佛光山海外弘傳的文化適應問題

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中文摘要

佛教起源於印度,發揚在中國、日本、泰國、斯里蘭卡等亞洲地區。在 歷時逾兩千五百年的發展過程中,佛教必須不斷的適應各種文化、種族及風 俗民情。做為全世界最大的佛教團體之一,佛光山陸續於全球五大洲兩百多 個地區設立道場,並獲得當地人士的肯定。而創辦人星雲大師是如何成功的 使人間佛教全球化、本土化及普及化?本文旨在從文化適應的角度來探討佛 光山在星雲大師的領導下,促使人間佛教本土化的現況,以及所使用的策略 是否適當?面臨的文化衝突又該如何解決等問題。

關鍵字:人間佛教 佛光山 文化適應 融合 同化





Issues of Acculturation and Globalization Faced by the Fo Guang Shan Buddhist Order

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Abstract

Ever since Buddhism was transmitted from India to other parts of the globe, it has had to find its way through a seemingly endless array of host cultures. As the world's largest Buddhist order, Fo Guang Shan has successfully taken root in some 200 major cities across the Five Continents. How has Humanistic Buddhism as advocated by Fo Guang Shan's founder – Venerable Master Hsing Yun, acculturated to a wide range of cultural locations across the world? This paper aims to assess the progress and acculturation of FGS, and discuss the factors of success and failures in terms of its acculturation strategies, changes in the approaches of Dharma propagation, and acculturative stress experienced.

Keywords: Humanistic Buddhism, Fo Guang Shan, acculturation, adaptation, integration, assimilation.

1) Introduction

Ever since Buddhism was transmitted from India to other parts of the globe, it has had to find its way through a seemingly endless array of host cultures. The question of whether it has successfully adapted to these cultures can be answered by evidence of existing traditions of Buddhism that have thrived in different cultural locations such as China, Tibet, East Asia, Southeast Asia throughout the past twenty-five thousand years; most recently, in the modern West. While growing interests in the doctrine, beliefs and philosophy of Buddhism have placed this oriental and mysterious religion in the limelight, considerable attention is also being paid to the questions regarding how Buddhism has adapted or acculturated to the unique but varied cultural locations in the era of globalization.

Attempts at acculturation were present from as early as the Sixteenth Century. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) was the first Jesuit missionary to venture into the Far East. Struggling to learn the local languages in the face of opposition, he had little success in the spreading and upkeep of Catholicism in China. Among his many successors was Mattheo Ricci (1552-1610), who exerted tremendous influence on the Jesuit China Mission¹. His success in bridging Western and Eastern cultures can be attributed to his new missionary policy to completely understand and appreciate the Chinese cultural and moral values. He learned to speak and write the Chinese language with proficiency, relinquished his missionary attire and dressed like the Chinese scholars, and mastered Confucian classics as the price of entrance to conversation with the Chinese elite and Western classics that gave him the authority to offer an alternative to Confucianism.² He was prepared by rigorous study to confront skeptical opponents with learned confidence. Nonetheless, his





greatest method of acculturation was not his intellectual brilliance, but his ability to maintain his "foreign" religion without threatening their own cultural identity. By adapting Catholicism to Chinese language and traditions rather than make Europeans of the native Chinese also meant to adapt the teachings of the Church to Chinese society, and to accommodate Catholic devotional and liturgical life to Chinese sensibilities.

In considering Matteo Ricci's intense academic and spiritual activity, we cannot but remain favorably impressed by the innovative and unusual skill with which he, with full respect, approached Chinese cultural and spiritual traditions. It was, in fact, this approach that characterized his mission, which aimed to seek possible harmony between the noble and millennial Chinese civilization and the novelty of Christianity, which is for all societies a ferment of liberation and of true renewal from within, because the gospel, universal message of salvation, is destined for all men and women whatever the cultural and religious context to which they belong.³

Such innovative approach to assimilating and integrating Catholicism and the Chinese culture would be an exemplar to any "foreign" customs or beliefs that sets out to take root in a place other than its origin.

Although Chinese Buddhism found its way into the west much later than Japanese Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism, whose language advantage gave them an early exposure in the United States and Europe, the third wave of Chinese immigration that took place in the second half of the 1900's eventually gave Chinese Buddhism a huge nudge in its progress of globalization. It is now gaining

considerable exposure in the five continents. A major cause for such a rapid development can be attributed to the Fo Guang Shan Buddhist Order.

Founded in 1967, the Fo Guang Shan (Buddha's Light Mountain) Order expanded steadily across Taiwan, and subsequently to Los Angeles in the United States, and then to the major cities of the globe. Within a short period of twenty years that followed, it is now a headquarters to 200 branch temples spread across the globe, and the Buddha's Light International Association, an NGO recognized by the United Nations, with a membership of two million lay and monastic Buddhists, as well as home of the Buddha Memorial Center, a Buddhist landmark that attracted over 10 million visitors within the first year of its grand opening.

How has Humanistic Buddhism as advocated by Fo Guang Shan's founder – Venerable Master Hsing Yun, acculturated to a wide range of cultural locations across the world? As the world's largest Buddhist order, Fo Guang Shan has successfully taken root in some 200 major cities across the Five Continents. This paper aims to assess the progress of Fo Guang Shan's acculturation, and discuss the factors of success and challenges in terms of its acculturation strategies, changes in the approaches of Dharma propagation, and acculturative stress experienced.

2) The Fo Guang Shan Order and Venerable Master Hsing Yun's concept of acculturation

Fo Guang Shan Monastery is the headquarters of approximately two hundred branch temples in thirty-three countries and regions around the world. About seventy-four are located in Taiwan, while one hundred and sixteen are situated in other countries. The first step of globalization was taken when its first overseas





branch temple - Hsi Lai Temple was established in Los Angeles in the United States. Known as the largest Buddhist temple in North America, Hsi Lai Temple, whose name means "The Dharma Coming West," was inaugurated on November 16th, 1988, and has since served as a multi-purpose and international monastery. Hsi Lai Temple is known as "The Forbidden City of America," and also listed as the largest Buddhist temple in the Western hemisphere. Other notable branch temples include: 1) Nan Hua Temple in Bronkhorstspruit, South Africa – Along with the African Buddhist Seminary, Nan Hua Temple serves as a religious and educative center in Africa, providing monastic training to national Africans who aspire to become a part of the order's Dharma propagation endeavors, as well as skills training for those in search of a job to support themselves; 2) Nan Tien Temple in Wollongong, Australia – Known as "Paradise in the Southern hemisphere," it is also the largest Buddhist temple there. Situated over 55 hectares of land, Nan Tien Temple was inaugurated on October 8th, 1995, and has since been a major center of Buddhist practice in Australia, especially after becoming a stop of the 2000 Sydney Olympics torch route, it has been receiving even greater visibility as the most popular Buddhist spot in Australia; 3) Templo Zu Lai in Sao Paulo, Brazil - completed in 2003, not only is it Fo Guang Shan's very first branch in South America, it is also the largest Buddhist temple there.

With the temples as the bases of Dharma propagation in and outside of Taiwan, Fo Guang Shan was ready to expand its endeavors in education on an international basis since the early 1990's, the education undertakings include sixteen Buddhist colleges; and seventeen libraries, nine art galleries, four universities, two senior high schools, two junior high schools, four kindergartens, thirteen community

colleges (formally known as Open Universities), city Buddhist college, and the Shrimala Institute, as well as over fifty Chinese schools abroad.

There are also cultural undertakings such as the Merit Times Newspaper, Beautiful Life Satellite Television Station, Fo Guang Publishing Enterprise, Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Gandha Samudra Culture Company, Voice of the Ganges Records, the Fo Guang Shan Buddhist Canon Committee, and the Fo Guang Shan Electronic Buddhist Canons, which focus on Buddhist academic research and promoting the popularization of Buddhism by using modern technology and the power of modern media.

In terms of charity, Fo Guang Shan has established various charitable undertakings that provide care and support for individuals at every stage of life, from birth to death. There are volunteer services that provide medical care, emergency care, and disaster relief in and outside of Taiwan, as well as children's homes, retirement homes for seniors, and hospice cares.

On top of all these, there is the Buddha's Light International Association established by Venerable Master Hsing Yun established in 1991. At present, it has more than 200 chapters and over a thousand subchapters in over one hundred and seventy countries and regions around the world with a total membership of over two million. The BLIA has members from all walks of life, including business entrepreneurs, and professionals in education, culture, academics, and charity. Founded out of the spirit of equality among monastic and lay Buddhists, BLIA members work hand in hand with the Fo Guang Shan monastic order like the two wheels of a cart or the two wings of a bird, and together, they shoulder the grand mission of propagating Humanistic Buddhism to benefit all sentient beings.





One may find it hard to fathom how this Buddhist monk managed to accomplish so much in a matter of few decades not only by his wholehearted dedication, but also by inspiring over one thousand monastic disciples and millions of devotees to follow his lead in realizing the ideal: "may the Buddha's Light shine over the entire universe; and the stream of Dharma to flow across all five continents," to him, the answer is quite simple, "I had no particular strategies. All that came to mind was the need to consider each human being's needs and place that as top priority, because Buddhism is a religion for humans. The Buddha was born in the human world, he also cultivated, attained enlightenment, and taught the Dharma in this world, therefore, if one cannot apply the teachings of the Buddha to their daily life, then one may as well consider that teaching useless."

Although Venerable Master Hsing Yun insists that there were no strategies, one can nevertheless discover the "humanistic" approaches in his every effort to propagate the Dharma to human beings, in the particular discussion of this paper, the following are his ideas of how Buddhism can become acculturated to respective countries:

1. Native-born abbot for native temple

When the Indian monks went to China, they dedicated their effort to the translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese, and left the responsibility of building Buddhist temples as centers for spiritual cultivation to the local monks. Imagine if Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna chose to stay in China instead of returning to India after their jobs were done, what would have become of Chinese Buddhism today? Bodhidharma also demonstrated the very idea of acculturation

by transmitting the Dharma to Huike (487-593), who was a native Chinese, and subsequently passed down the Chan lineage to other Chinese monks generation after generation. Similarly, Venerable Master Hsing Yun, as an immigrant from mainland China, having only served as the Head Abbot of Fo Guang Shan for eighteen years after founding the monastery, passed the abbotship to his disciple Hsin Ping (1938-1995), a native of Taiwan, despite the objections that Venerable Master Hsing Yun was still young and should continue his term as abbot for many more years. In doing so, not only did Venerable Master Hsing Yun make a perfect demonstration of his ideal: that the baton should be handed to talented young leaders of the Order so that Fo Guang Shan can continue to thrive under the alternations of each generation's leaders, he was also demonstrating an awareness of the importance of realizing the acculturation of Fo Guang Shan Monastery in Taiwan,

Generally speaking, acculturation is usually defined from a subjective point of view, but my definition says otherwise. I place myself in the shoes of the culture of settlement, and hope that one day the temples that I have built can be handed over to the leadership of a native-born. For example, a temple built in Africa should be managed by a native African leader, and a temple built in Europe should be run by a native European. Some of my disciples have objected, "Venerable Master, we have put so much blood and sweat into constructing these temples, how can we just hand them over to the hands of these foreigners like this?" I replied, "In the past, such Indian Buddhist masters as Kumarajiva and Dharmaratna came to China to transmit the Dharma, if the temples remained in the





hands of these Indian monks, do you think there will be such thing as Chinese Buddhism today? The Dharma is for all sentient beings, while all sentient beings need the Dharma. These native-born monks will do a much more effective job in propagating Buddhism in their own country than us......I hope that our temples can be placed in the hands of native-born monastics within the next two or three decades. Therefore it is our duty to support them in every way possible so that Buddhism can be disseminated globally at a much faster pace.⁴

In March 2013, Venerable Master Hsing Yun announced at the Inaugural Ceremony of Fo Guang Shan's 9th Abbot, that Most Venerable Hsin Bao would be assisted by five newly appointed Deputy Abbots, among them was Venerable Hui Feng, a native New Zealander who has studied and practiced at Fo Guang Shan's temples in South Africa, China, Hong Kong and the headquarters in Taiwan for over a decade. Venerable Hui Feng's appointment symbolizes a giant leap in the realization of Venerable Master Hsing Yun's ideal of acculturation.

Any Chinese tourist in America would know better than to eat at a Chinese restaurant, because the best fried rice can only be tasted in China, just as the best pizza is most likely to be produced in Italy, and the best sushi in Japan, only the locals know how to produce the best for their own people. In the same manner, the best way to ensure that Buddhism, either as a religion or way of life, to find its way into the life and hearts of the local people, is to entrust this mission to any native-born who possesses sufficient knowledge about Buddhism and their own culture to bridge the gap and blend the two into one.

Since ancient times, many Buddhist masters in China have opted to step

outside of monasteries situated deep in the mountain forest and reach out to society to serve people, because they were aware of the needs of human beings. In the same manner, Humanistic Buddhism is something people in the west are able to connect to and feel its relevance to real life; and the best catalyst to the acculturation of Humanistic Buddhism would be a native-born spiritual leader who knows how to create such connections.

2. The legitimacy of paying equal devotion to two religious beliefs

While one must not forget the love of their mother, one cannot forget the protection offered by their father either. In the same manner, Venerable Master Hsing Yun advocates that having two religious beliefs at the same time is not any different or wrong from offering equal devotion to both of one's parents,

Not only do I encourage the people from Malaysia, a Muslim country, to follow two religious beliefs simultaneously, I also advocate that Christians or Catholics in countries such as America and Australia should be able to take refuge in Buddhism without having to convert from their original beliefs. I am confident that the compassionate Buddha has a heart big enough to understand my intentions and see it as an expedient Dharma propagation method.⁵

In saying so, Venerable Master Hsing Yun's definition of commitment to a religious belief is one of democracy and freedom. For most religions, the action of taking refuge or being baptized symbolizes wholehearted and lifetime commitment and that converting to other religions would be deemed a transgression or cause for some kind of divine punishment or retribution. On the contrary, Venerable





Master Hsing Yun offers at every Triple Gem refuge taking ceremony a more open perspective of refuge taking. He explains the act of refuge taking as the result of an individual's freewill, because Buddha is not a means of control over what one should believe in. Each individual has the total freedom to decide what they want to believe in or not to believe in. Buddhism demonstrates a capacity of religious freedom and does not claim exclusiveness over any doctrine. Just as long as it assists in improving moral values, bettering people's lives, and purifying human minds, it will be suitable for any human being regardless of race, religion or culture. He uses the example of transferring from one school to another to explain the Buddhist view of conversion to other religions,

When one takes refuge in the Triple Gem, it is similar to enrolling in a school, should that individual choose to convert to another school one day, he will not be penalized or judge, it only means one has chosen to learn something different, and all one needs to do is to take the procedure of disenrollment. One should note though, it is also a promise which one has made, but failed to keep in the end.⁶

This level of magnanimity was demonstrated by Sakyamuni Buddha himself. Many of his principal disciples such as Sariputra and Maudgalyayana began as followers of Brahmic teachers and displayed certain levels of doubt upon their first encounter with Buddhism; Uruvilva-Kasyapa, Nadi-Kasyapa, and Gaya-Kasyapa who were also priests of fire-sacrifice with over a thousand disciples. Not only did the Buddha embrace them despite their identities, he even instructed them to pay equal respect to their previous teachers and continue serve them as dutiful pupils. Such nobility has aided the further development of Buddhism and won even more

respect in the Buddha.

3. Additional options are better than lessened choices

By presenting Buddhism as an additional option instead of a mutually exclusive belief against other existing religions that already have a long history in Europe, America, Asia and Africa, Venerable Master Hsing Yun has given Fo Guang Shan a much wider range of development particularly in Catholic and Muslim countries. In believing that participation in religious rites should be selfwilled rather than forced, the seemingly indispensable rules and regulations which give a religion its sacredness are loosened at Fo Guang Shan's overseas temples to inspire self-willed acceptance. For example, at Hsi Lai Temple, national American visitors are given the choice not to bow or prostrate to the Buddha at a Dharma service unless they themselves were absolutely happy to do so; hamburgers and fries became an option on the menu at the tables of Buddhist meals; English is used as the chanting language at Dharma services; the BLIA Lay Dharma Lecturer's System was introduced to offer lay Buddhists the opportunity to teach the Dharma, thereby lifting the rigid rule where only monastics were to lead in spiritual cultivation and Dharma propagation. Along with the ideal of appointing a nativeborn abbot to the temple, not only has Venerable Master Hsing Yun come closer to the "internationalization" of Humanistic Buddhism, he is also realizing the acculturation of Humanistic Buddhism.

For many years, I have hoped to achieve the "internationalization" of Buddhism by propagating Buddhism in various parts of the world; while doing so, I have also actively promoted the "acculturation" of





Buddhism. Nevertheless, in the process of doing so, I choose to offer additional options to people instead of lessening their choices by trying to convert them from their original religious belief....My purpose of constructing Buddhist temples in the five continents is to enrich people's spiritual world by introducing Buddhism to them. For example, when I constructed Hsi Lai Temple, what I had in mind was that in a country of technological advancement and freedom of religious belief, wouldn't it be even better if Buddhism became an additional choice for them? It did not take long to prove that America was after all a huge melting pot. The fact that she was willing to accept new cultures, and draw on the strength of each to offset her own weaknesses is exactly what makes her one of the world's greatest countries.⁷

Furthermore, upon hearing news of the September 11 attack that took the lives of thousands and changed America forever, Venerable Master Hsing Yun not only insisted that the Fo Guang Shan Monastic Choir's continue their 2001 tour in the United States, so that the Buddhist music could bring peace and solace to fearful and broken hearts, he even led his disciples to Ground Zero in person, and prayed for the victims. Being fully aware that the thousands who had lost their lives to this tragic event were from different backgrounds, his purpose there was not to deliver the Buddha's blessings but solace from God, Allah, and many other figures of belief. Through an amplifier in front of the burning debris, he said the prayer softly,

Oh Buddha, Dear God, Dear Lord Jesus Christ, Dear Allah,

They are in dire need of your blessings and protection!

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They are like lost travelers looking for a secure home......

Dear Buddha, Dear God, Dear Lord Jesus Christ, Dear Allah,

Please bless and protect your people....

Please grant them the confidence to live a new life.8

Having said that Humanistic Buddhism is any teaching that "was taught by the Buddha, needed by humanity, that which is purified, and that which is good and beautiful," in such a prayer, Venerable Master Hsing Yun has offered Buddhism as, among many other religions, a belief that can bring happiness and peace into people's lives, something which serves as a spiritual shelter to those who are feeling weak and helpless, and something like a ray of hope in times of despair and hopelessness, as long as they are willing to embrace it and experience the beautiful it has to offer.

Buddhist organizations such as the World Fellowship of Buddhist, and the International Association of Religious Freedom have collaborated with Fo Guang Shan temples worldwide to organize international conferences and events. With such openness and friendliness, Fo Guang Shan has, throughout the years, consistently cultivated the right causes and conditions to expose itself on the international stage.

4. Teach what is new to the locals in their language

From large countries to small regions in the world, each of them has their own language or dialect, and it is the most direct way for a foreign culture to blend into the life and mindset of any given culture. For example, the first Indian monks –



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Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna who brought Buddhism into China not only learned how to speak Chinese, they also translated foreign texts into the Chinese language. Because of what they did, Buddhist texts such as the Sutra in Forty-Two Chapters became widely disseminated. Therefore, the acculturation of Buddhism cannot take place without the use of local language to win acceptance by the natives.

Language serves as the bridge that links Buddhism to each part of the world. It is so essential that the propagation of Dharma will almost be impossible if it was not done in the local language, let alone showing people why Buddhism is a good option to a bettered life. In light of this, Sakyamuni Buddha himself instructed his disciples not to teach the Dharma in the divine Sanskrit language, because it would hinder the popularization of Buddhism amongst the locals, most of whom only spoke the common dialects.¹⁰

Not forgetting the Buddha's compassionate intentions, Fo Guang Shan has adopted an extremely wide range of language abilities in disseminating the Dharma. For example, the International Translation Center was established in Hsi Lai Temple to translate Buddhist texts into more than twenty-six languages; training programs for Dharma propagation in English, and Japanese were introduced by Venerable Master Hsing Yun from as early as 1976 to enhance the global propagation of Dharma, which later developed into the English Buddhist College, and Japanese Buddhist College. Up to date, among Venerable Master Hsing Yun's over one thousand disciples, are people from some twenty-six countries; and hundreds of whom are graduates of these programs who are now serving at FGS branches worldwide, propagating the Dharma in English, Spanish, Japanese,

Korean, Portuguese, French, German, and many other languages.

In terms of language application, Hsi Lai Temple in America has held the Triple Platform Full Ordination Ceremony on two separate occasions, one was a month-long period in 1988, and the other a two-week long ceremony in 2008; in addition, Nan Tien Temple also hosted the first ever Triple Platform Full Ordination Ceremony in Australia for a period of two-weeks. On each occasion, the ceremonies were conducted in Mandarin Chinese, English, Cantonese, and even Korean for the participants from different parts of the world. These events also encouraged intertradition and cross-region dialogues among Buddhists.

Chanting services at Hsi Lai Temple, Nan Tien Temple, and Templo Zu Lai were adapted into English, and Portuguese procedures to enable a greater sense of involvement through an actual understanding of what is being chanted instead of the conventional method of having non-Chinese-speaking participants to merely chant along in pinyin, not understanding the meaning of the words which they were mouthing. In addition, although conducted in different languages, the procedure is standardized across the across so that the devotees can get right into the chanting services wherever they go in the world. Ven. Hui Chuan, President of the Supervisory Council, indicated that in recent years, "The Dharma practices at Fo Guang Shan have become more standardized and more routine in nature, including the time when such Dharma assemblies are conducted. The sequence of actions in conducting a Dharma assembly have been integrated into a unified process that is consistent at all branch temples around the world. What this means is that no matter where a devotee goes, they can quickly join in, sparing them from having to adapt to something new all over again." ¹¹





By always putting the devotees' needs into consideration, Fo Guang Shan has been able to spread Humanistic Buddhism in America and Europe much more smoothly and rapidly.

5. Incorporating the spirit of respect, tolerance, peace and equality

The Humanistic Buddhist approach to acculturation is progressive, harmonious, friendly, respectful, tolerant, and embracing. Furthermore, Humanistic Buddhism poses itself as a teaching that is easily applied to one's daily life, and this teaching is propagated with the objectives of bettering the world, improving the quality of life, and raising the moral values among people.

Venerable Master Hsing Yun stresses that Buddhism was never intended to be used as a tool by one culture to eliminate the other; instead, it seeks to coexist and develop as one with the existing cultures. For this very reason, Humanistic Buddhism seeks to integrate with the local culture in every country it reaches, and to develop in accordance with the unique characteristics exhibited by that country¹².

"Joy and Harmony," "Respect and Tolerance," "Oneness and Coexistence," "Peace and Equality," "Wholeness and Freeness," "Nature and Life," "One Truth for All," "To Resolve and to Develop," "Self-Awareness and Practicing the Buddha's Way," "Change the World and Benefit Humanity," "Bodhisattva and Volunteer," "Environmental and Spiritual Preservation," and "Happiness and Peace" are the themes of each BLIA General Conference throughout the past twenty years. "These themes also serve as the guiding principles for BLIA members in their efforts to progress in their own spiritual cultivation, as well as in offering their services to the world. Furthermore,

these themes also serve as common goal for global Fo Guang Shan and BLIA members who wish to contribute to the acculturation of Humanistic Buddhism,

Modern Buddhism is no longer regional or divisional....Buddhist development should be a harmonization between Mahayana and Theravada, between the lineage of both North and South, between the sangha and the lay community, of all four orders, and between orthodoxy and modernity.¹⁴

Having the capacity to transcend regions, traditions and schools, Fo Guang Shan has shown to the world that acculturation does not have to be achieved through overpowering or eliminating others; instead, it needs to be achieved by willingness to coexist, cooperation, and mutual inspiration.

The Triple Platform Full Ordination Ceremony held by Hsi Lai Temple in 1988 broke down the barrier between Southern and Northern Buddhism by having Buddhist masters from both traditions to preside over the ceremonies together. In 1998, Venerable Master Hsing Yun took the ceremony Bodhgaya, India, and assisted over two hundred Buddhist nuns from twenty countries in becoming fully ordained under the witness of Mahayana and Theravada masters, thereby restoring in the Southern Buddhist tradition the bhiksuni precepts that have disappeared for almost a thousand years. To reunite Buddhists at the place of Buddha's enlightenment became yet another unprecedented accomplishment of Fo Guang Shan.

3) Strategies of Acculturation

If the Fo Guang Shan Order is considered to be a cultural group, then without





a doubt, in its process of acculturating to thirty-three different countries, the issues of how to encounter people of different cultural backgrounds, seek avenues of mutual understanding, negotiate and compromise on their own initial positions, and achieve some degrees of harmonious agreement must be addressed.

Groups and individuals seek to engage in the process of acculturation in a variation of ways, and these variations have been termed acculturation strategies¹⁵, namely: assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration. By assessing the current development of Fo Guang Shan temples in different parts of the world based on these four strategies, the questions of whether the order is successful in its attempt of acculturation or not can be addressed.

John Berry defines acculturation as the following:

Acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. ¹⁶

He further defines acculturation as based on two principles: (1) Cultural Maintenance: The extent to which individuals value and wish to maintain their cultural identity. (2) Contact Participation: The extent to which individuals value and seek out contact with those outside their own group, and wish to participate in the daily life of the larger society.

In another formulation, acculturation was defined as

Culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from non-

cultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modification induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaption of traditional modes of life.¹⁷

Further complications are faced by Fo Guang Shan, who not only faces the challenges of having to adjust to different cultures of settlement in thirty-three countries, but is itself a culture of origin that consists of members from over twenty six countries. Furthermore, although the Order carries with it the background of Chinese Buddhism¹⁸ when it enters Catholic and Christian countries such as Brazil, the Philippines, and those in Europe, having encountered the massive waves of Chinese immigration across the globe, besides the culture of settlement it must encounter, there is yet another culture to which it must encounter and adapt to at the same time.

For example, Fo Guang Shan's settlement in Australia began in the late 1980's, which is also the time when the peak of Chinese immigration took place. When a center was established near Sydney airport in 1992, the first people to approach this center were the Taiwanese or Cantonese people who, upon arriving in a strange land where people spoke a different language and lived a very different lifestyle, had the need to fulfill their spiritual needs while making efforts to adapt to the Australian society. "Unlike others, when Cantonese immigrants arrive in a new country, the first thing they look for is not a place to eat or to make money, instead, the first place they would visit is a place to pay respect to Buddha." Therefore, a place where people spoke their language, and shared similar religious practices was the place closest to being called home. Very quickly, the center became too





small for the fast growing population of devotees, and Fo Guang Shan sought a new location in Parramatta, a town forty-five minutes away from Sydney central by car. While continuing to offer spiritual service, Fo Guang Shan also introduced the Chinese school to assist third-generation Chinese immigrants in maintaining their "mother-tongue." By tending to such needs, Fo Guang Shan quickly became successful in its development in Australia, where IBAA, Parramatta had a regular Sunday attendance of two hundred or more, where the people enjoyed spiritual solace, and a sense of belonging. Up to this point, the separation strategy appears to be adopted, where individuals place a value on holding onto their original culture, and at the same time, wish to avoid interaction with others. Having acculturated to a so-called alien culture of settlement, Fo Guang Shan was far from being done with acculturation.

At the same time when IBAA Parramatta thrived under the support of the Chinese immigrants, Fo Guang Shan continued to seek yet another location – a hill top in Wollongong situated at the outskirt of Sydney, the Nan Tien Temple, which was subsequently completed in 1995. With its never-before-seen Chinese palace style architecture in Australia, Nan Tien Temple quickly became a popular spot for tourist, schools, and individuals who were ready to embrace Buddhism. Every week, school groups poured into this majestic Buddhist temple on religious and cultural excursions, and tourists drove from places as far as the Blue Mountains and Melbourne to enjoy the peaceful atmosphere inside the Temple's Main Shrine, museum that exhibits Buddhist art and culture, and the serene sounds of the gong and drum in the early morning and evening. Weekend meditation retreats, regular meditation, vegetarian cooking, tai-chi, Buddhist studies, Chinese language and

even calligraphy classes conducted in English began to attract the locals who gradually volunteered to become tour guides and helpers at the temple. The Pilgrim Lodge, tea house, and reception center even became popular to Australian job seekers who began to see Nan Tien Temple as their home. The annual Buddha's Birthday Celebration at Sydney's Darling Harbour attracted more than 60,000 visitors. In 2010, the Nan Tien Institute received final approval from the NSW Department of Education and Training as a higher education provider, offering undergraduate and graduate courses in Buddhist studies with courses related to ethics, psychotherapy and cross-religious studies. Traits of the integration strategy can be detected, where Fo Guang Shan has managed in both maintaining the heritage culture while in daily interactions with other groups. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, that is, traditions of the Buddhist practice, and at the same time seeking, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network.

Clearly, the transition from separation to the integration strategy was a permissible and smooth one for Fo Guang Shan, where it began with the support of a similar ethnic group that was ready to embrace the commonalities between themselves and what Fo Guang Shan already has to offer in a strange land, thereby developing a steady support for further development, and then began its outreach to a larger culture of settlement by accommodation of language and their needs and interest in Buddhism as a new religion in Australia.

Among the many views about the meaning of acculturation, the following formulations have been mentioned frequently

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups





of individuals have different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture pattern so of either or both groups....under this definition, acculturation is also to be distinguished from culture change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation.²²

By assimilation, it means when individuals or groups chose to shed their heritage culture, and become absorbed into the dominant society. In other words, without maintaining their cultural identity, they seek daily interaction with other cultures. Such a strategy, although largely undesired, appears somehow necessary for Fo Guang Shan in countries where another culture or religion enjoys a long and strong history. To explain this from a different perspective, as the non-dominant group, Fo Guang Shan's task in such countries is to observe and discover what the people need first, in other words, to place itself in a position where it is needed by people.

The first example is Templo Zu Lai in Brazil. In light of the growing number of children without support in their daily needs and education, the temple and BLIA, Brazil established the "Sons of Zu Lai" Charity and Education Project in 2003.²³ Children between ages 7 and 17 from nearby areas of poverty were brought to Templo Zu Lai on a weekly basis to receive education in language, health care, and dancing, while those above age 13 are provided with skills training in pizzamaking, and bakery to prevent them from becoming marginalized in society due to a lack of skills to support themselves financially. Each week, these children were given a basket of food and daily necessities to bring home. At the time, concepts such as the Three Acts of Goodness and the Five Precepts were incorporated into

their daily learning to turn passive attitudes into positive ones. Up until 2013, the first class of the "Sons of Zu Lai" have graduated from the project, with an average age of 23, some have progressed to tertiary education, while some have a steady income and built their own families. Without the project, many of these children would possibly have become drug dealers or thieves who are struggling to feed themselves.

The government also showed recognition in this project by providing a free land of 1223 square meters for twenty years, so that Templo Zu Lai can build the Sons of Zu Lai Hope Education Center that offers programs in general education, meditation, English, Computer skills, soccer, Capoeira, ballet, choir, music instruments, drama, aerobics, kung fu, painting, Chinese, poetry; and also in cooperation with SENAC, establish the PET-Programa de Educacao para o Trabalho to provide career advice and support.

In terms of charity, BLIA, Paraguay has in the past 15 years, been actively engaged in charitable works. So far, it has donated more than a thousand wheel chairs to the handicapped people, and over a thousand tons of rice, clothing and medical supplies to the poor and needy. To abide by Buddha's compassionate spirit in relieving people from illness and suffering, the Hospital Los Angeles Paraguay-China was established in November, 2003, and has since provided free medical cares to the ill, in particular, 20 baby incubators to local hospitals and expenses require to care for premature babies. In 2011, the emergency infant care center was established by BLIA, Paraguay, along with a monthly subsidy of \$US180,000 in personnel expenses by the ITAIPU Dam, as well as 4 medical apparatus at the price of several hundred thousand US dollars donated by the Ciudad del Este





District Attorney's Office. Furthermore, BLIA Paraguay also works closely with Bishop Rogelio in the soya milk machine project in Ciudad del Este. With the help of Paraguay Catholic Church and the First Lady of Paraguay, 84 soya milk stations have been set up to give away free soya milk two to three times per week, producing 71,000 liters of free soya milk to 4,500 families and two hospitals every month. By the joint effort of Fo Guang Shan and the local government as well as churches, this is an example of mutual or reciprocal acculturation, where the powerful role played by the dominant group in influencing the way in which acculturation would take place, where Fo Guang Shan's objective of benefiting society through charity has been actualized in South America.

The second example of assimilation is Fo Guang Shan in the Philippines. Clearly, in a Roman Catholic country, Buddhism cannot develop without both parties accepting diversity as a feature of the society as a whole while managing to maintain its own culture. In this case, some long-term adaptations is deemed necessary.

Adaptation refers to the relatively stable changes that take place in an individual or group in response to external demands. Individuals or groups may change to become more like their environments, or involve resistance and attempts to move away from them altogether. One either becomes well adapted or become unable to carry on in the new society.

Once again, a similar approach to that in Australia is adopted here, where the spiritual needs of the Chinese community was fulfilled first to maintain patronage for the temple. In 1988, the Philippino couple - Mr. and Mrs. Lu His-chung, at the behest of their mother's late benevolent will, donated a piece of land of over

thousand pings to build a Buddhist temple by the name of Chu Un Temple. Due to a lack of monastic leadership to spread Buddhism, the couple paid several visits to Fo Guang Shan through the recommendation of friends, in the sincere hope of inviting Fo Guang Shan's monastics to reside in Cebu so as to propagate Buddhism.

Venerable Master Hsing Yun was deeply moved by the Lu family's dutifulness, and delegated Ven. Tzu Jung as the first Abbess of the Temple, which was later on passed down to Ven. Yung Guang as the successor to take up the mission of continuing Dharma propagation over this archipelago country.

The development of Buddhism in the Philippines began to take a different route when the element of music was added to these two cultures. Having begun as the Sounds of the Human World Music Competition, Fo Guang Shan found their link to the local musicians and singers, and this connection was deepened by the musical production of "Biography of the Buddha." In the form of selfartistic fulfillment, the performers who came to rehearse at Chu Un Temple were introduced to the values of the Noble Eightfold Path, the Four Noble Truths, and the Middle Way through singing these doctrines as songs, and were introduced to meditation and chanting as part of their training during rehearsal. Slowly they become accustomed to the Buddhist practices of joining palms, and greetings of " Omitofo," which means goodwill, and see the temple as their second home where they enjoy friendship and self-discovery through their interaction with the devotees and Buddhist nuns at the Temple. Although they rehearsed at a Buddhist temple and were performing a musical centered around the story of Buddha, the Buddhist nuns at Chu Un Temple abided by Venerable Master Hsing Yun's instructions to give them space and respect where they come from. In 2008, during their rehearsal





breaks inside Taipei National Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Memorial Hall, Catholic priests were invited to the Hall to hold a missa for the performers so they do not feel too distant from God after being on the road for weeks. On the level of individual enlightenment, the performers were able to maintain their faith while offering devotion to Humanistic Buddhism as a way of life, which fits well with Venerable Master Hsing Yun's advocating the legitimacy of having two religious beliefs without interfaith clashes

Though Buddhism seems to have become acculturated, no conversion is taking place in this case,

We may say that acculturation of Buddhist faith to the non-Buddhist participants took effect, but this doesn't mean that there's religious transformation...the participants are acculturated with the kind of faith towards the values of the Buddha' teachings. The faith towards the teachings offered a great impact in the dealing of their daily life's endeavors...their faith towards the teachings combined with their artistic expression...was some degree of spiritual transcendence experienced which resulted in the strengthening of their Christian faith.²⁴

Marie Antoinette Gorgonio, who played the role of Yasodhara in the musical feels that having encountered Buddhism has made her a better Christian, and up until today, she and at least a dozen other performers remain in close and friendly contact with Fo Guang Shan.

In this case, the formulation is from the perspective of non-dominant people, and is based on the assumption that such groups and their individual members

have the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate. There is no denying that acculturative stress existed due to resistance resulting from issues regarding conversion and conservative belief that hinder some of the people's participation, because the majority of Filipinos are Roman Catholics who have been raised with the belief that bowing to other gods is a sin of idolatry. Added to the fact that performing such a musical would mean an action of propagating another religion, anyone who remained with the production may be taken as someone who is willing to be a part of a group conversion. Nevertheless, taken from the perspective of character and personality development, the youth have become even attracted to Buddhism without the pressure of such stresses. Many of the performers remain active members at Chu Un Temple to date, either participating in or teaching classes on songwriting workshops, essay writing contests, musical Chinese New Year, and the Humanistic Academy of Life and Arts.

4) Resolving Conflicts

Cultural maintenance, contact and participation, and the power to decide on how acculturation will take place are the dimensions of acculturation which Fo Guang Shan, based on what has been said above, has managed to take into account in its efforts to develop globally. Clearly, marginalization or separation is avoided most of the time, because these two almost always lead to conflict and failure of acculturation.

In the effort of its global development, Fo Guang Shan has minimized acculturation stress by upholding the spirits of peace and equality, respect and tolerance, as well as oneness and coexistence in the following aspects:





1.Make yourself at home wherever you go

Any attempt to marginalize or separate oneself from the country or culture in which one lives will only hinder the process of acculturation,

When I travel the world, I continue to advocate localization of Buddhism. By localization I mean an attitude that is willing to contribute, to be friendly, and to compliment instead of rejection and denial. For example, although many Chinese immigrants have obtained American citizenship, they do not necessarily recognize America as their home country. This is why I encourage BLIA members to proudly claim that "I am American" when they take part in the Independence Day parades, because in my mind, if you live in America, then you should be like an American. It will do no good for you to be in a nation apart from your geographical nation.²⁵

Therefore, something as simple as your willingness to make yourself at home can be your progress in acculturating to the culture of settlement.

2. Respecting cultural values

Humans may turn each other into enemies, but they must never make enemies with culture. Just as we wish for others to accept our own culture, others would wish for the same,

In the past, no matter where the Chinese went or what they did, they are also claiming to be "glorifying and promoting the Chinese culture." This is not entirely appropriate, because in Asia, there is Asian culture, in

America, there is American culture, and European has its own European culture, and African culture. We must respect each culture and aim to achieve harmonious integration instead of trying takeover what is already there. I once gave a talk at Cornell University, and Professor John McCrae said to me, 'it is okay to say you are here to propagate Buddhism, but the constant mentioning of the Chinese culture will make it sound like you are here to conquer the American culture.' This was a very good reminder for us to respect different cultures. We should be there to contribute and to serve just in the same way as how Buddhists offer flowers to Buddhas and bodhisattvas in the form of goodwill."²⁶

Instead of striving for conformity, freewill offers a greater sense of harmony and prevents rejection or marginalization in the culture of origin.

3. Accepting diversity by consistent engagement in dialogues

Venerable Master Hsing Yun continues to stress, "There are so many Buddhist organizations across the globe, only by regarding others as we do ourselves, and coexist in harmony can we share a future."

Not striving for exclusiveness, Fo Guang Shan also maintains friendly relations with other religions. For example, Venerable Master Hsing Yun has made friendly exchanges with Pope John Paul II, and Pope Benedict VXI. He has also been received by the current and previous two Prime Ministers of Malaysia and made exchanges on harmony. He has also met with various religious leaders and talked about interfaith harmony.

In maintaining an open and magnanimous mind, Fo Guang Shan maintains





friendly relations with different social and religious circles throughout the world.

5) Future Challenges

While one may say that Fo Guang Shan's current progress in acculturation is more of a successful one than a failure, some future challenges must not be overlooked. For example, attention must be paid to the aging community of the Chinese patrons who played a vital role in Fo Guang Shan's early development across the globe. Should Buddhism cease to be the family heritage, changing values in third generation Chinese immigrants whose Chinese proficiency are evidently much lower than that of their parents may cause a dramatic change in such a patronage. When this happens, can sustained development be maintained? Can the Fo Guang Shan Order react quickly enough to respond to such a change when faced with the pressure of having to adapt to the culture of origin?

Another challenge that needs to be confronted is the percentage of cultural maintenance and assimilation that can be allowed so as to efficiently achieve acculturation without dramatic change of Fo Guang Shan's values? In the process of introducing Humanistic Buddhism to the culture of settlement, will conformity prevail? Or will freewill give a broader direction to their future development?

These are only a few of the foreseeable issues which Fo Guang Shan must face. In an era of rapid change and development, can the current strategies remain fit to keep the current pace of globalization?

6) Conclusion

What seems certain are that cultural diversity and the resultant acculturation

are here to stay across the globe. Finding a way to accommodate each other poses a challenge of adaption when the right strategy is chosen or rejection if the strategy causes irritation. In Fo Guang Shan's effort to acculturate in different locations of the world, clearly, a mixture of the integration and assimilation strategies have been effective in the accomplishment of such a goal. Although the process is a long and tedious one, Venerable Master Hsing Yun has already provided very clear goals to members of the Fo Guang Shan Order in assisting Humanistic Buddhism to develop in accordance with the need of people in each country of the world, in particular, respect and tolerance, peace and equality, which shall eventually bring changes to humanity and offer happiness and peace to the globe.

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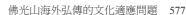
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功名富贵之前退讓三分,何等安然自在; 人我是非之前忍耐一些,何等怹閒自得。

~《佛光菜根譚》

