



A Buddhist View of Women: A Comparative Study of the Rules for *Bhikṣuṇīs* and *Bhikṣus* Based on the Chinese *Prātimokṣa*

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Journal of Buddhist Ethics 6 (1999):29-105

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Abstract

A generalized view of women in Buddhism is imposed by almost one hundred additional rules and the “Eight Rules” upon nuns. Some scholars, writers, and practitioners have asserted that the rules in the *Prātimokṣa* subordinate nuns to monks. However, I argue that the additional *pārājikas* for nuns treat sexual matters seriously because of the fertility of females. Some *saṃghāvaśeṣas* for nuns provide safeguards against falling victim to lustful men. Some *nihsargika-pāyantikas* for monks forbid them from taking advantage of nuns. Two *aniyatas* for monks show a landmark in trust in women. Furthermore, seven *adhikaraṇa-sāmathas* provide evidence of the equality of men and women. Many of the additional *pāyantikas* for nuns originated because of nuns’ living situations and social conditions in ancient India. Finally, the totally different tone and discrepancies in penalties for the same offenses between the *pāyantikas* and the “Eight Rules” suggest that the “Eight Rules” were appended later.

INTRODUCTION

I will make known the course of training for monks, founded on ten reasons: for the excellence of the Order, for the comfort of the Order, for the restraint of evil-minded men, for the ease of well-behaved monks, for the restraint of the cankers belonging to the here and now, for the combating of the cankers belonging to other worlds, for the benefit of non-believers, for the increase in the number of believers, for establishing *dhamma* indeed, for following the rules of restraint. Thus, monks, this course of training should be set forth.¹

Vinaya–Piṭaka

There is a generalized view of women in Buddhism implied in the Buddhist monastic rules for *bhikṣuṇīs*² and *bhikṣus*³ in the *Vinaya*.⁴ Referring to the monastic rules for *bhikṣuṇīs*, most Buddhist scholars, writers and practitioners agree that the rules in the *Vinaya* subordinated the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*⁵ to the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*.⁶ Many people are also potentially misled into thinking that the rules in the *Vinaya* are unfairly more harsh for *bhikṣuṇīs* because of the larger number of rules, including the “Eight Rules,”⁷ which are only for *bhikṣuṇīs*. In addition, many *bhikṣus* and even *bhikṣuṇīs* believe that *bhikṣuṇīs* must be subordinated to *bhikṣus* because of the prescriptions set forth in the Eight Rules. As a result, some Buddhist scholars, writers, and practitioners claim that *bhikṣuṇīs* as women have been discriminated against in the monastic rules. For example, Kate Wheeler asserts:

He [Gautama Buddha] required nuns to submit to Eight Special Rules⁸ explicitly subjugating them to monks . . . and later added at least 84 additional precepts for nuns on top of the monks’ 227, often stipulating worse penalties for similar infractions.⁹

Diana Y. Paul explains the *Vinaya*:

The first text translated below describes the subordination of the nun’s community to that of the monks, indicating the lack of autonomy among the women’s community and their subsequent deprivation of the power to define their religious obligations along norms that they themselves established. Unlike the Christian organizational structure of nuns which was separate from that of monks, the Buddhist nuns in ancient Indian society were accountable to the monks, and their organizational structure was subordinate to that of the monks. They were directly governed by the monks at joint meetings

of both orders.¹⁰

Rita M. Gross also describes the *Vinaya* rules as:

. . . placing all nuns lower in the hierarchy than any monks . . .¹¹

Nancy Schuster Barnes explains the rules:

However, by imposing rules on nuns which would place them in a permanently inferior position in all their interactions with monks, the monks reserved for themselves the control and leadership of the entire *saṅgha*.¹²

Richard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson say:

The Blessed One [Gautama Buddha] conceded that women are able to attain *arhant-ship* but laid eight special regulations on the nuns, subordinating them strictly to the Order of Monks.¹³

Susan Murcott mentions:

The nun's *saṅgha* modeled itself after the monks' *saṅgha*, only the nuns' rules and regulations were stricter. The purpose of these stricter rules was to keep women's supposedly more wayward nature under control and to keep final authority in the hands of the monks.¹⁴

Richard Gombrich contends:

. . . [T]here were two social hierarchies he [Gautama Buddha] never questioned: age and sex.¹⁵

Uma Chakravarti comments:

A wide range of restrictions were placed on *bhikṣuṇīs*, who were even required to offer their alms to the monks if they ran into them.¹⁶

Audrey Mck. Fernandez mentions:

However, even today there are a couple of hundred more rules for women than men, which has rankled women and has kept who knows how many from leaving lay life.¹⁷

Although most Buddhist scholars and writers contend that *bhikṣuṇīs* were subordinated to *bhikṣus* by having so many additional rules and the

Eight Rules imposed upon them, I disagree. Rather, a close and comparative examination of the Buddhist monastic rules for both *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* reveals a compassionate and practical regulation of the daily monastic life of both men and women, based on the realities of life at the time the rules were formulated. This is seen in the meticulous care and compassionate understanding of women's "alms life"¹⁸ in the *Vinaya*. It is perhaps a mistake to depend solely on the existence of the additional monastic rules for *bhikṣuṇīs*, without examining their origin or social context, to form a generalized Buddhist view of women.

Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to examine the rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* in the *Prātimokṣa*.¹⁹ I believe that the guidelines for discipline set down in the rules in the *Bhikṣuṇī* and the *Bhikṣu Prātimokṣa* allow us to infer a Buddhist attitude toward women. This paper, by comparing the rules for both *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*, presents a different interpretation of the rules.

The text used in this paper is primarily from the Chinese *Ssu fen lu*, the *Vinaya* of the *Dharmaguptaka* School.²⁰ However, because no English translation of the Chinese *Ssu fen lu* is available, when the rules are the same in both the Chinese and the Pāli *Vinayas*,²¹ I prefer to use an English translation of the Pāli *Vinaya* because this text is easily accessible to Westerners. According to W. Pachow,

The *Dharmaguptaka* [*Vinaya*] follows very closely the Pāli texts in most cases, not merely in numbering the series but also in contents, except the VII section in which, it adds 26 prohibitory rules regarding the *Sūpa*.²² And that is unique among all the available texts.²³

E. Frauwallner also says that the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* is one of the most complete and well preserved of the *vinayas*. Its numbers and contents are very close to those of the Pāli *Vinaya*.²⁴ Sukumar Dutt says:

The most complete body of the monastic laws, however, is to be found in the *Vinayaṭīka* of the Theravāda Pāli canon.²⁵

Chatsumarn Kabilsingh also explains that although there is no definite proof that the Pāli *Vinaya* is the oldest and the only original text, through a comparative study of the rules in six *vinaya* schools,²⁶ she suggests that the Pāli *Vinaya* did not have any rules added to it later as did the other *vinayas*, and that its contents are very old because the rules in the Pāli *Vinaya* are always shared with either one or more of the other schools.²⁷ The Pāli *Vinaya* has been transmitted by the Theravāda School and is observed by Theravādin *bhikṣus* today. The translations of the Pāli *Vinaya*

available in English are: Hermann Oldenberg's translation,²⁸ T. W. Rhys David's and H. Oldenberg's²⁹ and I. B. Horner's.³⁰

On the other hand, the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* was translated into the Chinese as the *Ssu fen lu tsung* or *Caturvaga Vinaya* by Buddhayasas with Chu Fo-nien, possibly between 410 and 412 C. E. in the capital of China, Ch'ang-an.³¹ The Chinese *Ssu fen lu* (*Vinaya* of the Four Divisions) consists of four parts: *Bhikṣu-vibhaṅga*,³² *Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga*,³³ *Skandhaka*,³⁴ and the appendices. The *Ssu fen lu* has been very influential and widely used in East Asian Buddhist countries.

The *Prātimokṣa* of *Dharmaguptaka* was used in all convents of China as the disciplinary code. Beside, the *Vinaya* school (*Ssu-fen-Lu tsung*), founded in China by Tao-hsuan, also accepted the disciplinary rules of the *Dharmaguptaka* as the most authoritative work.³⁵

The rules contained in the *Ssu fen lu* are still observed by the Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* today. Even though the only *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* existing in the world is in the tradition of the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*, so far as I have been able to discover the Chinese *Ssu fen lu* is not available in English, particularly the rules for *bhikṣuṇīs*. In her book *A Comparative Study of Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha*, Kabilsingh says that she used the Chinese *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* which had been translated into Thai.³⁶ In the following, I give the meanings of the rules, rather than translating word for word. In order to understand the rules more easily, I have included comparative tables of the rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* side by side in each category of the *Prātimokṣas*.

The *Prātimokṣa* is a collection of monastic rules contained in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*³⁷ (Basket of Discipline), one of the three large collections of the Buddhist canon known as the Tripiṭaka. In addition to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the Tripiṭaka includes the *Sūtra Piṭaka* (Basket of Discourses), and the *Abhidharma Piṭaka* (Basket of the Special Teaching). Many scholars have explained the possible meaning of the Sanskrit word *Prātimokṣa* (Pāli: *Pātimokkha*), but these explanations remain speculative. Sukumar Dutt and Gokuldas De, who represent the majority opinion, say:

Pātimokkha . . . can be equated to Skt. *Prātimokṣa*, which from its etymological parts lends itself to interpretation as something serving for a bond, the prefix *prāti* meaning "against" and the root *mokṣa* meaning "scattering," though I have not been able to discover any instance of the use of the word precisely in this sense in Sanskrit.³⁸

The term '*Pātimokkha*' is best derived from the word '*mokṣa*' mean-

ing freedom with the prefix ‘*prat*’ which reverses its meaning when joined to it (cf. *pratisrota*, *pratigāmi*, *pratikula*, etc.). *Prātimokṣa*, an adjective, meaning ‘opposed to freedom,’ ‘bound down,’ when changed to a noun becomes *Prātimokṣa* which in Pāli takes the form ‘*pātimokkha*’ meaning that which is ‘binding upon’ and it is exactly in this sense that the code ‘*Pātimokkha*’ is used.³⁹

The *Prātimokṣa* contains the *Bhikṣu Prātimokṣa* and the *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa* because it concerns both *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*. The *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya*, the *Ssu fen lu*, also contains the monastic rules for *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* in the sections known as the *Bhikṣu Ssu fen lu* and the *Bhikṣuṇī Ssu fen lu*. The *Bhikṣuṇī Ssu fen lu* has seven categories of rules, while the *Bhikṣu Ssu fen lu* contains eight categories, adding the *Aniyata Dharmas* (undetermined rules).⁴⁰ In order to make a complete comparative analysis of the rules in each category in the *Prātimokṣa*, I will cover each category of the rules chapter by chapter in turn: *Pārājika Dharmas* (defeat), *Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas* (formal meeting), *Aniyata Dharmas* (undetermined), *Nihsargika–Pāyantika Dharmas* (forfeiture), *Pāyantika Dharmas* (expiation), *Pratideśanīya Dharmas* (confession), *Śaikṣa Dharmas* (training), and *Adhikaraṇa–Śamatha Dharmas* (legal questions).⁴¹ Finally, I will explore the interpolation of the Eight Rules which are mandated for *bhikṣuṇīs* only, by comparing the Eight Rules and the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika* Rules.

PART I

Pārājika Dharma (Defeat)

The categories of rules in the *Ssu fen lu* and the Pāli *Vinaya* are arranged in order of the severity of the offenses. The most serious offenses against monastic life are the *pārājika dharmas* (Pāli: *pārājika*) for both *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*. I. B. Horner explains the term *pārājika* as follows:

Burnouf’s idea (adopted by Childers and others) is that *pārājika* is derived from *para* + *aj*, meaning a crime which involves the expulsion or exclusion of the guilty party. *Para* + *aj* may be a better source, grammatically speaking, for *pārājika* then is *para–ji*. Yet, that the sense intended is “defeat,” seems to me rather less doubtful than that it is expulsion, and *aj*, though a Vedic root, meaning “to drive away,” is unknown as a root in Pāli.⁴²

E. J. Thomas says that “Buddhaghosa interprets *pārājika* as suffering defeat, and the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* appear to do the same, but the earliest

commentary in the *Vinaya* gives no suggestion of this meaning.”⁴³

In explaining the term *pārājika dharmas* (Chinese: *po luo yi fa*) the *Ssu fen lu* says that if a *bhikṣu* [or *bhikṣuṇī*] commits a *pārājika* offense, he [she] is compared with “a person whose head is cut off.” The offender totally loses his [her] monastic status and is no longer in association with the pure *bhikṣuṇīs* or *bhikṣus*.⁴⁴ In this category, we see that *bhikṣuṇīs* have four additional rules concerning sexual behaviors. If a *bhikṣu* is involved in a sexual offense in this category, the *bhikṣu* is required to leave the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*. In the same way, if a *bhikṣuṇī* has committed a sexual offense in this category, she is also required to leave the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*. However, the result of the *bhikṣuṇī*'s sexual offense may lead to pregnancy because *bhikṣuṇīs* are potentially fertile. For this reason, the four additional rules in this category are restricted rules to *bhikṣuṇīs*. The *Pārājika Dharmas* are as follows:

Table 1

Pārājika Dharmas (Defeat)
(Emphasizing Rules for *Bhikṣuṇīs*)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i>	Order of Same Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ⁴⁵	Summary of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i> ⁴⁶
1	1	Not to have sexual intercourse
2	2	Not to steal
3	3	Not to kill a human or one who has human form of life
4	4	Not to falsely claim to have attained superhuman perfection
5		Not to touch and rub a man who is filled with sexual desire ⁴⁷
6		Not to involve in the special eight actions ⁴⁸ with a man who is filled with desire
7		Not to condone or conceal another <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> 's <i>pārājika</i> offense
8		Not to follow a <i>bhikṣu</i> who is suspended by the <i>saṅgha</i> in spite of being admonished a third time ⁴⁹

As table number one shows, *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* share the first four *pārājika dharmas*. There are four additional rules (#5, 6, 7, 8) for *bhikṣuṇīs*.

Violation of any one of the *pārājika dharmas* has no possibility of rehabilitation and entails permanent expulsion from the *saṅgha*.⁵⁰ Two rules (#5, 6) of the additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* deal with sexual offenses, number seven with concealing another *bhikṣuṇī*'s *pārājika* offense, and number eight with a *bhikṣu* who is suspended by the *saṅgha*. Without having sufficient knowledge of the Buddhist view of women, some may think that the four more rules were added because of women's unrestrained sexual desires. For example, a Korean (male) Buddhist scholar, Jung-shup Han, comments on the *Bhikṣuṇī Pārājika* additional rules:

We should understand the reasons why Gautama Buddha refused to found the *Bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha* and laid down four additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* than for *bhikṣus* in this category. Because *bhikṣuṇīs*' sexual desires were lustful and uncontrollable, they had sexual relations with Buddhist lay people, non-Buddhists or even *bhikṣus*. Thus they created serious problems in the Buddhist community and caused the fall of the pure *dharma* during the time of the Buddha.⁵¹

However, Richard F. Gombrich points out:

. . . [I]t is noteworthy that the Buddha did not hold the view, so widespread in traditional India and elsewhere, that sexual desire is the women's fault and sexual intercourse the result of female temptation of the male . . . More substantial is his sermon which describes sexual desire of men for women and of women for men in identical terms.⁵²

Gross also mentions:

Interestingly, though many modern commentators feel that one of the major concerns of the monastic rules was to separate the monks and the nuns to protect celibacy, neither monks or nuns are tempted by each other, with very few exceptions. The real struggle is between monastics and lay people.⁵³

Nagata Mizu additionally claims a practical reason for the two additional rules (#5, 6) concerning sexual prohibition for *bhikṣuṇīs*. He notes that these rules prohibit *bhikṣuṇīs* from physical contact with men at any time and in any situation because of the *bhikṣuṇīs*' potential fertility, child-bearing being contrary to monastic life.⁵⁴

The *Ssu fen lu* does not elaborate on how the seventh *pārājika dharma* for *bhikṣuṇīs* came to be formulated.⁵⁵ However, the Pāli *Vinaya* gives an historical account of how the rule was formed. The *bhikṣuṇī* Sundarīnandā

was involved in sexual relations with the layman Sālha, Migāra's grandson, and became pregnant. She was forced to leave the *saṅgha* after she could no longer conceal her condition. Her sister, Thullanandā, concealed Sundarīnandā's offense even though she knew that Sundarīnandā had committed a *pārājika* offense. So even though rule number seven of the *Pārājika Dharmas* at first glance seems to deal with the concealment of an offense, it also indicates a concern with sexual matters between men and women.⁵⁶

Although Gautama Buddha laid down the rules that *bhikṣuṇīs* should learn the *dharma* from *bhikṣus* who were authorized by the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*,⁵⁷ he also established rule number eight to protect *bhikṣuṇīs* from abuse by a man who was no longer a *bhikṣu*. This rule may be a relic of the early period of the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* when some *bhikṣuṇīs* were used by a *bhikṣu* who had been expelled by the *saṅgha*.⁵⁸ The additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* in the *Pārājika Dharmas* look varied, but the case histories establish them as generally concerning sexual offenses. Rule number eight is one of the most important rules of the monastic life for *bhikṣuṇīs*; however, violation of the rule is not an offense until the third admonition. Chatsuman Kabilsingh comments on rule number eight:

It is interesting to note that the structure of *pārājika* 8 stands out from the rest. A *bhikṣuṇī* is defeated only after the third admonition, the form resembles that of *saṃghāvaśeṣa* more than *pārājika*. Could it be possible that it has been shifted from *saṃghāvaśeṣa*? If that was the case, then it must have occurred at a very early period before the separation of the various sects, for all of them share this rule.⁵⁹

Nagata Mizu contends that if a *bhikṣuṇī* is involved in sexual relations, she is required to leave the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*. Additionally, the result of the offense can cause her pregnancy, and this can result in a serious external problem for the Buddhist community as well as the individual. In contrast, if a *bhikṣu* is involved in sexual relations, the punishment of the offense could be inwardly limited only to the *bhikṣu*.⁶⁰

From a close examination of the comparative study of the *pārājika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*, we see that the four additional *pārājika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* actually deal with sexual matters. It seems that Gautama Buddha put great emphasis on providing stronger guards for the life of chastity for *bhikṣuṇīs* than for *bhikṣus*, and strong guards against sexual behavior for *bhikṣuṇīs* because of their potential fertility. As Nagata Mizu asserts, the results of sexual offenses of *bhikṣuṇīs* can be greatly different from those of *bhikṣus*. The result of the sexual offense of a *bhikṣuṇī* is not simply settled by only leaving the *saṅgha* herself, because of her motherhood and childbearing.

PART II

Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas (Formal Meeting)

The second most serious group of monastic rules in the *Prātimokṣa* are the *Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas* (Pāli: *saṅghadisesa*). The meaning of the term *saṅghāvaśeṣa* is also controversial among scholars. Kabilsingh explains that “[i]n some of the Sanskrit texts the word occurs in the form *saṅghāvaśeṣa*, *saṅghadiseṣa* would thus be an old Maghadhi form of *saṅghavasesa*, a later Sanskrit rendering of the original *sa* “*ghadisesa*.”⁶¹ Horner notes:

Like the meaning of *pārājika*, the meaning of *saṅghadisesa* [Skt. *saṅghāvaśeṣa*] is controversial. Again B. C. Law and I follow *Vinaya* Texts in rendering *saṅghadisesa* as offenses (or rules or matters) which require a formal meeting of the Order [*saṅgha*].⁶²

Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas translates into the Chinese as *seng ts’an fa*, which means “remaining in the *saṅgha*.”⁶³ The Chinese *Shih sung lu* explains the term *saṅghāvaśeṣa* as the offenses despite which one could still remain in the *saṅgha*. When a *bhikṣu* [or *bhikṣuṇī*] confesses to the *saṅgha* his [or her] offense, he [or she] can be expiated from the wrongdoing.⁶⁴ In this category, we see that *bhikṣuṇīs* have four more rules than *bhikṣus*. Even though there are four additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* in this category, the punishment for violation of them shows a compassionate way for *bhikṣuṇīs* because it requires three admonitions. As a result, the four additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* provide more opportunities for *bhikṣuṇīs* for self-training in their alms life. *Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas* are as follows.

Table 2

Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas (Formal Meeting)

(Emphasizing Rules for *Bhikṣuṇīs*)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i>	Order of Same Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ⁶⁵	Summary of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i> ⁶⁶
1	5	Not to undertake an act of a go-between for a man and a woman
2	8	Not to accuse an innocent <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> of a groundless <i>pārājika</i> offense

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3	9	Not to accuse an innocent <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> of a groundless <i>pārājika</i> offense out of anger or hostility toward her
4		Not to sue as an accuser for damages
5		Not to ordain a thief
6		Not to restore a suspended <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> to the <i>saṅgha</i>
7		Not to go to villages alone, cross to the other side of a river alone, go away for a night alone, or stay behind a group of <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> alone
8		Not to accept food or clothes from a man who is filled with desire
9		Not to persuade other <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> to accept food from a man who is filled with desire
10	10	Not to cause a schism in a harmonious <i>saṅgha</i> in spite of being admonished a third time
11	11	Not to support a schismatic <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> in spite of being admonished a third time
12	12	Not to ignore a third admonition to leave a village after bringing corruption to a family or village
13	13	Not to break the regulations of the <i>saṅgha</i> or ignore a third admonition due to malice
14		Not to get along with a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> who has committed offenses and conceal each other's offense in spite of being admonished a third time
15		Not to encourage other <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> to get along with a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> who has committed an offense and conceal one another's offenses in spite of being admonished a third time
16		Not to say that you will repudiate the Buddha, <i>Dharma</i> and the <i>saṅgha</i> out of anger or displeasure in spite of being admonished a third time
17		Not to fight with a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> and bear malice to the <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> in spite of being admonished a third time

Table 3

Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas for Bhikṣus

(Emphasizing Rules for *Bhikṣus*)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i>	Summary of Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ⁶⁷
1	Not to intentionally emit semen
2	Not to engage with a woman in bodily contact or take her hand, take her arm, touch her hair, touch one or another of her limbs
3	Not to speak to a woman with wicked words concerned with unlawful sexual intercourse
4	Not to speak in front of women, in praise of sexual service of the body with regard to himself
6	Not to build a dwelling place in excessive measurements ⁶⁸ without a donor
7	Not to build a large residence with a donor on a site entailing harm (to creatures) or with surroundings which are not conducive to roaming

The seventeen rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* and thirteen rules for *bhikṣus* in this category represent the second severe breach of the monastic discipline. Seven rules (#1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13 for *bhikṣuṇīs*, #5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 for *bhikṣus*) are common to *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*. Of the ten *saṃghāvaśeṣa dharmas* which are different for *bhikṣuṇīs* and for *bhikṣus*, rule number four for *bhikṣuṇīs* deals with behavior with lay people; rule five with false ordination; rule six with restoring a suspended *bhikṣuṇī* without permission from the *saṅgha*; rule seven is about those who go alone into the village or cross the bank of the river, and spend a night alone; rules eight and nine are related to safeguarding *bhikṣuṇīs* from the dangers of lustful men; rules fourteen and fifteen forbid *bhikṣuṇīs* from concealing the offenses of others; rule sixteen concerns the *bhikṣuṇī* who shows disrespect to the Buddha, *Dharma* and the *saṅgha*; and rule seventeen deals with a quarrelsome *bhikṣuṇī*.

Just as *bhikṣuṇīs* have rules which apply only to them in this category, *bhikṣus* likewise have rules specific to their situations (Table No. 3). The six different rules for *bhikṣus* in this category cover such matters: four rules (#1, 2, 3, 4) are related to sex; and two (#6, 7) are concerned with the construction of a hut or a large dwelling place. These rules, which are only

for *bhikṣus*, also provide glimpses into the lives of *bhikṣuṇīs*. For example, with regard to the two rules about building dwelling place, Kabilsingh claims that, because these rules “are not shared by the *bhikṣuṇīs*, it might be understood that usually the nuns are not themselves in charge of construction.”⁶⁹

The first nine of the *saṃghāvaśeṣa dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* become offenses at once when a *bhikṣuṇī* or a *bhikṣu* transgresses any of these rules, whereas the final seven (#10–17) for *bhikṣuṇīs* and final four (#10–13) for *bhikṣus* do not become offenses until a third admonition of *bhikṣuṇīs* or *bhikṣus* is necessary. The offenses of the four additional rules (#14, 15, 16, 17) for *bhikṣuṇīs* in this category require three admonitions of the *bhikṣuṇī* involved.⁷⁰

When a *bhikṣu* commits any one of the *saṃghāvaśeṣa* offenses, he is subjected to a period of *parivāsa*⁷¹ [Pāli: *parivāsa*] for as many days as the offense is concealed. If a *bhikṣu* informs another *bhikṣu* at once about his offense of the *Samghāvaśeṣa Dharma*, he is required to undergo only a period of the six nights of the *mānatva*⁷² [Pāli: *mānatta*] in the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*. However, if a *bhikṣu* conceals his offense, first he must go through a period of the *parivāsa* for as many days as it is concealed, and then a further period called *mānatva* must also be spent in the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*.⁷³

In contrast, when a *bhikṣuṇī* has violated one of the *saṃghāvaśeṣa dharmas*, she is required to undergo only the period of *mānatva* for a half month in both *Bhikṣu* and *Bhikṣuṇī saṅghas*, no matter whether she has concealed her offense for some period or not.⁷⁴ *bhikṣuṇīs* are not required to do the *parivāsa*. However, *bhikṣuṇīs* are subjected to a period of the *mānatva* in both *saṅghas* for half a month. She has to approach both *Bhikṣu* and *Bhikṣuṇī saṅghas*, and beg for the period of the *mānatva*.⁷⁵ The Pāli *Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya* states that:

A nun having fallen into one or other of these shall spend a fortnight in *mānatta* [Skt. *mānatva*] discipline before both Orders. If, when the nun has performed the *mānatta* discipline, the Order of nuns should number twenty, then that nun may be rehabilitated. But if the Order of nuns, numbering less than twenty even by one, should rehabilitate that nun, that nun is not rehabilitated, and those nuns are blameworthy; this is the proper course there.⁷⁶

On the other hand, the *Bhikṣuṇī Ssu fen lu* requires a larger *saṅgha* members stating that:

If a *bhikṣuṇī* violates any one of the *saṃghāvaśeṣa dharmas*, she must perform a period of the *mānatva* for one half month in both

saṅghas. When the *bhikṣuṇī* has performed the *mānatva* discipline, she must ask for expiation of her offense in the presence of both *saṅghas* of the twenty *bhikṣus* and twenty *bhikṣuṇīs*. If there is less than forty even by one, she cannot be rehabilitated, and those *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* (in both *saṅghas*) are blameworthy (for not having a required number to rehabilitate her).⁷⁷

In comparing the two versions above, we note that they disagree in the required numbers for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*. The Pāli *Vinaya* requires only twenty *bhikṣuṇīs* as a sufficient number for rehabilitation, but it does not specifically give the number required for *bhikṣus*. However, the Chinese *Ssu fen lu* requires twenty *bhikṣus* and twenty *bhikṣuṇīs* in each *saṅgha* as a sufficient number for the rehabilitation.⁷⁸ Perhaps during the long history of translation of the *Vinaya*, the additional sufficient numbers may have been added to the Chinese *Bhikṣuṇī Ssu fen lu*.

Taking a look at “performing the *mānatva* discipline before both *saṅghas* for *bhikṣuṇīs*,” it might be thought that the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* subordinated its position to the *Bhikṣu saṅgha* and that *bhikṣuṇīs* are subjected to a heavier penalty than *bhikṣus* for an offense of the *Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas*. However, Ian Astley argues:

Actually, although many parts of the *Vinaya* reflect a very petty-minded way of thinking which may be regarded as holding almost anything from monkeys to women in an unfavorable light, the basic considerations behind this difference in the relative status of the two orders should not be misconstrued. In those days (and this still applies to much of present Indian society) a woman who had left the life of the household would otherwise have been regarded more or less as a harlot and subjected to the appropriate harassment. By being formally associated with the monks, the nuns were able to enjoy the benefits of leaving the household life without incurring immediate harm. Whilst it is one thing to abhor—as any civilized person must do—the attitudes and behavior towards women which underlie the necessity for such protection, it is surely misplaced to criticize the Buddha and his community for adopting this particular policy.⁷⁹

I fully agree with Astley that the formal acts required for *bhikṣuṇīs* before both *saṅghas*, and some of the additional rules, were generated because of the specific social and cultural context during the time of Gautama Buddha. In the *Vinaya* there are several examples of Brahmins who spoke of *bhikṣuṇīs* as “harlots or whores.” These stories provide a glimpse of *bhikṣuṇīs* in the midst of the Brahmin social milieu during the time of Gautama Buddha. For example:

Now at that time several nuns, going to Sāvathī through the Kosalan districts, having arrived at a certain village in the evening, having approached a certain Brahmin family, asked for accommodation.

Then that Brahmin woman spoke thus to these nuns:

“Wait, ladies, until the Brahmin comes.” . . .

Then that Brahmin having come during the night, spoke thus to that Brahmin woman: “Who are these?”

“They are nuns, master.”

Saying: “Throw out these shaven-headed strumpets,” he threw them out from the house.⁸⁰

* * *

. . . Then that man, defeated, looked down upon, criticized, spread it about, saying:

“These shaven-headed (women) are not (true) recluses, they are strumpets. How can they have the store-room taken away from us?”⁸¹

* * *

. . . Then that Brahmin . . . spread it about, saying:

“These shaven-headed strumpets are not true recluses. How can they let a pot fall on my head? I will set fire to their dwelling,” and having taken up a fire-brand, he entered the dwelling.⁸²

Within these social conditions, Gautama Buddha opened up new horizons for women by founding the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*. This social and spiritual advancement for women was ahead of the times and, therefore, drew many objections from men, including *bhikṣus*. He was probably well aware of the controversy that would be caused by the harassment of his female disciples. In Buddhist history, the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* was founded five years later than the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*.⁸³ In the early stage of the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*, *bhikṣuṇīs* learned all forms of disciplinary acts and various aspects of knowledge from *bhikṣus*. The Pāli *Cullavagga* (*The Less or Lesser Division of the Vinaya*)⁸⁴ shows how the *Bhikṣu saṅgha* was modeled on the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*.

Now at that time the *Pātimokkha* was not recited to nuns. They told this matter to the Lord. He said:

“I allow you, monks, to recite the *Pātimokkha* to the nuns.” . . .⁸⁵

* * *

The nuns did not know to recite the *Pātimokkha*. They told this matter to the Lord. He said:

“I allow you, monks, to explain to the nuns through monks, saying:
‘The *Pātimokkha* should be recited thus.’ ”⁸⁶

* * *

The nuns did not know how to confess offenses. They told this matter to the Lord. He said:

“I allow you, monks, to explain to the nuns through monks, saying:
‘An offense should be confessed thus.’ ”⁸⁷

* * *

The nuns did not know how to acknowledge offenses. They told this matter to the Lord. He said:

“I allow you, monks, to explain to the nuns through monks, saying:
‘An offense should be acknowledged thus.’ ”⁸⁸

* * *

Nuns did not know (formal) acts should be carried out. They told this matter to the Lord. He said:

“I allow you, monks, to explain to the nuns through monks, saying:
‘A (formal) act should be carried out thus.’ ”⁸⁹

As I have discussed, the performance of the formal acts for *bhikṣuṇīs* before both *saṅghas* provided a close tie between the two *saṅghas*. By legitimately associating with the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*, the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* had benefits and protection from outside harm in ancient India. When we especially consider the cultural context of ancient India, the formal acts before both *saṅghas* might have been necessary for the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*. As I have already mentioned, the four additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* (#14, 15, 16, 17) in this category belong to the last eight rules which require three admonitions before punishment. This requirement of three admonitions for the offenses of the four additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs*, I believe, provides more opportunities for *bhikṣuṇīs* to develop their religious lives without overly strict punishment. These also encourage *bhikṣuṇīs* to expand their self-cultivation with the three admonitions, adding a compassionately accommodating limit to behavior.

PART III

Aniyata Dharmas (Undetermined)

The third category of the rules for *bhikṣus* is the *Aniyata Dharmas* (Pāli: *aniyatā*) which do not exist in the *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa*. *Aniyata* has been defined as “[s]ince the nature of the offense is uncertain, this section

of the *Pātimokkha* is called *aniyata dharma*, that is, ‘to be decided.’⁹⁰ Charles S. Prebish says that “[t]his category of offenses is referred to as “undetermined offenses.”⁹¹ *Aniyata Dharmas* translates into Chinese as *pu ting fa*,⁹² which means indefinite or undetermined. In this category, the two rules for *bhikṣus* show an astonishing degree of trust in women to testify against a *bhikṣu* who has committed one of the *aniyata dharmas*. *Aniyata Dharmas* are as follows.

Table 4

Aniyata Dharmas for only *Bhikṣus* (Undetermined)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i>	Summary of Rules ⁹³
1	Not to sit down with a woman in a secret place, a concealed seat suitable for having sexual relations with her
2	Not to sit down with a woman in an open place or on a concealed seat unsuitable for having sexual relations

My discussion of these two rules for *bhikṣus* may seem irrelevant. However, they contain a Buddhist view of women. As Prebish points out, “[t]he two [*aniyata*] offenses in this category reflect an outstanding and somewhat surprising degree of trust in the female lay follower.”⁹⁴ If a *bhikṣu* has taken a seat together with a woman in a secret place which is convenient for sexual relations or in an open place unsuitable for lustful desires, he may be charged with one of the offenses of the *Pārājika*, *Samghāvaśeṣa* or *Pāyantika Dharmas*. The punishment may vary from the *pārājika* to the *pāyantika* according to the eyewitness testimony of a female lay follower, based on her personal word.⁹⁵ It is noteworthy that the word of a woman was held in such high regard, and certainly unusual given the general low status of women at the time the rules were formulated. In the penalties for the offenses of the *aniyata dharmas* for *bhikṣus*, these two rules put a considerable trust in women, even though the *Aniyata Dharmas* are not applicable to *bhikṣuṇīs*. Horner notes:

These two *Aniyata* rules indicate the respect and deference that was, at that time, paid to women. They were not scornfully brushed aside as idle gossips and frivolous chatter-boxes, but their words were taken seriously.⁹⁶

PART IV

Nihsargika–Pāyantika Dharmas (Forfeiture)

The *Nihsargika–Pāyantika Dharmas* (Pāli: *nissaggiya pācittiya*) are particularly concerned with conduct concerning material possessions. They follow the *Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas* in the *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa*, while they follow the *Aniyata Dharmas* as the fourth category in the *Bhikṣu Prātimokṣa*.

From internal evidence, *pācittiya* [Skt. *pāyantika*] is a (minor) offense to be confessed, *āpatti desettā* [Skt. *āpatti desayitavya*], a statement common to all the *Nissaggiyas*. But etymologically the word *pācittiya* has nothing to do with confession. I have therefore kept to the more literal translation, and have rendered it “offense of expiation” throughout, and the two words *nissaggiya pācittiya* as “offense of expiation involving forfeiture.”⁹⁷

The term *nihsargika–pāyantika dharmas* translates into the Chinese as *she to fa*.⁹⁸ In the Chinese *she* means to abandon, while the Chinese *to* means to fall. The Sanskrit term *pāyantika* in the Chinese refers to roasting, boiling and falling. If a *bhikṣu* [or *bhikṣuṇī*] commits an offense of the *nihsargika–pāyantika dharmas*, it is believed that he [or she] will fall into hell and suffer by being boiled and roasted.⁹⁹ Even though there are the same numbers of the rules both for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* in this category, some rules for *bhikṣus* do not allow them to demand from *bhikṣuṇīs* feminine tasks which would interfere with the *bhikṣuṇīs*’ own religious pursuits. The *Nihsargika–Pāyantika Dharmas* are as follows.

Table 5

Nihsargika–Pāyantika Dharmas (Forfeiture)

(Emphasizing Rules for *Bhikṣuṇīs*)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i>	Order of Same or Similar Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ¹⁰⁰	Summary of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i> ¹⁰¹
1	1	Not to lay aside an extra robe more than ten days
2	2	Not to spend over a night without the five robes ¹⁰²
3	3	Not to lay aside robe material for more than one month

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4	6	Not to ask for a robe from an unrelated householder except at the right time ¹⁰³
5	7	Not to accept extra robes when the robes have been lost, stolen, burned or washed away
6	8	Not to ask for a better robe from a householder out of desire for a fine robe
7	9	Not to ask for one fine robe instead of two robes offered by two householders
8	10	Not to request from a steward more than six times in order to obtain a robe
9	18	Not to accept or cause to be picked up gold and silver for <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> own use
10	19	Not to engage in buying and selling
11	20	Not to engage in activities in various kinds of buying and selling
12	22	Not to get a new bowl when an old bowl has been repaired in less than five places
13	23	Not to beg yarn to make a robe woven by an unrelated weaver
14	24	Not to ask a weaver to make a well-woven robe
15	25	Not to take back or cause to snatch away a robe given to another out of anger, malice, or ill-temper
16	26	Not to lay aside medicine for more than seven days
17	28	Not to accept a special robe ten days before the <i>kathina</i> ¹⁰⁴ full moon
18	30	Not to appropriate to yourself benefits belonging to the <i>saṅgha</i>
19		Not to ask for this, and then ask for that
20		Not to spend the observance hall fund on another fund
21		Not to spend the food fund on the robe fund
22		Not to spend the bed fund on the robe fund
23		Not to spend the housing fund of the <i>saṅgha</i> on the robe fund
24	21	Not to store extra bowls

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25		Not to store fine appliances
26		Not to break a promise to lend periodical cloth to another <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i>
27		Not to accept robe material at the wrong time for making of the robe at the right time
28		Not to take back a robe already exchanged for another, out of anger
29		Not to ask for an expensive heavy robe ¹⁰⁵
30		Not to ask for an expensive light and thin robe

The *Niḥsargika–Pāyantika Dharmas* contain thirty rules for both *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*. However, the contents of some rules differ. Nineteen rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* have been taken from the rules for *bhikṣus*, while the remaining eleven rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* are different from those for *bhikṣus*. The *niḥsargika–pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* cover such topics as robes, bowls, medicine, money, funds, etc. Violation of any of the *niḥsargika–pāyantika dharmas* requires a *bhikṣuṇī* or a *bhikṣu* to abandon those robes or bowls, etc., and then to formally confess the offense in the presence of the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* or the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*, providing that the *saṅgha* not be less than five members.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the transgression of the *niḥsargika–pāyantika dharmas* does not require any punishment, per se, only confession.¹⁰⁷

The *niḥsargika–pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* are comprised of seventeen rules (#1–8, 13–15, 17, 26–30) dealing with robes; three (#9, 10, 11) with gold and silver, and buying and selling; three (#12, 24, 25) with bowls; one (#16) with medicine; two (#18, 19) with appropriating *saṅgha* property and asking for food; and four (#20, 21, 22, 23) with misuse of funds. In contrast, the *niḥsargika–pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣus* which are different from those for *bhikṣuṇīs* number eleven, as follows.

Table 6

Nihsargika–Pāyantika Dharmas for Bhikṣus

(Emphasizing Rules for *Bhikṣus*)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i>	Summary of Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ¹⁰⁸
4	Not to accept a robe from an unrelated <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> unless it is in exchange
5	Not to call upon an unrelated <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> for an old robe to be washed, dyed, or beaten
11	Not to have a new rug made of silk
12	Not to have a new rug made of pure black sheep's wool
13	Not to have a new rug made of pure white sheep's wool
14	Not to have another new rug within six years
15	Not to make a new sitting rug without using pieces from the old sitting rug to disfigure the new rug on all sides
16	Not to carry sheep's wool on the road more than three yojanas ¹⁰⁹
17	Not to call upon an unrelated <i>bhik.su.nii</i> for sheep's wool to be washed, dyed, or combed
27	Not to get a rain-cloth robe earlier than a month (from the hot season), or wear it earlier than half a month (from the hot season)
29	<i>Bhikṣus</i> may stay away one or another robe of the three robes for six nights at the most in fearful, dangerous, or doubtful situations

Six of the rules for *bhikṣus* above (#11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16) deal with the use and making of various types of rugs; two of the rules (#27, 29) deal with robes. Three rules (#4, 5, 17) actually prevent *bhikṣus* from taking advantage of *bhikṣuṇīs*. This is clearly shown in rule number seventeen for *bhikṣus*, which is illustrated in the following story given in the *Bhikṣu–vibhaṅga*:

At that time the group of six monks had sheep's wool washed and dyed and combed by nuns. The nuns, through washing, dyeing, combing the sheep's wool, neglected the exposition, the interrogation, the higher morality, the higher thought, the higher insight. . . .

“Gotamī, I hope that the nuns are zealous, ardent, (with) a self that is

striving?”

“Where, lord, is there zeal in the nuns? The masters, the group of six monks, have sheep’s wool washed and dyed and combed by nuns. The nuns . . . neglect the exposition, the interrogation, the higher morality, the higher thought, the higher insight.” . . .

“Foolish men, those who are not relations do not know what is suitable or what is unsuitable, or what is pleasant or what is unpleasant to those who are not relations. Thus you, foolish men, will have sheep’s wool washed and dyed and combed by nuns who are not relations? It is not, foolish men, for pleasing those who are not (yet) pleased. . . . And thus, monks, this rule of training should be set forth.”¹¹⁰

Horner also points out:

Besides the giving of robes, the washing of robes also became subject to various regulations. It was said that robes were not to be washed (by the almswomen [*bhikṣuṇīs*] for the almsmen [*bhikṣus*]) unless they were related; old garments were not to be washed, dyed or beaten by the almswomen for the almsmen, unless they were related.¹¹¹

In comparing the *niḥsargika-pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*, we see that some rules for *bhikṣus* forbid them from taking advantage of *bhikṣuṇīs*. Thus freed from abuse, *bhikṣuṇīs* can put more attention into their spiritual practice. Gross notes:

Furthermore, the monastic code protected nuns from demanding monks who might ask nuns to do housework for the monks or to give them food and clothing—feminine tasks in the renounced world. Such rulings are remarkably considerate and recognize that women renounce the world for their own religious pursuits, which should not be undermined by the demands of men used to female service.¹¹²

PART V

Pāyantika Dharmas (Expiation)

The *pāyantika* or *patayantika dharmas* translates into the Chinese *tan t’i fa*,¹¹³ or *tan to fa*.¹¹⁴ They are even less severe than the previous categories for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*, and cover a wide a range of topics. There are one hundred seventy-eight rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* and ninety rules for *bhikṣus* in this particular category. Horner explains:

A curious feature of the *Pācittiyas* is that the Old Commentary on the rules nowhere explains what is meant by *pācittiya*, the offense which gives its name to this whole section. It is from the phrase *āpatti desetabbā*, occurring in the *Vibhaṅga* on each *Nissaggiya*, that we infer that *pācittiya* is an offense to be confessed; and even as forfeiture and confession are to be made to an Order or to a group or to an individual, so we may conclude that the same holds good when the offense is one whose penalty is merely that of expiation, of confession unaccompanied by forfeiture.¹¹⁵

While *pāyantika* [Pāli: *pācittiya*] is a transgression which causes the breaking down of *kuśala-karma* (good acts), nevertheless, it is an *āpatti* (offense), which one merely needs to be mindful of.¹¹⁶ This category includes a great difference in the number of rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* from those for *bhikṣus*. The purpose of these rules, which is mainly based on the historical realities of the daily life of *bhikṣuṇīs*, is to encourage *bhikṣuṇīs* to be mindful of speech, behavior, and the regulations of the *saṅgha*, etc. Wijayaratna points out “[t]he *pācittiyas* [Skt. *pāyantikas*] deal with offenses requiring only confession.”¹¹⁷ When a *bhikṣuṇī* or a *bhikṣu* violates one of the *pāyantika dharmas*, the offender is required to confess to another *bhikṣuṇī* or *bhikṣu*, or a group or the *saṅgha*.¹¹⁸ *Pāyantika Dharmas* are as follows.

Table 7

Pāyantika Dharmas (Expiation)

(Emphasizing Rules for *Bhikṣuṇī*)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i>	Order of Same Or Similar Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ¹¹⁹	Summary of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i> ¹²⁰
1	1	Not to speak a conscious lie
2	2	Not to use insulting speech
3	3	Not to alienate members of the <i>saṅgha</i>
4	4	Not to stay with a man in a room for a night
5	5	Not to stay with a woman in a room for more than two or three nights
6	6	Not to recite the sūtras with one who is not ordained ¹²¹

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7	7	Not to speak of a grave offense of a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> to an unordained person
8	8	Not to lie about her superhuman faculties to an unordained person in begging for alms food
9	9	Not to teach more than five or six sentences of <i>Dharma</i> to a man unless there is a wise woman also present
10	10	Not to dig the ground
11	11	Not to cut down trees
12	12	Not to vex or abuse the <i>saṅgha</i>
13	13	Not to slander or rebuke a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> who is assigned to a particular job in the <i>saṅgha</i>
14	14	Not to spread out a cushion, a couch, a chair or a pillow in an open place belonging to the <i>saṅgha</i>
15	15	Not to spread out a cushion, a couch, a chair or a pillow in a private place belonging to the <i>saṅgha</i>
16	16	Not to lie down in a sleeping place or dwelling place belonging to a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>
17	17	Not to throw out or cause a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> to be thrown out of a dwelling place in the <i>saṅgha</i>
18	18	Not to sit down or lie down on a couch or a chair with weak legs
19	19	Not to use water that might have living things in it
20	20	Not to cover the roof of a large dwelling place with more than two or three layers
21	31	Not to eat alms food at a public rest house more than once, except in case of illness
22	33	Not to eat a group meal, except at a right time ¹²²
23	34	Not to accept more than three bowls of alms food
24	37	Not to eat a meal at the wrong time ¹²³
25	38	Not to eat a meal that has been laid aside
26	39	Not to put food that is not given into the mouth, except for water or a tooth pick
27	42	Not to break a promise of food to one who is asking for alms food

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28	43	Not to sit down in a lay person's house with a wife and husband after alms food
29	44	Not to sit down in a private place with a couple
30	45	Not to sit down in a private place with a man
31	46	Not to break a promise to share alms (food) with a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> who accompanies one on an alms tour
32	47	Not to accept medicines for longer than four months
33	48	Not to go to see an army fighting unless there is sufficient reason for it
34	49	Not to stay with the army for more than three nights
35	50	Not to stay amongst an army to enjoy the battle
36	51	Not to drink alcohol
37	52	Not to play in the water
38	53	Not to make a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> laugh by tickling with the fingers
39	54	Not to ignore another <i>bhikṣuṇī's</i> admonition
40	55	Not to frighten or cause a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> to be frightened
41	56	Not to bathe more than half monthly, except at a right time ¹²⁴
42	57	Not to make a fire in an open place
43	58	Not to hide or cause to be hidden a bowl or a robe belonging to a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> , even for fun
44	59	Not to take back a robe given to a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> without asking her for permission
45	60	Not to wear a new robe with its original color unless the new robe is discolored with a mixture of the three colors: blue, black and dark purple ¹²⁵
46	61	Not to intentionally deprive any living thing of life
47	62	Not to intentionally drink water which contains living things
48	63	Not to intentionally give a cause for remorse to a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> , even for a moment

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49	65	Not to intentionally conceal a grave offense committed habitually by a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>
50	66	Not to cause quarreling, bickering, or fighting
51	67	Not to intentionally go with a thief along the same road
52	68	Not to ignore the admonition of a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> because of her own wrong view
53	69	Not to eat, talk, or lie down with a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> who is suspended by the <i>saṅgha</i>
54	70	Not to protect a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> ¹²⁶ (probationer) who is suspended by the <i>saṅgha</i>
55	71	Not to ignore an experienced <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> 's advice about learning the rules for training
56	72	Not to disparage the rules for training
57	73	Listen carefully to the recitation of the <i>Prātimokṣa</i>
58	74	Not to engage in criticism after consenting to a legitimate act
59	75	Not to leave the seat without asking a competent <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> for permission when the <i>saṅgha</i> is engaged in pious philosophical discussion
60	76	Not to criticize another's decision after granting someone the power to make a decision
61	77	Not to overhear while <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> are quarreling, disputing, or engaging in contention
62	78	Not to hit a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> because of anger or displeasure
63	79	Not to raise a hand at a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> because of anger or displeasure
64	80	Not to accuse a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> of a groundless <i>saṃghāvaśeṣa</i> offense
65	81	Not to cross the threshold, or vicinity of the threshold, of the palace in the early morning without permission of a competent <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>
66	82	Not to pick up a jewel with the <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> 's own hands, or even ask others to do it

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67	83	Not to enter a village at the wrong time without asking a competent <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> for permission, except for sufficient reasons
68	84	Not to make the legs of a chair larger than the eight finger breadth
69	85	Not to sit down or lie down on a chair or couch covered with cotton
70		Not to eat garlic
71		Not to cut the hair of the private parts of the body
72		Not to put a finger into the vagina more than the length of two finger joints when you take a douche
73		Not to make a male sexual organ out of any material
74		Not to slap each other on the private parts
75		Not to wait on a <i>bhikṣu</i> with drinking water or a fan while he is eating a meal
76		Not to ask lay people for grains
77		Not to throw out excrement or urine on the living grass
78		Not to throw out excrement or urine over a wall or a fence
79		Not to go to see dancing, singing, or playing music
80		Not to stand or talk with a man in a secluded place
81		Not to enter into a secluded place with a man
82		Not to whisper into a man's ear in a secluded place
83		Not to leave a lay person's house without asking the owner for permission
84		Not to sit down in a lay person's house without asking the owner for permission
85		Not to lie down on a seat in a lay person's house without asking the owner for permission
86		Not to enter into a dark room with a man
87		Not to deliver the teacher's message misleadingly
88		Not to curse herself or others

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89		Not to beat the chest while weeping after quarreling
90		Not to share a bed with anybody, except in case of illness
91		Not to share a blanket
92		Not to intentionally cause discomfort to a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> by asking a tricky question
93		Not to neglect a sick <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> who has been living together
94		Not to drive out a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> because of anger or displeasure
95		Not to walk on alms tour during the rainy season retreat ¹²⁷
96		Not to stay at the place of retreat after having the rainy season retreat
97		Not to walk on borderlines which are dangerous and frightening
98		Not to walk in dangerous and frightening regions even within the borderline
99		Not to take company in lay people or their sons
100		Not to go to see a king's pleasure house, an art gallery, a park, or a lotus pond
101		Not to bathe naked at the river or lake
102	similar to 89	Not to make bathing clothes that are not of a proper measure ¹²⁸
103		Not to break a promise to sew a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> 's robe, or at least make an effort to do it
104		Not to let five days pass without looking after the outer robe
105		Not to individually appropriate benefits which belong to the <i>saṅgha</i>
106		Not to put on a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> 's robe without asking her for permission
107		Not to give the <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> 's robes to a lay person, a wanderer, or a female wanderer
108		Not to hold back the <i>saṅgha</i> from making a division of robe materials when it is legally allowed to do so

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109		Not to hold back a legally valid removal of the <i>kāṭhina</i> from the <i>saṅgha</i>
110		Not to hold back a legally valid removal of the <i>kāṭhina</i> from a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>
111		Promote peace between two fighting <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i>
112		Not to give food to a lay person or a wanderer with <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> own hands
113		Not to work for lay people like a house wife
114		Not to spin yarn
115		Not to sit down or lie down on lay people's seats
116		Not to leave a lay person's house without asking the owner for permission after staying over a night
117		Not to learn and recite an incantation to householders
118		Not to teach an incantation to householders
119		Not to ordain a pregnant woman
120		Not to ordain a woman who has left her baby at home
121	65	Not to ordain a woman who is not twenty years old
122		Not to ordain a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> who has not trained for two years even if she is twenty years old
123		Not to ordain a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> who has not trained for two years in the six rules ¹²⁹ even if she is twenty years old
124		Not to ordain a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> who has trained for two years in the six rules, but who is not agreed upon by the <i>saṅgha</i>
125		Not to ordain a married woman who is less than twelve years old
126		Not to ordain a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> married for full twelve years and who has trained for two years in the six rules, but who is not agreed upon by the <i>saṅgha</i>
127		Not to ordain a lewd woman
128		Be responsible for the disciples for two years as a preceptor while they are training

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129		Learn from the preceptor for two years as an ordained <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>
130		Not to become a preceptor without authorization by the <i>saṅgha</i>
131		Not to become a preceptor if she has not been a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> for twelve years
132		Not to become a preceptor, even if she has been a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> for twelve years, if she is not approved by the <i>saṅgha</i>
133		Not to complain when she is not approved by the <i>saṅgha</i> to become a preceptor
134		Not to ordain a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> without the consent of her parents and husband
135		Not to ordain a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> who is grieving over love
136		Not to break the promise to ordain a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> after training her to be ordained
137		Not to promise to ordain a <i>sīkṣamāṇa</i> after accepting fabric for a robe
138		Not to ordain two <i>sīkṣamāṇas</i> in the same year as a preceptor
139		Not to let a day pass to be approved by the <i>Bhikṣu Saṅgha</i> after ordination of <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i>
140		Not to miss the exhortation or the preaching of <i>Dharma</i> from the <i>Bhikṣu Saṅgha</i> except in case of illness
141		Not to miss Observance Day ¹³⁰ and exhortation in every half month
142		After the rainy season retreat, <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> should participate in the special meeting of both <i>saṅghas</i> to discuss these three matters: what was seen, heard, or suspected
143		Not to spend the rainy season retreat at a residence where there are no signs of <i>bhikṣus</i>
144		Not to enter a <i>bhikṣu</i> monastery without asking <i>bhikṣus</i> for permission
145		Not to revile or abuse a <i>bhikṣu</i>

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145		Not to revile or abuse a <i>bhikṣu</i>
146		Not to revile a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> because of anger or displeasure
147		Not to let a man squeeze an ulcer
148		Not to eat again after eating
149		Not to be jealous of lay followers
150		Not to spray perfume on the body
151		Not to rub with perilla oil
152		Not to be rubbed or massaged by a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> with perilla oil
153		Not to let the body be rubbed or massaged by a <i>śikṣamāṇa</i>
154		Not to let the body be rubbed or massaged by a <i>śrāmaṇerī</i> ¹³¹ (female novice)
155		Not to let the body be rubbed or massaged by a woman
156		Not to wear a petticoat
157		Not to have women's ornaments
158		Not to wear a sunshade or sandals, except in case of illness
159		Not to go in a vehicle, except in case of illness
160		Not to enter a village without wearing a vest
161		Not to enter a lay person's house without invitation
162		Not to leave the monastery after sunset, leaving the door open wide without telling a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>
163		Not to leave the monastery after sunset, leaving the door open wide without telling anyone
164		Observe the rainy season retreats which come twice a year, except in case of illness
165		Not to ordain an idiot ¹³²
166		Not to ordain a hermaphrodite
167		Not to ordain a woman who does not have two distinct exits for bodily waste

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168		Not to ordain a woman who is a debtor or has serious illness
169		Not to live with worldly knowledge
170		Not to teach worldly knowledge to lay people
171		Not to stay at the monastery after getting driven out by the <i>saṅgha</i>
172		Not to suddenly ask a question to a <i>bhikṣu</i> without his permission
173		Not to disturb a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> who has lived at the monastery previously
174		Not to build a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> 's pagoda at the <i>bhikṣu</i> monastery
175		Greet respectfully and do proper homage to a <i>bhikṣu</i> ordained that very day even though a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> has been ordained for a hundred years
176		Not to prance around with a haughty attitude
177		Not to wear ornaments like a lady
178		Not to let a female wanderer rub or spray the body with perfume

As we see in the table number seven, seventy-one rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* are shared with *bhikṣus*. The rules in this category are extremely divergent in their contents and may appear somewhat arbitrary; however, an examination of the contents of the rules yields several major groups. In order to closely examine the wide range of the rules embracing various aspects of *bhikṣuṇīs*' lives, the *pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* may roughly be classified as pertaining to the following groups:

Table 8
An Overview of the *Pāyantika Dharmas*¹³³

Classification of Offense	Numbers of Rules Concerning this Category of Offense	Total of Rules Concerning this Category	Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i> Only
Ordination	119,120,121,122,123,124,125,126-127,134,135,165,166,167, 168	15	14

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Clothes	44,45,102,103,104,105,106,107, 108,109,110,114, 156,160	14	12
Ornament and skin care	71,150,151,152,153,154,155,157,1- 58,177,178	11	11
Qualifications and responsibilities of a preceptor	128,130,131,132,133,136,137,138	9	9
Actions around men	9,30,80,81,82,86,147	7	6
Playful conduct	37,38,43,48,73,74,77,78,79	9	6
Public conduct	83,84,85,99,161,176	6	6
Exhortation on Observance Day and the rainy season retreat	140,141,142,143,164	5	5
Travel	51,67,95,96,97,98,159	7	5
Etiquette with <i>bhikṣus</i>	75,144,145,172	4	4
Food	21,22,23,24,25,26,27,31,76,112, 148	11	3
Passionate quarreling	17,40,61,62,63,64,94,146	8	2
Cursing	88,89	2	2
Sharing a bed or blanket	90,91	2	2
Bathing	41,72,101	3	2
Incantation	117,118	2	2
Worldly knowledge	169,170	2	2
Closing the gate of the monastery	162,163	2	2

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Dispute or discord	1,2,3,7,12,13,39,50,111	9	1
Sleeping in the same room with lay people	4,5,116	3	1
Dwelling place and lodging	10,11,16,19,20,173	6	1
Etiquette in home of married couple	28,29,161	3	1
Etiquette for asking questions	92	1	1
Mindful conveying of messages	87	1	1
Caring for a sick <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>	93	1	1
Transgression of the regulations of the community	59,60,171	3	1
Visiting the palace	65,100	2	1
Garlic	70	1	1
Working for lay people	113	1	1
Envy	149	1	1
Education by the preceptor	129	1	1
Usage of a bed or a chair	14,15,115	3	1
Usage of a couch or a mattress	18,68,69	3	1
Visiting armed forces	33,34,35	3	
Alcohol consumption	36	1	
Fire building	42	1	

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Harming of any organisms	46,47	2	
Concealing of another's offense	49	1	
False opinion	52,53,54,55,56,57,58	7	
Handling of jewelry	66	1	
Making false claims	8	1	
Recitation of <i>sūtras</i> with lay people	6	1	
Medicine	32	1	

(I did not include in the above classification rules 139, 174 and 175 because they will be discussed in detail later.)

An overview of the *Pāyantika Dharmas* reveals that the additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* concern ordination, clothes, ornament and skin care, the qualifications and responsibilities of a preceptor, actions around men, playfulness and public conduct, exhortation on Observance Day and the rainy season retreat, traveling and etiquette with *bhikṣus*, etc. Nagata Mizu notes that many of the additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* in this category are historically related to *bhikṣuṇīs*' dwelling places during the time of Gautama Buddha. At that time, *bhikṣuṇīs* lived mainly in towns or villages, while *bhikṣus* could live either in towns or forests.¹³⁴ After a young *bhikṣuṇī* was seduced by a man, in the Pāli *Cullavagga* (*The Less or Lesser Division of the Vinaya*), Gautama Buddha forbade *bhikṣuṇīs* to live in forests:

Now at that time nuns were staying in a forest; men of abandoned life seduced them, they told this matter to the Lord. He said: "Monks, nuns should not stay in a forest. Whoever should stay (in one) there is an offense of wrongdoing."¹³⁵

Susan Murcott tells another story:

One of the many men who desired Uppalavanna was a cousin of hers, a young man Ananda. (He should not be confused with Gautama's cousin and attendant by the same name.) Ananda did not want Uppalavanna to renounce the world. Sometime during the first

years following Uppalavanna's ordination, Ananda found out that she lived alone in a hut in Andhavana. One day while she was out, Ananda hid himself under her bed. When she returned and lay down on her bed, he suddenly jumped out and raped her. . . . Because of this incident, Buddhist nuns from that time to the present have been forbidden to go out alone or to live as hermits in the woods.¹³⁶

* * *

Later, rules prohibiting nuns' independent wandering were formulated. However, it was more usual for nuns (and, for that matter, monks) to form into communities in or on the outskirts of villages.¹³⁷

* * *

The stories given in the *Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga* show how these *bhikṣuṇīs* were ill-treated and became objects of violence. They, therefore, were prohibited to stay in the forest or to spend the rain-retreat alone where there was no *Bhikkhu saṅgha*.¹³⁸

There are several stories about men who seduced or raped *bhikṣuṇīs* in the *Vinaya*. Stories about male violence against *bhikṣuṇīs* happened during the time of Gautama Buddha.

. . . . Now at that time several monks and nuns came to be going along the high-road from Sāketa to Sāvattihī. Then these nuns spoke thus to these monks:

“We will go along with the masters.”

“Sisters, it is not allowable, having arranged together with a nun, to go along the same high-road. Either you go first, or we will go (first).”

“Honored sirs, the masters are the highest men, so let the masters go first.” Then as those nuns were going last thieves robbed them on the way and assaulted [raped] them.¹³⁹

* * *

. . . . Then as those nuns were crossing over last thieves robbed them and assaulted [raped] them.¹⁴⁰

* * *

. . . . Then these nuns, having approached a boatman, spoke thus:

“Please, sir, take us across.”

Saying, “I am not able, ladies, to take both across at once.”

He made one cross alone with him; one who was across seduced the one who was across, one who was not across seduced the one who was not across.¹⁴¹

* * *

At that time several nuns were going along high-road to Sāvathī through the country of Kosala. A certain nun there, wanting to relieve herself, having stayed behind alone, went on afterwards. People, having seen that nun, seduced her.¹⁴²

Gross explains:

Fears that women renunciates would be vulnerable to male violence were realistic. Stories about male violence against nuns do occur, as do regulations designed to prevent it. These regulations usually restrict women from more solitary travel and practices, just as today we often counter male violence against women by encouraging women not to be in dangerous places at unseemly hours.¹⁴³

By settling the community of *bhikṣuṇīs* in towns or villages, *bhikṣuṇīs* might be exposed to people who could find fault with them. According to the *Vinaya*, lay people and non-Buddhists were always free to criticize bad conduct of *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*. Accusations and gossip of people towards *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* abound in the *Vinaya*. As I showed in some examples above, harsher opprobrium was directed toward *bhikṣuṇīs* than toward *bhikṣus*. When a *bhikṣuṇī* did something wrong, people frequently reproved *bhikṣuṇīs* as “shaven-headed strumpets or whores.” In contrast, when a *bhikṣu* did something wrong, people never spoke in derogatory terms of him as “shaven-headed . . . ,” so far as I have been able to discover. In the Chinese *Bhikṣuṇī Ssu fen lu* many times people insulted *bhikṣuṇīs* as “prostitutes or thieves.”¹⁴⁴ Comparison of the criticisms of *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* suggests that people in ancient Indian society were more wrathful toward the wrongdoings of *bhikṣuṇīs* than those of *bhikṣus*. It also suggests that this was a reason to generate more rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* than *bhikṣus* in this category. People in society were reluctant to allow women to break away from household life and free them to go into alms life. Many rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* in this category were generated because of *bhikṣuṇīs* living in this kind of situation.

Classification of the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas* (Table No. 8) shows that there are an outstanding numbers of rules about the ordination of women. No other topic is given as much attention in the *Bhikṣuṇī-vibhaṅga*. Horner notes:

A great number of women are traditionally held to have flocked to the Order of nuns. It is conceivable that they were generally regarded

as of poorer quality than the monks, and that therefore there had to be a severer testing in order to weed out those who had entered without having a real vocation.¹⁴⁵

In the rules concerning the ordination of women, rules 122 and 123 particularly require women to train for two years¹⁴⁶ under six rules. Nagata Mizu says that since a *sīkṣamāṇa* (probationer) is required to train for two years under the six rules and there are stricter rules for the ordination of women, it suggests that *bhikṣuṇīs* had more difficulty in alms life than *bhikṣus*.¹⁴⁷ However, Horner explains:

One of the benefits of the two years' training was that it precluded the admission of women who came seeking the shelter of the Order simply as a refuge from the pressure of disagreeable circumstances; perhaps seeking it in a spasm of provocation or fear. It would often have been by coincidence only that they were ascetics by nature: in many cases they might have been quite unfitted to lead a monastic life.¹⁴⁸

I also personally have lived the *bhikṣuṇī*'s life and think that the requirement of training for two years under the six rules for a *sīkṣamāṇa* is related to the special circumstances and education of women. For example, when a woman enters a temple to become a probationer, she may not know whether she is pregnant. She may give birth almost a year after entering a temple. This happened during the time of Gautama Buddha, as related in the *Cullavagga*:

Now at that time a certain woman had gone forth among the nuns when she was already pregnant, and after she had gone forth she was delivered of a child.¹⁴⁹

Rules 119 and 120 of the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas* tell how difficult is to lead the alms life as a *bhikṣuṇī* with her child:

Now at that time nuns ordained a pregnant woman. She walked for alms. People spoke thus:

“Give alms (food) to the lady, the lady is heavy with child.”¹⁵⁰

* * *

Now at that time nuns ordained a woman giving suck [to her baby]. She walked for alms. People spoke thus:

“Give alms (food) to the lady, the lady has a companion.”¹⁵¹

Lekshe Tsomo explains the training of a *śīkṣamāṇa* for two years under the six rules:

We should understand the history and reasoning behind this *śīkṣamāṇa* ordination. At the time of the Buddha, some young nuns left the household life to enter monastic life and immediately took *bhikṣuṇī* precepts. It happened that some of them were pregnant before they took *bhikṣuṇī* precepts. Although their conduct was pure after they entered the nun's life, they became noticeably pregnant after taking vows. This led to misunderstandings by the lay community, as it certainly was not appropriate for a celibate *bhikṣuṇī* to be pregnant. Therefore, the Buddha prescribed an ample two-year waiting period for nuns to avoid such misunderstandings. Instituting the *śīkṣamāṇa* ordination was not a discriminatory move but simply a matter of practicality.¹⁵²

Ji-kwan Lee explicitly insists that the purpose of training for two years under the six rules for a *śīkṣamāṇa* is to test the possibility of pregnancy and the ability for being a *bhikṣuṇī*. It is also possible that Gautama Buddha's main purpose in training of a *śīkṣamāṇa* for two years under the six rules was to raise the status of women through intensive education before ordination. We also should consider that in the social environment of ancient India women received little or no education. For example, the *Bhikṣuṇī Pācittiya* [Skt. *pāyantika*] LXVI in the Pāli *Vinaya* shows:

Now at that time nuns ordained a girl married for full twelve years (but) who had not trained for two years in the six rules. These were ignorant, inexperienced, they did not know what was allowable or what was not allowable. . . . Whatever nun should ordain a girl married for full twelve years (but) who has not trained for two years in the six rules, there is an offense of expiation.¹⁵³

When we consider the lower status and the poorer education of women in those days, it was a practical way for female novices to spend two years in a novitiate leading to full ordination.

The second largest grouping of rules in the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas* concerns such topics as clothes, ornaments and skin care. The rules in these groups mostly deal with specific matters of female concern and perhaps this is why the same rules did not have to be instituted for *bhikṣus*. Some of the rules in these groups proscribe minor matters special to women, for example, spinning yarn, or wearing a petticoat or a vest.

A third large group of additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* concerns the qualifications and duties of the preceptor, who must take full responsibility for

her disciples. Traditionally, in the Buddhist *saṅgha*, every novice and probationer depends on the preceptor for her or his education. Therefore, the preceptor's personal qualifications and responsibilities are extremely important in the ordination of women and men. The preceptor–disciple relationship is that the preceptor should teach her or his disciple every aspect of what she needs to know. These responsibilities and duties of a preceptor are equally necessary for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*.

. . . [T]he almswomen [*bhikṣuṇīs*] seeking initiation should come to an instructor [preceptor]; secondly, that the instructor should not be unlearned or incompetent, but someone who had been properly appointed. The notion underlying these rulings appears to have been twofold. First, that a probationer might receive useful help from a well-qualified women during her year's noviciateship.¹⁵⁴

The additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* dealing with the qualifications and responsibilities of a woman preceptor might be an outcome of educational enterprise for women. Some rules in this group, for example, state:

Now at that time nuns for two years did not wait upon an ordained woman instructor [preceptor]. These were ignorant, inexperienced, they did not know what were allowable or what was not allowable. . . . Whatever nun for two years should not wait upon an ordained woman instructor, there is an offense of expiation.¹⁵⁵

* * *

Now at that time nuns ordained while they were less than twelve years (of standing) [of standing as a *bhikṣuṇī*]. They were ignorant, inexperienced, they did not know what was allowable or what was not allowable; moreover, the women who shared their cells were ignorant, inexperienced, they did not know what was allowable or what was not allowable. . . . Whatever nun should ordain while she is less than twelve years (of standing) there is an offense of expiation.¹⁵⁶

These rules also imply that Gautama Buddha was trying to raise the status of women through education, and to bring them to a realization of their abilities in the midst of a society which oppressed them.

The fourth major group of additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* prescribes correct actions around men, proper public conduct and playfulness. As I have mentioned earlier, these rules are essentially concerned with people's awareness of *bhikṣuṇīs*' daily lives. Because of *bhikṣuṇīs*' living situations, they had to be aware of people's concerns and were required to be more

mindful than *bhikṣus* of such concerns in everyday life. In other words, the *bhikṣuṇīs* were subject to more scrutiny by people.

The fifth largest group of additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* is related to exhortations regarding Observance Day and the rainy season retreat. Two rules (#140, 141) deal with the admonition of Observance Day. Three (#142, 143, 164) deal with the rainy season retreat. Three rules (#141, 142, 143) are the same as the rules (#6, 7, 8) of the Eight Rules in the Chinese *Ssu fen lu*.¹⁵⁷ Four rules in particular (#140, 141, 142, 143) have caused many people to think that the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* was subordinated to the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*. However, Kabilsingh explains:

When the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* grew into a large body, it was not possible for them to receive exhortation directly from the Buddha alone. So it was allowed that the *bhikṣuṇīs* should receive exhortation from the *bhikṣus*, but not all the *bhikṣus* proved worth while for such a job, thus *Pācittiya* [*Pāyantika*] 21 result. The *vinaya* further explains that a *bhikṣu* who may give exhortation to the *bhikṣuṇīs* must be agreed upon by the *saṅgha*, must have at least 20 years standing (as a *bhikṣu*). Then he must have the 8 qualities.¹⁵⁸

Horner also notes:

Exhortation must not be held by an almsman [*bhikṣu*] not properly deputed. Eight requisites for exhorting the almswomen [*bhikṣuṇīs*] should be found in him. . . . Thus it appears that he was to be a man of good reputation with a high diploma of conduct in life; and the idea that just anyone would do was here put out of court. This rule reflects great credit, and is an instance of Gautama's deep concern where the interests of the women were involved.¹⁵⁹

When we also look at the contents of rules 140, 141 and 142 for *bhikṣuṇīs*, we see the *bhikṣu*'s position as a teacher or advisor for *bhikṣuṇīs*. In fact, rules twenty-one and twenty-two of the *Bhikṣu Pāyantika Dharmas* specifically prescribe the qualification of *bhikṣus* as teachers or advisors. On the contrary, rule number 172 of the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas* shows how a *bhikṣu* teacher who was not authorized by the *Bhikṣu saṅgha* was ridiculed and felt ashamed when he could not give correct answers to questions from a learned *bhikṣuṇī*. Nancy Auer Falk generally describes the rules for *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*:

In most respects the rule approached monks and nuns with admirable equity. Before the monastic settlements were established, monks and nuns led the same wandering life, free of the domestic ties and

labor that left neither men nor women in ancient India much chance for serious pursuit of spiritual discipline. Both monks and nuns went on the daily begging rounds: both held the important biweekly assembly in which the rule's provisions were recited. Monks and nuns even looked alike; both shaved their heads bare, and both wore the same patchcloth robes dyed to earth color and draped identically over the left shoulder.¹⁶⁰

Wijayaratna also explains the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*:

The organization of the Order of nuns was parallel to that of the monks: like the monks, they possessed a complete Code of Discipline (*Pātimokkha*), their legal acts (*vinaya-kamma, saṅgha-kamma*) were the same, and they also had two Ordinations, the Minor (*pabbajjā*) and the Major (*upasampadā*). Ten years after her Major Ordination, a nun was also called an "Elder" (*Therī*). Nuns organized their communal life independently, according to their own Code of Discipline, but with help and advice from monks. Monks had the right to advise nuns, not to control them.¹⁶¹

Jampa Tsedroen suggests an additional reason for *bhikṣus* to advise *bhikṣuṇīs*:

The Buddha made provisions for the protection of the order of nuns against attacks from outside. He arranged that nuns maintain regular contact with the order of monks, enabling them to obtain practical knowledge, advice, and inspiration from their ordained brothers.¹⁶²

Some of the sixth largest group of additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* provide a safeguard for *bhikṣuṇīs* to travel to dangerous places. As I have discussed earlier, several stories about the raping of *bhikṣuṇīs* and the robbing of *bhikṣus* or men in the *Vinaya* suggest that the society during the time of Gautama Buddha was not safe to travel for women.

Now at that time several monks were going along the high-road from Sāketa to Sāvattihī. Midway on the road, thieves issuing forth, plundered these monks.¹⁶³

* * *

. . . . Then as that lay-follower, having prepared provisions for the journey, was going along last, thieves robbed (him).¹⁶⁴

* * *

Now at that time nuns walked without a weapon on almstour within

(their own) region (when this was) agreed upon as dangerous, frightening. Bad men assaulted them.¹⁶⁵

* * *

Now at that time nuns walked without a weapon on almstour outside (their own) region (when this was) agreed upon as dangerous, frightening. Bad men assaulted them.¹⁶⁶

When we consider the above stories in the *Vinaya*, some of rules in the sixth group show concern for the *bhikṣuṇīs* own protection and Gautama Buddha's concern for his female disciples.

The seventh largest group of additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* concerns etiquette toward *bhikṣus*. Rule number seventy-five prevents *bhikṣuṇīs* from serving *bhikṣus* with water or fanning for a *bhikṣu* during his meal. Rule number 144 deals with the proper manner for *bhikṣuṇīs* to enter a *bhikṣu* monastery. Rule number 145 of this group is the same as rule number two of the Eight Rules. This rule will be discussed in further detail later.

Just as *bhikṣuṇīs* had rules particular to their way of life and special concerns at the time the *saṅghas* were developed, so too did *bhikṣus* have rules particular to them. The following table details these twenty rules special for *bhikṣus*.

Table 9

Pāyantika Dharmas for Bhikṣus

(Emphasizing Rules for *Bhikṣus*)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i>	Summary of Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ¹⁶⁷
21	Not to preach to <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> without authorization of the <i>Bhikṣu Saṅgha</i>
22	Not to preach to <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> after sunset even if authorized by the <i>Bhikṣu Saṅgha</i>
23	Not to say at <i>bhikṣus</i> , " <i>Bhikṣus</i> preach to <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> for material goods."
24	Not to give a robe to an unrelated <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> , except in exchange
25	Not to make a robe for an unrelated <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>
26	Not to sit down with a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> in a secret, concealed place

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27	Not to go on a journey with a company of <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> by appointment, or set out to travel, even to another village, except at the right time
28	Not to board the same boat with a company of <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> by appointment to go upstream or downstream, except in case of crossing to the opposite shore
29	Not to knowingly eat alms (food) which a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> caused to be cooked
30	Not to go on a journey with a woman by appointment
32	Not to eat more than one meal of alms (food) in a village a day
35	Not to eat alms (food) after having eaten enough, without making the proper provision for leftovers
36	Not to intentionally invite a <i>bhikṣu</i> who has eaten enough to eat again
40	Not to ask for such excellent foods such as milk, curds, fish, meat, etc., except in case of illness ¹⁶⁸
41	Not to give food with your own hand to a male or a female wanderer
64	Not to conceal the grave offense of another <i>bhikṣu</i>
86	Not to have a needle case made of bone, ivory, or horn
87	Not to have a cloth for sitting on made in measurements exceeding in length, two spans of the <i>Sugata</i> , ¹⁶⁹ or in width, one and half spans of the <i>Sugata</i>
88	Not to have a cloth for covering a boil in excess of, in length, two spans of the <i>Sugata</i> , or in width, four spans of the <i>Sugata</i>
90	Not to have a robe the same size as the Buddha's robe

As we see from table number nine, twenty rules for *bhikṣus* are different from those for *bhikṣuṇīs*: one rule (#30) concerns women; five (#32, 35, 36, 40, 41) concern alms (food); four (#86, 87, 88, 90) deal with cloth; one (#64) with concealing another's grave offense; nine (#21–29) with relationships with *bhikṣuṇīs*. Rule number sixty–four is concerned with concealment of another *bhikṣu*'s grave offense, which is itself a most grave violation, categorized in both *pārājika* or *saṃghāvaśeṣa* offenses.¹⁷⁰ In contrast, the corresponding *Bhikṣuṇī Pārājika Dharma* number seven refers only to the concealment of another *bhikṣuṇī*'s *pārājika* offense.¹⁷¹

Some of the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas* might have been inserted

later. “We also find that the number of rules in the nun’s *Prātimokṣa* is considerably larger than in the monk’s version, many rules having been inserted specifically for females.”¹⁷² Rule number 174 for *bhikṣuṇīs* might have been added later, because this rule is not in the Pāli *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa*, and also it deals with the worship of pagodas. Kabilsingh says that the *Dharmaguptaka Vinaya* has a particular group of rules about worshipping pagodas. It is possible that the rules for the worship of pagodas might have been developed in China, where Mahāyāna Buddhism was prevalent.¹⁷³ Rule number 139 does not appear in the Pāli *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa*, so far as I have discovered. However, the Pāli *Cullavagga* demands that a candidate for *bhikṣuṇī* receive ordination from *bhikṣuṇīs* first, and then have the ordination confirmed in a ceremony with *bhikṣus*.¹⁷⁴ Rule number 175 might also be a later addition. It is not found in the Pāli *Prātimokṣa* but is found in the *Ssu fen lu*. This will be discussed later with the Eight Rules.

Comparing the numbers of the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas* in the *Ssu fen lu* and those in the Pāli *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa*, we find that the *Bhikṣuṇī Ssu fen lu* contains twelve more rules, while at the same time the *Bhikṣu Pāyantika Dharmas* are decreased by two rules in the *Bhikṣu Ssu fen lu*. It is impossible to identify the rules which might be late additions because little information is available. For example, I think that one of the two rules numbered 162 and 163 for *bhikṣuṇīs* in this category might have been inserted later because the contents of those are repeated.

An examination of additional *pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* shows *bhikṣuṇīs*’ efforts to be mindful in their ways of daily life. Many rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* also deal with specific feminine matters. From the outstanding number of rules for the ordination of women, we notice that Gautama Buddha was trying to raise the status of women and to help them to develop their abilities through education. This concern is evident in the qualifications and responsibilities of a woman preceptor, and in the care with which the rules for the ordination of women were developed. In the rules for *bhikṣus* about exhortation to *bhikṣuṇīs*, some rules strictly prescribe the qualification of a *bhikṣu* as a teacher or an adviser to *bhikṣuṇīs*. This suggests that Gautama Buddha was deeply concerned about the education of women. We also see that many additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* in this category were generated according to their living situations and social context in ancient India.

PART VI

Pratideśanīya Dharmas (Confession)

The *Pratideśanīya Dharmas* (Pāli: *pātidesanīya*) follow the *Pāyantika*

Dharmas and contain eight rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* and four rules for *bhikṣus*. According to Hirakawa, the meaning of the term *pratideśanīya* refers to the need of *bhikṣuṇīs* or *bhikṣus* to confess his or her wrongdoing to another *bhikṣuṇī* or *bhikṣu*.¹⁷⁵ It translates into the Chinese *t'i she ni fa*¹⁷⁶ or *hui kuo fa*.¹⁷⁷ Violation of any of the *pratideśanīya dharmas* requires one to confess the offense in front of a *bhikṣuṇī* or a *bhikṣu*.¹⁷⁸ All these rules are connected with asking for food. The eight *Bhikṣuṇī Pratideśanīya Dharmas* simply state that if a *bhikṣuṇī* is not ill, she should not beg excellent foods such as ghee, oil, honey, molasses, milk, curds, fish or meat.¹⁷⁹ In this category, we see that the rules concerning food for *bhikṣuṇīs* are less strict than for *bhikṣus*. The *Bhikṣu Pratideśanīya Dharmas*, on the other hand, are more various as follows.

Table 10

Pratideśanīya Dharmas for Bhikṣus

(Emphasizing Rules for *Bhikṣus*)

Order of Rules For <i>Bhikṣus</i>	Summary of Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ¹⁸⁰
1	Not to accept alms (food) from an unrelated <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> , except in case of illness
2	Not to accept alms (food) while reproving a <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> for having given orders pertaining to the meal while the meal is being served
3	Not to accept alms (food) from a pious family without a previous invitation, except in case of illness
4	Not to accept alms (food) inside of a monastery if conditions are not dangerous and fearful, except in case of illness

Although there are twice as many rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* as there are for *bhikṣus* in this category, the eight *Bhikṣuṇī Pratideśanīya Dharmas* are extremely simple in character and seem in fact to be a splitting up of the single rule which is the *Bhikṣu Pāyantika Dharma* number forty in the previous category. On the other hand, the rules for *bhikṣus* in this category are wider in their scope. Rules one and two determine the relations of *bhikṣus* with *bhikṣuṇīs* at meals. Rule number one again prevents *bhikṣus* from taking advantage of *bhikṣuṇīs*. On one occasion, a certain *bhikṣu* took the alms (food) of an elderly *bhikṣuṇī*. After three days of providing the *bhikṣu* with her alms (food), the elderly *bhikṣuṇī* collapsed of starvation.¹⁸¹ When

the Buddha learned that, he set down the *pratideśanīya* rule number one for *bhikṣus*:

“Foolish man, one who is not a relation does not know what is suitable or what is unsuitable, or what is right or what is wrong for a woman who is not a relation. How can you, foolish man, accept food from the hand of a nun who is not a relation? It is not, foolish man, for pleasing those who are not (yet) pleased And thus, monks, this rule of training should be set forth.” . . . Whatever monk should eat or partake of solid food or soft food, having accepted it with his own hand from the hand of a nun who is not a relation (and) who has entered among the houses, it should be confessed by that monk, saying: “I have fallen, your reverences, into a blameworthy matter, unbecoming, which ought to be confessed.”¹⁸²

The third *pratideśanīya dharma* for *bhikṣus* proscribes against possible exploitation of a pious family by an inconsiderate *bhikṣu*. The last *pratideśanīya dharma* for *bhikṣus* deals with special situations in residences.

A comparison of the *pratideśanīya dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* demonstrates that the violations for *bhikṣuṇīs* in this category are less strict than for *bhikṣus*. These eight *Bhikṣuṇī Pratideśanīya Dharmas* are almost the same as the single rule number forty of the *Bhikṣu Pāyantika Dharmas*, and belong to a looser offense category for *bhikṣuṇīs* than for *bhikṣus*. In addition, Gautama Buddha permitted a *bhikṣuṇī* to eat special high quality food when she is ill.

PART VII

Śaikṣa Dharmas (Training)

The sixth category of the *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa* contains the *Śaikṣa Dharmas* (Pāli: *sekhiyā*), while this same category comprises the seventh grouping of the *Bhikṣu Prātimokṣa*. In the Pāli *Vinaya*, the violation of a *śaikṣa dharma* is “an offense of wrongdoing.”¹⁸³ Horner says that the *Śaikṣa Dharmas* are “rules for good behavior, etiquette: the rules regarding matters connected with discipline.”¹⁸⁴ The *śaikṣa dharmas* translates into the Chinese *shih cha chia luo ni fa*,¹⁸⁵ *pai chung hsueh fa*¹⁸⁶ or *ying dang hsueh*.¹⁸⁷ These one hundred rules are exactly the same for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*, and are essentially concerned with correct ways of dressing, eating, sitting, walking, preaching and so forth. In this category, which has exactly the same numbers and contents of rules for both *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*, we see what the leading role of *bhikṣus* in the formulation of the rules in the *Vinaya* really means. Many rules were specifically pronounced for *bhikṣus* to fo-

cus their ways of life in the *Vinaya*, and then were also held to be applicable to *bhikṣuṇīs*. This causes some people to think that *bhikṣuṇīs* were discriminated against in the laying down of the rules. However, the central role of *bhikṣus* as the subjects of the rules in the *Vinaya* only suggests that *bhikṣus* were greater trouble-makers than *bhikṣuṇīs* in the Buddhist community. There is no reason to believe that *bhikṣuṇīs* were discriminated against in the generation and production of the rules. The *Śaikṣa Dharmas* are as follows.

Table 11

Śaikṣa Dharmas (Training)

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i>	Order of Same Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ¹⁸⁸	Summary of Rules ¹⁸⁹
1	1	Dress properly with the inner robe wrapped around the body
2	2	Properly put on the five robes
3	3	Not to go to lay people's houses wearing robes like the trunk of an elephant
4	4	Not to sit down in lay people's houses with robes lifted up
5	5	Not to go to lay people's houses with the neck covered ¹⁹⁰
6	6	Not to sit down in lay people's houses with the neck covered
7	7	Not to go to lay people's houses with the head covered
8	8	Not to sit down in lay people's houses with the head covered
9	9	Not to go jumping ¹⁹¹ amongst lay people's houses
10	10	Not to jump while sitting down amongst lay people's houses
11	11	Not to squat down amongst lay people's houses
12	12	Not to go amongst lay people's houses with the hands behind the back

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13	13	Not to sit down amongst lay people's houses while joining the hands behind the back
14	14	Not to go amongst lay people's houses shaking the body
15	15	Not to sit down amongst lay people's houses shaking the body
16	16	Not to go amongst lay people's houses shaking the arms
17	17	Not to sit down amongst lay people's houses shaking the arms
18	18	Not to go to lay people's houses without covering the body well
19	19	Not to sit down amongst lay people's houses without covering the body well
20	20	Not to go amongst lay people's houses looking from side to side
21	21	Not to sit down amongst lay people's houses looking around from side to side
22	22	Go amongst lay people's houses quietly
23	23	Sit down amongst lay people's houses quietly
24	24	Not to go amongst lay people's houses with loud laughter
25	25	Not to sit down amongst lay people's houses with loud laughter
26	26	Accept alms (food) respectfully
27	27	Accept alms (food) only to the amount which the bowl will hold
28	28	Accept alms (food) with an equal amount of soup
29	29	Eat alms (food) together with rice and soup
30	30	Eat alms (food) carefully
31	31	Not to eat alms (food) with digging in the middle of the bowl
32	32	Not to beg alms (food) of boiled rice and soup for own benefit, except in case of illness

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33	33	Not to cover up soup in the bowl with boiled rice gluttonously ¹⁹²
34	34	Not to look enviously at another's bowl
35	35	Eat alms (food) with attention to the food
36	36	Not to eat alms (food) in overly large mouthfuls
37	37	Not to open the mouth until the mouthful is brought to it
38	38	Not to speak words with a mouthful of (food)
39	39	Not to throw mouthfuls of alms (food)
40	40	Not to take repeatedly mouthfuls of the same piece of (food)
41	41	Not to stuff cheeks with alms (food)
42	42	Not to eat alms food while making "capu capu" sound
43	43	Not to eat alms food while making "phuph phuph" sound
44	44	Not to lick the bowl which contains alms (food)
45	45	Not to shake the hands while eating alms (food)
46	46	Not to scatter lumps of boiled rice while eating alms (food)
47	47	Not to hold the bowl with dirty hands
48	48	Not to throw on the ground the water which contains alms food of lumps of boiled rice
49	49	Not to cause excrement, urine, phlegm, or snort to fall on green grass, except in case of illness
50	50	Not to cause excrement, urine, phlegm, or snort to fall in the water, except in case of illness
51	51	Not to make excrement or urine while standing except in case of illness
52	52	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who has lifted up one's robes except in case of illness
53	53	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who has one's neck covered except in case of illness

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54	54	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who has one's head covered ¹⁹⁴ except in case of illness
55	55	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who has one's head veiled except in case of illness
56	56	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who has one's hands joining behind the back except in case of illness
57	57	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who has worn leather shoes ¹⁹⁵ except in case of illness
58	58	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who has worn wooden shoes except in case of illness
59	59	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is mounted on a vehicle except in case of illness
60	60	Not to spend a night in a <i>stūpa</i> , except to guard it
61	61	Not to store valuables in a <i>stūpa</i>
62	62	Not to enter into a <i>stūpa</i> wearing leather shoes
63	63	Not to enter into a <i>stūpa</i> holding leather shoes
64	64	Not to circle a <i>stūpa</i> wearing leather shoes
65	65	Not to enter into a <i>stūpa</i> wearing boots
66	66	Not to enter into a <i>stūpa</i> holding boots
67	67	Not to eat under a <i>stūpa</i> and litter the place with trash
68	68	Not to carry the dead while passing a <i>stūpa</i>
69	69	Not to bury the dead under a <i>stūpa</i>
70	70	Not to cremate the dead under a <i>stūpa</i>
71	71	Not to cremate a corpse in the vicinity of a <i>stūpa</i>
72	72	Not to cremate the dead in any of the four directions of a <i>stūpa</i>
73	73	Not to carry clothes or a bed belonging to the dead while passing a <i>stūpa</i>
74	74	Not to make excrement or urine under a <i>stūpa</i>
75	75	Not to make excrement or urine towards a <i>stūpa</i>
76	76	Not to make excrement or urine in any of the four directions of a <i>stūpa</i>

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77	77	Not to make excrement or urine while carrying a Buddha image
78	78	Not to brush the teeth under a <i>stūpa</i>
79	79	Not to brush the teeth towards a <i>stūpa</i>
80	80	Not to brush the teeth in any of the four directions of a <i>stūpa</i>
81	81	Not to blow the nose or spit under a <i>stūpa</i>
82	82	Not to blow the nose or spit towards a <i>stūpa</i>
83	83	Not to blow the nose or spit in any of the four directions of a <i>stūpa</i>
84	84	Not to stretch the feet towards a <i>stūpa</i>
85	85	Not to place the Buddha image in the room below one's residence
86	86	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is sitting ¹⁹⁶ while the preacher is standing except in case of illness
87	87	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is lying down except in case of illness
88	88	Not to preach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is sitting in a proper seat ¹⁹⁷ while the preacher is improperly seated, except in case of illness
89	89	In sitting on a low seat, not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is seated on a high seat except in case of illness
90	90	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is going in front of you except in case of illness
91	91	Going at the side of the road, not to teach the <i>Dharma</i> to one who is going on the higher side on the road
92	92	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> while walking beside a path to one who is walking in the middle of path except in case of illness
93	93	Not to walk in the middle of the road holding each other's hands
94	94	Not to climb a tree higher than the height of a human being, except in a special case

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95	95	Not to carry a bowl on the shoulder by tying it on a walking stick
96	96	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is holding a walking stick
97	97	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is holding a weapon
98	98	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is holding a sword
99	99	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is holding a knife
100	100	Not to teach <i>Dharma</i> to one who is holding a parasol, except in case of illness

Ji-kwan Lee has noted that these rules are divided into ten sections: the first section (#1–2) deals with the wearing of robes, the second (#3–25) with entering a house, the third (#26–46) with eating alms (food), the fourth (#47–48) with handling the bowl, the fifth (#49–51) with making excrement and urine, the sixth (#52–59) with preaching *Dharma*, the seventh (#60–85) with worship of the *stūpa*, the eighth (#86–92) with preaching *Dharma*, the ninth (#93–95) with walking on the road and climbing a tree, the tenth (#96–100) with preaching *Dharma*.¹⁹⁸ W. Pachow says that “[t]hey [*śaikṣa dharmas*] do not come under any penal section, inasmuch as there will not be any sanction or punishment for their breaches or violations. The violation of any of them by a *bhikṣu* [or *bhikṣuṇī*] is not considered to be a criminal act but simply bad manners.”¹⁹⁹

Some people, reading the *Vinaya*, may think that Gautama Buddha discriminated against *bhikṣuṇīs* because the rules in the *Vinaya* seem to have been laid down mainly for *bhikṣus*, and many rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* were taken from those for *bhikṣus*. However, even though *bhikṣus* played the leading role as subjects of concern during the production of the rules in the *Vinaya*, this proves only that they, more than *bhikṣuṇīs*, were the trouble-makers.²⁰⁰ All one hundred rules in the this category were generated because of the group of six trouble-makers of *bhikṣus*.²⁰¹ This provides supporting evidence for a better understanding of the central leading role of *bhikṣus* as the focus of attention in the promulgation of the various rules in the *Vinaya*, when considered in light of the structure and contents of the *Vinaya*.²⁰² When a *bhikṣu* or *bhikṣuṇī* did wrong, he [she] was investigated by the Buddha, who then laid down a rule for *bhikṣus* concerning that misdeed. The rule was extended to be applicable to *bhikṣuṇīs* as well, but only as a matter of form. As Kabilsingh points out, so far no one has paid much attention to the trouble-makers among the *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*. Interest-

ing points can be drawn from study of the trouble-makers in both *saṅghas*. There are far more *bhikṣus* trouble-makers in the *Vinaya*.²⁰³ The formulation of many rules in the *Vinaya* came about in response to specific wrongdoings, especially by the group of six *bhikṣus*. For example:

At that time the enlightened one, the lord was staying at Sāvathī in the Jeta Grove in Anāthapiṇḍika's monastery. Now at that time the group of six monks dressed with the inner robe hanging down in front and behind. . . . The enlightened one, the lord, rebuked them, saying: "How can you, foolish men, dress with the inner robe hanging down in front and behind? It is not, foolish men, for pleasing those who are not (yet) pleasedAnd thus, monks, this rule of training should be set forth."²⁰⁴

* * *

Now at that time the group of six monks put on the upper robe hanging down in front and behindWhoever out of disrespect puts on an upper robe hanging down in front or behind, there is an offense of wrong-doing.²⁰⁵

* * *

Now at that time the group of six monks, having uncovered their bodies, went amidst the housesWhoever out of disrespect, having uncovered the body, goes (sits down) amidst the houses, there is an offense of wrong-doing.²⁰⁶

As we see from the above, the formulation of the rules in the *Vinaya* traces the struggles which Gautama Buddha had with the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*, and in no way demonstrates a special discrimination against either *bhikṣuṇīs* or women in general.

PART VIII

Adhikaraṇa-Śamatha Dharmas (Legal Questions)

The last category for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* in the *Prātimokṣa* contains the *Adhikaraṇa-Śamatha Dharmas* (Pāli: *adhikaraṇa samatha*), or "rules for deciding legal questions."²⁰⁷ *Adhikaraṇa-Śamatha Dharmas* translates into Chinese as *mie cheng fa*,²⁰⁸ which means "settling disputes." The *Adhikaraṇa-Śamatha Dharmas* are exactly the same in both contents and numbering for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*. This category contains seven rules dealing with seven different ways of all forms of disciplinary action within monastic community. In these rules, we see that both the *Bhikṣu saṅgha*

and the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* use exactly the same procedures to settle disputes among members of the *saṅghas*. *Adhikaraṇa–Śamatha Dharmas* are as follows.

Table 12

Adhikaraṇa–Śamatha Dharmas

Order of Rules for <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i>	Order of Same Rules for <i>Bhikṣus</i> ²⁰⁹	Summary of Rules ²¹⁰
1	1	Settlement is to be in the presence of the offender
2	2	Settlement is to be based on recollection of the offender
3	3	Settlement is to be made for an offender who is no longer insane (mentally ill) even though the offense was committed during the time of insanity
4	4	Settlement is to cause confession of the offender
5	5	Settlement is to be made upon investigation of the special nature of the accused <i>bhikṣu</i> or <i>bhikṣuṇī</i>
6	6	Settlement is to be decided by majority vote
7	7	Settlement is to cover over the dispute as grass covers the earth

When a dispute occurs in the *saṅgha*, it should be settled in accordance with these seven rules. According to Ji-kwan Lee, there are four kinds of disputes. A dispute arises out of a dispute regarding *Dharma* or *Vinaya* which needs a clear decision as to the right or wrong. A dispute arises out of a dispute regarding the censure of a *bhikṣu* or a *bhikṣuṇī*'s opinion, morals, character, conduct or manner of life. A dispute arises out of a dispute regarding a *bhikṣu* or a *bhikṣuṇī*'s offense which must be clarified as to truth or untruth, and categorized as light or heavy. A dispute arises out of a dispute regarding the procedure for any formal act of the *saṅgha*.²¹¹

The *Adhikaraṇa–Śamatha Dharmas* represent a system for carrying out all forms of disciplinary action in both *saṅghas*. As these rules are not rules regarding offenses per se, there is no punishment of any violation in this category.²¹² I believe that because Gautama Buddha saw the potential

equal abilities of men and women, he prescribed that the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* follow exactly the same method in all forms of disciplinary action as the *Bhikṣu saṅgha* in this category.

PART IX

Gurudharmas (The Eight Rules²¹³ only for *bhikṣuṇīs*)

I have discussed the rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* above. In addition, both *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus* have rules which apply only to them. *Bhikṣus* are governed by the special category of the *Aniyata Dharmas* as discussed above. The special rules which apply only to *bhikṣuṇīs* cannot be said to comprise a formal category of their own, as I will discuss. They are known as the “Eight Rules” (Skt. *Gurudharmas*). The contents of the Eight Rules are almost the same in the Chinese and the Pāli *Vinayas*, although they are numbered differently. The *Gotamī Sutta*²¹⁴ [Skt. *Sūtra*] and the *Cullavagga*²¹⁵ in the Pāli canon both contain the story of the ordination of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, the Buddha’s foster mother and his aunt, and the formulation of the Eight Important Rules (Pāli: *Aṭṭha Garudhammā*).²¹⁶ Five years after Gautama Buddha attained enlightenment,²¹⁷ he received a visit at the Banyan Tree Park in Kapilavastu from Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, accompanied by a large group of women. Gotamī asked him to allow women to join the monastic life. The Buddha refused three times without explaining the reason for his refusal. She and her followers were saddened and left weeping. The Buddha then went on to Vesālī. They were saddened but adopted a life of renunciation without the Buddha’s permission: shaving their heads and putting on saffron-colored robes as the symbol of ordination. Gotamī and her followers followed him from Kapilavatthu to Vesālī, the Buddha’s next stopping place.

While Gotamī and her followers were standing outside Gabled Hall in Mahāvana near Vesālī, they met Aananda, a disciple and cousin of the Buddha. Aananda was sorry to see his aunt, Gotamī, standing outside the hall weeping with tears, with swollen feet and travel-strained body. Aananda decided to act as a mediator between the Buddha and Gotamī. Eventually the Buddha agreed that women could enter the *saṅgha*, but he stipulated that women must accept the Eight Rules. Gotamī accepted them and she became the first *bhikṣuṇī* in Buddhism. The Chinese *Vinaya* also gives a detailed explanation of both the ordination of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī and the formulation of the Eight Rules.²¹⁸ The Eight Rules translates into Chinese *pa pu k’o wei fa or pa ching fa*²¹⁹ which means “the Eight Rules must not be transgressed.” The Eight Rules are as follows.

Table 13

The Eight Rules only for *Bhikṣuṇīs*

Order of the Eight Rules	Same or Similar Numbers of <i>Pāyantika Dharmas</i> ²²⁰	Summary of the Eight Rules ²²¹
1	175	<i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i> who have been ordained even for a hundred years must greet respectfully, rise up from her seat, and bow down to a <i>bhikṣu</i> ordained that very day. This rule is to be revered, honored and observed, never to be transgressed throughout life.
2	145	<i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i> must not scold or abuse a <i>bhikṣu</i> about an offense, heretical view, conduct or livelihood in any way. This rule is . . . throughout life.
3	not included	<i>Bhikṣus</i> are allowed to admonish <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> , but never can <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> admonish a <i>bhikṣu</i> . This rule is . . . throughout life.
4	similar to 124 or 126	A <i>śīkṣamāṇa</i> who has trained for two years in the six rules must seek ordination from both <i>saṅghas</i> . This rule is . . . throughout life.
5	not included	A <i>bhikṣuṇī</i> who has broken an offense of the <i>saṅghāvaśeṇa dharma</i> must perform the <i>mānatva</i> ²²² period for a half month before both <i>saṅghas</i> . This rule is . . . throughout life.
6	141	On every half month, <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> must ask the <i>Bhikṣu Saṅgha</i> for teachings. This rule is . . . throughout life.
7	143	<i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i> must not spend the rainy season retreat at a residence where there are no <i>bhikṣus</i> . This rule is . . . throughout life.
8	142	After the rainy season retreat, <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i> must participate in the special meeting of both <i>saṅghas</i> for three matters: what was seen, heard and suspected. This rule is . . . throughout life.

As we see above, six of the Eight Rules (#1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8) are the same or similar to rules in the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas* (#175, 145, 124 or 126, 141, 143, 142) in the *Ssu fen lu*. As I mentioned in the introduction, some Buddhist scholars, writers and practitioners have frequently discussed the place of women in Buddhism according to the Eight Rules. For example, Anne Bancroft says:

There is considerable debate today whether these eight were actually pronounced by the Buddha or were later inserted by monks. They are excessively chauvinistic, and it is difficult to imagine the Buddha, having agreed to the possible *Arahantship* of women, giving voice to some of them. But they have played and continue even today to play a major role in the customs of *bhikṣuṇīs* towards *bhikṣus*.²²³

Nancy Schuster Barnes writes:

. . . [T]he Eight Chief Rules, said to have been instituted by the Buddha when he founded the nun's order, were the most notable and the most stifling.²²⁴

Gross states:

However, the nuns were required to accept eight special rules as a precondition for their admission to the order; these rules subordinated the nun's order to the monk's order.²²⁵

* * *

Many would prefer to regard the Buddha's negative attitudes towards the nun's order as an interpolation into the tradition, reflecting the value of later, more conservative disciples.²²⁶

Susan Murcott also says:

Perhaps the Eight Special Rules, the acceptance of which was a prerequisite to women's ordination, were a bulwark against any possible future boldness. Though the Eight Special Rules clearly relegated women to a secondary status, Pajāpatī accepted them in order to achieve her primary goal of establishing an order of nuns.²²⁷

Dharmacharini Sanghadevi points out:

Eventually the Buddha agreed that women could Go Forth provided they were prepared to accept Eight Great Rules (*Garudhamma*) which

in effect ensured that the Order of women would not only be answerable to the Order of men but also subordinate to it.²²⁸

Lorna Devaraja also says:

The price of their [*bhikṣuṇīs*'] admission was their unequivocal acceptance of eight rules (*aṭṭha garudhammā*), all of which upheld the superiority of the male. The first of these was that a *bhikṣuṇī*, even though she has been ordained for a century, must greet respectfully, rise up from her seat, and salute a monk who had been ordained that very day.²²⁹

However, as the table number thirteen shows, the Eight Rules reveal irreconcilability with the story of the founding of the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha* and the penalty for violation of rules in the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas*. Roykan Nagasaki argues that although the Eight Rules are the most important rules for women who want to be ordained and must be observed, it is doubtful that they were laid down by Gautama Buddha when Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī was ordained. At that time there was no *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*, and training rules for two years under the six rules for a *śīkṣamāṇa* (probationer) had not yet been instituted. However, these matters are mentioned in four of the Eight Rules (#4, 5, 6, 8). It seems likely that the Eight Rules might have been appended after the establishment of both *saṅghas*.²³⁰

Hae-ju Chun, a *bhikṣuṇī* and assistant professor at Tongguk University in Seoul, Korea, argues that six of the Eight Rules (#1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8) belong to the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas*, as they are the same as or similar to rules found there. We may compare the differences in the punishment for any offense of the Eight Rules with that for an offense of the *pāyantika dharmas*. Violation of any of the Eight Rules means that women cannot be ordained. The Eight Rules must be observed throughout the *bhikṣuṇīs* lives. However, the *pāyantika dharmas* (#175, 145, 124 or 126, 141, 143, 142) require only confession, as there offenses of *bhikṣuṇīs* are considered to be violations of “minor rules.” Based on the differences in the gravity of offenses between the Eight Rules and the *pāyantika dharmas*, she also asserts the probability that the Eight Rules might have been added later.²³¹

The first of the Eight Rules does not appear in the Pāli *Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya*, as far as I have been able to discover, but it is repeated in rule number 175 of the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharma* in the Chinese *Ssu fen lu*. This first rule is the most notorious among the Eight Rules and is frequently discussed in regard to the position of women in Buddhism. It was probably inserted into the Chinese *Prātimokṣa* by compilers who wished to put unflattering ideas

of women into the scriptures. In regard to this rule, I doubt whether during the time of Gautama Buddha a *bhikṣu* who was ordained that very day and did not have any of the eight qualities²³² could receive proper homage from many *Arhat* (Pāli: *Arahat*)²³³ senior *bhikṣuṇīs*. Nancy Auer Falk asserts:

Certainly the most damaging of all must have been the story concerning the eight special rules that subordinated the nuns to the monks. It purports to tell how the nun's order was founded over the Buddha's own objection to letting women renounce the world. To the Buddha's credit, the story may be a fraud, for it does not belong to the oldest stratum of Buddhist literature. But it was widely circulated as the authentic founding narrative; hence its charges must have cast a very long shadow on the nun's endeavor.²³⁴

As I have tried to demonstrate above, the original intention of the Buddha must have been quite otherwise. The discrepancy between the compassionate and understanding regulation of the *bhikṣuṇīs*' lives, as expressed in the formal categories of rules, and the self-servingly chauvinistic demands of the Eight Rules is difficult to reconcile. I fully agree with Hirakawa:

There are eight of these. According to the *Bhikkunīkkhandaka* [*Bhikṣuṇī-skandhaka*], when the Buddha in response to Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī's request, allowed women to become *bhikṣuṇī*, he also set forth the eight *gurudharmas*. However, their contents indicate that they were actually formulated later.²³⁵

As Hirakawa claims, I believe that the only logical explanation must be that these rules were appended later. The strongest support for this explanation is to be found in the puzzling differences between the mere contrition requested for transgressions of the *pāyantika dharmas*, and the penalty to *bhikṣuṇīs* of life-long subservience demanded by the Eight Rules.

CONCLUSION

Many people have had the idea that *bhikṣuṇīs* as women were discriminated against in the monastic rules. However, from a close and comparative study of the rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*, I have presented a different interpretation of the rules. The additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* in the *Pārājika Dharmas* were designed to safeguard *bhikṣuṇīs* from potential motherhood, which would be disruptive both to a *bhikṣuṇī* individually and to the larger *saṅgha*. These additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* treat sexual matters very seriously for this very reason. These rules not only attempt to guard the chastity of *bhikṣuṇīs*, but also try to protect them from their fer-

tility. Again, some of the additional rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* in the *Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas* provide extra safeguards against falling victim to the lustful desires of men. The punishments for offenses against the four additional rules in the *Samghāvaśeṣa Dharmas* support *bhikṣuṇīs* by requiring three admonitions, which give more opportunities for *bhikṣuṇīs* to expand spiritual development.

Other categories of rules protect *bhikṣuṇīs* from being taken advantage of in more general ways. Social conditions at the time of the formation of the two *saṅghas* created a climate conducive to allowing *bhikṣus* to overburden *bhikṣuṇīs* with various demands and tasks. Therefore, further rules were devised only for *bhikṣus*, to encourage them in more equitable treatment of *bhikṣuṇīs*. For example, some of the *niḥsargika-pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣus* forbid them from using the service of *bhikṣuṇīs* to wash, dye or even receive a robe from an unrelated *bhikṣuṇī*.

Further regulations pertaining to the interaction of the *Bhikṣuṇī* and the *Bhikṣu saṅghas* are found among the *pāyantika dharmas*. This group of rules also contains the largest percentage of regulations, outside of the “Eight Rules,” which pertain only to *bhikṣuṇīs*. The purpose of these additional *pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs* is to provide reasonable living conditions for them, while fostering growth in the alms life, all within the social constraints of the time. This care for the unique female condition of *bhikṣuṇīs* is further seen in the *Bhikṣuṇī Pratideśanīya Dharmas*, which are more elaborate than those for *bhikṣus*. These allow an ill *bhikṣuṇī* to request foods especially supportive of health, such as ghee, oil, honey, molasses, milk, curds, and even fish and meat.

Equality of *bhikṣuṇī* and *bhikṣu*, men and women, can be inferred in several of the rules groupings. The penalties for offenses against those *aniyata dharmas* written only for *bhikṣus*, for example, point up a landmark of female–male equality. Here, in a gesture of trust in women most unusual for the time, a trustworthy female lay follower can bring a charge against a *bhikṣu* based only on her personal eyewitness testimony, in order to force an investigation of that *bhikṣu*’s conduct. Additionally, equal abilities of men and women are presumed in the regulations for settlement of disciplinary matters in the seven *Adhikaraṇa-Samatha Dharmas*, which are exactly the same, in both numbers and contents, for both the *Bhikṣu* and the *Bhikṣuṇī Saṅghas*.

The “Eight Rules” present a thorny problem. These “Eight Rules” are so different in character and tone from the rest of the body of the *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣa* that I believe they can be disregarded as later additions, appended by the compilers, and not indicative of either the intentions of Gautama Buddha himself, or of the Buddhist traditions as a whole. For

these reasons, the Buddhist monastic rules are consistent with an affirmation of the equality of men and women, and with a reasonable and compassionate understanding of the differences which were created for men and women by their biological dissimilarities, as well as by the larger cultural context within which they pursued the monastic life

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End Notes

¹ S. B. S. Vol. X, pp. 37–8.

² A *bhikṣuṇī* [Skt.] is a fully ordained Buddhist nun. There are three different levels of ordination in the *saṅgha* of women in Buddhism. A novice nun [Skt. *śrāmaṇerā*] receives ten precepts: 1) Abstention from taking life, 2) Abstention from taking what is not given, 3) Abstention from sexual contact, 4) Abstention from lying, 5) Abstention from drinking alcohol, 6) Abstention from beautifying oneself with ornaments or cosmetics, 7) Abstention from dancing, singing and entertainment, 8) Abstention from using high or luxurious seat and bed, 9) Abstention from eating food at a wrong time, 10) Abstention from handling silver or gold (T. Vol. XII, pp. 1042, 1048). When a female novice becomes eighteen, she is required to receive an interim ordination as a probationary nun [Skt. *śīkṣmāṇa*]. A *śīkṣmāṇa* must be trained for two years under the six rules (see footnote 129 in Part V). The contents and numbers of the six rules differ among the various *Vinaya* Schools, but the *śīkṣmāṇa* ordination basically represents a training period in preparation for full ordination, *bhikṣuṇī*hood. It is not required for *bhikṣus* (monks). A male novice monk [Skt. *śrāmaṇera*] receives the ten precepts like a novice nun. When he becomes twenty, he may be fully ordained as a *bhikṣu*.

³ Fully ordained Buddhist monks [Skt. *bhikṣus*].

⁴ The rules of the Buddhist monastic discipline.

⁵ The community of Buddhist nuns.

⁶ The community of Buddhist monks.

⁷ See this paper, pp. 89–90.

⁸ The Eight Rules.

⁹ Kate Wheeler, "Bowing Not Scraping," in *Tricycle*, ed. Helen Tworokov (NJ: Mark Printing Corp., 1993), p. 27.

¹⁰ Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in the Mahāyāna Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 80

¹¹ Rita M. Gross, “Buddhism and Feminism: Toward Their Mutual Transformation (I)”, in *The Eastern Buddhist* (Tokyo: Komiyama Printing Co., 1986), p. 46.

¹² Nancy Schuster Barnes, “Buddhism,” in *Women in World Religions*, ed. Arvind, Sharma (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), p. 108.

¹³ Richard H. Robinson and Willard L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1987), p. 57

¹⁴ Susan Murcott, *The First Buddhist Women: Translations and Commentary on the Therīgathā* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1991), p. 196.

¹⁵ Richard F. Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 105.

¹⁶ Uma Chakravarti, *The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 33.

¹⁷ Audrey Mck. Fernandez, “Women in Buddhism,” in *Women Buddhism: A Special Issue of Spring Wind–Buddhist Cultural Forum*. Vol. 6, No. 1, 2, 3. Published by the Zen Lotus Society (Ontario: Spring Wind, 1986), p. 39.

¹⁸ I have followed Horner’s expression in referring to the life of *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* as “alms life.” Some Buddhist scholars express “homeless life” or “monastic life.”

¹⁹ The list of the Buddhist monastic rules for *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* recited at the fortnightly assemblies.

²⁰ See E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature* (Stampato, Italia: Roma Is. M. E. O., 1956) pp. 180–2.

²¹ See Frauwallner, pp. 184–94.

²² The *stupa* [Skt.] is a dome-shaped monument containing relics among Buddhists or Jains.

²³ W. Pachow, *A Comparative Study of the Prātimokṣa: On the Basis of Its Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Pali Versions* (Santineta: Sino-Indian Cultural Society, 1955), p. 42.

²⁴ Frauwallner, pp. 181, 185.

²⁵ Sukumar Dutt, *The Buddha and Five After-Centuries* (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1978), p. 110.

²⁶ Charles S. Prebish (p. 28) says that “[w]e find fully developed Vinayas of only six schools: Mahāsāṅghikas, Theravādins, Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins, and Mūlasarvāstivādins” (From *Buddhist*

Monastic Discipline: the Sanskrit Prāṭimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṅghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975).

²⁷ Chatsumarn Kabilsingh, *A Comparative Study of Bhikkhunī Pātimokkha* (Delhi: Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1984), p. 97.

The Pāli *Vinaya* was published by H. Oldenberg (*The Vinaya–Piṭaka in Pali*, 5 Vols, London, 1879) and was later reprinted by the Pāli Text Society.²⁸

²⁹ The *Pātimokkha* has also been published. A partial English translation of the full Pāli *Vinaya* was done for the Sacred Books of the East (Vols. 13, 17, 20).

³⁰ A complete English translation of the full *Vinaya*, titled *The Book of the Discipline* (Vols. 10, 11, 13, 14, 20, 25), was done for the Sacred Books of the Buddhists.

³¹ Akira Hirakawa, *Monastic Discipline for the Buddhist Nuns: An English Translation of the Chinese Text of the Mahāsāṅghika–Bhikṣuṇī–Vinaya* (Patna, India: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1982), p.8, 415.

³² Explanation of the rules for *bhikṣus*.

³³ Explanation of the rules for *bhikṣuṇīs*.

³⁴ Chapters on procedures for assemblies and other subjects.

³⁵ Kabilsingh, p. 153.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. ix–x.

³⁷ The collection of the Buddhist monastic disciplinary rules.

³⁸ Sukumar Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monasticism* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Put. Ltd., 1984), pp. 72–3.

³⁹ Gokuldas De, *Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṅgha* (Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1955), p. 60.

⁴⁰ Categories and numbers of rules for *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*

bhikṣus and *bhikṣuṇīs*

(1) <i>Pārājika dharmas</i> (Defeat)	4 / 8
(2) <i>Samghāvaśeṣa dharmas</i> (Formal Meeting).....	13 / 17
(3) <i>Aniyata dharmas</i> (Undetermined).....	2 / 0
(4) <i>Nihsargika–Pāyantika dharmas</i> (Forfeiture).....	30 / 30
(5) <i>Pāyantika dharmas</i> (Expiation).....	90 / 178
(6) <i>Pratideśanīya dharmas</i> (Confession).....	4 / 8
(7) <i>Śaikṣa dharmas</i> (Training).....	100 / 100
(8) <i>Adhikaraṇa–Śamatha dharmas</i> (Legal questions).....	7 / 7

Total: 250 / 348

⁴¹ I present technical terminology in the Sanskrit. I have followed Charles S. Prebish's Sanskrit terms.

⁴² S. B. B. Vol. X, p. xxvi.

- ⁴³ E. J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933), p. 16.
- ⁴⁴ T. Vol. XXII, p. 571.
- ⁴⁵ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 568–79, 1015–6.
- ⁴⁶ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 714–8, 1031–2. This and all succeeding tables are the author's translation from the Chinese. If the reader wants to understand more fully the rules for *bhikṣuṇīs* and *bhikṣus*, I recommend that the reader read the *Vinaya*.
- ⁴⁷ Who is filled with sexual desire: infatuated, full of desire, physically in love with.
- ⁴⁸ The special eight actions (T. Vol. XXII, p. 715): to hold the hands of a man, to touch the cloth of a man, to enter a secret place with a man, to stand with a man, to talk with a man, to press against limbs of a man, to make an appointment to take a walk with a man, to make an appointment for meeting.
- ⁴⁹ This rule is violated after three admonitions have been given to the violator (T. Vol. XXII, pp. 717–8).
- ⁵⁰ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 571, 1015–6.
- ⁵¹ Muk-dam Kuk and Jung-shup Han, *Pulgyo kyeyul haesol (A Translation and Commentary on the Chinese Bhikṣu and Bhikṣuṇī Sse fen lu)* (Seoul: Seoul: Ihwa Munhwasa, 1987), pp. 136–7.
- ⁵² Richard F. Gombrich, pp. 104–5.
- ⁵³ Gross, p. 45.
- ⁵⁴ Nagata Mizu, "A View of Women in the Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya," in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyogaku Kenyu)* Vol. 54 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1978), p. 708.
- ⁵⁵ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 716–7.
- ⁵⁶ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, pp. 165–8.
- ⁵⁷ See this paper, p. 47, rules number 140 and 141 of the *pāyantika dharmas* for *bhikṣuṇīs*.
- ⁵⁸ Mizu, p. 708.
- ⁵⁹ Kabilsingh, p. 54.
- ⁶⁰ Mizu, p. 708.
- ⁶¹ Kabilsingh, pp. 57–8.
- ⁶² S. B. B. Vol. X, pp. xxix–xxx.
- ⁶³ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 579, 718.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁶⁵ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 579–600, 1016–7.
- ⁶⁶ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 716–27, 1032–3.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 579–87, 1016–7.
- ⁶⁸ In length: twelve spans of the Buddha; in width: seven spans of the Bud-

dha (T. Vol. XXII, p. 585).

⁶⁹ Kabilsingh, p. 69.

⁷⁰ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 722–7, 1033.

⁷¹ Period of probation, see more details, C. S. Upasak, *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic terms* (Varanasi: Bharati Prakashan, 1975), pp. 158–60.

⁷² A temporary probation, see more details, Upasak, pp. 183–40.

⁷³ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 1016–7.

⁷⁴ T. Vol. XXII, p. 1033, 1062–3, 1068–9.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 212.

⁷⁷ T. Vol. XII, p. 1033.

⁷⁸ When a *bhikṣuṇī* has committed one of the *saṃghāvaśeṣa* offenses, so far as I have been able to discover in the Pāli *Vinaya*, she is required to approach both *saṅghas* and beg for the period of the *mānatva*. The Pāli *Vinaya* does not clearly give the required numbers of *bhikṣus* for the rehabilitation of *bhikṣuṇīs*.

⁷⁹ Ian Astley, (A book review of) *Buddhism After Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism*, in *Studies in Central East Asian Religions* Vol. 5/6 (Copenhagen: Journal of the Seminar for Buddhist Studies, 1992–3), p. 208.

⁸⁰ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 275.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 178.

⁸² Ibid., p. 257.

⁸³ Kajiyama Yuichi, “Women in Buddhism,” in *The Eastern Buddhist* Vol. XV No. 2 Autumn 1982 (Tokyo: Komiyama Printing Co., 1982), pp. 159–60.

⁸⁴ See Russell Webb, ed. *An Analysis of the Pali Canon* (Kandy, Sri Lanka: Buddhist Publication Society, 1991), p. 3.

⁸⁵ S. B. B. Vol. XX, p. 359.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 360.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 361.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ C. S. Upasak, *Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms* (Varanasi: Bharati Prakashan, 1975), p. 14.

⁹¹ Charles S. Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvastivāins* (New York: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1975), p. 13.

⁹² T. Vol. XXII, pp. 600–1.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 600–1, 1017.

⁹⁴ Prebish, p. 13.

⁹⁵ T. Vol. XXII, p. 1017.

⁹⁶ S. B. B. Vol. X, p. xxxiii.

⁹⁷ S. B. B. Vol. XI, p. vii.

⁹⁸ T. Vol. XXII, p. 601.

⁹⁹ T. Vol. XXIII, p. 762.

¹⁰⁰ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 601–34, 1017–8.

¹⁰¹ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 727–34, 1033–4.

¹⁰² *Bhikṣus* can possess three robes: *antarāvāsaka* (the inner robe or cloth), *uttarāsaṅga* (the upper robe or cloth), and *saṅghāṭhi* (the outer cloak). *Bhikṣuṇīs* are also permitted to possess the same three robes as *bhikṣus*, with two additional robes, *udakasāṭikā* (a robe for bath), and *samakaccikā* (a vest).

¹⁰³ The robe has been stolen, the robe has been lost, the robe has been burned, the robe has been washed away. (T. Vol. XXII, p. 609)

¹⁰⁴ Gombrich (pp. 99–100) explains that “[a]t the end of the rains retreat the laity offer the material for a robe to their local monastery. This material has to be new, or at least in good condition. The local *saṅgha* cut it up and stitch it together again and then offer it to one of their number—the theory is that he should be one who has kept the rules of the retreat. There is a special name for this robe: *kaṭhina*.” See more detail, Upasak, pp. 60–2.

¹⁰⁵ A robe costing more than four times sixteen old coins (a coin whose value is about a half-crown).

¹⁰⁶ T. Vol. XXII, p. 1055.

¹⁰⁷ Mohan Wijayaratna, *Buddhist Monastic Life: According to the Texts of the Theravāda Tradition*, trans. Claude Grangier and Steven Collins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 147.

¹⁰⁸ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 605–33, 1017–8.

¹⁰⁹ A measure of length, which is about seven miles.

¹¹⁰ S. B. B. Vol. XI, pp. 94–5 or T. Vol. XXII, p. 618.

¹¹¹ I. B. Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism: Laywomen and Almswomen* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1930), p. 274.

¹¹² Gross, p. 37.

¹¹³ T. Vol. XXII, p. 634.

¹¹⁴ Ji-kwan Lee, *Biguni kyeyul yon’gu (A Study on the Chinese Bhikṣuṇī Ssu fen lu)* (Seoul: Taegakhoe Ch’ulpanbu, 1982), p. 220.

¹¹⁵ S. B. B. Vol. XI, p. XXV.

¹¹⁶ Kabilsingh, p. 91.

¹¹⁷ Wijayaratna, p. 142.

¹¹⁸ T. Vol. XXII, p. 1056.

¹¹⁹ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 634–95, 1018–20.

¹²⁰ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 734–78, 1034–8.

¹²¹ The *Ssu fen lu* does not give an explanation of “one who is not ordained,” but the Pāli Vinaya (S. B. B. Vol. XI, p. 190) explains “ones who are disrespectful, not deferential towards *bhikṣus* [or *bhikṣuṇīs*].”

¹²² This is a right time (T. Vol. XXII, p. 658): a time of illness, a time of making cloth, a time of the giving of robes, a time of going on a journey, a time of being boarded on a boat.

¹²³ The wrong time (T. Vol. XXII, p. 662): from noon to the following early morning before the dawn.

¹²⁴ A right time (T. Vol. XX, p. 675): a time of hot season, a time of illness, a time of wind and rain, a time of going on a journey.

¹²⁵ T. Vol. XXII, p. 678.

¹²⁶ A female postulant who is training for two years (or probationary period) under the six rules (see footnote 129 in Part V) to proceed to her higher ordination.

¹²⁷ The rainy season retreat lasts for three months, beginning either the day after the full moon of June–July or one month after that full moon. For more details, see *Upasak*, pp. 198–9.

¹²⁸ (T. Vol. XXII, p. 749) in length, six spans of the Buddha, in width, two and half spans of the Buddha.

¹²⁹ The six rules for a *śīkṣamāṇa* (T. Vol. XXII, pp. 756, 1432, 1048):

- (1) Abstention from sexual contact
- (2) Abstention from stealing
- (3) Abstention from killing
- (4) Abstention from lying
- (5) Abstention from eating a meal at a wrong time
- (6) Abstention from drinking alcohol.

¹³⁰ The Observance Day (*Uposatha* ceremony) is the end of every lunar month (on the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the lunar month depending on its length). The main ritual of this statutory ceremony is the recitation of the *Prātimokṣa*. All *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs* must participate in this ceremony. During the recitation of the *Prātimokṣa* each *bhikṣu* or *bhikṣuṇī* declares himself or herself pure or guilty of an offense. According to Wijayaratna, (p. 136), the *uposatha* ceremony for *bhikṣuṇīs* was held in their own meeting hall, where they were addressed as “noble ladies (Pāli: *ayya*).”

¹³¹ A *śrāmaṇerī* (Pāli: *samanerī*) is a female novice of the *Bhikṣuṇī saṅgha*. This is the first stage of the three stages towards the *bhikṣuṇī*hood.

¹³² There are twenty–four disqualifications for the admission of a woman into full membership of the *saṅgha*. See more details, S . B. B. Vol. XX, pp. 375–9 or Horner, pp. 145–54. Concerning the disqualifications for the admission of a man into full membership of the *saṅgha*, see Wijayaratna,

p. 120.

¹³³ Jung Hee Kang, “The Buddhist View of Women: Women’s Education Manifested in *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*” (Master Thesis) (Seoul: Tongguk University, 1983), pp. 48–9. I have referred to Kang’s overview of the *pāyantika dharmas* but I modified several classification of offenses.

¹³⁴ Mizu, p. 709.

¹³⁵ S. B. B. Vol. XX, p. 385.

¹³⁶ Murcott, p. 67.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹³⁸ Kabilsingh, p. 106.

¹³⁹ S. B. B. Vol. XI, p. 289 or T. Vol. XXII, pp. 652–3.

¹⁴⁰ S. B. B. Vol. XI, p. 293 or T. Vol. XXII, p. 652.

¹⁴¹ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 187 or T. Vol. XXII, p. 720.

¹⁴² S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 189.

¹⁴³ Gross, p. 36.

¹⁴⁴ Thirty three times: 25 times in the *Bhikṣuṇī Pāyantika Dharmas*, 8 times in the *Bhikṣuṇī Pratideśanīya Dharmas*.

¹⁴⁵ S. B. B. Vol. XX, p. xiv.

¹⁴⁶ Although male probationers are not required to have a fixed period of time for the probation period, they also have to complete some periods of training before the major Ordination. Wijayaratna (p. 120) explains that “[a]ccording to these rules [the rules for ordination], postulants had to undergo a period of preparation and education under the guidance of their preceptors. Sometime this training was given before the minor Ordination, sometimes in between the minor and major Ordinations. Novices had to wait until they were twenty years of age before they could be given the major Ordination.”

¹⁴⁷ Mizu, p. 707.

¹⁴⁸ I. B. Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, p. 251.

¹⁴⁹ S. B. B. Vol. XX, p. 385.

¹⁵⁰ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 361 or T. Vol. XXII, pp. 754–5.

¹⁵¹ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 363, or T. Vol. XXII, pp. 754–5.

¹⁵² Karma Lekshe Tsomo, “Prospects for an International Bhikṣuṇī Saṅgha,” in *Sakyadhītā: Daughters of the Buddha*, ed. Karma Lekshe Tsomo (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1988), pp. 237–8.

¹⁵³ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 371.

¹⁵⁴ I. B. Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, p. 141.

¹⁵⁵ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 377 or T. Vol. XXII, p. 760.

¹⁵⁶ S. B. B. Vol. p. 384 or T. Vol. XXII, pp. 761–2.

¹⁵⁷ See this paper pp. 89–90.

¹⁵⁸ Kabilsingh, p. 103. The eight qualities (S. B. B. Vol. XI, pp. 265–6 or T.

Vol. XXII, p. 646.): one who is virtuous, one who lives restrained by the restraint of the *Prātimokṣa*, one who is possessed of good behavior and lawful resort, one who sees danger in the slightest faults, one who trains himself according to the rules of training, one who has become very learned, one who knows the learning by heart, one who is a store of learning.

¹⁵⁹ I. B. Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, p. 127.

¹⁶⁰ Nancy Auer Falk, “The Case of Vanishing Nuns: The Fruits of Ambivalence in Ancient Indian Buddhism,” in *Unspoken Worlds*, ed. Nancy Auer Falk and Rita M. Gross (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1989), 159.

¹⁶¹ Wijayaratna, pp. 161–2.

¹⁶² Jampa Tsedroen, “The Significance of the Conference,” in *Sakyadhītā: Daughters of the Buddha* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1988), p. 48.

¹⁶³ S. B. B. Vol. XI, p. 45.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

¹⁶⁵ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 317

Ibid., p. 319.

¹⁶⁶ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 647–95, 1018–20.

¹⁶⁸ This rule is the same rule as the eight *Bhikṣuṇī Pratidesannīya Dharmas* in next category. The Pāli *Vinaya* (S. B. B. Vol. XI, p. 341) specifies the eight kinds of foods: ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey, molasses, fish, meat, milk, and curds.

¹⁶⁹ The Buddha.

¹⁷⁰ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 678–9.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 716–7.

¹⁷² Prebish, p. 17.

¹⁷³ Kabilsingh, pp. 152–4.

¹⁷⁴ S. B. B. Vol. XX, pp. 378–9.

¹⁷⁵ Hiraakawa, p. 375.

¹⁷⁶ T. Vol. XXII, p. 695.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 696.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 778, 1038–9.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 695–8, 1020.

¹⁸¹ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, pp. 103–4.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 104.

¹⁸³ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 121.

¹⁸⁴ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 120.

¹⁸⁵ T. Vol. XXII, p. 698.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ T. Vol. XXIII, pp. 561–2.

¹⁸⁸ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 698–713, 1020–2.

¹⁸⁹ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 698–713, 778, 1039–40.

¹⁹⁰ The commentary of this rule in the *Ssu fen lu* explains that “The neck covered” is an improper manner or a disrespectful manner.(T. Vol. XXII, pp. 699)

¹⁹¹ Literally the term “jumping” denotes acting undignified in people’s houses.

¹⁹² Literally “not covering up soup with boiled rice,” implies acting as though one does not already have soup; donors will, on not seeing soup, presume that the *bhikṣuṇī* or *bhikṣu* has not received any, and thus donate more. This is a question of gluttony on the part of the *bhikṣuṇī* or *bhikṣu*.

¹⁹³ Horner (S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p. 133) explains: In India food is made up into balls with the fingers and eaten with the fingers. To make a large ball, that is a large mouthful, is bad manners.

¹⁹⁴ Nāṇamoli (p. 117) explains that “[i]n ancient India there were very definite customs observed by those who went to visit religious teachers to obtain their instructions. These customs were not (and are not) empty formalities but aim at creating the correct mental attitude in the person wishing to be instructed. Thus a king would put aside his regalia, sword, etc., before approaching a teacher. An ordinary man would remove his shoes and head-covering when going to visit recluses. When worldly decorations and signs of power and office were set aside, the mind is more likely to abandon pride and haughtiness and adopt a humble and receptive attitude.”

¹⁹⁵ Disrespectful manner, see more details, Nāṇamoli, p. 117.

¹⁹⁶ Disrespectful manner, see more details, Nāṇamoli , pp. 117–8.

¹⁹⁷ Disrespectful manner, see more details, Nāṇamoli , pp. 117–8.

¹⁹⁸ Lee, pp. 456–7.

¹⁹⁹ W. Pachow, p. 49.

²⁰⁰ A Comparative Table of Wrongdoings of *Bhikṣus* and *Bhikṣuṇīs* (recorded in the Chinese *Ssu fen lu*).

Categories of Rules (Bhik. / Bhik.s.)	Wrongdoings of <i>Bhikṣus</i>	Wrongdoings of <i>Bhikṣuṇīs</i>	A Comparative Numbers of Wrongdoings
1. <i>Pārajika</i> (Defeat) <i>dharmas</i> (4/8)	4	4	same wrongdoings of <i>bhikṣus</i> and <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i>
2. <i>Samghāvaśeṣa</i> (Formal Meeting) <i>dharmas</i> (13/17)	13	10	3 more wrongdoings of <i>bhikṣus</i> .

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3. <i>Aniyata</i> (Undetermined) <i>dharma</i> s (2/0)	2	N/A	two wrongdoings of <i>bhikṣus</i> .
4. <i>Nihsargika–Pāyantika</i> (Forfeiture) <i>dharma</i> s (30/30)	19	11	8 more wrongdoings of <i>bhikṣus</i>
5. <i>Pāyantika</i> (Expiation) <i>dharma</i> s (90/178)	90	109	19 more wrongdoings of <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i>
6. <i>Pratideśanīya</i> (Confession) <i>dharma</i> s (4/8)	4	8	4 more wrongdoings of <i>bhikṣuṇīs</i>
7. <i>Śaikṣa</i> (Training) <i>dharma</i> s (100/100)	100	None	all 100 wrongdoings of <i>bhikṣus</i>
8. <i>Ahikarāṇa–Śamatha</i> (Legal Questions) <i>dharma</i> s (7/7)	7	None	all 7 wrongdoings of <i>bhikṣus</i> .

²⁰¹ The stories in the *Ssu fen lu* explain that a group of six monks committed some offenses, so the Buddha set forth the rules in this category. See Jikwan Lee, p. 457.

²⁰² The Chinese *Bhikṣu–vibhaṅga* and *Bhikṣuṇī–vibhaṅga* has a fourfold structure:

1. A story (or stories) explaining the circumstances under which the rule was pronounced,
2. The *Prātimokṣa* rule,
3. Stories indicating mitigating circumstances in which exceptions to the rule or deviations in punishment might be made, and then the finalized *Prātimokṣa* rule,
4. A word for word commentary on the rule.

²⁰³ Kabilsingh, p. 188, see also comparative table of wrongdoings in footnote 200 above.

²⁰⁴ S. B. B. Vol. XIII, p.120

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p.121.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 121–2.

²⁰⁷ S. B. B. Vol XIII, p. 153.

²⁰⁸ T. Vol. XXII, p. 713.

²⁰⁹ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 713–4, 1022.

²¹⁰ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 778, 1040.

²¹¹ Lee, p. 543.

²¹² Jotiya Dhirasekera, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline* (Colombo: M. D. Gunasena Co. Ltd., 1982), pp. 121–7.

²¹³ Buddhist scholars translate *gurudharma*s in many different ways: the eight special rules, the Eight Extra Rules, Eight Important Conditions, Eight

Great Rules, eight cardinal rules, eight special regulations, the Eight Chief Rules, eight rules. I prefer the translation “Eight Rules.”

²¹⁴ *The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttara–Nikāya)*, Vol. IV (London: P. T. S.), pp. 181–5.

²¹⁵ S. B. B. Vol. XX, pp. 352–6, or T. Vol. XXII, pp. 922–3.

²¹⁶ The story of Mahāpajāpatī’s ordination is in several different versions but is the same basic story except for a few significant details.

²¹⁷ Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism*, p. xxii.

²¹⁸ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 922–3.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 923.

²²⁰ Ryokan Nagasaki, “A Study on the Ordination of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī Bhikṣuṇī,” in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*. Vol. 52 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1978), p. 656. Nagasaki compared the Eight Rules of the Pāli *Vinaya* with those of other *vinayas*. However, my table comparing the Eight Rules with the *Pāyantika Dharmas* is based on the Chinese *Ssu fen lu*.

²²¹ T. Vol. XXII, pp. 646, 649, 923, 1045 and T. XXIII, p. 345.

²²² See footnote 72 in Part II.

²²³ Anne Bancroft, “Women in Buddhism,” *Women in the World’s Religions*, ed. Ursula King (New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1987), p. 83.

²²⁴ Nancy Schuster Barnes, “Buddhism,” in *Women in World Religions*, ed. Arvind Sharma (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), p. 107.

²²⁵ Gross, p. 9.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²²⁷ Murcott, p. 17.

²²⁸ Dharmacharini Sanghadevi, “The History of the Ordination of Women in Buddhism,” in *Dakini* Issue 7 Summer 1991 (Glasgow: Ink Print and Design, 1991), p. 4.

²²⁹ Heidi Singh, “The Value of Precepts,” in *Sakyadhītā: International Association of Buddhist Women* Vol. 4, No. 1 (Honolulu: Sakyadhita, 1993), p. 7.

²³⁰ Nagasaki, p. 656.

²³¹ Hae-ju Chun, “A View of Women in Buddhism” in *The Dharma Newspaper (Pubpo Sinmun)* Nov. 16, 1992, p. 8.

²³² See footnote 158 in Part V above.

²³³ The holy one, who has attained *Arhatship*, the final stage of sainthood in Early Buddhism. In the *Therīgāthā*, which contains seventy-three verses or psalms of elder enlightened nuns, we see that there were many *bhikṣuṇīs* who became *Arhats* during the time of the Buddha.

²³⁴ Falk, p. 162.

²³⁵ Hirakawa, p. 37.