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**Building Buddhism in Canada**  
**From the Ishikawa Hotel to the Four Great Sacred Buddhist Mountains Project**

Henry C. H. Shiu and Jamie S. Scott

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# BUILDING BUDDHISM IN CANADA

## From the Ishikawa Hotel to the Four Great Sacred Buddhist Mountains Project

HENRY C.H. SHIU is the inaugural Shi Wu De professor in Chinese Buddhist Studies at Emmanuel College of Victoria University, University of Toronto. His area of research specialization lies in the theory of the *tathāgatagarbha* or Buddha nature, and he has also focused his studies on Mahāyāna Buddhism in India, China, and Tibet, particularly on the historical and doctrinal development of the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra traditions. Other research interests include contemporary engaged Buddhist movements, Buddhist chaplaincy, Buddhism in Canada, and Western classical music.

JAMIE S. SCOTT is professor in the Department of Humanities and the graduate programs in English, geography, humanities, and interdisciplinary studies, York University, Toronto. His most recent publications include "Mosques in Canada: From the Qur'anic Masjid to Sharif Senbel's 'Canadian Islamic Regionalism[s]," in Jessica Mace (ed.), *A Medieval Legacy: The Ongoing Life of Forms in the Built: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Thurlby* (Montréal, Patrimoine, p. 373-401). His current research interests include the role of literary tourism in the sustainable repurposing of industrial heritage in Manchester, England; Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia; and Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

> HENRY C.H. SHIU  
AND JAMIE S. SCOTT

There has been little research on the architecture of Buddhist temples in Canada. Even less attention has been paid to the roles these temples play and their significance for Buddhist communities in diaspora in the multiethnic and multicultural context of contemporary Canadian society. For Buddhists coming to Canada, temple architecture serves not only as a means of maintaining religious and cultural identity, but also as a vehicle enabling Buddhist beliefs and practices to take firm root in Canada, serving the spiritual needs of immigrants, converts, and future generations of their families. Within that general context, this essay proceeds in three parts. In broad strokes, "Building Buddhism in Canada" discusses the arrival of East Asian Buddhist immigrants in Canada and identifies locations illustrative of the establishment and diffusion of Buddhism across the country, beginning with the now lost Ishikawa Hotel in Vancouver. A second section, "The Cham Shan Temple and the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project," discusses sites associated with the Buddhist Association of Canada (BAC), notably the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden near Bethany, Ontario, the first phase of the BAC's Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project. A replica of the Great East Hall of China's historic Foguang Temple (857 CE), the main Dharma Hall of the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden is of special interest.<sup>1</sup> An "Afterword" suggests further implications of the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project and other research for Chinese Buddhist identity and heritage in Canada. Bringing to life in Canada an ancient example of Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhist architecture



FIG. 1. THE RAYMOND BUDDHIST CHURCH, 35 BROADWAY AVENUE, RAYMOND. | ALBERTA CULTURE AND COMMUNITY SPIRIT, HISTORIC RESOURCES MANAGEMENT, 2000: [HTTPS://WWW.HISTORICPLACES.CA/EN/REP-REG/IMAGE-IMAGE.ASPX?ID=8773#1], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.

in its heyday evokes shared memories of cultural heritage among members of the country's Chinese diaspora. Envisioned as a landmark attraction for Buddhist pilgrims and religious tourists, the project strengthens the living legacy of Chinese immigrant communities in Canada and enhances the image of the Buddha and Buddhist traditions in North America and abroad.<sup>2</sup>

### BUILDING BUDDHISM IN CANADA

Buddhist thought and practice were introduced to Canada in the mid-nineteenth century by Chinese and Japanese immigrants. Chinese labourers were first brought to British Columbia to work in gold mines, then over the following decades in fish canneries, building railways and roads, and laying telegraph cables across Canada. There is scant evidence that these early Chinese immigrants, organized in Buddhist congregations, constructed Buddhist temples or otherwise set about the institutionalization of Buddhism. The first Japanese immigrants also arrived in Canada in the later nineteenth century, most of them "the second sons of poor farmers, fishermen, and labourers."<sup>3</sup> They hoped to make a living abroad during the economic, social, and political upheavals of the Meiji period in Japan [1868-1912]. For the most part, these immigrants retained their Buddhist faith in their new lives in Canada.

In 1905, Senju Sasaki, a minister of the Japanese Jōdo Shinshū school of Mahāyāna Pure Land Buddhism, arrived in Vancouver from Japan and established Canada's first Buddhist temple in the Ishikawa Hotel, long ago demolished.<sup>4</sup> The first congregation rented the dining room of the hotel on Powell Street, wherein a figure of the Amida Buddha was enshrined. By 1906, when a loaf of bread cost five cents, Sasaki was able to raise a princely five thousand six hundred and

sixty-eight dollars to purchase a house. Renovated, the premises served as a cultural centre for the Japanese community, offering chanting, English classes for the young Japanese, and a refuge from the threat of racism. Sasaki returned to Japan, but the number of Jōdo Shinshū adherents continued to grow, with new branches forming in Sapperton, Barnet, and Port Moody, British Columbia.<sup>5</sup> "By 1909," Janet McClellan writes, "the Canadian government officially recognized Jodo Shinshu as a religion, enabling its clergy to legally perform death and burial ceremonies."<sup>6</sup> Despite a brief period of schism in the early 1920s, more Jōdo Shinshū temples opened in Vancouver, as well as "New Westminster, Marpole, Steveston, Mission, Royston, Maple Ridge, Okanagan, Chemainus, Victoria, Skeena, Ocean Falls and Whonnock."<sup>7</sup> In 1933, the Buddhist Churches of Canada (BCC) was founded in Vancouver to coordinate activities among the temples.<sup>8</sup>

In order to cultivate acceptance in broader Canadian society, Jōdo Shinshū communities developed distinctly unusual Buddhist liturgical practices. Emulating the Protestant Christian cultural ethos, they held services on Sundays. Both Japanese and non-Japanese devotees were welcome at these services, which included a liturgy accompanied by western musical instruments and the singing of Buddhist verses modelled on Christian hymns. Significant changes in Japanese Buddhist architecture accompanied these efforts to assimilate into mainstream Canadian society. Scarcely reflective of Asian or Buddhist influences, Jōdo Shinshū houses of worship were furnished with pews and pulpits and known as "Buddhist churches."<sup>9</sup> Celebrated as "the first Buddhist temple outside British Columbia," the "Raymond Buddhist Church" in southern Alberta reflects these developments (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> Erected

as a schoolhouse in 1903, the premises served as home to the local Jōdo Shinshū congregation from 1929 to 2006.<sup>11</sup> In addition, the BCC, which had disbanded during World War II, revived and headquartered in Raymond as the Buddhist Foundation of Canada (BFC).<sup>12</sup> In 1984, the Alberta Register of Historic Places listed the Raymond Buddhist Church as being "architecturally significant as a representative of typical schoolhouse and church construction in rural Alberta during the early part of the twentieth century."<sup>13</sup>

During World War II, however, an order-in-council under "Defence of Canada Regulations" (1939) led to the establishment of internment camps for Canadians of Japanese ancestry. Displacing over twenty-two thousand people, this measure temporarily paused Buddhist activities until changing federal government regulations began to disperse detainees toward the end of the war.<sup>14</sup> Although Ottawa's policies were discriminatory in nature, the later resettlement of camp internees helped to spread Jōdo Shinshū Buddhism across Canada. After World War II, Buddhism developed in Canada in diverse ways. Jōdo Shinshū continued to expand. The BFC designated four "administrative and electoral districts in Canada: Eastern Canada (Toronto, Hamilton, and Montreal), Manitoba (Winnipeg), Alberta (Raymond, Coaldale, and others), and British Columbia (Kelowna and New Denver)."<sup>15</sup> A key missionary figure, Kenryu Takashi Tsuji [1919-2004] disseminated Jōdo Shinshū teachings eastward, helping to organize congregations in numerous locations, including the major centres of Toronto (1945) and Montréal (1947).<sup>16</sup>

Since World War II, the Buddhist landscape in Canada has been greatly enriched by several waves of Asian immigrants and refugees. In the 1960s and 1970s, a

succession of revisions to the *Immigration Act, 1952* resulted in immigration eligibility being determined not by “race, ethnicity religion and national origin,” but according to a new system “in which independent immigrants were assessed points in specific categories relating to their education, occupational skills, employment prospects, age, proficiency in English and French and personal character.”<sup>17</sup> These changes benefitted skilled immigrants who were members of visible minorities, especially after the Liberal government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau [1919-2000] declared multiculturalism to be Canada’s official federal policy in 1971.<sup>18</sup> Further, revisions to immigration rules also brought about demographic shifts in religious membership in Canada. Federal census data record a sevenfold increase in Buddhists from 51,955 in 1981 to 366,830 in 2011. “After the 1967 change in Canadian immigration law,” Janet McLellan writes, “Buddhists from Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, Burma, Tibet, Nepal, India, mainland China, and Thailand began to settle in Toronto.”<sup>19</sup> “From 1979,” she continues, “large numbers of Indochinese refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia contributed significantly to the growth in Buddhism in Toronto.”<sup>20</sup>

We have seen how Jōdo Shinshū first established a particular form of Pure Land Mahāyāna Buddhism across Canada. An influx of immigrants from Burma, India, and Sri Lanka led to the founding of Canada’s first Theravadin Buddhist house of worship.<sup>21</sup> Formed in 1973, the Canadian Buddhist Vihara Society (CBVS) cherished “the noble idea of establishing a Buddhist temple in the Sri Lankan Theravāda tradition in Toronto.”<sup>22</sup> Early temples in Sri Lanka were built in rural locales and often at the highest point of the area. Subsequently, temples for urban devotees have been constructed



FIG. 2. AN ARCHITECTURAL MODEL OF THE THERAVADA TORONTO MAHAVIHARA BUDDHIST TEMPLE (RIGHT) AND THE NEW EXTENSION UNDER DEVELOPMENT (LEFT), 4698 KINGSTON ROAD, SCARBOROUGH, ON. | LANKA REPORTER.COM [HTTPS://LANKAREPORTER.COM/BLOG/TORONTO-MAHAVIHARA-BUILD-MONASTIC-RESIDENCE/], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.

outside cities, away from the hurly-burly of everyday life, while rural congregations favour sites which maintain separation between the temple and the village. In terms of layout, highly symmetrical arrangements are very often observed.<sup>23</sup> Such traditional architectural planning is rarely found in Theravāda temples in Canada. Rather, an immigrant Buddhist congregation has usually purchased an existing property and adapted or expanded it into a place of worship. Thus, in 1978, the CBVS founded the Toronto Mahavihara Buddhist Temple in Scarborough, Ontario. Originally a Dairy Queen fast-food franchise with two bedrooms and a living room, the building was renovated and converted into space suitable for accommodating Buddhist monks and for hosting Buddhist activities.<sup>24</sup>

As more Sri Lankan immigrants arrived in the Toronto region in the following decades, the Canadian Buddhist Vihara Society looked for larger premises to meet its needs. Now known as the Toronto Mahavihara Society (TMS), the congregation eventually moved to their current location at 4698 Kingston Road, Scarborough. They transformed the century-old four-bedroom house

into an *awasage*, that is, a residence for Buddhist monks. Interestingly, this site “on the edge of the picturesque Rouge Valley” seems to reflect the traditional Sri Lankan Buddhist preference for temples set apart from the hustle and bustle of the city.<sup>25</sup> The interior design and exterior architecture of the building follow traditional Sri Lankan models. Notably, a white structure rises above the roof like a *stūpa*, which, in Kevin Trainor’s words, “serves as an object of mediation . . . between the human realm and the realm of nirvana.”<sup>26</sup> The Toronto Mahavihara Buddhist Temple offers not only a worship place for the Theravāda Buddhists but also a cultural centre for Sri Lankans. In 2016, in light of the growing number of devotees, the TMS announced plans to construct a new multipurpose building to provide more space for housing monks and for the Sunday Dhamma School, which introduces children and teenagers to “Buddhism and Buddhist way of life.”<sup>27</sup> Designed by Sri Lankan architect Yakdehikandage Ruwan Costa, who has offices in Markham, Ontario, the proposed new monastic residence and Sunday Dhamma School will be located next to the existing temple, with a similar style of red roof and yellow walls (fig. 2).





FIG. 3. THE RIWOCHÉ TIBETAN BUDDHIST TEMPLE, 28 HEINTZMAN AVENUE, TORONTO, ON.

| GOOGLE STREET VIEW: [HTTPS://WWW.GOOGLE.CA/MAPS/@43.6661944,-79.4636207,3A,75Y,201.55H,104.65T/DA=13M711E113M511S98CFTY5EPLGGZNYEN6TVGG12E015520150401T0000001/711331218166567HL=EN], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.



FIG. 4. FROM 1985 TO 1993, THE CHINESE CHAN GOLD BUDDHA MONASTERY OCCUPIED THE SALVATION ARMY TEMPLE (1949), BUILT IN THE MODERNE STYLE AT 30 EAST HASTINGS STREET, VANCOUVER, BC. | JASON VANDERHILL BY PERSONAL COMMUNICATION.

As Henry Shiu has observed, “[t]he ethnic diversity of the immigrant groups means that Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna Buddhism can all be found in Canada in a variety of lineages, teachings, ritual forms, and practices.”<sup>28</sup> The conversion of a variety of different premises into places of worship at once expresses and embodies the compromise that immigrant Buddhists have been willing to make in order to adapt the traditional temple setting to the Canadian environment. Making use of whatever spaces that were available to them, many immigrant Japanese, Sri Lankan, Burmese, Thai, and Korean Buddhists have established their temples in this manner. Clearly, it is not possible to discuss every instance: indeed, Shiu notes that in the Toronto region alone the number of Buddhist places of worship rose above seventy between 1965 and 2005.<sup>29</sup> But the tendency to purchase existing properties and to transform them into Buddhist places of worship continues among more recent groups of newcomers. If the Jōdo Shinshū Mahāyāna Raymond Buddhist Church began life as a schoolhouse and Theravāda Buddhists transformed a Dairy Queen outlet into the Toronto Mahavihara Buddhist

Temple, the work of a group of Tibetan immigrants in Toronto exemplifies this phenomenon in the Vajrayāna Buddhist tradition. Since 1996, the Riwoche Tibetan Buddhist Temple has occupied 28 Heintzman Avenue, Toronto (fig. 3). To provide accommodation for monks and space for meditation classes, a second storey and rooms at the rear were added to this red brick commercial structure, which served as a showroom for the Heintzman Piano Company in the 1890s, then as a Polish Veterans Hall after World War II. The interior of the main floor replicates the Riwoche Vajrayāna sect’s original temple in southeastern Tibet, which was destroyed by occupying Chinese military forces in the 1950s.<sup>30</sup>

Since the late 1970s, however, waves of immigration from Hong Kong, Taiwan, the People’s Republic of China, and various parts of Southeast Asia have accorded Chinese Buddhism a prominent place on the Canada’s religious landscape. By 2001, well over half of Canada’s Buddhists were of Chinese ethnic background.<sup>31</sup> Though ethnic Chinese communities may be found in every major city in Canada, the vast majority live in

the metropolitan regions of Vancouver and Toronto.<sup>32</sup> Many Chinese Buddhist congregations have followed the familiar pattern of converting existing structures into houses of worship. In Vancouver, for example, a branch of the Dharma Realm Buddhist Association, founded in 1959 by Mahāyāna Chan Buddhists emigrating from Hong Kong to San Francisco, California, purchased the historic Salvation Army Temple (1949) at 301 East Hastings Street (fig. 4).<sup>33</sup> Occupying the building as the Gold Buddha Monastery from 1985 to 1993, the Chinese Buddhist newcomers were perhaps attracted to the formal geometry of the moderne façade designed by Mercer and Mercer Architects (1939-1970).<sup>34</sup> By contrast, the Chinese Buddhist Ching Kwok Temple (1992) at 300 Bathurst Street, Toronto, more overtly manifests architectural adaptation (fig. 5). Built as a movie theatre in the early twentieth-century, between the 1930s and the 1980s the premises served as the Ukrainian Labor Temple (1927) of the “left-leaning” Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (1927), later named the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians Temple (1945).<sup>35</sup> Now, vivid red pillars and yellow ceramic



FIG. 5. THE CHINESE MAHAYANA PURE LAND BUDDHIST CHING KWOK TEMPLE (1992), 300 BATHURST STREET, TORONTO, ON. | GOOGLE MAPS: [HTTPS://WWW.GOOGLE.COM/ MAPS/@43.6507928,-79.4053877,3A,90Y,269.14H,89.05T/DATA=!3M7!1E1!3M5!1SY5GGYBCTNSVSZ-C5FSQ80A!2E0!5S 20180701T000000!7!163841818192], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.



FIG. 6. THE INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST SOCIETY TEMPLE, 9160 STEVESTON HIGHWAY, RICHMOND, BC, EPITOMIZES A SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGE OF WESTERN CONSTRUCTION METHODS AND THE TRADITIONAL NORTHERN CHINESE STYLE OF PALATIAL ARCHITECTURE. | INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST SOCIETY, CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION-SHAREALIKE 3.0 LICENSE: [HTTPS://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:IBSTEMPLEMAIN.JPG], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.

roofing in a patently Chinese architectural style highlight the Mahāyāna Pure Land sanctuary's symmetrical red brick façade.<sup>36</sup> As Victoria Yau has observed, "[u]se of strong primary colours on building exteriors is a special feature of Chinese architecture."<sup>37</sup>

At the same time, though, the growing number of Chinese immigrants has enabled communities to raise enough funds to purchase land, retain architects, and construct distinctive, purpose-built Chinese Buddhist temples. Often, the process is not straightforward. Writing of Toronto, McLellan observes that in addition to the fiscal challenges, establishing a Buddhist temple "also requires levels of acculturation and social diplomacy to meet the demands of understanding Canadian building code regulations and by-laws, gaining permits from local governments, and overcoming (if possible) hostility of nearby residents."<sup>38</sup> Still, success stories have multiplied across Canada in recent decades, epitomized by the celebrated International Buddhist Temple in Richmond, British Columbia (fig. 6). Opened in 1983 by the International

Buddhist Society, this remarkable complex represents a successful marriage of western construction methods and the traditional northern Chinese style of palatial architecture. The symmetrical design of the International Buddhist Temple is modeled on the imperial Forbidden City (1406-1420), Beijing, China, but in a departure from Chinese methods, structural steel frames and concrete columns support the traditional tiered roof, flared eaves, and other decorative elements.<sup>39</sup> That said, care has been taken to replicate the colour symbolism characteristic of traditional Chinese Buddhist temples. Historically the colour of "platforms and terraces," for instance, white is used here for stairs and railings. More importantly, the red columns and yellow roof carry long-standing symbolic significance.<sup>40</sup> For example, "the color [yellow] is the symbolic color of 'earth,' standing for the center of the universe and is regarded as a color of nobility . . . and . . . imperial power," while red is "the color of sun and fire" and is "associated with prosperity and happiness."<sup>41</sup> Finally, the site's extensive Chinese gardens at once contrast with and comprise a harmonious compliment to

the ordered form of the temple building (fig. 7). Replete with lotus ponds, meandering paths, a wide variety of colourful flora, and skilfully crafted wooden gazebos and stone bridges, landscaping is intended "to mimic the spontaneous growth of nature."<sup>42</sup>

### THE CHAM SHAN TEMPLE AND THE FOUR SACRED BUDDHIST MOUNTAINS IN CANADA PROJECT

Efforts to build Buddhism in Canada have taken equally significant steps forward in central Canada. In this respect, initiatives associated with the Cham Shan Temple are of particular interest, especially the conception of the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project. The story of the Cham Shan Temple begins in the late 1960s with the arrival in Toronto of the Tiantai Mahāyāna Buddhist monks Venerable Lok To [1923-2011], Venerable Shing Cheung [1920-2006], and Venerable Sing Hung [1924--].<sup>43</sup> The clerics began sharing the Tiantai *Dharma*, or teaching, with small gatherings at various rented spaces. Encouraged by an increase in the





FIG. 7. THE GARDENS AT THE INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST SOCIETY TEMPLE, 9160 STEVESTON HIGHWAY, RICHMOND, BC. | INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST SOCIETY, CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION-SHAREALIKE 3.0 LICENSE: [HTTPS://EN.WIKIPEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:IBSTEMPLEGARDEN.JPG], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.



FIG. 8. THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE, 7254 BAYVIEW AVE., THORNHILL, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://EN.CHAMSHANTEMPLE.ORG/MESSAGES/ABOUTUS/INDEX.PHP?CHANNELID=88&SECTIONID=109&ITEMID=87&ATTACHID=0&LANGCD=EN], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.



FIG. 9. KNOWN AS A PAIFANG, THE TRADITIONAL ENTRANCE TO THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE, 7254 BAYVIEW AVE., THORNHILL, ON. | CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION-SHAREALIKE 3.0 UNPORTED LICENSE: [HTTPS://UPLOAD.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKIPEDIA/COMMONS/C/C2/CHAM\_SHAN\_TEMPLE\_-\_A\_CHINESE\_TEMPLE\_IN\_TORONTO\_-\_CANADA\_-\_2014.JPG], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.



FIG. 10. THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE COMPLEX, 7254 BAYVIEW AVE. THORNHILL, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://EN.CHAMSHANTEMPLE.ORG/MESSAGES/ABOUTUS/INDEX.PHP?CHANNELID=88&SECTIONID=117&LANGCD=EN&ITEMID=87], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.

number of followers, in 1968 they purchased a small bungalow at 100 Southill Drive in North York. Registered in the name of the Buddhist Association of Canada (BAC), the Nan Shan Temple, which literally translates as "South Hill Temple," became Canada's first Chinese Buddhist institution. Further growth followed relatively quickly. In 1973, the founding monks accepted the donation of a property at 7254 Bayview Avenue in Thornhill. The building was torn down and within two years a new Buddhist worship hall had been constructed. Named for the Cham Shan Temple in Qingdao, China, founded by the Tiantai master Tan Xu [1875-1963] under whom Lok To studied in Hong Kong, this sanctuary was the first Buddhist temple in

central Canada to feature elements of traditional Chinese architecture (fig. 8).<sup>44</sup>

The BAC soon acquired neighbouring properties on Bayview Avenue and constructed halls in the same style on either side of the Cham Shan Temple in 1984 and 1994. The Guan Yin Hall features an imposing statue in female form of Avalokiteśvara, the compassionate *bodhisattva* of a thousand arms, while ceremonies venerating ancestors usually take place in the Di Zang Hall, which is dedicated to Kṣitigarbha, the *bodhisattva* who works to save the dead from the various realms of hell.<sup>45</sup> A memorial shrine to Tan Xu soon followed. In 1998, a shrine to the Buddhist virtue of wisdom, or *prajñā*, was added, and then in 2000, the Avatamsaka

Pavilion, named for the *Avatamsaka* [Flower Garland] *sūtra*, a celebrated late third- or early fourth-century Mahāyāna scripture influential among Chinese Buddhists. Devotees access Cham Shan Temple through a traditional archway, known as a *paifang* (fig. 9). Occupying almost four acres, the site even includes underground parking. Taken together, the additional structures and accompanying amenities transformed a single worship hall into an extensive Chinese temple complex (fig. 10). As Liu has remarked, "many Chinese immigrants appreciate the Cham Shan Temple because it is familiar to them."<sup>46</sup> "The architecture, the rituals, the teachings," she adds, "are similar to other Tiantai temples which are predominant in Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan."<sup>47</sup>



FIG. 11. THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S HONG FA TEMPLE, 1330 BLOOR STREET WEST, TORONTO, ON. | E. VICTOR C. ON CANADA 247: [HTTPS://CDN.CANADA247.INFO/ASSETS/UPLOADS/7F1290EE6FC6ADC84F7CF4EF733AC62E\_ONTARIO-TORONTO-DIVISION-TORONTO-OLD-TORONTO-BUDDHIST-ASSOCIATION-OF-CANADA-HONG-FA-TEMPLE-416-537-1342HTML.JPG], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.

The BAC continued to expand its services in Toronto and in other parts of Ontario. In 1984, they purchased a twenty-thousand-square-foot, three-storey mixed commercial and residential building at 1330 Bloor Street West in Toronto and, in another example of repurposing, transformed it into the Hong Fa Temple (fig. 11). A decade or so later, the BAC opened the thirty-thousand-square-foot Cham Shan Buddhist Gallery and Library at 1224 Lawrence Avenue West.

Although a lack of visitors has led to its closure, the building housed Buddhist texts, sculptures, and art, offered dining facilities, and hosted lectures and other events related to the transmission of Buddhist teachings. In 2002, by contrast, the BAC completed a more successful project in Niagara Falls, Ontario. Acquired in 1995, a three-acre site at 4303 River Road, near the Whirlpool Rapids Bridge, contains three structures of architectural interest: the Ten Thousand Buddhas



FIG. 12. THE FAMOUS GIANT WILD GOOSE PAGODA IN XI'AN, CHINA, ERECTED DURING THE TANG DYNASTY [618-907] AND RESTORED SEVERAL TIMES OVER THE CENTURIES, MOST RECENTLY IN 1964. | CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION-SHAREALIKE 3.0 UNPORTED LICENSE: [HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:GIANT\_WILD\_GOOSE\_PAGODA.JPG], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.



FIG. 13. THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S TEN THOUSAND BUDDHAS SARIRA [RELICS] STUPA, 4303 RIVER ROAD, NIAGARA FALLS, ON. | ROY W., PUBLIC DOMAIN, TRIPADVISOR: [HTTPS://WWW.TRIPADVISOR.CA/ATTRACTION\_REVIEW-G154998-D3547891-REVIEWS-CHAM\_SHAN\_TEMPLE-NIAGARA\_FALLS\_ONTARIO.HTML#/MEDIA-ATF/3547891/260938809-P/7ALBUMID=-160&TYPE=0&CATEGORY=-160], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.

Sarira [Relics] Stupa, the Hall of Five Contemplations Temple, and the Guan Yin Pavilion. Dedicated to world peace, the predominantly grey *stūpa* rises seven storeys in the manner of the renowned Giant Wild Goose Pagoda in Xi'an, China (figs. 12 and 13).<sup>48</sup> It houses relics of the Buddha, as well as numerous Buddhist artifacts from China, Thailand, Tibet, and Vietnam, including the Grand Bell of World Peace.<sup>49</sup> Most notably, the *stūpa* encompasses a bronze Buddha twelve





FIG. 14. ADJACENT TO THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S TEN THOUSAND BUDDHAS SARIRA [RELICS] STUPA, THE CONTRASTING HALL OF FIVE CONTEMPLATIONS TEMPLE, 4303 RIVER ROAD, NIAGARA FALLS, ON. | ROY W., PUBLIC DOMAIN, TRIPADVISOR: [HTTPS://WWW.TRIPADVISOR.CA/ATTRACTION\_REVIEW-G154998-D3547891-REVIEWS-CHAM\_SHAN\_TEMPLE-NIAGARA\_FALLS\_ONTARIO.HTML#/MEDIA-ATF/3547891/223255794/P?ALBUMID=-160&TYPE=0&CATEGORY=-160], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.



FIG. 15. COMPLEMENTING THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S TEN THOUSAND BUDDHAS SARIRA [RELICS] STUPA, THE GUAN YIN PAVILION HOUSES THE *BODHISATTVA* AVALOKITEŚVARA IN EPONYMOUS FEMALE FORM, 4303 RIVER ROAD, NIAGARA FALLS, ON. | LAURIE P., PUBLIC DOMAIN, TRIPADVISOR: [HTTPS://WWW.YELP.CA/BIZ\_PHOTOS/TEN-THOUSAND-BUDDHAS-SARIRA-STUPA-NIAGARA-FALLS?SELECT=Q5CL7FCCNNZHTZXITVCZAJ], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.

metres tall and weighing seven tons, which was fashioned in China, shipped to Canada in pieces and reassembled on site. A more modest two-storey building, the Hall of Five Contemplations Temple contrasts markedly with the *stūpa* (fig. 14). Painted in bright red, yellow, and green, the structure includes a worship hall, rooms for meditation and meetings, offices, a gift shop, a vegetarian restaurant and kitchen, a museum, and a library. The second floor provides accommodation for monks and nuns. Statues and paintings of *bodhisattvas* and Buddhist worthies may be found throughout the building. Also painted red, yellow, and green, the Guan Yin Pavilion features a gracious figure of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara in eponymous female form, posed upon a lotus flower pedestal as the patroness of mothers and the protectress of babies and infants (fig. 15).

Further BAC accomplishments in Ontario have included transforming a Consolidated-Bathurst Packaging plant into the vast, if underused Fah Hoy Buddhist Temple at 29 Linden Street, Hamilton; converting a commercial structure into the Ci En Temple at 9441 Markham Road, Markham; adapting a residential building into the Fah Wah Temple at 888 Teston Road, Vaughan; and establishing the Cham Shan Buddhist Seminary at the Bayview Avenue site in Toronto, an educational and missionary institution which holds the distinction of being, in Liu's words, "the first Chinese Buddhist seminary to train clergy in Canada."<sup>50</sup> That said, the Ten Thousand Buddhas Sarira Stupa differs from other BAC endeavours for seeming deliberately to be sited "as a religious centre for Chinese Buddhist and other tourists" [emphasis added].<sup>51</sup> "In this way," Kay Koppedray and Mavis L. Fenn write,

"the World Peace Saria Stupa is an example of a centre with ethnic associations that opens outward to others."<sup>52</sup> In fact, they argue, the BAC chose Niagara Falls in order "to make Buddhism visible and available to a broader community."<sup>53</sup> There is evidence that this intention is being fulfilled. As one visitor to the Ten Thousand Buddhas Sarira Stupa noted a few years ago, both "tourists and devotees can cherish this great chance to make offerings and pay homage to the Buddha."<sup>54</sup>

In turn, however, such sentiments seem to have inspired the BAC's most ambitious undertaking: the Four Great Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project. For early indications of this visionary venture, we must return to the Cham Shan Temple in Toronto. Outside the gate of the Bayview Avenue complex stand four boulders (fig. 16). In 1975, the founding



FIG. 16. INSCRIBED WITH THE NAMES OF THE BODHISATTVAS AVALOKITEŚVARA, MAÑJUŚRĪ, SAMANTABHADRA, AND KṢITIGARBHA, FOUR BOULDERS STAND OUTSIDE THE GATE OF THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE, 7254 BAYVIEW AVE. THORNHILL, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://THEBUDDHISTGARDEN.COM/GALLERY%E7%9B%B8%E7%89%87%E9%9B%86/MAIN-HALL-FOUNDATION-%E5%A5%A0%E5%9F%BA/], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.

monks had the rocks inscribed with the names of four *bodhisattvas*. These inscriptions reflect their understanding of the BAC's mission to practice and promote the compassion of the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara, the wisdom of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī, the conduct of the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra, and the resolve of the *bodhisattva* Kṣitigarbha. In that regard, Chinese Buddhist tradition holds that these four *bodhisattvas* make their homes at four sacred mountains: Mañjuśrī at Wutai Shan, or the Mountain of Five Plateaus; Avalokiteśvara at Putuo Shan, or the Mountain of Brilliance; Kṣitigarbha at Jiuhua Shan, or the Mountain of Nine Glories; and Samantabhadra at Emei Shan, or the Mountain of the Delicate Brows. Located at a distance from one another, the four mountains symbolically encompass the cardinal geography of China: Emei Shan is located in Sichuan province in the west; Putuo Shan in Zhejiang province in the east; Wutai Shan in Shanxi province in the north; and Jiuhua Shan in Anhui province,

south of the Yangtze River. Establishing these mountains as the abodes of four important *bodhisattvas* proved to be an important step in the domestication of Buddhism in imperial China. Though local and regional Buddhist practices predate China's imperial centuries, the appellation "Four Sacred Mountains" and their joint status as Buddhist pilgrimage sites were fully institutionalized during the Ming [1368-1644] and Qing [1644-1912] dynasties. Well aware of this history, the BAC purchased one thousand three hundred and fifty acres in Peterborough County and the City of Kawartha Lakes in 1990, later adding an additional three hundred and fifty acres. Chosen for their natural tranquillity, these one thousand seven hundred acres are intended as the home of the Four Great Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project. Just as the Four Sacred Mountains played a key role in the establishing Buddhism for monastics and laity in China, the BAC anticipates that their re-creation in rural Ontario will play a key role in the domestication of

Buddhism not only in Canada, but more widely in North America and the West.

Appointed as the abbot of the Cham Shan Temple in 2004, the Venerable Da Yi [1967--] has made the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project his life's mission. While the four mountains are far apart in China, the four re-created locations are within a ten-minute drive of one another.<sup>55</sup> Still, there was the question of construction priorities. The history of Buddhism in China suggested an answer. Although the Four Sacred Mountains only assumed an institutional identity in China's later medieval and early modern periods, the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* identifies Wutai Shan as the earthly abode of Mañjuśrī, a conviction widely held among Chinese Buddhists as early as the fifth century. Karl Debreczeny notes that "from the seventh century on, it became an international pilgrimage center, attracting Buddhist pilgrims from as far away as India, Kashmir, Tibet, Japan, and Korea."<sup>56</sup> By analogy, the historical precedence and transnational appeal of Wutai Shan seem likely to capture the imagination of immigrant Chinese Buddhists on the one hand, and on the other, of other ethnically diverse Canadian Buddhist communities still in their relative infancy. Inspired by a vision of "world peace, joy and harmony," Da Yi and the BAC thus decided to begin the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project with the re-creation of Wutai Shan.<sup>57</sup> Occupying five hundred and thirty acres, this phase of the project is called the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden. It involves an estimated total investment of over forty million Canadian dollars, with one million five hundred thousand dollars spent on architect and permit application fees, sixteen million on the purchase of building materials, two million on road construction and foundation work, eight million on the main Dharma Hall, and the remainder on ancillary structures, a lake,





FIG. 17. A VIEW OF THE GREAT EAST HALL OF THE FOGUANG TEMPLE IN SHANXI PROVINCE, CHINA. | LAUREN TEIXEIRA, RADI//  
[[HTTPS://RADIICHINA.COM/BUILDING-CHINA-HOW-BIG-HATS-CAME-TO-DOMINATE-CHINESE-ARCHITECTURE/](https://radiichina.com/building-china-how-big-hats-came-to-dominate-chinese-architecture/)], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.

ponds, and other landscaping, as well as statues of *bodhisattvas*, various Buddhist worthies, and stone carvings of auspicious fauna. Da Yi and the BAC have received support from both the Canadian and Chinese governments, as well as generous donations from Buddhist communities in Canada and overseas.

The main Dharma Hall is the centrepiece of the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden. It is modelled on the wooden architecture of the Tang dynasty [618-907 CE], not only in terms of style but also in terms of its construction technique. More specifically, the main Dharma Hall replicates the Great East Hall [*Dong dadian*] of the Foguang Temple, near Doucun in China's Shanxi Province (fig. 17). In 1937, the sanctuary was rediscovered by a team of architectural historians led by Liang Sicheng [1901-1972], now revered as a patriarch of twentieth-century Chinese architecture and architectural scholarship. In 2009, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) registered Foguang Temple as

a World Heritage Site. Erected in 857 CE, the Great East Hall is the third earliest preserved timber structure in China. In recreating this ancient building in Canada on a one-to-one scale, Da Yi and the BAC wished to recapture the Tang architectural icon not only in form, but also in spirit. Liang's insights proved crucial here. The first major Chinese architect trained in the West, he focused his scholarly attention upon China's long neglected post-and-beam, mortise-and-tenon wooden structures. As Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt explains, Liang "suggested strong similarities" between the structural features of the Great East Hall and the Golden Hall of the Tōshōdaiji temple, a sanctuary of the Rishū school of Buddhism built in 759 CE in Nara, Japan, "under the supervision of a Chinese monk named Jianzhe."<sup>58</sup> Although the Tōshōdaiji temple predates the Great East Hall by eighty-eight years, Liang's studies suggest *a priori* that Chinese architecture influenced Japanese architecture because the technology employed in the later design already characterized a range of

buildings in the considerably earlier Tang period. "By inference," Steinhardt writes, "one can assume that Liang believed that structural features [of the Great East Hall and the Golden Hall] were shared by palatial and religious architecture in China throughout the Tang period, and that he had included [in his study of both halls] images of older city planning to verify the influence of Chinese architecture on Japanese architecture."<sup>59</sup>

Following Liang, we may turn to the *Yingzao fashi* [Building Standards] (1103) for a deeper appreciation of the architectural character of the Great East Hall. Compiled by Li Jie [1065-1110], superintendent of state buildings and director of palace building for emperors of the Song dynasty [960-1279], this authoritative treatise provides insights into the development of Chinese design and construction from the ninth to the fourteenth century.<sup>60</sup> In the words of Qinghua Guo, "This monumental tome of thirty-four chapters consists of five parts arranged systematically. They are: Basic Data; Regulations; Labour Work; Materials; and Drawing."<sup>61</sup> The treatise explains that there were four types of construction in the Tang dynasty, each representing a different ranking of the building. Referring to halls in a palatial style, the highest rank is known as the *diantang*. In descending order, the lower three types are *tingtang*, or mansion; *yuwu*, or ordinary house; and *doujian tingxie*, or pavilion.<sup>62</sup> The Great East Hall of the Foguang Temple complex is a prime example of the *diantang*. "It consists horizontally," Guo explains, "of three superimposed structure units: a network of columns (of equal height), a *puzuo* (bracketing unity) and a roof."<sup>63</sup> In the first instance, thirty-six round wooden pillars provide the main support for the single-storey structure of the Great East Hall. In turn, the *Yingzao fashi* specifies a detailed scheme for the



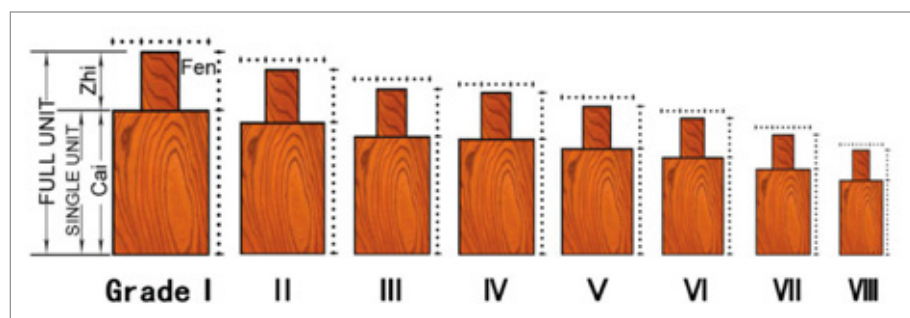


FIG. 18. "CAI MIGHT BE ONE OF EIGHT VALUES AND THE CAI-FEN SYSTEM DETERMINED THE DIMENSIONS OF ARCHITECTURE COMPONENTS, HENCE, THE SCALE AND PROPORTIONS OF THE WHOLE BUILDING CAN BE CONSTRAINED." | LIU AND WU "RULE-BASED GENERATION OF ANCIENT CHINESE ARCHITECTURE FROM THE SONG DYNASTY," P. 5.

symmetrical placement of the columns. Only an even number of columns may be placed at the front, giving an odd number of intervals between them. Known as *mingjian*, the widest interval must occur at the very centre of the façade, while the intervals on either side of it decrease gradually in size, such that, in Steinhardt's words, "the bays that flank *mingjian* are the second longest in a structure, those that flank the flanking bays [*sic*] (in halls large enough for them to exist) are the third longest, and the end bays always are the shortest."<sup>64</sup>

Focused "strongly on technology," the *Yingzao fashi* does not limit the defining characteristics of the *diantang* style to the placement of the façade's post-and-beam columns and bays.<sup>65</sup> The treatise also specifies that "the [height of] exterior pillars do[es] not exceed the width of the bay."<sup>66</sup> Measurement follows a standardized modular grading system. This system uses *cai* and *fèn* as basic units universally applied to all constructions.<sup>67</sup> The *cai*, Jiren Feng explains, is "a section of a bracket arm in which the ratio of its height and width was 3:2."<sup>68</sup> The module "has eight grades, which evolve on the basis of naturally growing tree trunks of certain sizes" (fig. 18).<sup>69</sup> One *cai* equals fifteen *fèn*. In the *diantang* style of the Great East Hall, the columns forming the

*mingjian* at the front of the building are two hundred and fifty *fèn* in height.<sup>70</sup> The proportional distance between columns applies throughout the entire structure, since the *cai* module "works not only for bracketing, columns, windows and doors, eaves and rafters, but also for beams, purlins, and the entire timber frame."<sup>71</sup> In the Great East Hall, the thirty-six pillars are arranged in an eight-by-five configuration, with four pillars removed to make room for the main altar.<sup>72</sup> On top of the pillars are interlocking brackets sets, or *puzuo*, more commonly known in later architectural treatises of the Ming and Qing dynasties as *dougong*, meaning literally "cap and block."<sup>73</sup> The intercolumnar bracket sets of the Great East Hall feature the most complicated system from the Tang dynasty. With a total of seven varieties, this formation deploys four tiers of arms and two cantilevers. The system provides not only structural support but also connects the crossbeams with the column joists in the post-and-beam design, transferring the load of the eaves to the vertical pillars in layers of horizontal bracketing. Each bracket set measures around two metres and one half in height, which is approximately half the height of the column. Crescent beams are used to join the bracket arms, while a special feature of Tang architecture



FIG. 19. THE STEEL AND REINFORCED CONCRETE LOWER LEVELS AND PLATFORM OF THE MAIN DHARMA HALL AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://THEBUDDHISTGARDEN.COM/GALLERY%E7%9B%B8%E7%89%87%E9%9B%86/MAIN-HALL-CONCRETE-FOUNDATION%E5%A4%A7%E6%AE%BF%E6%B0%B4%E6%B3%A5%E5%9F%BA%E7%A4%8E%E5%BB%BA%E8%A8%AD/], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.

involves a roof truss in the shape of an inverted 'V' with no king post under the roof ridge.<sup>74</sup>

Bearing in mind Liang's scholarship, we may appreciate why Steinhardt describes the Great East Hall of the Foguang Temple complex as "the only building in China dated between 782 and 970 that, by all measures, is structurally eminent."<sup>75</sup> It is this historic architectural status that made the Tang building an ideal model for the main Dharma Hall at the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden. After years consulting with architects and planners, then identifying and procuring appropriate materials, the BAC began work on a three-storey structure in 2008. A groundbreaking ceremony took place three years later and the corner stone was laid. The design called for modern methods and materials to be employed in the first two levels of the building, which are framed in steel and reinforced concrete (fig. 19). The three tiers of stairs leading up to the main Dharma Hall incorporate metal framing. Exceeding thirty thousand square feet, the lower level was devised to accommodate a reception area, kitchen, dining hall, gift shop, memorial hall, and security office.



FIG. 20. THE BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S MAIN DHARMA HALL AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://THEBUDDHISTGARDEN.COM/], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.



FIG. 21. AN EXTERIOR CLOSE-UP OF THE DOUGONG BRACKET SETS, MORTISE-AND-TENON CARPENTRY AND POST-AND-BEAM CONSTRUCTION USED IN THE MAIN DHARMA HALL AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | EMILY J. GILBERT, AUGUST 2021.

It provides space for storage, too. Over eight thousand square feet, the middle level contains the mechanical room and washrooms, as well as changing rooms for participants in prayer services. Erected on the uppermost level, the main Dharma Hall reiterates the Great East Hall of the Foguang Temple (fig. 20). Also totalling more than eight thousand square feet, this sanctuary was designed to host all important liturgical occasions. Mimicking the Great East Hall, the main Dharma Hall features a seven-bay façade, and the *dougong* techniques of traditional Tang Chinese carpentry and construction have been employed throughout the build (fig. 21). In another vein, architects took careful note of the devotional geometry of the Tang building: as Liang observes, for example, the feet of the main Buddha statue are at eye level and the ceiling at a thirty-degree angle for devotees standing in the *mingjian* doorframe at the Great East Hall, while the Buddha's head presents at a thirty-degree angle for devotees standing inside the front entrance of the inner colonnade. The architecture of the main Dharma Hall recapitulates this devotional geometry.

Like the components of the BAC's Ten Thousand Buddhas Sarira Stupa in Niagara, the hundreds of wooden bracket sets, beams, trusses, and pillars of the main Dharma Hall were crafted into precise shapes and dimensions in China, assembled to test correctness, then disassembled and shipped to Canada. The timbers used are mainly high-grade Laotian rosewood and yew, treated with natural varnish to prevent decay, insect infestation, and splitting.<sup>76</sup> The meticulous measurement and careful numbering of components guaranteed that they would fit back together properly. To ensure accuracy and authenticity in the refabrication of the building, the BAC ran advertisements seeking "Ancient Chinese Wood Construction Artisans."<sup>77</sup> On site at the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden, craftsmen recruited for their knowledge of and expertise in traditional Chinese carpentry and construction methods reassembled the constituent pieces of the main Dharma Hall like a massive Lego model. Featuring *dougong* and mortise-and-tenon joinery, the sanctuary contains no chemical glues and no screws, nails, or other kinds of metal fastener.<sup>78</sup> The wooden structure of the main Dharma

Hall was successfully assembled in 2017, with all posts and beams in position in less than a month. Interestingly, though, the replica modifies the design of the Great East Hall: to improve the visual quality of the devotional experience, architects opened up the interior of the main Dharma Hall by reducing the number of vertical columns and introducing a pair of seventeen metres overhead horizontal support beams as rafters.<sup>79</sup> Lastly, builders added the roof. Joined to the seventeen-metre beams, the roofing system itself entails traditional timber framing with a single deeply flared eave above an interior ceiling of interwoven wooden strips (fig. 22). Weighing over sixty-one tons, a final layer of twenty-four thousand two hundred and twenty copper shingles protects the building and devotees from the elements (fig. 23).<sup>80</sup> Roofing was completed in the winter of 2018. Like the International Buddhist Temple in Richmond, British Columbia, the main Dharma Hall also features traditional colours, notably golden yellow for the roof, deep rosewood red for the walls and other external timber work, and white for the stairs and balustrades. After the interior was furnished



FIG. 22. UNDER CONSTRUCTION, THE ROOF OF THE MAIN DARMA HALL AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://THEBUDDHISTGARDEN.COM/GALLERY%E7%9B%B8%E7%89%87%E9%9B%86/MAIN-HALL-WOODEN-STRUCTURE-%E5%A4%A7%E6%AE%BF%E6%9C%A8%E7%B5%90%E6%A7%8B%E5%BB%BA%E8%A8%AD%E5%B7%A5%E7%A8%BB/], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.



FIG. 23. COPPER TILES COVER THE ROOF THE MAIN DARMA HALL AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://THEBUDDHISTGARDEN.COM/GALLERY%E7%9B%B8%E7%89%87%E9%9B%86/COPPER-TILED-ROOF-%E5%A4%A7%E6%AE%BF%E9%8A%B5%E7%93%A6%E5%BB%BA%E8%A8%AD%E5%B7%A5%E7%A8%BB/], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.



FIG. 24. THE INTERIOR OF THE MAIN DARMA HALL AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | ALFA CHENG, GOOGLE MAPS [HTTPS://BIT.LY/3OJW8R9], ACCESSED FEBRUARY 1, 2022.



FIG. 25. ON OCTOBER 5, 2019, A CONSECRATION CEREMONY FORMALLY SANCTIFIED THE MAIN DARMA HALL AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | ALFA CHENG, GOOGLE MAPS: [HTTPS://BIT.LY/3AQTFYZ], ACCESSED FEBRUARY 1, 2022.

and decorated, a consecration ceremony formally sanctified the main Dharma Hall on October 5, 2019 (figs. 24 and 25).

The completion and consecration of the main Dharma Hall marks a major milestone in the development of the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden and more broadly in the realization of the larger vision of the Four Great Sacred Buddhist Mountains Project. In that respect, the

hall is the garden's centrepiece, but it will not stand alone on the site. As funds permit, new builds include the Shrine of the Wealth God and the Shrine of the Mountain and Earth Gods, the main entrance gate, the Wutai Shan White Stupa, the Qingliang Chan Temple, the Mañjuśrī Hall, and the Guanyin Hall. More modest structures, the shrines employ post-and-beam construction. Like the entrances to the Cham Shan

sanctuaries in Niagara and on Toronto's Bayview Avenue, the main entrance gate is conceived in a traditional historic style. An imposing thirty metres wide and fifteen metres high, it will welcome Buddhist pilgrims and religious tourists to the garden as they cross from secular to sacred space. Standing on the west side of the site, the Wutai Shan White Stupa and the Qingliang Chan Temple celebrate the eponymous mountain in China.



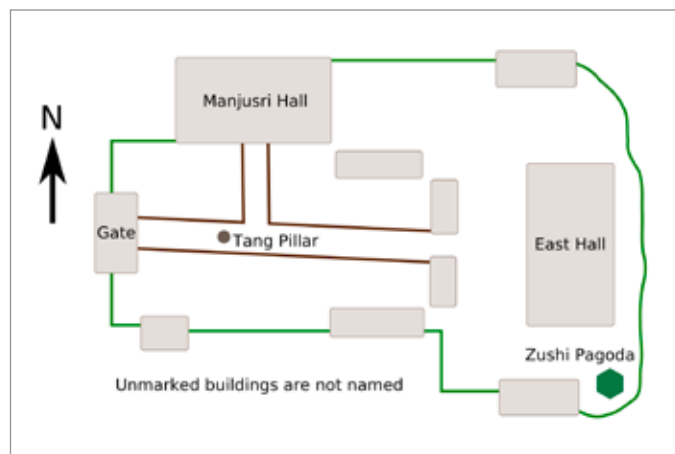


FIG. 26. FACING WEST, THE GREAT EAST HALL OF THE FOGUANG TEMPLE, NEAR DOUCUN IN CHINA'S SHANXI PROVINCE, DOES NOT TURN ITS BACK INAUSPICIOUSLY ON MOUNTAINS RISING IN THE NORTH, SOUTH, AND EAST. | CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION-SHAREALIKE 3.0 UNPORTED LICENSE: [HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:FOGUANG\_TEMPLE\_PLAN.SVG], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.



FIG. 27. BEFORE EXCAVATION, WOODLAND AND WETLAND AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://THEBUDDHISTGARDEN.COM/GALLERY%E7%9B%B8%E7%89%87%E9%9B%86/WISDOM-LAKE%E9%9D%88%E6%B3%89%E6%B9%96/], ACCESSED APRIL 5, 2021.

Literally meaning “clear, cool mountain,” *qingliang* became an alternative name for the peak, following the *Avatamsaka sutra*, which associates the term with the earthly abode of Mañjuśrī.<sup>81</sup> Both the Mañjuśrī Hall and the Guanyin Hall, however, will be erected directly to the south of the main Dharma Hall. With indoor areas between five thousand and seven thousand square feet, these structures function as initiatory spaces through which devotees and other visitors may pass as they ascend northward to the main Dharma Hall. Interestingly, the alignment of these three halls does not mirror the placement of buildings at the Foguang Temple complex. Most Chinese temples are oriented on a north–south axis. The Great East Hall, however, faces west: thus positioned, it does not turn its back on the mountain abodes of the revered Mañjuśrī that rise in the north, south, and east (fig. 26). By contrast, the topography of the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden site and surrounding lands permits the main Dharma Hall, the Mañjuśrī Hall, and the Guanyin Hall to be aligned north to south without incurring inauspicious connotations.

Finally, landscaping plays an important role in the design of traditional Chinese Buddhist temple complexes, as epitomized at the International Buddhist Temple in Richmond, British Columbia. “In Chinese gardens,” Yau observes, “you always find a pavilion, simulated mountain and a pond.”<sup>82</sup> Landscapers of the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden have addressed these conventional expectations. In the first instance, the Shrine of the Wealth God and the Shrine of the Mountain and Earth Gods bring to mind the sort of brightly coloured pavilions popular in the grounds of traditional Chinese temples and palaces.<sup>83</sup> Secondly, evoking a gently rising mountain slope, the north–south alignment of the main Dharma Hall, the Mañjuśrī Hall, and the Guanyin Hall continues beyond these structures to a massive figure of the Buddha at the apex of an accumulating gradient. Thirdly, in its natural state, the site of the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden was a mix of woodland and wetland (fig. 27). Excavations, however, soon revealed three active underground springs. These waters have enabled the formation of Wisdom Lake. Measuring six hundred metres long,

one hundred and fifty metres wide and ten metres deep, the lake symbolizes Mañjuśrī’s boundless wisdom as a source of purifying insight (fig. 28). Numerous stone figures, *stūpas*, and carved auspicious creatures like turtles are installed around the lake and more widely throughout the site. Five statues of Mañjuśrī, each just short of ten metres high, are of particular note. Gifts from Chan Buddhist monks at Wutai Shan, the figures link the surrogate site in Canada with the sacred peak in China as earthly abodes of the *bodhisattva*. Literally, *Wutai* means “five terraces,” referring to five high plateaus surrounding the Foguang Temple complex. Devotees believe a particular form of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī resides on each plateau. The Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden mimics this arrangement. Arriving from China in 2017, the five statues of Mañjuśrī were in place atop five platforms by the end of 2018. On the eastern platform, Akṣobhya embodies the wisdom of perfect reflection; on the southern platform, Ratnasambhava, the wisdom of perfect equanimity; on the western platform, Amitābha, the wisdom of profound insight; and on the northern



FIG. 28. CREATING WISDOM LAKE AT THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION OF CANADA'S CHAM SHAN TEMPLE: [HTTP://THEBUDDHISTGARDEN.COM/GALLERY%E7%9B%B8%E7%89%87%E9%9B%86/WISDOM-LAKE-%E9%9D%88%E6%B3%89%E6%B9%96/], ACCESSED AUGUST 24, 2021.



FIG. 29. A CONCEPTUAL RENDERING OF THE LOCATION OF THE PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS, STATUARY, AND LANDSCAPE FEATURES OF THE WUTAI SHAN BUDDHIST GARDEN, 708 SKI HILL ROAD, BETHANY, ON. | EMILY J. GILBERT, AUGUST 2021.

platform, Amoghasiddhi, the wisdom of perfect conduct. Fifth, Vairocana, the wisdom of the true nature of *Dharma*, stands on the central platform in line south to north between the main Dharma Hall and the massive figure of the Buddha which crowns the rising topography. About six kilometres long, the Bodhi Path and tributary trails link the five statues of Mañjuśrī with one another and with the main entrance gate, the main Dharma Hall, and the Wisdom Lake (fig. 29).

When completed, the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden is expected to attract large numbers of Buddhist pilgrims and religious tourists. In this respect, the BAC and Da Yi have in mind several interrelated purposes: to represent symbolically a surrogate abode for the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī; to expose Canadians to traditional Chinese post-and-beam architecture, mortise-and-tenon joinery, and *dougong* carpentry; to promote cultural exchange between China and Canada; and to nourish the roots of Chinese Buddhism in Canada. Only a few hundred Buddhists live in the Peterborough region, but precedents have already established the Wutai Shan Buddhist

Garden as a pilgrimage destination for Buddhists across Canada and the United States of America, even globally. In 2008, years before the completion of the main Dharma Hall, Shengguang Shi, at that time the deputy abbot at the Cham Shan Temple in Thornhill, undertook a pilgrimage of prostration from the Cham Shan Temple on Bayview Avenue to the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden, a journey of close to one hundred and thirty-five kilometres.<sup>84</sup> A traditional Buddhist practice, such devotions are intended, in Shengguang Shi's own words, "to pay respect to the Buddha, praise the Dharma, give thanks, repent wrongdoings, and subdue the ego by practicing humility."<sup>85</sup> Walking under a vow of silence in the name of "world peace, the early completion of the four temples in Peterborough, and the enlightenment of everyone," Shengguang Shi prostrated his body every three steps, his knees, hands, and forehead touching the ground.<sup>86</sup> Physically punishing, the walk took one hundred and eighty-one days to complete.<sup>87</sup> On occasion, supporters joined Shengguang Shi. A decade later, Da Yi himself led a local "3-Step-1-Bow pilgrimage" from the "main entrance" to the

"bronze statue of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva" at the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden in the name of "world peace, joy and harmony, and early completion of the Four Sacred Mountains in Canada Project."<sup>88</sup> Chartered buses and private automobiles shuttled scores of devotees between the Cham Shan Temple on Bayview Avenue and the garden to accompany Da Yi. Such precedents may well encourage Canadian Buddhists to initiate innovations to Buddhist pilgrimage practices in North America, though it should be stated that the BAC would scarcely expect lay practitioners to risk the potentially perilous hardships of Shengguang Shi's gruelling walk.

At the same time, the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden is not intended only for Buddhists. Entrance is free, inviting people of all faiths to visit the complex as a place of contemplation and meditation, and encouraging religious tourists to explore the buildings, shrines, and grounds as sightseers or simply for recreation. Although the BAC recognizes that many years may pass till the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden is completed, they estimate that eventually the site will

welcome around forty-five thousand visitors annually. At this stage, such figures are speculative, but attendance at past events suggests they may not be overly optimistic. Though construction has sometimes restricted access, hundreds of local, regional, national, and even international visitors have populated annual and other occasional open-house days. In the longer term, the combined numbers of Buddhist pilgrims and religious tourists will constitute a significant boost to the local and regional economies. There are no lodgings on site, so hotels and motels in the area will benefit from a steady flow of visitors, while residents of Peterborough and neighbouring communities may offer bed-and-breakfast and Airbnb accommodation. A wide range of related services will also see increased business, from gas stations and grocery stores to restaurants and souvenir shops. Looking still further down the road, planning is already underway for the other sacred mountain reconstructions: the Putuo Shan Buddhist Garden; the Emei Shan Buddhist Garden; and the Jiuhua Shan Buddhist Garden. Asked in a personal interview if the main Dharma Hall at each of the other gardens will also feature Tang dynasty architecture, Da Yi gave a surprising answer: “No.” Instead, they will replicate wooden structures from subsequent eras of Chinese history, reflecting respectively the Song period’s attention to detailed decorative elegance, the Ming period’s absorption of Mongolian tantric stylistic elements, and the development of the imperial palatial style in the Qing period.<sup>89</sup> In this way, the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project will offer a visual tour of Chinese architectural styles from the ninth to the seventeenth century, perfusing the four sites with a perichoretic sense of Mahāyāna Chan Buddhist spirituality and Chinese social and cultural heritage.<sup>90</sup>

## AFTERWORD

Some years ago, anthropologist Clifford Geertz [1926-2006] suggested that “the cultural ‘heritage,’ of a people, of a place, of a nation, is not some solid, unmoving block of objects, practices, beliefs, and understandings, a settled, crystalline structure of traditions and customs that time and tourism, development and modernity, can only erode, disrupt, pollute, or destroy.”<sup>91</sup> “It is something that is constantly changing,” he continued, “constantly being reconstructed and recreated, in response to new circumstances and emerging needs.”<sup>92</sup> As a fervent attempt to construct a “solid, unmoving block of objects” in order to establish the “cultural heritage” of Chinese Buddhists in a new environment, the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden—and more expansively, the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project of which it is but the first expression—seems to suggest that Geertz’s suggestion needs qualifying. Of course, only time will tell whether or not the long-term vision of Da Yi and the BAC will be fully realized. For the moment, we may affirm that in the first instance this vision arose in response to the spiritual needs of an increasingly flourishing community of Chinese Buddhists in Toronto and the surrounding region. How the Chan Sham Buddhist Garden will help to fashion, on the one hand Canadian Buddhist identity, and on the other relations among Buddhists and other religious communities, has yet to be seen. Taking the initiative at the local level, Da Yi mentioned plans to offer the public classes on meditation, flower arranging, *Dharma*, and other aspects of Buddhist life at the Chan Sham Buddhist Garden. The BAC intends to use space in the temple complex as a retreat centre, too, and it is contemplating offering a range of programs at the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden, from the promotion

of vegetarian diets to the construction of a care home for seniors. Though the cultivation of such socially engaged Buddhist services represents a relatively new frontier for traditional Chinese Mahāyāna Chan temples in Canada, the ethics infusing such activities dovetail easily with the vision of “world peace, joy, and harmony” inspiring the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden, and more broadly the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project.<sup>93</sup> “The signature contribution of Engaged Buddhism to global thinking about spiritual social activism,” writes Sallie B. King, “is the idea . . . that in order to make peace, the peacemaker needs to be peace.”<sup>94</sup> “The peacemaker,” she explains, “should intentionally and in sustained fashion cultivate inner peace and then go about making peace in a peaceful manner—without anger or antagonism, seeking only the good of all.”<sup>95</sup>

Far from seeming an historical irrelevance in the last several decades, religion has become a major reference point for exploring similarities and differences among social and cultural paradigms. That “eastern Buddhism” thrives in “western” Canada exemplifies this trend. Writing in 2013, John H. Negru [Karma Yönten Gyatso] concluded that “Buddhism in Canada has evolved and expanded dramatically over the past fifty years, from a handful of Japanese and Chinese temples serving local immigrant communities, to a vibrant array of close to 500 organizations serving diverse practitioners and the common good in the very multi-cultural society of Canada.”<sup>96</sup> That is not to say that there are close to five hundred Buddhist temples across the country; not every Buddhist organization is large or wealthy enough to support one. At the same time, though, the Buddhist congregations and places of worship discussed here constitute a suggestive sample. The historical trajectory that originates with Vancouver’s Ishikawa Hotel,



encompasses repurposed buildings and purpose-built Buddhist temples, and leads to the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden and the Four Great Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project, represents a significant architectural statement by Buddhists wishing to establish their identity within Canada's built environment. Within that trajectory, what is more, numerous sites invite further research into the architecture of Buddhist sanctuaries in Canada: for example, postmodernist structures like the Japanese Jodo Shinshu Toronto Buddhist Church (2006) and Korean Zen [Seon] Buddhist Temple of the Buddhist Society for Compassionate Wisdom (2012), also in Toronto; or Montréal's Cambodian Buddhist Pagode khmère du Canada (1980) and the Vietnamese Buddhist Dai Tông Lâm [Great Pine Forest] Monastery (1988) in Harrington, Québec, both of which incorporate elements of East Asian design domesticated in Southeast Asian countries; or the vernacular style of the Western Thai Theravāda Birken Forest Monastery (1994), near Pemberton, British Columbia, and the Western Tibetan Buddhist Gampo Abbey (1984), Pleasant Bay, Nova Scotia.<sup>97</sup> More sites might be added. In the meantime, the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden—and eventually the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project—makes a significant contribution to ongoing exchanges between Chinese Mahāyāna and other Buddhist congregations in Canada; between Buddhists and other religious cultures in Canada; between Chinese Canadian and Chinese ethnic and diaspora communities overseas; and even between Canada and the People's Republic of China. In these respects, the BAC hopes not only to strengthen the identity of Chinese Buddhists in Canada, but also to help to expand the horizons of Chinese Buddhist involvement in, and contributions to, the material and spiritual betterment of Canadian society and culture.

## NOTES

1. An historic wooden structure, the Great East Hall of the Foguang Temple (857 CE) was built during the Tang dynasty [618-907] near Doucun, in Shanxi Province, People's Republic of China. Scholars generally identify the Tang period as a golden age in the development of Buddhist traditions in China. For a history of the Tang dynasty, see Lewis, Mark Edward, 2009, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire: The Tang Dynasty*, Cambridge and London, Belknap Press. For an introduction to the history of Buddhism in China, see Chen, Kenneth Kuan Sheng, 1964, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press. For an account of the continuing influence of Buddhism upon contemporary life in China, see Tarocco, Francesca, 2007, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism: Attuning the Dharma*, London and New York, Routledge.

2. There is a small library of scholarship discussing similarities and differences among the motives and goals of pilgrims and religious tourists. Donnelly outlines commonly held distinctions: "(1) pilgrims perceive an internal dimension to pilgrimage, while tourists are concerned with the external journey alone; (2) pilgrims invest themselves, while the tourists avoid personal commitment; (3) the focus for the pilgrim is to be affected by the pilgrimage, while the tourist seeks to be untouched by his/her experiences; (4) both the journey and arrival are of import for the pilgrim, while only the arrival matters for the tourist; and (5) community is formed for the pilgrim, and it is not a *desideratum* for the tourist." Donnelly, Doris, 1992, "Pilgrims and Tourists: Conflicting Metaphors for the Christian Journey to God," *Spirituality Today*, vol. 44, no. 1, p. 21.

For a summary discussion of "the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy," see Olsen, Daniel H. and Dallen J. Timothy, 2006, "Tourism and Religious Journeys," in *Tourism, Religion, and Spiritual Journeys*, New York, Routledge, p. 6-8. For explorations of the ways in which historic religious sites have become economic opportunities for the tourist industry in contemporary China, see Oakes, Tim and Donald S. Sutton (eds.), 2010, *Faiths on Display Religion, Tourism, and the Chinese State*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

3. Watada, Terry, 1996, *Bukkyo Tozen: A History of Jodo Shinshu Buddhism in Canada, 1905-1995*, Toronto, HpF Press and the Toronto Buddhist Church, p. 25.

4. Founded by the Japanese Buddhist monk Shinran Shonin [1173-1262], Jōdo Shinshū, or "True Pure Land," revitalized the Jōdo Shū, or "Pure Land," Mahāyāna Buddhism associated with the reformist teachings of Honen Shonin [1133-1212]. Today, Jōdo Shinshū is the most popular form of Buddhism in Japan. Its devotees are recognized for twirling rosaries as they repeat the chant "Namu Amida [Amitābha] Butsu," known as *nembutsu*, which literally means "I take refuge in Amida [Amitābha] Buddha." Scott, Jamie S. and Henry C.H. Shiu, 2012, "Buddhists," in Jamie S. Scott (ed.), *The Religions of Canadians*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 261-306, at p. 273-274.

For succinct introductions to the varieties of Theravāda, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna Buddhist thought and practice, see Hawkins, Bradley K., 1999, *Buddhism*, Upper Saddle River, NJ, Prentice-Hall; and Strong, John, 2015, *Buddhisms: An Introduction*, London, Oneworld. On Mahāyāna Buddhism, see Williams, Paul, 2009 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.] [1989], *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, London, Routledge. For studies of the history and development of Pure Land Buddhism, see Foard, James, Michael Solomon, and Richard M. Payne (eds.), 1996, *The Pure Land Tradition: History and Development*, Berkeley, CA, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies. On Japanese Jōdo Shū and Jōdo Shinshū, see respectively Machida, Sōhō, 1999, *Renegade Monk: Honen and Japanese Pure Land Buddhism*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press; and Deal, William E. and Brian Douglas Ruppert, 2015, *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*, Malden, MA, Wiley-Blackwell.

5. Watada, Terry, 2010, "Looking East: Japanese Canadians and Jodo Shinshu Buddhism, 1905-1970," in John S. Harding, Victor Sōgen Hori, and Alexander Soucy (eds.), *Wild Geese: Buddhism in Canada*, Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 62-83, at p. 65.

6. McLellan, Janet, 1999, *Many Petals of the Lotus: Five Asian Buddhist Communities in Toronto*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 42.

7. Scott and Shiu, "Buddhists," *op. cit.*, p. 278. For a concise account of the schism within British Columbia's Jōdo Shinshū community in the wake of Sasaki's departure, see Watada, "Looking East," *op. cit.*, p. 62-83.

8. Watada, *id.*, p. 68.

9. In these respects, McLellan follows Tetsuden Kashima in noting that Jōdo Shinshū priests "were willing to utilize Christian terms such as 'church,' 'Sunday school,' 'salvation,' 'sermon,' and 'minister,' and to present Jodo Shinshu Buddhism through a Christianized service format." McLellan, *Many Petals of the Lotus*, *op. cit.*, p. 46; citing Kashima, Tetsuden, 1977, *The Social Organization of an Ethnic Religious Institution*, London, Greenwood Press, p. 219.
10. We have noted that soon Jōdo Shinshū temples were founded elsewhere in Alberta, including "Lethbridge, Picture Butte, Coaldale, Taber and Rosemary, mainly to serve the needs of Japanese Canadians resettled from British Columbia." See Scott and Shiu, "Buddhists," *op. cit.*, p. 278. For details of the Jōdo Shinshū presence in southern Alberta, see Harding, John S., 2010, "Jodo Shinshu in Southern Alberta: From Rural Raymond to Amalgamation," in John S. Harding, Victor Sōgen Hori, and Alexander Soucy (eds.), *Wild Geese: Buddhism in Canada*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 134-167.
11. Before becoming a Jōdo Shinshū house of worship, the Raymond building also served as a community hall and as the temple of the Second Ward of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [Mormons]. Alberta Register of Historic Places, 1984, "Raymond Buddhist Church, Raymond," [https://hermis.alberta.ca/ARHP/Details.aspx?DeptID=1&ObjID=4665-0482], accessed July 20, 2021.
12. Watada, "Looking East," *op. cit.*, p. 72.
13. According to the Alberta Register of Historic Places, notable architectural features of the Raymond Buddhist Church's "austere, simple, yet monumental design" include a "truncated tower," "steeply-pitched gable roof clad in cedar shingles," "horizontal gray clapboard siding and panel frieze of alternating vertical and diagonal tongue-and-groove boards," and "original fenestration pattern with original sills and dentiled head mouldings over windows and doorways." Alberta Register of Historic Places, "Raymond Buddhist Church," *op. cit.*
14. Watada, *Looking East*, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
15. *Id.*, p. 72.
16. Scott and Shiu, "Buddhists," *op. cit.*, p. 278. Born in Canada, Kenryu Takashi Tsuji trained for the Jōdo Shinshū priesthood at Ryūkoku University, Kyoto, Japan. He returned to Canada to minister there in 1941, just before "Japan entered World War II on 7 December 1941." Watada, "Looking East," *op. cit.*, p. 68. Tsuji's Canadian citizenship afforded him a degree of protection from harsher aspects of the federal government's policies toward ethnic Japanese, thus facilitating his ministry. For details on the Jōdo Shinshū congregation in Toronto, see McLellan, *Many Petals of the Lotus*, *op. cit.*, p. 51-73. On the Jōdo Shinshū church in Montréal, see Avolio, Marco, 2006, "The Montréal Buddhist Church," Montréal Religious Sites Project, *Asian Religion and Ethics Research Unit, Faculty of Religious Studies*, McGill University, Montréal, [https://mrsp.mcgill.ca/reports/html/MBC/index.html], accessed July 20, 2021.
17. Van Dyk, Lindsay, 2021, "Canadian Immigration Acts and Legislation," Halifax, Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, [https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/canadian-immigration-acts-and-legislation], accessed July 21, 2021.  
  
Federal legislation revising Canada's immigration rules includes the *Immigration Regulations, Order-in-Council PC 1962-86, 1962*, the *White Paper on Immigration, 1966*, the *Immigration Regulations, Order-in-Council PC 1967-1616, 1967*, and the *Immigration Act, 1976*. For details on the history of this legislation, see Kelley, Ninette and Michael Trebilcock, 1998, *The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, 2001*, updated security aspects of Canada's immigration and refugee policy in the wake of the terrorist attacks in the United States of America, September 11, 2001. For a critical account of Canada's immigration legislation, see Liew, Jamie Chai Yun, and Donald Galloway, 2015 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.], *Immigration Law*, Toronto, Irwin Law.
18. On October 8, 1971, Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau [1919-2000] announced multiculturalism as official federal policy in a statement to the House of Commons. The policy is enshrined in the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1988*. For critical reflections upon this policy, see Fleras, Augie and Jean Leonard Elliott, 1992, *Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity*, Scarborough, ON, Nelson Canada; and Reitz, Jeffrey G., Raymond Breton, Karen Kisiel Dion, and Kenneth L. Dion, 2009, *Multiculturalism and Social Cohesion: Potentials and Challenges of Diversity*, London, Springer.
19. McLellan, *Many Petals of the Lotus*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
20. *Ibid.*
21. For an account of continuities and changes in Theravāda Buddhism, see Crosby, Kate, 2014, *Theravada Buddhism: Continuity, Diversity, and Identity*, Malden, MA, Wiley Blackwell. On Theravāda Buddhism in South Asia, see Berkwitz, Stephen C., *South Asian Buddhism: A Survey*, London, Routledge, 2010.
22. Toronto Mahavihara, 2021, [http://www.torontomahavihara.com/main.php], accessed July 20, 2021.
23. Amerasinghe, P.S.L., 2000, "A Study on the Changing Architecture of Buddhist Temples in Sri Lanka: An Examination of Colonial Influence on Buddhist Temple Buildings in Galle," unpublished M.Sc. thesis, Department of Architecture, University of Moratuwa, Katubedda, Sri Lanka, p. 20-23, [http://dl.lib.uom.lk/bitstream/handle/123/1108/74113-1.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y], accessed July 15, 2021.
24. Toronto Mahavihara, *op. cit.* For comparison with the Toronto Mahavihara Buddhist Temple, note the Khmer Kampuchea Krom Buddhist Temple, which serves Laotian, Thai, Vietnamese, and Khmer devotees. Located in Stoney Creek, Ontario, this simple Theravāda house of worship was converted from a Seventh-day Adventist church in 1999. Later additions include a walkaround porch, a hall for classes, an outdoor gazebo for meetings and celebrations, and a residence for monks. Khmer Kampuchea Krom Buddhist Temple, 2021, [https://watkmerkrom.ca/Home-Page.php], accessed July 23, 2021.
25. Toronto Mahavihara, *op. cit.*
26. Trainor, Kevin, 1997, *Relics, Ritual, and Representation in Buddhism: Rematerializing the Sri Lanka Theravāda Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Here, Trainor is citing celebrated French scholar Paul Mus [1902-1969]. Indeed, for Mus, as a site of relics associated with the Buddha, the *stūpa* "represents the body of the Buddha . . . made real though the cult of relic veneration" (p. 38). For a discussion of various scholarly analyses of the liturgical and cosmological significance of the *stūpa* in Sri Lankan Theravāda Buddhist temple architecture, see Trainor, p. 96-117.
27. Toronto Mahavira, *op.cit.* For details on the new Toronto Mahavihara Buddhist Temple building, which will exceed 2000 square feet and include washrooms and a pantry, see Srilank, 2016, "Toronto Mahavihara to Build Monastic Residence," *Lanka Reporter.com*, [https://lankareporter.com/blog/toronto-mahavihara-build-monastic-residence/], accessed July 23, 2021.

28. Shiu, Henry C.H., 2010, "Buddhism after the Seventies," in John S. Harding, Victor Sögen Hori, Alexander Soucy (eds.), *Wild Geese: Buddhism in Canada*, Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 86.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Now fully restored, Riwoche temple is part of the historic Riwoche Monastery (1276). For a succinct account of Varjrayana Buddhism, see Powers, John, 2007, *Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism*, Boston, Snow Lion Publications. On Tibetan Buddhists in Toronto, see McLellan, *Many Petals of the Lotus*, *op. cit.*, p. 74-100.
31. Beyer, Peter, 2010. "Buddhism in Canada: A Statistical Overview from Canadian Censuses, 1981-2001," in Harding et al. (eds.), *Wild Geese: Buddhism in Canada*, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
32. Chui, Tina, Kelly Tran, and John Flanders, 2005, "Chinese Canadians: Enriching the Cultural Mosaic," *Canadian Social Trends*, no. 76, p. 4.
33. For a highly accessible account of Chan Buddhism, known in Japan as Zen and in Korea as Seon, see Herschok, Peter D., 2004, *Chan Buddhism: Dimensions of Asian Spirituality*. Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press. On the Dharma Realm Buddhist Association and other Buddhist migrations to the United States of America from around the Pacific rim, see Seager, Richard Hughes, 1999, *Buddhism in America*, New York, Columbia University Press, p. 158-181, especially p. 164-165.
34. In 2008, the Canadian Register of Historic Places listed the Salvation Army Temple [Gold Buddha Monastery], noting the structure's "Moderne style architectural elements, including steel column with concrete pier structure, painted, poured-in-place concrete facade, beveled exterior corners and notched buttresses, metal windows, fluted concrete panels, and original exterior light fixtures." Canada's Historic Places, 2008, [https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=8509&pid=0], accessed November 2, 2021.  
  
In 2016, Heritage Vancouver added the building to its watch list, concerned that "potential demolition of the Temple to make way for redevelopment would mean the loss of one of Vancouver's most significant Moderne buildings and an irreplaceable downtown landmark." Heritage Vancouver, 2016, "Top 10 Watchlist," [http://heritagevancouver.org/top10-watch-list/2016/4-salvationarmy-temple], accessed November 9, 2021.
35. Baczynskyj, Anastasia, 2009, "Learning How to Be Ukrainian: Ukrainian Schools in Toronto and the Formation of Identity, 1947-2009," unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Theory and Policy Studies in Education, Ontario Institute of Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, p. 45, [https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/18089/1/bazynskyj\_anastasia\_200911\_MA\_thesis.pdf], accessed July 28, 2021.
36. Karma Yönten Gyatso [John H. Negru] notes: "The figures along the roof line are auspicious animals . . . which represent the forces of nature: Fire, Wind, Rain, Thunder, Lightning, and so on." "In the Chinese folk tradition," he continues, "they are there to protect the building from being damaged by those forces." Gyatso, Karma Yönten, 2010, *Understanding the Chinese Buddhist Temple*, Richmond Hill, Sumeru, p. 53.
37. Yau, Victoria, 1994, "Use of Colour in China," *British Journal of Aesthetics*, vol. 34, no. 2, p. 152.
38. McLellan, *Many Petals of the Lotus*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
39. Other Buddhist congregations in British Columbia have followed in the architectural footsteps of the International Buddhist Society. Completed in 1996, for example, the Mahāyāna Pure Land Lingyen Mountain Temple in Richmond, British Columbia, also replicates the Chinese imperial palatial style.
40. Yau, "Use of Colour in China," *op. cit.*, p. 152.
41. He, Guimei, 2011, "A Comparative Study of Colour Metaphors in English and Chinese," *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, vol. 1, no. 12, p. 1807-1808. Compare Victoria Yau's remarks here: "Yellow, an important colour, represented the centre of Earth and supreme power and was used for the roof of the palace and the robe of the Emperor, who personified the centre of Earth." Yau, "Use of Colour in China," *op. cit.*, p. 157-158. "Red also represented the positive essence (Yang) and Heaven," Yau further explains, "while yellow connoted the negative essence (Yin) and Earth," so that "combined, these two colours complemented each other and constituted a whole" (p. 158).
42. International Buddhist Society Temple, 2021, [https://buddhisttemple.ca/our-temple/arts-and-culture/architecture/], accessed November 9, 2021. In fact, landscaping around the International Buddhist Temple hearkens back to the origins of Buddhism in India on the one hand, and on the other, captures aspects of China's indigenous culture predating the arrival of Buddhism in the country in the second century of the common era.  
  
More specifically, the gardens attempt "to accurately recreate Deer Park, where Buddha delivered the first sermon to His five disciples thousands of years ago," even as "[f]ramed by towering evergreens, the front and back yards of the temple resemble a [Confucian] scholar's courtyard in ancient China." International Buddhist Temple, 2021, [https://buddhisttemple.ca/our-temple/arts-and-culture/horticulture/], accessed November 9, 2021.
43. For a recent account of the Tiantai Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition, see Ziporyn, Brook A., 2016, *Emptiness and Omnipresence: An Essential Introduction to Tiantai Buddhism*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press. Liu provides biographical details about the Tiantai monks Lok To, Shing Cheung, and Sing Hung, as well as historical information about the Buddhist Association of Canada and the founding of the Cham Shan Temple. Liu, Tannie, 2010, "Globalization and Modern Transformation of Chinese Buddhism in Three Chinese Temples in Eastern Canada," in Harding et al. (eds.), *Wild Geese: Buddhism in Canada*, *op. cit.*, p. 277-279.
44. The figure of Tan Xu looms large over the history of Buddhism in modern China. As Carter has observed, the Tiantai cleric "worked as a laborer, minor government official, fortune-teller, and pharmacist before leaving his family to become a monk and make a career founding Buddhist temples across China." Carter, James Hugh, 2011, *Heart of Buddha, Heart of China: The Life of Tanxu, a Twentieth-century Monk*, New York, Oxford University Press, p. 2. According to Campo, Tan Xu "established or rebuilt at least six Tiantai public monasteries in Jilin, Tianjin, Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Shandong, among which was the Zhanshan Temple that he built in Qingdao in 1933." Campo, Daniela, 2019, "Bridging the Gap: Chan and Tiantai Dharma Lineages from Republican to Post-Mao China," in Ji Zhe, Gareth Fisher, and André Laliberté (eds.), *Buddhism after Mao: Negotiations, Continuities, and Reinventions*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, p. 137. The Qingdao temple inspired the Cham Shan Temple on Bayview Avenue, Toronto. Buddhist Association of Canada Cham Shan Temple, 2021, [http://en.chamshantemple.org/messages/aboutus/index.php?channelId=8&sectionId=109&itemId=87&attachId=0&langCd=EN], accessed November 9, 2021.
45. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, *bodhisattvas* are enlightened figures of wisdom and compassion who postpone final release from the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth, vowing instead to help alleviate "the sufferings of all sentient



- beings." Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, *op. cit.*, p. 195. In Buddhist cosmology, *bodhisattvas* preside over heavenly realms, whence they bestow merit upon devotees who turn to them in their own efforts to attain enlightenment. For pertinent details on popular cults dedicated to various *bodhisattvas*, including Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha, see Williams, p. 218-231.
46. Liu, "Globalization and Modern Transformation of Chinese Buddhism," *op. cit.*, p. 281.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Erected during the Tang dynasty [618-907], the Giant Wild Goose Pagoda has been restored several times over the centuries, most recently in 1964, after natural disasters, neglect, and other threats to the structure's survival.
49. In a personal email to Shiu dated August 12, 2021, the Buddhist Association of Canada described the relics more fully as "self-generated relics of the Buddha given to the Cham Shan Temple by eminent monks of the Tibetan and Theravāda traditions."
50. Liu, "Globalization and Modern Transformation of Chinese Buddhism," *op. cit.*, p. 279. Of the three conversions, Hamilton's Fah Hoy Buddhist Temple remains an enigma. Kraft Containers opened an industrial plant on the site in 1936. Consolidated-Bathurst Packaging occupied the premises from 1946 to 1983. Since the late 1990s, according to Paul Wilson, the BAC have invested more than \$10 million in the property, including the purchase price, a new façade and roofing, a commercial kitchen, and a large cedar-lined meditation room. The interior divides into several cavernous spaces; a Hall of the Disciples alone contains 500 Chinese Buddhist statues, no two alike and each weighing hundreds of pounds. Wilson, Paul, 2017, "Biggest Temple in Hamilton Still Waits to Be Found," *Hamilton Spectator*, May 8, 2017, updated March 1, 2020, [https://www.thespec.com/opinion/columnists/2017/05/08/paul-wilson-biggest-temple-in-hamilton-still-waits-to-be-found.html], accessed August 11, 2021. *Hamilton News* offers a virtual tour of the huge facility: [https://www.hamiltonnews.com/video/7293694/] (2013), accessed in July 2021.
51. Koppedrayer, Kay and Mavis L. Fenn, 2006, "Buddhist Diversity in Ontario," in Bruce Matthews (ed.), *Buddhism in Canada*, New York, Routledge, p. 66.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. Onasill, Bill, 2014, "Niagara Falls Ontario ~ Canada ~ Cham Shan Temple ~ Landmark," [https://www.flickr.com/photos/onasill/27392903480/in/photolist-2jqFKCJ-HJBMRj-FiaBWj-2kyb1MR-Eqr8Uz-LUED8o-LN6FG9-CY2oyg-CvUjJY-r2zHCv-29vJsuC-CQJjNn-GiZw1C-pN3i5w-pNgo2D-qquwhV7-qGeNZq-rfypTX-qtX6Kw-29tRnKA], accessed July 21, 2021.
55. Stretching across Ontario's Cavan Monaghan and Manvers townships, the 1700 acres of the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada encompass four sites: Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden at 708 Ski Hill Road, Bethany; Putuo Shan Buddhist Garden at 4 Lifford Road, Bethany; Emei Shan Buddhist Garden at 1547 Ballyduff Road, Pontypool; and Jiuhua Shan Buddhist Garden at 340 Pontypool Road, Pontypool.
56. Debreczeny, Karl, 2011, "Wutai Shan: Pilgrimage to Five-Peak Mountain," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 6, p. 1. More specifically, Sheng Kai has suggested that the concept of the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains appeared during the Wanli period [1573-1620] of the Ming dynasty and attained a general consensus in Chinese society by the Kangxi period [1662-1722] of the Qing dynasty. See Kai, Sheng, 2013, "On the Veneration of the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in China," *The Eastern Buddhist*, vol. 44, no. 2, p. 121-143, especially p. 122-128.
57. Buddhist Association of Canada Cham Shan Temple, 2010-2021, "3-Step-1-Bow Pilgrimage to WTS Buddhist Garden," [http://en.chamshantemple.org/messages/fourmountains/index.php?channelId=5&sectionId=90&temId=212&attachId=0&langCd=EN], accessed August 2, 2021.
58. Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman, 2004, "The Tang Architectural Icon and the Politics of Chinese Architectural History," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 86, no. 2, p. 232.
59. *Ibid.*
60. For details on the incremental composition and full contents of the completed *Yingzao fashi*, see Feng, Jiren, 2012, *Chinese Architecture and Metaphor: Song Culture in the Yingzao Fashi Building Manual*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, p. 100-137.
61. Guo, Qinghua, 1998, "Yingzao Fashi: Twelfth-century Chinese Building Manual," *Architectural History*, vol. 41, p. 5.
62. Steinhardt, Nancy Shatzman, 2019, *Chinese Architecture: A History*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, p. 152.
63. Guo, "Yingzao Fashi," *op. cit.*, p. 7.
64. Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
65. Guo, "Yingzao Fashi," *op. cit.*, p. 6. It should be noted that the *Yingzao fashi* is not merely a technical manual. As Feng writes, "The powerful metaphorical system formed by the bracketing terminology in the YZFS [*Yingzao fashi*]-bracket sets likened to clusters of flowers and bracket elements likened to flowers, petals, branches, and leaves—and the marks that literature and the arts left on both bracketing terms and other architectural names . . . reflect the engagement of learned and 'unlearned' culture in Song times, suggesting an interplay of the two social groups—learned society and architectural professionals—in premodern China." Feng, *Chinese Architecture and Metaphor*, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
66. Steinhardt, *Chinese Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
67. Feng elaborates on the "unified modular system derived from a standard timber element" advanced in the *Yingzao fashi*. Feng, *Chinese Architecture and Metaphor*, *op. cit.*, p. 66-67. "Since a section of a bracket arm consists of two dimensions, width and height (sometimes termed 'length' in the YZFS [*Yingzao fashi*])," Feng continues, "the *cai* module is virtually a two-dimensional modular system. When it is used to measure heights, *cai* means the height of the section of a bracket arm; similarly, in measuring widths, *cai* means the width of the section of a bracket arm. In addition, in order to measure smaller elements or designate a tiny measurement, the width of a *cai* was divided into ten portions, each termed *fèn*; correspondingly, the height of a *cai* then became fifteen *fèn*." Feng, *id.*, p. 67.
68. Feng, *id.*, p. 67.
69. Guo, "Yingzao Fashi," *op. cit.*, p. 6-7. Compare here Liu and Wu: "In the construction of buildings, timber beams were classified as eight standard sizes according to the standard section defined by *cai*." Liu, Jin and Zhong-ke Wu, 2015, "Rule-based Generation of Ancient Chinese Architecture from the Song Dynasty," *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage*, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 4. "The *cai* was important," they go on, "because it introduced a standard section for timber beams" and "was also closely related to certain sizes of naturally growing tree trunks."

70. Guo, "Yingzao Fashi," *op. cit.*, p. 7-8.
71. Feng, *Chinese Architecture and Metaphor*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
72. The base dimensions of the original Great East Hall are 34 metres by 17.66 metres. Fu, Xinian, 2001, *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* [History of Ancient Chinese Architecture], vol. 2, Beijing, China Building Industry Press, p. 496.
73. Liang Sicheng claimed that the bracket sets play "a role so important that no study of Chinese architecture is feasible without a thorough understanding of this element." Fairbank, Wilma (ed.), 2005, *Chinese Architecture: A Pictorial History*, Mineola, Dover Publications, p. 14.
74. Liang, Sicheng, 2001, *Liang Sicheng quanji* [Complete Works of Liang Sicheng], vol. 4, Beijing, China Building Industry Press, p. 380.
75. Steinhardt, "The Tang Architectural Icon," *op. cit.*, p. 239.
76. Buddhist Association of Canada Cham Shan Temple, 2010-2021, "Ancient Chinese Wood Construction Artisans (Artisan Carpenter, NOC 7271)," [<http://en.chamshantemple.org/messages/contactus/index.php?channelId=3&sectionId=87&itemId=235&attachId=0&langCd=EN>], accessed August 14, 2021.

Interestingly, the *Pterocarpus pedatus*, or Maidoo Burl, used in the main Dharma Hall possesses twice the air-dried density level and greater tensile strength than the *Pinus tabulaeformis* Carr, or Chinese Red Pine, used in the Great East Hall. These qualities mean that the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden building will likely last longer than the Foguang Temple structure, which still stands after almost 1200 years.
77. See, for example, [<https://www.workdirectory.ca/58649/ancient-chinese-wood-construction-artisans-job-postings-peterborough-on-canada>], accessed April 5, 2021.
78. The main Dharma Hall does feature some wise concessions to modernity. Fire safety measures, for example, prohibit the burning of incense inside the timber structure and include a sprinkler system that draws water from nearby springheads.
79. These seventeen-metre rafters are thought to be the longest horizontal support beams in the world.
80. "These roof shingles," the BAC advises, "contain the written blessings by generous sponsors over the years, providing good shelter over the Buddha statues inside the temple, and showering the visitors with their well wishes." Buddhist Association of Canada, 2020, "Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden," [<http://thebuddhistgarden.com/>], accessed August 1, 2021.
81. In Cleary's translation of the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, the pertinent words read: "In the northeast there is a place called Clear, Cool Mountain, where enlightening beings have lived since ancient times; now there is an enlightening being there named Manjushri, with a following of ten thousand enlightening beings, always expounding the Teaching." Cleary, Thomas F. [trans.], 1993, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, Boston, Shambhala, p. 906. Originating in northern China as devotees of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī, a handful of Qingliang ["Clear, Cool Mountain"] monasteries played a significant role in the dissemination of Mahāyāna Chan Buddhism in southern China. For an account of these developments, see Keyworth, George, 2019, "How the Mount Wutai Cult Stimulated the Development of Chinese Chan in Southern China at Qingliang Monasteries," *Studies in Chinese Religions*, vol. 5, nos. 3-4, "The International Characteristics of the Wutai Cult," p. 353-376.
82. Yau, "Use of Colour in China," *op. cit.*, p. 153.
83. "These pavilions usually have red lacquered or dull red columns," according to Yau, "with the roofs an imperial yellow." "The bracket forms," she notes, "ornamental carvings and intricate details are extremely colourful" (*ibid.*).
84. Shengguang Shi, Ven, Nd, "Venerable Shengguang Shi," [<http://shengguangshi.blogspot.com/p/activities.html>], accessed August 21, 2021. For details of Shengguang Shi's route, see Shengguang Shi, Ven, Nd, "Three Steps One Bow," [<http://shengguangshi.blogspot.com/p/three-steps-one-bow.html>], accessed August 21, 2021.
85. Shengguang Shi, "Three Steps One Bow," *ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*
87. York Regional Police ensured road safety for Shengguang Shi, and volunteers from Chan Sham Temple accompanied him in a minivan, providing food, water, and a place to sleep at night.
88. Buddhist Association of Canada Cham Shan Temple, 2010-2021, "3-Step-1-Bow Pilgrimage to WTS Buddhist Garden," [<http://en.chamshantemple.org/messages/fourmountains/index.php?channelId=5&sectionId=90&itemId=212&attachId=0&langCd=EN>], accessed August 2, 2021.
89. Da Yi acknowledges that completing all four gardens may well take 100 years, but he is hopeful that his successors as abbot of the Cham Chan Temple will carry on his work, supported by future generations of Buddhists in Canada and around the globe. As Tao argues, the "historical unity of lineage" involves "a performative conception of truth, expressed as the encounter between master and disciple." Tao, Jiang, 2004, "The Role of History in Chan/Zen Enlightenment," *A Journal of Comparative Philosophy*, vol. 4, no. 1, p. 11. In this regard, present practitioners enjoy an active relationship with the past and the future of their own tradition. The continuing realization of the Wutai Shan Buddhist Garden as the first phase of the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project testifies vividly to the efficacy of these convictions.
90. It should be noted that replicating Chinese Tang dynasty Mahāyāna Buddhist architecture has never been attempted anywhere else on the scale or in the manner of the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains in Canada Project. That said, there are analogous undertakings. Reconstructed in 1998, for example, the main hall of the Chi Lin Buddhist Nunnery in Diamond Hill, Kowloon, Hong Kong, employs the *dougong* joinery found in the Great East Hall of the Foguang Temple, but reduces the scale of the replica from a seven-bay to a five-bay façade. In the same complex, the double-eaved timber Hall of Celestial Kings is modelled on the eleventh-century Phoenix Hall [*Hōō-dō*] of the Byōdō-in in the city of Uji in the Kyoto Prefecture, Japan. But the inclusion of this design from the Japanese Heian period [794-1185] differentiates the Chi Lin Buddhist Nunnery complex from the BAC vision, which specifically focuses upon the Four Sacred Buddhist Mountains of China. For a brief account of the reconstruction of the Chi Lin Buddhist Nunnery and its reception, see Pong, Seong Teresa, 2006, "Modernizing Hong Kong Buddhism: The Case of the Chi Lin Nunnery," unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Kowloon, Hong Kong, [<https://core.ac.uk/reader/48538880>], accessed August 20, 2021, p. 67-101.
91. Geertz, Clifford, 1997, "Cultural Tourism: Tradition, Identity and Heritage Construction," in Wiendu Nuryanti (ed.), *Tourism and Heritage Management*, Yogyakarta, Gadjah Mada University Press, p. 19.
92. *Ibid.*
93. Buddhist Association of Canada Cham Shan Temple, 2010-2021, "3-Step-1-Bow

Pilgrimage to WTS Buddhist Garden," [http://en.chamshantemple.org/messages/fourmountains/index.php?channelId=5&sectionId=90&itemId=212&attachId=0&langCd=EN], accessed August 2, 2021.

"Engaged Buddhism," King writes, "is a contemporary form of Buddhism that engages actively yet nonviolently with the social, economic, political, social [sic], and ecological problems of society." King, Sallie B., 2009, *Socially Engaged Buddhism*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, p. 1. For an introduction to the ideas, values and spirituality informing the origins, history, and practices of socially engaged Buddhism, also see King. For studies of engaged Buddhism in various western contexts, see Queen, Christopher S., 2000, *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, Boston, Wisdom Publications.

94. King, *id.*, p. 179.

95. *Id.*, p. 176.

96. Negru, John H. [Karma Yönten Gyatso], 2013, "Highlights from the Survey of Canadian Buddhist Organizations," *Journal of Global Buddhism*, vol. 14, p. 9. More precisely, Negru's survey calculates that there were "483 Buddhist organizations operating in Canada in 2012," which represent "tremendous growth over the past fifty years, since in 1960 there were fewer than twenty-five Buddhist organizations operating here" (p. 1).

97. On Jōdo Shinshū Buddhism, see Bloom, Alfred (ed.), 2004, *Living in Amida's Universal Vow: Essays in Shin Buddhism*, Bloomington, IN, World Wisdom. On Korean Zen [Seon] Buddhism, O'Brien, Barbara, 2019, *The Circle of the Way: A Concise History of Zen from the Buddha to the Modern World*, Boulder, CO, Shambhala, p. 159-180. On Vietnamese Buddhism, Nguyen, Tai Thu and Thị Thơ Hoàng (eds.), 2008, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, Washington, DC, Council for Research in Values and Philosophy. On the Thai Forest tradition of Buddhism, Tiyanich, Kamala, 1997, *Forest Recollections: Wandering Monks in Twentieth-century Thailand*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press. And on Tibetan Buddhism, Samuel, Geoffrey, 2012, *Introducing Tibetan Buddhism*, New York, Routledge.

While scholarly studies of the architecture of these Canadian buildings have yet to materialize, research on various aspects of the religious life of the congregations does exist. On the Jōdo Shinshū Toronto Buddhist Church, see Watada, Terry, 2010, *The TBC: The Toronto Buddhist Church, 1995-2010*, Toronto, TBC Shanga and HpF Press. On the Korean Zen Buddhist Temple of the Buddhist Society for Compassionate Wisdom Korean Buddhists in Canada, Campbell, Patricia Q., 2004, "Buddhist Values and Ordinary Life among Members of the Toronto Zen Buddhist Temple," unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Religion and Culture, Wilfred Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, [https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/133/], accessed August 24, 2021. On the Cambodian Buddhist Pagode khmère du Canada, Thibeault, François, 2006, "Les bouddhistes cambodgiens de la Pagode khmère du Canada à Montréal," *Cahier de recherche*, no. 13, p. 1-31, [https://archipel.uqam.ca/3990/1/C13.pdf], accessed August 24, 2021. On the Vietnamese Buddhist Dai Tòng Lâm ["Great Pine Forest"] Monastery, Soucy, Alexander, 1994, "Gender and Division of Labour in a Vietnamese-Canadian Buddhist Pagoda," unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Religion, Concordia University, Montréal, [https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/3349/1/MM97629.pdf], accessed August 24, 2021. On the Western Thai Theravāda Birken Forest Monastery, Placzek, James and Larry DeVries, 2006, "Buddhism in British Columbia," in Bruce Matthews (ed.), *Buddhism in Canada*, New York, Routledge, p. 10-12. And on the Western Tibetan Buddhist Gampo Abbey, Clayton, Barbara R., 2015, "Renouncing the World to Get Engaged? Gampo Abbey and the Role of Monasticism in a Lay Buddhist Movement," in Jason Zeidema (ed.) *Understanding the Consecrated Life in Canada: Critical Essays on Contemporary Trends*, Waterloo, ON, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, p. 405-418.