

**Twenty-Second Annual Graduate Student/School
Teacher Symposium on Japanese Studies Proceedings**

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Introduction

The Twenty-Second Annual Graduate Student/School Teacher Symposium on Japanese Studies was held on Friday, April 5, 2019 at Jubilee Hall Room 141, at Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey. The goal of the symposium was to provide an opportunity for students and the community to gain a greater understanding of Japanese society and culture. The symposium also provided interaction between universities and high schools to help create a dialogue conducive to a cooperative learning experience in Japanese studies.

Registration took place from 9:15 a.m. – 9:30 a.m. and refreshments were served to symposium participants and audience members. Approximately 40 people attended the event. Prof. Shigeru Osuka, Director of the Japanese Program at Seton Hall University, began the symposium with a welcome address.

The presentation began at 9:40 a.m. immediately following the welcome address. The first panel was *Buddhist Responses to Transmission of Dharma*. First presenter was Nicole M O'Connor Analyzed on *Emperor Wu of Liang's Buddhist Governance to Create Stability in Society*. The second presenter was Huichao Zhen and presented her paper on *How Jianzhen (鑑真) became the Ritsu-school (律宗) Founder in Japan?* Final panel presenter was Di Chen who spoke about her research on *Walk out of the Stupa: Buddhist Lay Movement and Corresponding Educational Mode*. Dr. Shigeru Osuka of Asian Studies Program made his comments on the three papers. A question and answer session followed each paper presentation.

The second panel, *Transforming an Idea to Status*, started at 11:05 a.m. Shohei Yamayoshi of Columbia University/Waseda University presented his research on *The Development of Tateyama Jigoku (立山地獄)*. Next scheduled presenter was Jiani Dai. She presented her reach on the *Fifteen Years of a Hanfu Movement (漢服運動) in China*. Dr. Jeffrey Rice of the Asian Studies Program give variable comments and leaded discussion. A question and answer session followed this paper presentation.

From 12:10 to 1:20 p.m. all participants and guests attended a luncheon at Seton Hall University's Faculty Club.

Prof. Shigeru Osuka, gave a welcoming address for the symposium and introduced the keynote speaker. From 1:30 p.m. to 2:20 p.m., Dr. Yuki Terazawa, Department of History, Hofstra University gave her keynote address entitled “*Regenerating Knowledge in the Area of Social Studies of Science (STS) for Public Use: The roles of academic researchers in the Fukushima disaster and the redress of the survivors of eugenics-based forced sterilization.*” Dr. Terazawa is an associate professor of history at Hofstra University. She received a BA from Ochanomizu University, a MA from New York University, and a Ph.D. from UCLA. She works in diverse academic fields, encompassing Japanese History, Gender Studies, Asian American History, and Social Studies of Science (STS). In her recent book, *Knowledge, Power, and Women's Reproductive Health in Japan, 1690-1945* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). She examined the emergence of modern “bio-power” that Michel Foucault first conceptualized, applying his theory

to the case of the rise of modernity and modern nation state in Japan, focusing on women's reproductive health

The afternoon session began at 2:35 p.m. The third panel, *Encounter Tradition with Contemporary Society*, started by Gerald DeMattia who presented his research on *A Video Game Series Titled Mother: Exploring a Commentary on Japan's Family Structure in Japanese Game Design*. Then, Sora Skye Osuka presented his paper on *Panda Express: Cuisine Transformation into America*. Finally, Spencer A Hinton of School Diplomacy and International Relations, presented his research on the *Latino Diaspora in Japan*. Prof. Michael Stone, Asian Studies Program, comments on the three papers. After Prof. Stone's comments, questions and answer period was held for the three presentations.

The symposium ended following the closing remarks by Prof. Mario Maximous, Dept. of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures at 3:40 p.m. The symposium gave all participants an opportunity to learn and discuss Japanese society, history, politics, economy, religion, literature, arts, culture, and language education. Participants will be able to become effective leaders in maintaining intercultural dialogue between Japan and the United States. This symposium provided a foundation of knowledge and critical thinking on current perspective on Japanese studies and helped participants consider relations between Japan and the United States. All presentations were evaluated by Asian Studies program faculty members and were utilized for graduate program assessments.

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The Development of Teteiyama-jigoku (立山地獄)

Shohei Yamayoshi

1 Introduction

Mt. Tateyama is one of the most divine mountains in Japan. It is located in the Horiku area of the Etchū 越中 province (modern day Toyama prefecture), northeast of Kyoto. Before the modern era, this mountain was especially famous for its unique character and many people believed it to be the actual site of *jigoku* or *naraka*. In the Buddhist scripture, *jigoku* is literally described as an underworld. However, during the medieval times, many people believed that *jigoku* also existed in Mt. Tateyama¹ and, most importantly, that this *jigoku* was a place where people could visit and meet the dead². Although Tateyama was oftentimes deemed a horrible and unsavory place by those who lived in Kyoto, the local religious center of Tateyama tried to disseminate a different belief, asserting that Tateyama was a holy place where the incarnation of Amida Buddha had appeared to save the people. Although this idea can be found in the medieval *engi* (origin story) of Tateyama, we do not have any proof that it was generally accepted by the people in the capital; on the contrary, we find other original ideas that were generated and circulated around the center. In the paper that follows, I will examine how these different ideas originated and will analyze the unique role(s) ascribed to Tateyama. In doing so, I hope to clarify the hidden importance of *jigoku* of Tateyama in Japanese history.

2 The Idea of Tateyama-jigoku : the Gap Between the Capital and the Local

A number of early examples describing the Tateyama-jigoku can be found in Buddhist texts compiled during the Heian period (794-1184), including the *Honchō hokkegenki* 本朝法華驗記 and the *Konjaku monogatari* 今昔物語集. These tales tend to have the same basic structure: a monk visits the *jigoku* where he encounters the dead suffering there. The spirit asks for salvation,

¹ As Takase Shigeo says, we can find from *Nittō guhō junrai gyōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 written by Ennin 円仁 that in Mt. Wutai 五台山 there is also a belief that actual *jigoku* exists in the mountain (Takase Shigeo 高瀬重雄, *Kodaisangakushinkō no shitekikōsatsu* 古代山岳信仰の史的考察, Meicho shuppan 1989). However, Tateyama *jigoku* is different from it and more unique since people believed that they could see the dead people there.

² To understand the unique characteristic of Tateyama *jigoku*, see Tamura Masahiko 田村正彦 "Tateyama no Enma to *jigoku*" 立山の閻魔と地獄, *2018nendo dai2kai nihonkaigakukōza* 2018年度第2回日本海学講座, (<http://www.nihonkaigaku.org/library/lecture/img/dai2kainihonkaigakukouza.pdf>)

and asks the monk to instruct her family,³ which typically lives near Kyoto, to hold special Buddhist ceremonies on her behalf. In these stories, the dead are saved from the Tateyama *jigoku* with the help of a monk, and the salvation process most notably does not take place at the temples of Tateyama but is arranged for externally by the relatives of the deceased. Although we do not have archeological evidence that could clearly prove that religious centers had already been established in Tateyama at this time, a later origin story of Tateyama claims that at least by the mid-Heian period, many important temples such as Ashikuraji and Iwakuraji had been built. However, these tales never mention the local temples or practitioners, and the salvation is always delivered from outside, not inside Tateyama.⁴

2-1 The Local *Engi*

With all things considered, we must also take note that the aforementioned tales reflect the logic of the people of Kyoto, or the people in the capital area. Accordingly, I would like to turn next to the *engi*, or the origin stories of Tateyama, which we can assume with some certainty to have been created at the local temples on the mountain itself. *Iroha-jirui shō* 伊呂波字類抄 is an encyclopedia of the medieval era. It was edited in the capital area in the early Kamakura period (1185-1333) and contains a Tateyama-*engi* written at a local temple in Tateyama:

Iroha-jirui shō(伊呂波字類抄),” *Tateyama-daibosatsu*”(立山大菩薩) (The full text)

頭給本縁起。越中守佐伯有若之宿禰、仲春上旬之比、為鷹獵之、登雪高山之間、鷹飛行失畢。為尋求之深山之次熊見射殺。然間笑(笑?)立乍登於蒿山。笑(笑?)立熊金色阿弥陀如来也。躰巖石之山。膝名一擧腰号二擧肩字三擧頸名四擧申頭烏瑟五擧。有若發菩提心、切弓切髮、成沙弥法号慈興。其師藥勢聖人。自大河以南者藥勢之建立、三所、上本宮、中光明山、下報恩寺。慈興聖人建立者自天河北三所、上葦嶺寺根本中宮、橫安樂寺、又高禪寺、又上巖山之頂禪光寺千柿也。下岩嶺寺今泉也、鷲巖殿、温岐蓮台聖人建立。円城寺胎蓮聖人建立、伴寺一王子真高権現、依之、康和元年造草堂、中宮座主永源与所司等德満聖人相語建立、烏瑟之峯坤方有一隈見顯現八大地獄惣一百三十六義句⁵

³ In these tales collected during the Heian period, the dead are always female. Since the records we can use are limited, we do not know if this is simply a strange coincidence or not.

⁴ These vivid depictions of Tateyama-jigoku were probably based on information brought by *shugenja* 修験者, who practiced asceticism in Mt. Tateyama. However, for them, observing the Tateyama-jigoku was not a part of their main practice which consisted of climbing the rocky high peaks. We do not have detailed record written by *shugenja* who practiced in Tateyama in the Heian period but, for example, in *Utō* 善知鳥, a *nō* play (Muromachi-period), a monk sees the *jigoku* after reaching the summits of Mt. Tateyama and visits the *jigoku* on his way back. And in *Kaikoku zakki* 廻国雜記 (1487), the author, Dōkō 道興 visited Tateyama-jigoku “while climbing down the mountains (下山の序に). The Tateyama-jigoku tales were probably popularized by preaching monks and thus became a famous topic.

⁵ *Daitōkyūkinenbunko zenpon sōkan chūkochūseiheh bekkān 2 Iroha-jirui shō dai2kan* 大東急

As we can see, almost all of the contents of the *engi* are devoted to explaining how the temples in Tateyama were developed and how the actual Amida buddha appeared in Tateyama. Saeki no Ariwaka, the governor of the Etchū province, is said to have encountered a bear in Tateyama and shot it. Eventually, it turned out that the bear was an incarnation of the Amida buddha, and Ariwaka decided to become a monk and built temples in Tateyama. The anecdote with Arikawa comprises the main topic of the story and only the final sentence makes a brief mention of there being a *jigoku* in Tateyama with no further explanation. Here, the *jigoku* is a supplement to the *engi* and its advent is presented as an independent event from the foundation of the local temples; in short, it seems that the *jigoku* appeared in Tateyama after the Ariraka's mysterious legend happened. *Ruiju kigenshō* 類聚既驗抄 from the Kamakura period exhibits the same pattern:

Ruiju kigenshō(類聚既驗抄), “*Etchūnokuni Tateyamagongen*”(越中国立山権現) (The full text) 越中国立山権現、文武天皇御宇大宝元年始所建立也。相伝云、於立山狩人有之、熊射矢ヲ射立追入出処、其熊乍立矢死了。見之、皆金色阿弥陀如来也。仍此山云立山権現也。顯現地獄云々⁶

Here, the protagonist's name is uncertain, and the text describes that a “hunter” found the actual Amida Buddha in Mt. Tateyama.

The important point to be deduced from both of these texts is that the Amida Buddha himself is said to have appeared in Tateyama, and that the emergence of *jigoku* is treated as of secondary importance. According to the *engi* of these local temples, Tateyama is presented as the Pure Land where the actual Amida Buddha has appeared to save the people and not just a *jigoku* where they are punished. Accordingly, we can surmise that the tale of *jigoku* was not generated as part of the *engi* at the local temples in Tateyama from the very beginning, but was a later notion conceived of in the capital area, which was then taken by the local religious centers and subsequently introduced into their *engi*. This kind of local message positing Mt. Tateyama as the Pure Land, however, has been intentionally neglected by the people of the capital (Kyoto or Edo) until the modern era. Having thus already examined the early medieval texts, let us now turn to a few later medieval tales.

2-2 *Katasode-yūrei-tan*

The *katasode-yūrei-tan* (片袖幽霊譚, One-sleeve-ghost story) is a series of wondrous stories,

記念文庫善本叢刊 中古中世篇別卷二 伊呂波字類抄 第二卷,
Gotōbijutsukandaitōkyūkinenbunko, 2012)

⁶ *Shinpukujizenponsōkan chūseishōdōshiryōshū2* 真福寺善本叢刊中世唱導資料集 2, Rinsenshojin, 2008)

originally conceived of by Tokue Gensei 徳江元正(1931-2016),⁷ and featuring a number of similar tales collected by Gensei himself as well as later scholars such as Mimura Masayoshi 三村昌義(1953-)⁸

The tales can be summarized using the following list:

(ex: the name (era, the place where a person sees a dead))

- 1, *Utō* 善知鳥(before 1465, at the foot of Mt. Tateyama and Sotogahama)
- 2, *Rokuon-nichiroku* 鹿苑日録 (an article of Feb.3.1498, on the way to Zenkō-ji 善光寺)
- 3, *Seiryō-ji engi* 清涼寺縁起(1515, Mt.Tateyama, Babadō 婆堂, which is located at the foot of the mountain)
- 4, *Otogi bikuni* 御伽比丘尼(1647, Mt.Hakusan in Etchū, “on the way of the peak 山なかば”⁹)
- 5, *Inga monogatari* 因果物語(1661, Mt.Hakone 箱根)
- 6, *Kiizōtanshū* 奇異雑談集(1687, but original version may have been written around Tenbun 天文 era (1532~1555), Etchū province, after the character’s visit to the Zenkō-ji)
- 7, *Katasode engi* 片袖縁起(1724, at the foot of Mt. Hakone)
- 8, *Nanroshi* 南路志 (1815, on the slope Mt. Hakone)

In addition., we can add another which is not referred to in the preceding studies:

A, *Shokoku rijindan* 諸国俚人談 (1743, on the way home from Mt. Tateyama)¹⁰

In this type of story, in most cases, a person or a monk encounters a ghost on Mt. Tateyama (or Hakone, in some stories), and the ghost asks the monk to send a message to his family. Then, the ghost tears off one sleeve from his kimono and gives it to the monk to ensure that the people believe that his story is true. In these stories, the local temples in Tateyama never play an important role in saving the ghosts and the names of the temples or religious places are in fact seldom mentioned. Like the preceding tales from the early medieval era, the means to save the dead are not situated in Tateyama, but outside of it. What’s more, in this type of story, as noted by Mimura,¹¹ we can notice that Zenkō-ji, one of the biggest temples in Shinano-province, makes a frequent

⁷ “Utōron Jō” 善知鳥論 上, Kokugakuin zasshi 國學院雜誌, v74-12(1973) and “Utōron Ge” 善知鳥論 下, Kokugakuin zasshi, v75-4(1974).

⁸ “*Katasode yūreitan no henyō: Yōkyoku Utō kara kamigatarakugo Katasode made*” 片袖幽霊譚の変容— 謡曲「善知鳥」から上方落語「片袖」まで, Geinō no kagaku 芸能の科学, v18(1990).

⁹ This description is apparently based on a geographical misunderstanding. This story is also recorded in *Shokukou shin hyakumonogatari* 諸国新百物語(1692).

¹⁰ This story might not be an appropriate example of “片袖幽霊譚.” However, since the main characters see a ghost and a bowl which he used and this constitutes the main part of the narrative, we can add this story as a variant of this kind of stories.

¹¹ Miura (1990)

appearance. For example, in the *Seiryō ji-engi*, a monk encounters the spirit of the dead in Tateyama, and then another person sees that same ghost (after he is saved with the monk's help) while visiting the Zenkō-ji. Here, we can accordingly say that the motifs of Tateyama are used to emphasize the importance and merits of Zenkō-ji, not the local temples in Tateyama.

Another point worth noting is that in these stories, the protagonists do not always see the dead in the Tateyama-jigoku, but rather some of these encounters take places at the foot of Mt. Tateyama, or on the way to (or from) Tateyama. And interestingly, some materials do not even mention Mt. Tateyama at all and name Etchū as the place where the dead are seen instead. As such, we can deduce that after the medieval era, Mt. Tateyama itself – and not only the Tateyama-jigoku – became a place associated with death. In other words, the expansion of its border can be said to have taken place in this period.¹²

2-3 *Shoji-ryakki*, A Newly-discovered Material

Next, I would like to turn to an interesting text named *Shoji-ryakki* 諸寺略記,¹³ which is a collection of records of temples and which, to my knowledge, was never referred to in any of the preceding studies. Although the only surviving remnant of this text is the table of contents quoted in a document written by a samurai in the pre-modern era, it tells us that this book was likely compiled at least before 1591, probably near Kyoto. This *Shoji-ryakki* contains many origin stories of Japanese temples and includes the name “Tateyama-jigoku”. Although the other *engi* are titled by its temple's name, such as Tōdaiji 東大寺 or Kōyasan 高野山, Tateyama is notably not referred to by its temple's name. While this *engi* must have been written in a temple at Tateyama and its name was likely mentioned in it, it remains hidden in the title. Moreover, we can guess that the *jigoku* itself was not a theme of this *engi* since in general, the *engi* were created by temples to advertise their merits. By contrast, we can also surmise that the merits and the miracles of Tateyama were not important to the people in the capital for whom the horrible scenes of *jigoku* were the problem and therefore worth focusing on, as much as other famous temples such as Kōfukuji 興福寺 and Kinpusen 金峯山.

¹² We still do not have any solid evidence which explains why this change transpired, but one suggestion is that it is based on an old obsession against the Hokuriku area. Some texts, such as *Heike monogatari* (Nagato version), describe Hokuriku area as an “animal world 畜生道.” There might be a correlation between the expansion of the border and this obsession.

¹³ 諸寺略記 collected in 書籍搜索記(*Shojaku*(or *Shoseki*) *sōsakuki*), written by Tsuda Tarōbyōe(or Tarobē)津田太郎兵衛. National Diet Library Digital Collection (<http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2533230>)



Shoji-ryakki from *Shojaku-sōsakuki* (National Diet Library Digital Collection)

Based on the aforementioned evidence, we can guess that one of the reasons why the Tateyama-jigoku was emphasized and the merits of the local temples were neglected is connected to its hidden role: serving as a foil to outer powers, such as famous temples, sutras, and probably the capital area, which was sanctified by the existence of the Tateyama-jigoku itself. In addition, this concept also created new types of narrative, such as the *katasode-yūrei-tan* 片袖幽霊譚.

3 Premodern Conversion in Tateyama and Its Effect

Although the idea of the *jigoku* was not a main feature but rather an addendum for the local temples of Tateyama in the medieval era, a dramatic shift takes place in the Edo-period (1603-1868). As we have seen before, only two local *engi* created in Tateyama remain and both of their materials likely survived to the present because they were collected in an encyclopedia and a compilation of *engi*. One of the reasons why only a few *engi* materials survive is the war. In the Sengoku or the Warring States period (c. 1467 – c. 1600), the temples in Tateyama were caught up in battles and many important buildings were burned.¹⁴ We can assume that various old books and *engi* were

¹⁴ A letter by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who attacked Tateyama states that “in the east, the

lost during this time. Therefore, in the Edo period, the local temples of Ashikuraji 芦峯寺 and Iwakuraji 岩峯寺 started to take an important role in Tateyama from the religious point of view and began to reconstruct their origin histories based on surviving earlier materials. In the early Edo period, these temples still did not put importance on *jigoku* as their specific feature. For example, in *Etchū Tateyama engi* 越中立山縁記 collected in *Zentoku zakki* 漸得雜記, Tateyama-jigoku appears as an additional characteristic of the origin story.¹⁵ The *engi* of Iwakuraji, *Tateyama gongen* 立山権現 in *Wakan sansaizue* 和漢三才図会 is the same: the Tateyama-jigoku is an independent topic from the main plot of the *engi*. However, the *engi* in the later period, such as the *Asihkura Ubadō daiengi* 芦峯姥堂大縁起 composed by Asikuraji before 1779, exhibits a change and mainly focuses on Tateyama-jigoku to explain the origin story of Uba-hall and the merit of Uba-son 姥尊, an old female deity which especially benefits women. This kind of change is mainly seen in Ashikuraji, which tried to advertise the merit of Uba-son and salvation for women.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that the acceptance of the idea of Tateyama-jigoku taking the narrative center-stage developed from the strategy of Ashikuraji. In *engi* of Ashikuraji, the main focus falls on the *chinoike-jigoku* (血の池地獄), where women were supposed to go after the death. Ashikuraji put importance on saving women from this *jigoku* and accordingly developed many rituals to accompany it. Once the temple had already conceived of a sophisticated way to save the women inside of Tateyama (Ashikuraji), they could easily accept and even exaggerate the idea of the *jigoku* since they were now in possession of a method to purify their sins by themselves. This fusion of the idea of the *jigoku* and the local origin story can be observed not only in prose but also in paintings. In Tateyama, especially in Ashikuraji, a unique style of painting called *Tateyama mandara* 立山曼荼羅 was created:

vanguard set fire from Uba-hall (ritual hall dedicated to female deities in Ashikura-ji) in Tateyama at the foot of Mt. Tsurugi” 先勢東は立山うはたうつるきの山の麓迄令放火候所に。(Hokuchō ibun 北徼異聞 in *Ishikawakenshi shiryō kinseihen* v.5-1 石川県史史料近世編伍) (→).Ishikawashisho kankōkai, 2005.)

¹⁵ This *engi* is one of the earliest *engi* created in Ashikuraji and it was written at least before 1731. See Shohei Yamayoshi 山吉頌平, “ Genzon saikono Ashikuraji kei eng: “Zentoku-zakki” shohū”Tateyama daiengi”現存最古の芦峯寺系『立山大縁起』—『漸得雜記』所収『越中立山縁起』について—,” *Toyama shidan* 富山史壇 184(2017).



Etchū Tateyama kaizanengi mandara 越中立山開山縁起大曼陀羅, *Toyama kenritsu toshokan collection*(<http://www.lib.pref.toyama.jp/gallery/collection/listsrch.aspx>)

In this type of picture, we can see a kind of dualism: the calm, idealistic nature, captured by details such as the green mountains in Yamato-e style and trees at the foot of the mountains, and the strict, realistic nature, depicted by the high peaks and volcanic fields, the living and the dead people, colorful hills and colorless landscapes, and also the *jigoku* and the Pure land. The picture of *jigoku* itself is not unusual, since we can see it in the series of *Rokudō-e* 六道絵 and *Kumano kanshin jikkai mandara* 熊野観心十界曼荼羅 created in the medieval period. These aforementioned paintings certainly had a great influence on the *Tateyama mandara*, but with one key difference.

In the *Tateyama mandara*, the *jigoku* is depicted as a *real* landscape on the mountain. In the *Rokudō-e* and *Kumano kanshin jikkai mandara*, the *jigoku* is not located in this world *この世* but is rather depicted as an imaginary scene in another world *あの世*. In this sense, the *Tateyama mandara* was a very ingenious creation since it is far different from the idea of the secondary

nature traditionally fostered by Japanese people.¹⁶ Although *Tateyama mandara* is a painting portraying the real nature on Mt. Tateyama, we can see neither the concept of the “four seasons” 四季 nor *kachō-fūgetsu* 花鳥風月 here; the scenery in the painting is not beautified or romanticized, but rather negatively distorted to exaggerate the merit of salvation in the local temples.

4 Tateyama-jigoku and Waka Poem

As far as the notion of secondary nature is concerned, we cannot dismiss the other significant characteristic of the idea of Tateyama-jigoku in Japanese history. The Tateyama-jigoku played an important role not only in the Buddhist literature, but also in waka-poetry. The latter point might seem controversial at first, given that very few waka poems about Mt. Tateyama have been composed and that they only date to the ancient and the modern eras. So how can we say that the Tateyama-jigoku had a great influence on waka-poetry? Paradoxically, this omission itself is the key to its role in Japanese poetic history. For one, we know that many poems were composed about Mt. Fuji 富士山 and Mt. Hakusan 白山, which are known as the two of the most divine mountains in Japan. Similarly, Mt. Hakusan (in other name Mt. Shirayama) in the Hokuriku area were also often written about in waka-poems.

By contrast, we can find no waka-poems about Mt. Tateyama from the medieval period. As such, we can surmise that the image of *jigoku* completely overshadowed the beautiful scenery of Tateyama, and poets hesitated to compose waka-poems about it since it could no longer be deemed elegant or *miyabi*, an important concept for waka poetry. Although we can find some poems about Mt. Tateyama in the *Man'yō-shū*, they were compiled in the 8th century, thus preceding the connection of Tateyama with *jigoku*. In comparison to the waka-poetry, we can find many Renga-poems and Haikai-poems about Mt. Tateyama and the Tateyama *jigoku*. This is likely because these genres appreciate different values or motifs from waka. In this sense, we can conclude that the image of Tateyama-jigoku had a negative influence on waka-poems and poets, and that it potentially prevented this mountain from becoming a waka motif such as a *utamakura* 歌枕 or a *meisho* 名所.¹⁷

¹⁶ See Haruo Shirane, *Japan and the Culture of the Four Seasons: Nature, Literature, and the Arts*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012)

¹⁷ There are some materials which refer to Mt. Tateyama as *utamakura* or *meisho*, but they always quote poems from *Man'yō-shū* as the example.

5 Conclusion

As I strove to present in this paper, the idea of the Tateyama-jigoku had a complex structure with far-reaching religious, literary and even artistic connotations. By shifting the focus away from documents largely written on Tateyama by the people in the capital and by examining its changing role across different time periods, I hoped to break free from the fixed point of view on the mountain held in current scholarship and to delineate its larger role within Japanese history.

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A Video Game Series Titled Mother: Exploring a Commentary on Japan's Family Structure in Japanese Game Design

Gerald DeMattia

1. Introduction

In 1988, Shigesato Itoi strode into the Nintendo headquarters in Kyoto for a meeting with Shigeru Miyamoto. Itoi carried with him a design document for a new game idea that he believed would do nothing less than impress the creator of Mario and Zelda. His confidence was well founded, Itoi was a household name in Japan. As a copy writer, Itoi penned some of the most recognizable corporate catch phrases in the country. In 1981, together with renowned writer, Haruki Murakami, Itoi co-authored *Yume De Aimashou*, a collection of surrealist short stories. Two years later, his words, *oishii seikatsu*, or tasteful life, tied together a Seibu ad campaign that stirred customers. Itoi later reflected on his dynamic career in a memoir titled, "When Itoi Was All the Rage". The book explored how the ease of employment that came with being a superstar. However, developing a game for Nintendo was one job that did not come so easily. According to Itoi, Miyamoto's reaction to the design document was less than stellar.¹ The video game industry was booming; thus, Miyamoto showed apprehension towards celebrities he believed only had a commercial interest in game development.² Admittedly, Itoi cried on the train ride home.³ Despite apprehensions, Miyamoto eventually greenlit the project.

Itoi was drawn to game development after playing *Dragon Quest II*. Although he was previously a fan of Mario, his enjoyment of those titles was marred by their difficulty. Thanks to the nature of Japanese RPGs, *Dragon Quest II* was a game he could finish. Itoi saw the narrative potential in this formula. His idea for a game began with simple question, "what would Spielberg make?"⁴ By 1987, the director's production credits included the likes of *E.T the Extra Terrestrial*, *Gremlins*, and *The Goonies*. The youthful spirit of these films inspired Itoi to forgo the medieval setting of *Dragon Quest* to create a roleplaying game that starred a cast of children on an adventure in front of a contemporary backdrop. Itoi called it, *Mother*. Though developed in Japan, *Mother* is noticeably Americana. Towns are lined with burger shops, and the cultural references range from *Coca-Cola* to *The Blues Brothers*. Nods to American pop-culture aside, *Mother's* story addressed Japanese children by critiquing issues familiar to that demographic. Particularly, the work culture of an economic machine that produced salarymen, or as the game would suggest, absentee fathers.

¹ Shigesato Itoi, Interview, Trans. Shmuplations <http://shmuplations.com/mother/>

² Simon Parkin, "Earthbound Retrospective: Mother Ode," *Eurogamer*, Originally Posted, Jul. 28, 2013 <https://www.eurogamer.net/articles/2013-07-28-earthbound-retrospective>

³ Shigesato Itoi, interview by Keiichi Tanaka, *Den Fami Nico Gamer*, January 9. 2018, <http://news.denfaminicogamer.jp/english/180109>

⁴ Shigesato Itoi, interview by Keiichi Tanaka, *Den Fami Nico Gamer*, January 9. 2018, <http://news.denfaminicogamer.jp/english/180109>

After a two-year development cycle, commercials for *Mother* began to appear on Japanese television. Itoi wrote the tagline himself, “*endingu made nakun janai.*” -- no crying until the end.

II. *Mother*: The First Game with Great Writing

Among fans, *Mother* and the subsequent sequels are applauded for Itoi’s thoughtful writing. In recent decades, several high-profile fan groups, inspired by the emotional impact of the narrative, have appeared on the internet. Itoi has discussed *Mother’s* effectiveness in speaking to children, surprisingly citing the memory limitations of the Famicom as a major asset. Due to limited storage space, Famicom cartridges could not include the numerous kanji characters common in Japanese text. The script was limited to the hiragana and katakana syllabi. As Kohler points out, this limitation made *Mother* accessible to children who could not yet read complicated characters.⁵ But more importantly, there was Japanese artistry in the restraint

Itoi compared the writing process for *Mother* to haiku, a poetic form traditionally written without the use of Kanji. “With *Mother* I learned how difficult words could be,” said Itoi, “I wanted them to speak to you, I would actually say them aloud, re-digest them, and try to listen to them with my heart”.⁶ But it was the visual and interactive elements inherent in video games that allowed Itoi to, as he put it, “reclaim the essence of storytelling that was lost in novels... you don’t need any kind of explanation because you get firsthand excitement”⁷ With Itoi at the helm, *Mother* married narrative exposition to visual cues and gameplay mechanics to craft a modern story that children could understand and relate to.

Adapting *Dragon Quest’s* medieval concepts to *Mother’s* contemporary setting was a crucial element of the writing process. Take status effects for example. In *Dragon Quest*, it was possible for the hero to succumb to poisoning. Healing the ailment required herbal treatment from an apothecary. The framing of problem and the solution immersed the player in the medieval setting. In *Mother*, characters did not become poisoned, they caught colds. An issue quickly remedied with a trip to the local drug store. The sequel, *Mother 2*, took the concept of status effects much further, adding symbolic meaning to the conditions. On occasion, the main character, Ness, would become homesick. Apathetic towards the task at hand, he would refuse commands from the player. The only way to cure the apathy laden hero was to call his mother on a pay-phone.

This was only half of the story Itoi would tell about family via gameplay mechanics. The second was tied to money. Defeating *Dragon Quest’s* assorted cast of fantasy themed enemies rewarded the player with gold that could be used to buy items and equipment. This made little sense in the *Mother 2* where battles featured angry neighborhood dogs or the occasional cranky lady. Instead, the father offered financial support. When called, he would promptly deposit funds into Ness’ bank

⁵ Chris Kohler, *Power Up: How Japanese Video Games Gave the World an Extra Life* (New York, Dover Publications, 2016) 83

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Shigesato Itoi, interview by Weekly Famitsu, Trans. Lindsay, *Yomuka*, Originally Posted, April 30, 2009 <https://yomuka.wordpress.com/2009/04/30/famitsu-06191992/>

account. Through the gameplay mechanics, Itoi recreated the modern Japanese family where the mother was a provider of emotional support and the father a source financial sustenance.

III. The Goodwife, Wise Mother and the absentee Salaryman

The roles assigned to Ness' mother and father were based on broadly accepted gender norms that made-up Japan's post-war family system. As early as the 1910s, Japan had defined the feminine ideal as the good wife, wise mother. "We consider home to be the woman's sphere." said Kikuchi, a Meiji era diplomat, "Man works outside and woman helps at home is our maxim."⁸ In this system, women were to play, as sociologist Mary C. Briton put it, "a secondary role in the economy".⁹ Their job was to invest in, "human capital".¹⁰ As the good wife, wise mother, they would raise industrious children and support hardworking husbands. This feminine ideal was fully realized thanks to the economic miracle.

Post-war economic growth's excess capital coupled with the need for a productive labor force moved businesses to offer men lifetime employment with wages high enough to support single income households. This created the male counterpart to the female maxim: the salaryman. Lifetime employment was the key characteristic to this arrangement, a concept born from a Confucian idea that stressed filial loyalty between the worker and employer. Thus, companies became an extended part of the family. But filial loyalty to the companies that demanded production that kept pace with economic growth translated into excessive overtime hours for the salaryman. The need to be omnipresent in the workplace drove a wedge between the salaryman and the household.

Social pressures born from Japan's predisposition towards conformity meant these gender roles became deeply entrenched in Japanese society. Throughout the high growth period, the number of women in the labor force averaged a number blew 50%. When surveyed about household duties, more than 98% of respondents said it was the duty of the woman. The proliferation of these ideals was so widespread that a government commissioned white paper report the on well-being of Japanese society enthusiastically acknowledged the salaryman household as the standard family system.¹¹ Many of the children that played *Mother* grew up in this setting.

Highly critical of the work centric-role men played in society, Itoi utilized *Mother 2*'s pixel perfect recreation of the Japanese household to highlight the negative impact the salaryman ethos had on the relationship between fathers and the household. Itoi's commentary is predicated on the fact that Ness' dad never appears in the game. Away on business, he can only be reached over the phone. Comparatively, the Ness' mom appears on screen during the opening minutes of *Mother 2*. And considering all the areas of game are interconnected, it is possible return to Ness' home at any time

⁸ Margaret E. Burton, *The Education of Women in Japan*, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1914) 105.

⁹ Mary C. Brinton, *Women and The Miracle Economy: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 27.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ WM. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, Arthur E. Tiedemann, *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600 to 2000* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) 400.

to interact with her face-to-face. Anchored to the household, the mother is associated with the idea of home in a way the father never could be. Even the occasional bouts of homesickness are prefaced with the flavor text, “Ness thought of his mom”.

The distance between the salaryman and household is further expressed by an additional gameplay mechanic assigned to Ness’ father: saving the player’s game. Over the phone, Ness updates his dad on his growth –experience, levels, progress – thus far, allowing the player resume the game from that point after turning the console off. The system parodies the landline-relationship salarymen often had with childrearing, experiencing child growth through spreadsheet updates over a telephone. Nonetheless, Itoi feigns hope for their relationship. In the moments leading up to *Mother 2’s* finale, Ness’ dad will cease saving the player’s progress as he desperately tries to make it home in time for his son’s thirteenth birthday. When the game draws to a close, a procession of *Mother 2’s* cast of characters scrolls across the screen. At the end, Ness’ family emerges. The father appears as a telephone. A pixel perfect representation of the modern Japanese household -- no crying until the end.

IV. Conclusion

On average, *Mother 2* takes about 60 hours to complete. It is a long story, filled with harrowing dangers and startling reveals. More importantly, it's a tale is punctuated with touches. The human element is exemplified in the way Ness’ family mirrors the player’s experience growing up in a Japanese middle-class family. Throughout the entirety *Mother 2*, Ness’ parents are an effective source of support for the player. A feigned proposal that the salaryman household is a system that works for children. Yet, the final reveal of the game insinuates Ness’ father does not make it home in time for his son’s thirteenth birthday. When asked about the absentee father Itoi stated, “I never have my characters come from a stable home”.¹² From Itoi’s point of view, the salaryman household constitutes instability for the family. Narrative, Gameplay, and visuals are woven together to highlight the impact economic growth had on the make-up of the Japanese family. It’s a prime example of storying telling in video games being used to inspire players to think critically about what was commonly accepted as normal.

How Jianzhen Became Ritsu School Founder in Japan?

Huichao Zhang

I. Introduction

The monk Jianzhen (鑑真, 688–763) holds a prominent place in Japanese Buddhist history. Nowadays, he is regarded as founder of the Ritsu (Ch. lǜ 律) school, the branch of Japanese Buddhism that focuses on the study of the *vinaya* (Ch. lǜ 律; Jp. ritsu), or the laws and precepts of the monastic order. The view that Jianzhen was the founder of a distinct school of Buddhism has found expression in textual, material, and visual culture. Yet Japanese and Western scholarship have both concluded that the Ritsu school was not a distinct sectarian community during Jianzhen's lifetime. Indeed, Jianzhen did not found the Ritsu school but was designated its founder title during the Kamakura period (1185–1333), a time when founder worship had emerged and flourished.

Modern scholarship on Kamakura Buddhism has been dominated by the founder-centered approach of sectarian scholarship. Key figures of this time, such as Hōnen (法然, 1133–1212), Shinran (親鸞, 1173–1263), Dōgen (道元, 1200–1253), were respectively regarded as the putative founders of the Pure Land sect, the Pure Land Shin sect, the Sōtō Zen sect. In addition, Kūkai (空海, 774–835), representative of monastics from the early Heian period (794–1185), was elevated into an object of founder worship during the Kamakura period. Although prior scholarship has addressed the phenomenon of founder worship during the Kamakura period, no studies have examined how Jianzhen was transformed from an idealized leading figure of the Ritsu study group to an esteemed founder. This passage argues that the hagiographic texts on Jianzhen produced shortly after his death were a critical first step toward the transformation of a monk who was merely a *vinaya* master into an esteemed sectarian founder.

These works portrayed him as a charismatic monk with countless virtues, and this can be interpreted as an attempt by Jianzhen's successors to confirm his authority in the Ritsu community and spread his merits to future generations. This essay examines the process by which Jianzhen was promoted from a *vinaya* master to an idealized monk who was later regarded as the leading authority of the Ritsu School. First, the connection between Jianzhen and Ritsu school is elaborated in the part of Jianzhen's life. Second, a historical overview of the transmission of the *vinaya* to Japan prior to Jianzhen's arrival is provided. Third, the necessity of Jianzhen to be regarded as *vinaya* master in Japan is demonstrated in view of the motivations of the Nara court. Fourth, the earliest hagiographies are analyzed to explore how the received image of Jianzhen changed after his death.

II. Research on Previous Studies

Many scholars view Jianzhen as Buddhist monk of Tendai sect (Elisséeff, 1936, pp.88;

Hirakawa, Tsomo & Miura, 1992, pp.151). Evidence from the behavior of Jianzhen and his group shows the connection of them and Tendai sect. Examples are that under the banning from traveling abroad personally of the law in Tang dynasty, Jianzhen and his group made efforts to hide their real purpose to travel eastward to Japan with a make-up excuse for the public, which is traveling to worship the Tendai sect ancestor, saying that “All are heading to the Guoqing Temple on Tendai Mountain, accommodation for all the monks”. It is believed that Jianzhen and his group held an excuse of worship to Guoqing Temple on Tendai Mountain in consistent with their faith in order to not cause others’ suspect, which made sure of the success of the secret travel eastward. Since if they are not Buddhists of Tendai sect, large scale of traveling to worship the Tendai ancestor is prone to cause public suspect and lead to failure of the real purpose.

Additionally, it is also recorded in “*A Translation of the Tōdaiwajō tōseiden* 唐大和上東征傳” that, during their fifth attempt of traveling to Japan, they encountered violent storm and roaring waves on the East Sea, boats about to be sunk, people deeply dizzy but singing and praying to Guanyin. And it is one of the symbolic characteristics to singing Guanyin to seek for salvation at the edge of risk. Kinds of explanation of Guanyin’s kindness and saving all the people are from the Lotus Sutra of Tendai sect. Scholar of Buddhism history said that: “Tendai Buddhism view Guanyin as bodhisattva of helping people from distress due to *the Lotus Sutra*.” All these evidence proved the faith in Tendai sect of Jianzhen and his disciples. Therefore, it is easy to understand that Jianzhen was respected as master of Tendai sect and spread Tendai among Japan.

Meanwhile, it is also widely agreed by some scholars that Jianzhen contributed much to Ritsu sect in Japan (Luo, 2013; Sun, 2003; Wu, 2012). He became disciples of Dao’an (道岸, 654-717), Rongji and other famous Buddhism masters and learned Ritsu after he came to Chang’an to study. We can draw from what he learned and preached whether in China or Japan, Jianzhen did a lot of things concerning precepts, which is of Ritsu sect.

III. Jianzhen’s Life

Born in Yangzhou, China, Jianzhen was once disciple of Zhiman (智滿, ?-?) and Hongjing (弘景, 634-713) master. Also, he was influenced by Dao’an. Later, he went to study in Luoyang and Chang’an when he grew up in 708. After all his studies of Buddhism outside the hometown, he returned Yangzhou and made a great contribution to his hometown city. At the year of 743, Rongrui (榮睿, ?-749) and Puzhao (普照, ?-?), envoys from Japan, were inviting a master to spread Buddhism to Japan and they finally came to Jianzhen. Actually, Daoxuan (道璿, 702-760) has made it to Japan to preach there, however insufficient influence among Japan archipelago.

As described in history book, Jianzhen and his group made six attempts to travel to Japan with five failure and finally succeeded in the sixth one. On the January of 754, Jianzhen was welcomed by Kibumi on behalf of Empress Kōken. In April of the same year, Jianzhen held an unprecedented blessing at Todai-ji Temple and presided over the

grand precepts ceremony. Emperor Shōmu showed up and was initiated into monkhood by Jianzhen. Empress Kōken, the crown prince and officials of all ranks accepted the blessings by Jianzhen. At that time, Jianzhen ordained over 400 monks. A month later, the Empress Kōken issued an imperial edict appointing Jianzhen as “*Daisozu*” and his followers as “Dharma”.

At the end of 757, Emperor Shōmu approved Jianzhen’s request and bestowed an old residency of a prince on him to build a new temple to offer free accommodation to monks, which is known as Tōshōdai-ji Temple later. Jianzhen committed himself to the temple with rich experiences and design concepts over the temple construction. Finally in August 759, the construction of the new temple was completed and featured with many elites of Chinese temples. Emperor Junnin bestowed the name “Tōshōdai-ji”, while Empress Kōken wrote the inscribed tablet and issued an imperial edict that every monk or nun can choose the sect until finishing studies at Tōshōdai-ji Temple.

Tōshōdai-ji Temple was the first temple that provided accommodation to external monks in Japan. Monks came in an endless stream throughout the year to this temple from different places. Apart from Buddhism and monkhood initiation, Jianzhen provided them a chance to acquire medical knowledge, architecture and statue skills, Chinese and writing sutras (Le & Deng, 2010, pp.128). The temple became a school to learn diversified cultural knowledge of China. Many monks learned there. After learning, they managed to expound the Buddhist texts at other locations. The temple enjoyed a widespread reputation and became a shrine like the Toda-ji Temple for Japanese monks. The Tōshōdai-ji Temple changed traditionally closed Buddhism – a tool for the ruling class - into an open and people-oriented religion. It was an important reform in Japanese Buddhism.

The ruling class utilized the Japanese Buddhism as a bureaucratic tool. When Jianzhen arrived in Japan, the rituals conducted by him controlled the disorderly situation in the private monkhood initiation and eased the sharp increase of monks. He gained the Mikado support. His thinking of bringing spiritual consolation to those suffering by Buddhism and regarding the common people as the objects for promotion Buddhism was quite different from the Mikado’s idea of controlling people and consolidating political power. The old guard of the court became more indifferent to Master Jianzhen. After the death of Emperor Shōmu, with Empress Kōken handing over the crown to Emperor Junnin, Master Jianzhen lost the powerful supports. The minority old guard took the chance to mislead Emperor Junnin and wanted to retake the lost interests. On first day of eighth lunar month in 758, the court issued an imperial edict to suspend the *Daisozu* post of Jianzhen to let him specialize in expounding Buddhist texts. It seemed as though the court had let Jianzhen free from the busy official affairs, but in fact it was done under the influence of old guard. Emperor Junnin still carried on the tradition of respecting Master Jianzhen and conferred the title of “*Daikasho-i* (rank of Great Master).” The edict emphasized that all circles of people should respect Jianzhen, and other temple monks and nuns should come to Jianzhen’s Zen-in to study Buddhism.

In the August of 758, after the death of Emperor Shōmu, with Empress Kōken handing over the crown to the Emperor Junnin, Master Jianzhen lost the powerful supports. (Because His thinking of bringing spiritual consolation to those suffering by Buddhism and regarding the common people as the objects for promoting Buddhism was quite different from the Mikado's idea of controlling people and consolidating political power.) In the year of 763, Jianzhen passed away at the age of 76 in Japan, which shocked the court.

IV. Discussion

A. The Historical Transmission of the Vinaya to Japan

The *vinaya* is about the rules and regulations used to govern the monastic community. The *Sifen lü*, a text concerning moral discipline practices, was introduced from India to China, contributing to shaping the basic Chinese Buddhism framework. It was used on the ordination ceremony of monks and nuns from the Tang dynasty (618-907) until present day. The *Sifen lü* gained its dominance over other *vinaya* texts. It was viewed as the only valid *vinaya* document in China, which was strongly encouraged by Daoxuan (道宣, 596-667) (different from Daoxuan 道璿 (702-760)). Daoxuan (道宣, 596-667) was the founder of Nanshan lüzong, or *vinaya* school of Nanshan, which particularly promoted the *Sifen lü*. Scholars (Heirman & Bumbacher, 2007) suggests two major factors contributing to the development of the *Sifen lü*: (1) Daoxuan (道宣, 596-667) claimed in *vinaya* commentaries that the *Sifen lü* ordination procedure set up the model for Chinese ordinations; (2) governments both in Sui (581-618) and Tang dynasty attempted to simplify state control with the tool of ordination procedure. Consequently, the *Sifen lü* became classic *vinaya* in China and lay a solid foundation for the development of rituals and precepts in Chinese Buddhism. In principle, every monk and nun from different schools were to be ordained in correspondence with *Sifen lü* according to the clear guidance on how to spend their lives as recorded.

The earliest transmission of *vinaya* to Japan dates back to the sixth century in terms of the ambiguous record on *the Nihon shoki* (The Chronicles of Japan, 720), before Jianzhen's arrival. Soga no Umako (蘇我馬子, ?-626) invited monks from Paekche to introduce how the precepts were to be received. Later, Zenshin'ni (善信尼, 568-?) and two another nuns were dispatched to study the *vinaya* in Paekche. Dōkō (道光, ?-694) achieved the transmission of *Sifen lü*, the classic Chinese *vinaya*, to Japan. He was once sent to China to study the *vinaya* by Tenmu Tennō (?-686) and later brought the commentary on the *Sifen lü* by Daoxuan, *Sifen lü xingshichao* 四分律行事鈔 (Transcript of the Procedures for the *Sifen lü*, seventh century), to Japan. Also, there are sources indicating that Dōkō was likely the first person to introduce the orthodox *vinaya*, the *Sifen lü*, from China to Japan. As confirmed in the *Nihon shoki*, "a contribution was sent for the funeral expenses of the *vinaya* master Dōkō." This information was written down in the official record of Japanese history, suggesting the importance of Dōkō. However, Dōkō was not included in the lineage of the Ritsu school. A reasonable explanation can be found in the official account on Jianzhen in the *Shoku Nihongi*: "The

Buddhist law flowed to the east, reaching our country [Japan]. Although we had its teachings, there was no one to transmit them.” Thus, the government invited Jianzhen to teach the precepts in Japan.

B. The Motivations of the Nara Court

Sifen lü argued that one who wants to be formally involved in monastic community were to obtain whole ordination at the age of twenty. The ordination ceremony must be witnessed by three superior monks and a minimum of seven another monks, known as the *sanshi shichishō* 三師七証. After been introduced the basic ideas of the Ritsu school, Japan were still confronted with the lack of qualified master to perform the ordination procedures. At that time in Japan, large numbers of peasants chose to be self-ordained monks without formal permission, escaping from taxation and labor obligation, which put the centralized government into danger of declining revenue. To restrict the exploding number of non-officially monks and protect the state profits, Japan government decided to regulate religious disciplines more strictly with the help of *vinaya* masters from China. Consequently, Daoxuan (道璿, 702-760), a Chinese *vinaya* master was invited to come to Japan in 736, while ended up in low effect. After the invitation by Rongrui and Puzhao in 743 and their five extreme hard but failed attempts to travel eastward, the *vinaya* master Jianzhen and his disciples finally reached Japan in 753, with Jianzhen losing his eyesight.

Activities of him and his group were recorded in his earliest hagiographies. When he approached the Nara capital in 754, he established an ordination platform in front of the Great Buddha Hall for temporary use, where he performed the bodhisattva precepts on Shōmu Tennō (701–756), Kōmyō Kōgō (701–760), the reigning empress, Kōken Tennō (718–770), and 440 monks. After Jianzhen’s arrival, the first fixed location for the ordination ceremony came into existence, which provided the court with the tool to control the numbers of monks by officially recognizing only the ordinations performed on the precepts platforms (*kaidan*). The *vinaya* transmission to Japan by Jianzhen also contributed to the establishment of Tōshōdai-ji Temple in 759, which is currently regarded as the center of the Ritsu school in Japan.

C. Nara-period Hagiographies of Jianzhen

To summarize, scholars generally study Jianzhen mostly relying on hagiographies composed shortly after his death, which not only provide records of Jianzhen’s life, but also create history, modeling his as an outstanding master with plentiful virtues.

The first hagiography on Jianzhen is the *Daitō den kaishi sōmeiki daiwajō Jianzhen* 大唐传戒師僧名記大和上鑑真伝 (Hagiography of Tang *vinaya* Transmitter Great Master Jianzhen; sometime before 779), written by Situo (思托, 801–806), who followed him throughout all six of the tough travel experiences as his disciple. The second hagiography was composed by Ōmi no Mifune (淡海三船, 722–785) at Situo’s request, named the *Tōdaiwajō tōseiden* 唐大和上東征伝 (Records of Tang Great Master’s Eastern Journey; 779). The last one is also authored by Situo, collected in the

Enryaku sōroku 延曆僧錄 (Records of Monks in the Enryaku Era, 788), named as the *Kōsō shamon shaku Jianzhenden* 高僧沙門釋鑑真伝 (Hagiography of the Eminent Monk Jianzhen).

Apparently, Situo played a leading role in the hagiographical writings concerning Jianzhen. Chances are that he was in strong motivation of preventing Jianzhen's life story and contribution from shadowed by the flowing time, and establishing his solid status in the monastic system of Buddhism in Japanese society, culture and history. This desire is obvious from the fact that he requested Ōmi no Mifune, who was regarded as a sinophil intellectual, to inscribe a well-polished version based on his own record.

As Situo's wishes, these hagiographies resulted in raising awareness of Jianzhen's merits and contribution in later Buddhism history. These Nara-period hagiographies seem to be able to offer a model holy man of the Ritsu school to preach doctrines and precepts for future generations. His religious status and influence became to authority within the Ritsu school emerged during the Heian period.

As a third-generation disciple of Daoxuan, Jianzhen is commonly credited as the first *vinaya* transmitter in Japan. This assertion can be traced to the *Kairitsu den raiki* 戒律傳來記 (History of the *Vinaya* Transmission, 830) written by the monk Buan (豊安, ?–840). It is the first history of *vinaya* transmission written in Japan. On the introduction of the *vinaya* to Japan, Buan wrote: “The first *vinaya* transmitter is Jianzhen, who constructed the first ordination platform to transmit the *vinaya* in Japan.” Even though the *vinaya* had already been introduced to Japan before Jianzhen's arrival, Buan still claimed that Jianzhen was the first person to transmit the *vinaya* to Japan, probably because he was the first to construct an ordination platform at Tōshōdai-ji Temple.

The Kamakura period witnessed widespread acceptance of Jianzhen's importance, resulting in his status as the founder of the Ritsu school. Gyōnen (凝然, 1240-1321) played a crucial role in establishing the Ritsu school in Jianzhen's name in his writings. Jianzhen was described as “the first patriarch”, “the founding patriarch of the *vinaya* in Japan” (*Nihonkoku kairitsu shiso* 日本國戒律始祖), and “the founding patriarch of the Ritsu school in Japan” (*Nihon risshū no shiso* 日本律宗之始祖) by Gyōnen in the *Risshū kōyō* 律宗綱要 (The Essentials of the *Vinaya* Tradition, 1306). Nichiren (日蓮, 1222-1282) considered Jianzhen to be the founder of the Ritsu school in his work *Hōonshō* 報恩抄 (On Repaying Debts of Gratitude, 1276). Since then, Jianzhen's image as the founder has been broadly accepted in Japanese Buddhist history.

V. Conclusion

Early as before Jianzhen's arrival in Japan, the *vinaya* had already been introduced to Japan, while it was still firmly believed by Japan rulers that there was no one qualified to supervise ordination rituals other than Jianzhen. Thus, in spite of efforts to spread *vinaya* to Japan, Dōkō and the eighth-century monk Daoxuan and some other people are not counted in the lineage of the Ritsu school. In contrast, Jianzhen did great

contribution to the development of what later became the Ritsu school in Japan by establishing an ordination platform at Tōshōdai-ji Temple, which greatly changed the Buddhism situation at that time, even influencing the whole Japan society and economy. Shortly after his death, Jianzhen's disciple Situo and the talented literatus Ōmi no Mifune composed hagiographies regarding him in order to pass his virtues and glory to future generations. These early hagiographies served to establish Jianzhen as the founder of the Ritsu school during the Kamakura period.

Correspondingly, scholars generally study Jianzhen mainly according to these historical records composed in the purpose of building Jianzhen's kind image, which may reduce reliability of these stories to some extent. Other types of evidence concerning Jianzhen still need to be discovered and studied. Furthermore, the current abundant sources about Jianzhen is not fully-studied enough by scholars. Deeper analyses on the contribution and doctrines of Jianzhen and his disciples is still of great significance to Japan Buddhism.

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Panda Express: The Effect of Cuisine Transformation in Success of Food Industry in the US

Sora Skye Osuka

Abstract

With over 2000 locations around the US, Panda Express has become the leader in the American-Chinese food industry. To understand how and why they are so successful, this paper analyzes the history and cultural adaptation of food to the US, business models, and nutrition values. This paper first reviews the history of Panda Express in terms of start-up, development, and adaption to changing consumers need. Then, this paper analyzes the birth of “American Chinese food” by comparing business prototypes between traditional authoritative verses adaptive flexible models. Finally, this paper analyzes the menu of Panda Express to determine the nutritional significance of “American Chinese” food. The success of Panda Express shows the acceptance of Chinese-American food into the US market. The relationship of food adaption, authenticity, and capitalism clearly validate the success of Panda Express. Cultural adaptation, assimilation, and innovation shaped cuisine in China are in performing well in the US.

Key Words: Chinese food, American-Chinese food, Panda Express, Culture adaptation, Nutrition

I. Introduction

Lee (2015) blogged “Today, there are more Chinese restaurants in the United States than the combined total of Burger King, Kentucky Fried Chicken, McDonald’s, and Wendy’s restaurants.” But according to the U.S. Census Projections, the majority demographic of America is white, with Hispanic Origins increasing the largest. The Asian population is increasing but has not projected to surpass 10% of the whole population of the country by 2045¹ according to the *US Census: 2014 National Population Projection*. Why are Chinese restaurants so popular today in the United States?

There have been no previous analysis of Panda Express in the past². To determine why Chinese restaurants are so popular in the US, this paper examines the history of Panda Express, its marketing and business strategy, and the nutrition issues. First we will review the history of Panda Express in terms of start-up, development, and adaption to changing consumers need. Then, this paper analyze the birth of “American Chinese food” by comparing business prototypes between traditional authoritative verses adaptive flexible models. Finally, this paper analyzes the menu of Panda Express to determine the nutritional significance of “American Chinese” food It attempts to find out why Panda Express is successful with over 2000 locations around the US (“Panda Express”

¹ US Census 2014 <https://urbanland.uli.org/industry-sectors/american-demography-bursting-diversity-yet-baby-bust/>

² The author realizes that there is no previous analysis to base research from.

2019) so that we can understand the importance of cultural adaptation, management model, and nutrition issues in the US.

Did Panda Express adapt to the cultural transformation into American society? Have they acknowledged consumer economics? Do they recreate flavor profile attractive to Americans? What kind of strategic marketing are they conducting? Finally is Panda Express actually more healthier than other American diet options?

II. Literature Review

This literature review section has organized three conceptual constructs: Panda Express History, Food Adaptation in the US, and Menu for Health Issues.

A. Panda Express History

To understand why Panda Express is successful, we must first understand how Panda Express developed. The history of Panda Express will allow us to learn why they are successful by perceiving the origin, development, and successful adaptation in the US today. It is also a prosperous funder's success story transforms into company's positive image and trust in society. This paper exploits the information for the history and origin of Panda Express (Liu 2015).

B. Food Adaptation in the US.

This paper examines the cuisine transformation through cultural adaptation³ by sourcing three specific books in particular: *Chop Suey and Sushi from Sea to Shining Sea: Chinese and Japanese Restaurants in the United States*(Arnold, Tunç, and Chong 2018), "*Chow Chop Suey: Food and the Chinese American Journey*(Mendelson 2016), and *From Canton Restaurant to Panda Express: a History of Chinese Food in the United States* (Liu 2015). The three books allow to further learning about the history of Chinese-Americans in the US in which how "Chinese-American food" came to life. It is interesting to note that out of the three books, two of the books mention "Chop Suey" which is a popular "American- Chinese" dish originating in America.

Arnold, Tunc and Chong reveals and contextualizes the hidden, local histories of Chinese and Japanese restaurants in the United States. The essays of this book show how the taste and presentation of Chinese and Japanese dishes have evolved over generations of immigrants who became restaurant owners, chefs, and laborers in the small towns and large cities of America. These vivid, detailed, and emotional portrayals reveal the survival strategies deployed in Asian restaurant kitchens over the past 150 years and the impact these restaurants have had on the culture, politics, and foodways of the United States (Arnold, Tunç, and Chong 2018).

Next, Mendelson talks about the history of American Chinese food. Uses cooking to trace different stages of the Chinese in America. The author describes the formation of American Chinatowns and examines the curious racial dynamic underlying the purposeful invention of hybridized Chinese American food, historically prepared by Cantonese-descended cooks for whites incapable of grasping Chinese culinary principles. The author then follows the eventual abolition of anti-

³ Kim defines successful "cultural adaptation" as the willingness to stay open, strength to try different things, and positivity of the strangers personality. They allow individuals to overcome even the most severely unreceptive host environment (Kim 2001).

Chinese immigration laws and the many demographic changes that transformed the face of Chinese cooking in America during and after the Cold War. She concludes with the post-1965 arrival of Chinese immigrants from Taiwan, Southeast Asia, and many regions of mainland China. As she shows, they have immeasurably enriched Chinese cooking in America but tend to form comparatively self-sufficient enclaves in which they, unlike their predecessors, are not dependent on cooking for a white clientele (Mendelson 2016).

Third, Liu treats food as a social history. It portrays stories about Chinese migration, cultural negotiation, race and ethnicity, diverse flavored Chinese cuisine and its share in American food market today. Historian and author Haiming Liu explains how the immigrants adapted their traditional food to suit local palates. By treating food as a social history, Liu explores why Chinese food changed and how it has influenced American culinary culture, and how Chinese restaurants have become places where shared ethnic identity is affirmed—not only for Chinese immigrants but also for American Jews (Liu 2015). The book also includes a look at national chains like P. F. Chang's and a consideration of how Chinese food culture continues to spread around the globe. Drawing from hundreds of historical and contemporary newspaper reports, journal articles, and writings on food in both English and Chinese.

C. Menu for Health Issues

This paper utilizes Panda Express Menu 2019, and Nutrition and allergic information 2019 for analyzing price and nutritional values. There is no previous study analyzing the price and nutrition of the Panda Express Menu. Panda Express Menu is the primary source for this research because it will provide useful data such as what kind of traditional Chinese cuisine verses the Americanized cuisine has a close resemblance to, what kind of Chinese-American cuisine is popular, and if American-Chinese food is as healthy as many American consumers believe it to be.

To understand why Panda Express is successful, we must understand their menu and how it is conceptualized. Panda Express offers their food in an open kitchen, assembly line style. The most popular way to order is to order multiple entre options through “Create Your Plate”, which allows customers to pick a side of mixed veggies, Chow Mein, white rice, brown rice or fried rice and two or three entrees (Panda Group 2012). When looking at the specific menu items we will be focusing on calories, macro-nutrients, micro-nutrients, fat content and sodium content as those seem to be the criteria consumers worry the most.

III. Methodology

A. Cuisine transformation through cultural adaptation

How mainland Chinese cuisine transformed into the modern day Chinese-American food through cultural theory in the US? Chinese cuisine travels transnationally and trans-historically and the story attached to it with hardship and success of immigration. The notion of authenticity constantly transform itself in new environment. The authenticity has been true to the original and being at one with original. Once they left original, there is no longer authentic. Cultural theory employed in this paper is people's interest that lead to build up large consumer consumption and capitalism in the US. (Arnold, Tunç, and Chong 2018), (Mendelson 2016), (Liu 2015)

B. Organization of the Panda Group

How and Why Panda Express is successful from a business standpoint. Analyzing the strategic marketing and price that catered towards the American consumer. Reviewing their financial statements to see how successful the company truly is. (Lidow 2014) , (Panda Group 2015) Menu, and Nutrition and Allegation 2019 of Panda Express.

The Menu (see figure 1), and Nutrition and Allegation 2019 show the nutritional value and caloric significance of its food (Healthy or not healthy) as well as social interest (Organic, Vegan, No-MSG, Non-fat, local produce, etc.). How Panda Express respond to health issues? (Panda Group 2012)

IV. Findings

A. History of Panda Express

i. Origin

Andrew Cherng opens the first Panda Express at the Glendale Galleria in Glendale, California in 1983. Peggy Cherng customizes the restaurant's operating systems to assure the very best food and service. Cherng was born in April 1948 in Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province, Republic of China on the northern bank of the Yangtze River. He and his family then moved to Taiwan after the Kuomintang was defeated on the Chinese mainland in the Chinese Civil War and in 1963, his family moved to Yokohama, Japan, where his father had taken a job as a chef (“Andrew Cherng” 2019).

In 1966, at age 18, he immigrated to the United States to study at an American university. He earned a bachelor's degree in mathematics in 1970 from Baker University in Baldwin City, Kansas, and a master's degree in applied mathematics from the University of Missouri in 1972. At Baker he had met his future wife, Peggy Tsiang, born in Burma and raised in Hong Kong, who went on to earn a bachelor's degree in mathematics from Oregon State University in 1971 and a PhD in electrical engineering from the University of Missouri (“Andrew Cherng” 2019).

Andrew went into business with his father in the United States in 1973, opening their first Panda Inn restaurant in Pasadena, California. At the beginning, business was lacking to the degree that Andrew had to offer special deals and freebies so that customers would dine at Panda Inn. In 1982, Peggy joined Andrew in the restaurant business. While operating Panda Inn, Andrew became acquainted with then-UCLA head football coach Terry Donahue, as well as Terry's brother Dan, who happened to be in the real estate business. It was because of this connection that in 1983, Donahue Schriber Real Estate, the manager of the Glendale Galleria, invited the Cherngs to develop a fast-food version of Panda Inn for the Galleria's food court, and Panda Express was launched that October in 1983 (“Andrew Cherng” 2019).

Development

Chef Andy Kao claims to have developed the original Chinese-American orange chicken recipe at a Panda Express in Hawaii in 1987. Since Panda Express is closely associated with this dish, Panda Express uses orange chicken as a promotion tool by having a dedicated food truck tour the country distributing samples of orange chicken. Though called Chinese food in North America, orange chicken is rarely found in Chinese restaurants in China. Andrew Cherng, owner and founder of Panda Express, said that orange chicken is just a variation of General Tso's chicken, another dish

that is almost unknown in China (“Orange Chicken” 2019). Journalist Jennifer 8. Lee says that both "General Tso's chicken and Orange Chicken are Americanized mutations of sweet and sour dishes found in China" (Lee 2017). Panda Express was successful in utilizing cultural appropriation by exposing the “Chinese-ness” and the idea of being a “foreign” type of cuisine in the a white dominant consumer market (Friedersdorf 2015).

When thinking about Panda Express, we can not forget the unique store layout. They have an open kitchen with an assembly line system. Consumers can see the food being prepared right in front of them and pick and chose from the variety of entrees. By having an open kitchen and a assembly line system, Panda Express successfully captures consumer interests by showing that they have nothing to hide. By staying true to their fast-casualness, Panda Express does not require a lot of surface area to operate, allowing them to penetrate different market establishments such as malls, airports and college campuses (Mozena 2017).

ii. Adaptation

As Panda Express becomes a successful enterprise, they gain social responsibilities to “do the right thing.” With competition rising, they must be able to adapt and overcome obstacles to stay successful. In 1997 the first drive-thru restaurant in Hesperia, California, making it possible for Panda fans on the go to order and receive their food without ever leaving their cars (Liu 2015).

Established in 1999, Panda Cares is the philanthropic arm of Panda Restaurant Group. They are committed to serving the communities in which we operate by providing food, funding and volunteer services to underserved youth, and disaster relief efforts (“Panda Cares” 2015).

In 2016 the Chork was introduced. Representing “American Chinese-ness” of Panda Express the chopstick-fork-hybrid symbolized a bridge between two cultures. “Chopstick mastery is for some, but rice should be for everyone,” said Jeremy Gordon, GQ.(Panda Group 2015)

Business Model and Financial Data.

When thinking about Chinese American food there are mainly three types; fast-casual chains such as Panda Express, small scale local “mom and pop” shops and high end sit down chains such as P.F. Changs. Observing the location of Panda Express, there are not many located in areas where local small Chinese-American takeout shops are located and vice versa. This is an interesting finding because it shows the mutual respect between Panda Express and the small business owners. Both types offer very similar types of food at a similar price point, there is no need to compete with each other as both parties will end up loosing if located near each other. On the contrary, locations of Panda Express and P.F. Changs tend to overlap with each other. Both serve similar but different food, possess different price points and offer a completely different dining experience (Yan 2013). Depending on the consumers financial background and consumer priority, one may choose to eat at one over the other. As the Panda Group continues to be successful with more stores opening in the future, it is important to think when Panda Group will derail from its foundational values to a more conventional American fast food chain.

Since Panda Group is a private company and not publicly traded in the stock market, they are not required to release financial data to the public. Table 1 below is a ranking of the American fast food chains based on 2016 US statewide sales. In 2016, Panda Express reported 2.9 Billion dollars,

raking 22nd, but third place out of the “ethnic” category of chains behind Taco Bell and Chipotle (QSR 2017). Looking at Figure 1 an average price of eight dollars an entrée, it is interesting to see such a high profit margin from already affordable food. This is evidence that even though Panda Group is not a publicly traded company, they are successful enough to compete against larger fast food chains.

iii. Nutrition and Health Issues

Looking at the nutritional caloric calculator (Figure 2 and 3), we can find out a lot about the food being served at Panda Express. Panda Express menu items contain 0g of Trans Fat. Trans Fat is considered the “bad fat” because it is a solid in room temperature causing negative implications to the body. On the other hand, they are high in Sodium. The recommended dietary intake of sodium according to the American Heart Association is less than 2,300mg per day (American Heart Association 2015). Some entrées have about half of the recommended amount of sodium per day.

There seems to be a new diet trend every year. In 2009, Panda Express introduced WOK SMART which is their low calorie, high protein options. They are under 300calories with at least 8g of protein. As consumers become more conscientious regarding what to eat and have stronger interest in nutrition, Panda Express has rolled out their own version of “low calorie” option to meet the ever-changing needs of the consumers.

Balanced diet? “Healthy” combinations are possible. Looking at the menu (Figure 1) we can see that each individual dish is not very “healthy”. But when looking at the menu, we must not forget how consumers order at Panda Express. They pride on combination platters, where the customer picks one side dish and two or three entrees to go along. It is possible for a customer to create a combination platter focused mainly on WOK SMART dishes and steamed vegetables to create a somewhat balanced diet compared to the traditional western diet.

Advancement of technology has allowed consumers access to information at their fingertips. Their needs and preference change based on new knowledge. Attractive trends include organic ingredients, vegan friendly options, non-MSG, and non-fat options. These “new” types of consumers are health conscious and interested in where and how the food gets to the plate. Panda Express does not offer organic, vegan/vegetarian options but contains no MSG in the food (Panda Group 2012). MSG is often associated with Chinese food and producing negative health effects, but all of that was American government propaganda. There is no scientific conclusion that MSG consumption causes negative implications to humans. The stigma was in placed during Americas Xenophobia and anti-Asian immigration policies of the 70s and 80s (Germain 2019). Panda Express has also successfully eliminated trans fat from all menu items. Trans fat is often considered the “bad-fat” as they are solids during room temperature (American Heart Association 2019).

V. Conclusion

Panda Express/Chinese food are popular and successful because they adapted to the cultural transformation into American society, consumer economics, flavor profile, strategic marketing, and a conceptual image of being “healthy” compared to other American food options. Chinese food allows consumers to consume carbohydrates, proteins and vegetables while American food is mainly just carbohydrates. Panda Express is successful because of its understanding of cultural

adaptation and business ideology that American-Chinese food may not be the “healthiest” option but does allow for an affordable price and a balanced diet.

As consumer preferences constantly evolve with time, it is important for Panda Express and American-Chinese to continue to adapt and overcome barriers. When talking about “American-Chinese” cuisine, one cannot and should not compare it with mainland Chinese cuisine because “American Chinese” cuisine represents the “America-ness” of the modern world. The success of Panda Express not only represent the acceptance of Chinese-American into the US, but using that for profit-making popular culture. The relationship of food adaption, authenticity, and capitalism clearly validate the success of Panda Express. Cultural adaptation, assimilation, and innovation shaped cuisine in China are in performing well in the US.

Appendix

QSR 50 RANK	COMPANY	CHANGE IN POSITION	CATEGORY	2016 U.S. SYSTEMWIDE SALES (MILLIONS)	2016 U.S. AVERAGE SALES PER UNIT (THOUSANDS)	NUMBER OF FRANCHISED UNITS IN 2016	NUMBER OF COMPANY UNITS IN 2016	TOTAL UNITS IN 2016	TOTAL CHANGE IN UNITS FROM 2015
1	McDonald's*	-	Burger	36,389.00	2,550.00	13,046	1,109	14,155	-104
2	Starbucks*1	-	Snack	14,795.40	1,123.25	5,292	7,880	13,172	651
3	Subway	-	Sandwich	11,300.00	422.52	26,744	0	26,744	-359
4	Wendy's	2	Burger	9,510.00	1,454.80	6,207	330	6,537	58
5	Burger King*	-1	Burger	9,749.19	1,361.43	7,111	50	7,161	35
6	Taco Bell	-1	Ethnic	9,353.80	1,510.00	5,399	879	6,278	157
7	Dunkin' Donuts*	-	Snack	8,200.00	928.86	8,828	0	8,828	397
8	Chick-fil-A	-	Chicken	7,973.50	4,407.10	1,730	372	2,102	119
9	Pizza Hut	-	Pizza	5,751.40	740.00	7,371	318	7,689	-133
10	Domino's*	1	Pizza	5,335.20	993.33	4,979	392	5,371	171
11	Panera Bread	-1	Sandwich	5,200.00	2,700.00	1,134	908	2,042	70
12	Sonic*	1	Burger	4,504.14	1,284.00	3,201	356	3,557	31
13	KFC	1	Chicken	4,483.30	1,060.00	3,966	201	4,167	-103
14	Chipotle	-2	Ethnic	3,904.38	1,868.00	0	2,198	2,198	227
15	Carl's Jr./Hardee's*	-	Burger	3,761.00	1,249.00	2,774	237	3,011	53
16	Dairy Queen	1	Snack	3,621.00	1,268.05	4,515	2	4,517	6
17	Arby's	-1	Sandwich	3,600.00	1,117.00	2,314	1,044	3,358	17
18	Little Caesars*	-	Pizza	3,523.25	815.00	3,809	514	4,323	65
19	Jack in the Box	-	Burger	3,445.00	1,530.00	1,838	417	2,255	6
20	Popeyes Louisiana Kitchen*	-	Chicken	3,140.30	1,488.00	2,029	55	2,084	77
21	Papa John's	-	Pizza	3,013.79	875.85	2,739	702	3,441	53
22	Panda Express	-	Ethnic	2,903.04	1,606.00	95	1,798	1,893	91

Table 1. Top 50 Fast Food (QSR 2017)

Panda Express Menu

Drinks & Shakes

Shake Extra Topping \$0.75

Create Your Plate

Available Sides: Mixed Veggies, Chow Mein, White Steamed Rice, Brown Steamed Rice and Fried Rice

Any 1 Side & 2 Entrees \$6.80 Any 1 Side & 3 Entrees \$8.30

Additional Charge - Premium Entree \$1.25

Bowl

Available Sides: Mixed Veggies, Chow Mein, White Steamed Rice, Brown Steamed Rice and Fried Rice

Any 1 Side & 1 Entree \$5.88 Additional Charge - Premium Entree \$1.25

Kid's Meal

Guests 11 and Under

Any 1 Jr Side, 1 Jr Entree, 12 oz Drink & Cookie \$4.90 Additional Charge - Premium Entree \$0.75

Family Feast

Serves 4-5

2 Large Sides & 3 Large Entrees \$30.00 Additional Charge - Premium Entree \$3.75

A La Carte

Sides (Mixed Veggies, Chow Mein, White Steamed Rice, Brown Steamed Rice or Fried Rice) Medium \$2.70 Sides (Mixed Veggies, Chow Mein, White Steamed Rice, Brown Steamed Rice or Fried Rice) Large \$3.70

Entrees (Orange Chicken, String Bean Chicken Breast, Black Pepper Chicken, Kung Pao Chicken, Broccoli Beef, Beijing Beef, SweetFire Chicken Breast, Grilled Teriyaki Chicken, Honey Sesame Chicken Breast or Mushroom Chicken) Small \$5.70 Entrees (Orange Chicken, String Bean Chicken Breast, Black Pepper Chicken, Kung Pao Chicken, Broccoli Beef, Beijing Beef, SweetFire Chicken Breast, Grilled Teriyaki Chicken, Honey Sesame Chicken Breast or Mushroom Chicken) Medium \$6.90

Entrees (Orange Chicken, String Bean Chicken Breast, Black Pepper Chicken, Kung Pao Chicken, Broccoli Beef, Beijing Beef, SweetFire Chicken Breast, Grilled Teriyaki Chicken, Honey Sesame Chicken Breast or Mushroom Chicken) Premium Entrees (Shanghai Angus Steak or Honey Walnut Shrimp - Limited Time) \$9.70 \$4.95

Figure 1. Menu of Panda Express ("Panda Express" 2019)

NUTRITION & ALLERGEN INFORMATION																					
MENU ITEMS	Serving Size (oz)	Nutrition Facts										Allergens									
		Calories	Calories from Fat (g)	Total Fat (g)	Saturated Fat (g)	Trans Fat (g)	Cholesterol (mg)	Sodium (mg)	Total Carb (g)	Dietary Fiber (g)	Sugars (g)	Protein (g)	Wheat	Soy	Peanuts	Treenuts	Fish	Shellfish	Eggs	Milk	
Orange Chicken [†]	5.7 oz	490	230	23	5	0	60	870	51	2	19	25	Y	Y					Y	Y	
Peppercorn Chicken [†]	5.2 oz	380	90	10	2	0	30	680	16	2	4	8	Y	Y							
CHICKEN BREAST																					
String Bean Chicken Breast [†]	5.5 oz	190	80	9	2	0	51	590	11	4	4	14	Y	Y							
SweetFire Chicken Breast [†]	5.8 oz	260	140	15	3	0	35	320	42	1	22	13	Y								
Sweet & Sour Chicken Breast [†]	5.5 oz	300	150	12	3	0	25	260	40	1	21	10	Y								
BEEF																					
Beijing Beef [†]	5.6 oz	470	240	26	5	0	25	660	46	1	24	13	Y	Y						Y	
Broccoli Beef [†]	5.4 oz	150	70	7	1.5	0	12	520	11	2	7	9	Y	Y							
Shanghai Angus Steak	6.4 oz	310	170	19	4	0	40	700	17	1	8	19	Y	Y							
SEAFOOD																					
Honey Walnut Shrimp	5.2 oz	360	200	23	3.5	0	100	340	39	2	2	15	Y	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y	
Golden Treasure Shrimp [†]	5.4 oz	360	160	18	3	0	100	440	35	2	14	14	Y	Y					Y		
Steamed Ginger Fish [†]	5.2 oz	200	100	12	2.5	0	40	390	8	0	6	15	Y	Y			Y			Y	
Wok Fried Shrimp [†]	6.4 oz	190	45	5	1	0	140	1140	19	1	15	17	Y	Y					Y		
APPETIZERS																					
Chicken Egg Roll	2.75 oz (1 roll)	200	90	10	2	0	20	340	20	2	2	6	Y	Y						Y	Y

[†] Spicy WOK SMART™ | 350 calories or less and at least 8g of protein. Entree selections may vary by location. *Regional Entrees / Limited Time Only

Figure 3. Nutrition Analysis (Nutrition Pdf 2019)

MENU ITEMS	Serving Size (oz)	Nutrition Facts											Allergens								
		Calories	Calories From Fat (g)		Total Fat (g)	Saturated Fat (g)	Trans Fat (g)	Cholesterol (mg)	Sodium (mg)	Total Carb (g)	Dietary Fiber (g)	Sugars (g)	Protein (g)	Wheat	Soy	Peanuts	Treenuts	Fish	Shellfish	Eggs	Milk
SIDE																					
Chow Mein	9.4 oz	510	180	20	3.5	0	0	800	80	6	0	13	Y	Y							
Chow Fun*	8.5 oz	410	80	9	1	0	0	110	73	1	6	9	Y	Y							Y
Fried Rice	9.3 oz	520	140	16	3	0	120	850	85	1	3	11	Y	Y							Y
Brown Steamed Rice	10.4 oz	420	35	4	1	0	0	15	86	4	1	9									
White Steamed Rice	8.1 oz	360	0	0	0	0	0	0	87	0	0	7									
Super Greens (side)	7 oz	90	22.5	2.5	0	0	0	260	10	5	4	6	Y	Y							
VEGETABLES																					
Eggplant Tofu*	6.1 oz	340	220	24	3.5	0	0	520	23	3	17	7	Y	Y							
Super Greens (entire)	3.5 oz	45	13.5	1.5	0	0	0	130	5	3	2	3	Y	Y							
CHICKEN																					
Black Pepper Chicken 🌶️	6.3 oz	280	160	19	3.5	0	55	1130	15	1	7	13	Y	Y							
Kung Pao Chicken 🌶️	6.2 oz	290	170	19	3.5	0	55	970	14	2	6	16	Y	Y	Y						
Grilled Teriyaki Chicken 🍷	6 oz	300	120	13	4	0	185	530	8	0	8	36	Y	Y							
Grilled Asian Chicken 🍷	6 oz	300	120	13	4	0	185	530	8	0	8	36	Y	Y							
Teriyaki Chicken	6 oz	340	180	13	3.5	0	195	630	14	3	10	41	Y	Y							
Asian Chicken	6 oz	340	180	13	3.5	0	195	630	14	3	10	41	Y	Y							
Mushroom Chicken 🍄	5.7 oz	220	130	14	2.5	0	50	840	11	1	4	12	Y	Y							

🌶️ Spicy 🍷 WOK SMART™ | 300 calories or less and at least 8g of protein. *Regional Entrees / Limited time only.

Figure 4. Nutrition Analysis Cont. (Nutrition Pdf 2019)

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Analyzing Emperor Wu of Liang's Buddhist Governance to Create Stability in Society

Nicole M. O'Connor

Abstract

Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (502-557 CE) helped to fortify the short-lived era by incorporating Buddhism and Buddhist principles into his policies and regulations. His devotion, although contented on its effectiveness, is evident through the temples set up during the time, as well as through his assemblies and desire to continue Buddhist rituals, such as his vegetarianism. He demonstrates his simpler lifestyle and that he is no better than the commoners in his society, seeking to assuage the conditions of others, further promoting Buddhist principles. Using Emperor Wu's policies as a model, Buddhist principles can be applied to contemporary secular life. By utilizing compassion, oneness, karma, and introspection, society can become more stable and connected to its betterment.

Key Words: Buddhism, Emperor Wu of Liang, principles, compassion, oneness, society

I. Introduction

Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (502-557 CE) was considered the first monk emperor. Though growing up Daoist, he became fascinated with Buddhism, later dedicating much of his life to its promotion, practice, and expansion. He was so devoted that not only did he incorporate a lot of Buddhist teachings into his policies, but he ended up resigning his position to a life of servitude, though he was returned to his former title shortly after. Emperor Wu of Liang was a successful emperor that instilled many values on his society; he incorporated Buddhist principles into the government and helped the southern dynasties prosper. Through these teachings, it will be shown that Buddhism can be utilized to bring stability to a society, as it did in the Liang Dynasty, through principles such as compassion and oneness. These principles, and the pursuit of introspection and morality, help teach others to value the societies they are a part of, valuing fairness and consideration towards others. In fact, these principles, if applied today, can help alleviate some stresses in certain aspects of life, such as education and government, and can encourage a society to grow stronger together.

This paper will first outline Emperor Wu's life, highlighting several of the principles he used and how they are effective in promoting stability. It will focus on how Buddhism was implemented into the society, and how effective these were in creating a stable and prosperous system. There will then be a focus on implementations of Buddhism in contemporary government and society, focusing on how to translate Buddhist teachings into secular practices. It argues that a focus on Buddhist principles, as shown through their effectiveness in the Liang Dynasty, can be utilized to create a stronger, healthier, and more unified society.

II. Biography

Emperor Wu of Liang, also known as Liang Wudi or Xiao Yan, was an emperor that ruled China's Liang Dynasty. He has been called the monk emperor for his fascination with and devotion to

Buddhism. He was born to a Daoist family in 464 CE and was well educated, which included a versed background in Confucian principles. However, despite this upbringing, he became fascinated with the concept of Buddhism, having been first exposed to it in a court held during the previous Qi Dynasty (479-502 CE) (“Wudi | Emperor of Southern Liang Dynasty” n.d.)

Liang Wudi’s rise to the throne was spurred to avenge the death of his brother by his cousin, the emperor of the Qi Dynasty at the time of the Six Dynasties period (220-589 CE). He was successful in his attack, removing a self-indulgent emperor in the process. Wudi ascended the throne in 502 CE, becoming the first emperor in the newly formed Liang Dynasty (“Liang Wu-Ti | Encyclopedia.Com” n.d.; “Wudi | Emperor of Southern Liang Dynasty” n.d.).

From here, Liang Wudi started to incorporate both Confucian and Buddhist ideals into the government system. He set up laws that would reestablish the hierarchy of the government’s control of the common people, instead of their control by other powerful families. He also bolstered the education system, incorporating more Confucian teachings, while also expanding its scope; Wudi reopened the state’s academy and set up a temple for Confucius. It appears these actions were used to combat the laziness and illiteracy the nobility was facing during this time. The focus on Confucianism was to promote better education; Wudi’s main views, however, aligned with Buddhism (“Liang Wu-Ti | Encyclopedia.Com” n.d.).

Due to his devotion to Buddhism, Wudi sought to change laws and policies to reflect the morals he held dear; the emperor himself gave up meat and alcohol, and prohibited the sacrifice of animal (“Liang Wu-Ti | Encyclopedia.Com” n.d.; “Wudi | Emperor of Southern Liang Dynasty” n.d.). In 504 CE, only two years after becoming emperor, Wudi proclaimed that only Buddhism was the right way; in 517 CE he even ordered some Daoist temples to be destroyed to promote Buddhism’s expansion (“Liang Wu-Ti | Encyclopedia.Com” n.d.). He also prepared China’s first complete collection of Buddhist scriptures known as *Tipitaka* (“Wudi | Emperor of Southern Liang Dynasty” n.d.).

Among Wudi’s changes, he sought to alter many of the harsh punishments and laws in the penal code at the time, minimizing the use of capital punishment and torture. According to a Chinese culture news article he even created boxes for letters outside the palace, to serve as a mode to deliver complaints, one being for officials and the other for commoners (Wu 2013). This fostered better communication amongst the layfolk and officials with the higher court.

Interestingly, Wudi also sponsored Buddhist lectures, or assemblies, that allowed anyone, regardless of gender or status, to attend. There, lecturers would preach and discuss Buddhism, with the emperor giving some of these lectures himself. However, four times at these lectures the emperor announced that he would give himself to one of the temples to live a life of servitude to Buddhism. These acts, possibly inspired by recently translated Indian texts, were followed by the expectation that, after his departure, his court would pay a ransom fee to get him back; the money spent was used to help promote Buddhism (“Wudi | Emperor of Southern Liang Dynasty” n.d.).

In 548 Wudi’s reign ended, as a rebellion took place, possibly due to his preoccupation with Buddhism later in life that left state affairs to be neglected. Hou Jing arrived from the North, able

to rally support, from the angered commoners, that overthrew the emperor. Wudi died in 549 CE due to starvation (“Liang Wu-Ti | Encyclopedia.Com” n.d.).

III. The Efficacy of Emperor Wu’s Buddhist Principles

As shown, Liang Wudi held Buddhism in a very high esteem. However, the efficacy of the merger of Buddhism and secularism has yet to be examined. For example, some argue that the Emperor’s reign was one that promoted stability and longevity. Others argue that Wudi’s preoccupation with Buddhism ultimately caused the decline of the dynasty (Strange 2011). Therefore, these next sections will explore how efficient the merger truly was. Three important parts of the emperor’s policies and practices can be examined for how they relate to Buddhism, and how beneficial they were to society. These are the emperor’s laws and regulations that were implemented during the reign, the assemblies held, and the emperor’s insistence on repeatedly forsaking his title for a life of servitude, only to be returned to his position.

Wudi’s Policies

Emperor Wu’s policies show how Buddhism was reflected in his reign. To demonstrate this, several core Buddhist principles will be briefly examined to compare them to the policies that will follow. The main principles are those relating to compassion, oneness, karma, and introspection. Buddhism is a widespread religion and practice, with many different forms worldwide. Each sect has different beliefs and ways to study its principles and practice its rituals. Zen Buddhism, for example, typically has a focus on meditation, whereas Pure Land Buddhism focuses on repeating the name of Amitabha to achieve enlightenment. However, the principles above tend to permeate throughout the different branches. Further, they are related to more pragmatic practices over contemplative ones, making them easier to apply to a societal setting.

As mentioned above, Wudi utilized Buddhist ideology when creating his policies. Although many of these were focused around raising money to support and spread Buddhism, plenty related to the laws and policies themselves. Chen (2005), for example, states the following:

Emperor Wu developed practices in addition to venerating relics and constructing monasteries. For Wudi, releasing prisoners was an important practice...[He] aimed to earn merits for lay bodhisattvas. Releasing life was a required duty for those who would receive the Bodhisattva precepts. (91-92)

Wudi here can be shown to practice compassion; by releasing prisoners, he is considering their lives. Considering the harshness of the penal code in previous eras, Wudi’s actions show how compassion may be a better motivator for a stable system.

In fact, Wudi’s display goes even farther with some of his edicts; one such is the “Edict of Amnesty” (W. Chen 1993, 46). This edict granted immunity to all criminals, reported or not, as the emperor forgave them for their crimes. The edict was made in honor of a bountiful harvest (W. Chen 1993). However, it is also an incredible display of compassion, even waiving those who damaged governmental property or had not paid taxes (W. Chen 1993). This form of compassion shows a consideration for others, especially commoners and criminals, that can often be forgotten in higher positions. Further, it promotes the idea of oneness, that the emperor may not be any greater than a commoner, or a criminal, so they all should be forgiven.

A second edict drives home these principles of oneness and compassion. Wudi discusses how he tries to live simply, eat inexpensively, and wear simple clothes when not in office; however, due to his position, he remains the most powerful man in the dynasty (W. Chen 1993). Therefore, he proclaims the following:

I would like all my countrymen to be peaceful, rich and live without the inconvenience of bureaucratic red tape. Before I run anything, I always carefully consider how I can make it convenient for people; yet I do believe that there are some rules and laws which may cause inconvenience. If any legislation made (...) is inconvenient for citizens; then the ministers and heads of state or county should report it to me” (W. Chen 1993, 48–49).

Wudi demonstrates his compassion through consideration of those that are not as well off; he furthers this by relating how he himself tries to make life convenient for others. This is an important distinction, as it is not just a matter of improving the lives of those in obvious suffering, but instead improving the lives of those with sufferings that are smaller and less noticeable, but still valid. He furthers this by attempting to make the lives of those in the region closer to the convenience he has due to his position.

As mentioned, Emperor Wu held assemblies in the temples that served as places of gathering to listen to lectures and discuss Buddhism. These assemblies, Chen (2006) argues, had a powerful effect on the human mind. He states that “the power of the relics charged those present with emotions of such intensity that they were ready to see miraculous signs as well as to offer their property or bodies” (J. Chen 2006, 100). Further, according to Chen (2005), Wudi’s assemblies were so popular that they represented the prestige of Buddhism in his society, allowing Wudi to also become associated with Buddhist images. This is important to note because it meant Wudi appeared liked in his society, being associated with miracle images. The effect of the relics and images can help people relieve tensions due to daily stresses or more serious grief; emotions tend to be infectious, and when this awe-like wonder is encouraged, it allows people to free their mind and experience more joy.

According to Chen (2006), these assemblies also served another function, namely to promote a greater connection to the sages and the common people. Therefore, similar to the letter boxes for complaints, the emperor sought more ways to connect to the people within the country. This practice relates to the concept of oneness, which touts the connectedness of everyone. Oneness assumes that one person is not different from another, and everything is connected. Regarding the assemblies, the emperor allowed for open attendance regardless of gender or status. In China, whose heavy influence from Confucianism often relies on a hierarchical social system, this was not a common practice.

Likewise, the assemblies relate to a more secular principle of introspection; introspection helps connect one to one’s own values, interests, and ideas, allowing the mind to get a better understanding of itself and the realities around it. Therefore, promoting this level of self-awareness was vital for society. Additionally, lectures and discussions, especially regarding something more philosophical in nature, promotes critical thinking and logical skills; these skills are beneficial in any society for further growth and continued mental stimulation. Ultimately the lectures created a positive environment for personal growth, interconnectedness, self-awareness that those in the community and beyond could utilize to revitalize their lives.

Interesting to note, however, is the inclusion of Wudi in a small Buddhist text called *Lidai Fabao Ji*. In it, an enlightened man visits the palace and imparts his wisdom; however, as the narrator notes, Wudi was “a man of ordinary nature and did not understand” (Adamek 2011) the wisdom given. Here, it is interesting to note the inclusion of this emperor in particular. Since he has the ending line of the story, remarking on an inscription that was added to the man’s burial, it seems his inclusion was perceived to be an important one. However, for an emperor known for his practice of Buddhism, he is not portrayed in the best manner if he is not shown as enlightened. Therefore, this story may include the emperor as a mark against his reign, demonstrating an example of how Wudi may not have been universally popular amongst Buddhism during his time and through the ages.

According to Chen (2006), the emperor repeatedly stepped down from his position “in order to gain religious legitimacy and the support and loyalty of people from all different walks of society” (101). This connects back to the principle of oneness; by acknowledging his position is meaningless, and therefore can step down with no issues, it sends a message that he is equal to the masses and they are equal to an emperor. The action helps solidify the unity between the emperor and the populace, allowing them a more tangible figure to connect with, over one that is far removed from their society.

A further benefit of Wudi’s practice was that the funding often went to programs that could provide welfare for the populace. Additionally, Chen states that it could be viewed as a “system of levying taxes on the wealthy and religious to fund a series of charitable programs, therefore immensely contributing to the stability and harmony of his society.” Societies and the people within them are not always encouraged to contribute to the welfare of others. Therefore, having a system that allows for greater equality and distribution of wealth will increase the overall strength of the state.

Strange (2011) argues that many started associating Buddhism with the decline and downfall of Emperor Wu; although this is an association, it does not mean that Buddhism directly relates to the decline. There are many factors that affect a dynasty collapse, for politics are too complicated to express in such simple terms. Wudi’s preoccupation with the religion and practices may have been a leading factor, but that does not mean Buddhism itself was the cause of the dynastic collapse of civil unrest. Therefore, this argument is not as compelling against the usage of Buddhism to inform policy and education.

One avid supporter for Wudi and his implementation of Buddhism in governance was Daoxuan. Daoxuan was a scholar in 596-667 CE, who used Wudi’s example to help promote Buddhism in government in his own time. As mentioned, the end of the Liang Dynasty sparked conversations on whether or not Buddhism was the reason for the demise. Daoxuan defended Wudi, claiming “Buddhist piety could be a positive social and political force, and had been so during Emperor Wu’s reign” (Strange 2011, 84). Daoxuan focused on the positives of the reign, commenting on how it helped centralize the government’s power and give order and direction to its citizens. He claimed Wudi’s “devotional activities had sacramental force in serving the state’s spiritual and material interests, and more, that they ensured his own political stability and longevity” (Strange 2011, 85). Wudi was focused on meeting the needs of his people, through satiating their spiritual needs, instilling guidance and direction, as well as allowing the state to prosper.

IV. Implementing Buddhism in Contemporary Secular Society

Strange (2011) states that one of the efficacies of Buddhism during Wudi's time was "its compatibility with native moral and political values" (56). This could be reflective of a government that allows for a merit-based system. These merit-based systems allow for the concept of karma to be used; those that have acted morally will be rewarded for their deeds. In today's society, implementing a larger stress on meritocracy could create less corruption and more equality. For example, the United States, a superpower in the global context, is not ranked in the top ten for distance from corruption. In fact, none of the countries examined score in the top ten percent of possible scoring for the ranking system ("Corruption Perceptions Index 2017" n.d.). Further, women and minorities still make less than Caucasian males do in this country. Therefore, implementing a merit-based system into society, in both government and corporate life, could help to increase fairness in the system, ultimately benefitting everyone.

As discussed, the principles of introspection, compassion, oneness, karma can be important not just in Buddhism, but in secular life as well. By incorporating these merits into school system, we can improve both performance and quality of life. Individuals in a learning environment would benefit more from the sense of oneness as they are bound together. Feeling someone is no different than another, despite what may be viewed as gaps in charisma or intelligence, can help the individual accept their own situations better. Further, increasing a sense of oneness means that the students will be encouraged to grow closer and bond with their classmates. This principle will translate outside of school as well; those that have found a connection will be likelier to show compassion. Social identity theory helps explain this phenomenon; people tend to have biases in favor of the groups they belong to (Pruitt, Kim, and Rubin 2004). Therefore, encouraging the group identity to expand to others, whether it is in schools or daily life, will foster compassion and belonging.

Wudi's assemblies provide a good framework for teaching as well, promoting the gathering of many to listen to and discuss philosophical prospects. Philosophy, when used in this regard, helps promote better critical thinking skills and logic building, and would be beneficial to those in a learning environment. There is still a mentality in many countries that schooling requires a heavy focus on memorization; however, this is erroneous. Although this skill is important, being able to utilize critical thinking and problem-solving abilities are more engaging to the mind and allow for easier maneuvering of challenges throughout life. Therefore, utilizing the assembly system Wudi did would encourage the exchange of new ideas and further mental growth.

V. Conclusion

Buddhist principles can help provide a better framework for interactions in governmental and educational systems. Through promoting concepts such as oneness and compassion, societies can help create more enriching and engaging lives. Wudi, although not universally like, appeared to have run a successful government through Buddhism. Although it is possible he forsook being emperor for religious life, it is not the principles of Buddhism that are at fault. Wudi's earlier policies, shown through his edicts, as well as his implementation of assembly lectures help provide frameworks for promoting introspection, oneness, and compassion. Wudi forsaking his title to force his officials into ransoming him helped create a more harmonious economic system as well as promoted oneness through unity without regard for social differences. Therefore, although not

perfect, these policies can help inform contemporary societies on how to better improve their system to ensure they are strong, healthy, and prosperous.

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Lay Buddhism in Tzu Chi Academy: Respect life and affirm human nature

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I. Introduction

Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation was founded in 1966 by Master Shi Zhengyan(1937-) in Hualien, Taiwan, China. Initially, there are only 30 housewives in this group. In order to help others, they raise money to help others by making baby shoes each day. Thus, Tzu Chi was founded to help the poor and relieve people's suffering. Although it originated in Taiwan, China, its branches in other regions, especially overseas, such as the United States, Australia, should not be underestimated. Barker (2014) mentioned, "not only has Tzu Chi become Taiwan's largest formal association, but by 2000, 5 million followers practiced this practical Buddhism outside Taiwan, mostly among overseas Chinese." This foundation is mainly composed of four parts, charity, medical care, education (This foundation established a university and youth corps and teachers' club) and humanities (Tzu Chi publication and television, which has reached many followers). This thesis mainly discusses the secularization of Tzu Chi Buddhism education.

I have been working as a Chinese teacher in Tzu Chi since August 2018. I have certain advantages in understanding Tzu Chi culture, feeling its unique teaching methods and obtaining real and effective information. Among them, I noticed the unique teaching methods of Tzu Chi, which were different from my previous work experience, so I became interested in the research. And through Buddhism in China class, I have deepened my understanding of the influence of Buddhism to a large extent, which helps me view Buddhist culture from a deeper perspective.

Through this research, I hope to summarize the unique teaching methods and organizational culture under the influence of Buddhist culture in Tzu Chi teaching process. And try to analyze its impact on the teaching effect of students, so as to provide more valuable research information for later researchers.

II. Taiwan Buddhism Worldwide: Lay Buddhism

One of the characteristics of Buddhism in Taiwan in China is secularization, such as the belief of Yanzai and senior monks. The secularization of Buddhism does not mean that Buddhists abandon their original belief system and put the Buddhist classics on the shelf. Instead, they apply the thoughts with enlightenment significance in Buddhism in real life to expand the audience, and they apply teaching in the practical world. Through participating in the actual teaching process of Tzu Chi, I paid special attention to the teaching contents with Buddhist characteristics, such as sign language teaching, meditation language teaching and so on.

Interviews

In the teaching process, I also interviewed 2 teachers, 2 parents, 3 students aged 3-4 and 2 students aged 11-12, and recorded and sorted out the contents. One of the most informative books on the subject is Yao, Yushuang's Taiwan's Tzu Chi as Engaged Buddhism: Origins, Organization, Appeal and Social Impact (2012), and it's a review which written by Eileen Barker detail the

development history and status of Tzu Chi Buddhism based in Hualien, Taiwan. It provides a lot of valuable and practical reference information in Taiwan.

The co-wrote book *Experiencing Globalization: Religion in Contemporary Contexts* which were written by Derrick M. Nault, Bei Dawei, Evangelos Voulgarakis, Rab Paterson, Cesar Andres, and Miguel Suva (2013). This paper records and analyzes Tzu Chi's influence overseas, namely how it has grown into an internationally influential Buddhist group. C. Julia Huang's book *Charisma and Compassion: Cheng Yen and the Buddhist Tzu Chi Movement*. It provides an extensive analysis of the personal growth of Tzu Chi's founder, Cheng Yen, and how she came to be a master with lofty personality charm in the Buddhist world.

Another journal also written by C. Julia Huang is *Gendered Charisma in the Buddhist Tzu Chi (Ciji) Movement* (2008) . This article records and analyzes in more detail how Tzu Chi has developed through Cheng Yen's personal charm and deep understanding of Buddhism. A new point of view. In the early stage of the preparation stage, through reading literature, I found that although the predecessors' research of Tzu Chi has quite sufficient, such as for the cause of Tzu Chi's four research, also has a research and analysis of its founder, even has the specific medical branch is introduced and the research, but for another branch of Tzu Chi's education, especially in the process of education by the Buddhism secularization of thought, related research is less. In the literature that I found, almost none. Therefore, I think the education feature of Tzu Chi, especially the education feature of its overseas branches, is a topic of great research significance.

III. The Challenge and Difficulties of Research

In the process of research, the biggest problem lies in the lack of relevant research literature and reference content, which makes a lot of work, such as the study of teaching methods of Jingsi language, need to start from scratch, with a large number of tasks. Another challenge lies in the impartiality of the research. Tzu Chi is originated in Taiwan province of China, and as a teacher who works its oversea branch in New Jersey, there may be insufficient information to support the research.

The following is analyzes of the effect of the Buddhist teaching of Tzu Chi Academy New Jersey. After my investigation, 80%-90% of the faculty and staff are devout Buddhists, and the employees of Tzu Chi New Jersey campus are mainly divided into two parts. One is from Taiwan, who are mainly engaged in teaching work; the other is native Chinese Americans, who are basically responsible for teaching and management. Almost 98% of the employees of the New Jersey campus are from Taiwan or are of Taiwan origin, so its teaching and management system are very closely related to local Taiwan.

Tzu Chi Academy New Jersey was founded in September 1997. Its motto is "compassion, joy, honesty, and faithfulness". Its Chinese translation "慈悲喜捨" have an obvious Buddhist color. As a result, Tzu Chi may seem to outsiders who have been exposed to the school for the first time to be a religious school with exclusivity in terms of faith. But when people learn more about the school, about its history, about the ideas of its founders, they may immediately dismiss the idea.

School's most distinctive course is the Quiet Thinking language teaching. Cheng Yen's disciple selects her sentences with life enlightenment significance and edits them into a book. For example,

one of the sentence in this book is “The road is made by people. The road which is thousands of miles away must start from the first step.” Each class will have a 30-50 minute Quiet Thinking class at a fixed time. Senior classes will encourage students to recite the sentences they have learned.

Yao Yushuang (2012) discussed in his paper that “Tzu Chi is a new form of Buddhism, firmly rooted in the traditional Mahayanist faith.” I believe what he meant by the new form was a new form of Buddhism that centered on Mahayana Buddhism and linked its teachings to secular life. This kind of Buddhism has the characteristics of wide acceptance, a wide range of enlightenment and easy acceptance.

IV. The founder's Buddhist philosophy

The reason Cheng Yen (Tzu Chi's founder) decided to become a nun in the first place and follow the path of Buddhism is grandiose. At that time, when women's status was still very low, she believed that being a housewife could not save people, and Buddhism, as a profession, could enable women to have a place in saving people. C. Julia Huang (2010) mentioned in her article that “In this way, Jinyun (Cheng Yen) saw Buddhism as the path toward a universal vocation—a vocation that allows women to contribute to society, and that “cannot be achieved inside the Jia (family, home, or household)”.

In addition, her vegetarian behavior at the beginning was not because of her Buddhist belief, but because of her mother's sickness, she made a wish that if her mother could be healthy, she would be willing to become a vegetarian. So her path to Buddha-hood, from the very beginning, seems to have the seeds of secularization. C. Julia Huang (2010) wrote in her book that “Tzu Chi literature stresses that her change of diet was not yet a practice of religious devotion but solely an act of filial piety.”

In Tzu Chi schools, except on special days, teachers are not required to follow the strict rules and regulations of Buddhists or recite sutras every day. The ritual color of Buddhism is not so obvious in the school operation. “Undoubtedly based on Buddhist principles, neither chanting nor a daily liturgy is required of Tzu Chi members. Cheng Yen teaches that traditional religious practices should not be considered a direct way to achieve salvation, but that altruism, morality, and healing should become ways of life.” Eileen Barker (2014).

Through my literature research, I have learned that Tzu Chi is one of the few institutions that still requires students and staff to wear uniforms to class and work. This makes one think about the role of uniform. It is obvious that the overall beauty is not the main purpose of Tzu Chi's pursuit. In fact, Tzu Chi is more important to pursue a kind of group spirit, a kind of cohesion of faith (whether Buddhism or other religions). This reminds us of the story of 30 housewives in the early days of Tzu Chi. It is because of their persistence in faith and unity that Tzu Chi volunteers are spread all over the world now.

In terms of inner quality, before each class school will organize a collective meeting, in addition to the normal educational content to explore, the school will often broadcast images of Tzu Chi, tell everybody the aim of doing good, how Tzu Chi help the people around the world. At the same

time, the same expectations for us education workers, to teach with love, with our sincere heart, imparts knowledge and human moral to students, to persuade people to be good.

“The Curiosity Factor appears to have been another reason which people recognized as having initially drawn them to Tzu Chi.” Yao Yushuang (2012) I have to say that what he said is true. After I interviewed several parents, they said that they were curious about Tzu Chi in the first place, what attracts them later is Tzu Chi's humanistic care. Tzu Chi encourages parents and their relatives of students to do volunteer work during classes. Such as helping to maintain order in class and corridors, keep classrooms clean and tidy, and other volunteer services. In my observations, I have found that almost all parents take turns volunteering.

In my opinion, Tzu Chi's greatest advantage in its operation is its humanistic care with a Buddhist background. Perhaps most people's understanding of Buddhism is not that deep, most of the teachings of Buddhism itself is not easy to understand. But Tzu Chi uses the simplest words and actions to tell people that as long as you are virtuous and have a good heart for others, love others, then it is the best inheritance of Buddhism. Yao Yushuang (2012) said in his paper that “In contrast, eastern religions did very little to help society because they were only concerned about life after death. I was very glad to hear Tzu Chi was aware of the needs of our society and that one of our Buddhist nuns could do the same things as Christians.”

“The establishment of the overseas centers is primarily to maintain contact between overseas members like members in the United States and Taiwan, and their existence serves propaganda purposes.” Yao Yushuang (2012) Tzu Chi Academy New Jersey still needs to be strengthened in two aspects of future development. First, it is a matter of the curriculum. Due to it is an overseas branch of Tzu Chi, probably the function of it is more of taking a propaganda role of mind, thus in the actual teaching process, due to the lack of close communication between teachers, the teaching quality is difficult to guarantee, so it is difficult to determine how much knowledge that students really learned from prescribed teaching content. Tzu Chi could add some time for teaching discussion before class each week, and let experienced teachers from different age groups lead the discussion on this week's class content, estimate teaching difficulties, and how to solve them, etc. I believe this will enable more teachers to calmly cope with classroom teaching.

Another point is about the number of courses each week. Students at Tzu Chi only spend 2 to 3 hours every week, to be honest for the student the time is very limited. The more important is whether the students would review the new knowledge from class when they back home. School is unable to control their learning effect. And it is not realistic to require students to come to class frequently every week. Therefore, my suggestion is that Tzu Chi should attach importance to the power of the Internet. Both education teaching and humanistic education can be supplemented by the Internet. Teachers can track the students' learning status for one week in order to better consolidate the teaching effect of students. At the same time, schools can spread their humanistic teaching characteristics to students more widely.

V. Conclusion

Tzu Chi, as a Buddhist organization, is still essentially trying to persuade people to be good through the power of Buddhism. It is undeniable that with the development and growth of Tzu Chi in recent years, its role in educating people's minds cannot be underestimated. Tzu Chi is characterized by

its breaking down of the common perception that Buddhism is mysterious and inaccessible, through the secularization of Buddhism, Tzu Chi enables more people to participate in the team to help others, whether because of the personal charm of the creators or the attraction of the Tzu Chi group itself. People become more loving, more kind, more willing to learn about Buddhism, to choose Buddhism as a religion. In this respect, Tzu Chi is successful. Although education, as one of the four branches of Tzu Chi, still has some areas to be improved, with the support of spiritual forces behind it, Tzu Chi will surely develop better and attract more people to participate in and do good to others.

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