

## *Vinaya Revival in 20<sup>th</sup> Century China and Taiwan*

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### Authenticity and Authority: Dual Ordination in the Post-War Vinaya Revival in Taiwan

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#### **Preface**

Before the lifting of martial law in Taiwan in 1989, the Three-Platform Ordination system was monopolized by the Buddhist Association of Republic of China (BAROC), the only legal national representative of Buddhism in Taiwan (from 1949 to 1989). After the 1990s, Taiwan witnessed a wave of Vinaya “revival” movement that challenges the system laid down by BAROC and emphasizes the “ordination in accordance with the Dharma,” especially that of nuns, considering it the sole indicator of a successful revival Buddhism.<sup>1</sup>

Led by Vinaya Masters 律師 such as Guanghua 廣化 (1935-1996), Daohai 道海 (1924-2013), and Guoqing 果清 (1947-), monks in this movement concentrate in the Nanputuo Monastery in Taizhong (台中南普陀寺, established in 1957), the Yuantong Monastery in Puli (埔里圓通寺, established in 1967), the Jinglu Monastery in Lugu (鹿谷淨律寺, established in 1983), and the Zhengjue Vihāra in Puli (埔里正覺精舍, established in 1991).<sup>2</sup> They promote the study of and strict adherence to the Vinaya codes. In addition to criticizing the ordination as previously done under the BAROC leadership and propagating their understanding of “correct” ordination procedures, they impugn the “co-habitation” of monks and nuns in the same monastery complex. In particular, this wave turns the spotlight on nuns, advocating the implementation of fortnightly repentance (Ch. 半月自恣; Skt. pravāraṇa), rain retreat in the summer (Ch. 安居坐夏; Skt. varṣa), and Dual Ordination that includes the Śikṣamāṇā [Ch. 式叉摩尼] precepts in nunneries. These monasteries and the nunneries that follow their lead, such as the Nanlin Nunnery (南林尼僧苑), the

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<sup>1</sup> Fazang (法藏), *Daohai Laoheshang Fangtanlu* 道海老和尚訪談錄 (Interviews with Venerable Daohai) (Taipei: Guoshiguan 國史館, 2013), 113.

<sup>2</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 67.

Wuguang Vihāra (悟光精舍), and the Yide Nunnery (義德寺), are sometimes called “Vinaya Monasteries (戒律道場).”<sup>3</sup>

It is with Vinaya that Buddhist monastics define their identity and regulate their collective life in the monasteries. Therefore, at times of crisis, Buddhist monastic orders often would resort to reasserting the Vinaya as a way of correcting the wrongs at the Age of Dharma Decline.<sup>4</sup> The Chinese Buddhist tradition in the late imperial period, in particular, considered the revival of Vinaya the indicator of the survival and revival of the Buddha-dharma when facing various social, political, and cultural challenges.<sup>5</sup> Under the leadership of BAROC since the 1950s, Buddhist monks from mainland China have dedicated themselves to the “revival” of Chinese Buddhism in Taiwan, and what they considered their biggest contribution was precisely that they managed to “purify” Buddhism in Taiwan (from the contamination of Japanese Buddhism) through the establishment of “Three-Platform Ordination.”<sup>6</sup> (And the ordination system established by BAROC did accomplish its mission of “the regeneration of the Sangha.”<sup>7</sup>) That is, calling for Vinaya revival at a time of uncertainty and challenges is hardly new, and the second wave of Vinaya revival in Taiwan is worth studying not because it claims to be new. It is worth studying because it provides a new lens through which we can examine the history of Dual Ordination in Taiwan. It also sheds light on the issues of self-identities of Buddhist monks and nuns in contemporary Taiwan.

This second wave of Vinaya revival movement (if we consider BAROC’s implementation of the Three-Platform Ordination system the first wave of Vinaya revival movement in post-war Taiwan) directs the attention of Taiwanese Buddhists to Dual Ordination, and some even followed their lead and insist on its necessity, even though their understandings of the contents and exact procedures of Dual

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<sup>3</sup> Li Yu-chen 李玉珍. “The Revival and Reconstruction of the Vinaya Tradition in Contemporary Taiwan: Nanlin Nunnery and the Bhikshuni Re-Ordination Movement,” paper for the Workshop on the Vinaya Revival in 20<sup>th</sup> Century China and Taiwan, Perugia, Italy, December 8-12, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Daniela Campo (田水晶), “Minguo shiqi de Jieli fuxing chutan 民國時期的戒律復興初探 (A precursory examination of the Vinaya revival in the founding period of the Republican China),” in *Ershi Shiji Zhongguo Fojiao de Liangci Fuxing 二十世紀中國佛教的兩次復興* (The Two Revival Movements of Chinese Buddhism in the Twentieth Century), edited by Jizhe 汲喆 (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2016), 13-19.

<sup>5</sup> Ester Bianchi (黃曉星), “Dangdai de Fojiao Jieli Fuxing yu Sengtuan Zaisheng 當代中國佛教的戒律復興與僧團再生 (The Vinaya Revival of Contemporary Chinese Buddhism and the Regeneration of Sangha),” in *Ershi Shiji Zhongguo Fojiao de Liangci Fuxing 二十世紀中國佛教的兩次復興* (The Two Revival Movements of Chinese Buddhism in the Twentieth Century), edited by Jizhe 汲喆 (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2016), 153-163.

<sup>6</sup> Kan Zhengzong (闕正宗), *Zhongguo Fojiaohui zai Taiwan—Hanchuan Fojiao de Yanxu yu Kaizhan 中國佛教會在台灣——漢傳佛教的延續與開展* (The Buddhist Association of Republic of China in Taiwan: the Continuation and Development of Chinese Buddhism) (Taipei: BAROC 中國佛教會, 2009), 220-268.

<sup>7</sup> I borrowed the term “the regeneration of the Sangha” (僧團再生) from Ester Bianchi.

Ordination are not necessarily the same. Still, nuns in Taiwan have been negatively impacted by this second wave of Vinaya revival movement, for it claims the illegitimacy of the ordination of nuns and calls for regulating the bhikṣuṇī sangha with the Eight Revered Conditions (Pāli: *aṭṭha garu-dhammā*).<sup>8</sup> The primal example of the negative impact this second wave of Vinaya revival might have on nuns was the battle of words in *Sangha Magazine* in 1992: a voice from within that movement adopted the penname of “Repentant Nun (懺尼)” and called for all nuns to practice the Eight Revered Conditions unconditionally with the utmost repentance.<sup>9</sup> Bhikṣuṇī Chao-hwei replied that the Eight Revered Conditions would reinforce and amplify the male chauvinism and gender inequality already prevalent in Buddhist circles.<sup>10</sup>

Religious “revivals” are essentially religious reforms, and reforms do not just happen but are reactions to perceived threats. In examining this wave of Vinaya revival, this paper will be divided into three sections: (1) introduction of the Vinaya masters leading this wave and their organizations; (2) description of the appeal and central issues of the second wave of Vinaya reform movement; (3) analysis of Taiwanese nuns’ reactions to the second wave of vinaya reform.

## (1) The Vinaya Masters Leading the Second Wave of Vinaya Revival Movement and Their Organizations

There were not many monks known for their Vinaya studies before the lift of martial law. Chanyun (懺雲; 1915-2009)<sup>11</sup> of the Lianyin Monastery in Puli (埔里蓮

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<sup>8</sup> *Aṭṭha garudhammā* is more popularly translated as the “eight special rules,” “eight heavy rules,” or “eight chief rules.” Nirmala S. Salgado argues compellingly that it is better rendered the “eight revered conditions” given the nuances conveyed by the original Pāli/Sanskrit term. Nirmala S. Salgado, “Eight Revered Conditions: Ideological Complicity, Contemporary Reflections, and Practical Realities,” *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 15 (2008): 181ff.

<sup>9</sup> Channi (懺尼), “Bajingfa de renshi yu shijian, shang and xia 八敬法的認識與實踐 (上、下) (Understanding and Practicing the Eight Revered Conditions, I and II),” *Sengqie* 僧伽 no. 1.4 (July 1992), no. 2.1 (Oct. 1992).

<sup>10</sup> Shi Chao-Hwei (釋昭慧), *Qianzai Chenyin—Xin Shiji de Fojiao Nuxing Siwei* 千載沉吟—新世紀的佛教女性思維 (Buddhist Women’s Reflection on Gender Equality in the Past in this New Era) (Taipei: Fajie Publishing Co. 法界, 2002), 280 (Hereafter, *Gender Equality*); Li Yu-chen, “The Gender issue in Contemporary Taiwan Buddhism,” *Buddhist Women in a Global Multicultural Community*, edited by Karma Lekshe Tsomo (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Sukhi Hotu, 2008), 189-199; Cai Meirui 蔡美瑞 (釋信融), “Jieyan hou Taiwan Hanchuan Fojiao de Zhuanxing yu Fazhan (1987-2007) 解嚴後台灣漢傳佛教的轉型與發展 (1987-2007) (The Transformation and Development of Chinese Buddhism in Taiwan after the Lift of Martial Law, 1987-2007)” (PhD Dissertation, Chong Cheng University 中正大學, 2015), 128. (Hereafter, “Transformation.”)

<sup>11</sup> Zhu Wenguang 朱文光. “Chanyun Fashi Shengping yu Zhiye Luekao 懺雲法師生平與志業略考 (Brief Introduction of Venerable Chanyun’s Life and Vocation),” paper for the Conference on the Future and Present Development of Chinese Buddhism, the Center of Buddhist Studies at Foguang University 佛光大學佛教研究中心, Yilan, April 2015.

因寺) and Guanghua (廣化; 1924-1996)<sup>12</sup> were the only two known names, but they were known for their own strict adherence to the Vinaya, not for their role in ordination. The ordination ceremonies held by BAROC did not produce any well-known Vinaya masters, either. “Vinaya masters” only emerged after 1990 when the BAROC no longer monopolizes ordination ceremonies. In 2013, historian of Buddhism in Taiwan Venerable Huikong 惠空 proposed the idea that there are three generations of Vinaya masters in Taiwan, represented by Jitao (濟濤; 1904-1978), Daohai 道海, and Guoqing 果清.<sup>13</sup> However, neither Jitao nor Daohai came to Taiwan until the 1970s, and Daohai did not decide to stay in Taiwan until 1980. Both monks fled from the northeastern provinces of China and initially settled in Hong Kong. Their sectarian backgrounds and their ideas about Taiwanese Buddhism are quite different from the Chinese monks who had arrived in Taiwan about 30 years prior.

Among the five Vinaya masters named above, Guanghua was the first to advocate Vinaya reform, and Jitao’s posthumous work laid down the scriptural basis for it. Daohai was known for his implementation of “correct” rituals during ordination ceremonies (the “form of precepts 戒相”) and for his judgement of the efficacy of ordination (the “spiritual essence of precepts 戒體”). All three studied and taught Vinaya in Buddhist institutes, but each with his expertise and each answering the need of his time. Daohai once explained that Guanghua’s expertise was in abstentions (止持), which needs to be complemented by appropriate actions (作持), Daohai’s expertise. Abstentions refer to the precepts that prohibit certain actions or activities, such as the abstention from killing, abstention from stealing, abstention from sexual misconduct, abstention from intoxicants, and abstention from lying. Abstentions are basically the precepts that each monastic member must observe individually. Appropriate actions refer to precepts that must be enacted, such as the fortnightly recitation of the precepts and repentance, rain retreat during the summer, and using only three pieces of clothing. These precepts concern the communal life in the monastic order and involve visible rituals.<sup>14</sup> Failing to enact them constitute a violation of the Vinaya. The correct procedures and methods of carrying out appropriate actions are called “karma,” which, in the context of Vinaya,

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<sup>12</sup> The committee on Guanghua Lushi Yonghuai Ji 廣化律師永懷集 (The Memorial for Vinaya master Guanghua), ed, “Taiwan Fojiao Jiexue Fazhanshi shang de Guanghua Lushi 台灣佛教戒學發展史上的廣化律師 (The Role of Vinaya Master Guanghua in the Development of Vinaya Study in Taiwan). <https://sites.google.com/site/guanghualueshiyong/guang-hua-lue-shi-yong-hua-ji>, downloaded on Nov. 16, 2017. (Hereafter “Guanghua”)

<sup>13</sup> Shi Huikong (釋惠空), *Taiwan Fojiao Fazhan Mailuo yu Zhanwang 台灣佛教發展脈絡與展望* (The Context and Prospect of the Development of Buddhism in Taiwan) (Taizhong: Ciguang Monastery 慈光寺, 2013), 336.

<sup>14</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 109.

refers to “ordination ceremony, teaching precepts, repentance, and all other activities of the monastic order... The word therefore means ‘doing’ or ‘making.’”<sup>15</sup> Appropriate actions make a monastic order legitimate/Dharmic, and “karma” of ordination makes a monk or nun’s monastic identity legitimate/Dharmic. Daohai’s expertise is precisely “karma” as he is known for explaining the sacredness and functions of precepts and the ways in which one can keep the precepts.<sup>16</sup> Guanghua and Jitao critiqued others’ laxity in keeping the precepts or imperfect execution of ordination ceremonies, and Daohai demands the correct implementation of rituals based on karma.

Among the Vinaya masters mentioned above, only Daohai actively participated in ordination ceremonies: he participated in 27 ordination ceremonies in Taiwan, the first time in 1993 and the last time in 2012, one year before he passed away.<sup>17</sup> The key difference between Daohai and other Vinaya masters is that Daohai specialized in karma and offered new interpretations regarding the procedures that should be enacted during ordination ceremonies to make the ordination “legitimate/Dharmic.” He thus laid down the foundation for the second wave of Vinaya reform and became its leader.

Through teaching precepts and participating in ordination ceremonies, Daohai became the key figure in connecting the Nanputuo Monastery, the Yuantong Monastery, the Jinglu Monastery, and the Zhengjue Vihāra into a cluster of Vinaya monasteries. None of these monasteries holds more than 50 monks, but all of them have their own Buddhist institutes and hold summer retreats that are open to monks from outside of their communities. With the claim of implementing correct “karma,” it is not just Daohai who became the ācārya of ordination ceremonies; the monks at these monasteries who were trained by Daohai also become Vinaya masters who instruct the summer retreats of their ordainees’ nunneries.

Daohai taught bhikṣuṇī precepts in the Foguang Nunnery up on Mount Guanyin in Puli in 1983. Thereafter he became the Vinaya master for nuns, supervising their fortnightly repentance and summer retreats.<sup>18</sup> Guoqing served as the master in charge of karma (Skt. Karmācārya) for the Bodhisattva precepts ceremonies held at the Nanlin Nunnery in 2001, and then the principle master (Skt. Upajjhāya, Ch. 正授和尚 or 得戒和尚) during dual ordination ceremonies for four times (2003-2008). Since 2009, he has also served as the karma ācārya and the principle master during

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<sup>15</sup> Shi Sheng Yen 釋聖嚴, *Jieluxu Gangyao* 戒律學綱要 (The Essentials of Vinaya Study) (Taipei: Dharma Drum Culture Publishing 法鼓文化, 1996), 297.

<sup>16</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 93-110.

<sup>17</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 227-241.

<sup>18</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 232.

the three-platform bhikṣuṇī ordination ceremonies held at the Yide Nunnery.<sup>19</sup> Daohai's disciple Fazang has frequently conducted summer retreats at the Wuguang Vihāra in Gaoxiong and taught them bhikṣuṇī precepts, including the Eight Revered Conditions as contained in the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra*. The Wuguang Vihāra and the Yide Nunnery held a joint three-platform bhikṣuṇī ordination from September 20 to October 17 in 2016, in which Guoqing, the abbot of the Yuantong Monastery and the Zhengjue Vihāra, served as the principle master, Fazang of the Wanfo Monastery and the Qianhua Monastery served as the karma ācārya, Benyin of the Nanputuo Monastery served as the master in charge of department (Skt. Raho'nuśāsaka, Ch. 教授師 or 威儀師).

With the Vinaya masters from important Vinaya monasteries coming together, this ordination indicates the movement from individual monastics keeping precepts to correct ordination procedures. It also showed that the network of Vinaya monasteries and nunneries had been formed. Such a network of Vinaya monasteries and nunneries could not possibly form before the lifting of the martial law because ordination was held only once a year and monasteries competed fiercely for the prestige of holding the ordination ceremonies.

## (2) The Appeal and Central Issues of the Second Wave of Vinaya Reform Movement

The Vinaya revival championed by Jitao, Guanghua, and Daohai targeted the ordination system established by BAROC and reflected these monks' view on Buddhism in Taiwan. Jitao drew from 《遺集·護教匡時章》 and *Sūtra of the Buddha's Instruction on the Four Assemblies* (佛說四輩經) and criticized as illegitimate/un-Dharmic some common practices in Taiwan, such as bhikṣu-s ordaining nuns and "co-habitation" of monks and nuns. He blamed these "corrupt" practices on the influences of Japanese Buddhism, which BAROC did not properly purge after Taiwan was returned to China.<sup>20</sup> The common practices that Jitao witnessed in China were that bhikṣu-s did not tonsure female disciples and that monasteries and nunneries were separate. However, many temples in Taiwan take in both monks and nuns. His criticism against bhikṣu-s ordaining nuns simply meant that bhikṣu-s should not tonsure female disciples; the tonsure must be done by other nuns. This criticism did not directly attack the ordination system itself.

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<sup>19</sup> The website of Yide Nunnery, <http://www.yidesi.org/profile2.php>, downloaded on Nov. 15, 2017.

<sup>20</sup> "Bainian Gaoseng: Yijie Weishi de Jitao Fashi 百年高僧：以戒為師的濟濤法師 (The eminent monk that appears only once a century: Venerable Jitao as the student of the Vinaya)," <http://big5.xuefo.net/nr/article23/227358.html>, downloaded on Nov. 11, 2017.

Guanghua, by contrast, directly impugned the BAROC ordination system, calling it “going against the Vinaya and ordaining indiscriminately (違律濫傳)”<sup>21</sup> for it neither observed the limit of the number of ordainees allowed on each platform<sup>22</sup> nor carried out Dual Ordination. Such an un-Dharmic practice is a sign of the Age of Dharma Decline in his opinion.<sup>23</sup> Specifically, he turned the spotlight on nuns, arguing that nuns must have observed the Śikṣamāṇā precepts for at least two years before taking the bhikṣuṇī ordination, or otherwise they would not obtain the “spiritual essence of precepts” even when they have already gone through the bhikṣuṇī ordination ceremony. Nuns who did not obtain the “spiritual essence of precepts” will not reach any level of spiritual attainment (Pāli: samaññaphala).<sup>24</sup> Given that śikṣamāṇā ordination was never done in the Chinese Buddhist tradition, Guanghua’s criticism and his insistence on the śikṣamāṇā precepts and Dual Ordination are in effect raising the bar very high for nuns, denying all existing nuns their monastic status, and telling them that they have no chance in any spiritual attainment.

Daohai is in the same opinion as Guanghua, and Daohai’s expertise in karma procedures means that he raised the bar even higher for nuns than Guanghua had done. He explained that there are three crucial components to Dual Ordination: “An ordainee must receive ordination under three bhikṣuṇī ācārya-s and seven bhikṣuṇī witnesses first. And then, accompanied by the ten bhikṣuṇī preceptors, she will go to the ordination platform at the bhikṣu-s’ monastery for bhikṣuṇī ordination jointly officiated by ten bhikṣu preceptors and ten bhikṣuṇī preceptors. The two ordinations are to be done on the same day, each taking about 15 minutes.”<sup>25</sup> Daohai judged that the Dual Ordination ceremonies officiated by Bhikṣu Baisheng (白聖, 1904-1989) to be “un-Dharmic in terms of karma (羯磨不如法)” because the ten bhikṣuṇī preceptors did not accompany the ordainees to the bhikṣu-s’ to receive the ordination.<sup>26</sup> Denying the efficacy of any of the prior three Dual Ordination

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<sup>21</sup> “Guanhua,” 10. <https://sites.google.com/site/guanghualueshiyong/guang-hua-lue-shi-yong-huai-ji>, downloaded on Nov. 16, 2017. Also in Shi Sheng Yen, “Jinri de Taiwan Fojiao ji qi mianlin de wenti 今日台灣佛教及其面臨的問題 (Contemporary Taiwanese Buddhism and the Problems It Is Facing),” *Taiwan Fojiao Pian* 台灣佛教篇 (The Volume on Taiwanese Buddhism), edited by Zhang Mantao 張曼濤, (Taipei: Dasheng Wenhua 大乘文化 Publishing Co., 1979), 174-175.

<sup>22</sup> “Guanhua,” 13.

<sup>23</sup> “Guanhua,” 13.

<sup>24</sup> Shi Guanhua (釋廣化), *Jiexue Qiantan: Nuzhong Xuelu Changshi* 戒學淺談：女眾學律常識 (A Superficial Discussion on the Study of Vinaya: Common Senses That Women Must Have When Studying the Vinaya) (Taizhong: the Buddhist Institute of the Nanputo 南普陀佛學院, 2006), 603-604; Fazang, *Daohai*, 21.

<sup>25</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 77.

<sup>26</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 84.

ceremonies,<sup>27</sup> Daohai claimed that the three-platform ordination officiated by himself and Master Xintian (心田, 1935-), abbot of the Miaofa Chan Monastery in Xinying (新營妙法禪寺), in 1993 was “the inception of true Dual Ordination” in Taiwan.<sup>28</sup> But how did they get “legitimate/Dharmic” bhikṣuṇī preceptors when they denied the monastic status of any existing bhikṣuṇī-s? Through Venerable Cizhou (慈舟, 1877-1957), they convinced ten senior nuns to be re-ordained as śrāmaṇeri-s at the first ordination platform, and then had them served as the preceptors at Dual Ordination on account of their seniority.<sup>29</sup> This Dual Ordination did not include śikṣamāṇā precepts; instead, after the ācārya-s gave their precept instruction, during the phase of revealing past violations and repentance, the preceptors examined the ordainees for their observance of the ten śrāmaṇeri precepts and the six śikṣamāṇā precepts simultaneously (even though the examination was not strictly enforced).<sup>30</sup>

As a matter of fact, the practice at most nunneries in Taiwan is to observe the tonsured disciples for two or more years before sending them off to the three-platform ordination. Women who want to become monastics of the Jingsu Vihāra would even have to go through a period during which they are called “women who are learning the Dharma” before they can get tonsured. That is, even without the name of the śikṣamāṇā period, nuns have to go through an observation period for a few years and prove that they are capable of keeping monastic precepts. The nun preceptors in the 1993 Dual Ordination ceremonies were judged by Daohai to be qualified preceptors because they had proven their adherence to precepts with their seniority in monastic life. In addition, there has been a “reinforcement ordination” tradition in Taiwan: bhikṣuṇī-s would receive the three-platform ordination for a second time so as to reinforce their training in the Vinaya. Now that Daohai proclaimed that Dual Ordination is the *sina qua non* for the spiritual attainment of nuns, many Taiwanese nuns figured that they might as well be re-ordained in a “legitimate/Dharmic” Dual Ordination ceremony just in case Daohai was right. If they are uncertain that the Dual Ordination ceremony they went through was legitimate/Dharmic, they resort to the divination that Vinaya master Jitao promoted. Those nuns who were recognized as qualified preceptors go on to systematize bhikṣuṇī ordination, hence the “Sweet Dew (of Dharma) Ordination

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<sup>27</sup> Before 1987, Dual Ordination had been held three times in Taiwan, in 1970, 1976, and 1983, respectively. Shi Jianrong (釋見融), “Taiwan Santan Dajie Shoujie Yishi yu Fanbei zhi Yanjiu: yi Xinying Miaofasi Weili 台灣三壇大戒受戒儀式與梵唄之研究：以新營妙法寺為例 (The Ritual and Music of the Three-Platform Ordination in Taiwan: A Case Study of the Miaofa Monastery in Xinying)” (Master thesis, Nanhua University 南華大學, 2008), 43; Li Yu-chen, “Identity and Agency: the Rhetoric of Dual Ordination in Postwar Taiwan Buddhist Renaissance,” paper for the Workshop on the Vinaya Revival in 20<sup>th</sup> Century China and Taiwan, Taipei, December 14, 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 82.

<sup>29</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 83-84.

<sup>30</sup> Shi Jianrong, “Taiwan Santan Dajie,” 111.



Platform” of the Yide Nunnery. The nuns at the Nanlin Nunnery, however, believe that in original Buddhism ordination would be held whenever the need arose, and so they established their own ordination platform and ordain nuns as they come.

### (3) Taiwanese Nuns’ Reactions to the Second Wave of Vinaya Reform

Taiwanese bhikṣuṇī-s may agree to Dual Ordination, but for them receiving Dual Ordination does not entail the practice of the Eight Revered Conditions. For one thing, before the 1990s, few in the Taiwanese Buddhist monastic circles knew of the Eight Revered Conditions. Some of the nuns interviewed explained that ordainees are taught about precepts only during the ordination ceremonies, which means those who have yet to received bhikṣuṇī ordination would not be taught about the Eight Revered Conditions. Besides, if a bhikṣuṇī is not ordained in a Dual Ordination ceremony, then the Eight Revered Conditions are not brought up, either. Moreover, not all male masters are in favor of the practice of the Eight Revered Conditions. For examples, Master Yinshu (印順, 1906-2005) pointed out that the Eight Revered Conditions were only stipulated after Indian Buddhism became sectarian, and Abbot Shengkai (聖開, 1918-1996) of the Ciguang Mountain 慈光山 publicly announced that anyone using the Eight Revered Conditions to criticize other monks or nuns will be expelled from his order.

In 2001, BAROC had to deal with a new controversy: Bhikṣuṇī Chao-hwei staged a “tearing down the Eight Revered Conditions” movement. Chao-hwei cited Yinshun’s research to argue that the Eight Revered Conditions were not laid down by the Buddha.<sup>31</sup> As the contents of the Eight Revered Conditions, such as Dual Ordination for nuns, and monks’ instruction during fortnightly repentance and summer retreats, only served to perpetuate the traditional gender hierarchy that put men on top and women at the bottom, Chao-hwei points out, they could not have been taught by the Buddha whose teachings were egalitarian in spirit. Daohai does not consider the Eight Revered Conditions to be a forgery of a later time. He proposes that, unlike other Vinaya codes, which were prescribed after specific incidents, the Eight Revered Conditions were stipulated in advance of accepting women into the Buddhist monastic order. That is, Daohai believes that “the regulations preceded the principles contained in the regulations...the Eight Revered Conditions preceded the establishment of the bhikṣuṇī sangha.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Shi Yinshun 釋印順, *Yuanshi Fojiao Shengdian zhi Jicheng* 原始佛教聖典之集成 (The Compilation of the Sacred Scriptures of Primitive Buddhism) (Xinchu: Zhengwen 正聞, 1994), 409.

<sup>32</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 75.

Daohai acknowledged that the Eight Revered Conditions “may appear to be a little bit unfair to women,” but “in reality bhikṣu-s have no means to force them [bhikṣuṅī-s] to practice the Eight Revered Conditions” as bhikṣuṅī-s still retain the right to choose which Vinaya master to study with, as well as the right to refuse to pay obeisance to bhikṣu-s who are unreasonable and un-Dharmic.<sup>33</sup> Daohai further pointed out that the Eight Revered Conditions were stipulated by Mahākāśyapa, who had attained arhathood, which meant he would not have discriminated against women.<sup>34</sup> Daohai therefore believed that Chao-hwei was opposing Dual Ordination and not the Eight Revered Conditions.<sup>35</sup> He said that Chao-hwei’s action of tearing down the Eight Revered Conditions might have resulted in “a few slightly more educated” bhikṣuṅī-s to study Dual Ordination, but the sutras proved that Dual Ordination is the correct way to conduct ordination for nuns.<sup>36</sup> Daohai never had a direct dialogue with Chao-hwei; it was Daohai’s student Fazang who engaged in a battle of words with her. Did Daohai really know to what Chao-hwei oppose?

Chao-hwei’s publications made it clear that what she opposes is not Dual Ordination, but the male chauvinism perpetuated by the Eight Revered Conditions, which she seeks to curb.<sup>37</sup> In 1992, she engaged in a battle of words with someone who adopted the penname of “Repentant Nun” in the *Sangha Magazine*, pointing out that the Eight Revered Conditions require that nuns obey monks unconditionally, which would result in low self-esteem among nuns.<sup>38</sup>

Chao-hwei is certainly not wrong about the effects of the practice of Eight Revered Conditions: male chauvinism among monks and low self-esteem among nuns. Some Buddhist institutes have nuns eat the leftovers of monks’ meals. In the summer retreat at the Wuguang Vihāra in 2000, Fazang asked nuns to perform the “eight-four ugly demeanors of women” as contained in the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṅī-sūtra* (大愛道德比丘尼經).<sup>39</sup> Also in 2000, during the three-platform ordination ceremony held at the Lingquan Temple in Jilong (基隆靈泉寺), monks required that bhikṣuṅī preceptors prostrate before the newly ordained

<sup>33</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 127.

<sup>34</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 83.

<sup>35</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 83.

<sup>36</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 127.

<sup>37</sup> The movement for abolishing the Eight Revered Conditions in Taiwan is related to Dalai Lama’s hesitation regarding establishing the Tibetan bhikṣuṅī lineage in 1997. See Shi Chao-hwei, *Gender Equality*, 68; Ho Kunhong (侯坤宏), *Xingtān Nanlu: Hengqion Fashi Fangtanlu* 杏壇納履：恆清法師談錄 (Interviews with Venerable Heng-Ching) (Taipei: Wunan 五南, 2009), 258-259; Xie Xinxin (謝莘莘; 釋清度), “Dangdai Taiwan Sengni de Jieluguan ji qi Shenghuo Shijian 當代台灣僧尼的戒律觀及其生活實踐 (Views on the Vinaya and Ways of Practice among Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Contemporary Taiwan)” (Master thesis, Xuanzang University 玄奘大學, 2005), 71, 76-78. (Hereafter, “Views”)

<sup>38</sup> Shi Chao-hwei, *Gender Equality*, 280.

<sup>39</sup> Xie Xinxin, “Views,” 74; Cai Meirui, “Transformation,” 128.

bhikṣu-s, citing from the Eight Revered Conditions that a bhikṣuṇī of a hundred years is still inferior to a bhikṣu who has only been ordained for one day.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the same thing happened in 1997 at the three-platform ordination of the Miaofa Temple in Xinying.<sup>41</sup> Also at the three-platform ordination of the Miaofa Temple in Xinying, a monk made an inappropriate comment and a nun, in response, proposed to discuss the matter but then was forced to repent in public for violating one of the Eight Revered Conditions (a bhikṣuṇī should not reproach a bhikṣu).<sup>42</sup> Incidents of this sort abound. In one extreme case, a certain young monk visited the Tzu-Chi Foundation in Hualien and demanded that the elderly Master Zhengyan (證嚴, 1937-) prostrate before him in accordance with the Eight Revered Conditions. Some young bhikṣuṇī-s made an important observation in their works on such an issue: Many of the elderly Vinaya masters are in fact open-minded and respectful toward nuns, but some young monks would stick to the letter of the Eight Revered Conditions and treat nuns accordingly, resulting in the resentment from nuns.<sup>43</sup>

Other than Chao-hwei, though, most Taiwanese bhikṣuṇī-s remained silent and do not discuss in public the issue of the Eight Revered Conditions. A few questioned Chao-hwei's credibility given that she does not practice the Eight Revered Conditions herself. And there are a few others who think that Chao-hwei's action of tearing down the Eight Revered Conditions was counterproductive—nuns in Taiwan have always been tacitly respectful toward monks without much knowledge of the Eight Revered Conditions, and Chao-hwei's action ironically raised the importance of the Eight Revered Conditions and made them the criteria with which nuns' behaviors might be examined.<sup>44</sup>

In post-war Taiwan, Buddhist nuns significantly outnumber Buddhist monks—generally by eight to two. Even in Jiayi, which holds the least Buddhist temples among all the counties and cities in Taiwan, 60% of the temples is managed by bhikṣuṇī-s and has bhikṣuṇī-s as the abbots.<sup>45</sup> In addition, these nuns' average level of education is unprecedentedly high, and their average age is unprecedentedly young. After the Ministry of Education allowed the establishment of Buddhist universities, monks and nuns have more accesses to higher education. As of 2013, the Graduate Institute of Religious Studies of Nanhua University (南華大學宗教所) had graduated 109 persons, 5 of who were monks and 36 were nuns; the Graduate

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<sup>40</sup> See Xie Xinxin, "Views," 74, and Fazang, *Daohai*, 37.

<sup>41</sup> Cai Meirui, "Transformation," 128.

<sup>42</sup> Cai Meirui, "Transformation," 129.

<sup>43</sup> Cai Meirui, "Transformation," 129.

<sup>44</sup> Li Yu-chen, "The Gender Issue in Contemporary Taiwan Buddhism."

<sup>45</sup> Shi Ziyun (釋自衍), "Taiwan Biqiuni jiaoyu fazhan gaiguang 台灣佛教比丘尼教育發展概況 (A Sketch of Taiwanese Bhikṣuṇī-s' Education)," *Fojiao Tushuguan guankan* 佛教圖書館館刊 (Journal of the Buddhist Library), no. 56 (2013): 84.

Institute of Religious Studies of Xuanzang University (玄奘大學宗教所) had graduated 230 persons, 8 of who were monks and 48 were nuns; the Graduate Institute of Religious and Cultural Studies of Tzu-Chi University (慈濟大學宗教與文化研究所) had graduated 11 persons, 1 of who was a monk and 6 were nuns.<sup>46</sup> Based on the graduates from these three universities, the number of nuns who had obtained advanced degrees from Buddhist universities was 6.4 times the number of monks.

Before the demand of Dual Ordination made by this second wave of Vinaya revival, it was common in the Chinese Buddhist tradition for nuns to take tonsure and ordination under a renowned bhikṣu. Under the traditional structure in which monks led and instructed nuns, two-assembly sangha-s (in which bhikṣu-s take both monks and nuns as disciples) and two-assembly monasteries (where monks and nuns reside in different parts of the same campus) were quite common. In contemporary Taiwan, however, nuns overwhelmingly outnumber monks, and monks become the protected and privileged minority—a young monk is often the abbot of several monasteries. As a result of the small number of monks, very few monasteries in Taiwan are for monks only. These few monks-only Vinaya monasteries criticize Chao-hwei for her call for abolition of the Eight Revered Conditions, interpreting it as an opposition to Dual Ordination. They also criticize the practices of bhikṣu-s taking female disciples and the “co-habitation” of monks and nuns in the same monasteries. Couched in the language of Vinaya revival, all of their major criticisms and concerns are about gender, betraying a very strong sense of anxiety about the gender imbalance in the Buddhist monastic circle in Taiwan.

However, these male Vinaya masters almost never mention their anxiety about the large number of bhikṣuṇī-s in Taiwan in their criticism against of the BAROC ordination system that had ordained many “Vegetarian nuns” to become bhikṣuṇī-s in post-war Taiwan. They claim that their accusation of BAROC is about the latter’s lack of effort in reinforcing the monastic-lay distinction and weeding out the influences of “Vegetarian religion.”<sup>47</sup> Daohai even went so far as to criticize Buddhist organizations in the camp of humanistic Buddhism for expanding their organizations by holding social events and recruiting “worldly people,” which makes it difficult to adhere to Vinaya codes.<sup>48</sup> The most prominent characteristic of Buddhist organizations in contemporary Taiwan is the ways in which they enact the Mahāyāna ideal of universal salvation: they propagate the Dharma through social engagement and with the collaboration between monastic and lay Buddhists. Ding

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<sup>46</sup> Shi Ziyun, “Bhikṣuṇī-s’ Education,” 84.

<sup>47</sup> “Guanhua,” 10.

<sup>48</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 222.

Renjie 丁仁傑 considers this enactment of universal salvation the key difference between the humanistic Buddhism in contemporary Taiwan and traditional Chinese Buddhism, the latter being mystical and other-worldly.<sup>49</sup>

It is rather ironic that the group of monastics who claim to be concerned with the revival and flourishing of the Dharma-Vinaya as represented by the monastic sangha would promote what they understand to be the “correct” procedures to such an extent that they are willing to reduce the number of “legitimate/authentic” Buddhist monastics – by claiming that one’s monastic identity is predicated on having been ordained through correct procedures, they are in effect denying the monastic status of the vast majority of existing bhikṣuṇī-s whose ordinations did not follow the “correct” procedures. For these male Vinaya masters, a nun’s spiritual practice amounts to nothing if she did not go through the correct ritual. That is, ritual is far more important than practice. By contrast, some nuns in predominantly Theravāda countries in Southeast Asia refuse to take Dual Ordination, thinking full ordination to be immaterial because spiritual practice is far more important than the ritual of ordination. Are the monks in the camp of the second-wave Vinaya revival in Taiwan more anxious about the possible decline of the Dharma, or are they more anxious about the flourishing of nuns who are much bigger in number, better educated, and more active and influential in society? Are they more concerned with the purity of Vinaya, or more concerned with the purity of monks, which might be compromised by the presence of nuns in the monastic community?

In the Buddhist history it is not uncommon that monks, especially Vinaya monks, would consider any contact with women a threat to the purity of the male monastic order. But what about the nuns—why would they be willing to subject themselves to re-ordination with the “correct” Dual Ordination procedures? Wuguang Vihāra’s abbess Bhikṣuṇī Wuguang’s (悟光) reaction to the female lama of the Fuzhi Monastic Order 福智僧團 on August 22, 2017 may shed a light on the reasoning of nuns who are willing to be re-ordained. Wuguang berated the female lama: “Nuns must observe the Eight Revered Conditions and must study the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra*. Nuns should never boss around any bhikṣu. Only when a nun directly addresses the causes of being born as a woman can she stand a chance to be reborn as a man, and only then can she possibly have a shot at reaching

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<sup>49</sup> Ding Renjie 丁仁傑, *Dangdai Hanren minzhong zongjiao yanjiu—lunshu, renting, yu shehui zai shengchan* 當代漢人民眾宗教研究—論述、認同與社會再生產 (Study on the Contemporary Chinese Popular Religion: Discourses, Identities, and Social Reproduction) (Taipei: Lianjin 聯經, 2009), 82-87.

Buddhahood.”<sup>50</sup> She further referenced the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra* to say that, at the end of time, there are 80,000 bhikṣuṇī-s, and only 760 of them will attain arhathood “by virtue of their practice of the Eight Revered Conditions and their study of the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra*, both of which are ways to address the causes of being born women.” As for those nuns who do not observe the Eight Revered Conditions, Wuguang believes that they will have to wait another 130 kalpas before they are able to cut off delusions, have any spiritual attainment, be reborn as men, and perhaps reach Buddhahood.”<sup>51</sup> On the one hand, the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra* reinforces the gender hierarchy prevalent in society, telling nuns that the first necessary step toward spiritual attainment is to be reborn as men in the future. On the other, it guarantees the success of nuns’ spiritual pursuit as long as they observe the Eight Revered Conditions, even though the chance of success is awfully slim – only 0.95% of nuns will attain arhathood. A discouraging small number it may be, “760” nevertheless becomes the blessed number among nuns who have taken the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra* to heart and believe that it is through receiving Dual Ordination and observing the Eight Revered Conditions that they can “directly address the causes of being born women.”<sup>52</sup>

Bhikṣuṇī-s in contemporary Taiwan are large in quantity and high in quality.<sup>53</sup> The anxiety this large number of well-educated nuns has provoked is not just about gender imbalance in the sangha, but also about the trespassing of the traditional gender roles. Gender imbalance in and of itself is not necessarily an issue so long as the boundary between the two sexes is clearly demarcated—the traditional gender hierarchy provides a clear demarcation, and the northeastern Chinese practice of separating nunneries from monasteries provides another. The anxiety about the trespassing of traditional gender roles is more difficult to relieve because there is no religious norm for nuns that meets the need of the current situation in Taiwan – the high percentage of nuns in the monastic community is unprecedented, and

<sup>50</sup> “Funi dao Wuguang Jingshe wei Jin piaobai, bei Xuejie nishi xunchi 福尼到悟光精舍為金漂白,被學戒尼師訓斥 (Nun of the Fuzhi Monastic Order visited to Wuguang Vihāra to defend Lady Jin [as the leader of Fuzhi, scolded by [Wuguang Vihāra’s] resident expert in Vinaya), <http://vick1015.pixnet.net/blog/post/178356585-%E7%A6%8F%E5%B0%BC%E5%88%B0%E6%82%9F%E5%85%89%E7%B2%BE%E8%88%8D%E7%82%BA%E9%87%91%E6%BC%82%E7%99%BD%2C%E8%A2%AB%E5%AD%B8%E6%88%92%E5%B0%BC%E5%B8%AB%E8%A8%93%E6%96%A5%3B-%E6%93%9A>, downloaded on Nov. 19, 2017.

<sup>51</sup> *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra* (大愛道比丘尼經), CBETA No.1478, Vol. 24: 13, [http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi\\_pdf/sutra11/T24n1478.pdf](http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi_pdf/sutra11/T24n1478.pdf), downloaded on Nov. 15, 2017.

<sup>52</sup> This is Wuguang Vihāra’s abbess Wuguang’s public address to the nun of the Fuzhi Monastic Order.

<sup>53</sup> Li Yu-chen, “Shoujie Shijiao: zhanhou Taiwan Bichiuni Shenfen de xingcheng yu ningju 受戒施教：戰後臺灣比丘尼身分的形成與凝聚 (Receiving Ordination and Propagating the Dharma: the Formation and Consolidation of Bhikṣuṇī-s’ Identity in Postwar Taiwan),” *Research on Women in Modern Chinese History* 近代中國婦女史研究 25 (2015.6): 1-52.

arhathood, though a transcendent spiritual attainment by definition, is widely understood to be male-bodied. The lack of the image of female arhat is a stressor as it makes nuns question their own religious status and authenticity. The stressor becomes stronger as “spiritual practice” and “propagation of the Dharma” are narrowly defined. The nuns of the Nanlin Nunnery and the Yide Nunnery, in the interviews conducted by Shi Ziyān in 2013, all understand “propagating the Dharma” very narrowly as holding ordination ceremonies, and “spiritual practice” very narrowly as adhering to precepts, which is a sharp contrast to the understanding of nuns in other nunneries and Buddhist organizations in Taiwan who engage in a wide variety of spiritual practices and Dharma-disseminating activities.<sup>54</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

The Vinaya masters leading this wave of Vinaya revival are mostly Chinese monks who arrived in Taiwan after 1970 and began to hold their own ordination ceremonies after 1993. What they called “Vinaya revival” is essentially a criticism against the ordination system established by BAROC, claiming it to be illegitimate/un-Dharmic for failing to implement Dual Ordination by the book. In reality, there have been Dual Ordination ceremonies in Taiwan since 1970 even though they were not consistently done and were not regularly held. What the “Vinaya monasteries and nunneries” of the second-wave Vinaya revival consider to be legitimate/Dharmic Dual Ordination ceremonies are ceremonies that foreground the practice of the Eight Revered Conditions as contained in the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra*. After the lifting of martial law in Taiwan, BAROC could no longer monopolize the ordination of Buddhist monastics, and monastic communities began to hold their own ordination ceremonies. The most important and influential figure in the second-wave Vinaya revival movement is Daohai; with his expertise on the “karma” procedure of Dual Ordination, he has held ordination ceremonies for 27 times in Taiwan.

The emphasis on the Eight Revered Conditions gives male Vinaya masters the authority to (re-)define the identity of bhikṣuṇī-s by claiming that only bhikṣuṇī-s who went through Dual Ordination foregrounding the Eight Revered Conditions are legitimate/Dharmic/authentic. It also has the effect of changing the relationship between monasteries and nunneries because, according to the Eight Revered Conditions, the fortnightly repentance and summer rain retreat of bhikṣuṇī-s must be done under the guidance of bhikṣu-s who are “qualified” Vinaya instructors. That is, the implementation of Dual Ordination and the insistence on the guidance from bhikṣu-s has successfully subordinated nunneries such as the Nanlin Nunnery, the

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<sup>54</sup>Shi Ziyān, “Bhikṣuṇī-s’ Education,” 86-87.

Wuguang Vihāra, and the Yide Nunnery, to the monasteries such as the Nanputuo Monastery, the Yuantong Monastery, the Jinglu Monastery and the Zhengjue Vihāra. These “Vinaya monasteries” formed a cluster of monasteries and nunneries that are known for their strict adherence to the Vinaya codes.

These male Vinaya masters cite the *Mahāprajāpati-bhikṣuṇī-sūtra* as the scriptural basis for demanding the strict practice of the Eight Revered Conditions. According to this sūtra, a bhikṣuṇī cannot attain arhathood until she is reborn a man. It also states that there will be 80,000 bhikṣuṇī-s at the Age of Dharma Decline, and only 760 of them will get to attain arhathood by virtue of their adherence to the Eight Revered Conditions. The former statement rationalizes the existing gender hierarchy within the sangha, firmly placing all male practitioners above all female practitioners. The latter seemingly elevates the status of those bhikṣuṇī-s who adhere to the Eight Revered Conditions, which on the one hand intensifies their anxiety with regard to their “correct” practice of precepts, and on the other bestows upon them a sense of superiority and pride, which is similar to the sense of being “the chosen” in some forms of Protestant Christianity.

These Vinaya masters oppose the secularization of Humanistic Buddhism (人間佛教) and devote themselves to the revival of “Chinese Buddhism.” They think that Buddhism in Taiwan has been contaminated by Japanese Buddhism and by the Vegetarian Religion, the latter being led by laypeople and thus an inauthentic form of Buddhism in their opinion. Besides, Jitao and Daohai came from the northeastern part of China, where women were usually excluded from monastic life altogether and the few nuns existed stayed outside of the monasteries of monks. In Taiwan, however, Buddhist monastics are overwhelmingly bhikṣuṇī-s, and two-assembly sangha-s and two-assembly monasteries are the mainstream. The spatial placement of a Buddhist temple in Taiwan is radically different from that of a temple in northeastern China. Jitao and Daohai considered the common practices in Taiwan to be corrupt because they took the common practices in their home region to be the norm. Moreover, they claimed that the ordination done by the BAROC followed *Norms for Ordination Ceremonies* (傳戒正範<sup>55</sup>) edited by Vinaya Master Jianyue (見月律師, 1602-1679) in the Qing Dynasty, but the procedures established by Jianyue were incorrect, which meant that the ordainees could not properly obtain the “spiritual essence of precepts” through the ordination ceremony. As a revival/reform, the second-wave Vinaya masters claim that the procedures they implemented are correct and perfect because they follow the Dharmagupta-vinaya tradition established by the Vinaya Master Daoxuan (道宣, 596-667) during the Tang Dynasty.

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<sup>55</sup> Shi Jianyue 釋見月, *Chuanjie Zhengfan* 傳戒正範 (*Norms for Ordination Ceremonies*), CBETA X60n1128:1, [http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/X60n1128\\_001](http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/X60n1128_001).



In fact, however, what they consider the tradition of Daoxuan is the interpretation and reconstruction of Master Hongyi (弘一, 1880-1942) of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup>

Paradoxically, the nunneries in this Vinaya revival cluster claim to be holding the legitimate/Dharmic dual ordination *for the first time in history* even though they also claim their root in the Dharmagupta-vinaya tradition established by Daoxuan of the Tang Dynasty. Further, they take it upon themselves to revive the authentic bhikṣuṇī sangha of early Buddhism, aiming to re-implement all precepts laid down by the historical Buddha himself. They also actively participate in the establishment of legitimate/Dharmic bhikṣuṇī sangha in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. For example, the Nanlin Nunnery has sought to conduct bhikṣuṇī ordination ceremonies together with the 17<sup>th</sup> Karmapa. They held a joint ordination for śrāmaṇeri-s in Bodh Gaya, India in the spring of 2017 and plan to hold Dual Ordination for bhikṣuṇī-s in two years.<sup>57</sup>

The second wave of Vinaya revival movement in post-war Taiwan has formed a cluster of Vinaya monasteries and nunneries. Monks in this cluster seek to reform the rituals and contents of ordination ceremonies by citing the commentaries of Chinese Buddhist masters in the past and claiming the proper karma procedures. They have ushered in a trend of Vinaya studies that is centered around male Vinaya masters in a few monasteries. Nuns in this cluster are convinced that their religious identity is predicated on the strict adherence to the Eight Revered Conditions, and the Eight Revered Conditions instruct them to submit themselves to the authority of their male Vinaya masters, according to whose interpretation a nun who does not practice the Eight Revered Conditions to the letter is illegitimate/un-Dharmic/inauthentic and has no chance of attaining arhathood. Strict adherence to the Eight Revered Conditions assures them of their identity while at the same time reflects and intensifies their anxiety about authentic monastic practices.

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<sup>56</sup> Fazang, *Daohai*, 87.

<sup>57</sup> "The First Bhiksuni Vinaya Transformation,"

<https://www.kagyuoffice.org.tw/kaguy-lineage/17th-karmapa/focus/20170309-2>, downloaded on May 1, 2017.

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