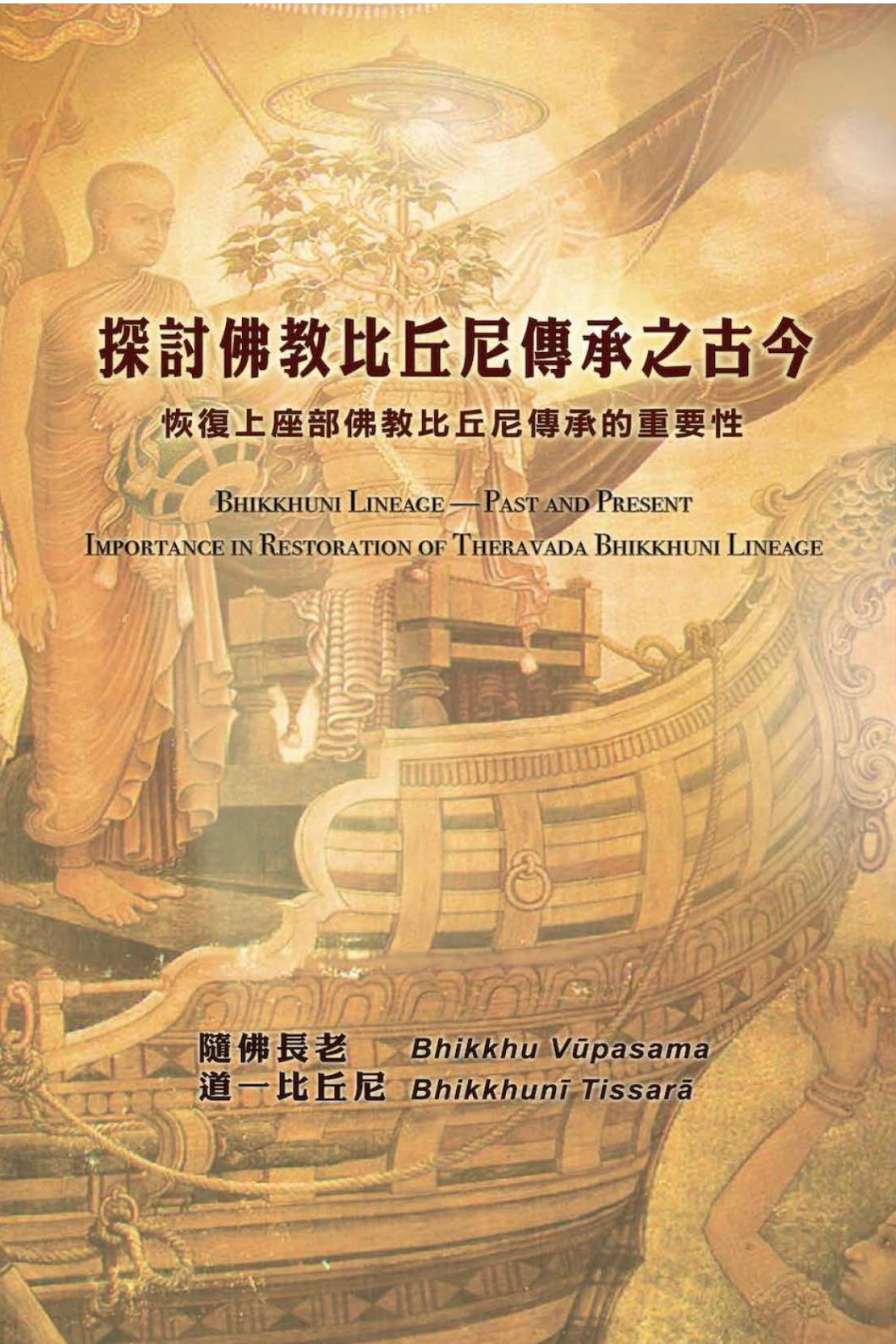




探討佛教比丘尼傳承之古今

恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的重要性

BHIKKHUNI LINEAGE — PAST AND PRESENT

IMPORTANCE IN RESTORATION OF THERAVADA BHIKKHUNI LINEAGE

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2 探討佛教比丘尼傳承之古今



隨佛長老簡介

隨佛長老（Ven. Bhikkhu Vūpasama）為華人，出生於臺灣，修學佛法至今已五十餘年，在世界各地創辦「原始佛教會」，是還原、振興已經隱沒約有兩千二百餘年之原始佛教的法脈傳人。

長老出家於緬甸銅鑠部僧團，剃度師是承續雷迪大師（Ven. Ledi Sayadaw C.E. 1846~1923）禪法及道場系統之 Bhaddanta Zagara Bhivamsa 長老。長老現今擔任中華、美國、馬來西亞、澳洲、歐洲原始佛教會終生導師，兼臺灣、馬來西亞、紐約等地中道禪林的導師，相近共學為奉守原始佛法的「中道僧團」。

隨佛長老對於佛教教法的探究與修行，主要的研究是「從佛教傳承的最古老教義中，探尋佛教初始時期的教法，並致力於 釋迦佛陀教法、禪法及菩提道次第原貌的探究、闡揚與實踐」。

隨佛長老不僅傳承原始佛教法脈，也熟習漢傳佛教各宗宗義，印度菩薩道之「般若」、「瑜伽」與「如來藏」等三系思想，特別是對《般若經》、《中論》的思想與「禪宗」的禪法，有深入的體會與教學經驗。

2011 年，長老在臺灣、馬來西亞、美國等地，延請南傳佛教各國長老與中道僧團共同舉辦《四聖諦佛教聯合宣言》，促進錫蘭、緬甸、泰國、寮國、柬埔寨、美國、馬來西亞、臺灣各地僧人的交流合作，提昇「四聖諦佛教」的社會影響力。

2014 年依原始佛教會為基礎，再創立「四聖諦佛教會」，團結仰信「四聖諦」的原始佛教及南傳佛教，提倡「原始佛教、南傳上座、漢傳顯教、藏傳密乘，四系一家，同利人間」。

2015 年，長老依據《阿含經》、《佛說阿彌陀經》、《毘尼母經》的傳誦，著作《三階念佛彌陀禪》，提倡「持名念佛、定心念佛、實相念佛」的三階念佛，導歸「見因緣法之實相念佛」，正確為世人揭示「由末法向正法」的彌陀法門。《三階念佛彌陀禪》指出：「彌陀行者終是原始佛教行者，原始佛教行者也是彌陀行

者」，促進原始佛教、漢傳佛教是一家無爭、和諧共榮的新時代。

自 2013 年 起，長老在中國各地寺院廣弘禪法，引導中國佛弟子學習經法、禪法，促進佛教文化的交流、學習。2015 年，隨佛長老與日本曹洞宗東隆真禪師、錫蘭佛牙寺 Wendaruwe Sri Upali Anunayaka 長老，共同舉行聯合宣法，促進佛教各界的合作。

隨佛長老已經完成阿難系漢譯《相應阿含》（現誤譯名《雜阿含》）及優波離系南傳《相應部》的比對研究，更進一步的根據漢譯《相應阿含》、南傳《相應部》之〈因緣相應〉、〈食相應〉、〈聖諦相應〉、〈界相應〉、〈五陰（蘊）相應〉、〈六處相應〉及〈四念處等道品相應〉等〈七事修多羅〉的共說，「依經證經」的還原 佛陀原說教法。

原始佛教的教義，不同於分別說部為主的南傳佛教。原始佛教最主要的內容有：1.「六處分位」的「十二因緣法」；2.「十二因緣觀」的九種禪法；3.觀十二因緣、次第起七覺分，先斷無明、後斷貪欲的「禪法次第」；4.依七覺分，次第究竟「四聖諦三轉、十二行」，成就正覺、離貪、慈悲喜捨、解脫、阿耨多羅三藐三菩提的「一乘道次第」。

隨佛長老既不受取、不積蓄、不使用錢財，也無「為僧人管理金錢供養的淨人」，常年遊化宣法於世界各地，不定居一處。

A Brief Introduction to Ven. Bhikkhu Vūpasama

Ven. Bhikkhu Vūpasama Thera was born in Taiwan and is of Chinese heritage. He studied and practiced the Buddha's doctrines for over fifty years and established Original Buddhism Society in several countries. He is the Dharma lineage successor who has restored and revitalized the original teachings of Buddha Sākyamuni which have been dormant for nearly 2200 years.

He was ordained by Ven. Bhaddanta Zagara Bhivamsa Thera, a disciple of Ven. Ledi Sayadaw (C.E. 1846-1923) from a Burmese Theravada Saṅgha. Ven. Bhikkhu Vūpasama Thera is currently the chief mentor of Original Buddhism Society in Taiwan, America, Malaysia, Australia, and Europe. He is also the mentor of the Sambodhi World in Taiwan, Malaysia, and New York. All of his disciples including the “Dhammatṭha Saṅgha” practice Original Buddhism.

Master Vūpasama's core research and practice of Buddhism teachings are in the area of revitalizing the original teachings of Buddha Sākyamuni from the most ancient scriptures collected by the First Buddhist Council, a council convened in the same year the Buddha passed away. His main effort is to spread the original teachings, the meditation techniques, and the path to enlightenment as taught by Buddha Sākyamuni.

Master Vūpasama has not only succeeded the Dharma lineage of Original Buddhism, he is also knowledgeable in all schools of Chinese Buddhism, and in the ideologies of the three Indian Bodhisattva Schools, namely Prajñā, Yogācāya, and Tathāgata-garba. In addition, he has profound practical and teaching experience in the ideologies of “Prajñā-Pāramitā Suttas” and “Mādhyamikā commentary,” as well as the meditation methods of the Chinese Zen School.

In 2011, Master Vūpasama invited many Venerables of Theravada Saṅgha to organize “The Joint Declaration of Buddhism and the Four Noble Truths” in Taiwan, Malaysia, and the United States. These activities facilitated exchanges and cooperations among the Saṅgha members in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, United States, Malaysia, and Taiwan, as well as promoted social influence of “Buddhism of the Four Noble Truths.”

In 2014, based on the mission of Original Buddhism Society, Master Vūpasama founded the Buddhist Society of the Four Noble Truths in order to unite disciples of Original Buddhism and those of Theravada Buddhism who believe in and practice the Four Noble Truths. He advocates the following four lineages: Original Buddhism, Theravada School, Chinese exoteric School, and Tibetan esoteric School to share the same mission to benefit all beings.

In 2015, Master Vūpasama wrote “Three Stages of Mindfulness Recitation and Meditation of the Amitābha Buddha”, based on “Agama Sūtras,” “Amitābha Sūtra,” and “Vinaya-Mātika Sūtra”. He advocates the three stages of mindfulness of the Buddha: “chanting the name,” “concentrating,” and “realizing the truths” by observing the principle of Relevant Influencing (Nidānas). Master Vūpasama uses this method to redirect “Dharma-Ending Age” back to “the Age of the Right Dharma.” This book points out an important message: “the practitioners of Amitābha school will actually become the practitioners of Original Buddhism; the practitioners of Original Buddhism are also the practitioners of Amitābha school.” He promotes the idea that Original Buddhism and Chinese Buddhism are of the same family and will prosper in harmony in this new era.

Since 2013, Master Vūpasama began teaching meditation in various temples in China. He guides Chinese Buddhists to

study the Buddha's original teachings and meditation methods, and also promotes the exchange and learning of various Buddhist cultures.

In 2015, Master Vūpasama gave Dharma talks together with Rev. Tenrai Ryushin Azuma Roshi of Japanese Soto Zen lineage, and later with Ven. Wendaruwe Sri Upali Anunayaka Thero from the Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic in Sri Lanka, to promote cooperation among various Buddhism Schools.

Master Vūpasama has completed a comparative study on "Samyukta-Āgama" of the Ven. Anānda lineage and "Samyutta Nikāya" of the Ven. Upāli lineage. His study is based on the common doctrines, cross referencing with verification of suttas of the seven categories ("Relevant Influencing [Nidānas]," "nutriment," "noble truths," "realms," "five abstruseness [aggregates]," "six sense bases," and "Noble Paths [including Four Objects of Mindfulness]") of Samyukta-Āgama and Samyutta-Nikāya in order to restore the original teaching of the Buddha.

The doctrine of Original Buddhism is different from Theravada Buddhism, which is mainly based on the school of Vibhajjavāda. The main contents of Original Buddhism include:

1. Using six sense bases as the divider for "the Twelve Factors of Relevant Influencing (Paṭiccasamuppāda)";
2. Using nine methods of insight meditation to observe "the Twelve Factors of Relevant Influencing (Paṭiccasamuppāda)";
3. Using insight meditation to observe "the Twelve Factors of Relevant Influencing (Paṭicca-samuppāda)" in order to cultivate the Seven Factors of Enlightenment (Satta Bojjhaṅgā) to cease Ignorance (Avijjā) before the Cessation of Craving (Lobha);

4. Following the Seven Factors of Enlightenment (Satta Bojjhaṅgā) to practice the twelve aspects of the Four Noble Truths in three phases stage by stage to achieve awakening, detachment of craving, the Four Immeasurable Attitudes (viz. loving-kindness, compassion, joy, and equanimity), liberation (Mokkha), and Anuttara-samyak-sambodhi through “the Single Path of Awakening” (Ekāyana-magga).

Not only does Master Vūpasama not accept, use, nor accumulate money offered by devotees, but he also does not have a kappiya (layman) to manage money on his behalf. He travels around the world to spread the Buddha’s original teachings and does not reside in one location permanently.



道一尊尼簡介

道一尊尼（Ven. Bhikkhunī Tissarā）生長於臺灣，為中道尼僧團的首座，領導、攝受中道尼僧團，守持終生不受取、不積蓄、不使用金錢，也不使用「專為僧人處理財物供養及採辦事宜的淨人」。

尊尼入佛門修行至今，奉獻佛教已有三十六年。1988 年入佛門修行，先在寺廟發心，後讀佛學院，精勤學習大乘經教，特別是印順老法師宣揚的印度初期大乘之般若、中觀學說。

1994 年，親近隨佛長老學法，自此走入「四聖諦

佛教」的學法道路。

1998 年受戒於印度菩提長老的座下，精勤學法、獻身原始佛教的復興。

1998~2000 年前往泰國、緬甸森林禪修中心參學。

2000~2005 年間，道一尊尼一方面受學於隨佛長老，深入探究《相應阿含》與《相應部》當中的古老經法，尋覓「佛陀原說」的真義；二方面隨同僧團行腳遊化於臺灣各地，體驗頭陀行、塚間修。

2007~2014 年，在美國、馬來西亞、澳洲、中國大陸各地遊化傳法，教導禪修、開展原始佛教，不畏艱辛、不求名利、犧牲奉獻，深得各地學眾的敬仰、擁戴。

三十多年的修行歲月，道一尊尼無私的奉獻，為法、為教、為眾生，尊師重道、照護同修及後進不遺餘力，從未為自己謀求任何的利益，守戒精勤、認真修道，誠懇待人、謙虛自牧，是極為難得的修行人。

尊尼目前擔任中華原始佛教會會長、中華四聖諦佛教會會長，美國、馬來西亞原始佛教會常務理事。

A Brief Introduction to Ven. Bhikkhunī Tissarā

Ven. Bhikkhunī Tissarā was born in Taiwan. She is the head nun of the Dhammaṭṭha Bhikkhunī Saṅgha, leads and manages the Bhikkhunī Saṅgha. Not only does Ven. Tissarā not accept, use, nor accumulate money offered by devotees, but she also does not have a kappiya (layman) to manage money on her behalf.

Ven. Tissarā has been dedicated to Buddhism for 36 years. In 1988, she came into contact with Buddhism. Initially, she served in a temple, and later, she went to a Buddhist college to study Mahayana Dharma diligently, especially on Prajñā and Mādhyamika of Early Mahayana Buddhism, advocated by Master Yinshun.

In 1994, Ven. Tissarā began to study Dhamma with Ven. Vūpasama Thero, and since then, she was on the road of Four Noble Truths Buddhism.

In 1998, Ven. Tissarā was ordained by an Indian Bhikkhu Ven. Bodhi Thero. She studied Dhamma diligently, and was dedicated to revitalizing Original Buddhism.

From 1998 to 2000, Ven. Tissarā went to Thailand and Myanmar to visit and study Dhamma in the forest meditation centers.

From 2000 to 2005, Ven. Tissarā continued to study Dhamma with Ven. Vūpasama Thero, and explored the original teaching of Sākyamuni Buddha, from the most ancient suttas “Saṃyukta Āgama” and “Saṃyutta Nikāya”. Meanwhile, she travelled with the Sangha around Taiwan, and experienced the Dhuta practice and tomb practice.

From 2007 to 2014, Ven. Tissarā travelled around the

world to preach Buddha's teaching in America, Malaysia, Australia and mainland China. She taught meditation techniques, and spared no effort in promoting Original Buddhism. Ven. Tissarā was neither afraid of any hardships, nor pursued any fame and fortune, and thus, she was admired and respected by many disciples for her sacrifice spirit.

In the more 30 years of spiritual practice, Ven. Tissarā was always dedicated to Buddhism, Dhamma, and the sentient beings selflessly. She respected her master reverently, took good care of the Saṅgha, and treated people with sincerity and humility. She observed the precepts strictly, and practiced Dhamma conscientiously. She is an extraordinary Bhikkhunī indeed.

Ven. Tissarā is currently the president of Original Buddhism Society and Four Noble Truths Society in Taiwan, and also the executive director of Original Buddhism Society in America and Malaysia.

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探討上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的重要性與時代意義

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1. 引言

佛教發展約近 2500 年，不僅傳遍亞洲地區，近百年來更傳往世界各地。雖然如此，佛教主要發展的地區還是在亞洲各國，分別有信仰上座部佛教為主的斯里蘭卡、緬甸、泰國、寮國、高棉及印度，以及信仰菩薩道為主的韓國、日本、越南、馬來西亞、中國大陸及臺灣。

由於十二、三世紀的印度、中南半島的上座部佛教受到蒙古軍團的破壞，又加上比丘尼的出家與受戒程序必須具足兩部僧團參與的限制，使得十三世紀末葉以後的上座部佛教即斷失了比丘尼傳承。自 1998 年起，斯里蘭卡僧團的少數長老開始恢復比丘尼傳承，但是上座部佛教僧團的大多數比丘，依然對恢復比丘尼的作法有著很深的顧慮，這使得信仰上座部佛教的女性難以成為比丘尼。

公元 434 年，斯里蘭卡的比丘尼僧團將兩部僧團所授之比丘尼戒傳入中國。公元 502~518 年，中國梁武帝組織國家教團，依印度大乘教團自行編集的《瑜伽菩薩戒本》，另再編集出中國化的《梵網經菩薩戒經》。公元 519 年，中國梁武帝依新編的《梵網經菩

薩戒經》受大乘菩薩戒，並自稱是「皇帝菩薩¹」。梁武帝的佛教政策，是決定上座部佛教退出中國佛教舞臺的主要因素。

公元 519~618 年，印度傳入中國的大乘教團，逐漸揉雜中國的道家思想，使印度大乘佛教的思想發生本質的轉變，發展成混雜道家思想的中國式大乘教法。梁武帝的佛教政策，導致印度大乘佛教轉變成中國式大乘教法，促使上座部佛教的教法、僧團逐漸被淘汰出中國歷史舞臺。公元 416~421 年，中國大乘教派譯出《菩薩戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla）》，並一直保持女性出家的傳統。

近代西方文化傳遍世界各地，隱含基督教文化的「天賦人權，人人平等」，逐漸成為世界各國的政治與法律基礎，「性別平等」也成為各國女性所追求的目標。在此之下，上座部佛教尚未全面支持恢復比丘尼的現實，即為現代社會視為「歧視女性，思想落後」的象徵，更成為「大乘菩薩道」歧視、攻擊上座部佛教的理由之一。

目前恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的發展，一方面

1 見顏尚文著〈梁武帝「皇帝菩薩」的理念及政策之形成基礎〉，《師大歷史學報》第十七期，p.1~p.58。1978 年

受到女性主義者的熱切支持，二方面受到「大乘菩薩道」的介入與參與，三方面受到上座部佛教比丘僧團的冷淡處理、保守人士的反對。

由於女性主義者的熱切支持，刺激了上座部佛教比丘僧團內部之保守僧人的對抗與拒絕，而「大乘菩薩道」的介入與參與，更造成上座部佛教比丘僧團的疑慮與反對。如此，恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的努力，必定是困難重重。

本文的內容，是根據上座部佛教的經說教法，探討釋迦佛陀的「兩性倫理」，並根據「大乘菩薩道」的教法與律戒的發展過程及內容，探究「大乘菩薩道」的女性出家者的地位。

依據以上的研究，了解上座部佛教傳承的可貴，確定恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的重要性與時代意義，並得知應當善用上座部佛教之經法與律戒的精神，避免女性主義、大乘菩薩道的介入，堅定恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的道路。

比丘僧團與比丘尼僧團的平衡發展，不僅有助於佛教內部兩性之間的和諧、互助及團結，更有利於上座部佛教的發展與世界化。

2. 探討 釋迦佛陀的「兩性倫理」

2-1. 根據《相應部》的經說

2-1-1. 《相應部》的特色

上座部佛教傳誦的五部聖典，其中的《相應部》（巴 Saṃyutta-nikāya）是特別重要。由上座部佛教的大師——覺音論師（巴 Buddhaghoṣa）所著的《相應部註》，即取名為「顯揚真義（巴 Sāratthappakāsinī）」，意指「顯示、宣揚佛陀的真實法」，即使是大乘菩薩道的龍樹（梵 Nāgārjuna），也是評價《相應部》是「第一義悉曇（梵 abhidhamma siddhānta）」，意思是「成就第一法」。如此可見，《相應部》（巴 Saṃyutta-nikāya）的特色，是顯示 釋迦佛陀的真實教法。

2-1-2. 佛陀的「兩性倫理」

2-1-2-1. 由階級到平等

古代的封建社會，君王是掌控最高權力、壟斷一切資源的人，而愈接近君王的人即是愈能獲得權利的人。在此之下，當然的特權階級是宰制社會的力量，社會是極容易處在不公義的狀態，一般的人民很難有公義、正常的發展機會。例如：佛陀反對婆羅門教的「種姓制度（英語：Caste）」，即是不認同「不公義的社會制度」。但是，佛陀是否提倡「人人平等」？

古印度的奧義書、耆那教，為了反抗婆羅門教的「種姓制度」，不僅反對「梵天造物」的信仰，更提出「梵性本有，眾生平等」的說法。公元前一世紀，起自南印度的「大乘菩薩道」，也提出「諸法皆空，一切平等」的教說。因此，奧義書（梵語 Upaniṣad）、耆那教（英語：Jainism）、大乘菩薩道都有「眾生平等」的說法。

十八世紀的西方社會，反抗封建、不公義社會的革命人士，即運用基督教信仰提出的「天賦人權，人人平等」，由此奠定了現代社會的民主基礎。

古代的封建社會制度，主要是採取「神權或王權至上」的觀點，這促成許多宗教、學說的理想，乃至近代社會的制度，針對個人的利益、權力、地位，大多是採用「個人至上，平等無差」的見解，主張任何形式的「差別待遇」都是不公、不義、不合理的錯誤，強調智慧、慈悲、良善、真愛、公義皆是「平等無別」，認為應當不分任何對象、不設任何差別的對待與給予。

人類自野蠻到文明的過程，是由崇尚武力生存的父權社會，逐漸走向現代社會的「男女平權」。美國在建國初期也是男性為上的社會，經由女權運動者的不斷爭取，直到 1911 年美國婦女才取得投票的權力。

2-1-2-2. 依《相應部》談「兩性倫理」

有關人、我之間的倫理，釋迦佛陀是主張階級差別，或是反對種姓階級？

在佛陀的時代，印度社會即採行「種姓制度」。這是出自婆羅門教的社會制度，它是依據種族、氏姓血統、身份地位、職業將人分為四大階級，每一類階級再細分出不同的階級，這是按照族裔血統的差異，制定出固定不變的地位、職業分類，並成為

嚴密控制社會的信仰及制度。根據上座部分支的說一切有部（巴 Sarvāstivādin）漢譯《相應阿含（巴 Saṃyukta Āgama）》548 經，南傳《中部（巴 Majjhima Nikaya）》〈摩偷羅經（巴 Madhurasuttam）〉（MN.84）、釋迦佛陀是堅決反對「種姓制度（英語：Caste）」。

如前所說，在 釋迦佛陀出世以前，在印度反對「種姓制度」的學說有奧義書，宗教有耆那教。奧義書主張「梵生」，認為一切眾生皆有「神我²」（ātman 阿特曼）」，而耆那教則是提出如同「神我（ātman 阿特曼）」的「命(jiva)」。

因此，不論奧義書、耆那教皆認同「眾生平等，人人平等」。

然而，反對「種姓制度（英語：Caste）」的 釋迦佛陀，是否也主張人人平等？或者 佛陀另有其他的看法？

根據南傳《相應部（巴 Saṃyutta Nikaya）》

2 見黃心川《印度哲學史》第三章

見《石氏奧義書》：參《中華佛教百科全書》（七）p.3902.1

「見神我若拇指，寄寓身心中，過去、未來主，由持不足畏，此乃真是彼！神我若拇指，如火燄無煙，唯彼是今旦，猶復是明時，此乃真是彼！」

見《歌者奧義書》：參《中華佛教百科全書》（七）p.3902.1

「這就是我心中的靈魂，小於米粒或麥粒，或芥子，或黍，或黍子核；這個我心中的靈魂，大於天，大於地，大於空，大於萬有世界。」

〈蘊相應（巴 Khandhasaṃyutta；英語：Connected Discourses on the Aggregates）〉49 經（SN.22.49）、《相應阿含（巴 Saṃyukta Āgama）》45 經的教導，世人認定的我、你、他，實際是五陰（巴 pañcakkhandhā），並且五陰是緣生法（巴利語：paṭīcasamuppannā dhammā），而緣生法必定是無常（巴 anicca）、非我（巴 anattā）。

《相應部》〈蘊相應〉49 經³：「世尊：『輸屢

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- 3 見南傳《相應部》〈蘊相應〉49 經：參 臺灣元亨寺出版《漢譯南傳大藏經（15）》p.70-2~71-7

巴利經文 Pali Sutta Saṃyutta Nikaya 22.49 (S.iii 48~50)

“Dvattiṃsimāni, bhikkhave, mahāpurisassa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni, yehi samannāgatassa mahāpurisassa dveva gatiyo bhavanti anaññā. Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, rājā hoti cakkavattī dhammiko dhammarājā cāturato” ... “Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, araham hoti sammāsambuddho loke vivaṭṭacchado” ... “imassa kammassa kaṭattā idaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ paṭilabhatī”ti.”

英譯 *From 《The Connected Discourses of the Buddha》 translated by Bhikkhu Bodhi*

The Saṃyutta Nikaya 22.49

The Blessed One then said: “Soṇa, when any ascetics and brahmins, on the basis of form (feeling, perception, volitional formations, consciousness),—which is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change—regard themselves thus: ‘I am superior,’ or ‘I am equal,’ or ‘I am inferior,’ what is that due to apart from not seeing things as they really are? ... What do you think, Soṇa, is form (feeling, perception, volitional formations, consciousness) permanent or impermanent?” – “Impermanent, venerable sir.” – “Is what is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: ‘This is mine, this I am, this is my self?’” – “No, venerable sir.” ... “Therefore, Soṇa, any kind of form (feeling, perception, volitional formations, consciousness) whatsoever, whether past, future, or present,

那！若諸沙門、婆羅門，以無常、苦、變易法之色（、受、想、行、識），不觀我是勝，不觀我是等，不觀我是劣者，如何得不見如實耶？……輸屢那！汝意云何，色（、受、想、行、識）是常耶？是無常耶？」輸屢那答：『大德！是無常。』世尊：『若無常、苦、變易之法，得觀此，而此是我所，此是我，此是我體耶？……輸屢那！是故，於此處所有色（、受、想、行、識）之過去、未來、現在、內、外、粗、細、勝、劣、等、遠、近者，此非我所，此非我，此非我體，應以如是正慧如實見。』」

《相應阿含》45 經：「愚癡無聞凡夫，無明觸故，起……我勝覺、我等覺、我卑覺……如是知、如是見覺，皆由六觸入故。多聞聖弟子，於此六觸入處，捨離無明而生明，不生……勝覺、等覺、卑覺……。」

由於「我、你、他」都只是概念的標記，是不合事實的想法，實際是緣生法的五陰，而緣生法是無法依據任何一法作為評價、比量的標準，所以出自比量的高勝、低劣、平等，只是出自某種特定部份條件的比較，無法代表緣生法的真實面。因此，緣生法的五

internal or external, gross or subtle, inferior or superior, far or near, all form should be seen as it really is with correct wisdom thus: 'This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self.' ”

陰，不存在何者是高勝、低劣、平等的事實。

如此可知，反對「種姓制度（英語：Caste）」的釋迦佛陀，不主張眾生平等、人人平等，而是宣說「五陰是緣生法，無有勝、劣、等」。可見，「眾生平等」的見解，是印度奧義書、耆那教，或是後世菩薩道的見解，「人人平等」是基督教等一神教的救贖理論，絕不是 釋迦佛陀的教法。

佛陀在世時，曾對阿難說：「阿難！女人若於如來所說之法與律中離家而出家者，可得現證預流果、一來果、不還果、阿羅漢果。⁴」如此可見，女性出家為比丘尼，是如同比丘可以達到解脫，比丘、比丘尼沒有不同成就的限制。

因此，男尊女卑、女尊男卑、男女平等的三種觀

4 見《銅鑠律》〈小品〉第十比丘尼毘度 一之三：參 臺灣元亨寺出版《漢譯南傳大藏經（4）》p.341-1~2

巴利律文 *Pali Vinaya 2.b.10.1.3. (V.ii 254)*

“Bhabbo, ānanda, mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitvā sotāpattiṃ phalaṃ sakadāgāmiṃ phalaṃ anāgāmiṃ phalaṃ arahattaṃ phalaṃ sacchikātunti.”

英譯 *From 《The Book of Discipline》 translated by I.B. Horner, M.A.*

The Bhikkhunī-Khandhaka:

“Ānanda, women having gone forth from home into homelessness in the dhamma and discipline proclaimed by the Truth finder, are able to realize the fruit of stream-attainment or the fruit of once-returning or the fruit of non-returning or perfection.”

點，皆不是 釋迦佛陀的教說，應當是依於不同的因緣，使得男性、女性之間發生不同的強弱優劣差異。兩性之間一定有差異，而智慧、能力、品德、地位的差異，是依於因緣的變動而有不同，既不是絕對不變，也絕不是由性別、血統、種族決定。

2-2. 男性主義不合佛教

人類社會的發展，是從野外求生的狩獵生活開始，再經由畜牧、農耕、工業生產、商業銷售及服務的演變，逐漸由崇尚武力的父權社會，發展到重視智能的現代兩性平權社會。

女性地位的低落，是古代社會的既有問題，釋迦佛陀對此也是不以為然。但面對狩獵、畜牧、農耕為經濟主流的社會，不得不考量父權社會的現實性，佛陀才對女性出家施設了〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha ga-ru-dhammā*）〉。

在父權高張的古代社會，〈八敬法〉的作用，是藉由女性尊崇男性為本的比丘僧團，使比丘僧團更方便幫助及維護比丘尼僧團，目的是產生時代性的互補功能，絕對不是「歧視女性，壓迫女性」的惡法。可是，

深受印度傳統宗教、文化影響的後世佛教，卻誤把歧視女性的不當文化揉雜於佛教。

在教育普及、重視智能的現代社會，女性的社會表現及獨立能力，已足以勝任多方領域的工作，也能與男性分工、合作，許多方面更是不輸男性。男性至上的觀點與作法，既不合佛陀的教導，也確實不合乎現代的文明社會。

2-3. 基督教文化不應介入佛教

基督教信仰「神造萬物」，在神的面前是「人人平等」。在廣受西方文化影響的現代社會，基督教文化的「人人平等」受到高度的尊崇與支持，但「人人平等」不是釋迦佛陀的教法。

佛陀不是創造、主宰一切的神，阿羅漢也不是神，佛教僧人更不是神。佛陀是教導「滅苦之道」的老師，而阿羅漢、僧人既是學習「滅苦之道」的學生，也是教導世人的老師。佛教重視「師生倫理」，學生必需尊崇、服侍老師，老師必需教育、照顧學生，這是在滅苦道路上，老師及學生之間是互助、互補的倫理。

因此，基督教文化的「人人平等」，絕對不適合

佛教的「師生倫理」。

2-4. 女性主義不應介入佛教

在佛教各部派傳誦的《比丘尼律》，皆有〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉的傳誦，〈八敬法〉主張女性受持比丘尼的程序，最後必需獲得比丘僧團的認可，並強調比丘尼需要禮敬比丘，也必需遵守比丘的教誡。

〈八敬法〉⁵的內容，諸部派傳誦略有出入，但大致相合。因此，在印度各派互不認同的情況下，〈八敬法〉「極可能」是出自佛教分裂以前，不大可能出自部派分裂以後。

近代有佛教女性平權運動者，受到大乘菩薩道或

5 見《摩訶僧祇律》卷三十：參《大正藏（22）》p.471.3-29~p.476.2-11
 見《十誦律》〈八敬法〉卷四十七：參《大正藏（23）》p.345.2-29~p.345.3-19
 見《根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事》卷二十九：參《大正藏（24）》p.350.3-25~p.351.1-25
 見《五分律》卷七：參《大正藏（22）》p.45.3-23~p.46.1-10
 見《四分律》〈比丘尼犍度〉卷四十八：參《大正藏（22）》p.923.1-26~p.923.2-21
 見《銅鑠律》〈小品〉之十〈比丘尼犍度〉：參《漢譯南傳大藏經（4）》p.341-5~14

基督教文化的影響，誤認為 佛陀提倡「眾生平等，人人平等」，主張〈八敬法〉是「歧視女性」的「不平等法」，不是出自 佛陀的制定，宣稱〈八敬法〉是出自後世僧團的增新。甚至大膽推斷：〈八敬法〉是大迦葉主持「第一次結集」時的編造。

「第一次結集」時，當戒律結集完成後，大迦葉宣布：「佛所未制不應更制，佛所已制不應改制」，確定了集律的準則與方向。試問：大迦葉怎會在「第一次結集」時，編集出 佛陀未制的〈八敬法〉？這是不當的質疑、指責大迦葉！

〈八敬法〉必需以 佛陀的時空背景作為探討的基礎，〈八敬法〉的真實意義才能顯現。眾生平等、人人平等、兩性平等的觀點及作法，是奧義書、耆那教、大乘菩薩道或基督教文化的產物，既不合 佛陀的教法，也不合佛教的「師生倫理」。追求「兩性平等」的女性主義，不應當介入佛教。

2-5. 緣起為本的性別倫理

佛陀教法的核心，是「因緣法」，強調五陰是緣生法，緣生法則無常、非我。據此可知，男性、女性的差別，是出自不同的因緣，是緣生法，男性與女性是無法比較出絕對的優勝、低劣、平等。由此可見，男尊女卑、女尊男卑、男女平等的三種觀點，皆不是釋迦佛陀的教法，應當根據不同的因緣情況，而有不同的強弱優劣差異，絕不是由性別、血統決定。

男性、女性是無法比較出絕對的高、低及平等，男性、女性必需依據不同的因緣，互助、互補的作出有益彼此的作為，這是「緣起為本的性別倫理」，也應是 佛陀教導的「兩性倫理」。

2-6. 師生倫理的〈八敬法〉

佛陀的僧團源自憍陳如（巴利 Añña Koṇḍañña）等五位比丘，依五位比丘再陸續發展出比丘僧團，比丘僧團是佛教初創時期的老師集團。

瞿曇彌（巴 Gotamī）是 佛陀的姨母，也是失去丈夫淨飯王（巴利 Śuddhodana Gautama）的依靠

後，出自尋求晚年的依靠才向 佛陀要求出家。當時，瞿曇彌的貴族身份、佛陀姨母、年老、釋種貴族女性領導者等四項因素，使 佛陀再三拒絕接受瞿曇彌出家，理由是擔心瞿曇彌會驕慢、難教。最後， 釋迦佛陀要求瞿曇彌必需在「接受〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉」的原則下，才可以具備出家女性的身份。真正的意思，是教育出家弟子必需尊敬老師，遵守前輩的教導，絕不可驕慢、難教。

反之，瞿曇彌（巴 *Gotamī*）以外，跟隨瞿曇彌的釋族女性，在尚無比丘尼僧團的情況下，並不是依瞿曇彌（巴 *Gotamī*）出家，而是依比丘僧團受具足戒。可見，這是律典指述的特殊情況，在世上無有比丘尼的情況下，可以許可比丘僧團為女性授比丘尼戒。

〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉的真正意思，必需從瞿曇彌（巴 *Gotamī*）的情況來看，不可從現代社會的男女平等標準來看，誤判〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉的目的是歧視女性。

〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉是出自瞿曇彌（巴 *Gotamī*）的因緣，它的意義是維護「比丘僧團是老師，比丘尼是學生」的倫理，並且提醒女性不可驕慢、難教。

3. 探討「大乘菩薩道」的發展與過程

3-1. 「大乘菩薩道」的經說起源與發展

「大乘菩薩道」的起源，是源自部派佛教時代的「菩薩」信仰。「菩提薩埵」一詞，簡稱為「菩薩」，巴利語為 Bodhisatta，意為精勤尋求正覺的人。由於這是專指「過去生尚未成佛的釋尊」，所以「菩薩」一詞不是稱呼 佛陀以外之其他修行者的過去生。

由於菩薩信仰的「菩薩」特質，不合於傳統佛教的八正道、七覺分、五根、五力、四神足等三十七道品。所以，公元前約二世紀末的佛教，即根據 佛陀的本生故事（巴利 Jātaka）予以歸納、編集出六大類修行法，這即是《六度集》的編集。 佛陀過去生的六大類修行法，也被視為「菩薩道」。（見《六度集》⁶、印順《初期大乘菩薩道之起源與開展》第九章⁷）

6 見《六度集經》：參《大正藏（3）》p.1.1-4~13

「（佛）為說菩薩六度無極難逮高行，疾得為佛。何謂為六？一曰布施，二曰持戒，三曰忍辱，四曰精進，五曰禪定，六曰明度無極高行。」

7 見印順《初期大乘佛教之起源與開展》第九章：參 p.560-11~14，臺灣正聞出版社 1993.7 版

「六度，本從「本生」的內容分類而來。選擇部分的「本生」談，隨類編集，稱為『六度集』。……這雖是部派佛教所傳的，但是菩薩修行的模範，受到佛教界的尊重（古代每用為通俗教化的材料）。大乘菩薩道，依此而開展出

六度，又稱為六波羅蜜，波羅蜜 pāramitā 意指「到彼岸」⁸，也即是「度」的意思。六波羅蜜包含：布施、持戒、忍辱、精進、禪定、智慧，智慧是主導。

部派佛教的智慧波羅蜜，原本是指「四聖諦」。公元前一世紀中葉，南印度有融攝「六波羅蜜」及「一說部（巴 Ekabyohārika）」的部義，發展出《般若經》（巴 Paññāpāramitā Sutta），宣稱真正的智慧是「諸法皆空（梵語：śūnya）、一切平等」，貶斥四聖諦是小乘智見，並自稱是大乘。

此後，「大乘學派」不承認四聖諦，並且在傳統經典以外，再發展出更多的自派經典。

3-2. 「大乘菩薩道」的女性地位

菩薩信仰的重要附屬，是三十二相的信仰，「三十二相」是「菩薩」的修證目標與勘驗標準。但是，「三十二相」原是出自《舍利弗阿毘曇論》，該論揉雜《奧義書》、耆那教的學說與信仰，不屬正統佛教。「三十二相」混入了《舍利弗阿毘曇論》的菩薩信仰，

來（在流傳中，受到大乘佛教的影響）。」

8 見《大智度論》卷第十二：參《大正藏（25）》p.145.2-2~3

部派佛教繼承了該信仰。

見南傳《長部 (Digha Nikaya)》〈三十二相經〉(DN.30)⁹：「世尊如次言：『諸比丘！於大人有三十二大人相；具足此之大人趣處，決定有二而無其他。若居在家者，成為轉輪王之正法王……。然者，若彼[大人]由俗家而出家為無家者，除去此世間所有之障覆，將成為阿羅漢、等正覺者。』……（陰莖）被覆藏（如馬陰藏）……此乃依業所成而獲得此相也。」

9 見南傳《長部 (Digha Nikaya)》〈三十二相經〉(DN.30)：

參 臺灣元亨寺出版《漢譯南傳大藏經(8)》p.138-5~142-5

巴利經文 Pali Sutta Digha Nikaya 30 (D.iii 142~145)

“Dvattimsimāni, bhikkhave, mahāpurisassa mahāpurisalakkaṇāni, yehi samannāgatassa mahāpurisassa dveva gatiyo bhavanti anañña. Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, rājā hoti cakkavattī dhammiko dhammarājā cāturato” ... “Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, arahaṃ hoti sammāsambuddho loka vivaṭṭacchado” kosohitavatthaguyho hoti “imassa kammaṃsa kaṭattā idaṃ lakkaṇaṃ paṭilabhatīti.”

英譯 From 《The Long Discourses of the Buddha》 translated by Maurice Walshe

The Digha Nikaya 30

The Lord said: ‘There are, monks, these thirty-two marks peculiar to a Great Man? And for that Great Man who possesses them, only two careers are open. If he lives the household life, he will become a ruler, a wheel-turning righteous monarch of the law ... But if he goes forth from the household life into homelessness, he will become an Arahant, a fully-enlightened Buddha, who has drawn back the veil from the world His male organs are enclosed in a sheath the karmic reasons for the gaining of them (thirty-two marks).

大眾部的《增壹阿含》卷二十三¹⁰：「此處菩薩現三十二相、八十種好，莊嚴其體，紫磨金色。」

「三十二相」的內容有「陰藏相」（巴利 *kokośopagata-vasti-guhya*），「陰藏相」原是耆那教的信仰，是指男根內縮隱藏而不現的果報，也被認定是「多生多世不行淫欲」的表徵。例如：「陰藏相如象馬王」¹¹、「十者陰藏相，如馬王象王」¹²、「為化女人現陰藏相」¹³、「如寶馬、寶象陰不現，故名陰藏相」¹⁴，如大眾部（可能為說出世部）傳誦的漢譯《增壹阿含》¹⁵：「頗有陰馬藏，貞潔不姪乎？」

由於「陰藏相」為男性獨有，所以菩薩道即主張：唯有男人可以成就無上菩提，女人不能成就無上菩提，也無法作任何領域的領袖，即使是魔王也無法成辦。

10 見《增壹阿含》卷二十三：參《大正藏（2）》p.166.3-23

11 見《大方便佛報恩經》：參《大正藏（3）》p.164.3-17

12 見《過去現在因果經》：參《大正藏（3）》p.627.2-3

13 見《阿毘曇毘婆沙論》：參《大正藏（27）》p.428.3

14 見《十住毘婆沙論》：參《大正藏（26）》p.65.1-14

15 見《增壹阿含》卷三八：參《大正藏（2）》p.521.1-10~12

（見《中阿含》116 經¹⁶、《施設論》卷三¹⁷）

大乘學派的《地藏經》（梵語 Kṣitigarbha Sūtra），強調修學《地藏經》可以獲得「女轉男身¹⁸」的功德。此外，《法華經》〈提婆達多品〉也有「龍女轉男身成佛¹⁹」的說法，這是指女性必需「女轉男身」才能成就無上菩提。

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- 16 見漢譯《中阿含》卷二八 116 經：參《大正藏（1）》p.607.2-10~15

「當知女人不得行五事：若女人作如來、無所著、等正覺，及轉輪王、天帝釋、魔王、大梵天者，終無是處。當知男子得行五事：若男子作如來、無所著、等正覺，及轉輪王、天帝釋、魔王、大梵天者，必有是處。」

- 17 見《施設論》卷三：參《大正藏（26）》p.521.1-10~12

「女人不作轉輪聖王，不成帝釋，不成梵王，不成魔王，不證緣覺菩提，不證無上正等菩提。」說一切有部傳誦的《施設論》，是由趙宋法護 Dharma-pāla 譯出七卷，內容為「世間施設」、「因施設」、「業施設」。這是傳說為八品的大論，宋譯不全。（參印順著《印度佛教思想史》p.54）

- 18 見《地藏經》〈囑累人天品〉：參《大正藏（13）》p.789.3-5~11

「若未來世，有善男子、善女人，見地藏形像，及聞此經，乃至讀誦，香華飲食、衣服珍寶，布施供養，讚歎瞻禮，得二十八種利益：一者天龍護念，……十一者女轉男身。」

- 19 見《法華經》〈提婆達多品〉：參《大正藏（9）》p.35.2-12~p.35.3-23

「文殊師利言：我於海中唯常宣說妙法華經。……時舍利弗語龍女言：「汝謂不久得無上道，是事難信。所以者何？女身垢穢非是法器，云何能得無上菩提？佛道懸曠經無量劫，勤苦積行具修諸度，然後乃成。又女人身猶有五障：一者不得作梵天王，二者帝釋，三者魔王，四者轉輪聖王，五者佛身。云何女身速得成佛？」……當時眾會皆見龍女，忽然之間變成男子，具菩薩行，即往南方無垢世界，坐寶蓮華成等正覺，三十二相、八十種好。……皆遙見彼龍女成佛，普為時會人天說法。」

由此可見，「女身不能成佛」是菩薩信仰的通識，但這是揉雜耆那教的「男尊女卑」信仰，絕不是釋迦佛陀的本意。大乘學派是以菩薩信仰為核心，確實具有「男尊女卑」的色彩。

3-3. 「大乘菩薩道」的律戒起源與發展

公元前一世紀，新傳出的《般若經（巴利（巴 Paññāpāramitā Sutta））》主張：依據「諸法皆空」的「智慧」所開展的「六波羅蜜」，是真正的「六波羅蜜」，也是大乘。此時，《般若經》貶抑四聖諦是小乘。

公元前一世紀中葉，至公元四世紀中葉，大乘學派只提出自派的菩薩信仰及新編的大乘經典，卻缺少符合大乘信仰、教說的具體戒律規範。這一時期的大乘出家人，是一群不信仰四聖諦、解脫律，只堅持自派的菩薩信仰、教說，卻無有大乘僧戒的「大乘學人」。

大乘學派是如何自我合理化？

3-3-1. 「大乘菩薩道」初期的僧律

大乘菩薩道初期（50 B.C.E.~ 100 C.E.），因為只有自派的菩薩信仰、教說，實際是無有相合於自派教說的僧律。這一時期的大乘出家人不多，大乘學派尚未穩定，因此並不反對傳統佛教的僧律，但特別強調「薩婆若心（梵語：Sarvajñā，成就一切智的心願）」的重要性，刻意淡化傳統僧團戒律的規範，目的是避免刺激傳統部派佛教，並隱藏自派缺乏僧律的弊端。

例如：初期大乘的《小品般若經》提出：「但樂說般若波羅蜜，常不離應薩婆若心……樂佛法中而得出家²⁰。」

此外，又有提出「十善」是大乘菩薩學人的戒波羅蜜，輕忽傳統佛教的僧律。例如：《大乘理趣六波羅蜜經》：「菩薩摩訶薩離三障已，應當修習十種淨戒。云何為十？所謂身三淨戒，口四淨戒，意三淨戒……離染欲者，菩薩摩訶薩應當遠離五欲境界²¹。」

此時，大乘學派的出家人，實際是未受比丘、比

20 見《小品般若經》卷六：參《大正藏（8）》p.565.2-7~10

21 見《大乘理趣六波羅蜜經》卷五：參《大正藏（8）》p.887.2-24~p.887.3-4

丘尼具足戒（upasampadā），也不是傳統佛教的比丘、比丘尼，是採取菩薩戒通於在家、出家的解釋。

3-3-2. 「大乘菩薩道」過渡期的僧律

大乘菩薩道度過初期的困境後，進入朝向穩定的過渡期（100~300 C.E.）。此一時期，由傳統佛教改信大乘菩薩道的學人漸多，既要強調「菩薩精神」的崇高，也勇於貶抑部派佛教的修行。此一時期，由大乘學派編集的大乘典籍，即將戒律分別為聲聞戒、菩薩戒，並特別讚揚「菩提心」的崇高與可貴。

例如：《大乘涅槃經》〈師子吼品〉（150~200 C.E.）提出：「從初發心乃至得成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，名為菩薩戒。若觀白骨乃至證得阿羅漢果，名為聲聞戒。若有受持聲聞戒者，當知是不見佛性及如來；若有受持菩薩戒者，當知是人得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提²²。」

22 見《大乘涅槃經》卷二十八〈師子吼品〉：參《大正藏（12）》p.529.1-29~p.529.3-4

3-3-3. 「大乘菩薩道」穩定期的僧律

公元後四世紀，大乘菩薩道已經發展約四百多年，大乘學派已趨於穩定，既需要建立自派僧團的戒律，也不再需要顧慮部派佛教的勢力。

當時有無著論師（梵 Asaṅga 310~390 C.E.）寫出《瑜伽師地論》，無著論師原是上座系化地部（巴利 Mahīṃsāsaka）僧人，後改信大乘學派。《瑜伽師地論（梵 Yogācāra-bhūmi Abhidhamma）》當中有〈菩薩地持品〉，提出菩薩行者的修行表現與規範，並廣受大乘菩薩行者的信受及讚嘆。〈菩薩地持品〉遂獨立發展為《菩薩地持經戒本》，此即是「大乘菩薩戒」的藍本，成為「大乘菩薩戒」的先河，並在日後發展出《瑜伽菩薩戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Vinaya）》。

大乘菩薩道傳授的「大乘菩薩戒」，不僅把四聖諦、解脫戒貶低為自利的小乘法及小乘戒，也提出「菩

薩與諸聲聞不應等學²³」、「菩薩不同學此戒²⁴」，甚至說：「一切別解脫律儀，於此菩薩律儀，百千分不及一²⁵」。「大乘菩薩戒」的內容，不僅將四聖諦、解脫戒與卜巫曆算等外道俗典同列，更教誡菩薩學眾不得修學、傳授，否則以犯戒論²⁶。

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- 23 見《菩薩戒本》（出《瑜伽師地論》〈本事分菩薩地〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1111.3-12~17

「若諸菩薩安住菩薩淨戒律儀，如薄伽梵於別解脫毘奈耶中，為令聲聞少事、少業、少希望住，建立遮罪，制諸聲聞令不造作，於中菩薩與諸聲聞不應等學。何以故？以諸聲聞自利為勝，不顧利他，於利他中少事、少業、少希望住，可名為妙。非諸菩薩利他為勝，不顧自利。」

- 24 見《菩薩戒本》（出《瑜伽師地論》〈菩薩地持品〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1108.1-3~12

「世尊！為聲聞建立者，菩薩不同學此戒。何以故？聲聞自度捨他，應住少利、少作、少方便，非菩薩自度度他。……如是等住少利、少作、少方便聲聞遮罪，菩薩不共學住。」

- 25 見《菩薩戒羯磨文》（出《瑜伽師地論》〈本事分菩薩地〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1105.3-17~23

「如是菩薩所受淨戒，於餘一切所受淨戒，最勝無上，無量無邊大功德藏之所隨逐，第一最上善心意樂之所發起，普能除滅於一切有情一切種惡行，一切別解脫律儀，於此菩薩律儀，百分不及一，千分不及一，數分、計分、算分、喻分，乃至鄔波尼殺曇分亦不及一，攝受一切大功德故。」

- 26 見《梵網經菩薩戒本疏》卷第五：參《大正藏（40）》p. 638.2-11~14
「背正向邪戒第八……菩薩理棄捨二乘，受持大乘真實之法，方名菩薩，而今乃棄大歸小失其正行，乖理之極，故須制也。」

見《梵網經菩薩戒本疏》卷第五：參《大正藏（40）》p.640.3-21~24
「法化違宗戒第十五……菩薩理應以菩薩乘授與眾生，令得究竟饒益，反以二乘小法，用以化人，違理違願，故須結戒。」

見《梵網經菩薩戒本疏》卷第五：參《大正藏（40）》p.645.2～p.645.3

公元四世紀以後的「大乘菩薩道」，是藉由「大乘菩薩戒」的創制，建立貶抑四聖諦、聲聞解脫律，並且完全脫離傳統部派佛教的「大乘僧團」。

「背正向邪戒第二十四……本為受行大乘名為菩薩，今若捨此，何大士之有？……此倒學有八種：一、邪見者。二、二乘者。……」

見《梵網經》〈菩薩心地戒品〉第十卷：參《新脩大正藏（22）》p.1105.3-6~8

「若佛子！心背大乘常住經律，言非佛說，而受持二乘聲聞、外道惡見，一切禁戒邪見經律者，犯輕垢罪。」

見《菩薩戒本》（出《瑜伽師地論》〈菩薩地持品〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1108.1-27 ~ p.1108.2-1

「若菩薩作如是見，如是說言：菩薩不應樂涅槃，應背涅槃，不應怖畏煩惱，不應一向厭離。何以故？菩薩應於三阿僧祇劫，久受生死求大菩提。作如是說者，是名為犯眾多犯。」

見《菩薩戒本》（出《瑜伽師地論》〈菩薩地持品〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1108.3-22~24

「若菩薩如是見，如是說言：菩薩不應聽聲聞經法，不應受、不應學。菩薩何用聲聞法為？是名為犯眾多犯，是犯染污起。」

「若菩薩於菩薩藏不作方便，棄捨不學，一向修習聲聞經法，是名為犯眾多犯，是犯非染污起。」—— p.1108.3-27~29

見《菩薩地持經》（戒本）卷第五：參《大正藏（30）》p.912.2-5~p.913.1

「菩薩欲學菩薩律義戒、攝善法戒、攝眾生戒者。……爾時智者，於佛像前敬禮十方世界諸菩薩眾，如是白言：「某甲菩薩！於我某甲前三說受菩薩戒」。……波羅提木叉戒，於此律儀戒，百分不及其一，百千萬分乃至極算數譬喻亦不及一，攝受一切諸功德故。」

見《菩薩地持經》（戒本）卷第五：參《大正藏（30）》p.915.2-21~27

「若菩薩如是見、如是說言：菩薩不應聽聲聞經法，不應受、不應學，菩薩何用聲聞法？為是名為犯眾多犯，是犯染污起。何以故？菩薩尚聽外道異論，況復佛語。不犯者，專學菩薩藏，未能周及。若菩薩於菩薩藏，不作方便，棄捨不學，一向修集聲聞經法，是名為犯眾多犯，是犯非染污起。」

3-3-4. 中國「大乘菩薩道」的大乘僧律

中國的大乘菩薩道，在梁武帝以前，是沿用印度的《瑜伽菩薩戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Vinaya）》。公元六世紀初期，梁武帝（502~549 C.E.）採用政教合一的宗教政策，敕令御用的「建康教團²⁷」依據《瑜伽菩薩戒本》為藍本，另編撰出《大乘梵網經（梵語：Mahā Brahmajāla Sūtra）》，這是不同於上座部佛教傳誦的《長部（巴利：Digha Nikaya）》〈梵網經（巴利：Brahmajalasutta）〉，《大乘梵網經》的下卷即是《大乘梵網經菩薩戒經（梵語：Mahā Brahmajāla Bodhisattva-śīla Vinaya）》。公元 519 年，梁武帝依據《梵網經菩薩戒經》受菩薩戒，並號稱是「皇帝菩薩²⁸」，自此決定了上座部佛教退出中國

27 見顏尚文著〈佛教的思想與文化〉：參《印順導師八秩晉六壽慶論文集》p.124-7~19

「梁武帝即位初年，即大力進行政治與佛教結合政策。梁武帝領導「建康教團」，經過天監年間（502~519）十八年的努力，進行弘佛、護法、翻譯、編纂、註解大量佛教典籍之政教結合工作。梁武帝的「建康教團」，在天監十八年四月八日武帝親受菩薩戒之時，為此一政教結合政策提出「皇帝菩薩」的核心理念（註3）。……武帝周圍「建康教團」成員的因素（註6），更有著魏晉南北朝長期政教關係之深遠背景等較大的因素。」

28 見顏尚文著〈梁武帝「皇帝菩薩」的理念及政策之形成基礎〉，參《師大歷史學報》第十七期，p.1~p.58。1978 年

佛教舞臺。

因此，自梁武帝以後，中國的大乘菩薩道捨去《瑜伽菩薩戒本》，另依據《大乘梵網經菩薩戒經》作為傳授大乘菩薩戒的根據。

3-4. 大乘菩薩道僧人的受戒

3-4-1. 三階段的受戒

大乘菩薩道的發展，經歷約四百年才發展出「菩薩戒」。在「菩薩戒」傳出之前，大乘出家人只有「成就一切智」的意願及持受「十善」，或是守持「傳統佛教的僧律」。

當「菩薩戒」創制以後，大乘學派的出家者，既要表彰大乘律戒的發展過程，又要表現「迴小向大」的大乘精神，遂建立三階段受戒的程序。三階段受戒的作法，第一階段是受聲聞沙彌、沙彌尼戒，第二階段是受比丘、比丘尼戒，第三階段是捨棄先前受持的比丘、比丘尼戒，唯有受持菩薩戒，又通稱為「三壇大戒」。

3-4-2. 採用上座部印度分支的解脫戒

中國大乘學派採用的比丘、比丘尼戒本，早期（250 C.E.）大多源自《摩訶僧祇律（梵 Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya）》，《摩訶僧祇律》是出自優波離傳承之毘舍離（巴利 Vesāli；英語 Vaishali）僧團的傳誦。公元 414 年後，中國南方的大乘學派²⁹採用說一切有部《十誦律（梵 Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya）》。

公元七世紀，唐朝•道宣律師（596~667 C.E.）提倡採用《四分律（梵 Dharmagupta-vinaya）》作為傳授比丘、比丘尼戒的律本。《四分律》是上座部佛教之印度分支的法藏部（巴 Dhammaguttika）的戒本，目前的南傳上座部佛教與法藏部是同屬於印度分別說部系統。

此外，西藏的大乘學派是採用《十誦律（梵 Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya）》作為傳授比丘、比丘尼戒的律本，《十誦律》是源自阿難傳承之摩偷羅（巴利 Madhurā；英語 Muttra）僧團的傳誦，流傳於北印迦濕彌羅（喀什米爾 Kashmir）。

29 見梁•慧皎《高僧傳（卷二）》〈卑摩羅叉四〉：參《大正藏（50）》p.333.2-20~p.333.3-14

3-4-3. 捨棄解脫戒的大乘律法

雖然大乘學派的三階段傳戒程序，第二階段是傳授比丘、比丘尼戒，此時的大乘學派出家人也自認是比丘、比丘尼，但最後是要捨棄比丘、比丘尼戒。大乘學派的第三階段傳戒，是傳授「菩薩戒」，漢系的大乘學派是採用《梵網經菩薩戒經（梵語：Brahmajāla Bodhisattva-śīla Sūtra）》為戒本，西藏系的大乘學派是採用印度的《瑜伽菩薩戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Vinaya）》。當受持「菩薩戒」時，必需棄捨比丘、比丘尼戒，唯受持菩薩戒。此外，西藏的密教，除了「菩薩戒」以外，另加授密教獨有的「三昧耶戒³⁰」。

大乘學派的出家人，是否定、棄捨四聖諦、解脫僧律的「菩薩僧」，不是守持比丘戒、比丘尼戒的僧人。

30 三昧耶戒，密教的戒律，又稱三摩耶戒、祕密三昧耶戒、佛性三昧耶戒、三昧耶佛戒，略稱為三戒。《無畏三藏禪要》提出十重戒為其戒相。

3-5. 大乘菩薩道不應介入上座部佛教

根據大乘學派的三階段授戒程序，以及採用的律本，可以得知：大乘學派傳授沙彌戒、沙彌尼戒、比丘戒、比丘尼戒，以及引導學生必需棄捨比丘戒、比丘尼戒，都是由棄捨「僧律」的菩薩僧主持。

「菩薩僧」的持戒原則，是依「菩薩戒」為宗旨，不是「僧律」。雖然大乘學派是依《四分律（梵 Dharmagupta-vinaya）》或《十誦律（梵 Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya）》傳授沙彌戒、沙彌尼戒、比丘戒、比丘尼戒，但是老師及學生皆不合上座部佛教的戒律。大乘學派傳授傳統僧戒的目的，是為了表彰大乘學派的發展過程，突顯「菩薩戒」勝過比丘戒、比丘尼戒，並建立獨立的大乘教團。

因此，上座部佛教傳授僧戒時，是不可以接受大乘學派僧人的參與。反之，大乘學派認定上座部佛教是小乘，傳授「菩薩戒」也不接受上座部佛教僧人參與。

因為上座部佛教缺乏比丘尼傳承，使大乘學派藉機會介入上座部佛教的比丘尼傳承，真正的目的是將大乘菩薩道傳入上座部佛教，不是恢復上座部佛教的比丘尼傳承。

在此之下，恢復上座部佛教的比丘尼傳承，不適合讓大乘學派參與或介入。

4. 上座部佛教的可貴

4-1. 上座部佛教僧團傳承的可貴

目前流傳於世界各地的佛教，分為上座部佛教、大乘菩薩道，大乘菩薩道又分為漢傳菩薩道、藏傳菩薩道。

大乘菩薩道傳承的教法、經典、戒律，皆不是出自釋迦佛陀的教導，大乘菩薩道的傳承，並非源自真正的釋迦佛陀教法，更貶抑、否定傳統佛教的四聖諦、解脫僧律。

上座部佛教信仰四聖諦、解脫僧律，源自阿育王時代的分別說部教法，糅雜了《奧義書》的本體論，以及沙門文化思想，有所不同於釋迦佛陀的教說。然而，上座部佛教保持佛教僧律的傳承不斷，至今已約有 2300 年。上座部佛教的僧律傳承，可貴性勝過大乘菩薩道。

4-2. 恢復比丘尼傳承的重要性與時代意義

4-2-1. 健全佛教的兩部僧團結構

人類有男性及女性，兩性的分工合作，適當的維護了人類社會的安定與進步。釋迦佛陀教導男性與女性，並建立比丘僧團、比丘尼僧團，使兩部僧團可以分工合作的教導社會，使佛教更加的完整、健全。

自十三世紀起，上座部佛教失去了比丘尼的傳承，這是女性學法者的遺憾、僧團的遺憾，也是上座部佛教的遺憾。恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承，既可以完整提供女性的出家機會，更可以健全上座部佛教僧團的制度與結構。

4-2-2. 避免大乘菩薩道的攻擊與介入

雖然大乘學派的出家者不是合格的比丘、比丘尼，但是大乘學派及不了解佛教僧戒的社會大眾，依然認為大乘學派具備比丘、比丘尼的傳承。

在此之下，上座部佛教缺乏比丘尼傳承的問題，必定受到大乘學派、一般社會大眾的質疑及攻訐，也

要面對上座部佛教女性的不滿，更使大乘學派趁機介入。

上座部佛教缺乏比丘尼傳承的問題，是上座部佛教發展的弱點。

4-2-3. 健全佛教兩部僧團，開展上座部佛教的新時代

上座部佛教的僧律傳承，是從 佛陀傳襲至今的可貴傳承。面對教育普及的現代社會，基督教、回教日漸強大的挑戰，以及佛教日漸式微的處境，恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承，健全上座部佛教的僧團，可以幫助上座部佛教更接近現代社會，並且朝向全世界發展。

信仰 釋迦佛陀的佛弟子，必需堅定的維護四聖諦、解脫戒，堅定護持上座部佛教僧團的傳承，這是維護 佛陀、佛法、僧團、律戒的必要條件。

目前迫切需要做的事之一，是恢復上座部佛教的比丘尼僧團傳承，使上座部佛教僧團可以健全發展。

5. 結論：堅定恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的道路

中國大陸、臺灣的上座部佛教僧團，是上座部佛教的新成員。中道僧團（Dhammatṭha Saṅgha）是以華人為主，源自上座部佛教僧團的律戒傳承，並發展於美國、馬來西亞、中國大陸及臺灣的華人社會。中道僧團需要面對大乘學派的挑戰，更需要在華人社會展現四聖諦佛教僧團的良善與健全，提昇四聖諦佛教的發展能力與社會功能。

中道僧團是堅定支持、恢復四聖諦佛教比丘尼傳承，並且堅持五項原則：

1. 在華人社會建立四聖諦佛教比丘尼僧團。
2. 尊崇斯里蘭卡的比丘僧團，建立誠信、緊密的合作關係。
3. 尊重上座部各國比丘僧團的決定，不涉入其他國家的佛教事務。
4. 避免大乘學派、男性主義、女性主義與基督文化的涉入。
5. 團結各方的上座部佛教比丘、比丘尼，促進彼此的交流與進步。

由於華人社會以大乘佛教為主，大多數的上座部比丘僧不支持恢復上座部比丘尼傳承，加上中道僧團不支持「年歲老邁、身心失衡、學習紊雜、貢高難調」的女性出家或受比丘尼戒，使得中道僧團受到眾多的惡意汙衊、毀謗、攻訐。雖然如此，中道比丘僧團依然堅定的推展原始佛教，支持恢復華人四聖諦佛教比丘尼傳承。

最後，我們相信上座部佛教比丘僧團的智慧、慈悲，祝福上座部佛教的比丘尼僧團。

【備註】 本文的中、英文發表，由隨佛長老以中文發表，正啟比丘協助、承擔現場英文口譯。

現代華人社會上座部比丘尼的困境與發展現況

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1. 引言

中華文化的主流是貶抑個人主義，重視大眾的利益。在中國文化的影響下，偏向「厭離五陰，個人解脫」的上座部佛教，不容易得到華人社會的支持。但是，強調「普世救贖」的大乘學派卻獲得流傳華人社會的機運，並且傳承、發展了近二千年。

兩千年來，雖然大乘學派用「小乘」詆毀上座部佛教，使上座部佛教受到巨大的誤解。但是，二十世紀起，現代的學術考證相當發達，華人佛教圈的知識份子已知「大乘教法不是源自 釋迦佛陀」，因而改學上座部佛教的華人佛弟子是愈來愈多。

可是，近十年來，華人社會的上座部佛教發展速度已經減慢，甚至有些改學南傳上座部佛教的原大乘學人，又再恢復大乘信仰。如此可見，上座部佛教發展於華人社會的主要困難是既要妥善處理來自大乘學派的挑戰，也要跨越「厭離五陰，個人解脫」與「普世就贖」的文化差異，更需要針對現代的華人社會施予有利的幫助。

華人上座部佛教僧團的發展，既需要斯里蘭卡、緬甸、泰國的上座部佛教僧團給予支持，更需要已經

習慣大乘僧團的華人社會予以接納。在此之下，處理大乘學派的挑戰，並傳教於華人社會，是華人上座部比丘尼的存在與發展的重要方法。

本文的內容，是透過上座部佛教傳入華人社會的歷史過程，探討上座部佛教的發展困境與主要問題。其次，根據近代上座部佛教發展於華人社會的現況，說明上座部佛教發展於現代華人社會的作法。

2. 佛教傳入漢地

2-1. 中國的主流文化—孔子、老子

公元前 770~403 年，是中國的春秋時代，也是儒家、道家建立學說的時代。

儒家（Confucianism）的創立者是孔子（Confucius, 551~479 B.C.E.），也是中國歷史上最重要的思想家、教育家，儒家是影響中國文化、教育、家庭、政治最為巨大的學派。孔子的思想核心是「仁」與「禮」，「仁」是愛護生命，「禮」是身份的倫理及秩序；孔子的教育基礎是「修身、齊家」；孔子的教育理想是「治國、平天下」。簡單的說，孔子的目標是「健全自我，利樂世界」，是務實的理想主義。

道家（Taoism）的創立者是老子（Laozi, 580~480 B.C.E.），也是中國的重要哲學家。老子著作的《道德經（Tao Te Ching）》主張「道乃本有，無處不成」¹的本體論（英語：Ontology），又提倡「道法自然，無為而為」²的生活哲理。老子的思想，是中國流傳最廣的形上學說（英語：Metaphysics），影響中國的文化、教育、政治是相當深遠。

2-2. 王權與主流文化

公元前 770~221 年，中國經歷約 550 年的分裂、戰亂後，由秦始皇（Emperor Qin Shihuang）統一了中國，建立了中國第一個中央集權的政府——秦朝（Qin Dynasty, 221~207 B.C.E.），並成為中國第一位皇帝。

秦朝因為過度的壓迫人民，不久隨即滅亡，接續秦朝之後建立的政權是漢朝（Han Dynasty, 202~220 B.C.E.）。中國社會經過數百年的動盪後，人民需要安

1 見《道德經·一章》：「道可道，非常道；名可名，非常名。無，名天地之始；有，名萬物之母。故常無，欲以觀其妙；常有，欲以觀其微。此兩者，同出而異名，同謂之玄。玄之又玄，為妙之門。」

2 見《道德經·二十五章》：「人法地，地法天，天法道，道法自然。」
見《道德經·三十七章》：「道常無為，而無不為。」

穩的生活。因此，漢朝建國初期（180~141 B.C.E.）的兩位皇帝，治國方法即採用老子的「無為」，政府盡量不干擾人民，目的是讓人民休養生息、培植國力。

漢朝武帝時代（Emperor Wu of Han Dynasty, 141~87 B.C.E.）為了使國家更加進步，接受董仲舒的政策，治國改採用「孔子思想為主、其他學說為輔³」的策略。此後，儒家也轉變為儒教。由漢武帝起，「推崇孔子思想、重用孔子門徒」即是中國歷代王朝的統治方針，孔子的地位是崇高、堅固且不可動搖。

公元 126~140 年，張道陵（34~156 C.E.）神格化老子為太上老君，奉老子的思想為修仙的依據。老子原是思想家，經由漢朝皇帝推崇為聖人後，張道陵再神化老子為神。張道陵揉雜老子、黃帝、陰陽家、神仙崇拜、鬼神祭祀，日後逐漸發展為道教。老子是思想家、聖人，也是神，更是道教的信仰中心。

在中國的歷史，漢朝是第一個統治最久的中央集權政府。由於漢朝皇帝推崇老子、孔子，特別是實行「孔子為主」的統治方針，並且成為後世歷代王朝的治國原則，遂促成老子、孔子成為中國文化的主流。

3 見《漢書·董仲舒傳》：「自武帝初立……推明孔氏，抑黜百家……皆自仲舒發之。」

3. 僧律流傳的發展

3-1. 傳統佛教僧律、僧團的流傳

公元 250~424 年，印度傳統佛教四大部派傳誦的戒律皆已譯出，並傳入中國。但是，中國佛教尚無有符合僧律依兩部僧團受戒的合格比丘尼。

公元 433 年，師子國（今斯里蘭卡）上座部僧團比丘尼鐵薩羅⁴（巴 Devasara 或 Tisaraṇa）等 11 比丘

4 見宋·釋寶唱撰《比丘尼傳（卷二）》〈廣陵僧果尼傳十四〉：參《大正藏（50）》p.939.3-12~24

「元嘉六年，有外國舶主難提，從師子國載比丘尼來，至宋都住景福寺。後少時，（師子國尼）問果曰：此國先來已，曾有外國尼未？（果）答曰：未有。（師子國尼）又問：先諸尼受戒，那得二僧？（果）答：但從大僧受。得本事者，乃是發起受戒，人心令生殷重是方便耳！故如大愛道八敬得戒，五百釋女以愛道為和上，此其高例。果雖答然，心有疑。（果）具諮（求那跋摩）三藏，三藏同其解也！（果）又諮曰：重受得不。（求那跋摩）答曰：戒定慧品從微至著，更受益佳。到十年（433），舶主難提復將師子國鐵薩羅等十一尼至，先達諸尼已通宋語，請僧伽跋摩於南林寺壇界，次第重受三百餘人。」

見宋·釋寶唱撰《比丘尼傳（卷二）》〈普賢寺寶賢尼傳二十一〉：參《大正藏（50）》p.939.3-16~22

「初晉興平中淨檢尼，是比丘尼之始也。初受具戒，指從大僧。影福寺惠果淨音等，以諮求那跋摩。求那跋摩云：國土無二眾，但從大僧受得具戒。惠果等後遇外國鐵薩羅尼等至，以元嘉十一年，從僧伽跋摩於南林寺壇重受具戒。非謂先受不得，謂是增長戒善耳。」

見宋·釋寶唱撰《比丘尼傳（卷一）》〈淨檢尼傳一〉：參《大正藏（50）》p.934.3-22~27

尼來到建康（今南京）。公元 434 年，依譯經師僧伽跋摩⁵（梵 Saṃghavarman）、鐵薩羅（巴 Devasara）為師，具足十位合格尼僧，傳比丘尼戒，約三百多人受具足戒。自此，印度傳統佛教已在中國依照戒律建立兩部僧團傳承。

3-2. 大乘學派戒律、僧團的流傳

「晉咸康中，沙門僧建，於月支國得僧祇尼羯磨及戒本。升平元年（357）二月八日，洛陽請外國沙門曇摩羯多為立戒壇。晉沙門釋道場，以戒因緣經為難云：其法不成。因浮舟于泗，檢等四人同壇上從大僧以受具戒，晉土有比丘尼亦檢為始也。」

【說明】：劉宋•元嘉六年（429），有師子國（今斯里蘭卡）比丘尼八人至宋京（今南京）。當時景福寺尼慧果、淨音等以先所受戒不如法，戒品不全；適闍賓沙門求那跋摩經南海至宋，於南林寺建立戒壇，因請求重受。求那跋摩引證佛姨母波闍波提最初為尼因緣，謂戒本本從大僧而發，雖無僧尼二眾，無妨比丘尼的得戒。又以當時師子國八尼年臘未登，不滿十人，且令學宋語；求那跋摩另托西域船主難提於元嘉十年（433）復載師子國比丘尼鐵薩羅等十一人至，而先來諸尼已通達宋語。但這時求那跋摩已經去世，恰巧同年僧伽跋摩到達宋京，慧果尼等始在二眾俱備的形式下，於元嘉十一年（434）在南林寺戒壇，重受具足戒。這時次第受尼戒者達三百餘人。

- 5 見梁•慧皎《高僧傳（卷三）》〈僧伽跋摩八〉：參《大正藏（50）》p.342.2-11~23

「僧伽跋摩……元嘉十年（433），出自流沙至于京邑。……初三藏法師明於戒品，將為影福寺尼慧果等重受具戒。是時，二眾未備，而（求那跋摩）三藏遷化。俄而師子國比丘尼鐵薩羅等至都，眾乃共請僧伽為師繼軌三藏。」

公元 421~431 年，印度大乘學派的「菩薩戒」已經譯出，並且依「菩薩戒」建立了中國的大乘僧團，發展於中國南、北方。

4. 譯經引起的新發展

4-1. 傳統佛教經典的發展與流傳

公元 443 年，印度傳統佛教已在中國建立兩部僧團傳承，並且翻譯出印度傳統佛教四大部經典，代表印度傳統佛教在中國已進入全面傳教的階段。

4-2. 大乘學派經典的發展與流傳

公元 443 年，印度大乘學派已先在中國建立大乘僧團傳承，更翻譯出印度大乘學派的主要經、論，代表大乘學派傳教在中國已進入全面傳教的階段。

5. 中國傳統佛教與大乘學派的轉折點

5-1. 分辨佛教思想與孔、老思想的分合

中國文化的主流，是確立自漢朝的治國方法。漢朝創建初期，面對經歷 570 年（770~202 B.C.E.）動亂的社會，賦予人民「休生養息」是重要國策，老子思想成為治國的指導依據。漢武帝時代起，穩固皇權、法治強國是治國的根本國策，尊崇孔子、重用孔子學生是治國根本策略，並成為後世王朝的治國依據。漢朝以後的中國文化主流，即是孔子、老子的思想。

孔子的思想基礎是血緣倫理，重視現實人生，反對虛玄，強調「仁恕愛民，世界大同」。

上座部佛教，強調「厭離世間」卻輕忽現實人生，重視「解脫」而不高談救度一切，這與孔子思想有著根本性的差異。

大乘學派的《般若經》（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）說「空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya），不可得」，或是《華嚴經》（梵 Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsa-ka Sūtra）的「真如（梵 Tathatā）」，《妙法蓮華經》（梵 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra）》、《大般涅槃

槃經（Mahāparinivana Sūtra）》的「佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）」，同樣也是不務實際，不受孔子學說的認同。但是，大乘學派強調「普渡眾生」的理想目標，是契合孔子的「仁恕愛民，世界大同」。

老子主張「道乃本有，無處不成」的本體論（英語：Ontology），又提倡「道法自然，無為而為」的生活哲理。

上座部佛教強調「無我（巴利語：Anattā）」，大乘《般若經（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》、中觀（梵語 Madhyamikā）的「空（梵 Vabhāva-śūnya）」，不可得」，皆是反對老子的本體論（英語：Ontology）。

大乘《華嚴經（梵 Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra）》的「真如（梵 Tathatā）」，《妙法蓮華經（梵 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra）》、《大般涅槃經（Mahāparinivana Sūtra）》的「佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）」，是「永恆、安樂、獨存、清淨」與「無常（巴利語：anicca，梵文：anitya）」的合一，是完全合乎老子的本體論（英語：Ontology）。

5-2. 五世紀中葉的中國傳統佛教與大乘學派

5-2-1. 傳統佛教與大乘學派

公元 443 年，印度傳統佛教的四部經典及四大部派的僧律，皆已翻譯完成。公元 420 年，《摩訶僧祇律（梵 Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya）》、《十誦律（梵 Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya）》也流傳於中國的南、北方，並建立兩部僧團。

公元 443 年，大乘學派提倡「空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）」、中觀（梵語 Madhyamikā）、「真如（梵 Tathatā），佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu），如來藏（梵 Tathāgatagarbha）」與淨土信仰的重要經典，大多皆有譯出。此外，大乘學派的「菩薩戒」已經流傳南、北方，也已建立了菩薩僧團。

公元四世紀末、五世紀初，鳩摩羅什的時代，大乘《般若經（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》、中觀（梵語 Madhyamikā）盛行於中國北方，壓制了上座說一切有部的發展。

中國的魏、晉時代（220~420 C.E.），社會盛行老子、莊子的形上學、本體論。大乘《妙法蓮華經》、

《華嚴經》、《楞伽經》、《大般涅槃經》提倡「真如，佛性，如來藏」，暗合於老子的思想。大乘《阿彌陀經》的淨土信仰，可以滿足亂世下人心尋求寄托的需求。大乘學派的「普世救贖」理想，隱合孔子的「仁恕愛民，世界大同」。大乘學派的教說體系眾多，可從多方面促進大乘學派融入中國文化、社會。

反之，印度傳統佛教提倡「無我」，不合老子的本體論思想；印度傳統佛教提倡「五陰是苦，厭離世間」，不合孔子的「仁恕愛民，世界大同」。除此以外，大乘學派宣揚傳統佛教是「小乘」，嚴重障礙傳統佛教的發展。

5-2-2. 《大般涅槃經》的影響

《大般涅槃經》的流傳，既是推展大乘「真如，佛性」的學說，也促進大乘「真如，佛性」思想與老子、莊子的「道」發生進一步融合，助成大乘學派融入中國主流文化。

此時，由於印度傳統佛教完全無法融合老子、莊子的思想，又不合孔子的處世思想，日益退出中國的歷史舞臺。

5-3. 獨尊大乘的佛教政策

公元四世紀前，印度只有傳統佛教的僧戒，大乘學派無有自派的律戒。公元四世紀末，犍陀羅（Gandhara）地區有無著論師（梵 Asanga，310~390 C.E.），原是上座系化地部（巴利 Mahīṃsāsaka）僧人，後改信大乘學派，並且寫出《瑜伽師地論（梵 Yogācāra-bhūmi）》。

《瑜伽師地論》提出「真如（梵 Tathatā）」的思想，並且提出菩薩的表現與規範，大乘學派遂依據此論發展出《瑜伽菩薩戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla）》。此後，大乘學派有了自派的「菩薩戒」，開始建立傳統佛教之外的大乘僧團。

大乘菩薩道傳授的「大乘菩薩戒」，不僅把四聖諦、解脫戒貶低為自利的小乘法及小乘戒，也提出「菩薩與諸聲聞不應等學⁶」、「菩薩不同學此戒⁷」，甚至

6 見《菩薩戒本》（出《瑜伽論》〈本事分菩薩地〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1111.3-12~17

「若諸菩薩安住菩薩淨戒律儀，如薄伽梵於別解脫毘奈耶中，為令聲聞少事、少業、少希望住，建立遮罪，制諸聲聞令不造作，於中菩薩與諸聲聞不應等學。何以故？以諸聲聞自利為勝，不顧利他，於利他中少事、少業、少希望住，可名為妙。非諸菩薩利他為勝，不顧自利。」

7 見《菩薩戒本》（出《瑜伽師地論》〈菩薩地持品〉）：參《大正藏（24）》

說：「一切別解脫律儀，於此菩薩律儀，百千分不及一⁸」。「大乘菩薩戒」的內容，不僅將四聖諦、解脫戒與卜巫曆算等外道俗典同列，更教誡菩薩學眾不得修學、傳授，否則以犯戒論⁹。

p.1108.1-3~12

「世尊！為聲聞建立者，菩薩不同學此戒。何以故？聲聞自度捨他，應住少利、少作、少方便，非菩薩自度度他。……如是等住少利、少作、少方便聲聞遮罪，菩薩不共學住。」

- 8 見《菩薩戒羯摩文》（出《瑜伽論》〈本事分菩薩地〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1105.3-17~23

「如是菩薩所受淨戒，於餘一切所受淨戒，最勝無上，無量無邊大功德藏之所隨逐，第一最上善心意樂之所發起，普能除滅於一切有情一切種惡行，一切別解脫律儀，於此菩薩律儀，百分不及一，千分不及一，數分、計分、算分、喻分，乃至鄔波尼殺曇分亦不及一，攝受一切大功德故。」

- 9 見《梵網經菩薩戒本疏》卷第五：參《大正藏（40）》p. 638.2-11~14

「背正向邪戒第八……菩薩理棄捨二乘，受持大乘真實之法，方名菩薩，而今乃棄大歸小失其正行，乖理之極，故須制也。」

見《梵網經菩薩戒本疏》卷第五：參《大正藏（40）》p.640.3-21~24

「法化違宗戒第十五……菩薩理應以菩薩乘授與眾生，令得究竟饒益，反以二乘小法，用以化人，違理違願，故須結戒。」

見《梵網經菩薩戒本疏》卷第五：參《大正藏（40）》p.645.2 ~ p.645.3

「背正向邪戒第二十四……本為受行大乘名為菩薩，今若捨此，何大士之有？……此倒學有八種：一、邪見者。二、二乘者。……」

見《梵網經》〈菩薩心地戒品〉第十卷：參《新脩大正藏（22）》p. 1105.3-6~8

「若佛子！心背大乘常住經律，言非佛說，而受持二乘聲聞、外道惡見，一切禁戒邪見經律者，犯輕垢罪。」

見《菩薩戒本》（出《瑜伽師地論》〈菩薩地持品〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1108.1-27 ~ p.1108.2-1

「若菩薩作如是見，如是說言：菩薩不應樂涅槃，應背涅槃，不應怖畏煩惱，

公元四世紀以後的「大乘菩薩道」，藉由「大乘菩薩戒」的創制，建立貶抑四聖諦、聲聞解脫律，並且完全脫離傳統佛教的「大乘僧團」。

公元 502 年，梁武帝（502~549 C.E.）蕭衍取得南方的政權，並且採用政教合一的宗教政策。公元 502~519 年，梁武帝敕令御用的「建康教團¹⁰」依

不應一向厭離。何以故？菩薩應於三阿僧祇劫，久受生死求大菩提。作如是說者，是名為犯眾多犯。」

見《菩薩戒本》（出《瑜伽師地論》〈菩薩地持品〉）：參《大正藏（24）》p.1108.3-22~24

「若菩薩如是見，如是說言：菩薩不應聽聲聞經法，不應受、不應學。菩薩何用聲聞法為？是名為犯眾多犯，是犯染污起。」

「若菩薩於菩薩藏不作方便，棄捨不學，一向修習聲聞經法，是名為犯眾多犯，是犯非染污起。」—— p.1108.3-27~29

見《菩薩地持經》（戒本）卷第五：參《大正藏（30）》p.912.2-5~p.913.1

「菩薩欲學菩薩律義戒、攝善法戒、攝眾生戒者。……爾時智者，於佛像前敬禮十方世界諸菩薩眾，如是白言：「某甲菩薩！於我某甲前三說受菩薩戒」。……波羅提木叉戒，於此律儀戒，百分不及其一，百千萬分乃至極算數譬喻亦不及一，攝受一切諸功德故。」

見《菩薩地持經》（戒本）卷第五：參《大正藏（30）》p.915.2-21~27

「若菩薩如是見、如是說言：菩薩不應聽聲聞經法，不應受、不應學，菩薩何用聲聞法？為是名為犯眾多犯，是犯染污起。何以故？菩薩尚聽外道異論，況復佛語。不犯者，專學菩薩藏，未能周及。若菩薩於菩薩藏，不作方便，棄捨不學，一向修集聲聞經法，是名為犯眾多犯，是犯非染污起。」

10 見顏尚文著〈佛教的思想與文化〉：參《印順導師八秩晉六壽慶論文集》p.124-7~19

「梁武帝即位初年，即大力進行政治與佛教結合政策。梁武帝領導「建康教團」，經過天監年間（502~519）十八年的努力，進行弘佛、護法、翻譯、編纂、註解大量佛教典籍之政教結合工作。梁武帝的「建康教團」，在天監

據《瑜伽菩薩戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla）》為藍本，另外編撰出大乘《梵網經（梵語：Brahmajāla Sūtra）》，這是不同於上座部佛教傳誦的《長部（巴利：Dīgha Nikaya）》〈梵網經（巴利：Brahmajālasutta）〉。大乘《梵網經（梵語：Brahmajāla Sūtra）》的下卷即是《梵網經菩薩戒經（梵語：Brahmajāla Bodhisattva śīla）》。

公元 519 年，梁武帝依據《梵網經菩薩戒經（梵語：Brahmajāla Bodhisattva śīla）》受菩薩戒，並號稱是「皇帝菩薩¹¹」，敕令：僧尼不入市托鉢，不得食肉。梁武帝居位 48 年，不僅推崇大乘學派，自居是大乘學派的領袖，又壓迫印度傳統佛教，障礙傳統佛教、僧團的發展。

公元 502~549 年，大乘學派已經確立是中國佛教的主流，傳統佛教是旁流。

十八年四月八日武帝親受菩薩戒之時，為這一政教結合政策提出「皇帝菩薩」的核心理念（註 3）。……武帝周圍「建康教團」成員的因素（註 6），更有著魏晉南北朝長期政教關係之深遠背景等較大的因素。」

- 11 見顏尚文著〈梁武帝「皇帝菩薩」的理念及政策之形成基礎〉：參《師大歷史學報》第十七期 p.1~p.58, 1978 年

5-4. 大乘學派的新詮法與影響

南、北朝時代（421~589 C.E.），中國佛教延續魏晉時期融攝老、莊思想的發展，逐漸形成「會通空有」的趨勢。大乘「佛性」與老子、莊子思想逐漸的融合，大乘「佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）」與《般若經（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》、中觀（梵語 Madhyamikā）的「空（無自性 Vabhāva-sūnya）」也逐漸的融合，最終產生了「融貫空有」的「新詮法」。中國佛教完整提出「融貫空有」之「新詮法」的第一人，是號稱天台智者的智顗。

智顗¹²（538~597 C.E.）生於梁武帝時代（502~549 C.E.），死於隋文帝時代（581~604 C.E.）。智顗依據龍樹《中論（梵 Mūla-Madhyamaka-kārikā）》的「空（無自性 vabhāva-sūnya）、假名、中道」與《法華經》的「佛性」相互融通，自成一家的提出「融貫空有，依有說空，說空實有」的「新詮法¹³」。

12 見唐•道宣撰《續高僧傳（卷十七）》〈釋智顗傳三〉：參《大正藏（50）》p.564.1-18~p.568.1-14

13 見《摩訶止觀》卷五（上）：參《大正藏（46）》p. 55.2-13 ~19
「若一法一切法，即是因緣所生法，是為假名，假觀也；若一切法即一法，

智顗的「新詮法」，是推崇、認可「佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）」，不是大乘學派原有的「空（無自性 vabhāva-sūnya）、假名、中道」。智顗針對印度佛教提出四階段傳法的解釋，特別把印度傳統佛教判定是「小乘」，自稱《法華經》是佛陀最後宣說的最圓滿佛法。

5-5. 印度大乘學派的老莊化

智顗創說的「新詮法」，促使大乘學派的「空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）」消融入「佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）」，如來藏（梵 Tathāgatagarbha）」的「有（梵 bhāva，巴利 bhava）」，在「新詮法」的解說下，中國大乘學派的「空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）」已經消失，「新詮法」的任何教說實際皆是宣傳「有（梵 bhāva，

我說即是空，空觀也；若非一非一切者，即是中道觀。一空一切空，無假、中而不空，總空觀也；一假一切假，無空、中而不假，總假觀也；一中一切中，無空、假而不中，總中觀也。即中論所說，不可思議一心三觀。」

【作者】：公元 594 年，智顗宣講《摩訶止觀（巴利 Mahā Samattha Vipassanā bhāvanā）》，根據《般若經（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》的「空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）」為根本，龍樹《中論（梵 MūlaMadhyamakakārikā）》的「空（無自性）、假名、中道」為次第，《法華經》的「佛性」為究竟，提出「一心三觀——空觀、假觀、中觀」的大乘止觀法門，又分為「次第三觀」及「圓頓三觀」。公元 593 年，智顗宣講《法華玄義》註解《法華經》。

巴利 bhava) 」。

智顗的「新詮法」，不僅是「融貫空有」而已，也是推平大乘學派內部的思想爭端，更是打通大乘學派朝向老莊思想發展的道路。智顗的「新詮法」，最終是使印度大乘學派思想徹底的老莊化，由內質變成另一種思想的大乘。

公元 594 年，智顗的「新詮法」開啟印度大乘學派的老莊化，使大乘學派徹底的融入中國文化。同此，在中國文化、社會格局下，智顗的「新詮法」使印度傳統佛教完全無法再與中國大乘學派競爭，印度傳統佛教退出中國歷史舞臺已成定局。

5-6. 唐朝神化老子的影響

公元 618 年，李淵建立了唐朝，當時漢民族對李淵家族具有遊牧民族血統¹⁴ 是很有顧慮。唐朝皇帝為了

14 唐高祖李淵出生於山西，有著漢人與胡人混合血統的權貴之家。陝西省歷史博物館歷史學者張銘治教授的研究，原山東太行山地區有五大望族姓氏——王、盧、崔、李、鄭，其中李姓又是鮮卑族中的一大姓氏。

根據可考證的歷史資料證明，唐太宗李世民的祖母、即唐高宗李淵的母親，獨孤氏，是隋文帝王后的姐妹，是鮮卑人，並非漢族。唐太宗李世民的母親竇氏（即紇豆陵氏），也是鮮卑族，還有所娶的妻子長孫氏，都出於北方少數民族。根據唐太宗李世民的墓葬內有六匹戰馬的石雕，世稱「昭陵六駿」，

避免漢族的優越感危及唐帝國的穩定，遂推崇漢民族聖人的「老子（李耳）」為祖先¹⁵，並經歷數代的冊封，最後推崇「老子（李耳）」是統治天界的大帝¹⁶。

在唐朝皇帝的政治性需要下，老子的地位如同皇帝般不可動搖，任何挑戰老子的學說、宗教，即是反抗唐帝國、皇帝的敵人。

印度傳統佛教的四部經典提倡「無我（巴利 Anatta）」，大乘學派的《般若經（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》、中觀（梵語 Madhyamikā）提倡「空（梵 Vabhāva-śūnya）」，兩者皆是堅定反對「有（梵

具有突厥人「與馬共葬」的墓風俗習慣。史學界對於李淵家族的血統，有以下幾種說法：賜姓大野部，河南破落北魏鮮卑貴族李姓，老子李耳的後代等。

- 15 《史記·老子傳》：「老子者，楚苦縣厲鄉曲仁里人也。姓李氏，名耳，字聃，周守藏室之史也」。中國古籍對老子的記載不甚清楚，傳說老子後西出函關，被函關令尹喜稽留，因而留下五千言的《道德經》，倒騎青牛出關西去，不知所終。函關以西自古被視為漢民族以外民族的地域，一向被視為「胡人」的所在。李淵之母獨孤氏非漢族，妻竇氏（即紇豆陵氏）是鮮卑族，李世民妻長孫氏，為北地少數民族，家族有非漢族血統，難免被漢民族視為「胡」。由於道家聖人老子李耳，傳說西出函關去於「胡」地，又是姓李，自然被李淵家族追崇為祖，以釋漢族的疑慮及排斥。

- 16 見《舊唐書·高宗紀下》；《禮儀志四》

西元 618 年，唐朝奉李耳為始祖；玄元皇帝；公元 666 年，追奉封號：太上玄元皇帝；公元 743 年，加奉尊號：大聖祖，太上玄元皇帝；公元 749 年，加尊號為：聖祖大道玄元皇帝；公元 754 年，再上尊號稱：大聖祖、高上大廣道金闕玄元天皇帝。

Bhāva，巴利 Bhava）」，也是反對老子、唐帝國的宗教學說。

反之，智顗的「新詮法」，不僅是「融空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）入有（梵 Bhāva，巴利 Bhava）」的打開佛教朝向老子思想發展的道路，有利尊崇老子的地位，更是引導佛教認同老子、支持唐帝國及皇帝的重要學說。

大乘學派提倡《妙法蓮華經（梵 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra）》的「佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）」、《華嚴經（梵 Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra）》的「真如（梵 Tathatā）」、《楞伽經（梵 Lankāvatāra-sūtra）》、《大般涅槃經（Mahāparinivāna Sūtra）》的「佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）」，皆是契合老子、支持皇帝的宗教思想。

禪宗弘忍的弟子神秀（606~706 C.E.），受到唐朝武后、中宗、睿宗、玄宗尊崇，被拜為國師。

老子的地位與唐帝國的穩定發展，兩者是緊密的結合一起。任何挑戰或反對老子思想的學說與宗教信仰，皆不受唐帝國的認許。

公元 518~618 年，梁武帝決定了大乘學派在中國佛教的主導地位，智顗的「新詮法」既統一大乘學說的

爭論，也決定了大乘學派融入中國主流文化。最後，唐帝王的尊崇、神化老子，使老莊化的大乘學派取得中國佛教的穩固地位。

因為不合中國文化主流，又受到大乘學派的排擠，印度傳統佛教徹底退出中國佛教的舞臺。此後，傳統佛教的經典、僧律、僧團已不再流傳於中國社會。

6. 中國佛教的徹底質變

公元 842~846 年，皇帝為了充實國家的經濟，遂藉道教與佛教的鬥爭，推行滅佛政策。大量的寺院遭受破壞，大量的僧尼被逼還俗，佛教的人才產生斷層，隋代、唐中期的佛教盛況大減。往後，唐朝凋敝不振，唐滅後又是政權不穩的長期戰亂。

亂世的人心需要，一是逃避現實，二是安穩的寄托，可以符合這一社會需求的老莊思想、禪宗、淨土信仰得到發展的空間。

公元九世紀以後，中國佛教的主流與代表是禪宗、淨土信仰。公元 1960 年以前，中國的大乘學派僅存外表，人才極度缺乏，佛教的事務主要是慈善、供養及宗教服務，禪修剩下靜坐，念佛表現在信仰活動，宣教大多是勸信、勸善及讀念古文。大乘學派接近滅亡！

7. 現代華人社會、實況與需要

7-1. 現代華人社會與實況

西方社會的進步基礎是教育、制度、經濟，西方教育的主軸是寫實、科學、人文，這三大項是源自 14~17 世紀的文藝復興運動（意大利語：Rinascimento；The Renaissance）。寫實、科學、人文的教育為基礎，進一步發展出社會制度、生產技術，乃至醫學、藝術、宗教……，這是西方社會可以穩定、積極、富裕、和諧的根本因素，並且引領世界發展長達三百年。

第二次世界大戰結束後，華人開始學習西方的經驗，建設現代化的社會與國家。華人依據寫實、科學、人文的準則，推行普及的國民教育、高等教育，培養現代化的高級人才，逐步建立更為良好的社會制度，提昇科技水平、生產技術以發展經濟規模。

自 1950~2018 年，世界各地的華人社會是普遍進步了，但是華人的傳統文化尚未轉型，無法契合現代社會的需要。目前華人社會的文化、信仰、倫理、價值，依舊是傳統的孔子、老子、大乘佛教為主幹。

老子、大乘佛教是抽象的形上學、本體論，完全不

合現代文明三要素的寫實、科學、人文，而孔子的倫理思想是不合乎現代社會多重、多變的利害關係。孔子、老子、大乘佛教的文化教育，是使當代華人變成三百年前的華人，必定陷入傳統文化與現代社會的夾縫，很難適應現代的社會生活。

7-2. 現代華人社會的需要

現代社會是全球化的時代，世人為了追求更優質、穩定的生活，國際間的競爭、合作、團結是不會停止，而務實、科學、人文的思想與積極的生活態度，是現代文明社會的必要基礎。

孔子、老子的思想是流傳兩千多年的中華文化，不可能發生根本性的改變。中國佛教是大乘學派的系統，也是老莊化、形上化、本體論的大乘學派，既不是印度的大乘學派思想，更是脫離 釋迦佛陀思想的不同學派。在現代世界的需要及前進方向下，不合實際的「老莊化佛教」，如果不改變思想及作法，勢必要走向被世界淘汰的結局。

根據 釋迦佛陀教導的十二因緣、四聖諦，可以確定 佛陀的思想主軸，正是寫實、科學、人文與積極的生活態度，完全契合現代的世界文化主流，既符合現代

社會的需要，又可促進佛教的世界化。

如此可知，釋迦佛陀教導的十二因緣、四聖諦，完全符合現代華人社會的需求。在現代化的華人社會裏，不僅中國佛教必需改變，正統佛教也必需傳入華人社會。

8. 華人社會上座部佛教發展現況

8-1. 佛教的再認識

公元 1980 年起，臺灣佛教學術界已經確定「大乘學派經典不是出自佛陀」，並且研究主要是出自大乘學派的印順長老。自此，臺灣佛教界的大乘門徒開始探尋真實的佛法，探究信仰、學習上座部佛教的日漸增多。

公元 1990 年起，上座部佛教的律、經、論三藏（巴利語：Tipiṭaka）被翻譯成中文，開啟華人正確學習上座部佛教的大門。經由接觸斯里蘭卡、泰國、緬甸的佛教及僧團，上座部佛教的文化、風俗已經引起華人的注意與了解。

8-2. 華人社會上座部佛教的發展

公元 1985~1995 年，馬來西亞、臺灣的華人佛教徒，接觸的上座部佛教是以泰國佛教為主。譬如：阿姜查波提央（Ajahn Chah Subhaddo）、佛使比丘（Bhikkhu Buddhadasa）。公元 1990~2010 年，許多人前往泰國修行、出家，也有許多泰國比丘前來臺灣發展。

由於泰國上座部佛教較重視「苦行、持戒、禪修」，禪修強調實際的經驗，不重視配合經藏、論藏，造成重視有根據的華人佛教徒逐漸改學緬甸佛教。

公元 1990~1995 年，緬甸葛印卡（Satya Narayan Goenka, 1924~2013）、帕奧禪師（Pha Auk Sayadaw, 1934~）、馬哈希尊者（Mahasi Sayadaw, 1904~1982）的系統皆開始在臺灣傳法。由於緬甸上座部佛教特別強調論藏高於一切，禪修重視必需配合論藏，喜歡研究佛法的華人，遂以學習緬甸佛教為主。公元 1995~2010 年，緬甸上座部佛教傳往馬來西亞、中國大陸、臺灣的佛教圈。

相對於泰國、緬甸的上座部佛教，斯里蘭卡距離馬來西亞、中國大陸、臺灣是更遠，前來的斯里蘭卡僧人不多，文化交流勝過傳法、禪修，一直不是華人學習的焦點。

8-3. 華人社會上座部佛教的現況

1. 團體及人數：

除了中國雲南西雙版納以外，目前馬來西亞、中國大陸、臺灣的華人上座部佛教團體還不多，出自緬甸系的團體與僧人最多，出自泰國系則次多，而源自斯里蘭卡系的佛教團體與人數為最少。

2. 比丘僧團：

華人的緬甸系僧人、泰國系僧人，多數是分散各地，各自安住、修行，很少有長期性的合作。馬來西亞、臺灣各有一處專學緬甸帕奧禪師系統的僧團，以及斯里蘭卡僧律傳承的比丘僧團——中道僧團。

3. 比丘尼僧團：

由於泰國、緬甸的比丘僧團，目前未接受恢復上座部比丘尼的作法，所以華人社會無有泰國系、緬甸系的上座部比丘尼。目前華人佛教圈內，奉行緣起、四聖諦的教法為主軸，以南傳銅鑊律為依歸的正統四聖諦比丘尼僧團，應當只有依止斯里蘭卡兩部僧團受具足戒的中道比丘尼僧團（Dhammaṭṭha Bhikkhunī Saṅgha）。

2000 年起，臺灣有一些上座部十戒女，或是大乘

學派的女性出家者，兼探研南傳上座部佛教，又自行到南傳上座部佛教受戒，卻依舊以大乘學派為主，甚至自行換穿上座部袈裟，而對外宣稱是上座部佛教比丘尼。但是，這類模式是教法、僧戒之間，兩者不一致的個人行為，不代表是正統的四聖諦僧團的作法。

4. 社會活動：

目前華人社會的上座部佛教僧人、團體，大多數是自修為主，只有少數具有對外傳教的能力與積極態度。此外，目前華人的上座部佛教團體，主要的活動是研究教法、禪修、供僧、布施、短期出家，少有社會性的接引活動。

9. 華人社會上座部佛教發展的困難

9-1. 外部的困難

1. 大乘學派的打壓、排擠，是最大的發展困難。
2. 華人社會的不了解與誤解，是其次的困境。
3. 社會參與程度嚴重不足。

9-2. 內部的困難

1. 人才不足；2. 不積極；3. 互相排擠；4. 缺乏發展的長期策略。

9-3. 突破困難的發展辦法

1. 確立契合時代發展及華人社會需要的佛法。
2. 加強各國上座部比丘尼僧團的團結，增加比丘尼僧團的力量。
3. 建立華人上座部比丘尼僧團。
4. 團結比丘、比丘尼僧團，增加參與社會的能力。

10. 恢復上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的道路

10-1. 上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的重要性

世界有兩種性別，佛教徒也有男、女二眾。拒絕女性參與佛教的僧團，不是佛教僧團拒絕了女性，是僧團失去女性的品德、能力與智慧的功德。

當世界主要宗教皆有男、女兩性僧人時，上座部佛教拒絕比丘尼是要受到社會的質疑與拒絕。特別是，華人的大乘學派已具有尼僧的傳承，若華人上座部佛教亦有比丘尼傳承，必定有利於上座部佛教發展於華人社會。

10-2. 恢復上座部佛教比丘尼的方法

1. 善用上座部佛教之經法與律戒的精神。
2. 遵循「緣起」的性別倫理。
3. 善用〈八敬法〉增進比丘僧團的善意與幫助。
4. 不涉入女性主義，避免男性主義的攻擊。
5. 避免大乘學派的介入，減低上座部比丘僧團的疑慮。
6. 維護精進、持戒的風範。
7. 採取多合作、少競爭的原則。
8. 多與比丘僧團互助、合作。
9. 多團結各方比丘尼，促進彼此的利益與發展。
10. 積極參與社會慈善與教育活動。
11. 遠離自大、自私、自利的失敗因素。

10-3. 華人上座部佛教中道僧團的傳承

10-3-1. 華人上座部佛教比丘僧團的傳承

中道僧團（Dhammatṭha Sangha）是遵行上座部佛教僧團律戒傳承，以華人為主要成員的僧團。自1995年起，由隨佛長老（Ven. Vūpasama Thero）創辦、發展於臺灣、中國大陸、馬來西亞、新加坡、美國的華人社會。

中道僧團的比丘僧律傳承，源自緬甸及斯里蘭卡，基於 佛陀的教法、弟子是一家的事實，斯里蘭卡、泰國、緬甸的僧律傳承，中道僧團皆尊崇、不拒絕。自2012年起，中道僧團的比丘僧是以斯里蘭卡傳承為主，也認同、支持恢復上座部比丘尼傳承。

2014年起，中道僧團得到斯里蘭卡的長老、戒師與僧團的支持，雙方合作發展華人社會的比丘僧團、比丘尼僧團。

10-3-2. 華人上座部佛教比丘尼僧團的傳承

中道僧團的比丘尼傳承，草創初期是源自 1998 年的緬甸十戒女傳承，發展自 2002 年，隨後由十戒女依據南傳《銅鑠律》研學比丘尼戒，並自行守持比丘尼戒，學團確定於 2014 年。其後，中道僧團的比丘尼僧律傳承，真正根源是出自斯里蘭卡僧團，故中道尼僧團是由斯里蘭卡上座部佛教兩部僧團授具足戒的比丘尼僧團。

中道僧團的比丘尼，是依止隨佛長老（Ven. Vūpasama Thero）領導的中道比丘僧團，由道一比丘尼（Ven. Bhikkhunī Tisara）領導的比丘尼僧團，發展於臺灣、中國大陸、馬來西亞、新加坡、美國的華人社會。

【備註】 本文的中、英文發表，由道一比丘尼以中文發表，見濬比丘尼協助、承擔現場英文口譯。

Importance and Contemporary Significance of Theravada Bhikkhunī Lineage

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1. Introduction

Buddhism has been disseminated throughout Asia in the past 2500 years and around the world during the past century. Nevertheless, Buddhism is more active in Asian countries: Theravada Buddhism is popular in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and India, while Bodhisattva-carya (菩薩道) is prominent in South Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia, mainland China and Taiwan.

Due to the sabotage to Buddhism by Mongolian regiment in the 12th and 13th centuries on the Indian sub-continent, as well as the rigid witnessing requirement by both Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅgha during renunciation and ordination procedures, the Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism had been uprooted since the late 13th Century. From 1998, several Theros of the Sri Lankan Saṅgha began to restore Bhikkhunī inheritance, which aroused concerns from most Bhikkhu of the Theravada Buddhist Saṅgha and thereby prevented additional female practitioners from becoming Bhikkhuni in Theravada Buddhism.

In 434 C.E., the Sri Lankan Bhikkhunī Saṅgha introduced the Bhikkhunī Upasampadā to China by two monastic orders. In 502~518 C.E., Emperor Wu of Liang, organized a national religious group. Based on the Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla compiled by the Indian Mahayana Sect, the group compiled a Chinese version, Brahmajāla Sūtra Bodhisattva Precepts. In 519 C.E., Emperor Wu of Liang took the Mahayana Bodhisattva precepts according to the new Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra and claimed himself to be the “Emperor Bodhisattva”¹. Emperor Wu of Liang’s Buddhism policy was a major reason

1 Please refer to (Philosophy and Policy Basis of Bodhisattva Emperor Wu of Liang) by Yan Shangwen, Journal of History of Normal University, Volume 17, p.1~p.58. 1978

for the withdrawal of Theravada Buddhism from the Chinese Buddhist scene.

From 519 to 618 C.E., the Indian Mahayana Sect, when introduced to China, gradually blended in with Chinese Taoism, which led to the development of Chinese Mahayana teachings mixed with Taoist thoughts, therefore essentially different from the Indian Mahayana ideology. The Buddhism policy of Emperor Wu of Liang as well as the alteration of Indian Mahayana Buddhism to Chinese Mahayana Buddhism, culminated to the gradual elimination of Theravada Buddhist teachings and monastic orders from the Chinese historical scene. In 416~421 C.E., the Chinese Mahayana Sect translated *Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla*, since then they have maintained the tradition of accepting female followers into the Saṅgha.

With the worldwide popularity of the modern Western culture, the inherent Christian idea of “All men are created equal” has become the political and legal foundation in many countries, making gender equality a goal for all women. Consequently, Theravada Buddhism has been regarded as gender-biased and outdated for not fully supporting the Bhikkhunī restoration, which is also one of the arguments held by the Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya to discriminate and attack Theravada Buddhism.

The restoration of the Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism is influenced by three factors, namely, the strong support from feminists, the intervention and involvement of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya, as well as the indifference of the Theravada Bhikkhu Saṅgha of Buddhism and the opposition from the conservatives.

The strong advocacy by feminists has aroused resistance and denial from the conservative Buddhists in the Bhikkhu Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism. The intervention and involvement of the Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya have triggered concerns and

opposition from the Bhikkhu Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism, thus further hindered the restoration of Bhikkhunī inheritance.

This paper explores the gender ethics of Buddha Sakyamuni based on the teachings of Theravada Buddhism and the status of nuns in Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya by studying the evolution and contents of its Dhamma and Vinaya.

The study reveals the value of Theravada Buddhism heritage as well as the importance and contemporary significance to restore the Bhikkhunī lineage of Theravada Buddhism, concludes to make good use of the Dhamma and Vinaya of Theravada Buddhism to avoid the intervention of feminism and Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya, and firmly pursues the path of restoring the Bhikkhunī lineage of Theravada Buddhism.

The balanced development of the Bhikkhu Saṅgha and the Bhikkhunī Saṅgha is conducive to the harmony, mutual cooperation and unity of Buddhism as well as the development and globalization of Theravada Buddhism.

2. Gender Ethics of Buddha Sakyamuni

2-1 Teachings of Samyutta Nikāya

2-1-1 Features of Samyutta Nikāya

Among the five Nikāyas of Theravada Buddhism, Samyutta Nikāya (相應部) is of particular importance. Notes to Samyutta Nikāya by Buddhaghosa 覺音 is known as Sāratthappakāsinī (顯揚真義), indicating to present and promote the authentic Dhamma of the Buddha. Nāgārjuna (龍樹) of the Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya viewed Samyutta

Nikāya as abhidhamma siddhānta, i.e., the first Dhamma to attainment, implying that the features of Samyutta Nikāya is characterized as presenting the true teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni.

2-1-2 Gender Ethics of Buddha Sakyamuni

2-1-2-1 From Classism to Equality

In feudal society, the king had supreme power and controlled over all resources. Those who were close to the king enjoyed great power, making the privileged class the dominant force of an unfair society and depriving the masses of equal and justified opportunities. Buddha Sakyamuni opposed the caste of Brahmanism. In other words, Buddha Sakyamuni disagreed with the unjust social system. But does Buddha Sakyamuni advocate “All beings are created equal”?

To protest the caste system, the Upaniṣad and Jainism of ancient India were not only against the belief of “Brahma as the Creator” but proposed that “All beings are born to be equal with Brahman”. In the 1st Century B.C.E., the Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya originated in South India advocated that “Everything is empty of characteristics and everything is equal”. Therefore, “all beings are equal” is a common belief among Upaniṣad, Jainism and Bodhisattva-carya.

The Western revolutionists who were against the unfair feudal society in the 18th Century adopted the Christian idea that all men are created equal and laid the foundation of democracy for modern society.

The ancient feudal society was under the rule of supreme theocracy and kingship, influencing many religions and doctrines. Consequently, modern social systems adopt the idea that all

men are created equal when it comes to the interests, power and status, maintaining that differentiated treatment in any form is unfair, unjust and unacceptable. Wisdom, benevolence, kindness, love and justice should be extended to all individuals on an equal basis.

The transition from barbarism to civilization reflects the evolution of the patriarchal society that worshiped power to the modern society where men and women are equal. American society was male-dominated in the early founding years. It was the persistent efforts of the feminists that earned voting rights for American women in 1911.

2-1-2-2 Gender Ethics Based on Samyutta Nikāya

Was Buddha Sakyamuni in favor of class differences or against the caste system in terms of the ethics about the relationship between oneself and others?

In the Buddha's time, Indian society followed the caste system, which originated from Brahmanism. The caste system classified the citizens into four classes based on race, lineage, identity and occupation. The four classes were further categorized by status and occupations according to individual ancestries, developing to a belief and system that rigidly ruled society. According to Script 548 of *Samyukta Āgama* by *Sarvāstivādin* (說一切有部), a branch of Theravada Buddhism, and to MN. 84 of *Madhurasuttam* in *Majjhima Nikaya* (中部) of Southern Buddhism, Buddha Sakyamuni was firmly against the caste system.

As discussed before, both *Upaniṣad* and Jainism were against the caste system before Buddha Sakyamuni was born. *Upaniṣad* advocated "Brahman", the idea that everyone has

ātman², and similarly, Jainism proposed the concept of “Jiva”. Therefore, both of them believed that “all beings are equal and everyone is equal”.

But was Buddha Sakyamuni, who was against caste system, in favor of the idea that all men are equal? Does he have different perspectives?

According to SN.22.49 of Khandhasamyutta of Samyutta Nikaya and Script 45 of Samyuka Āgama, the you, me and others are actually pañcakkhandhā (五陰) of paṭiccasamuppannā dhammā (緣生法), which is anicca (無常) and anattā (非我).

SN.22.49 of Khandhasamyutta of Samyutta Nikaya³: The Blessed One then said: “Soṇa, when any ascetics and brahmins, on the basis of form (feeling, perception, volitional formations, consciousness), —which is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change—regard themselves thus: ‘I am superior,’ or ‘I am equal,’ or ‘I am inferior,’ what is that due to apart from not seeing things as they really are? ... What do you think, Soṇa, is form (feeling, perception, volitional formations,

2 Please refer to Chapter III of (History of Indian Philosophy) by Huang Xinchuan.

Upanishad: Encyclopedia of China's Buddhism (VII) p.3902.1

Singer: Encyclopedia of China's Buddhism (VII) p.3902.1

This is my soul, humble but great

3 Samyutta Nikaya: Please refer to the Chinese version of Pali Tipiṭaka (15) p.70-2~71-7

Pali Sutta Samyutta Nikaya 22.49 (S.iii 48~50)

“Dvattiṃsimāni, bhikkhave, mahāpurisassa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni, yehi samannāgatassa mahāpurisassa dveva gatiyo bhavanti anaññā. Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, rājā hoti cakkavattī dhammiko dhammarājā cāturato” ... “Sace kho pana agāraṃ anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, araham hoti sammāsambuddho loke vivaṭṭacchado” ... “imassa kammaṃsa kaṭattā idaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ paṭilabhatī”ti.”

consciousness) permanent or impermanent?” – “Impermanent, venerable sir.” – “Is what is impermanent, suffering, and subject to change fit to be regarded thus: ‘This is mine, this I am, this is my self’?” – “No, venerable sir.” ... “Therefore, Soṇa, any kind of form (feeling, perception, volitional formations, consciousness) whatsoever, whether past, future, or present, internal or external, gross or subtle, inferior or superior, far or near, all form should be seen as it really is with correct wisdom thus: ‘This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self.’”

According to Script 45 of Samyuka Āgama (雜阿含): “Because of contact with ignorance a foolish unlearned worldling gives rise to the sense of... ‘I am better’, the sense ‘I am equal’, the sense ‘I am inferior’ ... The sense ‘I know in this way’ and ‘I see in this way’ are all because of the six spheres of contact. The learned noble disciple abandons ignorance in relation to the six spheres of contact and gives rise to knowledge. He does not give rise to the sense of ... ‘I am better’, the sense ‘I am equal’, the sense ‘I am inferior’.”

I, you and others are only conceptual markers, not of reality. The reality is pañcakkhandhā of paṭīcasamuppannā dhamma, which cannot be evaluated or compared with any standards. Since superiority, inferiority and equality are based on a comparison of conditions therefore cannot represent the essence of paṭīcasamuppannā dhamma. As a matter of fact, there is no superiority, inferiority or equality in pañcakkhandhā of paṭīcasamuppannā dhamma.

Buddha Sakyamuni was against the caste system, but did not advocate equality for all. Instead, Buddha Sakyamuni declared that the pañcakkhandhā of paṭīcasamuppannā dhammā is not about superiority, inferiority or equality. The idea that all men are equal is the teaching of Upaniṣad and Jainism or the Bodhisattva-carya. It is also the salvation theory of Christianity, but not the teaching of Buddha Sakyamuni.

Buddha Sakyamuni once told Ananda that nuns would make accomplishments too⁴, which proves that Bhikkhunī would get the same salvation and accomplishments as Bhikkhu. There is no limitation in accomplishments between Bhikkhunī and Bhikkhu.

The three ideas that men are superior to women, women are superior to men or both men and women are equal do not belong to the teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni. It is the relevant influencing dependence that results in the differences in wisdom, competence, morality and status of men and women. Such differences are neither fixed nor decided by gender, lineage or race.

2-2 Masculism is Not Compatible with Buddhism

Human history began with hunting activities, evolving to animal husbandry, farming, industrial production, commercial sales and service activities. The patriarchal society that endorsed force eventually changed into the modern society where men and women are equal.

Women were in the inferior status in ancient society,

4 Theravada-vinaya: Please refer to the Chinese version of Pali Tipiṭaka (IV) p.341-1~2

published by Yuanheng Temple in Taiwan

Pali Vinaya 2.10.1.3. "Bhabbo, ānanda, mātugāmo tathāgatappavedite dhammavinaye agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitvā sotāpattiṭṭhalampi sakadāgāmiṭṭhalampi anāgāmiṭṭhalampi arahattaphalampi sacchikātunti."

English version: From (The Book of Discipline) translated by I.B. Horner, M.A. The Bhikkhunī-Khandhaka: "Ānanda, women having gone forth from home into homelessness in the dhamma and discipline proclaimed by the Truth finder, are able to realize the fruit of stream-attainment or the fruit of once-returning or the fruit of non-returning or perfection."

which was taken into consideration by Buddha Sakyamuni. In the society dominated by hunting, animal husbandry and farming activities, Buddha Sakyamuni formulated *aṭṭha garudhammā* (八敬法) for the renunciation of women considering the realities of the patriarchal society.

In the ancient society dominated by men, *aṭṭha garudhammā* enabled the Bhikkhu Saṅgha, holding the belief of male superiority, to help the Bhikkhunī Saṅgha instead of discriminating or oppressing the Bhikkhunī. However, under the impact of traditional Indian religions and cultures, improper cultural elements that were against women were assimilated into the later Buddhism.

In modern society where education is accessible to women, the social performance and independence of women empower them to collaborate with men with outstanding performance. The idea and practices that men are supreme are neither in line with the teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni nor with modern civilization.

2-3 Christian Cultures Should Not Interfere with Buddhism

According to Christianity, God is the Creator and all men are created equal before God, which is strongly supported and respected in modern society. But the idea that all men are equal is not in accordance with the teaching of Buddha Sakyamuni.

Buddha Sakyamuni does not create or control everything. Neither Arahant nor the Buddhists are gods. Buddha Sakyamuni teaches Arahant and the Buddhists how to deal with suffering while Arahant and the Buddhists spread the teachings to others. Buddhism values teacher-student ethics. Students should respect and serve the teachers while teachers

should educate and care for the students, which is about mutual assistance and mutual complementation on the path to eliminate suffering.

Therefore, the Christian idea that all men are equal does not apply to the teacher-student ethics of Buddhism.

2-4 Feminism Should Not Interfere with Buddhism

Aṭṭha garu-dhammā (eight-reverent precepts) is included in the Vinaya for Bhikkhunī of all Buddhist sects. It maintains that the process of female Buddhists becoming Bhikkhunī must be acknowledged by the Bhikkhu Saṅgha and that Bhikkhunī should venerate the Bhikkhus and follow their teachings.

The content of aṭṭha garu-dhammā⁵ varies slightly among Buddhist sects but is generally consistent. Considering the circumstance that different sects in India do not acknowledge each other, it is “most likely” that aṭṭha garu-dhammā came about before the sectarian division.

Influenced by Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya or Christian

5 MahaSaṅgha-vinaya, Volume 30: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (22) p.471.3-29~p.476.2-11

Aṭṭha garu-dhammā of Sarvastivada-vinaya, Volume 47: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (23) p.345.2-29~p.345.3-19

Mūlasarvāstivādivinayavibhaṅga, Volume 29, Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.350.3-25~p.351.1-25

Mahīśāsakāh, Volume VII: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (22) p.45.3-23~p.46.1-10

Dharmaguptaka-vinaya, Volume 48: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (22) p.923.1-26~p.923.2-21

Theravada-vinaya: Please refer to the Chinese version of Pali Tipiṭaka (IV) p.341-5~14

cultures, modern Buddhist feminists mistakenly thought that Buddha Sakyamuni advocated “equality of all beings” and claimed that aṭṭha garu-dhammā discriminates against women and does not not originate from Buddha Sakyamuni.

They misunderstand that the ideas which indicate that all men are equal and aṭṭha garu-dhammā discriminates against women are not proposed by Buddha Sakyamuni. They contend that aṭṭha garu-dhammā was updated by later Saṅgha and even claim that it was formulated when Mahakashyapa presided over the First Buddhist Council.

After the First Buddhist Council, Mahakashyapa declared that the Vinaya set by the Buddha should not be altered or updated. His declaration determined the principle and direction of the Vinaya. Therefore, it is impossible that he formulated aṭṭha garu-dhammā during the First Buddhist Council.

The spatiotemporal background should be taken as the basis to explore the true significance of aṭṭha garu-dhammā. Gender equality is the belief of Upanishad, Jainism, Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya and Christianity rather than the teachings and teacher-student ethics of Buddhism. Therefore, feminism that pursues gender equality should not interfere with Buddhism.

2-5 Gender Ethics Based on Paticcasamuppado

Relevant influencing, the core teaching of Buddha Sakyamuni, states that pañcakkhandhā is paṭiccasamuppannā dhammā, which is anicca and anattā. Therefore, gender differences come from relevant influencing and there is no absolute superiority, inferiority or equality. On this basis, the ideas that men are superior to women, women are superior to men and men and women are equal are not the teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni. The different strengths and weaknesses between men and

women are the reflections of relevant influencing instead of gender and lineage.

There are no absolute gender differences between men and women. Men and women should, according to different conditions, help each other and complement each other's actions to benefit each other, which is the *paticcasamuppado*-based gender ethics taught by Buddha Sakyamuni.

2-6 Teacher-Student Ethics in Buddhism: *Aṭṭha Garu-dhammā*

The Buddhist Saṅgha originated from Bhikkhu Añña Koṇḍañña (憍陳如) and the other four Bhikkhus in the first sermon preach, and then developed to the Bhikkhu Saṅgha. In the early days of Buddhism, the Bhikkhu Saṅgha were actually a group of teachers.

Gotamī (瞿曇彌) was the aunt of Buddha, and she asked the permission from Buddha to become a nun in her later years, when she lost the support of her husband Śuddhodana Gautama. At that time, Buddha refused Gotamī's requests repeatedly, due to four factors: her aristocratic identity, being the aunt of Buddha, her old age, and being the leader of the Sakyamuni aristocratic females. Buddha was concerned that Gotamī would be arrogant and difficult to teach. Finally, Buddha demanded that Gotamī must accept the *aṭṭha garu-dhammā* in order to get ordained. The real meaning was to teach the disciples that one must respect the master and abide by the predecessor's teachings, and must not be arrogant or difficult to teach.

Except Gotamī, the other females who followed Gotamī, got ordained by the Bhikkhu Saṅgha instead of Gotamī, because there were no Bhikkhunī Saṅgha yet. This is a special case stated in the Vinaya, which demonstrated that it is possible

to permit Bhikkhus to confer the Bhikkhunī high ordination when there are no Bhikkhunīs in the world.

The true meaning of aṭṭha garu-dhammā must be judged from the situation of Gotamī, otherwise one might misjudge aṭṭha garu-dhammā to despise females, from the perspective of gender equality in modern society.

Aṭṭha garu-dhammā originated from Gomitī, which was meant to uphold the ethics of “Bhikkhu is the teacher, and Bhikkhunī is the student” and to remind women not to be arrogant or difficult to teach.

3. Evolution of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya

3-1 Origins and Evolution of Teachings of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya

Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya originated from the belief in Bodhisattva. A Bodhisattva refers to one who diligently pursues samma-sambodhi. Since this refers exclusively to Sakyamuni when he had not yet attained Buddhahood in a past life, the term Bodhisattva does not refer to the past lives of practitioners other than the Buddha.

The teachings of Bodhisattva do not fall in the thirty-seven teachings of traditional Buddhism. Therefore, the Six Paramitas (六度) are based on the Jātaka (本生故事) of Buddha Sakyamuni during the 2nd Century B.C.E. The Six Paramitas of the past lives of Buddha Sakyamuni are viewed as the Bodhisattva-carya. (Please refer to Paramitas⁶ and Chapter 9⁷)

6 Saṭpāramitāsaṃgraha: Please refer to Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (3) p.1.1-4~13

7 Please refer to Chapter Nine of (Origins and Evolution of Early Mahayana

in Origin and Evolution of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya)

Pāramitā refers to “arriving to the other side”⁸ and includes generosity, precepts, tolerance, enhancement, meditation and wisdom. Wisdom plays a major role.

The Pāramitā of wisdom in Sectarian Buddhism originally referred to the Four Noble Truths. In the 1st Century B.C.E., Paññā Sūtra was developed based on the Six Pāramitā and Ekabyohārika (一說部) in southern India, claiming that the true wisdom is śūnya (諸法皆空) as well as equality and criticizing the Four Noble Truths to be Hinayana.

From then on, the Mahayana did not accept the Four Noble Truths and developed its own canons in place of the classic ones.

3-2 The Status of Women in Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya

Mahā-puruṣa lakṣaṇa (thirty-two marks) (三十二相) is an important component in Bodhisattva belief as well as the goal and verification standard for such belief. But it originated from Śāriputrābhidharma which is a mixture of the teachings and beliefs of Upanishad and Jainism, and does not belong to the original Buddhism. Mahā-puruṣa lakṣaṇa was included in

Buddhism) by Yinshun, p.560-11~14, Taiwan Zhengwen Publishing House, 1993.7 Ed.

Six Paramitas were inspired by the contents of Jataka. Discussions on Jataka were compiled in the Collection of Six Paramitas. They were the models for Bodhisattva practices and honored by the Buddhists as the teaching material though originated from the Hinayana Sectarian Buddhism. Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya thus came into being.

8 Mahaprajnaparamita Upadesha, Volume 12: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (25), p.145.2-2~3

the Bodhisattva beliefs of Śāriputrābhidharma, and was inherited by Sectarian Buddhism.

According to Lakkhana Suttam of Digha Nikaya (DN.30)⁹: The Lord said: ‘Bhikkhus, there are thirty-two marks peculiar to a Great Man. And for that Great Man who possesses them, only two careers are open. If he lives the household life, he will become a ruler, a wheel-turning righteous monarch of the law ... But if he goes forth from the household life into homelessness, he will become an Arahant, a fully-enlightened Buddha, who has drawn back the veil from the world ... the karmic reasons for the gaining of them (thirty-two marks).’

According to Script 23¹⁰ of Ekottara-āgama (增壹阿含) of Mahasamghika (大眾部), the Bodhisattva is with thirty-two physical characteristics and eighty virtues. The appearance of Bodhisattva is magnificent and solemn with golden purple lustre.

Kosopagata-vasti-guhya is a part of thirty-two marks in ancient Indian religious belief. It refers to the retribution of internalization and hidden male organ and is taken as the symbol of abstinence from sex for many lives. For example: “the male organs are enclosed in a sheath like the elephant king

9 Please refer to Lakkhana Suttam of Digha Nikaya (DN.30)

Pali Sutta Digha Nikaya 30 (D.iii 142~145)

“Dvattiṃsimāni, bhikkhave, mahāpurisassa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni, yehi samannāgatassa mahāpurisassa dveva gatiyo bhavanti anañña. Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, rājā hoti cakkavattī dhammiko dhammarāja cāturato” ... “Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, araham hoti sammāsambuddho loke vivaṭṭacchado” kosohitavattthaguyho hoti “imassa kammaṃsa kaṭattā idaṃ lakkaṇaṃ paṭilabhatī”ti.”

10 Ekottara-āgama, Volume 23: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (2) p.166.3-23

and horse king”（陰藏相如象馬王¹¹），“the tenth mark, the male organs are enclosed in a sheath like the elephant king and horse king”（十者陰藏相，如馬王象王¹²），“to teach the women, manifested the mark of enclosing the male organs in a sheath”（為化女人現陰藏相¹³），“like the valuable elephant and horse, the male organs are hidden, called the mark of enclosing the male organs in a sheath”¹⁴（如寶馬、寶象陰不現，故名陰藏相）and also stated in the Ekottara-āgama of Mahāsāṃghika¹⁵ (probably Lokottara-vāda 說出世部) that “Having the mark of enclosing the male organs in a sheath and remain chaste?”

Since Kosopagata-vasti-guhya is exclusive to men, the Bodhisattva-carya contends that only men can achieve the Supreme Bodhi and be leaders. (Please refer to Script 116 of Madhyama-Agama¹⁶ and Volume III¹⁷ of Paññatti Pakaraṇa 施設論)

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- 11 Great Skillful Means Sutra on the Buddha's Repayment of Kindness:
Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (3) p.164.3-17
 - 12 Sūtra on Past and Present Causes and Effects: Please refer to Taisho pitaka (3) p.627.2-3
 - 13 Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā Śāstra: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (27) p.428.3
 - 14 Daśabhūmika Vibhāṣā Śāstra: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (26) p.65.1-14
 - 15 Ekottarika-āgama: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (2) p.521.1-10~12
 - 16 Madhyama-āgama, Volume 28, Script 116: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (1) p.607.2-10~15
 - 17 Paññatti Pakaraṇa, Volume III: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (26) p.521.1-10~12

The Original Vows of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva Sūtra (地藏王菩薩本願經) of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya points out that women can turn into men¹⁸ by studying the Sūtra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva. Daibadatta of Saddhammapundarika Sūtra (法華經¹⁹) mentions that women turn into men and become the Buddhas, implying that women cannot achieve Supreme Bodhi unless they have turned into men.

It is common sense in Bodhisattva belief that women cannot become Buddha, which originated from Jainism and by no means is the intention of Buddha Sakyamuni. Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya is centered on Bodhisattva beliefs, and does have the flavor of “male superiority and female inferiority.”

3-3 Origins and Evolution of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya

The newly transmitted Paññā Sūtra (般若經) in the 1st Century B.C.E. asserted that the Six Paramitas based on the wisdom of śūnya (諸法皆空) are the real Six Paramitas and Mahayana, denigrating the Four Noble Truths as Hinayana.

From the mid-1st Century B.C.E. to the mid-4th Century C.E., the Mahayana school only proposed the Bodhisattva beliefs and its new doctrines. It had no specific precepts in line with the beliefs and teachings of Mahayana. Mahayana Buddhists during this stage of this period did not believe in the Four Noble Truths and the Liberation Precepts, but only adhered to their own teachings and beliefs.

How does the Mahayana school justify its existence?

18 Original Vows of Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva Sūtra: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (13) p.789.3-5~11

19 Saddhammapundarika Sūtra: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (9) p.35.2-12~p.35.3-23

3-3-1 Early Precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya

The early stage (50 B.C.E.~ 100 C.E.) of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya had no detailed precepts in line with its beliefs and teachings. There were not many Buddhists following Mahayana then and the Mahayana school had not yet stabilized. They did not oppose the traditional Buddhist precepts, but emphasized the importance of Sarvajñā (薩婆若心 即成就一切智的心願), intentionally weakening the norms of traditional Buddhist precepts so as to avoid being attacked by traditional Buddhism on their shortcomings.

For instance, the Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita Sūtra (小品般若經) proposed that Prajnaparamita should focus on the Sarvajñā (但樂說般若波羅蜜，常不離應薩婆若心 樂佛法中而得出家)²⁰.

In addition, the Ten Virtues were taken as the precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva and the traditional Buddhist precepts were neglected. For example, it is stated in Mahayana Sad-Pāramitā Sūtra that: “After detaching from three barriers caused by karma, a Bodhisattva mahasattva should practice ten pure precepts. Which ten? That is, three physically pure precepts, four verbally pure precepts, and three mentally pure precepts ... As a viraaga practitioner, a Bodhisattva mahasattva should stay away from the circumstances of five desires.” 《大乘理趣六波羅蜜經》：「菩薩摩訶薩離三障已，應當修習十種淨戒。云何為十？所謂身三淨戒，口四淨戒，意三淨戒 離染欲者，菩薩摩訶薩應當遠離五欲境界。」²¹

20 Astasahasrika Prajna Paramita Sūtra, Volume 6: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (8) p.565.2-7~10

21 Mahāyāna Practice of the Six Perfections Sūtra, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (8) p.887.2-24~p.887.3-4

Monastics of Mahayana then did not receive the upasampadā for Bhikkhu or Bhikkhunī. They were not Bhikkhu or Bhikkhunī in the traditional sense but applied the Bodhisattva precepts in relinquishing household life.

3-3-2 Precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya During the Transitional Period

After surviving its early years, Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya entered a period of transition towards stability (100~300 C.E.). Traditional Buddhists began to turn to Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya, who not only worshiped the Bodhisattva spirits but criticized the traditional Sectarian Buddhism. Canons compiled by Mahayana, which divided the Vinaya into Sāvaka sila (聲聞戒) and Bodhisattva sila (菩薩戒), highlighted the loftiness and value of Bodhicitta (菩提心).

For example, in the chapter (On Bodhisattva Lion's Roar) of the Mahayana Mahaparinirvana Sūtra (大乘涅槃經), it says: "One who attains the first aspiration and up to unsurpassed Enlightenment. This is the sila of the Bodhisattva. If one meditates on white bones, one attains Arahantship. This is the case of the sravaka sila. One who upholds sravaka sila does not, one should know, see the Buddha-Nature and the Tathagata. Any person who upholds the sila of the Bodhisattvas, we may know, attains unsurpassed Enlightenment and sees well the Buddha-Nature, the Tathagata, and Nirvana." (「從初發心乃至得成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，名為菩薩戒，若觀白骨乃至證得阿羅漢果，名為聲聞戒。若有受持聲聞戒者，當知是人見佛性及如來；若有受持菩薩戒者，當知是人得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提²²。」)

22 Mahaparinirvana Sūtra, Volume 28 (On Bodhisattva Lion's Roar): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (12) p.529.1-29~p.529.3-4

3-3-3 Precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya During the Stable Period

After four centuries' growth, Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya began to stabilize in the 4th Century and required independent precepts for its Saṅgha without fearing the pressure from traditional Buddhism.

The Bodhisattva-bhūmi (菩薩地持品) in Yogācāra-bhūmi (瑜伽師地論) by Asaṅga (無著) discussed the practices and disciplines of Bodhisattva and had been accepted and praised by most followers. Bodhisattva-bhūmi then developed into the blueprint of precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva and the basis for the precepts of Yogācāra Bodhisattva.

The precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva downgraded the Four Noble Truths and Salvation Precepts as self-interested Hinayana Dharma and Hinayana Precepts but also stated that they are different^{23~24} and far more superior to the Four Noble Truths²⁵. The precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva even forbid its followers to study and teach the Four Noble Truths; otherwise, the followers should repent and would be punished²⁶.

23 Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1111.3-12~17

24 Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1108.1-3~12

25 Bodhisattva-prātimokṣa-sūtram (Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1105.3-17~23

26 Commentary on Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (40) p. 638.2-11~14

Commentary on Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (40) p.640.3-21~24

Commentary on Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra, Volume 5: Please refer

Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya after the 4th Century developed in line with the precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva, criticizing the Four Noble Truths and Salvation Precepts, and forming the Mahayana Saṅgha totally independent from the traditional Sectarian Buddhism.

3-3-4 Mahayana Precepts of China's Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya

Before the reign of Emperor Wu of Liang (梁武帝), China's Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya followed Indian precepts of Mahayana Bodhisattva. During the early years of Emperor Wu of Liang Dynasty (502~549 C.E.), theocracy was adopted. The Jiankang Saṅgha²⁷ compiled Brahmajāla Sūtra

to Taisho-pitaka (40) p.645.2~p.645.3

Brahmajāla Sūtra, Volume 10: Please refer to the new edition of Taisho-pitaka (22) p. 1105.3-6~8

Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra Bodhisattva): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1108.1-27 ~ p.1108.2-1

Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra Bodhisattva): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1108.3-22~24

Bodhisattva-bhūmi, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (30) p.912.2-5~p.913.1

Bodhisattva-bhūmi, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (30) p.915.2-21~27

- 27 Please refer to (Buddhist Ideas and Cultures) by Yan Shangwen: Article Collection on the 86th Birthday of Yinshun, p.124-7~19
- "Emperor Wu of Liang promoted the theocracy policies upon his inauguration. He led the Jiankang Saṅgha to promote Buddhism and to translate, compile and interpret Buddhist canons for over 18 years, applying the achievements into state administration. On April 8 (lunar calendar) of the 18th year of Tianjian, the Jiankang Saṅgha led by Emperor Wu of Liang received ordination, with the core idea of Emperor Bodhisattva being proposed (Note 3). Jiankang Saṅgha was under strong impact

based on the precepts of Yogācāra Bodhisattva. Different from Brahmajālasutta of Dīgha Nikāya taught by Theravāda Buddhism, the second volume of Brahmajāla Sūtra is Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra (梵網經菩薩戒經). In 519 A.D., Emperor Wu of Liang received the precepts of Bodhisattva based on Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra and claimed himself to be the Emperor Bodhisattva²⁸, which decided the withdrawal of Theravāda Buddhism from the Chinese Buddhist stage.

Therefore, China's Mahāyāna Bodhisattva-carya discarded the precepts of Yogācāra Bodhisattva and turned to Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra for the basis of passing on the precepts of Mahāyāna Bodhisattva.

3-4 Ordination of Mahāyāna Bodhisattva-carya Followers

3-4-1 Three-staged Ordination

It took four hundred years of Mahāyāna Bodhisattva-carya to develop Bodhisattva precepts. Before that, followers of Mahāyāna were willing to do whatever to gain the wisdom and to practice the Ten Virtues or to follow the precepts of traditional Buddhism.

Since the development of Bodhisattva precepts, Mahāyāna monastics must highlight the evolution of Mahāyāna precepts and express the spirit of “turning from

of the long-term theocracy during the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties.”

28 Please refer to (Philosophy and Policy Basis of Bodhisattva Emperor Wu of Liang) by Yan Shangwen, Journal of History of Normal University, Volume 17, p.1~p.58. 1978

Hinayana to Mahayana”. The three-staged ordination procedures were thus established: receiving Samanera or Samaneri precepts in Stage I, receiving Bhikkhu or Bhikkhunī precepts in Stage II, then giving up Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī precepts, and only receiving Bodhisattva precepts in Stage III.

3-4-2 Adoption of the Salvation Precepts of the Indian Branch in Theravada Buddhism

The Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī precepts adopted by China’s Mahayana followers were originated from the Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya (摩訶僧祇律) from Vaishali, inherited from Upali. After 414 C.E., Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya (十誦律) derived from Ananda lineage in Madhurā were adopted in southern China²⁹.

Dhammagupta-vinaya (四分律) was used as the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī precepts in the Tang Dynasty (596~667 C.E.), via the recommendation by Dao Xuan (道宣). Today, the Dhammaguttika Vinaya and Vinaya of Theravada share the same system of the Indian Sect.

In addition, the Tibetan Mahayana takes Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya as the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī precepts. Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya was originated from Muttra, and circulated in Kashmir.

3-4-3 Mahayana Precepts that Abandon the Salvation Precepts

Monastics of Mahayana must ultimately give up Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī precepts though they have received them during Stage II of the ordination procedure. Stage III focuses on the Bodhisattva precepts. The Chinese Buddhism adopts Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra while the Tibetan

29 Biographies of Eminent Monks (Volume II). Buddhayasas by Hui Jiao of Liang Dynasty: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (50) p.333.2-20~p.333.3-14

Buddhism adopts the Indian Yogācāra Bodhisattva. When receiving the Bodhisattva precepts, followers must forsake the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī precepts and keep the Bodhisattva precepts only. The followers of the Tibetan Buddhism must also accept the Samaya precepts (三昧耶戒³⁰) besides the Bodhisattva precepts.

Mahayana monastics deny and abandon the Four Noble Truths and the salvation precepts. Therefore, the Bodhisattva practitioners do not follow the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī precepts.

3-5 Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya Should Not Interfere with Theravada Buddhism

In the Mahayana three-stage ordination procedure with reference to the Vinaya, Samanera and Samaneri precepts, Bhikkhu precepts and Bhikkhunī precepts was taught by Bodhisattva monastics who had renounced the Bhikkhu precepts and Bhikkhunī precepts.

The ordination principle of Bodhisattva relies on Bodhisattva precepts instead of Vinaya. Mahayana teaches Sramanera precepts, Samaneri precepts, Bhikkhu precepts and Bhikkhunī precepts in accordance with Dhammagupta-vinaya or Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya but neither the teachers nor the students abide by the precepts of Theravada Buddhism. Mahayana preaches traditional precepts to highlight its development, to convey the message that Bodhisattva precepts are superior to Bhikkhu precepts and Bhikkhunī precepts, and try to establish an independent Mahayana Saṅgha.

Therefore, Mahayana Monastics should not be present when Theravada Buddhists take higher ordination. Similarly, since Mahayana regards Theravada Buddhism as Hinayana;

30 Samaya precept is the precept of Esoteric Buddhism.

there should not be any participation from Theravada Monastics when Bodhisattva precepts are taught.

The lack of Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada offers Mahayana the opportunity to intervene in Theravada Buddhism. Its intention is to introduce Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya into Theravada Buddhism instead of restoring the Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism.

Therefore, Mahayana should not be involved in the restoration of Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism.

4. Value of Theravada Buddhism

4-1 Value of the Saṅgha Inheritance of Theravada Buddhism

Buddhism today is divided into Theravada Buddhism and Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya, with the latter being further classified into the Chinese Bodhisattva and the Tibetan Bodhisattva.

Teachings, canons and Vinaya of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya are not under the guidance of Buddha Sakyamuni and they criticize and deny the Four Noble Truths and Salvation Precepts of traditional Buddhism. The inheritance of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya is not the authentic teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni.

Theravada Buddhism believes in the Four Noble Truths and Salvation Precepts, which originated from the teachings of Vibhajjavāda at King Ashoka's time. These teachings had been influenced by the ontology of the Upaniṣad and the ideas of the Sāmaṇa's culture, which differ from the original teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni. However, Theravada Buddhism has preserved the Saṅgha inheritance for over 2300 years, making it more valuable than that of Mahayana Buddhism.

4-2 Restoration of Bhikkhuni inheritance – its Importance and Contemporary Significance

4-2-1 Consolidating the Union of Two Saṅghas

Labor division between men and women ensures the stability and progresses of human society. Buddha Sakyamuni taught both men and women and established Bhikkhu Saṅgha and Bhikkhunī Saṅgha to guide the society collaboratively with different obligations to make Buddhism more complete and sound.

Since the 13th Century, the Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism has been suspended, which is a regret for female believers, Saṅgha and Theravada Buddhism. Restoration of Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism would provide females with the opportunity to become nuns and improve the Saṅgha system and structure of Theravada Buddhism.

4-2-2 Preventing Attacks and Interventions by Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya

Although Buddhists of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya are not qualified Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī, Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya and the public who do not understand Vinaya still think that Mahayana keeps the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī inheritance.

The lack of Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism would arouse doubts and attacks from Mahayana and the public. The dissatisfaction of female believers of Theravada Buddhism would also make a way for Mahayana to intervene.

The lack of Bhikkhunī inheritance is a weakness in Theravada Buddhism.

4-2-3 Promoting Both Saṅghas for a New Era of Theravada Buddhism

Saṅgha inheritance of Theravada Buddhism is a valuable tradition since Buddha Sakyamuni. The popularization of education, challenges of Christianity and Muslim and the declining situation of Buddhism require the restoration of the Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism so as to make it modernized and globalized.

Buddhists who follow the Buddha Sakyamuni must firmly uphold the Four Noble Truths, the Salvation Precepts, the Saṅgha inheritance of Theravada Buddhism, which is the prerequisite to safeguard the Buddha, the Dhamma, the Saṅgha and the Vinaya.

It is imperative to restore the Bhikkhunī inheritance for the comprehensive development of Theravada Buddhism.

5. Conclusions: Firmly Restore Bhikkhunī Inheritance of Theravada Buddhism

Theravada Saṅghas in mainland China and Taiwan are new members of Theravada Buddhism. Dhammatṭha Saṅgha (中道僧團) as a Theravada Saṅgha, which are mainly composed of Chinese, have been developed in America, Malaysia, mainland China and Taiwan. In face of challenges from the Mahayana Buddhism, Dhammatṭha Saṅgha are expected to show the goodness and soundness of the Four Noble Truths Buddhist Saṅgha in the Chinese community so as to facilitate the development of Four Noble Truths Buddhism.

Dhammatṭha Saṅgha firmly supports the restoration of the Four Noble Truths Buddhist Bhikkhunī inheritance, and adheres to five principles:

1. Establish Bhikkhunī Saṅgha of Four Noble Truths Buddhism in the Chinese community.

2. Respect the Bhikkhu Saṅgha in Sri Lanka and establish sincere and close cooperation.

3. Respect the decisions of Bhikkhu Saṅgha from different Theravada countries and do not intervene the Buddhism affairs in other countries.

4. Avoid the interference of Mahayana, masculism, feminism and Christianity.

5. Work with Theravada Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunīs from other countries for mutual communication and progress.

Because most Chinese Buddhists believe Mahayana Buddhism, and most Theravada Buddhism Saṅghas do not support to reestablish the inheritance of Bhikkhunīs, and also because Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha do not support or agree with the ordination or high ordination of the inappropriate females, (who are over the age, physically and mentally disturbed, with a chaotic learning background in Buddhism, and unteachably arrogant), Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha often get defamed and slandered. Despite this, Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha still insist on promoting the Original Buddhism and support to reestablish the inheritance of the Theravada Bhikkhunīs in the Chinese world.

Finally, we believe in the wisdom and compassion of Bhikkhu Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism and wish the best for the Bhikkhunī Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism.

P.S. This article was published in both Chinese and English, and was published in Chinese by Ven. Bhikkhu Vūpasama Thero, who was assisted by Bhikkhu Pabodhana to undertake the on-site English interpretation.

Dilemma and Current Development of Theravada Bhikkhunīs in Modern Chinese Society

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1. Introduction

The mainstream of Chinese culture deprecates individualism and emphasizes collective interests. It is thus difficult for Theravada Buddhism that advocates passiveness and individual salvation to be supported by Chinese society. However, Mahayana Buddhism which emphasizes universal salvation has gained popularity and propagated extensively in China in the past 2000 years.

Mahayana Buddhism had continuously defamed Theravada Buddhism as Hinayana Buddhism over the years, causing a tremendous misunderstanding of Theravada Buddhism. Since the last century, Buddhist intellectuals in China began to learn from modern studies of textual evidence that Mahayana Buddhism did not originate from Buddha Sakyamuni. Consequently, more and more followers have reverted to Theravada Buddhism.

Instead, over the past decade, the development of Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese community has stagnated. Some Mahayana Buddhists who had turned to Theravada Buddhism have now resorted to Mahayana Buddhism again. Therefore, Theravada Buddhism not only has to deal with challenges from Mahayana Buddhism, but also handles cultural differences between individual and universal salvation to offer what modern Chinese society needs.

The development of the Chinese Theravada Saṅgha needs support from their counterparts in Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand, as well as the acceptance by Chinese society which has traditionally acknowledged Mahayana Buddhism. Therefore, proper handling of challenges from Mahayana Buddhism and spreading the teachings of Theravada Buddhism to the Chinese community has become an essential approach for Theravada Bhikkhunīs to survive and develop in China.

This paper explores the dilemma and obstacles confronted by Theravada Buddhism by examining the history of its introduction into China. Furthermore, based on the current development of Chinese Theravada Buddhism, we put forth the practice for Theravada Buddhism in order to further develop in modern Chinese society.

2. Introduction of Buddhism into China

2-1 China's Mainstream Culture — Confucianism and Taoism

Confucianism and Taoism were founded in the Spring and Autumn Period (770~403 B.C.E.). Confucianism, as a school with the most profound impact on China's culture, education, family and politics, was founded by Confucius (551~479 B.C.E.), the most influential thinker and educator in Chinese history. Confucianism centers on benevolence and etiquette: the former is the care for life, and the latter the ethics and order of social status. Self-cultivation and family management are the basis of Confucius's educational ideas while country administration and service represent his educational ideals. In other words, the goal of Confucius is to improve oneself to serve the country, i.e. practical idealism.

Taoism was founded by Laozi (580~480 B.C.E.), another important philosopher in China. In his work *Tao Te Ching*, Laozi maintains the ontology¹ that Tao is natural and

1 Please refer to *《Tao Te Ching》*: Chapter 1: The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao; the name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name. (Conceived of as) having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth; (conceived of as) having a name, it is the Mother of all things. Always without desire we must be found, if its deep

universal. The life philosophy is: “Follow the nature, do nothing, and let it be”². Taoism is the most popular metaphysics in China with a profound impact on China’s culture, education and politics.

2-2 Kingship and Mainstream Culture

After about 550 years of national division and wars in China from 770 to 221 B.C.E., Emperor Qin Shihuang united China, established its first centralized government, the Qin Dynasty (221~207 B.C.E.), and became the first emperor of China.

Excessive oppression over the people led to the quick demise of the Qin Dynasty and the establishment of the Han Dynasty (202 B.C.E. ~ 220 C.E.). People aspired for a stable life after centuries of turmoil in China. Therefore, the first two emperors in the Han Dynasty (180~141 B.C.E.) adopted Laozi’s teachings of non-action and tried not to burden the people, in the hope that people can recuperate and the national strength can be restored.

To further advance the country, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (141~87 B.C.E.) accepted the policy of Dong

mystery we would sound; but if desire always within us be, its outer fringe is all that we shall see. Under these two aspects, it is really the same; but as development takes place, it receives the different names. Together we call them the Mystery. Where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful.

- 2 Please refer to (Tao Te Ching): Chapter 25: Man takes his law from the Earth; the Earth takes its law from Heaven; Heaven takes its law from the Tao. The law of the Tao is its being what it is.

Please refer to (Tao Te Ching): Chapter 37: The Tao in its regular course does nothing (for the sake of doing it), so there is nothing which it does not do.

Zhongshu and adopted the strategy of Confucianism³ as the mainstay of the state in national governance. Thereafter, the school of Confucius was transformed into a religion-like Confucianism. Since then, promoting the thought of Confucius and emphasizing the use of his disciples had become the ruling policy of successive Chinese dynasties. The lofty status of Confucius became firm and unshakable.

In 126~140 C.E., Zhang Daoling (34~156 C.E.) deified Laozi as the Supreme Lord Lao, and regarded Laozi's thoughts as the basis for cultivating immortality. Laozi was originally a thinker. After being promoted to sainthood by the Emperor of the Han Dynasty, Zhang Daoling further deified Laozi as a god. Zhang Daoling mixed the ideas of Laozi with those of Huangdi, Yin-Yang School, the cult of immortals, and the worship of ghosts and deities, which gradually developed into Taoism. Laozi became a thinker, a saint, a god, and the center of Taoism belief.

The Han Dynasty was the first centralized government with the longest reign in Chinese history. As the Han emperors worshiped Laozi and Confucius, and particularly promoted the Confucianism-oriented policy in governance, which became the governing principle of later dynasties, making Taoism and Confucianism the mainstream culture in China.

3 Please refer to (History of the Han Dynasty): Biography of Dong Zhongshu: With the recommendation of Dong Zhongshu, Emperor Wu worshipped Confucianism.

3. Evolution of Buddhist Vinaya

3-1 Dissemination of Traditional Buddhist Vinaya and Saṅghas

Traditional Indian Vinayas succeeded by the four Buddhism Sects were translated and introduced into China from 250 to 424 C.E.. But there were no qualified Bhikkhunīs approved by both Saṅghas in China.

In 433 C.E., eleven Bhikkhunīs including Tissarā⁴ (鐵薩羅) of Theravada Saṅgha from Simhala (Sri Lanka today) came to Jiankang (Nanjing today). In 434, Saṃghavarman⁵ (僧伽跋摩) and Tissarā together with ten qualified Bhikkhunīs passed on the Bhikkhunī ordination to over 300 nuns. Since then, there were both Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅghas of traditional Indian Buddhism in China.

3-2 Dissemination of Mahayana Vinaya and Saṅghas

The Bodhisattva Precepts of Indian Mahayana Buddhism were translated between 421 and 431 C.E.. Mahayana Saṅghas were established in China in accordance with Bodhisattva Precepts and developed in southern and northern China.

4 Biographies of Bhikkhunīs (Volume II) (Biography of Huiguo from Jingfu Temple, Volume XIV): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (50) p.939.3-12~24

5 Biographies of Eminent Monks (Volume III) titled V. Saṃghavarman by Hui Jiao of Liang Dynasty : Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (50) p.342.2-11~23

4. New Development Driven by Buddhist Sūtras Translation

4-1 Evolution and Dissemination of Traditional Buddhist Sūtras

In 443 C.E., both Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅghas of traditional Indian Buddhism were established, with four Āgamas translated, indicating the comprehensive dissemination of traditional Indian Buddhism in China.

4-2 Evolution and Dissemination of Mahayana Buddhist Sūtras

In 443 C.E., Indian Mahayana Saṅgha were established in China. Major Mahayana Buddhist Sūtras and teachings were translated, indicating the comprehensive dissemination of Mahayana Buddhism in China.

5. The Turning Point in China's Mainstream Culture and Mahayana Buddhism

5-1 Differences and Similarities between Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism

The Chinese mainstream culture established state governing policies in the Han Dynasty. To stabilize and rehabilitate the society after 570 years of turmoil (770-202 B.C.E.), Taoism was adopted as the guiding principle for state administration. Since Emperor Hanwu, stabilizing the imperial power and strengthening the country by the rule of law had become the fundamental national policies. Devotion to Confucius and appointment of Confucius's disciples as officials became the basis of national governance, which were followed by later dynasties as Confucianism and Taoism became the

mainstream of Chinese culture.

Based on kinship ethics, Confucianism values realities of life, opposes mysticism, and advocates benevolence, forgiveness, care for the people, and the commonwealth of the world. Theravada Buddhism focuses on detachment from the world neglecting the realities of life, and emphasizes individual salvation rather than universal salvation. Therefore, there are fundamental differences between Confucianism and Theravada Buddhism.

According to *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* of Mahayana Buddhism, *Svabhāva-śūnya* means “empty, nothing to obtain”. *Tathatā* (true nature) proposed in *Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* and *Buddha-dhātu* (Buddha nature) in *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra* and *Mahāparinivāna Sūtra* are equally unrealistic and rejected by Confucianism. But Mahayana’s idea of universal salvation agrees with the Confucian philosophy of “benevolence, forgiveness, care for the people, and the commonwealth of the world”.

Laozi advocated the ontology that Tao is natural and universal. Its life philosophy is “Follow the nature, do nothing, let it be”.

Anattā (no self) and *Svabhāva-śūnya* (emptiness, unattainableness) proposed by Theravada Buddhism and *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* of Mahayana Buddhism both oppose to the ontology of Laozi.

Tathatā proposed in *Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* and *Buddha-dhātu* in *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra* and *Mahāparinivāna Sūtra* are the integration of eternity, happiness, solitude, purity and impermanence (*anicca*), which perfectly match with Laozi’s ontology.

5-2 Traditional Chinese Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism in the mid-5th Century

5-2-1 Traditional Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism

By 443 C.E., four Āgamas and the Vinayas of the four Buddhism Sects had been translated. In 420 C.E., Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya and Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya were disseminated in southern and northern China, with both Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅgha established.

In 443 C.E., most of the important texts of the Mahayana school advocating Svabhāva-sūnya, Madhyamikā, Tathatā, Buddha-dhātu, Tathāgatagarbha and Pureland beliefs had been translated. The Bodhisattva precepts of Mahayana Buddhism were disseminated across southern and northern China, with Bodhisattva Saṅghas established.

Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra and Madhyamikā of Mahayana Buddhism, prevailing in northern China in the late 4th Century and early 5th Century, oppressed the development of Sabbatthavada of Theravada Buddhism.

Metaphysics and ontology proposed by Laozi and Zhuangzi gained popularity in China during the Wei and Jin dynasties (220~420 C.E.). Tathatā, Buddha-dhātu and Tathāgatagarbha advocated by Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra, Mahāparinivāna Sūtra and Lankāvatāra-sūtra of Mahayana Buddhism alluded to the ideas of Taoism. The belief of Pureland mentioned in Amitabha Sūtra of Mahayana Buddhism is the spiritual sustenance of people in a turbulent society. The Mahayana idea of universal salvation agrees with the Confucian philosophy of “benevolence, forgiveness, care for the people, and the commonwealth of the world”. The

teachings of Mahayana schools are diverse, therefore they can be integrated into Chinese culture and society from multiple aspects.

In contrast, the concept anatta of traditional Indian Buddhism is against the ideas of Laozi, and the passiveness and isolation from the secular life of traditional Indian Buddhism are against the Confucian idea of “benevolence, forgiveness, care for the people, and the commonwealth of the world”. In addition, Mahayana Buddhism defames traditional Buddhism as Hinayana, which has seriously hindered the development of traditional Buddhism.

5-2-2 Impact of Mahāparinivana Sūtra

The dissemination of Mahāparinivana Sūtra promoted not only Tathatā and Buddha-dhātu of Mahayana Buddhism, but also the further integration with Taoism, helping Mahayana Buddhism become a part of mainstream culture in China.

At this time, traditional Indian Buddhism was gradually forced out of Chinese history for failing to integrate the ideas of Laozi and Zhuangzi or meet the worldly thinking of Confucian beliefs.

5-3 Exclusive Worship in Mahayana Buddhism

Prior to the 4th century, there were only traditional Buddhist Vinaya in India. At the end of the 4th century, Asanga (310~390 C.E.) from Gandhara converted to Mahayana Buddhism from Mahīmsāsaka and wrote Yogācāra-bhūmi (瑜伽師地論).

The idea of Tathatā and the manifestations and norms

of Bodhisattvas were proposed in Yogācāra-bhūmi, based on which Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla was developed by Mahayana Buddhism. Then the Bodhisattva precepts of Mahayana Buddhism was developed, with independent Mahayana Saṅghas established.

The Mahayana Bodhisattva Precepts, as taught in Mahayana Buddhism, not only defamed the Four Noble Truths and the Liberation Precepts as self-interested Hinayana, and also stated that “Bodhisattvas and Sāvakas should not be equated in the learning⁶” and “Bodhisattvas should not learn these precepts⁷”, and even “all the Liberation Precepts are not as good as the Bodhisattva Precepts by one percent or one thousandth⁸”. In the Mahayana Bodhisattva Precepts, the Four Noble Truths and the Liberation Precepts are viewed as the lay texts, such as divination, witchcraft, and calendars, and the Bodhisattva practitioners are forbidden to practice or teach them, or else they will be regarded as having violated the Bodhisattva precepts.⁹

6 Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1111.3-12~17

7 Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1108.1-3~12

8 Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1105.3-17~23

9 Commentary on Brahmajāla Bodhisattva śīla Sūtra, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (40) p. 638.2-11~14

Commentary on Brahmajāla Bodhisattva śīla Sūtra, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (40) p.640.3-21~24

Commentary on Brahmajāla Bodhisattva śīla Sūtra, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (40) p.645.2~p.645.3

Brahmajāla Sūtra, Volume 10: Please refer to the new edition of Taisho-pitaka (22) p. 1105.3-6~8

After the 4th Century, Mahayana Buddhism declared its independence from traditional Buddhism, through the compilation of the Mahayana Bodhisattva Precepts and the establishment of Mahayana Saṅgha, which depreciated the Four Noble Truths and the Liberation Precepts as Hinayana.

In 502 C.E., Emperor Wu of Liang (502~549 C.E.) Xiao Yan seized the regime of southern China and adopted the theocratic policy. From 502 to 519 C.E., the Emperor asked Jiangkang Saṅgha¹⁰ to compile *Brahmajāla Sūtra* (梵網經) based on *Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla*, which is different from *Brahmajāla Sūtra* of Dīgha Nikāya of Theravāda Buddhism. The second volume of *Brahmajāla Sūtra* of Mahayana Buddhism is *Brahmajāla Bodhisattva śīla*.

In 519 C.E., Emperor Wu of Liang received the Bodhisattva precepts in accordance with *Brahmajāla*

Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra Bodhisattva): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1108.1-27 ~ p.1108.2-1

Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra Bodhisattva): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24) p.1108.3-22~24

Bodhisattva-bhūmi, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (30) p.912.2-5~p.913.1

Bodhisattva-bhūmi, Volume 5: Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (30) p.915.2-21~27

- 10 Please refer to (Buddhist Ideas and Cultures) by Yan Shangwen: Article Collection on the 86th Birthday of Yinshun, p.124-7~19

Emperor Liangwu promoted the theocracy policies upon his inauguration. He led the Jiankang Saṅgha to promote Buddhism and to translate, compile and interpret Buddhist canons for over 18 years, applying these achievements into state administration. On April 8 (lunar calendar) of the 18th year of Tianjian, the Jiankang Saṅgha led by Emperor Liangwu received ordination, with the core idea of Emperor Bodhisattva being proposed (Note 3). Jiankang Saṅgha was under the strong impact of the long-term theocracy during the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties.

Bodhisattva śīla and claimed himself as Emperor Bodhisattva¹¹, ordering that the Buddhist monks and nuns were not allowed to practice mendicancy or eat meat. During his 48-year reign, Emperor Wu of Liang not only worshipped Mahayana Buddhism and claimed himself to be the leader of Mahayana Buddhism, but also oppressed traditional Indian Buddhism and the development of traditional Buddhism as well as Saṅghas.

From 502 to 549 C.E., Mahayana Buddhism was established as the mainstream of Chinese Buddhism, dwarfing the traditional Buddhism.

5-4 Re-interpretation and Impact of Mahayana Buddhism

In the Southern and Northern dynasties (421~589 C.E.), Chinese Buddhism continued the development of the Wei-Jin period, which had integrated the ideas of Laozi and Zhuangzi, and gradually developed the trend of “merging emptiness and existence. Buddha-dhātu of Mahayana Buddhism merged with the thoughts of Laozi and Zhuangzi, and also with Svabhāvaśūnya of Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra and Madhyamikā (中觀), generating the new interpretation of “integrating emptiness and existence”. Zhi Yi, the Tien-Tai founder, was the first to propose the whole idea of this new interpretation.

Zhi Yi¹² (538~597 C.E.) was born in the times of Emperor Wu of Liang (502~549 C.E.) and died in the times

11 Please refer to (Philosophy and Policy Basis of Bodhisattva Emperor Liangwu) by Yan Shangwen, Journal of History of Normal University, Volume 17, p.1~p.58. 1978

12 Continuation Eminent Monk Biography (Volume 17) Biography of Zhi Yi (III): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (50) p.564.1-18~p.568.1-14

of Emperor Wen of Sui (581~604 C.E.). He proposed the new interpretation¹³ of “combination of śūnya and bhāva, explaining the śūnya with bhāva, affirming bhāva by talking śūnya” based on “śūnya, pseudonym and middle path” of Mūla-Madhyamaka-kārikā by Nagarjuna and the Buddha-dhātu of Saddharmapundarika Sūtra.

The new interpretation is to acknowledge and promote Buddha-dhātu rather than the original “śūnya, pseudonym and middle path” of the Mahayana school. In response to the four stages of Dharma transmission of Indian Buddhism, Zhi Yi characterized traditional Indian Buddhism as Hinayana and claimed that Saddharmapundarika Sūtra was the last and most complete Dharma proclaimed by the Buddha.

5-5 Integration of Taoism into Indian Mahayana Buddhism

Zhi Yi’s new interpretation integrates Svabhāva-śūnya of Mahayana Buddhism into Buddha-dhātu. In the explanation of the new interpretation, the Svabhāva-śūnya in Chinese Mahayana Buddhism has vanished. All contents of the new interpretations are actually the promotion of bhāva.

Zhi Yi’s new interpretation not only integrates the śūnya and bhāva, but also settles the disputes among Mahayana schools, and opens up the way for the development of Mahayana Buddhism towards Lao-Zhuang’s thoughts. The new interpretation ultimately led to the complete Lao-Zhuang transformation of Indian Mahayana Buddhism, transforming its inner nature into another kind of Mahayana ideology.

In 594 C.E., Zhi Yi’s new interpretation initiated the

13 Mahā Samattha Vipassanā bhāvanā, Volume V (Part I): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (46) p. 55.2-13 ~19

Lao-Zhuang-ization of Indian Mahayana Buddhism, fully integrating Mahayana Buddhism into Chinese culture. Meanwhile, under the impact of Chinese culture and social structure, Zhi Yi's new interpretation deprived the Indian traditional Buddhism of competitiveness against Chinese Mahayana Buddhism. Therefore, traditional Indian Buddhism was bound to withdraw from Chinese history.

5-6 Impact of Deification of Laozi in the Tang Dynasty

In 618 C.E., Li Yuan with nomadic ancestry¹⁴ established the Tang Dynasty, which aroused concerns among the Han people. To prevent the superiority of Han people from threatening the regime, emperors in the Tang Dynasty worshipped the saint of the Han, Laozi (Li Er), as their ancestor¹⁵ and eventually

14 Emperor Gaozu Li Yuan was born in a noble family with mixed ancestry of the Han and the Hu in Shanxi. According to the findings of Prof. Zhang Mingqia of Shaanxi History Museum, there were five noble families in eastern Taihang Mountain, namely the Wang, the Lu, the Cui, the Li and the Zheng. The Li is a prominent family of Xianbei nationality. Historical materials suggest that the mother of Li Yuan was the sister of the queen of Emperor Suiyang. They were of Xianbei nationality instead of Han nationality. The mother of Li Shimin, Emperor Taizong, was of Xianbei nationality as well. His wife Zhangsun also came from the nomadic group in northern China. Inside the mausoleum of Emperor Taizong were six stone horses, which fell in the customs of the Turkic people. Major opinions about the ancestry of Li Yuan include family name granted by the emperor, the declined noble family of Li of the Xianbei nationality in Henan and the descendants of Li Er.

15 Please refer to (The Historical Records: Biography of Laozi): Laozi came from Qurenli Village, Lixiang Town, and Chuku County. The family name Laozi is Li, the given name is Er and courtesy name Dan. Records about Laozi are unclear. It is said that Laozi stayed at Hanguan upon the invitation of local governor Yin Xi and wrote Tao Te Ching. Then he left and

regarded Laozi as the emperor who rules the heaven¹⁶ after generations of conferment.

The political needs of emperors in the Tang Dynasty established Laozi's status unshakeable. Any doctrines or religions that challenge Taoism would be deemed as the enemy of the empire and emperors of Tang.

The four Āgamas advocate anattā while Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra and Madhyamikā of Mahayana Buddhism favor Svabhāva-śūnya, both are against bhāva and the religious ideas of Laozi and the Tang Empire.

On the contrary, the new interpretation of Zhi Yi not only opened the way for Buddhism to develop toward the thought of Laozi by integrating emptiness into existence and favorably honoring Laozi's status, but also led Buddhism to acknowledge Laozi and to support the Tang Empire and its emperors.

Buddha-dhātu of Saddharma-puṇḍārīka Sūtra, Tathatā of Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra and Buddha-dhātu of Lankāvatāra-sūtra and Mahāparinivāna Sūtra are all religious ideas that conform to the ideas of Laozi and the emperors.

no one was clear about his destination. The west of Hangan was taken as the settlement of the Hu. Neither the mother of Li Yuan nor his wife was the Han people. The wife of Li Shimin was also from the nomadic group. Laozi as the saint of Taoism visited the west of Hangan and had the family name of Li. Li Yuan therefore took Laozi as the ancestor so as to relieve the doubts of the Han People.

- 16 Please refer to (Tang Annals): Biography of Emperor Gaozong, Volume II; Etiquette IV

In 618, emperor of the Tang Dynasty worshipped Li Er as the first ancestor; in 666, the title of Emperor Xuanyuan was conferred upon Li Er; in 743, the title Great Ancestor was further conferred; in 749, Li Er was conferred with the title of Great Ancestor Emperor Xuan Yuan; in 754, the title was changed into Great Ancestor-Jinque Xuanyaun Emperor.

Shen Xiu (606~706 C.E.), the disciple of Hong Ren, was honored as the imperial monk by Empress Wuzetian, Emperor Zhongzong, Emperor Ruizong and Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty.

The status of Laozi and the stability of the Tang Empire were closely connected. Any doctrine or religious belief that challenged or opposed Laozi's ideas were not acknowledged by the Tang Empire.

From 518 to 618 C.E., Emperor Wu of Liang established the dominant role of Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese Buddhism while Zhi Yi's new interpretation not only settled disputes among Mahayana schools but also integrated Mahayana Buddhism into the mainstream culture of China. The worship and deification of Laozi by emperors in the Tang Dynasty further consolidated the position of Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese Buddhism.

Deviation from the mainstream culture of China and marginalized by Mahayana Buddhism, traditional Indian Buddhism was completely driven out of China together with its Sūtras, Vinaya and Saṅghas.

6.Radical Change of Chinese Buddhism

From 842 to 846 C.E., to boost the national economy, the emperor resorted to the conflicts between Taoism and Buddhism to crack down on Buddhism. A great number of temples were destructed. Monks and nuns were forced to resume their secular life, thereby suppressing Buddhist intellectual talents. Later, the decline and demise of the Tang Dynasty resulted in long-term wars and precarious grip of the regime.

In the period of turmoil, people hoped to escape from

reality and to find some spiritual sustenance. Taoism, Zen and the belief of Pureland found the opportunity to play their roles.

After the 9th Century, mainstream Buddhism in China consisted of Zen and the belief of Pureland. Prior to 1960, the Mahayana Buddhism in China was faced with a severe talent shortage. Their Buddhism activities were mostly charities, religious services and meditation. Missionary work was mainly persuading people to believe in Buddhism, encouraging people to do good deeds for merits, and reading the classical Sūtras. In this context, Mahayana Buddhism was on the verge of extinction.

7. Realities and Needs of Modern Chinese Communities

7-1 Realities of Modern Chinese Communities

Education, system and economy are three pillars for progress in western society. Western education focuses on realism, science and humanities, which originated from the Renaissance between the 14th to the 17th centuries. This advances social system, production technologies, medicine, art and religion, all being the fundamental contributors to the stability, prosperity, harmony and 300-year worldwide leading position of western society.

The Chinese began to learn from the West after WWII to build a modern society and country. Following the principles of realism, science and humanities, the Chinese promoted national and higher education to train modernized talents, gradually built a better social system, and upgraded the level of science and technology, production techniques, and the scale of economic development.

Chinese communities worldwide have witnessed extensive advances from 1950 to 2018. Their cultural traditions, including cultures, beliefs, ethics and values, continue to follow the ideas of Confucius, Laozi and Mahayana Buddhism, which fail to meet the needs of modern society.

The abstract metaphysics and ontology advocated by Laozi and Mahayana Buddhism do not conform to the principles (realism, science and humanities) of modern civilization. The Confucian philosophies do not work in the fast-paced changing conditions of modern society either. Cultural education of Confucius, Laozi and Mahayana Buddhism would draw the modern Chinese back to the way they were 300 years ago and bound to fall into the gap between traditional culture and modern society, making them difficult to adapt to their daily life.

7-2 Needs of Modern Chinese Communities

Driven by globalization, people today pursue a better and more stable life. International competition and collaboration would continue. A pragmatic, scientific and humanistic mindset as well as a positive life attitude are the basis of the modern civilized society.

Confucianism and Taoism are a part of traditional Chinese culture with a history of over 2000 years, which are not likely to undergo fundamental changes. Nowadays, Mahayana Buddhism in China is Lao-Zhuang-ized, metaphysical, and ontological, differing from the ideas of Buddha Sakyamuni and Indian Buddhism. In face of the needs and progress of the modern world, the impractical Lao-Zhuang-ized Buddhism would gradually be phased out if no change is made to its ideas and practices.

The Twelve Nidanas and the Four Noble Truths originally

taught by Buddha Sakyamuni valued realism, science, humanities, and a positive life attitude. The teachings are completely in line with the mainstream culture of the world, which not only meet the needs of modern society but also promote the globalization of Buddhism.

In this way, the original teachings of Buddha totally meet the needs of the Chinese societies. Not only the Chinese Buddhism should be reformed but the orthodox Buddhism should also be introduced into the Chinese communities.

8. Current Development of Theravada Buddhism in Chinese Communities

8-1 Re-conceptualizing Buddhism

Since 1980, the Buddhist academia in Taiwan have identified that Mahayana Buddhism is not the teaching of Buddha Sakyamuni. These studies are mostly conducted by Yinshun of Mahayana Buddhism. Since then, Mahayana Buddhists in Taiwan have begun to look for the true teachings of Buddha. More Buddhists have begun to study Theravada Buddhism.

Since 1990, Tipitaka of Theravada Buddhism have been translated into Chinese, providing a proper access to Theravada Buddhism for the Chinese Buddhists, who began to learn about the culture and customs of Theravada Buddhism from Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma.

8-2 Development of Theravada Buddhism in Chinese Communities

From 1985 to 1995, Chinese Buddhists in Malaysia

and Taiwan learned about Theravada Buddhism from Thai Buddhists, such as Ajahn Chah Subhaddo and Bhikkhu Buddhādāsa. From 1990 to 2010, many followers went to Thailand for meditation and renunciation. Concurrently, several Thai Bhikkhus relocated to Taiwan to spread Dharma.

Theravada Buddhism in Thailand values ascetic practices, precepts and meditation. The meditation focuses on practical experience and does not emphasize Sūtra Piṭaka or Abhidhamma Piṭaka. This led Chinese Buddhists who valued the evidence-based teachings to gradually turn to Burmese Buddhism.

From 1990 to 1995, Satya Narayan Goenka (1924~2013 C.E.), Pha Auk Sayadaw (1934 C.E.~) and Mahasi Sayadaw (1904~1982 C.E.) from Burma began to systematically disseminate the Dharma in Taiwan. Theravada Buddhism in Burma contends that Abhidhamma Piṭaka trumps everything and should be included in meditation. Chinese Buddhists who were interested in Dharma thus turned to Burmese Buddhism. From 1995 to 2010, the Burmese Theravada Buddhism was introduced to Malaysia, mainland China and Taiwan.

Sri Lanka is farther from Malaysia, mainland China and Taiwan than Thailand and Burma geographically. Few Buddhists from Sri Lanka visited Taiwan. The Chinese are more interested in the culture of Sri Lanka than its Buddhism.

8-3 Current Situation of Theravada Buddhism in Chinese Communities

1. Groups and sizes

There is a small number of Theravada Buddhism groups in the Chinese communities in Malaysia, mainland China (except Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China) and Taiwan. The

group number and size of Theravada Buddhists in Burma is ranked first, followed by Thailand, and Sri Lanka the last.

2. Bhikkhu Saṅghas

The Chinese monks following the Burmese and Thai Theravada Buddhism are mostly dispersed throughout the world with little long-term cooperation. In Malaysia and Taiwan, there is a Saṅgha learning from Venerable Sayadaw Pha-Auk. Also, in Malaysia and Taiwan, there is a Saṅgha who inherits the Vinaya lineage from Sri Lanka: Dhammatṭha Bhikkhu Saṅgha.

3. Bhikkhunī Saṅghas

The Bhikkhu Saṅghas in Thailand and Burma have not approved the restoration of Bhikkhunī Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism. So, there is no Bhikkhunī Saṅgha succeeded from Thai and Burmese in the Chinese communities. At present, Dhammatṭha Bhikkhunī Saṅgha is the only one in the Chinese communities, who inherits the Vinaya lineage from Sri Lanka.

Since 2000, in Taiwan, there have been some Theravada Ten Precepts women or nuns in Mahayana Buddhism, who have studied Theravada Buddhism, ordained in Theravada Buddhism, and changed into the kasaya of Theravada Buddhism. They claim themselves as Theravada Bhikkhunīs, but still continue to follow Mahayana Buddhism in reality. This behavior is inconsistent with the teachings and the precepts, and does not represent the practice of the orthodox Four Noble Truths Saṅgha.

4. Social Activities

At present, most of the Theravada Buddhists and organizations in the Chinese communities focus on self-practice. Few of them have the ability to preach the Dharma with a positive attitude. Moreover, the main activities of the Theravada Buddhists organizations are theory teachings, meditation, alms giving and short-term renunciation, with few

social activities of disseminating the Dharma.

9. Challenges to Promote Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese Communities

9-1 External Challenges

1. The suppression and exclusion from Mahayana Buddhism is the greatest difficulty in development.

2. Lack of understanding as well as misunderstanding by the Chinese communities is the second difficulty.

3. Serious lack of social engagement.

9-2 Internal Challenges

1. Lack of talents for Buddhism

2. Lack of enthusiasm

3. Mutual exclusion

4. Lack of long-term development strategies.

9-3 Countermeasures and Development

1. Spread Dharma that meets the needs of the times and of Chinese communities.

2. Enhance cooperation among Theravada Bhikkhuni Saṅghas worldwide and empower the Bhikkhuni Saṅghas.

3. Establish Bhikkhunī Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese communities.

4. Unite the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅghas and increase their social engagement.

10. Restore Bhikkhunī Inheritance of Theravada Buddhism

10-1 Significance of Restoration of Bhikkhuni Inheritance

There are two genders in the world, and there are also male and female Buddhists. The Saṅghas would lose the virtues, competence and wisdom of females if they reject the participation of females.

Theravada Buddhism would arouse doubt and rejection from the society if it declines to acknowledge Bhikkhunī. In particular, there are nuns in Mahayana Buddhism in the Chinese communities. The Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese communities would certainly promote the growth of Theravada Buddhism in Chinese society.

10-2 Approaches for Restoration of Bhikkhuni Inheritance

1. Make good use of the Dharma and Vinaya of Theravada Buddhism.

2. Follow the gender ethics of pratitya-samutpada.

3. Make good use of the Eight Garudhammas to enhance the kindness and support of Bhikkhu Saṅgha.

4. Do not engage in feminism and avoid attacks of masculinism.

5. Avoid the intervention of Mahayana Buddhism and minimize the doubts of Theravada Bhikkhu Saṅghas.

6. Uphold the spirit of refinement and discipline.
7. Promote collaboration and reduce competition.
8. Mutual assistance and cooperation with Bhikkhu Saṅghas.
9. Unite with the Bhikkhunī Saṅghas of all schools for shared interests and growth.
10. Actively participate in social charitable and educational events.
11. Stay away from arrogance, selfishness and self-interest.

10-3 Inheritance of Dhammatṭha Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese Communities

10-3-1 Inheritance of Bhikkhu Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese Communities

Dhammatṭha Saṅgha follow the Theravada Vinaya, and are mainly consisted of Chinese members. Founded by Ven. Vūpasama Thero in 1995, the Saṅgha have developed in Taiwan, mainland China as well as the Chinese communities in Malaysia, Singapore and America.

The Vinaya lineage of Dhammatṭha Bhikkhu Saṅgha originated from Burma and Sri Lanka, based on the fact that the teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni and the Buddhists in different countries are all in the same family. Dhammatṭha Saṅgha respect all the Vinaya lineages from Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma. Since 2012, Dhammatṭha Saṅgha have mostly followed the Vinaya lineage from Sri Lanka while acknowledging and supporting the restoration of Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism.

Since 2014, Dhammatṭha Saṅgha have gained supports from Theros and Saṅghas in Sri Lanka. Both work together to facilitate the growth of Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅghas in the Chinese communities.

10-3-2 Inheritance of Bhikkhunī Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese Communities

The Bhikkhunī inheritance of Dhammatṭha Saṅgha started with the nuns who followed the ten precepts in Burma in 1998, and developed in 2002, with the ten precepts nuns studying the Bhikkhunī precepts in accordance with the Theravada Vinaya and observing the precepts by themselves, and the order was established in 2014. The Dhammatṭha Bhikkhunī Saṅgha succeed the Vinaya lineage of Sri Lanka and have been approved by both Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅghas of Theravada Buddhism.

Bhikkhunīs of Dhammatṭha Saṅgha are under the leadership of Ven. Vūpasama Thero and Ven. Bhikkhunī Tissarā, which develop in Taiwan, mainland China as well as the Chinese communities in Malaysia, Singapore and America.

P.S. This article was published in both Chinese and English, and was published in Chinese by Ven. Bhikkhunī Tissarā, who was assisted by Ven. Bhikkhunī Dhammacārī to undertake the on-site English interpretation.

【 附 錄 】

Appendix

中道僧團 簡介

中道僧團之師法傳承：

中道僧團是奉行 釋迦牟尼 世尊、聲聞聖者之法脈，既遵循、奉守「第一次經典律結集」集成之〈七事修多羅〉為教法根本，也承續部派分裂以前，「第二次經律結集」集成之四部經典（相應、中、長、增一）。2018 年，隨佛長老費時 16 年之久，將部派佛教傳誦之〈七事修多羅〉，當中為異道教說採雜、變偽的變異經說，予以整治、去除，並還原依緣起、緣生智見開展的「世尊教說原義」。

中道僧團依據 世尊在〈轉法輪經〉的教導，「八聖道乃 世尊現等覺乃至解脫之中道」。中道僧團是依八正道，次第修證四聖諦三轉、十二行，具足成就正覺，乃至離貪厭、結縛斷、苦滅、解脫。因此，原始佛教會全體僧眾，依止 釋迦牟尼 世尊之教法，將原始佛教會之僧伽全體，正式定名為「中道僧團」，並以「中道僧團」作為對內與對外之代表名稱，帶領原始佛教會宣法、利世。

中道僧團不僅重於回歸 世尊教說原旨，又延請斯里蘭卡阿曼羅普羅派 Amarapura Nikāya 大長老 Most

Ven. Kammatthanacara Dodampahala Chandrasiri Maha Nayaka Thera 及 Siam Nikāya 長老 Ven. Kirama Wimalajothi Maha Thera 等十位斯里蘭卡僧團大德，在臺灣建立原始佛教根本戒場、傳比丘戒。此外，又依阿曼羅普羅派之比丘、比丘尼僧團的共同傳授，建立中道比丘尼僧團的僧律傳承。自此，**隨佛長老領導中道僧團自斯里蘭卡阿曼羅普羅派 Amarapura Nikāya 承續已有兩千四百多年傳承的解脫僧團律脈於臺灣，復興具足比丘、比丘尼之原始佛教僧團傳承。**

中道僧團之學風及律持：

中道僧團的修持，在緣起、四聖諦的覺觀、修證，表現於日常生活的解決困難、開展人生、度越煩惱，體現正道生活與修證佛法的相應無礙。

中道僧團只收受飲食、衣服、臥具、醫療、書籍、文具等實物護持，奉守終生不受取、不積蓄、不使用金錢，也沒有「代僧人為收受、管理金錢與供養的淨人」。此外，由十方善信捐助於原始佛教會、中道禪林的一切善款，依「專款專用」的原則運用於「宣法、利世」。十方善信的錢財捐獻，完全無關於中道僧團的生活護持，自始至今皆是如此。

中道僧團的僧伽不主動向人索求供養與護持，受取食物的方式為托鉢化食，或是居家信士自行辦食供養於寺、受居士請而應供。中道僧團只在說法前受取供養，說法後不受供養，不受用魚、肉、煙、酒、檳榔，也不受用消遣性的咖啡、可樂、汽水、茶、糖果等，多餘的飲食、衣服、臥具、醫藥也不受用。

A Brief Introduction to Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha

Lineage of Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha

Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha adhere to the lineage of Buddha Sakyamuni and his sāvaka disciples. They not only follow the Suttas of the Seven Categories compiled in the First Buddhist Council as the foundation of the teaching, but also pass on the four Nikāyas (Saṃyutta Nikāya, Majjhima Nikāya, Dīgha Nikāya, Aṅguttara Nikāya) compiled in the Second Buddhist Council before the sectarian division. Ven. Vupasama Thero spent 16 years rectifying and removing the falsified and variant scriptures that had been mixed in with the Suttas of the Seven Categories inherited by Sektarian Buddhism, and in 2018, he restored the original teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni based on the wisdom of relevant influencing.

According to the teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni in the Wheel of Dhamma Sutta, the Noble Eightfold Path is the middle way to attain enlightenment and even liberation. Following the Noble Eightfold Path, Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha practice the twelve aspects of the Four Noble Truths in three phases stage by stage, to achieve awakening, detachment from craving, eradication of bondage, cessation of suffering, and liberation of the mind. Therefore, all the Saṅgha members of Original Buddhism Society, formally named the entire Saṅgha ‘Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha’ in accordance with the teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni. The name “Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha” is used both internally and externally to guide Original Buddhism Society in spreading the Dhamma and benefiting the world.

Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha not only restore the original teachings of Buddha Sakyamuni, but also inherit the ancient Vinaya lineage. In 2018, Ven. Vūpasama Thero invited the Most Ven. Kammatthanacara Dodampahala Chandrasiri Maha Nayaka

Thero of Amarapura Nikāya, Most Ven. Kirama Wimalajothi Maha Thero of Siam Nikāya and other eight Theros from Sri Lanka to Taiwan. Together, they established the Fundamental Sima of Original Buddhism, and performed an Upasampadā Ordination. In addition, under the guidance of the Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅghas of Amarapura Nikāya, the Vinaya lineage of Dhammatta Bhikkhunī Saṅgha was also established. Hereafter, Ven. Vūpasama Thero led Dhammatta Saṅgha to accede this sacred Vinaya lineage, a Buddhist lineage from Sri Lanka with a history of over 2400 years, and revived the Original Buddhism Saṅgha with both Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunīs in Taiwan.

Disciplines of Dhammatṭha Saṅgha

The practice of Dhammatṭha Saṅgha is based on the awareness and cultivation of the Four Noble Truths, and is manifested in the daily life of solving difficulties, developing a bright life, and eliminating the sufferings, thus reflecting the correspondence between the enlightened life and the cultivation of Dhamma. Dhammatṭha Saṅgha only accept physical offerings, such as food, clothing, bedding, medical care, books, stationery, and other necessities. They do not accept, use, or accumulate money from devotees, and there is no designated layperson to manage financial offerings on their behalf.

Furthermore, all donations made to Original Buddhism Society and Sambodhi Monastery from the public are used to spread the Dharma and benefit the world in accordance with the principle of allocating funds for specific purposes. Since the establishment of Dhammatṭha Saṅgha, no public donations have been used for living expenses of monks and nuns.

Dhammatṭha Saṅgha do not actively seek offerings and support, but they do accept food in the form of alms bowl or as an offering to the temple, or at an invitation.

Dhammatṭha Saṅgha only accept offerings before the Dhamma talk, not after. Additionally, they do not accept fish, meat, cigarettes, alcohol, betel nut, sweets, or recreational drinks such as coffee, cola, soft drinks, or tea. They also do not accept any unnecessary items, such as excess food, clothing, bedding, or medicines.

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本書的內容即是2019年初，在印度摩訶菩提學會舉辦的〈佛教與女性解放〉學術研討會議上，隨佛長老及道一比丘尼發表之《探討上座部佛教比丘尼傳承的重要性與時代意義》、《現代華人社會上座部比丘尼的困境與發展現況》兩篇學術論文的中、英文內容。

The contents of this book, in both Chinese and English, are compiled from the writings of Ven. Bhikkhu Vūpasama and Ven. Bhikkhunī Tissarā. They were presented at the "Global Conference on Buddhism and Women's Liberation", held at the Maha Bodhi Society of India in early 2019. The two papers are titled: "Importance and Contemporary Significance of Theravada Bhikkhunī Lineage" and "Dilemma and Current Development of Theravada Bhikkhunīs in Modern Chinese Society".



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