

公民佛教芻議

「在公民社會中的華人文化主體性論壇」



講於國立政治大學「華人文化主體性論壇」

中研院民族所 丁仁傑 2019/11/8 (週五)

「人間佛教」最先發自於全球文化帝國主義壓迫中，中國漢傳佛教菁英界的倫理學上的期望，但這個理論性與倫理性層次的課題，在當代台灣，在**佛教構成體社會心理基礎的轉變、國家與地方關係的改變、以及菁英與民眾共存模式的改變**裡，它產生了自己的道路，也發生了**各式各樣的人間佛教**。

傳統佛教曾過度妥協於超越性與現實性的並存，以致於喪失了鮮明的倫理取向與立場。

公民佛教，希望能打破倫理因襲主義，以建立新的倫理取向為出路。**新的倫理取向以人權和社會平等為出發點**，**但必須以尊重市民社會的民主程序與架構為原則。**

不過，當佛教與**現代社會組合模式特有的一種人世性格**相結合，這與原始佛教的倫理藍圖不同，這產生新的兩難困境（得救贖為先？還是人世為先？），也是佛教徒救贖藍圖全面重繪的開始。**佛教倫理與現代市民社會的匯通**，已成為當代佛教菁英所必須面對的最迫切的課題，也是追求將佛教價值引入現代社會的必經之路。

A.倫理學上的期待，以及這些期待的歷史根源 (用什麼方法來改善世界，能讓世界變得更好，而佛教的著力點又在哪裡?)

B.宗教團體構成背後的社會心理基礎 (人員構成與 Carrier 構成)

C.做為「世界諸大宗教」之一的宗教，其基本性格和可能開展 (M. Weber)

D.空間治理性的特質：

「國家與地方構成學」或「菁英與民眾共存學」
背後的「Meta-ness」之與時俱變

人間佛教？

可以說是最先出現於 A (一種發自中國漢傳佛教菁英界的 倫理學上的建構與期望)，

但這個理論性與倫理性層次的課題，卻在

時代同時產生的 A,B,C,D 平行性的交互變化和影響中，產生了自己的道路，也產生了各式各樣的人間佛教

入世實踐中的超越性： 以公民佛教做為救贖？

人間佛教中的一種可能性

具有菁英的改革性氣息 (拒絕實用性) (去神秘性)

也具有中產階級的理性化特徵

但部分脫離了大眾性的佛教 (是不是有可能去和民間的功德觀進行更好的聯結?)

將入世性置入行動取向，這本身是一件當代社會的產物，也是一種世俗化的結果 (但是.....next)

- Popular Secularization (救渡功能化、通俗化、圓融) 這個取向曾減弱，但又輾轉趨強
- Modern Elite Secularization (去神秘化、人本化，出家這件事的重要性無形中降低了)
- Modern Structural Secularization (社會分化)
(functional rationality, societalization of the sub-system，組織世俗化，工具化，在家人的重要性無形中提高了)

- 何謂 入世性？
- 入世性與救贖之間的關係？
- 救贖與入世之間，無必然性的聯結 **(對佛教來說，要建立這種內在聯結性，殊為困難)**

入世性與救贖(有可能嗎?): Weber的看法

	入世 Inner-worldly	出世 Other-worldly
神祕主義 (Vase)	?	出世神祕主義
禁慾主義 (instrument)	入世禁慾主義	?

- Weber(1958:23)指出：

「〔佛教〕對於個人獲得救贖的確信，並非經由個人在工作中提供某種入世的或是世俗性的行動而獲得。相反的，乃是經由一種與實際活動脫離出來的心智狀態來獲得。」

在此，為了達到完全的脫離現世，理想上，救贖必須經由全職性出家的過程而達成。

- 「出世神秘主義」(other-worldly mysticism)
，也就是以脫離於現世而進入於一種深刻冥思方式，來與一種永恆狀態的合一，達成自我救贖。在這裡，任何對於現實世界的染著，將有礙於自我救贖。

- 近代的基督新教，有著「入世禁慾主義」(inner-worldly asceticism)的特質，其中強調著一種理性而具有內在一致性的自我節制，而且認定了這種生活態度必須在現實社會中被實踐出來，這於是使現實人生充滿了倫理性的色彩

- 借用Julien Freund對Weber的摘要

喀爾文派（主要指荷蘭）、虔信派、衛理公會派與浸信派。……這些教團特有的精神風貌之理念型或許可歸結為以下諸端：

凡事背後莫不有著一番對**上帝預選**的詮釋——一個宗教的信念。

……以此，新教徒必然被**拋回到一種內心的生活裏**……**而非透過其他人的媒介**。這說明了為何新教徒會拒斥那些可能幫助他找到或發現恩寵的神職者與（特別是）聖典儀式。基於此一信念，透過不斷增長的理性化，最後使一切巫術皆掃除盡淨，世界得以完全解除魔咒。

- 由於真正的虔信是可以經由某種足以促使基督教徒增進上帝榮耀的行為類型來加以認定的，是以教徒相信這可以在一種嚴謹遵從神聖命令的個人生活裡以及符合上帝意旨的社會成就裡覓得。
- 此種社會成就包括個人在職業工作上的成功。因此，**最足以彰顯上帝榮耀且成為受選之徵兆的有效工作，是奠立於一種禁慾的生活方式上。**

- 救贖可能無法因功德或聖典儀式而獲得，要確定獲得救贖唯有透過信仰的效驗，而此種效驗則是經由個人事業上的成功來加以印證的。
-社會成就只會更加強個人行為的嚴謹敬慎，並且使禁慾成為保證恩寵狀態的方法。準此，**測試個人信心的辦法，不是冥思性的拒斥世界，而是在此世竭力地從事一項職業。**
-禁慾有助於生活各層面的理性形塑，這被認為是符合上帝意旨的。透過個人意志有條不紊地努力，不斷地自制會導致個人生活行為（甚至是企業行為）的理性化。是以，清教徒變成特別擅於籌組企業，同時也長於理性化經濟行動。

- 工作上最大可能生產力與生活上對奢侈的拒斥，導致一種生活樣式，直接影響到資本主義發展的適切氛圍。
-為了使工作仍保有其彰顯上帝榮耀的性格，利潤必須運用在必要且有用的目的上，亦即，以投資的方式再投入工作中。
- 因此，清教徒便毫不止歇地累積起資本。.....我們所得出的並不是資本主義的肇因，而是近代資本主義精神的根本要素之一——奠立於理性的行為與企業組織的基礎上。（Weber 1989[1968]: 26）

● 簡言之，基督新教倫理具有如下的核心特徵與影響：

（一）預選說切斷了功德、儀式與救贖之間的關係

（二）這導致對巫術的掃除

（三）信仰焦慮中，人必須有對神的虔信，而此虔信的表現，會以符合上帝意旨的社會成就（以禁慾的生活方式為基礎）來凸顯對神的彰顯

（四）預選說下的虔信，助長了生活行為甚至是企業行為的理性化，也助長了資本累積和再投資的心理與社會基礎。簡言之，基督新教切斷了宗教與巫術的聯結，創造了一種外顯的禁慾主義式的理性生活，這是現代資本主義重要的精神來源。

在Weber的看法裡，佛陀的教義很難促進社會變遷或產生改革，佛教基本上是不關心政治和不關心社會的。

不同於西方的僧院，佛教修行的理想無法在世俗層面產生一種理性處理生活的方法。當固定的僧團形成，僧團獲得土地成為地主，其生活來自於與僧團相連結的俗眾工人之勞動的贊助。佛教僧侶主要專注於冥想與靜修，這些修行活動是由地租、或者奴隸的勞動、或者在家人的捐贈所支持。

佛教代表著的是一種完全擺脫了入世性動機或理性指向性的宗教型態。

- Weber(1958:256):

大乘佛教對於原始佛教的轉化：僅是將某些淺俗的巫術、偶像崇拜、聖人崇拜、祈禱方法等，和某種禁欲屬性及婆羅門式的知性的神秘主義等相結合

結果是，大乘佛教中這種巫術性與儀式性的屬性，表面上看起來是較為入世，實則上是益發失去了佛教中原有倫理態度上的自我要求。

- Weber在《中國的宗教》裡，比較過清教與儒教以後這樣說：
- 要判斷一個宗教所代表的理性化水平，我們可以運用兩個在很多方面都相關的主要判準。其一是：這個宗教對巫術之斥逐的程度；其二則是它將上帝與世界之間的關係、及以此它本身對應於世界的倫理關係，有系統地統一起來的程度。就第一點而言，禁慾的基督新教所具有的種種印記，表示其已進到「斥逐巫術」的最後階段。基督新教最具特徵性的形式已將巫術完全徹底地掃除盡淨。

- 原則上，連在已淨化的聖禮與象徵的儀式裡，巫術也被根除了，以致於嚴謹的清教徒在自己心愛的人被埋葬入土時都不行任何儀式，為的是要確證迷信的完全摒除。就此而言，這表示斬斷了所有對巫術運作的信賴。對世界之徹底除魅的工作，再沒有比這進行得更具一貫性。
(Weber 1989[1951]:293-294)

- 在儒教倫理中所完全沒有的，是存在於自然與神之間、倫理要求與人類性惡之間、罪惡意識與救贖需求之間、塵世的行為與彼世的補償之間、宗教義務與社會—政治的現實之間的任何緊張性。也因此，缺乏透過一種內在力量自傳統與因襲解放出來而影響行為的槓桿。（Weber 1989[1951]:302-303）

入世性與救贖(有可能嗎?): Weber的看法

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神祕主義 (Vase)	?	出世神祕主義
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- 不過，兩者的對立也可以緩和下來。情形之一是，行動的禁慾僅限定於行動者本身抑制與克服被造物墮落狀態的問題。這時，對於確實合乎神意的、**行動的救贖業績之專注會激越到避免在俗世生活秩序中採取任何行動的地步**，此即**出世的禁慾**(weltflüchtige Askese)。就其表面的態度觀之，實接近於出世的冥思。

- 另一種情形是，冥思的神秘論者還未得出必須逃離世界的結論，而像是**入世的禁欲者**一般，**仍然置身於世俗的生活秩序中**，此即**入世的神秘論**(innerweltliche Mystik)。就救贖追求而言，以上兩種立場的對立事實上有可能銷聲匿跡，而以某種互相結合的方式出現，然而，亦有可能在表面相似的帷幕下持續對立(引自Weber著，康樂、簡惠美1989譯之《宗教與世界：韋伯選集〔II〕》：106)

- Weber在討論中則用Gute Werke（good works）來指涉一種「**功德的倫理系統**」，他並指出這種「功德的倫理系統」在人類救贖之道中，代表的是一種非常典型的行動類型。（路德宗教革命以後，它在基督教世界裡的顯著性降低了）
- 這種倫理系統可能會採取著不同的形式，雖然這些形式最後可能都導致了類似的結果，也就是**行動中所代表的倫理性（強調行動時內心的虔敬）和社會性（強調這是一種社會的責任感）**似乎愈來愈減弱了，反而通常到最後更強調的是個人**一己的完成**（Weber, 1964；康樂、簡惠美譯

功德觀 (功德實踐) 接近於入世神祕主義

- 世間是苦，我們是來成佛的，動機就是這樣，盡我們的力量，為佛教為眾生... 師父是用佛陀的法在做的... 一開始就這樣做〔像師父一樣〕，現在還是這樣（慈濟委員 訪談記錄 10：5）。

認定世間是苦，但是是成佛的場所，我們要來值福田種福報。

(更積極來講，人間才有行善行惡的機會和自由)

- 人類學者Gombrich(1971)和Obeyesekere(1968)指出，Weber僅依一小部分佛教經典來詮釋佛教，事實上許多經典中的佛教教義，或是在地者對於經典的相關詮釋，已與一般農民的生活結合緊密，即使如較接近於原始佛教的「上座部佛教」(Theravada Buddhism)，經人類學家與宗教學家的考察，在俗民生活世界中的實際操作，絕不同於Weber所討論的是逃避現世的。

- 由另一類似的角度來看，Tambiah(1968)的泰國研究和Spiro(1982)的緬甸研究都顯示，即使一般人無法追求完全出世的僧侶生涯，但俗眾與僧眾是相互依賴與共生的，彼此形成一種互惠的紐帶，所以純粹討論僧眾的出世性，可能失之片斷。

- 大眾宗教 (大眾佛教) 強調:

救贖與現實生活的並存性!

以及救贖與效驗的便捷與迅速性

菁英佛教? 當代菁英佛教 (改革性傾向)?

秉持宗教的超越性

拒絕宗教的實用性或是與之保持距離

去神秘化 (但是要去到什麼程度?)

超越性層面與實用性層面

- Mandelbaum 曾將宗教分成為兩個面向，**超越性層面**（**Transcendental aspect**）或是**實用性層面**（**Pragmatic aspect**），前者關心人的來世或是終極性的救贖，後者則只關心和個人或個人家庭目前或較短暫時間內之身心狀況有關的部分。任何一個宗教都同時包含這兩個面向。但是在不同社會與歷史脈絡中，這兩個部分之間的關係或組合模式會有很大不同。

- Indian villagers generally separate the transcendental functions of their religion from the more pragmatic functions, **assigning different deities, rites, and practitioners to each.**
- **The two complexes of religious beliefs and practices are taken as complementary to each other.**

- **Some tribal groups in India make a similar, but less sharp, division,** while Sinhalese villagers maintain a more rigid formal separation and still use the two in complementary fashion. **Such separation of religious complexes is found in many other cultures.**
- **It serves to allay (緩和, 減輕) certain common dilemmas that people often encounter in their religions.**

- For categories involving different degrees of this separation may be discerned—
undifferentiated, partly differentiated, more fully differentiated, and reform.
- The first appears in very **simple societies**, the second holds true in many **tribal societies**, the third has been characteristic of the **major civilizations**, while the fourth includes the widespread modern trend to do away with the pragmatic aspects of religion

Transcendental



Pragmatic

不分離

部分分離 (部落社會)

分離 (高度文明社會)

改革性 (當代社會產物)

來自當代菁英的改革

- 教義與實踐的一致
- 去神秘化
- 倫理系統與世俗生活的內在一致性 (但內容是什麼要待建構與定義)

中產階級的宗教

正如Weber(1963: 97)：

- 理論上，中產階級，因其經濟生活的特殊模式，只要有著有利於理性倫理化宗教興起的條件，就會傾向於往理性倫理化宗教的方向發展。我們比較低階中產階級者(尤其是都市工匠和小商人)和農民的生活，就會清楚發現，前者 and 自然環境間關聯性較小。因此，**依賴巫術以影響自然的非理性力量，對於城市居民，並沒有扮演著其於農民所具有的那種重要的角色**

- 同時，城市居民生活的經濟基礎顯然具有遠為強烈的理性特徵，也就是精確計算性和有目的性的操控能力。……**小商人與工匠易於接受一種包含「報償式的倫理觀」(ethic of compensation)的理性世界觀**。……另一方面，農民，要到他們所習慣的巫術被其他力量所根絕後，才有可能去接受那一類「報償式」的觀念。

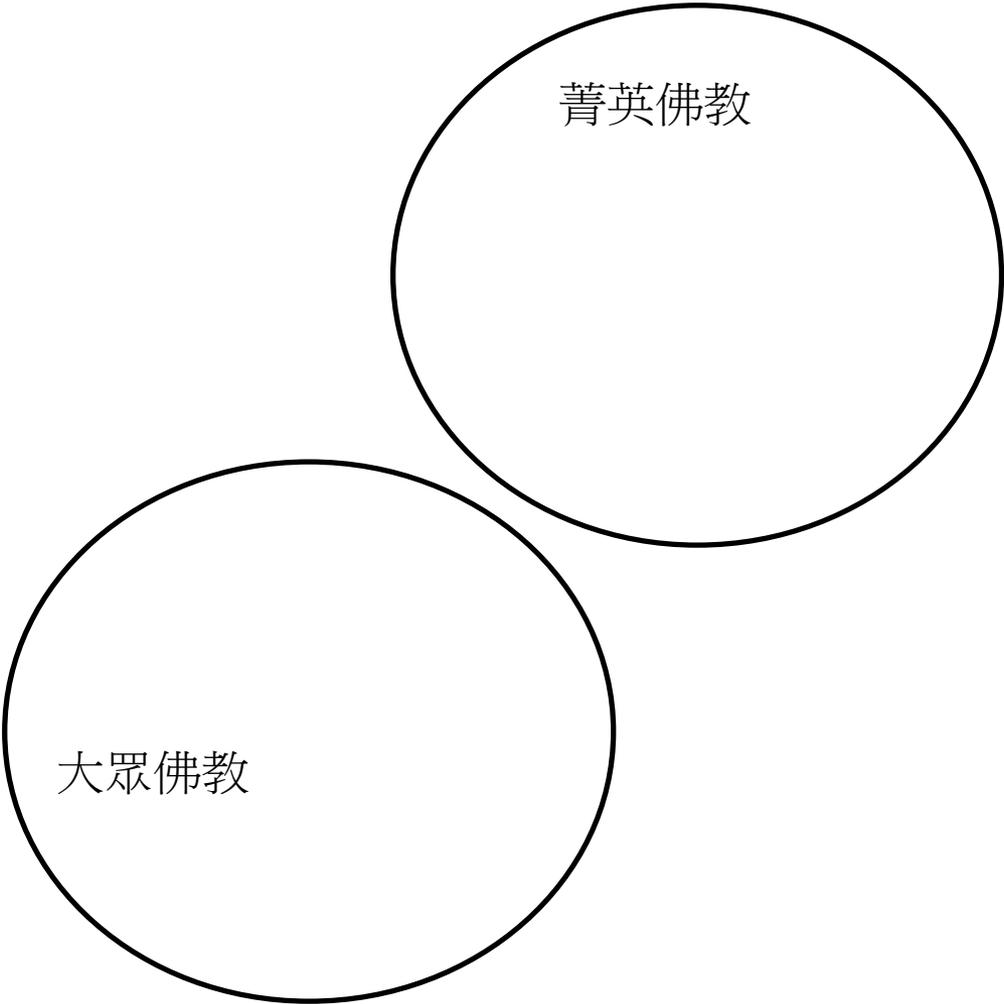
- Weber(1963: 98-99)

只要是哪裡有著對於純粹巫術或純粹儀式的依循被先知或改革者所打破，工匠、手工藝者和中產階級，就更有可能傾向一種初期理性式的對於生活的倫理與宗教觀。更且，**他們職業的專業化，也使得他們成為一種獨特生活形式之整合性型態上的「擔綱者」**。然而，工匠與中產階級團體生活上的一般性條件裡，在宗教層面上，並沒有確定性的決定論存在。

像是，中國的小商人，雖然總是精確算計，卻絕非一個理性宗教的「擔綱者」，中國的工匠，就我們所知也不是。他們遵循佛教的因果報應觀，卻也遵循巫術。問題的關鍵，在於他們缺乏一種倫理化的理性化的宗教，這點實際上也導致了他們技術中有限的理性主義。這個事實不斷提醒我們的是，單只工匠與中產階級的存在，絕不足以產生一種倫理性的宗教，就算是那種非常大眾性的也沒有辦法。

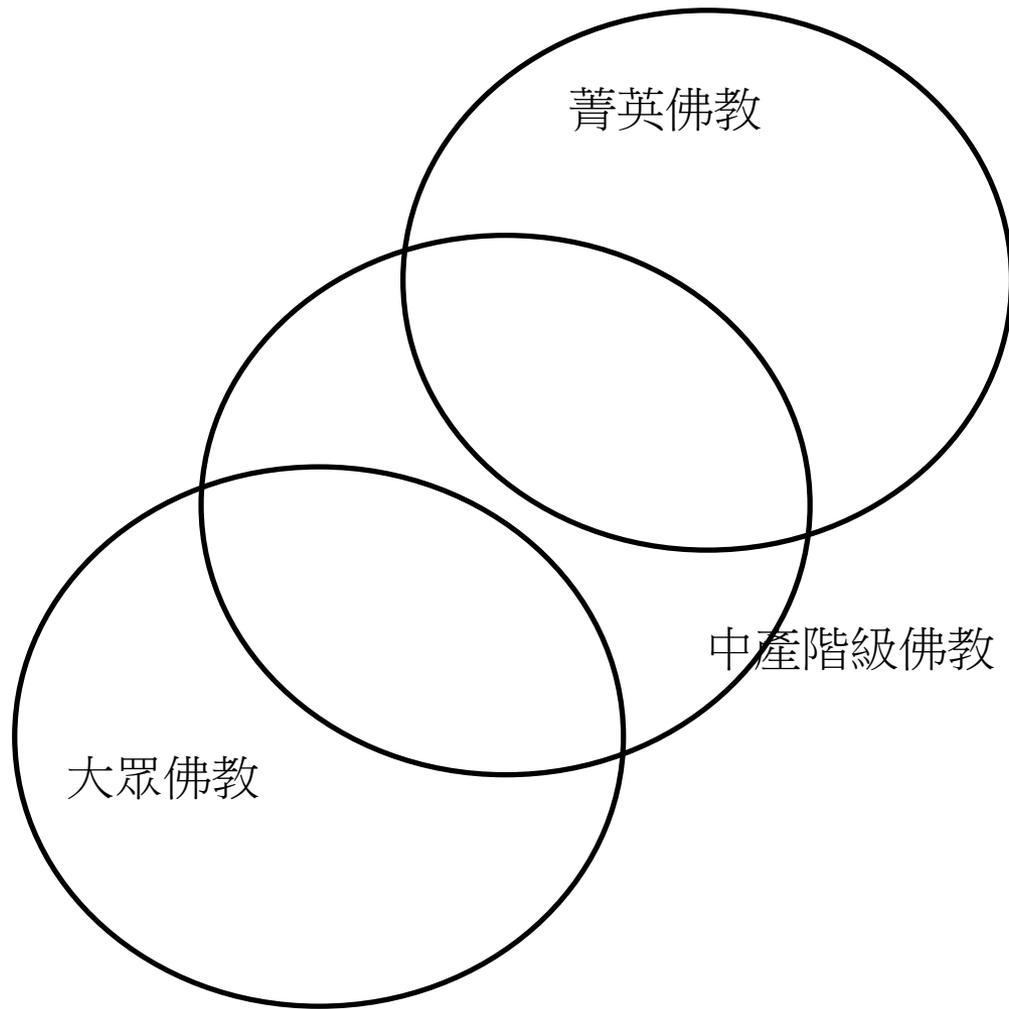
中產階級宗教

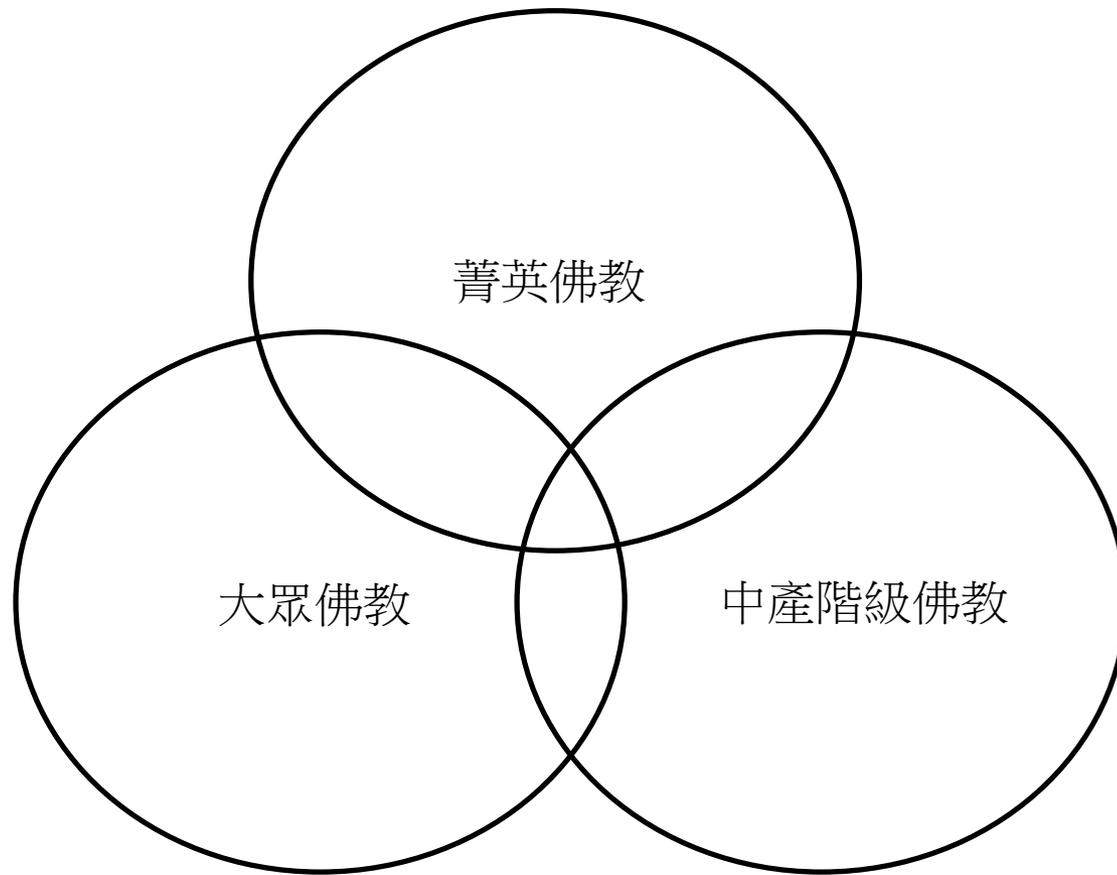
1. 工作倫理融入宗教態度中：倫理化的宗教
(和自然環境關連較小，自我操控成分增加)
(自負因果的宗教觀或操作體系)
2. 普遍性救贖神概念更清楚的浮現
3. 現實日常生活世界的肯定
(真理融合在日常關係與工作場域中)
4. 教義的討論更精細化
5. 個人對自己此世修行所能達成的境界有更高的自我期望
(一世解脫或即身成佛的概念)

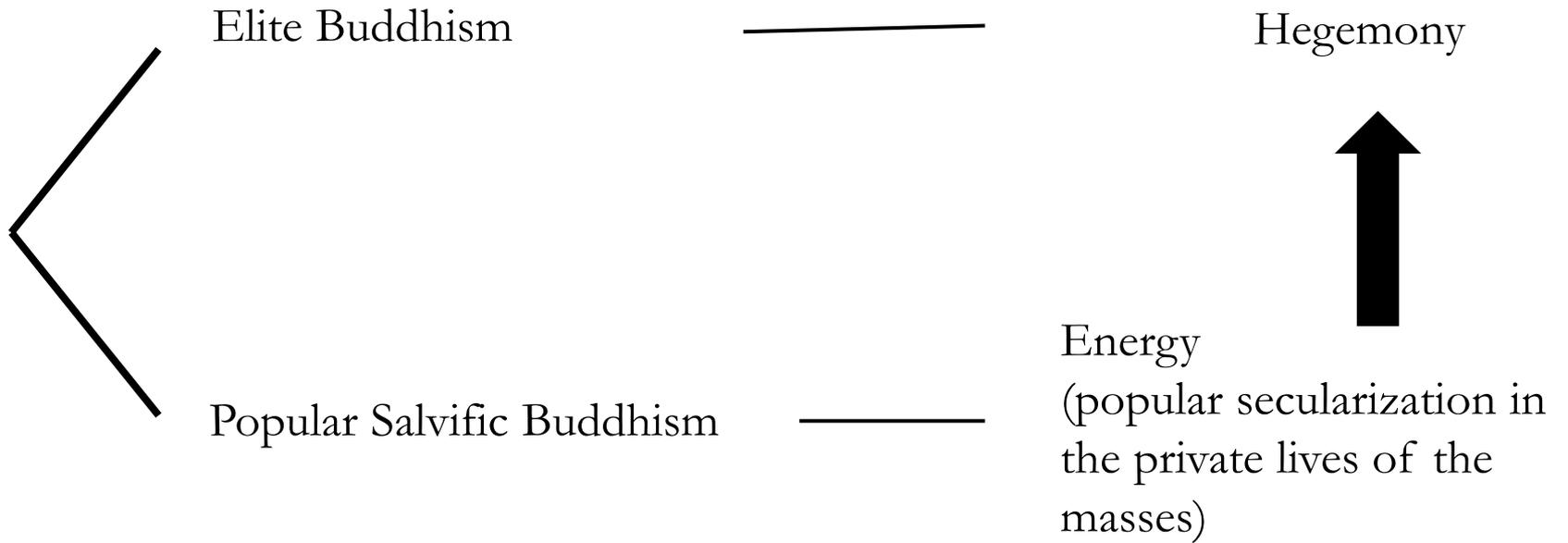


菁英佛教

大眾佛教



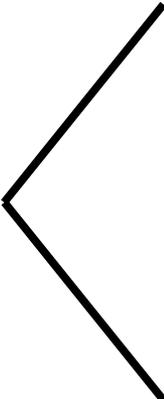




在Elite 淡出宗教場域 主宰性霸權 的影響之後：

1. Popular Masses liberating itself from elites;
2. Popular masses adjust to modern environments in its own way

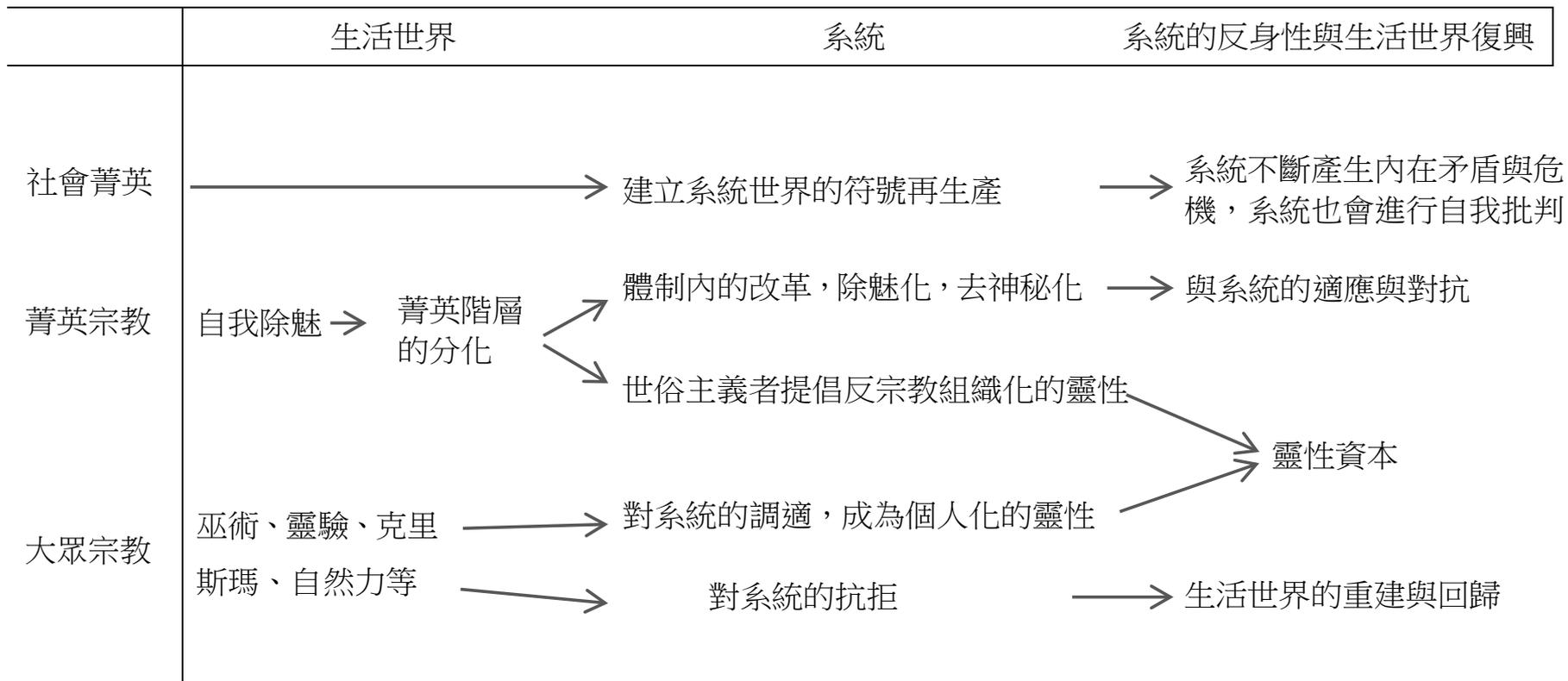
Contemporary Popular Mass



Popular Engagement as self-cultivation and salvific path

Privatotalization: privatization + totalization

(與公眾生活切割，私人體驗中找尋總體性的解脫)



民間佛教更為普及性的樣貌: 社區佛教 (傳統社會裡與大眾宗教重疊性相當高的一個部分)

以服務地方公眾生活為基礎的地方性佛教

為信徒辦理祖先或冤親債主等之超渡事宜，是佛教在漢人社會中展現出「社區性格」的一個最主要的面向

村落社區中，佛教僧侶成為專門處理死亡的儀式專家，寺院中有時設置靈骨塔，做為火化和骨灰儲存的場所。靈骨塔成為社區性佛教所展現出來的鮮明的地方性景觀



圖 5-1 傳統社會中三種宗教型態間的分布與重疊

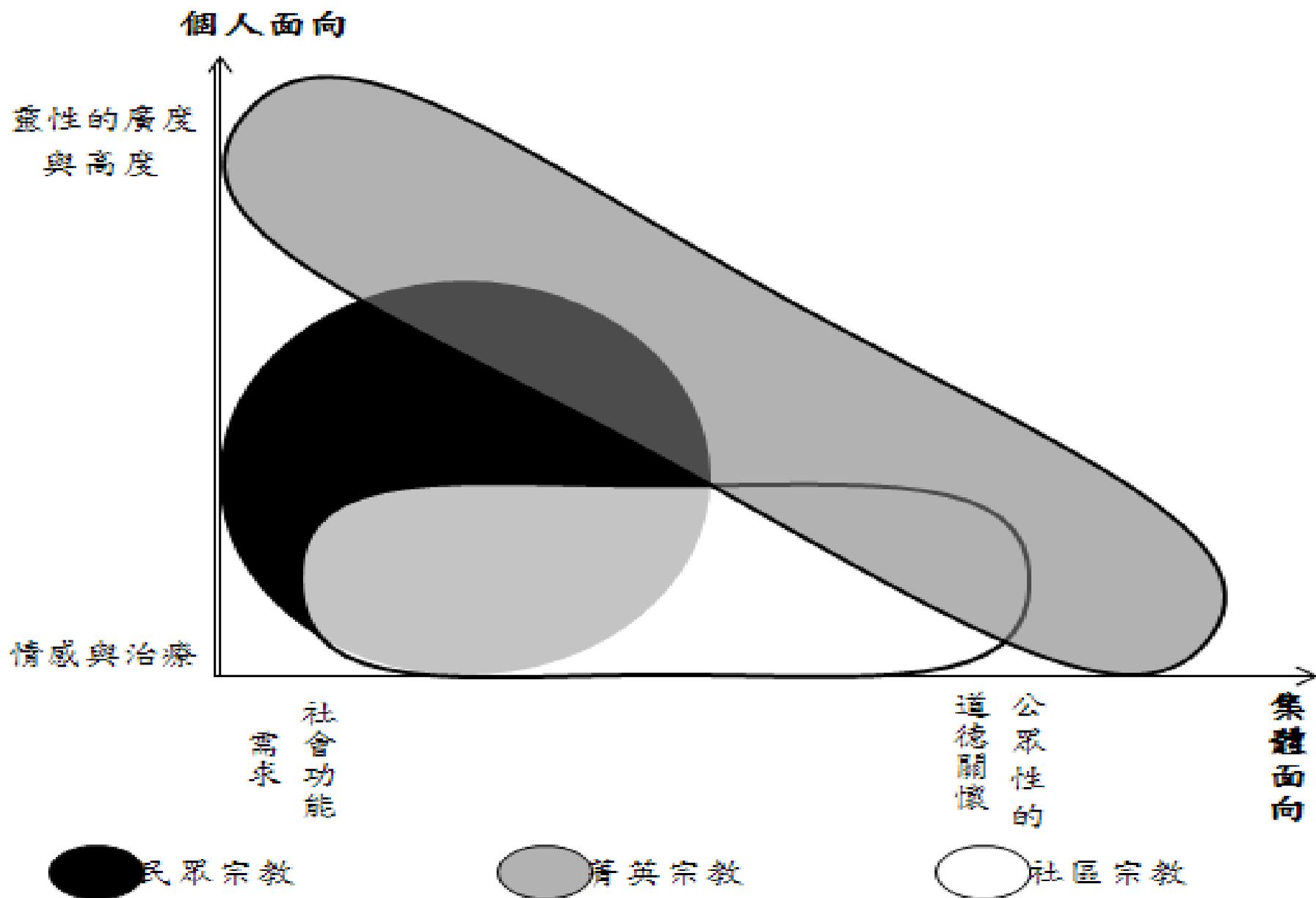
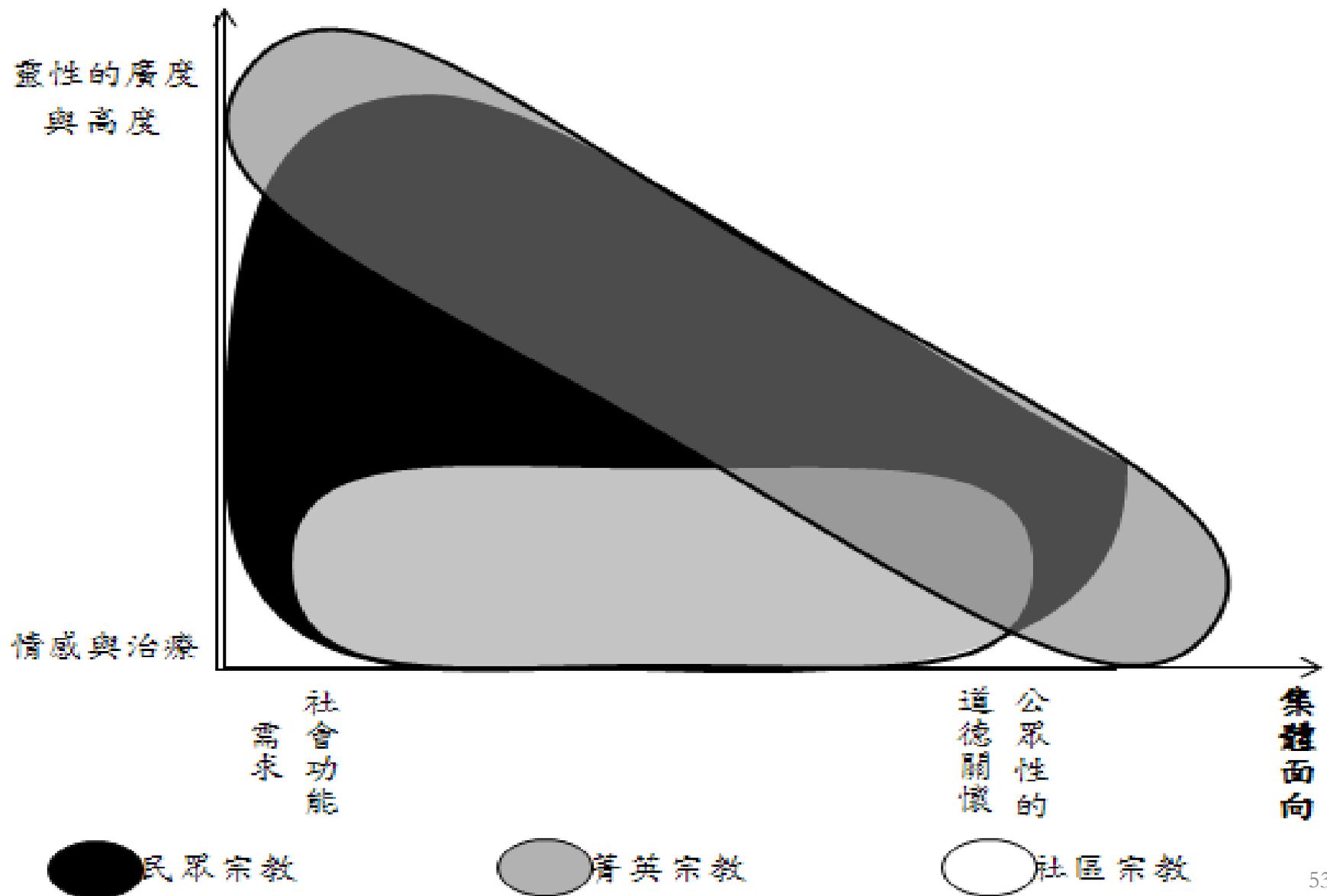


圖 5-2 當代社會中三種宗教型態間的分布與重疊
個人面向



公民佛教的利基點

- 源自菁英，較缺少動員性
- 但某種程度納入成熟中產階級的政治經濟屬性，而更具有現實上的敏感性
- 大眾佛教的崛起，也仍需要方向上的引導性，因此有可能與菁英佛教配合

人間佛教的菁英訴求本身 被付予時代性的內容

並和中產階級的佛教合流後

在當代社會的政治經濟結構下

有可能創造出所謂 公民佛教 的理想或實踐？

公民佛教

在民主框架與過程下 展現佛教倫理價值的政治性參與

(如果社會尚未達於民主，當然也難奢談所謂的公民佛教)

Casanova 1994,
Public Religions in the Modern World

Public Religion may exist at the levels of....

1. The State

2. Political Society

3. Civil Society

Casanova's idea of public religion at the level of civil society

Asking for a more reflexive and open-ended discourses, recognizes what **the boundaries between public and private are and the need to be open to contestation, redefinition, renegotiation, and discursive legitimization**

Casanova(1994:57-58): 至少在以下三種情況裡的任何一種情況，宗教團體在公共場域裡的政治活動，都有其足夠的正當性：

- 1. 當宗教涉入於公共場域中，其目標並不僅僅是為了自身的宗教自由，而是為了捍衛民主社會中自由的權利時；
- 2. 當世俗社會體制，包括法律、經濟、教育等等，雖然它運作時是合法的，但事實上它已經逐漸遠離了某種道德基礎時；
- 3. 當傳統的生活方式受到政府職權的侵入時。⁵⁹

公民佛教 (有一個佛教倫理以外的 [meta-ness] 後設性的基礎)

參與者必須具有民主社會的基本素養，理解民主溝通的方式.....

asking for a more reflexive and open-ended discourses, recognizes what the boundaries between public and private are and the need to be open to contestation, redefinition, renegotiation, and discursive legitimization

Where Buddhism has been the dominant religion:

佛教國家中傳統上的入世形式
(國王，僧伽，人民 的三角形)

Kingship as the crux of order in society provides the conditions and the context for the survival of the *sasana* (religion). They need each other: religion is being supported by **an ordered and prosperous society is able to act as a “field of merit [karmic fruitfulness]”** in which merit making can be enacted and its fruits enjoyed, while the king as the foremost merit maker needs the **sangha** to make and realize his merit and fulfil his kinship (Tambiah 1976:41) (Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*: 117)

The dominant model of society, especially in lands of Southern Buddhism, has thus been a triangular one with the **king** supporting and being advised by the Sanga, **the Sangha drawing members from and being supported by the people**, and the people acquiescing in the rule of a king provided he was not too immoral.

.....While **monks are generally expected to keep aloof from overt political activity**, this is not always the case.

(Peter Harvey, An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: 118)

A consideration of politics leads on to reflection on **the idea of “human rights”**: inalienable, fundamental rights to be treated in certain ways, usually cited in contexts in which a government or quasi-government is seen as abusing its citizens. (不可剝奪的權利?)

What are the limits of a state’s power over its citizens? (Peter Harvey, An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: 118)

It is true that **Buddhist does not usually talk in terms of “rights” which is a term that arose from the Western philosophical tradition.**

That does not mean, however, that Buddhists cannot agree with the substance of what is expressed in “human rights” language.

Buddhists are sometimes unhappy using the language of “rights” as they may associate it with people “demanding their rights” in an aggressive, self-centered way, and may question whether talk of “inalienable rights” implies some unchanging, essential Self that “has” these, which is out of accord with Buddhism’s teaching on the nature of selfhood.

(Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*: 119)

Nevertheless, as rights imply duties, **Buddhists are happier talking directly about the duties themselves: about “universal duties”, or, to use a phrase much used by the Dalai Lama, “universal responsibilities”, rather than “universal rights”.**

(Peter Harvey, An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: 119)

某種程度仍是對民主社會站在一個批判性的角度

On the matter of what “has” the rights, the raising of the not-Self teaching is actually owner” of rights, it would not have any use for them, as a truly permanent Self would be invulnerable and could never be harmed!

Thus one can simply say that living, changing, vulnerable beings are, conventionally, **the “owners “ of rights**, with the locus of their value seen as their ability to suffer, their very vulnerability, and their potential for enlightenment, referred to in Mahayana Buddhism as **the “Buddha-nature”**, and in Theravada Buddhism as the **“brightly shining minds” (極光淨心)**

(Peter Harvey, An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: 119)

The five precepts imply a code of behavior and responsibility for the right treatment of others, whether these be humans or animals.

A basic principle of Buddhist ethics is that all beings are alike in disliking pain and in wanting to be happy, so that we should not inflict on another being what we would not like done to ourselves.

We have a duty to others to respect their interests, and a duty to ourselves not to coarsen ourselves by abusing others.

(Peter Harvey, An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: 119⁶⁷)

The duties so far referred to are duties owned to any sentient being, though Buddhism would agree that we own more to other humans because of the great value and potential of those who are attained **a “precious human rebirth”**.

We also have a range of responsibilities and duties to our parents and children, secular and religious teachers and pupils, spouses, friends, employees and employers.

While these can be seen as universal duties, to whom they are owned depends on who is in these particular relationships to us. However, **Buddhism teaches that it is unlikely that any being we meet has not been a close relative or friend in some past life, so beyond the people in this life to whom we have specific duties, such duties in the end are owned to all humans and animals!**

(Peter Harvey, An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: 119)

- Human Rights

消極權利 保護人權 (non-harming)

積極權利 教育權 (訴諸政府對人民的照顧)

“Human right” can be “negative” ones—to freedom from something such as arbitrary arrest—or “positive” ones, to something, such as an adequate education.

The first kind of rights are negated by being abused, and the second by being neglected. One can certainly make a case for the first type of human rights being the primary ones, and **Buddhist is strong in this area because of its emphasis on non-harming**. When it comes to the right to positive benefits, Buddhism’s emphasis is somewhat less strong, seeing such things less as entitlements and more as something that it is good for others to choose to provide. Nevertheless, its political ideals, as outlined above,.....**clearly see governments as having key responsibilities to look after their people**.
(Peter Harvey, An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: 120)



IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station, to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a solemn Appeal to the Supreme Judge of the World is requisite that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experiments have shown, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Tyranny, it is their Right, it is their Duty, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former System of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Oppressions, all having in direct and avowed Aim the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

- 1. He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.
- 2. He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and positive Importance, unless approved by his Advice: and he has refused to assent to them.
- 3. He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inalienable to them, and inseparable to Tyranny only.
- 4. He has called together legislative Bodies in Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the City, for the sole Purpose of harassing them with long Sessions.
- 5. He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.
- 6. He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean Time exposed to all the Danger of Invasion, Insurrection, and Civil Wars.
- 7. He has endeavored to prevent the Population of these States, for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage them to emigrate hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.
- 8. He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.
- 9. He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.
- 10. He has erected a multitude of new Offices, and has filled them with Officers to swell and increase the Revenue, and so too their Salaries.
- 11. He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our Legislature.
- 12. He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.
- 13. He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and not acknowledged by our Laws; giving to their Acts the Force of Law.
- 14. For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troop among us;
- 15. For quartering them, in a Town, City, or Village, for any Length of Time, without their Consent;
- 16. For carrying us and our Property into the most distant Parts of the World;
- 17. For carrying us and our Property into the most distant Parts of the World;
- 18. For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent;
- 19. For imposing us, in many Cases, of the Burden of Tax by Assent;
- 20. For depriving us in many Cases, of the Benefit of Trial by Jury;
- 21. For depriving us in many Cases, of the Benefit of Trial by Jury;
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- 100. For depriving us in many Cases, of the Benefit of Trial by Jury;

Declaration of INTERdependence

HUMAN PROGRESS having reached a high level through respect for the liberty and dignity of men, it has become desirable to re-affirm these evident truths:

That differences of race, color and creed are natural, and that diverse groups, institutions, and ideas are stimulating factors in the development of man;

That to promote harmony in diversity is a responsible task of religion and statesmanship;

That since no individual can express the whole truth, it is essential to treat with understanding and good will those whose views differ from our own;

That by the testimony of history intolerance is the door to violence, brutality, and dictatorship; and

That the realization of human interdependence and solidarity is the best guard of civilization.

Therefore, we solemnly resolve, and invite everyone to join in united action,

To uphold and promote human fellowship through mutual consideration and respect;

To champion human dignity and decency, and to safeguard these without distinction of race or color or creed;

To strive in concert with others to discourage all animosities arising from these differences, and to unite all groups in the fair play of civilized life.

Rooted in freedom, children of the same Divine Father, sharing everywhere a common human blood, we declare again that all men are brothers, and that mutual tolerance is the price of liberty.

Please sign, DETACH STUB, and return it to us. Retain Declaration and show it to others. I hereby sign the Declaration of INTERdependence.

Signature _____

Name (Please Print) _____ Date _____

Address _____

Occupation _____ Phone _____

(No financial obligation is assumed by signing the Declaration)

Declaration of INTERdependence, Inc., 112 South La Brea Avenue, Los Angeles 16, California

Declaration of Interdependence (Peter Harvey 1995)

Those who have the good fortune to have a "rare and precious human rebirth," with all its potential for awareness, sensitivity, and freedom, **have a duty to not abuse the rights of others to partake of the possibilities of moral and spiritual flourishing offered by human existence.** Such flourishing is only possible when certain conditions relating to physical existence and social freedom are maintained. **Human beings, furthermore, have an obligation to treat other forms of life with the respect commensurate to their natures.**

To repress our basic sympathy by abusing other sentient beings, human or otherwise, cripples our own potential, and increases the amount of suffering in the world for both others and ourselves. The doctrine of Conditioned Arising shows **that our lives are intertwined, and abusing others can only be done when we are blind to this fact.** As vulnerable beings in a conditioned world, **our mutual dependency indicates that whatever can be done to reduce suffering in the world should be done.**

The Buddhist teaching that we lack an inherently existing Self (anatta) shows that suffering does not really "belong" to anyone. It arises, in the life-stream of various sentient beings. **To try and reduce it in "my" stream at the expense of increasing it in another life-stream is folly, both because this will in fact bring more suffering back to me (karma), and because it depends on the deluded notion that "I" am an inviolable entity that is not dependent and can treat others as if only they are limited and conditioned.**

1. The interdependency of all forms of life and the reciprocal obligations which arise from it, such as the duty to repay the kindness of those who in previous lives may have been our parents, relatives and friends;
2. The need for universal compassion for sentient beings who are all alike in that they dislike pain and wish for happiness;
3. **The inalienable dignity** which living creatures possess by virtue of their capacity to achieve enlightenment in this life or in the future;

1. Every human being should be treated humanely both by other individuals and governments in keeping with the Buddhist commitment to non-violence (ahi.msaa) and respect for life.

2. Every human being must be treated equally and without discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, religion, sex, color, age, mental ability, or political views.

3. Human beings have obligations to other sentient beings and to the environment that all depend on for life and flourishing, now and in the future. Accordingly, humans have an obligation to present and future generations to protect the environment they share with other sentient beings, and to avoid causing direct or indirect harm to other forms of sentient life.

Queen and King, 1996, Engaged Buddhism—Buddhist Liberation Movements in Asia: p.11

We have noted that the most distinctive shift of thinking in socially engaged Buddhism is **from a transmundane (lokuttara) to a mundane (lokiya) definition of liberation.** Accompanying this shift is a **de-emphasis on the stages of transmundane liberation** (for example, the Theravada stages of “stream-enterer,” Sorta-Apanna 須陀含 “once-returner,” 斯陀含 sakrd-agamin “non-returner,” 阿那含 Anagaim and “arahant,” or the Mahayana stages of the Bodhisattva path), and **a new focus on the causes, varieties, and remedies of worldly suffering and oppression.**

Thus contemporary Buddhist liberation movements are as likely to apply their interpretive and organizational efforts to the critique and reform of social and political conditions as they **are to propose and practice new spiritual exercises.**

The evils of war and genocide, of ethnic hatred and caste violence, and of economic disparity and degradation figure prominently in engaged Buddhist writings.

On the other hand, the democratization, if not the transformation, of spiritual practices—for example, meditation and ritual initiations as now appropriated by lay practitioners—has been seen as an integral concomitant to the shift to mundane awakening.

To advance their vision of a new world, Buddhist liberation movements have harnessed modern methods of education, mass communication, political influence and activism, jurisprudence and litigation, and yes, even fund-raising and marketing. **Many examples of these new “skillful means” may be cited.**

- Human Rights

消極權利 保護人權 (non-harming)

積極權利 教育權 (訴諸政府對人民的照顧)

“制度性兩棲” (institutional amphibiousness) 丁學良

- 一方面說明社團通過無數的途徑已經與黨和國家結構密切地結合在了一起[即使在“制度性寄生” (institutional parasitism) 的意義上也是如此，
- 也就是說，他們的利益和資金狀況往往與黨和國家捆綁到了一起]，另一方面，這些社團已能夠融入和改變黨和國家機構（“機構操縱和轉變”）。
- 黨員和幹部在所有的社會機構中都有代表，這最終導致了雙向的內在聯繫。

如何開展出具有集體性與制度性
視野和手段的公民佛教，
並避免陷入「制度性兩棲」的陷
阱，仍是一大考驗

民初佛教精英分子所面對的人間佛教的核心議題

1. 由棄世到入世
2. 找出佛教污染源並去除之
3. 追求進步之同時，**改變超越性與實用性之關係**
4. 進步之根源不在入世，而是**打破出世與入世之界線**，**進而實踐佛教在此世 (建立佛教的此世性)**

(爭點：時空條件的改變；基礎點定位的不同；各宗教團體動源條件的不同)

Eagaged Buddhism 涉世佛教

Protestant Buddhism 佛教新教；抗議佛教

Human Realm Buddhism 人間佛教

Buddhism oriented to Social Action:

1. **涉世佛教(Engaged Buddhism):** 對比於Weber's renouncing 一種「**解放運動**」(liberation movement)，由「**典範性領導者**」(exemplary leaders)所帶領，人們則以志願的形式來參加，並擁有一個以為社會應建築在和平、正義和自由的原則上的基本視野。，希望能建立一個不存在有剝削與壓迫的理想世界。
2. **抗議佛教(Protestant Buddhism):**由於佛教界受到基督新教的刺激，它們開始亦向基督新教學習其所帶有的各種社會形式，包括公共論述、象徵符號表達、修行模式等等，於是佛教也由寺院中逐漸轉入現實市場裡，這種變化正像是模仿且類似於基督新教早先由寺院中走出來，而進入人們的日常生活脈絡裡的這種轉變。 **學基督教 → 反基督教 → 反傳統佛教**

- 人生

彼世

- 人間

鬼間、神間

- 孔與佛恰好相反，一個是專談現世生活，不談現實生活以外的事；一個是專談現實生活以外的事，不談現世生活。
- 想把佛教抬出來活動的人，便不得不謀變更其原來面目。似乎記得太虛和尚在《海潮音》一文中要藉著「人天乘」的一句話為題目，替佛教擴張他的範圍到現世生活裡來。
- 梁任公……總想著佛教到世間來應用；以如何可以把貴族氣味的佛教改造成平民化，讓大家人人都可以受用的問題

- 其實這個改造是做不到的事，如果做到也必非復佛教。
- 今年我在上海見著章太炎先生，就以這個問題探他的意見。他說，這恐怕很難；或者不立語言文字的禪宗可以普及到不識字的粗人，但普及後，還是不是佛教，就不敢說罷了。
- 他還有一些話，論佛教在現時的宜否，但只有以上兩句是可取的。總而言之，佛教是根本不能拉到現世來用的；若因為要拉他來用而改換他的本來面目，則又何苦如此糟蹋佛教？

在時代挑戰中，「傳統」的正當性面臨到了挑戰，華人文化如何能在時代衝擊中再予振興，這成為社會菁英主要的歷史關懷。

而部分儒家的知識分子把過去華人文化的衰微歸罪於印度佛教在中國的過於興盛，因此要復興當代的中華文化，必須抑制佛教的流行。

梁漱溟(1983: 248-249)在民初對於佛教的批判至今看起來立論仍是相當鮮明，也就是佛教的基本性格是出世的，它有它自己的性質與功能，若強做改變，這不但已不是佛教，而且這可能還是糟蹋了佛教

儒家知識分子如梁漱溟(1983:248-249)的質難，

若專就入世積極性來說，佛教再怎麼樣也比不上儒家，而它們間既互相干擾，不如捨佛而就儒，以使中國迅速走上富強。

1938年梁漱溟來到四川與佛教界人士所談的學佛中止之機，是因為佛教不能因應「此時、此地、此人」(印順，1988a：序言)

- 進歩(Progress)
- 認同(Identity)
- 超越性(Transcendence)

“進步”

「一個社會系統在系統內或與其它系統間，在接受或處理資訊，以及適當反映資訊能力上之提升。」

「進步在此涉及的不只是學習，更是一種學習的能力，一種知道如何去學習的能力的提升……依據這個定義，現代化可以被視為當代產生的一種快速的進步。」（**Bellah 1965：171**）

“認同”

一套對於集體或個人的較為穩定與持續性的定義或標識。就一個社會來說，在一些情況裡，固然進步可能是其所追求的目標，但是在追求進步的同時，仍必需保有一種延續性，也就是認同的確認，否則整個系統缺少自我標識能力與凝聚力，那將會使社會陷於一種完全失控的狀況，再也無法應付外來的巨大壓力。

追求進步但失去認同

接受基督教

選擇自由主義

選擇社會主義

保持認同中追求進步的文化回應

傳統主義(Traditionalism)

新傳統主義(Neo-traditionalism)

改革主義(Reformism)

“傳統主義”

傳統主義維持宗教傳統之現狀而
視改變是不必要的

“新傳統主義”

新傳統主義則是一方面保留傳統的正當性，一方面認為可以在不妨礙傳統的情況下盡量結合西方的現代科技

“改革主義”

改革主義將宗教傳統重新加以詮釋，並試圖說明傳統與現代性不但相容，而且傳統本身甚至是正迫切的需要引進某些現代性的內容，它通常所採取的方式則是一方面回歸於特定傳統中較早期的人物或經典，一方面拒絕歷史發展過程中曾介入過的一些演變，於是在詮釋上對於傳統初期的思想相當重視，並熱切的推動於改革和傳統的再生

中國佛教本位的新： 太虛的新傳統主義

所云中國佛教本位的新，是以中國兩千年來傳演流變的佛法為根據，在適應中國目前及將來的需要上，去吸收採擇各時代各方域佛教的特長，以成為復興中國民族中的中國新佛教，以適應中國目前及將來趨勢上的需求。由此本人謂中國佛教本位新，不同一般人傾倒于西化、麻醉于日本，推翻千百年中國佛教所謂新！亦不同有些人憑個己研究的一點心得，批評中國從來未有如法如律的佛教，而要據佛法的律制以從新設立的新！……所以本人所謂的中國佛教本位的新，有兩點：一、是掃去中國佛教不能適應中國目前及將來的需求的病態，二、是揭破離開中國佛教本位而易以異地異代的新謬見。（《太虛大師全書》冊二：452-453）

立本於根本佛教之淳樸，宏博中期佛教之行解（1989:1-2）；

斷然的贊同「佛法」與「大乘佛法」的初期行解（1989：45）

初期佛法的時代適應性，是不能充分表達釋尊真諦的。大乘佛法的應運而興，……確有他獨到的長處。應使佛法從新的適應中開展。……著重於舊有的抉發，希望能刺透兩邊（不偏於大小，而能通於大小），讓佛法在這人生正道中，逐漸能取得新的方便適應而發揚起來。（1989:2）

“改革主義”

改革主義將宗教傳統重新加以詮釋，並試圖說明傳統與現代性不但相容，而且傳統本身甚至是正迫切的需要引進某些現代性的內容，它通常所採取的方式則是一方面回歸於特定傳統中較早期的人物或經典，一方面拒絕歷史發展過程中曾介入過的一些演變

超越性

VS.

內在性

“超越性與內在性” (Transcendence VS Immanence)

分析上它可用來表示神聖性展現的方式。超驗性指涉神聖性有一個此世之外的來源，其是居於宇宙與有限物質世界之上的；內在性則代表著一種神聖無所不在的性質，其瀰漫在世間萬物之中而並沒有居於世間之上的來源

(Hartshorne 1987) 。

超越性(transcendentality)

印順堅持原始佛教的「三法印」——或者說緣起觀——的立足點，相信這個立足點須超越於世俗生活之上，不能因適應於社會而有絲毫消減。

內在性(immanence)

太虛的人生佛教，承續著中國佛教圓融觀的遺產，而對於神聖性的來源，有著一種「內在性」的看法，相信萬物相互融貫，聖俗相互浸透，其間並沒有明顯的區隔，進而達成一種「法界圓覺」的具有神秘屬性的境界

二元性 vs. 非二元性

(Duality vs. Non-Duality)

二元性認定在神聖與世俗、善與惡等間，有著截然的二分性，非二元性則不持這種看法。

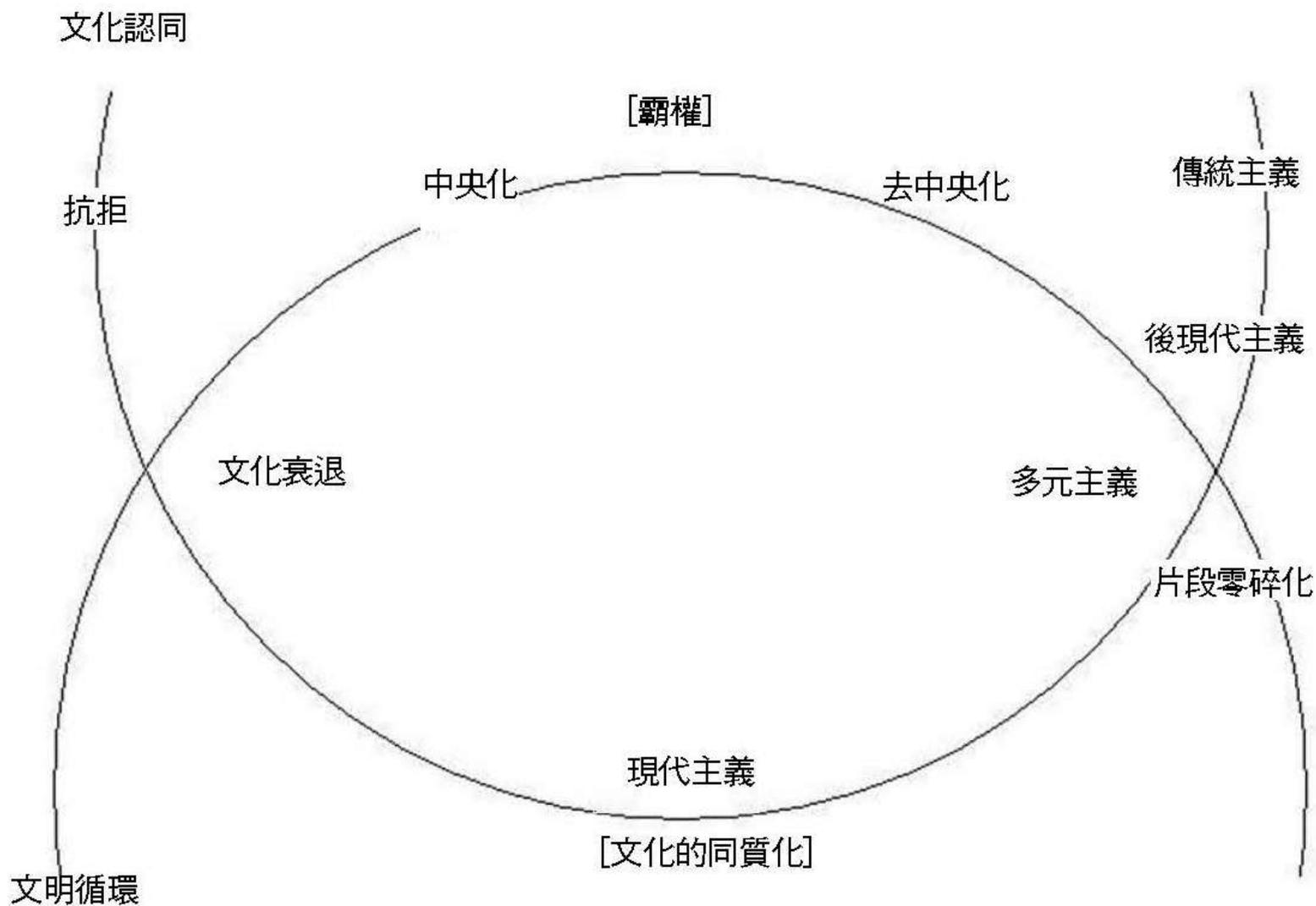
- 印順：
超越性的非二元性
(Transcendental Non-Duality)

VS.

- 太虛：
內在性的非二元性
(Immanent Non-Duality)

Transcendental Non-duality

- **Intergration of “left home” and “at home,” yet still with a quality of transcendentality. The transcendentality is based up the ideas of middle-way (中觀哲學), rather than an eternal constant reality.**



*本圖主要參考自Friedman(1994:39)。

- **Ciji Association 慈濟功德會**
clergy: more than 100
core lay member: more than 20,000
non-core member: more than 3,000,000
- **The Buddha Light Mountain 佛光山**
clergy: more than 1,000
core lay member: ?
non-core member: more than 1,000,000
- **Dharma Drum Mountain 法鼓山**
clergy: about 1,00
core lay member: ?
non-core member: about 1,000,000

Ciji Association: Public Buddhism

(證嚴與慈濟功德會:公共佛教)

**The Buddha Light Mountain: Progress
Buddhism**

(星雲與佛光山:進步佛教)

Dharma Drum Mountain: Present Buddhism

(聖嚴與法鼓山:現在佛教)

- 進歩(Progress)
- 認同(Identity)
- 超越性(Transcendentality)

超越性的非二元性 (Transcendental Non-duality)

這一個立足點，不同於西方二元中所認定的超越性，後者是先在神聖與世俗間劃定界線，再將超越性立足於神聖的範疇中，而將世俗界排除在超越性的範疇外。反之，在印順的人間佛教中，是以空性為基礎而產生一種超越屬性，它自身完全沒有神聖與世俗間的二分法上的區別，但卻又在一個超越性的層次，既不區別於世俗，又能超越於世俗活動之上。

The Buddha Light Mountain

佛光山

clergy: more than 1,000

core lay member: ?

non-core member: more than 1,000,000



星雲大師
Master Hsing Yun





佛
光
山
人
間
佛
教

宗旨

以文化弘揚佛法
以教育培養人才
以慈善福利社會
以共修淨化人心

HUMANISTIC BUDDHISM

Objectives

- Propagating Buddhism through culture
- Fostering Talent through education
- Benefiting society through charitable programs
- Purifying human minds through Buddhist practice



- **Dharma Drum Mountain**
法鼓山

clergy: about 1,000

core lay member: ?

non-core member: about 1,000,000





Ciji Association 慈濟功德會

clergy: more than 100

core lay member: more than 20,000

non-core member: more than 3,000,000





Buddhism Oriented to Social Action

vs.

Buddhism Renouncing to This world

3. Taixu's 人生佛教 This-World Buddhism:

Distancing Buddhism from the other-worldly orientation.

4. Yinshun's 人間佛教

Anthropocentric Buddhism:

Relocating Buddhism in the humanistic context

慈濟功德會:公共佛教

以傳統民間社會「公」之理念為依據，和當代社會新興中產階級之道德實踐為基礎，將印順「人間佛教」之理念，落實在婦女私人網絡擴張後的生活世界裡。

將佛教的出世精神，經由結構性的安排，而與傳統社會中公眾實踐模式相互滲透與增強的一種特殊的「人間佛教」形式。

佛光山 “進步佛教”

也就是「以入世性為最高的指導綱領，以改變傳統佛教消極出世的屬性」的一種佛教。而其較為核心性的實踐主體在於僧團，一般信眾則起著護持和配合的作用。

法鼓山的” 現在佛教”

它的形式，是由在家人的生活世界為立足點
來進行自我提昇，而達到一種內在神聖淨化
的境界，它已具有一種可能打破「出家／在
家」二元對立的性質。

佛光山三佛中心

International Buddhist Progress Society



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慈濟、佛光山、與法鼓山

由人間佛教之實踐的角度出發，這三個教團之間的區別，建築在兩個層面：

由誰來體現人世行動，和由誰來表現出佛教精神內在的超越性。

僧俗結構性依存導向

僧團入世導向

在家眾出世導向

教團中超越性的表現與入世性的實踐

<p>入世性的實踐 超越性的表現</p>	<p>Clergy</p>	<p>Lay</p>
<p>Clergy</p>	<p>佛光山</p>	<p>慈濟</p>
<p>Lay</p>	<p>? (真佛宗)</p>	<p>法鼓山</p>



公民佛教是什麼？

- 慈濟的非市民性格 ?? !!!



希望相信市民社會可能
由慈濟中發生：

a. 林毓生：創造性的轉化；

b. Robert Weller：Alternate Civility

認為有可能產生社會的結構性改變：

a. 張維安：日常實踐觀點；

b. 楊弘任：讓社區動起來，以文化轉譯產生新的行動劇碼

慈濟十戒

- 1、不殺生，慈悲喜捨。
- 2、不偷盜，誠正信實。
- 3、不邪淫，夫妻守分。
- 4、不妄語，口吐蓮花。
- 5、不飲酒，身心輕安。
- 6、不嚼檳榔戒煙酒。
- 7、不可賭博勿投機。
- 8、孝順父母聲色柔。
- 9、交通規則切遵守。
- 10、關心政治不介入。

2004年總統大選時慈濟的公開聲明

慈濟面對各類選舉，一向秉持關心但不介入的超然立場，堅持「不參選、不推薦、不助選」的一貫原則，此立場與原則三十八年來絲毫未曾改變。2004年總統選舉在即，慈濟重申此立場。……為維護一個安心推動志業的清淨空間，慈濟嚴守政治超然中立；所有成員也明瞭這項原則，在各項選舉時，不會為其任何政黨或候選人助選。

Casanova 1994,
Public Religions in the Modern World

Public Religion may exist at the levels of....

1. The State

2. Political Society

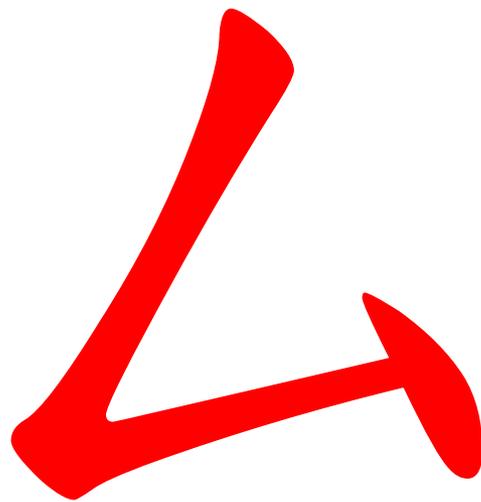
3. Civil Society

Casanova's idea of public religion at the level of civil society

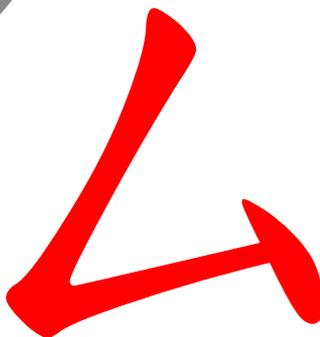
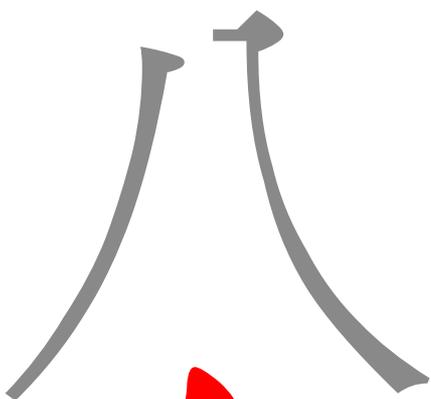
Asking for a more reflexive and open-ended discourses, recognizes what **the boundaries between public and private are and the need to be open to contestation, redefinition, renegotiation, and discursive legitimization**

Casanova(1994:57-58): 至少在以下三種情況裡的任何一種情況，宗教團體在公共場域裡的政治活動，都有其足夠的正當性：

- 1. 當宗教涉入於公共場域中，其目標並不僅僅是為了自身的宗教自由，而是為了捍衛民主社會中自由的權利時；
- 2. 當世俗社會體制，包括法律、經濟、教育等等，雖然它運作時是合法的，但事實上它已經逐漸遠離了某種道德基礎時；
- 3. 當傳統的生活方式受到政府職權的侵入時。



禾 厶



傳統華人「公」概念

- 公私是對立性的；
- 公概念下同時指涉政治、天理與道德等等；
- 由個人修為到政治管理之間，可由「公」概念連結起來；

佛教的社會影響：Dumont

- 這些我們稱之為「棄世者」們的態度，對於社會生活的影響，是巨大的，它不是革命性的或是改革性的，而是產生了一種相對化的態度。.....
- 這其中有三個過程在運作，之前講到的對立於印度「階層性模型」（hierarchical model）——這種「階層性模型」與當代西方式的「衝突式模型」〔conflictual model〕不同——的「相對化」（relativization）過程。.....另外兩個是「內在化」（internalization）和「分化」（differentiation）

佛教與公概念的接軌

- a. 在儀式與世界觀中的超渡與給予救贖之能力；
- b. 出家眾的社會角色；
- c. 佛教思想的社會與政治作用

佛教與公概念的接軌： 慈濟中的狀況

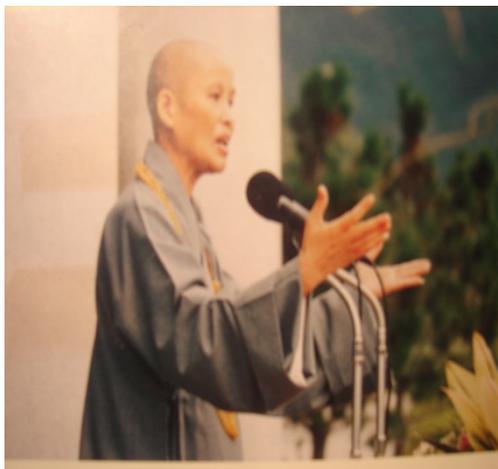
- a. 佛教的超渡功能：
- b. 出家眾的角色適合帶領公眾來從事救濟事業：
- c. 無緣大慈、同體大悲、慈悲喜捨、力邀天下善士、拔苦得樂、同耕福田等等：

證嚴,1996, 公益與私損



- 公益的反面就是私，有公就無私，有私就無公；而利益的反面就是損，有了損就沒有利益，有了利益就沒有損（證嚴 1996：35）。
- 社會的亂要淨化人心，必須先去除私我、小我才能成就大我，有了我才能公正、利益。目前的社會為什麼會這麼混亂？就是因為這分自私小我，才使得人心有了毛病（證嚴 1996：35）。
- 我們要化小為大，才能做到「公」；如果忽視了這分「正」和「公」，就會常常拘束在「自己」的範圍內。（證嚴 1996：49）

證嚴 1995



- 現在社會很需要慈濟人的幫助，讓社會的秩序能調整得循規蹈矩。...這幾十年來的生活文化，因西風東進，很多人被西方的風氣擾亂了固有東方的精神文化。所以現在的上一代和下一代之間有很大的鴻溝。因而演變成親情的脫離，接著是家庭破碎邊緣，社會形態秩序混亂，有些規矩脫軌了。這時候需要慈濟人的投入...（證嚴，1995：15）。

認為有可能產生社會的結構性改變

- a. 張維安：日常實踐觀點；
- b. 楊弘任：讓社區動起來，以文化轉譯產生新的行動劇碼

楊弘任

- 在地與外來兩種文化習性－

公共行動社團	論述知識優先	領域的公共性
村落傳統組織	實作知識優先	動機的公共性

Participatory Democracy

vs.

Representative Democracy

公民佛教：以性別平等為例



性別主流化(Gender Mainstreaming)

- 1997年2月聯合國經濟社會理事會(ECOSOC)確定：
：性別觀點的主流化，是要評估各種立法、政策或計劃等計畫行動對婦女和男性的各種影響。
。這也是一種策略，目的是在各種經濟、政治、社會的政策和計劃的設計、執行、監督、評估中，整合加入婦女和男性的關注與經驗。目的是**要使婦女和男性同樣受益，不受不平待遇**。
。最終目標是達到性別平等。

- **【性別主流化】** 係指，所有政府的政策與計畫要具有性別觀點，並在作成決策之前，對於該政策對於女性和男性的影響分別進行分析研究。政府在規劃國家的各項政策時，應該全盤地從性別的觀點去思考。對於既存的各種國家法律、政策與司法制度都要從性別的角度出發，重新檢驗既有的政策是否符合性別平等的目標

Sangren 1983 Female Gender in Chinese Religious Symbols: Kuan Yin, Ma Tsu, and "The Eternal Mother. Signs 9:4-25.

對漢人宗教中的女神象徵：觀音、媽祖與無生老母提出分析



Steven Sangren (1983: 11) 對Wolf所提出的神明象徵論加以檢討，並注意到女性神祇 (其實這個神明系統是對真實女性的再一次變相歧視)

- 女性神明的表徵，會和現實社會裡所認定的女性特質完全相反，而有著絕對完美的形象。
- 現實世界中的女性在性行為與生產過程中造成汙染，「因此，做為女性理想典範的女神必須滌除月經、性行為、死亡與生產等帶來的汙染之恥」。
- 象徵純淨的女神，「意味著否定女性為人妻子的身分，以及肯定其母親的角色。」扮演慈母角色的女神是凝聚力的象徵，她們與信眾的關係猶如母子或母女，這種關係有三種顯著的面向：包容、調解與合作 (inclusivity, mediation, alliance)。



- 在觀音，尤其是在妙善的傳說故事裡，這些主題最為明顯。經由拒絕父親的願望和拒絕結婚，妙善保有了她的純潔，但也犧牲了孝順。當觀音是她真正的身分，她不只是出面拯救了她的父親，而且還包括了地獄中全部受苦的靈魂。
- 最後，**只有在她的死亡以及經過了地獄中的遊蕩之後，以及經過觀音對純潔和孝順**（在妙善的傳奇故事裡，孝順是指去執行作為妻子的社會角色）**間矛盾的那種中國女性不可克服性的解決之後，其受污染的汙痕才得以去除。**在成為菩薩的過程裡，觀音基本上拒絕了做為女兒與妻子的角色，而承擔了（如我以下將要說的）母親的角色。

- 女性意義的宗教象徵符號，以不同的意義來 empower 女性，
- 或是 提供僅宣洩管道？
- 或是緩和父權壓力 (不能單以象徵上是否給女性神聖性 來判斷) ？
- 或是真的提供了新社群的構成基礎？

- 不是以直接產生力量的方式，而是以其結構性放逐的結構位置為基礎，添加了新的超越性。(裡面也同時帶有對結構進行控訴與反抗，但最後沒有訴諸直接反抗，而是靠自己成為超越性的提供救贖者，來達成大和解)
- 無奈中的超越與佛教超能力者的創造
- 但仍再一次被納入父性體系，因為父性體系始終沒有辦法承認女性。女性仍須自己找到一條出入。
- 這個出路 不是在大社會裡 被廣泛的承認 而是在佛教僧團中找到位置 而間接被社會所接納

- 這也可以局部的解釋，為什麼當代台灣佛教僧團的構成，有如此高比例的比丘尼，而這甚至已是東亞地區的獨特現象
- 但一旦當父權家族的束縛力鬆動，佛教的公共形象愈來愈好（如當代台灣的人間佛教），當女性獲得更大的自由來建構其主體性，卻仍無法由父系社會的身份中得到任何實質或想像性的滿足時
- 女兒卻似乎只能在出家或修佛身份中得到滿足和超越，女性出家，尤其是高學歷女性出家可能性的大幅增加，這在華人社會的文化裡是很可以理解的。



新興宗教在宗教行動旨趣上更激進化，甚至於它本身創教者是外來者或立基於外來的靈修與神明，

進入父權體系後 (他甚至不是本地人所創)。行動旨趣有一種共同性，找尋真實自我，資本主義主流體系之外的真實自我 (**authentic self** 對於女性來說 特別又意義)。

但其還是在宗教體系內來達成理想，但這宗教體系不再是跟主流父權社會直接互補的宗教體系，或是以社會安全閥存在社會宗教體系的位置。其是要重建一個新的烏托邦。

這把民間教派的烏托邦裡的概念推得更極致與更絕對。但對集體人群組合的政治性做法通常並不太感興趣。

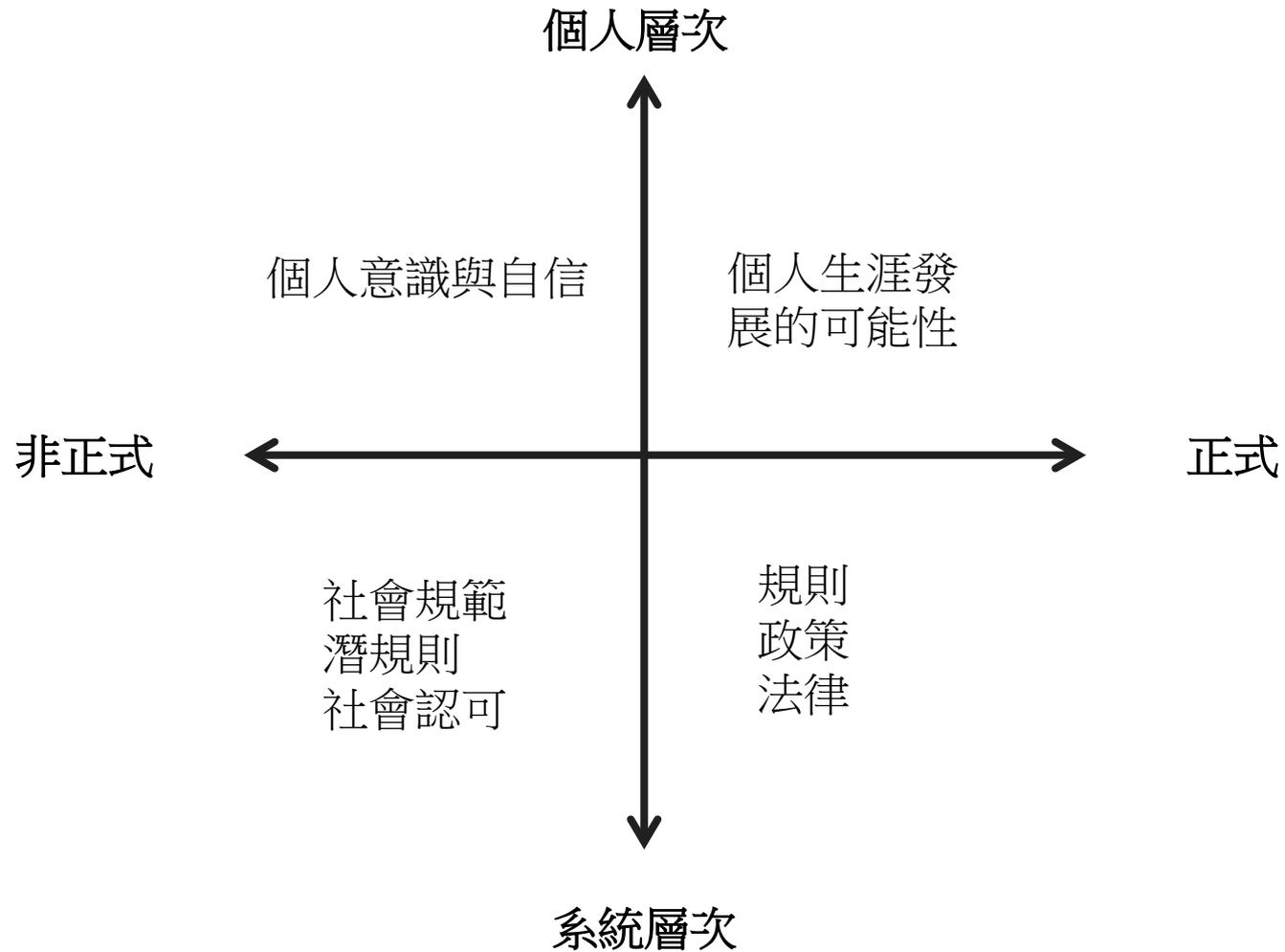




公民佛教

- 更認真的面對世間的不平等
- 除了僧團內部的改善 (更何況內部都尚未充分改善)
- 更要求內外一致性

性別平等與不平等



感 謝 聆 聽