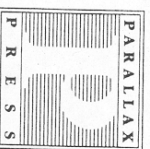


THAI WOMEN IN BUDDHISM

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Buddhist Texts from a Feminist Perspective

Women have shown an interest in following the path to spiritual salvation since the time of the Buddha, nearly 2,600 years ago. They expressed a sincere commitment by dedicating their lives as *bhikkhunis*, fully ordained nuns in the Buddhist order. The recorded histories of many Buddhist countries, such as Sri Lanka and China, offer evidence of the early existence of *bhikkhuni* orders. Still, despite the ideal in Buddhist thought of the availability of spiritual attainment for all sentient beings without discrimination, within the Buddhist establishment itself opportunities for women to express a genuine commitment to practicing the path have often been restricted.

There is an urgent need for us to examine the obstacles placed before women on the Buddhist path. Through a critical analysis of Buddhist texts, we can determine the ways that women are supported and the ways they are repressed by the institutional structures of Buddhism. Such an examination is not only the province of Buddhist scholars, but can also be carried out by feminist scholars of other religious and cultural backgrounds. Interfaith dialogue among diverse groups of scholars has proven to be of great benefit to Buddhist scholarship.

The First Council of the Sangha, held three months after the Buddha's passing, *Parinirvana*, was attended by five hundred enlightened men. Mahakassapa presided over the Council, with Upali reciting the *Vinaya*, and Ananda reciting the *Suttas*, texts of the Buddha's own words. The *Tripitaka*, the "three baskets" of the teachings, had not yet been formed; the *Abhidharma*, its third section, did not yet exist at the time of the First Council. The teachings agreed upon at this Council were preserved through oral transmission, the practice common at the time.

There are two important points about the First Council regarding women. First, although there were a number of enlightened *bhikkhunis*, highly praised by the Buddha for their knowledge of the

Vinaya, skill in giving Dharma talks, and attainment in wisdom and spiritual powers,¹ none were invited to the Council. It is tempting to surmise that this may have been due to the prejudices of the *Bhikkhu* Sangha. A Sri Lankan monk has pointed out that it was regarded as incorrect to recite the *Bhikkhuni Patimokkha*, rules of the nun's order, in the absence of the *bhikkhunis*.²

Second, Ananda was accused by the other monks of having committed an offense by encouraging the Buddha to accept women into the monastic order.³ Ananda replied, "But I, honored sirs, made an effort for the going forth of women in the Dharma and discipline proclaimed by the Truth-finder, thinking: this Gotami Pajapati... giver of milk, for when the Lord's mother passed away, she suckled him. I do not see that as an offense..."⁴ Even though Ananda made it clear that he felt he had committed no wrongdoing, he confessed to the offense in order to save the Sangha from further disagreement and possible schism. This event suggests that, among the hundreds of arahats in the First Council of the Sangha, many strongly opposed the establishment of the *Bhikkhuni* Sangha. Unable to go against the decision of the Buddha during his lifetime, they raised the issue immediately after his *Parinirvana*.

The Buddhist texts as we know them today were first written down at least three hundred years after the Buddha's *Parinirvana*. They were believed to have been preserved in Pali, and it is questionable whether Pali was ever a spoken language. The Buddha spoke Artha-Maghadhi, the dialect of Magadha, the region in north-east India where he lived and taught. The *Canon* was written down at a later Council held in Sri Lanka, thousands of miles away from there and from where the earliest Buddhist communities had been located. The authenticity of the *Pali Canon* as the actual words of the Buddha cannot be accepted without question, given these differences in time, language, and location.

The Buddhist texts were recorded by monks. These monks were not necessarily enlightened arahats, and even among the so-called enlightened Sangha at the First Council, we can see evidence of prejudice against women in their exclusion of *bhikkhunis* from the Council, their treatment of Ananda, and their opposition to the *Bhikkhuni* Order. The recorders chose to preserve the messages of

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the text according to their own subjective standards of what was important.

The Bhikkhu Sangha, whether in the Buddha's time or during succeeding centuries, were men drawn from the social and cultural background of India. It is inevitable that they carried with them, consciously or unconsciously, the values of that culture, which, as noted, were extremely oppressive to women. The caste system, by its very structure, is oppressive not only to women, but to almost everyone. Brahmins, the priestly caste, were largely responsible for establishing social codes of behavior. The *Manu Dharmasutra*, a product of Brahmanism, became the ethical code for later Hindu society in India. Its influence was also felt in neighboring countries influenced by Indian culture. The Buddhist texts were recorded by men drawn from this social structure and its values.

It has often been asked, especially in the West, whether Buddhism is oppressive to women or if it offers a liberating spiritual path for them. It is important for scholars to distinguish between two levels of teaching in the tradition. The first is the core teaching of Buddhism that deals directly with the spiritual path. This level is free from contextual and gender bias by its very nature. The question of bias or oppression is not applicable here, because the Buddha's teachings transcend gender difference. The highest goal of Buddhism is enlightenment, and the spiritual path leading to it is available to all sentient beings, without discrimination.

The second category of the teachings exists on a more mundane level and is indeed affected by social context. At this level, we can find evidence in the texts to support both sides of the argument: The basic teaching of Buddhism rests on the simple fact that everyone goes through the process of birth, decay, and death. Suffering is a common experience. The Buddha professed that everyone has the potential to transcend suffering, but it is up to each individual to pursue this goal. In this basic teaching there is also no room for gender bias. But we do find gender bias within the texts and so we need to examine carefully each passage and its context to discover the origins of the bias.

Despite the fact that the Buddha's teaching defied many existing social and religious values of his time, the Buddha was still very

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much a part of Indian culture. Evidence reveals how he made certain decisions on practice and rules in alignment with existing values. When Ananda asked whether monks should pay homage to nuns according to seniority, he replied that other spiritual leaders who propounded imperfect doctrines sanctioned homage of women by men, therefore he could not do so.

In her study on women and Buddhism in the *Jatakas*, Boonsue Kornvibha criticized the Buddha for not being entirely free from socially conditioned values, even though he was enlightened.⁵ But we must understand that the fully enlightened Buddha was an historic person, born into a specific social and cultural context that influenced his life. He retained some social values that appear to be strongly prejudiced from a modern standpoint. This should be kept in mind as we examine passages from the Buddhist texts.

In the recorded teaching the Buddha is said to have given the monks, he reminds them that "woman is a stain on celibacy."⁶ In Thailand this passage is taken quite literally, and monks will not come into direct contact with a woman. Women are looked down upon and viewed as a hindrance to the spiritual development of the monks.

This example reflects how the Buddhist texts are primarily androcentric—male-centered. They were recorded by monks, in the interest of monks. Newly ordained monks who have not had much experience with practice and are very weak in their mental resolve may be easily swayed by sensual impulses, of which women are the major attraction. Even if no women are present, some monks still create problems for themselves by images of women they have in their minds. Women are not responsible for the sexual behavior or imaginings of men; the monks themselves must cope with their own sensual desires. Enlightened ones are well-fortified against such mental states and are able to transcend gender differences. The Buddha himself found no need to avoid women, because women no longer appeared to him as sexual objects. He was well-balanced and in control of his mental processes.

In a conversation with Ananda, the Buddha was recorded to have given advice to the monks regarding contact with women. They were not to look at them and not to spend time talking with them?

because "nothing binds men as strongly as women."⁸ There was a parallel warning for women, but it has been seldom repeated or discussed as the monks were and are the primary teachers of Dharma, so the teaching has been predominantly one-sided in approach. Women have been made to appear as sources of impurity and hindrances to spiritual growth, which undoubtedly has negatively affected women's self-view.

Certain passages from the *Canon* clearly convey Indian social values. "Women are the supreme commodity,"⁹ reflects the ideas expressed in the *Manu Dharmasastra* that women are precious commodities to be passed on from fathers to husbands to sons. Another passage states that "women are subject to five woes"—that she must leave her family at marriage; that she must suffer the pain of menstruation, pregnancy and childbirth; and that she must always work hard taking care of her husband.¹⁰ Two of these "woes" were social conventions about proper roles and behavior, and three are simply properties of the female body. That menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth are characterized negatively reflects male biases, fear, and misunderstanding. In Indian culture, women left their families at marriage, an often painful and difficult separation. In Thai society, it was more common for a husband to live with his new wife's family. Therefore, this particular form of suffering, common in the lives of Indian women, bears little relationship to Thai women's experience. Similarly, characterizing taking care of one's husband as suffering may have been true in the context of Indian culture, but in modern society, marriage requires a commitment from both parties, and taking care of one's spouse can be an enjoyable, positive experience for both. Explaining to Ananda his reservations about women joining his order, the texts quote the Buddha as saying that women are selfish, poor in wisdom, and therefore unable to assume a seat in the assembly, and that they cannot work and cannot travel to distant lands.¹¹ In such passages, social values and cultural norms specific to a time and place far removed from our own are glaringly apparent.

The oft-repeated statement in the texts that "a woman cannot become a buddha" has been demonstrated by Japanese Buddhist scholar Kajiyama Yuichi to be a late addition to the *Canon*.¹²

Kajiyama has distinguished five historical stages regarding the Buddhist attitude toward women's potential for enlightenment:

1. Primitive Buddhism under Gautama and his direct disciples made no distinction between men and women with regard to emancipation, despite the prevalence of societal discrimination against women in ancient India.
2. By comparing various Pali and Chinese sources, it appears that the dictum that a woman is incapable of becoming a Buddha probably arose around the first century B.C.E.
3. Just before the beginning of the Christian Era, a new movement developed in which Aksobhya Buddha and Amitabha Buddha, sympathizing with the predicament of women, vowed to save them: Aksobhya by removing all physical and social difficulties of women in his Buddha Land; Amitabha by transforming women into men on their birth in his Western Paradise.
4. Early Mahayana sutras, such as *The Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Lines*, the *Lotus Sutra*, and the *Pure Land Sutra*, developed the idea that a woman can be enlightened by transforming herself into a male.
5. The mature philosophy of emptiness and Buddha nature in all sentient beings, represented in the *Vimalakirti Nirdeśa*, *Srimaddevi*, and other sutras, declares that a woman can be enlightened just as she is, as a woman.

In addition, Professor Kajiyama has discussed the belief in the thirty-two physical marks (*mahapurisalaksana*) distinguishing a buddha as a "great man." Since the tenth mark concerns a buddha's "concealed genital," it has been assumed that a buddha must be of the male gender. But another interpretation suggests that the symbolic meaning of a concealed genital is that an enlightened person is no longer at the mercy of sensual appetites. The association of the historical Buddha with the *mahapurisalaksana* of a *cakravartin*, "universal monarch," excluded women from becoming a buddha in the context of Indian society and has unfortunately influenced later social and religious values that deny women's spiritual potential.

There remains the question of the Buddha's hesitation to allow women admission into the Sangha. According to the texts, the

Buddha repeatedly refused Mahapajapati Gotami, his aunt and step-mother, when she approached him for admission to the Sangha. This has often been interpreted as proof that the Buddha was against the idea of women leading religious lives. However, the Buddha may have had practical considerations for discouraging Mahapajapati Gotami and the hundreds of royal women who followed her. Leaving a life of privilege and comfort for the rigors of the ascetic spiritual path of early Buddhism would have been difficult. Nonetheless, the Buddha acknowledged the determination and sincerity of these women, who followed him from village to village repeating their request to join his order.

Other factors influenced the Buddha's decisions regarding the Bhikkhuni Sangha, for instance the question of residence and teachers. Early Buddhists were "forest-dwelling" mendicants. Such a solitary, unprotected life was dangerous for women; there was a case of a bhikkhuni being raped.¹³ Another problem arose around the availability of qualified teachers. In the *Vinaya*, it is stated that only qualified monks appointed by the Sangha could teach bhikkhunis. Bhikkhunis, before asking a monk any questions on the Buddhist teaching, had to first determine if he was qualified to teach.¹⁴

The texts state that after admitting women into the Sangha, the Buddha imposed a set of eight additional rules that they were to follow. These Eight Important Rules, the *Gurudharma*, have often been cited by Western scholars as proof (by current standards) of a negative gender bias in Buddhism. They range from requiring senior nuns to pay homage to new monks (a rule that reverses the usual hierarchy of seniority in the Sangha), to stipulating that a nun must never speak badly of a monk, nor admonish improper behavior in a monk, although monks retain the right to criticize nuns.¹⁵

In examining these rules, we must take into consideration the historical and cultural context that conditioned the formation of the Buddhist Sangha. The Bhikkhu Sangha had already been firmly established before the idea was raised of having a women's order. The acceptance of women into the Sangha required adjustments that were not always willingly accepted. In order to facilitate their acceptance into the Order, the Buddha needed to assure the bhikkhus that they had nothing to lose by the admission of women. The Bhikkhuni

Sangha was thus required to adopt the *Gurudharma* which placed them in a subordinate position to the bhikkhus.

But the Buddha intended the relationship between the two orders to be that of elder brothers to younger sisters, with all sharing the same essential status as children of the Buddha. Given the social climate of the time, the bhikkhunis' subordination to bhikkhus can be seen as a strategy to insure their protection in the Sangha. It was not intended that bhikkhunis were to be the bhikkhus' servants; when bhikkhus began to take advantage of their superior position and required the bhikkhunis to spend their time on chores and services rather than spiritual practice, the Buddha established rules forbidding this.¹⁶ While the Buddha was alive, recurrent abuses of male privilege and power in the Sangha were kept in check.

The *Gurudharmas*, like all Buddhist teachings, were guidelines rather than rules cast in iron to be followed blindly. The first *Gurudharma* stated that bhikkhunis must always pay homage to bhikkhus, regardless of seniority. But when a group of monks behaved in an unseemly manner towards some bhikkhunis, the Buddha instructed the bhikkhunis not to pay respect to them, in effect "breaking" the first rule. Buddhist law is by nature flexible and responsive to the situation at hand; it is not static.

Although the eighth *Gurudharma* forbade bhikkhunis from commenting critically on the behavior of bhikkhus, Buddhist laywomen (and men) were allowed and even encouraged to do so. The relationship between the Sangha and laity was reciprocal: in exchange for material support, the Sangha was expected to provide spiritual guidance and exemplify the Buddhist teachings in their behavior. Therefore, even though the Bhikkhu Sangha was not answerable to the criticisms of female members of the Order, it was required to meet the expectations of the laity, regardless of gender.

According to the Buddhist texts, the *Gurudharmas* were given to Mahapajapati at the time of the formation of the Bhikkhuni Sangha. This has been accepted in Buddhist tradition until recently, as scholars have begun to question the historical origins of the *Gurudharmas*. Ven. Khantipalo, an English monk ordained in the Thai tradition, argues that since Mahapajapati herself was not required to undergo a two-year probation period prior to her ordination, as set down in

the sixth rule, this rule may have been established later, after the Bhikkhuni Order had been in existence for some time. Khanitipalo concluded that "the *Gurudharmas* have been backdated to Mahapajapati's ordination by some bhikkhus who were in charge of reciting the *Vinaya*."¹⁷ The reason for their inclusion in the *Vinaya* was to emphasize the subordination of the bhikkhunis to the Bhikkhu Sangha.

Another frequently quoted statement from the texts has the Buddha proclaiming that by accepting women into the Sangha, the longevity of the Buddhist tradition will be shortened by 500 years. According to original predictions, this meant that Buddhism would last for 1,500 rather than 2,000 years. Whether the Buddha said it or not, the obvious untruth and negative gender bias of this statement has become clear. The tradition has now survived for over 2,500 years, moving from India into Southeast Asia, the Himalayan countries, the Far East, and now the West.

The development and longevity of both the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhuni Sanghas in India and Sri Lanka were closely related during the first millennium of the tradition. During King Asoka's reign in the third century B.C.E., Sanghamitra Theri and a group of learned bhikkhunis went to Sri Lanka and established a Bhikkhuni Sangha there, which was to last for more than a thousand years. In India proper, there is ample historical and archaeological evidence from inscriptions to establish the existence of a continuous Bhikkhuni Sangha until the tenth or eleventh century, when Indian Buddhism as a whole was eclipsed by the influx of Islam.

In Sri Lanka, Buddhism prospered with royal support. Both the *Mahavamsa* and *Dipavamsa*, chronicles that recount Sri Lanka's Buddhist history, mention the existence and activities of the Bhikkhuni Sangha. An inscription dating from the year 1057 describes a hospital run by bhikkhunis in Anuradhapura, the capital, illustrating active bhikkhuni involvement in social work.¹⁸ In the eleventh century, political turmoil and the invasion of South India's Chola dynasty brought on the disappearance of the Buddhist Sangha in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Bhikkhu Sangha was later revived by receiving the ordination lineage from Thailand, but the Bhikkhuni Sangha was less fortunate and was never revived in Sri Lanka.

The Sri Lankan bhikkhuni lineage, however, has survived in China. A group of Sri Lankan nuns were invited to help give ordination to a group of Chinese women in the year 433. This lineage is still active in China, and has been transplanted to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam.

Local Thai beliefs and customs reinforce the negative perception of women. Some of these attitudes are regarded by the population as coming from the Buddhist teaching and are believed to reflect Buddhist attitudes, and this has lent them greater credibility and increased influence. It is frequently said, for example, that "women were born from their bad karma." This assertion that being a woman is in itself negative does much damage to woman's self-image and creates obstacles to her spiritual and social development. According to Buddhist teaching, everyone is born according to his or her karma. The present situation of one's life is a direct reflection of one's actions, whether good or bad. The belief that one's gender is the result of "bad karma" does not hold any meaning. Yet many monks, whose principal source of support is laywomen, believe this idea. Many women are convinced that they carry a heavy load of negative karma due to the simple fact of their gender, and are therefore eager to gain merit to offset it. Making offerings to the Sangha is the primary way most laypeople hope to gain merit. Monks, being "fields of merit," thus benefit directly from this vicious belief.

A similarly negative belief that "women are of lower birth" reflects Brahmanical ideas of caste, rather than Buddhist teaching, which was remarkable in its rejection of the rigid social structure and social prejudices of sixth century B.C.E. India. The Buddha often explained that the quality of one's actions defined a person's worth, rather than birth into a particular social class or caste. Buddhist monks who hold what are in essence Brahmanical beliefs must be made aware that these were not the values of the Buddha, but are old prejudices based on ancient Indian cultural norms that were explicitly rejected by the Buddha.

Many Buddhist temples in Thailand, especially in the northern provinces, do not allow women to circumambulate the stupa or enter the main hall. Local monks justify this by explaining that sacred relics are usually placed in the center of the stupa at the time of

construction. If women were allowed to circumambulate the stupa, they would be walking above the sacred relics, which is considered disrespectful; and also that because women are "unclean" their presence would disempower the relics.

The concept that women are unclean stems from the physical fact of menstruation and ancient taboos against blood that are found in various cultures throughout the world. In Vedic India, the mystical power of mantras in sacred texts such as the *Ayrtahavaveda* was believed compromised by proximity to blood. Sacred or ritually purified objects had to be protected from polluting influences. As it was awkward to know when women were menstruating, a general rule forbidding all women from coming into contact with sacred texts or objects was established.

During Thailand's Ayudhya period, Buddhist monks involved themselves with the study of the *Vedas*, often at the expense of Buddhist study. Many Brahmanical beliefs were absorbed into Thai religion and culture during this time. It is important to remember that such beliefs and practices, the vestiges of which are still found among the Buddhist Sangha in Thailand, are not Buddhist in origin and actually represent a corruption of Buddhism.

We have seen how some portions of the Buddhist texts and local beliefs have helped generate and maintain negative social values about women. Law and external social controls cannot completely counteract their effects, and it is necessary to go back to the texts themselves for authoritative solutions to such negative beliefs. Passages containing positive references to women can also be found in the texts, although these are as marked by the norms of ancient India as are the negative statements.

One of the primary difficulties in studying the Buddhist scriptures results from the fact that women (and laypeople) have long been denied access to these texts, primarily through lack of education. The texts are preserved in Pali, and the study of Pali was, and in many cases still is, the prerogative of an elite group of educated monks. In Thailand, the *Khom* script, known only to learned monks, was used in the translation of the Pali texts. A Thai translation of the *Tripitaka* has been available to the general public only since 1957. In addition, women have little opportunity to learn or study

Buddhism, while most Thai men have a brief exposure to Buddhist education during their traditional three-month ordination in the rainy-season retreat. Whatever little Thai Buddhist laywomen and men know of the Buddhist texts comes to them in the form of Dharma talks from monks, subject to their selection and interpretation.)

Today, education is more generally available to the public, and Buddhist texts are now available in both Thai and English. The forty-five volume edition of the original Pali Buddhist texts is now available in Thai in a condensed volume called *Tripitaka for the People*.¹⁹ By consulting this, the reader can get a general picture of the scope of the texts before delving more deeply into a particular topic. Thai laymen and laywomen finally have the opportunity to read and study Buddhist writings.

The most positive passage regarding women in the texts was when the Buddha declared that men and women have equal spiritual potential. This acceptance and affirmation of human spiritual potential opened a new path for women in religious life. In contrast to the restrictions of Brahmanical society, a woman's spiritual development and salvation were no longer dependent on her social role in relationship to men, either husband or son.

Common religions and social values that gave preference to male offspring were challenged when King Pasenadi approached the Buddha in grief on hearing the news of the birth of a baby girl. The Buddha assured him that a "female child may prove even better than a boy," becoming virtuous, wise, reverent, respectful, a faithful wife, and mother of noble sons.²⁰ In a true Buddhist society, the birth of a boy or girl really makes no difference.

The Buddha recommended to his disciples to look upon every woman as if she were "your own mother or sister,"²¹ and he taught laypeople that "to respect one's mother and one's wife is to be blessed."²² While the texts speak of the "five woes" of women, they also relate their "five powers": form, wealth, relatives, sons, and morality. In the context of Indian society, these must be regarded as positive characteristics.

It is not surprising then that, given the context of Brahmanical social structure and values, the Buddha's positive attitude toward

women drew a great number of women to the Sangha. It was recorded in the texts that thousands of laywomen and bhikkhunis attained various levels of spiritual development. Among the bhikkhunis, at least thirteen were praised by the Buddha, including Mahapajapati, foremost in seniority; Patacara, foremost in *Vinaya*; and Dhammadinna, foremost in giving Dharma talks.²³ Many laywomen were also lauded for their spiritual qualities, including *Visakha for dana*, generosity and giving, *Samavati for compassion*, and *Katiyani for unshakeable faith*.

These successes of women, both lay and ordained, represented the completion of the four groups of Buddhists as instituted by the Buddha: monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. The growth or decline of Buddhism depends on the health and vitality of all four groups. Women should be given full support to bring forth their strength in Buddhism. They should be encouraged to become ordained if they so wish. The success of the bhikkhunis is compared in the texts to "the light of the Sangha."²⁴

Concerned Buddhists must study closely the scriptures to glean from them the pure message of the Buddha, which is otherwise clouded by the imposition of cultural values and gender bias. Seemingly negative passages must be examined critically and not allowed to become barriers to the spiritual development of women. Conversely, positive passages should be brought to light to confirm and encourage women today. Buddhism cannot really blossom if half the world's population is not given its full right to express its religious commitment. Oppression within any religion reflects badly on those doing the oppressing and limits its effectiveness and vitality.

⁶ *Samyutta Nikaya*, Vol. I, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 37.

⁷ Max Muller, ed. and T.W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Digha Nikaya, Buddhist Suttas* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965).

⁸ *Anguttara Nikaya*, Vol. I, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 1.

⁹ *Samyutta Nikaya*, Vol. I, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 85.

¹⁰ *Samyutta Nikaya*, Vol. XVIII, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 297.

¹¹ *Anguttara Nikaya*, Vol. II, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 80.

¹² Yuichi Kajiyama, "Women in Buddhism," *The Eastern Buddhist* (Kyoto, Autumn 1982).

¹³ "Bhikkhuni Sanghadisesa," no. 3, *Upari Patimokkha*, Pali version. (Bangkok, 1927).

¹⁴ "Bhikkhuni Pacchaya," no. 95, *Upari Patimokkha*, Pali version. (Bangkok, 1927).

¹⁵ Max Muller, ed., Vol. X, *Cullavamsa*, Vol. XX, *Sacred Books of the East* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), p. 354.

¹⁶ Bhikkhu Nissaggiya, "Pacchaya for Monks," nos. 4, 17, *Mahavithanga, Vinaya Pitaka, Tripitaka for The People*, Sujeeb Burñanubarp, ed. (Bangkok: Terd Toon Tham Group, 1979), pp. 156, 159.

¹⁷ Ven. Kharitipalo, "An Examination: On the Eight Serious Matters," in NIBWA no. 13, October-December 1987.

¹⁸ C. Mabel Rickner, tr. *Cullavamsa* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Information Department, 1953), 46, 27.

¹⁹ Sujeeb Burñanubarp, ed., *Tripitaka for the People* (Bangkok: Terd Toon Tham Group, 1979).

²⁰ C.A.F. Rhys Davids, tr., *Kindred Sayings, Samyutta Nikaya* (London: Luzac & Co., 1950), p. 111.

²¹ *Samyutta Nikaya*, Vol. IV, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 110.

²² *Anguttara Nikaya*, Vol. III, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 77.

²³ *Anguttara Nikaya*, Vol. IV, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 347.

²⁴ *Anguttara Nikaya*, Vol. II, *Thai Tripitaka*, p. 8.

¹ *Anguttara Nikaya, Suttanta Pitaka*, Vol. XX, *Thai Tripitaka* (Bangkok: Department of Religious Affairs, 1957).

² Ven. Henepola Gunaratna, "Equality for Bhikkhunis," in NIBWA no. 24, July-September 1990.

³ Chaturamr Kabhisingh, *A Comparative Study of the Bhikkhuni Patimokkha* (Varanasi: Chaukhamba Orientalia, 1984), pp. 32 ff.

⁴ I.B. Horner, tr., *Books of the Discipline*, Vol. XX, *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* (London: Luzac & Co., 1963), p. 401.

⁵ Boonsue Kornvibha, "Buddhism and Gender Bias: An Analysis of a *Jataka Tale*" (unpublished M.A. thesis, The Hague University, the Netherlands).