empire, where there is ample evidence of royal patronage of Buddhism and the adoption of Buddhist imagery by the state. In the Kushan Empire, as in later Buddhist kingdoms such as Tibet, an older notion of divine kingship was assimilated to a Buddhist worldview in which the king's divinity was equivalent to the status of a bodhisattva, or even a Buddha. If the kings of Kroraina were claiming the status of Buddhist kingship, as the inscription from Endere also suggests, then it would have been vital for them to have people in place to perform the Buddhist rituals ratifying their status.

Rituals such as these function to maintain the roles of their participants. They are not decorative, or dispensable for those whose roles depend on them. Padwa finds evidence for the close relationship between the
monastic community of Niya and the royal court in the fact that the territory occupied by most of the śramaninas was called devīya navaka avana, ‘the territory of the divine queen’. Despite this close relationship with the royal house, a smaller Buddhist community like the one at Niya may not have been able to support a monastic population sizable enough to perform the rituals required of them. In a society that relied on marriage and adoption in order to form family allegiances, it may not have been economically viable to lose a portion of the male population to celibate monasticism.

With the evidence that we have, we can only speculate as to the compromises made in order to permit śramanamsa to legally marry in the face of the prohibitions of the monastic code. It might be that the śramanamsas took the full monastic ordination and simply ignored the strictures on celibacy. On the other hand, they may have received only the lay vows, but adopted the status of a fully ordained monk for ritual purposes. Another possibility, mentioned above, is that they combined the life of a celibate monk with that of a householder by taking a wife but remaining celibate (at least in theory), with children brought into the family through adoption.

We know that Buddhists in China during the same period (third and fourth centuries) struggled with their political rulers over issues the duty of homage to the emperor; and the celibacy of the monastic community was a point of contention from this early period onwards, with those who were antagonistic to Buddhism arguing that the monks were an unproductive and parasitic element of the population. The Buddhist communities of Kroraina may not have been large or politically powerful enough to avoid pressure from the king and his court to circumvent the strictures of celibacy and fulfil a dual role as a socially productive householder and a practitioner of Buddhist rituals for the state. In this situation, we have a possible explanation for the existence of married Buddhist monks in Kroraina.

NOTES


2. This misapprehension is unfortunately reproduced in an otherwise excellent study of monks’ and nuns’ relationships with families and spouses: Shayne Clarke, Family Matters in Indian Buddhist Monasticisms (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014), p. 116.


7. On the bodhisattva precepts in China, see Wendi Ademek, The Mystique of Transmission: On an
8. As Jaffe, pp. 2–3, points out, the acceptance of married Buddhist clergy in Korea and Taiwan in the twentieth century was due to Japanese colonial influence, and is currently on the wane.

9. Ibid., p. 2.

10. In many of his papers, Schopen has shown how Buddhist monastic practice differed from the ideals of the sутras and vinaya; see for example Gregory Schopen, *Figments and Fragments of the Mahāyāna* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), p. 15. The example of Newar Buddhism in the Kathmandu valley is also mentioned by Clarke, p. 116. However, the argument that Newar Śākyā priests are Buddhists monks who at some point gave up the strictures of celibacy is difficult to substantiate and remains disputed; see Theodore Riccardi, ‘Review of David N. Gellner, “Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest. Newar Buddhism and its Hierarchy of Ritual”,’ *Himalaya, the Journal of the Association for Nepal and Himalayan Studies*, 16 (1996), 58–61.


13. The British Library manuscripts have been digitized and are available on the website of the International Dunhuang Project (<http://idp.bl.uk>) [accessed 28 August 2014]. Apart from the Stein collections, there are wooden documents from Kroraina in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, and some have been discovered more recently by Chinese archaeologists; see Meicin Lin, ‘Kharoṣṭhī Bibliography: The Collections from China (1897–1993)’, *Central Asiatic Journal*, 40 (1996), 187–220.

14. The different forms of the wooden documents are discussed in Padwa, pp. 100–05.

15. KI 418, Or.8211/1374 (N.xxxi.6a), Obv. For a complete annotated transliteration of this and other Niya documents, see the catalogue on the website <http://www.gandhari.org> [accessed 28 August 2014]. Translations of Niya documents in this paper are from Burrow, *Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents*.

16. KI 554 (N.xxxiv.viii.23), Obv.

17. There is some support for this supposition in the vinaya passages studied by Clarke (see note 2 above). See especially Clarke, Chapter 3.

18. KI 415, Or.8211/1372+1373 (N.xxxi.2+3), concerns ‘an adopted child who is a novice’, *putra sammnera uneyaga*, and KI 569 (N.xxxiv.vii.72) concerns the adoption of a child called Śamamnera.


20. KI 489 (N.xxxiii.i.11), Rev.


23. KI 390, Or.8211/1673 (N.xxv.355), Obv. lines 1–2: *priyadevanamṃuśa devammanuśya-sampujiṭasa sunammapariṇiṭita sa mahiyanya samprasīṭita atripta priyadarśanasa mahanṭa-cobbo Śamaṇena [sa]...*

24. KI 523, Or.8211/1401 (N.xxxiv.viii.9), Rev, line 3: *punar naro vardhati havya punah śaśaya niṃdyate punah śaśaya nivedyate punah śaśaya veyati kṣura dhara saṃ[me] (3) īstriya taṣa varna ko bhaṣati.*

25. KI 514, Or.8211.1393 (N.xxxiv.vi.4), Obv., lines 2–3: *istriyanaṃ priyu [v]astī mā priyu tiṇa viḍyati kṣura dhara saṃ [me] (3) īstriya taṣa varna ko bhaṣati.*


27. KI 510, Or.8211/1388 (N.xxxiv.v1), line 2.
28. KI 511 (N.xxiv .vi.1). For a complete annotated transliteration, see the catalogue record for CKD0511 at <http://www.gandhari.org> [accessed 28 August 2014]. Some previous studies (e.g. Hansen) have stated that the ritual is for bathing an image of the Buddha, an interpretation of the Sanskrit term that appears in Burrow’s translation (ganottama); but this term is an epithet for the monastic community (‘the supreme assembly’). In fact, Burrow’s ganottama is itself an interpretation of the word that appears in the manuscript, which is ganuktama (actually in the genitive as ganuktamasya). Also, the monks referred to in this text are bhikṣu rather than śramaṇa.

29. 其國王奉法。可有四千餘僧悉小乘學。 This and the following translations are adapted from H. A. Giles, The Travels of Fa-hsien (399–414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1923). I would like to thank Imre Galambos and Emma Goodliffe for their assistance with these passages.


33. The relationship between Kroraina and the neighbouring kingdom of Khotan appears to have been close, judging from the many Niya documents mentioning people travelling between there and Khotan.

34. This understanding of the role of ritual and other practices is concisely expressed by Latour: ‘If you don’t have the festival now or print the newspaper today, you simply lose the grouping, which is not a building in need of restoration but a movement in need of continuation. If a dancer stops dancing, the dance is finished. No inertia will carry the show forward’. Bruno Latour, Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 37.


36. As Clarke has shown, a close study of various versions of the vinaya shows a much more complex approach to familial relationships among monastics than has usually been assumed, though the relationship between this literary material and actual monastic practice ‘on the ground’ is, as he also points out, not clear.