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## Special Features of Thai culture under the Buddhist influences

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#### **Abstract**

Due to long existing of Buddhism in Thailand, Buddhism might play an important role in developing special feature of Thai culture which is attractive and unique. This leads to the interest to explore this issue. The purpose of this study is to find out how did Buddhism help to develop Thai cultures.

This research is a qualitative research. The data were collected from Thai and English materials. They were studied and analyzed.

The results of the study are that Thai culture was shaped, impacted and cultivated by the Buddhist perspective in many realms. It is clear that Buddhism has taken deep root in their worldview which leads them to think, act, and speak in according to their belief or view especially, Buddhism.

The way of life of Thai peoples shows the Buddhist influences on it from their belief, though, characteristic, festivals, rituals, and their behaviors. It is undeniable that Thai art also deals and own to Buddhism. It is known as Buddhist art, which formed the unique national ideal and conception of life in Thai society. Moreover, Sanskrit and Pāli which considered as the Buddhist languages were the strong parts to develop Thai language due to the evidences, shows that there are more than fifty percent of Sanskrit and Pāli loan words which are using in Thai Language today. Therefore, it is safe to say that Buddhism has played as important factors to form, shape, and develop Thai Culture.

**Key Words**: Buddhism, Thai Culture, Thai arts, Thai language, Influences.

#### 1. The advent of Buddhism to Thailand

According to popular Thai tradition, Buddhism was propagated in the southern region of present-day Bangkok by the monks named Sona and Uttara. They were sent to *Suvarnabhūmi* (the golden land) by the Mauryan king Aśoka in the third century B.C.E.<sup>1</sup>

From all existing evidence, it is safe to say that Buddhism first reached Thailand when the country was inhabited by a racial stock of people known as the Mon-Khmer who then had their capital "Dvaravati" a city now known as Nakon Pathom (Sanskrit: Nagara Prathama³), which is about 50 kilometers to the west of Bangkok. The great pagoda, Phra Pathom Chedi (Prathama Cetiya), at Nakon Pathom, and other historical findings in other parts of the country testify this fact that Buddhism, in its varied forms, reached Thailand at four main different periods. Buddhism was introduced into this area in different forms and in different period. Although, we are able to say that Theravāda Buddhism is the main tradition in Thai society now, in the past there were many movements both by internal and external factors. Even the original people who lived in this area were not Tai or Thai.

However, it can be concluded that there are 4 main forms of Buddhism were brought to this area. They are 1. Early Buddhism, led by two *theras*: Sona, and Uttara, was sent by King Aśoka to spread Buddhism in *Suvarnabhūmi*. 2. Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced to Southeast Asia, especially in the Srīvijaya Empire of Sumatra. In the eighth century the expansion of Srīvijaya Empire increased the influence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in now central Thailand and Cambodia. 3. Burma (Pagan) Buddhism, in 1057, Anuruth the Great of Pagan or Pukam rose to power in the whole of Burma. Burmese Buddhism was also influenced people in the area especially the Northern Thailand. 4. Ceylon (Lankāvamsa) Buddhism was introduced to Thailand and Burma by the missionary expansion of Sinhalese Theravāda in the reign of Singhalese King Parakkama Bahu I (1153–1186 C.E.). After Thai state (Sukhothai) was established, Buddhism in the term of Theravāda has been the most important school in Thailand until now.<sup>5</sup>

#### 2. Thai Culture

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Robert E, Buswell, Jr. Encyclopedia of Buddhism. (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004). P.830

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dvaravati (6<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century), In the meantime a separate culture, the Dvaravati, had developed around 600 centered on the Gulf of Thailand. This early culture was Buddhist and spoke the Mon language. It left significant, though few, records in stone; there are ruins (at sites) in central Thailand. The Dvaravati civilization was soon superseded by the Khmer, but many elements of Dvaravati culture were retained as a kind of cultural memory by the subsequent Thai civilization.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Nagara Prathama literally means the "first city."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Karuna Kusalasaya, *Buddhism in Thailand Its Past and Its Present*. (Bankok: Mental Health Publishing House, 2001). P.3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp.4-21

According to Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English, "Culture" has at least 3 meanings. Out of the three, a way of life; art/literature, beliefs/attitudes; the customs and beliefs, and social organization of a particular country or group is close to the meaning of culture employed in this study.<sup>6</sup>

Thais have long relationship with Buddhism. Due to long relationship and connection with Buddhism, it is not strange if Buddhism influences culture and the way of life of Thai peoples. P.A. Payutto said that the influences of Buddhism can be seen in all aspects of Thai life and culture. In their house, they keep Buddha images of various sizes on small altar-tables for worship. While traveling, they wear small Buddha images around their necks as objects of veneration and recollection or as amulets for adornment and protection. When passing sacred places like the Royal Chapel of the Emerald Buddha, devout Buddhists never neglect to pay respect to them.

Many times during the year they hold and attend festivals at a monastery. Occasionally they go on a pilgrimage to some favorite shrines located in a remote place. Monastery buildings such as the *uposatha* hall<sup>7</sup> and the repository of Buddha images are usually the most beautiful and ornate buildings in the village. The Buddha's teachings and Buddhist literature such as the Jātaka tales<sup>8</sup> have inspired Thai literature and art, for example Vessantara Jātaka<sup>9</sup> which is most popular among them. The Thai art forms, especially mural paintings which cover the interior walls of most temples are taken from the Jātaka stories. Pāli and Sanskrit are recognized as classical languages. A large number of Thai words, especially those used in royal language and written language are derived from Pāli and Sanskrit. Scholars writing textbooks usually turn to Pāli and Sanskrit roots for modern technical vocabulary. <sup>10</sup> From his interpretation, there are many aspects of Thai culture will be examined in this research. It will emphasize on cultures which includes way of life, art, literature and language under the influence of Buddhism in Thai society. Furthermore, how Buddhism played an important role in the development of Thai Culture will be discussed.

### 2.1 The way of life of the Thai people

It is clear that Buddhism influences the way of life of Thai people. Buddhism has played an important role in their thinking and behavior. Yoneo Ishii gave an argument in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hornby, Albert S., Michael Ashby, and Sally Wehmeier. *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary of current English*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). P.284

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The chapel, or uposatha hall, is the most important building in the monastery. This is where ordinations and other official acts of the Order take place, as well as housing Buddha images and the like.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Jātaka are a voluminous body of literature native to India concerning the previous births of Gautama Buddha in both human and animal form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The Vessantara Jātaka tells the story of one of Gautama Buddha's past lives, about a compassionate prince, Vessantara, who gives away everything he owns, including his children, thereby displaying the virtue of perfect generosity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P.A. Payutto), *Thai Buddhism in the Buddhist World*. (Bangkok: Mahachulalongraja vidayalaya Press , 2005).P.16.

his book that the Thais themselves believe they are born Buddhists and that the words "Thai" and "Buddhist" are synonymous; the unitary norm of being Buddhist in Thailand is: King equals Buddhist; Thai equals Buddhist.<sup>11</sup>

According to Mulder,N. referred by Pranee states that the majority of Thai people declare themselves to be Buddhist. Buddhism is the way of life, identity and the key to primordial Thainess. Buddhism had a deep influence on Thai modes of thinking and behavior and is the most visible and ubiquitous of Thai institutes.<sup>12</sup>

Noranit also states that *Buddha Dhamma* (the Buddha's teachings) was first pursued and took firm root during the Sukhothai period. Today, there are thousands of Buddhist structures, pagodas and temples scattered about in every corner of the country. Buddha's teaching has played a profound role in forging the peaceful and tolerant nature of the Thai people. The famous smile of the Thai people, their friendliness and relaxed attitude attest to their underlying commitment to the teachings of the Buddha.<sup>13</sup>

However, Thai Buddhism (which refers to the majority of Buddhists) is not the pure Buddhism because it syncretized with Brahmanism and Animism. Before Brahmanism and Buddhism brought to Thai Society, the local Thais believed in animism (spirits). Therefore, the local believes are mixed with Brahmanism and Buddhism in Thailand.<sup>14</sup>

Beliefs are important factors to stimulate the way how people think and behave. Many rituals and festivals were also originated from Buddhist perspectives. Even some rituals which look not concerned directly with Buddhism but Buddhism or Buddhist Monks will be in the part of that ritual such as wedding ceremony, housewarming, and so on.

Thai people like to invite monks to chant the Suttas and protective formulas for their blessing and protection in all household rites such as housewarmings, birthday celebrations, and weddings. Monks and novices wake up early morning and go around village for alms giving from lay donors, everyday morning. It's called *Pindapāta*<sup>15</sup> which Buddhist Monks have followed and preserved since the time of the Buddha. Monks are invited especially to conduct funeral rites and memorial services for the benefit of the deceased. Consecrated water is used at the most of the auspicious ceremonies. Without any hesitation, one can say that Thai Buddhists are connected with Buddhist rites since they were born until their death. Even after death, their heir would make merit and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ishii Yoneo. *Sangha, State, and Society: Thai Buddhism in History*,tr. Peter Hawkes. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). pp.48-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Liamputtong, Pranee. Contemporary socio-cultural and political perspectives in Thailand. (Dordrecht: Springer, 2014).P.XIV

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The World Buddhist University. *Buddhism in Thailand*. (Bangkok: Sahadhammika.Co.Ltd.,2002).pp.2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Liamputtong, Pranee, P.49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> *Pindapāta*, is the practice of collecting alms food, as observed by Theravada Buddhist monks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Phra Brahmagunabhorn (P.A. Payutto), *Thai Buddhism in the Buddhist World*. P.15.

dedicate to them for their prosperity and happiness in the next world. From above, it shows Buddhism has impacted their ways of life.

#### 2.2 Thai arts

According to Beek, Steve, Thailand has seen the emergence and extinction of a number of widely varying art styles down the centuries. These have been brought unaltered from foreign lands, been developed by the indigenous population or, in most instances, have resulted from a fusion of several modes, alien and native, thus creating an entirely new. Until 13<sup>th</sup> century, art forms were heavily influenced by those of neighboring countries notably India, Sri Lanka, and Kampuchea (Cambodia). With the founding of Sukhothai in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, a style emerges which is uniquely Thai. To comprehend the vast body of art which comes under the headings of "Thailand", one must explore the various ingredients that went into the creative cauldron.

With its rich land, abundant rainfall and ample sunshine, the country has always been an inviting place for settlement. From early times, its fertility has attracted a variety of foreign ethnic groups who blended with indigenous populations. Together they farmed the country's valleys and plains, using resultant prosperity to fuel the creation of art.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E. Indian Merchants were traversing Thailand's northern region and southern peninsula bringing new concepts which, more than those of other culture, would profoundly shape the country's religion, literature, art and politics. By the third century, Chinese annals<sup>17</sup> were recording the existence of numerous autonomous kingdoms along the Gulf of Siam coastline. In the central Chao Phya river Valley, thriving towns were gaining recognition as centers of religion and learning. Pilgrims from India, and later Sri Lanka, brought Theravāda Buddhism which supplanted the Hinduism and the Mahāyāna Buddhism professed by the majority of the country's population. By the end of the first millennium, waves of Khmers, Indonesians and other made their contributions to the cultural mix.

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the focus of activity shifted to the upper reaches of the Chao Phya Valley. At Chiang Mai there arose the Lanna kingdoms, which dominated the northern region between Burma and Laos. Just to the south, the first Thai state was established at Sukhothai. With the waning of Khmer influence early in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Thai principalities formed a confederation which, though it would have several capitals, has functioned as a sovereign nation down to the present day. Strictly speaking, Thai history begins from this point.<sup>18</sup>

For the past 700 years, 90% of its people have professed Theravāda as their religion. These two potent forces have been at the best of Thailand's art and culture, with

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Beek, Steve, and Luca Invernizzi. The arts of Thailand. Place of publication not identified: Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd, 1999.P.7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *Ibid*. P.8.

king providing the patronage, and glorification of Buddhism being the principal theme addressed by its artists. Buddhism, especially Theravāda School, has played an important role in development of Thai arts long time ago until now. Although Western Arts have considerable influence on Thai contemporary Arts, people in general feel proud and happy with Buddhist arts. It is said that Buddhist arts have taken deep roots in Thais' thought and spirit which paved the way to create Thai Arts.

Charuwan Chareonla emphasizes on the origin of Buddhist Arts in Thailand. Thai traditional arts have numerous distinctive qualities which make them easily distinguishable from those of other neighboring countries in South-East Asia. Much of their inspiration and many of their features have been borrowed or adopted from other Asian sources, including the Indian, Mon-Khmer, Sinhalese, Chinese and other civilizations.

Thai art mainly deals with Buddhist religion and is known as Buddhist art, which formed the national ideal and conception of life. It is said that during the greater part of the kingdom's history, religious motifs predominated. Sculpture, metal casting, sacred architecture, and the arts (painting and murals) were employed for embellishing temples. They were, for many centuries, the principal modes of expression.

From all prominent countries, the Classical Thai Buddhist Art owes more to India, it seldom drew its inspiration directly from there. Nevertheless, Indian art and craftsmanship are no doubt regarded as the prototypes of the Buddhist art in this country.

Scholars suggest that the Indian settlers generally followed three routes for coming to Thailand. All these routes may have been in use simultaneously or at different periods, and they were certainly used to bring into Siam many different styles of Indian art. The routes used by Indians. They landed probably at the port of Burma, and then travelled through south Central Thailand.<sup>20</sup> All these routes facilitated the journey of the Indian immigrants to settle in Thailand and spread their culture and religious art in Thailand.<sup>21</sup>

From above survey, it is evident that Buddhism influenced the arts in this area long time ago. That arts owned to Indian arts and mixed with the indigenous arts developed under Buddhist perspective which then became unique That arts which invaluable to That Culture until now.

## 2.3 Thai Language

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* pp.7-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Department of Fine Arts: Art in Thailand, Bangkok, 1955.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Chareonla. Charuwan, Buddhist Arts of Thailand, Magadh University, Gaya, 1981. pp. 25-33.

It is well known that the Buddhist religious languages in Thailand are Sanskrit and Pāli. The Buddhist missionaries were sent by King Aśoka in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. After that the relation between India and the area now is Southeast Asia has grown gradually.<sup>22</sup> Visudh Busyakul mentions the difference of the original Thai and Sanskrit. He says, the original Thai is a tonal language and monosyllable words but Sanskrit is a non-tonal language and polysyllable like Pāli. At present there are many polysyllable words in Thai because they were loan words from Sanskrit and Pāli which were developed into Thai. Visudh also states that the oldest inscription showed that the Thai people were familiar with Sanskrit words and literature ever in the time of King Ram Khamhaeng (1279–1298). It was in his reign that Theravāda Buddhism came into the kingdom, and became the established religion since then. However, Sanskrit, which is considered as the language of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hinduism is more popular with the Thai people than Pāli.<sup>23</sup> Pāli words mostly are used in religious circles but Sanskrit is adapted and used in wider circle. There are more than fifty percent of loan words from Sanskrit and Pāli in Modern Thai language.

According to Sombat Mangmeesukhsiri, Sanskrit and Pāli are very important for developing Thai Words. They made Thai language rich in vocabulary containing more words than earlier which can be used as one pleases. There are many purposes for using Sanskrit and Pāli loan words such as communication in daily life, usage as the royal language, composition of verses or poem, and the most important in Thai society today is the naming of people

For example, naming of people, during the reign of King Rama VI of the Cakri dynasty (1912-1925 CE.), the Thais were forced by royal decree to have their own surnames. Until then, the Thais only had names without any surnames and all the names were derived from the original Thai language, for example, Nai Dam (Mr.Dam or Mr. Black in English), Nang Dang (Ms.Dang or Red), or from Khmer loan words, such as, Nai Amnat (Mr. Power in English). Naming people with Thai and Khmer original words was in use for sometimes. After World War II, naming people with Sanskrit and Pāli words became popular among the Thais. It is popular for names of people because both the languages have many syllables unlike original Thai words which are mostly monosyllable. Furthermore, the meanings of Sanskrit and Pāli loan words in the Thai language are quite unique and sacred because they are regarded as religious languages in Thai society. Thus Sanskrit and Pāli have played important roles in naming the Thai from that time to the present such as Sombat, Abhijay, Vichian derived from Sanskrit words: Sampatti (wealth, prosperity), Abhijaya (great victory), and Vajra (diamond) respectively.

Sanskrit and Pāli are also worth towards coining new words and technical terms which came from other cultures, especially from the west in Thai Language. It is a unique

<sup>23</sup> Proceedings of papers. (Bangkok: Sanskrit Studies Centre, Silpakorn University, 2003).pp.519-521.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Sahai, Sachchidanand, and Neeru Misra. Mapping connections: Indo-Thai historical and cultural linkages. (New Delhi: Mantra Books Distributed by Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2006). P.32.

and unparalleled phenomenon. Due to lacking word for coining new words in science, arts, or technology therefore it is difficult to use only original Thai word for coining. Sanskrit and Pāli loan words are necessary for beauty, unique, and valuable for Thai language. For example: seminar, culture, and state was replaced by new coined word in Thai derived from Sanskrit and Pāli: Sammanaa (sam+manas), Vattanatham (vaddhana+dharma), and Sthaana (Sthā+na) respectively.<sup>24</sup>

Sanskrit and Pāli (religious languages) are the most important heritage which Thai received from India by bringing of Buddhists and Brahmins from earlier time. For Thai people, they speak, act, and think consciously or unconsciously under the influence of Sanskrit and Pāli languages or through the Buddhist concepts. Even now at the time of globalization when English has more influenced Thai Society, but Sanskrit and Pāli already had taken deep root in Thais' daily life. They are proud to Sanskrit and Pāli loan words as their own language and enthralled by their beauty. Some use it proudly even they do not know its meaning.

#### 3. Conclusion

As already mentioned, Thais have long relationship with Buddhism. Therefore, it is not surprised if Thai culture was shaped, impacted and cultivated by the Buddhist perspective in many realms. It is clear that Buddhism has taken deep root in their worldview which leads them to think, act, and speak in according to their belief or view especially, Buddhism.

The way of life of Thai peoples shows the Buddhist influences on it from their belief, thought, characteristic, festival, ritual, and their behaviors. It is undeniable that Thai art also deals and owns to Buddhism. It is known as Buddhist art, which formed the unique national ideal and conception of life in Thai society. Moreover, Sanskrit and Pāli which considered as the Buddhist languages were the strong parts to develop Thai language due to the evidences, shows that there are more than fifty percent of Sanskrit and Pāli loan words which are using in Thai Language today. Consequently, it is safe to say that Buddhism has played as important factors to form, shape, and develop Thai Culture as it is seen now.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Sahai, Sachchidanand, and Neeru Misra. pp. 22-44.

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## The Middle Way of Buddhism for Sustainable Development Amidst Social Changes

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#### Introduction

Consumption for the sake of consumption has become habitually normative in this age of globalized market economy. Some Buddhist scholars have observed "We need to realize that consumerism functions as a religion for a rapidly increasing number of people worldwide." Transforming consumption patterns have fundamentally affected the human psyche and society, buttressing the materialistic focus of the social desirability bias. Mass production of goods and rapid proliferation of marketing avenues, advertising and social media networks have played a decisive role in the circulation, popularization and resultant use and overuse of finished products in day today life with little temporal and psycho-spatial room left for the consumers to pause and think about the toll the entire process has had left on their own psyche and the natural environment. While aggrandizement of material wealth has rendered human existence shallow and self-centered, serious matters such as global warming, pollution, deforestation etc. have become clichés and are given only lip service both amidst the circles of specialists as well as the indifferent policy-makers.

Although the concept of sustainability is inherent in every religious tradition of the world, the term in its current usage first became prominent in the international arena in the 1980s when the Brundtland Commission enunciated its vision of the path to sustainability and referred to it as 'sustainable development'. The concept was founded on the idea of perpetual economic growth as the solution to environmental and social problems. Due to the impact of rapid capitalistic mode of growth around the world, the United Nations' initial discourse on sustainability inevitably ran parallel to the one proposed by the Brundtland Commission. However, due to massive depletion of environment and unbridled use of natural resources that has drastically affected climatic changes, the United Nations, in its role as one of the most prestigious global organizations, was bound to feel the pressing needs for environmental protection and restoration. Thus, in order to cope with these changes that have had a global impact, the UN has been continually reformulating and expanding upon its goals to a considerable extent. But still it has not yet fundamentally revised or revamped its foundational premise of economic growth as the solution for social problems and has continued to operate very much along the lines set by the developed nations' expectations and agenda of progress

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jonathan Watts & David Loy, "The Religion of Consumption: A Buddhist Perspective; Think Sangha Thematic Section: Consumption and Sustainable Development", www.ccbs.ntu.edu.tw, 1998.

and change. So it is pertinent to look at the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and their implementation from the Buddhist or for that matter from any other religious or an ethicist, perspective.

The common definitional understanding of sustainability or sustainable development vis-á-vis economic growth is quite contrary to the Buddhist way of looking at both the terms. According to Buddhism, sustainability or sustainable development stands for the enrichment of human life with a deepened understanding of holistic wellbeing; this is divorced from simplistic ideas such as economic effluence, material accumulation and sensual gratification. While the general discourse on sustainability functions in a linear way almost always prioritizing development at the external domain, Buddhism on the other hand, incorporates both the mental and physical contexts and follows a holistic pattern of development that encompasses mental and physical as well as individual and communal realms. The Buddhist discourse on sustainability has a conceptual linking to the Buddha's perfection of generosity, self-sacrifice and contentment in his penultimate birth as Prince Vessantara, the Bodhisattva, before attaining Enlightenment in his final birth as the Buddha. The perfection of generosity (dāna) clearly depicts the emphasis laid in Buddhism on the much-cherished quality of non-accusation of material wealth solely for one's own sake and for sensual pleasure and indulgence. Underneath this stance is the glowing element of sharing and self-sacrifice for the well-being of others. The Bodhisattva's giving-away of the magical rain-inducing white elephant for the sake of helping the drought-stricken denizens of Kalinga is Symbolic of the concept of substance of communal sustainability even at the cost of individual loss and suffering. Corresponding to this sense of self-sacrifice is the inherent urge of Prince Siddhartha to abandon all palatial wealth and comfort in their search for an answer to end human suffering. Thus, deeply embedded in Buddhism is not just the concept of personal sustainable development but communal sustainability as well. While both are conterminous, sustainability at the collective or outer level cannot be achieved without individual or inner effort. Hence, Buddhist discourse on sustainability proceeds from the individual level to the communal level and not vice versa like the general discourse on sustainability highlighted by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with the focal and prioritizing attention on economic growth assumed to be filtered down to individual well-being. At the most fundamental level, Buddhist sustainable development emphasizes on transformation taking place at the individual level or inner ecology along the path set forth in the Noble Eightfold Path (ariyaatthangika-magga) or the three-fold training of morality (sīla), concentration (samādhi) and wisdom (paññā) before it is acted out or stretched to the collective domain. Highlighting the potentials of Buddhism to instigate profound personal and social transformations that could lead to sustainable world, in this paper we investigate the potential for self-transformation that reside in the teachings of three great masters - Ajahn Chah, Buddhadasa and Master Sheng Yen.

## AJAHN CHAH'S TEACHINGS ON MINDFULNESS AND DISMANTLING OF BINARIES

Ajahn Chah (1918-1992) who belonged to the Thai-Isan Forest Tradition is today considered as one of the most outstanding meditation masters of the Theravada lineage. His numerous dhamma talks attest to the truth that he developed and adhered to a life's philosophy that was based on 'letting go' brought in to experiential realization through a constant effort at watching the workings of the mind closely through mindfulness practice. According to him, "mindfulness is life. Whenever we don't have mindfulness, when we are heedless, it's as if we are dead." Through a self-introspective and reflective understanding of the inner mindscape, the fleeing nature of various moods and emotions, desires and intentions are made to recognize and deal with through the internalization of the characteristic of impermanence, suffering and non-substantiality that runs through all of them. At the rudimentary level, the mindfulness training is indispensable to extricate all defilements and egocentric desires that bombard the human mind incessantly. Regular practice of it helps develop a clean and clam disposition that can bring sustainable development initially at the personal level and gradually at the collective domain when the practice becomes a natural part of life of many people in society.

The thought-provoking similes and metaphors of Ajahn Chah stimulates reflective understanding of the interdependence of all conditioned states and their inherent emptiness and triggers the mind to confront the same reality in the immediacy of meditative and mindful awareness. What is deconstructed in the teaching of Ajahn Chah is not just language, but the human Ego itself in all its kammic dimensions linguistic, psychological, social, ethical and cultural garbs and orientations. In the numerous dhamma talks of this renouncing monk of the Thai-Isan Forest Tradition, it is clearly reflected that the trained mind of a practitioner of mindfulness transcends its own ego and at a higher contemplative level proceeds to deconstruct all dualistic notions starting from the very concepts of me and mine, I and the other. As is succinctly expressed in one of his exhortations – "Give up clinging to love and hate, just rest with things as they are. Do not make yourself into anything. Do not be a meditator. Do not become enlightened. When you sit, let it be. When you walk, let it be. Grasp at nothing. Resist nothing."<sup>3</sup> Reflective understanding of this conceptual framework on the part of the UN workforce would certainly motivate its functioning in and objective and rational way, not bowing to the dictates of its permanent member countries and would enable it into mediate different processes of sustainable development across diverse nations without giving rise to any dichotomous relations like the UN and the other, developed and underdeveloped, rich and poor, regional and global, black and white, giver and receiver, patronize and patronized, East and West, etc. Such a stance would certainly render the UN's commitment to solve global issues like global warming, poverty, endemic diseases, etc. A true humanistic garb bereft of any vested and prejudiced interest.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ajahn Chah, A Taste of Freedom 2006. (Bangkok:Mahachulalongkornraja vidyalaya University Press): 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Jack Kornfield and Paul Breiter, ed. A still Forest Pool – The Insight Meditation Of Achaan Chah. (Illinois: The theosophical publishing House, 1985): 5.

All the saying of Ajahn Chah quoted hereafter in this paper are taken from this book with emphases by the author. Subsequent reference will be made to the specific dhamma talk from the book with the corresponding page number. The above quote is from the Dhamma Talk. "The Simple Path", 5.

The hierarchical order of binary structures tacitly promotes a first term sequence (male/right/good) at the expense of a second-term sequence (female/left/evil) and has generally resulted in privileging of unity (albeit, superficially), identity and temporal and spatial presence over diversity, difference and deferment in space and time. Going against and beyond the general paradigm of polarized and dichotomous thinking, Ajahn Chah's teachings focus on the truth that all things exists only in relation to each other, not now any permanent or obsolute intrinsic attribute. Through ontological deconstruction Ajahn Chah aims to focus on the practice of identifying the source and mode of one's delusion. Delusion occurs through our failure to recognize and accept the true nature of our ontological reality, which is marked by conditioned states that are constantly changing and hence are marked by impermanence and non-substantiality. Buddhist deconstruction as put into practice by Ajahn Chah is not simply a strategic reversal of categories; it mindfully seeks to undo a given order of priorities and the very system of conceptual framework and discursive practice that makes that order possible. The identity of separate entities is subverted as entities are demonstrated to be inextricably involved the one in the other. He emphatically points out that when the mind does not grasp or take a vested interest, does not get caught up, things become clear. Right understanding arises from the attempt at looking very objectively at a particular situation or event and understanding it as it-is-in0itself and not coloring it with our subjective views that arise from personal likes and dislikes. This kind of an attitudinal approach, if embraced by the UN policy makers, can definitely help them function in a neutral way by instigating them to asses any region- or country specific problem related to sustainable development within the contextual situation without having to superimpose any external patterns of development from a technologically advanced country or context.

## BUDDHADASA'S TEACHINGS ON DEVELOPMENT OF LIFE AND DHAMMIC SOCIALSM

Buddhadasa, (1906-1993) another internationally recognized Thai monk who sought a balance between Vipassanā practice and academic, especially canonical studies, came up with great innovative thinking and re-interpretation of many core Buddhist concepts that began with his reflective understanding of the word dhamma itself, which according to him, has four meanings i) Nature itself, ii) The law of nature, iii) The duty that must be performed according to that law of nature, and iv) The fruits or benefits that arise from the performance of that duty, He says, "We have not grasped the secret of Dhamma, so we are unable to practice in a way that gets the fullest benefit from life." What the word dhamma stands for in the Buddhist context could be well extended to

The word responsibility itself in the organizational framework of any discourse on sustainable development, in particular the UN's sustainability-oriented strategic policies. Hence, legislating its multi-faceted roles as a global organization the UN can commit itself towards sustainable development with a focus on -i) responsibility itself, ii) the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Buddhadasa Bhikkhu, Mindfulness with breathing. (Bangkok: The Dhamma Study & Practice Group, 1988): 5.

nature and scope of this responsibility, iii) the work that must be undertaken according to the nature of responsibility and iv) the benefits that arise from obligation and that which can be shared universally without any discrimination whatsoever.

Only when the above mentioned four inter-dependent nuances of dhamma are realized, the concept of developing life comes to bear true meaning. Therefore, after having clarified the four meanings of dhamma, Buddhadasa went on to urge all his monastic and lay followers to keep in mind and consider deeply the concept of 'developing life'. According to him, developing life means "causing life to progress to the highest level beyond all problems and dukkha, beyond all meaning and gradations of these two words" Thus, closely related to Buddhadasa's exegetical understanding of the word 'dhamma' is his deeper view on developing life. He lays out four aspects of developing life. The first is to prevent things that are pernicious and unwholesome to life from arising. The second is to completely get rid of and destroy any such things that already have arisen in life. The third is to give rise to wholesome things which are useful and beneficial for life. The fourth is to maintain and preserve those things so that they flourish continually. These four aspects of developing life: preventing new dangers, getting rid of old dangers, creating desirable things, and maintain and increasing the beneficial things is what comprises sammāvāvā of right effort that is a factor of the Noble Eightfold Path (ariva-atthangika-magga). To Buddhadāsa, developing life is the duty and spiritual obligation of one and all. In order to fulfill this duty, the cultivation of four very important dhammas or four dhamma tools is indispensable. These four tools of Dhamma are sati (reflective awareness or mindfulness), sampajaññā (wisdom-in-action or ready comprehension), paññā (wisdom) and samādhi (concentration). Having these four tools in possession paves the way for development of life at every time and situation.

#### MASTER SHENG YEN'S RE-INTERPRETATION OF ZEN

In an attempt to contextualize Zen or Chan Buddhism in both its essence and practice, Master Sheng Yen (1930-2009), who belonged to both the Linji and Caodong lineages, gives a new and fresh perspective on the self, the mind, and the nature of human relationships and interactions in the world. As a longstanding meditation master with equal expertise on canonical sources, Master Sheng Yen proceeds to describe Chan from three perspectives: a way of life, a way of dealing with situations, and an orientation toward the external world. Once a practitioner has developed an understanding of Chan or perhaps has had a true experience of Chan, wisdom manifests in whatever he or she does. The awareness of a new attitude that is broad, open and non-discriminating arises spontaneously. Time and again, Master Sheng Yen emphasizes that Chan relies on the two pillars of concepts and methods and unless both are intact and working together simultaneously, one's practice will lack a firm foundation. Practice requires three kinds of 'putting aside'. First putting aside the self-second putting aside thoughts about goals; and third, putting aside past and future.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Master Sheng Yen, (Taiwan: Dharma Drum Buddhist College, 2010): 23.

Master Sheng Yen divides the method of practice into four stages. The first stage has to do with suffering. One recognizes that one's problems and the difficulties that befall stem from previous volitional actions. Everything that presently exists has its origin in some other place and some other time. In the second stage, one develops the awareness that what one find good or pleasant is also the result of causes in the past, and does not get caught up in the feeling of gladness for instance; good fortune is not taken as a sign of one's own specialness or greatness. In other words, one does not let such things add to a sense of self. By the third stage, the practitioner has come to maintain an attitude of not seeking. At the fourth level of practice one simply does whatever should be done.

According to Master Sheng Yen there are two kinds of poverty in the world-material poverty and spiritual poverty. While material poverty renders subsistence at the mundane level difficult, spiritual poverty is more dangerous since it can destroy human life and natural environment in a grand scale through the non-mindful leash of greed, hatred and delusion. The paradox of today's world of technological advancement is that while material poverty still exists, spiritual poverty is escalating at an alarming scale posing a threat to the entire human race. Excessive industrialization and waste that have resulted in large-scale depletion of natural resources and destruction of environment are signs of spiritual poverty. Master ShenYen, therefor urges that effective environmental protection is a mission of great urgency. However he cautions that environmental protection must begin with a change in people's values.<sup>6</sup>

Protect the branches to save the roots; Though a small matter it is not trivial Close the seven orifices, Shut off the six senses.<sup>7</sup>

Here the branches are the minor vexations while the roots are the major ones that may last a lifetime. If one is not careful with the minor vexations they may develop into major ones. Similar to Ajahn Chah and Buddhadāda's teaching on maintaining awareness in the Six Roots, master Sheng Yen draws attention to closing the seven orifices, two eyes, two ears, two nostrils and the mouth, and shutting of the six senses, seeing, hearing, smelling, taste, touch and cognition as a disciplinary way of withdrawal from the attachments to worldly things. Such discipline is indispensable to perceive how the mind of illusion functions and provides a space in which clarity develops.

<sup>6</sup> To transform the selfish heart that plunders and seizes into a compassionate heart that gives and contributes positively, Master Sheng Yen developed and protect the spiritual Environment Initiative.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Saying of Wang ming as quoted by Master Sheng Yen in his dhamma talk Guarding the one available on http://www.westernchanfellowship.org/dharmatalks-shengyen.html. Similar to this is Ajahn Chah's teachings on the Noble Eightfold Path. According to Ajahn Chah the Eightfold path of the Buddha is nothing other than the body: two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, one tongue and one body. This is the path. And the mind is the one who follows the path. Therefor both the study and the practice exist in our body, speech and mind.

## VIRTUE AND VIPASSANĀ MEDITATION ARE FOUNDATIONAL BASES OF BUDDHIST SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

A virtuous outlook on life and all one's undertaking is the rudimentary base of bringing in sustainable development at the personal as well as collective level. In the absence of Vipassanā, it is not easy to understand the mind that naturally tends to grasp at everything, and it is even more difficult to accomplish the state of non-attachment and lack of ego which are conductive to any commitment to sustainable development. Likewise, the significance of ethical codes as supportive tools for the true realization of sustainability cannot be denied. Non-adherence to ethical codes leads to personal loss as well as disruption of social peace and harmonious co-existence. Ajahn Chah's inspirational message to his monastic disciples can be well applied to a lay Buddhist ethical standpoint as well "virtue and morality are the mother and father of the Dhamma growing within us, providing it with the proper nourishment and direction. Virtue is the basis for a harmonious world in which people can live truly as humans, not animals. Developing virtue is at the heart of our practice. It is very simple. Keep the training precepts. Do not kill, steal, lie, commit sexual misdeeds, or take intoxicants that make you heedless. Cultivate compassion and a reverence for all life. Take care with your gods, your possessions, your actions, your speech. Use virtue to make your life simple and pure. With virtue as a basis for everything you do, your mind will become kind, clear and quit. Meditation will grow easily in this soil."8

Buddhist sustainable discourse does not emphasize on convincing and persuasive speech and an ideological standpoint, but first and foremost in freeing oneself from the winding shackles of ignorance  $(avijj\bar{a})$  and defilements (kilesa). If this subjective and very personal element in Buddhist sustainable discourse gets severed, then the concept of sustainability ceases to hold any true meaning. The foundation of Buddhist sustainability is tied to mastering oneself first and then others; leading oneself first, one leads others and not the vice versa. And so no matter who we are, where we are, how well known or least known we are, the onus of understanding and putting in to practice Buddhist sustainable development rests on each of us at the individual level as well as to establishing this role in a wider context, especially in this era of global crises that have repercussions on social, economic and environmental spheres. And the pinnacle of this entire process is the realization of the state of agelessness with the constant aid of self-reflection alongside the practice of the three-fold training laid down in the Noble Eightfold Path, within the matrix of which the practice of Vipassanā meditation Path, within the matrix of which the practice of Vipassanā meditation is so clearly embedded.

Now how this process works is to realized and practiced by oneself through the cultivation of moment to moment mindfulness in order to fight with one's defilements and the ego's endless craving that gives rise to all three evils-greed (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*). And mindfulness is sustained through Vipassanā meditation that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> From the Dhamma Talk, "Virtue", 54-55.

gives rise to experiential understanding of the three characteristics of existence – impermanence (anicca), suffering (dukkha) and non-self (anattā). This understanding is indispensable to free oneself from all defilements that arise from craving and attachment and when the mind is clean of selfish desire and cliniging, the four divine qualities-loving kindness (mettā), compassion (Karuṇā), sympathetic joy (muditā) and equanimity (upekkhā) spontaneously blossom in the heart. The Buddha never gave up Vipassanā meditation even after Enlightenment. He was never fully satiated with the practice of Vipassanā even when under his tutelage many of his disciples (both male and female) became arahants and began to propagate the Dhamma far and wide. So, Buddhist discourse on sustainable development implies taking this core method as a sustained practice in life for the well-being of oneself as well as others since through it mindfulness can be maintained in every action in day to day life and least is caused to oneself, others and to the natural environment.

## HOLISTIC WELL-BEING AND THE BUDDHIST DISCOURSE ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The kind of training emphasized by all the three masters upholds a paradigm of holistic well-being which benefits the mind at the spiritual, psycho-cognitive, and philosophical or contemplative level. At the ethics-spiritual level, the approach trains the mind to free itself from defilements and all sorts of evil thoughts and unwholesome mental formation through the routine practice od cultivation of mindfulness focusing on the practice of Vipassanā or insight meditation and ethical reflection. The rigorous training insists of recognizing the arising of defilements and discarding them through the practice of mindfulness. As Ajahn Chah says, "The only way to reach an end in the practice of virtue is by making the mind pure".

At the psycho-cognitive level, the mind is enriched by the flow of positive emotions. The spiritual or moral maturity benefits the mind immensely at the psychological level as when in the absence of defilements the mind is enriched by various positive emotions such as contentment, selfless love, fellow feeling, humility and self-reflexivity. The inner healthy state of mind is outwardly manifested in various positive behavioral patterns like happiness, gentleness in speech and bodily actions, non-aggressiveness, moral uprightness, concern for others, ecological consciousness, love for natural and things natural, etc. With the influx of positive emotional states and mindful sustenance of them, the mind remains calm, peaceful and non-agitated and eventually, non-reactive to negative and adverse forces and unfavorable situations. When the mind is continually clam and peaceful it is innocuous and hence receptive to positive flow of mental energy that ultimately leads to infusion of inspirational joy in oneself and others alike.

A mind not enslaved by clinging is free from selfish desires and motives and as it realizes the true state of things as being subjected to constant change, suffering and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> From the Dhamma Talk, "Rules Are Tools", 114.

selflessness, it gate infused with certain sublime states of mind such as loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy and equanimity-qualities that are indispensable for sustainable development anywhere and at any time. The mind's realization of the true nature of everything, including the human self in all its conditioned physical and mental states, as subject to repeated alterations and non-substantiality or selflessness, empties itself of egoistic self-fulfilling desires and selfish motives, and such as empty mind is the *tabula rasa* in to which imprints of the sublime states of mind can get easily encoded without any exertion.

## BENEFITS THE WORLD CAN REAP FROM BUDDHIST DISCOURSE ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The Buddhist discourse on sustainable development rests on the fundamental understanding of non-substantiality and non-clinging. This reflective thinking and practice so poignantly expressed in the teaching of Ajahn Chah, Buddhadasa and Master Sheng Yen can serve as a panacea for the world steeped in the quagmire of growing discontentment. The three noble masters have clearly demonstrated that when the mind does not grasp and is not caught up in the endless circles of desires and attachment, it leads to clarity of vision. The clear vision that can arise from non-attachment is badly lacking in our lives today. The different types of clinging that Buddhism identifies, such as clinging to passions of the body, taste, small, sound, sight and other types of contact (kāmupādāna); clinging to views, such as opinions, doctrines and various theories (diṭṭhupādāna); clinging to mere rules and rituals as the only true way (sīlabbatupādāna); and clinging to a self and mistakenly creating a self to cling to (attavādupādāna), have proliferated at a rapid scale, making people's lives centered upon extremely hedonistic and myopic concerns. As a result, no matter how high and sophisticated living standards have come to be, life still remains dull at the conceptual and spiritual level.

Not only the message of non-clinging but the lesson of deconstruction of the self/ego is useful to end linguistic bickering, racial prejudices and religious disputes that have bred uncanny hatred, jealousy, vain pride, suspicion, contempt, subjugation and misuse of power among different groups of people. To sustain the reality of hybridity and multiculturalism that are characteristic traits of today's world of globalization, the deconstruction of the individual ego is indispensable. The experiences of colonialism and the two world wars have shown that vain pride in one's racial and cultural origins gives rise to hatred and contemptuous disregard for other cultures and people outside one's own community leading to untold miseries and pain and disruption o unity and harmonious co-existence. When the principle of deconstruction of the ego is put into real practice, it helps to replace parochialism and jingoistic tendencies with loving-kindness and compassion towards others, and fosters a more receptive world view which is based on tolerance, impartiality, fairness, and egalitarianism. With a kind and compassionate mental disposition one can learn to accept and celebrate differences among groups of people from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds. While teaching his ordained disciples from various different countries and religious backgrounds Ajahn Chah

emphasized, "for harmony with the group, we must give up pride and self-importance and attachment to fleeting pleasure. If you do not give up your likes and dislikes, you are not really making an effort." <sup>10</sup>

The type of mindfulness and deep understanding of non-substantiality that the three masters have urged us to develop is required for our fight with ourselves, to distill our hearts from 'bad faith' and sterilize our mind from unwholesome desires so that we are slavishly caught up in the nexus of me and mine, I and the other. Both through the cultivation of mindfulness and reflective internalization of non-substantiality, or *anattā*, a holistic worldview can be developed. At the mundane level, the emphasis or non-substantiality is indispensable to reduce aversion and deconstruct all conflicted categories and at the supra mundane level, reflective understanding of *anattā/sunyatta* in day to day life leads to blissful contemplation and makes life worth-living. As Ajahn Chah syas, "Our lives are like the breath, like the growing and falling leaves. When we can really understand about falling leaves, we can sweep the paths every day and have great happiness in our lives on this changing earth." In the supra mundane level, and the supra mundane level is required for our fight with ourselves, the distribution of non-substantiality and the other. Both through the cultivation of non-substantiality, or *anattā*, a holistic worldview can be developed. At the mundane level, the emphasis or non-substantiality is indispensable to reduce aversion and deconstruct all conflicted categories and at the supra mundane level, reflective understanding of *anattā/sunyatta* in day to day life leads to blissful contemplation and makes life worth-living. As Ajahn Chah syas, "Our lives are like the breath, like the growing and falling leaves. When we can really understand about falling leaves, we can sweep the paths every day and have great happiness in our lives on this changing earth."

#### **CONCLUSION**

Since Buddhist sustainable development is based on moral values and developing mindfulness and insight, it is neither nourished nor sustained by self-centered views and material interests. Going against the dictates of the "I" and all its self-centered propositions, upholders of Buddhist sustainable development deconstructs all the binaries that arise from clinging to the self at the linguistic ontological and conceptual/meditative levels.<sup>12</sup> In other words, Buddhist sustainable development helps to strike a balance between living and working selflessly for the benefit of oneself and others without at the same time upholding the ego and its endless claims for self-aggrandizement. Looking at the inspiring life and teachings of AjahnChah, Buddhadasa and Master Sheng Yen, we see the ideals of Buddhist sustainable development truthfulness, moral uprightness, virtuousness, mindfulness, self-integrity, non-discrimination, ecumenical sharing, and environmental concern manifesting brilliantly. Their moral standpoint enabled them to work selflessly for the benefit of all who sought their spiritual guidance without the least expectation of any material gain in return. The inspiration that they derived from Vipassanā meditation practice that led to a deep reflective understanding and internalization of the three inherently omnipresent characteristics of all conditioned states and existences – impermanence, suffering and non-substantiality perpetually guided them to act in a righteous manner devoid of any self-interest. They have glorified the truth that in the absence of virtue, morality and realization of the state of agelessness, Buddhist sustainable development can neither be actualized at the individual nor at the collective level. Conserving the inner ecology along the path of morality, concentration and wisdom

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> From the Dhamma Talk, "Harmony with Others", 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> From the Dhamma Talk, "The leaves will Always Fall", 104.

Dipti Mahanta, "Buddhist deconstruction in practice; A reflection on Luangpho Chah's dismantling of the binary", Journal of International Buddhist Studies Vol.3, (Bangkok: Buddhist Research Institute, 2011). 1-19.

laid down in the Noble Eightfold path is a message distinct in all three masters. Ajahn Chah's very pertinent and timely advice "Don't discriminate.... You must learn the value of giving and devotion. Be patient. Practice morality. Live simply and be natural. Watch the mind. This is our practice. It will lead you to unselfishness. To peace" if put in to practice with genuine effort, would definitely lead to the middle way of sustainable development amidst social changes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> From the interview: "Questions and Answers" included in the book a still forest pool, 149-170.

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## **Newar Artists' contribution to Asian Buddhist Paintings**

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#### **Abstract**

Newars of Kathmandu valley are renowned painters who created the finest paintings not just in valley but in far off locations in Tibet, China and other Asian nations. Newars are not one socio ethnic group but a mix community absorbing all the people who entered the Kathmandu valley. They have produced art of pictorial form called Paubhā, stone images, carving on wood, emboss on brass, cast in bronze, painted mural paintings on the walls, molded terra cotta, made thousands of shrines in Pagoda forms within the valley for a long period of time. In Licchavī period 400 CE to 800 CE, Chinese travelers' accounts speak of quite eloquent houses in Kathmandu valley which were embellished with both sculptures and paintings. But unfortunately, because of various nature calamities and other disaster most of the old paintings are destroyed. In the travel account of Huien Tsang, he stated that the houses were made of wood and the walls of these houses were sculptured and painted. In Tibet around 1360 CE to 1450 CE, Newar style of painting was the chief style of Thangka painting.

Newar artists took their painting skills to many parts of Asia. Arniko (Anige in China) who was one of the finest artists produced in the Nepal's soil, created different art works in Tibet and China. His distinct style of painting with the combination of different local style created a new blend of art in Asia at the time of Yuan dynasty. Newar artists had immense influence in Tibetan Paintings which they call it Thangka. Many Newar artists in different periods contributed to development of painting in many parts of Asia. Some of the finest influence of Newar paintings could be found in Mustang of Nepalese Himalayan region, in Tibetan monasteries, in monasteries of Ladakh in India, in many Buddhist monasteries of Bhutan, in many cave monasteries of China specially Mogao and Yulin grottoes in Dunhuang. With all these strong influences of Newar paintings in these important Buddhist sites, it can be concluded that Newar artists' contribution to the Asia Buddhist Paintings is immense.

Key words: Newar, Paubhā, Pagoda, Arniko, Thangka

#### Introduction

Newars of Kathmandu valley are renowned painters who created finest paintings not just in the valley but in far off locations in Tibet and China. Newars are not one socio ethnic group but a mix community absorbing all the people who entered the Kathmandu valley. They have produced art of pictorial form, stone images, carving on wood, emboss on brass, cast in bronze, painted on plaster, molded terra cotta, made thousands of shrines within the valley for a long period of time<sup>1</sup>. The inscription in Chābahil which states the kinnari Jātaka painted on the walls of a fifth century Buddhist temple under patronage of a lady is the evident that murals on the walls of the monastery around that period<sup>2</sup>. The various accounts from the Chinese traveler speak of the fine paintings on the walls of the houses in Kathmandu. The account of Wang Xuanci made it very positive that Newar artisans were very competent and they made even ordinary home with touch of art. His accounts read:

The kingdom of Nepal is right to the west of Tibet..... All their utensils are made of copper. The merchants there moving and stationary are numerous, cultivators, rare. They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of a man and on the reverse a horse....their houses are constructed of wood. The walls of these are sculptured and painted. They are very fond of scenic plays; they take pleasure in blowing trumpets and beating drums. They understand fairly well calculation of destiny and researches in physical philosophy. They are clever in the art of calendar making. They adore five celestial spirits, and sculpture their images in stone. Each day they wash them with purified water<sup>3</sup>.

This account indicates that there was the tradition of painting at that period. Unfortunately, there are very few paintings (murals and Paubhā paintings) remained in the valley due to several of reasons. One reason is being the frequent devastating earthquakes which occurred in different interval of time that devastated most of the historic monuments and monasteries destroying the precious murals and Paubhā paintings. Nepal falls on the territory which is highly susceptible to the earthquakes and this region exceedingly seismic. The recent earth quake of 7.6 Richter scale in magnitude on 25<sup>th</sup> April 2015 and another of aftershock of 6.8 Richter on 12<sup>th</sup> May 2015 claimed about 9000 lives, 22000 human injuries and 53 historic monuments were completely devastated<sup>4</sup>. Fortunately, with the spread of Buddhism in Various parts of Northern Himalayan regions like Mustang, Ladakh, Tibet and China, the Buddhist paintings flourished. Newar painters took their skills to these areas and till today we get to see some of the finest specimens of Newar mural paintings. In Mustang there are many Newar influence murals in Luri Cave monastery, Jampa Lhakhang [Byams pa Lha

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> T. R. Vaidya and B. R. Bajracharya, eds. *Nepal People and Culture* (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1996) 12-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pratapaditya Pal, *The Arts of Nepal Part II Painting* (Leiden/Koln: E. J. Brill, 1978) 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ulrich Von Shroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet Volume One India and Nepal* (Hong kong: Visual Dharma Publications, 2001) 434.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Harihar Pokharel, *Mahabhukampa* 2072 (Kathmandu: Shambhabi Printing Press, 2072 BS) 44-45.

khang], Thupten Lhakhang [Thub bstan Lha khang], Metsun? heritage and more. In Tibet, there are many monasteries with the Newar influenced murals like in Shalu [Zha lu], Kumbum Palkhor [Sku 'bum dpal bskor] caitya in Gyantse [rGyan rtse] and many other monasteries. Likewise in Mogao and Yulin cave monasteries, there are many cave which were made at the time of Yuan Dynasty under the Great Newar artist Arniko. There are numerous monasteries in Ladakh where Newar art influence could be found. Some of the finest murals of Newar tradition are found in these areas as there are virtually no mural paintings of this period in Kathmandu valley.

The Painting on the cloth which is called Paubhā in Newar vernacular is still a very living art in Kathmandu valley. The Buddhist images on painting are mentioned in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* at the time around eighth century as *Paṭa*. In the Newar society too, in the most of the earlier paintings which have some inscription described these paintings as *Paṭa*. But eventually, around the medieval period these paintings were referred as *Paṭibhārad*, *Paṭtabhatārāka*. Eventually, these paintings became Paubhā among the people of Kathmandu valley. Newar community still continues the use of these paintings for various religious purposes for instance these paintings are displayed on the Buddhist Holy month *Gūmlā* (October), they are displayed at the time of *Pañca dāna* (ritual of giving), *Burā Janku* (ritual undertaken when a person reaches seventy seven years seven months and seven days), various *Bratas* (Buddhist fasting ceremonies) etc. The artists of these types of collection of Paubhās have tried to continue the age old tradition by using the medieval style.

#### **Newar artists in Tibet**

The transitional period (800 CE to 1200 CE) was the turning point in the history of Nepal. The period was the starting point of new era and this is the time when the trade and art work developed tremendously in the Kathmandu valley. Later, when the Buddhism collapsed in India 1200 CE, Kathmandu valley became the main trading point and melting pot between the Indians and Tibetan. This was the time when the pundits and Buddhist scholars from India took refuge in Nepal. Nepalese had an opportunity to copy or get the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from them. In the valley, they had the chance to copy Sanskrit manuscripts and preserved them in our bahas and bahis (Newar monasteries).

In regards to the influence of Nepalese art in Tibet, we could say Nepalese art work had been popular since the time of Srong bstan Gampo [Srong bTsan sGam po] around seventh century. It is well known fact that he married the Nepalese princess Bṛkutī Devī and she took numerous artisans to Tibet. At Lhasa itself local tradition maintains that the '*Phrul snang* was built by Bhṛkuṭī Devī. The temple of *Mal gro* is also attributed to her. If Tibetan scholars came to Nepal to learn Sanskrit and Tibetan pilgrims came to visit the holy places in Kathmandu valley, Newars went to Tibet in order to exercise and to disperse their artistic know how<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A. W. MacDonald and A. V. Stahl, *Newar Art*, (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1979) 31.

The very famous and well known Jokhang [Jo khang], the Tibet's most scared Buddhist Temple has still vivid example of Newar wood craftsmanship. The architectural influences on these and later historical sources all point to the original construction to the Newar craftsmen and artisans who were employed by Srong bsTan sGompo around 639 or 641 CE. The different decorative motifs on the lintels displaying geographic and animals patterns which are of different themes Buddhist sutras are the suggestive of Licchavī origin. The layouts of the five old chapels are also of design on the stone temples at Ellora in India and Bahas (monasteries) of the Kathmandu Valley<sup>6</sup>.

The Jokhang temple is renovated in many times so the wood works of the Newar workmanships were reused while the murals on the walls disappeared without any traces. This same happened here in Kathmandu valley, with every big earthquake, different monuments were rebuild using recycling the same materials but the murals and scroll paintings were mostly lost. At times they might have repainted the murals but eventually with the lost of technique and the awareness, there are hardly any murals of medieval time in Kathmandu valley/ Nepal Mandala. With the recent earthquake on 25<sup>th</sup> April 2015, the remaining of the murals on the residence houses' façade which are partly damaged would never be repainted again. This is big loss of Mural painting wealth of Kathmandu valley.

The *sBa bzhed*, one of the ancient Tibetan sources, tells us that the stone workers from Nepal worked in Tibet with the master craftsman from Khotan to build temple in Tibet during the rule of the great king Khri srong IDe btsan, who was born in the year 805 CE. According to the chronicle of the fifth Dalai Lama, the reference of the Nepalese workers in Tibet can be found at the time of the early period<sup>7</sup>. According to Taranatha, whose history of Buddhism in India was written in 1608 CE traced early foreign influences in Tibetan art back to certain artists called Dhiman and his son Bitpala. It is said both of them appeared to have worked in Nalanda in eighth and ninth century. Dhiman's influence is said to have been great in eastern India while his son influence had extended to western India as well as Nepal<sup>8</sup>. Later he is believed to have stay and worked in Nepal for a long time. Some scholar even believed that they were from Nepal.

After the fall of Buddhism in India due to the Turkic raiders who destroyed most of the key monasteries in Pala-Sen India, Nepal became the safe heaven for the Indian Buddhists and they brought all the skills to Nepal. At the crucial moment of Indian Buddhism's destruction, one traditional centre of Buddhist art survived near central Tibet: Nepal. The Kathmandu valley in Nepal with its Newar Buddhists was home to extraordinarily skillful painters, sculptures and wood workers and they being placed relatively close to the borderlands of western Tsang Province of Tibet, Newars remained for Tibetan a living source of Indic Buddhist art. Kashmir also survived as second centre of Buddhist art until the mid fourteenth century, but it lay too far west to be visited from central Tibet and Kashmir artists' ceased coming to western Tibet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gyurme Dorje et al, *Jokhang Tibet's most sacred Buddhist Temple* (London: Edition Hansjorg Mayer, 2010) 8.

A. W. Macdonald and Anna Vergati Stahl, *Newar Art* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1979) 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> *Ibid* 31.

Nepalese adaptation to an Indian style, from which they gradually developed their own distinctive style with special modes of decorations and within a generation or two, Newar style was copied and learned by Tibetan. The style became the Newar-Tibetan or *Beri* style (Bal ris or Bal bris or Beri) of Tibetan Painting<sup>9</sup>. The *Beri* style at its height (1360s-1450s CE) was adopted in Tibet universally for about a century but this style existed in Tibet for more than four centuries. The Newars with the skills in art works were in high demand as we can see the different artisans in Tibetan Plateau as well as different neighboring region as far as China and Burma (present day Myanmar). The Newar art in Tibet could be found in many monasteries. Newar artists helped Tibetans by painting murals and scrolls for a long time. Later, Tibetan developed their own style by calling it Thank ga. A Thank ga (Than ka, Thang sku than) is a painting on cloth which could be rolled up. It is therefore called a rolled up image or painting scroll in Tibet<sup>10</sup>. They are no different from the painting done by Newar artists from Kathmandu. This development shows the importance of Newar artists in Tibet and their contribution to development of Thang ka painting.

#### **Newar artists in China**

Dunhuang incorporates a breath-taking impressive group of 492 grottoes in Mogao covering 45,000 square meters of mural paintings, some 2415 stucco images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas<sup>11</sup>. The murals here in comparison to Ajanta are more than hundred times and if the murals are arranged on 3 feet row, it could run hundreds of mile. To find the Newar influence or any particular influence in this vast sea of mural arts is daunting task. To find Newar influence in Dunhuang is to dig into the history of the region. Newar artisans were in great demand since a long time in Tibet and they have contributed a lot in the neighboring region. The Tibetan had been involved in great annexing mission of several of its neighboring states since a long time and Tibetans had taken over Dunhuang in several times of its history. When the Tibetan took over Dunhuang they tried to spread their way of following Buddhism that resulted in making number of the grottoes that employed Newar artists as well.

The influence of Newar artists feature in Dunhuang could be broadly categorized in two period of time - Middle Tang period when Tibetan occupation Dunhuang in 781-848 CE and at the time of Yuan dynasty Mongol in 1227-1368 CE. Tibetan briefly took over Dunhuang region at the time of Qing dynasty around 1516 CE as well. The occupation of in Qing dynasty was very brief but the art exchange between the Tibetan plateau and China was immense at that time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> David P. Jackson, *The Nepalese Legacy In Tibetan Painting* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2010) XI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Romi Khosla, *Buddhist Monasteries in the Western Himalaya* (Kathmandu: Ratna Pushtak Bhandar, 1979) 125

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Chung Tan, *Dunhuang art Through The Eyes of Duan Wenjie* (India: Indira Gandhi National Center for Art,1994) 10.

Newar spread their art works in neighboring countries since long time. Bṛkuti Devī was historical princess in the seventh century. This believed to have changed the course of Himalayan region by introducing Buddhism from Nepal to Tibet. The visit of Bhṛkuṭī Devī not only took Buddhism but also its rich art, culture and architecture. She took Jina *Akṣobhya* Buddha statue, Sandal wood figure of *Tārā* and *Sahasrabhuja Avalokiteśvara* statue and many other Buddhist image to Tibet<sup>12</sup>. It is believed that she was accompanied by many Newar fine art workers and Buddhist monks to help her establish Buddhism and Buddhist worshipping shrines. Jokhang temple in Tibet was originally designed by Newar artisan on behalf of Bṛkuṭī Devī. It was constructed with mud stone and timber only. At present the main section of the temple is three storey's high<sup>13</sup>.

The marriage between Srong btsan sGom po and Nepalese princess Bṛkuṭī Devī developed a special bond between the two countries. Nepal's politics showed effect when the Tibetan ruler helped Narendra Deva in overthrowing the Gupta rulers. Narendra Deva was reinstated as the ruler of Nepal with the help of Tibetan ruler around seventh century. There was also socio-economic effect since that time when Newar workers' started to go to Tibet to build monasteries and do other art work. This reflects in the evidence of making of various Monasteries in Tibet by Newar workers around seventh century. There are numerous monasteries and different Buddhist art works done by Newars in Tibet. Newars visiting Tibet spread to various neighboring areas like Ladakh in western India and surrounding areas of Tibetan Plateau. The Tibetan word which designates the Newar artists in Tibet was Bal-po and the expression which designates their technique was *Bal po'i lugs*. During the exchanges of cultural influence between Nepal and Tibet throughout, Tibetan scholar come to Nepal to learn Sanskrit and visit the holy place in the valley while Newars went to Tibet primarily in order to exercise and to dispense their artistic know-how<sup>14</sup>.

During the reign of Ral pa can (815-836 CE), Buddhist from China and Tibet sought mediation, to solve the dispute. Finally both the countries sent representatives to the border. The text of this treaty is inscribed on the pillar in front of the main gate of the Jo khang in Lhasa<sup>15</sup>. In the event of occupancy of Dunhuang by Tibetan in Gansu province around 781-848 CE, there were many caves constructed by the rulers of Tibet. Some of the caves like Cave No. 112, 154, 158, 159 were constructed at the time when Tibetan took over Dunhuang. As pious Buddhist they tried to make as magnificent worshipping place as possible. The Cave No 158 is a huge cave which was built at the time of Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang. The reclining Nirvana Buddha which is of 16 meters is main attraction and there is portraiture of Srong btsan sGompo along with disciples, bodhisattvas, lay person and devas on the mural painting which justified that the cave was constructed at the time of Tibetan occupation. To further validate Tibetan invasion in this region, Cave No.156 show the mural painting of Lady Song, wife of the Dunhuang general Zhang Yichao in the ceremonial procession from a series of panoramic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Min Bahadur Shakya, *Princess Bhrikuti Devi* (India: Book Faith India, 1997) 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *Ibid* 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> A. W. Macdonald, op cit. 31.

Lokesh Chandra and Nirmala Sharma, Buddhist Paintings of Tun-huang In The National Museum, New Delhi (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2012) 36.

painting honoring her husband's victory over the Tibetans in 848 CE<sup>16</sup>. In the Cave No. 237 there are murals of Srong btsan sGampo. There are murals which are painted accordance to the method of scroll paintings. They are similar to the ones which were introduced by Newar in Tibet. Decorative motifs in most of the Tibetan built caves have a great Newar art influences like the continuous floral designs, the paintings style of different Buddhist religious symbols, the various positions of the deities as per different Tibetan Buddhist sects. The patterns of painting of murals mostly resembles to Newar style. This makes us believe that Newars had opportunity to work there during Tibetans' occupancy of Dunhuang. In Cave No. 112, there are murals of *Vajracchedikā* and *Amitayurdhyana-sutra* on two large panels of the southern wall and the *Bhaisajyaguru-sutra* along with Pao-yen-ching which speaks of filial piety towards parents and loyalty to the emperor, like the Confucian ideals. It shows how Chinese concepts were used by the Tibetan state to earn loyalty of the Chinese inhabitants of Dunhuang<sup>17</sup>.

In 1260 CE, Kublai khan, the great ruler of Mongol asked his teacher Lama 'Phags pa (1235-80 CE) to erect a Golden Stupa in Tibet. The lama extended the invitation to the Newar artist in Kathmandu. Jaya Bhima Malla, King of Nepal at time only managed to gather 80 artists. The chief of the entire group of artists was Anige/Arniko who was just 18 years old at that time<sup>18</sup>. The erection of Golden Stupa was conducted in the year 1262 CE. He was later taken by Lama 'Phags pa to Beijing in the year 1269 CE and the white Pagoda in Miaoying Temple was built in 1271 CE under the direction of Anige inside the fuchengmen city gate of the Capital city Didu which became a symbol of the friendship between Chinese and Nepalese people<sup>19</sup>. He was extremely versatile artist who was a painter, architecture and a fine sculptor. He worked almost for 40 years in Yuan court and was the highest ranking art official at the Yuan court. He made White Stupa in Beijing city between 1271 and 1279 CE. He made 9 great Buddhist temples, 3 stupas, 2 ancestral Shrines, 1 Daoist temple, countless objects used in and out of court and images in ceremonial shrines. On one occasion in 1299 CE, he worked on one hundred and nine sculptures and sixty four wall paintings in a Daoist temple Sanqing Dian. This showed he was extremely versatile and influential artist at the time of Kublai Khan. At the time of occupation of Dunhuang by Yuan dynasty, Anige must have sent the artist from the Yuan court trained by him as some of the murals in Yulin caves are very similar to the Green Tārā painting now preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art and various scholars have stated that this Tārā is painted under Anige. The period showed the significant Newar influence in various caves in Dunhuang and Yulin grottoes.

The walls of caves made during Yuan dynasty have many Newar influences like the Five Buddhas on the top. This formation is very similar to the Newars when they paint their scroll paintings which are called Paubhā that is painted the cloth and can rolled to transport to different palaces. The iconographic details are mostly Newar influenced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Roderick Whitfield et al, *Caves temples of Mogao art and history on the silk road* (Los Angeles: Getty Publication, 2000) 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Lokesh Chandra op. cit. 36-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Jing Anning, Anige(1245-1306): A Nepali artist at the Yuan court (USA: The Ohio State University, 1989) 4.

<sup>19</sup> Shuwan Yang, Zhang Jiayan, An Xu and Luo Dan, *Thangka Buddhist Painting of Tibet Biographical paintings of Phags-pa* (Beijing: New World Press, 1987) 12.

for instance the Vajrayana Tantric elements in cave 465, the floral decorative motifs. Cave No. 465 which is a distinct cave with the tantric paintings and different tantric Buddhist deities is the only cave in whole of Dunhuang region that has the Vajrayana deities on the murals. This cave was built at the time of Yuan dynasty. The ceiling has a portrait of *Mahāvairocana*; the east side has *Aksobhya* Buddha, the south *Ratnasambhaya* Buddha, on the west Amitāyus Buddha and on the north is Amoghasiddhi Buddha<sup>20</sup>. Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the Cave 465 have the squarish face and squarish aureoles (prabhāmandala) which is very distinct from most of the Chinese figure. This non oval aureoles on the different deities throughout the Himalayan region is one of the distinctive features of Newar art. The numerous painting of embracing tantric deities of Vajrayana is very distinct from the main Chinese art in Dunhuang. With the very careful scrutiny, we could conclude Cave 465 is only cave in entire of Dunhuang which has naked, embracing and Vajrayana figure in mural paintings. The artistic style of decorative motifs which are employed by Newars like the floral design, the squarish aureoles, the color schemes are very similar to the Newar art work that are famous in most of Tibet around the thirteenth to fifteenth century. In this cave the flying female Yoginī and .Cakrasamvara (male and female deities embracing) are Newar art which are common in Nepal or other places where Newar artisans had opportunity to work and create works of Buddhist art. There are ample evidences of this in Mustang, Ladakh and Tibet.

Anige, a Newar artist is the originator of the new style in the Yuan court. The tantric Buddhist art which has the Tibetan Buddhist element with very Newar style was introduced by Anige. One the new introduction was the painting of portraiture introduced by Anige. It is the blend between the Newar and Chinese style. Yuan wall painting showing female donors of Buddhist cave 332 in Dunhuang shows the portraiture very similar to the portraiture done by Anige in the Yuan court in Beijing.

The Yulin grottoes some 200 KMS from Mogao grottoes in Dunhuang region is other site which has some caves which have some very strong Newar influence of art. Like the grottoes in Mogao, the Yulin grottoes has some art executed at the time of Yuan dynasty which could have been carried out by the court art of Yuan under Anige. The Yulin grottoes are companion grottoes of Mogao so they are also called Dunhuang grottoes. The Yulin grottoes are constructed near Yulin River and have 43 caves, 4200 sq meters of mural painting and 259 polychrome sculptures. It has three caves built under Yuan dynasty and some few raised at the time of Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang.

The caves under Yuan dynasty in Yulin have a very strong Tibeto-Newar art influence. The murals on the walls of Cave No 4 in Yulin grottoes have painting which are done almost like the thang ka/Paubhā done under the *Beri* art in Tibet. The Prajñapāramitā painting carried out on the wall of this cave resembles that of painting done by/under Anige in Tibet. The Tārā on the mural of this cave is very similar in artistic style of that of Tārā painting of Cleveland Museum in USA. Huntington ascribed the Cleveland Tārā to the mid twelfth - thirteenth century and states that "the strong presence of Nepali features in the composition indicates that the artist.... was either a Nepali himself of was an immediate Nepal." Huntington and Pratapaditya Pal give the opinion that the Cleveland Tārā must be painted around last half of the thirteenth century

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Chung Tan, op. cit. 413.

under stylistic ground<sup>21</sup>. The various murals of caves under Yuan dynasty in Yulin grottoes are similar in the artistic style and compositions. Pañca Buddhas (set of five Buddhas) apprentice of a on the top of each of this painting formation and composition of the main deities with the pagoda on the background like that of Cleveland Tārā could be a strong indication of Newar influence in Dunhuang<sup>22</sup>. The color formations, deities, their iconometry, the decorative motifs, compositions are very distinct from Chinese motifs in this cave.

The murals of Cave No 4 which are decorated with the different background motifs like the rock formation on the murals which are painted like the scroll paintings (thāngkās) are very similar to the scroll painted by Newar in Tibet. The Virupa thangka which was painted between 1216 and 1244 CE has the similar background of rock formation on the back. The Virupa thāngkā according to the inscription on the painting was probably painted after 1216 CE (the year of the investiture of Sa skyapa Pandita) and before 1244 CE (the year he began his long journey to China). Thus, this could be the first Newar style painting made for a Tibetan patron that can be securely dated, as well as the first that can be given an unmistakable Sa skya origin<sup>23</sup>. The painting close connection to the Tibetan patron and the painting style which very much resembles the mural of this cave gives us some indication that the murals have visible Newar influences.

In the Cave no. 26 and 27, there are some indications of Newar influences and these two caves are connected. Cave no 26 is made under the early Tang dynasty and later the outer portion was made by five dynasties around tenth century. Cave no. 27 was later made by Yuan dynasty under Sa skyapa sect and that is indicated by the Sanskrit Mantra of *Om Mani Padme Hūm* in Ranjanā script which is introduced by Newar to Tibetan. The Ranjanā script is found only on this cave. This also points, the Newar influence in the Dunhuang art at the time when the Tibetan took over this region and later when Yuan dynasty controlled this place. At both the time of occupation of these regions by the Tibetan and Yuan dynasty, there were Newar artisan involved with them<sup>24</sup>.

#### Conclusion

Newar artists of Kathmandu Valley are prolific painters who created magnificent Buddhist paintings not just in Nepal but in neighboring countries as well. Newar artists took their skills to many parts of Tibet as well as many sites in China. The blend of new art style that they created in Tibet and China is the testament to their contribution to development of Buddhist painting in Asia. Many monasteries in Tibet and numerous cave monasteries in Dunhuang still have many Buddhist paintings done by Newar that speak a lot about Newar painters' contribution to the field of Buddhist paintings. The trend they created remained the standard for later generation as they continued the style for many years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Steven Kossak, *Painted Images of Enlightenment – Early Tibetan thanka 1050-1450*, (Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2010) pp 104-106

Dunhuang Academy, The Grottoes Art of China The Yulinku grottoes, (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publication House, 1997) Plates 181-194

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Steven Kossak, *op.cit.* 100-102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Author visited these sites in the month of April 2013 and made analytical study.

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## **Origin of Indian Buddhism**

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How to understand Buddhism today? It seems quite important to look back at the origin of Indian Buddhism to have a clear view of his path. Did Buddhism emerge has an independent and new religious scheme? Did Buddhism rely on the ground of the Hindus? What is the root of Indian Buddhism? When we think about this, we have to look back between 3000-1000 BC and the ancient civilization of the Indus Valley. What was the situation in this area before the time of Buddha? If we try to analyze better this period and this situation, it will be very helpful to understand the nature of Indian Buddhism.

## A very highly developed civilization

In India around 2800-1800 BCE, a developed civilization flourished. This civilization was known as the Indus Valley or the Harappan civilization. Where was located this civilization? We can say that this civilization settled in western Pakistan south to Mumbai, and to the east around Shimla which is the foothills of the Himalayas.

The Indus Valley civilization was very developed both materially and spiritually. They were literate people and created a script that until today remains undeciphered. The archaeological discoveries in Mohenjo-Daro had shown that they developed a spiritual culture. What was the religious attitude of the Indus Valley? Many excavations from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa site have shown numerous symbols religious that they are also important to Buddhism. These religious symbols are the papal tree who will be later known as the bodhi tree, also some animals like the elephant and deer. An important and significant discovery has been found with a figure of human cross-legged posture with hands resting on the knees and eyes narrowed. Is it clear that this is the attitude of meditation posture. So, scholars think that this is an evidence of the practice of yoga and meditation. As we know, meditation is a fundamental characteristic in Buddhism. It's an interesting point which confirm that Buddhism didn't start a new religion but included some practice from ancient civilization.

Also, we have to notice that the practice of renunciation means living like an ascetic was quite common during the Indus Valley civilization. Furthermore, the question of moral responsibility was clearly established and it was a kind of form of the karma conception. We can see that there are some elements connected with the origin of Indian Buddhism from the Indus Valley civilization.<sup>1</sup>

This civilization was removed abruptly by invasion and some natural disaster between 1800-1500. Invasion came from the northwest by the Aryans people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Della Santina, P. (1997). The tree of enlightenment, Chico Dharma Study Foundation. pp. 26-29.

### The Aryans

The Aryans came from Eastern Europe, they were nomadic and pastoral. They were a warlike, expansionist people and lived from their conquest. They entered in India form the northwest around 1200 BCE and they settled close to the Ganges River in the Punjab<sup>2</sup>. These people spoke dialects of old indo-aryans that is of Sanskrit and they are known as Aryans. The coming of the Aryan into India did not bring political unity to northern India but it did bring a certain ideology that constitutes one of the principal components of Indian culture. This Aryan vision of society was principally developed and articulated by a hereditary group within Aryan society known as brahmanas or in the anglo-indian spelling, brahmins.<sup>3</sup> They became a powerful civilization and the Indian society was strongly influence by the Aryans values. It is important to focus about the origin of the Aryans. As we said, they are coming from Eastern Europe and in many ways their religion was similar to the ancient Greeks. However scholars have different theory about the origin of Aryans. The Aryans revered several gods who were linked with natural phenomena like Indra the god of thunder and lightning, Agni the god of fired or Varuna the god of water.<sup>4</sup> The religion of the Aryans was relying on the Rig Veda, a kind of polytheism. In this case the forces of nature were deified like the sky, rain, wind or thunder. 5 By the time of the Buddha, Vedic literature probably already comprised several different classes which are the four collections (samhita) of verses attributed to the ancient seers (rsi), the ritual manuals (also known as brahmanas) giving instruction in the carrying out of the elaborate Vedic sacrificial ritual and the forest books (aranyaka) explaining the esoteric meaning of this sacrificial ritual. The final class of Vedic literature, the Upanisads containing further esoteric explanations of the sacrificial ritual was still in the process of formation.<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to compare the Aryans with the Indus Valley civilization. We saw that the ascetics were numerous in the Indus Valley civilization but it the Aryans religious, the priest was the most important figure. In addition, while the Indus Valley civilization emphasized meditation, the Aryan faith encouraged the practice of sacrifice to communicate with the gods or securing victory in war and even request sons and wealth then reach heaven. If the Indus Valley had conceptions of rebirth and karma, it was not the same thing with the Ayans. The conception of the moral responsibility beyond the present life was unknown to the Aryans. They considered more important values like loyalty to the group and maintain cohesion of the tribe. The Aryans goal was to reach heaven while the Indus Valley civilization goal was liberation a kind of state that transcended birth and rebirth. To sum up, Indus Valley civilization focus on renunciation, meditation, rebirth, karma and liberation and the Aryans relied on ritual sacrifice, loyalty, wealth, power and heaven.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hirakawa, A. (1990) A history of indian buddhism. University of Hawaii Press. p. 14. 3 Gethin, R. (1998). The foundations of buddhism. Oxford university press. p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gethin, R. (1998). The foundations of buddhism. Oxford university press. p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Della Santina, P. op.cit. p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hirakawa, A. op.cit. p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gethin. R. op.cit. p.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 7Della Santina, P. op.cit. p. 30.

Buddhism share some conceptions with the Indus Valley civilization while she encountered opposition with the Aryans especially with the ritual sacrifice.

During the Aryan period, two religious movement appeared: the Brahmanical and the Sramanic movement. Some scholars think that the history of ancient India is a record of the two opposite ideologies. On the one hand, a world affirmation composed by the priestly brahmanas of the Vedic tradition and on the other hand, a world denial and transcendence that is represented by the sramanas of non-vedic current<sup>8</sup>.

#### The Brahmanical movement

Brahmanis arose from a fusion of Vedism and pre-aryan religious. However this religious movement spread quickly and became a formalistic religion based on incredible complex rite. The sacrifice occupied a central place in the Indian society and we can find their expression in the texts called Brahmanas. What we have to understand with the sacrifice, it's that the Vedas allowed animal sacrifice to satisfy the gods. Here, there is an important link with the reason of the rise of Buddhism. In fact, Buddhism is a religion of kindness, humanity and equality and it was obvious that it will make a campaign against these practices 10.

The brahmanas which are the texts who explain the ritual and the way to perform them were wrote around 800 BCE while the Upanisads, the philosophical texts were composed around 500 BCE. The Brahman priestly cast was really powerful and lead the society according the sacrifice and ritual. We used the word cast. What does it means during this period? We have to understand that the society was divided into four classes called varna, means colors. We can find at the top two classes with the Brahmans and the ksatriya. The brahmas was the priestly cast who managed the sacrifice to the gods while the ksatriya was the ruling cast composed with rulers and warriors. Below, there was the Vaisya class with farmers, herders, merchants and artisans. The last class was the Sudra, and the goal of this cast was to serve the other three cast<sup>11</sup>. The Sudra was involved in menial tasks like chopping wood and cutting grass for the sacrifice while the Ksatriya and the Vaisya could not be play an important role as the Brahmanas to perform the sacrifice<sup>12</sup>. As they occupied the top of the cast system, we can see how the priestly was powerful and dominated the whole of social life. It's important to notice that these sacrifices had an economic issue. For instance, the horse sacrifice or the ashvamedha, a rite who became a series of ceremony with the supports of kings, need thousands of priest to perform them for months and engulf a great part of state revenues. In this situation, by the end of the prehistorical Aryan era, the social life became a kind of ritual enterprise and paralysed human relations<sup>13</sup>. Gradually, the public opinion rise against such sacrifices

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 8Lal Mani, J. (2008). Brahmanism, Buddhism and Hinduism, Buddhist Publication Society, p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Danielou, A. (2003). A brief history of India. Inner Tradition India. p. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Bapat, P.V. (1996). 2500 years of buddhism. Mahabodi International Meditation Centre. p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Hirakawa, A. op.cit. p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Bapat, P.V. op.cit. p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Danielou, A. op.cit. p. 51.

and clear information about the public opinion swift can be found in the Mahabharata and the Bhagavata Purana<sup>14</sup>.

Beside, it is interesting to pay attention about the tern Dharma. Actually the term Dharma was a key term about the Brahmanical thought. Does the term was similar with the Dharma in buddhism? In the brahmanical thought, dharma is seen as the divinely ordained order of the universe and human society as seen in the specific duties which are dharmas assigned to each varna. In this way, the tern dharmas include both how things are and how they should be. However, in buddhism, the term is different. In fact, dharmas in buddhism doesn't focus on fixed social duties, but first on the nature of the reality, practices aiding understanding of this and practices informed by understanding of this. What is the goal? It's to give a help to the person to have a happier life and move to liberation. So, most Brahmins aimed at attaining the heaven of the creator Brahma by study the vedic teaching and either sacrifice or austerities. Some were saintly, but others seems to have been haughty and wealthy, supporting themselves by putting on large, expensive and bloody sacrifices often paid for by kings. 15 Here we have an interesting fact with the term of dharma. This term give us also a proof that buddhism has not emerged as a new religion. The term dharma didn't raised from buddhism but was used in the brahmanical thought. What we can notice perhaps it's the two opposite view. Buddha was in opposition with the system of cast where the term dharma was assigned to each varna as we saw. From the brahmanical thought the term dharma evolved to his buddhism meanings. The term lost his social duties values to move to his nature of reality meaning. In fact, the term evolved with the Buddha teaching's. It's really interesting to notice that because we can observe how the Indian buddhism raised according his brahmanical context. Lastly, to accept the brahmanical view of the world was to accept brahmanical authority as an aspect of the eternal structure of the universe and as such unassailable. Yet wandering ascetics threatened brahmanical supremacy by offering rival visions of the world and society as we are going to see in the next parts. On the other hand, within brahmanical circles we find the development of certain esoteric theories of the nature of the sacrificial ritual and philosophical views about the ultimate nature of man and his relationship to the universe at large. These theories may to some extent have drawn on ideas developing amongst the groups of wandering ascetics, at the same time they may have substantially contributed to the development of the tradition of the wanderers itself, since it is clear that Brahmin circles were an important recruitment ground for the various groups wandering ascetics. So, it seems clear that in certain respects the Buddha's teachings were formulated as a response to certain brahmanical teachings.<sup>16</sup>

#### Sramana sect

The sramanas did not feel comfortable with sacrifices, especially with involving of the slaughter of animals<sup>17</sup>. For the Sramanas, the goal was to purify the soul and to achieve

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Bapat, P.V. op.cit. p. 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Harvey, P. (2013). An introduction to buddhism. Cambridge university press. p.11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Gethin. R. op.cit. p.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> 17Bapat. P. V op.cit. p. 2.

that, one must practice restraint, acquire a right knowledge, faith and conduct. Turning to non-Vedic literature, we can observe opposition between sramanas and brahmanas. However, some of them were brought up on brahmanic lore and later went away from it. Nevertheless, it is obvious that these sramanas inherited several ideas from Vedic literature and they were inspired by it. Thus, the tenets of these wandering sects can be observed in the Vedic literature, especially the Upanisads. For instance, the misery of the world, immortality have been mentioned in the Upanisads as the speculations on the ultimate cause of the universe<sup>18</sup>.

What we are concerned with here is the phenomenon of individuals renouncing their normal role in society as a member of an extended household in order to devote themselves to some form of religious or spiritual life. The renouncer abandons conventional means of livelihood such as farming or trade and adopts instead the religious life as a means of livelihood. These ascetics were preoccupied with the practice of austerities such as going naked in all weathers, enduring all physical discomfort or undertaking the vow to live like a cow or even a dog. Also there was a cultivation of meditative and contemplative techniques to get some deeper knowledge and experience of the nature of the world. 19 Regarding the discipline, these ascetics didn't stay long time at one place because they were expected to wander from place to place. The ascetics didn't have a fix residence. There was a kind of code of discipline, symbolized by the word Tapasa. The code of discipline namely tapas must involved self-mortification like fasting, living on water, restricting one's movement to a particular region especially along the sacred rivers like the Ganga<sup>20</sup>. Let's have a look of the trends of philosophical speculations before the coming of the Buddha. One of the most popular ascetics was Nigantha Nataputta or Mahavira. He was the leader of the jain current. He taught that all things, even stones, are alive, each containing a *Jiva* which it means a life principle. He preached an ethical code like not to kill living things, not to take articles of use unless they are given, not tell a lie, lead a celibate life and forbidden to have wordly possession except clothes. In the samannaphala-sutta, it is said that he restraint from the use of cold water because it contains life and from sinful activities such as killing and sexual intercourse. The doctrine of Jainism looks at the eternal and the non eternal. According that the soul undergoes migration depending good or bad deeds. The goal is to maintain the soul pure form the sense objects. Avoid contamination of the soul through the practice of restraint is the core of the jain doctrine<sup>21</sup>. So the aim of Jainism is to liberate one's Jiva from the round of rebirths by freeing it from being weighed down by an encrustation of karma, seen as a kind of subtle matter. As we saw above the methods of doing so are primarily austerities such as fasting, going unwashed and pulling out the hair, so as to wear out the results of previous karma, and self-restraint, total non-violence to any form of life and vegetarism, as to avoid the generation of new karma. The free-will of the Jiva is emphasized, though even actions such as unintentionally killing an insect are held to generate karma. However, while the Buddha agreed with the Jains on such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Gethin. R. op.cit. p.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Bapat. P. V op.cit. p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Ibid. pp 15-16.

matters as rebirth and non-violence, he saw their theory of karma as somewhat mechanical and inflexible and opposed their asceticism to extreme.<sup>22</sup>

An important thinker was Makkhali Gosala, belonging to the Acelakas or naked ones. He found the Ajivika school after broke away of Mahavira. The doctrine of Gosala is to attain purity through all kind of existence. He didn't think that there was a specific cause for either the misery or the deliverance of the human beings. So, Gosala, didn't believe in human effort. Gosala's key doctrine was *niyati* or impersonal destiny governed all, such that humans had no ability to affect their future lives by their karma, actions were not freely done but were determined by *niyati*. Gosala thus believed in rebirth but not in the principle of karma as that which regulates the level of a person's rebirth.<sup>23</sup> According to him, any kind of creature wise or foolish were destined to pass through samsara and their misery would goes to the end at the completion of the cycle. Gosala didn't believe in the human effort<sup>24</sup>. For him, the characteristics of all things were predetermined, in this thinking it is obvious that there was no cause or condition that predetermined things<sup>25</sup>. Buddha criticized Ajivika fatalism as a pernicious denial of human potential responsibility. Other four thinkers were less important than Mahavira and Gosala. Purana Kassapa held the doctrine of Akriya means non-action. According to Kassapa, even if a man killed other creatures on earth it will not consider like a sin. In this case actions are not connected with the idea of bad and similarly a good act will not lead to a merit. Ajita Kesakambalin, from the materialist, did not believe in sacrifice and the good and bad acts. He didn't think about supernatural powers. For Ajita, the body consisted of four elements and they were dissolved after death. He thinks that it was useless to think about the next world because there was no further life after death. The materialist aim was to lead an abstemious, balanced life which enjoyed simple pleasures and satisfaction of human relationships. They deny any kind of self other than one which could be directly perceived and held that this was annihilated at death. They therefore denied the idea of rebirth and also those of karma and *nivati*. The Buddha characterized the Materialist's theory as the extreme view of annihilationism and saw most other views of the day as some form of the opposite extreme which is eternalism, which says that survives death is some eternal self or life-principle.<sup>26</sup> Sanjaya Belatthiputta, from the Skeptics, held the doctrine known as Viksepavada. He refused to give categorical answers to problems regarding the human mind. The doctrine of Viksepavada focus about the mind that is diverts from the right track<sup>27</sup>. The Skeptics responded to the welter of conflicting theories on religious and philosophical issues and the consequent arguments by avoiding commitment to any point of view so as to preserve mind. They held that knowledge in such matters was impossible and would not even commit them to saying that other people's views were wrong. The Buddha shared the wish to step aside from the jungle of conflicting views and avoid dogmatic assertions built on flimsy grounds.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Harvey, P. op.cit. p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ibid. p 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Bavat. P. V. op.cit. p. 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Harvey. P. op.cit. p.13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Bavat. P. V. op.cit. p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Harvey. P. op.cit. p.14.

#### **Conclusion**

As we saw, from 1500 to the sixth century BCE in fact the time of the Buddha, there is an interaction between two opposed traditions namely the Indian valley civilization and the Aryans. The ground of the origin of Indian Buddhism can be found through these religious cultures. However, Buddhism draws most of its inspiration from the religious culture of the Indian valley civilization. Many elements can proof that. For instance, the elements of renunciation, meditation, rebirth, karma and liberation. All these characteristics were important components of the religious culture of the Indian Valley Civilization are also in Buddhism. So, there is a kind of continuity between the religious culture and traditions of the Indian Valley Civilization and Buddhism<sup>29</sup>. Also, we have to notice that when the Aryan moved eastward and southward, they gradually adopted a more sedentary pattern of life. In this situation, the opposite religious culture from the Indian Valley Civilization and the Aryan began to interact, influence and even merge with each other. The result was that at the time of the Buddha, a very heterogeneous religious culture flourished in India<sup>30</sup>. Aryans became increasingly under the influence of religious attitudes, practices and values from the religion of the Indian Valley Civilization. The distinction between these two traditions was more and more difficult to draw.

In addition, at the time of the Buddha, major political and economic changes were occurring especially in central India. It means that the old system of social class was disintegrating and the Brahmans lost their influence. According that, the intellectual classes of the period were interested in the Upanishadic philosophy which can identify atman (individual soul) with Brahman (cosmic principle). People could no longer be satisfied with primitive religious beliefs, especially sacrifices, which deified natural phenomena<sup>31</sup>. However, we have to notice that some scholars think that there was a strong reaction against Brahmanism and this situation led to rise of Buddhism and Jainism.<sup>32</sup> Also, the teaching and doctrine of Buddha has sometimes been seen as an attempt by the royal Kshatriya power to go away from the domination of the sacerdotal Brahman and to unite both spiritual and temporal power in the same hands. But it was not the views of Gautama himself, because he was essentially a religious reformer.<sup>33</sup> Professor G.C Pande has summed up his researches concerning the origin of Buddhism in the following words: "it has been held by many older writers that Buddhism and Jainism arose out of the anti-ritualistic tendency within the religion of the brahmanas"34. So all of these factors and speculations as we saw with the sramanic movement lead to create an environment where a new religious belief was able to rise. As we examined the situation that prevailed before the time of Buddha, it help us better to understand the nature of the origin of Indian Buddhism. What we have to notice, it's that Buddhism did not start as a new and independent religion. However, it was an offshoot of the ancient faith of the Hindus, maybe a schism or an heresy. In a way the Buddha agreed with the faith he inherited but

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Della Santina, P. op.cit. p. 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Hirakawa, A. op.cit. p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Raychoudhary, S.C (1990). History of ancient india. Surject Publications. p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Danielou, A. op.cit. p. 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Lal Mani, J. op.cit. p. 6.

he protested again some practices which were in vogue at this time and he refused to acquiesce in the vedic ceremonialism.<sup>35</sup> Buddhism denounced all claims of superiority on the ground of birth as the brahmanas said, and he protest against distinctions between man and man and claim that it was karma, the action of man that determined the eminence or lowness of an individual.<sup>36</sup> The quest of immortality was mentioned in the Upanisad, as the speculation about the universe or an higher and happier world. So, the doctrine of chain of causation conceived by the Buddha was obviously the result of these speculations.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Bapat, P.V. op.cit. p. foreword XIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 11.

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## Tracing the Socio-economic Roots of the Buddhist Concept of Universal Monarch (Cakkavatti-rāja)

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#### **Abstract**

Universal monarch (*Cakkavatti-rāja*) who is also called virtuous king (*dhammiko dhammarāja*) is a well-known concept in Buddhism. In *Cakkavatti-sīhanadasutta of Dīgha Nikāya*, Buddha discusses about the Universal Monarch and his role to the society. This idea focuses on the early Buddhist perspective of kingship and governance and the relationship between the king and his subjects. Mythical king *Dalhanemi* has been idealized in the *sutta* as the dhamma king who rules his kingdom in accordance with the Buddhist law. The question here is how this concept emerged and why it was incorporated into Buddhist scriptures. One possible answer behind the rise of this concept could be the development and changes in the socio-economic and political arena of that particular period contemporaneous to the Buddha.

Examining the socio-economic, political and historical background during the time of the Buddha, this paper attempts to understand causes behind the origin of the concept of universal Monarch in Buddhism.

Keywords: Universal monarch, socio-economic and political development, Buddhist view on kingship and governance.

#### Introduction

Buddha, as one of the leading religious teachers of ancient India, was well aware of the socio-economic and political situation of his time. Buddhist discourses contain records of the responses he made to such situations. Universal monarch (Wheel-turning monarch- *Cakkavatti-rāja*) who is also called virtuous king (*dhammikodhammarāja*) reflects one such idea of the Buddha. This concept of "Universal monarch" appears in the *Cakkavatti-sīhanadasutta of Dīgha Nikāya* and focuses on the early Buddhist perspective of kingship and governance. Mythical king Dalhanemi has been idealized in the sutta as the "dhamma king" who rules his kingdom following Buddhist law. The question here is how this concept emerged and why it was included into the Buddhist scriptures. Examining the available textual references on the socio-economic and political situation of that particular period this paper argues that the changes and development of socio-economic and political arena of that particular period played a key role in the emergence of the concept of "Universal Monarch."

## **Socio-economic and Political Development:**

Sixth century BC is especially important in the history of ancient India for several reasons. It is called the transitional period because major changes and developments were taking place in the socio-economic, cultural, religious and political situation in ancient central India<sup>1</sup>. In fact, these changes had started before the emergence of Buddhism and were evolving throughout the period that prepared the situation where Buddhism arose and flourished in the middle of the first millennium BC. This period is significant for the establishment of the first universal monarchy. This is the period when the tribes were getting united under monarchies<sup>2</sup> which in turn were accumulating power and fighting with each other for establishing dominance.<sup>3</sup> Political expansion that was, thus, happening was engendered by substantial development of economy. Magadha was the first 'universal monarchy' of India and Bimbisāra was the first Indian monarch<sup>4</sup>. The source of the supremacy of Magadha lied in its large scale economic surplus which was based on "its rich farm areas" and "supply of metals". This economic growth was accelerated by the development of the instruments used for production activities. According to Burjor Avari "iron was the key resource that gave the Magadhans supremacy in both agricultural and military technology". Following sections explain it more elaborately.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Hirakawa Akira. "A history of Indian Buddhism from Sakyamuni to early Mahayana" tr. & ed. by Paul Groner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press: 1993, p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Koka Antonova., et. Al. "Bharotborsher Ithas" (Bengali Book)". Tr. By Mangalacharan Chattopaddhyay and Dwijen Sharma. Moscow: Progoti Publishers. 1982|, p. 77-78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Burjor Avari. "India: The Ancient Past (A History of Indian-Subcontinent from 7000 BC to AD 1200)". London: Routledge. 20007, p. 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hirakawa Akira. *op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> D. D. Kosambi. "The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline" in 'Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala'. http://vidyaonline.org/dl/cultddk.pdf Accessed on-02.12.2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Burjor Avari. op. cit. p. 90.

## **Economic Development: Role of the Means of Production**

Agriculture, which was the basis of economy in ancient India, was undergoing extensive changes and advancements. Development of the instruments of production played key role in accelerating this transformation. Use of iron tools in a large scale, which was possible due to availability and spread of iron mines, initiated this transformation leading to qualitative development and growth in agriculture.<sup>8</sup> D. D. Kosambi is credited with the hypothesis of the use of iron as driving force in agricultural advancement.<sup>9</sup> In a number of research works<sup>10</sup> he made elaborate discussion on the issue. After him, many scholars have done significant studies that verify his claim. Moreover, archaeological excavations and contemporary religious texts also validate the use of iron tools, such as, ploughshare, sickle, hoe, knives, hooks, arrowheads, chopper, nails and iron-axe, in agricultural activities. 11 There are also contradictory opinions that disagree with the "revolutionary role" of iron in the transformation of the society and say that other available instrument must have been used along with iron tools. 12 Nevertheless. the role played by iron "cannot be minimized" especially in clearing the massive forests and preparing the lands for cultivation. Opinion is also available that fire must have been used to burn the jungles<sup>14</sup> but tools like iron axe and hoe were used in removing the ashes, 15 tree roots etc. and tilling the hard soil.

Apart from making agricultural tools, iron was also used to make weapons and other necessary instruments. Other features of the agricultural production of the period were the development irrigation system and use of domestic animals. This relative development of the instruments of production caused qualitative increase of agricultural production. As a result, two to three times more crops than before were produced in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Koka Antonova et al. op. cit. p. 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> K. T. S. Sarao "Background to the Origin of Early Buddhism"

<sup>(</sup>http://www.indologica.com/volumes/vol15-16/vol15-16 art23 SARAO.pdf (Accessed on-02/12.2015);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> D. D. Kosambi. "The Beginning of the Iron Age in India", in 'Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient', Vol. 6, No. 3 (Dec., 1963), pp. 309-318; "The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline" in 'Chapter 5.5 Mgadha and Kosala'. Source: http://vidyaonline.org/dl/cultddk.pdf (Accessed on 02.12.2015); "AN Introduction to Study of Indian History", p. 144-184 Source: http://bookzz.org/book/1067191/bc448c (Accessed on-02.12.2015). These texts contain the discussion regarding the use of iron.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Romila Thapar. "History of Early India from the Origins to AD 1300". London: Penguin Books. 2003, p. 139-146; Burjor Avari. "India: The Ancient Past (A History of Indian-Subcontinent from 7000 BC to AD 1200)". London: Routledge. 20007, p. 93-96; Uma Chakravati "The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism", (New Delhi: 1996. p. 16-35); Koka Antonova, et. Al., "Bharotborsher Ithas" (Bengali Book)". Tr. By Mangalacharan Chattopaddhyay and Dwijen Sharma. Moscow: Progoti Publishers. 1982. (p. 113-114);K. T. S. Sarao "Background to the Origin of Early Buddhism" http://www.indologica.com/volumes/vol15-16/vol15-16\_art23\_SARAO.pdf (Accessed on-02/12.2015) provide elaborate discussion based on archaeological excavations, religious texts and other research works that record the descriptions on the use of iron tools and the role played by them in the advancement of the socio-economic condition during that early period.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> K. T. S. Sarao, *op. cit.*; Uma Chakravarti, 'Footnotes', 68, op. cit. p. 17, refers to the scholars who disagree with the idea of the crucial role of iron.

Romila Thapar. History of Early India...., op. cit., p. 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> RomilaThapr. History of Early India....., op. cit., p. 144; K. T. S. Saraoop. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> K. T. S. Sarao op. cit.

fertile lands in one season.<sup>16</sup> This increased production enhanced the social production which contributed in the accumulation of enormous surplus.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the development of the tools of production caused the emergence of several other occupations, such as, "masons, bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters and general labourers for producing weapons and tools from coper and iron"<sup>18</sup>, and qualitative change also occurred in arts and crafts i.e., leatherwork, fine pottery, ivory work and woodwork that helped produce durable goods, such as, textiles, glass, ivory objects, ceramics, beads and textile fabrics, cutlery, fine cloth, jewelry, armour, ceramic.<sup>19</sup> In a conversation between Ajatasattu and Buddha twenty five kinds of occupations are mentioned and eighteen kinds of crafts are stated in another book.<sup>20</sup> This diversity of occupation shows the development of the division of labour and wider social production system in ancient India. Royal workshops for producing weapons and other necessary tools also spread. Blacksmiths, pottery, carpentry became respected occupation.<sup>21</sup>

## **Expansion of Trade and Commerce**

The improvement of the production system and manufacturing of different kinds of goods caused the expansion of trade and commerce. Different historical documents and contemporary religious texts contain the records of the expansion of trade and commerce at that time. *Jātaka* stories often mention the traders travelling to distant places with hundreds and thousands of caravans.<sup>22</sup> This agricultural growth and spread of trade and commerce led to the urbanization in this period.<sup>23</sup> Cities were the hub for businessmen, artisans and people of various other occupations. They form special professional organization which was called guild that strengthened the position of the merchants.<sup>24</sup> Traders of a particular area used to trade one particular commodity. This escalation of trade necessitated the development of communication system. Thus, new trade routes were built and communication was established among the capitals of different kingdoms. Moreover, sea-trade was also introduced.<sup>25</sup> This gradual transformation and amplification of the entire economic system influenced the existing social system and caused changes in the social structure.

## Changes in the Social Relations: Emergence of the Merchant Class

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Koka Antonova.et al. op. cit. p. 113; RomilaThapar. History of Early India......, op. cit., p. 142-143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Jean C. Darian. "Social and Economic Factors in the Rise of Buddhism" Source: Sociological Analysis, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Autumn, 1977), pp. 226-238. Published by: Oxford University Press; K. T. S. Sarao, *op. cit.* <sup>18</sup> Burjor Avari. *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit*; Uma Chakaravarti, *op. cit.* p. 22; Burjor Avari. *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Shorot Kumar Ray, "Bouddho Bharot", Kolkata, 1923, p. 113-115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> KokaAntonova et al. op cit. p. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> J. C. Darian, op. cit.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> RomilaThapar. "Ethics, Religion, and Social Protest in the First Millennium B.C. in Northern India" Source: Daedalus, Vol. 104, No. 2, Wisdom, Revelation, and Doubt: Perspectives on the First Millennium B.C. (Spring, 1975), pp. 119-132.; Uma Chakravarti, op. cit., p. 20; K. T. S. Sarao, op. cit.

<sup>24</sup> J. C. Darian, op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Koka Antonova et al., p. 116-117.

The acceleration of economic production system led to the breakup of old social classes<sup>26</sup> and emergence of the new ones such as "the free peasants and farmers"<sup>27</sup>, "merchants and craftsmen." One of the most significant factors in this case was rise of the merchants. These merchants "were relatively wealthy but their rank in the social structure under the Brahmanism was quite low"29, the third position which was repulsive to them<sup>30</sup>. Due to the strengthening of trade and commerce these traders became more and more affluent and started playing crucial role in the contemporary politics and economics. Kosambi points out that "traders had become so wealthy that the most important person in an eastern town was generally called the *shresthi* (setti). The term not known earlier, is derived from the word for 'Superior', or 'Pre-eminent'... Even absolute, despotic kings treated them with respect, though they had no direct voice in politics."31Anāthapindkia is the most renowned example of *setthī* (*shresthi*) mentioned in Buddhist literature. Moreover, the word 'gahapati (skt. grihapati) meaning 'lord of the house' who was simply a 'host or sacrificer' assumes new significance. He became 'the head of a large patriarchal household of any caste' who commanded respect primarily because of his wealth."<sup>32</sup> This evolution of the merchant class and their dynamic role in economy make them as a significant class in the society.

# Political Changes: Decline of Republic and the Emergence of Monarchical System

Political scenario of the period was based on the two distinct systems: monarchial and republic (gana-sangha). But a fundamentally significant change commenced in politics through gradual disappearance of the republic states and emergence of the monarchical kingdoms. It was happening through conflict and war between the two state systems. The expansion of empire was triggered by the accumulation of surplus generated by economic growth, expansion of trade and commerce, development of weapons i.e., use of iron made weapons in the war.<sup>33</sup> The surplus from the collection of tax was perhaps "used to equip the large standing army and thus often results in political expansion."<sup>34</sup> There was constant conflict and power struggle among different states which results in the smaller and weaker nations being conquered by and included into the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Hirakawa Akira, *op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and History*......, 'Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala'. op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Hirakawa Akira, op. cit. p. 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Koka Antonova et al., p. 148

<sup>30</sup> Romila Thapar. op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization......*, 'Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala' op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 88

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> D. D. Kosambi. "The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline" in 'Chapter 5.5, Magadha and Kosala'. Source: http://vidyaonline.org/dl/cultddk.pdf; BurjorAvari. "India: The Ancient Past (A History of Indian-Subcontinent from 7000 BC to AD 1200)". London: Routledge. 20007, p. 86-91; Romila Thapar. "History of Early India from the Origins to AD 1300". London: Penguin Books. 2003, p. 137-138, 146-156; Uma Chakravarti, op. cit. p. 7-16; J. C. Darian, op. cit.; Hirakawa Akira, op. cit. p.15; make an elaborate discussion referring to significant texts and references on how and why the monarchical kingdoms emerged and the republic states declined.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Jean C. Darian, op. cit.

stronger ones.<sup>35</sup> This is how sixty nine small states (*janapadas*) were engulfed by the sixteen greater ones (*mahajanapadas*)<sup>36</sup> which in turn were merged into the four most powerful empires i.e., Magadha, Kosala, Vamsa and Avanti. Furthermore, these four strongest empires were also in conflict with each other that formed the key feature of political history of that period.<sup>37</sup> Consequently, within next two hundred years (roughly 550-350 BC) these were amalgamated into the greatest one namely Magadha<sup>38</sup>, the first universal monarchy in ancient India.<sup>39</sup>

Two most important republic states, at that time, were the Licchavis or vajjis and Mallas. "The Vajjis were a confederacy of eight clans, said to have 7,707 rajas; the Mallas were said to have 500 rajas."40 Apparently the term gana-sangha, which is translated as republic or oligarchy, implies the equality existing among all the citizens. But, historical evidence shows that it was not true. Equality prevailed only among the chieftains of the clans and rajas who control the government system. Common folk were deprived of all kinds of rights and resources. 41 Nevertheless, these republic states of ancient India were called republican because "they did not subscribe to the institution of monarchy". 42 They were fighting against the emerging and expanding monarchical power to protect their distinct socio-economic, political and administrative system. It has added a new dimension to the conflict between the two systems.<sup>43</sup> King Bimbisāra took over of Anga to seize the port of Campa. His son King Ajatasattu had a long time clash with Kosala over Kāsi and with Vajjins that possessed both financial and strategic significance for various valuable goods and for being located on the river Ganga.<sup>44</sup> In the war with monarchical system both Vajjis and Mallas were conquered by rising monarchy, Magadha. The conflict between Magadha and Vesali "over the control of the river trade"45, is worth mentioning in this regard. Vesali exercised republic system of government<sup>46</sup> and Magadha was based on monarchial system. Old ideas, customs and norms were followed in Vesali. But the changed socio-economic and political condition in Magadha demanded for a newer ideology. As a result this conflict between the old and the new culminates into the conquest of the old by the new. The stronger economic, political and military power wins over the weak one. It is said that Magadha used two new weapons in this war namely, "mahashilakantaka, a large sized catapult used for hurling rocks and rathamusala, a chariot fitted with a mace for driving through the enemy's ranks to mow them down"<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Hirakawa Akira, op. cit. p. 15

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Burjor Avari. *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Uma Chakravarti, op. cit. p.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> J. C. Darian. Op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization*...., in 'Chapter 5.5, Magadha and Kosala', op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Romila Thapar. *History of Early India.....,op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 147.

<sup>42</sup> BurjorAvari. op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Uma Chakravarti, op. cit. p. 10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ibid. p. 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> RomilaThapar. *History of Early India......op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Satta Vajjī-Apari hāniyā Dhammā explained in Mahāparinibbānasuttam (DN 16) hints at the governance system practiced in Vesali.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Romila Thapar. *History of Early India......op. cit.*, p. 155.

The economic and political expansion led to the rise of complex economic, social and political institutions that in turn demanded the necessity of a strong and well-organized administrative system. Darian remarks "an expanding empire leads inevitably to a broader unit of economic organization that provides the financial resources for large standing armies, public works, and a growing administrative apparatus." This is the period when bureaucracy also came to exist. As Uma Chakravarti opines "Bimbisāra appears to have been the first known king in India to realize the value of an efficient bureaucracy." She further mentions "this process of political consolidation and expansion led to the need for an efficient administrative system through which political control could be effectively exercised." In such an organized system territorial expansion was happening more easily which in turn created wider space for trade and commerce.

## **Conforming Interests of the Merchants and the Rulers**

The socio-economic and political expansion under the monarchical system shook the existing caste system and its ideology. On the one hand, it created a scope of conformity between the kings and the merchants; on the other hand a conflicting relationship arose between the kings and the merchants on the one side and the Brahmins and Kshatriyas on the other. The reasons lied behind the economic interest of the groups. Firstly, massive administrative and military activities under monarchical system necessitated huge maintenance cost which was collected through revenues. The key providers of this vast amount of tax were the merchants and the affluent householders. Lands were the main source of the most of the tax. But a large amount of land belonged to the Brahmins and Kshatriyas who, due to their social status under the caste based society, did not have to pay any tax. As a result the state was deprived of a significant amount of tax.<sup>51</sup> In such a situation, a conflicting relationship arose between the kings on the one hand and the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins on the other. The existing caste system appeared as an obstacle for the rulers to control the needed resources.

Secondly, the expanding market-type economy comes into conflict with Brahminist ideology. Due to the expansion of market-type economy and urbanization, the cities became the epicenter of trade and commerce. For the purpose of business, merchants had to travel from one city to another, even from one country to another. So they had to "come into daily contact with people of different castes and with those beyond the frontier." Such associating of people of different castes was strongly prohibited in Brahmanism. Therefore, the pre-existing social values and ideologies under caste system came into conflict with the new economic system.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> J. C. Darian, op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Uma Chakravarti, op. cit. p. 8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid, p. 8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> J. C. Darian, op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> J. C. Darian, op. cit.

Furthermore, the merchants were facing various other problems and difficulties on their journey through different places for trading. On the one hand, good communication system was necessary for their travelling; on the other hand, they needed security to save their cash and goods from dacoits and robbers. Besides, the warring situation among the kings was also an impediment for business activities. Both the kings and the merchants were looking for a solution to these problems. Kosambi says "a part of this demand could be satisfied only by the growth of a 'universal monarchy', a single state that would end petty warfare and police the entire countryside." Emergence of the Magadha, as a monarchy fulfilled this demands of the merchants. Moreover, they found an ideological support from Buddhism that denied the caste based social system. Such an idea was convenient for both the merchants and the kings.

## **Buddhist Concept of the Universal Monarch and the Governance System**

From the above discussion it is clear that the collapse of republic states and emergence of a universal system of government is a historical phenomenon in ancient India. It happened as a development of the socio-economic and political system during the period. Kosambi states "there was a parallel move towards a universal government for all society. The basis was identical both in religious and secular movements: the new needs of *gahapati*, traders and farmers."55 This transition from the old to the new system was encountering opposition from the existing social and religious values. Therefore, "the development of new social institutions required a new ideology to rationalize the goals and values of these institutions."56 These changes were manifested in the political and religious ideas of the time. It is opined that "Buddhism was the creation of a city culture"<sup>57</sup> and hence was influenced by the changes happening in the urbans. Buddha witnessed this huge transformation and made response to the emerging system. Buddhist political ideas contain the instrumental influence of these occurrences happening at that time.<sup>58</sup> Buddhist concept of universal monarch is an evidence of the socio-economic and political development of the period. It reflects the demand of a universal government system that sprang up through socio-economic and political development of the period. We can infer that the mythical universal monarch Dalhanemi is the idealized image of the emerging monarchs like king Bimbisāra, Ajātasatru and Pasenadi. A number of special moral qualities, duties and responsibilities are attributed to the universal monarch in Buddhism. As Romila Thapar points out "he was seen as the one who maintains law and order in what would otherwise be a kingless, chaotic society."<sup>59</sup> The imposition of the moral qualities and responsibilities to the universal monarch also had the practical social basis. The transitional period was experiencing various types of social and political problems. On the one hand the small kingdoms were in constant conflict for expanding territory and establishing domination on others; on the other hand, there was other social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization*....in 'Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala' op. cit.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> J. C. Darian, op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> K.T. S. Sarao, op. cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 16

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> RomilaThapar, *History of Early India....., op. cit.* p. 153

and moral violence, such as, robbery, stealing and so forth. The universal monarch, according to Buddhism is supposed to solve all the conflicts among the small kingdoms by conquering them and bringing them under his control and establish law and order by following Buddhist principles. It is noted that "the concept of a just and moral king...would put an end to the petty tyranny of the many and establish instead a universe where not only social order but also moral would prevail."60 But, although on the theoretical level these moral qualities and responsibilities are attributed to the universal monarch it cannot be said with certainty how far the real existing monarchs possessed and practiced them. According to Kosambi "the benign advice to the *cakravartin* to rule by creating full employment, to provide cattle and seed for the farmer and capital to the merchant, was very far from the actual practice of the growing Magadhan state of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C."61 But, we can say that this concept reflects the demands of the rulers, merchants and the peasants. Pāli texts contain Buddha's recognition of the agricultural expansion in place of 'pastoralism'62 and also the increase of the trade and commerce that makes Buddhism popular among the townspeople<sup>63</sup> Moreover, "the rulers could find in Buddhism a powerful solvent to the caste system and a means of reducing the political and economic power of the traditional ascriptive status groups."64 Consequently, the kings and merchants patronized the spread of Buddhism. Kosambi further mentions "for the time being, however, neither Kosala nor Magadha provoked a war. Both kings were of relatively unaggressive temperament; both patronized the new religious philosophers with pleasure. They are reported as being close friends and admirers of the Buddha."65

#### **Conclusion**:

We have discussed how the concept of the universal monarch appeared and was incorporated into Buddhism. It implies twofold notable points: first it reflects the socio-economic transformation that led to the fall of old institutions and the emergence of the new and second, the evolution of the society and state system i.e., the collapse of the former clanstates and their unification with the monarchical system which was an inevitable result of the development process. Besides, this transitional period underwent the chaotic circumstances and instabilities in the social and political arena. Therefore, in the concept of universal monarch, Buddha prescribed a number of instructions for the universal monarch who can control the situation and establish peace and harmony. The universal monarch is also attributed with some moral characteristics and is assigned with some significant duties and responsibilities which if followed properly, might be useful for the people and the country.

<sup>60</sup> Uma Chakravarti. Op. cit, p. 163-164

<sup>61</sup> D. D. Kosambi, The Culture and Civilization..... in 'Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala' op. cit.

<sup>62</sup> Uma Chakravarti, op. cit., p. 18-19

<sup>63</sup> BurjorAvari. op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>64</sup> J. C. Darian, op. cit.

<sup>65</sup> D. D. Kosambi, The Culture and History....., 'Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala'. op. cit.

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#### The Best Bedtime Stories for the Kids

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This paper explores the Jatakas and their historical use as a teaching device for Buddhist moral values for lay people. I will look the origin of the Jatakas, their historical role in transmitting Buddhist beliefs and practices, before exploring their how they have been used and potentially could be used by parents to pass on Buddhist values to their children as bedtime stories. I will also use the example of the Mahādhamma pāla Jataka to illustrate how the Jatakas story is structured and deployed.

## The Origin of the Jataka

According to biographical accounts, a prince was born to a Katthiya family in Kapilavatthu. Later, he was named Siddhattha. As his parents are king and queen, Siddhattha was set to become king according to tradition. However, instead of becoming a king, he chose a mendicant life. With this decision, and without permission of his family, he left the luxurious life of court at the age of twenty-nine. He became a mendicant and went into the forest to practice meditation. After he had practiced severe austerities for six years, he became enlightened under a bodhi tree. During the early part of that night, the Enlightened One (Lord Buddha) saw all of his previous lives.<sup>2</sup> It seems that this was the origin of the Jataka stories of previous lives of Buddha. Buddha taught many teachings to many people during his existence. The long-term impact of his teaching to his disciples and followers meant that Buddhism emerged as one of the world's great religions. "Nowadays, to many, Buddhism goes beyond religion and is more of a philosophy or 'way of life.' It is a philosophy in the sense that, from its Greek origin, philosophy means 'love of wisdom' and the Buddhist path can be summed up as: to lead a moral life; to be mindful and aware of thoughts and actions, and to develop wisdom and understanding."3

The name, jataka, is derived from the Sanskrit and Pali word jāti, which means birth. Thus, jataka literally means 'born thing' or 'happened thing'. 4 Specially, jatakas are the stories of the previous births of Gautama Buddha both in human and other living being forms. Nowadays, jatakas are found in the Kuddaka nikāya of Suttanta pitaka, one of Tipitaka within the Theravāda Buddhist canon. Among the eighteen texts of Khuddaka nikāya of the Myanmar canon, jataka is one text composed of five hundred and fortyseven stories (usually referred to in Myanmar as the 550 stories). Jatakas are arranged as the nipāta based on the number of verses concerning each story. The one verse stories are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Akira, Hirakawa, A History of Indian Buddhism: From Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana, Trans, Paul Groner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, page 20-27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Introductory Course in Buddhism compiled by the members of The Klang & Coast Buddhist Association,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://www.buddhanet.net/e-learning /5minbud.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Davids, Caroline Rhys A.K. Stories of the Buddha. Varanasi: Pilgrims Publishing, India, page 11.

classified as Ekaka Nipāta, the two verse stories come under Duka Nipāta, and so on. The stories are the commentaries on these verses, which tell the complete birth-stories.<sup>5</sup>

## The Role of Jatakas in Buddhist teaching

The aim of these tales of the Buddha's previous existence is to provide a theology for the Buddhist layman. Particularly concerned with the Doctrine of Transmigration, the Ten Perfections, the greatness, power and authority of the Buddha, the Jatakas provide the faithful with a practical guide to successful Buddhist living and a satisfactory solution to the problem of destiny. A. Foucher puts the catechetical implications of the Jatakas well.

In view of the proliferation and long success of the jatakas we must admit that the religious and the zealous layman equally benefit from them. Through them, they more or less satisfy the curiosity, which was, for them as for us, the great Unknown- the secret of our destiny.<sup>6</sup>

To implement their aim and guarantee moral authority, the Jatakas are presented as the dicta of the Buddha himself. In the introductory backup pannavatthu, or story of the present, the various circumstances in the Buddha's life that prompted the birth-stories are related. At the end of each story is given a short summary where the Buddha identifies in the present each of the dramatis personae, demonstrating his extensive power of recollection of the past- a necessary verification of the Doctrine of Transmigration. The point or moral of each story is presented in one or more gāthās, uttered by the Buddha either as the bodhisattva or in person propria. The first-person utterances of the Buddha afford the stories an aura of authenticity which invests the didactic method with a hagiographical quality.<sup>7</sup>

As for lay Buddhists, five precepts are essential to preserve in order to live in the society peacefully, happily and harmoniously. And, in the Abhisandha Sutta, the Buddha describes the Five Precepts as gifts toward oneself and others.

"Now, there are these five gifts, five great gifts – original, longstanding, traditional, ancient, unadulterated, unadulterated from the beginning – that are not open to suspicion, will never be open to suspicion, and are unfaulted by knowledgeable contemplatives and brahmans." <sup>8</sup>

The five great gifts that the Buddha is referring to are the five precepts: abstention from killing living beings, abstention from taking what is not given, avoidance of sexual

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ko Lay, U. Guide to Tipitaka. Printers: Gautam Printers, New Delhi, 2010.page 167 & 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A. Foucher, Les Vies Anterieurts du Bouddha. Paris: Presses Universitaries de France, 1995, page 71-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> J.Behm, Allan. The Eschatology of the Jatakas. 193.60.238.240 on Thu, 02 Nov 2017. http://www.jstor.org/terms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Thanissaro Bhikkhu, *Abhisanda Sutta: Rewards* translated from the Pali. Access to Insight (BCBS Edition), 30 Nov 2013, http://w.accesstolight.org/tipitaka/an/an08/an08.039.than.html.

misconduct, abstention from telling false speech, and refraining from consuming intoxicating drinks and drugs which leads to carelessness.9

By preserving these precepts, one can get these benefits for himself and others. By preserving the first precept, personally, one can cultivate love and compassion, and socially, one can develop an altruistic spirit for the welfare of others. By preserving the second precept, cultivation of generosity, personally, one can free from attachment and selfishness; socially, one can contribute to friendly cooperation in the community. By preserving the third precept, personally, one can develop self-restraint, and socially, one cultivates a sense of social propriety, with particular emphasis on sexuality and sexual behavior. By preserving the fourth precept, personally, one can develop credibility, trustworthiness, and honor, and socially, it is important factor in social life and dealings. By preserving the fifth precept, personally, one can get sobriety and a sense of responsibility; socially, it can help to prevent accidents, such as car accidents that can easily take place under the influence of intoxicating drink or drugs.<sup>10</sup>

The Moon Lamp Samadhi Sutra also says that those who purely observe the precepts will obtain ten benefits. These are: (1) the fulfillment of all wisdom, (2) learning what the Buddha learned, the wise not casting aspersions (on you), (4) being unwavering in vows, (5) abiding securely in the practice, (6) freeing oneself from cyclic existence of birth and death, (7) the admiration of joy in nirvana, (8) the obtainment of the mind free from attachment, (9) the obtainment of supreme Samadhi, and (10) having no lack of faith or Dharma wealth.11

## The Jataka and Storytelling for Children

Therefore, through the Jatakas, parents must hand down these practices of the five precepts and the other basic practices of Buddhism, which guide children to live in their environment harmoniously and to the benefit of themselves and others. Here, storytelling involves either reading out stories or reciting them from memory. 12 Storytelling is the oldest of all arts. Before there was writing in the world, people shared their adventures, experiences, feelings and discoveries with each other through stories. Through the storytelling, one can know the beliefs and history of one's family, and the deeds of one's forefathers.

Storytelling can promote thinking and analyzing capacity of children and children can get a lot of knowledges about various cultures, societies and places, different situations and backgrounds, and practices in life. It can develop imagination and deepen the child's appreciation of beauty, not only in art and literature, but also in all life around him. For

www.prokerala.com/kids/activities/storytelling-to-children.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five Precepts (search on 25 Nov 2017)

https://www.urbandharma.org/udharma2/5precepts.html

hsingyun.org/five-precepts. Tuesday August 27th,2013.

the youngest child, storytelling is a means of helping them to understand the world about them and to widen their interests.<sup>13</sup> According to Richard Kearney,

"... telling stories is as basic to human beings as eating. More so, in fact, for while food make us live, stories are what make our lives worth living." <sup>14</sup>

Storytelling is a living art and its main function is to entertain and educate. Jatakas are the best source from which to educate children about the five precepts. Among the various jataka-stories, the following is an example that is useful for telling children about the values of morality and giving. The title of the jataka is Mahādhamma pāla Jataka. Typically, this jataka is composed of four parts and portrayed about morality and giving.

#### The story of the present

After his visit (as Buddha) to Kapilapura, while he lodged in his father's Banyan Grove, the Master told this story about his father, the King's refusal to believe.

At the time, they say that the great King Suddhodana, having given a meal of rice gruel at his own dwelling to the Buddha at the head of twenty thousand Brethen, during the meal talked pleasantly to him, saying, "Sir, at the time of your striving, came—some—deities to me and poised in the air, said, 'Your son, Prince Siddhattha, has died of starvation." And the master replied, "Did you believe it, great King?"- "Sir, I did not—believe it! Even when the deities came hovering in the air, and told me this, I refused to believe it, saying that there was no death for my son until he had obtained Buddhahood at the foot of the bodhi tree." Said the Master, "Great King, long ago in the time of the great Dhammapāla, even when a world-famed teacher said- 'Your son is dead, these are his—bones,' you refused to believe, answering, 'In our family, they never die young'; then why should you believe now?" and at his father's request, the Master told a tale of long ago.

## The story of the past

Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was King of Benares, there was in the kingdom of Kāsi a village named Dhammapāla, and it took that name because the family of one Dhammapāla dwelt there. From his keeping the Ten Paths of Virtue this was known where he dwelt as Dhammapāla, or the Lawkeeper. In his household, even the servitors gave alms, and observed virtue, and kept the holy day.

At the time the Bodhisatta came to life in that household, and to him they give the name of Dhammapāla-Kumāra, or Lawkeeper the Younger. So soon as he came of age, his father gave him a thousand pieces, and sent him to study at Takkasilā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Rollins, Charlemae. Storytelling- Its Value and Importance. Published by: National Council of Teachers of English. https://www.jstor.org/terms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kearney, Richard. On stories. Psychology Press. 2002. page 3.

Thither he went, and studied with a world-famed teacher, and became the chief pupil in a company of five hundred youths.

Just then died the eldest of the teacher; and the teacher, surrounded by his pupils, in the midst of his kith and kin, weeping did the lad's obsequies in the cemetery. Then the teacher with his company of kinsfolk, and all his pupils, were weeping and wailing, but Dhammapāla only neither wept nor wailed. When afterwards the five hundred youths had returned from the cemetery, they sat down in their teacher's presence, and said, "Ah, so fine a lad, so good, a tender child, to be cut off in his tender age and parted from father and mother!" Dhammapāla replied, "Tender indeed, as you say! Well, why did he die at a tender age? "This is not right that children of tender age should die." Then they said to him, "Why, Sir, do you not know that such persons are but mortal?" – "I know it; but in tender years they die not; people die when they are grown old." – "Then are not all component things transitory and unreal?" "Transitory they are, it is true; but in the days of youth creatures do not die; it is only when they are grown old that they die." – "Oh, is that the custom of your family?"- "Yes, that is the custom in my family." The lads told this conversation to their teacher. He sent for Dhammapāla, and asked him, "Is it true, Dhammapāla, my son, that in your family they do not die young?" "Yes, teacher," said he, "it is true."

On hearing this, the teacher thought, "This is a most marvelous thing he says! I will make a journey to his fathers, and ask him about it; and if it be true, I will live according to his rule of right."

So when he had finished for his son all that should be done, after lapse of seven or eight days he sent for Dhammapāla, and said, "My son, I am going away from home; while I am away, you are to instruct these pupils." So saying, he procured the bones of a wild goat, washed them and scented them, and put them in a bag; then taking with him a little

page-boy, he left Takkasilā and in course of time arrived at that village. There he enquired his way to Mahā-dhammapāla's house, and stopped at the door.

The first servant of the brahmin who saw him, whoever it was took the sunshade from his hand, and took his shoes, and took the bag from the servant. He bade them tell the lad's father, here was the teacher of his son Dhammapāla the Younger, standing at the door. "Good," said the servants and summoned the father to him. Quickly he came to the threshold, and "Come in!" said he, leading the way to his house. Seating the visitor upon a co uch, he did a host's duty by washing his feet, and so forth.

When the teacher had eaten food, and they sat down for a kindly talk together, said he, "Brahmin, your son young Dhammapāla, when full of wisdom, and a perfect master of the Three Vedas and the Eighteen Accomplishments, by an unhappy chance has lost his life. All component things are transitory; grieve not for him!" The brahmin clapped his hands, and laughed loudly. "Why do you

laugh, brahmin?" asked the other." "No, brahmin," was the answer, "your son is dead, and no other. Look on his bones, and believe." So saying, he unwrapped the bones. "These are your son's bones," and he. "A wild goat's bones, perhaps," quote the other, "or a dog's; but my son is not dead. In our family for seven generations no such thing has been as a death in tender years; and you are speaking falsehood." Then they all clapped their hands, and laughed aloud.

#### Stanza or Verse

The teacher, when he beheld this wonderful thing, was much pleased, and said, "Brahmin, this custom in your family line cannot be without cause, that the young do not die. Why is it then that you do not die young?" and he asked his question by repeating one stanza.

Then the brahmin, to explain what virtues had the result that his family no one died young, repeated ten stanzas like:

"We walk in uprightness, we speak no lies,

All foul and wicked sins we keep afar,

We do eschew all things that evil are,

Therefore in youth not one among us dies.

"Priests, brahmins, wayfarers we satisfy,

Beggars, and mendicants, and all who need,

We give them drink, and hungry folk we feed:

Therefore the young among us do not die." Etc.

After explaining the reasons with verses, he continued declaring the righteous ways as verses.

On hearing this, the teacher replied: "A happy journey is this journey of mine, fruitful, not without fruit!" Then full of happiness, he begged pardon of Dhammpāla's father, and added, "I came hither, and brought with me these wild goat's bones, on purpose to try you. Your son is safe and well. I pray you, impart to me your rule of preserving life." Then the other wrote it upon a leaf; and after tarrying in that place some few days, he returned to Takkasilā, and having instructed Dhammapāla in all branches of skill and learning, he dismissed him with a great troop of followers.

#### **Conclusion of the Jataka**

When the Master had thus discoursed to the Great King Suddhodana, he declared the Truths, and identified the Birth: (now at the conclusion of the truths the King became established in the fruit of the third path:)- "At that time, mother and father were the Mahārāja's kin, the teacher was Sāriputta, the retinue was the Buddha's retinue, and I myself was the younger Dhammapāla." <sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The Jataka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births. Trans. W.H.D. Rouse, M.A. The Pali Text Society Oxford 1995. Vol IV, page 32-35.

The jātakas can be called by many names, viz.: tales, stories, parables, fables, adventures, legends, riddles, fairy tales, and birth stories. How one designs and tells the story makes it into an art form. Buddhists have used parables and metaphors to explain their teachings since the

time of the Buddha.<sup>17</sup> In this story, the brahmin relates why family members do not die at a young age. The reason is that they always follow advice of the wise. Although, sometimes they might listen to foolish teachings in order to avoid the conflict, they should always heed wise men. They always feel happiness before, during and after donation time and they don't feel regret about their donations. They always offer gifts to the worthy one and give things to the needy and poor. The bottom line is they always preserve the five precepts. They believe in future lives and, in order to reach heaven, do the good things in life to benefit such future lives. Most people want to live a safe, healthy and happy life. The Buddha gave his followers the five precepts to live happily and healthily.

After telling this story, parents should explain the five precepts thoroughly. Bhikkhu Bodhi explains the five precepts clearly with the following analysis for the people who want to preserve these precepts exactly.

A complete act of killing constituting a full violation of the precept involves five factors: (1) a living being; (2) the perception of the living being as such; (3) the thought or volition of killing; (4) the appropriate effort; and (5) the actual death of the being as a result of the action.

A complete act of stealing constituting a full violation of the precept involves five factors: (1) an article belonging to another legally and blamelessly; (2) the perception of it as belonging to another; (3) the thought or intention of stealing; (4) the activity of taking the article; and (5) the actual appropriation of the article.

A complete act of sexual misconduct constituting a full violation of the precept involves four factors: (1) an illicit partner, (2) the thought or volition of engaging in sexual union with that person; (3) the act of engaging in union; and (4) the acceptance of the union.

A complete act of telling false speech constituting a full violation of the precept involves four factors: (1) an untrue state of affairs; (2) the intention of deceiving another; (3) the effort to express that, either verbally or bodily; and (4) the conveying of a false impression to another.

A complete act of drinking intoxicants constituting a full violation of the precept involves four factors: (1) the intoxicant; (2) the intention of taking it; (3) the activity of ingesting it; and (4) the actual ingestion of intoxicant.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Akira, Hirakawa. A History of Indian Buddhism: From Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana. Trans. Paul Groner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, page 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Davids, Caroline Rhys A.K. Stories of the Buddha. Varanasi: Pilgrims Publishing, India, page 11.

dharmafarer.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/BBD1-Five-Precepts.bodhi\_.pdf (search on 25 Nov 2017)

Therefore, to widen the knowledge of Buddhism in the mind of the children, Buddhist parents might use the jatakas as the bedtime stories. From the jataka, children can know how people made a living at that time, what type of place they lived in and what type of people they associated with, <sup>19</sup> and what type of cultures and politics were dominant. They can learn how Buddha fulfilled virtues as a bodhisatta to become the Buddha and, because most of the jatakas reveal one's good and bad actions and the effects of these actions, the jatakas can be used to guide children in how to live in society. They reveal that, if one does good actions, one will get good results. If one sows bad seeds, one will reap bad fruits.

Nowadays, however, as the hustle and bustle of life demands that parents spend more time on the life's necessities, parents spend less time with their children. Seeking to have a better standard of living in the future, most parents struggle to support their children and their education. Just as spending time on finding materialistic values for their children, it is better equally spending time

to promote the spiritual and mental development of their children. Before going to bed, telling jataka-stories to the children can give religious knowledge in their formative years as well as promoting a good relationship between the parents and their children.

#### **Some Concluding Remarks**

The exact year the Jataka was written down is difficult to establish precisely but it is generally referred to the same time or era as when the Tipitaka was written down in the context of the three councils. There is considerable uncertainty surrounding the date, location, deliberations and conclusions of these councils. While traditional accounts may be accepted as reliable in some

aspects, they should not be regarded as historically accurate in all.<sup>20</sup> No one can know whether they were preached by the Buddha or are believers' creations that function to extol the Buddha's greatness. But from ancient times, jatakas were depicted in mural paintings in some pagodas.

Those mural paintings are found in pagodas of Myanmar. "They are carved in wood or stone on the wall or pillars in some religious places. Famous jatakas depictions are also found in Barhuts.

Religious specialists from that time repeatedly explained the illustrations of the jatakas and the biography of Śākyamuni Buddha at the stupas. They extolled Śākyamuni's religious practices in his past lives as the practices of a bodhisattva and praised his greatness and deep compassion to attract more followers to come to stupas."<sup>21</sup> However, it is not appropriate to persuade people that the jatakas are the authentic teachings of the Buddha. According to Thailand king's Chulalongkorn essay book, there is an "... old

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Akira, Hirakawa. A History of Indian Buddhism: From Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana. Trans. Paul Groner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, page 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Davids, Caroline Rhys A.K. Stories of the Buddha, Varanasi: Pilgrims Publishing, India, page 11.

Akira, Hirakawa. A History of Indian Buddhism: From Sakyamuni to Early Mahayana. Trans. Paul Groner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, page 252 & 274.

belief that those who doubted that those books were the actual word of the Buddha would go to hell ... Forcing people to believe in them made people resent the Jatakas even more".

Even though, children are not forced to believe this way, as fans of stories, no one will deny that jatakas are the best bedtime stories to introduce children to Buddhism and Buddhist practices. And story time is a wonderful way for parents to connect with their children. Albert Einstein said once, "If you want to have brilliant children, tell them stories. If you want to have more brilliant children, tell them more stories". As the parents, it is important to concentrate on the cultivation of one's children's spiritual and moral values rather than on cultivation of materialistic values alone.

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## TEACHING METHODS OF THE BUDDHA EMBODIED IN THE DHAMMAPADA STORIES

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#### **Abstract**

Direct teaching, or teacher-centered teaching, and student-centered teaching are the two main categories concerning teaching methodologies. Arguments and disputes, concerning which is superior to the other, have been taken place on academic journals as well as teaching frontiers. Each has its own advantages and disadvantages, and each has many excellent teachers as its representatives. This article, out of curiosity, aims to find out what teaching techniques were used by the Buddha in His dissemination of the Dhamma in the stories of the popular Buddhist text Dhammapada, and what teaching category can these techniques be classified into, direct teaching or student-centered teaching. This article is conducted by making an analytical study on the teaching methods of the Buddha embodied in the Dhammapada stories from both a general and a specific perspective. By referring to the findings of the analysis above to the characteristics of the two major teaching methods in modern pedagogy, this study makes a conclusion that the teaching methods of the Buddha tends to be student-centered. This study does not only provide contemporary teachers of Buddhism with teaching methodologies from the perspective of the Buddha's examples, but also throws light of the Buddha's wisdom upon modern pedagogy.

**Keywords:** teaching methods, Dhammapada stories, direct teaching, student-centered teaching

#### 1. Introduction

A teaching method is characterised by a set of principles, procedures or strategies to be implemented by teachers to achieve desired learning in students1. Generally, teaching methods are considered to fall into two categories, teachercentered and student-centered. The former one is the kind generally thought to be outdated and boring, thus discouraged by many teaching institutes while the latter style seems to have won hearts of the majority. Many developed countries have designed their teaching policies according to the latest pedagogy theories such as cognitive or social cognitive and teachers also seem to favor those teaching approaches that can better arouse students' attention and interest, namely task-based teaching, inquirybased teaching<sup>1</sup>, etc, in which there is as less involvement of the teacher as possible, students taking the central role. However, recently this new trend is getting more and more criticism from the educational field complaining that the students almost learned nothing from this fancy fad and teachers do not prepare their lessons with effort as they did before.<sup>2</sup> So in general, debates and arguments take place not only in academic journals but also in the real teaching situations, concerning which approach is better or more suitable for the students.

Personally, I agree with Westwood<sup>3</sup> who, although seems to favor teacher-centered more, emphasizes the importance of implementation of only those teaching methods already proven to be effective and successful. 4While his attention mainly focuses on "those proven by scientific research", here is the question that what if there is already a series of educationally successful cases recorded in the Buddhist classics. Is it possible to analyze these cases in order to find out some patterns that may have some pedagogic implication?

As generally considered to be one of the greatest educators in the human history, the Buddha successfully enabled significant amount of his disciples to attain enlightenment and countless followers to dedicate themselves to Buddhism. He started to share his knowledge and understanding soon after his enlightenment under the Bodhi Tree, and then spent the rest of his life teaching Dhamma to people from different backgrounds, which almost lasted for half a century. His teachings have been considered to be so important that for thousands of years they have been cautiously and precisely recorded, preserved and passed down from generation to generation in the form of oral recitation in the beginning and written text later, known as suttas. From some of these suttas, one is able to learn the whole process of the Buddha's teachings, including the background of a teaching event, the people involved, disputes concerned, etc. Therefore, these Buddhist scriptures can provide plenty of relevant cases for pedagogic analysis.

Among the suttas, Dhamapada is the one that has always been given particular attention. It is thought to be a condensed version of what Buddha taught on the earth, because wherein many of Buddha's highly important words were collected and sorted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Rose, J. (2005). Independent review of the teaching of early reading: Interim report. London: Department for Education and Skills.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Delpit, L. (1988). The silenced dialogue: power and pedagogy in educating other people's children. Harvard Educational Review. *58*, 280–298.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Westwood, P. (2008). What teachers should know about. Camberwell: ACER Press.82-88

in the form of *vaggas*. Later commentary by Buddhaghosa (5th A.C.) attached stories to these words, clearly presenting the particular circumstances where these words were delivered. These stories, instead of being created by the commentator himself, were selected from other suttas which give specific background information of the words in Dhamapada, where each verse or each group of verses corresponds to a story from a certain sutta. There are altogether 305 stories of Dhamapada which means 305 occasions of the Buddha's teaching are recorded.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, these stories of Dhamapada can well serve as sample cases of the Buddha's teaching, thus legitimate enough for pedagogic analysis.

Through the analysis of the stories of Dhamapada, this article tries to find out:

- 1) What specific teaching techniques did the Buddha applied during his teaching process?
- 2) How these techniques were used in the stories?
- 3) What categories do these techniques fall into, teacher-centered or student-centered?

### 2. Teaching Methods in Modern Pedagogy

There are basically two kinds of teaching methods differing each other originally from their beliefs.

#### 2.1 Direct Teaching

Direct teaching refers to the teaching method that the teacher transmits knowledge directly to the students. It "is a form of explicit instruction that attempts to present information to learners in a form they can easily access, DI is a fast-paced method of teaching that provides very high levels of interaction between students and their teacher. Instructional procedures are based on clear objectives, modelling, high response rate, reinforcement, error correction, criterion-referenced performance and practice to mastery." Hall states that "explicit instruction is a systematic instructional approach that includes a set of delivery and design procedures derived from effective schools research merged with behavior analysis".

## 2.2 Student-Centered Teaching

Student-centered teaching methods are based on the constructivist view which emphasizes the students' initial experience of knowledge and skills. And it believes that learners are able to construct their own understandings and capabilities through daily activities. Under such a belief, the teaching methods are normally required to "focus primarily on learners playing the active and major role in acquiring information and developing concepts and skills while interacting with their social and physical environment. The role of the teacher becomes one of facilitator and supporter, rather than instructor. The importance of social interaction, language and

<sup>5</sup> Hall, T. (2002). Explicit instruction. Wakefield, MA: National Center on Accessing the General Curriculum. Accessed 29 September 2007. Retrieved October 5, 2007 from: http://www.cast.org/publications/ncac/ncac\_explicit.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bhikkhu Dhammananda, K. S. (1988). The Dhammapada. Kuala Lumpur: Sasana Abhiwurdhi Wardhana Society. p:XXXIV.

communication is recognised in constructivist classrooms and therefore much group activity, discussion and cooperative learning is encouraged."

## 2.3 The Main Differences Between Direct Teaching and Student-Centered Teaching

The teacher plays a major role in the teaching process under direct teaching methods. He/she will dominate the class, and give directly to students' knowledge or skills digested by him/herself in the way he/she has systematically planned. The lesson will be carried on mainly in the form of lectures, based on which the students can raise questions or doubts. However, interaction between the teacher and an individual student is not considered common in this mode. While for student-centered teaching, the students are supposed to take an active role in the learning process with little dominance from the teacher, who is supposed to teach in a direct way leaving more chance for the students to understand and learn by experience and discovery of their own. In this teaching mode, more consideration will be given to an individual student who can have close interaction with the teacher on issues, topics, questions and doubts brought forth from his previous active learning.

## 3. A General Analysis of the Teaching Methods in Dhammapada Stories

Teaching methods can be found embodied in the Dhammapada Stories if analyzed from a general perspective, by adopting three typical stories representing three types of stories according to the structure of the plot.

### 3.1 Types of Dhammapada Stories

Stories of Dhammapada are often structured in a similar way. They often start with an event, people being involved. As the event developed, conflicts or problems accelerated, and the Buddha was turned to either for solution or answer or for comments on the event in general. And the most essential part of the words from the Buddha then became the very words in Dhammapada in the form of a verse or a group of verses.

There are two types of stories according to the involvement of the Buddha. The first type (Type 1) is the one which has the event accelerated into a conflict / problem / question and then related to the Buddha for solution / answer. This type sees deeper involvement of the Buddha, because the Buddha participated either passively or actively in the process of the event. The other type (Type 2) is the one with less involvement of the Buddha, since the whole event went through without the Buddha's participation except for His later comments when the event was reported to Him. Among all the stories, three are chosen for each category as typical stories to present reified structures of the stories, The Necklace of Fingers (Verse 173) for Type 1 Actively, The Cure for Death (Verse 114) for Type 1 Passively, The Unfortunate Hunter (Verse 125) for Type 2. This selection is based on their moderate length and complexity of the plot as well as their familiarity to the readers with Buddhist background.

#### 3.2 Analysis of Teaching Methods Based on the Typical Stories

Once reading these stories, one may have the first impression that most of them are not closely related to teaching behaviors. However, it should be noticed that the key factor is the Buddha, for had not been related to Buddha, these stories in Dhammapada would have seemed rather ordinary, though some were indeed impressive (interesting, touching, etc.), just like events that can happen at any place and at any time. They would have turned out to be nothing but some insignificant behaviors performed by some human beings in the Ancient India, most likely to be forgotten, if not, remembered as stories no more special than the others in folklores. It is because of the presence of the Buddha either inside or outside these stories that these events become meaningful as part of the great teacher's whole teaching program. To some extent, we can think them as the Buddha's real teaching cases. That is to say every story actually is a class, and the characters in the stories that had chance to listen to the Buddha are the students.

The three stories above can reveal the organization of classes taught by the Buddha. It seems that those classes didn't have certain objectives to achieve, nor did it have planned content for teaching which a class under direct teaching mode may manifest. Instead, all of the classes were just based on real-life situations. And the students were given sufficient freedom to experience, from the beginning to the end with just necessary guidance from the teacher, the Buddha.

Although horrifying, Angulimala had to experience the murder led by his own karma. Kotami experienced her son's death and the monk experienced the revenge of the hunter. The Buddha didn't make any attempt to make Angulimala a murderer, nor did He take the life of Kotami's baby or the hunter in order to give them a lesson later. All of these were set in real-life situation, not planned or created by the teacher, but formed by their own karma. These classes were based on situations that were so real that, on one hand, they totally fit the description of situated learning, which is usually classified into student-centered teaching mode, one the other hand, they excel those typical modern situated learning classes in that they were purely and natural based on real situations, not designed in advanced by the teacher as is often the case in the latter.

The structures of the stories also show a significant non-dominating role of the teacher. The Buddha was not involved in the beginning of an event, nor when the it became accelerated. Each story seems to have its own major character(s) and the Buddha's following involvement didn't seem to have changed their central position in that story. For The Unfortunate Hunter, the major characters were the monk and the hunter from the beginning to the end of the event without the Buddha's interference, and in the story The Necklace of Fingers, Angulimala, and in The Cure of Death, Kotami. Although the Buddha appeared in these stories, Angulimala and Kotami were still very decisive in the development of their respective stories. The Buddha's presence in these stories just served as a turning point. Although, actively, the Buddha came to Angulimala just to change the direction of his "show" in the story not to replace it, which means Angulimala still had his major role in his later joining the monastery and attaining parinibbana. For Kotami, the Buddha acted as a supporting role when He was asked for help. The major task of seeking for the mustard seeds was

still carried on by herself. Therefore, no matter how deep the Buddha was involved in the stories, the Buddha seemed to have never taken the central role.

From the analysis of the typical stories above, the non-centered position the Buddha took suggests that the teaching mode of the Buddha tends to be student-centered. As a teacher, the Buddha didn't try to hold the students' attention from the beginning to the end nor did he give systematic instruction on certain information particularly in the form of a lecture as typical direct teaching normally presents. What the Buddha did was to give necessary assistance to the learning process of his students, or in other words, providing students with scaffolding.<sup>6</sup>

## 4. A Specific Analysis of the Teaching Methods in Dhammapada Stories

In His teaching, the Buddha used various techniques in the stories. In those with structure Type 2, the Buddha mainly gave feedback when the event in the stories already ended. While stories with structure Type 1 present more variety of teaching techniques.

#### 4.1 Feedback

Feedback was given by the Buddha when people reported an event to Him or brought Him a case to settle down. Feedback from the Buddha can help His students understand the nature of the event or case, thus have a right view towards it. Sometimes the feedback could be so powerful that could actually protect the reputation of the Buddha Himself as well as save the faith of His disciples, just as in the story of The Cloth Baby (Verse 176), where a woman accused the Buddha of having made her pregnant. The Buddha just replied calmly: "Only you and I know if your words are true or not." <sup>7</sup>And a pack of cloth dropped from the woman's "big womb".

In the stories, such teaching methods as giving feedback are highly interactive and communicative between the Buddha and His students. The Buddha didn't input any information to His students by force, rather He spoke at the moment when the students really needed. Different from a brain-washing style of teaching, by which students totally lost their independent thinking and judgment, or a spoon-feeding style which bombs students with overwhelming information, the Buddha spoke in attempt to provide the students with supporting information so that the intrinsic thinking and learning could be activated, thus students learned and then changed by themselves. Because of this, the Buddha was never wordy in His remarks, which were always presented concise and pertinent. Even for such methods as sermon or admonition, the Buddha didn't use them unless it's based on students' need.

According to Lev Vygotsky (1962, 1978), learning is greatly advanced by communication and collaborative social interaction. That's to say discussion,

Bhikkhu Gambhiro, The Dhammapāda Stories, (Buddha Dharma Education Association Inc.), p.85-86

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Schmidt, H. G., Loyens, S. M., van Gog, T., & Paas, F. (2007). Problem based learning is compatible with human cognitive architecture. Educational Psychologist, *42*, *2*, 91–97.

feedback and sharing of ideas have great effect on learning.<sup>8</sup> Comparing the way the Buddha taught and this academic finding that has strong support for student-centered teaching mode.

#### 4.2 Task

Instead of speaking, in some situations, the Buddha just assigned some tasks for the students to do. For example, in the story The Cure for Death (Verse 114) the young mother was told to collect some mustard seeds from families that had never seen anyone pass away. Through this task, the woman learned the fact that it's very common for people to lose their beloved ones. For some tasks, the Buddha would join and guide the task himself as presented in stories The Monk Whose Body Stunk (Verse 41) and Not Even for Free (Verse 147). All these cases show characteristics of a typical task-based teaching method which is one of the common types under the student-centered teaching category.

#### 4.3 Peer learning

Modern pedagogy has found that effective results can be produced if teachers encourage peer tutoring. As an effective teacher, the Buddha also encouraged peer learning among his students, just as the story The Wandering Mind presents: A senior monk helped a junior monk realize the importance of concentration on the practice of the Dhamma. This method is often associated with student-centered teaching.

The teaching techniques analyzed above give a clear picture about how the Buddha instructed his students through experience and action, through which they learned and changed inwardly. These techniques were provided for the need of the students instead of convenience or preference of the Buddha himself. During application of these techniques, the Buddha always put His students in the center and himself aside as a helper or a supporter. All these teaching and learning through action have a strong correspondence with the student-centered teaching concept in modern pedagogy.

#### 5. Conclusion

Direct teaching and student-centered teaching are the main two categories concerning teaching methodology. This article, out of curiosity, aims to find out what teaching methods were used by the Buddha in the stories of the popular Buddhist text Dhammapada, and what teaching category can these methods be classified into, direct teaching or student-centered teaching. By analyzing the stories both generally and specifically, many teaching methods are extracted and sorted. This, on one hand shows the variety of the Buddha's teaching methods, and on the other, reveals a dominant place that the student-centered teaching mode takes in His teaching.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Vygotsky, L. (1978). Mind in Society: the Development of Higher Psychological Processes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> McMaster, K. L., Fuchs, D., & Fuchs, L. S. (2006). Research on Peer-Assisted Learning Strategies: the Promise and the Limitations of Peer-Mediated Instruction. Reading and Writing Quarterly 22, 1, 5–25.

However, such a finding from the research doesn't have any intention to undervalue direct teaching mode, which, of course, may also be favored by the Buddha in many occasions during His educational carrier according to the record of many other suttas / sutras. This research in the article, however, does give detailed accounts on how the Buddha instructed His students successfully with student-centered teaching methods, which at least can serve as examples for those who are particularly interested in practicing the same methods.

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## Gaṇapati in early Buddhist art of Sri Lanka: An explanation of the elephant-headed figure at Mihintale Kaṇṭaka Cētiya

K.V.J. Koshalee<sup>1</sup> and Chandima Bogahawatta<sup>2</sup>

#### **Abstract**

The first Sinhalese literary evidence of *Gaapati* is found in a verse of *Sasadāvata*, a poetry work composed in 12th century CE during the Polonnaruwa period. Gaapati or Gaesha, who is one of the most worshiped gods in Hindu culture, is not found in Sri Lankan literature till the medieval period. However, a sculpture of an elephantheaded figure belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE has been found on the cornice below the topmost register of one of the frontispieces of Mihintale Kaaka Cētiya among the frieze of dwarfs, referred to as gaas in literature. The figure has been identified by scholars as the well-known Hindu god Gaapati owing to the elephant head. In comparison to Hindu sculpture, the figure can be correctly identified as an early depiction of *Gaapati*. This interpretation leads to a number of questions that need to be answered, such as: does the presence of this representation of Gaapati refers to the existence of the cult of Gaapati in Sri Lanka at that time? and further it also raises the question as to what was the intention of having a figure of Gaapati in a Buddhist temple? and it also prompts us to think about the nature of Buddhism that would have prevailed at that time in Mihintale that allowed a sculpture of Gaapati in the Mihintale monastery of Kaaka Cētiva. This study intends to examine the social and cultural dynamics that would have allowed for the intrusion of such a non-Buddhist icon into a Buddhist building at an early stage of Buddhist history in the island. Arising from the facts available, this figure can, thus, be identified as an earliest depiction of this Hindu god at a Buddhist temple in Sri Lanka, as the head of the gaas, in the form of  $\bar{E}kadanta$  who has only one tusk as we know him today. The consciousness among the contemporary society of him as a divine being is evident from the archaeological context of the sculpture. Therefore, sculpturing Gaapati at Mihintale Kaaka Cētiya can be identified as the early stage of absorbing this non-Buddhist deity in to Sri Lankan Buddhist culture. Further, it can be concluded that the heterodox Buddhism was influential in sculpturing non-Buddhist icons in early Buddhist art. Simultaneously, the political revolution from Mauryan to Lambakaras led to changes in political context, therefore, new group of patrons for heterodox Buddhism were begining to emerge.

**Keywords:** Gaṇapati, head of *gaas*, Hindu sculpture, non-Buddhist deities, Mihintale *Kaaka Cētiya* 

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#### 1. Introduction

The elephant-headed god who is known by various names, such as *Vighnēśvara*, *Ēkadanta*, *Hēramba*, *Lambōdara*, *Sūrpakarna*, *Gajānana*, and *Guhāgraja* (Rao 46) is well-known to Sri Lankan society as *Gaapati*, *Gaēsha* or *Pillaiyār* and now venerated by both Hindus and Buddhists in Sri Lanka. *Gaapati* by the same name or other forms was not found in ancient literature till the medieval. The first literary evidence for him is found in a verse of *Sasadāvata*, a poetry work composed in 12<sup>th</sup> century CE during Polonnaruwa period. It says that *Gaapati* was there, among the deities who were present to worship Buddha and to listen his sermon (Sasadāvata 183). The intention of indicating him as a Buddha's devotee in the verse might be to introduce him as an obedient deity of Buddha against the Hindu cults which spread in Polonnaruwa period.

In contrast to the literature, archaeological evidence shows the Hindu god Gaapati or Gaēsha has been known to Sri Lankan society since 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. The sculpture of an elephant-headed figure belonging to 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE at Mihintale Kaaka Cētiya among the frieze of gaas, has been identified as a representation of Gaapati (Paranavitana, Glimpses of Ceylon's Past 62; Getty 25). Paranavitana, who marked the initial attempt to identify the figure, mentioned that the elephant-headed gaa, apparently with one tusk is possible to conjecture as a prototype of Gaapati (Paranavitana, Glimpses of Ceylon's Past 62). Since the definite archaeological evidence for *Gaapati* cult belongs to Polonnaruwa period (Basnayake 99; Schroeder 122; Dharmadasa and Thundeniya 18), the depiction of such a non-Buddhist icon in a Buddhist temple at an early stage of Buddhist history is still questionable. Hence, this paper questions whether Gaapati at Mihintale Kaaka Cētiva is an evidence for the existence of the cult of the deity in Sri Lanka at the time, as the same deity was accommodated in the Buddhist image houses in later periods? If not, what was the intention of sculpturing him in a Buddhist temple during Anuradhapura period before he was exactly introduced during Polonnaruwa period? and also the nature of Buddhism that would have prevailed at that time in Mihintale which welcomed such non-Buddhist traditions and allowed them to be sculptured in the temple premises? Therefore, this study intends to examine the social and cultural dynamics that would have allowed for the intrusion of such a non-Buddhist icon into a Buddhist building at an early stage of Buddhist history in the island. The figure is analysed within its archaeological context along with the primary literary sources to examine social and cultural dynamics.

## 2. Mihintale Kaaka Cētiya: Location and History

Mihintale or ancient *Sägiriya* is a picturesque mountain peak which is about sixteen kilometers to the east of Anurādhapura (Vaṃsatthappakāsini 285, 286). It is also known as *Cētiya Pabbata* and *Cētiya Giri*, the mountain of *Cētiyas*, sacred relics (Vaṃsatthappakāsini 284, 286, 287, 292). The mountain is well-known as the first meeting place of king Dēvanampiya Tissa (250-210 BCE) and venerable Mahinda with his attendance, the first Buddhist missionary group to Sri Lanka sent by emperor

Aśoka in India during 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 53-55).<sup>3</sup> This place became a self-contained suburban or provincial monastery unit as a constituent part of the organic monastery in Anurādhapura, which is called *Pabbata Vihāra*, literary 'mountain monastery' (Bandaranayake 4, 5, 58).

The *Mahāvaisa* mentions that king Dēvanampiya Tissa made sixty-eight rock cells about the place where the *Kaaka Cētiya* afterward stood (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 72). *Kaaka Cētiya* is one of the earliest religious monuments in Sri Lanka which affiliated to the Mihintale monastic complex. Paranavitana identified the *stūpa* with its name by the inscription of about 1st century CE, found on a rock near the *stūpa* which recorded grants made to the *Kanṭaka-Ceta* (i.e. *Kaaka Cētiya*) (Paranavitana, Glimpses of Ceylon's Past 59). The chronicles are unsupportive to identify by whom and when the *stūpa* was first built (Paranavitana, Glimpses of Ceylon's Past 59). But according to *Mahāvaisa*, the king Lañjatissa (119-109 BCE) had a mantling made of stone for it (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 140). It is, thus, clear that the original *stūpa* was built between 3rd and 1st century BCE.

The architectural structures which have been constructed at the cardinal points and facing the gateways of many of larger  $st\bar{u}pas$  are often referred to as 'frontispieces' and are called ' $v\bar{a}halkaqa'$ ' in modern Sinhalese and ' $\bar{a}yaka'$ ' in early Sinhalese (Paranavitana, The stupa in ceylon 47, 59). The excavation of Kaaka  $C\bar{e}tiya$  carried out by Paranavitana during 1934-35 revealed that frontispiece of the  $st\bar{u}pa$  of which the eastern one is much better preserved (Paranavitana, The stupa in ceylon 47). The elephant-headed figure which is the subject of this research is sculptured on the eastern frontispiece of the  $st\bar{u}pa$ . The frontispieces of Kaaka  $C\bar{e}tiya$  are probably later in date than the original stupa (Paranavitana, The stupa in ceylon 57). The architectural details and the style of the sculpture of the frontispieces confirm the surmise, arrived at on epigraphical grounds, that these structures date from about the  $2^{nd}$  century CE (Paranavitana, The stupa in ceylon 57).

## 3. Gaapati figure at Kaaka Cētiya

Gaapati figure is sculptured on the cornice below the topmost one of eastern frontispiece of Kaaka Cētiya, exactly in the corner of left wing of the frontispiece where it joints to the projecting central portion, among the frieze of gaas. The frieze of gaas is in between the superstructure of the frontispiece which is called vimāna and the frieze of haisas (Geese) (Paranavitana, Glimpses of Ceylon's Past 61; Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 51). These gaas are portrayed in various attitudes (Paranavitana, Glimpses of Ceylon's Past 61). Paranavitana has distinguished the elephant-headed one from other animal headed gaas, owing to particular characteristics it bears. The figure represents a partly human hybrid creature with an elephant head, one tusk on its left side, left turned trunk, front-faced and half-sitting position, pot belly with a belt going around it, two arms resting on raised knees and a kind of a headgear but no other clothing or wearing (Fig.1).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ((The Mahāvaṃsa xiii.20; xiv.1-7)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> (The Mahāvaṃsa xvi.12)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> (The Mahāvaṃsa xxxiii.25)

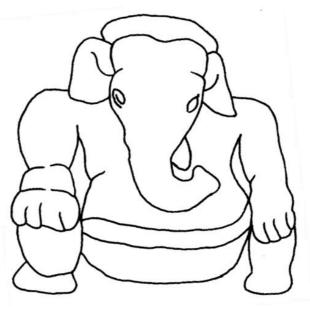


Figure 1

Gaapati figure at Kaaka Cētiya

(Drawn by Koshalee)

Gaapati of Kaaka Cētiya is represented without the right tusk. As the single tusked form of Gaapati is well-known by the name of Ēkadanta, 6 the same feature can be identified in the figure at Kaaka Cētiya (Dhavalikar 38). Although the majority of Gaapati images have four arms (Rao 50) this figure has only two. It is also significant that the arms hold no object like in later representations.

By eating the food and cakes offered by *Vishnu* and *Śiva* the belly of *Gaapati* became dilated which means it has to be very capacious, and hence he is known as *Lambōdara*<sup>7</sup> (Rao 47, 50). In comparison with other *gaas* at *Kaaka Cētiya*, the belly of the elephant-headed figure seems much bigger and dilated than others. In sitting images of *Gaapati*, the left leg has to be bent and make it to be rested vertically on the seat, while the right leg has to be crossed so as to rest on the left thigh (Rao 49). But here, the half-sitting position lay down as the comfortable leg position of the figure and the other *gaas* as well. As the stone façade of the frontispiece was covered with paintings including *vimānas*, traces of which are still visible (Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 52), there might be painted minor attributes which have been faded away.

The *Gaapati* figure is attended by some other *gaas*, four on his left side and two on right (Fig.2). The attendants of the both sides face at the centered *Gaapati*, holding various objects, which seem offerings for their master. The objects they carry cannot be exactly identified, but it seems that the attendants of the left side carry a lengthy cylindrical shaped object, an alms-bowl containing a treat, a pot, and unidentifiable object. The objects carried by attendants of the right side are obscure. It is suggested that the various objects held in the four arms of *Gaapati* in later sculptures have been earlier attributed to the attendants (Paranavitana, Glimpses of Ceylon's Past 62; Disanayaka 69). Various objects and implements have been suggested as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>  $\bar{E}ka = \text{one/ single} + Danta = \text{tusk (Rao 39)}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lamba = dilated + Udara = belly (Rao 47)

attributes carried by those *gaas*. These includes an alms-bowl, a rosary, and an elephant-goad (Disanayaka 69) as well as various offerings and fruits such as mangoes and sugarcane (Lagamuwa 104).



Figure 2
Elephant-headed figure and the attendant *gaas* at *Kaaka Cētiya* (Photo by Chandima Bogahawatta)

## 4. Evidence for *Gaapati* cult?

In India *Gaapati* in the form of elephant-headed deity is mentioned in *Taittiriya Aranyaka* written in about 700 BCE which refers to *Dantin* (the tusker) with the twisted trunk (*Vakratunda*) who holds a sheaf of corn, sugarcane and a club (in Krishna). Although *Gaapati* in his classical form developed in Puranic period (Krishna), the historical identity and iconography of the deity is generally recognized from the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century CE (Narain 19). Early *Gaapati* figures as a fine mythological representations are found in North India during 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, while in South India the figures appears as a two-armed figure from the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE (Krishna). By about the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE independent cult of *Gaapati* had come very much into existence (Narain 19).

To find answer for the question whether this is a representation of existence of *Gaapati* cult in Sri Lanka at the time, the figure should be understood within its archaeological context. To reach the point, the positioning of the figure must be considered. In front of every frontispiece at Mihintale, there is a stone-built altar for flowers and other offerings of the devotees (Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 53). The purpose of placing flower-altars in front of each frontispiece is to make offerings for the *stūpa* in place of the Buddha. The two-armed *Gaapati* generally placed at the temple doorway, so that the devotees may pay obeisance before entering (Krishna). But the figure at *Kaaka Cētiya* is sculptured in the corner of left wing of the frontispiece where it joints to the projecting central portion. Therefore, it was not able to pay respect or worship the figure of the deity.

The superstructure of the frontispieces consisted of three *vimānas* (i.e. heavenly mansions) of solid brick construction and the niches formed by mouldings of each *vimāna*, contained seated figures of deities (Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 51). The frieze of *gaas* which contains the discussing figure is sculptured below the *vimāna* (Paranavitana, Glimpses of Ceylon's Past 61; Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 51). According to the mythology, *gaas* are the demon-hosts of god Śiva (Rao 39). Hence, it can be identified them as a kind of divine beings and, thus, can be inferred that sculpturing them immediately below the superstructure in a means of presenting their close association with superior divine beings such as deities. This

frieze of *gaas* are depicted in joyful moods and involving in varied activities, apparently having enjoyed comfort unlike other *gaas* sculptured on stone pillars, building foundations, and stairs who are shown in burdening postures with no smile on faces. The other animal-headed figures in the frieze of *gaas*, such as horse-headed, bear-headed, and monkey-headed, are shown alone. But the elephant-headed one is depicted with attendants in indicate that *Gaapati* is the lord of *gaas*, though we cannot be sure that he filled exactly the same place as the deity of later Hindu mythology (Ellawala 159).

According to Dhavalikar, there is little doubt that the elephant-headed figures at Mihintale and Amaravati which are parallel, tempt one to identify it with *Ganesha*,, an important divinity of the Brahmanical pantheon and it is therefore enigmatic that the motif should occur in Buddhist art (Dhavalikar 39). The elephant was sacred also to the Buddhists. Therefore, sculpturing the elephant-headed figure in a Buddhist cultural context such as the *hatthivedi* or the elephant railing around almost every medium or large ancient *stūpas*, might be a result of preferring the elephant in early Buddhist culture. Further, the artists of early Buddhist art appear to have preferred the decorative motifs in adorning exterior faces of the buildings, as the frontispieces are mainly decorative in form (Prematilleke 746, 756), which seems allowed him to work more freely in depicting of non-Buddhist concepts. The whole frieze of *gaas*, therefore, can be interpreted as a representation of heavenly beings of a prevailed belief than a representation of a cult.

## 5. Social and cultural dynamics

#### **5.1 Cultural interactions**

It should be focused on how the *Gaapati* figure had come to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century sculptural work. According to the historical literature non-Buddhist believes and customs were known to the Sri Lankan society from the early historic period (i.e. 6<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE) of the country (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 31-33, 36-40, 42, 46; Ellawala 155, 156).<sup>8</sup> It is with the early inhabitants who were thought to have come from the north-west and north-east regions of the South Asian mainland that the beliefs and practices of Hinduism came into the country (Lakdusinghe 11).

According to a local legend prevailing in Tibet and Nepal, King Asoka's daughter Charumati built a temple to honour *Gaapati* (Krishna). King Asoka was responsible in establishing Buddhism in the country through his son, Thero Mahinda in 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE<sup>9</sup> (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 53, 54; Paranavitana, Pärani yugaye sabhyatvaya 122). There is adequate evidence to show that *Gaapati* was originally an elephant who was sacred to many people in the north-western regions of India and was later given a therianthropic form by the Indo-Greek rulers (Dhavalikar 38-44). According to the iconographical evidence, *Gaapati* was first appeared in North India during 200-300 CE (Krishna). From an architectural point of view, the frontispieces are a feature of the earliest plastic art of the country (Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 47) and were developed based on the central Indian tradition (Paranavitana, Pärani yugaye sabhyatvaya 256). *Gaapati* was an agricultural god

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> (The Mahāvaṃsa vi, vii: 48-58; viii:4-12, 21-27; ix: 2,3; x: 18-20, 100-103)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> (The Mahāvamsa xiii: 8-20)

who blessed the sugarcane harvest of the Deccan plateau (Krishna). As a god of the Deccan farmers, he holds sugarcane, a *modaka* (a sweet offering of the harvest) or sweet *laddoo* (a sphere-shaped sweet), and his broken tusk, which could also have agricultural association (Krishna). The attributes can be compared with the figure at *Kaaka Cētiya* and the objects carry by his attendant *gaas* (see subtopic 3). Therefore, it can be inferred that *Gaapati* was migrated to Sinhalese culture as a novel concept through cultural interactions between Sri Lanka and North India from 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE to 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

Although there are plenty of circumstances mentioned in literature including epigraphy that would have caused to introduce *Gaapati* from India to Sri Lanka, there is one immediate incident which draw our attention. If we accept the accuracy of the dating for the frontispiece of *Kaaka Cētiya* by Paranavitana to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, the immediate incident took place in the reign of king Gajabāhu I (114-136 CE) is of high important in this regarding. According to Sinhalese folklore and later litareture, Gajabāhu I attacked the South Indian Chōlas and took 12,000 Chōla men under his custody to Sri Lanka as a retaliation (Rājāvaliya 47, 48). Confirming the visit of Gajabāhu I to Kāveri Pattana, Cīlappadikāram mentions that he participated for a festival held for Kannagī (i.e. goddess Pattini) (Coomarswamy 83, 85, 86; Paranavitana, Lambakarna Pelapata 178, 179; Adikaram 211; Gunawardana, Dakshina Bharatiya akramana 193). The king brought the jeweled anklet of goddess Pattini and the insignia of the gods of four directions (i.e. Sataravaram devatā) which are still existing in the country (Rājāvaliya 48; Paranavitana, Lambakarṇa Pelapata 179; Adikaram 211). The idea of *Gaapati* as a main deity in the Hindu pantheon might have migrated along with the above mention gods under this circumstance.

### 5.2 Impact of heterodox Buddhism

Mihintale was established as a Buddhist monastery by king Dēvanampiya Tissa after arrival of venerable Mahinda (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe). Therefore, the monastery initially followed Theravada tradition along with orthodox Mahāvihāra sect. Mihintale gradually became one of the most important affiliated centers of heterodox Abhayagiri sect (Gunawardana, Sivura saha nagula 19). Unlike its orthodox rival, Abhayagiri sect seems to have been more open and freer in its outlook, sensitive to new developments in religion and philosophy which were making headway in south India and become a heaven for those who upheld or adhered to doctrines unacceptable to the orthodox Mahāvihāra (Liyanagamage 171). Accepting of non-Theravada ideas and concepts are also visible in the art of Abhayagiri monastery (Kulatunga 294, 307, 309, 373, 519, 520, 524, 561, 564).

A story of an judgment delivered by Mahāvihāra on a monk accused of thievery during the reign of king Bhātika Abhaya (22 BCE-7 CE) evident the disciplinary contradictions between Mahāvihāra sect and Mihintale (Samantapāsādikā Vinayaṭṭhakathā 294). According to the story the monks who had no satisfactory judgment from Mihintale went to Mahāvihāra. Therefore, the incident can be mentioned as an evidence for departing of the Mihintale from orthodox Mahāvihāra sect. The practicing of *āmisa poojā* (i.e. material or hospitality offerings) at the Mihintale monastery by king Mahādātika Mahānāga (7-19 CE), the younger brother

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> (The Mahāvamsa xvi.12)

of king Bhātika Abhaya (Poojāwaliya 787, 788), confirms the accepting the ideas of popular Buddhism, which were highly practiced in Abhayagiri tradition.

The *Mahāvaisa* mentions that the *Dhammarucikas* (i.e. Abhayagiri monks) lived in *Cetiyagiriya* (i.e. Pali name for ancient Mihintale) when king Mahāsena (274-301 CE) belaboured to Mahāvihāra (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 162, 178). Abhayagiriya was well patronized during the reign of king Mahāsena (274-301 CE) (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 162). Again the close association between Mihintale and Abhayagiriya is visible in the reign of king Dhātusena (455-473 CE). *Mahāvaisa* mentions that king Dhātusena's attempt to re-entrust the Ambastala *stūpa* of Mihintale to Mahāvihāra was failed on the request of Abhayagiri monks (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 178). Therefore, it's clear that Mihintale was completely associated to Abhayagiriya and accepted its heterodox ideas by 5th century CE. Accordingly, it can be inferred that the relationship between these two monasteries was originated at least by 2nd century CE, which would have allowed to intrude such a non-Buddhist icon into a Buddhist temple.

#### 5.3 Changes in patronage

A considerable change of patronage for Mihintale is visible during the discussing period. Changing the political power from *Mauryan* to *Lambakaras* during 1<sup>st</sup> century CE seems led to social, cultural and economic development in the country (Gunawardana, Deshapalana toraturu 113, 115-117, 120, 121). Although the definite origin of these two linages are unclear, they are believed to be migrated from India with the arrival of the Bodhi tree by venerable nun Sanghamitta (Jayawardena 284). King Dhātusena (455-473 CE) is the first mentioned *Mauryan* ruler in the chronicles (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 175). But concerning the genealogy of Dhātusena, kings before Yasalālakatissa are generally considered as *Mauryan*, while the kings after Vasabha (67-111 CE) including Mahāsena belonged to *Lambakara* (Jayawardena 284; Paranavitana, Lambakarna Pelapata 174-188; Gunawardana, Deshapalana toraturu 114). Both linages struggled for the kingship till the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE (Ariyapala 17).

As we have discussed earlier literature sources are unsupportive to identify the patron of the frontispieces of *Kaaka Cētiya*. The last known patron of the *stūpa* was king Lañjatissa (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 140). The *Mahāvaisa* mentions a terrible incident which seems interrupted the relation between the royal patronage and monks at Mihintale. The king Kaṇirajānutissa (29-32 CE) ordered to kill sixty monks who had conspired against the king (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 150). Since this unfortunate occurrence no patronage to Mihintale has recorded. (Gunawardana, Deshapalana toraturu 113). Both Lañjatissa and Kaṇirajānutissa belonged to *Mauryan* linage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> (The Mahāvaṃsa xxxvii.3-16; xxxviii.75)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> (The Mahāvaṃsa xxxvii.3-16)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> (The Mahāvamsa xxxviii.76)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> (The Mahāvamsa xxxviii.13)

<sup>15 (</sup>The Mahāvaṃsa xxxiii.25)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> (The Mahāvamsa xxxv.10, 11)

Been neglected for some time, king Vasabha resumed patronizing the monastery (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 153; Rahula 118). To Vasbha was the first ruler of Lambakara linage (Gunawardana, Deshapalana toraturu 115). Although Vasabha was not eligible by birth to win preference of the public as the ruler for the whole country (Paranavitana, Lambakarna Pelapata 176), he was able to begin a new royal linage which established a beneficial reign for the political and economic development of the country over 300 years (Gunawardana, Deshapalana toraturu 115). His policy to establish his own power was to approach the public (Gunawardana, Deshapalana toraturu 115). He was the initial patron for lager tanks and irrigations, and equally patronized for every monastery including Mihintale which was neglected by rulers for over 30 years (Rahula 118). Vasabha's concern with agriculture possibly have accommodated for believing *Gaapati* as an agricultural god as in central India. Therefore, the beginning of the patronage of Vasabha might have created a favourable circumstance for intrusion of non-Buddhist ideas and concepts into Minitale monastery.

The Lambakara rulers were prominent in patronizing building frontispieces of stūpas. According to Mahāvaisa, king Gajabāhu I enlarged the Abhayagiri stūpa and constructed four *ādimukhas* (Sri Sumangala and Batuwantudawe 155), 18 term refers to the incipient form of frontispieces or early Sinhalese ayaka of that stupa (Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 58; Kulatunga 30). This fact has confirmed by archeological excavations at Abhayagiri stūpa (Kulatunga 30). There is epigraphical evidence to show that the four frontispieces of Abhayagiri stupa was built by king Kanitthatissa (167-186 CE) who patronized for building of frontispieces at Dīghavāpi stūpa as well (Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 59; Kulatunga 30; Vanarathana 14). Both frontispieces of Abhayagiri stūpa and Kaaka Cētiva are much similar in its architectural structure and sculpture. Both were built in 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE ((Paranavitana, The stūpa in ceylon 57; Kulatunga 30). Therefore, the frontispiece of Kaaka Cētiya which is discussed here, apparently patronized by a Lambakara ruler. Considering the frontispiece sculpture at Abhayagiri stūpa and patronizing for this sect, it's clear that Lambakara rulers welcomed heterodox Buddhism. The religious policy of them is clearly visible in the patronage heterodox Jetawana sect by king Mahāsena (Gunawardana, Deshapalana toraturu 120, 121).

#### **Conclusion**

Sculpturing the elephant-headed figure at Mihintale *Kaaka Cētiya*, can be considered as a result of the creative thinking of either patron or artist who was aware of the non-Buddhist god *Gaapati*. In comparing the early *Gaapati* figures in Asia, the figure at *Kaaka Cētiya* can be identified as the hitherto found earliest and primitive representation of the deity as he was described in Hindu mythology in the forms such as *Gaapati*, *Ēkadanta*, and *Lambōdara*. Considering the positioning of the figure on the frontispiece, it is clear that it was not entitled for veneration, but achieved the respect it should have as a divine being. Therefore, it can be concluded that sculpturing an elephant-headed figure at *Kaaka Cētiya* is bearing no evidence for popularity of *Gaapati* cult at the time, but probably a representation of a deep-rooted folklore. Elephant is a very common concept in Buddhist and Sinhalese art as a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> (The Mahāvaṃsa xxxv.79, 80)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> (The Mahāvamsa xxxv.119, 120)

symbol of fertile, power, water, rain, purity, etc., from the beginning. Likewise, the *hatthivedi* or the elephant railing around almost every medium or large ancient *stūpas*, sculpturing the elephant headed deity in a frontispiece might be a result of preferring this *hatthi* or elephant with tusks in early Buddhist art.

However, this can be identified as the early stage of absorbing this non-Buddhist deity in to Sri Lankan Buddhist Culture, who were later accommodated in the image houses of Buddha. The religious policy of the newly ascendant *Lambakaras* from 1<sup>st</sup> century CE onward who well patronized for heterodox Buddhism can be mentioned as the major social dynamic that allowed dissemination of non-Buddhist ideas in Sri Lankan Buddhist culture. Simultaneously, influence of heterodox Abhayagiri sect affected upon Mihintale monastery seems to be the major cultural dynamic for intrude such a non-Buddhist icon into a Buddhist temple. Is this an evidence for beginning of shedding a light of the Tantric Buddhist ideas on Mahayanism in Sri Lankan heterodox Buddhism, same as the *Dhārani* texts found in Mihintale monastery premises? Further studies are needed to be examined whether there was a relation between sculpturing *Gaapati* and emerging of Tantric Buddhism in Sri Lanka.

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# The Legacy of Atisa: A Reflection on Textual, Historical and Doctrinal Developments to Enrich Buddha Dhamma from the Azimuth of Vikramsilā to Modern Era

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#### **Abstract**

Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982-1054 CE) was a great Bengali Buddhist legend and a former Nālandā scholar (pandita) who came to Tibet to propagate Buddha Dhamma in the 11th Century. He promulgated Mahāyāna and Vajrāyāna traditions in Tibet among that subsequently transmitted to Southeast, Central and East Asia. Ācāriya Atīśa's monumental compositions, such as Bodhipathapradīpa (A Lamp for the Path Awakening), Satvadvavavatara, Bodhisattvamanyavali, Mahayanapathasadhanasangraha, Madhyamakaratnapradipa, Shiksasamuccava Abhisamya, Prajnaparamitapindarthapradipa and compilations of Dhamma texts have enriched Buddhist commentarial literature and doctrinal contents, revealing subtle and profound Buddhist teachings.

This paper explores the legacy of Atīśa through demonstrating his dharma endeavors around Asian countries along with illustrating his compilation of masterpiece-texts in order to propagate Buddha Dharma. It is a comprehensive review, and assessment of the meticulous research on the influence of Atīśa's scholarly works and composition of Tibetan epic texts, such as The Jewel Ornaments of Liberation by Gampopa (1079-1153 CE.), Lam Rim Chen Mo by Tshongkhapa (1157-1419 CE.) along with doctrinal contributions of Tibetan Buddhist schools namely Geluk and kadam.

The paper further investigates the influences of Atīśa's teachings from the point of the azimuth of Vikramśilā (a sister university of Nālandā) to modern day Buddhism, especially focusing on the teachings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Karmapa, head of the Karma Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism.

**Keywords:** Atīśa, Bodhipathapradīpa, Lam Rim Chen Mo, Vikramśilā, Tibet, Dalai Lama, Karmapa.

#### Introduction

Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982-1054 CE) was one of those rare altruistic Buddhist master (*guru*) who tirelessly spent the entire lifespan in order to compiling texts and propagating Dhamma for the sake of boundless beings. The compilation of Atīśa's texts were eminently renowned as legendary Buddhist scriptures due to its subtle, profound and lucid explanation, which subsequently impacted to enrich Buddhist traditional schools in both scripturally and doctrinally.

In the development of Buddha Dhamma from India to Central Asia in the eleventh century, the immense contribution of Atīśa was undoubtedly boundless and immeasurable, especially one of his remarkable decision was to leave the chief (upadyaya) position from Vikramsila University alongside his motherland Bengal in order to initiate the light of the Buddha's teachings for Tibetan Dhamma seekers. The teachings from Atīśa launched a golden age of Dhamma in the Land of Snows, which is considered as present Tibet. Eminent Atīśa's Dharma endeavor started from Jambudvīpa (Present Bengal, India and Nepal), then Java (present Indonesia) and subsequently in Tibet. Buddhist followers are respectively says His Highness Atīśa was initiated Dhamma renaissance throughout the Asia in the eleventh century, which has been continuing up to this current millennium due to His clear and practical methods are taught in places as diverse as India, central Asia, Europe, USA and Australia at the modern era.

The aim of this paper is to explore the legacy of Atīśa through demonstrating his dharma endeavors around Asian countries along with illustrating his compilation of masterpiece-texts in order to propagate Buddha Dharma. It is a comprehensive review, and assessment of the meticulous research on the influence of Atīśa's scholarly works and composition of Tibetan epic texts, such as The Jewel Ornaments of Liberation by Gampopa (1079-1153 CE.), Lam Rim Chen Mo by Tshongkhapa (1157-1419 CE.) along with doctrinal contributions of Tibetan Buddhist schools namely Geluk and kadam. This paper further investigates the influences of Atīśa's teachings from the point of the azimuth of Vikramśilā (a sister university of Nālandā) to modern day Buddhism, especially focusing on the teachings of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Karmapa, head of the Karma Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism.

## Atīśa's Life Story: From Vajrayogini to Tibet

Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna was born in Vajrayogini village, Vikrampura¹ (Present Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh) in 980 CE² ³. He was born into a royal

located in Munshiganj district of Bangladesh. Eminent Indian historian and archeologist Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyay (1885-1930), also known as R.D. Banerji identified the birthplace of Atīśa and also noticed structures of the village of Vajrayogini. Vikramapura was the capital of Pāla Dynasty (750-1174).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vikramapura was one of the eminent political and cultural place (Vanga Janapada) in ancient Bengal, located in Munshigani district of Bangladesh. Eminent Indian historian and archeologist Rakhaldas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh, published by the Bangla Academy, Web http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Dipankar\_Srijnan,\_Atish> 2nd September, 2017.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 3According to the Tibetan eminent master Lama Tsong Khapa (from the introductory section of Lam-Rim-Chen-Mo or Great Treatise on Atīśha's Light on the Stages in spiritual practice), Tibetan people noticed the ancient Bengal as Zahor towards the Tibetan people. Moreover, the ancient Bengal's name 'Zahor' is also appeared on the text 'The Eighty Verses in Praise of Atīśa', was compiled by

family<sup>4</sup> and was given the name Candragarbha, meaning "Moon Essence"; he was subsequently given the name of Atīśa, meaning "peace", by the Tibetan king Jangchhub O<sup>5</sup> (984-1078 CE.)<sup>6</sup>.

According to the Tibetan records, at the earlier age, Atīśa was influenced by some renowned Indian masters (guru) of his day such as the great teacher Jetari who first offered him teachings on taking refuge on bodhicitta7, Vidyakokila who taught him the essence of emptiness (\$\sigmu \text{unyata}\$)\sigma\$, Rahulagupta, Avadhutipa and Bodhivadra\sigma\$.

Nag-tso Lotsawa, who was one of the remarkable disciple and translator of Atīśa's. Guru Nag-tso Lotsawa depicted on Atīśa's birth and birthplace in the aforementioned text as follows:

Is a splendid, majestic palace

Known as the palace of the Golden Banner. As for the wealth and prosperity of this city, It is said to equal that of the Chinese Emperor Tong-Khum."

[Doboom Tulku and Glenn H. Mullim (Tr.) Atisha and Buddhism in Tibet. (New Delhi: Tibet House, 1983), P.21

- <sup>4</sup> Atīśa was born into royalty. He was a son of King Kalyansree and Queen Prabhavati Devi. According to the Tibetan historians (notes from Lama Yeshe achieve), during the time of Atīśa's birth there were many auspicious signs, and that from his very childhood prince Chandragarbha displayed an unusually peaceful and compassionate nature, and an aspiration to spiritual practice.
- <sup>5</sup> The Tibetan King Lbhalama Yeshe O was a serious Dharma practitioner; his strongest wish was to re-establish the pure lineage of teachings in Tibet. Hence, Yeshe O requested twenty-one brightest Tibetan students for travelling to India in searching for a great master who might be capable of teach pure Dharma. Those groups of Dharma-seekers found master Atīśa and immediately reported to the King Yeshe with sharing an expression for bring him to Tibet for the benefit of entire Tibetan communities. According to the Tibetan records, when King Yeshe O heard the name of Atisha, he was exhorted an unshakeable faith in him and his auspicious dharma qualities. The King Yeshe O had an immense faith to Atisha that he wanted to bring him to Tibet by means of any cost. Having observed King Yeshe O's heartfelt feeling on Atisha and a potentiality of further Tibetan Buddhism, Atisha accepted the King's invitation and moved to Tibet for propagate Dharma towards Tibetan people that subsequently noticed as a remarkable dharma milestone for Buddhist world.
- <sup>6</sup> Lama Yeshe Wisdom Achieve: The Life of Atisha (Short teaching by Lama Zopa Rinpoche), Web < https://www.lamaveshe.com/teacher/lama-atisha> 2nd September, 2017.
- <sup>7</sup> Bodhicitta is a mind (including thought, action, feeling and speech) totally dedicated to others and to achieving full enlightenment in order to benefit all sentient beings as fully as possible. According to the śāntideva's epic text Bodhicaryāvatā, the term 'bodhicitta' is often called the 'Wish Fulfilling Jewel', because like a magic jewel it brings true happiness. There are two levels of bodhichitta: (1) aspirational bodhicitta that refers to complete wish to overcome emotional afflictions and delusions to realize one's full potentials to bring all fellow beings to the enlightened state free from suffering and (2) engaged bodhicitta, which denotes as to take bodhisattva vows the trainee bodhisattva vows to abstain from certain negative acts that would defer the bodhisattva reaching enlightenment and thereby to be of as much benefit to others as is possible. [Alexander Berzin (trans.), Bodhisattvacharya-avatara: Engaging in Bodhisattva Behavior (A Text by Shantideva: Translated from the Tibetan, a Clarified by the Sanskrit), 2005. pp.25-32. Web < http://www.buddhistische-gesellschaft-berlin.de/downloads/bca.pdf> 25 October, 2017.]
- <sup>8</sup> The concept of Šūnyatā (emptiness) is a popular term in Buddhism, especially connected to the Madhyamaka School which was founded by Ācārya Nāgārjuna in the second century CE.. the early Buddhist teaching describes the notion of 'emptiness' (śūnyatā) from threefold perspectives, namely, treating it (śūnyatā) as a meditative dwelling, as an attribute of objects, and as a type of heedfulnessrelease, whereas Madhyamaka and Yogācāra Schools used the concept of emptiness as a skillful means for understanding doctrinal expositions, such as the dependent nature (parikalpita-svabhāva) among the three natures' (trisvabhāya), ascribing middle way (madhyamā-pratipad), using as remover of all wrong views (drrti). [Sanjoy Barua Chowdhury, "An Analytical Study of the Concept of Emptiness (Śūnyatā) Doctrine and Its Connection with Dependent Origination"; JIBSC; Vol 3, Issue 2. (Ayutthaya: The Journal of the International Buddhist Studies College, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, Thailand, 2017 pp13-27)]

<sup>&</sup>quot;In the east of India, in Zohor, Is a wondrous and mighty city Known by the name of Vikrama-pura At the centre of this royal city

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Lama Yeshe Wisdom Achieve: The Life of Atisha. Ibid.

Among the aforementioned *guru*-s, Atīśa was greatly influenced by Rahulagupta (widely known as black mountain yogi) who suggested him to receive ordination as a monk<sup>10</sup>. Subsequently, Atīśa ordained as a monk under the great master Silarakshita and was given the name Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna<sup>11</sup>.

Having ordained as a monk, Atīśa had started to practice morality and compassion by heart in order to acquire wisdom. He had been conducted his pure ethical behavior sincerely in his entire monastic journey. Atīśa made pilgrimage to Bodhgaya where he had experienced a clear vision of the practice of *bodhicitta*, loving-kindness and compassion<sup>12</sup>. After successfully completed his pilgrimage, Atīśa decided to learn from a highly qualified master called Suvarnadvipi (known as Serlingpa by Tibetans). Master Suvarnadvipi lived on the distant island of Sumatra (present day known as Indonesia). Atīśa made the journey to Sumtra by boat with a group of traders which took more than thirteen months to arrive<sup>13</sup>. He spent twelve years by learning and practicing the methods of aspiring and engaging *bodhicitta* under the compassionate supervision of master Suvarnadvipi<sup>14</sup>.

After spending twelve years in Sumatra, Atīśa returned to India. Then, his reputations of brilliance of *dhamma* teachings rapidly spread throughout the India. Soon after Atīśa's unparalleled abilities in debate became so famous that he appointed as the abbot of Nālanda Monastery which was considered as the greatest Dhamma center among all of the monasteries in India. Needless to say, the legacy of Atīśa was flourished internationally when he moved to Tibet for Dharma propagation. According to the Tibetan history, Tibet had received Buddha Dharma two centuries before Atīśa was arrived in Tibet. Atīśa, however, was denied Tibetan King Yeshe O and his successor nephew Jangchhub O's invitation at the onset. On the contrary, Atīśa could not denied the dharma appeal from Tibet, even he learned from his invisible spiritual teacher Tāra that his lifespan will be redacted if he may arrive at Tibet<sup>15</sup>. In addition to the heartfelt request from Tibetan king along with its people's dharma seeking intension, Atīśa finally decided to go Tibet for the sake of

Apart from the suggesting to become monk from guru Rahulavagupta, it was saying that Atisha had several more dreams in which his teachings and deities appeared and gave him similar advice to receive monk-ordination for the benefit of his own practice along with many beings, which also approached him to enter ascetic life from worldly life.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> While Atisha was practicing in the vicinity of the great stupa of Bodh Gaya, he was approached by his invisible spiritual master Tāra who instructed Atisha for taking all of his important decisions along with providing Dharma insights.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The trip to Sumatra by Atīśa was undoubtedly a remarkable journey and Atisha received the transmission of all the bodhichitta teachings from master Suvarnadvipi. From the seventh century to eleventh century, the zone 'Suvarnabhumi' (including Sumatra) had strong lineage of Mahayana. 'Suvarnabhumi' is considered Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, Sumatra (present Indonesia). Despite Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar have been strongly observing Theravada tradition, earlier it was a strong zone of Mahayana and Vajrayana tradition which could be observed by its archeological evident.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Hubert Decleer, "Atisa's Journey to Tibet" In Religious of Tibet in Practice, edited by Donald Lopez (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) pp. 157-177.

Buddhism's further endeavors<sup>16</sup>. Atīśa stayed in Tibet for seven years in total until his last day. His clear and pure teachings initiated a golden age of Dharma in Tibet.

## Atīśa's Textual Compilations and Its Dhamma Enrichment

The textual contributions from Atīśa Dīpamkaraśrījñāna were undoubtedly considered as great efforts to enrich the Buddhist literatures from the 10th to 11th Century. Apart from Atīśa's numerous amount of Buddhist text compilations, he was engaged *Dhamma* translation from Sanskrit to Tibetan language and edited over two hundred books<sup>17</sup>. According to Tibetan sources, it says that Atīśa discovered several Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet, which were subsequently translated into Tibetan language for the sake of Tibetan Dhamma-seekers. The most notable texts from Atīśa Dīpamkaraśrījñāna are, namely, Bodhipathapradīpa (A Lamp for the Path to Awakening), Cārya-sangraha-pradīpa, Satya-dvyavatāra, Vimala-ratna-lekhā, Madhyamāka-ratna-pradīpa, Bodhisattva-manyavāli, Mahāyāna-patha-sāhanaśiksa-samuchchaya Abhisamya, Prajñāa-pāramita-pindartha-pradīpa, saṅgraha, Budhipat Pradīpa, Ekavira-sādhana, pradip Prājikā, Ratna Karandowtghat Madhyamopadeśa, Sangrahagarbha, Hridayaniscita and so forth.

The noteworthy text Bodhipathapradīpa (*A Lamp for the Path to Awakening*)<sup>18</sup> from Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna is considered one of his masterpiece work where he summarized and simplified the Buddha's teachings within sixty-eight verses<sup>19</sup>. These verses had tremendous philosophical and doctrinal depth that it became an orthodox for *Lamrim*<sup>20</sup> tradition. Needless to say, Verses from the Bodhipathapradīpa are so subtle, profound and lucid that Dharma-seekers certainly utilize and tending to focus on focal point of the mind, eliminating doubts and dilemma, obtaining heedfulness and the perfection of wisdom regarding the instructions from Atīśa that he took from his earlier *Guru*-s.

Another remarkable composition from Atīśa was Cārya-sangraha-pradīpa, which is a collection of poetries and compiled during his residing in Tibet<sup>21</sup>. In this

<sup>18</sup> The Bodhipathapradīpa (Tibetan Byang-chub lm-gyi sgron-ma) is regarded as one of the most important text of Atiśa, which was composed during his stay in the Western Tibet (more specifically, mtho-iding monastery in Tibet). This text was translated into Tibetan language by Lama Lotsaba-dGeba-blo-gros. [Helmut Eimer, Again: On Atisa's Bodhipathapradipa;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Atīśha was carefully considered whether it would bring greater benefit if he moved to Tibet rather than remaining in India or his motherland Bengali. He consulted with Tara, who told him that by accepting the request to go to Tibet, Atisha would produce the greatest benefit for the Dhamma teachings and sentient beings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Lama Yeshe Wisdom Achieve: The Life of Atisha. Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;a href="http://www.thlib.org/static/reprints/bot/bot\_1986\_02\_01.pdf">http://www.thlib.org/static/reprints/bot/bot\_1986\_02\_01.pdf</a>, 1 November, 2017]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Donald S. Lopez, Jr. Buddhism in Practice, (USA: Princeton reading in religious, 1995), pp. 208-220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Atīśa was the founder of Lamrim tradition in Tibetm which subsequently initiated one Buddhist school, name Kadampa. According to Tsong Khapa's monumental text 'Lam Rim Chen Mo' (The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment), Atīśa took the number and order of the subjects in Maitreya and Asanga' Abhisamyalankara (Ornament of Clear Realizations), which was based on the wisdom Sutras, as the basis to wrote the Bodhipathapradīpa. Another fascinating thing is that, Tsongkhapa, the founder of Gelug School which primary based on Atīśa's Kadampa School, and wrote one of his masterpieces on Lamrim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Dr. Sayed Ahmed, "An Imagination of Bikrampur Buddhist Vihara from the footprint of Atisha Dipankar's Travel" (USA: American Journal of Engineering Research; Vol -02, Issue-12), pp276-295. <a href="https://www.ajer.org">www.ajer.org</a> Date of Access:2nd October, 2017.

text, the main verses were derived by Atīśa himself, and the style of this text composition was influenced by the verses of the ancient Bengali literature Charyapada<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, Satya-dvyavatāra (Entry to the Two Realities) is another tremendous work from Atīśa based on the nature of valid cognition and the importance of spiritual authority with concerning to the three characteristics of Buddhism, namely, ethical value, concentration and wisdom alongside mentioning twofold truths, viz. convention truth and ultimate truth regarding the Nāgārjūna's epic Madhyamaka doctrine<sup>23</sup>.

Textual compilations from eminent Atīśa were certainly enriched the Buddha Dhamma in both doctrinally and scholarly, which subsequently helped to boost Buddhism around the world. According to Tibetan source, Atīśa wrote on engineering and agriculture apart from composing many treatises in Buddhism. Master Atīśa's task, however, were full of altruistic, out of compassion for the sake of humankind.

## Impact of Atīśa's Teachings: From Vikramśilā to Modern Era

At the onset, it has already noted that based on Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna's teachings, a new tenet "lamrim" was emerged in Tibet, which subsequently influenced to install new schools, namely kadam and Geluk. After Atīśa had returned from Suvarṇadvīpa, he was immediately appointed as the 'High Priest' of Vikramaśīla<sup>24</sup> by former Bengal King Mahīpāla (988-1038 CE.) and Nayapāla (1043-1058 CE.) of the Pāla dynasty<sup>2526</sup>. Atīśa was appointed as the *upadāya* (chief priest) among 57 *paṇḍita*-s. Needless to say, Vikramaśīla monastery (*vihāra*) was considered

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The Charyapada is the erliest Bengali poems; it is a collection of mystical poems, songs of realization in the Vajrayāna tradition (Tantric tradition); mostly found in ancient Bengal. The main verses of Charyapada were composed by monk-poets like Kanupa, Luipa, Haripa, Siddipa and so forth poets. The manuscript contains 47 verses, composed by 23 people, estimated to have lived between 9th and 11th Century CE. Chayapada was hidden for many years from history; subsequently it was discovered by famous Bengali scholar Harisprasad Shastri, from the royal of Nepal, seems to be most ancient literature works in Bengali language.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Dr. Sayed Ahmed, "An Imagination of Bikrampur Buddhist Vihara from the footprint of Atisha Dipankar's Travel", Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Vikramaśīla is a great monastic based educational institution, established by Pāla king Dharmapāla (775-810 CE.) in the late 8th to early 9th Century in response to a supposed decline in the quality of scholarship at Nālānda. It was one of the largest Buddhist universities, with more than one hundred teachers and about one thousand students. It produced eminent scholars who were often invited by foreign countries to spread Buddhist learning, culture and religion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The Pāla Dynasty was the ruling dynasty in Bihar and Bengal, from the 8th to the 12th Century, was founded by Gopala. The word 'Pāla' is Bengali word that literal meaning is "protector". The Pāla-s ruled Bengal from the chas into which it had fallen after the death of Shashanka. The Pāla dynasty ruled the Bengal over 400 years and under Pāla patronage a distinctive schools of art arose, of which many noteworthy sculptures in stone and menal survive. Pāla dynasty was contributed to establish Sompur Mahavihāra at Paharpur, Vikramśīla Mahavihāra. The legacy of religious-social-cultural synthesis that was evolved during the rule of the Pāla-s was a glorious achievement of the period and this trait was an important ingredient in the 'personality' of ancient Bengal. Buddhism spread to Tibet, Java, Sumatra and Malayasia during the Pāla period. The pundits from the Buddhist Vihāra-s of Bengal played very significant role in the propagation and spread of Buddhism in these countries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 26Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Atīśa and Tibet, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas Publishers Private Limited, 1996) P.127.

as the high moral character of its monks<sup>27</sup>, and was established under the royal patronage of eminent Pāla ruler Dharmapāla (781-881 CE.)<sup>28</sup>.

However, after Atīśa Dīpamkaraśrījñāna had appointed as the chancellor of Vikramaśīla university (currently located in Bhagalpur, Bihar state, India), his reputation started to pervade inside and outside of India as well. Many visitors from India and abroad used to meet with Atīśa very often in order to learn and acquire insightful teachings of the Buddha. It says that Atīśa initiated a new dissemination of Dharma learning in scholastic way, which earned him the title "Dhammapāla" (the protector of the Dhamma) from Vikramaśīla University<sup>29</sup>. Apart from teachings at Vikramaśīla University, Atīśa had been engaging to teach and also took a position of chancellor for fifteen years of Odantapuri and Sompura Vihāra<sup>30 31</sup>. It believes that during his stay at Sompura Mahavihāra, he translated one of his masterpiece text Madhyamākaratnapradīpa<sup>32</sup>.

Nevertheless, during Atīśa's residing at Vikramaśīla University, he was renowned as 'the best' all over the India and known as 'the one who holds in hand the keys of all the vihāra-s of India'33, which referred him as 'incomparable'34. Subsequently, the reputation of Dīpamkaraśrījñāna was reached at 'the land of snow' (Tibet), and many of Tibetan masters and Buddhist scholars were interested to learn of his teachings. An eminent Tibetan master Nagtso Lotsā from Ngari (western Tibet) started his journey to Vikramaśīla University for the purpose of inviting Guru Atīśa to Tibet for promulgating pure Buddha Dharma. In addition, ancient Tibetan king Jangchub O selected Nagtso Lotsā to convince the master Atīśa due to his incredible linguistic skills to understand Indian language along with his versatility to approach people. Initially Atīśa Dīpamkaraśrījñāna refused to go to Tibet<sup>35</sup>, despite he knew the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Dharmapāla was the second ruler of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal region and son of Gopāla (the founder of Pāla dynasty). During the reign of Dharmapāla Buddhism was tremendously flourished throughout the India and outside of India as well. He successfully ruled for about 40 years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Dr. Sayed Ahmed, "An Imagination of Bikrampur Buddhist Vihara from the footprint of Atisha Dipankar's Travel", Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Somapura Mahayihara was one of the most famous Buddhist monastic institutions of ancient Bengal, founded by the second Pāla kind Dharmapāla. According to A.M. Chowdhury (attributed from Banglapedia), "Tibetan works (Tibetan translations of Dharmakayavidhi and Madhyamaka Ratnapradipa, Taranatha's history and Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang) record the glory of Somapura Mahavihara. Many Tibetan monks visited the monastery during the period between 9th and 12th century AD. atish dipankar srijnan stayed here for many years and translated the Madhyamaka Ratnapradipa into Tibetan. His spiritual preceptor, Ratnakara Shanti was the sthavira of the vihara. Mahapanditacharya Bodhibhadra was a resident monk of this vihara. Several other scholars like Kalamahapada, Viryendra and Karunashrimitra spent some part of their lives at this monastery."

<sup>31</sup> Atisha Dipankhara Srijana: Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh. *Ibid.* 

<sup>33</sup> The reason was to mention Atisha as 'the one who holds in hand the keys of all the vihāra-s of India' that he was not only the ultimate authority and 'the comparable', but also he was thoroughly versed in each of the 'eighteen philosophical schools'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Hubert Decleer, "Atisa's Journey to Tibet", p.159.

<sup>35</sup> Nogtso Lotsā and his accompanies invited Atīśa in dramatic way; they purposively tried to approach Atīśa for bring him to Tibet of which they are trying for many years. When they managed appointment to meet with Atīśa in his chamber, they placed a piece of unwrought gold on a mandala (according to the Tibetan source, the mandala was fifteen inches high) and also presented other gold pieces to Atīśa, (the gold were brought from Tibet, collected by Tibetan King); they placed the gold on the top of the circle of offering. After that Gyatsundru Singhe related what had transpired earlier in Tibet, and then repeated the invitation, saying: "Again a reverend one has come to invite you. PLeace, out of sympathy

dedication and heartfelt wishing of the Tibetan King Jangchub O and his uncle king Lbhalama Yeshe O<sup>36</sup>. Later on, Atīśa prayed to Avalokiteśhvara and consulted his invisible master Tara about three matters as thus:

- i. How far the religion and sentient beings would be benefited,
- ii. How far the wish of the king could be fulfilled, and
- iii. In there any danger of his own life $^{37}$ .

Having consulted the aforesaid three matters, at the same night Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna had an auspicious dream<sup>38</sup> and the next day when he went to pay homage to temple where he met a yogini to the ground by whom the invisible teacher Tara advised him for set up a trip for Tibet for the sake of uncountable beings and to protect Buddhism as well. After this incident, Atīśa decided to make a pilgrimage to Bodhgaya where he known (from the invisible master Tara by a woman) that Atīśa himself lost his lifespan for nineteen years if he will visit Tibet.<sup>39</sup> Despite there were so many consequent obstacles on Atīśa's departure from his homeland; he had decided to move to Tibet out of compassion and sympathetic for Tibetan people. Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, however, was made an epic decision about his journey to Tibet, and initiated a new era for Tibetan people along with the Buddhist world.

After Atīśa had secretly arrived in Tibet, he was respectfully inaugurated by Tibetan King, Dharma master and locals. He brought one of the central Mahāyāna ideas with him and advocated the veneration of the five Tathagatas (Buddhas) in the land of snow, an ideological framework that in India came to be merged with Tantric ideas<sup>40</sup>. In Tibet, he conducted a monumental compositions, namely, Bodhipathapradīpa (A Lamp for the Path to Awakening)<sup>41</sup> summarized and

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for us Tibetans, do not refuse us as you did in that previous year." Afterward, Atīśa answered, "No doubt the rulers of Tibet, the three religious kings and the great lamas, were incarnations of the bodhisattvas. Otherwise they could not have revived Buddhism after its destruction. It is unfitting for me to disregard the order of the bodhisattvas and also I feel ashamed that those people have lost much wealth and many men for my sake. O! I feel pity for Tibetans. However, I am advanced in age, holding many keys (having many administrative duties) and with many tasks that remain undone. Nevertheless, I will consult the omens; in the meanwhile take back your gold." [Lama Thubten Kalsang (tr.), Atisha (Bangkok: The Social Science Association Press, 1974), pp 49-50.]

Lama Thubten Kalsang (tr.), Atisha (Bangkok: The Social Science Association Press, 1974), pp 48 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> In the dream, Atīśa heard the words: "Go to where you will find a small Buddhist temple and enquire of the yogini who comes there." Having thus dreamt, in the morning he took a handful of flowers and proceeded to a temple where he met a yogini, hair flowing to the ground. To his enquiry, she replied, "There will be benefit if you set forth for Tibet, especially with the help of an upasaka." Then Atīśa set up a trip to Bodh Gaya for his final decision where he met a woman who demanded, "Give me the cowries that were sent to me." Atīśa, having paid homage mentally and questioned her in his mind, got the same answers as he had received before (from the yogini). But when he enquired about physical danger, she replied that if Atīśa did not set forth for Tibet, he would live to the age of ninety-two years, whereas if he did set forth, he would live to be only seventy-three. At this Atīśa courageously decided that he would not care about his health if his journey would benefit Tibet. [Lama Thubten Kalsang (tr.), Atisha, pp. 49-50.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Kurt Behrendt, Tibet and India: Buddhist Traditions and Transformations (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014), p.31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Actually the initial body of Bodhipathapradīpa (A Lamp for the Path to Awakening) was the teaching of

Atisha which he taught for the King Jankhub O at Ngari. In addition, Atisha first took residence in Ngari.

simplified the Buddha's teachings within sixty-eight verses; the text Bodhipathapradīpa had tremendous philosophical and doctrinal depth that it became an orthodox for Tibetan Dharma seekers and initiated a Buddhist tradition *Lamrim*. Nevertheless, one of subsequent Tibetan master named Tsongkhapa (1357-1419 CE.) wrote an epic text "Lam Rim Chen Mo", the teachings combination of Atīśa's book Bodhipathapradīpa and Nāgārjūna's Mulamadhyamakakārika. And based on Tsongkhapa's text, Geluk School was emerged in Tibet, which has been representing by the His Holiness Dalai Lama<sup>42</sup>. Apart from Dalai Lama tradition, other Tibetan Buddhist sect, such as Nigma, Sakya, Kagyu has strong impact from Atīśa's teachings.

Moreover, Atīśa had a great influenced to launch the Kadam School in Tibet. The Kadam school of Tibetan Buddhism was founded by Dromton (1005-1064 CE.), a Tibetan lay master and the foremost disciple of Atīśa. It is a scriptural traditional lineage who emphasized the study of six works as follows: Asaṅga's "Bodhisattvabhumi", a section of his Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra; Maitreya-nātha's Mahāyāna-sūtrālamkāra-kārikā, a Yogacara work; Shantideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya; Shantideva's Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra; Aryadeva's Jataka tales and the Udānavarga<sup>43</sup>.

Based on abovementioned discussions, it is clearly appeared the contribution of Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and his glorious teachings continuously impacting for thousand years from the Nālānda period to Tibet and its uplifting to modern day's Tibetan Buddhist leaders, such as His Holiness Dalai Lama, Karmapa, Lama Zopa Rinponche. Modern Gurus are strongly focus on Atīśa's teachings in order to make people understand the essence to follow the path to freedom.

#### Conclusion

The legacy of Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna is, however, certainly stands as an important figure in the history of Buddhism forever. He conducted immense contribution to propagate and enrich Buddha Dharma in the tenth century so that has been carrying out by his fellows from one generation to generation for thousand years.

Based on aforesaid discussions, it clearly appears the legacy of Atīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna was one of the most respected and outstanding figure in Buddhism. His contribution of compiling texts, translating secret Dhamma from Sanskrit language and propagate Buddha Dharma in Tibet were undoubtedly remains at people's heart for the thousand years. Despite Atīśa left his motherland Bengal for the sake of Tibetan Dharma seekers, people from his homeland highly appreciated the heartfelt dedication. Hence, there are many verses found in Bengali folk literature of his birthplace; a heart touching verse is depicted of his birthplace as thus:

"He crossed the mountain Covered with perilous frost: He is the Atisha of Bangla Who lit the light of leaning in Tibet."44

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Tsongkhapa, The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment; translated by the Lamrim Chenmo Translation Committee; Vol. I (New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Lama Yeshe Wisdom Achieve: The Life of Atisha.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> This verse is depicted on white-stone at Atisha's birthplace Vajrayogini, located in Current Dhaka city in Bangladesh.

In conclusion, it is needless to say, the legacy of Atīśa through demonstrating his dharma endeavors around Asian countries along with illustrating his compilation of masterpiece-texts in order to propagate Buddha Dharma and open up a new gate for Dharma seekers.

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## 从京都的"五山送火"仪式考察当代日本佛教的特征

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## 摘要

京都在每年八月中旬举行"五山送火"仪式,即在盂兰盆节结束后,为了照亮祖先魂灵返回彼岸的路途而焚烧篝火,这是日本独特的祭祖活动。学者们一般会从民俗学或艺术的角度进行考察。不过,如果从宗教思想的视域对"五山送火"仪式进行考察,也可窥见当代日本佛教的一些特征。

日本佛教现状不仅与马来西亚和泰国等国大相径庭,也跟临近的中韩两国不同。而"五山送火"仪式主要反映出日本佛教的以下特征。

- 1. 寺檀制度至今依然存在。
- 2. 对祖先灵的崇拜和供养是佛教的重要实践活动之一。
- 3. "神佛习合"这一信仰系统的痕迹依然存在于当代日本社会。

从世界范围而言,十五世纪文艺复兴实现了"以神为中心"到"以人为中心"的转变,给宗教信仰造成强烈冲击。而当今时代个人中心主义盛行,传统的寺檀制度罔顾个人的主体选择,强制将某个家族指定为特定宗派的特定寺院的檀家。这种做法无法激起檀家发自内心的信仰。并且日本传统的家制度崩溃,家族连带意识进一步弱化,再加上日本的少子化现象极其严峻。今后"五山送火"仪式如何作为传统思想文化的载体,完整地向下一代传承,而不像韩国安东和回别神假面舞那样,神圣性消亡殆尽,完全世俗化。这是值得深思的话题。

盂兰盆节起源于印度,经中国传入日本<sup>1</sup>,现成为日本仅次于新年的最重要的传统节日。正如赤松孝章等先学所提到的,盂兰盆节是佛教与日本传统的祖先信仰相结合的产物,是与已逝祖先相关的祭祀活动。因此,通过考察盂兰盆节可以了解日本人的灵魂观念和祖灵信仰等。而作为京都盂兰盆节重头戏的五山送火,不仅展现日本人的"灵魂观"和"生死观"等精神世界,而且也揭示了日本当代佛教的一些特征。本文即对此进行详细考察。

## 一、五山送火

在明治五年(1872)之前,日本跟中国一样,采用阴历纪年。七月中旬为盂兰盆节。当时,在七月十三日的晚上,各家各户会在门边燃烧门火,放灵舟、供奉茄牛等,迎接"精灵"<sup>2</sup>回家,这被称为"迎盆"。而在七月十六日的晚上,进行"送盆"仪式。这天晚上,全家人点灯笼送祖先到墓地,在坟墓前焚香燃烛后结束整个仪式。也有人是在自家门口燃烧"送魂火",进行送盆仪式。

而燃烧"送魂火",指引先人的灵魂回归黄泉的盛大仪式当属京都的"五山送火"。京都不像东京那样现在已经改为"新盆"(即在阳历七月举行盂兰盆节),而是沿袭旧日习惯。这被称为"旧盆",即在阳历八月举行。京都在每年的阳历八月十六日举行五山送火仪式。当天,人们用松明燃起篝火,指引灵魂返回黄泉之路。自然,考虑到年中行事不能妨碍农耕活动,现在日本大部分地区也跟京都一样,仍是采用"旧盆"。不过,京都人坚守传统,还有一个原因是他们觉得"如果随意改变日子,精灵们就会无所适从"。这也显示出日本人独特的灵魂观和生死观。在日本,死亡并不代表生命的结束。生者和死者仍然共处于同一空间,共同维护这个社会共同体。

五山送火目前有"大文字"(位于东山如意岳)、"妙法"(位于松崎西山和东山)、"船形万灯笼"(位于西贺茂船山)、"左大文字"(位于大北山)、"鸟居形"(位于嵯峨曼陀罗山)等图案。五山送火究竟起源于何时,并没有确切的明文记载。据岩田英彬的考证,最早的记录出自贵族舟桥秀贤的日记『慶長日件録』3,作者写到庆长八年(1603)七月十六日晚上在鸭川上看见各山点火的情景。由时间跟地点来推测,应该是大文字等各山送火无疑。为了考察的方便,下面对最有名的"大文字"送火做详细介绍。

"大文字"在五山送火中最为知名,也是五山送火的代称。但它究竟起源于何时,又是因何起源,可谓众说纷纭。据田中绿红在『京の送り火 大文字』里考证,关于其起源共有七种传说<sup>4</sup>。

①将都城从奈良迁到京都的桓武天皇从延历年间(782-806)每年照惯例在鹿谷峰祭祀北辰。人们焚烧砍下的木头,献给山川诸神。这一仪式被称为"御灯"。而现在"大文字"的中心位置则是焚烧炉的遗址所在地。

②嵯峨天皇弘仁年间(810-824)恶疫流行,弘法大师空海登上如意岳,燃烧护摩木,以祈祷天皇玉体安康,宝祚悠久。

<sup>1</sup> 史书《日本书纪》中有推古天皇在 606 年于元兴寺设斋的记载,但并无确切证据表明此即为盂兰盆会。之后,齐明天皇于 657 年作须弥山像于飞鸟寺西,并设盂兰盆会。这应该是关于盂兰盆会的最早历史记载。

<sup>2</sup>即往生者,这里主要指祖先的灵魂。

<sup>3</sup> 岩田英彬 『京の大文字ものがたり』P9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 田中绿红 『京の送り火 大文字』P17-18

- ③山脚下有座净土寺。是在后一条天皇宽仁二年(1018)设立的。后来遭受祝融之灾全毁。据说安置于此的本尊阿弥陀如来因住处被烧毁,就飞到山上避难,每夜大放光明。因此,为了弘扬佛法,此地开始燃烧"大文字"火。
- ④弘法大师空海入唐时,看到有人用火堆在地上拼出字样。他就模仿这一做法, 在东山制作"大文字"。
- ⑤后土御门天皇延德元年(1489),足利义政将军为了给亡子义尚祈求冥福,让相国寺和尚横川景三制作"大文字"。
- ⑥"大文字"是宽文年间(1661-1673)三位书法大家之一的近卫三藐院的笔迹。 ⑦延宝五年(1677)刊行的『出来斎京土産』则认为这是青莲院门主的笔迹。

足利义政将军与"大文字"的渊源见于『日次記事』(1679年出版)、『雍州府志』和『都名所図会』等书,应该说具有一定的可信性。如果据此推断,大文字山送火则有500多年的历史。不过,最早能查到确切记载的,当属万治元年(1658)山本泰顺所著的『洛陽名所集』5,里面介绍了"大文字"、"妙法"和"船形"三山送火。之后,"大文字"作为京都的观光名所之一,屡屡被提及。而在延宝二年(1674)刊行的『山城四季物語』提到了"左大文字"送火6。而"鸟居形"不知道是位置太偏,还是因为其他原因,一直未见记载。只有在神泽贞干(1710-1795)所著的『翁草』一书中提到"洛之西北山上有鸟居"。据此推测,可知在江户中期即有送火仪式。由此可知,最晚在1795年前,作为年中行事的一部分,这五座山会在七月十六日晚上进行送火仪式。需要注意的是,在历史上,在五山之外,还有"蛇"和"长刀"等点火图案,但是因为缺少浓厚的信仰为支撑,很早就绝迹了。

之所以不厌其烦地将这些整理出来,是想借此考察五山送火的时代变迁。因 为五山送火是每年京都盂兰盆节的重头戏。而盂兰盆节则是起源于目连救母的传 说,是将佛教文化与先祖祭祀混合在一起的产物。所以大家一提起五山送火,首 先浮现出来的就是在盂兰盆节回到家里的祖先灵魂在送魂火的指引下重归黄泉 的情景。这么想自然是无可厚非的。并且,可能会有人提出疑问,既然五山送火 并没有详实的起源记录,这是否说明极有可能最初是由无名的民众自发组织的送 别先人的仪式? 无论是否有寺院的人参与,会不会从最初开始它就主要是送别先 祖的祭祀活动呢?这自然是极合理的疑问。但是从上面的考察即可看出,这些传 说并未出现盂兰盆节和七月十六这两个关键词。如果五山送火真的是从最初就具 有浓厚的祖先祭祀的意味,应该会在传说中以某种形式保存下来。因此,笔者推 测,五山送火最初的意义与夏季京都另一著名庆典祇园祭7一样,是佛教的祈福 活动。而"大文字"这些其实是镇魂之火,有着神秘的宗教性力量。其主要作用 是为在战争或者疫病中大量死去的人祈祷冥福。顺便说一句,在第二次世界大战 期间,昭和十七年(1942)照恒例进行五山送火仪式。次日大阪『毎日新聞』的 相关报道里面有着这样的话,"众人以最敬虔的祈祷送别在大东亚战争中死去的 战士的英灵。"可见,为战争中死去亡灵祈福也是五山送火的一个重要目的。而 之后的几年,因为战时灯火管制,五山送火仪式中断。战后,从昭和二十一年 (1946)起恢复。这自然是人们在世事无常中对恒久不变的安稳生活的向往,也 是为了安慰在战争中死去的亡灵。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 驹敏郎『大文字 五山の送り火』P29

<sup>6</sup> 驹敏郎『大文字 五山の送り火』P29

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 祇园的名字源自佛教的祇树给孤独园。祇园祭为日本三大祭之一,其历史起源是为了供奉带来 疫病的牛头天王,祈祷人们平安度过危机。

还需要注意的是,到了江户时代<sup>8</sup>,五山送火才作为年中行事被固定下来,这 涉及江户时代的时代特征,稍后会详细论述。而由寺院和檀家共同维护(鸟居形除外)的五山送火仪式则是在檀家制度实行后出现的。在笔者看来,也正是这一制度的实行,使得五山送火的意义发生了转变。由单纯祈求消灭恶疫弘扬佛法的佛教祈福仪式,演变为送别先祖的仪式(自然,此仪式的意义并不限于送别先祖。只是从檀家角度来看,送别先祖的意味更为浓重)。为了说明此点,我们先看看如今当地人是如何进行五山送火仪式的。

### 1. 大文字

"大文字"是由如意岳山麓旧净土寺村五町的檀家维持的。会员数一直维持在五十一户。据驹敏郎在『大文字 五山の送り火』里介绍<sup>9</sup>,参与点火的人在一周前开始斋戒沐浴,禁食酒肉五辛。当天砍伐五百束木头运到山里,堆积为火床。当准备好之后,净土院住持在弘法大师石像前诵读《般若经》为亡魂祈福。其后,所有人洁斋后,按照指示,在晚上八点准时点燃护摩木。据民间相传,病人如果在护摩木写上名字和病名后放在火床上燃烧,在佛法加持下,疾病就会不治而愈。目前"大文字"处共有七十五个火坑。据净土院的说法,"大文字的火坑有七十五个,一方面是因为人的内心潜伏着各种烦恼,有七十五法。所以要祈祷这些烦恼的消除。而另一方面,也是理解各檀家殷切祭祀先祖的心情"。据此可以看出五山送火的双重性,即弘扬佛法和祭祀先祖。

#### 2. 妙法

由涌泉寺与檀家维持。松崎的"妙法"送火跟日莲宗<sup>10</sup>信仰有着密切的关系,此二字来源于《南无妙法莲华经》。在镰仓时代<sup>11</sup>,此处为比叡山<sup>12</sup>三千坊之一的欢喜寺。在永仁二年(1294),日莲上人的徒孙日像上人在这里进行法华说法,主持和全村的村民受其感化而改宗皈依日莲宗,寺名也改为妙泉寺。到了大正年间(1912-1926),妙泉寺与附近的本涌寺合并为涌泉寺。

#### 3. 船形万灯笼

以西方寺为中心举行,只有西方寺的僧人和檀家参与,檀家有五十五户左右。 关于船形来历的说法不一,有的说是这与"大文字"一起,象征大乘佛教普度众 生之意,也有的说法说这来源于在盂兰盆节日本各地可见的"精灵舟",是祖先 魂灵回家的交通工具。

<sup>8</sup> 日本自庆长八年(1603)德川家康任征夷大将军,至庆应三年(1867)第十五代将军庆喜将大政奉还为止,江户成为日本政治中心的时代。也称德川时代。

<sup>10</sup> 为日本镰仓时代高僧日莲创立的佛教宗派。以《法华经》为依据,强调对社会和国家整体的 拯救。

<sup>9</sup> 驹敏郎『大文字 五山の送り火』P31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 日本在镰仓有幕府存在的时代。始于建久三年(1192)源赖朝在镰仓开幕府,终于元弘三年(1333)北条氏灭亡,约 150 年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 为传教大师最澄创立的天台宗总寺院延历寺的山号。最澄曾在平安时期与弘法大师空海一起入唐求法。

#### 4. 左大文字

由法音寺与檀家共同维持。这是五山送火中宗教氛围最浓厚的,从点火前的准备到点火的这段时间,有着严格的仪式规定,是最直观表现盂兰盆节送魂火样态的仪式。

#### 5. 鸟居

不举行佛教的仪式,并且附近的念佛寺完全不参与送火仪式。由鸟居本町的 青年团即鸟居形松明保存会负责执行。当天共点燃一百零八个松明火把。据说, 这与除夕的钟声一样,为的是消除一百零八种烦恼。

上面大致介绍了五山送火的情况。自然会有人提出质疑,认为五山送火这一混合佛教祈福与祖先祭祀的仪式非常普遍,是佛教这一外来文化传入日本后本土化及世俗化的必然产物。对此观点,笔者是极为赞同的。但笔者特意强调此点,是基于以下的问题意识,即为什么是在江户时代这一制度得以固定并维持至今?而这一制度又反映出日本佛教的哪些特征?

正如日本史学家内藤湖南和纲野善彦所指出的那样,日本的近世社会<sup>13</sup>是日本民族史的巨大转换期。在此之前,日本战乱频仍,南北朝动乱(1336-1392)、应仁之乱(1467-1477)和战国内乱时期<sup>14</sup>都造成巨大牺牲。经过如此漫长的过渡期,终于在织田信长、丰臣秀吉和德川家康战国三英杰的努力下,最终实现历史的宏大转变。而随之带来的最大的变化,则是人们从中世<sup>15</sup>那混乱恐怖的无尽黑暗中走出来,实现了世俗化生活。在中世之前,人们的生活中充斥的是对各种超越人力的不思议存在的怪异现象以及神佛灵威的畏惧心理。而中世的文学作品和美术作品则是对神佛的敬畏和祈愿的心情的结晶。人们的这种虔诚的信仰来自最真实的生活体验。当时战乱、饥馑和疫病是生活的常态,死亡是人们身边最密切的存在。人们渴望被救赎,因而虔诚信仰神佛。但这同时也说明,这样的社会状态是不能诞生出五山送火这种年中行事的。像五山送火这种每年例行的大规模年中行事,是需要完备的筹划和充足的人手才能维持下来。这一切只有在江户时代这一太平盛世才会成为可能。而"家"制度的普及则是实现的基本前提。

## 二、日本的"家"制度

日本历史上,婚姻形态不断发生演变。正如文学名著《源氏物语》中所描绘的那样,直到平安时代<sup>16</sup>早期,普遍的形式为访妻婚,双方不同住,男方夜间访问女方的住处。后来向招婿婚过渡,男方居住在女方家中,确定一对一的婚姻关系。到了室町时代<sup>17</sup>,随着家父长制的确定,在武家社会中兴盛嫁娶婚,女方出

<sup>13</sup> 日本的历史时代划分之一。在西方史上与近代同义。在日本史上相当于中世和近代之间的时代。一般指织丰政权期至江户末期。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 关于战国时代的起始期和终焉期,有不同的划分方法。笼统而言,指的是十五世纪后半至十 六世纪后半约百年时间。

<sup>15</sup> 日本划分历史时代的一个时期。主要为镰仓时代(1192-1333)和室町时代(1336-1573)。

<sup>16</sup> 日本自延历十三年(794)桓武天皇定都平安京至建久三年(1192)镰仓幕府成立的历史时代。

<sup>17</sup> 日本足利氏在京都室町开设幕府的时代。自建武三年(1336)建武法规的制定起,至天正元

嫁后移居到男方家。进入江户时代以后,这种婚姻制度也在庶民阶层中广泛普及。这为强调父权的"家"制度的确定奠定了基础。而随着"家"制度的确立,迎接死亡的方式也发生了变化。在自己家里被亲属守护着安详地迎接死亡成为常态。而在职业选择上,子承父业成为普遍原则。这样一来,"家"的连续性得以加强,自然涌起对先祖的连带感。此外,日本独有的檀家<sup>18</sup>制度也是以"家"为单位确立的。因此,在分析日本佛教的独特性之际,有必要对日本的"家"制度做一阐述。

分析中日"家"制度的差异,可以发现日本人并不太重视血缘的延续,而把"家"的传承视为头等大事。对日本人而言,"家"并不是纯粹的血缘集团,而是以家产的永续为目的的共同体。是"依托于祖先之灵、纵式的连续的观念式存在。<sup>19</sup>"正如福武直所认为的那样,所谓"家"这个名词,它被人们认为是包括了作为住居的家和家产,为维持家业的生产手段以及埋葬祖宗的墓地等等的东西<sup>20</sup>。正因为比起中国的"承嗣"观念,日本人更重视"继家",所以收养养子蔚然成风,成为日本独特的社会文化。

在日本收养养子的做法久已有之,并且很多都是并无血缘关系的异姓养子。 为了家业的传承,在无子的情况下以养子来继承家业已成惯例。不过在贵族社会 和镰仓幕府时期,收养养子有时候会是一种谋略,是一种获取利益的手段。而到 了江户时代,政局稳定,不管是武家社会还是庶民社会,收养没有血缘关系的养 子则是以"家"的延续为目的的。而这些,应该也是《朱子家礼》所规定的儒家 丧祭形式并未在日本广泛推行的一个重要原因。因为中国儒家宗法制度规定"异 姓不养",即不允许收养异姓之子。这是因为按照儒家的观念,如果不是直系后 裔血亲,鬼神是不会享用祭品的。而这不能适应日本的社会现状。

上面提到,日本为了保证"家"的永续,采取了独特的养子制度来延续家业<sup>21</sup>。而守护埋葬祖宗的墓地也是家业永续的重要组成部分之一。这一做法依然是在江户时代后期才成为普遍现象,它与"家"制度的确立与普及是互为表里的。

在日本,虽然普遍实行佛教的火葬形式,但就现状而言,一般还是有墓地的,并且在墓地经常可看到以"家"为单位的家墓,即"〇〇家代代先祖之墓"。对这一习以为常的现象进行分析,即会发现,在日本丧葬制度受到宗教与文化的影响,不断发生变化。直到古坟时代<sup>22</sup>,日本与大陆一样,也是有着"入土为安"的丧葬观念,实行土葬。而在公元六世纪佛教传入日本后,丧葬习俗发生根本性改变,在上层贵族中开始实行火葬。无棺椁,无坟制,无石头墓标,也无所谓家族墓地。自然也没有守墓扫墓之说。这种丧葬形式一直延续至中世中叶。到了镰仓时代,当时的信仰认为先祖之灵会在年末回到墓地,因此上流社会的人会在年末去扫墓。而到了中世末期~近世初期,随着社会的安定和庶民经济实力的增强,庶民也开始建立墓石,并进行扫墓和祭祖等活动。但是需要注意的是这个时候多是单人墓,上面刻着戒名<sup>23</sup>,或者有些身份高的平民会刻着俗家名字,比如江户前期的儒学家、神道家山崎暗斋的墓碑就刻着"山崎嘉右卫门敬义之墓"。但直

21 日本的家族制度的核心还有家督继承制和家长隐居制度,此处从略。

年(1573)足利义昭被织田信长赶出京都为止。

<sup>18</sup> 隶属于特定的寺院并加入其经营和维持,参与佛事的世俗信徒。

<sup>19</sup> 李卓《日本传统家族制度与日本人家的观念》《世界历史》1993年第4期。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 福武直著,陈曾文译《日本社会结构》P23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 日本文化史阶段之一。继弥生时代自三世纪后半叶至七世纪,以前方后圆坟为主的古坟发达的时代。相当于以大和朝廷为中心的日本古代国家形成发展时期。

<sup>23(</sup>僧侣给佛教徒死者起的)法名。日本真宗称为法名,日莲宗称为法号。

到这个时代,也很少看到以"家"为单位的"〇〇家之墓"。直到江户后期,才出现了"〇〇家代代先祖之墓"。在日本,人们守护祖先墓地,定期扫墓,是为了祈求祖灵返回人间与子孙交流,庇护后人。而这种人灵共居、世代永续的想法,与中国的儒家观念一样,同是对生命连续的自觉。不过日本的这种生死观更多是源于日本传统的神道观念。

作为参考,这里简单介绍一下江户时代国学四大人之一的平田笃胤在其代表作『霊能真柱』(1812年成书)里所提出的"灵魂归宿的安定",即"近傍他界观"。平田笃胤排斥儒佛等外来思想,自然也否定地狱黄泉之说,而是提出"人死后,其灵魂成为神","归于幽冥界"的崭新观点。他认为,冥府就在这个国土上的任何一处。而大多数灵魂镇座在坟墓旁,同时灵魂又可以往来于天上。而灵魂在幽冥界注视着现世,守护着君主、父母和妻儿等有缘人。

自然,五山送火的仪式出现得要比『霊能真柱』成书时代早得多,我们不能据此推断在历史上,五山送火的仪式在多大程度上受到了神道思想的影响<sup>24</sup>。不过,我们可以确信的是作为日本文化的固有之道,在自然崇拜和祖先崇拜的基础上形成的神道对日本人的精神构成产生着深远影响,自然也会影响佛教,使之逐渐实用化。正如前面所提到的,在江户时代,人们对家庭这一利益集团的重视使得祭奠祖先祈求保佑成为常例,这也使得原本否定家庭的佛教彻底发生了变化,变成支持家庭存在和信仰祖先成佛。而檀家制度的实行,则将以"家"为单位进行的盂兰盆节和扫墓等祖先祭祀固定下来,并使得五山送火的传统延绵不绝。下面就"檀家制度"这一日本独有的制度进行说明。

## 三、独特的"檀家制度"

德川幕府延续丰臣秀吉时代的做法,对天主教和基督教实行禁教政策<sup>25</sup>。而作为整肃天主教的工具,也是民众统制和宗教统制的工具,德川幕府实行了特殊的户籍制度即寺请制度,将全国每一个国民都纳入佛教组织管理中。加入寺院的人称为檀家信徒,负有维持寺院费用及住持生活的责任。最初这个制度只是针对从天主教改信佛教的人,因为幕府要求天主教徒必须改信佛教,这称为宗门改<sup>26</sup>。这时候,需要寺院出示寺请证文。后幕府以搜寻隐藏信徒为名,令所有居民每年提供作为某寺院施主的证明。之后,到了宽文十一年(1671),江户幕府要求寺院和领主定期进行调查,将类似户籍的"宗门人别改帐"<sup>27</sup>作为固定制度确立。无论是什么身份和信仰,民众都得作为檀家被强制分配到特定的寺院,否则就被当成"非人",被剥夺一切社会权利。而谁要出远门的时候,则必须先由其所属佛寺开出某某不信天主教以及不是日莲宗不受不施派<sup>28</sup>等禁制宗派的信徒的证明书。这样,就形成了日本佛教独特的制度,即寺院跟檀徒保持一种固定且永久

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 关于日本神道中的祖先崇拜思想对盂兰盆节的影响,已经有相当多的先学进行过考证。在此不做赘述。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 丰臣秀吉于天正十五年(1587)下达伴天连追放令,驱逐外国传教士出境,并对信仰基督教的大名进行限制。其后建立的德川政权采取更为严酷的政策,严禁外国传教士布教,对拒绝改信者实行镇压和迫害。

<sup>26</sup> 最早于宽永十五年(1638)在幕府直辖地实施。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> 以"家"为单位,详细记载家族所有成员的出身地、出身日期、与户主关系、信仰宗派、社会身份和收获作物等信息。

<sup>28</sup> 此派不向非日莲宗信徒布施,也不接受非日莲宗信徒的布施。

的从属关系,民众对所属寺院的责任义务是代代相传的29。

关于江户时代寺檀制度的利弊性讨论,引起极大的争议。以辻善之助为代表的学者认为在权力保护下形成的这种制度是一种堕落。这种说法自然有一定的道理。不过本文重在从民众对祖先信仰的角度来看寺檀关系的确立。因此,参考竹田听洲的看法,认为寺檀制度的成立,最重要的原因是民众有着高涨的祖先祭祀的要求,幕府不过是顺势而为罢了。此制度的是非对错姑且不论,但可看出,在江户时代,佛教明显世俗化是不争的事实。其中,一个重要表征则是对日本文化及日本人的精神层面起过深刻影响的天台本觉思想<sup>30</sup>在十七世纪末断绝传承。这也说明对佛学思想的探讨丧失了活力,日本近世佛教更多体现出"葬式佛教"的一面。

上面提到,寺院除了需要调查民众宗教信仰之外,还兼管民众的户籍登记以及檀家过世后的葬礼仪式和墓地管理等事务,这既是佛教世俗化的表现,也说明当时民众认为祭祀祖先和参拜祖先墓地是重要的佛教实践内容。我们自然知道,祭祀祖先和葬礼仪式原本并非印度佛教的仪式,但是在佛教传来日本之初,就跟日本古已有之的"祖灵崇拜"和"祖灵信仰"融合在一起,实现本土化,将祖灵崇拜和供养作为佛教的内容。像墓石、佛坛和安置在寺院的位牌也是如此,本身都不是印度佛教的内容。而日本佛教受到中国儒教和东北亚萨满教的影响,祖先崇拜占有极大的比重。尤其是到了日本近世,"家"制度的普及以及檀家制度的确立,让盂兰盆节祭祖仪式得以普及,也让五山送火作为年中行事被固定下来。进入明治时代31之后,寺请制度于明治四年(1871)被废止,寺檀制度也失去了效力。但是现在依然作为习惯(尤其是在农村)存留着。而从五山送火仪式我们也可以发现寺院和檀家依然有着密切的联系。

在考察檀家制度和五山送火的联系时,我们就会发现五山送火中有个最为独特的存在,即"鸟居"送火。它的保存会跟其他四山不同,并没有寺院的参与,也没有世袭的檀家。反过来而言,它也没有强烈的封闭性,并不限定在特定的家族(其他四山均为檀家)。

如果对日本佛教不太了解的人,可能会奇怪为什么在佛教仪式上出现鸟居32 这种代表神社和神道的图案。不过,日本人对此也是习以为常的。这就要提到日本历史上出现的"神佛习合"现象。佛教最初传入日本,跟原始神道发生冲突,出现了苏我氏与物部氏的斗争。最终崇佛的苏我氏获胜,佛教得以壮大。而后到了平安王朝,空海和最澄"推佛于神,复援神于佛",使得佛教跟神道融通,实现本土化。当然,在佛教看来,佛教和神道的关系,是佛本神迹33,佛主神从,神是佛的护法之神。自然,进入镰仓幕府时代后,这也受到了伊势神道和吉田神道等新神道的反对。它们的根本思想则是"神本佛从"。正如吉田神道的创始人

<sup>29</sup> 一般而言,檀家与寺院的关系为"一家一宗制",即一家的全体成员均隶属同一个宗派的同一个寺院。然而由于婚姻或迁离原住地等情况,也存在某个家庭与两个以上的寺院发生寺檀关系。
30 专攻日本佛教史及东亚思想史的学者末木文美士在论文《异文化间相互思想理解的可能性》中指出,日本被广泛使用的"本觉思想"与中国华严所重视的"本觉"有一些不同,是将原来在佛教里被否定的世俗人的生活方式以及现象世界的总体原封不动地视为绝对并予以肯定,而且进一步认为无须进行修行的思想动向。同一作者在《日本佛教史—思想史的探索》中提到"不问净土、禅或日莲系,新佛教全体的基盘—也就是新佛教的祖师们都是出身比叡山,且接受比叡山系的学问"。就日本思想史而言,镰仓新佛教都是在对天台本觉思想进行反思及批判的基础上成立的。

<sup>31</sup> 日本自明治元年(1868)新政府成立至四十五年(1912)天皇晏驾的四十四年间。

<sup>32</sup> 日本神社入口处所建的牌坊,用以表示神域。

<sup>33</sup> 佛的法身被称为"本地",他们为普度众生,而现身垂迹为日本神道的神。

吉田兼俱在吉田神道根本教典『唯一神道名法要集』中所提出的那样:"吾日本生种子,震旦现枝叶,天竺开花实。故佛法乃万法之花实,儒教为万法之枝叶,神道为万法的根本。天若无神道,则无三光,亦无四时;地若无神道,则无五行,又无万物;人若无神道,则无一命,又无万法。"强调神道为万法的根本。由此可

知,佛教和神道之间关系的争论,是日本思想史上的重要内容。但需要注意的是,虽然在佛教跟神道之间一直存在着主从之辩,但是在普通民众之间,则是两者同样信奉。像五山送火中的"鸟居"送火就体现出日本的这一独特的宗教融合现象。

### 四、五山送火现存的问题点

前文主要讨论了日本近世社会"家"制度的确立以及檀家制度的实行对佛教世俗化的影响以及与五山送火的关系。现代社会,传统"家"制度崩溃,三代同堂的大家族变为只剩夫妻二人的"核家庭",少子化现象严重,没有后继者继承家墓。并且,日本在继承制度上实行单独继承制,家业多由长男继承。人们的观念则是"家墓和佛坛的管理以及祭祀传承都是家督<sup>34</sup>的责任,次男和三男既然没有继承的权利,自然也随之免除义务"。在近代之前,为了维持"家"的永续,先祖祭祀的继承是象征性的存在。因此,人们总会想办法让它维持下去。但到了现代社会,离婚率上升、晚婚化、终身未婚化现象增多,并且选择不要孩子的夫妻越来越多,这些变化也给先祖祭祀以及佛教观带来不利影响。

另外,从世界范围而言,十五世纪的文艺复兴实现了"以神为中心"到"以人为中心"的转变,给宗教信仰造成强烈冲击。而当今时代个人中心主义盛行,传统的寺檀制度罔顾个人的主体选择,强制将某个家族指定为特定宗派的特定寺院的檀家。这种做法无法激起檀家发自内心的信仰。今后"五山送火"仪式如何作为传统思想文化的载体,完整地向下一代传承,而不像韩国安东和回别神假面舞"那样,神圣性消亡殆尽,完全世俗化。这是值得深思的话题。

<sup>34</sup> 继承家业后统管家族的人, 多为长男。

<sup>35</sup> 在韩国民间巫俗信仰中,未婚而殇的女性会变为最为恐怖的怨灵。因此在农村需要以假面舞进 行镇魂仪式,最重要的场景则是模仿夫妇敦伦的场面。而现在这些场景不存在于假面舞中。

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# 说一切有部的择灭思想 ——以《大毗婆沙论》为基础

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### 摘要

佛教的涅槃观念则建立在"缘起观"与"无我论"基础之上。早期佛教秉持着素朴的涅槃观,对于涅槃的描述保有一种不可言说的神秘性。说一切有部的涅槃思想,则或多或少打破了这种神秘性。这种打破即在于,为佛教的涅槃思想建立了本体论的依据。这一本体有部称之为择灭自性,即每一有为法中均存在着一择灭自性,这是每一有为法的最根本实体所依。当有情证得所有有为法的择灭之后,便能够获得最后的究竟涅槃。本文将以《大毗婆沙论》为基础,以《发智论》、六足论、《顺正理论》等说一切有部论典为参照,通过对《大毗婆沙论》中相关内容的研读,对说一切有部关于择灭概念的内涵、择灭自性的一与多、能否共证以及所处位置问题予以较为详细的讨论,以此试图理清说一切有部关于择灭思想的讨论的逻辑线索,对说一切有部的择灭思想进行阐释与说明。

关键词:说一切有部;择灭;择灭自性;内外;共证;

### 1 择灭的具体内涵

择灭无为 (pratisaṃkhyā-nirodha), 是有部所提的三种无为法之一。所谓无为 法,《杂阿含经》云:"无为者,不生、不住、不异、不灭,是名比丘诸行苦寂灭 涅槃。"「在《大毗婆沙论》中进一步讲到:"若法无生无灭,无因无果,得无为 相,是无为义。"2无为法,即得无为相之法。那何谓择灭?在《发智论》中,有 如下解释:"云何择灭?答:诸灭是离系。云何非择灭?答:诸灭非离系。云何 无常灭? 答: 诸行散坏破没亡退,是谓无常灭。非择灭、无常灭,何差别?答: 非择灭者,不由择力,解脱疫疠灾横愁恼种种魔事,行世苦法,非于贪欲调伏断 越。无常灭者,诸行散坏破没亡退,是谓二灭差别。"3其中提到,择灭即是离系。 并且在解释非择灭时,认为所谓非择灭即为不由择力而能够实现解脱灾横、愁恼, 调伏贪欲的成就。这也在某种程度上说明了所谓择灭即为通过择力,以达到某种 无为之果。之后,在《大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷中,对于择灭这一概念便有了较 为详尽的阐释。对于择灭的阐释,是在对择灭、非择灭、无常灭的辨析中逐渐明 晰起来的。"云何择灭?答:诸灭是离系,谓诸法灭亦得离系,得离系得是名择 灭。" 4这句话相对于《发智论》而言,并无进展。"择灭、非择灭、无常灭何差 别?答:择灭者由择力故有漏法灭:非择灭者不由择力解脱疫疠广说如前:无常 灭者诸行散坏破没亡退"。5这里正面明说了,择灭即通过择力,而可以达到有漏 法灭的果。论中下文提到"问:已知择灭离系为体,应说何故名择灭耶?答:择 者谓慧,灭是彼果,择所得灭故名择灭"。6此处清晰的提到所谓择力即为慧力。 至于这种慧力是何等慧,论中并未明说。

在《大毗婆沙论》第三十二卷,列举并一一解释了择灭的诸多名号。"如是择灭亦名涅槃,亦名不同类,亦名非聚,亦名非显,亦名最胜,亦名通达,亦名阿罗汉,亦名不亲近,亦名不修习,亦名可爱乐,亦名近,亦名妙,亦名出离。" 7择灭何以名为涅槃呢?"答:槃名为趣涅名为出,永出诸趣故名涅槃"。8 又说,涅槃为无臭秽、诸烦恼,涅槃为永离稠林,涅槃不织生死异熟果绢,凡此种种皆为择灭之性,因此择灭又名涅槃。

择灭又被称为不同类,这是因为择灭无同类因,并且择灭也并非同类因。在《大毗婆沙论》十七卷中对同类因有解释:"云何同类因?答:前生善根,与后生自界善根及相应法,为同类因。过去善根,与未来现在自界善根及相应法,为同类因。现在善根,与未来自界善根及相应法,为同类因。"9前生之善产生后生之善及相应之法,如此才能称为同类因。择灭很明显并无同类之因,因为择灭再无异熟之果产生。除此之外,择灭也并非同类因。《大毗婆沙论》第十八卷有云:"问:同类因,以何为自性?答:现在、过去一切有为法,已说自性,所以今当说。"10 所谓同类因是指现在、过去一切有为法,而择灭并非有为法的范畴,

<sup>1 《</sup>杂阿含经》第九十九卷,《大正藏》第2册,第83页下。

<sup>2 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第七十六卷,《大正藏》第27册,第392页下。

<sup>3 《</sup>发智论》第二卷,《大正藏》第26册,第923页中。

<sup>4 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷,《大正藏》第27册,第161页上。

<sup>5</sup> 同上。

<sup>6</sup> 同上。

<sup>7 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第三十二,《大正藏》第27册,卷第163页上。

<sup>8</sup> 同上。

<sup>9 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第十七卷,《大正藏》第27册,第85页中。

<sup>10 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第十八卷,《大正藏》第27册,第90页中。

因此自然不是同类因。所以择灭既无同类之因又非同类因,自然可名为不同类。

择灭又名非聚,非聚顾名思义有无聚合之义。对于非聚的解释,是从反面的有为法入手的。《大毗婆沙论》认为,有为法是四类共聚而成,这四类包括一自体以及自体的三相。还有一种说法,认为有为法是五类共聚,其中包括一自体及四相。此外,"复次,诸界、诸趣、诸生、诸蕴、诸世、诸苦皆名为聚。" "而所有这些均非择灭的属性,因此择灭又名非聚。"

择灭又名非显。论中对此的解释中从有为法入手。如"复次,诸有为法有因有果,可得以因显说其果,亦得以果显说其因。涅槃无为、无因、无果不可显说,故名非显。复次,显谓显示,涅槃寂静,无婆罗门、刹帝利等种姓差别可以显示;亦无青、黄、赤、白等相可以显示,故名非显。复次,显谓显现,诸有为法或体是色,其相显现;或虽非色,而依色转,亦可显现。涅槃不然故名非显。"这是反证。从正面的阐释则首先是从"涅槃功德"方面入手的。所谓的"显"指的是称赞智者涅槃功德时所要表露出的,若是"不待称赞,故名非显"。此外涅槃功德是无边无际的,而称赞的对象是无可把捉的,因此无可称赞。并且这种显实际上是对涅槃圆满功德的一种损毁,正如摩尼珠周圆光净不可损毁。涅槃功德是究竟安住的,正如摩尼珠一样无论放置于任何地方即可安住,而不可损毁。对于究竟圆满的涅槃功德而言,实际上"显"是一种妨碍与损毁了,"显"实在是无必要之举,因此择灭名为非显。

此外,值得注意的是择灭又名为"近"。所谓的"近",最为直接的所指,是得圣道者能够获得现证涅槃。这种现证无需舍近求远,能够依现在世,起离系,得证得择灭。"谓诸圣者灭忍、灭智现在前时,由胜解力,如对目前明了观故。复次,如近事故,择灭名近。谓随在处皆可证得"。12这种对于现在世的明了观察,随在之处皆可证得,颇有大乘精神。此外,"近"这一称谓,还透漏出佛教的平等精神。如"谓刹帝利、婆罗门等能修道者皆证涅槃。复次,不选处所而证得故,择灭名近,谓在城邑或阿练若,修习圣道皆得涅槃。"13这里证得涅槃者已经并无种姓之别,处所之别。于修道者而言,全无种姓出身之系缚,无处所优劣之系缚,只要能于现世当下明了觉察,具胜解力,在在处处,可于现今刹那得证涅槃。

择灭亦有阿罗汉、最胜法、可爱乐等等其他名号,在此不一一解释。

针对择灭的属性,在《大毗婆沙论》第三十二卷中还有种种描述。如"复次,择灭是解脱,是离系相……复次,择灭于三世有漏法得……复次,择灭是善……复次,择灭是无漏……复次,择灭是不系……复次,择灭是非学、非无学……复次,择灭是不断,彼得或修所断或不断……复次,择灭无异熟……复次,择灭是道果……复次,择灭灭谛摄……"14等等。

# 2 择灭的一与多

前文提到"择者谓慧,灭是彼果",择所得灭即为择灭。那接下来的问题就是,择灭之后,所余为何?这其实是对涅槃之后,所余何物的一个解释。有部承接其一切有为、无为诸法皆为实有的观念,提出了"择灭自性"这一概念。通过

<sup>11 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第三十二卷,《大正藏》第29册,第163页上。

<sup>12 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第三十二卷,《大正藏》第29册,第163页上。

<sup>13</sup> 同上。

<sup>14 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷,《大正藏》第29册,第161页上。

对一法的简择,或贪或嗔或痴等等,最后便可获得择灭自性。那么于贪上或者于 痴上所得的择灭自性是否是同一个呢? 这就涉及到了择灭自性是一还是多的问 题了。"问:择灭自性为是一物、为多物耶?"15对此有多种看法。有的认为只 有一物,有部不认可这一点,给出的反驳是"问:若尔证见所断法择灭时,亦证 修所断法择灭不?若亦证者,修后对治应成无用;若不证者,云何一物少分证、 少分不证?"关于"见所断法",《品类足论》第六卷有解释:"见所断法云何? 谓若法随信、随法行现观边忍所断。此复云何?谓见所断八十八随眠,及彼相应 法,并彼等起心不相应行。"16对于"修所断法",《品类足论》第七卷有解释:"修 所断法云何? 谓若法、学见迹修所断。此复云何? 谓修所断十随眠及彼相应法, 若彼等起身语业,若彼等起心不相应行,若不染污诸有漏法,是名修所断法。"17 对于见所断与修所断的区别,《大毗婆沙论》在第一百四十四卷与第五十一卷都 有着较为详细的讨论。在第一百四十四卷中,有部提到:"由见而断,由见而除, 由见变吐; 名见所断。如所得道, 若习, 若修, 若多修习, 分齐断, 限量断, 渐 令薄究竟断; 名修所断。有说: 修所断, 亦应言见所断。以修道中, 如实见可得 故。如是说者;如所得道,若习,若修,若多修习,分齐断,限量断,渐令薄究 竟断; 名修所断。问: 此言有何义? 答: 此说见道是猛利道; 暂现在前, 九品烦 恼,一时而断。修道是不猛利道;数习现前,九品烦恼,九时而断。如利钝刀, 俱截一物;利者一割便断,钝者数割乃断。"18一般而言,将见所断看作是顿法, 是猛利道。将修所断看作是渐法,是不猛利道。但是对于这两种断法并无清晰的 划定,如论中所说,"修所断,亦应言见所断。以修道中,如是见可得故"。如第 一百五十五卷中所说: "见不离修,修不离见;如何建立二所断名?答:虽见道 中,亦有如实修可得,修道中,亦有如实见可得;而见者,是慧,修者,是不放 逸。"19总体而言,有部对这两种断法有着明显的区别,同时又指出二者有相互 容摄的部分。在有部的修行体系中,都是获得择灭不可或缺的法。

回看前面,有部给出的反驳是,若在证见所断法得择灭的同时,是否也证修 所断法得择灭呢?如果是同时得证,那么接着出现的问题是,所谓的"修后对治" 便成为无意义之举了。见所断法是一种速证之法,一旦同时证得,就抹煞了渐修 渐断的意义,亦即仅仅通过"见"便能够或者究竟的觉悟,从而无需再对治种种 的随眠烦恼了,这样是不合理的,也是不可能的。如果并不得证,也会出现的问 题是"云何一物少分证、少分不证"。于一物之中,少分是证得的,但是还有一 部分并未证得。这在有部看来或许是荒谬的。因为从有部所持有的观点看,一一 法中有一择灭自性,怎么能认为择灭自性被部分证得了又部分没证得呢?这是相 互矛盾的。正如从石中凿玉一样,既有猛锤敲击,亦有细锤慢琢。通过不停的开 凿,最后只能有两种结果,已经凿出玉和没有凿出玉。如果最后说既凿出了玉又 未能凿出玉,这显然是自相矛盾的、不可能的,也是荒谬的。这两个质问接下来 也成为说一切有部破斥"有余师"关于择灭自性多种说法的惯用模式。

有余师主张择灭自性为"二物"说,这二物正是见所断法择灭与修所断法择 灭。有部总体的策略未变,这次从更具体的层面提出,"问:若尔证见苦所断法

<sup>15</sup> 同上。

<sup>16 《</sup>品类足论》第六卷,《大正藏》第26册,第716页下。

<sup>17 《</sup>品类足论》第六卷,《大正藏》第26册,第719页下。

<sup>18 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第一百四十四卷,《大正藏》第27册,第742页中。

<sup>19 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第五十一卷,《大正藏》第27册,第267页上。

择灭时,亦证见集、灭、道所断法择灭不?"20如果同时证见,那在证见苦所断 法时,集、灭、道所断就是无意义的了。若不是同时证得的,问题与一物时是同 样的,会有少分证、少分不证的问题出现。有余师的看法大致是这样的,存在两 种择灭自性,这两种择灭自性需要不断通过针对一一法的见、修来获得。很有可 能在针对一法的见或修之中,没有获得最后的见或修的择灭,这种见与修的择灭 是在对于一一法的见或修积累中获得的,无法从单一的法中直接获得彻底的择 灭。毕竟只有两种择灭,在未对全部的法见或修完,便依次获得了最后的见所断 择灭与修所断择灭,这将是荒谬的。正如有情已经证得了究竟的无余涅槃,不过 肉身、寿命依然还在欲界世间存在的情况一样。因此,在见与修的过程之中,必 然会有部分证,部分不证的情况。或者说是择灭有一部分证得,有一部分未证得 的情况。这样一来,如果有余师的观点能够自圆其说的话,他们必然认为择灭的 基本单位是众多的法的集合,而不是单一的法。但是有部不能认同这一点,这与 有部的理论前提有关,亦即一一法中有一一择灭,这源自其一一法实有的根本理 论前提。只有每一法中均有择灭自性,这样才能保证法的实有性。但是,若是以 这样一种理论框架来评判有余师的观点,那么必然会出现问题。亦即,在有部看 来,每一法中都有择灭,你或者证不到,或者证到了,不能出现部分证得,部分 证不得的情况。说到底,是有部以其一切法实有的理论框架来评价有余师的观点, 自然会出现对他们的批评。

这之外,有余师又有主张五物说法的,五物的说法即是将见所断法择灭分为了四种,修所断法择灭一种。但问题依然存在。有部提出:"问:若尔证欲界见、修所断法择灭时,亦证色、无色界见、修所断法择灭不?"<sup>21</sup>针对若同、若不的情况,这之后的质问模式是相同的。还有十一物说,将见所断法择灭分为八种,修所断法择灭分为三种。还有三十五物说,将见所断法择灭同样分为八种,修所断法择灭分为三界各九种,总计二十七种,这样总共三十五种。有部的质问策略都是相同的。

最后还有一种八十九物说,认为见所断法择灭有八种,而修所断法九地各有九种,共计八十一种,加上前面总共有八十九种。这次有部并没有延续以往的质问策略,而是直接就其分类之法提出质疑:"问:若尔见所断法三界九地各有四部九品差别,云何择灭但有八种?又见修所断法一一地一一部一一品各有多种,云何择灭但有一种?"<sup>22</sup>这种对择灭的认定方法或许过于主观随意,直接遭到了有部的否定。

针对以上种种提法,有部通过一一破斥,得出了自己的结论:"评曰:应作是说,随有漏法有尔,所体择灭亦尔;随所系事体有尔,所离系亦有尔所体故。"<sup>23</sup>这就体现出了说一切有部非常有特色的多元论的择灭自性观。这种观念将其一切法实有的观念贯彻到了极致。每一个择灭自性的证得,是通过对每一个有漏法的断灭、离系获得的。断灭一有漏法、所系事,则获得这一法、这一事的当体的择灭自性。这样一来,择灭自性的数目是与有漏法的数目相一致的。针对这种多元论,印顺法师在《空的探究》中提到:"这只是有部一家的见解,《俱舍》卷一、《顺正理》卷一,同说到有一择灭无为体性是一的主张。"这一主张,在《顺正理论》中是这样说的:"有作是言:诸所断法同一择灭。对法者言:随系事别。"

<sup>20 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷,《大正藏》第27册,第161页下。

<sup>21</sup> 同上。

<sup>22</sup> 同上。

<sup>23</sup> 同上。

24印顺法师认为:"此择灭是一论者,虽不知部属,以理推测,应是大众分别说 系的主张。"实际上,这里所说的所证同一择灭,就是上文提出的"一物"。只是 这里的角度,是从同一体性上而言的。所有择灭是同一体性的,这一点印顺法师 认为其实是说一切有部的"古义"。他认为:"有部的古义或许是主张择灭是一的。 主张择灭同,谓是一味的;主张择灭异,谓是差别的。"25择灭自性如若是多, 这样就出现了一个问题,那就是若想获得真正彻底的择灭(即涅槃),那就必然 需要从一一有漏法入手,一一进行断灭、离系证得择灭之后,方能获得最后的无 上究竟涅槃。这样看来所谓的择灭即涅槃,二者在体量上并非相同的。择灭某种 意义上也并非涅槃。涅槃与择灭的关系是一与多的关系,是集合与子集的关系, 当一一子集最终汇合的时候,即为一完整的集合——涅槃。在此意义上而言二者 不一。但是,从体性上而言,涅槃与择灭自性又是相同的。正如集合 A 中的每个 子集 a1、a2、a3……an……都具有集合 A 的属性。与作为有为法的集合 B 的属 性是有着根本差异的。在此意义上,涅槃与择灭自性不异。涅槃与择灭自性终是 一种不一不异的关系。从最为现实的修证而言,择灭自性与涅槃都是圣者通过实 证获得的直观经验,这种直观到的神秘境界,是一味的。只是从最初证得一择灭 自性,到最后的究竟涅槃,在次第与果位上有着差别,而这一味的境界并无根本 区别。如印顺法师所说:"综合地观察一下:择灭涅槃是佛法的究竟归宿所在, 是直觉体征的境界。如果从择灭是一、是无相、是常寂的离言理性上去体会,则 与后代大乘所说的空性含义更近。不过,空,乃即事相之有而空,有多少"有", 即有多少空。空,一面是遍一切一味的共相,一面又是一一差别法的自相,如《般 若经》上说的'色性空、受性空',五蕴乃至一切智智等一一法的自性空义,就 是明白的文证。"26若如印顺法师所说,说一切有部自身的理论也是有一个发展 过程的,如果之前认为择灭自性为一,而到后来又发展出了择灭自性为多的观念, 以使其自身理论体系愈加完善。

### 3 择灭的共证问题

在《大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷中,讨论完择灭自性是一物抑或多物的问题之后,紧接着又讨论了诸类有情所证择灭自性是否为共法的问题。"问:已知择灭随所系事,有尔所量。诸有情类证择灭时,为共证一、为各别证?"27如果说择灭自性为择灭之所缘,那么有情所证则为能缘。从能缘上来说,当诸有情在证得一有漏法的择灭自性的时候,他们所证的择灭自性到底是相同还是不同的呢?说一切有部认为,这两种看法都有缺失。有部解释道:"若共证一,云何涅槃名不共法?又若尔者若一有情得涅槃时,一切有情亦应皆得,若尔则应不由功用,自然解脱。若各别证,云何涅槃名不同类?又契经说当云何通?如说:如来解脱与余阿罗汉等解脱无异。"28这就是说,如果共证为一,那么涅槃为何又被称之为不共法呢?若非如此,当一有情得到涅槃时,那么其他众生也能够因此"不劳而获",所谓"不由功用,自然解脱"这显然是不符合实际的。如果各个所证择灭自体是不同的,那么为何涅槃又被称为不同类呢?即除涅槃之外,其他无所证得,

<sup>24 《</sup>顺正理论》第一卷,《大正藏》第 27 册,第 332 页中。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 印顺:《性空学探源》,北京:中华书局,2011年。第160页。

<sup>26</sup> 印顺:《性空学探源》,北京:中华书局,2011年。第161页。

<sup>27 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷,《大正藏》第27册,第161页下。

<sup>28</sup> 同上。

因此也必然没有不同类的择灭自性可证。又如契经中说过,如来的解脱是与阿罗汉等的解脱并无相异之处。这就用经证说明,诸有情所证择灭并非一一别证。说一切有部对二者均持有疑问,那么其自身又作何解释呢?

"答:应作是说,诸有情类证择灭时,皆共证一。问:若尔云何涅槃名不共法?答:涅槃体虽实是共,而约得说名不共。以离系得一一有情自相续中各别起故。问:若一有情得涅槃时,诸余有情何故不得?答:若身中有涅槃得者,名得涅槃,无则不尔。故无一时一切有情得涅槃失"。说一切有部认为,诸有情类在证择灭时,皆共证一。这就与之前的解释有了矛盾,之前不是否定有情共证同一择灭的吗?为何此处又说共证一呢?接着有部对刚才自己的否定予以了解释,认为虽然涅槃名为不共法,但是涅槃之体虽是共证而得的,不过当诸有情以离系得一一择灭自体的时候,所得到的择灭自体却是不共的。一一有情所得的择灭自体,是个别内证的,是不共的,因此才说"约得说名不共"。这也就回答了接下来的问题,当一个有情得涅槃时,为何其他有情不能得。有情于自身已经证得择灭,可称为得涅槃。如若没有证得则不能称为得涅槃。因此印顺法师说:"一种有漏法,即有一种择灭无为存在;你能离系,你即能体验证得;我能离系,我即能体验证得;同一有漏的择灭无为,是彼此共证的。"29

### 4 择灭的内外之辩

说一切有部在《大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷中,接着提出的问题是:"问:于外物中亦证得涅槃不?"这个问题产生的背景是什么呢?它预设了一个前提,即诸有情类是于内物中证得涅槃的。那么如何区分内物、外物呢?所谓内、外物之别,实际上是以蕴为界。于五蕴和合之我中证得涅槃,称为于内物中得涅槃。于五蕴和合的我之外证得涅槃,称为于外物中得涅槃。这样这个问题产生的背景我们便能看出其大致的渊源了。即诸有情类是从我自身之中证得涅槃,还是在我的身外之物中证得涅槃的呢?实际上是在讨论涅槃的所缘问题。

针对此问题,说一切有部提到,契经中其实是有两种观点的。"又契经说当云何通?如说,尊者舍利子言:我断诸爱,得内解脱。若外物中不得择灭,契经所说复云何通?如说,一切行断故名断界,一切行离故名离界,一切行灭故名灭界。答:应作是说,于外物中亦得择灭"。30尊者舍利子一方提到,他所断诸爱得内解脱,并可从外物中获得择灭。因为契经中提到,断、离、灭三界的基础即是一切行的断、离、灭,这就客观上说明了存在外物中的择灭。有部通过对尊者舍利子所提出的"内解脱"的进一步解读,来解释自己的观点。"当知于外亦得解脱。复次,外物解脱依内得故,亦名为内,谓内身中修道方得。复次,外物解脱得是内,故亦名为内,谓得彼得是内蕴摄。复次,断内烦恼而得彼灭,故亦名内,谓外物中所有择灭断内能系烦恼方得。是故经言,得内解脱。"31说一切有部着重指出的是,依外物解脱根本而言还是依赖内物获得的,从修证的角度来讲,圣者最终是通过自身内部的修所得慧获得解脱的,所以这样一来,也可以名为内解脱了。从断烦恼的层面来讲,由外物中一一获得的择灭也是通过断内部的烦恼的形式进行的。唯有内部的烦恼真正断灭了,这才表征着,真正于外物中证得了择灭。在此意义上而言,也可以认为是证得了内解脱。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> 印顺:《性空学探源》,北京:中华书局,2011年。第160页。

<sup>30 《</sup>大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷,《大正藏》第27册,第161页下。

<sup>31</sup> 同上。

针对此内外问题,还有观点认为"诸外物中虽有择灭而不可得"。说一切有部认为,这种观点是荒谬的,与其说有而不可得,倒不如直接说外物中根本不存在择灭。既然不可得,那要此无用之择灭又有何意义呢?若是有的话,那必然是可得的。为何如此说呢?有部认为诸有漏法无始以来,因为受烦恼系缚而不得解脱,若可断烦恼,方能得获解脱。有部以绳缚人为譬喻,"如人被缚后,解脱时人名解脱,非谓绳等"。既然可于"所系",即烦恼中获得解脱,即可从绳缚中获得人我的解脱,那么为什么不可说能够从外物中亦得择灭呢?此外,说一切有部又提出了经证,引出了《品类足论》中的言论。《品类足论》中说:"云何得作证法?答:一切善法。"有部敏锐的指出:"若是外物中虽有择灭而不可得,应有善法非得作证,便违彼说。"外物之中若是有择灭而不可得,那么必然会有善法不得证择灭这种情况,这样就会与论中所说的一切善法得作证法的情况相违背。所以,综上所述,外物中亦有择灭可得。

在《大毗婆沙论》第三十一卷的最后,说一切有部提到了一个问题。根据前文所述,诸有情类于内物、外物之中皆可证得择灭,内外物以蕴为界别,那么择灭自性到底"为即是蕴,为但蕴无"?说一切有部认为,二者都并非择灭自性的真正归属。若是择灭自性本即是蕴,那么这就意味着,诸有情类本来就已是解脱的了,"以皆本来成就蕴故"。若是蕴无的话,那么勤修圣道实际上就是毫无意义之举了,因为没有内物作为解脱的根本所依了,又是谁得择灭呢?有部由此总结道,择灭"非即是蕴,亦非蕴无"。择灭最终归属何地呢?"但于有漏诸蕴中得别有自性"。这就意味着,择灭自性必须蕴于有漏诸法之中,这样才能有可择之物,可灭之物。当一一有漏之法,通过简择慧力一一得灭,最终择灭自性自会显现。

### 结论

择灭自性实际上是涅槃作为实体的一种概念指称,对择灭自性的数量、共性、 归属的探讨实是对说一切有部实体涅槃观念进一步深入具体的讨论。择灭自性作 为涅槃实体化的代称,实际上也便成为了诸有情能够实现解脱之实在依据,在这 一一累积的择灭基石之上,最后便能达到彻底的心解脱、慧解脱之究竟涅槃。

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# 论当今寺院生活体验活动对佛法传播的影响

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### 摘要

近年来,经济快速发展,物质极大丰富。但人们生活节奏加快、压力增大、精神 焦虑等一系列问题也浮现出来。寺院生活体验活动的出现,在这样的背景下受到 人们的极大欢迎。在这一活动过程中,不仅使得活动受众得到个人心灵的宁静, 而且对佛法的传播也起到了积极的影响。在寺院生活体验活动中,既可学习到基 本的佛法知识和佛门礼仪,也能使得佛法传播的范围扩大。

关键词: 寺院生活; 佛法; 传播

#### 一、寺院生活体验活动的发端

《佛说无量寿经》中提到:"普欲度脱一切众生。"普度众生不仅是佛家的一句谒语,也是佛在世间的代名词。佛的出世是教众生看淡风云变化,放下贪嗔痴念,笑寻心中大道。而佛的入世是教众生历经人情冷暖,探寻心中空明,直到立地成佛。[罗京.新媒体视阈下的灵隐寺佛教传播研究[D].长沙:湖南师范大学.2016.]无论是佛的出世还是佛的入世,都有一个基本的普度众生的教旨。佛教经历了历史的风云演变之后,在当下依然是最有影响力的宗教之一。在中国的文化领域里,它更是与人们的精神内核,精神向导,精神归依有着密不可分的关系。面对当今社会生活方式的转变,人们精神内核逐渐散乱的情况;佛教也随着传播方式的改变积极渗入到人们的生活当中,以期待为内心困顿的众生打开一扇门,提供情感安慰和心灵依赖,找到心灵的回归之所。此所谓佛教里最慈悲的情怀一普度众生。

#### (一) 寺院生活体验活动的缘起

在当今佛法传播的各种途径中,电视、电影、摄影、绘画、报刊、书籍、新媒体等等各自发挥着自身的积极作用。而"寺院生活体验",这一形式更为直接、具体、深入。参加寺院生活体验活动的受众,能够通过最近的距离感受到佛法的庄严慈悲,对佛法也能得到更深入的理解。从上个世纪开始,国内就开始举办类似的夏令营式寺院生活体验活动。自1993年起的河北柏林寺举办夏令营以来,到2010年夏天全国已经有20多座寺院举办相关类似活动。例如:2003年湖北黄梅四祖寺举办第一届禅文化夏令营;2004年7月24—30日,四川文殊院举办首届"智慧之旅"禅修营;2007年8月7日—8月1日,首届巢湖鼓山寺佛教艺术夏令营举办;2010年7月24—7月30日,湖南湘潭大杰寺举办龙山之旅幸福人生夏令营.....[许佳.当代佛教传播路径探析[D].合肥:安徽大学.2011.]

#### (二) 主办方开展活动缘由

现如今,国内不同的寺院逐渐地兴起了"寺院生活体验"活动,旨在通过此类活动来为众生寻回心灵的安慰与归依。本着爱国爱教、净化人心、启迪智慧、觉悟生命、促进社会和谐的原则,为建立正确的佛教观念,提升信仰层次,体验寺院生活,由此而展开了一系列的活动。而寺院生活体验活动的缘起也与当今人们生活方式的改变,思想方式的转变有关系。至上个世纪以来,经济得到不断地发展。到如今,可说人们的物质上已经得到足够丰富,但转而陷入精神的困顿迷茫之中。在这样的情况之下,人们更想寻找到一种心灵的安宁。佛法呈现出的博大精深、慈悲美好、宁静踏实的状态都深深吸引着人们。而寺院生活体验,为更多的人提供了一种直接有效的方式。直接走进寺院,放下执念,回归心灵。寺院生活体验活动为人们打开了一扇门,可以让参加活动的人们有所期待,有所追寻,有所向往。通过一次活动,开始与佛法结下了善缘。心有莲花,心怀慈悲。

## 二、寺院生活体验活动的内容与形式

在不同的寺院生活体验活动中,都采取了不同的具体流程和形式。但都是以体验寺院生活,践行佛规礼仪,调节心灵归依为主要内容。国内的广东东华禅寺,江苏大觉寺,上海玉佛寺,苏州古莲华寺,北京佑胜教寺,湖南梳妆台寺,莆田南少林寺,北京天开寺,成都文殊院等等。都以不同方式举行了相应的活动。因为笔者地理位置上距离成都文殊院较近,因此以文殊院为例,从寺院生活体验的具体内容和相关形式,从而探析活动背后的佛法传播和影响。

成都文殊院的活动内容具体为:早课、开示、学唱佛歌、抄经、药石、晚课,晨钟暮鼓、八关斋戒、观影、禅修、传灯法会、参拜舍利.....

从这些活动内容中可看出寺院生活体验主要涉及到经文学习以及佛门礼仪。主要是从内外两个维度来进行修心。从内在来说,学习经文理解佛法的基础知识,加强对佛法的认识,修养内心对佛法的体悟。从内在地建立起慈悲为怀、淡然欢喜之心。从外在的佛门礼仪来说,它是一种基本的仪式,可以帮助促进修炼佛法,也可帮助断除贪嗔痴念。内外兼修,方能更好地有一颗包容欢喜之心。

另外, 寺院生活体验活动的参与者主要是对佛法有一定信仰但并未出家的人。在活动中, 由于性别差异、文化差异、年龄差异等, 对佛法的认识水平也并非一致。因此在寺院生活体验活动中, 本着包容慈悲的心态, 对其的修行要求较之出家人要宽松得多。正因为是体验加学习的过程, 因此才需循序渐进地熏陶。这对于参加此活动的参与者来说, 也是一次修行和内心洗礼的过程。寺院生活体验活动是一扇门, 打开了认识佛法了解佛法体悟佛法的世界。

### 三、寺院生活体验活动效果

### (一) 对个人心灵修养的影响

对于参加寺院生活体验活动的参与者来说,这样的一次活动,不仅能增进对佛法的认识,更能陶冶自己的心灵。在参加完活动之后,很多人会记录下自身的感悟体会。

大觉之行,满载而归

张唯锦

宜兴大觉,临济道场。山清水秀,气宇恢宏。

丁酉之夏,青年百人。 汇聚于此,共沐佛光。

三日非短,不复阿蒙。行住坐卧,雍容可观。

凡心染尘,拂之如初。幸福此岸,净土脚下。

人间佛教, 沁人心魂。惠及当下, 泽披万代。

大觉供养,受之有愧。惟多善举,以报恩情。[ 此处摘自"佛光祖庭大觉寺" 微信公众平台]

我们从这篇活动感悟文章中可看到,参加寺院生活体验活动,给人带来的影响。它能安定人的内心,使面容安详平淡,此可谓"雍容可观"。更为重要的是,能帮助人去除内心的杂念,放下贪嗔痴念,从而觉悟到当下的幸福。此可谓"凡心染尘,拂之如初。幸福此岸,净土脚下。"并且能激发人内心的善念,"惟多善举,以报恩情"。

另外,参加寺院生活体验活动,学习寺院仪轨。它究竟能给人带来什么意义呢? "有机会到寺院体验寺院生活,有些人是想深入地了解佛教这一信仰,了解佛法, 深入地去学习,甚至去体验;也有一些人,想在知识的层面来了解.....大概来说,佛教在社会上生存和发展,通常我们认为是有三个层面。第一个层面,信仰的层面。这个信仰,来自释迦摩尼佛,他的觉悟,他生命的觉醒和体验。于是他帮助我们能跟他一样觉悟,所以会有一些觉悟的方法。第二个层面,文化层面。佛教在时间和空间上的传播,都要借助于外在的形式。比如寺院建筑、佛像、壁画、晨钟暮鼓、佛教礼仪等。这些都组合成了佛教的文化现象。第三个层面,社会层面。佛教在传播过程中有寺院、佛教协会、佛教社团这些社会实体。社会实体的存在,有它的规章制度。还有它跟社会要融洽,遵守国家法规和地方习俗。"[此处摘自"狮吼梵音"微信公众平台明海法师的"我们学习寺院仪轨有什么意义"]参加寺院生活体验活动,不仅仅是形式上身体上的践行佛法,更重要的是对心灵的启发和觉悟。

### (二)对他人潜移默化的影响

对于寺院生活体验活动的参与者来说,参加了此活动,不仅能学习佛教基础知识,体悟佛法慈悲为怀,修养自己的身心;而且在与人交流交往中,也能影响到其他人对佛法的认识和了解。由此会影响到身边的朋友、亲人等。在这一层面上,就会造成佛法传播的扩大化。参加了寺院生活体验活动,自身的心灵、情绪、状态都可能得到了更好的改善。心态平和,满心欢喜。那么这种状态的变化也是会潜移默化地影响到身边的人。旁人看见了此变化,必然会升起疑问而猜想究竟什么原因造成了这种美好状态。由此也会开始对佛法渐升兴趣,从而试着去了解佛法。这是产生的积极影响。但是在这一过程中,也有需要值得注意的地方。因为每个在家修行的居士修养水平不同,或参加此活动的有佛教信仰的活动受众年龄性格职业等差异,会造成的影响也不同。由于佛教传播过程中这一不可控的因素,因此每个人对佛法的理解也不同。有可能一些人修养还不够,又或者走错了修养的路,因此对身边人的影响可能也会带来负面的影响。这里就有可能造成对佛法传播的负面影响,歪曲了佛法的意义:比如认为佛法里的太过消极,或认为太不近人情无伦理亲情等。此为产生的消极影响。此处也是佛法传播过程中最需要注意的地方。

#### 四、寺院生活体验活动与佛法内容的联系

在参加寺院生活体验的活动中,无论采取了怎样的形式和蕴含了怎样的具体内容。比如五堂功课、经典诵读、法师开示、晨钟暮鼓、心得交流、佛门礼仪、八关斋戒正授、供斋、朝圣、参访、绕塔、念佛、放生、出坡、供灯、学唱佛歌、抄经、药石、观影、禅修、传灯法会、参拜舍利等。这一系列的活动的目的都是希望体验的人能体悟到佛法的内涵。佛法博大精深,从各个不同层面都可得到不同的感受和理解。但是这里面有一些佛法最基本的核心内涵在。下面从两个角度去分析寺院生活体验与佛法内涵的关系。

#### (一) 缘起性空

缘起法则是佛教里的最基本法则。现世我们所看见的物,所经历的事等等,都是 因缘而起,因缘而散。现存的东西,它是没有自性的,都是因缘而起的,所以说 是性空的。正因为这缘起性空,所以我们所看到的事物,所经历的事,它都不可 能长久存在。若放在时间的长河来看,其实它是虚幻的存在。因此佛教里教我们放下贪嗔痴念,放下执着。放下眼前贪执的对象,从而可寻一个心灵的安宁之所。那么对于来参加寺院生活体验活动的人来说,参加此一活动也是提供了一次机会,放下尘世琐事,放下恩怨纠葛,来寺院静心修行。可以使得内心更加沉静,更加淡然,更加欢喜。正因为一切是缘起性空,所以可放下痴念执着,体悟到一切虚幻的本性。这对于参加活动的人来说,通过一系列佛门具体礼仪的修行,能够达到一种修心的效果。且通过对佛法知识的了解,更能增进人的内心的涵养,觉悟到生命的本质。

#### (二) 因果法则

因果法则也是佛教里最基本的法则之一,它讲一切都是因果相续的。所作的业,就是积累起来的因,会影响后来的果报。善业有善报,恶业有恶报。一切都在这流转中相互牵连着。前世今生,今生来世,都有因果相续。或许今生不如意,但是也不要懈怠。更因发起善心,去转变受到污染的生命。

对于参加寺院生活体验活动的人来说。此活动像一扇门,打开了佛法的世界。让其了解到佛法,并对他造成影响。但是这也会影响到周围的人。且对于了解了佛法的人来说,懂得了这因果法则。内心里更会升起向善之心。有什么样的因,就会有什么样的果,因此多作善业,转变恶业。每个人都是处于因果流转中的一员,因此觉悟了因果法则,心里会变得更加明静。所作之业的果报不仅仅会影响到自身,也会影响到其他的人和物。正如参加寺院生活体验活动一样,积累了善的业,也会产生相应的依报。因果流转,又世界互相联系。

### 五、对当下的回应与建议

在当今这个生活节奏越来越快的社会里,人们都希望快速得获得想要得到的东西,但是却很难静下心来沉静下来去做事。比如"三十天钢笔字速成"、"三个月开口说英语"、"一个月拥有健美身材"等等,好似很多人都着急着赶紧去完成一件事,紧接着又去忙着另一件事。这样不断地叠加,快速地运转。人越来越活得像一个陀螺,不停地旋转。但是在这忙碌、急躁、快速的生活里。往往容易迷失自己的本心,看不清眼前转瞬即逝的虚幻性。且在这样的环境下,能更感受到孤独和虚无。精神的迷失和困顿愈加严重。但人都有一个追寻内心安宁的愿望。于是,精神和信仰的追寻显得更为重要和迫切。

而在这样的环境下,佛法里的世界无疑就是一个灵魂的归依之所。认识到了整个世界原来其实都是"缘起性空"的,那么就会懂得放下。人生活的现世生活,有太多的执念贪爱放不下。放下了那些贪爱痴念,内心会归复平静。正如寺院生活体验活动的发起一样,让更多的人可以参与到这样的修行生活当中,体悟生命的真相,觉悟到生命的本质。在寺院生活体验活动中,晨钟暮鼓、心得交流、佛门礼仪等一些列具体内容,都会使得人心变得更加沉静。而在这个过程中,更能受到一种熏陶。佛法的世界博大精深,宽容慈悲。对于人的日常行动、行为处事等,都可升起一种认真恭敬之心。

但是, 寺院生活体验活动的举办过程中, 也是有一些问题需要值得注意的。由于此活动的开放性, 那么活动受众就会有很大的差异性。年龄、性别、地域、职业等等的不同, 可能会对佛法有不同程度角度的了解。在这一过程中, 理解的偏差,

性格的差异等可能会造成一些思想上的冲突。这个就需要活动主办的寺院进行很好的协调。或者有些寺院会对来参加此活动的人进行面试,从而确保此活动进行地更加顺利。另外一个,寺院举行这样的生活体验活动,有可能会受到一些非议或曲解。又或者,由于佛法在传播的过程中会造成一些对佛法的误解。种种都关乎社会的影响,因此举办此活动需要做的工作很多。

### 六、结语

在当今世界,经济不断发展,物质极大丰富。但人心却更加迷茫困顿。随着生活节奏的加快,人们生活压力倍增,精神越发紧张,内心困顿迷茫找不到安顿之所。而寺院生活体验活动,为人们打开了一扇理解佛法知识的窗户。在活动过程中,不仅可以了解到佛法基础知识和佛门仪规。更能从这个过程中,加强对个人心灵的修养。觉悟到生命的本质,从而升起慈悲欢喜之心。且在这一活动过程中,佛法知识也得到了传播。在传播过程中,对人们自身心灵修养能造成积极的影响。但在传播过程中,有可能也有一些消极的影响,或造成对佛法知识的误解。这是活动过程中最需值得注意的地方。

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# 《佛说月上女经》版本与文献流传研究

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### 摘要

《佛说月上女经》是由隋代阇那崛多所翻译而成的两卷本经书,收录于《大藏经》中经集部第480号,主要讲述了离车城中维摩诘之女月上修成正果的故事。此佛经在大正藏及历代佛经目录中都有收录,在日本诸寺院中也有收藏,在敦煌文献中有两份文书:俄藏卷号Ф112-1和日藏卷号羽730,两份文书十分相似,应出自同一抄经人之手,且与日本圣语藏本相近。由阇那崛多生平可知《月上女经》应有梵文原本,此佛经宋代以后在流传中成为禅宗公案,在民间被用来超度母亲转男身,但《梵网经》中月上女割乳典故是误传。另外,《佛说月上女经》很可能影响了日本民间故事《竹取物语》的产生。

关键词: 佛教文献, 敦煌文献, 佛说月上女经, 割乳, 竹取物语

### 第一节 《佛说月上女经》版本概览

佛说月上女经》最早是由隋代天竺僧人阇那崛多所翻译,收入历代佛经目录,在《大正藏》经集部中与《维摩诘经》、《善思童子经》等并列称为维摩诘经群。 月上女经的故事性强,情节曲折离奇,构思引人入胜,其内容主要讲述了离车国 老者"毗摩罗诘"即维摩诘,与其妻子无垢女得一女,其女出生数月即长成人, 容貌端庄绝美,光耀屋宇,得名月上女,其美貌全国闻名,无数达官贵族前来求 亲,皆被拒绝,不少人甚至以权势武力相威胁,月上女目睹父亲毗摩罗诘惊惧, 无奈之下答应择婿,宣布于七日后在全城人面前选一丈夫。一日正在闺阁楼上心 中闷闷不乐,忽然见到掌上生莲,莲内有佛祖为月上女说法,月上女见此异象, 与父母一起焚香沐浴诚心祝祷。择婿当日,全城人潮涌动,皆来城楼前欲目睹月 上女姿容,老少男子皆欲求其为妻,月上女出示掌中佛祖,并为众人说法,讲述 男女色欲之荒诞无稽。

#### 一、各版本大藏经中的《佛说月上女经》

《佛说月上女经》共有上下两卷,收入大藏经第十四册经集部第 480 号,贞元录编号 487。根据台北新文丰出版社《大藏经》索引第 8 册(经集部上)第 8 页的定义,"经集部"应当是在大正藏中不属于阿含部乃至大集部,以及密教之残余经典之集成,其内容十分多样,大小乘混合杂充其间。而第十四册中对经文进行了简要分类,如佛名经类、诸佛本愿经类、禅经类等,而《月上女经》则被归类到所问经类中的"维摩诘经类"之中,在这里的所问经是指在经典形式上由某特定对象向佛祖质问特定的主题而将其对话和解说内容形成经文的典籍。在第十四册中的所问经分类是按照提问者的不同身份进行的,但维摩诘经准确而言并不属于这一范围,只是为了方便起见才被纳入其中。

又,根据目录可见,维摩诘经类包括 474 号至 480 号佛经共 7 部 17 卷,有吴支谦译《佛说维摩诘经》两卷、姚秦鸠摩罗什译《维摩诘所说经》三卷、唐玄奘译《说无垢称经》六卷、西晋竺法护译《佛说大方等顶王经》一卷、隋阇那崛多译《善思童子经》两卷和《佛说月上女经》两卷(大藏经索引第 8 册,1996年,目录第 2 页)。其中前三者是维摩经的不同译本,其后二经是维摩诘之子善思为主角的经文,《佛说月上女经》则是维摩诘之女为主角,在书中定义原句为"维摩经类是以住于毗舍离城长者维摩居士乃至其女(月上女)为主人翁之经典群"(大藏经索引第 8 册,1996 年,前言第 9 页)。这也说明了月上女作为维摩诘女儿的身份在藏经系统中得到了认可和确定。

据日本佛教大学院大学的研究成果,目前已知的《佛说月上女经》在十种经藏中存有藏本,分别是中华藏23册445番(以金藏为底本)、高丽藏(初刻)第18册、高丽藏(再刻)第13册415番、碛砂藏(北京)第40册、碛砂藏(台北)第13册、洪武南藏第65册、永乐北藏第52册、清藏(龙藏)第44册437番、房山石经第12册561番、圣语藏91/97景云经断简[11](国际佛教学大学院大学《大正藏·九種大蔵経対照目録(暫定版)》)。此外,《月上女经》在日本各大寺院中也有收藏,其中上卷在七寺、石山寺、兴圣寺、松尾社中有藏,下卷在圣语藏、七寺、石山寺、兴圣寺、西方寺、新宫寺(有破损)和松尾社有藏(国

际佛教学大学院大学《日本現存八種一切経対照目録(暫定第二版)》)。遗憾的是目前这些藏本的文献出版和公布工作尚在进行之中,因而在此阶段还无缘探知其详细情况和图版原貌。

#### 二、敦煌文献中的《佛说月上女经》

在敦煌文献中,目前已知的《佛说月上女经》文稿共有两件,分别属于俄藏和日藏文献,其图录已经由上海古籍出版社和日本杏雨书屋出版,收入《俄藏敦煌文献》第 3 册和《敦煌秘笈》第 9 册(《俄藏敦煌文献》第 3 册,1993 年。《敦煌秘笈》第 9 册,2013 年),卷号为Φ112-1 和羽 730 号,可以看到经卷内容和装帧等高清图版。其中俄藏Φ112-1 号存有《佛说月上女经》卷上的后半部分和卷下全部内容,对应大藏经中616b14-623c29的部分,日藏羽 730 号中存有完整的《月上女经》卷下,对应大藏经中619c20-623c29部分(《大正藏·敦煌出土仏典対照目録(暫定第 3 版)》)。这两部经卷的书写工整、格式严谨,但遗憾的是在首尾之处都未有题记或其它供养人或抄经人信息,因而难以断定其具体抄写年代,仅能根据与大正藏的版本对校来从文献内部寻求一些蛛丝马迹。

俄藏Φ112-1号如上所言,对应 616b14-623c29,从上卷"罗诘离车之家通传意趣进止参承"一句起始,缺少 615b01-616b14 行首共 1618 个字(不含标题和译者),此文书虽然缺前页,但纸张整洁、字迹美观,除前段缺少之外其余部分都十分完整,共有 370 行,每行 27 字左右,七言偈语四句一行。经首经尾无题记或供养人信息,只写标题"月上女经卷上"或"月上女经卷下"。在俄藏图版中共有十四张图片。此外,这一经卷号为Φ112-1,Φ112 号经卷共有三部佛经,除《月上女经》外还有Φ112-2《佛说诸福田经》和Φ112-3《大宝积经》,这三部佛经共用一纸,首尾相接,其余二经亦无题记,在《大宝积经》文末有"净土寺藏经"印。

Φ112-1号文献缺少《月上女经》卷上起始部分,这一部分内容中第一段列举了师尊说法内容及众菩萨名号,后三段讲述了月上女出生奇事与得名缘故,即毗耶离城中长者毘摩罗诘与其妻美女无垢九月怀胎得女,其女出生时有大光明,大地震动、天雨众华,乐器不鼓自鸣、树木流出酥油、箱内财宝自现,且其女方出生便合掌说偈,自说前世供养佛祖因缘,因其身上光明胜于月照,父母故而名其月上。未几时便身如八岁大,所到之处皆有光明,身有异香,毗耶离城中众多子弟闻说月上女盛名美貌,皆往其家欲娶此女。

日藏杏雨书屋羽 730 号文书题名《佛说月上女经卷下》,原题名《月上女经》,经卷首题、尾题"月上女经卷下",根据《敦煌秘笈》公布数据,其用纸纵 26.4cm、横 262.7cm,共 6 纸,纸质麁纸,赤白橡色,一纸行数 36 行,每行 28 字左右,界高 23.2cm,罫巾 1.2cm,书写工整,纸张整洁。文书是完整版下卷,对应大正藏同名佛经 619 页 c20 至 623 页 c29 行。

《大正新修大藏经》简称《大正藏》,由日本大正一切经刊行会编纂出版,此版藏经中的《佛说月上女经》以《高丽藏》为底本,参考宋本、元本、明本、圣本和宫本五种版本进行了校对。其中《高丽藏》是据我国北宋初年的《开宝藏》刊刻,宋本即南宋《资福藏》本,元本即《普宁藏》本,明本即《永乐北藏》本,圣本即日本正仓院圣语藏本,宫本即宫内省图书寮本(刘显,2015)。其中的圣语藏本在《大正藏》略符页中定代为隋唐时代写经,宫本为宋代写经(《中华佛学

学报》,2005年)。「但未与《房山石经》版本、《清藏》版本和敦煌藏经版本进行比对。在此我们借助《大正藏》本内容以及《房山石经》版本(《房山石经•辽金刻经》第12册,2000年),将敦煌本《佛说月上女经》与之进行对校,在此按卷次随札如下。

### 第二节 敦煌文献《佛说月上女经》校勘

#### 一、《佛说月上女经》卷上部分对校

由于日藏文献中仅存下卷,因此在这一部分主要对俄藏Φ112-1进行校对。

- 1. "口胁吓云我当抑夺"(《俄藏敦煌文献》 Φ112-1 月上女经(27-1) 191 页第 2 行)。
- "胁",《大正藏》作"愶",此字无注,Φ112-1号作"忄+劫",《房山石经》作"忄+劦/貝"。"愶"字在《敦煌俗字典》中未有收录,其字通"胁",在此处应当是指威胁。Φ112-1号和房本中的字当与其本字涵义相同,是异体字的写法。
- "吓",《大正藏》作"嚇",无注,《房山石经》也作"嚇",Φ112-1号作"哄"。 此处经文说众多求婚者前来对毘摩罗诘威胁恐吓,因而"嚇"字当准确,然"哄" 字也可表示呵斥之义,如《集韵》中称"叿,呵也。或作哄。"以及"驺哄"一词, 也有呵喝声的涵义在内。
- 2. "失其本念, 烦冤懊恼, 嚬眉皱颊, 眼目不瞬而向其女"(《大正藏》第 616 页 b24、25 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-1) 191 页第 7 行)
- "冤",《大正藏》作"冤",注中写宫本、元本、明本作"惋",《房山石经》作" $^{\prime\prime}$ /免",敦煌 $^{\prime\prime}$ 112-1号作" $^{\prime\prime}$ /勉"。当为同义异体字。
- "恼",《大正藏》作"惱",无注,《房山石经》亦作"惱",敦煌Φ112-1号作"惚"。此处主要形容毘摩罗诘的心绪,两字涵义皆通,但情绪稍有不同。Φ112-1号后文中"懊恼"也都写为"懊惚"。
- "颊",《大正藏》作"頬",注中宋本作"額",宫本、元本、明本作"頞",《房山石经》也作"頬",敦煌Φ112-1号作"頞"。"頬"为脸颊,"頞"是山根眉心,此处"嚬眉皱颊"之动作,宜作"頞"字更为恰切。
- 3. "共我身为恶结"(《大正藏》第 616 页 c01 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-1) 191 页第 10 行。)
- "恶",《大正藏》作"恶",注中宋元明宫本皆作"怨",《房山石经》作"恶",敦煌Φ112-1号其字不甚清晰,似"死/心",经《敦煌俗字典》查看,当为"怨"字,与S.799《隸古定尚书》"结怨于民"写法用法符合(黄征:《敦煌俗字典》,2005年,第523页)。此处"恶"和"怨"皆通,含义略有区别。
- 4. "尽其身力趁逐我,彼终不能害得我,慈心毒仗所不害,水火亦复不漂然,不畏死尸诸鬼便,及以呪咀言说者"(《大正藏》第 616 页 c7-9 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-1) 191 页第 13-14 行)
  - "得我",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"得我",敦煌Φ112-1号与宫本、宋元

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 略符页原句为英文:"正仓院圣语藏本(天平写经): The Tempyoō Mss. [A. D. 729-] and the Chinese Mss. of the Sui [A.D. 581-617] and Tang [A.D. 618-822] dynasties, belonging to the Imperial Treasure House Shōsō-in at Nara, specially called Shōgo-zō"可参见新文丰出版社公司《大藏经》索引第 8 册略符页,或 HuiminBhikkhu,《数位化古籍校勘版本处理技术——以 CBETA 大正藏电子佛典为例》,《中华佛学学报》 2005 年总第 18 期,第 303 页。

明本皆作"我得"。此处颠倒顺序不影响语义。

- "慈",《大正藏》、《房山石经》、敦煌Φ112-1号作"慈",宋元明本作"怨"。 结合此句语义,当为"怨心"更为恰当。
- "仗",《大正藏》、敦煌Φ112-1号作"仗",《房山石经》与宋元明宫本作"杖", 当为"毒杖"。
- "便",《大正藏》、《房山石经》、敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1 号作"便",宋元明宫作"使",此处当为"诸鬼使",与下句"言说者"对称。
- "咀",《大正藏》、敦煌Φ112-1号作"咀",《房山石经》和宋元明宫本作"詛", 此处当为"詛",表示咒骂义。
  - 5. "汝等应当各自怒力……及以街巷严餝壮丽过上所陈"
- "怒力",《大正藏》、《房山石经》、敦煌Φ112-1号作"怒力",宋元明宫本作"努力",当为异体字或通假字。
- "壮丽",《大正藏》、《房山石经》、敦煌Φ112-1号作"壯麗",宋元明宫本作"莊嚴",二字似皆通。
- 6. "结加趺坐身如金色自然显现"(《大正藏》第 617 页 a19 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-2) 192 页第 36 行。)
- "加",《大正藏》作"加",敦煌Φ112-1号、《房山石经》、宋元明宫本作"跏",应为"结跏趺坐",似为通假字。
- 7. "忽似颇黎红缥色,我于身心无有想,见尊功德大欢喜"(《大正藏》第 617 页 a28-29 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-2) 192 页第 14-42 行。)
- "颇黎",《大正藏》、敦煌Φ112-1号作"頗黎",宋元宫本及《房山石经》 作"頗梨",明本作"玻瓈"。
- "大欢喜"、《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"大歡喜",宋元明宫本和敦煌Φ112-1号作"大喜歡"。
- 8. "今遣我来至你所"(《大正藏》第 617 页 b06 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-2) 192 页第 45 行。)
- "你",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"儞",宋元明宫本作"爾",敦煌Φ112-1号作"介"。
- 9. "却敌楼橹雀堕寮窓勾栏藻梲诸雕饰事……因涉彼城而看月上。"(《大正藏》第 618 页 b8-9 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》  $\Phi$ 112-1 月上女经(27-4)193 页第 90 行。)
- "堕",《大正藏》与敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1号、《房山石经》作"堕",宋元明宫本作"垛"。
  - "窓",《大正藏》、敦煌Φ112-1号作"窓",《房山石经》与明本作"牕"。
- "勾",《大正藏》、敦煌Φ112-1号、《房山石经》作"勾",宋本作"鉤", 元明宫本作"枸"。
  - "栏",《大正藏》作"欄",无注,敦煌Φ112-1号作"蘭"。
  - "梲",《大正藏》、敦煌Φ112-1号、《房山石经》作"梲",宋本宫本作"棳"。
  - "涉",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"涉",敦煌Φ112-1号与宋元明宫本作"陟"。 10. "互作父母及兄弟······各作怨雠互相杀"
- "互",敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1号与《房山石经》写成形状皆似"乐"或"牙",是俗体字,《敦煌俗字典》158页举例 S. 6631g《辞父母讚文一本》"互相贪染结因缘"可见此写法。
  - 11. "现得欢喜常受乐"(《大正藏》第618页b8-9行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ

112-1 月上女经(27-4)193页第90行。)

- "受"、《大藏经》、敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1 号、《房山石经》作"受"、宫本作"爱"。
- 12. "无怒无妬无嫉"(《大正藏》第 619 页 a4 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-5) 193 页第 119 行。)
- "妬",《大藏经》作"妬",《房山石经》同,敦煌Φ112-1号作"垢",二字内涵完全不同,但都解释得通,难以判定。
- 13. "尔时月上复报长老舍利弗言"(《大正藏》第 619 页 b2 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-5) 193 页第 134 行。)
- "弗",《大正藏》、《房山石经》皆有此字,但敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1 号和宋元明宫本皆缺"弗"字。

#### 二、《佛说月上女经》卷下部分对校

这一部分内容在俄藏、日藏、圣语藏和《房山石经》中都完整保存,在此以《大正藏》及各版本注为依据进行校勘。

- 1. "是故菩提无二离一"(《大正藏》第 620 页 a3 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-6) 194 页第 134 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 1 第 8 行)
- "一",此处在敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1号和羽730号、《房山石经》、圣宫宋元明本中都作"二",唯有《大正藏》版本作"一"。
- 2. "有所闻不生着想无欣乐相"(大正藏》第 620 页 a10 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》 Φ112-1 月上女经(27-6)194 页第 171 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 1 第 12 行)
- "相",在《大正藏》中作"相",在敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、圣语藏和《房山石经》中作"想"。
- 3. "尔时童子文殊师利告月上女作如是言"(《大正藏》第 620 页 b01 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》 $\Phi$ 112-1 月上女经(27-7)194 页第 184 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 1 第 25 行)
- "师",《大藏经》和《房山石经》作"師",敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1 号和羽 730 号、圣语藏、宋元明宫本中作"尸"。
- 4. "汝行菩提经今几时。其女答言。善男子。如彼阳焰经今几时"(《大正藏》 第 620 页 c13-14 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》  $\Phi$ 112-1 月上女经(27-8)195 页第 210-211 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 2 第 51-52 行)
- "经",《大藏经》、《房山石经》作"經",敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1 号和羽 730 号、圣语藏作"逕"。前后两处同。
- 5. "汝既说言一切法界"(《大正藏》第 621 页 a02 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ 112-1 月上女经(27-8) 195 页第 222 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 2 第 63 行)
- "既",《大正藏》作"既",无注,敦煌Φ112-1号同"既",羽730号作"記",应为误写。
- 6. "虽于一空无想无愿。……如似诸佛多陀阿伽度阿罗诃三藐三佛陀者。" (《大正藏》第 621 页 a12-14 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》  $\Phi$ 112-1 月上女经(27-8) 195 页第 230-231 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 3 第 71-72 行。)
- "想",《大藏经》、《房山石经》、敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号作"想",圣语藏和宋元明宫本作"相"。
  - "陀阿伽度",《大正藏》作"陀阿伽度",敦煌Φ112-1 号和羽 730 号、圣语

藏、《房山石经》作"他伽多"。

- 7. "遍满三十由旬而来已不。颇有一念起智慧心得解脱已不。颇复能降一切诸魔眷属已不。"(《大正藏》第 621 页 a26-28 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》 $\Phi$ 112-1 月上女经(27-9)195 页第 238-239 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 3 第 79-80 行)
  - "三十",《大正藏》作"三十",无注。敦煌Φ112-1 号和羽 730 号皆作"卅"。
- "已不",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"已不",敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1 号和羽 730 号、圣语藏作"不",缺"已"字。
- "有复",《大正藏》、敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、《房山石经》作"復",无 "有"字。宋元明宫本作"有復"。
- 8. "满三匝已从脐而入"(《大正藏》第 621 页 b09 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ 112-1 月上女经(27-9) 195 页第 246 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 3 第 87 行。)
- "脐",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"臍",敦煌Φ112-1 号和羽 730 号、圣语藏作"齊"。
- 9. "其帐方整下有四柱······坐彼座上结加趺坐分明显著"(《大正藏》第 621 页 b20-23 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-9)195 页第 252-254 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 3 第 93-95 行。)
- "柱",《大正藏》、《房山石经》、敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号皆作"柱",圣 语藏本作"住"。
- "加",《大正藏》作"加",敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1号和羽730号、圣语藏、《房山石经》、宋元明宫本皆作"跏"。
- 10. "忽然复有第五莲华现其右手"(《大正藏》第 621 页 c15 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》  $\Phi$ 112-1 月上女经(27-10)196 页第 267 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 4 第 108 行。)
- "然复",《大藏经》、《房山石经》作"然復",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、 圣语藏、宋元明宫本皆无此二字。
- "第五",《大藏经》、《房山石经》作"第五",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、圣语藏无此二字。
- 11. "形状纵广亦如上说"(《大正藏》第 622 页 a06 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》 Ф 112-1 月上女经(27-10) 196 页第 278 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 4 第 119 行。)
- "纵",《大正藏》、《房山石经》、敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号作"縱",圣语藏本作"從"。
- 12. "愿不生于恶道里,唯愿生天及人中······复有佛号钩娄村,奉施一具妙衣服,是故现得金色体,清净显赫如月天,有佛迦尼迦牟尼,香华涂末供养彼,以是口出妙香气,犹如栴檀优钵罗,佛名尸弃两足尊·······厌离诸欲五百世"(《大正藏》第622页c06-13行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1月上女经(27-11)196页第311-316行,《敦煌秘笈》羽730号图5第151-155行。)
- "里",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"裏",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、宋元明宫本作"中"。
- "钩娄",《大正藏》、《房山石经》、敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号作"鉤婁", 宋元明宫本作"拘樓"。
- "香华",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"香華",敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1 号和羽 730 号作"香花",宋元明宫本作"熏華"。
- "优",《大藏经》作"優",《房山石经》、敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1号和羽730号、圣语藏本作"豪"。

"弃",《大藏经》、《房山石经》作"棄",无注,羽 730 号作"棄",敦煌 $\Phi$  112-1 号字形似"毒",《敦煌俗字典》 316 页可知,与 S. 799《隶古定尚书》相似,是"弃"的异体字。

"世", 无注, 敦煌Φ112-1 号和羽 730 号中皆缺此字。

- 13. "为欲教化发菩提······儴佉轮王家作子"(《大正藏》第 622 页 c21、28 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》  $\Phi$ 112-1 月上女经(27-11)196 页第 319、322 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 5 第 159、162 行。)
  - "化", 无注, 敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号皆作"他"。
- "儴",《大藏经》作"儴",《房山石经》作"穰",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、圣语藏本和宫本、宋本作"攘"。
- 14. "彼尊名号月上者,眉间白毫出妙光,其光金色甚耀丽"(《大正藏》第623页 a10 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-12)197页第328行,《敦煌秘笈》羽730号图5第168行。)
- "毫",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"毫",敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1 号和羽 730 号、圣语藏本作"豪"。
- "耀",《大正藏》作"耀",《房山石经》、敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、圣语藏本、宫宋元明本皆作"輝"。
- 15. "无生忍法无障碍·······住世七十三千劫·······法教一住无有殊······如海取于一渧水"(《大正藏》第 623 页 a20-28 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》Φ112-1 月上女经(27-12)197 页第 333-335 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 5 第 173-177 行。)
- "忍法",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"忍法",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、 宋元明宫本作"法忍"。
- "万",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"劫",圣语藏、宋元明宫本作"萬",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号作"万",应是敦煌俗体字简写。
- "渧",《大正藏》、敦煌 $\Phi$ 112-1号和羽730号作"渧",《房山石经》、宋元明宫本作"滴"。
- 16. "如来终不有妄语……利益天人八部辈"(《大正藏》第 623 页 b11-b16 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》 $\Phi$ 112-1 月上女经(27-12)197 页第 344、346 行,《敦煌秘笈》羽 730 号图 6 第 184、186 行。)
  - "语",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"語",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号作"言"。
  - "辈"、《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"輩"、敦煌Φ112-1 号和羽 730 号作"眾"。
- 17. "月上菩萨眼自对见彼百千佛授其记已……复从佛闻为彼授记而佛白言……复有二百比丘尼等与其同类二万人俱……及彼大会天人阿修罗干闼婆等八部之类。"(《大正藏》第623页 c11、c17、c25、c28 行,《俄藏敦煌文献》  $\Phi$  112-1 月上女经(27-13)197页第259-370行,《敦煌秘笈》羽730号图6第199-210行。)
  - "眼",《大正藏》作"眼",无注,敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号作"即"。
- "佛白",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"佛白",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、圣语藏本作"白佛",此处应为"白佛"。
- "同",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"同",无注,敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号缺此字。
- "阿",《大正藏》、《房山石经》作"阿",敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号、圣语藏本缺此字。

#### 三、小结

通过以上校录和比对可以发现,敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号与《大藏经》版本是有所区别的,相对而言,这两份文书与日本圣语藏版本更为接近。《房山石经》版本则与《大正藏》注中的宋元明宫本比较相似。这清晰地反映出了《佛说月上女经》在不同时代中的演变脉络,也互证了这些文献的抄写年代是各有归属的。

另一方面,敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号写经更是体现了惊人的一致,《月上女经》卷下中只有621a02的"既"字和622c14的"弃"字两处不同,且都属于错写或同字异体写法。这两份文书不论是抄写格式、笔迹风格还是异体俗体字用法,都有相似之处,譬如《大藏经》版本和注解版本中,"华盖"、"香华"等等各处都使用"华"字,而Φ112-1号和羽730号则都使用了"花"字。《大正藏》622c13"厌离诸欲五百世"中的"世"字在这两件文书中都被脱漏。如此之类的例子还比较多,尤其比对原卷字迹以后更加明显。因而我们可以猜测,敦煌Φ112-1号和羽730号写经是出自同一底本的两件文书,而且很有可能出自同一抄经人之手,由于机缘巧合分别被带去了俄罗斯和日本。



图 1-1 日本杏雨书屋藏《敦煌秘笈》中的《月上女经卷下》

時舎利非復問女言衆生界者復有統許其女教言如彼過去未来現在 非復問女言無明有 爱復有幾許其女教言如衆生果無有異也 故菩提之體巫有二相是故菩提巫二離二 菩提者被再生家亦不可說無有雅性其間亦俱無可成者何以 忍相汝當不久得成何将多罪三狼三菩提 今時長老舎利非展問月上 住如是言於於今者在菩薩地有差 有問者如有答者二俱減相不可得也 有希有沙今乃餘如此稱才無有滞礙是故汝首曾更奉侍統許佛来 可住故沒縣者皆無可減 尊者舍利非言是故不應分別諸法一相異相無別異相於諸相中無有 以者何然被法者無可分别亦無言就非別非一亦非衆多 校被處而来聽法 女如是言汝今但當光向佛所我等須史為聽法故不久當還向 久得成何稱多羅三狼三菩提也專合利弗大阿将多羅三狼三 者亦假名就看又若近俱是名字尊者云何性如是言汝當不 言等合利非夫菩提者巫有言說但以假名文字說耳巧言成 利非言彼文字減無有是跡其女益言尊食利非如是減相一切法中 諸佛境果舍利非言若如此者汝就何事是何解釋其女報言依尊者 及与法果有統許也女很答如言無明有及以受等無有異也 時舍利 許諸佛来者猶如實際与法界也 言尊合利邦此女今既前向佛邊今日必當有大法義我等亦可四 如是衆生住於我想若有真洞入法性看則無是念終不立佛 聚生前佛熟法為間法故如来小時豈不為被而記法也 水水乃為如是說法 来不為聽法者就亦侵不為樂法者就舎利邦言如来若介 府月上報舍利邦作如是言尊合利邦今問我我汝苦曾更奉倚然 雜記法被必合言尊合利弗若有所聞不生着想些改樂想 月上沒各被言若有衆生作如是想此是如来為我記法 時合利非復問女言我問何義其女養言問文字也舍 介時月上展白長老舎利非言尊舎利非 个時将者 摩河巡禁告於長先合利非 今時舎利 书 展語 月上作如是言若有 今時長老倉利非被告月上作如是言希 特舍利邦復图女言所言實際 介持舎利非古月上 介時月上在如是

图 1-2 俄罗斯科学院东方研究所圣彼得堡分所藏敦煌文献中的《月上女经卷下》

### 第三节 《佛说月上女经》流传概述

针对《佛说月上女经》的研究在国内外还十分稀少,近年来所见的只有驹泽大学的石井公成和四川大学的何剑平曾对其进行一些研究。根据何剑平先生的看法,《佛说月上女经》与《转女身经》中答问辩论的内容有相当一部分十分相似,因此在印度二者可能出自同一话本或故事,来源可能是一种民间流行酬唱的传说。

而纵观经文译者阇那崛多生平事迹,他翻译《佛说月上女经》的时候应当是在入隋以后,也就是开皇五年与仁寿末年之间。可以确定的是《月上女经》的翻译是有本可循的,原本很可能是北齐僧宝暹、道邃、僧昙等十僧人从西域搜集到的梵文经典,也可能是隋王朝各寺院或机构中原本存放的典籍。无论哪一种可能,都为我们排除了《佛说月上女经》作为"伪经"的可能。

《佛说月上女经》其经书本身内容在隋唐时代几乎没有被引用或者作为典故使用,无论是在佛典还是唐诗中,笔者都未能找到其作为典故被书写的踪迹。唯有《梵网经》注疏中可见数条记载,而似乎是错将其他经文内容写成月上女之事。这一佛经在最迟八世纪已经传到日本,反映了当时佛教在中日文化交流中担任的重要角色。

在宋代的佛教经典中,《月上女经》出现的场合开始变多,不再单一以被收录的形式出现,而是被僧人们灵活运用在各种注解、联对、偈语、公案中,作为一种典故对象来使用,月上女的事迹在禅宗经典中被多次引用,并被写成偈语和颂诗。

在明清时期,禅宗僧人继承了宋元时期的传统,关注点也继续落在月上女与舍利佛出城对答的公案,并同样写出了与4此典故相关的一些颂诗和偈语。但值得关注的是,这一阶段对《月上女经》的流传出现了一个新的方式——超度用经,在明王起隆辑著《金刚经新异录》、清代周克复纂《金刚经持验记》、清王泽泩编

集《金刚经感应分类辑要》中都有记录(王起隆《金刚经新异录》,第 497 页。 周克复《金刚经持验记》,第 543 页)。

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# 关于禅定中住定不得过七昼夜的讨论

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### 内容提要

在佛陀的时代,佛教徒重视禅定的实际修习。我们从经典中可以知道,乔达摩是坐在阿说他树(asvattha)下禅坐,最终证得无上正等正觉,成为一位觉者的。后来,弟子们也跟随佛陀一起在树下或寂静之处结跏趺坐修习禅定。这种修习方式,从佛陀时期的早期禅修到后来不同部派等不同的禅修的中期禅修。乃至于发展到现在,在中国形成了具有中国特色的"禅宗"的后期禅修。在经论中记载的,因为禅定的修习,而证成果位的,不计其数。佛陀十大弟子之一的迦叶尊者也守衣入灭尽定于鸡足山¹,距今已有千年了。但是,在《大毗婆沙论》中有说:"极久不得过七昼夜.段食尽故。"也就是说,欲界众生的身体需要饮食来滋养以维持生命。如果长时间住在禅定之中,出定之后,肉身便会散坏。所以,住灭尽定者,因为在定中没有饮食养分的维持,在定中最长不能超过七个昼夜。那么,什么是定?什么是住定?于住定中一定不能超过七日吗?如果是这样,迦叶尊者入定千年,该怎么解释呢?而且,呼吸是不是饮食?如果是的话,四禅之前,定中还是有呼吸的。那么,七日的说法就与饮食无关?等等这些问题,是本文探讨的重点。通过本文,让我们对禅定有个简单的认识,希望对行者在以后的实际禅修中有所助益。

<sup>1 《</sup>品类足论》T1542 26.P0692

#### 前 言

禅修,在古印度是非常普遍的一种修行方法。他不是佛教特有的修行方式。1921年印度河流域上古文明的城市遗址——哈拉巴在今巴基斯坦旁遮普省境内及莫亨焦达罗<sup>2</sup>等遗址的发现,告诉我们,在佛教产生之前的印度,公元前3000前就已经存在了。但是,包括吠陀时期,还没有文字明确说明禅定。有关禅定具体记载较早的文献是奥义书。《奥义书》中所讲说的内容成为了婆罗门教中瑜伽派及吠檀派系统化禅定思想的基础。也影响到了后来大多数流派和佛教。佛陀在阿说他树下禅坐觉悟,成就了无上正等正觉。因此,禅修,也成为当时佛教修行的主要方式。不过,佛陀通过自己悟到的真理,吸收、借鉴和发展了之前的禅修,成为佛教不同于其他的派别的禅修理论体系。其目标就是——开启般若智慧,获得最终的解脱。但是,在实际修持禅定的时候,也会出现一些相应的问题。也就是因为有了戒律及实际修持中出现的很多问题,才会有后来的部派的分裂。比如,在定中,是以什么来维持这个身体的?如果住于定中只能七日,七日之后,必须饮的滋养才能延续生命。那么,冬眠的动物,可以几个月的时间不用饮食。人在重病中,也可以超过七日不用饮食。本文就围绕这些相关问题,作一个梳理。以期对相关问题有个清晰的认识。

### 一、灭尽定

已证得四色禅及四无色禅的阿那含与阿罗汉能够证入灭尽定,早期称作"想受灭定"或称为"想知灭定",是处于四禅、四无色定之上并与他们共称为"九次第定"。灭尽定最早在《阿含经》中就已经出现了,但是,根据印顺法师于《性空学探源》虽然,中提到的:"…很明显的,佛教所说观空的禅定,在演变中,渐次的与三界的次第符合。所以我敢说:三界中无色界的次第,全是后代佛弟子们修定的过程,在'身坏命终由本意故得至彼处'的理论下,组织安立成功的"。法师并将此思想的演变归纳为三期,而灭尽定是在无色定以上,所以应该属于最后期。

灭尽定,根据有部的说法,灭尽定是一个绝对没有心理活动的定。行者已经远离了无所有处的贪烦恼,那里有个心不相应法,能令心心所息灭,所以叫做灭尽定。<sup>3</sup>上座部觉音论师给出的灭尽定的定义是:"那么,什么是灭尽定?是以次第而灭心及心所法之不转起。"而譬喻者分别论师认为,灭尽定有细心不灭。<sup>4</sup>由此,我们可以看出,譬喻分别师认为入灭尽定有细心的存在,而上座部与有部认为,入灭尽定后绝对没有心的存在。

如果入灭尽定后,没有心的存在,那与死又有何区别呢?这在《杂阿含经》与《中阿含经》等经里都有谈到,现举《法乐比丘尼经》中所言:"复问:"尊者,若死若入灭尽正受有差别不"?答:"舍于寿暖,诸根败坏,身命分离,是名为死。灭尽定者身口意行灭,不舍寿命,不离于暖,诸根不坏,身命相属,此则命终入灭正受差别之相。"5一旦行者出定时,它们即随时恢复作用。如上所说,两者

<sup>2 《</sup>成唯识论》1585 31.P0001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> T2, 150

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> T30,p. 334, a20~25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> T30, p. 334, c21~26

之差别是在寿与暖。寿即是命根或生命力,暖即是体温。入灭尽定者在定中,虽然六根对外境的反应已经停止了,但是,它们所具有的功能还是存在没有消失的,也许很微弱,可是还能够维持肉体的基本原素。而亡者的体温下降,四肢僵化,最后才腐烂散坏。入灭尽定者是不会有这样的现象,虽说没有了呼吸,头脑没有思维,但仍然保持着生命力与体温。那么,为什么在没有饮食的支持下,在无心的状中,还会保持身体不坏不散呢?这个问题,我们下面会有说明。

### 二、入定、住定、出定

#### (一)、定义

《瑜伽师地论》讨论禅定所缘时, 将入定、住定、出定等三个阶段,也列入三十二相(禅定对象的三十二种特征)中。6 后又对"入定相""住定相""出定相"加以说明:

"云何入定相?谓由因缘所缘应修习相故,入三摩地,或复已得而现在前。云何住定相?谓即于彼诸相,善巧而取。由善取故,随其所欲,于定安住。又于此定得不退法。云何出定相?谓分别体所不摄不定地相。"<sup>7</sup>

就是说,什么是入定相呢?我们一般认为,硬是有个东西进去。不是的。而是各种因缘凑合而成的。比如在修光明定,但是,一直观不起来。这时,正好有个因缘,一下就让你观到了这个明点,就进入定了。然后,再把这个有相的光明转成自性无相光的境界。"或复已得而现在前",是说,曾经的定境界现前,行住坐卧随时可以达到定的境界。

那么接下来,什么是住定相呢?"住"有停止或静止、安住之义。"住定"就是住于定中之义。即,前面的入定相是初步,入了定之后,能够在定中安住,就是"住定相"。也就是说,能善巧的把握禅定对象,随心所欲,就是说,当我要进入定的境界,不管在做什么,不管什么境界,都可以随时随地进入这个境界。即一般所说的得定。并能于这个禅定之中安住,就是论中所说的"善巧而取。由善取故,随其所欲。"也可说是于禅定中能够得到"不退法"。

那么什么是出定相呢?就是说,我要从定中出来,不想在这个境界上了。这时,不是你的分别心所能够支配的。而是任运自在的。就是"出定相"。

根据《大乘阿毗达磨杂集论》,又将此三种自在"转向自在""观察自在"合称为禅定进展之"五种自在"。 在南传上座部的《清净道论》中,也将行者在所希望的地点、时间"入定"、"住定"、"出定"的自在能力与"转向自在""观察自在"合称为禅定进展的"五种自在"。 即:能够随其所欲地入定。比如说,你准备入定一个小时。即是入定自在;入定之后,便专注心不散乱。这就是住定自在;当你突然想到,时间到了,马上就把心转向诸禅支。这就是转向自在;并能够清楚的觉察到五禅支。这就是观察自在。当你想到时间到了,出定之后发现,正好是一小时,这就是出定自在。

那么,现在就有个问题,无论是入定、住定、出定都随心所欲,自由自在。那么,

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<sup>6</sup> T1606 31.P0694 大乘阿毗达磨杂集论 (16卷) 〖唐 玄奘译〗

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Visuddhimagga (PTS) IV, 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> T27,no. 1545, p. 779, c3~29。在异译本《阿毘昙毘婆沙论》也有相同的记载(T28, no. 1546, p. 336, b16~p. 336, c9)。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> T 1585 31.P0001

是不是说就可以在定中长久的安住呢?下面,我们就这个问题来进行讨论。

#### (二)、住定得经几时

根据《大毗婆沙论》中有提出安住于"灭尽定"中,最长可以维持多久,以 及长时住定经验对身体的影响的讨论议题。 其内容如下:

"问:住灭尽定得经几时?答:欲界有情诸根大种由段食住。若久在定,则在定时,身虽无损,后出定时,身便散坏。故住此定,但应少时,极久不得过七昼夜,段食尽故。"<sup>10</sup>

段食,即分段而食。在《成唯识论》中有详细的说明:

"食有四种:一、段食,欲界以香、味、触三尘为体,分段而饮啖,故称段食。二、触食,又作细滑食、乐食。以触心所为体,对所触之境,生起喜乐之爱,而长养身者,此为有漏之根、境、识和合所生。三、思食,又作意念食。于第六意识思所欲之境,生希望之念以滋长相续诸根。《大乘义章》卷八曰:"过去业思,是其命根,令命不断,说为思食。若如是者,一切众生所有寿命,皆由往思,不应言无。或当应以彼现在思想而活命者,说为思食。"11

由此文我们可知,食有四: 1、段食,就是一日两餐或三餐,分阶段而食,就称为段食,段食是以香、味、触三尘为体,进入腹中,就会被分解,其中,对我们有资益的养分被吸收,没有用的部分排出体外。以此来长养肉身;2、触食,触就是对的意思。就是当识对于六尘的软、细、滑、冷、暖等触觉,生起喜乐。也可以资益身体。比如,当我们看到一部好的电影,我们可以一整天都不用吃东西,也不会感觉饥饿;3、思食,思就是意思。就是第六识于喜爱的境界上,生出希望而能滋养身体。如"望梅止渴",即是此食;4、识食,执持的意思,以第八阿赖耶识为体,支持有情身命不坏者,如无色界及地狱之众生以识为食。换句话说:也就是地狱及无色界的众生,是以识支持命根。地狱众生及无色界中无边识处天等。皆用识持以为其食。

欲界的众生四食皆具。根据《清净道论》中所说:在一日所食的食物,得能支持(身体七天)。因此,在《大毗婆沙论》中就有说,身体一定需要饮,如果长时间的处于定中,是没有饮食的滋养的,超过了七昼夜,在出定之后,身体便会散坏。

在《大乘义章》中,成实师对毗昙师说的是由于段食而有七日之限的解释, 并不是很满意,首先,成实师与毗昙师对"四食"的看法就是不同的:

"问曰。无漏何故非食。释言。无漏坏相续相。是故非食(此一门竟)。次就趣论先论生阴。地狱之中。论释不同。若依成实,但有识食。毘昙法中,具有四食。彼说,地狱吞热铁等能坏飢饿,即为段食。余三,心法,常有可知。鬼畜两趣齐具四食。人中不定。若有心者,皆具四食。灭心之者,论说不同。若依毘昙。段食余势令身不坏,更无余食。故彼宗中入灭定者,远至七日即须出定。若过七日,段食势尽,起则身坏。成实法中。灭心之者,现虽无心,识得在故,犹名识食。以识食故,入灭定虽迳多时,身亦不坏。天中不定。欲界诸天,与人相似。色界诸天。若依成实,唯有识食。毘昙法中。彼有心者,唯无段食,有余三种。若灭

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<sup>10</sup> T1851 44.P0465

<sup>11</sup> T1545 27.P0001

心者,四食俱无。无色界天,与色界中有心者同。无色界中无灭心故。生阴如是。"<sup>12</sup>

在此段文中,成实师认为,地狱的众生只有识食;毗昙师认为,地狱具有四食。地狱众生有香热铁等可以充饥,所以,是为段食。其他三食,是心法,地狱畜生也都具备,因此,鬼及畜生这两趣具备四食。在人中,有不同的说法。毗昙师认为,还没有入无心位的有情,具备四食。已入于无心位的有情,只有依靠段食的余势支持此身不坏。没有其余三食。所以,此宗入于灭尽定的行者,有七昼夜的限制。而成实师认为,入于无心位的有情,虽然没无心,但是,识还是存在的。因此,还有识食,有识食的支持,入于灭尽定不管多长时间,身体都不会坏的。天中不一定。欲界诸天,与人是相似的。色界诸天,如果依照成实师所说,只有识食。而毗昙法中,认为色界诸天入于无心位,四食俱无。如没有入于无心位,没有段食,有其他三食。无色界与色界入无心位相同。接着,毗昙师在论中有举了几个例子来说明入灭尽定时间不能太久:

"云何知然?曾闻于一僧伽蓝中,有一苾刍得灭尽定。食时将至,着衣持钵,诣食堂中。是日打揵墀(又称揵槌、揵椎;僧团中敲打用之报时器具)少晚。彼苾刍以精勤故,便作是念:我何为空过,此时不修于善,遂不观后际,则立誓愿入于灭定,乃至打揵墀当出时。彼僧伽蓝有难事起,诸苾刍等散往他处。经于三月,难事方解,苾刍还集僧伽蓝中,纔打揵墀,彼苾刍从定而出,则便命终。"13

论中说此比丘,因为过斋之前还有点时间,便精进用功入于定中,由于住定,而不知道伽蓝有难事起,众比丘已散往别处。经三月难事过后,众僧回来,才发现此比丘已入于灭尽定三个月,才打揵椎令出。此比丘出定之后便命终。又说:"复有一苾刍得灭尽定,而常乞食。于日初分,着衣持钵方欲诣村。遇天大雨,恐坏衣色少时停住,则作是念:我何为空过,此时不修于善,遂不观后际,则立誓愿入于灭定,乃至雨止当出。有说:尔时雨经半月;有说:一月其雨方止。彼从定出则便命终。"14

说有一比丘,有一日出外乞食。突然遇到下大雨。比丘在躲雨时想,我不要 空过任何时间。我应该在此时修习善法。于是,便入于灭尽定。经半月或一月的 时间,雨停了,此比丘出定即便命终。

论中所说的两位比丘都是非常精进修行的,不愿意虚度时光,因此,利用过 斋之前及下雨的时间入于灭尽定,但是,都是由于时间过长,出定便命终。因此, 《大毗婆沙论》举这两个比丘的例子来证明论中所提出的:住灭尽定,最长不得 过七昼夜的说法。

接下来,在《大乘义章》中就有成实师认为,两位比丘出定即命终,与段食 无关,并提出迦叶尊者守衣入定的问题来问难毗昙师:

"次辨灭定时节分齐。毘昙法中。欲界众生所入灭定时虽能久而不久入。于中极远不过七日。若过七日出定即死。何故如是。欲界众生段食养身。段食之势不过七日。故过七日出定即死。上界众生离段食。故入灭定者能经多时。虽经多时不得过于彼报分齐。过出即死。成实法中。破毘昙家欲界众生段食养身七日须出。彼说一切入灭定者。正受持身纵迳多劫出亦不死。于中或有出而死者。以本命根垂尽之时而入灭定。是故出时即便命终。不由在定多时故死。大乘法中。诸佛菩萨所入灭定时无限齐。问曰。经说。摩诃迦叶在鷄足山待弥勒出。从山而起礼觐

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<sup>12</sup> T 1545 27.P0001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> T1851 44.P0465

<sup>14 《</sup> 成唯识论了义灯》T1832 43.P0659

弥勒现十八变然后灭身。彼今在山为般涅槃为入灭定。释有两义。若依成实彼入灭定正受持身。故后能出礼佛现化。若依毘昙彼入涅槃。非是灭定。若是灭定出即身坏。何能诣佛礼事供养广现神化。又复依如阿育王经宣说。迦叶欲涅槃时往辞世王。云入涅槃。定知所入非是灭定。又复世尊付法藏中说。佛灭后迦叶持法经二十年。摩诃迦叶般涅槃后阿难持法复二十年。如是次第。故知彼今入般涅槃。问曰。若彼入涅槃者。后时何能诣佛礼觐广现神变。释言。彼是留化神力,故能如是。如佛世尊般涅槃时,摩诃摩耶来至佛所,佛为起坐。亦如舍利目捷连等,化火烧身。此等皆是留化力也。时分如是。"15

在此段文中,毗昙师所说的,因段食故,入灭定不能超过七日,超过便会命终。成实师对这一说法,并不认同。他们认为,住于灭尽定之中,由于定力持身,纵经多劫都可以不死。于是,成实师就说,在《毗婆沙论》中所说的入灭定三个月,半个月一个月出定之后便命终的比丘也许在入定之前便已经生了重病。因此,出定之后,便命终了。接着又问:如果说有七日之限,那么,迦叶尊者守衣入定于鸡足山待弥勒出世,是入于涅槃还是入定呢?对于这个问题,成实师与毗昙师有不同的解释:成实师说,迦叶尊者一定是入定。因定力的受持,所以,才能够往诣佛礼觐供养听受法教。如果已经入于涅槃,如何诣佛礼觐呢?而毗昙师认为,迦叶尊者已入于涅槃。因为在《阿育王经》中,就有说到,尊者欲入涅槃而去辞世王。因此,是涅槃,而非入定。佛在《付法藏论》中也有提到迦叶尊者般涅槃。那么,成实师又问了,如果说是涅槃,为什么还会有诣佛礼觐这样的神变呢?毗昙师接着解释到,这是迦叶尊者留化的神通之力。就如世尊般涅槃时,摩诃摩耶来到佛所,佛即起身而坐。又如舍利弗、目捷连等化火烧身之神异,这些都是留化的神通之力。迦叶尊者也是如此。接下来,又有人问:

"问如在灭定经于多日以何为食?答识.触.思三。何无段食?答传释段食持身正经七日。住定时多故无段食,亦有许此定多时有段食。由定力持得多时住。出定死者自业尽故 要集难云。既许有段食。何故破外不依食住。故相传云。过七日后段食即尽。唯由三食定势力故持身久住。出定无力又无段食故即命终 今谓此说道理有余。定力持身既得久住。何故不能持彼段食令得久住。如外衣发定持不坏。又住定多时出定之后。或有即死有非死者。何者。现见世间病力持身。虽不饮食多日不死药力亦然。何独在定食力即尽出定即终 "16

从此段问答,我们可以知道,经论中也允许定中有段食的,但是,定力持得多。 那么,出定者命终,应该就是因为自己的业力尽了而已。如果在病中的病人,由 病力的支持,虽经多日不食也不会命终的。

从以上内容,我们对《大毗婆沙论》中所说的住定限七日的内容有所了解了。那么,新的问题又出来了。呼吸算不算饮食呢?世尊在《大毗婆沙论》中有说:"何故世尊说入出息名饮食耶。答。能损益故.谓无上妙饮食益身.如有方便调入出息.亦无麁恶饮食损身.如无方便调入出息.是故世尊说为饮食。"「如果呼吸是饮食,在四禅之前,都是有呼吸的。有呼吸的滋养,又怎么会有七日之限呢?还是说住定七日,仅限于住灭尽定中?

又据《大唐大慈恩寺三藏法师传》和《大唐西域记》记载:在玄奘大师西行求法 之后,于回国之时,越国葱岭到乌铩国有听说:"数百年前,因雷震山崩,发现

<sup>16</sup> 《大唐大慈恩寺三藏法师传》T50, no.2053, p. 250, c10~28。《大唐西域记》T51, no. 2087, p. 942, b11~29。

<sup>15</sup> T 1545 27.P0001

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> T27,no. 1545, p. 779, c24~25.

有一闭目枯坐的比丘,鬓发蔘蔘,垂覆肩面。国王不知此是何人,有比丘回答说 是出家罗汉入灭尽定很长时间者。国王问有方法叫他出定。比丘回答说"段食" 之身,出定便坏,宜先以酥乳灌洒,使润沾腠理,然后击揵槌,或许可以叫他出 定。"

这样说来,即便入定很久的时间,在出定之前,以酥乳灌洒,使润沾腠理, 再叫其出定,便不会命终。在《高僧传》中,也有比丘入定很久,出定而没有命 终的记载。而且,比如熊、蛇等动物冬眠时,可以几个月不用进食,而没有命终。 这些,又如何解释呢?

由此,笔者个人认为,《大毗婆沙论》中所说的"极久不得过七昼夜. 段食尽故。"也有其一定的道理。但是,这个七日,应该不是绝对不能超过的期限,也可能因为个人身体条件的差异,这个日期,也是有所不同的。冬眠的动物,体质与人的相比,就有很大的不同,因此,它们才可以几个月不用饮食,也能存活。《大毗婆沙论》也有提到"色界有情诸根大种不由段食之所任持故,住此定或经半劫。或经一劫或复过此。"也就是说,色界众生的身体体质(诸根大种)不需要由段食的养分来支持持,所以住灭尽定者可以半劫或经一劫或更多的时间住于定中。

# 总论

佛陀在的时候,所有弟子都是依佛陀所教修习,没有任何的分歧。但是佛陀涅槃之后,弟子们对佛陀教法不同的解释,根据自己修习所依的经论,有了不同的修习禅定的方法。在对佛经的理解也有所不同。《大乘义章》等的记载中,我们看到了有关成实师与毗昙师对于住定不能超过七昼夜的说法,就有不同的意见:毗昙师成立这种说法,完全是在欲界有情饮食只能支持身体七日的寿命,并举了两个比丘,因为超过七日,出定后便命终的例子。并认为,迦叶尊者守衣入定于鸡足山,这种说法不对。因为迦叶尊者是涅槃,不是入定。如果有去诣佛礼觐供养听受法教这些,都是留化的神通之力。而成实师认为,七日的说法,是没有的。行者如果想入定多久,都可以乃至一劫多劫。因为在定中,没有段食,但有识食可以资益身体,从而延续寿命。迦叶尊者守衣入定鸡足山,后又能出定去诣佛礼觐,这就说明了住定时间是没有限制的。而论中所说的两位比丘,也有可能是在入定之前,身体便已经有病了。所以,出定之后便命终了。

虽说成实师与毗昙师的说法都有道理,但是,笔者认为,这两种说法都有不完善的地方。首先,也有因为住定中超过七日的行者,出定后并没有命终;也有在出定之后,因为没有饮食的资益,身体虚弱而命终的。因此,应该是因人而异没有一定的。不管后来在佛法的修持中有什么样不同的意见和诤论,都不出佛陀的教法,都是为了最终获得智慧,破除烦恼,见诸法实相,最终完全从轮回中解脱出来。

由于篇幅有限,有些内容,并不能完全、详细的写出来。有些简略一过的内容,也是存在有不同的说法和诤议的。比如说,在翻译的过程中,由于语言及理解的不同,所翻译的词语,是否真正能体现原经所要说明的意思呢?比如:"智慧"和"般若";比如"禅定"、"禅"与"定"是否是一样的呢?还有有关"识"等的问题都有不同说法。在此不能一一详细说明。笔者只希望此文能够抛砖引玉,希望在以后的研究过程中,能够更加的深入观察、学习,以期能够掌握佛法的精华所在。

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# 佛教东传时序考

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## [提要]

一般认为佛教是先传西域而至汉地,但最初传入两地的时间未有定论。佛教传入中国时间自古是依据一些汉文古籍与经录记载的传说;在西域初传及流通的具体情况更是因缺乏相关历史资料而需由其他方面如考古发掘去推断和考证。本文尝试根据前人大德对北线陆路传入的各种说法及推论,集中于佛教由中亚一西域陆路东传的讨论与考察,希望勾划出佛教东传时序的轮廓面貌。

[关键词]: 佛教 汉地 西域 贵霜 犍陀罗 佉卢文

## 序言

佛教在何时东传进入西域、汉地,以及进入这两地的先后次序等,一直是近代学术界着力研究的题目。 从中国历史古籍、文献及经录等记载的各种纷纭说法,学者们得出颇有差异的论断——有说佛教是西汉时期自大月氏传入;有说应该东汉中期才是大、小乘佛学传入及流布之始。 又由于早期佛教经典多是中亚和西域来华僧人所传译,一般相信汉地佛教是由中亚经西域传来;但也有学者以部份历史及考古资料为证,认为佛教应先于西域传入中国。 究竟佛教是何时从何地传入汉地;是中亚(主要是古犍陀罗、安息一带)经西域再传入中国,抑或由中亚地区同时传入西域和中国,还是先于西域传入等问题,至今仍然莫衷一是。

西域名称源自汉代,清朝后转名新疆,一般泛指玉门关以西地区,其范围的 大小则因时代而不同。在汉、魏时代的西域,是指天山之南、昆仑山之北的塔里 木盘地、今新疆南疆地区。1 当时由西域通向西方的交通主要分别沿盘地中间 沙漠的南、北而行,从西域出西南就是天竺(古印度)地区。 因地缘关系及初 期佛经传译语言文字等资料,不少学者以为佛教是先传西域而至汉地。任继愈等 主张佛教极早先传西域,认为于阗传入佛教大概在公元前二世纪以后,至迟在公 元前一世纪末大月氏向中国内地传入佛教之前,于阗国已然长期流行迦湿弥罗的 小乘佛教。与此相近有郭沬若的说法,「印度的佛教较早就在中亚各国传播,西 汉时已传至我国龟兹、于阗等地。汉通西域以后,佛教逐渐传入中国内地」2, 其所说传入时间亦相对较早而且认为同时传入龟兹及于阗。 吕澂则从佛教入华 的各种古代传说分析论证,认为自古被传为佛教初传汉地的经典《四十二章经》 及首先宣扬此说的牟子《理惑论》实非早期(汉代)著作,并以早期汉本译经传 习事实及魏晋时期经籍目录的资料比对考证,相信公元二世纪中叶(东汉中期) 才是汉地大、小乘佛学传入及流布之始。他由此点推测「佛教之传入西域,时间 要比内地早……最迟也不会晚于一世纪,因为佛教传入中国是在二世纪中叶,传 入内地之前,还应当有一个时期在西域流通」3。

前人从历史文献资料推论所述者多为佛教传入西域时间必早于汉地,多不出于公元一世纪。然而至今为止西域发现与佛教有关的考古发掘却未见有公元二至三世纪前的实物遗存,当然这也可能只是尚未发现或初传西域时期未有具体的宗教崇拜文化艺术。除考古发掘外,不少是分析当时中国、西域和中亚的政治历史资料来比对推断。 吴焯、宋肃瀛等就曾撰文从文献和考古材料方面作不同的论述,「按照佛教传入中国内地之前必先传入西域的逻辑来推断,也未切尽符合历史实际...有些材料,特别是近年来的考古发掘以及使用科学方法测得的年代数据,证明西域佛教远较内地为晚。」4 本文并非旨在推翻前人大德的研究成果,而是希望在此些成果的基础上,再从中国历史资料、 经录记载和西域出土的诸语言佛教文献,以及中国、西域考古实物遗存等几方面探讨佛教东传时序的不同观点。 另外,学者如伯希和、梁启超等提出佛教是由南方海道初传中国之说,

<sup>1</sup>「在匈奴之西、乌孙之南、南北有大山,中央有河,东西六千余里。东侧接汉,阨以玉门、阳 关,西侧限于葱岭。」《汉书.西域传》

<sup>2</sup> 引自吴焯《佛教东传与中国佛教艺术》1991,页 161

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 吕澂《中国佛学源流略讲》1996, 页 2495-6

<sup>4</sup> 吴焯《佛教东传与中国佛教艺术》1991,页162

在佛教考古界、美术史界及史学界已多有驳论。5 各种证据显示古中原地区是佛教在中国最早传播的区域,源头多指向中亚及西域,从南海地区的传入反而较晚。 因此本文只集中于佛教由中亚一西域陆路东传的讨论与考察。

# I 历史文献资料

由于西域缺乏有系统的历史纪录,在佛教东传这个题目上大多依据汉文历史材料。佛教初传汉地的具体年代有多种说法,

#### 一. 西汉哀帝 「西汉,公元前 206-公元 8 年]

《三国志》裴松之注引前人鱼豢《魏略. 西戎传》(此书已佚)记载,于西汉哀帝元寿元年(公元前二年),大月氏使者伊存口授博士弟子景卢以《浮屠经》。「罽宾国、大夏国、高附国、天竺国,皆并属大月氏。《浮屠经》云: 其国王生浮屠。浮屠,太子也。父曰屑头邪,母名莫邪…此国在天竺城中…昔汉哀帝元寿元年,博士弟子景卢,受大月氏王使伊存口授《浮屠经》。」

今对此传说真实性说法不一。 汤用彤以为「诸书以授经地点人名虽不相同,但受书为博士弟子,口授者为大月氏人,按当时情形并无不合。 盖[一]大月氏为天竺佛化东披之枢纽,在哀帝时,其族当已皈依三宝; [二]我国早期译经,多以口授, ……大月氏信佛在西汉时,佛法入华或由彼土。译经并非始于四十二章,传法之始当上推至西汉末叶。」 季羡林认为此说可信,他是根据「浮屠」一词源于大夏语[见下文],推想大月氏地区在丘就却建立贵霜王朝(约一世纪中至三世纪)之前已流行佛教。

部分学者认为贵霜王朝前期未必信仰佛教,而大月氏在贵霜之前,当时是否已流传佛教已有疑问,何况以国家大使身份授中土佛经。 台湾学者古正美认为在大月氏占领时期的前大夏都会蓝氏城(今喀布尔西北)已是一处东西文化的发展中心。蓝氏城一直是伊朗祆教在东方发长的非常重要的中心,是希腊、罗马文化,甚至中国及印度文化交接传播之地。不过在大夏土生土长的大月氏翕侯丘就却在统一大月氏各部、建立贵霜王朝及定都犍陀越(Gandhāra 又称犍陀罗)之后才采用佛教政治治国。7

笔者以为,从资料显示,即使此传说有一定的可能性,但佛教在西汉时并未 见实际以致广泛流布。加上当时大月氏地区是否或从何时流行佛教尚存不少疑 问;而贵霜也是大月氏民族,前人将前后时代混为一谈或也有之。因此较难以此 后期记载(鱼豢是曹魏时人)来作为初传中国之确实依据。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 其中可参阅宋晓梅〈从考古遗存引发关于南北两路佛教初传问题的思考〉西域研究,2003 年第 2 期;姚崇新〈佛教海道传入说、滇缅道传入说辨正〉《西域考古、史地、语言研究新视野:黄文弼与中瑞西北科学考查团国际学术研讨会论文集》,北京: 科学出版社 2015 页 459-496; Rong Xinjiang, 'Land Route or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period' Sino-Platonic Papers, University of Pennsylvania, July 2004

<sup>6</sup> 汤用彤《汉魏南北朝佛教史》 1938, 页 50-51

<sup>7</sup> 古正美《贵霜佛教政治传统与大乘佛教》1993, 第二章

#### 二. 东汉明帝 [东汉,公元 25-220 年]

「明帝求法」向被公认是佛教传入之始,首出于刘宋范晔著的《后汉书》。 〈光武十王列传〉载明帝兄弟楚王英喜为浮屠斋戒祭祀事,叙述明帝永平八年(公元65年)诏亡者奉缣帛若干赎罪时,楚王英(未亡)即奉缣纨三十匹赎罪。明帝降诏将之退回让他做为布施之用。〈西域传〉述「明帝夜梦金人,长大,项有光明,以问群臣,或曰,西方有神,名曰佛,其形长丈六尺,而黄金色。帝于是遣使天竺,问佛道法,遂于中国图画形像焉。」前后串连成传说明帝于永平七年,夜梦金人而派人去西域求法,而楚王英就是第一个信奉佛的人。

后人对明帝求法一事是有怀疑的。部份学者以为永平八年与贵霜王朝初同期,当时丘就却始大力推行佛教政治,佛教应尚未或只是刚开始传入西域。另外有推测可能首先传来中国的不是佛经而是佛像,因当时犍陀罗地区开始制作带强烈希腊风格的佛像。「求法之事虽属虚构,但是从这一传说中,我们可以推想,首先传来中国的不是佛经,而是佛像,所谓『金人』,指的就是佛像。传说去西域月氏求法,也有关佛像,这与历史事实相吻合。永平八年正当贵霜王朝,其时受到希腊人画像的影响,开始创作佛像了。」8 另外,不少学者如许理和(E. Zürcher)从近年在四川和沿海地区发掘、带有佛教图象的考古遗存推断,早期佛教并非以其信仰内涵的方式传入,而是以佛陀为外来神祗的崇拜、结合中国祖先祭祀与黄老之术这一种形式传入汉朝宫庭,再由汉庭向民间传播。9 从是观之,即便明帝时有浮屠之说,也不能就此认定为佛教真正传入之始。

## II 初传佛教经典

# 一、汉地初传经典

#### 1. 《四十二章经》

佛教的真正传播始于佛经的传译及僧团的建立。10 开始有从经中摘抄个别段落的经籍《四十二章经》与明帝求法联系起来,产生了各种传说。而此经一直就被认为是最初传译经典——牟子《理惑论》即有「昔孝明皇帝梦见神人(即《后汉书》说的金人),身有日光,飞在殿前…遣中郎蔡愔、羽林郎中秦景、博士弟子王遵等十八人,于大月支写佛经四十二章,藏在兰台石室第十四间。」11 似将《后汉书》的时空(明帝)与《魏略.西戎传》所述地点(大月氏),再加入《四十二章经》并合而成。

<sup>8</sup> 同 3, 页 2465

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> E. Zürcher, 'Han Buddhism and the Western Region', Brill 1990. pp.158-182; Rong Xinjiang, 'Land Route or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period' 2004

<sup>10</sup> 参照许里和于注9文章中分析汉代佛教特色的观点

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 大正藏 T52 No.2102

齐梁间人僧佑(445-518)编的《出三藏记集》第二部份[目录]中以《四十二章经》冠其首,把原经的序文「遣使者张骞、羽林中郎将秦景、博士弟子王遵等十二人至大月支国写取佛经四十二章」12 联系起来写成「遣使张骞等到西域,始于月氏国遇沙门竺摩腾译写此经还洛阳」的内容。 原《四十二章经序》并无提及是翻译;僧佑还加上竺摩腾作为译者,在目录的短序里又加说「孝明感梦,张骞<sup>13</sup>远使,西于月氏写经四十二章,.....东流初法,于斯有征......古经现在,莫先于四十二章,传译所始,靡逾张骞之使。」14

《四十二章经》的真伪过去都有争论。 梁启超认为是伪,他在《四十二章经 辩伪》中说: 「质而言之,则乃撰本,而非译本也.....其人不能于汉代译家中求 之,只能向三国两晋著作家中求之。要之,此书必为中国人作,而非译自印度。作 者必为南人,而非北人。其年代最早不过吴,最晚不过东晋。而其与汉明无关系, 则可断言也。」15 后吕澂等仔细从版本、内容体裁考证后认为《四十二章经》 并非最初传来经典,更不是直接(从印度来)的译本,而是《法句经》16的经抄(但 亦非如梁启超所说是伪经),应该是东晋(317-420)初抄出的。汤用彤及林梅 村也有同样看法,汤说「四十二经乃撮取群经而成…译自《法句经》是完全可能 的。」17 不过汤用彤认为《法句经》于东汉桓帝以前已经译出,以及前后共有 两个译本而认为《四十二章经》非伪, 佛法入华当在永平之前。「迦腻色迦之祖 父为丘就却,其货币上尝刻佛像,又曾刻文曰『正法之保护者』……月氏国王之奉 佛法,据上所言,则至迟亦在丘就却时。而此民族之始被化,必更在此前或即西汉 中叶(公元前一至二世纪)。 永平求法传说,谓在大月氏写取佛经四十二章,可知 大月氏固东汉时所认为佛教之重镇也。」18 季羡林引汤所言「求法故事, 虽有 疑问, 但历史上事实常附有可疑传说, 传说固妄, 然事实不必即须根本推翻一, 并 说永平求法这事是可信的.19

#### 2. 汉代佛法之流布

笔者同意吕澂的观点,认为《四十二章经》与《牟子》既证非早期(汉代)著作,考察佛学初传的年代及情况便需仰赖早期译经传习事实及经录(经籍目录)资料。 经录以晋道安(312-385)所编的《综理众经目录》为较早而可信<sup>20</sup>。 从这些资料比对考证知道,中国最早的译家有两人——<u>安世高和支娄迦谶</u>,均于东汉桓帝(147-167年在位)期间到达中土,翻译佛典,较于明帝时已传入之说晚近百年。安世高是安息国人,主要译传了上座系定、慧两方面的学说;支娄迦谶(Lokak**s**ema,生卒年不详)是贵霜月氏人,译籍的种类和当时安世高所译的相反,

13 张骞出使西域是汉武帝时事, 此肯定为误传

<sup>12</sup> 大正藏 T17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 大正藏 T55n2145 p0005b19(08)-b26(02)

<sup>15</sup> 梁启超《梁启超说佛》2005

<sup>16</sup> 巴利文 Dhamma-pada。意谓「真理之语言」,系收集诸经中佛之自说偈编集而成。现有本子基本上可分两个系统: 一.巴利文本,二十六品,其特点是《双要品》为首; 二. 梵文本,是经过法救改订的,有三十三品或三十九品,以《无常品》为首,《梵志品》为终,在《双要品》之前加了六品

<sup>17</sup> 同注 6, 页 34

<sup>18</sup> 同注 6, 页 48-49

<sup>19 《</sup>佛》,季羡林自选集—浮屠与佛 2007, 页 35

<sup>20</sup> 僧佑的目录部份,原是据道安录而加以扩大的,然道安录并没有著录《四十二章经》

几乎全属于大乘,可说是大乘典籍在汉土翻译的开始。支谶的学说继承者有支亮、 支谦,都是月氏侨民。由此推动中国后来大乘学说的发展。

从以上这两位最早期翻译家的历史背景及所译经籍资料等考察,可以较为确定公元二世纪中叶(东汉中期)才是(大小乘)佛学真正传入及流布之始。

#### 二、西域初传经典

#### 1. 西域发现的最早佛经

法国学者列维(S. Lévi)发现最早汉译佛经所用的术语多半不是直接由梵文 而是间接通过其它中亚、西域语言翻译过来的,他因而推论佛教最初并非由印度 传入中国, 而是由西域间接传译。21 「季羡林教授的论文中收集了汉文及中亚 各种古代语文中有关材料并提出佛教传入中国应分为两个阶段,这两个阶段都不 是直接的。早期汉文佛经所依据的原本不是梵语, 而是中亚和新疆一带的吐火罗 文和伊朗语族的语言。」22 然而这些都是从汉文佛典的翻译语言推论最早的源 头,且中亚、西域笼统的混为一谈,并未能说明佛教传入西域的具体时间。而古 西域曾是多民族地区,与中原不同少有历史经录的记载。 因此,要考证佛教学 说最早何时在这地区传译及流布,其一可根据西域出土、以民族古语言文字译写 的佛经来讲行考察。 现存西域与佛经有关的最古老文字有几种---- 佉卢文、焉耆 一龟兹文,和于阗文。就此三种较早与佛教在西域传播有关的古文字中,据学者 研究已知佉卢文最早在西域流通的时代为公元二世纪, 焉耆-龟兹文是约三世纪, 而于阗文约在四世纪后。 「目前所知年代最早的佛经原文抄本是在我国新疆地 区发现的。它们分别用两种文字抄写。其中,婆罗米文抄本的年代可上溯到四至 五世纪, 佉卢文抄本的年代约在二至四世纪。| 23 因此, 以西域最早发现的佛教 文献文字来考察其初传此地区的情况,可以集中在佉卢文的出土文献上。

#### 2. 佉卢文的发源地及东传

佉卢文来源于叙利亚—阿拉美文,在公元前五世纪随着古波斯帝国的大军进入印度河流域,在当时犍陀罗地区(即今巴基斯坦喀布尔与白沙瓦一带)广为通行,用来拼写当地居民所使用的印度语支的西北俗语(prakrit),与梵文(sanskrit雅语)并行。而其在当地所记录的语言,学者一般认为属于印欧语系印度语族,多称之为「犍陀罗语」(Gandhārī)。<sup>24</sup>

佉卢文盛行于古犍陀罗地区,但佛教何时开始在此地区流布却一直未有定论。季羡林「再谈浮屠与佛」<sup>25</sup>中,以为「浮屠」一词先出于「佛」。「大夏文(Bactrian)<sup>26</sup>基本上保留梵文 Buddha 的原形,有两个音节,正与汉译"浮屠"相当。伊朗语族

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Sylvian Lévi, 'Le Tokharien B Langue de Koutcha', Journal Asiatique 1913 Sep.-Oct. pp.311-338

<sup>22</sup> 林梅村《西域文明》1995, 页 206

<sup>23</sup> 同注 22, 页 405

<sup>24</sup> 参考张铁山主编《中国少数民族文献学》 2012

<sup>25</sup> 同注 19, 页 28-42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 大夏是一个中亚古地名和国名,主要疆域在阿姆河以南,兴都库什山(古希腊称 Paropamisus)以北,西边与安息接壤。张骞到达大夏时,发现大夏已向大月氏人称臣,并且「兵弱,畏战。善贾市」,大夏的人民大约有一百多万,大夏东南边有身毒国(即印度)

其它文字,只留下一个音节,正与汉译"佛"字相当。"浮屠"出现在前,"佛"字出 现在后。127 由此,他设想的佛教传入中国有两个阶段:

a. 印度 - 大夏 - 中国 (来源是一种印度古代方言)

Buddha bodo boudo: 浮屠

b. 印度 - 中亚新疆小国 - 中国(来源是伊朗语系)

#### Buddha but 佛

他根据「浮屠」源于大夏语,推想大月氏地区(即后期犍陀罗地区)在丘就却建 立贵霜王朝之前已流行佛教。 部份学者虽对此意见不一,但贵霜王朝及定都犍 陀越之后始采用佛教政治治国则是历史事实。

近年对中亚早期佛经语言有深入研究的学者辛嶋静志在整理今喀什米亚出 土、被认为是到目前为止最古老的大乘佛经写本《八千颂般若》时,也发现此以 佉卢文书写印度西北俗语夹带梵文的抄本较支娄迦谶于二世纪中汉译《道行般若 经》所依的原本更早。28 大乘思想兴起前尚有一段时间流行部派佛教,笔者推断 贵霜王朝之前佛教已在此地区流布有一定的可信性。

无论佛教是否在贵霜王朝前或后流行, 犍陀罗地区及其使用的佉卢文对当时 周边地区,甚至汉地的佛教流布有着巨大的影响。列维认为最早汉译佛经是间接 通过其它中亚西域语言翻译过来的,再由西域间接传译,其中有许多就是来自佉 卢文。 辛嶋静志认为北传系统佛经最初主要是以西北俗语口传以及通过佉卢文 书写而传播,逐渐转换(transform,非发展 develop)为佉卢文-梵文混写,而至后期 以婆罗米字母的佛教梵文(Buddhist Sanskrit)书写佛经。中国佉卢文专家林梅 村也说「早期汉译佛典的原本不都出自梵文,相当一部份来自中亚胡语29,尤其 是犍陀罗语」30 如梵文-佉卢文-汉文的śramana - ṣamaṇa - 沙门; bodhisattva – bosa - 菩萨。 佉卢文的 「创立应始于公元前五世纪古波斯阿契美尼德王朝(Achaemenid Empire)大流士31统治犍陀罗时,废弃于公元五世纪中叶鄯善王国末代君主真达亡 国之际。在我国,佉卢文主要通行于鄯善、于阗及龟兹等古代王国」32。即这种 文字起于中亚古波斯及印度河地区, 历时近千年, 期间更作为贵霜王朝的官方文 字之一,在中亚及西域得到广泛传播。至于佉卢文在何时和如何传入塔里木盘地, 目前学界尚无统一意见。林梅村认为既然在于阗、鄯善和龟兹等故地发现的佉卢 文资料中最早的材料是钱币和佛经,则此种文字传入西域当有商业往来和佛教的 因素在内33。

「研究者一致认为,塔里木盆地的佉卢文应自贵霜传入…时间不早于(贵霜 王) 迦腻色伽纪元 51 年。关于这一纪年的元年开始于何时,学界争议很大, 影响

<sup>27</sup> 同注 19, 页 34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> 辛嶋静志 S. Karashima "A Critical Edition of Lokakṣema's translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā" 2011

<sup>29</sup> 此处应指吐火罗文和伊朗语族的语言,见林梅村《西域文明》页 206「早期汉文佛经所根据的 原本不是梵语,而是中亚和新疆一带的吐火罗文和伊朗语族的语言」。唯「胡」一词在历史上 屡有不同所指,多是古代对外族尤其是欧亚地区各民族的一种笼统称谓

<sup>30</sup> 林梅村《古道西风》页 364

<sup>31</sup> Darius I, 前 522-前 486 在位, 文治武功成就彪炳, 帝国范围东起印度河、西至爱琴海和埃及

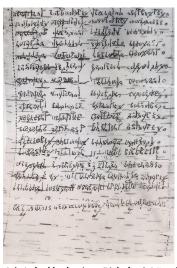
<sup>32</sup> 林梅村《沙海古卷》页1

<sup>33</sup> 同上,页 12

较大的有 78 年、128 年、140 年三说。···从汉文史料的有关记载看,128 年说无疑较为合理。」<sup>34</sup> 因此一般推断佉卢文传入西域时间最早不早于公元 179 年 (128+51),亦即二世纪中末时间。

#### 3. 西域发现最早的佛教文献

目前我国境内发现的佉卢文文书数量可观,学者将之分为四大类一古代于阗国文书、古代鄯善国文书、古代龟兹国文书和其它地方文书。其中以归属在古代于阗国文书的《法句经》残卷[图一]「是目前在新疆发现的所有佛经原文抄本中年代最早的一部|35。



[图一] 于阗本佉卢文《法句经》部份残卷

十九世纪末,俄国驻新疆喀什总领事彼得洛夫斯基(N.Th.Petroviskii)在和田附近买到一部写在桦树皮上的佉卢文佛经抄本。1892年法国德兰(J.L.Dutreuil de Rhins)和格勒纳(M.Grenard)在和田买到这部抄本的另外三张残页和若干残片。据说这些残卷出自和田附近古于阗国的佛教圣地瞿室陵伽山<sup>36</sup>某寺院遗址。 1962年英国学者布腊夫(J.Brough)将之与各个系统的《法句经》进行研究比较,证实了之前印度-伊朗语学者贝利(H.W.Bailey)所发现该写本的语言含有于阗塞语(Khotan Saka)成份,其中大约有三十多个词属于于阗塞语。「这就从语言学上证明,这部犍陀罗语《法句经》确实出自于阗故地,抄写者无疑是位于阗人,因而把自己的土著语言羼入其中。」<sup>37</sup>

虽然如此,就大体内容而言,近代学者与各系统的《法句经》比较研究发现 此本的年代是非常古老的。<sup>38</sup> 至于于阗本佉卢文《法句经》在于阗具体的抄写 年代,据林梅村从文字学及考古资料考证,应该是在二世纪末到三世纪初

35 同注 22, 页 405

38 乱山四倚,〈和田本犍陀罗语《法句经》的发现与研究情况简介〉2016

<sup>34</sup> 同注 22, 页 195

<sup>36</sup> 玄奘《大唐西域记》有记述于阗「王城西南二十余里,有瞿室陵伽山(唐言牛角),山峰两起,岩隙四绝,于岩间有一伽蓝,其中佛像时烛光明。」

<sup>37</sup> 同注 22, 页 408

(175-230年)之间。<sup>39</sup> 此段时间大、小乘佛学并行,加上当时犍陀罗地区贵霜王朝流行法藏部和说一切有部学说,此本《法句经》当属小乘部派所传。林梅村就中国经录、经集(论)及贵霜佉卢文碑铭、各部系统《法句经》传本等资料考证此部佛经为法藏部的诵本。他相信现已失传的《法句经》汉末时旧译本<sup>40</sup> 应是法藏部沙门昙果译自犍陀罗语《法句经》七百偈传本。<sup>41</sup> 法藏部当时的根据地是罽宾(玄奘作迦湿弥罗,今克什米尔)的乌仗那国,毗邻西域南端于阗地区,于阗本佉卢文《法句经》由法藏部传入可信性甚高。此本既有当地语言特色,亦可因此推断佛教进入西域的时间即便如上所说不早于公元 179 年,也必在二世纪末前后。

## III. 佛教考古实物遗存

## 一、中国地区

中国发现的早期佛教包括石窟、 塑像的实物遗存;石窟主要集中在西北地区,即新疆以东、淮河流域以北,今河西走廊一带。 中国石窟遗迹可细分为四区——河西区、甘宁黄河以东区、陕西区,和晋豫及其以东区。其中敦煌莫高窟延续时间长、洞窟数量多,其现存最早的洞窟开凿于五世纪。这些佛教石窟分期断代最早是五到六世纪,其中天水炳灵寺石窟第一六九窟无量寿佛龛有四二 0年题记,是中国现存窟龛有明确纪年的最早一处。42

至于佛教造像,梁思成说「于(东汉)明帝时传入中国···至桓帝笃信浮图,延熹八年,于宫中铸老子及佛像···此中国佛像之始也。」梁先生是根据文献资料述说中国佛像的由来,虽与上述吕澂先生从经籍资料分析佛学传入及流布应始于东汉中期这个时间段吻合,但直至梁先生离世毕竟还没发现东汉中期甚至更早的实物遗存,只「有一些五世纪的小佛像留传下来」。43 近年在四川发掘的蜀汉崖墓以致散落南方各地的佛像和带有佛教图像的文物,多是东汉中及以后的考古遗存,其中被定为较早期的四川彭山的崖墓石刻佛像也是属于东汉中到晚期(二至三世纪)。44 「大部份考古资料是在汉桓帝(147年)以后,迟于史书上记载东汉佛教传入的时间。」45 而且当时尤其是早期的佛教图象艺术多是与中原方士道教的黄老之术混在一起的变体46,未能谈得上是真正佛学的流布。

由上所见,若从考古资料来考证亦尚未足以推论出佛教更早于东汉中叶传入中国。

40 今汉译本有:1)印度法救撰集(属梵语系),三国吴时大月氏人维祇难于224年带来中土,由支谦、竺将焰等译《法句经》2)西晋法炬、法立共译《法句譬喻经》四卷(属巴利语系),又称作法喻经、法句喻经、法句本末经3)宋代天息灾(?-1000)译《法集要颂经》四卷(属梵语系)

<sup>39</sup> 同注 22, 页 408-410

<sup>41</sup> 同注 22, 页 410-418

<sup>42</sup> 马世长、丁明夷《中国佛教石窟考古概要》2007, 第壹章

<sup>43</sup> 梁思成《佛像的历史》2011, 页 007

<sup>44</sup> 宋晓梅〈从考古遗存引发关于南北两路佛教初传问题的思考〉2003

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Rong Xinjiang, 'Land Route or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period' 2004

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> E. Zürcher, 'Han Buddhism and the Western Region', 1990

#### 二、西域地区

西域在佛教东传过程中地位举足轻重,伊斯兰教未进入的千多年间,所留下的实物遗存除了佛经典籍外,就是主要分布在喀什地区与塔里木盘地北沿路线上的石窟、佛寺、塔、雕塑和绘画,都是围绕着高僧的行脚路线。

石窟集中的地点有三区——古龟兹区、古焉耆区、古高昌区,其中古龟兹区的拜城克孜尔石窟规模最大,开凿最早,大约开凿于三世纪。<sup>47</sup>除了个别的石窟,新疆的佛教遗存比较破碎、残旧。就时代来看,并未发现有早于二至三世纪的佛教遗存,「目前,大量获见的佛教寺、塔、塑、绘,均在东汉晚期以后;公元3-4世纪已多见;南北朝、隋唐时期大盛,唐末、回鹘入新疆后,佛教继续发展。这一考古文化现象,或可启示:新疆佛教,在东汉末大兴,与贵霜王国崇佛、贵霜与西域关系密切,存在重要关联。」<sup>48</sup>「和田地区热瓦克佛寺、若羌米兰佛寺塑像、壁画,尤其是有翼天使画像,具有鲜明的犍陀罗风格。」<sup>49</sup>

虽然考古学家同意仍有很多遗存在伊斯兰化后被尘封,唯西域今见的佛教遗存和汉地类同,最早的都是二世纪中后的,因此在现阶段似尚未能从考古角度推论出佛教进入西域的时间较汉地为早。

## 结语

本文的考察是建基于具有佛教宗教内涵的具体历史、经录资料与现有考古实物遗存。因此,综合上述资料有如下考察:

# 一、佛教东传时间

前述吕澂从汉文文献经录,以及安世高、支娄迦谶入华传译佛典的事实,考证公元二世纪中叶(东汉中期)是汉地大、小乘佛学传入及流布之始;近年中国佛教考古发现的最早断定时代与之相约甚至更晚。 而西域考古文献资料虽说明在四至五世纪前此地区最早是使用佉卢文传播佛教,但未能确切证明佛教在何时传入西域。从于阗出土、被认为是目前为止在新疆发现的所有佛经原文抄本中年代最早的一部佉卢文《法句经》最早应在公元二世纪末抄出来,以及新疆最早的克孜尔石窟于三世纪开凿来看,暂时未有其它实物资料确认诸位学者推测的佛教在一世纪或之前已在西域流通之说。 综合本文的考察,或可推断佛学传入西域与汉地的时间年代相约,只是后来西域或因地理关系或人文文化背景接近的原故,在接续的一个世纪时间里佛学传播和相关文化、艺术方面发展更快。故后于四世纪有朱士行、竺法护等西向到于阗及西域其它地方如龟兹、焉耆取经,鸠摩罗什被请到东土传译弘法的事实。

48 王炳华〈新疆考古中所见佛教遗存〉2015

<sup>47</sup> 同注 42

<sup>49</sup> 王樾〈唐代西域與吐火羅〉2013

## 二、佛教东传地点及路线

西域佛教属于陆路扩散的北传佛教,至迟在公元前后中亚的贵霜王朝及周边 地区已是北传佛教的中心。 中国最早的佛典译家安世高和支娄迦谶,均于东汉 桓帝(147-167年在位)期间到达中土,翻译佛典。佛经汉译的创始人安世高是中 亚安息国50人,相传是安息国王子。他精研阿毗昙(佛教部派论藏),又修习了禅 定,游化西域各地后于桓帝建和元年(147年)辗转来到洛阳,不久即通晓华语, 148-170年期间译出多部经典。 支娄迦谶为桓帝末年(167年)到洛阳,他通晓 汉语,但译经的年代比安世高稍迟,数量也较少。安世高来自古伊朗地区,东面 毗邻贵霜王朝; 支谶为贵霜月氏人, 因此二者所译经典应该是直接从佉卢文原典 译成汉文。 洛阳佉卢文井栏题记亦是佛教入华的最早实物材料之一。51 由是 可见, 佛教是在贵霜王朝建立之后, 尤其在第三个在位者迦腻色伽王的大力推崇 下,经当地佛教弟子以佉卢文佛典东传,很有可能在二世纪中前后自贵霜地区(包 括罽宾、犍陀罗及葱岭)同时传入西域及汉地。佛教初传汉地最早应该就是洛阳, 「大多数学者仍然认为洛阳是东汉时期的佛教中心,而且佛教是由洛阳传至(中 国)其它地区(四川除外)。」52 而从佉卢文的使用时间及区域来看,最早传入西域 的地点应为于阗。 汉文史料《宋云行纪》、《大唐西域记》和藏文史料《于阗教 法记》亦印证于阗佛教直接渊源于迦湿弥罗。 至于另一佛教重镇龟兹,佛教虽 然应该也较早传入此地,但由于地理位置的关系,传入的时间不但晚于昆仑山北 麓的于阗,还必定晚于同贵霜直接毗邻的疏勒。53

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<sup>50</sup> 亦即帕提亚王朝 Parthian Empire(公元前 247-公元 224 年),中国史书以其王朝始祖阿尔萨息 Arsacids 之名称其为安息,因此帕提亚王朝亦称为安息王朝或安息国,统治地主要为古波斯地区

<sup>51 1924</sup>年于河南洛阳出土石刻佉卢文佛教内容的题记,为东汉灵帝年间(168年—189年)贵霜大月氏人流寓洛阳的历史见证。见林梅村《西域文明》第四编之一〈洛阳所出佉卢文井栏题记-兼论东汉洛阳的僧团与佛寺〉1995

Rong Xinjiang, 'Land Route or Sea Route? Commentary on the Study of the Paths of Transmission and Areas in which Buddhism Was Disseminated during the Han Period' 2004

<sup>53</sup> 薛宗正〈佛教初传龟兹新考〉2007

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# 试论印度神祇信仰与早期佛像谱系的展开

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# 摘要

印度佛像的最初诞生和早期发展,其内在的信仰动机是神祇崇拜。印度最早的纪年佛像是犍陀罗雕刻的迦腻色伽二年立像,以迦王即位于公元 78 年计算,其时为公元 79 年。这一时期的秣菟罗和印度本土的其他地区,流行药叉、那迦龙王造像,是当时俗信神信仰的崇拜对象,受到俗信神的影响,佛尊释迦牟尼被视为俗信神的成员之一,模拟俗信神像崇拜,由此开始了佛像的创制。随着佛尊信仰的逐步展开,佛尊的神格地位迅速上升,至公元 200 年前后的龙树时代,被比附于创世大神梵天,梵天的莲花座被移用于佛像,出现了莲花座佛像,意味着佛陀具有梵天那样的本源神地位,从而完成了佛教从神祇化到本源化的发展过程。

关键词:印度早期佛像;药叉信仰;梵天;佛像莲花座

讨论佛像在印度的诞生与发展,其中必须考虑的一个方面是:佛教造像在当 时的印度信众的心目中,到底意味着什么?如果暂时不论上层学术僧的具体所思 所想,专就以偶像崇拜为主体仪式的中下层信众而言,他们所礼拜的偶像,无非 具有两方面的意义:一是祈福,二是禳灾。佛像常见的有两种手印,一是无畏印, 二是与愿印,以通俗的语言讲,前者意味通过礼佛行为能够避开各种灾难的侵扰, 后者意味着能够实现所有的愿望。至于释迦牟尼当年宣说的四正谛、八正道、三 十七觉支之类的教理,或者大乘佛教兴起以来的自利利他思想等,是否在他们的 心目占据主要地位,或者,对教理的追求是否优先于偶像崇拜,揆之于中国普通 民众,以常理而言,恐怕都是偶像崇拜比教理思想更加重要的。对于中下层信众 来说,如果本着这样的想法,那么,他们礼拜的"佛"是与当时的各种神祇相差 无几的。这样的"佛",或许也并不意味着就是创立佛教的释迦牟尼,而是祈福 与禳灾的人格化形象。比之于中国,老子曾经是历史上的真实人物,司马迁为其 撰写时既云"莫知其所终",又云"或曰儋即老子,或曰非也,世莫知其然否",尽 管已经模糊不清了,然而,无论如何,"姓李氏,名耳,字聃"的老子都是真实 的历史人物,而后世道教极盛时代所礼拜的老子造像,仅仅只是道教理想的化身, 并不意味着这是真实历史人物的肖像,也不见得与历史人物有必然的联系,此老 子非彼老子也。以此而言,印度中下层民众所礼拜的佛陀造像,既不意味着这是 真实历史人物释迦牟尼的肖像化,也不见得与历史人物有必然的联系,这只是寄 托了通俗信仰的大神。事实上,在中印度地区,特别是秣菟罗和鹿野苑等地区, 表现真实历史人物释迦牟尼的佛传图直到贵霜后期才有零星制作,降至笈多时代 仍然相当稀见,这也说明了作为神祇的"佛陀",比真实历史人物的释迦牟尼更 受关注。

# 一 佛陀=神祇,这是佛像产生的内在信仰动因

普通地说,作为真实历史人物的释迦牟尼,大约与中国的孔子同时期,佛教教团由此开始发展,然而到了公元前 2-3 世纪的巴尔胡特窣堵波、公元前 1 世纪前后的桑奇大塔,并没有出现人格化的佛陀造像,甚至连僧侣的形象都没有出现过。从已有的考古遗物分析,秣菟罗最早的纪年造像为迦腻色伽二年佛像,以伽王即位于公元 78 年计算,时值公元 79 年,而从该像的程序化表现以及流行程度分析,应该在公元 79 年前后已经流传了相当的一段时期。也就是说,至少在桑奇大塔时期,印度的某些地区已经开始雕造佛像,或许在巴尔胡特窣堵波已经蕴育了佛像赖以形成的内在信仰基础了。

福祉与禳灾两者之间,更加迫切的恐怕是禳灾。佛经中提到的种种灾难苦厄,其尤大者首推海难。海难的救度主原先是印度教(或婆罗门教)的神祇,后来被改换为佛陀,并沿用了相当长的一段时间。碰巧的是,巴尔胡特栏楯浮雕"海难救度图"(Bhārhut, Medallion, Śuṅga period)²,恰好处于神祇救度与佛陀救度之间,传递了佛陀神祇化的相关信仰。图像浮雕了海难始作俑者的怪鱼,也许就是后来广泛流行的摩羯鱼,以及两艘海船。怪鱼正在把海船连同乘客一起吞入腹中,浮雕上方再次出现了这艘海船,三名乘客双手合什,表示他们由于礼拜大神而已经脱离了危险。

<sup>1《</sup>史记》卷六十三《老子韩非列传第三》,中华书局,1959年,第七册第2139-2142页。

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  杉本卓洲「神 Deva と呼ばれた仏陀」,金沢大學文學部論集・行動科學科篇,創刊號 (1981),第 1-19 页。

据康宁安的解读,浮雕铭文云: Tiranuti Migila Kuchimha Vasu Guto Machito Mahadevanam³。据杉本卓洲的研究,浮雕铭文应当重新释读云: tiramitimimgila kucchimhā Vasugutto mochito Mahādevānam,或云: timitimimgila kucchimhā Vasugutto mochito Mahādevāna / Mahādevena。略译云: Vasuguta/Vasugupta 被大神从大海怪鱼 timitimimgila 腹中营救出来。铭文中的这位救度者大神(Mahādeva,伟大的神),是宽泛的类名,而不是专指。

参照众多佛典记载的这个故事,可知佛陀世尊也在大神之列。记录佛陀海难 救度的佛典有: Mahāvastu (Senart ed. I.245; Jones ed.200-201), Divyāvadāna (E. D. Cowell and R. A. Nell ed., 1886, pp.228-262), Avadāna-śataka (Speyer.ed. Ⅱ.60-65), Avadāna-kalpalatā (Vaidya.ed.p.504),《六度集经》卷四,《杂譬喻经》,《贤愚经》卷四、卷六,《撰集百缘经》卷九,《分别功德论》卷四,《大智度论》卷七,《大悲经》卷三等。

兹据《天譬喻经》(Divyāvadāna: XVIII: Dharmaruci, pp.231-2),五百商人求宝,乘船驶入充满危险的大海。不幸遇上了怪鱼 Timitimimgila,他的眼睛如同太阳、牙齿如山峦,掀起惊天骇浪,海船正在被吸往鱼嘴。船师(Karṇadhâra)要求大家向神灵祈祷。这些神灵有Çiva, Varuṇa, Kubera, Mahendra, Upendrâ等。祈祷没有起到任何作用。海船继续冲向鱼嘴。这时,一位优婆塞(Upâsaka)提议大家吟唱"南无佛陀"(namo Buddaya)。五百商人齐声祈祷的声音,被住于祇园精舍(Jetavanasthena)的佛陀世尊以天耳闻听。海鱼得知佛尊现世,停止吞食海船。五百商人俱蒙祐登岸,脱离了海难。

梵本《百譬喻经》(Avadāna-śataka)把怪鱼说成黑风(kālikā-vāta),佛尊闻声,放大光明镇住黑风,商人得以脱险。这种闻声救度的观念,在早期汉译佛典中常有记载<sup>4</sup>,可以看作是观世音菩萨闻声救度的初形。梵本《大事》(Mahāvastu)则把佛的救度功能归结为"苦谛转灭"(yāvad-duḥkhakṣayāya saṃvartati),或许,正是由苦谛转灭的解脱意义演化出了苦厄救度的佛教信仰,从而使佛尊替代了那些印度教大神,也使得作为智性导师的释迦牟尼跃升为宗教世界的佛陀。然而,我们却认为,与其努力把救度功能与四圣谛联系起来,倒不如坦诚承认当时的普通信仰确实是把佛当作大神看待的。

汉译《众经撰杂譬喻》卷二第二十五则,提到改为念佛的理由是"我有大神,号名为佛,汝等各舍所举,一心称之"。"各舍所举"云云,该经的前后文并无说明,参照前引梵本《天譬喻经》,当为各举向自己信仰的神灵祈祷(《贤愚经》卷四说是"诸天山河鬼神"。《大智度论》谓之"各各求诸天神以自救济"。《大悲经》谓之"各皆祈请诸尊神天欲求自济"),当为汉译尚简的删略所致。佛是具有更大

4 后汉西域三藏支曜译《阿那律八念经》:"一时,佛在誓牧山求师树下。贤者阿那律,在彼禅空泽中坐思惟言:'道法少欲,多欲非道;道法知足,无厌非道;道法隐处,乐众非道;道法精进,懈怠非道;道法制心,放荡非道;道法定意,多念非道;道法智慧,愚闇非道。'佛以圣心逆知其意,譬如力士屈申臂顷飞到其前"(T01, no. 46, p. 835, c15-21)。按,闻声救度的构想起源于此。东晋孝武及安帝世隆安元年十一月至二年六月了于东亭寺罽宾三藏瞿昙僧伽提婆译、道祖笔受《中阿含经》卷十八《(七四)中阿含长寿王品八念经第三(第二小土城诵)》:"一时,佛游婆奇瘦,在鼍山怖林鹿野园中。尔时,尊者阿那律陀在枝提瘦水渚林中。……世尊以他心智知尊者阿那律陀心中所念、所思、所行。世尊知己,即入如其像定,以如其像定犹若力士屈申臂顷,如是世尊从婆奇瘦鼍山怖林鹿野园中忽没不现,住枝提瘦水渚林中尊者阿那律陀前"(T01, no. 26, p. 540, c18-p. 541, a3)。按,观世音菩萨闻声救度的构想起源于此。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Alexander Cunningham, Stupa of Bharhut. London. 1879. p.142: This is inscribed on the Rail which bears the bas-relief of the great fish swallowing two boats and their crews. Machito therefore may have reference to the fish. See Plate XXXIV.fig. 2.

威力的神。佛号之一的"天中天"(Mahāvyutpatti, no.16: devātideva)<sup>5</sup>,即诸神之神。《贤愚经》卷六:"三界德大,无过佛者,救厄赴急,矜济一切,最能覆护众生,惟佛神圣。"这段文字很能说明佛尊是伟大的救度主。

至《法华经》兴起,海难救济的主角改为观音承担。罗什译本谓:"若为大水所漂,称其名号,即得浅处。……入于大海,假使黑风吹其船舫,飘堕罗刹鬼国,其中若有一人称观世音菩萨名者,是诸人等皆得解脱罗刹之难。以是因缘,名观世音。"后半的罗刹鬼国即《大乘庄严宝王经》所说的圣马王救度的雏形,前半则是海难救度。《法华经》偈云:"或漂流巨海,龙鱼诸鬼难,念彼观音力,波浪不能没。"梵本(Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtram: no.24, samantamukhaparivartah)则说"在大海深处,以及 Nāga, Makara, Sura, Bhūta 等怪物居处,如果念颂观世音菩萨的名号,就不会沉入大海中。这是特别就海难强调观音的威神。——我们倾向于把观世音菩萨的起源,看作是佛陀救度功能的独立化和再度神格化。

我们试尝着用这样的信仰观念重新考察印度佛像的起源。关于佛像起源的问题,学术多有争议,或主张起源于犍陀罗,或主张起源于秣菟罗,我们倾向于后者,其重要原因之一在于秣菟罗贵霜纪年佛像至少有 49 例6,形成连续的编年系统,而犍陀罗仅知的 5 例纪年造像可能都在 4-5 世纪7,早期的仅知有迦腻色伽钱币佛像,而这些钱币恰好是牵就于秣菟罗地区用于商贸流通的。现在,我们还可以基于神祇信仰来强化佛像起源于秣菟罗的认识。在佛像产生(不能晚于公元79 年,至少应在公元前后)之前,秣菟罗流行的各式神祇,有婆罗门教系统(吠陀系统)的梵天和因陀罗,偶有湿婆灵伽造像,更多的却是达罗毗荼土著信仰系统的那伽龙王、药叉、药叉女造像,那伽主水,与农业生产有关,药叉则多与财富有关。秣菟罗博物馆陈列的诸多神像,见证了秣菟罗作为"诸神之城"的荣耀8。当时的秣菟罗信仰崇拜的"并非祭司神学的抽象的神明,而是乡土的精灵(药叉和那伽)和生殖的女神和母神"9。

在众多的药叉造像中,我们可以举出"帕尔卡姆药叉立像"为例。——这件药叉像,以出土地帕尔卡姆(Pārkham, Mathura Museum. No. C1.)著称于世。根据造像铭文,这位神祇名为宝贤(Maṇibhadra),而据瓜寥尔博物馆所藏的帕瓦亚药叉像,崇拜宝贤的信仰者"希望世尊予以长寿、力量、口才、幸福、繁荣"。造像高 262cm,是一位粗壮的巨人,双臂已失,但浑厚的身躯与粗砺的石质,仍然透现出沉毅冷郁的力量感。尤其是宽阔的肩膀,浑圆厚实的身躯,健壮的四肢,雄壮有力的精神风度,睁大的圆圆的眼睛,厚唇,带有古意的微笑,更是一望可知的古印度特色。体量巨大的立像表明,这是独立供奉的尊像,很可能树立在村落中央或寺庙中庭以供礼拜的,"根据佛教文献资料,古代印度家宅内院的共同

<sup>8</sup> [荷兰] 德黎芙《斯基泰时期》,许建英、贾建飞译,云南人民出版社,2002年,第 136页:"普陶莱米(Ptolemy)提及该城是印度西北部的大中心之一: 秣菟罗,即'神之一'。此语到底确切意指什么样还不那么肯定。'秣菟罗,诸神之城'只是最简单的翻译。"尽管如此,这类似成了一种对秣菟罗的确切的评述。秣菟罗当地制作的各式造像以及被运送到其他遥远地区的秣菟罗造像,能够充分证明这一点,秣菟罗的确无愧为"诸神之城"之称。参见: [印度] R.C.Sharma《古代秣菟罗遗迹和美术》,张同标译,《中国美术研究》2011年,第 1 期。

<sup>5《</sup>翻译名义大集》,法鼓佛教学院图书信息馆数字典藏组,台北,2011。

<sup>6</sup> 杉本卓洲「マトゥラーにおける仏像崇拝の展開」,金沢大學文學部論集・行動科學·哲學篇,1997年,第17號。

<sup>7</sup> 此处指所见有铭文标注年代的犍陀罗造像仅有 5 例。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 克雷文引库马拉斯瓦米语。[美] 罗伊·C·克雷文 (Roy C.Craven) 《印度艺术简史》 (A Concise of Indian Art), 王镛、方广羊、陈聿东译,北京:中国人民大学出版社,2010年。

特征是有一尊巨大的药叉立像,作为家庭的保护之神"10。

与此造型极类似的是迦腻色伽三年佛像,出土于鹿野苑,造像头顶上的已断 落的石质大伞盖与造像同时出土并一起陈列于当地的考古博物馆正厅 (Archaeological Museum, Sarnath, Acc. no. 348; 356)。该像高达 289cm (诸书多 如此,馆方网页称其高 250cm)。铭文记载"大王迦腻色伽的三年(公元 80 年) 冬月第三月二十二日"造立了这尊铭文称之为"菩萨"的佛像。红砂岩的材质, 表明造像是在秣菟罗雕造然后才运送到这里的。从造型艺术考察,一望可知与帕 尔卡姆药叉像同出一辙:同样高大的法量、宽厚的身躯、近于圆形的面庞、古风 式的微笑。这表明, 佛像最初产生之时, 与帕尔卡姆药叉相似, 并不附丽于建筑 墙面或其他依托而存在,也不是从佛传图中逐步独立并高大起来的。这一点值得 特别重视,佛像并不像犍陀罗那样——犍陀罗佛像法量不大,极高大者也仅在一 米上下,背面粗糙的原石表明犍陀罗佛像并非独立的圆雕——依附佛塔而存在, 而是直接由药叉供奉中演化而来的。在开始雕造佛像之时,并没有经典对佛像予 以特别的说明,把久已供奉的药叉(或者是删除头盖的那伽龙王),修改为右手 施无畏印(该手印并非佛教专有)或增添其他的一些具有佛教属性的细节,就成 了最初的佛像,成了俗众信仰神系中的新成员。也就是说,最初的佛像就是当地 神祇崇拜中的崭新的神像。

我们认为,最初的佛像渊源于药叉像,出自雕造药叉或耆那像的匠师之手, 在这些匠师看来,佛像与药叉像或耆那像都是他们信奉的神祇,在造型上也没有 太大的差别。早期佛理如同孔子说教那样,没有建构神祇体系,更谈不上用于礼 拜的偶像,所以,我们可以说,用于膜拜的早期贵霜秣菟罗佛像极有可能是渊源 于土著俗信神祇的。

# 佛犹梵王, 龙树时代的佛陀观念和莲花座佛像

近期我们特别关注莲花座的起源及其内在的信仰观念。关于佛像莲花座的起 源,我们最近确认起源于龙树时代(Nāgārjuna,约公元 200 年前后)<sup>11</sup>。

虽然莲花早已用于佛教庄严, 在印度巴尔胡特窣堵波和桑奇大塔都浮雕了许 多莲花图像,前者的数量更多,莲花也被普遍理解为佛国世界的圣花。但是,莲 花庄严并不等同于佛像莲花座。就佛陀造像而言的莲花座,其起源并不很早。目 前已知的情况是: 在印度佛教美术各地域流派中编年框架比较清楚的秣菟罗美术 中,贵霜时期的佛像之中尚未发现莲花座遗例,笈多(320-650)前期和中期也 相当稀少,直到笈多末期以阿旃陀为代表的西印度石窟中才较为普遍地出现莲花 座佛像,而且均可考订为舍卫城大神变浮雕12。另一方面,中国汉晋时期的长江 流域却出现了年代更早的莲花座佛像,典型的是武昌莲溪寺永安五年(262)铜 带饰佛像,表现为并蒂三莲,莲花上有佛像,这是舍卫城大神变造像的雏形13。 其他的莲花座坐佛,普遍使用于魂瓶(或称堆塑罐)表面装饰,其时代晚于莲溪 寺造像,截止西晋末年,在长江中下游的佛像莲花座至少流行了50年左右

<sup>10</sup> 克雷文《印度艺术简史》, 同上。

<sup>11</sup> 张同标《论印度佛像莲花座起源于龙树时代》,艺术探索,2016年第4期,第89-97页。

<sup>12</sup> 张同标《西印度所见舍卫城大神变佛教造像十例》,湖南工业大学学报,2012年第1期第60-65 页、2012年第3期第68-74页;复印报刊数据·造型艺术,2012年第4期第57-63页。

<sup>13</sup> 张同标《武昌莲溪寺东吴永安五年佛像的莲花座渊源》,华东师范大学学报,2012年第1期第 135-143页; 复印报刊资料·宗教, 2012年第3期第117-125页。

(262-313)。就现存的中印早期佛像莲花座两厢对比:第一,中国佛像莲花座的流行时期并不比印度晚,甚至比印度还要早;第二,早期的中国佛像莲花座远比印度普通;第三,中国汉晋时期的汉译佛经中并没有频繁提及佛像莲花座。以上这些情形是极不寻常的,按照通常的理解,中国佛像受惠于印度而发扬光大。那么,基于中国早期佛像已有的考古发现,我们自然会追问:印度初期的佛像莲花座的情况到底如何呢?

这需要我们重新检核佛教文献和印度考古遗物。从佛经看,我们发现龙树(Nāgārjuna)撰著的《大智度论》(鸠摩罗什汉译于 402-405 年间)曾经详细解释了佛像为什么以莲花为座:

问曰: 诸床可坐, 何必莲花?

答曰:床为世界白衣坐法。又以莲花软净,欲现神力,能坐其上令花不坏故; 又以庄严妙法座故;又以诸花皆小,无如此花香净大者。人中莲花,大不过尺; 漫陀耆尼池及阿那婆达多池中莲花,大如车盖;天上宝莲花复大于此,是则可容 结跏趺坐。佛所坐花,复胜于此百千万倍。又如此花花台,严净香妙可坐。

复次,劫尽烧时,一切皆空;众生福德因缘力故,十方风至,相对相触,能持大水;水上有一千头人,二千手足,名为韦纽(Viṣṇu,毗湿奴);是人脐中出千叶金色妙宝莲花,其光大明,如万日俱照;花中有人结跏趺坐,此人复有无量光明,名曰梵天王;此梵天王心生八子,八子生天地人民。是梵天王于诸淫瞋已尽无余。以是故言:"若有人修禅净行,断除淫欲,名为行梵道。"佛转法轮,或名法轮,或名梵轮。是梵天王坐莲花上,是故诸佛随世俗故,于宝花上结跏趺坐,说六波罗蜜。闻此法者,毕至阿耨多罗三藐三菩提。(T25,no.1509,p.116,a5-16)

这个解释流传甚广。唐代开元年间始为汉译的正纯密教,与华严系统关系密切,也延续了华严信仰的尊崇莲花的特征。沙门一行阿阇梨记《大毘卢遮那成佛经疏》(大日经疏)卷十五:"座位,表像也。如世人以莲华为吉祥清净,能悦可众心,今秘藏中亦以大悲胎藏妙法莲华为最深秘吉祥,一切加持法门之身坐此华台也。……若欲界天及地居等,各随其位而用表之。如帝释像即画须弥山王,山神坐山上,水神坐水上,树神坐树上,城神坐城上。如是甚多,可以意得耳"(T39, no. 1796, p. 733, c27-p. 734, a18)。唐僧一行秉持其师善无畏之说,以"座位表像"为总纲。所谓"吉祥清净",与龙树"严净香妙"相近,以此象征莲花座上的主尊。现代学者们也相信,壮丽的莲花座表现,既象征了佛陀的清净性和神通力,又意味着佛陀类似于梵天那样创造天地人的本源神地位。唐僧一行也提到佛坐莲花与梵天坐莲花等,可谓龙树旧说之孑遗孳变也。

龙树关于莲花座的详细解释意味着以下三个方面。

第一,在龙树时代,佛陀在千叶金色宝花上结跏趺坐的这种形象,是需要加以专门解释的。《大品般若经》云:"一一光化成千叶金色宝花。是诸花上皆有化佛,结跏趺坐说六波罗蜜","复至十方如恒河沙等诸佛国土皆亦如是"(T08, p. 217, b28-c5)"。大乘佛教在兴起之初,把莲花座引入佛教是有一个渐进过程的,也有一个从初创到普及、逐渐被认识的过程。《大品般若经》恰好处于大乘佛教的早期阶段,龙树的解释不能忽略这一时代特征的要素。倘若已经如同今天这般把莲花座与佛教联系得如此紧密,如此的司空见惯,那么,龙树的解释无疑是饶舌赘疣了。因此,我们认为:龙树之前已有莲花座的构想,龙树时代是莲花座的初创时期。或者说,在龙树时代,莲花座与佛陀的联系才开始被世人半信半疑地加以接受,处于莲花座初创的历史阶段。

第二,今查龙树名下的经论,惟《宝行王正论》(Ratnāvalī, III.31-32)说到

了莲花座佛像,汉译本卷一《菩提资粮品第三》云:"佛像及支提,殿堂并寺庙,最胜多供具,汝应敬成立,坐宝莲花上,好色微妙画,一切金宝种,汝应造佛像"(T32, no. 1656, p. 498, b26 - c1)。提倡造作佛像,特别是坐在宝莲花上的佛像。也就是说,龙树的《宝行王正论》明确提到了莲花座佛像,并助提倡造作这类佛像。早于鸠摩罗什(Kumārajiva,343~413),主要活动于 3 世纪后期的竺法护(Dharmaraksā,231~308)的译经《佛说离垢施女经》(Vimaladattāpariprechā)提倡"作佛形像,坐莲华上"(T12, no.338, p.94, c29 - p.95, a8),《佛说须摩提菩萨经》(Sumatidārikāpariprechā,别本或题《妙慧童女经》)也提到了"作佛形像使坐莲华上"(T12, no.334, p.76, c22 - p.77, a2),这两经可与《宝行王正论》互相参看。

第三,龙树菩萨对佛尊何以坐于千叶金色宝花的解释,有两个理由。其一是莲花严净香妙,以此作为佛尊及其所处佛国土,此即一行所谓"座位表像也",应该是莲花代表了某种象征意义(表像),与佛教理想契合,得到后来佛教僧俗的共鸣,成为他们的共同看法。也就是说,探寻佛像莲花座的起源,不能不考虑莲花的象征意义。其二是梵天结跏趺坐于千叶金色妙宝莲花之上,是天地人民的创始之祖,"诸佛随世俗故,于宝花上结跏趺坐",也就是说,佛陀的莲花座是从梵天借用而来的,而且是屈从世俗信仰的缘故("诸佛随世俗故"),清楚地显示了佛陀模仿了梵天神,莲花座佛像在世俗社会中被视为梵天那样的大神而信奉。这一说法值得特别重视。

梵天图像,在印度早期多作为佛陀的胁侍出现,多为立像,没有表现莲花座。就目前所知,最初的莲花座梵天造像出现在毗湿奴十化身神庙上。在印度北方邦的笈多时期建造的这座神庙(Daśavatar/Viṣṇu Temple, at Deogarh, Uttar Pradesh),我们看到:毗湿奴躺在大蛇盘曲而成的蛇床之上,漂浮于茫茫大海中。从毗湿奴的肚脐中长出硕大饱满的莲花,据《摩诃婆罗多》的记载,这位"无限光辉的梵天在莲花中"(335.25),开始创造吠陀圣典和一切众生的伟大历程。这与《大智度论》所述相当一致。《摩诃婆罗多》也说:"人们知道一切众生之父被安置在莲花上"(5.45.28),阿周那说他"看到一切天神和各类生物,坐在莲花座上的大梵天,所有的仙人和神蛇"(ibid)。龙树所述的莲花座梵天,与《摩诃婆罗多》颇为一致,并在十化身神庙中得以形象的展示。

颇为巧合的是,据《龙树菩萨传》,龙树曾经与婆罗门论辩,"婆罗门后至,便于殿前咒作大池广长清净,中有千叶莲花,自坐其上而夸龙树:'汝在地坐与畜生无异,而欲与我清净花上大德智人抗言论议!'尔时,龙树亦用咒术化作六牙白象,行池水上趣其花座,以鼻绞拔高举掷地。婆罗门伤腰,委顿归命龙树"(T50, no. 2047a, p.184, c26 - p.185, a3)。婆罗门自命为梵天后裔,以传承与教授吠陀圣典为己任,所以他们也坐在千叶莲花之上。我们据此可知,佛像莲花座与梵天与婆罗门习俗的关联,实为传之久远的古老传统。相比较而下,佛陀采用莲花座是相当后起的新做法,是在婆罗门信仰的大环境中从众随俗的结果。再进一步说,龙树本人也是精通四吠陀的婆罗门,他皈依佛教之后,婆罗门信仰的某些特点自然带入他的佛教论著,并用来揭示佛梵混同的精神内核。

前引龙树之说,表明佛家认可"佛梵同质",但这也不是龙树个人闭门造车式的奇思妙理,而是有其信仰渊源的。在印度早期的佛像并且刻有纪年可考的造像中,至少有两例佛像被直截了当地称为"比多么贺"(Pitāmātā/Pittāmahā)<sup>14</sup>,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 《梵语杂名》:"祖:比多(引)么贺 pittāmahā"(T54, no. 2135, p. 1232, a22)。《唐梵两语双对集》:"祖:比多(引)么贺"(T54, no. 2136, p. 1242, a27-28)。《梵语千字文》:"pitāmātā,父母"

这个名称,我建议意译为"祖灵神"、"父祖神"、"天祖公",在印度早期,这是 梵天的尊号,或连类称为"梵天祖翁"等。这些也都是《摩诃婆罗多》详录的梵 天多达千余的诸多名号中的一部分,显示了梵天作为创造天地人民的神格功能的 一个方面。兹据杉本卓洲的报道<sup>15</sup>,这两尊佛像是:

例一、迦腻色伽 14/54/114 年铭立像,秣菟罗出土,巴特纳博物馆藏。仅存台座和两足。两足之间有莲蕾,在两端仅见胁侍供养者的衣服下端。铭文三行:"大王天子迦腻色伽第 14 年,报沙月(Pauśa-māsa,玄奘谓之冬季第一月)10日,在这一天,衣服制造业者诃斯提之妻子珊吉罗,为供养世尊·比多么贺(Pitāmaha)·正等觉者(Saṃmyasaṃbuddha)·确立自己教义者(Svamata)·神(Deva),造立了尊像,为舍离一切苦厄。"按迦腻色伽纪元始于公元 78 年计算,当为公元 91 年。铭文也有可能被识读为 54 年、114 年,那么,相应为公元 144 年、公元 191 年。多数学者认为是贵霜后期造像,因而本像以公元 191 年的可能性为大。倘果真如是,这应该相当于龙树时代。

例二、瓦苏提婆 93 年铭立像(图 4 右),可能在雅木纳河岸出土,秣菟罗博物馆藏。仅存下半身和台座。两足之间,有花朵、莲蕾等构成的复合物象。在左足的外侧是男性,右足外侧是女性,各有四人,按大(持花鬘)、中、小、最小的顺序,最外侧的人物像形体最小。铭文三行:"大王天子瓦苏提婆 93 年冬季第4月25日,在这一天,造立了世尊·比多么贺(Pitāmaha)·确立自己教义者(Svamata)·无可论破者(Avirudha)的尊像和伞盖"云云。该像造于公元 171年,也同样是龙树时代。不过,也有人认为这是笈多时期的造像。

这两件造像,大约都是公元二世纪末期之物,即造作于公元 200 年稍前一些,两像分别雕造于公元 191 年、公元 171 年的可能很大,恰与龙树时代约略相当。在碑文中,除了把佛尊称为正等觉者、确立自己教义者、无可论破者,还沿用俗信神祇称谓的"世尊"和"神",特别是本文相关的"比多么贺",也就是说,佛陀在贵霜笈多相交之际,佛陀是被当作"梵天"看待的。南传巴利语《经集》卷一"摩伽经"记录了摩伽学童回答佛陀的偈语,"世尊我今日,面见于梵天,尊师真如同。我等之梵天,光明辉耀人"(N27, no. 12, p. 135, a10-12 // PTS.Sn.90-PTS.Sn.91),这与造像铭同样表明:佛与梵天,在这些信众的心目中没有本质性的区别,也足以说明龙树时代的佛尊形象与梵天混同的时代大势了。

梵天创造了吠陀,以吠陀凝聚梵法的精华,以吠陀递相传授的方式传播教义。在华严信仰中,法身佛卢舍那与梵天相似,他是全部佛家教理的神格化、人格化、本源化,佛教义理以三藏的形式加以集结,以佛经传播教义。梵天与法身佛,在这方面具有类同性。年代较晚的《大毗卢遮那成佛经疏》卷二《入真言门住心品》:"围陀(今译吠陀),是梵王所演四种明论。大围陀论师,是受持彼经能教授者,以能开示出欲之行,故应归依也。于彼部类之中,梵王犹如佛,四韦陀典犹如十二部经,传此法者犹如和合僧。时彼闻如是等世间三宝,欢喜归依随顺修行"(T39,p. 595, b19-25)。虽然一行和尚的解释是"梵王犹如佛",而在龙树菩萨看来,却是"佛犹如梵王"的。后者代表了更为广泛的看法。

在印度的信仰中,作为创世纪的大神,首先是梵天,然后才是毗湿奴。梵天,原先被认为是原始虚无中产生的("无中生有"),后来认为,先是有毗湿奴,由

<sup>(</sup>T54, no. 2133A, p. 1190, b17-18)。《翻梵语》卷七:"卑帝梨,应云卑底梨夜。论曰祖父。"(T54, no. 2130, p. 1028, c1)。

<sup>15</sup> 杉本卓洲「マトゥラーにおける仏像崇拝の展開」,金沢大學文學部論集·行動科學·哲學篇,1997年,第17號,第91、101页。

毗湿奴产生梵天,再由梵天创造天地人民。对于变化,表明信仰的主体由梵天让位于毗湿奴,唐僧一行对后者的解释是:毗湿奴犹君,梵天犹臣,"如彼人君无为而治,辅相造成万化,如有司受令行之",创世纪是毗湿奴的愿望,而具体执行者为梵天<sup>16</sup>。这个说法有无根据尚不得而知。我们推想,当印度教兴起之际,毗湿奴的地位也逐渐上升,由此他也逐渐置于比梵天更加本源的位置上,毗湿奴比之于人间帝王,他的形象特征之一是头戴宝冠。但是,毗湿奴无为而治,创造世界的具体工作仍由梵天执行。顺着这样的思路,我们可以看出上举两例被称为"比多么贺"佛像,是把佛当作梵天看待的。笈多后期或再稍后一些,那烂陀出土的宝冠佛,我们认为也是从毗湿奴造像移用而来的。尽管如此,前举鹿野苑所出迦腻色伽三年立佛,佛头上方覆以华盖,而华盖正是印度王侯专属象征的五威仪之一,已经也隐含了把佛与王相互比拟的观念<sup>17</sup>。

在佛教徒看来,梵天完全智与佛陀无上等正见具有强烈的类同性,这或许是佛陀被称为梵天、梵天莲花诞生被导入佛教的动因。梵天和佛陀,都成了带有造物主性质的大神,以致于后来的佛陀演化为无上法身佛毗卢遮那(Vairocana),成为象征宇宙本源的至尊之神,变成了变成了宇宙最高的君王。被高度神化的法身佛卢舍那,是全部精妙佛法的化身。一方面,他是诸佛尊诸佛刹的本源,所有的诸佛诸菩萨都是他的部分神力的外现,却不足以显示全部,另一方面,他又表现佛中之王的性格,凌驾于诸佛诸菩萨之上,诸佛诸菩萨环绕在他的周围,所有的行为只是他的部分意志得以实现的践行者。因而,现代学者往往把他称为"宇宙佛王"(Cosmic Buddha-King)<sup>18</sup>。虽然这个构想,与梵天不完全相同,但毕竟应当是受到梵天作为创世神的启发。

# 余论

印度古城秣菟罗被称为"诸神之城",在佛家的眼中曾经被斥为秣菟罗五障(五失)之一的是"药叉暴逆(猛厉)"(Aṅguttara-Nikāya, III. 256; N21, no. 7, p. 302, a10),仅是供奉药叉的神庙或支提,可能就超过2500座(T24, no. 1448, p. 43, b8-c18)。在这种信仰中形成的印度最初期的佛像,无疑是被作为众多神祇之一看待的,我们也确认看到迦腻色伽二年或三年等早期佛像与当时盛行的药叉像的高度一致。随着佛教信仰的发展,佛陀逐渐获得了超越诸神的地位,成为"诸神之神"("天中天")。当时信众心目中的佛陀,是祈福与禳灾集于一体的凌驾于诸神之上的至尊大神。至公元200年前后的龙树时代,佛陀被视为梵天那样的大神(湿婆和毗湿奴是在笈多王朝才获得广泛信仰的),这在至尊大神的基础上又进一步提升为本源神,又发展为华严信仰中"卢舍那佛"、"毗卢遮那佛",正纯密教中的"摩诃毗卢遮那佛"(大日如来),以及密教最后阶段的"本初佛",迅

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 《大日经疏指心钞》卷八记录了毗湿奴与梵天创世的传说,认为: 梵王即那罗延也,若尔辅相是梵辅欤 (D18, no. 8863, p. 275, b3-p. 276, b7)。《大日经义释演密钞》卷三〔疏〕: "此是那罗延等者,此有多说。谓围陀论师计那罗延天,能生四姓。计梵天能生万物,提婆云: 从那罗延天脐中生大莲华,莲华上有梵天祖翁,谓此梵天为万物之祖。从梵天口臂髀脚生四姓等。又云,那罗延天能生梵王,梵王为万物之祖。复有安荼论师计本际等,不烦具引。今此尊贵者,即是那罗延天。湛然常住,如彼人君无为而治,辅相造成万化,如有司受令行之。更有所尊贵者,即指那罗延天也"(X23, no. 439, p. 551, c17-24)。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> 张同标《早期印度佛教美术的华盖图像及其在中国的传播》,《艺术探索》2015年5期,第18-36页

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> A. F. Howard, The Imagery of the Cosmological Buddha. Leiden. 1986.

速完成了"神祇化"到"本源化"或"宇宙化"的转变过程。

随着佛尊为至尊本源神的观念的展开,佛陀所拥有的福祉禳灾等功能的不同侧面也逐步演化中相应的佛菩萨。前文所举的佛陀闻声救度的例子,在我们看来,这就是观世音菩萨赖以成立的内在理路。早期佛书《大事》是从公元前2世纪起,在200年左右的时间内陆续编定的,是佛传诸书中年代较早的一种。其中的《佛名篇》,列举了476个佛名,其中既有借用印度教大神因陀罗、湿婆、毗湿奴、克利希那的异名,如帝释威光佛(Indratejas)源于因陀罗、暴风天佛(Rudradeva)源于湿婆,碎城佛(Puraṃdara)源于摧毁阿修罗三座城市的因陀罗,显示了佛陀与印度教神祇的混同。也有后世大乘部的诸尊,例如,无量威光佛(Amitatejas)、无量威佛(Amitaujas)、阿閦佛(Akṣobhya)等,前两例与阿弥陀佛相接相关,或许这就是阿弥陀佛吧。倘果如是,秣菟罗郊外高瓦德那伽尔(Govindnagar)出土的佛像,虽然自铭为"Amitābha"(Schopen 1987, pp.99-138),或许也只是佛陀的诸多别号之一,是否就是后世极乐净土主尊那样独立尊格的阿弥陀佛还很难说。不过,《大事》已潜藏了阿弥陀佛由从佛陀分化而形成的消息。

释迦牟尼当年弘扬的佛学,宗教性因素稀薄,既没有构建神灵谱系,更谈不上神灵膜拜的观念。这样的理性精神无法获得广大中下层信仰的发自内心的厚爱,在他们看来,佛陀应该与他们曾经礼拜的药叉等神祇那样,礼拜药叉造像的习俗自然而然地使他们雕造了印度历史上最初的佛陀造像。征之于考古遗物,最初的佛像确实与当时盛行的药叉像如出一辙。这样的佛陀造像,邻于药叉,却与释迦牟尼谈不上有多少关联。

佛陀造像最初出现的一瞬,正是印度部派佛教盛行、大乘佛典开始撰著之时。 学术僧们不断编辑的佛典,一方面继续哲人般的思想,努力自上而下向广大信仰 推行他们的教理观念,另一方面,学术僧也不知不觉地接受了来自下层民众自下 而上的神佛一体观念的影响,在佛典撰著中不断演绎着佛为大神、佛犹梵王、佛 为本源神的理念,佛教的神学色彩日趋浓郁。佛陀形象的早期发展,是中下层民 众的神祇崇拜的佛教化转移,后来与佛教义理互为渗透,发展为造像与教理互为 表里的历史阶段。

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# 基于《成唯识论》对"诸根互用"与"意现量"进行浅探

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## 摘要

"诸根互用",即五根得自在之后,"一根引发一识",一识能以现量的方式对所有的认知对象进行认识,这也是转依之后,成所作智对一切法的认取形式,这和意现量,即意识对于六境、六识的现量认知有诸多相似之处。本文即以《成唯识论》对"诸根互用"的论述,通过与另一佛教知识论概念"意现量"作对比,尤其是考察成论中对五俱意识的说明,对"诸根互用"此一概念进行祛魅。

关键词: 诸根互用, 意现量, 五俱意识, 前五识, 六根

## 一、引言

五根(眼、耳、鼻、舌、身)所引发的五识(眼识、耳识、鼻识、舌识、身识)对于五境(色、声、香、味、触)认知的一一对应性不论在佛教经典中,还是日常经验中都是可被确认或可被经验的,此五识作为一种直观性的认知手段,因其没有综合和分析的过程,因而只能是一一对应,内在封闭的。因此,"诸根互用",即感官之间能够互通,对不同类型的感官对象进行认知的状态,常被认作是佛教解脱论中,在五根获得自在之后较为神秘的认知状态。我们或许可将"诸根互用"类比为心理学概念"通感"(synesthesia),而区别于联觉(ideasthesia),其强调的是一种现量性的,即直观的,没有语言或概念构造作为中介的认知活动。在此认知活动中,感觉机制之间可以互相通用,由此突破了只能认知自感觉机制所对应的认知对象的限制。而佛教认识论中另一概念,"意现量"在认识方式和认识对象上和"诸根互用"的状态十分相似,即都能对不同感官机制所对应的认知对象进行现量认知,本文主要从《成唯识论》对此二概念的论述中寻找相应的解释,从而试图对"诸根互用"一概念祛魅化,从意现量的角度对理解此"诸根互用"进行初探。

# 二、《成唯识论》中对"诸根互用"的论述

"诸根互用"在《成唯识论》中是作为确立随根命五识,反驳随境命五识,即以感官机制对前五识命名,而不是以认知对象对其进行命名而被提出的:

此后随境立六识名,依五色根未自在说;若得自在,诸根互用,一根发识缘一切境。但可随根,无相滥失。<sup>2</sup>

在未转依时,随境命名,即以认知对象而命五识,如称色识<sup>3</sup>等并不存在明显的过错,但修行到五根获得自在的状态下,五感官机制之间能相互通用,此时某一感官机制引发的与其相对应的某一识能够认取所有的认知对象,而不受五根引发的对应识只能认识与其相对应的认识对象的限制,如眼根引发的眼识不仅能认识色,还能够认识其余诸境。此时一识能对多个不同种类的对象进行认识,若仍然以对象来对识进行命名,就会难以决定到底应用那一境,即哪一认知对象来进行命名,而一识的生起是由相应的感官机制引发的,此感官机制是此识产生的不共所依<sup>4</sup>,依根命名在已得自在的状态下也不会产生任何混乱。

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<sup>1 &</sup>quot;通感"(synesthesia)此一概念本身的含义通常是指不同种类的感官之间联合状态,其应该区别于联觉(ideasthesia)。联觉(ideasthesia)多指的是由某一诱导物的激发而产生的某种知觉认识,其往往和以往经验和语用表称分不开。引发"通感"的诱发物和其并行的感官反应都是感官本能性的,而对于"联觉"而言,引发其产生的诱发物是和语用概念有关的,而其并行的感官反应是感官本能的。"诸根互用"强调的是脱离语言,离分别的现量认识,因此应和心理学"通感"相对应。指的是感官机制之间互相连合所引发的认知活动,和语言活动、过往经历并无关系。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>《成唯识论》卷 5: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 26a24-27。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 在《成唯识论》一书中引《摄大乘论》时也有"色识"的说明,"乱相及乱体,应许为色识,及与非色识,若无余亦无",但在这里,色识指的是"乱相",也就是诸境,而非色识指的是乱体,即诸识,成论中鲜有出现以境对识进行命名的论述,此处色识所指也并非对色进行认知的认知活动,而是诸色境。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 陈那在《集量论》中对现量一概念的命名也进行了说明,现量一词对应的梵文 pratyakṣa, praty(i) 即前缀"toward","关于,对着"之意,akṣa 指的是"the organ of sense",即感知的感官机制,"现量"一词的字面翻译即关于认知的感官机制,其强调的也是能够进行有效认知的感官机制,而不是感

此处对"诸根互用"的解释即"一根发识缘一切境",在五根获得自在的状 况下,任何一感官机制所引发的与其相对应的识能够对一切境进行认识,这里一 根所引发的仍然是同类识,否则一根能引发非同类识对非同类境进行认识,此根 就不能作为此进行认知活动的识的不共所依,因为其他感官机制也能够引发此识 产生、依根命名仍然会产生混乱。其次、《成唯识论》也有论述说明一感官机制 引发的只能是一同类识,而非多识:

"何故诸识同类不俱?"于自所缘,若可了者,一已能了,余无用故。! 据此,一类识生起时就能对与其相应的对象进行认知,并不需要再生起另一同类 识对此境进行认识,类比,诸根互用,一根所引发的一定是一识,非多识,是此 一根识对一切境进行认识。

值得深究的一问题即,"一根发识缘一切境"的"一切境"所指的对象到底 包含了哪些内容, 若仅从诸根互用所限定的诸根即前五根而言, 这里所对的境<sup>2</sup>也 应该只是五根所对的五境,即色、声、香、味、触,但《成唯识论疏抄》对于菩 萨所得初根互用有解释如下:

若菩萨得初根互用, 其前五识, 五识一一皆缘十八界, 亦眼识亦缘二识, 乃 至亦能缘第八,乃至亦能发缘五根及五尘等。3

这里认为五识能在诸根互用的状况下,对十八界,即六识、六境、六根进行认识; 但若依仅是前五根进行互用的前提,则其认识对象仍然不能超过五境,如《成唯 识论》所引:"庄严论说,如来无根一一皆于五境转者"4。因为五根所引发的 识仍然只能认取与五根所对应的认知对象,即五境。而能对六识进行认识,即能 够对非感官性的对象进行认知的识只能是第六意识,只有第六意识才能够对一切 法进行认识,可见这里的初根互用对于五识的限定和能够缘六识和一切法的说法 似乎是有矛盾的,并且十八界的每一项是否都可以作为认知的对象也值得探讨。

诸根互用的作用从解脱论的意味而言,被认作是转依之后,五识转变为成所 作智的情形,《成唯识论》对此智有如下说明:

成所作智相应心品,有义:但缘五种现境,《庄严论》说:"如来五根,一一 皆于五境转故。"有义:此品亦能遍缘三世诸法,不违正理。《佛地经》说:"成 所作智,起作三业诸变化事,决择有情心行差别,领受去、来、现在等义。"若 不遍缘, 无此能故。然此心品, 随意乐力, 或缘一法, 或二或多。且说五根于五 境转,不言唯尔,故不相违。5

这里对成所作智的认取对象的两种不同说法进行了罗列, 其一, 如《大乘庄严经 论》所说,成所作智的认知对象是五境,即如来的五感官机制能够对五境进行认 识:另一说法是成论所支持的观点,如《佛地经》所说,此智不只是能对五境进

觉对象。

<sup>1 《</sup>成唯识论》卷 7: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 38b25-27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "境"一概念对应的梵文多为 viṣaya, 梵文中对应"对象"概念的语词很多,如ālambana, viṣaya, artha, jñeya, 其所对应的中文翻译多有不同, 通常会有不同含义的侧重, vişaya 一词多指的是与 根识相关的认知对象,即特定的感官认知对象,在一定程度上可以和界一概念相等同,ālambana 多对应"所缘",多指的是意识的对象,而非感官性,并不需要外在的感官对象; artha 一词多对 应"言义",在唯识宗中多指的是与语言活动相关的对象;iñeva对应"所知",也多指的是语言处 理过的认知对象;由此可见,这里"境"一概念多对应的是感官性的对象。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 《成唯识论疏抄》卷 12: CBETA, X50, no. 819, p. 373c9-11 // R80, p. 694a18-2 // Z 1:80, p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 《成唯识论》卷 5: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 26a27-28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 《成唯识论》卷 10: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 56c21-28

行认识,除此五境外,其也能够普遍地认取过去、现在、未来三世的一切法,即此智能够普遍地认取一切事物,且其能够同时认取一种或多种事物,若按照佛教从认识论的角度对世界一切现象所做的分类,这一切法所对应的即是十八界,若诸根互用是成所作智的状态,则其认取对象也应该是十八界。

但对十八界进行分析,六境、六识、六根是否都能够作为认识对象又是一个问题,六根引发六识产生认知活动,对外在对象-六境进行认知,因此六境本身就是作为认知对象而存在的。其次,意识活动能够对之前的意识、感受等心识活动进行反思性活动,且瑜伽行派承认自证意识的存在,即承认所有的意识都能够被自我证知;同时,根据所缘的两个条件,六识是心内实法,且有形相,能够引发后识生,因此六识能够作为认识对象而被认知。但六根能否作为认知对象值得讨论,根据所缘缘的定义,前五净色根虽然能够作为缘,引发识生起,但其并无形相,因此不能够作为认知的对象,而对于意根同样存在这样的问题,因为六根是作为六识能够生起的所依,即其生起的感觉机制,若六识要能对六根进行认识,这里存在类似正理学派对意识能否进行自知的疑难,一把刀如何能够伤到自己,识要如何能认取到自己的感官机制。其次,意根本身是不带相的,因此对其并不能产生认知。

总之,若诸根互用的认取对象和成所作智一致,是一切法、十八界的话,其突破了局限于五根对应的五境的认识对象范围的限制,这和其定义"诸根互用,一根发识缘一切境"「所限定的前五根所对应的五境存在一定的矛盾,但我们可以看出其暗含了一种对一切事物进行现量性认识的强调,诸根互用对本属于意识的认取对象也是其通过前五根的特质-现量性来进行认取的。而诸根互用对一切境现量性的认识和佛教现量分类中"意现量"一概念有十分相似的地方,二者的认知活动都是现量性的,且都可对六境进行认知,下一章节便会对意现量进行分析和说明。

# 三、意现量的认知机制

# 1. "现量"及其分类

在分析《成唯识论》对前六识现量性的阐述前,我们需要先要回顾现量一概念在佛教知识论中的意义和其分类,以便讨论前六识在其分类中所处的角色,由此重点讨论意现量的运作机制和认识对象。

现量一概念并不是佛教特有概念,在正理学派、弥曼差学派等印度哲学思潮中已有相当篇幅的讨论,陈那作为佛教知识论系统化的集大成者,对现量的讨论也有很多,在其后,法称、窥基、护法等人也就陈那的相关论述此议题进行过补充和评论,陈那在《因明入正理论》中对现量的定义如下:

此中现量谓无分别,若有正智于色等义离名种等所有分别,现现别转,故名现量。<sup>2</sup>

这里说明了现量有三个特点,一,离分别,这一概念对应梵文中"kalpanāpodhaṃ", "kalpana 对应的翻译即 forming in the imagination3, 而 apodham"的含义为

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>《成唯识论》卷 5: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 26a26

<sup>2</sup> 吕澂, 1983年:《因明入正理论讲解》,中华书局,页 253。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 参见自 Monier-Williams《梵英词典》中西书局。

"removing, denying1",因此"离分别"一概念可理解为即离概念构造2,也就是玄奘所译"离名种",这指的就是不需要概念构造的直接性的认知。二,这里对现量的认知对象进行了说明,即"色等义","色"在这里代指的是五境,也就是直接性的感官认知对象,而非名言。三,"现现别转","现现别转"在这里也就是"根根别转",其意思即每一感官机制,即每一根之间进行的认知是独立的,不同的根识对不同的对象进行认知,诸感官机制之间不会相互作用,根与根之间的独立对应是现量认知的要求。陈那在《因明正理门论》中对现量的认识对象进行了总称:

为自开悟, 唯有现量及与比量, 彼声、喻等摄在此中, 故唯二量。由此能了自、共相故; 非离此二, 别有所量, 为了知彼, 更立余量。<sup>3</sup>

这里,现量的认知对象,即自相(svalakṣaṇa)<sup>4</sup>,在《因明入正理论》中"色等义"的说法大多偏重于五境,即直观的感觉对象,多是五根识,即根现量的认知对象,此处的自相在陈那的论述中并没有很清晰的说明,但可以将其理解为共相(sāmānyalakṣaṇa)一概念的反面,若共相是作为"缺乏实在性的普遍"而言,则自相多指的是能够被直接认知的特殊个体。

在《集量论•现量品》中,陈那对现量的类别及对象也进行了说明:

有法具有非一相,根非一切相皆行;唯自证知离言相,方是色,根所行境。意识处境物知,贪等自证,皆无分别。瑜伽行者离师教, 观物自身(是现量)5这里对现量的分类有三6,一即根现量,即对于由五根所引发的对于感官性对象的认识,这里强调的是根识及其自对境之间的对应性;其次是意现量7,这里的意现量包含了对外在感官对象的认知,如五境,同时也包含了对于自身内在感受、自身意识活动的自我证知,只要是无分别的,都属于现量;第三是瑜伽现量,即禅定状态中关注于其认知对象。根现量对应的是前五根引发的识所对应的认知活动,意现量和瑜伽现量都是第六意识的现量活动。

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<sup>1</sup> 同上

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 参见服部正明的翻译将 kalpana 译为"conceptual construction"。

<sup>3</sup> 郑伟宏, 2008, 《因明正理门论直解》, 中华书局, 页 213。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 陈那在《集量论·现量品》中对于自相(svalakṣaṇa)一概念有两两种区分,一即处自相(āyatanasvalakṣaṇa),指的是作为认识对象的特质,另一概念事自相(dravya-svalakṣaṇa),指的是实体性的构成,陈那对于现量的认识对象-"自相"取的是处自相一概念,即认识论上的对象概念而非存有论的。

<sup>5</sup> 参见何建兴先生所译《集量论·现量品》。

<sup>6</sup> 关于现量三分和四分说的争论主要在自证分能否算作独立于意现量的另一现量,这涉及到是否需要将意现量限定为对于外在客观对象的直接的非概念构造的意识,以 Franco 为代表的学者基于 prajñākaragupta 的对陈那集量论的解释,认为陈那持自证分和意现量一致的观点;但以 Wayman 和姚治华为代表的学者认为,在陈那早期的著作《因明正理门论》中,明确提出了四分说的理论,姚治华等人认为 Franco 一派主要依据 Prajñākaragupta 较晚时期的梵文残片而忽略其与藏译《集量论》有很多不对应的地方。这里是将 Franco等人所理解的意现量对内地认知情感性、内在意识等意识独立出来,另立一内在导向的自证分,而与对外在感官对象直接进行认知意现量区分开,姚治华认为这是陈那传承《瑜伽师地论》较为粗浅的现量三分说理论对现量划分说理论的创新所在,但也有学者如 Hisayasu Kobayashi 认为 Prajñākaragupta 综合了法称和陈那的观点,一方面其认为自证意识等同于意现量,即意现量可以作为对内部对象意识的证知;另一方面意现量也可以作为对客观外在对象的感觉现量的认知。本文在这里取的是包含了内外两种认识对象的意现量概念,只是因为自证一认知功能对于揭示意识现量性的认知对象更加全面,而对是否应将自证单作一现量不作讨论。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 对于瑜伽行派而言,其承认第六意识的现量性,而对于经量部而言,其并不认为意现量是可以 直接认识知觉对象的,因为当意现量生起时,对象已经不存在了

由此我们可以对前六识的现量性有初步的了解,前五识的认知活动是根现量<sup>1</sup>,第六意识可以有两种不同的现量形式,一是意现量,即对于外在感官对象和心内活动的认知,另一是瑜伽现量在禅定状态中对特定对象所进行的认知。

### 2. "意现量"及其认知对象

意现量一概念在陈那《集量论》中的定义是"意识处境物知,贪等自证,皆 无分别"<sup>2</sup>,这将意识的现量分为两类,一类是针对外在感官对象的认取,另一 类是对从属性认知活动,如感受性等心理活动等证知。前者又被称为"五俱意识", 其与前五识的关系十分紧密,但关于二者的关系存在不同的理解,大致可分为两 种3,一即以法称为代表的经量部-瑜伽行派的观点4,由于法称认识到了若意现 量和根现量的认知对象一致,则意现量不可能有效,因为现量之所以是有效的认 知必须符合其能够产生新知的条件5;其次,若二者的认知对象一致,则会产生 盲人也能够通过没有坏的意根产生意现量,从而对色境产生认识的悖论。由此, 法称在《正理滴论》中对意现量的定义是:"意识的认识,是感官认识随同与自 己的对象无间断的对象,作为相应的无间断的条件而产生的6"。其认为意现量和 根现量的认知对象是不一致的,根现量是作为意现量的等无间缘,能够引发意现 量在后一时刻生起。另一派别即以瑜伽行派护法和窥基为代表,《成唯识论》中, 玄奘引护法观点: "五识起时必有意识能引后念意识令起,何假五识为开导依?", 这里是说当五根识生起时有与其相对应的意识生起,此意识能够作为后一意识生 起的等无间缘,而无需以五根识作为后一意识的等无间缘。这里所持的观点即意 现量和根现量必须同时生起。窥基在《成唯识论述记》中有:"集量论等五俱意 识定现量者。必同缘故8。"其不仅认为意现量和根现量需要同时生起,其还认为 二者的认识对象也应是一致的, 意现量是作为根现量的伴随意识而认取根现量的 认知对象。这两个派别对于意现量和根现量说明的不同导致其对根现量是否是自 证的问题有不同的解释, 因为意现量在法称的理解中和根现量异时且对象不同, 因此其并不能作为根现量的自证分;而对于护法和窥基而言,意现量可以作为根 现量的自证分, 因为其与根现量的认知对象一致且同时生起。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 关于前五识是否是自证的问题在下文也有说明,关于自证分到底是作为识的一相还是独立区别于识的另一识问题参见 Ching Keng (2004). Is Mental Perception Necessary in a Pramāṇa Theory?

<sup>—</sup>A Re-reading of Dignāga's Theory of Svasaṃvedana and Mānasa-pratyakṣa in his Pramāṇasamuccaya. 本文对前五识的自证分的理解也基于将其理解为区别于前五识的另一意识,否则其自证只是作为其识中的一项,这样的话意现量的设立没有任何实际意义。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 参见何建兴先生所译《集量论·现量品》。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 关于五俱意识和前五识以及自证分之间的关系在各个派别中的讨论及其源流参见自在 Zhihua Yao (2004) Dignāga and Four Types of Perception. Journal of Indian Philosophy 32, 57-79。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 虽然在《正理滴论》中法称有十分明确的说明,"所有的心心所活动都是自证的" (sarva-citta-caittānām ātman-saṃvedanam),但是姚治华认为这个论述值得考量,因为其认为法称 在这里只是直接引用了大众部的观点,而不是法称自己的观点陈述。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 陈那在《集量论》中有注虽有对对象的重复认识,但是不需要另立其他量,会犯无穷过,只有第一次把握到的知识才能够被称为有效的认知,法称在《释量论》中也有"量之总相谓新生无欺智"的说法。只有新知才能在佛教知识论中被认作是有效的认知。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 这里参照的翻译是汤铭钧《法称<正理滴论>梵汉对照和新译》,其对应的梵文原文为: Nvāvabindu I.9

 $vaviṣay\bar{a}nantaraviṣayasahak\bar{a}rinendriyaj\tilde{n}\bar{a}nena\ samanantarapratyayena\ janitam\ tan\ manovij\tilde{n}\bar{a}nam\ //\circ$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>《成唯识论》卷 4: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 21a26-27。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>《成唯识论述记》卷 5: CBETA, T43, no. 1830, p. 420c21-22。

从上文对意现量和根现量关系的分析中,我们可以得出《成唯识论》所持护法的观点即,意现量与根现量同时生起,且认知对象一致,因此意现量的认知对象包含了根现量所对应的五境,除此,在《俱舍论颂疏论本》也可见经量部对意现量认知对象的说明:

若意现量,证得六境,名为所知。于五境中,一一容起见闻觉知四种言说,于第六境,除见有三。(解云,第六境者,谓法境,无见有闻觉知三也。意识名现量者,从五识后,亲起意识,所证五境。)<sup>1</sup>

这里经量部所持的观点即, 意现量的生起在根现量之后, 但其认为意现量的认知 对象是所有的六境, 而六境能被现量的现量性地认知, 被总称为所知。细分, 以 前五境为基本的认知对象而扩展出四种不同类型认知对象, 如《俱舍论记》所说:

有余经部师说,若是五根现量所证五境,以分别故名所见;若依教量从他传说六境名为所闻;若依比量运自己心以种种理比度所许六境为所觉;<u>若意识依现</u>量证六境名为所知。<sup>2</sup>

一即五根所证五境,此是所见,二是圣教量等从其他处听说的知识被称为所闻,而若以推理等方式运用意识思维获得的知识即所觉,而意识以现量的方式对于六境的认知即是所知。而这里对于六境的范围也需要进行说明,首先,六境包含了前五境,第六境,法境,按照《俱舍论记》,"于第六境四种之内,除五根所见,有余所闻等三3",其在四种言说中除了五根所见,还有所闻、所觉和所知的内容,因此可见法境能够对直接感官对象、声闻圣教、意识活动、推理比量进行现量认知,六境即前五境,和包括了意识活动、声闻圣教、推理比量内容的第六境,法境。

如上文所述,在《成唯识论》中,其肯定了一时间有多识生起的情形,即"又如浪、像,依一起多,故依一心,多识俱转<sup>4</sup>",因此五俱意识和前五识同时生起是作为意现量的活动区别于独散的,回忆性而非现量性认知的一个条件,如《成唯识论》所说:"又若不许意与五俱,取彼所缘,应不明了,如散意识,缘久灭故。<sup>5</sup>"。由此可确定,意现量的认知活动在时间上被认为是和前五识同时生起的。但《成唯识论》对此二者在伦理属性上规定并不要求其完全一致,如下文所说:"五识与意虽定俱生,而善性等不必同故"<sup>6</sup>,二者只是生起同时。

依《成唯识论》,一类识生时,能够对其所有自境进行认知,而无需再另设一识,对五俱意识而言,其能够同时对多个对象进行认识:

"如何五俱,唯一意识,于色等境,取一或多?"如眼等识,各于自境取一或多。此亦何失?相、见俱有种种相故。<sup>7</sup>

即五俱意识能够同时对所有的五境进行认知,需要注意的是此种认知并不包含联系和综合的作用,每一个对象都是作为独立的对象被意现量所认取,而意现量并不会将所有的认知活动产生联系,其认取的只是一堆杂多的感觉材料,但对不同种类的感觉材料的认取在时间上是同时的。

若五俱意识和五根识同时生起,其认知对象也一致,则设立五俱意识是否必要也成为了一个问题,在《成唯识论》中对五俱意识的作用有说明:

<sup>1 《</sup>俱舍论颂疏论本》卷 16: CBETA, T41, no. 1823, p. 910a25-28。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 《俱舍论记》卷 16: CBETA, T41, no. 1821, p. 261a13-18。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 《俱舍论记》卷 16: CBETA, T41, no. 1821, p. 261a21-22。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 《成唯识论》卷 7: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 38b20-21。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 《成唯识论》卷 7: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 38b21-23。

<sup>6 《</sup>成唯识论》卷 5: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 26b26-27。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 《成唯识论》卷 7: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 38b23-25。

五俱意识助五识令起,非专为了五识所缘。又于彼所缘能明了取异于眼等识,故非无用。由此圣教说彼意识名有分别,五识不尔。!

这里对五俱意识和前五根识的关系进行了说明,首先,五俱意识生起的目的并不是专门认取感觉对象,而是作为前五识生起的助力,可将其作为前五识生起的增上缘。其次,其对于对象的认取和五识略有不同,其"能明了",由此这里认为,圣教将此意识认作有分别,而前五识作为现量性的认知,其自身本身就是离分别的,这里是否存在矛盾呢,值得注意,这里并不是说五俱意识是有分别的,而是说五俱意识和意识都是意根的作用,五俱意识的认知由此可以作为有分别的意识活动生起的等无间缘,五俱意识在这种意义上,可以被视作从现量、直观性的感知到比量性的思维认知的中介,其本身是现量无分别的。而五俱意识和五根识的所依,即其运作的感觉机制不同,因此二者并不相应。

如前文所述,《成唯识论》对意现量和五根识之间的关系是秉承护法和窥基的观点,即五根识的产生和第六意识的产生是同时的,二者的认知对象是一致的,由此,意现量同时能够有另一重作用,即对根现量,即前五识进行证知,这在《集量论·现量品》中也能找到说明:

有法具有非一相,根非一切相皆行;唯自证知离言相,方是色,根所行境。

这里是说,对于一对象各个方面的综合把握并不是根识的活动,如对一个蓝色的瓶进行认知,瓶和蓝色都是对于此一对象不同方面的指涉,对于蓝色和瓶等属性的确立都是概念构造的结果,而对于这些综合的相的把握不是根识的作用。根识的认知活动仅仅是如自证其认知活动一般,对其所对境进行直观认知,这一活动是现量而离分别的。我们由此可以找出支持前五识在进行对象性认知的时候对自身活动的自证,由此可知意现量除了能够外在性地认知外在感官对象,也能够内在性地证知五根识的认知活动,作为其自证分而存在。

# 四、"诸根互用"和意现量的关系

经过上文的梳理,我们发现"诸根互用"一概念和"意现量"虽在《成唯识论》的论述中并无交集,但二者在认知方式和认知对象等方面很诸多相似之处,二者之间的关系可表示如下:

|         | 诸根互用          | 意现量           |
|---------|---------------|---------------|
| 所缘      | 十八界(六根、六境、六识) | 五境            |
|         |               | 法境            |
|         |               | 六识            |
| 所依      | 前五根           | 第六意根          |
| 与前五识的关系 | 属于前五识,但其任意一识生 | 1. 与前五识同时生起   |
|         | 同时具有五识的作用     | 2. 是前五识的自证分   |
|         |               | 3. 其伦理属性不受前五识 |

<sup>1 《</sup>成唯识论》卷 7: CBETA, T31, no. 1585, p. 38b28-c2。

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 参见何建兴先生所译《集量论·现量品》,这在陈那的《正理门论》也有说明,即"有法非一相,根非一切行,唯内证离言,是色根境界"。

|      |       | 限制    |
|------|-------|-------|
| 认知方式 | 现量离分别 | 现量离分别 |

由于诸根互用和意现量二者的所依,即产生认识的感觉机制并不相同,因此二者并不相应。从认知对象上来看,在诸根得自在的转依位,即以成所作智对一切法进行认知时,这和意现量在五根识进行感官认知的形式大致是一致的,其都能不受感官机制的限制,对任一感觉对象进行离分别的现量认识,若不讨论对于六根的认识,则二者的认识对象也是一致的,即六识和六境。由此可通过意现量对六境和六识的认知活动来类比"诸根互用"的认知状态,通过把握意现量一概念来解开"诸根互用"神秘的面纱,总的来说,诸根互用指的是一根所引发的任意一识能够如意现量一般,对其余诸境进行现量性的认识,同时其也能够将诸识认作认识对象进行无分别的现量认识,包括对自识的自我证知。

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# 艺乘与念佛

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## 摘要

艺术是一种能净化人类及医疗身、心、灵的工具,它除具有知识价值之外,还能 开显人性的真实面。人的声音具有治疗功能,它可减轻人在生理上或心理上所遇 到的毛病,而歌曲的唱诵让人的意志随歌曲的结构及特色,将人从日常生活的层 面,带到精神领域外的另一种层面,帮人回归自己本有的觉性,这种觉性是没有 贪、瞋、痴意念的展现及存在。人在这层面中是清净、快乐,不被世俗的烦恼所 困扰。

能让人进入清净的心境,泛音唱诵(古老的祭歌)和佛名号唱诵(净土宗的念佛法门)是其中的可行工具,因为两者都要求唱者心力集中、抛开自己的意识,专注在当前的活动上,以不断重复唱诵曲中的歌词,将自己带入无念的境界,进入「觉性圆满」的地域。

将艺术活动作为一条通往灵性、精神上高层次的国土、证入空性的工具,是波兰年轻导演葛罗托斯基所研发。葛导演把这工具称为 Art as Vehicle,而台湾钟明德教授把它译为「艺乘」。

于通往国土的过程中, 葛导演选用日常生活的名词, 让修行者了解何谓「动即静」, 从而再明白自己是一只「啄食的鸟」, 掩盖「旁观的鸟」的存在。

佛名号的唱诵可使人离开现世烦恼的系缚,泛音唱诵可借着歌曲的振动寻回自己 的觉性,两者在现代重科技、电子化的年代,不注重人的德行时,是十分重要的 工具。

关键词: 艺乘 觉性圆满 动即静 啄食的鸟 旁观的鸟

烦恼每个人都有,善学般若的人懂得适当地化解,将日常生活中遇到的困扰程度 降底,欠缺智慧的人因不明白真正引起烦恼的原因,会感到不安全和不满足。为 了填补这些感受,就不断地追求物质生活的满足,企图让自己感觉安全和可靠; 他们所追求的都离不开衣食住行,可是这些东西偏偏增加人的麻烦和困扰,甚至 弄到生理或心理都出现问题。其实烦恼的产生是人的贪瞋痴(佛教称为三毒)在活 跃,若能把这些毒念头拼弃,人便会觉得自在、快乐,不会产生妄念或执着。

人的声音是一种可以治疗毒念头的自然疗方,人声可减轻或消除压力及各种病痛的症状,如头疼或肠胃不适,因为人声可激发内分泌系统,帮助安抚身体因生病而带来的负担或把身体能量受阻的部位打通。声音的产生是由物体振动所引起,而人在发声过程中,肺部呼出的气流会冲击发声的肌肉(声带),使声带发出均匀震动,然后震音气流通过口腔、鼻腔,再由舌、唇调节而发出不同的声音。在人类的语言中,元音是语言的起首音,元音发音单纯,不需依赖舌头,只靠嘴形上的变化而发声,而跟随的子音则是一种以短促的声响带动元音前行,因此元音在声音上是非常重要,如身体五脏六腑。

佛名号「阿弥陀佛」是梵文音译,读诵此名号,能感应阿弥陀佛,获得佛的加持,而去到他住的极乐世界。众生得阿弥陀佛的加持,烦恼会获得解脱,因为人的脑电波或心电波中,有它一定的周率,只要意识集中,心境统一,就可轻易地调整频率,以接受或放送不同的周波,而与阿弥陀佛相应,使自己变得有智慧,能控制贪瞋痴的出现。因此,唱诵阿弥陀佛名号是一种没有副作用的药品来消除烦恼。另一种自然疗方是借着泛音唱诵,使体内能量与身体器官协调,让身体放松以便帮助运作不正常的机能回复平衡,对现在的境界不贪着,而使烦恼消失。泛音的产生是歌者张开嘴巴唱元音 0 或闭嘴唱子音 M 时,将其中一音拉长,而把藏于该音中频率较高的音带出,此较高的音就是泛音。泛音可为大脑皮层充电,令中枢神经因得到充电,而使心神平稳清明,身体处于放松状态。人若集中心神地发出泛音,专注在清晰的谐音中,脑波活动就会减少,身体会自然地进入深度冥想的状态,并能住于没有妄想执念的境界中。

人类的身体被多种频率所环绕,而身体的肌肉、器官、腺体、神经系统都成为频率振动的共鸣器,当中声音发出的频率影响包围身体的能量场。能量场由三条脉所组成,其中的中脉位于脊柱旁边并与脊柱平行。中脉有七个主要脉轮(chakra)分布于脊柱底部与头顶之间,是能量的接收者、中介者和分发者。这七个脉轮(海底轮、丹田轮、太阳神经丛、心轮、喉轮、眉心轮、顶轮)以漩涡的状态依次与内分泌系统相连,并调节该系统。1 当人的负面情绪出现时,腺体功能便会被打乱。人若工作过劳,处于压力下,身体与精神得不到充分休息,吃或喝了不合身体的食物或饮料,就会强制脉轮传送超过正常应传送的能量,而使身体出现毛病。但声音的频率若能与脉轮频率达到一致时,体内的器官就得到适当的调节而运作正常,让身体回复均衡状况,因此声音基本上与振动是同义。声音的振动如风拂过树林时树叶沙沙作响,或是鸟儿鸣唱的歌声,或不被耳朵听到的音波,都对人产生正面或负面的影响。当人觉察自己的生理或心理出现问题时,选择适合自己的兴趣或个人所能接受及吸收的方法,如唱诵佛号或歌曲,会使人忘记执着、妄念,身心放松,精神专注。

<sup>1 《</sup>声音的治疗力量》, p. 156

人选择念佛名号去解脱困扰,首先要先存信念,相信自己的身体能接受不可能的挑战,可由唱诵把自己转化,让生命变得有意义。法华经方便品云:「如来众妙音,尽持以供养,或以欢喜心,歌呗颁佛德,乃至一小音,皆已成佛道。」¹。另华严宗贤首菩萨偈曰:「又放光明妙音,此光开悟诸菩萨,能令三界所有声,闻者皆是如来音。」。²在近代的星云法师在《星云说偈》内说「阿弥陀佛曾发下誓愿,只要信赖弥陀愿力,愿生极乐世界,称念「阿弥陀佛」,不问一日、二日,乃至十念,做到了专诚虔敬,一心不乱,就能为弥陀的佛力加持,而往生极乐世界。」。经书、菩萨、大德都推荐唱诵佛名号是一种解脱烦恼,甚至能成佛的方法,修习者应当信心充满,心无疑虑。唱诵阿弥陀佛名号,让一句句佛名号在心中持续不断,就会达到无念的境界,便会消灭烦恼。

阿弥陀佛的阿字在大日经疏七曰:「阿字是一切法教之本,凡最初开口之音,皆有阿声,若离阿声,则无一切言说,故为众声之母。<sup>3</sup> 金刚顶经字母曰:「阿字门,一切法寂静故。」。文殊问经曰:「称阿字时,是远离我声。」<sup>4</sup>,因此有偈曰:「那个是本尊,何处有极乐,不入阿字门,辗转都是错。阿字本不生,成佛伽陀药,透得空有义,秘藏开宝钥。」。<sup>5</sup> 阿字代表佛法的空义,修行者一心念着有阿字的句子,就是寻找到成佛的锁匙。

另外,星云法师在《星云说偈》内又说,不断的称念「阿弥陀佛」,其实是要把自己的心,把自己的主人翁叫醒。心内的主人翁就是指自己的「觉性」。觉性是觉悟、觉知之性。此性与心识有分别,能知是非善恶的心,是人格的升华,亦等同佛性。世俗人因妄想执着,因而障覆本有的觉性。若要显现觉性,必须要有觉察、觉照及觉悟的修行才可使它显现。觉察是知道自己的烦恼皆由贪、瞋、痴所生,自己不为此等烦恼所困惑。觉照是在烦恼境界中的念心,觉察到烦恼的存在,并能对治它。觉悟是明解自己清净的心及本性,督促自己能确切地保存这份清净心。

众生可从禅的修习或泛音的唱诵让觉性显现。六祖坛经宣诏品第九,慧能禅师说「道由心悟,岂在坐也。」。六祖的意思说出人若要成佛,须重在智慧的修持,而不是在形式上的修习。修行者若得到智慧,就能开悟,而解除烦恼。烦恼解除了,智慧亦会自然出现,两者是互为因果。正见是帮助众生在修习过程中不会误入疑似圆满觉悟的状态。疑似觉悟就是修禅定的人,若太专注于身心的放松,就不自觉地以为自己已把烦恼永远灭除,而不觉知只是暂时地被克制。当出定后,烦恼又再出现时,才明暸只是去到疑似觉悟圆满的地步。此外,修定的人若太刻意地专注于定力,便会受定力所引申的神通力所迷惑,继续陷入轮回的境况。当众生选择泛音唱诵来让自己进入觉悟的层面时,体内能量的转换或升降只是告知能量的运作正常,并不是在觉悟圆满的境界。因此,众生若要确认自己是否已获得觉悟圆满,就要能觉知身体的每个动作,即知道动时是在动,停止时是在停止。众

<sup>1 《</sup>大正藏》9册, p.7 c09

<sup>2 《</sup>大正藏》10册, p.008

<sup>3 《</sup>香光阁随笔》,香港 p.730

<sup>4 《</sup>香光阁随笔》,香港 p.731

<sup>5 《</sup>香光阁随笔》, 香港 p.747

生只要在日常生活中,专注及不停地做某种动作,把自己的分别意识泯除,觉悟圆满的境界就是现在的境界,就像泰国禅师隆波通的实修体验。他体验到圆满的觉悟就是用智慧去爱,用全力去帮助有需要帮助的人,即使不能帮上甚么忙,也不会感到痛苦或抱歉,会用平常心把它放下。<sup>1</sup>

据《法华经及涅盘经》说,能得六根清净,便可六根互用。<sup>2</sup> 即眼睛不但能看,也能听、能嗅、能尝、能觉,耳朵亦一样不只能听,也能看、能嗅、能尝、能觉。这种能力被近代台湾李嗣涔及几位教授,利用科学方法及仪器测试来证明人有特异能力,六根是可以互用,而在互用之余,更发现随人类所熟知的世界之外,还有佛世界的存在。李嗣涔教授等人做的测试是将一个手写的字放入袋内,让测试者能否说出那是甚么字。测试的结果是当测试者的手指在轻触字面时,会感到该字的真实相。如将「佛」字放入袋内,被测试者脑内并不浮现「佛」字,而是显现一片很亮的光明,并听到令人舒畅的洪亮笑声。<sup>3</sup> 这结果说出有特异能力的人,在他们的第二眼中「佛」是一片灿烂的光明。在禅秘要经说「正念观像,观像齐中,诸放一光,其光金色,分作五支,一光照左,一光照右,一光照前,一光照后,一光照上,如是五光,光光之上,皆有佛,佛佛相次,满虚空中。」。<sup>4</sup> 经说的佛是光光满于虚空,与教授们的实验所得的结果,佛是一片光明是相同。这进一步确认人的六根若能清净,便可互用,触根能看、能听,在念「佛」字或特定的菩萨名号时就能进入佛国。

净土宗的念佛法门一般可分为四种。它们分别是持名念佛、观像念佛、观想念佛、实相念佛。持名念佛是专心称念佛名号,净念相续;观像念佛是谛观佛像,历历分明;观想念佛是以对所观的佛像留下深刻印象,然后到静处闭目忆念观想;实相念佛是观自身及一切万法的真实无自性。念佛的益处是于此生,能离五浊的烦恼。五浊是却浊、见浊、烦恼浊、众生浊、命浊。宋妙济大师延一《广清凉传》卷中记载文殊菩萨说念佛的益处。曰「汝等欲求解脱者,应当先除我慢心,嫉妒名利及悭贪,去却如斯不善意,应专念彼弥陀号,即能安住佛境界。」。5 又涅盘经说:「佛言:善男子,善女人,能如是念佛者,若行住坐卧,若昼若夜,若明若闇,常得见佛。」6

唐代净土宗第四代祖师法照国师选择持名念佛的方式来创立五会念佛。法照国师在五台山竹林寺得聆听极乐净土之法音,根据《无量寿经》言「诸宝行树,清风时发,出五音声,微妙宫商,自然相和,皆悉念佛念法念僧,闻者得深法忍,住不退转,至成佛道。」<sup>7</sup>来演译五会念佛的唱诵形式。五会念佛的五会代表聚集,是聚集多人的声韵把「阿弥陀佛」名号传至虚空。古时及现今的念佛有两种形式,分别是歌者随自己的意念念佛,这形式可让歌者的个性自由发挥,脱离一切束缚;另一种是合唱形式,男女老幼混合成一个完全的和声,令唱者借着唱佛名号来熏

<sup>1 《</sup>正念动中禅的原理与方法》,https://www.mahasati.org

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 《正信的佛教》, 台湾 p.113

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 《佛国入口》,https://www.youtube.com

<sup>4 《</sup>香光阁随笔》,香港 p.500

<sup>5 《</sup>香光阁随笔》, 香港 p.418

<sup>6 《</sup>香光阁随笔》,香港 p.500

<sup>7 《</sup>香光阁随笔》,香港 p.185

通常每首乐曲必有高音、低音及平音三种,而每首曲亦必有主调以利于旋律遵从, 并间中转调来显示乐风之变化,并利用慢板带出歌曲的端庄及严肃,用快板反映 乐曲之协调和谐。五会念佛是具备以上的特点,此曲是一首单音音乐的乐曲,把 一句「南无阿弥陀佛」作为主要乐句,由主调带出旋律让歌者遵从,在唱诵中产 生种种变化,转换调子及拍子,使歌曲演变成一篇较长之乐曲。它的拍子由缓至 急去表达歌者的心情是安静及急切,没有任何杂念,把妄想滚入清静的境界,让 心得坚定,入佛智海,脱离三界生死。至于声韵的高低疾徐,就是要显示念则无 念的不二法门。五会念佛的第一会是「平声缓念」,平声即是声调不高不低,静 意地念六字名号。第二会是「平上声缓念」,就是于念佛号时声音略高,以显示 转调在进行中。第三会是「非缓非急念」,是把拍子转中慢板,即是不要太慢, 要快一些,但也不要太快。第四会是「渐急念」,将拍子转中快板,把名号逐渐 快念,使有急切之意。第五会是「四字转急念」,把拍子转急板,将六字洪名转 成「阿弥陀佛」四字,并且要更快更急的念。这种转念,目的是振散天魔,使天 魔不能缠缚, 让念者深入禅定, 并有表达急切求佛救脱及接引, 从而达到一心不 乱的念佛境地。五会念佛唱诵的结构是一种逻辑性的布局, 让念者思绪跟随唱诵 的节奏入佛的境界。

波兰戏剧家葛罗托斯基针对 20 世纪的社会、文化研发将表演艺术作为一个解脱烦恼的工具,一种进入另一个知觉层面的活动,他将这活动称为 Art as Vehicle。台湾钟明德教授基于此句的含意是艺术做为一种运输工具,这工具是带领人回归自己的觉性,犹如佛经说的八万四千法门之一的修行方法,因此承袭佛教术语的「小乘」、「大乘」,而译为「艺乘」。钟明德教授努力地寻找可以自由地出入知觉性层面的方法,最终找到唱诵台湾古老祭歌 Pasibutbut 就是一种承载人到彼岸、源头、无二之境的工具。此种工具是仪式性的艺术,此艺术不单强调仪式性功能,还把艺术作为当代人安身立命的一种工具。

泛音唱诵为进入觉性的工具是台湾钟明德教授,认同波兰戏剧家葛罗托斯基(以下简称葛氏)的研究,承认表演活动是一项进入精神性高层次的工具,钟教授亲身体验到台湾布农族人唱的祭歌 Pasibutbut 是一种登上天听的歌曲。布农族人相信唱出 bisosilin,天神会从天上赐福大家,使部落的耕种风顺雨顺。布农族人唱的 Pasibutbut 是一首祈祷小米丰收的八部音合唱歌曲。八位演唱者在唱时,自发地手环着手做逆时针的转圈动作,这种身体移动的动作是在表现歌曲的振动与力量。演唱者除努力唱好自己的声部之外,还细心聆听其他人的发声和变化。由于这首曲是一首半音音阶进程的歌曲,它的结构显得异常神圣。Pasibutbut 以元音 O、E、I、U 为歌词,元音是单纯音,不存在沟通的功能,故歌者的思绪只会专注,并慢慢沉淀下来,进入一种无我状态,此种状态就是声音跟身体一起流动,以达到见神的境界。声部的结构亦因没有固定的节拍,将元音拉长,而把呼吸成为歌曲的节奏,让歌者容易调节自己的气道而搭入其他歌者的呼吸中,造成他我合一。此外,元音拉长会引致泛音的出现,泛音的作用就是引发不同的知觉模式,使情感在一般状态下感受不到的感动都涌现出来。除拉长元音,可使泛音出现,喉音也激发泛音出现。歌曲由低音往高音缓慢地爬升,音声到达喉部时经喉咙压

<sup>1 《</sup>香光阁随笔》,香港 p.518

缩,就会释出各个泛音。再者,不固定的音高和不和谐的音程,令歌曲产生极大的张力,歌者在此情况下只会全然投入,专注地唱好自己的调子。整首歌的结构在激励歌唱者做出葛氏所说的「动即静」状况。「动即静」是由双对性的动词所组成的名词,此名词的意思是表示在动态中能找到心内自我的宁静,属于一种释放自己内在的精神力量,进入动与静的合一状态。此状态要求表演者在拥有一定的技巧、知识、经验之后,更要把这些技巧、知识、经验的障碍除掉,变成另一种技巧。歌者利用歌曲特殊的振动来引导自己体内的脉动,让自己内在的能量随着歌曲的特殊振动上升或下降,而使自己在歌曲中达到动即静的境界,是一种经唱诵而觉醒深藏于体内觉性的行动。

葛氏依据奥义书的寓言「观照」上说人有两部份,分别是啄食的鸟和旁观的鸟来形容意识与觉性。意识是人脑对大脑内外表象的觉察。」人的意识就是专注在世间的生活,沈溺在时间上努力地为生存而啄食,把本有的、无烦恼的觉性遗忘,所以是一只啄食的鸟。葛氏提出这两个术语就是要提醒世间的人,在啄食的鸟中让旁观的鸟活下去,要在意识中找到觉性,让觉性浮现,使自己活得快乐,没有烦恼,不会让贪瞋痴展现。啄食表面的意思是用嘴取食,它的汉语意思出自唐朝李白《雉朝飞》诗:「春天和,白日暖。啄食饮泉勇气满,争雄斗死绣颈断。」。此诗是琴曲的歌词,叙述一位鳏夫在田间采薪时,看见一只雄白雉领着两只雌雉,在春野间饮水。后来两只雌雉为争夺这只雄雉而两败俱伤。这位鳏夫看见这情景十分感伤,因而用琴奏出自己的郁闷与不平。这首诗指出动物为了欲望或生存,做出自相残杀、争斗不断的事,动物的举动与人毫无分别,都是为生存而营役,忽略本有清净的本性,实在使人感慨。

宗教色彩的唱诵(念佛名号)和超自然的泛音唱诵(Pasibutbut)是可帮助人精神性的解脱。唱佛名号或古老的祭歌是一种垂直运动的工具,它们将人的心灵从地上带上天上。人会因歌曲的特殊振动上升到某种精微的能量或下降到日常的真实层面,而使自己消失在歌曲中,进入动即静的境界。此种特殊的歌曲是一种含有逻辑性布局的歌曲,它每一部份的位置清楚地让人知道,某一部份不可能在另一些曲目之前或稍后出现。人要达到向上的层面,就必定要对唱诵此种结构的歌曲充满信念,相信身体能接受不可能的挑战,而使自己的身体在不知不觉间变得顺从,变成能量畅行无阻的管道,走入另一种觉知层面。

美国艺评家苏珊桑塔指出,「艺术在现代成了精神性计划最活泼有力的隐喻之一」。<sup>2</sup> 她这话是指艺术活动除能寄托人类的精神与情感,反射人的生理及心理状况外,还带有一种隐蔽的功能。人只要在日常活动中专注地及重复地做某一动作,就有一种无形的力量,将隐蔽的功能展现。唐君毅先生说「宗教精神与艺术精神同为象征的,由艺术之以图像声音象征艺术意境,一转手即为宗教之图像声音仪式象征宗教意义。」<sup>3</sup>,这话点出艺术与宗教都有密切的关系,互为帮助人类解脱烦恼。故此,在现今只重功利的社会,学校已不注重精神与道德的教育,用艺术来锻炼自己,找回自己的本性,让旁观的觉性活着,念佛或唱诵都在扮演重要的角色。

<sup>1</sup> 百度百科

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 《OM 泛音作为艺乘》,台北:国立台北艺术大学,p.114

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# 成实论的灭谛思想探析

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## 摘要:

灭谛在《成实论》中居核心地位。在灭谛思想体系中,能缘之心与所缘之相有一种严格的对应关系。其中,能缘之心居首要地位,论主强调心的转化、提升,最后灭除的过程,而这一过程又必须通过所缘境界的转变加以印证。《成实论》将所缘分为假名有和实法有两个层次,并用第一义谛、世谛和中道来阐发灭除两种有的具体过程。中道强调不堕于有无、断常等二边的片面见解,以智慧趋于第一义谛或涅槃。另外,论主在阐释法空思想时,吸收了诸法无自体性的大乘空义,但对空有相即不离予以否定,强调法空必须灭五阴相。另外,《成实论》的价值取向是追求个人的解脱,有别于大乘利益一切众生的精神。

关键词: 假名空 法空 灭谛 灭三心

《成实论》的作者诃梨跋摩,中天竺人。在姚秦弘始十三年(公元 411 年) 鸠摩罗什法师应姚显之请,而译出《成实论》。在南朝时期的汉地风靡一时,至 梁而极盛。但时至今日,原本早已佚失,可见现存汉译本之珍贵。

《成实论》共 202 品,是以"四谛"为纲,来组织其学说的。顾名思义,《成实论》是要阐发"四谛"的真实含义,其结构严谨,论证清晰,博采众家之长,确实多有独见之明。但以前对于《成实论》中灭谛的研究缺乏系统性,导致对一些重要概念理解不清。本文对《成实论》中的诸多重要概念和它们之间的关系做了细致地研究,如假名有和实法有,第一义谛、世谛和中道,假名空和法空,心、识和智,三心和灭三心,泥洹和无心定等。从而对在《成实论》中居于核心地位的灭谛思想体系和一些重要概念有了更为清晰的认识,下面就将对其进行详细地阐释。

## 一、 灭谛思想体系结构图

在对灭三心,假名有和实法有,假名空和法空,第一义谛、世谛和中道等概念及它们之间的关系进行研究后,笔者绘制了下图,以期更加形象,明晰地反映出《成实论》核心思想概念的结构关系。

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图 1-1

《成实论》的核心思想即是灭三心的灭谛,如上图最左侧一纵列所示,由假名心、法心、空心到具足无我是一个能缘之心逐渐转化、提升至于完全灭除的过程。上图中间一纵列为假名有、假名空、实法有的五阴和法空,表示的是不同层次的心所缘的对象。上图最右侧一纵列中的世谛主要指的是实法有的五阴和假名

有,第一义谛指的是第一义空,也即是法空。从世谛到第一义谛的转化正是对所缘由有到无这一转化过程的详细阐释。在《成实论》的灭谛思想体系中,最重要的一对关系即是能缘之心与所缘空、有的关系。虽然论主多次阐发次第灭相以至于无的思想,但这一灭的过程,正是由于心由识向智的转化、提升而产生的。即是在能缘与所缘这对关系中,论主将能缘放在首要的地位,所缘之相的变化作为能缘之心转变的印证,能缘之心与所缘之相存在一种严格的对应关系。在灭谛思想体系中,另一对重要关系是所缘的有与空的关系。论中多以世谛与第一义谛来阐释它们之间的转化过程,这种转化又是通过依缘起而行于中道实现的。下文将对图 1-1 的概念体系做进一步地阐释。

## 二、 假名有与实法有的含义

《灭谛聚初立假名品》说:"问曰:'何谓假名?'答曰:'因诸阴所有分别。如因五阴说有人,因色香味触说有瓶等。'问曰:'何故以此为假名耶?'答曰:'经中佛说,如轮轴和合故名为车,诸阴和合故名为人。又如佛语诸比丘,诸法无常,苦空无我,从众缘生无决定性,但有名字,但有忆念,但有用故。'"¹由此而知,假名,即假名有,指的是由色受想行识五阴或色香味触四尘,因缘和合而成之物。所以,假名有无法决定和维持自身的存在,它们只有名字,忆念和功用。

在《成实论》中,论主认为四大,即地、水、火、风,是假名有。如在《四大假名品》中说:"问曰:'四大是假名,此义未立,有人言四大是实有。'答曰:'四大假名故有。'"2又在《苦谛聚色论中色相品》中说:"色阴者,谓四大及四大所因成法。亦因四大所成法,总名为色。四大者,地水火风。因色香味触,故成四大,因此四大,成眼等五根。"3其中,四大所因成法指的是色香味触四尘,即构成物质世界的最基本元素。四大即地水火风,是由四尘所构成的。因四大所成法即眼耳鼻舌身五根,是由四大构成的。由此可见,色包含三个不同层次的物质世界,即色香味触四尘、地水火风四大和眼耳鼻舌身五根。色阴包含两个层次的含义,即四尘和四大。笔者认为,此为广义上的色和色阴的含义。

又《身见品》说:"如初教观身破男女相,故次以发毛爪等分别身相,但有五阴,后以空相灭五阴相,灭五阴相名第一义谛。"4《假名相品》说:"又不假空破,是假名有……若以空破是实法。"5由此可见,色阴无法再拆分下去,必须以空相灭,当为实法。所以,色阴应为组成人的最基本元素,即色香味触。此为狭义上的色阴含义。在后文所提及的五阴,如无特别说明,即是包含狭义色阴的五阴。

《假名相品》说:"又因异法成名假名有,如因色等成瓶,实法不因异成。所以者何?如受不因异法成。"6由此可见,假名有是和合之物,是由色等异法构成的,可以继续分析、拆解下去。实法有是组成一切事物的最基本元素,不再由其他事物,即异法所构成。综合以上三段的分析,实法有指的是色受想行识五阴与

<sup>1 《</sup>成实论》,《大正藏》册 32, 第 1646 号, 页 327 上。

<sup>2</sup> 同上, 页 261 中。

<sup>3</sup> 同上, 页 261 上。

<sup>4</sup> 同上, 页 316 下。

<sup>5</sup> 同上,页 328下。

<sup>6</sup> 同上,页 328上。

色香味触四尘。

又《四大实有品》说:"阿毗昙中说,坚相是地种,湿相是水种,热相是火种,动相是风种,是故四大是实有。"<sup>7</sup>由此可见,在说一切有部看来,地水火风四大的属性是由坚湿热动四种人的感知所规定的。所以,无论是《成实论》的四尘还是说一切有部的四大指的都是人的感觉经验中的客体,而不是超出了人的感觉经验的"自在之物"。"四大"与"四尘"的不同在于:"四尘"与"四大"相比,更强调认识对象对人的主体性,从而更易于灭除它们的体性和相。

## 三、《成实论》的空义

《灭法心品》说:"故知若坏众生是假名空,若破坏色是名法空。"<sup>8</sup>该品又说:"又空是解脱门。此空非但是众生空。亦有法空。"<sup>9</sup>由此可知,《成实论》是从二个层面来阐发空义的。其一是假名空或众生空,其二是法空或第一义空。下文将分别阐释假名空与法空的含义。

#### (一) 假名空的含义

《灭法心品》说:"又一经说,汝罗陀破裂散坏色乃至识,令不现在。故知若坏众生是假名空,若破坏色是名法空。"此中所说的"众生",即和合之物,"破裂散坏"指的是在心理上对和合之物进行分析和拆解,"令不现在"是说在心理上灭除其相,使之不再显现。据此可知,对和合之物(假名有)在心理上进行分析、拆解,以至于最基本元素的四尘和五阴(实法有)。此时,原来的和合之物也就空无所有了,这种空就是假名空或众生空。

《成实论》的假名空,也即小乘普遍认可的析法空。例如,在《鸠摩罗什法师大义》中,鸠摩罗什法师说:"空者,小乘论说众生空。所以者何,以阴入界和合假为众生,无有别实,如是论者,说乳等为因缘有,色等为实法。"<sup>10</sup>由此可见,小乘所主张的众生空,认为阴、入、界这些构成事物的基本元素是实有的,由阴入界所构成的众生是因缘和合之物,没有自性,并非实有。此中所谓的众生空,也即是《成实论》的假名空。

《成实论》的假名空实际上包含两层含义,一方面,通过对假名有的分析和 拆解,体悟到假名有的无自体性,或者说灭除了假名有的体性。另一方面这种分 析和拆解,也灭除了假名有之相。

假名空通过分析、拆解和合之物的方式,进入到论主所认为的相对真实的,对实法有的感知状态。从宗教学的角度来看,假名空或析法空实际上是对世俗经验,或者说是对人们通常的感性经验与理性经验的一种消解,从而脱离世俗经验,开始进入到宗教经验或神圣经验之中。

## (二) 法空的含义

8 《成实论》,《大正藏》册 32, 第 1646 号, 页 332 下—页 333 上。

<sup>7</sup> 同上, 页 261 下。

<sup>9</sup> 同上,页333下。

<sup>10 《</sup>鸠摩罗什法师大义》,《大正藏》册 45, 第 1856 号, 页 136 下。

关于法空,《六通智品》中说:"答曰:'以法空故,见色体灭乃至识体灭,是名空无我智。'"<sup>11</sup>《十智品》中说:"后以法空,不见色性乃至识性。"<sup>12</sup>由此可见,《成实论》的法空有诸法无自体性的含义。

《出三藏记集·诃梨跋摩传》中说诃梨跋摩"研心方等",方等即大乘经典,所以笔者认为,论主吸收了大乘法空的诸法无自体性思想,但《成实论》的法空含义与大乘的体法空也是截然有别的。例如,《灭法心品》说:"问曰:'行者观五阴空,谓五阴中无常法定法不坏法不变法我我所法,以无此法故言其空,非不见五阴。'答曰:'行者亦不见五阴,所以者何?行者断有为缘心,得无为缘心。是故行者不见五阴,但见阴灭。又若见五阴则不名为空,以阴不空故,如是空智则不具足。'问曰:'行者见色以无我故空,如经中说,行者见此色空乃至见此识空,当知非无色等诸阴。'答曰:'有如是言,但非清净。如法印经中说,行者见色等无常败坏虚诳厌离之相,是亦名空。但未是清净。是人于后见五阴灭,是观乃净,故知见诸阴灭。'问曰:'以有为缘智,何故不得清净?'答曰:'行者或时起五阴相,故假名心还生,是故有为缘心不得清净。若证诸阴灭,则五阴不复现前。成假名因缘灭故,假名想则不随逐。'"13

此段包含三问三答,问答所辨析的中心内容是空与相的关系问题,即灭五阴相是否是法空的必要条件。提问的一方是站在当体即空、即有观空的大乘般若空义的立场上,认为行者体悟到五阴无自体性即是法空,并不需要灭五阴相。例如,第一问说:"五阴中无常法定法不坏法不变法我我所法,以无此法故言其空,非不见五阴。"正是五阴无自体性,当体即空,空有相即不离的大乘空义。

但论主的回答认为,行者不仅要体悟到五阴无自体性,而且必须灭五阴相才能称之为法空。所以在第一答中,论主对"非不见五阴"予以否定。他认为如果见五阴就不能称为空,其原因是阴相还没有空,尚处于有为缘心的状态,空智不具足。

在第二答中,论主又认为如果有五阴相,是不清净的,只有灭除五阴相,"是观乃净"。在第三问中,提问者认为,体悟到五阴无自体性时,是一种处于有为缘智的心理状态,所以追问此时"何故不得清净"?论主回答说,此时行者的心理还会生起五阴相,所以也生起了假名心,所以是不清净的。只有灭除了诸阴相,假名心才不会生起,此时的心理状态才是清净的。

由此可见,《成实论》的法空包含两层含义,一层是实法有(五阴和四尘) 无自体性。当行者体悟到实法有无自体性时,也即灭除了实法有的体性。另一层 是灭除实法有之相,主要是五阴之相。

总而言之,《成实论》的空义包含假名空和法空两层含义。假名空指的是所缘的假名有的空无所有,即灭除了假名有的体性和相;法空指的是所缘的假名有和实法有的空无所有,即灭除了实法有的体性和相。假名空继承了部派佛教时期,各部派普遍承认的析法空思想。法空则吸收了诸法无自体性的大乘体法空思想,但对即有观空,空有不离的思想予以否定,这也正是《成实论》的创见所在,论主强调法空必须灭五阴相。例如,《身见品》说:"如初教观身,破男女相,故次以发毛爪等分别身相。但有五阴,后以空相灭五阴相。灭五阴相名第一义谛。"14由破男女相,身相,到发毛爪相,再到五阴相,最后以空相灭五阴相,灭五阴相

13 同上, 页 332 下。

<sup>11 《</sup>成实论》,《大正藏》册 32, 第 1646 号, 页 370 下。

<sup>12</sup> 同上, 页 372 下。

<sup>14 《</sup>成实论》,《大正藏》册 32, 第 1646 号, 页 316 下。

称为第一义谛。由此可见《成实论》非常注重对相的灭除,实际上,论主是在强调一种能缘之心与所缘之相的严格的对应关系。

## 四、二谛的关系与中道的含义

在《身见品》中,将第一义谛定义为: "灭五阴相名第一义谛"。<sup>15</sup>关于世谛,论中直接阐发其含义之处不多,如《灭谛聚初立假名品》说: "有上古时人欲用物,故万物生时为立名字。所谓瓶等若直是法,则不可得用,故说世谛。" <sup>16</sup>可见,在世谛看来,假名为有。《灭法心品》说,"答曰:'五阴实无以世谛故有。'" <sup>17</sup>由此可见,在世谛看来,五阴为有。综合以上可知,假名和五阴从世谛看来为有。

关于第一义谛与世谛的关系,《灭谛聚初立假名品》中说:"又世谛者是诸佛教化根本。谓布施持戒报生善处,若以此法调柔其心,堪受道教,然后为说第一义谛。如是佛法初不顿深,犹如大海渐渐转深,故说世谛。" <sup>18</sup>由此可见,论主对世谛是非常重视的,将世谛视为诸佛教化的根本,并且强调要深入佛法,必须经过世谛的有,渐渐转深,次第灭尽,才能达到第一义谛的无。

在《身见品》中说:"如初教观身破男女相,故次以发毛爪等分别身相,但有五阴,后以空相灭五阴相,灭五阴相名第一义谛。"19由此段亦可见,论主对次第灭相的强调,由世谛到第一义谛必须经过一系列转化的过程。即由世谛的有,通过分析,拆解,直至实法有的五阴或四尘,最后以空相将它们灭除,灭五阴相即是第一义谛。参看图 1-1。

关于中道,《身见品》中说:"又第一义谛故无,世谛故说有,不堕见中,如是有无二言皆通。如虎啖子,若急则伤,若缓则失,如是定说我则堕身见,定说无我则堕邪见。又过与不及二俱有过,若定说无是则为过,若定说有我是名不及。故经中说,应舍二边,若第一义谛故说无,世谛故说有,名舍二边行于中道。"20由此可知,从第一义谛的角度来说则无;从世谛的角度来说则有,所以不应堕于,或者说不应执著于有无之见。论主以虎啖子为例,说明了中道的含义。如果偏于急则会伤害虎子,如果偏于缓则会使虎子掉落。所以执著于我,就会堕于身见,执著于无我,就会堕于邪见。接下来,论主又以过与不及为例,说明中道的含义。如果执著于无则为过,如果执著于有我则不及。所以经中说,应舍去有无二边的片面见解,对有无都不执著,才是行于中道。

同样在该品中又说,"又佛法名清净中道,非常非断。第一义谛无故非常,世谛有故非断。"<sup>21</sup>在这里,论主更是将佛法看作清净中道,认为中道是非常非断的,也是强调不应堕于常断二边的片面见解。

笔者认为,《成实论》的中道继承了《阿含经》的中道思想。如《杂阿含经》 中说:"如来离于二边,说于中道"。<sup>22</sup>陈兵教授在《佛陀的智慧》中说:"缘起

<sup>15</sup> 同上, 页 316 下。

<sup>16</sup> 同上,页 327上。

<sup>17</sup> 同上, 页 333 上。

<sup>18</sup> 同上,页 327 中。

<sup>19</sup> 同上,页 316 下。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 《成实论》,《大正藏》册 32, 第 1646 号, 页 316 下。

<sup>21</sup> 同上, 页 316 下。

<sup>22 《</sup>杂阿含经》,《大正藏》册 2, 第 99 号, 页 67 上。

法、十二因缘法,在《阿含经》中被多次称为'中道',中道,即不偏向任何极端、邪径,不片面、不偏执的中正之道,它既是一种哲学观,又是一种方法,为佛陀及佛教诸宗诸派观察任何问题的根本立场。"<sup>23</sup>《成实论》的中道也同样即是一种哲学观,又是一种方法。行者从世谛走向第一义谛的过程中,是依缘起而行于中道的,并非"顿深",而是"渐渐转深"的。

另外,《成实论》的中道与龙树《中论》的中道思想也有一致性。二者都主张不堕二边,依缘起而行于中道。如《中论·观因缘品》说:"不生亦不灭,不常亦不断,不一亦不异,不来亦不出",<sup>24</sup>即对执著生灭,常断,一异,来出的边见予以破斥,也即八不中道。但二者也有所区别,《成实论》所主张的中道是以无余涅槃或无心定为最终归趣的,属于小乘的中道观。而《中论》的中道更为彻底,既不偏向于涅槃,也不偏向于缘起,是缘起即空的中道,属于大乘佛教的中道观,正如印顺法师所说:"龙树探《阿含》及《般若》的本意,特明此缘起即空的中道,以拯拔那'心有所著'的偏失者,使之返归于释迦的中道。"<sup>25</sup>

## 五、心与灭三心的含义

#### (一) 心的含义

在论述灭三心之前,要对"心"的含义有所了解。《苦谛聚识论中立无数品》说:"心、意、识,体一而异名,若法能缘,是名为心。问曰:'若尔则受想行等诸心数法,亦名为心,俱能缘故。'答曰:'受想行等,皆心差别名·····如是心一但随时故,得差别名。故知但是一心。'"<sup>26</sup>由此段可知,"心"的含义是能缘之法。且心、意、识只是名相上的差别,它们的含义相同。而且论主认为受想行等"心数",又称心所,为"心差别名",即是心所呈现的不同形态或功用,也统属于"一心"。

又《非有数品》说:"我说心有二种:一名为智,一名为识。故依智心,不依识也。"<sup>27</sup>又在《智论中智相品》中,论主对智心与痴心(识)作了定义。他说:"缘假名法,是名痴心;若但缘法,谓空无我,是名智心。"<sup>28</sup>由上两段可见,"痴心"也就是"识"。识与智同属一心,但它们的所缘对象有所不同。

## (二) 三心与灭三心的含义

所谓三心,指的是:假名心、法心和空心。灭三心即是灭谛,可谓《成实论》的核心思想。《灭谛聚初立假名品》说:"论者言,灭三种心,名为灭谛。谓假名心法心空心。问曰:'云何灭此三心?'答曰:'假名心或以多闻因缘智灭,或以思维因缘智灭;法心在暖等法中以空智灭;空心入灭尽定灭,若入无余泥洹断相续时灭。'"<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> 陈兵《佛陀的智慧》(上海古籍出版社 2006) 77 页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 《中论》,《大正藏》册 30,第 1564号,页 15中—页 16。

<sup>25</sup> 释印顺《中观今论》(中华书局 2010) 9页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 《成实论》,《大正藏》册 32,第 1646 号,页 274 下。

<sup>27</sup> 同上,页 275 下。

<sup>28</sup> 同上, 页 361 上。

<sup>29</sup> 同上, 页 327 上。

关于假名心,从痴心的定义"缘假名法,是名痴心"可以看出,假名心就是痴心,也即是识。其所缘为假名法,也即假名有。假名心以多闻因缘智或思维因缘智灭。此中所谓灭,即是替代。就是说通过修行,假名心提升、转化为多闻因缘智或思维因缘智。此时,假名心所缘的假名有自然被多闻因缘智或思维因缘智分析,拆散,至于构成事物的最基本元素四尘与五阴,即实法有。同时,缘法之心生起。《灭法心品》说:"有实五阴心名为法心。"30根据智心的定义"若但缘法,谓空无我,是名智心",可以看出,法心是智心的一种,即多闻因缘智,或思维因缘智。法心所缘的对象即是实法有中的五阴,此时假名空同时呈现。参看图1-1。

关于法心,在本节第一段中说:"法心在暖等法中以空智灭。"所谓"暖等法",《四谛品》说:"妙者修慧谓入暖等法中,能破假名及五阴法是名正见。" <sup>31</sup>可见,暖等法指的是一种修行法门,由此可以产生空智,即缘空之智心,从而破假名及五阴法。此中之灭,也是替代之义。就是说,通过暖等法的修行,产生空智从而替代了法心。由于法心被取代,法心所缘之实法有的体性和相也自然消失。此时,只有能缘的空智(空心)还存在,所缘即是空无所有,也即是法空、第一义空或第一义谛的境界。参看图 1-1。

所谓空心,《灭尽品》中说:"若缘泥洹是名空心。问曰:'泥洹无法,心何所缘。'答曰:'是心缘无所有。'"³2可见,心缘无所有即是空心,也即是假名有与实法有的无所有。所以,能缘之空心的所缘即是法空。从宗教学的角度来说,当行者处于空心的状态时,行者的世俗经验已经完全被灭除了,但此时的所缘境界也并非空无所有。例如,《灭法心品》中说:"是人于后见五阴灭,是观乃净,故知见诸阴灭。"据此可知,在灭除了五阴的体性与相之后,也就是说,在完全灭除世俗经验之后,即处于一种清净的宗教经验之中。

又在《灭尽品》中说,"问曰:'此空心于何处灭?'答曰:'二处灭。一入无心定中灭;二入无余泥洹断相续时灭。所以者何?因缘灭故此心灭,无心定中以缘灭故灭,断相续时以业尽故灭。论者言,行者若能灭此三心,则诸业烦恼永不复起。问曰:'何故不起?'答曰:'是人具足无我故业烦恼灭。……如是若有我心依处业烦恼则集,无则不集。又无漏正见,烧尽诸相,令无有余。如劫火烧地等无余。以无相故诸业烦恼则不复集。又有我心者则业烦恼集,阿罗汉通达空智,无我心故则不复集。"33上段引文是《成实论》关于灭空心的方法与最后所达到的境界的阐释。论主认为"因缘灭故此心则灭",可见灭空心是灭心,灭除最后还存在之空智心。其方法,一是在无心定中,直接灭除能缘之心。二是入无余泥洹,断心之相续而业尽,从而灭能缘之心。最后所达到的境界,即是"无我心"的具足无我,能所双泯的境界。我们从论中关于无心定和无余泥洹的定义可以对灭空心后的境界有更具体的了解。《灭尽定品》说:"问:'入灭尽定者,与死有何差别?'答曰:'死者命热识三事都灭,入灭尽定者但心灭,而命热不离于身,故知应有无心众生。'"34在《后三想品》中论主对无余泥洹有所解释:"若说灭性即是命终舍寿,断阴相续,入无余泥洹。"35由此可知,入灭尽定后,则

<sup>30</sup> 同上, 页 332 下。

<sup>31</sup> 同上,页 251下。

<sup>32 《</sup>成实论》,《大正藏》册 32, 第 1646 号, 页 333 下。

<sup>33</sup> 同上, 页 333 下。

<sup>34</sup> 同上, 页 345 中。

<sup>35</sup> 同上, 页 351 上。

心灭,但热、命尚存。无余泥洹,也就是灭除了我自身的五阴,不仅我心随之灭除,热和命也由于报尽而舍,即是具足无我,能所双泯的境界。由此可见,《成实论》所主张的是追求个人解脱的修行方式。《大智度论•嘱累品》说:"佛法皆是一种一味,所謂苦尽解脱味。此解脱味有二种:一者、但自为身,二者、兼为一切众生。虽俱求一解脱门,而有自利、利人之异,是故有大小乘差別。"36由此可见,《大智度论》认为大小乘都以解脱为目标,但他们寻求解脱的方式有不同,大乘是在自己解脱的同时也为一切众生求解脱,而小乘则偏重于自身的解脱。以此为据,《成实论》被划为小乘,是有道理的。

另外,《成实论》中的灭空心与大乘的空亦复空也是截然有别的。空亦复空,是为防止人们对空的观念的执著而提出的,对空也不能执著。而《成实论》中的灭空心强调灭除我心,达到具足无我,能所双泯的境界。其空并无不能执著于空之义。

<sup>36</sup> 《大智度论》,《大正藏》册 25,第 1509 号,页 756 中。

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# 期刊报纸视域下的地方佛教的传播与发展——以 1912-1949 年济南佛教为个案

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## 摘要

1912-1949年,通称民国时期,在社会政治、地域文化特色、佛教内部宗派传承等背景因素的影响之下,呈现了与以往发展的诸多不同之处。对现存期刊报纸资料的梳理可从寺院建设、佛教组织、发行刊物、传法活动、社会事业等方面更具客观、完整的呈现此时期济南佛教发展的状况。

关键词:济南;居士佛教;佛教传播;报纸期刊

在1912-1949年民国时期,济南佛教受到了社会政治、地域文化思想、佛教内部宗派等诸多因素的影响,具有鲜明的时代特色。此段时间期刊报纸的刊印,对于佛教的传播,具有诸多重大意义。据不完全统计,"仅此段时间内,两岸四地、日本、新加坡、缅甸等地的佛教团体创办汉文佛教期刊近2百种。"「在众多的期刊杂志中,济南出版佛教期刊杂志2种,分别为《莲宗汇刊》、《狮吼月刊》,尽管后者仅出版一期,但是也有益的探索民国时期济南佛教的发展,起到了发时代之声的作用。尽管同时期的诸如:《佛化周刊》、《佛学半月刊》、《海潮音》、《佛学月刊》、《同愿》、《佛教日报》、《护生报观音专刊》等期刊报纸,并非为本地专办刊物,却也以不同宗派视角、不同弘法理想、不同政治背景下,为弘法利生需要,部分刊发了有关济南佛教的发展状况,如上内容相对客观的记录了民国时期济南佛教发展状况。梳理、整理此时期刊发资料,有益的补充了省、市、县志中宗教发展状况略显单一的介绍,结合期刊杂志资料的分析,在呈现较为全面的发展状况同时,也能归纳出期刊报纸这种媒体的介入,所呈现的传法特点。

如上所述,在具体分析期刊报纸传法之前,我们能够了解到的民国时期济南佛教发展的状况,仅仅能从省、市、县志,以及专门志等内容中可以看到,但是内容过于笼统,为对比、整合起见,将此笼统内容加以集中概括:

1912—1949年间济南佛教发展,总体上可以分为三个时期: 1912至1937年,为济南现代佛教缓慢的发展期; 1938至1945年,为济南现代佛教的日伪时期; 1945至1949年,为济南佛教现代整合、恢复期。如上三个时期济南佛教的发展,与同时期济南以及全国政治、经济、思想文化发展的大背景,有着密切的联系,呈现出很明显的阶段性特征。

思想背景方面,经历过历次战争失败冲击后,清政府逐渐意识到西方思想的优越性,清政府内部出现了一批关注"西学"的有识之士。到民国初年,对于西方先进思想的介绍逐渐形成了一种思潮。在这种思潮的影响之下,"国人们认识到适宜的人文思想足以救中国,宗教作为人文思想中的核心部分,首当其冲的成为了人们所讨论的一个主题。"2在此种背景思潮影响之下,宗教界进行了适应性的调整,最终使得"民国的宗教成为一种真正的'人间宗教'"。3这种调整的主要特征是宗教入世性的"转变",优先解决入世性问题,之后再解决宗教层面的出世性的问题。此种背景之下,佛教采取了更为积极的姿态,将社会的变革与本教的宗教活动、将传教中壮大自身与参与社会事业并发挥影响等因素结合在一起。以太虚大师为代表的民国高僧,坚持一种与时俱进的姿态,恰逢其时的提出了"人间净土"的观点。秉承法门和修持方式及自身传法实践的不同,将佛法与入世的结合进行了多样性的尝试,即"须用政治力量为实际施设"4与"应依佛法的精神为究竟归趣"5,分步骤而行。此时期的佛教思想,呈现出与以往不同的"入世性"倾向。

政治背景方面,晚清之前的山东佛教较为兴盛,济南作为山东省省会,曾出现"五里一庵,十里一寺"6繁盛景象。但是,随着清末兴起的"庙产兴学"运动,使得包

<sup>1</sup> 黄夏年.《<民国佛教期刊文献集成>出版的意义》[Z],《法音》,2007 年第1期。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 张钦士.《国内近十年来之宗教思潮》[M], 京华书局, 1942 年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 李少兵.《民国时期的佛学与社会思潮》[M], 收于《中国佛教学术论典(43)》, 高雄: 佛光山文教基金会, 2001 年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 太虚.《创建人间净土》,《佛教评论》[N],第一卷第二号,1931 年。

<sup>5</sup> 太虚.《创建人间净土》,《佛教评论》[N],第一卷第二号,1931 年。

<sup>6</sup> 李超奇、袁澍.《山东文史集粹·民族宗教卷》[M],山东省政协文史资料委员会编,1998 年,第 571 页。

括济南在内的全国上下寺院,备受冲击;尽管辛亥革命之后,佛教界发出自己的声音,提出了"保护寺产、振兴佛教"的口号,但 1930 年中央大学教授邰爽秋重提"第二次庙产兴学",此次的"庙产兴学"风潮的影响波及的范围甚大,近半世纪的庙产风波,始终制约着近现代中国佛教的发展。山东女子莲社吴倩芗居士的弟子潘李观,在《济南五三炮劫佛菩萨示现灵感纪事》一文中,曾提到过此时期济南佛教发展的状况:"山东一省佛法陵替,虽有佛刹,率皆颓废,曩年始有二三明达,如夏溥齐,梅撷芸,潘对凫诸大居士等,阐扬佛法,继起宗风。为同其倡,于是城东之净居寺丛林,赖以与焉,寺众咸奉戒律。"7由此段文字中,如何具体了解"五里一庵,十里一寺"?传法、教派、大德居士的风貌是怎样的?对期刊报纸资料的整理,便能呈现出其中的生动性。

《申报》作为中国第一份现代意义上的报纸自 1872 年开始发行以来,便以其快捷的时讯性、关注社会上到政治变革,下到民生诉求的特点,在社会中的影响力与日俱增。如前所述,自晚清以来,中国佛教便呈现了鲜明的"入世性"、"居士佛教"特色。居士传法过程中,更加注重借助此时期,诸如:报纸、期刊等方便快捷的传媒工具,这一方式的介入,极大的影响了日后佛教传法的方式及其内容的侧重点。济南作为当时华北地区重要的政治中心,以此独特的地理位置为方便条件,借助新兴的平面纸质媒体,归纳零散的刊印内容,可以简单的从寺院建设、佛教组织、发行刊物、传法活动、社会事业等方面,概括在期刊报纸视域之下济南佛教传播过程中形成的特征:

## 一、发行刊物

作为近现代佛教传法的潮流,民国时期传法刊物多达 233 种,报纸、期刊作为平面纸质媒体的中坚力量,在凸显出其时效性、快捷性的优点的同时,同时也呈现了相对的局限性,即长篇大论的谈论教理教义,定不如书籍、专著更具优越性,因此报纸、期刊在刊登内容的过程中,更侧重发表"短小、义丰"的咨询。

纵观民国时期济南的佛教刊物,主要有《莲宗汇刊》、《狮吼月刊》。其中,《莲社汇刊》的主编为济南女子莲社的创办者吴倩芗居士。她在《莲社立案呈文》中曾提到: "自丙辰以来,念人命无常,厌生死苦,切幕佛法,然究末由定趣向,及获晤先生,谈佛乘,既聆深广之论,且服休养之虔,遂决定皈依净土,而诸女善士等,亦咸愿藉筏渡共证菩提。"8由此可以得知,《莲社汇刊》创刊的主要目的是皈依净土、超拔苦难,利乐众生、共证菩提。《狮吼月刊》由释弘愿创刊于1948年2月1日,共发行一期。按照释弘愿在《狮吼月刊发刊词》一文中所说:"本刊是以'辅助学校教育,社会教育,以扫除帝制时代传统下来的愚民鬼神迷信,提高及改正一般人民的思想,使对于佛学有大体的真认识,而成为正智的信仰'为宗旨"。9

究其内容而言,大致可以归为因果神异事件、寺庙开光为主的法会法讯、法师讲法后的开示及古籍再印、佛教社团建设进程等内容为主体。其中,因果神异事件在众多刊发内容之中最多,也最能博得最广泛的基层民众的阅读兴趣。佛教

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>潘李观.《济南五三炮劫佛菩萨示现灵感纪事》,《佛化周刊》[N], 1929 年第 92 期。

<sup>8</sup> 黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008 年 1 月。收录:吴倩芗:《莲社立案呈文》,《莲社汇刊》1919 年第 1 期。

<sup>9</sup> 黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008 年 1 月。收录:释弘愿:《狮吼月刊发刊词》,《狮吼月刊》1948 年第 1 期。

主张缘起法,格外重视因果轮回,宗教传播过程中,重视"神迹"。如:

攻城等战事,城圩内外人民,概不知闻,突于三号各城关闭,路绝人踪,枪弹如雨,大炮震动,猛攻暴擊,经三日三夜。弊社逼近小北门(此门外数武即胶济站),佛殿及左右廓房,紧附雉堞之下。小北门及车站矗入大炮,必经过莲社,适当其卫,炸声震动,亦此最剧,末后铁甲车上,毒炮剧骤烈,每四聲连接,震声拔地,屋子动摇,火星四明,子弹遍地。佛殿西二间,一为巨炮洞穿,栋断椽折,一为炮弹炸落,声毁半顶,呈上机关枪骤如密雨。声穿大殿后门数处,破墙壁数十处,幸未伤人,而佛像庄严供品皆无损坏,耳房后间落炸裂炮弹,距倩芗等坐处,经数尺耳,而众皆无恙,他室皆有人居,独此室无人,是皆诸佛菩萨大悲加被之力。10

济南在"五三"惨案之后,济南女子莲社吴倩芗居士在答复诸方道友的慰问中便讲述了此次战事过后的所见所闻,其中不乏诸多佛菩萨加被的神异现象,其弟子潘李观,在同一刊物中,对其师的刊文又做了诸多补充,诸如:

·····一千佛山为济南名胜,位于南圩门外,上有佛刹,香火甚盛,日军攻城时置巨炮于其上,并用反光镜窥测,以定炮位之准的,迨视镜中则一片汪洋,尽成为水,顿失目标所在,甚以为异,其所发炮弹,亦多落于大明湖中,故城内著炮者不多,即著于民房,亦不伤人,使非我佛加被,则此千余发之巨炮,处处著实,吾人之应舍生命。宁有孑遗耶?此战后日军语人至引为灵异者此次日人用炮攻城。·····城东北之一隅之居民,以为匪波门素不启闭,其门洞内,可容多人,遂扶老携幼,避于该处,倏聚有百数十人之多,忽一老妪谓众曰:此处当有炮弹,不可在此,其速他去,众闻亦不可知所可,然以安全,闻非乐土,遂分奔张公祠历下亭等处,其后该处果有无数炮弹炸裂于地,倘非菩萨指示,此多人之生命,必难保全,亦云异矣。

限于篇幅仅列举两例,类似的文章诸如《稀见民国佛教文献汇编(报纸)》中还有刊发《梅镜圆居士出广长舌》、《鲁徐氏念佛安详西逝》、《孔庆元居士生西纪实》等文,都是借助期刊纸质传媒工具传播佛教的范例。如上内容中,三十二相中的"广长舌"相、"往生西方"、"佛菩萨加持"等字眼的出现,极大引起了读者们的关注。宗教传播过程中重在"因信称义",尤其是佛教更是讲究"佛法大海,信为能入,智为能度",其中可见"信"的重要性。时局的动荡,急需宗教等内容的传播,借以调和人们内心的恐慌,如上因果神异事件,教徒修持殊胜的果报,在精进修行的教徒眼中是必然。但此种内容在以往佛教传播过程中,仅流传于教徒间的口耳相传,限于纸张、时效等内容较少的纳进文献之中。近代期刊报纸等媒体的发展,将讯息传播提速,更强调在有限的篇幅内引起效果的最大化,这一切不但引起同修教徒共鸣,更易引起新教徒的加入,达到传教的目的。

## 二、传法活动

近现代山东地区天台宗、临济宗、净土宗发展比较兴盛,尤其是20世纪40

<sup>10</sup> 吴倩芗.《济南五三难后答天津居士林及各方道友来函》,《佛化周刊》[N], 1929 年第 92 期。

年代前后,在倓虚法师主持之下修建的青岛湛山寺,更是成为了北方天台宗思想传播的中心。1912—1949年间,济南佛教宗派发展以组织信众念佛修行净土宗为主体,亦有唯识宗、禅宗、天台宗、密宗的传法。传法内容主要集中在法会、传戒、开光等一系列的宗教仪轨方面。

民国时期期刊杂志内容中,有相当一部分专弘本宗本派内容的期刊出现,诸如:专弘净土宗的《净土宗月刊》、《佛光社社刊》,专弘密宗的《密教讲习录》等。教徒皈依宗派、法师进行修持,得到专门的指点以破修行障碍,不但免去参访远涉的劳苦,同时得到最新、最快速便捷的内容。翻阅民国时期与济南相关的传法活动,除上文有关梅光羲传授唯识学方面的内容外,还有密宗传法。密宗与近代时期,以诺那呼图克图、贡嘎呼图克图为代表的密宗上师,掀起了在内地传播的先河,在此种风潮之下,1935年密宗格鲁派上师超一法师,驻锡济南魏家庄菩提寺传大悲法。此次法会的主体依旧为居士,所传内容为密乘初步内容,涵盖开示同修尊重戒律、劝发菩提心、不杀生为第一义、结坛供养、授学法灌顶等一些列密乘仪轨<sup>11</sup>。借助此一内容的展现,更能综合的探讨民国时期济南地区佛教法派的构成,更易结合时代背景之下,梳理密宗在内地发展的阶段及侧重。1936年9月26日,大云法师朝礼五台山后,弘法平津、齐鲁地区。在女子莲社讲经一节,开坛传戒,其分别于9月26日传授三皈五戒、9月28日传授居家菩萨戒相、9月30日传授居家梵网戒相。此次传戒,依宝华山戒相正范,如仪举行。12大云法师在传戒后,撰文称赞以吴倩芗所代表的女子莲社居士们,修行精进、持戒谨严。13

借助期刊报纸,刊发高僧大德间的书信,一方面借助内容同时解疑信众共修的普遍问题,另一方面也将以往仅能小部分信众才有机缘得以受教的开示内容,公之于众,更能体现佛教度救众生、三根普被的大慈大悲的本愿精神。此一时期,狱中传法,德化狱囚是居士结合"人间佛教"思想而呈现出的另一个传法特色。梅光羲、李炳南等近现代著名的大居士,都曾在狱中传法感化狱囚。其中德化狱囚的讲演录更是借助期刊杂志的传播,方便、快捷的影响更多的信众。如:1936年的《大生报》6、7、8期曾合刊刊发《梅光羲江苏第一监狱讲演录》。近代著名净土宗高僧印光法师,更是借助《佛学半月刊》等期刊,刊发对居士来函的开示,其中李炳南对佛法思想的转变便是与印光法师在来往信件中进行的。这种借助期刊杂志等媒介问答、开示的传法形式,更是深刻影响了日后新媒体兴起过程中佛教传法的形态与样式。

## 三、寺院建设

1912 年之前,济南原有寺院五十余处,僧人一百余名,居士五百多名,其中著名的共三十一所,其中隋代一座、唐代五座、宋代一座、明代六座、清代八座、民国四座,年代不详者六座。14经勘查,三十一座寺院,除千佛山的兴国禅寺保

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  黄夏年.《稀见民国佛教文献汇编(报纸)》[Z], 2006 年第  $^{11}$  卷。收录:《护生报观音专刊》第  $^{60}$  期第  $^{2}$  版, $^{1935}$  年  $^{1}$  月  $^{5}$  日。

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$  黄夏年.《稀见民国佛教文献汇编 (报纸)》[Z], 2006 年第 4 卷。 收录:《佛教日报》第 530 号 第 1 版, 1936 年 10 月 21 日。

 $<sup>^{13}</sup>$  黄夏年.《稀见民国佛教文献汇编 (报纸)》[Z], 2006 年第 4 卷。收录:《佛教日报》第 530 号第 2 版, 1936 年 10 月 21 日。

<sup>14</sup> 李超奇、袁澍.《山东文史集粹·民族宗教卷》[M],山东省政协文史资料委员会编,1998年,

存较好外,其余皆已荒废。在荒废的三十余所寺院中,包括"海内四大名刹"、"山东四大寺"的长清灵岩寺。寺院荒废,在一定程度上反映了佛法弘传的停滞不前。1912—1949年间,对部分荒废的寺庙,也进行了重新的修复。如净居寺(该寺始建于宋代,1918年重新修建,后改为十方常住大寺,多时僧众达一百五十人)、兴隆庵、白衣庵、千佛山兴国禅寺等。其中,影响最为深远的便是对此时第一大寺净居寺及千佛山兴国禅寺的修缮。

东关净居寺创修禅堂。并附建寮堂工程。业经告竣。于本年十二月三日。即夏历十月十五日。举行落成典礼。并请真空禅师莅济打七。继续起香。望诸山长老暨檀护。惠临参加云。<sup>15</sup>

与其他县志、寺志存目寺院数目不同,期刊杂志中更多记录了寺院变更兴替 等诸多细节,有效的补充了因变更毁坏寺院当时的法况、莅临高僧、存目藏经等 诸多状况。其中,济南的净居寺便是此种状况之下的生动例子。净居寺自 1918 年 重新修缮起,是近代济南佛教重要的弘法场所,中国近代禅宗高僧中历来都有"南 虚云,北真空"的说法,足见真空法师在近代禅宗中的重要地位。真空法师在净 居寺主持的"禅七",一方面显示净居寺在重新修缮后,作为十方常住大寺后,在 传法中逐渐起到的重要作用;另一方面,由高僧在修缮后的大寺中主持的重要的 传法活动,足见近代济南佛教渐盛。但因净居寺在民国末建国初年便已毁,现仅 存净居寺石刻匾额,曾经的济南第一大寺,以此为弘法中心,影响甚大,对期刊 报纸内容的收集,部分还原此时期净居寺弘法的状况。同样的在《集成补编》中 还刊载记录了千佛山兴国禅寺的修缮后盛况的文章。在近代期间寺院经历过重大 的修缮,体现了近代时期济南佛教对以寺院为中心的传法活动的重视。在已有的 五十多所寺院规模的基础之上,又有六所寺院是在该时期新建,其分别为:崇实 佛学研究会(县学街)、菩提寺(商埠魏家庄)、女子莲社(小北门里,1948年拆 毁)、净土庵(北郊凤凰山,1937年"七七事变"前建,与女子莲社为一家)、念 佛堂(天坛街观音堂内)、吕氏念佛堂(宽厚所街)。16此六处寺庙均毁于战火之 中, 无一幸免。

## 四、佛教社团组织

佛法的传播与弘扬,依赖于佛教团体组织这一载体。在济南佛教所经历的三个时期中,佛教组织随着不同时期的变迁也有相应的调整。自 1914 年起,济南佛教界在现代"人间佛教"思想以及近代居士佛教思潮的共同影响下,相继成立了以居士为传法核心的佛教社团;济南女子莲社、佛学社。

济南女子莲社成立于 1918 年,直至 1948 年毁坏之前,在近三十年的时间内,是济南佛教传播、弘扬的主要场所。其创办人吴倩芗,本为四川成都人,1913 年 执教于山东省女子第一师范学校,后得阅净土诸经,感召于净土思想,于 1919 年辞职专心打理莲社事务。"济南女子莲社"的成立,受到了梅光羲与夏溥齐的支

 $^{15}$  《济南净居寺禅堂落成》,《佛学半月刊》[N],1941 年 12 月,第 242 期,《集成补编》,第 65 卷,第 502 页。

第 571 页。

<sup>16</sup> 两个念佛堂,后都有沈淑卿所接管。

持与鼓励,两位传法居士多次参与莲社传法活动。<sup>17</sup>济南女子莲社是以居士为核心的佛教社团组织,它们的成立和运营开启了济南现代佛教传播的先河。同时,以济南女子莲社为核心,同时存在着与其密切相关的社团组织:女子莲社第一念佛处、佛化半日女工小学校、济南佛经流通处(济南佛经阅读处)。<sup>18</sup>济南女子莲社的作为近代济南佛教重要的佛教组织,以女居士为核心组织共修,方便接引此时期诸位女同修,在此时期全国的佛教组织中,也是独树一帜、别具一格的。

"佛学社"成立于 1921 年春,由张君晋发起成立。随着张君晋的离世,"佛学社"的社务及传法活动由前山东盐运司夏溥齐及时任山东省高等检察厅长的梅光羲管理,二人分别担任正副社长<sup>19</sup>。梅光羲的唯识学受教于近代唯识学大师杨仁山,他在山东任职的空暇时间,便在济南组织同修传扬法相唯识宗。因此,在以梅光羲为中心的司法警狱系统,法相唯识宗思想传播影响甚广。同时,梅光羲以"佛学社"为传法中心,先后在《佛化新青年》<sup>20</sup>等期刊上,多次发文弘扬阐释唯识学义理、解答其他求法居士修行疑惑,诸多尝试可以说发山东现代佛教新声。随着梅光羲调离山东省检察厅,以传法相唯识宗为中心的"佛学社"社团活动基本停滞不前,呈现销声匿迹之势。

1929年11月,山东佛教会成立,会址在济南市馆驿街中间影壁后,选举释道然、沙月波(坡)为正副会长。主要从事的事业有,流通经卷、庄严殿宇、召集名僧说法、建水陆道场等<sup>21</sup>,山东佛教会的成立是具有现代意义的宗教组织,所进行的社团活动在一定意义产生了深远的影响。1937年,在日军的进攻之下,济南沦陷。这不仅对济南的社会政治发展产生了深刻的影响,同时也在思想领域带来了相应的变化。沦陷之后的济南,以1942年为界,大致可分为两段。在前半段时期内,相继出现了新成立的佛教组织,诸如"弥勒会"、"新佛教会"、"光明佛社"、"崇实佛学研究会"、"观音救济会"<sup>22</sup>、"历山佛教居士苑<sup>23</sup>"等。其中1941年编纂的《华北宗教年鉴》对山东崇实佛学研究会有着明确的记录:"1938年(民国二十七年)3月,于学院街成立,同年九月迁移至县西巷,1939年(民国二十八年)3月移至县学街七号。主要从事的事业为,念佛、施诊、每星期集会一次。"

在后半段时期内,日本侵华后,除了在军事上进行占领,政治上进行统治之外,也逐步渗透到宗教思想领域。在这一过程中,佛教作为中日两国共同的宗教信仰,开始走进了日本军国主义的视野中,日伪政府将日本的诸宗进行改造,并以诸宗相应新建的道场为核心,融入政治宣传"同化"思想上的内容,使之服务于日本的侵华战争。在此种背景之下,华北沦陷区统一的宗教组织"佛教同愿会"

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$  黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008年1月。收录:吴倩芗:《女子莲社成立日叙》,《莲社汇刊》第1期,1919年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 《全国佛教机关调查录:黄河流域:山东省》[Z],《中华民国佛教机关调查录》,第2期,《集成补编》,第33卷,第233—234页。

<sup>19</sup> 黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008年1月。收录:《济南佛学社来函》,《海潮音》1926年第6期。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008年1月。收录:梅光羲:《山东高等检察厅长梅光羲来函》,《佛学月刊》第1期,1942年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008年1月。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 张玉法.《民国山东通志·宗教志》[M],台北:山东文献杂志社,2002年第1版,第2050—2052页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> 黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008年1月。收录:《佛教月刊》第八期,1941年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 兴亚宗教协会(编).《华北宗教年鉴》[Z], 北平: 兴亚院华北联络部, 1934年, 第 507页。

成立。"佛教同愿会"是日军侵华时期特殊的宗教组织,其以宗教组织为外衣,实质上是服务于日伪政权政治层面上的监控。不管是 1941 年,兴亚宗教协会刊编的《华北宗教年鉴》,还是 1942 年日伪政权"新民会"出面将济南诸多佛教团体进行合并<sup>25</sup>。其目的都是对所控制地区的宗教团体进行"摸底",方便为己所利用。"按计划,佛教同愿会将要陆续把华北各地的佛教组织都改为该会分会,纳入其管辖之下,加强其对地方佛教的影响和渗透"<sup>26</sup>。华北地区(除北京外),首先成立"佛教同愿会"的地区为青岛,时间为 1940 年 7 月 7 日;济南在稍后的 1942 年 5 月 20 日,成立了"佛教同愿会济南分会"。

佛教同愿会济南分会于五月二十日在济南公园观音堂开成立会。到会员二百余人。 北京总会派周叔迦常务理事前往参加,开会后首由赵莲堂居士致开会辞并报告准 备经过。路(陆)驤忱居士宣布推选职员名单,次各机关长官先后致词。<sup>27</sup>

"佛教同愿会"的成立,表面上以佛教的僧侣为主体,实则其中僧侣仅占少 数,更多的会员是与伪政府有着千丝万缕关系的政、学、商界的人士,并且多数 人有着亲日倾向28。1942 年成立的济南"佛教同愿会",会内分为三部:一是佛 教会,一是佛教居士林,一是佛经研究社。此一时期的济南佛教,"家中供佛像、 佩戴佛教同愿会会章者,出入城门方便,僧俗会员数千人,举办僧人训练班,派 遣僧人去日本留学,作日本和尚,为日军效力"。<sup>29</sup>这一切俨然成了躲避政治迫害、 服务日本军国统治的"特务"机构。但客观的分析,抛开"佛教同愿会"的政治 色彩, 其进行的传法活动中, 部分内容能召唤僧侣与民众内心之中对佛法的信心。 例如,1942年11月13日,"佛教同愿会"济南分会举办水陆道场七永日、1943 年1月7日,"佛教同愿会"济南分会举办水陆道场。此外,"佛教同愿会"于1942 年 4 月 23 日-29 日与 6 月 17 日-23 日两次启建祈雨道场, 遵总会的指示举行祈 雨法会,其中济南分会祈雨灵验30。在"佛教同愿会"济南分会存在的近四年时 间里,济南佛教的发展很大程度上失去了自己的特色,而是仅在"佛教同愿会" 北京总会的指示下,作出相应的举动。"佛教同愿会"在日伪控制下,以其侵华为 目的,控制舆论,以《同愿》为统一会刊,强调在统一要求之下的统一行动,其 目的主要是加强控制。因此,从存世的《同愿》会刊中可见,整体性的活动较多, 根据众生不同根性所开设的法门极少可见,这种通过期刊折射出来的有悖于佛教 根本慈悲本怀的举动,一方面客观的反映了日伪政府控制期间,佛教传播发展的 停滞不前的状况;另一方面,更能揭示出诸多举动背后的根本目的。

1945 年侵华日军投降,"佛教同愿会"相继解散,按照中国佛教会的指示,成立了"中国佛教会山东分会",推举秦其裳任理事长,僧人净空任会长,会址设于济南净居寺,会员六百多人。自此,济南佛教在经历了日军控制,长期不能自主进行传法活动之后,开始步入正规。据山东省社会处"完善救国总会"统计,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 张玉法.《民国山东通志·宗教志》[M],台北:山东文献杂志社,2002年第1版,第2051—2052页。

<sup>26</sup> 兴亚宗教协会(编).《华北宗教年鉴》,北平:兴亚院华北联络部,1934年,第36页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> 黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008年1月。收录:《佛学月刊》,第二 卷第一期。

<sup>28</sup> 张振有.《华北沦陷期间的佛教同愿会》[D],华中师范大学 2009 级硕士毕业论文。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> 张玉法.《民国山东通志·宗教志》[M],台北: 山东文献杂志社,2002 年第 1 版,第 2049 页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> 黄夏年.《民国佛教期刊汇编》[Z],中国书店出版社,2008 年 1 月。收录:《会务纪要三十一年十二月份》,《同愿》第四卷第一期,1943 年 1 月 25 日版,第 18 页。

当时登记备案的全省性质的佛教团体,共有信众一万三千人。其中:观音救济会,信徒八千人;弥勒会,信众一万九千人;崇实佛教研究会,信众三千人;光明佛学社,信众四千人;新佛教会,信徒两万人<sup>31</sup>。济南解放后,将该会改组为济南市佛教会,其中在其管辖之内,会员 200 余人,团体 46 个。

## 五、社会事业

近代济南佛教,不仅具有如上所述的出世性特征,还体现在民国宗教在此时期独特的入世性的表现上。作为宗教的入世性的表现,其具体的表现依据为不离其宗教超拔信众内心苦难的作为,主要体现在兴办的实业以及社会慈善事业。在《集成补编》中收录了刊发于《佛学月报》中的《中华佛教总会山东支部慈济第一织染工厂开办简章》:

本厂系中华佛教总会山东支部会员组织成立,定名曰第一慈济纺织工厂。 本厂系本会会员庙产余资兴办,以开通实业,普及教育,维持公益为宗旨。32

纺织工厂所秉承的主要的宗旨便是对维持公益、普及教育,隶属于中华佛教总会的山东支部的慈济纺织工厂,是以实业的形式解决长久以来僧侣消极应世的态度,此举与《百丈清规》中的"一日不做,一日不食"之举具有同等的效应,但是慈济纺织工厂更多的将实业中所产生的经济效应,付诸于慈善事业之中,这也是近代佛教在应对实业兴国号召之下,所作出的"入世"性的调整,具有鲜明的时代性。

综上所述,从存世期刊杂志的零散的内容中,归纳整理出了济南佛教发展过程中的内在发展脉络。济南佛教就是在受到时代社会政治背景、佛教宗派内部思想的影响之下,产生了独具特色的发展态势,这种发展也是在相应的时代背景之下,宗派思想等诸多因素影响下相应做出的调试,具有典型的时代特征。佛教期刊杂志传法形态,既有别于以往佛教传播过程中,仅依靠语录、注疏、寺志等单一形式,将以往不便过多记载的细节、时效性的内容,借助平面纸质媒体传播,以达到传法的目的。存世的期刊杂志对于挖掘地域佛教传播深度有重要的参考价值,同时也是异于以往佛教传播的新形态。以济南佛教为个案的研究,有助于参考当时地方间佛教传法的互动,以及从整体上研究分析新媒体工具辅助之下的佛教传播,参考新时期、新形势之下的"互联网+"的思潮,中国佛教思想以及教法的传播更从以往的新媒体驱动之下的经验中,结合如今形式,作助力前行的增上缘。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> 张玉法.《民国山东通志.宗教志》[M],台北:山东文献杂志社,2002 年第 1 版,第 2050—2052 页。

<sup>32 《</sup>山东佛教之实业观》. 《佛教月报》[N], 第 4 期, 《集成补编》, 第 6 卷, 第 303 页。

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## 刘裕与佛教

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## 提要

讨论刘裕与佛教的关系,是我们理解晋宋时期南方佛教的关键。佛教经过四百余年的发展与积累,至晋宋之交,已经得到普及和社会化,而且成为一种具有鲜明主体意识与一定建制化的宗教实体。至此佛教与政权的关系浮出水面。佛教如何适应中国的政治,社会与文化;政权如何准确把握佛教的宗教、人文与社会功能,这是佛教与政权双方都要面对的问题。

作为出生平民的军政强人,刘裕面对控制整个东晋政治的门阀士族力量,他有意识,有计划地借用佛教的人力与文化资源,以抵消门阀士族对他政治企图的阻遏与掣肘。刘裕基于现实的功利与个人的需要来对待佛教,具体措施有四方面:一利用,二护持,三信仰,四管制,其中不乏十分明显的政治功利性成分,但也有文化与信仰的非功利性因素。

在刘裕当权和登基之后,佛教借助刘裕的宽容政策,获得社会资源与社会空间之同时,发展迅猛:国外高僧络绎东来,北方僧人纷然南下,健康、庐山与江陵成为高僧云集之处、翻译经典,经义研究、讲经弘法等活动次第展开。到文帝时期,佛教出现极度兴旺发达的景象,并有国教化的倾向,这对后来的南北朝佛教造成很大的影响。

关键词 刘裕 建康 晋宋时期 佛教 政教关系

#### 前言

刘裕(363-422年)祖籍徐州彭城(徐州),是北方移民,在京口(镇江)出生成长。自幼家贫,困苦不堪,以卖鞋为生。刘裕少时无行,沉迷樗蒲,倾费家财,为乡人所不齿。但他身形雄武,夙怀大志,青年时为琅琊世族王谧所钦赞,言其将来必成大事。刘裕壮岁入北府军,屡建奇功,终成一代英武无比的将领。自隆安三年(399年)后,相继削平定孙恩之乱(399-402年),卢循之乱(403-411年),及桓玄之乱(402-404年);对外讨灭南燕(410年)与后秦(417年),又战服仇池,大破北魏。从而收复淮北、山东、河南、关中等地,光复洛阳与长安两都,一时改变南北之形势。后刘裕诛杀政治对手多人,威加朝野。永初元年(420年)代晋造宋,但惟二载,病死于健康¹。

刘裕受教育有限,文化不高,对儒学与玄学不甚了了,惟以军功获得政治权势和地位。整个魏晋南北朝时期,门阀政治决定了上层社会评价人的标注是出生门第、文艺修养与清谈举止<sup>2</sup>。作为一个武人,刘裕要获得当时门阀士族的认同,确实很困难。于是他转向佛教,从新兴崛起的佛教那里获得认同和尊重。

佛教到在中国经历四百多年的发展风雨,至晋宋时期已经相当的兴盛。不仅寺院广布大江南北,佛教翻译与讲经活动十分发达,玄学与般若相激相荡,成为潮流,文化与学术活动充满着巨大的激情和鲜活的气息,而且外国僧来华激增,精英出家成为时代的风尚。在那时候追慕佛教,研究佛教与信仰佛教似乎是一件非常时髦的事情。佛教到东晋晚期为社会上下所接受,确立了不同于儒道传统的"身份与地位"<sup>4</sup>。佛教作为新兴宗教和社会势力对社会构成巨大影响,但相比儒家历史久远、树大根深之势,佛教只是枝叶茂盛而已,社会化程度还不充分,民间基础还不稳固,佛教仍然需要政治的保护和贵族的支持。佛教愿意协助刘裕夺权是考虑到佛教的现实生存与发展。至于刘裕,他如果想获得佛教的支持,自然要协助佛教发展,提升佛教精英的社会地位。

关于刘裕同佛教的关系,自民国以来,虽然有不少种佛教史或专著间有述及,但著墨较少,难见究竟。至上世纪九十年代以后,幸有多位学者论述此问题。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> (刘宋) 沈约:《宋书》卷一,中华书局,1974年版,第1页。(唐) 李延寿:《南史》卷一,中华书局,1975年版,第1页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>(清) 王夫之:《读通鉴论》卷一四: 晋安帝之二有云:"裕之为功于天下, 烈于曹操, 而其植人才以赞成其大计, 不如操远矣。 操方举事据兖州, 他务未遑, 而亟于用人;逮其后而(曹)丕与(曹)睿犹多得刚直明敏之才, 以匡其阙失。 <u>裕起自寒微, 以敢战立功名, 而雄侠自喜, 与士大夫之臭味不亲, 故胡藩言:一谈一咏, 搢绅之士辐凑归之, 不如刘毅。当时在廷之士, 无有为裕心腹者, 孤恃一机巧汰纵之刘穆之, 而又死矣;傅亮、徐羡之、谢晦, 皆轻躁而无定情者也……曹操之所以得志于天下, 而待其子始篡者, 得人故也, 岂徒奸雄为然乎? 圣人以仁义取天下, 亦视其人而已矣。" <sup>3</sup>法琳在《辨正论》中对刘宋一代佛教有精要的概述,他说"宋世合寺一千九百一十三所,译经二十三人, 二百一十部。名僧智士郁若稻麻,宝刹金轮森如竹苇。释教隆盛,笃信倍多,僧尼三万六千人。"</u>

<sup>4《</sup>高僧传》卷七,义解四〈释慧严〉载:"度江以来,则王导、周顗、庾亮、王蒙、谢尚、郗超、王坦、王恭、王谧、郭文、谢敷、戴逵、许询,及亡高祖兄弟、王元琳昆季、范汪、孙绰、张玄、殷顗,或宰辅之冠盖,或人伦之羽仪,或置情天人之际,或抗迹烟霞之表。并禀志归依,厝心崇信。"

首先,是四川大学历史系的杨耀坤写的《刘宋初期的皇权政治与佛教》(1997年)一文,他依据原始资料简明分析了刘裕同佛教的关系。

其次,扬州大学历史系的王永平写有《刘裕与佛教高僧之交往及其对佛法之奖》(2008年)与《论宋武帝刘裕文化之素养及其文化倾向》(2009年)二文。他对原始材料进行归类,得出四个方面的观点:(1)刘裕礼遇,迎请高僧大德,以改变自身形象,稳定局势;(2)利用佛教制造神异福瑞,以利于其篡晋造宋;(3)刘裕延揽高僧,对佛教义理的讲论与佛经翻译有一定的推动作用;(4)除了实际的军政需要外,刘裕对佛教的重视也有其个人的信仰因素。他的归类方式影响了后来的论文。

此外,关于刘裕利用佛谶,学界有如下文章:如吕宗力的《谶纬与魏晋南北朝佛教》(2010年);江婷婷的《中古时期"佛谶"的产生嬗变及对中土文化的影响》(2012);李勇强的《南朝天命转移的援佛人谶》(2016年)。芮诗茗的《东晋南朝时期僧侣和统治阶级的关系》(硕文2004年);吕舒辉的《佛教祥瑞与南朝宋齐禅代的成立》(硕文2015年)。

最详尽的一篇,是南开大学王飞飞所写的博士论文《刘宋帝王与宗教关系研究》 (2013年)。他认为刘裕与佛教的关系表现为两个方面:一是扶持与利用;二是 管制。王飞飞对"扶持利用"的原因进行了深入的分析。

作为政治人物, 刘裕是在征伐过程中慢慢走向权力的中心。他看到了佛教有别于儒道势力的政治意义, 开始注意佛教, 接近佛教, 并有意识地利用佛教。不论这是出于公或私, 都有其原因和背景<sup>5</sup>。

## (一)邀请出家人参与军政事物

佛教戒律中有明文规定禁止佛教徒参与政治,但是古今中外,佛教徒为佛教的生存与发展,无法真正做到完全摆脱政治的影响与关联。历史上不少地区和国家,佛教政治化,国教化是个普遍的现象。佛教只能在相对自由的政治环境中保持中立与选择自由。从人力资源角度说,古典社会没有现代意义上的世俗教育,宗教教育反而占有较大的比重。寺庙就是学校,佛教徒经由寺庙获得完整的教育。不少出家人拥有广博的佛学与经史知识,熟悉地理,人脉广泛,他们具有为军政提供社会资讯,协调人事的潜在资质与能力。刘裕当然明白这一点,因而积极延揽慧严与僧导等人,为自己的军政事务服务。

#### 1.1 慧严

义熙十二年(416年),后秦姚兴病逝,刘裕趁机北伐,并邀慧严随军同行。《梁高僧传》卷七《释慧严传》云:"高祖后伐长安,要与同行。严曰:'檀越此行虽

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>赖永海:《中国佛教通史》(第二卷),江苏人民出版社,2010年8月,第9页。"刘裕布衣出身,有雄才大略,登基前与僧人有过来往,对佛教表示出善意。"

伐罪吊民,贫道事外之人,不敢闻命。'帝苦要之,遂行。" '慧严本是安徽人,出家后,曾在庐山慧远处修学。罗什入长安后,随慧观道生等人北去长安,依罗什学习,参与翻经活动,被誉为罗什门下四哲之一'。觉贤到长安后,慧严从之学禅。后发生觉贤被摈事件,他与觉贤、慧观等南下归庐山。慧严曾住长安,熟悉长安人事关系,故刘裕邀他同行,以备急时所需,咨询或协调相关的人事。依据现存史料,我们看不到慧严到在随军过程中为刘裕做了何种事情。有人推测他曾参与慧义嵩山取玉璧金饼之事,但史料未有记载。不过,我们从长安僧导积极配合刘裕这件事情上来看,慧严在长安为刘裕做了不少"人事协调"的事情。

#### 1.2 僧导

义熙十三年(417年)八月,刘裕大将王镇恶攻入长安,生擒后秦主姚泓。九月 刘裕进长安,即召长安的僧导法师相见,语之云:"相望久矣,何其留滞殊俗!" 僧导回云:"明公荡九有,鸣鸾河洛,此时相见,不亦善乎!"<sup>8</sup>王永平对此评论 说:"看来僧导还是拥护东晋统一的。"(注)同年八月,刘裕亲信刘穆之病死于 建康,刘裕担心东晋朝廷有变,故猝然南返。在南归之前,遽封十二岁次子刘义 真为安西将军,连同王修,王镇恶与沈子大将等,留守长安。并托付僧导照看刘 义真。不久,刘裕所留守的文官武将相互内讧,彼此杀戮,导致赫连勃勃趁机攻 击长安。刘义真守军溃败,向南奔命。《高僧传》载:

高祖旋旆东归,留子桂阳公义真镇关中,临别谓导曰:'儿年小留镇,愿法师时能顾怀。'义真后为西虏勃勃赫连所逼,出自关南。中途扰败,丑虏乘凶追骑将及,导率弟子数百人遏于中路,谓追骑曰:'刘公以此子见托贫道,今当以死送之,会不可得,不烦相追。'群寇骇其神气,遂回锋而反。义真走窜于草,会其中兵段宏,卒以获免,盖由导之力也。

僧导舍命救刘义真,不负刘裕之重托,其中必有原因:一是刘裕作为东晋新兴军政强人,已为当时南北僧团所认可,以为佛教将来之发展,必依是人。后来历史之发展,证明当时僧团的预见。其二佛教戒律有不得参与政军事物之戒条,但诸部戒律刚翻不久,戒律约束意识尚未普及。加之僧人多习经史,民族立场,国家统一等思想深藏内心。其三,东晋时期玄学无为之高蹈,般若空性之出世,貌似虚无不实,却使出家人形成独立、自由与自尊的学风,在人格上表现出极强的担当意识和选择能力。僧导作为僧人,当会自许为方外之人,以修行为本;但亦敢于承担国族之危难,不违是非之辨,民族大义之举。

刘义真安全南归之后,刘裕十分感动僧导的义行,遂令自己的诸位子侄拜僧道为师,以示感恩与崇敬之情。后为僧导建寺于寿春,名为东山寺。

#### 1.3 慧远

<sup>6(</sup>梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七〈释僧导传〉,《大正藏》第50册,第367页中。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>魏道儒:《世界佛教通史》第三卷《中国汉传佛教》(从佛教传入至公元6世纪),中国社会科学出版社,2015年12月第1刷。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>(梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七〈释僧导传〉,《大正藏》第 50 册, 371 页中。 <sup>9</sup>同上 9 注。

慧远是东晋后半期南方佛教的无冕领袖,在佛教内外与朝野上下,都具有巨大的影响力,他在当时成为各方政要人物争取的对象。桓玄曾经一度就希望他还俗,为朝廷服务。但他不像慧严和僧导那样随顺政治人物的邀请,他拒绝参与任何的政治活动。他对政治人物保持着合适之距离,刻意维护着出家人应有的独立与矜持。他所采取的方式是:一是避免下山,二是对各类政治人物不分彼此,平等相待,只谈学问,不谈政治。

那么那些政治人物极力亲近慧远是什么原因呢?一是媚雅,亲近慧远大师,茶叙一席之话,既可以了解佛教,又可以获得人生智慧;二是借助亲近慧远大师,可以提高自己的社会声望,扩展人际交往的范围。

《高僧传》《慧远传》载:"及宋武追讨卢修",设帐桑尾。左右曰:远公素王庐山,与修交厚。宋武曰:'远公世表之人,必无彼此。'乃遣使赍书致敬,并遗钱米,于是远近方服其明见。""卢修即是卢循,是当时的民变的首领。整个民变分为"孙恩"与"卢循"两个阶段,持续时间共十二年之久(399-411年)。晋安帝义熙六年(410年)刘裕追讨卢循,经过庐山附近,故有送钱米到庐山之事。当时刘裕尚未控制整个东晋朝政,他的政治势力正处在上升阶段,他借机向慧远大师表示礼敬,是出于政治的考量,即藉由礼敬之行为,以提振他在朝野中的声望与地位。

慧远大师对刘裕的回应,一如既往,是不分彼此,不论立场,不依附于任何的政治人物,不讨好于任何的政治势力。虽然他是平和而慈悲的,无有任何故意的骄慢与自大。私人交往,可以随常人之情,但政教关系的尺度,则是要严正对待的。这就是慧远的思考和选择。

大师自上庐山后,近三十年来未尝下山,终日以领众自修为务,但他也不是两耳不闻窗外事,拒绝拜访他的人士。他用佛教缘起无我,众生平等的智慧,在出世与入世之间寻找妥协与平衡。一方面对于东晋各路政治人物与势力,做到"情无取舍",另一方面用出世之心,努力救拔世间之苦。佛教的出世与超越精神给予他冷静旁观世间的智慧,佛教的菩萨救世理想则使他关怀世间。慧远能做到这点,是几十年如一日,精研佛法,自律清正之结果。他识见宏通,人事练达,情致高远,故为各方人士所钦敬。慧远在〈不敬王者论〉中更加系统地阐释了这种情怀与立场。

当然,历史上只有一位慧远大师,他的修为、智慧与功行,并非人人可以模仿,而且后世佛教所面临的政教关系已经改变,即便有慧远大师那样的能力与理想的人,亦莫能任意实践之。

慧远大师对刘裕的态度体现了佛教领袖应有的风度,涵养和立场。

## (二)利用佛教寻求政权的合法性

11(梁)慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七〈释慧远传〉,《大正藏》第50册,第359页中。

<sup>10</sup>在晋安帝义熙六年(410年)。

改朝换代,总是伴随着合法性的宣传,意识形态的建构。到晋宋时代,佛教是除儒道之外的一种新兴的重要的社会力量。刘裕借重佛教有必然的政治与社会原因。刘裕能武不能文,纯以军功威慑东晋朝野。如果他想篡位,势必遭到司马集团与世家大族的反对。走向佛教,借助佛教以获得话语权,刘裕深谙其中奥妙。佛教为了发展,也需要在朝廷中寻求支持者<sup>12</sup>。

刘裕利用"佛谶"寻找禅代东晋的合法性,正当性与神圣性。所谓谶,是方士或巫师所做的谜语式的预言,小为日常人事,大则国家兴亡。所谓纬,依儒经以言符箓与瑞应,与河洛与图谶并传。《文心雕龙》〈四正纬〉云:"经显,圣训也;纬隐,神教也。" 经是公开而显明的,纬是隐蔽而神秘的。谶纬兴于西汉末,盛于东汉,禁于刘宋,灭于隋。"佛谶"是谶纬的佛教化,刘裕时代多流行之,反映佛教对阜权的适应与妥协。

#### 2.1 五色龙纹

以佛谶暗示刘裕的"天命",史料有时间前后之痕迹,先看刘裕青年时的佛谶。《南史》 载: (刘裕)"尝游京口竹林寺,独卧讲堂前,上有五色龙章,众僧见之,惊以白帝,帝独喜曰:上人无妄言。""京口(镇江)是刘裕出生成长之地。此则文字有意暗示——这是刘裕早年所发生的事,并显示他与佛教早有渊源。后来这条史料有所扩展与变异,如《古今图书集成》 〈博物汇编神异典释教部汇考〉中就明确指出是"武帝微时。"又有人说,这是刘裕青年时醉卧该寺所发生的事。蔡东藩《南北史演义》第一回中更借此演绎成小说,鲜明有趣"。刘裕青年时为人所推重,确有其事。刘裕尝参与赌博,欠刁逵三万钱,无力偿还,时士族王謐知道后,为之清账,并预言他非池中之物,将来必将发达。龙章之谶与王謐之欣赏,彼此无关,但均显示,刘裕青年时就有超拔之资,绝非常人。

#### 2.2 其在君乎

刘裕入北府军后,经过十余年之南北征战,军功日著,声名日隆,军中无人能及之。东晋朝野上下,由是而分裂,附和刘裕者欣喜之,拒斥刘裕者忧恐之。当时佛教界之先觉者,亦是观机而行,借势支持刘裕。《南史》载:

(刘裕) 又经客下邳逆旅, 会一沙门谓帝曰:'江表当乱,安之者,其在君乎。'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 杨耀坤:《刘裕初期的皇权政治与佛教》,四川大学学报(哲学社科版),1997年1期,第77页。

<sup>13 (</sup>唐) 李延寿:《南史》卷一,中华书局,1975年版,第1页

<sup>14</sup>蔡东藩《南北史演义》第一回:"一日,游京口竹林寺,稍觉疲倦,遂就讲堂前假寐。僧徒不识姓名,见他衣冠褴褛,有逐客意,正拟上前呵逐,忽见裕身上现出龙章,光呈五色,众僧骇异得很,禁不住哗噪起来。裕被他惊醒,问为何事?众僧尚是瞧着,交口称奇。及再三诘问,方各述所见。裕微笑道:"此刻龙光尚在否?"僧答言:"无有。"裕又道:"上人休得妄言!恐被日光迷目,因致幻成五色。"众僧不待说毕,一齐喧声道:"我等明明看见五色龙,罩住尊体,怎得说是日光迷目呢?"裕亦不与多辩,起身即行。既返家门,细思众僧所言,当非尽诬,难道果有龙章护身,为他日大贵的预兆?左思右想,忐忑不定。到了黄昏就寝,还是狐疑不决,辗转反侧,蒙眬睡去。"

帝先患手创,积年不愈,沙门有一黄药,因留与帝,既而忽亡,帝以黄散傅之,其创一傅而愈。宝其余及所得童子药,每遇金创,傅之并验<sup>15</sup>。

这段话所暗示的时间与地点很重要。下邳<sup>16</sup>即是今天江苏睢宁县西北古邳镇,刘裕途径下邳,应是 409 年北伐南燕之时。"江表当乱"是这位沙门对当时东晋时局的看法。刘裕北伐南燕虽已成功,但东晋愈加陷入内乱之中,沙门出于慈悯众生之念,鼓励刘裕能"安之",使国家获得统一与和平。其中送药一节,更显佛教界对刘裕之保护与期望。

不过,以上引文只见载于《南史》,《晋书》与《高僧传》均无有此故事,真实与否,殊难判定。不过,从另外的角度说,古代中国之政局,莫非系于能力超强的伟大人物之手。晋宋相代,天命转移,佛教界视刘裕为天命的合理代理人,有其时代背景之合理性,反映当时佛教徒的政治倾向。

#### 2.3 金饼玉璧

由观察而认可,由认可而期待,甚至由期待而参与其中,这大约反映了当时佛教界中个别热心政局僧人的所想与所为。《宋书》二十七〈志〉第十七载:

冀州有沙门法称将死,语其弟子普严曰:'嵩皇神告我云,江东有刘将军,是汉家苗裔,当受天命。吾以三十二璧,镇金一饼,与将军为信。三十二璧者,刘氏卜世之数也。'普严以告同学法义。法义以十三年七月,于嵩高庙石坛下得玉璧三十二枚,黄金一饼<sup>17</sup>。

对于这段文字, 慧皎《高僧传》卷七〈释慧义传〉有转载, 并扩充相关内容:

释慧义, 北地人, 初游学于彭宋之间。后出京师, 乃说云: 冀州有法称道人, 临终语弟子普严云: '嵩高灵神云, 江东有刘将军应受天命, 吾以三十二璧, 镇金一鉼为信。'遂彻宋王。宋王谓义: '非常之瑞, 亦须非常之人, 然后致之。若非法师自行, 恐无以获也。'义遂行。以晋义熙十三年(417年)七月往嵩高山, 寻觅未得。便至心烧香行道, 至七日夜, 梦见一长须老公, 拄杖将义往璧处指示云: '是此石下', 义明便周行山中, 见一处炳然如梦所见, 即于庙所石坛下, 果得璧大小三十二枚, 黄金一鉼。此瑞详之《宋史》<sup>18</sup>。

《宋书》中法义,即是《高僧传》中的慧义。以上这段文字很重要,学界多引用此段文字,但概莫能外,都忽视当时佛教界的政治理想,以及慧义个人的政治抱负。慧义是北方人,曾游学于彭宋之间。彭是彭城,即今之徐州。至于"宋",因刘裕封宋公于418年,封宋王于419年,故"宋"乃指刘裕的封地,约为今天

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> (唐) 李延寿:《南史》卷一,中华书局,1975年版,第2页

<sup>16&</sup>quot;刘裕攻南燕,四月从建康出发。五月到下邳(今江苏睢宁西北)。"见沈起炜《中国历史大事年表》,上海辞书出版社,1983年12月1刷,186页。

<sup>17(</sup>刘宋)沈约:《宋书》二十七〈志〉第十七。

<sup>18(</sup>梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七〈释僧导传〉,《大正藏》第50册,368页下。

山东与江苏之大部分<sup>19</sup>。慧义作为僧人,生逢乱世,在山东江淮之间游学,时刻处于丧命之边缘。他对当时南北分治,征战不息,人民朝生暮死的惨状,自有深切的了解。渴望统一,祈求和平,甚而愿以身促成之,不论这是出于佛教的慈悲之念,还是基于民族之大义,对他来说,皆在情理之中。他怀着热切的政治理想,南下亲见刘裕,面呈机宜。由于彼此欣赏,又有共同之时局观,故密谋暗室,遂有嵩山掘玉璧、攫金鉼的行动。

关于此事的后续发展,唐时《艺文类聚》中有较早的记载:"戴延之《西征记》曰:宋公谘议参军王智,先停柏谷(今河南灵宝西南). 遣骑送道人惠义,疏云:有金璧之瑞。公遣迎取,军进次于崤东,金璧至,修坛拜受之。"<sup>20</sup>由此可知,这佛谶的策略秘成于建康,而后续之发展,则与刘裕整个北伐的进展相关联。刘裕北征如能胜利,必有掘玉璧、攫金鉼之行;设若失败,则此事必将被搁置。

王飞飞对此论述道:"此事发生于刘裕北伐后秦时期。义熙十二年(416年),后秦姚兴死,子姚泓即位,'兄弟相杀,关中扰乱',刘裕趁机讨伐长安,于八月率大军发自京师。观慧义向刘裕言说冀法称道人临终所说玉璧金饼一事的时间为其'出京师'即在首都建康时,而慧义启程前往嵩高山的时间却在义熙十三年(417年)七月,有由八月沈田子大破姚泓于蓝田,王镇恶克长安,生擒姚泓可知,慧义往嵩高山的时间恰为北伐胜利前夕。由此我们可以推论,慧义嵩高山寻符瑞一事当为事先之谋议,而其前往嵩高山之时当亦为专门之谋伐。"<sup>21</sup>

王飞飞进一步论道,若说刘裕北伐是想通过军事成功在东晋社会上下渔猎声望,则慧义进入嵩山寻瑞就是从社会舆论上制造一种社会宣传,目的只有一个——就是篡位代晋。刘裕在中原地区获得一系列军事成功之后,但还未进入长安之前,就及时派慧义赴嵩山,在成功寻到所谓的"玉璧金饼"之后,由刘裕手下的咨议参军王智护送至刘裕驻军的所在处。至此,刘裕便在崤山(河南洛宁县北)东边的大营中修坛,以盛大仪式拜受此玉璧金饼,其重视程度不难令人想见之<sup>22</sup>。

慧义替刘裕到嵩山寻瑞,大概是他的个人行为,不代表当时其他佛教徒的想法和立场,换成慧远大师,他肯定不会认同这种作法。不过当时佛教倾向于支持刘裕,估计是个普遍现象,《宏明集》卷十一记云:

宋武帝始登位,梦一道人,提钵就乞,因而言曰:'君于前世,施维卫佛(即毗婆尸佛)一钵之饭,今居此位。'帝遣问严公,征其虚实,严公即送七佛经呈闻<sup>23</sup>。

这里所言之严公,就是慧严法师。刘裕之梦是否真实,不得而知,但这个故事涉

<sup>19</sup> 慧皎用"宋"论此事,当为后立慧义传时所加,且"宋"暗含慧皎个人之史观标准。慧皎以为,慧义鼎力支持刘裕,可谓担当之义行,慈悲之无畏施。然身为佛徒,戒条之禁,朗然于胸。说谎制佛谶,参与政事,确有违佛制。至于刘裕,慧皎以为,先封宋公,后进爵封王,可谓人臣之极。然终篡位,而弑国君。虽天命转移,固由其势也,然究不合"仁义",非人臣之行。

<sup>20 《</sup>艺文类聚》卷八十四〈宝玉部〉下。

<sup>21</sup> 王飞飞:《刘宋帝王与宗教关系研究》, 南开大学研究生院, 2013年11月, 第36页。

<sup>22</sup> 同上。

<sup>23(</sup>梁)慧皎:《弘明集》卷十一《大正藏》52册,第71页下。

及佛教,其中必然隐含多种意义。一是佛教徒愿意用佛教的功德因果论为刘裕代晋寻求合法性依据;二是佛教的"功德因果论"(佛命)在刘裕篡位这件事上替代了儒家的"天命论";三是说明佛教在刘宋时代已获得确定的政治地位,中国化程度加深。

有关慧义后来的行踪,《高僧传》〈慧义传〉有载:

义后还京师,宋武加接尤重。迄乎践祚,礼遇弥深。宋永初元年,车骑范泰立祇 洹寺。----后西域名僧多投止此寺,或传译经典,或训授禅法。-----宋元嘉 二十一年,终于乌衣寺,春秋七十三矣<sup>24</sup>。

此外, 慧基是慧义的弟子, 在他的传记中也保留着他师父慧义的信息:

基师慧义既德居物宗,道王荆土士庶,归依利养纷集。以基懿德可称,乃携共同活,及义之亡后,资生杂物,近盈百万,基法应获半,悉舍以为福。唯取粗故衣钵,协以东归,还止钱塘显明寺<sup>25</sup>。

从慧义传中,我们不难看出刘裕在登基之后对慧义的礼遇与敬重。由于慧义介入政治,我们很容易站在儒家立场或政教分离的思维上把慧义视为功利躁进的世俗"名僧"<sup>26</sup>。事实上,如果慧义只是关心政治,没有僧人应有的学问和品格,那么政治人物和世间人不可能从内心上真正尊敬他。范泰是晋宋间学问与道德俱佳的儒生,也是刘裕所信任的高官,他为慧义建寺,应有刘裕的授意和支持,但范泰敬服慧义的学问和人格,对他产生信赖,进而虔诚皈依佛教才是根本原因。

慧义死后,留下"近盈百万"的"资生杂物",他的弟子慧基并未贪恋这些东西,而是都分发给别人,自己只拿上故旧衣服和钵,并迅速离开建康,到钱塘会稽一带修行,后"止山阴法华寺,尚学之徒,追踪问道,于是遍历三吴,讲宣经教,学徒至者千有余人。宋太宗遣使迎请,称疾不行。"慧义如此处理他师父遗物,并如此修行,如此宏化一方,并尽力远离政治,盖是他遵循他师父的教导与遗训,守道尊法,自尊自重之结果?!从慧基之行持,我不能想象慧义之为人。

# (三) 刘裕个人信仰佛教的表现

刘裕信仰佛教,首先不能排除政治功利性的考量,但个人情感与精神因素更为关键。刘裕在政治上虽获得巨大的成功,但作为一个凡人,时入于老境,对人生中的生老病死,世间的无常现象,又使他不免感到寂寞,焦虑与恐惧。他选择信仰佛教,既有排减心理压力的需要,又有建构人生价值观需求,个人因素是显而易见的。此外,从社会风尚与时代潮流来说,佛教作为新兴文化,对当时社会中所有敏感的人都有吸引力和魅力,刘裕无疑受此影响。

<sup>24 (</sup>梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七,《大正藏》50 册,第 368 页下。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> (梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷八:《大正藏》50 册,第 379 页上。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 《出三葬记集》与《高僧传》尚载,慧义共慧严协助觉贤译六十华严,协助求那跋摩译菩萨戒;协助僧伽跋摩在建康传比丘尼戒,中国比丘尼戒法由此而始。慧义还著有《会通论》,〈与王司徒诸人书论据食(范伯伦释慧义答范重答)〉等。

#### 3.1 供养佛像

《高僧传》〈慧力传〉载有刘裕亲自供佛的故事,从中可见他正式崇佛的时间和虔诚的程度。

释慧力,晋永和<sup>27</sup>中(350年左右)来游京师。司徒王谧尝入台(宫),见东掖门口有寺人掷樗戏。樗所著处,辄有光出,怪令掘之,得一金像,合光趺长,七尺二寸。谧即启闻,宋高祖(刘裕)迎入台供养。宋景平<sup>28</sup>末送出瓦官寺,今移龙光寺<sup>29</sup>。

此故事后为唐代道宣法师收入《集神州三宝感通录》一书中,内容与文字均有变异:

东晋义熙元年(405年),司徒王谧入宫,住东掖门,有侍人于门东见五色光出地,惊而穿之,得古形铜盘。盘下获金像,高四尺,光趺并具。斯又同孙皓之育王像也,因奉入宫。宋祖素不甚信,及获此像,加敬欣悟,躬礼事焉。此像本在瓦官寺,后移龙光寺云30。

王谧(360-408年)是东晋宰相王导之孙,前文曾提及他帮助刘裕还欠刁逵的赌债。到义熙元年(405年)刘裕42岁,他已凭借诸多征伐,成为北府军中高级将领,威慑于朝野,此刻正式信佛极有可能。

先从王谧角度讲,王谧家族素来信佛,他送古佛像给刘裕,除建构彼此"共同信仰"之外,还有一个政治原因。当初桓玄起势篡晋,建立桓楚政权时,王谧先后有参与其中,担任过重要职务。桓玄被刘裕消灭后(404年),王谧既羞愧,又恐惧,而刘裕感念王谧曾经救助之恩,故意宽赦王谧(405年),此时王谧送佛像与刘裕,情理不难想见。从刘裕角度说,当扫平桓玄之后,最大的政治敌手已剪除,其政治人生展现出开阔与光明的前景。王谧此时恰好送来佛像,不只是他降服朝中权臣的证明,亦预示着他走向更大政治成功的瑞兆。对他而言,正式信佛不仅是自信、表示自我安慰的表现,也是进一步想借用佛教力量的举动。当他面对佛像,无限感激佛对他的垂青,同时亦不断祷告,希望佛保佑他在政治斗争中继续获得成功。

### 3.2 诵经闻法

刘裕在登位以后,闲暇之余,有时亲自参与佛事活动,以表现自己的信仰需要,在《高僧传》中就记载两个故事。

<sup>30</sup> (唐) 道宣:《集神州三寶感通錄》卷二,《大正藏》52 册,第417页上。

<sup>27</sup> 永和是东晋皇帝晉穆帝司馬聃的第一个年号, 自 345 年到 356 年, 总共计 12 年。

<sup>28</sup> 景平是南朝宋皇帝宋少帝刘义符的年号,自 423 年至 424 年八月,一共计 2 年。

<sup>29 (</sup>梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷十三,《大正藏》50 册,第 410 页中

第一个故事载于〈法恭传〉,说法恭<sup>31</sup>很擅长诵经,累计三十万言,每夜诵经时,香气都布满房中,凡进屋者,无不闻之。这种事情确实神异,于是"宋武文明三帝及衡阳文王义秀等,并崇其德素。"纷纷进献功德,而法恭"未尝私蓄",常转分与贫困与有病之人。此故事未言刘裕同佛教发生何种关系,只是说明他崇敬法恭而已。

第二个故事,见于〈道照传〉:"释道照,止京师祇洹寺,披览群典,以宣唱为业,音吐寥亮,洗悟尘心,指事适时,言不孤发,独步于宋代之初。宋武帝尝于内殿斋,照初夜略叙,百年迅速,迁灭俄顷,苦乐参差,必由因召。如来慈应六道,陛下抚矜一切。帝言善久之,斋竟,别嚫(chèn)三万。"32此故事正面叙述刘裕在内廷之中迎请刘裕做法事,从中可知,事情是发生在刘裕登基之后。

道照法师是经师,也是唱诵师,他出入群经,以宣唱为业<sup>33</sup>,声音嘹亮婉转,不止荡人尘心,且催人醒悟;凡是有所讲,皆应时指事,一言中的,绝无废话。一天晚上,宋武帝设斋内廷,请道照讲法。道照说人生百年,无常迅速;苦乐相参,无非因果相续之事。如来慈悯六道众生,陛下护佑天下庶民,其理其事,相等无二。言下之意,世间虽云无常,但因果不虚,故身为皇帝,当以仁心德行为本,以养护众生为要。刘裕听后,十分感动,赞扬道照所言在理,斋竟,即布施三万钱,作为功德以表感谢。

此外,有一点值得注意,道照以"百年迅速,迁灭俄顷"这样的话来提醒与劝勉 刘裕,似有所指。刘裕登基不过两年多就去世了(420-423)。道照到内廷(非公 众之所)去,无非消灾祛病,忏悔延寿等事。刘裕在道照开示之后,是"言善久 之",似有某种内心之触动,事竞还"别魂三万"。由是可知刘裕已入老境,多病 在身,不然不会有这样的对话。

#### 3.3 造寺度僧

"造寺度僧"是表现帝王信仰佛教的一个指标,刘裕也不例外。王飞飞在他《刘裕帝王与宗教关系研究》的博士论文中,广泛收索相关史料,经过仔细爬梳,找到很多条刘裕建寺度僧的证据。以下引用他的研究。

据《送学士全集补遗》卷四《重兴太平万寿寺禅院碑铭》,永初三年,武帝行幸化城寺,在该寺建造二十八个子院,并度僧千人。唐代道宣《释迦方志》卷下《教相篇》及道世《法院珠林》卷一百《传记篇》则载其'造灵根、法王等四寺,常供千僧。'又《古今图书集成一释教部汇考》卷一还载刘裕为宋公时,以京口古宅为普照寺,称帝后,尝手写戒经,口诵梵本,造灵根,法王等四寺,又加东山寺。关于造寺,《南朝佛寺志》还有以刘裕故居而造宋兴寺之记载:'宋兴寺,一名兴

<sup>31(</sup>梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷十二,《大正藏》50册,第407页下。"释法恭,诵经三十余万言,每夜讽咏,辄有殊香异气,入恭房者,咸共闻之。宋武文明三帝及衡阳文王义秀等,并崇其德素。所获信施,常分给贫病,未尝私蓄。宋太始中,还西卒于彼,春秋八十。"

<sup>32 (</sup>梁) 慧皎《高僧傳》卷十三,《大正藏》50 册,第 415 页下。

<sup>33 &</sup>quot;释僧饶,偏以音声著称,擅名于宋武文之世,响调优游,和雅哀亮,与道综齐肩,综善三本,起及大挐,每清梵一举,辄道俗倾心。行路闻者,莫不息驾踟蹰,弹指称佛。"

教寺,在长干里之南,就宋武帝故居而造也,故意宋兴为号。'又《景定建康志》云:'宋兴寺,一名兴教寺,今在南门外,基即刘裕故居。'造寺之人,及造寺时间不详,但由此又可见刘裕与佛教之关涉34。

刘裕在称帝之前后,相继以京口与南京之故宅布施与佛教,建立僧寺;或是在城市中扩建寺庙,并度僧千余人,由此可见,刘裕对佛教的崇信是真实无疑的。谁是第一位舍宅建寺的中国帝王,今已难以考据,但刘裕无疑是比较早的示范者。王飞飞对此评论道:"正因如此,刘裕在佛教史籍中被塑造成一名虔诚的佛法护持者。"王飞飞再引唐代法琳《辨正论》以明其观点。

宋高祖武皇帝,启圣建元,还淳反朴,口诵梵本,手写戒经,造灵根、法王二寺。供招贤圣,徧学千僧也。---宋高祖---不倦檀那之业。常持护法之心,崇重大乘,瞻仰螺髻,讽诵龙宫,弘圣不疲,清音无辍<sup>35</sup>。

以上文字,作为唐僧慧琳法师的追述,不免加入个人立场和不少想象,但这也不违背基本的历史事实。宋武帝对佛教的信仰是虔诚的,真实的,他为佛教建立大量寺庙,允许不少人出家,支持佛教的翻译事业,讲经活动,这无疑是顺应了佛教在中国晋宋时期蓬勃发展的势头,使佛教在中国社会中迅速发展和普及,进而深入地社会化和中国化。

## (四)促进佛教翻译与文化之发展

佛教传入华夏之后哦,至晋宋之交,整个社会的贵族与庶民竟相以信仰佛教为风尚,佛教俨然是社会中的强势文化,并成为国家文化的重要组成部分。当时的统治者为求建邦佑国,护民安心,相继借助佛教推进社会文化的发展,建构国家文化的势力。自东晋迄于隋的南北朝时期,佛教的社会地位较高,已有明显的准国教化之倾向。

佛教是宗教,当然亦是一种社会教化的体系。《慧严传》中宋文帝与何尚之、羊玄保对谈,相与评论佛教在社会教化中的功用。文帝云:"范泰谢灵运常言,六经典文本在济俗为治。必求灵性真奥,岂得不以佛经为指南耶。若使率土之滨皆敦此化,则朕坐致太平,夫复何事。"<sup>36</sup>何尚之在回应文帝时,论及甚广,其中借用慧远法师语以证明佛教对社会之意义,"释氏之化,无所不可,适道固自教源,济俗亦为要务。"何尚之继而展开自己的观点:"窃寻此说有契理奥,何者若使家家持戒,则一国息刑。故佛澄适赵,二石减暴。灵塔放光,符健损虐。故神道助教,有自来矣。"文帝与何尚之的对话,盖可证明,佛教作为一种社会文教的需要,自宋武帝到宋文帝时期已成为刘宋君臣的共识,而这种共识多少与宋武帝宽容与支持佛教有关。

据梁高僧传资料, 刘裕推扬佛教, 具体措施就是把北方与荆襄地区的品学兼备的高僧迎请到首都健康, 诸如跋陀罗, 慧观与僧导就是他亲自邀请的, 而法显与智

<sup>34</sup> 王飞飞:《刘裕帝王与宗教关系研究》,南开大学研究生院,2013年11月。

<sup>35 (</sup>唐) 慧琳:《辯正論》卷三,《大正藏》52 册,第 503 页下。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> (梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七:《大正》50 册,第 367 页下。

严是经他关照,由手下人延至建康的37。

#### 4.1 智严

智严(350-427)是东晋宋初的译经师,禅师。出生于梁州(甘肃),出家后,精苦为业。为求名师,访经诰,与宝云法显等西行,至罽宾后,依佛大仙学禅。三年后,邀佛驮跋陀罗来华,传禅于长安。倾因佛驮跋陀罗被摈,智严东奔,栖于山东精舍。宋武帝灭后秦,南归经山东,刘裕麾下王恢遇智严,告与刘裕,刘裕命王恢邀智严至建康,初住始兴寺,后移居枳园寺。如上文所及,刘裕于 417 年攻入长安,灭后秦,同年冬,因刘穆之病死于建康,故归建康。刘裕在急返之中,仍关心北方僧团的动向,关注佛教精英人物的运命。当王恢遇智严之后,刘裕即下令邀智严南下建康,王恢"屡请恳至"才把智严请去建康<sup>38</sup>。智严学宗跋陀罗之禅风,严持戒律,托钵自活,矜傲自守,不与众僧同住,王恢遂为之建精舍,可谓关照备至。

刘裕邀智严南下之态度,既诚恳又坚决,其原因何在?

对刘裕来说,维护南方汉人政权的稳定与安全是他所关注的首要问题。佛教精英作为一种社会文化的人力资源,对政治有着巨大之影响,他不愿看到佛教精英留在北方胡人统治区,为胡人所控制与利用。道安被苻坚掳去长安就是典型的先例。其二佛教至刘裕时代已成为一种社会需要与风俗,延揽佛教精英有利于南方佛教文化之发展与兴盛,使之起到抚慰民心、安定国家的作用。当初罗什入长安,就吸引全国精英前去学习,一位大德对社会文化与民众信仰之影响委实很大,这不同于后来佛教在社会中的影响。此外,智严去西域时,曾与宝云法显等人结伴而行,后又与跋陀罗共归汉地,彼此算是生死之交,而今这三人都已到南方。刘裕指示王恢诚恳邀请智严,从中不难揣测他对北方僧团有细致的考察与了解。

智严到南京后,自与宝云慧观,跋陀罗及法显等人相会,智严后与宝云合作,共同翻出数部佛经,为推进晋末宋初佛教翻译进程做出不小的贡献。

#### 4.2 慧观

慧观法师,是河北清河人,少以博识见称。弱年出家,早以游方受业,后就庐山 咨启于慧远。罗什入关后,与慧严道生等北上,承学于罗什,为罗什四大弟子之一。他思维精微,善于分析,故誉为"精难",有著作存世。罗什圆寂后,观法师南下荆州,该州政治要人司马修之礼重之,为立高悝寺。慧观在该寺大兴佛事,荆楚之民改邪归正者,十人有五。后"宋武南伐休之,至江陵與觀相遇,傾心待接,依然若舊。因勅與西中郎遊,即文帝也,俄而還京止道場寺。" 39 〈慧观传〉的记载与〈佛陀跋陀罗传〉互有抵牾,存在时间上的矛盾。〈佛陀跋陀罗传〉记云:

<sup>39</sup> (梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七,《大正》50 册,第 368 页中。

<sup>37</sup> 佛陀跋陀罗与法显将在第二节中论述。

<sup>38 &</sup>quot;智严虽为刘裕从驾王恢所启延请,但综合各史料可知,延揽佛教高僧乃刘裕当时一贯之政策。"见王飞:《刘宋帝王与宗教关系研究》,南开大学研究生院,2013年11月,第30页。

(觉贤)复西适江陵<sup>40</sup>,倾境士庶,竞来礼事,其有奉遗,悉皆不受。持钵分卫,不问豪贱。时陈郡袁豹,为宋武帝太尉长史。<u>宋武南讨刘毅,随府届于江陵,贤</u>将弟子慧观诣豹乞食,豹素不敬信,待之甚薄,未饱辞退。豹曰:'似未足,且复小留。'贤曰:'檀越施心有限,故令所设已罄。'豹即呼左右益饭,饭果尽,豹大惭愧。既而问慧观曰:'此沙门何如人。'观曰:'德量高邈,非凡所测。'豹深叹异,以启太尉。太尉请与相见,甚崇敬之,资供备至。<u>俄而太尉还都,便请</u>俱归安止道场寺<sup>41</sup>。

刘裕在义熙八年(412年)的十一月至十二月之间讨伐刘毅,而征讨司马休之,则发生在义熙十一年(415年)。这导致一个问题,即刘裕邀请慧观与跋陀罗回建康是在什么时候?难道慧观与跋陀罗不在一起,是分别进入建康的?此问题在学术界引起很多争论,至今无解。这个问题留在"法显与跋陀罗"一节详细讨论,此处只讨论刘裕对慧观的态度。

慧观到健康后,以其学问和组织能力在僧团中居于重要地位,影响甚大。在佛学造诣上,他谙熟罗什所译的内容,精通十诵律,并在中国佛教史上第一次提出"判教"理论,开天台华严判教之先河。在佛教翻译方面,他同慧严与谢灵运一起整治《涅槃经》,成为后来南本《涅槃经》。在迎请高僧方面,他面呈文帝,迎请当时的外国高僧求那跋摩<sup>42</sup>。后又请僧伽跋摩住道场寺,促成僧伽跋摩为当时建康的比丘尼受戒,这是中国合法比丘尼僧团成立之开始。

慧观本是北方人,早年在庐山与建康修学。罗什入关后,慧观北上长安,后以跋陀罗南返回庐山,再去荆州;而智严作为北方人,似乎从未到过南方,他是因刘裕之屡请,才来到南方。其实,当罗什圆寂(413年),姚兴去世(416年),后秦被刘裕讨灭,长安佛教,或说中原佛教就陷入困境,佛教精英纷纷南下,这从僧导的传记中,可知梗概。

#### 4.3 僧导

犹前文所述,自刘裕灭后秦之后,留下刘义真等人镇守长安,并托僧导(362-457年)关照。后长安留守军内讧,相互残杀,致赫连勃勃入侵长安,守军南奔,途中屡遭截杀。僧导此时不负重望,救刘义真一命。刘裕因此非常感激僧导,命儿子与侄子拜僧导为师,并为僧导在安徽寿春<sup>43</sup>建东山寺<sup>44</sup>。僧导在东山寺住下后,"常讲说经论,受业千有余人。"与此同时,北方僧团继续在战乱中挣扎,很多

<sup>40(</sup>梁)僧祐:《三藏記集》卷十四,《大正藏》55 册,第 104 页上:"以义熙八年(412 年),(觉贤)遂适荆州(江陵)"。僧祐在此没有注明刘裕征讨对象,但根据时间与事实推断,是指征讨刘毅。

<sup>41(</sup>梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷二〈佛陀跋陀罗传〉,《大正经》50册,第335页中。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>(梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷三,〈求那跋摩传〉,《大正》50 册,第 340 页下:"以元嘉元年九月,面启文帝,求迎请跋摩。"

<sup>43</sup>寿春"是东晋南朝时期汉胡政权争夺的热点区域,具有重要的战略地位和军事价值。""故址在今安徽省中部的寿县,其地北滨长淮,东依淝水,南有巨泽芍陂。"见宋杰:《寿春在东晋南朝的战略地位》一文,载于《史学集刊》2014年9月第5期。

<sup>44</sup>刘裕为僧导在寿春建东山寺,或有某种政治考量,因寿春地处南北咽喉,历为兵家所争之地。

僧人衣食不给,只得向南逃命。因寿春是南北交通的要冲之地,所以很多人就先 投奔僧导,僧导对他们尽力照顾,"悉给衣食,其有死于虏者,皆设会行香,为 之流涕哀恸!"僧道可谓菩萨心肠,普雨仁德。

僧导处在华夷争锋,南北对峙的世代,以民族大义为重,积极协助南方政权,从而获得南方政权的敬重<sup>45</sup>。此外,他以寿春为据点,接应滞留在北方的佛教僧众南下,为保护佛教人才与文化起到绝大作用。这种刚毅雄健、无怨无悔的菩萨精神,至今令人感动。

僧导在北方时先后参与竺佛念与罗什的译场,他"谋献众典,博采真俗,乃著成实三论义疏,及空有二谛论等。""晚年为孝武请去建康,在瓦官寺大讲维摩诘经,当时"帝亲临幸,公卿必集"",讲到外道以趣下为高,群生以火宅为净土之时,恸然泪下,"四众为之改容。""僧导还直面勉励孝武帝支持佛教,"护法弘道莫先帝王,陛下若能运四等心,矜危劝善,则此沙石瓦砾便为自在天宫。""孝武帝对此表示认同,赞叹良久,陪座者皆心怀欢喜。

#### 4.4 外国僧

在刘裕当权、或在位期间,除很多汉僧进入南方之外,有无外国僧到达南方呢?据王飞飞的研究,他认为《名僧抄》中的昙摩密多(法友)与僧伽罗多啰(僧济)就是在刘裕时期到南方的 $^{50}$ 。

据宝唱《名僧传抄》中载,昙摩密多"以宋永初三年,始至江陵,住长沙寺。" 51 永初是刘裕的年号,永初三年就是西元 422 年。昙摩密多是在刘裕去世前后到江陵(荆州)的,与刘裕无交涉。后昙摩密多以"元嘉初来集京师,住祇洹寺,译普贤观经一分,虚空藏观一分。" 52 元嘉是宋文帝刘义隆年号,元嘉初即是公元424 与 423 年之间。这说明昙摩密多是在宋文帝初到建康的。至于僧伽罗多啰,《名僧传抄》载"游戏适我,宋永平二年,自外国达于帝京,栖宅丘林,养索川岳。以元嘉十年,卜居钟山(紫金山)之阳,剪开榛芜,造立精舍。" 53 刘宋无"永

49 同上

<sup>45</sup>僧导与刘宋王朝之关系,非同寻常,"至孝武帝(430-464年)升位,遣使征请,导翻然应诏,止于京师中兴寺。銮舆降跸,躬出候迎。导以孝建之初,三纲更始 ,感事怀惜,悲不自胜,帝亦哽咽良久。"这种感情之流露,显然不只是"政治关系"那么简单,若非彼此理解与信任,有着超越政治与功利之情感,何能如此?引文见慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七〈僧导传〉,《大正》50 册,第371 页中。

<sup>46(</sup>梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七〈僧导传〉,《大正》50册,第371页上。

<sup>47(</sup>梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七〈僧导传〉,《大正》50册,第371页中。

<sup>48</sup> 同上

<sup>50</sup> 王飞飞:《刘宋帝王与宗教关系研究》,南开大学研究生院,2013年11月,第31页。

<sup>51 (</sup>梁)《名僧传抄》〈昙摩密多〉,《继藏经》77 册,经号 1523,第 355 页中。

<sup>52</sup> 同上 51 注。可参见慧皎《高僧传》〈昙摩密多传〉:"常以江左王畿志欲传法,以宋元嘉元年(424 年)展转至蜀,俄而出峡止荆州,于长沙寺造立禅阁。顷之沿流东下,至于京师,初止中兴寺,晚憩祇洹。密多道声素着,化洽连邦,至京甫尔倾都礼讯。自宋文哀皇后及皇太子公主,莫不设斋桂宫,请戒椒掖,参候之使,旬日相望。即于祇洹寺译出禅经、禅法要、普贤观虚空藏观等。常以禅道教授,或千里咨受四辈,远近皆号大禅师焉。"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup>《名僧传抄》〈昙摩密多〉,《续藏经》77 册, 经号 1523, 第 355 页中。

平"年号,王飞飞认为是"永初"之误<sup>54</sup>,永平二年即是 421 年。但梁高僧传《畺良耶舍》所附《僧伽罗多传》则载僧伽罗多"以宋景平之末来至京师"<sup>55</sup>,若此记录属实,僧伽罗多便是在 423 至 424 年之间到建康的。

以上两位外国僧的入宋时间多有错讹,殊为可疑,名僧传抄与梁高僧传也没有提到他们与刘裕有直接的关系,不过刘裕支持佛教是一贯之政策,这肯定影响了外国僧入宋的态度和选择<sup>56</sup>。僧人也是人,从生存的现实角度说,和平与安全,尊严与礼敬也是出家人优先考虑的条件,这就是为什么包括外国僧在内的很多出家人愿意入宋的原因。在刘裕时期,以至刘裕之后,各方高僧入宋,使佛教在东晋末的基础继续快速发展,诸如佛典翻译,讲经与著述活动如火如荼地展开,为有宋一代的佛教奠定了坚实的基础。王飞飞在对此评论道,"外国高僧及大量北方义学僧侣的到来,极大地推动了刘宋佛教译经事业之蓬勃及佛教义理之发展。"57 并借用杜继文的话以作总结,"南朝宋的译经,继承了后秦在长安的事业。"58

### (五) 刘裕对佛教的管理政策

中国古代政权对佛教所采取的政策是在历史发展中慢慢形成的。从后汉至西晋,政权限制佛教,佛教发展相对缓慢。西晋灭亡后,后赵、北凉、前秦与后秦等少数民族政权支持佛教,佛教急速社会化。与此同时,东晋佛教继续发展,特别是后秦灭亡后,随着北方僧人南下,东晋境内的佛教也迅速社会化。当佛教寺院急速增加,佛教僧俗人口不断扩大,对社会的政治,经济与文化产生巨大影响,对佛教的管理成为政权所关心的问题。东晋大臣庾冰和桓玄就曾经针对管控佛教提出极具争议性的问题。刘裕在位时间短,他的佛教政策没有来得及展开,现在只能根据现存史料进行梳理<sup>59</sup>。

#### 5.1 管制铜材

大乘佛教历来有热衷造像的传统,造像需要大量人力与资金。如果用铜铸像,那就要需要很多铜料。东晋末,战争频繁,铜紧缺,遂有禁铜之令。这就在政府与佛教之间形成一种矛盾。当时有个出家人叫僧洪,他用铜造佛像,违背禁铜之令,将受死罚。《高僧传-僧洪传》记云:

释僧洪,豫州人。止于京师瓦官寺。少而修身整洁,后率化有缘,造丈六金像,镕铸始毕,未及开模。时晋末铜禁甚严,犯者必死。宋武于时为相国,洪坐罪系于相府,唯诵观世音经,一心归命佛像。夜梦所铸像来,手摩洪头问:怖不。洪

<sup>54</sup> 王飞飞:《刘宋帝王与宗教之关系研究》南开大学研究生院,2013年11月,第31页。

<sup>55 《</sup>高僧传》《畺良耶舍》中附《僧伽罗多传》:"僧伽罗多,此云众济,以宋景平之末来至京师。 乞食人间,宴坐林下,养素幽闲,不涉当世。以元嘉十年卜居钟阜之阳,剪棘开榛,造立精舍,即宋熙寺是也。"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>昙摩密多还在凉州时就"常以江左王畿志欲传法。"这种思想如果产生的,应是刘宋王朝对待佛教的态度被国内外的僧人所知悉。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>王飞飞:《刘宋帝王与宗教之关系研究》南开大学研究生院,2013年11月,第32页 局上。

<sup>59</sup> 王飞飞从三个方面讨论此问题:一是"限制造像";二是"淘汰沙门";三是"僧主之设"。本文基本转述他的研究成果。见王飞飞论文《刘宋帝王与宗教关系研究》第 45 页至 47 页。

言:自念必死。像曰无忧。见像胸方尺许,铜色燋沸。会当行刑,府参军监杀,而牛奔车壤,因更克日。续有令从彭城来云。未杀僧洪者可原,遂获免。还开模,见像胸前果有燋沸。洪后以苦行卒矣<sup>60</sup>。

《名僧传抄》也有类似记载,不过传主名以"僧供"出现,而非"僧洪",但整个传记内容与《高僧传》大体一致。其中最重要者,是提供了时间。

僧供,豫洲人也。---住瓦官寺,后招率同志,造丈六金像,铸始毕,未出模, 未知美恶。值义熙十二年铜禁甚严,有犯入死,供为官所录,在湘府判姧,鏁械 坚重,无复生冀<sup>61</sup>。

义熙十二年,就是西元 416 年,这年四月刘裕开始北伐,"续有令从彭城来云",正好说明他已在彭城,即今天的徐州。刘裕身为相国,虽人在外,但建康朝廷的军政与刑狱诸事,均有人自建康向他报告。当时坐守建康的是刘裕心腹刘牢之,估计是他传达了刘裕的命令,赦免了僧洪。王飞飞对此论道:"佛教造像无疑会耗费大量铜材,而此处所谓甚严之铜禁,除了为禁止民间私铸钱币外,颇疑亦为限制佛教造像规模而制。"<sup>62</sup>

#### 5.2 整顿僧团

"僧团窳烂"是自佛教产生以后,就不时发生,又难以解决的问题。佛教传入中国后,随着出家人口的急速成长,寺院经济的过度发达,"僧团窳烂"问题也随之而来,其主要表现有两方面:一是出家动机,多有不纯;二是出家后,违犯戒律。动机不纯主要是指通过出家以逃脱"税赋"、避免"兵役",其外社会战乱、家庭贫困、为受教育,也可能成为很多人出家的原因。违犯戒律是指不少人出家后,以积累土体,蓄养奴婢,从事借贷买卖等活动。以上诸种原因导致社会大众的诟病,政权官吏的不满。

自刘裕当政,特别是登相位之后,他就下令整顿僧团,此令见于《广弘明集》卷二十四《僧行篇》中〈沙汰僧徒诏〉一文:

门下:佛法讹替,沙门混杂,未足扶济鸿教,而专成逋薮。加以奸心频发,凶状屡闻,败道乱俗,人神交忿。可符所在,与寺耆长,精加沙汰。后有违犯,严其诛坐,主者详为条格,速施行<sup>63</sup>。

刘裕整肃僧团,可见当时僧徒良莠不齐的问题确实严重,不过刘裕为佛教留有余地,要求官方"与寺耆长,精加沙汰"。王飞飞对此解析道:

此诏令为刘裕任相国时所制。据《宋书·武帝纪》, 刘裕于义熙十四年(418年)六月, '受相国宋公九锡之命', 已是功勋卓越, 大权在握, 成为实际的政治决策

62王飞飞:《刘宋帝王与宗教之关系研究》南开大学研究生院,2013年11月,第45页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>(梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷十三〈僧洪传〉,《大正藏》50 册,第410页下。

<sup>61 《</sup>名僧传抄》〈僧供传〉《续藏经》(X77n1523\_p0359a05)

<sup>63 (</sup>唐) 道宣:《廣弘明集》卷二十四〈沙汰僧徒詔〉,《大正》52 册,第 272 页中。

者。由此诏令可知当时沙门玉龙混杂,佛门成为不法者逃匿之所,败道乱俗,危害社会,污染社会风习,故而刘裕提出让相关部门与寺院长老一起加以整肃,将 伪劣者清除出去<sup>64</sup>。

刘裕此令与〈桓玄辅政欲沙汰众僧与僚属教〉一文,不止有文辞上的继承,观点也类似,这大体反映"以儒立国""政高于教"的背景下佛教同政权之间的实质性关系。全文如下:

夫神道茫昧,圣人之所不言,然惟其制作所弘,如将可见。佛所贵无为,殷熟在于绝欲。而比者凌迟,遂失斯道。京师竞其奢淫,荣观纷于朝市,天府以之倾匮,名器为之秽黩。避役钟于百里,逋逃盈于寺庙。乃至一县数千,猥成屯落,邑聚游食之群,境积不羁之众,其所以伤治害政,尘滓佛教,固已彼此俱弊,寔污风轨矣。便可严下,在所诸沙门,有能申述经诰畅说义理者,或禁行修整,奉戒无亏,恒为阿练者,或山居养志,不营流俗者,皆足以宣寄大化,亦所以示物,以道弘训,作范幸兼内外。其有违于此者,皆悉罢遣,所在领其户籍,严为之制。速申下之,并列上也。唯庐山道德所居,不在搜简之例66。

桓玄先摆出儒家立场,先否定"神道"邈远,难以证实,暗示佛教不切实用,反证由儒家圣人之言,所制作的礼乐,所弘的仁义是现实可见的。次再指出佛教存在的问题:一是寺院宏富奢华,耗资巨大;二僧徒众多猥杂,无劳游食。这不仅"伤治害政",且亦"尘滓佛教",带坏社会风气。桓玄认为,这些终日游食、不事修持的人应该遣返,录之本地户籍,从事劳作。其外那些能不流世俗,以道垂训,化导人物的出家人,则免于罢遣。并特别指出,庐山慧远僧团不在"搜简之例"。桓玄的沙汰政策,其目的就是希望把人民绑在土地上,为国家服务。

虽然刘裕比桓玄较为崇敬佛教,但政治考量是一样的,都是以儒家政治观来看待佛教的社会意义。在古代中国,户籍、人口、赋税、劳役,兵役都是连在一起的,控制户籍与人口是管理国家,保持政治稳定的根本环节。然而佛教的出家行为打破了这种关系,使人成了自由人,不在为政府所控制,赋税、劳役与兵役因此受到影响。这就是为什么古代政权要管控佛教人口与经济规模的原因。刘裕与桓玄对待佛教的思维模式极具代表性,也成为后来政权基本立场和出发点,这直接影响中国佛教在后来的存在与发展。

### 5.3 设立僧官

武帝刘裕对佛教进行管制的具体表现,就是在佛教内部设立"僧主"以管理佛教。慧皎《高僧传》〈僧苞传〉有载:"时瓦官又有释法和者,亦精通数论,致誉当时,为宋高祖所重, 勅为僧主焉。" "法和在《高僧传》中似有两人,此处之法和,当非道安之同学,而是南方建康有另外一人名"法和"者"。僧主之设,以至有

<sup>64</sup> 王飞飞:《刘宋帝王与宗教之关系研究》南开大学研究生院,2013年11月,第46页。

<sup>65(</sup>梁)僧祐:《弘明集》卷十二〈桓玄辅政欲沙汰众僧与僚属教〉,《大正》52册,第85页上。 66(梁)慧皎:《高僧傳》卷七〈僧苞传〉,《大正藏》50册,第369页下。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup>法和在慧皎《高僧传》中似有两人,一为道安同学,曾于石氏之乱时入川弘法,后北返,协助佛念、道安与僧伽提婆译经。罗什入关后,曾赠诗法和以表心意。僧苞传中之法和,或为另外

僧官制度的产生,是古代官方针对佛教极大发展之后所采取的政策措施<sup>68</sup>,这不仅反映了社会大众对佛教的接受,佛教已经落地生根,急速中国化,而且也反映了古代中国官方对佛教的社会"身份"的认可,施以系统的管理。中国僧官制度是中国"政教关系"的直接表现形式,佛教只能在此框架下适应和发展。

关于僧官制度产生的历史背景,台湾《佛教百科全书》有全面的论述:

约略于西元四、五世纪之交,中国南北两方分裂政权中的东晋、拓跋魏和姚秦先后正式设置了僧官。其中,东晋的僧官创设于安帝隆安五年(401)以前,中央僧官机构泛称为僧司,亦可称为僧局、僧省,主管僧官可能称为僧主、僧端,副职为都维那,还有若干属吏。其时地方僧官也已产生。拓跋魏的僧官始设于太祖皇始年间(396~397),最高僧官称为道人统,但其下没有副职,也没有独立的僧务机构,僧官作为世俗政权附庸的色彩特别鲜明。姚秦的僧官制度大约在弘始三年(401)正式设立,略迟于东晋和拓跋魏,但内容比东晋、拓跋魏的僧官制度完备。中央僧官共有三员,主官称国内僧主,或称僧正;副职称悦众、僧都、僧录。下设吏员若干。彼此职责分明,办事效能较高。

后秦时代产生的僧官制度虽晚于拓跋魏和东晋,但比较系统,职能比较分明。《高僧传》〈僧契传〉有载:

自童寿入关,远僧复集,僧尼既多,或有愆漏。兴曰:'凡未学僧未阶,苦忍安得无过,过而不劾,过遂多矣。宜立<u>僧主</u>,以清大望'。因下书曰:'大法东迁,于今为盛僧尼已多,应须纲领宣授远规,以济颓绪。僧契法师学优早年,德芳暮齿,可为国内<u>僧主</u>。僧迁法师,禅慧兼修,即为<u>悦众</u>。法钦、慧斌共掌<u>僧录</u>。给车舆吏力,契资侍中秩,传诏羊车各二人。迁等并有厚给,共事纯俭,允惬时望,五众肃清,六时无怠。至弘始七年,勅加亲信、伏身、白从各三十人。僧正之兴,契之始也<sup>70</sup>。

这段原始文献为我们提供了四方面信息,一是设立僧官的原因;二是僧官的组成, 三僧官的待遇,四是僧管设立的大致时间。

原因是罗什入关后,南北僧人云集长安,其中有人不免违背戒律,为维护僧团秩序和声誉,故需设立僧主,以整肃僧众行为<sup>71</sup>。

僧官的组成是僧契为僧主,僧迁为悦众,法钦、慧斌为僧录。僧主即僧正,"乃

一人,非道安之同学也,盖《高僧传》中不见法和南下之事实。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup>"由世俗政权任命僧侣为各级僧官,以管理僧尼事务、统御佛教的制度。僧官,即受命管理全国佛教事务的僧人,又称僧纲。主要任务为:掌管僧籍,以僧律统辖僧尼,并充当朝廷与教团间的协调者,在官方有关机构统领之下,处理有关佛教事务。"见台湾(电子《佛学辞典》)中《佛教百科全书》"僧官制度"词条。

<sup>69</sup>见(电子《佛学辞典》)中《佛教百科全书》"僧官制度"词条。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> (梁) 慧皎:《高僧傳》卷六〈僧契传〉,《大正藏》50 册,第 363 页中。

<sup>71&</sup>quot;两晋十六国时期佛教已发展成一股强大的社会势力,寺院和僧尼数量猛增,僧尼从事经济经营、参预社会事务的现象相当普遍,僧尼伪滥秽杂、违戒犯律的情况日益严重。"台湾《佛教百科全书》

僧团中之最高职官"<sup>72</sup>《大宋僧史略》对此有解说:"所言僧正者何?正,政也,自正正人,克敦政令故云也。盖以比丘无法,如马无辔勒,牛无贯绳,渐染俗风,将乖雅则,故设有德望者,以法而绳之,令归于正,故曰僧正也。"<sup>73</sup>因此僧正是一种僧团中的行政事务,由政府选派德高望重,戒行清静的高僧担任,以惩罚方式"正人"维护僧团形象与令誉。悦众,别名知事,又作维那、营事、授事、任事、知院事等,是掌管诸僧杂事与庶务之职称。《大宋僧史略》曰:"案西域知事僧,总曰羯磨陀那 Karma-dana,译为知事,亦曰悦众,谓知其事,悦其众也。"<sup>74</sup>僧录是掌管僧尼名籍与僧官任免的僧职,类似今天档案与人事记录的职能,执行此工作的官署称为僧录司,故"僧录"与"僧录司"有时通用。

僧官的待遇有车驾代路,吏力跑腿,还有"中秩"的薪资。至于僧官设立的时间, 文中提到"至弘始七年",也就是西元 405 年。"南宋释志磐《佛祖统纪》则将此 事系于东晋隆安五年,即姚秦弘始三年(401)。"75这个推算是比较合乎事实。

刘裕的僧官制度,我们今天已很难考证细节。不过,借助这条有关后秦僧官制度的材料可以了解当时的大致情况。既然刘裕采用了"僧主"一词,则他借鉴东晋、拓跋魏与后秦的僧官制度是绝对可能的。就历史意义来说,佛教作为一种宗教,其终极目标是超越现实的,但作为一种社会性的存在,佛教却是现实的。中国的政治制度是基于"儒家与法家"学说而建立的,佛教作为外来者与后起者,不可能改变这种政治现实,所以佛教与政权之间的关系,无不充满儒家的影子是自然的事。

## 结语

本文从"利用、护持、信仰、管制"四方面讨论了刘裕与佛教所发生的关系。第一"利用"主要表现在刘裕邀请出家人参与军政事务、利用佛谶为篡位寻求合法性;第二"护持"主要反映在建寺度僧,迎请高僧翻译经典,开场讲法等;第三"信仰"是说刘裕以私人方式信仰佛教,如供养佛像,斋戒,诵经与听法等。第四"管制"主要表现在设立沙汰沙门、设立僧官这两方面。

从以上四方面中,我们可以归纳出以下三点:

第一、以儒立国,政高于教是佛教面对皇权的基础。以儒立国,政高于教是中国皇权体制的固有传统,他奠基于周朝,成熟于秦汉时期。佛教作为后来宗教,必然遵守这种传统。道安作为一个高僧,具有足够的知识和道德勇气,但他也说"不依国主,则佛法不立"。东晋庾冰与桓玄对佛教所提出的挑战就证明这一点。刘裕对佛教有更多的个人目的,故对佛教比较宽容,但骨子里还是以儒家视角来看待佛教。刘裕在位时间短,其佛教政策未展开,但他下令沙汰沙门,其中的论述可以清晰表达他对佛教的根本态度和观点。

<sup>72</sup> 见(电子《佛学辞典》)中《佛光佛学大词典》"僧正"词条。

<sup>73 (</sup>宋) 赞宁:《大宋僧史略》卷二〈立僧正〉,《大正》54 册,第 242 页下。

<sup>74(</sup>宋)赞宁:《大宋僧史略》卷二〈僧寺纲斜〉,《大正》54册,第242页下。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> 杨维中:《中国佛教百科全书·仪轨卷》,上海古籍出版社,2001年1月,第81页,"僧正"词条。

第二、后赵、前后秦佛教具有"准国家化"倾向,刘裕时期也延续了这种时代倾势,他不仅亲自供佛、实践佛教信仰,而且要求自己儿子与侄子辈拜出家人为师,受三皈依,成为正式的佛教徒<sup>76</sup>。刘宋皇室家族如此热情积极地拥抱佛教,无疑催动整个刘宋时期贵族与官吏普遍信仰佛教。刘宋时代"准国教化"倾向,直接影响了整个南朝,至梁武帝达到顶峰。与此同时,僧团也希望佛教获得国教化地位。慧远尽力应付着来自儒家势力的挑战,希望保持僧团的独立与自尊,对国家和政权保持超越的姿势,他在一定范围和程度上取得成功。不过,我们应看到政权给予佛教"准国家化"地位也是有条件的:首先佛教要承认政权,适当为政治服务;二是严守戒律,弘法为本,;三学问广博,人格高尚,令人钦仰。这些义务都是政权与国家的要求,而佛教却无法向政权要求什么,所以这种"准国教化"只是南北朝时期一时的现象。

第三刘裕的佛教政策直接影响了文帝刘义隆,佛教在文帝时期急速发展,走向兴盛"。文帝所礼遇的国内高僧有:道生,慧严,慧观,慧义,道渊,僧弼,玄畅,法恭,僧亮。外国高僧有:求那跋摩,求那跋陀罗,畺良耶舍,昙无谶等。其中诸如求那跋摩和求那跋陀罗都是文帝亲自下令请来健康的。文帝十分重视佛教翻译,使当时健康的佛教翻译成为全国的佛教翻译中心,不仅超过此前的法显与佛陀跋陀罗,也超过了后秦鸠摩罗什的译经规模。据文献记载,有宋一代的翻译是南北朝之最。其次,文帝还很重视佛教经教的研究与讨论,他亲自主持关于道生"顿悟说"的讨论"。文帝时期,中国佛教不仅大量翻译梵文佛经,而且迅速走入消化和创造的阶段,佛教教义的中国化十分鲜明。

总而言之, 刘裕对佛教的支持, 关键之处, 是奠定了佛教与国家政权的政教关系, 给予佛教准国教化的地位, 这导致后来有宋一代的佛教突发猛进, 并为齐梁陈三朝佛教的发展准备了制度保障, 人才与文化的基础。

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<sup>76</sup> 如"文帝少时,从(业首)受三皈"《比丘尼傳·业首传》;刘裕在荆州遇到慧观,"敕(慧观)与西中郎游,即文帝也",文帝即是刘义隆;《高僧传·慧观传》;僧导救刘义真之后,"高祖感之,因令子侄内外师焉"《高僧传·僧导传》。王飞飞对此评论道:"刘裕让子侄与这些僧尼交游乃至受学,不但可以使其借僧尼之影响赢得声誉,并获得僧界之护佑,在政治大有裨益,还可以使其在人格上受到熏陶,在佛学素养方面有所进步,这在当时的形势下是颇有必要的。"见王飞飞:《刘宋帝王与宗教之关系研究》南开大学研究生院,2013年11月,第43页。

<sup>77(</sup>唐) 法琳:《辩正论》卷三〈十代奉佛〉上篇第三,《大正藏》52 册,第 503 页上:"宋太祖文皇帝奉斋不杀,精心慕道。尚之雅对佛戒为宗,坐致太平,允如圣旨。钦仰求那,务兴大法。造禅云寺,常供养千僧。"还可参考注释 3。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>(梁) 慧皎:《高僧传》卷七〈道猷传〉,《大正藏》50 册,第 374 页下:"宋文问慧观,顿悟之义,谁复习之。答云:生公弟子道猷。即勅临川郡发遣出京,既至,即延入宫内。大集义僧,令猷申述顿悟。时竞辩之徒,关责互起,猷既积思参玄,又宗源有本,乘机挫锐,往必摧锋,帝乃抚机称快。"

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# 浅析念佛法门的发展

符月明1

## 摘要

早期佛教的念佛法门是忆念佛陀的功德。最早的念佛形式是向佛陀表达敬意,感激佛的教导及指引解脱。念佛从表敬和三皈依逐渐发展成一种禅观的方式。随着佛陀教法的不断发展,念佛法门的内容不断被扩充及丰富,后来演变成忆念佛身功德、观想佛身相好、执持佛名圣号。中国佛教的净土念佛思想,起源于后汉时期支谶译出《般舟三昧经》。其记载的念佛方式,与早期佛教所记载的念佛法门是一致的。后来净土经典陆续被译出,念佛法门的内容逐渐充实,念佛法门的理论基础得以奠定。经过净宗历代祖师的大力弘传,促使净土念佛法门普及化。中国净土宗融汇心念口念,以极方便之法,把修行及信仰融入生活中,与社会形成互动,加强了佛教的发展与弘扬。随着时间的进展,念佛法门逐渐演变成不同形式。本文对照南传巴利经典、阿含经典、净土经典,考察念佛法门的发展以及持名念佛的由来,在参照各版本的译文后,探讨念佛法门里"念"的本意。

关键词: 念佛、忆念佛陀、观想念佛、持名念佛、念的本意

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 马来西亚柔佛笨珍人。泰国国际佛教大学佛学系硕士、马来西亚槟城理科大学化学系(荣誉)学士。著有论文: <早期念佛法门与净土念佛法门的探讨>。

## 浅析念佛法门的发展

印度在吠陀时代,即有求生天界及他方净土的传说。当时的印度社会深信可以经由行善或修行禅定,进入天界或是北俱芦洲,享受无量的快乐。然而佛教认为这种享乐,并不究竟,因为福气享尽之后还是会堕入轮回之中,唯有涅盘寂净,才是解脱之道。从印度佛教史的角度上看,关于阿弥陀佛以及极乐世界的来源,虽然至今未有定论,但可能跟随大乘经典,由迦湿弥罗一带或尼泊尔地方开始流传,则是无可置疑的。<sup>2</sup> 在早期佛教里,没有净土信仰,但有念佛法门。

早期佛教的念佛法门是观念如来之德相庄严,忆念佛的种种名号功德,也被称为"佛随念"(梵文为  $buddh\bar{a}nusmṛti$ ; 巴利文  $buddh\bar{a}nussati$ )。在梵文里,buddha 是佛陀,语根 $\sqrt{smṛ}$ 是忆念意思,加上前缀 anu 随,在后的意思,所以解析为随着佛想、思维、忆念,而作"随佛念"。

早期的念佛法门就是忆念佛陀的功德。佛陀指导弟子在遭遇厄难时,应当想起佛,然后忆念佛的九种功德<sup>3</sup>。在经典中最早出现的念佛形式其实是为了向佛陀表达敬意,即由弟子们向释迦牟尼表敬的顶礼念佛<sup>4</sup>,感激佛的教导及指引解脱<sup>5</sup>。接着是三皈依,受戒者为了脱离苦难而全身心投入、皈依<sup>6</sup>。

在巴利经典《旗幡经》(Dhajagga sutta) 里叙述了佛陀的九种德行。7觉音所著的《清净道论》里,在佛随念里提出十随念,先说为欲修行佛随念而证信具足的瑜伽行者,当于适当的住所独居静处禅思,应该如是随念于佛世尊的十种功德。

佛有种种名称的原由如下:

- 1. 阿罗汉(Arahant),含有五个意思:一、远离故;二、破贼故;三、破幅故;四、应受资具等故;五、无秘密之恶故;
- 2. 等正觉(*Sammāsambuddha*):正觉一切法,即是一切法的正觉者,应该通达的诸法业已通达觉悟,应该遍知的诸(苦)法业已遍知,应断的诸(集)法业已断绝,应证的诸(灭)法业已证得,应修的诸(道)法业已修习;
- 3. 明行足(*Vijjā Caraṇa-sampanna*): 具足明与行。由于明的具足,世尊一切智圆满,由于行的具足,大悲圆满;
- 4. 善逝(Sugata): 善净行故, 善妙处行故, 正行故, 正语故;
- 5. 世间解(*Lokavidū*): 完全了解世间;
- 6. 无上师(Anuttara): 由于他自己的德更无超胜之人,故以无过于他之上者:
- 7. 调御丈夫(*Purisa Damma Sārathi*): 能御其应调御的丈夫为"调御丈夫",调御即调伏的意思:

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<sup>2</sup> 杨白衣, <净土的渊源及其演变>, 华岗佛学学报, 第八期, 1985 年, 第79页。

<sup>3 《</sup>相应部有偈篇第十一, 帝释相应第三, 旗尖》, 《南传大藏经》第 13 册, No.0006, p.0375a02。

<sup>4《</sup>长老偈长老尼偈》,邓殿臣译,中国社会科学出版社,1997年8月,第22页。

<sup>5</sup> 同上, 第41页。

<sup>6 《</sup>法句》, 叶均译, 中国佛教协会印行, 1984年9月, 第61-62页。

<sup>7《</sup>相应部有偈篇第十一, 帝释相应第三, 旗尖》, 《南传大藏经》第 13 册, No.0006, p.0375a02。

- 8. 天人师(*Satthā Deva Manussā naṃ*): 以现世,来世及第一义谛而适应的教诲,故为"师"。"天人"即天与人;
- 9. 佛(*Buddha*): 以他的解脱究竟智业已觉悟一切所应知的; 以自己觉悟四谛, 亦令其他友情觉悟;
- 10. 世尊(Bhagavant): 德之最胜,一切有情之最上,尊敬之师。

《清净道论》佛随念出现的十名称与之前提到的《旗幡经》里所出现的九种德行有其相似之处,同为彼世尊亦即是阿罗汉、正等正觉者、明行足、善逝、世间解、无上调御者、天人师、佛陀、世尊。差别在于"无上调御者"及"无上师,调御丈夫"的翻译及归类。觉音在《清净道论》有提及或者以"无上士调御丈夫"为一句的意义。因为世尊的调御一切丈夫,能使于一跏趺坐趋向八方而不执着,所以说"无上士调御丈夫"。

巴利原文是"anuttaro purisa damma sārathi"。若参考梵文语法,其翻译分析之一是采用 anuttara ([na + uttara] 形容词:无比的、无超越的、无上的)而译作无上调御者;其二是 anuttara (中性名词,优越、优点、阿耨)即译作无上师,因此有了十种名称与九德行的差别。尽管翻译不同然而其内容相距不大,都是在强调佛陀的无上德行,所以并无冲突的成分。

在五世纪的南传论书《清净道论》里佛随念的修行,是培育定力的一种方法。禅修者借着忆念佛陀无量、崇高且圆满的功德提升对三宝的信心。禅修者在忆念佛陀的功德时,内心将会呈现光洁明亮、生起喜悦、增强信心,使禅修者达到近行定。早期的经典并没有这样制定规范,后来的划分更清楚凸显了佛随念是经历了系统化的发展。

早期的念佛是对佛陀表达敬意,佛的种种称号或德行,都在说明佛陀的功德。通过对佛陀的忆念,旨在引导众生断除贪、嗔、痴,克服怖畏恐惧,脱离灾难。勤观佛陀之德行,也是引导佛弟子常处于善及觉醒中。8

南传佛教的佛随念修行方法,是思维佛陀的功德,不是口念。南传佛教没有 净土宗和大乘佛教的菩薩乘思想,其念佛理论大多是承继了早期部派佛教的法 门。

《阿含经》是佛教史上出现得比较早的佛典,里面蕴藏着丰富的念佛理论和思想。《阿含经》的念佛思想,是指一种严格意义上的修行思想。佛教的理论将全部佛教分成了佛、法、僧,也称之为"三宝",其中"佛"是释迦牟尼佛,"法"是佛教的教法,"僧"是弘传佛教的僧人。

在《长阿含·游行经第二后》里,佛对"念佛"有一个解释。<sup>9</sup>欲求生天功德, 当要"四念"。<sup>10</sup>一般上释迦牟尼佛的一生被概括为出生、得道、转法轮、涅盘 四个阶段。"四念"就是念"佛生处、佛初得道处、佛转法轮处、佛般泥洹处"。

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<sup>8</sup> 叶均, 1984年, 第61-62页。

<sup>9《</sup>长阿含经,游行经第二后》卷 4,《大正藏》第 1 册, No.0001, p.0026a03。

<sup>10《</sup>长阿含经,游行经第二后》卷 4,《大正藏》第 1 册, No.0001, p.0026a03。

因此"四念"就是念释迦牟尼佛,纪念他伟大的一生,生欢喜欲见、恋慕心,进而得到神力、度人、遗法等诸功德。这就是早期佛教的念佛的由来,也反映当时历史现实的情况,尊崇释迦牟尼佛是一位伟大的圣人。

尔后,念佛法门有了变化。"六修法"即是"六念法",念佛、念法、念僧、念戒、念施、念天。<sup>11</sup>念佛为诸修行法之首。修行者掌握了此六法,得不退法,同时令法增长,乃无有损耗的修行法。<sup>12</sup>佛的地位是至高无上的,念佛也是敬佛的一种表现,六念法有增上缘的作用,故亦名"六增法",亦名"六敬法",即"敬佛、敬法、敬僧、敬戒、敬定、敬父母。"同样由六退法而得到"六不敬法",即"不敬佛、不敬法、不敬僧、不敬戒、不敬定、不敬父母。"此外六法还有趣善、趣恶、趣涅盘的功用。<sup>13</sup>

在《杂阿含经》记载了"见佛行迹,低头谛观,修于佛念"的方式。<sup>14</sup>佛足崇拜应该是佛教信仰最早的表现形式。由于当时菩萨乘还没兴起,佛教造像艺术还不发达,用佛足代替佛的崇拜。谛观佛足,就是念佛的一种形式,具体地说就是"默然念佛"。由此可见早期的随念佛也有"心念"佛的方法。

六念法从念佛法僧戒施天,是从持戒修善得以往生天界为目的地;而六敬法以念佛法僧到念戒念定念父母,是在生活中落实修行,得以解脱而往生善趣。无论世间或出世间法,把与"佛"有关的敬佛与念佛放在第一的地位,这充分突显了"佛"的重要地位。把释迦牟尼佛当作是效法的榜样,也是早期佛教的特色和修行的特点之一,具有其重要的意义。因此在中阿含也可看到常念佛法僧,是欲求大福佑的方法。<sup>15</sup>除了大福佑,也是获得清净解脱的修行方法。<sup>16</sup>

在《增一阿含经》里,念佛的方法变成了"十念"法门中的一种念法。<sup>17</sup> "十念"即念佛、念法、念僧、念戒、念施、念天、念息、念安般、念身、念死这十种思惟。十念的修行方法既可以去除心中的妄执、消泯心中的惑乱。

在《增一阿含》的十念中,前六念与《长阿含》与《杂阿含》所提到的六念是一样的,即念佛、念法、念僧、念戒、念施、念天。《增一阿含》的内容更加丰富,有着去相除乱的作用,可以看到其发展的演变。从早期的六念,扩充到与息、安般、身与死。"息"有多义的理解,既指以心意念想详细审谛,专心一意闲居赋处,常起方便心得三昧定,念不贪得殊胜,也指出入息。"安般"是出入息<sup>18</sup>,从"念息"和"念安般"所具的修行法门上讲,可以看到明显的重复念法。

<sup>11《</sup>长阿含经第二分,十上经第六》卷 9,《大正藏》第 1 册, No. 0001, p.0054a19。

<sup>12 《</sup>长阿含经, 遊行经二初》卷 2, 《大正藏》第 1 册, No. 0001, p.0012a06。

<sup>13《</sup>长阿含经第二分,三聚经第八》卷 10,《大正藏》第 1 册, No.0001, p.0059c15。

<sup>14《</sup>杂阿含经》卷 50,《大正藏》第 2 册, T02, No.0099, p.0371b19。

<sup>15《</sup>中阿含经·大品福经二十二》卷 34,《大正藏》第 1 册, No.0026, p.646b16。

<sup>16《</sup>中阿含经·大品息止道经第二十三》卷 34,《大正藏》第 1 册, No.0026, p.647a。

<sup>17《</sup>增一阿含经,为品第一》卷 1,《大正藏》第 2 册, No.0125, p.0550b12。

<sup>18《</sup>解脱道论》卷 7《行门品之四》,《大正藏》第 32 册, T32, No1648, p.0429c17。

《增一阿含经》中描绘了因念佛而带来的益处,一人出世,众生益算,念佛念到高层次时,修行者的身心必然相应地起变化,念佛此众生类便增寿益算,颜色光润气力炽盛,快乐无极音声和雅。19 这是现世现报的!可以看到念佛不仅是求来世,即往生后生于善趣或升天,而主要是在现世中求解脱,在现世中自至涅盘。这也就是《阿含经》里所要介绍并强调的念佛理论与实践!

在《中阿含》卷三十之《优婆塞经》也可看到念佛的修行方式,有效的灭去 "恶欲"与"心不善"。 <sup>20</sup> 在《中阿含》也描述忆念如来可以把所有秽污、恶、 不善法灭除,犹若如镜,生垢不明,因石磨锃莹,由人力治,便得明净。<sup>21</sup>

为此可以得知念佛从表敬逐渐发展成一种禅观的方式。世尊明确指出,念佛要正身正意,结跏趺坐系念在前,无有他想,专精念佛,观如来形未曾离目,已不离目便念如来功德。<sup>22</sup>念佛是禅定的一种基本方法,修行者通过念想佛陀,专精佛陀,与佛亲近,于此才能最后获得大果报,才能获得沙门果,<sup>23</sup>才能获得自至涅盘。

到了部派佛教时期,十念被进一步规范化。甚至到了《清净道论》时,十念则被定为"佛随念、法随念、僧随念、戒随念、捨随念、天随念、死随念、身随念、安般念、寂静随念"十种,其中以"捨随念"代替了"念施"。因为布施虽有"捨"的含义,但用"捨"一词,不仅包含了"拿出",还含有将自己捨弃的意思。同样,去掉"念息",增加"寂静随念"。这不仅去除掉了重复的部分,在形式和内容上更加明晰、确定,而且于义理上也更合乎逻辑,因为使用"寂静随念"更能反映出佛法三法印的清净寂静的特点。

由于现存的《阿含经》属于不同的部派作品,<sup>24</sup>所以在不同的阿含部中,念佛理论的特点都不太一样,例如《长阿含经》从恭敬三宝中提出了四念和六念法门;《杂阿含经》注重在念佛的理论上及八正道;《增一阿含经》说明十念和一法的修习;在《中阿含经》里虽然没有很详明的念佛见解或法门,但有提到念佛为灭恶念的对治法。

《阿含经》的念佛理论和实践方法,强调要正心正意的修行,即通过一整套禅定观想的办法来达到念佛的目的,而念佛的目的,主要是解决现世得报的问题,即通过念佛达到身轻安,烦恼欲望却除,断贪嗔痴三毒,破无明的功效。

在早期佛教中,念佛是贯通世间法及出世间法的一种基本修行方式。念佛法 门的内容不断被扩充及丰富,并不是同时产生变化的。考察念佛法门在时间与内

<sup>19《</sup>增一阿含经》卷 4, 《大正藏》第 2 册, T.02, No.0125, p.0566a14。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>《中阿含》卷 30《优婆塞经》, 《大正藏》,第 1 册, T.01, No.0026, p.0616c06。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>《中阿含》卷 55, 《大正藏》第 1 册, T.01, No.0026, pp.0771a24-0772a07。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 《增一阿含经》卷 2, 《大正藏》第 2 册, T.02, No.0125, p.0554a20。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> 指须陀洹果、斯陀含果、阿那含果、阿罗汉果。略称四果。即小乘的四种修行证果,亦即小乘声闻在修行过程中的四种阶段。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>《长阿含经》法藏部所传;《中阿含经》说一切有部某派所传;《杂阿含经》根本说一切有部所传;《增一阿含经》大众部末派所传。

容的发展上,四阿含的先后秩序及特征可归纳为以下:

《杂阿含经》注重念佛的理论,提出六念及佛足崇拜等,是最早出现的;《中阿含经》里则是提出念佛是灭除恶念的对治方法,与杂阿含**犹相近**;《长阿含经》提到供养三宝、四念和六念法,其六念与《杂阿含经》一样;《增一阿含经》化简洁为漫长,从六念扩充到十念并,对十念和一法的修习观上提出了实践方法。

念佛法门传到中国后,从原意"忆念佛陀"逐渐发展成忆念佛身功德、观想佛身相好、执持佛名圣号、实想念佛等多种的修持方法。随着净土经典陆续译出,充实了净土念佛法门的内容。中国佛教的净土念佛思想,起源于后汉时期支谶译出《般舟三昧经》后。其次是《无量清净平等觉经》(约 147-186 年间支谶译),即是《无量寿经》的异译本。再者是鸠摩罗什《阿弥陀经》(约 402 译)与《观无量寿佛经》(约 424-442 间译)。接着是约 529 年菩提流支译世亲著的《无量寿经优婆提舍愿生偈》。这些弥陀经典在不同朝代的传译与流通,对净土宗派的发展是极具影响力的。

汉魏至两晋,净土经典陆续大量译出,充实了净土念佛法门的内容,遂成净土念佛法门一大体系。经过净宗历代祖师及他宗诸大德的大力弘传,促使净土念佛法门盛行教界。《般舟三昧经》中提出以忆念阿弥陀佛为入门,最终能够成就忆念十方佛<sup>25</sup>。经中也提出念佛成乃由于心中的忆念所成,必须要反观诸佛的影像皆是自身心念所造,见证空性,才能成就念佛三昧<sup>26</sup>。这与早期佛教所记载的念佛法门是一致的。

阿弥陀佛净土信仰早在西晋(约 265-316 年)传入中国,但没有广泛传开。东晋慧远大师(334-416)在庐山东林寺与僧俗一百二十三人结莲社念佛发愿往生弥陀净土,后人把慧远奉为净土宗初祖。慧远依据的是《般舟三昧经》,侧重于禅观念佛。<sup>27</sup>通过这种修法,最终能达到"冥怀至极,智落宇宙"的境界<sup>28</sup>。慧远依念佛三昧而见佛的观想修法,是一种禅修的方法,重视在现世的禅定成就而达解脱。无论是依据的经典还是念佛的方式,与早期佛教的念佛方式相似。

到了北魏,县鸾(476-542)开始提倡口称念佛。县鸾得到菩提流支所译的《观无量寿经》,此后在山西玄中寺致力于净土理念的弘扬。根据《无量寿经》第十八愿中,乃至十念若不生者不取正觉,与《观无量寿经》下品下生之经文,称念南无阿弥陀佛十念具足,即能罪灭往生之说,而以十念相续,作为往生净土之因。

昙鸾发挥世亲"五念门"的观点,在重视实相念佛即观想念佛的同时,特别强调了持名念佛。他把念佛分为心念和口念两类,认为心念与口念的效果是一样

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>《佛说般舟三昧经》,《大正藏》第 13 册, T13, No. 0417, p.0899a09。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 同上,p.0899b23。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> 慧远,《念佛三昧宝王论》,《大正藏》第 47 册, T47, No.1967, p.0140b01。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> 慧远,《念佛三昧诗序》,《大正藏》第52册, T52, No.2103, p.0351b11。

的。口念是念阿弥陀佛名号,心念则包括持名念佛,念佛名字;观想念佛,忆念佛的相、好,佛的神力、功德、光明等;实相念佛是"随所观缘"而忆念"总相"、智慧。昙鸾倡导口念,把持名念佛作为主要的念佛方法。

道绰(562-645)继承了昙鸾的二道二力说,开创了圣道门与净土门。**道**绰先判定其所处的时代为末法时期,认为在末法时期,释迦牟尼其他的教法即"圣教门",皆难以成就。唯一稳妥可行的,就是净土法门,经由念佛往生,得以解脱。<sup>29</sup>道绰的说法,被后世净土宗门人所接受,并以加以宣扬。

随后唐朝的善导(613-681)师承道绰,修学净土,以"三经一论"为教材,以"持名念佛"为方式的净土宗宗义和行仪得以完备地组成,他的著作讲述念佛三昧的方法,建立了一整套念佛仪规后被尊称为二祖。善导将《观无量寿经》的三心名为安心,说是往生的正因,且教以恭敬修、无余修、无间修、长时修等四修为安心、起行、实修的方规。殊是将《无量寿经》第十八愿文之"乃至十念"改为"乃至十声",倡导"称名念佛"法门。

在净土三经中,念佛的本意是偏重于思想意识层面的,但众生杂念纷纷,心识散乱,加上思想是很抽象的,尤其在忆念的过程中,不太具有可操作性,所以在实践上是非常困难的。而反观口称名号则极其简便,方法简单又容易,由思维导引口称,再由口称强化思维,且持名念佛本具有不可思议的功德利益。善导大师以口称弥陀名号为净土宗主要修持方法,可以说是善巧方便的。

事实上,净土宗的成立与念佛法门息息相关。念佛法门本有多种,主要可分为四种:实相念佛,即观佛的法身非有非空中道实相的道理;观像念佛,即恭敬志诚的身心,面对佛像,口称佛号,眼观佛像,意想佛的相好庄严;观想念佛,即在静坐之中观佛的相好功德;称名念佛,即口中称念佛的名号。净土宗透过念诵佛号,得以往生西方净土。由于净土持名念佛法门修行简单,得到当时普罗大众接受而广泛流行。

在探讨持名念佛由来,不得不参照各版本的的译文。在梵文本中的《阿弥陀经》提到: "Amitayusas tathagatasya nāma-dheyaṃ śroṣyati śrutvā",鸠摩罗什译为"闻说阿弥陀佛,执持名号",而玄奘大师译为"得闻如是无量寿佛无量、无边不可思议功德名号,极乐世界功德庄严。闻已思惟。"

"执持名号",梵文原語是"*nā madheyam"*,其中执持是字根是 √ *dhā*,是 "系于心"之义,梵文本文中尚有:作意如来的名号,汉译把他合而为一作 "执持名号",这是随念、思惟、作意也与称佛名号不同。<sup>30</sup>

根据玄奘译本,并没有提到持佛号而能往生,而是以一心系念而往生。梵文

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> 道绰,《安乐集》, 《大正藏》第 47 册, T47, No.1958。

<sup>30</sup> 杨惠珊,〈净土净典中的往生行因之探讨〉,《中华佛学研究所论从》(一)。

本玄奘译本,与鸠摩罗什译本不同。玄奘与鸠摩罗什针对 "nā madheyam"一词,有各自的解读与翻译。鸠摩罗什主要采取意译的方法,使诵习者易于接受和理解。玄奘的翻译保留对原文忠实,更为精准。

经中又提起 manasikariṣyati,有思惟、作意的意思,亦是念佛法门中"念"的本意。此"念"是思惟阿弥陀佛本愿功德不可思议,并非运用语言以口来诵念。这种思维忆念的方式,承载着早期念佛法门的含义,更把念佛法门的方式以心口合一的方式,集合了实相、观像、观想及称名。梵文的"念" manasikāra 意为常念不忘,并无出声口念之意。<sup>31</sup>

随着大量的大乘经典的传入中国,经过祖师大德的整理后,开始成立念佛法门的具体修行法。念佛最基本的形式应不离二种,一、心念,心念也是意念,即念想佛、菩萨名号于心,心中起念佛、菩萨想的念头;二、口念,即通过嘴念佛、菩萨名号,而且要发出声来,念一句"阿弥陀佛"最为典型。早期的随念佛也有"心念"佛的方法,因此"心念"佛并不是净土法门的专利。

念佛之本意在忆念、追想,由内在之思忆表现于外者即为称念,称念配合深入之观想,皆念念不离佛,这才是真正的念佛。在念佛时,心念口诵佛号,自然无有他想。一心念佛,亦让善业时时增进,慢慢减退惑业,加上阿弥陀佛慈悲以愿力摄引,念佛者将得以往生净土。

"念",本指主体对所缘对象的忆念作用,念佛就是忆念所归依的佛。后又由心念向外转为观念、口念。佛教经典重视以念佛为观想内容和禅观方式,也就是提倡通过念佛把心思集中起来的禅观,一种禅定,称为"念佛三昧"。念佛三昧,就是把佛号念得一心不乱,心不离佛,佛不离心,心佛一如。念佛三昧法门,从忆念佛身,进而思惟佛身的内在意义,念佛的大慈、大悲、大智、大力等法身功德,乃至最后汇入空的实相。

念佛本来和禅观一样,乃为统一精神的方法。这与念法、念僧、念戒、念施、念天等合并为六随念之一,或加上念休息、念安般、念身、念死等四种为十念,乃主为优婆塞开示的法门。<sup>32</sup>念佛亦为五停心之一、三念之一,其意为:忆念佛身、观念佛身,但善导以后变为称名的意思,而为往生西方的根本业因。印顺认为是系心思惟的念,念佛与称名来源各别。<sup>33</sup>

综观上述,在对照南传巴利经典、阿含经典、汉传经典的念佛法门之后,可看到念佛教理不离"念"的本意,念佛方式随着时间的进展,逐渐演变成不同形式。南传佛教认为佛随念是培育定力的一种方法,可达到近行定;而阿含经典从最初的表敬及三皈依而后演变为禅观,可直至涅盘;最初的净土念佛本来也是禅观的一种方式,后形成持名念佛,可往生西方极乐世界。由于西方极乐世界无限美好,是一个理想的安身之所,修行方法又极为简单,因此净土法门得到广大社

<sup>31</sup> 中村元,《佛教语大辞典》, 1078 页下。

<sup>32</sup> 杨白衣, <净土的渊源及其演变>, 华岗佛学学报, 第8期, 1985年, 第80页。

<sup>33</sup> 印顺,《净土与禅》,台北,正闻出版社,1992年,第57-58页。

会群众的积极支持,在中国社会广泛流行。中国净土宗融汇心念口念,以极方便之法,把修行及信仰融入生活中,与社会形成互动,加强了佛教的发展与弘扬。

佛教在弘化的过程中,受到重重因素的影响。例如社会结构、环境、文化、语言、行为、生活状况等。这些因素也令佛教产生了一些变化以适应众生的根性。佛教与中国文化融汇贯通,而发展出不同的形式。探讨其内容及本质,并没有乖离佛陀最初的教理。念佛法门,也是如此。念佛的"念",是心念,不断思惟忆念。心念口诵佛号时,声声在口,念念在心,心口合一,集合实相、观像、观想及称名念佛。因此,在厘清念佛法门的种种,发现其最根本"念"的本意,其实承载着早期佛教的精神及特色。众生由于根性不同,佛教因而根据不同对象而发展出诸种方便法门。追根究底,这不是佛教的差别,而是众生根性的差别。

净土宗的弘扬、教化,应该以教理作为基础,依据三经一论为教材,回归"念"的本意。念佛不只求愿往生西方极乐净土,也必须听闻教义、研学佛法,培养正知正见。念佛人只有在对佛法深入地了解后,才能真正建立信愿。对现实人生的无常、苦、空等产生正确的认识,方能厌离娑婆,求生西方。这不仅为自己,更是上求佛道、下化众生而修念佛的菩萨之行。

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# 从清代僧人诗文探讨佛教与文学的关系

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## 摘要

佛教与文学关系的研究,从来并非中文学术主流。然而从汉唐以来,中国文化受儒、释、道三教影响,佛教已全面融入中国文化之中,若要全面整体地了解中国文化及文学,有需要认识佛教与文学的相互关系。

文学是认识佛法重要途径之一,中国自古以来,僧团中有不少是高文化程度、高学养的知识分子。他们的诗文创作一方面是寓托佛理宣教的弘法工具;另一方面具有文学价值。

诗僧作品研究是佛教文学的一环,不但可窥探当代佛家思想及教法,还可反映当中文学思潮。但由于朝代、地域、宗派、内容分歧,加上诗僧及作品数量庞大,学术界对诗僧的研究,仅局限于零散的个别研究。《续藏经》中收录不少清代僧侣的文学作品,三十卷《永觉元贤禅师广录》当中,永觉元贤禪师以天台宗祖师生平,写下十六首〈台宗诸祖〉四言句式的组诗。¹本文将透过其中三首永觉元贤禅师的诗歌,分析清代佛教与中国文学的互动关系。此文研究动机,希望地砖引玉,引起学术界多关注前人大德留下的文学瑰宝,也期望将来有更多佛教文学的创作。

关键词:佛教文学 清初佛教 元贤禅师 〈台宗诸祖〉 天台祖师

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 $<sup>^1</sup>$ 《元贤禅师广录》,清·道霈编:卷二十,〈台宗诸祖〉,香港:香港影印续藏经会,1967年。《续藏经》,第 125 册,第 317 页。

# 第一章 文学与宗教概论

## 第一节 文学的定义

很难以一个词汇可以完全盖括文学的定义,因为文学这个名词包含多方面的意义。文学可以说是反映人的思想、感情和心理状态;也可以说是语言的艺术。2 构成文学的三个重要因素是: (一)作为其媒介的语言文字; (二)作为其内容的思想感情; (三)作为其艺术表现的形相性,将自然的形相,表现于艺术作品中,成为艺术作品的形相。3

甚么准则取舍那些是文学?那些不是文学?学者们各有不同的标准;郑振铎在《中国文学史》4提出纯文学以美学为基础,以「情绪」作为区别的标准;徐复观教授提出以「个性」作为区别的标准5。

文学反映生活,道德与宗教等的社会意识同样具有价值属性。有些文学作品,虽然文体上不属于文学性质,但具备心灵、想象力、审美文学趣味,也可列入文学的范畴。但有些通俗小说,剧本,表面上是文学的文体,但由于低级趣味,也难列入文学的范围。

## 第二节 文学与宗教的关系

宗教与文学,在性质、内涵、社会作用上虽然有不同的意识形态,但两者的关系是相互容摄的。一方面,对于信众来说,宗教是生活的一部分,文学反映生活,也反映宗教;另一方面,宗教的形成,传播与发展,与文化各领域相关,与文学及艺术也有密切关联。

文学抒写人们崇高情感、敬畏情感,即宗教情感。文学作者在叙事中也涵盖着社会生活上的道德判断、价值取向、信仰关怀等,例如《史记》、《三国演义》等。文学与宗教是相互依存的关系,文学吸收了宗教思想的情操;宗教也借助文学有更高度的表达6。文学与宗教的关系可归纳为:

有意地把那情感传达于人的一种活动。" <sup>3</sup> 徐复观,《中国文学论集》,台湾:学生书局,民 65 年(1976)版,第 2 页。

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Leo Tolstoy(托尔斯泰) , translated by Aylmer Maude : *What is Art*? London : Oxford University Press, 1929, Chapter V, 第 123 页 ; Chapter VIII,第 143 页: "艺术是一个人在经历某一种情感之后有意地把那情感传达于人的一种活动。"

<sup>4</sup>郑振铎,《中国文学史》,西安:陝西师范大学出版社,2009年版(初刊1932年),《绪论》,第5页:"我们知道文学与非文学的区别,其间虽无深崭的渊阱隔离着,却自有其天然的疆界;在此疆界内者则取之,在此疆界外者,则舍之。这个疆界的土质是情绪,这个疆界的土色是美。文学是艺术的一种,不美,当然不是文学;文学是产生于人类情绪之中的,无情绪当然更不是文学。"与同上注[3],《中国文学论集》,《传统文学思想中诗的个性与社会性问题》,第84页:"没有个性的作品,一般地说,便不能算是文学作品。文学艺术是心灵活动的产品。文学一方面反映社会的发展,另一方面文学也有本身的演变,所以文学是流动性的。"

<sup>&</sup>quot;饶宗颐教授述;施议对编纂,《文学与神明-饶宗颐访谈录》,香港:三联书局,2010年初,第四章,174-175页:"宗教思想之与文学,就好像一物的内蕴与外廓互相依存着表里的关系。宗教必待文学而后有高度的表达,文学作品因时代而转移,必借重宗教思想来充实内容。文学心灵的培养,取资于宗教为常见之事。文学家不一定具有某种坚定的宗教信仰,儒、释、道三教著述,既多所涉猎,自然对他们的思想起了渗透的作用。以唐宋诗人来说,王维山水诗中充满襌悦意味。李贺诗中用许多「生」、「死」字眼,有人以为是受到《楞伽经》的影响。苏轼的浸淫道书,黄山谷对襌宗的深入,都是重要的例子。例如文学手段在宗教家手上多方运用,王梵志之于偈颂式五

- 1) 文学与宗教都是情感的存在形式;
- 2) 文学与宗教都是心灵存在形式:
- 3) 文学与宗教都是追求启迪性真理及具有超越性;
- 4) 文学与宗教的相互渗透。

#### 中国文学与佛教的关系 第三节

文化交流过程中、宗教是重要的载体之一。文学是中国文化的一部份、佛教 对中国的影响,可通过文学来体会。佛教是自东汉时期从印度及西域输入的外来 文化,这二千年经历了迎、拒、孕育、消化,佛教的教理教义、艺术、仪轨、节 庆文化,不但渐渐融入中国文化中,也丰富了文学思潮、作品及文体。7 中国文人接受佛教,主要是通过汉译佛典。佛经翻译开展了中国翻译事业,不但 扩阔了文学题材及趣味,引进了新的词汇、文体构造及语法。8

#### 佛教文学的范畴 第四节

印度佛教是具有丰厚文化内涵的宗教。佛经中受印度文化极富玄想、夸饰风 格影响,随着翻译佛经作为文学的载体,当中不少具有文学价值。佛教文学一般 分为本生、传记、譬喻、赞颂、寓言等种类。印度长期流传民间文学,如寓言、 神话、传说、传奇,保留在佛经中,当中不乏充满教训意义、机智、幽默、富人 情味的寓言,例如《百喻经》、《本生经》、《生经》、《佛本行集经》和《六度集经》 等。中国自先秦时期已形成神话、传说和寓言,但主要以人事为题材:寓言与譬 喻传到中国及翻译出来后,汉译佛经丰富了中国文学的题材9:也间接影响中国通 俗文学作品的出现,例如魏晋南北朝的志怪小说,唐朝以佛经故事为提材出现的 变文,衍生出后来的说唱文学、长篇章回小说等文体,甚至《西游记》等脍炙人 口的作品。

中国历代僧侣创作寓托佛理宣教的作品,当中也具文学性质,例如东晋支 遁及慧远。本论文摘选清代元贤禅师描述天台祖师的十六首组诗, 便属于这一类 型的作品。

言诗,全真教徒之采取词牌,甚至改易词调的原名,自创新格,各极其胜,互相采获。宗教家如 何利用文学作为宣传工具,中国人对宗教采取宽容态度,各教彼此间的互相渗透,更是常见的现

<sup>7</sup>梁启超,《翻译文学与佛典》,刊载于《佛学研究十八篇》,北京:中华书局, 1989年版,第 177页:"凡一民族之文化,其容纳性愈富者,其增展力愈强,此定理也。我民族对于外来文化之 容纳性,惟佛学输入时代最能发挥,故不惟思想界发生莫大之变化,即文学界亦然,其显绩可 得而言也。"

<sup>8</sup> 胡适,《白话文学史》,台北:乐天出版社,民国 63 年(1974),序,第 9-10 页。

<sup>9</sup>鲁迅,《《痴华鬘》题记》,《集外集》,北京:人文文学出版社,1971年版,第84页:"尝闻

# 第二章 清代佛教文学概述

## 第一节 清代文学分期

根据郑振铎在《中国文学史》的分法,将中国古代文学分成三个时期 10:

- 第一期古代文学,西晋以前的文学,公元前1700年至公元后316年间约二千年。特点是纯本土文学,尚未受外来,尤其是印度佛教思想的影响。
- 第二期中世文学,由东晋开始,同时也是佛教文学开始大量输入的时期。
- 第三期近代文学由明代嘉靖开始,崑剧及长篇小说的发展时期。 也有学者以文学本身的发展变化,将中国文学发展分为三古,即上古、 中古、近古; 三古又再细为七段<sup>11</sup>:

第一段: 先秦第二段: 两汉

• 中古期 — 魏晋至明中叶 (公元三世纪至 16 世纪)

第三段:魏晋至唐中叶(天宝末年)

第四段: 唐中叶至南宋末

第五段:元初至歌追溯至明中叶(正德末)

近古期 —— 明嘉靖至五四运动 (16 世纪至 20 世纪)

第六段: 明嘉靖至鸦片战争 (1840年) 第七段: 鸦片战争至五四运动 (1919年)

清代文学上承明代中叶以后文学发展新趋势,属于中国文学第三期近古期的 第一段。

# 第二节 清代文学思潮

清代集中国古代文学的大成,可称为中国之"文艺复兴时代"。<sup>12</sup> 没有单一种文体可以代表这朝代,因为各种文体在清代都呈现辉煌。明末文人经历战争及亡国之伤痛,清代初期遗民诗人将悲愤苍桑情感融入作品中。文学思想随着社会思潮变化,清初三位思想家学者黄宗羲、顾炎武、王夫之开启的"启蒙思潮",摒弃晚明宋明理学空谈心性、不务实学之弊,提倡文学的社会功用,主张"经世致用"的文学观。

清王朝入关之初,沿明代制度,独专程朱理学,以儒家思想控制社会思想文化。康熙重视文教,犹尊朱熹。清王朝控制文化思想的手段是编书,先后编出《康熙字典》、《四库全书》、《全唐诗》等,是中国古代文化典籍的一大总集及注释。清廷控制文化思想的另一手段是文字狱,由雍正开始渐多,乾隆时变本加厉,令

<sup>10</sup> 郑振铎,《插图本中国文学史》,香港:商务印书馆,1961年版,第一章,第12页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>袁行霈主编,《中国文学史》,北京:高等教育出版社,2003年版,总绪论,第三节,第 12页。

<sup>12</sup> 梁启超,《清代学术概论》,北京:中华书局,1954年初版,第一页。

乾嘉文人畏避,转而埋首文字训诘、考証、校勘的文献学,考证学遂成为代表清代的时代思潮<sup>13</sup> ,但脱离了清初顾炎武提倡"经世致用"的精神。

## 第三节 清初佛教政策

清统治者对西藏地区流传的喇嘛教特别礼遇,未入主中原前己信奉。清世祖顺治九年(1652)迎达赖五世入京受册封,奉喇嘛教为国教。顺治到乾隆(1644-1795)这一百五十年间,清王朝国力强盛,清初皇帝如顺治、康熙、雍正等对佛教采取亲和的态度,清朝皇帝亦信奉佛教,顺治礼待玉琳国师及参襌,康熙编制佛经,雍正参襌及提倡念佛,乾隆则以国语翻译佛经及刻印《龙藏大藏经》,可见清初是佛教在清代最兴盛的时期。

清代统治者对佛教采取刚柔并重的态度,一方面表现出尊重和亲近,拉络佛教作为封建王朝的工具;另一方面又严加限制,运用行政手段直接干预佛教内部事务,将佛教处于清廷控制之下。例如大清律例设度牒制度、不得私自建寺,家中户口小于三名不得出家等行政手段。

在管理方面,清朝仍承袭明代的僧官制度,中央设立僧录司,各府设僧纲司,各州设僧正司,各县设僧会司,掌管佛教事宜。僧录司下设左、右善世各一人;左、右阐教各一人;左、右讲经各一人;左、右觉义各一人,虽然按照官阶编制六品至八品,但不能穿官服及不得与职官并列。14各府州县僧官由各省布政司遴选后,由礼部委任授职,实际管理权力仍然由政府控制,僧官只是傀儡般挂名的官衔。

乾隆之后,从嘉庆(1796-1820)到道光(1821-1850)以降,封建腐朽、兵患连绵,令清运日衰,加上太平天国祸乱,大批寺院及佛教典籍被毁。

## 第四节 清代佛教概况

清代各宗派以念佛为本,与清初雍正与禅门临济宗《五宗原》及《五宗救》公案,不无关系。雍正是清初诸皇帝中,佛教造诣最深者。自小阅读内典,又随章嘉国师参学十多载,尤其熟悉襌宗,不但以襌门宗匠自居,还自号圆明居士。即位后仍与公卿大臣参究禪理。着有十二卷收录自己学佛心得的《圆明居士语录》,及十九卷辑录襌门大德法语的《御选语录》。

《五宗原》及《五宗救》公案发生于明末时,临济宗天童系密云圆悟禪师(1565-1641) 弟子汉月法藏(1573-1635),对棒喝禪颇有微言,着《五宗原》一书表示不满。由于有悖师旨,圆悟禪师着《辟妄救略说》驳斥之。法藏弟子潭吉宏忍又着《五宗救》为其师法藏辩护。后雍正着《栋魔辨异录》<sup>15</sup>,逐条驳斥法藏、宏忍之言,并痛斥两师徒"肆其臆涎,逛世惑人,此真魔外知见。"。雍正亲下御令削去密云圆悟法藏一支,将藏经内法藏、宏忍著作,包括《五宗救》等毁板。由皇帝亲自下诏削去佛教派系,实属罕见。这事件反映雍正不但主张禪门五宗一所,也希望佛门各宗派一致。由于雍正有感禪门空洞之弊,极力提倡净土,推崇

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 梁启超;《清代学术概论》,北京:中华书局,1954年初版,第一页:"我国自秦以来,确能成为时代思潮者,则汉之经学,隋唐之佛学,宋及明之理学,清之考证学,四者而已。"。

<sup>14《</sup>钦定大清会典事例》,《管理僧道》,清·刘啓端编,上海:上海古籍出版社,1995年,卷 1219。

<sup>15《</sup>御制拣魔辨异录》,清·世宗皇帝制,《新纂卍续藏》,第 65 册,No. 1281, http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/zh-cn/X65n1281。

莲池大师云梧袾宏,在《御选语录》<sup>16</sup>中特辑一卷,收入莲池大师法语。由于皇家提倡念佛,对清初佛教影响可想而知,使其后的中国佛教各宗,都以念佛为本,净土为归。

辛亥革命前后,佛教又遭到庙产兴学的打击,半世纪内两次的重创令中国佛教难以恢复清初的兴盛现象。清末民初中国佛教的另一特色是受西学输入影响,加上居士及学者学佛之风鼎盛,为佛学研究揭开新的一页。佛学中心渐由山林走向城市,太虚大师提出"人乘即佛乘"的"人生佛学"及"人间佛教",佛学思想也由出世趋向入世。

清初时净土已成为佛教各宗派共修法门,嘉道以降,净土宗仍然繁盛。例如,清初实贤号省庵大师 (1686-1734) 主张台净合一,早年潜修天台宗,晚年专修净土。清中叶净土宗的达纯法师,兼弘台教,讲演天台教观凡十年。<sup>17</sup>

除净土外,清初僧侣也有兼修其他宗派;例如释真义法师,律宗出家,提倡 天台与净土合流。台襌合一的有临济宗实月襌师,习天台及华严经论,兼讲《阿 含》、《方等》、《般若》、《华严》、《法华》、《唯识》等经。<sup>18</sup>

此外,禅宗及净土宗的僧人也有研习天台教义。这论文试举鼓山永觉元贤禅师<sup>19</sup>创作的〈台宗诸祖〉四言组诗,内容以天台宗十六位祖师生平行仪、天台教义为题,探讨佛教文学的清初禅宗与天台宗的关系。

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<sup>16 《</sup>雍正御选语录》,清·雍正帝辑录,北京:中国社会科学出版社,2004年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> 喻谦编,《新续高僧传》,《清嘉禾觉海寺沙门释达纯传》,台北:琉璃经房,民 56年(1967),第四十七卷,第四册,第1378-9页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 同上注[17],《新续高僧传》,《清杭州理安寺沙门释实月传》,第二册,第二十五卷,第 852-853 页。

<sup>19</sup> 同上注[17],《新续高僧传》,第四集,第六十三卷,第1-3页。

# 第三章 〈台宗诸祖〉组诗研究

## 第一节 永觉元贤禅师生平

鼓山元贤(1578-1657),字永觉。建阳蔡氏。二十五岁诵法华偈豁然开朗。 年四十岁始在寿昌寺依止无明禅师出家 。元贤禅师承曹洞宗寿昌寺系慧径法嗣,在福建鼓山涌泉寺开曹洞宗的福州鼓山法系。顺治丁酉年示寂,世寿八十,僧腊四十。

# 第二节 〈台宗诸祖〉创作背境

元贤禪师以十六首四言组诗,介绍天台宗十六位祖师。<sup>20</sup>除了天台宗祖师外,元贤禪师亦写下自宗诸祖、〈净土诸祖〉、〈华严诸祖〉等四言组诗。

元贤禪师拣选介绍的十六位天台宗祖师,与明代传灯法师撰写的《天台山方外志》,《祖师考》排列及内容相似。《天台山方外志》<sup>21</sup>传灯法师尊龙树为初祖,列出十七代天台祖师事迹,元贤禪师剔除龙树菩萨,以其余十六位天台宗祖师的生平事迹入诗。推测可能龙树菩萨被尊为一「八宗共祖」之关系,所以元贤禪师不划定龙树菩萨是天台宗祖师。

据传灯法师撰序,《祖师考》<sup>22</sup>是参考《佛祖统记》《宗门尊祖议》<sup>23</sup>而写:"今考《佛祖统记》,上自龙树,下及法智,共为台教祖师十有七世。"

《佛祖统记》列出「东土九祖」;初祖龙树、二祖北齐慧文、三祖南岳慧思、四祖智顗、五祖章安灌顶、六祖智威、七祖慧威、八祖左溪、九祖荆溪湛然<sup>24</sup>。又在卷八列出「兴道天台」的八位祖师<sup>25</sup>;十祖道邃、十一祖至行、十二祖物外、十三祖元琇、十四祖高论、十五祖羲寂、十六祖宝云、十七祖知礼。但宋代另一部僧录《宋高僧传》<sup>26</sup>则没记载十一祖至行、十二祖物外、十三祖元琇及十四祖高论的生平事迹。

这论文拣选〈台宗诸祖〉其中三首;即第四首〈章安灌顶法师〉、第八首〈荆溪湛然尊者〉及第十四首〈螺溪净光尊者〉作研究范围。

## 第三节 〈台宗诸祖〉诗句研究

<sup>20</sup> 同上注[1],《永觉元贤禅师广录》,〈台宗诸祖〉,卷二十,第317页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>《天台山方外志》,《祖师考第七》,《天台十七代祖师略传》,明·传灯撰, CBETA 《汉文大藏经》,第 88 册 ,No.0089,http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/GA088n0089\_001。传灯法师(-1628)俗姓叶,三衢姑蔑人,字无尽,别号有门。二十六岁依止暎菴传玬座下出家,学习《永嘉集》及襌将襌宗及天台融合于襌法。后分别参学于偏融(1506-1584)、古清、及藕益大师弟子百松真觉 (1537-1589)。居高明寺四十余年,世称幽溪和尚。崇祯元年圆寂,世寿七十五岁。

<sup>22</sup>同上注[21],《天台山方外志》,《祖师考序》,卷六。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>《佛祖统记》,《宗门尊祖议》,宋·志磐撰,《中华大藏经》,北京:中华书局,1994年版。第八十二册,第五十卷末,第 778 页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 同上注[23] ,《佛祖统记》, 卷六, 第 457 页上。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> 同上注[23] ,《佛祖统记》,卷八,第 473 页上。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> 《宋高僧传》,宋·赞宁,《中华大藏经》,北京:中华书局,1994年版,第六十一册及第六十二册。

#### 3.1〈章安灌顶法师〉

"龙树教观,天台始昌。有师结集,法波愈扬。历难注经,雪被冰床。烈火 弗热,其纲永张。"

这首诗是描述天台宗四祖章安灌顶大师。唯独这首诗题,元贤禅的对灌顶的称谓有别其余十五首,仅称灌顶为法师,其他台宗诸祖则尊称尊者或大师。

灌顶字法云,俗姓吴,常州义兴人,生于561年。祖先避世今浙江临海章安。父早丧,母笃信佛教,七岁随摄静寺慧拯法师出家,二十岁受具足戒。陈•至德元年(585)于光宅寺随智者大师研习止观,多次得智者大师印可并任命为侍者。

"龙树教观,天台始昌",元贤禪师虽然没有将龙树菩萨尊为台宗初祖,但这首诗开首"龙树教观",已说明天台宗思想根源来自龙树菩萨。昔二祖慧文禪师读《般若经》缘起性空,与龙树着《中论》三是偈"因缘所生法",而悟入法界观。慧文继而传予慧思禪师,慧思禪师悟入法华三昧法界。慧思后传与智顗,至《法华经》《药王品》云:"是真精进,是真法供养。"时,智顗悟入法华三昧法界观,至此一脉相承,都是以龙树菩萨中观般若空宗为立观主导。

"有师结集,法波愈扬",是说智者大师一生讲经弘致,能够将智顗天台教观义理记录、整理、流传后世的,实得力于灌顶。陈灭后,开皇十二年(592),灌顶随智者大师回荆州玉泉寺。智者大师于玉泉寺宣讲《法华经》,灌顶随听随记,后撰写成《法华文句》<sup>27</sup>;与《法华玄义》<sup>28</sup>、《摩诃止观》<sup>29</sup>合称「天台三大部」,奠定台宗教义。智者大师的著作,除了《六妙法门》、《觉意三昧》和《维摩玄义》是亲自撰写外,其他著作包括「天台三大部」,都只是口述,门人笔录,后由灌顶编纂成书。

"雪被冰床,烈火弗热"出自《佛祖统记》30,大业十年时天下大乱,经历了五年兵荒马乱,盗寇横行,粮食不足的困苦生活,灌顶大师完成智者大师口述的二卷《涅槃玄义》及二十卷《涅槃经疏》,灌顶在自序中记述艰苦过程犹如:"菜食水斋,冰床雪被,其劳苦有若此?"。

"雪被冰床"反映灌顶大师饱受衣食不足,饥寒交迫的生活状况。在此恶劣环境下,仍心系台宗典籍。智者大师的天台宗著作,得以保留及流传后世,灌顶大师居功至伟,功不可没。《天台山方外志》则记述,灌顶大师被诬为巫师,惑乱天下,隋炀帝误信谗言,放遂灌顶大师到河北幽蓟一带,饱受冰寒之苦。<sup>31</sup>《续高僧传》并没有记述隋炀帝放遂灌顶大师之事,反而说礼待灌顶大师。 隋炀帝大业七年(611)远征东夷高丽,忆念智者大师,勅迎灌顶至行所,"叙以同学之欢,又遣侍郎吴旻送还台寺。"<sup>32</sup>

"烈火弗热"有两层意思,第一层意思比喻灌顶大师的道心,如烈火般炽热。 另一层意思是出自《佛祖统记》所载,灌顶造《涅槃经疏》,在烈火中也不能焚

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> 《妙法莲华经文句》,隋·智顗说,灌顶记,《中华大藏经》,北京:中华书局,1992年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> 《妙法莲华经玄义》,隋·智顗说,灌顶记,《中华大藏经》本,北京:中华书局,1992年。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>《摩诃止观》,隋·智顗说,《中华大藏经》,北京:中华书局,1992 年。

<sup>30</sup> 同上注[23]:《佛祖统记》: 卷七, 第 468 页中。

<sup>31</sup> 同上注[21],《天台山方外志》,卷八。

<sup>32 《</sup>续高僧传》, 唐·道宣,《中华大藏经》, 北京: 中华书局, 1994年版,第六十一册,卷十九,第 819页中。

#### 烧毁。33

元贤法师这首诗着墨于灌顶在恶劣环境下,仍结集经典的苦心,透过诗句 感染读者的联想及情感,对前人努力流传下来的经典,更加珍惜及尊重。

#### 3.2〈荆溪湛然尊者〉

"家学缄授,其道未扬。我师嗣之,于前有光。独挟两轮,广运无方。穷玄 剧辩,竪最胜幢。"

这首诗是描述天台宗九祖荆溪湛然大师。天台宗自章安灌顶大师圆寂后,分为国清寺及荆州玉泉寺两个系统,前者重教观,后者重戒律。法华智威、天宫慧威、左溪玄朗三位祖师属国清寺系,但天台宗发展在这三位祖师时期处于低潮。可能由于唐代迁都长安,佛教重镇随着转移的关系。玉泉寺系有后来东渡日本的鉴真和尚,及擅于密教的一行,两者在当时对天台教观并无太大弘扬。至唐代中叶,天台宗始由九祖荆溪湛然中兴。

湛然大师俗姓戚,世居荆溪。711年生于荆溪(今江苏武进)。"家学缄授"指湛然初着儒服授学,十七岁时得金华方岩禪师传授天台止观。二十岁投左溪玄朗门下,至三十八岁才正式出家,依昙一律师学习戒律。四十四岁时适逢安史之乱,湛然携同天台经籍,游走湖南长沙及江淮各地。"于前有光" 可能是指湛然大师在巡礼五台山金阁寺时,偶遇密教大师含光。据《宋高僧传》34记载,含光在南印度时,遇到精通中观僧人表示曾听闻中土有智者大师教观,并嘱含光有机会再到印度,将智者大师著作翻成梵文给他们受持。

湛然对于中国天台教典能回传印度,深受感动。于是决志毕生推动天台教观,精勤注释智者大师的「天台三大部」。遂着《释签》 阐释《妙法莲华玄义》、 着《妙乐》 阐释《妙法莲华文句》、 着《摩诃止观义例》、《摩诃止观辅行传弘决》 阐释《摩诃止观》。湛然另一部著作《始终心要》,虽然只有二百多字,但可算是天台宗入门纲目。

"我师嗣之"指湛然不但继承及弘扬智者大师的学族,还提出一套创造性的 诠释论: "无情有性"的中国佛性论。<sup>35</sup>

"独挟两轮" "两轮"指教相与观心的天台教观二门,涵盖天台宗理论与实践,共同建构天台宗哲学体系。 教相是整理佛典内容,天台宗的化法四教与化仪四教是教相门。观心即观照心念,是反照心源、实践佛法义理的修行活动,天台宗的一心三观与三谛圆融则是观心门。教观二门犹如车的两轮,相辅相成,缺一不可。

"穷玄剧辩,竪最胜幢" 湛然确立「性具实相」说及「无情有性」说。当时华严宗大盛,湛然着《金刚錍》 将华严宗真如随缘说摄入天台教理中作出分别,显扬天台实相论的超越地位,又特别处理《大乘起信论》真心系统.,重振天台宗的地位。

#### 3.3 〈螺溪净光尊者〉

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<sup>33</sup> 同上注[23],《佛祖统记》,卷七第 468 页中:"疏成烈火,焚之爇。"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>同上注[26] ,《宋高僧传》,《中华大藏经》,第六十一册,《唐京兆大兴善寺含光传》,第二十七卷。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup>同上注[26] ,《宋高僧传》,《天台九祖传二卷附一卷》,卷六,第 48 页中-49 页中;同上注[23],《佛祖统记》,卷七,第八十二册,第 468 页下至 469 页中。

"体合观音,炤用不穷。欲绝之绪,赖师再隆。搜古藏于,灰烬之余。取逸简于,大海之东。赫赫吾师,是谓能亢其宗。"

这首诗是描述天台宗十五祖螺溪羲寂大师。<sup>36</sup> "体合观音",说羲寂在四明阿育王寺居住时,梦见登上国清寺宝座,座题为 "文殊座",时观音菩萨从堂徐徐步出,以人攘却行马,低回相接,顿觉自身与观音泯合如同一体。"体合观音"以观音菩萨作比喻。比喻具有 "似是而非、似非而是" 的特点,对比的两者;有相似性,也有不同之处。这种相反相成的形象感,通过语言营造出视觉性之外的新概念和感受。

"炤用不穷"是羲寂自从梦见观音菩萨后,乐说天台教义,说法无碍。《天台山方外志》<sup>37</sup>与《佛祖统记》<sup>38</sup>所述同。

"欲绝之绪"是讲述天台宗典籍,经过唐武宗会昌法难后,散乱失亡,致令天台宗在晚唐走向式微。《宋高僧传》<sup>39</sup>记述,安史之乱及唐武宗会昌法难之后,不少天台典籍多被焚毁。

"取逸简于,大海之东","大海之东"是指现时的日本。羲寂得知智者撰《净名经疏》流落日本,有感是天台宗传家之宝,于是嘱人往日本购足本回中国,并于佛陇寺及国清寺中开讲,使天台教义,不至泯绝。《佛祖统记》卷八,仅提及师因天台教典 "残编断简",传者无凭,靠羲寂"念力纲罗",后于金华古藏得《净名经疏》,没说羲寂在佛陇寺及国清寺中开讲之事。但在求经过程中,《佛祖统记》加入吴越忠懿王派人往日本求经之事;说吴越王读《永嘉集》时,不明白当中"同除四住,此处为齐。若伏无明,三藏则劣。"的意思,向天台德韶国师查询。韶国师说这是天台教义,可问羲寂。羲寂告知吴越王这内容出自智者大师妙玄,并告知天台典籍多流失海外,吴越王于是派人往日本寻经回国。《宋高僧传》也没有吴越王问法及取经的记载,只说《净名经疏》足本回流之后,"累请开演,私署净光大师",并赐赠紫袍,但羲寂辞让不接受。40

# 第三节 〈台宗诸祖〉诗句赏析

透过研究这三首诗句,可窥探清代文学特征、佛教情况、天台义理弘扬、文献学等意义。

以佛理词汇直接以说法形式入诗,而且以天台祖师作为文学对象,无可避免 削弱诗中的抒情因素和意象创造,在文学艺术上缺乏意象审美元素。虽然诗句意 境不高,但如从鍳赏角度来说,也不失为系列化的传记叙事文学。

诗句没有押韵,缺乏抑昂顿挫的音韵效果。诗偈无韵、韵文与散文交替搀杂,是汉译佛经一贯传统语法特色。诗歌占领着中国文坛的主导地位,四言句式是中国诗歌源头《诗经》最早形成的文体;「赋、比、兴」是其艺术表现手法。〈台宗诸祖〉是直接陈述的叙事诗,类似《诗经》中「雅」的叙事风格,及「赋」陈敷直述的艺术手法。41

38 同上注[23],《佛祖统记》卷八,第 473 页中。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> 同上注[26],《宋高僧传》,《宋天台山螺溪传教院义寂传》,卷七,第六十二册,第68页下,称"义寂";《佛祖统记》,卷八,473页及《天台山方外志》,卷六,均称"羲寂"。

<sup>37</sup> 同上注[21],《天台山方外志》,卷六。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> 同上注[26],《宋高僧传》,卷七,第68页上。

<sup>40</sup> 同上注[26],《宋高僧传》,卷七,第68页上。

<sup>41《</sup>诗集传》,南宋·朱熹,《关睢注》,诗卷第一,第3页:"赋者,敷陈其事而直言之者也。"。

〈台宗诸祖〉中运用「比」、「兴」手法;「比」是比喻,「兴」是一种假借事物以引起联想的写作方法。〈台宗诸祖〉诗句中举"观音"、"雪被冰床"等比喻。

诗中以天台祖师作为文学对象,文学形象有别于日常生活中形象,是作者将主观审美思想感情投射于对象上,转化成艺术形象的载体。在文学形象中,包含作者创造性想象加工过的客观事实,也包含作者对文学形象的审美、个性和理想。文学形象的创造从感受、体验、理解具体对像入手,通过作者选择、加工深化突出对象的个性特征。元贤禅师以祖师生平重要行仪事迹入诗,若非对每个祖师深入研究,不容易充分掌握诸祖师毕生最重要贡献。而且,诗中涉及历代天台祖师教法,反映元贤禅师对天台宗义理的发展深入了解,不侷限自宗的知识。而且跨越宗派没有门弟之见,反映清代襌台合一之风。

文学审美重视作品能否引发读者的聯想与共鸣。文学的审美特征,既要有形象上的具体可感性又具有观赏上的感染性,才可引起读者的共鸣。<sup>42</sup> 诗中元贤禅师处处褒扬各祖师功绩,表现他对祖师们的崇敬。若按上文第一章第一节. 托尔斯泰(Leo Tolstoy)<sup>43</sup> 对艺术的定义: "艺术是一个人在经历某一种情感之后有意地把那情感传达于人的一种活动。"; 这组诗的文学价值在于引起读者的共鸣,透过元贤禅师尊师重道的情感,对历代祖师也肃然起敬。

艺术形象有主观的"意"和客观的"像"。李白和王维的抒情诗及山水田园诗擅长以意像勾起读者的聯想;这组诗则以天台祖师作为文学形象,形像感来自语言唤起读者的想象与联想。用语言描摹的文学形像,常见于叙事类作品。例如第一首诗,用夸张喧染手法描述章安灌顶法师在"雪被冰床,烈火弗热"恶劣环境下注经,将读者带入冰雪烈火的场境,引发读者的聯想,继而产生对章安法师尊崇赞叹的情感,对法宝的珍惜。

但浓缩手法是其可取之处,词汇简短、文辞质朴,方便背诵。这类属叙事诗形式的作品,用寥寥数言,便精简扼要地表达出诸祖一生行仪及重要功绩,在弘教功能上,以诗偈方式有助加深记忆,也令读者较易掌扼重点。

然而,过于精简也是其流弊;文学形象具有间接性的特征,阅读文学作品与 观看其他艺术作品,例如戏剧、雕塑等不同,后者可直接由触觉感知,文学作品 通过语言间接呈现出来,读者必须了解语言,通过自己的体验、联想和想象,才 可感知和把握文学形像。元贤禅师太偏重《天台山方外志·祖师考》原文,若读 者仅读其诗文,而不辅以该文章或缺乏对天台宗认识,可能不能理解诗中内容。

这论文在文献处理上,曾对勘不同朝代的僧传,包括《续高僧传》、《宋高僧传》、《佛祖统记》及《天台山方外志》等,发现当中关于各祖师生平记述略有不符,其中以《佛祖统记》较多诡异事迹。而至于传灯法师着撰的《天台山方外志》为何只根据《佛祖统记》,而没参考其他僧传,则不是这论文拟讨论的范围。然而,元贤法师的诗句将诡异内容略掉,相信是经过判断及拣选,反映元贤法师具备天台宗一定的造诣。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> 刘安海、孙文宪主编 ,《文学理论》,武汉: 华中师范大学出版社,2012 年 ,第二版,第六章,第 255 页。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>同上注[2], "What is Art?", Chapter V, 第 123 页; Chapter VIII, 第 143 页。

## 结论

佛教与文学的互动关系,可体验在文献研究、文学价值、佛法弘扬、及时代 思潮等多个范畴。文献学属文学的范围,在研究佛教文学作品中,通过考勘不同 时代的佛教经录及僧传,有助推动文献学的研究。

佛教文学以艺术手法提升读者佛教知识,诗句内容包含佛教义理,是弘教的方便法门。

以佛教为题材或叙事式的文学作品也可具鉴赏的文学价值,例如《史记》的人物描写,在中国古代文学史上便具有相当高的文学价值。

文学作品反映朝代的文学思潮,元贤禪师的诗,在弘扬佛法及叙事功能上,与清初启蒙思潮提倡"经世致用"、"文须有益于天下"<sup>4</sup>的文学观,不谋而合。此外,作为禪宗大德,以诗句赞扬其他宗派祖师,反映清初佛教各宗派兼修的趋势。

<sup>44《</sup>日知录》,清·顾炎武,卷十九,上海:上海古籍出版社,2012。

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# 佛教「善恶伦理」的普罗教化 — — 论《占察善恶业报经》中现实关怀与内在超越

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## 摘要

什么是伦理?一般而言,伦理是处理人与人之间相互关系所应遵循的道理、准则。佛教伦理是佛教学说的一个重要组成部分,是佛教实现人生解脱的基本信念与方法。佛教伦理涉及到人与佛的关系、人与人的关系以及人与自我的关系,其中心是按照佛教要求,善待佛法、佛、僧人、众生,并完善自我的精神境界以成就佛教理想人格。《占察善恶业报经》是《地藏三经》中一部经,天竺三藏菩提灯译,其内容有事有理。由于末法众生善恶业报,复杂万状,且佛法哲理高深微细,一般人多无法了解其中真谛,因此,这是佛陀特别指示一种善巧方便,即是以占察轮相方式占察众生善恶业报,来帮助众生获得善恶业报的究竟,藉此悔过向善,此乃是随顺众生应机而起的现实关怀,对众生的普罗教化,让众生知晓其善恶业缘果报,而能有所戒与定,转向「正道」之途。另外,在此经下卷亦提出所谓的「一实境界,两种观行」提升修持的次第,不仅是改变自身命运,更是将负能量转变成正能量的超越。佛由人成,常乐我净。

## 关键字

占察善恶业报经、占察轮、一实境界、唯心识观、真如实观

#### 一前言

什么是伦理?一般而言,伦理是处理人与人之间相互关系所应遵循的道理、准则,而道德则是调整人与人之间相互关系的内心信念与行为规范,二者既有区别又密切关联。今伦理道德是由社会生活决定的主观信念、规范,是提高人们的素质和水准,维护人际关系和社会稳定的重大因素。佛教伦理是佛教学说的一个重要组成部分,是佛教实现人生解脱的基本信念和方法。和其他宗教一样,佛教的理论与实践也离不开伦理道德因素,佛教的信徒也离不开社会伦理道德之网。佛教的戒、定、慧三学实属于伦理道德修持的学说。佛教伦理涉及到人与佛的关系、人与人的关系以及人与自我的关系,一方面既是世俗伦理,一方面也是超世俗理论。1

二十世纪量子力学兴起后,诸多物理学者认为物质界乃人类意念所造。二十世纪物理学大师冯纽曼(John von Neumann)云:「我相信世间有所谓的意念力,他可以改变时间、空间与物体的状态。」<sup>2</sup>可知这个世界林林总总实与人类的思维意识息息相关,所谓:「万法唯心造」。人世间一切不会没有由来的,凡是有因有果,一念之间便大大不同。杨定一博士提到「因果律」是自然界基本定律之一<sup>3</sup>。牛顿第三运动定律的「作用力与反作用力」原理便揭露了因果律。因此,凡事的缘起与因果可谓真实不虚。

因缘果报乃世间不变的定理,「因」即我们的「一念」,我们的念头即作用力,便会带来反作用力,是以慎始于「念」,无怪乎「菩萨畏因,众生畏果」。对此,佛教伦理对众生的基本教化便是要让众生知晓「因果业报」,对社会教化有积极正向作用。如果「人世间所有的相遇,都是久别重逢。4」世上没有偶然的事,凡事不会没有原因的,那么,不论前生、今世、或来世,人生的顺逆、坎坷等际遇,都是咎由自取,有因有缘,因此,怨天尤人没有用,必也靠自身去化解所有恩怨才行!佛法云:「善解三世缘。」必有其理。

然我们要如何真心发露忏悔与行善去恶?善恶之业要如何判定?《地藏三经》中一部经:《占察善恶业报经》用占察方法,可算出宿业善恶多寡。明末藕益大师(1599-1655)曾云:「予念末世,欲得净戒,舍占察轮相之法,更无别途。5」所谓占察善恶业报,就是占视审查,有「事」有「理」。「事」即身、口、意三业;身业中包括「杀、盗、淫」。意业中即有「贪、瞋、痴」。口业即包括「绮语、两舌、恶口、妄语」。此即十轮。又一生中有「过去世」、「现在世」与「未来世」。十善业十恶业配合身口意业便是第一轮与第二轮。第三轮即以现生疑惑为主,有一百八十九个数字,包括诸事项,此谓三种轮相。6

《占察善恶业报经》(简称《占察经》)以占察轮相方式,占察宿世善恶业报,透过忏悔法门,忏罪清净,进而复戒、得定、发慧,蔚为大乘经典中重要思想,

https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/%E7%BA%A6%E7%BF%B0%C2%B7%E5%86%AF%C2%B7%E8%AF%BA%E4%BC%8A%E6%9B%BC

 $<sup>^1</sup>$ 方立天: <中国佛教伦理与现代意义>,《1996 年佛学研究论文集三——当代宗教的发展趋势 (1996.08)》,页 175-224,http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-NX012/nx97425.htm

<sup>2「</sup>冯纽曼.量子力学」维基百科:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>杨定一:《真原医》,(台北:天下杂志,2012年),页279。

<sup>4</sup>施寄青:《当头棒喝.续》,(台北: 群星文化,2014年11月),页11。

<sup>5</sup>明. 藕益大师: <占察经疏自跋>,《灵峰宗论》卷7,(台中: 青莲出版社,1994年),页8。6梦参老和尚主讲、吴碧涛居士整理:《占察善恶业报经讲记》(修订版),(台北: 方广文化事业有限公司,2004年),页7。

亦是此经于世俗众生所设的方便法门。虽说如此,《占察经》中占察轮相,实有别于一般民间算命、医卜、星宿等行为。是以占察善恶业报,是不可以民间术数等而视之<sup>7</sup>。然此经与当时民间占卜风俗相结合,竟使得当时地藏信仰的流行有着一定影响力。<sup>8</sup>重要是《占察经》中占察轮相,在其他佛经中是没有的,此乃《占察经》中最为突出的部分。因此,此占卜的思想,是否符合佛教教义的基本精神?又如何指引人们修持乃至离苦得乐而达到现实关怀的目的?又在此经下卷提到「一实境界、两种观行」,何谓「一实境界,两种观行」?此又是如何提升我们修持的次第?达到内在的超越?诸如此类问题,则是本论文所欲探究的。

## 二 现实关怀一占察轮相,除障入佛道

《占察善恶业报经》又称《地藏菩萨业报经》、《地藏菩萨经》、《大乘实义经》、《渐刹经》。隋朝·菩提灯译,收于《大正藏》第十七册。全文分上下两卷,是地藏王菩萨代佛说法要的一部经,与《地藏菩萨本愿经》、《大乘大集地藏十轮经》谓之「地藏三经」10。上卷偏重于事项上实修,开示「占察法」,乃开「权」显「实」法门,以权巧方便的「占察法」,开显下卷「言语道断」的「一实境界」所开展的大乘实相奥旨11。首先,由坚净信菩萨引述佛语,请示佛陀:末世众生遭遇种种困难障碍时,易退失善念,造作种种恶业,此时该以何方便救护之?《占察善恶业报经》始云:

我今为此未来恶世像法向尽及末法中有微少善根者,请问如来。设何方便开示化导,令生信心,得除衰恼。以彼众生遭值恶时多障碍故,退其善心,于世间出世间因果法中,数起疑惑。不能坚心专求善法。如是众生,可愍可救。世尊大慈,一切种智。愿兴方便而晓谕之,令离疑网,除诸障碍,信得增长。随于何乘,速获不退。12

坚净信菩萨有鉴于末法中有微少善根,欲修善法者,因善根微薄,修善法易遭种

<sup>7</sup>梁佩莹:《《占察善恶业报经》与占轮相法研究》指出:《占察经》中由于强调占察卜卦方式的忏悔仪式,有别于本来佛教徒禁止的医、卜、星宿、算的行为。……《占察经》所说的木轮相法,在其他佛经中,都不见记载,因此,其真伪的问题屡被质疑。……对于《占察经》的真伪争议,最后唐武后时期是以经典的义理判定为真经,而不是以历史的真伪考据来衡量。(新竹:玄奘人文社会学院宗教研究所,硕论,2003年),页 1-2-5。另据陈明:〈《占察善恶业报经》的流传研究〉指出:历代佛教经录中,最早纪录《占察善恶业报经》的是隋代法经的《众经目录》,即《法经录》。《法经录》虽没有注录《占察经》的译者和具体翻译情况,但是指出了两点:一、此经属于大乘经藏 二、此经是疑经,其真伪有待进一步审查。……他指斥 21 部大乘疑惑经的理由却只有八个字:「参差众录,文理复杂」,失之过简。……武周时期的义学高僧,经过细密考察,给《占察经》翻了案……智升在《开元释教录》中指出:该经内容「显斯奥旨」。何疑之有?……经过种种考证,《占察经》的正宗地位获得了巩固,进入正录中流传,并得到后世公认。《南亚研究》1999 年第 1 期,页 58-60。

<sup>8</sup>庄明兴:《中国中古的地藏信仰》,(台北:台大出版委员会,1999年),页31。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>隋・菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,(台北:新文丰出版社,1983年),页 901c-910c。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>陆永峰: <漫谈地藏菩萨>,《百科知识》2011 年 11 月,页 52。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>林真和(释证真):《《占察善恶业报经》之「一实境界」论修行次第》,(台北:华梵东方人文思想研究所硕论,2005年),页2。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>隋・菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册, 页 901。

种障碍,加上对世间出世间因果法无法透彻,疑惑心生,退其善心,不能坚心求道。故此类众生可悯可救,欲寻求善法化导之,令离诸疑惑,信得增长。佛陀针对坚净信菩萨提问之内容,请地藏王菩萨代答<sup>13</sup>。地藏王菩萨针对此一提问,昭示所谓「木轮相法」。其云:

有如是等障难事者,当用木轮相法,占察善恶宿世之业,现在苦乐吉凶等事。缘合故有,缘尽则灭。业集随心,相现果起。不失不坏,相应不差。如是谛占善恶业报,晓谕自心,于所疑事,以取决了。<sup>14</sup>

在此地藏王菩萨告知:末世众生,如欲诸多障难时,当用「木轮相法」占卜观察过去善恶业,乃至现在所遭遇到的苦乐吉凶等事。「不论善、恶都是因缘。缘合了业报就现了,缘灭了业报就尽了」,「无缘不聚」<sup>15</sup>。如理占察善恶业缘,使心明白,解决所有疑惑。此以木轮占法,但非一般民间占卜算命。虽二者相同是卜问吉凶,但是木轮相法可进一步指示祈求的人,心念是否正确,行事作为是否合乎正道,且占轮涉及三世善恶因缘果报之别,藉由了悟、忏悔,进而深入佛法,体解「一实境界」,亦即「如来藏清净心」。<sup>16</sup>而占卜最终在趋吉避凶,向外攀缘六尘希能转危为安;而占察轮法乃根据如来藏思想理论基础的忏悔灭罪方法;了知依「一实境界」分真、妄二相,因果祸福以心为本,受痴黯因缘熏习,而有无明妄念产生,所以依占察法可为进趣大乘的方便之道,是一般卜卦算命所无法企及的。然如何占察?《占察经》云:

其轮相者,有三种差别,何等为三?一者,轮相能示宿世所作善恶业种差别,其轮有十。二者,轮相能示宿世集业久近,所作强弱大小差别,其轮有三。三者,轮相能示三世中受报差别,其轮有六。若欲观宿世作善恶业差别者,当刻木为十轮,依此十轮,书记十善之名。一善主在一轮,于一面记。次以十恶书对十善。令使相当,亦各记在一面。<sup>17</sup>

然「占察法」即是以三种轮相为工具,以「占察」方式,审验谛观「善恶业报」。据证真法师研究,指出:「占察」不仅是在审验谛观「善恶业报」,更是在审验谛观「善恶心念」。<sup>18</sup>而「占察法」是以实践「十善」为基础。轮相所依义理为「缘生无性」之理。<sup>19</sup>随着不同功用有三种轮相:

一者,初轮,显示宿世身口意善恶业种差别相,有十个轮。

<sup>13</sup>在此,为何佛陀不自己答,请地藏菩萨代答,且于众多大菩萨中为何独指定地藏菩萨回答?据《十轮经》载:「诸大菩萨所,于百劫中至心皈依,称名唸诵,礼拜供养,求诸所愿,不如有一人于一食顷,至心皈依称名念诵礼拜供养地藏菩萨,求诸所愿,悉得满足。」地藏菩萨的悲愿救渡,能令众生所求皆应。见唐·玄奘译:《大乘大集地藏十轮经》,《大正藏》13 册,页726a。又释证真法师指出:此因提问内容契合地藏菩萨偏重化导五浊恶世罪苦众生之本愿,且地藏菩萨已能悠游于一切智境,因悲愿而不敢取证佛果。于法会诸大菩萨中,是回答此问之最佳人选,故佛令其代答。《《占察善恶业报经》之「一实境界」论修行次第》,页46。

<sup>14</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》17 册,页 901。

<sup>15</sup>梦参老和尚主讲、吴碧涛居士整理:《占察善恶业报经讲记》(修订版),页61。

<sup>16</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 905、903-904。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>隋・菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 904。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>林真和 (释证真):《《占察善恶业报经》之「一实境界」论修行次第》,页 66。 <sup>19</sup>同上注,页 66。

- 二者,二轮,依初轮所显示善恶业,示其久近、强弱、大小之别,有三个轮,分别代表身口意三业。
- 三者, 三轮, 显示三世果报, 决疑不解之处。
- 三种轮相修习次序为初轮—>二轮—>三轮。其中,第一二轮相主要功用即在于了知宿世所造作之恶业忏悔,忏清所造作之恶业能使善根增长,堪能进修适机之门。第三轮相则随己所观之事显示三世果报。而占察法所示轮相,占后皆须详察审验是否相应。相应则合,不相应则必须再重新忏悔与坚诚称念佛号与地藏王菩萨名号。

在占法上,不论是为己、为他人占轮的初轮、二轮、三轮,地藏王菩萨指示:

若欲占此轮相者,先当至心总礼十方一切诸佛。因即立愿,愿令十方一切众生,速疾皆得亲近供养,咨受正法。次应学至心敬礼十方一切法藏。因即立愿,愿令十方一切众生,速疾皆得受持读诵。如法修行,及为他说。次当学至心敬礼十方一切贤圣。因即立愿,愿令十方一切众生,速疾皆得亲近供养,发菩提心,至不退转。后应学至心礼我地藏菩萨摩诃萨。因即立愿,愿令十方一切众生,速得除灭恶业重罪,离诸障碍,资生众具,悉皆充足。如是礼已,随所有香华等,当修供养。修供养者,忆念一切佛法僧宝,体常遍满,无所不在。……愿共一切众生修行,如是供养已。渐得成就六波罗蜜四无量心,深知一切法本来寂静。

······又应别复系心供养我地藏菩萨摩诃萨。以当称名,若默诵念,一心告言,南无地藏菩萨摩诃萨,······然后手执木轮,于净物上而傍掷之。如是欲自观法,若欲观他,皆亦如是应知。<sup>20</sup>

#### 依此可知,为己、为他人占轮步骤都是:

- (一)礼敬立愿——当礼敬佛、法、僧(贤圣僧)三宝,与地藏菩萨,并发愿一切众生,速疾皆得亲近供养,咨受正法;愿一切众生,速疾皆得受持读诵,如法修行,及为他说;愿令一切众生,速疾皆得亲近供养,发菩提心,至不退转。乃至愿令一切众生,速德除灭恶业重罪,离诸障碍,资生众具,悉皆充足。
- (二) 广修供养——备办供物香华后,以此香华作供养观想,忆念一切佛法僧宝,体常遍满,无所不在。并观与一切众生同修供养。继而观自身遍一切刹土,供养一切三宝。修供养观已成,发愿圆满六度波罗蜜与四无量心,乃至成就实相智慧。
- (三)至诚称念「南无地藏王菩萨」——除供养三宝外,另须备办供品供养地藏菩萨。供养后,至诚称念「南无地藏菩萨摩诃萨」名号,满千遍。
- (四)至诚启白——当称念地藏菩萨名号满千遍后,欲占轮时,应至诚祈祷: 「地藏菩萨摩诃萨,大慈大悲,惟愿护念我及一切众生,速除诸障,增长 净信,令今所观,称实相应。」
- (五)正掷轮相——说此语后,手持初轮之十个木轮,掷于净物上,观此十轮 所显之善恶业差别之相。

然占轮之后,随其所现轮相,一一审验详察,是否与今世果报及烦恼业习相当。《占察善恶业报经》云:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 905。

占其轮相者,随所现业,悉应一一谛观思验。应当忆念,思惟观察所现业种,与今世果报所经苦乐吉凶等事。及烦恼业习,得相当者,名为相应。若不相当者,为不至心,名虚谬也。若占轮相,其善恶业俱不现者,此人已证无漏智心,专求出离,不复乐受世间果报。诸有漏业,展转微弱,更不增长,是故不现。又纯善不具,纯恶不具者,此二种人,善恶之业所有不现者,皆是微弱,未能牵果,是故不现。……若遭众厄种种衰恼不吉之事,扰乱忧怖,不称意时,应当甘受,无令疑悔……。即当思念,但由我宿世造如是恶业故,今获此报。我今应当悔彼恶业,专修对治,及修余善,无得止住。21

占轮之后,随其所相必须一一审验详查,察验其是否与今世果报及烦恼业习相当?若不相当,表示占轮过程中「不至心」;若相当,谓之「相应」。出现的轮相,可分下列几种:

- (1) 现善现恶——有纯具十善, 纯具十恶, 或善恶交杂, 或纯善不具、纯恶不具等情况。
- (2) 不现善恶——轮相不现情况有二种,一是全部不现,二是有现有不现。
  - 1 全部不现: 当轮相成显善恶不现时,表示已证至无漏智心,专求出离,不 乐受世间果报,诸有漏业,辗转微弱,不复增长,而显不现。
- 2 有些不现——当轮相为纯善不具,或纯恶不具时,其中有些是呈显善恶业不现,此两者之善恶业不现时,因微弱尚无法招感果报,而显不现。然若是称心如意者,此乃宿世善业,而得善报,不应放逸,应更加精进修持,不休止。若遭恶缘衰恼不吉之事,应忏悔宿世所造罪恶,修对治 法与善法,不官停滞懈怠放逸,增集苦聚。

初轮如是,继而二轮,在于观造业之久近、强弱与大小。配合初轮相中所现的业,分身口意三业分别占之。所谓:

若占初轮相者,但知宿世所造之业善恶差别,而不能知积习久近所作之业强弱大小。是故须占第二轮相。若占第二轮相者,当依初轮相中所现之业。若属身者,掷身轮相。若属口者,掷口轮相。若属意者,掷意轮相。不得以此三轮之相,一掷通占。<sup>22</sup>

业有身口意三业,有十善业与十恶业,十恶业即身业,欲察其业的大小、强弱,则必掷第二轮相。必依身业、口业、意业分别占察,不可一次掷身口意三轮相。然察验是否相应,必须配合初轮相,相互对照,检证二者是否相合,若相合则是相应,若不相合则是不相应。然并非每人都十恶具足或十善具足,善恶业都有,是以地藏菩萨指示众生,欲渡脱生老病死,与修得禅定智慧者,不论善恶业多寡,依当先修「忏悔法」所谓:

若未来世诸众生等,欲求度脱生老病死,始学发心修习禅定无相智慧者,应当先观宿世所作恶业多少及以轻重;若恶业多厚者,不得即学禅定智慧,应当先修忏悔之法。

又:

<sup>21</sup>同上注,页905。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 905。

若欲得知清净相者;始从修行,过七日后,当应日日于晨朝旦,以第二轮相,具安手中,频三掷之。若身口意皆纯善者,名得清净。<sup>23</sup>

表明众生应修忏悔法。修习忏悔法七日后,当于日日晨朝之时,占二轮相,观所 忏之业是否清净。日日不间断修此忏法,以三业清净相现为期。又:

我所说至心者,略有二种。何等为二?一者,初始学习求愿至心。二者,摄意专精成就勇猛相应至心。得此第二至心者,能获善相。此第二至心,复有上中下三种差别。何等为三?一者一心。所谓系想不乱,心住了了。二者勇猛心。所谓专求不懈,不顾身命。三者深心。所谓与法相应,究竟不退。若人修习此忏悔法,乃至不得下至心者,终不能获清净善相,是名说占第二轮相。<sup>24</sup>

然地藏菩萨在此指示所谓「至心」有二种,即:

- (一) 求愿至心——初始学习求愿至心。
- (二)相应至心——摄意专精,成就勇猛,相应至心。而此相应至心有三:
  - 1 一心: 系想不乱, 专一之致, 心住了了。
  - 2 勇猛心: 专求不懈, 不顾身命。
  - 3 深心:与法相应,究竟不退。

因此,修习忏法,若无心修持,无法诚心诚意,连最下的至心都无法达到,则不能获得清净善相。亦心不清净,三业不净,第二轮相不相应,善相也无法获得。 然欲察看三世受报差别相,则欲掷第三轮相,所谓:

如是数相者,显示一切众生六根之聚,皆从如来藏自性清净心一实境界而起。依一实境界,以之为本。所谓依一实境界故,有彼无明。不了一法界,谬念思惟,现妄境界。分别取着,集业因缘,生眼耳鼻舌身意等六根。以依内六根故,对外色声香味处法等六尘,起眼耳鼻舌身意等六识。以依六识故,于色声香味触法中,起违想,顺想,非违非顺等想,生十八种受。若未来世诸佛弟子,于三世中所受果报,欲决疑意者,应当三掷此第三轮相,占计合数。一数观之,以定善恶。如是所观三世果报善恶之相,有一百八十九种。25

掷此三轮相,可观三世果报善恶之相。且当欲知某事可行与否,或对某事存疑无法抉择时,可藉掷此三轮相,解决所疑之事。此数相共有一百八十九种。然诸数皆从一数而起,以一为本。此之数相,显示一切众生六根之聚,皆从如来藏自性清净心,一实境界而起。依一实境界为本,为故,有无明、不了一法界、谬念思惟、现妄想境、分别取着,集业因缘,生六根,依内六根故,对外色声香味触法等六尘,则起眼耳鼻舌身意等六识,以依六识故,于色声香味触法中,起违、顺、非违非顺等想,而有十八种感受。同理,心所观之事与三掷总合之数相当,则是相应;若不相应,则是不至心,必先忏悔与虔诚称念佛号,至清净再占察。又所占不获吉善,或所求不得,有种种忧虑逼恼怖惧时,应当昼夜勤念地藏菩萨名号,

<sup>23</sup>同上注,页 906。

<sup>24</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 906。

<sup>25</sup>同上注,页906。

达至心者,则所占为吉,所求皆获,现离衰恼。

综合木轮相法占察经过与义理,吾人可知:修习占察法对修道者而言,是有其助益与功效的。藉由占察,得知忏悔,在忏悔过程中,借着不断检证业因业果相应与否,了解因果关系,因见生解,因解生信,信「如是因成如是果」。进而,了解一切法不离因果法则。然对遭逢厄难,藉由占察得知其由,必得虔诚忏悔,至三业清净,则恶业减少,除诸障碍,远离忧恼。于自身是一种修行,消一份业障,得一分清净;消几许烦恼,增得此福慧。于社会是一种教化,对社会和谐安定有一份贡献。

人总是如此,平顺之时,绝不会「三省吾身」,然冥冥中铸下恶业,亦浑然不觉,当遭遇厄难危急时,方才会猛然醒觉,这时若能忏悔改过,借机深晓因果,亦是训练心念绝佳时机。然借机练心,必须不断忏悔与称念佛号,藉由他力将内在一念善引出,亦为习禅定与出无相智慧之契机。进一步可进修一实境界所开展的大乘修行之道,即:「唯心识观」与「真如实观」 二无相禅定。

## 三 内在超越——实境界, 三种修行

在《占察善恶业报经》下卷即谈入所谓「一实境界」「两种观行」之修持。「一实境界」(eka-dravya-visaya)是《占察善恶业报经》进趣大乘佛法的核心义理。 蔚为超越善恶,总入实相的义理。《占察善恶业报经》云:

所言一实境界者,谓众生心体,从本已来不生不灭自性清净,无障无碍,犹如虚空,离分别故。平等普遍,无所不至。圆满十方,究竟一相,无二无别。不变不异,无增无减。以一切众生心,一切声闻、辟支佛心,一切菩萨心,一切诸佛心,皆同不生不灭,无染无净,真如相故。<sup>26</sup>

在此显示「众生心体」真实相。毕竟空寂,不生不灭,本自清净,无障无碍,平等普遍,无所不至,圆满十方。然此心实与佛、菩萨心无异,所谓「心佛众生,三无差别」。且「在凡不减,在圣不增」。是以「人成即佛成」,佛由人成。同此心性,真如实相,关键在人是否觉悟证得?然人心与佛心同真如,为何人有烦恼、染污、苦痛,乃至生死流转?《占察善恶业报经》云:

一切有心起分别者,犹如幻化,无有定真实。……但以众生无明痴黯熏习因缘,现妄境界,令生念着。所谓此心,不能自知,妄自谓有,起觉知想,计我我所,而实无有觉知之相。以此妄心毕竟无体,不可见故。以一切法皆不能自有,但依妄心分别故有。……唯依妄心不知不了内自无故,谓有前外所知境界,妄生种种法想。……当如是知,一切诸法皆从妄想生,依妄心为本。然此妄心无自相故,亦依境界而有。所谓缘念觉知前境界故,说名为心。<sup>27</sup>

一切法皆不能自有,必须得假外缘。然缘起则生,缘散则灭,此佛教谓之「缘起性空」。既然一切法是因缘生,本无实体自性,何以「心」能识万幻为真?据杜保瑞教授研究,指出:现象世界之存在有起有灭皆缘于众生心主体际之生灭妄法

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 907。

<sup>27</sup>同上注,页 907。

中而持续存在,现象世界虽以众生心意识之构作而有,却在众多众生心主体际之持续中而持续存在。<sup>28</sup>所谓「心生种种法生,心灭种种法灭」。心随生灭相流转,则因境生心。依此,心起分别作用,则有大小、高矮、胖瘦、好坏、善恶、对错、黑白等等之别,实则是因妄念产生,是以地藏菩萨又云:「而此妄心,能为一切境界源主。」<sup>29</sup>然妄心如何产生?《占察善恶业报经》云:

谓依妄心,不了法界一相,故说心有无明。依无明力因故,现妄境界,亦依无明 灭故,一切境界灭。<sup>30</sup>

诸法皆由妄心生,因妄心里有缘想,有缘念则有一切境界。然妄心因无明缘故,摄取外在种种境界影像,念念执着,认妄为真,是以分别自他、有无、是非、好恶等等。若众生了知法界一实相之理,无明消失,则虚妄分别心不起,则一切境界则无。然欲证得本自清净的「一实境界」应如何修持?《占察善恶业报经》云:

若欲依一实境界修信解者,应当学习二种观道。何等为二?一者唯心识观。二者真如实观。学唯心识观者:所谓于一切时一切处,随身口意有所作业。悉当观察,知唯是心。……勿令使心无记攀缘,不自觉知。于念念间,悉应观察。……令心自知,知己内心自生想念,非一切境界有念有分别也。……如是观察,一切法唯心相生。若使离心,则无一法一相而能自见有差别也。常应如是守记内心,知唯妄念,无实境界。勿令休废,是名修学唯心识观。……若于坐时,随心所缘,念念观知唯心生灭。譬如水流灯焰,无暂时住,从是当得色寂三昧。31

欲证得「一实境界」要如何修持?如何使「妄熏习力」转变「净熏习力」?得修两种观行:一是「唯心识观」,二是「真如实观」。妄想心乃是生灭门的心,因此,要从生灭幻境中超越,证得真如,方是清净。如何超越?在此,学习「唯心识观」,就是:不论何时何地,当六根触六尘境,所产生的知觉、忆念种种心的作用,驱使身口意造作善恶业时,皆应当清楚观察与觉知,身口意等造作,皆是「心」所主导。所谓「三界唯心,万法唯识」,不论任何境界,皆应清楚「心识」的动向,并了知一切所造之业,皆以「心」为主导。

当心住着一切境界,皆当清楚觉察了知,切勿片刻忘失,此则是「唯心识观」。对于每一个所起的心念,皆应当清楚观察觉知,「唯是此心」。当觉察心有所缘念时,即应观此缘念,使心了知念念本是虚妄非实有,则一切境界无念无分别,非有非无,离一切相,本来空寂。如是观察「一切诸法唯心想生」,心外无境,心外无法,境法随心现,境法唯心生。若离于心,则无有一法一相。如是观察,一切诸法,唯心想生,因此,境界亦非实境。能片刻不离此观察法修持,就是「唯心识观」。32更可当于坐(静坐)时,以心为所缘,观心所缘境,观念念心相变化,且念念觉知唯心生灭,生灭相如水流、灯焰,无暂时住着。是以观心,心相刹那生灭无住,本性空寂。因此,诸境诸法唯心想生,心相既寂,则诸境诸法亦

<sup>28</sup>杜保瑞: <大乘起信论的功夫理论与境界哲学>,

http://homepage.ntu.edu.tw/~duhbauruei/1dbr/index.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 908。

<sup>30</sup>同上注,页 908。

<sup>31</sup>同上注,页 908。

<sup>32</sup>林真和(释证真):《《占察善恶业报经》之「一实境界」论修行次第》,页 126-127。

寂。藉由观境察心,而悟心相本性空寂,进入定境,则名为得色寂三昧。<sup>33</sup> 然修习「唯心识观」法,得色寂三昧后。继而,应修习「信奢摩他观心」与「信毗婆舍那观心」二法。《占察善恶业报经》云:

得此三昧已,次应学习信奢摩他观心,及信毗婆舍那观心。习信奢摩他观心者,思惟内心不可见相。圆满不动,无来无去。本性不生不灭,离分别故。习信毗婆舍那观心者,想见内外色,随心生,随心灭,乃至习想见佛色身,亦复如是。……当知如是唯心识观,名为最上智慧之门。34

据证真法师研究,指出:此修习「唯心识观」至色寂三昧,并未达十信位之止观,不称为习「信」止观。当得色寂三昧后,由五品位转入十信位之止观,此时才称为习「信」奢摩他观心与习「信」毗婆舍那观心。35

所谓「奢摩他」是梵文(camatha)音译。意译是「止」。「止」之义,是指止息一切妄念,将心专注于所缘境上。修习唯心识观,观外境唯心想生,念念生灭无住,悟心相本空寂,了达心外无境,心不缘外境,心得寂止进入色寂三昧。若持续保持此悟心,此时则须进一步修习信奢摩他观心,思惟内心相空寂,不可见,此寂思惟心体本相之如如不动,寂止之实性。³6观心相本性周遍圆满,寂止不动,无有来去,其本性真如,不生不灭,离分别相。修习信奢摩他观心法,能将散乱心,专注一处,暂伏烦恼。

而毘婆舍那是梵文(vipacyana)音译,义译是「观」。观之义,在于观法理,生智慧,灭烦恼;观慧通达后,契应真如,生实相智。习信毗婆舍那观心法,是运用所通达之理,观想内外色法,随心生灭。此时,由心掌控外境,而非心攀缘外境。运用心生诸法之理,观想内外境,随心生灭,究竟不实。由心幻化而成,心如水、如镜,实心本无色,所以色非心;但色由心有,所以色又不离于心。同理,非来,非不来;非去,非不去;非生,非不生;非作,非不作。心外无色,故色非来;但心生色相,故色亦非不来。色是心相,故色非去;心灭色灭,故色亦非不去。色是心相幻化而有,但非实有,故色非生;然色是心幻化之相,确实是心相,只不过是「幻化」相而已,故色非不生。修习毗婆舍那观心,能以心观慧穿破烦恼,生起实相智慧。总之,就是心生种种法生,心灭种种法灭。万法惟心造。藉事练心,心能掌控外境,而非心随境转,如此,修习奢摩他及毗婆舍那观心法,便能趋向大乘道之行,速得趣会一乘佛道。

修习唯心识观,终究在增长对一实境界之信解力。另外,修「真如实观」法 亦是趋进奢摩他与毗婆舍那二观心的善巧法门。《占察善恶业报经》云:

若学习真如实观者,思惟心性无生无灭,不住见闻觉知,永离一切分别之想。渐渐能过空处,识处,无少处,非想非非想处等定境界相,得相似空三昧。得相似空三昧时,识、想、受、行、粗分别相,不现在前。从此修学,为善知识大慈悲者守护长养,是故离诸障碍,勤修不废,辗转能入心寂三昧。得是三昧已,即复能入一行三昧。入是一行三昧已,见佛无数,发深广行,心住坚信位,所谓于奢

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<sup>33</sup>所谓「色寂三昧」是指:心对色法不动,而得到心寂止之定境。林真和(释证真):《《占察善恶业报经》之「一实境界」论修行次第》,页127。

<sup>34</sup>隋・菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册, 页 908。

<sup>35</sup>林真和(释证真):《《占察善恶业报经》之「一实境界」论修行次第》,页128。

<sup>36</sup>同上注,页 128。

摩他、毗婆舍那二种观道,决定信解,能决定向。随所修学世间诸禅三昧之业, 无所乐着。乃至遍修一切善根菩提分法,于生死中无所怯畏,不乐二乘。以依能 习向二观心最妙巧便,众智所依,行根本故。<sup>37</sup>

思惟心性无生无灭,即是观想心性之真如实相。真如实相即是心体本相。心体本相,以无相为实相,以空性为其性。然心能见闻觉知,而心体之性质,不住见闻觉知,永离一切分别之想。真如实观,虽以「心性」为所缘,然并不执此「心性」,故离一切分别想。因此,修真如实观能渐渐超越空、识、无、非想非非想处等定境界相,而得相似空三昧。「相似空三昧」是指:近似空三昧之定境,但未完全入空三昧。得相似空三昧,能伏三界之根本烦恼,是以识、受、想、行、粗分别相种种,不现在前。自此修学,十方诸佛菩萨善知识大慈悲者,常加守护,长养菩提善根。所以,能离诸障碍,若能勤修不废,渐渐能入「心寂三昧」。

「心寂三昧」即直观心性无生无灭,心得寂止之三昧法。此时继续修习不废止,则能进入「一行三昧」定境。得到「一行三昧」后,则证得坚信位。于修习奢摩他、毗婆舍那两种观行,能决定信解、决定向。且不乐学世间禅定法,会退修二乘法。「一行三昧」就梵文字而言,是: eka-vyuha-samadhi,直译是「一庄严三昧」。38所谓「一行」是指心专于一种修持,一种所缘,本经「一行」指的是心专缘于「真如实相」。一心专于真如实相而入定,名为「一行三昧」。39入「一行三昧」定境,则能见佛无数,发修无上深广菩提行。且心证入「坚信位」,对修习奢摩他与毗婆舍那二种观行,能决定信解与方向。总之,「真如实观」亦是对修习趣向奢摩他与毗婆舍那二观行的善巧方便法。生起智慧不离真如实相,能生众智,是众智之所依。依此观所修之行,皆成菩提行,蔚为菩提万行之根本。然依一实境界修信解者,有利根与顿根两种之别。《占察善恶业报经》云:

复次,修学如上信解者,人有二种。何等为二?一者利根,二者顿根。其利根者, 先已能知一切外诸境界,唯心所作,虚诳不实,如梦如幻等,决定无有疑虑。阴 盖轻微,散乱心少。如是等人,即应学习真如实观。

#### 又

其顿根者,先未能知一切外诸境界,悉唯是心,虚诳不实。故染着情厚,盖障数起,心难调伏,应当先学唯心识观。

#### 又:

若人虽学如是信解,而善根业薄,未能进趣。诸恶烦恼,不得渐伏,其心疑怯,畏堕三恶道,生八难处。畏不常值佛菩萨等,不得供养听受正法。畏菩提行难可成就,有如此疑怖及种种障碍等者,应于一切时一切处,常勤诵念我之名字。……当知如上一心系念思惟诸佛平等法身,一切善根中,其业最胜。所谓勤修习者,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 908。

<sup>38</sup> 据证真法师指出:「一行三昧」经典代表是梁·曼陀罗仙译:《文殊师利所说摩诃般若波罗蜜经》卷二,《大正新修大藏经》,(台北:新文丰出版社,1983年),页731,与唐·菩提流志译:《大宝积经》120卷,《大正新修大藏经》,页655-656。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>林真和(释证真):《《占察善恶业报经》之「一实境界」论修行次第》,页 131。

渐渐能向一行三昧。若到一行三昧者,则成广大微妙行心,名得相似无生法忍。 40

「利根者」,长久熏习一实境界之信解,已能决定一切外境惟心所造,虚妄不实,如梦幻影,无有疑虑。烦恼薄少,心少散乱。如是者,应先修习真如实观。而「顿根者」,熏习一实境界之信解不久,无法了知一切外境皆为唯心所造,虚妄诳伪不实,对外境之染着情重,烦恼不断,障碍诸多,心散乱难伏,是以此必先修习唯心识观。从观一切外境皆心起,继而开启信解一实境之门。

然若末法众生因实相智之熏习浅薄,业障与烦恼障皆重,未能进趣修习如上述的二种观行的话,则另有一方便法门。即是:时时刻刻,应当持念「地藏菩萨名号」。此乃依着他力,依佛菩萨加持摄受力开发自身之佛性力,二者相辅相成,专摄于一心,进入大乘修习法。专心持念名号,旨在练心修止,收摄六根,专注修「观」。如观想地藏菩萨法身、及一切诸佛法身,与己自身,平等无差别,皆同真如实相,永恒常住,不生不灭,毕竟清净无染,当一心系念诸佛法身平等时,则常乐我净,趣向「一行三昧」。此「一行三昧」能成就广大微妙行心,得相似无生法忍。

此三种修习法,分别对应一实境界所阐述的三个面向。唯心识观是以观「心相」为主,观诸法唯心。真如实观是以观「心性」为主,直观心体之真实相。一心持念地藏菩萨名号,是以观「诸佛法身」平等,以此进趣大乘修道。

## 四 结论

佛教中法门高妙则往往化机普广,于兹,地藏法门与净土法门理无二致。然自佛教东传以来,菩萨信仰即是中国佛教重要内涵之一。而众菩萨中唯一化现为沙门身,誓愿「我不入地狱,谁入地狱?」「地狱不空,誓不成佛;众生渡尽,方证菩提。」的是地藏菩萨,以其大悲誓愿,恶趣救苦之质,已渐渐成为人们「纾生慰死」死后救赎、解脱的重要信仰。然地藏信仰起于何时何地?据研究,其起源于印度的「地神崇拜」,在日本更成为「大地之母」的象征。"然在中国因结合孝道精神、因缘果报、临命终人之关怀与地狱救拔之意义,是以融入民间信仰核心。至今,地藏菩萨在中国仍有着「幽冥教主」之总召,与人们业缘果报息息相关,是以至陈末隋初(约六世纪后半叶),出现由中国人所译的《占察善恶业报经》,揉合民间的占卜风俗与佛教忏悔行法、真如缘起论等,强调以地藏菩萨为礼忏对象,以鉴别自身行为的善恶,而非观音菩萨或弥勒菩萨等为礼忏对象,实为民间地藏信仰有着更进一层推展。

《佛说三世因果经》有云:「若问前生事,今生受者是。若问后世事,今生做者是。」<sup>42</sup>凡事都有着前因后果,欲知前世做了些甚么,由今世所遭遇种种可推知;同理,希望来世享有福报等成果,就从今生好好做起。由此因果论,实亦在劝化世人「诸恶莫作,众善奉行」,趋吉避恶的关键就在自身「行善止恶」。所以「假使千百劫,所作业不亡,因缘际会时,果报还自受。」<sup>43</sup>个中提出了「业」不亡,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>隋·菩提灯译:《占察善恶业报经》,《大正藏》第 17 册,页 908-909。

<sup>41</sup>庄明兴: <中国中古地藏信仰的起源与流变>,见台湾大学佛教数位图书馆:

http://enlight.lib.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-BJ013/bj013122197.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>后汉·安世高译:《佛说三世因果经》,(《台湾善书》第一辑,18473 册,高雄:升建印刷,2007年),页14。

<sup>43</sup>唐·实叉难陀译:《大方广佛华严经》,(《大正藏》第10册,台北:新文丰出版社,1983年),

实也在教化:我们皆带业往生,随业流转,所谓「万般带不走,唯有业随身。」星云大师曾说过:学佛者不讲命运讲业力,善业多则福报大,福报大则诸事顺利,趋吉避凶!恶业多则福报浅,福报不足则诸事不顺,灾厄偏多。命的好坏是决定于自己的行为造作,是操纵在自己手中,不是让别人算,别人也没办法帮我们改运,而是靠自己行善造福累积善业,这是以福转业,让重业轻报,轻报化无,而得顺遂的人生。命运的好坏除了与福报有关之外,一个人的心念也往往在无形中决定了一生的命运,幸福快乐与否不是拥有多少或拥有什么,而是在于我们内心想的是什么,此即心念与心态,什么样的心念决定什么样的命运,什么样的心态则决定什么样的遭遇! "由此可知,在「起心动念」间则会形成所谓业力,不可不慎!所谓:起心动念、开口动舌、举手投足均无不是业!业力牵引向善,则人生光明灿烂,业力牵引向恶,则人生哀愁黯淡!善业要靠善念来启发,恶业更要藉善念来戒除。

毕竟心生种种法生,心灭种种法灭。凡事一念间,一念善可生至天堂,一念恶可降至地狱。由此进一步,可知命运真正主宰在「心」。因心念重复出现,就会形成行为,行为重复出现后就会形成习惯,习惯之后便根深蒂固变成性格,有了甚么样的性格就会造成甚么样的命运。<sup>46</sup>因此,改变命运的关键,在从「心」开始。这是《占察经》普罗应世的方便法门。引渡不同根器众生,欲深入佛法,必从世俗法、入世间法教化起,从占察轮相得知己过,进而忏悔改过向善,便是宗教的一种救赎。此亦意谓佛教于现实众生的初机关怀,引导众生了达三世因果,从「心」根深蒂固忏悔改过,于善恶伦理之教化,做到普罗世俗众生的地步。实也对社会进步与和谐达到教化的功效。

毕竟 《占察善恶业报经》运用「木轮相法」可以审视自身三世因果等善恶业报,对人力无法抗拒宿业逼害时,依据占察三轮相所显示一百八十九种善恶果报差别,做好趋吉避凶的准备;如是布施修福、戒杀放生、止恶行善、广结善缘、敬信三宝、忏悔业障、虔诚念佛等等,这些都是无形中提升社会道德伦理的方便法门。

藉由勤称念佛、虔诚忏悔、发愿供养布施等法,除诸障碍以进入佛道,乃是佛教一种随顺世间改变命运的方法。然《占察善恶业报经》最终目的,还在引导人们深入佛法,达到究竟解脱之目的。是以进一步提出「一实境界」与三种修行。《法句经》<双要品>第一偈云:

心为法本,心尊心使。中心念恶,即言即行,罪苦自追,车轹于辙。

#### 又:

心为法本,心尊心使。中心念善,即言即行,福乐自追,如影随行。47

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<sup>44</sup>星云大师: <心念决定命运>

http://www.buddha-hi.net/re/forum.php?mod=viewthread&tid=6149&extra=

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>同上注,http://www.buddha-hi.net/re/forum.php?mod=viewthread&tid=6149&extra=

<sup>46</sup>陈柏达:《改造命运的原理与方法》,(台北:佛陀教育基金会,2012年),页41-42。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>西晋·法炬译:《法句譬喻经》,(《大正藏》第4册,台北:新文丰出版社,1983年),页698。

知诸法受心支配,以心为主,由心所生。《地藏菩萨本愿经》亦云:「心如工画师,能画诸世间。五蕴悉从生,无法而不造。48」所以人若心有垢秽,而言而行,则罪恶与痛苦将伴随,亦如车轮辗过,永远有痕迹留下。同理,人若心存善念清净而言行,则幸福快乐亦将伴随,犹如影之随行,永不分离。所以「一切惟心造」是否心转,运亦转?心念改变了,命运就不同。凡事皆在一念之间,秉持好这一念心则是非常重要的,是以修行亦在修持这颗「心」,因「心」是言行造作之业源,所以不可不慎,亦是「菩萨畏因,众生畏果」之「因」。人生种种是由因果形成,因此,改变命运关键亦在「心」,「心念转变」,抉择与际遇便大不同。然如何修心?其实,修心终在让心掌控生灭妄想,回归真如,达到「一实境界」的究竟,如此,方能超越生死轮回,作命运的主宰。

因此,《占察善恶业报经》中超越生死轮回的逻辑,便是:首先,藉由占察 轮相,使人们知晓善恶业源在「心」,进而使人们依法「修心」,而欲使心超越妄 想分别诸念,必先使心进入定境,得「色寂三昧」,得色寂三昧后,继而应修习 「信奢摩他观心」与「信毗婆舍那观心」二法。「奢摩他观心法」在思惟内心相 空寂,不可见,此寂思惟心体本相之如如不动,寂止之实性;而「毗婆舍那观心」 法在于观法生慧, 契应真如, 生实相智。另「修真如实观」在超越空、识、无、 非想、非非想处等定境界相,而得相似空三昧。「相似空三昧」即:近似空三昧 之定境,得相似空三昧,能伏三界之根本烦恼,是以识、受、想、行、粗分别相 种种,不现在前。自此修学,十方诸佛菩萨善知识大慈悲者,常加守护,长养菩 提善根。所以,能离诸障碍,若能勤修不废,则可渐渐能入「心寂三昧」。「心寂 三昧」即直观心性无生无灭,心得寂止之三昧法。此时继续修习不废止,则能进 入「一行三昧」定境。得到「一行三昧」后,则证得坚信位。而本经「一行」指 的是心专缘于「真如实相」。一心专于真如实相而入定,名为「一行三昧」。入「一 行三昧」定境,则能见佛无数,发修无上深广菩提行。且心证入「坚信位」,对 修习奢摩他与毗婆舍那二种观行,能决定信解与方向。倘若不能如是修持,尚有 另一修持法门,即是时时刻刻,应当持念「地藏菩萨名号」。此乃依着他力,依 佛菩萨加持摄受力开发自身之佛性力。藉由专心持念名号,旨在练心修止,收摄 六根, 专注修 [观]。如观想地藏菩萨法身、及一切诸佛法身, 与己自身, 平等 无差别。当一心系念诸佛法身平等时,则常乐我净,而趣向「一行三昧」。

总之,此三种修习法,分别对应一实境界所阐述的三个面向。唯心识观是以观「心相」为主,观诸法唯心。真如实观是以观「心性」为主,直观心体之真实相。一心持念地藏菩萨名号,是以观「诸佛法身」平等,以此进趣大乘修道。

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup>唐·实叉难陀译:《地藏菩萨本愿经》,(《大正藏》13 册,台北:新文丰出版社,1983年。) 页 24。

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## 浅谈义净与南海的因缘和其贡献

释真禅 泰国国际佛教大学/宗教系 泰国东方大学/人力资源发展与管理学

#### 【摘要】

义净,一名唐代立志西行赴印度求法取经的高僧与玄奘齐名。其南海航行路线从广州出发,向西南航行,横渡大海,到达室利佛逝,途径末罗瑜国,穿过马六甲海峡,到达被称为羯荼(吉打)。从吉打出发,经尼科巴岛上的裸人国,向西北航行到达耽摩立底 国(印度恒河口的 Tumluk),是义净西行海上航行的终点。义净在南海诸国航行、生活的时间长达 14 年。对当地的情况是相当熟悉,因而他著作里对本地区的描述也就有很大的可靠性。其两部重要著作《南海寄归内法传》和《大唐西域求法高僧传》是他在归国途 中在室利佛逝停留期间写成的,是一份珍贵的历史遗产。他对南海诸国特别是对室利佛逝的记述迄今为止仍是最具权威性的原始资料。义净在翻译、传播外来文化方面的巨大付出已得到肯定。义净一生共翻译佛经五十六部,两百三十余卷,遍翻三藏,而偏攻律部。无论是在佛教史上还是文化交流史上都做出卓越的贡献。

【关键词】义净; 南海; 因缘; 贡献; 翻译; 文化

## 一、义净生平简述

沙门释义净,齐州人,俗姓张,字文明。¹而《宋高僧传》则说他是范阳人。 义净是中国唐代著名的高僧,是中国佛教史上"三大西行求法高僧"之一。义净一 生,译经甚多,还与鸠摩罗什、真谛、玄奘并称为四大佛经翻译家。²义净也是 一位西行赴印求法取经航海路线上曾经到过羯荼(今马来西亚半岛吉打州),即笔 者家乡的一位唐代西行僧人。义净年少勤奋好学,天性聪慧,博学多闻。"髫龀 之时,辞亲落发。遍询明匠,广探群籍。内外闲习,今古博通。"³

义净七岁时,父母将其送往齐州城西四十里许的土窟寺出家,拜善遇法师为亲教师,慧习禅师为轨范师。义净在其著作《南海寄归内法传》(以下简称《寄归传》)卷四"古德不为"亲述:"且如净亲教师则善遇法师也,轨范师则慧习禅师也。年过七岁,幸得亲侍。斯二师者,并太山金舆谷圣人郎禅师所造神通寺之大德也,俗缘在乎德贝二州矣。二德以为山居独善,寡利生之路,乃共诣平林,俯枕清涧,于土窟寺式修净居,即齐州城西四十里许。"4

义净大概在十七八岁时就萌起了西行求法的念头。义净有这样的想法,显然是因为受到了前辈僧人法显和玄奘,其中尤其是玄奘的成功形象最为鼓舞。5无论如何,义净向往西天求法取经的愿望终究在他三十七岁(唐高宗咸亨元年671)那年才得以成行。"法师6亡日,净年十二矣。大象既去,无所依托。遂弃外书,钦情内典。十四得霑缁,十八拟向西天。至三十七,方遂所愿。"7

义净在其满廿一岁那年,即永微六年(655),受具足戒,以慧习禅师为和尚,正式成为一名僧人。"及至年满进具,还以禅师为和尚。"8《宋高僧传》卷一提及,义净法腊五十九,就是从这一年开始计算。9义净当时虽已圆满受具足戒,但内心常感叹,受戒的人多,然而严守戒律的人甚少。他在《寄归传》里有这样的一段记录:"既受戒已,忽于清夜行道之际,烧香垂涕而伸诲曰:'大圣久已涅槃,法教讹替,人多乐受,少有持者。汝但坚心重禁,莫犯初篇。余有罪衍,设令犯者,吾当代汝入地狱受之。烧指烧身,不应为也。'进奉旨日,幸蒙慈悲,赐以圣戒,随力竭志,敢有亏违,虽于小罪,有怀大惧。'"从此段记载,可见义净当时对于戒律的高度重视和严谨奉持。这也是他作为西行求法和未来生涯规划的主要动力。

<sup>1 《</sup>开元释教录》卷九《义净传》,《大正藏》卷五十五。注:有关义净的籍贯,有两种不一说法,一说义净是齐州人,即作者采用说法,主要是依据《续古今译经图记》、《开元释教录》卷九《义净传》和《贞元新定释教目录》卷十三中义净传记。二说义净乃范阳人,主要依据唐中宗写的《大唐龙兴三藏圣教序》和《宋高僧传》卷一《唐京兆大荐福寺义净传》所记载。欲知其详尽分解,请参阅王邦维《唐高僧义净生平及其著作论考》。

<sup>2</sup> 王邦维《唐高僧义净生平及其著作论考》,重庆出版社,1996年出版。

<sup>3 《</sup>宋高僧传》卷一《唐京兆大荐福寺义净传》,《大正藏》卷五十。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 【唐】义净原著《南海寄归内法传》王邦维校注,中外交通史籍丛刊,中华书局 , 1995年4 月出版。

<sup>5</sup> 王邦维《唐高僧义净生平及其著作论考》,重庆出版社,1996年出版。

<sup>6</sup> 指的是义净的亲教师善遇法师

<sup>7</sup> 同注(4)。

<sup>8</sup> 同注(4)。

<sup>9</sup> 同注(5)。

<sup>10</sup> 同注 (4)。

## 二、义净西行求法

从众多对于义净进行考究的古代和现代文献中,我们可以观察到义净那般坚 定西行赴印求法之心,其原动力主要来自于以下三方面:

- (一)如上述所提及义净西行求法的念头和意志是受前辈高僧法显和玄奘的影响,尤其玄奘的辉煌成就最为刻骨印象深刻。义净在其著作《大唐西域求法高僧传》(以下简称《求法高僧传》)里写道:"观夫自古神州之地,轻生徇法之宾,显法师则创辟荒途,奘法师乃中开王路。""以表他对法显和玄奘二位高僧的景仰和作为自身的楷模。麟德元年(664)二月五日,大翻译家、一代高僧玄奘在长安圆寂,葬礼极为隆重。玄奘的去世更让义净西行求法的意志更加坚定。12
- (二)慧习禅师的鼓励,劝请他出外游学。"我目下且有余人给侍,勿废听读,而空住于此。"辞别慧习,首先他到东魏修习《对法》、《摄论》,随后便到西京参学《俱舍》、《唯识》。这几部经论都是当时玄奘的翻译巨著。义净这段期间的游学生涯,迅速提升他自身的佛学修养。于是,在其三十七岁那年,在长安相约了处一、弘祎等人有共同志向西天求法的僧人,一同出发。未出发前,义净返回齐州向老师慧习请示。义净获得了慧习禅师的莫大支持。慧习禅师给于义净的这段话很是感动:"尔为大缘,时不可再。激于义理,岂怀私恋?吾脱存也,见尔传灯。宜即可行,勿事留顾。观礼圣踪,我实随喜。昭隆事重,尔无间然。"13
- (三)西行到佛教发源地求取"真经"以解决中土(中国)佛教僧团修持上的问题。此举乃义净意志坚定不移前往天竺取经的初衷。唐初是中土佛教发展的关键时期,当时的佛教面临着一些亟待解决的问题,这些问题将直接影响着中土佛教的兴衰。在教理上,经论研讲虽十分兴盛,但理解不明,歧义纷纭混乱;在起居修道上,戒律弛坏,虽四律五论早已译传,但没有真正起到规约的作用。对此深有所感的有识之士便为此一重大使命求索方案。14义净在还未启航出国以前,就非常重视戒律,而且研读过法砺和道宣二位律师的著作。之后到达那烂陀寺留心收集律部梵本,尤其《根本说一切有部》之律典,作为他翻译的重点。

## 三、义净与南海的因缘和其航程

在法显的《佛国记》里,我们可以探查到这位东晋西行求法高僧法显是选择了陆路行程从叶城附近南下,经由喀喇昆仑山而进入巴基斯坦(巴基斯坦当时直属印度西北领土)。而唐代高僧玄奘则选择了从甘肃西部的敦煌出发,经过新疆,越过葱岭,到达苏联和阿富汗边境,再由印度西北部(今巴基斯坦)进入印度。以上二位西行高僧无疑是曾冒着生命极度危险,克服重重严峻考验,攀山越岭,

<sup>11</sup> 王邦维《大唐西域求法高僧传校注》,中华书局,1988年出版。

<sup>12</sup> 王邦维《唐高僧义净生平及其著作论考》,重庆出版社,1996年出版。

<sup>13</sup> 义净《南海寄归内法传》卷四, T54n2125

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 冯相磊《义净对根本说一切有部律的译传研究》,山西财经大学学报,第34卷第5期,2012年 12月出版。

横穿沙漠,而最终到达西天取经求法。玄奘之后,另一唐代僧人,也就是本论文主角—义净,则选择了海路西去天竺求法。此路由广州出发,沿越南东海岸航行到达今印度尼西亚的苏门答腊岛,再经马来半岛的南端西去印度洋的孟加拉湾,然后在印度的东海岸登陆。此航程也具其艰难度,尤其长时间在海上航行。据悉曾有僧人如唐初常愍法师因所乘船载超重而途中沉没。15

义净最终选择海路主要有两大因素促使:其一恰逢贵人相助。咸亨2年(671)年初,义净从齐州南下,经过濮州、曹州,到扬州,便在扬州坐夏三个月。义净结束其扬州三个月的夏日安居后,恰好遇上了一位正准备到岭南道龚州上任郡守的人—冯孝銓。于是,两人相随同行到广州。到达广州,冯氏再度邀请义净到岗州。义净获得了冯氏家族在于财力和物质上的丰厚资助,于咸亨二年(671)十一月,和善行两人,搭上波斯商船,终于开始了他西行天竺取经求法之旅。16

其二乃当时中外商业贸易空前发展,广州为当时最重要的对外贸易港口。义净在《求法高僧传》中记载了36位经海道前往印度求法的高僧的事迹,为我们勾勒出义净时期的中国与南海海上交通状况。前往南海贸易的船只多从中国的南方港口出发开始远航。在众多的始发港中,广州的地位最为重要,其次是交州。「真人元开18在其《唐大和上东征传》描绘广州当时的盛况:"江中有婆罗门(印度)、波斯、昆仑(南海)等舶,不知其数,并载香药珍宝,舶深六七丈。狮子国(今斯里兰卡)、白蛮、赤蛮等往来居住,种类极多。"每年五六月,今东南亚、南亚、西亚的船只,顺着亚洲东南部和印度洋上盛行的西南季风,载满香料、象牙等货物来到广州、扬州等地,到十一月东北季风起便扯帆乘风而去。19由于有此商舶之便,而西北陆路又时通时断,故赴印求法的中国僧人及来华的外国僧人,也多附商舶从此往返。义净于咸亨二年(671年),十一月搭上波斯商人的船只,离开广州南航。20

义净在其《求法高僧传》里,记录了这么的一段话描绘当时南航海上惊心动魄,极为险峻的一幕:

"至十一月,遂乃面翼轸,背番禺。指鹿园而遐想,望鸡峰而太息。 于时广莫初飙,向朱方而百丈双挂;离箕创节,弃玄朔而五两单飞。 长截洪溟,似山之涛横海;斜通巨壡,如云之浪滔天。"

无论如何,义净还是在海上航行约二十天后顺利抵达南海中的渤淋邦国(后称室利佛逝国),今印度尼西亚苏门答腊岛上的巨港(Palembang)。义净在这里停留了六个月,学习声明(梵文),为天竺求法作前行准备。实际上,义净是第二次到达佛逝时才知晓该地名"室利佛逝"。他第一次从广州出发来到南海这片土地时并不名为"室利佛逝"。在义净结束其求法生涯,从天竺返回南海时,末罗瑜和羯荼等国已并入室利佛逝的版图。室利佛逝版图辽阔,《新唐书》是这么记载的:"室利佛逝,一曰尸利佛逝,过军徒弄山千里,地东西千里,南北四千里而

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<sup>15</sup> 周桓《义净前往南海诸国和印度的事迹及其贡献》,河北大学学报,1982年出版。

<sup>16</sup> 王邦维《唐高僧义净生平及其著作论考》,重庆出版社,1996年出版。

<sup>17</sup> 石坚平《义净时期中国同南海的海上交通》,江西社会科学,2001年出版。

<sup>18 《</sup>唐大和上东征传》作者真人元开是日本人,是日本天智天皇的后裔、奈良时代著名文学家。 真人元开于779年,即鉴真和尚逝世十六年后用中文撰写本书。

<sup>19</sup> 卓建明(中山大学东南亚研究所)《试论义净在唐朝和南海诸国关系史上的作用和地位》,世界历史,1992年第6期出版。

<sup>20</sup> 同注 (18)。

远。"<sup>21</sup>义净在其翻译的《根本说一切有部百一羯磨》也有这么的一条小注:"驿(耽摩立底)即是升舶入海归唐之处,从斯两月泛舶东南,到羯荼国,此属佛逝。舶到之时,正当二月。若向师子洲,西南进舶,传有七百驿。停此至冬,泛舶南上,一月许到末罗遊洲,今为佛逝多国矣。"<sup>22</sup>

在巨港附近发现的刻于公元683年的碑铭提到一位大统领希扬率领大军远征,到达巨港,建立了名为室利佛逝的新都城,以此庆祝远征的胜利。刻于公元684年的另一块碑铭提到室利佛逝国王下令建立封建僧侣庄园来巩固自己的统治基础。显然佛逝的历史是从683年开始的。<sup>23</sup>依据义净自身的记录,室利佛逝在当时是南海其中重要的交通枢纽和贸易中心。佛逝当时也是一个佛教中心,僧侣众多,国王崇尚佛法。义净在其所翻译之《根本说一切有部百一羯磨》一书中是这么劝勉欲向西行求法的中国僧人首先停留佛逝学习的一段话:"又南海诸洲,咸多敬信。人王国主,崇福为怀。此佛逝廓下,僧众千余。学问为怀,并多行钵。所有寻读,乃与中国不殊。沙门轨仪,悉皆无别。若其高僧欲向西方为听读者,停斯一二载,习其法式,方进中天,亦是佳也。"<sup>24</sup>

义净在室利佛逝停留学习六个月后,在渤淋邦国王的鼎力支助下,前往末罗瑜国。末罗瑜是义净南海行程的第二站。从末罗瑜国,义净北上到达羯荼,成为他前往印度的第三站。羯荼是一般研究南海诸国的历史学家所认同的今马来半岛的吉打州。义净在其《求法高僧传》里是这么记载的:"王赠支持,送往末罗瑜国。復停两月,转向羯荼。至十二月,举帆还乘王舶,渐向东天矣。"

从羯荼往北行十余天,便到达了裸人国<sup>25</sup>。从裸人国朝西北行半月后便到达 耽摩立底国<sup>26</sup>。这是义净西行海上航行的终点站,义净终于到达了印度。根据《寄 归传》记载,这时是咸亨四年(673)二月八日,离开他出发的时间,已经有一年多了。"缘历诸国,振锡西天,至咸亨四年二月八日,方达耽摩立底国,及东 印度之海口也。"<sup>27</sup>

综上所述,义净赴印的南海航行,即从广州出发,横渡大海,到达苏门答腊岛南部的巨港(后称佛逝)。而后沿着苏门答腊东岸航行,途径末罗瑜国。由此转向西行,穿过马六甲海峡,到达羯荼(今吉打)附近。再从羯荼出发,经裸人国(今尼科巴岛),向西行到达耽摩立底国。<sup>28</sup>

## 四、义净对南海的贡献

论就义净一生的成就和贡献, 从其翻译过的佛教经论和自身撰写的著作到中

<sup>21 《</sup>新唐书》卷222下《南蛮传》。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 《根本说一切有部百一羯磨》卷五,义净自注,CBETA 電子版 T24n1453 [0477c12]。

<sup>23</sup> 王任叔《印度尼西亚古代史(上)》,中国社会科学出版社,1987年出版。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 【唐】义净原著《南海寄归内法传》王邦维校注,中外交通史籍丛刊,中华书局 , 1995年4 月出版。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> "裸人国"即今尼科巴岛(Nicobar)。义净对该地男子裸体,女子以树叶蔽体,以铁为贵的记载同苏莱曼《游记》所记载的尼科巴岛情景不谋而合。 (注)义净《求法高僧传》也有详尽记载裸人国地方民族状况。或见王邦维《唐高僧义净生平及其著作论考》,页7-8。

<sup>26</sup> 耽摩立底国位于今恒河口的 Tumluk。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> 【唐】义净原著《南海寄归内法传》王邦维校注,中外交通史籍丛刊,中华书局 , 1995年4 月出版。

<sup>28</sup> 石坚平《义净时期中国同南海的海上交通》,江西社会科学,2001年出版。

外交通、语言及文化交流史上,都有着卓越和亮眼的成绩。依据《开元释教录》 的记载,义净一生一共翻译出了五十六部二百三十卷的佛教经论。无论如何,考 究义净翻译生涯的诸多近代学者,包括周桓、王邦维、卓建明等人都一直认为《开 元释教录》所举出的数字不能准确表明义净一生翻译佛经的数量。譬如卓建明在 其论文中举出: "义净一生译著甚多,前后翻译107部,都428卷,并勒编入一切 经目。"这些著作散失较多,至《开元录》编定时(730年),就仅剩下60部239 卷。"29又王邦维在其《唐高僧义净生平及其著作论考》里提及:"义净实际翻译 的佛经,数量不止于此30。现存的他所翻译《根本说一切有部》的多种律中,至 少就有七部五十卷没有包括在内31。"有关义净详尽的译著编年目录,请参阅《唐 高僧义净生平及其著作论考》第一章之四。这里不一一举出。至于义净在印度留 学时到过的无数佛教圣迹和其在那烂陀寺学习的状况和事迹,这里也不一一举例 说明。本论文所要彰显和特别着重的是义净对南海所作出的极大贡献。

公元685年, 义净那烂陀寺东归。在归国途中, 义净单单停留在室利佛逝的 时间就一共长达六年多,即垂拱三年(687)的正二月间至长寿二年(693)夏天。 32在这六年多期间,义净曾一次回到广州。"净于佛逝江口升舶,附书凭信广州, 见求墨纸,抄写梵经,并雇手直。"33制旨寺是当时广州最大的佛寺之一,寺里的 僧人给义净介绍了几位助手。义净在广州只停留了三个来月。永昌元年(689) 十一月一日, 义净与他约请的四位僧人: 贞固、怀业、道宏、法朗一起, 再次搭 乘商船出发。十二月,船到达室利佛逝。34随后义净在这四位僧人的协助下,翻 译了一些经典,又写成了两部自身的著作《大唐西域求法高僧传》和《南海寄归 内法传》。

义净在南海诸国周游和停居的时间长达十余年35。因此,义净对于南海诸国 社会情况是相当熟悉,而在其著作里对南海地区的描述的可靠度是相当之高。其 对南海诸国情况的记述,主要蕴藏在两部重要的自身著作里,即《大唐西域求法 高僧传》和《南海寄归内法传》,为我们留下一份无比珍贵的历史遗产。义净对 南海诸国特别是对室利佛逝的记述迄今为止仍是最具权威性的原始资料。36

本论文也意图探析从印度尼西亚历史学家用印尼原文所记录下义净事迹的 相关资料来彰显其对南海诸国,尤其有关七世纪室利佛逝王朝的悠久历史和文化 上所作出的奇特贡献。以下这几段印尼原文是从印尼本土史籍中摘录下来,显示

34 同注 (34)。

<sup>29</sup> 卓建明(中山大学东南亚研究所)《试论义净在唐朝和南海诸国关系史上的作用和地位》,世 界历史, 1992年第6期出版。

指的是《开元释教录》所记载的数目,即五十六部二百三十卷。

<sup>31</sup> 冯相磊《义净对根本说一切有部律的译传研究》,山西财经大学学报,第34卷第5期,2012年 12月出版。

<sup>32 【</sup>唐】义净原著《南海寄归内法传》王邦维校注,中外交通史籍丛刊,中华书局,1995年4 月出版。

<sup>《</sup>求法高僧传》卷下所附的《重归南海传》。

<sup>35</sup> 年份零片资料抽取于义净《寄归传》和其所翻译《根本说一切有部百一羯磨》一注中: 义 净于公元671年11月从广州出发,在南海停居一年多,于673年2月8日抵达东印度海口。于 685年离开印度那烂陀寺。

于686年回到南海羯荼国。

于687年回到南海末罗瑜洲。羯荼和末罗瑜当时一直属佛逝。

于公元695年中夏抵达洛阳。

<sup>36</sup> 卓建明(中山大学东南亚研究所)《试论义净在唐朝和南海诸国关系史上的作用和地位》,世 界历史, 1992年第6期出版。

印尼本土的历史学家是如何看待义净和其两部重要著作对印尼,乃至东南亚(南海)悠久历史所作出的重大贡献:

(一)在 Wacana Jelajahi Perabadan – Sejarah Nusantara<sup>37</sup>《走遍文明之(南海)群岛历史演绎》中是这么描摹义净和其对当时"金洲"(Suwarnadwipa)和"室利佛逝"(Sriwijaya)的详尽记述:

"Belumlah lengkap jika dalam membicarakan sejarah Suwarnadwipa pada umumnya dan sejarah Kerajaan Sriwijaya khususnya, kita tidak membicarakan seorang tokoh pendeta Cina yang bernama I-T'sing. Betapa tidak! Segala pengalaman yang dilihatnya mengenai keadaan, kejadian, dan hal-hal lain mengenai Sriwijaya tanpa disadari kini menjadi dokumen yang berharga dan mampu mengungkapkan berbagai fakta sejarah. Yang juga patut kita hargai adalah bahwa ia mencatat demikian lengkap sampai hal-hal kecil yang mungkin untuk mereka mereka saat itu tidaklah penting."

【笔者中文翻译】: 这不能算是完整 ,如果我们讨论有关"金洲"(Suwa madwipa)的历史,特别是"室利佛逝"(Sriwijaya)王国的历史,而不提及一位名叫"义净"(I-Tsing)的中国西行求法僧人。这极为重要!他所记述有关室利佛逝当时的情况,大小事宜和其他所闻和经历,现已经成了一个具有权威和富有价值的历史参考文件,揭示各种历史事实。还有值得一提 和赞扬的是,他的记录是非常的详尽,乃至在当时被人们认为不那么重要 的一些大小事情。

(二)另一印尼原文文献 Mengenal I-Tsing (634-713)<sup>38</sup>《认识义净(634-713)》 是这么形容义净和其两部重要著作,即《南海寄归内法传》和《大唐西域求法高僧传》:

"Dalam kedua karyanya ini, I-tsing menguraikan letak and keadaan Sriwijaya and negara-negara Nusantara lainnya. Karena itulah uraian-uraian Pendeta I-tsing ini menjadi informasi penting tentang sejarah Nusantara abad ke-7, khususnya tentang Sriwijaya. Ia menyebut Sriwijaya dengan nama Shih-Li-Fo-Shih. Nama I-tsing sendiri senantiasa disebut-sebut dalam penulisan sejarah Indonesia kuno."

【笔者中文翻译】:义净在其两部著作中详尽描述了"室利佛逝"(Sriwijaya)和其他"(南海)群岛"(Nusantara)国家(当时)的地理 位置和情况。这多亏义净法师当年的重要记载,成为现代研究七世纪(南海)群岛历史,特别是有关"室利佛逝"留下重要之参考资料。他称"Sriwijaya"为"室利佛逝"。在印度尼西亚古代的历史著作中总是常常提及"义净"的 名字。

Wacana Jelajah Perabadan – Sejarah Nusantara, *Kerajaan Sriwijaya; Pusat Ilmu dan Cahaya Buddha di Asia,*<a href="http://www.wacana.co/2015/09/kerajaan-sriwijaya-pusat-ilmu-dan-cahaya-buddha-di-asia/">http://www.wacana.co/2015/09/kerajaan-sriwijaya-pusat-ilmu-dan-cahaya-buddha-di-asia/</a>, 2015. 摘录日期: 2017年11月29日.

Arti Definisi Pengertian, *Mengenal I-tsing (634-713)*, http://arti-definisi-pengertian.info/mengenal-l-tsing-634-713/. 摘录日期: 2017年11月29日.

(三) 在《南海寄归内法传》的印尼文翻译本"Kiriman Catatan Praktik Buddhadharma dari Lautan Selatan",的一篇序文<sup>39</sup>中,印度尼西亚文化部总监如此写道:

"...Meskipun Yi Jing seorang biksu, tetapi catatannya tidak hanya berisi praktik Buddhadharma dan pembelajaran agama Buddha di Pulau-Pulau Lautan Selatan dan India, namun yang juga tidak kalah pentingnya adalah penyebutan Shili Foshi and Moluoyou yang diidentikkan dengan Sriwijaya dan Melayu di Pulau Sumatra....Penyebutan Sriwijaya dan Melayu menjadi sangat menarik di kalangan para peneliti dan penulis sejarah kebudayaan sebagai rujukan dalam rekonstruksi klasik sejarah kebudayaan Indonesia."

【笔者中文翻译】: 虽然义净是一位比丘,但其笔录不仅包含了佛教教义和其在南海群岛和印度的学习经历,而且更是提到了被确认为苏门答腊岛上的"室利佛逝"和"末罗瑜"已引起了众多历史文化研究员和写作家的重大关注,已成了印度尼西亚古代文化历史的重建工作重要参考资料。"

若谈及义净对南海及东南亚地区的另一大贡献,不得不从其著作,尤其《求法高僧传》中了解当时中国(初唐时期)同南海各国间的海上交通路线及状况。譬如书中记述了三十六位往来于中国与南海之间的西行求法僧人的事迹,为研究这方面提供了相当可靠的资料。义净在此传记中也清晰的记载了许多当地的民间习俗、宗教信仰、物资产量和语言文化等各方面的实况,描绘初唐时期中印及东南亚之间的友好关系。其次,义净的另一著作《寄归传》记录了其自身在南海诸国及印度的所见所闻。这是一部以佛教律学为探讨核心,涉及佛教寺院组织、戒律仪轨、僧人起居生活等状况的综合记录。书中也记载了各地社会历史、文化教育、医药卫生、地理交通等方面的情况。这也同样成为研究七世纪中外交通和中印及南海地区文化交流不可或缺的重要文献。40

## 五、结语

本论文从探究义净在十七八岁开始萌起西行求法的念头至到其愿望成行,其过程坎坷,考验重重,坚韧等待启程的诸多因缘的和合,最终满其所愿到达佛国参访进修。在中国唐朝时期的中外海上交通之发达显然也是义净选择走海路的原因之一,加上他遇上了贵人相助。

在义净未抵达印度之前和其印度学习结束之后的航海旅程中停留在南海地 区长达十余年的事迹和其详尽记述当地情况,更是提供后世专研这一区域的历史 文化交流一个不朽和精辟多元的史库遗产。

自于义净自身那奋勇孤行,不畏艰险和坚韧不拔的精神,是值得我们尊重和成为一生学习的楷模。中国近代学者如季羡林先生,更毫不犹豫的表扬义净是中

Kacung Marijan, (Kata Pengantar) Kiriman Catatan Praktik Buddhadharma dari Lautan Selatan Oleh Yi Jing, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Budaya, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Edisi Bahasa Indonesia, 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> 张浩《丝路千帆远 佛法联古今 - 记唐代求法译经僧义净》,跋涉在丝绸之路上的高僧之五,南京大学中国南海研究协同创新中心,https://nanhai.nju.edu.cn/64/87/c5798a156807/page.htm。 摘录日期: 2017年12月5日。

国佛教史和翻译史上开辟一个新纪元的高僧,是中印文化的传播者,是中印人民友谊的象征,是中国人民的脊梁。义净不愧是七世纪一位伟大的旅行探险家,文化交流使者,更是一位卓越的佛教经典翻译大家。

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