

**STUDIES ON  
HUMANISTIC BUDDHISM Ⅳ**

**HUMAN LIFE  
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Fo Guang Shan Institute of Humanistic Buddhism, Taiwan  
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# THE BUDDHIST NATIONALISM IN MASTER FAFANG'S THOUGHT<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

As is well known, in the nineteenth century, China faced a severe national crisis due to the invasion of Western powers. In particular, the import of Western ideologies had a big impact on the idea of “Huaxia-centrism” (*Huaxia zhongxin zhuyi* 華夏中心主義), which caused Chinese intellectuals to have a strong sense of crisis concerning the status of Chinese national-cultural identity.<sup>2</sup> It was in this context that “nationalism” as a modern concept was introduced to China from Europe and Japan in the late nineteenth century. Drawing on the scholarship of Liah Greenfeld, Suisheng Zhao points out that the power of nationalism came from the fact that it “locates the source of individual identity within a ‘people,’ which is seen as the bearer of sovereignty, the central object of loyalty, and the basis of collective solidarity.”<sup>3</sup> Nationalism in modern China was manifested mainly in patriotic movements, unifying and reconstructing the Chinese nation internally, and resisting the invasion of foreign powers externally. With this ethos, many Chinese people equated their own interests with that of the nation—some even sacrificed their own interests in the interests of the nation.<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon was particularly conspicuous during the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945).

Buddhism possesses a characteristic of universalism, and it should not have boundaries between nations or territories. Nevertheless, under the above-mentioned circumstances, the development of Buddhism in modern China was inevitably intertwined with nationalism. As Gregory Adam Scott points out, every aspect of Buddhism in China was targeted for “reform” or “modernization” by those who wanted it to play a role in the salvation of the Chinese nation.<sup>5</sup> In order to save the nation, and also to improve the social status of Buddhism, Chinese Buddhists (and Buddhist scholars) not only presented Buddhism as an important component of traditional Chinese culture that could be used to resist the invasion of Western culture, but also tried to prove that it was helpful for revitalizing the Chinese nation. During the first half of the twentieth century, a group of scholar-monks, the most famous being Master Taixu 太虛 (1890–1947), strongly advocated Humanistic Buddhism (*renjian fojiao* 人間佛教), a modern transformation of Buddhism that can be

considered “a way to fit into the ‘national body’ of the evolving nation-state.”<sup>6</sup> They called on Buddhists to get out of temples and engage in the construction and revival of the Chinese nation.

Master Fafang 法舫 (1904–1951) was an outstanding figure among these scholar-monks. He was a prominent student of Master Taixu, and was intimately involved with the nexus between Buddhism and Chinese nationalism. He participated in many Buddhist activities and presented many ideas on social and political affairs, having contributed not only to the development of Buddhism, but also to the construction of a new China. This essay focuses on the integration of Buddhist universalism with Chinese nationalism as expressed in Master Fafang’s writings. It examines Master Fafang’s thoughts in terms of two questions. First, how did he relate the Buddhist salvation of the world to the salvation of the Chinese nation? And second, how did he connect Confucian and Daoist thoughts with Buddhist thought, and then elaborate his view that other philosophical schools in traditional Chinese culture, just like Buddhism, also have universal values and thus should be promoted to benefit the whole world? The answers to these questions are aimed to illuminate Master Fafang’s “Buddhist nationalism.”

## **1. The Buddhist Salvation of the World and the Salvation of the Chinese Nation**

In his first and most basic teaching, the Four Noble Truths (Sanskrit: *catvāri ārya-satyāni*), the Buddha revealed the root of our suffering and the way to attain *nirvāṇa* (that is, to reach enlightenment).<sup>7</sup> It can be said that the reason why Buddhism appeared in this world is because the Buddha intended to save all of the people (and even all sentient beings), guiding them to enlightenment from suffering. Master Fafang obviously agreed with this view. He believed that Buddhism was a religion beneficial to all living beings, rather than a “pastime” (*xiaoxian pin* 消閒品) for a small number of people.<sup>8</sup> In an article composed in 1933, Master Fafang stated clearly that the Buddhist reforms during the early decades of the twentieth century took the whole world as its scope and all human beings as its target of salvation;

under no circumstances could it be limited to a certain nation-state.<sup>9</sup> Fafang's perspective is consistent with the Buddhist characteristic of universalism.

An important reason for Master Fafang to emphasize the universal value of Buddhism is that he hoped to use the Buddhist idea that all sentient beings are equal without differentiation to stop the wars in the world. In an article completed in early 1935, he stated:

With regard to the salvation of all living beings through Buddhist teachings, since there is no differentiation between categories, how could there be a division between self and others? How could there further be a differentiation between nation-states? When Śākyamuni Buddha (probably 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century BC) initially established [Buddhism], he [intended to] overthrow hierarchy and break the notion of “country” (*guojia* 國家). Therefore, there is no hierarchical division in Buddhist teachings, and all Buddhists are equal without any exception, making no distinction of ranks. To receive Buddhist teachings is to believe in bringing benefit and joy to sentient beings without boundaries between countries. If hierarchy is overthrown, then there will be no class war; if the notion of “country” is broken, then there will be no national war. If these wars are eradicated, then human beings can enjoy security, and world peace will be forever.<sup>10</sup>

In Master Fafang's view, the antagonisms between classes and between countries are the causes of war. Accordingly, he believed that Buddhism, which insists on great compassion for all living beings, and which considers all living beings to be equal, could save the world from this situation. Indeed, in his writings, Master Fafang repeatedly discussed the harmfulness of war and maintained that Buddhist teachings are helpful for promoting world peace,

because “true peace” (*zhengzheng de heping* 真正的和平) must be established on the basis of freedom and equality.<sup>11</sup>

As for how to save the world through Buddhism, Master Fafang proposed that we should apply Buddhist ideas (compassion, equality, etc.) to the various aspects of human life, such as economy, politics, and military affairs.<sup>12</sup> We should also obey the Buddhist stipulation, which prohibits people from “killing each other, stealing from each other, having licentious behaviours with each other, deceiving each other, etc.” because only in this way could world peace be maintained and killing be eliminated.<sup>13</sup> Master Fafang’s suggestions can be considered to be a practice of Humanistic Buddhism.

Most of all, Master Fafang believed that, to save the world, one must save his or her own country first. While maintaining that the Buddhist salvation of the world does not have boundaries between countries, he also emphasized that Buddhists have different nationalities:

Buddhists differ from country to country. Therefore, to do the work of saving the world, they must start with saving their own countries. If their countries have perished and everything is enslaved to others, they cannot even save their own countries, then how could they talk about saving the world? This is like the fact that, if we ourselves cannot survive, then we cannot help others to survive. If we can save China, then the whole world will also be saved. This is because China is a country that strives for good faith and peace, and it has a quarter of the world’s population. When China is strong, with its peace and perseverance, it will surely be able to influence other countries and help other nations. Buddhists are a part of citizens and, naturally, they should love their countries. [If] Chinese Buddhists do not love China and do not save China, how could they love

the world and save humans?<sup>14</sup>

This passage indicates that the universal value of Buddhism can only be realized if the national identities of Buddhists are protected. This is particularly the case in China, which has a big population and thus should be very influential on the world if it is strong. Therefore, Chinese Buddhists must save China first, because only in this way could they be in a position to save the world. This perspective certainly cannot be separate from the nationalist ideology in modern China. It can also be considered as an expedient means (*upāya*) adopted by Master Fafang to achieve the universal values of Buddhism. In any case, the Buddhist salvation of the world and the salvation of the Chinese nation were linked together.

How, then, could Chinese Buddhists save the nation? When China reached a point where its very existence was at stake due to foreign aggression, it is natural that, like many other Chinese people at the time, Master Fafang believed that Chinese people, including Buddhists, should defend their nation by resisting foreign aggression. In 1936, in order to fight against foreign enemies, Chinese people—the youth in particular—began to receive military training, and Buddhists were also required by the Chinese government to perform military service. This call received positive responses from many young Buddhists across the country since they deemed it as a good opportunity to serve the country and to manifest their nationalist spirit.<sup>15</sup> With regard to this issue, Master Fafang believed that a country is composed of its citizens, and every citizen should fulfill his or her obligations to the country. Since military service is a kind of national obligation and Buddhists are citizens, Buddhists certainly should perform military service.<sup>16</sup> When the Anti-Japanese War broke out in 1937, in an editorial postscript in the Buddhist monthly journal *Haichao yin* 海潮音 (*Voice of the Sea Tide*), Master Fafang further presented that Chinese Buddhists should repay both the grace of the country and the grace of sentient beings and, thus, should rise up with great compassion to fight the national disaster and save all sentient beings.<sup>17</sup> This also reflects Master Fafang's merging of the salvation of Chinese nation and the salvation of all sentient beings.

Master Fafang's insistence that Buddhists should fight the war and save the nation, which represents the position of many Chinese Buddhists at that time, can be said to be a unique product of modern China. On the one hand, he was keen to apply Buddhist teachings to the whole world, while, on the other, China was facing a severe national crisis, which hindered the development of Chinese Buddhism. It was precisely under this situation that he connected the universalism of Buddhism with nationalism and patriotism, hoping that the salvation of the Chinese nation could facilitate the Buddhist salvation of the world.

## **2. The Buddhist Salvation of the World and the Promotion of Traditional Chinese Culture**

Master Fafang was a staunch cultural nationalist who attached great importance to the development of traditional Chinese culture.<sup>18</sup> In the late 1930s, aimed at the phenomenon of some Chinese scholars advocating total Westernization, he made the following comments:

In our country, scholars have generally been inclined to Western imports since the May Fourth Movement. [They believe that] Western politics, academics, religions, military affairs, etc. are all good, while those in China are old, boring, behind the times, and [thus] should be abolished. This is wrong. I am not the kind of person who opposes accepting Western culture. What I mean is that we should “borrow others’ strengths to make up for our shortcomings” (借人之長，補我之短), and that we cannot totally abandon the four to five thousand year old culture of our nation. If Chinese civilization is abolished, then what kind of oriental culture can be carried forward to the West? In my view, the decline and extinction of [a nation’s] culture is more terrible than any other loss with regard to the survival of the nation.<sup>19</sup>

In fact, Master Fafang's emphasis on traditional Chinese culture was not merely for national rejuvenation, but also because he believed that Chinese culture, as a representative of Eastern civilization, was conducive to helping and saving human beings all over the world. For him, the more advanced

science becomes, the more harmful it is to human beings. Although the material civilization of Western Europe had made great contributions to humans, humans had also suffered from its scourge, such as the damages caused by chemical warfare. In Master Fafang's view, a solution to this problem is to transmit the characteristic of "great kindness, faithfulness, sincerity, and peacefulness" (*daci zhongxin, zhencheng heping* 大慈忠信，真誠和平) of Eastern culture to Europe and America, so as to remedy the deficiencies of Western civilization. According to Fafang, only Confucianism and Buddhism are truly representatives of Eastern culture; Confucius' "way of benevolence and righteousness" (*renyi zhi dao* 仁義之道) and the Buddha's spirit of saving the world compassionately are sufficient to remedy the drawbacks of Western scientific civilization.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, if Chinese Buddhists wanted to save human beings throughout the world and achieve world peace, they must first restore and develop Eastern civilization, in particular Confucianism and Buddhism in Chinese culture. The above reflects both Master Fafang's sense of national cultural superiority and his integration of the Buddhist salvation with the promotion of Chinese culture.

Based on his cultural nationalism, and with his intention to save all human beings, Master Fafang often associated Buddhist thought with the thought of other schools (in particular Confucianism and Daoism) in traditional Chinese culture, attempting to develop Buddhism while reviving traditional Chinese culture. As he stated in the mid-1930s when he summarized the contributions of *Haichao yin*, this journal "on the one hand pays attention to the revival of indigenous culture, while, on the other, strives to vitalize Buddhism, increase the value of Buddhism, and seek cultural rejuvenation for Chinese people, so as not to let the life (*shengming* 生命) of this nation—Buddhist culture—disappear because of the times."<sup>21</sup>

On the whole, Master Fafang claimed that Chinese culture "takes the three schools—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism—as its main foundation (*zongben* 總本), and takes Daoism as the heart and soul (*xingan* 心肝), Confucianism as the backbone (*gugan* 骨幹), and Buddhism as their co-operator (*peihe* 配合)." Specifically, Chinese cosmology is represented by

Laozi 老子 (trad. sixth-fifth centuries BC) and Zhuangzi's 莊子 (ca. 369–286 BC) thought—in particular those ideas in *Zhouyi* 周易/*Yijing* 易經 (*The Book of Change*), and its ideology of ethics and society—is represented by Confucius' (Kongzi 孔子, 551–479 BC) and Mencius' (Mengzi 孟子, ca. 372–289 BC) teachings—especially those in *Liji* 禮記 (*The Book of Rites*). Buddhism clarifies the principles of cause and effect and that the myriad dharmas are nothing but the mind, which complements Confucianism and Daoism.<sup>22</sup> What Fafang intended to express is the view that Buddhism is an important component of Chinese culture, which lays a foundation for combination of the development of Buddhist thought and the revival of traditional Chinese culture.

Master Fafang's cultural nationalism and his intention to develop Buddhism are embodied in his effort to connect Buddhist views with Confucian and Daoist ideas, find out their commonalities, and uphold them as a unity. With regard to the salvation of the world through promoting Chinese culture, he once emphasized that such social phenomena as killing, abuse, and fraud were caused by the human mind, and these phenomena could be eliminated by means of traditional Chinese philosophy. According to him, what is said as “cultivating the mind” (*xiuxin* 修心) and “purifying the mind” (*jingxin* 淨心) in Buddhism, “correcting the mind and making intentions sincere” (*zhengxin chengyi* 正心誠意) in Confucianism, and “gentlemen must cut open their hearts” (君子不可以不剝心焉)—meaning that gentlemen should get rid of their distracting thoughts—in Daoism, are ways of transforming people's minds. Through these methods, the various kinds of ill minds in society can be refined, and the social situation can thus be improved.<sup>23</sup> By linking the views of “mind” in Buddhism with the Confucian and Daoist discourses on “mind” (or “heart”), and also through illuminating the significance of these ideas concerning their effect on society, Master Fafang once again integrated Buddhist salvation with the promotion of Chinese culture.

Moreover, Master Fafang also compared Chinese philosophy with Western philosophy to demonstrate the superiority of the former to the latter. For instance, he differentiated the concepts of *shengming* 生命 and *shenghuo*

生活, both of which can be translated into English as “life,” taking *shengming* as the continuous process of human life and *shenghuo* as the activities (such as eating and drinking) needed in this process. Firstly, he considered the level of *shengming* to be higher than *shenghuo*: “Ordinary people only know how to pursue *shenghuo*, but do not know how to value *shengming*. People with a higher level of knowledge know how to value *shengming* in addition to pursuing *shenghuo*.” In his view, Western philosophy emphasizes *shenghuo* and seeks only material enjoyment: the development of material civilization is for *shenghuo*, and even the world wars were for *shenghuo*. In contrast, Chinese philosophy pays much attention to *shengming*, which is reflected in the ideas of “cultivating life” (*xiu ming* 修命) and “seeking longevity” (*qiu changsheng* 求長生) in Daoism, and the statement that “gentlemen do not stand under a dangerous wall” (君子不立危牆之下)—meaning that gentlemen should foresee risks and keep away from dangerous situations—in Confucianism. In particular, he believed that the Buddhist observation of *shengming* is quite thorough: Buddhism not only explores the origin of *shengming*, but also delves into its reincarnation after death.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, with regard to the attitude towards human life, Master Fafang believed that Buddhism neither advocates pessimism nor extreme optimism, but advocates a “middle way” (*zhongdao* 中道), because the former two will produce bad results, and neither of them is the correct way (*zhengdao* 正道) for human life. According to him, Confucianism proposes that, as for our emotions and desires, “when they arise to their appropriate levels, it is called ‘harmony’” (發而皆中節謂之和), which Fafang believed to be similar to the Buddhist perspective on human life. By contrast, Western people lay particular stress on enjoyment, so they use science to seek material enjoyment as much as possible. That is to say, they hold an extremely optimistic attitude.<sup>25</sup> Although Master Fafang’s understanding of the ideas in the above-mentioned schools is not necessarily accurate, his perspectives show his approval of Chinese philosophy and devaluation of Western culture: Confucianism and Daoism, just like Buddhism, are more advanced than Western philosophy both in terms of the comprehension of life and the attitude towards life. Also, he used Buddhism to confront Western culture, which endows universal Buddhism with a feature of nationalism to some extent.

Master Fafang's comparison of the cultural education between China and other countries made his position even more explicit:

[If we] look around the modern world, [we will find that] the education of each country takes material benefit as its principle, while the education intrinsic to our country takes morality as its principle; the culture of each country is material civilization, while the culture intrinsic to our country is biased towards spiritual civilization. The education that takes material benefit as its principle is bound to foster a kind of people who are selfish without considering others, and generate the phenomenon of cruelty and inequality. The education that takes morality as its principle is bound to foster a selfless people, and generate the phenomenon of kindness and equality. Buddhism is compatible with the cultures and education of the latter and influences those of the former.<sup>26</sup>

This, again, reflects Master Fafang's sense of national cultural superiority. It is precisely because he believed that the intrinsic culture and education in China, which are consistent with Buddhist teachings, were more beneficial to human beings than those in Western civilization, and so he adopted a cultural nationalist standpoint and used traditional Chinese culture as an approach to achieving his Buddhist ideals. Above all, with the purpose of developing Buddhism—as an important philosophical and religious school in Chinese culture—and benefiting the world, Master Fafang endeavored to promote traditional Chinese culture and transmit it to the world.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Buddhism is universal and has no boundaries between nations or territories. However, the national and cultural crisis in modern China forced Chinese Buddhists to connect Buddhism with nationalism. In order to develop Buddhism, they also need to contribute to the revival of the nation. As shown in this essay, Master Fafang perfectly combined Buddhist salvation of the world with the salvation of the Chinese nation and the promotion of Chinese culture, having endowed universal Buddhism with a national character. He

believed that if Chinese Buddhists wanted to save the world, they must first save the Chinese nation. He also believed that the spirit of Chinese culture could promote world peace and improve morality in society. Therefore, he connected Buddhist thought with Confucian and Daoist ideas, and presented them as the representatives of traditional Chinese culture, with which to resist the invasion of Western culture. This not only shows his sense of national cultural superiority, but is also his way to realize Buddhist salvation through the spread of Chinese culture. Master Fafang's thought in this regard reflects both his patriotism and his spirit of Buddhist innovation, which not only contributed to the revitalization of the Chinese nation but also facilitated the development of Buddhism in a modern world.

## Notes

- 1 My study of Master Fafang's 法舫 (1904–1951) thought is part of the project "Complete Works of Chinese and Foreign Philosophies" (Zhongwai zhexue dianji daquan 中外哲學典籍大全) launched by the Institute of Philosophy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (China). I would like to thank both this project and the China Postdoctoral Science Foundation (funds numbers: 2021T140733; 2021M693488) for supporting my study. I would also like to thank Liang Jianlou 梁建樓 and Liang Fengxia 梁峰霞 for providing me with very useful materials on Master Fafang.
- 2 For a discussion of this situation, see Yujun Wu, "Modern Chinese National-Cultural Identity in the Context of Globalization," *Transtext(e)s Transcultures 跨文本跨文化*, July 2012. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/transtexts.456>
- 3 Suisheng Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004), 3-4; Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 3.
- 4 Xueyu 學愚, *Fojiao, baoli yu minzu zhuyi: kangri zhanzheng shiqi de Zhongguo fojiao 佛教、暴力與民族主義：抗日戰爭時期的中國佛教 (Buddhism, Violence and Nationalism: Chinese Buddhism during the Period of the Anti-Japanese War)* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2011), 411.
- 5 Gregory Adam Scott, "The Buddhist Nationalism of Dai Jitao," *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 39:1 (2011), 60. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1179/073776911806153899>
- 6 Nikolas Broy, "Modern Buddhism Without Modernity? Zhajijiao ('Vegetarian Sects') and the Hidden Genealogy of 'Humanistic Buddhism' in Late Imperial China," *International Journal for the Study of Chan Buddhism and Human Civilization*, issue 1 (2016), 57. According to Broy, "Humanistic Buddhism" as it came into being in the past century can be understood as "an answer to the urgent task of adopting Buddhism to the profound and unprecedented political, social, and economic changes that the Chinese world had to face since the late nineteenth century." It can also be considered as "a mere reflexive phenomenon which has been initiated to counter the threats and challenges posed to the religion by Western modernity and the modern nation-state." See the same article, 57-58.

- 7 Briefly, the “Four Noble Truths” refer to the recognition of suffering, the cause of suffering, the end of suffering, and the path to enlightenment. For a detailed explanation of these truths, see Geshe Tashi Tsering, *The Four Noble Truths* (Somerville, Mass.: Wisdom Publications, 2005).
- 8 See Fafang 法舫, “Fojiao jiushi yu jiuguo: Fafang fashi zai foxuehui bazhounian jinianhui jiangyan” 佛教救世與救國—法舫法師在佛學會八週年紀念會講演 (“The Buddhist Salvation of the World and the Nation: Master Fafang’s Speech at the 8<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Meeting of the Buddhist Society”), in *Fafang wenji* 法舫文集 (*The Collective Writings of Fafang*) (Beijing: Jincheng chubanshe, 2011, vol. 3), 154.
- 9 Fafang, “Fojiao de xinyundong yu jinhou shijie heping” 佛教的新運動與今後世界和平 (“The New Buddhist Movement and the Future World Peace”) in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 5, 128.
- 10 Fafang, “Shiwunian lai benkan zhi gongxian” 十五年來本刊之貢獻 (“This Journal’s Contributions in the Past Fifteen Years”), in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 3, 362.
- 11 See Fafang, “Fojiao jiushi yu jiuguo”, 154-155.
- 12 See Fafang, “Foxue zhi zhenli yu yingyong: Fafang fashi zai Changsha Chuanshan xueshe jiang” 佛學之真理與應用—法舫法師在長沙船山學社講 (“The Truth and Application of Buddhist Learning: Master Fafang’s Speech at the Chuanshan Society of Changsha”) in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 3, 273-276.
- 13 See Fafang, “Shijie heping yu fojiao xinyundong” 世界和平與佛教新運動 (“World Peace and the New Buddhist Movement”), in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 5, 108.
- 14 Fafang, “Fojiao jiushi yu jiuguo”, 157.
- 15 See Xueyu, Fojiao, baoli yu minzu zhuyi, 205.
- 16 Fafang, “Sengni yingfou fu guomin bingyi?” 僧尼應否服國民兵役 (“Should Monks and Nuns Perform National Service?”) in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 5, 22.
- 17 Fafang, “Haichao yin bianji houji” 《海潮音》編輯後記 (“An Editorial Postscript in Haichao Yin”), in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 3, 453-454.
- 18 Cultural nationalism “imagines the nation to have a distinctive civilisation based on a unique history, culture and territory,” and signifies “the conviction that the unique culture associated with the nation constitutes the basis of national identity.” See Frank Dikötter, “Culture, ‘Race’ and Nation: The Formation of National Identity in Twentieth Century China,” *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 49, no. 2 (Winter 1996), 591; John Makeham, *Lost Soul: “Confucianism” in Contemporary Chinese Academic Discourse* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2008), 9.
- 19 Fafang, “Shixian Dongfang wenhua: Fafang fashi zai Shijie foxueyuan tushuguan jiang” 實現東方文化—法舫法師在世界佛學苑圖書館講 (“Realizing Oriental Culture: Master Fafang’s Speech at the Library of the World Buddhist Studies Centre”), in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 3, 134.
- 20 See *ibid.*, 134-135. Master Fafang also emphasized that Chinese culture is based on “good faith, mildness, loyalty, kind-heartedness, courtesy, and thoughtfulness” (xinyi heping, zhongshu lirang 信義和平，忠恕禮讓); Chinese people always attach much importance to good faith and give precedence to others out of courtesy and thoughtfulness, and they will never compete with others rudely. See Fafang, “Zhong Yin wenhua yu Dongnanyazhou zhi guanxi” 中印文化與東南亞之關係—法舫法師在星洲僧伽策進社歡迎會講 (“The Relationship between Sino-Indian Culture and Southeast Asia: Master Fafang’s Speech on the Welcome meeting at the Society to Exhort Sangha in Singapore”), in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 3, 164.
- 21 Fafang, “Shiwunian lai benkan zhi gongxian,” 337.
- 22 Fafang, “Foxue yu Zhongguo wenhua: zai Xinjiapo fojiao jushilin jiang” 佛學與中國文化—在新加坡佛教居士林講 (“Buddhist Learning and Chinese Culture: An Speech at the Singapore Buddhist Lodge”), in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 3, 182-183.

- 23 Fafang, “Fojiao yu shehui renxin: Fafang fashi zai Yibao donglian xiaozhu jiang” 佛教與社會人心——法舫法師在怡保東蓮小築講 (“Buddhism, Society and the Human Mind: Master Fafang’s Speech at the Tong Lian Siao Chu Buddhist Temple in Ipoh”), in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 3, 308, 314-316.
- 24 See Fafang, “Fojiao dui rensheng de kanfa: zai Changsha fojiao sizhong huanyinghui jiang” 佛教對人生的看法——在長沙佛教四眾歡迎會講 (“Buddhist Views on Human Life: An Speech at the Welcome Meeting for the Four Types of Buddhists in Changsha”), in *Fafang wenji*, vol. 3, 221-222.
- 25 Ibid, 224.
- 26 Fafang, “Shiwunian lai benkan zhi gongxian,” 338.

## BACK ISSUES

### *Studies on Humanistic Buddhism I: Foundational Thoughts*

Master Taixu 太虛大師  
(Founder, Association for the Advancement of Buddhism)

*How to Establish a Humanistic Buddhism*

Venerable Tzu Hang 慈航法師  
(Founder, Chinese Buddhist Studies Association, Burma)

*Establishing a Humanistic Pure Land*

Zhao Puchu 趙樸初  
(Former President, Buddhist Association of China)

*The Relationship Between Buddhism and Chinese Culture*

Venerable Master Hsing Yun 星雲大師  
(Founder, Fo Guang Shan)

*Fundamental Tenets of Humanistic Buddhism*

Venerable Master Hsing Yun 星雲大師  
(Founder, Fo Guang Shan)

*My Understanding of Humanistic Buddhism*

Li Li'an 李利安  
(Professor, Northwest University)

*The Harmonious Development Between Humanistic and Traditional  
Buddhism and its Issues*

Charles H.C. Kao 高希均  
(Founder, Global Views—Commonwealth Publishing Group)

*Can "Venerable Master Hsing Yun's Values" Increase Social Harmony?*

Chen Bing 陳兵  
(Professor, Sichuan University)

*Venerable Master Hsing Yun's Humanistic Buddhism: New Dawn of True  
Dharma*

Cheng Gongrang 程恭讓  
(Professor, Shanghai University)

*Venerable Master Hsing Yun's Ten Great Contributions to Buddhism*

Cheng Gongrang 程恭讓  
(Professor, Shanghai University)

*Recent Conclusions on the Theory of Humanistic Buddhism: Looking at Venerable Master Hsing Yun from Hear Me Out: Messages from a Humble Monk*

Dong Ping 董平  
(Professor, Zhejiang University)

*The Historic Position of Humanistic Buddhism from the Viewpoint of the Process of Sinicization of Buddhism*

Guang Xing 廣興  
(Associate Professor, University of Hong Kong)

*The Buddha in Humanistic Buddhism*

Lai Yonghai 賴永海  
(Professor, Chinese Culture Institute, Nanjing University)

*Humanistic Buddhism and the Modernization of Buddhism*

Kan Cheng-tsung 關正宗  
(Associate, Fo Guang University)

*The Process of Modernizing Buddhism: Two Thousand Years of Rise and Fall in Human History*

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## BACK ISSUES

### *Studies on Humanistic Buddhism II: Practical Applications: Venerable Master Hsing Yun on Humanistic Buddhism*

Li Guangliang 李廣良

(Professor, Yunnan Normal University)

*Humanistic Buddhism and Its "Humanization, Modernization, and Incorporation into Daily Life"*

Huang Kuo-Ching 黃國清

(Associate Professor, Nanhua University)

*Humanistic Buddhism as an Approach to Management*

Jai Ben-ray 翟本瑞

(Professor, Feng Chia University)

*On the This-Worldly Emphasis of Humanistic Buddhism*

Yang Zengwen 楊曾文

(Professor, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)

*The Future of Humanistic Buddhism*

Shih Miao Guang 妙光法師

(M.A., Fo Guang University)

*Interpreting the "Humanistic" in Renjian Fojiao (人間佛教) as Advocated by Venerable Master Hsing Yun of Fo Guang Shan*

Di Qi'an 狄其安

(Professor, Shanghai University)

*Dharma Function with Sound, Dharma Propagation with Music –  
A Study of Buddhist Hymns and Buddhist Songs of Fo Guang Shan*

Chen Yongge 陳永革

(Professor, Zhejiang Academy of Social Sciences)

*Humanistic Features in Contemporary Chan Practices: Using Fo Guang Chan as an Example*

Chang Hongxing 常紅星

(Ph.D., Shanghai University)

*A Study of Thoughts on Gender Equality in Humanistic Buddhism*

Liu Lifu 劉立夫

(Professor, Central South University)

*Venerable Master Hsing Yun's "Buddhist Economics"*

Chen Jian 陳堅

(Professor, Shandong University)

*Humanistic Buddhism—Plurality in Buddhism and Its Humanism: In the Context of Buddho-Christian Comparison*

Deng Zimei 鄧子美

(Professor, Jiangnan University)

*The Historic Achievements of the Hsing Yun Model*

Luo Yi-lun 羅翌倫

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*Influence of Humanistic Buddhism in Deepening the Founding Ideals of Community College*

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### *Studies on Humanistic Buddhism III: Glocalization of Buddhism*

Venerable Master Hsing Yun 星雲大師

(President, Buddha's Light International Association World Headquarters)

*The Key to Promoting Localization is not to "Discard" but to "Give"—  
My View on "De-sinicization"*

Chen Chien Huang 陳劍鐘

(Director, the Centre for the Study of Humanistic Buddhism, The Chinese University of Hong Kong)

*The Localization of Buddhist Teachings within Globalization*

Alison Cohn Jameson

(Assistant Professor, University of Arizona)

*Transcending Borders: Using Regional and Ethnographic Studies to  
Envision the Future of Humanistic Buddhism*

Sallie B. King

(Emeritus Professor, James Madison University Harrisonburg)

*Engaged Buddhism and Humanistic Buddhism: A Comparison of Principles  
and Practices*

Ranjana Mukhopadhyaya

(Associate Professor, University of Delhi)

*Transnational Networks of Dharma and Development: Engaged Buddhism  
in the Era of Globalization*

Tang Zhongmao 唐忠毛

(Professor, East China Normal University)

*On Modernity and Tradition in Humanistic Buddhism: From Master Taixu  
to Venerable Master Hsing Yun*

Wu Guangzheng 吳光正

(Professor, Wuhan University)

*The Modernization and Globalization of Humanistic Buddhism and Chinese  
Buddhism*

Jens Reinke:

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*Placing Buddhist Modernism within a Global Context: The Global Spread  
of Fo Guang Shan*

Shih Miao Guang 妙光法師

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

Wang Bing 王彬

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*Fo Guang Shan's "Localization of Buddhism" within the Process of the Internationalization of Buddhism*

Li Li'an 李利安

(Professor, Northwest University)

*The Brilliant Achievements of Humanistic Buddhism in Australia*

Qiu Yonghui 邱永輝

(Professor, Sichuan University)

*A Study of Humanistic Buddhism Returning to India: Observations and Reflections on the Fo Guang Shan New Delhi Educational and Cultural Centre*

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(Professor, International Research Center for Japanese Studies)

*The Localization and Spread of Japanese Buddhism*

Yang Minkang 楊民康

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