

NOTE TO USERS

This reproduction is the best copy available.

UMI[®]



uOttawa

L'Université canadienne
Canada's university

FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES
ET POSTDOCTORALES



FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND
POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

Tannie Liu

AUTEUR DE LA THÈSE / AUTHOR OF THESIS

Ph.D. (Religious Studies)

GRADE / DEGREE

Department of Classics and Religious Studies

FACULTÉ, ÉCOLE, DÉPARTEMENT / FACULTY, SCHOOL, DEPARTMENT

Globalization and Chinese Buddhism: The Canadian Experience

TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS

M-F. Guédon

DIRECTEUR (DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS SUPERVISOR

CO-DIRECTEUR (CO-DIRECTRICE) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS CO-SUPERVISOR

EXAMINATEURS (EXAMINATRICES) DE LA THÈSE / THESIS EXAMINERS

P. Beyer

B. Given

C. Laughlin

N. Salmond

Gary W. Slater

LE DOYEN DE LA FACULTÉ DES ÉTUDES SUPÉRIEURES ET POSTDOCTORALES /
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

**Globalization and Chinese Buddhism:
The Canadian Experience**

by

Tannie Liu

Thesis submitted to the
Department of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Religious Studies

Department of Classics and Religious Studies
Faculty of Arts
University of Ottawa

© Tannie Liu, Ottawa, Canada 2005



Library and
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 0-494-10987-4

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 0-494-10987-4

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.


Canada

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the Divine, Whose Grace is immanent in the dissertation process.

The details of that Grace include all the synchronistic events that lead me to the right place and the right people for creating this thesis. This Grace is immanent and powerful, even in the face of personal doubts and resistance. I give thanks to my supervisor Dr. Marie-Françoise Guédon for her guidance and for her compassion in listening to my many joys and sorrows, particularly after my personal injury in 2001. I give thanks to Dr. Peter Beyer for offering his expertise on the processes of globalization that provided me with a perspective to make sense of the data. I also give thanks to Dr. Charles Laughlin for his life-long enthusiasm for understanding the relations between religion and the brain, and whose theoretical views gave me valuable insights into why religions undergo changes throughout history. I also give thanks to Dr. Victor Hori of McGill University for providing his valuable advice. In addition, I give thanks to the University of Ottawa for providing me with a wonderful academic home during my doctoral research, and the freedom to pursue a new direction in the understanding of religious phenomena in the modern world.

I also want to thank both the Ontario government, for providing several Special Opportunity Grants for Female Doctoral Students, and the Department of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies of the University of Ottawa for providing the much needed teaching assistantships and research assistantships.

Most of all I want to thank my mother Mrs. Liu Wong Sik Chun for her support and encouragement, even in the face of her own personal hardships due to being recently widowed. Last of all, this thesis is dedicated in love to my late father, Mr. Norman Liu, who will always live in my memory.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines three major Chinese Buddhist temples in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa and argues that the local manifestations of these Chinese temples cannot be understood simply as devices developed by immigrants in order to adapt to Canadian life. Rather, they are part of transnational movements within Chinese Buddhism which are geared to the global migration of the religion in the context of a competition between different ideologies. The thesis, therefore, argues that the development of these temples cannot be understood without situating them within a global context and examining the social and historical developments that led to the modern transformation of Chinese Buddhism.

The contemporary form of Chinese Buddhism is to a large extent a response to the challenge placed on Buddhism by the globalization process. This process led to a significant influx of foreign ideologies and religious practices into China – such as Marxism, modern positivistic science, and in particular Christianity. This juxtaposition of different ideologies in China in the early part of the twentieth century posed a severe challenge to Chinese Buddhism and inspired some of the religious leaders to initiate reforms.

The thesis also argues that religious identity in the contemporary world, when religious institutions are stripped from their traditional authority and total support from the government, has to be continuously negotiated within the global context. This ongoing negotiation produces change. However, the thesis also argues that certain ideological aspects within a culture are perceived as sacred, and this will tend to buffer the culture to some extent in its responses to outside influences. For instance, the belief in Taoism within Chinese culture has withstood Chinese openness to Buddhism, Christianity, Marxism and positivistic science. This constant renegotiation process within a particular culture and the larger group culture can best be described in Roland Robertson's terms as the interpenetration of the local and the global, a continuous give and take between the cultural and universal models.

This thesis concludes that the three temples under investigation – that is, the Cham Shan Temple in Toronto, the Fo Guang Shan Temple in Ottawa, and the True Buddha School in Montreal, reflect the transformation of Buddhism due to the historical and social developments in China. The temples are differently established on each of these three sites due to the different orientations of the founders to various global influences, and in turn cater to different needs and preferences of Chinese immigrants in Canada.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Globalization and Religion: The Case of Chinese Buddhists in Canada	
Theoretical Perspectives	
<i>The Relativization of Cultures and the Modern Development of Societies</i>	
Methodology	
<i>Participant Observation and Structured/Unstructured Interviews</i>	
<i>Research on Religious Experience</i>	
<i>The Length and Scope of the Research</i>	
<i>Other Temples</i>	
<i>Literature Review</i>	
<i>The Use of Chinese Phonetics</i>	
CHAPTER ONE: CHINESE IN CANADA	30
The People of Chinese Origin in Canada	
Reconceptualizing Ethnic Chinese History in Canada	
<i>Economic and Political Conditions in China and the Decision to Emigrate</i>	
<i>Early Chinese Immigrants in Canada</i>	
<i>The Chinese After 1967: Have Things Improved?</i>	
<i>Have Racial Discrimination and Ethnic Stereotypes Disappeared?</i>	
CHAPTER TWO: CONTEMPORARY CHINESE BUDDHISM	52
The Development of Contemporary Chinese Buddhism	
The State of the Buddhist Sangha Around the 19th Century	
<i>The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864)</i>	
<i>Yang Wen-hui and His Influence on Chinese Buddhism</i>	
<i>The Contribution of Yang Wen-hui (1837-1911)</i>	
<i>The State of Chinese Buddhism During the Time of T'ai-hsü</i>	
<i>T'ai-hsü - The Reformer (1890-1947)</i>	
<i>Institutions Set-up by T'ai-hsü and Other Buddhist Masters</i>	
<i>T'ai-hsü's Organization of a National Temple and the Globalization of Chinese Buddhism</i>	
<i>The Legacy of T'ai-hsü</i>	
<i>The Sangha Under the Chinese Communists</i>	
<i>The Red Guards and the Cultural Revolution</i>	
<i>Buddhism After Mao</i>	

<i>Restoration of the Chinese Buddhist Association</i>	
<i>Revival of the Monastic Order</i>	
Religion in Hong Kong under the British Government (1842-1997)	
Religions in Hong Kong Under Colonial Rule	
<i>Buddhism in Hong Kong</i>	
<i>Religions in Hong Kong Today</i>	
<i>The Religious Environment of Hong Kong After 1997</i>	
Historical Development of Taiwan	
<i>Taiwan Before 1945</i>	
<i>Modern Political Situation in Taiwan</i>	
<i>Buddhism in Taiwan</i>	

CHAPTER THREE: CHINESE BUDDHISM IN TORONTO 97

Introduction

Buddhism in Toronto

<i>The Development of a Coordinated Buddhist Identity in a Christian World</i>	
<i>Chinese Temples in Toronto</i>	
<i>The Background of the Chinese Masters</i>	
<i>Master Luk To Paving the Way to Canada</i>	
<i>Master Sing Hung and Master Shing Cheung Coming to Canada</i>	
<i>The T'ien-t'ai Sect and the Cham Shan Temple</i>	
<i>Pure Land Buddhism</i>	
<i>The Cham Shan Temple</i>	
<i>The Monastic Order</i>	
<i>The Temple as a Place to Increase One's Merit</i>	
<i>Transfer of Merits to Ancestors</i>	
<i>T'ai-hsü's Influence and the Development of The Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery and the Hong Fa Temple</i>	
<i>The Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery</i>	
<i>The Development of the Hong Fa Temple</i>	
<i>The Monastics of the Cham Shan Temple</i>	
<i>The Cham Shan Temple and the Global Migration of Chinese Buddhism</i>	
<i>Master Yüan-chih Mañjuśrī Temple</i>	
<i>Master Wu-te Cheng-chüeh Temple</i>	
<i>Concluding Remarks</i>	

CHAPTER FOUR: CHINESE BUDDHISM IN OTTAWA 151

Introduction

The Ottawa-Buddhist Community

Master Hsing Yun and the International Development of Fo Guang Shan	
<i>Master Hsing Yun and the Modernization of Buddhism</i>	
<i>Master Hsing Yun's Formal Recognition by the Kuomintang (KMT) Elites</i>	
<i>Master Hsing Yun's World-Wide Expansion of Buddhism from Taiwan</i>	
<i>Building International Ties Between Other Religious Leaders and Political Figures</i>	
<i>Fo Guang Shan in Education and the Organization of International Conferences</i>	
<i>World-Wide Champion in the Order of Nuns</i>	
<i>Fo Guang Shan Coming to Canada</i>	
<i>Fo Guang Shan Ottawa Chapter</i>	
<i>Activities of the BLIA and IBPS</i>	
<i>The Buddhist Activities</i>	
<i>Cultural Activities</i>	
<i>Charitable Activities</i>	
<i>The Perspectives of the Fo Guang Members and Participants of the Site</i>	
<i>Concluding Remarks</i>	

CHAPTER FIVE: CHINESE BUDDHISM IN MONTREAL 193

Introduction	
Buddhist Groups in Montreal	
Chinese Buddhists in Montreal	
Master Sheng-yen Lu and the Global Development of the True Buddha School	
Master Lu's Philosophy on Buddhism and the Globalization of the True Buddha School (TBS)	
The Practice of the TBS and the Modern Scientific Era	
The TBS Coming to Canada	
The Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple in Montreal	
The Guru Yoga	
<i>The Practices of Purification and Enrichment Within the TBS</i>	
<i>Purification to Eliminate Karmic Illness</i>	
<i>Enrichment to Bring Happiness to Everyday Lives</i>	
The Use of Geomancy	
The Use of Various Sadhanas and Visualization	
Techniques to Magnetize Prosperity	
The Centrality of the Use of the High King	
Avalokiteśvara Sūtra for Purification and Enrichment	

The Lotus Light Charity Society in Montreal
The Perspectives of the True Buddha Disciples
Concluding Remarks

CHAPTER SIX: DOING CHINESE BUDDHISM IN CANADA: UNITY AND DIVERSITY 233

Introduction

The Details of the Unity and Differences

The Unity

Ancestor Veneration

Veneration of Bodhisattva Kuan-yin

Veneration of One's Teacher

The Diversity

The Masters

The Temple

The Clergy

The Position of Women Within the Sangha

The Organization of the Temple

The Monastics and the Laity

The Cham Shan Temple

The Fo Guang Shan

The True Buddha School

The Text

The Cham Shan Temple

The Fo Guang Shan

The True Buddha School

The Practice

The Cham Shan Temple

The Fo Guang Shan

The True Buddha School

The Earth Deity Practice

Vegetarianism

Summary of Findings

CONCLUSION 278

APPENDICES	286
A The English Consent Form	
B The Chinese Consent Form	
C The English Questionnaire	
D The Chinese Questionnaire	
E The Questionnaire for Monastics	
F The Chinese Questionnaire for Monastics	
ILLUSTRATIONS	312
REFERENCES	326

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| No. 1 | Nam Shan Temple |
| No. 2 | The Cham Shan Temple |
| No. 3 | Kuan-yin Pavillion |
| No. 4 | Cham Shan Temple Main Shrine |
| No. 5 | The Ti-t'sang Hall |
| No. 6 | Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery and Library |
| No. 7 | Buddha's Light International Association |
| No. 8 | Fo Guang Shan |
| No. 9 | Main shrine of the Fo Guang Shan |
| No. 10 | Kuan-yin Shrine |
| No. 11 | Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple |
| No. 12 | Kṣitigarbha Hall |
| No. 13 | Main Shrine at the Lotus Charity Society |
| No. 14 | The Lotus Charity Society |

INTRODUCTION

Globalization and Religion: The Case of Chinese Buddhists in Canada

The Chinese Buddhists' arrival in Canada is not a recent phenomenon. Buddhist beliefs and practices were introduced to Canada with the earliest Chinese workers during the gold rush of the mid-nineteenth century. However, the formal organization of Chinese Buddhism in Canada did not start until the 1960s with the arrival of Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung of the Cham Shan Temple in Toronto. Many of these early Chinese immigrants started to build temples in the organizational halls, which also housed the clan and surname associations. The earliest Canadian temple was built in Victoria in 1885 inside the first Chinese Benevolent Association. But according to Wickberg and his associates, who wrote an authoritative account of the history of Chinese settlers in Canada, historical records show that these arrangements were temporary.

From the 1860s to the 1890s Chinese temples devoted to various popular deities were established in association halls and in separate buildings. By the early twentieth century most of these had fallen into disuse and disappeared, as the buildings they were in were diverted to other uses. (Wickberg 1982:79)

Religious beliefs and institutions are not fixed or unchanging. They are subject to change under historical and social circumstances, and in particular, they are impacted by the various effects of globalization and encounters with other ideologies and religions. In the Canadian context, religious beliefs and institutions should not be viewed simply as a device to allow the immigrants to adapt to a foreign and hostile environment. Early temples soon died out after they were

established in Canada irrespective of the actual number of Chinese immigrants. Instead, religious beliefs and institutions may fulfill various ideological or spiritual needs which may or may not be related to the events and trends originating, in this case, outside of the Chinese population or outside of Canada. The present thesis examines the modern transformation of Chinese Buddhism in the context of contemporary globalization and explores the reconstruction of Chinese Buddhism within three major temples in Eastern Canada.

Theoretical Perspectives

This thesis uses sociological and anthropological theories to investigate the phenomenon of the modern emergence of Chinese Buddhism in Canada. In particular, the macro-sociological theory of globalization as developed by Roland Robertson and Peter Beyer are found to be particularly pertinent to the current investigation. The theory of biogenetic structuralism developed by anthropologist Charles Laughlin and his colleagues offers a complementary socio-psychological approach to the question of why religions undergo changes in modern society, especially when dealing with cultural or ideological minorities.

Globalization theorists claim that the world is rapidly becoming a single community in the minds and social organizations of peoples (Robertson 1992, Beyer 1994). Robertson writes: "Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (1992:8). The present globalization process has been accelerated by the advance in communication and transportation, and the rapid movement of people

over the globe due to migration and travel. According to Robertson, the fifth phase of globalization began in the 1960s due to heightened global communication, and by the turn of the twenty-first century globalization had reached crisis proportions. The crisis conditions arose because societies all over the world increasingly faced multiculturalism and polyethnicity (Robertson 1992:59). A major task of the sociologist attempting to understand religion in this context is to make sense of the myriad forms of religions in the global society, where different and often contradictory ideologies are juxtaposed. While focussing on present Chinese Buddhism in Canada, it is possible to get a closer look at the process of transformation affecting religious systems within the larger contemporary globalization process.

Globalization theory emerged as an extension of the debate on modernization generated in the 1960s. Key theorists that contributed to this discussion include Immanuel Wallerstein, John Meyer, Niklas Luhmann, and Peter Beyer, among others. Wallerstein sees capitalism as generated in the West, and the expansion of capitalism to other parts of the world as a basic structure of the world-system. John Meyer argues that rather than focussing on the economy, one should recognize the importance of the world polity. According to Meyer, certain worldwide models and ideologies receive international consensus, are granted an authority of their own, and come to dominate the world. Societies have to conform to these models in order to compete or gain acceptance in the global field. The acceptance of the Chinese Communist Government in the 1960s by the UN is a prime example (Beyer 1994:15-41).

Niklas Luhmann introduces a different perspective. According to him, modernity is characterized by an increase in the functional differentiation of various subsystems such as the economical, the political, the educational and the religious. This functional systemic differentiation of modern society corresponds to a gradual transformation of the stratified system of the medieval period based on rank, such as noblemen and women, merchants, and peasants. This shift from a stratified system to a functional system and its eventual migration to other parts of the world is at the heart of globalization (Beyer 1994:15-41).

In contrast, Roland Robertson (1992), while accepting many of the above ideas, introduces into the debate the cultural dimension as a special constraint as discussed later. Peter Beyer, however, sees all these theories to be complementary; they should be viewed as a whole in order to facilitate the investigation of the globalization phenomenon. For example, Robertson's lack of emphasis on economy should not be seen as an intellectual blind spot, but rather as the consequence of his particular agenda centred on the cultural dimension.

According to Roland Robertson, the modern globalization process is categorized by five phases of historical development:

Phase 1 - The Germinal Phase, starting from the fifteenth century and ending in the eighteenth century, resulted in the emergence of the nation state and the downfall of medieval empire extension. This phase witnessed the expansion of the power of the Catholic Church, the germination of the idea of individualism and the focus on humankind. This was also the beginning of modern science and the development of geography and the calendar.

Phase 2 - The Incipient Phase, starting in the mid-eighteenth century and ending around the 1870s, witnessed the idea of nationalism in Europe, and an increase in the awareness of internationalism, particularly through the encounter of Europe with non-European societies. The issue of nationalism and internationalism became dominant in this phase.

Phase 3 - The Take-off Phase, beginning in the 1870s and ending in the 1920s, saw a very sharp increase in global communication. This resulted in an increased awareness of a consensus form of national identity, resulting in immigration restrictions in many parts of the world. Within the Christian church there was a rise in the movement towards a unified church, international competitions such as the Olympics developed, and the world witnessed the First World War.

Phase 4 - The Struggle-for-Hegemony Phase, beginning in the mid-1920s and ending in the 1960s, saw wars and disputes among societies. Nations tried to dominate each other and, as such, there was a rise in international associations to oversee peace and harmony such as The League of Nations and the United Nations. This phase also witnessed the conceptualization of the Third World order.

Phase 5 - The Uncertainty Phase, beginning in the 1960s and ending in crisis proportions around the turn of the twenty-first century, was facilitated by the rapid increase in global communication through telecommunications and various migrations. Societies were increasingly dealing with issues of multiculturalism and polyethnicity. At the same time, this phase of development also witnessed the increased awareness of humanity as a whole. The number of global institutions

and world socio-political movements, such as the Women's Movement and the Peace Movement, increased (Robertson 1992:58-59).

However, building on Wallerstein's idea of "universalism and particularism" in the understanding of the global dynamics, Robertson argues that Wallerstein does not go deep enough in his analysis of the global situation. According to Wallerstein:

The nationalisms of the modern world are not the triumphant civilizations of yore. They are the ambiguous expressions of the demand both for... assimilation into the universal... and simultaneously for... adhering to the particular, the reinvention of differences. Indeed it is universalism through particularism, and particularism through universalism. (Wallerstein in Robertson 1992:96)

Robertson argues that its interpenetration process best describes the relationship between the universal and the particular. In Robertson's words, it is "interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of the universalism". (Robertson 1992:100). Citing the historical example of the Japanese assimilation of various religious traditions such as Confucianism, Mahāyāna Buddhism, and Christianity and the harmonization of their traditional ideas of Shintoism and Shamanism, Robertson argues that it is indeed possible for various religious identities to co-exist within a society, and it is even possible to reintroduce this unique mosaic to the global community as a unique form of Japanese religiosity and contribution (Robertson 94-96). In Robertson's terms, this historical assimilation of the Japanese society is the particularity of the universal and the resultant religiosity is because of the selective orientation of the Japanese society to the global influence (Robertson 1992:102).

Rather than seeing the universal and the particular as contradictory forces, they may be viewed as actually complementary to each another (Robertson 1992:163). As a result, the global field is not characterized by homogeneity or heterogeneity by nature of its dynamic interplay between culture and universal models; rather it is a continuous emerging field. Reiterating that culture is a major constraint towards homogeneity, Robertson dispels the theory advocated by Arjun Appadurai (1990) that the universal and the particular are contradictory and, therefore, competing forces. Robertson cites Arjun Appadurai as saying, "The central feature of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thus to proclaim their twin Enlightenment idea of the triumphantly universal and the resilient particular" (Robertson 1992:10). Globalization, therefore, is not the spread of western imperialism alone as some Wallersteinians or Appudurais may insist, but the West has been dramatically transformed due to encounters with various cultures.

Peter Beyer, while accepting the work of Roland Robertson and Niklas Luhmann, extended their ideas to the much-neglected area of religions in classical sociological study (Beyer1998a:5). He is particularly in favour of the Luhmanian idea that the transformation of the modern world was a result of a shift from the medieval stratified form of society to the modern functional society differentiated into various subsystems. According to Luhmann the medieval society in Europe underwent a change around the Middle Ages where the traditional society based on ranks, and very often secured by birth, (such as the noblemen, the merchants and the peasants), gradually disintegrated, and this

change accelerated during the seventeenth, eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. As a result, there arose in European societies various functional subsystems such as the economy, the political system, the health system and religion. These functional subsystems are mutually identifiable from one other based on their specific mode of communication and function within a society (Beyer 1994:35-41). Beyer extends this analysis into the religious field and advocates that the various religious denominations that appear in modernity are due to this historical development and particularly to the theological splits within the Christian church. This resulted in the gradual appearance of the myriad forms of different religious denominations in the global field (Beyer 1998a:4)

Beyer argues that, "if we want to understand the major features of contemporary social life, we have to go beyond local and national factors to situate our analyses in the global context" (Beyer 1994:1). For him, the contemporary globalization process has its cultural and geographical origin in Western Europe and it eventually spread to the Americas. Beyer, however, insists that even though globalization cannot be understood as a simplistic model of western imperialism, it does have its origin in western society.

Similarly, the modern international model of religious institutions looks somewhat like the Christian model, not in a theological sense, but in its structure. Beyer, therefore, postulates that in order to understand this phenomenon in the modern global village we have to go back to the historical development of this process (Beyer 1998b:151).

In the Middle Ages (circa 1100-1500) the Catholic Church had in Europe greatly increased its influence so that it had absolute power over both the state and the spirituality of the people. For example, the church could depose deviant kings or mobilize crusades against heretics. However, with the decline of the feudal state around the eighteenth century, there was a rise in the formations of national societies, which led to the eventual displacement of the church as the absolute authority. Europe had undergone a period of Reformation and Post Reformation with the eventual separation of church and state. This was especially so after the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation (Beyer 1998a:2). The result was a plurality of mutually distinguishable religions each operating along functional lines. This development in religions paralleled other societal developments during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The same period saw a rapid expansion of western imperialism to the rest of the world. "This resulted in the spread of westernized differentiated functional systems against which non-western states had to respond in order to counteract western domination." (Beyer 1998a:7).

The above description of the globalization effect was particularly relevant to China during the nineteenth century. Owing to the weak Ching Dynasty, China was a fertile ground for western imperialism. The Ching Dynasty had suffered repeated humiliation under the impact of western military might during this period and reluctantly had to open many ports to outside trade. This was followed by a massive influx of missionaries. The Taiping Rebellion occurred from 1850 to 1864 and was influenced by Protestant Christianity. Members of this group destroyed

many Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist temples in the name of the Christian God who tolerated no other religions (Overmyer 1986:107). During this time China was also challenged by various western functional systems such as the education system, and had to respond (Welch 1968:11).

Yang Wen-hui (1837-1911) revived Chinese Buddhism during this period. His printing of the scriptures was a direct response to the burning of the Buddhist scriptures in many parts of China by the Taiping rebels. His establishment of various Buddhist institutions was a direct reaction to China's encounter with Christianity and the presence of a large number of knowledgeable missionaries in China. Many of these missionaries, also equipped with language skills, appeared on street corners to preach the Gospel. The institutions Yang set up were designed to prepare the clergy for missionary work abroad, inspired by the Christian model (Welch 1968:20-21).

Later, one of Yang's students, T'ai-hsü (1890-1947) carried on the momentum of Buddhist revival in China. Impressed by the Christian model of a centralized organization to better control missionary work abroad, T'ai-hsü pushed for such a model, including an educated sangha. T'ai-hsü's reform had a great influence on the modern expression of Chinese Buddhism in Canada both directly and indirectly. Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung of the Cham Shan Temple who are known to be the founders of Chinese Buddhism in Canada were students of T'ai-hsü's reformation in the 1930s (see Chapter 2). Notably, Master Hsing Yun was an admirer of T'ai-hsü, and his eventual development of Fo Guang Shan and its global success can be attributed to T'ai-hsü's vision (see

Chapter 4). The modern development of Christianity, which became focussed upon charitable work and service to the laity, was a challenge to Buddhism. T'ai-hsü was reported to have said: "Monks are always religious recluses, taking no interest in the affairs of the community or the country and they are in turn slighted by the government and the ruling classes" (Welch 1968:54).

The interaction with Christianity during the nineteenth century proved to be a major challenge to Buddhism, and to a large extent influenced the contemporary form of Chinese Buddhism as it has come to participate in the global diaspora. Master Hsing Yun's international success in the development of the Fo Guang Shan, as mentioned earlier, was influenced by T'ai-hsü. Specifically, his vision of an educated sangha and an engaged, humanistic form of Buddhism. Master Hsing Yun who was known to be a fervent student of T'ai-hsü is recorded to have said: "In restructuring the Buddhist hierarchy, Master T'ai Hsü urged that the dormant sangha be revitalized, training every monk to be a skilled instructor and every nun to be a qualified teacher and nurse. In reforming doctrinal teachings, he encouraged people to substitute the fatalistic belief that *life is suffering* to a positive attitude which affirms that *life is valuable*." (Lui-Ma 2000:40)

The Relativization of Cultures and the Modern Development of Societies

Roland Robertson further reintroduces the conventional sociological theme of *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society), but in a global society *Gesellschaft* is now elevated to a multidimensional, rapidly emerging global

culture where *Gemeinschaft* now represents the particular culture which comes into contact with the global *Gesellschaft* and is forced to respond (Robertson 1992:61-83). According to Robertson, throughout the long history of human civilization, ancient empires and societies have been continuously challenged by outside contact. In the modern era, this problem has developed into a crisis situation as cultures are increasingly confronted with a compressed unified culture where a particular culture has to respond. The strategy employed by a culture is usually a selective orientation to the unified culture and at the same time an effort is made to preserve a sense of separate identity. In some cases, the pressure from the unified culture might cause conflict within particular cultures; if that happens then societies might choose to isolate themselves from outside contact. According to Robertson: "the cultures of particular societies are, to different degrees, the result of their interactions with other societies in the global system. In other words, nation-societal cultures have been differentially formed by interpenetration with significant others" (Robertson 1992:113). Robertson terms it the "relativization of culture" or "the dynamics of global and local" which he coined the *local*, meaning the interplay between the particular cultures and emerging global field (Robertson 1992).

In the Chinese culture, a constraint towards outside influence, in order to preserve the traditional Chinese Buddhist identity, is clearly indicated in the case of the Cham Shan Temple. Venerable T'an-hsü of the T'ien-t'ai Sect, while responding to the call by T'ai-hsü for reform of the sangha of his time, also tried to keep many elements of the ancient tradition alive. In contrast to T'ai-hsü who was

under constant condemnation from the senior monks of his time for betrayal of the ancient tradition, Venerable T'an-hsü was very much respected for adhering to the spiritual practice without dabbling into political affairs, which was clearly a habit of T'ai-hsü (Lui-Ma 2000:40, Welch 1968:71). The temples which Venerable T'an-hsü developed remained true to the ancient Chinese tradition through adhering to the practice of the ancient rituals, tolerance of Chinese folk practices such as divination, the Earth Deity, etc. The Cham Shan Temple developed by students of T'an-hsü, remains faithful to this tradition despite outside pressures to change.

Roland Robertson also points out that individual groups and societies can particularize the universal and return the product as a unique contribution to the emerging global field. He cites the Japanese religiosity and syncretization of Mahāyāna Buddhism, Confucianism, Japanese Shintoism and in modern times, Christianity (Robertson 1992:16). In China's case, particularly with the recent development of the True Buddha School, this idea is particularly prominent. Not only does the school try to incorporate Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism with Taoism and Tibetan Buddhism, but it also incorporates Christianity into this reservoir of belief in order to be more competitive in the global arena. The result is a syncretistic mix, which is greatly appreciated by many Chinese, because of its non-differentiated nature and its contribution to Chinese religiosity in the global field.

Peter Beyer's analysis of religion along functional lines also helps in the understanding of the manifestations of religions. According to Beyer, Christianity,

due to its historical development, provides the model of what a religion looks like in a global culture. Moreover, according to Beyer, historically speaking, religion is closely connected to group culture. Therefore, the survival and revival of religion is very much tied to the strategies of adopted group culture. In the global arena, religion, like other functional societal systems, exhibits both a socio-culturally particular aspect and the global universal. Therefore, according to Beyer: "The analysis of religion must proceed along a double track, one following its similarity and identification with group culture, another its character as a societal subsystem." (Beyer 1994:67).

In Chinese Buddhism, we see orientations towards the global such as T'ai-hsü's reform and subsequently, Hsing Yun's development of Fo Guang Shan. As a universal system, Chinese Buddhism takes on identifiable characteristics of Mahāyāna Buddhism with a strong emphasis on the belief of Pure Land, but on a local level, Chinese Buddhism manifests the religious plurality and diversity that is characteristic for the Chinese society. Moreover, according to Beyer, like other societal systems, a modern religious tradition transforms itself into one of these functional systems and caters to the specific need of the people, i.e. spirituality. As a functional system, a modern religious system is by nature plural and mutually distinguishable on a cultural or local level.

This aspect of religion is particularly evident among Chinese immigrants in Canada. Due to their particular orientation, they are drawn to the three temples differently. The ones that orientate towards the Cham Shan Temple favour adhering to the ancient tradition of China, and, therefore, preserve a pristine form

of the ancient tradition of the T'ien-t'ai Sect with its emphasis on sūtra study, adherence to traditional Chinese rituals, and tolerance of some Chinese folk practices such as geomancy and divination. The Chinese who are drawn to the Fo Guang Temple like a well organized temple and the political prestige that is associated with it as well as its global nature (see Chapter 4). The Chinese who are drawn to the True Buddha School appreciate the syncretic mix of Master Lu's teachings (see Chapter 5). They appreciate his preservation of Taoist practices within the tradition, which many find comfortable and helpful for dealing with the stress of being an immigrant.

Charles Laughlin, an anthropologist, introduces us to a notion he calls the *cycle of meaning*, and provides a useful framework for understanding the transformation of religious traditions in modern societies owing to the globalization effect. According to Laughlin, cosmology is not in itself a set of rational beliefs or logical propositions; rather it is informed by the cognized worlds of collective experience within a particular culture (Laughlin 1992:214). A society's cosmology consists of a collection of images and theories about the universe held within a particular culture or religious group and derived through collective experiences (Laughlin 1992:214). Cosmology is publicly transmitted within a culture through its *mythopoeia*, a very general term referring to its sacred texts, art, stories, rituals and symbols, and is culturally conditioned, carefully preserved and never left to chance (Laughlin 1992:214). By participation in rituals and ceremonies, or by using symbolically rich spiritual techniques, individuals may come to have direct experiences evoked by ritual symbolism and activity.

When these experiences occur, they tend to be interpreted within the hermeneutic context provided by the society's cosmology -- their belief system. Thus a feedback loop exists between the received knowledge transmitted through the mythopoeia, and the direct (and often extraordinary) experiences of practitioners. The cosmology provides a context of meaning for experience, and experience provides confirmation of the knowledge.

In Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, the cosmos consists of six realms of transmigration: gods, asuras or demi gods, humans, animals, hungry ghosts and hells. Sentient beings are constantly transmigrating in these six realms due to hatred, greed and ignorance. Rebirths in any of these six realms are due to merits and demerits. Outside of the six realms there are many Buddha fields where the meritorious wish to be reborn; Buddha Amitābha's Pure Land is one of these celestial fields where many aspire to go after their earthly existence (Williams 1989:253).

According to Laughlin, cultural information transmitted may be integrated within the individual's psyche at three levels of complexity. The first level of this cycle is simply culturally received knowledge, a kind of second hand religious experience passed on by traditions that the faithful need to cherish or memorize. The second level of knowledge is understanding, where one's learning begins to take shape due to direct religious experience after practising the rituals and meditative manuals as passed down by the tradition. The third level is the realization of the cosmos as mapped out by masters within one's own profound religious experience (Laughlin 1992:214).

The job of a master in these traditions is to confer the cycle of meaning through a negative feedback loop. For example, knowledge about the cosmos would be considered incomplete if it merely remains on an intellectual level without direct experience through the participation in its rituals or meditative procedures given by the tradition. According to Laughlin, the cycle of meaning is never static and is always subject to input from environmental and circumstantial change. The cycle of meaning may, for example, change due to the profound religious experience of a particularly charismatic leader, contact with other cultures, or simply massive socio-cultural change due to modernity. Rituals may be forbidden or neglected, and direct religious experience may become shunned. If this occurs, the cycle of meaning, with its dynamic interplay between knowledge and experience that previously kept the cosmology within a tradition vibrant, energetic and “living”, is broken. What remains is a sort of lifeless text or dogma within a tradition, which is in reality a religious institution of second hand religious experiences (Laughlin 1992:230).

In Chinese Buddhism, its cosmology (such as the various celestial Buddha fields and the Six Realms of Transmigration as held sacred by Buddhists) is being negated through its encounter with western imperialism and with its science, Marxism and Christianity. These are alien ideologies, particularly science and Marxism, which view any religious beliefs in unseen realities as superstitions. Reality, in such ideologies, is restricted only to our daily consciousness. The reality of all other states of consciousness is completely negated as just so much imagination, and, therefore, these become non-reality. The sangha is viewed as

parasitic and harmful to society, as they cater only to unseen reality and do not produce any useful service. This kind of ideology among the Chinese political leaders, particularly the Communist leaders, led to the gradual elimination of the sangha. This resulted in a complete eradication of all religions in the 1960s during the Cultural Revolution. In an environment like this, religion is completely displaced from its authority as the guardian of the spiritual realm of the people. It confirms Beyer's observation that during the transformation in Europe the survival of a religion -- such as Christianity -- had to follow the formation of other functional systems within society. Stripped of its traditional authority, Christianity had to provide some kind of useful service to the community in order to attract voluntary participation. Important charismatic leaders like T'ai-hsü advocated the new sangha would come to be of service to laity and perform some kind of service-oriented function to society. Furthermore, this momentum is clearly manifested in modern Chinese Buddhism, especially the development of Fo Guang Shan that focussed on a kind of this-worldly, so-called "engaged" form of Buddhism.

Reaction to the focus on doctrinal understanding and textual studies, and a purified form of Chinese Buddhism devoid of Taoist practice as promoted by T'ai-hsü, to a large extent accounts for the universal rise of the True Buddha School in the Chinese diasporas. Many True Buddhist disciples report finding the ancient textual studies, as favoured by traditional Mahāyāna Buddhism, conflicting and difficult to understand. They, therefore, prefer the experiential approach to the understanding of consciousness through direct personal experiences. Moreover,

they prefer to follow the path as mapped out by Master Lu through his almost two hundred volumes of writings and teachings based on his direct personal experiences both as a Taoist priest and a Tibetan Master. The School, in spite of receiving constant ridicule from the dominant sangha because of their focus on direct religious experience, is able to prosper due to the faith of the disciples derived through the various rituals.

In summary, the temples – i.e. the Cham Shan Temple, the Fo Guang Shan Temple and the True Buddha School -- illustrate the most successful strands of Chinese Buddhism in the global arena. Their success can be due to the foresight of the founders in responding to the challenge of Christianity and its success in the global field. The thesis argues that even though these temples are all under the sacred canopy of Chinese Buddhism, in reality they are very unique. The variations are due to their different orientations to the global influence, which in turn, satisfy the different preferences of the Chinese immigrants. The global development of the temples is fuelled by the migration of Chinese into the diasporas and, at a large extent, they served as adaptation devices in a foreign culture. In reality, they are unlike the early temples of the Chinese in Canada, which were merely adaptation devices and gradually died out around the turn of the twentieth century. The success of these temples can be attributed to the fact that they are well-planned transnational developments for the global migration of Chinese Buddhism in modernity.

Methodology

The majority of Chinese arrived in Canada after the introduction of the point system in 1967, and gravitated towards major cities like Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. In recent years there has been an influx of Chinese immigrants into Ottawa due to the expansion of the computer industry and many Chinese immigrants arrived as computer specialists and other professionals. These Chinese, unlike the Chinese immigrants of over a century ago, were highly educated and many of them lived in suburban middle class communities like the Markham area in Toronto. The temples that they have established, unlike the earliest Chinese immigrant temples built inside organizational halls, are now multi-million dollar projects and an icon in the city -- particularly apparent in the cases of the Cham Shan Temple in North York (see illustrations 2-5) and the seven million dollar Fo Guang Shan Temple in Mississauga. The three groups and sites described in this study were chosen because they illustrate the most successful strands of Chinese Buddhism in the global arena. The locations were chosen because of their easy access for more in-depth participant observation.

Being a Chinese from Hong Kong and an immigrant to Canada in 1987, I have the required linguistic and insider skills concerning the proprietary interaction within the Chinese community. Having been raised as a Catholic until 1985, I was to a large extent an outsider to Buddhist culture. However, in 1985, after an onset of a series of spontaneous religious experiences, I gradually converted to Chinese folk beliefs and then to Buddhism (Liu 1998). I came to Canada in 1987 and consistently lived in places where the Chinese Buddhist

temples were not available. For example, I went to Hamilton, Ontario for my honour's degree in 1988 and in 1993, I came to Ottawa for my master's degree, and eventually a doctoral degree. In both of these places until recently there were no Chinese temples available. In Ottawa, in particular, before 1996 when the Buddha's Light International Association of the Fo Guang Shan established a chapter, there were no Chinese temples. Moreover, like many other Chinese, the attendance of temple activities is not mandatory and I am thus not a frequent temple participant. Therefore, I view myself as both an insider and outsider. I agree with Barbara Tedlock who says: "Just as being born female does not automatically result in 'feminist consciousness' being born in the ethnic minority does not automatically result in 'native consciousness'" (Tedlock 1991 as quoted in Liu 1998).

My academic studies have not helped me very much in the understanding of the lived religious experiences of the Buddhist community. In this regard I agreed with Janet McLellan's findings in her 1991 doctoral studies that, "Overall, the scholars provided little data for this thesis. Their specialities were more concerned with studies of religious texts, rather than the lived reality, or praxis, of Buddhists" (McLellan 1991:42). McLellan was trying to fill some of this gap among Asian Buddhists in Toronto. However, her focus was in ethnic studies. Until the development of the present thesis, an in-depth analysis of Canadian Chinese Buddhists, covering their complex and many layered beliefs and practices has been unavailable, particularly in Ottawa and Montreal where no research and writing have been done.

The thesis, therefore, is focusing on the reconstruction of Chinese Buddhism among three major temples in different areas in Eastern Canada. In particular, I am concerned with how the Chinese Buddhists see themselves involved in these temples and the different ways they practice Buddhism in these temples. Being bred in the environment of academic studies and the growing interest for the study of religious beliefs as the impact of the ethnic identity, I initially devised a questionnaire in that direction, -- religion as ethnic identity among the Chinese immigrants. I also tried to incorporate as many questions as possible in order to broaden the scope of my research. However, after more in-depth research and comparisons within the three groups I noticed that the original hypothesis of Chinese Buddhism as a factor of ethnic identity did not hold up well. Therefore, I relied on participant observation as my principal method of research. The thesis in turn changed into an investigation of the global migration of Chinese Buddhism and its different manifestations in the Chinese diaspora. I discovered in the course of my research that religious beliefs do not always form a united front of ethnic identity; rather, they sometimes cut across ethnic lines. For example, members of one group might not even be welcomed by another group, even though they both are of the same ethnic minority. The True Buddha School and the Fo Guang Shan both reside in Montreal, but members do not make it a habit to visit the other temple due to ideological differences between the two groups.

Participant Observation and Structured/Unstructured Interviews

Since I am an ethnic Chinese, I announced my intention to do research

upon entering into the various groups and getting either written or verbal consent from the group's authority before I proceeded. I was very grateful to Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung of the Cham Shan Temple for giving me a written approval for research. Masters I-yu and Yung-tu of the Fo Guang Shan and Director Huang Hua of the True Buddha School have all given me their verbal consent and extended invitations for me to do research and field work within their community.

All participants were requested to fill out a consent form that indicated whether they would allow me to disclose their names. Even though quite a few participants indicated that I could use their names, I have decided to use a numbered code to ensure the privacy of all the participants.

The principal method of my research is participant observation, as mentioned previously I did bring a questionnaire with me during my research. Moreover, I started my research with the local Fo Guang Group soon after they arrived in Ottawa and was quite convinced by the classical Durkheimian theory that religion originates from and represents ethnic identity (Durkheim 1965). I also consulted research in this area and was further convinced with my findings (Lin 1996, McLellan 1987, McLaren 1999). Furthermore, the Fo Guang Group in Ottawa really demonstrated many of the characteristics of religion as a factor in ethnic identity. They include, pride in the Chinese cultural heritage, and inviting politicians and trade leaders to major ceremonies. But, the original hypothesis, which was confirmed so well with the Fo Guang Shan, did not stand up when I went to Toronto to start my research with the Cham Shan Temple. I started

noticing members of a particular temple only identified with the type of Buddhism that they preferred. After deciding to change my hypothesis and looking for a new theory to explain my observations, I decided to use the questionnaire more as an icebreaker to talk to the people that I met and use material from the questionnaire only as backup information rather than rely on it to test my hypothesis.

I administered the questionnaire randomly to people I met in the temples rather than a chosen group in order to reflect the actual participants of the group. There were altogether twenty-eight participants in the Cham Shan Temple, seventeen participants in the Fo Guang Temple and fifteen participants in the True Buddha School. These people who had filled out a questionnaire plus participated in a personal interview, I gave a numbered code and also refer to them as the “respondents” in the thesis. The “respondents” do not include people who had only attended a personal interview and did not fill out a questionnaire.

I also carried out interviews with the older members of the communities; notably, they were prevalent in the Cham Shan Temple in Bayview while I was doing my research. These people would normally shy away from a questionnaire because quite a few of them could not read either Chinese or English, but were happy to talk. For these people and other participants of the temple sites who had not filled out a questionnaire, after their consentment, I assigned them a numbered code after the questionnaire participant in order to ensure their privacy. In addition, I also carried out structured interviews with monks, nuns and lay religious leaders within the community. For these people, unless they gave me their contentment to use their real names, or they spoke in a public forum, I did

not reveal their names. During these interviews, tape recording was sometimes used with their contentment.

In participant observation, the personal experience, feelings, behaviour and attitude of the researcher are just as important as the data (Jackson 1989, 1996; Stoller 1989; Turner 1992, 1996; Young & Goulet 1994). In the course of my research, I was particularly impressed by the warm welcome that was extended to me by all three communities. In this regard, my “Chinese-ness” was a big help in contrast to a non-Chinese Caucasian researcher. McLellan says: “Among the Buddhist groups studied, I always remained in the position of an outsider. In part, this can be attributed to the cultural, racial and ethnic differences between the Asian Buddhist and myself” (McLellan 1991:52). During my research many participants had shown me extraordinary acts of kindness that included sitting through the long questionnaire, and giving me generously any information that they felt would be helpful.

During my participation with the group, I also tried to follow the rituals as much as possible. In this regard, I was constantly reminded of my outsider status, because as a scholar I had to catch up with the temple rituals. The three groups have different daily routines and rituals that were difficult for an outsider, or non-member of the group, to pick up without prolonged practice. I normally tried to make up for my lack of practice in the ritual elements and procedures by enthusiastically participating in engaged Buddhism. I provided my voluntary service in all kinds of activities ranging from cooking, cleaning to serving as a translator for the Caucasian who came into the temple.

Research on Religious Experience

At times, my informants shared with me their religious experiences. For example, one woman dreamt of her mother's spirit visiting her in a dream and asking her to do a deliverance ceremony for her. In response, I related my direct religious experience in relation to the vision of my grandmother's spirit soon after her death (Liu 1998). This is because my supervisor, Marie-Françoise Guédon, was careful to point out that when she was researching among the Dene, she noticed that dreams were an important part of a Dene's life. Her progress within the community could be made only by sharing some of her own experience and dreams (Guédon 1994:53). Moreover, anthropologist Brian Given pointed out that in research on non-ordinary states of consciousness, an answer given to a sceptic would be very different from an answer given to a sympathetic insider (Given 1993).

The Length and Scope of the Research

The research was done in two phases. In the first phase, from 1996 to 1998, I concentrated on the local Fo Guang Group; I attended all their major ceremonies during this time to establish contacts with the group and familiarize myself with the Buddhist culture. The second phase of the research was done from 1999 to 2000. I went to Toronto in the summer of 1999, and stayed in a house near the Cham Shan Temple at Bayview and sometimes inside the temple at the nuns' quarters and attended all their ceremonies from sunrise to sunset. During this time, I also visited other temples of the Cham Shan Temple for

example Hung Fa and other Chinese temples in Toronto that I could find.

In August of 1999, I left Toronto, and went to Montreal to carry on with my research on the True Buddha School. I stayed in the summer residence of McGill University, which was very close to the True Buddha School. I visited the centre everyday and joined in all their ceremonies plus visited all the other Chinese and Vietnamese temples in Montreal. During my research, besides the participant observation and the personal interviews that I carried out, I also collected a lot of literature from groups that I was researching while keeping an eye on their web sites¹. In the fall of 2000, I stopped researching the groups in order to develop my hypothesis and concentrate on my writing with the data that I had collected.

As a turn of fate, in the fall of 2001 I had an accident during hiking which halted my thesis work until the summer of 2003. During this time, I am sure that some changes must have occurred within the communities, because religious life is a lived experience in daily interaction with the global arena. However, I am confident that the ideologies and the guiding principles in the development of these temples remain very much the same, as they are fairly consistent with the social and historical development of the groups.

Other Temples

I have visited most of the Chinese and Vietnamese temples in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, and have had interviews with the monks or lay religious leaders concerning the development of Chinese Buddhism. Before coming to

¹The web sites of the three temples are: Cham Shan Temple at <http://www.chamshan-ca.org>, Fo Guang Shan at <http://www.fgs.org.tw> and True Buddha School at <http://www.tbsn.net>

Canada in 1987 and during my return to Hong Kong in 1997, 1998, I also took many trips to China and visited major temples and noticed the major change in the restoration of many temples. I also visited many temples in Taiwan before coming to Canada.

Literature Review

The literature concerning the religious and spiritual practices of the Chinese people in Canada are few and sketchy. The early sociological work concerning the Chinese immigrants in Canada hardly mentions their religious beliefs. For example, Edgar Wickberg (1982) only briefly mentioned that the early Chinese immigrants established their temples in various clan and association halls in the nineteenth century and that at the turn of the twentieth century many had died out due to disuse. Another sociologist, Gunter Baureiss (1987), raised the concern that without a proper understanding of the Chinese religions, the early Chinese immigrants were subject to severe prejudices from the Christian church ministers. The Chinese were often described as superstitious, worshipping idols, spiritually undeveloped and lacking in morals. Chan Kwok Bun (1991) gives a better description of the religious beliefs of the early immigrants only to mention that without a proper understanding of their practices, and impressed by the well-organized and more egalitarian Christian churches and their benevolent services to the immigrants, many early immigrants soon converted to Christianity. As early as 1880 some Chinese already urged the Christian missionaries to carry out work

in China.

There are a few more recent works on the religious beliefs of the Chinese immigrants, especially after the formal establishment of the earliest Chinese temple, the Cham Shan Temple in Toronto, but they are brief overviews of all the Buddhist temples in Toronto (Sugunasiri 1989; McLellan 1998, 2000). Recent works in North America are mostly concentrated on the Fo Guang Shan, as they have attracted the recognition of scholars due to their worldwide fame (Lin 1996; Chandler 1998, 1999; Judith 1999). An in-depth account concerning the complex religious practices and beliefs of the Chinese immigrants, especially concerning how they see themselves and their diverse and often contradictory practices, has been unavailable until the construction of the present thesis. Therefore, much of the data concerning the thesis had to be gathered through fieldwork.

The Use of Chinese Phonetics

The use of the Chinese phonetics for proper names in the thesis follows that given to me by my informants, as used by the places and institutions, or as used by the authors. In other places I use the Wade-Giles system in accordance with traditional Buddhist scholarship.

CHAPTER ONE

CHINESE IN CANADA

The People of Chinese Origin in Canada

People of Chinese origin have long been a part of the Canadian ethnic mosaic. From a cultural perspective it is somewhat confusing to group all the people of Chinese origin as one single cultural entity, as they have come from a diversity of historical and social backgrounds; there are great differences among the Chinese in their linguistic, social, economic, political and religious backgrounds (Li 1998).

The term China refers to the mainland with a land mass of 9.3 million square kilometres. It also consists of other coastal islands, including Hainan, Hong Kong (under British rule until 1997), Macau (under Portuguese rule until 1999) and Taiwan (having its own government, the Republic of China). With a population of 1.26 billion people and 92 percent Han (Chinese) as of November 2000 (*The Europa World Year Book* Vol. 1, 2002:1054), China is the most populated country in the world.

Besides the population in China proper, there are also an estimated 35 million ethnic Chinese living in 135 countries around the world, including Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Cambodia and Vietnam (Li 1999:355).

Reconceptualizing Ethnic Chinese History in Canada

Economic and Political Conditions in China and the Decision to Emigrate

The mass wave of migration from China began only around the middle of the nineteenth century when starvation, economic catastrophe, civil war and foreign exploitation compelled many Chinese to seek a greater chance of survival and economic opportunity overseas (Ma 1979). Western capitalist expansion beginning around the end of the eighteenth century culminated in the famous Opium War (1839-1842), a conflict that marked the beginning of foreign invasion and domination of China (Ma 1979; Tan & Roy 1985; Li 1998). The defeat of China at the hands of Britain in the Opium War resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, by which Britain obtained considerable trading and territorial rights including the control of Hong Kong (Li 1998: 17). Britain's victory was followed by invasions from other western and westernizing industrialized states including France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Japan, the United States, Italy and Russia (Li 1998: 1999). The country's internal political and social weaknesses under the Manchu rulers were further exacerbated by foreign invasion that hastened the collapse of the Chinese village economy (Ma 1979; Li 1998).

During the later half of the eighteenth century, China experienced rapid population growth that was not matched by a comparable increase in farmland. According to one estimate, during the eighteenth century China's population almost doubled to about 313 million by 1850, whilst cultivated farmland increased by less than 30 percent. Moreover, the sudden influx of machine produced textile

products from western industrialized countries hastened the collapse of the village economy, as man-made textile products had traditionally produced an important supplemental income for the peasants in China (Tan & Roy 1985).

The destitution of the peasantry and their anger with the corruption of the Manchu rule resulted in many revolts. The most serious was the Taiping Rebellion, which lasted for sixteen years from 1850 to 1864, and, was eventually, suppressed by the Manchu government with foreign intervention. The support from foreign nations, however, was mainly due to their interest in keeping a weak China under Manchu rule for economic expansion. The Taiping Rebellion was followed by another revolt - the Boxer Rebellion, which lasted for eleven years (from 1900 to 1911). Finally, the Ch'ing (Qing) Dynasty was overthrown by the Revolutionary Alliance under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1860-1925), a man with a western oriented outlook and trained in medicine in Hong Kong. The new republic did not bring peace to the country; rather it was immediately attacked by the competing warlords. Sun sought the alliance of the Communist Party and died before it was achieved. The death of Sun was followed by a civil war between the National Party of Sun and the Communist Party. On top of this, Japan invaded China in 1931, which resulted in a full-blown war between 1937 and 1945 (Li 1998:18). Thus, from the middle of the eighteenth century, China experienced massive economic and political disasters that had driven a mass exodus into the Chinese diasporas.

Massive waves of migrant workers, particularly from the southern province of Guangdong and Fujian, ventured abroad due to the exposure of these regions

to foreign contacts and coastal trading. Many Chinese went abroad to work in plantations or mines in Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America and North America. The number that immigrated to Canada was only a small portion of those who went abroad. With the decline of the slave trade by the middle of the nineteenth century, plantations in Latin America and Southeast Asia were in great need of cheap labour (Li 1998:20).

The demand of western industrialists for cheap labour gave rise to the infamous *coolie trade*. A *coolie* is a common term meaning an Asian person who is an unskilled and cheap labourer. Strictly speaking, coolies were not free labourers because many of them came as indentured workers and therefore could not be considered as having been “employed” in Canada (Tan & Roy 1985:4). Indeed, few Chinese immigrants came to Canada during this period as free labourers. Labour contractors who had their headquarters in Hong Kong and Macau recruited the majority of them. Under the credit ticket system, a contractor would advance the passage ticket and a small lump sum of money to the prospective worker, and he would then recover his investment through hiring out workers as work gangs once they arrived in Canada (Tan & Roy 1985:4).

Early Chinese Immigrants in Canada

The first Chinese migrants came in significant numbers to the undeveloped regions in British Columbia. They were attracted by the gold discovered along the Fraser River and in the Cariboo region of British Columbia (Johnson 1992; Li 1998; Tan & Roy 1985). Many came from California where they were already

mining gold. As the production there declined, they were attracted to Canada (Li 1998; Li 1999; Tan & Roy 1985).

Many of these early Chinese migrants were engaged in placer mining that required limited capital and heavy manual-labour. The white workers generally deserted these mines as no longer worthy of their effort. When the gold resources were exhausted, many of these Chinese found employment in the building of infrastructures, such as the Cariboo wagon road and telegraph lines. Others worked as domestic servants and in the salmon canning industry in British Columbia (Johnson 1992:153).

The most significant increase in the early Chinese immigrants came as a result of the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The major difficulty in building the railway was the construction through the Rocky Mountains, down the Fraser canyon to the coast. The herculean effort exhibited by the Chinese in bringing this difficult phase of construction into completion is regarded as a proud moment in Chinese-Canadian history (Tan & Roy 1985; Johnson 1992:153-154).

Estimates of the early Chinese population in Canada around the 1860s range from 1,000 to 4,000 (Li 1998:62). However, when the CPR was constructed there was an estimated 10,000 Chinese being employed. Many of these migrant workers were recruited under the scheme of the coolie trade. In turn, many of them remained destitute after working for the contracting companies for a couple of years. A report sent to the Secretary of State in Ottawa described the hardship faced by these workers on the completion of the railway:

Thousands of these people, having been summarily discharged by the railway contractors, and their earnings having been absorbed by their rapacious masters or owners, are now left in a starving condition, and unless substantial relief is extended to them, there is every prospect of their perishing during the winter. (Li 1998:22)

Ironically, despite the crucial roles played by the Chinese in building the economy of Canada, they were constant objects of discrimination and prejudice by the white dominant society (Johnson 1992:154). In 1866, when the gold mines were exhausted, British Columbia was experiencing economic depression. Many Chinese turned to other employment such as seasonal construction workers, domestic help, salmon-canning, etc. Resentment against the Chinese began to intensify as the Chinese were viewed as a source of cheap labour who were willing to undercut wages and sometimes be used as strike scabs. There was also a growing fear among the white working class that unrestricted Chinese competition would pose a menace to their livelihood; the number of Chinese migrants often appeared more than their actual numbers (Tan & Roy 1985:10, Li 1998:27). Furthermore, the two newspapers in Victoria, the British Colonist and the Victoria Gazette, frequently depicted the Chinese as an inferior race, with disgusting habits incompatible with that of white Canadians and lacking the intelligence of the Europeans (Li 1998: 27-28).

Acts of violence and hostility toward the Chinese were frequent from the beginning. Actions that included their disenfranchisement in 1872, and proposals pressuring the provincial government to prohibit the entrance of Chinese into Canada, became increasingly acute (Tan & Roy 1985:10). In 1884, the provincial

government took steps to restrict the immigration of Chinese by imposing a head tax of \$10 on all Chinese migrants. In 1885, when the CPR was finished, the head tax was raised to \$50, and by 1900, it was further raised to \$100. By 1903, it had increased to \$500 (Li 1998:34).

Between 1884 and 1923, numerous bills of legislature were passed in British Columbia denying the citizenship rights of the Chinese. For example, in 1884, they were forbidden from acquiring crown lands. In 1893, they were barred from admission into the old age and disability homes. In 1897, they were proscribed to be hired for public works, and in 1917, the Civil Service Act stipulated that only British Subjects could work as civil servants. Since the Chinese were not British Subjects, practically all of them were excluded from civil service (Li 1998:33).

The discrimination against the Chinese during this period in Canada was institutional. One important element of prejudice was the emphasis of a superior British Subject over non-British, and white over non-white (Johnson 1992:154). Anti-Chinese sentiment was strong in every sector of the society, the most serious manifestation being the riots of 1887 and 1907 in Vancouver where large crowds of unruly people caused severe damage to Chinatown. The riots were propagating a "white Canada" and protesting potential job competition from the Chinese (Li 1998:35).

In 1923, the Canadian government passed the most comprehensive legislation restricting Chinese movement. Chinese entering the country were restricted to these categories: diplomatic corps, merchants and students, and

children born in Canada to parents of Chinese origin (Li 1998:35).

The head tax and the 1923 legislation made family reunion almost impossible for the Chinese, resulting in an overwhelmingly male dominated community within Canada. The majority of the workers could not afford to sponsor their wives to come to Canada. Many, therefore, left their wives in their home villages and sent money back to China to help support their families. Some returned to China to marry after their arrival in Canada, as there was tremendous social pressure against conjugal relationships between Chinese men and white women (Baureiss 1987:35). The tyranny of life as an emigrant under the coolie system left many too poor to return home even periodically. This dislocated family pattern resulted in a low birth rate among second generation Chinese in Canada.

The resulting "bachelor" community had a direct impact on the development of the Chinese organizations in Canada during the early migration period. The early Chinese in Canada had formed many organizations, which provided them with some relief from the oppression of a white dominant society. The Chinese were exposed to many types of social and economic segregation and were generally viewed as inassimilable, filthy, having low morals, and many vices such as gambling, prostitution and opium smoking. Such perceived characteristics made them inassimilable into Canadian society.

The first major organization formed by the Chinese in Canada probably was the Zhi Gong Tang around the mining areas circa 1882 (Wickberg 1982:32). It was a secret society with its origin in China. The organization undertook quasi-judicial duties to settle disputes among the migrants and provide mutual aid and

support for political activities. Most immigrants were discouraged from taking their disputes to court, and their disputes were to be settled within the society. This was due partly to the fear of the injustice levied against them, and partly to the inability of many Chinese to speak English in the Canadian courts. The Tang regulated activities of its members both of a civil and criminal nature and even set guidelines for behaviour within brothels and gambling houses (Wickberg 1982:32).

In the early years of its organization, the Zhi Gong Tang seemed to be concerned mainly with local affairs. At times, the political situation in China prompted support from overseas Chinese organizations. The Zhi Gong Tang had provided considerable support to K'ang Yu-wei's cause to modernize China and later to the Revolutionary Alliance that led to the downfall of the Ch'ing Dynasty after Sun's visit to Canada in 1899 (Li 1998:82).

The period between 1884 and 1911 also experienced a growth of early Chinese organizations, besides the Zhi Gong Tang, which provided social services to the growing population. These organizations included *jiefang* (or district associations), clan associations, and later, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in more developed communities (Wickberg 1982:77).

A *jiefang* was usually an informal organization in which a group of merchants within a city would nominate a leader, and very often, they took turns among themselves in leadership. It was informal and normally concerned a specific task or project of local concern. The *jiefang* trading companies also played an important role in early immigrant life by arranging mail and remittances

(Wickberg 1982:35).

Other organizations were the clan associations where groups of men from the same village, country or with the same surname, would band together for mutual support, friendship, and networking. These people were not necessarily related to each other by blood or from the same clan; however, they were united by the Chinese belief that people of the same last name are somehow related. These clan associations provided assistance among themselves for finding lodging, work, burial and financial aid in times of need (Wickberg 1982:78). Furthermore, the organizational structure of these associations was often modelled on that of the secret societies similar to that of Zhi Gong Tang (Li 1998:78).

While organizations and merchants in Victoria were experiencing a boom due to the influx of Chinese workers, many Chinese workers remained destitute. In particular, after the completion of the CPR in the winter of 1883-84, many of these desperate, unemployed workers moved into Chinatown in Vancouver, thereby increasing its social problems.

In March 1884, the Chinese merchants in Victoria wrote to the Chinese consul-general Huang Cun-xian in San Francisco, asking him to organize a Chinese association in Canada. One of the reasons was a concern about increasing discrimination against the Chinese in the B.C. legislature and the need to protect the Chinese community from its own gangsters. This included the control of prostitution, gambling and fighting within the community (Wickberg 1982:27). The association, formally named *Chinese Consolidated Benevolent*

Association of Victoria (CCBA), was set up in June 1884 (Wickberg 1982: 37).

The objective of the CCBA was clearly stated as follows:

This association has been established in order to express our feelings of unity, to undertake social welfare, to settle disputes, to aid the poor and the sick, to eliminate evils within the community, and to defend the community against external threat. (Wickberg 1982: 38)

The CCBA served as the most important Chinese political organization in Victoria, with support from the consul-general who represented the Ch'ing government. It served the community from its inauguration until long after the turn of the century (Wickberg 1982:38). Other merchant associations began to appear around 1900 in both Victoria and Vancouver (Wickberg 1982:78).

In 1923, when the Chinese Immigration Act was enacted, about 20 percent of the Chinese lived outside British Columbia. These organizations also sprang up in Toronto and Calgary where there was a concentration of Chinese settlement (Wickberg 1982: 92).

The Chinatown in Victoria was indeed an ethnic ghetto. Problems included overcrowding, a lack of refuse collection, a poor sewage system, opium dens and brothels (Li 1998:84; Wickberg 1982:64). Many of the migrant workers who lived there were desperate and poverty stricken. This was a place of violent crimes such as kidnapping and murder due to the desperation of some of its inhabitants and the gangsters (Li 1998:84).

Many white Canadians saw the social and living conditions of Chinatown as grotesque and the Chinese as an immoral ethnic group. However, from the

Chinese perspective, the British first forced the opium trade into China and opium smoking thereupon became widespread within the society. Brothels were indeed common in ancient China, because many poverty-stricken, starving peasants living in a time of uncontrolled population growth sold their daughters into concubinage and prostitution so that other members of the family could live. From the Chinese perspective, the poor sanitary conditions in Chinatown and continued prejudice and hostility from the dominant white society were indeed problematic.

Guided by the predominant stereotype of the Chinese, many missionaries set up their centres in Chinatown in order to save the "lost souls". In these centres, it was not economic competition that caused the conflict, but a deep conviction of the superiority of the Anglo-Canadian religious traditions. Moreover, a lack of understanding of the Asian traditions was at the heart of the conflict. Prejudiced by the religious convictions and moral beliefs of the Anglo-Canadian tradition, the missionaries declared the Chinese as adulterous, superstitious, spiritually undeveloped, and morally corrupt. A few, notably Reverend John Mackay, adhered to the idea of the "Yellow Peril" and advocated the complete expulsion of the Chinese from Canadian soil, declaring Canadian society too weak to absorb such vices. It was indeed true that the early missionaries had few converts (Wickberg 1982:64), which further fortified the notion that the Chinese were less intelligent than the Europeans and the Chinese were unassimilable.

However, with the growing number of Chinese Christians within the community, as time progressed they were often described as honest, intelligent and kind (Bauriess 1987:24). Other missionaries who had direct contact with the

Chinese emphasized that the Chinese were hardworking, self-disciplined, economical and law abiding. They witnessed to the fact that the criminal activity of the white dominant society of the same social and economic background was not lower than that of the Chinese in Canada (Baureiss 1987:24).

The missionaries, through their joint efforts, did call attention to many of the social problems experienced by the Chinese, and to the need for social programs in Chinatown such as English education for adults and asylums for prostitutes. Some openly questioned the stereotypical behaviour of Chinese as generally imagined by the public.

The period from 1923 to 1947 was a period of Chinese exclusion. The immigration of Chinese into Canada came almost to a full stop (Tan & Roy 1985; Johnson 1992; Ma 1978). Chinese communities were in decline because the older immigrants were dying, many had returned permanently to China, and there were no more arrivals of new immigrants under stringent legislation. Moreover, the B.C. legislature had finally driven the Chinese out of areas of employment in which they would be in direct competition with the white workers (Tan & Roy 1985:13).

The Great Depression was particularly hard for the Chinese population. When some of these Chinese communities were unable to assist, the Chinese who applied to government agencies were also refused assistance or granted it at a much lower rate. Moreover, the communities were composed of a large proportion of older single men and a small second generation of Chinese who had to cope with the pain of growing up in a society that had so much prejudice

and discrimination against them (Johnson 1992:155). Many sought naturalization in British Columbia but they gained few advantages even if they were granted the citizenship (Tan & Roy 1985:14). Many of the second generation also became Christians; in 1941, about 30 percent of the Chinese population declared themselves to be Christians.

Ironically, it was during the Second World War that there were some improvements in the conditions of the Chinese in Canada. Towards the end of the war, racial discrimination became a source of embarrassment to the Canadian government as many Chinese Canadians joined the armed forces and China was an ally. The United States had taken the lead to remove its Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, as it was a direct contradiction with the Human Rights code as incorporated in the charter of the United Nations (previously the League of Nations) (Li 1999:360). In Canada, the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed in 1947 (Tan & Roy 1985; Li 1999).

Even when the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed, the federal government did not consider the Chinese equal to immigrants from Europe and the United States. The Chinese were discriminated against, along with other non-white immigrants in Canada. Prime Minister Mackenzie King's statement to the House of Commons in May 1947 made the intention of this policy very clear:

Large scale immigration from the orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems...apart from the repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act and the revocation of [the] order in council...regarding naturalization the government has no intention of removing the existing regulations respecting Asiatic immigration unless and until alternative measures of effective control have

been worked out. (Li 1999:360)

Under this regulation, the Chinese immigrants were restricted to wives of Canadian citizens and unmarried children under the age of 18. Despite the appeals from the Chinese Benevolent Association and Canadian Labour Congress, the government only slightly revised the age limit of children from 18 to 21 (Tan & Roy 1985:15).

With the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, many Chinese Canadians were worried about the future of their families who resided in China and were anxious to bring them over to Canada. Moreover, the living standard of Chinese Canadians was a severe contrast with the new communist ideal in China. For many who migrated after 1949 it was not to acquire wealth in order to retire in China; rather they had determined to make Canada their new home (Tan & Roy 1985:16).

The Chinese after 1967: Have Things Improved?

It was not until 1967, when Canada adopted a "point system" for the selection of immigrants based on the immigrant's potential economic contribution to Canada that the Chinese were placed on an equal footing with immigrants of other ethnic origins. This change brought about a record level of Chinese immigrants into Canada. Between 1968 and 1984, an estimated 170,720 Chinese immigrated to Canada under the new system by which independent immigrants could apply. By 1991, there were an estimated 388,651 Chinese immigrants in Canada (Li 1999:360).

The return of the British Colony of Hong Kong to Mainland China in turn triggered massive waves of immigrants from Hong Kong, especially after the Tiananmen Square pro-democracy demonstrations in 1989. In the 1996 Census between 1991 and 1996, there were a total of 108,915 persons who had arrived from Hong Kong. Hong Kong was the top source country of recent immigrants, making up 10.5 percent of the recent immigrant population (Statistics Canada 2003c, Cat # 93F0023XDB96003). Many of these Hong Kong citizens viewed Canada as a desirable place to live with its spacious environment, open education, a steady political climate, and a stable economy to invest their capital.

Many of these Hong Kong immigrants came under the Business Investment Program of Canada. In order to qualify for the program a person must have had a minimum net worth of \$500,000 to \$700,000 and must have invested in a business or an investment fund approved by the government ranging from \$250,000 to \$500,000. According to Peter Li, between 1986 and 1996 Hong Kong investors had put an estimated \$1.5 billion into the Canadian economy through various kinds of investment funds. On top of that, between 1990 and 1996 Hong Kong entrepreneurs had invested another \$675 million into the Canadian economy through various kinds of business ventures creating a total number of 16,077 jobs (Li 1999:131-132). In addition, many of these Hong Kong immigrants also came to Canada as various kinds of professional and skilled labourers at the prime of their working years, bringing with them a substantial amount of human capital.

Besides the Hong Kong immigrants there were large waves of immigrants from the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan under the point system and with professional qualifications. In the 1996 Census, people from the PRC made up 8.5 percent of the total immigration population, second only to Hong Kong with a total number of 87,875 persons (Statistics Canada 2003c. Cat #93F0023XDB96003). In the seventies, eighties and nineties many ethnic Chinese also came as refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

In the 2001 Census, the number of Hong Kong immigrants had substantially declined between the census period of 1996 to 2001. There were only 37,665 persons arrived from Hong Kong, Special Administrative Region (Statistics Canada 2003b Cat#95F0489XCB1004). There were many reasons for the decline, namely, those who wanted to leave the country before Hong Kong was taken over by China had already done so. The severe economic downturn in Hong Kong after the takeover and the collapsing real estate and stock prices prevented many people from meeting the financial requirements necessary for the investment programs. Moreover, many Hong Kong immigrants who came under the category of various professional skills found themselves unable to find work of a similar nature because their credentials were not recognized in Canada. In turn, they had to drastically reduce their standard of living and a large number of them returned to Hong Kong to look for work.

When I was in Hong Kong in 1997 and 1998, I heard the Hong Kong Chinese called the Chinese who returned from Canada to look for work *han-li*, a term meaning cold current. The idea behind the term was that the experience of

being a new immigrant was so harsh on these people that they had become frugal in their daily living.

The decline of Hong Kong immigrants, however, did not prevent the massive waves of immigrants from Mainland China and Taiwan. Between the 1996 and 2001 Census 124,900 persons came from Mainland China under various kinds of professional skills, in particular technological skills in the high tech areas. China is the top source area among the immigrant population (Statistics Canada 2003b Cat 95#F0489XCB01004). According to one study, between 1968-94 a total of 355,200 persons emigrated from Hong Kong, 51,964 persons from Taiwan and 115,167 from Mainland China (Li 1998:99). However, the 2001 Census alone showed that, between 1996-2001 67,095 persons came from Taiwan reflecting the increasing political tension between Taiwan and Mainland China over China's reiteration of reunification with Taiwan.

The Chinese immigrants after 1967 were no longer peasants from Mainland China like the immigrants of over a century ago. Many were from sophisticated international trade and urban centres like Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China. Many had been educated in English, and some even spoke French. A significant proportion had professional training and a substantial amount of investment capital. Chinese immigrants who entered Canada after 1947 gradually changed the fundamental structure of the Chinese community, and created a new Chinese middle class.

Now, many of these Chinese no longer live around Chinatown, but instead choose to live in affluent, suburban, middle-class areas like the Toronto Markham

area, and the Vancouver Richmond and Burnaby areas, and some mega-rich Hong Kong immigrants also choose to live in exclusive areas like the Shaughnessy and Oakridge areas in Vancouver.

The importance of the traditional Chinese organizations like the clan and district associations has declined since they no longer meet the needs of the immigrants. Other forms of organizations have appeared, most notably organizations geared towards offering services to new immigrants and advancing civil rights in Canada. For example, the United Chinese Community Enrichment Service in Vancouver, specializing in assisting new immigrants had a rapid expansion in the eighties and nineties. The Chinese-Canadian National Council, formed in 1980 in Toronto to defend the civil rights and interests of Chinese, had a rapid expansion and now has a chapter in almost all major cities across Canada (Li 1998:114-117). Other organizations that were geared towards the spiritual development of the Chinese people also flourished; most notable is the marked increase in the Buddhist religious centres in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, as Hong Kong and Taiwan are traditionally Buddhist countries. This trend is also reflected in the increased number of Chinese Buddhists in Canada. In the 2001 Census, a record number of Chinese people, 144,555, declared themselves to be Buddhists, with Toronto alone having 55,200 adherents (Statistics Canada 2003a Cat #97F0022XCB01005).

Have Racial Discrimination and Ethnic Stereotypes Disappeared?

Despite the financial and occupational achievements of the new Chinese

immigrants, various sectors of Canadian society still resist accepting them as equal Canadians. They are frequently referred to as a foreign race and as "the other" in the news media and intermittently identified as a source of racial and social tensions in major urban cities like Toronto and Vancouver (Creese & Peterson 1996:119, Li 1998: 4). Moreover, many Chinese also report direct personal experience of discrimination especially in finding employment in their chosen field or having equal pay with their Canadian counterparts (Chan & Helly 1987, Li 1998: 136). Below is an excerpt from the local Chinese newspaper written by a recent immigrant whose sentiment is very common among the new immigrants.

I began to exchange information about my job search with the people around me. I heard so many horror stories. I began to feel frightened, with no income coming in, money was just pouring out...Finding suitable employment is so difficult, it almost seems like a psychological problem of new immigrants. Whenever, we see one of us getting a job we became so envious. It is such a sharp contrast from the high position we had back in Mainland China. (The Epoch Times, May 14, 2004:A7, my translation)²

In the last two decades, the press frequently reported that huge amounts of capital were pouring into Canada from Hong Kong and Taiwan and the presence of Chinese Canadians, particularly in Vancouver, helped change Canada into a global trading centre because of its connection with the Pacific Rim. By the early 1990s, British Columbian exports to Asia had surpassed exports to the U.S. for the first time in history (Creese& Peterson 1996:22).

² The above sentiment is very common among recent immigrants, but does not necessarily reflect those of the immigrants who attend the three Chinese temples in my research; it appears that particular belief systems reduce stress.

In spite of this, the Chinese of this era have many similarities to those of over a century ago; they are seen as "good for business" but they are not accepted as full Canadians. Many businesses such as real estate, banking and the supermarkets are all competing to develop strategies to attract Chinese clientele. This is evident in the increase of Chinese customer service personnel and the increase of Chinese oriented produce. However, the press frequently portray the Chinese immigrants as a source of social problems. For example, the press focuses on the presence of Chinese monster homes in Vancouver and infer that too many immigrants change the society too fast, and thereby create ethnic tensions (Creese & Peterson 1996:131).

The media also seem to be routinely linking criminality with Chinese immigrants, suggesting that Vietnamese refugee camps and triads in Hong Kong are the breeding grounds for gangsters in Vancouver and Toronto. These crimes, like those of a century ago, represent a small portion of the overall criminal activity in the big cities, but nevertheless, the notion that Chinese criminality is "foreign" to the Canadian mind but "intrinsic" to the Chinese mind persists (Creese and Peterson 1996:127).

By the twentieth-first century, the Chinese have become the largest visible minority group in Canada. In the 2001 Census 1,029,400 persons identified themselves as Chinese a significant increase from 860,100 in 1996. The number of Chinese made up 3.5 % of the total Canadian population and 26% of the population of the visible minorities (Statistics Canada 2003b). The Chinese have become the largest ethnic group in Canada after that of English and French

heritage. Moreover, the Chinese immigrants traditionally gravitate towards the big cities and their presence is particularly felt in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal.

However, the future of the Chinese-Canadian community still relies on how receptive the Canadian society is to growing racial and cultural diversity. Although Canada has an official commitment to multiculturalism, Canada today is not without racial discrimination and cultural stereotypes. The Chinese have made much progress in adapting to Canadian society, but in many respects there is still a long way to go before they are accepted as full Canadians.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEMPORARY CHINESE BUDDHISM

The Development of Contemporary Chinese Buddhism

By the nineteenth century, the Chinese Buddhist sangha was in a state of decline. Moreover, during the last 150 years, Buddhism in China has suffered a long series of what the Buddhists call "calamities." Since the Taiping Rebellion in 1851 to the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911, the victory of the Communist government in 1949, and eventually the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s there was no important new scripture or commentary produced in China and the Chinese sangha was notoriously ignorant and corrupt. The present chapter explores the historical development of contemporary Chinese Buddhism with an emphasis on the reforms of two famous individuals: Yen Wen-hui (1837-1911) and T'ai-hsü (1890-1947), who together contributed to a revival in Buddhism during the contemporary period which indirectly led to the development of modern Buddhism in the twentieth century and the success of the present globalization of Buddhism.

The State of the Buddhist Sangha Around the Nineteenth Century

The state of Buddhism around the nineteenth century was one of deterioration. Few monks knew about the scriptures, and those who knew them seldom expounded them to other monks and least of all to the laity. The main occupation of the sangha was performing rites for the dead for a payment of one dollar a day (Welch 1968:14).

The main reason for this deterioration of the quality of the sangha was the type of people who joined the order. The Chinese sangha, in accordance with the tradition established during the time of the Buddha, was open to all and anybody, and thus, over the centuries it became an asylum for many of society's misfits (Chan 1978:80-82, Ch'en 1973:452-453).

Of the half million monks and one hundred thousand nuns in China³ at that time, few had sound knowledge of the Buddhist tradition (Chan 1978:80, Welch 1968:14). Many escaped to the sangha due to personal disappointments in life such as broken marriages, illness, poverty and even crime. Others joined the sangha when they were presented by their parents; poor peasants who had too many mouths to feed would offer their children to the sangha, while others presented their children to the sangha in return for healings and blessings. Women from different socio-economic classes often escaped to the sangha after disappointments in love or broken marriages. One senior nun reported that of the fifteen initiates she had seen, seven broke down and cried bitterly during the ceremony (Chan 1978: 82). Whatever, the size of the sangha, one conclusion from the historians is that the moral and spiritual deterioration of the sangha was

³ There has never been any consensus on the number of monks and nuns existed during the later half of the nineteenth century. Chinese Buddhists often followed the estimate of T'ai-hsü which is 800,000 persons in total with a ratio of six monks to four nuns. T'ai-hsü's estimate however, included people who lived a celibate life in Buddhist temples but were not formally ordained (Chan 1978:80-82).

Another source published by the Chinese Ministry of Information in the China Handbook 1937-45 in New York estimated that there were 267,000 Buddhist temples with 738,000 monks and nuns (Chan 1978:80, Ch'en 1973:452, Welch 1967:416). One study compiled by Hui-chu based on government statistics in 1931 in the prestigious *Hai-ch'ao yin* (in Chinese) 16:3:27 in March 1935 concluded that the number of monastics excluding Tibetan lamas could not have been more than half a million for monks and 100,000 for nuns. This was held by both Chan and Welch to be both conclusive and closer to reality (Chan 1978:81, Welch 1967:416).

prevalent (Chan 1978, Ch'en 1973, Welch 1963). In short, few joined the sangha in order to "spread the Dharma to sentient beings" which was the original intention of joining the sangha.

The Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864)

The Taiping Rebellion was originally a proletarian revolt, aimed at social and economic reform, that enjoyed the support of intellectuals who were disheartened by the corruption and oppression of the Manchu Dynasty. It started from a religious movement called *The Taiping Tian Guo*, meaning "the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" in Chinese. This movement, however, was strongly influenced by Protestant Christianity. It had gathered so much strength in China that by 1851 it led to a civil war which ended in 1864 and the Manchu government could only suppress it with the help of foreign assistance. Before the Taipings were suppressed they had established their own government in various parts of central China. This government, in turn, introduced various revolutionary policies such as equality for women and the re-distribution of land to peasants. Another one of their policies was to attack non-Christian religions in the name of the Biblical God who tolerates no competition; a policy which led them to demolish many Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist temples in China in the course of their government. Many of these temples were rebuilt after the rebellion (Overmyer 1986:107).

The Taiping Rebellion was followed by another revolt to overthrow the weak and ineffective Ch'ing government in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. There

were also two parties with different ideals at work during this time, one was led by K'ang Yu-wei who tried to promote a modernized reform within the Ch'ing government. One was led by Sun Yat-sen who believed the Ch'ing government was beyond repair and wanted to replace it with a republic. K'ang⁴ had succeeded in getting the co-operation of the young emperor Kuang-hsü to pass major political reforms in July 1898 which only lasted for three months and was generally known as the Hundred Days Modernization Reform (Chinese: pai-jih wei-hsin). The reform was crushed by the Empress Dowager (Tz'u-hsi) when she regained political power in September 1898 (Welch 1968:11, Li 1998:82). However, after the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, even the conservative Empress Dowager had to come to terms with the impact of modernization, the increased challenges from the West, the increased revolutionary spirit within the society and the need to reform. She ordered the establishment of modern school systems modelled on those of the West, and abolished the existing learning academies. But the Ch'ing government was poor, and their solution was to confiscate temples and turn them into modern schools (Welch 1968:11). This marked the end of the era of patronage of the sangha from the Ch'ing government and the beginning of a long series of exterminations of the sangha in contemporary Chinese Buddhist history.

⁴ K'ang even came to Canada in 1899 after his effort of reform within the Ch'ing government was crashed by Tz'u-hsi. He applied to the overseas Chinese in Canada to promote reform in China and formed the China Reform Association in Victoria in 1899. Within five or six years the organization had established eleven branches in Canada. This organization received support from wealthy Chinese merchants and leaders of the Chinese community (Li 1998:82).

Yang Wen-hui and His Influence on Chinese Buddhism

Yang Wen-hui was widely accepted as the father of the Buddhist revival during this period (Welch 1968:2). He was born in a Confucianist literati family in 1837, and a series of personal misfortunes, particularly being unable to marry the woman he loved, turned him to the study of Buddhism.

His enthusiasm towards Buddhism soon worried his family as they feared he would become a monk. But in 1863, when his father felt critically ill, Yang Wen-hui took up the family responsibility and later accepted several positions in the government under Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang. He then resolved to promote Buddhism through the circulation of Buddhist texts (Welch 1968:3).

In 1878 Yang had the opportunity to go to England as a counsellor to the ambassador. There, he had the opportunity to explore science in Europe, and he focused on geography, astronomy and optics. In 1886 he went to work in England again, and during this period he studied English, politics and industry. He was so impressed by modern developments in Europe that he urged the Ch'ing government to send students to study abroad. He was disheartened when this advice went unheeded, and consequently, Yang resolved to leave the government and devote himself to Buddhism (Welch 1968:4-5).

Yang was also influenced by the Sri Lankan layman Anāgārika Dharmapāla who had founded the Mahabodi Society in 1891. The aim of the society was the revival of Buddhism first in its motherland of India and later globally. In 1893, Dhamapāla visited Shanghai in the hope of securing the

support of the Chinese sangha (Welch 1968:6).

Dharmapāla's endeavour was met with suspicion by the Chinese sangha which in general did not want to deal with people from different sects and most of all foreigners for fear of disapproval from their supervisors and the Ch'ing government (Welch 1968:6). Under this condition, Dharmapāla was eventually led to meet with Yang who was afraid of neither sectarian disputes nor of the political arena since he had extensive contact within the government (Welch 1968:7). During this initial visit Dharmapāla greatly persuaded Yang to send missionaries to India and to translate Chinese texts back to the Indian language. Yang initially was quite uncertain how Chinese missionaries could go to India but invited Dharmapāla to send Indians to China to co-operate in the translation instead.

Yang's decision to start a joint project in 1894 with foreigners to do some translations of Chinese Buddhist texts was to a large extent influenced by Dharmapāla. Moreover, it was evidenced that in the following years Yang kept up with his correspondence with Dharmāpala (Welch 1968:8).

In 1908 Yang set up a scriptural press and a school in his own house in Nanking. The school was named Jetavana Hermitage which consisted of twenty-four students altogether; twelve monks and twelve laymen. This was the first time in Chinese history that a layman had assumed the role of teacher over Chinese monks. According to Welch's research the setting up of this school was to a large extent influenced by Dharmāpala for the eventual global migration of Chinese Buddhism (Welch 1968:9).

Yang himself taught Buddhism and hired lay teachers to teach courses on English and Chinese literature. Yang put particular emphasis on the Dhārmalaksana, or in Chinese, Wei-shih, which he thought most compatible with science. This involvement of laymen in the spread of the Dharma seems to have become a dominant theme in the modern development of Buddhism (Welch 1968:9).

Yang's Jetavana Hermitage was forced to close down after one academic year due to insufficient funds; however, Yang later founded the Association for Research on the Buddhist Religion and served as its principal lecturer, teaching mostly to laymen until he died in 1911 on the eve of the Republican revolution (Welch 1968:23).

The Contribution of Yang Wen-hui (1837-1911)

While Yang is widely regarded as the father of the modern revival of Buddhism in China, his printing press was neither the first printing house for Buddhist scriptures in China, nor was the Jetavana Hermitage the first school for monks. Rather, his legacy lies in the fact that he was the first to go to Europe, to immerse himself with modernity and science, and to think of Buddhism as a global religion in a scientific world (Welch 1968:10). Moreover, many of Yang's measures such as the exploitation of the printing press and the establishment of the school for monks, was a direct reaction to Buddhism's encounter with Christianity. The printing house was a response to the fact that many Buddhist texts had been destroyed during the Taiping Rebellion. Furthermore, after the

signing of various treaties to open the ports of China to foreign trade in the 1850s and the 1860s, large numbers of missionaries had begun to arrive in China and establish their churches on street corners. In contrast to the Buddhist monks, the Christian missionaries were very familiar with their scripture, the Bible, and many of them even learned the Chinese language in order to reach the public (Welsh 1968: 20-21).

In addition, when Yang was in Europe, he learned about the advanced state of research on Buddhism in Europe and Japan. It was natural for him to think that since Buddhism had enjoyed a long existence in China of close to two thousand years, at least in this respect, China might have something to offer the world. Moreover, the meeting with Dharmapāla was timely in turning him onto the thought that the whole scheme was a real possibility and was urgently needed in the modern world. The school Yang set up to prepare monks for missionary work abroad had another profound effect; one of his students, T'ai-hsü, was to become known as the greatest reformer of modern Chinese Buddhism, and his career, which will be discussed later, manifested many of Yang's ideals.

The State of Chinese Buddhism During the Time of T'ai-hsü

In general, Chinese Buddhism in the last millennium was reduced to Pure Land Buddhism as this was the principal practice of all the schools. Of the ten Indian schools that were introduced into China, the Chü-she (Realistic or Skt. Abhidharmakośa) School, the Ch'eng-shih (Skt. Satyasiddhi) School, the San-lun (Skt. Mādyamaka) School, the Wei-shih (Skt. Dharmalakṣaṇa) School, and

the Chen-yen (Skt. Tantric) School all disappeared around the ninth century. The schools that survived were the all inclusive T'ien-t'ai School, the Hua-yen School (based on the Avatamsaka sūtra), the Ch'an (meditation) School, the Ching-t'u, Pure Land school (based on the Sukhāvātī sūtra) and the Disciplinary (Skt. Vinaya) school (Chan 1978: 63).

The five surviving schools, although separated in academic study, formed a syncretic mix in actual practice. The Buddhist philosophy, as expounded in the T'ien-t'ai or the Hua-yen doctrine, was hardly understood by the majority of the Chinese population and was comprehended only by a minority of monks. The Ch'an school had been reduced to habitual quiet sitting, and the Disciplinary school was hardly a separate school at all. Thus, it would be legitimate to say that Chinese Buddhism during this time had finally been reduced to the Pure Land school with the majority of monks and laymen chanting A-mi-t'o fo (Skt. Amitābha meaning Infinite Light). Under these conditions a reform of the sangha was long overdue (Chan 1978:65).

The revolution that overturned the Ch'ing dynasty in 1911 and the establishment of the Republic of China thereafter also brought with it a dilemma for the Buddhist sangha. After the revolution, an anti-religious intellectual climate prevailed. The revolutionary reformers who freed China from the oppression of Manchu rule also wanted to remove people from the shackles of all religions and the conservatism of old Chinese culture. The revolutionary leaders of the 1920s and the 1930s saw religion as belonging to the backward Chinese culture and as a factor that kept people dependent and weak. These people, having

encountered the West and having seen China's repeated defeat at the hand of foreign technology and military supremacy, believed that science was all powerful and could solve all the problems of society. They also believed that religion was fundamentally in conflict with science and against modernity (Ch'en 1973: 455).

Furthermore, the 1920s saw the introduction and subsequent popular acceptance of Marxist ideas which were openly antagonistic to all religions. The anti-religious sentiment of the ruling class resulted in a number of discriminatory measures against the sangha, such as the confiscation of temple properties for use as schools, barracks and police stations. Special taxes were levied on the temples and in many cases temples and Buddhist images were destroyed (Ch'en 1973: 455).

T'ai-hsü - The Reformer (1890-1947)

T'ai-hsü has been widely regarded as the "St. Paul" of modern Chinese Buddhism and through his effort and promotion he has been credited with bringing about a revival of Chinese Buddhism in the 1930s and 1940s, and with initiating the development of the sangha in the present. Saddened by the state of affairs of the sangha during his time, between 1908 and 1914 he was recorded to have said: "Aroused by the destruction of temples... I launched the movement to defend the religion, propagate the faith, reform the order and promote education" (Chan 1978:56).

His reforms called for a formation of a new clergy in China, the Buddhist property confiscated by the government to be redistributed to the people, and the

renewed study of Buddhist doctrines. In 1929, he pronounced that the new Buddhism must be humanistic, scientific, engaged and global. As he said: "Monks are always religious recluses, taking no interest in the affairs of the community or the country and they are in turn slighted by the government and the ruling classes" (Welch 1968: 54).

As early as 1915, T'ai-hsü pushed for the formation of a "new sangha", which would consist of a community of well chosen men and women. Their major occupation was not to preside over funeral rites for money, but to propagate the Dharma and do productive work. Ideally, they would manifest a truly spiritual life rather than engage in ritualistic performance (Welch 1968:54).

In May 1931, the proposal to use temple resources as schools and to cut off the sangha from their major income for support and existence was again raised in Nanking (Nanjing). T'ai-hsü protested this proposal, stating that many temples had already been confiscated for schools and other commercial uses. He reiterated that Buddhism, with its emphasis on universal love and compassion, could actually play a unifying role among the many ethnic groups within China and strengthen a national identity. As a result of this statement, the government rejected the proposal and reaffirmed the principle of the freedom of religion and the protection of temple rights (Ch'en 1973: 456).

However, not all of the ideals of the reformers were carried out. From 1929 to 1933 the government announced several regulations of the temples and admissions into the sangha, signifying that nothing much had changed. T'ai-hsü had essentially failed to win the support of the senior monks of the major temples,

and state regulation of the clergy remained intact (Chan 1978: 82; Welch 1968:71).

Institutions set up by T'ai-hsü and other Buddhist Masters

In order to reform the sangha it was necessary to have properly trained monks. To achieve this aim T'ai-hsü and some of his fellow religionists organized several training institutions that had considerable success.

The most famous of these training institutions were the Wu-chang Buddhist Institute established by T'ai-hsü in 1922, the Institute of Inner Learning established by Ou-yang Chien in Nanking in 1922, and the institutions organized by T'an-hsü (unrelated to T'ai-hsü). Of particular importance were the institutions organized by T'an-hsü, which included the Leung-yen Monastery in Yingkow, Liaoning in 1921, the Po-jo Monastery in Changchun, Kirin in 1922, the Chi-le Monastery in Harbin, Heilungkiang in 1922 and the Cham Shan Temple in Tsingtao (Qindao), Shungtung in 1933. The monasteries at Leng-yen had about 70 student monks and the one at Tsingtao had about 100. Aside from these monasteries, T'an-hsü and his followers also started two smaller establishments and revived two others in northern China (Welch 1968:96-97).

T'ai-hsü was a visionary ahead of his time, for most of his life he was the leader of a small disputable sect in China and had not won the support of the head abbots of major temples due to his forward looking reform and involvement in political activities. T'an-hsü, on the other hand, was much revered by the Chinese Buddhist community to be the kind of monk they respected; one who

adhered to his practice and remained aloof from world affairs. He followed the aspirations of his master, Ti-hsien, to revive the T'ien-t'ai Sect in northern China (Welch 1968: 97).

That these seminaries achieved some success can be seen in the increase in the number of competent monks and laymen during this period, some of whom later congregated in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Two of T'an-hsü's students during this period, Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung, later came to Canada and established the Cham Shan Temple in Toronto named after the Cham Shan temple T'an-hsü had established in Tsingtao. Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung are generally regarded as the founders of Chinese Buddhism in Canada. Master Hsing Yun, who was a young contemporary of T'ai-hsü and had absorbed much of his ideology, later took refuge in Taiwan and developed the Fo Guang Shan, modelling the ideals of T'ai-hsü (see Chapter 4).

Under the vigorous propaganda of T'ai-hsü and his fellow religionists, Chinese Buddhism began to show signs of a revival. In 1923, lay Buddhists undertook the ambitious project of publishing the supplement of the *tripitaka* (Skt. Buddhist canon) which was found in Japan between 1905 and 1912. Between 1933 and 1936, they reproduced the Chi-sha edition of the *tripitaka*. Rare items in the Chin edition of the canon found in 1934 were also published. Of greater significance was the profusion of the Buddhist periodicals which began to refute the anti-Buddhist sentiments of the Confucianists (Ch'en 1973:457).

In the social service sector, the revival had been more encouraging in comparison to that of the sangha. There were lectures, scriptural study groups,

museums and libraries opened to the public, and all kinds of charitable works offered by the laymen and members of the clergy. The actual effort was meagre compared with the chaos in society, but the main point is that Chinese Buddhism developed a new commitment to engage the world and involve laymen in the spreading of the Dharma. Much of this change, of course, had been provoked by Christianity's presence in China and the Chinese Buddhist response to this encounter. As T'ai-hsü said:

Many of [the Christians] only come into contact with ignorant and immoral Buddhist monks strolling about in the streets. They think all Buddhists are of this type and that we are all given over to dark superstitions and do not really cultivate religion. (Welch 1968:57)

As Holmes Welch the famous Sinologist had observed, T'ai-hsü was very forward thinking in borrowing the Christian methods in order to compete with Christianity. In his street temple in Hankow, an image of Amitābha was brightly lit, an organ was housed and the sermons were mostly on the Pure Land doctrines followed by testimonies from his disciples. Although T'ai-hsü himself did not particularly favour rituals and ceremonies he found that such practices effectively brought newcomers to the door. For his close disciples he preached the Dharmalakṣaṇa doctrine which he like Yang Wen-hui thought most compatible with science (Welch 1968:68).

T'ai-hsü's Organization of a National Temple and the Globalization of Chinese Buddhism

Although Buddhism has always been closely intertwined with Chinese culture, a national temple was never formed until a crisis necessitated such an organization in 1912. This crisis began with a proposal to make Buddhism a state

religion. A layman, Ou-yang Ching-wu (1871-1943), who was another former student of Yang Wen-hui, organized the China Buddhist Association to fight this proposal on the grounds that the monks were basically incompetent. In order to protect their rights the monks organized the Buddhist Association of China. The result was that two groups rivalled against each other, but eventually mismanagement brought about the disappearance of both. In 1929, the sangha established a new organization called the Chinese Buddhist Society, which had considerable influence but was disrupted by the war. In 1939, T'ai-hsü took steps to reorganize it, and in 1947, it claimed a membership of four million (Chan 1978:58). The Chinese Buddhist Society's claim to this membership of 4 million was an estimate only, and for the most part, the organization was weak and ineffectual. The fact that Chinese Buddhists were not able to organize a strong national organization could be interpreted as an indication of Chinese Buddhism's incompetence in management, but it also showed that Chinese Buddhists had never been split into serious rivalling sects so there was no need for centralized control (Chan 1978:58).

Although T'ai-hsü's proposal for a national temple did not receive much support in China, he did succeed in making Chinese Buddhism more visible internationally. In 1925, he represented China at the first East Asian Buddhist conference in Japan. There, the conference discussed the global unification of Buddhists, first in China, then in Asia, and finally on a global level (Welch 1968:56).

In order to realize his global aspirations, T'ai-hsü obtained support for a world tour in 1928 from Chiang Kai-shek, the president of the National Party. He spent nearly nine months in France, England, Germany and the United States, and started Buddhist institutes in France and England. Nevertheless, his French excursion was reported to be less than satisfactory. As one critic said:

T'ai-hsü decided to lecture extemporaneously, he refused to provide an outline for the interpreter, and the only interpreter he could get on this basis was a Chinese student who knew little or nothing about Buddhism. Worst of all, he would not accept the idea that a Paris audience might be more critical and better informed than an audience in China. (Welch 1968:60)

Elsewhere, in the United States and England, he was reported to have been well received. People were impressed by his engaging manner, impressive title, and ceremonial garb, however, they were most impressed by the first appearance of a Chinese Buddhist monk in their country (Welch 1968:62).

The tour must have had an extensive impact on him, for on his return he organized seminaries so that each would be specialized in a particular language. For example, in order to prepare the monks for their world missionary work, the seminary in Amoy specialized in Japanese, the seminary in Peking (Beijing) specialized in English and the seminary in Chungking (Chongqing) specialized in Tibetan (Welch 1968:62).

With regards to the modernized sangha of the future, T'ai-hsü also envisioned a certain division of labour. According to one of his later schemes, China was to have ten thousand monks earning academic degrees, the highest being a doctoral degree which would be received by eight hundred monks.

Another twenty-five thousand monks were to engage in all kinds of charitable works such as running hospitals, orphanages, youth groups, and visiting the prisons. A group of elders would run various cultivation centres at which a thousand monks would engage in meditation and recitation of the Buddha's names (Welch 1968:52).

The lack of support from the senior monks of major monasteries and from the public soon forced many of these seminaries, as well as the visionary projects, to close down. However, T'ai-hsü was successful in sending some of his students to study in Thailand, America, Europe, Burma, Japan and Tibet (Chan 1978:58).

In 1940, T'ai-hsü went on a goodwill mission to Burma, Ceylon, India and Malaysia as part of China's war of resistance against the Japanese invasion. During this tour, he encountered Dr. Malalasekera, who later reported that T'ai-hsü inspired him to establish the World Fellowship of Buddhists in 1950 (Welch 1968:64).

The legacy of T'ai-hsü

T'ai-hsü died in 1947 on the eve of the Communist victory. For most of his life, T'ai-hsü was the leader of a small dissident sect. Most of his followers admired his innovative spirit, his ecumenical ideal, his proposal for radical reform within the sangha, and his learning institutes and publications. He was also respected for his brave venture into the world of science, for raising Chinese Buddhism to international awareness and for establishing organized control of

Buddhism in China. Most of all, he was revered for providing an answer to Chinese Buddhism's encounter with modernity and Christianity which occurred due to the globalization effect. Ultimately, his followers esteemed him for providing a model that would liberate the sangha from the contempt and mistrust prevalent within Chinese society, and would thereby ensure its long-term survival.

For the majority of the sangha, he was a prophet who was ahead of his time. They were suspicious of his motives in self-promotion and mingling with political figures. The monks they admired were people like Hsu-yun, Yin-kuang, Ti-hsien, Hung-im, Lai-kuo and T'an-hsü; these were monks who adhered to their practice and remained otherworldly (Welch 1968:71). Although T'ai-hsü's success was limited at his time, he indirectly influenced the development of contemporary Chinese Buddhism.

T'ai-hsü's energetic reforms breathed new life into the development of modern Chinese Buddhism, both through his own efforts and through those of his successors. These reforms included the transfer from the understanding of T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen to Wei-shih idealism (Dharmalakṣaṇa); the transfer of the practice from Pure Land mechanism to a genuine demonstration of spiritual faith; the transfer of the practice from the disciplinary and meditation schools to Tibetan Buddhism; the transfer of the study of scriptural texts from Chinese to include Pali and Tibetan; a change in the performance of rituals to a truly religious life; and the transfer of leadership from the clergy to the laymen (Ch'en 1973:455-456, Chan 1978:62).

The Sangha Under the Chinese Communists

With the victory of the Chinese Communists and the establishment of the Communist government, China was confronted with a doctrine that was openly anti-religious and materialistic. The Communists identified religion as an opiate which sedated people into contentment with their current situations in life. They saw it as a means employed by the ruling class for the perpetual enslavement of the masses. Through their belief in the Pure Land and the promise of an after-life, they kept the working masses submissive and incapable of fighting the oppression that confronted them (Ch'en 1973:461).

Communists also attacked the Buddhist ideology that was upheld by all Chinese schools. This ideology stated that the inequalities and suffering of the world, such as capitalism and exploitation, are but products of the mind and not directly linked to existing evils in society, such as inequality between the rich and the poor and the oppression from the modern West (Ch'en 1973: 461). Moreover, they criticized the Buddhist Middle Way, with its synthesis of extremes, as being opposed to the Marxian dialectic and the law of contradiction that existed in the world, such as that between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. Instead of the otherworldly idealistic interpretation of the world that all the Buddhists in China embraced, the Marxists insisted on a materialistic understanding of reality and recognized no existence outside of the earthly existence (Ch'en 1973: 461).

While the Communists were against all religions, they also realized that Buddhism had a long tradition in China and that it had influenced many facets of Chinese thought and culture. They believed that it would be inadvisable to try to

eradicate Buddhism by force, for fear that such violence would lead to revolt within the society. The Communists also believed that with the advancement of science and the educational level within society, such outdated beliefs within the culture would diminish on their own (Ch'en 1973:461).

Under these assumptions, the Chinese Communists declared their policy of freedom of religions in China. They also strongly declared that there was also freedom to be an atheist. Some Communist writers, however, had taken this declaration as an opportunity to attack all religions. On the whole, in the early days of the Communist regime, the position of the government was one of tolerance (Ch'en 1973:462). Increasingly, however, there were signs of intolerance against all religions.

On August 4, 1950, the government proclaimed that Buddhist monks, Taoist priests, diviners, and all kinds of psychic practitioners were religious workers who were to be identified as parasites on the society. They were regarded as non-productive according to a material evaluation. Moreover, abbots and landlords were seen as similar in nature, since they managed large plots of lands and lived off the oppression of the peasant (Ch'en 1973:462).

In 1951, the Communists started the second phase of gradual eradication of Buddhism and other religions. They reaffirmed the land reform movement which deprived temples and monasteries of their land holding rights and extended the policy to include ancestral halls. With this policy, the Buddhists were entirely cut off from their primary source of revenue that enabled them to carry out education and religious practices (Ch'en 1973:462)

Younger members of the clergy were forced to laicize, and those remaining in the sangha were forced to undergo a period of re-education and to engage in productive work. There were also indications that the sangha was being liquidated from within. Masses of clergy began abandoning the order and not even T'ai-hsü's claim that Buddhism was compatible with science and therefore compatible to a modern life was able to save it (Chan1978:89).

T'ai-hsü's claim that the Buddhist concept of a vast and multiple universe was in agreement with modern astronomy and the Buddhist concept of "śūnyatā" or non reality of existence was comparable to science. Such a claim is not unfounded. According to Chan's (1978) research there are some dominant themes of modern science that parallel Buddhism. This includes, the notions of the Great Emptiness that embraces countless universes, time is measured in terms of cycles of millions of years, that physical objects can be reduced to an aggregate of elements which are nothing but energy in ultimate analysis, theory of cause and effect and impermanence (Chan 1978:89).

Such a sophisticated theory was not understood by the general public which comprised a majority of the sangha. Masses of clergy abandoned their vows and forsook the order during this period. According to one estimate, an exodus of five hundred thousand monks and nuns fled Mainland China and sought asylum in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Another four hundred thousand from a total of seven hundred thousand clergy were forced to return to being householders. Two hundred thousand younger monks were being solicited by the

Communist government to “advance” the New Democracy. Furthermore, many more monks and nuns had abandoned their religious practices to engage in productive work such as establishing textile industries, handicraft works, operating vegetarian restaurants and teaching at schools. These numbers may be overstated, since there were not actual statistics, however, they give a picture of the state of liquidation that Chinese Buddhism was in (Chan 1978: 91, Ch'en 1973:463).

In 1953, the People's Republic started the third phase of the policy to control the Chinese sangha by organizing the Chinese Buddhist Association. Ever since Buddhism's development during the Han Dynasty around the second century C.E., the Buddhists had not been able to establish a state organization. Most temples were locally united but divided by their particular schools. The Communists felt that having a centralized organization would make it easier for them to supervise the Buddhists.

On May 30, 1953, The Chinese Buddhist Association was officially formed. The association declared that it represented 500,000 monks and 1,000,000 lay practitioners was just an overstatement. For much of its existence from the early 1950s and 1960s, it is clear that control of the association was mainly under three persons: Shirob-jaltso, the president; Chao Pu-chu, the secretary general; and Chu-tsan, the vice president. The major objective of the Chinese Buddhist Association under the management of the above three individuals was to uphold the policy of the central government. An obvious case was in 1959, when the association, in full support of the government, declared the

Dalai Lama and the Tibetans as revolutionaries. The fact that the organization had no option but to give their full support to the government's policy showed that Buddhists had only limited religious freedom (Ch'en 1973:467).

However, even under these stringent conditions, some of the outward symbols of Buddhism were still present; namely the Buddhist images, the temples, the clergy, and the corpus of Buddhist literature. On an international level there were still some intellectual exchanges and visits between the Chinese Buddhists and Buddhists from other countries such as Burma and Japan (Ch'en 1973:467-468).

The Red Guards and the Cultural Revolution

In spite of the various persecutions, religious activities continued until 1966. In 1966, Mao Ze-dong stirred millions of young people, called the Red Guards, into a Cultural Revolution called the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". It is obvious that the revolutionary leaders were tired of waiting for the disappearance of religion in China and resorted to violent measures. The major objective of this revolution was to rid China of all the oppressive old customs. Throughout China, this cultural reassessment denounced teachers, religious workers, bureaucrats, and anybody that resembled attachment to the ancient customs as reactionaries. They were dragged away from their work place and forced to confess "their sins" publicly, then deported to rural areas or even executed. Religions of all kinds were attacked as "feudal superstitions", temples and churches were destroyed and their leaders humiliated, imprisoned, or

executed (Overmyer 1986:107-108).

During the Cultural Revolution almost all Buddhist symbols were destroyed along with those of other religions. The monks and nuns were mostly ridiculed publicly, imprisoned or executed. Nobody dared to write about the history of Chinese religions, and if they did, it was only to mock them. For a while it looked like Buddhism had finally succumbed to the long series of persecutions and died out in China. One scholar described the state of ruin that Chinese Buddhism was in before the 1982 proclamation of freedom of religions in China with the following words:

There have been Taoist temples and Buddhist monasteries on Nan-yue [Southern Peak] for fifteen hundred years; scores of buildings still remain. Yet when I visited them in 1981, not one image of a deity or Buddha was left, just bare stone altars, a few with fresh incense ashes before them. The monks and priests were all gone and the buildings abandoned or used as residences by several families. (Overmyer 1986:108)

Mao Ze-dong died in 1976, and for a time after his death his wife and other political leaders known as “The Gang of Four” carried on his policies. However, “The Gang of Four” was soon disposed of.

Buddhism After Mao

In 1978, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, the Communist Party experienced a policy swing from the egalitarian left wing agenda to a reform program. The most important reforms were the privatization of agriculture, modernization of industries, opening to international trade, technology, investment and tourism, and a relaxation of the severe control of cultural activities, which included a proclamation of the freedom of religion.

The new, more liberal attitude was expressed in the revised constitution of 1979 and a policy paper of 1982. Article 36, which dealt with freedom of religion, and Document 19, which provided a statement of religious belief, was soon released to the public in April 1982.

A statement from the Constitution Revision Committee formulated it as follows:

Citizens enjoy freedom of religious belief.. In our country, citizens may believe in religion or disbelieve, but politically they have one thing in common, that is they are all patriotic and support Socialism.. The state protects legitimate religious activities, but no one may use religion to carry out counter-revolutionary activities or activities that disrupt public order, harm the health of citizens, or obstruct the educational system of the state..[and] no religious affairs may be controlled by any foreign powers. (MacInnis 1989:7)

Document 19 summarized the basic viewpoint and religious policy of the Party. In this document, religion was viewed as a result of social frustrations and class manipulation, and it was expected to be destroyed through education, long term development in socialism, and advancement of economy, science and technology (MacInnis 1989:10). The Party also admitted its previous error:

Religion will eventually disappear from human history. But it will disappear naturally only through the long term development of Socialism and Communism, when all objective requirements are being met...Those who think that with the establishment of the Socialist system and with a certain degree of economic and cultural progress religion will die out within a short period, are not being realistic. Those who expect to rely on administrative decrees or other coercive measures to wipe out religious thinking and practices with one blow are even further from the basic viewpoint Marxism takes toward the religious question. They are entirely wrong and will do no small harm. (MacInnis 1989:11)

One of the most important and pressing tasks of the Party has been the training of religious personnel. According to government statistics of 1982, there were a total of 27,000 such personnel, including Buddhist monks, nuns and lamas (MacInnis 1989:15).

The new policy also indicated that to provide suitable places for worship is an acceptable means of carrying out the policy. At the time of Communist victory in 1949 there were about 100,000 such places that included Buddhist and Taoist temples, Christian churches, simple meeting places, and those constructed by private believers. By 1982, the number was down to 30,000 (MacInnis 1989:17). The policy also upheld the value of the restoration of temples in cities and historical sites.

All "normal religious" activities were to be respected and protected by law, including ordination of monks and nuns, paying homage to Buddha statues, scriptural chanting, fasting, and religious ceremonies (MacInnis 1989:17). The party members were to respect the right of the people to freedom of religious belief, but the people were also expected to respect the atheism of the Party members.

The policy listed eight national patriotic religious organizations, including the Chinese Buddhist Association, the Chinese Taoist Association and so on. The task of these organizations was to assist the Party in implementing the policy, to help raise patriotic and socialist consciousness among the religious circle, and to organize normal religious activities under the guideline of the Party (MacInnis 1989:19).

As can be seen, Document 19 is very general and is open to interpretation as to what constitutes "normal religious activities". These activities differed from province to province and were constantly subject to the countless comments and hints that were generated by the bureaucracy that effected change.

Buddhism now stands in a better position to Taoism, which is viewed as 80 percent superstition (Hahn 1989:91, Hunter 1992a), and also other foreign religions such as Catholicism and Protestantism which are viewed with suspicion by the Party as a form of foreign imperialism (MacInnis 1989:23). The United Front Work Department (UFW) is the most important government department with respect to religious activities. It has its head office in Beijing and branches out from the municipalities to provincial areas downwards to the local districts. It even has bureaus in individual universities to oversee religious affairs. Another important state agency is the Religious Affairs Bureau (RAB) which functions to implement religious policy as directed by the government whether that policy calls for furthering religious development or hampering it, as was the case during the first thirty years of the Chinese Communist government (Hunter 1992a:31).

In 1983, after only a few years of this open door policy, China launched an anti-spiritual-pollution campaign. The Party declared that its major aim was to fight moral depravity, especially modernism which had infiltrated from the West through literature, films and television⁵. During the campaign writers of

⁵ Modernism is a new literary style in China. It began to influence China from the West in the early 1920s and 1930s but remained pretty dormant until after the open door policy. In the early 1980s articles that contained elements of modernism began to appear in the media. These elements of modernism in the literature and media included a free flow of consciousness, spotlessness and emphasis on individualism which very often translated into a feeling of pessimism (Larson 1989:38).

modernism were singled out for criticism by the Party and at the same time China struck against the increasing corruption and criminal activities within the country as evidenced in the society after the open-door policy (Larson 1989, Zuo 1991).

Perhaps, in spite of all its negative overtones, the Chinese Communist Party realized that many religious traditions include an ethical guideline which continues to influence society in a positive way. Buddhism seems to stand in a particularly favourable position with the government, and is viewed both as a cultural heritage and as a positive teaching; unlike Taoism which is accused of being saturated with superstition. Buddhism has enjoyed a relatively peaceful and harmonious relationship with the government, and has followed a straight course of expansion (Hahn 1989; Hunter 1992a).

Restoration of the Chinese Buddhist Association

At the meeting of a Fourth National Congress held in Beijing in 1980, the CBA, which was abolished in the 1960s, was formally restored. Zhao Puchu and a few other senior officers were reinstated to their former posts and the CBA again acted as a mediator between the government and the Buddhist clergy. The CBA became responsible for the restoration of Buddhism. One of the most important tasks of the CBA during the 1980s was to restore the monasteries and temples and to provide a new generation of clergy (Hunter 1992b:91). As stated

In the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign, some writers of modernism were singled out for criticism by the Central Committee and the Party reiterated the guideline as prescribed by Deng Xiaoping on writers. That is, "We must continue to maintain the direction pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong of literature serving the greatest number of people, and first and foremost the workers, peasants and soldiers." (Deng as quoted in Larson 1989:44). Writers were advised in the campaign to not compromise professional and national morality under the influence of modernism and western capitalism (Larson 1989, Zuo 1991).

by the policy paper of Document 19, 1982:

Due to many years of natural attrition, the present number of professional religious has greatly decreased when compared to the number at liberation...Many of these professional religious not only maintain intimate spiritual ties with the mass of religious believers, but have an important influence over the spiritual life of the masses which should not be ignored. Moreover, as they carry out their formal religious activities, they also perform work which serves the people in many ways which benefit society. For example, they safeguard Buddhist and Taoist temples and churches and protect historical religious relics, engage in agriculture and afforestation, and on the academic study of religion, and so on. (MacInnis 1989: 15-16)

The CBA moved quickly to establish a number of Buddhist academies in order to supply a new generation of clergy. The first academy was opened in Fayuan temple in Beijing in 1981, and subsequently twelve more were opened in Nanjing, Shanghai, Xiamen, Chengdu and other cities (Hunter 1992b:92).

Revival of the Monastic Order

Until the victory of the Communists in 1949, monasteries in China were centres of cultural heritage. They were centres for academic religious studies, meditation retreats, pilgrimages, publications, art and religious rites. They were a vital force in Chinese Buddhist religious life, although there was no centralized organizational hierarchy. There was some form of cohesion among the various sects based on a shared heritage and set of values, and on frequent visits and exchanges of monks among the various temples.

After the Cultural Revolution, the entire structure of the order had collapsed, except for a few famous monasteries which were preserved as cultural relics and thus survived intact. Most others were destroyed or were changed to

some secular use, like warehouses or schools.

After 1979, the Part announced its policy to revive the monasteries. The work was carried out by the UFDW and RAB, usually in consultation with some senior monks who were released from prison or labour camps.

The rationale is understandable given Mao Zedong's death and the rise of Deng's economic policy and modernization. A revival of cultural heritage is meant to encourage popular support and to strengthen national unity (Hunter 1992b:94).

The government's other purpose in allowing and even encouraging the revival of Buddhism was to help with international relations, such as the exchange of scholars with other countries. Other motives for this liberalization included raising money through foreign donations and advancing tourism. Foremost among those donating to restore the temples were the Japanese monks who regarded certain historical sites in China as the spiritual homes of the Soto, Tendai, and Jodo sects in Japan. The most dramatic of such contributions was the 50 million yen donation to Tiantong near Ningbo in the early 1980s by a group of Japanese temples (Hunter 1992b:93). Many donations also came from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Moreover, historical sites such as the Dunhuang cave temple or the Shaolin temple in Zhenzhou were purely tourist spots which brought in considerable revenues.

The first sites to be reopened were a number of key monasteries in each province such as the four holy mountains in the north, south, east and west of China; Wuthaishan, Jiuhuashan, Putoshan, and Emeishan. The four holy mountains support the largest cluster of temples and the largest group of monks

with some, like Juihuashan, housing as many as four hundred monks and nuns (Hunter 1991:85).

Local governments continued to supply funds for the restoration of the temples and monasteries; for the most part, old ones were restored rather than new ones being built. An additional and important source of funding came from donations by overseas Buddhists.

Needless to say, religious believers benefited greatly after the relaxed policy. As monasteries and temples began a period of rapid restoration and reopening, three main practices became dominant in China: Pure Land, Chan and Esoteric Buddhism. To date, there exists little competition between these sects, as most sects view each other as complementary rather than exclusive, and monks and nuns can freely move between monasteries.

As far as the CBA are concerned, they constantly propagate a form of syncretic Buddhism that emphasizes this worldly Buddhism by urging Buddhists to engage in productive work and service to the socialist system. After the suppression of the fight for democracy movement in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, the government seemed to fear both a long term change in ideology within the population and the possibility that religious activities would mobilize political action. They have thus recently increased propagandising control. The CBA seems to have been placed in a difficult position from the start. On the one hand it argues for greater freedom of religion, and on the other hand, it has to exercise tight control as mandated by the Party (Hunter 1992:92).

Many Buddhist scholars view the incidents of Tiananmen as a temporary setback rather than as a major reversal of trends. However, Buddhist monks and nuns are careful not to criticise the government, or to side with the anti-CBA Buddhists. Although monks in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Japan frequently have made large donations, they have kept their relationship with the government low key. There were few words of discontent published, although a few Taiwanese abbots raised their voice in protest soon after the June 4th Tiananmen Square incident (Hunter 1992:93). The monasteries continue to receive great financial support from overseas Chinese Buddhists, and even local Buddhists are reported to have started donating large sums of money to the temples in exchange for certain rites.

Despite the Tiananmen Square pro-democracy demonstrations, Buddhism seems on the whole to enjoy a peaceful and harmonious relationship with the government. Not only are major restorations of temples and monasteries under way, but there is also increasing awareness of research and academic study of religion with the purpose of better understanding religious phenomena, rather than the traditional Marxist viewpoint. Since the 1980's, institutes of religious studies were set up in Sichuan University, Nanjing University and the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, and many institutes were set up at universities at the provincial and municipal level in order to better understand religious phenomena. Some universities such as Beijing and Nanjing Universities now send students abroad to study, some going on their own means (Linshu 1994:82).

In April 1992, Beijing hosted its first "International Academic Conference on Religion." The conference was organized by the International Association for the History of Religions, and was the second conference of its kind in Asia; the first was in Japan in 1958. The conference was held in order to facilitate academic exchange on the study of religions, and many Chinese scholars accepted western research in this area with enthusiasm (Jochim 1993:63)

According to government statistics, China reported 9,500 Buddhist temples as of 1998, and 100 million Buddhist believers in 1997 (*Europa World Yearbook* 2002 Vol 1:1071). Judging by these figures, modern Buddhist believers are very numerous and increasing in number.

Religion in Hong Kong under the British Government (1842-1997)

The name Hong Kong invokes the image of an international cosmopolitan port, a model for free enterprise, unrestricted capitalism, a miracle in S.E. Asia, and the last important British colony. Actually, the Chinese words Hong Kong literally mean a "fragrant port" representing the flourishing incense industry during the turn of the century (Kwong 1999: 60).

The island of Hong Kong was ceded to the British after the first Opium War and the signing of the treaty of Nanking (Nanjing) in 1842. The idea of acquiring Hong Kong as a trading port was first introduced by Captain Charles Elliot in order to provide a foothold in China to protect the British opium trade (Scott 1990: XV). The weak Ch'ing government of the time saw this acquisition as an insult to national pride, but was helpless in the face of defeat. By the Treaty of Peking

(Beijing) in 1860, after the Second Opium War, Kowloon peninsula was added to the colony. On top of that, Britain demanded the leasing of a large adjacent area to Kowloon known as “New Territories” for a period of ninety nine years in 1898. These treaties signed under the circumstances of China’s defeat by foreign governments were regarded as “unequal treaties” by successive governments. In the past, China’s continuous demand for Hong Kong’s return, therefore, was linked to national pride. The lease of Hong Kong expired on 1 July 1997 when the whole colony was returned to Mainland Chinese government.

Religions in Hong Kong under Colonial Rule

From the beginning, Captain Charles Elliot promised that the islanders would be governed according to the laws and customs of China. However, in reality, it translated into a laissez-faire policy (Kwong 1999:62), and the religious and social welfare policies fully reflected this. There was no regulation of religion whatsoever, as the various religious organizations were simply required to register as legal associations or limited companies. The Hong Kong government refrained from interfering as long as the religious organizations complied with the colonial laws (Kwong 1999:65). However, in 1927, a group of Chinese Communist intellectuals complained that some temples of indigenous folk beliefs were “leading people to superstition and hiding some dirty matter” (Kwong 1999:65). Upon their protest, the Hong Kong government set up a Chinese Temple Community to supervise temple management. This community was never interpreted by the locals as government control concerning religious activities. Its

basic function was simply to oversee temple management and prevent fraudulent religious communities from profiting at the expense of the people (Kwong 1999:66).

Another policy concerning religious organizations, was a joint effort between the government and the religious groups to provide social welfare. In practice, the government provided the buildings and the subsidies, and the religious groups provided the staff and the management.

Today, Hong Kong is an international trading port and a major financial centre in the Far East. Additionally, Hong Kong has a huge variety of ethnic and cultural groups, although the main ethnic group is the Han Chinese which comprises 95 percent of the population. Here, many religion groups co-exist together, including Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism and Sikhism. Nevertheless, ancestor veneration and Confucian ethics are practised by the majority of all Chinese population despite of religious backgrounds.

Buddhism in Hong Kong

Buddhism exists in Hong Kong as in other territories of China. It only suffered a minor setback after the British took over, bringing with them a rapid expansion of Christianity within the colony. The missionary work of T'ai-hsü was believed to have a direct effect on the development of Buddhism in Hong Kong. Between 1930 and 1940, many people in Hong Kong were converted to Buddhism. According to one estimate in 1940, there were over one hundred Buddhist temples and the total number of Buddhists in Hong Kong was one

hundred thousand (Kwong 1999:87).

The Japanese occupation during the Second World War caused another setback. After the war, Buddhism thrived when refugees flooded into Hong Kong from China and the Hong Kong Buddhist Association was established. From its inception, much of the Association's activities centred on education and social welfare. In the 1960s, many clergy fled China under the Cultural Revolution and they took refuge in Hong Kong. From then on there was a great expansion of Buddhist activities and the 1970s saw the pinnacle of the development of Buddhist education in Hong Kong. During this period, the Buddhists also established seven secondary schools, four primary schools and one kindergarten, and in these schools Buddhism was taught as a regular curriculum. In the 1980s, Buddhism expanded into health care and youth groups with the establishment of a Buddhist hospital and a youth centre. In the 1990s, the Buddhist Association expanded further into social service efforts to seniors, and between 1991 and 1995 two homes for seniors were founded (Kwong 1999:88-89).

Nevertheless, when compared to the Christians, the Buddhist figures are still very much behind. According to one estimate, there are over six hundred elementary and secondary schools in Hong Kong, and most of them are run by the Catholics and Protestants. Only slightly over 30 are run by the Buddhists and Taoists combined (Pfister 1997:19). In spite of that, these figures show that the Buddhists have made progress in education and charitable work in Hong Kong.

The practice of Buddhism has always been recognized and highly esteemed by the general population. In the 1960s, in the wake of several serious

accidents at the horse racing track of Hong Kong Jockey Club, the Club invited Buddhist clergy to perform a ritual to pacify the hungry ghosts who were haunting the turf and causing “disturbances”. The Association presented a grand forum of five hundred monks and nuns and it became a much talked about event in the colony. The same ritual was performed in a government building in the busy Hong Kong Central District which was known to be a former prison camp during the Japanese occupation.

In 1993, the largest Buddhist statue in the world was erected in Hong Kong on Lantau Island. In 1994, the Hong Kong Buddhist Association presented one hundred and twenty thousand signatures to the Hong Kong government to formally recognize the Buddha’s birthday as a public holiday.

Religions in Hong Kong Today

Today, about 7 percent of the citizens in Hong Kong declare themselves to be Buddhists. Twenty-five percent engage in various kinds of folk beliefs including Taoism, and 10 percent are Christians. Other religions exist, such as Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Judaism and Zoroastrianism, but they represent only a small minority of ethnic groups (Pfister 1997:19).

Approximately 58 percent of Hong Kong citizens do not see themselves as affiliated with any religious denominations (Pfister 1997:19). Many of these people, however, adorn their homes and offices with various kinds of sacred objects and most have a shrine for Kuan-yin and the Earth Deity at home, and regularly go to both Buddhist and Taoist temples to make offerings for earthly

successes. The response of these people was not surprising given the fact that Hong Kong was made up of generations of immigrants. Many of these were from China and many had been through the Cultural Revolution and influenced by Marxist ideology, and these people were reluctant to declare themselves to belong to a particular religion (Pfister 1997:19).

The rise of the Buddhist community was most likely due to the missionary activities of the large number of refugee clergy. Many people were reconverted to Buddhism after they had arrived in Hong Kong. According to the Hong Kong Buddhist Association, between 1995 and 1997, they had about three hundred monks and two thousand nuns and three hundred places of worship in Hong Kong (Kwong 1999:90). It is widely accepted that, through the organization and the activities of the Hong Kong Buddhist Association, the social status of Buddhists has been raised and the general recognition of Buddhism by the population of Hong Kong has increased.

The Religious Environment of Hong Kong after 1997

China has relaxed many of its economic policies in recent years along with the freedom of religion. Article 28 of the 1975 PRC Constitution states that citizens of PRC “enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.” In the past, “freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism” has been interpreted by some eminent atheistic individuals as freedom to oppose any kind of belief in “shen” (spirits) or spiritual reality which practically includes all religions (Pfister 1997:19).

In recent years, the phrase concerning atheism has been dropped. Still, many older monks and nuns who had personally undergone the many persecutions and the Cultural Revolution in China have concerns that China may revert to its previous policy, thus significantly affecting the religious climate in Hong Kong. The Basic Law of Hong Kong which makes up the legislature can be changed by the National People's Congress which governs on the basis of the PRC Constitution. With occasional reports of China's political-religious conflict with Tibet, the current restrictions on the Falun Gong group, and the arrest of unauthorized religious groups, some caution that the religious freedom currently enjoyed by Hong Kong citizens may change in the future.

Historical Development of Taiwan

Taiwan was formerly known to the western world as Formosa, a word derived from the Portuguese words "Ilha Formosa", meaning beautiful island. The word Taiwan literally means "terraced bay" in Chinese, and was first used by Chinese sailors around the thirteenth century (Lee 1990:xiii). For the local people, Taiwan is endeared as Pao-tao, meaning Treasure Island.

Taiwan, which covers an area of 14,000 sq miles or 35,981 sq km, includes a group of islands separated from China by the Taiwan Strait which varies in width from 89 to 124 miles (Lee 1990: xiii). Taiwan, with Shanghai, Korea and Japan to its north and Hong Kong and the Philippines to its south, is strategically located along the vital trade route in South East Asia. The majority of the residents are the Han Chinese who migrated to Taiwan from the coastal

province of Fujian and Guangdong before the Communist victory in China. The population currently standing at 22.35 million as of July 2001 makes Taiwan the second most densely populated region in the world after Bangladesh (ROC Yearbook 2002).

Taiwan Before 1945

By the early fifteenth century, the Dutch, Spanish and Japanese were competing to own Taiwan in order to establish a base in Asia for their trade. The Dutch finally won control in 1642, but they were soon driven out of the country by the Ming loyalist Cheng Cheng-kung who escaped to Taiwan in 1662 after the downfall of the Ming Dynasty. Cheng was revered for his effort to drive out the Dutch and regained Taiwan under Chinese rule. Cheng was honoured as Koxinga, a title honouring him as the Lord of the imperial surname. Cheng soon died after his victory in 1662, but his regime survived until 1683 when it finally surrendered to the Ching Dynasty. Thereafter, Taiwan was under the passive rule of the Ching Dynasty as a frontier region until 1895 (Lee 1990xvi).

During the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), China was defeated by the Japanese and with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Taiwan was ceded to Japan. The Japanese turned Taiwan into a supplier of its agricultural products throughout their domination between 1895-1945.

At the end of the Second World War in 1945, Taiwan was returned to the Mainland government. When the National Party or Kuomintang (KMT) was defeated by the Communist Party during the civil war between 1947-1949, it was

estimated about two million KMT defenders fled to Taiwan with the president of the National Party, Chiang Kai Shek. Taipei, which covers an area of 272 sq km, soon became the capital of the Republic of China in Taiwan (Lee 1990: xvi-xvii).

Until the 1970s, Taiwan was recognized by the United States and the UN as the legitimate government of China. Taiwan lost its seat in the UN in 1971, and in 1979 the United States changed its foreign policy and recognized the PRC in Mainland China as the legitimate government of China (Lee 1990: xxi).

Modern Political Situation in Taiwan

The Civil War in China ended in 1949, but hostility between the two Parties remains. The PRC repeatedly stresses that Taiwan is part of China and has to be unified even at the threat of military action. The Prime Minister of PRC Zhu Rongji kept reiterating that with the recovery of Hong Kong and Macau, the reunification of Taiwan is a sacred mission for a united country. In his words:

We will not sit idly by and watch any serious separatist activity aimed at undermining China's sovereignty and territorial integrity..The recovery of Hong Kong and Macau has made the task of resolving the Taiwan question and realizing the complete reunification of the motherland even more outstanding as a sacred mission. (*The Ottawa Citizen* March 7, 2000:A7)

The government and the people in Taiwan, however, fiercely opposed any suggestions on the part of PRC for unification. They even opposed the peaceful means as proposed by China modelled after that of Hong Kong's "one country, two systems" rule claiming that the PRC government has a history of breaking its promises. Moreover, recently there have been various campaigns to "rectify" the name from "Republic of China" to just "Taiwan" in order to further distinguish themselves from Mainland China on the international scene.

Buddhism in Taiwan

Religion for the majority of Chinese residents in Taiwan, like that of Hong Kong, is a syncretic mix of Buddhism, Taoism, and various folk beliefs. Unlike the Judeo-Christian traditions, the Chinese seldom find it necessary to exclude other religious beliefs from their repertoire of beliefs. Different religious systems co-exist, and it is very common to find Matsu (Goddess of the Sea) and the Buddhist Bodhisattva Kuan-yin in the same temple. Many people do not feel it necessary to declare themselves to belong to a particular faith or religion. The most popular form of ritual is still ancestor veneration practiced by nearly all people in Taiwan. The most dominant form of religion, until very recently, was Buddhism followed closely by Taoism, while other religions co-exist. Table 1, column A, shows the religious adherents in Taiwan in 1997. Table 1, column B, shows the religious adherents in Taiwan in December 2000, showing a rapid rise in Taoism within recent years. For the first time in modern history Taoist followers had outnumbered the Buddhists in Taiwan. The number of Taoist followers is reported at 4,546,000 against 3,673,000 Buddhists.

RELIGION	# OF BELIEVERS in 1997 (THOUSANDS)	# OF BELIEVERS in 2000 (THOUSANDS)
Buddhist	4, 863	3, 673
Taoist	4, 505	4, 546
I-Kuan Tao	942	845
Protestant & Catholic	725	593/298
Other	786	845
TOTAL	11, 821	10, 800

TABLE 1. Number of Religious Adherents in Taiwan (*ROC Yearbook* 1999:463;

The rapid rise of Taoism in Taiwan reflects the resilience of the Chinese mind to outside influence. Unlike Buddhism, which received government support during the Japanese occupation of Taiwan (1895-1945), Taoism was severely suppressed as it was seen as a representation of Chinese nationalism by Japanese rulers (*ROC Yearbook* 2002:457).

Taoism in Taiwan is infused with magical beliefs and a mixture of Buddhist and folk beliefs. The recent resurgence of Taoist believers reflects the mystical mindset of Chinese who believe in all kinds of paranormal practices such as geomancy, physiognomy, spirit mediums, and local indigenous deities. In contrast, modern Chinese Buddhism, with its heavy emphasis on textual studies and a prejudice against occult practices has left room for the resurgence of Chinese shamanic practices.

Buddhism, which claimed the greatest number of adherents until very recently, was introduced into Taiwan as early as the late sixteenth century. During the time of Japanese domination, a large number of Japanese Buddhist monks went to Taiwan, and by 1925, Buddhism in Taiwan gradually took on a Japanese orientation.

In 1947, the Buddhist Association of the ROC was established by Master Chang-chia in Nanking. During the retreat of the Nationalist Party to Taiwan, large numbers of monks followed and established a Taiwan chapter. After the Second World War with the large number of clergy, Buddhism in Taiwan enjoyed a steady growth and a re-emphasis on Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism. The

current Buddhists in Taiwan also engage in active missionary work and charitable activities. According to official statistics, as of 2000, there were altogether 4,010 temples, 35 seminaries, five universities, three colleges, four high schools and 43 kindergartens with 118 libraries and 35 publishing firms. Many of these learning institutions, however, function intermittently as they are not recognized by the government, nor do they receive government subsidies. Other Buddhist charitable organizations include nurseries, orphanages, senior homes, hospitals, and clinics. There are an estimated 9,300 Buddhist monks and nuns currently in Taiwan (*ROC Yearbook* 2002:460).

Since the 1980s, Tibetan Buddhism has witnessed a rapid increase in Taiwan due to the presence of a large number of Tibetan monks settling in Taiwan. In 1997, Master Ching Hsin of the Buddhist Association of ROC invited the Dalai Lama to Taiwan. On April 16, 1998 the Dalai Lama officially set up the Tibet Religious Foundation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Taiwan to serve as a representative office.

There are many Buddhist denominations in Taiwan including the True Buddha School, the Tzu Chi Relief Foundation and Fo Guang Shan. However, Master Hsing Yun's Fo Guang Shan and its associated Buddha's Light International dominate both the religious and political scenes. Most notably on April 8, 1998, Master Hsing Yun led a delegation of 200 members which included the Presidential Advisor Wo Poh-hsiung to India and escorted a sacred tooth of the Buddha back to Taipei. It was believed to be one of the three sacred teeth found among the relics of the Buddha kept by a Tibetan monk in exile in India

who donated it to Master Hsing Yun (*ROC Yearbook* 1999:466).

The status of Buddhism in Taiwan has been raised due to the presence of a large number of clergy, the establishment of the Buddhist Association of the ROC and the Buddhist involvement in the political scene and global missionary work, particularly Master Hsing Yun and his Fo Guang Shan. In modern Taiwan on top of the many temples of the various denominations, there are many meditative centres open to the public and many businessmen and politicians find them an effective means of relieving tension. The thriving of Buddhism in Taiwan is supported by lay Buddhists and an affluent society.

CHAPTER 3

CHINESE BUDDHISM IN TORONTO

Introduction

Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung are believed to be the founders of Chinese Buddhism in Canada. Built in the sixties the Cham Shan Temple is the earliest Chinese temple established in Canada by the two masters. This chapter illustrates the history, development, organization and the practice of the disciples of the Cham Shan Temple. The Cham Shan Temple, although an independent temple is a member of the T'ien-t'ai sect which is a dominant strand in the global migration of Chinese Buddhism.

Buddhism in Toronto

The greater metropolitan area which includes the cities of Toronto, Scarborough, Mississauga, North York, Markham, Thornhill, Peel and Durham has a population of 4.64 million. It is the most multi-ethnic city with the largest immigrant population in Canada. The number of immigrants in Toronto was reported to be 2.03 million during the 2001 Census; this is almost half of the area's total population of 4.64 million (Statistics Canada 2003b). The Chinese are the largest group of visible minorities in Toronto.⁶ The number of people who reported themselves to be of Chinese origin is 435,685, a significant increase from

⁶ According to Statistics Canada the category of visible minorities is different from that of ethnic origin. The term "visible minorities" does not include aboriginal people, who are regarded as the first settlers in Canada. The term "visible minority" includes non-Caucasians and non-white in colour (Statistics Canada, Cat # 95F0498XCB01001).

26,285 in 1971 (Statistics Canada 2003b, Cat #95F0489XCB01004, Statistics Canada 1976:6). This major increase in the Chinese population reflects the massive waves of immigrants to Canada since the change of the government immigration policy in 1967. Since the change, immigrant selection is based on a point system and potential economic contribution to Canada rather than specific restrictions. A record amount of Chinese from Hong Kong came to settle in Canada in the 1980s and 1990s due to the change in Hong Kong's status from that of a British colony to a return to Mainland China. Many Hong Kong Chinese seek a more stable country for the investment of their capital, education of their children, a foreign passport and a better living environment. In the 1996 Census, Hong Kong was on the top of the list of sourced immigrants to Toronto; between 1991 to 1996, a record number of 48,535 Hong Kong Chinese had come to settle in Toronto representing 11 percent of the total immigrants (Statistics Canada 2001 Cat#93F0023XDB96003).

However, the number of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong has dropped significantly since 1997. The decrease in the number of Hong Kong Chinese is being made up by a steady increase in the number of Chinese immigrants from Mainland China under skilled labour. In the 2001 Census, people from Mainland China comprise the largest group of immigrants with a total of 54,925 persons while the number of immigrants from Hong Kong has decreased to 18,160. The total number of immigrants from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan (4,700) together amounts to 19% of the immigrant population in 2001 (Statistics Canada 2003b). Besides the Chinese immigrants, there were a substantial number of

recent immigrants that also came to settle in Toronto from India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Iran, Jamaica, Saudi Arabia, Russia, Korea and the United Kingdom (Statistics Canada 2001, 2003b) adding to the already diversified ethnic background of the Toronto population. A substantial number of immigrants also came to Toronto as refugees especially from countries such as Vietnam, Sri Lanka and more recently Afghanistan where these countries are experiencing substantial turmoil in modern times.

Many of these immigrants came from traditional Buddhist countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Vietnam, Korea, Sri Lanka, Japan and Tibet causing the tremendous increase in Buddhist temples in Toronto. In 1965, the Toronto Buddhist Church which is a Japanese congregation was the only temple in Toronto. Currently there is a total of over sixty five Buddhist groups in Toronto and many of them are rapidly developing branches all over the greater metropolitan Toronto area (www.buddhismcanada.com consulted June 23, 2001).

The presence of many traditions of Buddhism in Toronto is a result of the diversity of immigrants present and many of them bring along their own version of Buddhism. At present, there is the Theravāda tradition which is traditionally in areas such as Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, and Laos. There is also the Mahāyāna tradition from Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam and the Vajrayana tradition from Tibet. Due to the globalization effect they are all juxtaposed in Toronto for the first time in Buddhist history. The world is rapidly becoming a global village. The presence of a large number of affluent Hong Kong Buddhists who came with a lot of savings or investment capital is

believed to be a major source in fuelling the development of Buddhism in Toronto, as Hong Kong is traditionally a Mahāyāna Buddhist country. At present close to one-third of the temples in Toronto are Chinese temples (McLellan 2000: 281).

The Development of a Co-ordinated Buddhist Identity in a Christian World

There are many varieties and differences of practice among the Buddhist groups in Toronto. As early as 1979, sixteen groups of Buddhists from various traditions came together and formed the Toronto Buddhist Federation. This was the first joint-effort among the Buddhist groups in Toronto to form a unified Buddhist identity to the western world. The first joint activity was the celebration of Wesak⁷ in May 1980 (McLellan 1998:237). The founding of the organization is a first attempt to break through some of the particular modes of expression among the various Buddhist groups in Toronto due to ethnic and cultural backgrounds (McLellan 1998:238).

In 1984, the Toronto Buddhist Federation developed a new organization named the Buddhist Council of Canada in response to a request by Vision TV for a national representation of Buddhism to participate in the programme. The Council thereafter assumed the role of the Buddhist spokesman to various government agencies and outside enquiries. By 1989 the Buddhist Council of Canada officially separated from the Toronto Buddhist Federation and attempted

⁷ Wesak is a celebration to honour the birth, enlightenment and Parinirvāna (final release) of the Buddha.

to concentrate on coordinating the Buddhist activities across Canada. Their effort up to now has been unsuccessful in this regard, even though they have inspired Buddhists in some cities to develop their own federation (McLellan 1998:238).

In 1989, the Toronto Buddhist Federation formally changed their name to the Buddhist Communities of Greater Toronto and continued to sponsor Wesak. In 1994, under the influence of the president Hwasun Yangil, a Korean monk, it was changed to the Sangha Council of Ontario Buddhist Ministry (McLellan 1998:239).

In 1995 and 1996 the Sangha Council organized the lantern parade where different ethnic groups dressed in their own costumes and paraded in downtown Toronto in order to raise the awareness of Buddhist identity in the western world. Over two thousand people were reported to have attended. In recent years, the Sangha Council of Ontario Buddhist Ministry have sponsored the Buddhist Celebration of Canada and World Peace. The activity is to celebrate the presence of Buddhism in Canada and to promote Buddhist awareness of a socially engaged form of Buddhism and the need to participate in charitable aid to the communities such as donating to the Daily Bread Food Bank.

According to Yangil, a unified Buddhist institution or identity is still a vision rather than a reality. In 1999, out of the sixty-five Buddhist groups in Toronto, only twenty-five temples participated in the event of the Buddhist Celebration of Canada and World Peace. Moreover, this call to work together to promote charitable activities to the community was generally met with lukewarm support as most temples went on their own rather than working together (Hwasun Yangil,

personal communication: 1999).

Chinese Temples in Toronto

According to historical records, the first Buddhist church in Toronto was founded by the Japanese Buddhists in 1945. This was the Toronto Buddhist Church situated at 918 Bathurst Street. The second Buddhist temple to open was the Chinese Buddhist temple called Nam Shan situated at 100 Southill Drive, Don Mills founded by Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung in 1968 (see Illustration No. 1). Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung were the first recorded Chinese monks to have arrived on Canadian soil, and were regarded as the founders of Chinese Buddhism in Canada (Sugunasiri 1989:95).

The second Chinese temple to operate in Toronto was operated by Master Po-yu, a Vietnamese Chinese. Master Po-yu arrived in Canada as a refugee in 1979 after the Fall of Saigon in 1975. He then started a small temple on Dundas Street, named the Buddhist Senior Society, the main objective being to serve the elderly within the community and to assist in the death rituals. The group moved to 185 Niagara Street in 1982, and renamed it Fu Sien Tong Buddhist Temple. Due to the smallness of the group consisting mainly of older people, it was only able to expand into the present temple on Niagara Street in 1994. They invited the Cham Shan Masters together with other masters from Hong Kong and New York for the opening ceremony (Yu1996:323, my translation).

The third Chinese temple in Toronto is Cheng-chüeh Temple established by Master Wu-te in 1984. The fourth temple to open was the Mañjusrī temple established by Master Yüan-chih in 1986. The development of both the Manjusrī Temple and the Cheng-chüeh Temple were in some ways related to the Cham Shan Temple as the Cham Shan Masters were assisting Master Wu-te and Master Yüan-chih when they first arrived in Toronto. For details concerning the development of these temples please see pages 135-137.

The Fo Guang Shan and the True Buddha Schools, both important and dominant strands of the global movement of modern Chinese Buddhist Schools, were relative newcomers to the Toronto scene starting from the late 1980s and early 1990s (please see Chapters 4 & 5). Other Buddhist groups in Toronto include the Po Chai Temple at 84 Swanwick Avenue managed by Master Nian Fu from Macau, a relatively small group. The Buddhist Dharmalakṣaṇa Society, a small group organized mainly by lay persons was first started by the late Professor Luo Shih-hsien in Hong Kong. The main activity of the group consists of sūtra exegesis especially that of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school of Buddhism. The Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation under Master Cheng-yen, which is a prominent group in Taiwan, has a relatively small and inactive office in Toronto.

The Background of the Chinese Masters

Master Sing Hung was a native of Zhao County in Hopei Province in China. He was born in 1925 to the Chiu family. In 1937, the Japanese invasion of

China spread rapidly to the Hopei Province and his studies as a young boy were disrupted. He soon joined the order and became a novice in the Li-cheng Temple, Uan County under the guidance of a family friend, Master Chi-yüan. He received his full ordination as a monk at Guangqi Temple in Beijing at sixteen and soon enrolled at the Fayuan Buddhist College in Beijing. In 1943, with the encouragement of the head abbot, Hui-san of Guangqi Temple, he went to Cham Shan College in Qingdao and studied under Venerable T'an-hsü. He graduated within three years, stayed behind with Venerable T'an-hsü and held an administrative post in Cham Shan Temple (Yu 1996:299, my translation). In 1948, he went to visit Master Chi-yüan in Nanjing. During his return from Shanghai the war was breaking out around the border of Qingdao. He was hesitant about whether or not to return to Qingdao when he met Master Luk To, a fellow Dharma brother from Cham Shan Temple. Master Luk To was going to Hong Kong to help set up a Buddhist college under Venerable T'an-hsü. Master Sing Hung soon followed him. After they had set up the Huanan Buddhist College and Hong Fa Temple under Venerable T'an-hsü in Hong Kong, Master Sing Hung again enrolled in the college to further his Buddhist studies (Yu 1996:300, my translation).

Master Shing Cheung was a native of Ningjin County in Hopei province in 1920. When he was a young man, he followed some of his family friends to go trading in Harbin in herbal medicine. After several years, he returned to his hometown and continued to trade in herbal medicine until 1945. In 1945, when the war was over, he went to Tianjin and met Venerable T'an-hsü who was giving

a Dharma talk in Tianjin. He was impressed by his teaching and immediately took refuge with him. The next year, with the recommendation of the Venerable T'an-hsü he became a novice in Tianjin, at Ta-pei (Great Compassion) Monastery. He took full ordination as a monk within the same year. In 1949, he went to Hong Kong and later studied in the Huanan Buddhist College where he also met Master Luk To and Master Sing Hung (Yu 1996:300, my translation).

Master Luk To Paving the Way to Canada

Master Luk To, a fellow student of Venerable T'an-hsü, had done much to pave the way for the two Cham Shan masters before they arrived in Toronto. As early as 1945, right after the World War II, Master Luk To went to listen to a lecture of Professor Liang Ching-hsing, and heard that America was a great potential market for the spreading of Buddhism. Master Luk To soon decided to study English on his own and prepared himself for the task. His motive for learning English was questioned by some members of the sangha, but when Venerable T'an-hsü knew about his intentions to transport the Dharma to America, he was really pleased (Yu 1996:144, my translation).

In 1962, an opportunity to go to America opened up for him. He was invited by the Cheng Shan Buddhist and Taoist Research Institute in San Francisco to go there and became the resident monk. Master Luk To soon asked permission from Venerable T'an-hsü to leave for America and arrived in America in January 1963. Master Luk To was the third Buddhist monk to arrive there to spread the Dharma. The other two were Masters Miao-feng and Hsüan-hua both of them had

arrived a year earlier (Yu 1996:145, my translation).

Soon after Master Luk To arrived at the institute, he was uncomfortable to find that the institute actually practised a mixture of Taoist and Buddhist beliefs, and that the Taoist pantheon was placed along side that of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Yu 1996:145, my translation). In the following year, he manoeuvred with the support of two lay persons, Chen Chia-cheng and Chiang-Wang Yu-ching, to establish the American Buddhist Association in New York. Soon afterwards he established the Great Awakening Temple in New York. In 1974, he resigned from both of these positions and organized the American Youth Association and the North America Sūtra Translation Committee. Thereafter, he focussed on the translation of the many Mahāyāna sūtras (Yu1996:146, my translation).

Master Sing Hung and Master Shing Cheung Coming to Canada

In 1967, Master Luk To, who was spreading the Dharma in New York, invited the Master Sing Hung and Shing Cheung to come to North America. Montreal was hosting the World Expo during that year, so they went to visit Canada. They met Mrs Ying-Chin Yu-tang who was the founder of the North American Buddhist Association. With her encouragement, the two monks stayed behind in Canada for the benefit of the Canadian Chinese. According to Master Shing Cheung:

Our coming to Canada was mostly through the encouragement of Mrs Ying. Without her support we would not have stayed in Canada. That year, Mrs Ying went to Montreal to set up her business, on her visit to Toronto, she noticed that there were a lot of Chinese in Toronto but there was no Buddhist temple. She was concerned as a Buddhist. Upon her return to New York, she encouraged us to come to Toronto to set up a temple. She also

offered to provide us with the funds to purchase a permanent place in Toronto. We had just arrived in New York and found Toronto completely new. We did not dare to accept her offer right away. We just wanted to come and survey the situation. Therefore, when we first arrived in Toronto, we were just renting a house as a temple. Mrs Ying offered to cover all our costs and gave us \$200.00 for monthly expenditures. (Yu 1996:301-302, my translation)

The two monks soon discovered that renting a place to be used as a temple created a lot of inconveniences. They had to move if the landlord did not extend the lease, and sometimes, due to religious differences, they were not offered an extension (Yu 1996:302, my translation).

As the followers grew in size they decided to purchase a permanent place to be used as a temple. They purchased 100 Southill Road in 1968 and named it Nam Shan (South Hill) Temple and applied for official recognition under the current name of the Buddhist Association of Canada.

After they had purchased a permanent place, they ordered a Buddha statue from Hong Kong, but the temple was too small for the statue. Some disciples felt that they needed a bigger place and Ms He Xueming, a fellow student under Venerable T'an-hsü in Hong Kong, volunteered to donate a piece of land in Thornhill, it became the site of the present temple. The monks then started fundraising in Hong Kong (Yu 1996:303, my translation).

In 1978, the main hall for the present temple was finished. The temple was named Cham Shan Temple in memory of the Cham Shan Temple in Qingdao. It was situated at 7254 Bayview Avenue in Thornhill. The temple followed the design of a traditional Chinese temple of an ancient palace. A huge incense burner on top of a lotus throne stood in front of the temple and two stone lions guarded the front

entrance of the temple (see Illustration No. 2). They soon started the Kuan-yin hall to the left of the temple. When it was finished in 1984, they invited famous monks from Hong Kong such as Venerable Bao Deng (the head abbot of Hong Kong Cham Shan Temple), Kok Kwong (President of the Hong Kong Buddhist Association), Chi Fang and Yüan-chi for the opening ceremony. Another wing was added to the temple in 1993; a Ti-ts'ang (Skt. Kṣitigarbha) Hall (see Illustration No. 3), and a Venerable T'an-hsü memorial hall to the right. After much expansion and development, the whole temple complex is currently about seven thousand square feet (Yu 1996:303-304, my translation).

The temple complex modelled that of a Chinese temple in Mainland China, and looked like a monastery inside a garden. Outside the temple hall, inside the garden, there is a pavilion with a huge statue of Kuan-yin clad in white, and a small pavilion of Mahabrahma, a popular Deity, particularly venerated in Thailand, where people can go to make a sacrifice in return for favours from the Deity (see Illustration No. 3).

Inside the temple, there is a Buddha Śākyamuni in the middle, Medicine Buddha to the left, and Buddha Amitābha to the right (Illustration No. 4). Further left is Kuan-yin and in front of her stands Sudhana and Nagakanya. Further right is Kṣitigarbha and the wall is adorned with the eighteen lohans.⁸ A statue of Wei-to Bodhisattva guards the temple opposite the Buddhas. Underneath the main temple there is a library, a huge hall that can sit about three hundred people for a

⁸ Lohan is a Chinese term for the Sanskrit arhat meaning a Buddhist saint who had attained enlightenment with his/her own effort. In the early texts they are sixteen in number and later increased to eighteen. They are believed to have magical powers and guarding various regions assigned by the Buddha Śākyamuni until the coming of the next Buddha (Bowker 1996:584).

vegetarian meal, and two kitchens.

Cham Shan temple is situated in the Markham area around many other places of worship including Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu and Zoroastrian. It symbolizes the presence of the Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism in Toronto and is a source of pride among many Chinese. But soon after its construction, the monks felt that it was too far away from Chinatown and was not near enough to any subway location. As a result, in 1984 they purchased a building in 1330 Bloor Street West, which is next to a subway entrance. The building was originally a grand restaurant. It has three storeys, including a basement with a total of four levels, each of five thousand square feet. They renovated the building to become the present Hong Fa Temple. The main level is the meditation hall, the second floor is the main temple, the third floor houses the library, and the dining hall and offices are in the basement.

In 1995, the Buddhist Association of Canada further purchased a thirty thousand square foot building and renovated it to become the Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery and Library at 1224 Lawrence Avenue West, North York (see Illustration No. 6). Opened in 1997, the building displays a lot of Buddhist statues and art from all the different traditions of Buddhism all over the world. There is also a library, meditation hall, lecture hall, and a dining room.

In 1995, the Cham Shan temple also purchased a piece of land in Niagara Falls and turned it into the International Buddhist Zen Centre and started the construction of a huge Buddhist pagoda together with the installation of two huge statues: one of Kuan-yin and one of Buddha. Cham Shan temple has undergone

a major expansion in the last thirty years since the arrival of the two monks from Hong Kong. In recent years, they have also expanded into Toronto's neighbouring area. Along with a centre in Hamilton, they now have a Cham Shan Ch'an Temple in Whitby which is planned to be a Buddhist college and is currently used as a meditative retreat centre.

The T'ien-t'ai Sect and the Cham Shan Temple

The major philosophy and practice of the Cham Shan temple is the T'ien-t'ai sect where the two monks had their training. The T'ien-t'ai sect is generally recognized as the most refined philosophical development of Buddhism within the Chinese culture (Ch'en 1973: 303).

The T'ien-t'ai Sect was systematically developed by Chih-i (538-597) in China. The biography of Chih-i is filled with miraculous signs showing him to be a predestined great teacher. He first studied under the monk Hui-ssu in China, an adept practitioner of meditation, whose teachings had antagonised a lot of monks in his time. Afterwards, Chih-i left for Chin-ling (modern Nanjing) and stayed in Mount T'ien-t'ai (modern Chekiang) for the rest of his life. The school was named after his residence in Mount T'ien-t'ai. After settling in there he started to arrange the Buddhist scriptures in a coherent manner. This was because during Chih-i's time, the Chinese Buddhists were puzzled by the tremendous amount of scriptures available, with many containing contradictory and antagonistic messages all claiming to be "words of the Buddha". Various scholarly monks had already begun similar projects of the classification of the sūtras. The system of

Chih-i was filled with such scholarly and encyclopaedic knowledge that he won the acceptance of the academic Buddhists in China (Ch'en 1973:305).

The T'ien-t'ai School represented Chinese efforts to establish a heterogeneous school of Buddhism in China that would recognize all forms of Buddhism. Through its all inclusive and encyclopaedic nature it acknowledged all the Buddhist scriptures to be authentic and deemed to have been revealed by the Buddha. The differences, however, are due to the differences in the time and level of understanding of his followers. The T'ien-t'ai sect called it "Five Periods and Eight Teachings."⁹

The school saw no animosity between Mahāyāna and Hinayana. However, the school, did believe that the *Saddharma Sūtra* (Skt. Lotus text) to be the highest teaching. It also affirmed the fundamental Buddhist teaching that all beings could become Buddhas since all had the Buddha nature within them.

Pure Land Buddhism

The Cham Shan Temple practiced Pure Land Buddhism. Pure Land Buddhism is a principal form of practice of the T'ien-t'ai Sect in spite of all the different schools in China. Chinese Buddhism in general follows: "T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen in doctrines and Meditation and Pure Land in practice" (Chan 1978:63).

Pure Land Buddhism in China is based on the longer and shorter *Sukhāvati-vyūha Sūtras* (Skt. Pure Land Texts) and another text *Kuan-wu-liang-shou-fo Ching* (Chinese: *Meditation on the Infinite Life Sūtra*). In the Pure Land

⁹ For a complete classification of the Buddhist scriptures according to the T'ien-t'ai Sect please see Ch'en 1973:303-313.

teachings, Buddha Amitābha (Skt. Infinite Light) resides in Pure Land (Skt *Sukhāvatī*) a land of bliss with no sorrow. When he was still a Bodhisattva by the name of Dharmākara he vowed to create such a realm so that the faithful could go and continue their development to enlightenment. In the longer *Pure Land Sūtra* it says those who have generated *bodhicitta* (Skt. awakening mind) and performed meritorious deeds will be lead into Pure Land upon their death. Beings who are reborn in Pure Land are reborn in a sexless manner like children seated on lotus thrones (Williams 1989:251-253).

The text also says that Bodhisattvas everywhere who wish to be reborn in the Pure Land can do so and they can obtain enlightenment in the Pure Land. Bodhisattvas who do not wish to be reborn in the Pure Land and keep taking rebirths in Samsāra in order to be of aid to sentient beings can follow their own wishes too (Williams 1989:253).

In the *Kwan-wu-liang-shou-fo Ching* it further elaborates on nine grades of lotuses in Pure Land where even the lowest person can go, if they only hear the name of Amitābha and generate the sincere desire to obtain rebirth in the Pure Land. They, however, have to undergo a period of purification in a “closed lotus” before they can join the other Pure Land inhabitants. In this sūtra, Amitābha is always depicted as having Avalokiteśvara¹⁰ (translated into Kuan-yin in Chinese)

¹⁰ Avalokiteśvara is a compound Sanskrit word Avalokita (He who looks down) and Ishvara, (the Lord) (Conze 1975: 147). He is often depicted as a princely being of enormous stature with rays of light streaming forth from His body illuminating all the worlds and all the beings in them. He is also frequently depicted as wearing a headdress with a seated figure of Amitābha in it, symbolizing Him as an emanation of Amitābha (Williams 1989:232). In Kumārajīva's famous fifth century translation of the Lotus Sūtra His name is translated into Kuan-shih-yin in Chinese meaning “hearer of the sounds of the world”, and is generally addressed as Kuan-yin in short. In China Kuan-yin remained

to his left and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (translated into Ta Shih-chih in Chinese) to his right as his attendants (Williams 1989:255-256).

The Cham Shan Temple

The Cham Shan temple follows the tradition of the T'ien-t'ai school and accepts the interpretation of Buddhism as worked out by Chih-i but also places a heavy emphasis on Pure Land practice. There are however, specific guidelines as passed down by the tradition which have been adopted by the present temple, in how to attain enlightenment, and how to behave in a monastic environment.¹¹

1. In learning to become Buddha, one has to first of all generate Bodhicitta; you do not always pray for your own well being, but wish that all sentient beings be free from suffering.
2. When you are talking you have to speak in a moderated tone, and you

principally a male figure from the fifth to the eleventh century. Between the tenth and eleventh centuries there developed in China the legend of the princess Miao Shan who became associated with Avalokiteśvara and thereafter, Avalokiteśvara's sex was changed to female (Kinsley 1989:27). According to the legend, Miao Shan defies her father the king's order to be married and became a Buddhist nun. Miao Shan is widely believed to be an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara and in the legend through her virtues and ordeals, she resolves the conflict between the Confucian ethics of being married and the Buddhist ideal of women leading a monastic life and affirms women's attainment of spirituality. Some scholars also believe that Kuan-yin is a form of White Tārā, the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara similar to the Hindu idea of śaktis (Skt. female energies). The association of Kuan-yin with White Tārā is particularly pertinent in the popular representation of Kuan-yin clad in white. Similar to the worship of Green and White Tārās in Tibet, Kuan-yin is a popular Deity in China. She is believed to be rescuing her devotees from all kinds of perils, a giver of children and a granter of boons (Kinsley 1989:31-34).

Kuan-yin is also worshipped as a saviour, and in China there is the popular depiction of the Thousand Armed and Thousand Eyed Kuan-yin. In her role as a saviour Kuan-yin symbolizes the Mahāyāna ideal of the Bodhisattva who postpones his/her entrance into Nirvāṇa in order to aid sentient beings. In the monasteries the twenty-fourth chapter of the Lotus Sutra (the twenty-fifth chapter in the translation of the Chinese text) is the Kuan-yin sūtra which recounts her role as a saviour and is often recited on its own both within the temples and as a daily practice on the part of the devotees (Kinsley 1989:35-37).

¹¹Translated by the author who found this pasted on a wall of the Cham Shan Temple as a constant reminder to the disciples who come to the temple.

have to exercise sensitivity in dealing with others. You have to treat others with sincerity and without animosity and anger.

3. You have to be sincere in your offerings to the triple jewels. You do not offer for fame and good fortune and have to be selfless in your service.
4. Leave your eyes, mouth, ears and heart out of gossip.
5. You have to have the compassion of Kuan-yin, the great vows of Samanthabhadra, and the great intentions of liberating all sentient beings [including hell beings] of Kṣitigarbha, and obtain the great wisdom of Mañjusrī.
6. In everyday life you have to cultivate good karma, eliminate all negative karma. Understand the universal law of cause and effect and cultivate the ability to discriminate between the good and the evil.
7. In communal living, you have to exercise patience, with a willingness for personal sacrifice in order to benefit others. With proper affinity people come and stay together, without that people disperse on their own.
8. In communal living, we do not hurt anybody, harm anybody. When we are dealing with people we have to be ethical, compassionate and meritorious.
9. Generate the bodhicitta that you will protect the three precious jewels, never destroy the three precious jewels and attain enlightenment at the earliest possible.
10. When we are learning to be buddhas, we do not slander the monastics, we are also constantly aware of our body, speech and mind and try to continuously eliminate greed, hatred and ignorance. We will recite the

Buddha's name all the time instead of talking. Moreover, we have to be able to endure the unendurable and to practice the difficult.

The Monastic Order

The Cham Shan temple has two elderly monks, Master Sing Hung and Master Shing Cheung, and two elderly nuns -- Ting-sheng and K'uan-shao (both over seventy years old). The two elderly nuns were recently ordained. They received their ordination in Hong Kong from other masters. They were allowed to stay in the temple because they had been there as lay supporters for a long period of time.

The temple opens at 4:30 a.m. and has its morning chanting ceremony at 5:00 a.m. in the main temple hall. The chanting consists of the long Suramgama Dhāranī and the Great Compassion Dhāranī and ten shorter dhāranīs.¹² It is followed by the Heart Sūtra and the dedication prayer dedicating the merit to all. The morning chanting service is mostly done by the resident monks and nuns and occasionally by visiting monks and nuns together with a few lay people who stay in the temple, usually helping in the kitchen and cleaning. The morning service is open to all at 5:30 a.m. every Saturday and Sunday and during lunar moon days.

The temple also organizes Buddhist festivals throughout the year. This

¹² Talismanic-Precious-Wheel King Talismanic Dhāranī 2) Calamity Elimination Propitious Dhāranī 3). Meritorious Mountain Sacred Dhāranī 4). Bodhisattva Cundi Mantra 5). Sacred Eternal Life Determining-Bright-King Dhāranī 6). Medicine Buddha Sprinkling-Head Mantra 7). Avalokiteśvara's Instantaneous Response Mantra 8). Seven Buddhas' Negative Karma Elimination Mantra 9). Rebirth to Pure Land Mantra 10). Laksmī Mantra.

includes the traditional Buddha śākyamuni's Enlightenment Day Festival, Maitreya Bodhisattva Festival, śākyamuni Buddha's Great Renunciation Festival, Kuan-yin Bodhisattva Birthday Festival, Ching Ming Festival, śākyamuni Buddha Birthday Festival, Kuan-yin Bodhisattva Enlightenment Festival, Yue Lan (Skt. Ullambana) Festival, Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva Festival, Kuan-yin Bodhisattva Great Renunciation Festival, Medicine Buddha Festival and Amitābha Buddha Festival.

The festivals last from one to seven days. For example, the Kuan-yin Festival lasts for three days and the Ullambana and the Amitābha Buddha Festival both last for seven days. During the festivals the temple is open to the public for morning service at 5:30 a.m. The festival itself starts at 10:00 a.m. and the morning session ends at noon, when a vegetarian lunch is served. The festival resumes in the afternoon at 2:00 p.m. with a confessional prayer.

During the lunar moon days the temple is open to the public for morning service. The morning session, which starts at 10:00 a.m. consists of chanting the Great Compassion Dhāraṇī and the chanting of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva Confession on the 1st lunar moon day and the Confession of the Great Compassionate One on the 15th lunar moon day. It is again followed by a vegetarian lunch. In the afternoon, there is another chanting session in the Kṣitigarbha Hall. The temple also organizes other activities in addition to the Buddhist festivals. Every first Saturday of the month it has a one day Eight Precepts retreat in the temple. Master Shing Cheung also organizes regular sūtra study. When the author was there, he was organizing a sūtra study on the

Surangama and Lotus Sūtra. Participants in the sūtra study read the text plus follow a detailed exegesis on it. The temple has a group ceremony every Sunday morning, together with Dharma study groups for adolescents and children, and meditative classes on Sundays.

The temple also organizes summer day camps for children in the International Buddhist Chan Centre in Niagara Falls. The group regularly invites masters from related temples to give Dharma talks (for example the invitation of Master Luk To during the Ullambana festival in 1999).

The library is open to the public during Saturdays and Sundays, lunar moon days, and all public holidays. The library houses many Chinese Mahāyāna scriptures, together with tapes and video tapes. A large number of the sūtras, Buddhist texts, tapes of Dharma talks by monks in Asia and America, and tapes on the mantras. Also available is a free mantra machine on A-mi-t'o fo (Skt. Amitābha) to the public. The chanting of the mantra is considered to be of utmost importance in Pure Land Buddhism. The use of the mantra is to calm the discursive thoughts of the mind and induce a state of absorption (Williams 1989:264). In Chinese Buddhism the recitation of the mantra is also to prepare the practitioners for the ultimate liberation into Pure Land. In this regard, there is no difference between Pure Land and Chan Buddhism just a different use of techniques. Many Cham Shan followers carry a mantra machine with them while carrying on daily activities. The temple has the mantra machine on all day (a nun

that I know of sleeps with one on at night). The masters carry the *mālās*¹³ (skt. prayer beads) with them and recite the mantra everywhere they go. Most of the materials are donated by patrons in Hong Kong and Taiwan and increasingly by Buddhists in Canada for free distribution to the public.

The temple mostly follows the routine of a traditional Chinese temple in China, with the monks and nuns observing the tradition of hard work, (rising early in the morning at 4:30 a.m.) and the practice of frugality in their daily living. Altogether there are twelve monks and nuns associated with this temple complex. Besides the four elderly monks and nuns in the main temple, there is a group of nuns who belong to this temple, but work under the supervision of an elderly nun Ti-hsui who resides in the earliest Nam Shan Temple. The masters also regularly send the novice monks to study in Taiwan. For example, Shan-te, a young Chinese man from Hong Kong, was sent to study in a Taiwanese Buddhist college soon after ordination. It is not uncommon for family members to go into the sangha together. Shan-te's mother also joined the temple complex soon after her son had taken up the robe and is now residing in the Nam Shan Temple. There was also a student nun, Shan-p'in, who studied at York University and worked as a tour guide and English translator in the temple.

When asked why there were so few monks and nuns in the temple, an informant answered that most people were used to their old ways and had difficulty adjusting to temple life. Moreover, taking up the robe did not mean that

¹³ A Buddhist *mālā* consist of 108 beads.

you had secured a place within the temple. The master would only offer you a place to stay if you could get along with the people and offered your service to the temple. A lot of service for a novice monk or nun consists of hard kitchen work plus cleaning, which some would find difficult. Together with the rigid rules governed by the *vinaya* (Skt. monastic discipline) concerning how a monk/nun should behave, many people have found it difficult to adjust. The informant remarked that such cases of inability to adapt were fairly common among the native born Canadian Chinese and university students who had no idea what temple life was.

For the Chinese lay supporters, the temple is a centre for learning, retreat, participation in various ceremonies, and offering their services in the form of volunteer work. From my observation, the lay supporters at Cham Shan Temple particularly welcome the traditional ceremony. On the days that the temple was open to the public for morning service around 5:20 a.m. there were quite a few cars parked outside the temple. Many came for the ceremony before they went to work. As in the traditional Chinese temple, many people wore the black robe indicating that they had taken formal refuge to be a Buddhist and a brown robe on top indicating that they had taken the precepts.¹⁴ During the lunar moon days there were usually 50-100 people during the morning session. According to one of my informants, they had about three hundred member families who came to the temple regularly, and another 1000 whom they term “incense burners” who

¹⁴ As a form of practice, most Buddhist laypersons are encouraged to take the five precepts which basically is to abstain from any conduct that would cause harm to oneself and others. The five precepts are: non killing, no stealing, non illicit sex, non lying and no intoxicating drinks.

came to the temple occasionally during major festivals to make sacrifices and asked for favours from the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. They also had a hundred member core families who had serious intentions about learning the Buddhist Dharma and practice. There were usually about 300 people who came to the lunar moon day's ceremonies, 1000 to 2000 people during the Buddhist festivals and about 5000 who go to the temple during Chinese New Year as it is customarily for the Chinese to go to the temple to pray for blessings for the following year (T17, male 40-45, Jul 1999). Another informant also told me that there used to be about 3,000 people who came for the Kuan-yin festival, but with the establishment of more and more temples in Toronto the number had declined in recent years.

On top of the Buddhist festivals is the Ming Shou of Venerable T'an-hsü to commemorate his passing away in 1963 at the age of 89. Besides the Buddhist festivals and death rituals, the Cham Shan Temple also conducts wedding ceremonies for the public and they usually arrange it together with the major festivals.

During the Buddhist festivals or the lunar moon day's ceremonies, after the morning session there usually follows a Dharma talk. The Dharma talks are usually on the Buddhist concept of emptiness and non-attachment which is the core teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism. For example, below is one of the Dharma talks given by Master Sing Hung on July 13, 1999 which was a lunar moon day ceremony and also the *Ming Shou* of Venerable T'an-hsü.

The major obstacle in today's living is not understanding the emptiness of existence and holding onto to the view that everything is real when in fact everything is only temporary as they go through changes. Prajñā is the wisdom, the profound wisdom. If we do not have prajñā and the understanding of the emptiness of existence we hold onto attachment. We have to think of this phenomenal world as a bubble in a stream. In the Buddha's time there was a Brahmacarin, who had attained the stage of non-attachment and left all his worries, his six sense organs and their attachments behind. He had attained enlightenment and was liberated. The understanding of emptiness, non-attachment and attaining liberation, these are important for both the monastics and the layman.

On another lunar moon day ceremony that the author attended at the time of the morning ceremony at 10:00 a.m. there were about 100 people present. The ceremony consisted of the *Great Compassion Dhāranī* together with a walking meditation reciting the mantra A-mi-t'o fo. Most of the people present were older, 70% of them older women. There were about 15% younger women and 15% were younger and older men. According to my informant the younger people like to engage in the libraries, meditation and volunteer work. The older people enjoyed the ceremonies. After the ceremony there was a Dharma talk, usually addressing the particular occasion. On this particular occasion, there was a sixty year old woman from mainland China who recently took up the precepts to be a novice. Master Shing Cheung talked about the importance of abiding by the *vinaya* in order to govern oneself in one's spiritual practice as a monastic. He also emphasized the importance of guarding one's body, speech and mind and the elimination of greed, hatred and ignorance in a Buddhist practice. After the ceremony there was a vegetarian lunch and over 200 "incense burners" came; many did not join the ceremonies. They came mostly to do divination in the Kuan-

yin hall, make sacrifices for successes in front of Mahabrahma and prayed to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as “Deities” for blessings and left after the lunch.

In the afternoon there was a confessional prayer session chanting the “I pay homage to a thousand Buddhas.” The chanting of the mantras and the confessional prayers were a popular practice and most of the people present seemed to enjoy this part of the practice.

My research indicates that, not only does the temple provide a place for Buddhist teachings and ceremonies, it also provides a place for the lay person to acquire merit in their practice. Close to 90 percent of the respondents believe that life is an infinite round of rebirths and 96 percent of the respondents believe in the Buddhist Karmic Law of Cause and Effect. According to this law, however unfair life may seem at any given time in one’s life it is the sum total of his past deeds either in this or previous life. What we sow is what we reap. The present is the fruit of the past and the creator of the future. By engaging in meritorious action we can avert negative karmic retribution that may be coming towards us and increase our good fortune in this or future life. Moreover, according to Pure Land teaching one can accumulate the merits towards the final goal of gaining rebirth in the Pure Land. It is particularly emphasized in the Lotus Sūtra, the sūtra highly esteemed by the T’ien-t’ai Sect to be the embodiment of the Buddha’s highest teachings, that various meritorious deeds such as engaging in the ceremonies and helping in the spreading of the Dharma will gain tremendous merit.

This aspect of the teaching from the Lotus Sūtra is very much alive in the Cham Shan Temple. For example, in 1995, the two elderly masters Sing Hung

and Shing Cheung started fundraising in Canada, Hong Kong and Taiwan to install two huge bronze Buddhist statues, one of Buddha and one of Kuan-yin in Niagara Falls. They were also building a huge pagoda. The total cost of the construction is estimated to be 1.5 million Canadian dollars.

There were controversies among the various Buddhist sects concerning building gigantic statues of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Some believed that they were not necessary and might mislead people to believe them to be as Gods and Goddesses. Moreover, they cost plenty of money. The building of huge Buddha's statues did not seem to be particularly important among the other two Buddhist groups that I was researching. According to Master Sing Hung's open letter for donation there are six reasons for installing the statues:

To honour the Buddha as the supreme enlightened one among the past, present and future Buddhas.

People see the statues and prostrate to the Buddha and through that develop right understanding of the Dharma.

People develop devotion to the Buddhas through their existence.

People generate Bodhicitta through paying respect and offerings to the Buddhas.

People eliminate negative karma through paying homages to the Buddhas.

People can repay the benevolence of their parents, society, country and triple jewels through erecting the statues. (Sing Hung, August 1996, my translation)

Quoting from the *Lotus Sūtra*, he says: "If people's minds are out of control, when they enter the temple and recite Namo Buddhaya, they are already on the path." He further states that Niagara Falls is an international scenic spot, every year there are millions of people who visit it. For the last decade he has been making vows of establishing Buddha statues and pagodas there so that people can benefit from them.

He further emphasizes that donating to such a project would greatly increase one's merit in life. He says: "To have wealth and to be blessed with many grandchildren is through the generation of bodhicitta, making offerings to the triple jewels, and the building of temples and pagodas. The present good fortune in life and increased wisdom are due to all kinds of meritorious deeds. This includes the printing and promoting of the sūtras, the erection of the Buddhist statues, non-killing, liberating of all sentient beings together with charitable deeds, such as aiding the old and the poor, and engaging in various public works for the benefit of society " (Sing Hung August 1996, my translation). As of the year 2000, the fundraising campaign was extremely successful and most of the work in Niagara Falls was near completion.

The Temple as a Place to Increase One's Merit

In general, the younger men and women participate in the libraries as librarians, in the centres as cleaners, and in the reception area as hosts. The older women seem to have a lot of benefits, not only do they have a place to go outside of the family, their kitchen skills can really be used in the temple towards the cooking of the vegetarian dinner, which is a great attraction to the laity. Moreover, the belief in Pure Land, which is a major belief within the temple, puts their hearts at ease about death. Furthermore, whatever contribution that they have towards the temple whether it is in the form of monetary donation or physical work, counts towards the merit that they are accumulating towards the

attainment of the Pure Land goal.

Transfer of Merits to Ancestors

The Chinese Buddhists also actively engage in what one would call “the transfer of merits” to their ancestors. The temple offers a deliverance ceremony for the dead. Anybody who has had a recent death in the family can sponsor a chanting service for the benefit of the departed. It is led by the head monks and is chanted almost daily in the Ti-ts'ang Hall. Although the deliverance of the dead is a ritual of considerable controversy among other sects and traditions, the Chinese Buddhists appreciate and welcome this service provided by the temple. Most Chinese families that I have encountered welcomed the deliverance ceremony and over seventy percent of the respondents reported participating in the annual Ullambana for the deliverance of the departed to a higher realm of existence.

The Chinese Buddhists also regularly donate money in honour of their ancestors and almost all of them have erected ancestral plaques in the temple for the benefit of their ancestors, so that they can “listen to the Dharma” and benefit from the chanting that occurs daily. With the global migration of the Chinese, many also find that it is important to install several ancestral tablets in several places all over the world so that their ancestors can travel with them and have a place to stay during their travel.

During the many chanting ceremonies for the recently departed, the Diamond Sūtra or the Pure Land Sūtra is usually chanted. For the Mahāyāna

Buddhists, attachment causes suffering, therefore the chanting of the *Diamond Sūtra* is particularly appropriate because it cuts out all illusions and attachments to the phenomenal world and helps both the departed and the bereaved family to move on. The *Pure Land Sūtra*, moreover, brings hope and peace of mind to the living that death is not something so dreadful after all, it might in fact be a "promotion" to a better realm of existence. Many of the chanting ceremonies that the author attended were characterized by an atmosphere of peace and harmony. The archaic language of the sūtra actually added to the atmosphere and in many cases spurred the curiosity of the younger family members present (who might not be Buddhists at all), as it was so different from everyday language.

When interviewed by the author concerning how to keep up the practice of Buddhism in the modern West with everybody having a hectic schedule, Master Sing Hung said:

We have to include Buddhist practice in our everyday life. The reason is we are in the twenty first century and everyone is so busy with their daily life, and there is no time for Buddhist practice. Therefore, when one is walking, eating or doing one's work, one can take some time to do some visualization or recitations of the Buddha's name. When one is driving a car or taking a bus one can recite the mantras, the Heart Sūtra or the mantra of Avalokiteśvara. Please do not waste time on unimportant things. If you do this constantly you will not be troubled by worries. The Buddhist practice is already benefiting our daily lives. It also has a spill over effect to your work, children and friends. In Buddhism, there are the four stages of learning: faith, understanding, practice and attainments. First is to have faith in the right views and the right understanding of the eightfold noble path. Second, is the right understanding of the main emphasis of the sūtras. Third is to eliminate all kinds of anxiety, and to put our minds at ease, and ultimately to attain liberation. Venerable T'an-hsü said: "Practice according to the Dharma, and through practice we can attain

enlightenment. That is through the understanding of the empty nature of existence and non-attachment, ultimately one attains liberation." (Sing Hung July 7, 1999. my translation)

The temple works as a centre for worship and provides ethical guidelines for a good and prosperous life for the laity. The temple also provides a social community where there are numerous ceremonies throughout the month where people can participate. The temple provides a place for the learning of the Buddha's Dharma and for gathering merits. It is also a place for learning various ritual elements according to the tradition. The temple also acts as a retreat centre where people can go to various retreats, notably the Eight Precepts Retreat¹⁵ which lasts for one to seven days.

T'ai-hsü's influence and the development of the Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery and the Hong Fa Temple

T'ai-hsü had a profound influence in the modern development in Chinese Buddhism (Please see also Master Hsing Yun in Chapter 4). The development of the Cham Shan temple was much influenced by T'ai-hsü's calling for a reform within the sangha. Master Sing Hung and Master Shing Cheung were both contemporaries of T'ai-hsü. Both of them went to study in Qingdao Cham Shan Temple during the 1930s when T'ai-hsü was vigorously calling for a reform in the sangha. This included a call for a unified church, a return to the study of the doctrines and the spreading of the Dharma rather than engaging in funeral rites and a vision of a global migration of Buddhism (please refer to Chapter 2). T'ai-

¹⁵ The Eight Precepts consist of the five prohibitions against killing, stealing, illicit sex, lying, and intoxicating drinks adding the extra three of no personal adornments or entertainments, sleeping on a high bed, and no eating after mid-day.

hsü had set up many institutes for the training of the clergy, the most famous being Wu Chang Buddhist Institute. His call for reform had won the support of some of the clergy in his time, the most notable was Venerable T'an-hsü who set up many institutes of Buddhist learning of the T'ien-t'ai Sect in northern China and the Cham Shan masters and Master Luk To who were among some of his students in Qingdao. T'ai-hsü had a profound influence on Master Luk To. As early as 1964, when he first arrived in America he was recorded to have said:

In modern America, if the Buddhist sangha is still adopting the ancient tradition of engaging solely in divination and funeral rites, treating temple property as their heritage and constantly engaging in sectarian fight, there is no future for Chinese Buddhism in America. (Luk To 1996: 146, my translation)

Luk To himself, had translated many works of T'ai-hsü and they frequently appeared in the Buddhist Association of Canada Newsletter, a newsletter published by the Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery, one example being, "The Practice of Bodhisattva Dharma" by T'ai-hsü which appeared in the Winter 1999 issue of the Newsletter.

T'ai-hsü had a profound impact on the modern development of Chinese Buddhism as represented by the very learned nature of the two masters who are actively engaged in the spreading of the Dharma. In the course of my research, I often heard Buddhists lamenting that: "Elderly monks (referring to the two masters) who were properly trained in the ancient tradition of China are becoming extinct!"

However, in spite of the influence of Tai-hsü, unlike Master Hsing Yun, the two masters are trying to preserve many aspects of the ancient tradition. This

includes, the otherworldly non political nature of the clergy, the emphasis on the rituals, the respect of traditional Chinese practices such as divination, feng shui, palm reading, the honouring of the Earth Deity and the service of funeral rites to the public. According to my research the original address of the Nam Shan Temple was moved due to feng shui problems. Master Sing Hung is very good at astrology and palm reading. But according to him, while one's karmic accumulation will have some effect on a person's life ultimately one's destiny is determined by one's actions and intentions at any moment. Negative karma can be changed any time based on the understanding of the Buddhist karmic law of Cause and Effect. However, it is in the development of the Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery and Hong Fa that T'ai-hsü's influence has a strong impact.

The Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery

The Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery was opened in September 1997. It is a very modern museum with a huge collection of Buddhist statutes from all the Buddhist traditions which include Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Tibetan. According to Lucianna Low, the librarian of the gallery, the concept of the project is to transmit Chinese Buddhism through channels other than the traditional rituals and ceremonies. They are trying to attract the intellectuals through the use of Buddhist philosophy. The centre publishes a newsletter called, *The Buddhist Association Newsletter* and organizes an article competition every year.

According to Low, from the beginning the centre has tried to extend the Buddhist teachings to the Caucasians through the support of the lay people as

the monks are hampered by the language barrier. Mr Li Yin-an an elderly Buddhist has been very much involved in the project since the beginning. They have two lay supporters David Hampton and Franz Li leading a weekly discussion group of a modern Buddhist text, *What the Buddha Taught*, by Walpola Rahula. The lay teachers also organize classes on Tai Chi, Chinese Civilization and Buddhist courses in English and Chinese in both Mandarin and Cantonese dialects.

The centre is also trying to open Chinese Buddhism to the influence of monks from other denominations and cultural backgrounds. In 1999 they had a Jamaican born Chinese monk Bhante Kovinda at the centre. He gave Dharma talks, meditation classes in the Theravāda tradition, and yoga classes as well. He also regularly went to the University of Toronto and taught a meditation class. The centre also has students of Thich Nhat Hahn showing videos of his Dharma talks in the centre. The centre also constantly organizes group tours in conjunction with the University of Toronto.

According to Low, many Chinese have prejudices about Buddhism as being superstitious, particularly the intellectuals who come to the centre to pick up their relatives. The westerners are actually better, most of the ones who come to the centre have some knowledge about Buddhism. They have 10-15 Chinese persons who come to the centre regularly and these people are mostly interested in sūtra study. They also have 10-15 Caucasians who come to the centre regularly and these people are usually interested in meditation. The centre does not organize traditional Chinese ceremonies at all.

According to Low, the greatest need in the centre is a good teacher to transmit Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism. It would be better if the teachers were somewhat younger and more energetic too. This is because westerners generally have many questions concerning Chinese Buddhism and need more attention.

The development of the Hong Fa Temple

The Hong Fa temple an extension of the Cham Shan Temple is trying to give the lay people a more accessible centre particularly those who have no car because it is right near a subway station. The Hong Fa temple has a huge library on the third floor, with a huge collection of both Buddhist texts from all the traditions of Buddhism together with some texts on world religions. The place regularly offers a weekly meditative practice led by Master Shing Cheung and week long eight-precept retreats inside the temple. They also let the Vipassanā Foundation use their premises for day long Vipassanā retreats.

Hong Fa also regularly invites lay teacher Ms Liang Chi-miao to give Dharma talks. The Dharma talk is usually about the Buddhist karmic law of Cause and Effect, the Pure Land teachings, oftentimes including a testimonial. Below is a Dharma talk which the author attended given by Ms Liang Chi-miao.

We have to realize that every phenomenon in this world is based on the Karmic Law of Cause and Effect. We are unaware of it because of our ignorance. Therefore we engage ourselves in all kinds of misdeeds in order to obtain nearsighted personal gains. Once we realize the true nature of existence then we can start correcting our mistakes...

Everything is a manifestation of our minds and there is nothing outside of our consciousness. If one concentrates one's mind on a Buddha, one is already a Buddha. Once we know what we are doing, then when we are reciting the Buddha's mantra [meaning A-mi-t'o fo] we will have more confidence in doing so and can easily

have the attainments.

In November 1998, there was a Pure Land practitioner in Beijing he had precognitive knowledge about his death and applied to the Chinese government to keep his corpse after his death for observation.¹⁶ They examined his corpse several weeks after his death; amazingly it was still intact. (July 1999)

Lay persons sometimes assuming the position of teachers to monastics started during the modern era dating from Yang Wen-hui. In this particular discourse there were three nuns present in the audience.

The Monastics of the Cham Shan Temple

According to the traditional Chinese Buddhist belief, joining the sangha is viewed as a sign of good merit in the past lives and provides a more favourable environment for ridding oneself of the infinite round of rebirths and is viewed to be of benefit to both oneself and others. Coming in contact with the Cham Shan masters provides such an inspiration that some eventually take up the robe.

I follow Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung and learn about the various religious practices and ceremonies. I became a novice nun in the temple [Cham Shan temple] and took my ordination in Taiwan. Since I came upon the treasure [meaning Buddhist teachings], I want to share it with other people.

My becoming a monastic is to be free from the cycle of rebirths. We are constantly transmigrating in the Six Realms of Existence and hardly know that we are suffering. When we realize that we are suffering because of this constant rebirth we, of course, want to be free from it and reborn in Pure Land. (T34, female 40-45, Jul1999)

Life is fleeting, I feel that this path would lead to complete liberation. Therefore, I join the sangha. The Dharma can help us attain true happiness and liberation. (T35, female 50-55, Jul1999)

¹⁶ There is a belief within Pure Land practitioners that one of the attainments of Pure Land practice is a precognitive knowledge about one's death and the body staying intact for a long time after the person has died.

One lay teacher, however, said that to be “non-attached” was a state of mind. One did not have to be a monastic in order to be free of attachment. Sometimes if one was a lay person one had more opportunity to help people as one was not hampered by the Vinaya (T36, female 60-65, Jul 1999).

Most Dharma teachers in the Cham Shan temple however, agreed that the understanding of the Karmic Law of Cause and Effect and the practice of Pure Land Buddhism is the most important practice in this era of disappearing Dharma (Chinese *mo-fa shih-tai*).¹⁷ It is also the most important element in the helping of the immigrants who come to the temple to achieve a happy and harmonious life.

One teacher said:

The problems in this world are all because of cause and effect. If there is no negative karma there would be no negative retribution. The earlier we learn about the Dharma, the earlier we can change those causes. Learning the Dharma would greatly enhance the quality of our lives as we become happier people. Every time I organized a Dharma study group there would be twenty to thirty people who attend. After a while, I noticed that their countenance had changed. To come and listen to the Dharma provide a way to change negativity. People are born with different levels of understanding and in this era of disappearing Dharma, the best path is through the Pure Land. (T36, female 60-65, Jul 1999)

A nun from the Cham Shan Temple said:

The spreading of the Dharma, recitation of A-mi-t'o fo and getting ourselves out of the infinite round of rebirths: the most important practice of both nuns and laity... There is a way out of this “burning house”¹⁸ and to liberate ourselves out of suffering. A-mi-t'o fo made forty-eight vows, those who recite his name and have faith in his saving grace would surely be received by Him upon their

¹⁷ The term *mo-fa shih-tai* is a direct translation of the Hindu term *Kali-yuga* and used in a Buddhist context. It means the third and the last period of a Buddhist cycle. The first is 500 years of correct teachings, and the second is 1000 years of facade law and the last is the period of degeneration and extinction when few people really understand the law (Soothill & Hodus 1977:191).

¹⁸ In the Lotus Sūtra, Samsāric existence is described as a burning house.

deaths and be lead onto Pure land even though they might still have some negative karmic remnants... Financial difficulties and relationship problems are the problems of everybody. In the temple we use the Dharma to aid the immigrants. (T34, female 40-45, Jul1999)

The major problem facing the development of the Cham Shan temple complex seems to be that there are not enough qualified teachers to spread the Dharma particularly in English. The present development of the temple is supported by the Chinese Canadians, but the masters and directors of the temple are of the opinion that the spreading of the Dharma is for the benefit of everyone. Therefore, qualified English teachers to transmit the Dharma to the dominant society and second generation Chinese who might not understand Chinese at all is very important in the long term development of the temple. Moreover, with the many phases of Buddhist historical development, encyclopaedic volumes of Mahāyāna sūtras, the complex philosophies and rituals it takes many years to train a qualified teacher. The establishment of a Buddhist college and the systematic training of an educated sangha to transmit the Dharma is urgently needed.

Currently our greatest needs are good teachers in order to transmit Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism. If the teacher does not have an in-depth understanding of the Dharma he/she will not have a following. Most people are attracted by the ceremonies, but we really need teachers who can spread the Dharma through their teachings and be able to explain Chinese Buddhism eloquently. It is better if they are somewhat younger too, so that they can deal with the westerners because they generally have many questions concerning Chinese Buddhism. (T38, female 40-45, Jul 1999)

Concerning the development of Chinese Buddhism in Canada, it is very important to develop people who understand and are proficient in spreading the Dharma. We need a Buddhist college to develop this kind of people who are also proficient in both English and Chinese. (T36, female 60-65, July 1999)

There are not enough people who generate the Bodhicitta to join

the sangha. (T 35, female 50-55, July 1999)

Moreover, the most difficult task facing the spreading of the Dharma seems to be that most of the people come to the temple to pray for good fortune and there are few who really want to be free from Samsāra (T 34, female 40-45, Jul 1999 and (T36, female 60-65, Jul 1999).

The Cham Shan Temple and the Global Migration of Chinese Buddhism

The Cham Shan Temple has also worked as a leader of the Chinese sangha in support of other monks and nuns who would like to come and spread the Dharma in Canada. Some monks who have been assisted by the group on their initial arrival in Toronto included Master Yüan-chi of the Mañjusrī Temple and Master We-te of the Cheng-chüeh Temple, among others.

Master Yüan-chi - Mañjusrī Temple

The Mañjusrī Temple in Victoria Park was established by Master Yüan-chi in 1986. It is a modest building inside a three thousand square foot house with the principle Deity, Mañjusrī. The temple is built in the fashion of a traditional Chinese temple similar to that of the Cham Shan Temple and the walls are adorned with wall dividers of the eighteen lohans carved in them. The motif of the eighteen lohans seems to be a popular theme within traditional Chinese temples symbolizing the otherworldly nature of the tradition. The arhats (Skt. saints) according to Mahāyāna understanding are mostly interested in their own enlightenment and attaining Nirvāna and they do not seem to be engaged in any kind of worldly pursuit. The arhats, however, were not found within the other two

groups namely Fo Guang and True Buddha Group that the author was researching.

Master Yüan-chi was a fellow student of the Cham Shan Masters back in the Qingdao Cham Shan Temple in the early 1940s. Master Yüan-chi was born in 1924 in Shanxi and became a monk at the age of six. At the age of sixteen, he went to Qingdao Cham Shan Temple and studied under Venerable T'an-hsü who was a famous teacher at that time.

On the eve of the Communist takeover of China Master Yüan-chi fled along with other monks to Guangzhou in 1949 where he met Master Yong Xing (a famous monk in Hong Kong). Together they heard that the Venerable T'an-hsü was organizing a Buddhist college in Hong Kong. They went and joined the college there.

In 1983, when the main temple of the Cham Shan was finished, Master Yüan-chi was invited to the "opening of the eyes" ceremony among other honourable guests from Hong Kong. He was invited by the Cham Shan masters to stay behind. He stayed in Cham Shan for three years and moved to develop the Mañjusrī Temple in 1986 and moved to the present address in 1988 (Yu 1996:311-312, my translation).

Master Wu-te Cheng-chüeh Temple

Master Wu-te was born during the Second World War in Vietnam. He came from a poor farming family and at a very young age, he already realized that life was full of suffering. He became a monk at the age of twenty. He first

practiced Theravada Buddhism and later Mahāyāna Buddhism. In 1975 during the Fall of Saigon, he was trying to flee from the country. His escape was unsuccessful and he was imprisoned and tortured for two years. In 1980, two years after his release from imprisonment he again tried to flee from Vietnam, this time he was successful, and he reached Canada in May 1981 as a refugee. He first stayed in Madern, a small town in Manitoba. There was no temple and few Chinese. After staying in Madern for a few months, he moved to Toronto and sought assistance from the Cham Shan Masters. He was invited to stay in the temple where he learned many sūtras and ritual practices.

In 1984, with the support of a number of disciples, he set up his own temple on Dundas Street named Ta-pei (Great Compassion) Temple. In 1989, he also set up a temple in Edmonton with the support of some Buddhists there. Back in Toronto, with a rapid increase in following, in 1992, he further expanded to a sixteen thousand square foot building on 300 Bathurst Street and named it Cheng chüeh (Right Awakening) Temple. The Cheng-chüeh Temple is a very modern looking temple with rows of pews and equipped with modern equipment. Similar to the practice of Cham Shan temple it also has a divination service where devotees can consult the oracle (Yu 1996:313-315, my translation).

The Perspectives of the Cham Shan Members and Participants of the Site

Traditional Chinese Buddhists practice vegetarianism while monks of other traditions might not. The shock of this diversity in practice can be summarized by a monk in Toronto when he came into contact with Theravāda monks. He said:

“The Theravadins accused us of doing the death rituals which are essentially non-Buddhist in nature, we accuse them of eating meat.” The core members of the Cham Shan group practise vegetarianism, even those who are not strict vegetarian usually practice vegetarianism during the lunar moon days. The same is also true of the Fo Guang group, but the True Buddha disciples do not. Close to eighty percent of the respondents of the Cham Shan Temple think it is important to be a vegetarian due to the understanding of compassion and non-killing. Some also believe in the health benefits of vegetarianism, as mentioned earlier, at the temple there is a group of ladies mostly in their sixties and seventies who help in the kitchen. They are mostly strict vegetarians and are usually addressed as the “bodhisattvas” within the temple. The Cham Shan Temple offers a vegetarian lunch to the public during the lunar moon days and all Buddhist festivals. Normally there are about a hundred people who participate in the ceremonies and another hundred who come just for paying homages to the statues, doing divination in the Kuan-yin Hall or making promissory sacrifices in front of Mahabrahma in the garden in return for material gains or healing of personal sickness. In major festivals there are usually about 500 to 3000 or more people who come to the temple. Many also stay on to enjoy a vegetarian meal. The meal is only for a modest sum of \$5 and the proceeds go to support the development of the temple. Two or three days before the events the older ladies start the preparation in the temple. The merits acquired through this volunteer work and participation in the ceremonies count towards the Pure Land goal.

Most of the older ladies that the author encountered in the course of my

research reported that their lives had significantly improved since coming to the temple. Many feel that old age has its merit because they can devote more time to the recitation of the sūtras and the mantras which all count towards the Pure Land goal. They do not feel so lonely and dependent on their children, now that they have a place to go and meaningful work to do. Many also feel that the Mahāyāna ideal of non-attachment is most helpful in their attaining a peace of mind in the face of troublesome situations in life such as the loss of a husband in old age. Many of them were already Buddhists (mostly practicing the traditional Buddhist practice in China, a kind of Taoist and Buddhist mix) before they came to Canada and counted as their blessings to get in touch with the Cham Shan temple when they first arrived in the sixties. Below are three different examples of these interviews to illustrate my point:

This was the earliest temple in Canada. I came to Canada in 1974 and took refuge with the two masters. I have been a Buddhist since the establishment of the Nam Shan Temple. Becoming a Buddhist kept me busy...I am now retired and can recite the Great Compassion Dhāranī all the time... I have a life of my own now. I recite the mantra A-mi-t'o fo for four hours everyday. I have become less reliant on my children, because I have my own circle of friends. Every Saturday, I also go to help in the Mañjusrī Temple and Sunday we have birthday parties there. Sometimes I also participate in the Eight Precepts Day retreat. I find myself somewhat different. I have changed. I am more compassionate and less prideful. I have no worry because I can let go of everything, nothing is problematic anymore. (T33, female 70-75, Jul 1999)

I was a member of this temple from the beginning. My husband died at sixty nine. I am very happy now, it is mostly through the understanding of compassion and non-attachment as everything is only a temporary phenomena... My practice consists of recitation of the sūtras during the Sap Chat Yat¹⁹. During those days I recite the

¹⁹ Ten days within a month that are particularly auspicious for doing the rituals such as abiding by the eight precepts or recitation of the sūtras etc.

Bodhisattva Precept Sūtra for two and half hours in the morning and the Kṣitigarbha sūtra for fifty minutes in the afternoon. (T 33, female 90-95, Jul 1999)

I came from Taishan China. My mother was a fervent worshipper of the Buddhas. Later, I migrated to Hong Kong and regularly worshipped Wong Tai-shin and Bodhisattva Kuan-yin. In 1979, I came to Canada and lived with my eldest daughter who is a Christian. Some friends introduced me to this temple. My greatest joy is to participate in the ceremonies - they have my full devotion. I do not get ill, because when one is happy one is not ill. (T33, female 70-75, Jul 1999)

Besides the older ladies who find that their greatest joy is to participate in the temple ceremonies and help out in the kitchen, there is also a group of Buddhists called "Dharma Protectors" and they are very much involved in all kinds of volunteer work in the temple. Close to one hundred percent of the regular participants are first time immigrants and over seventy percent are from Hong Kong. The majority of the interviewed report that they were already members of the T'ien-t'ai Sect before they came to Canada. With the twenty-eight respondents to the questionnaire from the Cham Shan Temple, eighty percent of them report taking refuge from members of the T'ien-t'ai Sect in Hong Kong or taking refuge with the Cham Shan Masters.

I was already a member of the Cham Shan Temple in Hong Kong.
(T30, female 60-65, Jul 1999)

I took refuge in Hong Kong, Lantau Island in Lohan temple. (T 5, female 50-55, Jul 1999)

I took refuge at the T'ien-t'ai Temple in Hong Kong (T19, male 60-65, Jul 1999).

For a lot of immigrants, the Cham Shan masters are the preservers of a great tradition in China and provide them with the opportunity to learn the correct Buddhist Dharma. Coming in contact with the Cham Shan Temple provides a lot of

immigrants the opportunity to deepen their practices which they already started in Hong Kong. Moreover, many had already retired and could spend more time in the recitation of the sūtras and the volunteer work.

I have been to many temples in China and Hong Kong and visited many different sects. I find that the Cham Temple offers the most correct views. (T37, male 40-45, Jul 1999)

I have followed Master Luk To to visit the four famous mountains in China: Pu Ta Shan, Jiu Wah Shan, Wu Tai Shan and Wo Mei Shan. Buddhism in China is so much mingled with superstition. The tour guides did not understand Buddhism. They seldom have the opportunities to meet the great masters [the Cham Shan Masters] and do not have proper education in Buddhism. They should train the proper tour guides to introduce Buddhism to the public, rather than superstitious beliefs which are so misleading. (T5, female 50-55, Jul 1999)

Many of these Hong Kong Buddhists welcome the current resurgence of Buddhism in Hong Kong, especially the re-emphasis on Buddhist doctrines as they are now taught in the temple. For many of them coming in contact with Buddhism is an “awakening” experience, many have originally followed the traditional Chinese practice of doing home rituals in ancestor worship, venerating Kuan-yin as a Goddess and having a small shrine for the earth deity without questioning the practice as it is handed down by tradition. For the first time many of them come to understand the Buddhist philosophy when they come into contact with the sangha (both monastics and laity) who are all diligently involved in spreading the doctrine. Many express that they could not understand the sūtras on their own without some explanation from the teachers, mostly due to its archaic language and secondly due to the vast array of Buddhist texts and they do not know how everything fits together. Many also express that they have had a conversion experience from the

original mechanical home rituals to a true understanding of Buddhism that the Buddha nature is inside each and everyone of us. Therefore, paying homages to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as Deities is superstitious since all the Deities are within our consciousness. Below are some responses from the participants:

Previously, I was of the opinion that Buddhism was all about superstition. When I first read The Collected Teachings of Master Hui Ming, I thought the book was full of wisdom. Later, I had the opportunity to study under a lay teacher in Hong Kong. According to the teacher, Buddhism consists of the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. It also consists of the Four Noble Truths and the Twelve Dependent Co-origination. She introduced us to vegetarianism, and soon afterwards, I became a vegetarian. She told us that according to Buddhism the world was constantly undergoing the four cycles of formation, existence, destruction and total annihilation which I had never heard before. Then, she said we were living in Samsāra, which I did not know. I suddenly realized that Buddhism was a transcendental religion, beyond science and philosophy. I was really interested in the pursuit of the Dharma. (T5, female 50-55, Jul 1999)

Previously, I did not adhere to any particular faith and was mostly doing ancestor worship. Later I migrated from China to Hong Kong and then to Canada. When I was in Hong Kong in the seventies, I came in contact with Buddhism and believed in Cause and Effect. (T29, male 60-65, Jul 1999)

I started being a Buddhist in Hong Kong.. Before I became a Buddhist I could not understand the Buddhist philosophy as it appeared in the newspapers. Then, a co-worker took me to the temple for a religious ceremony. Later, I came to see it as my karma to become a Buddhist and took refuge. (T19, male 60-65, Jul 1999)

I have been a Buddhist for over ten years now. I have not taken the refuge, I believe it is just a formality. What is more important is your mind... My practice consists of reading the Buddhist texts to develop my own wisdom. I appreciate the Buddhist philosophy, after I came to understand it. I made a lot less mistakes in my life now and it is closer to my own ideal... Since my immigration to Canada, I have returned to Hong Kong for work and then came back. I bring the elderly people in my family to the temple, because the rituals are very important for them. The elderly people rely on the tradition to lead them onto a more compassionate mind, but they have no understanding of the philosophy. The philosophy of emptiness and non-attachment is foreign to them.. I have some

understanding of Taoist philosophy, but I feel Buddhism is more transcending because it is not attached to any doctrine and it is for everyone. (T37, male 40-45, Jul 1999)

I venerated the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin, I registered to do volunteer work in the temple. I do not understand the sūtras, I cannot understand the words. Paying homage to the Buddhas is to obtain a peace of mind. My life has changed. I have a better living environment but my husband works in Hong Kong and I am alone most of the time, coming to the temple reduces the anxiety of separation. (T4, female 35,-40, Jul 1999)

When asked by the author "What is the most important aspect of this temple", the most common answers were: the systematic nature of the T'ien-t'ai teaching, and the well organized manner of the temple with a facility to reach different people (T20, female 60-65, Jul 1999, T17, male 40-45, 1999, T5, female 50-55, Jul 1999, T10, female 50-55, Jul 1999. T13, female 50-55, Jul 1999).

The next most common response to this question was, the compassionate teachings of the masters. One person said: "The two elderly Masters are compassionate. They really practice what they are teaching and are worthy of respect and offerings (T11, female 50-55, Jul 1999)". Some also find that the traditional temple setting offers a sense of familiarity in a foreign country (T4, 30-35, Jul 1999, T15, female 46-50, Jul 1999). When asked by the author "What is the most important teaching of Buddhism?" Most of them related that it was the understanding of the empty nature of existence and the elimination of greed, hatred and ignorance that was being preached by the Masters all the time that were the most important teachings.

Understanding the empty nature of existence, impermanence, non-attachment and therefore elimination of worries. (T2, female 46-50, Jul 1999)

Seeing the empty nature of existence and non-attachment, I have

less illusions and reduced my hatred, greed and ignorance. (T8, female 60-65, Jul 1999)

Non-killing, follow your karma and elimination of greed, hatred and ignorance. (T10, female 26-30, Jul 1999)

Wisdom and intelligence, harmonious life and peace. (T24, female 40-45, Jul 1999)

I feel liberated. (T14, female 46-50, Jul 1999)

Understanding of Cause and Effect, seeing the empty nature of existence and final liberation. (T1, female 60-65, Jul 1999)

Many Buddhists in the Cham Shan Temple reported that it was the understanding of the Mahāyāna concept of emptiness and non-attachment (that the Masters were expounding all the time) that caused them to be better able to adapt to the stress in life and Canadian living. Often, the understanding of emptiness and non-attachment caused them to transcend any dogma in the course of their spiritual practice. For example, they practised divination and palm and face reading even though traditional Buddhist teachings advised against these practises. Sometimes, they were able to perform extraordinary acts of kindness by transcending the dogma of the five precepts practised by many Buddhists.

For example, one participant of the site said it was through the understanding of non-attachment that he was able to abstain from taking the precept of non-killing in order to get rid of the pests in the temple for the benefit of all. He said:

I have only taken the four precepts and have left out the precept of non-killing. It is because I want to keep the temple clean, somebody has to get rid of the cockroaches and the ants around here. Ever since I became a Buddhist I felt liberated. I have no

worries now, worries seem to dissolve on their own in the unseen realm. (T29, male 60-65, Jul 1999)

Another person reported cooking some eggs in spite of personal uneasiness because she had taken the precept of non-killing in order to better serve one's parent. She said:

I believe the most important message of the Dharma is non-attachment. One example from my practice is my mother is not a vegetarian, so I have to cook some eggs. I have taken the five precepts including that of non-killing. I had a dream, I dreamt that an egg had turned into a snake and then a tortoise. I was startled. My dream had reflected my thoughts of the day. I believe that it is important to be non-attached to any doctrine in our understanding of emptiness, therefore, I continue to cook the eggs. (T 30, female 50-55, Jul 1999)

One participant of the site reported that it was because of the understanding of non-attachment that she was better able to adapt to a Canadian life and the stress in parenting due to a cultural conflict.

My three daughters were influenced by me to go to the temple until two years ago when my two eldest daughters came in contact with the dominant society. They follow the trends of a lot of young people and dislike going to the temple. My youngest daughter, who is fifteen, and has been following me to the temple ever since she was eight, has also been influenced by the outside world, and has become increasingly antagonistic towards Buddhism. Western education is so different from Chinese belief and philosophy. If I do not let go, I would feel pain. They hope to blend into Western society and greatly model the West in their clothes and behaviour. The western world practices free sex, I am very worried about the future happiness of my daughters. Therefore, I come here to pray for their wisdom and happiness. Happy people do not need Buddhism, it is when you encounter problems in life that you realize the importance of Buddhist teachings. (T5, female 50-55, Jul 1999)

A new immigrant reported being better able to adapt to Canadian society in spite of his forced early retirement and the associated loss of status and material wealth due to this understanding. He said:

After I became a Buddhist I felt that I had no fear about death and less desire about material gains. It is because of this that I feel I am better able to adapt to Canadian life. I do not find any difficulty in the adjustment. I just practice equanimity towards all circumstances in life. (T19, male 60-65, Jul 1999)

About sixty percent of the respondents agreed that practising various rituals such as joining in the ceremonies and prayers would bring about the fulfilment of their wishes. One however cautioned, that, "It all depends on what you ask for and whether it is reasonable; if one is driven by greed, then doing the rituals will not bring about one's desire." (T20, female 60-65, Jul 1999). Another person said: "With the understanding of non-attachment there is no particular need to crave for anything." (T19, male 60-65, Jul 1999).

The Cham Shan Temple follows the traditional Chinese Buddhist practice that anybody can join the sangha provided that they have the inspiration and the integrity to abide by the austerity of the Vinaya. In the course of my research, a lot of my respondents constantly lamented that elder monks with proper training in both academic studies and the rituals are becoming extinct. Although it is not necessary to join the sangha in attaining the Pure Land goal, it is believed to be more conducive in attaining the final goal of Nirvāna, due to the fact that the monastics can be totally free from family obligations and attachments to relationships and worldly pursuits. Moreover, the monastics can devote themselves totally to the benefit of sentient beings. About twenty percent of the Cham Shan respondents reported that they had intentions to join the sangha, which was the highest among the three groups. When asked why they want to do so, the most frequent responses were:

To truly understand the nature of life and death and to attain Nirvāna. (T25, male 30-35, Jul 1999)

I am waiting for the proper affinity. (T5, female 50-55, Jul 1999)

I have thought about it, but it is not easy, one has to sacrifice a lot. (T17, male 40-45, Jul 1999)

I like the religious ceremony. (T23, female 46-50, Jul 1999)

However, not every one who applied to be a monk would be accepted by the masters. Unlike the Fo Guang Shan where most of the monastics are young graduates of the Buddhist college and the True Buddha School where the Diamond Masters were handpicked by Master Lu before he retired (for details please see Chapters 4 & 5), the Cham Shan masters would independently judge the suitability of the applicants. In the course of my research, one young informant of about twenty applied to join the sangha soon afterwards. His request was turned down by the masters. He was advised of the many difficulties in joining the sangha and was told to go home and practice more diligently and think about it in the future.

Finally, my research shows there is a small group of about twenty Caucasians who are attracted to the Cham Shan Temple and they mostly gather at the Hong Fa Temple or the Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery. Contrary to the Fo Guang ideal that a modern looking temple is important in order to keep up with the Christian churches, many Caucasians find the traditional-looking Chinese temple fascinating and the “strangeness” of the decor adds to that attraction. In the course of my research one lady would often come and sit outside the temple near the Kuan-yin pavilion every evening in order to enjoy the peacefulness of the

scenery although she believed that “they do not speak English inside.” Another person would drive a total of one hundred miles to the Cham Shan temple to join in the ceremony even though he could get some English teaching from Bhante Kovinda in the Buddhist Art Gallery and there was nobody to explain the rituals to him. He explained:” I enjoy the package and want as much knowledge as I can get. I am learning to follow the ceremonies. I find the Chinese characteristics fascinating. I will take refuge with the masters someday. I try to learn the language, the rituals and Cantonese” (T40, male 60-65, Jul 1999). Another person said that he had been to Hong Fa temple for twenty years. He was a seeker of a different spirituality and came to rest in Chinese Buddhism. He liked Chinese Buddhism because when he was studying Zen Buddhism he was always led back to its origin in China. He was particularly attracted to the relaxed and non-authoritative nature of the temple, which was most conducive to meditative practice because it allowed him to explore different approaches on his own. He said:

The Chinese temple provides me with an opportunity to meditate every Sunday, have conversations with people, ask questions, share ideas and learn respect for Chinese people. I see they are asking the same questions I am asking about deep spirituality. I like the people, they welcome and accept you. It is a beautiful place that provides community services, a gathering place and a place of learning. I would like to recommend some of my friends to come here. It is an excellent place to come, without a whole bunch of barriers. You come on Sunday and sit. After the meal, you find out different approaches from other people that are not authoritative. (T39, male 56-60, Jul 1999)

Many of those people also find that the friendliness of the Chinese people towards them is the main attraction to the temple. The only shortcoming they find

is the unavailability of Chinese Masters to explain the Dharma, the rituals and to lead a retreat, due to language barriers.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, the Cham Shan Temple is viewed as transmitting a pristine form of Chinese Buddhism due to the direct lineage of the Masters from Venerable T'an-hsü, a famous Buddhist monk in contemporary Chinese Buddhism of the T'ien-t'ai Sect. Master Sing Hung and Master Shing Cheung are viewed as the founders of Chinese Buddhism in Canada and leaders of the Chinese Buddhist community. The temple also constantly provides assistance for other monastics who would like to establish themselves in Canada.

The temple represents Chinese ethnic identity and is a source of cultural pride as it stands among other churches in Markham. It is viewed as a leader of the Chinese Buddhist community and a focal point of Buddhist activity. The temple provides a place for learning Chinese Buddhism. It also provides ethical guidelines for the laity and a place of retreat from a hectic modern life. Furthermore, the temple provides a place where the followers can offer their services and donations to improve their stations in life based on the Buddhist understanding of the karmic law of Cause and Effect.

The success of the temple can be partially attributed to the modern reform of Chinese Buddhism as advocated by T'ai-hsü. T'ai-hsü's call for an educated sangha and the globalization of Buddhism was an obvious inspiration for Master Luk To and the Cham Shan Masters. However, in the development of the temple

many aspects of the traditional Chinese temple of the T'ien-t'ai Sect are also being preserved by the Masters.

CHAPTER 4

CHINESE BUDDHISM IN OTTAWA

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the history, development and organization of Fo Guang Shan in Ottawa, under the spiritual guidance of Master Hsing Yun. The Fo Guang Shan is internationally renowned as the most successful group in the modern global migration of Chinese Buddhism.

The Ottawa-Buddhist Community

In Ottawa there are currently about twenty Buddhist groups evenly practising Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and the Tibetan traditions. Within the Theravāda tradition there is the Ottawa Buddhist Society, and the Jayewardenaramaya. Within the Mahāyāna tradition there are various Vietnamese temples, notably Tu An Pagoda and the Chu Pho Da Pagoda. There are also two meditation groups in the tradition of the Vietnamese monk Thay Nhat Hanh, the Rideout Sangha, and the Mindfulness Practice Centre. Within the Japanese tradition there are the SGI Canada Ottawa Community Centre (Soka Gakkai School), and the White Wind Zen Community. Within the Chinese Mahāyāna tradition the only established group is the International Buddhist Progress Society, otherwise known as Fo Guang Shan. Within the Tibetan Tradition there is the Ottawa Shambhala Centre, the Palyul Foundation of Canada, and the Kadam Changchou Ling (<http://buddhismcanada.com/e-ontario.html> 23/06/01). The oldest group is the Ottawa Buddhist Society founded in 1976. This

group has no permanent address, and meetings take place at the Tu An Pagoda on 3591 Albion Road, and at various rural locations for meditation retreats.

The establishment of a Chinese Buddhist centre in Ottawa can only be said to be a very recent event. According to Census Canada, the number of Chinese people in Ottawa has increased from 3,060 in 1971 to 31,600 in 2001 (Statistics Canada 1976:6, Statistics Canada 2003: Cat.#95F048XCB01004). This rise corresponds with increasing demand from the Chinese Buddhist community to establish a centre of its own. In the past, there were other Chinese groups who attempted to establish a centre in Ottawa, however, the Fo Guang Group is the most successfully established community there. In the course of my research, I came across an independent Chinese monk who had tried to establish a centre in Ottawa in the 1990's. He later moved due to insufficient funding and commented that: "Without organizational support it is increasingly difficult for monks to establish in Canada; they have to come with a lot of money" (Liu fieldnotes 1997).

Master Hsing Yun and the International Development of Fo Guang Shan

Master Hsing Yun was born in Chiangtu County, in Chiangsu province in China in 1927. His original name was Li Kuo-shen and his father ran a small incense business in his hometown. His mother related that when she was about to give birth to Master Hsing Yun she had an auspicious dream. In the dream, she saw a small golden boy together with an elderly man. The golden boy was searching for a rice plant ear under her bed. When she told him that there was no

rice plant, he miraculously produced one. The elderly man predicted that "this ear would be fruitful" meaning the child would have a fruitful life (Lui-Ma 2000:7).

During his childhood, Master Hsing Yun was much influenced by his grandmother who was a fervent Buddhist and a devout meditator. In 1937, his father went missing while doing business in the midst of the Japanese invasion of China. Two years later, his mother took the then twelve-year old Li Kuo-shen to Nanjing in search of his father. In Nanjing he came across Buddhist monks, and at this young age he already aspired to be a monastic. He later joined the Chi-hsia Shan monastery under the abbot Master Chi K'ai and became a member of the Lin-chi (Chan sect) in China. He was later enrolled in the Chi-hsia Vinaya College as one of their youngest members.

With four hundred student monastics in the temple and the country being ravaged by war, the lack of basic necessities in the temple was beyond imagination. Master Hsing Yun recalled:

Food was in extremely short supply. There was literally too little gruel for too many monks...The vegetable soup, quite free of substance, would probably be clean enough for laundry. Sometimes, with little snails and earthworms lining its bottom and afloat with bugs... (Liu-Ma 2000:24)

He was fully ordained at fifteen and remembers undergoing rigorous training as prescribed by the traditional Chan sects in China. Part of his training consisted of brutal reproaches and confusing demands with the intent to stimulate his mind to come up with instantaneous insight.

As a young man, he already showed a lot of interest in his study. In 1945 he was admitted into the Chiao-shan Buddhist College in Chenchiang Province.

This was a time when China was rapidly encountering the modern West and Chinese society was undergoing many changes due to this challenge. Traditional Buddhist temples, however, were very much closed to the outside world. When Master Hsing Yun was in Chiao-shan Buddhist College, he came upon an abandoned library in the village which used to belong to a teacher's training college before the war. For the young master, it seemed that he had hit upon a treasure and he soon found himself devouring classical Chinese literature and translated works from the West. Through these texts he had a glimpse of the outside world (Lui-Ma 2000:32).

When Master Hsing Yun was in Chiao-shun Buddhist College, he was much impressed by T'ai-hsü's innovative ideas and called for reform within the sangha. He was inspired by T'ai-hsü's argument that, instead of engaging in death rituals, in the new sangha every monk would be a Dharma teacher and every nun would be either a Dharma teacher or a caregiver. Moreover, the new sangha should impress the public by their moral conduct and by their self-sufficiency through personal efforts and training (Lui-Ma 2000:40).

He was also impressed by T'ai-hsü's call for reform concerning Buddhism's traditional otherworldly focus to a more engaged form of this worldly Buddhism. In T'ai-hsü's words it is: "otherworldliness within and this worldliness without" (Fu 1995:38). He also admired T'ai-hsü's call for reform in doctrinal understanding from a traditional view that "life is suffering" to a more positive affirmation of the sanctity of life (Lui-Ma 2000:40).

Although T'ai-hsü was ahead of his time and did not have the support of the abbots of major temples, he had much influence among the younger generation of monastics. While undergoing one of T'ai-hsü's Personal Training Classes in Chinese Buddhist Affairs he remembered one of the student monks saying: "Should Master T'ai-hsü ask me to tread boiling water and prance on fire, I would not ask why", showing his complete trust and admiration of T'ai-hsü (Lui-Ma 2000:40).

When Master Hsing Yun became the principal of White Pagoda Primary School, he was always contemplating ways of following through with T'ai-hsü's call for reform in order to establish a new sangha. He also agreed with the scholar Hu Shi-chi (1881-1962 C.E) that the suffering of China was due to poverty and ignorance and became actively involved in the publishing of a Buddhist monthly journal called *Raging Bellows*. He also sent many of his articles to be published in various newspapers, and in these articles, he followed T'ai-hsü footsteps in the propagation of a new sangha and re-emphasis in the study of doctrines (Fu 1995:39, Lui-Ma 2000:41). During this period, Master Hsing Yun also exposed himself to the influence of the outside world through the study of a wide variety of literature of the time.

T'ai-hsü died in 1947 on the eve of the Communist victory of China, and for a time his call for reform died out in China. Little did he know that his ideals were to be carried into Taiwan by a young monk and start to flourish there (Fu 1995:40).

In 1949, after the victory of the Chinese Communists in Mainland China, the Nationalist Party, or KMT, retreated to Taiwan along with two million loyalists (Lee 1990:XVII). In order to preserve and propagate the Dharma, Master Hsing Yun came to Taiwan along with three hundred monks. He was soon arrested under suspicion of carrying out subversive activities for the Communists but was later found innocent (Fu 1995:60, Nagata 1999: 239).

He had many difficulties in finding a temple that would accept him due to the fact that Taiwan was suddenly flooded with monks from Mainland China, and had to accept constant ridicule from the local people of Taiwan for not being aware of the modern era. He soon found acceptance in the Chungli Yuan-Guang Temple and diligently worked in various strenuous labour jobs due to the lack of young monastics in the temple. Even under such austere circumstances he took time to write his first book, *Singing in Silence* (Lui-Ma 2000:54-55).

Moreover, during the early days of settlement in Taiwan most of the KMT elites were Christians. President Cheng Kai-shek and his wife were both Christians, and Christianity and Catholicism were in vogue. Many people regarded Christianity as a vehicle for upward mobility and social acceptance. At that time, Christians were indeed often given preferential treatment. He recalled wanting to go to schools, prisons and military bases to spread the Dharma but was denied entrance by government authorities, even though the Catholic priests and Christian missionaries themselves had no problem gaining access (Fu 1995:59, Lui-Ma 2000:56). According to Master Hsing Yun:

With hearts full of good will, we wanted to visit military bases and prisons to deliver the men and women from suffering but were coldly refused. We asked: "Why are Roman Catholic priests and nuns and other Christian ministers able to go to such places and evangelize, while Buddhist monks are blocked outside the door?" They answered: "Because it is not proper for members of the monastic order to go in and speak on the Dharma." When we pressed them further asking: "We're all religious figures spreading our faiths, but why are Buddhists treated differently?" What we got in reply was more indifference (Hsing Yun 1994:72-73).

On settling in Taiwan, Master Hsing Yun initially started to propagate the Dharma in rural areas, particularly in Ilan. He emphasized education, and the spreading of the Dharma through music, culture and social services. Most of the core monks and nuns of his temple were converts from this period (Fu 1995:64-73, Lui-Ma 2000:61-71).

Master Hsing Yun and the Modernization of Buddhism

Master Hsing Yun believed that the traditional form of spreading the Dharma had fallen behind technology and modernity. When he was in Taiwan, he was keenly aware of the power of communication through the media. He began writing for the Central Broadcasting Station and for magazines such as *Awakening to Life* and *Life*; he later published journals such as *Awakening the World*, *Buddhism Today* and *Universal Gate* (Hsing Yun 1994:6, Fu 1995:77).

He also set up the Fo Guang Publishing House and published the Fo Guang Tripitaka and the Fo Guang Encyclopaedia. He organized various Buddhist television shows and a two hundred member choir. In recent years he has attempted to translate the traditional Buddhist chants onto *karaoke* so that they can filter into every family (Fu 1995:78-81, Lui-Ma 2000:77).

Master Hsing Yun founded the Shou-shan Buddhist College in 1965 and the Fo Guang Shan (The Buddha Light Mountain) in 1967 both in Kaoshiung, Southern Taiwan to carry out his ideal about post-secondary Buddhist education and a reformed sangha (Lui-Ma 2000:95-100).

The multi-functional complexes of Fo Guang Shan took on a Chinese palace design and included shrine halls, meditation halls, conference rooms, an auditorium, museums, a nursery, a Buddhist College, a secondary school, studios, guest rooms and a cemetery. This is a very popular pilgrimage spot for the local and overseas Chinese and is a frequent stop for many political leaders and corporate leaders in Taiwan. It is also a vibrant tourist area (Fu 1995:110, Lui- Ma 2000:101-102).

Based on Master Hsing Yun's ideal of humanization²⁰, modernization and globalization of Buddhism, the complex includes a range of educational and charitable projects. Fo Guang Shan reported that they have more than 1,800 clergy and the majority are nuns, with a ratio of four nuns to one monk and an increase of over 100 clergy per year (Lui-Ma 2000:125). Most of their overseas posts are staffed exclusively by nuns. The clergy are often equipped with modern skills such as management, administration, teaching, nursing, translation, computer science and architectural design in addition to knowledge of the

²⁰ The Humanistic Buddhism as advocated by Master Hsing Yun emphasizes practice in daily life. Hsing Yun attacks the reclusive nature of the traditional sangha within China and argues that the Buddhism of the modern era should be engaged in this world. Master Hsing Yun terms it "to change Samsāra into Pure Land" whereby a practitioner would engage in all kind of meritorious deeds based on the understanding of the Buddhist Dharma. For a complete explanation of Humanistic Buddhism see the booklet "The Fundamental Concepts of Humanistic Buddhism" by Master Hsing Yun distributed by Fo Guang Shan.

traditional performance of rituals. Master Hsing Yun has also sent more than one hundred of his disciples to Japan, America, England, India for higher education and a few have even obtained graduate degrees from famous western institutions such as Yale and Oxford (Fu 1995:139-140, Lui-Ma 2000:129).

Master Hsing Yun also designed a guideline for being a Fo Guang disciple on the basis of his humanistic approach to Buddhism. He feels the decline of Buddhism in China was due to its otherworldly emphasis which he believes gives Buddhism a pessimistic outlook. He reemphasises the importance of human relationships within the family, the society and the country and the development of a career before seeking otherworldly goals. Hsing Yun stresses that one should not be obsessed with the idea of liberation from Samsāra but that one should seek to apply the Dharma to one's daily life in the form of service to one another and to the community (Lui-Ma 2000:156). According to Master Hsing Yun:

Once Buddhism breaks away from real life, the Dharma stops serving our needs and ceases to be our guide; once it fails to enrich the content of our lives, its existence becomes meaningless. The Buddha's teachings are for the improvement of life, purification of mind, and uplifting of character. It is a Buddhism that is pertinent to life and living that I want to spread (Lui-Ma 2000:108).

Following the doctrine of T'ai-hsü, Hsing Yun advocates a purified form of Buddhism devoid of such Taoist practices as feng shui, divination, physiognomy and astrology. He says that:

[The] Sūtra of the Buddha's Exhortation Left After His Passing instructs the Buddhist practitioner not to engage in divination nor to practice astrology. These are not in accordance with the Buddhist understanding of causes and conditions, correct livelihood, nor the

rules of principles (Lui-Ma 2000:281).

He also attacks the traditional folk beliefs in treating the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as Gods and praying to them exclusively for mundane successes.

He says:

Buddhist teachings had led many devotees in Taiwan to pursue paths of superstition, burning incense and praying for mundane blessings. So degraded it was small wonder that Buddhism was not high in society (Hsing Yun 1994:85).

Rather, if one wants to improve one's life one has to diligently practice the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect and humanistic Buddhism through the propagation of the Dharma, the construction of temples, the printing of sūtras, and the provision of assistance in whatever situations emerge in life that requires our compassionate assistance (Hsing Yun 1994:97).

He also attacks the traditional occupation of the clergy of engaging in death rituals for monetary rewards. He emphasizes the importance of spreading the Dharma within the living and the propagation of Pure Land in this world. He also attacks the lack of organization and the reclusive nature of the traditional clergy, and advocates that they have to be engaged in some productive work in order to provide subsistence for themselves (Fu 1995:118-119).

FGS is trying to revolutionize the traditional lack of organizational structure of temples in China. In its structure it bears some similarity to the Papal hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church (Fu 1995:150). FGS features a central controlling unit called the Religious Affairs Committee under the guidance of a head abbot who is elected every six years under a democratic system on the one hand and a

centralized training system for all the clergy in Taiwan on the other. Master Hsing Yun himself took the lead in stepping down from the position of the head abbot after three consecutive terms in 1985 and passed on the title to one of his most prominent early disciples, Master Hsing Ping. Master Hsing Ping died in 1995 and the current head abbot is Master Hsin Ting. The clergy are under a salaried pay system instead of the traditional system of offerings from the laity. After a centralized training system in Taiwan, the clergy is sent to local and overseas posts for a period of three years before relocation. The development of FGS is a rare example of success of the modern Buddhist organizational development (Lui-Ma 2000:142)

Fo Guang Shan's international success in management has also gained the respect of other Buddhist organizations in Taiwan. Currently, in Taiwan some of the temples facing internal disputes, financial problems, management problems or the death of the old abbot without an heir apparent ask FGS to assume management. The most well known of these cases include Keelung, Chile (Utmost Joy) Temple, and Yuan Ming Temple in Ilan (Lui-Ma 2000:139). In the course of my research, the early Fo Guang Shan in Montreal which was situated at 200 Rue De Castelnau assumed management from the Chinese Buddhist Society due to internal disputes and administration problems. Ever since FGS took over the management of the temple they have expanded and moved to 3831 Jean-Talon Est in Montreal.

After resigning from the position of head abbot of FGS in February 1991, Master Hsing Yun established the Buddha's Light International Association R.O.C

(or BLIA). The idea is to transfer some of the power and duty to the laity in the spreading of the Dharma. Lay members can become directors of the organization and also become Dharma teachers (Fu 1995:269). The goal of the BLIA is to move Buddhism from:

- the sangha to the lay community
- the monastery to society
- self cultivation to altruism
- a stationary state to an active state
- the status of disciple to that of teacher
- Taiwan to the rest of the world. (Lui-Ma 2000:25)

The establishment of the BLIA has proved to be a phenomenal success from the outset and some of its chapters have quickly developed into special professional chapters. For example, there is a special chapter for teachers and finance managers in order to facilitate easy networking for business success while of course ensuring spiritual success. Being a Fo Guang member one has the privilege of participating in all the activities through a small annual membership fee. It also offers the privileges of access to such services administered by the Masters as weddings, funerals and consultation on problems in life (Fu 1995:271, Lui-Ma 2000:259). The Buddha's Light International Association in Taiwan had such phenomenal success that in the next year (May 1992), Master Hsing Yun established the Buddha Light International World Headquarters in Hsi Lai Temple in Los Angeles as an outreach to the West (Fu 1995:272, Lui-Ma 2000:259).

Master Hsing Yun's Formal Recognition by the Kuomintang (KMT) Elites

By the late 1970s Fo Guang Shan had already received formal recognition from the KMT leaders. This recognition was symbolized by the visit of President Cheng King-kuo to FGS in 1978 and the organization by Hsing Yun of two cultural shows at the prestigious Sun Yat-sen Hall in Taipei in 1978 and 1979. The cultural shows were patriotic in nature and in support of "Taiwanese self-sufficiency" during the problematic era when the United States was changing its foreign policy to recognize the Peoples' Republic of China as the legitimate government in China (Fu 1994:355-356, Lui-Ma 2000:337). In 1985, Master Hsing Yun was honoured for outstanding service from the Education Department (Chandler 1999:42) and in 1986, he was appointed as the advisor for the National Party Affairs. In 1997, he accepted a position with the Overseas Chinese Commission R.O.C.; in that same year he also received two medals of highest honour from both the Ministries of the Interior and Foreign Affairs (Chandler 1999:42).

Master Hsing Yun also plays a leadership role in the unification of all Buddhists and the reconciliation of relationships between PRC and Taiwan. In 1989, he led a delegation of two hundred members named the International Buddhist Progress Society Dharma Propagation and Family Reunion Group to visit China after being invited by Zhao Puchu the long-term president of the Buddhist Association in China. Hsing Yun's visit was reported to have been a great success in terms of Buddhist cultural exchange and scholarship between the two countries. This visit was reported as the first official exchange of Buddhist

clergy after Mainland China became Communist in 1949 (Fu 1995:230-235, Lui-Ma 2000:219-220, Nagata 1999:243).

His relationship with the PRC, however, suffered a temporary setback when the chief of the New China News Agency in Hong Kong, Xu Jiatun, defected to the United States and took asylum at Hsi Lai Temple after the Tianamen Square incident (Lui-Ma 2000:226-229, Nagata 1999:266).

Master Hsing Yun's World-Wide Expansion of Buddhism from Taiwan

In 1976, Master Hsing Yun made his first visit to the United States on the occasion of the bicentennial celebrations of America independence. He noticed that California was already home to a multi-cultural and diverse religious presence, and the increasing number of Chinese living in America. He soon decided to organize a temple there as a foundation for the spreading of the Dharma to the West and started fundraising efforts for the purpose. His group eventually bought a church in Maywood California and renovated it into a temple. It was named Pei Ta Temple (White Pagoda Temple) and soon became too small for their needs (Lui-Ma 2000:241-243).

Hsi Lai Temple was subsequently built in 1988 in Hacienda Heights, Southern California. It occupies an area of more than twenty acres with a construction cost of more than thirty million dollars intended to be a showcase of Chinese Buddhism. Finances for the construction came mostly from Taiwan. Substantial funding also came from Hong Kong, Malaysia and the U.S. (Lin 1996:110, Lui-Ma 2000: 239-240).

Due to the lack of formal recognition of diplomatic ties between the United States and Taiwan, the former Taiwanese embassy was renamed the Coordinating Council for North American Affairs (CCNAA). The temple also took up some of the diplomatic functions and received delegates from both Taiwan and the PRC (Lin 1996:113, Lui-Ma 2000:241, Nagata 1999:244).

Master Hsing Yun has always asserted that building a strong rapport with politicians would ensure the successful propagation of the Dharma. Sometimes, it has resulted in a setback as on the controversy regarding the invitation of Vice President Al Gore to the Hsi Lai Temple and subsequently donating some money to the Democratic National Committee in 1996 (Chandler 1999:40-47).

After the establishment of the Hsi Lai Temple in 1988, FGS received a donation of twenty-six-acres in Sydney from the Australian government. In 1995, FGS completed the U.S.\$35 million dollar Nam Tien Temple, reputed to be the largest temple in the southern hemisphere (Chandler 1999:42, R.O.C. Handbook 1999:467).

Building International Ties Between Other Religious Leaders and Political Figures

As early as 1963, Hsing Yun organized a Buddhist group to visit India, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Japan and Hong Kong and was received by some of their political leaders such as King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand and President Diosdado Macapagal of the Philippines. In 1984, he was received by the Dalai Lama and the relationship between himself and the Tibetan leader resulted in a reciprocal visit of the Dalai Lama to Hsi Lai Temple in 1989. In

1985 Hsing Yun became an executive officer of the Chinese-Tibetan Cultural Association R.O.C. and in 1998 invited the Dalai Lama to set up an office in Taiwan (Lui-Ma 2000:338, R.O.C Yearbook 1999:466). He also strengthened his cooperation with other religious leaders such as Pope John Paul II and engaged in interfaith dialogues with Christian and Muslim leaders.

Fo Guang Shan in Education and the Organization of International Conferences

Master Hsing Yun is also very much involved in the organization of international conferences to expand cross-denominational understanding of Buddhism. In 1973, he established the Fo Guang Shan Ts'ung-lin College and soon changed its name to Chinese Buddhist Research Institute. In 1977 the Chinese Buddhist Research Institute formed a sister relationship with the University of Oriental Studies in America. In 1978 Master Hsing Yun received an honorary doctorate from the University of Oriental Studies (Lui-Ma 2000:338). Under Hsing Yun's guidance, Hsi Lai University was formally established in 1991 inside the Hsi Lai Temple, and this university has already expanded to a new campus in New York State. Moreover, the Nanhua Management College of Fo Guang University in Chiayi Taiwan began operating in 1996, and the College of Humanities and Sociology of Fo Guang University in Taiwan is nearing completion (R.O.C. Yearbook 1999:467).

In 1982, Fo Guang Shan hosted an International Buddhist Scholars' Conference, followed by the World Sutric and Tantric Buddhist Conference in 1986. In 1988, Hsi Lai Temple hosted the sixteenth World Fellowship of

Buddhists' Conference, and in 1989, Fo Guang Shan again hosted the International Chan Conference. The Nan Tien Temple in Australia hosted the twentieth World Fellowship of Buddhists' Conference in 1998 (Lui-Ma 2000:338-339).

World-wide Champion in the Order of Nuns

Master Hsing Yun is also internationally acclaimed as the champion in the fight for the equality of the status of nuns. Due to the globalization effect where women are demanding equal treatment in all sectors, there is an increasing number of women of the Theravāda traditions from countries like Sri Lanka, Thailand and western Buddhists too, who want to enter the clergy and be fully ordained as nuns. In recent decades, some women in these countries claimed that during the Buddha's time, women were accepted as fully ordained nuns. Nevertheless, due to the characteristic anti-female sentiments of the Theravādins, the order of nuns had disappeared in these countries over a thousand years ago. The request of these women to restore the nun's order was denied out of fear that once women were allowed to re-enter the order, it would become impossible to remove them once again (Fisher 1999:46).

Hsing Yun claimed that Mahāyāna nuns had always existed and could be traced as far back as the fifth century C.E. in Sri Lanka. On this basis he sponsored the re-ordination of nuns in the Theravāda tradition. In 1988, he hosted an ordination ceremony for 250 nuns and 50 monks including Theravāda and Tibetan nuns (Lui-Ma 2000:274-275, Nagata 1999:242). Despite continuing

opposition from some conservative Theravāda circles, in 1998 Master Hsing Yun again presided over an ordination ceremony of 135 nuns and fourteen monks in Bodh Gaya, India which included nuns of the Theravāda tradition (Fisher 1999:47, Nagata 1999:242).

Fo Guang Shan Coming to Canada

Soon after the establishment of the International Buddha's Light International Association in Taiwan in 1991, in July of the same year, some members of the Fo Guang Group in Toronto, Ontario, invited Master Hsing Yun to come to Toronto to set up a BLIA chapter. Seeing that Toronto is a vibrant city in Canada with a multicultural population and with great potential for spreading the Dharma, Master Hsing Yun asked Master Yi Hung who accompanied him during this trip to stay behind for missionary work. The Toronto BLIA was later established at 3 Oakhurst Drive, North York. Upon the establishment of the centre other Masters of the Fo Guang group also came to Toronto to give Dharma talks; these included Chi Chung, the former head abbot of Hsi Lai Temple, and Hsin Ding, the current head abbot of FGS in Taiwan. By the end of 1991, the group had already expanded to a membership of five hundred. Moreover, during this time Yi Hung frequently went to the neighbouring major cities particularly Montreal and Ottawa to give Dharma talks. Her Dharma talk in Ottawa in May 1994 is claimed to have inspired the conceptualization of the Ottawa chapter by some fervent devotees of the group (FGS Special Publication for the Ground Breaking Ceremony, Sept 1994, my translation).

Given the increasing influx of Chinese immigrants into Canada and their tendency to continue gravitating towards major cities like Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal, Master Hsing Yun decided in 1993 to establish a major temple in Toronto. The temple named Fo Guang Temple (after the group) would be the largest temple in Canada, second only to Hsi Lai Temple in Hacienda Height. Hsing Yun himself personally came for the groundbreaking ceremony in September 1994. The Cham Shan Masters, Master Sing Hung and Shing Cheung also sent their support for the occasion saying:

Master Hsing Yun with his compassionate [Bodhisattva] vow has been shouldering the propagation of the Dharma. Delivering sentient beings throughout his life in the propagation of humanistic Buddhism... By making himself a raft in this sea of suffering, he has helped to transform Samsāra into Pure Land and suffering into an enlightened mind. Through his own personal sacrifice, he has helped many people into enlightenment... (FGS Special Publication for the Ground Breaking Ceremony, Sept 1994, my translation)

After the ceremony the construction of the temple proceeded at the present site - that is at 6535 Millcreek Drive in Mississauga between highway 401 and the Erin Mills Parkway. The initial cost of construction was estimated to be five million dollars. Half of the money was funded by Fo Guang Shan in Taiwan and half by a bank loan and the initial fundraising for the temple in Toronto among the devotees came to 350,000 dollars (FGS Special Publication for the Groundbreaking Ceremony, Sept 1994, my translation).

In 1997, the temple was completed with a total cost of more than seven million dollars which was much more than originally anticipated. It occupies an

area of approximately 50,000 sq ft, standing on two acres of land. The exterior of the temple is a Chinese palace design, but the interior of the temple is a very modern church-like design with rows of pews. The building includes a meditative hall, libraries, conference rooms and lecture halls. The temple is staffed mostly by nuns handpicked and sent from Fo Guang Shan.

Besides the Fo Guang Temple in Toronto, the group has established temples in four other cities in Canada: Vancouver, Ottawa, Montreal and Edmonton.

Fo Guang Shan Ottawa Chapter

Ottawa, the national capital, has a small community of Chinese of which the majority are Christians. The Chinese Buddhist groups were very late comers in the local scene. They started in 1996 when all of a sudden there were two Chinese Buddhist groups established simultaneously on Somerset Street. One was a Ch'an group under the guidance of a young Chinese Ch'an monk who was educated in Taiwan, another one was BLIA - an extension of Fo Guang Shan. The Ch'an monk soon moved to another city due to insufficient funding to set up a proper temple in Ottawa. The BLIA was able to successfully establish itself in Ottawa and soon expanded due to its constant effort to propagate the Dharma within the local Chinese community. Support also came from other centres in Toronto and Montreal and the main temple in Taiwan.

A significant number of my informants told me that they were originally Christians but found that they did not quite agree with the Christian philosophy as

it was so different from the Chinese mind. After the establishment of the BLIA in Toronto, Master Yi Hung came to Ottawa to give a witty sermon on *Buddhism and Life* in May 1994. To many it was an “eye-opening” experience as traditional Buddhist monastics do not make it a habit of giving Dharma talks in public areas. This seems to be a particular orientation of the Fo Guang group due to Master Hsing Yun’s philosophy of trying to reach out to as many people as possible through public sermons and the use of modern technology and media. For many, especially for those who were from Hong Kong where the group did not have a huge presence, it was the first time that they had heard Buddhist philosophy that was plainly explained and where the audience of laypersons was kept in mind. Many could identify with the teaching. Below are two excerpts of interviews and one testimonial that appeared in the local newspaper and translated to illustrate this point. When asked, “Why they became Buddhists?” the following explanations were fairly common:

I only know the traditional belief of worshipping the Buddhas as Gods and ancestor worship. In 1972, I came to Canada and was influenced by the Christians, I even joined the Mormons in Canada and attended regular church meetings. I could not accept their teachings; to me they were very much exaggerated... I decided to go on my own way to pay homage to Kuan-yin and the Earth Deity [a popular belief and practice among Chinese families]. In May 1994 the BLIA organized a Dharma talk by Master Yi Hung in the Chinese Cultural Centre. The talk was on *Buddhism and Daily Life*. I immediately felt it was what I wanted and thereafter joined the group. (O-1 female 55-60, Nov 1996)

Another informant said:

I was originally a protestant in Hong Kong. While I was on the verge of a divorce in my thirties, a group of my friends counselled me to join a Christian group in order to gain spiritual support. I know nothing about the Protestant’s doctrine. My mother is a

worshipper of Kuan-yin...

I came to Canada in 1991, and in 1994 I listened to the Dharma talk given by Master Yi Hung. It harmonized with my being. I wanted to become a Buddhist. I feel happier now. I deeply believe in the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect. I feel that I can walk my own way with some assistance from the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. I feel more confident in life. (O-2, female 45-50, March 1997)

Another BLIA member who wrote a testimonial which appeared in the local newspaper as part of the publicity of the group said:

I first came across BLIA through a poster in Chinatown announcing a Dharma talk by Master Yi Hung on *Buddhism and Daily Life*. It was completely free and everybody was invited to attend. My husband had just died suddenly. I was in complete shock... I felt lost, frightened and without a sense of direction in life. The topic was particularly interesting to me. On May 21 [1994], I brought my child along to the Chinese Cultural Centre Master Yi Hung soon arrived with Master Moon Yi. They started the Dharma talk and expounded on the Buddhist philosophy of birth, old age, disease and death and the doctrine of impermanence and non-attachment. The lecture was both witty and easy to understand. It lasted for two hours. I had a great transformation of consciousness afterwards. I felt peace and relieved... I thought to myself at that time that I would not miss any of these Dharma talks. (Chinese Canadian Community News: Sept 1994 as reprinted in BLIA Special Foundation Fundraising Report Oct 1994, my translation)

Much influenced by the presence of the group in Toronto, when Master Hsing Yun came for the ground breaking ceremony in the Toronto temple in September 1994, some members of the Fo Guang group took the opportunity to ask his permission to organize an Ottawa chapter of the BLIA.

By March 1996 the group had already established a centre at 886 Somerset Street under the lay directorship of Mr. Victor Leung, a civil servant in town. The group was composed of a director and two assistant directors and some executive members such as secretaries, treasurers, membership directors

and consultants. They were to be elected every two years by nomination. The centre was located inside a two-storey house with the main floor housing the main shrine hall, and the basement housing the small library, dining hall and the kitchen. The main shrine hall housed a huge statue of Kuan-yin and in front of her was a small statue of the Buddha. There was one Dharma protector on each side of Kuan-yin, namely Wei-To and Sangharama. In one corner of the hall was the Rebirth Shrine, with a poster of the trinity of Pure Land, Amitābha being in the middle, flanked by Kuan-yin and Ta shih-chih on both sides. There was a Chinese couplet on the wall that said:

I wish to be reborn in Pure Land within one of the nine grades of
the lotuses.
When the lotus opens I see the Buddha,
Realize the deathless nature of existence,
And live in the company of non-regressing Bodhisattvas.
(my translation)

The function of the Rebirth Hall was for people to register their ancestors for deliverance by Amitābha. In another corner of the Hall was the Relieve Negative Karma Hall with a poster of the Medicine Buddha where people could register the living to relieve them of their negative karma through the grace of the Medicine Buddha. The lay people particularly appreciated these shrines because it offered them a place to transfer some merit to the people in their lives and in other realms of existence through registering their names there and by participating in some of the ceremonies associated with them.

In its early establishment in Ottawa some lay members pledged to cover the monthly rent. The group had a membership of approximately fifty and there

were seventy regular attendants which included members and non-members. The members by paying an annual fee of \$30.00 had the voting rights for the new executive members of the BLIA, were informed of group events, and had a special discount privilege in joining the group activities.

In line with Master Hsing Yun's philosophy that a cordial relationship with politicians will increase the status of the group and provide a more favourable transfer of the Dharma, local politicians were duly informed. The establishment of the centre was acknowledged by an executive of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Council and an MP of Ottawa. Acceptance by the dominant society is illustrated in this passage taken from a letter from Mr. Mac Harb an MP of Ottawa that appeared in the centre's handout.

The opening of the new BLIA office will enable individuals and families in the Ottawa area to share their experience and faith in Buddhism. As the Venerable Master [Hsing Yun] so eloquently stated "Buddhism is living with compassion, universal benevolence, and the wisdom to distinguish right from wrong." These are certainly words to live by, and this is an excellent manner to pursue life. (BLIA Grand Opening Special Report March 24, 1996)

The group offered a range of cultural activities and Buddhist teachings such as Mandarin, Chinese painting, Tai Chi, and seminars on herbal medicine, sūtra studies and Dharma talks. The group, benefiting from the presence of other centres in Toronto and North America, invited monks and lay Dharma teachers to come to the centre to give Dharma talks even though there was no resident monastic presence during this early phase of development.

Some Buddhists in Ottawa, however, expressed the idea that without the monastics they do not really feel comfortable about a Buddhist centre. As one

woman who had been going to a Ch'an Master nearby said: "I come to this centre because of the Master, rather than BLIA which has a chapter but no master." (Field notes, Sept 1, 1996).

In November 1996, Master Hsing Yun sent two nuns Master I-yu and Master Yung-tu, to Ottawa. The two masters rented a house nearby on 176 Rochester Street. Thereafter, the nuns' location became the address of the monastic side of the organization namely, International Buddhist Progress Society. Soon after the arrival of the two masters they expressed dissatisfaction with the modest centre and urged everyone to pray for a bigger one. There were some concerns among some of the members due to the fact that the BLIA Ottawa chapter had only a small membership of fifty and regular attendants of about seventy members (not including the occasional ones that drop in during the festivals). As a result there was concern that there might be some difficulty in coming up with the down payment and the mortgage.

In any event, the BLIA group, under the guidance of the masters intensified its missionary activities among the local communities, especially in Chinatown on Somerset Street. Most store fronts have posters of the various events of the centre, and the local Chinese newspapers almost exclusively carry news of their activities. A local Chinese newspaper and some stores in Chinatown even refuse to announce news or put up posters of activities of non Chinese Buddhist groups claiming that they are not sure about the nature of the organizations and with the Fo Guang Shan they are sure of the establishment because of its worldwide nature. Upon the arrival of the nuns they greatly urged the lay supporters to

promote their activities to the public and particularly to the Caucasians through the announcement of their meditation lessons (Field notes, Sept 30, 1996).

With the coming of the two nuns from Taiwan, the centre began to organize various religious ceremonies which were not done before as the lay directors were not trained to do so. In 1996, from Dec. 27th to Dec. 29th, the centre organized the first major Amitābha Ceremony for the deliverance of one's ancestors as a service to the laity. The event was much welcomed by the local Buddhists and about 100 people showed up during the three-day event. In line with T'ai-hsü's idea that giving testimonies like that of the Christians will strengthen the faith among the newcomers, the Fo Guang group also told personal faith stories. One person wrote to the local newspaper to give a testimony of her religious experience upon the encouragement of Master I-yu.

Through the guidance of the Masters, we understand that the recitation of the Amitābha Sūtra can help our ancestors, relatives and all those who have negative karma into Pure Land. Therefore, I try to concentrate during the recitation of the Amitābha Sūtra and mantra. While I was reciting the mantra, I felt I had rid myself of worry and increased my confidence in Amitābha. I also felt a special affinity with Amitābha and a special connectedness with my ancestors. I was totally immersed with the sūtra...

During the first night, when I closed my eyes I felt that I was all surrounded by the sūtra. In my dream I dreamed that a lot of Dharma brothers and sisters were following the masters in their chanting...

On the third day when the ancestor tablets were being burnt so as to be received by Amitābha, I had an inexplicable feeling and was streaming with tears. I felt a special gratitude for the great compassion of Buddha Amitābha in receiving my ancestors and delivering them from suffering. I thanked the masters in their guidance so that we have the special opportunity to transfer some merits to beings in the Six Realms of Transmigration. After the ceremony, I felt a special affinity with Amitābha and am very pleased with the sūtra. It has my wholehearted appreciation. (*Chinese Canadian Community News*, March 15, 1997, p.9, my translation)

It seems that with the coming of the two nuns the centre had attracted more newcomers because of the religious ceremonies. There were about 150 people present during the Kuan-yin festival held in March of the following year. One particular feature of this group that was different from the others was the celebration of life. For example, during each festival the Master would ask those who were having a birthday to come forward and celebrate together.

Ever since the group arrived the local community has been buzzing with activities on every occasion because the group has a ceremony to honour all the Buddhist festivals together with traditional Chinese cultural festivals such as the Mid-autumn festival, and the winter festival, which are traditionally celebrated within the family but not inside the temple. These ceremonies are particularly welcomed by the new immigrants because many families have relaxed these practices since moving to Canada. The temple has truly taken up many functions that traditionally belong to a cultural centre. The popular festivals remain those of the Buddhists such as the Yu Lan, the Kuan-yin, the Amitābha and the Repentance Rituals. The atmosphere when the author attended was usually one of “coziness”; a recreation of a “small Hong Kong” or a “small Taiwan” inside the temple.

Although the group has intensified its effort to spread the Dharma to the Caucasian community, almost 100% of the regular attendants are Chinese due to cultural and language barriers. But to the few Caucasians, who have visited the

temple, the general view is one of being impressed by the organized nature of the group and the friendliness exhibited toward newcomers. One Caucasian participant said: "They were relaxed and courteous to newcomers. They weren't insulted by late comers. They stopped what they were doing and helped. People were very much involved and well organized." (O-18 female 25-30, 1998).

For many Caucasians the Ottawa Chinese temple is the first one they have encountered which is headed exclusively by nuns. The same individual continued and say:

I was surprised at first, but then at the ceremony she [the nun] conducted herself just like any temple master. You didn't see her sex anymore. Probably she has no hair. Everyone was involved, and she was not imposing herself on other people as if she was equal with the other three up there with her.

In 1998, the Ottawa group had gathered enough funds to invite Master Hsing Yun to come to Ottawa for a Dharma talk. It was held at the Ottawa Congress Centre, next to the Rideau Shopping Centre right downtown on September 28. This was the first time the Chinese had organized such a major Buddhist event in Ottawa. The whole Chinese community was involved; major restaurants such as Yangtze, Chu Shing, Mekong, the supermarkets, bookstores and travel agencies all carried posters of the event. Many entrepreneurs such as real-estate agents, insurance agents, dentists, and acupuncturists, accountants, store owners and the Alumni Association of Taiwan Universities and Colleges had contributed advertisements to support the special magazine to honour the event. It was a total community effort that involved the whole of Chinatown.

Mr. Mac Harb, the Member of Parliament for Ottawa Centre was again

informed and his letter was proudly printed in the special publication in honour of the occasion. It reads:

It gives me a great pleasure to welcome the Venerable Master Hsing Yun and everyone gathered for the Buddhism "Topics on Life" Lecture, I know this event will be both interesting and enlightening, and we are very honoured to have Venerable Master Hsing Yun visiting our community. (BLIA Special Publication Sept 1998)

There were about one thousand people present during the conference of which ten percent were Caucasians. Many BLIA members had travelled to Ottawa from other centres such as Toronto and Montreal. Master Hsing Yun was introduced by two executives from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Ottawa and eight nuns accompanied him during the opening ceremony.

The title of the lecture was *Topics on Life* and it was translated in both Cantonese and English. The talk employed the Buddhist teachings on Greed, Hatred and Illusion to illustrate lay living. The lecture was both witty and clever and touched on various aspects of modern day living such as vegetarianism, and investing in the stock market. For example he said:

People think by being a vegetarian it will lead to good health, but it is not necessary so. Vegetarianism will lead to spiritual wealth because of not killing, but not necessary good health. People think by praying to the Buddhas will lead to success in the stock market. It is not necessarily so. One has to work hard and follow the principle of wealth in order to get there. (Hsing Yun Sept 28, 1998)

The teaching had a lot of emphasis on self-help and self-efficacy and was particularly geared to a middle-class lay audience. The whole conference ran smoothly like a business conference. After the teaching, the audience seemed really pleased and almost half of the audience including quite a few Caucasians

went to the front to take refuge from him.

After the conference the author interviewed several Caucasians about the presence of the Chinese Buddhist community in Ottawa, most of them were really impressed by the professional organization of the conference and intrigued with the cultural aspects of the ceremony. A participant of the event Angela Sumegi, a professor of Buddhism and a long term practitioner of the faith said, "I am impressed, it is extremely well organized. I enjoyed the chanting and the cultural aspects. I am pleased to attend the meeting."

By the end of 1999, the group had purchased a modern looking office building at 1950 Scott St. near the Westboro station and was planning to convert it into a temple (see Illustration No. 8). It is about 3,000 sq feet in a two-storey building. The cost of the building which included renovation was \$400,000. The price was modest compared to other Fo Guang temples but due to the small community of members of the group in Ottawa it was quite a challenge. Although there are a few professionals and entrepreneurs, most of the members are of the lower middle class; many of them work in restaurants and factories. The group also has quite a few students and many older people who are either retired or on social welfare. One informant said:

I had worked a whole month overtime in the electronic factory where I worked to come up with the donation. My eyes were all red because of the work. I also fund-raised among all my co-workers to come up with the C\$1,000. (O-1, female 55-60, Jan 1999)

For the Ottawa group alone to raise the money within a short time after its establishment in Ottawa seemed more like a "dream" than reality. Fortunately, according to one of my informants, the head temple in Taiwan helped, together

with some of the wealthy patrons in Hong Kong. Master I-yu herself also contributed a substantial amount of money and many members in Montreal and Toronto both donated to the foundation fund and helped in the renovation. The rest of the money was raised among the local community. With the group support from overseas and other centres, the Ottawa temple rapidly transformed from a dream to a reality and became a showcase of Chinese Buddhism in the National Capital.

The BLIA group moved to the new centre on the Eve of the Chinese New Year in February 2000 in time to celebrate the New Year in the centre. In line with Master Hsing Yun's philosophy of practicing a purified form of Buddhism devoid of Taoist influence such as feng shui, a geomancer was not consulted. Rather, the masters moved the shrines around intuitively until they were comfortable with the setting. Upon the entrance in the main reception area hangs a large framed copy of the Heart Sūtra. Next to it is a counter that sells various religious objects such as prayer beads, good-luck charms and Buddhist statues; it also serves as a centre for the collection of donations. There is a wishing well at the centre of the main reception area in front of the shrine room graced by a statue of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. In the middle of the shrine is a statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni, to his left is Buddha Amitābha and to his right is the Medicine Buddha (see Illustration No.9). At the other end of the shrine room are two smaller shrines. One is for the departed graced by a statue of Kṣitigarbha and the other one is for relieving of negative karma and increased merit for the living graced by a statue of Kuan-yin. Half the walls of the shrine on the left and the

right are adorned with small ceramic squares each with an image of Kuan-yin in them. Below the Kuan-yin statues are the ceramic tiles with images of the five Buddhas (see Illustration No.10). Downstairs is a huge kitchen, a dining hall, a meditation room and a library.

The establishment of the new centre and the various promotional activities of the group including postering, appearances in local newspapers, and Hsing Yun's nightly Dharma talk on the local Chinese television channel, have quickly attracted many people to the centre from the local Chinese community. For instance, during the celebration of the Buddha Śākyamuni's birthday festival on May 7, 2000 there were close to five hundred people present.

The group is very innovative in designing festivals which are attractive to the people. In 2000, rather than the usual vegetarian dinner after the ceremony, the group organized a food fair during the Buddha's birthday and a shuttle bus transferred people from the Yangtze Restaurant on Somerset to the new centre. The food was mostly donated by lay supporters and there were various themes at each counter. The proceeds went toward the temple foundation fund. There were quite a number of Caucasians present, obviously enjoying the food. The situation was well summarized in the opening address given by Richard Patten an MPP in Ottawa centre who was invited to the temple as a guest of honour from the Director. He said:

This is my first visit to the temple. Congratulations! The temple is more than full already, and you may have to expand again... I am very proud that the temple is in Ottawa because Ottawa is a dynamic multicultural and multiracial city. Currently it speaks sixty languages of all kinds. I am glad that the temple is part of the community and hope to be invited again

(Richard Patten May 7, 2000)

On May 28, 2000 the BLIA group had its formal inauguration ceremony. In order to honour the occasion, Master I-yu invited Master Hsing Ding, the current Head Abbot of the Fo Guang Shan in Taiwan, to come all the way to Ottawa for the ceremony. Master Hsing Ding thanked the Canadian government for accepting other religious expressions and urged the BLIA members to be of service to the community in order to show their gratitude.

The Fo Guang group has definitely assumed the role of a quasi-representative office of the Taiwanese government representing ethnic identity. On every important occasion of the group the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Ottawa sends a senior executive for the occasion showing the importance of the group. Mr. S.T. Shen, a senior executive of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office, made a speech during the inaugural ceremony which illustrates this point:

While working in Vancouver I already established contact with Fo Guang Shan. In Ottawa, I enjoy associating with the local BLIA chapter which is a fantastic pillar of the community. Many members give their strenuous service to the community... Today it is a dream coming true. This will be a great place for meditation and learning. This is a great success for the multi-cultural policy of Canada. (S.T. Shen May 28, 2000, my translation)

Activities of the BLIA and IBPS

The Buddhist Activities

The group has organized various Buddhist activities and has assumed the role of an educational centre in Ottawa. The Dharma teachers include both lay teachers and monastic teachers. All the monastics have undergone training in the group's

Buddhist College in Taiwan and some have advanced degrees in Buddhist theology or religious studies from western institutions. For the most part the lay teachers have undergone personal research and study. The sermons and lectures are usually witty and well adapted to a modern life. They are normally followed by testimonials to strengthen the faith of the members.

For example in September 1996, a lay teacher from the Toronto group, Dr. Chan Chi Kung was invited to lecture on the *Medicine Buddha Sūtra*. When explaining why in the sūtra there are numerous passages that describe women's wish to be reborn as men. He said:

In ancient India women had a low status, so it was often mentioned in the sūtra that women wished to be born as men, but in the modern day context of course men wished to be born as women. (My translation)

He also related how his wife always had her wishes fulfilled while reciting the *Medicine Buddha Sūtra*. She was so impressed with the teaching, she decided to resign from her career, became a vegetarian and held the position of the Director of BLIA in Toronto.

Most of the other lectures and sermons are concentrated on the Buddhist concepts of Cause and Effect, of impermanence, the Mahāyāna ideal of non-attachment and the Bodhisattva path. Particular emphasis is also on Hsing Yun's idea of humanistic Buddhism through the propagation of the Buddhist Dharma to purify consciousness and to change Samsāra to Pure Land and most importantly to be of service to others in order to do so. To illustrate this teaching below is an example of a sermon given by Master Chi Yun the head abbot of Hsi Lai temple

while he was in Ottawa.

Everything is undergoing change...we get old really easily and there is no telling when we are going to die. We change our karma by cultivating ourselves. So we have to cultivate ourselves and the best cultivation is fa-hsin [generating Bodhicitta]. Fa-hsin means coming to the temple to worship, giving offerings to the sangha and to plant good seeds in the field.

When we give, we should give wholeheartedly, and do not do it to show off to others and later regret about it. We can also give by showing kindness to others, that is, be kind to others through our daily activities. We can do this by smiling at others when we see them...we can also do this through cooking for the benefit of others. Many Zen masters acquire merit through cooking. We have to cultivate ourselves to be Bodhisattvas, so that Ottawa is full of Bodhisattvas. (Dec 1999, my translation)

Another important teaching of the Fo Guang Shan is the modernization of Buddhism. This includes making Buddhism easily accessible modelling after the Catholics' example in modern era. It also includes a de-emphasis on rituals and a re-emphasis on the temple as a place of learning Buddhist doctrine. It is illustrated by the sermon below given by Master I-yu:

Ta-shih [meaning Master Hsing Yun] says, in the future propagation of the Dharma, we have to be more like the Catholics who get the message out to the people on the streets. Also in the future the temple would be more like a place of learning, where we do book reviews instead of the chanting ceremonies which are to satisfy the older Bodhisattvas [members] only. We are not into doing a lot of death rituals too, we only do it for people who are associated with the temple but not the general public. (Aug 2000, my translation)

There are special Dharma talks given on popular Mahāyāna sūtras such as the Heart Sūtra, the Diamond Sūtra and the Lotus Sūtra and regular classes on meditation and a library. The centre also distributes a lot of Master Hsing Yun's works and his exegesis on humanistic Buddhism, for example: *Handing Down the Light*, *Perfectly Willing*, *The Philosophy of Being Second* and booklets such as

"The Fundamental Concepts of Humanistic Buddhism", "The Essence of Ch'an", "Speaking of You and Me", "Equality and Peace", "The Heavenly Realms and the Hell Worlds". Many of them have already been translated into English by the Fo Guang translation committee.

In accordance with Master Hsing Yun's philosophy that giving out souvenirs would be helpful to attract newcomers, the centre distributes many Kuan-yin posters and the A-mi-t'o fo mantra machine. The centre also gives out all kinds of gifts to the people who come to visit such as key chains and lucky charms with Buddhist symbols inscribed on them. In addition, during Chinese New Year, the centre distributes Chinese calendars and scrolls with auspicious affirmations handwritten by Master Hsing Yun.

Cultural Activities

The temple has truly taken up many functions that traditionally belong to a cultural centre. The group celebrates and honours all the Chinese festivals such as New Year, Ching Ming, Mid-Autumn, and the Winter festivals. During major festivals and special events there are usually some cultural activities such as Kung Fu, Tai Chi and Qiqong demonstrations. Sometimes there are local Chinese singers and herbal doctors from Somerset Street who give performances and free consultations. On the Buddha's birthday in May 2001 there was a complete cultural show where the lay directors and supporters dressed in traditional Chinese costumes to make offerings to the Buddha. A vegetarian dinner and a lucky draw normally follow such events and sometimes the elderly

are singled out for recognition in accordance with Chinese tradition. These cultural festivals are particularly welcomed by the new immigrants because many families have become relaxed in these practices ever since moving to Canada. The temple operates further as a spiritual and social venue where they can enjoy the festivals with fellow Chinese.

Charitable Activities

The group, although new, is actively trying to seek out and promote charitable activities. The group engages in helping the Food Bank during Christmas. They have a program of monthly visits to prisons in Ontario. They also fundraise for special occasions; for example, after the severe earthquake in Sept 1999 in Taiwan, they had sent a relief fund over.

The Perspectives of the Fo Guang Members and Participants of the Site

Some early devotees started the BLIA in Ottawa due to the establishment of the centre in Toronto and Master Yi Hung coming to Ottawa to give a Dharma talk (as discussed before). Other early supporters and core members reported joining the group due to personal circumstances in life and found support through the global presence of the group. A participant of the site said:

A few years ago I returned to Taiwan to work. My father was very sick and eventually died. I was contemplating on the phenomenon of death. The body is physical; where does the mind comes from? I met a Buddhist in Taiwan, and he told me about the Sūtra of Immortality. When I returned to Vancouver, I found the sūtra in a bookstore connected to the BLIA. After I read the sūtra I had a transformation of consciousness... They asked me to join them and do voluntary work. Later I moved to Ottawa to further my studies and through coincidences I ran into the temple again. I

believe it is my time to go to the temple every day, and I like to go to the temple and stay there. (O-3 female 25-30, Mar 1997)

Another informant added that joining the group has changed even very negative personal experience such as a divorce into a positive outlook:

I returned to Vietnam on the verge of my divorce in 1995. My grandmother, mother and sisters were already converted to Buddhism and taken refuge with Master Hsing Yun... They gave me thirty cassette tapes of the Master. I listened to them and had a change of heart. I can see the positive side of divorce. There is more time to be yourself, more time to study the sūtras and meditate. Through a coincidence I ran into the centre in Chinatown. (O-4 female 30-35, Mar 1997)

Other people joined the group because they were already members of the BLIA in Canada. One participant said:

I was already a member in Montreal, when I was transferred to Ottawa to work. I asked them for their listing and found the address of the local chapter. (O-7, male 25-30, Dec 1999)

The majority of the participants reported that they believe in the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect. This has provided them with the greatest confidence to change their karma (personal circumstances) in their life through the practice of humanistic Buddhism. More than 70 percent of the respondents of the Fo Guang Group have taken refuge with Hsing Yun. When asked: "What is the most important aspect of this centre?" The frequent answers were: "Master Hsing Yun's teaching of humanistic Buddhism" (O-8, male 25-30, Dec 1999). Some others were also impressed with the teachings of the masters sent to Ottawa. Below are comments from several of the respondents:

We cannot understand Buddhism through studying on our own. We have to learn from the masters. (O-7, male 25-30, Dec 1999)

The masters are very important. Their Dharma talks help you to develop your own wisdom. (O-9, male 50-55, July 2000)

This is a meeting place to exchange ideas and practices, a kind of a support group. When I encounter problems in Buddhist concepts the masters are here to help. (O-6 female 27-30, Feb 2000)

This is a place to cultivate together, and to receive instructions from the masters. (O-13, female 30-35, Feb 2000)

Quite a number of respondents also came to the temple attracted by the well-organized manner of the group:

The temple is well organized and practiced the right belief. (O-10, male 50-55, Mar 2000)

The well organized nature of the temple. (O-11 female 35-40, Feb 2000)

For some others the temple is a meeting place and a cultural centre and they are pleased with the presence of the temple in Ottawa. One participant said: "There is no other Chinese Buddhist group in Ottawa" (O-9, male 45-50, July 2000) and another said: "Chinese people should go to a Chinese temple" (O-15, male 60-65, Mar 2000).

The majority of the respondents reported that getting in touch with the temple helps them to better understand the Buddhist Dharma and has changed them from the traditional Chinese folk practice of venerating Kuan-yin as a Goddess and having a small shrine for the Earth Deity in the house to seeing Kuan-yin as a universal principal of compassion that is both within and beyond us. Moreover, they have forsaken the folk practice of having a shrine for the Earth Deity in the house which is essentially non-Buddhist in nature.

The Fo Guang group places a lot of emphasis on education and not much on rituals and ceremonies. Still, more than 70 percent of the respondents believe

in the efficacy of the rituals and ceremonies to attain a transformation of consciousness and to fulfil one's wishes. One person said: "During the ceremony, I feel elated; it's like passing through a gate into Pure Land" (O-8, male 50-55 Feb 2000). Another person said: "It is inevitable to pray to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas for some assistance" (O-15, male 60-65 Mar 2000). A few, however, said that ritual is completely unimportant and that being of service to others is what is important. One participant at the site said:

When we are reciting the Buddhas' names, we should not ask for personal gains, we should wish that everybody is well. If we encounter difficulties, we have to work on it. Ta-shih [Master Hsing Yun] says: "reciting the Buddhas' names gives us our peace of mind but working on our problems will eliminate hard times." (O-7, male 25-30, Dec 1999)

The same individual continued to say that ever since he became a member of the Fo Guang group, he was troubled with his mother's practice which consisted mainly of chanting the sūtras, whereas he liked to help people and give back something to the community (O-7, male 25-30, Dec 1999). Another person said: "It helps you to work harder to get what you want... it's mind power but ultimately, you will have to take your own action" (O-6 female, 25-30, Feb 2000).

The Fo Guang group places equal importance on the lay members and the monastics in the spreading of the Dharma and the attainment of Pure Land. Consequently, being a monastic is not viewed as terribly important in the achievement of the final goal of Pure Land. One only does it out of one's inclination. Only one out of all the respondents reported that: "I want to be a nun in order to help people" (O-14, female 20-25, April 2000). Another participant at the site said: "I have previously thought of being a monk, but after a seven-day retreat at the Hsi

Lai temple, I realized that most importantly the sangha needs support and I want to remain a lay person” (O-7, male 25-30 Dec. 1999). Another participant, obviously intimidated by the well-disciplined manner of the sangha as exhibited by the group reported:

It's not my nature: I feel I don't conform well. I see the nuns in the temple who have to conform to the norm of appropriate behaviour within this organization. I am not totally against conformity. However, personally, I don't have the capacity to be conscious of my behaviour 24 hours a day. I think those who are capable of doing this are incredible. They have the admirable patience. (O-6 female 25-30, Feb 2000)

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, the Fo Guang Shan group's presence in Ottawa can be attributed to the global success and the organizational control of the group. Master Hsing Yun inspired by the work of T'ai-hsü during the 1930s, carried on his ideal of a modernization of Buddhism. This included a reformed sangha and focussed on education rather than the traditional engagement in various ceremonies, in particular the death rituals as a principle form of making a living. The group seeks the transformation of the sangha from a secluded and closed monastic life to an active involvement in missionary work among the laity. Moreover, the laity is actively involved in the spreading of the Dharma, through the establishment of the BLIA and through the affirmation of the equal status of a lay teacher. In addition, building cordial relationships between the politicians and trade leaders is viewed as increasing the social status of the group and a potent aid in fuelling the movement of the group.

Master Hsing Yun, following the ideal of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism as

advocated by T'ai-hsü, is actively trying to purify Buddhism of Taoist influence. The practice of feng shui, divination and astrology which are Taoist in nature but are fairly commonly practised within the other two groups are completely absent within the group. The focus, however, is to transform Samsāra into Pure land through the understanding of the Buddhist Dharma, realizing the nature of the Buddhist karmic law of Cause and Effect and taking responsibility of our daily lives. Moreover, inspired by the Christian models, the group is actively engaged in all kinds of charitable works within society and the establishment of a church-like temple. The group's success can also be attributed to the fact that it becomes "a big family" within the immigrant community. The various cultural activities alleviate the anxiety of being in a foreign country and the group's presence both as a Buddhist and a cultural centre satisfy an important need within the community.

CHAPTER 5

CHINESE BUDDHISM IN MONTREAL

Introduction

This chapter gives a brief introduction to the Buddhists in Montreal and the development of Chinese Buddhist temples there. The True Buddha School under the spiritual guidance of Master Sheng-yen Lu represents a dominant form in the global migration of Chinese Buddhism. The chapter examines the history, development and organization of the True Buddha School.

Buddhist Groups in Montreal

Montreal currently has over thirty Buddhist groups. In the Theravāda tradition there are the Vipassanā Foundation, Pannarāma Meditation Centre, and the Pagode Khmère du Canada. In the Japanese tradition there are the Soka Gakkai Canada Culture Centre, Montreal Buddhist Church, Montreal Zen Association, and Centre Zen de la Main. In the Tibetan tradition there are the Montreal Shambhala Centre, Montreal Tibetan Buddhist Temple, Rigpe Dorje Foundation and Rigpa Quebec. In the Pure Land Tradition there are the Tu An Buddhist Order, Vulture Peak Buddhist Meditation Centre, Chua Quan An, and Chua Tam Bao. In the Chinese Traditions there are the Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple, Association des bénévoles Huaquang, both belonging to the True Buddha School, the Chinese Buddhist Society and the International Buddhist Progress Society of the Fo Guang Shan. For a complete listing see <http://buddhismcanada.com> (consulted June 21,

2000).

The oldest most established temple in Montreal is the Tu An Buddhist Order at 2176 Ontario St. E. founded by a Vietnamese monk, Thick Tam Chau. He founded the Association of Vietnamese Buddhists in the basement of a church in 1976 and in 1978 he established the Tu An Buddhist Order. There was no other Chinese temple at that time and most Chinese Buddhists went to this temple. According to Vu Van Thai, the Secretary General for the World Vietnamese Order (a worldwide association founded by Thick Tam Chau), the Tu An Buddhist Order organized the first sangha council in Montreal in May 1999, and about thirty temples participated. According to Vu it is difficult to organize such an event as most of the temples in Montreal are divided along ethnic lines and there is not much communication between them.

Chinese Buddhists in Montreal

Traditionally Montreal is a city that attracts many immigrants after that of Toronto and Vancouver, but the pattern seems to have changed in recent years. According to Statistics Canada the number of new immigrants to Montreal has increased dramatically in recent years. In 2002 it registered 33,000 immigrants compared to 22,741 in 1997 and for the first time in the last decade have surpassed Vancouver's number of 29,922 immigrants. The increase is attributed to lower real estate prices, a stronger economy and increased job opportunities (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001, 2003).

According to Census Canada, the number of Chinese in Montreal has

increased significantly from 10,655 in 1971 to 57,655 in 2001 (Statistics Canada 1976; Statistics Canada 2003b, #95F0489XCB01004). With the increase of Chinese in Montreal, the Chinese began to establish their own temples. The first temple was the Chinese Buddhist Society located on the third floor of 1072 St Laurent Blvd in 1988. It is situated right in the centre of Chinatown. It was first established by a Chinese merchant, Ma Telin, who went to set up his business in Montreal in 1969. According to one of my informants, some founders of this Chinese Buddhist Society soon moved and established a temple at 200, rue De Castelnau; however, due to management problems the temple was finally handed over to Fo Guang Shan in 1992. The third temple established was Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple of the True Buddha School in 1993 under the spiritual guidance of Master Lu. The Association Des Bénévoles Huaquang was originally established as a special division of the school for charitable service and moved in 1996 to establish a chapter of its own.

Master Sheng-yen Lu and the Global Development of the True Buddha School

Master Lu was born in 1945. He is generally known as the Living Buddha Lian Shen among the True Buddha disciples and is a native of Taiwan Chiayi. Graduating with a degree in land surveying, he joined the civil service as a land surveyor and started writing when he was very young. He is a prolific writer and currently has 147 books in print (www.tbsn.org consulted July 11, 2001). Some of them have been translated into English and other languages. Some examples are *The Inner World of the Lake*, *The Mystical Experiences of the True Buddha*

Disciples, Encounters with the World of Spirits, Talks by a Living Buddha, A Complete and Detailed Exposition of the True Buddha Tantric Dharma etc. Although he was originally a Christian Bible teacher, a profound mystical experience at the age of twenty-five led him to study Taoism, followed by Mahāyāna Buddhism and Tibetan tantra. He became well known after his first book *Encounters with the World of Spirits* which came into print in 1975.

Master Lu has attracted a great following in Taiwan through the sharing of his profound religious experience in his writings. The group was originally known as the Lien Shen (spiritual immortal) sect in 1975, but was renamed the Lien Shen True Buddha School in 1984, and then the True Buddha School.

Master Lu is reported to have sought out many teachers, both spirit and human, in the course of his learning. From his early encounters with the spirit world he had learned from his spirit teacher Sir Three-Mountains-Nine Realms, and a Taoist spirit teacher Hermit-of-Purity, and has great knowledge in Taoist alchemy, talisman and geomancy. Master Lu had previously taken refuge from a total of twenty-one human teachers in Taoism, Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, and Tibetan tantra. In Tibetan Buddhism he had taken refuge or received empowerments from a host of Tibetan teachers of various sects which included the Nyingmapa, the Gelugpa and notably from the Sixteenth Karmapa of the Tibetan Kagyu Sect in 1981 (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, Fall 1997:2).

He declared himself to have received empowerments from Buddha Śākyamuni, Amitābha, Maitreya, and Padmasambhava, and has received the title “Holy Red Crown Vajra Master Lian Shen” during his deep meditation. His

attainment as a Living Buddha according to the TBS has been confirmed by respected Tibetan Tulkus, including H.H. Ganden Tripa of the Shavagon Monastery, Rinpoche Amchor of the Amdo Monastery, Kalu Rinpoche, Kasur Jigme Rinpoche and Danbala Geshe to name a few (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, September 1999:29; TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, Winter 1997:19).

Master Lu is well known in South East Asia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and globally among his followers to be in possession of great psychic and healing powers. He believes in harnessing these powers to alleviate people's suffering and eventually lead them onto the Buddha Dharma through faith in these religious experiences. It is reported that through his psychic abilities, many have been able to avoid disasters and live a happy and prosperous life. Many more have been cured of diverse illnesses such as cancers, ulcers, tumours, psychoses, and handicaps (For further description of these practises please see p.212).

Due to his fame in geomancy and psychic abilities, many people sought out his assistance. He has encountered many difficulties in dealing with the tremendous number of letters and visitors that seek his help in the course of his career. The disruption created has caused him to change his residence many times in Taiwan in order to maintain a normal household life.

In 1982, when he was still a married Diamond Master living with his wife and two children in Taiwan, he told his close disciples that he had received instruction from the spirit realms to emigrate to Seattle. At that time, he had no idea where Seattle was and had to find it on a map with the help of his wife. It is reported that eight families of close disciples followed him in that move. On September 14, 1985,

with the help of the eight disciple families, and the financial support from Master Lu's students all over the world, they set up the Rey Tsang Temple in Redmond, Washington. Rey Tsang Temple (Thunderstorm Temple) is a half million dollar property and is situated at 17102 NE Fortieth, Redmond, Washington 98052. The temple houses Taoist deities, Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhist statues, and many tantric meditative deities. The following year, in 1986, Master Lu ordained himself to be a monk, and started his global travel to spread the teachings of the TBS.²¹

According to Master Lu the TBS's original intention was to simply maintain a name for a group of people who practised together. It was to be a loose organization and he had no wish for it to become the massive world organization that it is today:

Until now [1983], the True Buddha School has maintained a name for me and my disciples; the name identifies us as a group of people who do our practice together. We are scattered all over the world and are not formally organized. Only recently have we established a location (in Redmond, Washington) which is dedicated solely to our practice in the United States. Frankly I do not wish to be formally organized. My thinking is that the True Buddha School represents a formless practice which allows every person to receive the truly beneficial Buddha Dharma.²²

The TBS has now developed into a worldwide organization with chapters in major cities all over the world. Currently the TBS has 191 chapters worldwide (www.tbsn.org July 11, 2001) and claims to have a total of four million members

²¹ Quoted from Kender Tomko's 1985 article "World Teacher Comes to Seattle", reprinted in "True Buddha School - A Religion of the World" pamphlet published by the True Buddha School, Purple Lotus Society, p. 5.

²² Quoted from Master Lu's 1991 article "The Lineage of the True Buddha School", reprinted in "True Buddha School - A Religion of the World" pamphlet published by the True Buddha School, Purple Lotus Society, p. 8.

internationally (Lu 1999:29). The majority of the chapters are in Taiwan with sixty-five chapters, second in Indonesia with thirty-nine chapters, third in America with twenty-two chapters, fourth in Hong Kong with seventeen chapters and Canada runs fifth with thirteen chapters. Lu declares that he started his practice with Taoism, therefore, all his disciples must show respect to the Taoist pantheon, to his teachers in the spirit realm Sir Three-Mountain- Nine-Realms, and to his Taoist teacher Hermit of Purity. Members of TBS should not slander Taoism simply because they also practice Buddhism. According to Lu, the expression “still water runs deep” captures the essence of Taoism. If one does not practice Taoism, one cannot comprehend the boundless nature of its teachings. One should not have the prejudice that it is one of the heresies criticized by Buddhism. Master Lu argues that when Buddha Śākyamuni criticized the heretics, he was directing it against Brahmanism and the indigenous religions of India of his time, he was not directing it against Taoism or Christianity.²³

In addition to Taoism, Master Lu also practised Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, particularly in relation to the study of the sūtras. He considers both Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism and Tibetan Buddhism to be of equal importance. He emphasizes that each individual has his or her own potential, therefore, Buddhism has developed different types of practices to suit individual temperament and circumstance. He himself has finally settled in Tibetan Tantric Buddhism. The practice of Tantric Buddhism aims to purify the three unwholesome mind states of

²³Ibid, p. 8.

hatred, greed, and confusion, through the practice of various sādhanas²⁴ with the ultimate aim of realization of one's own Buddha nature through direct cognitive experience.²⁵

Master Lu's Philosophy of Buddhism and the Globalization of the True Buddha School (TBS)

According to Master Lu, the practice of the True Buddha School is a combination of Taoism, Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism and Tibetan Tantra. He argues that the practice he has developed is unique and is geared to meet the needs of the modern world. He believes that the highest consciousness of the cosmos is a kind of divine drama. The various religions and traditions in the world have been created in order to meet the needs of different kinds of sentient beings.²⁶

In reply to the many attacks from the other schools who are concerned about polluting Buddhism with Taoism and other folk beliefs, Lu argues that the True Buddha salvation of today is no longer a regional one like those of ancient times. In the past, religion was largely cultural or sectarian in nature. The Buddha, during his time, was unaware of the development of Taoism in China, and Christianity in the West, even though the Buddhists had already developed a lot of

²⁴Various visualization practices in Tibetan Buddhism, aiming at the identification of one's consciousness with certain energy principle as represented by the Deities. For a more detailed description of the Sādhana see p.212.

²⁵Ibid, p. 9.

²⁶Ibid, p. 11

pathways to enlightenment. Lu affirms that a religion of today should be all inclusive, and that it should take into consideration the merits, doctrines and attainments of other religions. It should encompass all nationalities, traditions and sects so that people can build on their own beliefs and further progress on their path.²⁷

Therefore, if a Taoist believer comes to take refuge in the TBS, the guru could teach that person the genuine Taoist practice. If a Christian comes to take refuge in the TBS, the guru could teach him or her the Heavenly Kingdom practice. If a Buddhist comes to take refuge in the TBS, the guru could teach him/her the guru sādhana, so that she can attain the highest goal of returning to the Double Lotus-Ponds.

The Double Lotus-Ponds as advocated by Master Lu is a special realm in Pure Land, the final goal of the True Buddha disciples. Master Lu claims that in his clairvoyance he saw that he was an emanation of Padmakumāra (Skt. lotus child) in the Double Lotus-Ponds and his mission on earth is to lead people back to these Double Lotus-Ponds. Below is a passage taken from one of his sermons where he relates his early out-of-body experience at the age of twenty-six to visit the Double Lotus- Ponds in the Pure Land and the encounter of Padmakumāra which later became a foundation of his practice of Buddhism and Taoism and the practice of the school (see Guru Sādhana p.212).

Most of you know that, when I was twenty-six years old, I went to visit the Jade Emperor Temple in Taiwan and it was there that the

²⁷Ibid, p. 12.

Golden Mother of the Jade Pond opened Divine Eyesight for me. Then, that same night, I was brought to the Maha Twin Lotus Ponds in the Western Paradise of Utmost Bliss [Sukhavati]. I know that this kind of experience is extremely rare, though not unheard of. My experience was so real that, although it happened when I was twenty-six, it still leaps absolutely vivid before my eyes. I saw the Pakmakumara [lotus child] and the white, lightning-light radiated by him. Every single lotus blossom was as big as a car wheel. What I saw at the Maha Twin Lotus Ponds was exactly as the Amitābha Sūtra's description of Sukhavati. This true experience later became a kind of spiritual shield sustaining me in my pursuit of Taoism and Buddhism (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, July-September 1993:7).

Master Lu also argues that the ultimate attainment of all cultivation ends in the return to our Buddha Nature and the Double Lotus-Ponds is also a realm within our consciousness and there is no need for an outside quest.²⁸

Master Lu emphasizes that the mutual exclusion and endless disputes among the various traditions must end. An exclusive religion is usually of a cultural type and confined to a certain ethnic group and cannot echo deep into the hearts of human beings and have an universal appeal. According to Master Lu, the Four Persecutions of Buddhism²⁹ in China and its subsequent decline in Chinese soil

²⁸Ibid, p. 13.

²⁹The ideological differences between Buddhism and the dominant Chinese culture had resulted in anti-Buddhist sentiment periodically during the early centuries when Buddhism was taking root in China. It resulted in what the Buddhists called the "Four Persecutions of Buddhism." The root of the conflict stemmed largely from Buddhism's ideological differences with Confucianism. The Confucianists charged that the Buddhist clergy's withdrawal from society was contrary to the Confucianist ideal of selfless service to society. It caused a large number of people to be unproductive and lead a parasitic life. Moreover, the Buddhist ideal of renunciation from society was contrary to the Confucianist ideal of a harmonious society where everyone is doing their duty in life. The conflict between the Buddhists and the Confucianists was further aggravated by the sectarian fight between Buddhism and Taoism in China. Enraged monarchs ignited by Taoist priests and Confucianist ministers in the court, ordered the suppression of Buddhism within the country. This included a total execution of all the clergy in the country in 446 C.E. and the massive destruction of 4,600 monasteries in 845 C.E.

Chronologically the "Four Persecutions" are: in the year 446 C.E. during the reign of emperor Wu of Northern Wei Dynasty, in the year 574 C.E. during the reign of emperor Wu of Northern Chou Dynasty, in the year 845 C.E. during the reign of Wu-tsung of the Tang Dynasty and in the year 955 C.E. during the emperor Shih-tsung of later Chou Dynasty (for a detailed description of these

can be attributed to the following factors:

- Many prominent monks have rejected the teachings of Lao-tzu, and Chuang-tzu, considering them to be misleading heresies that would not lead people to complete liberation.

- Buddhism in China traditionally focussed on the outward differences between Buddhism and Taoism -- Taoism being identified as misleading and heretical, resulting in the sectarian fight between Taoism and Buddhism.

- Many Buddhists consider their views to be the only correct teachings. Lu believes that due to this exclusive attitude towards other religions, they have brought upon themselves many negativities.

- Relying heavily on the sūtra studies and ignoring actual religious experiences many Buddhists with their scepticism towards the psychics have overlooked the miraculous power as derived by a cultivator and the workings of the Spirit.³⁰

In fact Lu argues that many of these criticised activities have been useful in introducing Buddhism to outsiders and helping them to strengthen their faith along the way.³¹

conflicts see Chen 1973:145-233, Wright 1990:1-29, Lui-Ma 2000:27).

³⁰ Summarized from Master Lu's 1991 article "The Lineage of True Buddha School", reprinted in "True Buddha School - A Religion of the World" pamphlet published by TBS, Purple Lotus Society, p. 13-14.

³¹ Ibid, p. 14.

The Practice of the TBS and the Modern Scientific Era

Master Lu argues that in the current scientific era, many people accuse religion of being the source of superstition and an impediment to modern development of science. According to Lu, the source of religion originates from rich human emotion and imagination. This is a natural phenomenon and the force behind the development of world civilizations. Without imagination there would not be any civilization and scientific development. Therefore, imagination is the principal behind religion and scientific development (Lu 1978:146-150, my translation).

According to Lu, the foundation of religion lies in its religious experiences. Strengthened by the faith derived from these religious experiences, religion can manifest its greatest potential as the guiding light behind human behaviour. The future success of religion will depend largely on intellectuals' participation in this endeavour. It can be through direct religious experiences or various theoretical investigations. In any event, meditative practice will play an important role. The understanding of religious experiences can be through a multi-disciplinary understanding of philosophy, psychology, anthropology, sociology and transpersonal psychology. Through the combined efforts of these disciplines there lies the hope of discovering the true nature of religion (Lu 1978:145-151, my translation).

In the present society, without adequate research and understanding, and since all religions are dealing with an unseen spiritual realm, to classify some religious practices as normal religious behaviour and some practices such as

burning paper money, divination, geomancy, and astrology as superstition would only contribute to the confusion (Lu 1978:148, my translation).

The TBS coming to Canada

The earliest, most established temple of the TBS in Canada is the PTT Buddhist Society at 514 Keefer Street, Vancouver, B.C. It is presently under the guidance of Diamond Masters Lian-wen and Lian-gao. The temple in Vancouver was originally at 259 E Hastings St. Due to rapid expansion Master Lu decided to fundraise for the building of a temple in Vancouver.

The temple is housed inside a two storey building. Including the basement, it is 6,000 sq ft. It was converted from an old Christian church. It was designed after Potala Palace in Lhasa. On the main floor there is about 3,000 sq ft which includes the reception area, the main shrine, the office and the kitchen. The second floor which is about 2,000 sq ft houses a meditation hall, a conference room, a library and monastic quarters. The 1,000 sq ft basement has a children's playground and restrooms. It was officially opened in June 1991 when Master Lu came for the opening ceremony (TBS, PTT Buddhist Society, Special Report 1991:5-6, my translation).

The second earliest TBS temple in Canada is Ling Shen Ching Tze Temple (Jim Sim Branch) at 18 Trojan Gate, Unit A&B, Scarborough, Ontario. It is inside a commercial building and is under the leadership of Master Lian Tien who also works as a taxi driver in Edmonton and regularly travels to Toronto. The temple was originally housed on the second floor of a commercial building in downtown

Chinatown on Dundas Street near Spadina Street. When Master Lu came to give a ceremony at Ryerson College in August 1990, Master Lian Tien, took the opportunity to ask Master Lu for his feng shui advice concerning the choice of a temple site. Eventually the present address was chosen.

Currently the TBS has thirteen chapters in Canada, the majority are in Vancouver with five chapters, and following close to Vancouver is Toronto with four chapters. Montreal has two chapters. Calgary and Edmonton each have one chapter (for a complete listing of the temple addresses see www.tbsn.org).

Within these chapters some are classified as temples headed by Diamond Masters (Skt. Vajracharya).³² According to the hierarchy of the TBS, the Diamond Masters are incarnated beings coming to help sentient beings in this lifetime, they are handpicked by Master Lu all over the world. Some of the Diamond Masters, however, are still leading a lay life.

Some of these chapters are simply group practice centres headed by one or two lay supporters for example the Pure Moon Buddhism Society of Toronto at 706 Gerrard Street East. The TBS group also consists of the Lotus Light Charity Society which is a special division of the TBS mainly for the purpose of doing charity within society rather than devotional practices. This branch with its headquarters in Vancouver was first introduced by Master Lu in 1993. Currently, besides its headquarters in Vancouver, Montreal is the only other place that has a chapter of this organization in Canada. The main objectives of the organization are

³² The term refers to a teacher who conducts a ritual ceremony for empowerment, it can also refer to an instructor to other teachers.

for education, charitable works, medical aid within society and cultural activities (*True Buddha News* Oct 1-14, 1994:6).

Most of these chapters are loose organizations scattered all over the world; there is not much communication between them, as evidenced by a sermon given by Master Samantha Chou, a prominent Diamond Master of the school. According to Chou, the TBS, unlike other Buddhist schools is a new religious movement. The early masters of the school all started out following Master Lu, many of them were converts from another religion and had to start everything from scratch as there is not a unified system of training among them. The early masters just tried out various methods, and if a certain method worked they shared it with others. If they had better methods to suit their local situation they could use them too (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, Jan-April 1996:34, my translation).

On Feb 8, 1998 Master Lu formally declared his retirement from being the head abbot of the TBS and took up the position of an advisor. Now the group's activity is under the supervision of the Tradition Affairs Committee which is made up of an appointed group of Diamond Masters. According to Lu, this step is in keeping with the global development of the TBS as the ancient system of a permanent head abbot is outdated in the present era. The Tradition Affairs Committee will better service the control of the development of the group. They supervise applications for the establishment of the centres and the examination of the clergy (*True Buddha News Weekly* Feb 12, 1998:1, my translation).

The Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple in Montreal

The Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple of Montreal is a local chapter of the True Buddha School and is located at 125 Rue Charlotte off St Laurent within Chinatown (see Illustration No. 11). The temple, originally a centre, was established in an apartment between Queen Mary and Snowdon. It is under the guidance of a married Diamond Master, Lien Shih a middle aged housewife from Taiwan. In 1993, due to rapid expansion, the centre relocated to the present address and invited Master Lu, to come for the opening ceremony. This was the first time the Chinese Buddhist community organized such a major event in Montreal and was the talk of the town, according to the *Montreal Gazette* of July 26, 1993.

A Buddhist Grand Master Sheng-yen Lu moved through the crowds on St Laurent Blvd yesterday to preside a ceremony that coincided with the opening of a Montreal Buddhist Group's temple at 125 Charlotte St, off St Laurent near Chinatown. The grandmaster, currently on a world tour, founded the True Buddha Tantric Association, which has its headquarters near Seattle.

The opening ceremony, at which the author was present, was attended by over a thousand people. Many of the TBS disciples also came from Toronto, Edmonton, Vancouver, and New York where the group has major quarters.

The Chan Hei Lei Zang temple of Montreal is inside a two storey house (plus a basement). The main floor which is about 1000 sq feet accommodates the main temple, an office and a kitchen. The basement houses the Kṣitigarbha Hall for the installation of ancestor plaques, and the top floor is currently rented to students (see Illustration No. 13). This rental unit has supplemented the income of the temple. In addition to renting to students, the upper unit is reserved for short-

term rental to TBS members when they are in Montreal.

The temple was first established by Diamond Master Lian Shih who according to the present director has returned to Taiwan to help her husband in his business. She returns periodically to oversee or direct various religious ceremonies. The temple is presently under the spiritual guidance of Dharma Master³³ Shih Yi-man who is in his eighties. He took his ordination in 1993 when Master Lu was in Montreal for the opening ceremony. The temple is also under the supervision of a lay director Huang-hua.

The temple honours the festivals of a host of Taoist and Buddhist Deities which include the Golden Mother of Primordial Pond, the Medicine Buddha, Kuan-yin and Padmasambhava to name a few. It also organizes group practice during the 1st and 15th lunar moon days. The group is held once a week on Saturday night and it incorporates the recitation and contemplation of various mantras, mudras and mandalas. Most of the people who attend the group practice are men of whom many are students. The older ladies like to come only around the lunar moon days to pay homage to the Buddhas and enjoy a vegetarian lunch offered by members of the TBS as a form of merit. Due to the presence of the elderly monk and the director, the temple is open everyday to the general public for divination, paying homage to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and offerings to the ancestors. The temple offers the service to its members to install their ancestors' plaques in the Kṣitigarbha hall located at the basement of the temple. The temple also

³³ According to the hierarchy of the TBS a Diamond Master is higher in rank than the Dharma master because the Diamond Master is a teacher of teachers and also a lineage holder.

participates in local Chinese festivals. The Dragon Boat festival for example is one such festival and is also a form of gaining recognition among the Chinese population in Montreal.

The temple adheres to the teachings of Master Lu and it is emphasized that group practises are extremely important because of the collective mind power of all present. The use of collective mind power according to Lu is profound and is effective in invoking the Deities who grace the temple by shining light on those present and removing negative karma. The collective mind is also effective in for a particular person. Due to the collective power present, such boons will be quickly realized. Moreover, inside the temple a guru is usually present to guide the practice. A true guru has personally walked the path and can save the practitioner both time and pitfalls because he/she has already undertaken the journey and can thus guide others on their own quests.

The practice of the TBS is based on the Tantric methods as prescribed by Master Lu, who argues that he integrates Taoism, Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, and Tibetan tantra into a syncretic mix in order to reach the largest number of people. The practice of the school includes the Four Preliminary Practices of Tibetan Buddhism such as prostrations, taking refuge in the guru and the triple jewel, mandala offerings and the mantras. The Four Preliminary Practices according to the school are to purify the mind, strengthen one's practice, generate merit and remove karmic impurities. Then the practitioner is introduced into the Guru Yoga, and then progresses onto the Personal Deity Yoga, the Dharma Protector practice, and eventually the highest Tantras (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*,

July-Sept. 1993:4-5).

According to Master Lu, in order to facilitate spiritual practice, it is important to take care of the physical needs of living in the modern world amidst economic challenges and hardships faced by many. Therefore, the school stresses the importance of practices that bring about prosperity and healing. The group follows the tantric tradition and the practice of the five transcendent Buddhas and their families. The five Buddhas are: Amitābha the Buddha of the West, Akṣobhya (Skt. Immovable) the Buddha of the East, Vairocana (Skt. the Buddha of Vast Age), Ratnasambhava (Skt. the Jewel-born One) and Amogasiddhi (Skt. Infallible Success). The five transcendent Buddhas and their families symbolize Buddhahood in its cosmic dimension by the five-fold mandala and their practice in spiritual development. The Buddha families include the vajra family and their corresponding bodhisattvas for the removal of illness and negative karma, the jewel family for the magnetization of prosperity and abundance, and the sword or wrathful family for the subjugation of evil forces in the human and spirit realms.

The Guru Yoga

In accordance to the Tibetan tradition, Master Lu declares that the visualization of the Guru Yoga may evoke many religious experiences, but the symbol as a whole actually represents the greater symbolic field of the five Buddha families and ultimately Nirvāna. Therefore, the practice of the five Buddha families could all be accomplished through the Guru Yoga. The practice of the Guru Yoga in the TBS acts as a preliminary yoga practice and the culmination of all

practices.³⁴

Furthermore, Master Lu declares himself to be an emanation of Padmakumāra, therefore the practice of the Guru Yoga is using the visualization practice of Padmakumāra as the central deity. Below is the description of the Guru Yoga as practised by TBS that appeared in a handout during the group practice.

1. The forming of the mudra of Padmakumāra, the right hand in the teaching mudra and the left hand in the lotus holding mudra.
2. Visualize a large lake that is clear like a mirror in the middle of the lake in a high mountain. On top of the mountain is a lotus throne, and the Living Buddha Lian Shen [Master Lu] is seated on the lotus throne. His countenance is perfect and glorious, light is emitted from his body. On his

³⁴ In Tibetan Buddhism (generally known as Tantrism), the tradition is a combination of the emptiness theories as derived from the Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna Buddhism and many yogic techniques and magical rites of Hinduism (Conze 1975:184). The intent of the practice, however, remains the same as Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is to end the craving that caused rebirth. Salvation or in the Buddhist term Nirvāna is obtained when one is free from this infinite round of rebirths which the Buddhist term Samsāra, (Liu 1995:4).

According to the Buddhists, suffering (Skt. *duhkha*) results from craving for phenomena, and thus the cessation of craving requires the full realization of the empty nature of all phenomena. This cannot be won by mere intellectual understanding, but, rather, through a direct cognitive experience of the ultimate empty nature of all existence (Liu 1995:45).

According to the Buddhists, Samsāra with its myriad forms and Nirvāna which is formless are two aspects of the totality of reality, namely the transcendental void. This void or the Buddhist term emptiness (Skt. *śūnyatā*), has both the attributes of formlessness and the potential to produce myriad forms (Liu 1995:44). The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are ultimately unreal when compared with one transcendental void or *śūnyatā*, nevertheless, they do take on temporary forms which the Buddhists term *Sambhogakāya* or magical body. The intent of the various arising yogas (Skt. *sadhānas*) is directed at channelling the psychosexual energies of the practitioner so that they can fully comprehend the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as symbols within their consciousness and attain the emptiness mind state.

According to the Tibetan tradition, a symbol such as one's guru or a deity is a stimulus in our consciousness which represents more reality to us than its appearance. As the mind meditates on the symbols, it is lead to the arising of unconscious material, Jung's concept of the archetypes (Jung 1969). Further contemplative maturity will lead to a realization of the transcendental void (for a detailed understanding of the Tibetan arising yogas see Liu 1995, Laughlin, McManus and d'Aquili 1992). For Master Lu, the Guru Yoga may lead to a state of consciousness represented by the Guru but it also represents the greater symbolic field of the Five Buddhas and the ultimate realization of Nirvāna, i.e. the empty nature of all existence.

right side are all the Buddhas of the ten directions. On his left side are all the Bodhisattvas and past venerable masters and lineage holders. Under his lotus throne are the four god kings and all the Dharma protectors. Then visualize light emitting from his third eye chakra, throat chakra, and heart chakra removing all the hatred, greed and delusion. Visualize Living Buddha Lian shen and the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas all emitting light on the practitioner changing the negative karma of the practitioner into black smoke which is expelled out of the body. The practitioner thereupon becomes light and peaceful.

3. Recite the following guru mantra one hundred and eight times.

OM AH HUM GURU BEI YA HA SA SA MAHA LIAN SENG SIDDHI HUM

(Oh! The Great Lotus Born Guru) (My translation).

The Practices of Purification and Enrichment within the TBS

Purification to eliminate karmic illness

According to Master Lu, many of our difficulties and incurable diseases in life are actually karmic illnesses. Through the spiritual power as cultivated by the guru, the guru can exercise intervention or give specific instructions to remove these diseases and obstacles. There are numerous reports of miraculous cures and extraordinary religious experiences inside the 147 books written by Master Lu. Many of these testimonies also appear in the group's quarterly journal, *Purple Lotus Journal* and weekly newspaper *True Buddha News Weekly*. Listed below are samples of testimonies to illustrate their practice.

Case No 1 - A childlessness cure for Lee Ming Lun, a Canadian Chinese in Winnipeg.

Five years ago, my wife had a miscarriage, which left her physically very weak. For many years she had wanted a child, but it seemed to be very difficult for her. When she met Grand Master in June 1989, her only wish was to become pregnant.

- "Master, is it possible for me to get pregnant?" she asked.
- "Yes, within three years" Grand Master replied.
- "Why does it take three years?" my wife asked.
- "Do more sincere charitable deeds. Then the karma of having a child will come." Grand Master replied.

Before leaving, he gave us a charm that enabled my wife to get pregnant. At the end of that year, after we followed the Grand Master's advice, practising the True Buddha Tantra and performing charitable deeds, my wife became pregnant (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, May-June 1993:49).

Case No 2.- from Pauline Vo, whose brother was afflicted with malignant spirits and is suffering from delirium in San Francisco

With Grand Master Lu's and Master Samantha's guidance and explanations, we were able to understand Sam's [Vo's brother] illness. With their transcendental spiritual insight, we learned that the illness which befell my brother was due to karma from his past lives, when he had killed others. The spirits of those he had killed took over my brother's mind and wanted revenge....

My family followed Grand Master Lu's and Master Samantha's personal guidance to dedicate merits to the restless spirits in order to heal their sufferings. We did this by heartily reciting the Buddhist mantras, sūtras and good deeds and repentance cultivations. These practices helped Sam's condition on the road to recovery. (TBS. *Purple Lotus Journal*, Fall 1997:15)

Case No. 3 - from Charlotte Demi Hunt, a writer of children's books in San Francisco.

On May 19, [1997] during a routine check-up, a large almost certainly malignant tumour, the size of a lemon was discovered in my chest. The doctors all agreed that it should be removed surgically and immediately... My husband suggested we go to Grand Master Lu and request a blessing and a Fu [a Taoist talisman] before the afternoon prayers. Grand Master Lu gave me three Fus and we stayed for the afternoon prayers. During the prayers I was flooded with lights and felt a smooth, blissful heat. When I got home I recited Grand Master's mantra 1,000 times, and

took the first Fu. The lights and heat continued, and I felt greatly energized. This process continued through Thursday morning when I went back to the hospital.

I was taken for more X-rays...He [the doctor] looked happily perplexed. He said: "We have been comparing Monday's X-rays, which show a large tumour, and today's, which show no tumour at all." (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, Winter 1997:27)

Due to the global nature of the organization, as of 2000 (the year of Master Lu's retirement), people in Montreal could make an appointment ahead of time and travel to Rey Tsang Temple in Seattle to have a psychic consultation from him. They can also write directly to the True Buddha Tantric Quarter in Seattle and have their questions answered by a committee. Furthermore, they can travel to one of the temples where there is Diamond Master who is renowned for her psychic abilities. There are quite a few of such masters within the TBS, such as: Master Samantha in San Francisco, Master Lian-tze in Vancouver and Master Lian-zhi in Edmonton. The temple also sometimes invites some of these Diamond Masters to come and give psychic consultations. After Master Lu's retirement most of the other activities still continue except for the personal interview with Master Lu.

Enrichment to bring happiness to everyday lives

The use of geomancy

In order to bring prosperity to the disciples in their everyday lives, the TBS includes the traditional Chinese use of feng shui or mystical design and architecture. Master Lu combines both Taoist and Buddhist methods in the curing of the house and this brings prosperity to its inhabitants. The most commonly used

methods are the Taoist talismans and the Buddhist Great Compassion Dhāraṇī (Skt. prayer). The full uses of his methods are found in many of his works such as: *Household Feng-shui*, *The Mystical Earth* (in Chinese), and *Graveyard Geomancy* (in Chinese).

From my research, it appears that the TBS is the only Buddhist group that is openly accepting and affirming the use and efficacy of geomancy without devaluating or openly rejecting this ancient Chinese art simply because it is non-Buddhist in nature. Many people, however, find this aspect of the TBS particularly appealing, and this is, as Master Lu has argued, an effective way of adopting non-Buddhist methods to lead people into Buddhism. Below is a testimony from Lee Ming Lun, a Chinese software entrepreneur in Canada, to illustrate this point.

At the beginning of 1989, due to constant fluctuations in my computer software business, I was feeling my life had been limited by fate...Since I was not willing to resign myself to this destiny, I decided to search for the truth about fate. My exploration led me to many books on the subject of realizing and changing one's fate. This search took me on many journeys.

Once, in Chinatown in Winnipeg, (a city in central Canada), I happened upon a geomancy book, *Household Geomancy: A Detailed Explanation* by Grand Master Lu. At first, when I started reading the book, I was very sceptical. However, the more I read, the more astonished I became by the experiences of the writer. It was like reading the Chinese mythological classics, *Feng Shen Yen Yi* (the stories of Chinese gods). It was that amazing.

After finishing the first book, I immediately purchased more of his writings. It was after reading the book, *True Buddha Dharma: The Actual Practice* that I came to realize the importance of the famous Buddhist saying, "It is precious to acquire the human form, yet such I have acquired. It is rare to hear the Dharma teaching, yet now I hear." Thus, I wrote to Living Buddha Lien-shen to take refuge in him (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, May-June 1993:48).

The use of various sādhanas and visualizations techniques to magnetize prosperity

In order to bring prosperity to the disciples, the True Buddha School also includes among its eight principal deities the Yellow Wealth Deity (Yellow Jambhala)³⁵, the Money Tree Visualization Practice, the Wish fulfilling Conch Visualization practice, the Dragon King Treasure Vase practice and the Red Jambhala (Hindu: Ganesha) practice (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, July-September 1993:6). The practice of these visualizations is believed to bring prosperity to the practitioner.

The centrality of the use of the High King Avalokiteśvara Sūtra for both purification and enrichment

The TBS placed centrality on the recitation of the *High King Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*. The sūtra might have a Taoist influence as it is not practised by the other Buddhist groups and is practised within Taoist circles, such as, Fung Loy Kok in Toronto. The sūtra is a collection of names of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the cardinal points and is similar to a description of a mandala. Lu is particularly attracted to the promise of the sūtra to alleviate all suffering. It says: “By constantly invoking this sūtra, one is liberated from the suffering of birth and death, and freed from the many kinds of suffering.” According to Lu, the sūtra has great magical power in purification and enrichment and the alleviation of all suffering. The sūtra is believed to be in existence since the Tang Dynasty (618-907C.E.) (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, July-September 1993:17).

³⁵ The yellow Jambhala is a Deity who supervises mundane affairs in Indo Tibetan tantra.

The Chan Hai Lei Zang temple also offers a range of services to improve one's karma in the spiritual world.

1. *Offerings for the installation of the temple lights.* The offerings contribute to the construction of the temple and co-exist with the temple. It functions to dissolve difficulties and negative karma. It increases good fortune and wisdom and is believed to benefit one's children and grandchildren.
2. *Offering for the Bright Lights .* These "Bright Lights" offerings have to be renewed every year. The offerings are believed to invoke the blessings of the Buddhas. It brings good health and fulfilment of wishes, and removes obstacles confronting the donor.
3. *Offerings to the guardian of the Chinese zodiac.* This invokes the guardian of the birth signs for protection, good health, a peaceful life, good fortune, wisdom and success in any endeavour.
4. *Offerings to the guardian of the year.* This offers protection for the whole year from the guardian of the year and increases good fortune and eliminates negativity.
5. *Offerings for the longevity of living persons.* It is believed to increase good fortune and longevity and eliminate sickness. Usually a person's name is inscribed in a plaque and is installed inside the temple. There are two kinds of longevity plaques for living persons, the permanent ones and the temporary ones that have to be renewed every year.
6. *Offerings for the recitation of the sūtras.* Transfer merit to a living person. It

is believed to invoke the protection of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and eliminates pain and suffering and confronted obstacles of the dedicated person.

7. *Installation of ancestors' plaques in the Kṣitigarbha hall.* After the installation, offerings to the ancestors can simply be done in the temple rather than in the graveyard. The practice intended to benefit both the living and the departed. The ancestors' plaques come in two varieties: the permanent installation for a fixed fee or the temporary yearly installation can be arranged for whatever one can afford.

8. *Recitation of the sūtras to the ancestors.* It can be arranged in the funeral homes or in the Kṣitigarbha Hall. The function is to transfer merits to the ancestors in order to assist them to move onto a higher realm of existence or onto Pure Land.

9. *A divination system based on the Taoist Golden Mother of the Primordial Pond.* This function is to provide directions and eliminate doubts and difficulties.

The Lotus Light Charity Society in Montreal

In Montreal at 6071 Rue St. Denis there is another chapter of TBS called the Lotus Light Charity Society under the French name of Association Des Bénévoles (see Illustration No. 13). Lotus Light Charity Society is an organization headed by lay people of the TBS. Its activity is to provide charitable service to the community. Currently the centre is receiving funding from the government to provide English

and French classes to new immigrants (see Illustration No. 14). It is located in a modern building near a subway with two classrooms and an office. On the same floor is a shrine room that houses all the Deities as in the main temple. According to Teresa Tam, the president of the centre, most of the people who come to the centre come specifically for the language training and are not aware of the True Buddha practice. There are usually about three hundred adults and one hundred children for the language training. About fifty people come regularly to pay homage to the Buddhas during the lunar moon days. Since Teresa Tam is operating mostly on her own with the language teachers, there is no qualified teacher available to give Dharma instructions. So the centre basically works as a language centre as a form of charitable assistance to the immigrants. Tam, however, is hoping to set up an English Dharma class for the children as part of the curriculum. The centre is basically independent from the Chan Hei Lei Zang Temple in Montreal. However, it has to follow certain guidelines of the Tradition Affairs Committee of the School. It can invite Diamond Masters from other chapters to do Dharma talks or host public religious ceremonies. But the Tang-chu (Chinese: meaning Director of the Centre) can only lead group practice but cannot lead public religious ceremonies.

The Perspectives of the True Buddha Disciples

Most people who join the TBS reported a strong feeling of a past-life karma with Master Lu that led them to join the group. Below are comments from three participants of the site to illustrate this point:

I became a True Buddhist when Grand Master Lu came to

Montreal for the opening ceremony. I have always been a Buddhist practitioner. During the religious ceremony, I saw Grand Master and felt a special affinity with him. He was wearing a ceremonial garb with a very compassionate countenance. At that time, I had not taken refuge as a Buddhist yet. (M10, female 50-55, Aug 1999).

In my mind, it is because of past life karma that I took refuge with Grand Master Lu in this life. It was because of curiosity that I first came to the temple. When I first saw the ritual objects, I felt a strong attraction to them (M1, male 20-25, Aug 1999).

A Dharma brother led me to the temple. I have never met Grand Master up to then. When I first saw his picture he looked very familiar. I believe this is a past life karma. A lot of religious experiences in association with Grand Master have happened to me (M7, male 35-40, Aug 1999).

One informant confirmed that: "When Grand Master was here for the opening ceremony, a lot of Dharma brothers and temple administrators also reported profound religious experiences in relation to Grand Master." (M4, female 55-60, Aug 1999).

In particular, almost all the Diamond Masters of the TBS reported having profound religious experiences in relation to Master Lu that lead them to join the group and also sustain them in their work, sometimes even in face of ridicule from other Buddhist schools. To illustrate this point, below is an account of an extraordinary experience as described by Master Samantha who was the founder of the Purple Lotus Society in San Francisco in 1987. In 1989 she had an extraordinary out-of-body death experience due to complications during the birth of her third child. She experienced Master Lu come to her rescue upon the plea of her husband Andy. *The Purple Lotus Journal* of her Society reports that:

When Samantha's consciousness left her body lying on the surgical bed, she felt immediately free. Looking down at her body,

cut open at the abdomen and being examined by the surgeons, Samantha found that she did not want to go back. There was just too much pain and suffering in human existence. She focussed on the practice that Grand Master Lu had taught and in which she had worked so hard. She saw the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin, her Personal Deity, appearing. She was ready to merge with the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin when the Grand Master appeared and blocked her way. Grand Master Lu told her that her mission on earth was not yet finished and she would need to return (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, Fall 1997:11).

The experience now sustains her in her later career to work untiringly for the benefit of the school. She also established the Purple Lotus University in 1997, an institute that is currently offering non-credit courses for the teaching of the True Buddha Dharma as expounded by Master Lu.

In the Montreal TBS, a temple administrator also reported that a profound religious experience in relation to Master Lu led her and her husband to join the temple and later get involved in temple administration.

I used to be a Catholic in Hong Kong. I was a Catholic at a very early age. I also participated in all kinds of volunteer work such as cooking for the church. My husband used to be a Catholic too, but he was not a devoted one. Later he began to dabble into Buddhism. One time, he saw an article in the newspaper about a Diamond Master's description of a religious experience in association with Master Lu. He asked a friend about it, the friend replied that he had been to the centre once. He later invited my husband and me to go to the TBS for a religious ceremony. We took pictures while we were there.

When we developed the film later, we discovered that there was a lot of divine light shining on the altar from the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Golden Mother of the Primordial Pond. I believe this is a past life karma and we were led to continue our practice in this life with Master Lu. After I read more of Master Lu's book, I took refuge in him. When I was in Hong Kong, I did not believe in any of these. I did not even go to the Wong Tai Shin temple³⁶ in Hong Kong (M4, female 50-55, 1999).

³⁶ A very famous Taoist temple in Hong Kong where people go to do divination and ask for favours from the main deity Wong Tai Shin.

Many members of the TBS related profound religious experiences in their lives. It appears that such accounts are unique features of the group. Buddhist masters do not talk about other states of consciousness and other realms of existence except for the occasional Kuan-yin rescue stories or people who have precognitive knowledge about their deaths. The common practice among Buddhist groups is to treat them as hallucinations, and if an individual further relates his/her experience, he/she is often times labelled: "Possessed by the Demon" (TBS, *Purple Lotus Journal*, Fall 1997:6).

Taking the lead from Master Lu, most of the TBS members do not find it a "taboo" to talk about their own religious experiences. Rather, they are willing to share their experiences in order to facilitate the understanding of the Spirit World through their collective effort.

Below are three accounts of extraordinary experiences that one participant of the site related to the author in order to illustrate this point. Such extraordinary experiences while "unheard of" among other Buddhist groups are fairly "ordinary" everyday experiences among the TBS members and among the many shamanic works of Master Lu.

The first extraordinary experience - A Beautiful Bed

We used to have a beautiful bed that was given to our family when we were back in our home country after its owner passed away. After we took the bed, a few of our servants and myself included all had the experience. We saw a middle aged man who returned to sleep in his bed in the middle of the night. He was not particularly scary, he was just someone who had not been reborn and stayed in the spirit realm. I had a protection charm with me, so whenever, I felt his coming on me and felt his negative energy paralysing me, I jerked myself out of the experience. The most important point is, all of us, the servants included have the same

experience.

The second extraordinary experience – Ox-headed and horse-faced demons

One night, I was asleep and felt a lot of ox-headed and horse-faced demons had come to visit us. I tried to wake my brother and sister, but they were fast asleep. The ox-headed and horse-faced demons were not scary since they actually looked pretty, and wore beautiful clothes. They discovered I was not in my bed and left. I was sure I was not asleep, and it was a vivid experience and not a vision too because I was physically out of my bed! Due to these encounters with the spirit world, I firmly believe in the spirit realm and the karmic law of Cause and Effect.

The third extraordinary experience - Caucasian spirits' visitations to the hospital

Two years ago, my wife had a child and we were staying in the hospital. One night during our stay in the hospital, I suddenly felt that there were spirits in the hospital and they were moving towards our room. I felt slightly cool and paralysed and immediately folded my palms in a prayer position. I awakened my wife, and she kept very quiet.. The next day she said she saw many Caucasian spirits running around in the corridor. The most important thing was that, we both had similar experiences and they were not illusions. I honestly believe in the existence of spirit realms. (M5, male 50-55, August 1999, my translation)

Master Lu identifies himself to be a Living Buddha, and many report of his extraordinary psychic power. In my research I found that part of the practice of many TBS devotees consisted of going to visit him in Seattle or following him around the globe. There was usually a huge following wherever he went before his retirement. According to one informant, these followers were usually of three types: one type followed him in order to receive his grace and have their negative karma or illnesses removed. One type followed him simply for fun, and the final type followed him as a kind of volunteer work to acquire good merit.

Twelve out of the fifteen respondents of the questionnaire of the TBS have taken refuge from Master Lu. When asked why they take refuge from him, the most

common responses are: “ Reading Grand Master’s books and finding that he really relates well and makes sense.” (M3, female 50-55, Aug 1999) and “ In my mind, it is past life karma.” (M1, male 20-25, Aug 1999).

When asked what is the most important aspect of this temple, sixty percent of the respondents report: “I like the Tantric method as taught by Master Lu.” The other thirty percent of the respondents reply: “The temple is not restrictive and allows people to follow their own preference in their practice.”(M10, female 50-55, Aug 1999). The True Buddha School emphasizes the efficacy of rituals. Sixty-six percent of the respondents believe that rituals alone will bring about one’s wishes. One example is the following “miraculous healing” as related to the author by a participant of the site:

After I had taken refuge from Grand Master. I recited the *High King Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* all the time. I felt an empowerment of supernatural power around me. Once, I even saw a lady in White approaching me in a vision. Later when I talked to a Dharma sister she showed me a picture, then I realized that it was Kuan-yin clad in white.

In June 1995, I had been to almost every doctor in town and almost gave up on myself. I even went to a hospital emergency room and was told that I had a constriction in one of my heart’s arteries. When I was ill, I recited the *High King Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* all the time, I even bought a tape recorder to play it over and over... In July 1995, the heart condition recovered miraculously. When I was ill, I was about 180 lbs and now I am down to 130 lbs (M10, female 50-55, Aug 1999, my translation).

Those who disagree with the efficacy of rituals to bring about one’s wishes, however, do not negate it altogether, but rather see it as a supplement to your personal effort. One individual says: “It all depends on what you ask for and your karma.” Another individual says: “It is based on the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect and personal effort, one cannot be too greedy!” The overall consensus of the

respondents is the belief in the efficacy of the rituals in fulfilling one's wishes, although a few stress that it has to be supplemented with personal effort and the Buddhist karmic law of Cause and Effect.

Unlike the other schools, the practice of the majority of participants is the reading of Master Lu's works, the recitation of the *High King Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*, the Guru Mantra and the Guru Sādhana. None of these techniques are practised by the other two temples I researched.

Eighty-five percent of the TBS members report a positive change in their life ever since joining the school. Many report that the understanding of the Buddhist karmic law of Cause and Effect, and the belief in the spirit worlds, the grace of Master Lu, divine intervention of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas all contribute to a positive effect on their lives. Such confidence brings peace and is a great help in their adaptation to a new life in Canada. Below are the comments of several of the respondents:

I used to be depressed and suicidal. I felt lighter and renewed my interest in life. (M10, female 50-55 Aug 1999)

I have been more relaxed and I feel problems have divine meaning. I am more at ease in dealing with them. I also believe in divine intervention. (M14, male 25-30, Aug 1999)

When I go to the temple, I come across many fellow practitioners, the more I see them, the more I feel that the Buddha Dharma can change the temperament of a person. That in itself is an educational experience. .. I do not feel that living in Canada entails difficulty, since if my heart is at ease, I will be peaceful anywhere I go. (M8, female 50-55, Aug 1999)

I do not feel that living in Canada entails difficulty, since it is all your personal karma anyway. Therefore, I focus on doing good deeds to improve my karma. (M15, male 35-40, Jul 1999)

Ever since I became Buddhist, I have a peace of mind and do not dare to hurt anybody. I realize that if you do something wrong, you have to accept the negative karmic retribution that goes with it. Life is all very fair! I believe that the Buddha Dharma and the law of Cause and Effect have great benefits to people. (M5, male 50-55, Aug 1999)

My life has significantly improved since I joined the temple. Many miracles in relation to Grand Master have happened in my life. (M7, male 35-40, Aug 1999)

Over eighty percent of my respondents reported paying homage to the Earth Deity which is a traditional Chinese folk practice. This is a sharp contrast to the Fo Guang group which viewed this practice as superstitious and non-Buddhist in nature and reject it. The TBS members do not feel that it is necessary to give up such folk practice. One participant says: "Due to the understanding of the spirit world, we have to be respectful when we come across any Deities." Moreover, under the leadership of Master Lu, the TBS members freely engaged in the practice of psychic consultation, burning paper money, geomancy and astrology etc.

Unlike the Fo Guang Group the TBS did not have a unified system in the training of the monastics and the temple administrators. Up until very recently it was still following the ancient Buddhist tradition that anybody could join the sangha. This, however, posed a problem in modern day global development of the temple. One informant reported that ever since Diamond Master Lian Shih returned to Taiwan there is nobody to preach the Dharma. It is because the present spiritual head joined the sangha as a monastic at an advanced age and has not undergone any particular training in Buddhism, so there is nobody to preach the Dharma to the devotees. In consequence, a group of individuals left and joined the Falun Gong

(M10, female 50-55, Aug 1999).

The same informant further comments that there are also many Vietnamese who came to the temple after reading Master Lu's books. Most of them are looking for miracles in their lives such as finding suitable employment or a recovery of health. They do not know that these "miracles" are mostly the result of the practice of the Buddhist law of Cause and Effect. In consequence, when their wishes are not fulfilled they complain that the school is a scam (M4, female 50-55, Aug 1999).

Within the organization of the school the Diamond Masters are held in high esteem even though many of them lead lay lives. They are respected as incarnated masters. Moreover, the lay members can be temple administrators; one does not have to be a monastic in order to gain enlightenment or attain the final goal of the Pure Land. Furthermore, many monastics join the school under the old tradition of anybody joining without proper training in Buddhism. In turn, being a monastic is not viewed as necessary or automatically worthy of respect among the followers. One informant said: "The more monastics there are within the temple, the more problematic it can be." (M4, female 50-55, Aug 1999).

The group gathers a lot of controversies. The important ones are: Master Lu is promoting himself to be a Buddha, some say he is actually a demon; or that he is fabricating his own sūtra, the *True Buddha Sūtra*. Others say Master Lu is amassing tremendous wealth due to a huge global following, and the problematic practice of some of their Diamond Masters. The TBS is not accepted by the other two groups as a Buddhist group. The author has conducted an in-depth interview

with one of their administrators, in order to find out from an insider what constitutes his/her faith in the organization when it is under so much pressure from other mainstream Buddhist groups. The researcher is designated *I*, and the interviewee is M16 (female 55-60, Aug 1999).

I: I heard many people from the Buddhist circle accuse Grand Master Lu of being a demon, What do you think about the comment?

M16: I heard a lot about such slander too, especially last year when I returned to Hong Kong. There are bound to be dead leaves within a big tree, you cannot expect everyone within a major organization to be good. Gossip takes on a life of its own and I do not listen to it. Some people say: "Master Lu is a greedy person." Actually, he requested in a public ceremony that people not make offerings to him; but people are still slandering him. Some of them even say: "How come you still believe in Master Lu, is it your karma?" My feeling is that they do not have the proper karma to believe in him.

I: I heard a lot of criticism about Master Lu promoting himself to be a Living Buddha, while they say he is actually a demon.

M16: Before I joined the TBS I was of the same opinion. Once, I saw Grand Master pronounce himself to be a Living Buddha on TV. I felt ridiculous, "How could he call himself a Living Buddha!" It is because traditionally, in the Chinese mind, the Buddhas are way beyond human capacity and attainments. After I have read a few more books by Grand Master Lu, I realized that the Buddha nature is within us, after a certain amount of cultivation, we can all become Living Buddhas.

I: In the *Pure Land Sūtra*, Buddha Amitābha is the Lord of the Pure Land. In the *True Buddha Sūtra*, there is also the True Buddha Pure Land. What do you think about that?

M16: Grand Master already told us the True Buddha Pure Land and the Double Lotus Ponds are all within Pure Land.

I: Do you think outsiders have misconceptions about the school?

M16: They do not really understand the Dharma, therefore I forgive them. The more I read, the more I am able to comprehend. I was also opposed to it at first because I lacked understanding. The Chinese are mostly humble by nature, therefore, they opposed Grand Master. They do not know that in Tibet there are many Living

Buddhas; even those whose attainments are mediocre call themselves Living Buddhas.

I: I read from the *Purple Lotus Journal* recently there are some changes to the organization of the school. Currently, only monks and nuns who pass the exam of the TBS Tradition Affairs Committee can aspire to the position of a Diamond Master. Is that correct?

M16: It might be due to the fact that there are not enough monastics who have become Diamond Masters. Sometimes, the mistake of just one within the organization affect the reputation of all. Within the worldwide organization of TBS you could not expect everyone to be good. There was a Diamond Master in Vancouver, she used her position to organize a business scam and many people who believed in her lost a lot of their money. The Grand Master said he knew she would be problematic from the beginning but he gave her a chance because she was so dedicated at first.

I: It is difficult to tell, people might have good intentions in the beginning and later change their minds because of outside temptations. I also read in *Purple Lotus Journal* about positions of professors and assistant professors and one has to go through an exam from the Tradition Affairs Committee in order to qualify.

M16: The professors are not the monastics and their position within the organization is similar to the Diamond Masters. They do not need to take up the robe to qualify in their role as teachers. The assistant professors are mostly the centre administrators who apply. The exam is basically on the sūtras and the rituals. I have thought about going through the exam myself. One has to keep up with the development of the organization.

Inside the TBS, faith is attained through an understanding of the Buddha Dharma and more importantly through direct personal religious experiences. They believe that Buddhahood is not unattainable, but rather is within the reach of anyone who does the work. According to my informants, the problems people have with the school are based on the traditional cultural conditioning of humility in one's attainment, and being reluctant to declare themselves "Buddhas". Moreover, other problems with the school are based on a scriptural understanding of the Mahāyāna scriptures, that the next coming Buddha is Maitreya and he is yet to come: thus,

Master Lu could not be a living Buddha (Robinson & Johnson 1997:105-106). This however, shows an insufficient understanding of Buddhism that Buddhahood is within the reach of everyone and to a few possibly within this lifetime. Moreover, the traditional practice that only monks and nuns can be temple administrators has its merits as lay people do have a tendency to be more liable to outside temptations. The school seems to have revised its policy so that only monastics are accepted as the highest spiritual heads, such as the Diamond Masters in the future. There are also various reorganizations within the school in order to tighten the control of its clergy in keeping with the global expansion of the school.

Concluding Remarks

In summary, the True Buddha School represents a New Religious Movement³⁷ in Chinese Buddhism based on Master Lu's syncretic mix of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, Tibetan Tantra, and Taoism. The chapters in Montreal provide centres for learning Chinese Buddhism based on the exegesis of Master Lu. The True Buddha School is welcomed by its followers as a place that provides

³⁷ New Religious Movement is defined as the religions which arose during the last two centuries and still exist today but are not part of the mainstream tradition (Fisher 1999:73). The term new religious movement does not mean that these religions are entirely new or independent from past established tradition. They are however, a reinvention or an adaptation from the past due to the changes in the present (Fisher 1999:74).

According to the historian Wing-tsit Chan even though Tantric practice was introduced into China since 230C.E. with scattered development during subsequent periods. However, it was only during the Tang Dynasty with the coming of the three masters Subhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra that it became an established tradition. However, Tantric practice soon died out after the death of Amoghavajra in 774 C.E. and by the ninth century it did not exist in reality in China (Ch'en 1973:325-327, Chan 1978:62-63).

Master Lu's "innovation" came in his reintroducing Tantric practice into his school through contact with Tibetan Buddhism. He also reintroduced Taoist practice into Chinese Buddhism. Taoist practice has been viewed in contempt by the majority of the sangha in modern era due to the influence of T'ai-hsü. Therefore, the school can be rightfully termed a "new religious movement" for its adaptation of the past due to changes in the global arena.

an alternate mode of practice in Chinese Buddhism which allows them to incorporate Chinese folk beliefs in their practices without sanction. It also emphasises direct personal experience rather than doctrinal understanding as a form of deep spirituality. The chapters in Montreal also help members to adapt to a new life in Canada through their faith in the grace of Master Lu, and the teachings of Buddhism as expounded by Master Lu. In line with the Fo Guang group, the TBS does seem to be coming to terms with the global challenge pointed out by T'ai-hsü over half a century ago. That is, in order to succeed in modern day global development of Chinese Buddhism, they are realizing that an organized centralized religion and a systematically educated clergy like that of the Fo Guang Shan are important.

CHAPTER SIX

DOING CHINESE BUDDHISM IN CANADA: UNITY AND DIVERSITY

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to evaluate the local manifestation of Chinese Buddhism in Canada within the framework of the globalization theory. In the introduction the researcher states that the foundation of this dissertation is to examine the modern transformation of Chinese Buddhism and globalization and explore the reconstruction of Chinese Buddhism within three major temples in Canada. This thesis argues that even though all the three temples are under the sacred canopy of Chinese Buddhism, they are in fact very different temples. Their differences are due to the social and historical developments of these temples in response to the global influence. They in turn cater to the different needs among Chinese immigrants. In the global arena they might function as adaptative devices organized by the immigrants, but in reality, they are transnational movements conceptualized to answer the hopes of the modern Chinese Buddhists for the global migration of Buddhism. Their development, in turn, is helped by the support of the increasing influx of Chinese immigrants into the diasporas.

The discussion began with the transformation of Buddhism around the nineteenth century due to China's massive encounter with western imperialism. The encounter with the West and the subsequent encounter with the missionaries in China were major challenges for Chinese Buddhism. The current form of Chinese Buddhism is demonstrated to be the result of a highly selective historical

process due to the social and historical development in China. The thesis also gives a historical account of the Chinese in Canada and the various organizations they have developed in order to adapt to a new and very often "hostile" environment. It is followed by a focussed study of three major Chinese temples in Canada, which illustrate the most successful strands of Chinese Buddhism globally.

The theoretical perspective is based on the theories of Roland Robertson (1992,1997), Peter Beyer (1994, 1998a, 1998b) and Charles Laughlin (1992). Peter Beyer's theory of globalization and religion is found to be particularly useful in the current analysis.

According to Peter Beyer, the modern globalization process, especially in the realm of religious organizational development, has its cultural origin in Western Europe. During the late Middle Ages Europe underwent a major transformation of consciousness resulting in various historical developments. Most notably, starting from the seventeenth century there was a decline of the absolute power of the Catholic Church. Eighteenth century Europe saw an accelerated decline of the authority of the Catholic Church due in a large part to the rise of the national state and the eventual displacement of the authority of the church as the focal point of social systems to one of subsystems within society. This displacement was followed by other controversies and struggles (see Beyer 1998). During this struggle the Protestants took the opportunity to bring in reformation and they emerged as a distinct and separate religion from the Catholics. Owing to this development, the Catholics lost their organizational and theological hegemony

within society and had to adapt other strategies in order to cope with events occurring at the time. As a result of this development the Catholic church had to rely on voluntary participation and an acceptance of other mutually distinguishable religious denominations in order to survive (Beyer 1998b:155).

Consequently, the church had to act in accordance with other functional subsystems such as politics, economics, health and education that were rapidly emerging in the society. In the case of the Roman Catholic Church, the largest Christian denomination, the church had to adapt various strategies in order to respond to modernity. At first, during the eighteenth century the strategy was still the old one of trying to attach to the political subsystems. This, however, proved to be unsuccessful by the latter part of the century, resulting in the open separation of church and state as in the United States and France; even in Britain the church was merely tolerated. During this time, the various denominations had to employ other strategies, such as increasing organizational control and transforming their character to that of a socially engaged religion in order to attract adherents. In the course of this development the church had attached itself to other societal subsystems such as education and health care (1998a:14, 1998b:160). This dual strategy of organizational control and societal engagement proved a major advantage to the Church as a form of directing missionary activities internationally, especially in places where the Church was not accorded any particular state favouritism and had to rely on its own strength in order to attract adherents (Beyer 1998b:160-161).

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed the spread of western imperialism to the rest of the world and Christianity went along as a functional subsystem. According to this historical development, the Christian churches emerged as leaders in the religious arena due to strong organizational structures and social engagement which in turn attracted masses of adherents around the globe. The result of this development was that Christianity emerged in the world as the largest organization with the largest following. Moreover, the Christian model now established itself as a virtual archetype of what a religion looks like, resulting in the conceptualization of various “isms” in the world based on particular characteristics, and more importantly how a religious organization should be structured and perform in order to succeed globally.

This historical process is particularly important in the modern transformation of Chinese Buddhism. Yang Wen-hui’s revival of Buddhism in the later part of the nineteenth century was a direct reaction to Buddhism’s encounter with Christianity. Yang’s establishment of the printing house was the result of the burning of the scriptures by the Taiping rebels. Yang’s Jetavana hermitage with his intention of training the Chinese Buddhist clergy for global development of Chinese Buddhism was directly influenced by the Christian missionary (Welch 1968:15-21).

T’ai-hsü, one of Yang’s students, known as the St Paul of the modern transformation of Chinese Buddhism, was so saddened by the state of affairs of the clergy in comparison to the Christians that he was recorded to have said, “I launched the movement to defend the religion, propagate the faith, reform the order and promote education” (Chan 1978:56). T’ai-hsü’s call for reform to a new

sangha was very much a continued momentum of the aspiration of the global development of Buddhism as initiated by Yang and again a reaction to China's encounter with the West, particularly with Christianity. T'ai-hsü's reforms were to make Buddhism free from the reclusive nature of the sangha and the other-worldly emphasis of the past. His ideal of a new Buddhism was that it be both scientific to catch up with the times, and at the same time humanistic and engaged.

As discussed earlier, T'ai-hsü promoted a new sangha which consisted of a class of well-chosen men and women. He also insisted on the government regulation of entry into the clergy in order to establish new and higher standards for missionary work (Welch 1968:54-71). T'ai-hsü's call for reform was a direct inspiration to Master Hsing Yun and his modern conceptualization of Fo Guang Shan which contributed to the eventual success of Fo Guang Shan internationally.

During T'ai-hsü's call for change, even though he did not have the support of head abbots of the majority of major temples in China, he was able to win the support of a few eminent monks of the time, notably T'an-hsü of the T'ien-t'ai Sect. T'an-hsü was vigorous in the establishment of the various institutes in China in response to T'ai-hsü's massive cry for reform within the Chinese community (Welch 1968:96-97). That these institutes achieved some measure of success can be seen in the increase in the number of competent monks in contemporary Chinese Buddhism; notable among them are Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung of the Cham Shan Temple.

Under the strenuous effort of T'ai-hsü and some of his contemporaries Chinese Buddhism began to show signs of a revival. Many scriptural presses and

learning institutes were established. Most importantly, the modern characteristics of Chinese Buddhism were established. It is a Buddhism that is free of its traditional image of engaging in empty rituals, a Buddhism that involves the laity in the spreading of the Dharma and an engaged form of Buddhism that is similar to the Christian model. Under the challenge of the Christian church and its modern looking facilities, T'ai-hsü also began to transform the appearance of a traditional Chinese temple, which, as is the case with the Cham Shan Temple in Toronto, very often resembles an ancient Chinese palace; under T'ai-hsü's guidance many of his temples took on a look and practice similar to a Christian church. For example, in his temple in Hankow he had an organ playing, and an Amitābha Buddha under bright lights and the sermons were always on Pure Land Buddhism which T'ai-hsü felt compatible to the Heavenly Kingdom belief of the Christians. After every sermon, testimonies were given just like the Christians in order to strengthen the faith among the following.

The Christian success in China due to its strong central organizational structure also provoked changes in Chinese institutional Buddhism. T'ai-hsü was a visionary and one of the key figures in modern Chinese Buddhism who realized the strength of a centrally controlled, unified organization in the global development of Chinese Buddhism. Until then a national Buddhist church had never been formed, but T'ai-hsü pushed for such a model under the example of the Christian archetype.

Roland Robertson's theory also helps us understand the development of contemporary Chinese Buddhism. According to Robertson: "globalization as a

concept refers both to the compress of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole" (Robertson 1992:8). Owing to the universal consciousness, various cultures come into contact with each other and this provokes changes. The relationship between the universal and the particular is best described by its interpenetration process. For Robertson, therefore, the emerging global culture or metaculture is not governed by heterogeneity or homogeneity, it is by nature both. Robertson uses the term *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) to describe the relationship between the two. But in a global context, *Gesellschaft* now represents the rapidly emerging global unified field, and *Gemeinschaft* now represents the particular culture (Robertson 1997:77).

According to Robertson, national societies have been formed differentially owing to interpenetration with significant others. The differential formation was mostly due to cultural constraints that prevent the total assimilation of the global culture. Robertson terms it "glocal", symbolizing the dynamic interplay between the global culture and the local culture (Robertson 1997:88-89).

In Chinese Buddhism this was particularly evident in the differential treatment to the challenge of western imperialism and subsequently Christianity. During T'ai-hsü's time there were already many monks who opposed the forward looking reforms of T'ai-hsü. They also ridiculed his dabbling in politics as unsuitable for a monk whose focus should be more otherworldly according to the tradition. What these monks admired were monks like Master T'an-hsü who adhered to the tradition and remained aloof from political affairs. This tradition was obviously the

guiding principle of the present Cham Shan Temple in Toronto as the masters are students of T'an-hsü (Lui Ma 2000:40, Welch 1968:71).

Furthermore, throughout Buddhism's long history of assimilation into Chinese culture, there were two important aspects of Chinese culture, Confucianism and Taoism, which were constantly in conflict with Buddhism or in need of harmonizing with it, resulting in occasional disputes and even massive persecution of Buddhists (see Chapter 5). According to the present research, 67% of the respondents of the Cham Shan Temple, 65% of the respondents of the Fo Guang Temple and 40% of the True Buddha School disciples are familiar with Confucianism. Overall 90% of all the respondents report that Confucianism is an important part of Chinese culture. Concerning Taoism and particularly religious Taoism the findings are mixed due to the predominant prejudices in China and Taiwan against Taoism. According to one researcher, unlike Buddhism which enjoyed international fame and in turn was also esteemed in China, Taoism is viewed as mainly consisting of 80 % superstitious ideas and rituals (Hahn 1989:91). This finding also reflected the discrepancy between the number of Buddhist and Taoist temples within China. According to the official statistics of China there were 9,500 Buddhist temples in 1997 and 600 Taoist temples in 1998 reflecting years of prejudice and suppression (*The Europa World Year Book* 2000 Vol 1, 2002:1071-1072). The prejudices in Taiwan against Taoism have somehow decreased in modern times especially after the Japanese colonial rule and the suppression of Taoism was ended (1895-1945). When asked by the researcher, "Do you practice Taoist rituals?" only 7% of Cham Shan disciples, 0% from the Fo

Guang Temple and 33% of the True Buddha disciples reported yes. This finding is particularly significant with the True Buddha School because Master Lu openly acknowledged the incorporation of Taoism into its teachings and still only 33% of the school reported yes. It might be due to the fact that on a popular level many Chinese are not able to distinguish popular Taoist practices from Buddhism. For example, quite a number of informants at the Fo Guang Temple reported that they initially followed the Chinese tradition and had a shrine for the Earth Deity at home, but on coming to the temple they realized it was essentially non-Buddhist in nature and abandoned the practice. When asked "Is Taoism an important part of Chinese culture?", overall 60% of the respondents reported yes, significantly less than the 90% response to Confucianism, reflecting the prevailing prejudices against Taoism in the modern Chinese mind due to social influence.

According to one historical study, starting from 900 C.E. to the present there has been a massive amalgamation of Buddhist ideas within the Chinese society appropriated by the Taoist circles, particularly the idea of the karmic law of Cause and Effect (Wright 1990:32). The Buddhist clergy in China on the other hand, with little education and organization often served the role of a popular shaman. On one hand, it might be said that the clergy had degenerated into vagabond monks dabbling into healing and astrology (Welch 1967:121). On another hand, there was and still is within the Chinese mind, the belief in such religious practices as intuitive medical healing, geomancy, astrology, divination, hand and face reading, etc., practised by popular religious Taoism.

The doctrine of the Buddhist monasteries is that our good and bad fortunes are tied in with the karmic law of Cause and Effect. However, still the popular practices of a shaman or a Taoist priest continue to be very much a part of popular Chinese culture with great appeal to the masses of ordinary people, these practices are thus to be tolerated. Most prominent monks in the past such as Venerable Hsu-yun (Welch 1967:121), and Master Sing Hung and Shing Cheung of the Cham Shan Temple, practised geomancy and have divination halls in the temple. However, serving as spirit mediums and psychics is strictly forbidden within the monasteries and to practice such things could warrant discredit or non-acceptance. In short, the long history of Buddhism's assimilation into Chinese culture has always been a give and take process between Buddhism and the native ideologies of China such as Confucianism and Taoism (Wright 1990:1-33).

T'ai-hsü vigorously advocated a form of purified Buddhism focussed on renewed Buddhist scriptural studies and tried to purify the Buddhist circle from the influence of Taoist practices. This is the spirit that is adopted by Master Hsing Yun and the modern development of the Fo Guang Temple. But as Roland Robertson has pointed out, there are always aspects of particular beliefs that are resilient to the outside pressure to change. Robertson refers to this as the dynamic interplay between the universal and the particular, or the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Robertson 1997:77). Within the True Buddha School, Master Lu is considered a world famous psychic and many of the School's masters are psychics and Taoist practices are freely practised. This shows that within the Chinese culture there is always this belief in paranormal practices which is resistant to outside influence.

These outside influences throughout Chinese history include Buddhism, Christianity, Marxism and modern positivistic science. The result of the development of the True Buddha School, which combines Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, Taoism, Tibetan Buddhism and even Christianity into its reservoir of beliefs, is that it is returned to the global arena as a syncretic whole of one dominant strand of Chinese Buddhism.

Charles Laughlin's theory, "the Cycle of Meaning", sheds light onto the understanding of the contemporary development of Chinese Buddhism. According to Laughlin, the cosmology of a particular religion is kept sacred within the tradition and very often within the society as well by linking belief and experience in a feedback system. This cycle, however, which is a dynamic interplay between knowledge and experience can be easily broken. For example, certain rituals can be forbidden or the meaning forgotten, or the tradition might come under pressure from the dominant society or even foreign ideologies that pose challenges to the tradition. Whole cosmologies can be negated this way and the rituals and the associated religious experience can lose their meaning (Laughlin 1992:230). In Chinese Buddhism, due to the sudden massive globalization effect and the confrontation with western imperialism, a lot of intelligentsia and revolutionary leaders came under the influence of science and Marxist ideas in which the waking consciousness and material reality are held to be the only reality and all other states of existence and consciousness are negated. Under this kind of ideology, the cosmological code held sacred by the Buddhists -- the belief in the Pure Land, the Six Realms of Transmigration, etc. -- that had once accorded them authority in

society was being negated.

Bereft of its traditional authority within society, Buddhism had to follow the example of the historical development of Christianity and it eventually emerged as a distinct form of secular activity. It became, as Beyer argues, a subsystem among other subsystems within a society. In this kind of development there is a tendency within a religious tradition to develop into a plurality of mutually distinguishable denominations in order to cater to the varying needs of its participants (Beyer 1998b:151).³⁸ Therefore, according to Beyer in order to understand the modern manifestation of religion, "The analysis of religion must follow a double track: one follows its similarity and identification with group culture, another its character as a societal subsystem. Religion in other words, like the political system, is a social sphere that manifests both the socio-cultural particular and the global universal" (Beyer 1994:67). On a global level, as previously mentioned, Buddhism has recognizable characteristics similar to other religions, but on a local level due to cultural constraints and differing orientations of the Chinese to the global influences, it is different and varied.

As discussed previously, although there are common characteristics shared by Chinese Buddhism on a particular level, the types of Buddhism practised are significantly varied to the point that in cases such as the True Buddha School there

³⁸It might be argued that traditional Chinese Buddhism was already distinguished into various schools. But according to the historian Wing-tsit Chan's research "Chinese Buddhism in the last several hundred years before [Tai-hsü] may be said to have reduced to only the Pure Land School" (Chan 1978:62). This is because in every major temple they followed the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen schools in doctrines and Meditation and Pure Land in practice. But according to Chan the philosophy of T'ien-tai and Hua-yen was understood only by a small handful of Buddhists, and meditation was reduced to habitual quiet sitting.

are controversies concerning what is “authentic”. These variations when examined represent the different interactions of Buddhism in relation to the global influence. The variations also show that there are different preferences within the Chinese masses that are served by these different forms of Buddhism. The establishment of various organizations to adapt to Canadian life is not a recent phenomenon; the Chinese established organizations as early as the 1860s, but the first major organization was the Zhi Gong Tang in 1882, which was a secret society. Later, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association was established, and afterwards, the *jiefang*, or district associations were established. In modern times, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and various government assisted programs, were implanted to assist Chinese immigrants.

Modern Chinese immigrants, unlike those of a century ago, are selected under a point system. Many Chinese are highly educated, and come to Canada under the category of various professional services. They come mostly from Hong Kong, Mainland China, and Taiwan, and an increasing amount of them go to the various Chinese established spiritual centres such as the Catholic churches. In recent times, due to the availability of Buddhist temples, an increasing number of Chinese individuals are reconverted Buddhists from a Christian faith. and they in turn go to the various temples for spiritual support.

Moreover, my research finds that these recent Chinese immigrants (the majority have arrived within the last ten to twenty years), do not integrate well into the Canadian society. When asked by the author, “Do you belong to any non-Chinese organization?” Twenty-two out of the twenty-eight respondents of the

Cham Shan Temple reported “no”. All fifteen respondents of the True Buddha School reported “no” and fifteen out of the seventeen respondents of the Fo Guang Shan reported “no”. Therefore, joining one of these temples becomes particularly important when confronted with the hardships of trying to adapt to an alien culture.

The three temples i.e., the Cham Shan Temple, the Fo Guang Shan and the True Buddha School, under the present study, illustrate the most successful strands of Chinese Buddhism in the global arena. My research indicates that even though these temples are helping the immigrants to adapt to Canadian society and are supported by the increase influx of immigrants, they are not merely small establishments organized by the new immigrants to adapt to the local situation in Canada. They are in fact transnational movements conceptualized to ensure the modern survival and eventual global migration of Chinese Buddhism. It is evident that the temples organized by the early Chinese immigrants over a century ago did not survive and that by the turn of the twentieth century, most of them were converted into other uses as many Chinese became Christians. The early religious organizations perished mostly due to a lack of both organizational support and educated clergy. In addition, the early immigrants were generally poor migrant workers and were barely able to survive in Canada and unable to provide much support to the temples, Therefore when confronted by foreign and hostile ideologies both in Canada and China, and without much economic support they succumbed under outside pressure.

The development of these temples (i.e. the modern temples considered in this thesis), was influenced by the social and historical development in China, most importantly T'ai-hsü in the 1930s; T'ai-hsü's vision of an educated sangha, a centralized temple and involvement of the laity in the spread of the Dharma had an important influence on the modern development, particularly in the Cham Shan and the Fo Guang Temples and subsequently in their success in the global migration of Buddhism. The True Buddha School can be seen as satisfying that part of the Chinese mind which historically has been influenced by Taoism with its many practices such as divination, spirit mediums, geomancy, and physiognomy.

The Cham Shan Temple is known as the earliest Chinese Buddhist temple in Canada, and the masters are esteemed to be the founders of Chinese Buddhism in Canada. The Fo Guang Shan Temple is a transnational organization originating in Taiwan, models the reform advocated by T'ai-hsü in the 1930s, and is internationally known as the most successful group in the modern global migration of Chinese Buddhism. The True Buddha School, a form of new religious movement, is one of the fastest growing religious movements. Starting in Taiwan, it incorporates elements from Tibetan Buddhism, Taoism and Christianity into its teachings and has been able to attract a large following with close to two hundred chapters all over the world. This research finds that the common unity among the temples of this study is a strong belief in Pure Land, the adherence of Pure Land Practice, the veneration of Bodhisattva Kuan-yin, the belief in the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect and ancestor veneration. The differences are due to other ideological differences of the various temples as advocated by the masters

resulting in their different orientations to the global influence.

For the purpose of the present analysis, I have grouped them together into various categories in order to illustrate my findings. The categories include the masters, the temples, the clergy, the text, the monastics and the laity, the organization of the temple, the position of women, the practice and vegetarianism. Not only do these categories demonstrate the differences between the groups, they also show the modern transformation of Buddhism, that is, a Buddhism free of empty ritual practices³⁹. This modern Buddhism has the involvement of the laity in the spreading of the Dharma and is an engaged form of Buddhism. The inclusion of the category of women in the sangha further shows that Chinese Buddhism is able to identify with the larger group culture in areas such as the increased status of women globally. Master Hsing Yun even took the lead in being a champion for fostering the status of women as in the ordination of Theravādan nuns. Below are details of the unity and differences.

Details of the Unity and Differences

The Unity

This research finds that the unity among the temples is the strong belief in the existence of Pure Land and the belief in the saving grace of Amitābha in

³⁹The empty ritual practices within Chinese Buddhism included regular quiet sitting in meditation without the accompanying knowledge that it is a powerful tool to acquire intuitive knowledge, and the recitation of the mantras of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas without knowing that these Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are in fact various aspects of the mind. As mentioned earlier, according to Laughlin (1992) in such ritual practices, the practitioner is often cut off from the deeper understanding which are derived from the interplay between knowledge (as handed down by tradition) and personal religious experience. Without which faith cannot be established.

receiving the faithful. Another common belief is that through Amitābha's forty-eight vows in receiving the faithful, those who have a sincere desire to be reborn in this Pure Land can generate the *bodhicitta*, meditate or recite His mantra constantly and accumulate merits as much as possible. Upon their death, Amitābha Buddha will appear with Kuan-yin to His right and Ta shih-chi to His left to lead the faithful into the Pure Land from *Samsāric* existence. Even those who have remnants of negative karma can hope to be reborn there and further their spiritual growth to enlightenment.⁴⁰ Across the board the Chinese Buddhists also insist that Amitābha Buddha is a special realm within human consciousness and there is no need for an outside quest.

For example, as previously mentioned one lay teacher Lian Chi-miao of the Cham Shan Temple says:

Everything is a manifestation of our minds and there is nothing outside of our consciousness. If one concentrates one's mind on a Buddha, one is already a Buddha. Once we know what we are doing, then when we are reciting the Buddha's mantra [meaning A-mi-t'o fo] we will have more confidence in doing so and can easily have the attainments.

As also mentioned earlier another person of the Fo Guang Shan says: "During the ceremony, I feel elated, it's like passing through a gate into Pure Land." (0-8, male 50-55 Feb 2000).

The True Buddha School further believes that there is a special realm called Maha Twin Lotus Ponds within the Pure Land where the faithful TBS disciples may

⁴⁰The Chinese Buddhist understanding that the Buddha nature is within each and every one of us is contrary to some textbook depictions that the Pure Land is somehow a special realm "out there" somewhere (Williams 1989:253).

aspire to go. In the three Buddhist temples that are under research most of the disciples strongly believe in reincarnation and that life is an infinite round of rebirths. Out of the twenty-eight respondents of the Cham Shan temple close to ninety percent believe in the statement that life is an infinite round of rebirths. Similarly, eighty-eight percent of the Fo Guang Group believes in the statement. All the respondents of the True Buddha School agree to this statement. Further, they believe in the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect; ninety-six percent of the respondents of the Cham Shan Temple either agree or strongly agree that life is bound by this Buddhist karmic law. Out of the seventeen respondents of the Fo Guang Shan, one hundred percent believe in this law. The same is true of the True Buddha School. Out of the fifteen respondents one hundred percent agree with this statement. The current research finds that all the three temples have the following common practices

Ancestor Veneration

All the three temples provide a place for installation of ancestors' plaques and chanting service for the disciples in case of a death in the family. Close to seventy percent of the respondents of the Cham Shan Temple report going to the Ullambana festival, while close to 82% of the respondents of the Fo Guang Shan and close to 86% of the True Buddha disciples report the same.

Veneration of Bodhisattva Kuan-yin

The veneration of Bodhisattva Kuan-yin and the invocation of Her grace are practised through chanting of Her special mantra, the six syllable mantra Om Mani

Padme Hum, the *Great Compassion Dhāranī* and even the *Heart Sūtra*. Kuan-yin is invoked by all the three groups in all kinds of human requests from healing of sickness to business successes to being removed completely from *samsāric* existence. The True Buddha School, however, places special emphasis on the *High King Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* which is a text with a Taoist origin and is not practised by the other groups.

Veneration of One's Teacher

The veneration of one's teachers and a special celebration for their birthdays is practised by the three groups. The Cham Shan celebrate yearly the *ming shou* of Venerable T'an-hsü; both the Fo Guang Shan and the True Buddha School have a yearly celebration of Master Hsing Yun and Master Lu's birthdays.

In spite of these common practices among the three temples that give the overall impression to the Canadian public of a united Chinese Buddhism, there are significant differences among them which can be classified into the following categories.

The Diversity

The Masters

The Cham Shan Masters Sing Hung and Shing Cheung are generally respected among the Buddhist community in Toronto to be the earliest Chinese monks to arrive on Canadian soil and the founders of Chinese Buddhism in Canada. The Cham Shan Temple is a focal point of Chinese Buddhist activities in Toronto because of its temple complex, which is spread out across Toronto in

Thornhill, Bloor Street West and Lawrence Ave West, to provide easy access for the disciples.

The Cham Shan Masters are respected as the transporters of a pristine form of Chinese Buddhism from China and for their many years of study under the Venerable T'an-hsü. Like T'an-hsü, the Cham Shan masters are respected for adhering to their practices of Buddhism and remaining aloof from worldly affairs. Most obviously, unlike the Fo Guang group, the Cham Shan Masters did not invite the local politicians to the temple for major events or appear in any opportune pictures with politicians, which is habitual with Master Hsing Yun.

Master Hsing Yun of the Fo Guang Shan is honoured by his group to be the 48th patriarch and the lineage holder of the Ch'an sect. Like the majority of Chinese schools in ancient China, Master Hsing Yun basically upheld the organization of the *Sūtras* as worked out by Chih-i of the T'ien-t'ai sect and practised Pure Land Buddhism (Lui-Ma 2000: 270-271).

Master Hsing Yun, moreover, is much respected as the modern version of T'ai-hsü. The conceptualization of the Fo Guang Shan in Kaohsiung, Taiwan in 1965 followed that of T'ai-shü's vision of a new sangha with a systematic training of the clergy for various kinds of service to the laity, and a centrally controlled organization for sending of missionaries overseas. The majority of the clergy must enter the Buddhist colleges before the age of thirty in Taiwan and some are further sent abroad for advanced training in foreign universities. The successful candidates are then posted to various positions in Taiwan or overseas for a period of three years. The Fo Guang Shan, however, offers a final place for retirement for

all the clergy.

Hsing Yun has often been criticized as a monk who dabbles in political affairs (Nagata 1999, Lui-Ma 2000). He argues: "I have renounced the life of a householder, but not the country" (Lui-Ma 2000: 162). Hsing Yun suggests that caring for the country, with no personal aim of either fame or fortune in mind, is a virtue (Lui-Ma 2000:163). Hsing Yun has also been criticized as being a business monk who acquired a strong entrepreneurial spirit through the operations of services to the laity. These services included colleges, nurseries, pilgrimages, retreats, cemeteries, etc., as well as massive infrastructures of temple properties all over the world. From the disciples' point of view, he is often respected within the Chinese community for his innovative methods, through which he was able to organize and maintain the development of an educated sangha and a modernized church-like form of Buddhism.

Master Lu of the True Buddha School is respected among his followers for his psychic abilities and his untiring patience in helping the thousands of people who approach him everyday with all kinds of ailments and personal sicknesses. Many of his disciples reported that he cured their personal illnesses. Master Lu has written 147 books on the exposition of the Buddhist Dharma, and almost all of them include vivid descriptions of the other realms. He is respected for his bravery in speaking out about his religious experiences as early as the 1970s when most Taiwanese, under the Christian influence, were against it. Many welcomed Master Lu's works as they could relate their own mystical experiences to his and find relief in not feeling "crazy" under the eyes of the other Buddhist groups, the prevailing

anti-mysticism scientific mindset, and Christianity. Additionally, Master Lu's work is esteemed for broadening the understanding of human consciousness and the other spirit realms. According to his disciples this is a vast contrast with the other Buddhist groups who rely on the second-hand religious experiences described in the ancient sūtras.

The Temple

The temple setting is very different among the three groups. In the main temple of the Cham Shan complex, the design is similar to an ancient Chinese palace, and the whole complex looks like a monastery within a garden. The Fo Guang Shan Temple in Taiwan is similar to this design, but the one in Ottawa is very different. The FGS in Ottawa resembles a modern Christian church setting and was housed within a modern office building; from the outside there is not much to suggest that it is a Chinese temple. The True Buddha School in Montreal at 125 rue Charlotte is housed inside a single detached house near a parking lot which is typical of the chapters of the True Buddha School. They do not follow any particular design or structure and are mostly loose organizations housed inside any kind of building structure.

Moreover, the temples interiors have major differences between them. For the Cham Shan Temple and the Fo Guang Shan Temple, the main shrine houses the three Buddhas. Buddha Śākyamuni in the middle, Medicine Buddha to the left, and Buddha Amitābha to the right. In both chapters of the True Buddha School, the temple follows the Tibetan tradition of the three tiered altar. For example, in the

Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple, on the uppermost shelf are the five Buddhas, namely Buddhas Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi. The second shelf is divided into two layers. The upper layer is Guru Padmasambhava, Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha. The second layer is the Taoist Golden Mother of Primordial Pond and various Tibetan and Taoist icons. Most distinctively, in the middle of the third shelf is a bronzed statue of Master Lu himself symbolizing the belief of the True Buddha disciples that through the grace and mediation of Living Buddha Lu Sheng-yen salvation is more easily attainable.

The Clergy

The Cham Shan Temple respects the tradition of Buddhism as passed down from ancient India. In this tradition, anyone who aspires to be a monastic would be allowed to join the sangha, however they would have to live harmoniously with other members of the community and provide some service. It might be simple manual labour like cleaning or cooking.

Fo Guang Shan follows the vision of T'ai-hsü of a systematically educated sangha. Most of the clergy have to enter the Buddhist colleges under the age of thirty and complete at least two years of training. It is based on a selected "elite" system where only the youngest and the brightest can be part of the new sangha.

The True Buddha School in accordance with the Tibetan tradition, believes in incarnated lamas (or spiritual teachers). The Diamond Masters of the school are believed to be incarnated masters taking human form for the benefit of teaching

human beings. They can be laymen or women, but their rank is significantly higher than the monastics. The early Diamond Masters were all handpicked by Master Lu under a system of psychic divination to determine their suitability. Due to global migration and the rapid development of the school, in 1998 the group had a change of policy in order to tighten organizational control. Only the monastics can aspire to be the Diamond Masters in order to prevent ordained Diamond Masters from having a change of heart due to the temptation of a lay life and succumbing to greed.

The Position of Women within the Sangha

This research finds that female monastics play a pivotal role in all three Chinese Buddhist temples. Within the Cham Shan Temple, out of the twelve monastics eight are women. Most of these women are elderly, such as Ting-sheng and K'uan-shao -- both in their seventies, but, nonetheless, they play an important role. These women are fulfilling an important function in the bulk of work in the temple which consists of lots of cleaning and cooking. The female monastics in the temple, however, did not go through formal training in a Buddhist college like those of the Fo Guang Group, so while most of them participate in the rituals during the ceremonies, they do not carry out the role of a Dharma teacher. In order to fill this gap, a lay teacher, Ms. Liang Chi-miao, is giving Dharma talks in Hong Fa and some of the younger nuns are studying under her guidance. Ms Liang did not attend the formal Buddhist college, but accumulated her knowledge through many years of personal study with various teachers.

Master Hsing Yun is internationally known as the champion of equality for the status of the nuns. His most notable acts have been the inclusion of Theravāda nuns, during his ordination ceremonies in 1988 and 1998. The Fo Guang Temple in Ottawa is exclusively staffed by nuns, as are the Fo Guang temples in Toronto and Montreal. According to their official estimate, they have 2000 monastics and the ratio is four nuns to one monk (Lui-Ma 2000:326). Most of these nuns are considerably younger; in their thirties, forties and fifties. Additionally, most of them went through the Buddhist college training in Taiwan. These female monastics are multi-skilled; not only are they able to keep the temple in a very clean state, but they are extremely good vegetarian cooks as well. They often give vegetarian cooking classes to the laity. Moreover, they are well versed in the Buddhist doctrines and can give an eloquent Dharma discourse. Many of these women are also equipped with other skills such as driving and computer abilities. Their multi-talented nature fits well into what T'ai-hsü envisioned to be the new sangha of a chosen group of people where every monastic is a Dharma teacher and provides a valuable service to the laity.

At the True Buddha School, women also play an important role in the sangha. Diamond Master Leung Shih is a woman who through her charismatic teaching single handily gathered the group that became the current temple. Internationally, most of the outstanding Diamond Masters within the sangha are also women such as Master Samantha Chou of San Francisco, Master Lian-tze of Vancouver and Master Lian-zhi of Edmonton. They are admired for their

charismatic teachings and extraordinary psychic abilities and being a female does not diminish the respect they have within the sangha. Many of these Diamond Masters are converts from other religions, and the early school does not have a unified form of training. Most of these masters acquired their knowledge through personal study with Master Lu as well as studying his work. Nevertheless, because of the teachings and skills of these Diamond Masters, they are often held in high esteem, even though they are women without proper training and some even lead a lay life.

The Organization of the Temple

The Cham Shan Temple, although a member of a major sect in China called T'ien-t'ai Sect, is an independent temple. This is contrary to the Fo Guang Group which is an international organization, centrally controlled under a hierarchial system in Taiwan. Most of the temple administration is under the control of the two elderly monks Master Sing Hung and Master Shing Cheung. There are temples which belong to the T'ien-t'ai Sect all over Hong Kong, Taiwan and China but they mostly operate under an "old boy's club model"; basically they are all independent temples but members of the sect assist each other as in the case of the Cham Shan Temple assisting Master Yüan-chi to come to Canada. But once he established the Mañjusrī Temple, however, it became a completely independent temple from the Cham Shan Temple. Following the tradition of China, the Cham Shan Temple is providing assistance to other monks of different denominations such as Master Wu-te from Macau who wishes to establish a work in Canada. But

their lineage and practice have to be in some way known to the Cham Shan masters. In the course of my research I encountered some monks whose applications for assistance was denied because they were coming to Canada from all over Asia. Therefore, it is very difficult for the Cham Shan Masters to discern the quality and provide assistance unless they know their lineage.

Master Hsing Yun has stepped down from being the head abbot of Fo Guang Shan, but internationally he is still recognized as the spiritual head of all the Fo Guang temples. The Fo Guang Shan in Ottawa is not an independent temple but part of a transnational movement of the Fo Guang Shan. It has to follow the guidelines of the Fo Guang Shan temples all over the world. For example, it follows the practice of the rotation of the monastics every two to three years and is connected with the establishment of the Buddha's Light International Association, a lay organization that assists the development of the sangha. Most of the temple's rituals are done in accordance with practices established in Fo Guang Shan in Taiwan. The Fo Guang group moreover, are much benefited by the presence of the monastics internationally; even before the nuns had arrived the local group was able to invite the monastic and even lay teachers of the group to come and do Dharma talks. But communications and mutual assistance seem to be contained within the group, for example the building of the Ottawa temple was assisted by the development of Fo Guang Shan temples in Toronto, Montreal and even Hong Kong. There is no indication that the group will provide assistance to other monastics outside the group to establish themselves in Ottawa.

The True Buddha School in Montreal is also part of a transnational movement of the True Buddha School and internationally recognized under the spiritual guidance and direction of Master Lu. Most of the temple development follows the guidelines set out by the group. For example, one of their administrators has commented that she would have to follow the recent change of policy of the group to go through the examination of an assistant professor in order to secure the position of the centre administrator in the future. Unlike the Fo Guang Group, the True Buddha group, does not follow a rotation system in its administration. The local Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple frequently invited Diamond Masters from other chapters of the school to come and give Dharma talks. The temple also received free magazines such as the *Purple Lotus Journal* and the *True Buddha News* in support of their local development and promotion.

The Monastics and the Laity

The study finds that the laity is crucial in the development of modern Chinese Buddhism and this is obvious among the three temples. This modern trend in the development of Chinese Buddhism was begun by Yen Wen-hui and actively promoted by his student T'ai-hsü. This particular emphasis on the laity spreading the Dharma is very important in the global migration of Buddhism to Canada because the laity, unbound by the monastic constraints, is very often equipped with the language and cultural skills to spread the Dharma. Moreover there is a serious shortage of monastics in Canada, as asserts Master Wu-te of Cheng-chüeh Temple in Toronto. It is because in ancient China parents who had

many children, generally did not mind if one of them joined the sangha. In Canada people have only one or two children and many of them decide to undertake advanced study. By the time they graduate from university, they are usually around twenty-five. Moreover, the current educational system is focussed on economics and whoever has the best ability to make the most money is considered the fittest. This, together with the advance of science, has left many Chinese youth with the prejudice that Buddhism is mere superstition. Under these circumstances, most parents would disapprove if their children joining the sangha.⁴¹ Master Yüan-chih in Toronto also emphasizes the importance of the laity in the spreading of the Dharma in the face of the shortage in monastics in Canada. He says:

In the modern development of Buddhism, the laity has to support the triple jewels [the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha]. But the propagation of the Dharma cannot be solely the responsibility of the monastics. The people who think this way are irresponsible. When people want to learn the Dharma, they have to learn from many teachers and they have to choose the right person, whether he or she is a monastic is of no importance. (Liu personal interview, July 1999)

However, there are major differences in the practice of engaging the laity in the spreading of the Dharma between the three temples.

The Cham Shan Temple

In the Hong Fa Temple of the Cham Shan complex, a lay teacher Ms. Leung Kai-mei is acting as a teacher of the younger nuns. In the Buddhist Gallery, a lay

⁴¹Under the Chinese system people who want to join the sangha have to receive the approval of their parents. If they are married they have to receive the approval of their spouses. There are many temple stories around this custom. Some of these stories mention that in the past spouses of people joining the sangha without this approval committed suicide. Additionally, because of the Chinese concept of filial piety one cannot join the sangha and leave one's parents unsupported.

director Mr. Li Qin-an, was engaged in the original concept of the development of the Buddhist Gallery. Other lay directors are also actively engaged in the spreading of the Dharma in English because of the language barrier of the elderly monks. Other lay supporters are organizing courses such as Tai Chi and Chinese Civilization.

The whole Cham Shan complex, with its massive infrastructure across Toronto has only twelve monastics. Obviously, a major part of the work falls on the shoulders of the laity. The laity is actively engaged in the organization of the temple in many other ways such as maintaining the libraries, working as receptionists, cooking and cleaning, together with the regular donations that support the temple. But unlike the BLIA (the lay extension of the Fo Guang Temple), the Cham Shan directors and volunteer workers do not have a fixed term and fixed responsibility; it is all on a volunteer basis and people come and go as they please.

In spite of the participation of the laity, in line with traditional Chinese thinking joining the sangha is viewed as more conducive to a spiritual life and to the ultimate goal of attaining Nirvāna because the monastics have less distraction to do this work. About twenty percent of the participants report that they have intentions on joining the sangha.

The Fo Guang Temple

The importance of the laity was obvious in the conceptualization of the Buddha's Light International Association by Master Hsing Yun in 1991 after he took the first step in securing the democracy of the sangha by resigning from the

position of Head Abbot in order to prevent temple property from being turned into personal property and attachment. The goal of the BLIA is to transfer some of the responsibility of spreading the Dharma to the laity. In recent years, Master Hsing Yun has further advocated an ideal which he calls *seng hsin ping deng* which means the equality between the laity and the monastic in Chinese (Chinese New Year Open Letter of Hsing Yun to the Fo Guang Shan 2002). The local BLIA is currently headed by a lay director Mr Lu Wen-feng. Underneath him are two assistant directors, and further members are divided into various responsibilities just like any business organization in the secular world. The various posts are re-elected every two years under a system of democracy. Members have to pay an annual fee of \$30 which includes the privileges of being informed of temple affairs and having a discount when taking the many courses offered by the temple. Major temple events are still free to all.

However, charging a membership fee is not a common practice among Chinese temples and is not practised by the other two groups. In the course of my research, several elderly ladies were reported to leave the temple and join a Taoist group in Orleans because “they do not require a membership fee, and provide free transportation.”

The True Buddha School

In the TBS, up until very recently, the position of a lay person could be higher than that of a monastic. Diamond Masters Lian Shih, Lian Tien, and Samantha Chou are all leading a lay life but their position is significantly higher

than that of a monastic. Moreover, the Huaquang Charity Society is exclusively headed by the laity for the purpose of charitable work. The Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple up to now has had a lay director, Huang Hua, who supervises and manages the temple under the spiritual guidance of a monastic. The change of policy in 1998 that only monastics could aspire to be a Diamond Master is more in line with tightening organizational control than undermining the importance of the laity in the sangha.

Due to the nature of the school and the recognition of the Diamond Masters who are laity and held in high esteem, lay members do not think it is necessary to join the sangha. Moreover, lay members can become directors and the belief that one does not need to be a monastic in order to gain enlightenment or attain the Pure Land goal. In addition, up to the time of my research the school was still working with the tradition that anybody could join the sangha even without proper training in Buddhism. Therefore, being a monastic does not automatically command respect among the laity. In turn, none of the respondents of the True Buddha School report wanting to join the sangha.

The Text

The Cham Shan Temple

The Cham Shan Temple follows traditional practices of the T'ien-t'ai School, and studies the Mahāyāna sūtras with focus of teachings is the Lotus and the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras and the Surangama Sūtra. The monks are well-versed in these sūtras and are constantly providing study classes on lengthy exegesis of

these sūtras. Concerning the daily practice of a disciple, according to Master Sing Hung it is important to recite the Buddha's name in our everyday activities in order to keep our minds focussed on the path (i.e. the Pure Land goal) and to rid our minds of worries and anxieties. Major emphasis is also on the Mahāyāna ideal of non-attachment in order to avoid attachment and suffering in our everyday lives. Emphasis is also on the practice of the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect, especially the teachings of the Lotus Sūtra, which point out that tremendous merit can be acquired through the spreading of the Dharma, and building of temples and Buddha statues.

The Fo Guang Shan

In the Fo Guang Shan a lot of emphasis is placed on spreading Master Hsing Yun's ideal of humanistic Buddhism. One should not be obsessed with the idea of getting out of samsāric existence, but rather creating a Pure Land on earth through the propagation of the Buddhist Dharma, services to each other and engaging in all kinds of charitable activities. The centre also distributes a lot of Master Hsing Yun's exegesis on this ideal in modern day Chinese, (and quite a few in English too), rather than the archaic classical Chinese language⁴² that is used by all the ancient sūtras, because many Chinese find difficult to read and understand the old characters.

⁴²The classical Chinese script is used only in Hong Kong and Taiwan and no longer used in Mainland China which now uses a simplified Chinese script. Many Mainland Chinese would have difficulty reading the script, not to mention understanding the language. The Hong Kong and Taiwan Chinese can read the script but have trouble understanding the language as most of the sūtras were translated by Kumārajīva during the 5th century C.E. (Ch'en 1973:82-83).

The True Buddha School

Many True Buddha disciples were attracted to the school by reading one of Master Lu's works and many of them have a whole collection of his books. Many of the TBS disciples, however, are not aware of the traditional Buddhist sūtras such as the *Diamond Sūtra*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, and the *Sūtra of Forty-two Chapters*, etc. Rather than the doctrinal understanding, which many have commented as vague, difficult to understand, and often contradictory, the group focuses on direct religious experience. The principal practice of the group is based on Tibetan Buddhism, particularly the Guru Yoga as taught by Master Lu. The group also focuses on the *True Buddha Sūtra* rather than the *Pure Land Sūtra*, which is a special invention of Master Lu founded on his own religious experience, and as mentioned earlier, the group also places a special importance on the *High King Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* which is a sūtra of Taoist origin. For example, there is no age limit to apply for the position of a temple administrator such as the assistant professor in the school, but the minimum requirement is the recitation of the Guru Mantra one million times, and the *High King Avalokiteśvara Sūtra* at least 1000 times (*Purple Lotus Journal* Sept 98:27).

Many writings of Master Lu are particularly welcomed by the disciples and the group is trying to organize a systematic translation of his works into English. Presently, only a few have been translated. Most of his works, if translated, would be an invaluable addition to the modern study of Shamanism in the West. Chinese shamanic work on healing and religious experiences are almost completely unknown to the West, due to the prejudices prevalent in China and Taiwan

concerning Taoism and religious experiences.

The Practice

The Cham Shan Temple

The Cham Shan Temple follows traditional T'ien-t'ai practice, which is all inclusive of Mahāyāna and Theravāda doctrines. It, nevertheless, holds that the Theravāda or Hinayāna (Skt. small vehicle) doctrines constitute a lower form of teachings, and that they are used by the Buddha to prepare the audience for the higher Mahāyāna teaching. The Cham Shan Temple's openness to Theravāda teachings is illustrated by the presence of a monk, Bhante Govinda, in the Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery as a principal teacher, and letting the Vipassanā Foundation use the Hong Fa premise to host a Vipassanā retreat every Sunday. Following the tradition in China, the temple also respects many of the folk practices that exist in China; the temple has a Kuan-yin Hall for divination, a place for the Earth Deity in the Garden, and accepts the efficacy of astrology and *feng shui*. This study finds that the original Nam Shan Temple moved from one house to another on the same street (100 Southill Road) because of feng shui problems. They, however, maintain that while these practices have some efficacy, ultimately, one's destiny is governed by the Buddhist Law of Cause and Effect and the teachings of the Lotus Sūtra that spreading the Dharma constitutes the highest merit. Other than Cham Shan Temple's receptivity to the Theravāda teachings and some of the Chinese folk practices, there is no indication that they are familiar with the Tibetan teachings or practices like those at the True Buddha School. The practice is mostly within the

boundaries of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism and the same is true for the Fo Guang Shan. The Cham Shan temple follows the traditional T'ien-t'ai practice, in which most of the temple rituals are done in accordance with the tradition in China where the masters have acquired the learning. Most of the activities are centred around Buddhist activities traditionally practised in China. The temple opens every morning at 4:30 a.m. for the morning chanting session, the various confessional prayers during Buddhist festivals and lunar moon days, and the operation of the eight precepts retreats. The temple is clearly a place of worship, and most other cultural activities are left outside the temple.

The Fo Guang Shan

The Fo Guang Shan basically accepts the doctrines of the T'ien-t'ai Sect as worked out by Chih-i, but the group's major emphasis is on the practice of humanistic or this-world engaged Buddhism as worked out by T'ai-hsü. The Fo Guang Shan practises a kind of spirituality similar to the Protestant work ethic. To improve one's station in life, one must take care of one's business and career following the human economic laws of success, and diligently practice the Buddhist karmic law of Cause and Effect by actively engaging in all kinds of charitable activity. The group has little tolerance for traditional Chinese folk practice such as feng shui, divination and astrology (Lui-Ma 2000:281)

The Fo Guang Group follows the tradition of the Buddhist festivals and the confessional prayers, but also has many innovations of its own. Further, the group has incorporated many cultural activities that are not practised in a traditional temple. They celebrate all the Buddhist festivals plus the Chinese festivals, such as

the Mid-Autumn and the Winter festivals. These traditional Chinese festivals are celebrated at home within the family. During these festivals, the Chinese gather all the family members together and share a meal. The temple has clearly taken up this function in Canada, and calls members together to share a vegetarian meal in the temple that is often followed by various cultural shows.

The True Buddha School

In the True Buddha School, traditional Taoist practices such as divination, geomancy, astrology, and psychic reading are openly encouraged by Master Lu through his teachings and his books. Master Lu believes these methods are excellent ways to lead people to the understanding of the mystical and further lead them to Buddhism. Unlike the Cham Shan Temple and the Fo Guang Shan, Master Lu considers both Mahāyāna Buddhism and the later developed Tibetan Buddhism to be of equal importance. The True Buddha School, because of its all-inclusive nature, does not lack of festivals to celebrate. The temple celebrates the birthday ceremonies of the Tibetan pantheon such as Guru Padmasambhava, the Green and White Tārās, and the Red and Yellow Jambhalas, together with the lunar moon day gatherings. They also celebrate the birthdays of the Taoist Deities such as the Queen Mother of the Primordial Pond, Lu Tung-pin together with birthday celebrations of the Buddhist Mahāyāna pantheon. However, cultural activities such as the celebration of the birthdays of the masters, home festivals and martial arts demonstrations are not celebrated within the temple but usually in a Chinese restaurant.

The Earth Deity Practice

There is a considerable difference among the disciples concerning Chinese folk practices, and specifically the Earth Deity practice. It is very common for Chinese households to have a small shrine of the Earth Deity in front of their houses or stores. The duty of the Earth Deity is similar to that of a regional police. - to safeguard the peace of a particular region. According to Chinese beliefs, when an Earth Deity is placed in front of the house He will be the guardian of the house, and prevent wandering ghosts from entering and wreaking havoc.

The Cham Shan Temple respects also this particular ancient Chinese folk practice. There is a small shrine for the Earth Deity in front of the temple, inside the garden in an obscure place underneath the Kuan-yin pavilion. Beside this there is no particular attention to it, and nobody seems to be aware of it. When interviewed by the author only two of the twenty-eight respondents reported having a small shrine for the Earth Deity in their houses.

Inside the Fo Guang Shan in Ottawa, the Earth Deity is completely absent. Moreover, the members of the temple remarked that they started following the tradition in China of having a shrine for Kuan-yin and a small shrine for the Earth Deity in their houses, but after coming to the temple and listening, they realized that the belief in an Earth Deity is a kind of superstitious belief and is essentially non-Buddhist in nature. Therefore, they stopped the practice.

In the True Buddha School, the Earth Deity occupies an important place in the main shrine. It is placed along with the Taoist Golden Mother of Primordial

Pond on the second level of the three layered shrine. This reflects Master Lu's ideas that since the Earth Deity is so close to the human realm and to your home, making him happy and having a place of honour for him in your house or temple would ensure the peace of the place and bring prosperity to the inhabitants. Over eighty percent of the respondents report having a shrine for the Earth Deity at home.

Vegetarianism

Traditional Chinese Buddhists practice vegetarianism based on the Buddhist understanding of non-killing (Skt. *ahimsa*) and having a compassionate mind in not eating meat. Chinese Mahāyāna monks are almost unanimously straight vegetarian. The Cham Shan monastics are vegetarian, and most of their close disciples practice either straight vegetarianism or partial vegetarianism (practising vegetarianism only on certain days of the month). Close to eighty percent of the respondents think it is either very important or important to be a vegetarian. The same is true for the Fo Guang Group, although Master Hsing Yun states that vegetarianism would lead to spiritual wealth because of non-killing but not necessarily to good health. The sangha is strictly vegetarian, and most close disciples are vegetarian. Over ninety percent of the respondents think that it is at least important (if not very important) to be a vegetarian.

The True Buddha School does not practice vegetarianism. According to Lu, rather than being a vegetarian there is a more compassionate way of eating, such as delivering the consciousness of the animal under consumption to a higher realm before the meal. In this way, the more one eats the more animals get liberated

(PLJ Dec 1991:3-4). Therefore, vegetarianism is not important, but saying a deliverance mantra before the meal is. Moreover, according to Master Lu, the True Buddha School is directed towards the global benefit of the people and there are more who are non-vegetarian than vegetarian, and these people need to be taken care of. Many other sects of Theravāda, Tibetan and Japanese Buddhism do not practice vegetarianism. Usually Chinese Buddhism is the only tradition that adheres to vegetarianism. He himself is not a vegetarian and neither is the majority of the sangha. When asked by the author, “Do you think vegetarianism is important to Buddhism?”, close to 80% of the respondents reported “not important” or “not at all important”.

Summary of Findings

In conclusion, the three temples illustrate the most successful strands of the modern globalization of Chinese Buddhism in the world and in Canada. The temples are not merely devices organized by the new immigrants to adapt to the local situation in Canada. Rather, they represent transnational movements within Chinese Buddhism conceptualized to ensure the survival of Chinese Buddhism and eventually its global migration. These temples can be seen as different orientations to the global influence through the social and historical developments in modern China, in particular China’s encounter with western ideologies and Christianity starting from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This coincides with what Roland Robertson describes as the Incipient Phase of the globalization effect due to heightened global communication. Chinese Buddhism

encountered modernity and confronted hostile ideologies like Marxism and positivistic science which stripped it of its traditional authority as the guardian of the spiritual realms. What followed is what Niklas Luhmann describes as the global emergence of functional subsystems in modern society which religious institutions have to follow (Beyer 1994:15-41). Furthermore, Chinese Buddhism was challenged by the increasing appearance of Christian missionaries and the Christian organizational model (especially the Christian attachment to other subsystems such as health care and education). This engaged form of Christianity provoked changes in Buddhism both directly and indirectly by influencing the modern development of the sangha. Furthermore, owing to the sangha tradition that anybody who had aspirations could take up the robe, the sangha was open to abuse. As a result, the majority of the clergy joined the order due to selfish reasons rather than for the true motive of spreading the Dharma. By the nineteenth century the majority of the temples had fallen into mismanagement and some even gross corruption earning the contempt and mistrust of the Chinese public. There was an urgent need for the sangha to change in order to liberate itself from the contempt of the public.

Yang Wen-hui and eventually his student T'ai-hsü were major influences in the modern transformation of Chinese Buddhism. Yang's travel to Europe and his admiration for the development of science and technologies there led to his conviction that, even though China was not as technologically advanced as the modern west, at least, Buddhism has a two thousand years old history, and therefore, in this regard, China had something to offer to humanity.

Yang's conceptualization of the global development of Chinese Buddhism was further carried out by his student T'ai-hsü. T'ai-hsü's vision of a systematically educated sangha, a centralized controlled organization for training and dispatchment of missionaries overseas, and involvement of the laity in the spreading of the Dharma had an important influence in the modern development of Chinese Buddhism. The Cham Shan and the Fo Guang Shan Temples are, to various degrees, influenced by this modern development which also contributes to their success in the global arena. The True Buddha School can be seen as filling a need of the Chinese mind which historically has been influenced by Taoism and many practices such as feng shui, geomancy, and divination, are intertwined within the Chinese culture. The modern purified form of Buddhism advocated by T'ai-hsü is based on a renewal in the study of the sūtras as exemplified by the Cham Shan and the Fo Guang Shan temples. It is also based on T'ai-hsü's de-emphasis on the traditional rituals, particularly the Taoist practices as exemplified by the Fo Guang Shan. This leaves a gap open for the kind of Chinese that welcome a faith based on direct religious experiences and an incorporation of Taoism into their practice. The result is the emergence and flourishing of the True Buddha School.

The open practice of religious Taoism within the TBS and an emphasis on direct religious experience is controversial within the sangha, leading to questions of the authenticity of the school. Many unfamiliar with Tibetan Buddhism find Master Lu's invention of the True Buddha Sūtra and proclamation of himself as a Living Buddha abhorrent. The emphasis on the Earth Deity Practice and non-vegetarianism are also a constant source of irritation to other groups. The practice

of the school can be seen as a form of new religious movement directly influenced by the globalizing effect in the world as it rapidly becomes a single community due to heightened communication and migration. Many of the group's practices can be viewed as the Chinese mind's response to the global influence as well as a resistance to change. Examples of this are the incorporation of Tibetan practices due to the global migration of Tibetan Buddhism, as well as Master Lu's exposure to other Buddhists who do not practice vegetarianism. The practice of Taoism can be viewed as the part of Chinese culture within the Chinese mind that resists outside influence. This resonates with Roland Robertson's term "the interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of the universalism" (Robertson 1992:100) in today's globalization process. According to Robertson, in modernity, particular cultures are differentially influenced by the global culture due to the fact that some parts of the particular culture are always resistant to outside pressure to change. Moreover, during the globalization process it is not one culture that influences the other culture, the global and the particular cultures simultaneously influence one other.

The True Buddha School can be seen as a peculiar form of Chinese Buddhism. It includes a syncretic mix of various practices and, like the historical development of Japanese religiosity, it returns to the global arena as a particular innovation of the Chinese mind. Moreover, the success of the group could be attributed to its emphasis on direct religious experience rather than doctrinal understanding. Many members of the group reported that they had significant religious experiences on their own or in relationship with Master Lu. This in turn,

confirms the sacredness and authenticity of their practice, strengthens their faith and supports them in their spiritual quest even in the face of outside opposition from the dominant group. This coincides with what Laughlin (1992) advocates, that knowledge gained through direct religious experiences and it goes deeper than knowledge without first hand experience, and in turn grounds the faith within a particular tradition.

Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism is historically influenced by the T'ien-t'ai Sect which adopted the doctrinal understanding of the organization of the sūtras by Chih-i of the sixth century. This means that they recognize both the Theravāda and the Mahāyāna Sūtras to be the words of the Buddha, though the Mahāyāna doctrine is incorporated as a higher teaching. Unlike the two other temples which are a type of reformed Buddhism but still very much within the framework of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, the TBS as a form of new religious movement does not accept this scheme as worked out by Chih-i, but rather, views the Mahāyāna sūtras and the later (Tibetan teachings which flourished after the tenth century) to be of equal importance. This ability to adopt aspects of Tibetan Buddhism can be viewed as a result of the process of globalization and the easy availability of Tibetan teachings. The True Buddha school finds this vehicle of Buddhism, (and particularly their visualization practices such as the Guru Yoga), a welcome addition to the overall understanding of Buddhism and a spiritual life. However, due to the global expansion of the school, the school has also come to realize some of the important elements for the global migration of Buddhism as worked out by T'ai-hsü over half a century ago. These are, the importance of gaining universal

recognition (such as Master Lu having his credentials recognized by the Tibetan lamas), a systematically educated sangha and a centralized organization.

CONCLUSION

This thesis contributes to a modern social anthropological understanding of the globalization process and its influence on the spiritual and religious life of communities. Focussing on Chinese immigrants and the establishment of three major Chinese temples in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal, this study illustrates that these temples, in effect, are not merely small establishments organized by immigrants to adapt to a Canadian life, but rather are transnational movements that cater to the needs of the modern society and the global migration of Buddhism. The modern development of the temples is not a random event, but a thoroughly conceived vision of Chinese Buddhists, in particular, the vision of T'ai-hsü in the 1930s and his mentor Yang Wen-hui. This modern development of Chinese Buddhism was a direct response to the challenge posed by Christianity and the emergence of other alien ideologies in China. Due to this historical process, traditional Buddhist strategies and systemic methods proved to be no longer valid. Essentially, the traditional authority assumed by religion was challenged. Religious traditions no longer enjoyed the patronage of the state, nor the unquestionable adherence of the disciples who came under the influence of competing ideologies. As a result, religious identity had to be increasingly negotiated in light of unfolding global events. This "give and take" led to major systemic changes in modern Chinese Buddhism and is reflected in the reconstruction of the three temples under investigation.

The thesis also contributes to an anthropological understanding of immigrant resettlement strategies in Canada. We have seen clear evidence that the various temples are providing social and psychological support to Chinese immigrants. The various teachings of the temple help to ameliorate the feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, dispositions that an immigrant in a foreign country may potentially be confronted with. In place of despair and confusion that may affect the majority of new immigrants, the temples offer a sense of hope among the immigrants; a hope that things will improve. For example, immigrants can improve their lot through various kinds of charitable and moral deeds linked to their understanding of the karmic law of Cause and Effect. It is taught that every action produces a reaction of the same force; what you sow, you reap. This understanding produces a more responsible personality, for it encourages people to accept all the circumstances in their lives and offers ways to improve them. Finally, the temples, whether as recreations of traditional Chinese temples or as cultural carriers, provide the immigrants with a sense of connection with life in Hong Kong, Taiwan and China. The feeling of loneliness is significantly reduced when the immigrants coming to the temples make contact with other Chinese who share the same ideals and values. Moreover, major transnational movements like the Fo Guang Shan, the True Buddha School, and to some degree the Cham Shan Group, give the disciples a continuing window on their homeland and other parts of the world and allow like-minded people to communicate with each other through various forms of media (i.e. magazines, television, and even pilgrimages). As their sense of becoming local citizens of Canada grows, Chinese immigrants can and at

the same time enjoy the sense of being participants in a global Chinese world. This double sense of identity is very strong among group members.

My findings also show that even though these temples are very successful among Chinese immigrants, they are not very successful when it comes to the original vision of Yang Wen-hui and T'ai-hsü of spreading the Dharma to the non-Chinese population. Most of the establishments have almost one hundred percent Chinese attendance; even the massive Cham Shan complex has only a handful of non-Chinese members, probably because of language and cultural barriers. McLellan's research among the Asian Buddhists reported similar findings. Jews and Christians who convert to a different religious system experience many difficulties, and have to go through personal struggles and reconciliation in order to adapt to an alien religious context (McLellan 1993:345). Yet, as a consequence of their struggles, these Caucasian followers come to know more about the religion than most of their Asian counterparts. Chinese Buddhism seems to be particularly lagging behind other sects of Buddhism in reaching non-Chinese followers. Both the Theravāda and the Tibetan traditions of Buddhism have already established parallel congregations in Canada due to the availability of teachers who can speak English and at the same time are able to convey the Dharma eloquently to the non-Asian followers. This does not seem to be happening among the Chinese temples even though the Fo Guang Group holds the ideal of having a cadre of teachers who can understand the Caucasian culture and be able to expound the subtleties of the Chinese Dharma. It will be interesting to see if the second generation Chinese in Canada will take up this mission more effectively. Master Wu-te of

Cheng-chüeh Temple does not see many second generation Chinese in Canada joining the sangha, a condition which he attributes to society's emphasis on economic power. It will be important to see if enough lay practitioners are able to take up the mission in spite of a busy lay life and the difficulty of learning the Buddhist Dharma due to its complex historical development and terminologies, not to mention the prolonged training needed to perform the rituals properly.

In addition, the Theravāda tradition emphasizes an experiential approach and a focus on self-reliance and meditation, while the Tibetan tradition has a huge repertoire of various visualization techniques for mind training. Chinese Buddhism should attract Christians because its emphasis on faith in the saving grace of the Divine seems closer in its doctrine of the Pure Land to that of the Christian concept of the Heavenly Kingdom (Smart 1997:76). It may well be that in the foreseeable future the Caucasians may find within Chinese Buddhism a tradition that chimes in with their own beliefs. At the same time, both the Theravāda and Tibetan approaches offer Caucasians something that Christianity, and by inference, Chinese Buddhism, fail to offer - techniques leading to direct spiritual experiences and alternative states of consciousness. Clearly, more research needs to be undertaken in order to compare Christianity and Buddhism. This would facilitate mutual respect and understanding, and a potential symbiosis.

In a global village where people of different religious and ethnic backgrounds come together, differences in practices and strategies may become quickly accentuated. Many observers of the various Buddhist traditions have lamented the lack of a unified front and a clearly coherent doctrinal understanding

among the Buddhist teachings. Janet McLellan, who has done a lot of research among Asian Buddhists, has commented on the lack of a unified Buddhist identity even among the practitioners of the Mahāyāna faith within ethnic groups of Vietnamese and Japanese Canadians (McLellan 1993:368-369). In the present research, I have also found that even with the vigorous advocacy by T'ai-hsü of a centralized Buddhist organization and his establishment of the Chinese Buddhist Association in 1947, a unified Chinese Buddhist identity has not thus far been developed. T'ai-hsü himself received very little support for this vision from most of the major head abbots of his time. Moreover, the Chinese Buddhist Association that was organized by the Communists in China in 1953 and again in 1982 was mostly established to carry out state policy. These policies included the rebuilding of the temples and the supervision of the entrance examination of the sangha. The function of this organization, however, was not to eliminate the differences among the various schools. Even though the idea of centralized control was adopted by the Fo Guang Group and later by the True Buddha School in order to better control the global development of their groups, a unified Chinese Buddhist identity and practice never materialized - particularly in Hong Kong and Taiwan where government control of religious affairs was restricted to a minimum. Chinese Buddhism tends instead to develop into different forms due to the different ideologies of the masters, which in turn cater to the needs of different types of Chinese minds. This is synonymous with Robertson's notion that in today's religion there is always the interplay between the universal characteristics of a tradition and its local particulars due to the day-to-day interaction with the global whole and

cultural constraints. This view also finds support in Beyer's thesis that in the modern development of religions, the traditional status quo is being stripped of its authority and different sects have to survive by producing various services that cater to the particular needs of local communities, just like any other social subsystem (1998a, 1998b). Such systemic changes, quite naturally, will encourage the development of myriad forms of traditions -- as has indeed happened in the global arena. Therefore, in the foreseeable future I do not anticipate the development of a unified Chinese Buddhist identity; such a development may be neither desirable or necessary given the intrinsic differences among individuals, and the different conditions faced by individual communities. Nor is this variation among Buddhist groups out of step with traditional Buddhist views. According to Chinese Buddhism, the Buddhas have developed 84,000 Dharma gates and more gates are to be continuously developed due to the dynamic nature of the human mind and the needs and yearnings of individuals at different levels of evolution and understanding, living in different social circumstances.

For the Buddhist believers, the important task facing such differences in a global village is not to condemn each other's practices, as this would lead to an overwhelming sense of conflict and struggle. Rather, to see their unity through their diversity. Within Buddhism, despite the myriad forms of various traditions, the Dharma carries within itself an underlying unity in its basic teachings: that at the heart of human suffering is greed, hatred and confusion. It may turn out that Chinese Buddhists are contributing to the global arena by shedding light on this basic human condition of violence and aggression that causes so much suffering to

self and others. Moreover, Chinese Buddhism offers the world the Chinese understanding of Buddhism based upon a two thousand year history of direct practice of Mahāyāna Buddhism in China. This is especially important for the Chinese Buddhists because Buddhism ceased to be a living tradition in its original home of India after the tenth century and has only been revitalized relatively recently due to Buddhism's international fame.

In conclusion, the three aforementioned groups give clear evidence that underneath the universal sacred canopy of Chinese Buddhism, each temple is differently established due to the differences of the ideologies of their founders. These ideologies were in turn affected by the social and political circumstances in modernity. More research, however, is clearly required because these groups may be considered as either survivors of the modern catastrophe of Buddhism in China, or as new religious movements. Their long term success or failure needs to be closely monitored in order to give us a much needed longitudinal understanding of the dynamic interplay between local conditions facing communities and the overarching development of the global village.

Finally, the present research contributes to the understanding of globalization and its effect on religion. Using Chinese Buddhism as a focus, the research has shown that within Buddhism there is a tendency to develop into mutually distinguishable religious denominations. Furthermore, as the world is rapidly becoming a single community due to heightened communication, some would argue that there are already signs of a development of a homogeneous religion blending different traditions, or a transcendental unity of all religions,

particularly between Buddhism and Christianity (Smart 1997:80). Drawing on the data derived from this research, I would argue that a homogeneous religion would be controversial, due to the intrinsic differences and unique qualities of each and every individual participant. Cultural transformation is inevitable as different ideologies encounter and challenge each other in the global arena. It may well be that diversity within totality is the healthiest condition for religious sects as they struggle to answer the needs of people who must daily confront both their local conditions and the forces of globalization.

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE

CHINESE BUDDHISTS IN CANADA: REDEFINITION IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL MIGRATION

The following contains some statements and questions about the construction of ethnic identity of Chinese Buddhists in Canada in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal. They represent statements for which there are no right or wrong answers. All questionnaires are strictly confidential and you do not need to sign your name on it. You will be requested, however, to sign a waiver statement, which allows the researcher to use the data in future projects. Please answer all questions and return to Tannie Liu. I thank you very much for your time.

SECTION I: COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

1. Where were you born?

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| a. Hong Kong | b. Taiwan | c. P.R. China |
| d. Singapore | e. Indonesia | f. Vietnam |
| *g. Canada | h. Other _____ | |

*If you were born in Canada please go to the next section.

2. In what area did you spend much of your life before coming to Canada?

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| a. Same as above | b. Other _____ |
|------------------|----------------|

3. Reasons for coming to Canada

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| a. Political | b. Economic | c. Family Reunification |
| d. Hong Kong change-over to China | e. Study | |
| f. Other _____ | | |

4. How long have you been in Canada? _____

5. Have you been back to your country of origin since your arrival?

- | | | | |
|---------|----------|---------------|-------|
| a. Once | b. Twice | c. Many times | d. No |
|---------|----------|---------------|-------|

6. What is your status in Canada?

- | | | |
|------------|--------------|----------------|
| a. Citizen | b. Immigrant | c. Refugee |
| d. Visitor | e. Student | f. Other _____ |

SECTION II: LANGUAGE USE

7. Do you speak Chinese?
a. Yes b. No.
8. If yes to the above question.
a. Mandarin b. Cantonese c. Other _____
9. How important it is for you to maintain your Chinese dialect?
a. Very important b. Important c. Somewhat important
d. Not very important e. Not at all important
10. Do you speak and understand English?
a. Near native fluency b. Very well c. Well
d. With difficulty e. Not at all
11. Do you feel a need to improve your English?
a. Yes b. No

SECTION III: CHINESE HERITAGE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

12. How important is it for you to maintain the Chinese cultural heritage?
 - a. Very important
 - b. Important
 - c. Somewhat important
 - d. Not very important
 - e. Not at all important
13. Do you celebrate the Chinese New Year?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
14. Is the Ching Ming Festival important to you?
 - a. Very important
 - b. Important
 - c. Somewhat important
 - d. Not very important
 - e. Not at all important
15. Do you celebrate the Yu Lan festival?
 - a. No
 - b. Yes. If yes, where do you celebrate it?

16. Which of the following best describe you?
- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| a. Chinese-Canadian | b. Canadian-Chinese |
| c. Canadian | d. Chinese |
| | e. Other |

17. Where would you like to live five years from now?
a. Canada b. Home Country c. United States
d. Other _____

SECTION IV: COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

18. Does the temple provide a community where you can
a. meet other Chinese people?
b. practice Buddhism with other Chinese?
c. speak Chinese?
d. eat Chinese food?
e. enjoy Chinese culture and activity?
f. All of the above?
g. Other _____?
19. Which of the following do you practice?
a. Qi Gong b. Tai Chi c. Martial Arts
d. Herbal Medicine e. Chinese painting and/or calligraphy
f. Acupuncture g. Feng Shui h. Other _____
20. Do you support or donate to the temple?
a. Regularly b. Sometimes c. Not at all
21. Do you belong to any Chinese organization and group other than this temple?
a. Yes, specify _____ b. No
22. Do you speak Chinese at work?
a. All the time b. Sometimes c. Rarely
d. Not at all e. Work at home
23. Do you belong to any non-Chinese community or organization?
a. Yes, specify _____ b. No
24. Do you have any close friends who are not of Chinese origin?
a. Many b. A few c. One or two
d. None
25. Do you personally know of any Buddhists who are not of Chinese origin?
a. Many b. A few c. One or two
d. None
26. Is your spouse Chinese?
a. Yes b. No c. Not married

27. Is your spouse or are your children also Buddhist?

- a. Yes b. No

28. If no, is your spouse or are your children Christian?

- a. Yes b. No

SECTION V: RELIGION BUDDHISM

29. What Buddhist sect or tradition do you belong to, if any?

Specify _____

30. How did you become a Buddhist?

- a. I already practised in family b. Through my own initiative
c. Through my friends d. Through my spouse
e. Through my own reading g. Other _____

31. Did some personal event or series of events lead you to go to the temple?

- a. Yes b. No

32. If yes to question 31, what kind of events would they be?

- a. Take refuge in the Head Master
b. Personal illness
c. Death or illness of relatives
d. School problems
e. Relationship difficulties
f. Need to educate your children in the appropriate belief
g. Other _____

33. If the temple were to have enough staff and could afford it financially, do you think it is important to provide:

- a. Sunday school or religious class for the children?
b. Day care for the children?
c. Help to immigrants?
d. Chaplaincy (visit to hospital)?
e. Other (Specify) _____?

34. What do you think are the difficulties facing Chinese people in Canada?

- a. Racial Discrimination b. Loneliness
c. Language barrier d. Cultural Shock
e. Family Problems f. Financial Problems
g. Difficulty to work in previous career
h. Lack of a supportive network for child care
i. Unable to sustain previous standard of living in home country

- j. Unemployment
- k. Others (specify)_____

35. Do you think vegetarianism is important to Buddhism?

- a. Very important b. Important c. Somewhat important
- d. Not very important e. Not at all important

36. How did you come to attend this temple?

- a. Family or friends invited me
- b. I knew of or was a member of the same temple in my home country
- c. Advertising in the local newspapers or posters
- d. Contacted the head temple

37. How often do you go to the temple?

- a. Every day b. 2 or 3 times a week
- c. Once a week d. Once or twice a month
- e. Once or twice a year

38. Which of these needs would you like the temple to satisfy?

- a. Provide meaning and understanding of life and death
- b. Help understand and improve karma
- c. Provide moral guidelines
- d. Healing
- e. Money, financial success (Jobs, scholarships etc.)
- f. Improve relationships
- g. Help understand the nature of suffering
- h. Help live a harmonious life
- i. Help go to the Pure Land
- j. Progress towards or attain Nirvana
- k. All of the above
- l. Others (Specify)_____

39. Which of these needs does the temple satisfy?

- a. Provide meaning and understanding of life and death
- b. Help understand and improve karma
- c. Provide moral guidelines
- d. Healing
- e. Money, financial success (Jobs, scholarships etc)
- f. Improve relationships
- g. Help understand the nature of suffering
- h. Help live a harmonious life
- i. Help go to Pure Land
- j. Progress towards or attain Nirvana
- k. All of the above
- l. Others (Specify)_____

40. Does the temple play an important role in your understanding of Buddhism?
 a. Very important b. Important c. Somewhat important
 d. Not very important e. Not at all
41. Were you a Buddhist before you joined this temple?
 a. Yes b. No
42. Did joining the temple inspire you to become a Buddhist?
 a. Yes b. No. c. Somewhat
43. Is the temple important for helping you get in touch and understand Chinese culture?
 a. Very important b. Important c. Somewhat Important
 d. Not very important e. Not at all.
44. Do you meditate?
 a. Less than an hour a day b. One or two hours a day
 c. Once or twice a week d. Once or twice a month
 e. Not at all f. No
45. What kind of meditation do you practice?
 a. Concentrating on my breath b. Visualization
 c. Concentrating on a mantra d. Other _____
46. Do you read Buddhist scriptures?
 a. Everyday b. Once a week c. Once or twice a month
 d. Not at all
47. Have you taken any precepts?
 a. Yes b. No
48. If yes to the above, what kind of precepts?
 a. Five precepts b. Bodhisattva Vow
 c. Others (Specify) _____
49. Do you worship deities from another religion?
 a. No b. Yes, if yes specify _____.
50. About what do you consult the masters?
 a. Family and personal affairs b. Spiritual affairs
 c. Questions relating to the Dharma d. Other (Specify) _____
51. Did you convert to Buddhism?
 a. Yes b. No

52. If yes, what religion did you use to practice before your conversion?

53. What other religion are you still practising now besides Buddhism?

54. If there were a lot of Caucasians (White People) coming to the temple, how would you feel?
- a. I will be very happy in the spreading of the Dharma even though I cannot speak English
 - b. I try to help them to understand the Dharma
 - c. I would feel uncomfortable
 - d. I would try to stay away from them
 - e. Others (specify)_____

55. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

i. Mystical experiences are a good outcome of the practice of rituals for example prayers and meditation.

- a. Strongly agree b. Agree c. Disagree
- d. Strongly disagree e. Not sure.

ii. Prayers and rituals will bring an answer to your wishes.

- a. Strongly agree b. Agree c. Disagree
- d. Strongly disagree e. Not sure

iii. Life is an infinite round of rebirths.

- a. Strongly agree b. Agree c. Disagree
- d. Strongly disagree e. Not sure

iv. Life is governed by karma.

- a. Strongly agree b. Agree c. Disagree
- d. Strongly disagree e. Not sure

v. Angry deceased spirits will cause disturbance in human life.

- a. Strongly agree b. Agree c. Disagree
- d. Strongly disagree e. Not sure

vi. Precognitive dreams is a fact.

- a. Strongly agree b. Agree c. Disagree
- d. Strongly disagree e. Not sure

56. Have you ever thought of becoming a monk or nun?

- a. Yes b. No

57. If yes to the above, why? If the answer is no, why not?
 a. Yes b. No
58. For what kind of practice do you go to the temple?
 a. Religious ceremony b. Burning Incense
 c. Prayers, group practice d. Meditation
 e. Offering Sacrifice f. Divination
 g. Psychic Reading h. Donations
 i. Volunteer work j. Others (specify)_____
59. Which one of the temple functions did you attend or do you intend to attend?
 a. Trips to other chapters of the temple
 b. Pilgrimage to China, Taiwan, India, United States
 c. Others, please specify_____
 c. Picnics, barbecues, karaokes
 d. Cultural events
60. In which of the following practices do you participate?
 a. Sacrifice to the ancestors b. Prayers to the departed
 c. Palm and face reading d. Psychic reading
 e. Feng Shui f. Burning paper money
 g. Divination h. Astrology
 i. Paying homage to regional local deities in their temples
 j. Paying homage to Earth Deities in your house
 k. None of the above l. Others (specify)_____
61. Have the situations in your life improved ever since you joined this temple?
 a. Yes b. No c. Somewhat
62. Do you find the practice in the temple here different than those in your country of origin?
 a. Very different b. Different c. Somewhat different
 d. Not at all different e. I do not know
63. Do you meet with the people who belong to this temple outside of the temple?
 a. Many b. A few c. One or two
 d. Not at all
64. Do you maintain connections with people belonging to other temples?
 a. In the home country b. In Canada c. In China
 d. In the United States e. Globally f. Other (Specify)_____

65. If you maintain connections with people in other temples what kind of temples are they?
a. Chinese Mahayana b. Tibetan Buddhist
c. Theravadan Buddhist from Sri Lanka, Thailand etc.
d. Others (Specify)_____

66. For me the most important aspect of Buddhism is:

67. For me the most important aspect of this Buddhist centre/temple is:

SECTION VI: OTHER RELIGIONS

68. Have you already visited a Christian church?
a. No b. Once c. Several times d. Never

69. Did you find the Christian community...
a. Friendly b. Unfriendly c. Suspicious
d. Indifferent e. Other_____

70. What reaction did you get from the part of Christian people?
a. They attempted to preach to me.
b. They called me superstitious.
c. They labelled me a Satanist/anti-Christ.
d. They were friends.
e. They wanted to learn about Buddhism.
f. Others (please specify)_____.

71. Are you familiar with Taoism?
a. Yes b. No c. I am learning

72. Do you practice any kind of Taoist ritual?
a. Yes b. No c. If no, would you like to learn?_____

73. Do you find Taoism?
a. Superstitions b. Interesting c. A Mystery
d. An essential part of Chinese culture e. Other_____

74. Are you familiar with the teachings of Confucius?
a. Yes b. No c. I would like to learn

75. Are Confucian teachings an important part of Chinese identity?
- b. Very important
 - b. Important
 - c. Somewhat important
 - d. Not very important
 - e. Not at all important

SECTION VII: GENERAL QUESTIONS

This section contains some general questions about yourself, please remember that all information is strictly confidential

76. Are you?
- a. Male
 - b. Female

77. How old are you?

78. What is your occupation?

For example:

- a. Entrepreneur
- b. Professional (Computer Specialist, Engineer, Banker, Acupuncturist, Herbal Doctor, Nurse)
- c. Teacher (Tai Chi, Martial Arts, Chinese Painting/Calligraphy, High School, Post Secondary)
- d. Sales (Stock Broker, Real Estate Agent, Insurance Sales, Sales Person).
- e. Administrative or Clerical (Secretary, Clerk)
- f. Skilled Labour (Technician, Seamstress, Factory Worker, Waiter/Waitress)
- g. Student
- h. Homemaker
- i. Unemployed
- j. Retired
- k. Other (Specify)_____

79. What is your total family income?

- a. Less than 10,000
- b. 10,000-24,000
- c. 25,000-39,000
- d. 40,000-55,000
- e. 56,000 or over

APPENDIX D

研究題材：以佛教為中心——新移民帶動佛教在加拿大的發展

以下的問卷有關新移民帶動佛教在加拿大發展的問題。這些問題並沒有對或錯。所有問題都是絕對保密，你不需要在問卷上簽名。但你會被要求簽一份授權書，使研究工作者能夠利用現有的資料作為研究用途。請你答覆所有的問題和交回廖倩玲。

第 I 組 原生地

請 ☒ 有關的答案

1 你在何地出生？

- 一. 香港 二. 臺灣 三. 中國大陸 四. 星加坡 五. 印尼
六. 越南 七. 加拿大 八. 其它地方_____

2 來加拿大前你在哪一個地方居住

- 一. 同上 二. 其它_____

3 來加拿大的理由

- 一. 政治 二. 經濟 三. 家庭 四. 香港會歸中國 五. 學業
六. 其他_____

4 你來加拿大多久？_____

5 來加拿大後你回去原居地幾次？

- 一. 一次 二. 二次 三. 很多次 四. 沒有回去

6 你在加拿大身份

- 一. 公民 二. 移民 三. 難民 四. 旅客 五. 學生

第 II 組 語言

7 你能否說中文？

- 一. 能夠 二. 不能

8 你若能夠說中文，用何種語言？

- 一. 國語 二. 廣東話 三. 其他_____

9 用自己的中國方言對你重要嗎？

- 一. 非常重要 二. 重要 三. 有點重要 四. 不重要
五. 完全不重要

10 你的英語程度？

- 一. 接近土生 二. 非常好 三. 過得去 四. 有困難
五. 完全不會英語

11 你有沒有需要改善英語?

- 一. 有 二. 沒有

第III組 中國傳統和中國民族意識

12 你認為保持中國文化傳統重要嗎?

- 一. 非常重要 二. 重要 三. 有點重要 四. 不重要
五. 完全不重要

13 你有沒有慶祝中國曆新年?

- 一. 有 二. 沒有

14 清明節重要嗎?

- 一. 非常重要 二. 重要 三. 有點重要 四. 不重要
五. 完全不重要

15 你有沒有參加盂蘭節?

- 一. 有 二. 沒有 三. 若有在何處?_____

16 你通常認為自己是

- 一. 中國籍加拿大人 二. 加拿大籍中國人 三. 加拿大人
四. 中國人 五. 其它_____

17 未來五年你喜歡居住何處?

- 一. 加拿大 二. 原居地 三. 美國 四. 其它_____

第IV組 團體生活

18 這間佛堂使你能夠(請✓所有有關答案)

- 一. 認識其它中國人
二. 和其它中國人一起學佛
三. 講中文
四. 食中國食物
五. 欣賞中國文化活動
六. 以上所有
七. 其它_____

19 你有否練習或使用以下各種:

- 一. 氣功 二. 太極 三. 工夫 四. 草藥 五. 中國畫或書法
六. 針灸 七. 風水 八. 其他_____

20 你有沒有以金錢供養佛堂?

- 一. 每月定期 二. 有時 三. 沒有

21 你有沒有參加其它中國人的組織和機構?

- 一. 有, 請列明_____ 二. 沒有

22 你有沒有在你的工作地方說中文?

- 一. 時常 二. 有時 三. 很少 四. 完全沒有 五. 我在家工作

23 你有沒有屬於非華人社團?

- 一. 有, 請列明_____ 二. 沒有

24 你有沒有非華裔好朋友?

- 一. 很多 二. 幾個 三. 一, 二個 四. 完全沒有

25 你有沒有認識其他非華裔佛教徒?

- 一. 很多 二. 幾個 三. 一, 二個 四. 完全沒有

26 你的配偶是否中國人?

- 一. 是 二. 否 三. 未結婚

27 你的配偶或孩子是否佛教徒?

- 一. 是 二. 否

28 你的配偶或孩子是否基督教?

- 一. 是 二. 否

第V組 佛教

29 你皈依哪一個宗派或屬於哪一佛堂? 請列明_____

30 你怎樣成為佛教徒?

- 一. 家中傳統 二. 自己意思 三. 配偶影響 四. 自修
五. 其他_____

31 有沒有以下任何際遇使你成為佛教徒?

- 一. 有 二. 沒有

32 如果有的話, 因何際遇?

- 一. 皈依某一法師
二. 個人疾病
三. 家屬生病或死亡
四. 學業問題
五. 人際關係不和諧
六. 子女得到正信
七. 沒有
八. 其它_____

33 如果佛堂有足夠人手及經濟許可，你認為哪一項服務是重要的：

- 一. 兒童星期日研經班
- 二. 日托服務
- 三. 移民支援
- 四. 各類探訪如醫院
- 五. 其它, 請列明_____

34 你認為居加華人有何難處？

- 一. 種族歧視
- 二. 寂寞
- 三. 言語不通
- 四. 不習慣風土文化
- 五. 家庭問題
- 六. 經濟問題
- 七. 不能做回從前工作
- 八. 沒有家庭成員幫手照顧小孩
- 九. 不能維持原居地生活水平
- 十. 失業
- 十一. 其它_____

35 你認為素食對佛教是否重要？

- 一. 非常重要 二. 重要 三. 有點重要 四. 不甚重要
- 五. 完全不重要

36 你怎樣知道有這一間佛堂

- 一. 家人或朋友介紹
- 二. 在原居住地已屬於這宗教
- 三. 新聞報紙, 海報
- 四. 聯絡總堂

37 你每星期上幾次佛堂？

- 一. 每天 二. 每星期 2, 3 次 三. 每星期一次 四. 每月一, 二次
- 五. 每年一, 二次

38 你希望佛堂使你

- 一. 明白生死的道理
- 二. 明白因果, 增加福緣
- 三. 明白道德的標準如以慈悲為懷
- 四. 疾病痊愈
- 五. 經濟好轉(有工作, 獎學金)
- 六. 改善人際關係
- 七. 明白痛苦的根源
- 八. 促進和諧生活
- 九. 往生極樂

- 十. 得到涅槃
十一. 以上所有
十二. 其它_____

39 你認為佛堂滿足你哪幾項要求？

- 一. 明白生死的道理
二. 明白因果, 增加福緣
三. 明白道德的標準如以慈悲為懷
四. 疾病痊愈
五. 經濟好轉(有工作, 獎學金)
六. 改善人際關係
七. 明白痛苦的根源
八. 促進和諧生活
九. 往生極樂
十. 得到涅槃
十一. 以上所有
十二. 其它_____

40 佛堂對你學佛的重要性？

- 一. 非常重要 二. 重要 三. 有點重要 四. 不甚重要 五. 完全不重要

41 參加這佛堂前你是否為佛教徒？

- 一. 是 二. 否

42 你是否因為加入佛堂而成為佛教徒？

- 一. 是 二. 否 三. 有點

43 佛堂對你加深中國文化的認識？

- 一. 非常重要 二. 重要 三. 有點重要 四. 不甚重要 五. 不重要

44 你有沒有靜坐？

- 一. 每日少過一小時 二. 每日一至二小時 三. 每星期一至二次
四. 每月一至二次 五. 幾乎沒有 六. 沒有

45 你學習何種靜坐？

- 一. 數息 二. 觀想 三. 念咒

46 你有沒有看或念佛經？

- 一. 每日 二. 一星期一次 三. 每月一至二次 四. 沒有

47 你有沒有受戒？

- 一. 有 二. 沒有

48 受的是什麼戒？

- 一. 五戒 二. 菩薩戒 三. 其它_____

49 你有沒有供奉其他宗教神像？

一. 有 二. 沒有 三. 如果有請說明_____

50 你問法師們怎麼問題？

一. 佛學問題 二. 私人問題 三. 靈修問題 四. 其它_____

51 你是否改信佛教？

一. 有 二. 沒有

52 若答案 51 是有, 那信佛教前是什麼宗教？

53 你現在還有沒有修其他宗教？

一. 有, 請列明_____ 二. 沒有

54 如果有很多白人參加這佛堂

- 一. 我雖然不懂英語但很高興能宣揚佛法給外國人
- 二. 我會幫助他們明白佛理
- 三. 我感到不自然
- 四. 我盡量避開他們
- 五. 其他, 請列明_____

55 你同意不同意以下的項目？

i) 感應是修法如靜坐, 念經咒的良好反應

一. 非常同意 二. 同意 三. 不同意 四. 非常不同意 五. 不肯定

ii) 念經和修法使你得到要求

一. 非常同意 二. 同意 三. 不同意 四. 非常不同意 五. 不肯定

iii) 人生是生死輪回流轉不息

一. 非常同意 二. 同意 三. 不同意 四. 非常不同意 五. 不肯定

iv) 因果緣份是支配著生命的

一. 非常同意 二. 同意 三. 不同意 四. 非常不同意 五. 不肯定

v) 冤鬼是會作遂的

一. 非常同意 二. 同意 三. 不同意 四. 非常不同意 五. 不肯定

vi) 夢示是非常真實的

一. 非常同意 二. 同意 三. 不同意 四. 非常不同意 五. 不肯定

56 你有沒有想出家？

一. 有 二. 沒有

57 有是為什麼？沒有又為什麼？

58 你上佛堂參加何種活動？

- | | | |
|-------|--------|------------|
| 一. 法會 | 五. 許願 | 九. 義工 |
| 二. 上香 | 六. 求籤 | 十. 其他_____ |
| 三. 同修 | 七. 問事 | |
| 四. 靜坐 | 八. 供佛堂 | |

59 有意參加佛堂舉辦的何種活動

- 一. 參觀其他地方的同一宗派的佛堂
- 二. 往大陸, 臺灣, 美國, 印度拜訪師傅或朝聖地. 請列明何地方_____
- 三. 野餐燒烤, 卡拉 OK
- 四. 文化活動

60 你有沒有參加以下的項目

- | | | |
|------------|--------|-------------|
| 一. 供先人 | 五. 風水 | 九. 往廟拜土地 |
| 二. 念經迂向給先人 | 六. 燒金紙 | 十. 家中供奉土地 |
| 三. 掌相 | 七. 求籤 | 十一. 完全沒有 |
| 四. 問事 | 八. 星相 | 十二. 其他_____ |

61 參加佛堂之後生活有沒有改善？

- 一. 有
- 二. 沒有
- 三. 有點

62 你認為加拿大和原居地的佛堂有沒有分別？

- 一. 非常不同
- 二. 不同
- 三. 有點不同
- 四. 沒有不同
- 五. 不知道

63 在佛堂之外你有沒有聯絡佛堂中人？

- 一. 很多
- 二. 幾個
- 三. 一, 二個
- 四. 沒有

64 你有沒有和其他佛堂的人聯絡, 他們在

- 一. 原居地
- 二. 加拿大
- 三. 中國大陸
- 四. 美國
- 五. 全世界
- 六. 其他, 請列明何地方_____

65 如你和其他佛堂聯絡, 他們是

- 一. 中國大陸佛教
- 二. 西藏密教
- 三. 原始佛教, 如斯利蘭加, 泰國等地
- 四. 其他_____

66 對我來講佛教最重要的教法是:

67 對我來講這佛堂的最重要特式是:

第VI組 其它宗教

68 你有沒有去過基督堂?

- 一. 沒有 二. 一次 三. 許多次 四. 時常

69 你認為基督徒

- 一. 非常友善 二. 非常不友善 三. 懷疑佛教徒 四. 沒有反應
五. 其他_____

70 以往基督徒對你是佛教徒的反應

- 一. 他們嘗試傳道給我
二. 他們說我迷信
三. 他們認為我是魔鬼門徒
四. 他們非常友善
五. 他們想認識佛教
六. 其他_____

71 你對佛教有認識嗎?

- 一. 有 二. 沒有 三. 想學

72 你有沒有修道法?

- 一. 有 二. 沒有 三. 如果沒有你想不想學

73 你認為道教

- 一. 道人迷信 二. 有興趣 三. 很神秘 四. 重要中國文化傳統之一
五. 其他_____

74 你對孔教有認識嗎?

- 一. 有 二. 沒有 三. 希望學習

75 孔教對中國文化傳統重要嗎?

- 一. 非常重要 二. 重要 三. 有點重要 四. 不重要 五. 完全不重要

第VII組

以下是一些個人資料. 資料只作參考用途, 絕對保密

1. 你是

- 一. 男 二. 女

2. 你今年多少歲? _____

3. 你是何種職業, 請選擇有關項目:

例如

- 一. 商人

- 二. 專業人士 (電腦工程師, 工程師, 銀行經理, 針灸師, 中醫師, 護士)
- 三. 教師 (太極拳, 中國字畫, 中學教師, 大學教授)
- 四. 推銷 (股票經紀, 地產經紀, 保險經紀, 推銷員)
- 五. 行政管理 (秘書, 文員)
- 六. 投工 (投工, 車衣, 工廠, 仕應生)
- 七. 學生
- 八. 主婦
- 九. 其他 _____

4 你家庭收入年薪

- 一. 低於 10,000 二. 10,000-24,999 三. 25,000-39,999
- 四. 40,000-55,999 五. 56,000 以上

APPENDIX E

THE MASTER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How long have you been a monk/nun?
2. How long have you joined this monastic order?
3. What school do you belong to?
4. Where is your country of origin?
5. Where do you get your vocational religious training?
6. How long have you been in Canada?
7. Are you satisfied with your work here in Canada? Do you think there are any areas that need improvements?
8. Do you belong to any Buddhist organization in Canada besides this temple?
9. What in your opinion are the most important qualifications of being a monks or a monk or nun?
10. Why did you decide to join the monastic order?
11. In your opinion what kind of problems are faced by Chinese people adapting to life in Canada?
12. Is your temple affiliated with other temples in Hong Kong, Taiwan, P.R.China, Canada, United States?
13. Does Buddhist teaching help the Chinese immigrant community and to what extent?
14. What kind of service do lay people want?
15. What do you think is the major difficulty in the spreading of the Dharma in Canada?
16. What do you think is the most important aspect of Buddhism?
17. What do you think is the most important characteristics of this temple?

18. If the temple were to have enough staff and could afford it what do you think is the most important service to add to the existing facility?
19. Do you think it is important to have a variety of Chinese temples in the city?
20. How old are you?

APPENDIX F

法師問卷

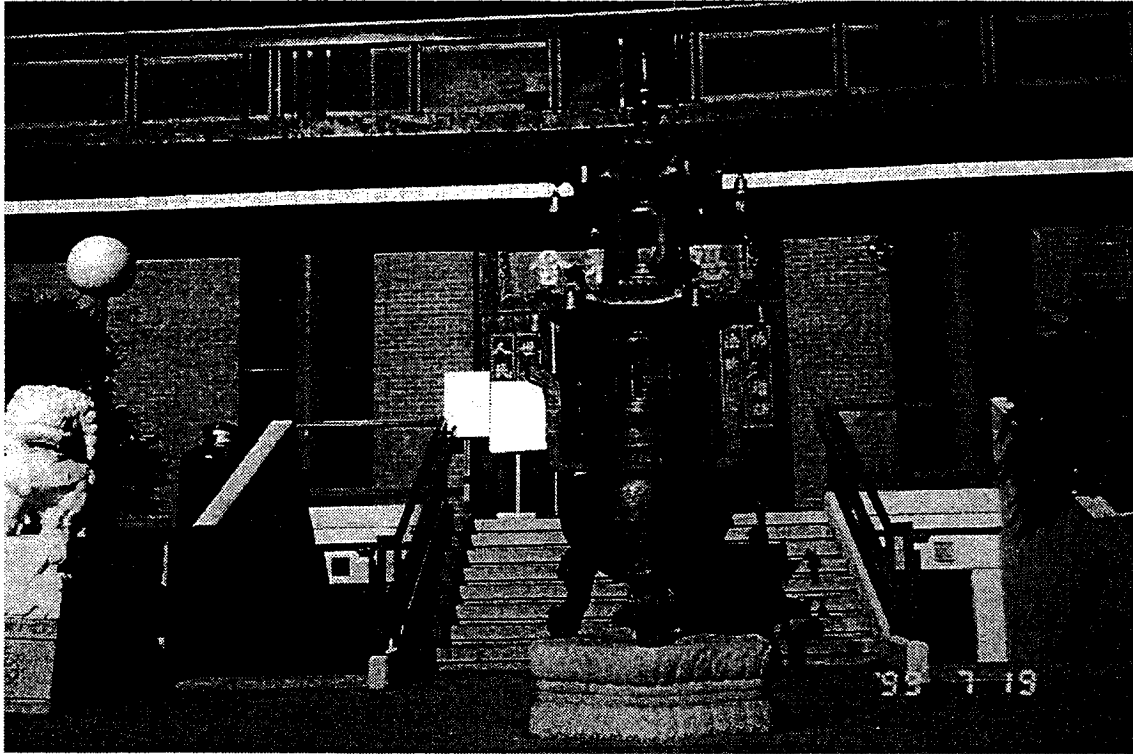
1. 出家多久?
2. 你加入這一間寺多久?
3. 你是什麼宗派?
4. 你原居何處?
5. 你在哪裏學得佛教的知識?
6. 你在加拿大多久?
7. 你認為現在在加拿大的工作滿意否?有否需要改善?
8. 除了這一間寺有沒有屬於任何佛教團體?
9. 你認為作為一個出家人需要具備哪一些重要條件?
10. 你為什麼出家?
11. 在你的心目中居加華人有何難處?
12. 你的佛堂有否和其他佛堂聯絡?
13. 佛堂怎樣幫助中國移民渡過過渡期?
14. 在家居士通常需求什麼?如請教佛學,私人問題
15. 你認為加拿大弘法最困難的是什麼?
16. 佛教最重要的特式是什麼?
17. 這一間佛堂最重要的特式是什麼?
18. 如果佛堂有能力的話你認為需要哪幾類服務?
19. 你認為有沒有需要不同形式的佛堂?
20. 你今年幾歲?

ILLUSTRATION NO. 1



Nam Shan Temple, the earliest Chinese temple established by the Cham Shan Masters, Sing Hung and Shing Cheung, on 100 Southill Drive, Toronto, Ontario in 1968. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, July 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 2



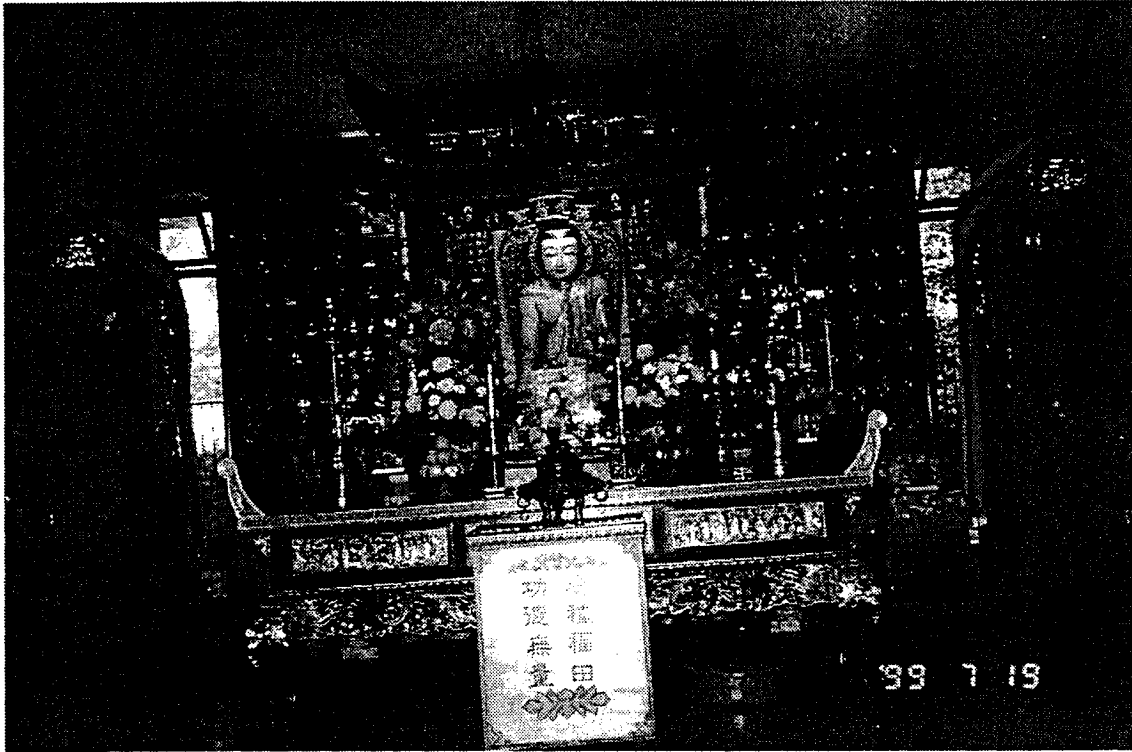
The Cham Shan Temple, established in 1978 at 1254 Bayview Avenue, Thornhill, Ontario. Frontview. A huge incense burner set on top of the lotus throne and two stone lions on each side guard the entrance. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, July 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 3



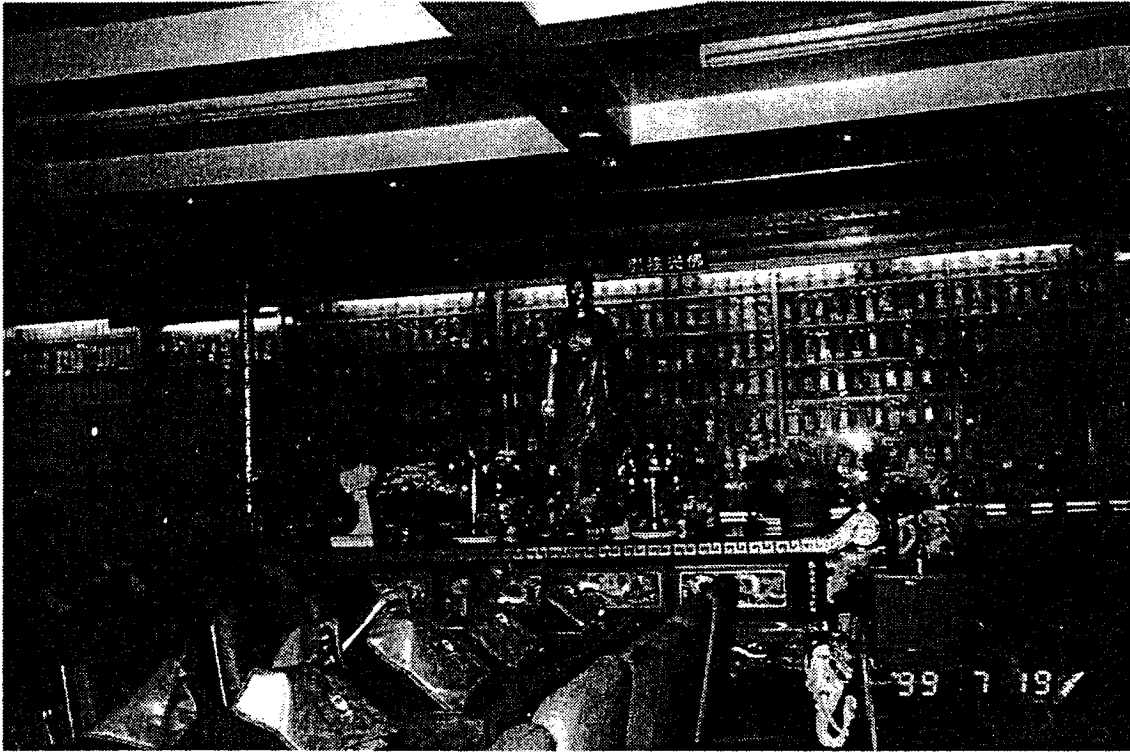
Kuan-yin Pavillion, in the garden of the Cham Shan Temple with a small statue of Mahabrahma underneath.
(Photo taken by Tannie Liu, July 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 4



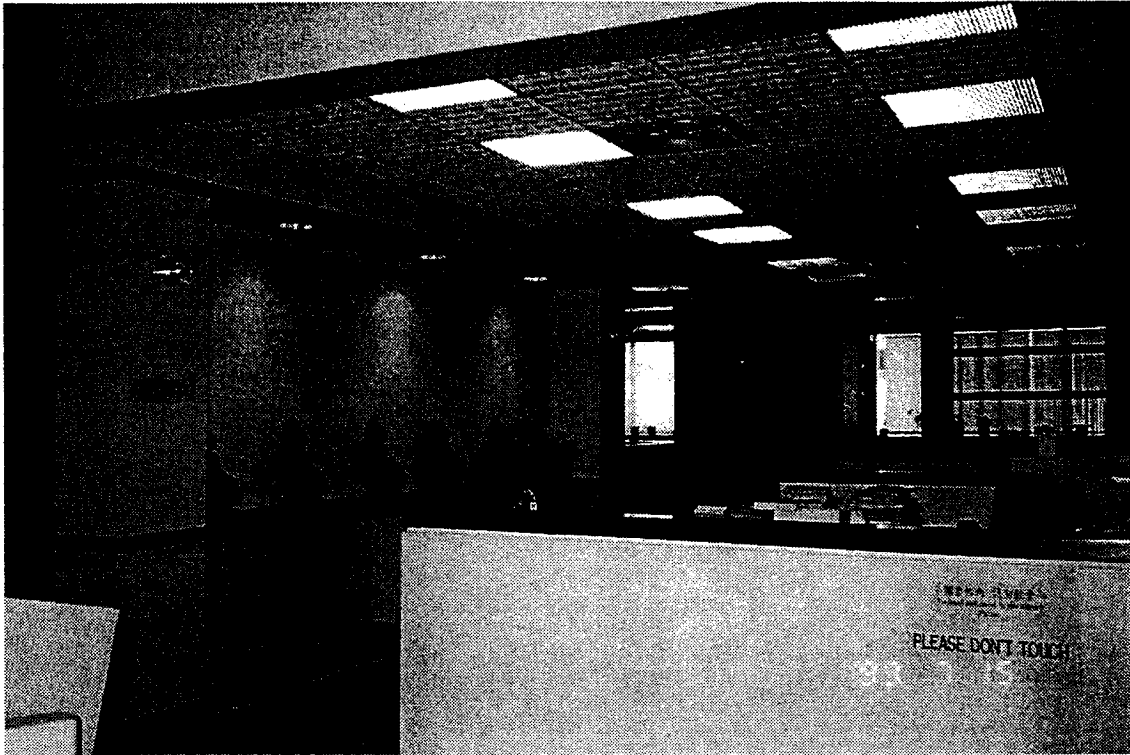
Cham Shan Temple Main Shrine, following the tradition of Chinese Temples with Buddha Śākyamuni in the middle, Medicine Buddha to the left, and Buddha Amitābha to the right. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, July 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 5



The Ti-t'sang Hall in the Cham Shan Temple in Toronto, Ontario. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, July 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 6



Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery and Library, at 1224 Lawrence Avenue West, North York, Ontario, in a very modern-looking complex that houses a library as well as many Buddhist statues and art from all Buddhist traditions. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, July 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 7



Buddha's Light International Association, Ottawa Chapter, at 886 Somerset Street, established in 1996, Ottawa, Ontario. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, March 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 8



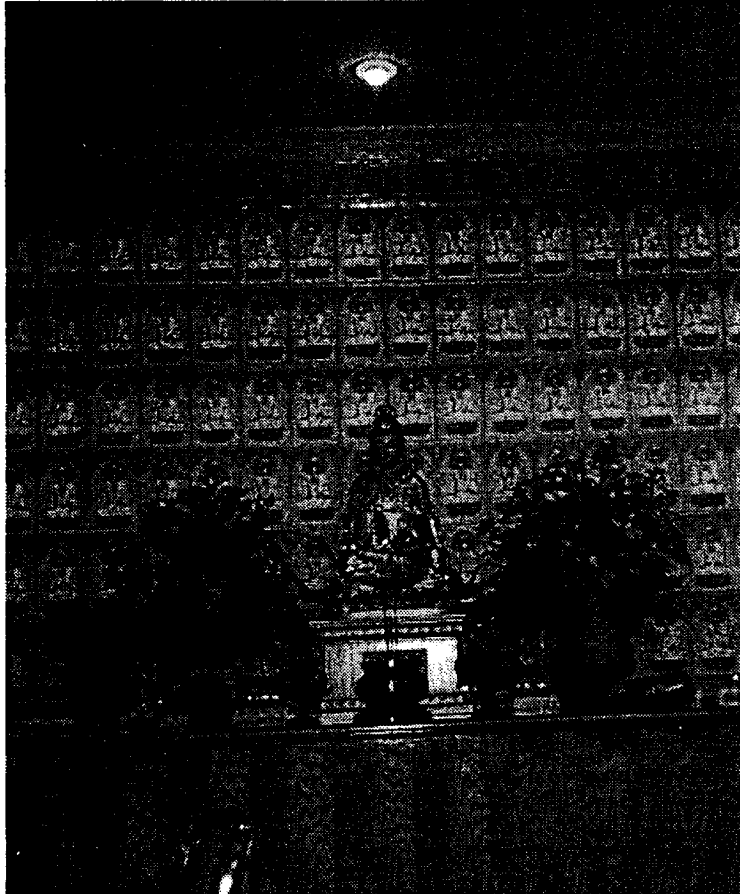
Fo Guang Shan, Ottawa Temple at 1950 Scott Street, Ottawa, Ontario. Founded in 2000. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, May 2000).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 9



Main Shrine of the Fo Guang Shan, in Ottawa with Buddha Śākyamuni in the middle, Buddha Amitābha to the left, and the Medicine Buddha to the right. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, May 2000).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 10



Kuan-yin Shrine, Fo Guang Shan in Ottawa.
(Photo taken by Tannie Liu, May 2000).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 11



Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple, at 125 Rue Charlotte, Montreal, Quebec. Main shrine with Master Lu venerated as a Deity clad in a white scarf with a host of Tibetan and Taoist icons in a three-tiered altar. Established in 1993. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, August 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 12



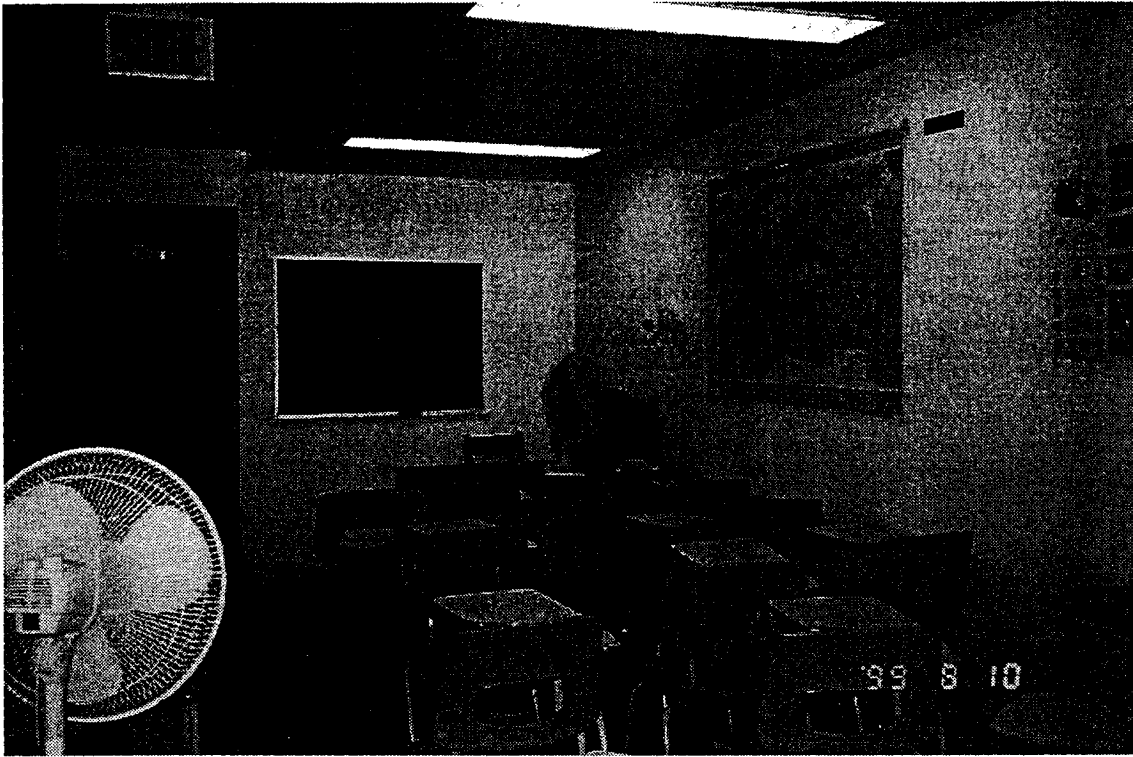
Ksitigarbha Hall at Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple. Bodhisattva Ksitigarbha as the main Deity with ancestral tablets at the back. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, August 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 13



Main shrine at the Lotus Charity Society, 6017 Rue St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec. Similar layout to Chan Hai Lei Zang Temple. Established in 1996. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, August 1999).

ILLUSTRATION NO. 14



The Lotus Charity Society has a classroom for providing English and French classes to new immigrants. (Photo taken by Tannie Liu, August 1999).

REFERENCES

- Baureiss, Gunter. "Chinese Immigration, Chinese Stereotypes and Chinese Labour." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. X1X.3 (1987):15-33.
- Beyer, Peter. *Religion and Globalization*. London: Sage Publications, 1994.
- . "The Religious System of Global Society: A Sociological Look at Contemporary Religion and Religions." *Numen* 45 (1998a): 1-29.
- . "The Modern Emergence of Religions and a Global Social System for Religion." *International Sociology* 13:2(1998b) 151-172.
- Bowker, John. *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*. Oxford UP, 1997.
- Canadian Global Almanac*. Toronto: McMillan P, 2000.
- Chan, Kwok Bun. *Smoke and Fire: The Chinese in Montreal*. Chinese UP, 1991.
- Chan, Kwok Bun and Denise Helly. "Coping with Racism: A Century of Chinese Experience in Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. 19.3 (1987): 1-14.
- Chan, Wing Tsit. *Religious Trends in Modern China*. Columbia UP, 1978.
- Chandler, Stewart. "Placing Palms Together: Religious and Cultural Dimensions of the Hsi Lai Temple Political Donations Controversy." In Duncan Ryuken Williams and Christopher S. Queen (Ed.) *American Buddhism: Methods and findings in recent Scholarship*. Surrey: Curzon P, 1999.
- , "Chinese Buddhism in America: Identity and Practice." In *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, Charles S. Presbish & Kenneth K. Tanaka Eds. London, U of California P, 1998.
- Chen, Kenneth. *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1973.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada. *Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview*. Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2000.
- , www.cic.gc.ca Consulted August 18, 2003.
- Conze, Edward. *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*. London: Harper and Row, 1975.

- Creese, Gillian and Laurie Peterson. "Making the News, Racializing Chinese Canadians." *Studies in Political Economy* 51 Fall (1996):117-146.
- Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Free Press, 1965.
- d'Aquili E.G., Charles D. Laughlin Jr. & J. McManus Eds. *The Spectrum of Ritual: A Biogenetic Structural Analysis*. New York: Columbia UP, 1979.
- Eliade, Mircea. *Yoga Immortality & Freedom*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1961.
- Europa World Yearbook*, Vol. 1. England: Europa Publications, 2002.
- Fisher, Mary Pat. *Religion in the Twenty-first Century*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999.
- Fu Chi-Ying. *Handing Down the Light: The Biography of Venerable Master Hsing Yun* (in Chinese), Taipei: Commonwealth Publishing Co. 1995.
- Johnson, Graham. "Ethnic and Racial Communities in Canada and Problems of Adaptation: Chinese Canadians in the Contemporary Period." *Ethnic Groups*. (1992): 151-174.
- Given, Brian. "Education for Experience: One View of Tibetan Tantric Initiation." *Journal of Ritual Studies*. 7.2 (1993): 91-115.
- Guédon, Marie-Françoise. "Dene Ways and the Ethnographer's Culture." Young and Goulet (1994): 39-70.
- Hahn, Thomas H. "New Developments Concerning Buddhist and Taoist Monasteries." In Julian Pas Ed. *Turning of the Tide: Religion in China Today*. New York: Oxford UP, 1989.
- Hsing Yun. *Perfectly Willing*. Trans. Fo Guan Shan International Translation Center. Hacienda Heights: Hsi Lai UP, 1994.
- Hunter, Alan. "A Survey of Buddhism in People's Republic of China Part I: Introduction." *The Middle Way*. 67.1 (May 1992a): 25-32.
- "A Survey of Buddhism in People's Republic of China Part II: Buddhism in the 1980s the Revival of the Monasteries." *The Middle Way*. 61.2 (Aug 1992b): 91-98.
- "Two Mountains in China." *The Middle Way* 66.2 (Aug1991):85-89.

- Jackson, Michael. *Paths Toward A Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1989.
- Jackson, Michael Ed. *Things as They Are: New Directions in Phenomenological Anthropology*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1996.
- Jochim, Christian. "A Report on the International Academic Conference on Religion, Beijing Apr 6-20, 1992." *Numen* 40 (1993): 63-66.
- Jung, Carl. *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*. Trans. R.F.C. Hull. Bollingen Series XX Princeton UP, 1969.
- Kwong, Chun Wah. *Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and Christianity and the Restructuring of their Public Roles in Hong Kong (1984-1998)*. Ph.D. Diss. Baylor U, 1999.
- Larson, Wendy. "Realism, Modernism, and the Anti-Spiritual Pollution Campaign in China." *Modern China* 15:1 (1989): 37-71.
- Laughlin, Charles D. "Ritual and the Symbolic Function: A Summary of Biogenetic Structural Theory." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 4.1 (1990): 15-37.
- Laughlin, Charles D. et al. "The Ritual Transformation of Experience." *Studies of Symbolic Interaction*. 7.A (1986):107-136.
- Laughlin, Charles D. John McManus & Eugene d' Aquili. *Brain Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neuropsychology of Human Consciousness*. New York: Columbia UP, 1992.
- Lee, Wei-chin. Comp. *Taiwan*. *World Bibliographical Series*. Vol 113. Oxford : Clio Press Ltd, 1990.
- Li, Peter. *The Chinese in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford UP, 1998.
- . "Chinese." *Encyclopaedia of Canada's People*. Paul Robert Magocsi Ed. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1999.
- Lin, Irene. "Journey to the Far West: Chinese Buddhism in America." *Amerasia Journal* 22:1 (1996):107-132.
- Linshu, Chen. "Studies on Religions in Modern China." *Numen* 41 (1994):76-87.
- Liu, Tannie. *Ritual and the Symbolic Function: A Biogenetic Structural Comparison of Techniques Used in Tibetan Buddhism and the Sun Dance Religion*. M.A. Thesis. Carleton University, 1995.

- . "Altered States of Consciousness as Ethnographic Data: If We Use ASCs as Data, How Do We Explain Them?" EIR/American Academy of Religion, U of Toronto: Toronto, Apr. 1998.
- Lu Sheng-yen. *The Secrets of Reincarnation*. (In Chinese). Hong Kong Qingshan Chuban She ("Green Mountain Publishing Co.") 1979.
- Lui-Ma, Amy. Trans. *Handing Down the Light: The Biography of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*. Hacienda Heights: Hsi Lai UP, 2000.
- Ma, Ching. *Chinese Pioneers*. Vancouver: Versatile, 1998.
- MacInnis, Donald E. *Religion in China Today: Policy and Practice*. New York: Orbis Books, 1989.
- McLellan, Janet. *Many Petals of the Lotus: Redefinitions of Buddhist Identity in Toronto*. PH.D. Diss. York U, 1993.
- . "Religion and Ethnicity. The Role of Buddhism in Maintaining Ethnic Identity Among Tibetans in Lindsay, Ontario." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, X1X (1987):63-76.
- ."Buddhist Identities in Toronto: The Interplay of Local, National and Global Contexts." *Social Compass*. 45:2 (1998) 227-245.
- McLaren, Kristin. *Indonesian Muslims in Canada: Religion, Ethnicity and Identity*. MA Thesis. University of Ottawa, 1999.
- Nagata, Judith. "The Globalization of Buddhism and the Emergence of Religious Civil Society: The Case of Taiwanese Fo Kuang Shan Movement in Asia and the West." *Communal/Plural* 7:2 (1999)231-248.
- Ness, Immanuel and James Ciment. "The Demography of Migration." In *The Encyclopaedia of Global Population and Demographics*. Vol 11 Sharpe Reference N.Y. 1999.
- Overmyer, Daniel L. *Religions of China: The World As a Living System*. New York: Harper & Row, 1986.
- Pfister, Lauren Frederick. "Facing Up to Beijing Sovereignty: Reflections on the Situation of Religious Communities in Hong Kong." *Religious Studies News*. May (1997) 19-20, American Academy of Religion.
- Republic of China Yearbook*, ROC Government Information Office, Taipei: Taiwan, 1999/2002.

- Robertson, Roland. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage Publications, 1992.
- . "Social Theory, Cultural Relativity and the Problem of Globality" In Anthony King, (Ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minneapolis: U of Minneapolis P, 1997.
- Robinson, Richard & Willard Johnson. *The Buddhist Religion: A Historical Introduction*. Toronto: Wadsworth Publishing Co. 1997.
- Soothill, Edward & Lewis Hodous. *A Dictionary of Chinese Terms*. Taipei: Fo Guang Shan Buddhist Cultural Service, 1977.
- Scott, Ian. Comp. Hong Kong. *World Bibliographical Series*. Vol 115 Oxford: Clio P, 1990.
- Smart, Ninian. *Reflections in the Mirror of Religion*. New York: St. Martins, 1997.
- Statistics Canada. Census 2001. www.statcan.ca Consulted 15 December 2003a.
- Statistics Canada. Census 2001. www.statcan.ca Consulted 23 July 2003b.
- Statistics Canada. Census 1996. www.statcan.ca Consulted 23 August 2003c.
- Statistics Canada. Census 1996. www.statcan.ca Consulted 27 September 2001.
- Statistics Canada. *1971 Census of Canada. Population*. Vol.2, Part 3. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1976.
- Stoller, Paul. *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1989.
- Sugunasiri, Suwanda H.J. "Buddhism in Metropolitan Toronto: A Preliminary Overview." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. XXI.2 (1989): 83-103.
- Tan Jin & Patricia E. Roy. *The Chinese in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985.
- The Europa World Year Book*. Europa Publications Ltd. London, England, 2000/2002.
- Turner, Edith. et al. *Experiencing Ritual: A New Interpretation of African Healing*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1992.

- Yu Ling-po. "Development of Chinese Buddhism in North America." (In Chinese).
Taipei: Hsin Wen-feng Publisher ("New Literary Publisher"), 1996.
- Welch, Holmes. *The Buddhist Revival in China*. London: Oxford UP, 1968.
- . *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900-1950*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967.
- Wickberg, Edgar Ed. *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*. Toronto: McClland and Stewart Ltd, 1982.
- Williams, Duncan R. & Christophers Queen Eds. *American Buddhism: Methods and Findings in Recent Scholarship*. Curzon Press, 1999.
- Williams, Paul D. *Mahayana Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Wright, Arthur F. *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*. Robert M. Somers Ed. New Haven: Yale UP, 1990.
- Young, David E. and Jean-Guy Goulet Eds. *Being Changed by Cross-Cultural Encounters: The Anthropology of Extraordinary Experience*. Ontario: Broadview P, 1994.
- Zuo, Jiping. "Political Religion: The Case of the Cultural Revolution in China." *Sociological Analysis* (1991): 99-110.