



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT

Titel der Masterarbeit

„Negotiation in Cultural Globalization:
The Case of Shaolin Temple“

Verfasser

Yi Yang

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Master (MA)

Wien, 2015

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 067 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

Individuelles Masterstudium:
Global Studies – a European Perspective

Betreuerin / Betreuer:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Christian Göbel, M.A.

UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit /Title of the master thesis

Negotiation in Cultural Globalization: The Case of Shaolin Temple

Verfasser /Author

Yi Yang

angestrebter akademischer Grad / acadamic degree aspired

Master (MA)

Wien, 2015

Studienkennzahl :

A 067 805

Studienrichtung:

Individuelles Masterstudium:
Global Studies – a European Perspective

Betreuer/Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Christian Göbel, M.A.

Abstract German

Ein altes buddhistisches Kloster mit Kampfkünsten als Spezialität, Shaolin Tempel hat kürzlich erneut prosperiert mit der globalen Popularität ostasiatischer Kampfkünste, was ihn zu einem wertvollen Fall für die Untersuchung kultureller Globalization macht. Der Tempel passt sich proaktiv dem Marktmechanismus an, und nützt Handelsinstrumente zur Entwicklung. Mit der Fragestellung, wie Shaolin Überleben und Wohlstand im Kampf zwischen Homogenisierung und Heterogenisierung globaler Kultur sucht, nimmt diese Forschung Negotiierung als Shaolins Muster der Globalisierung und untersucht, wie sich der Tempel im Laufe auf ihr Ziel ändert. Angesichts des Handelsverkehrs in der Verbreitung der Shaolin Kultur, basiert die Anfrage auf die Identität des Tempels als Ware, und achtet auf den Prozess der Kommerzialisierung und den Diskurs des Tempels, der seine Vision und Zweck verkörpert. Durch eine historische Analyse vom Shaolin Tempel und einer Feldstudie am Shaolin Tempel Kulturzentrum Österreich, diese Forschung kümmert sich um die Metamorphose des Tempels, und zeigt, wie nicht nur die Entwicklungstechniken, sondern auch die Selbsterkenntnis und Selbstabbildung des Tempels werden entsprechend moderner Werten und Bedürfnissen abgeändert.

Es hat sich gezeigt, dass das Muster der Globalisierung des Tempels stark von seiner Spezifität geprägt ist. Kultur und nicht Religion spielt eine dominante Rolle in diesem Prozess, das bedeutet, dass sich eher Shaolins Kampfkünste globalisieren. Dennoch bleibt Chan Buddhismus als eine Säule der Shaolin Kultur eine Ergänzung der globalen Aktivität des Tempels.

Stichwörter: kulturelle Globalization, Kampfkunst, Buddhismus, Negotiierung

Abstract

An ancient buddhistic monastery with martial arts as its specialty, Shaolin Temple has recently revived with the global popularity of East Asian martial arts, which makes it a valuable case for studying cultural globalization. The temple has been proactively adapting to the market mechanism, making use of commercial instruments for development. In an effort to see how Shaolin seeks survival and prosperity in the struggle between global cultural homogenization and heterogenization, this research takes Shaolin's pattern of globalization as a negotiation and examines how the temple changes itself in the course towards its goal. Given commercial transactions in the spread of Shaolin culture, the inquiry is based on the temple's identity as commodity, and pays attention to the process of commodification and the temple's discourse that embodies its vision and purpose. Through a historical analysis of the temple and a field study at the Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria, this research approaches the temple's metamorphosis, and demonstrates how not only the temple's developmental techniques but also its self-cognition and self-imaging are modified in line with modern values and needs.

It is shown that Shaolin Temple's pattern of globalization is heavily imprinted with its specificities. Culture instead of religion plays the predominant role in the process, which means it is rather Shaolin's martial arts that globalize. Though indispensable as one pillar of Shaolin culture, Chan Buddhism tends to be supplementary in the temple's global activities.

Key Words: cultural globalization, martial arts, Buddhism, negotiation

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
1. Concept Development	7
1.1 Shaolin and the Broader Environment	7
1.2 State of the Art.....	9
1.3 Theoretical Background	14
2. Research Design.....	17
2.1 Interpretive Paradigm	18
2.2 Research Strategy.....	18
2.3 Sources and Methods of Data Collection	21
2.3.1 Literature Review and Documentary Data	21
2.3.2 Observation.....	22
2.3.3 Participatory Observation.....	23
2.3.4 Interview.....	23
2.4 Methods of Data Analysis	24
2.4.1 Coding, Memoing, and Comparing	24
2.4.2 Documentary Analysis.....	25
2.4.3 Discourse analysis.....	26
3. A Thematic History	27
3.1 The birth of Shaolin	27
3.2 Chan Buddhism.....	28
3.3 Ups and Downs	29
3.4 Shaolin Kung Fu.....	30
3.5 The Film as the Juncture	32
4. Way of Revival.....	33
4.1 Becoming a Commodity.....	34
4.2 Ancient Temple in Modern World.....	36
4.2.1 Constructing a Dream Temple.....	37
4.2.2 Chan Buddhism of Today.....	38
4.2.3 Culture as the Universal Calling Card.....	41
4.3 Commercial Methods in Control.....	42
4.4 In the Name of Dharma.....	45
5. Field study: Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria	49
5.1 Production.....	52
5.1.1 Routine Courses.....	53
5.1.2 Occasional Courses.....	53
5.1.3 Other Priced Services and Goods	55
5.1.4 Free Services	56
5.2 Marketing.....	57
5.2.1 Pricing	57
5.2.2 Advertising	60
5.2.3 Decoration.....	62

5.3	Distribution.....	63
5.3.1	The Direct Channel	63
5.3.2	The Sub-Channel.....	65
5.4	Consumption	66
6.	Conclusion.....	69
	Bibliography.....	77
	Annex: Results of Structured Interviews with Learners	83

Introduction

Especially well known for its martial arts, Shaolin Temple¹ in the past three decades has been embracing globalization through implementing commercial methodology like collecting entrance fee, performing Kung Fu shows, selling derivative products, and going abroad, which has been fiercely contested in Chinese public as well as academic debate, for a buddhistic temple is conventionally supposed to remain simple and austere. Meanwhile, recent world social, economic, and political developments have brought back within the English-writing academia the disputation about the cultural nature of globalization – about whether it is a “Western style” homogenization or rather a “non-centric” heterogenization.

Basically, both arguments are consequences of the local meeting the global, but just from different perspectives. The rich cultural connotations of Shaolin make it valuable for the examination of cultural globalization, which has not received much attention from both Chinese- and English-writing scholars. Studies on Shaolin’s globalization have focused exclusively on martial arts and the instruments the temple adopts for development, taking for granted the necessity of the temple’s behavior. For example, Han Xue (2005) has argued for an innovation of Shaolin martial arts based on the inheritance of traditions in the face of globalization. It is my intention, instead, to focus on the temple itself rather than the techniques, looking at the profound changes the temple has come through in the process of globalization.

¹ Shaolin Temple, or Shaolin Monastery: 少林寺 (*shao lin si*), located in Mount Song, 15 km away from Dengfeng City, Henan Province.

Having experienced a glorious past and decades of desolation, the ancient temple Shaolin began its revival after the 1982 martial arts film of its name that brought millions of visitors annually together with a brand new logic of development. Unique for its legendary biography, Shaolin has revived in close relation to China's economic opening-up and the global fever of popular culture for East Asian martial arts in the 1970s/80s. This article is intended to tackle how the temple seeks survival and development in the struggle between global cultural sameness and difference. More bluntly put, this study aims to examine how the temple manages its own participation in globalization from two aspects: in what ways Shaolin becomes global or universal, and how it preserves its locality or particularity. By conceptualizing Shaolin's pattern of behavior, it is also expected to contribute to the globalization debate in general.

This research's working hypothesis is that Shaolin goes global through a process of negotiation in which its impacts on the foreign culture go hand in hand with its own culture being selected, reinterpreted, modified, adapted, and incorporated into the new context. The negotiation here is a metaphor. The idea comes mainly from Jürgen Kocka's "negotiated universal" which takes negotiation as the way how a culture claims universality (Kocka 2002, 124). To be noticed, Shaolin's participation in globalization is not passive but rather proactive. The temple makes changes happen through a series of actions instead of waiting to be changed. So the temple's intention has to be taken into consideration in our inquiry. By way of analogy, this research is not merely about a local culture being transplanted, but more exactly about a culture transplanting itself into the global soil for certain purpose, which makes the situation here more like a real

negotiation. Through its global business, Shaolin achieves a broader dissemination of its culture. This reinforces its renown as a venerable ancient temple, on which it depends for prosperity in today's market economy. The temple's change is by no means limited to the "outside form" as it claims, but applies more deeply to its self-cognition and self-imaging, as it modifies its image to match modern imaginations for an ancient temple.

Shaolin appears as a commodity in globalization in the sense that there is commercial transaction in the spread of its culture. Entrance fee, Kung Fu shows, films, souvenirs, and martial arts courses...all are embodiment of the temple's identity as commodity. Besides, in the process of commodification the temple has formulated a set of discourse to legitimize its behavior and to communicate its vision. Therefore, this research takes commodification and discourse as major indicators of the temple's change and purpose. A twofold approach is applied in order to test the hypothesis. First, an analytical review of Shaolin's history will provide grounding for the whole research, with special attention given to the temple's commodification and discourse during its revival. Afterwards, a field study will be conducted at the Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria (hereafter also referred to as "the Cultural Center"). Through examining production, marketing, distribution, and consumption of services and products provided by the Cultural Center, it is expected to get first-hand insights into both commodification and discourse of the temple.

The research strategy determines what methods to be applied. Before the research starts, literature review outlines this field of study and familiarizes the researcher with the

Shaolin Temple, highlighting the most promising direction to go. Then as the first step, a historical analysis serves as the foundation for the research. It is not merely an outlining of the temple's history, but rather an analytical reading of it, which suggests clues to for the later field study. Along with the researcher's first contact with the temple begins observation. Afterwards, participatory observation enables the researcher to watch from inside the temple's martial arts courses. Finally, interviews gather information directly from both the masters and learners of the Cultural Center. In the field study, data is collected as field notes, documents, and sound records. Different methods of data analysis are implemented, including coding, memoing, comparing, documentary analysis, and discourse analysis.

So far we have a brief outline of this research. Main contents of this article come in next chapters. Chapter one demonstrates how the basic concept of the research is developed, presenting the general situation of East Asian martial arts, the state of the art of studies related with Shaolin, and the theoretical background. As a guiding roadmap, Chapter two is a detailed description of how this research is planned to be done. It designs the research strategy and introduces the methods applied to collect and analyze data. Chapter three and four are analysis of the temple's history. The former concerns important themes in the overall history, whereas the latter focuses on the temple's revival, in which special attention is given to the temple's course of commodification and its discourse. Chapter five displays results of the field study at full length, showing how the temple manages its business at the Cultural Center in Vienna, and how learners perceive the temple. Finally, findings of the whole research are summed up in Chapter six which

brings up the conclusion with a logical reasoning.

1. Concept Development

The concept of this research is developed with reference to studies of relevant topics, notably those concerning the globalization of other East Asian martial arts that came prior to that of Shaolin and that had attracted much more attention from English-writing scholars. Studies directly on Shaolin Temple have primarily been speaking from within China, to which a reference is also made. Starting with the broader environment of Shaolin's globalization and combining former scholarly contributions with the theoretical debate of cultural globalization, this chapter puts forward a working hypothesis for this research that represents the most promising direction to go in.

1.1 Shaolin and the Broader Environment

Though it is a buddhistic monastery in essence, Shaolin gets involved in globalization most directly because of its martial arts, and its trajectory fits into the general biography of East Asian martial arts. Concisely speaking, East Asian martial arts were initially developed on sites of antagonism but later adjusted to the global market mechanism when industrialization and commercialism had brought profound changes to social, political, and economic circumstances. As body-to-body fighting techniques lost advantages to fire arms in conflicts, East Asian martial arts had struggled for survival since late 19th century. The *sportization* of martial arts followed the Japanese 1868 Meiji Restoration in such cases as Karate do and Judo, while their entrance into the global

market as a commodity came after the Second World War when US soldiers first brought these martial arts back to their homeland (Krug 2001; Sato 2013; Moeniga, Choa and Song 2012). Then in the 1970s, Hong Kong and Hollywood film industries fueled the acceleration of the commodification process. With Bruce Lee as its most famous star, a specific genre of film known as “martial art film” fought its way into global popular culture, and stimulated demand for East Asian martial arts as well as the traditions associated with them. Certain products have been provided in response to the demand, for example, martial arts schools and studios around the world. Meanwhile, there is discourse around these martial arts, implanting them with myths, spirits, values, and courtesies of asserted “authentic” East Asian origin (Bowman 2010).

Shaolin’s path into globalization is somehow similar, with its own specificities though. The temple has been there for more than 1500 years, and its martial arts trace at least back to the Ming Dynasty in the 14th century. It was once a royal temple in terms of both its religious and its military importance to the state. For most of its history it had its own land and governmental subsidies on which it relied for subsistence. However, the downfall of the feudal imperial system in early 20th century brought Shaolin’s royal status and its source of finance to an end. What is worse, the temple was almost burnt into ashes in a subsequent civil war, with mere a handful of monks left. In fact it has been struggling for survival ever since. But due to a series of social turbulences, the circumstance did not really begin to turn in favor of the temple until 1982 when it all of a sudden became popular through a blockbuster martial art film of its name. Stared by Jet Lee, the film was actually sponsored by the Chinese government that had just begun

to embrace market economy. The story afterwards we already know: the temple took the opportunity, discovered new sources of income through commodification, and revived from desolation (Shi 2013, 57–64).

1.2 State of the Art

Due to barrier of language and access to sources, most direct contributions to the topic of Shaolin are made by Chinese scholars, while English-writing scholars outside China generally base their studies on Chinese works. But there are a lot more relevant contributions from such fields as martial arts studies, religious studies, cultural studies, etc.

Within China, scholarly efforts have been put on Shaolin since the early 20th century. In the republican period of China, martial art historian Tang Hao² had already conducted a historically grounded examination of the evolution of Shaolin martial arts and notably its military aspect (Tang 2008). Although his sources were limited and he focused primarily on fighting techniques, Tang laid foundation for later studies on Shaolin. Since the temple gained public fame in the 1980s, especially after the film was released, abundant contributions have emerged. Some have concentrated on the temple's architectures and relics (Liu 1937; Gong 1980; Zhang 1981); some have continued Tang Hao's effort in Shaolin martial arts' history (Wang and Chang 2006; Yang and Zhang 2011; Zhang 2011; Zhao 2008); and some have worked on the temple's history (Cheng 2005; Li and Shi 2001).

² Tang Hao: 唐豪, 1897-1959.

There have also been social-cultural analyses of Shaolin, yet without much divergence. The Shaolin culture is generally regarded as a synergy of Chan Buddhism and martial arts (Li 2011; Xiao 2011). This viewpoint has been used to explain the emergence and evolution of Shaolin Kung Fu. Hong and Jiang (2004) have attributed the emergence of Shaolin Kung Fu to the “sinolization of Buddhism”³ and the “merger of Chan and fist”⁴. Similarly, Han and Jin (2006, 2006a) have put forward that Shaolin Wushu is result of Chinese folk martial arts and local traditions reacting with buddhistic culture, and that it embodies features of both Chan thoughts and Chinese traditional martial arts.

Since about one decade and a half, Chinese scholars have started to tackle implications of Shaolin’s incorporation of commercial methods. Some speak from a cultural economic perspective, regarding Shaolin as a cultural resource that could be exploited to develop relevant industries such as tourism and sport in favor of the local economy, and give suggestions as for how to manage and utilize this “resource” (Li, Li and Zhao 2003; Lü and Li 2011; Shan 2008; Zhang, Sun and Long 2008; Zhang and Li 2012). Some speak from a social-religious perspective. For example, through analyzing Shaolin’s impacts on the society, on Buddhism, and on people’s religious belief, Li (2007) advocates Shaolin’s pattern of development for buddhistic monasteries – one that manages to preserve sacredness and religiousness in a world of commerce.

Discussions about the temple’s globalization generally stress or take for granted the necessity of going global. Martial art theorist Zhang Junxian argues for a “dialogue or

³ Sinolization of Buddhism: 佛教的中国化 (*fo jiao de zhong guo hua*).

⁴ Merger of Chan and Fist: 禅拳相融 (*chan quan xiang rong*), refers to the phenomenon that Chan Buddhism and martial arts become unified in Shaolin Kung Fu.

extinct” choice in the age of globalization, as Chinese martial arts have lost the soil on which they grew in the cold steel age and thus got stuck in a situation he calls “monologue” (Zhang 2010). Similarly, Han Xue puts forward a pattern of reaction for Shaolin in the face of globalization, namely “inherit, develop, and innovate” in line with “contemporary values of culture” (Han 2005).

There are cautious voices as well. Many talk about a “secularization of sacred space” as for the nature of Shaolin’s new development (Fu 2010). Increasing commercialism could gradually lead to a decline in temples’ spiritual guiding function for the society, in which way temples become part of the secular world. Yang disagrees about this viewpoint and puts forward that Shaolin’s religious attribute is not becoming secularized, but instead taking on characteristics of the Chinese term “Ru Shi”⁵ which means getting involved in the society (Yang 2007).

But anyway, it is generally agreed that the temple’s religious genuineness has contracted, either due to secularization caused by uncontrolled commercialization (Lu 2011, 19), or due to the overt emphasis of its martial arts and the subsequent neglect of its religious attribute (Yang 2007). As Lu puts it, “Shaolin’s commercial dissemination failed to capture the Chan-Wu⁶ intension of Shaolin culture, spreading martial arts while omitting Chan. Meanwhile, commercial activities’ damage to the sacredness of religion has been reflected through a loss of Buddhism’s genuineness” (Lu 2011, i).

⁵ Ru Shi: 入世, a Chinese term, literally meaning “into society”, which is used to describe the situation of being involved in mainstream social life.

⁶ Chan-Wu: 禅武, literally meaning Chan and martial, generally regarded as the core of Shaolin culture.

Outside China there has been scholarly attention on Shaolin increasingly, not as much though. Meir Shahar's "The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts" is the first comprehensive English-written monograph on the monastery's history and the evolution of its fighting techniques from the Tang to the Qing dynasties (Shahar 2008). Before that, there had been articles on Shaolin's history, introducing the subject into English-writing academia and beyond (Shahar 2001; Verellen 1993).

However, a lot more studies are more or less related to the topic of Shaolin, notably those on Chinese martial arts and their patterns of globalization. For example, Paul Bowman argues for a vital contribution of international mass media to the globalization of martial arts, as Kung Fu films stimulated people's "fantasies about the authenticity and austere, mystical, almost magical 'ancient history' of such locations and practices", with Shaolin as a typical case (Bowman 2010, 3). He even composed a 260-page monograph to examine the cultural connotations of Bruce Lee, of how his films provoked the so-called "Asiaphilia" or "fetishization of all things Asian in popular culture" (Bowman 2010, 18).

Also relevant are studies on other East Asian, especially Japanese, martial arts that started to go global prior to Shaolin. Noah Johnson conducted a study on how Karate Do, through a process he calls "negotiation", was modified from its Okinawa origin, took on a new "texture" in the cultural context of Japanese mainland, and became enfolded into the "promotion of the imagined homogeneity of Japan" (Johnson 2012). Before him, social-cultural anthropologist Gary Krug has examined the three stages in the

appropriation of Karate into Anglo-American Culture, from mythologizing to de-mythologizing, in which there is a process of import and invention of discourses that add to “the depth of cultural texture that allows karate to have a public face in Anglo-American cultures” (Krug 2001, 407).

A more politically featured contribution was made by Stephen Chan, head of the 2000 UNESCO survey of world’s martial arts. The survey had to be aborted “because so little progress seemed possible in separating histories from mythologies”, especially because Japanese cultural authority insisted in including myths and fabrications into martial arts (Chan 2000, 70–1). Instead, Chan produced an article arguing that Japanese martial arts of whatever style are constructed artifacts with fake antiquity and imposed courtesies and spirits, which is actually in line with the government’s need in each period of history, from unifying Japan as a state under the Shogunate to the export of culture and “colonizing the West” in present day (Chan 2000, 71–4). A similar approach is applied in examining the evolution of Korean Taekwondo, of how it was developed from Karate, and then artificially constructed as a symbol of traditional Korean culture (Capener 1995; Moeniga, Choa and Song 2012).

All these studies help inspire this research, though from quite different angles. I would say that the Chinese academia generally speaks from within the country, as if the world is divided into China and the outside, and the fundamental question about Shaolin’s development is whether a temple should get involved in the trend from “out there”. Studies outside China are more concerned with why East Asian martial arts are so

welcome in “the West”, and how some of them have become “Westernized” or even “Americanized”. As an English-writing Chinese researcher, I will shed light on both perspectives in this study, but will avoid using “Chinese” and “the West” as a working dichotomy. Instead, I will basically just take it as one local culture interacting with another maybe more mainstream one. For this purpose, we need to embed the research into a proper theoretical background.

1.3 Theoretical Background

Defined in a sloppy and all-encompassing manner, globalization refers to “the growing interconnectedness and interrelatedness of all aspects of society” (Jones 2010, 4). The concept had its origins in the 1960s but did not become really popular in both academic and public spheres in the late 1980s (Jones 2010, 8). There have been various efforts trying to theorize globalization, for instance, from a social structural perspective (Wallerstein 1974), a territorial scalar perspective (Brenner 1999), or a spatial temporal perspective (Castells 1989). But since these approaches are not appropriate for this research, close attention is given to cultural perspective instead.

After the end of the Cold War, the liberal democratic or the so-called “Western” ideology, backed up by market economy, accelerated its pace in capturing the world, which led to a debate of whether globalization equals this process. Typical viewpoints are Francis Fukuyama’s “end of history” that presages the termination of human ideological evolution (Fukuyama Summer 1989) and Samuel Huntington’s “clash of civilizations” that warns against cultural conflicts (Huntington Summer 1993). The 9.11 terrorist attack

seemed to have supported the later. So Fukuyama denied the neglect of cultural differences of societies, and updated his argumentation that liberal democracy as an ideology and governmental pattern would prevail in spite of conflicts (Fukuyama 10/5/2001).

Fukuyama's position can be seen as a re-articulation of the 1950s/60s classic modernization theory that takes Western modernity, together with its institutions, as common destiny of the human race. In his article "History is Still Going Our Way", Fukuyama says that "[d]emocracy and free markets will continue to expand over time as the dominant organizing principles for much of the world", although "[...] transition to Western-style modernity may be long and painful" for some cultures (Fukuyama 10/5/2001). Though true in the sense that a generalized abstract "Western model" dominates, such position is often contested for its epistemic dichotomy of "the West" and "the rest", as if "we" were essentially homogeneous and "others" were becoming homogenized through assimilation. As Gayatri Spivak reminds us, there is no essential other, the other exists but in relation to discourses that name it as the other, and there is no place for the other's voice amidst Western discourses (Spivak 1988). And still, there is struggle, conflict, and the question of who colonizes whom even within the conventional "West" – just think of the aborted UNESCO survey of martial arts.

Attempts have been made to address this problem. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt pioneers the idea of "multiple modernities" that denies both "end of history" and "clash of civilizations", but rather sees current globalization as "continual reinterpretation of the

cultural program of modernity; [...] attempts made by various groups and movements to reappropriate and redefine the discourse of modernity in their own new terms” (Eisenstadt Winter 2000, 23–4). Central to this idea is a denial of identity between modernization and Westernization, which means there is no “authentic” modernity as a yardstick. Thus while globalization brings increasing interconnectedness, it does not necessarily mean increasing similarity or homogenization. Based on this logic, Jürgen Kocka speaks of a “negotiated universal” in which a culture’s claim for universal recognition and global validity is made through a process of negotiation (Kocka 2002, 124). Taking the expansion of the Western modernity paradigm as example, he argues that in this process the paradigm is changed on both the sender’s and the receiver’s side. He also points out the process could happen in a reverse direction, from non-Western to Western contexts, or actually in any direction. Put in his words:

“[...] major concepts, theories, visions, and programs [...] cannot just be exported or transplanted into other cultures without altering or even hurting them. In being expanded, transplanted, and accepted, they have to be selected, reinterpreted, modified, adjusted, and incorporated into new concepts.”

(Kocka 2002, 125)

The acknowledgement of different modernities brings about another question: what then defines modernity? What is its essential feature? The answer proposed by this school is that “one of the most important characteristics of modernity is simply, but profoundly, its potential for self-correction, its ability to confront problems not even

imaged in its original program” (Eisenstadt Winter 2000, 25). Put in concise way, it is the ability to learn, or the openness to change, that defines modernity. Therefore, fundamentalism can never be modernity, as it refuses modification and adjustment (Kocka 2002, 125).

These thoughts provide a theoretical starting point for this research, not only because they have been attested by recent developments in the world, but also because they correlate with the recent trend of cultural studies of East Asian martial arts, like those about Japanese and Korean martial arts mentioned above. Of course there are other approaches that also seek to explain the struggle between cultural homogenization and heterogenization, for instance, Arjun Appadurai’s “disjuncture” model of global cultural flows that provides a sophisticated analysis of the mutual “cannibalization” of cultural sameness and difference (Appadurai 1990). But they are less manipulable in the context of this research and thus are just taken as reference and source of inspiration.

Applying the “negotiated universal” model, this research seeks to find out how the Shaolin culture is selected, reinterpreted, modified, adjusted, and accepted in its incorporated into another cultural context. In order to do so, we have to first make the goal tangible by planning a path towards it, which is the task of the next chapter.

2. Research Design

To design the research I start with broader issues, namely interpretive paradigm and research strategy, and then progressively narrows down to specific methods of data

collection and data analysis.

2.1 Interpretive Paradigm

The interpretive paradigm of this research is cultural studies. Although cultural studies have long suffered the accusation of being everything and nothing, it does provide practical tools for social inquiry. As Lawrence Grossberg puts it, “[cultural studies] has no pretensions to totality or universality; it seeks only to give us a better understanding of where we are so that we can get somewhere else (some place, we hope, that is better – based on more just principles of equality and the distribution of wealth and power)” (cited in *ibid*, p. 179), which depicts a vision that is pretty much applicable to this research. Besides, for a subject as complicated as Shaolin that at least involves religion, martial arts, popular culture, mass media, commercialism, and even post-colonialism, no other interpretive paradigm could be more proper than cultural studies.

2.2 Research Strategy

The overall research strategy of case study is pre-determined. The Shaolin case is not deliberately chosen in order to test or prove anything. Instead, it is the temple’s fame and controversy that evoke the researcher’s interest. Basically, the purpose is just to see what can be found out from the Shaolin Temple that appears to be interesting and promising for the topic of cultural globalization. A working hypothesis is developed from existing literature. It is presumed that Shaolin goes global through a process of

negotiation in which its impacts on the foreign culture go hand in hand with its own culture being selected, reinterpreted, modified, adapted, and incorporated into the new context. Thus the design of the research focuses on how to test this hypothesis. As the overall approach, this research begins with an analysis of Shaolin's history, and then proceeds to a field study at Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria (see Figure 1).

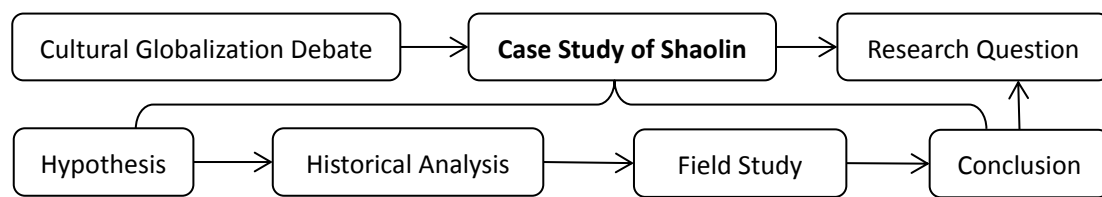


Figure 1: Overall Research Strategy

As is shown previously, Shaolin resembles its Japanese peers in the sense that it went through a process of commodification. Presumably, Shaolin could also have formulated a set of discourse along the commodity it provides. This research intends to find out whether this is true. Through analyzing both the temple's commodity and discourse we shall be able to see how it is modified and adjusted to the new context, which will hopefully give an answer to the research question.

Following this logic, the historical analysis will pay special attention to the temple's recent revival and examine its commodification and its discourse in this process. But before this, I will first outline Shaolin's overall history with a focus on critical issues related closely to our topic in order to shed light on the roots of the temple's behavior of today. The analysis of Shaolin's history will provide grounding for the filed study, highlighting promising clues so that it can continue tracing. Thus historical analysis serves as the foundation of the entire research.

This field study will unfold around the concept of commodification, looking at demands of learners, behavior of the temple, and the relationship between them. Central to this consumer-supplier model is Shaolin culture as a commodity. A structural approach will be adopted to examine the production, marketing, distribution and consumption in the commodification process. Basically, qualitative data will be collected, but there will also be some quantitative data as supplement. In doing so, it is expected to get insights into both commodity and discourse which in turn reflect the temple's intention or purpose.

When we put together all these factors following their relations, we get a chart illustrating the conceptual framework of this whole research (see Figure 2), which visualizes its internal logic.

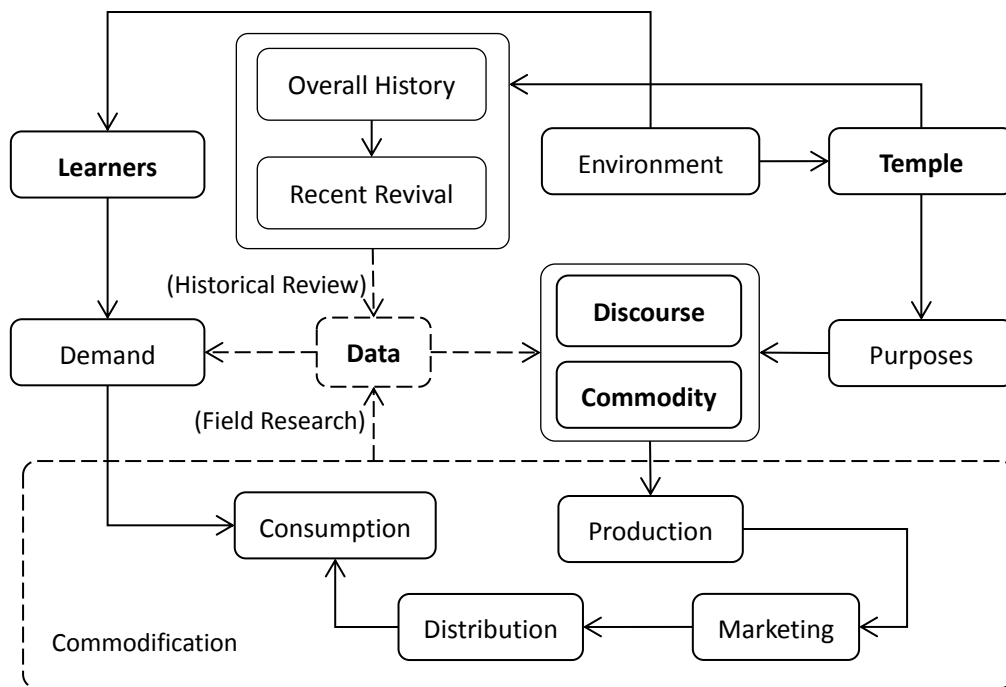


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework of the Field study

Thus this research has a structure imposed by the researcher at the beginning which

is informed by existing literature on the topic. But we should not neglect that there are also many particularities when coming to details of the Shaolin case. The temple's experience is very distinct from other East Asian martial arts described above. So, this research will be cautious about the specificities of the case while referring to the overall trend.

2.3 Sources and Methods of Data Collection

In accordance with the research strategy, multiple methods of inquiry are implemented, including literature review, documentary data collection, observation, participatory observation, and interview. Literature review and documentary data collection primarily take place in early stages in order to familiarize the researcher with the state of art, acquire background knowledge that helps to navigate the research, and identify potential clues to follow. The latter three methods are applied in the field study. Interviews are conducted with both the Kung Fu masters and learners, while the researcher himself visits the temple regularly and participates in the Kung Fu classes as well as other activities.

2.3.1 Literature Review and Documentary Data

As the very first step towards inquiry, literature is collected, both on the topic of Shaolin Temple and on the broader field of the globalization of East Asian martial arts. Literature comes from both scholars and the temple itself. Books and articles published by the temple represent the official voice, while scholars' contributions demonstrate

more scientific reasoning. The temple's literature is available online and also in the Cultural Center. Academic literature primarily comes from the Library of University of Vienna, Berlin State Library, and China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database.

Documents available in the Cultural Center, e.g. photos, advertisements, and booklets, are also an important source of data. They are written in German language and are targeted to the Austrian public. How they are read and perceived by local people is of high interest for this research. The collection of documents takes place primarily in the early stage of the field study, but also continues throughout the process. Documents are studied for a better understanding of the temple's discourse.

2.3.2 Observation

When coming to field study, the most fundamental thing to do is to observe, as “[t]he requirement for direct, prolonged on-the-spot observation cannot be avoided or reduced” (Punch 2005, 181). It starts from the very beginning and lasts to the very end. The researcher will see how the temple looks, what people do there, and how they do it. Informed by earlier literature review, the observation in this research is semi-structured, following the research design on the one hand while keeping open to specificities on the other. As the first step of observation, the researcher has to gain access to the Cultural Center. This means contacting the temple, explaining the purpose and need, and requesting permission. With access acquired, another issue is the recording of data for which field note is used. Observation in this research started on April 10, 2014 as the researcher approached the Cultural Center for the first time.

2.3.3 Participatory Observation

Observation alone does not suffice. In addition to watching and listening, the researcher needs to experience life in the temple just as local learners do. This method, the “prolonged immersion in the life of a group, community or organization in order to discern people’s habits and thoughts as well as to decipher the social structure that binds them together” (Punch 2005, 183), is namely participatory observation. It enables the researcher to observe from “the inside” rather than just “aside”. The researcher took part in regular courses at the Cultural Center in Vienna for a month from July 12 to August 11, 2014. Besides, the researcher experienced the temple’s medical service and attended several other events of the temple.

2.3.4 Interview

As “one of the main data collection tools in qualitative research” (Punch 2005, 168), the method of interview is applied to acquire insightful information. In this case, interviews are arranged in a logically sequential order with their focuses and priorities narrowing down one after another, from acquiring broad information to tackling specific questions. Each stage of interview is designed based on results out of the former. Also, the structure of the interviews concretes gradually, with early interviews tending to be rather unstructured while later ones more structured. To be more exact, one unstructured interview with a learner for general information took place in April 2014, and then two semi-structured interviews with the Grandmaster were conducted in May 2014 for the temple’s official discourse. In August 2014, eight fully structured interviews with learners

intended to find out their perception of the temple. A final interview with the Grandmaster was conducted on January 23, 2015 to clarify remaining questions. The form and content of the interview change as the researcher becomes more and more informed. The interviews are recorded in the form of sound track, and then written down as scripts for further processing. Besides, there were many informal talks with the learners that also contributed information.

2.4 Methods of Data Analysis

Data analysis goes hand in hand with data collection, turning raw information into coded terms that could be used for abstraction and theorization. It is the path from data to conclusion. Just as data collection, there are many ways of doing data analysis. Multiple methods of data analysis are implemented according to the nature and purpose of this study. These include general methods such as coding and memoing, and more specific methods associated with different types of data, such as documentary analysis, and discourse analysis.

2.4.1 Coding, Memoing, and Comparing

Basically, coding means putting labels to pieces of data, and represents the process of abstraction (Punch 2005, 201). As a fundamental analytical method, it is profoundly applied in this study. Field notes and interview scripts contain information in its original wilderness. In order to analyze it, meaningful pieces of information are picked out, given a label, and then categorized. At first, the labels are rather raw and descriptive. But as

induction intensifies, the 2nd and even the 3rd round of coding tend to be inferential. This process repeats again and again throughout the research until a conclusion could be reached.

Together with coding comes memoing which refers to the recording of ideas about codes. Memoing “links coding with the development of propositions”, and “[...] is the more creative-speculative part of the developing analysis” (Punch 2005, 202). This research applies memoing as a basic method of data analysis. Ideas about developing propositions are written down when they emerge. It helps identify potential threads and navigate the research.

Comparing is another basic method. Its process is not apparently displayed, but it exists almost everywhere. Here are four most overt examples of comparing being applied in this research: first of all, the case of Shaolin is compared with other East Asian Martial Arts to highlight its specialties and potentials for elaboration; secondly, interviews are compared with one another to extract commonalities and differentiations; thirdly, codes are compared with each other to get to higher inferential level; fourthly, discourse of the temple is compared with scholarly works. Comparing exists in every stage of the research, from early documentary work all the way to the formulation of conclusion.

2.4.2 Documentary Analysis

Rigorously speaking, documentary analysis is not a method but a congregation of analytical activities associated with documents. There are many ways to analyze a piece of

document, but anyway the choice should accord with the need of the research. In the context of this study, documents refer to publications of the Shaolin Temple, including books, articles, posters, handouts, paintings, and photos. The Cultural Center in Vienna is full of these documents, on tables, on shelves, on walls. They play an important role in communicating the temple's discourse, forming the atmosphere, and shaping the image of Shaolin. Thus they are of high analytical value. Basically, focus will be put on the production and organization of these documents, in addition to their mere superficial meanings. For example, I will look at what information is delivered, what is accentuated, and the choice of words, which brings us to discourse analysis.

2.4.3 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a view of language that “looks above its words, sentences and linguistic features and focuses attention on the way language is used, what it is used for, and the social context in which it is used”, and that tackles connections with power and ideology (Punch 2005, 221–4). In this research, discourse is a major object of examination, in addition to commodity. Through the analysis of Shaolin's discourse it is expected to get more insights into the case. Shaolin Temple imposes certain discourse on its audience through various forms of communication, notably speeches, textbooks, advertisements and the decoration of the space. The articulation of speeches, the edit of textbooks and advertisements, and the design of decoration embody a process of selection, or of deciding what to show to people, which could be used to trace the temple's purposes.

3. A Thematic History

To understand something's present we have to understand its past, which is especially true for something like the Shaolin Temple. Records of Shaolin's history are abundant but diverse and fragmented, often haunted with legends and myths, especially for its early days. This makes it difficult to narrate the temple's history because there is no generally acknowledged version, and many things about it are contested. So, in order to sketch out the temple's past in a few pages as a basis and the first step for this research, a thematic narrative is adopted instead of a chronological one. And I will not prefer any side of the contests, but just display them as they are. I summarize Shaolin's history into five "themes" that constitute the remaining of this chapter.

3.1 The birth of Shaolin

The first theme is the temple's birth. It is generally agreed that Shaolin Temple was built by royal edict of Emperor Xiaowen⁷ to accommodate the Indian Dharma master Batuo⁸ (Shi 2013, 225). According to *Wei Shu*,⁹ Batuo was so much respected by the emperor that a temple was built for him on the northern slope of Mount Shao Shi¹⁰. And Shaolin Temple literally means the temple in the woods of Mount Shao Shi (Zhao 2008, 6–7). There is no problem with this. But because of the inaccuracy of *Wei Shu*'s expression, confusion exists as for the exact year in which the temple was established. The temple officially claims that it was first built in 495 A.D. (Shi 2013, 225), but there is

⁷ Emperor Xiaowen: 467-499, the sixth emperor of the Northern Wei Dynasty.

⁸ Batuo: 跋陀, Buddhabhadra.

⁹ Wei Shu: 魏书, The History of Wei Dynasty.

¹⁰ Mount Shao Shi: 少室山.

scholarly dissent that the year of its foundation is 496 (Zhang 1981; Zhao 2008, 6). Anyway, Shaolin Temple's birth was the result of Buddhism's spread from India to China that had already begun in the Han Dynasty somewhere around the beginning of the Christian era. Shaolin served as a place for the translation of Sutra into Chinese language, as Batuo built the Hall of Sutra Translation in the west of the temple (Shi 2013, 225).

3.2 Chan Buddhism

In the process of “localization”, Buddhism was gradually shaped by Chinese culture, which brings us to the second point – the emergence of Chinese Chan¹¹ Buddhism. What Batuo and several of his successors preached belonged to Hinayana Buddhism that emphasized personal penance and the doctrine of the Sutra (Zhao 2008, 8). However, Hinayana gradually faded away, giving way to Mahayana Buddhism that was more flexible and more inclusive (Han and Jin Long (金龙) 2006, 2–3). Mahayana stressed the importance of self-realization and being mentally genuine rather than physical penance, so that everybody could reach full enlightenment and “become Buddha” in their daily lives (Guo 2009, 15–6). Thanks to its practicability, Mahayana was well accepted and even caught some Chinese characteristics, for example, the basic Buddhist code of ethics – the Five Precepts¹² – was compared to the Five Common Rules of Confucianism¹³ by the Song Dynasty Dharma master Qi Song (Han and Jin Long (金龙) 2006, 3). As such, a new sect of Buddhism emerged, namely the Chan Buddhism.

¹¹ Chan: 禅. In Japan it is called “Zen”.

¹² The Five Precepts are 1) to abstain from killing, 2) to abstain from taking what is not given, 3) to avoid sexual misconduct, 4) to abstain from false speech, and 5) to abstain from fermented drink that causes heedlessness.

¹³ The Five Common Rules of Confucianism: 儒家五常. They are Ren (仁, compassion), Yi (义, justice), Li (礼, courtesy), Zhi (智, wisdom), and Xin (信, faith).

But what does Shaolin have to do with all this? Well, the temple claims itself to be the birthplace of Chan, because the sixth-century Mahayana master Damo¹⁴ was believed to have preached in the temple and passed on his teachings there (Shi 2012, 168). However, this is also contested. Scholarly research has pointed out that there is no direct evidence showing that Damo had ever lived in Shaolin Temple, and that he was just a poor wandering monk not well received by the emperor, as Mahayana was still not the mainstream in China at that time (Cheng 2005, 38).

3.3 Ups and Downs

The third theme is Shaolin's fluctuant fate in history. As the temple was built, its daily expenses were covered by imperial fiscal budget (Zhao 2008, 5). However, not every emperor was fan of Buddha. Shaolin's very first disaster came with Emperor Wudi of the Northern Zhou Dynasty¹⁵ who decided to ban Buddhism and Daoism in the year 574. Temples were destroyed, monks were dismissed. This was namely the Second Suppression of Buddhism in Chinese history (Li and Shi 2001, 66). Other crises for Shaolin include the Third Suppression of Buddhism from 842 to 845, and major social turbulences that almost ruined it – one at the end of the Yuan Dynasty in the 14th century when Shaolin had merely over 20 monks left (Zhao 2008, 11–4), one at the end of the Qing Dynasty in early 20th century when the temple was set on fire by a warlord, and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960/70s when again there were merely a dozen of monks left (Shi 2013, 9–10).

¹⁴ Damo: 达摩, Bodhidharma, an Indian monk of Mahayana.

¹⁵ Emperor Wudi of the Northern Zhou Dynasty: 北周武帝 (*bei zhou wu di*).

But generally speaking, Shaolin enjoyed a positive political environment from the Sui Dynasty in the 6th-7th centuries to the Ming Dynasty in the 14th-17th centuries, not only because of governments' support to Buddhism, but also because of its military contribution to the empire. A mural in the temple depicts the story of "thirteen staff-wielding monks saving the King of Tang"¹⁶ that happened in 621 when Shaolin monks fought in favor of the founder of the Tang Dynasty in the civil war, and thus were richly rewarded by the emperor and his successors (Zhang 2011, 11–2). The temple's martial prowess peaked in the Ming Dynasty, when the monks officially served in the imperial army to fight pirates and rebels. Military officers also came to the temple to practice martial arts (Shi 2007, 36). The Qing Dynasty¹⁷ was a small exception because its rulers were suspicious about Shaolin's ties with the old dynasty, so policies were not as beneficial as before. But still there was formal governmental support as the Qing government did not wish to get in any trouble with the temple (Zhao 2008, 48–53).

3.4 Shaolin Kung Fu

Talking about martial arts, we come to the fourth thing – the genesis of Shaolin Kung Fu, which is the most confusing and mysterious. It is confusing because fighting seems to have violated the Buddhist code of not killing; it is mysterious because of the many legends around it. The official definition of Shaolin Kung Fu reads like this:

“Shaolin Kung Fu is a system of traditional buddhistic culture that is formed in the traditional buddhistic historical and cultural environment of Shaolin

¹⁶ Thirteen staff-wielding monks saving the King of Tang: 十三棍僧救唐王 (*shi san gun seng jiu tang wang*).

¹⁷ The Qing Dynasty: 1644-1911, the last feudal dynasty of China.

Temple of Mount Song, with the worship of King Kinnara¹⁸ as its core and the martial arts practiced by Shaolin martial monks as its manifestation, and fully representing the wisdom of the Chan Sect.” (Shi 2012, 131)

The temple officially claims that its Kung Fu “traces back to the days of its birth” when early masters including Batuo and Damo contributed to the worship of supernatural power that was the primary form of Kung Fu worship (Shi 2007, 28). However, this claim sounds farfetched, and it remains vague as to when and how Kung Fu emerged. The temple takes “thirteen staff-wielding monks saving the King of Tang” as a critical event that established Shaolin’s fame of martial prowess (Shi 2007, 30). But this does not directly say that the monks practiced Kung Fu or martial arts. Actually, it was not until the Ming Dynasty that abundant concrete evidences of Shaolin’s martial practice showed up (Shahar 2001). So some scholars advocate that Shaolin Kung Fu emerged in the Ming era (Hong and Jiang 2004, 44–5). But still this is disputable because it is technically impossible to prove that Shaolin Kung Fu did not exist before Ming.

I summarize and categorize the viewpoints into two large groups: one attributes the “invention” of Kung Fu to one monk or multiple monks, like Huiguang¹⁹, Sengchou²⁰, Damo, or the “thirteen monks”, which tends to be legendary; the other, with a more scientific spirit, regards Shaolin Kung Fu as result of group activity, and stresses the

¹⁸ King Kinnara: 紧那罗王. “Legend has it that in the Yuan Dynasty the Red Turban rebels laid siege to Shaolin Temple, a monk working in the temple’s kitchen suddenly reincarnated as divinity, hundreds of feet high and standing on the summit, and called himself King Kinnara. Seeing that, the rebels were scared away. Since then King Kinnara has been honored as Shaolin Temple’s Dharma Protection Deity.” Shi, *Shaolin Temple in my Heart*, 42.

¹⁹ Huiguang: 慧光, disciple of Batuo. It is said that Huiguang could kick shuttlecock 500 times without a break. See Han and Jin Long (金龙), ‘Cultural Factors of Shaolin Martial Arts (少林武术的文化成因)’: 1.

²⁰ Sengchou: 僧稠, disciple of Batuo. Legend has it that Sengchou was good at martial art, could walk on the wall, and jump onto the beam. See Guo, *Chan’s Influence on Shaolin Wushu (浅析禅对少林武术的影响)*, 6..

influence of ancient Chinese folk martial arts (Cheng 2005; Xiao 2011; Han and Jin Long (金龙) 2006). Anyway, the consensus is that Shaolin Kung Fu was product of Buddhism growing on Chinese soil. The open, inclusive, and pragmatic nature of Chan is the premise of Shaolin Kung Fu's emergence. Without such openness and pragmatism, the incorporation of fighting into Buddhism would not have been possible (Hong and Jiang 2004). Abbot Shi Yongxin²¹ has expressed the idea in a proud way:

The establishment of Chan was originally result of Buddhism entering China, fully merging with the marrow of Chinese cultural traditions, absorbing advantages of Daoism and Confucianism, and forming a Buddhism with Chinese characteristics. Its “Chan-Fist” part also exemplified such an open-minded and inclusive awareness and creativity. (Shi 2012, 133)

3.5 The Film as the Juncture

The fifth theme considers how Shaolin Temple came onto the track towards revival. In the imperial age, the temple had its own land and even subsidies from the government as source of finance which was gone with the downfall of the Qing Dynasty (Shi 2012, 115–21). For more than half of the 20th century it was really hard for Shaolin as it lost its status as royal monastery and was almost destroyed (Wang and Chang 2006, 26). Before the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, there were already some efforts to make new use of Shaolin Kung Fu, like introducing it into schools for physical education (Shi 2012, 189–90). But due to wars and social unrests, early efforts failed to strike much

²¹ Shi Yongxin: 释永信, current Shaolin abbot.

result, and it was not until the 1980s that Shaolin really began to prosper – right after the communist government adopted a market-oriented attitude under the “reform and opening up” framework in 1978.

Shaolin’s public renown was awakened by the 1982 film of its name, starred by Jet Li who also became famous because of this film (Shi 2013, 57–8). The film was initiated by the then Vice Chairman of Chinese National People’s Congress, Liao Chengzhi, who was in charge of overseas Chinese affairs, and who was capable of martial arts. Liao got inspired by the Bruce Lee film “Fist of Fury” and then decided to film a Shaolin story in cooperation with Hong Kong film industry as a “patriotic film” and as an attempt to revive Chinese traditional culture from the ashes of the Cultural Revolution (Shi 2013, 58). Due to Liao’s efforts, the film became a blockbuster of the year both within and outside China, bringing 700,000 visitors to the temple in 1982 alone, and 2.6 million in 1984, which immediately constituted the temple’s main source of income (Shi 2013, 57–60). Shaolin immediately seized the opportunity and aligned its strategy of development to state policies and the market economy, to which we will return in detail in the next section. Therefore, the film can be taken as the temple’s historical juncture between two totally different modes of subsistence.

4. Way of Revival

I regard the recent revival of Shaolin, put in the background of its history, as the temple’s pragmatic adjustment and adaptation in the current wave of globalization. Shaolin’s pragmatic attitude is not something new. Just as the incorporation of martial

arts into Buddhism in Shaolin's history, now it is commercial methodology and a global vision that are integrated. Unsurprisingly, the change is not without criticism. Some criticize that Shaolin has become too commercialized for a buddhistic monastery that traditionally should remain austere and simple, and some criticize that Shaolin is getting "vulgar" or even becoming "kitsch" (Yang 2007, 18). Anyway, this research is not a judgment of the temple's value orientation, but just an attempt to examine cultural implications of its global and commercial activities. So we need to take a closer look at how Shaolin actually managed its commercialization and globalization.

4.1 Becoming a Commodity

When Shaolin became famous because of the film, it was still a shabby monastery full of ruins left by the 1928 fire, the Japanese invasion, and the Cultural Revolution. Venerable Abbot Shi Xingzheng²², who had fought to preserve the temple in these various crises, made the earliest efforts towards revival. At that time, although the state had officially granted self-autonomy to religious institutions, the policy was so carelessly implemented that buddhistic monasteries were in fact still under jurisdiction of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, the State Forestry Bureau, or the National Tourism Bureau. These governmental departments tended to ignore temples' religious continuity and prosperity, but focused more, if not solely, on economic exploitation of their cultural resources. It was the old abbot's determination to revive Shaolin's religious traditions and

²² Abbot Shi Xingzheng: 释行正方丈, 1914-1987, the 29th abbot of Shaolin. His greatest contribution was to protect the temple in the many crises in the 20th century, including the 1928 fire, the Japanese invasion 1937-1945, and the Cultural Revolution 1964-1974. In the 1980s, he strove for self-autonomy of Shaolin, which serves as foundation of the temple's later revival. Besides, he initiated the compilation of Shaolin's compendium of pugilism in his final years.

to re-launch normal religious activities. So he made many appeal trips to the municipal, the provincial, and even the central government in order to regain management autonomy of the temple. Despite great difficulties, he finally succeeded in getting Shaolin's management back into hands of the monks, which laid a solid foundation for the temple's later developments. (Shi 2013, 15–25)

There is a negotiation between the temple and the government. Although the monks had now the independence to arrange daily affairs of the temple as they wished, the municipal government of Dengfeng City did not just let go. Instead, it established in 1984 an institution called the Administrative Committee of Songshan Mount Landscape and Scenic Area²³ in order to develop and manage tourism in that region which, of course, had Shaolin Temple as its core tourist attraction. The committee raised an entrance fee for visitors to Shaolin, and shared 30% of the fee income to the temple while keeping the rest 70% for itself, according to an agreement between the two sides (Ma and Dai 2014). The negotiation here does not mean the process of bargaining the share of money, but is rather a metaphor in the sense that Shaolin acquired its management autonomy at the price of becoming a commodity.

Though the fee was initially not Shaolin's idea, it became the temple's de facto pillar of income, constituting 70% - 80% of the total revenue (Ma and Dai 2014). By contrast, Shaolin's many other well-known commercial methods do not generate as much economic return. As a result, the temple's various activities depend heavily on the

²³ Administrative Committee of Songshan Mount Landscape and Scenic Area: 嵩山风景名胜区管理委员会 (*song shan feng jing ming sheng qu guan li wei yuan hui*).

entrance fee, and the temple pays much attention to it, which is attested to by continuous disputes between the temple and the committee over the payment. In 2014 the dispute escalated to the legal level as the temple claimed more money than it received from the committee (Ma and Dai 2014). This reflects the fact that Shaolin now cannot go without the identity as commodity. Actually Shaolin never denied commodification. Instead it has actively embraced commodification and developed a set of discourse to legitimize its choice, which takes place under the leadership of the young abbot Shi Yongxin.

4.2 Ancient Temple in Modern World

Having joined Shaolin in 1981 at the age of 16, Yongxin witnessed the monastery's drastic turn from desolation to revival. After three years' study tour at famous buddhistic sites around the country, he returned to Shaolin in 1984 and became attendant to venerable Abbot Shi Xingzheng, assisting in the management of monastic affairs and accompanying the master on the tours of visiting governments, which acquainted him with both internal and external affairs of the temple (Shi 2013, 7–25). After Xingzheng passed away in 1987, Yongxin came in charge of Shaolin and continued his master's endeavors to “revive Shaolin's reputation and prosperity to its historical height” (Shi 2013, 26). He puts it clearly: “[...] my greater goal in expanding this organization is to solidify Shaolin's status as the origin of the Chan Sect and to cultivate a talent pool of monks.” (Shi 2013, 33) As we will see, Yongxin attributes everything he does to realizing this goal. But actually, this is a re-interpretation, if not a distortion, of its history, as we have mentioned above that it is disputable whether Shaolin is the birth place of Chan

Buddhism.

4.2.1 Constructing a Dream Temple

The young abbot's strategy to revive the temple is threefold. First of all is a material approach: since he came into position he rebuilt and renovated the temple's architecture, with the help of photos taken before the 1928 fire. However, the temple did not exactly regain its old look, not only because the photos could not cover every detail, but also because the abbot wanted something new, something more than before. Certain parts of the new architecture went beyond limits of the imperial era as the abbot believed that Shaolin "shall have that manner of magnificence and grandeur, to deserve its historical status as the 1500-year old ancestral Chan monastery" (Shi 2013, 71). Besides, since there was no photo of two missing statues in the Mahavira Hall, the abbot decided to place statues of two unique deities instead of the conventional ones in temples. The two are Bodhidharma and King Kinnara who respectively represent Shaolin's "wisdom faith and strength faith" (Shi 2013, 74). Bodhidharma is worshipped because Shaolin takes him as the founder of the Chan Sect. Similarly, King Kinnara is worshipped as he embodies Shaolin's Kung Fu. Again, this is a re-interpretation, or a modern re-reading, of its history. The abbot himself admits that these ideas actually came up "[i]n the process of Shaolin Temple's restoration and renovation", "in hopes of not only reviving the over a millennium old monastery's historical glory, but also marking the present era of Shaolin's restoration" (Shi 2013, 72–4).

The re-interpretation of its history has resulted in the temple's effort to modify its

image. In addition to the architectural renovation, Shaolin also sought a more quiet and orderly surrounding with a sense of “poetic charm” that an ancient monastery is supposed to possess. As a result, residents nearby were relocated, in which the government played a critical role. The tourism of Shaolin brought fortune to local residents, many of whom turned to depend on tourism for livelihood. However, since there was not much regulation in early days, the surrounding of Shaolin was kind of chaos. So Abbot Shi Yongxin proposed a relocation plan to the government by the end of the 1990s. But it was not until 2001 when the government made the determination to do so that the plan was carried out. Both the government and the temple paid some cash to cover the bill. Besides, they applied financial instruments by establishing a company to secure bank loans collateralized by Shaolin’s entrance fees (Shi 2013, 80–3). For the government, the relocation could strike a better environment that could attract more tourists (Ma and Dai 2014). So, again Shaolin appears as a commodity with economic value. With this identity it was able to negotiate to shape its surroundings. However, its image is in fact artificially modified into one that matches modern imaginations.

4.2.2 Chan Buddhism of Today

The second approach of the revival plan is religious, which refers to the relaunching of Shaolin’s traditional buddhistic activities and rituals. They revived regular collective meditation events including the annual winter “Chan Qi”²⁴ which consists of seven sessions of seven-day sitting-meditation. Chan Qi is not well known publicly since it is

²⁴ Chan Qi: 禅七, literally Chan Seven.

rather an internal event for monks to pursue their personal religious achievements, and it follows rigorous and austere codes of tradition (Shi 2013, 141–8). Meditation is taken as the most fundamental feature of Shaolin’s religiousness, and the root of the temple’s spirit. As Abbot Yongxin puts it, “[b]y omitting meditation, we lose everything” (Shi 2013, 142). Another important feature of Buddhism’s religiousness is Vinaya or precept. The level of a monk is represented through the precepts he takes on; the ritual of precept transmission guarantees the continuity of a temple’s dharma lineage; and a temple’s prosperity is symbolized by the holding of a precept transmission ceremony. So, with a lot of efforts, Shaolin restored the ceremony in 2007 after a cessation of over 300 years, for both purposes of signaling the revival of Shaolin Temple and cultivating monastic talents for the temple’s future development (Shi 2013, 151–6). Through these instances we see that Shaolin is very aware of its religious identity. Whatever commercial methods are applied, the temple holds firmly on to the root of its religiousness. In the words of Taiwan Buddhist Association President Ven. Jingliang on the occasion of Shaolin’s precept transmission ceremony in 2010:

“Without the transmission and observation of Vinaya, Buddhism will be secularized. Even for the Chan sect, which lays great emphasis on mindfulness and enlightenment, it cannot exist without the basis of Vinaya, to complement each other.” (Shi 2013, 159)

However, there is also re-invention in Shaolin’s religious activities, notably in public ones. On the one hand, the temple propagates dharma among the society through such

events as Buddhism summer camps, dharma lectures, and temporary monastic retreat and meditation experience camps. These events take on modern and joyful forms, and are thus more acceptable and even attractive for common people, especially younger generations (Shi 2013, 161). On the other hand, the temple also holds more “serious” events such as Chan inquiry, Chan debate, and pilgrimage and prayer assembly. Among them, Chan debate is the most influential. According to Abbot Shi Yongxin, the Chan debate is not totally a replication of the traditional Ji Feng²⁵ activity, but incorporates the forms of both Tibetan Buddhist debate and British academic debate (Shi 2013, 162). Besides, traditional Chan practice involved only the master and his disciples, whereas the modern Chan debate is participated by candidates and judges from all over the country and from different spheres of the society, including not only monks but also scholars, artists, and other luminaries. All these are conducted with consciousness, and Shaolin openly admits that there is “innovation to the tradition”, which Abbot Shi Yongxin explains in this way:

“We shall make use of the modern media and modern means to acquaint with the doctrines of Chan sect. In my view, such as the Tibetan Buddhist debate and western church debate, they could increase its own religious influence and facilitate communication. [...] Accordingly, we have sought an innovative way to integrate the forms of Chan patriarchs’ and ancestors’ practice into the way of modern people’s lives [...]” (Shi 2013, 167–8)

²⁵ Ji Feng: 机锋, literally thought-provoking insights, refers to a asking-and-answering activity.

4.2.3 Culture as the Universal Calling Card

The third and the best known approach is cultural, which has much to do with Shaolin Kung Fu. As mentioned previously, Shaolin's global fame arose because of its martial arts rather than its Chan Buddhism, though the latter has played a subtle role in the course. The temple is pretty aware of the fact that "[c]ulture instead of religion has become the main bridge and entry point in international communication" (Shi 2013, 99), and is actively taking advantage of its cultural charm to expand the temple. Shaolin has been extending its branch monasteries both within China and overseas. For example, in 2006 the temple signed an agreement with Shoalheaven City of Australia to set up a "New Shaolin Temple" there (Shi 2013, 101). Similarly, in 2008 the government of Kunming City, Yunnan Province contracted four local monasteries to Shaolin as its new branches (Shi 2013, 28). Shaolin chose to cooperate though these governments had their own visions and purposes, of which developing tourism is a common one. This is another instance of negotiation between the temple and governments, in which the temple takes on a positively cooperative stance.

Besides, Shaolin has been conducting cultural activities all around the world, including setting up Shaolin cultural centers overseas and paying visits to other countries. So far, Shaolin's activities have spread to over 70 countries on six continents. The cultural centers are not branch monasteries but institutions with the purpose of promoting Shaolin culture, and often they are co-founded by local public or private sectors (Shi 2013, 134). For example, the Shaolin Cultural Center Berlin was initially founded by a German

disciple, while the temple later participated in the management. To point out is that Kung Fu plays the leading role in Shaolin's global cultural communications. As the abbot puts it, "[...] there are hundreds of thousands, millions or even tens of millions [of people learning Shaolin culture]. [...] 'Their aim is mainly to learn martial arts, but man also gradually become interested in the Chan practice'" (Shi 2013, 135).

Evidences show that Shaolin is consciously using its culture, especially Kung Fu, as a vehicle for enhancing its global existence. One important way it does so is to reinterpret Shaolin's culture in accordance with universally recognized values of the international society. Abbot Shi Yongxin makes a clear differentiation between Buddhist belief and Buddhist culture, with the former confined to monks and Buddhists while the latter being "part of human culture" and thus able to "be practiced by lay people and non-Buddhists based on the fundamental principles of compassion, peace and harmony" (Shi 2013, 98). When Shaolin monks perform Kung Fu overseas, they have a 15-minute Buddhist ritual at the beginning which is conducted in the name of culture because the audience has different religious backgrounds. At the United Nations, the abbot would always pray for world peace in a buddhistic manner.²⁶ In this way, Shaolin actually preserves its religiousness, although for outsiders everything is about culture. The Abbot says: "We express Buddhism through the vessel of culture." (Shi 2013, 100)

4.3 Commercial Methods in Control

Explicitly, the temple adopts commercial logic of operation in the course of

²⁶ This information is acquired during the author's internship at UNIDO.

globalization. But the temple is by no means being overwhelmed by commerce or becoming totally commercialized. This is evident on three aspects. Firstly, the temple claims that its commercial methods are rather defensive than proactive. It established the Shaolin Temple Cultural Transmission Co., Ltd.²⁷ to develop and market Shaolin's cultural products such as films, television, games, performing arts, and so forth (Shaolin Temple). Another company called Henan Shaolin Intangible Assets Management Co., Ltd.²⁸ is solely responsible for the protection of Shaolin's trademark and brand name worldwide, and has so far registered more than 200 trademarks in 45 categories (Shaolin Temple). According to the abbot, these methods are inevitable and rather defensive because there were people in many different countries, probably speculators, registering Shaolin's trademark, selling products in the temple's name, and even pretending to be Shaolin monks, causing negative effect on the temple, which is a lesson Shaolin had learnt in the course of globalization (Shi 2013, 135–6).

Secondly, not all the commercial activities about Shaolin are the temple's behavior. In 2010, the municipal government of Dengfeng City, together with a tour enterprise, decided to set up a new company to operate tourism about Shaolin, and this company was going for Initial Public Offering. This news caused a fierce debate with strong criticism of Shaolin Temple, because it was misunderstood by many people that the temple would go for IPO (Sina Finance 2010). Over the years, developments about Shaolin had attracted public attention and caused fierce controversy, for these are by no

²⁷ Shaolin Temple Cultural Transmission Co., Ltd.: 少林寺文化传播有限公司 (*shao lin si wen hua chuan bo you xian gong si*).

²⁸ Henan Shaolin Intangible Assets Management Co., Ltd.: 河南少林无形资产管理有限公司 (*he nan shao lin wu xing zi chan guan li you xian gong si*).

means common for buddhistic temples that are traditionally supposed to be simple and austere. The latest one was the 2014 legal dispute between the temple and the government in regard to the share of entrance fee. As we have mentioned above, the entrance fee was not Shaolin's idea but imposed by the government who gets a 70% share.

Thirdly, Shaolin's various commercial activities only contribute a small part of its total income. Although only 30% of the entrance fee income goes to the temple, it constitutes the temple's biggest revenue. Shaolin's other commercial methods do not bring much economic return. The temple claims that the commercial methods it adopts are necessary for the protection and development of its traditions, and that there is a clear line between its activities and the so-called "money-making" (Shi 2012, 114–5). Facing criticism about Shaolin's commercialization, the abbot defends in this way:

“[...] we have not used Shaolin Temple for commercial operations, because it belongs to religion and a belief. What we have put forth to the world is an extraction of Shaolin culture based on which we operate a cultural enterprise. [...] We actively pursue the protection of the Shaolin brand name through a certain commercial approach which is not for chasing profits but promote authentic Shaolin culture and realize self-sufficiency of the temple. [...] However, if we do nothing, the Shaolin culture that has been handed down for a thousand year will not get preserved in our generation, and Shaolin Temple will not develop in this era and will wither away instead.” (Shi 2013,

102)

4.4 In the Name of Dharma

The way of Shaolin's revival is pretty pragmatic. According to the abbot, the temple's choice is made with a sense of "reality" which means to develop the temple in accordance with "outside conditions" (Shi 2013, 12–3). The abbot repeatedly stresses that he must strive not only for the temple's survival but also for its development, with the responsibility for "the future 1500 years of Shaolin" (Shi 2013, 97), and that Buddhism shall "be fully immersed and integrated into secular society where it could be best used to help alleviate suffering and deal with daily problems" (Shi 2013, 95).

In order to legitimize such pragmatism, the temple has developed a set of discourse that rests on a threefold foundation. First of all, the temple's participation in the secular society, notably its commercialization, is referred to Mahayana Buddhism's tradition of social involvement:

"Buddhism is not just about bowing and burning incense, it should be a higher level of cultural and spiritual dissemination. Following the footsteps of the ancient masters, Mahayana Buddhism is not confined to the individual but to the sharing and dissemination of its concepts to the world." (Shi 2013, 133)

As such, the temple delivers the message that what has changed is not its essence or religious nature, but rather just the outside form, which is legitimate and necessary:

“Mahayana Buddhism emphasizes propagation and undertaking of responsibility in the actual activities of daily life, as it is said that remain unchanged amid outside conditions, remain unchanged but always act in accord with outside conditions.” (Shi 2013, 140)

“Although there seems to be changes in monks’ practices, Shaolin will not lose its traditions, but will use modern technologies to serve traditional culture. Anyway, Shaolin’s traditions will not change; the content of monks’ practice will not change. What changes is just a little bit form.” (Shi 2012, 109)

Secondly, the temple’s present globalization is compared with its origin of being a result of Indian-Chinese cultural interaction. Central to this idea is the openness to international communication:

“Shaolin culture and Chan sect are result of the assimilation of Indian and Chinese culture. So Shaolin culture is always considered as a product of cultural communication and only communication can promote the development of Shaolin culture.” (Shi 2013, 167)

Thirdly and most basically, Shaolin retraces all its behaviors back to the purpose of propagating dharma and spreading Buddhism:

“Our buddhistic undertaking unfolds around sentient beings; The achievement of our buddhistic undertaking is measured through the extent to

which Buddhism satisfies the inner needs of sentient beings. [...] As monks, we do everything ultimately to guide people to learn about Buddhism as a way of benefiting their lives, which is the basic wish of Sakyamuni.” (Shi 2012, 68–72)

Over the years, Shaolin has published abundant works on Buddhism, martial arts, the temple’s philosophy of development, and even some of the temple’s documents that are traditionally kept as secret. These have articulated the temple’s discourse, not only through its voice, but also through its choice of what to publish. For example, the ancient Kung Fu handbook “Yi Jin Jing”²⁹ is available online for only 35 Yuan. Criticism has it that this hurts Shaolin’s image as an ancient temple of martial arts, because “Yi Jin Jing” is known as a secret book often connected with legends and myth but now it looks like cheap kitsch (CnBeta 2008). However, we can see that Shaolin selectively “declassified” some documents and published them for low prices, which is by no means an evidence for the alleged “commercialism of Shaolin”. Instead, it is more like an action out of the intention to spread Shaolin’s culture.

So far we have an outline of Shaolin’s discourse. But it should be remembered that this discourse or explanation of the temple’s behavior is not made very well known to the public. It is an important fact is that Shaolin has been adopting a rather passive and silent stance when faced with criticism and controversy. It seldom openly argues for and defends itself in the media, which derives from the principle of Shaolin Kung Fu to

²⁹ Yi Jin Jing: 易筋经

“endure insult” and “not to apply techniques easily” in confrontations with the secular (Ma and Dai 2014). Thus this behavior of Shaolin can also be seen as part of its discourse. It restrains itself from public disputes in order to retain its identity as a withdrawn temple. Abbot Shi Yongxin has explained the temple’s restraint in this way:

“It is fair to say that every step Shaolin takes faces some obstruction. We monks do our deeds for belief, not for anything else. Therefore, as long as these questions are not on the level of belief, I would choose to ignore. [...] If one cares very much about comments from everybody, and thus could not do anything because of fear, then he has those who question him triumph.”
(Shi 2012, 113)

To sum up, Shaolin is using commercial methods in its development, claiming that its history legitimates this behavior and that the ultimate purpose is for the spread of Buddhism. While going global with its Kung Fu culture as the calling card, the temple is holding firmly onto the basic principles of a Chan buddhistic monastery and explains its philosophy of development with these principles, which is a kind of re-interpretation. The temple believes that religiousness is its most important identity and the foundation of its revival. It even chooses to remain silent in the face of criticisms so as not to violate the principle of restraint.

The temple seems to have got into a dilemma because of the huge gap between its cultural influence and its religious influence. Its global activities are conducted in the name of culture, not religion. So people get to know Shaolin through its Kung Fu, not

Chan Buddhism. This is also one of the reasons why it is so much criticized. The religious identity of Shaolin appears too small in contrast with the cultural side that often involves commercial activities, so that people have the illusion that Shaolin's religiousness has contracted. But actually as we have seen, the temple has its own reasons and plan to do so. And in fact the temple's religious influence has increased significantly when compared with that of thirty years ago. In this sense, Shaolin has indeed revived.

5. Field study: Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria

The current Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria was directly founded by the temple on October 1, 2011. It is on the 3rd floor of an old style building located in the 5th district of Vienna. With a huge open space for physical training, the venue was formerly used by a boxing studio. After taking over the venue, Shaolin made some renovations and decorations according to its needs, keeping the open space for activities while adding elements of Shaolin Temple. The Cultural Center provides buddhistic soul care, authentic Shaolin ceremonies, and courses of buddhistic meditation, Qi Gong, Tai Chi, and Kung Fu (Shaolin Temple Austria).

There are four resident monks at the Cultural Center in Vienna with Grandmaster Shi Yanliang³⁰ as the leader. Born in 1978, Grandmaster Yanliang began his Kung Fu training at the age of 4 and became a Shaolin monk when he was 15. From 2000 to 2004 he was leader of the martial monk show team and traveled around the world to perform Kung Fu. Afterwards he worked in the Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Germany until

³⁰ Grandmaster Shi Yanliang: 释延良大师.

2007 when he was sent to Austria to prepare another cultural center (Shaolin Temple Austria). Of the other three resident monks, two are Kung Fu masters responsible for teaching in the courses, while one is doctor of traditional Shaolin medicine.

By the time when the Cultural Center was founded there had been several other organizations in Vienna in the name of Shaolin. One of them had registered the brand name “Shaolin Temple Austria” and had been in operation since 2002, teaching Shaolin Kung Fu, Tai Chi, meditation and Chan Buddhism. This one is the biggest with four branches in Austria. Most of these Kung Fu studios are similar in the business they do. But there is a very special one. With the name “Shaolin Österreich Akademie für Wirtschaft und Gesundheit”³¹, it does not teach Kung Fu or meditation, but rather provides economic seminars developed from Chan thoughts, health seminars based on Qi Gong forms, and even golf training under the name “Qi Golf” (Shaolin Österreich). Its founder is an Austrian who was actually authorized by Shaolin Temple in 2004 to found a Shaolin cultural center in Vienna under the instruction of the temple (Shaolin Österreich). But obviously things did not go as the temple had planned.

The various “Shaolin branches” that teach martial arts in Vienna do not share the same principles, however. Rather, they have their own specific interpretations of Shaolin culture. Some are closer to the real Shaolin Temple, whereas some are more distant. Their founders claim to be Shaolin disciples, while the martial arts they teach vary. For example, there is one called “Nord Shaolin Kung Fu Wien”³² teaching so-called “Chang

³¹ Verein Shaolin Österreich: literally “Association Shaolin Austria”.

³² Nord Shaolin Kung Fu Wien: literally “North Shaolin Kung Fu Vienna”.

Chuan Men” which is claimed to be a derivative style of Shaolin Kung Fu that was developed in Shandong Province and later transmitted to South Korea. The founder of this school came from South Korea. On its wall hangs a South Korean flag instead of a Buddha or Dharma portrait (Nord Shaolin Kung Fu Wien). Similarly, another one called “Shaolin Kung Fu Wien” teaches a style of martial art developed by an Indonesian from Shaolin Kung Fu. So actually these are mutually independent martial art schools founded by different individuals. What they have in common is that they teach martial arts more or less related to Shaolin Kung Fu.

Given such circumstance, the Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria stresses that it is the “authentic Shaolin Temple in Vienna” (Shaolin Temple Austria). Right after its opening it received two lawyer’s letters from another Kung Fu studio regarding the use of the “Shaolin” name in Austria. Then the Cultural Center replied with a lawyer’s letter stating that it is authentic subsidiary of Shaolin Temple China, the UNESCO World Cultural Heritage. The Kung Fu studio cancelled its claim thereafter, and ever since there has been no more legal dispute on this matter. I asked Grandmaster Shi Yanliang why Shaolin Temple allowed other Kung Fu or martial arts studios to use the name “Shaolin”. He answered that those martial arts studios or schools were also spreading Shaolin’s culture, in which regard they were in line with the temple’s vision. As long as they do not damage Shaolin’s reputation or violate buddhistic prohibitions, Shaolin Temple will not interfere with their deeds (Yang 04/27/2014). In short, the temple does not care that others are making money in its name, but if others cause negative effects on Shaolin’s image, it will care. Such a stance accords with Shaolin’s principle of restraint which we

have discussed in the previous section.

The overseas cultural centers are the only places where the temple teaches martial arts to the public, while in China the only way to learn martial arts from Shaolin is to become a monk (Yang 04/27/2014). This attests to the Cultural Center's duty of disseminating Shaolin culture as indicated in its name. The remaining of this chapter is a close look at how the Cultural Center carries out its duty. According to the research plan, the study takes a structural approach by examining the four stages of commodification, namely production, marketing, distribution, and consumption.

5.1 Production

In Karl Marx's definition, a commodity is a marketable item produced to satisfy wants or needs. This research regards Shaolin as a commodity in the sense that there is commercial transaction in the spread of Shaolin culture. There is demand in the market for Shaolin culture, so certain products and services are developed to satisfy the demand. Entrance fee of the temple, souvenirs sold in its store, Kung Fu shows, Shaolin films ... all of these are embodiment of the temple's identity as commodity. As such, in the case of Shaolin Temple Cultural Centre Austria, I examine the products and services it provides as the way of approaching the temple's commodification. I put them into three categories: routine training courses, occasional training courses, and other priced services and products. This section introduces them one by one. Afterwards, a separate subsection will reflect on the services provided by the Cultural Center for free.

5.1.1 Routine Courses

Routine courses include Shaolin Kung Fu for adults and children, Rou Quan³³, Qi Gong³⁴, and San Da³⁵. These courses take place weekly in one-hour sessions, with Kung Fu as the most frequent one (11 sessions per week for adults and 5 sessions for children). The second and third most frequent courses are Qi Gong and Rou Quan with 6 and 4 sessions per week respectively. The least frequent is San Da (2 sessions).

Martial arts taught in the Cultural Center have been modified and adjusted to fit the market. Kung Fu courses do not contain real combat training or any instruction on how to fight. Instead, they focus on physical training and routine exercises. For Kung Fu there are examinations that test both physical quality and technical proficiency. A learner proceeds to higher levels by passing the examinations. But both the content and form of the examinations are different from those in Shaolin Temple. The Cultural Center introduced a belt system like that of Karate Do. There are nine levels in total, and each level is represented by a belt of specific color. The Grandmaster told me that the belt system is to make learners' advancement visible, which makes them feel their money worthy. Rou Quan and Qi Gong are introduced exclusively as health-keeping practices. Thus their examinations are simply abandoned. San Da courses are designed to introduce practical skills of self-defense. (Yang 04/27/2014)

5.1.2 Occasional Courses

³³ Rou Quan: 柔拳, literally "soft fist", also known as Shaolin Tai Chi (少林太极).

³⁴ Qi Gong: 气功, often translated as "energy cultivation".

³⁵ San Da: 散打, literally "free-style fighting".

Some courses do not take place regularly, and one has to apply additionally to participate in them. One is workshop. In 2015 there are three Kung Fu workshops introducing three specific styles of Kung Fu, three Qi Gong workshops introducing a total of 12 exercises of Shaolin Qi Gong, and two Rou Quan workshops introducing two forms of Shaolin Tai Chi. Workshops usually last for two days. They normally take place in the Cultural Center in Vienna, but sometimes also in the countryside that makes it look like a small holiday retreat. What people learn in workshops is not much different from that in routine courses. Different is the intensity, as a workshop introduces a full form of exercise within a short period of time.

Another one is intensive seminar for Shaolin medicine. The seminar takes place on five weekends, each in a separate month, adding up to ten days in total. It introduces theories of traditional Chinese medicine and basic techniques in Tui Na massage, Shaolin one-finger pressure, Gua Sha, and moxabution. Graduates of the seminar will receive a certification from the Shaolin Temple, so that they can apply the learnt methods on their own behalf.

The last one is special training program for health-keeping martial arts. Similar to the intensive seminar, the programs' aim is to train, qualify, and certificate people who can then independently pass on Shaolin's practices for health-keeping purpose. At the moment there are three programs: Rou Quan, Yi-Jin-Jing³⁶ Qi Gong, and Xi-Sui-Jing³⁷ Qi Gong. A special training program has only 6 gatherings, each lasting for 2 days, and

³⁶ Yi-Jin-Jing: 易筋经,

³⁷ Xi-Sui-Jing: 洗髓经,

each in a separate month. So it takes more than half a year to finish the entire course.

5.1.3 Other Priced Services and Goods

Every summer, the Cultural Center would organize a so-called “Shaolin Cultural Camp”. It is a two-week tour to China. The 2015 main program is a nine-day experience at the Shaolin Temple which includes the learning of exercises of Kung Fu, Rou Quan, and Qi Gong; sitting-meditation; Chan medicine; Chan philosophy; ceremonies; calligraphy; buddhistic vegetarian diet; and buddhistic code of behavior of the temple. The rest of the days are spared for sightseeing of historical and buddhistic sites in Henan province. The price of the Cultural Camp is 2500€ per person, all inclusive. In 2014, a total of 11 learners took part in the Shaolin Cultural Camp. (Shaolin Temple Austria 2015)

The Cultural Center sells goods in very small quantities, which is not a real business but rather a supplement. The goods are buddhistic accessories such as beads and bracelets, souvenirs of Shaolin Temple, traditional medicine, suits and weapons for martial art training, and books about Shaolin. During my visits to the Cultural Center I seldom saw people buying these items. I did see once that an elderly lady bought a buddhistic bracelet after the training, but no more. The Grandmaster mentioned that these goods were brought by the monks from China when they traveled, each time a little bit (Yang 04/27/2014). Although the prices are high, the revenue generated through selling goods is limited by the small quantity.

5.1.4 Free Services

Four services of the Cultural Center are free of charge: buddhistic ceremony, Chan meditation, Chinese language course, and medical treatment. Every week there are two sessions of buddhistic ceremony and two sessions of Chan meditation, and they are open to the public. The Chinese language course is still not very formal. It is lessoned by the monks, often with the help of a Chinese who speaks well German. I personally have not participated in these events but just heard of them.

Nevertheless, I did experience the medical treatment. The doctor comes from Shaolin Medical Bureau³⁸ – a department of the temple. Under the principle of “Ji Shi”³⁹, the Medical Bureau runs a non-profit hospital where medical services are also free of charge while patients only have to pay for costs of medicines (Shaolin Medical Bureau). The medical treatment at the Cultural Center is not intended to cure a disease for which one should turn to a local hospital. Rather, it only uses such traditional methods as Tui Na massage, moxabution, and the pointing therapy to help reduce physical strain and pain. But it applies some traditional external medicines such as herbal ointment and plaster. To receive the medical treatment one has to make an appointment by filling his or her name in a timetable on the wall. For every single workday there are about 10 places, whereas the timetable is always so full that one has to wait for weeks until his or her turn.

These free services more clearly distinguish the Cultural Center from other martial arts studios or schools that almost exclusively focus on the training. I think the free

³⁸ Shaolin Medical Bureau: 少林药局.

³⁹ Ji Shi: 济世, literally means “helping the world”.

services primarily illustrate two things: firstly, the temple retains its traditional features, notably its identity as a buddhistic monastery, when adjusting to the global market. The temple preserves its religiousness at the Cultural Center by holding public buddhistic ceremonies, whereas the free medical service embodies the temple's creed. Secondly, again, culture is the theme of Shaolin's global activities, which is strengthened by the language course.

5.2 Marketing

Marketing means to communicate the value of a product or service to customers in order to raise customers' interest in buying it. Now that we have examined the products and services of the Cultural Center, we also need to know how they are marketed. Marketing is expected to reflect how Shaolin depicts itself to the Austrian public, which is an important embodiment of the temple's discourse. This research's approach to the temple's marketing is threefold: the first is its pricing; the second is to look at how the Cultural Center makes itself known to people, namely advertising; and the third is how it appears to people, which refers to its decoration.

5.2.1 Pricing

To take part in the routine training, one has three possibilities: to pay for individual sessions or purchase a weekly card without a membership at the prices showed in Table 1; to acquire a long-term membership at the prices showed in Table 2; and to request a private training session at the prices showed in Table 3. For occasional courses one has to

pay separately. Workshops normally cost 200€ per person, while special training programs and intensive seminars cost 2500€ and 3000€ respectively.

	Adults	Students, Pensioner, and Unemployed	Children (6-11 years old)	Children (11-15 years old)
1 Single Session	15€	13€	11€	12€
5 Single Sessions	70€	55€	45€	50€
Weekly Card	80€	65€	50€	55€

Table 1: Prices for non-Membership Training

	Adults	Students, Pensioner, and Unemployed	Children (6-11 years old)	Children (11-15 years old)
Registration Fee	100€ (including 2 T-Shirts and 2 trousers as the uniform)			
Monthly Card	120€	100€	80€	90€
10 Single Sessions	130€	110€	90€	100€
Half-year Card	600€	500€	390€	450€
Yearly Card	1100€	900€	690€	800€

Table 2: Prices for Membership Training

	Adults	Students, Pensioner, and Unemployed	Children (6-11 years old)	Children (11-15 years old)
1 Private Session	70€	60€	45€	50€

Table 3: Prices for Private Session

According to interview results, 4 out of 7 interviewees find the prices high but acceptable, 2 find them normal, while one finds them too high. This result does not say much about Shaolin's pricing, because it does not take the market or industry average into consideration, and also because those who find them too high are not very likely to join the training. But the question is why people still come when actually most of them find the prices high? I found out two reasons.

On the one hand, Shaolin's terms of service are relatively favorable to customers. Firstly, a specific feature of the Cultural Center is that all learners are equally accessible to all regular courses instead of being limited to one course, so for example one can learn

Kung Fu, Rou Quan, and Qi Gong without having to pay three times (Yang 07/25/2014). Besides, for weekly, monthly, half-yearly, and yearly cards, there is no limit to the number of sessions one can take as long as the card is valid (Yang 07/25/2014). Thirdly, there is no period of notice for the cancellation of membership, so one can terminate a membership whenever he wishes (Yang 08/06/2014). These policies are unique in comparison with those of other martial arts or fitness studios, and help make Shaolin's prices acceptable.

But on the other hand, because of its authenticity, Shaolin has the condition to directly charge relatively high prices without the necessity to complicate its pricing strategy. An interviewee said that he pays the money to participate in the special training program because it was his biggest wish to become a Qi Gong trainer certificated by the real Shaolin Temple. So the temple's authenticity also helps make the prices acceptable.

Here we see that the temple does not apply a totally commercial logic to maximize its revenue as how its "competitors" do. Its pricing strategy is rather simple and rough. I asked Grandmaster Shi Yanliang why and he said that their aim was for cultural communication, not money-making (Yang 04/27/2014). He said that the training fee was not enough to cover the costs of the Cultural Center. The masters would also collect money through performing martial arts, which could hopefully balance their budget sheet. In shortage of funding, which was often the case in the first couple of years, the Cultural Center would rely on financing from Shao Temple in China (Yang 04/27/2014). Actually as we have mentioned above, the Cultural Center never takes other martial arts studios as

its competitors, so it does not care about how others are doing the business. So, for Shaolin, collecting money is just a necessary act of achieving its goal of spreading culture, not the goal itself.

5.2.2 Advertising

The interview result shows five channels through which learners know about the Cultural Center: poster and leaflet, the website, news report, Kung Fu show, and friends. I did not go into details of each one of them, but instead paid attention to the temple's discourse in various forms of advertisements.

Above all, the temple's authenticity is emphasized. In the general advertisement it is highlighted in the subtitle that the Cultural Center is "the only authorized temple of the Shaolin Temple from China"⁴⁰. Right below it, a slogan says "train with real Shaolin monks"⁴¹. Then, in a short text it claims Shaolin to be the birthplace of Chan Buddhism, and interprets Shaolin culture as a synergy of Chan Buddhism, Shaolin Kung Fu, Qi Gong, and Shaolin medicine. It says that the martial arts and knowledge now taught in the Cultural Center are formerly passed on only inside the temple, which implies that other martial arts studios and schools have nothing to do with Shaolin temple. Finally, it encourages people to visit the Cultural Center while stressing that "a religious affiliation is not necessary"⁴².

Besides, the trainings' positive effects on learners are highlighted. That is to say, the

⁴⁰ Translated from German: "einzig autorisierter Tempel des Shaolin Tempels aus China".

⁴¹ Translated from German: "Trainieren Sie mit den echten Shaolin Mönchen".

⁴² Translated from German: "[...] wobei eine Religionszugehörigkeit nicht notwendig ist".

advertisements claim that the trainings offered by the Cultural Center are not for fun or simply knowledge, but can rather benefit learners' real life. As for Shaolin Kung Fu, the advertisement states that it "is a good technique for better body control and flexibility" through which "concentration and endurance are strengthened, self-defense in emergencies is conveyed"⁴³ (Shaolin Temple Austria). Similarly, Qi Gong is described as a health-keeping method that not only helps keep physical health and reduce heavy diseases such as hyperpiesia and diabetes, but also leads to "a consciousness on deep levels"⁴⁴ that achieves "a harmony between body and mind"⁴⁵. Rou Quan is advertised as a relaxing practice with slow movements that positively affects the circulation and the nervous system, helping release stress from daily life (Shaolin Temple Austria).

Apart from common channels of advertising, Shaolin has a special advantage over other martial arts studios and schools, namely its close relationship with the Chinese government. Together with the Cultural Administration of Henan Province, the temple held "the First European Shaolin Cultural Festival" in Berlin and Vienna from September 5 to September 14, 2012. The festival attracted governmental representatives of Austria, Germany, and China, and thoroughly demonstrated Shaolin culture through a whole series of events, such as praying ceremonies, Kung Fu shows, seminars, communications, etc. Led by Abbot Shi Yongxin, the monks prayed for world peace and performed Kung Fu at the United Nations institutions in Vienna. The festival got an intensive media exposure that significantly increased the renown of Shaolin Temple as well as its cultural

⁴³ Translated from German: "[...] ist Shaolin Kung Fu eine gute Technik für bessere Körperbeherrschung und Flexibilität. Konzentration und Ausdauer werden gestärkt, Selbstverteidigung im Notfall wird vermittelt".

⁴⁴ Translated from German: "ein Bewusstsein auf tieferen Ebenen".

⁴⁵ Translated from German: "eine Harmonie zwischen Körper und Geist".

centers among German and Austrian populations.

5.2.3 Decoration

The layout of the Cultural Center is quite compact and practical. Basically it is divided into two large areas: the training hall and the lobby area, each occupying half of the total space. Functional rooms such as office room, consultation room, and dressing room are very small and are actually part of the lobby area. The overall layout is functionally oriented without much makeover. The walls retain basic white; the lights are common fluorescent lamps; the furniture is simple and basic. There is no overt attempt to convey a sense of “exotic charm”, since Chinese elements are quite limited and not specifically highlighted in the decoration.

However, the decoration does express two things. One is Shaolin’s identity as a monastery of Chan Buddhism. Everything in the training hall is not different from that of a fitness studio except for the altar with three Buddha statues. Actually the golden altar is the only thing in the training hall that is about decoration: the walls are all white, the floor pure blue. This corresponds with the hall’s function as the venue for training and buddhistic ceremonies. By contrast, the lobby has more decorations. A painting of Buddha with the calligraphy of “Chan” and “Wu”⁴⁶ illustrates Shaolin’s core values. Another painting of Boddhidarma indicates the temple’s religious lineage. In addition, a couple of copies of ancient Kung Fu murals in Shaolin Temple bring a little bit sense of history.

⁴⁶ Wu: 武, martial.

The other one is, again, authenticity. Buddha statues, paintings, calligraphy... all these exist also in other martial arts studios and schools that teach Shaolin Kung Fu. And common learners cannot tell the nuances in them. So the Cultural Center has figured out another way to highlight its authenticity, namely the display of photos. Hundreds of photos surround the space of the lobby area. Smaller photos are put in picture frames hung on the walls; large ones lean on the ground against the wall. These photos determine the theme of the space. Apart from a small number of them that display Shaolin Temple's architecture, scenes, and Kung Fu, the majority of the photos are about Shaolin's past events and global activities, especially joint photos of Shaolin monks and famous personalities such as Nelson Mandela and the British Queen. In this way, the temple's authenticity is established though linking the temple with authorities acknowledged by the local population.

5.3 Distribution

In business, distribution means getting the product or service to customers. The main service of Shaolin Temple Cultural Center is martial arts training. So in this case distribution is the process of teaching. As is mentioned above, three masters from Shaolin Temple lesson the courses, bringing techniques and knowledge to learners, which is a direct channel of distribution. Besides, graduates of intensive seminars and special training programs are qualified and authorized to pass on the techniques and knowledge on their own behalf, which is taken as a sub-channel of distribution.

5.3.1 The Direct Channel

In order to examine how the masters actually teach, I first attended two classes as an observer, and then I personally participated in the regular training for one month. Regular courses are normally taught by the two younger masters Shi Yanxu and Shi Yanji who cannot speak much German, while Grandmaster Shi Yanliang occasionally comes over to assist.

The courses of whatever kind retain buddhistic ritual formalities. When entering the training hall, one must bow to Buddha with two palms closed in front of the chest. At the beginning and the end of the lessons, learners and the master would first bow again to Buddha, and then bow to each other. Everything is done in the name of culture and respect. Even outside the training hall people also follow buddhistic etiquettes when greeting the masters. Besides, silence is also kept as a ritual and an important way to show respect, as a temple is meant to be quiet. People only speak when necessary and in an extreme low voice. It is sometimes the case that a learner does not speak a word from entering the Cultural Center to leaving it after the training. Small talks do take place, but only in the lobby and the dressing room.

Because of language barrier, the masters also speak very little during the courses. The two younger masters came to Vienna in 2012. So far they still cannot speak fluent German. When giving lessons, most of the time they just demonstrate the movements without oral instruction. If necessary, they do speak some words like “legs”, “elbow”, and numbers, which helps learners understand what to do and for how many times. Interestingly, during my participation in the courses, the master asked me a few times to

interpret for him and to explain something to a new learner.

The training mode of regular courses is adjusted in accordance with the market. The way in which the martial arts are taught in the Cultural Center is totally different from that in the Shaolin Temple. In China, training as a martial monk is hard and strict. But here in the Cultural Center, the training takes on new forms. Learning in routine courses is quite flexible. There is no pre-determined syllabus. One can join at any time, and the master will teach according to the learner's level. When I participated in the routine course for the first time, I was grouped with newcomers to practice the basics, while former learners practiced higher levels of exercises. In this way, one can decide his or her own pace of learning with a high flexibility, either do it for leisure in one's free time or take it seriously by working hard. So such a mode of teaching is very well accepted by learners.

5.3.2 The Sub-Channel

As already mentioned, the intensive seminar for Shaolin medicine and the special training programs for Rou Quan and Qi Gong are designed to train and qualify people who can then independently pass on Shaolin's practices with authorization and certification of the temple. With trainees from all over Austria and even from neighboring countries, this sub-channel of distribution extends the temple's reach to smaller cities and even the countryside.

The medicine seminar is given by a doctor from China, while the special training

programs for martial arts are given by Grandmaster Shi Yanliang of the Cultural Center. Instructions primarily take the oral form, which accords with the tradition. Contents of the trainings include not only techniques but also theories. Trainees have to practice hard to master the techniques, and to take notes for the theories. At the end of each program there is an examination through which a trainee can then graduate with the temple's certification. In addition, each year the trainee has to pass a verifying examination in order to prolong his or her certification.

In this way, Shaolin makes sure that its culture is being disseminated under its own control. To be noticed, the charges for these courses are one-off, though they are very high. The temple does not demand a share in the graduates' income from applying the techniques for commercial purposes, which I take as another evidence for Shaolin's intention of spreading culture rather than maximizing profit.

5.4 Consumption

The circle of commodification is completed with consumption. In addition to observation, I conducted interviews with seven learners in order to examine how they consume services and products of the Shaolin Temple Cultural Center. Six of the interviews took place in the lobby of the Cultural Center, while one in a restaurant. Each interview took about 20 minutes. They followed the same pattern with same questions regarding the interviewee's background, knowing about Shaolin, purpose of training, experience of the consumption, and expectations. They were first recorded as sound track, and taken down as scripts. Key information is then extracted from the scripts,

coded, and categorized (see Annex I). Major findings are as follows.

Unsurprisingly, martial arts instead of Buddhism are the main attraction for learners. Only one interviewee said that the spiritual aspect of Shaolin rather than the physical side interested her in the first place. Most of the interviewees (5 out of 7) already had experience with martial arts before they came to the Cultural Center. Four of them first came to know about martial arts through films or other forms of mass media; four of them had once learnt other styles of martial arts; and three of them had trained in other martial arts studios in Vienna.

However, the religious aspect of Shaolin adds to or reinforces the attraction of martial arts. As the learners started training in martial arts, they also came to know more about Chan Buddhism. Six of them recognized that Shaolin martial arts are more than just physical movement forms, of which four clearly pointed out that the “spirituality” of Shaolin interested them very much. An interviewee put it like this: “Not only physical things that people can get everywhere, but also exactly this spirituality, the affiliation to the holy, the religion, has fascinated me”. Another interviewee compared the Cultural Center with another martial art studio: “[...] Where I formerly did Tai Chi [...] was like acrobatic, like fitness, there was no spirit. Through so many movement forms I have learnt before, I can tell if a movement form comes from inner towards outside. So I simply realize that here [the Cultural Center] is really about the inside”.

Although most of them are interested in Shaolin’s spirituality, only one interviewee was actually Buddhist. According to my observation, few learners take part in the

buddhistic ceremonies, far fewer than the number of those who receive martial arts training. For most of them, Chan Buddhism is like a bonus of martial arts. It gives martial arts more content, something they associate with spirit, faith, and belief. Some of them find certain aspect(s) of Chan Buddhism beneficial for their lives, such as meditation, the idea of “life in the present”, and the “transcendence”. But in most cases Chan Buddhism is at most an enrichment of life.

The determining factor in the learners’ choice is Shaolin Temple’s authenticity. All interviewees took authenticity as a reason why they came here. They wished to learn “from the first hand”, from “real monks”; and they believed that both the martial arts and the spirituality provided by the Cultural Center were genuine. So the marketing strategy of Shaolin to highlight its authenticity works very well. Five out of the seven interviewees mentioned that they noticed the advertisement that claims the Cultural Center to be a subsidiary of the Shaolin Temple in China. An interviewee said: “[...] I know that in the 3rd district there is a fake temple, [...] later I searched in the internet and found that this is a real temple.” Those who had experience with other martial arts studios felt differences. For example, Kung Fu taught in the Cultural Center is believed to be more subtle and ingenious while that taught in another studio is more direct, straight, and sport-like.

Finally, although over half of the interviewees (5/7) found the prices high, nobody thought that profiting was Shaolin’s purpose. They believed that the temple was genuine and that the money was for covering running costs of the Cultural Center. As an

interviewee put it, “one can pray for enlightenment but one needs the money to pay the heating bill”. In other words, it is justifiable for a temple to charge fees because everything costs. Some interviewees believed that even if the Cultural Center were making money, the purpose was not for capital accumulation, but for the temple’s development. One said: “Making money does not mean richness, but for example for renovation, and for the spreading of culture. [...] Many people think that Shaolin Kung Fu is just fighting. It is more than fighting. Shaolin monks live peacefully. [...] For me, making money is not what others may take as guilt.”

6. Conclusion

Findings from the field study illustrate that Shaolin’s strategy in globalization is pretty effective. The Cultural Center provides services people want at prices people accept; it retains the temple’s religious feature and people like it; it highlights its authenticity that attracts people most; and most importantly, it does not make people feel any sense of commercialism. Combining results from the historical analysis, we can now answer the research question. In becoming global or universal, Shaolin Temple has gone through a whole process of selection, reinterpretation, modification, and adjustment, which is evident on five aspects:

Above all, Shaolin has been commodified in several ways. The moment when the temple started to charge entrance fee signified the beginning of its commodification, which was a price the temple paid in order to regain its management autonomy from the government who initiated the fee and got the bigger share. Afterwards the temple

gradually adopted various commercial methods such as managing its intangible assets with companies, selling peripheral products, performing Kung Fu shows, shooting films, establishing overseas cultural centers to teach martial arts, etc. These behaviors embody Shaolin's identity as a commodity. Demands in the market are met with certain products and services. There is commercial transaction in the spread of Shaolin culture.

Secondly, Shaolin has shaped its image in a modern way through a reinterpretation of its history. The temple claims itself to be the birthplace of Chan Buddhism as it asserts that the Mahayana master Boddhidharma or Damo used to preach in the temple, which is more of legend than history, however. Furthermore, the temple interprets its traditional culture as a synergy of Chan Buddhism and martial art. Accordingly, it names Boddhidharma and King Kinnara as its particular protection deities and has built statues for them, which is absolutely a modern invention. In doing this, Shaolin has strengthened its historical charm in accordance with modern imaginations, which is also reflected in its initiation of relocating residents around the temple to get a better surrounding environment that a venerable ancient temple is supposed to deserve.

Thirdly, Shaolin's strategy of going global is modified in a way that strikes the biggest impact. Although the temple has the two pillars of Chan Buddhism and martial arts, it is clearly aware that martial arts rather than Chan Buddhism are the key to globalization, because people are always first fascinated by its martial arts. Shaolin provides training for the public only in its oversea cultural centers, while in China one has to become a monk to get trained. Results from the field study on the Cultural Center in

Vienna also attest to martial arts' predominant attractive force for local customers. Since Kung Fu is the main content of Shaolin's martial arts, it has become a calling card of the temple. Therefore, culture instead of religion has become Shaolin's entry point into international communication, and the temple is actively taking advantage of its culture to enhance its global presence. Its global activities are conducted in the name of culture, not religion, even though it retains buddhistic rituals. Furthermore, Shaolin claims universality by aligning to common human values through the articulation of such notions as peace, compassion, and harmony.

Then, the content and form of martial arts taught in the Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria are selected and tweaked in line with market demands. The temple had developed different kinds of courses to satisfy different needs. There are regular training courses, workshops, intensive seminars, and special training programs, which represent the temple's two channels of distribution of martial arts. The way in which these courses are arranged is very much like that of a common fitness studio, rather than simply copying the traditional pattern of training monks. Besides, what are taught in the courses are not totally original Shaolin martial arts, but extractions of them that prioritize health-keeping instead of fighting or competing. For Kung Fu, the Cultural Center adopts an examination system and a belt system to test and indicate the proficiency of practitioners, which remembers people of such martial arts as Karate Do and Taekwondo.

Last but not least, Shaolin has adjusted its discourse to legitimize its strategy of

development, in which there is also an overt re-reading of history. The temple's present intensive involvement in the secular society, notably its commercial behavior, is referred to Mahayana Buddhism's tradition of being socially transmissive. Moreover, the temple legitimizes its embrace of globalization with its history of being a result of Chinese-Indian cultural intercommunication. It claims that its ultimate goal is to propagate dharma or to disseminate Buddhism, and that what has changed is just the outside form or the technique it applies to survive and develop, while its soul or essence remains unchanged.

These results suffice to confirm the hypothesis that Shaolin goes global through a process of negotiation in which its impacts on another culture go hand in hand with its own culture being selected, reinterpreted, modified, adapted, and incorporated into the new context. It is through such a negotiation that the temple seeks survival and development in the battlefield of cultural homogenization and heterogenization. In other words, it is also through such a negotiation that Shaolin claims universality for its particularity.

However, the conclusion is incomplete if we focus exclusively on what the temple has compromised in the negotiation while omitting what it has won. Why does the temple bother so much to go global? Is it for money as it is sometimes criticized for? Or is it really for disseminating Chan Buddhism as it declares? To find the answer we have to pay attention to three other features of the temple:

First, the temple is by no means being overwhelmed by commerce or becoming

totally commercialized. The temple's commercial behaviors are rather defensive than proactive, while many commercial activities about Shaolin are actually not the temple's behavior, but rather private or governmental. The temple only gets 30% of the total entrance fee, but even so, entrance fee constitutes Shaolin's biggest revenue (70%-80%). By contrast, the temple's other commercial methods are economically not so effective. The Cultural Center is more or less self-sufficient while sometimes relying on the mother temple for funding. It does not care if other martial arts studios are making money in Shaolin's name, and it does not seek to compete with them. Its pricing strategy does not totally follow an economic logic to maximize the profit. Also, all the interviewed learners from the Cultural Center in Vienna have no feeling that the temple aims for profiting.

Secondly, Shaolin holds firmly on to its religiousness in its commodification and globalization. It recognizes Chan Buddhism as the root it cannot lose. It has revived traditional religious activities and ceremonies to improve its influence both within the buddhistic circle and in the wider society. In China, where Shaolin's martial arts are not taught to the public, the temple is actually doing more to promote its religious aspect. It even restrains itself from public disputes in order to comply with the code of behavior of monks. In the Cultural Center where the focus is martial arts, Shaolin also explicitly demonstrates its identity as a Chan monastery. Buddhistic ritual formalities are integrated with the martial arts courses and also other public activities of the temple, although sometimes they are conducted in the name of culture. Interestingly, findings show that the temple's religiousness or spirituality reinforces the attraction of martial arts for foreign learners.

Finally, Shaolin accentuates its authenticity when going global. It constructs its authenticity in the global context by linking itself with commonly acknowledged authorities such as prestigious personalities and prominent institutions, which is explicit in the abundant photos in the Cultural Center in Vienna. The Cultural Center stresses in advertisements that it is the “only authorized” subsidiary of the Shaolin Temple in China, with “real monks” giving lessons. As a result, authenticity has become the major reason why the learners choose to train at the Cultural Center instead of other martial arts studios.

Now when we put together all these facts, it becomes clear that the story of Shaolin is not about wealth, but about honor. We have enough evidence to trust Abbot Yongxin’s genuineness in reviving the temple’s past glory and its religious prosperity from the edge of extinction that had almost come true if it were not for the efforts of the former Abbot Xingzheng, and if it were not for a timely change of times.

However, the story is also not so simple. The point here is that the change of times has far deeper impacts on Shaolin than simply necessitating the adoption of new instruments, but rather having totally reshaped its self-cognition without actually being realized by it. The abbot asserts that his greater goal is to “solidify Shaolin’s status as the origin of the Chan Sect” (Shi 2013, 33). The wish is genuine, from the depth of his heart, but is also a modern illusion and fabrication based on legend and myth rather than history. If something is solid, it does not need to be solidified. Accordingly, in order to “revive” its past glory, the temple has in practice artificially modified its image to match

modern imaginations of its past, in which course inventions are inevitable.

Shaolin has indeed revived. But the glory it has today is not the one of yesterday. The imperial monastery was gone, once and for all, together with the age it belonged to. Today the temple depends on the market to prosper. People like martial arts, and especially when combined with authentic legendary, ancient, and spiritual things. Shaolin wishes to revive, and it has all these things, so it supplies – after modifying them into commodities. It is pretty aware of what to do: to regain its honor with a new prosperity is far better than desolation. But in achieving the new prosperity, it spontaneously repackages itself so as to better satisfy the taste of the day. That is why Shaolin so laboriously accentuates its spirituality and authenticity.

Now we can come to the final conclusion. Shaolin revives and prospers through a process of negotiation with its own culture being selected, reinterpreted, modified, adjusted, and incorporated into the new context, which concerns not only the instruments it adopts for development, but also its self-cognition and self-imaging that highlight its identity as a venerable ancient temple on which it depends for prosperity in the market economy of today. Although its global operation does not bring direct economic return, Shaolin still does it because it increases the temple's publicity and renown on the global scale, which spreads the temple's discourse and in turn reinforces the temple's alleged status as the authentic founding monastery of Chan Buddhism.

Shaolin tells through its behaviors: if globalization is irresistible, go negotiate with it. The case of Shaolin Temple's globalization is about a local culture proactively

transplanting itself into the global soil. In order to prosper, Shaolin has to yield to market mechanism, to commercial rules, and to capitalism in general. But as we have seen, although passively involved into globalization at first, the temple immediately took it as chance of revival and fought hard to gain control of its own participation, and it has been doing quite well so far. This reminds me of Joseph Stiglitz's assertion that each of the the most successful players in globalization determines its own pace of change (Stiglitz 2004). But is Shaolin the winner in the negotiation? Is it all about cultural communication or about assimilation? If it is assimilation, then who has assimilated whom? Or who has colonized whom? This article stops here, leaving these questions of Shaolin's cultural implication for future elaborations.

Bibliography

- Appadurai, Arjun. 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy'. *Theory, Culture & Society* 7 (1990): 295–310.
- Bowman, Paul. 'The Globalization of Martial Arts'. Cardiff University.
http://www.academia.edu/179550/The_Globalization_of_Martial_Arts (accessed June 27, 2013).
- . *Theorizing Bruce Lee: Film-fantasy-fighting-philosophy*. Contemporary cinema 5. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2010.
- Brenner, Neil. 'Beyond State-Centrism? Space, Territoriality, and Geographical Scale in Globalization Studies'. *Theory and society* 28 (1999): 39–78.
- Capener, Steven D. 'Problems in the Identity and Philosophy of T'aegwondo and Their Historical Causes'. *Korea Journal* 35, no. 4 (1995): 80–95.
- Castells, Manuel. *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban Regional Process*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Chan, Stephen. 'The Construction and Export of Culture as Artefact: The Case of Japanese Marital Arts'. *Body & Society* 6 (2000): 69.
- Cheng, Pengyu (. 'The Patriarch of the Chan sect, Bodhidharma, and the Shaolin Temple and Shaolin Martial Arts (禅宗达摩与少林寺和少林武术)'. *Science of Martial Arts (武术科学)* 2, no. 2 (2005): 38–39.
- CnBeta. 'Internet Users Dislike "Shaolin Huanxidi" ("少林欢喜地"网友不买账)'. CnBeta. <http://www.cnbeta.com/articles/58772.htm> (accessed October 1, 2015).
- Eisenstadt, S. S. N. 'Multiple Modernities'. *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 1–29.
- Führer, Daniela. interview by Yi (杨益) Yang, August 6, 2014, Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 'The End of History?'. *The National Interest* (Summer 1989).
- . 'History Is Still Going Our Way'. *The Wall Street Journal*, October 5, 2001.
http://englishmatters.gmu.edu/issue6/911exhibit/emails/fukuyama_ws.j.htm
(accessed December 17, 2014).
- Fu, Miao (. 'The Secularization of Sacred Space (神圣空间的世俗化): The Study on

- Shaolin Model on Kunming Guandu Shaolin Temple as an Example (少林寺模式以昆明官渡少林寺为例的探究). Master's dissertation, Yunnan University (云南大学), 2010.
- Gong, Xi (. 'Shaolin Temple (少林寺)'. *Henan Wenbo Tongxun (河南文博通讯)*, no. 2 (1980).
- Guo, Ruirui (. 'Chan's Influence on Shaolin Wushu (浅析禅对少林武术的影响)'. Master's dissertation, Northwest Normal University, 2009.
- Han, Xue (. 'Shaolin Martial Arts (少林武术): Thoughts on Developments in the Globalization Era (应对全球化时代发展的思考)'. *Science of Martial Arts (武术科学)* 2, no. 11 (2005): 1–3.
- Han, Xue (., and Jin Long (金龙). 'Cultural Factors of Shaolin Matial Arts (少林武术的文化成因)'. *Science of Martial Arts (武术科学)* 3, no. 6 (2006): 1–3.
- Hong, Hao (., and Shengcheng (. Jiang. 'Probing of Cultural Factors of Shaolin Wushu's Formation (少林武术形成的文化因素探析)'. *Journal of Xi'an Institute of Physical Education* 21, no. 3 (2004): 44–46.
- Huntington, Samuel. 'The clash of civilizations?'. *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 22–49.
- Johnson, Noah C. 'The Japanization of Karate? Placing an Intangible Cultural Practice'. *Journal of Contemporary Anthropology* 3, no. 1 (2012): 61–78.
- Jones, Andrew, ed. *Globalization: Key thinkers*. Cambridge, UK, Malden, MA: Polity, 2010.
- Jörg. interview by Yi (杨益) Yang, July 25, 2014, Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria.
- Kocka, Jürgen. 'Multiple Modernities and Negotiated Universals'. In *Reflections on Multiple Modernities: European, Chinese and Other Interpretations*. ed. Dominic Sachsenmaier, S. S. N. Eisenstadt and Jens Riedel, 119–28. Brill, 2002.
- Krug, Gary J. 'At the Feet of the Master: Three Stages in the Appropriation of Okinawan Karate Into Anglo-American Culture'. *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies* 1 (2001): 395–410.
- Lechner, Frank and John Boli, eds. *The Globalization Reader*. 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004.
- Li, Lei (., Qiang (. Li, and Fatian (. Zhao. 'The Expoitation and Utilization of Shaolin Wushu's Cultural Tourist Resources (少林武术文化旅游资源的开发与利用)'.

- Journal of Capital College of Physical Education* (首都体育学院学报) 15, no. 3 (2003): 112–114.
- Li, Shengfu (., and Jinzhong (., Shi. 'The History and Evolution of Shaolin Temple (少林寺的历史及演变)'. *Journal of Wuban Institute of Physical Education* 35, no. 1 (2001): 64–66.
- Liu, Dunzhen (., 'Research on Ancient Architecture in Northern Henan Province (河南省北部古建筑调查)'. *African Affairs* 6, no. 4 (1937).
- Li, Xia (., 'Analysis of Shaolin Wushu's Cultural Connotation (少林武术文化内涵解析)'. *Public Sport* (大众体育) 21, no. 5 (2011): 133–144.
- Lü, Mei (., and Chengyin (., Li. 'Study on the Development and Marketization of Shaolin Martial Arts (少林武术发展与市场化研究)'. *Science of Martial Arts* (武术科学) 8, no. 1 (2011): 43–44.
- Lu, Xiao (., 'The Commercial Communication of Songshan Shaolin Zen and Wushu Culture (嵩山少林禅武文化的商业传播)'. Master's dissertation, Shanghai University of Sport (上海体育学院), 2011.
- Ma, Jinshun (., and Xiuhui (., Dai. 'Shaolin's Entrance Fee Struggle (少林寺门票分成之争): Cooperation and Rivalry with the Government (与政府既合作又对抗)'. Fa Zhi Zhou Mo (法制周末). <http://business.sohu.com/20141008/n404900864.shtml> (accessed January 5, 2015).
- Moeniga, Udo, Sungkyun Choa, and Hyeongseok Song. 'The Modifications of Protective Gear, Rules and Regulations During Taekwondo's Evolution: From its Obscure Origins to the Olympics'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 9 (2012): 1363–1381.
- Nelson, Cary and Lawrence Grossberg, eds. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Nord Shaolin Kung Fu Wien. 'Geschichte'. Nord Shaolin Kung Fu Wien. <http://www.nordshaolin-kungfu.at/geschichte> (accessed January 11, 2015).
- Punch, Keith. *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. 2nd ed. London, Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 2005.
- Sachsenmaier, Dominic, S. S. N. Eisenstadt, and Jens Riedel, eds. *Reflections on Multiple Modernities: European, Chinese and Other Interpretations*. Brill, 2002.
- Sato, Shohei. 'The sportification of judo: global convergence and evolution'. *Journal of*

- Global History* 8, no. 2 (2013): 299–317.
- Shahar, Meir. 'Ming-Period Evidence of Shaolin Martial Practice'. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 61, no. 2 (2001): 359–413.
- . *The Shaolin monastery: History, religion, and the Chinese martial arts*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.
- Shan, Jianxin (. 'Research on the Development of Henan Shaolin Wushu Culture and Tourism (河南少林武术文化旅游发展研究)'. Master's dissertation, Central China Normal University (华中师范大学), 2008.
- Shaolin Medical Bureau. 'Introduction to Shaolin Medical Bureau Hospital'. Shaolin Medical Bureau. <http://www.shaolinyaoju.net/aboutus/slyjyy.html> (accessed January 16, 2015).
- Shaolin Österreich. 'Shaolin Österreich Akademie für Wirtschaft und Gesundheit'. Shaolin Österreich. <http://www.shaolinoesterreich.at/wirtschaftseminare-shaolin-oesterreich/qi-gong-qi-golf-shaolin-excellence-oesterreich.html> (accessed January 11, 2015).
- . 'Vollmacht (Authorization)'. Shaolin Österreich. http://www.shaolinoesterreich.at/images/vollmacht/vollmacht_shaolin.jpg (accessed January 11, 2015).
- Shaolin Temple. 'Shaolin Cultural Transmission Center (少林文化传播中心)'. Shaolin Temple. http://www.shaolin.org.cn/templates/T_new_list/index.aspx?nodeid=148 (accessed January 7, 2015).
- . 'Shaolin Invisible Assets Management Center (少林无形资产管理中心)'. Shaolin Temple. http://www.shaolin.org.cn/templates/T_new_list/index.aspx?nodeid=142 (accessed January 7, 2015).
- Shaolin Temple Austria. 'Der Shaolin Temple in Wien'. Shaolin Temple Austria. <http://shaolinkultur.at/der-shaolin-tempel/der-shaolin-tempel-in-wien/> (accessed January 11, 2015).
- . 'Großmeister Shi Yan Liang'. Shaolin Temple Austria. <http://shaolinkultur.at/der-shaolin-tempel/shaolin-monche-in-wien/sh-yan-liang/> (accessed January 11, 2015).
- . 'Shaolin Kung Fu'. Shaolin Temple Austria. <http://shaolinkultur.at/shaolin-training/shaolin-kung-fu/> (accessed January 16, 2015).

- . ‘Shaolin Rou Quan’. Shaolin Temple Austria.
<http://shaolinkultur.at/shaolin-training/shaolin-rou-quan/> (accessed January 16, 2015).
- . ‘Shaolin Cultrual Camp’. Shaolin Temple Austria.
<http://shaolinkultur.at/workshops-und-lehrgange/shaolin-kultur-camp-china-reise/>
 (accessed January 15, 2015).
- Shi, Yanliang (释延良). interview by Yi (杨益) Yang, April 27, 2014, Shaolin Temple Austria.
- Shi, Yongxin (. *Shao lin gong fu: Shaolin kongfu*. 1st ed. Beijing: Hua ling chu ban she, 2007.
- . *Wo xin wo fo (我心我佛)*. 1st ed. Beijing: Hua ling chu ban she, 2012.
- . *Shaolin Temple in my Heart*. Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 2013.
- Sina Finance. ‘Controversy of the Shaolin IPO (争议少林寺上市)’. Sina Finance.
<http://finance.sina.com.cn/stock/slss/> (accessed January 9, 2015).
- Spivak, Gayatri. ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’. In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271–313. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. ‘Globalism's Discontents’. In *The Globalization Reader*. ed. Frank Lechner and John Boli. 2nd ed., 200–7. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004.
- Tang, Hao. *Shao lin wu dang kao: Tai ji quan yu nei jia quan; Nei jia quan*. 1st ed. Tang Hao wen cong. Taiyuan: Shanxi ke xue ji shu chu ban she, 2008.
- Unkown Name. interview by Yi (杨益) Yang, July 25, 2014, Shaolin Temple Cultural Center Austria.
- Verellen, Franciscus. ‘Tónami Mamoru : The Shaolin Monastery Stele on Mount Song’. *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 80 (1993): 326–328.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. ‘The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis’. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16, no. 4 (1974): 387–415.
- Wang, Baili (., and Shexun (Chang. ‘Thoughts on Shaolin Kung Fu's Pattern of Succession (少林武术传承理念之思考)’. *Science of Martial Arts (武术科学)* 3, no. 11 (2006): 26–40.
- Xiao, Zheng (. ‘The Genesis and Cultural Cannotations of Shaolin Wushu (少林武术的

- 起源及文化内涵’. *Shaolinyutaiji* (少林与太极), no. 6 (2011): 16.
- Yang, Fenggang (. ‘Has Shaolin "Secularized"? (少林寺世俗化了吗)’. *Henan Social Sciences* (河南社会科学) 15, no. 3 (2007): 17–20.
- Yang, Peipei (., and Zhen (. Zhang. ‘Foundation of Ming Shaolin Martial Arts' Maturing (明代少林武术成熟的基础)’. *Journal of Anyang Normal College* (安阳师范学院学报) 2 (2011): 99–102.
- Zhang, Dong (. ‘Study on Shaolin Fist during the Song, Jin, and Yuan Dynasties (宋金元时期的少林拳研究)’. Master thesis, Henan University (河南大学), 2011.
- Zhang, Jiatai (. ‘Research on Shaolin Temple (少林寺考)’. *Zhong Yuan Wen Wu* (中原文物) Special Volume (1981).
- Zhang, Junxian (. ‘The Vital Choice of Chinese Martial Arts in a Globalizing Era (全球化时代中国武术的生死抉择) : Dialogue or Death (或者对话, 或者死亡)’. *Science of Martial Arts* (武术科学) 7, no. 12 (2010): 5–7.
- Zhang, Wen yuan (., and Jiang (. Li. ‘Study on the Integration and Exploitation of the Invisible Asset Resources of Shaolin Wushu (少林寺武术无形资产的资源整合开发研究)’. *Journal of Nanjing Institute of Physical Education* (南京体育学院学报) 11, no. 2 (2012): 10–12.
- Zhang, Xiaolin (., Wei (. Sun, and Peilin (. Long. ‘Study on the Exploitation of Shaolin Wushu's Cultural Resources and on its Brand Marketing (少林武术文化资源开发与品牌营销研究)’. *Journal of Xi'an Physical Education University* (西安体育学院学报) 25, no. 2 (2008): 59–62.
- Zhao, Changgui (. ‘The Research on Shaolin Monastery and Shaolin Martial Arts in the Ming-qing Dynasty (明清少林寺与少林武术研究)’. Master's dissertation, Henan University (河南大学), 2008.

Annex: Results of Structured Interviews with Learners

Categories		Interviewee (name, gender, age)						
		Tang M 40	Jörg M 44	Anonym F 44	Markus M 22	Daniela F 40	Ekaterina F 33	Vanja F 45
Background	Films or other media	√	√		√			√
	Was in China	√	√					√
	Wants to go to China			√	√		√	
	Experience with other martial arts	√	√			√		√
	Experience with other martial arts studios	√				√		√
	Had sport other than martial arts			√ dancing		√ dancing		
Info	Advertisements			√				
	Website				√	√		
	Friends		√				√	
	News report	√						
Purposes	Wants authentic KF	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	To keep physically fit	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	For mental wellness	√	√					
	For spirituality				√		√	√
Recognition	Enrichment for life		√				√	
	Sport					√		
	“Energy”		√					√
	Believes that Shaolin is more than sport	√				√		
	Believes that Shaolin has “spirituality”			√	√		√	
	Buddhism interested			√	√		√	
	Buddhist belief							√
	Has “discovered oneself” in Shaolin							√
Experience	Language no problem	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Masters are capable		√			√		
	Masters are nice							√
	Attends Buddhist ceremonies							√
	Also attends other events of the temple	√		√	√		√	√
	Aware of cultural difference	√		√				

	Physically healthier	√	√	√	√			√
	Mentally healthier	√	√		√		√	√
	Does not find that Shaolin makes money	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
	Finds it friendly and relaxed in Shaolin		√				√	
	Too expensive			√				
	Price acceptable, but not cheap	√	√				√	√
	The price is normal				√	√		
Expectation	More discipline	√						
	More training time	√						√
	More basic training			√				
	Decoration too much			√				
	More place			√				
	No suggestion		√		√	√	√	

YANG Yi

Telephone: +86 137 1616 2717 E-Mail: oskar@live.cn

Education

2012.9 onwards	M.A. Erasmus Mundus Global Studies University of Leipzig and University of Vienna <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Main courses: global history, international studies.• Thesis: Negotiation in Cultural Globalization – the Case of Shaolin Temple.
2007.9 – 2011.7	B.A. in German Studies, Beijing International Studies University <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Main courses: German language and literature, cultural intercommunication.• Thesis: Migrants and Their Integration into the German Society

Work experience

2014.6 – 2014.8	United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) , Vienna Asia and the Pacific Bureau, Program Intern <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Drafted <i>UNIDO-China Strategic Cooperation Framework 2014-2016</i>;• Assisted in the logistics of the First UNIDO Forum of Inclusive and Sustainable Industrial Development, acting as protocol officer for Indian and Malaysian Ministers;
2011.6 – 2012.7	FAMOUS Industrial Group GmbH , Beijing Office International Project Coordinator (full-time) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Provided Chinese-German interpretation for Installation and Maintenance (IM) of German air-conditioning systems in Chinese coal mines;• Managed IM projects, coordinating efforts of Chinese and German engineers;
2010.5 – 2010.8	Volkswagen Finance (China) Co., Ltd. Human Resource and Administration Intern <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Made trilingual digital booklet introducing life in Beijing to foreign employees;• Assisted in a survey of employees' satisfaction, analyzed data and reported results.

Qualifications

Languages	Chinese (native), English (IELTS 7.5), German (TestDaF 18);
Computer skills	Proficient in MS Office, Adobe Photoshop, Html.

Social Practices

2013.7 – 2013.8	Neue Zahnradwerk Leipzig . Student job. Processed gears for cars using an NC machine.
2013.3 – 2013.4	Business Leaders Forum, Prague. Wrote 4 articles about Corporate Social Responsibility.