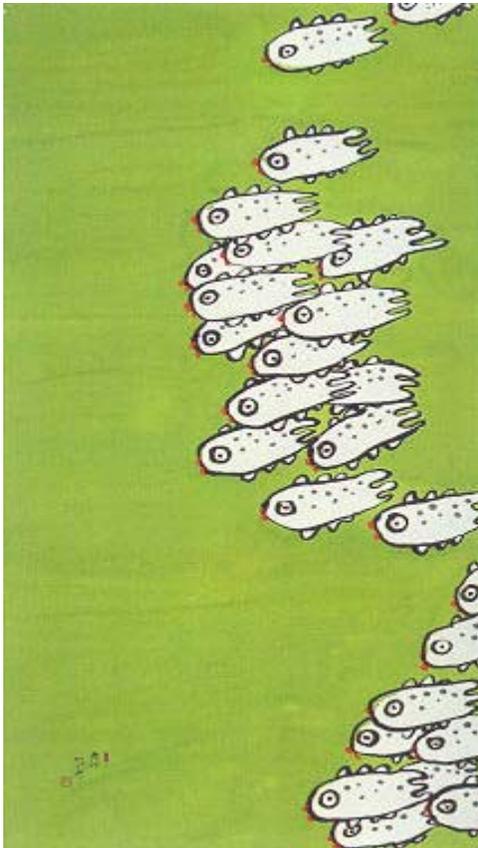


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Globalizing Chinese Culture, Localizing Buddhist Teachings: the Internationalization of Foguangshan*

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R e s e a r c h A r t i c l e

**Globalizing Chinese Culture, Localizing Buddhist Teachings: the
Internationalization of Foguangshan***

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Abstract

Foguangshan, one of the most prominent Buddhist organizations in Taiwan, has over the past decade also developed a significant network of temples around the globe. With more than 150 centers dispersed on five continents and serving millions of devotees, the Foguang "empire," as Washington Post journalist Kevin Sullivan has dubbed the phenomenon, is now arguably one of the most extensive and best organized Buddhist groups in the world (Sullivan 1996, A22). There are certainly few monks who can claim to have gathered as large a *sangha* as has Foguangshan's founder, Master Xingyun, who currently supervises more than thirteen hundred disciples. In this essay, I describe the various factors that have contributed to Foguangshan's remarkable success in transforming itself from a local institution into one of truly international magnitude. After placing Foguangshan's expansion in historical perspective, I analyze its demographics and the methods that the master and his disciples have relied upon to carry out their ambitious objectives. Through this discussion, the challenges and tensions inherent within the group's mission come to light. The essay concludes by disclosing Master Xingyun's positive appraisal of the religious implications of globalization. This Foguang material provides one piece of evidence that in the post-modern

world people's primary referent for communal identity may very well increasingly revert from national to religious symbols and myths.

From Master Huishen To Master Xingyun

Master Xingyun (b. 1927) first went abroad in 1963, when he joined a contingent of *bhikshus* sent to India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Japan, and Hong Kong on a government-sponsored initiative to bolster support for the Republic of China (ROC). The beginnings of Foguangshan's globalization are to be traced to a more recent trip: the master's visit to the United States in 1976, at which point he recognized the great potential for serving the rapidly expanding Chinese-American population. Twelve years later, Master Xingyun opened the doors of the largest Buddhist temple in the Western hemisphere. He chose to call it "Hsi Lai," which means "Coming to the West." This is a play on words, for Chinese Buddhists have long referred to Buddhism as having come from the West, i.e., from India.

One year after the founding of Hsi Lai, the theme of bringing the *Dharma* to the West gained even greater salience when Tang Degang, an historian then at New York University, gave a lecture at the Foguangshan Buddhist Youth Academic Conference that he billed, "From Master Huishen to Master Xingyun" (Shi Xingyun 1994, vol. 3, entry for January 2, 1990). Tang stated in his paper that during the North-South Dynasties (420-589 CE), Ven. Huishen, a monk of Indian origin but living in China, sailed to America to spread the *Dharma*. The cleric returned to the Middle Kingdom some forty years later, presenting to the Liang emperor many gifts from the distant land, which he called Fusang. Dr. Tang cited three pieces of evidence to support his thesis. Firstly, he quoted passages from the "Twenty-five Histories" that relate Ven. Huishen's descriptions of his voyage and of the peoples, flora, and fauna that he observed in the land he had made his home for so long. Secondly, the scholar noted that there are many ancient "stone anchors" (Chin. *shi mao*) in America with craftsmanship so Chinese in style that they must have derived from China and been brought over by the monk. Finally, Tang asserted that there are still people in Acapulco, Mexico, who are Buddhists, having received the tradition from their ancestors who had learned of the *Dharma* from the Indian-Chinese missionary. Ven. Huishen's early "discovery" (*faxian*) of America, a full millennium before Columbus arrived, was of such historical importance to Buddhists, Chinese, and all Americans, stated Dr. Tang, that he recommended that Hsi Lai Temple build a "Master Huishen Memorial Hall."

Tang Degang was not, in fact, the first scholar to hypothesize about an early Buddhist arrival in America. This theory had been raised and debated within the European academic community during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁽¹⁾ More recently, a Professor Wei Zhuxian of Taiwan National University devoted virtually his entire career to cataloguing archeological, anthropological, and historical evidence for pre-Columbian contacts between Chinese and American peoples. In his opinion, Huishen represents a relatively late interaction because a thousand years earlier Confucius had already made references to the North American hummingbird.

Whether or not Fusang was a Chinese name for the continent of America will probably never be known definitively. Most of the evidence that Tang and his predecessors cited to substantiate their claims is tentative at best. To scrutinize the soundness of the data offered, however, is to miss the point. For the Foguangshan community, the theory's importance lies not so much in historical validity, but rather in its potential for creating a new mythology, *viz.* an expressive history that helps to establish the group's sense of purpose. The power of the Huishen legend arises from three elements: the portrayal of him as carrier of Chinese culture; the conviction that he successfully planted the seed of the *Dharma* on American shores; and the transnational profile he is given. We shall return to each of these components as we discuss Foguangshan's missionary work not only in America, but around the world. Before doing so, let us contextualize the Foguang efforts by briefly describing the history of Chinese Buddhism as it has spread into the United States, Australia, Africa, and Europe.

Even if the land of Fusang mentioned by Ven. Huishen was not America, immigrants from China were nonetheless the first Asians to import Buddhist statuary and devotional practices to the United States. Those who did so were not monastics, but laymen drawn to California by the lure of gold. The first ship of Chinese arrived in 1849, one year after the precious metal had been discovered at John Sutter's sawmill. By the 1880s, the early Chinese population had peaked at slightly over 100,000. Not surprisingly, as the community grew, it set aside places of worship. The first Chinese religious establishments to be constructed in the continental United States were the Tin Hou Temple and Kong Chow Temple, built in San Francisco around 1853.⁽²⁾ By 1875 the number of temples in that city had grown to at least eight, and by the turn of the century there were hundreds of "joss houses," as Chinese shrines were called, throughout the Western United States. One cannot characterize such structures as strictly Buddhist, however, since in most cases a variety of Chinese Daoist,

folk, and Buddhist figures received shelter and homage together. The vast majority of these dwellings were abandoned shortly after they were completed. With the passage of anti-Chinese legislation, starting with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the number of Chinese in the United States steadily declined, the various temples in the Chinatowns received ever fewer devotees, and, one by one, they were abandoned.

The history of Chinese Buddhism in Australia is remarkably similar to that of the United States.⁽³⁾ At the same time that Chinese men from the Canton region were embarking for California, some of their relatives and neighbors were on their way to the gold mines of Victoria and South Australia. Here too, joss houses proliferated. Buddha images do not appear to have been included in these shrines, but alongside statues of such deities as Guangong (god of war and commerce) and Caishen (god of wealth), one could find likenesses of Guanyin (Avalokiteshvara) and Mile Fo (Maitreya). As in the United States, these structures soon disappeared, and subsequent nativist backlash resulted in legislation that virtually halted all immigration from China until the early 1970s (Croucher 1989, 1-3).

The lure of gold also played an important, but fleeting, role in the history of Chinese immigration to Africa. Nearly 64,000 Chinese men were imported into present-day South Africa from 1904 to 1907 to work in the fifty-five mines that had sprouted up along the gold reef just south of Johannesburg. Unlike in the United States and Australia, where significant numbers of the men ended up staying on to form Chinatowns, those who journeyed to South Africa were virtually all immediately repatriated upon the expiration of their three-year contracts.⁽⁴⁾ Once the mine laborers had left, a mere 1,905 Chinese remained in the country, nearly all of whom had arrived during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁽⁵⁾ Elsewhere in Africa, only such places as Lourenco Marques and Beira along the coast of Portuguese East Africa (present-day Mozambique), and Bulawayo, Umtali, and Salisbury of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) became home to small groups of Chinese traders, shopkeepers, and farmers. Larger populations sprouted up in the nearby islands of Madagascar and Mauritius.⁽⁶⁾

These immigrants brought with them the same Chinese folk religion as did their contemporaries who had ventured to America or Australia. Hence, one finds reference to two attempts in the 1890s to obtain land in Johannesburg for the erection of a Chinese temple, mention of the construction of a Guandi Temple in Kimberly around the same time, and reports of the completion of a pagoda in 1903 in Mozambique.⁽⁷⁾ As for the laborers

who toiled in the gold mines, the majority of those who followed religious practices identified themselves as Buddhists.⁽⁸⁾ All traces of such worship soon disappeared, with the exception of the Guandi Temple in Kimberly, which remained standing for several decades and whose altars may still be found in the headquarters of that city's Chinese association (Yap and Man 1996, 54).

The introduction of Chinese Buddhism into Europe can be said to have preceded, yet also lagged behind its arrival on other continents. Marco Polo and his fellow adventurers, Christian missionaries such as Matteo Ricci, and a small fraternity of academic scholars incrementally gave European elites knowledge of Chinese Buddhist doctrine and practice (albeit one usually biased by ethnocentric assumptions). By the late eighteenth century, such Sinologists as Abel Remusat, J. H. Klapoth, and Stanislas Julien had made available translations of some of Chinese Buddhism's most important *sūtras* and historical documents (de Jong 1987). Hence, although in the Western United States, Southern Australia, and Eastern Africa there were devotees worshipping Buddhist images (along with various deities), but who displayed little interest in the philosophical nuances of the tradition's teachings, in Europe, which lacked economic incentives for Chinese immigration, Sino-Buddhist doctrine was present, yet devotees were nowhere to be found. Chinese communities of any appreciable size only emerged in Europe in the latter half of the twentieth century.

The initial spread of Sino-Buddhist practice and teachings outside of Asia was a haphazard, undirected phenomenon carried out by Chinese laity on the one hand and European scholars on the other. Noticeably absent from the enterprise were monastics. This is not too surprising because, through the centuries, Chinese clerics rarely left the Middle Kingdom even for other Asian destinations.⁽⁹⁾ Only in the twentieth century did finances and incentives provide the proper conditions for the *sangha* to extend its range of activity around the globe. The first Chinese venerable to travel through Europe and the United States was Master Taixu, who spent nine months in France, England, Germany, and the United States in 1928-29.⁽¹⁰⁾ He did not, however, make a concerted effort to establish a long-term institutional base in any of the nations he visited. The impetus to gain a footing among overseas Chinese communities came with the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the subsequent waves of anti-religious campaigns over the next two decades. Finding there to be insufficient resources in Hong Kong and Taiwan to support the surge of monastics seeking asylum, a handful decided to continue on to one of the Chinese enclaves

dispersed around the world.

The first Chinese monk to settle in the United States was Ven. Xuanhua, who landed in California in 1959. A steady stream of clerics trickled into America in the twenty years following the Immigration Act of 1965, so that by the time Foguangshan consecrated Hsi Lai Temple, there were several dozen monks and nuns already living in small temples in various Chinatowns around the country. One finds a comparable history in Australia. In fact, Ven. Xuanhua appears to have been the first resident Chinese monastic on that continent as well, having relocated there in 1961. He found it even more difficult to establish a base Down Under than in the United States, however, so he soon returned to California. No Chinese monk or nun is known to have followed Ven. Xuanhua's tracks to Australia until the 1970s, when abolition of racial quotas in immigration laws made it much easier to settle there. By the close of the 1980s, there were one or two dozen venerables serving the overseas Chinese communities of Sydney, Melbourne, and Perth.⁽¹¹⁾ Chinese monastic migration to the United States and Australia was paralleled by similar movements throughout the world, with small numbers of *bhikshus* and *bhikshunis* establishing themselves in Europe and South America. Foguangshan venerables were the first ever to take up residence in South Africa, founding seven centers there in the early 1990s.⁽¹²⁾ The only region of the globe evidently without any Chinese sangha at the advent of the twenty-first century is the Middle East.

The Perimeters of Foguangshan's Globalization

With the exception of Ven. Xuanhua, who eventually founded a total of six monasteries in the United States and Canada, none of the Chinese clerics who journeyed outside of Asia attempted to serve more than one local community.⁽¹³⁾ Even Ven. Xuanhua's accomplishment pales in comparison to Master Xingyun's success in planting so many centers over such a broad geographical range. In less than a decade Foguangshan went from having virtually no overseas branches to embracing nearly one hundred. As of the year 2001, the headquarters oversaw ninety-five temples, pureland meditation centers, and lecture halls from Tokyo to Paris, Sydney to Sao Paulo:

Asia (excluding ROC) 27

Japan 8	Philippines 7	Malaysia 7	Thailand 1
Hong Kong 2	Singapore 1	Korea 1	

North America 25

USA 18	Canada 6	Bahamas 1
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Central America 5

Costa Rico 1	Mexico 1	El Salvador 1	Dominique 1
Panama 1			

South America 7

Brazil 1	Argentina 1	Paraguay 1	Chile 1
Uruguay 1	Guatemala 1	Belize 1	

Europe 21

UK 3	Germany 2	Russia 2	Sweden 2
Belgium 1	Denmark 1	France 1	Switzerland 1
Norway 1	Netherlands 1	Spain 1	Hungary 1
Yugoslavia 1	Italy 1	Portugal 1	Austria 1

Africa 11

South Africa 9	Congo 1	Tanzania 1
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Foguang temples may be found virtually anywhere a relatively large expatriate population from the ROC has coalesced. The reach of BLIA is still farther, extending to areas with even small communities of Taiwan emigrants.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is very difficult to determine exactly how many devotees frequent the temples or join BLIA chapters. Foguang venerables have unofficially claimed BLIA's worldwide membership to be anywhere from one million to three million. I doubt that the roster of active members has ever reached anything close to even the more modest of the two estimates, although the total number of people who participate in BLIA events in a given year very well may reach the three million mark.

The question is: how many people are members of BLIA, how many of these live in Taiwan, and how many live abroad? Given that approximately five million people in the ROC frequent a Buddhist temple, that Foguangshan is only one of several large Buddhist organizations, and that many of Taiwan's Buddhists do not join any of these groups, I would estimate that perhaps 400,000 people, or 8% of the island's Buddhists, align themselves with

Foguangshan by joining BLIA.⁽¹⁵⁾ This corresponds to the number of *Awakening the World* (Jue Shi) magazines that were distributed monthly from 1997 to 1999.

Since Foguangshan has only fifty-seven temples in Taiwan, but ninety-five overseas centers, it would appear at first that the majority of devotees live outside of the ROC, so that the total number could exceed one million. On closer inspection, it becomes clear that this is not the case. The extent to which Foguangshan has thus far carried its banner of Humanistic Buddhism beyond the shores of Taiwan can be roughly determined by analyzing personnel distribution and temple fundraising strategies. Some Foguangshan overseas branch temples, such as Hsi Lai Temple (Los Angeles), Nan Tien Temple (Wollongong, Australia), and Nan Hua Temple (Bronkhorstspuit, South Africa), are multi-million dollar structures that have become prominent landmarks and tourist attractions. Most other outposts are of a much more modest scale, occupying former homes, warehouses, schools, and churches. Typically relying on a small and dispersed Chinese population, there is neither the need nor the financial resources to support ornate halls or large staffs. Hence, although international temples greatly outnumber domestic ones, they account for less than one-quarter of full-time worker assignments. Of Foguangshan's 1,069 monastic, lay-monastic, and lay devotees who as of August 1997 worked full-time for the organization, 434 worked at Foguangshan headquarters, 423 were stationed in a temple in Taiwan, and 239 were assigned abroad.⁽¹⁶⁾ Overseas centers had an average of 2.4 workers, compared to an average of 6.2 for the temples in Taiwan, a finding that supports the conclusion that the devotee base is much lower elsewhere in the world than it is in the ROC.

The smaller number of devotees per monastery creates a significant financial strain. Several lay followers active in the fundraising efforts of overseas Foguang temples confided to me that their branch would not be able to meet its bills if it were not for the generous contributions made by key donors who periodically visited from Taiwan. One nun revealed that as much as 80 percent of the funds raised at Hsi Lai derives from people who either visit from Taiwan or who, while having a second home in the Los Angeles area, still spend most of their time in the ROC. Based on these statistics and comments, I doubt that any overseas BLIA chapter, even the one in Los Angeles affiliated with Hsi Lai Temple, has a roster of over a few thousand, and those chapters with no temple nearby generally maintain a membership of only several dozen people. BLIA therefore probably has approximately 40,000 to 50,000 members whose primary residence is outside of Taiwan.

Although the picture I provide of the extent of Foguangshan's international operations is not nearly so grand as that given by Foguang devotees, one still has to be impressed by what the order has done in so brief a time, particularly when one keeps in mind that such global outreach is unprecedented in the history of Sino-Buddhism. The only Chinese Buddhist organization with a comparable overseas network is Ciji Hui, which as of 1998 included forty-seven offices outside of Taiwan, twenty-two in the United States and the remainder scattered in basically the same countries as where Foguang temples and BLIA chapters may be found.⁽¹⁷⁾ There is one significant difference between the Foguangshan and Ciji Hui strategies for international outreach: the latter opens overseas offices, not temples. In other words, no monastics have been stationed abroad. The "offices" are typically homes or rented rooms where small groups of members meet to discuss Buddhism and raise money for the headquarters' worldwide humanitarian efforts. This is not to imply that Ciji offices are any less active than are Foguang temples. Overseas Ciji members undertake a wide range of programs and raise considerable sums of money for not only the initiatives of the headquarters, but for local philanthropic endeavors as well.⁽¹⁸⁾ Nonetheless, the lack of overseas temples and monastics has resulted in Ciji offices having a generally lower profile outside of the immediate Chinese community than do the Foguang outposts.

Foguangshan's international network of temples exceeds not only that of other Chinese Buddhist institutions, but is one of the most extensive of any Buddhist organization. Tibetan, Zen, and vipassanaa forms of Buddhism are all spreading quickly throughout the world, but generally as small, independent groups. There are few organizations to rival either Foguangshan's number of temples or especially the extent of its monastic corps. Thich Nhat Hanh's Order of Interbeing has a semi-formal arrangement of affiliates that by 1998 included a handful of temples and approximately three hundred "*lay sanghas*." The vast majority of Thich Nhat Hanh's disciples, however, remain in Plum Village, the order's headquarters in France (Hunt-Perry and Fine 2000, 45). The only other international Buddhist organization in which clerics play an important leadership role is Sangharakshita's Western Buddhist Order (WBO) and Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO), which in 1998 incorporated fifty-five city centers and fifteen retreat centers, mostly in Great Britain (where the order was founded), but also in Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, India, Nepal, and North and South America (Baumann 2000, 378). Sangharakshita has been particularly active in India, where his efforts to carry on Ambedkar's work among Dalits is estimated to have brought several tens of thousands into FWBO's fold.⁽¹⁹⁾

Foguangshan therefore probably has more temples and venerables around the world than any other Buddhist organization. The global profile of its lay devotee base is also amongst the most impressive. Having given an indication of the extent of Foguangshan's internationalization campaign, I will now turn to consider more closely its nature. To do so, I will focus on its two main objectives: the creation for the Chinese diaspora of a bridge back to the cultural motherland; and the forging of outreach mechanisms to those who are neither Chinese nor Buddhists.

Culture, Home, and Land

It is safe to say that over 99 percent of BLIA members are ethnically Chinese.

Foguangshan's forays around the world therefore represent the globalization of a national tradition. In other words, the Foguang network is geographically international but remains almost completely associated with one cultural group and highly focused on that group's concerns with the notion of homeland. Chinese tradition has historically been grounded in one particular setting: the Middle Kingdom. As the number of Chinese living elsewhere in the world, even outside of Asia, has multiplied dramatically over the last half century, organizations such as Foguangshan have served a very important function in maintaining for their members a sense of Chinese identity. The perception that Foguangshan is a vital carrier of traditional Chinese culture has therefore played an especially important role in attracting new devotees. To understand the dynamics of this, we must first look more generally at the Foguang perspective on tradition and modernization.

The fact that Foguangshan perpetuates certain customs and values is not in itself remarkable since every social organ does so. Of greater note is the group's conscious promotion of itself as both fulfilling this function while simultaneously shedding those aspects of tradition regarded as encumbrances to modern life. At the same time that specific traditions identified as relatively recent deviations of Chinese Buddhism are rejected, "authentic" values of the Confucian-Buddhist heritage are not and, in fact, are explicitly espoused.⁽²⁰⁾ Modernism and traditionalism are regarded as mutually interpenetrating and complementary. The danger, in the Foguang view, occurs when one or the other of these polarities eclipses the other. Within Chinese Buddhism, over reliance on (a misunderstanding of) tradition is believed to have left the religion enervated, necessitating an aggressive modernization campaign. The problem of general Chinese society, on the other hand, is seen to be just the opposite: in the rush to modernize, people have drifted away from inherited values. This

trend is traced back to the May Fourth Movement of the 1920s, when Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu, and others called for their countrymen to "overthrow" (*dadao*) the stultifying ritualism of "Confucius and Sons" (*Kongjiadian*). The Communist party stepped up this direct assault, especially in the 1950s and 1960s.

For those under the Nationalist regime of Taiwan, the steady corrosion of tradition is attributed not to political campaigns, but to the ubiquity of Western, especially American, influence. This foreign presence has been welcome for the most part, if for no other reason than without it the ROC could not have withstood its Communist adversaries. Hence, the "Fundamentalist" vituperations against the West that have erupted in many other places around the world have found little expression among Taiwan's religious groups. Despite the lack of a strong reaction against Westernization, there nonetheless has been a response to it utilizing indigenous resources. As the New Confucian Tu Wei-ming has observed, this search for roots bears a family resemblance to fundamentalism and proceeds from a critique of modernity (Tu 1991, 742-745). Taiwan's "mainland complex" (*dalü qingjie*), to employ the term that the island's media has made current to describe this pervasive heightened concern for asserting Chinese cultural continuity, derives from four factors: an underlying ambivalence about the tremendous American presence; discomfort with Taiwan's uncertain political status and future; recognition of the island's peripheral historical ties to China proper; and a sense of ever increasing dissonance with contemporary mainland culture. Let us consider the latter two of these in more detail.

Taiwan is not the homeland for Chinese. It was only settled by Fujianese and Hakka farmers starting in the late seventeenth century, after the Dutch and Spanish had already briefly established outposts along its coasts.⁽²¹⁾ From 1895 to 1945, the island was claimed by the Japanese. Taiwan is therefore geographically and historically marginal. This is compounded by a sense of exile from the heartland. The post-1949 political situation prevented most of those living outside of the PRC from even visiting until the 1980s. Since that time, sojourns for family reunions, tourism, or to conduct business have been possible. Such contact has proven bitter sweet for many, however, as they often have been unprepared for the lack of resonance they have felt with their Communist countrymen. One Foguang nun who had travelled through mainland China for a year and a half while still a layperson remarked that she had found the experience deeply troubling, for, while she loved "China the place," she could not relate to "the mentality of the people." By China the place, the young *bhikshuni* meant the physical sites, both of natural beauty and of historical significance, about which

she had heard so much while growing up. The symbols of home are over there. And yet present realities undercut these symbols, so that this woman, as with many Chinese who have visited the PRC, felt a stranger in her own land. Communist China is not home, for state socialism is believed to have bereft the populace of any appreciation for their heritage, leading many on Taiwan to see themselves as more legitimate bearers of Chinese culture. Upon returning to Taiwan, the woman had come home, yet a home in a marginal space whose oldest cultural landmarks are aboriginal, Dutch, and Portuguese. Hence, the sense of homeland has been bifurcated, home and land separated into two entities.

Foguangshan's self-proclaimed role in protecting and perpetuating China's Confucian-Buddhist heritage is one manifestation of Taiwan's search for roots. In the case of the nun just mentioned, dynamics associated with the mainland complex played not a little role in her decision to renounce under Master Xingyun. Shortly after returning to Taiwan from her journey, the young woman came upon a book by the master that so affected her that a steady stream of tears gushed down her face as she read it. "Not only the thoughts of the Master moved me," related the nun, "but the fact that here was a man from mainland China who now had struck such a deep cord with people in Taiwan. Here was my bridge." The fact that Master Xingyun originally hails from the mainland has played a vital role in his popularity, for he embodies the transferal of Chinese culture from China proper to Taiwan and outlying diasporas.

The identity crisis felt by many in Taiwan is experienced in an even more acute form by those who have emigrated abroad, thereby leaving even the margins to enter lands with virtually no cultural connection with China. It then becomes imperative to find a means to return to one's heritage, at least to selective aspects of that heritage. Many who frequent the overseas branch temples do so, not so much as devote Buddhists, as expatriates seeking the familiar tastes, sounds, and sights of their mother country. Weekly services, monthly retreats, and large-scale *Dharma* functions are religious and social events. The Chinese language schools run at many of the temples are a major drawing card. Parents regard these schools, as well as the Boy Scout troops and other Foguang children's programs, as effective means to steep their children in the ethical values and cultural legacy of what otherwise would be a far removed birthright.

Venerables serve as important symbols for this reconstructed sense of home. Master Xingyun likes to quote the phrase, "By leaving home, one gains a myriad homes." In the

past, this saying pointed to the fact that all *bhikshus* had the right to take up temporary lodging in any public monastery. So long as the monk had a certificate of ordination and pledged to abide by the monastery's rules, he could not be turned away. He was both homeless, and yet benefited from countless abodes throughout the country (Welch 1967, 306-310). For Foguang venerables, their own organization provides the myriad homes. These clerics, in turn, act as the channels to transmit traditional Chinese culture to the laity. Just as monks and nuns by leaving their biological relatives join a larger monastic family, Foguang devotees are told that, although they may have strayed far from the Chinese homeland, through joining BLIA, they have actually become part of a family that extends around the world. Each Foguang temple, as a center of Chinese culture, is home. It is not only a miniature pure land, but also a microcosmic, archetypal homeland. Mainland China may physically be situated where the Middle Kingdom once was, but the periphery is now where that kingdom's cultural legacy thrives. The geographic center has become marginal, the margins and outlying regions transformed into cultural centers. In fact, there are more than a few within the Chinese diaspora who believe that it is from these multiple centers that China's heritage can one day be reintroduced to the physical core.

Attracting Locals and Localizing The *Dharma*

Master Xingyun very much recognizes that his overseas temples and BLIA chapters serve as cultural bridges back to China. For this very reason, he often reminds his followers that these outposts are not meant merely to be overseas Chinese associations with a Buddhist veneer. Foguang temples are to be centers of Chinese Buddhism, with the emphasis on the noun. Just as the bringing of Chinese culture was an incidental feature of Ven. Huishen's venture to Fusang, so is it said to be a secondary aspect of Master Xingyun's vow to globalize Buddhism. For the tradition to fulfill its universal intent, the seed of the *Dharma* must be planted in every nation, and not just among emigrants from Buddhist countries, but among the general populace. This is where the missionary aspect of Foguangshan's globalization comes to the fore. The master and his disciples are still struggling with how to best accomplish this goal. Three primary methods of outreach thus far have been employed: creating links of affinity (*jieyuan*), sparking people's curiosity, and localizing Buddhist teachings and practice.

The Foguang Encyclopedia (*Foguang Da Cidian*) states that *jieyuan* was originally used to refer to situations in which, "although cultivation in this life can in no way result in

liberation, there is an initial point of contact for fruition some time in the future" (Shi Xingyun 1988, 5190). In other words, a particular person may have no hope for enlightenment in the present life span but, by having the seed of the *Dharma* planted in his or her consciousness, it can bear fruit in a subsequent rebirth. Historically, *jieyuan* has been applied to describe those undertakings that serve to attract new devotees to Buddhism: building a temple or pagoda, donating funds, or printing scriptures, books, or tracts. In its contemporary usage, the term especially portrays any activity that establishes or strengthens a personal relationship in such a way as to spread the *Dharma*. *Jieyuan* relies upon and augments the spontaneous creative energy that arises through direct interaction between people. It is, one could say, a Buddhist manifestation of the Chinese proclivity to conduct affairs through personal contacts (*guanxi*).

Jieyuan is regarded as an important means of attaining merit (*gongde*). The degree of merit that thereby accrues depends upon the nature of the interaction between the three components: the giver, the gift, and the recipient. The most precious gift of all is the *Dharma* itself, but if such a gift would not yet be appreciated by the recipient, more mundane presents will serve the purpose better. The level of merit is not determined so much by the monetary value of the gift as by its appropriateness, i.e., its effectiveness in drawing the recipient to Buddhism. *Jieyuan* is often accomplished by attracting people, especially children, to Buddhist practice through distributing candies, treats, or money. This understanding emphasizes that, to effectively plant the seed of the *Dharma* so that it may flourish in the future, one must first create appropriate conditions (*yuan*). The goal of creating links of affinity is to instill a positive pre-disposition toward Buddhism so that, later, when the time is ripe, people will be that much more likely to find resonance with its teachings.

The motivation of the giver in providing the gift also affects the amount of merit gained. The purity of his or her intention is of utmost importance; he or she must have no selfish aim in establishing a relationship with the recipient. Chinese Buddhists therefore distinguish *jieyuan* from *panyuan*, which generally signifies the clinging of the wayward mind to external phenomena and, as the opposite of *jieyuan*, refers specifically to providing favors or establishing ties with some ulterior design in mind (Shi Xingyun 1988, 6665). In the unsullied giving of *jieyuan*, whether or not the recipient of the gift can assist the giver in some fashion in the future is of no concern. In fact, those who practice *jieyuan* in its highest form are said to do so with no concept of giver, recipient, or gift; all are regarded as

radically inter-related aspects of ever-changing reality. According to his devotees, Master Xingyun has attained this level of compassionate wisdom.

The third element determining the amount of merit gained through *jiyuan* is the relative virtue of the recipient as this becomes manifest through his or her subsequent acts and level of cultivation. Merit is quite great, for instance, if the person eventually renounces. Significant merit may still result even if the recipient does not become a venerable, for it also compounds to the extent that the person thereafter benefits Buddhism. This is the reasoning behind Master Xingyun's emphasis on establishing ties of affinity with the elite of society, whether in the business or political worlds. When a leader becomes a Buddhist, especially an active Buddhist, others follow. If the act of *jiyuan* with a member of the elite does not lead to the person taking triple refuge, it may nonetheless trigger merit, for the recipient is in the position to aid the tradition even as a non-Buddhist. A wealthy person, for instance, may donate considerable funds for a charitable drive, or a politician may help to pass legislation advantageous to the religion.

Master Xingyun has therefore long sought to create ties of affinity with political figures. He has also been remarkably successful in doing so: since the 1970s, a vast array of Taiwan's presidents, vice-presidents, secretary-generals, governors, ministers, legislators, county magistrates, and city mayors have made regular pilgrimages to Foguang headquarters, especially when election season comes around. As Foguangshan has established branch temples overseas, the master has extended this strategy, instructing disciples and BLIA leaders to seek out favorably disposed politicians and to make them well aware of the group's wealth and clout amongst Chinese. Such efforts of outreach have borne fruit. His Excellency Sir Clarence Seignoret, president of the Commonwealth of Dominica, joined BLIA as a non-Buddhist "friend" during the association's 1992 inaugural ceremony. One year later, Santiago Ruperez, director of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce (Spain's unofficial governmental representative to Taiwan), made the pilgrimage to Foguangshan to take the triple refuge. Vice-president Guadalupe Jerezano of Honduras visited the mountain in May, 1995. France's President Jacques Chirac sent a letter congratulating BLIA upon the convening of its 1996 worldwide conference, which took place in Paris, and Chancellor Kohl of Germany invited two members of the Berlin chapter of BLIA to introduce the organization to him and other government officials during the "Berlin International Cultural Fair" in September of that year. Several Australian politicians, including Her Excellency Leneen Forde, the governor-general of Queensland, visited Chong Tien Temple of Brisbane

in the spring of 1997 to allay fears in the wake of anti-Chinese sentiment sparked during the previous year's elections. Around that same time, Elizabeth Aguirre de Calderon, the first lady of the Republic of El Salvador visited Foguangshan.

The country in which Master Xingyun has most energetically pursued creating links of affinity with politicians is the United States. California Secretary of State March Fong Eu was invited to view the Hacienda Heights property just as construction of Hsi Lai Temple got underway. Apparently, it was she who arranged for Master Xingyun to perform purifying services to start the December, 1988 session of the California legislature. Foguang literature proudly states that this is the first time that a Buddhist monastic has performed this rite on government premises in the United States. (Master Xingyun later conducted such services in New York City and Chicago as well.) That same year, the mayors of Austin and Houston, Texas, honored Master Xingyun as a Friendship Ambassador. Letters of congratulations have been sent to the temple by numerous Californian politicians, including Governor Pete Wilson, Senator Alan Cranston, Representative Matthew G. Matinez, and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.(22)

The master maintained at least nominal links with the White House for the decade following the founding of Hsi Lai Temple. President Reagan both wired a telegram and dispatched a representative to the temple in honor of its opening in 1988. President Bush invited Master Xingyun to his inauguration and, when the Buddha's Light International Association was founded in 1992 in Los Angeles he sent a letter, praising the group for its compassionate tenets and devotion to relieving the suffering of all beings.(23) Such contacts with the Oval Office increased and became more direct with the Clinton administration, culminating with Master Xingyun making a ten minute "courtesy call" on Vice-president Gore at the White House in March of 1996, and the vice-president reciprocating by attending a banquet at Hsi Lai Temple six weeks later.

Politicians outside of Taiwan associate themselves with Master Xingyun mainly for two reasons. First, where Foguangshan has built one of its larger branch temples, the millions of dollars spent in construction and the subsequent tourist influx are seen as a boost to the local economy. It was precisely for this reason that the business and political leaders of Wollongong, Australia in the early 1990s sought out the master and provided land so that Foguangshan would erect a monastery in their town. The resulting structure, Nan Tien Temple, cost US \$30 million to build, and has developed into one of the area's most

prominent landmarks. The property for Nan Hua Temple in Bronkhorstspuit, South Africa was acquired under similar circumstances, although the hope was not so much to attract tourism as to gain the master's assistance in encouraging devotees to establish businesses there. Secondly, as the master is influential in the overseas Chinese community, association with him is seen as one way to garner political support from that ethnic group. In the United States, at least, that support has been expressed directly through financial contributions. From 1993 to 1996, Foguang venerables and lay-monastics made contributions of thousands of dollars to the Democratic National Committee and to the campaign war chests of such politicians as Los Angeles County Supervisor Don Knabe, California Secretary of State March Fong Eu, Congressman Patrick Kennedy, Senator Edward Kennedy, Vice President Al Gore, and President Clinton.(24)

Master Xingyun is well aware that politicians come to him mainly for money and votes. He welcomes them to do so with the idea that, even if they do not become Buddhists themselves (at least not in this life time), a favorable portrayal of the tradition by such leaders will encourage others to learn more about it. That Master Xingyun has hoped to rely on such a trickle-down method to promote the *Dharma* in countries without a Buddhist heritage is quite evident from a statement he made to a group of American scholars two months before Hsi Lai Temple's official opening. In line with the conference's topic of "Religion and Society in the Tang and Song Dynasties," the master remarked to the gathering,

I am very interested in the theme "The Relation between Religion and Society." When religion and society have a close relationship, then religion can spread smoothly. Otherwise, it is not easy to develop. When Buddhism spread into China, it spread from officials (*guanfang*) to the people. With this strength to promote from above to below it is easy to develop within society. When the Buddha was alive, he highly valued the thinking of the Benevolent King Who Protected the *Dharma* (*renwang hufa*). The reason why Buddhism enjoyed a golden era during the Tang and Song dynasties is that, in addition to royal patronage, there were many scholars who studied and practiced it.

Mahāyāna Buddhism and American society are very compatible. Buddhism is different from other religions in its lack of exclusivity, its magnanimity, and its affinity with nature. Whether or not Americans can recover the golden era of the Tang and Song dynasty Buddhism will depend upon people's efforts. If those of high status and influence support it,

it will develop even faster.(25)

Master Xingyun therefore sees creating ties of affinity with politicians as an expedient means (*fangbian*) for making people in that society more favorably disposed to Buddhist teachings. In the United States, however, the strategy has backfired, at least in the short-term. After it became known that the Hsi Lai banquet attended by Al Gore served as a fundraiser for the Democratic National Committee, Master Xingyun and his disciples found themselves not only unfavorably portrayed in the media as alleged agents for Taiwan political and business interests, but even the objects of investigations by the United States Senate, House of Representatives, and Justice Department.(26) Since that time, the master and politicians have been more wary of establishing ties with one another. Master Xingyun is now satisfied with relying on less glamorous, but also less controversial, methods of attracting non-Buddhists to the *Dharma*.

When a news reporter from Wollongong, Australia asked Foguangshan's current abbot, Ven. Xinding, how the organization planned to spread Buddhism among non-Chinese Australians, he replied, "People will increasingly come simply through human curiosity. Seeing the beautiful temple, they will be drawn to see what goes on inside."(27) As this statement indicates, venerables believe that the very splendor of Buddhism, and the impressive way in which it is propagated by Foguangshan, will naturally excite people's interest. Such reasoning explains why Foguangshan has chosen to build such large, impressive structures as Hsi Lai Temple, Nan Hua Temple, and Nan Tien Temple. This mode of operation rests on the assumption that, as all people share Buddha Nature (*foxing*), those who have proper roots will spontaneously seek out the *Dharma* once they have had even the slightest exposure to it. There is no need to aggressively proselytize. Instead, Buddhists can rely on simply sparking people's curiosity so that they will on their own initiative ask about the *Dharma*. Such a tactic not only calls for creating impressive structures and organizing large-scale events to attract attention but also for accentuating the uniqueness of both Buddhism and Chinese culture.

In dialectical tension with the method of celebrating difference to spark curiosity is the recognition that too strong a sense of foreignness can repel people and incite prejudice. Foguang devotees from Malaysia and the Philippines express that they must keep a low profile to avoid harassment. In Indonesia, where relations with the majority Javanese Muslim population are quite fragile, and where it is illegal to import literature written in

Chinese, devotees have had to smuggle in Foguang material. There are also significant challenges in promoting Buddhism in Africa. There, people look askance at the black robes and tonsured heads of venerables since the color black is associated with evil magical power and a person will usually only shave his or her head after the death of a parent or other close relative. Buddhist monastics are therefore vulnerable to suspicions and often the target of counter-magic.⁽²⁸⁾ There have been hurdles in promoting the *Dharma* in the United States as well. It took nearly a decade punctuated by six volatile town meetings before permission was granted for the construction of Hsi Lai Temple. Shortly after the temple was completed in 1989, the float entered by the Hsi Lai community in a local Fourth of July parade was heckled along much of the way. Only after several years of carefully cultivating good relations with neighbors and local political and religious leaders did the accusations of being a "cult" die down.

To lessen tensions with the mainstream society in each country in which Foguangshan plants one or more temples, and to smooth the transition for those attracted to the *Dharma*, Master Xingyun has called for the "localization" (*bentuhua*) of Buddhism. By this, he means that customs that have been generated by Buddhists in China and other cultures over the centuries may be replaced by other customs more appropriate to each new region in which the *Dharma* is introduced. The essential teachings remain the same, while culture-specific practices can vary. The difficulty in applying this method lies in determining just where core truth ends and custom begins. In fact, the debate over the degree to which to localize touches every aspect of temple life: Should *Dharma* functions be altered in any way? What language should be used in various activities? What kind of food should be served? What music is appropriate?

Master Xingyun believes that the people most competent to resolve these issues are natives of the respective non-Buddhist countries who have gone through intensive training in a Foguang college, preferably on the campus at the headquarters. Most ideal of all is to find such individuals who aspire to renounce. The Foguang Buddhist College has a special department to tend to the education of such candidates. As with all monastic college students, tuition, room, and board are provided free of charge. For those who come from an underprivileged background, airfare to Foguangshan is also taken care of. To date, however, Foguangshan has not been very successful in keeping such venerables within the organization. Non-Chinese monastics typically voice two frustrations: either they find it too difficult to acclimate to Chinese customs and values or they feel that their Chinese brethren

do not take them seriously. The rate of attrition is consequently very high, many leaving within a few months of matriculating in the college, others making it through the period of training, but disappearing soon thereafter. Of the approximately one dozen Europeans and Americans who have tonsured under Master Xingyun, only two may still be found in the Foguangshan order. Efforts in Africa and India have also had very limited success. Fewer than half of the ten young men who in 1994 became Foguangshan's first *shramanera* from the Congo lasted through the year-long program at Nan Hua Temple Seminary and only one continued on afterwards. Of the sixty-three students brought to Nan Hua Seminary from Tanzania and Malawi in 1998, not even a dozen remained by year's end, of whom three persisted for two years.⁽²⁹⁾ The arrangement to bring young men and women from Ladakh, India to Foguangshan to be groomed as monastics has also suffered a high drop out rate.

Although the initiative to develop a contingent of non-Chinese Foguang venerables has met with numerous set backs, it has by no means been a complete failure and, in fact, might even be considered something of a success. As mentioned above, two Americans have stayed on within Foguang ranks, a nun who has been with the order for over ten years and a monk who took full ordination in Bodhgaya in 1998. Also in the Bodhgaya ordination were five men from the Congo (including a young man who in 1994 had been among the first ten to take the *shramanera* vows) and six Ladakhi women who had spent at least a year studying at Foguangshan.⁽³⁰⁾

The debate over the extent and ways in which to localize affects laity even more than it does clerics, especially those devotees who are either non-Chinese or ethnic Chinese who have grown up outside of China. Non-Chinese attracted to Foguang temples generally fall into two groups: Sinophiles, many of whom wish to take on a full Chinese persona; and those primarily interested in Buddhist teachings. The former have great interest in Chinese customs, ritual, and language, and therefore typically prefer to interact with the Chinese devotees rather than with any other non-Chinese who may also have become part of the community. The latter have only passing interest in things Chinese, and may even wish to strip the Buddhist teachings of what they see as Chinese cultural accretions. Hence, Sinophiles resist localization; the others embrace it.⁽³¹⁾

The localization debate is arguably most keenly felt by second and third generation overseas Chinese youth. During the 1997 Foguangshan International Youth Conference, a student from Malaysia said that he and others at his temple had held some activities not considered

traditionally Buddhist, and as a result they had been reprimanded by the resident monastics. He felt that the criticism was unjustified, and asserted that there had to be more openness to adapting to the lifestyle of young overseas Chinese. A woman strongly disagreed, responding, "As Buddhists, we must maintain a strong line between right and wrong. Just because others do it doesn't mean that we should do it. We have to have a different standard." This interchange brings up two issues. First, although the young man from Malaysia did not specify the types of activities he and his friends had held, one can assume that they were much more influenced by global pop culture than they were by the country's dominant Islamic lifestyle. This underscores the complexity of today's world, in which multiple cultural worldviews, both religious and secular, converge in nearly every society. Secondly, the young woman's response reminds us that, because custom is so tightly bound up with notions of morality, any change in practice is often regarded as vitiating ethical standards.

The real issue, however, is not so much one of morality as of identity. I noted earlier in this essay that the first prong of the Foguang globalization program is to act as a bridge back to the Chinese cultural homeland. The organization's capacity to serve as a vehicle to preserve Chinese identity is directly undermined by any effort to localize practice or to harmonize it with global pop culture. These three aspects of globalization are therefore in constant tension with one another. For Foguangshan to be able to claim itself as an international operation transcending all ethnic and cultural boundaries, it must extend itself beyond its core Chinese base. To the degree that it does so, it risks ostracizing its most important source of devotees and, hence, financial support. Foguangshan overseas temples thus far have opted to continue to accentuate their Chinese heritage, making a few symbolic gestures toward accommodating local and global custom. Temples might provide a spoon and fork rather than chop sticks in the refectory, for instance, or venerables may shake hands with lay visitors. For the most part, however, life in the temple is essentially the same as it would be if it were located in Taiwan. In fact, non-Chinese who come to visit are frequently referred to as *laowai*, "foreigners."

These difficulties experienced by Foguang devotees in negotiating cultural boundaries point to the limitations of any language of global citizenry that implies a negation or transcendence of local ties. Exposure to the globalization of market and media forces and the setting adrift of imagined communities from their territorial anchorage interact to either multiply cultural allegiances, or, as often is the case, to trigger retrenchment, i.e., a

reaffirmation of the primacy of one particular imagined community. Chinese Foguang devotees have mostly opted for this latter tactic as they have searched for stability in an increasingly fluid world system. Despite the predominance of this strategy, they nonetheless recognize that the global conditions of post-modernity call for an approach that better accords with the inevitable hybridity of contemporary life. I will conclude this essay by exploring the Foguang Buddhist paradigm for world citizenry, a paradigm that empowers devotees not only to come to terms with the global scope of humankind's cultural hybridity, but of even harnessing the dynamicism of these conditions to further self-cultivation.

Global Homelessness

Since he retired as abbot of Foguangshan in 1985, Master Xingyun has been said to "wander the four seas like a cloud." This is, in fact, the ideal life style of all Buddhist clerics, who upon leaving home are said to become "free everywhere, at odds with none, and well content with this or that."⁽³²⁾ The constant movement and simple life represented by foregoing any fixed abode embody the Buddha's teaching of impermanence and his ideals of detachment and equanimity. Shakyamuni and his disciples traveled daily in search of alms, taking refuge each evening in a convenient grove or on the outskirts of some town. Only during the monsoon season did they halt their peregrinations to wait out the rains. Even in China, where monasticism has been the norm, venerables through the centuries have hoped to "travel the four quarters" (*canfang*) as symbolized by the country's four famous Buddhist pilgrimage mountains. To have an ordination certificate whose borders were embossed with the seals of China's most renowned monasteries was a source of pride, especially if one had prostrated every three steps over the course of the journey. Homelessness is not an undesirable state to be avoided or overcome. It is a religious ideal.⁽³³⁾

Until recently, only venerables enjoyed the benefits to self-cultivation afforded by long-term homelessness, and they largely enacted this life style within the borders of their own country. With the development of international migration and increased global mobility, all Chinese who have departed from the homeland symbolically partake of the itinerant life. For laity, homelessness does not entail foregoing a family, but describes the physical departure from relatives and friends and the cultural distancing from Chinese society that inevitably accompany expatriate life. Foguang clerics, shifting posts of duty every three years, are the paragons of global citizenry. For them, the badge of honor is not an ordination certificate filled with the seals of temples, but a passport covered with the entry visas of various

nations.

One reason that the Huishen myth appeals to Foguang devotees is its transnational flavor. Ven. Huishen, after all, was not Chinese, but rather an Indian monk who merely resided in China before moving on to spend the majority of his life in America. The designations of "Indian," "Chinese," and "American" were fleeting and secondary. Ven. Huishen was first and foremost a Buddhist. Master Xingyun similarly lacks strong association with a particular place. He often notes that people in Taiwan refer to him as "that monk from the mainland." When he visited the PRC, however, and when he travels abroad, people have called him "that monk from Taiwan." Master Xingyun, like Venerable Huishen, is a monk without a home. This is not a negative, in the master's view, but a positive, for it allows him to personally symbolize the ability of Buddhism to transcend all such nationalistic designations. As he once said in an interview with me:

I don't feel that you are Americans. I also don't feel that I am a Chinese. We are all global. We are all the same. . . . If we could join together with one another with no regard to nationality or race, it would be wonderful. So [the] global character [of Foguangshan] doesn't simply mean building temples in various places. We want to spread peace, equality, forbearance, friendship, respect, and tolerance everywhere to everyone.

Although Master Xingyun may say that "We are all global," his call to de-accentuate national identity serves to shift a person's primary loyalty to the vehicle that allows such de-emphasis to occur, i.e., to Buddhism. We are all global in that we all have Buddha Nature. Only to the degree that we recognize that will national and other local allegiances fade away. Such rhetoric points to what may be a growing trend in post-modernity in which the primary referent for communal identity increasingly reverts from national back to religious symbols and myths. It is more than happenstance that secularization occurred during the same period as the rise of nations. Religion and nationhood are in tension with one another as contending sources of primary allegiance and identity. The attenuation of national sovereignty brought about by global capitalism has left a vacuum, one easily filled by religious traditions since their worldviews incorporate language of both particularity and universality. Post-modernity may therefore spur people to once again more fully align themselves with re-constructed elements of pre-modern traditions.

From the Foguang perspective, modern globalization is by no means antithetical to

traditional Buddhist ideals or practices. Each realizes the other since through globalization people come to realize the truth of the Mahaayaana Buddhist doctrines of impermanence and universal inter-dependence. Master Xingyun and his devotees firmly believe that the Buddha, *Dharma*, and *sangha* are not relics of the past, but harbingers of post-modernity, actualizing the spiritual potential of economic, political, and cultural globalization.

Note

*This article was first presented as a paper for "The Globalization of Buddhism: Case Studies of Buddhist Missions," a conference held in April, 2000 by the anthropology department of Boston University. The essay will also be a chapter in the conference volume, tentatively set to be published in 2003.

Endnotes

(1) For a more detailed discussion of the scholarly debate concerning an early arrival in America by a Buddhist sailing from China, see my article "Chinese Buddhism in America: Identity and Practice" (Chandler 1998, 14-16).

(2) As their names indicate, Tin Hou Temple was devoted to the Daoist Goddess of Heaven and Kong Chow Temple's central figure was Guangong, a folk deity of martial prowess and commercial prosperity (Mariann Kaye Wells 1962, 19-28).

(3) Similar to the legend of Huishen's trip to America, assertions have been made about Buddhist and Chinese explorers reaching Australia long before had any European. Paul Croucher in his history of Australian Buddhism notes that Prof. A. P. Elkin in a book entitled *Aboriginal Men of High Degree* cited evidence for early exposure to Buddhist culture and claimed that certain aboriginal rock-paintings depict the Buddha. Croucher then went on to say that it was highly likely that Zheng He's huge armada landed some where in Australia some time between 1405 and 1433 (Croucher 1989, 1-2).

(4) The primary reason for their forcible return to China was not nativistic fear over the competition they posed for white labor (although that played a role as well), but moral outrage by British citizens against their own government for assisting mine owners in instituting what was little more than a modern form of slavery (Yap and Man 1996, 62, 73).

(5) Between 1904 and 1907, a total of thirty-four shiploads carrying 63,695 Chinese laborers were dispatched to South Africa. By 1907, they were being sent back, the last being returning to China in 1910. Over the next several decades, the only Chinese permitted to immigrate into the Union of South Africa were wives or children of those already present. The Chinese population in 1936 was 2,944, and by 1946 it had grown to 4,340 (Yap and Man 1996, 44, 73, 112, 177, 208-209).

(6) In both of the French colonies of Madagascar and Mauritius, Chinese numbered in the several thousands (Snow 1988, 42). Clasquin and Kruger (1999) provide an excellent history of Buddhism in Africa. For an analysis of the dynamics underlying Chinese migration around the world, see McKeown 1999.

(7) Guandi is an alternative name for Guangong, the god of war. The Johannesburg temple was apparently never built. There is also reference to "an extremely picturesque little Jos house" as well as to "priests" on St. Helena (Yap and Man 1996, 13, 38, 54, 86-88).

(8) The other categories were Mohammedans, Roman Catholics and Protestants. Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria, FLD file on Religious Matters (Yap and Man 1996, 123).

(9) Venerables Xuanzhao, Xuanzang, and the other intrepid adventurers who during the Tang dynasty ventured to India are a notable exception to this. These men, however, journeyed in search of *sūtras*, not to spread Buddhism. S. Beal's *Buddhist Records* (1884) is a translation of Ven. Xuanzang's journal of his journey. A brief description of the travels of several monks may be found in Ch'en (1964, 233-240).

(10) In the United States, Master Taixu lectured at such places as Yale University, Chicago University, and the Berkeley School of Religion (Welch 1968, 59-62).

(11) See Croucher (1989, 68-69) for a description of Ven. Xuanhua's unsuccessful attempt at spreading the *Dharma* in Australia and for brief descriptions of several Chinese Buddhist groups scattered in Australia's various Chinatowns in the 1980s.

(12) The founding of this remarkable temple is discussed in Clasquin and Kruger (1999).

(13) The most extensive center founded by Ven. Xuanhua is the City of Ten Thousand Buddhas, a 237-acre complex located in Talmage, California. It has a monastery, convent, worship hall, elementary school, secondary school, and university. Other temples in the Dharma Realm Buddhist Association are: Gold Mountain Monastery (San Francisco), Gold Wheel Monastery (Los Angeles), Gold Summit Monastery (Seattle), Avatamsaka Hermitage (Maryland), Gold Buddha Monastery (Vancouver), and Avatamsaka Monastery (Calgary).

(14) Chinese emigrants from mainland China, Hong Kong, and southeast Asia also frequent overseas Foguang temples and join BLIA. The moving force behind the organization's internationalization nonetheless remains expatriated ROC citizens. For a partial list of overseas Foguang temples, see <http://www.ibps.org/english/links.htm>.

(15) In 1992, 4.86 million people in Taiwan indicated that they frequented Buddhist temples. This statistic was provided to me by the ROC Department of the Interior, Bureau of Religion, Taipei. *Awakening the World* was Foguangshan's monthly newsletter to its devotees until the year 2000, at which point it was discontinued and replaced by the daily newspaper *Humanistic Prosperity* (*Renjian Fu Bao*).

(16) These numbers are based on an analysis of the worker assignments listed in *Foguang Cunlin* (Foguang Newsletter) no. 424 (Foguangshan Religious Affairs Committee): August 15, 1997. By full-time workers, I mean those venerables and lay-monastics (*shigu*) who have already graduated from the monastic college and are not on some form of leave. An additional 110 monks and nuns were studying in one of Foguangshan's seminaries. 136 monastics were apparently on extended leave of absence.

(17) Ciji Hui's forty-seven offices outside of Taiwan were distributed as follows: twenty-two in the United States, four in Malaysia, three in Australia, three in South Africa, two in Canada, and one each in Argentina, Brazil, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Lesotho, Mexico, New Zealand, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand (*Tzu Chi Quarterly*, fall 1998, 97).

(18) Janet McLellan records that the Vancouver Ciji office facilitated a donation of US \$6.2 million to a local hospital to open the Tzu Chi Institute for Complementary and Alternative Medicine (McLellan 2000, 294).

(19) A description of the Trailokya Bauddha Mahasangha Sahayaka Gana (TBMSG), the Indian wing of the FWBO, may be found in Sponberg (1996: 73-120).

(20) Master Xingyun and his disciples regard themselves as vital carriers of Confucian tradition. For more on this, see chapter six of my dissertation, "Cultivate Talent Through Education, Promote the Dharma Through Culture" (Chandler 2000).

(21) The Dutch planted trading posts along the southwest coast of Ilha Formosa ("Beautiful Island") from 1624 to 1662. Their population on the island peaked at twenty-eight hundred, of whom twenty-two hundred were soldiers. The Spanish had settlements in the north from 1626 to 1642 (Wang, 1980: 36).

(22) Other politicians to visit Hsi Lai Temple have included California State Senator Simon, California Senate President David Roberti, United States Congressman Mel Levine, and United States Congressman Martinique. References to visits are mentioned in numerous Foguangshan publications, including the master's biography (Fu 1995, 241-245) and diary (Shi Xingyun 1994 vol. 1, entries for July 1, 1989 and July 22, 1989; and vol. 3, entries for January 7, 1990 and January 20, 1990).

(23) According to Master Xingyun's diary, when it turned out that he would not be able to attend President Bush's inauguration, there was talk of arranging for him to go to the White House at another point to meet him. The master then goes on to say that the newly elected president had an interest in coming to Hsi Lai to visit (Shi Xingyun 1994 vol. 2, entry for October 19, 1989).

(24) These donations are listed in "The United States of America v. Maria Hsia A/K/A Hsia Ling, Defendant," United States Court For the District of Columbia, docket CR.98-0057 (PLF). This document may be found at under the district court opinions category of www.westlaw.com. A "lay-monastic" has not fully renounced, but has vowed to remain celibate and to live on Foguang premises for the rest of his or her life so as to devote all energy to aiding the organization in spreading the *Dharma*.

(25) Shi Xingyun 1994 vol 2, entry for October 14, 1989. As the number of American political officials visiting Hsi Lai Temple mounted, Master Xingyun told his disciples, "For us Buddhists to come to America and be able to receive the positive acceptance by United States governments is our greatest vow and hope!" (Shi Xingyun 1994 vol. 3, entry for

January 23, 1990).

(26) For more information on Vice President Al Gore's controversial visit to Hsi Lai Temple, see my article, "Placing Palms Together: Religious and Cultural Dimensions of the Hsi Lai Temple Political Donations Controversy" (Chandler 1999, 36-56).

(27) Ven. Xinding interview with Jodie Duffy of Prime Television (Wollongong, Australia), Foguangshan, May 2, 1997. Master Xingyun retired as the abbot of Foguangshan in 1985, allowing him to pass on the day-to-day administration of temple affairs to one of his disciples.

(28) Ven. Huijin, one of the first Africans to tonsure under Master Xingyun, told me of these difficulties for monastics in Africa. Because of the dangerous associations with the color black, the African novices were early on granted permission from the master to wear instead the gray-colored work robes or, for special occasions, the mustard colored robes (normally, only fully-ordained graduates of the Buddhist college are usually permitted to wear these latter).

(29) Interviews with Nan Hua Seminary staff members, Nan Hua Temple, November 28-29, 1999.

(30) Unfortunately, because of visa regulations, the five young men from the Congo soon had to return to their country, where, due to escalating civil war, it was felt to be too dangerous for them to continue a monastic life style. Several had voiced the hope to return to Nan Hua Temple and resume their career as clerics, but little has been heard of them since their repatriation. It was because of the degenerating political situation in the Congo that Nan Hua shifted its base of recruitment to Tanzania and Malawi. For more about Nan Hua Temple and its seminary, see chapter seven of my dissertation: "Globalizing Chinese Culture, Localizing Buddhist Teachings" (Chandler 2000). Foguangshan's 1998 ordination in Bodhgaya, India, which was aimed toward reestablishing the *bhikshuni* order in Theravaada and Tibetan lineages, and fostering cooperation amongst Buddhist communities around the world, is also described in chapter seven of my dissertation.

(31) Martin Baumann (2001) has also considered these different attractions to Buddhism, although he looks at it them in terms of what he calls "traditionalist" and "modernist" approaches.

(32) This quote is taken from the *Sutta Nipata* (Conze 1979, 79).

(33) The difference in attitude between the Buddhist and Jewish traditions toward homelessness is striking. For the former, it describes an individual's quest for liberation through renunciation. For the latter, is a communal state intimately associated with exile. Having several times been exiled from home, the enforced wanderings of the Jewish peoples are seen as anything but desirable. As Arnold M. Eisen has observed, "Homelessness is origin, not destination. It, not home, is the estate Israel leaves behind. . . . Israel's exemplification of a universal human condition (homelessness) and its articulation of a universal human longing (home) do not end with the Exodus from Egypt. Genesis is more than a prologue to the drama: it is the first statement of all the acts to come. Not-yet-home remains the condition of Israel and the human species" (Eisen 1986, 17-18).

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