

**STUDIES ON  
HUMANISTIC BUDDHISM Ⅵ**

**HUMANISTIC BUDDHISM:  
WISDOM AND COMPASSION IN ACTION  
般若智慧與善巧方便的人間佛教**

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and  
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**REFLECTIONS ON  
VENERABLE MASTER HSING YUN'S  
TEMPLE-BUILDING ENDEAVOR  
BETWEEN 1988 AND 2000**

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## **Abstract**

Fo Guang Shan (FGS) operates one of the most extensive networks of Buddhist temples around the world. This essay reflects on Venerable Master Hsing Yun's aspiration to spread the Dharma by building temples, and the extent to which his vision of spreading the Dharma to five continents was fulfilled. As a religio-cultural space that can be shared by both monastic and lay, insiders and outsiders, the temples ground the FGS mission of spreading Humanistic Buddhism by creating a shared space and allowing temple goers to transition roles. These roles, which can be overlapping, include visitor, devotee, volunteer, and member.

## **Prologue**

From Berkeley Road, the unmistakable ochre rooftop of Nan Tien Temple and its handsome octagonal pagoda stand out starkly against the rolling green meadows on which the temple complex is located. In its early days, Nan Tien Temple, a Buddhist temple built in the classical axial arrangement of traditional Chinese palatial architecture, was once deemed out of place in the suburban industrial area of Unanderra near Wollongong.<sup>1</sup> Now in its twenty-eighth year, the temple has become a familiar landmark of the Illawarra landscape on the South Coast of New South Wales, Australia. The temple is not only a place for Buddhist rituals and ceremonies, but also retreats, classes, and even markets. Its program ranges from the religious to the secular, and its visitors include Buddhists and non-Buddhists, locals and tourists.

## **Introduction**

The late Venerable Master Hsing Yun (星雲大師, 1927-2023), founder of Fo Guang Shan (hereafter referred to as FGS), was invited to build a temple in Australia on two separate occasions in 1989 and 1990. Shi-Jiao Chun (寸時嬌), a Vietnamese-Chinese expatriate who wished that her mother would have a Buddhist temple to go to after migrating to Australia,<sup>2</sup> and the Mayor of Wollongong<sup>3</sup> both invited the Venerable Master to build a temple in Australia.

The timing was opportune. FGS had embarked on its internationalization campaign with the completion of Hsi Lai Temple in 1988 and was on the way to build more temples around the world. In Australia, changes in the immigration policy brought about a surge in the number of immigrants, including those from traditionally Buddhist countries. Globally, there was a growing Chinese diaspora in Western countries, including Australia. In fewer than six years after the first FGS monastics were sent to Australia, Nan Tien Temple was established in Wollongong, at that time the largest Chinese Buddhist temple in the Southern Hemisphere. The temple was consecrated by the Venerable Master himself in 1995 upon its completion. It became the regional center of FGS in Oceania, which now has eleven temples distributed across Australia and New Zealand.

The completion of Nan Tien Temple in 1995 took FGS a step closer to realizing Venerable Master Hsing Yun's vision of spreading the Dharma to five continents.<sup>4</sup> He was inspired to globalize FGS when he visited the United States in 1976 as part of a delegation of Buddhists sent by the Taiwanese government in conjunction with the bicentennial of the United States. He said about the visit:

Suddenly, my horizon was broadened, which inspired me to undertake an important career for Buddhism; that is, it inspired me to vow to let the Buddha's light shine universally, and let the Dharma stream flow eternally across the five continents. From then on, I have vowed that, regardless of success or failure, I will do nothing but propagate Buddhism all over the world and will never seek my own well-being.<sup>5</sup>

As of 2023, FGS has established one hundred seventy-nine temples globally, with seventy-three outside Asia.<sup>6</sup> The FGS worldwide temple-building campaign can be divided into three phases. The first phase dates back to 1967 when the FGS Monastery was built in Kaohsiung in the Southern part of Taiwan, followed by temples built across different parts of Taiwan.

The beginning of the second phase is marked by the establishment of Hsi Lai Temple at Hacienda Heights, California in 1988. From then until the 2000s, FGS rapidly expanded its global network of temples, building in five continents in twelve years. The same period saw the establishment of many chapters and subchapters of Buddha's Light International Association (BLIA), a not-for-profit Buddhist organization founded by Venerable Master Hsing Yun for lay Buddhists across the world.<sup>7</sup> In 2023, BLIA had two hundred chapters in seventy countries.<sup>8</sup> In the third phase, beginning around the year 2000, FGS has focused mostly on bringing Buddhism to mainland China. This period is marked by, among other projects, the restoration of Da Jue Temple, the ancestral temple of FGS, in Yixing, Jiangsu Province. This reflection paper focuses on the FGS temples built outside Asia between 1988 and 2000.

FGS is one of a number of transnational Buddhist movements that globalized in the twentieth century, yet it appears to be the only one among these movements that built temples with such a broad geographic span. Other transnational Buddhist groups such as Plum Village<sup>9</sup> and FPMT<sup>10</sup> operate via meditation centers, Dharma centers, or offices. Among the Chinese Mahāyāna movements from Taiwan, collectively known as the four great mountains (FGS, Tzu Chi or Compassion Relief, Dharma Drum Mountain, and Chung Tai Shan)<sup>11</sup>, only FGS built an extensive network of temples in its globalization campaign. Tzu Chi<sup>12</sup> operates from offices, while Dharma Drum Mountain<sup>13</sup> and Chung Tai Shan<sup>14</sup> built meditation centers or cultivation centers rather than temples. On the other hand, the FGS temples, especially those that serve as continental or regional centers, were built in the traditional Chinese palatial formation, comprised of shrines and halls in the traditional axial arrangement, and integrate modern technologies into what appears externally as traditional Chinese temples. They are not only built to situate Buddhist practices and rituals, but also to serve as community centers, educational and cultural hubs, and even tourist destinations.

This paper attempts to address several questions pertaining to temple-building at FGS. Why did Venerable Master Hsing Yun build temples around the world in the globalization campaign of FGS? How and where were the

temples built? Ultimately, we examine the motivations behind the substantial investment of FGS into temple-building under the Venerable Master's leadership. Lastly, we look at the profile of temple-goers to try to find out if the temples fulfilled the Venerable Master's aspirations. To attempt to answer these questions, we drew from essays in the *Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun* (星雲大師全集)<sup>15</sup>, including materials that have not been translated into English. These include essays, travelogs, diaries, and letters to disciples and devotees.

### **Why did Venerable Master Hsing Yun build temples?**

Buddhist temples did not exist during the Buddha's lifetime. Looking at the evolution of historical Buddhist constructions, Taiwanese scholars Chih Ming Shih and Hsiao Chien Kao noted that caves and stupas came before temples as we know them today.<sup>16</sup> Generally, stupas were erected for the public to revere while cave temples were places of seclusion for the monastics to practice in quietude. Temples integrate the functions of a place of worship and a place for religious practice, catering to both devotees and practitioners. Thus, a temple historically is not only a place of worship but also a point of contact and assembly for Buddhists. The presence of temples indicated to these scholars the increased involvement of Buddhist monastics with society.<sup>17</sup> True to this tradition, the Venerable Master repeatedly emphasized that he built temples to bring the Buddha's teachings to the people:

Temples are symbols of the Buddhist faith, places of spiritual reliance for devotees, and dwellings for monastics. They are venues that enshrine Buddha images and also places to propagate the Dharma. Only with the existence of monasteries and temples can the Triple Gem of the Buddha, Dharma, and *Saṅgha* exist. Only with the existence of temples can Buddhist teachings be propagated and upheld.<sup>18</sup>

To propagate the Buddha's teachings and to preserve the Triple Gem

of Buddhism, the existence of temples was regarded as essential by the Venerable Master. On other occasions, he said that the temples were built for the multitude (眾), more specifically, to “deliver the multitude” (度眾), a Buddhist term which means to propagate the Buddha’s teachings (the Dharma) with the soteriological goal to “deliver sentient beings across the sea of suffering,” so that they may find peace and happiness.<sup>19</sup>

Under Venerable Master Hsing Yun’s leadership, FGS invested substantially in building temples (Table 1). Questions were occasionally raised about the heavy investment by FGS into temple-building, especially by those who regard charity as a quicker and more direct way to relieve suffering compared to the construction of temples. In response, he said:

At Fo Guang Shan we do charity work, but we do not publicize it, because charity work is ‘to relieve emergency, not to relieve poverty,’ it is temporary and does not solve the root problem. Fo Guang Shan purifies human minds with its cultural and educational work. It is saving ourselves rather than waiting for others to save us.<sup>20</sup>

Venerable Master Hsing Yun also invited the questioner to broaden the definition of charity:

When a person with afflictions and suffering comes to the Buddha, he will feel encouraged and his problems become solvable. A temple in itself is charity.<sup>21</sup>

In the short essay “A temple is like a gas station,”<sup>22</sup> Venerable Master Hsing Yun further revealed his vision for the roles of FGS temples using metaphors. In his words:

... I often liken a temple to a gas station in the journey of life or a department store for spirituality.

On the journey of life, a temple can be a station where people go for respite and to recharge before continuing their travel. As a “department store for spirituality,” the temple is meant to be a place where various spiritual necessities can be replenished according to each individual’s needs. Herein lies the Venerable Master’s intention in “delivering the multitude.”

He imagined the FGS temples to be “accessible places for learning the Dharma,” built not only for prayer and worship, but also for cultural and educational purposes. The temple space has to cater to a diverse public, including the uninitiated and curious as well as the regular and returning temple-goers. We see the temples as bases built to fulfill FGS’ proclaimed goal and aim to “promote the principles of Humanistic Buddhism<sup>23</sup> and to foster peace and harmony among all peoples of the world.”<sup>24</sup> The organization enacts Humanistic Buddhism around the world according to its four founding principles: to propagate Buddhist teachings through cultural activities; to nurture talents through education; to benefit societies through charitable programs; and to purify human hearts and minds through Buddhist practices. The temples appear to have been built to simultaneously cater to these four varying objectives in their locales.

For one who built as many temples as Venerable Master Hsing Yun, it is perhaps surprising that as a young monk it was not his original intention to build temples. The young monk single mindedly wanted to propagate the Dharma through the means of culture and education. He wrote:

My original plan was to propagate the Dharma through culture (以文弘法)<sup>25</sup>, and I had no intention to build temples nor to become an abbot...<sup>26</sup>

Even after arriving in Taiwan in 1949, Venerable Master Hsing Yun spent many years without residing permanently in any temple, let alone

building one. Those were the days when churches and Daoist temples occupied large buildings at prominent junctures with populous locations, whereas most Buddhist temples, except a rare few, were relegated to back lanes, deserted places, or even next to garbage dumps.<sup>27</sup> Others were forced to share back rooms in larger Daoist temples. Even the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China had to go through prolonged negotiations before securing an independent office space in the Buddhist temple Shan Dao Si (善導寺).<sup>28</sup> The Venerable Master wrote, “How could the Dharma be propagated under such conditions?” He also reflected on the short history of the failed revival of Chinese Buddhism led by Master Taixu, and thought that things may have just worked had Master Taixu had a base (a temple) to work from.<sup>29</sup> His observations and reflections in those days may have gradually convinced him of the necessity to have a site from which to spread the teachings. It soon became apparent that it was necessary to build a temple if he were to be able to propagate the Dharma. In the same essay, he wrote:

... I became very involved with temple construction and temple affairs because my followers increased in number with time and they needed a base to listen to the Dharma, as well as a place for communal cultivation. They needed classrooms for Buddhist education as well as a place to live and eat. Therefore, due to the needs of the devotees and the wish to emulate the Buddha in propagating the Dharma throughout India during his time, I strove to overcome obstacles to build ... temples in five continents across the world. In the process, there was support from a large number of devotees and the affirmation of the local authorities in these different places.<sup>30</sup>

It is perhaps important to stress that despite changing his mind about building temples, the Venerable Master never departed from his resolve to propagate the Dharma. If it takes building temples to propagate the Dharma,

he was willing to undertake that. Building temples was the means, not the end.

### **How did Venerable Master Hsing Yun build temples?**

When people congratulated Venerable Master Hsing Yun for building so many temples around the world, he said:

It does not mean that I was very capable; it is all due to the resolve of the local devotees who joined me in exercising collective creativity and accomplishing this by the causes and conditions of the multitude.<sup>31</sup>

Venerable Master Hsing Yun often said that he followed causes and conditions, rather than forcibly insisting on building temples around the world. In the following section, we try to gain an understanding of how he brought together various causes and conditions and exercised “collective creativity” to build these temples. Specifically, we look at location and human resources, two of the prime considerations in temple-building.

In building the Buddhist community at Leiyin Temple,<sup>32</sup> Yilan County, Taiwan, he learned that bringing “the multitude” together creates the conditions for change and progress. In 1956, the enthusiastic Yilan devotees built a small “chanting association” of just 168.3 square meters in size at the junction of Zhong Shan Road.<sup>33</sup> Despite its humble size, the Venerable Master invited many distinguished Buddhist monks to teach there. He was encouraged to see that every time a distinguished guest speaker visited, people would offer to add additional facilities to the association. He felt that as long as people came, the place would grow.<sup>34</sup>

In fact, the Venerable Master considered the human factor to be the most important element in the process of temple-building, whether in Taiwan or overseas.<sup>35</sup> In the essays “Paving My Way to International Status” and “Causes and Conditions of Building He Hua Temple,” he imparted to his disciples advice on how to build temples overseas, specifically in North America and

Europe:

... I developed a plan for Dharma propagation in Europe and North America.

I told my disciples that they must first get to know their local devotees and win their hearts and trust...<sup>36</sup>

Venerable Master Hsing Yun considered local support to be essential in temple-building. He suggested that his monastic disciples should organize home visits, Dharma talks, and chanting services in the devotees' homes on a regular basis as means to strengthen their faith and to gradually grow the circle of devotees. Building, maintaining, and growing a congregation appears to have been the priorities at this stage. As the number of devotees increased, it would be a natural next step to move the congregation to a larger, usually hired, premise with facilities such as a tearoom and washroom to cater for the group. At this stage, the devotees might take the initiative to further develop and maintain the growing congregation:

If all thirty or forty devotees agree to the idea, they might even raise funds to rent such a place...With a temporary venue, the gatherings need to continue for a year with a regular turnout of seventy or even a hundred people; then the group will be strong enough, and through collective effort will make it easier to accomplish a goal.<sup>37</sup>

Communal practice is a distinguishing feature of the lay followers of FGS, and is different from the individual, meditation-focused lay practice that characterizes Buddhist modernism in western society.<sup>38</sup> The lay FGS followers' commitment to this communal form of spiritual practice is probably one of the driving factors to their involvement in temple-building. We believe that this kind of congregation is also likely to be the foundation to the rapid establishment of many BLIA chapters around the world in the 1990s. It is

estimated that more than half of them were established within five years of its inauguration in the United States in 1992.<sup>39</sup>

The parallel between religious placemaking and community building has been explored in other migrant faith communities.<sup>40</sup> A closer look at the interplay between these two processes for FGS in different parts of the world may reveal some different and interesting dynamics, given that FGS is a global movement. On one hand, temple-building was a religious placemaking act for the migrant FGS followers as they affirm their identity as Chinese and Buddhists in the local society. On the other hand, it also put them on the global map of the FGS network. In building the temple, the overseas followers of FGS became visible simultaneously to the FGS headquarters and to their destination countries.

In addition to posting monastics to different parts of the world, the Venerable Master also traveled the world extensively to support the temple-building projects during this period. He followed an intensive itinerary, presiding in refuge-taking ceremonies, consecration of temples of various sizes as well as officiating ceremonies of BLIA chapters in various places. In 1992 for example, he made six multi-continental trips, spending one hundred sixty days outside Taiwan.<sup>41</sup> Venerable Master Hsing Yun estimated that the temple-building process outlined above would take at least two to three years. In fact, larger temples that went on to serve as continental centers took even longer to build (Table 1). The construction of Hsi Lai Temple at Hacienda Heights took ten years in total. Zulai Temple in Brazil and Nan Hua Temple in South Africa took between twelve to fifteen years to complete. In contrast, Nan Tien Temple in Australia was consecrated only five years after the Venerable Master's first visit. The building of Nan Tien Temple, as a project initiated under the local city council's invitation, may have been spared the time and effort of searching for a suitable site and bureaucratic hurdles required of other FGS-initiated projects. However, Nan Hua Temple in Bronkhorstspuit, South Africa, also built on donated land offered by the local city council, took a much longer time to complete.<sup>42</sup> The different trajectory of temple-building in different locations affirms the Venerable Master's observation

that the process depends on myriad causes and conditions that can neither be predetermined nor forced.

### **Where were temples built?**

In his commentary “Where to build temples,” Venerable Master Hsing Yun alluded to the Buddha’s advice to his disciples before his nirvana to build stupas at the junction of main roads to house his relics, so that people could easily come to pay respect.<sup>43</sup> He considered accessibility of the temples important. FGS went to great pains to locate the temples at accessible places to fulfill the Venerable Master’s goal to deliver the multitude. A case study is the construction of Hsi Lai Temple. Before Hsi Lai Temple was built, a number of Buddhists approached the Venerable Master to invite him to spread the Dharma in the United States. In his diaries and essays, Venerable Master Hsing Yun revealed his deliberation. Ying Jin Yu-tang (Annie Ying) from New York offered the Da Cheng Temple (Mahāyāna Temple) and Chan Le-Wu from Canada offered a 170 acre plot of land near Niagara Falls to build an International Buddhist Dharma Center.<sup>44</sup> However, the lack of supportive living facilities and accessibility made the locations unsuitable. In the end, an old church in Los Angeles was established as the first site of FGS in the United States, before Hsi Lai Temple was eventually built in Hacienda Heights.<sup>45</sup> Located in the San Gabriel Valley, California, Hacienda Heights is within an hour’s drive from both downtown Los Angeles and Los Angeles International Airport (LAX). It is also an ethnically diverse residential suburb and home to many Taiwanese immigrants.

The FGS regional and continental centers are usually located close to major cities and transport networks (Table 1), and often anchor a cluster of smaller centers in its vicinity. The size and sprawl of these temples, which often consist of a number of different shrines arranged in a traditional Chinese palatial axis, preclude their location in the heart of the city. FGS does not seem to have adopted the alternative strategy of investing in larger numbers of smaller centers over a broader geographic span. In fact, in recent years FGS has reduced the number of its smaller overseas centers.<sup>46</sup> Concentrating

a larger assembly at a central location seems to be the preferred mode of congregation for the organization.

So far, we have only considered the location of the temple as a static entity, and only looked at building temples from the FGS perspective. Other scholars have analyzed the territorial and social rules in each locale, which interweave to determine the geographical locations of the temples, as discussed in Gordon Waitt's paper on Nan Tien Temple.<sup>47</sup> Waitt explored the temple's location as part of a relational placemaking process within the framework of the sociopolitical rules of inclusion and exclusion. The location of Nan Tien temple in Berkeley, Wollongong, then an economically-marginalized, industrial suburb with a predominantly Anglo-Celtic population seemed out of place at first glance. However, Nan Tien Temple was deemed acceptable when imagined as a tourist attraction and an exotic object that enriches the multicultural diversity of the region rather than a sacred space for a minority religion.

### **Who visits the temples that are “built for the multitude”?**

As mentioned, Venerable Master Hsing Yun believed that, apart from serving its traditional functions, a modern temple of Humanistic Buddhism must promote the Dharma through education and culture. The temple should be a place of faith with diverse functions, where Buddhists can cultivate for life, gain wisdom, gather with Dharma friends, and make good affinity with others.<sup>48</sup> Importantly, his vision encompassed both monastic and lay Buddhists. The Venerable Master reimagined temples as a Dharma place (道場 *bodhimaṇḍa*) shared by the fourfold assembly of monks, nuns, male lay followers, and female lay followers in harmony.<sup>49</sup> Thus at FGS temples, the involvement of lay Buddhists extends beyond the traditional practice of supporting temple-building as a merit-making devotional act and a practice of generosity. In line with modernizing changes in Humanistic Buddhism at the time, the Venerable Master also systematized organization of the laity through the establishment of BLIA.

As such, these temples become locations where lay Buddhists could ground their spiritual cultivation. Shou-jen Kuo examined how Hsi Lai Temple became a *bodhimāṇḍa* for lay Chinese Buddhists and proposed that temple-building creates a hyper-realistic environment in the form of overt Chinese Buddhist symbols that constitute the landscape at Hsi Lai Temple. This physical embodiment of a religio-cultural landscape facilitates the cultivation of Humanistic Buddhists in the United States.<sup>50</sup>

### **Temples as bases for space sharing and role transition in the global mission of Humanistic Buddhism**

The weekend calendar at Nan Tien Temple is filled with activities including Buddhist ceremonies, classes, retreats, and markets. The temple also welcomes excursions and tour groups, as regional FGS centers are often tourist destinations and thus the temple space is often intensively used and shared by various groups apart from the monastic *Saṅgha*. It appears that FGS had the intent to attract a diverse group of visitors to the temples. This fits well with the three missionary methods of the overseas temples of FGS observed by Stuart Chandler: sparking curiosity,<sup>51</sup> creating affinity (結緣),<sup>52</sup> and localizing Buddhist teachings and practice.<sup>53</sup> In this sense, temples are physical gateways to introduce people to Buddhism. Also present in the temple are the regular laity, comprising three overlapping roles, namely BLIA members, devotees, and volunteers.<sup>54</sup> These different groups may be doing different activities, ranging from the religious to the more secular, in the temple at the same time.

How is temple space managed considering likely contestation between the different groups and the different purposes? Broadly speaking, one can either segregate or integrate the different groups, and apply spatial, temporal, and behavioral markers to negotiate boundaries between the groups and their activities. Many religious groups are known to manage the copresence of devotees and visitors or tourists through segregated use of space, socialization, or introduction of procedures and regulations.<sup>55,56</sup> In the Bahai gardens of Haifa, Israel for instance, differential spatial practices for pilgrims and tourists

are introduced to minimize or avoid interactions between the two groups to resolve the issue of contestation for space. However, we observe a different kind of spatial practice at work to allow space sharing by the different groups at FGS temples.

We see a multi-layered spatial practice at work in the temples that are “built for the multitude.” For non-Buddhist visitors who often sought stimulus avoidance or who had an intellectual interest in Buddhism as a spiritual culture,<sup>57</sup> the temple prepares socialization procedures in the form of classes, tours, and rituals to anchor their experience in an otherwise unfamiliar sociocultural environment that is the Chinese Buddhist temple. For the regulars at these temples, welcoming and catering to the visitors include tasks such as cleaning the temple ground, minding the garden, cooking in the kitchen, maintaining the temple facilities, serving as tour guides and course facilitators and more. These tasks are carried out as voluntary work. Jens Reinke observed in his multi-site ethnographic studies of FGS temples that volunteerism was part of the BLIA members’ religiosity.<sup>58</sup> As their religious practice becomes embedded into the spatial practice at the temple through volunteerism, the individuals’ spiritual practice of “serving the multitude” becomes integrated with the function of the temple in “delivering the multitude.” The temple becomes a true *bodhimāṇḍa* for the multitude in its broadest sense.

The integrative spatial practice facilitates the three missionary approaches of FGS. In the shared space of the temple, the authors often observe role transition between the different groups of laity (Figure 1). Visitors may become regular devotees when they start to attend services at FGS temples on a regular basis. Regular devotees may then decide to volunteer regularly, or join the BLIA as members at some point in time. Such transitions often occur as they meet and engage with monastics, long-term volunteers, and BLIA committee members at temples. As Chandler noted, building temples is historically considered to be an act of creating affinity (*jieyuan*) by the benefactors or donors.<sup>59</sup> Creating affinity aims to instill a positive predisposition toward Buddhism so that people will find deeper resonance with the teachings when the conditions become conducive. The temples serve as geographically static

locations that situate the people, practices, and culture of Fo Guang Shan. This allows visitors to return again and again, and to engage with the Dharma in different roles, thereby offering the opportunity to transition to more and more involvement as they choose. In this way, the sharing of the temple space may facilitate the transition from “outsider” to “insider” and the temple becomes a base for community building for FGS and BLIA.

## **Conclusion**

In this paper, we delved into Venerable Master Hsing Yun’s writings to uncover his vision for building temples to globalize FGS, specifically outside Asia. Building temples was seen as necessary to bring the Buddha’s teachings to the “multitude” and spreading Humanistic Buddhism to “the five continents.” We think the global temple-building project aligns with the Humanistic Buddhist doctrine of FGS, which attempts to make the Dharma accessible and adaptable to modern societies through channels of culture, education, charity, and communal cultivation. The temple-building project spanning decades culminates physically as a network of temples anchored by continental centers in the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Oceania with shared features of accessibility, monumentality, and multi-functionality. Temple-building and the establishment of a lay community of temple devotees or supporters went hand-in-hand, evident by the concurrent founding of BLIA chapters as the temples were being built.

FGS temples were built to Venerable Master Hsing Yun’s vision of a shared space for the fourfold assembly. They operate by an integrative spatial approach that allows the temple space to cater to various religio-cultural purposes and to a diverse audience at the same time. We propose that this may be conducive to the recruitment of new followers and for community-building. However, Jens Reinke<sup>60</sup> observed that despite the forging of cross-cultural linkage through the temples’ cultural and civic activities, separation along the lines of language and ethnicity remain, especially in religious activities. Ethnographic studies will be needed to validate if recruitment indeed happened through the spatial placement of the temples.

Lastly, we reflect on the roles of the temples in the current world, thirty-five years since Hsi Lai Temple, the first international outpost of FGS was built in 1988. It is unclear how disruption brought by the recent pandemic might impact communal activities at the temples, which are heavily reliant on in-person assemblies. Their role as centers of Dharma propagation is expected to continue to evolve with time, as FGS navigates changing socio-cultural landscapes around the world.

## **Epilogue**

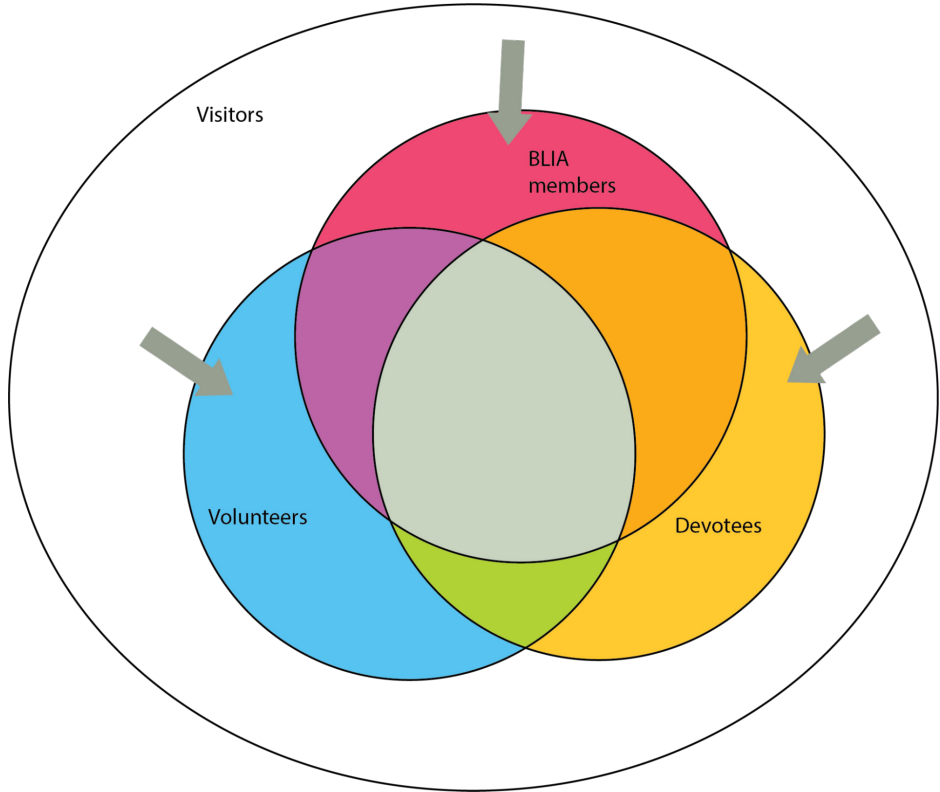
Nan Tien Temple is celebrating its twenty-eighth anniversary this year. Like other FGS temples around the world, it was built with Venerable Master Hsing Yun's vision, and at a scale to cater to many and to stand for a long time after his passing. In the open letter *An Honest Revelation* bequeathed to his disciples,<sup>61</sup> he wrote that despite building so many temples around the world, none of these were intended for him. He did not leave any material possessions to his students, but in building the temples he sowed the seeds and provided the causes and conditions for their cultivation on the Bodhisattva path, "*All I have to offer is Humanistic Buddhism for you to learn from, and the temples for you to support.*" In his words lie the causes and conditions for their cultivation and development, and to realize the path to Buddhahood for themselves.

## Appendix

Table 1. Main Fo Guang Shan temples in five continents excluding Asia: North and South America, Oceania, Africa, and Europe.

Name	Location	Year of consecration	Consecration presided by	Start of project (years to consecration)	Investment (US\$)	Area	Distance from airport	Distance from nearest city
Hsi Lai Temple (西來寺)	Hacienda Heights, California, United States	1988	Ven. Master Hsing Yun	1978 (10 years)	25-30 million	15 acres	52.1 km to Los Angeles International Airport	43km
Nan Tien Temple (南天寺)	Wollongong New South Wales, Australia	1995	Ven. Master Hsing Yun	1990 (5 years)	25-30 million	26 acres?	79.2 km to Kingsford Smith Airport Sydney	99.5km
Zulai Temple (如來寺)	São Paulo, Brazil	2003	Ven. Master Hsing Yun	1992 (15 years)	4 million	39.5 acres	23.1 km to Aeroporto Congonhas CGH São Paulo	31 km
Nan Hua Temple (南華寺)	Bronkhorstspuit, South Africa	2005	Most Ven. Hsin Pei	1992 (13 years)	26 million	14.8 acres	70.7 km to Johannesburg International Airport	97.4km
Fa Hua Temple (法華禪寺)	Bussy-Saint-Georges France	2013	Most Ven. Hsin Bau	1991 (22 years)	19 million	1.67 acres	32.4 km to Paris Charles de Gaulle Airport	31.4 km

Figure 1. The Temple-Goers at FGS temples.



## Notes

- 1 Gordon Waitt, "A Place for Buddha in Wollongong, New South Wales? Territorial Rules in the Place-Making of Sacred Spaces," *Australian Geographer* 34 (2003: 2): 224.
- 2 Xin Sheng, "Li Huaxin, Consul General of the Consulate General of the People's Republic of China in Sydney, Visited Nan Tien Temple" (中國駐悉尼總領事館總領事李華新參訪南天寺), November 10, 2013. [https://www.fgs.org.tw/news/news\\_content.aspx?news\\_no=20131108000002](https://www.fgs.org.tw/news/news_content.aspx?news_no=20131108000002), (accessed June 20, 2023).
- 3 Wollongong is located 69 km south of Sydney in New South Wales, Australia.
- 4 The five continents here include Asia, Oceania, Africa, Europe, and the Americas.
- 5 Hsing Yun, "Paving My Way to International Status," *Hear Me Out* (Hacienda Heights: FGS International Translation Center, 2015), 3-4. <https://hsingyun.org/works/files/H5%20Paving%20My%20Way%20to%20International%20Status-2015.pdf>
- 6 "Global temples" (全球道場), FGS Monastery, accessed June 7, 2023, [https://www.fgs.org.tw/career/career\\_global.aspx](https://www.fgs.org.tw/career/career_global.aspx)
- 7 Stuart Chandler, "Globalizing Chinese Culture, Localizing Buddhist Teachings: The Internationalization of Foguangshan," *Journal of Global Buddhism* 3 (February 2015):46-78. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1310625>.
- 8 "Buddha's Light International Association," BLIA World, 2023, accessed June 7, 2023, <http://www.bliango.org>
- 9 "Find a local group," Plum Village, accessed June 20, 2023, <https://plumvillage.org/community/international-sangha-directory>
- 10 "FPMT Centers, Projects and Services," FPMT, 2023, accessed June 20, 2023, <https://fpmt.org/centers/>
- 11 Ling Haicheng, *Buddhism in China* (Beijing: Chinese Intercontinental Press, 2004), 136.
- 12 Tzu Chi, 2023, accessed June 7, 2023, <https://www.tzuchi.org.tw/en/>
- 13 "About | Our Family," 2023. Chan Meditation Center, accessed June 7, 2023, <https://www.chancenter.org/en/about/our-family>
- 14 "Overseas Branches," Chung Tai Zen Center of Melbourne. 2023, accessed June 7, 2023, <https://chungtai.org.au/about-us/chung-tai-chan-monastery/overseas-branches/>
- 15 Available online in Chinese at <https://books.masterhsingyun.org/> -Ed.
- 16 Chih Ming Shih & Hsiao Chien Kao, "A Study of the Development of Contemporary Monasteries in Taiwan," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 12 (2011):3, 401-419 (402) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2011.578802>
- 17 *Ibid.*, 403.
- 18 "A temple is like a gas station," *Buddha-Dharma Pure and Simple* 4: 11, accessed June 7, 2023, [https://drive.google.com/file/d/1cq9fSZLY-\\_Q\\_LMxW4HvdFAirTEgMHBQK/view](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1cq9fSZLY-_Q_LMxW4HvdFAirTEgMHBQK/view)
- 19 "Temples represent Buddhism. They are the center of faith, and the place devotees entrust their hearts. Temples are built for propagating the Dharma and delivering sentient beings." (寺院是佛教的代表，是信仰的中心，是信徒心靈寄託的所

- 在。佛寺建築是為了弘法、度眾所需。) Hsing Yun, “Buddhism and Architecture,” *Buddhism Series, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed July 5 2023), <https://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle8740>
- 20 “Fo Guang Shan does charity work but we do not publicize it because charity work is “to relieve emergency, not to relieve poverty.” It is temporary and is not the ultimate. Fo Guang Shan purifies human minds with its cultural and educational work. We should save ourselves rather than wait for others to save us.” (佛光山也做慈善，但不宣揚；因為慈善只是『救急不救窮』，是一時的，並不究竟，因此佛光山以文化、教育淨化社會人心，不是等人來救我們，是要自己救自己。) Hsing Yun, “Charity is incomplete/ Charity does not solve the problem” *Thus Said 1, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle12040> (accessed June 28, 2023)
- 21 “When a person with afflictions and suffering comes to the Buddha, he will feel encouraged and his problems become solvable. Therefore a temple in itself is charity.” (當一個人有了煩惱、痛苦，只要他到佛前來，就能得到鼓舞，問題就能獲得解決，因此寺院本身就是慈善。) Hsing Yun, “Charity is incomplete/ Charity does not solve the problem” *Thus Said 1, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle12040> (accessed June 28, 2023)
- 22 “A temple is like a gas station,” *Buddha-Dharma Pure and Simple 4: 12*, accessed June 7, 2023  
view
- 23 Humanistic Buddhism is a reformist Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhist movement that can be traced back to Master Taixu (太虛大師, 1890-1947) during the early period of the Republic of China. This movement refocused Chinese Buddhism away from death and other-worldly concerns towards the present life and the present society.
- 24 Fo Guang Shan, “Objectives,” (accessed September 11, 2023), <https://www.fgs.org.tw/en/Organizations/Objectives/2013>
- 25 文 may mean culture (文化), literature (文學), or words (文字).
- 26 “My original plan was to propagate the Dharma through literature/culture, and I had no intention to build temples and become an abbot. Later, I became very involved with temple construction and temple affairs because my followers increased with time and they needed a base to listen to the Dharma, a place for communal cultivation, classrooms for Buddhist education, as well as a place to live and dine. Therefore, due to the needs of the devotees and the wish to emulate the Buddha who propagated the Dharma throughout India, for more than forty years I strove and overcame obstacles to build more than two hundred temples across five continents across the world. In the process there was support from a large number of devotees. Thankfully we also received the support and affirmation of local authorities everywhere we went.” (雖然最初我對自己的人生規劃是「以文弘法」，我並無意於建寺當住持，後來所以陷身在寺務、建築中，是因為跟隨我學佛的信徒日增，大家需要有聽經聞法的據點，要有共修聚會的場所，要有接受佛法教育的教室，甚至要有掛單用餐的地方，所以為了信徒的需要，也為了效法佛陀弘揚佛法於五印度的弘願，

四十多年來我披荊斬棘，在世界五大洲創建二百多所寺院。此中承蒙廣大信徒的護持，更感謝的是，每到一地都獲得當地政府的支持和肯定。) Hsing Yun, “Where to Build Temples?” *Humanistic Series 2, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle10819>

- 27 “When I first arrived in Taiwan, I saw that Catholic and Christian churches were built at crossroads. Mazu temples and City God temples were located on main streets. Only (Buddhist) temples were located at the end of paths, where illegal courtyards were found. Therefore, it was not easy to find monasteries of a proper scale.” (我初到台灣時，看到天主教、基督教教堂，都建在十字路口，媽祖宮、城隍廟，都在市區的重要街道上，只有寺廟，是走路走到沒有路了，走到違章小院的地方，大概就快到了。所以，要在台灣找到有規模的叢林，是不容易的。) Hsing Yun, “Monastery Systems,” *One Hundred Lessons on Monastery Languages and Affairs, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 7, 2023), <https://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle2209>
- 28 “Even the Buddhist Association of the Republic of China (BAROC) did not have its place. It was forced to use a narrow chamber at Bangka Lungshan Temple, a temple where Buddhism and folk beliefs coexist, as its office. After much negotiation, the Department of Compulsory Military Service of Taipei gave up a 99 square meter house and allowed BAROC to move its office to Shandao Temple.” (包括中國佛教會都沒有有一個地方生存，後來被逼到神佛共有的萬華龍山寺一個偏僻的廂房裡，做為中國佛教會的辦事處。幾經交涉，請台北市政府的兵役科，讓出一間大約三十坪的屋子，讓中國佛教會可以搬到善導寺來辦公。) Hsing Yun, “Where to build temples?” *Humanistic Series 2, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 7, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle10819>
- 29 “It can be said that there is an important relationship between building a Dharma place and developing Buddhism. In the past, Master Taixu had great vision and passion to revolutionise Buddhism. However, his wishes were not fulfilled as he did not have a dharma place.” (可以說，建築道場和佛教的發展，關係重大。過去太虛大師為了佛教，那麼有理想、有熱情，也想革新佛教，只因為他沒有道場，也是不能稱心滿願。) Hsing Yun, “Buddhism and Architecture” *Buddhism Series, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <https://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle8740>
- 30 “My original plan was to propagate the Dharma through literature and culture, and I had no intention to build temples and become an abbot. Later, I became very involved with temple construction and temple affairs because my followers increased with time and they needed a base to listen to the Dharma, a place for communal cultivation, classrooms for Buddhist education, as well as a place to live and dine. Therefore, due to the needs of the devotees and the wish to emulate the Buddha who propagated the Dharma throughout India, for more than forty years I strove and overcame obstacles to build more than two hundred temples across five continents across the world. In the process there was support from a large number of devotees. Thankfully we also

received the support and affirmation of local authorities everywhere we went.” (雖然最初我對自己的人生規劃是「以文弘法」，我並無意於建寺當住持，後來所以陷身在寺務、建築中，是因為跟隨我學佛的信徒日增，大家需要有聽經聞法的據點，要有共修聚會的場所，要有接受佛法教育的教室，甚至要有掛單用餐的地方，所以為了信徒的需要，也為了效法佛陀弘揚佛法於五印度的弘願，四十多年來我披荊斬棘，在世界五大洲創建二百多所寺院。此中承蒙廣大信徒的護持，更感謝的是，每到一地都獲得當地政府的支持和肯定。) Hsing Yun, “Where to build temples?” *Humanistic Series 2, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle10819>

- 31 “Especially in the past, my goal was not to build temples. However one cannot determine how causes and conditions develop. As the saying goes, ‘Accomplishments come from causes and conditions.’ Later, two to three hundred temples were built across seven continents. FGS temples can be found in most major cities in the world including Paris, London, Berlin, Sydney, Tokyo, etc. It does not mean that I was capable. The accomplishments were due to the resolve of the local devotees, who joined me in exercising a collective creativity and bringing the affinities of the multitude together.” (尤其過去，我的志願是不建寺院，但是因緣發展也由不得你。所謂因緣成就，後來在世界七大洲陸續建了二、三百個寺院，巴黎、倫敦、柏林、雪梨、東京等，大概世界的名城都有佛光山的寺院。這並不代表我有什麼能力，都有當地的信徒發心，和我集體創作，大眾因緣的成就。) Hsing Yun, “Where to build temples?” *Humanistic Series 2, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 7, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle10819>
- 32 Leiyin Temple, Yilan, was built in the Qing Dynasty between 1821-1850. In the 1950s, there was no Buddhist Saṅgha at the temple and the temple ground was used by the local residents to dry crops and laundry. Lay Buddhists started to invite various Buddhist monks and lay teachers to teach at the temple. It was not until 1953 that the Venerable Master Hsing Yun settled as a resident monastic at the temple. (accessed August 31, 2023), <https://www.fgs.org.tw/branch/aboutus01?BrID=D40400&>
- 33 “Chronology,” *Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed July 5, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/evbc16/evbook173>
- 34 “The devotees at Yilan were very warm-hearted. They built a 51 acre chanting hall at the junction of Zhongshan Road so I could teach the Dharma. There was a saying, ‘Mountains are not only about height: they only have fame if immortals live there. Waters are not only about depth: they only have spirit if a dragon lives in them.’ It may be a small chanting place and lecture hall, but I invited Changkya Khutukhtu, Venerable Nan Ting, Venerable Dong Chu, Venerable Yinshun, Venerable Yan Pei, Venerable Bai Sheng and the local Venerable Xian Dun to teach the Dharma. I benefitted as devotees would enthusiastically installed additional facilities to the hall when these distinguished guests visited, including clothings, mosquito nets and kitchen utensils. I felt that as long as people would come, the place would grow. One can see that when there is gathering of the assembly, there will be causes and conditions for change and

- progress.” (宜蘭的信徒還是很熱心，為了我的講經說法，在中山路口，建了一個五十一坪的念佛會。所謂「山不在高，有仙則名；水不在深，有龍則靈」，雖然這麼一個小小的念佛會講堂，我就把章嘉活佛、南亭法師、東初法師、印順法師、演培法師、白聖法師，以及台灣本地的賢頓法師等，都請到念佛會來講經說法。我從這裡得到一個利益，那就是每當這許多貴客蒞臨的時候，信徒們就會熱切的加添設備，如：衣單、蚊帳、鍋碗瓢盆等，讓我感覺到，只要有人來，這裡（念佛會）就會有所成長。可見得，集眾就有改變的因緣、進步的功用。） Hsing Yun, “Where to build temples?” *Humanistic Series 2, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle10819>
- 35 “I believe that wherever we build temples, it is important to have people before having physical facilities.” (我覺得不管到任何地方發展道場，不可以先有硬體設備，重要的是先要有人。) Hsing Yun, “Causes and Conditions in Building He Hua Temple” *A Life of Joined Palms 2, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle6912>.
- 36 Hsing Yun, “Paving My Way to International Status”, *Hear Me Out*, (FGS International Translation Center 2015), 14. <https://hsingyun.org/works/files/H5%20Paving%20My%20Way%20to%20International%20Status-2015.pdf>
- 37 Hsing Yun, “Causes and Conditions in Building He Hua Temple” *A Life of Joined Palms 2, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle6912>.
- 38 David McMahan, “Buddhist modernism,” *Buddhism in the Modern World*, David McMahan ed. (Hoboken: Routledge, 1992): 160–75.
- 39 Stuart Chandler, “Globalizing Chinese Culture, Localizing Buddhist Teachings: The Internationalization of Foguangshan,” *Journal of Global Buddhism* 3 (February 2015):52. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1310625>.
- 40 Shampa Mazumdar and Sanjoy Mazumdar, “Religious Placemaking and Community Building in Diaspora,” *Environment and Behavior*; 41(3: 2009), 307–337. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916508320459>
- 41 These numbers were calculated based on Venerable Master Hsing Yun’s published diary from January 1992 (<https://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle8361>) to December 1992, (accessed June 28, 2023), (<https://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle2375>)
- 42 Stuart Chandler, “Globalizing and Localizing,” *Establishing a Pure Land on Earth: The Foguang Buddhist Perspective on Modernization and Globalization* (University of Hawai’i Press, 2004): 294 (accessed September 11, 2023)
- 43 “Before the Buddha’s nirvana he advised, ‘After my nirvana, place my relics at a crossroad and build a pagoda for devotees to commemorate and to learn.’ The Buddha did not want a pagoda, but for the sake of sentient beings, there have to be temples and pagodas.” (佛陀臨涅槃的時候交代說：「我涅槃後，把我的靈骨放在十字路口建立塔寺，讓信徒紀念、學習。」佛陀不要塔寺，但是為了眾生，不能沒有塔寺。) Hsing Yun, “Where to build temples?” *Humanistic Series 2, Complete Works of*

- Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle10819>
- 44 Hsing Yun, “Paving My Way to International Status,” *Hear Me Out*, (FGS International Translation Center 2015), 17. <https://hsingyun.org/works/files/H5%20Paving%20My%20Way%20to%20International%20Status-2015.pdf>,
- 45 Hsing Yun, “Buddhism in America – Buddha-Dharma Comes to the West,” *Buddhist Affinities Across 100 Years, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle5704> Hsing Yun, “Paving My Way to International Status,” *Hear Me Out*, (FGS International Translation Center 2015), 5-6. <https://hsingyun.org/works/files/H5%20Paving%20My%20Way%20to%20International%20Status-2015.pdf>,
- 46 The Institute of Studies in Humanistic Buddhism Project Team’s GIS maps of Fo Guang Shan institutions which show active and previous FGS and BLIA locations worldwide, accessible at “Mapping Fo Guang Shan – charting the development of a global Buddhist movement.” <https://www.ishb-uwest.org/mapping-fgs>
- 47 Gordon Waitt, “A Place for Buddha in Wollongong, New South Wales? Territorial rules in the place-making of sacred spaces.” *Australian Geographer* 34 (2003: 2): 235-236.
- 48 “In my mind, a modern Humanistic Buddhist temple must not only provide devotees a traditional temple’s function of reciting the sutra and praying to the Buddha. It must promote ‘Dharma propagation through culture and education’ so that the temple truly become a diverse place of faith for devotees to engage in lifelong spiritual cultivation, enhance their wisdom, gather with dharma friends and broadly cultivate good affinities.” (我覺得現代化的人間佛教道場，除了具備過去一般寺院提供信徒誦經拜佛的功能之外，尤其要推廣「文教弘法」，要讓寺院真正成為信徒一生修身養性、增長智慧、善友共聚、廣結善緣等多元化的信仰所在。) Hsing Yun, “Causes and Conditions of Building He Hua Temple,” *A Life of Joined Palms, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <http://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle6912>
- 49 “I hope that in the future, temples will be built to serve the following functions: 1. Contemporary temples shall be a place for cultivation, shared by the Four Assemblies in harmony...” (我希望今後的寺院能從建築上發揮以下的功能：1.希望現代佛教寺院成為一個四眾融和共有的道場...) Hsing Yun, “Buddhism and Architecture” *Buddhism Series, Complete Works of Venerable Master Hsing Yun*, (accessed June 28, 2023), <https://books.masterhsingyun.org/ArticleDetail/artcle8740>
- 50 Shou-Jen Kuo, *Situating Themselves in the Pure Land of Humanistic Buddhism on Earth - A Study of Chinese American Religiosity at Hsi Lai Temple in Southern California* (UC Riverside, 2018), (accessed May 17, 2023), <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8nh7s6bx>, 212-213.
- 51 Stuart Chandler, “Globalizing Chinese Culture, Localizing Buddhist Teachings: The Internationalization of Foguangshan,” *Journal of Global Buddhism* 3 (February 2015): 64. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1310625>. “Sparking curiosity” is to elicit people’s

- curiosity so that they will take their own initiative to find out more about Buddhism. It often entails using large-scale, impressive structures or events to attract attention, and highlighting the uniqueness of Buddhism and Chinese culture.
- 52 Ibid., 60. The Chinese word 結緣 can be likened to creating links of affinity or instilling a positive predisposition toward Buddhism, such that at an opportune time later, people may find resonance with its teachings.
- 53 Ibid., 65. Briefly, “localization” involves preserving the essential teachings of Buddhism while varying culture-specific practices to adapt to local contexts.
- 54 BLIA operates as a not-for-profit organization that is bound by its constitution and local legalities, and its members pay an annual membership fee and participate in the activities of FGS and BLIA. Devotees are Buddhists that participate in religious activities of the temple and may make donations but are not bound by a membership system. Volunteers may be Buddhists or non-Buddhists that take up voluntary work in a regular or project-based mode. Most BLIA members are also devotees and/ or volunteers, but the reverse is not necessarily the case.
- 55 Kenneth Ho, *The sharing of space between regular visitors and tourists at the FGS He Hua Buddhist Temple in Amsterdam* (2013). (accessed May 29, 2023), <http://arno.uvt.nl/show.cgi?fid=131589>, 24.
- 56 Jay D. Gatrell and Noga Collins-Kreiner, “Negotiated space: Tourists, pilgrims, and the Bah ’ terraced gardens in Haifa”. *Geoforum* 37 (January 01, 2006) 5, 765-778.
- 57 Jaeyeon Choe, Michael Blazey and Ondrej Mitas, “Motivations of non-Buddhists visiting Buddhist temples,” *Current Issues in Tourism* 18:1 (2015), 70-82, DOI: 10.1080/13683500.2013.771627 (accessed May 29, 2023)
- 58 Jens Reinke, “Sacred Secularities: Ritual and Social Engagement in a Global Buddhist China,” *Religions* 9, no. 11 (2018): 338;7 <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9110338>
- 59 Stuart Chandler, “Globalizing Chinese Culture, Localizing Buddhist Teachings: The Internationalization of Foguanshan,” *Journal of Global Buddhism* 3 (February 2015): 64. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1310625>. “Sparking curiosity” is to elicit people’s curiosity so that they will take their own initiative to find out more about Buddhism. It often entails using large-scale, impressive structures or events to attract attention, and highlighting the uniqueness of Buddhism and Chinese culture.
- 60 Jens Reinke. “Fo Guang Shan and Global China as a spatial order,” *Mapping Modern Mahayana: Chinese Buddhism and Migration in the Age of Global Modernity* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021):142. <https://www.perlego.com/book/2110537/mapping-modern-mahayana-chinese-buddhism-and-migration-in-the-age-of-global-modernity-pdf>
- 61 Hsing Yun, *An Honest Revelation—An Open Letter*, (accessed June 7, 2023), <https://hsingyunef.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/An-Honest-Revelation—An-Open-Letter-PDF.pdf>