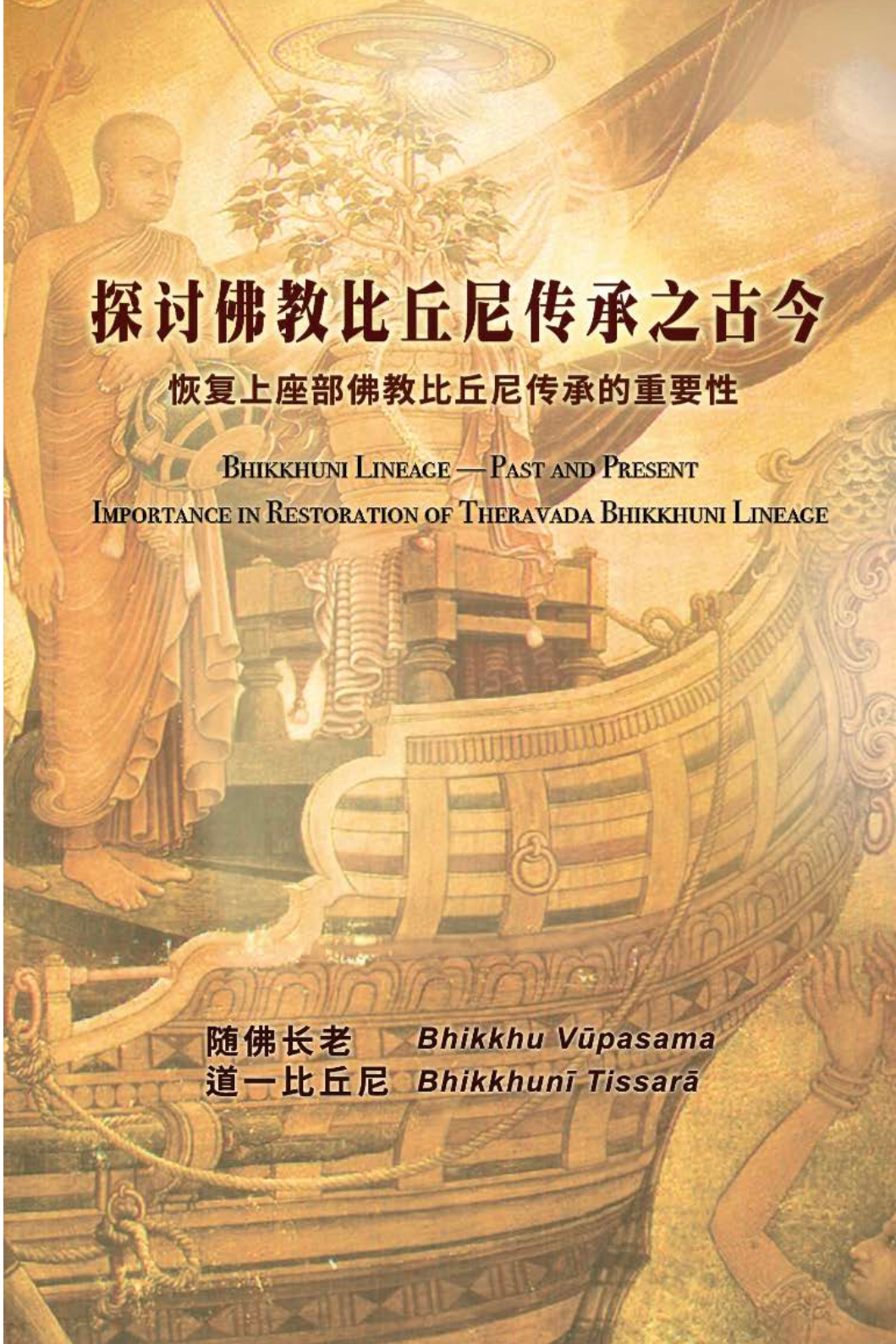




探讨佛教比丘尼传承之古今

恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承的重要性

BHIKKHUNI LINEAGE — PAST AND PRESENT

IMPORTANCE IN RESTORATION OF THERAVADA BHIKKHUNI LINEAGE

随佛长老 *Bhikkhu Vūpasama*
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随佛长老简介

随佛长老（Ven. Bhikkhu Vūpasama）为华人，出生于台湾，修学佛法至今已五十余年，在世界各地创办“原始佛教会”，是还原、振兴已经隐没约有两千二百余年之原始佛教的法脉传人。

长老出家于缅甸铜鍬部僧团，剃度师是承续雷迪大师（Ven. Ledi Sayadaw C.E. 1846~1923）禅法及道场系统之 Bhaddanta Zagara Bhivamsa 长老。长老现今担任中华、美国、马来西亚、澳洲、欧洲原始佛教会终生导师，兼台湾、马来西亚、纽约等地中道禅林的导师，相近共学为奉守原始佛法的“中道僧团”。

随佛长老对于佛教教法的探究与修行，主要的研究是“从佛教传承的最古老教义中，探寻佛教初始时期的教法，并致力于 释迦佛陀教法、禅法及菩提道次第原貌的探究、阐扬与实践”。

随佛长老不仅传承原始佛教法脉，也熟习汉传佛教各宗宗义，印度菩萨道之“般若”、“瑜伽”与“如来藏”等三系思想，特别是对《般若经》、《中论》的思想与“禅宗”的禅法，有深入的体会与教学经验。

2011 年，长老在台湾、马来西亚、美国等地，延请南传佛教各国长老与中道僧团共同举办《四圣谛佛教联合宣言》，促进锡兰、缅甸、泰国、老挝、柬埔寨、美国、马来西亚、台湾各地僧人的交流合作，提升“四圣谛佛教”的社会影响力。

2014 年依原始佛教会为基础，再创立“四圣谛佛教会”，团结仰信“四圣谛”的原始佛教及南传佛教，提倡“原始佛教、南传上座、汉传显教、藏传密乘，四系一家，同利人间”。

2015 年，长老依据《阿含经》、《佛说阿弥陀经》、《毘尼母经》的传诵，著作《三阶念佛弥陀禅》，提倡“持名念佛、定心念佛、实相念佛”的三阶念佛，导归“见因缘法之实相念佛”，正确为世人揭示“由末法向正法”的弥陀法门。《三阶念佛弥陀禅》指出：“弥陀行者终是原始佛教行者，原始佛教行者也是弥陀

行者”，促进原始佛教、汉传佛教是一家无争、和谐共荣的新时代。

自 2013 年 起，长老在中国各地寺院广弘禅法，引导中国佛弟子学习经法、禅法，促进佛教文化的交流、学习。2015 年，随佛长老与日本曹洞宗东隆真禅师、锡兰佛牙寺 Wendaruwe Sri Upali Anunayaka 长老，共同举行联合宣法，促进佛教各界的合作。

随佛长老已经完成阿难系汉译《相应阿含》（现误译名《杂阿含》）及优波离系南传《相应部》的比对研究，更进一步的根据汉译《相应阿含》、南传《相应部》之〈因缘相应〉、〈食相应〉、〈圣谛相应〉、〈界相应〉、〈五阴（蕴）相应〉、〈六处相应〉及〈四念处等道品相应〉等〈七事修多罗〉的共说，“依经证经”的还原 佛陀原说教法。

原始佛教的教义，不同于分别说部为主的南传佛教。原始佛教最主要的内容有：1. “六处分位”的“十二因缘法”；2. “十二因缘观”的九种禅法；3. 观十二因缘、次第起七觉分，先断无明、后断贪欲的“禅法次第”；4. 依七觉分，次第究竟“四圣谛三转、十二行”，成就正觉、离贪、慈悲喜舍、解脱、阿耨多罗三藐三菩提的“一乘道次第”。

随佛长老既不受取、不积蓄、不使用钱财，也无“为僧人管理金钱供养的净人”，常年游化宣法于世界各地，不定居一处。

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.



道一尊尼简介

道一尊尼（Ven. Bhikkhunī Tissarā）生长于台湾，为中道尼僧团的首座，领导、摄受中道尼僧团，守持终生不受取、不积蓄、不使用金钱，也不使用“专为僧人处理财物供养及采办事宜的净人”。

尊尼入佛门修行至今，奉献佛教已有三十六年。1988 年入佛门修行，先在寺庙发心，后读佛学院，精勤学习大乘经教，特别是印顺老法师宣扬的印度初期大乘之般若、中观学说。

1994 年，亲近随佛长老学法，自此走入“四圣谛

佛教”的学法道路。

1998年受戒于印度菩提长老的座下，精勤学法、献身原始佛教的复兴。

1998~2000年前往泰国、缅甸森林禅修中心参学。

2000~2005年间，道一尊尼一方面受学于随佛长老，深入探究《相应阿含》与《相应部》当中的古老经法，寻觅“佛陀原说”的真义；二方面随同僧团行脚游化于台湾各地，体验头陀行、冢间修。

2007~2014年，在美国、马来西亚、澳洲、中国大陆各地游化传法，教导禅修、开展原始佛教，不畏艰辛、不求名利、牺牲奉献，深得各地学众的敬仰、拥戴。

三十多年的修行岁月，道一尊尼无私的奉献，为法、为教、为众生，尊师重道、照护同修及后进不遗余力，从未为自己谋求任何的利益，守戒精勤、认真修道，诚恳待人、谦虚自牧，是极为难得的修行人。

尊尼目前担任中华原始佛教会会长、中华四圣谛佛教会会长，美国、马来西亚原始佛教会常务理事。

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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探讨上座部佛教比丘尼传承的重要性与时代意义

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2019 年 1 月 30 日发表于印度摩诃菩提学会学术研讨会论文

1. 引言

佛教发展约近 2500 年，不仅传遍亚洲地区，近百年以来更传往世界各地。虽然如此，佛教主要发展的地区还是在亚洲各国，分别有信仰上座部佛教为主的斯里兰卡、缅甸、泰国、老挝、柬埔寨及印度，以及信仰菩萨道为主的韩国、日本、越南、马来西亚、中国大陆及台湾。

由于十二、三世纪的印度、中南半岛的上座部佛教受到蒙古军团的破坏，又加上比丘尼的出家与受戒程序必须具足两部僧团参与的限制，使得十三世纪末叶以后的上座部佛教即断失了比丘尼传承。自 1998 年起，斯里兰卡僧团的少数长老开始恢复比丘尼传承，但是上座部佛教僧团的大多数比丘，依然对恢复比丘尼的作法有着很深的顾虑，这使得信仰上座部佛教的女性难以成为比丘尼。

公元 434 年，斯里兰卡的比丘尼僧团将两部僧团所授之比丘尼戒传入中国。公元 502~518 年，中国梁武帝组织国家教团，依印度大乘教团自行编集的《瑜伽菩萨戒本》，另再编集出中国化的《梵网经菩萨戒经》。公元 519 年，中国梁武帝依新编的《梵网经菩

萨戒经》受大乘菩萨戒，并自称是“皇帝菩萨¹”。梁武帝的佛教政策，是决定上座部佛教退出中国佛教舞台的主要因素。

公元 519~618 年，印度传入中国的大乘教团，逐渐揉杂中国的道家思想，使印度大乘佛教的思想发生本质的转变，发展成混杂道家思想的中国式大乘教法。梁武帝的佛教政策，导致印度大乘佛教转变成中国式大乘教法，促使上座部佛教的教法、僧团逐渐被淘汰出中国历史舞台。公元 416~421 年，中国大乘教派译出《菩萨戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla）》，并一直保持女性出家的传统。

近代西方文化传遍世界各地，隐含基督教文化的“天赋人权，人人平等”，逐渐成为世界各国的政治与法律基础，“性别平等”也成为各国女性所追求的目标。在此之下，上座部佛教尚未全面支持恢复比丘尼的现实，即为现代社会视为“歧视女性，思想落后”的象征，更成为“大乘菩萨道”歧视、攻击上座部佛教的理由之一。

目前恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承的发展，一方面

1 见颜尚文著《梁武帝“皇帝菩萨”的理念及政策之形成基础》，《师大历史学报》第十七期，p.1~p.58。1978 年

受到女性主义者的热切支持，二方面受到“大乘菩萨道”的介入与参与，三方面受到上座部佛教比丘僧团的冷淡处理、保守人士的反对。

由于女性主义者的热切支持，刺激了上座部佛教比丘僧团内部之保守僧人的对抗与拒绝，而“大乘菩萨道”的介入与参与，更造成上座部佛教比丘僧团的疑虑与反对。如此，恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承的努力，必定是困难重重。

本文的内容，是根据上座部佛教的经说教法，探讨释迦佛陀的“两性伦理”，并根据“大乘菩萨道”的教法与律戒的发展过程及内容，探究“大乘菩萨道”的女性出家者的地位。

依据以上的研究，了解上座部佛教传承的可贵，确定恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承的重要性与时代意义，并得知应当善用上座部佛教之经法与律戒的精神，避免女性主义、大乘菩萨道的介入，坚定恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承的道路。

比丘僧团与比丘尼僧团的平衡发展，不仅有助于佛教内部两性之间的和谐、互助及团结，更有利于上座部佛教的发展与全球化。

2. 探讨 释迦佛陀的“两性伦理”

2-1. 根据《相应部》的经说

2-1-1. 《相应部》的特色

上座部佛教传诵的五部圣典，其中的《相应部》（巴 Saṃyutta-nikāya）是特别重要。由上座部佛教的大师——觉音论师（巴 Buddhaghoṣa）所著的《相应部注》，即取名为“显扬真义（巴 Sāratthappakāsinī）”，意指“显示、宣扬佛陀的真实法”，即使是大乘菩萨道的龙树（梵 Nāgārjuna），也是评价《相应部》是“第一义悉昙（梵 abhidhamma siddhānta）”，意思是“成就第一法”。如此可见，《相应部》（巴 Saṃyutta-nikāya）的特色，是显示 释迦佛陀的真实教法。

2-1-2. 佛陀的“两性伦理”

2-1-2-1. 由阶级到平等

古代的封建社会，君王是掌控最高权力、垄断一切资源的人，而愈接近君王的人即是愈能获得权利的人。在此之下，当然的特权阶级是宰制社会的力量，社会是极容易处在不公义的状态，一般的人民很难有公义、正常的发展机会。例如：佛陀反对婆罗门教的“种姓制度（英语：Caste）”，即是不认同“不公义的社会制度”。但是，佛陀是否提倡“人人平等”？

古印度的奥义书、耆那教，为了反抗婆罗门教的“种姓制度”，不仅反对“梵天造物”的信仰，更提出“梵性本有，众生平等”的说法。公元前一世纪，起自南印度的“大乘菩萨道”，也提出“诸法皆空，一切平等”的教说。因此，奥义书（梵语 Upaniṣad）、耆那教（英语：Jainism）、大乘菩萨道都有“众生平等”的说法。

十八世纪的西方社会，反抗封建、不公义社会的革命人士，即运用基督教信仰提出的“天赋人权，人人平等”，由此奠定了现代社会的民主基础。

古代的封建社会制度，主要是采取“神权或王权至上”的观点，这促成许多宗教、学说的理想，乃至近代社会的制度，针对个人的利益、权力、地位，大多是采用“个人至上，平等无差”的见解，主张任何形式的“差别待遇”都是不公、不义、不合理的错误，强调智慧、慈悲、良善、真爱、公义皆是“平等无别”，认为应当不分任何对象、不设任何差别的对待与给予。

人类自野蛮到文明的过程，是由崇尚武力生存的父权社会，逐渐走向现代社会的“男女平权”。美国在建国初期也是男性为上的社会，经由女权运动者的不断争取，直到 1911 年美国妇女才取得投票的权力。

2-1-2-2. 依《相应部》谈“两性伦理”

有关人、我之间的伦理，释迦佛陀是主张阶级差别，或是反对种姓阶级？

在佛陀的时代，印度社会即采行“种姓制度”。这是出自婆罗门教的社会制度，它是依据种族、姓氏血统、身份地位、职业将人分为四大阶级，每一类阶级再细分出不同的阶级，这是按照族裔血统的差异，制定出固定不变的地位、职业分类，并成为

严密控制社会的信仰及制度。根据上座部分支的说一切有部（巴 Sarvāstivādin）汉译《相应阿含（巴 Saṃyukta Āgama）》548 经，南传《中部（巴 Majjhima Nikaya）》〈摩偷罗经（巴 Madhurasuttam）〉（MN.84）、释迦佛陀是坚决反对“种姓制度（英语：Caste）”。

如前所说，在 释迦佛陀出世以前，在印度反对“种姓制度”的学说有奥义书，宗教有耆那教。奥义书主张“梵生”，认为一切众生皆有“神我²（ātman 阿特曼）”，而耆那教则是提出如同“神我（ātman 阿特曼）”的“命(jīva)”。因此，不论奥义书、耆那教皆认同“众生平等，人人平等”。

然而，反对“种姓制度（英语：Caste）”的 释迦佛陀，是否也主张人人平等？或者 佛陀另有其他的看法？

2 见黄心川《印度哲学史》第三章

见《石氏奥义书》：参《中华佛教百科全书》（七）p.3902.1

见神我若拇指，寄寓身心中，过去、未来主，由持不足畏，此乃真是彼！神我若拇指，如火焰无烟，唯彼是今旦，犹复是明时，此乃真是彼！”

见《歌者奥义书》：参《中华佛教百科全书》（七）p.3902.1

“这就是我心中的灵魂，小于米粒或麦粒，或芥子，或黍，或黍子核；这个我心中的灵魂，大于天，大于地，大于空，大于万有世界。”

根据南传《相应部（巴 Saṃyutta Nikaya）》〈蕴相应（巴 Khandhasaṃyutta；英语：Connected Discourses on the Aggregates）〉49 经（SN.22.49）、《相应阿含（巴 Saṃyukta Āgama）》45 经的教导，世人认定的我、你、他，实际是五阴（巴 pañcakkhandhā），并且五阴是缘生法（巴利语：paṭīcasamuppannā dhammā），而缘生法必定是无常（巴 anicca）、非我（巴 anattā）。

《相应部》〈蕴相应〉49 经³：“世尊：‘输屡那！

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- 3 见南传《相应部》〈蕴相应〉49 经：参台湾元亨寺出版《汉译南传大藏经（15）》p.70-2~71-7

巴利经文 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 vivaṭṭacchaddo” ... “imassa kammassa kaṭattā idaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ paṭilabhatī’ti.”

英译 *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

若诸沙门、婆罗门，以无常、苦、变易法之色、受、想、行、识，不观我是胜，不观我是等，不观我是劣者，如何得不见如实耶？……输屡那！汝意云何，色、受、想、行、识是常耶？是无常耶？’输屡那答：‘大德！是无常。’世尊：‘若无常、苦、变易之法，得观此，而此是我所，此是我，此是我体耶？……输屡那！是故，于此处所有色、受、想、行、识之过去、未来、现在、内、外、粗、细、胜、劣、等、远、近者，此非我所，此非我，此非我体，应以如是正慧如实见。’”

《相应阿含》45 经：“愚痴无闻凡夫，无明触故，起……我胜觉、我等觉、我卑觉……如是知、如是见觉，皆由六触入故。多闻圣弟子，于此六触入处，舍离无明而生明，不生……胜觉、等觉、卑觉……。”

由于“我、你、他”都只是概念的标记，是不合事实的想法，实际是缘生法的五阴，而缘生法是无法依据任何一法作为评价、比量的标准，所以出自比量的高胜、低劣、平等，只是出自某种特定部份条件的比较，无法代表缘生法的真实面。因此，缘生法的五

sir.” ... “Therefore, Sona, 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.’”

阴，不存在何者是高胜、低劣、平等的事实。

如此可知，反对“种姓制度（英语：Caste）”的释迦佛陀，不主张众生平等、人人平等，而是宣说“五阴是缘生法，无有胜、劣、等”。可见，“众生平等”的见解，是印度奥义书、耆那教，或是后世菩萨道的见解，“人人平等”是基督教等一神教的救赎理论，绝不是 释迦佛陀的教法。

佛陀在世时，曾对阿难说：“阿难！女人若于如来所说之法与律中离家而出家者，可得现证预流果、一来果、不还果、阿罗汉果。⁴”如此可见，女性出家为比丘尼，是如同比丘可以达到解脱，比丘、比丘尼没有不同成就的限制。

因此，男尊女卑、女尊男卑、男女平等的三种观

4 见《铜牒律》〈小品〉第十比丘尼键度 一之三：参 台湾元亨寺出版《汉译南传大藏经（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 sotāpattiphalampi sakadāgāmiphalampi anāgāmiphalampi arahattaphalampi sacchikātunti.”

英译 *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.”

点，皆不是 释迦佛陀的教说，应当是依于不同的因缘，使得男性、女性之间发生不同的强弱优劣差异。两性之间一定有差异，而智慧、能力、品德、地位的差异，是依于因缘的变动而有不同，既不是绝对不变，也绝不是由性别、血统、种族决定。

2-2. 男性主义不合佛教

人类社会的发展，是从野外求生的狩猎生活开始，再经由畜牧、农耕、工业生产、商业销售及服务的演变，逐渐由崇尚武力的父权社会，发展到重视智能的现代两性平权社会。

女性地位的低落，是古代社会的既有问题， 释迦佛陀对此也是不以为然。但面对狩猎、畜牧、农耕为经济主流的社会，不得不考量父权社会的现实性，佛陀才对女性出家施设了〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha ga-ru-dhammā*）〉。

在父权高张的古代社会，〈八敬法〉的作用，是藉由女性尊崇男性为本的比丘僧团，使比丘僧团更方便帮助及维护比丘尼僧团，目的是产生时代性的互补功能，绝对不是“歧视女性，压迫女性”的恶法。可是，

深受印度传统宗教、文化影响的后世佛教，却误把歧视女性的不当文化揉杂于佛教。

在教育普及、重视智能的现代社会，女性的社会表现及独立能力，已足以胜任多方领域的工作，也能与男性分工、合作，许多方面更是不输男性。男性至上的观点与作法，既不合佛陀的教导，也确实不合乎现代的文明社会。

2-3. 基督教文化不应介入佛教

基督教信仰“神造万物”，在神的面前是“人人平等”。在广受西方文化影响的现代社会，基督教文化的“人人平等”受到高度的尊崇与支持，但“人人平等”不是 释迦佛陀的教法。

佛陀不是创造、主宰一切的神，阿罗汉也不是神，佛教僧人更不是神。佛陀是教导“灭苦之道”的老师，而阿罗汉、僧人既是学习“灭苦之道”的学生，也是教导世人的老师。佛教重视“师生伦理”，学生必需尊崇、服侍老师，老师必需教育、照顾学生，这是在灭苦道路上，老师及学生之间是互助、互补的伦理。

因此，基督教文化的“人人平等”，绝对不适合

佛教的“师生伦理”。

2-4. 女性主义不应介入佛教

在佛教各部派传诵的《比丘尼律》，皆有〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉的传诵，〈八敬法〉主张女性受持比丘尼的程序，最后必需获得比丘僧团的认可，并强调比丘尼需要礼敬比丘，也必需遵守比丘的教诫。

〈八敬法〉⁵的内容，诸部派传诵略有出入，但大致相合。因此，在印度各派互不认同的情况下，〈八敬法〉“极可能”是出自佛教分裂以前，不大可能出自部派分裂以后。

近代有佛教女性平权运动者，受到大乘菩萨道或

5 见《摩诃僧祇律》卷三十：参《大正藏（22）》p.471.3-29~p.476.2-11
 见《十诵律》〈八敬法〉卷四十七：参《大正藏（23）》p.345.2-29~p.345.3-19
 见《根本说一切有部昆奈耶杂事》卷二十九：参《大正藏（24）》p.350.3-25~p.351.1-25
 见《五分律》卷七：参《大正藏（22）》p.45.3-23~p.46.1-10
 见《四分律》〈比丘尼犍度〉卷四十八：参《大正藏（22）》p.923.1-26~p.923.2-21
 见《铜鐞律》〈小品〉之十〈比丘尼犍度〉：参《汉译南传大藏经（4）》p.341-5~14

基督教文化的影响，误认为 佛陀提倡“众生平等，人人平等”，主张〈八敬法〉是“歧视女性”的“不平等法”，不是出自 佛陀的制定，宣称〈八敬法〉是出自后世僧团的增新。甚至大胆推断：〈八敬法〉是大迦叶主持“第一次结集”时的编造。

“第一次结集”时，当戒律结集完成后，大迦叶宣布：“佛所未制不应更制，佛所已制不应改制”，确定了集律的准则与方向。试问：大迦叶怎会在“第一次结集”时，编集出 佛陀未制的〈八敬法〉？这是不当的质疑、指责大迦叶！

〈八敬法〉必需以 佛陀的时空背景作为探讨的基础，〈八敬法〉的真实意义才能显现。众生平等、人人平等、两性平等的观点及作法，是奥义书、耆那教、大乘菩萨道或基督教文化的产物，既不合 佛陀的教法，也不合佛教的“师生伦理”。追求“两性平等”的女性主义，不应当介入佛教。

2-5. 缘起为本的性别伦理

佛陀教法的核心，是“因缘法”，强调五阴是缘生法，缘生法则无常、非我。据此可知，男性、女性的差别，是出自不同的因缘，是缘生法，男性与女性是无法比较出绝对的优胜、低劣、平等。由此可见，男尊女卑、女尊男卑、男女平等的三种观点，皆不是释迦佛陀的教法，应当根据不同的因缘情况，而有不同的强弱优劣差异，绝不是由性别、血统决定。

男性、女性是无法比较出绝对的高、低及平等，男性、女性必需依据不同的因缘，互助、互补的作出有益彼此的作为，这是“缘起为本的性别伦理”，也应是佛陀教导的“两性伦理”。

2-6. 师生伦理的〈八敬法〉

佛陀的僧团源自憍陈如（巴利 Añña Koṇḍañña）等五位比丘，依五位比丘再陆续发展出比丘僧团，比丘僧团是佛教初创时期的老师集团。

瞿昙弥（巴 Gotamī）是佛陀的姨母，也是失去丈夫净饭王（巴利 Śuddhodana Gautama）的依靠

后，出自寻求晚年的依靠才向 佛陀要求出家。当时，瞿昙弥的贵族身份、佛陀姨母、年老、释种贵族女性领导者等四项因素，使 佛陀再三拒绝接受瞿昙弥出家，理由是担心瞿昙弥会骄傲、难教。最后， 释迦佛陀要求瞿昙弥必需在“接受〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉”的原则下，才可以具备出家女性的身份。真正的意思，是教育出家弟子必需尊敬老师，遵守前辈的教导，绝不可骄傲、难教。

反之，瞿昙弥（巴 *Gotamī*）以外，跟随瞿昙弥的释族女性，在尚无比丘尼僧团的情况下，并不是依瞿昙弥（巴 *Gotamī*）出家，而是依比丘僧团受具足戒。可见，这是律典指述的特殊情况，在世上无有比丘尼的情况下，可以许可比丘僧团为女性授比丘尼戒。

〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉的真正意思，必需从瞿昙弥（巴 *Gotamī*）的情况来看，不可从现代社会的男女平等标准来看，误判〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉的目的是歧视女性。

〈八敬法（巴利 *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*）〉是出自瞿昙弥（巴 *Gotamī*）的因缘，它的意义是维护“比丘僧团是老师，比丘尼是学生”的伦理，并且提醒女性不可骄傲、难教。

3. 探讨“大乘菩萨道”的发展与过程

3-1. “大乘菩萨道”的经说起源与发展

“大乘菩萨道”的起源，是源自部派佛教时代的“菩萨”信仰。“菩提萨埵”一词，简称为“菩萨”，巴利语为 Bodhisatta，意为精勤寻求正觉的人。由于这是专指“过去生尚未成佛的释尊”，所以“菩萨”一词不是称呼 佛陀以外之其他修行者的过去生。

由于菩萨信仰的“菩萨”特质，不合于传统佛教的八正道、七觉分、五根、五力、四神足等三十七道品。所以，公元前约二世纪末的佛教，即根据 佛陀的本生故事（巴利 Jātaka）予以归纳、编集出六大类修行法，这即是《六度集》的编集。佛陀过去生的六大类修行法，也被视为“菩萨道”。（见《六度集》⁶、印顺《初期大乘菩萨道之起源与开展》第九章⁷）

6 见《六度集经》：参《大正藏（3）》p.1.1-4~13

“（佛）为说菩萨六度无极难速高行，疾得为佛。何谓为六？一曰布施，二曰持戒，三曰忍辱，四曰精进，五曰禅定，六曰明度无极高行。”

7 见印顺《初期大乘佛教之起源与开展》第九章：参 p.560-11~14，台湾正闻出版社 1993.7 版

“六度，本从“本生”的内容分类而来。选择部分的“本生”谈，随类编集，称为‘六度集’。……这虽是部派佛教所传的，但是菩萨修行的模范，受到佛教界的尊重（古代每用为通俗教化的材料）。大乘菩萨道，依此而开展出来（在

六度，又称为六波罗蜜，波罗蜜 pāramitā 意指“到彼岸⁸”，也即是“度”的意思。六波罗蜜包含：布施、持戒、忍辱、精进、禅定、智慧，智慧是主导。

部派佛教的智慧波罗蜜，原本是指“四圣谛”。公元前一世纪中叶，南印度有融摄“六波罗蜜”及“一说部（巴 Ekabyohārika）”的部义，发展出《般若经》（巴 Paññāpāramitā Sutta），宣称真正的智慧是“诸法皆空（梵语：śūnya）、一切平等”，贬斥四圣谛是小乘智见，并自称是大乘。

此后，“大乘学派”不承认四圣谛，并且在传统经典以外，再发展出更多的自派经典。

3-2. “大乘菩萨道”的女性地位

菩萨信仰的重要附属，是三十二相的信仰，“三十二相”是“菩萨”的修证目标与勘验标准。但是，“三十二相”原是出自《舍利弗阿毘昙论》，该论揉杂《奥义书》、耆那教的学说与信仰，不属正统佛教。“三十二相”混入了《舍利弗阿毘昙论》的菩萨信仰，

流传中，受到大乘佛教的影响）。

8 见《大智度论》卷第十二：参《大正藏（25）》p.145.2-2~3

部派佛教继承了该信仰。

见南传《长部 (Digha Nikaya)》〈三十二相经〉 (DN.30)⁹：“世尊如次言：‘诸比丘！于大人有三十二大人相；具足此之大人趣处，决定有二而无其他。若居在家者，成为转轮王之正法王……。然者，若彼[大人]由俗家而出家为无家者，除去此世间所有之障覆，将成为阿罗汉、等正觉者。’……（阴茎）被覆藏（如马阴藏）……此乃依业所成而获得此相也。”

9 见南传《长部 (Digha Nikaya)》〈三十二相经〉 (DN.30)：

参 台湾元亨寺出版《汉译南传大藏经 (8)》p.138-5~142-5

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

“Dvattimsimāni, bhikkhave, mahāpurisassa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni, yehi samannāgatassa mahāpurisassa dveva gatiyo bhavanti anaṅṇā. Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, rājā hoti cakkavattī dhammiko dhammarājā cāturato” ... “Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, arahaṃ hoti sammāsambuddho loka vivaṭṭacchado” kosohitavattthaguyho hoti “imassa kammassa kaṭattā idaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ paṭilabhatīti.”

英译 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).

大众部的《增壹阿含》卷二十三¹⁰：“此处菩萨现三十二相、八十种好，庄严其体，紫磨金色。”

“三十二相”的内容有“阴藏相”（巴利 *kokośopagata-vasti-guhya*），“阴藏相”原是耆那教的信仰，是指男根内缩隐藏而不现的果报，也被认定是“多生多世不行淫欲”的表征。例如：“阴藏相如象马王”¹¹、“十者阴藏相，如马王象王”¹²、“为化女人现阴藏相”¹³、“如宝马、宝象阴不现，故名阴藏相”¹⁴，如大众部（可能为说出世部）传诵的汉译《增壹阿含》¹⁵：“颇有阴马藏，贞洁不淫乎？”

由于“阴藏相”为男性独有，所以菩萨道即主张：唯有男人可以成就无上菩提，女人不能成就无上菩提，也无法作任何领域的领袖，即使是魔王也无法成办。

10 见《增壹阿含》卷二十三：参《大正藏（2）》p.166.3-23

11 见《大方便佛报恩经》：参《大正藏（3）》p.164.3-17

12 见《过去现在因果经》：参《大正藏（3）》p.627.2-3

13 见《阿毘昙毘婆沙论》：参《大正藏（27）》p.428.3

14 见《十住毘婆沙论》：参《大正藏（26）》p.65.1-14

15 见《增壹阿含》卷三八：参《大正藏（2）》p.521.1-10~12

（见《中阿含》116 经¹⁶、《施设论》卷三¹⁷）

大乘学派的《地藏经》（梵语 Kṣitigarbha Sūtra），强调修学《地藏经》可以获得“女转男身¹⁸”的功德。此外，《法华经》〈提婆达多品〉也有“龙女转男身成佛¹⁹”的说法，这是指女性必需“女转男身”才能成就无上菩提。

16 见汉译《中阿含》卷二八 116 经：参《大正藏（1）》p.607.2-10~15

“当知女人不得行五事：若女人作如来、无所着、等正觉，及转轮王、天帝释、魔王、大梵天者，终无是处。当知男子得行五事：若男子作如来、无所着、等正觉，及转轮王、天帝释、魔王、大梵天者，必有是处。”

17 见《施设论》卷三：参《大正藏（26）》p.521.1-10~12

“女人不作转轮圣王，不成帝释，不成梵王，不成魔王，不证缘觉菩提，不证无上正等菩提。”说一切有部传诵的《施设论》，是由赵宋法护 Dharmapāla 译出七卷，内容为“世间施设”、“因施设”、“业施设”。这是传说为八品的大论，宋译不全。（参印顺着《印度佛教思想史》p.54）

18 见《地藏经》〈嘱累人天品〉：参《大正藏（13）》p.789.3-5~11

“若未来世，有善男子、善女人，见地藏形像，及闻此经，乃至读诵，香华饮食、衣服珍宝，布施供养，赞叹瞻礼，得二十八种利益：一者天龙护念，……十一者女转男身。”

19 见《法华经》〈提婆达多品〉：参《大正藏（9）》p.35.2-12~p.35.3-23

“文殊师利言：我于海中唯常宣说妙法华经。……时舍利弗语龙女言：“汝谓不久得上道，是事难信。所以者何？女身垢秽非是法器，云何能得上菩提？佛道悬旷经无量劫，勤苦积行具修诸度，然后乃成。又女人身犹有五障：一者不得作梵天王，二者帝释，三者魔王，四者转轮圣王，五者佛身。云何女身速得成佛？”……时众会皆见龙女，忽然之间变成男子，具菩萨行，即往南方无垢世界，坐宝莲华成等正觉，三十二相、八十种好。……皆遥见彼龙女成佛，普为时会人天说法。”

由此可见，“女身不能成佛”是菩萨信仰的通识，但这是揉杂耆那教的“男尊女卑”信仰，绝不是释迦佛陀的本意。大乘学派是以菩萨信仰为核心，确实具有“男尊女卑”的色彩。

3-3. “大乘菩萨道”的律戒起源与发展

公元前一世纪，新传出的《般若经（巴利 Paññāpāramitā Sutta）》主张：依据“诸法皆空”的“智慧”所开展的“六波罗蜜”，是真正的“六波罗蜜”，也是大乘。此时，《般若经》贬抑四圣谛是小乘。

公元前一世纪中叶，至公元四世纪中叶，大乘学派只提出自派的菩萨信仰及新编的大乘经典，却缺少符合大乘信仰、教说的具体戒律规范。这一时期的大乘出家人，是一群不信仰四圣谛、解脱律，只坚持自派的菩萨信仰、教说，却无有大乘僧戒的“大乘学人”。

大乘学派是如何自我合理化？

3-3-1. “大乘菩萨道”初期的僧律

大乘菩萨道初期（50 B.C.E.~ 100 C.E.），因为只有自派的菩萨信仰、教说，实际是无有相合于自派教说的僧律。这一时期的大乘出家人不多，大乘学派尚未稳定，因此并不反对传统佛教的僧律，但特别强调“萨婆若心（梵语：Sarvajñā，成就一切智的心愿）”的重要性，刻意淡化传统僧团戒律的规范，目的是避免刺激传统部派佛教，并隐藏自派缺乏僧律的弊端。

例如：初期大乘的《小品般若经》提出：“但乐说般若波罗蜜，常不离应萨婆若心……乐佛法中而得出家²⁰。”

此外，又有提出“十善”是大乘菩萨学人的戒波罗蜜，轻忽传统佛教的僧律。例如：《大乘理趣六波罗蜜经》：“菩萨摩訶萨离三障已，应当修习十种净戒。云何为十？所谓身三净戒，口四净戒，意三净戒……离染欲者，菩萨摩訶萨应当远离五欲境界²¹。”

此时，大乘学派的出家人，实际是未受比丘、比

20 见《小品般若经》卷六：参《大正藏（8）》p.565.2-7~10

21 见《大乘理趣六波罗蜜经》卷五：参《大正藏（8）》p.887.2-24~p.887.3-4

丘尼具足戒（upasampadā），也不是传统佛教的比丘、比丘尼，是采取菩萨戒通于在家、出家的解释。

3-3-2. “大乘菩萨道”过渡期的僧律

大乘菩萨道度过初期的困境后，进入朝向稳定的过渡期（100~300 C.E.）。此一时期，由传统佛教改信大乘菩萨道的学人渐多，既要强调“菩萨精神”的崇高，也勇于贬抑部派佛教的修行。此一时期，由大乘学派编集的大乘典籍，即将戒律分别为声闻戒、菩萨戒，并特别赞扬“菩提心”的崇高与可贵。

例如：《大乘涅槃经》〈师子吼品〉（150~200 C.E.）提出：“从初发心乃至得成阿耨多罗三藐三菩提，名为菩萨戒。若观白骨乃至证得阿罗汉果，名为声闻戒。若有受持声闻戒者，当知是人不见佛性及如来；若有受持菩萨戒者，当知是人得阿耨多罗三藐三菩提²²。”

22 见《大乘涅槃经》卷二十八〈师子吼品〉：参《大正藏（12）》p.529.1-29~p.529.3-4

3-3-3. “大乘菩萨道”稳定期的僧律

公元后四世纪，大乘菩萨道已经发展约四百多年，大乘学派已趋于稳定，既需要建立自派僧团的戒律，也不再需要顾虑部派佛教的势力。

当时有无著论师（梵 Asaṅga 310~390 C.E.）写出《瑜伽师地论》，无著论师原是上座系化地部（巴利 Mahīṃsāsaka）僧人，后改信大乘学派。《瑜伽师地论（梵 Yogācāra-bhūmi Abhidhamma）》当中有〈菩萨地持品〉，提出菩萨行者的修行表现与规范，并广受大乘菩萨行者的信受及赞叹。〈菩萨地持品〉遂独立发展为《菩萨地持经戒本》，此即是“大乘菩萨戒”的蓝本，成为“大乘菩萨戒”的先河，并在日后发展出《瑜伽菩萨戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Vinaya）》。

大乘菩萨道传授的“大乘菩萨戒”，不仅把四圣谛、解脱戒贬低为自利的小乘法及小乘戒，也提出“菩

萨与诸声闻不应等学²³”、“菩萨不同学此戒²⁴”，甚至说：“一切别解脱律仪，于此菩萨律仪，百千分不及一²⁵”。“大乘菩萨戒”的内容，不仅将四圣谛、解脱戒与卜巫历算等外道俗典同列，更教诫菩萨学众不得修学、传授，否则以犯戒论²⁶。

- 23 见《菩萨戒本》（出《瑜伽师地论》〈本事分菩萨地〉）：参《大正藏 24》》p.1111.3-12~17

“若诸菩萨安住菩萨净戒律仪，如薄伽梵于别解脱毘奈耶中，为令声闻少事、少业、少希望住，建立遮罪，制诸声闻令不造作，于中菩萨与诸声闻不应等学。何以故？以诸声闻自利为胜，不顾利他，于利他中少事、少业、少希望住，可名为妙。非诸菩萨利他为胜，不顾自利。”

- 24 见《菩萨戒本》（出《瑜伽师地论》〈菩萨地持品〉）：参《大正藏（24）》p.1108.1-3~12

“世尊！为声闻建立者，菩萨不同学此戒。何以故？声闻自度舍他，应住少利、少作、少方便，非菩萨自度度他。……如是等住少利、少作、少方便声闻遮罪，菩萨不共学住。”

- 25 《菩萨戒羯摩文》（出《瑜伽师地论》〈本事分菩萨地〉）：参《大正藏（24）》p.1105.3-17~23

“如是菩萨所受净戒，于余一切所受净戒，最胜无上，无量无边大功德藏之所随逐，第一最上善心意乐之所发起，普能除灭于一切有情一切种恶行，一切别解脱律仪，于此菩萨律仪，百分不及一，千分不及一，数分、计分、算分、喻分，乃至邬波尼杀昙分亦不及一，摄受一切大功德故。”

- 26 见《梵网经菩萨戒本疏》卷第五：参《大正藏（40）》p.638.2-11~14

“背正向邪戒第八……菩萨理舍弃二乘，受持大乘真实之法，方名菩萨，而今乃弃大归小失其正行，乖理之极，故须制也。”

见《梵网经菩萨戒本疏》卷第五：参《大正藏（40）》p.640.3-21~24
法化违宗戒第十五……菩萨理应以菩萨乘授与众生，令得究竟饶益，反以二乘小法，用以化人，违理违愿，故须结戒。”

见《梵网经菩萨戒本疏》卷第五：参《大正藏（40）》p.645.2~p.645.3
“背正向邪戒第二十四…本为受行大乘名为菩萨，今若舍此，何大士之

公元四世纪以后的“大乘菩萨道”，是藉由“大乘菩萨戒”的创制，建立贬抑四圣谛、声闻解脱律，并且完全脱离传统部派佛教的“大乘僧团”。

有？……此倒学有八种：一、邪见者。二、二乘者。……”

见《梵网经》〈菩萨心地戒品〉第十卷：参《新脩大正藏（22）》p.1105.3-6~8

“若佛子！心背大乘常住经律，言非佛说，而受持二乘声闻、外道恶见，一切禁戒邪见经律者，犯轻垢罪。”

见《菩萨戒本》（出《瑜伽师地论》〈菩萨地持品〉）：参《大正藏（24）》p.1108.1-27~p.1108.2-1

“若菩萨作如是见，如是说言：菩萨不应乐涅槃，应背涅槃，不应怖畏烦恼，不应一向厌离。何以故？菩萨应于三阿僧祇劫，久受生死求大菩提。作如是说者，是名为犯众多犯。”

见《菩萨戒本》（出《瑜伽师地论》〈菩萨地持品〉）：参《大正藏（24）》p.1108.3-22~24

“若菩萨如是见，如是说言：菩萨不应听声闻经法，不应受、不应学。菩萨何用声闻法为？是名为犯众多犯，是犯染污起。”

“若菩萨于菩萨藏不作方便，弃舍不学，一向修习声闻经法，是名为犯众多犯，是犯非染污起。”——p.1108.3-27~29

见《菩萨地持经》（戒本）卷第五：参《大正藏（30）》p.912.2-5~p.913.1

“菩萨欲学菩萨律仪戒、摄善法戒、摄众生戒者。……尔时智者，于佛像前敬礼十方世界诸菩萨众，如是白言：“某甲菩萨！于我某甲前三说受菩萨戒”。……波罗提木叉戒，于此律仪戒，百分不及其一，百千万分乃至极算数譬喻亦不及一，摄受一切诸功德故。”

见《菩萨地持经》（戒本）卷第五：参《大正藏（30）》p.915.2-21~27

“若菩萨如是见、如是说言：菩萨不应听声闻经法，不应受、不应学，菩萨何用声闻法为？是为名为犯众多犯，是犯染污起。何以故？菩萨尚听外道异论，况复佛语。不犯者，专学菩萨藏，未能周及。若菩萨于菩萨藏，不作方便，弃舍不学，一向修集声闻经法，是名为犯众多犯，是犯非染污起。”

3-3-4. 中国“大乘菩萨道”的大乘僧律

中国的大乘菩萨道，在梁武帝以前，是沿用印度的《瑜伽菩萨戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Vinaya）》。公元六世纪初期，梁武帝（502~549 C.E.）采用政教合一的宗教政策，敕令御用的“建康教团²⁷”依据《瑜伽菩萨戒本》为蓝本，另编撰出《大乘梵网经（梵语：Mahā Brahmajāla Sūtra）》，这是不同于上座部佛教传诵的《长部（巴利：Dīgha Nikaya）》〈梵网经（巴利：Brahmajālasutta）〉，《大乘梵网经》的下卷即是《大乘梵网经菩萨戒经（梵语：Mahā Brahmajāla Bodhisattva-śīla Vinaya）》。公元 519 年，梁武帝依据《梵网经菩萨戒经》受菩萨戒，并号称是“皇帝菩萨²⁸”，自此决定了上座部佛教退出中国

27 见颜尚文著《佛教的思想与文化》：参《印顺导师八秩晋六寿庆论文集》p.124-7~19

梁武帝即位初年，即大力进行政治与佛教结合政策。梁武帝领导“建康教团”，经过天监年间（502~519）十八年的努力，进行弘佛、护法、翻译、编纂、注解大量佛教典籍之政教结合工作。梁武帝的“建康教团”，在天监十八年四月八日武帝亲受菩萨戒之时，为此一政教结合政策提出“皇帝菩萨”的核心理念（注 3）。……武帝周围“建康教团”成员的因素（注 6），更有着魏晋南北朝长期政教关系之深远背景等较大的因素。”

28 见颜尚文著《梁武帝“皇帝菩萨”的理念及政策之形成基础》，参《师大历史学报》第十七期，p.1~p.58。1978 年

佛教舞台。

因此，自梁武帝以后，中国的大乘菩萨道舍去《瑜伽菩萨戒本》，另依据《大乘梵网经菩萨戒经》作为传授大乘菩萨戒的根据。

3-4. 大乘菩萨道僧人的受戒

3-4-1. 三阶段的受戒

大乘菩萨道的发展，经历约四百年才发展出“菩萨戒”。在“菩萨戒”传出之前，大乘出家人只有“成就一切智”的意愿及持受“十善”，或是守持“传统佛教的僧律”。

当“菩萨戒”创制以后，大乘学派的出家者，既要表彰大乘律戒的发展过程，又要表现“回小向大”的大乘精神，遂建立三阶段受戒的程序。三阶段受戒的作法，第一阶段是受声闻沙弥、沙弥尼戒，第二阶段是受比丘、比丘尼戒，第三阶段是舍弃先前受持的比丘、比丘尼戒，唯有受持菩萨戒，又通称为“三坛大戒”。

3-4-2. 采用上座部印度分支的解脱戒

中国大乘学派采用的比丘、比丘尼戒本，早期（250 C.E.）大多源自《摩诃僧祇律（梵 Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya）》，《摩诃僧祇律》是出自优波离传承之毘舍离（巴利 Vesāli；英语 Vaishali）僧团的传诵。公元 414 年后，中国南方的大乘学派²⁹采用说一切有部《十诵律（梵 Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya）》。

公元七世纪，唐朝·道宣律师（596~667 C.E.）提倡采用《四分律（梵 Dharmagupta-vinaya）》作为传授比丘、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，目前的南传上座部佛教与法藏部是同属于印度分别说部系统。

此外，西藏的大乘学派是采用《十诵律（梵 Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya）》作为传授比丘、比丘尼戒的律本，《十诵律》是源自阿难传承之摩偷罗（巴利 Madhurā；英语 Muttra）僧团的传诵，流传于北印迦湿弥罗（喀什米尔 Kashmir）。

29 见梁·慧皎《高僧传（卷二）》〈卑摩罗叉四〉：参《大正藏（50）》p.333.2-20~p.333.3-14

3-4-3. 舍弃解脱戒的大乘律法

虽然大乘学派的三阶段传戒程序，第二阶段是传授比丘、比丘尼戒，此时的大乘学派出家人也自认是比丘、比丘尼，但最后是要舍弃比丘、比丘尼戒。大乘学派的第三阶段传戒，是传授“菩萨戒”，汉系的大乘学派是采用《梵网经菩萨戒经（梵语：Brahmajāla Bodhisattva-śīla Sūtra）》为戒本，西藏系的大乘学派是采用印度的《瑜伽菩萨戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Vinaya）》。当受持“菩萨戒”时，必需舍弃比丘、比丘尼戒，唯受持菩萨戒。此外，西藏的密教，除了“菩萨戒”以外，另加授密教独有的“三昧耶戒³⁰”。

大乘学派的出家人，是否定、舍弃四圣谛、解脱僧律的“菩萨僧”，不是守持比丘戒、比丘尼戒的僧人。

30 三昧耶戒，密教的戒律，又称三摩耶戒、秘密三昧耶戒、佛性三昧耶戒、三昧耶佛戒，略称为三戒。《无畏三藏禅要》提出十重戒为其戒相。

3-5. 大乘菩萨道不应介入上座部佛教

根据大乘学派的三阶段授戒程序，以及采用的律本，可以得知：大乘学派传授沙弥戒、沙弥尼戒、比丘戒、比丘尼戒，以及引导学生必需弃舍比丘戒、比丘尼戒，都是由弃舍“僧律”的菩萨僧主持。

“菩萨僧”的持戒原则，是依“菩萨戒”为宗旨，不是“僧律”。虽然大乘学派是依《四分律（梵 Dharmagupta-vinaya）》或《十诵律（梵 Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya）》传授沙弥戒、沙弥尼戒、比丘戒、比丘尼戒，但是老师及学生皆不合上座部佛教的戒律。大乘学派传授传统僧戒的目的，是为了表彰大乘学派的发展过程，突显“菩萨戒”胜过比丘戒、比丘尼戒，并建立独立的大乘教团。

因此，上座部佛教传授僧戒时，是不可以接受大乘学派僧人的参与。反之，大乘学派认定上座部佛教是小乘，传授“菩萨戒”也不接受上座部佛教僧人参与。

因为上座部佛教缺乏比丘尼传承，使大乘学派藉机会介入上座部佛教的比丘尼传承，真正的目的是将大乘菩萨道传入上座部佛教，不是恢复上座部佛教的比丘尼传承。

在此之下，恢复上座部佛教的比丘尼传承，不适合让大乘学派参与或介入。

4. 上座部佛教的可贵

4-1. 上座部佛教僧团传承的可贵

目前流传于世界各地的佛教，分为上座部佛教、大乘菩萨道，大乘菩萨道又分为汉传菩萨道、藏传菩萨道。

大乘菩萨道传承的教法、经典、戒律，皆不是出自 释迦佛陀的教导，大乘菩萨道的传承，并非源自真正的 释迦佛陀教法，更贬抑、否定传统佛教的四圣谛、解脱僧律。

上座部佛教信仰四圣谛、解脱僧律，源自阿育王时代的分别说部教法，糅杂了《奥义书》的本体论，以及沙门文化思想，有所不同于 释迦佛陀的教说。然而，上座部佛教保持佛教僧律的传承不断，至今已约有 2300 年。上座部佛教的僧律传承，可贵性胜过大乘菩萨道。

4-2. 恢复比丘尼传承的重要性与时代意义

4-2-1. 健全佛教的两部僧团结构

人类有男性及女性，两性的分工合作，适当的维护了人类社会的安定与进步。释迦佛陀教导男性与女性，并建立比丘僧团、比丘尼僧团，使两部僧团可以分工合作的教导社会，使佛教更加的完整、健全。

自十三世纪起，上座部佛教失去了比丘尼的传承，这是女性学法者的遗憾、僧团的遗憾，也是上座部佛教的遗憾。恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承，既可以完整提供女性的出家机会，更可以健全上座部佛教僧团的制度与结构。

4-2-2. 避免大乘菩萨道的攻击与介入

虽然大乘学派的出家者不是合格的比丘、比丘尼，但是大乘学派及不了解佛教僧戒的社会大众，依然认为大乘学派具备比丘、比丘尼的传承。

在此之下，上座部佛教缺乏比丘尼传承的问题，必定受到大乘学派、一般社会大众的质疑及攻讦，也

要面对上座部佛教女性的不满，更使大乘学派趁机介入。

上座部佛教缺乏比丘尼传承的问题，是上座部佛教发展的弱点。

4-2-3. 健全佛教两部僧团，开展上座部佛教的新时代

上座部佛教的僧律传承，是从 佛陀传袭至今的可贵传承。面对教育普及的现代社会，基督教、回教日渐强大的挑战，以及佛教日渐式微的处境，恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承，健全上座部佛教的僧团，可以帮助上座部佛教更接近现代社会，并且朝向全世界发展。

信仰 释迦佛陀的佛弟子，必需坚定的维护四圣谛、解脱戒，坚定护持上座部佛教僧团的传承，这是维护 佛陀、佛法、僧团、律戒的必要条件。

目前迫切需要做的事之一，是恢复上座部佛教的比丘尼僧团传承，使上座部佛教僧团可以健全发展。

5. 结论：坚定恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承的道路

中国大陆、台湾的上座部佛教僧团，是上座部佛教的新成员。中道僧团（Dhammatṭha Saṅgha）是以华人为主，源自上座部佛教僧团的律戒传承，并发展于美国、马来西亚、中国大陆及台湾的华人社会。中道僧团需要面对大乘学派的挑战，更需要在华人社会展现四圣谛佛教僧团的良善与健全，提升四圣谛佛教的发展能力与社会功能。

中道僧团是坚定支持、恢复四圣谛佛教比丘尼传承，并且坚持五项原则：

1. 在华人社会建立四圣谛佛教比丘尼僧团。
2. 尊崇斯里兰卡的比丘僧团，建立诚信、紧密的合作关系。
3. 尊重上座部各国比丘僧团的决定，不涉入其他国家的佛教事务。
4. 避免大乘学派、男性主义、女性主义与基督文化的涉入。

5. 团结各方的上座部佛教比丘、比丘尼，促进彼此的交流与进步。

由于华人社会以大乘佛教为主，大多数的上座部比丘僧不支持恢复上座部比丘尼传承，加上中道僧团不支持“年岁老迈、身心失衡、学习素杂、贡高难调”的女性出家或受比丘尼戒，使得中道僧团受到众多的恶意污蔑、毁谤、攻讦。虽然如此，中道比丘僧团依然坚定的推展原始佛教，支持恢复华人四圣谛佛教比丘尼传承。

最后，我们相信上座部佛教比丘僧团的智慧、慈悲，祝福上座部佛教的比丘尼僧团。

【备注】 本文的中、英文发表，由随佛长老以中文发表，正启比丘协助、承担现场英文口译。

现代华人社会上座部比丘尼的困境与发展现况

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2019 年 1 月 30 日发表于印度摩诃菩提学会学术研讨会论文

1. 引言

中华文化的主流是贬抑个人主义，重视大众的利益。在中国文化的影响下，偏向“厌离五阴，个人解脱”的上座部佛教，不容易得到华人社会的支持。但是，强调“普世救赎”的大乘学派却获得流传华人社会的机运，并且传承、发展了近两千年。

两千年来，虽然大乘学派用“小乘”诋毁上座部佛教，使上座部佛教受到巨大的误解。但是，二十世纪起，现代的学术考证相当发达，华人佛教圈的知识份子已知“大乘教法不是源自 释迦佛陀”，因而改学上座部佛教的华人佛弟子是愈来愈多。

可是，近十年来，华人社会的上座部佛教发展速度已经减慢，甚至有些改学南传上座部佛教的原大乘学人，又再恢复大乘信仰。如此可见，上座部佛教发展于华人社会的主要困难是既要妥善处理来自大乘学派的挑战，也要跨越“厌离五阴，个人解脱”与“普世救赎”的文化差异，更需要针对现代的华人社会施予有利的帮助。

华人上座部佛教僧团的发展，既需要斯里兰卡、缅甸、泰国的上座部佛教僧团给予支持，更需要已经

习惯大乘僧团的华人社会予以接纳。在此之下，处理大乘学派的挑战，并传教于华人社会，是华人上座部比丘尼的存在与发展的重要方法。

本文的内容，是透过上座部佛教传入华人社会的历史过程，探讨上座部佛教的发展困境与主要问题。其次，根据近代上座部佛教发展于华人社会的现况，说明上座部佛教发展于现代华人社会的作法。

2. 佛教传入汉地

2-1. 中国的主流文化—孔子、老子

公元前 770~403 年，是中国的春秋时代，也是儒家、道家建立学说的时代。

儒家（Confucianism）的创立者是孔子（Confucius, 551~479 B.C.E.），也是中国历史上最重要的思想家、教育家，儒家是影响中国文化、教育、家庭、政治最为巨大的学派。孔子的思想核心是“仁”与“礼”，“仁”是爱护生命，“礼”是身份的伦理及秩序；孔子的教育基础是“修身、齐家”；孔子的教育理想是“治国、平天下”。简单的说，孔子的目标是“健全自我，利乐世界”，是务实的理想主义。

道家 (Daoism) 的创立者是老子 (Laozi, 580~480 B.C.E.)，也是中国的重要哲学家。老子著作的《道德经 (Dao De Ching)》主张“道乃本有，无处不成”¹ 的本体论 (英语: Ontology)，又提倡“道法自然，无为而为”² 的生活哲理。老子的思想，是中国流传最广的形上学说 (英语: Metaphysics)，影响中国的文化、教育、政治是相当深远。

2-2. 王权与主流文化

公元前 770~221 年，中国经历约 550 年的分裂、战乱后，由秦始皇 (Emperor Qin Shihuang) 统一了中国，建立了中国第一个中央集权的政府——秦朝 (Qin Dynasty, 221~207 B.C.E.)，并成为中国第一位皇帝。

秦朝因为过度的压迫人民，不久随即灭亡，接续秦朝之后建立的政权是汉朝 (Han Dynasty, 202B.C.E.~220 B.C.E.)。中国社会经过数百年的动荡后，

1 见《道德经·一章》：“道可道，非常道；名可名，非常名。无，名天地之始；有，名万物之母。故常无，欲以观其妙；常有，欲以观其徼。此两者，同出而异名，同谓之玄。玄之又玄，为妙之门。”

2 见《道德经·二十五章》：“人法地，地法天，天法道，道法自然。”
见《道德经·三十七章》：“道常无为，而无不为。”

人民需要安稳的生活。因此，汉朝建国初期（180~141 B.C.E.）的两位皇帝，治国方法即采用老子的“无为”，政府尽量不干扰人民，目的是让人民休养生息、培植国力。

汉朝武帝时代（Emperor Wu of Han Dynasty, 141~87 B.C.E.）为了使国家更加进步，接受董仲舒的政策，治国改采用“孔子思想为主、其他学说为辅³”的策略。此后，儒家也转变为儒教。由汉武帝起，“推崇孔子思想、重用孔子门徒”即是中国历代王朝的统治方针，孔子的地位是崇高、坚固且不可动摇。

公元 126~140 年，张道陵（34~156 C.E.）神格化老子为太上老君，奉老子的思想为修仙的依据。老子原是思想家，经由汉朝皇帝推崇为圣人后，张道陵再神化老子为神。张道陵揉杂老子、黄帝、阴阳家、神仙崇拜、鬼神祭祀，日后逐渐发展为道教。老子是思想家、圣人，也是神，更是道教的信仰中心。

在中国的历史，汉朝是第一个统治最久的中央集权政府。由于汉朝皇帝推崇老子、孔子，特别是实行“孔子为主”的统治方针，并且成为后世历代王朝的治国原

3 见《汉书，董仲舒传》：“自武帝初立……推明孔氏，抑黜百家……皆自仲舒发之。”

则，遂促成老子、孔子成为中国文化的主流。

3. 僧律流传的发展

3-1. 传统佛教僧律、僧团的流传

公元 250~424 年，印度传统佛教四大部派传诵的戒律皆已译出，并传入中国。但是，中国佛教尚无有符合僧律依两部僧团受戒的合格比丘尼。

公元 433 年，师子国（今斯里兰卡）上座部僧团比丘尼铁萨罗⁴（巴 Devasara 或 Tisarāṇa）等 11

4 见宋·释宝唱撰《比丘尼传（卷二）》〈广陵僧果尼传十四〉：参《大正藏（50）》p.939.3-12~24

“元嘉六年，有外国舶主难提，从师子国载比丘尼来，至宋都住景福寺。后少时，（师子国尼）问果曰：此国先来已，曾有外国尼未？（果）答曰：未有。

（师子国尼）又问：先诸尼受戒，那得二僧？（果）答：但从大僧受。得本事者，乃是发起受戒，人心令生殷重是方便耳！故如大爱道八敬得戒，五百释女以爱道为和上，此其高例。果虽答然，心有疑。（果）具谘（求那跋摩）三藏，三藏同其解也！（果）又谘曰：重受得不。（求那跋摩）答曰：戒定慧品从微至着，更受益佳。到十年（433），舶主难提复将师子国铁萨罗等十一尼至，先达诸尼已通宋语，请僧伽跋摩于南林寺坛界，次第重受三百余人。”

见宋·释宝唱撰《比丘尼传（卷二）》〈普贤寺宝贤尼传二十一〉：参《大正藏（50）》p.939.3-16~22

“初晋兴平中净检尼，是比丘尼之始也。初受具戒，指从大僧。影福寺惠果净音等，以谘求那跋摩。求那跋摩云：国土无二众，但从大僧受得具戒。惠果等后遇外国铁萨罗尼等至，以元嘉十一年，从僧伽跋摩于南林寺坛重受具戒。非

位比丘尼来到建康（今南京）。公元 434 年，依译经师僧伽跋摩⁵（梵 Saṃghavarman）、铁萨罗（巴 Devasara）为师，具足十位合格尼僧，传比丘尼戒，约三百多人受具足戒。自此，印度传统佛教已在中国依照戒律建立两部僧团传承。

谓先受不得，谓是增长戒善耳。”

见宋·释宝唱撰《比丘尼传（卷一）》〈净检尼传一〉：参《大正藏（50）》p.934.3-22~27

“晋咸康中，沙门僧建，于月支国得僧祇羯磨及戒本。升平元年（357）二月八日，洛阳请外国沙门昙摩羯多为立戒坛。晋沙门释道场，以戒因缘经为难云：其法不成。因浮舟于泗，捡等四人同坛上从大僧以受具戒，晋土有比丘尼亦捡为始也。”

【说明】：刘宋·元嘉六年（429），有师子国（今斯里兰卡）比丘尼八人至宋京（今南京）。当时景福寺尼慧果、净音等以先所受戒不如法，戒品不全；适嗣宾沙门求那跋摩经南海至宋，于南林寺建立戒坛，因请求重受。求那跋摩引证佛姨母波阇波提最初为尼因缘，谓戒本本从大僧而发，虽无僧尼二众，无妨比丘尼的得戒。又以当时师子国八尼年腊未登，不满十人，且令学宋语；求那跋摩另托西域船主难提于元嘉十年（433）复载师子国比丘尼铁萨罗等十一人至，而先来诸尼已通达宋语。但这时求那跋摩已经去世，恰巧同年僧伽跋摩到达宋京，慧果尼等始在二众具备的形式下，于元嘉十一年（434）在南林寺戒坛，重受具足戒。这时次第受尼戒者达三百余人。

- 5 见梁·慧皎《高僧传（卷三）》〈僧伽跋摩八〉：参《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。……初三藏法师明于戒品，将为影福寺尼慧果等重受具戒。是时，二众未备，而（求那跋摩）三藏迁化。俄而师子国比丘尼铁萨罗等至都，众乃共请僧伽为师继轨三藏。”

3-2. 大乘学派戒律、僧团的流传

公元 421~431 年，印度大乘学派的“菩萨戒”已经译出，并且依“菩萨戒”建立了中国的大乘僧团，发展于中国南、北方。

4. 译经引起的新发展

4-1. 传统佛教经典的发展与流传

公元 443 年，印度传统佛教已在中国建立两部僧团传承，并且翻译出印度传统佛教四大部经典，代表印度传统佛教在中国已进入全面传教的阶段。

4-2. 大乘学派经典的发展与流传

公元 443 年，印度大乘学派已先在中国建立大乘僧团传承，更翻译出印度大乘学派的主要经、论，代表大乘学派传教在中国已进入全面传教的阶段。

5. 中国传统佛教与大乘学派的转折点

5-1. 分辨佛教思想与孔、老思想的分合

中国文化的主流，是确立自汉朝的治国方法。汉朝创建初期，面对经历 570 年（770~202 B.C.E.）动乱的社会，赋予人民“休生养息”是重要国策，老子思想成为治国的指导依据。汉武帝时代起，稳固皇权、法治强国是治国的根本国策，尊崇孔子、重用孔子学生是治国根本策略，并成为后世王朝的治国依据。汉朝以后的中国文化主流，即是孔子、老子的思想。

孔子的思想基础是血缘伦理，重视现实人生，反对虚玄，强调“仁恕爱民，世界大同”。

上座部佛教，强调“厌离世间”却轻忽现实人生，重视“解脱”而不高谈救度一切，这与孔子思想有着根本性的差异。

大乘学派的《般若经》（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）说“空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya），不可得”，或是《华严经》（梵 Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃśa-ka Sūtra）的“真如（梵 Tathatā）”，《妙法莲华经》（梵 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra）》、《大般涅槃

盘经（Mahāparinivana Sūtra）》的“佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）”，同样也是不务实际，不受孔子学说的认同。但是，大乘学派强调“普渡众生”的理想目标，是契合孔子的“仁恕爱民，世界大同”。

老子主张“道乃本有，无处不成”的本体论（英语：Ontology），又提倡“道法自然，无为而为”的生活哲理。

上座部佛教强调“无我（巴利语：Anattā）”，大乘《般若经（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》、中观（梵语 Madhyamikā）的“空（梵 Vabhāva-śūnya），不可得”，皆是反对老子的本体论（英语：Ontology）。

大乘《华严经（梵 Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra）》的“真如（梵 Tathatā）”，《妙法莲华经（梵 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra）》、《大般涅槃经（Mahāparinivana Sūtra）》的“佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）”，是“永恒、安乐、独存、清净”与“无常（巴利语：anicca，梵文：anitya）”的合一，是完全合乎老子的本体论（英语：Ontology）。

5-2. 五世纪中叶的中国传统佛教与大乘学派

5-2-1. 传统佛教与大乘学派

公元 443 年，印度传统佛教的四部经典及四大部派的僧律，皆已翻译完成。公元 420 年，《摩诃僧祇律（梵 Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya）》、《十诵律（梵 Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya）》也流传于中国的南、北方，并建立两部僧团。

公元 443 年，大乘学派提倡“空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）”、中观（梵语 Madhyamikā）、“真如（梵 Tathatā），佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu），如来藏（梵 Tathāgatagarbha）”与净土信仰的重要经典，大多皆有译出。此外，大乘学派的“菩萨戒”已经流传南、北方，也已建立了菩萨僧团。

公元四世纪末、五世纪初，鸠摩罗什的时代，大乘《般若经（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》、中观（梵语 Madhyamikā）盛行于中国北方，压制了上座说一切有部的发展。

中国的魏、晋时代（220~420 C.E.），社会盛行老子、庄子的形上学、本体论。大乘《妙法莲华经》、

《华严经》、《楞伽经》、《大般涅槃经》提倡“真如，佛性，如来藏”，暗合于老子的思想。大乘《阿弥陀经》的净土信仰，可以满足乱世下人心寻求寄托的需求。大乘学派的“普世救赎”理想，隐含孔子的“仁恕爱民，世界大同”。大乘学派的教说体系众多，可从多方面促进大乘学派融入中国文化、社会。

反之，印度传统佛教提倡“无我”，不合老子的本体论思想；印度传统佛教提倡“五阴是苦，厌离世间”，不合孔子的“仁恕爱民，世界大同”。除此以外，大乘学派宣扬传统佛教是“小乘”，严重障碍传统佛教的发展。

5-2-2. 《大般涅槃经》的影响

《大般涅槃经》的流传，既是推展大乘“真如，佛性”的学说，也促进大乘“真如，佛性”思想与老子、庄子的“道”发生进一步融合，助成大乘学派融入中国主流文化。

此时，由于印度传统佛教完全无法融合老子、庄子的思想，又不合孔子的处世思想，日益退出中国的历史舞台。

5-3. 独尊大乘的佛教政策

公元四世纪前，印度只有传统佛教的僧戒，大乘学派无有自派的律戒。公元四世纪末，犍陀罗（Gandhara）地区有无著论师（梵 Asanga，310~390 C.E.），原是上座系化地部（巴利 Mahimsāsaka）僧人，后改信大乘学派，并且写出《瑜伽师地论（梵 Yogācāra-bhūmi）》。

《瑜伽师地论》提出“真如（梵 Tathatā）”的思想，并且提出菩萨的表现与规范，大乘学派遂依据此论发展出《瑜伽菩萨戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla）》。此后，大乘学派有了自派的“菩萨戒”，开始建立传统佛教之外的大乘僧团。

大乘菩萨道传授的“大乘菩萨戒”，不仅把四圣谛、解脱戒贬低为自利的小乘法及小乘戒，也提出“菩萨与诸声闻不应等学⁶”、“菩萨不同学此戒⁷”，甚至

6 见《菩萨戒本》（出《瑜伽论》〈本事分菩萨地〉）：参《大正藏（24）》p.1111.3-12~17

“若诸菩萨安住菩萨净戒律仪，如薄伽梵于别解脱毘奈耶中，为令声闻少事、少业、少希望住，建立遮罪，制诸声闻令不造作，于中菩萨与诸声闻不应等学。何以故？以诸声闻自利为胜，不顾利他，于利他中少事、少业、少希望住，可名为妙。非诸菩萨利他为胜，不顾自利。”

7 见《菩萨戒本》（出《瑜伽师地论》〈菩萨地持品〉）：参《大正藏（24）》

说：“一切别解脱律仪，于此菩萨律仪，百千分不及一⁸”。“大乘菩萨戒”的内容，不仅将四圣谛、解脱戒与卜巫历算等外道俗典同列，更教诫菩萨学众不得修学、传授，否则以犯戒论⁹。

p.1108.1-3~12

“世尊！为声闻建立者，菩萨不同学此戒。何以故？声闻自度舍他，应住少利、少作、少方便，非菩萨自度度他。……如是等住少利、少作、少方便声闻遮罪，菩萨不共学住。”

- 8 见《菩萨戒羯摩文》（出《瑜伽论》〈本事分菩萨地〉）：参《大正藏（24）》p.1105.3-17~23

“如是菩萨所受净戒，于余一切所受净戒，最胜无上，无量无边大功德藏之所随逐，第一最上善心意乐之所发起，普能除灭于一切有情一切种恶行，一切别解脱律仪，于此菩萨律仪，百分不及一，千分不及一，数分、计分、算分、喻分，乃至邬波尼杀昙分亦不及一，摄受一切大功德故。”

- 9 见《梵网经菩萨戒本疏》卷第五：参《大正藏（40）》p.638.2-11~14

“背正向邪戒第八……菩萨理舍弃二乘，受持大乘真实之法，方名菩萨，而今乃弃大归小失其正行，乖理之极，故须制也。”

见《梵网经菩萨戒本疏》卷第五：参《大正藏（40）》p.640.3-21~24

“法化违宗戒第十五……菩萨理应以菩萨乘授与众生，令得究竟饶益，反以二乘小法，用以化人，违理违愿，故须结戒。”

见《梵网经菩萨戒本疏》卷第五：参《大正藏（40）》p.645.2~p.645.3

“背正向邪戒第二十四……本为受行大乘名为菩萨，今若舍此，何大士之有？……此倒学有八种：一、邪见者。二、二乘者。……”

见《梵网经》〈菩萨心地戒品〉第十卷：参《新脩大正藏（22）》p.1105.3-6~8

“若佛子！心背大乘常住经律，言非佛说，而受持二乘声闻、外道恶见，一切禁戒邪见经律者，犯轻垢罪。”

见《菩萨戒本》（出《瑜伽师地论》〈菩萨地持品〉）：参《大正藏（24）》p.1108.1-27~p.1108.2-1

“若菩萨作如是见，如是说言：菩萨不应乐涅槃，应背涅槃，不应怖畏烦恼，

公元四世纪以后的“大乘菩萨道”，藉由“大乘菩萨戒”的创制，建立贬抑四圣谛、声闻解脱律，并且完全脱离传统佛教的“大乘僧团”。

公元 502 年，梁武帝（502~549 C.E.）萧衍取得南方的政权，并且采用政教合一的宗教政策。公元 502~519 年，梁武帝敕令御用的“建康教团¹⁰”依

不应一向厌离。何以故？菩萨应于三阿僧祇劫，久受生死求大菩提。作如是说者，是名为犯众多犯。”

见《菩萨戒本》（出《瑜伽师地论》〈菩萨地持品〉）：参《大正藏（24）》p.1108.3-22~24

“若菩萨如是见，如是说言：菩萨不应听声闻经法，不应受、不应学。菩萨何用声闻法为？是名为犯众多犯，是犯染污起。”

“若菩萨于菩萨藏不作方便，弃舍不学，一向修习声闻经法，是名为犯众多犯，是犯非染污起。”——p.1108.3-27~29

见《菩萨地持经》（戒本）卷第五：参《大正藏（30）》p.912.2-5~p.913.1

“菩萨欲学菩萨律义戒、摄善法戒、摄众生戒者。……尔时智者，于佛像前敬礼十方世界诸菩萨众，如是白言：‘某甲菩萨！于我某甲前三说受菩萨戒。……波罗提木叉戒，于此律仪戒，百分不及其一，百千万分乃至极算数譬喻亦不及一，摄受一切诸功德故。’”

见《菩萨地持经》（戒本）卷第五：参《大正藏（30）》p.915.2-21~27

“若菩萨如是见、如是说言：菩萨不应听声闻经法，不应受、不应学，菩萨何用声闻法？为是名为犯众多犯，是犯染污起。何以故？菩萨尚听外道异论，况复佛语。不犯者，专学菩萨藏，未能周及。若菩萨于菩萨藏，不作方便，弃舍不学，一向修集声闻经法，是名为犯众多犯，是犯非染污起。”

10 见颜尚文著《佛教的思想与文化》：参《印顺导师八秩晋六寿庆论文集》p.124-7~19

“梁武帝即位初年，即大力进行政治与佛教结合政策。梁武帝领导“建康教团”，经过天监年间（502~519）十八年的努力，进行弘佛、护法、翻译、编纂、注解大量佛教典籍之政教结合工作。梁武帝的“建康教团”，在天监十八年四月

据《瑜伽菩萨戒本（梵 Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla）》为蓝本，另外编撰出大乘《梵网经（梵语：Brahmajāla Sūtra）》，这是不同于上座部佛教传诵的《长部（巴利：Dīgha Nikaya）》〈梵网经（巴利：Brahmajālasutta）〉。大乘《梵网经（梵语：Brahmajāla Sūtra）》的下卷即是《梵网经菩萨戒经（梵语：Brahmajāla Bodhisattva śīla）》。

公元 519 年，梁武帝依据《梵网经菩萨戒经（梵语：Brahmajāla Bodhisattva śīla）》受菩萨戒，并号称是“皇帝菩萨¹¹”，敕令：僧尼不入市托钵，不得食肉。梁武帝居位 48 年，不仅推崇大乘学派，自居是大乘学派的领袖，又压迫印度传统佛教，障碍传统佛教、僧团的发展。

公元 502~549 年，大乘学派已经确立是中国佛教的主流，传统佛教是旁流。

八日武帝亲受菩萨戒之时，为此一政教结合政策提出“皇帝菩萨”的核心理念（注 3）。……武帝周围“建康教团”成员的因素（注 6），更有着魏晋南北朝长期政教关系之深远背景等较大的因素。”

- 11 见颜尚文著〈梁武帝“皇帝菩萨”的理念及政策之形成基础〉：参《师大历史学报》第十七期 p.1~p.58, 1978 年

5-4. 大乘学派的新诂法与影响

南、北朝时代（421~589 C.E.），中国佛教延续魏晋时期融摄老、庄思想的发展，逐渐形成“会通空有”的趋势。大乘“佛性”与老子、庄子思想逐渐的融合，大乘“佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）”与《般若经（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》、中观（梵语 Madhyamikā）的“空（无自性 Vabhāva-śūnya）”也逐渐的融合，最终产生了“融贯空有”的“新诂法”。中国佛教完整提出“融贯空有”之“新诂法”的第一人，是号称天台智者的智顗。

智顗¹²（538~597 C.E.）生于梁武帝时代（502~549 C.E.），死于隋文帝时代（581~604 C.E.）。智顗依据龙树《中论（梵 Mūla-Madhyamaka-kārikā）》的“空（无自性 vabhāva-śūnya）、假名、中道”与《法华经》的“佛性”相互融通，自成一家的提出“融贯空有，依有说空，说空实有”的“新诂法¹³”。

12 见唐·道宣撰《续高僧传（卷十七）》〈释智顗传三〉：参《大正藏（50）》p.564.1-18~p.568.1-14

13 见《摩诃止观》卷五（上）：参《大正藏（46）》p.55.2-13~19

“若一法一切法，即是因缘所生法，是为假名，假观也；若一切法即一法，

智顗的“新诂法”，是推崇、认可“佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）”，不是大乘学派原有的“空（无自性 vabhāva-sūnya）、假名、中道”。智顗针对印度佛教提出四阶段传法的解释，特别把印度传统佛教判定是“小乘”，自称《法华经》是佛陀最后宣说的最圆满佛法。

5-5. 印度大乘学派的老庄化

智顗创说的“新诂法”，促使大乘学派的“空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）”消融入“佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu），如来藏（梵 Tathāgatagarbha）”的“有（梵 bhāva，巴利 bhava）”，在“新诂法”的解说下，中国大乘学派的“空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）”已经消失，“新诂法”的任何教说实际皆是宣传“有（梵 bhāva，巴利 bhava）”。

我说即是空，空观也；若非一非一切者，即是中道观。一空一切空，无假、中而不空，总空观也；一假一切假，无空、中而不假，总假观也；一中一切中，无空、假而不中，总中观也。即中论所说，不可思议一心三观。”

【作者】：公元 594 年，智顗宣讲《摩诃止观（巴利 Mahā Samattha Vipassanā bhāvanā）》，根据《般若经（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》的“空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）”为根本，龙树《中论（梵 MūlaMadhyamakakārikā）》的“空（无自性）、假名、中道”为次第，《法华经》的“佛性”为究竟，提出“一心三观——空观、假观、中观”的大乘止观法门，又分为“次第三观”及“圆顿三观”。公元 593 年，智顗宣讲《法华玄义》注解《法华经》。

智顗的“新诂法”，不仅是“融贯空有”而已，也是推平大乘学派内部的思想争端，更是打通大乘学派朝向老庄思想发展的道路。智顗的“新诂法”，最终是使印度大乘学派思想彻底的老庄化，由内质变成另一种思想的大乘。

公元 594 年，智顗的“新诂法”开启印度大乘学派的老庄化，使大乘学派彻底的融入中国文化。同此，在中国文化、社会格局下，智顗的“新诂法”使印度传统佛教完全无法再与中国大乘学派竞争，印度传统佛教退出中国历史舞台已成定局。

5-6. 唐朝神化老子的影响

公元 618 年，李渊建立了唐朝，当时汉民族对李渊家族具有游牧民族血统¹⁴是很有顾虑。唐朝皇帝为了

14 唐高祖李渊出生于山西，有着汉人与胡人混合血统的权贵之家。陕西省历史博物馆历史学者张铭治教授的研究，原山东太行山地区有五大望族姓氏——王、卢、崔、李、郑，其中李姓又是鲜卑族中的一大姓氏。

根据可考证的历史资料证明，唐太宗李世民的祖母、即唐高宗李渊的母亲，独孤氏，是隋文帝王后的姐妹，是鲜卑人，并非汉族。唐太宗李世民的母亲窦氏（即纥豆陵氏），也是鲜卑族，还有所娶的妻子长孙氏，都出于北方少数民族。根据唐太宗李世民的墓葬内有六匹战马的石雕，世称“昭陵六骏”，具有突厥人“与马共葬”的墓葬风俗习惯。史学界对于李渊家族的血统，有以下几种说法：赐姓大野部，河南破落北魏鲜卑贵族李姓，老子李耳的后代等。

避免汉族的优越感危及唐帝国的稳定，遂推崇汉民族圣人的“老子（李耳）”为祖先¹⁵，并经历数代的册封，最后推崇“老子（李耳）”是统治天界的大帝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动摇，任何挑战老子的学说、宗教，即是反抗唐帝国、皇帝的敌人。

印度传统佛教的四部经典提倡“无我（巴利 Anatta）”，大乘学派的《般若经（梵 Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra）》、中观（梵语 Madhyamikā）提倡“空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）”，两者皆是坚定反对“有（梵 Bhāva，巴利 Bhava）”，也是反对老子、唐帝国的宗教学说。

15 《史记·老子传》：“老子者，楚苦县厉乡曲仁里人也。姓李氏，名耳，字聃，周守藏室之史也”。中国古籍对老子的记载不甚清楚，传说老子后西出函关，被函关令尹喜稽留，因而留下五千言的《道德经》，倒骑青牛出关西去，不知所终。函关以西自古被视为汉民族以外民族的地域，一向被视为“胡人”的所在。李渊之母独孤氏非汉族，妻窦氏（即纥豆陵氏）是鲜卑族，李世民妻长孙氏，为北地少数民族，家族有非汉族血统，难免被汉民族视为“胡”。由于道家圣人老子李耳，传说西出函关去于“胡”地，又是姓李，自然被李渊家族追崇为祖，以释汉族的疑虑及排斥。

16 见《旧唐书·高宗纪下》；《礼仪志四》

西元 618 年，唐朝奉李耳为始祖：玄元皇帝；公元 666 年，追奉封号：太上玄元皇帝；公元 743 年，加奉尊号：大圣祖，太上玄元皇帝；公元 749 年，加尊号为：圣祖大道玄元皇帝；公元 754 年，再上尊号称：大圣祖、高上大广道金阙玄元天皇大帝。

反之，智顗的“新诂法”，不仅是“融空（梵 Vabhāva-sūnya）入有（梵 Bhāva，巴利 Bhava）”的打开佛教朝向老子思想发展的道路，有利尊崇老子的地位，更是引导佛教认同老子、支持唐帝国及皇帝的重要学说。

大乘学派提倡《妙法莲华经（梵 Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra）》的“佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）”、《华严经（梵 Mahā-vaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra）》的“真如（梵 Tathatā）”、《楞伽经（梵 Lankāvatāra-sūtra）》、《大般涅槃经（Mahāparinivāna Sūtra）》的“佛性（梵 Buddha-dhātu）”，皆是契合老子、支持皇帝的宗教思想。

禅宗弘忍的弟子神秀（606~706 C.E.），受到唐朝武后、中宗、睿宗、玄宗尊崇，被拜为国师。

老子的地位与唐帝国的稳定发展，两者是紧密的结合一起。任何挑战或反对老子思想的学说与宗教信仰，皆不受唐帝国的认许。

公元 518~618 年，梁武帝决定了大乘学派在中国佛教的主导地位，智顗的“新诂法”既统一大乘学说的争论，也决定了大乘学派融入中国主流文化。最后，唐帝王的尊崇、神化老子，使老庄化的大乘学派取得中国

佛教的稳固地位。

因为不合中国文化主流，又受到大乘学派的排挤，印度传统佛教彻底退出中国佛教的舞台。此后，传统佛教的经典、僧律、僧团已不再流传于中国社会。

6. 中国佛教的彻底质变

公元 842~846 年，皇帝为了充实国家的经济，遂藉道教与佛教的斗争，推行灭佛政策。大量的寺院遭受破坏，大量的僧尼被逼还俗，佛教的人才产生断层，隋代、唐中期的佛教盛况大减。往后，唐朝凋敝不振，唐灭后又是政权不稳的长期战乱。

乱世的人心需要，一是逃避现实，二是安稳的寄托，可以符合这一社会需求的老庄思想、禅宗、净土信仰得到发展的空间。

公元九世纪以后，中国佛教的主流与代表是禅宗、净土信仰。公元 1960 年以前，中国的大乘学派仅存外表，人才极度缺乏，佛教的事务主要是慈善、供养及宗教服务，禅修剩下静坐，念佛表现在信仰活动，宣教大多是劝信、劝善及读念古文。大乘学派接近灭亡！

7. 现代华人社会、实况与需要

7-1. 现代华人社会与实况

西方社会的进步基础是教育、制度、经济，西方教育的主轴是写实、科学、人文，这三大项是源自 14~17 世纪的文艺复兴运动（意大利语：Rinascimento；The Renaissance）。写实、科学、人文的教育为基础，进一步发展出社会制度、生产技术，乃至医学、艺术、宗教……，这是西方社会可以稳定、积极、富裕、和谐的根本因素，并且引领世界发展长达三百年。

第二次世界大战结束后，华人开始学习西方的经验，建设现代化的社会与国家。华人依据写实、科学、人文的准则，推行普及的国民教育、高等教育，培养现代化的高级人才，逐步建立更为良好的社会制度，提升科技水平、生产技术以发展经济规模。

自 1950~2018 年，世界各地的华人社会是普遍进步了，但是华人的传统文化尚未转型，无法契合现代社会的需要。目前华人社会的文化、信仰、伦理、价值，依旧是传统的孔子、老子、大乘佛教为主干。

老子、大乘佛教是抽象的形上学、本体论，完全不合现代文明三要素的写实、科学、人文，而孔子的伦理思想是不合乎现代社会多重、多变的利害关系。孔子、

老子、大乘佛教的文化教育，是使当代华人变成三百年前的华人，必定陷入传统文化与现代社会的夹缝，很难适应现代的社会生活。

7-2. 现代华人社会的需要

现代社会是全球化的时代，世人为了追求更优质、稳定的生活，国际间的竞争、合作、团结是不会停止，而务实、科学、人文的思想与积极的生活态度，是现代文明社会的必要基础。

孔子、老子的思想是流传两千多年的中华文化，不可能发生根本性的改变。中国佛教是大乘学派的系统，也是老庄化、形上化、本体论的大乘学派，既不是印度的大乘学派思想，更是脱离 释迦佛陀思想的不同学派。在现代世界的需要及前进方向下，不合实际的“老庄化佛教”，如果不改变思想及作法，势必要走向被世界淘汰的结局。

根据 释迦佛陀教导的十二因缘、四圣谛，可以确定 佛陀的思想主轴，正是写实、科学、人文与积极的生活态度，完全契合现代的世界文化主流，既符合现代社会的需要，又可促进佛教的世界化。

如此可知，释迦佛陀教导的十二因缘、四圣谛，完全符合现代华人社会的需求。在现代化的华人社会里，不仅中国佛教必需改变，正统佛教也必需传入华人社会。

8. 华人社会上座部佛教发展现况

8-1. 佛教的再认识

公元 1980 年起，台湾佛教学术界已经确定“大乘学派经典不是出自佛陀”，并且研究主要是出自大乘学派的印顺长老。自此，台湾佛教界的大乘门徒开始探寻真实的佛法，探究信仰、学习上座部佛教的日渐增多。

公元 1990 年起，上座部佛教的律、经、论三藏（巴利语：Tipiṭaka）被翻译成中文，开启华人正确学习上座部佛教的大门。经由接触斯里兰卡、泰国、缅甸的佛教及僧团，上座部佛教的文化、风俗已经引起华人的注意与了解。

8-2. 华人社会上座部佛教的发展

公元 1985~1995 年，马来西亚、台湾的华人佛教徒，接触的上座部佛教是以泰国佛教为主。譬如：阿姜·查·波提央（Ajahn Chah Subhaddo）、佛使比丘（Bhikkhu Buddhādāsa）。公元 1990~2010 年，许多人前往泰国修行、出家，也有许多泰国比丘前来台湾发展。

由于泰国上座部佛教较重视“苦行、持戒、禅修”，禅修强调实际的经验，不重视配合经藏、论藏，造成重视有根据的华人佛教徒逐渐改学缅甸佛教。

公元 1990~1995 年，缅甸葛印卡（Satya Narayan Goenka, 1924~2013）、帕奥禅师（Pha Auk Sayadaw, 1934~）、马哈希尊者（Mahasi Sayadaw, 1904~1982）的系统皆开始在台湾传法。由于缅甸上座部佛教特别强调论藏高于一切，禅修重视必需配合论藏，喜欢研究佛法的华人，遂以学习缅甸佛教为主。公元 1995~2010 年，缅甸上座部佛教传往马来西亚、中国大陆、台湾的佛教圈。

相对于泰国、缅甸的上座部佛教，斯里兰卡距离马来西亚、中国大陆、台湾是更远，前来的斯里兰卡僧人不多，文化交流胜过传法、禅修，一直不是华人学习的焦点。

8-3. 华人社会上座部佛教的现况

1. 团体及人数：

除了中国云南西双版纳以外，目前马来西亚、中国大陆、台湾的华人上座部佛教团体还不多，出自缅甸系的团体与僧人最多，出自泰国系则次多，而源自斯里兰卡系的佛教团体与人数为最少。

2. 比丘僧团：

华人的缅甸系僧人、泰国系僧人，多数是分散各地，各自安住、修行，很少有长期性的合作。马来西亚、台湾各有一处专学缅甸帕奥禅师系统的僧团，以及斯里兰卡僧律传承的比丘僧团——中道僧团。

3. 比丘尼僧团：

由于泰国、缅甸的比丘僧团，目前未接受恢复上座部比丘尼的作法，所以华人社会无有泰国系、缅甸系的上座部比丘尼。目前华人佛教圈内，奉行缘起、四圣谛的教法为主轴，以南传铜鑊律为依归的正统四圣谛比丘尼僧团，应当只有依止斯里兰卡两部僧团受具足戒的中道比丘尼僧团（Dhammaṭṭha Bhikkhunī Saṅgha）。

2000 年起，台湾有一些上座部十戒女，或是大乘学派的女性出家者，兼探研南传上座部佛教，又自行到南传上座部佛教受戒，却依旧以大乘学派为主，甚至自

行换穿上座部袈裟，而对外宣称是上座部佛教比丘尼。但是，这类模式是教法、僧戒之间，两者不一致的个人行为，不代表是正统的四圣谛僧团的作法。

4. 社会活动：

目前华人社会的上座部佛教僧人、团体，大多数是自修为主，只有少数具有对外传教的能力与积极态度。此外，目前华人的上座部佛教团体，主要的活动是研究教法、禅修、供僧、布施、短期出家，少有社会性的接引活动。

9. 华人社会上座部佛教发展的困难

9-1. 外部的困难

1. 大乘学派的打压、排挤，是最大的发展困难。
2. 华人社会的不了解与误解，是其次的困境。
3. 社会参与程度严重不足。

9-2. 内部的困难

1. 人才不足；2. 不积极；3. 互相排挤；4. 缺乏发展的长期策略。

9-3. 突破困难的发展办法

1. 确立契合时代发展及华人社会需要的佛法。
2. 加强各国上座部比丘尼僧团的团结，增加比丘尼僧团的力量。
3. 建立华人上座部比丘尼僧团。
4. 团结比丘、比丘尼僧团，增加参与社会的能力。

10. 恢复上座部佛教比丘尼传承的道路

10-1. 上座部佛教比丘尼传承的重要性

世界有两种性别，佛教徒也有男、女二众。拒绝女性参与佛教的僧团，不是佛教僧团拒绝了女性，是僧团失去女性的品德、能力与智慧的功德。

当世界主要宗教皆有男、女两性宗教师时，上座部佛教拒绝比丘尼是要受到社会的质疑与拒绝。特别是，

华人的大乘学派已具有尼僧的传承，若华人上座部佛教亦有比丘尼传承，必定有利于上座部佛教发展于华人社会。

10-2. 恢复上座部佛教比丘尼的方法

1. 善用上座部佛教之经法与律戒的精神。
2. 遵循“缘起”的性别伦理。
3. 善用〈八敬法〉增进比丘僧团的善意与帮助。
4. 不涉入女性主义，避免男性主义的攻击。
5. 避免大乘学派的介入，减低上座部比丘僧团的疑虑。
6. 维护精进、持戒的风范。
7. 采取多合作、少竞争的原则。
8. 多与比丘僧团互助、合作。
9. 多团结各方比丘尼，促进彼此的利益与发展。
10. 积极参与社会慈善与教育活动。
11. 远离自大、自私、自利的失败因素。

10-3. 华人上座部佛教中道僧团的传承

10-3-1. 华人上座部佛教比丘僧团的传承

中道僧团（Dhammatṭha Sangha）是遵行上座部佛教僧团律戒传承，以华人为主要成员的僧团。自1995年起，由随佛长老（Ven. Vūpasama Thero）创办、发展于台湾、中国大陆、马来西亚、新加坡、美国的华人社会。

中道僧团的比丘僧律传承，源自缅甸及斯里兰卡，基于 佛陀的教法、弟子是一家的事实，斯里兰卡、泰国、缅甸的僧律传承，中道僧团皆尊崇、不拒绝。自2012年起，中道僧团的比丘僧是以斯里兰卡传承为主，也认同、支持恢复上座部比丘尼传承。

2014年起，中道僧团得到斯里兰卡的长老、戒师与僧团的支持，双方合作发展华人社会的比丘僧团、比丘尼僧团。

10-3-2. 华人上座部佛教比丘尼僧团的传承

中道僧团的比丘尼传承，草创初期是源自 1998 年的缅甸十戒女传承，发展自 2002 年，随后由十戒女依据南传《铜鍱律》研学比丘尼戒，并自行守持比丘尼戒，学团确定于 2014 年。其后，中道僧团的比丘尼僧律传承，真正根源是出自斯里兰卡僧团，故中道尼僧团是由斯里兰卡上座部佛教两部僧团授具足戒的比丘尼僧团。

中道僧团的比丘尼，是依止随佛长老（Ven. Vūpasama Thero）领导的中道比丘僧团，由道一比丘尼（Ven. Bhikkhunī Tisara）领导的比丘尼僧团，发展于台湾、中国大陆、马来西亚、新加坡、美国的华人社会。

【备注】本文的中、英文发表，由道一比丘尼以中文发表，见濬比丘尼协助、承担现场英文口译。

Importance and Contemporary Significance of Theravada Bhikkhunī Lineage

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Paper Presented at the Symposium of Maha Bodhi Society of India
on January 30, 2019.

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 (菩萨道) 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 (相应部) is of particular importance. Notes to Samyutta Nikāya by Buddhaghosa 觉音 is known as Sāratthappakāsinī (显扬真义), indicating to present and promote the authentic Dhamma of the Buddha. Nāgārjuna (龙树) 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 (说一切有部), 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 (五阴) of paṭiccasamuppannā dhammā (缘生法), which is anicca (无常) 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,

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- 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 Samyukka Āgama (杂阿含): “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 sotāpattiphalampi sakadāgāmiphalampi anāgāmiphalampi 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 (憍陈如) 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 (瞿昙弥) 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 Ṣaṭpāramitāsaṃgraha: 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 (一说部) in southern India, claiming that the true wisdom is śūnya (诸法皆空) 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 (大众部), 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 cāturanto” ... “Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, araham hoti sammāsambuddho loke vivaṭṭacchado” kosohitavattthaguyho hoti “imassa kammaṃsa kaṭattā idaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ paṭilabhatī”ti.”

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

and horse king”（阴藏相如象马王¹¹），“the tenth mark, the male organs are enclosed in a sheath like the elephant king and horse king”（十者阴藏相，如马王象王¹²），“to teach the women, manifested the mark of enclosing the male organs in a sheath”（为化女人现阴藏相¹³），“like the valuable elephant and horse, the male organs are hidden, called the mark of enclosing the male organs in a sheath”¹⁴（如宝马、宝象阴不现，故名阴藏相）and also stated in the Ekottara-āgama of Mahāsāṃghika¹⁵ (probably Lokottara-vāda 说出世部) 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 施設论)

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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 (地藏王菩萨本愿经) 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 (法华经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 (般若经) in the 1st Century B.C.E. asserted that the Six Paramitas based on the wisdom of śūnya (诸法皆空) 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 (萨婆若心 即成就一切智的心愿), 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 (小品般若经) proposed that Prajnaparamita should focus on the Sarvajñā (但乐说般若波罗蜜，常不离应萨婆若心 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.” 《大乘理趣六波罗蜜经》：“菩萨摩訶萨离三障已，应当修习十种净戒。云何为十？所谓身三净戒，口四净戒，意三净戒 离染欲者，菩萨摩訶萨应当远离五欲境界。”

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 (声闻戒) and Bodhisattva sila (菩萨戒), 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 (大乘涅槃经), 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." ("从初发心乃至得成阿耨多罗三藐三菩提，名为菩萨戒，若观白骨乃至证得阿罗汉果，名为声闻戒。若有受持声闻戒者，当知是人不见佛性及如来；若有受持菩萨戒者，当知是人得阿耨多罗三藐三菩提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 (瑜伽师地论) by Asaṅga (无著) 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 Nikaya taught by Theravada Buddhism, the second volume of Brahmajāla Sūtra is Brahmajāla Bodhisattva Śīla Sūtra (梵网经菩萨戒经). 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 Theravada Buddhism from the Chinese Buddhist stage.

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

3-4 Ordination of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya Followers

3-4-1 Three-staged Ordination

It took four hundred years of Mahayana Bodhisattva-carya to develop Bodhisattva precepts. Before that, followers of Mahayana 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, Mahayana monastics must highlight the evolution of Mahayana 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 (摩诃僧只律) from Vaishali, inherited from Upali. After 414 C.E., Daśa-bhāṇavāra-vinaya (十诵律) 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 (中道僧团) 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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Paper Presented at the Symposium of Maha Bodhi Society of India
on January 30, 2019.

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. Evolution of Buddhist Vinaya

3-1 Dissemination of Traditional Buddhist Vinaya and Saṅghas

Traditional Indian Vinayas succeeded by the four

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

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 (铁萨罗) 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. 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 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

4-2 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-puṇḍārīka 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-puṇḍārīka 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-śūnya, 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 Mahīṃsāsaka and wrote Yogācāra-bhūmi (瑜伽师地论).

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

6 Bodhisattva Precept (Yogācāra-bhūmi-śāstra): Please refer to Taisho-pitaka (24)

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

After the 4th Century, Mahayana Buddhism declared its independence from traditional Buddhism, through the compilation of the Mahayana Bodhisattva Precepts and the

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
 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

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* (梵网经) based on *Yogā Bodhisattva Śīla*, which is different from *Brahmajala Sūtra* of Digha Nikaya of Theravada 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 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.

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.

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

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 Svabhāva-śūnya of Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra and Madhyamikā (中观), 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 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

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

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

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 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 regarded Laozi as the emperor who rules the heaven¹⁶ after

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 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 Hanguan 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;

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.

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

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.

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 Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha of Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese Communities

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

Dhammaṭṭha 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 Dhammaṭṭha 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. Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha respect all the Vinaya lineages from Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma. Since 2012, Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha have mostly followed the Vinaya lineage from Sri Lanka while acknowledging and supporting the restoration of Bhikkhunī inheritance of Theravada Buddhism.

Since 2014, Dhammaṭṭha 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 Dhammaṭṭha 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 Dhammaṭṭha Bhikkhunī Saṅgha succeed the Vinaya lineage of Sri Lanka and have been approved by both Bhikkhu and Bhikkhunī Saṅghas of Theravada Buddhism.

Bhikkhunīs of Dhammaṭṭha 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 录 】

Appendix

中道僧团 简介

中道僧团之师法传承：

中道僧团是奉行 释迦牟尼 世尊、声闻圣者之法脉，既遵循、奉守“第一次经典律结集”集成之〈七事修多罗〉为教法根本，也承续部派分裂以前，“第二次经律结集”集成之四部经典（相应、中、长、增一）。2018 年，随佛长老费时 16 年之久，将部派佛教传诵之〈七事修多罗〉，当中为异道教说揉杂、变伪的变异经说，予以整治、去除，并还原依缘起、缘生智见开展的“世尊教说原义”。

中道僧团依据 世尊在〈转法轮经〉的教导，“八圣道乃 世尊现等觉乃至解脱之中道”。中道僧团是依八正道，次第修证四圣谛三转、十二行，具足成就正觉，乃至离贪厌、结缚断、苦灭、解脱。因此，原始佛教会全体僧众，依止 释迦牟尼 世尊之教法，将原始佛教会之僧伽全体，正式定名为“中道僧团”，并以“中道僧团”作为对内与对外之代表名称，带领原始佛教会宣法、利世。

中道僧团不仅重于回归 世尊教说原旨，又延请斯里兰卡阿曼罗普罗派 Amarapura Nikāya 大长老 Most

Ven. Kammatthanacara Dodampahala Chandrasiri Maha Nayaka Thera 及 Siam Nikāya 长老 Ven. Kirama Wimalajothi Maha Thera 等十位斯里兰卡僧团大德，在台湾建立原始佛教根本戒场、传比丘戒。此外，又依阿曼罗普罗派之比丘、比丘尼僧团的共同传授，建立中道比丘尼僧团的僧律传承。自此，随佛长老领导中道僧团自斯里兰卡阿曼罗普罗派 Amarapura Nikāya 承续已有两千四百多年传承的解脱僧团律脉于台湾，复兴具足比丘、比丘尼之原始佛教僧团传承。

中道僧团之学风及律持：

中道僧团的修持，在缘起、四圣谛的觉观、修证，表现于日常生活的解决困难、开展人生、度越烦恼，体现正道生活与修证佛法的相应无碍。

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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 Dhammaṭṭha Saṅgha

The practice of Dhammaṭṭha 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. Dhammaṭṭha 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 Dhammaṭṭha 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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国家图书馆出版品国际标准书号资料

探讨佛教比丘尼传承之古今 / 随佛长老，道一比丘尼 著作

台北市：中华原始佛教会出版 原始佛教中道觉林发行 2024,05

面：14 × 21 公分 不含索引

ISBN：978-986-96347-8-6 (平装)

1.CST:佛教教理

2.CST:佛教修持

220.131

104006773

《探讨佛教比丘尼传承之古今》

着 作 者：随佛长老，道一比丘尼

初 版：2024 年 10 月

出 版 者：中华原始佛教会

发 行：原始佛教 中道觉林

连络地址：台湾 台北市北投区登山路 139-3 号

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世尊正觉后 2456 年 / 公元 2024 年 10 月初版一刷 1000 册



本书的内容即是2019年初，在印度摩诃菩提学会举办的〈佛教与女性解放〉学术研讨会议上，随佛长老及道一比丘尼发表之《探讨上座部佛教比丘尼传承的重要性与时代意义》、《现代华人社会上座部比丘尼的困境与发展现况》两篇学术论文的中、英文内容。

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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