

INTERTWINED IMMERSION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE BUDDHIST MASTER COSTUMES AS AN EXAMPLE

FUNG KEI CHENG

Independent Researcher

Cultural pluralism and diversity give rise to debates on conflicts and inclusiveness. Scholars largely investigate how people manage their culture of origin within their host culture, and how the host culture helps them adapt to the changes they experience within their new environment. However, both cultures can merge peacefully and the involved cultures can flourish as a result. The evolution of jiasha, the attire of Chinese Buddhist masters, illustrates intertwined immersion, in which traditional Chinese (domestic) and Buddhist (imported) cultures show their openness, tolerance, and acceptance to foreign cultures. Finally, while maintaining the significance of Indian Buddhist clothing, jiasha has adopted Chinese dress style, incorporating local cultural and environmental characteristics. This manifests great respect for both traditional Chinese and Buddhist cultures, harmoniously achieving this hybrid product that mutually rejuvenates and enriches native and foreign cultures.

Culture reflects a system, a “software of the mind” (Aggarwal and Zhan 2017, 1), of a group of people who share the experiences, history, beliefs, ideas, values, world views, arts, symbols, artefacts, gestures, myths, perception, preferences, process of decision making, habits, hierarchies, norms and customs which affect behaviour and lifestyle. These specific, consistent and cohesive elements are transmitted down to succeeding generations (Faulkner et al. 2006), and enable individuals to maintain a collective “cultural self” (Jahoda 2012, 296) by which to differentiate themselves from other groups. Religious dress is an important part of material culture.

While there are interactions between different cultures, conflicts and clashes inevitably arise. In particular, cultural shock (Oberg 1960) occurs, resulting in a shock within a foreign or unfamiliar cultural environment due to language barriers, distant beliefs and values, exotic ways of living or strange behaviour. In order to eliminate this shock, people require psychological and emotional adjustments and changes in their lifestyle (Fitzpatrick 2017) because such uneasi-

ness, irritability and helplessness produce fear and misunderstanding (Kathirvel and Febiula 2016), resulting in more severe contradictions within society. Moreover, reverse culture shock (Meintel 1973) exists when disorientation arises after returning to one's home country, due to a loss of identity and a feeling of incompatibility (Kreminski, Barry, and Platow 2018).

Cultural adaptation is necessary for minorities (for example, immigrants), in order for them to cultivate their new lives within a new territory (van de Vijver 2018). Acculturation discusses how this adaptation carries out in a long-term (Berry et al. 2006, Dimitrova and Aydinli-Karakulak 2016), interactive (Güngör and Bornstein 2009) process for cultural, psychological, social, economical and political accommodation (Berry 2005).

There are four outcomes of acculturation: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation (Dimitrova et al. 2014). Assimilation refers to the replacement of the culture of origin by that of the host community; whereas integration means to retain the culture of origin while borrowing from the host culture. These two outcomes represent total or partial acceptance of the values of the host society (Jaffe, Kushnirovich, and Tsimerman 2018), wherein people willingly become insiders of the host country, to avoid becoming stigmatised others (Greer and Jewkes 2005) who fail to adjust to psychological and social norms. In contrast, separation is a harsh condition in which the culture of origin is maintained and others are resisted, and marginalisation refers to the abandonment of both the origin and host cultures. People who adopt these last two strategies will become outsiders in the community: as a result, they will suffer from being either isolated or self-isolated, and probably also suffer discrimination. Such social exclusion directly and negatively impacts their personal and social well-being and development.

In fact, origin and host cultures interact continuously, resulting in mutual influences and the formation of an acculturating group (Berry 1997); notwithstanding, different extents of changes relate to both cultures. Such intercultural communication sometimes generates transculturation which is a painful type of socialisation, one which Cubans experienced their culture of origin was uprooted when they encountered a strong invisible force exerted by an im-

ported culture (Ortiz 1995). Nevertheless, harmonious and inclusive outputs can be accomplished through “cultural dialogue” (Ciptandi et al. 2018, 253), which may be manifested in forms of attire.

Religion plays a vital role in acculturation (Sevim, Hall, and Abu-Rayya 2016), through which religious identity is established (Güngör, Fleischmann, and Phalet 2011). Changes in dress code unveil how the identity presents itself (Gray and Rose 2012), and indicate the process of religious socialisation (Güngör et al. 2013). Since costume is an outward reflection of cultures, religions and ideology (Hua 2008), the evolution of religious apparel exhibits the cultural dynamic of an exotic religion. For instance, changes in clothing for Buddhist monks or nuns (*kāśāya* in Sanskrit, *jiasha* in Chinese) tell how Buddhism (as an imported religion) can become immersed into Chinese culture, and also articulate the inclusiveness of traditional Chinese culture.

CHINESE BUDDHISM

Buddhism, having stemmed from Indian culture over 2500 years ago through Siddhārtha Gautama (Cheng 2017a), namely the Buddha, has become one of the more prevalent religions in the modern world. It acknowledges the existence of inevitable afflictions and therefore offers methods for overcoming suffering and creating inner happiness (Chawla and Marlatt 2006) through a series of mind training. The three current mainstreams include Southern (for example, in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia), Northern, and Tibetan Buddhism (Cheng 2017b), which exhibit different features while sharing foundational teachings and practices. Buddhism was introduced to China in the first century CE (Emmanuel 2013), during the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) in about 65 AD, after which it evolved into Northern Buddhism, also called Chinese Buddhism. It then spread to Korea, Japan (He 2006), and Vietnam (Nakamura 1984), where the Mahāyāna tradition is emphasised, focusing on being devoted to prudently serving other people; that is, bodhisattva altruism (Cheng 2018a, b). The basis of this mentality involves four attributes: loving-kindness, compassion, empathetic joy, and equanimity (Cheng 2015). The aims of loving-kindness and compassion

are to bring happiness to people and unconditionally help people overcome tribulation, whilst empathetic joy is intended to bring joy to others, and equanimity is concerned with unselfish egalitarianism. In summary, these characteristics pertain to acceptance, tolerance, equality, non-discrimination, dignity, caring, generosity, and inclusiveness.

In the beginning, Chinese scholars borrowed Taoist (or Daoist) principles to interpret Buddhism (Harvey 2000): this is defined as Geyi Buddhism (Tang 2016). Although it has long ago developed into a religion, Taoism (or Daoism) is a prominent Chinese philosophy founded by Laozi in the late 4th century BCE, which highlights humility, naturalness, simplicity and desire-less-ness. Its fundamental notion is the yin-yang principal which is a novel perspective of dualism that extends beyond antithesis. There are pairs of opposites in the phenomenal world, such as darkness and light, good and bad, white and black, and male and female. However, by illustrating their complementary function (as the yin-yang symbol implies: yin within yang, and yang within yin), Taoism focuses on contextualism and relativism. For instance, there is no absolute good or bad; instead, good and bad are relative and contextual: moreover, there is good in bad and vice versa. The paradoxes are inter-dependent, inseparable, and co-existent. This symbiotic system unites the contradictions and eventually creates a balance. Taoist theory particularly signifies a unity between humanity and nature (Lee and Prebensen 2019), resulting in harmony, inclusiveness and acceptance.

Geyi Buddhism, otherwise known as the “Daoist-Buddhist syncretism movement” (Green 2013, 110), attempted to interpret Buddhist teachings with Chinese philosophy, in particular, Taoism. Such localisation was the rule for nearly 500 years, until the Sui dynasty (589-618 AD). Reviewing this adaptation, Chinese Buddhist elites ultimately advocated understanding and articulating Buddhist teachings directly from Indian resources, in addition to developing various sects to encourage Indian Buddhism such as the Huayan, Tiantai, and Chan schools. Chinese Buddhism has influenced Northern Asia since the Sui (581-618 AD) and Tang dynasties (618-907 AD) (Tang 2016). This process indicates openness, reflection and innovation in traditional Chinese culture. The evolvement of

Chinese Buddhist clothing echoes these attributes, which we will discuss in this work.

FEATURES OF CHINESE BUDDHIST MASTER COSTUMES

Clothing is a gathering of form, design, colour, accessories and material (Perrot 1981), presenting self-expression (Winterhalter 2011), social and moral identities (Ambrosio 2019), and aesthetics (Watson 2004). This non-verbal but powerful communication (Lennon and Davis 1989a) represents not only political, ideological, cultural and social values, custom, differences, class and norms (Lennon and Davis 1989b, Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1992, Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1992, Miller 2005) but also individual physical, psychological and emotional preferences (Kwon 1987).

In identifying religious clothing, various religions reveal specific styles and imply their own intrinsic values, forming religious boundaries (Morin 2013). Dharma clothing, namely, the attire of Buddhist masters, gives religious visibility (Ajala 2017), marks a distinctive community (Robson 2010) and represents “a sign of prudent asceticism” (Kieschnick 2003, 88) in Southern Buddhism, which maintains an awareness of the ancient Indian Buddhist garments. However, the *jiasha* worn by Chinese Buddhist venerables is not necessarily linked to this symbolism. Instead, it reflects a set of shared cultural concepts that evolved in ancient China.

The formation of the *kāṣāya* system was completed after the death of the Buddha (Cai and Lu 2011). Indian *kāṣāya* is present in the form of the *sari*, which is a long piece of cloth wrapped around the body (Szeto 1992), akin to ancient European costume (Kawakatsu 1956) such as that seen in the Greek style. With odd numbers representing energy in Buddhism (Feng 2004), it is composed of three parts, including a sari half robe covering for the lower body, a robe for the upper body with a bare right shoulder, and an outer robe. All of this symbolises the eradication of greed, hatred and ignorance respectively, and also signals the three views of time: past, present and future (Kieschnick 1999). Each sari has five, seven or nine strips of used cloth, assembled like rice paddies, which im-

plies the thrifty nature of Buddhist doctrine, and it is therefore called the robe of the merit field (Yifa 2002). Buddhist masters in Southeast Asian countries retain this form of *kāṣāya*; for instance, in Sri Lanka, Cambodia and Thailand, which are mainly tropical regions.

The development of apparel largely depends on cultural and environmental factors (Batten 2010, Harms 1938) such as weather conditions (Kwon 1991). This also applies to religious costume, of which Chinese Buddhist clothing is a vivid example. The Indian sari type of *jiasha* gradually disappeared in China due to weather and cultural causes. First, the great diversity of topography in China generates tremendous variations in climate from region to region, including subarctic and tropical climates. Winter cold in the north and summer humidity in the south both force adaptation, since the sari is inappropriate for such weather extremes: and thus it faded out. Nevertheless, the sari style has been absorbed as part of the Chinese *jiasha* in another form of presentation that will be explicated later. Second, the exposing of body parts deviated from Chinese cultural and clothing norms. Exposing a shoulder signifies respect in Indian culture: contrarily, polite in Chinese costume culture is expressed through being fully clothed (Yifa 2002). Indigenous *jiasha* forms have been evolved since the Northern Wei (386-534 AD) (Yang 1963). Indeed, *jiasha* combines Indian, Chinese, and Middle Eastern styles (Kuo 1999, Cai and Lu 2010). Finally, the absence of the bare right shoulder began in northern China (Chen 2007) in order to protect body from the cold, in addition to fulfilling cultural requirements. This conversion took place over the Chinese medieval era, with the bareness completely disappearing in the Cao Wei period (220-266 AD) (Fei 2008, Kuo 1999). Chinese Buddhist masters (including monks and nuns) wear trousers and robes with collars and sleeves (Chen 2009). Using this three-tiered attire extends to the present day, aligns with the I-Ching (the Book of Changes which expounds cosmological significance) influence of favourable odd numbers (Griswold 1963).

The casual two-piece clothing worn for daily activities comprises a grey or yellow short or middle-length blouse with long sleeves and a long vertical collar going down the front, and long loose trousers gathered at the ankle. Replacing the traditional blouse buttoned

across to the right arm pit, the centre-buttoned Taixu suit has become more prevalent nowadays (Huang 2010). Ancient Chinese costume reflects the philosophy of Confucianism and Taoism (Cai and Lu 2011): the two pieces of upper and lower garments stand for heaven and earth correspondingly (Liu 2008), which harmoniously interact (Sun 2016) in accordance with Confucian beliefs. Even though there is no coincidence present with Buddhist thought, the style of upper and lower sari could have been imitated until the Tang dynasty, in which robes for the upper and lower body were linked together as one piece (Kuo 1999). This long black robe is called the *haiqing*, which originated in the apparel styles of the Han and Tang dynasties (Feng 2004, Zhao 2003). It is right opening: this form was passed down from the Shang dynasty (Wang 2000), and coincides with the Buddhist custom respecting the right side (Yang 1996). Current *jiasha* retains a right opening long yellow robe with sleeves and a *three-treasure* collar signifying the Buddha, dharma (Buddhist teachings) and *saṅgha* (a community of Buddhist priests) (Kuo 2001), and a Chinese button knot under the right underarm (Feng 2004, Zhu and Zhao 2017) for ceremonies or events. Additionally, there is another red robe which lacks a right shoulder area (Zhang 2005), which is worn over top of the long robe for the Buddhist priest who moderates rites and ceremonies. This outer red robe retains the Indian *kāśāya* style in respect to having an empty right shoulder, along with rice paddy pattern, forming a robe of a hundred patches (Kieschnick 1999). This *jiasha* ensemble performs varying functional purposes while displaying Chinese Buddhist etiquette.

Indian *kāśāya*, which is still adopted among masters of Southern Buddhism, is saffron-dyed red (Zhou 1990), whereas the colour of Chinese *jiasha* has changed from time to time. *Jiasha* was usually black in the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) (Kuo 2001) but purple in the Tang (618-907 AD), which is still popular among Japanese Buddhist monks (Wang 2000). Furthermore, it has been yellow from the time of the Five Dynasties (907-960 AD) until now (Zhang 2001, Kuo 2001), as yellow in Buddhism symbolises its highest set of values: desire-lessness, humility and renunciation. Red and brown were also present in different regions simultaneously (Kieschnick 1997).

Political influence can sometimes contribute to clothing systems (Corrigan 2008), such as with the impacts of a strong imperial-Buddhist relationship (Walsh 2007) on the development of Chinese jiasha. For example, Wu Zetian (690-705 AD), the only empress in the Tang dynasty, endowed imperial purple silk jiasha to select Buddhist elites, which practice was officially established in the later Tang (Young 2017). The Hongwu Emperor (1328-1398 AD) of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 AD) officially stipulated pale green jiasha for Zen masters and pale red for other monks (Zhao 2003). The current set of jiasha allows for various colours. The inner two-piece is either yellow or light grey. The haiqing is usually dark blue or black, and yellow for ritual activities. The outer robe with the missing right shoulder is a brown range (for instance, chocolate, umber and gingerbread) but red (or crimson) with the pattern of rice paddies in moderating ceremonies. This mingles conservative Chinese with Indian clothing systems, representing a product of cultural exchange.

INTERTWINED IMMERSION

The evolution of Buddhist monk attire demonstrates how Buddhism, as an “alien ideological culture” (Tang 2016, 255) or “imported alien ideological culture” (Tang 2016, 256), has been intelligently immersed into Chinese culture (Poceski 2017), it being the “pre-existing native ideological culture” (Tang 2016, 257) or “indigenous ideological culture” (Tang 2016, 264). Such cultural exchange, newly coined by the term *intertwined immersion*, illuminates Tang’s assertion:

“Chinese people did not reject the foreign culture, but rather absorbed and digested the foreign culture as much as possible. This attitude showed the confidence of the nation as well as the values of its own culture.” (2016, 292)

Beyond studying conflicts between origin and host cultures, intertwined immersion analyses how local culture can flourish through impact with an imported culture, just as traditional Chinese culture has. Furthermore, it examines how an imported culture can implant itself into the domestic culture, which is what Buddhism did. There are four dimensions that support traditional Chinese culture in

achieving this immersion: heterogeneity, commonality, cultural confidence, and learning and sharing.

First, apart from the Han ethnic majority, China contains numerous ethnic minorities (Chen 2013); for instance, Eurasians, Mongolians, Tibetans, Uyghurs, Manchurians, Koreans, Yao and Miao (Maurer-Fazio and Hasmath 2015). Subsequently, cultural fusion, adaptation, absorption and assimilation involving agricultural, fishing and nomadic cultures have built a sophisticated hybrid culture in the areas of lifestyle, religion, cuisine, clothing, languages, and so on. Taking clothing as an example, many nomadic tribes wore right-over-left closing garments, which were more suitable for hunting and riding (Zhou 2010), while the Han people wore left-over-right clothing. Later on, as their cultures inclined towards the Han, they also adapted left-over-right closing garments. Additionally, several major dynasties in ancient China were ruled by minority tribes, such as the Tang (618-907 AD), Yuan (1269-1368 AD) and Qing (1644-1911 AD) dynasties. The synergetic dynamics of these century long interactions have formalised heterogeneity within Chinese culture: the Chinese people have become accustomed to living amicably within multicultural contexts.

Second, a commonality shared across Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism is that they are non-monotheistic, because of which they more willingly accept disparate concepts within religious worship; that is, they are more ideologically open. In addition to Laozi and the Buddha, Confucius (551-479 BC) was a great educator and philosopher in ancient China. His way of thought, Confucianism, is humanity-based and focuses on righteousness, appropriateness, harmonious interrelationships, and self-cultivation (Huong, Giao, and Tam 2018, Choi and Woo 2018, Tsai 2005, Chuang and Wang 2018). Its morality and values significantly affect many Asian countries, since it emphasises a complex array of human relations (Kim 2010): familial (parent-child, marital, sibling), generational, friendship, and constitutional (Fan 2002). The development of Buddhist monk attire reflects Confucian ethics, although Cai and Lu (2013) is hesitant with this argument.

Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism are the core systems of thought in China, and in many Asian countries with Chinese-

influenced cultures such as Vietnam (Vuong et al. 2018). The first two are local developments, and the last is imported. Taoism focuses on a harmonious relationship between human beings and nature, Buddhism on individual inner tranquillity, and Confucianism on social cohesion (Konior 2018). In a nutshell, they connect to humankind and its environment, from individualism to collectivism, and to a mutual nurture between secular and religious worlds.

Likewise, this amalgamation mutually enhances these thought systems. The loving-kindness and compassion of Buddhism strengthens the link between the diverse aspects of human relations articulated in Confucianism. Confucianism and Buddhism both represent self-cultivation, a transition from a self-centred viewpoint to a consideration for all human beings (Arler 2018). Buddhism and Taoism are non-dualism-oriented, whereas the former transcends all dualities to a non-dual enlightenment (Bhikkhu 1994). They also share meditation practices, although the purpose of Buddhist meditation is to cultivate intrinsic serenity, while that of Taoist meditation is to communicate with nature. All are able to achieve physical, psychological and spiritual improvements and self-fulfilment (Cheng 2018c). These three philosophies are furthermore all connected to humanism (related to people), naturalness and environmental friendliness. Such a companionship pulls Buddhism in as a crucial facet of traditional Chinese culture.

Third, cultural confidence plays a vital role in intertwined immersion. This confidence is engendered by prosperity and liberalism; for example in the Tang dynasty (Wang 2016), which took a leading role in economic growth and commercial expansion in pre-modern times (Deng 2000, Brandt, Ma, and Rawski 2012). Prosperity increases confidence, which accelerates the growth of liberalism. An open door policy in the Tang dynasty allowed foreign trade, which escalated cultural exchange and economic development, resulting in a more liberal culture. Also, diversity and respect for differences are traditional values within Buddhism (Hershock 2013), as well as for Confucianism. Liberalism encourages intertwined immersion.

Lastly, traditional Chinese culture spotlights humble learning and generous sharing. Buddhism was imported early in the Han

dynasty, as explained previously, and developed rapidly in the Tang dynasty. Many Indian and Central Asian monks came and taught Buddhist principles in the Tang dynasty, and Japanese and Koreans monks came and learned Buddhism, then spreading it to their homelands across Asia. This transmission continuously vitalises intertwined immersion, making Buddhism an integral part of traditional Chinese and Asian culture.

The Buddhist population in India today is as low as 0.8%: in contrast, that in Japan, Korea, China and Vietnam comprises 36.2%, 22.9%, 18.2% and 16.4% respectively (World Population Review 2019), with even higher percentages in the five top Buddhist countries: Cambodia (96.9%), Thailand (93.2%), Myanmar (87.9%), Bhutan (74.7%), and Sri Lanka (69.3%). While Buddhism declined in India (Akira 1990), it has blossomed from China to nearby countries through intertwined immersion. This immersion is not a painful but harmonious and peaceful process due to the powerful cultural influences, humility and confidence of both India and China. Its religious passion not only becomes internalised attributes but also affects neighbouring countries (Lee 2015), particularly in North Asia. Such inclusiveness and integration are based on acceptance, openness, generosity and friendliness, resulting in insightful “intercultural capital” (Pöllmann 2013, 1). These allow for dialogues to engage cultural otherness. This form of “intercultural mindset” (Zapata-Barrero 2018, 7) achieves intimate interrelationships between different cultures without ignoring their cultural particularities.

CONCLUSION

The development of *jiasha* enunciates how an origin culture (Chinese) can respond to difficulties presented by a host culture (Buddhist). It regards challenges as opportunities to enhance its own culture through a process of intertwined immersion. This immersion sheds light on heterogeneity versus homogeneity, attaining cultural pluralism. It benefits from cultural competence of traditional Chinese culture appertaining to openness, respect, fitness, adjustment, flexibility, engagement, transformation, and transcendence. *Jiasha* is

a carrier presenting a cross-cultural product and visibly translating culture, values and aesthetics into costume.

REFERENCE

- Aggarwal, Raj, and Feng Zhan. 2017. "Teaching management of cultural differences." *Journal of Teaching in International Business* 28 (1):1-3. doi: 10.1080/08975930.2017.1361283.
- Ajala, Imene. 2017. "From Islamic dress and Islamic fashion to cool Islam: An exploration of Muslim youth hybrid identities in the West." *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies* 12 (3):1-11. doi: 10.18848/2327-008X/CGP/v12i03/1-11.
- Akira, Hirakawa. 1990. *A history of Indian Buddhism: From Sakyamuni to early Mahāyāna*. Translated by Paul Groner. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Ambrosio, Alberto Fabio. 2019. "Invisible dress: Weaving a theology of fashion." *Religions* 10 (419):1-9. doi: 10.3390/rel10070419.
- Arler, Finn. 2018. "Revitalising traditional Chinese concepts in the modern ecological civilisation debate." *Open Journal of Philosophy* 8 (2):102-115. doi: 10.4236/ojpp.2018.82009.
- Batten, Alicia J. 2010. "Clothing and adornment." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 40 (3):148-159. doi: 10.1177/0146107910375547.
- Berry, John W. 1997. "Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation." *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 46 (1):5-68.
- Berry, John W. 2005. "Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29:697-712. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.013.
- Berry, John W., Jean S. Phinney, David L. Sam, and Paul Vedder. 2006. "Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation." *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 55 (3):303-332.
- Bhikkhu, Bodhi. 1994. "Dhamma and non-duality." *Buddhist Publication Society Newsletter* 27:1-6.
- Brandt, Loren, Debin Ma, and Thomas G. Rawski. 2012. *From divergence to convergence: Re-evaluating the history behind China's economic boom*. London: London School of Economics.

- Cai, Wei Tang 蔡偉堂, and Xiu Wen 盧秀文 Lu. 2013. "Factors of sinicisation and secularisation of Buddhist monks' costume in Dunhuang 從敦煌僧人服飾看漢化、世俗化的形成因素." *Silk Road 絲綢之路* 2013 (4):26-31.
- Cai, Weitang 蔡偉堂, and Xiuwen 盧秀文 Lu. 2010. "A study of monastic robe of donors in Dunhuang murals: Changes of monastic robe (Part 1) 敦煌供養僧服考論(一): 僧裝的類型變化." *Dunhuang Research 敦煌研究* 2010 (5):25-29. doi: 10.13584/j.cnki.issn1000-4106.2010.05.014.
- Cai, Weitang 蔡偉堂, and Xiuwen 盧秀文 Lu. 2011. "About the costumes for the donor monks at Dunhuang (II): A preliminary study on the style of wearing monastic clothes 敦煌供養僧服考論(二): 僧服披著方式淺議." *Dunhuang Research 敦煌研究* 2011 (5):22-27. doi: 10.13584/j.cnki.issn1000-4106.2011.05.024.
- Chawla, Neharika, and G. Alan Marlatt. 2006. "The varieties of Buddhism." In *The psychologies in religion, working with the religious client*, edited by Dowd E. Thomas and Nielsen Steven Lars, 271-286. USA: Springer Publishing Company, Inc.
- Chen, Sanping. 2013. *Multicultural China in the early middle ages*. Pennsylvania, USA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Chen, Yuexin 陳悅新. 2007. "Buddha's clothes and the development of Buddha's clothes in China 佛裝概念與漢地佛裝類型演變." *Cultural Relics 文物* 2007 (4):60-69. doi: 10.13619/j.cnki.cn11-1532/k.2007.04.007.
- Chen, Yuexin 陳悅新. 2009. "A study of the distinctions between Buddha garments and Buddhist monk's garments 佛衣與僧衣概念考辨." *Palace Museum Journal 故宮博物院院刊* 2009 (2):48-72 & 159. doi: 10.16319/j.cnki.0452-7402.2009.02.007.
- Cheng, Fung Kei. 2017a. "Applying Buddhism to social work: Illustrated by the lived experiences of Buddhist social workers." In *Spiritualität und religion: Perspektiven für die soziale arbeit*, edited by Leonie Dhiman and Hanna Rettig, 84-102. Weihein, Germany: Beltz Juventa.
- Cheng, Fung Kei. 2017b. "Buddhist insights into life and death: Overcoming death anxiety." *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 4 (1):67-87.

- Cheng, Fung Kei. 2018a. "The compatibility of person-centred therapy and Buddhist teachings." *International Journal of Integrative Psychotherapy* 9:1-55.
- Cheng, Fung Kei. 2018b. "The lotus: Symbolic representation of a bodhisattva illustrated in the Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra." *Asia Pacific Journal of Religions and Cultures* 2 (1):1-16.
- Cheng, Fung Kei. 2018c. Meditation. In *The SAGE encyclopaedia of lifespan human development*, edited by Marc Bornstein, Martha Arterberry, Karen Fingerman and Jennifer E. Lansford. Thousand Oaks, USA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Cheng, Fung Kei. 2015. "A qualitative study of Buddhist altruistic behaviour." *Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment* 25 (3):204-213. doi: 10.1080/10911359.2014.966220.
- Choi, Eunjung, and Jongseok Woo. 2018. "Confucian legacies and the meaning of democracy in South Korea: A cultural interpretation." *Korea Observer* 49 (3):493-515. doi: 10.29152/KOIKS.2018.49.3.493.
- Chuang, Szufang, and Greg G. Wang. 2018. "Confucian philosophy and influence on perceived values and behavioural orientations by Taiwan's millennials." *Human Resource Development International* 21 (4):362-381. doi: 10.1080/13678868.2018.1433393.
- Ciptandi, Fajar, Agus Sachari, Achmad Haldani, and Yan Yan Sunarya. 2018. "Identity shift on traditional clothes for women in Tuban, East Java, Indonesia." *Advances in Economics, Business and Management Research* 41:252-256.
- Corrigan, Peter. 2008. *The dressed society: Clothing, the body and some meanings of the world*. London: SAGE Publications Limited.
- Deng, Kent. 2000. "A critical survey of recent research in Chinese economic history." *Economic History Review* 53 (1):1-28.
- Dimitrova, Radosveta, and Arzu Aydinli-Karakulak. 2016. "Acculturation orientations mediate the link between religious identity and adjustment of Turkish-Bulgarian and Turkish-German adolescents." *Springer Plus* 5 (1024):1-11. doi: 10.1186/s40064-016-2688-1.
- Dimitrova, Radosveta, Athanasios Chasiotis, Michael Bender, and Fons J. R. van de Vijver. 2014. "Turks in Bulgaria and the Netherlands: A comparative study of their acculturation orientations and outcomes." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 40:76-86. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.01.001.

- Eicher, Joanne B., and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins. 1992. "Definition and classification of dress: Implications for analysis of gender roles." In *Dress and gender: Making and meaning*, edited by Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher, 8-28. New York: Berg Publishers, Inc.
- Emmanuel, Steven M. 2013. "Introduction." In *A companion to Buddhist philosophy*, edited by Steven M. Emmanuel, 1-10. Malden,, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Fan, Ruiping. 2002. "Reconsidering surrogate decision making: Aristotelianism and Confucianism: Ideal human relations." *Philosophy East and West* 52q3 (346-372).
- Faulkner, Sandra L., John R. Baldwin, Sheryl L. Lindsley, and Michael L. Hecht. 2006. "Layers of meaning: An analysis of definitions of culture." In *Redefining culture: Perspectives across the disciplines*, edited by John R. Baldwin, Sandra L. Faulkner, Michael L. Hecht and Sheryl L. Lindsley, 27-52. New Jersey, USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Fei, Yong 費泳. 2008. "On the samkaksika and pianshan among the Buddhist costumes 佛像服飾中的僧祇支與偏衫問題." *Journal of Dunhuang Studies 敦煌學輯刊*/2008 (1):110-121.
- Feng, Xiu Qi 馮修齊. 2004. *Morning bell and evening drum: Buddhist etiquette 晨鐘暮鼓：佛教禮儀*. Sichuan, China: Sichuan People's Publishing House 四川人民出版社.
- Fitzpatrick, Frank. 2017. "Taking the culture out of culture shock: A critical review of literature on cross-cultural adjustment in international relocation." *Critical Perspectives on International Business* 13 (4):278-296. doi: 10.1108/cpoib-01-2017-0008.
- Güngör, Derya, and Marc H. Bornstein. 2009. "Gender, development, values, adaptation, and discrimination in acculturating adolescents: The case of Turk heritage youth born and living in Belgium." *Sex Roles* 50:537-548. doi: 10.1007/s11199-008-9531-2.
- Güngör, Derya, Fenella Fleischmann, and Karen Phalet. 2011. "Religious identification, beliefs, and practices among Turkish Belgian and Moroccan Belgian Muslims: Intergenerational continuity and acculturative change." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 42 (8):1356-1374. doi: 10.1177/0022022111412342.
- Güngör, Derya, Fenella Fleischmann, Karen Phalet, and Mieke Maliepaard. 2013. "Contextualising religious acculturation: Cross-

- cultural perspectives on Muslim minorities in Western Europe." *European Psychologist* 18 (3):203-214. doi: 10.1027/1016-9040/a000162.
- Gray, Jacqueline S., and WanmdiWi J. Rose. 2012. "Cultural adaptation for therapy with American Indians and Alaska natives." *Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development* 40 (2):82-92.
- Green, Ronald S. 2013. "East Asian Buddhism." In *A companion to Buddhist philosophy*, edited by Steven M. Emmanuel, 110-125. Malden,, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Greer, Chris, and Yvonne Jewkes. 2005. "Extremes of otherness: Media images of social exclusion." *Social Justice* 32 (1):20-31.
- Griswold, A. B. 1963. "Prolegomena to the study of the Buddha's dress in Chinese sculpture: With particular reference to the Rietberg Museum's collection." *Artibus Asiae* 26 (2):85-131.
- Harms, Ernst. 1938. "The psychology of clothes." *American Journal of Sociology* 44 (2):239-250.
- Harvey, Peter. 2000. *An introduction to Buddhist ethics: Foundations, values, and issues*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- He, Yan Sheng 何燕生. 2006. "An idol with lost favour: Buddhist studies in Japan and its predicament since the 1980s 失寵的偶像——二十世紀八〇年代以來日本的佛教研究及其困境." *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal 普門學報* 36 (November):1-17.
- Hershock, Peter D. 2013. "Diversity matters: Buddhist reflections on the meaning of difference." In *A companion to Buddhist philosophy*, edited by Steven M. Emmanuel, 675-695. Malden,, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Hua, Mei 華梅. 2008. *Chinese modern clothing history 中國近代服裝史*. Beijing: China Textile and Apparel Press 中國紡織出版社.
- Huang, Xiang Qun 黃向群. 2010. "Development of Chinese monk's costume 漢傳佛教僧服的歷史演變與常服的現代改良." *Master 大家* 2010 (18):31-32.
- Huong, Ngo T.M., Vu Cong Giao, and Nguyen Minh Tam. 2018. "Asian values and human rights: A Vietnamese perspective." *Journal of Southeast Asian Human Rights* 2 (1):302-322. doi: 10.19184/jseahr.v2i1.7541.

- Jaffe, Eugene D., Nonna Kushnirovich, and Alexandr Tsimerman. 2018. "The impact of acculturation on immigrants' business ethics attitudes." *Journal of Business Ethics* 147:821-834. doi: 10.1007/s10551-017-3597-0.
- Jahoda, Gustav. 2012. "Critical reflections on some recent definitions of culture." *Culture and Psychology* 18 (3):289-303. doi: 10.1177/1354067X12446229.
- Kathirvel, N., and I. M. Christina Febiula. 2016. "Understanding the aspects of cultural shock in international business arena." *International Journal of Information, Business and Management* 8 (2):105-115.
- Kawakatsu, Ken-Ichi. 1956. *Kimono*. Tokyo, Japan: Japan Travel Bureau.
- Kieschnick, John. 2003. *The impact of Buddhism on Chinese material culture*. New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Kieschnick, John. 1997. *The eminent monk: Buddhist ideals in medieval Chinese hagiography*. Honolulu, USA: University of Hawaii Press.
- Kieschnick, John. 1999. "The symbolism of the monk's robe in China." *Asia Major* 12 (1):9-32.
- Kim, Sungmoon. 2010. "Beyond liberal civil society: Confucian familism and relational strangership." *Philosophy East and West* 60 (4):476-598.
- Konior, Jan. 2018. "The phenomenon of Chinese culture." *Confrontation and Cooperation: 1000 Years of Polish-German-Russian Relations* 1 (4):11-15. doi: 10.2478/conc-2018-0002.
- Kreminski, M., M. Barry, and M. Platow. 2018. "The effects of the incompatible "soldier" identity upon depression in former Australian army personnel." *Journal of Military and Veterans' Health* 26 (2):51-59.
- Kuo, Huey-Jen 郭慧珍. 1999. "A study of costume of Chinese Buddhist monks 漢族佛教僧伽服裝之研究." *Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies 中華佛學研究* 3:175-206.
- Kuo, Huey-Jen 郭慧珍. 2001. *A study of costume of Chinese Buddhist monks 漢族佛教僧伽服裝之研究*. Taipei, Taiwan: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation 法鼓文化事業股份有限公司.
- Kwon, Yoon-Hee. 1987. "Daily clothing selection: Interrelationships among motivating factors." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 5 (2):21-27.

- Kwon, Yoon-Hee. 1991. "The influence of the perception of mood and self-consciousness on the selection of clothing." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 9 (4):41-46.
- Lee, Young-Sook, and Nina K. Prebensen. 2019. "Value creation and co-creation in tourist experiences: An East Asian cultural knowledge framework approach." In *Creating experience value in tourism*, edited by Nina K. Prebensen, Joseph S. Chen and Muzaff S. Uysal, 215-227. Selangor, Malaysia: CAB International.
- Lee, Yuen Ting. 2015. "Wu Zhao: Ruler of Tang dynasty China." *Education About Asia* 20 (2):14-18.
- Lennon, Sharron J., and Leslie L. Davis. 1989a. "Clothing and human behaviour from a social cognitive framework Part I: Theoretical perspectives." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 7 (4):41-48.
- Lennon, Sharron J., and Leslie L. Davis. 1989b. "Clothing and human behaviour from a social cognitive framework Part II: The stages of social cognition." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 8 (1):1-9.
- Liu, Weiwei. 2008. "Philosophy thoughts affect costume." *Asian Social Science* 4 (6):129-131.
- Maurer-Fazioa, Margaret, and Reza Hasmath. 2015. "The contemporary ethnic minority in China: An introduction." *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 56 (1):1-7. doi: 10.1080/15387216.2015.1059290.
- Meintel, Deirdre A. 1973. "Strangers, homecomers and ordinary men." *Anthropological Quarterly* 46 (1):47-58.
- Miller, Joshua I. 2005. "Fashion and democratic relationship." *Polity* 37 (1):3-23. doi: 10.1057/palgrave.polity.2300002.
- Morin, Karen M. 2013. "Men's modesty, religion, and the state: Spaces of collision." *Men and Masculinities* 16 (3):307-328. doi: 10.1177/1097184X13482128.
- Nakamura, Hajime なかむら はじめ 中村元. 1984. *History of development of Chinese Buddhism, Volumes 1, 2 & 3 中國佛教發展史，上中下冊*. Translated by Yu Wan Ju 余萬居. Taiwan: Heavenly Lotus Publishing Company Limited 天華出版事業股份有限公司.
- Oberg, Kalervo. 1960. "Cultural shock: Adjustment to new cultural environments." *Missiology: An International Review* os-7 (4):177-182. doi: 10.1177/009182966000700405.

- Ortiz, Fernando. 1995. *Cuban counterpoint: Tobacco and sugar*. London: Duke University Press.
- Pöllmann, Andreas. 2013. "Intercultural capital: Towards the conceptualisation, operationalisation, and empirical investigation of a rising marker of sociocultural distinction." *SAGE Open* 2013 (April-June):1-7. doi: 10.1177/2158244013486117.
- Perrot, Philippe. 1981. "Suggestions for a different approach to the history of dress." *Diogenes* 29 (113-114):157-176. doi: 10.1177/039219218102911308.
- Poceski, Mario. 2017. "Evolving relationship between the Buddhist monastic order and the imperial states of Medieval China." *Medieval Worlds* 6:40-60. doi: 10.1553/medievalworlds_no6_2017s40.
- Roach-Higgins, Mary Ellen, and Joanne B. Eicher. 1992. "Dress and identity." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10 (4):1-8.
- Robson, James. 2010. "Introduction: Neither too far, nor too near: The historical and cultural contexts of Buddhist monasteries in medieval China and Japan." In *Buddhist monasticism in East Asia: Places of practice*, edited by James A. Benn, Lori Meeks and James Robson, 1-17. New York: Routledge.
- Sevim, Nurdan, Elif Eroglu Hall, and Hisham Motkal Abu-Rayya. 2016. "The role of religion and acculturation in the consumer ethnocentrism of Turkish immigrants in Germany." *Religions* 7 (29):1-8. doi: 10.3390/rel7030029.
- Sun, Peidong. 2016. "The collar revolution: Everyday clothing in Guangdong as resistance in the Cultural Revolution." *The China Quarterly* 227:773-795. doi: 10.1017/S0305741016000692.
- Szeto, Naomi Yin-yin 司徒嫣然. 1992. *Dress in Hong Kong: A century of change and customs 羅衣百載：香港服裝演變*. Hong Kong: Urban Council, Hong Kong 香港市政局.
- Tang, Yijie. 2016. *Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity and Chinese cultures*. 2nd ed. Washington, D.C., USA: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.
- Tsai, D. F-C. 2005. "The bioethical principles and Confucius' moral philosophy." *Journal of Medical Ethics and History of Medicine* 31:159-163. doi: 10.1136/jme.2002.002113.

- van de Vijver, Fons J. R. 2018. "Acculturation." In *The SAGE encyclopaedia of lifespan human development*, edited by Marc H. Bornstein, 12-14. Thousand Oaks, USA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Vuong, Quan-Hoang, et al. 2018. "Cultural additivity: Behavioural insights from the interaction of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism in folktales." *Palgrave Communications* 4 (1):143. doi: 10.1057/s41599-018-0189-2.
- Walsh, Michael J. 2007. "The economics of salvation: Towards a theory of exchange in Chinese Buddhism." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 75 (2):353-382. doi: 10.1093/jaarel/lfm002.
- Wang, Yu Qing 王宇清. 2000. *A history of Chinese national costume, Volumes 1 and 2 國服史學鉤沉，上下冊*. Taipei: Fu Jen Catholic University Press 輔仁大學出版社.
- Wang, Yuan. 2016. "Appreciating beauty in prosperous Tang dynasty from the fair lady portrayal of Tang." The 2nd International Conference on Arts, Design and Contemporary Education (ICADCE 2016), May 23-25, 2016, Moscow, Russia.
- Watson, Cecelia A. 2004. "The sartorial self: William James's philosophy of dress." *History of Psychology* 7 (3):211-224. doi: 10.1037/1093-4510.7.3.211.
- Winterhalter, Cecilia. 2011. "Gastronomic fashions, luxury concepts, consumption practices and the construction of identity." In *Fashion forward*, edited by Alissa de Witt-Paul and Mira Crouch, 287-296. Oxfordshire, UK: Inter-Disciplinary Press.
- World Population Review. 2019. "Buddhist countries 2019." accessed December 16. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/buddhist-countries/>
- Yang, Hong 楊泓. 1963. "Discussing changes of Buddha statues in early Southern and Northern Dynasties 試論南北朝前期佛像服飾的主要變化." *Archaeology 考古* 1963 (6):330-337.
- Yang, Lin 楊琳. 1996. "A study of cultural phenomenon of seniority hierarchy related to left and right 左右尊卑文化現象的研究." *The Central Plains Culture Research 中原文化研究* 12:32-38.

- Yifa. 2002. *The origins of Buddhist monastic codes in China: An annotated translation and study of the Chanyuan qinggui*. Hawaii, USA: University of Hawaii Press.
- Young, Stuart H. 2017. "Bald-headed destroyers of living things: Buddhist identity in the silk cultures of medieval China." *Asia Major* 30 (2):27-70.
- Zapata-Barrero, Ricard. 2018. "Rejoinder: multiculturalism and interculturalism: Alongside but separate." *Comparative Migration Studies* 6 (20):1-12. doi: 10.1186/s40878-018-0090-6.
- Zhang, Cheng-zong 張承宗. 2005. "The religious dress in the period of Wei-Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties 魏晉南北朝時期的宗教服飾." *Journal of Huaiyin Teachers College (Social Science) 淮陰師範學院學報 (哲學社會科學版)* 27 (1):68-71 & 100.
- Zhang, Zhi Chun 張志春. 2001. *Culture of Chinese clothing and adornment 中國服飾文化*. Beijing: China Textile and Apparel Press 中國紡織出版社.
- Zhao, Hui Zhu 趙慧珠. 2003. *Morning bell and evening drum: Buddhist rules, festivals, instruments, and costumes 晨鐘暮鼓：清規戒律、節日風俗、法器僧袍*. Shanghai: Shanghai Classic Publishing House 上海古籍出版社.
- Zhou, Shu Jia 周叔迦. 1990. *A summary of Buddhist knowledge 法苑談叢*. Beijing: Buddhist Association of China 中國佛教協會.
- Zhou, Ting Ting 周婷婷. 2010. "A journey of beauty: The elegance of qipao and its changes 美的歷程：旗袍雅韻與滄桑變遷." *Vicissitudes 滄桑* 2010 (1):242-243. doi: 10.13514/j.cnki.cn14-1186/k.2010.02.117.
- Zhu, Lingmin 朱玲敏, and Ming 趙明 Zhao. 2017. "Evolution of shape and structure of traditional Chinese button knots 中國傳統盤扣造型結構的演變." *Journal of Silk 絲綢* 54 (6):73-80. doi: 10.3969/j.issn.1001-7003.2017.06.013.

