The Eight Chief Rules (Atthagarudhammās) For Bhikkhunis: A Critical Examination of Gender Dynamics in Early Buddhism

Dr. Priyadarsini Mitra

Assistant Professor, School of Buddhist Studies & Civilization, Gautam Buddha University

"Men are not wise in every situation, women are wise also, and women are equally capable."-Buddha

INTRODUCTION

Buddhism threw open the doors of organized religious life to women and men alike. Buddhism was the first worldreligion to ordain nuns. The Buddha was the first religious teacher to form the order of the Bhikkhunis (nuns). But at the same time he laid down certain conditions which seem to imply the subservience of women to men. For that the eight chief conditions or "weighty rules" for nuns is a controversial issue of modern world. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that Buddha should not be judged by the standards of the 21st century. In his day, this was a great step forward and in religious life women enjoyed the same right of access to the highest position that of Arhatship, for instance, as it was recognized that women could also be as learned and wise as men.

The Eight Chief Rules, (Garu-Dhammas in Pali and Guru-Dharmas in Sanskrit) sometimes translated as the Eight Chief Conditions or the Eight Great Conditions, which appear in many versions of the ordination account of the first nuns in Buddhism, are a list of conditions that appear to suggest the dependence of nuns on monks in early Buddhism. According to Mahavagga shortly after his enlightenment, the Buddha instituted the Bhikkhu-Sangha with the ordination (upasampada) of the five ascetics with whom he had previously performed austerities. Five years later the bhikkhunisangha was instituted the Buddha acceded to his aunt's request for ordination. In Cullavagga X the Buddha is initially very reluctant to open up the sangha to women. But ultimately the bhikkhuni Sangha originated when his aunt and foster mother, Mahapajapati Gotami, approached him to ask for ordination. The Buddha repeatedly refused, but after being beseeched by Ananda, he agreed. Ananda asked the Buddha if woman could attain Nibbana then why were they not allowed entrance into the order. After that the Buddha changed his mind. He acknowledges their capacity to do so, and concedes the justice of allowing them ordination. However, he laid down eight 'rules of respect' (garudhamma) for Mahapajapati as her ordination, which insists that the nuns must always pay respect to the monks. Finally, after accepting women into the order, the Buddha complained to Ananda that without women, the 'true dhamma (saddhamma) would have lasted one thousand years; now that women are in the order, it will last only five hundred years. Additionally, the comment was made by The Buddha himself that since women had been permitted to join the order, the dharma (Buddhist teachings) would not last as long as it otherwise would have. This comment is found in the Cullavagga in the following translated excerpt:

If, Ananda, women had not obtained the going forth from home into homelessness in the dharma and discipline proclaimed by the Truth-finder, the Brahma-faring, Ananda, would have lasted long, true dharma would have endured for a thousand years. But since, Ananda, women have gone forth...in the dharma and discipline proclaimed by the Truth-finder, now Ananda, the Brahma-faring will not last long, true dharma will endure only for five hundred years (Horner 1963). The question is often asked whether the Buddha's hesitation in granting permission for women to enter the Sangha was because he regarded women as inferior to men and thought them to be unfit for such a high vocation. According to Piyadassi, the Buddha's hesitation can be explained on the basis that he was able to perceive that if women entered monastic institutes, the cordial quality of celibacy, which was fundamental to the functioning of a monastic institution, would be influenced and affected. And it is because of this he proceeded to lay down the eight important rules or safeguards.

The Eight Chief Rules (Atthagarudhammās)

The conditions under which the nuns order would be permitted were spelled out in the Eight Chief Rules found in the Cullavagga Vinaya as follows:

(1) A bhikkhunī, even if she is of a hundred years standing, shall make Salutation to, shall rise up in the presence of, shall bow down before, and shall perform all proper duties toward almsmen, if only just initiated. This is a rule is to be revered and reverenced, honoured and observed, and her lifelong never to be transgressed.

(2) A bhikkhunī is not to spend the rainy season in a district in which there is no almsman. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(3) Every half-month a bhikkhunī is to await from the Chapter of the Almsmen two things, the asking as to (the date of) the Uposatha ceremony, and the time when the almsman will come to give the exhortation(ovada). This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(4) After keeping the rainy season (of Vassa), the bhikkhunī is to hold Pavarana (to inquire as to whether any fault can be laid to her charge) before both Sanghas—as well as that of bhikkhu as that of the bhikkhunī —with respect to three matters, namely what has been seen, what has been heard, and what has been suspected. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(5) A bhikkhunī who has been guilty of a serious offense is to undergo the Manatta discipline towards both the Sanghas (Bhikkhu and Bhikkhuni). This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(6) When a bhikkhunī, as novice, has been trained for two years in the Six Rules, she is to ask leave for the Upasampada initiation from both Sanghas (as well as that of the bhikkhu as that of the bhikkhuni). This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(7) A bhikkhunī is on no pretext to revile or abuse a bhikkhu. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

(8) From henceforth official admonition by bhikkhunī of bhikkhu is forbidden, whereas the official admonition of bhikkhunī by bhikkhu is not forbidden. This is a rule never to be transgressed.

The Buddha finished his eight points saying, "These eight things are to be honoured, respected, revered and venerated and they are not to be transgressed as long as life lasts. So the eight types of obligation were laid on women. It was a sort of treaty between reluctance and ardent zeal, between the widely experienced Lord Buddha and the exoteric Ananda. Mahaprajapati Goutami, together with five hundred ladies, who were pacified on getting a locus standi in the Sangha accepted the challenges-the Eight Chief Rules and entered the Order.

Concerning the matter on enforcing eight rules, it is that Buddha made women inferior to men by enforcing these 8 Garudhammas. But it is not true that Buddha enforced eight Garudhammas to keep women inferior to men. Buddha understood long before that the permission of giving ordination of women will create complexity in the Sangha. Buddha enforced the eight rules for the welfare of Bhikkhunis and it was only for time being. When many Bhikkhunis became accomplished to teach Dhamma and Vinaya, he withdrew the conditions from them. But the question arose why Buddha laid down such conditions the first time. For this, there were tough reasons. The condition No. 1 means that a senior Bhikkhuni (a theri) must bow down thrice even to a newly ordained Bhikkhu. This is not pleasing to some women these days whose idea is to be free from male domination. But when the Buddha laid down this rule he knew that some principle of respectful relations must be established between Bhikkhus and bhikkhunis because Bhikkhuni Sangha was going to institute for the first time and there were not any Bhikkhuni who had sufficient skill regarding Dhamma and Vinaya. This was why, to wipe out their ego in learning Dhamma, he ascribed the first condition. Later, Mahapajapati Gotami requested that juniors, male or female, pay respect to senior Bhikkhus or bhikkhunis without distinction. The Buddha however, replied that Bhikkhu should pay homage to a Bhikkhuni. Certainly he had no feelings of male superiority or of female inferiority (which after all, are just extensions of the basic conceit "I am"), but he took into an account how this matter would appear to laypeople. In that day and age men in lay society hardly acknowledged female ability, certainly not bowed down to them! To permit this would be too great an inversion of the social norm and could be a cause for the decline of the Buddhist religion. The Buddha was already making a great innovation by allowing women to go forth but to allow equality of respect was probably too much for that time. In the Vinaya (the Lesser Chapter, Bhikkhuni section), the Buddha actually refers to other religious groups and how they do not permit salutation of nuns by monks. This seems to support our argument here.

Bhikkhunis were made dependent upon Bhikkhus in a number of ways as we shall see in the following points. Buddha thought not to make the Bhikkhunis guardian less all of a sudden. This is why, he introduced the second rule. Most of the women of that time used to depend on men for their work in mundane life. This rule was actually for the bhikkhunis" safety since unscrupulous men might molest a nun if she was alone but they would think twice about it if she lived near to Bhikkhus.

The condition No. 3 was introduced so that it becomes easier for Bhikkhuni to maintain program schedule. Later Buddha amended this condition and gave right to Bhikkhunis to maintain program schedule by themselves. The Buddha

time was without calendars and almanacs and it was learned Bhikkhus who calculated the phases of the moon and worked out when the Uposatha days would fall. The visit for exhortation was in part a Dhamma talk given by an eminent Bhikkhu to the bhikkhunis, and partly an exhortation regarding these eight important points. The Bhikkhu who gave it had to be agreed upon by the Bhikkhu Sangha, he had to be a Thera with twenty or more Rains and he had to give the talk during the day, before the sunset. Otherwise the bhikkhunis should not be approached by a Bhikkhu to teach them Dhamma unless one of their numbers was ill. The fact that a great Teacher from among the Bhikkhus would give the fortnightly exhortation did not mean that the bhikkhunis had no Teachers among themselves.

The condition No.4 was introduced so that people would not get scope to condemn Bhikkhunis or would not get scope to arise any difficulty against confession of Bhikkhunies later on. For this why, Buddha gave rules three and four to save the reputation of Bhikkhuni Sangha. Bhikkhus have to invite admonition on the last Full Moon day of their Rains residence (usually in October) from the rest of the Sangha. This ceremony is held in place of the recitation of the Patimokkha wherever a minimum of five Bhikkhus have kept the Rains. If anyone among them has seen or heard or suspected that one of the others has done some wrong which has not been confessed he can speak at that time. It also means that Bhikkhus invite such admonition from other Bhikkhus for the future. They make themselves "admonish able" by doing so and know that their Teachers and friends will therefore help them with good advises. The bhikkhusis have to make this declaration in the presence of both Sanghas, first her own and then to the Bhikkhus. This is no doubt to help the restraint of the bhikkhunis and to assist the good government of the bhikkhunis Sangha.

The condition No. 5 was introduced so that if any Bhikkhuni offence Āpatiya (violation of rules from Vinaya), it can be judged cautiously. The new Bhikkhunis would not capable to judge that kind of difficulty. This is a group of thirteen offences for Bhikkhus (already outlined in Chapter III) but for bhikkhunis they number seventeen. A number of these thirteen, as well as of the extra Bhikkhuni rules, concern sexual misconduct and it would surely be a grave deterrent for a woman to have to confess them in the presence of Bhikkhus after she had done so in front of the bhikkhunis. Like a Bhikkhu, she has then to practise the penance for seven days plus a period of probation equal to the time of concealment if her offence has been deliberately concealed.

To establish the unity between two Sanghas, Buddha applied condition No. 6 where it was mentioned that Bhikkhuni would take Upasampada before both Sanghas. A probationer (sikkhamana) was a special kind of female novice (samaneri). The latter has ten precepts just as a samanera but on reaching the age of eighteen, that is, two years under the age for Acceptance, the Bhikkhuni Sangha could announce a motion to give her permission to train (specially) in the first six rules: not killing living creatures, not taking what is not given, no unchaste conduct, not speaking falsely, no intoxicants causing carelessness, and no eating at the wrong time (after noon until dawn). If during the following two years she does not break any of these six precepts then she can seek Acceptance by the Bhikkhuni Sangha first. (If any are broken the two year probation period has to begin again). Then she is taken to the Bhikkhu Sangha who ordains her by proclamation and without investigation. She is then a fully ordained Bhikkhuni. But if she gets only the Acceptance ceremony from the Bhikkhus, or she gets it from the bhikkhunis and does not go to be re ordained by Bhikkhus, then she is only a "once accepted Bhikkhuni", not fully fledged according to the Vinaya. When twice ordained however, she is called a "both accepted bhikkhuni and fully fledged. This has an important bearing on the present day we shall see below.

To control the behaviour of Bhikkhuni, rule No. 7 was introduced. Here again the aim is to stop malicious gossip and promote concord between the two Sanghas. A Bhikkhuni could of course report a Bhikkhu to his Teacher or abbot if his actions went against the Vinaya and damaged the good name of the Sangha but she should not directly speak against that Bhikkhu to his face or behind his back.

The condition No. 8 was introduced so that new unskilled Bhikkhuni cannot say anything negative to the Bhikkhu who would teach them Dhamma and Vinaya. As we have seen a Bhikkhu was expected to exhort the bhikkhunis at least twice a month but a Bhikkhuni should not teach Dhamma to Bhikkhus. No doubt this rule was also to curb conceit in bhikkhunis and help them in their training.

Buddha has explained the reasons for prescribing the chief eight rules in Cullavagga. He had made a statement that his Dhamma will last for only five hundred years, if a woman was included in his Order; otherwise it could sustain for one thousand years. He explained this to Rev. Ananda by giving four similes as follows:-

1. In a big family if there are more women and less men thieves can easily attack the house in the night, rob the wealth and kill men of the family.

2. In a rice field, if white-worms (setatthika nama rogajati) encounter the field, it will destroy the entire crop.

3. In a farm of sugar cane, if crimson -worms (manjitthika) grow up; it will destroy the entire crop.

4. When a pond surrounded by a parapet wall, then there is no fear of water over flowing from the pond. Similarly, Oh Anand I have prescribed the eight chief laws which a nun should not transgress and follow them as long as she is alive." Thus, it is clear that his intention is not to underrate the women but to protect his newly founded Dhamma and establish it.

Nuns were also given the right to select the Monk who would be allowed to give counsel to the order of nuns (he had to be acceptable to all the nuns) and the selection criteria was quite stringent: There seems to be little doubt about his anxiety and his foresight regarding the safety and well-being of the female members of his Order. [Vin.IV.51]. These eight qualities were: the teacher of nuns must be virtuous; second, have comprehensive knowledge of the Dhamma; third he must be well acquainted with the Vinaya, especially the rules for nuns; fourth, he must be a good speaker with a pleasant and fluent delivery, faultless in pronunciation, and intelligibly convey the meaning; fifth, he should be able to teach Dhamma to the nuns in an elevating, stimulating, and encouraging way; sixth, he must always be welcome to the nuns and liked by them—that is, they must be able to respect and esteem him not only when he praises them but especially when there is an occasion for reproach; seventh, he must never have committed sexual misconduct with a nun; eighth, he must have been a fully ordained Buddhist monk for at least 20 years (AN 8.52).

From the above discussion it is apparent that it was just to introduce Garudhammas in that time by Buddha. When Buddha realized that Bhikkhunis could run their Sangha efficiently and became skilled enough to teach Dhamma and Vinaya, Buddha withdrew the Garudhammas for all Bhikkhunies. So, Buddha introduced Garudhammas to save the Bhikkhuni Sangha not to keep them subordinate to men. Buddha once told to Ananda, Gautama's Sasana will last for five thousand years only because of accepting women right of entry to Sangha; otherwise it would last for more five thousand years. He accepted women's access to Sangha because he couldn't ignore the potentiality of women who can become enlightened if he gives the chance. That was definitely a great sacrifice of Gautama for women. Buddha tried to make Bhikkhuni Sangha skilled enough to work independently. There were many Bhikkhunis who were more judicious and intelligent than many other Bhikkhus. Reality was that Bhikkhuni Sangha was going to establish for the first time, there were many aged women who might procrastinate to learn Dhamma from young Bhikkhus. For that Buddha considered that it was very essential to destroy the ego problem first. If Gautami thought that Buddha was imposing Garudhammas to admonish the prestige of women, later many women would not get scope to achieve 'Enlightenment'. Buddha himself praised many Bhikkhunies and gave recognition for their contribution and work in the join convention of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis. Among the leading ones, like the previous Buddhas who had leading both male disciples and leading female disciples. Sakyamuni Buddha also had Moggallana and Sariputra as his leading disciples, and on the female side he had Upalavanna and Khema as his leading disciples. It is proved that Buddha considered Bhikkhuni Sangha like as Bhikkhu Sangha. So these Garudhammas were a new invention and dynamic principles for the women. Being ordained in Buddhism, women developed themselves not only in spiritualism but also in creativity in the early Buddhist era. The opportunity of women for being ordained has been taken as a golden phrase which lifted up the spirit of women now and then.

One of these rules is very annoying to many Western Buddhist Scholars; it says that a nun ordained even a hundred year must bow to a monk ordained but one day. By Western standards, it seems as if nuns are being suppressed, but there is another way to look at this. The Vinaya recounts the story of six monks who lifted up their robes to show their thighs to the nuns. When the Buddha learned about this, he made an exception to that rule and told the nuns not to pay respect to these monks. A nun, then, does not have to bow to every monk, but only to a monk who is worthy of respect. We need to understand each gurudhamma properly, for the Buddha always made exceptions after the general rule was established.

One of the gurudhamma mentions sikkhamanas, probationary nuns who train for two years in preparation to become bhikkhunis. It says that after a probationary nun has trained with a bhikkhuni for two years, that bhikkhuni preceptor has the responsibility to fully ordain her. However, when the Buddha ordained Mahapajapati, there were no probationary nuns. He ordained her directly as a bhikkhuni. So how do we explain that within the eight important rules, one of them states that before becoming a bhikkhuni, a woman must be a probationary nun? In address this, an English monk told me he believes that gurudhasmma arose much later on, and were shifted to the forefront by the monks who were the historical recorders. These eight important rules very clearly put nuns in a subordinate to monks, so it would have been to the monks' advantage for the recorders to attribute them to the Buddha.

Buddhist scholars have tried to understand why the Buddha, whose teaching is primarily egalitarian, should set down such seemingly sexist rules. Much attention is paid to the patriarchal social conditions in ancient India, pointing out that total equality between nuns' orders and monks' orders might reduce the laity's support for Buddhist sangha since the social norm prevailed at the time demanded the subordination of women(e.g. Wijayaratna 2001:56-57). Some question the very historicity of the Buddhist canon about these rules, or how the contraction of Buddhist canons might have been influenced by various cultural elements throughout history, making the authenticity of Buddhist views on sex and gender dubious(e.g. Sponberg 1985). Others argue that the Eight special rules present only institutional subordination and no inherent barrier to women's spiritual development (e.g. Gross 1993; 37).

Yet, lay scholars are not the ones who have to live with the eight special rules; it is the Buddhist monks and nuns who have to deal with them in their daily lives. For Taiwanese bhikkhuni Wu-yin, it is important to differentiate between 'the fundamental teachings of the Buddhadharma and the cultural customs and taboos' (2001:89) Accordingly, the eight special rules merely reflect the inferior social status of women in ancient India and the fact that ancient Indian women were less likely to receive education than men, so the Eight special rules give bhikkhu the responsibility to aid and

support bhikkhuni sangha (Wu-yin Bhikkhuni 2001:81-89). By comparing various Pali canons and Sinhala chronicles, Sri Lankan bhikkhuni Kusuma, finds great inconsistency in the claims of the eight special rules (2000). Not only is there no mention of the eight special rules in the Sinhala chronicle, the Mahavamsa, but also the Vinaya texts show incidents that caused some of the rules included among the eight special rules to be laid down much later than Mahapajapati's ordination. Hence, some of the rules could not have been laid down at the time of Mahapajapati's ordination. Bhikkhuni Kusum further argues that even if the eight special rules were given at the time of Mahapajapati's ordination, only Mahapajapati had accepted the rules and other bhikkhuni need not observe the rules (2000). She state that the 8 heavy rules cannot be taken seriously. There are verses in the suttas where the Buddha pointed out some bad monks to some nuns. The Buddha told the nuns not to respect these bad monks. The first nuns did not have nuns present to ordain them. The first nuns did not have senior nuns to seek full ordination to after a probationary period (no. 6 of the 8 heavy rules). Also, there are suttas where the Buddha deliberately remains silent while nuns are giving a Dhamma talk. After the Dhamma talk, the Buddha exclaims that he could not have said it any better (such as in Majjhima Nikaya, Sutta 44 where the Buddha praises the enlightened nun, Ven. Dhammadinna). All of these facts run contrary to the 8 heavy rules and provide evidence that the 8 heavy rules were added later. After a more recent study examining the relevant texts -brought to light by the senior most Western Buddhist nun Ven. Tathaaloka -- is that these rules could not have been laid down by the Buddha as claimed.

Some Western scholars such as I. B. Horner and Mohan Wijayaratna appear to sanction the conditions, whereas others, such as Falk, condemn them. Despite their differing stances, these scholars appear to share in perpetuating an ideology that participates in the construction and the reconstruction of the conditions as a realistic and inevitable adaptation to an androcentric monastic and social environment. In treating the account of the eight conditions as either declarative or imperative, and accepting the conditions as Buddhavacana, these scholars further legitimize the eight conditions.

In her classic work, Women under Primitive Buddhism, Horner devotes an entire chapter to the eight conditions, which she refers to as the "Eight Chief Rules." She considers them to be "precise and definite" (118) and states that because of them, "the almswomen were not to be independent of the almsmen" (119). Although Horner is critical of the "monk-factor" (xx) and the possibility of "alterations" and "inconsistencies" (xx) in textual traditions in her general introduction, these critiques remain undeveloped in her narrative on the eight conditions.12 It is striking that her explanation of these conditions provides a relatively seamless account of the early nuns as depicted in numerous Pāli texts that do not derive from the account of the first ordination. Although she indicates that the eight conditions were unlike the Vinaya stipulations in not being occasioned by a recounting of a prior offence, she proceeds to explain these conditions in the context of later events. For example, she notes that several of the conditions which gave rise to these injunctions as a means of explaining some of the eight conditions. The resulting discourse is a presentation of the eight conditions as rules that are consistent with later promulgations made by the Buddha, that is, they appear to become a part of a consistent and uniform text authored by a single subject. Consequently, her account of the conditions suggests that they are declarative and imperative in the sense of imparting information and giving commands.

Wijayaratna, writing more than fifty years after Horner, shares with her a certain acceptance of the coherence of the account of the eight conditions. He agrees that the eight conditions appear to reflect the historical and social contexts of gender expectations. He affirms that conditions were placed in order "to protect the Community of Nuns" (19). Wijayaratna does note that it was impossible for Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī to observe many of the conditions because institutional structures that were a prerequisite for the observance of the conditions were initially absent:

The Eight Great Conditions were not commandments that had to be immediately executed; they were rather, obligations imposed on an organization that would be set up in time. The necessary conditions for fulfilling the rules were not present at the beginning . . . As for the Eight Great Conditions, they were meant for a Community of Nuns already well established, whereas the foundations of such a community were still being laid. (31)

Although Wijayaratna, like Horner, indicates that the eight conditions were accepted as Buddhavacana, he departs from her by indicating some important practical problems, regarding their implementation. However, he fails to discuss them further. By glossing over the problems of how and why the eight conditions could be laid down as a prerequisite for the ordination of the first bhikkhunī, when the very means of observing the conditions were not present, Wijayaratna becomes an active participant in reproducing the prevalent ideology of the ordination account.

Nancy Auer Falk, referring to the conditions as the "eight special rules," shares complicity in an ideology of the ordination account in a somewhat different manner. Although she appears to question the conditions as Buddhavacana, she affirms that their authority is grounded in Buddhist tradition and asserts their impact on past and subsequent realities (162). She states that the conditions were "imposed on the women as a price for allowing them to found their order. These provided that the women would be permanently subordinated to the men" (159). Assuming that the conditions were practiced as stated textually, she suggests that even though the rules involved subordination, because women of the time in India "had always been subordinated to men . . . nuns apparently did not find these rules oppressive . . ." (160). Projecting the power of this subordination into the future, she suggests that the conditions

"meant that women would never be leaders in the life of the whole community or have any decisive voice in shaping its direction" (160). Like Horner, her presentation of the conditions is couched, albeit resentfully, in terms of inequality and insubordination. Like Wijayaratna, she raises some questions concerning the conditions while yet allowing these to remain unresolved. Scholars have only fairly recently begun to depart from this implicit ideological stance on the conditions, arguably in response to new contexts and debates incurred by the reinstatement of the higher ordination for women.

Those contemporary Buddhist women who have argued that the eight heavy rules should not be contested but rather regarded as providing a good opportunity for women to work on their egos are pursuing a mistaken strategy. Although it is certainly true that the situation is a good chance to work on one's ego—most situations are!—we should hardly welcome the disparagement of an order whose entire purpose is to provide models of dignity and discipline. The Buddha named greed as a poison of the mind, and said essentially that the destruction and the healing of the world are done in a single thought. The mind purged of greed is the road to awakening. The mind filled with greed poisons the earth and creates the potential for affliction and suffering for all its inhabitants equally. You don't flush greed away, you transform it; transmute it by generosity and by giving.

CONCLUSION

After the critical analysis of the Eight Chief Rules in the conclusion of my paper as a Buddhist Scholar and a follower of Buddhist ethics I would like to express my opinion. Actually I have discussed the eight chief rules with some Vietnamese nuns who are my students. They have told me that they do not want to go with all this argue, they belelieve the eight chief rules as a Buddhavacana so it reacts automatically in their practices. They also have said that the aim of their life is only to achieve the enlightenment, not to go in argument. At the same time they told me that Buddha created these rules because it had need in those days. So, as per my opinion, Buddha never created any discrimination between men and women and did not believe in soul. According to Buddha if we believe in soul then selfishness and discrimination will be appeared which is the great obstacle in the path of enlightenment. Buddha always preached the equality. We should also remember another opinion of Buddha against the argument. Buddha advised his disciples that we should always avoid the argument. Argument prevents in achieving the real knowledge. So those who all are not satisfied by their wise vision with this rules, they can avoid it silently and wisely (without raising voice/ creating argument).

REFERENCES

- [1]. Horner, I. B. 'Women Under Primitive Buddhism: Laywomen and Almswomen'. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989.
- [2]. Meena Talim 'Life of Women in Buddhist Literature'. Delhi: Buddhist World Press, 2010.
- [3]. Hecker, Hellmuth 'Lives of the Disciples: Buddhist Women at the Time of the Buddha.' Trans. Sister Khemā. Kandy, Buddhist Publication Society, 1982.
- [4]. Gross, Rita M. 'Buddhism After Patriarchy, A Feminist History, Analysis and Reconstruction of Buddhism.' Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993
- [5]. Falk, Nancy Auer. "The Case of Vanishing Nuns: The Fruits of Ambivalence in Ancient Indian Buddhism." In Unspoken Worlds, Women's Religious Lives, edited by Nancy Auer Falk and Rita M. Gross, 155-165. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1989.
- [6]. Wijayaratna, Mohan. 'Buddhist Nuns: The Birth and Development of a Women's Monastic Order'. Colombo: Wisdom, 2001.
- [7]. Bhikkhunī Kusuma. Bhikkuņī Vinaya. Visva Lekhā: Ratmalana, 2003.
- [8]. Sponberg, Alan 'Attitudes toward Women and the Feminine in Early Buddhism' In Buddhism Sexuality and Gender, edited by Jose Cabezon, 3-36. Albany: State University of New York, 1985.
- [9]. Dewaraja, L.S. 'The Position of Women in Buddhism.' Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 1981.
- [10]. Thea Mohr and Jampa Tsedroen, 'Dignity and Discipline: Reviving Full Ordination for Buddhist Nuns'. Wisdom Publications in May, 2010
- [11]. Hari Shankar Prasad.'The centrality of Ethics in Buddhism'.Motilal Banarashidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 2007.
- [12]. Thuten Chodron.'Blossoms of the Dharma: Living as Buddhist Nun'.North AtlanticBooks, 1999.
- [13]. Wei-Yi Cheng 'Buddhist Nuns in Taiwan andSri Lanka: A Critique of the Feminist Perspective'Published by Routledge, 2007
- [14]. Akira Hirakawa 'A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna' By Motilal Banarsidass Publ., 1993
- [15]. Sarah Le Vine and David N.Gellner 'Rebuilding Buddhism(The Theravada Movement in Twentieth-Century Nepal)' Published by Social Science Press and OrientBlack Swan 2008.