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**The White Cloud Movement:
Local Activism and Buddhist Printing in China under Mongol Rule (1276-1368 CE)**

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

World Cultures

by

Kaiqi Hua

Committee in charge:

Professor Ruth Mostern, chair, UC Merced

Professor Sholeh Quinn, UC Merced

Professor Lewis Lancaster, UC Berkeley

Professor Richard Davis, Lingnan University

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The Dissertation of Kaiqi Hua is approved, and it is acceptable
in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Lewis Lancaster

Sholeh Quinn

Richard Davis

Ruth Mostern, Chair

University of California, Merced
2016

For my parents

Qiu Lijuan 裘麗娟 & Hua Gang 華崗

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Curriculum Vitae

Kaiqi Hua

World Cultures
School of Social Sciences, Humanities and Arts
University of California, Merced

Education

August 2016, Ph.D., UC Merced
June 2008, B.A., Zhejiang University

Visitorship and Institute

2014-16, UC Graduate Intercampus Exchange Program, Buddhist Studies, UC Berkeley
Summer 2015, Summer School in Sinology, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
Summer 2015, Summer School in Tangut Language, Ningxia University, China
2013-14, Visiting Research Fellow, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
Summer 2014, Summer School in Mongol Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Summer 2014, National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Summer Institute,
The Mongols and the Eurasian Nexus of Global History. East-West Center, Honolulu
Summer 2013, Summer School in Chinese Studies, Ca' Foscari University Venice, Italy
Summer 2013, Summer Hebrew Program, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
Summer 2013, Summer Persian Program, San Francisco State University
Spring 2012, Visiting Scholar, History Department, Lingnan University, Hong Kong
Fall 2011, Visiting Scholar, Center for Art and Archaeology, Zhejiang University, China
Fall 2010, UC Graduate Intercampus Exchange Program, History Dept., UC Berkeley
Summer 2006, Summer Sessions & Special Programs, UCLA

Academic Award

Yearlong Fellowships:

2014-15, Dissertation Fellowship, UC Humanities Network, University of California system
2013-14, Visiting Ph.D. Student Fellowship, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
2011-12, Dissertation Fellowship, UC Pacific Rim Program, University of California system

Other Awards:

2015, Dr. Donald and Effie Godbold Fellowship, inaugural recipient, UC Merced
2014, Scholarship (declined), Summer School *Eurasian Religions in Contact*,
Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Germany
2013, Scholarship, The Israel-China Friendship Society "At Igud Yotzei Sin," Israel
2013, Scholarship, Summer Persian Program, San Francisco State University
2013, Graduate Student Research Grant, World Cultures Graduate Group, UC Merced
2013, Outstanding Graduate Student Award, Graduate Division, UC Merced
2012, Spring Research Grant, World Cultures Graduate Group, UC Merced
2012, Conference Travel Grant, World Cultures Graduate Group, UC Merced
2012, Summer Research Grant, World Cultures Graduate Group, UC Merced

2011, Summer Research Grant, World Cultures Graduate Group, UC Merced
2011, Conference Travel Grant, Confucius Institute, University of Michigan

Research Experience

2015-16, 2010-13, Graduate Student Researcher for Professor Ruth Mostern, UC Merced
Project: *Modeling the Environmental History of the Yellow River: Three Millennia of Disaster, Settlement and Policy*
[Data collection, entry, digitalization and organization]
2013-14, Visiting Research Fellow, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel
ERC Mongol Project: *Mobility, Empire and Cross Cultural Contacts in Mongol Eurasia*
[Data selection, entry and processing; Translation of Chinese primary sources]
2010, Graduate Student Researcher for Guidebook Project, CRTE (Center for Research on Teaching Excellence), UC Merced, Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education (FIPSE) granted from the U.S. Department of Education
[Guidebook of Learning Methods editing for first generation college students]
2008-09, Graduate Student Researcher for Professor Ruth Mostern, UC Merced
Book: Mostern, Ruth. *Dividing the Realm in Order to Govern: The Spatial Organization of the Song State (960-1276 CE)*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011.
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Publication

2016. "The Journey of Zhao Xian and the Exile of Royal Descendants in Tibet and China under Mongol Rule (13th-14th Century)," forthcoming in *Network and Identity: Exchange Relations in Pre-Modern Buddhist Asia.*, edited by Ann Heirman, Carmen Meinert and Christoph Anderl. K äte Hamburger Kolleg series: Dynamic in the History of Religions. Leiden: Brill.
2015. "The Examination of the Tangut Garland Sūtra (Avatamsaka Sūtra) Volume 41 in the C. V. Starr East Asian Library at UC Berkeley," in *Proceedings of the Fourth Xi Xia Studies volume I*. Yinchuan: Ningxia University.

Conference Presentation

April 7, 2016, *Local Patrons of Buddhist Canon Printing in the Hang-Jia-Hu Subregion During the Song-Yuan Period*. "The Formation of Regional Religious Systems in Greater China," University of Arizona.
April 19, 2015, *Sketch of Ignaz Trebitsch-Lincoln's Adventure in China (1922-1943)*. Mann Distinguished Symposium "China and the Jews in the Modern Era," Ohio State University.
April 18, 2015, *The White Cloud Sect and Local Activism in Jiangnan in the Song-Yuan Transition*. Second Stanford-Berkeley Graduate Student Conference on Pre-modern Chinese Humanities, UC Berkeley.
December 20, 2013, *The Journey of Zhao Xian (1271-1323): From Chinese Emperor to Tibetan Monk under the Mongols*. International conference "Network and Identity: Exchange Relations between China and the World," Center for Buddhist Studies, Ghent University, Belgium.

March 21, 2013, *Local Investments for the Dharma and the Khan: Yang Lianzhenjia's Legacy in Early Yuan Hangzhou*. Panel #30 "Collaborating with the World Conquerors: Non-Mongol Officials, Local Elites and Governing Strategies in the Early Yuan Dynasty" (Panel Organizer). Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, San Diego.

May 15-16, 2010, *The Auspicious Land of the Southeast: The Fengshui Application in Imperial Hangzhou (890-1276)*. The third Annual China Undisciplined Conference, UCLA, and the All-California Chinese History Graduate Student Conference, UC Irvine.

Invited Talk

May 14, 2015, *Arts and Cultural Contacts in the Mongol Empire*, Oakland Asian Cultural Center

February 19, 2015, *Silk Road Reconnected: Cross-border Contacts between China and the West (1200-1500)*, History 6B: "China from the Mongols to Mao," UC Berkeley

May 13, 2014, *The White Cloud Sect and Puning Canon (Puning zang) in Yuan China*. Research Group "Chinese and Tibetan Tantric Buddhism," Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem, Israel

April 28, 2014, *The Urban History of Hangzhou: Before and After the Mongol Conquest*. ERC Mongol Project seminar, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

December 17, 2013, *The Images of Zhao Xian (1271-1323): Changing Views of a Former Song Emperor under the Mongols*. Leiden University Institute for Area Studies (LIAS), the Netherlands

November 26, 2013, *The Journey of Zhao Xian (1271-1323): From Chinese Emperor to Tibetan Monk under the Mongols*. Research Group "Chinese and Tibetan Tantric Buddhism," Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem, Israel

Teaching Experience

Lecturer, UC Merced. Fully responsible for designing and teaching course:

Spring 2016, HIST 108 - *History of Asian Religions*

Fall 2012, CHN 2 - *Elementary Chinese II*

Spring 2011, CHN 2 - *Elementary Chinese II*

Teaching Assistant, UC Merced. Grading, student advising, and leading discussion sections:

Spring 2013, HIST 11 - *Introduction to World History Since 1500*

Fall 2010, HIST 10 - *World History to 1450*

Spring 2010, HIST 11 - *Introduction to World History Since 1500*

Spring 2010, HIST 81 - *History of China from the Ming Dynasty to the Present*

Fall 2009, HIST 80 - *History of China from Ancient Times through the Mongol Conquest*

Spring 2009, POLI 3 - *Introduction to Comparative Politics*

Fall 2008, CHN 1 - *Elementary Chinese I*

Language

Modern Chinese (native speaking), Classical Chinese (excellent reading)

Tangut script (knowledge of 500 out of 6,000 characters, basic interpretation skill)

Japanese, Hebrew (intermediate)
Tibetan, Mongolian, Persian (elementary)

University Service

2014-15, graduate student representative (UCSA), University Committee on International Education (UCIE), Academic Senate, University of California system
Fall 2015, fellow, Intercultural Leadership Initiative (ILI), International House, UC Berkeley
Fall 2010, officer of Academic Affairs, Graduate Student Association (GSA), UC Merced
Fall 2010, graduate student representative, Committee on Academic Planning and Resource Allocation (CAPRA), Academic Senate, UC Merced

Professional Affiliation

2015-present, participant, Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI), UC Berkeley
2014-present, member, American Historical Association (AHA)
2014-present, member, American Academy of Religion (AAR)
2013-present, member, Association for Asian Studies (AAS)

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UCM is a new higher education institution in the twenty-first century, and the close teacher-student relations there have provided more opportunities to pursue interdisciplinary studies. I have learned more than my own field in history and religious studies. I have chosen my second field in the History of Persia—the Mongol Ilkhanate—by working with Prof. Sholeh Quinn. At UCM, I was able to design and take one-on-one Independent Study courses with several faculty members, including Demographic Studies with Archaeology Prof. Kathleen Hull, and Historical GIS with Geography Prof. Guo Qinghua. Special thanks to our graduate program coordinator Mitch Ylarregui, for his tireless and prompt help on my coursework, paperwork, academic planning, and almost everything with progressing through the program. More importantly, thanks to Graduate Dean Marjorie Zatz for her support for my unique case, which made me the first PhD graduate in Asian History at UCM. For funding, I am grateful for our graduate program's summer research grant and the Dr. Donald and Effie Godbold Fellowship for supporting my research expenses, mainly for summer research travel.

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During the academic year 2013-14, I joined the international research team on "Mobility, Empire and Cross Cultural Contacts in Mongol Eurasia" at Hebrew University of Jerusalem, under Prof. Michal Biran. From weekly seminars and source reading

classes with Michal and Prof. Yuri Pines, I obtained cutting-edge knowledge in the field of Mongol Studies. I have learned a lot from my colleagues of the project, including Florence Hodous, Geoffrey Humble, Francesca Fiaschetti, Yang Qiao, Choi Soyoung, and Daniel Zakrzewski. Dr. Cho Wonhee, a member of the 2014-15 cohort, kindly shared his dissertation on religious institutions in the Mongol Empire and has continuously offered useful feedback on my research. I was also able to join the Research Group “Chinese and Tibetan Tantric Buddhism” led by Profs. Yael Bentor, Dan Martin, and Meir Shahar at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem, where I presented my early work on the White Cloud sect. In addition, I attended the 2014 NEH Summer Institute “The Mongols and the Eurasian Nexus of Global History” at East-West Center in Hawaii, as the only graduate student participant. I am grateful to leading scholars in the field of Mongol studies and Buddhism for meeting with me and offering their advice on my research, including David Morgan, Peter Hershock, Johan Elverskog, Chris Atwood, David Roxburgh, and Morris Rossabi. Morris has continued showing interest in my research even after the institute and has kindly supported my academic success in numerous ways.

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In the field of Tangut Studies, I appreciate the email communication and continuous encouragement of Prof. Ruth Dunnell of Kenyon College, the only Tangut historian in North America. I also received assistance and suggestions on Tangut language and history while in Berkeley from Tibetologist Dr. Nathan Hill, Mongolist Dr. Brian Baumann, and linguist Dr. Deborah Anderson. In China, I attended a Tangut language summer school and an international Tangutology conference in 2015. I have received kind support from—and enjoyed countless dinner talks with—Prof. Du Jianlu, Yang Huan, and Duan Yuquan of Ningxia University, as well as their graduate students, especially Deng Wentao, who shared his findings on new materials from the Tangut diaspora.

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Abstract

The “White Cloud sect” was a name for a heterogeneous group of people doing diverse things under the sect’s name: devout laypeople and monks, extortionist elites, and profit-making Tangut monks. At different moments, it was a loose group of local lay practitioners, an official religious institution regulating Buddhist affairs, a business enterprise for networking with rich landowners and high-ranking officials, a social organization that obtained economic privileges for registered groups and individuals, a local entrepreneur that raised small-scale donations, a contractor for printing and selling Buddhist canons, and an advocate of religious syncretism. This dissertation studies the White Cloud movement in Song- and Yuan-era Jiangnan. Analysis of printing work and its relationships with the Mongol colonial regime, Chinese local lay activists, and Tangut diaspora monks reveals the dynamics of local religious activism and how the sect extracted social and financial benefits through religious activities, projects and events in the Hang-Jia-Hu subregion. The Song state banned the sect as a heretical group, but the White Cloud’s fortunes changed under the Mongol Yuan state, which recognized it as a new Buddhist school. The movement was mostly led by local laymen rather than monks. Its wealth and reputation peaked with the production of a Buddhist canon during the reign of Khubilai Khan (1276-1294), who provided direct patronage. I examine the Mongol government’s political and financial support for this unorthodox religious group - the institutionalization of religious communities (including establishing and abolishing a series of religious bureaus, appointing Tangut clergy officials)—and the response of local activists in turn. The White Cloud movement drew official supervision and attracted foreign monks while maintaining its mostly lay followers and non-doctrinal practice in

rural areas. Newly emerging market towns in the Hangzhou-Jiaxing-Huzhou hinterland were the homes of most White Cloud sect devotees and their Buddhist canon's local patrons. The region's canal system fostered close networks for resource exchange. Local labor and material resources were used for the White Cloud sect's Puning canon and the related Tangut script Hexi canon. I emphasize the connections between the two canons and the contributions of Tangut diasporic monks.

Introduction

Lay religious movements in China have a long history, and they have always been a concern of the central government—disliked by the government but favored by ordinary people—from the imperial period into the present day. Examples in contemporary China include local Christian movements and the Falungong 法輪功 sect: Christian house churches in present-day China have grown much faster and more influential than government-sponsored churches; the Falungong spread faster than normal religions in China in the 1990s.

In the case under study in this dissertation, house monasteries and shrines of the White Cloud movement were homes to local activists and supporters, especially for the movement's printing of the Buddhist canon. Governments in imperial and modern China took care to label heretical sects, heterodox groups, and secret societies. These illegal institutions suffered official persecution but in many ways continued to grow.¹ Whether they were called religions, like the *Sanjie jiao* 三階教 of the Tang dynasty or the *Luo jiao* 羅教 of the Ming dynasty, or a sect (*zong* 宗), or a door or way of a society (*huidaomen* 會道門), the unorthodox practice of religion or unorthodox spiritual lives fall outside the general principles of monastic religions.

¹ For Western studies of Chinese heretical sects and regional, unofficial religions, see Daniel L. Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion: Dissenting Sects in Late Traditional China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Rebellion and Revolution: The Study of Popular Movements in Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 36 (1977): 201-37; Hubert Seiwert, *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sections in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); J. J. M. de Groot, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China* (Amsterdam: J. Miller, 1903-1904; Irish reprint, 1973); Kwang-Ching Liu, *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek, *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004); T. H. Barrett, "Chinese Sectarian Religion," *Modern Asian Studies* 12 (1978): 333-52.

As a result, they often incur negative responses from China's political authorities, who apply religious orthodoxy to define their practices and regulate their activities. Often these unlawful practices were called "heretical religions" *xiejiao* 邪教.² The central government, across different dynasties, paid special attention to activities that gathered large groups of people for spiritual attainment without government approval, both publicly and privately. Many such practices were first reported from local governments, mainly by scholar-officials concerned about both religious values and political power struggles among their local subjects. Thus, all practices except the "Three Teachings" (the three major religions of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism) are suspicious and deserve to be investigated and punished. Governmental response through law enforcement and through the words of literati critics often pushed lay religious practice underground and into private venues.

In the thirteenth century crisis, the nomadic Mongol people conquered Southern Song China. As the new rulers of Greater China, the Mongols were enthusiastic about different religions and demonstrated sophistication by employing all kinds of skilled men, including religious practitioners and especially Buddhists. The Mongol regime in China, the Yuan dynasty, was known for its policies of ethnic diversity and religious tolerance. The Mongol rulers especially favored Buddhism over Daoism, and Tibetan Buddhism over Chinese Buddhism.³ The Mongols were aware of the growing Chan school in south

² These include contemporary controversies over unlawful religious practice in China, such as *Falungong* and *Quannengshen* 全能神. The Chinese government usually charges these groups with a crime entitled, "gathering crowds to disrupt public order" 聚眾擾亂社會秩序罪.

³ For general discussions of the Mongols and the religious lives of their subjects in China, see: Morgan, David, *The Mongols* (Blackwell, 1986). Rossabi, M., *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Elverskog, J., *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). Allsen, T. T., *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*

China and used various methods to maintain a balance among different Chinese Buddhist schools, including debates at court, establishing new offices of Buddhist affairs, and erecting new Buddhist branches. The Yuan rulers also creatively designated and legalized groups of religious sects, including those of the Buddhist schools—the White Cloud sect 白雲宗, the Great Kaiyuan sect 大開元宗, and the Great Dhūta Teaching 大頭陀教, and those of the Daoist schools—Maoshan 茅山派, Zhengyi 正一派, and Quanzhen 全真派.⁴ Among these sects, the White Cloud was the most influential, in the involvement of the Yuan emperor, high officials, and different ethnic groups, as well as in its printing of the Buddhist canon and reordering of local society in the Jiangnan 江南 region.

The White Cloud sect

The White Cloud sect was a regional popular movement lasting approximately three hundred years, from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, in Southeast China. The movement started as a single, small teacher-disciple group mixing with other local lay religious devotees and then suffered government persecution during the Song dynasty. It ended up bearing multiple identities (a cluster of different kinds of identities that were designated with the same name by the state and by practitioners), and it experienced rapid growth and decline during the Yuan dynasty. Its impact on the local region and on the central court in the Yuan dynasty is much more significant than it was during the Song.

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Franke, H., *China under Mongol Rule* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1994). John D. Langlois, ed., *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

⁴ Tao-chung Yao, “Ch’uanchen: A New Taoist Sect in North China during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” (Diss., Univ. of Arizona 1980), pp. 9-17.; Igor de Rachewiltz, “The *Hsi-yu lu* 西遊錄 by Yeh-lü Ch’u-ts’ai 耶律楚材,” *Monumenta Serica* 21 (1962): 38-40. Chen Gaohua 陳高華, *Yuanshi yanjiu lungao* 元史研究論稿. 1991; Chen Gaohua, *Chen Gaohua wenji* 陳高華文集. 2005.

The complete history of the sect's lifespan shows its unique but externally guided path of development (though a local movement, external factors predetermined its rise and fall to some extent), a path that reflects the social and political circumstances of the Song-Yuan period. Though this dissertation primarily focuses on the Yuan period, due to the scale of the sect growth, its canon printing project, and available primary sources, I will also answer why and how the White Cloud movement appeared, prospered, and ultimately died out. I will analyze the determining factors that influenced the movement's development, such as local social structure, natural environment, and government policy. Also, I argue that the White Cloud survived continuously until the early Ming dynasty and did not meet a sudden death by government ban in the mid-Yuan dynasty.

The White Cloud movement encountered resistance from both the state and orthodox Buddhists in the Song dynasty. As a contemporary Buddhist monk Liangzhu Zongjian 良渚宗鑿 (?-1206) in his Buddhist chronicle *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 criticized,

These three [Manichaeism, White Lotus, and White Cloud] ignorant confuse commoners because they all assume the name of Buddhism . . . and everywhere there are those who practice the White Lotus and White Cloud [religions] Thus, these groups become numerous by themselves without proselytizing . . . and come together in the name of carrying out penance rituals and calling on the Buddha. However, they actually have illicit sexual relations. Educated men should prohibit [these groups].⁵

此三者皆假名佛教以誑愚俗。 而白蓮白雲處處有習之者。 以修懺念佛為名。而實通姦穢。有識士夫宜加禁止。

Monastic Buddhists and Confucian literati labeled local lay religious movements like the White Lotus and the White Cloud profane or sinister religions. They reduced the groups'

⁵ Overmyer translation, see Daniel L. Overmyer, "The White Cloud Sect in Sung and Yuan China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42.2 (1982):615-642. P640-1. Zhipan 志盤, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 juan.54.

practices to simply restrained lifestyles, such as those prohibiting alcohol and meat, as well as morally unacceptable activities like night gatherings and meetings mixing men and women. Such movements were categorized as fake Buddhism, or as neither Buddhist nor Daoist, which only attracted illiterate common people. Thus orthodox Buddhist and literati writings warn educated men to stay away from these dangerous practices. This shows the class of educated men in middle period China adhered to traditional religious schools, an identity that served in turn to mark a class distinction from local commoners.

The White Cloud sect's brief trajectory began with a traveling monk named the "White Cloud monk" Kong Qingjue 孔清覺 (1043-1121) from Luoyang 洛陽 settling in Hangzhou 杭州 and establishing a Buddhist retreat (the Baiyun an 白雲庵) from which to preach during the late Northern Song dynasty. His teachings attracted followers and his relic burial sites became the first foundational places of the White Cloud movement. In the Southern Song dynasty, the White Cloud movement was led by lay people, but the White Cloud movement did not form an exclusive organization with clear membership. The movement's followers were not distinguished from other illegal religious sects and spiritual practitioners called "people of the way" *daomin* 道民 and "monks with hair" *youfa seng* 有髮僧. As a result, these groups all received constant government persecution.

In the Yuan dynasty, Gushan Dao'an 古山道安 (?-1281), a monk from Huzhou 湖州, earned government approval and sponsorship to establish the White Cloud sect at Puning Monastery 普寧寺 in Yuhang 餘杭 of Hangzhou. The Mongol government also established the White Cloud Sect General Overseer Office 白雲宗宗攝所 / 總攝所 and

White Cloud Sect Buddhist Registrar Bureau 白雲宗僧錄司, which were under the jurisdiction of the newly established regional Buddhist affairs bureau: the Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings 釋教總統所 in the Jiangnan region. These institutional establishments were unique for the White Cloud movement, and for any lay religious movement in Chinese history. It made the direct connection between the state and the movement and offered policy and financial support for the latter's development. The Mongols' creative institutionalization of a religious community suggests that the foreign rulers did not necessarily view them as religious but rather as civil organizations that affected the political and social order and therefore needed to be regulated with governmental methods. The new religious institutions, including those for Buddhist affairs and the White Cloud sect, transformed the relevant religious parties into social enterprises that connected people's daily lives and the state.

Dao'an and his successors also carried out one of the largest Buddhist canon printing projects—the Puning canon 普寧藏, an enterprise that shared workers with the Tangut script Hexi canon 河西藏, which was also made in Hangzhou. The canon printing projects had support from both local society and from the central government. The government sponsors and clergy officials who protected the White Cloud sect and sponsored the printing were multiethnic groups. Among them, the Tangut monks were the most influential sponsors. The central leadership of the White Cloud sect after Dao'an, however, was in the hands of lay Chinese people. Dao'an's successors had the generation

character *ru* 如 in their names, but because their monastic names conceal their family names they might all be lay people.⁶

Buddhist canon printing became the main focus of the sect during the Yuan, but it was still active in local construction projects such as temple and school building. Interestingly, in the Yuan sources, there is almost no mention of the so-called “people of the way.” These troublesome people, some of them active in the White Cloud sect, were not in the vocabulary of government labels and the criticisms written by orthodox religious figures. However, official sources such as the standard Yuan history *Yuanshi* 元史 record many unlawful deeds of the White Cloud sect and place the blame on its lay leadership. The sect, therefore, suffered several rounds of persecution during the mid-Yuan dynasty. Though the leaders were punished, the deeply rooted local activists related to the sect continued local projects, such as Buddhist sūtra printing and grotto carving. The White Cloud sect’s last appearance in historical records was in an early Ming imperial edict of 1370, which banned the practice of heretic religions including the White Cloud sect.⁷

The White Cloud movement has not yet attracted much attention from modern scholars, but it merits new research because it provides new ground for the history of the Mongol Empire in China and for the “Song-Yuan-Ming transition” hypothesis in Chinese history as applied to the Jiangnan region. Such local lay movements that mixed the pursuit of religious and economic benefits became the driving force behind the development of local society in Jiangnan and a major player in local-state relations. This

⁶ One example is a leader named Qian Rujing 錢如鏡. Most leaders seem to be from a certain Shen 沈 family, as Overmyer has suggested, Overmyer 1982 P639.

⁷ Overmyer 1982 P639.

dissertation provides a new way of thinking about Chinese history and the history of the Mongol Empire. Unlike most prevailing views that see new and widespread religious movements during the Song-Yuan transition as the consequences of a developed local economy and the rise of new gentry class, the case of the White Cloud shows that such local religious forces were the determinative factor for the development of Jiangnan local society after the Mongol conquest. My research demonstrates that the advancement of social cooperation through lay religious activists overcame the boundaries of monasticism, space, culture, and ethnicity in the Mongol period. That means that the White Cloud movement involved both monastic monks and lay practitioners, both officially sponsored and private religious sites, both urban and rural cultures, and both Chinese and foreign ethnicities.

The “Song-Yuan-Ming transition” model,⁸ built on the sociopolitical analyses of Hartwell, Hymes, and Bol,⁹ defines the historical trajectory of twelfth- to fourteenth-century China as the action of localized, self-perpetuating elite families negotiating and competing with a decentralized government. In terms of the local society’s development, local elites extended their social networks through marriage and civil endeavors and formed different communities and organizations through collective activism, as shown in the fields of public security, education, infrastructure, charitable services, and religion. A new generation of scholars went further, to question the role of local government during

⁸ Paul J. Smith and Richard von Glahn, eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003).

⁹ Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42.2 (1982): 365-442; Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Peter K. Bol, *“This Culture of Ours”: Intellectual Transitions in T’ang and Sung China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992).

this transitional period, especially during the Yuan dynasty. Sukhee Lee's work on Song-Yuan Mingzhou 明州 local society shows the strategies of local government investment in the negotiation of interests between state entities and local elites.¹⁰ The activism of the local government, as part of a general localism, ended in the Yuan due to new state policies. The Mongol rulers used the "civil mercenary principle" (similar to their "military mercenary principle") by which they hired local people and managed local resources for projects, in contrast with the Song state's direct sponsorship of and financial investment in projects conducted through local government. Mingzhou local society kept growing, while the state merely consolidated the existing social system and pacified local elites. Local literati, however, still remained close to local officials, whereas the latter were hardly able to control regional power. Such regional power, as shown in my research, also includes religious institutions. Wang Jinping's work,¹¹ following Jesse Sloane's research on state-religion (and state-local) relations in Liao-Song-Jin North China,¹² shows the extension of cross-regional social networks of clergy and churches (including both Buddhists and Daoists) in the Yuan dynasty, which maintained the Jin dynasty's local order. The Yuan's institutionalization of religious communities resulted from the regime's policy of religious diversity and tolerance. But Wonhee Cho argues that the Mongols treated different religions differently rather than equally. They

¹⁰ Sukhee Lee, *Negotiated Power: The State, Elites, and Local Governance in Twelfth- to Fourteenth-century China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014).

¹¹ Jinping Wang, "Between Family and State: Networks of Literati, Clergy, and Villagers in Shanxi, North China, 1200-1400," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2011.

¹² Jesse D. Sloane, "Contending States and Religious Orders in North China and in East Asian Context, 906-1260," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2010.

sophisticatedly created different “departments” (i.e. institutions) to regulate different religions and new separate tax and judicial systems for religious groups.¹³

The local activism of the White Cloud movement offers answers to larger scale concerns of state power and colonialism in imperial China. My research contributes to the field of Chinese history, the history of Chinese religions, and Mongol Studies. The Mongol Yuan dynasty, as the first foreign regime to rule all of China proper, creatively bureaucratized religious institutions while retaining the social dynamics of local society through religious activists. The process of state intervention in religious movements and the invention of religious institution also involved new non-Mongol immigrants, especially diasporic Tangut monks. The Tangut monks in Jiangnan and across the Yuan Empire, who largely gone unnoticed before, were major players in monitoring and benefiting from Buddhist affairs. They played a key role in developing the White Cloud sect for both its legitimation and expansion. My research will contribute in particular to studies of *semu* 色目 (foreign, neither Mongol nor Chinese) elites in the Yuan dynasty, and to the field of Tangut studies (or, Tangutology 西夏學), including Tangut diasporas and the Tangut script Buddhist canon. Previous major Western work on *semu* elites in the Yuan includes Herbert Franke’s study of the Tibetans and Michael Brose’s study of Uighurs.¹⁴ Also, Tangutologists currently pay little attention to Tangut diasporas and their significant role throughout the Yuan dynasty. The Hexi canon, printed in Hangzhou, was the only Tangut script literature produced outside of Xi Xia 西夏 territory after the

¹³ Wonhee Cho, “Beyond Tolerance: The Mongols’ Religious Policies in Yuan-dynasty China and Il-khanate Iran, 1200-1368,” unpublished Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2014.

¹⁴ Herbert Franke, “Tibetans in Yuan China,” in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 296-328; Michael C. Brose, *Subjects and Masters: Uyghurs in the Mongol Empire* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 2007).

fall of the Xi Xia state (1038-1227), except for a handful of epitaphs. Lastly, my study of the production history and social impact of the Chinese Puning and the Tangut Hexi canons offers a new perspective on pre-modern Chinese print culture and the history of science. Considering the canon printing project, which was the most remarkable accomplishment of the White Cloud movement, as a commercial enterprise shows the great motivation and capability of local society for long-term resource management and commercial production. This production's high quality and popular reception all over the nation during the Yuan period, are attributed to its massive use of xylographic and movable type printing technologies, printing of text in multiple languages, and the close cooperation of local lay patrons and workers, Buddhist monks, and government sponsors.

Religious syncretism in Song-Yuan China

From the tenth to twelfth centuries, China under the Song, Liao, Jin, and Xi Xia experienced a dramatic transformation of religious systems. The changes included the development of different principal Buddhist and Daoist schools, the emergence and popularization of Neo-Confucianism, the rise of religious syncretism of “three teachings” *sanjiao* 三教—Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism—as well as the flourishing of popular movements and regional cults. New perspectives on traditional religions drove the emergence of new religious-inspired ideas and practices, launching popular religious movements in Song China. These included several sects, such as Chinese Maitryans 彌勒教, Chinese Manicheans 摩尼教, the White Lotus sect 白蓮宗, and the White Cloud sect

白雲宗.¹⁵ Some Song sectarian movements initiated rebellions and sparked social unrest.¹⁶

Central governments before the Yuan dynasty had neither allowed local religious movements nor recognized them as legitimate religions. As for diffused popular beliefs and vernacular spirituality, the Jiangnan 江南 region was home to popular deities and cults. As Valerie Hansen shows, market towns and dense canal networks enabled the spread of deities by merchants and through commercial networks.¹⁷ The freely traveling deities and the worshippers of various cults, along with transformed tutelary gods such as city gods, constituted the foundation of Chinese pantheon that continued into late imperial China.

Monastic Buddhists in the Song dynasty harshly criticized local religious movements in orthodox Buddhist chronicles as “evil factions of devil worshippers” 事魔邪党 and for performing bad deeds in the name of Buddhism 假名佛教.¹⁸ Orthodox monks’ attitudes stemmed largely from the competition among between congregations and pilgrims with these non-official religious movements over local resources. As a result, most Buddhist monks agreed with the government’s attitudes and stood in the same camp with Confucian literati who also held negative impressions of local sects.¹⁹ In Song

¹⁵ For White Lotus movement, see B. J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

¹⁶ For example, Wang Ze’s 王則 Maitryan uprising in Beizhou 貝州 in 1047-1048, the Fang La rebellion in Muzhou 睦州 in 1119-1120, and Wang Zongshi’s 王宗石 (Wang Nianjing 王念經) uprising in Xinzhou 信州 in 1130.

¹⁷ Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

¹⁸ Zhipan 志磐, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖统纪 (Taishō ed.), T2035, 47: 425a, 54: 475a.

¹⁹ For the interactions between Buddhists and the Song government on these issues, see Mark Halperin; Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

official sources, the White Lotus and White Cloud movements were often called the “White Lotus vegetarians” 白蓮菜 or the “White Cloud vegetarians” 白雲菜, in order to humiliate their members for their unlawful activities. Many of these local traditions were rather passed down through oral traditions and family networks, rather than in written doctrinal scriptures. (Although the White Cloud movement is highly textual in its massive canon printing operation, only two short writings by the sect’s founder survive in its entire canon.) Different from the Song government’s perspective, local people usually did not feel an obligation to identify or tie themselves to a particular sect. They had plenty of choices among parties and religious venues for salvation and to attain merit for family members.²⁰

Comparing the White Lotus and the White Cloud movements, Overmyer concludes that these two groups began in the same part of Jiangnan, during the same dynasty, and in much the same way.²¹ In the end, the White Lotus kept growing centuries after the Yuan dynasty, but the White Cloud was extinct by the early Ming. Overmyer identifies six differences between these two sects: 1) The White Lotus was more widely dispersed than the White Cloud. The White Lotus was popular in Guangxi and Henan, while the White Cloud remained in Zhejiang. 2) The White Lotus leaders and members married, while the White Cloud required members to stay celibate (though this was no longer mandatory during the Yuan period). 3) The White Lotus was rich in rituals such as healing and the recitation of Amitābha’s name, but the White Cloud did not have any rituals. 4) The White Cloud enjoyed imperial favor early in the Yuan dynasty and became

²⁰ See Hansen, *Changing Gods*, preface; ter Haar, “Buddhist-Inspired Options: Aspects of Lay Religious Life in the Lower Yangzi from 1100 until 1340,” *T’oung Pao* 87.1 (2001): 92-152.

²¹ Overmyer 1982 P616.

more dependent on the government. 5) The Maitreya tradition and the idea of a future Buddha to come was central to White Lotus teachings. The White Cloud did not emphasize a theme like this. 6) The White Lotus founder Mao Ziyuan's 茅子元 (1086-1166) teachings were influenced by the Tiantai School 天台宗, while the White Cloud founder Kong Qingjue's teachings were influenced by the Huayan School 華嚴宗.²² In this dissertation, I shall analyze the uniqueness of the White Cloud movement compared with the White Lotus sect. The White Cloud movement had a shorter life than the White Lotus and focused less on scriptures and rituals. The White Lotus movement persisted longer and had greater impact across the empire. But there are much deeper differences between these two movements.

To summarize some basic similarities between the White Lotus and the White Cloud sects: 1) There was no central deity or god that either one of these sects worshiped. 2) Both sects' main followers were lay commoners, rather than political elites or literati. 3) These two movements could be called "people's religion" (in Japanese, *shomin shūkyō*; Chinese, *shumin zongjiao* 庶民宗教) that fell between popular local beliefs (*minjian xinyang* 民間信仰) and monastic religions. 4) Both two movements formed organized societies (*she* 社) or assemblies (*hui* 會) that were considered to be religious orders (*kyūdan* 教団; *jiaotuan* 教團) by the government. 5) They were both popular in the Jiangnan region. 6) Both movements' activities transcended the realm of religious affairs and extended into civil life.

²² Overmyer 1982 P616-7.

Finally, religious syncretism in the Song and Yuan periods was a significant component of how the “Song-Yuan-Ming Transition” is understood.²³ Whereas current scholarship reevaluates the importance of the Yuan dynasty in the tremendous development of economy and society from the Song to the mid-Ming periods, not much attention has been given to religion and religious movements as factors rather than a consequence of that development. While individual localities and the state negotiated the ordering of the society, religious networks played a pivotal role similar to that of socio-political networks. The syncretism of three religions shown in Song art and literature, derived largely from non-official sources. But the Mongol Yuan state adopted and valued this tradition and made lay movements and religious sects promote the syncretistic tradition. The Song state, bounded within its imperial Confucian ideology, restrained or banned non-orthodox religions, but the Yuan state legitimated them, out of social concerns and in pursuit of merit. The Mongols actually politicized the White Cloud sect by creating offices and offering ways for lay people to seek religious choices. Overall, I take the White Cloud to be an example of Song-Yuan syncretism, as a product of the negotiation between the state and local lay groups over spiritual merits, financial interests, and ways to organized society. For the White Cloud, the Yuan period was the peak of this syncretistic trend, when the state and the White Cloud achieved their greatest mutual benefit as the government protected unorthodox religious activities. Also, non-religious activities conducted by the White Cloud group, such as farmland annexation and monastic registration, remained in a grey area because the White Cloud’s official status.

²³ See Smith and von Glahn, *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition*; Robert Hymes, “Sung Society and Social Change,” in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 5, part 2, *Sung China, 960–1279* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 526-664. There was an international conference of “Middle Period China” (800-1400) at Harvard in 2014, but religion was not a major topic there.

Local governments found it hard to persecute them, and the central government found them hard to control. Such non-religious activities challenged the White Cloud sect's legitimate role as an official religious organization. Religious syncretism in the Yuan dynasty, as in the case of the White Cloud movement, was an inseparable part of the "Song-Yuan-Ming Transition." The syncretistic religious group's active involvement in local religious and civil affairs deeply shaped the social and political transformations taking place at the same time.

Geography, ecology, and economy

The White Cloud sect was rooted within the rich Jiangnan region, in the agricultural hinterland of Hangzhou, Huzhou 湖州, and Jiaxing 嘉興. The so-called Hang-Jia-Hu Plain 杭嘉湖平原 was home to the sect's religious sites and its population of devotees. They were based in the emerging market towns connected by rivers and canals. As a subregion of the Lower Yangtze macroregion (also of the Jiangnan region, or of the Lake Tai Plain 太湖平原), the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain retained its commercial development and local economy after the Mongol conquest.²⁴ This subregion lay within what was historically called the Right Zhe area 浙右 or the Western Zhe area 浙西. Under the Southern Song dynasty, largely because Hangzhou was the empire's capital, the Jiangnan region was the most developed and populous area. The Jiangnan region was also the intellectual center of China. Educated literati, scholar officials, and religious

²⁴ Here I apply Skinner's physiographic macroregions for late imperial China to the Song-Yuan period. The historical Jiangnan region and the Lower Yangtze are not exactly the same. I use the Jiangnan region throughout this dissertation. See G. William Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977).

clergy produced remarkable works of literature and art. Hangzhou and the Jiangnan region were also among the most popular Chinese Buddhist centers, a tradition going back to the Wuyue Kingdom (907-978 CE), which had embraced Buddhism from its capital at Hangzhou.²⁵ From the Wuyue to the Song periods, Hangzhou and Huzhou also became the leading areas for commercial printing, especially for the printing of Buddhist books.

The natural environment of the Jiangnan region consists of the lowland delta surrounding Lake Tai 太湖. It is rich in water resources, connected by the Yangzi and the Qiantang 錢塘江 Rivers. Local people developed extensive irrigation systems to prevent and control floods during the Song period.²⁶ The economy of Jiangnan was based on both local and regional networks of inland waterways and coastal maritime trade routes. Water transportation in the region was the most developed in East Asia at the time thanks to the Grand Canal 運河.

From the Wuyue to Song periods (tenth to thirteenth centuries), many local and regional canals were built and many wetlands were converted into farmland for the first time. The newly formed water system also accelerated the development of crops. Leading categories of agricultural products included rice, tea, and cotton, and leading

²⁵ As a regional power in the tenth century, the Wuyue Kingdom is known for state patronage of Buddhism; the production and copying of Buddhist sūtras (not printing); and dredging, flood prevention, canal irrigation, and land reclamation—agricultural development and ecological transformation. For Buddhism and diplomacy under the Wuyue kingdom, see Edmund H. Worthy, “Diplomacy for Survival: Domestic and Foreign Relations of Wu Yüeh, 907-978,” in *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 17-44. For the legacy of Wuyue Buddhism into the Northern Song, see Huang Chi-Chiang, “Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou: A Convergence of Interest,” in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter Gregory and Daniel Getz (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 295-339.

²⁶ The Jiangnan delta region could be compared with Vietnam’s Mekong delta region.

manufactured products included porcelains and silks.²⁷ Rich water resources in the region and the timber resources from western Huzhou and along the Tianmu Mountain terrain enabled the production and transportation of paper and ink, the key commodities for printing Buddhist books. The Hang-Jia-Hu Plain was the main region producing these key commodities. Successful businesses and increasing private ownership of farmland fostered local rich families and elite gentries. The so-called “water towns” 水鄉, which still exist today, are special water bound market towns on the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain. Many of these were established by big local families. Metropolitan Hangzhou and neighboring urbanized centers formed a huge market for commercial activities and a culture of consumption. The Southern Song culture of Hangzhou and Jiangnan were known for their luxury and waste through irrational consumption.

The Jiangnan region was one of the most densely populated areas in China during the Song-Yuan period, partly due to new immigrants arriving from North China following the fall of the Northern Song dynasty in 1127 CE and the collapse of the Jin dynasty in 1234 CE. Jiangnan’s economic development and local social dynamism grew continuously across the Northern-Southern Song and Song-Yuan transitions.

Thanks to greater available sources and a high concentration of intellectual writings, Jiangnan has been historians’ focal point in Song and Yuan studies. This “Jiangnanology,” as I have argued, should take into account more of the unique character of the region rather than applying the “Jiangnan paradigm” as a representative example of

²⁷ For the Song Jiangnan economy, see Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū* 宋代江南經濟史の研究. Chinese trans. Fang Jian and He Zhongli. Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2012.

China at that time.²⁸ We should adopt a “Jiangnan exceptionalism” that treats Jiangnan as an experimental field in which the central government implemented new policies and created new institutions. From this perspective, “colonial Jiangnan” under Mongol Yuan rule maintained local groups such as the White Cloud sect, who were notable for their organization skills and communication strategies with the foreign rulers who valued and hired them. Local groups in Jiangnan were able to secure direct court patronage for both spiritual life and for popular activities such as Buddhist book printing and the building of infrastructure.

Accompanying the commercialization and urbanization during the Song-Yuan transition, market towns emerged and became more common, leaving room for local autonomy, both spatially and politically. Spatially speaking, these market towns, whether along waterways or in agricultural terrain, had no clear boundaries. They kept expanding and incorporating new residents and settlements to become cities without walls. Politically speaking, administrative power during the Yuan dynasty was held collectively at the central court and in the newly established provinces 行省 (i.e., Branch Secretariats 行中書省). This new system left prefectural and county governments limited room for retaining local revenues and managing local resources. A power vacuum resulted, making space for local groups such as the White Cloud sect to step in and take charge of local affairs. Though Yuan local administration was weak, basic administrative seats were established in the cities and counties. However, the market towns in the Jiangnan region

²⁸ Recent scholarly initiatives to challenge the Jiangnan model include a 2015 panel at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, “Alternative Perspectives on the Yuan-Ming Transition” The papers presented there raised questions against the hypothesis that “Jiangnan was representative of China as a whole and that Neo-Confucian institutions dominated the society after the Ming dynasty.”

were not part of that system due to a lack of imperial officials. The stability of imperial control in market towns depended on a town's proximity a local county seat and the number of government officials physically present there. The administration and security of market towns and villages in the Yuan dynasty were maintained by a system call *cunshu* 村社, "village assembly." Usually a local elder held in high regard was named as the head of local society, either as *xiangzhang* 鄉長, "canton head," or *shezhang* 社長, "assembly head."²⁹ He was responsible for daily civil affairs and general management of rituals, education, security, and agriculture, in his own town or village. Thus, the order of local society in the Yuan Jiangnan region was mainly in the hands of these local elites.

The urbanization of market towns, driven by elite localism, stimulated and also benefited from temple building activities. As Richard von Glahn argues in his studies of Jiangnan market towns' religious lives, "The building of temples often marked a village market's arrival as a town of some prominence."³⁰ Von Glahn's study does not, however, analyze cross-town or inter-town networks. He also does not distinguish between temple relocation and deity relocation, or different types of temples. The White Cloud sect's affiliate temples had no special deity or unified building style. They could either be big monastic complexes or private house shrines. Von Glahn's three case studies, including Jinze 金澤 (local elite family driven), Nanxiang 南翔 (industry driven), and Puyuan 濮院 (government driven), still do not give any evidence of temple driven development in which temple building was the key factor for the emergence and growth or the decline

²⁹ These local units could also be called "urban wards," *fang* 方; see Ruth Mostern, "Dividing the Realm in Order to Govern": *The Spatial Organization of the Song State (960-1276 CE)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 258.

³⁰ von Glahn 2003: 196.

and elimination of a market town. His research only shows that the connection between town building and temple building are strong. My research investigates how the White Cloud sect supported temple buildings in different market towns and allocated local resources for public projects such as Buddhist printing. The White Cloud movement did not arise from urban temples in the largest cities, like Hangzhou and Huzhou, but was rather the product of regional urbanization, as smaller individual market towns developed. My hypothesis is that the White Cloud sect's growth relied heavily on market towns and canal networks, rather than on cities and political centers. This character of the White Cloud movement prevented its spread into cities in the Hang-Jia-Hu subregion, as well as outside of it.

Sources

There has never been a comprehensive study of the history of the White Cloud movement, including its canon printing projects and connections with the Yuan bureaucracy. The only Western work on the White Cloud movement is Daniel Overmyer's 1982 article "The White Cloud Sect in Sung and Yüan China."³¹ In that essay, he briefly introduces the history of the movement from the Song to Yuan periods, defines it as a sect, and translates part of Kong Qingjue's writings. There are other English-language books that discuss heretic sects in Chinese history and mention the White Cloud movement, often together with the White Lotus movement. They include, but are not limited to, Kwang-Ching Liu's *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China* (1990), Kwang-Ching Liu and Richard Shek's *Heterodoxy in Late Imperial China* (2004), and

³¹ Overmyer (1982).

Hubert Seiwert's *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History* (2003).³²

Western scholars of popular beliefs and local religious activities in the Jiangnan region during the Song-Yuan periods tend to focus more on deity worship and practical rituals, a tendency seen in the work of Valerie Hansen and Richard von Glahn.³³ Such research separates classes of people into different categories of worships and activity. Barend ter Haar, in his article "Buddhist-Inspired Options: Aspects of Lay Religious Life in the Lower Yangzi from 1100 until 1340," is the only scholar to point out the flexible choices of local religious activists and the fusion of various religious practices and merit-seeking activities. In this article, he also studied the donors' list for the Puning 普寧藏 and Qisha canons 磧砂藏.

Japanese scholars, however, have made great strides in studying the White Cloud movement. Shigematsu Shunshō 重松俊章 and Haraguchi Norimasa 原口徳正 were the earliest Japanese scholars who introduced the White Cloud sect.³⁴ Ogasawara Senshū 小笠原宣秀, in his studies of the Pure Land school in China, talks about local unlawful religious activities and their connections with the White Cloud and White Lotus sects.³⁵ Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫弑 has contributed the most to the study of the White Cloud sect.

³² Overmyer notes that Western scholars who mentioned about the White Cloud movement before his 1982 article are Paul Pelliot (1903), J. J. M. de Groot, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*; Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China, a Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), and Overmyer, *Folk Buddhist Religion*.

³³ Hansen, *Changing Gods*; von Glahn, *Sinister Way*.

³⁴ Shigematsu Shunshō 重松俊章, 宋元時代の白雲宗門 *Shien* 史淵 2(1930):39-54. Haraguchi Norimasa 原口徳正, "Hakuunshū wa gisō Manikyō nari" 白雲宗は偽装摩尼教なり, *Jōdogaku* 浄土学 13 (1938): 93-101.

³⁵ Ogasawara Senshū (1963).

Two of his articles discuss the organization and local activism of the White Cloud sect.³⁶ He also studied the organization of the Buddhist canon printing bureau in another article.³⁷ Furthermore, he was the first scholar to notice the Tangut sponsor Li Huiyue 李惠月/李慧月 (or the Chan Master Bright 光明禪師) based on extant colophons and stamps on Puning canon sūtras.³⁸ Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章 studied the phenomenon of “people of the way” in the Song dynasty and connected them with the White Cloud movement in his studies of its history under the Yuan dynasty.³⁹ The most recent Japanese studies of the White Cloud movement have focused on the lists of monastic members and lay patrons of the Puning canon printing project, including two articles by Kitamura Takashi 北村高 and Nozawa Yoshimi 野沢佳美.⁴⁰ Nozawa has also studied the printing enterprise of the Huzhou’s Miaoyan Monastery 妙嚴寺, the former monastery of the White Cloud sect’s chief abbot Dao’an and the producer of the Puning canon’s predecessor.⁴¹ In addition, Susumu Kajiura 梶浦晉 has also studied the Puning canon, including its brief history, general contents, and the order of its canon’s sūtras.⁴²

Chinese-language scholarship has paid less attention to the White Cloud sect. Sun Kekuan 孫克寬 was the first scholar to introduce the history of the White Cloud sect in

³⁶ Ogawa Kan’ichi (1951, 1958)

³⁷ Ogawa (1969).

³⁸ Ogawa (1942).

³⁹ Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章. 宋代浙西の道民について. 東洋史研究 (3)1977: 398-424., and revised in *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū* 中国仏教社会史研究 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1982); Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章. 元代白雲宗の一考察. 仏教の歴史と文化: 仏教史学会 30 周年記念論集. 仏教史学会. 1980:321-339, and revised in *Sō-Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 宋元佛教文化史研究 (Kyoto: Kyūko Shoin, 2000).

⁴⁰ Kitamura Takashi (1995); Nozawa Yoshimi (2005).

⁴¹ Nozawa (2004).

⁴² Susumu Kajiura (2001).

the Yuan dynasty in a very short essay.⁴³ Ding Guofan 丁國范 introduced the history of the sect in the Yuan dynasty in great detail and cited many primary sources (mainly literati writings) that had not been mentioned before.⁴⁴ There are also Yuan historians such as Chen Gaohua 陳高華 who studied prominent figures that related to the White Cloud sect, such as Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真加/楊璉真伽/楊璉真迦.⁴⁵ Notable scholars of the Chinese Puning canon include Li Jining 李繼寧 and He Mei 何梅, and of the Tangut Hexi canon Shi Jinbo 史金波, Sun Bojun 孫伯君, Duan Yuquan 段玉泉, and Cui Hongfen 崔紅芬.⁴⁶

Earlier scholarship on the White Cloud sect generally treats it as a homogeneous religious group. Scholars have addressed issues of coherent historical development, dependence on government policies, and the work of printing the Buddhist canon. My work focuses on the heterogeneous character of the movement. The “White Cloud sect,” as a symbol or brand, has attracted different groups of people (to find ways to use the name) and produced different cultural and religious products, namely Buddhist canons and grotto arts. The reasons for the coexistence and mutual benefit of various White Cloud adherents during the Yuan dynasty will be the central focus of my research. Different groups found ways to make use of the “White Cloud sect” in fields of political and social influence, and in spiritual and artistic attainment. More precisely, previous scholars ignored the elements relevant to the success of the White Cloud movement,

⁴³ Sun Kekuan (1967).

⁴⁴ Ding Guofan (1992).

⁴⁵ Chen Gaohua, 1991, 2006

⁴⁶ Works of these Chinese Tangutologists will be cited in Chapters 3 and 5.

including Tangut diasporas, local lay small-scale donors, grotto carving, and geographical context. I shall take all of them into account in my work.

Previous scholarship has also been limited by the variety of primary sources. Most scholars have restricted themselves to Buddhist chronicles and official records. Due to the movement's illegal status and the lack of Buddhist canon printing business, Song sources are scarce. Most Song primary sources are official ones, which judge the movement from either a Confucian or Buddhist perspective. Also, the movement was loosely organized and less influential, and therefore fewer of its activities appear in historical records. For the Yuan dynasty, there are ample primary sources. These sources not only include official documents but also private accounts. There are also useful sources in Buddhist and non-Buddhist literature, as well as the visual arts, like the grottos of the Southern Hill 南山.

Most extant materials are either official documents or literati writings derived from first-hand knowledge and hearsay. The only sources written by the White Cloud participants themselves are Kong Qingjue's two small books and Dao'an's commentary on one of them, the Puning canon's donor vow statements, and grotto inscriptions. There are no self-made texts surviving, such as teachings, meeting schedules, practical rituals, and the movement's own historical accounts. As a result, our understanding of White Cloud members' self-identity depends highly on external sources. With respect to literati writings, Mark Halperin in *Out of the Cloister* points out that new positive perspectives of literati toward monastic Buddhists emerged during the Song dynasty.⁴⁷ This

⁴⁷ Halperin, *Out of the Cloister: Literati Perspectives on Buddhism in Sung China, 960-1279* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006). On Song literati elites and popular religions, see also

phenomenon took place simultaneously with the emergence of Neo-Confucianism, as well as the weakening of ties between the state and Buddhist monasteries. The Song offers more examples of such ties in the close friendships between Confucian scholars and Buddhist masters and the literati embrace of Buddhist lifestyles and Buddhist arts. However, these literati were often found in a position together with monastic monks and of judging or being hostile towards lay religious practitioners. These can be seen in their writings, especially in the case of the White Cloud. Therefore, most primary sources seem to have negative accounts of the movement. Very few sources actually praised or recognized the contributions of the movement in local society. Some accounts depict the devastation that the White Cloud movement wrought on local society. But some accounts exaggerate due to the influence of Chinese Neo-Confucian polemics against lay religious-cultural activities. The vilification of local officials through court memorial reports also directed the general impression of Chinese literati on the White Cloud movement.

The primary sources I employ fall into ten categories:

1) Official chronicles, especially the *Songshi* 宋史 and *Yuanshi* 元史, often criticize the White Cloud movement and include records of public policies and court memorials.

2) Buddhist historical chronicles by orthodox Chan Buddhist monks, who also criticized the White Cloud movement and questioned the legitimacy of its religious practices. Three main Buddhist chronicles talk about the White Cloud movement, including Zongjian's 宗鑑 *The Orthodox Tradition of Buddhism* (*Shimen zhengtong* 釋門

Hsien-Huei Liao, "Popular Religion and the Religious Beliefs of the Song Elite, 960-1276," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2001.

正統) of 1237, Zhipan's 志磐 1269 *Comprehensive Record of the Buddha and Buddhist Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記), and Jue'an's 覺岸 *Historical Studies of Buddhism in Outline* (*Shishi jigulüe* 釋氏稽古略) from 1354.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the accounts preserved in Buddhist chronicles also offer the most biographical information about the White Cloud monk Kong Qingjue and the history of Song and Yuan government persecution of the movement.

3) Laws that regulated or proscribed the White Cloud movement, or orders for the establishment of relevant bureaus of religious affairs. There are legal cases showing the disputes that involved White Cloud members, such as those contained in the *Yuan dianzhang* 元典章.

4) Buddhist canons printed by or related to the White Cloud sect in the Yuan dynasty, including the Puning Canon, the Qisha Canon, and the Tangut script Hexi Canon. They show the profound influence of the White Cloud sect and its canon editing and printing teams on Chinese and Tangut canonical traditions. Also, the donors' list from the Buddhist sūtras in these printed canons provide a huge amount of data about the donors' numbers, social status, family background, and size of donation, among other factors. These data about the movement's lay devotee foundation will be used to analyze the local network of these donors and the religious landscape of local society in the Jiangnan region.

5) Records written by or for scholar-officials, including court memorial statements for imperial audiences 奏表, tomb epitaphs, and records of officials' career

⁴⁸ Relevant sources are found principally in *Shimen zhengtong*, chapter 4; *Fozu tongji*, chapters 46, 48, and 54; and *Shishi jigulüe*, chapter 4.

accomplishments 政績記. These come mostly from the hands of Chinese literati and include information about the officials' memos for implementing government orders to support or persecute the movement. Many of these records convey the complains of local officials during the Yuan dynasty, not just because the White Cloud movement's activities violated the moral standard that scholar-officials held, but even more because officials worried about the loss of local government tax revenue and social disorder.

6) Local gazetteers. Because of the limited number of local gazetteers produced under the Yuan, few mention the White Cloud movement. Also, because the White Cloud movement was popular in market towns, writers of local gazetteers in bigger counties or cities in the region did not notice or recognize them.

7) Personal or leisure writings by literati, including anecdotes, legends, journals, and other personal accounts.

8) Epigraphic evidence. In addition to the above-mentioned epitaphs, there are stone inscriptions for the building of temples, bridges, grottos, and other sites related to the White Cloud movement.

9) Sect founder Kong Qingjue's two books: *Collection of Virtuous Acts* (*Zhengxing ji* 正行集) and *Record for Apprentice* (*Chuxue ji* 初學記). They were included in the Puning canon in 1312. These are the only works that show the teachings of Kong and are thus the only sources to define the White Cloud movement's religious identity.

10) Tangut language materials, including a Tangut translation of Kong Qingjue's *Collection of Virtuous Acts* and some other texts mentioning a "White Cloud Buddhist"

or “White Cloud Master” that might refer to Kong Qingjue as some Tangutologists have speculated.⁴⁹

It is notable that there is new increased attention to the White Cloud sect in its birthplace of Yuhang, Hangzhou. On October 12, 2015, a conference called the “First Hangzhou Yuhang Grand Puning Monastery and Vernacular Buddhism Academic Symposium” 首屆杭州餘杭南山大普寧寺與民間佛教學術研討會 was held near the Southern Hill in Pingyao 瓶窯, Yuhang.⁵⁰ According to the online news, panel discussions included studies of the White Cloud sect, the Puning canon, and the grottos in the Southern Hill. The conference attendees agreed to publish a book series called *History and Culture of Buddhism in the Southern Hill* 南山佛教歷史文化叢書 in the near future, including scholarly work on the White Cloud sect, canon printing, and the grottos, as well as a compilation of primary sources about the White Cloud sect. The local government claimed to build a temple complex called “Yuhang Southern Hill White Cloud Three Teachings/Religions Cultural Ecological Park” 餘杭南山白雲三教文化生態園. The Southern Hill is not a popular pilgrimage site in the modern era, since it only attracted local visitors after the Cultural Revolution. However, according to the construction plan for this “ecological park,” the temple complex will include a “Vulture Lecture Monastery” 靈鷲講寺 with an area for pilgrims 朝拜區, a temple for local deities called the “Buddha Light Cloister” 佛光院, a school for Confucian national

⁴⁹ For Tangut script input, I use the font and software by Liu Changqing 柳常青, *Xi Xia wen dianzi zidian ji shurufa ruanjian* 西夏文電子字典及輸入法軟件 (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 2013). For standard Chinese and English translations of Tangut character, I use Li Fanwen’s 李範文 Sino-Tangut dictionary, *Xia-Han zidian* 夏漢字典, rev. ed. (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2008).

⁵⁰ http://science.china.com.cn/2015-10/14/content_8295058.htm

education (*guoxue* 國學) called the “Cloister for Promoting Literature” 弘文院, a hotel for household Buddhists *jushi* 居士 called “Cloister of Eight Leaves” 八葉院, a apartment for retirees called the “Cloister of Correct Fruit” 正果院, a center for Chan Buddhist retreat *chanxiu* 禪修 called the “Bodhi Cloister” 菩提院, and a research center for vernacular Buddhism in Zhejiang 浙江民間佛教研究中心. Although this plan does not include reconstruction of the Puning canon or the printing of a new Buddhist canon, the local government’s great ambition to consecrate the Southern Hill site and institutionalize local religious activists certainly does not fall short of the Mongol conquerors’ ambitions!

Chapter outline

The White Cloud movement was a very heterogeneous group of people doing diverse things in the name of the sect. There were devout laypeople and monks, extortionist elites, and profit-making Tangut printers. All of them acted in the name of the White Cloud sect. In order to better understand how and why these different groups and activities all coexisted under the White Cloud name, I have divided the chapters into different forms of the White Cloud sect’s name. The White Cloud movement in Chapter 1 was a loose group of local lay practitioners who were persecuted by the Song government as heretics and foolish people in general. In the early Yuan, the White Cloud movement became an official sect designated by the Mongols. The rulers treated it as a homogeneous Buddhist sect, but different groups of participants made it into heterogeneous entities. The White Cloud movement of Chapter 2 was an official religious

institution that offered economic and spiritual privileges, including property registration, farmland annexation, monastic institutionalization, and the printing of Buddhist canons. In general, the White Cloud movement of Part I (Chapter 1 and 2) was a local interest group throughout the Song-Yuan period.

The White Cloud movement in Chapter 3 was a contractor (and publisher) for printing the Puning canon. It served as a mediator by which different groups extracted local resources and established political connections/networks with the imperial court and prominent Buddhists. In Chapter 4, the White Cloud movement was a local entrepreneur that attracted and raised small-scale donations for printing the Buddhist canon while obtaining spiritual salvation and blessings for the lay donors by sponsorship of Buddhist sūtras. It established social networks linking local well-to-do families and individuals, based in the market towns of the Hang-Jia-Hu plain. Overall, the White Cloud movement of Part II (Chapters 3 and 4) was a social enterprise with a mission to print the Buddhist canon, linking different classes and creating social networks in pursuit of political, economic, and spiritual interests.

The White Cloud movement of Chapter 5, was a religious order that followed the “White Cloud monk” Kong Qingjue’s syncretistic teachings only through the written word. The White Cloud movement in Chapter 6 was a creator of artwork that carved grottos at a site next to the Puning Monastery on the Southern Hill. In Part III (Chapters 5 and 6), the White Cloud movement was syncretistic religious party, in both literary tradition and visual arts. It did not have a core unified doctrine nor a Buddhist philosophy. But its spiritual pursuit and practice were a mix of traditional religions including Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism.

Part I, “Formalizing the Unfamiliar,” includes Chapters 1 and 2 and focuses on the chronology and geopolitics of the White Cloud movement across the Song and Yuan periods. It explains how and why the new Mongol regime formalized disparate local groups of monastic monks, and lay religious practitioners in the Jiangnan region into a new institution—the “White Cloud sect.” It analyzes the historical context of different Yuan policies toward the White Cloud sect and how they affected state-local relations.

Chapter 1, “Eating Vegetables and Serving Devils: The Prehistory of the White Cloud Movement,” compares the policies of the Chinese Song dynasty with those of the Mongol Yuan when dealing with newly emergent local groups. The Song government labeled all of these as “people of the way” and “vegetarian devil worshippers” and persecuted them. By contrast, the Mongol Yuan government designated the White Cloud sect officially, and enforced jurisdiction over the sect’s monasteries, private cloisters and lay followers.

Chapter 2, “Gathering People and Making Profits: The History of the White Cloud Movement,” investigates all institutional establishments and changes for the White Cloud sect throughout the Yuan dynasty. By drawing evidence from official chronicles, government records, literati writings, sūtra colophons, and stone inscriptions, my research argues that the Mongols’ creation and abolishment of offices related to handle White Cloud sect religious affairs were reluctant responses to this growing lay movement and its social activities. The Mongols appointed Tangut diasporic monks, along with Tibetan colleagues, to take charge of these offices. But they ultimately failed to control the movement. White Cloud members were still active up to the fall of the Yuan dynasty. Thus the White Cloud movement was always deeply rooted in local lay society.

Part II, “Networking through the Buddhist Canon,” consists of Chapters 3 and 4 and focuses on the social network and relationships among different parties involved in Buddhist canon printing projects, including the White Cloud sect’s Puning canon and the related Tangut Hexi canon printed in Hangzhou. Different parties included Chinese, Tangut, and Tibetan monks, local canon patrons, editors and printers, local government, religious affairs bureaus, and the Mongol state.

Chapter 3, “Monks and Statesmen,” traces the White Cloud sect’s political network from top to bottom. The Yuan state legalized and continued monitoring the White Cloud movement by employing new migrant non-Chinese monks and statesmen as clergy officials. I point out that the Tangut Buddhist monks played key roles as mediators in the Puning canon printing project, by implementing imperial policies in the sect and its printing workshops. I demonstrate the strong ties among Tangut diaspora monks and their significant influence on the White Cloud sect’s development in the Jiangnan region. I also reveal the close connection between the Puning Canon and the Tangut Canon in general, by showing how the two printing projects shared similar editors, artisans, workshops, patrons, and sponsors.

Chapter 4, “Local Canon Patrons,” traces the White Cloud sect’s social network from the bottom up. I argue that state influence did not extend beyond the canon printing projects and had only limited effect on lay religious practices. Based on data analysis of canon donors’ list and the donors’ spatial distribution, I argue that urbanized market towns in the Hang-Jia-Hu subregion were where most social activists and lay devotees related to canon production lived. These market towns, which connected by canals and waterways, served as the key hubs that concentrated lay patrons of the Puning canon and

enabled them to make small-scale donations for canon printing. These lay patrons, as I discovered from the data, were from mostly Chinese local common households, including private Buddhist practitioners, farmers, craftsmen, low rank local officials, and even independent widows. This composition is similar to the social structure of the local lay donors to the Qisha canon printed in Suzhou during the Song and Yuan dynasties. It proves the financial capability of lay families and patterns of Buddhist merit-seeking patronage in the Jiangnan region with little interruption from the Mongol conquest and governance.

Chapters 5 and 6 of Part III, “Mixing the Three Teachings,” focus on the religious identity of the White Cloud movement. From textual remains and the visual arts produced by the White Cloud sect, we can determine that the sect did not belong to Buddhism or another religious branch, even though the sect printed Buddhist canons. Instead, the teachings and practices of the White Cloud sect reflected contemporary trends toward religious syncretism in the Song-Yuan period, in which lay religious groups did not follow one particular religion. They had plenty of choices for religious activities that fused elements of the “three teachings”—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism.

Chapter 5, “Writings of the ‘White Cloud Monk,’” provides comprehensive translations and analyses of Kong Qingjue’s two books. *Collection of Virtuous Acts* is a guidebook of moral teaching in simple words, for lay audience to memorize and act daily. It borrows many terms from Confucian classics. The Tangut translation is similar and much briefer than the Chinese original. It could come from the Tangut Hexi canon, which is closely connected to the White Cloud sect’s Puning canon. *Record for Apprentice* is a guidebook for beginning Buddhist followers, including both lay and monastic apprentices,

that uses Buddhist jargon and six-character poems for easy recitation. The current version has Dao'an's detailed commentary, which explains Buddhist terms. From these two extant books, I argue that Kong Qingjue did not create any unique ideas or religious doctrines. Buddhist terms used in his texts such as the "four fruitions" and "ten stages" derived from the Huayan school and were popular in the Song dynasty. Therefore, there is neither a central belief of the White Cloud sect, nor teachings about conducting rituals.

Chapter 6, "Grottos of the Southern Hill," introduces the existing grottos carved by the White Cloud sect in the Southern Hill, where the Puning Monastery's headquarters are located. All thirteen grottos have reliefs inside the niches, and their average height is about 2 meters. More than half of them show the sitting Buddha. There are three grottos with unique motifs, including one of a Daoist god and two of different forms of Avalokiteśvara. The vernacular appearance of the sitting Buddha series, their inaccurate *mudrās*, and the unique figures of a Daoist god and special Avalokiteśvara manifestations, demonstrate the syncretistic trend of the White Cloud as a lay religious movement through the use of local artists and patrons for the grottos. Most of the grottos are dated to the Yuan era. There are two inscriptions attached to the grottos that show carving dates from the late Yuan dynasty (1323-1368). This means that the White Cloud sect followers around the Puning Monastery were still active in merit-making projects after the official ban of the sect in the mid-Yuan dynasty. The carving of grottos serves as evidence of the sect's continuous local activism, comparable to Part II's example of local people still printing copies of the Puning canon during the late Yuan dynasty. Local groups related to the White Cloud sect and the Puning Monastery monks never stopped sponsoring and participating in local religious projects throughout the Yuan dynasty.

PART I: Formalizing the Unfamiliar

Chapter 1. Eating Vegetables and Serving Devils: The Prehistory of the White Cloud Movement

As for the deeds of the self-proclaimed “White Cloud evil religion,” who held wide swaths of farmland, forcibly took civil property, harmed innocents, and left no means by which to argue with them: once the local government questioned a case, there immediately arose crowds to make rumors and bribe officials. There was no boundary between white and black [justice and evil], the poor became poorer and stuck in their duties. Only they [the White Cloud members] do whatever they want and do not submit even one inch of silk or one granule of grain to the government. If local commoners and families tried to accuse them, then they would ask their staff to collect false evidence and accuse these common families in return. They were rooted in society for a long time, and people viewed them as dangerous animals. In their eyes there were no laws Ziyu said, “They will not exist as long as I am still alive! Now I rule our society according to the order of the Son of Heaven. Who are these demon worshippers? Are they going to cause trouble for our politics and for our children . . . ? The evil in their monstrous religion comes from their worship of demons.”⁵¹

Lu Ziyu, *Record of Eliminating Monsters* (1218)

然自夫白雲魔教之滋也，而雄據阡陌，豪奪民業，銜辛茹毒，罔所訴理。有司一問，則群噪醜賄，白黑淆亂，弱下窶乏，困於徭征，則獨偃然自肆，寸絲粒粟，不入公上。群黎邑畛或以赴訴，則賦吏鬻證，反為所誣。根深蒂固，歲月滋久，民視若禽獸，然視法禁無如也。 子適曰：有我則無汝。今奉天子命，司民人社稷，叁鬼何為者，亂吾政、賊吾赤子？ 魔教之妖，人之奉鬼者也。

陸子適 除妖害記（嘉定十一年 1218）

This is only appearance of the “White Cloud” movement referred to as religion (*jiao* 教) in historical records of the Song dynasty. Although in this quote the official Lu Ziyu (1178-1250) called the White Cloud an evil *jiao*, an “evil religion,” we cannot

⁵¹ Lu Ziyu 陸子適, “Chu yaohai ji” 除妖害記 (*Record of Eliminating Monsters*), in *Minsu zhi* 民俗志, *Zhizheng Jinling xin zhi* 至正金陵新志, ch. 8. See also Li Jingfeng 李景峰 “Zhiguanzhi: Minghuan” 職官志: 名宦, in *Suyang xian zhi* 溧陽縣志, ch. 9.

conclude that there was such an exclusive White Cloud religious order in the Song period. People in the Song usually did not call the White Cloud movement a religion. Chinese scholar-officials preferred to refer to spiritually related group gatherings as heterodoxy, different from mainstream monastic religions and officially recognized popular beliefs. But what we really see here is these spiritual interests driving people's ability to collaborate on public affairs in local society and socially influencing both local citizens and government. In spite of all the negative narratives of their activities, people involved in the White Cloud movement sought to accumulate local resources, including farmlands and household properties. The competition over local resources is partly the reason for the government's negative treatment of local religious movements. They also held high reputations in local society, whether due to common people's fear or respect. As we scrutinize primary sources, including official writings and orthodox Buddhist chronicles, we find that the White Cloud movement during the Song period was seen very negatively. Officials and orthodox Buddhists spoke out against non-official religious movements.

The White Cloud movement was a part of popular lay activities embodying what the government saw as problematic spiritual pursuits and suspicious practices, including “eating vegetables and serving devils” 吃菜事魔, and “people of the way” 道民. The former was a negative label given by the government, whereas the latter was the autonym of these group members and individuals themselves to indicate their Buddhist devotion. These two categories were integrated, such that a person could be both. The Song rulers and Confucian scholars usually viewed these two phenomena both as markers of participation in secret societies or unlawful organizations. I argue that there was no clear structure of leadership among these people during the Song, but the majority of Yuan

White Cloud sect members were local people from these Song popular local activists and devotees, along with a minority of monks who followed the teachings of the White Cloud monk Kong Qingjue 孔清覺. This chapter discusses the evolution of the sect from the Song to the early Yuan.

“Those who eat vegetables and serve devils,” or just “vegetarian devil worshippers,” became a negative title for people in Western Zhe area (Liangzhe route) whom the Northern and Southern Song governments found to be involved in suspicious spiritual events. They were known for unapproved “assembling at night and dispersing at dawn” 夜聚晓散, “instant assembling and sudden dispersing” 倏聚忽散, and “men and women mixing indiscriminately” 男女混杂. The term “White Cloud Vegetarians” 白雲菜 was used to refer to the movement. “Eating vegetables and serving devils” was a very flexible term that the Song government created. The people who were accused of conducting activities like this were various casually organized groups, rather than a centralized religious sect. Some of them could be related to other millennialist movements and lay Buddhist groups that had their own systems of teachings and practice, as well as clear leadership structures.

“People of the way,” was a name for those lay people who were involved in non-monastic religious activities and local infrastructure projects. The “Way” (*dao*) of *daomin* originally referred to the Buddhist way or dharma after Buddhism’s arrival in China. “People of the way” was title that practitioners claimed for themselves, and the character *dao* often appeared in the names of local lay individuals. In the eyes of the Song government, they represented a wrong way that was neither promoted nor approved by

the government. “People of the way” were the participants and predecessors of the lay movements of religious elements such as the “White Cloud,” the “White Lotus,” and Chinese Manichaeism in the Song-Yuan period. On the other hand, we rarely see any records of both people who were “eating vegetables and serving devils” and groups of “people of the way” in the Yuan dynasty. This was the result of shifting government policies toward lay religious practice and official designations of lay groups, including the White Cloud sect, a subject for the next chapter.

Self-styled “people of the way” and government-labeled “vegetarian devil worshippers” had similarities. First, their activities and public appearances made them different from common people’s normal daily lives, and their spiritual lives were different from typical monastic lives too. Second, they might not have a centralized leadership to oversee different groups, but these people as a whole were very successful at organizing activities, connecting people of different social classes, and collecting funding and local resources, as well as assisting construction projects locally. Third, people from “vegetarian devil worshippers” and “people of the way” were not full-time devout religious cohorts, rather they were part-time meet-up groups. On account of the newly rising market towns, many of them were peasants and land owners. Their religious activities fit in the gap of agricultural seasons and schedules. Fourth, for both “vegetarian devil worshippers” and “people of the way,” these groups’ relationships with the Song state were never successful but rather always received hostile government comment and treatment. For example, once any local unofficial religious activities were labeled as “vegetarian devil worship,” the people involved would immediately suffer a government

ban and persecution. At all bureaucratic levels there was no lenience or room for discussion of these people's social status.

As for the geographical distribution of these troublemaking laypeople, most of them were located in the Jiangnan region, including modern-day southern Jiangsu, Shanghai, and northern Zhejiang. These were the most populated and economically developed regions in both the Song and the Yuan Empires. Most participants of the lay groups were local people of rural commoner social status, based in agriculture and regional commerce. Government officials do not appear to have been participants in local lay movements, because both their official duties and Neo-Confucian moral teachings restrained them from groups with "heterodox" practices. But interestingly, we do see instances in which names of officials appeared as patrons of bridge or temple building projects undertaken by "people of the way." But no official identified himself as a "Person of the Way."

Some local elites had been involved in these popular movements. The localization of social elites in the Jiangnan region shows the close involvement of elites, both those with and without official posts, in local affairs. As shown in the Introduction, the Jiangnan region witnessed development of different religious schools, especially Buddhism, and the popularity of new deities during the Song, especially those who blessed regional merchants. There is no clear evidence of "people of the way" and the White Cloud movement worshipping particular deities, but there should be no doubt that they were not restrained from worshipping different gods since religious syncretism formed the mainstream of popular beliefs in the Song period. Overall, dynamics of commercial development, vernacular life, and regional economy provided many choices

for local people in the Jiangnan region to pursue different forms of spiritual life collectively.

This chapter introduces the early history (or even the pre-history) of the White Cloud movement, from its official condemnation and persecution by the Song dynasty to official recognition and legitimization by Khubilai Khan 忽必烈 (1215-1294) in the early Yuan dynasty. After first discussing the active local groups and their religious lives in the Jiangnan region from 1100 CE, the analysis moves to a discussion of Kong Qingjue's life of and his influence on the White Cloud movement in the Song. It concludes with an explanation for the Yuan dynasty's new policy and the change of official perspectives on these local powerful groups from the Song to the Yuan.

As I shall discuss further, the White Cloud movement before the Mongols' arrival was not a single local religious organization with exclusive teachings and members. It was a lay movement combining religious themes with the pursuit of local welfare. At the end of the Northern Song dynasty, a so-called "White Cloud Monk," Kong Qingjue, was recognized as the founding father of the White Cloud sect. Kong had syncretistic teachings that mixed Buddhism and other moral ideas. There was no practical component to his ideas, and he was not accepted by a wide audience. During the Song period, we see mostly the dynamics of lay groups and movements within local society and observe their ability to influence local construction projects, often in conflict with the interests of the Song government.

In China from the eleventh century onwards, legendary religious masters such as Kong were quite common. They usually created their own syncretistic and easily understood teachings and attracted disciples and followers who could collectively form a

religious group. These masters often provided unorthodox but easy methods to achieve salvation and pursue eternal life and enlightenment in few simple steps. Many of them had millenarian teachings or predicted the coming of Maitreya.

We will see that most participants and supporters of the White Cloud sect in the Yuan were local commoners, including peasants and craftsmen but also rich landowners and families concentrated in the Hangzhou-Jiaxing-Huzhou Plain (the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain). These lay people had connections with White Cloud monasteries and cloisters, which were often privately built and owned since the Song period. The lay people were the leading force of the Yuan-era White Cloud movement. In terms of population and the people who conducted local activities, their power and influence exceeded the monastic Buddhist clergy of the White Cloud. From the Song to the Yuan, White Cloud participants always had clear divisions between monks and lay commoners. In the Song dynasty, the monks who followed Kong Qingjue and his teachings were not ordained at official monasteries and had no officially issued monastic certificate or license 度牒. Although these monks were said to obey to Buddhist principles, including celibacy, maintaining vegetarian diets, and reciting Sūtras, they were still not recognized by the Song government. They were treated still as lay people and had tax duties. More importantly, they faced the risk of persecution and punishment from the government at any time. However, in the eyes of local people, monks and lay Buddhists from private monasteries, including those of the White Cloud, were no different from the monks of officially recognized monasteries. In some sense, local people might feel closer to the former than the latter, due to a monastery's location and sharing a hometown and culture with the monks (official monasteries tended to have more monks come in from other

places). These private temples and cloisters were built by local engineers and craftsmen and located in suburban areas, mostly market towns.

Their financial support and funds for property management were based solely on local donations. Donation methods and amounts were more flexible and acceptable to lay people than were those of the official monasteries. Not all local officials were hostile towards private temples and their affiliated lay believers. There were cases of local officials submitting donations, and some even requested Buddhist ritual performance and infrastructure building from devout lay people. These officials valued the local movement activists' availability, skills, and lower cost for conducting various projects. In construction projects, the "people of the way" were often involved.

Overall, in the Song period, most temples that had connections with the White Cloud movement were not official, so they could not receive tax exemptions. However, the lay movements enjoyed other benefits compared with monastic religions, such as easier and cheaper paths to salvation, convenient locations for social gatherings, skills in property management, and the ability to organize local activities and construction projects. As for "people of the way," they contributed to local society through development projects, undertaken either by individual or private socio-religious groups. They tended to have broad contacts with different groups of people, including different religious institutions, powerful local clans, and even government officials. So their social circles were not limited to only one Buddhist temple or one certain group. Therefore, their religious and social activities could involve quite a variety of people.

In the Yuan dynasty, beginning in the reign of Khubilai Khan, the Mongol rulers favored the White Cloud movement and other lay religious groups. The White Cloud was

recognized officially as a Buddhist sect, and therefore all affiliated monasteries could enjoy a series of privileges including tax exemption, acquisition of property, and donations. The government allowed lay people, including those of “people of the way” and those “eating vegetables and serving devils” to register as members of the White Cloud temples, and had their landed property converted to monastic lands for tax exemption. This good news encouraged a large number of laypeople to attach themselves to the White Cloud sect, regardless of their religious orientation. As we shall discuss in Chapter 2, the broad attachment of lay population to the White Cloud sect during the early Yuan led to a policy shift in the mid and late Yuan dynasty. Because the White Cloud sect had a series of huge impact on the social and political structure of local society in the Jiangnan region.

Throughout the Yuan period, the White Cloud movement still kept a clear division between monks and lay people among its members and supporters in spite of the difference between its development paths during the Song and the Yuan periods. The laymen’s local connections and devotions had shifted in the development of their favored White Cloud sect. In the Yuan dynasty, the number of temples belonging to the White Cloud increased dramatically, and thus many White Cloud monks emerged. These monks started to implement hierarchy, generation division, and lineage. Also among these monks were Tangut monks in addition to the Chinese monks who formed the majority. The laypeople of the White Cloud sect were separate from these monks. They continued the Song traditions of sponsoring and assisting local activities and contributed to the making and publication of Buddhist canons. The canon-printing project was the most successful collaboration between monks and laymen in the White Cloud sect.

“Eating vegetables and serving devils” 吃菜事魔

“Eating vegetables and serving devils” is both a general term and a phrase describing a special phenomenon of lay religious activities beginning in the eleventh century. These activities drew government attention and were given this label by the government. Such a title constituted a negative designation. Chinese literati writings and Buddhist chronicles often described these activities as dangerous and evil and people involved as foolish and in need of correct direction. I argue that these were, in fact, well-organized activities of local laypeople who chose much easier alternatives for spiritual pursuit. These self-organized popular activities were usually night gatherings that dispersed at dawn, gatherings of huge crowds, public speeches, vegetarian banquets, and other events at privately built monasteries and abbeys. Some of them had rules or restrictions such as banning meat and alcohol, as well as commitments to celibate life. Some of the participants were recognized as “monks with hair,” or as lay monks. These people had extensive local networks, especially in Western Zhejiang. They could be organized in associations that collected and allocated funds and resources based on donations from lay followers.

Throughout the Southern Song dynasty, the government implemented a series of edicts and laws to prohibit lay religious practices and the building of private temples. The Song government always held a suspicion and hostile views of non-official religious groups. The government’s deep fear and fierce punishment of local lay religious movements were attributed to the Fang La 方腊 Rebellion in the Jiangnan region at the end of the Northern Song dynasty. The Fang La Rebellion was a devastating, large-scale local revolt against the Song government, initiated by a local secret society (possibly the

Chinese Manichaeism *Monijiao* 摩尼教) and lasting three years (1120-1122). At one point, it controlled six prefectures and fifty-two counties, covering the Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Anhui regions, which were the most developed parts of Jiangnan. Fang La had also conquered Hangzhou, one of China's finest cities, which soon became the capital of the Song Empire when its government relocated after the Jurchen invasion in 1127. Fang La's rebellion in Muzhou 睦州 and neighboring regions received support from Manichean allies and other lay religious groups, diviners, and spiritualists. For example, there was a Manichean leader Quzhou 衢州 named "Demon Master Zhen" 郑魔王 who joined Fang La's rebel forces.⁵² The Chinese scholar Chen Yuan 陳垣 was the first to hint that the title "eating vegetables and serving devils" might refer to Chinese Manicheans.⁵³ After that, several Chinese scholars insisted that the title did indeed refer to Manicheans.⁵⁴

In recent years, however, scholars have suggested that the title was not necessarily connected to Manicheans.⁵⁵ Chikusa Masaaki pointed out that, when the Song government discovered and persecuted suspicious religious activities, they had no clear definition of each religious group. Thus labeling people as "eating vegetables and serving

⁵² See Bi Yuan 畢沅, *Xu zizhi tongjian* 續資治通鑑, ch. 93. On the Fang La rebellion, see Kao Yu-kung 高友工, "A Study of the Fang La Rebellion," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 24 (1962-1963): 17-63.

⁵³ Chen Yuan 陳垣, "Monijiao ru Zhongguo kao" 摩尼教入中國考, in *Chen Yuan xueshu lunwenji* 陳垣學術論文集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 1: 364.

⁵⁴ Wang Guowei 王國維, *Guantang bieji* 觀堂別集, in *Guantang jilin* 觀堂集林, vol. 4, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), 1: 1176-88; Fan Wenlan 范文瀾, *Zhongguo jindaishi* 中國近代史 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1953), 1: 354; Rui Chuanming 芮傳明, "Lun Jiangnan zhi 'chicai shimo' xinyang" 論宋代江南之"吃菜事魔"信仰, *Shilin* 史林 1999.3: 1.

⁵⁵ Chen Gaohua 陳高華, "Monijiao yu chicaishimo – cong Wang Zhi 'Lun zhendao shu' shuoqi" 摩尼教與吃菜事魔—從王質〈論鎮盜疏〉說起, 1982: 98; Lin Wushu 林悟殊, *Monijiao jiqi dongjian* 摩尼教及其東漸 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 142; Rui Chuanming, "Lun Jiangnan zhi 'chicai shimo' xinyang," 2.

devils” was just an indication of unlawful religious groups but not a designation for any particular religious sect.⁵⁶ I agree that the title was just a name for the general phenomenon of newly emerging lay religious movements of whom the government was aware. In fact, even these religious groups themselves were not clearly identified and defined in their teachings and practices. In terms of membership and group division, these people were often mixed among different groups and involved in various kinds of worship and meetings.

The activities of “eating vegetables and serving devils” were found in four main regions—particularly in Jiangnan—including present-day Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Fujian, mostly developed coastal areas. In the transitional period from the Northern to the Southern Song, a booming economy, the reclamation of new lands, the urbanization process, new immigration, and new ideas from Buddhist schools in South China caused the prosperity of various religious societies. It seems that the popular religious movements’ wide spread and freedom from government control began at the time of the Fang La rebellion, and official persecution followed then as well.

The prohibition against those “serving devils and eating vegetables” was strict However, there have been many recently practicing in this way, from Fujian to Wenzhou and reaching Liangzhe [Eastern and Western Zhejiang]. During the Fa La rebellion in Muzhou, their disciples emerged everywhere.”⁵⁷

事魔食菜，法禁甚严。……而近时事者亦众，云自福建流至温州，遂及二浙。睦州方腊之乱，其徒处处相煽而起。

⁵⁶ Chikusa Masaaki, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū* 中国仏教社会史研究, 199.

⁵⁷ Zhuang Chuo 庄绰, *Jilei bian* 鸡肋编.

Beliefs and categories

When the Song scholar-official Wang Zhi 王質 spoke of those who “eat vegetables and serve devils” in the Jiangxi 江西 region, he mentioned their categories. We can see a variety of groups and the names of texts they used. Their practices were “Karmamudrā,” “double meeting,” “white Buddha,” “Diamond Chan.” And their books were *Fotu xinshi* 佛吐心師, *Foshuo tilei* 佛說涕淚, *Xiaoda mingwang chushi* 小大明王出世, *Kaiyuan jing* 開元經, *Kuodi bianwen* 括地變文, *Qitian lun* 齊天論, *Wulai qu* 五來曲.⁵⁸ Some of these appear to be texts of the Manicheans, like the *Xiaoda mingwang chushi*. Another famous Song scholar official, Lu You 陸游, also categorized these groups. He made the definite link of local popular beliefs to secret societies that threatened the state through rebellion. He compared these secret groups with Fang La and historical religious rebels, such as the Yellow turban 黃巾 leader Zhang Jiao 張角 of the Han dynasty and the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice 五斗米道 leader Sun En 孫恩 during the Jin dynasty. He said that Manichaeism (*mingjiao* 明教) was among the most powerful sects at that time. Other names used in different regions for suspicious religious activities include *erkuai zi* 二禳子 in Huainan 淮南, *mou nijiào* 牟尼教 (Manichaeism) in Liangzhe 兩浙, *siguo* 四果 in Jiangdong 江東, *jingang chan* “Diamond Chan” 金剛禪 in Jiangxi 江西, and *mingjiao* 明教 and *jiedi zhai* 揭諦齋 in Fujian 福建.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Wang Zhi 王質, *Xueshan ji* 雪山集.

⁵⁹ Lu You 陸游, “Tiao dui zhuang yi” 條對狀一, in *Weinan wenji* 渭南文集, ch. 5. *Erkuai zi* 二禳子, the Chinese Manichean phrase *shuangzong erhui jing* 雙宗二會經, might refer to *erhui* 二會會 or *erzong* 二宗. See Chen Yuan, “Monijiao ru zhongguo kao,” 365, quoting Li Jian 李兼, “Jie shimo shishi” 戒事魔十詩; and *Jiading Chicheng zhi* 嘉定赤城志, ch.37. “Diamond Chan” 金剛禪, not monastic Chan Buddhist, involved laypeople performing religious activities including the recitation of the Diamond Sūtra, *Bishu*

Although Lu You did not explicitly name the “White Cloud,” we find that the term “Four Fruitions” 四果 for group religious activities in Jiangdong 江東 might refer to the White Cloud. In the orthodox Buddhist chronicle *Shimen zhengtong* (1237), it states that the White Cloud sect was found by Kong Qingjue, who created the theories of “Four Fruitions” and “Ten Stages.”

Among the White Cloud Vegetarians during the Dagan period of Huizong’s reign, monk Kong Qingjue of Baoying Monastery of the Western Capital [Luoyang] resided at White Cloud Chapel in Hangzhou. He established the “Four Fruitions” and the “Ten Stages,” and he wrote several essays. His teachings were in the vernacular, and [his followers] were also called “Ten Stage Vegetarians.”⁶⁰

白雲菜者，徽宗大觀間，西京寶應寺僧孔清覺居杭之白雲庵，立四果、十地，造論數篇。教於流俗，亦曰‘十地菜’。

The “Four Fruition” was a concept influenced by Huayan Buddhism,⁶¹ and Chikusa questioned whether it was related to the White Cloud

Because of the use of another term, the “Ten Stages,” the White Cloud followers were also called the “Ten Stage Vegetarians” in both the *Shimen zhengtong* and the *Fozu tongji* (1269).⁶² The “Ten Stages” (also called the “Ten Habitations” 十住), will be discussed in Chapter 5, on Kong Qingjue’s writings.

luhua 避暑錄話. *Mingjiao* 明教 is the alternative name of Chinese Manichaeism. Lu You called it the “devil religion” 魔教 in his writings: *Laoxue an biji* 老學庵筆記, ch. 10. *Jiedi zhai* is composed of *jiedi* 揭諦, from the Sanskrit *gati*, meaning trend or afterlife destination (translated *qu* 趣 or *dao* 道 in Chinese texts), and *zhai* 齋, which referred to vegetarian meals.

⁶⁰ Zongjian, “Chiwei zhi” 斥偽志, *Shimen zhenotong*, ch. 4; also in Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, ch. 54.

⁶¹ In Buddhism, the “Four Fruitions” 四果, or the four fetters, are the four stages that Śrāvaka should achieve in order to become arahats, that is the four stages of enlightenment. They are Sotapanna 須陀恒果 (stream-enterer 入流果), Sakadagami 斯陀含果 (once-returner 一來果), Anāgāmi 阿那含果 (non-returner 不來果), and Arahāt 阿羅漢果. Each fruition is a step forward from the previous fruition. From the *Samyuktāgama* 雜阿含經.

⁶² Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, ch. 54.

Another Buddhist chronicle *Fozu tongji* places the “White Cloud Vegetarians” 白雲菜 into its section on “Devil Worshipers and Villainous Parties” 事魔邪黨. It thus targeted the White Cloud as the opposite of orthodox Buddhism. However, *Shimen zhengtong* points out that the White Cloud followers are not “wicked people” 奸民 but rather “foolish/absurd people” 愚民. It says that these foolish people cannot be confused with those “vegetarian devil worshippers” 實不可與事魔妖黨同論.⁶³ Therefore, it suggests that the people who were involved in the White Cloud were ignorant and innocent. They were just obsessed and controlled by a few evil leaders, and they were not totally responsible for the events in which they were involved, because these lay people were not clear about what they believed and practiced. Wang Zhi used the term the “sinister way” 左道, which attracted “foolish people” to seek bliss and “wicked people” to seek benefits.⁶⁴ “Foolish people” studied and practiced the “sinister way” and were actually deceived by the leaders who were often called masters *zongshi* 宗師. Their secret society had a strict internal structure, and the masters made and implemented rules. Wang Zhi suggested that once the masters were captured, these groups would become automatically disorganized, and the “foolish people” would return to their normal lives.⁶⁵

Overall, the state and organized Buddhism criticized these lay religious practices, but a wide range of people engaged in these activities. Those “eating vegetables and serving devils” did not constitute a particular group with certain set of beliefs; they had nothing to do with orthodox Buddhist teachings. It was a comprehensive title for all

⁶³ Zongjian, “Chiwei zhi,” ch. 4.

⁶⁴ For more on the “sinister way,” see von Glahn, *The Sinister Way*, 2004.

⁶⁵ Wang Zhi, “Lun zhendao shu” 論鎮盜疏, in *Xueshan ji*, ch. 3.

suspicious lay religious groups. The beliefs of these people were a mix of varied religious schools, local popular beliefs, and other faiths.⁶⁶ The creation and use of this title by scholar officials and the Song government, resulted not from the lay groups' holding unorthodox ideas, but because of their worrisome activities and the risk of social instability.

Activities and official persecution

According to government claims and official records, some common features of the activity of “eating vegetables and serving devils” included but was not limited to: eating vegetables, prohibitions on meats and alcohol, forming groups to read and recite religious texts, circulating cult images and objects, not worshipping orthodox gods and ancestors, not receiving guests, burying corpses naked, rapid assembling and dispersal, mingling of men and women, gathering at night and dispersing at dawn, forming structured organizations with strict principles, spreading out quickly, and growing even faster and wider range after official bans were enacted.⁶⁷ Crowds of from hundreds of people to thousands could attend these group activities.⁶⁸ The participants in unlawful religious activities were mostly laypeople, including peasants, but they could also include intellectuals, officials, and soldiers. Sometimes, there were dress codes, mostly calling for white clothes or white clothes with black caps 白衣烏帽. There were activities including

⁶⁶ For example, these beliefs mixed elements from Daoism, Shamanism, and popular rituals and customs. Ye Mengde 葉夢得, *Bishu luhua* 避暑錄話 j.2 Fang Shao 方勺, “Qingxi kougui” 青溪寇軌, in Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, *Shuofu* 說郛 j.39.

⁶⁷ Zhuang Chuo, *Jilei bian*, ch. 1; Zhang Shou 張守, “Cuo zhi mozei zhazi” 措置魔賊劄子, in *Piling ji* 毗陵集, ch. 3.

⁶⁸ Wang Zhi, *Xueshan ji* 雪山集; Liao Gang 廖剛, “Qijin yaojiao zhazi” 乞禁妖教劄子, in *Gaofeng wenji* 高峰文集, ch.2.

the “white clothes Sūtra assembly” 白衣經會, instruction by the White Clothes Masters 白衣大師 or the White Clothes Way 白衣道.⁶⁹ Neither the activities themselves nor the group was inherently problematic. These were just ways for the state to identify them as harmful and wicked.

These activities were well organized. According to government reports, there was often a leader in each assembly or village called the “devil father” 魔翁, “devil mother” 魔母, “devil head” 魔頭, or “Master” 宗師.⁷⁰ They also had networks connecting them with similar organizations in neighboring villages. Some activities encouraged frugal lifestyles and Buddhist cultivation. The more important functions of their activities were collective projects for social welfare and local development, as well as uniting in lawsuits and in negotiations with the government. Therefore, some activities became more significant in socially and economically rather than religiously. (In the local society of the early Southern Song, these activities filled an important and unmet need created by a booming population, religious diversity, commercialization, and urbanization. As part of their activities, the White Cloud movement also filled this need.) Some organizations of the people “eating vegetables and serving devils” controlled their followers tightly and had more influence than did local government, thus creating a major threat to the stability of social order in the affected areas, mainly villages. (The assemblies were loosely linked and somewhat different from each other.) Such organizations helped their members in mutual support, demonstrating mutual aid and good organization.

⁶⁹ *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 (Beiping: Beiping tushuguan, 1936), xingfa, 2: 132.

⁷⁰ Zhuang Chuo, *Jilei bian*, ch. 1; Wang Zhi, *Xueshan ji*; Li Xinchuan 李心传, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來系年要錄, ch. 76.

Once one family had a problem, people from the same party all extended their power to help [the family].⁷¹
而一家有事，同黨之人皆出力以相賑恤。

Once he joined the party, the poorest member had the whole congregation's financial assistance and thereby became self-supporting through the accumulation of donations. Whoever came across another member [of the party], they did not have to know each other but just took food from their granary. They used all things without individual ownership, and called themselves one family, so they were said to have no boundary. These benefits attracted people.⁷²

始投其黨，有甚貧者，眾率財以助，積微以至於小康矣。凡出入經過，不必相識，黨人皆館穀焉。凡物用之無間，謂為一家，故有無碍被之說。以是誘惑其眾。

In these narratives, they were also called party/faction 黨, revealing the close connections (or sharing of property, time, and identity) inside the organizations.

The Southern Song court, newly set up in Hangzhou after reestablishing order in the wake of the Jurchen conquest, became aware of the newly emerging lay religious groups in the Liangzhe region (present-day Zhejiang). In the fifth moon of Shaoxing 4 (1134) 紹興四年五月, Imperial Diarist 起居舍人 Wang Juzheng 王居正 submitted a court memorial that said:

I have observed the custom of “eating vegetables and serving devils” in the prefectures and counties of Liangzhe. Before the Fang La rebellion, the law governing this matter was loose, and such customs were not so popular. After Fang La, the law became harsher, but the custom of “serving devils” became harder to prohibit. Officials in prefectures and counties witnessed their activities but did not intervene. Some of them coveted recognition or were afraid of incidents. If one traced [these illegal activities] just a little bit, there would be bloodshed in the area. As for household communities and properties, including forests, chickens, and dogs, they were all burned and looted leaving nothing. Over the more than ten years since the pacification of the Fang La rebellion to today, more

⁷¹ Li Xinchuan, *Xinian yaolu*, ch. 76.

⁷² Zhuang Chuo, *Jilei bian*, ch. 1.

than tens of thousands of people have died because of these unfortunate disasters.⁷³

伏見兩浙州縣有吃菜事魔之俗。方臘以前，法禁尚寬，而事魔之俗猶未至於甚熾。方臘之後，法禁愈嚴，而事魔之俗愈不可勝禁。州縣之吏，平居坐視，一切不問則已，間有貪功或畏事者，稍踪迹之，則一方之地，流血積尸，至於廬舍積聚、山林雞犬之屬，焚燒殺掠，靡有孑遺。自方臘之平，至今十餘年間，不幸而死者，不知幾千萬人矣。

This narrative exaggerates its metaphor, but we can still perceive the huge influence of these people in local society and the government's fear of their presence. It again reinforces the big bang of lay religious activities' connection to Fang La and locates the crackdown on such activities in the early Southern Song and in Liangzhe. In the *Important Documents of the Song* (*Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿), there are approximately twenty-six imperial edicts 詔書 and decrees 敕書 from 1092 to 1214 that persecute these people and ban their activities.⁷⁴ Some of them also cite the official court memorials 奏章/奏文.

The peak in issuing these edicts and decrees was the reign of Emperor Gaozong (1127-1162), possibly reflecting the time of most active lay religious activities or government persecutions thereof. It was especially in the aftermath of Fang La rebellion that the government was keen to restore local order and prevent any similar local revolt. It was reported that even the military had practitioners of “eating vegetables and serving devils,” so harsher punishment was suggested.⁷⁵ More activity caused more persecution, but greater persecution did not, in turn, eliminate these activities and groups, something shown above in the 1134 court memorial: “法禁愈嚴，而事魔之俗愈不可勝禁。”

⁷³ Li Xinchuan, *Xinian yaolu*, ch. 76.

⁷⁴ *Song huiyao*: xingfa, ch. 2.

⁷⁵ *Song huiyao*: xingfa, 2: 113, 1145/2/4.

There were officials under Gaozong who understood this problem and suggested that established policy was too harsh. There was a court proposal suggesting that the heads of organizations “eating vegetables and serving devils” be executed but that the followers who did not proselytize be punished with only one hundred strokes.⁷⁶ 臣僚言：“吃菜事魔立法太重，刑部遂立非傳習妖教，除為首者依條處斷，其非徒侶而被誑誘不曾傳受他人者，各杖一百斷罪。” Vice Imperial Censor-in-Chief 御史中丞 Liao Gang 廖剛 and famous doctor Zhuang Chuo 莊綽 both suggested punishing the group’s leader but not the followers.⁷⁷

Overall, the phenomenon of dramatically increased lay religious activity in the Jiangnan local society was new during the Northern and Southern Song crisis, especially after the Fang La rebellion. As it spread, it influenced local social structure and power struggles in various ways. The imperial court and local government did not have a clear idea of what to do, so their preferred course of action was to label (publicly condemn) them as people who “eat vegetables and serve devils,” to ban their activities, and dismiss their groups.

“People of the way” - *daomin* 道民

Unlike the title “eating vegetables and serving devils,” which was deployed by the government, local lay religious activists had their own autonyms. From Song records, including local gazetteers, anecdotes, and donors list from local buildings and Buddhist

⁷⁶ *Song huiyao: xingfa*, ch. 2, 1139/7/8.

⁷⁷ Liao Gang 廖剛, “Qijin yaojiao dazi.” Zhuang Chuo 莊綽, *Jilei bian*, ch. 1.

canons, we often see personal names attached to titles like *daogong* 道公, *daogu* 道姑, *dao zhe* 道者, *daoren* 道人, *daoyou* 道友, or *daolü* 道侶; or a person's name will include the character *dao* 道.⁷⁸ Sometimes their names would not include *dao* but instead contains certain characters with Buddhist meanings or just a number.

These people were collectively recognized as “people of the way” 道民, a title that also flourished in the Jiangnan region during the Song period. (On account of their mixed beliefs and practices, they were not necessarily Buddhists.) The title did not carry a negative meaning and was favored by the people so labeled. These “people of the way” overlapped with the people who “ate vegetables and served devils,” and a person would often carry both identities. (Some *daomin* were members of the “devil worshipping” group, and some were not.) Both titles referred to local groups and organizations. Sometimes we find in a donors' list that members of one family were all “people of the way.”⁷⁹ The large presence of female “people of the way” shows the participants' diverse social status. The participants were more local commoners and well-off supported households.⁸⁰ This phenomenon is also similar to the social structure of local donors for the Puning canon during the Yuan, as discussed in Chapter 4.

As for the close relationship between the *daomin*, “people of the way,” and Buddhists, *dao*, or the way, refers here to Buddhism rather than Daoism. It became a title

⁷⁸ There were also White Cloth people of the way 白衣道者, who corresponded to the people “eating vegetables and serving devils” and dressing in white clothes. See Chikusa P92-3

⁷⁹ Chikusa P89

⁸⁰ When Zhu Xi 朱熹 served as the magistrate of Zhangzhou 漳州知事, he promulgated an official statute to persuade female “people of the way” to return to lay life. In this case, the women were more likely female clergy of Manichean temples. “Quan nüdao huansu bang” 劝女道还俗榜, in *Zhuwengong wenji* 朱文公文集, 100: 5097-98.

for the sangha's merit since the early period of Buddhism in China.⁸¹ In the Song period, due to the popularity of lay Buddhism and the variation of Buddhist practice mixed with other beliefs, *dao* became a title favored by lay people to identify themselves rather than by the monks for themselves. In the most common case, *daogong* 道公—"man of the way"—and *daogu* 道姑—"woman of the way"—had the same meanings as *Upāsaka* 優婆塞 and *Upāsikā* 優婆夷, lay attendants in Buddhism. So they were different from monks 僧 and nuns 尼.

These vernacular people did not wear the tonsure nor were they ordained. But some of them took Buddhist vows and obeyed monastic rules. Some of their characteristics observed by contemporaries include, "at home to leave home" 在家出家, and "half-monastic half-secular" 半僧半俗. Most of these lay monks and believers were not tonsured, so sometimes they were called "monks with hair" 僧之有髮. These were similar to modern day *jushi* 居士. In fact, becoming a member of the Buddhist sangha during the Song period was a hard task, since the government strictly regulated approval. The whole process included apprenticeship 童行, taking the vow *śrāmaṇera* 沙彌, receiving a certificate 度牒 by exam or purchase, and ordination 受戒 by the government with titles and purple garments granted. Therefore, there were many people who wanted to devote themselves to Buddhist life but could not afford the time or money or could not deal with the bureaucracy. "People of the way" thus became an ideal option for them.

⁸¹ Originally, *daoren* means someone who possessed *daoshu* (magic) 有道術之人. In the early period of Buddhism in China, *daoren* and *daoshi* often referred to Buddhist clergy. The name became less popular in the Tang period due to the drastic increase in the number of Buddhists. See Qian Daxin 钱大昕, "Daoren, daoshi zhibie" 道人、道士之別, in *Shijiazhai yangxinlu* 十駕齋養新錄, ch.19.

As for monasteries, Song government had divided most monasteries into two categories: mostly were *Shifang* 十方, and a few were *Jiayi* 甲乙. The government normally controlled appointments of abbots and the management of monastic properties. The monasteries usually had very limited tax exemptions and had to pay agricultural and property taxes (except for the merit monasteries for imperial family members' graves 功德墳寺). Therefore, local people and lay believers preferred to build their own monasteries, both on account of financial concerns and for the convenience of proximity. With their temples and chapels, they called themselves "Chapel Masters of the Small Way" 小道庵主.⁸² According to Chikusa Masaaki and Barend ter Haar, people in the Jiangnan region during the Song-Yuan period had more options for self-study and more religious venues and practices. This corresponded with the decline of state power and monastic Buddhism, the growth of the regional economy, and the vernacularization of local beliefs.⁸³

"People of the way" were neither merely religious practitioners nor home-based citizens. They were social activists passionate about investing in local affairs and about accumulating spiritual merit for themselves, their families, and their communities. Their social activities were similar to those of the people "eating vegetables and serving devils." They had strong organization skills and offered mutual aid through finance or local resources. These were very similar to some of the organizations of people "eating

⁸² Chikusa P89

⁸³ Chikusa analyzed the Song government's control of and profits from issuing monastic certificates issuing. He also showed the popularity of religious titles and the aging 高齡化 of non-ordained Buddhist practitioners 行者 since the Northern Song (those who were not ordained for *Upasampada* 具足戒). Chikusa P91 The Song rule held that *tongxing/tongzi* 童行/童子 should be boys under 19 and girls under 14, but their actual ages were much higher, suggesting that many people hoped to remain in a Buddhist status in order to exemptions from tax and corvee..

vegetables and serving devils,” both sets of groups resulted from the growth of market towns and the booming regional economy in the Song period. “People of the way” also emerged mainly in Jiangnan villages and market towns, not in the big cities. Most members were craftsmen and men with skills, so they were able to undertake local building projects. Though their own social status was comparatively low, they made connections with powerful families (sometimes through government corruption) and were able to collect and allocate local labor and property resources to benefit their groups. Some members thus became powerful local families through their local activism.

“People of the way” can be considered meritorious organizations that worked on local infrastructure constructions thanks to their many members and patrons of artisans and craftsmen. According to *The Epigraphic Collection of Wuxing County* (*Wuxing jinshiji* 吳興金石記) and other primary sources, Chikusa Masaaki found many records of *daomin* donating money to build bridges and temples (or to buy farmland attached to temples) in the market towns. Bridge and temple building were valued as good ways to accumulate merit for the Buddhist dharma from an earlier period.⁸⁴ Many market towns in the region were canal towns 水鄉, so there was a large needs for bridge building when a canal town grew. The dense rice fields and irrigation systems required many bridges as well. Also, denser populations, greater wealth, and increased commerce required wooden bridges to be rebuilt as stone bridges.⁸⁵ For bridge and temple building projects, most

⁸⁴ On bridge building as a way to accumulate merit, see John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); *Foshuo zhu defutian jing* 佛說諸德福田經, Taishō ed., 16:777.

⁸⁵ Chikusa P81-82

records date to the southern Song period, with few from the Yuan.⁸⁶ People tended to not use their names on donor lists for these projects but instead used names that included the character *dao*, similar to monks' dharma names.⁸⁷ One bridge project could involve several donors, indicating that these were collective efforts rather than individual activities. But we do not have clear evidence of specific organizations, so that "people of the way" appeared more as loose collectives.

In the eyes of the government, however, "people of the way" were suspicious and part of the people "eating vegetables and serving devils," because they performed state-like functions in an organized way beyond state control and the tax system. A court memorial dated to the thirteenth day of the ninth month of Qingyuan 4 慶元四年 (1198), quoting a local official, reports that:

"There are so-called 'people of the way' in Western Zhejiang. They are actually those who eat vegetables and worship devils. In the name of Buddhism and Daoism, they conceal their property and communications. They are neither Buddhist nor Daoist, neither student nor apprentice. They are outside of the registered households and have become one special

⁸⁶ Chikusa, P82, lists three main reasons for sponsoring bridge and temple building projects: 1) some were built with support of an official patron as high as imperial family members or a grand councilor and shows the *daomin*'s ability to reach high level powers at times before the White Cloud group had direct contact with the Mongol imperial family; 2) bridge building that continued after the official ban on *daomin* revealed weak government; 3) *daomin* demonstrating that they were not only involved in private projects but also contributing to officially sponsored temples and projects. Sample bridge and temple building records were as follows: *Yifengqiao shizhu timing* 儀鳳橋石柱題名 in 1193, j.10.; *Luotuoqiao shizhu tizi* 駱駝橋石柱題字 in 1201, j.10; *Deshengqiao tizi* 德勝橋題字, j.11; *Baoshuqiao tizi* 寶書橋題字 in 1262, j.12; *Baoguosi bushiji* 報國寺布施記 in 1237, j.12; *Huzhou lu Bao'en guangxiao shansi zhitian ji* 湖州路報恩光孝禪寺置田記 in 1284, j.13 ; *Changsheng jiangyuan bei* 長生講院碑 in 1315, j.14, *Wuxing jinshi zhi* 吳興金石志. *Wujiang chongjian changqiao ji* 吳江重建長橋記 in 1324, j.19, Yuan Jue 袁堉 *Qingrong jushi ji* 清容居士集 j.19. *Wuzhou tongjiqiao ji* 婺州通濟橋記 in 1300, Huang Jin, *Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji* 金華黃先生文集, j.9. The building of official temples Yanjiao Chan Cloister 演教禪院 and Chongsheng Cloister 崇勝院 by seven *daomin* from 1220 to 1226, in Mo Ruochong 莫若沖, *Daoqiao jij* 道橋記, j.26, *Zhiyuan Jiahe zhi* 至元嘉禾志. *Yinjing xiuzao ji* 隱靜修造記, Zhang Xiaoxiang 張孝祥, *Yuhu jushi wenji* 于湖居士文集, j.13. Court memorial in Jiading 2 嘉定二年 (1209), *Songhuiyao: Shihuo* 宋會要 食貨: 61-148.

⁸⁷ Donors' lists often begin with statements of "admiring affinity" *yuan* 緣, such as *ganyuan* 幹緣, *quanyuan* 勸緣, and *muyuan* 慕緣.

group. Their wickedness and evilness exceed those of the common people, but they only practice celibacy and a prohibition on alcohol as their obligations. Their greed and corruption exceed those of common people, but they use temple building and bridge repair to earn merit. Every village has a gathering with its own leaders. In seasons of leisure, they assemble publicly. They say they are burning incense, lighting candles, offering feasts, and reciting Sūtras. Their crowds number hundreds and thousands; they assemble immediately and suddenly disband. They cause trouble and initiate work projects. They search widely for luxury goods and collect the property of commoners. They abuse kind people and act around towns without restriction. Once there is a lawsuit, they collaborate and provide financial support collectively. They bribe government staffs and will not stop unless they succeed. Every time there is a building project, they will bring together groups and spread the word across many counties and prefectures. Artisans and labors constitute their membership and quickly provide all necessary tools and food supplies. People only see their positive ways of making all projects feasible but do not know the risks of their powerful influence. If we do not investigate them right now, [I] cannot imagine what they will cause in the future! [I] request that in all counties of Western Zhejiang, commoners no longer be allowed to create group titles, call themselves “people of the way,” or assemble members. The edict should be harsh, requiring that all members to be disbanded to find new jobs. If anyone would disobey this edict, the group head should be exiled to military service in remote and difficult prefectures, and the members should be put into custody. We must destroy these unorthodox groups and return normal life to commoners, in order to promote Your Majesty’s desire to suppress evil and prolong imperial power.”

Approved.⁸⁸

浙右有所謂道民。實吃菜事魔之流，而竊自托於佛老，以掩物議。既非僧道，又非童行，輒於編戶之外，別為一族。姦淫污穢甚於常人，而以屏妻孥、斷葷酒為戒法。貪冒貨賄甚於常人，而以建祠廟、修橋梁為功行。一鄉一聚，各有魁宿。平居暇日，公為結集，曰燒香，曰燃燈，曰設齋，曰誦經，千百為群，倏聚忽散。撰造事端，興動工役，夤緣名色，斂率民財，陵駕善良，橫行村疇。間有斗訟，則合謀并力，共出金錢，厚賂胥吏，必勝而乃已。每遇營造，陰相部勒，嘯呼所及，跨縣連州，工匠役徒，悉出其黨，什器資糧，隨即備具。人徒見其一切辦事之可喜，而不知張皇聲勢之可慮也。及今不圖，複/后將若何！乞行下浙西諸郡，今後百姓不得妄立名色，自稱道民，結集徒黨，巖切曉諭，各令四散著業。如敢違戾，將為首人，決配遠惡州軍，徒黨編管。務要消散異類，使復齒於平民，以推廣陛下抑誕怪、暢皇極之意。從之。

⁸⁸ *Song huiyao*: xingfa, 2: 130. The *Shimen zhengtong* reads, “既非僧道，又非童行。”

Orthodox Buddhist chronicles also criticized the “people of the way” on both theological and competitive grounds. They suspected that the public projects initiated and involving these people were actually attempts to collect money rather than serve society.⁸⁹ Overall, we cannot deny that by collecting money to fund public projects, these “people of the way” were at least partially seeking donations and spreading their influence.

In conclusion, “people of the way” emerged mostly during the Southern Song period in the countryside and market towns of Jiangnan. These were not specific groups but a new social phenomenon in which religiously devout local commoners collaborated with each other for collective work and involvement with local affairs. These self-identified people would use breaks between agricultural seasons and their own spare time to assemble for religious and social activities and attach themselves to powerful families and government in search of patronage and financial or policy support. They had no coherent leadership, but these people were very successful in terms of collecting local labor, technical skill, and property. These people could raise huge crowds, gather people and resources easily and quickly, and had a membership of artisans, craftsmen and skilled peasants. They practiced Buddhism and other vernacular beliefs in different ways to provide simple salvation and the accumulation of merit, but the government did not approve of these methods and were suspicious of their intentions.⁹⁰

These “people of the way” included members of the White Cloud sect and other lay religious groups such as the White Lotus sect and were the origins of larger Yuan-

⁸⁹ See *Fozu tongji* 48: 54.

⁹⁰ See also Chikusa’s definition, P77

dynasty groups of White Cloud members. Though the Song period witnessed the diversification of religious schools, the vernacularization of popular religion, and the syncretism of different religious traditions, the Song government often tightly monitored and restricted religious development, especially during the Southern Song.

The Southern Song government used the sale of monastic certificates and temple licenses as its main sources of income in its later years, and it viewed the control of religious institutions as essential to the empire's stability and social order. The government would suspect any non-ordained monk or religious personnel, or private institution of spiritual life and ritual, for its political purpose and potential for causing riots. This brought down immediate punishment and persecution. These local activists' success in gathering together people and recourses drew the government's attention and was seen as a threat to the empire. On the other hand, the "people of the way" were not an insular secret society that been isolated and separated from the main stream of the local society; they were the major force behind local development and the growth of market towns, which in turn connected varied parts of the region's economy. This special phenomenon also may have changed the forms of family structure and daily lives, yielding more involvement in local affairs and easier participation in religious practices.

There is only a single record of the White Cloud movement's leadership in the Song (appearing in different versions), and it connects the phenomena of the "people of the way" and the people "eating vegetables and serving devils." In 1202, a "person of the way," Shen Zhiyuan 沈智元, an requested official tablet 乞賜敕額 from Song Emperor Ningzong 宋寧宗 to make the White Cloud Chapel an official monastery, but the emperor refused the request and banished Shen.

In the second year of the Jiatai period [1202], Shen Zhiyuan of the White Cloud Chapel called himself a “person of the way” and petitioned for an official tablet. An official said, “people of the way’ are people who ‘eat vegetables and serve devils.’ They are so-called wicked people. They are neither Buddhist monks nor Daoists, neither students nor apprentices. They have formed their own party, with crowds of hundreds and thousands. They use their evil teachings to fool uneducated folks. Sometimes they employ excuses of repairing bridges and building roads in order to collect people’s fortunes; they set up private chapels, in order to hide from the public eye. [I] request the exile of Zhiyuan to a remote area and the demolishing of their chapel buildings as a warning sign for those who practice evil teachings.” Approved.⁹¹

嘉泰二年，白雲庵沈智元自稱道民，進狀乞額。臣寮言：“道民者，吃菜事魔，所謂奸民者也。既非僧道童行，自植黨與，千百為群。挾持妖教，聾瞽愚俗。或以修橋砌路，斂率民財；創立私庵，為逋逃淵藪。乞將智元長流遠地，拆除庵宇，以為傳習魔法之戒。”奏可。

Another version of this passage from the *Fozu tongji* reinforces the “evil” characteristics of the “people of the way” and their power and organization within local society. It mentions that there was already an edict in place before Zhiyuan’s petition that ordered private chapels of the “people of the way” to be destroyed within a month. But Zhiyuan expanded his private chapel and even petitioned to the court to make it legal. So the official linked it with the Han rebels of the Five Pecks of Rice 五斗米道 and suggested persecution.

“Now Zhiyuan dares to make a fool of the court. Such action is extreme. In the past was the Five Pecks of Rice, which dispatched its disciples in the names of Huangdi and Laozi. They meandered all around the empire to deceive people. Later their members numbered over one hundred thousand, and at the same time the Han court became weak. Now if we do not stop this kind of group, they will be able to do anything in the future. [I] want to order Lin’an [Hangzhou] prefecture to reregister Zhiyuan [for exile] and to confiscate their property as a warning sign for those who practice evil teachings and avoid the laws. For those attached to powerful families and take their property as the group’s, have the Imperial

⁹¹ Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, ch. 54.

Censorate name the families who protect them and submit a court memorial.” Approved.⁹²

今智元又敢妄叩天闕玩侮朝廷。若此為甚。昔傳五斗米道者。始託黃老分遣弟子。周遊四方轉相誑誘。其後數十萬眾。同日竊發漢室遂微。今此曹若不防閑。何所不至。欲下臨安府將智元等重行編竄。籍其物業以為傳習魔法。玩視典憲者之戒。寄居勢家認為己產。蓋庇執占者。臺諫指名以奏。制可。

One major issue in this incident is the issuing of an official tablet 敕額 by the government. The Song government had tight control over legalizing a monastery by selling or granting a tablet and then making profit on it. Shen Zhiyuan sought not recognition for the White Cloud group but only to justify the White Cloud Chapel to make it legal. Since he only mentioned one chapel, I doubt that there was a singular group of the White Cloud movement.

We should be aware that these two versions come from an orthodox Buddhist chronicle, the *Fozu tongji*. A similar entry can be found in another Buddhist chronicle, the *Shimen zhengtong*, chapter 4, under the item “White Cloud Vegetarians” 白雲菜 of the section “Records of Denouncing the Fakeness” 斥偽志. It uses the same tone to criticize Zhiyuan and his followers and reinforces the decision to persecute them.

Zhiyuan was sent into exile and never allowed to return. 將智元等重行編配。永不放還。

The houses and religious sites they built were to be demolished, except for those buildings and pagodas that carried inscriptions from previous imperial rulers. Those buildings remaining were to be managed by monks from approved neighboring monasteries. 菴舍盡行柝除。散其徒黨。籍其物業以為傳習魔法。既視典憲之戒如本菴。委有先朝御書塔名。只量留屋宇。就差鄰僧掌管。 Though the edict was

⁹² Zhipan, *Fozu tongji*, ch. 48.

strictly enforced in affected routes and prefectures, the so-called White Cloud activists still sought attachment to wealthy families 寄居形勢之家 and to make connections with powerful people 又復影傍權勢 in order to overturn the imperial decision and to reestablish their private chapels 私立其菴. Therefore, these private religious institutions were repeatedly abolished and reestablished in succession 屢有廢置.

At the end of this entry, it quotes from a court debate to conclude that “Buddhism changed to Chan [Buddhism]; Chan [Buddhism] weakened to evil [teachings]; evil [teachings] erupted into bandits” 聞政論云。教變則禪。禪弊為魔。魔熾為賊。⁹³ The commentator labeled the White Cloud movement as evil, one step away from turning into bandits. Persecution, therefore, was urgent.

In this chapter’s opening quotation, we see another incident of persecution from Suyang county in 1218, after Shen Zhiyuan’s unfortunate court petition. The magistrate Lu Ziyu 陸子適 labeled the White Cloud wicked and evil. He confiscated the civil property under the White Cloud movement’s control and transferred it back to its original owners.

The *Fozu tongji* entry on Shen Zhiyuan mentions that the South Mountain (*Nanshan*) of Yuhang in Hangzhou was the place where the “White Cloud Master of the Way” conducted his teachings 餘杭南山 白雲道人崇師之地. So who was this White Cloud Master of the Way?

⁹³ *Shimen zhengtong*, ch. 4.

The “White Cloud monk”

The so-called White Cloud monk (*Baiyun heshang*) Kong Qingjue 孔清覺 (1043-1121), from an elite family in Luoyang and a descendant of Confucius, became a Buddhist monk and traveled widely to sacred sites around China.⁹⁴ He trained and studied at different monasteries and followed various masters before coming to Hangzhou before the Jurchen conquered Northern China in 1127, during Huizong’s reign and a period of Daoist prominence. He was originally a monk at the Baoying 寶應寺 monastery of Luoyang, then the western capital 西京 of the Northern Song empire.⁹⁵ He was believed to be the fifty-second generation descendant of Confucius.⁹⁶

In fact, Kong’s background was among those professional elites with a glorious family legacy and still living close to the empire’s political center. His great grandfather Kong Jing 孔勛 (dates unknown) was a high official serving two dynasties, the Later Liang dynasty (907-923) and the Later Tang dynasty (923-936). He was the head military commissioner of Xiangzhou, Zezhou, Luzhou, and Heyang 襄州澤潞河陽節度使 in the Tongguang period (923-926), and he was once the Grand Preceptor for the Heir Apparent

⁹⁴ Most primary sources for Kong’s biography are orthodox Buddhist chronicles. They are reliable in terms of factual information such as dates and locations. These are not hagiographic since Buddhist chronicles are hostile to Kong’s teachings and the White Cloud sect. One exception is the White Cloud sect leader Dao’an’s commentary on Kong Qingjue’s *Chuxue ji*. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, Dao’an traced the history of the sect back to Kong and praised his life and teachings.

⁹⁵ Kong came from Luoyang and have had connections with Manichaenism because Luoyang was one of the centers for Manichaenism in China during the Tang-Song period.

⁹⁶ His style *zi* was Benran 本然, and he was born in Dengfeng 登封 county, Luoyang, on Qingli 慶曆 3 (1043)/10/22. *Shishi jigulue* 釋氏稽古略, ch.4. See also Dao’an’s preface to the *Chu xueji*: 姓孔氏, 即至聖文宣王五十二世孫也。

太子太師。⁹⁷ Though most great clans declined during the Northern Song dynasty due to the centralization of power and the popularization of civil examination system, Kong's family retained their high social status such that his father Kong Xin 孔訢 (dates unknown) attained the *jinshi* degree but did not hold office. His mother, Madam Cui 崔氏, held a special surname that might come from the Boling 博陵 or Qinghe 清河 Cui clans, which was one of the most politically powerful aristocratic clans in medieval China up to the Five Dynasties period.⁹⁸

As for his alleged Confucian descendant, it is possible that he had claimed himself to be of the sage's lineage. However, his great-grandfather Kong Jing was a native of Yanzhou 兗州, not far from Confucius' hometown in Qufu 曲阜, Shandong. Many generations of his family before him carried the surname Kong, so he might be a descendent. When he was young, he was known for his intelligence and study of Confucianism.⁹⁹ His identity as a member of the sage's lineage and his Confucian training greatly increased his authority to mix the three teachings, at least the Confucian portion, into his own syncretistic one. Scattered Daoist influences are mentioned in his biographies. The later development of Kong Qingjue's teachings mixed Confucian philosophy and moral standards with doctrines from several schools of Chinese monastic Buddhism.

⁹⁷ *Shishi jigulue*, ch. 4. For Kong Jing's biography, see *Jiu Wudaishi* 舊五代史, ch. 64; *Tangshu* 唐書, 40: 858; *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, ch. 18129. He died at the age of 79 and was known as a patron of Buddhism.

⁹⁸ For the Cui family, see Patricia Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-Ling Ts'ui Family*, 1978.

⁹⁹ *Shishi jigulue*, ch. 4.

Kong Qingjue had sought office from local officials many times, but no result is recorded. After the road to civil service was blocked, Kong went into monastic life, something in which he was already interested. Surprisingly, he did not first become a monk in his hometown of Luoyang. Luoyang has been one of the centers of Buddhism in North China since the first Buddhist temple White Horse Temple (*Baima si* 白馬寺) was established there in 68 CE. Luoyang was one of the political and cultural centers in the Tang dynasty, and it also occupied a significant position in the Northern Song Empire as its western capital. Different Buddhist schools flourished in Luoyang. Thus Buddhism greatly influenced the urban life and culture of the region, also seen in materials such as the still-extant Longmen Grotto complex in the south suburbs.

Besides Buddhism, other religions, especially Manichaenism, flourished in the city, because Luoyang was one of medieval China's biggest metropolises and the focal point of different groups of people coming from overseas. It was also the easternmost departure point for the continental Silk Road. Luoyang was, in fact, one of the centers of Manichaeism in China from the Tang to the Song periods. Therefore, some scholars suspect that Kong Qingjue had been exposed to Manichean teachings in Luoyang and later borrowed some of them into his own teachings.¹⁰⁰

At the age of twenty-six in 1069, he left home with his parents' approval, after obtaining personal inspiration from reading the *Lotus Sūtra* 法華經, and took Buddhist vows at the Baoying monastery on Mount Longmen 龍門 in Ruzhou 汝州 (present-day

¹⁰⁰ Sun Kekuan 孫克寬 *Baiyunzong dumeng xiaoji* 白雲宗讀蒙小記.

Linru county 臨汝縣, Henan) under Master Haihui 海慧大師.¹⁰¹ Heeding Haihui's advice to seek Buddhist teachings in the south, he left Baoying monastery and started his pilgrimage. His first stop was the famous Buddhist sacred mountain Mount Emei 峨眉 in Jiazhou 嘉州 (in present-day Sichuan) to see monk *Qiansui* 千歲 ("The Monk One Thousand Years Old").¹⁰² Next, he went to Mount Fushan 浮山 (Floating Mountain) of Shuzhou 舒州 in Huaixi 淮西 (present-day Huaining county, Anhui). He built a retreat at Taishou Cliff 太守巖 (the "Prefect Cliff") and sat in meditation for twenty years.¹⁰³

By then Kong Qingjue was fifty years old and had broad travel experience across the Song empire, except for the southeast coastal region where he would head next. He did not return to his hometown of Luoyang. Whether Kong was aware of it or not, north China was undergoing a series of military threats from the Jurchens. It is unknown whether he chose to avoid a secular lifestyle with his own family due to fears of war fear or because of family suffering in the north. He was a student of some of the most renowned Buddhist masters, and he visited different sacred sites. He must have had expertise in Chan and Huayan Buddhism, and possibly Pure Land as well. Though he had no disciples during the twenty years he practiced Buddhism alone in the mountains, he still kept in mind the popular trends of mixing the three religions, popular religions, and

¹⁰¹ The Baoying monastery was part of the Linji 臨濟 school and located in the south of Ruzhou. Master Haihui 海慧大師 might refer to Chan Master Huiyong 慧顛禪師, who was also called the Monk Baoying, named after the monastery. *Zhili Ruzhou quanzhi* 直隸汝州全志, ch. 9.

¹⁰² Monk Qiansui may have been a Tiantai master. Mount Emei was the sacred Mountain in Chinese Buddhism, the bodhimaṇḍa of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩.

¹⁰³ Kong's years at Taishou Cliff were approximately 1072-1092. The Taishou cliff was also called Dizhu yan 滴珠岩, Feiyu yan 飛雨岩, or Datong yan 大通岩 (named after Datong chanshi 大通禪師 who used to sit here). It has a cave 26.5 meters high and 200 square meters in area covered by only one string of skylight 一線天, water drops from above like pearls, and above the cliff there is a stone hall 石閣 (35 square meters) called Yindong 隱洞 or Fuyan 複岩. See *Fushan zhi* 浮山志.

the syncretism of different Buddhist schools. This made him able to create his own teaching to matching current trends and to gain popularity among local followers, though this was probably not what he expected. He took no recorded disciples after his long journey, so it seems more likely he traveled alone until settling in Hangzhou.

In 1092, he traveled around Zhejiang. In 1093, he arrived in the Lingyin Monastery 靈隱寺 in Hangzhou.¹⁰⁴ At that point, he stopped traveling and stayed there with his followers 隨眾居止.¹⁰⁵ His followers included both monks and laymen.¹⁰⁶ He had initially two followers surnamed Wang 汪 and Luo 羅 who eagerly pursued study under his guidance. The number of their fellow students (i.e., Kong's disciples) increased daily 學侶日臻.

The Chan master Yuanmingtong 圓明童禪師, abbot of Lingyin Monastery, had Kong stay in a hut retreat behind the monastery called *Baiyun shan'an* 白雲山庵 (“White Cloud Mountain Chapel”) or *Baiyun an* 白雲庵 (“White Cloud Chapel”).¹⁰⁷ From that point forward, he started teaching and established his own sect 玄化開闡。乃自立宗。¹⁰⁸ He named his school the “White Cloud Sect” 白雲宗 from the hut where he was

¹⁰⁴ *Shishi jigulue*, ch. 4, and Dao'an's preface to the *Chu xueji* (元祐八年掛錫于古杭靈隱寺). Lingyin Monastery was one of the most famous Chan Buddhist temples in south China.

¹⁰⁵ *Shishi jigu lie*, ch. 4.

¹⁰⁶ Dao'an's preface to the *Chu xueji* (僧俗問法者紛紛而來).

¹⁰⁷ *Shishi jigu lie*, ch. 4 (白雲庵 杭州靈隱寺方丈後山之庵也。..... 靈隱圓明童禪師以寺後白雲山庵居覺); Dao'an's preface to the *Chu xueji*. According to the preface, the abbot Yuanming Tong or Yuanming Zhengtong Chan Master was also named Monk Lai'antong (住持懶菴童和尚). During the Song period, due to restrictions on the number and the processes for becoming a monastic monk, a tradition developed that traveling monks or laypeople would build a hut attached to a monastery as a site for residence and meditation 結庵而居. Sometimes there would be a large group of such non-monastic practitioners living behind an official monastery.

¹⁰⁸ According to Overmyer, 615, Kong “established the White Cloud sect at the White Cloud retreat close to Lingyin monastery in Hangzhou in 1108.” We should note that Kong did not necessarily intend to establish a sect; there might have just been followers seeking his instruction and surrounding him in his hut.

living.¹⁰⁹ So his followers called him the “White Cloud Monk,” and they were called “White Cloud Vegetarians” or “Ten Stages Vegetarians” 從者尊之曰白雲和尚。名其徒曰白雲菜。亦曰十地菜。¹¹⁰ Later, he built a hut retreat called *Fudi an* 福地庵 (“Blessed Place Chapel”) on Mount Longmen 龍門山 (“Dragon Gate Mountain,” the same name as that of the mountain south of Luoyang) in Yuhang 餘杭 (a northern suburb of present-day Hangzhou). He developed theories about the dragon god and about the “three refuges” and the “five injunctions” 為龍神說三歸五戒。¹¹¹

In 1104, Kong Qingjue went to the Kaihua Monastery 開化寺 of the Six Harmonies Pagoda 六和塔 by the Qiantang 錢塘 River (in the southwest suburbs of Hangzhou). He lived in a hut named “Purple Cloud Chapel” 紫雲庵。¹¹² Some monks and

¹⁰⁹ *Shishi jigu lie*, ch. 4; Dao’an’s preface to the *Chu xueji*. According to Dao’an, the hut already had the name “White Cloud” and did not take its name from Kong. The hut’s name matched the prophecy around Kong’s birth, and he already had the sobriquet “White Cloud.” It is said that “when the master [Kong] was born, there were white clouds filling the room. Therefore he called himself the ‘white cloud.’ So the name of this hut was implicitly in harmony with his heart.” 師初誕日，有白雲滿室。因以白雲自稱。茲菴之名，默與心契。The preface also says, “His style was Benran; his sobriquet was Baiyun.” 字本然，號白雲。In the Yuan dynasty, Chahan/Chaghan 察罕 (1247?-1322), a translator and famous sinicized Yuan official of Central Asian descent who had the sobriquet “White Cloud,” “Mr. White Cloud” 白雲先生, or “White Cloud Mountain Man” 白雲山人。See his biography in the *Yuanshi*, 137: 3309-11; Cheng Jufu 程鉅夫 (1249-1318), *Xuelou ji* 雪樓集; Wang Ting 王頌, “Bancheng xiyi - youyuan banlehe [Balkh] ren Chahan zhuan zhengbu” 板城徙裔——有元班勒紇人察罕傳證補, *Xiyu Nanhai shidi yanjiu* 西域南海史地研究 4. Also, Baegun Gyeonghan 백운경한 白雲景閑 (1298–1374) *Baegun hwasang chorok buljo jikji* 백운화상초록불조직지심체요절 白雲和尚抄錄佛祖直指心體要節 (earliest moveable type print claimed).

¹¹⁰ *Shimen zhengtong*.

¹¹¹ Overmyer, 623; *Shishi jigu lie*, ch. 4. For 三歸 五戒, see also ter Haar 2001 paper, P94.

¹¹² The Kaihua Monastery 開化寺. The fact that Qingjue chose the Kaihua Monastery shows his personal preference for suburban temples over those in or near the city, and the need of laypeople and monks in these areas between the rural and the urban for ways to salvation and prosperity that were easy to understand, fast, and cheap. The Six Harmonies Pagoda 六和塔, which still exists today, serves not only Buddhists folks but is a lighthouse for people traveling on the river. The pagoda is near one of the main ports of Hangzhou, Jiubao 九堡. It not only secures easy access for pilgrims, merchants, and fishermen to Hangzhou from the agricultural hinterland but also provides a public space attached to the port’s marketplace. It is unknown that whether the Purple Cloud Cloister 紫雲庵 had been built earlier.

laymen invited him to preach at the Zhengji Monastery 正濟寺 about the Huayan Sūtra 華嚴經 (the Avatamsaka Sūtra).¹¹³ Kong had been in Hangzhou for about eleven years from 1093 to 1104, establishing his reputation and refining his teachings. This was a transitional period when the Northern Song Emperor Huizong ruled from Kaifeng (1100-1126) and initiated persecution of Buddhists in order to promote Daoism.

Kong chose to stay in Hangzhou rather than travel to other places or to return to North China. There were several reasons. First, he was sixty years old, and his health probably would not have allowed him to travel long distances. Second, he might have had a considerable number of disciples and lay followers who both sought out teachings and also supported him financially. It was hard for him to travel alone without disciples following him. Third, Hangzhou was by far one of the most Buddhist cities in Song China. In order to avoid Huizong's anti-Buddhist persecutions, it was better for Kong to stay where a great number of monks and lay believers held the power to resist government actions.

So far, we can see that during this eleven years, Kong Qingjue's charisma and simple teachings brought together a of a teacher and his students. Whether or not he did so willingly, Kong was the leader of this group. His followers and supporters included both monks and laymen, yet no one was chosen as Kong's successor. In the meantime, Kong moved out to Hangzhou's hinterland, which became the center of the movement and was chosen for his relic burial sites after his death. In 1107, he went to Qianjin city 千金市 in Gui'an 歸安 county of Huzhou 湖州 (present-day Wuxing county, Huzhou)

¹¹³ Overmyer, 623; *Shishi jigū liè*, ch. 4.

and built a hut retreat called *Shidi an* 十地庵 “Ten Stages Chapel.” Afterwards he went to Jingshan 菁山 of Wucheng 烏程 (present-day Wuxing county, Huzhou). A legend said that when he stopped there, a spring emerged from the ground. So he built a hut retreat called *Chuchen an* 出塵庵 “Leave the Dust Chapel” and lived there. His followers asked him to return to Zhengji Monastery 正濟寺,¹¹⁴ but it is unknown whether he returned, stayed at the Chuchen retreat, or went somewhere else afterwards.

Kong Qingjue’s teachings were formed during Emperor Huizong’s persecution of Buddhists 時當毀教.¹¹⁵ Key concepts in his teachings include the “four fruitions/grades” 四果 and the “ten stages,” which he used to divide the large and small vehicles 大小兩乘.

¹¹⁶ Zongjian in the *Shimeng zhengtong* criticized these concepts:

Though he discoursed on the four grades he did not know how to make manifest the treasures [of Buddhism] by developing new and suitable means [of communication]. Though he discussed the ten stages, he did not understand how to interchange discrepancies and unite differences. Although he wanted to attack the Ch’an school, in fact his religious views did not adhere to the truth but developed into a demonic teaching (*moshuo*).¹¹⁷

然論四果，則昧於開權顯實。論十地，則不知通、別、圓、異。雖欲對破禪宗。奈教觀無歸。反成魔說。

In fact, Kong’s teachings do not attack the Chan school. They were also not demonic teachings 魔說 opposed to Buddhism.

Kong Qingjue’s written work, as we know, were the *Chuxue ji* 初學記 (*Record for Apprentice*), *Zhengxing ji* 正行集 (*Collection of Virtuous Acts*), *Zhengzong lun* 證宗

¹¹⁴ Overmyer, 623; *Shishi jigu lie*, ch. 4.

¹¹⁵ *Shishi jigu lie*, ch. 4.

¹¹⁶ Overmyer 621; *Shimen zhengtong*.

¹¹⁷ Overmyer 621, *Shimen zhengtong*.

論 (*Discourse on Verifying the Fundamentals*), *Sanjiao bian* 三教編 (*Compilation of the Three Teachings*), and *Shidi ge* 十地歌 (*Song of the Ten Stages*).¹¹⁸ Both *Chuxue ji* and *Zhengxing ji* survive in the Puning canon, and the Tangut version of the *Zhengxing ji* in Tangut canon. Kong's two extant texts show that his main teachings were intended only to make the Buddhist path to salvation easier to understand to lead people to better lives with good morality. Some jargon was borrowed from the Avatamsaka Sūtra and the Mahaprajnaparamita Sūtra 大品般若經. In addition to these, we have several texts in Tangut script authored by "the White Cloud Buddhist" (*Baiyun shizi* 白雲釋子). It is unclear that whether we can attribute them to Kong Qingjue, a topic undertaken in Chapter 6.

On account of the book *Zhengzong lun* (no longer extant), the monk Juehaiyu 覺海愚 denounced Kong to officials and pointed out the text's faults.¹¹⁹ In the title itself, *Zhengzong lun*, "Discourse on Verifying the Fundamentals," *zong* can mean "sect" in addition to "fundamentals." The book was probably concerned with proving the theoretical legitimacy of the White Cloud sect, which contradicts orthodox Buddhist teachings. In any case, the book disturbed monastic Buddhists and was denounced by officials.

In 1116, Kong was banished further south to Enzhou or South Enzhou (南) 恩州 in Guangnan 廣南 (present-day Yangjiang 陽江, Guangdong).¹²⁰ Four years later, in

¹¹⁸ Overmyer, 617, 623, 625; *Shishi jigu lüe*, ch. 4. *Shidi ge* should be related to the classic Huayan Sūtra *Shidi jing* 十地經 (Daśabhūmika Sūtra).

¹¹⁹ *Shimen zhengtong* (覺海愚力排其謬于有司); *Shishi jigu lüe*, ch. 4 (覺海愚禪師辨之); *Fozu tongji*, ch. 54.

¹²⁰ *Shimen zhengtong*; *Shishi jigu lüe*, ch. 4; *Fozu tongji*, ch. 54.

1120, ten of his disciples, including Zhengbu 政布, went to the capital at Kaifeng and petitioned for his release. They received an imperial edict that rescinded the punishment and released Kong at his leisure 蒙旨放令逐便. On 1121/7/20, he thanked the emperor for his lenience, and on 8/3, he wrote a *gatha* and sent it to Prefect You 作偈投太守游公. In the *gatha* he said that he would depart on 9/26. As he promised, he passed away on that day. He was seventy-nine years of age and had been a monk for fifty-two years since taking the monastic vow at Baoying Monastery in Ruzhou.¹²¹

Table 1: Timeline of Kong Qingjue's life (1043-1121)

Year	Age	Residence	City/County	Related People	Event
1043	1		Luoyang 洛陽		Born
1069	27	Baoying Monastery, Mt. Longmen 龍門(山)寶應寺	Ruzhou 汝州	Master Haihui 海慧大師	Took Buddhist vows
		Mt. Emei 峨眉山	Jiazhou 嘉州	Monk Qiansui 千歲和尚	
1072- 1092?		Taishou Cliff, Mt. Fushan 浮山太守巖	Shuzhou, Huaixi 淮西舒州		Spent 20 years in meditation
1092	60		Zhejiang 浙江		Arrived
1093-?		White Cloud Chapel, Lingying Monastery 靈隱寺白雲庵	Hangzhou 杭州	Yuanjingtong 圓 明童, Disciples Wang 汪 and Luo 羅	
?		Fudi Chapel, Mt. Longmen 龍門山福地庵	Yuhang, Hangzhou 杭州餘杭		
1104	62	Purple Cloud Chapel, Kaihua Monastery, Six Harmonies Pagoda	Qiantang, Hangzhou 杭州錢塘		

¹²¹ Overmyer, 623-4; *Shishi jigu lie*, ch. 4.

		六和塔開化寺紫雲庵			
		Zhengji Monastery 正濟寺			Taught the Huayan sūtra
1107	65	Shidi Chapel 十地庵	Gui'an, Huzhou 湖州歸安		
		Chuchen Chapel, Jingshan 菁山出塵庵	Wucheng, Huzhou 湖州烏程		
		Zhengji Monastery 正濟寺			Disciples asked him back
1116	74		Enzhou, Guangnan 廣南恩州		Banished because of <i>Zhengzong lun</i>
1120	78			Zhengbu 政布 and another 9 disciples went to Kaifeng to plead with the court	Free from banishment
1121	79		Prefect You 太守游公		Sent a <i>gatha</i> to Prefect You and died

Where Kong Qingjue died was unknown, but a possibility is the Southern Hill 南山 in Yuhang, the northern suburb of Hangzhou and home of the Nanshan Puning Monastery 南山普寧寺, later the sect's headquarters. Kong's relics were buried at the mountain in the second month of 1123. The pagoda was called *Baiyun*, the "White Cloud" Pagoda, and the cloister was called the *Pu'an* (Universal Peace) Cloister 普安院. Later disciples changed the name to Puning 普寧. The places his disciples preached include Zengshan of Chongde 崇德甌山, Shanzhu of Songlin 松林善住. Some of his sacred relics were distributed and buried at places including Deqing 德清, Longshan 龍山, Chaoshan 超山, Fangshan 方山, Ganyuan shan 乾元山, Gui'an 歸安, and Yanshan 巖山.

All were sites in northern Zhejiang, the area of the movement's greatest developed afterwards.¹²²

Kong Qingjue spent the largest part of his life around Hangzhou and northern Zhejiang. Why did Kong choose this area as his base for spreading teachings and attracting disciples? First, Hangzhou offered rich Buddhist soil, advanced economic status, and a developed agrarian society. Second, as mentioned before, the Dragon Gate Mountain 龍門山 in Yuhang where Kong made his *Fudi* retreat happened to bear the same name as the location of his first monastery, the Baoying Monastery in Ruzhou. Third, there was a legend about the White Cloud Chapel 白雲庵, his first retreat in Hangzhou, that matched a story that in the room where he was born in Luoyang was full of white clouds giving him the nickname "White Cloud."¹²³

Direct records of how Kong Qingjue's teachings were spread during the Southern Song are scattered, mainly due to official prohibitions of unorthodox religious practice. Because the White Cloud movement was illegitimate in the Song, any lineage after Kong was either but off or stayed underground. However, the development of this movement in Southern Song lay society established the location of its foundation and its practices. On the one hand, there was a smaller, more organized doctrinal movement around Kong Qingjue. On the other hand, there was a large foundation of local lay "vegetarian devil worshippers" and *daomin*, who chose the White Cloud movement as one of their religious options. Those *daomin* constituted the principal population of the White Cloud

¹²² *Shishi jigu lie*, ch. 4; Overmyer, 632.

¹²³ "師初誕日。有白雲滿室。因以白雲自稱。茲菴之名。默與心契。從而居焉。由是白雲之名。流芳益著。" Dao'an's annotated edition of the *Chuxue ji* 初學記, in the Puning Canon.

sect during the Yuan. The White Cloud's location in northern Zhejiang and its mostly lay composition were unchanged.

Japanese scholars would call this lay religious movement “people’s religion” *shomin shūkyō* 庶民宗教. Kong’s teachings were aimed at and easily accessible to both monastic Buddhists and common lay people. These lay people of the region’s new market towns were less educated peasants and artisans. The majority of the White Cloud members came from the larger body of *daomin*, who were part-time religious devotees based in local Jiangnan societies. They hardly distinguished themselves from other religious groups or teachings, and they practiced no particular White Cloud rituals or liturgies. The White Cloud followers did not worship any deity or prophet. Kong himself did not become a cult. Members’ private temples and home shrines could contain idols of popular belief, since the Jiangnan region was the center of such worship in the Southern Song, as many studies have showed.¹²⁴ When the movement developed locally in the Southern Song, the White Cloud became less theoretical or doctrinally based and more pragmatic and community based. Most accounts of the movement in the Southern Song talk about the gathering of crowds and collaborative local effort. No names of notable monks from the White Cloud movement in the Song survive, except for the acclaimed founder Kong Qingjue.

¹²⁴ Hansen, *Changing Gods*; von Glahn, *The Sinister Way*.

Rebirth when the Mongols came

Following the conquest of the Song Empire and its capital at Hangzhou in 1276, the Mongols formally organized the monks and lay practitioners in the region into a religious order, naming it the “White Cloud sect.” Based on the Mongols’ short-term goal to stabilize Jiangnan society, the newly designated sect was intended to take charge of local monasteries, private temples, and semi-religious lay people. The Puning monastery in suburban Hangzhou served as the sect’s headquarters and established a studio for printing Buddhist canons. Unlike other religious groups in the Yuan, the White Cloud movement did not have a clear system of doctrinal beliefs, ritual orientations, or any practical customs. Throughout the Song-Yuan period, local laypeople were the driving force for the White Cloud movement’s expansion and perpetuation, a movement in which monastic Buddhist monks had limited influence. Overall, in the Southern Song, there was a sect named “White Cloud” by Kong Qingjue, which was rather small in terms of monastic participants. But it attracted larger groups of followers, who were the leaderless and not very religious *daomin* and “vegetarian devil worshippers.” They were both tributaries into the Yuan phenomenon that coordinated all of them into an official White Cloud sect.

The central figure of the White Cloud movement between the Song and the Yuan dynasties was the monk Dao’an 道安.¹²⁵ Dao’an was the chief abbot of Miaoyan monastery in Huzhou 湖州妙嚴寺 in 1257, and he later became the chief abbot of Puning monastery in Nanshan of Hangzhou. He had made two trips for imperial audiences with

¹²⁵ Dao’an’s dharma name was Master Huizhao 慧照大師.

Khubilai Khan in the capital Dadu, and he died there in the Grand Yanshou Monastery 大延壽寺 in 1281, during his second trip.¹²⁶ He was the revolutionary reviver of the White Cloud sect. He went to Dadu twice to meet Imperial Preceptor Dampa 膽巴/膽八 (1230-1303) and through Dampa's introduction gained an audience with Khubilai Khan.¹²⁷ He received the title White Cloud Sect Master 白雲宗主, and the sect was thus designated by imperial order. He also became the abbot of the White Cloud sect's headquarters, the Puning Monastery on Southern Hill in Hangzhou. Puning Monastery was where Kong Qingjue had stayed and was buried with some of his relics. Dao'an connected the sect with Kong the White Cloud monk, thus claiming his authority as a follower and ninth generation disciple of Kong's teachings. He also made new annotated editions of Kong Qingjue's writings to be included in the Puning Canon. He initiated the Puning Canon printing project and received financial support from government and clergy officials.

One reason that the White Cloud movement did not constitute an exclusive, member-based sect during the Song period was that Puning monastery had not yet become the center of the movement. Only when the Yuan government set up the relevant

¹²⁶ Mou Yan 牟巖 (1227-1311) *Huzhou Miaoyansi ji*, with calligraphy by Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), held by the Gest Library, Princeton University. The Miaoyan Monastery was built in the Jiayi period 嘉熙 (1237-1240) by Shi'anxin 是庵信, and the monastery printed a Buddhist canon. After Shi'anxin's death in 1257, Dao'an succeeded to chief abbot. Because of Song imperial family members' patronage, the monastery was made an official Jiayi 甲乙 monastery. The blocks for printing the Buddhist canon were destroyed during the Song-Yuan war, and monks at the Miaoyan Monastery made blocks and printed another canon in the Yuan period. In 1292, an imperial edict promoted the monastery from "cloister" 院 to "monastery" 寺, with the award of an imperial tablet. Dao'an's successor was Runing 如寧, followed by Rumiao 如妙, Ruwei 如渭, Mingzhao 明照, and then Minglun 明倫. The temple compound expanded continuously during the Yuan dynasty. This text does not mention the White Cloud sect. We can also see that Dao'an started making connections with and gaining favor from the Song imperial before his success with the Yuan ruler. The text names Gushan Dao'an 古山道安. We cannot be sure whether that is the full dharma name of Dao'an, or the names of two monks Gushan and Dao'an.

¹²⁷ Ogawa 小川, *Hakkyunshū daizōkyōku*, 白雲宗大藏經局, 3-5; *Puningzang defang guangfu Huayanjing* 普寧藏大方廣佛華嚴經卷, ch. 40.

offices there, did it become the sect headquarters. Puning monastery was not a public religious institution with government approval in the Song period, so it could not have any monastic clergy. As for the leadership of the White Cloud movement in the Song, we have no clear information about whether there was a lineage of monks or a family of lay people leading the movement. More likely, there were groups of people who “ate vegetables and served devils” and “people of the way” active in the Jiangnan region. They would have circulated and read many unorthodox religious texts, including those by Kong Qingjue. In the next chapter, we shall see that in the Yuan dynasty the government was not initially clear about unfamiliar local activist groups. They recognized the religious merit of the White Cloud sect and made it a legitimate Buddhist school. The new government’s formalization and patronage did not affect the character of the White Cloud sect as a social enterprise, which was successful in controlling local resources, building local networks, and operating local businesses, including the printing of a Buddhist canon.

Conclusion: from *Baiyun cai* to *Baiyun zong*

There are three immediate reasons for the rise of this lay movement during the early Southern Song: 1) Suppression of Fang La rebellion; 2) unintended consequences of Southern Song raising revenue by taxing monastic certification; 3) unintended consequences of Huizong’s crackdown on Buddhism at the end of the Northern Song. The wider context was the commercialization of the Jiangnan economy and the emergence of a “bourgeoisie” in rural towns.

Jiangnan remained the richest area in China, during both the Song and Yuan periods. The White Cloud movement, along with local active religious groups, remained strong and popular throughout these two periods as well. In the Song period, the movement was called the “White Cloud vegetarians” (*Baiyun cai*) within the category of people who “eat vegetables and serve devils” and “people of the way.” These worried the central government and received harsh punishment. There was also no exclusive organization of the movement under clear leadership. The White Cloud monk Kong Qingjue’s teaching and legacy had very limited influence in the region, both among the monastic community and local lay believers. In the Yuan period, the White Cloud movement became an official recognized sect—the “White Cloud sect” (*Baiyun zong*). The Mongol rulers permitted the practice, created the sect, and established relevant bureaus to make the White Cloud sect a role model for local religious groups. Though the Mongols treated the sect as a Buddhist school, the sect participants had no specific rituals or doctrines for practice.

The surviving teachings of Kong Qingjue mixed the three religions with Buddhist elements. These teachings misinterpreted orthodox Buddhist doctrine and had no strong theoretical foundation from which to create a religious school. Besides, there were no particular deity or gods that the White Cloud participants were taught to worship. As a result, religious beliefs were not a pressing concern either for members of the sect or for state monitors and literati witnesses. (Technically speaking, any *daomin* in the Song could become a White Cloud member in Yuan.) The stability of local society and fierce government control were the main concerns, for rulers of both the Song and the Yuan.

The movement was labeled “heterodox” in the Song, not because of its teachings but on account of their extensive social activities.

As we shall see in Chapter 2, laypeople led the sect’s growth in the Yuan period, just as during the Song. Members could get married, and gender boundaries between men and women were not strict. Celibate monks were part of the sect but not a significant component. There are no records of people “eating vegetables and serving devils” and very limited records about “people of the way” in the Yuan. This shows the Mongol government’s tolerant policies and the different views of scholars regarding the movement. It also reveals the assimilation of these people into the sect and other local religious groups.

At the state level, direct contact between group members and leaders with the imperial government was a failure in the Song, as in the example of Shen Zhiyuan, but the early Yuan saw successes, such as that of Dao’an. However, the White Cloud movement never fomented riots or rebellion during the Song and the Yuan—not because of timely government persecution arrived on time but rather because the White Cloud members’ primary interests were commercial not religiously ideological or political. The only exception to this is that Kong Qingjue and his monastic followers seem like really devout people at in least Kong’s teachings, even if those were not fully Buddhist teachings. Continuous social interactions in the region through the White Cloud movement secured the growth of local market towns with property related to the sect. Participation in the White Cloud sect was not a faster path to archive personal salvation or enlightenment but was a way gain commercial advantage and local influence.

Moreover, *daomin* included some legitimately devout people, especially women. There could be both religious and commercial aspects.

The movement was not a marginal Jiangnan phenomenon, though the Song government tried to marginalize them. It represented the dynamics of local society in Jiangnan and shows how local activism combined with religion and network building strategies. The sect offices were able to offer monastic registration for lay people and their farmland and property. So the White Cloud enterprise prospered, with these powers as the source of their business.

Chapter 2. Gathering People and Making Profits: The History of the White Cloud Movement

There was one group called “the White Cloud sect” outside (of Buddhism), is especially evil and abusive. In the beginning, they did not have a way of practice. They only recited Sūtras at home, prohibited meat and alcohol. But they did not abandon agriculture and miss the tax payment. In the precedent Song dynasty, (the government) claimed that (the sect) had night assembly and dawn disband. Due to the fear that it could cause disaster, it was banned. But that time (the sect) had only few families participated. Today they do not obey Buddhist disciplines, and devour meat and alcohol. They use fake names to avoid corvée duty. They can mobilize ten thousands of people, for reciting Sūtras and worship services. They distinguish themselves from vernacular people, but also differentiate themselves from Buddhists and Daoists. The government did not realize their fakeness, and established special bureau for them. Now the sect supervisor Qian Rujing, keeps conducting illegal deeds, and (his power) overcomes those of Buddhist bureaus and Daoist offices. It is better to dismiss the sect, in order to remove the parasite of the state, and release people’s strength.

Zheng Jiefu, Dade 7 (1303)¹²⁸

“外有白雲宗一派，尤為妖妄。其初未嘗有法門，止是在家念佛，不茹葷，不飲酒，不廢耕桑，不缺賦稅。前宋時，謂其夜聚曉散，恐生不虞，猶為禁絕，然亦不過數家而已。今皆不守戒律，狼藉葷酒，但假名以規避差役，動至萬計，均為誦經禮拜也。既自別于俗人，又自異于僧道，朝廷不察其偽，特為另立衙門。今宗攝錢如鏡，恣行不法，甚于僧司道所，亦宜革去，以除國蠹，以寬民力可也。”

鄭介夫 大德七年 1303

The White Cloud sect was crystallized after the Mongol conquest in the Jiangnan region. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Dao’an had received permission directly from Khubilai Khan to reestablished the sect. The White Cloud sect enjoyed a prominent position among official religious groups in the Yuan Empire’s religious hierarchy. Following the founding of relevant religious bureaus in the early Yuan dynasty, the White Cloud sect had privileges to issue its own monastic certificate to individuals and

¹²⁸ Zheng Jiefu 鄭介夫, “Taiping ce” 太平策 (1303), in *Lidai mingchen zouyi* 歷代名臣奏議, 67: 48; Liu Xiao 劉曉, *Baiyunzong zongsheqian rujing xiaokao* 白雲宗宗攝錢如鏡小考.

set up affiliations of monasteries and private chapels. They enjoyed same rights as other Buddhist schools in the Empire. Same as their Song predecessors, the sect members included two cohorts: monastic monks, and lay people as the main stream. Many of these lay people of spiritual pursuits were the target of Song government's persecution, who were self named "people of the way" and government claimed "vegetarian devil worshippers." The White Cloud sect also received government sponsorship for one of the largest Buddhist canon printing projects in the Yuan Empire – the Puning Canon. The sect overall became a commercial enterprise which gained economic benefits from business related to monastic certificate selling, farmland and property acquisition and management, as well as canon printing and publishing.

Once the White Cloud sect was formally recognized and institutionalized by the Yuan court. In the period of Khubilai's reign in the area (1276-1294), the government supported the sect, in financial and policy means. But after Khubilai's death, for thirty-five years in the mid Yuan dynasty before 1330, the government had dramatic policy changes towards the sect and religions in general, including a series of establishment and abolishment of related clergy offices. These changes corresponded the hectic political struggle and power competition in the Yuan court and inside the Mongol imperial family during the mid Yuan period. This period also contains most extant records of the White Cloud sect. From these records we should not conclude that this thirty-five year was the sect's most active period. However, it was definitely the peak time when the sect activities drew attentions from the government and public eyes, thus many of their activities were recorded in various documents. It can be attributed to their activities out of government control, the government's raised concerns of tax revenue loss, farmland

reform, and local disorder. As Chikusa Masaaki foresaw in his pioneering work in the 1970s, that the future research of the White Cloud's development should focus on the political background rather than just on the religious activities.¹²⁹

The Yuan religious bureaucracy and organizational structure

The Yuan established a unique system of clergy bureaucracy for religious affairs (mostly Buddhist affairs) both empire-wide and regional. An imperial edict of Khubilai Khan says,

“Ordering under the heaven (i.e. all over the Empire) to establish Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs *Xuanzheng yuan*, Buddhist Registrar Bureau *Senglu si*, Buddhist Rectifier Bureau *Sengzheng si*, and Buddhist Superior Bureau *Dugang si* (or, *Senggang si*). Grant them seals and letters, and dispatch them to each route, take charge of religious schools, and protect dharma.”¹³⁰

諭天下設立宣政院、僧錄、僧正、都綱司、賜以印信，行移各路，主掌教門，護持佛法。

The newly created governing system of religious affairs headed by one centralized institution - Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs *Xuanzheng yuan* 宣政院. It was the Supreme Control Commission built in 1264, and changed named in 1288. It led total of 26 branches all over China and Tibet, in which 18 of them had function of civil administration.¹³¹ There was also a central bureau called Commission of Merit and Virtue

¹²⁹ Chikusa, *Chūgoku Bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū*, 95.

¹³⁰ *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載, 22: 729-2.

¹³¹ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1995), #2654.

功德使司 had similar function to *Xuanzheng yuan*, and was assimilated to the latter in 1329.¹³²

Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings *Shijiao zongtongsuo* 釋教總統所 (sometimes *Shijiao zongshesuo* 釋教總攝所) was the particular bureau that manage affairs of monastic Buddhists, including issuing monastic certificate, appointed abbots, granting titles and monitoring monastic properties. We do not know if there are a central one before *Xuanzheng yuan* was established. There were several regional ones in the empire.¹³³ The most important one was the *Jianghuai shijiao zongtongsuo* 江淮釋教總統所 (sometimes *Jiangzhe shijiao zongtongsuo* 江浙釋教總統所), which oversaw Buddhist monks in Jianghuai/Jiangzhe province, mainly the Jiangnan area. It was established in Hangzhou in 1277, one year after the city was conquered by the Mongols.¹³⁴ Unlike *Xuanzheng yuan* which was a civil bureau, usually the office holders of *shijiao zongtongsuo* were all Buddhist monks. The chief director of this clergy bureau was titled as Supervisor *zongshe* 總攝 or Commander *zongtong* 總統. The most influential Supervisor was the Tangut monk Yang Lianzhenjian 楊璉真伽.¹³⁵ He was active in

¹³² Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles*, #3485

¹³³ So far as we know, these are the *Shijiao zongtongsuo* established in the Yuan Empire, mostly at the provincial level: in Jianghuai/Jiangzhe province 江淮/江浙行省; in Jiangxi/Longxing province 江西/隆興行省; in Fujian province 福建行省; in Shaanxi-Sichuan province 陝西四川行省; in Gansu province 甘肅等處行中書省, one office in Ningxia 寧夏 and one office in Lintao 臨洮; in the “Central Area” 腹里 (around the capital with jurisdiction directly under Central Secretariat).

¹³⁴ *Yuanshi*, ch. 9. The name Jianghuai and Jiangzhe match the name changes of the province *Xingsheng*, so they have the same territorial jurisdiction. The office’s seat shifted between Yangzhou and Hangzhou but was more often in Hangzhou, until the office’s termination in 1299.

¹³⁵ The three chief clergy officials appointed in 1277 by Khubilai for *Jianghuai shijiao zongtongsuo* were the Tangut monk Yang Lianzhenjian 楊璉真伽 (輦真加 / 憐真加 / 嘉木揚喇勒智), the Jurchen monk Xingyu 行育 (or, Kang Jixiang 亢吉祥, Hang Jixiang 行吉祥, Monk Longchuan 龍川和尚), and the Tibetan/Tangut monk Jiawa 加瓦 (or, Jiawaba 加瓦八). See Zhou Mi 周密, *Guixin zazhi* 癸辛雜識 (1991), 161.

Hangzhou for reconstruction of religious landscape and Buddhist canon print from 1277 to 1291, favored by Khubilai throughout his reign. He was dismissed in 1291 due to the corruption case of his closed court alliance Sangha 桑哥 (?-1291). Two months after Sangha's execution in the capital, Regional Commissions for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs *Xing Xuanzheng yuan* 行宣政院 was established in Nanjing to overcome *Jianghuai shijiao zongtongsuo* in Hangzhou. In 1292 or 1293, the office was relocated to Hangzhou.¹³⁶ *Xing Xuanzheng yuan* was the branch office of *Xuanzheng yuan* in different regions, and there were several of them in the Yuan Empire by that time.¹³⁷ This change was mainly aimed to replace monk officials by civil officials. *Jianghuai shijiao zongtongsuo* in Hangzhou was closed eventually in 1299, based on the proposal from Imperial Preceptor Shalopa 沙羅巴 (Tangut monk from Qinzhou 秦州, surname Gao 高, 1259-1314) who had served as *Zongtong* in the Hangzhou bureau before.¹³⁸ From 1291 to 1299, *Xing Xuanzhengyuan* was mainly clear up the mess of farmland dispute which Yang Lianzhenjia left in Jiangnan. Yang had received bribes and illegally registered over 500,000 tenant farmer households to monastic status to evade taxes. *Xing Xuanzhengyuan* had returned them all back to common households.¹³⁹ *Xing Xuanzhengyuan* (in Hangzhou and other places overall) was/were also removed and reestablished many times in the mid and late Yuan period, and lasted till the end of the Yuan. There were also a

¹³⁶ *Zhizheng Jinling xinzhì* 至正金陵新志, ch. 6; *Liangzhe jinshizhi* 两浙金石志, ch. 14; Deng Duoling 邓锐龄, *Yuandai Hangzhou xingxuan zhengyu* 元代杭州行宣政院 (1995).

¹³⁷ This was similar to the *Xing Zhongshu sheng* (or province) serving as the branch office of the *Zhongshu sheng* – the Central Secretariat. *Xing Xuanzheng yuan* was usually set up in regions that had significant number of religious groups and institutions. From all extant information we have today, we know that there were several *Xing Xuanzheng yuan* in the Yuan Empire.

¹³⁸ *Yuanshi*. On Shalopa, see Lü Jianfu 吕建福, *Zhongguo mijishi* 中國密教史 (1995), 541; Shi Fahong 釋法洪, “Chi jian dishi pai 敕建帝師碑 in *Fozu lidai tongzai*, 22: 733; Herbert Franke.

¹³⁹ The number 500,000 tenant farmer households might be an exaggeration. Another source says 23,000 households.

temporary bureau for controlling Buddhist monk called Supervision Commission for Promoting Religion 廣教總管府, established in 1331, and removed in 1334. There were sixteenth of them all over the empire including the Jiangnan region.¹⁴⁰

Overall, this bureaucratic system had its advantages and disadvantages.¹⁴¹ It regulates Buddhists and local religious activities. On the other hand, it was very redundant and still offers monks tremendous power and privileges. Buddhist monks were involved in politics and local affairs. They could govern local people and control resources over officials' reach, and influence court politics as well. Because of the monks' overpowerful, in the mid and late Yuan period, huge numbers of young adults who suppose to work chose to become Buddhist monks, and Buddhist temples collectively obtained overwhelmingly high amount of properties and lands. Farmlands and households were affiliated to Buddhist institutions to avoid tax duties. Many Buddhist monks and groups also committed crimes and even cause rebellions. Therefore, there is a saying that the Yuan dynasty was end in the hand of Buddhist monks. The Yuan government always had lenient laws regarding Buddhist monks, and tolerant gesture towards religious groups overall. According the Yuan legal document compilation *Yuandianzhang* 元典章, Buddhist monks had exemptions from tax, labors and military service. They also enjoyed privileges of special juristic procedures (joint court system 約

¹⁴⁰ *Yuanshi*, ch. 34.

¹⁴¹ This bureaucratic system of religious affairs was mainly an invention of the Yuan Empire, though it had learned ideas from the Jin and the Song. The Song dynasty had an institution called the Chuanfa yuan 傳法院, Institute for Propagation of the Tripitaka. It was under the Court of State Ceremonial, Honglu si 鴻臚寺. The Chuanfa yuan's main function was to gather scholar officials to translate and publish the Buddhist canon.

會), and light punishments if they committed crimes.¹⁴² Thus, Buddhist monks and monastic groups enjoyed the unprecedented privilege that never seen in previous dynasties.

As for the privileges of a Buddhist monastery, the Yuan government also treated them in a high regard. The monastery enjoyed more freedom of managing its property and self managing its monastic affairs and human resources. Comparing to local government and many other institutions in the Yuan period, Buddhist monasteries were quite independent in its own development and regulation, separated from external influence. In 1264, long before the conquest of the Southern Song, the Mongols issued an edict that succeeded a policy from the Chinggisid period about tax exemption for four religious groups, including Buddhists, Daoists, Christians and Muslims. Only land tax 地稅 and commercial tax 商稅 were enforced, since Khubilai was in need of resources for his two campaigns against Ariq Boke in the north and the Southern Song in the south simultaneously.¹⁴³ After the conquest of the Southern Song in 1276, this policy was then hardly enforced, due to the more stable revenue source for the central government. This means that secular people paid land and commercial taxes but monasteries did not, though there was still a law stating that they were supposed to. Besides land and commercial taxes, for people who affiliated to religious institutions in South China, mostly monastic clergy, the head/individual tax 丁稅, itemized taxes 科差 and assisted labor 助役 are not required. Also, there was an edict in 1277 of a general all-included tax

¹⁴² *Yuandian zhang* 元典章: xingbu 刑部, ch. 1.

¹⁴³ Cho, "Beyond Tolerance," 89, 93; *Tongzhi tiaoge jiaozhu* 通制條格校註, 29:718 ; *Yuandianzhang* 元典章, 24: 1a (note that the *Yuandianzhang* was not an official legal code but rather a composition of legal cases).

exemption for these religious groups in the Jiangnan region, and another edict in 1295 of a general tax exemption for religious groups all over the empire.¹⁴⁴ Overall, most likely in the Jiangnan region, all taxes were exempted and not charged since the conquest of the Southern Song. In the meanwhile, Buddhist monasteries tremendously dilated/expanded their properties, especially farmlands. According to official policy, farmland of monasteries that were left from previous dynasties or granted from the emperor were not taxable, but farmland and cash donations for commercial purposes from local people were taxable. First of all, this was hardly enforced. Second, even if the monastery submitted the taxes, it will be the local government who received them, not religious bureaus. In any case, the financial contribution of Buddhist monasteries and religious institutions in the Jiangnan region to the state was very limited, in the contrast, the spending and awards from the state budget to these institutions were huge. Thus the Buddhist monasteries indeed became a burden of the state economy, which the state did not realize but allow its continuous expansion.¹⁴⁵ Buddhist monasteries and groups, including the White Cloud, became extremely wealthy, for the land, population, business and resources they owned. As stated by the late Yuan scholar Wei Su 危素 (1303-1372),

Monks have more land but less duties, and accumulation for ten years made them lots of wealth and properties.¹⁴⁶
僧人田多差役少，十年積蓄多財資

¹⁴⁴ Cho, "Beyond Tolerance," 108-9. This was proposed by Dampa in 1294, as will be discussed later.

¹⁴⁵ Bai Wengu 白文固, "Yuandai siyuan sengni de fuyi wenti 元代寺院僧尼的賦役問題, *Zhongguo jingjishi yanjiu* 中國經濟史研究 1998.1; Chen Gaohua 陳高華 and Shi Weimin 史衛民, *Yuandai jingjishi* 元代經濟史.

¹⁴⁶ Wei Suo 危素, "Shaofusi fatangji" 昭福寺法堂記, in *Wei Taipu wenji*, ch. 2.

The purpose of establishing offices on religious affairs was apparently to regulate and control all Buddhist individuals and groups directly from the central government more efficiently. According to *Yuanshi* 元史, which were edited by Chinese court scholars in the Ming dynasty, the Yuan Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs *Xuanzheng yuan* 行宣政院 was effective in supervising the three main Buddhist schools, but was not able to control White Cloud and White Lotus sects. Because these sects were searching for their own interests, rather than simple religious practice.¹⁴⁷

If all temples in the empire were led by Inner and Outer (i.e. Central and Regional) Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs, including those of Chan, Jiao and Lü schools, they would stay on their own business. Only so called White Cloud sect and White Lotus sect, were particularly focusing on wicked means for benefits.¹⁴⁸

若夫天下寺院之領於內外宣政院，曰禪，曰教，曰律，則固各守其業，惟所謂白雲宗、白蓮宗者，亦或頗通奸利云。

Therefore, it was necessary for the Yuan court to establish separate office to directly take charge of the unruly White Cloud and White Lotus. The office for the White Cloud was established, but no office was established for the White Lotus.¹⁴⁹ It shows the unique status of the White Cloud sect in the arena of the Yuan religious landscape. The White Cloud received more attention from the Yuan emperor and government, and successfully secured their favor and support. The Yuan religious affairs offices were highly hierarchical based on different levels of jurisdiction, from the court, provinces 行省, to routes 路. There is no office down to the level of counties and prefectures. Both

¹⁴⁷ Note that the *Yuanshi*'s authors were Ming officials.

¹⁴⁸ *Yuanshi*, 202: 4524.

¹⁴⁹ The White Lotus was recognized in 1312 at the beginning of Renzong's 仁宗 reign, thanks to the sect leader Pudu's 釋普度 (1255-1330) request to the court.

White Cloud and White Lotus were local based (towns and villages), and not concentrated in provincial or route capitals. The White Cloud sect was spatially stable and limited to the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain, while the White Lotus sect spread out to different regions. The court established offices on the White Cloud sect was also due to its assigned mission to complete the Puning canon, whereas the White Lotus sect did not have a state sponsored canon printing project.

This chapter analyzes the difference and similarities of the activities of the White Cloud members in the Yuan compared to their predecessors along with the “people of the way” and people who “eating vegetables and serving devils” in the Song? It also demonstrates how the Mongol government’s unstable policies changed the religious office establishment and the development of the sect. My research claims that the leading force of the White Cloud sect was not monastic monks, but lay people? In the following sections of this chapter, I will divide the development trend of the sect by different reign periods of the Yuan emperors. Because each emperor has different policies for institutional changes toward the sect. In each section of one emperor’s reign period, I discuss the changes related to the establishment and abolishment of bureaus, official persecutions and awards, the leaders of the White Cloud sect, as well as Buddhist canon printing projects. More records in official chronicle *Yuanshi* appeared in the period between 1276 to 1323, as we can see three times of persecutions in 1303-06, 1311, and 1316-20. We have limited information for the period from 1323 to 1368 the end of the Yuan. But it does not mean that the White Cloud sect disappeared. They survived till the beginning of the Ming dynasty.

Shizu's 世祖 reign (1276-1294)

Monk Dao'an's petition to Shizu - Khubilai Khan - led to official recognition. So the White Cloud sect in the Yuan dynasty was first led by monastic monks of the Nanshan Puning Monastery in Hangzhou. Dao'an as the key figure of the sect's revival, was the real founding father of the White Cloud sect. He can compare to Pudu 普度 (1255-1330), who had published *Lushan lianzong baojian* 庐山莲宗宝鉴 "Treasure Book of the Lotus sect in Lushan" and revived the White Lotus sect. According to Richard von Glahn, The reason why Khubilai recognized the White Cloud as a sect, was because his intention to balance the powerful and wealthy Chan Buddhist monasteries in the Jiangnan area. The White Cloud sect centered in Huzhou and Jiaying, and acquired enormous landholding through donations and registration of monastic status from those rich landowners and local patrons who sought tax and corvée duties exemptions.¹⁵⁰ Though Khubilai was aware of Chan Buddhists' influence in South China and preferred other Chinese Buddhist schools than the Chan, he rather had tolerant and friendly attitude toward all Buddhists. I argue that Khubilai's decision is based on the trust and favor of Dao'an through his personal referee Imperial Preceptor Dampa, for the concerns of various ways of merit accumulation through diverse religious groups, and later on the mission of Buddhist canon printing industry for the White Cloud.

(Figure 1)

In the early Southern Song dynasty, there was a comparable example. The first Emperor Gaozong (1107-1187) once favored the White Lotus sect, and had offered two

¹⁵⁰ von Glahn, *Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, 194.

imperial audiences with the sect founder Mao Ziyuan 茅子元 (1096-1166) in 1133 and 1166. The emperor invited Mao for teaching Pure Land Buddhism at the court, but did not recognize the White Lotus sect. The sect and Mao still suffered persecution regardless of these two imperial audience. Also, in the Song, no bureaus of religious affairs for the White Lotus sect was established. The White Lotus sect still had no right for ordination of a monk, abbot appointment and temple legitimization. The Yuan was much more creative and tolerant, though this special favor was given to the White Cloud sect, not the White Lotus sect. The Mongols went way beyond their Song counterpart. They not only made the White Cloud sect legal by officially creating relevant clergy bureaus, but also made it a role model of Buddhist schools. In the eyes of the Song rulers, the White Cloud movement were trouble makers same as the “people of the way” and people who “eating vegetables and serving devils.” But in the Yuan government’s view, the White Cloud sect was a standard example of religious order and local Buddhism.

The office for managing the White Cloud Sect Buddhist Registrar Bureau (or, Monk Registry Bureau / Monk Recorder Office) *Baiyunzong senglu si* 白雲宗僧錄司 of 浙西道杭州等路 was set up in the Puning monastery 普寧寺 in Southern Hill 南山, located in the outskirts of Hangzhou in 1279 or earlier.¹⁵¹ Dao’an 道安 was the head of the bureau 浙西道杭州等路白雲宗僧錄, and later he had the title as the Master of the White Cloud Sect 白雲宗主. There were also a separate office called the White Cloud Sect General Overseer Office *Baiyunzong zongshesuo* 白雲宗總攝/宗攝所. No detailed introduction of these two offices were available, except the names. The White Cloud Sect

¹⁵¹ Liu Xiao 劉曉. This was later the (General) Monk Registry Bureau (總) 僧錄司.

Buddhist Registrar Bureau could be the procedure office that issuing monastic certificate and complete registration, and the White Cloud Sect General Overseer could be the investigator office that advising religious activities and implementing censorship. These dual offices regulated monastic activities and properties of the White Cloud sect, and separated it from jurisdiction of Jianghuai/Jiangzhe Cross-Routes Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings *Zhulu shijiao zongtong/zongshesuo* 諸路釋教總統/總攝所. However, they were both mutually influenced, as we shall see later in the case of Yang Lianzhenjia and other clergy officials' sponsorship on Puning canon print. In general, once the monks and lay people attached to the White Cloud sect, they were controlled by these two offices, thus did not have tax, corvée and census/report duties to local government anymore.

Table 2: Structure of bureaucratic systems (civil and religious affairs) in the Yuan dynasty¹⁵²

Offices for Civil Affairs	Offices for Religious Affairs			
Central Secretariat 中書省	Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs <i>Xuanzheng yuan</i> 宣政院 ¹⁵³		Commission of Merit and Virtue (Buddhist Affairs Commission) 功德使司 ¹⁵⁴	
Regional Secretariat – province 行中書省 (行省)	Cross-Routes Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings <i>Zhulu shijiao zongtong/zongshesuo</i> 諸路釋教總統/總攝所 (1277-1311) (Jiangzhe 1277-1299)	White Cloud sect (General) Buddhist Registrar Bureau,	White Cloud sect General Overseer Office,	White Cloud sect Tripitaka Print Office 大

¹⁵² *Zhongguo xingzheng quhua tongshi: Yuandai juan* 中國行政區劃通史:元代卷 (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe), 1.

¹⁵³ Some scholars argue that the *Xuanzheng yuan* only dealt with Buddhist Affairs and that there were the *Jixian Yuan* 集賢院 for Daoist affairs and the *Chongfu si* 崇福司 for Christian affairs. There was no central bureau for Islam. See Atwood (2015), 9.

¹⁵⁴ See Herbert Franke, “Tibetans in Yuan China.”

	Regional Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs <i>Xing Xuanzhengyuan</i> 行宣政院 (1291-1368)	or Monk Registry Bureau <i>Baiyunzong (du) senglu si</i> 白雲宗 (都) 僧錄司	or Sect Overseer Office <i>Baiyunzong zongshesu o</i> 白雲宗總攝/宗攝所	藏經印經局 (or Tripitaka Publisher Office 刊經局)
	Supervision Commission for Promoting Religion 廣教總管府 (1331-1334)			
Pacification Commission 宣慰司 or Route 路 ¹⁵⁵	Buddhist Registrar Bureau <i>Senglu si</i> 僧錄司			
Metropolitan Prefecture (or Prefecture) 府	Buddhist Registrar Bureau <i>Senglu si</i> 僧錄司			
Standard Prefecture (or Subprefecture) 州	Buddhist Rectifier Bureau <i>Sengzheng si</i> 僧正司			
Commandery 郡 County 縣	Buddhist Superior Bureau <i>Dugang si</i> 都綱司 or, <i>Senggang si</i> 僧綱司			

From the table, we see that the hierarchy of the religious offices was established partially in parallel with the civil offices. We should be aware that both the civil and religious offices were not absolutely spatially related. There were overlap of regional boundaries. Also, there were overlap of administrative functions and official members too. In the primary level, *Xuanzheng yuan* was directly responsible to the central government. After that, *Xing Xuanzheng yuan* and *Shijiao zongtongsuo* were both based on a province or two, covering several routes. As for prefectures and counties, there were different bureaus matching each level of civil administration. The offices related to the White Cloud, including Buddhist Registrar Bureau and General Overseer Office, were more for the sect concerns, than based on geography. But their office ranks are as high as

¹⁵⁵ *Lu* 路 in the Yuan period were different from the routes of the Jin and Song dynasties. Yuan *lu* were on the level below the province.

Xing Xuanzheng yuan and *Shijiao zongtongsuo*, but also independent from them. (office rank will be discussed in the section on Wuzong’s reign in 1308) In the Yuan dynasty, there were few other special religious sects were established or recognized, received official patronage. In North China, there was the Buddhist Grand Kaiyuan sect 大開元宗, the Great Dhūta Teaching 大頭陀教, and the Daoist Quanzhen 全真 sect.¹⁵⁶ So the White Cloud was the only example of such bureaucratic settings in South China, and the only one that had relevant bureaus established. At last, the government had established a special office for canon printing project – the Tripitaka Print Office. It served as an official publisher that collecting donations, managing the printing process and selling the Sūtras for profits.

Table 3: Brief timeline of the offices related to the White Cloud sect

	Year established	Year abolished	Officers
White Cloud sect (Comprehensive) Buddhist Registrar Bureau 白雲宗(都)僧錄司	By 1279 or before	1306 abolished	Controller 提控 Administrative Clerk 知事 Buddhist/Monk Registrar 僧錄 ¹⁵⁷
White Cloud sect (Sect) Overseer Office (name 1) 白雲宗(宗)攝所	unknown 1308 reestablished	1303 abolished 1309 abolished	Sect Supervisor 宗攝 Buddhist/Clergy Administrator 僧判
White Cloud sect (General) Overseer Office (name 2)	unknown	1311 abolished 1319 abolished	General Supervisor 總攝 Buddhist/Clergy Administrator

¹⁵⁶ The Dhuta sect’s leader was granted the title “Chan Master of Dhuta” 頭陀禪師. In south China, the White Lotus sect had its leader granted the title “Tutelary protector of the White Lotus sect” 白蓮掌教護持. But no bureaus were established for these two sects.

¹⁵⁷ There may have been other official titles, such as Auditing Officer *Zhaomo* 照磨 (see Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, biejī A), Recorder *Jingli* 經歷, and Manager *Zhushi* 主事. Some might have belonged to the *Shijiao zongtongsuo* 釋教總統所.

白雲宗(總)攝所			僧判
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Most seats in the offices were held by the sect's monks. The first chief abbot Dao'an was appointed Monk Register 僧錄 first, and a non-Chinese (色目) was appointed Clergy Administrator 僧判.¹⁵⁸ Thus a monk could have double identity as both a monk and a government employee. The White Cloud sect became self-governing in this sense, and was largely independent from the state. White Cloud sect's monks were extremely powerful in the local society, if they held a government appointment at either the Overseer Office or Monk Registry Bureau. There is a story in an early Yuan *biji* that mentioned a confidence man who had been attached to a Song Grand Councilor had turned into the protective wings of a monk registrar of the White Cloud sect.

“Zhu Shifu of Anji county, was the son-in-law of the Grand Councilor Ma Biwu (i.e. Ma Tingluan 馬廷鸞 1223-1289).¹⁵⁹ There is a man surnamed Wen, and he got to enter Ma's household because of Zhu. Recently he had no one to rely on, so he turned himself to a monk registrar of the White Cloud sect. Wen had no way to please him. So he created a story, saying: [In the past Biwu told me that, ‘when I was in the office of Grand Councilor, Emperor Duzong (reign 1264-1274) asked me: I dreamed of a holy monk's visit, he asked me to lend him a land in the palace for the residence of monk. I approved. What omen is this? I (Ma) kept silent because I thought this would not be auspicious.’ Today the newly built Banruo Temple of the White Cloud sect, is on the site of the former imperial residence hall. So we know things are all predetermined.] So the monk registrar's disciples recorded this story on a stele in the temple, in order to consecrated it.” Alas! If Emperor Duzong had such dream, by that time Jia Sidao (1213-1275) controlled state affairs, how come the emperor only told this to Ma? Even if he only told Ma, how come Ma did not let his relatives know, but only tell Wen? Therefore, we can see how fearless a villain could be. I am afraid if our next generations believe this story without knowing the truth, so I have to reveal it.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Overmyer, 634.

¹⁵⁹ Biography of Ma Tingluan 馬廷鸞 (1223-1289), in *Songshi* 宋史, ch. 414

¹⁶⁰ Zhou Mi, *Guixin zazhi*, xuji B.

安吉縣朱實夫，馬相碧梧之壻也。有溫生者，因朱而登馬相之門，近複無聊，遂依白雲宗賢僧錄者，無以媚之，乃創為一說，雲：「曩聞碧梧與之言雲：『向在相位日，蒙度宗宣諭雲：朕嘗夢一聖僧來謁，從朕借大內之地為卓錫之所。朕嘗許之，是何祥也？』馬雖知為不祥而不敢對。今白雲宗所造般若寺，即昔之寢殿也。則知事皆前定。」於是其徒遂以此說載之於寺碑，以神其事。嗚呼！使當時果有此夢，方賈平章當國，安得獨語馬公？使馬公果聞此語，安得不使子侄親友知之，且獨語門吏耶？可見小人之無忌憚如此。余恐後人不知而輕信，故不得不為之辯。

Though it is a retrospective writing of anecdote, it shows how powerful a White Cloud monk registrar in the Yuan local society could be, that a person who used to attach the former Song Grand Councilor would come to please him. It also reveals the Banruo temple 般若寺. It was built on the previous Song palace site after the conquest of Hangzhou, under Yang Lianzhenjia's sponsorship during Khubilai's reign in the Jiangnan region.

Tangut monk Yang Lianzhenjia was a patron/protector of the White Cloud sect and its Buddhist canon printing projects including both Puning Canon and Tangut Hexi Canon. He sojourned in Hangzhou and was active starting from the Mongol's conquest of the city, since himself was a military clergy and had achievement in Khubilai's southern campaign against the Song. Yang was known for his transformation of Hangzhou's sacred landscape. He destroyed many Song remained buildings, and implanted Tibetan Buddhist style sculptures and temples. As for the monuments he had built, he erected five temples and one stupa on top of the Southern Song imperial palace site. These five temples belong to five different Buddhist schools, and one of the temples was of the

White Cloud sect - the Banruo Temple.¹⁶¹ The former Song palace was located at the Phoenix Hill 鳳凰山 in the south side of the city. In 1277, the abandoned palace had a fire which burned down many buildings.¹⁶² In 1284, Khubilai Khan issued an imperial order to build five grand Buddhist temples on the palace site, and divide them to be affiliated to five different schools for promoting their teachings.¹⁶³ Khubilai's decision to build these temples was a direct response to Yang Lianzhenjia's suggestion after the palace fire.¹⁶⁴ Based on Khubilai's approval, Yang became the leader who implemented the edict and sponsored this reconstruction project. In the second month of 1288, Yang Lianzhenjia reported to Khubilai that the project was completed.¹⁶⁵

Banruo Temple was on the site of the Gate of Hening 和寧門, the main northern entrance into the Southern Song imperial palace and the south endpoint of the imperial thoroughfare 御街 which was the central commercial street in the city, dividing Hangzhou city into two parts: east and west.¹⁶⁶ The construction of Banruo Temple in the old palace site, along with the other four temples which belonged to four official

¹⁶¹ The five temples were named *Baoguo*, *Xingyuan*, *Banruo*, *Xianling*, and *Zunsheng*. The Banruo Temple (*Banruo* means "wisdom of Buddhism") was a monastery of the White Cloud sect. The Grand Baoguo Temple (*Baoguo* means "compensating the state") was a monastery of the Chan (Zen) school. The Xingyuan Temple (*Xingyuan* means "making the Yuan prosper") was a monastery of the Tiantai school. The Xianling Temple (*Xianling* means the "forest of immortals") was a monastery of the Ci'en school (or the Weishi "Consciousness Only" school or Faxiang "Dharma Characteristics" school). The Zunsheng Temple (*Zunsheng* means "revering holiness") was a monastery of Tibetan Buddhism with a stupa attached to it. In addition to the five temples, Yang Lianzhenjia also built a huge Tibetan-style white stupa. The stupa is called *Zhennan*, meaning "Suppressing the South."

¹⁶² Yikui Xu, *Shi feng gao*, j.10, 2B-5B.

¹⁶³ Jin Huang 黃縉, *Jinhua huangxiangsheng wenji* 金華黃先生文集 -續修四庫全書 1323(Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), j.11, 197 鳳凰山禪宗大報國寺記. Gaohua Chen, "Zailun Yuandai hexi sengren Yang Lianzhenjia" note50.

¹⁶⁴ Ying Lang 朗瑛, *Qi xiu lei gao* 七修類稿 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju shanghai bianjisuo, 1959), j.2 天地類 杭州宋宮考, 36.

¹⁶⁵ Lian Song, *Yuan shi*, 309. Franke, "Tibetans in Yuan China," 323, note106. Gaohua Chen, "Zailun Yuandai hexi sengren Yang Lianzhenjia," note 47.

¹⁶⁶ According to Zhou Mi, however, the Banruo Temple was also located at a former Song emperor residence 寢殿. see Mi Zhou, "Jianseng weimeng" 奸僧偽夢, *Guixin zashi*, 202-3.

monastic Buddhist schools (including Chan, Tiantai, Ci'en, and Tibetan), recognized the high rank of the White Cloud sect. This elevation of the White Cloud's status was intended to challenge the former Song authority, and balance the influence of other larger Buddhist schools with the raising status of the White Cloud sect. As we know, none of the temples of the White Cloud sect in the Southern Song and the Yuan were located inside the city wall of Hangzhou, this Baoruo Temple in the former palace site is the only example. Therefore, the establishment of the temple highlighted its uniqueness among all white Cloud worship venues as well as its significance in Yuan Hangzhou's sacred landscape.¹⁶⁷

Throughout Khubilai's reign, there was no persecution towards the sect since it was officially established. There were only bureaucratic settings, and awards for the sect. Besides these creativity and accomplishments, during Khubilai's reign, the White Cloud sect had completed the Puning Canon printing project. It was started in 1277 by Dao'an as a private project at the Sixi Monastery 思溪寺 in Huzhou, and soon gained financial support from the Yuan court. The workshop was moved to the Grand Puning Monastery in the outskirts of Hangzhou. Editors reviewed existing Sūtras to a new edition, and craftsmen made new blocks. The project mainly completed in 1290.

Dao'an had also made a lineage system for the White Cloud chief abbot succession. After him, was the ninth generation, and retrospectively traced back to Kong Qingjue as the first generation founder. As stated in Chapter 1, Dao'an's successors were

¹⁶⁷ More on this palace site temple building project, see Ding Guofam 丁國范 175; *Daqing yitongzhi* 大清一統志 j.217; *Qianlong Hangzhou fuzhi* 乾隆杭州府志 j.31; *Jiajing Renhe xianzhi* 嘉靖仁和縣志 j.12; *Fenghuangshan chanzong da Bao'en si ji* 鳳凰山禪宗大報國寺記, *Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji* 金華黃先生文集, j.11.

Runing 如寧, then Rumiao 如妙, then Ruwei 如渭, then Mingzhao 明照, then Minglun 明倫, in chronological order. There was a rule of different generations in the lineage used first character of the monk's name as a mark. The ninth generation used *hui* 慧, the tenth *Ru* 如, and the eleventh *ming* 明. Dao'an was the ninth generation, as his dharma name is Huizhao 慧照. (In 1290, Ruzhi 如志 succeeded the position of chief abbot.¹⁶⁸) Also, as discussed in this chapter, the lineage of monastic abbots yield way for lay leaders. Many of them seem to be from a certain Shen 沈 family. This lay leadership transformation, took place around the same time that the Tangut clergy official Yang Lianzhenjia lost power in the 1290s, and the simultaneous process of replacing clergy bureau *Shijiao zongtongsuo* by a civil bureau *Xing Xuanzhengyuan*. This might also be related to the general decline of Tangut and Tibetan monks' influence on the White Cloud sect as well as Buddhist affairs in the area. Dao'an had close relations with Imperial Preceptor Dampa and many other important non-Chinese Buddhist leaders both in the court and the region. Many of them were Tibetans, Tanguts and Uyghurs.¹⁶⁹

Chengzong's 成宗 reign (1294-1307)

There was a decline of monastic influence (especially those of Tangut and Tibetan monks) at the turn of the century (from 13th to 14th centuries). As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, in 1291 Yang Lianzhenjia lost his position due to involvement with Sangha 桑哥 in the court purge. In the meantime, the *Xing*

¹⁶⁸大正新脩大藏經 第十冊 No. 293 《大方廣佛華嚴經》CBETA.

¹⁶⁹ There is even a scholar arguing that Dao'an was from the Tangut royal family. 孫伯君, see Chapter 3 for more details.

Xuanzhengyuan 行宣政院 of Jianghuai/Jiangzhe province based in Yangzhou and Hangzhou was established. In 1299, Yang Lianzhenjia's office – *Jianghuai/Jiangzhe shijiao zongtongsuo* Jianghuai/Jiangzhe Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings 江淮/江浙釋教總統所 was removed. So *Xing Xuanzhengyuan* 行宣政院 completely took over the administrative matters of this office. In the White Cloud sect, it happened simultaneously the transition of leadership from monastic monks to lay people. Though lay people was always the major driven force of the sect activities, during Khubilai's reign monastic monks held positions as the sect head, at least in the case of Dao'an. In addition, many monastic monks involved in or had connections with the White Cloud were Tangut and Tibetan Buddhist monks, who also held leading positions at the Supervision Office. So the dismiss of Yang Lianzhenjia in 1291 and the eventual removal of the Supervision Office in 1299 might mark to the decline of their influence in religious affairs of the Jiangnan society.

Emperor Chengzong's reign had dramatic shift of religious policies on the White Cloud sect, due to the change of secular policy towards elite merchants, rich households and monks in the Jiangnan region. During the reign, social and political crisis emerged, such as the conflict for the imperial throne and loss of tax revenue due to farmland attached to Buddhist institutions. Also, local economy were monopolized by rich families and the state economy of trade largely controlled by *ortoq* 斡脫 “official merchant” who ran wholesale of government wanted commodities and sold usuries to commoners. In addition, Buddhist monks had tremendous power in the empire, and the population of monks increased dramatically, including those of the White Cloud sect as well.

In the six month of Dade 6 大德六年 (1302), the most important *ortog* - salt and granary transport merchants, Zhu Qing 朱清 of Yangzhou and Zhang Xuan 張瑄 of Suzhou were arrested and later executed. They used to receive government patronage for critical tribute transport from the Jiangnan region to the capital Dadu through ocean. Then rich households in Jiangnan 江南富戶 were accused of assimilating 兼併 commoners' farmland, and were persecuted through an urgent order from the emperor. The emperor also changed the policy to challenge Buddhist power that Buddhists who committed crimes should be charged heavier. Buddhists who committed crimes were to be on trial by officials from both Central and Regional Secretariats, and in case of the judge corruption the case would be heard by Imperial Censorate 御史臺.¹⁷⁰

In later chapters on Buddhist canon printing projects, we know that Zhu Qing and Zhang Xuan's families were very enthusiastic donors of the Qisha Buddhist Canon 磧砂藏 printed in Suzhou, which had connections with the White Cloud Puning Canon 普寧藏 in Hangzhou. Their execution not only affected the central government revenue and local economy, but also the printing business of Qisha Canon and local religious landscape in the Jiangnan region.

In 1303, there was a famine in the Western Zhejiang, which was the core region of the White Cloud sect. The local government's granary had not enough grains for refugees, so they sold official positions in exchange of money from commoners to buy food for relief 大德七年，... 浙西饑，發廩不足，募民入粟補官以賑之。¹⁷¹ Lack of

¹⁷⁰ YS20:439

¹⁷¹ YS 170:3987-88. biography of Shang Wen

food, not enough labor due to monastic attachment, and corrupted officials exacerbated the situation and caused unequal distribution the inappropriate storage of granary. The central government enforced a series of ways to rescue people, and change the situation. Emergency food package were distributed, and various taxes were waived from 1303 to 1304.

There was continuous rain in west Zhe region, people of famine 140,000. Food release has been a month. Still waive the summer tax that year, and together with wine and vinegar taxes of the affected households. Waive the additional local taxes of that year (1303).¹⁷²

浙西淫雨，民饑者十四萬，賑糧一月，仍免今年夏稅，並各戶酒醋課。免大德七年民間逋稅。

In Dade 8 (1304), tenant households in the Jiangnan region had too high private taxes. It is order to take twenty percent off the taxes, and make it the permanent rule.¹⁷³

大德八年，江南佃戶私租太重，以十分為率，減二分，永為定例。

In 1303, as the quote in the beginning of this chapter shows, a Confucian scholar Zheng Jiefu 鄭介夫 (?-?) pointed out the negative influence of the White Cloud sect on local society.¹⁷⁴ He claimed that the White Cloud sect was not a normal Buddhist school, but a gangster group which sought their own interests and abused local people through its special clergy offices *yamen* 衙門. He made connections between the group in the Yuan and the Song periods, and suggested that they were both evil but the at the moment in the Yuan the White Cloud group grew much larger and caused greater local disorder and harassment. He suggested to disqualify the sect, remove the clergy offices, and punish the head. The head of the White Cloud sect was a lay person named Qian Rujing 錢如鏡,

¹⁷² *Xin Yuanshi* 新元史 j.79, *zhi* 志 46, *shihuo* 食貨 12, *zhengxu* 賑恤 *shang* 上.

¹⁷³ *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Zheng Jiefu was from Kaihua 開化 county of Quzhou 衢州 in Southern Zhejiang. He had no official position, but was famous due to his proposal “Proposal of the Great Harmony” *Taiping ce* 太平策 submitted directly to the court in 1303. This quote of the White Cloud sect was included in this proposal.

matches the tenth generation character Ru 如. He was also a clergy official titled Sect Overseer 宗攝, head of the Overseer Office 宗攝所.¹⁷⁵

In the same year, in the court, a memorial was submitted by Shang Wen 尚文 (1236-1327), the Grand Master for Assisting toward Goodness 資善大夫, and the Left Minister of Central Secretariat 中書左丞.

In Dade 7 (1303), Shang Wen submit a court memorial again, criticize the White Cloud sect in the south and suggest to abolish it, and dismiss its members to serve same tax and labor duties as other commoners.¹⁷⁶
大德七年 尚文又奏，斥罷南方白雲宗，與民均事賦役。

It was approved by the emperor. An imperial order was issued to abolish the clergy office and charge their farmland taxes.

In the autumn seventh month of Dade 7 (1303), *Dingchou* day, the White Cloud Sect's Sect Overseer Office 宗攝所 was abolished, and their farmland taxes were required for submission.¹⁷⁷
大德七年秋七月 丁丑，罷江南白雲宗攝所，其田令依例輸租。

As mentioned in the Shizu's reign, Dao'an had close relationship with the Imperial Preceptor Dampa, who helped make connection between the sect with Khubilai Khan. Dampa was the key person in the process of official recognition, financial support and bureaucratic establishment of the sect. He died in Shangdu in the fifth month of 1303, just two months before the official persecution of the White Cloud sect. The White Cloud sect received punishment was directly caused by Shang Wen's proposal. But other factors

¹⁷⁵ Liu Xiao 劉曉, "Baiyunzong zongshe Qian Rujing xiaokao" 白雲宗宗攝錢如鏡小考. Qian's tenure ended around 1307-8, then it's the era of Shen Mingren till 1323

¹⁷⁶ YS 170:3987-88 biography of Shang Wen.

¹⁷⁷ YS j.21 454 not long time ago in the same month, " there was a ban on the monks who carried princes' orders and harassed local people in the name of temple construction. " 秋七月辛酉，禁僧人以修建寺宇為名，齎諸王令旨乘傳擾民。YS j.21 453.

also made the sect decline at that time, including the sect's lost of powerful people's support in the central court. This was the first time downfall of the sect after its initial establishment. Shang Wen's proposal was recorded in official document, which could be attributed to the successful investigation and punishment carried out by the government later. There could be many other similar proposals to suspect the White Cloud sect in the earlier period, even during Shizu's reign. But due to the protection from powerful persons in the court such as Dampa and Khubilai's personal favor, no imperial order of persecution was given. Therefore there were no record in government documents, and also in literati writings which they often praised the officials' good actions taken based on imperial orders. From Persian source, we know that during Emperor Chengzong's reign, Dampa was known for releasing criminals and plead to emperor for the criminals. He was lenient, and challenged the judicial system. Also, Dampa was the main advocate to enforce a policy of a general tax exemption for Buddhist monks in all regions of the Yuan Empire in 1294. The imperial edict was issued in 1295, that included the tax exemption of land and commercial taxes which in the previous time were required for religious groups in the empire except the Jiangnan region.¹⁷⁸ These examples show that Dampa had huge influence in the decision making of the emperor on religious affairs, and politics of the state.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Wonhee Cho 108; the tax exemption was granted to not only Buddhists, but also other religious groups too including Daoists, Muslims and Christians in the 1295 edict, which the Buddhists was not happy to see. The Buddhists insist their exclusive privilege of tax exemption since Dampa's proposal in 1294.

¹⁷⁹ Dampa, Herbert Franke, "Tibetans in Yuan China"; Dampa gained Khubilai's trust and appointment since the campaign against the Song in which he gave valuable advice to Khubilai, *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載.

The abolishment order of the sect was implemented by Gao Fang 高昉 (1264-1328) and Su Zhidao 苏志道 (1228-1320).¹⁸⁰ Gao Fang was the Attendant Gentleman at the Ministry of Rites 禮部侍郎, and Su Zhidao was the Clerk of the Ministry of Revenue 戶部令史. They were dispatched by the court directly as special investigators on the case. Sending officials from these two ministries to punish the White Cloud, might indicate the two main focus of the abnormal deeds of the sect - non-orthodox religious practice and problem of tax revenue and household registration. Also, the proposer Shang Wen and implementers Gao Fang and Su Zhidao, they were Chinese scholar officials and non-Buddhists. By that time, many officials of Buddhist bureaus were Tibetan and Tangut monks, why other Mongol or non-Chinese officials did not accuse the sect, or were assigned to investigate it? These Chinese scholar officials had no connections with the sect, and had less interest on the sect's religious practice than their social activities.¹⁸¹ The proposal was through court memorial, which was the highest level of bureau and judge - the emperor. Did Shang Wen receive the petition from local officials, or he discovered the sect's misbehavior by himself and decided to report it? Did he have direct contact with the sect? Why the investigators were sent directly from court as well, rather than local investigation first? Maybe local officials were close to the sect, or shared mutual interests with it.

According to Shang Wen's proposal recorded in his gravestone, the White Cloud sect had awarded (might be, actually sold out) bureau seals to others, set up more than seven thousand offices owned by powerful families in many counties, and total

¹⁸⁰ Ding Guofan 丁國范 176.

¹⁸¹ A later case in this chapter shows that Qeliu 黑驢 a Mongolian official proposed to persecute the sect.

population of the White Cloud members were over several hundred thousand. “錫印章，群縣酋豪名署七千余所，眾數十萬。” These members took others’ wives, farms and houses. They lured foolish people, in the name of giving them blessings. They escaped labor and tax duties, and instead they were good at bribing (officials and powerful people). “發而妻子田宅，誅愚民，托祝釐。這徭賦，幸習甘賄。” Shang suggested to abolish the sect, dismiss its members, and make them to share the same labor and tax duties as other commoners. “於是罷之，斥散黨與，同民賦役。”¹⁸²

According to Gao Fang’s memo recorded in his gravestone,

(Gao Fang) was promoted to be the Attendant Gentleman at the Ministry of Rites. Powerful people in Western Zhejiang converted their houses to Buddhist cloisters, and all ordained (by themselves) as Buddhist monks and nuns. They called their religion as the White Cloud sect. Every day they lured hooligans to conduct illicit activities, took people’s farm, house, and enslaved people’s children. Commanderies and counties could not avoid their bother. When secretary (Gao Fang) heard about this, he took charge of this case by law. He collected many people’s farmland and houses, and returned many people to commoner registration from monastic status, and removed over ten thousand of corrupted officials. People in Zhejiang rejoiced from this.¹⁸³

“[高昉]遷禮部侍郎，浙西豪民即所居為佛廬，舉度為僧尼，號其教曰白雲宗，日誘惡少為不法，奪民田宅，奴人子女，郡縣不勝其擾。中書以聞，公承按治，凡得民田廬若干所，還為民者若干人，賄賂沒官者若干萬，浙民大快。”

According to Su Zhidao’s memo recorded in his two gravestones,

¹⁸² Boshu luchong 李術魯翀, “Pingzhangzhengshi zhishi Shangong shengdaobei” 平章政事致仕尚公神道碑, *Yuanwenlei* 元文類, j.68.

¹⁸³ Su Tianjue 蘇天爵, “Gao Fang shendaobei” 高昉神道碑, *Zixi wengao* 滋溪文稿, j.11. Though no date is given in this gravestone memo, this seems to be the same incident as the previous mentioned abandon of the sect in 1303. Reason 1, it is Shunde Zhongxian King’s ruling period “時順德忠獻王當國.” Shunde Zhongxian king 順德忠獻王 is Halahasun (Qara Qas) 哈刺哈孫 (1257-1308) served as the Right Chief Councilor of the Central Secretariat from 1303 (ninth month) to 1307 (eighth month), see biography in YS j.136:3291-95, Liu Mingzhong 劉敏中, “Shunde Zhongxian wang bei” 順德忠獻王碑; Su Tianjue 蘇天爵, “Shunde Zhongxian wang” 順德忠獻王, *Yuan mingcheng shilue* 元名臣事略, j.42, “Zaixiang liebiao” 宰相列表, YS. Reason 2, “中書以聞,” means the memorial proposal stated by Shang Wen, the Left Grand Councilor of Central Secretariat, see Ding Guofan 177.

(Su Zhidao) at the Ministry of Revenue followed Gao Fang, the Attendant Gentleman at the Ministry of Rites, to investigate the case of the White Cloud sect. The White Cloud sect in Western Zhejiang, ripped off rich people, and collaborated in lending usury and bribing the powerful and wealthy, attached to Buddhism, established bureaus, distributed its members, defrauded and robbed people. Their followers were many ten thousand, and overwhelmed in many prefectures and counties. They were those who pursued unlawful interests and behaved illegal activities. (The investigators) saved those who realized their fault out of the group, confiscated tens of thousands values of farmland and houses, and returned several hundred children of good families back to commoner status. The case took two years, and (the investigators) traveled back and forth to the capital five times, and reported all these to the emperor.¹⁸⁴

“[蘇志道]在戶部從禮部侍郎高公昉治白雲宗獄。浙西白雲宗強梁富人，相率出厚貸、要權貴，稍依傍釋教，立官府，部署其人，煽誘劫持。合其徒數萬，凌轢州縣，為奸利不法者。能為明其誣誤者出之，田廬資賄當沒入者巨萬沒入之，良家子女數百當還民間者還之。閱二歲，五往返京師，以具獄上。”

(Su Zhidao) transferred to be the Clerk of the Ministry of Revenue. Powerful people in Western Zhejiang, in the name of Buddhism, collaborated together for wicked deeds. They had several ten thousand members, and named themselves the White Cloud sect. They held private seals to mark affiliations, both government and local people felt sick of the sect. There was an imperial edict to call the Attendant Gentleman at the Ministry of Rites Gao Fang to investigate this case, and had the gentleman (Su Zhidao) follow him. They traveled back and forth to the capital five times, till they completed the task. They confiscated tens of thousands values of properties, returned children of good families, and saved several hundred people who fell into this wrong way.¹⁸⁵

“[蘇志道]轉戶部令史，浙西豪民以佛為標榜，相煽為奸，眾至數萬，號白雲宗，握印章以總其屬，公私病之。詔禮部侍郎高昉治其獄，以公[i.e.蘇志道]從，京師五往返，始竣事，沒資產巨萬，歸良家子女，出誣誤者數百人。”

Therefore, it took Gao and Su two years, and five times of trips back and forth to the capital to report to the emperor. It shows that the case had affected many aspects of

¹⁸⁴ Yu Ji 虞集, “Su Zhidao mubei” 蘇志道墓碑, *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 道園學古錄, j.15.

¹⁸⁵ Xu Youren 許有壬, “Su Zhidao shendaobei ming bing xu” 蘇志道神道碑銘并序, *Zhizheng ji* 至正集, j.47.

local society in the region, including social, economic and political situations. 1. Gao and Su corrected people who were members in the sect but not leaders, back to their original registration status. Since most of them just had status change before from commoners to monks, rather than full-time monastic monks, they had not been resided in monasteries but just house shrines or cloisters. There was no record about any particular monastery, or any place as their headquarters. So it is doubtful that they had a centralized system in the region, and the leadership was not clear. Most members were lay people, no mention of monastic monks belong to the sect. No name of a leader was given, unlike the later persecutions that imperial edict indicated the Shen family was the head of the sect. 2. The investigation team was also able to return children and youth back to their households. They might have been enslaved in the farmland or other properties of the White Cloud sect as servants. These was no unusual as many Yuan households and social elites, especially the Mongols, had house slaves, tenant farmers, and young workers/contractors. So it was not a special phenomenon of the White Cloud. It shows that the leadership or the high level members of the sect tend to be lay people who ran properties, rather than monastic Buddhist monks. 3. The most important task that Gao Fang and Su Zhidao did was to collect or confiscate farmland and properties of the sect. This was the big gain for the government at that time, who was suffering from the shortage of income and tribute. 4. In addition, in these available documents including both proposal (of Shang Wen) and investigation report (showed in the investigators' gravestone memos), there were neither deity worship nor ritual practice.

The White Cloud sect, was a local self-organized interest group in the name of Buddhism, investing and collecting resources, as well as distributing and allocating them

according to their own principles and sect member ranks. (White Cloud was an umbrella term that covered a wide range of activities.) These lay people made system challenged the economic and governmental structures that the Mongol rulers had set up. So the government's main focus on this case was the reordering of local society's population, retrieving local government's authority in resource control, and securing more local resources. Concerns on lay Buddhist practice was the minimum concern. As Kitamura Takashi 北村高 suggested, this persecution in the Dade period was mainly due to economic reasons, rather than political motivations.¹⁸⁶ The region was suffering from the shortage of food due to famine, shortage of land produces, and shortage of government revenues from taxes and tribute goods. So the central government takes actions immediately after Shang Wen's proposal. Powerful families as social elites emerged in the Song period, had been extremely successful in collecting local resources and manipulating local affairs. In Chengzong's reign, as we showed, there was a shift policy change towards some big powerful families in the rich Jiangnan region, and the White Cloud members were among them.

Following the first official ban, investigation and punishment of the White Cloud sect in 1303, the dispute and reorganization of farmland became more intense in Jiangnan. There is an example of farmland dispute involved a White Cloud sect monk. In Dade 8 (1304), 55 *mu* 畝 of farmland belong to the Confucian school 儒學 in Dapeng canton 大彭 (鄉), were occupied by a White Cloud sect monk Gu Mingjing 顧明淨. He sold the land to Er Ajiu 耳阿九 and others. It was reported to local officials by the Confucian

¹⁸⁶ Kitamura Takashi 北村高, 447.

school, to return the land as the school farmland 學田.¹⁸⁷ The local officials ruled the case, returned the land, and punished Gu Mingjing. The 1303 ban weakened the land control of the White Cloud sect. Chikusa Masaaki argues the general weakness of Buddhists' control over farmland in Jiangnan after the punishment and death of Yang Lianzhenjia in the 1290s, who took the farmland of over 500,000 households in the region.¹⁸⁸ The land abuse and remaining active monks and monasteries of the White Cloud sect, pushed the imperial court to abolish relevant offices of the sect, in order to ban the sect comprehensively.

Three years later after the ban (1303), in the first month of Dade 10 (1306), the White Cloud sect's Buddhist Registrar Bureau was abolished. The three year gap means that during this period, the White Cloud sect was still able to recruit monastic and lay members, organizing their properties and activities, and keep their identity and privileges.

In the spring first month of Dade 10 (1306), *wuwu* day, (an imperial edict ordered) to abolish Buddhist Registrar Bureau of the White Cloud sect in Jiangnan. Their members to be returned to every prefectures and counties, monks back to every other monasteries, and all farmlands to be enforced taxes.¹⁸⁹

大德十年 春正月 戊午，罷江南白雲宗都僧錄司，汰其民歸州縣，僧歸各寺，田悉輸租。

Thus, but the end of Chengzong's reign, the dual offices of the White Cloud sect were both abolished. The sect lost its administrative support, but still kept growing.

¹⁸⁷ "Jiaxing lu ruxue guifu tianzu ji" 嘉興路儒學歸附田租記, 大德八年 1304, *Liangzhe jinshi zhi* 兩浙金石志 j.14 87-90; Chikusa 竺沙雅章, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 宋代佛教社會史研究 305.

¹⁸⁸ Chikusa, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, 305.

¹⁸⁹ YS j.21 467.

Wuzong's 武宗 reign (1307-1311)

During Emperor Wuzong's reign, there were an reestablishment but soon abolishment of the White Cloud sect Overseer Office. As mentioned in the previous section of Emperor Chengzong's reign, two religious bureaus related to the White Cloud sect were removed in 1303 and 1306 respectively. Also, the White Cloud sect suffered from persecution. Their members were sent back to common household registration, and the sect no more had the right to issue monastic certificate for individuals. There were not too many White Cloud sect registered monks existed at that time.

Emperor Wuzong was known for spending enormous amount of money from the Imperial Reserve to award people grant package with honorary titles. It caused significant financial crisis for the central government, which sometimes the income to the Imperial Reserve could not catch the speed of the emperor's spending due to frequent awards.¹⁹⁰ The White Cloud sect Overseer Office was reopened in 1308, but only lasted one year. In 1309, it was closed again.

In the third month of Zhida 1 (1308), *dingmao*, the White Cloud sect Overseer Office was reestablished. Official second rank, three appointments of officials.¹⁹¹

1308 至大元年三月丁卯，復立白雲宗攝所，秩從二品，設官三員。

In the third month of Zhida 2 (1309), *xinmao* day, the White Cloud sect Overseer Office was abolished.¹⁹²

1309 至大二年三月辛卯，罷杭州白雲宗攝所。

¹⁹⁰ “封爵太盛，錫賚太隆。” Bi Yuan 畢沅, *Xu Zizhi tongjian* 續資治通鑑, j.197.

¹⁹¹ YS j.22:497. It is noteworthy that in the fifth month of 1308, the White Lotus sect was banned.

¹⁹² YS j.23:510 following this edict, there was another edict to open the Dhuta sect's Monk Registry Bureau in Huguang province 立湖廣頭陀禪錄司。

The 1308 order was the only record of the official rank of the White Cloud Overseer Office. 從二品 Rank 2 Lower Class was really high in the officialdom of the Yuan Empire. *Xuanzheng yuan* was Rank 1 Lower Class 從一品, and *Xing Xuanzheng yuan* was Rank 2 Lower Class.¹⁹³ Official rank of *Shijiao zongtongsuo* was unknown, but from two Supervisors' rank we know that it would be around Rank 2 and Rank 3.¹⁹⁴ Also there was another law in 1308 that advancing Rank (higher than Rank 4) to one more rank.¹⁹⁵ So the White Cloud Overseer Office could be Rank 3 Lower Class in previous period when the office existed. But this advancement applied to all offices, in any case, the White Cloud sect and its three appointed officials at the Overseer Office enjoyed high official rank as equal as *Xing Xuanzheng yuan*, or even higher than *Shijiao zongtongsuo*. Therefore, the White Cloud sect was directly responsible to the court and *Xuanzheng yuan*, with no restraints from local bureaus of both civil and religious affairs. In fact, in the earlier example of Khubilai's reign, the Supervisor Yang Lianzhenjia of *Jianghuai/Jiangzhe Shijiao zongtongsuo* was so powerful and abusive in Hangzhou, but had not bothered the White Cloud sect at all. It was actually the officials at the White Cloud sect Overseer Office, their rank were higher than Yang's.

¹⁹³ *Zhizheng Jinling xinzhì* 至正金陵新志, j. 6 "Guanshou zhi" 官守志.

¹⁹⁴ Kitai Sari 乞臺薩里/合臺薩里 Rank 3 Upper Class 正三品 (later promoted to Rank 2 Upper Class 正二品) YS j.130:3174, "Chici Qitai sali shendao bei" 敕賜乞臺薩里神道碑, *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 j.22; Rin-chen-grags-shis / Rin-chen-bkra-shis 輦真術納思/輦真吃刺失思 Rank 3 Lower Class 從三品 YS juan. 17: 360.

¹⁹⁵ In 至大元年 1308, "諸司遞升, 四品者三品, 三品者二品, 二品者一品," YS j.22:504.

Renzong's 仁宗 reign (1311-1320)

Emperor Renzong's ten year reign marked the most developed period of the White Cloud sect, accompanied with dramatic policy changes and institutional reorganizations. At first, in 1311, the emperor banned all regional and local offices of religious affairs. Only the central office *Xuanzheng yuan* remained. The White Cloud sect Buddhist Registrar Office was in particular removed. Then in 1315, the sect leader Shen Mingren 沈明仁, received honorary titles and great awards from the emperor. This was the peak time that the White Cloud sect enjoyed imperial patronage. But by the end of this period from 1316 to 1320, Shen was persecuted for his misconducts of farmland collection and monastic certificate sale. Some scholars treat year 1320 as the dooming point of the White Cloud movement. However, evidence from various sources, including Buddhist canons and stone inscriptions, all suggest that the sect did not die out during this period but continued its development. Shen Mingren himself also survived after the persecution directly ordered from the emperor.

Kitamura Takashi 北村高 suggested that, in contrary to the persecution in the Dadu period (1297-1307, persecution 1303-1306) which were mainly due to economic reason, the series of punishment in the Yanyou period (1314-1320, persecutions 1316-1320) were due to both economic and religious reasons.¹⁹⁶ However, I claim that the second persecution was also due to economic and political concerns. Both the edict in 1311 and the persecutions from 1316 to 1320, were because Shen and his followers annexed farmlands, recruited monks, as well as bribed officials and court servants for

¹⁹⁶ Kitamura Takashi 北村高 447.

official posts. Shen's behaviors were not illegal or against the state will, when they were conducted. It was the economic loss and local disorder that caught the attention of the state. Though the White Cloud sect were accused of disturbing social orders, committing crimes and violating local governments, we can see their unchanging main interests were benefits from local resources including farmland and selling of monastic certificates and Buddhist canons. Here we shall think about these questions: What was the real influence of the White Cloud sect on local society? The award and persecution of the White Cloud sect during Emperor Renzong's reign was due to the White Cloud sect's leader Shen Mingren, or the group as a whole? Was the White Cloud sect specially treated by the court, or same as other religious sects?

In the first month of Zhida 4 (1311), Emperor Wuzong passed away.¹⁹⁷ The successor Renzong was an enthusiastic patron of many religions, including Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, similar to previous Mongol rulers. But he had series of policy changes soon following his enthronement that banned most bureaus of religious affairs, whether they were led by Buddhist monks or civil officials. Here the White Cloud sect was punished, but its offices remained.

In the second month, *jiazi* day, the Regional Bureau of Transmission and the Regional Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs in the Jiangnan region were abolished. In *jiazi* day, an official at the Imperial Censorate reported, "the White Cloud sect General Overseer Office governs the hairy monks in Jiangnan. They do not support their parents, avoid duties and harm people. (I) plea to recall their awarded imperial decrees and silver seals, and return the sect members back to commoner registration." Approved.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ YS 24:537.

¹⁹⁸ YS 24:538 same entry see, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 j.48:436-1, Overmyer 638 English translation, but the date was mistaken as 延祐六年 (1319) rather than 至大四年 (1311).

二月，甲子，罷江南行通政院、行宣政院。甲子，御史臺臣言：「白雲宗總攝所統江南為僧之有髮者，不養父母，避役損民，乞追收所受璽書銀印，勒還民籍。」從之。

In the second month, *dingmao* day, abolish (all) Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings, and all Buddhist Registrar Bureau, Buddhist Rectifier Bureau, and Buddhist Superior Bureau everywhere. As for monks on trail, transfer the case to relevant officials.¹⁹⁹

二月，丁卯，罷總統所及各處僧錄、僧正、都綱司，凡僧人訴訟，悉歸有司。

Also in the second month, in the legal document compilation *Yuandianzhang*, an imperial decree from the heir apparent prince (Yingzong, Shidebala) was recorded.

Abolish monastic bureaus and offices

In the () month of Zhida 4 (1311), Fujian Pacification Commission received an official document from Jiangzhe province. Central Secretariat reported it.

In the second month of Zhida 4 (1311), the twenty-seventh day, received an imperial decree from the heir apparent prince saying, “Except Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs and Commission of Merit and Virtue, other Supervision Offices and bureaus that controlled Buddhist monks all to be abolished. Seals they have received, to be destroyed. Also, in every route, town, prefecture and county, all Buddhist monks’ offices including Buddhist Registrar Bureau, Buddhist Rectifier Bureau and Buddhist Superior Bureau, to be abolished. To confiscate and destroy their seals. If they have any dispute of management, leave the case for local office to judge.” This is so, end of the decree. In his honor.²⁰⁰

革罷僧司衙門（33/1b）

至大四年□月，福建宣慰司承奉江浙行省劄付，准中書省咨：

至大四年二月二十七日，特奉皇太子令旨一件：“除宣政院、功德使司兩個衙門外，這裏有的管和尚的總統所衙門革罷了，他每的印，如今便銷毀了者。又各處路分裏、州縣裏有的僧錄司、僧正、都綱等，但是和尚的衙門，都交革罷了，拘收了他每的印，銷毀了者。不揀有甚合歸斷的（等）勾當有呵，管民官歸斷者。”麼道，令旨了也。敬此。

¹⁹⁹ YS 24:539

²⁰⁰ *Yuandianzhang* 元典章 j.6:33.

In the fourth month, the White Cloud sect's offices were officially abolished, along with the offices of other religious groups.

In the summer fourth month of Zhida 4 (1311), *dingmao* day, abolish all offices of Buddhists, Daoists, Christians, Muslims, Dhūta sect's and the White Cloud sect's.²⁰¹

至大四年夏四月丁卯，罷僧、道、也里可溫、答失蠻、頭陀、白雲宗諸司。

The imperial decree abolished religious offices (except central ones), but still confirm the waiver of duties for religious clergy. The decree reads as,

Abolish offices of Buddhists and Daoists, and waive their duties
In the fourth month of Zhida 4 (1311), received the imperial decree: Buddhist, Daoist, Christian, Muslim, do not serve duties. They communicate with heaven, and bless our life. It is said so. Buddhist, Daoist, Christian, Muslim, White Cloud sect, and Dhūta religion, they often rely on their bureaus, and harass other people. People said so, and it is true. Because of this, except two bureaus which controlled Buddhist monks including the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs and Commission of Merit and Virtue, all other bureaus, including those controlled Buddhist, Daoist, Christian, Muslim, White Cloud sect and Dhūta religion, in every route, prefecture, subprefecture and counties to be abolished, and their seals to be confiscated. If there is any case of dispute, ask civil officials to judge it according to laws. Since this imperial decree, Buddhist, Daoist, Christian and Muslim who did not have to serve duties, still do not have to serve. Civil official do not ask these clergy to serve as heads of towns and counties. Do not abuse power. This decree orders so, those who violate it will be charged crime. These Buddhist, Daoist, Christian, Muslim and others, learn about this decree, but still not practice religion according to their teachings, and conduct activities which do not match their religious principles. Do they feel ashamed or afraid?²⁰²

革僧道衙門免差發 (33/1a)

至大四年四月，欽奉聖旨：

“和尚、先生、也里可溫、答失蠻，不教當差發，告天，咱每根底祝壽者。”道來。和尚、先生、也里可溫、答失蠻、白雲宗、頭陀教每根底，“多立着衙門的上頭，好生搔擾他每”麼道，說有。爲那般上頭，

²⁰¹ YS 24:542

²⁰² *Yuandianzhang* j.6:33. Wonhee Cho, 71.

除這裏管和尚的宣政院、功德使司兩個衙門外，管和尚、先生、也里可溫、荅失蠻、白雲宗、頭陀教等，各處路府州縣裏有的他每的衙門，都教革罷了，拘收了印信者。歸斷的勾當有呵，管民官依體例歸斷者。今後依着聖旨體例，和尚、先生、也里可溫、荅失蠻在前不曾交當的差發，休交當者。管民官休教他每當里正、主首者。休倚氣力者。這般宣諭了呵，別的人有罪過者。這和尚、先生、也里可溫、荅失蠻等，倚着“這般宣諭了也”麼道，不依自己教門行，做無體例勾當呵，不羞、不怕那甚麼？

According to *Yuandianzhang*, this decree also affected Confucians. As there was a dispute case of Confucians reported by relevant officials, the emperor repeated the decree to the Ministry of Justice.

Confucian dispute case interrogated by relevant officials
(Imperial order) given to the advice from Ministry

“According to the imperial decree issued on the twenty-sixth day of the fourth month of Zhida 4 (1311), ‘All bureaus that took charge of Buddhist, Daoist, Christian, Muslim, White Cloud sect, and Dhūta religion, in every route, prefecture, subprefecture and county, to be abolished, and their seals to be confiscated. If there is any case of dispute, ask civil officials to judge it according to laws.’ End”²⁰³

儒人詞訟有司問 (53/7b)

送據刑部呈：“照得至大四年四月二十六日欽奉聖旨節該：‘管和尚、先生、也里可溫、荅失蠻、白雲宗、頭陀教等各處路府州縣裏有的他每的衙門，都教革罷了，拘收了印信者。歸斷的勾當有呵，管民官依體例歸斷者。’欽此。”

This new policy shows the overall shift in the way that the Yuan state dealt with religion. It is not a specific persecution of the White Cloud sect as some of the previous abolitions were. This change of the Yuan religious policy is due to the Yuan emperor’s concerns about the expanding authority and wealth of religion in general, not only Buddhism. Emperor Renzong’s punishment on religious groups and abolishment of clergy bureaus are related to his series of reforms, which were initiated by his will of rule

²⁰³ *Yuandianzhang* j.6:33.

the empire by Confucian ethics 以儒治國. He tried to clear up corruption in the court, cut off redundant officials in the system, made new laws (eventually completed in 1323, published as *Dayuan tongzhi* 大元通制 by Yingzong), and most importantly resumed the civil examination system 科舉考試. In 1314, he started a reform for farmlands known as “Management of the Yanyou period” 延祐經理. It included a census of farmland in three provinces: Henan, Jiangxi, and Jiangzhe, where had most farmland dispute but also were leading agricultural areas in the empire. However, because of the corruption of the officials and their connections with rich farmland owners, many farmland owned by powerful families were not registered, but farmland of lower class families and poor peasants were added much more acres. Therefore, those who had no relations with the corrupted officials, had to pay much higher land taxes and granary submissions, based on the higher amount of land size reported by the census officials. This land reform ended with failure in 1315, and a two month rebellion by Cai Jiuwu 蔡九五 in Ganzhou 贛州 of Jiangxi. In Jiangzhe province, it also caused the rich richer, and the poor poorer, in terms of farmland ownership. The powerful White Cloud sect must had used this opportunity to take more farmland, and make connections with local officials for mutual benefits. The sect’s economic status rejuvenated again, and drew the emperor’s attention for another revival.

Since 1312, although the bureaus overseeing the White Cloud sect were abolished and clergy were returned back to commoner registration, the sect kept growing in the local society. From Huangqing 皇慶 1 (1312) to Yanyou 延祐 1 (1314), a former White Cloud sect monk Zhengming 前白雲宗僧正明, along with a former Buddhist Controller

Henghui 前釋教提控僧亨會 (might also be a former WC monk), assisted local magistrates of Huzhou to renovate a Daoist temple – the Traveling Palace of the East Peak Emperor 東嶽行宮 and build a huge temple compound including total of 49 buildings.²⁰⁴ The two former monks organized resource collection, fundraising, and managing contractors. Their skilled and efficient works of local construction projects and close connections with local officials lasted no matter of the ban of the sect offices by the central government. On the other hand, the central government still interacted with the White Cloud sect leader Shen Mingren 沈明仁, and approved his request to print more copies of the Puning canon for the court.²⁰⁵

While the sect's active members kept involved in local projects, the sect's lay leadership lineage remained. In the tenth month of 1315, the so-called White Cloud sect master 白雲宗主 Shen Mingren 沈明仁 was awarded two honorary titles Grand Master for Glorious Happiness 榮祿大夫 and Minister of Works 司空.²⁰⁶ This direct award from the emperor was the second time in the history of the sect, the first time was from Khubilai on Dao'an to make the sect official. The personal connection between the Yuan emperor and the White Cloud sect leader promised the further development of the sect, as well as its prominent position in both local society and the religious world. Shen Mingren was a native of Huzhou. The character Ming 明 belongs to the eleventh generation of the lineage of the sect chief abbot. As for the spatial distribution, the center of the sect development still concentrated in market towns of Huzhou, in the south plain of Lake Tai.

²⁰⁴ Meng Chun 孟淳 and Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, “Changxingzhou xiujian Dongyue xingong ji” 長興州修建東嶽行宮記, *Liangzhe jinshi zhi* 兩浙金石志.

²⁰⁵ See the quote in the beginning of Chapter 3, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

²⁰⁶ YS j.25:571.

Huzhou area had been home to the Yuan White Cloud sect leaders, from Dao'an to Shen Mingren.

Nonetheless, the third and last ban of the White Cloud sect followed the personal award of Shen Mingren soon after. In 1316, monks of the White Cloud sect were accused of manipulating officials and cheated on getting honorary titles, abused power for illegal activities, and without official permission ordained more than 4,800 vagabonds/vagrants to Buddhist monks. “白雲宗僧使權貴冒名爵，恣橫不法，擅剃度遊民四千八百餘人。” The investigator for this case was Yu Jiushi 于九思, the Judicial Secretary 理問官 of Jiangzhe province.²⁰⁷ (In the following year 1317, in the fifth month, Gao Fang 高昉, one of the chief investigators of the White Cloud case in 1303, was appointed to a high official position as the Left Grand Councilor 左丞相 of the Central Secretariat.) In the sixth month of 1317, the seal of Shen Mingren's granted honorary title Minister of Works 司空 was confiscated, and no need to transfer his case to relevant officials (for investigation). “六月，癸亥，禁總攝沈明仁所佩司空印 毋移文有司。”²⁰⁸ “No need for investigation,” Shen Mingren probably got protected by someone and pardoned.

In 1319, the formal persecution against Shen Mingren came.

In the tenth month of Yanyou 6 (1319), in *yimao* day, officials at Central Secretariat said, “The General Supervisor of the White Cloud sect, Shen Mingren, took people's farmland 20,000 *qing*, lured 100,000 members, secretly bribed court servants, awarded titles and official posts without permission. Now (we) already pursued the loss according to the imperial edict, dismissed its members, and returned people their lost farmland. It is better to investigate all their illegal affairs.” In reply, the emperor issued

²⁰⁷ “Yuan gu Zhongfeng dafu Hunan dao xuanweisi Yugong xingzhuang” 元故中奉大夫湖南道宣慰司于公行狀, Huang Jin, *Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji* 金華黃先生文集, j.23.

²⁰⁸ YS j.26: 579

an imperial decree saying, “I know about Shen Mingren’s wickedness and evilness, so harshly interrogate him!”²⁰⁹

延祐六年十月，乙卯，中書省臣言：「白雲宗總攝沈明仁，強奪民田二萬頃，誑誘愚俗十萬人，私賂近侍，妄受名爵，已奉旨追奪，請汰其徒，還所奪民田。其諸不法事，宜令覈問。」有旨：「朕知沈明仁姦惡，其嚴鞫之。」

We have no record about what specific punishment that Shen Mingren received from this imperial decree. But this court memorial by officials of Central Secretariat shows details of the misdeeds conducted by the White Cloud sect leader. Shen Mingren took tremendous numbers of farmland from commoners in the Jiangnan region, and recruited approximately 100,000 members. Comparing to a previous investigation on Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真伽 in 1291, who was the Supervisor of *Jianghuai/Jiangzhe shijiao zongtongsuo*, he had protected 23,000 households to be exempted from tax duties.²¹⁰ But we should be aware that huge amount of population were attached to the White Cloud sect, who were more likely volunteered based on registration privileges rather than forced by the sect leaders. Till then the White Cloud sect was indeed a landowner enterprise with all lay members – so-called “hairy monks.” They held farmlands, ran their business as normal, lived in secular life, and avoid taxes, corvée and other duties, and only under the name as “Buddhist.”

There was a Yuan source that compared Shen Mingren with Yang Lianzhenjia, and also made connection of Shen Mingren’s White Cloud sect with “people of the way.”

Powerful Monk Lure Commoners

The powerful monk Sect Supervisor Shen of Huzhou, succeeded the legacy of Commander Yang, set up a religion to lure commoners, and

²⁰⁹ YS j.26:591-2, same entry see, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 j.48:436-1, but the date was mistaken as 1320 延祐七年 rather than 延祐六年 1319.

²¹⁰ YS j.202.

called it the White Cloud sect. People who were admitted into the religion could avoid tax and corvée duties. Monks of their monasteries required each attached farmland to submit 3 *sheng* of rice per *mu* as “donation,” and called it the “granary for people’s share.” The sect’s foolish followers also practiced this religion. They all wore turbans looking like bird’s beak, and called themselves “people of the way.” In the syzygy day, they had crowd assembly with a hundred and fifty people. After Shen was persecuted, their grains and farmland registration were all confiscated and later transferred to Shou’an Mountain Monastery (in Dadu). When the government investigated the case again, these registered farmland’s owner did not actually own a land but only a listed number. When the government pursued them for taxes, there were people who had no choice but selling their wives and children, and some of the “owners” committed suicide. Monastic registered farmland not only charged rent (in the form of rice submission), but also added “donation” requirement. Therefore, this disaster lasts till today, and affected those who had to serve normal tax and corvée duties in these towns.²¹¹

豪僧誘眾

湖州豪僧沈宗攝從承楊總統之遺風，設教誘眾，自稱白雲宗，受其教者可免徭役，諸寺僧以續置田每畝妄獻三升，號為贍眾糧。其愚民亦有習其教者，皆冠鳥角桶子巾，號曰道人。朔望群會，動以百五。及沈敗，糧籍皆(皆籍?)沒入官，后撥入壽安山寺，官複為經理，所獻之籍，則有額無田，追征不已，至於鬻妻賣子者有之，自殺其身者有之。僧田以常賦外，又增所獻之數，遺患至今，延及里中同役者。

This entry mainly focused on the farmland issue of the sect, and did not mention its Buddhist canon printing business. The tone of this negative narrative was similar to the 1303 proposal of Zheng Jiefu 鄭介夫 that quoted in the beginning of the chapter. It highlighted the disaster that the sect left on the local society, that poor peasants were not able to afford rent for the monastic farmlands, and the monasteries owned more farmlands and kept making profits. The White Cloud sect was well organized under Shen Mingren’s leadership. They connected towns and villages, and were very powerful in

²¹¹ Kong Qi 孔齊, “Haoseng youzhong” 豪僧誘眾, *Zhizheng zhiji* 至正直記, j.3; Ding Guofan 180, he argues that 1. Shen zongshe is Shen Mingren; 2. Shou’an Mountain Monastery 壽安山寺 matches YS record (YS j.34:767). Shou’an Mountain Monastery is also called Shifang Pujue Monastery 十方普覺寺, in suburban Beijing, was constructed from Yanyou 7 延祐七年 (1320) to Zhishun 2 至順二年 (1331), Xu Huili 許惠利, 1987.

terms of members' population and the amount of farmlands they owned. The White Cloud sect as a farmland enterprise, had service of accepting, registering, lending and management farmlands. So the sect more like a farmland bank. For the people who registered their names under the sect, they have to pay 3 *sheng* of rice as rent for each *mu* of their farmland attached to the monastery, called the "grain for people's share" *danzhongliang* 贍眾糧. On the other hand, the sect also registered some members who did not actually have their own farmland and charged them rents. This problem emerged as the persecution against Shen Mingren discovered. After the sect properties and farmlands were confiscated, for the "farmland" (only listed) which were returned back to commoners, the government tried to charge taxes for these farmlands, but found out the registered numbers were fake and these people did not actually own land. But they still had to pay taxes, so the government persecution caused second wave of devastating local commoners after the White Cloud sect's first wave of rip off local famers.²¹² In general, the White Cloud sect had two sides in terms of farmland issues. For positive side, they registered famers and their farmlands so they could avoid tax and corvée duties. For negative side, they robbed farmland for their monastic property, and registered people's farmland or list farmland under people's name against their will to charge rents.

As for the monastic landownership, Buddhist monasteries in the Yuan period, held great amount of farmland and threatened the authority of local government.²¹³

²¹² Here I use "rent" for private institution such as the White Cloud sect, and "tax" for public government.

²¹³ Farmland categories in the Yuan, includes *guantian* 官田, *citian* 賜田, *zhitian* 職田, and *xuetian* 學田. More issues on the farmland and monasteries in the Yuan, see Li Gan 李干 and Zhou Shezheng 周社征, "Yuandai siyuan jingji chutan" 元代寺院經濟初探, *Sixiang zhanxian* 思想戰線, 1986, 5; Zhai Guoqiang 翟國強, "Yuandai Jiangnan sitian de zudian guanxi" 元代江南寺田的租佃關係, *Neimenggu daxue xuebao* 內蒙古大學學報 1989.1; Cao Luning 曹旅寧, "Yuandai de sichan guanying wenti" 元代的寺產官營問題,

Monasteries took farmlands and forest hills as their permanent properties. Since hills are hard to count, we can find cases for ratio of monastic owned farmland in one county. In Changguo subprefecture 昌國州 (Dinghai county 定海縣, Zhejiang), in the Dade period (1297-1307) there were total of 2,900 *qing* of farmlands, within it 1,000 *qing* were owned by monasteries, almost one third of all farmlands in the county.²¹⁴ A monastery's farmland did not necessary have to be close to the temple. As the previous quote mentioned, the White Cloud sect's farmlands, mostly in Western Zhejiang, were transferred to Shou'an Mountain Monastery in Dadu. Monasteries' farmlands were from three components: imperial award, annexation (robbery of commoners' farmland), and registered farmland of lay commoners. For the first component – imperial grant, an emperor once could award a monastery over 100,000 *qing* of farmland.²¹⁵ For the second component – annexation, this was especially the issue in the Jiangnan region. As the richest and most agriculturally developed region, Buddhist monasteries took many farmlands from common households. This empire-wide phenomena of monastery annexing commoners' farmland in the mid and late Yuan period was very similar to the situation in the mid and late period in Xi Xia kingdom. For the third component – registration and lending, these lay commoners hoped to escape taxes so they registered their farms under monastic name. They could do so either through personal relations with or bribed monks, or had one member of his family registered as monk so the whole

Foxue yanjiu 佛學研究 1996.5; Xie Chongguang 謝重光, and Bai Wengu 白文固, *Zhongguo sengguan zhidu shi* 中國僧官制度史.

²¹⁴ Feng Fujing 馮福京, *Dade Changguozhou tuzhi* 大德昌國州圖志.

²¹⁵ “Yuanzhi shehui ge jiceng he jingji gaikuang” 元之社會各階層和經濟概況, *Zhongguo tongshi* 中國通史.

family's farmland and property could be made under this monk's name. So many farm owners registered themselves as monks.

As for the case of the White Cloud sect's landownership, since it was not an orthodox Buddhist school and had no rituals, no vows and no obligations, also it was already mostly based on lay population, it was much convenient to registered there than other monastic Buddhist schools such as the Chan school. Another option, rather than the landowner or his family member registered as a monk, he could donate the farmland to the monastery and then lend it to work as a tenant farmer 佃戶. He acted as a contractor but was still the real owner of the farmland. This way he became the employee of the monastery, so he could not only get the farmland tax free, and get himself free from corvée duty. Therefore, for all these tricks, the White Cloud sect could use its privilege to sell monastic registration, and made wide connections with local powerful families.

Last but not least, the direct reason of the government persecution on the White Cloud sect was not only based on their misdeeds of farmlands, but the interest conflict of farmlands in the Jiangnan region. For this part of the Empire's most important granary region, there were highest amount of official owned farmlands 官田 comparing to other parts of the Empire. The Yuan state had established a bureau called Supreme Supervisorate-in-chief for Revenues 江淮等處財賦都總管府 and its several Supervisorates 提舉司.²¹⁶ One of their functions was to charge harvest taxes and interests from the official owned farmlands, and allocated them as the main food revenue sources

²¹⁶ Supreme Supervisorate-in-chief for Revenues 江淮等處財賦都總管府, Hucker #6828.

of the Yuan state. The White Cloud sect's activities and interested might have contradicted with those of the bureau's.

In the following year 1320, Shen Chongsheng 沈崇勝, a disciple of Shen Mingren (might also be his relative since they shared the same family name Shen) went to the capital secretly (according to an order from Shen, apparently he returned back to Jiangnan without harsh punishment), tried to save the sect by bribing the officials. The plot was reported to the emperor by Left Grand Councilor of Jiangzhe province (Branch Secretariat) 江浙行省左丞相 Qeliu 黑驢 (or, 哈律, 赫魯).²¹⁷ Qeliu was Mongolian. This was the first time a case about the White Cloud sect was initiated or reported by a non-Chinese official. This suggests the looser connection between the White Cloud sect's Chinese lay activists and non-Chinese officials. The court memorial was submitted just about ten days before the emperor's death. Whether this was related to any court conflict or high level power struggle is unknown. The court memorial was heard and approved by the emperor, and the disciple was arrested.

In the spring first month of Yanyou 7 (1320), in *xinmao* day, the Grand Councilor of Jiangzhe province Qeliu reported, "the monk of the White Cloud sect, Shen Mingren, illegally ordained over 4,800 monks, received cash over 40,000 *ding*, was already investigated and convicted. Now he dispatched his disciple Shen Chongsheng secretly come to the capital to bribe and look for help. (I) plea to arrest him and send him back to Jiangzhe province for punishment too." Approved..... In *dinghai* day, the emperor fell sick. In *Xingchou* day, the emperor passed away at Guangtian Hall, aged 36, and in throne 10 years.²¹⁸

延祐七年春正月，辛卯，江浙行省丞相黑驢言：「白雲僧沈明仁，擅度僧四千八百餘人，獲鈔四萬餘錠，既已辭伏，今遣其徒沈崇勝潛赴

²¹⁷ *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 元人傳記資料索引, 2549.

²¹⁸ YS j.26:593, Renzong - Ayurbarwada (1285-1320).

京師行賄求援，請速赴江浙併治其罪。」從之。……丁亥，帝不豫。辛丑，帝崩于光天宮，壽三十有六，在位十年。

Here we notice that one of Shen Mingren's crimes was to ordain or register monks, in fact sell monastic certificate to commoners, for his own interest of cash income. This again proves the White Cloud sect's business of making profits from monastic registration of commoners.

As will be discussed further in later chapters, during Renzong's reign, the White Cloud sect under Shen Mingren, still continue Buddhist Sūtra printing business. Both Chinese and Tangut Buddhist texts, along with additional esoteric texts were printed under the sponsorship of many clergy officials and local lay people. It will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Yingzong's 英宗 reign (1320-1323)

After Renzong's death in the first month of Yanyou 7 (1320), the successor Yingzong had started a series of new policies that many of them were against those of the Renzong's. However, the official persecution on Shen Mingren and the White Cloud sect continued.

In the second month of Yanyou 7 (1320), *renzi* day, appoint Qeliu - Left Grand Councilor of Jiangzhe province as Manager of Governmental Affairs at Central Secretariat.

dingsi day, Supervisor of the White Cloud sect Shen Mingren charged for his crimes, and an imperial edict ordering that people who were registered as monk in the White Cloud sect to return back to commoner status in the Jiangnan region.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ YS j.27:616

延祐七年 二月壬子，以江浙行省左丞相黑驢為中書平章政事。
丁巳，白雲宗(總)攝沈明仁為不法坐罪，詔籍江南冒為白雲僧者為民。

In the same month, a court purge was initiated by Temuder 鐵木迭兒. Under Yingzong's approval, four high level officials Yang Duo'erzhi (Yang Dorji) 楊朵兒只, monk Rin-chen-grags-shis 輦真吃刺思, Xiao Baiju 蕭拜住, and He Sheng 賀勝 were killed.²²⁰ Yang Dorji was of Tangut descend. He had served office in the Jiangnan region, and was a patron of the Buddhist canons printed by the White Cloud sect.²²¹ His downfall along with monk Rin-chen-grags-shis 輦真吃刺思 also marked the decline of the Tangut and Tibetan monks in the imperial court, who were key patrons of the White Cloud sect.

In Yingzong's short reign, the problem of monastery taking farmlands, and their disputes with local people continued too. There were two legal cases of Shen Mingren had disputed with local people on farmland ownership. In the first case, Shen got protected from Grand Empress Dowager 太皇太后 Tagi 答己 (?-1322), and escaped punishment. Shen Mingren had not been punished severely for several times since Emperor Wuzong's reign, but still grew power and control in the local society. He had for sure close connections with the court and even imperial family members. Therefore, we see that the Grand Empress Dowager personally intervened the investigation against Shen. This is the only record that a member of the imperial family protected the White Cloud sect. Also, this is the only record mentioning Shen Mingren's canon printing (and block carving) business within his farmland dispute charges, though here carving blocks were

²²⁰ YS j.27:599; Yang Dorji and Rin-chen-grags-shis were also patrons of the White Cloud sect's Puning canon, as discussed in Chapter 3.

²²¹ Zhou Feng 周峰, "Yuandai Xi Xia yimin Yang Duo'erzhi fuzi shiji kaoshu" 元代西夏遺民楊朵兒只父子事跡考述, *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究, 2014, 3.

listed together with tonsuring monks (and registering monks) both seem quite negative deeds.

In the first tenth day of the seventh month of Zhizhi 1 (1321), Central Secretariat reported, “As for the matters related to tonsuring monks and carving (print) blocks by Shen Mingren, should be took care of by Ministry of Justice. For the case of farmland dispute against Shen Mingren sued by thirty-three people including Zhang Shifu, should be sent to Hangzhou route to manage.” Respectfully received an imperial decree from Grand Empress Dowager: “do not investigate, and give (investigators) travel expenses to return back to the capital. This was the report, please act accordingly.”²²²

至治九年（correction: 至治元年）七月初十日，中書省咨：“為沈明仁剃僧雕版事，該刑部照得。沈明仁為章士服等三十三狀告爭田，發付杭州路羈管。”敬奉皇后（correction: 太皇太后）懿旨：休問，給驛赴都。此咨，請敬依施行。

The second record on Shen Mingren’s farmland dispute case, gave information about his final destiny that exiled to Hainan island. The story was quite dramatic, and was included in a memorial record of political achievements 政績記 (a form of literature) of a official Song Wenzan 宋文瓚 in Western Zhejiang. Song served as Registrar of Surveillance Commission in Zhexi (Western Zhejiang) Route 浙西道肅政廉訪司經歷 in the Zhizhi 至治 period – Yingzong’s reign (1321-1323). He was known as good at dealing with farmland disputes in Western Zhejiang, which were involved with court officials. For example, another case of in his memorial record, on Wu Jisun 吳機孫, involved highest level court officials Tegsi 鐵失, Temuder 鐵木迭兒, Liu Kui 劉夔, and Bargis 八里吉思 (the former two were in fact key players in the assassination of Yingzong in 1323). These officials all had interests in farmlands in Western Zhejiang, so

²²² *Xingtong fushu* 刑統賦梳, j.3. Ding Guofan, 179, he claims that Zhizhi 9 至治九年 (1329) should be Zhizhi 1 至治元年 (1321), “敬奉皇后” should be “敬奉太皇太后.”

we could imagine that the White Cloud sect's farmland issues were not just regional, but affected state politics as well.

When sir (Song Wenzan) served as the Registrar in Western Zhejiang, once he met a staff led a prisoner, and the prisoner bowed down and claimed innocence while he saw sir. Sir stopped his horse and asked the prisoner. The prisoner said, "I am a farmer in Huzhou, name is Yang Xin, for generations we are farmers. One day there was a government official came and said he was from Eastern Zhejiang, and arrested me for theft. So I was in prison without knowing the reason." Sir asked this official to show his governmental license and suspected that it was fake. Sir ordered relevant office to interrogate him. (As sir expected,) the license was indeed fake and the truth of this case emerged. Sir said, "there must be a reason," so he ordered further interrogation. Therefore (sir) got the story: the powerful monk Shen Mingren had dispute on farmland with Yang Xin, so he plotted to arrest Xin by a fake governmental order of death penalty and wished to kill him. Exile the monk to Hainan.²²³

公為浙西經歷時，嘗出遇卒牽一囚，見公至伏地呼枉。公駐馬問囚，囚曰“我湖州農民，姓名為楊信，方家居力農。忽有卒雲自浙東來，以強賊見捕，遂受執不知其由。”公呼卒出所持牒察之疑有詐，召有司付之訊，果得詐狀案上。公曰，此必有故，命再讞。乃得豪僧沈明仁與楊信爭田，故構詐擒信轉致死地使死狀。流其僧于海南。

Beside the above case that Shen Mingren committed crimes. There were other two recorded legal cases, showing that Shen committed crimes and created unjust cases. They were recorded in the epitaph of Xu Taiheng 徐泰亨, a local official in Gui'an county in Zhejiang. He was a native of Yuhang in Hangzhou, where the White Cloud sect's headquarter Puning monastery located. Xu was also active in granary and tributes' water transportation from Zhejiang to the capital.

Xu Taiheng, style name Hefu. His ancestors were from Longyou of Quzhou, and later they moved to Yuhang (of Hangzhou). Tai was prudent and smart. When he became *Juren*, he interned as a clerk at Pingjiang

²²³ Liu Ji 劉基, "Qian Lianghuai duzhuanyunyanishi Songgong zhengji ji" 前兩淮都轉運鹽使宋公政績記, *Chengyibo wenji* 誠意伯文集, j.8: 56-62.

subprefecture. When he completed the service there, he was appointed as clerk at Gui'an county.

(case 1) Shen Mingren of the White Cloud sect, acted in the name of the government, and officials were afraid of him. Shen had two opponents, their neighbor's daughter was killed. Shen created words to accuse them, and to make them "confess" crimes. Taiheng tried to claim their innocence, but the prison staff said, "this is the will of Mr. Shen, we do not dare to disobey." Taiheng responded, "I can die, but cannot kill the innocents in order to please others." The staff then released them.

(case 2) One of Mingren's (monk) disciples had relationship with a common lady, and was beaten by her husband. At that time, there was a robber committed murder. The monk sent secret report, to accuse the husband along with his other opponents total of seven people. The government arrested them, and the prison staffs tortured them. They all "confessed." Taiheng ordered staffs to take off their torture instruments, so they started crying and telling the story. County magistrate suspected the case, and interrogated them. When Taiheng arrived, he learned that these seven people claimed that their allegedly "stolen goods" (confiscated by the government) were actually their properties. The staffs took several *pi* of the remaining textiles from their homes, and compared the lens (with those textiles of the "stolen goods"), no one were not matched. Also, their kitchenware and other stuffs all matched. The monk then confessed his crimes. Afterwards the government captured the real robber in Wukang. All people were amazed and acknowledged (Taiheng's judgement).²²⁴

徐泰亨，字和甫，其先衢州龍遊人，後徙余杭。泰亨性警敏，用舉者試平江州掾。歲滿，署歸安縣典史。

(case 1) 白雲宗沈明仁，冒名爵，官吏畏之。沈有怨家二人，其鄰女為何人所殺，沈使以他辭引二人，傳致其罪。泰亨欲直其冤，吏白：“此沈公意，孰敢不從！”泰亨語之曰：“吾能死，不敢以濫殺媚人。”卒出之。

(case 2) 明仁弟子私民婦，為其夫所歐。適有盜殺人，僧為飛書，誣其夫及平日怨家七人，官為捕治之，獄卒凌虐，皆誣服。泰亨命去其械扭，始垂泣自言，縣令以有左驗難之。泰亨親至其地。悉得七人以已物實其贓狀，取其家藏布數匹，析縷以比，無不合者，釜灶及他物又合。僧乃伏罪。已而獲真盜于武康，人皆嘆服。

白雲宗僧沈某，冒名爵，凌官府。有忤其意者兩人，將置之死地。兩人之冤家私鄰女不得，殺以滅口，棄屍桑林中。事覺，陰使他辭引兩人，傳致其罪，君將直其冤，吏持不可，曰：“此沈公意，孰敢拒

²²⁴ "Qingyan xianyin Xujun muzhimin" 青陽縣尹徐君墓志銘, *Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji* 金華黃先生文集, j.34: 10. Ding Guofan claim it happened after Emperor Chengzong's 成宗 Dade 大德 period and before Emperor Renzong's 仁宗 Yanyou period reform "延祐經理."

也？”君盡立羣吏於前，語之曰：“吾能死，不能濫殺以求媚於人。”會使者行部，君卒白出之。沈之徒有僧某者，通民家婦，為其夫所毆而銜之。適有遭劫殺者，賊弗得。僧為飛書誣其夫，及有他怨隙者其人，故以書墮邏卒家，七人中或以罪黥，卒得之，曰：“此警跡也”。因捕治不疑。君察其冤，而七人者苦卒虐，莫敢易辭。君命去其桎械，始垂泣自言。令以左驗已具難之。君服幣衣，佯為賣蔔至其處，悉得七人以己物實贓狀。取其家餘絲布數升，析縷以比，無不合；釜竈及他物存者，又合。僧乃伏罪，七人者得直。已而獲真盜於武康，人始歎服焉。

From these two cases, we learn that Shen Mingren and his disciples, were still remain identity as monks that recognized by other people. But the White Cloud sect in 1320s had become a true enterprise that often conduct outlaw activities, in addition to their business of farmland and Buddhist canons. These specific legal cases were the only record of this kind. Comparing to the Song period, that accusation were mainly based on description of group activities, these cases were not only vivid, but also showed the real impact of the White Cloud sect on local people's daily lives. The Song government were mostly labeling the White Cloud as unlawful lay religious movement due to their prejudice against legitimate range of social and spiritual practices. But we do not see a specific case of local dispute between a White Cloud sect member and other parties. The Yuan records, mainly on Shen Mingren, also shows the structure of the White Cloud sect leadership since Renzong's reign in 1310s, were lay people for their monetary interest perpetuation. No monastic monks, or Tangut monks were involved. Also, *Shijiao zongtongsuo* already removed in 1299, and the replaced bureau of *Xing Xuanzheng yuan* less influential in the Jiangnan local society, comparing to the White Cloud sect. In some sense, the White Cloud sect was known among local officials, as a group of monkish gangs, or Buddhist mafia.

Besides all these negative accounts, there was one entry praising the efficiency of hiring the White Cloud sect for construction works. In the eleventh month of Yanyou 7 延祐七年 (1320), an imperial edict was issued to order every county to build a memorial hall for the Imperial Preceptor Phagspa.²²⁵ In Jiaying 嘉興, a local official Gao Ren 嘉興路總管府治中高仁 recruited members of the White Cloud for the project there, and said by employing these members it would not cost one dime from the government and one hour labor from local people. 列郡方作祠奉帝師，凡它材用，召匠傭，一出于民力。獨諭浮屠氏之籍白雲宗者，俾任其役。官無一粟之耗，民無半餉之勞，而祠事以備。²²⁶ As Chikusa Masaaki pointed out, the White Cloud sect was an organization of civil engineering 木土工程集團. They conducted collaborative construction projects for local development. But in the Song period they were more active in such construction works, and more spontaneous in doing so. The need for market town expansion and more interests from construction could be the reasons. As for the Yuan period, they did business in other fields for more interests, and not so much in construction. But they still carried out projects based on government orders, as showed in this case. Also, less construction needs for local infrastructure in these market towns of Hang-Jia-Hu Plain could be the reason too.

²²⁵ YS j.27.

²²⁶ “Jinan Gaoshi xianying bei” 濟南高氏先塋碑, *Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji* 金華黃先生文集, j.28.

The Late Yuan (1323-1368)

Scholars had often argued that the White Cloud sect died out after the 1330s due to the government persecution, including more effective property confiscation and the sect's loss of connection with the court. So the sect who was highly relying on official support, lost the government's motivation and patronage. However, I would argue that the sect maintained active in the local society, based on few literature records, and grotto inscriptions made in years 1328 and 1335. But the sect gradually lose influence in the local society due to various reasons. So the government documents and literati writings hardly mentioned them.

The farmlands of the White Cloud sect were confiscated by Cao Jian 曹鑑, Vice Director of Left and Right Bureaus in Jiangzhe province 江浙行省左右司員外郎. By 1323, all White Cloud owned farmlands were confiscated and some of them transferred to be under the registration of the newly renovated Shou'an Mountain Monastery 壽安山寺 in the outskirts of Dadu (mentioned once before). It took few months, and the local powerful families and commoners were not bothered. 至治二年 1322, [曹鑑]授江浙行省左右司員外郎。明年 1323, 奉旨括釋氏白雲宗田, 稽檢有方, 不數月而事集, 纖豪無擾。²²⁷ However, in 1330, the decision of persecution had been overturned again. A White Cloud monk Shen Mingqi (don't know his relation with Shen Mingren, might be relatives, they share same surname Shen and generation character Ming), plead to the court to change the ownership of farmlands owned by Shou'an Mountain Monastery 壽安山寺 and return them back to the White Cloud sect. It was approved by the emperor,

²²⁷ YS j.186: 4283 Biography of Cao Jian 曹鑑傳.

and ordered Central Secretariat to enforce this. 文宗至順元年 1330 九月，至治初 (1321-1323)以白雲宗田給壽安山寺為永業，至是其僧沈明琦以為言，有旨，令中書省改正之。²²⁸ By that time, the government also gave up the plan to replace clergy officials by civil officials completely. As mentioned in earlier, from 1331 to 1334, the government established sixteen Supervision Commissions for Promoting Religion 廣教總管府 all over the Empire, and appointed monks to take charge of these offices. In the mean time, *Xing Xuanzheng yuan*'s office in the Jiangnan region between Yangzhou and Hangzhou also experienced changes. In any case, Buddhist monks were still very powerful in the Empire in the 1330s, till the Mongols' retreat in the 1360s.

The government ban on the White Cloud sect before did not extinct it immediately. According to Overmyer's count, the White Cloud sect over fifty monasteries, retreats, and shrines in northern Zhejiang and southern Jiangsu, from Hangzhou to Wuxi in the late Yuan dynasty.²²⁹ However, according to Overmyer, the White Cloud sect lost power and declined during that period from 1330 to 1370, since it was highly dependent on the government.²³⁰ However, as I argued, the sect was still active in the region, though less influential and less notable for the government and literati. They restrained from farmland annexation and monastic registration.

Besides the declined gang aspect of the sect, the religious aspect of the sect remained in the late Yuan. The sect continued printed copies of the Puning canon, and carved blocked and printed newly added books in the canon. In Yuantong 2 元統二年

²²⁸ YS j.34:767.

²²⁹ Overmyer 639; Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫式, "Gendai Byakuun shumon no katsudo jotai" 元代白雲宗門の活動狀態, 16-17.

²³⁰ Overmyer 639.

(1334), *Vast Record of the Monk Zhongfeng of Tianmu* 天目中峰和尚廣錄 (a collection of teachings of Zhongfeng Mingben 1263-1323) was added into the canon according to an imperial edict. Its colophon in Yuantong 3 (1335) also records that the abbot of the Puning Monastery at the time was Mingrui 明瑞, who was also granted the title Master *Fozhi miaoyin guangfu* 佛智妙應廣福大師.²³¹

Other new example of their activities are the two inscriptions attached to the sculptures at the “Southern Hill Grotto” 南山石窟 site near the headquarter Puning Monastery.²³² These two inscriptions are dated to 1328, and 1335 (or 1341), as will be discussed in Chapter 6.²³³

The last record of the White Cloud sect, was in 1370 in a Ming imperial edict. The Ming founding emperor Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398) banning all profane worships and suspicious sects. This harsh new policy could be attributed to Zhu’s personal experience and concern about religious power, and the social background of religion in late Yuan Chinese society. In particular, the popularization of lay religious

²³¹ Sun Bojun 孫伯君, “Yuankan Hexi zang kaobu” 元刊河西藏考補 2011: 63; *Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大藏經 No. 78, PP432-3; One extant copy of *Vast Record of the Monk Zhongfeng of Tianmu* can be found at the East Asian Library, UC Berkeley.

²³² On the Southern Hill *Nanshan* where the sect headquarter Puning monastery and Puning Canon printing studio/workshop located, there were about a dozen of Yuan period sculptures (mostly reliefs) in niches on the cliffs existed today. They were carved by the White Cloud sect members, but never been well studied by contemporary scholarship. Probably due to its location. I have made field trips there, and investigated their spatial distribution, style and period. Though more than 2/3 of the sculptures lost already, this site was similar to Feilai Feng Peak by Lingyin monastery in Hangzhou that had sculptures mainly made in the early Yuan period by Yang Lianzhenjia. These two sites were very rare cases of Yuan period grottos in South China. Though Feilai Feng Peak had many Tibetan-esoteric style sculptures, the Southern Hill contains all Chinese style sculptures including those of Buddhists, Daoists, and popular beliefs. In Appendix 3, I will list all sculptures with images and analyze them in detail

²³³ Inscription texts according to *Xihu shiku* 西湖石窟 and my field trips. For details, see Appendix 3; there were another version of the second inscription saying Zhiyuan 1 至元元年 (1335) should be *Zhizheng* 1 至正元年 (1341), but it does not affect my argument that the White Cloud sect was active making grottos in the late Yuan period. I will discuss this further in Chapter 6.

activities, spiritual organizations, and overpower of religious institutions especially Buddhist monasteries, became the main concern to make this edict born.

For common people, worship ancestors; in the new year eve, worship kitchen god; in the countryside in spring and autumn, worship gods of earth and grain; once there is a disaster, worship ancestors. If sacrifice ceremony for gods in villages, towns, or commenderies, then local ward, society, commandery, or county self organizes it. Once Buddhists and Daoists set up meals for ritual services, they should not submit memorial, worship (in green words?), and also not allowed to make sculpture or image of heavenly deities. As for the White Lotus society, Manichaeism, the White Cloud sect, Shamanism, planchette writing, cult worship, spelling (amulet or talisman), and consecrating water, all these wizardries, should be banned. Soon after, the sinister way declined, and people had no confusion on spiritual pursuit.²³⁴

凡民庶祭先祖，歲除祀竈，鄉村春秋祈土穀之神，凡有災患，禱于祖先。若鄉厲、邑厲、郡厲之祭，則里社郡縣自舉之。其僧道建齋設醮，不許章奏上表，投拜青詞，亦不許塑畫天神地祇，及白蓮社、明尊教、白雲宗、巫覡、扶鸞、禱聖、書符、呪水諸術，並加禁止。庶幾左道不興，民無惑志。

Overall, I would argue that the doom of the White Cloud sect was due to the Yuan-Ming crisis, warfare and the decline of the Jiangnan region's economy in general. (The sect's golden time was from the 1270s to the 1330s. This nearly 60 years period with interruptions in between, is short time period that within living memory for an individuals.) The key turning point was the strict ban of unorthodox religious groups and limited allowance on monastic certificate permission by Zhu Yuanzhang. On the other hand, some popular religious groups and secret societies became a big threat for the Mongol regime and became one of the major forces calling for the rebellion against the

²³⁴ This was submitted by Central Secretary and approved by Zhu Yuanzhang as an imperial edict. *Ming shilu: Taizu gaohuangdi shilu* 明實錄:太祖高皇帝實錄, j.53:1307-8; This text was also included in *Libu zhigao* 禮部志稿 in *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 j.84:14-15, Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983, “不許章奏”replaced by “不許進章.” Chen Xiyuan 陳熙遠, and Qiu Pengsheng 邱澎生, “Mingqing falu yunzuo zhong de quanli yu wenhua” 明清法律運作中的權力與文化 104, More on Zhu Yuanzhang's religious reform and new policy, see von Glahn, *Sinister Way*, 200-2.

Mongols in the late Yuan dynasty, such as some White Lotus societies and Han Shantong's 韓山童 rebel force. Surprisingly, though Shen Mingren and the White Cloud sect committed crimes, gathered crowds and abused power in the Jiangnan region, they never turned into a violent group as other movements in the late Yuan did. Scholarship tends to attribute the reason to the timely ban and persecution of the White Cloud sect by the Mongol emperors in the mid and late Yuan period. However, there were the reasons not only the gradual decline of the White Cloud movement in the late Yuan, but also that the movement was always associated with wealthy and elite landowners in the particular region (Hang-Jia-Hu Plain) who had a vested interest in the status quo. So I would also like to argue that it is due to the White Cloud sect's characteristic of unmovable (i.e. bond to its land/social class foundation). They were not able to move and unwilling to move to other places, because of their bond with local farmland and properties which they collected and managed. As a local commercial interest driven enterprise, they were not able to spread to other regions, throughout their entire history from the Song to the Yuan. The White Cloud movement was a movement of rich landowners in a small region, and the rank-and-file that they mobilized and/or coerced. I will discuss their local and regional networks through canal waterways and market towns, in Chapter 4. We have to admit that in the late Yuan period, the sect's both local network and tie with the state weakened. For local network, the reasons were the completion of commercial canon printing and loss of monastic farmlands. For the tie with the state, it was mainly related to the official persecution and loss of imperial and Tangut cleric patronage. There are other series of factors in the Jiangnan region in the late Yuan period that could cause the regional economic situation became worse in general - (such as population decline,

migration and relocation, environmental/ecological changes - wetland reclamation, agricultural produces and seasonal crops change – cotton industry, market town growth halted with a certain stage of urbanization completed?, regional center moved from Hangzhou to Suzhou.....). By the end of the Yuan dynasty, during the wartime, the Grand Puning Monastery 大普寧寺 (headquarter of the White Cloud sect) was burned down. It was rebuilt in the early Ming dynasty in 1370, but was not as big as before. In the Ming period, it was just a rural chapel. The Puning Monastery never resume its past glory and regional influence.²³⁵

Conclusion

In the Yuan period, the White Cloud sect as a commercial-oriented enterprise had three main business fields. They are: monk registration and ordination, making profits through selling monastic certificates and registering members' properties under the sect; farmland registration and annexation, making profits through sheltering and managing farmland under the sect monasteries; and Buddhist canon printing and selling.²³⁶ The sect also conducted illegal deeds and committed crimes, such as enslaving people, robbery, faking official documents, and making fraud legal cases. The Mongol Yuan government had its dilemma on the policies toward the White Cloud movement, in terms of institutional establishment and legal persecutions. Therefore, the government policy kept changing, in the mid-Yuan period. On the one hand, the sect was a problem same as in

²³⁵ Kitamura Takashi 北村高 447. Today the site was in ruin, I can hardly trace its later Ming-Qing period building foundations or any architectural remains. See *Yuhang wenwu pucha* 餘杭文物普查 vol 2.

²³⁶ No record of the sect selling usury.

the Song. They were a gang that ran illegal rackets and kept land off the tax rolls. But on the other hand, it was a powerful and visible part of local society. The government placated it helped to keep the local society in order. Moreover, the sect had powerful court patrons. That's why the sect was repeatedly banned and reinstated, partly due to its close connection to court politics.

The White Cloud sect mainly had three relations to deal with. With the court and the Mongol emperor, they mostly received patronage, and found ways to survive after persecution. They didn't have a broad constituency of supporters, just a narrow pathway of particular patrons at court. (Sect leaders such as Dao'an and Shen Mingren had personal contact with the Mongol emperor and empress dowager. So there were more direct intervenes from the imperial family and the central court, whether its protection or persecution.) With religious bureaus, the sect had their own dual offices, and was not responsible for all religious offices, even *Xuanzheng yuan*. The sect was self governed, and independent from local bureaus of both civil and religious affairs. With local lay people, the sect kept recruiting members and registering common people as monks. They also harassed people and took advantage of them. They caused local disorder in the mid and late Yuan period, especially under the leadership of Shen Mingren. Except these three key relations, the sect's relation with other religious group or religious community such as Chan Buddhists, Daoists, and Muslims, were largely unknown. We only know about the support of Tangut Buddhist monks for the sect and its Buddhist canon printing projects.

The White Cloud sect was deeply rooted in the local lay society, same as its predecessors in the Song. Due to the urgency of restoring social order in the Jiangnan

local society after their conquest, the Mongols designated the sect and established clergy offices to take charge of it. The Mongols sought merit for their newborn Empire, and in the meantime to regulate the lay activities in the region to keep order and revenue. The sect in the Yuan period were not so much involved in civil engineering of construction projects as they did in the Song period. It had created the lineage of its leaders, and the general members were diffused all over the region. Their members were still recognized as “monks” or “hairy monks,” both by the government and local people. But they had no restriction on celibacy, and no cult or deity worship taught in the White Cloud sect. The leaders and their close disciples, were recognized as powerful figures 豪民 or powerful monks 豪僧 by the government.²³⁷ More Yuan official reports, were from central court, departments in the capital, or provincials. There were very few local officials in county and prefecture level dared to report and deal with the White Cloud sect. (As one source – the Xu Taiheng 徐泰亨 case stated, local officials were afraid of Shen Mingren in Gui’an county “官吏畏之”). Most official accusations on the White Cloud sect and its leaders during the persecutions, were on illegal farmland accumulation, mass registration of lay people to Buddhist monastic status (selling monastic title) and other illegal deeds. The government’s focal points were on three key components: farmland and houses 田宅, properties 資產, people 子女. For the first and second concerns, they affected government revenue and challenged state authority in the local society. For the third concern, it affected population and labor source, lineage and family structure, and social

²³⁷ There might be a Shen family hereditary leadership in the late period, including Shen Mingren 沈明仁, Shen Mingqi 沈明琦, and Shen Chongsheng 沈崇勝. But there are leaders with different surnames other than Shen, such as Qian Rujing 錢如鏡.

order overall. The deep reason behind individual dispute case and punishment on the White Cloud “monks,” were from the government’s wish to suppress the sect. Except individual violence crimes such as Shen Mingren’s, in most cases government revenue loss and fiscal concerns led to persecution, including the Dade 大德 period persecution (1303-1306) and the Yanyou 延祐 period persecution (1316-20). The Zhida 至大 period persecution (1311) was more close to Emperor Renzong’s temporary new policy to suppress all bureaus of religious affairs in the Empire, so not particularly aiming the White Cloud sect. After the last persecution in 1320, local gentries and powerful families who used to attach their farmlands and properties to the White Cloud sect lost such privileges, and could not enjoy exemption of tax and public service duties anymore.

The White Cloud movement was always an “in between” merging phenomenon: self-identity between religion and popular belief, pursued between business and spiritual interests, weighted between regional development and state revenue, served between secular and clergy officials, survived between Chinese and foreign regimes, had between Chinese and foreign participants, developed between urban and rural areas in market towns and suburban areas. In the Yuan sources, there were less accounts on suspicious religious or mass activities such as “night assembly and dawn disband.” We also rarely came across terms including “eating vegetables and serving devils.” Due to the Neo-Confucian influence, local government in the Song concerned about the teachings and activities of such a movement in accordance with orthodox monastic religion. The Southern Song rulers were unfriendly toward lay religious activities, and concerned more on the sociopolitical stability in the local region and eliminate the potential risk of rebellion, rather than simply focusing on ideology. The Yuan government was more

sophisticated and actively supportive on local religious movements, compared to the Song government. Moreover, various activities of the White Cloud followers show the dynamics of local society and lay people in the Song-Yuan period abidingly.

Figure 1: Puning Monastery and Wanshou Monastery



PART II: Networking through the Buddhist Canon

Chapter 3. Monks and Statesmen

The White Cloud sect director Official Monk (Shen) Mingren received, General Commission of Buddhist Affairs 都功德使司 approved.

Huangqing 1 (1312), Tenth Moon, Twenty-eighth Day.

First day of *keshig* Baiju.

白雲宗宗主 臣 僧 明仁 承奉

都功德使司劄付。

皇慶元年(1312)十月二十八日。

拜住怯薛第一日。

In the Jiaxi Hall, (attendants) were seated face to face and were divided: *Sig ürci* (Imperial Guard) Noqai, *Kelemuci* (Official Interpreter) Borucar, and Associate Goolyinliu. There were those who carried the imperial edict, including Minister of Education and Commissioner of Buddhist Affairs Rin-chen-grags-shis, Commissioner of Buddhist Affairs Zhang Lu, and Vice Commissioner of Buddhist Affairs Aliya Tas. “*Bhaiṣajyaguru Rituals and Offering Methods*” translated by Shalopa, and *Chuxue ji* by the White Cloud monk, were delivered through the documents of the Jiangzhe Branch Secretariat. The White Cloud sect was ordered to make blocks and print them to include all of them into the Buddhist canon. The edict says.

嘉禧殿內。有時分對。速古兒赤那懷 怯里馬赤孛羅察兒 同知觀音奴等。有來本司官 大司徒都功德使輦真吃刺思 張都功德使 副使阿里牙 答思特奉聖旨。沙刺巴譯來的藥師儀軌藥師供養法。更白雲和尚初學記。恁行與省部文書。交江浙省。白雲宗開板印了。呵都交大藏經裏入去者麼。道聖旨了也。.....

Huangqing 2 (1313), Fourth Moon, Day.
Monk (Shen Mingren) cautiously written.²³⁸

皇慶二年(1313)四月 日

臣 僧 明仁 謹題

This chapter is about the relationship between the state and the sect, through Buddhist canon printing. The textual mission of the White Cloud sect, which made it

²³⁸ This is the “vow statement” 發願文 of the White Cloud sect leader Shen Mingren 沈明仁, in the colophon attached to *Zhengxing ji* 正行集 (Puning canon), thus after “The Huangqing 2 (1313) colophon”

possible to access the legacy of this movement after its disappearance from history, is the Buddhist canon printing project. The White Cloud sect was interested in gaining economic and merit-based benefits, and the main approach to achieve such benefits was through printing and circulating sūtras, (in addition to extorting money and avoiding taxes). It was also the main investment of the Yuan state, which supported the sect. Both printing techniques and markets for selling printed Buddhist sūtras were developed in the previous Song period. In East Asia, the tradition of printed Buddhist texts started around the seventh century in China, and became the more popular and longer lasting form of Buddhist textual reproduction than manuscripts. As Lewis Lancaster said, “once a canon of standard texts had been established and carved, handwritten manuscripts would ultimately become the exception next to printed woodblock editions.”²³⁹ Printed texts were more authoritative than handwritten ones, and the government-supported ones became the standard of monastic possessed Buddhist classics. From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries before the Mongol conquest, Song, Liao, Jin and Xi Xia Empires all had Buddhist sūtra printing projects and received major sponsorship from the government and imperial families. On the other hand, due to commercialization in developed areas and advancement of printing techniques, commercial print became popular during the Song dynasty, especially in the Jiangnan region.²⁴⁰ Private publishing and printing presses produced different types of printed texts for sale, from Confucian school books to Buddhist sūtras. Printing Press *Yinghang* 印行 accepted contracts to print texts for

²³⁹ Lancaster, “Buddhist Literature: Its Canons, Scribes, and Editors,” in W. D. O’Flaherty (ed.), *The Critical Study of Sacred Texts*, 215-29. Berkeley: Graduate Theological Union. 1979:226-7 Buddhist Manuscript Cultures: Knowledge, Ritual, and Art, edited by Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober and Claudia Brown. Routledge, 2009

²⁴⁰ Also in Jianyang of Fujian, see Lucille Chia, *Printing for Profit: The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th-17th Centuries)*.

individuals, families, schools, governments, and religious institutions. Another printing press was Sūtra Workshop *Jingfang* 經坊, usually in an urban neighborhood for commercial Buddhist sūtra prints. Private parties could print and sell Buddhist sūtras, but the mass production of large sets of the Buddhist canon (usually around 6,000 volumes / fascicles) were usually printed by a Tripitaka Office *Dazangjing ju* 大藏經局 owned by a monastery. In the case of this research, it is the Grand Puning Monastery of the White Cloud sect. Sometimes the Sūtra Workshop could also be a local private one that used print blocks from a monastery for commercial printing. For the Grand Puning Monastery, its Tripitaka Office served as both block maker and storage facility, as well as publisher and seller.

The process of canon printing and selling generally included textual selection, translating, collating and compiling, as well as block carving, printing, storing, and fundraising. Fundraisers included monks and lay people. They often had titles such as General Fundraiser *Du Quanyuan* 都勸緣, and Fundraiser *Quanyuan* 勸緣 or *Guanyuan* 觀緣. In fact, some high level clergy officials such as those in the Supervision Office of Buddhist Affairs in the Jianghuai region also served as fundraisers under these titles, as will be discussed later. The fundraising targeted the government, monasteries, and “retail” to regional lay people for donations. Retail customers usually did not actually possess the purchased sūtras. The small-scale local donation for sponsoring sūtras based on “retail” can be considered as a spiritual transaction where the customer gained merit rather than

physically holding the copy.²⁴¹ The ownership of the sponsored sūtras still belonged to the Tripitaka Office, and the office circulated the sūtras in two ways: the “tribute” of the complete canon set to the court or government, and “wholesale” to Buddhist institutions, mainly temples and monasteries all over the empire. Traditionally, Buddhist institutions usually held the canon as their main collection at the sūtra library 藏經閣, which assured their formal monastic status.

As discussed in Section I (Chapter 1 and 2), inside the White Cloud sect, except during the early Yuan period, lay people led the trend of canon development rather than monks. Local people in the Jiangnan region had experience of commercial print since the Song period, and were able to allocate local resources for long-term printing projects. In the Yuan dynasty, newly arrived Tangut monks played a key role as the mediators between the Yuan state and the White Cloud sect. These monks served in clerical offices and provided financial and policy support for the White Cloud sect leadership as well as the sūtra printing process. Through the introduction by the Tangut monks, the canon printing projects including the Chinese language Puning canon 普寧藏 and Tangut language Hexi canon 河西藏 received direct sponsorship from the emperors and top Buddhist leaders (mainly of Tibetan Buddhism) in the Yuan government. In Jiangnan local society, Chinese lay followers of the White Cloud sect collaborated to print the canon, under the sponsorship of foreign officials, especially Tangut monks in government posts. There was very limited presence of Chinese monks except the sect’s main leaders who served as editors and collators. This chapter offers a detailed introduction to the

²⁴¹ Chapter 4 discusses the “retail” business of local lay donations for sūtra printing. Other types of sūtra sponsorship are the donations for exhibiting sūtra temporarily out of the monastic library and reciting sūtras by monastic monks. These were all spiritual enterprise of the Buddhist monastic economy.

background and cultural context of Buddhist canon printing projects related to the White Cloud movement, and analyzes the communication and negotiation between statehood and locality represented throughout the process of conducting the projects. It also introduces key figures of powerful Tangut monks as the main facilitators, and their influence on the development of the White Cloud sect overall.

I argue that the White Cloud sect used its Buddhist printing project to make close connections with court officials and powerful monks, thus establishing their political networks among the Yuan empire's top rulers. On the other hand, the state emphasized sponsoring the sect, largely due to its ability to print the Buddhist canon. This state-sect reciprocal relationship through Buddhist printing adds another reason for the changing state policies and gradual decline of the sect in the mid to late Yuan period. Because of the completion of the Puning canon by 1290, the state lost its highest interest/priority of supervising the White Cloud sect. This might have also caused the loss of financial aid from the government in the post-Puning canon era. Although the sect still kept printing copies of the Puning canon based on individual and monastic patronage, the sect remained more active in local affairs and extorted money and resources from local society.

The Puning canon (1277-1290)

As mentioned in the Introduction, the Jiangnan area was a center of culture and textual production in the Song-Yuan period, with Hangzhou as its center. The area not only produced a tremendous amount of intellectual works, but also was home to many

printing workshops and produced many printed materials. These prints included Confucian textbooks, encyclopedia books, compilations of works by poets and Buddhist canons. They were circulated widely all over China, especially during the Yuan period, thanks to newly expanded roads and relay postal systems. Mobility of people in the Yuan Empire and cultural diversity caused a need for literature of different languages.²⁴² Among these printed materials, Buddhist texts were the number one category in terms of the quantity of production. In addition, Hangzhou was also the place where Shen Kuo 沈括 (1031-1095) first introduced movable type block print.²⁴³ This technology helped the mass production of high volume texts, especially the Buddhist canon. On the other hand, Huzhou, the area of most White Cloud activists in the Yuan, previously produced two private Buddhist canons in the early Southern Song. This represents the high level of Buddhist print culture in the area prior to the Yuan. These two canons were both made at the Yuanjue Chan Cloister 圓覺禪院 (later renamed as Zifu Chan Monastery 資福禪寺) in Sixi 思溪 of Songting canton 松亭鄉, Gui'an county 歸安縣, Huzhou prefecture 湖州.²⁴⁴

Two major Chinese language Buddhist canon printing series in the Jiangnan region during the Song-Yuan period were the Qisha canon 磧砂藏 and the Puning canon 普寧藏. The Qisha canon was produced at the Qisha Yansheng Monastery 磧砂延聖寺

²⁴² For example, in spring 1992, archaeologists found a book *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (54.5 pages) in Lūmiao 綠廟 (modern day in Alxa League of west Inner Mongolia). It was printed in Taiding 4 (1327), at the West Lake Academy 西湖書院 in Hangzhou. Alxa League Museum 阿拉善盟博物館 collection. The unearth site in Lūmiao is believed to be a ruin of a school, since there were also other Chinese textbooks and character practice notebook found there.

²⁴³ Shen Kuo 沈括, *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談.

²⁴⁴ Thus they were named the Yuanjue canon 圓覺藏 and Zifu canon 資福藏, or together as the Sixi canon 思溪藏. The binding format/style of the Puning canon was largely influenced by the Sixi canon.

(previously a Chan Cloister 禪院) in Wu county 吳縣 of Pingjiang from the Song to the Yuan period, and had a close connection with the White Lotus movement. The Puning canon was produced at the Grand Puning Monastery 大普寧寺 in suburban Hangzhou, and was completely managed by the White Cloud sect, in a shorter period of time in the Yuan dynasty.²⁴⁵ These two canons were among the largest organized printing projects in the Yuan dynasty, in terms of printed volumes and involved parties. Another government sponsored Buddhist canon printing project held at Hongfa Monastery 弘法寺 in Dadu, during the Zhiyuan period, was based on existing Jin wood blocks and had no additional engravings.²⁴⁶

The Qisha canon, started in the early Southern Song period - early 1230s, lost most of its blocks in 1258 due to fire damage to the monastery. It received financial support from both lay believers and some local officials, but was not a Song state sponsored project. In the Yuan period, it continued producing new engraving blocks and printed new volumes, from the Dade period (1297-1307), to its completion in 1323. The Qisha canon produced a total of 591 boxes *han* 函, 1532 items *bu* 部, and 6362 volumes *juan* 卷. The blocks also survived during the Yuan-Ming crisis, so there were Ming period reprints of the Qisha canon in the 1390s. The Qisha canon, therefore, had Song, Yuan and Ming editions.²⁴⁷ The frontispiece illustrations of some sūtras in the canon

²⁴⁵ Puning Monastery, was originally the cloister of the White Cloud monk Kong Qingjue. It changed name to Chuandeng Cloister 傳燈院 and also Pu'an Monastery 普安寺 in the Shaoxing 紹興 period (), in Chunxi 淳熙 7 (1180). It changed name to Puning 普寧. *Jiaqing Yuhang xian zhi* 嘉庆余杭县志, j.15, and *Wanli Hangzhou fu zhi* 万历杭州府志.

²⁴⁶ Due to the influence from the White Lotus movement in Jianyang, Fujian, there was a small scale Chinese language Buddhist canon printing project called Pilu Canon 毗卢藏 produced in Yanyou 2 (1315), sponsored by the official Ilemisi 亦黑迷失 of Fujian province.

²⁴⁷ For the latest studies on the Qisha canon, see Chia in Jiang Wu, *Spreading Buddha's Words*

depicting Buddhist deities were similar to those of the Puning and Hexi canons. Also, many blocks of the Yuan edition shared same engravers *kegong* 刻工 (or, *kangong* 刊工) with those of the Puning and Hexi canons.²⁴⁸

The Puning canon, however, was a sole production of the White Cloud sect in the Yuan dynasty only. It was initiated by the White Cloud sect's first leader in the Yuan period, Gushan Dao'an 古山道安 at Nanshan Grand Puning Monastery 南山大普寧寺 in Yuhang 餘杭 of the Hangzhou route. The Puning canon project received state sponsorship from the Mongol court in the early Yuan following the establishment of an official Tripitaka Office 大藏經局.²⁴⁹ It had all printing blocks newly carved, based on the past models of the Yuanjue and Zifu canons. One complete set of blocks was made from 1277 to 1290, and includes 559 boxes, 1430 items, and 6004 volumes of sūtras.²⁵⁰ The printing process received direct support from the Mongol Yuan emperor, imperial court, high officials and powerful Tangut monks. The engravers and patrons were mostly lay devotees in the Jiangnan local society. The printing techniques of the Puning canon were similar to the Qisha canon, were a mix of wooden block xylography and moveable type xylography. It was the most popular and widest circulated Buddhist canon in the Yuan. It was the best seller in the Yuan Buddhist canon market, as we shall see from the extant canons' unearthed location and historical records. Locations of buyers of the

²⁴⁸ Examples such as famous engraver 畫工 Chen Sheng 陳昇, publisher 刊工 Chen Ning 陳寧, publisher Yang Dechun 楊德春 and his print press by Zhong'an Bridge in Hangzhou 杭州眾安橋北楊家印行.

²⁴⁹ should notice that usually Tripitaka workshop is private, the White Cloud one received official patronage so it was quite an unique case

²⁵⁰ For the preserved table of content, see *Hangzhou lu Yuhang xian Baiyun zong Nanshan Da Puningsi dazangjing mulu* 杭州路餘杭縣白雲宗南山大普寧寺大藏經目錄, *Showa hoho so mokuroku* 大正新修昭和法寶總目錄 (General Tables of Contents of the Buddhist Canon, Compiled in the Showa period) (Tokyo: Taisho Issaikyo Kankokai, 1924) II, 239-71.

whole set of the canon (in other words, customers of the canon wholesale) covered a large range of places in China and Mongolia. The wide spread of the Puning canon does not mean the high popularity of the White Cloud sect all over the empire, nor does the reputation of the sect founder Kong Qingjue's teachings. However, the Puning canon was the main business focus of the White Cloud sect in the Yuan dynasty, which helped the sect collect economic benefits from selling the canon copies or the canon sponsorship. Moreover, the existing copies of the Puning canon are the major current source for studying the history of the sect.

Dao'an was first an abbot at Miaoyan Monastery 妙嚴寺 in Huzhou in the Southern Song.²⁵¹ All the canon print blocks in nearby Sixi, including those of the Zifu and Yuanjue canons, were destroyed during the Song-Yuan war in 1275-76 "the canon blocks of Fabao Monastery of Sixi in Huzhou route were destroyed in the war, even no single character remained" 湖州路思溪法寶寺大藏經板泯於兵火隻字不存.²⁵² Dao'an started a new sūtra printing project at Puning Monastery from scratch after he attained abbotship there. The surviving copies of the Yuanjue and Zifu canons became the models of the Puning canon. There was no record of large-scale translation works related to the Puning canon, suggesting that the canon was based on a previous model rather than adding mostly new texts. However, it is clear that all blocks of the Puning canon were newly made in the Yuan dynasty. The early stage of initiation of the Puning canon by

²⁵¹ Mou Yan 牟巖 and Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, "Record of the Miaoyan Monastery" Huzhou Miaoyansi ji 湖州妙嚴寺記, Asian Art Collection, Princeton University.

²⁵² 大正新脩大藏經 第十冊 No. 293 《大方廣佛華嚴經》CBETA; Puning #193; Overmyer 635-6

Dao'an also received support from his friend Master Jitangsi 寂堂思宗師 of Grand Mingqing Monastery 大明慶寺 in the Hangzhou route 杭州路.²⁵³

The earliest date of existing sūtras of the Puning canon is marked as the fourth month of 1278.²⁵⁴ In the beginning, the canon project was not sponsored by the Mongolian government. In 1278, Hangzhou was already conquered by the Mongols, as was the Puning monastery, but the Southern Song dynasty still did not collapse due to its resisting forces in South China until 1279. Therefore, the producers of the canon chose not to mark the Song or the Yuan reign name due to political uncertainty. This shows that the early producer of the canon did not recognize the Yuan authority, or at least had not yet made official connections with the new government as early as 1278. (It shows the relationship between the canon production and state recognition.) On the other hand, they may have resisted acceptance of the new foreign conqueror, as many southerners did at that time. In fact, the canon producers were very aware of the political situation as shown in regime changes. Scholars have noticed that in the same sūtra but different volumes, other dates are clearly shown as the first moon of Yimao year (February 1279) 己卯年一月, and the second moon of Zhiyuan 16 (March 1279) 至元十六年二月.²⁵⁵ This is only one month's difference, but it marked the Yuan conquest of the Song resistance force in Yashan 崖山 in the second month of that year, so the producers immediately put the reign name Zhiyuan on the sūtra after the Song's eventual fall.

²⁵³大正新脩大藏經 第十冊 No. 293 《大方廣佛華嚴經》CBETA; Puning #193

²⁵⁴ 何梅 210. Large collection of the Puning canon includes 320 volumes at Zojo-ji temple 增上寺 in Japan, 579 volumes in Famen temple 法門寺 in Shaanxi, and over 4,000 volumes (over 490 cases) in Chongshan temple 崇善寺 in Taiyuan of Shanxi (diffused after discovery).

²⁵⁵ *ibid.*

Dao'an had personally made two trips to the Yuan capital Dadu for the palace audience of Khubilai Khan to seek imperial patronage on the Puning canon project. He was the very first monk from South China who gained the imperial audience of Khubilai. He received an imperial edict 聖旨 that approved the printing project, as well as support from some of the most prominent Buddhist masters, including Longchuan Hangyu 龍川行育, Dampa 膽巴/膽八/檐八 and Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真伽.²⁵⁶ Some famous masters served as General Fundraiser *Du Quanyuan* 都勸緣 or Fundraiser *Quanyuan* 勸緣 for the Puning canon, such as these high level clergy officials in the Supervision Office of Buddhist Affairs in the Jianghuai Region 江淮諸路釋教總統所 including Jiawaba 加瓦八, Hang Jixiang 行吉祥 (i.e. Hangyu) and Yang Lianzhenjia 楊璉真伽.²⁵⁷ (Overall, the Yuan state's motivation to support the canon printing project, rather than ignore or forbid it, was the monumental character of the canon for the new Mongol regime and the favoring of Buddhism among Mongol rulers. Also, the Mongol court recruited a diverse pool of Buddhist masters and translators of different ethnic backgrounds, and initiated multiple projects of translating and collating Buddhist texts of different languages. The rich intellectual resources and the need for a quickly completed Buddhist canon made the

²⁵⁶ Yang Lianzhenjia was discussed in chapter 2. Longchuan Hangyu (?-1293), ethnic Jurchen, surname Nahe 納合. He was also called Hang Jixiang 行吉祥 or Kang Jixiang 亢吉祥. He was the abbot of Baima (White Horse) Monastery in Luoyang. He was entitled the first 釋源宗主, and received a series of granted Buddhist titles from Khubilai and Phagspa. Like Yang, he also served as the supervisor of Buddhist Affairs at the clergy bureau in the Jianghuai routes 江淮諸路都總攝, see Cui Hongfen 崔紅芬, "Sengren Huijue kaolue: Jiantan Xi Xia de Huayan xinyang" 僧人慧覺考略:兼談西夏的華嚴信仰.

²⁵⁷ 普賢行願品 colophon 《增上寺三大藏經目錄-元版(刊記)》 in *Zōjōji shiryōshū* 增上寺史料集 193; Cui Hongfen 崔紅芬, "Yuan Hangzhou lu kanke Hexi zi dazangjing tanxi" 元杭州路刊刻河西字大藏經探析, 2014.2: 23.

Mongol court willing to sponsor the White Cloud's Puning canon through the connections of non-Chinese foreign monks/Buddhist teachers.)

Dao'an's connections with the court was made through the introduction of Dampa and officials of the Supervision Office of Buddhist Affairs in Jianghuai including Yang Lianzhenjia and Longchuan Hangyu who offered Dao'an license to officially approve the printing project. A prayer by Dao'an attached as a colophon of a sūtra of the Puning canon in Zhiyuan 16 (1279) made wishes to the imperial family, state officials, and several Buddhist clergy officials including the Imperial Preceptor, the State Preceptor, Master Dampa, Master Hangyu, and Master Yang Lianzhenjia.

Thanks to the protection of the Supervision Office of Buddhist Affairs in the Jianghuai Region, who offered the certificate and introduced for the audience of Master Dampa. The emperor delivered an imperial edict, to protect the (White Cloud) sect's organization, and accomplish its wonderful deeds. After the project took place, wish the knowledge of all the Bodhisattva, dragon heaven, and kind friends to be granted to me. Wish I will be insisting from the very beginning till the end. (I shall) use this opportunity, avoid any thought of regret, and clear off any barriers. This grand cause is for blessing the emperor's longevity of ten thousand years peace, the empress same year, the heir apparent and princes thousand years age, and civil and military officials advance to promotion. Also praise the Great Yuan Imperial Preceptor, State Preceptor, Master Dampa, Supervisor of Buddhist Affairs in the Jianghuai Region Master Hongjiao (Longchuan Hangyu), and Supervisor of Buddhist Affairs in the Jianghuai Region Master Yongfu (Yang Lianzhenjia). Great interpretation sectarian vehicles, and spontaneously gain of fortunes. Also wish time and season in harmony, rich property and healthy lives, "four fields of grace and three states of existence" all achieved, and all the sensitive beings transcend to the other shore (i.e. pure land). Imperial endorsed White Cloud sect monk registrar in Zhexi Hangzhou routes, abbot of Nanshan Puning Monastery, Successor of Buddhism, the ninth generation grandson (of the sect founder), Master Huizhao Śramaṇa Dao'an cautiously takes the vow.

Zhiyuan 16 (1279) *yimao* year, twelfth moon, auspicious date.
Respectfully written.²⁵⁸

又蒙江淮諸路釋教都總攝所護念，准給文憑及轉呈檐八上師引覲。皇帝頒降聖旨，護持宗門，作成勝事。興工之後，惟願諸佛、龍天、善友知識加被於我，使我從初至終，成如是緣，心無退轉，亦無障礙。以此鴻因端為祝延皇帝聖壽萬安，皇后同年，太子諸王千秋，文武官僚陞遷祿位。仍贊大元帝師、大元國師、檐八上師、江淮諸路釋教都總攝扶宗弘教大師、江淮諸路釋教都總攝永福大師。大闡宗乘，同增福算。更冀時和歲稔、物阜民康，四恩三有盡沾恩，一切有情登彼岸。宣授浙西道杭州等路白雲宗僧錄，南山普寧寺住持，傳三乘教九世孫，慧照大師沙門道安 謹願。時至元十六年己卯十二月吉日拜書。

Dao'an had personal relationships with these non-Chinese prominent monks, who were all favorite Buddhists of Khubilai Khan and had significant political power.

Longchuan Hangyu was a Jurchen monk who served as the abbot of the state sponsored Baima (“White Horse”) Monastery 白馬寺 in Luoyang, and later moved to Jiangnan for the post overseeing Buddhist affairs there.²⁵⁹ Yang Lianzhenjia was a Tangut monk who held a similar post in the Jiangnan region, and had great influence on the triumph of Buddhism over Daoism in the court.²⁶⁰ Dampa was also a Tangut monk, who later served as the state preceptor of the Yuan Empire. He was one of the most eminent monks in Khubilai Khan's reign.²⁶¹ Dao'an was able to make connections with these powerful monks in a short time after the Mongol conquest, likely attributable to the importance of Buddhism in the Jiangnan region since the Song period. In addition, Sun Bojun argued

²⁵⁸大正新脩大藏經 第十冊 No. 293 《大方廣佛華嚴經》CBETA; Puning #193

²⁵⁹ For studies on Longchuan Hangyu, see Chikusa, Masaaki 竺沙雅章 *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 宋元佛教文化史研究.

²⁶⁰ For studies on Yang Lianzhenjia, see Tianbin Lai 賴天兵, “Yuandai Hangzhou yongfusi, puningcang feihua yu Yang Lianzhenjia jiqi xiaoxiang” 元代杭州永福寺、普寧藏扉畫與楊璉真伽及其肖像, *Zhongguo zangxue* 2012, 1; Chen Gaohua 陳高華, “Luelun Yang Lianzhenjia he Yang Anpu fuzi” 略論楊璉真伽和楊暗普父子, *Yuanshi yanjiu lungao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991); Chen Gaohua, “Zailun Yuandai hexi sengren Yang Lianzhenjia” 再論元代河西僧人楊璉真伽, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 2006-2,

²⁶¹ For studies on Dampa, see Herbert Franke, “Tibetans in Yuan China.”

that Dao'an was a descendent of the Tangut royal house, with which I disagree. Her argument was based on someone who was named Master Huizhao 慧照 (Tangut: 龕 徽) which appeared in a Tangut text that was preceded with another Tangut imperial title Jieqinzhu 節親主 (Tangut: 龕 驛 駁).²⁶² This argument ignores the truth that Huizhao was a popular venerable title for Buddhists in Xi Xia and Yuan. Dao'an, as the director, led the Tripitaka Office 大藏經局 to oversee the printing project. He also held the positions of Monk Registrar, Overseer of the White Cloud sect, and the chief abbot of Puning Monastery. After his death in Dadu in Zhiyuan 18 (1281), the directors of the Tripitaka Office included but were not limited to (Yuetan) Ruyi (月潭) 如一, Ruzhi 如志, Ruxian 如賢, and Ruying 如瑩.²⁶³

The compilation of the Puning canon was also influenced by the joint collating project of the Sino-Tibetan tripitaka in Dadu from 1285 to 1287, ordered by Khubilai Khan. It was led by Longchuan Hangyu 龍川行育 and Qing Jixiang 慶吉祥, and included monks of different ethnic backgrounds such as Chinese, Tibetan, Tangut, and Jurchen. The project was to compare and correct the traditional tripitaka in China and Tibet. The result was the publication of a ten volume catalog called *The General Catalogue of Dharma Treasure Collation in the Zhiyuan period* 至元法寶勘同總錄. The catalog was also included in the Puning canon.²⁶⁴

²⁶² Sun Bojun 孫伯君, "Yuandai Baiyunzong yikan Xixiawen wenxian zongkao" 元代白雲宗譯刊西夏文獻綜考 2011(2):153.

²⁶³ 大正新脩大藏經 第十冊 No. 293 《大方廣佛華嚴經》CBETA; Puning #193

²⁶⁴ For more information on The General Catalogue of Dharma Treasure Collation in the Zhiyuan period 至元法寶勘同總錄, see Li Weiyong 李偉穎. *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu zhi yanjiu* 至元法寶勘同總錄之探究 Taipei: Faguang chubanshe, 2005.

The Puning canon printing project, including the carving of the print blocks, was completed in 1290. After this time, there were occasional reprints of the Puning canon and related sūtras, regardless of the government bans on the White Cloud sect and tribute to the canon. Just as sect leadership shifted from Buddhist monks to lay people (especially those surnamed Shen including Shen Mingren 沈明仁), the supervision of the canon printing project was transferred from monastic monks to lay people. There was a new set of esoteric sūtras 秘密經 in Chinese, 97 items and 315 volumes, added to the Puning canon, printed from 1306 to 1310 under the sponsorship of the Tangut clergy official Guanzhuba 管主八, and monitored by Shen Mingren.²⁶⁵ In 1310, Shen Mingren received an edict to print three additional Buddhist sūtras of the Puning canon, and in 1313 another four sūtras, including translation of *Bhaiṣajyaguru Rituals and Offering Methods* 藥師儀軌供養法 by the prominent Tangut scholar monk in the Yuan, Master Shalopa 沙刺巴/沙羅巴 (1259-1314), and Kong Qingjue's 孔清覺 book *Chuxue ji* 初學記.²⁶⁶ Shen Mingren's colophon in *Zhengxing ji*, written in Huangqing 2 (1313) included the imperial edict for printing additional texts of the Puning canon.

The 1313 colophon quoted in the beginning of this chapter states that Shen Mingren received a response from the General Commission of Buddhist Affairs 都功德使司, a new institution for religious regulation, in Huangqing 1 (1312).²⁶⁷ On that day at

²⁶⁵ Introduction from Digital Database of Buddhist Tripitaka Catalogues 佛教藏經目錄數位資料庫; these esoteric sūtras were based on the Hongfa canon 弘法藏 printed in Dadu, which was based on the Zhaocheng canon 趙城藏 in the Jin dynasty.

²⁶⁶ Overmyer 638; Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫式, "Gendai Byakuun shumon no katsudo jotai" 元代白雲宗門の活動狀態 8.

²⁶⁷ "The Huangqing 2 (1313) colophon."

Jiaksi Hall 嘉禧殿, Shen met the hall guardian (*keshig* 怯薛) Baiju 拜住 (1298-1323?), who was an influential figure in the Mongol court.²⁶⁸ The revival of canon print in 1313 shows the rebirth of the White Cloud sect as well. Back in 1311, one month after the death of Yuan emperor Wuzong, the new emperor Renzong stopped the tribute of printed Buddhist sūtras that were shipped from the Jiangnan region. The new emperor also banned all regional branch offices of the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs *Xing Xuanzheng Yuan* 行宣政院 including the Hangzhou one, as well as all Buddhist Supervision offices, monk registrars, and other Buddhist institutions all over the empire, in order to take over the Buddhists' privileges. The edict specifically states the ban of the White Cloud sect and its office, and the civil registration for the sect's monks to be changed to commoners.²⁶⁹ However, two years later in 1313, still under Renzong's reign, Shen Mingren gained leadership in the surviving sect, and received an imperial edict to print the additional texts of the Puning canon.²⁷⁰ This is also likely attributed to Shen Mingren's connection with famous Buddhist monks and clergy officials who managed to survive the purge and retain power. Therefore, throughout its history, the White Cloud sect was always able to maintain connections with powerful Buddhists in the Yuan court, no matter whether the leadership fell to monastic monks or lay people. The Puning canon was the main attracting element for the prominent monks' attentions.

²⁶⁸ Baiju 拜住 was the seventh generation of Muqari 木華黎. Later during Emperor Yingzong's reign (1320-1323), he became the emperor's third *keshig* leader 怯薛長, and the right chancellor of the Secretariat 中書右丞相.

²⁶⁹ YS j.24:538-9.

²⁷⁰ "The Huangqing 2 (1313) colophon" says the location of print was Grand Ciyin Monastery 大慈隱寺. The precise location is unknown, since no other sources available mention this monastery. This might be a mistake of Lingyin Monastery 靈隱寺 in Hangzhou.

Shen Mingren, in his 1313 colophon, includes prayers for the imperial family and all civil officials.²⁷¹ He also lists names of prominent people who had contributed to the printing of the Puning canon. Most of them were not Chinese. They were Imperial Guards (S üg ürci 速古兒赤, which is one branch of *Keshig*) Noqai 那懷, Official Interpreters (“Kelemuci / Kelimeci 怯里馬赤”) Borucar 孛羅察兒, Associate 同知 Goolyinliu 觀音奴, and three high officials who carried the imperial edict including Minister of Education 大司徒 and Commissioner of Buddhist Affairs 都功德使 Rin-chen-grags-shis 輦真吃刺思 (ca 1329-1332, Imperial Preceptor 帝師), Commissioner of Buddhist Affairs Zhang Lu 都功德使 張閻 (-), and Vice Commissioner of Buddhist Affairs 都功德副使 Aliya Tas 阿里牙答思 (-, Taiding 2 (1325) Darughachi of Qingyuan route 慶元路達魯花赤).²⁷² Zhang Lu was involved in the printing project of the Tangut script Hexi canon in Hangzhou as well, to be discussed in the following section.

All these non-Chinese political elites were connected to the making of the Puning canon. Therefore, the audience of the Puning canon was not only limited to Chinese. Though the major texts of the Puning canon are in Chinese, there are some texts in foreign languages. There is a Chinese translation of a Tangut book (1200 CE) of a

²⁷¹ 所集洪因。端為祝延皇帝萬萬歲。皇太后睿筭齊年。皇后同壽萬年。太子諸王千秋。文武官僚常居祿位。更冀國泰民安。雨暘時若。佛日增輝。法輪常轉者。These prayers of Shen Mingren’s 1313 colophon is very similar to the prayers of previous cited Dao’an’s 1279 colophon.

²⁷² “The Huangqing 2 (1313) colophon”; Sun Bojun spells this Rin-chen-grags-shis 輦真吃刺思 as Rin-chen-’phrin-las 輦真吃刺 (means “treasury enterprise” 寶業), and argues that he is in fact Guan Nianzhenchila 管輦真吃刺, son of Guanzhuba 管主八. I disagree with Sun’s claim. Sun 2011 P60. 张閻 (-) also known as 张驴, 章閻, served in the court as 中书平章政事, and in Hangzhou as 行宣政院使, 江南行台御史中丞, 江浙行省平章政事. He was active in building networks with intellectuals/ cultural elite, and had patronage on the Puning canon.

Sanskrit mantra collection called *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* 密咒圓因往生集 (“Collection of Mantras for Perfect Causes and Rebirth”) in the Puning canon. All of its mantras are in Phags-pa script transliteration of original Sanskrit pronunciations.²⁷³ There is also a Uighur script sūtra called *Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 佛說天地八陽神咒經 (“Mantra Sūtra of Heaven-Earth Eight-Masculine” *Aṣṭa-buddhaka-sūtra*), also belonging to the Puning canon. This is also a collection of mantras. The sūtra was one of the most popular among Uighur Buddhists since the Uighur Khaganate period (744-840).²⁷⁴

(Figure 2)

Non-Chinese people were not only the sponsors and audience of the canon, and some of them were also involved in the making of the canon. Among the White Cloud sect’s monastic clergy officials, they had various titles, including Manager Monk 勾當僧, Selection Monk 提控僧, Supervision Monk 知事僧, Monk Judge 僧判, Monk Registrar 僧錄, Fundraising Manager 化緣勾當 and Coordinating Manager 提調勾當. There are two non-Chinese monks who were listed in a colophon. They are Monk Judge 僧判

²⁷³ Sun Bojun 孫伯君, “A Study on the ‘Phags-pa Transliteration of Mizhou Yuanyin Wangsheng Ji in the Tripitaka of Puning” 普寧藏本_密咒圓因往生集_的八思巴字注音研究. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 2009:3 PP163-198. This text is not seen in the table of contents of the Puning canon 白雲宗大藏經目錄. This is the longest extant text of Phagspa script transliteration of Sanskrit. Excavated in Kara Khoto, today in St. Petersburg. Image see *Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻 vol.4, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 1997, 359-63.

²⁷⁴ Taisho 大正藏 no.2897, 白雲宗大藏經目錄#286. One extant copy is in the National Library of China in Beijing. This copy’s frontispiece illustration *Rulai shuojiao tu* 如來說教圖 has a “printers marker” saying the publisher named Chen Ning 陳寧. Chen Ning (ca. 1308-1336) was a famous publisher in Yuan Hangzhou, seen for many of his works in both the Puning and Qisha canons in the mid Yuan period. Yang Fuxue 楊富學, *Huihu wenxian yu Huihu wenhua* 回鶻文獻與回鶻文化, Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 2003, 41-2; Zhang Xinying 張新鷹, “Chen Ning qiren ji Huihuwen Baiyang jing banke di” 陳寧其人及回鶻文〈八陽經〉版刻地, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1988(1), 127-131; Liu Yuanchun 劉元春, “Foshuo tiandi bayang shenzhou jing bianxi” 〈佛說天地八陽神咒經〉辨析, *Xiyu yanjiu* 西域研究 1996(1), 50-9.

Naosi jiba 綽思吉八, and Monk Registrar 僧錄 Shoujing 守進.²⁷⁵ It is not clear about their ethnic backgrounds (either Mongolian or German), but the names do not seem to be Chinese.

The occasional reprint of the canon continued even after the major persecution of the sect in 1319. In Taiding 1 (1324), a colophon shows that a monk named Mingyue 明月 of Puning Monastery had sponsored the reprint of *Jingde chuangdeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 volume 30.²⁷⁶ This shows the survival of the Puning block prints and their usage, which was not affected by the persecutions of the White Cloud sect in 1311 and 1319 and the official ban of canon tribute in 1311. The blocks remained in the Puning Monastery, and were completely destroyed along with the burning down of the monastery during the Yuan-Ming war.

In conclusion, this section shows that the Puning canon printing received sponsorship from court officials, mostly non-Chinese, as both individual patrons and as representatives of the state. (The Puning canon received both state intervention and investment, based on local interests.) The close relationship between the high level state representatives and the lay White Cloud members, as shown in the prayers of some sūtras in the canon, promised the timely production and successful sale of the canon. (The reason that the state became interested in the sect's Puning canon in the first place, as previously mentioned, was the need for printed Buddhist texts as a monumental project for state blessings, and the ability of the White Cloud sect and local activists' skills in

²⁷⁵ For the list of all the clergy officials, see Taisho vol.10, No.293 大方廣佛華嚴經 juan.40.

Not sure about the identity of Naosi jiba 綽思吉八. The only similar name is the Yuan, was a Buddhist teacher Naosiji 綽思吉 who ordained an eminent monk Yida yiba 釋達益巴 in Linyao 臨洮. See *Daming gaoseng zhuan* 大明高僧傳 j.2, Taisho vol.50, No.2062.

²⁷⁶ Kitamura Takashi 北村高 1995:447.

producing commercial prints.) The White Cloud sect, through making, branding and selling the Puning canon, extended its network with powerful political and religious leaders, and legitimized itself as a Buddhist school which produced Buddhist texts and spread Buddhist material culture.

The Hexi canon (1293-1321)

Besides the Puning canon made in the Grand Puning Monastery in suburban Hangzhou, the Tangut script Hexi canon was also made in Hangzhou. These two canons shared some of the same sponsors and block carvers, and were produced in connected time periods. The Tangut people translated and printed a Tangut script Buddhist canon from 1038 to 1090, during the period of the Xi Xia Empire (1038-1227), in its capital Xingqing 興慶. The project was sponsored by the Tangut imperial family directly and was led by thirty-two eminent monks of different ethnic backgrounds including the Xi Xia State Preceptor Bai Faxin 白法信 𗵓𗵔𗵕 (Tang. *phie tsjir dźiej*) who may have been be a Uighur from Kucha 龜茲.²⁷⁷ The whole set includes Buddhist sūtras of 362 boxes, 812 items, and 3579 volumes. This first Tangut script canon was based on contemporary Chinese and Tibetan canons, but had its own structure. Since the Xi Xia Empire was a Buddhist state and its printing technology was among the most advanced in Asia at that time, the making and circulation of Buddhist sūtras were popular there during the Xi Xia Empire period. Duan Yuquan argues that the similarity of styles and structure

²⁷⁷ Bai Faxin, and another Xia era famous translator Bai Zhiguang 白智光 both had surname Bai 白. Bai or Bo 帛, was from Sanskrit word *pুষpa* means “cloud spectacle.” It was a popular surname in Qiuci. Yang Fuxue 楊富學, “Lun Huihu wenhua dui Xixiawenhua de yingxiang” 論回鶻文化對西夏的影響, *Songshi yanjiu luncong* 宋史研究論叢 vol.5, 2003, 279-4.

of the Puning and Hexi canons, and thus Chinese and Tangut canons in the Yuan period, were formed prior to the Yuan. He believes that the Tangut canon in the Xi Xia Empire period was established through the state sponsored sūtra collation during the period of Xi Xia Emperor Renzong (1140-1193), based on Chinese canons, not only the Kaibao canon 開寶藏, but also the Chongning canon 崇寧藏 and the Pilu canon 毗盧藏.²⁷⁸ Overall, the early Tangut script canon was based on the Tibetan and Chinese script canons, with some collation with the original Sanskrit version of sūtras.

After the Mongol conquest of the Xi Xia Empire in 1227, the stateless Tangut monks continued to produce Buddhist sūtras under the sponsorship of new Mongol rulers. Unlike the gradual dismissal of Jurchen and Khitan scripts after the fall of their states, the Tangut script remained useful until the mid-Ming dynasty in the 16th century, heavily relying on the production and circulation of Buddhist texts, which were used among Tangut diaspora monks and monasteries (though most of them gradually lost the ability to read the Tangut language). In fact, the Tangut script itself was invented partly to translate and transcribe Buddhist texts from Chinese, Tibetan, Uighur and Sanskrit to Tangut. In the post-Xi Xia period after 1227, there were three known locations that produced Tangut script sūtras, including the Hexi region (mainly Xingqing and Helan Mountain 賀蘭山, former Xi Xia territory, not the complete canon but several sūtras), Dadu (Beijing), and Hangzhou.²⁷⁹ Both Dadu and Hangzhou produced a Tangut script

²⁷⁸ Duan Yuquan 段玉泉, “Yuankan Xixiawen dazangjing de jige wenti” 元刊西夏文大藏經的幾個問題, *Xi Xia xue lunji* 西夏學論集, 284-93; Ruth Dunnell, “Translating History from Tangut Buddhist Texts.” *Asia Major* 22, no. 1 (2009): 41–78.

²⁷⁹ Shi Jinbo in his recent article argues that one newly found sūtra in the National Library of China might be printed in Jinling (today Nanjing). See Shi Jinbo 史金波 and Lin Shitian 林世田, “Lijiu mixin: Guojia tushuguan xinfaxian de Xixiawenxian” 歷久彌新: 國家圖書館新發現的西夏文獻, 2007. Also, Tangut

Buddhist canon, known as the Hexi canon 河西藏 because the Tangut script was called Hexi script 河西字 in the Yuan. The print studio in Hangzhou 杭州 緄菽 was located in the Grand Wanshou Monastery 大萬壽寺.²⁸⁰ The blocks of the Tangut script canon printed in Hangzhou were carved in ten years, from Zhiyuan 30 (1293) to Dade 6 (1302).²⁸¹ In 1294, the Yuan court banned the usage of the Tangut script Buddhist canon's blocks in Dadu, which were carved under the sponsorship of the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs 宣政院.²⁸² The Hangzhou version of the Tangut canon's blocks, therefore, became the only available Tangut canon blocks in the Yuan period after the official ban.

The Hexi canon in the Yuan succeeded the Tangut canon in the Xi Xia period. One piece of evidence of the influence of the Tangut canon in the Xi Xia period on the Yuan version is two similar illustrations of a frontispiece depicting a translating, collating and printing scene. The first illustration is from the Qisha canon in the Yuan. It depicts the scene of monks working on sūtras at Wanshou Hall 萬壽殿 (*Wanshou dian* 萬壽殿)

script sūtra *Jin Guangming zuisheng wangjing* 西夏文《金光明最勝王經》 *juan* 10 (National Library of China 國家圖書館, #B11.037), its colophon says that the blocks from the Xi Xia Empire were lost in the war (1227), and seventeen lay patrons sponsored the new print from 1245 to 1247.

²⁸⁰ Grand Wanshou Monastery, was converted to be a Buddhist temple from an imperial Daoist abbey after Yang Lianzhenjia. It is located on the Solitary Hill 孤山 island in West Lake 西湖 of Hangzhou.

²⁸¹ Vow statement of the Tangut script sūtra *Guoqu zhuangyanjie qianfo mingjing* 西夏文《過去莊嚴劫千佛名經》發願文 (National Library of China B11.052); Duan Yuquan, 293.

²⁸² YS j.18. In the fourth month of Zhiyuan 31 (1294), Emperor Chengzong 成宗 succeeded the throne. He had hostile toward Hexi (i.e. Tangut) monks. This followed the purge of Sengge 桑哥 and Yang Lianzhenjia's lost of power in 1291. In the eleventh month of 1294, the new Emperor Chengzong cancelled all Tangut monks' privilege of exempting from labor duties so ordered them to serve “令河西僧人依旧助役,” he also banned all the Tangut script canon blocks made under *Xuanzheng yuan* “罢宣政院所刻河西《藏经》板.” YS j.17, 18. As mentioned in Chapter 2, under Emperor Chengzong's reign, he initiated the first ban of the White Cloud sect and its offices from 1303 to 1306.

in the Grand Wanshou Monastery in Hangzhou, where the studio of the Hexi canon was located.

(Figures 3 and 4)

The second illustration is from a sūtra – *Xianzai xianjie qianfo mingjing* 現在賢劫千佛名經 in the Xi Xia period. It depicts a scene of monks working on sūtras with an imperial audience, in front of the Tangut emperor and empress. This illustration is often called the Illustration of Translating Sūtras *Yijing tu* 譯經圖 by Tangutologists.²⁸³

(Figures 5 and 6)

The organization/spatial settings of these two scenes/illustrations are similar, including central figures, two rows of sitting monks with assistants behind them on two sides, and figures in the front on two sides. (The second illustration has inscriptions attached to each figure, whereas the first one has none.)

The central figure of the first illustration is a Daoist deity statue with two entourage deity statues inside a building with a tablet that says “Wanshou Hall” *Wanshou dian*, which was originally a Daoist abbey in the Song and converted to a monastery by Yang Lianzhenjia in the Yuan. The central figure of the second illustration is the State Preceptor Bai Zhiguang 白智光 纛 該 叟 (Tang. *phie sjij bji*), who was the chief Buddhist translator. As for the two rows of sitting Buddhist monks, the two illustrations both have tables in front of the monks, and on the tables are pens, inkstones, seals and Buddhist sūtra scrolls. In both illustrations, these monks are either holding, viewing, stamping, writing, collating/comparing, or discussing the sūtras. These are the scenes of

²⁸³ For the illustration in the Xi Xia period, see Shi Jinbo 史金波, “Xi Xia yijing tu jie” 西夏譯經圖解, *Wenxian* 文獻 vol.1, Beijing:Wenxian chubanshe, 1979.

translating and collating sūtras. In both illustrations, all the Buddhist monks wear Buddhist garments/robes, and have halos on their heads. In the first illustration, there are five monks sitting on each side of the row and two assistants behind each row of monks. In the second illustration, there are four monks sitting on each side of the row and four assistants behind each row of monks. The first illustration has two standing guards in the front, one on each side. The second illustration has the Tangut emperor and empress on each side in the front, each with three palace attendants/servants behind. In general, the close similarities of these two frontispiece images showing the sūtra translation and collation scenes prove the coherence of the Tangut canon in the Yuan from the Xi Xia ones. Its appearance in the Chinese Qisha canon also shows the connection of sharing studios and workers in the making of Tangut and Chinese canons in the Jiangnan region, including the Hexi, Qisha, and the Puning canons.

There are close inter-relationships between the Hexi, Qisha, and Puning canons.²⁸⁴ Information about printing the Hexi canon is from frontispiece and colophon notes in the Qisha canon, including Guanzhuba's 管主八 patronage, imperial edict approval, and the illustration of the studio scene in Grand Wanshou Monastery. The Puning canon shared same block engravers *kegong* 刻工 with the Hexi canon. Both the Puning and Hexi canons were printed in Hangzhou, managed by the White Cloud sect directly and indirectly. The main sponsors/supporters of the Puning canon were Tangut official monks. There were also Tangut monk buyers and distributors *shijingzhe* 施經者. They distributed both the Puning and Hexi canons to Northwest China, mainly the former

²⁸⁴ Wang, Han 王菡. "Yuandai Hangzhou diqu kanke dazangjing yu Xi Xia de guanxi" 元代杭州刊刻大藏經與西夏的關係, *Wenxian* 文獻, 2005.1:115.

Xi Xia territory in the Hexi region. The Qisha canon was not widely distributed to that region.

The Hexi canon in the Yuan dynasty, first printed in Dadu, was directed by the State Preceptor monk Yixing Huijue 一行慧覺 (?-1313) (一行國師 𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰤𐰡𐰆) in Zhiyuan 7 (1270). He was a Tangut descendant, also known as Master Zongmi Yuanrong 宗密圓融大師.²⁸⁵ He translated and edited texts for the Tangut canon in the 1270s, and prepared it for print. The Hexi canon has 3,620 volumes, which is 41 more volumes than the total of 3,579 volumes of the Tangut canon printed in the Xi Xia Empire period.²⁸⁶ New volumes include the newly translated sūtras by Yixing Huijue, and some of his own works in Chinese such as *Dafang guangfo huayan jing haiyin daochang shichong xingyuan chang bianli chanyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經海印道場十重行願常遍禮懺儀 and *Dizui liyi yaomen* 滌罪禮懺要門. The translation, collation, and editing work of Yixing Huijue also received the assistance of two other Tangut diaspora monks including Zhiyuan 智圓 (𐰃𐰆𐰏𐰤 *tǎji yjwǎ*) and Wumi 烏密 (𐰃𐰆𐰏 *u mǐ*).²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ “Gu shiyuan zongzhu Zongmi yuanrong dashi taming” 故釋源宗主宗密圓融大師塔銘, *Luoyang shizhi: Baimasi Longmen shiku zhi* 洛陽市志·白馬寺龍門石窟志 1996. Cui Hongfen 崔紅芬, “Xi Xia yiseng Huijue kaolue” 西夏遺僧慧覺考略, 2009. Yixing Huijue, lay surname Yang 楊, hometown Guzang 姑臧 (today Wuwei, Gansu). Father high official in Xi Xia. Yixing Huijue was ordained as a monk at Ci'en Temple 慈恩寺 in Cloud Cliff Valley 雲巖谷 of Mt. Helan 賀蘭山 after the fall of the Xi Xia. He learned both mahayana and vajrayana Buddhism. His teacher was Longchuan Hangyu 龍川行育 of Baima Temple of Luoyang, where he also help editing *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zonglu* 至元法寶勘同總錄. He also made a mission trip to Liangzhou 涼州 in the former Xi Xia territory. He served as the abbot of Baima Temple till his death in 1313, held the title of Master Shiyuan 釋源宗主. The previous title holders include Longchuan Hangyu and Wencai 文才.

²⁸⁶ Colophon of *Dazong dixuan wenben lun* 大宗地玄文本論, j.3, Wang Guowei 王國維, “Yuankan Xixiawan Huayanjing caijuan ba” 元刊本西夏文華嚴經殘卷跋, *Guantang jilin* 觀塘集林 4, 1959: 1051. Duan Yuquan, 289; Sun Bojun 2011:59.

²⁸⁷ Sun Bojun 2011, Sun also translate one 𐰃𐰆𐰏 (Tang. *tǎji yjwǎ*) as Tangut transliteration name for Zhiyuan 智圓, rather than official title *zhiyuan* 知院. Wumi 烏密 is a Tangut surname 𐰃𐰆𐰏 (Tang. *u mǐ*).

As for the Hexi canon printed in Hangzhou, the decision to carve and print the Hangzhou version was made by the emperor Khubilai directly through an imperial edict in Zhiyuan 30 (1293). Although Dadu was the political center of the Yuan, the Hangzhou version of the Tangut Hexi canon seems more official than the Dadu version. A Buddhist master Huibao 法師慧寶(禪 韻 龔 叟 *tsjir dzjij źjir ljī*) initiated a petition.²⁸⁸ Xianbei Xiaogoutie 鮮卑小狗鐵(駭 龔 備 發 叟 *Sjī pji kə ta śjow*) submitted the petition to Khubilai.²⁸⁹ The main organizer for the Hangzhou version was Xianbei Tuqing 鮮卑土情(駭 龔 頤 儼 *Sjī pji thu tshjij*).²⁹⁰ He was assisted by the monk Zhijue Huizhong 知覺慧中(岫 龔 龔 禪 *Nwə sjij źjir njij*). There were over twenty prominent monks who joined the collation of the old Tangut canon (aka. the Dadu version) for making the Hangzhou version. Most detailed information of the history of Tangut script canon printing from the Xi Xia to the Yuan was recorded in a long colophon of Tangut script sūtra *Guoqu zhuangyanjie qianfo mingjing* 過去莊嚴劫千佛名經 in the National Library of China. Dr. Shi Jinbo had primarily translated and studied it. This colophon first reviews the history of Tangut sūtra translation, collation and printing in the Xi Xia period, and then

Sun P58 note #8 #10. Sun notices that Zhiyuan 智圓 also appears in a Chinese version 華嚴經 juan 40 of 普寧藏 as 大藏經局提調勾當僧. Sun 2011:60.

²⁸⁸ Sun Bojun speculates that monk Huibao 慧寶 might be Chen Huibao 陳慧寶 in Tangut version sūtra *Jingguangming zuisheng wangjing* 金光明最勝王經, National Library of China, *Zhongguocang Xixia wenxian* 中國藏西夏文獻 vol.4, 85; Sun 2011:60.

²⁸⁹ Sun Bojun translates the name as *Xianbei chidasha* 鮮卑吃答沙. The given name is based on pronunciation rather than meaning. Sun 2011:58.

²⁹⁰ Shi Jinbo “Xixiawen Guoqu zhuangyanjie qianfo mingjing fayuanwen yizheng” 西夏文《過去莊嚴劫千佛名經》發願文譯證, *Shijinbo wenji* 史金波文集 2005:312-31, first published in *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1981(1): 64-76; Xianbei Xiaogoutie and Xianbei Tuqing were descendants of residents from the Xi Xia Empire. But not clear if they were related since they had same last name, Xianbei is the name of descendants of the Tabghach 拓跋 tribe. Sometimes Xianbei 鮮卑 in Chinese can also be translated as Xibi 西壁 or 昔畢.

twelve Tangut officials and monks (who might be Mongols, Tibetans or Chinese), including: (1) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 中散大夫 同知杭州路總管府使臣 Grand Master of Palace Leisure and Associate Supervisorate-in-chief in Hangzhou route Commissioner 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 *Sja ku*; (2) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 總管府副司吏 Vice Staff Foreman of the Supervisorate-in-chief 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 夷屋陳 *ji u tshji*;²⁹⁴ (3) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 刻慨霸 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 中書史使人僧 的彌成湯吳列 *Tji mji sjij thwo yu lji*; (4) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 陳使蘭 *Tshji sia la* Chen Shilan; (5) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 西北路使司 Commissioner of Xibei route 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 妻囉葛至 *Tshji rar ka tsji*;²⁹⁵ (6) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 臣 official 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 泊哈忠 *Bə ya tsjow*;²⁹⁶ (7) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 皇使院勾管 做者 “Imperial Commission Cloister?” Manager and Worker, 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 *sju ko rjir tsji* (S üg ürci 速古爾赤 Official Interpreter), 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 唐 *Thjij kja thow*;²⁹⁷ (8) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 皇使院勾管 做者 “Imperial Commission Cloister?” Manager and Worker, 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 臣僧 Official and monk, 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 朵只 *dow dzij*;²⁹⁸ (9) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 大德李 Dade Li;²⁹⁹ (10) 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 開府儀同三司上柱國 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 共干印工勾管做者 Commander Unequaled in Honor, Upper Pillar of State, and Joint Print Manager and

²⁹⁴ Shi 2005, Fuyiwucheng 夫依五陳.

²⁹⁵ Tshji rar ka tsji 妻囉葛至 or 齊哩克齊 (Shi Jinbo translation), might be 怯烈赤 (Kereci), 大德五年任南臺御史 *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* P2428, or Kelemuci (kelimeci) 怯里馬赤 which is a job title means “official interpreter”; Shi Jinbo claims that this is a person’s name, he is 怯憐赤 from *Yuanshi* 元史 juan 98, but I cannot find this information. Shi 2005.

²⁹⁶ 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 泊哈忠 *Bə ya tsjow* 泊哈忠, is translated as 沒罽中 by Shi Jinbo. Shi 2005.

²⁹⁷ Translation according Sun Bojun 2011 P58 note #13. Shi Jinbo translates 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 *sju ko rjir tsji* as Suku’erqi 舒庫爾齊. Shi Jinbo claims that S üg ürci is a person from *Yuanshi* 元史 juan 80. Shi 2005.

²⁹⁸ Shi Jinbo translates 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 *dow dzij* as 那征 Nazheng. Shi, ; Sun 2011:58 note #14.

²⁹⁹ Dade Li 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 大德李 or Li Dade 李大德 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏, might be Li Huiyue 李慧月 / 李惠月 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏, a significant Tangut sūtra patron whom will be discussed in section 4 of this chapter.

Worker, 𐰇𐰏𐰣𐰚 迦正(音:尼正)使 *Kja tsjij dzjij síə* 𐰇𐰏 怯薛 *tshji sja* (keshig) 𐰇
 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 臣 別不花 Official *bjij bu ya* (Beg Buqa);³⁰⁰ (11) 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
 奉敕印施共干勾管做者 Decree Carrier and Joint Print Manager and Worker, 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
 𐰇𐰏 御史臺御使 Commissioner of Imperial Censorate, 𐰇𐰏 臣 Official, 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 楊
 朵兒只 *Jow dow rjir dzjij* (Yang Dorji);³⁰¹ (12) 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
 印施院共干勾管做者 Decree Carrier and Joint Print Manager and Worker, 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
 𐰇𐰏 樞密院知院 Administrator of the Bureau of Military Affairs, 𐰇𐰏 臣 Official, 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏
 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 都囉烏日吃鐵木爾 *Tu rar wu rjor kji thjij mo rjir*.³⁰²

(Figures 7, 8, and 9)

There were five printings, for a total of 190 sets – of complete copies of the canon, as shown in the following table.³⁰³

Table 4: Printing of the Tangut Hexi canon in Hangzhou

Printing Time	Printed sets 部
Dade 6 (1302) (completion of block carving/engraving)	10
Dade 6 (1302) to Dade 9 (1305) Guanzhuba sponsorship	30
Dade 11 (1307)	50
Zhida 1 (1308) to Zhida 4 (1311)	50

³⁰⁰ Sun Bojun 2011, P58 note #15. More on Beg Buqa, see YS j.22, he served as Manager of Governmental Affairs 平章政事 in both Central Secretariat 中書省 and Jiangzhe province 江浙行省. Hu Haifan 胡海帆, “Lushan Basibazi moya tike ji zuochengxiang Biehua shengping kaoshu” 廬山八思巴字摩崖題刻暨左丞相別不花生平考述, *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化 2007 4: 77-80.

³⁰¹ Shi translated 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 (Tang. *Jow dow rjir dzjij*) as Yang Na’erzheng 楊那爾征, and argues that he was in fact Tangut official Yang Dorji 楊朵兒只. I suggest the direct translation as Yang Duo’erzhi (Yang Dorji). Shi, 2005. More on Yang Dorji, see Zhou Feng 周峰, “Yuandai Xi Xia yimin Yang Duo’erzhi fuzi shiji kaoshu” 元代西夏遺民楊朵兒只父子事迹考述. Biography of Yang in YS j.179.

³⁰² Shi Jinbo translates 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 as Duluowulangchitiemu’er 都囉烏浪吃鐵木爾. 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 都羅 is a Tangut surname. Shi 2005.

³⁰³ Duan Yuquan, 292-93; Shi Jinbo, *Xi Xia fojiao shilue* 西夏佛教史略, 1988: ch.9.

Huangqing 1 (1312)	50
total	190

Guanzhuba 管主人 (Tib. *bka'-'gyur-pa*), also known as Master Guangfu 廣福大師, was a Monk Registrar 僧錄 at Songjiang prefecture 松江府. He sponsored the second printing of 30 sets from 1302 to 1305. He was an enthusiastic donor and influential clergy official that not only sponsored the printing of the Hangzhou version Hexi canon, but also Chinese canons, and other non-canonical Buddhist texts and Tibetan Buddhist texts.³⁰⁴ He received assistance from his Chinese friends Du Yuan 杜源 and Li Cheng 李成. The main print-implementing monks 干辦印經僧 were Kehai 可海 and Chang Jixiang 昌吉祥, whose names suggest that they were possibly Tanguts. The collators and censors were Śramaṇa Haiyun 沙門海雲 of Qinzhou 秦州, Śramaṇa Yiju 沙門義琚 of Gongchang prefecture 龔昌府, and Śramaṇa Keyi 沙門克己 of Bao'en Monastery 報恩寺 of Jizhou route 吉州路.³⁰⁵ In Dade 1 (1297), the carving and printing of the Qisha canon resumed in Suzhou. Guanzhuba, together with the official Zhang Lu (who was also the patron for the Puning canon,) were the main patron for the revival of the Qisha canon. Guanzhuba

³⁰⁴ Guanzhuba also sponsored the print of the Puning and Qisha canons for 50 sets. Sun Bojun claims that Guanzhuba was not a person but rather a title in Tibetan *bka'-'gyur-pa* so which means the master of *Tripitaka*, that referring to Shen Mingren. See Sun, “Yuankan hexizang kaobu,” 61-3. I disagree on this argument, since Guanzhuba also had a son Guan Nianzhenchila 管輦真吃刺 who also served clergy office in Songjiang after the death of Guanzhuba. Wang Guowei 王國維, “Yuan kanben Xixiawen Huayanjing caijuan ba” 元刊本西夏文華嚴經殘卷跋, *Guantang jilin* 觀塘集林 4: Shi Jinbo, “Zhongguo cang Xixiawen wenxian xintan” 中国藏西夏文文献新探, *Xixiaxue* 西夏学 2007(2):1051. Guanzhuba also sponsored the print of esoteric sūtras 秘密經, Chinese sūtras including *Huayan jing* (*Avatamsaka Sūtra*) 華嚴經, *Lianghuang baochan* 梁皇寶懺, *Huayan daochang chanyi* 華嚴道場懺儀 in total over 100 sets; *Yankou shishi yigui* 焰口施食儀軌 over 1000 sets, over thirty Tibetan sūtras, and over a thousand Tibetan mantras. Duan Yuquan, 289-91

³⁰⁵ Cui Hongfen, 2014.2:26. Colophon to *Dazong dixuan wenben lun* 大宗地玄文本論 of the Qisha Canon 磧砂藏.

also served as the director of the Tripitaka Office in Qisha Yansheng Monastery, overseeing the production of the Qisha canon.³⁰⁶

As Guanzhuba stated in his vow statement attached to a colophon, the original goal was to distribute the canon to the Buddhist monasteries in the Hexi region, including routes of Ningxia 寧夏 (today Yinchuan 銀川, Ningxia) and Yongchang 永昌 (today Yongchang, Gansu), and Wenshu (“Mañjuśrī”) Relic Pagoda 文殊舍利塔 in Shazhou 沙州 (today Dunhuang, Gansu).³⁰⁷ Although major Buddhist leaders and officials of Xi Xia were forced to move to political centers such as Dadu, and regions remote from the former Xi Xia territory, there were still Buddhist monasteries and congregations remaining. Most Tangut script sūtras printed in the Yuan, therefore, were distributed to the former Xi Xia territory. None of the Tangut script sūtras were found in the Jiangnan region, which today includes Hangzhou. The locations in which the Hangzhou version Tangut script sūtras were found, including Dunhuang (North Area of Mogao Grotto 莫高窟北區), Lingwu 靈武 in Ningxia, Kara Khoto 黑水城 in west Inner Mongolia, Famen Temple 法門寺 in Xi’an, and Chongshan Temple 崇善寺 in Taiyuan, were all in Northern China within or close to the former Xi Xia territory. It is noteworthy that all the colophons’ texts or stamps that mentioned Guanzhuba were in Chinese rather than Tangut scripts. Guanzhuba might be illiterate of the Tangut script, so his intentions of sponsoring the Hexi canon in Hangzhou were not for the readership of himself and

³⁰⁶ Cui Hongfen, 2014.2:28; Lucille Chia, “The Life and Afterlife of Qisha Canon,” *Spreading Buddha’s Word in East Asia: the Formation and Transformation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon*. 181-218.

³⁰⁷ See colophon to *Dazong dixuan wenben lun* 大宗地玄文本論 of the Qisha Canon 磧砂藏. Other extant Tangut sūtras which contain sponsor name Guan Zhuba, including but not limited to, *Longshu Pusa wei Chantuojiawang shuofa yaojie* 龍樹菩薩為禪陀迦王說法要偈, excavated in Dunhuang north area 敦煌北區, collected at Dunhuang Research Academy 敦煌研究院 (#B159:26) and Tenri Library respectively.

Tangut diasporas in Jiangnan, but to be directly distributed to the Xi Xia territory – the Hexi region. This may reflect the hypothesis that since the mid-Yuan period in the fourteenth century, Tangut descendants mostly already lost skills of reading and writing in Tangut except Tangut monks. The rich local resources and the strong foundation of commercial printing in Hangzhou and its hinterland, which was largely monopolized by the White Cloud sect, determined the production efficiency and affordability of the Hexi canon in Hangzhou, rather than having the canon made in the Hexi region.³⁰⁸ Guanzhuba was survived by his son Guan Nianzhenchila (Tib. *Rin-chen-grags*) 管輦真吃刺, who was also an enthusiastic patron of Buddhist canons, mainly the newly revived Qisha canon.³⁰⁹

(Figure 10)

The Hangzhou version Tangut Hexi canon was close to the Puning canon in many ways. In terms of the frontispiece pictures, Susan Huang claims the mutual influence of several Chinese canons in the Song-Yuan period with the Tangut canon in the Yuan. This trend of Sino-Tangut visual art in Buddhist books was even shown in the succeeding Buddhist canons in the Ming period.³¹⁰ The Puning and Hexi canons, and some other Confucian texts printed in Hangzhou, shared same engravers 刻工 who carved multi-lingual printing blocks and made profits through commercial print, such as Chen Zheng

³⁰⁸ This long distance business model could be compared to the making and trade of blue and white porcelain made in Jingdezhen for Persia?

³⁰⁹ Cui Hongfen, 28; Sun 2011:60-1; Li Fuhua 李富華 and He Mei 何梅, *Hanwen fojiao dazangjing yanjiu* 漢文佛教大藏經研究, 295.

³¹⁰ Susan Shih-shan Huang, “Reassessing Printed Buddhist frontispieces from Xi Xia,” *Zhejiang University Journal of Art and Archaeology*, 2014(1):129-182.

陳政 and Yu Sheng 俞聲.³¹¹ For the Hangzhou version Tangut canon, there are no Tangut names of engravers appearing in any extant sūtras. This shows the local foundation of block making and connections in the production of the Puning and Hexi canons, which also had all Chinese block engravers. Also, there is speculation that the same group of people or driving force always focused on the production of one canon in Jiangnan at one time, including engravers and local patrons. The carving of the Puning canon and major printing ended in 1290, and the carving of the Hexi canon in Hangzhou started in 1293. Printing of the Qisha canon resumed in 1297. Lucille Chia suggests that the main engravers moved from the carving of the Puning canon to the Hexi and Qisha canons, one project at a time. Both Chia and Barend ter Haar suggests that the majority of local patrons favored the resumed Qisha canon right after the completion of the Puning canon.³¹² I disagree with this hypothesis, because this argument not only limits the involved people as one certain group, but also ignores the commercial print of other non-Buddhist texts in Hangzhou at the same time. I shall discuss the major local lay patron of the Puning canon, and their relations to those of the Qisha canon, in Chapter 4. (In addition, in terms of commercial printing and its technology, current scholarship agrees that some existing Tangut script sūtras are in fact wooden movable type print 木活字印刷, presumably belonging to the Yuan Hangzhou version.³¹³ In two cases, there are textual records on these Tangut sūtras that clearly indicate the names on movable type

³¹¹ Wang Han 王菡, “Yuandai Hangzhou kanke dazangjing yu Xi Xia deguanxi” 元代杭州刊刻大藏經與西夏的關係, *Wenxian* 文獻, 2005(1):115; Chen Gaohua 陳高華, “Yuandai nanfang fojiao luelun” 元代南方佛教略論, 312-324.

³¹² Lucille Chia 184; ter Haar 2001:140-7.

³¹³ Heijdra and Cao, on the Tangut script Garland Sūtra volume 77 of the Princeton copy

blocks were used for printing, including *suizi* 碎字 窰窰 and *huozi* 活字 窰窰.³¹⁴ The Puning canon has no extant evidence of using the movable type print, but the Tangut canon does. If this is in the Yuan Hangzhou version, it means that the Tangut diaspora brought their printing technology. There is no evidence of Chinese script Buddhist text printed by movable type in the Yuan period. Even if the Hangzhou version Tangut canon used movable type, all block engravers were Chinese. Therefore, different canons including the Puning, Hexi and Qisha canons could still hire the same group of engravers.

Wholesale Buyers of the Puning Canon

The state sponsorship of the Puning canon printing helped it earn its good reputation. The White Cloud sect's political and social networks helped spread the word of the Puning canon among prominent monks, and established information networks among famous monasteries who wished to acquire new sets of the Buddhist canon. After the Song-Yuan crisis, many newly revived temples and monasteries received state funds or new location donations and expanded their buildings as well as monastic collections, especially Buddhist canons as the main sacred material collection. The Puning canon was fit for the market that both the state, locals, and monasteries urgently needed. Convenient communication and transportation pathways thanks to the new relay

³¹⁴ Colophon of *Shenghui dao bi'an yaoyu xuejin xianqianjie zhuangyan lunxian song* 勝慧到彼岸要語學禁現前解莊嚴論顯頌 (National Library of China), “御前注補印活字都案頭監,” and colophon of *Avatamsaka Sūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Kyoto University Library), “都發願令雕碎字勾管為印者都羅慧性, 復共一切發願助隨喜者, 皆當共成佛道.” Shi Jinbo and Yasen Wushou'er, 2000. The dating of the sūtra to Xi Xia or the Yuan is still under debate. Dating back to Xi Xia thus eleventh century will challenge the record of the Korean Buddhist text *Jikji* (1377) as the earliest movable type print in the world. So the debate involved national emotions rather than pure scholarly debate. But the fact that these remaining copies are movable type print is for sure.

station, road and canal networks in the Yuan empire helped spread the Puning canon's fame, as well as the ordering and shipping of the canon.

The Puning canon was the best-selling Buddhist publication in the Yuan period, due to its low price and efficiency of printing multiple copies in a short time, compared to other canons in the Yuan.³¹⁵ In the Yuan dynasty, there were the Hongfa canon printed in Dadu and the Qisha canon printed in the Jiangnan region. Buyers, however, mostly monasteries, still went for the Puning canon. Many of the buyers were famous monasteries in North China. The shipping of large volumes of the canon was made possible through water transportation, especially the newly dredged Grand Canal that connects North and South China from Dadu to Hangzhou. The kind deed of purchasing the whole set of the printed canon over long distance was regarded as “seeking sūtra” 求經, a fine act in gaining of Buddhist merit. Long distance sūtra seeking has been a tradition among East Asian monastic Buddhists, such as the legend of Xuanzang's journey to India and Japanese monks' journeys to China. After the completion of the Puning canon's block carving in 1290, the canon was printed until the end of the Yuan, until the blocks were destroyed in the fire of the Puning Monastery during the Yuan-Ming crisis. In this section, I include all current available records of major canon buyers. These records are from local gazetteers and stone inscriptions in monasteries.

(1) King Chungseon 충선왕 (Ch. Zhongxuan wang 忠宣王, Mong. Ijirbuqa, 1275–1325, r. 1298 and 1308–1313) of Koryŏ Korea, was an enthusiastic patron of Buddhism in

³¹⁵ The Hongfa canon 弘法藏 in Dadu was expensive, “Zhengzhou Xingyang xian Donglin Dajue Chansi cangjing ji” 鄭州滎陽縣洞林大覺禪寺藏經記.

Yuan China. In Huangqing 1 (1314), he sponsored the print of 50 sets of the Puning canon, and distributed them to famous monasteries. “屆古杭印造大藏尊經五十藏，施諸名刹。”³¹⁶ These sets sponsored by King Chungseon were called the “vassal king print copy” 藩王印本 by Chinese scholarship.³¹⁷

(2) In Zhiyuan 26 (1289), Lingyan Chan Monastery 靈岩禪寺 in Changqing 長青 of Shandong purchased twenty sets of the Puning canon. One inscription about the establishment of the Dragon Collection Hall 龍藏殿 at the monastery shows that the transportation was through water 遂購而航致之, and that the boats went through the Yangzi and Huai Rivers 浮江逾淮. These twenty sets were approximately five thousand volumes in over ten thousand boxes 五千余卷滿二十藏，為函一萬有奇. These sets were distributed to ten monasteries affiliated with Lingyan Monastery. These monasteries also received imperial patronage with decrees at the same time 凡所統十大寺，率以全藏授，仍請衛法璽書，寺給一通.³¹⁸ According to three Yuan steles erected at Lingyan Monastery attributed to its abbot Tongxin 同新 (1220-1285), Tongxin personally led dozens of disciples to Hangzhou to purchase the canon and performed pilgrimages to famous monasteries en route 公渡江親干.³¹⁹ Tongxin’s trip to the south was described as

³¹⁶ “Gaoliguo Xiangyuan Gong zhitian bei” 高麗國相元公置田碑, Li Zhu 李翥, *Huiyinsi zhi* 慧因寺志, j.7.

³¹⁷ Xu Huili 許惠利, “Beijing Zhihuasi faxian Yuandai cangjing” 北京智化寺發現元代藏經, *Wenwu* 文物, 1987(8):1-7.

³¹⁸ Zhang Qiyuan 張起岩, “Dayuan Taishan Lingyansi chuangjian longzangdian ji” 大元泰山靈岩寺創建龍藏殿記, *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本彙編 vol.48; *Jingci shizhi* 淨慈寺志 j.16.

³¹⁹ Tongxin 同新 (1220-1285), served abbots at Anshan Monastery in Dadu 大都安山寺, and Lingyan Monastery 靈岩寺 (appointed by Phags-pa). Close friend with a high official in Shandong Yelu Xiyi 耶律

harsh and he “experienced cold and hot” 經寒暑而幸獲焉, and the stele says the trip was as legendary as the story of white horse that carried sūtra to Luoyang from India in the very beginning of Buddhism’s arrival in China. Fortunately, Tongxin received financial support from Mr. Zhang 張公 (son of Minister of State Affairs 尚書子) at the Household Administration of the Heir Apparent 皇太子府詹事院, including good horses and carriages, and over ten thousand *guan* of money 良駟元寶數萬貫文.³²⁰

(3) A stele erected at Daming Monastery 大明寺 of the Kaiyuan sect 開元宗 in Mingyue Mountain 明月山 in Henan in 1293 recorded a group of monks led by Miaoqing 妙慶 from the monastery going to the Puning monastery to purchase seven sets of the canon in 1291.³²¹

(4) In 1303, Shengying Monastery 勝因寺 of the Great Dhūta sect 大頭陀教 in Dadu purchased the canon from Puning Monastery.³²² The head of the sect and abbot of the monastery, Xue’an Puguang 雪庵溥光 heard that the canon blocks in west Zhe (referring to the Puning canon) were in good quality, so he dispatched his fellow monks Kong’an 空庵 and Puzhao 普照 and his disciple Ning Daoqian 門人寧道 to Puning Monastery to

希逸, grandson of Yelu Chucai 耶律楚材, *Bu Xu gaoseng zhuan* 補續高僧傳 j.13, *Wudeng quanshu* 五燈全書 j.61.

³²⁰ There are three steles mentioning the sūtra purchase A. 新公禪師塔銘 in 1285; B. 大都鞍山慧聚禪寺月泉新公長老塔銘并序 in 1291, P119; C. 普覺禪師廣公提點壽碑 in 1294, *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本彙編 vol.48.

³²¹ “Mingyueshan Damingsi xinyin zangjing ji” 明月山大明寺新印藏經記, *Henei xianzhi* 河內縣志 j.3 Taipei:Chengwen chubanshe, 894-900; Liu Xiao 劉曉, “Yuan Da Kaiyuan yizong chutan” 元大開元一宗初探, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究, 2008(1):120.

³²² Yan Fu 閻復, “Shenyingsi bei” 勝因寺碑 in 1303, *Shuntianfu zhi* 順天府志 j.7; Su Bai 宿白, *Zangchuan fojiao siyuan kaogu* 藏傳佛教寺院考古, 230-1.

purchase the canon. “聞藏經板木在浙右，且多良工，遣法弟空庵，普照，門人寧道遷取經于餘杭普寧寺”³²³

(5) On a stele found in West Liangzhou 西涼州 (today, Wuwei 武威, Gansu), it was also recorded that a Tangut Buddhist Teacher 講主 named Mr. Min 敏公 went to Hangzhou to purchase sūtras (5,048 volumes) in 1286. Monk Min also visited the famous Lingyin Monastery 靈隱寺 and many renowned Buddhist monks in Hangzhou on his trip. It is also said that his trip for sūtra purchase was ordered by an imperial decree from Khubilai and a decree from the State Preceptor.³²⁴

(6) The abbot of Qianming Monastery 乾明寺 (or, Qianming Nunnery 乾明尼寺) on Miaogao Mountain 妙高峰 in Ruizhou route 瑞州路, nun Miaozi 尼 妙智, received a set of the Puning canon of 5481 volumes 《大藏經》五千四百八十一卷, from Branch Censor-in-chief Zhang Lu 行御史臺中丞 張閻. Zhang at that time was also in charge of the Branch Office of the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs *Xing Xuanzheng Yuan* in Hangzhou. As mentioned in section 1 of this chapter, according to the 1313 colophon by the sect leader Shen Mingren, Zhang himself was a major patron and

³²³ “Siguan” 寺觀, *Xijinshi jiyi* 析津志輯軼.

³²⁴ Gao Hui 高輝 and Yu Guangjian 于光建, “Yuan Mingong jiangzhu Jiangnan qiufa gongdebei kaoshi” 元《敏公講主江南求法功德碑》考釋, *Xixia yanjiu* 西夏研究 2012.3. “Chugong ci Longxingsi yongyuetian ji” 儲宮賜龍興寺永業田記, Yao Sui 姚燧, *Mu'an ji* 牧庵集 j.9, P18, it mentioned a Buddhist teacher 講主 named Mingong 明公 who was close to Dampa. Not sure if this Mingong and Mingong were the same person. Buddhist Teacher 講主 is a special clergy post in the Yuan. In 1288, the Yuan government established 36 imperial Buddhist teaching studios 佛教御講所 in Jianghuai 江淮 province, so Buddhist Teachers were appointed to be affiliated to these studios. Many post holders were monks of Ci'en School 慈恩宗 from North China.

supporter of the Puning canon. At the time Zhang visited Miaozhi, he was about to resume his new post as Left Chancellor at the Central Secretariat 中書左丞, so he gave Miaozhi the canon as a present. The canon was delivered directly from Hangzhou to Qianming Monastery.³²⁵

(7) Overseas buyers: Japanese monasteries purchased the Puning canon, such as Zojo-ji in Tokyo. Its collection became the main source for chapter 4. However, there is no direct record of Japanese monks or monastic groups coming to Hangzhou to purchase the Puning canon during the Yuan dynasty.

In conclusion, as the most popular Buddhist canon and best commercial print seller in the Yuan, the Puning canon attracted a wide range of wholesale buyers all over the Yuan empire. Many of them were prominent Buddhist monasteries in North China, or even overseas. The Puning canon marked the legitimate status of the White Cloud sect as a Buddhist sect and raised its reputation, which was distinct from the sect's other social deeds for local interests. On the other hand, the successful sale business of the Puning canon and the assistance of convenient water transportation in the Yuan empire helped the White Cloud sect built connections with famous state sponsored Buddhist temples

³²⁵ Qianming Monastery, sometimes also called Ganming Monastery 干明寺. “Ruizhou lu Bei Ganmingsi ji” 瑞州路北干明寺記, Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫, *Songxuezhai ji* 松雪齋集 j.7; “Ruizhou lu Miaogao feng Bei Ganmingnisi ji” 瑞州路妙高峰北干明尼寺記, Ren Shilin 任士林 *Songxiang ji* 松鄉集 j.1. The abbot Miaozhi's connection with the Yuan court and officials started after her disciples Fayu 法玉 and Guiheng 貴亨 made a trip to Dadu, for the imperial audience of Empress Dowager and palace courtesans, in order to complain about the abuse of power of local clergy officials on the congregation of Qianming Monastery. The monastery thus received official supports from Zhang Lu 行禦史台中丞張閻公, Dalagai 宣政院參議答刺加公 (達爾嘉依公), and Dampa 大護國仁王寺瞻八大師, who also bestowed Miaozhi 妙智 the title Master Yuanjue 圓覺大師.

and monks remotely, in addition to its connections with officials and monks in the court in Dadu. The White Cloud sect, though a regional movement, had nationwide influence through its textual production and network building.

Li Huiyue: An Enthusiastic Tangut Patron of Chinese Canons in Jiangnan

Among the buyers of the Puning canon, most were famous monasteries and renowned religious and political elites. They were from many different non-Chinese ethnic groups, and many of them lived before the Mongol conquest. There is a case of a Tangut monastic patron who donated money to print the Puning and Qisha canons, who was unknown in Western scholarship. He was a patron of buying sūtras for public circulation rather than for his own possession. There are only records of his personal donations, but no mention of any canon purchase activities by his home monastery. He provided donations by himself, as shown in his Buddhist vow in extant sūtra colophons to be discussed shortly. (His historical significance:) He represented a unique case of a non-Chinese (Tangut) Buddhist monk with no government background, financially supported/sponsored the print of the Chinese Puning canon, in the Yuan dynasty. This shows that the Puning canon's market, and the audience of the White Cloud movement, covers non-official non-Chinese Buddhist monks as well. (previous coverage was Chinese monks, Chinese lay activists, and non-Chinese official monks.)

Li Huiyue 李惠月 / 李慧月 𪛗𪛘𪛙, secular name Li Liyi 李立義, dharma name Huiyue, was originally from Longxi 隴西 (today Longxi, Gansu) in the former Xi Xia territory. He lived during the Xia-Yuan transitional period. He became a monk at the

Fozu Cloister 佛祖院 of Helan Mountain 賀蘭山 (near the former Xi Xia capital Xingqing), was also known as the Chan Master Bright 光明禪師 of Wanshou Chan Monastery 萬壽禪寺 on Zhongnan Mountain 終南山 in Chang'an 長安. He used to serve as a clergy official in Fujian 福建 and Jiaxing 嘉興, under the Mongol government. He sponsored the print of 12 sets of the canon. The extant copies of the sūtras suggest that most of them belong to the Puning canon.³²⁶ The discovery of Li's identity and his canon patronage was all due to the colophons attached to the remaining sūtras. Scholars including Li Jining 李際寧, Shi Jinbo 史金波 and Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫式 have discussed his case.³²⁷

Li Jining, in his research, spots 14 extant sūtras in China and Japan that have stamps or colophons of Li Huiyue.³²⁸ All of these sūtras are in Chinese script, 9 are printed, and 5 are manuscripts of gilded scripts 泥金寫本 on Prussian blue paper 紺青紙. Among 9 printed copies, 6 have been identified as from the Puning canon, and 3 are of unclear canon version. None of them belongs to the Qisha canon.

According to my examination of the Chinese script *Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* (volume upper, middle) 不空羼索心呪王經 上中 from the Chongshan Monastery 崇善寺 (Taiyuan, Shanxi) collection at the National Library of China, have both stamps and

³²⁶ Li Jining 李際寧, *Zhongguo banben wenhua congshu: Fojing banben* 中國版本文化叢書:佛經版本, 2002. According to Li, the 12 sets include both the Puning and Qisha canons. I question this argument, because all 14 extant sūtras (including printed and gilded manuscript) that Li listed in the paper, none of them had been clearly identified by him as from the Qisha canon.

³²⁷ Shi Jinbo, 1988; Li Jining, "Guanyu Xi Xia kan hanwenban dazangjing" 關於"西夏刊漢文版大藏經," *Wenxian* 文獻, 2000(1); Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫式, 光明禪師施入經典とその扉絵--元白云宗版大藏經の一考察, 龍谷史壇, 1943(30).

³²⁸ Li Jining 2000.

colophons.³²⁹ The first stamp appears on the first page of the sūtra, right next to the sūtra title, “Abbot *śramaṇa* Fuzhen marked, Shifang Pujiu Chan Monastery” 十方普救禪寺常住住持嗣祖沙門福真記.³³⁰ The second stamp appears on the last page of the sūtra, saying “Chan Master Bright Li ‘great merit’” 李黻 光明禪師.³³¹ Some other extant sūtras also have the same two stamps, such as *Śāriputrā Abhidharma* 舍利佛阿毗曇論 volume 12 of the Puning canon, also from the Chongshan Monastery collection.³³²

The colophon of the sūtra *Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* includes a framed Chinese inscription, and framed Tangut inscription with a lotus decoration. The Chinese inscription says,

Li Liyi of Hexi, Chan Master Bright “Huiyue,” donated his own fortune, printed twelve sets of Buddhist canon, and distributed to all directions. General audience can see and hear these (canons), (wish) all the lives can see the Buddha and all the generations can hear (the recitation) of the canon.³³³

河西李立义 光明禪師惠月，捨體己財，印造一十二大藏經，散施諸方，普願見聞，生生見佛 世世聞經者□□。

(Figures 11 and 12)

(Figures 15, 16, and 17)

³²⁹ *Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing* 不空羼索心咒王經, 3 volumes, National Library of China rare book collection #SB17968; I have examined the sūtra in person, with Dr. Shi Jinbo together, and obtained images, in August 2016.

³³⁰ Pujiu Chan Monastery is located in Taijian Mountain 太尖山 in Quwo county 曲沃縣 in south Shanxi. It is likely that the sūtra was purchased by Fuzhen at Pujiu Chan Monastery, and later it was moved to the higher ranked Chongshan Monastery in Taiyuan, where the sūtra was found in the early twentieth century.

³³¹ Former scholarship all mistakenly see 黻 胤 as Tangut scripts of Huiyue. However, they mean “great merit” *dade* 大德, a normal meritorious phrase for a Buddhist monk, such as “eminent monk, great merit” *gaoseng dade* 高僧大德.

³³² Ogawa Kan’ichi 1943.

³³³ Notice that 义 is the simplified character for 義. The first appearance of the simplified 义 was in the Yuan period manuscript book 元抄本 *Jingben tongsu xiaoshuo* 京本通俗小說. This proves the dating of the sūtra and stamp to the Yuan period. 普 is not clear, might be 善. □□ might be 也.

higher rank persons' names shows his close ties with the printing project of the Puning canon and the White Cloud sect. Yang's image with his title printed in the Buddha's teaching illustration became one of the standard frontispieces of the Puning canon. It shows Yang's key role of supervising the making of the canon. It is unclear whether Li Huiyue's sponsorship connected to Yang. In addition, in the image, Yang and his follower on the left do not have halos. Three officials with Song (Xi Xia?) period crowns have no halos either, but the emperor, prince and the main monk bowing in front of the Buddha all have halos. They could be deceased people. The monk might be state preceptor Dampa or imperial preceptor Phags-pa (more likely Dampa due to his Tangut background). However, the emperor and prince do not look like Mongols. They might be the rulers of the former Xi Xia Empire due to their Chinese / Xi Xia style crowns, and thus the illustration is possibly an anachronism showing the Xia and Yuan era people in one scene together. If this assumption is proven, it indicates that the Tangut sponsors including Yang Lianzhenjia made efforts in both visual and textual ways to mark their national identity and culture, based on the nostalgia of the past prosperous Buddhist state Xi Xia and the rulers who were passionate about Buddhism. Overall, the frontispiece illustration shows the influence from Tangut Buddhist art in the visual art of the Puning canon.

(Figures 13 and 14)

A colophon in Chinese of a *sūtra* in the Qisha canon includes the brief biography of Li Huiyue.

Sūtra printing *śramaṇa* Chan Master Bright, surname Li, is a native of Longxi. He was kidnapped at the age of seven, and “left home” (took

Buddhist vow) at the age of nine. He formally acknowledged Chan Master Cangming (or, Zangming) in Helan Mountain as his teacher. (Li) served as an official in Fuzhou route. He donated his own fund, raised great vow of compassion, in order to print twelve sets of Buddhist canon, demonstrate the twelve vows of *Bhaiṣajyaguru*, tonsure sixteen monks, and propose sixteen contemplations of *Amitābha*. The accumulated merit, up (to heaven) repays four heavy graces, and down (on earth) saves three evil miseries. For those who highly chanted rejoice, all shall receive the supreme fruit. Gengyin Year, Zhiyuan 27 (1290), First Moon, Day. Sūtra printing śramaṇa Chan Master Bright marked. Coordinator and śramaṇa of succeeding ancestry Miaojing, sūtra and treatise Lecturer śramaṇa Zuchang, sūtra examiner and monastic supervisor Yunwu, and also sūtra examiner śramaṇa Zhengyou.³³⁸

印經沙門光明禪師，俗姓李氏，隴西人也。自七歲遭擄，九歲出家，申禮荷蘭山藏明禪師為師。詣福州路為官。將梯己親資，起大悲願，印十二藏經，表藥師十二大願，剃度十六員僧，擬彌陀十六觀門。所集功德，上報四重恩，下濟三塗苦，頂誦隨喜者，俱獲無上果。庚寅至元二十七年正月 日，印經沙門光明禪師題。提調嗣祖沙門妙敬，講經論沙門祖常，檢經監寺雲悟，同檢經沙門正祐。

Another colophon of a gilded manuscript 泥金寫本 sūtra, records more details of

Li's biography.

Abbot of Wanshou Chan Monastery in Zhongnan Mountain of Chang'an, Chan Master Bright Huiyue, is a native of Longxi. He was tonsured and wore dark garment at the age of nine. He once lived in a monastery in Helan Mountain, and acknowledged the great Chan elder Daoming [different from Cangming/Zangming in the previous colophon] as his initial teacher. (Huiyue) consulted (his teacher) day and night, and received the permission to disburse (the teaching). At first he travelled to Saibei (North China), and later he visited Jiangnan. He served as a clergy official in Fujian route, and also a head Monk Registrar in Jiaying prefecture. He concerned about the polluted quality of dark garment (i.e. monks), and worries about the difficulty of encountering *dharma* for commoners. So he donated his own fund, kindly made offerings, in order to print twelve sets of Buddhist canon, tonsure twenty-eight monks, donate 108 *dharma* garments, and hand copy 81 volumes of gold and silver *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* and *Awakening of Faith*. (He) wrote 28 copies of *Lotus Sūtra*, and several sets of *Brahmajala Sūtra* and *Diamond Sūtra*.

³³⁸ *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 j.1, *Yingyin Qisha zang* 影印磧砂藏, Shanghai:1935. I doubt this sūtra might actually belong to the Puning canon, since in Zhiyuan 27 (1290) the Qisha canon has not yet been resumed.

From these (he) accumulated auspice and kindness, and widely connected with good causes. Repaying endlessly for the graces of the emperor and the Buddha, and demonstrating correct principles for the ancestors' willing and doctrinal meaning. Teachers, seniors and parents, all together board the boat of compassion of *Prajñā*. All the lives under the realm of *dharmā*, and all sail on the ocean of truth of *Vairocana*. Zhiyuan 28 (1291), Xinmao Year, fourth moon, eighth day, Chan Master Bright Huiyue cautiously written.³³⁹

長安終南山萬壽禪寺住持光明禪師惠月，隴西人也，九歲落髮披緇，一踞荷蘭山寺，瞻禮道明大禪伯，為出世之師，旦夕咨參，得發揮之印。先遊塞北，后歷江南。福建路曾秉于僧權，嘉興府亦預為錄首。忖念緇衣之濫汰，惟思佛法之難逢，舍梯己財，鋪陳惠施，印造十二之大藏，剃度二八之僧倫，散五十三部華嚴，舍一百八條法服，書金銀字八十一卷《圓覺》、《起信》相隨。寫《法華經》二十八篇，《梵網》，《金剛》各部。集茲勝善，普結良緣，皇恩佛恩而願報無窮，祖意教義而發明正性。師長父母，同乘般若之慈舟，法界眾生，共泛毗盧之性海。至元二十八年歲次辛卯四月八日，光明禪師惠月謹題。

These two biographies provide background information of Li Huiyue. He witnessed the fall of his homeland the Xi Xia Empire, and the rise of the Mongol Empire. He had wide travel experience in both North and South China. He served office first in Fuzhou and then Jiaxing. Jiaxing is close to Hangzhou and the Puning Monastery, so Li should have been able to make connections with local Tangut clergy officials in the Jiangnan area such as Guanzhuba and Yang Lianzhenjia. After his office services, Li worried about the situation of the overpopulation of Buddhist monks and their disobedience of *vinaya*, and ironically the difficulty for people to encounter real *dharmā* teachings 忖念緇衣之濫汰，惟思佛法之難逢. Therefore, he spent his own money to donate for canon printing, sūtra hand copying, and tonsuring (converting) monks.

³³⁹ Collection of Moriya Kōzō 守屋孝藏, there are 4 gilded manuscript sūtras of the Yuan dynasty 元代泥金寫本佛經, 3 of them have this same colophon of Li Huiyue, *Kokyō zuroku: Moriya Kōzō-shi shūshū* 古經圖錄: 守屋孝藏氏蒐集. Kyōto: Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1964; Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎, *Kanda Kiichirō zenshū* 神田喜一郎全集 no.3. Kyōto: Dōhōsha, 1984.

Although his title was the abbot of Wanshou Chan Monastery on Zhongnan Mountain of Chang'an, his physical residence by the time of donation might have been elsewhere, possibly in Jiangnan, perhaps Jiaxing or Hangzhou. If estimating that the time Li was kidnapped at the age of 7 as year 1227 during the Mongols' conquest of Xi Xia, then in 1290 and 1291 when he made the donations he was already over age 70. He was not known in other primary sources, except these sūtra colophons, so he was not prominent among early Yuan Buddhist monks in terms of teachings, disciples or political influence. Also, his home monastery, Wanshou Monastery in Zhongnan Mountain, was more a mountain hermitage outside of Chang'an than a formal monastery. So as an ordinary but highly passionate monk, Li might have donated all his life savings at an old age for these good deeds of making sūtras and converting qualified monks. His donations and wishes might have also recalled his nostalgia of the golden age of Buddhism under the Buddhist patron state of Xi Xia. However, his sponsored canons were not in Tangut script, but Chinese. By Zhiyuan 30 (1293) the year the Hangzhou version Hexi canon started, Li might already have passed away or left the Jiangnan region, since his last surviving colophon is in Zhiyuan 28 (1291), so the newly started Tangut script canon could never reach the generous Tangut donor Li Huiyue.

Conclusion

During the life of the White Cloud sect in the Yuan, the printing business of the Puning canon was one of its major enterprises, in addition to other sect activities of Chinese lay adherents in the local society. The canon printing business helped build the

sect's networks with the upper class, including officials, monks and state leaders, as shown in this chapter, and with the lower class, including local donors and lay patrons in rural towns, as shown in the next chapter. The White Cloud sect, as an official publisher, earned its reputation as a legitimate Buddhist sect, while maintaining its local activism, since the majority of the canon producers were local laborers. The leader of the White Cloud sect was also the director of the Tripitaka Office in Puning Monastery. The canon printing project was first initiated by monks, especially abbot Dao'an, but later it was transferred to the leadership of lay people, especially Shen Mingren. Regardless of the leadership change, the sect and its printing cohort always kept close connections with the emperor and the court, based on the official policy and financial support received. The project itself was a privately initiated project, but it received permission from the emperor and support from high rank officials and monks. Non-Chinese elites were the major patrons of the Chinese Puning canon. This shows the popularity of printed Buddhist texts as cultural and spiritual capital in the Yuan period, which attracted attention and investments from powerful political elites.

Among these powerful non-Chinese elites who favored the canon and assisted its making, Tangut diaspora monks played a significant role. There was even a new Tangut script made in Hangzhou, called the Hexi canon, right after the completion of the Puning canon blocks. As for the most important Tangut patrons of the Puning and Hexi canon printing projects, there were Tangut clergy officials such as Dampa in the court, Yang Lianzhenjia in the Jiangnan regional office, and Guanzhuba in the Songjiang prefectural office. There were also Tangut monks who sponsored and purchased the completed canon sets, such as Mr. Min and Li Huiyue. The Tangut canon and the copies of the

Puning and Qisha canons sponsored or purchased by these Tangut diaspora activists were mostly distributed to the territory of the former Xi Xia Empire. This demonstrates the continuous growth of Buddhism in the region, and the advancement of commercial printing in Hangzhou as well as the convenience of cross-regional transportation in the Yuan Empire.

When talking about transportation, most long-distance buyers of the Puning canon chose waterways, especially the Grand canal. These buyers were mostly from North China, except one case in Jiangxi, and overseas Korean and Japanese buyers. The Northern Chinese buyers were large monasteries who purchased one or multiple copies of the canon, from Puning Monastery's canon wholesale. The trips to purchase canons in Hangzhou were often led by a monastery's chief abbot, who in general venerated the new collection of the canon as a significant stock for elevating the monastery's status. The canon purchasing trip was in fact a pilgrimage, in that monks from afar went to the most popular Buddhist text production center in Hangzhou and purchased the sacred object – the Buddhist canon - for their home monastery. The Puning canon had good sales records, and received a high reputation from its buyers. It became the most printed and most widely circulated Buddhist canon in the Yuan. The accomplishment of the successful selling of the Puning canon twisted the negative views toward the White Cloud sect, which was shown in Chapter 2. Canon printing and circulation were merit gaining and transferring practices, in which canon itself was a medium, and therefore the sect produced the promoted good merit.

The White Cloud sect retained its local connections during its canon making and marketing processes. This chapter talks about the relationship between the Tangut and

court aspects. The next chapter talks about the local aspect. The making of the Puning canon and its contents were largely based on the models of the previous Zifu and Yuanjue canons in Huzhou and the Qisha canon in Suzhou. The Hangzhou version of the Tangut Hexi canon was also connected to the Puning and Qisha canons, in terms of using Chinese engravers, canon structure and contents, and textual and visual features such as the similar frontispiece illustrations. The Hexi canon also used the movable type printing technology of wood blocks. These phenomena of the canons' mutual influence can be attributed to the major workers for the canon production, who were local artisans, artists, and craftsmen in the Jiangnan region centering around Hangzhou. There are overlapping names, suggesting that individuals worked for different canon printing projects including the Puning, Qisha, and Hexi canons. As for the other side of the local connection, local lay people and monks of private Buddhist institutions became small-scale patrons for individual sūtras of the Puning canon. I will discuss this in the next chapter.

Figure 2: Phags-pa transliteration of Sanskrit mantras in the Puning canon

Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji 密咒圓因往生集, Puning canon 普寧藏本

From Sun, Bojun 孫伯君, “Puning zang ben *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* de basiba (Phags-pa) zi zhuyin yanjiu” 普寧藏本《密咒圓因往生集》的八思巴字注音研究, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 2009.3:163-198.

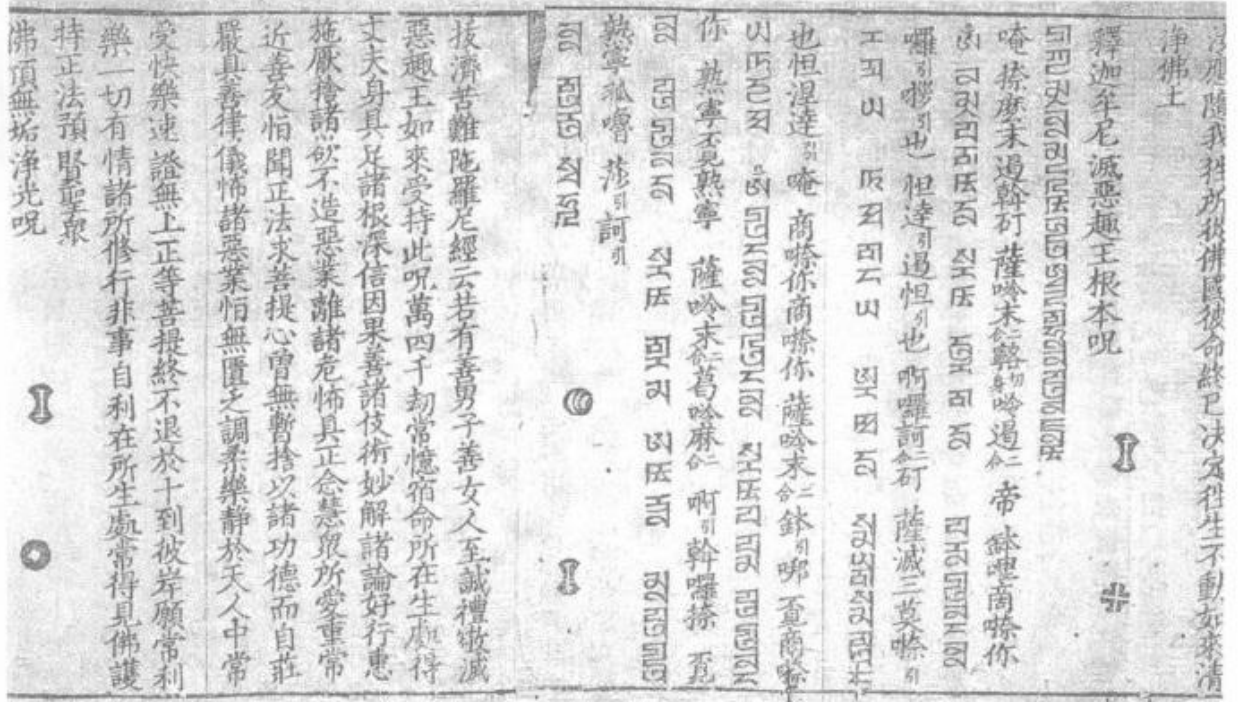


Figure 3: Collating scene at the Wanshou Monastery

Collating scene at the Wanshou Monastery

Inscription on the left “都功德主江淮諸路釋教都總統永福大師楊 璉真佳”

Inscription on the temple plaque “萬壽殿”

Avatamsaka Sūtra 大方廣佛華嚴經卷第七十三 臣三 Frontispiece; Qisha canon 磧砂藏

From *Xidi cangshu shanben tulu* 西諦藏書善本圖錄. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2009.



Figure 4: Collating scene at the Wanshou Monastery (part)

Collating scene at the Wanshou Monastery (part)

Inscription on the left “都功德主江淮諸路釋教都總統永福大師楊 璉真佳”

Inscription on the temple plaque “萬壽殿”

Avatamsaka Sūtra 大方廣佛華嚴經卷第七十三 臣三 Frontispiece; Qisha canon 磧砂藏

From *Xidi cangshu shanben tulu* 西諦藏書善本圖錄. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2009.



Figure 5: Translating scene in Xi Xia 西夏譯經圖

Translating scene in Xi Xia 西夏譯經圖

Xianzai xianjie qianfo mingjing 現在賢劫千佛名經, National Library of China

Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia fojiao shilue*, 1988:76-9.

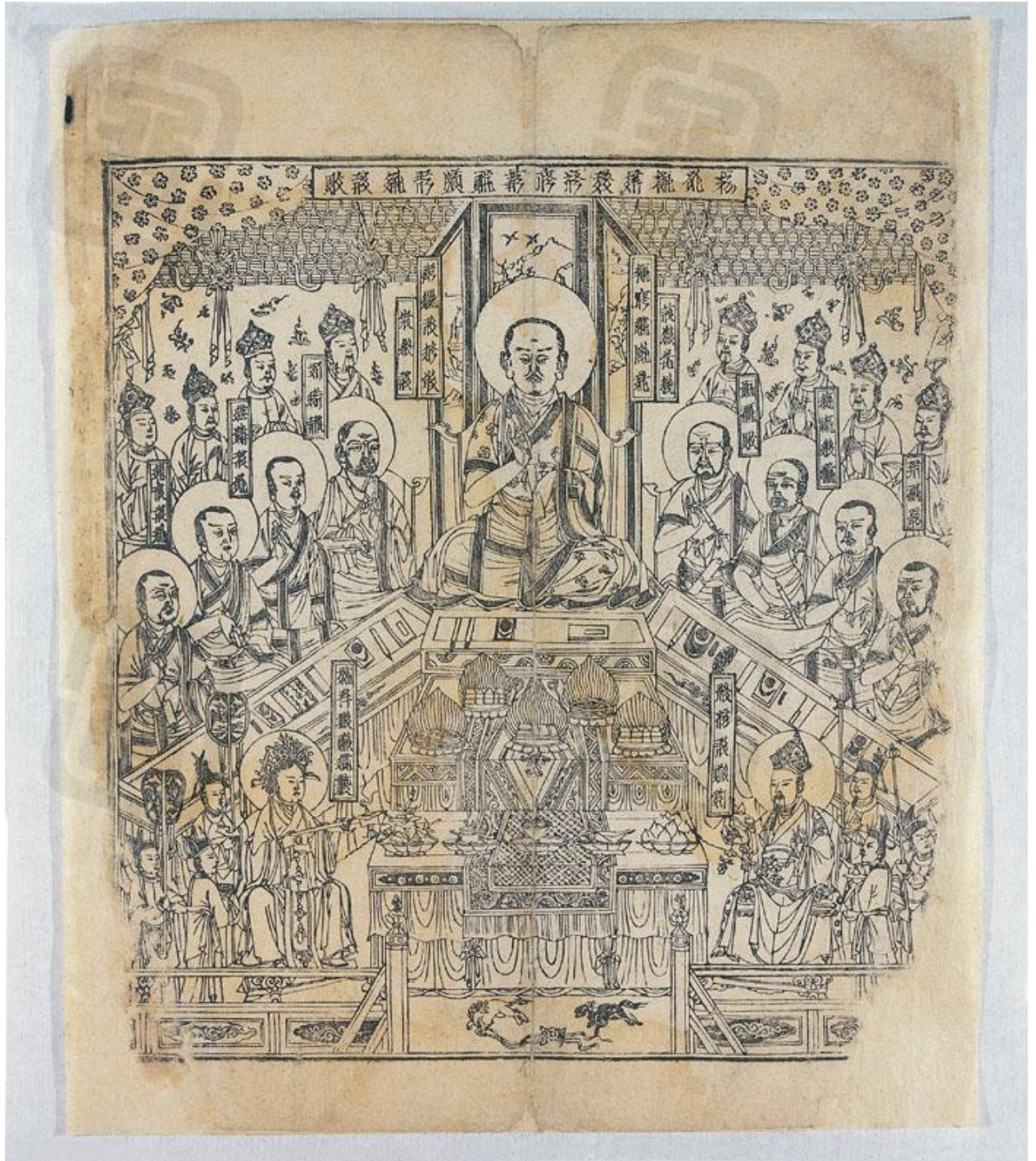


Figure 6: Translating scene in Xi Xia 西夏譯經圖 (part)

Translating scene in Xi Xia 西夏譯經圖 (part)

Xianzai xianjie qianfo mingjing 現在賢劫千佛名經, National Library of China

Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia fojiao shilue*, 1988:76-9.

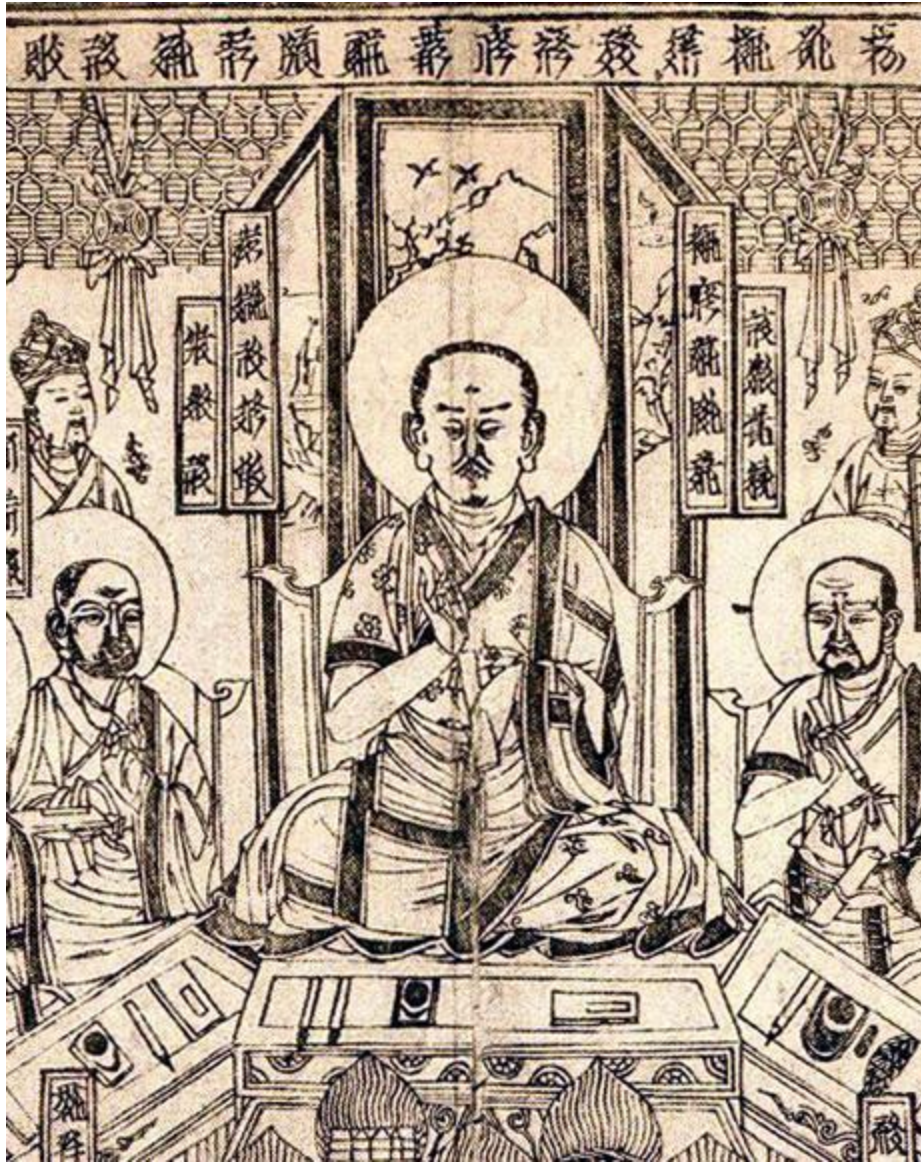


Figure 7: *Guoqu zhuangyanjie qianfo mingjing* (hereafter *Guoqu*), vow statement 發願文 (Part 1)

Guoqu zhuangyanjie qianfo mingjing 過去莊嚴劫千佛名經, National Library of China (B11.052)

Zhongguo cang Xixia wenxian: Beijing bian 中國藏西夏文獻 北京編, 2005:56-59.



Figure 8: Guoqu, vow statement 發願文 (Part 2)

Guoqu zhuangyanjie qianfo mingjing 過去莊嚴劫千佛名經, National Library of China (B11.052)

Zhongguo cang Xixia wenxian: Beijing bian 中國藏西夏文獻 北京編, 2005:56-59.



Figure 9: Guoqu, vow statement 發願文 (Part 2), last Page

Guoqu zhuangyanjie qianfo mingjing 過去莊嚴劫千佛名經, National Library of China (B11.052)

Zhongguo cang Xixia wenxian: Beijing bian 中國藏西夏文獻 北京編, 2005:56-59.



Figure 10: Stamp of Guanzhuba on a Tangut sūtra fragment

Inscription “宣授松江府僧錄管主八謹施”

Stamp of Zhang Daqian 張大千 (1899-1983), inscription “三千大千”

G.155 Peald_6qR

The East Asian Library Journal, Princeton University, Vol. XIV, No. 2, Autumn 2010.



Figure 11: *Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing* 不空羅索心呪王經 卷上中 (hereafter *Bukong*) cover, frontispiece, and first Page³⁴⁰
Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing 不空羅索心呪王經 [善本]: 三卷 National Library of China, (SB17968)



³⁴⁰ The cover is wrong. It says that the sūtra name is *Chengjiu gongde jing* 成就功德經.

Figure 12: Stamp of monk Fuzhen, *Bukong* first page (part)

Inscription “十方普救禪寺常住住持嗣祖沙門 福真 記”

Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing 不空羅索心呪王經 [善本]: 三卷 National Library of China, (SB17968)

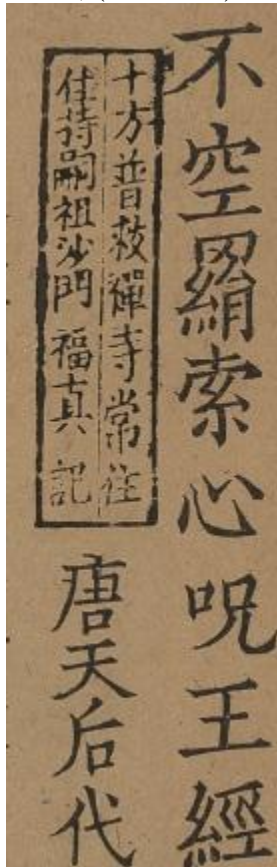


Figure 13: Bukong, frontispiece (part)

Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing 不空羼索心呪王經 [善本]: 三卷 National Library of China, (SB17968)



Figure 14: Image of Yang Lianzhenjia, *Bukong* frontispiece (part)

Inscription “Supervisor Master Yongfu” “總統永福大師”

Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing 不空羅索心呪王經 [善本]: 三卷 National Library of China, (SB17968)

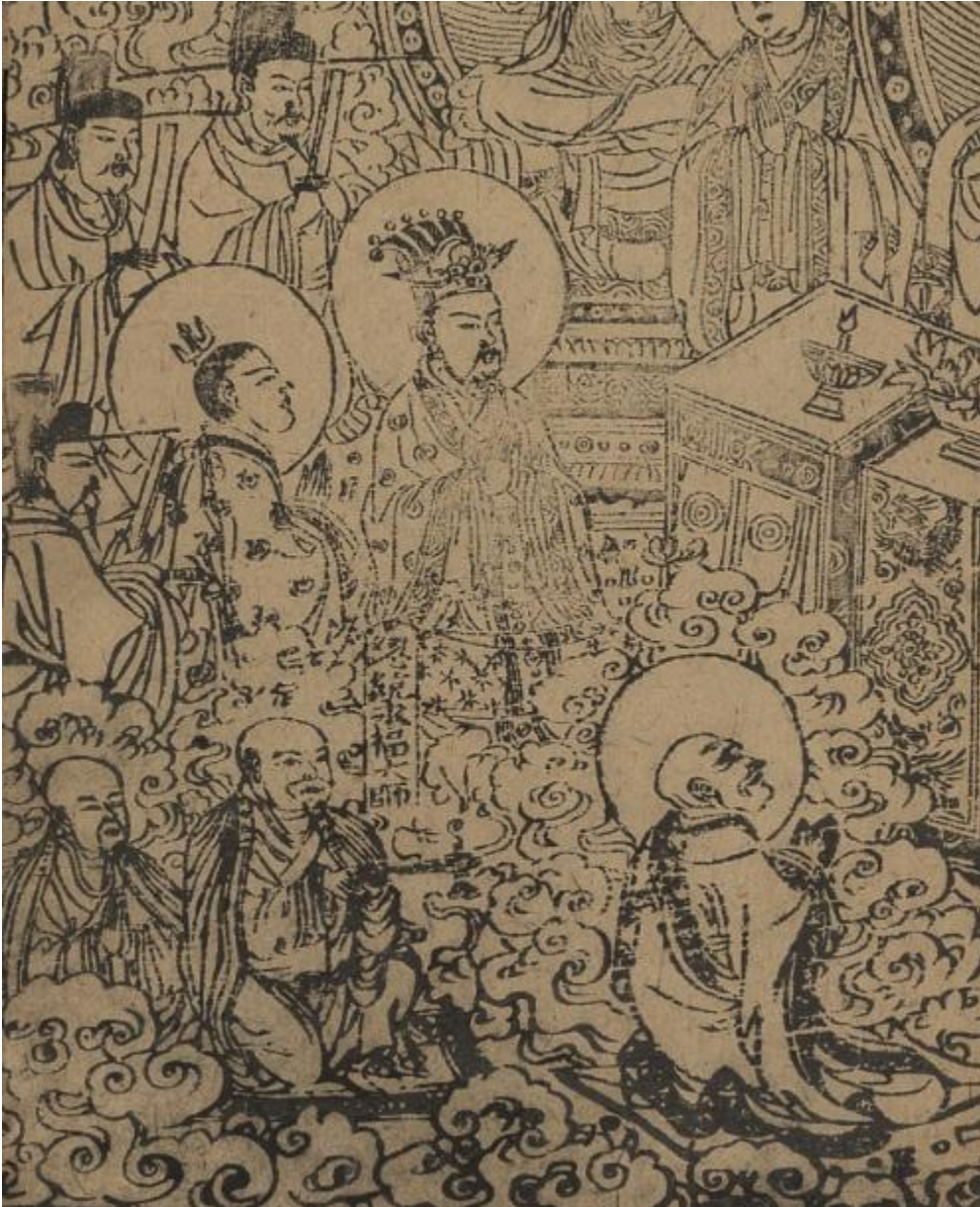


Figure 15: *Bukong*, last Page, colophon

Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing 不空羅索心呪王經 [善本]: 三卷 National Library of China, (SB17968)

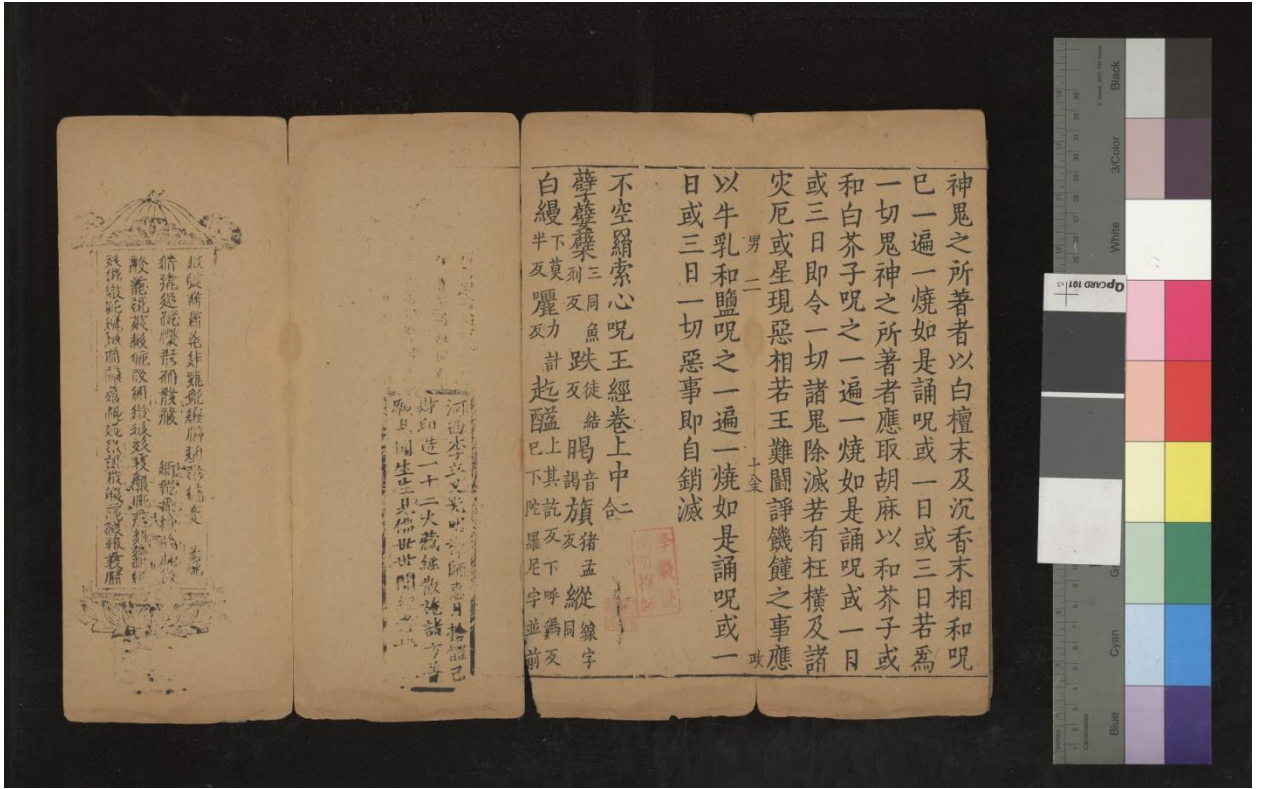


Figure 16: Stamp of Li Huiyue, *Bukong* last page (part)

Inscription “李徽胤 光明禪師”

Stamp of Beijing Library (today National Library of China), inscription “北京圖書館藏”
Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing 不空羅索心呪王經 [善本]: 三卷 National Library of China, (SB17968)



Figure 17: Stamp of Li Huiyue, *Bukong* colophon (part)

Inscription “河西李立义光明禪師惠月捨體己財印造一十二大藏經散施諸方普願見聞生生見佛世世聞經者□□”

Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing 不空絹索心呪王經 [善本]: 三卷 National Library of China, (SB17968)

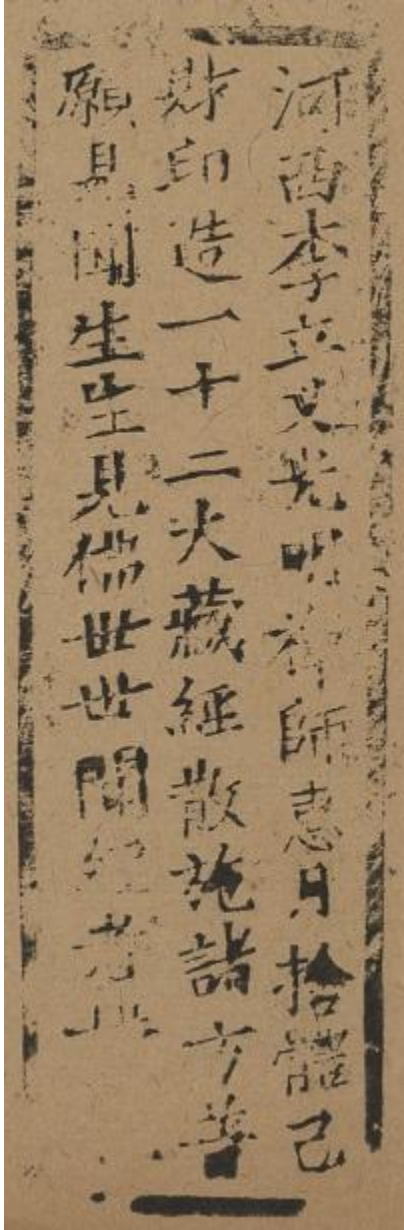
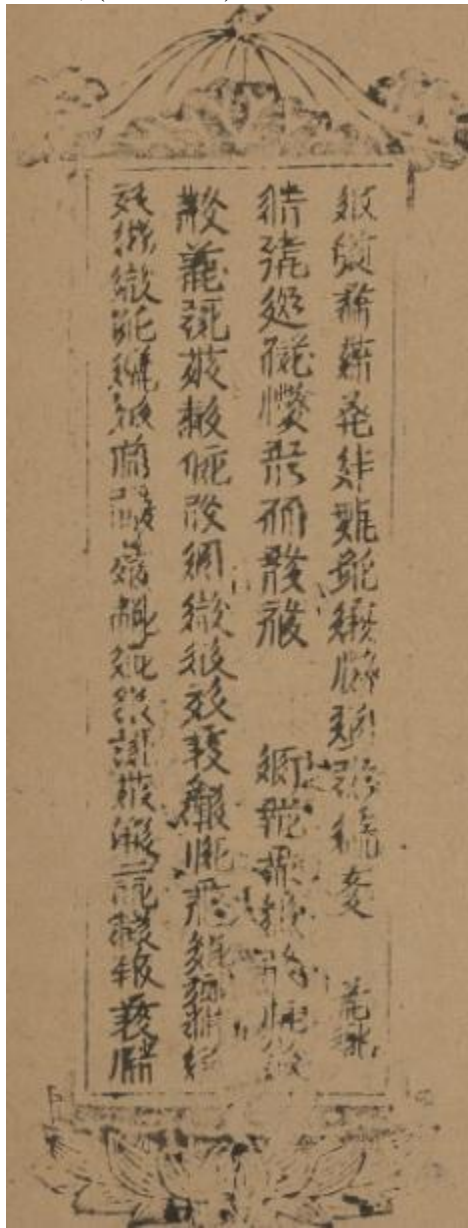


Figure 18: Stamp of Li Huiyue, *Bukong* colophon (part)

Inscription “*級須彌蘇卷卦難能綴燉翁瀛耀菱 龜胤 譜甯逸瀛燉韻循*
散殺 綃龍柔綴散桶嫩散龜瀝惹殺飽散綃嫩級茲殺報馱藝錦夔縑級茲
縑縑 能縑級帝體叢嫩縑級瀝惹嫩龍殺殺殺縑”

Bukong juansuo xinzhou wangjing 不空罽索心呪王經 [善本]: 三卷 National Library of China, (SB17968)



Chapter 4. Local Canon Patrons

Two donation colophons quote here:

“The Tripitaka Office of the Grand Puning Monastery of Nanshan in Hangzhou Route received, *Bhikkhu* Jingguan of Pujing Monastery of Wu Town of Yifeng Canton of Wucheng County in Huzhou Route, and cousin sister Quan Ershi *daogu* donated money to print, one volume of tripitaka. Merit repay for, deceased father Kao Tanyi *chengshi*, deceased mother Quan San *niangzi*, deceased father Quan Wusi *daogong*, deceased mother Zhong Shiwu *niangzi*, all accomplish the Buddhist fruition. -- Zhiyuan 19 (1282), fourth month, abbot Shi Ruyi signed.”³⁴¹

杭州路南山大普寧寺大藏經局伏承 湖州路烏程縣移風鄉烏鎮普靜寺比丘淨觀 同表妹全二十道姑施財刊開 大藏尊經一卷 功德報薦 考談一承事妣全氏三娘子 考全五四道公 妣鐘氏十五娘子 同登佛果 至元十九年四月 日 住山釋如一 題

“The Tripitaka Office received, Puguang Chan Chapel of Cishi creek of No. 39 *du* of Fengxian Canton of Jiaxing County in Jiaxing Route in the name of, the “disciple of three jewels” Cao Daoxun, donated rice 20 *shuo* to print, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 2 volumes. All the collected good causes, repay for, “four fields of grace and three states of existence,” assisting the completion of the way and the fruition. --Zhiyuan 16 (1279), fifth month, abbot Shi Dao’an, Nanshan Puning Monastery.”³⁴²

大藏經局伏承 嘉興路嘉興縣奉賢鄉三十九都刺史涇普光禪庵奉 三寶弟子堂主曹道詢 謹施米貳十碩助刊 大般若經貳卷 所集良因 報答 四恩三有 資扶道果圓成 至元十六年五月 日 南山普寧寺 住山釋道安

This chapter studies the relationship between the White Cloud sect and local patrons of the Puning canon print project. Most of the canon patrons were not members of the sect. Many of them are from rich households, but none have high official posts. They donated considerably little amount of property or cash to print few volumes of sūtras and print blocks, from half up to ten volumes. This is the retail business of the

³⁴¹ Puning #70. For the colophons of the Puning canon (hereafter as “Puning”), see 增上寺三大藏經目錄元版刊記, *Zōjōji shiryōshū: Bekkan* 增上寺史料集 別卷 Tokyo: Sojoji 1979-1984, PP717-44. *Sojoji sandaizokyo mokuroku kaisetsu* 增上寺三大藏經目錄解說 Tokyo: Daihonzan Sojoji PP28-37.

³⁴² Puning #149.

Puning Canon, besides its wholesale to big monasteries and tribute to the state and government. Based on the analysis of this large pool of local patrons, my research traces the White Cloud social network *bottom up*, showing the social foundation of the sect in the Hang-Jia-Hu region. The information of patron's names and donations we have today are from the colophon or appendix attached to the sūtra that they sponsored to print. There are information about sūtra donor's name, occupation, year of donation, family structure, native place, and sometimes affiliated monastery. We do not have biographical data of each individual. Geographically speaking, information about places are as detailed as below county level, including villages and towns, or even particular monasteries and cloisters. For the ethnic background of the donors, all lay donors are Chinese, so there is no Tangut. We also see large groups of female participants in the movement and sūtra printing projects.

Patronage as a social activity, is an exchange of meriteous or financial capital.³⁴³ Patronage are usually for merit or financial benefits, thus receive different consequences. Different kinds of lay patronage include those on Buddhist temple building, Buddhist canon printing, local property acquisition, local infrastructure building, etc. These lay patronage in the local society are different from state sponsored ones – they were locally driven and self-managed, so government support and management were not fundamental factors. My research of the canon's lay patrons shows the role cultural and religious identities, as well as social and financial statuses, played in determining the cause and consequences of patronage. The karmic merit *gongde* 功德 is the general goal of canon

³⁴³ Michael Walsh, *Sacred economies: Buddhist monasticism & territoriality in medieval China*, 2010.

patronage, as shown in the records of the donors' wishes. But I will investigate specific plea of the patrons when they made the donation to print the sūtra, in cultural discourse.

This chapter establishes a relational database of the canon patrons. I will investigate the data by applying the social network perspective. In the historiography of China's "Song-Yuan transitional period," the social network theory challenges the traditional approach of social history which heavily focused on the elite classes, gentries and big clans, based on the models of Hartwell (1982) and Hymes (1986). Many scholarly works of Song-Yuan regional studies focuses on the decentralization of the state in local society due to elite activism and localism, including those of literati and civil officials, but few of them touched the lay community (Smith and von Glahn, 2003). This chapter deals with the issue of localization that is demonstrated on the level of the laity. The purpose of adopting social network theory is to avoid the classification of social hierarchies into elite and non-elite. One person is not identical to just one social class, but different connections with different entities, thus belong to multiple social networks and statuses. There are multiple systems of relations, and the correlation of people overcomes spatial boundary.

I am interested in the population of the canon patrons and their social backgrounds. Who were these donors? Were they mostly individuals or families? What were their marriage statuses? Were most female donors widows or nuns? Had they taken Buddhist vows? Were they affiliated to Buddhist institutions such as cloisters or monasteries? If yes, private or government approved institutions? Some donors were not monastic Buddhist monks and nuns since they did not carry sangha names, but they were connected with monasteries. Were these monastic clergy still connected to their original

families and clans? What were their donation items and amounts? How did the expense of donations compare to their daily life costs and entire family properties? Also, what were the donating purposes of these lay patrons? How similar or different were these recorded wishes? Were the wishes influenced by only Buddhist teachings, or other ideology conceived by the contemporary socio-religious trend? In general, these lay patrons made the White Cloud sect's social print business as a social enterprise that lay patrons found a common ground to financially sponsor sūtras and share mutual interests on gaining Buddhist karmic merit and blessings for family members. Where were the reasons behind the creation and popularization of this enterprise by the local laity?

Regarding geography, the distribution of canon donors changes our view of the core-periphery model which situates the metropolis and its suburban areas. The market towns were more independent from the core city. These towns kept growing in the Yuan dynasty, especially the early Yuan dynasty. In the Hang-Jia-Hu subregion of the Jiangnan region, market towns were not only the agricultural hinterland of major administrative centers, but more grew as independent commercial producers and consumers. Well developed market towns had multiple ways to sell their agricultural produces and also had several links to import supplements in addition to efficient self-sufficiency. It is similar that Buddhist canon printing business in the White Cloud's Puning Monastery were able to attract sponsors and consumers from these market towns rather than big urban centers. Market towns were able to form many of their own networks, including religious, cultural, financial and kin, without the necessary connections with the regional city, and therefore were self-sufficient and mutually assisting. The case of the White Cloud canon printing project is one example of these intercrossed independent social

networks built by common people of market towns with mutual interests and collective devotions.

Religious devotions of the White Cloud followers and favorers in Hang-Jia-Hu subregion, were about the transfer of Buddhist karmic merit and the redemption of karmic debt, as shown in the Buddhist canon printing project. However, these lay people's socio-religious devotions transcended the boundary of Buddhism. They also donated for other local projects, including those of the White Cloud sect, Buddhism, Daoism, and popular religions. For example, in the fourth month of Yanyou 1 year (1314), the magistrate of Changxing 長興州 sponsored a reconstruction project of the Eastern Peak Mobile Palace 東岳行宮.³⁴⁴ A former White Cloud sect monk Zhengming 正明 served as the contractor, who collected donations and implemented the project. The lay donors list and affiliations are listed in the recto of the inscription. It includes many female donors whose names end with character *xiu* 秀.

Barend ter Haar's pioneering work on the local lay religious donations and related activities in the Jiangnan region during the Song-Yuan period (1100-1340) remains the only work on this topic in Western scholarship so far. He argues that the lay people chose from a variety of options to devote to the religious desire to gain merit, no matter their status of Buddhist ordination and vows. Their motivations are Buddhist-inspired but not limited to Buddhist teachings. He also studies the donors' lists of both the Qisha and Puning Canons. He summarizes that even though donors had stated concrete wishes, the

³⁴⁴ "Changxingzhou chongxiu Dongyue xinggong ji" 長興州重修東岳行宮記, *Wuxing xinshi ji* 吳興金石記 j.13, mentioned in Chapter 2.

prayers fell into the premade formula of typical Buddhist doctrinal terms.³⁴⁵ Common religious-inspired practice such as the restriction of the consumption of meat and liquor, recitation of Buddhist text or Amitabha's name, almsgiving and communal festivals, as well as donations to print Buddhist texts, all became trendy in the Jiangnan area, for people who did not necessarily chose the formal Buddhist lifestyle, but sought good merit for self and family members. As mentioned in previous chapters, these people consist of "vegetarians," "people of the way," were mostly commoners. They initiated unorthodox religious activities, and organized independent religious organizations such as the White Cloud sect and many private monasteries *si'an* 私庵 attached to it. This trend of local religious independence has increased in the Yuan period, as the continuous step from the Song period.

The source for this chapter - the donor's list of the Puning canon, was from the colophons of the Punin canon collections at Zojo-ji in Tokyo.³⁴⁶ Though it does not include all extant copies of the Puning canon sūtras, the Zojo-ji collection has over 300 entries of donors' information from the colophons. Thus it is sufficient to build a general picture of the donors' relationships, and their spatial distribution. These donors' information are the main data for my database, which include the donor's name, location, year, home monastery, donation amount, and specific wishes, often drafted in a formula and signed by the chief abbot of the Nanshan Puning Monastery who was also the chief supervisor of the canon printing project. As for the total numbers of the people who involved in the Puning Canon project, some scholars claimed to have the concrete

³⁴⁵ ter Haar 2001:148.

³⁴⁶ ter Haar 2001:141. Ogawa Kan'ichi and Chikusa Masaaki introduced the source, and had preliminary analyses on it, Ogawa 1969.

numbers of more than 1000 people editing, block cutting, and printing; almost 600 people donating 75000 to 90000 catties of rice, 100000 strings of cash, and 70000 ounces of silver.³⁴⁷ I am not able to trace these numbers. Therefore, this chapter is a case study of some canon patrons and their relations to the local development. Most colophons dated to the period of Zhiyuan 16 (1279) to Zhiyuan 26 (1289). They were signed by the succeeding chief abbots of the White Cloud sect's Puning Monastery in order, Dao'an 道安, Ruyi 如一, Ruzhi 如志, and Ruxian 如賢.

Donor and temple

Giving the fact that the Puning Canon was completed in only about 13 years from 1277 to 1289, it was the fastest completion of Buddhist canon printing in pre-modern Chinese history. Besides the Yuan government's permission, this is mainly relying on the efficiency of local collaborations of canon printing and financial patronage. The production of the completed canon copies were distributed in three ways: donation to the court and religious affairs offices, wholesale to official monasteries and non-local group buyers, and most importantly the local buyers. These local buyers often donated small amount of cash or properties, to sponsor the print of one or two volumes *juan* of sūtras or wood blocks of sūtras. They were in fact patrons who paid for the cost of printing the sūtra or block, but did not possess the copy. They had their names on the colophon. The named copy of the sūtra usually went for monastic collection, and the block was used multiple times for further printing.

³⁴⁷ Overmyer "Gendai Byakuun shumon no katsudo jotai" 元代白雲宗門の活動状態, 1958:635.

Barend ter Haar's research has divided the donors into three categories: monastic monks, activist donor, and ordinary donors.³⁴⁸ The difference between an activist donor and an ordinary donors is that the former had taken a formal vow. I disagree with this categorization because in many cases the titles such as the “faithful gentleman” *xinshi* 信士, the “disciple of Buddha” *fodizi* 佛弟子, and the “female disciple of Buddha” *nu fodizi* 女佛弟子 were only symbolic to be included in the formula of the donor's colophon. It did not necessarily refer to the fact whether the person has taken a vow or not. Plus these people cannot be generalized as “activist donors,” since the donation to a Buddhist sūtra cannot be a sign of their regular activeness in their socio-religious lives in the local society. In any case, this does not affect however the conclusion that there are more lay people than monks in the donors' list. According to ter Haar, the percentage of monk donors is only 22% in the Puning Canon project, and 40% in the Qisha Canon project. In fact, monks often received donations from local people and had the choice to list their names on the colophon. Sometimes we see the entry of monks received *huadao* 化到 donations from a lay person or groups of lay people.³⁴⁹ So most of the donors were lay people, with only few monks who actually donated their belongings.

As ter Haar noticed, there is the title *upasaka* (*youposai* 優婆塞) appeared in front of many donors' names. This title is more specifically referring to the people who had taken the Buddhist vow and kept the basic Buddhist teachings such as the Five Injunctions *wujie* 五戒. Ter Haar argues that though it had been used widely in the

³⁴⁸ ter Haar 2001:142 Monks usually have the title *Bhikkhu* *biqu* 比丘 or *seng* 僧 in front of their two character dharma names.

³⁴⁹ *huadao* 化到, see the example of Puning #122, 124, 130, 132.

Jiangnan region during the Song-Yuan period, an *upasaka* associated with a cloister in the Puning Canon donors' list is usually a White Cloud sect adherent. This claim is doubtful because in many cases there is no direct mention of the cloister's affiliation to the White Cloud sect. The person and institution that donated money to the White Cloud sect's canon printing project did not necessarily have to be a member of the sect. However, including those *upasakas*, they were the main active driven force of the donations for printing. These people are the same group of local activists that were labeled as "people of the way" *daomin* 道民 in the Song, or the "powerful local people of west Zhe region" 浙西地方豪民 called by Chikusa Masaaki. Indeed, many donors' names have the character the "way" *dao* 道, which indicates their name for religious identity rather than real given name. It is the same phenomenon of these people's names in the Southern Song period. Based on my criticism on Ter Haar's problematic categorization, these names were symbolic to be included in the formula of the donor's colophon." So it was not really obvious that these people were religious.

As for people's names in the donors' list, besides the obvious character *dao*, we notice that majority of people's given names are numbers. This is the special phenomenon of Chinese lay peoples' name, from the Song to the Ming period, with the Yuan as its peak time. This tradition is mostly popular in the Yuan Jiangnan region. None of the Western scholarship has studied this. According to the interpretation of Chinese scholarship, in the Yuan period, the Mongol government did not allow people from Chinese common households with common Chinese people below counties to hold formal names, so people adopted the Song tradition from the countryside that named their

children in numbers.³⁵⁰ Sometimes the number is the sum of parents' ages together, the generation of the child in the family, or just a random number the parents picked. The majority of the donors have number names, shows their lay background and not high social status in the Mongol ruled society. But this does not necessarily mean that these people of lower social status had limited influence exerted in the local society, especially small market towns and villages.

Some people have a Buddhist institution attached in their colophon, mostly temples *si* 寺 and chapels *an* 庵 or *antang* 庵堂.³⁵¹ Because there is no administrative records of these institutions about how it was built and managed. We do not know the information about their establishment and internal structure including members and beneficial affiliates. However, some colophons give the wishes to the deceased founding person of the institution, whose names appear to be those of lay people. We can see that these institutions were privately built and ran by private parties, sometimes owned by one family that the successors had the same family name. These institutions had social economic functions such as storing and trading grains, registering and managing farm land, collecting and banking cashes, and storage for other private properties. They often held land and population, as natural and labor resources. Once they built the connections with the White Cloud sect, they could enjoy tax exemption and became the shelter for those who tried to escape the *corvée* duties.

³⁵⁰ Wang Xiaoxin 王曉欣, 196; Wu Han 吳晗, *Songyuan yilai laobaixing de chenghu* 宋元以來老百姓的稱呼, 1959, Hong Jinfu 洪金富, *Shumuji renming shuo* 數目字人名說, 1987.

³⁵¹ There is one special case of members of a Daoist abbey made donations, and wished their deceased masters and family members to have a good treatment in the realm of Buddha. Puning #255. Not sure if this is a private abbey or an official one.

There are other reasons why these private local Buddhist institutions became popular in the region. Firstly, private religious institutions were more accessible than official ones since they were located in market towns and close to the worshippers' homes. So in terms of the distance, time and cost of travel, local private institutions were much easier to visit than the official ones. People could drop by during the break time of daily works and agricultural seasons. Secondly, the official monasteries might offer more complicated teachings of the doctrines, and practiced numerous rituals harder to understand. Thirdly, official institutions might have required higher amount of donations than did the small private ones which did not set limitation on the size of donations. Fourthly, local temples and cloisters provided more public space for local people to socialize and form a closed worship community. Finally, women had more freedom and room for religious activities in private institutions. They did not have to be segregated for worship and donations, unlike the orthodox rules in the official institutions..

In terms of women's status in the canon printing project as well as in the local society, the data from our donors' colophons show the high participation and mixture with female devotees in religious lives. They had devoted titles such as "female disciple of Buddha" 女佛弟子. Many of these lay women's given name is number add the word "lady" *niangzi* 娘子. There were both married and divorced women as the main donors. The more striking fact is that many female donors were the main donor rather than attached to male donors. We also see many cases of widows who donated and listed names of their children. This shows the financial independence of lay women in the region, and the high level of participation of women in religious activities. These women either practiced Buddhism at home, or attended local Buddhist institutions. Religious

practice of a household that dealing with monetary expenses was often entrusted to women rather than men.

In general, besides the people who had attached Buddhist institutions, some other donors were religious devotees who had Buddhist practice at home. In the donors' list, there is the term "stay and worship" *jufeng* 居奉, *zhufeng* 住奉, or *juzhufeng* 居住奉, added after their residence such as neighborhood and village. They were the *upasakas* who were identified as home Buddhist practitioners. These people were more family oriented, as reflected in their donation wishes that many of them wished good health and longevity for family members. In terms of family group or household structure, we see donors' names and their relatives of many generations. Some donor's statement included members of a Buddhist institution, and some were about their family. A layman's family members often were all lay people, with all number given names. No high official titles were included in these lay families. We could see clearly big families that many members of one family donated for different sūtras independently. One example is the big household of the Ding family 丁府 from the water town Wuzhen 烏鎮 of Wucheng county 烏程縣. Ding's title was the "disciple of Three Jewels" *sanbao dizi* 三寶弟子, shows his devotion to Buddhism. The family members who donated include 28 different names including Ding Bochun. Besides Ding, there are 12 different surnames. Most of them belong to the female family members. Three generations' names were all included, though some grandchildren were not particularly named but attached to the main donor.³⁵² Among the donors of the Ding family, we see Buddhist names including two character dharma names, names containing the character *dao*, and even a name contain

³⁵² Puning, #7-24

the character Buddha *fo* named Ding Folang 丁佛郎. Therefore, the wide range of family members' donations show the size of the Ding household, and its involvement in the canon printing project. As von Glahn pointed out, in the Jiangnan region during the Song-Yuan period, there emerged many big lay families who did not necessarily hold official positions but were successful in business and achieved influence in the local society by maintaining their big clans. Even some market towns and villages were named after the surnames of prominent families, such as Puyuan 濮院 the “yard of Pu” in Jiaxing prefecture.³⁵³

In summary, the composition of the donors indicates that the donors were mostly local lay people. Though ter Haar found in the list that there are also some high officials and people with *jinshi* degree, they were by no means the majority of the donation cohort.³⁵⁴ The lay donors were more independent in religious practice and social life even within a big family. Women also enjoyed high status in religious practice and had equal right to donate and sponsor the print same as the male activists, no matter they were married or widows. These people including the lay donors, and those monastic donors which many of them were from private Buddhist institutions, were the foundation of the printing project based in the local society. However, we cannot claim whether they had built a closed internal social network, until investigated their financial status, spatial distribution and relationships connected through wishes and prayers.

³⁵³ see von Glahn, 2003:203.

³⁵⁴ ter Haar 2001:144; there are also few official donors of religious affairs bureaus.

Donation

Usually people donated for printing half, one or two volumes *jingjuan* 經卷 of a sūtra, sometimes for making one or two print blocks *Jingban* 經板 instead. Some frugal and financially challenging individuals would donate to print only 1 page of a sūtra. The largest amount of lay patroned sūtras was one donation made by Ding Bochun of the Ding family who paid for 20 copies.³⁵⁵ The donation amount varies depending on the financial situation of the donor. A rich family's head usually donated more. A monk might donate slightly more, but the amounts were sometimes from the temple followers' donations not the monk themselves. In such case the followers' names were often mentioned after the monks. On the other hand, patronage on printing Buddhist sūtra is just one option of the lay activists' religious life. For example, they could pay for printing other Buddhist canons, or any local building projects. They could also pay for having some Buddhist monks to recite sūtras 誦經 or read sūtras 看經. Sometimes the merit accumulated through one time recitation could be equal to the sponsorship of printing one volume of a sūtra. We had limited information about the price charge of private Buddhist monks on sponsored sūtra recitation services ordered by lay people so it is hard to compare it with the cost of printing a sūtra copy.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ Puning, #16.

³⁵⁶ One example of sponsored sūtra reading and recitation would be in 1316, an Uighur official Yihei Mishi (Illemisi, Yihei Mishi, Ike Mese) 亦黑迷失 donated money for one hundred monasteries all over the Yuan empire to have monks recite sūtras once a month, for 100 *ding* of paper money per monastery. Jiang Wu. *Spreading Buddha's Word in East Asia*. 2016. P62. 亦黑迷失, "Yibai dasi kanjing ji" 一百大寺看經記, *Minzhong jinshi lue* 閩中金石略 j.17:13030. Yihei Mishi was also a fund raiser for the Qisha canon, Qisha P57.

The donation items and their amounts are often cash (paper currency *chao* 鈔), silver, or sometimes rice and silk 絹, or even clothes. As for the value of these items, one copy of a sūtra or a block costs about 10 to 25 *guan* 貫 of cash, or 10 *dan* 石 (or *shuo* 碩) of rice.³⁵⁷ Usually 1 *mu* 畝 of farm field produced 3 *dan* 石 of rice.³⁵⁸ Therefore, 10 *dan* of rice need at least 3 *mu* of fields. However, according to the early Yuan Huzhou census data (will be introduced in “location” section), normally one household had average only 1 *mu* of farm field 水田 with few exceptions that some households had up to 20 *mu*.³⁵⁹ Therefore, the cost for printing one volume of Buddhist sūtra was actually relatively high. Donation for sūtra printing even for only one volume, was quite an expensive conduct for the search of good merit, similar to the expense for lay sponsored local infrastructure building projects and religious holidays.

Sometimes people did not donate money directly to the Puning Monastery. Instead, they would make the offerings to the dealership, either a monk or a lay person, then in the latter’s name, the donation was transferred to the printing bureau of Puning Monastery 大藏經局. For example, a “people of the way” named Shen Daocong 沈道聰 appeared in three colophons, with the title Alms Collector *huazhu* 化主, had successfully collected donations for three volumes of sūtras in the sixth month of Zhiyuan 20 (1283). The donors were from eight different villages in Huzhou and Hangzhou.³⁶⁰ These lay donors donated for the printing of two, three or four pieces of paper, as well as half of a volume. Similar case can be found where monastic monks serve as sūtra dealers that

³⁵⁷ About the paper currency *baochao* 寶鈔 and *jiaochao* 交鈔, and their standard value, see YS:242-4.

³⁵⁸ Shiba 379.

³⁵⁹ Wang Xiaoxin 196.

³⁶⁰ Puning #206, 207, 208, 214

recruited people's donations. In four colophons, an abbot named Mao Daoxin 住持茅道信 from a chapel in Changxing county 長興縣 of Huzhou, received mainly rice donations from lay donors.³⁶¹ The low donation amount and the large pool of donors attracted by the dealers show their ability active in the region as the mediator of religious enterprise for collecting resources and building connection to match the needs of both lay people and the printing press.

Some exceptions include donations from clergy officials of religious affairs in the Jiangnan region and the White Cloud Sect General Overseer Office. For example, head of the Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings Master Yongfu 永福大師 Yang Lianzhenjia had sponsored the printing of sixty volumes, in Zhiyuan 16 (1279).³⁶² The Secretary to the Supervision Office's Commissioner 總統使所知書 Dong Jixiang 董吉祥 sponsored the printing of twenty volumes in Zhiyuan 25 (1288).³⁶³ The fact that most of the Puning canon's donations were small amounts is very different from those of the Qisha canon. The Qisha canon constantly received high amount of donations from both civil and clergy officials, and local monks. For example, monks at the Qisha Yansheng Monastery where the printing press was, donated rice from 24, 76, 96, to 116 *dan* per person.³⁶⁴ The abbot of the Qisha Monastery Zonghai 宗海 donated 20 *ding* 錠 of paper currency in Dade 10 (1306).³⁶⁵ Another monk Zhigai 志垓 donated 70 *ding* that

³⁶¹ Puning # 122, 124, 130, 132

³⁶² Puning #268

³⁶³ Puning #280, 281

³⁶⁴ Qisha #328, 329, For colophons of the Qisha canon (hereafter as "Qisha canon"), see "Eiin So sekisha zokyo bibatsu shu" 影印宋磧砂藏經尾跋集, *Nikka bukkyo kenkyukai nenpo I* 日華佛教研究會年報 1936, PP48-166.

³⁶⁵ Qisha #343

year.³⁶⁶ The Monastic Registrar of Songjiang prefecture Guanzhuba 管主八 donated 200 *ding* in 1306.³⁶⁷ The amount of sūtra produced from one time donation in the Qisha canon was also much higher. For example, a Monastic Registrar of Pingjiang Route Zhou Shanxiang 周善祥 donated for the print of 1,000 pieces of blocks in Dade 10 (1306).³⁶⁸ The heavy amount donation from official support in the Qisha canon contradicts the lay foundation and smaller donations made in the Puning canon.³⁶⁹ We know that only 1/5 of the donation to the Puning were recorded in the colophons. It could be because these amounts were remarkably bigger than the other 4/5, therefore more justified to be record.

Wish³⁷⁰

Ter Haar has divided the wish types to four categories: 1. Petitionary of healing and fortune; 2. Filial piety (often use the term “four fields of grace and three states of existence” *si'en sanyou* 四恩三有); 3. Rebirth in the pure land; 4. Others (mostly Buddhist, sometimes also political).³⁷¹ This categorization has many problems. It does not care about the objects of a wish (or, the beneficiaries), whether it was for self, relatives, monastic individual and community, deceased ones, or the state and the emperor. Also, healing and hope for health is distinct from the wishes for fortune.³⁷²

³⁶⁶ Qisha #344

³⁶⁷ Qisha #344, 562

³⁶⁸ Qisha #358

³⁶⁹ In Qisha canon colophons, there are also donations of farm land, see Qisha #69, 70.

³⁷⁰ There are very few exceptional cases of donations by clergy officials for the foundation and prosper of the state and the health of the emperor and religious leaders, are not discussed in this session. They were included in chapter 3.

³⁷¹ ter Haar 2001:145.

³⁷² ter Haar also argues that the White Cloud sect lay donors are closer to the monks, in comparing to the Qisha donors. Because it shows that there are fewer lay donors of the Puning canon have wishes of category #1 than those of the Qisha canon. Since this category is the least favorable one for monks, it

Si'en sanyou is not necessarily a term for respecting the seniors or filial piety. “Others” is very vague without any definition. In any case, surprisingly, the highest percentage is the wish that the deceased to be transcended and rebirth in the pure land 淨土 or the lotus realm 蓮界. Wishes for the donor self’s health and longevity is much less. This raises the question that whether the donation for sūtra printing is primarily for memorization of the deceased, or to be used in memorial services. The figures of the deceased include family members, and the past members of the home Buddhist institution that some were former abbots and religious teachers.³⁷³ Only very few of the wishes are for the living family members, and among them a small portion is for non-parents relatives such as siblings and children.³⁷⁴ Therefore, I argue that these sponsored sūtras of the Puning canon were intended to be used as a textual tool for the salvation 超度 of the dead through either used in the ritual at a temple or simply accomplishing the goal by storing the sūtra in the temple.

Ter Haar argues that the “social visibility” of canon printing donation as a charitable act was much lower than other acts such as bridge and monastery sponsorship, or involvement in rituals and festivals. Therefore, only the most involved local activists

shows the closeness of the Puning canon lay donors to the monks. I disagree on this, not only because of the problematic categorization and definition of category #1 “petitionary,” but also because of many of these monks were in fact lay people were “people of the way” who took dharma name or attended popular private temples with self entitled monastic status.

³⁷³ Some deceased male family members’ names followed 承事 and 將仕 which were lowest rank local official titles.

³⁷⁴ ter Haar argues that the reason why there were none wishes for self’s future rebirth in the pure land and few wishes for family members’ rebirth, are because it is considered inappropriate for the former, one could not openly ask for rebirth but had to gain merit through self devotion, and for the latter usually good merit could not be passed to others who were alive so as the living family members. There was no evidence supporting this argument. Ter Haar 2001:147.

would donate for this option of printing sponsorship.³⁷⁵ However, according to the fast completion of printing one copy of a sūtra, the donation for sūtra printing is the most efficient and approachable way to make good merit. There was no system of measurement to differentiate the merit or karma collected from printing sūtra and other kinds of religious activities. He also argues that there is no correlation between the donor's social background and the wishes, and between the intensity of the donor's personal attachment to Buddhism and the wishes.³⁷⁶ As for the second part argument, it is impossible to evaluate the intensity of someone's beliefs in Buddhism, even with all the information of his/her involved Buddhist activities. So it is of course hard to find out one's level of personal attachment to Buddhism just from one activity – sūtra donation. I support the first argument regarding the disconnection between the donor's social status and their wishes. Because these wishes listed in the colophons are casted to fit into certain formulas, so the wishes are basically similar except different personal names. However, these listed wishes are not the absolute purpose of the donation. In other words, the wishes do not necessarily show the purpose or the driving reason of the donation. For example, the colophons for donations from Wu town 烏鎮 of Wucheng County 烏程縣 in Huzhou, show simply the wishes as a Buddhist jargon phrase *si'en sanyou* but lack of any single wishes for deceased ones.³⁷⁷ So it is most likely that the colophon's formula made for Wu town's buyers is the same, or even the engraver of these colophons' blocks selling to the village are the same person.

³⁷⁵ ter Haar 2001:143-4.

³⁷⁶ ter Haar 2001:144.

³⁷⁷ Puning #25-34, 36-38.

As ter Haar noticed, monks and nuns were also enthusiastic about donating on behalf of their parents, whether alive or deceased.³⁷⁸ This phenomenon shows that these “monastic” devotees still maintained connections with their original families and served as a part of their kinship networks, sometimes even the most socially influential member of their family. For example, in Zhiyuan 26 (1289), a monk at the Puning Monastery named Chongli 崇禮 (might be a lay people too – 崇 appeared at others, surname missed) made wishes for his parents and relatives, and a “people of the way” affiliated to the monastery Xu Mingliang 本寺小道 徐明亮 made the wishes for his deceased mother and current family.³⁷⁹ This again shows that many White Cloud monks were in fact lay people who remained former kin identity and local status, and still attached to family affairs. Self designated monks and “people of the way” who took monastic vows were still part time monk and part time local activists. On the other hand, the popular ethic teachings borrowed from Confucian doctrines influenced the Buddhist monks’ responsibly of “filial piety” and its importance in Buddhist meritocratic system. For example, in a donation made by a “people of the way” Zhao Chongmeng 小道趙崇孟 who was printing the canon in Puning Monastery and the wishes addressed by a monk who worked in the monastery’s printing office Mingjian 僧明堅, for the deceased family members of Zhao, saying that “born in China, ... (mostly likely ‘learned’) the holy religion (Confucianism), also in memory of the parents, who worked extremely hard to have me born, so (I) wish to repay the deep debts.” 生處中華，。。聖教，又念父母，

³⁷⁸ ter Haar 2001:144-5.

³⁷⁹ Puning #287, 288. More examples of monks made wishes for family members, especially parents in 1289, see Puning #291, 292, 293. Not sure about the difference between 小道 and 僧, but they might be also related to lay Buddhists, or “people of the way.”

生我劬勞，欲報深恩。³⁸⁰ This sentence borrowed terms from Confucianism, and looks purely like a Confucian moral teaching if one views it without the context that it was actually in a Buddhist sūtra and written by a Buddhist monk (of the White Cloud's monastery).

All the wishes of the Puning canon donors are lack of any specific stories or background's about one's motivations, unlike some shown in the precise impressions from the donation colophons of the Qisha canon.³⁸¹ In Qisha canon, some donors would include the detailed story why he/she donated, and special personal needs such as answers from certain deities. Many of these wishes also were for the donor himself/herself, unlike those wishes for others shown in the Puning Canon. From this case, we can conclude that the Puning canon was more a commercial project than the Qisha canon. The Puning canon in the form of retail was the best sellers of private printed Buddhist canons in the Yuan period. The large scale of printed volumes and efficiency of production, determined that the blocks of printing were more certainly engraved as the premade formulas so it was less changeable. Larger population of donors and buyers also made the change of blocks to express more specific prayers in the paper more difficult, unless the donor agreed to pay higher amount of donation to have the special version made. Besides this, the much shorter period of the Puning printing project comparing to the Qisha project means faster mass production rather than producing special editions based on different requests of the sūtra orders.

³⁸⁰ Puning #278.

³⁸¹ ter Haar 2001:146.

There is no particular connection between the content of the sūtra they sponsored, with their wishes. Which means, the sūtra names do not indicate the wishes. The printed sūtras with donor's colophons included those of the Mahayana classic texts such as *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 大般若波羅蜜多經, sūtras of Chan and Huayan schools, some of the Yogacara school, mantras such as Sound-Contemplator Petitioning Sūtra 佛說六字神呪王經,³⁸² and some unusual Chinese sūtras such as Sūtra on Bathing Monks in the Bathhouse 佛說溫室洗浴眾僧經,³⁸³ and Sūtra on the Dragon King of the Sea 佛說海龍王經.³⁸⁴ Though not showing in the list, there should also have sūtras of medicine, and eminent monks' biographies, according to the index of contents of the Puning canon preserved in Japan.³⁸⁵ The option for printing which volume of sūtra was rather random, and the lay donors did not really care about the title and content of the sūtra they donated for whether the donors were literate. The canon press just picked sūtras to print in the order of the canon index, unless the donor had specific requirement for the choice of the sponsored sūtra. For example, all the donors' colophons from number 1 to number 170, were from 170 volumes of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (600 volumes total) in numeric order.³⁸⁶ Donors and their donations for this sūtra had no difference with those of other sūtras.

³⁸² Puning #225.

³⁸³ Puning #229.

³⁸⁴ Puning #239-42.

³⁸⁵ Index of the Puning Canon 杭州路餘杭縣白雲宗南山大普寧寺大藏經目錄, *Showa hoho so mokuroku* 大正新修昭和法寶總目錄 II, PP239-71.

³⁸⁶ Puning #1 is *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* volume 5, #170 is volume 596.

Location

All 320 donor's colophons include location information. They are the hometown (native place) of the donor, or affiliated religious institutions (monasteries or chapels), and in some cases also include their sojourning places.³⁸⁷ Some colophons are joint donation that include separate donor parties (unlike one donor with several associated usually family members), or different parties from several institutions or locations. So I separate these joint colophons, and eventually it comes up with a list of 337 location names, with many of them include religious institution names. Many location data are detailed to the level under county *xian* 縣, including village *cun* 村, (neighborhood) *du* 都, ward *fang* 坊, (court) *li* 里, town *zhen* 鎮, canton *xiang* 鄉, mansion *fu* 府, house *zhai* 宅, bridge *qiao* 橋, harbor *wu* 塢, and swamp *ze* 澤.³⁸⁸ As for the religious institutions listed, they are mostly monastery 寺 and chapel 庵, with few cloisters 院 and one Daoist palace / abbey 宮. As I mentioned, though they were not mentioned explicitly, many of these institutions were private. We can see from the names of abbots and deceased abbots that they were lay people. Even if the abbots have monastic names, they could be lay people who took monastic vow and remained connections with their lay family, as shown in their listed relatives from the wishes of donations.

From these locational data, a preliminary calculation of the numbers of donations on the county level shown as the follows:

Table 5: Distribution of the Puning canon local donors

³⁸⁷ One example of sojourning, Puning #151, a female devotee from Qiantang county of Hangzhou route lived in Jiaying county of Jiaying route. Two locations both listed in the colophon.

³⁸⁸ Many of them appeared in village names, as discussed later.

1. 杭州路 普寧寺 Puning Monastery, Hangzhou route	19	5. 杭州路 餘杭縣 Yuhang county, Hangzhou route	3	10. 湖州路 歸安縣 Gui'an county, Huzhou route	28	15. 嘉興路 崇德縣 Chongde county, Jiaxing route	14	19. 平江路 吳縣 Wu county, Pingjiang route	6
2. 杭州路 錢塘縣 Qiantang county, Hangzhou route	6	6. 湖州路 湖州府 Huzhou prefecture, Huzhou route	2	11. 湖州路 烏程縣 Wucheng county, Huzhou route	82	16. 嘉興路 海鹽縣 Haiyan county, Jiaxing route	4	20. 平江路 吳江縣 Wujiang county, Pingjiang route	15
3. 杭州路 仁和縣 Renhe county, Hangzhou route	4	7. 湖州路 安吉縣 Anji county, Huzhou route	5	12. 湖州路 武康縣 Wukang county, Huzhou route	11	17. 嘉興路 華亭縣 Huating county, Jiaxing route	2	21. 平江路 長洲縣 Changzhou county, Pingjiang route	3
杭州路 other, Hangzhou route ³⁸⁹	4	8. 湖州路 長興縣 Changxing county, ³⁹⁰ Huzhou route	13	13. 嘉興路 嘉興府 Jiaxing prefecture, Jiaxing route	4	嘉興路 other, Jiaxing route	1	陝西東路 京兆 Jingzhao prefecture, Shaanxi East route	1
4. 杭州路 鹽官縣 Yanguan county, Hangzhou route	1	9. 湖州路 德清縣 Deqing county, Huzhou route	20	14. 嘉興路 嘉興縣 Jiaxing county, Jiaxing route	85 ³⁹¹	18. 常州路 無錫縣 Wuxi county, Changzhou route	1	平陽路 Pingyang route	1

Total 335, plus location unclear 2

(Figure 19)

From the table, it shows that donations mainly concentrated in four routes of the Jiangnan region: Hangzhou 杭州, Huzhou 湖州, Jiaxing 嘉興, and Pingjiang 平江. There are two other single cases of donations from Shaanxi and Pingyang routes which were faraway locations. Among the four routes, Huzhou and Jiaxing had more donors than

³⁸⁹ 1 in Julisong of Tianzhu 天竺九里松, other 3 unclear.

³⁹⁰ Same as Changxing sub-prefecture 長興州.

³⁹¹ Include 2 from Qing town 青鎮 in Jiaxing 嘉興.

Hangzhou and Pingjiang. Hangzhou actually had lowest donation rates, if we exclude the 19 donations from the monks who worked for the canon printing project. Other few donors in Hangzhou route were monks from Qiantang and Renhe counties. None of the donors were from the city of Hangzhou 杭州府. Pingjiang was the second lowest, plus one donation from Wuxi county 無錫縣 of the neighboring Changzhou route 常州路. Also, for the most densely donor-concentrated Huzhou and Jiaxing routes, we can see strikingly the highest numbers of donations come from two counties - Wucheng county 烏程縣 in Huzhou and Jiaxing county 嘉興縣 in Jiaxing. They have almost same numbers of donations (there are 2 donations from Qing village 青鎮 in Jiaxing. Since it is the twin village with Wu town 烏鎮 only divided by a river, it can also be considered in Wu town in Huzhou), which are much higher than any other counties in the table.

Donations from Huzhou and Jiaxing were spread out throughout the Hang(zhou)-Jia(xing)-Hu(zhou) subregion, which is the plain area south of Lake Tai, north of Hangzhou city, west to the Tianmu mountain 天目山 range, and east to the alluvial plain of modern day Shanghai with the Grand Canal and Haiyan canal 海鹽塘 as its border. The subregion includes modern day east Huzhou, Jiaxing, and northeast Hangzhou. Therefore, spatially speaking the area is more enclosed with natural boundaries. It was more independently developed in spite of a part of Jiangnan. It was also the south most region that the Grand Canal runs till it reaches its destination in Hangzhou. This area is featured as populous, water rich, canal networks, agriculturally advanced (rice fields concentrated), economic type diverse, thus the most developed region in the Jiangnan area / lower Yangzi delta during the Song-Yuan period. Comparing to the wetland plain

east of Lake Tai in Pingjiang route which has many lakes and swamps, the Hang-Jia-Hu plain area has solid soil for farming and building towns.³⁹² The Qisha canon received donations from powerful families of maritime trade 濱海豪族, including Zhu Qing 朱清 and Zhang Xuan 張瑄.³⁹³ However, the Puning canon was not able to attract any of these big maritime families, even for those based in Jiaxing and Huzhou.³⁹⁴ This suggests that the print project of the Puning canon was more local based, short-term, supported by inland canal networks. The Qisha canon not only has attracted higher rank elites as donors, but also became popular as a long-term project thanks to the continuous maritime trade and ocean transportation routes for state tribute including grains and local products and produces that were shipped to capital Dadu (Beijing) through the canal.

As early as the Northern Song, several revolutionary changes took place in the Hang-Jia-Hu area, including immigration, farmland reclamation, and building canals based to handle floods and use water resource from Lake Tai and existing rivers and swamps.³⁹⁵ The network of waterway made it easy for the transportation of essential materials for printing industry, including timber, paper, and ink. Benefiting from the abundance of natural resources, and the urban development from Hangzhou with the Qiantang River system in the south and Suzhou and Yangzhou with Yangzi River system

³⁹² There are over hundred of lakes in Pingjiang route, the largest ones are Lake Dianshan 淀山湖, Lake Cheng 澄湖, and Lake Yangcheng 陽澄湖. It is saying that today there is 319 lakes in Suzhou area, besides Lake Tai.

³⁹³ Qisha P134. They were also government sponsored merchants *ortog* 斡脫. Many of them were salt merchants in Pingjiang route.

³⁹⁴ More information on maritime magnate families in Jiangnan, see Chen Bo 陳波, “Yandai haiyun yu binghai haozu” 元代海運與濱海豪族, *Qinghua yuanshi* 清華元史 2011:217. These magnate families are ruled under seven Chiliarcy Offices 千戶府 in southeast China under Ocean Route General Transportation Myriarchy Office 海道都漕運萬戶府, and Ocean Route Incense and Rice Chiliarcy Office 海道香莎糯米千戶所 in Pingjiang route 平江路.

³⁹⁵ Mark Elvin, *The Retreat of the Elephants: An Environmental History of China*, 2004.

in the north, the Hang-Jia-Hu subregion emerged as an agricultural hinterland. New lifestyles and social structure developed new culture and belief systems. In this hinterland, the knots of social network and sharing local resources are the newly developed market towns, and most of them were adjacent to canals. Shiba Yoshinobu and Richard von Glahn support the hypothesis that some market towns in Jiangnan emerged because of periodical religious fairs known as “temple markets” *miaoshi* 廟市.³⁹⁶ These temples and religious activities appeared prior to the formation of urbanized market towns.

(Figure 20)

The Hang-Jia-Hu plain subregion already emerged in the Song period, with socially active rich locals 地方豪民 and rich farmers 田地豪農 who were heavily involved in local projects, and many of who were religions related. Also, the subregion is the area that had higher concentration of religious devotees “people of the way” 道民 and activists including those who were labeled as “vegetarian devil worshippers” 吃菜事魔. This subregion covers the most territories that the White Cloud spread out and remained in the same spatial realm in the Song and Yuan periods. The boundaries remained stable but the intensity of religious devotee population and temple numbers of the White Cloud sect increased significantly.³⁹⁷ This brings us to the question why the sect did not spread out of this area or lose any area but remain in the same territory? Some possible reasons would be: 1. spatial competition with other religious groups and societies such as the White Lotus in Pingjiang route in the east of Lake Tai, and popular religions and deity

³⁹⁶ Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, 1970:156. Richard von Glahn, 2003:181-7.

³⁹⁷ In spite of the lack of the Song sources, we can see particular market towns which did not have many temples in the region have growing number of temples built in the Yuan dynasty, even those of the White Cloud sect. See von Glahn 2003:188-99.

worships in the south of Hangzhou; 2. rich culture of Buddhism in the region, especially different schools and prominent religious figures in the region, so as the clergy officials in the Yuan, were active in the neighboring metropolises; 3. devotees and members highly rely on the waterways in this region, for transportation, agriculture and canon print project; 4. high concentration of artisans and craftsmen in the region for temple building and canon printing; 5. close distance – water route accessible to nearby Nanshan Puning Monastery in north suburban Hangzhou.

In the case of Huzhou, commercial revolution and formation of new towns and villages in the Song caused needs for new forms of religious activities for spiritual attachments. Huzhou was the area that the White Cloud sect developed and became the most popularized, and also the first White Cloud abbot and canon print director in the Yuan dynasty Dao'an was from Huzhou so was the predecessor of the Puning canon - the Sixi canon previously printed there in the Song. Buddhism had come to Huzhou very early compared to the rest of Jiangnan. Huzhou's first temple was built in Gui'an county in 251 CE. There were several temples were built in the fourth and fifth centuries.³⁹⁸ Throughout the Tang, local magnate families already had the tradition of donating money, land and real estate property for monasteries.

Geographically, Huzhou is featured distinctly by two parts - east and west. The east part is lower plain with dense water resources thus more human inhabitation. The west part is terrain and part of the Tianmu Mountain range. The main water source in Huzhou is Tiao Creek 苕溪, which is also the source for Lake Tai. Two branches of Tiao Creek both originated for Tianmu mountain, and they merged around the city of Huzhou

³⁹⁸ Shiba 2012:371.

and together run into Lake Tai nearby in the north. The east branch 東苕溪 is in lowland that the section from Deqing county in the south to Huzhou city in the north became the natural border to divide the lowland of canals and water towns in the east and hilly area in the west. The lowland has much higher rate of land and water usage for agricultural farming and human settlements.³⁹⁹ The East Tiao Creek basin itself helped form the urbanization of Huzhou city and its four major counties near the creek: Wucheng 烏程, Gui'an 歸安, Deqing 德清, and Wukang 武康.

In the Yuan dynasty, Huzhou changed jurisdiction to be a route in Zhiyuan 13 (1276) soon following the Mongol conquest of Jiangnan. Under the route, there are six counties - Wucheng 烏程縣, Gui'an 歸安縣, Anji 安吉縣, Deqing 德清縣, Wukang 武康縣, and Changxing 長興縣.⁴⁰⁰ We see that donors of the Puning canon were from all six counties in Huzhou. Recently Chinese scholarship discovered in the recto of a set of Yuan printed books in Shanghai Library that there are the records of census in Yuan Huzhou route, including over 300 pages and contain information about 700 to 800 households in Huzhou. The information about the first 155 households in the first out of six volumes has been published.⁴⁰¹ This census was likely conducted in Zhiyuan 26 year (1289) but many data might be borrowed from the previous Song census in Xianchun 2 year (1266).⁴⁰² The published 155 households are located in four cantons of Anji country

³⁹⁹ Shiba 2012:378.

⁴⁰⁰ In the Yuan Jiangnan area, lower levels administrations under county 縣 were *xiang* 鄉, *guan* 管, *cun* 村, *du* 都, *li* 里, and *bao* 保. They mainly succeeded the Song system, with some merging and splitting such as *li* 里 combined to *du* 都.

⁴⁰¹ Wang Xiaoxin 王曉欣, and Zheng Xudong 鄭旭東, 2015(1) 103-97. The books are 5 scrolls *juan* 卷 and 6 volumes *ce* 冊. National Social Science Foundation project no. 13BZS033 “元公文紙印本《增修互注禮部韻略》紙背所存元代戶籍文書的整理與研究.”

⁴⁰² Wang Xiaoxin and Zheng Xudong, 2015:192.

安吉縣 - Fuyu 浮玉鄉, Fengting 鳳亭鄉, Yifeng 移風鄉, and Tongshan 銅山鄉, and one canton – Qianqiu 千秋鄉 of Deqing county 德清縣. Census data shows that all the households were non-elite lay people who did not hold official posts. They were divided to two categories: commoners *minhu* 民戶 and artisans *jianghu* 匠戶. These titles were same from the Song period. They had different types of occupations 營生, showing the variety of craftsmen and artisans in different fields of production. We cannot find one single match of an individual from the published 1/5 of the Huzhou census data with a donor in the Puning canon colophons. Because few donors came from Anji and Deqing counties. I have confidence that once the rest 4/5 of the census data are published, we can find matches of the household and donors in other counties that appear on the colophons. If that works out, we will be able to see the donor's personal and family properties, and evaluate the ratio of donation cost versus property.

Valerie Hansen and Shiba Yoshinobu have studied the case of Huzhou.⁴⁰³ In Hansen's *Changing God*, she studies deity worship and belief system of lay people in Song Huzhou, through the comparison of the east lowland area and the west hilly area. The west area was less developed in terms of agriculture and commerce, so lay people there still worship traditional deities in their temples. The east area that bounded with the canal networks was more developed in the Song period, in terms of population, transportation and regional economy. So people there worship new deities, some of who were deceased people who came from lower social status but carried divine power for blessing commercial activities. Thus, her research claims that the commercial revolution

⁴⁰³ Valerie Hansen 1990. Shiba Yoshinobu "The Development of the Satellite Towns in Huchow of the Sung Times" 宋代の湖州における鎮市の発展, 1975:225-38.

and environmental changes in the Song period accelerated and transformed the religious system and activities in the Jiangnan area.⁴⁰⁴ My data of the canon patrons confirms this trend. There are much less donors from west Huzhou terrain areas, such as Anji county and Changxing county, which were also the two exclusive counties out of six that were not in the East Tiao Creek branch basin. Lower per capital, weaker transportation system and natural disadvantages in the area blocks the development of local economy comparing to the east. So as for religious activities and lay people's capacity of financial supports for such religious projects became less feasible.

As mentioned above, Wucheng county has the highest rate of donations in Huzhou route. In Shiba Yoshinobu's study, he noticed some special phenomena of Wucheng county. For example, though Wucheng was very well developed in the region in terms of agriculture, economy, and urbanization, they had a surprisingly low rate of *jinshi* degree holders, comparing to Gui'an even to Wuxing and Deqing counties. This might refer to the high rate of illiteracy in Wucheng county. Also, local big clansmen's donations were concentrated on market towns and small villages rather than urbanized county seats.⁴⁰⁵ According to my theory of lay religious development in the area during the Song-Yuan period and the highest rate of canon donors was in Wucheng county, the main reason for the high religious devotion but low education and civil service devotion in Wucheng was due to the large rich lay population and their higher devotion in religion (Buddhism and popular religions), and thus higher popularity and density of religious institutions than education institutions and other civil organizations.

⁴⁰⁴ Hansen 1990.

⁴⁰⁵ Shiba 2012:387.

Comparing to Wucheng, not surprisingly Anji county had no single donations. The reason matches Hansen's study of less developed deity worships there, that is, underdeveloped local economy and less usable and accessible topographical conditions due to hilly terrain. I may add on that analysis that lack of usable water resources and ways to use the water caused the difficulty of shipping materials for commerce so as the commercial printing business of the Puning canon. There is the west branch of Tiao Creek, but the curvy routes, forest surrounded shores, elevation from the foothill, and distance to human settlements all created the least condition of water use and canal building as tributary from the creek.

The Yuan period witnessed the growth of market towns 市鎮, actually natural villages 自然村 in the region. The Song dynasty had enforced the system of *du* 都 and *li* 里 for local jurisdiction. We still found lots of location names in the donors' list contain *du* and *li*, which means that the names remained but the system of regulation decayed. In the Yuan dynasty, the government reestablished the system of cantons *xiang* 鄉 under county and organized the system of *she* 社 and *zhen* 鎮 under cantons. However, we see few location names including *she* and *zhen* which means that the de facto local governing system remained unchanged in the early Yuan, though the new jurisdiction had been enforced. The growth of market towns was an urban phenomenon.⁴⁰⁶ Many market towns could already be considered as small cities without walls.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ von Glahn 2003:196.

⁴⁰⁷ Shiba 2012:386, examples of market towns were actually size and function as cities, include Wudun 烏墩, Xinshi 新市, and Nanxun 南潯.

For the increased number of market towns, aka market villages, many of them has different names besides *cun* 村, including *xu* 墟, *pu* 浦, and *lin* 林.⁴⁰⁸ Some places which had names including *zhen* such as Wu town *Wuzhen* 烏鎮 were actually a newly emerged village, which was a market town as well. We can take Wucheng county as an example. In the Jiatai 嘉泰 period (1201-1204) of the Southern Song dynasty, there were 72 villages. By the late Ming dynasty in the Chongzhen 崇禎 period (1628-1644), there were 109 villages.⁴⁰⁹ So there were definitely an increase in the number of villages, so as the size of villages in the Yuan period. Looking at the donors list, the total of 82 donations in Wucheng county were concentrated on 6 cantons, Yifeng 移風, Zhenze 震澤, Changye 長樂, Chongxiao 崇孝, Dezheng 德政, and Yongxin 永新, and 15 villages.⁴¹⁰

There are cases that a canton or a village could fall under more than one county's jurisdiction spatially during the Song-Yuan transition, such as Wu town 烏鎮, Yifeng canton 移風鄉, Zhenze canton 震澤鄉, and Yongxin canton 永新鄉.⁴¹¹ Here I have a brief analysis on the case of Wu town 烏鎮. The town was extremely rich in water resource for canals and irrigation, and the Grand Canal ran through nearby in the south. Wu town was located in the crossroads of three routes, including Huzhou, Jiaxing and

⁴⁰⁸ Shiba 2012:391.

⁴⁰⁹ Shiba 2012:375-9. Chart 4 (Song village number) and 5 (Yuan village number). Also chart 6 shows the population growth in Huzhou during the Yuan period.

⁴¹⁰ Yongxin 永新 is a new canton in the Yuan.

⁴¹¹ Wu town 烏鎮 and Qing town 青鎮 belong to both Wucheng county, Huzhou route 湖州路烏程縣 and Jiaxing county, Jiaxing route 嘉興路嘉興縣; Yifeng Canton 移風鄉 belongs to both Wucheng county, Huzhou route 湖州路烏程縣 and Jiaxing county, Jiaxing route 嘉興路嘉興縣; Zhengze canton 震澤鄉 belongs to both Wucheng county, Huzhou route 湖州路烏程縣 and Wujiang county, Pingjiang route 平江路吳江縣; Yongxin canton 永新鄉 belongs to both Chongde county, Jiaxing route 嘉興路崇德縣 and Wucheng county, Huzhou route 湖州路烏程縣.

Pingjiang, and two counties Wucheng and Jiaxing. The town was in fact a twin city, which was divided by a river. The east part is Qingdun 青墩 belong to Jiaxing route, and the west part is Wudun 烏墩 belong to Huzhou route. Sometimes they together were called town of Wuqing 烏青. Wudun is more developed and populous, so sometimes Wu town only refers to the town of Wudun. Its strategically important location and adequacy of agricultural and water resources accelerated its development as a newly emerged market town in the Song-Yuan period. In the donors' list, Wu town had one of the highest local level donation rate, and there were 9 temples mentioned as the donors' affiliated Buddhist institutions.⁴¹² As Richard von Glahn had studied before, Wu town's status raised as a local prominent village, was after the building of temples. It marked the level of civil cooperation and closed ties with neighboring towns.⁴¹³ These temples were not limited to those of the three religions, but also shrines and temples of local deities and traditional gods such as earth god 土地公 and city god 城隍. Overall, economic advancement and urban growth in Wu town during the Song-Yuan period due to its rich environmental resources and location, influenced mutually with its religious popularization and diversity. Thus, Wu town homed one of the largest congregations of religious activists who had both devotional desire and financial capacity to sponsor the sūtra prints.

(Figure 21)

⁴¹² 9 temples are Pujing Monastery 普靜寺, Guangfu Monastery 廣福寺, Futian Monastery 福田寺, Ciyun Monastery 慈雲寺, Tongji Chapel 通濟庵, Zhucheng Chapel 囑成庵, Shi? Chapel 施□庵, Puji Chapel 溥濟庵, and You? Chapel 佑□庵. Richard von Glahn studies Pujing Monastery 普靜寺, also named Yongfu Monastery 永福寺, which was the largest monastery in Wu town. von Glahn 2003:196-7.

⁴¹³ von Glahn 2003:196.

Conclusion

My research shows the social background and spatial distribution of local lay people in Puning Buddhist canon printing sponsorship. Their participation desires and donation amounts were closely connected with the growth of economy and religions in the local Jiangnan society during the Song and Yuan periods. Local activism of the laity on religious affairs was prospering before and after the White Cloud was designated as an official religious sect, in the early Yuan period. The White Cloud sect received government support as shown in Chapter 3, but its lay foundation based on the existing regional social networks was self sufficient, mutual aided, and local driven. The social network of the Puning canon donors included middle and lower classes, and covers entirely and exclusively the Hang-Jia-Hu subregion. The donors include both gender, all marriage status, different family size, and with and without monastic devotion. Donation wishes vary but highly concentrate on memorial for the deceased and their rebirth, which were influenced by both Confucian and Buddhist teachings especially filial piety and pure land. The cost of sponsoring the sūtra print was affordable and moderate, and the speedy completion feature promised the higher preference of this canon print project in comparison to other religious merit gaining projects in the local society. Overall, the connections between the Puning canon's retail business and the local society of the Hang-Jia-Hu subregion shows the collaborative closeness and mutual benefits of the White Cloud sect and its Puning canon print press to the local lay people's daily lives and spiritual needs.

Overall, the connections between the Puning canon's retail business and the local society of the Hang-Jia-Hu subregion shows the collaborative closeness and mutual

benefits of the White Cloud sect and its Puning canon print press to the local lay people's daily lives and spiritual needs. As Song historians suggested, the accessibility to the sacredness and spiritual benefits, unmediated by religious specialists, by ordinary people had remarkably increased since the Song dynasty.⁴¹⁴ In other words, local lay population became more independent in the pursuit of religious advantages that apart from the official regulations and monastic restrictions. The enterprise of the Puning canon printing through lay donation was a way for the White Cloud to compete with other sects and religions, who were also trying to offer people efficient ways to access the sacred world such as the White Lotus sect's doctrinal promotion of Maitreyist and millenarian teachings. In Hang-Jia-Hu plain subregion, though lay people were not necessarily members of the White Cloud sect, the sect itself became a monopoly in the business of money for salvation, at least shown in the data from these donation to the White Cloud-administered Puning canon printing project. This adds on the sect's successful business of money for protection and duty exemption, as demonstrated in Chapter 2.

⁴¹⁴ Hansen 1990, Hymes 1986, von Glahn 2003, 2004, Ebrey and Gregory, *Religion and Society in Tang and Sung China*, 1993.

Figure 19: Distribution of the Puning canon local donors

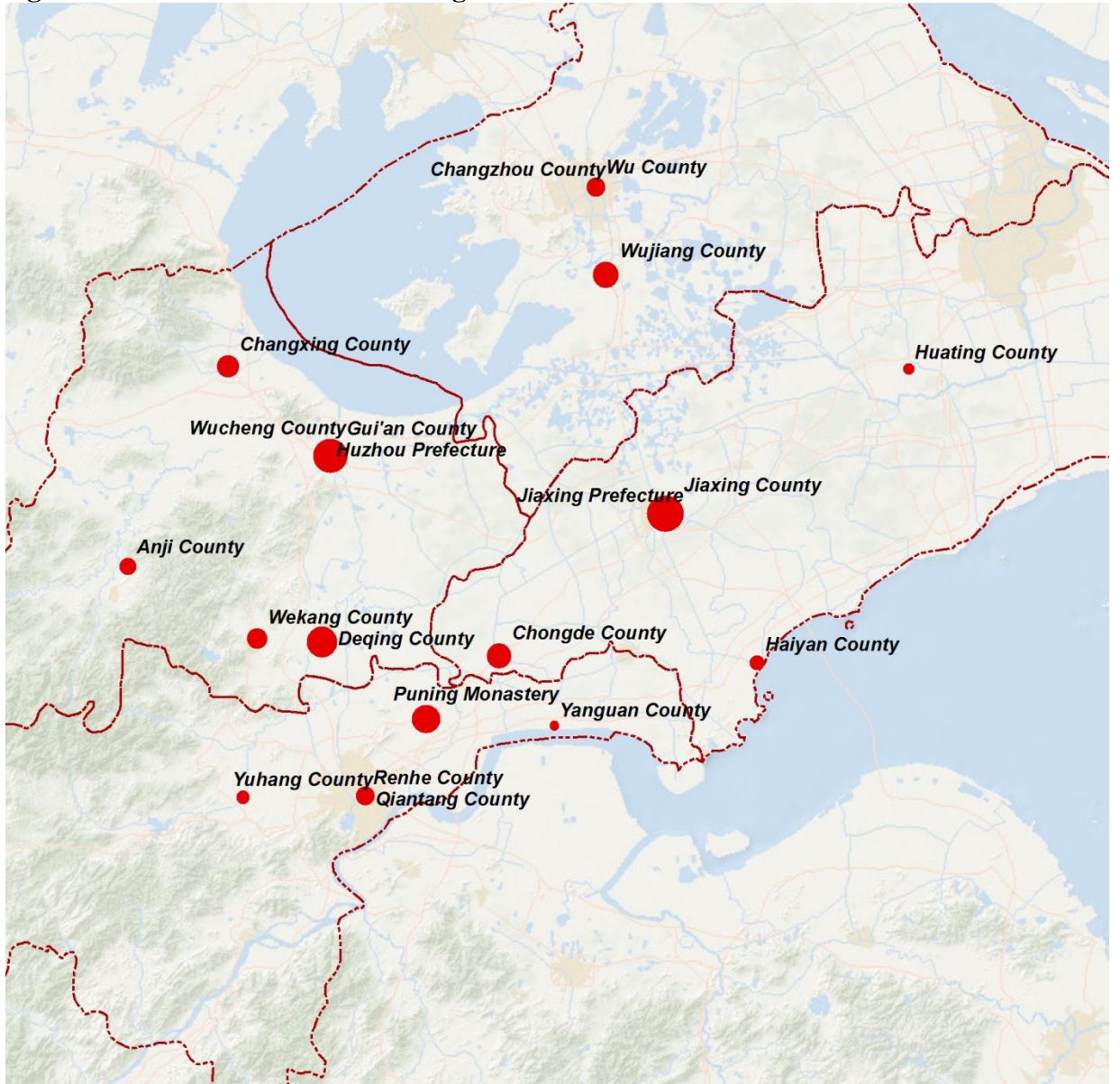


Figure 20: The Hang-Jia-Hu Subregion



Figure 21: Wu town *Wuzhen* 烏鎮



PART III: The Mix of the “Three Teachings”

Chapter 5. *Being a Gentleman of the Three Teachings: The Writings of the “White Cloud Monk”*

The Theory of the Three Teachings, their meanings are the same.
Confucian teaching is about benevolence, loyalty, ceremony, wisdom, and honesty.

It is for faith and piety to emperor and father.

Buddhist teaching is about compassion and saving those who are suffering.
It is for educating people who are trapped.

Daoist teaching is about peace and quiet.

It is for forgoing greed and avarice.

Kong Qingjue, *Zhengxing ji*.⁴¹⁵

三教之說。其義一同。

儒教。則仁義禮智信。歸於忠孝君父焉。

釋教。則慈悲救苦。歸於化誘群迷焉。

道教。則寂默恬澹。歸於無貪無愛焉。

Also being a gentleman is no different from being Buddhist and is similar to the Daoist way.

In eliminating evil and following the good, (they are) all as one.

Kong Qingjue, *Zhengxing ji*.⁴¹⁶

悃結孃孃，蕞駁茲慨視，絀禡茲龍龍。絀隹孃孃，鹿羽歸羽。

The alleged founder of the White Cloud movement, Kong Qingjue, or the so-called “White Cloud monk” 白雲和尚, has written several short essays some of which are extant. Analysis of these texts reinforces the argument that the White Cloud movement was not a Buddhist school. The White Cloud monk’s teaching was a mix of concepts borrowed from Buddhism, Daoism and Confucianism. The so-called mix of the “Three Teachings” was a popular trend in local lay belief system in the Song-Yuan

⁴¹⁵ *Zhengxing ji* 正行集, Chinese version, *Xuzang jign* 續藏經, 112: 444b. 1.7-2.1; CBETA 63, No.1254.

⁴¹⁶ *Zhengxing ji*, Tangut version, *Ecang heishuicheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻 vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999, PP195-200.

period. In his writings, Kong praises the good ethics of being a gentleman and provides simple path for people to follow in order to become morally superior. In this chapter, I introduce all the extant texts authored Kong Qingjue, the White Cloud monk, or the White Cloud Buddhist, both in Chinese and Tangut. I hope to reconstruct the essential teachings of Kong, and the central philosophy of the White Cloud sect. I argue that the White Cloud sect had no overriding philosophical motives, as shown in Kong's scattered doctrines.

The Puning canon includes two works of Kong Qingjue. They are *Zhengxing ji* 正行集 “Collection of Virtuous Acts” and *Chuxue ji* 初學記 “Record for Apprentice.”⁴¹⁷ *Zhengxing ji* is a short guidebook that uses simple language and aphorisms (in poetic forms) to educate laymen to become better people according to the three teachings of Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism. *Chuxue ji* is a short guidebook for Buddhist beginners to achieve enlightenment and advance through different stages. Although current versions of these two books are from the Puning canon. They were added into the canon in Huangqing 1 (1312) based on an imperial edict which took place over 150 years after the death of Kong Qingjue.⁴¹⁸ Overmyer argues that they are authentic works of Kong.⁴¹⁹ I agree on their authenticity, based on their contents and commentary and on their official sanction in the Puning canon.

Today in the Kara Khoto collection at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM) in St. Petersburg, there is a Tangut script manuscript which is a translation of *Zhengxing*

⁴¹⁷ Overmyer translated the titles as *Zhengxing ji* “Collected Teachings on Right Conduct” and *Chuxue ji* “A Record of Buddhist Teachings for Those Beginning Their Studies,” Overmyer 1982:625.

⁴¹⁸ The “vow statement” 發願文 of Shen Mingren 沈明仁 in Huangqing 2 (1313), in the colophon attached to *Zhengxing ji* (Puning canon). Part of it was also quoted in the beginning of Chapter 3.

⁴¹⁹ Overmyer 1982:625.

ji 𐰇𐰏𐰣𐰚 . It has been deciphered recently by Sun Bojun.⁴²⁰ Since the last page of this copy is missing a large portion where a colophon containing information on the original Chinese copy might have been, we do not know whether the text should be dated to Xi Xia or Yuan. This manuscript is a part of the Tangut script collection at IOM that was found in Kara Khoto by Russian explorer Pyotr Kozlov (1863-1935 CE) from 1908 to 1914. Manuscripts therein have been dated to both Xi Xia and Yuan periods, from the late twelfth century on. My research suggests that this Tangut script *Zhengxing ji* was printed around the mid Yuan period, after *Zhengxing ji* and *Chuxue ji* were included in the Puning canon. It was during the same time that Guanzhuba sponsored the printing of Tangut script Hexi Canon in Hangzhou. So it was at the peak of new Tangut literature production in the Yuan dynasty. This *Zhengxing ji* may have been included in the Hangzhou version of the Hexi canon. We do not have the table of contents of the Hexi canon, but it would not be surprising if it were closely related to the Puning canon. The Hexi canon was meant to be distributed to the former Xi Xia territory, including Kara Khoto. This it explains why the manuscript was found in Kara Khoto. My argument thus suggests that the White Cloud movement in the Southern Song dynasty never spread to Xi Xia (in fact never left Jiangnan) and so too Kong Qingjue's teaching for the development of Tangut Buddhism. It confronts Kirill Solonin's recent hypothesis that the White Cloud sect had profound influence on Buddhism in Xi Xia. The Tanguts became interested in the White Cloud sect, only after their diaspora monks relocated to the Jiangnan region and made connections with the sect's local activists. (The Mongols

⁴²⁰ Sun Bojun 孫伯君, "Xixiawen Zhengxing ji kaoshi" 西夏文《正行集》考釋, *Ningxia shehui kexue* 寧夏社會科學 2011.1 PP87-94.

became interested in the White Cloud sect, was first from the sect leader Dao'an's petition in imperial audience with Khubilai Khan.)

According to the biographic information of Kong Qingjue, there are some other works written by him. But these essays were all lost, including "Discourse on Verifying the Fundamentals" *Zhengzong lun* 證宗論, "Compilation of Three Teachings" *Sanjiao bian* 三教編, and "Song of Ten Stages" *Shidi ge* 十地歌.⁴²¹ From these titles, we can speculate that: *Zhengzong lun* might be the discussion (*lun*) about legitimizing the White Cloud sect's teaching and practice, while criticizing the Chan School.⁴²² *Sanjiao bian* might be a collective compendium of the "Three Teachings" - Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. *Shidi ge* might be a poetic song that reciting key concepts of the ten stages of Huayan Buddhism, which had been borrowed by Kong Qingjue in his teachings, as shown in *Chuxue ji*.

In extant Tangut documents, we find that four Tangut documents, including three religious texts and one image, are authored or contain information about a White Cloud Buddhist (*Baiyun shizi* 白雲釋子, 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏), or a White Cloud Master (*Baiyun dashi* 白雲大師, 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏). These texts are "Compiled Essay on Reflective Words of Three Generations" (*Sandai shuming yanwen ji* 三代相照言文集, 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏) by Monks Huizhao 慧照 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏 and Daohui 道慧 𐰇𐰏 𐰇𐰏, "Key Essay on Three Reflections

⁴²¹ Overmyer translated the titles as "Discourse on Verifying the Fundamentals," "A Compilation of the Three Teachings," and "Songs of the Ten Stages of Bodhisattvic Attainment." "Song of Ten Stages" *Shidi ge* 十地歌, might be another title of *Chuxue ji*. Because the main content of the latter talks about the ten stages. Overmyer 1982:625.

⁴²² One might suspect that *zong* might refer to Zong Mi (784-841), a Buddhist master in Northern China, whose idea has influenced Buddhist theoretical development in the Song, Liao, Jin, and Xia, and afterwards the Yuan as well. Solonin 1998; Mario Poceski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way: the Hongzhou School and the Growth of Chan Buddhism*, 2007.

and Nine Entries” (*Sanguan jiumen xuansuo wen* 三觀九門旋鎖文, 𐺗𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘) by the White Cloud Buddhist, and “Treatise of Dharmic Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth” (*Qiusheng jingtu fayao lun* 求生淨土法要論, 𐺗𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘) by State Preceptor Jizhao 寂照國師 𐺗𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓. There is also an image mentioned by the White Cloud Buddhist in the illustration of the “Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Chan Gate that Transmits the Mind Ground in China” (*Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖, 𐺗𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘) by Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780-841). In the third section of this chapter, I will discuss the features of these works. I argue that these Tangut texts are not related to Kong Qingjue at all, but it is possible that they are connected to or from the Hexi canon and the printing business of the White Cloud sect in the Yuan. Sun Bojun not only claims that these works were translated and printed into the Hexi canon in Yuan Hangzhou, but also that the White Cloud Buddhist and White Cloud Master was none other than Kong Qingjue.⁴²³ Kirill Solonin completely disagrees with this argument and goes further to claim that these works belong to the Xi Xia period. He also argues for the inevitable influence of Liao Buddhism on these Tangut texts, especially the Huayan and Chan schools.⁴²⁴ Overall, in this chapter, I shall follow up the current academic debate, translate these texts from Tangut to English, and decipher them as to trace their meanings and provenance.

⁴²³ Sun Bojun, 2011.2:146-157.

⁴²⁴ Kirill Solonin 索羅寧, “The ‘Perfect Teaching’ and Liao Sources of Tangut Chan Buddhism: A Study of *Jiexing zhaoxin tu*”; “Hongzhou Buddhism in Xixia and the Heritage of Zongmi (780-841): A Tangut Source”; “Yixing Huijue jiqi Dafang guangfo Huayan jing haiyin daochang shichong xingyuan changbianli chanyi” 一行慧覺及其《大方廣佛華嚴經海印道場十重行願常遍禮懺儀》; “Xixia fojiao zhi xitongxing chutan” 西夏佛教之系統性初探.

“Collection of Virtuous Acts” 𐰽𐰺𐰍 *Zhengxing ji* 正行集

The text in question in the Russian IOM collection ИHB. No.146, 𐰽𐰺𐰍 (Tangut: *tshja dzji siŋ*) is the Tangut translation of Kong Qingjue’s “Collection of Virtuous Acts” *Zhengxing ji* 正行集.⁴²⁵ It is movable type print and butterfly-style binding, which suggest the possible connection with Buddhist canons printed in Yuan Hangzhou. Overmyer, who has made a preliminary study of the Chinese version, claims that *Zhengxing ji* is “devoted entirely to an ethical exhortation along Confucian lines” with few Buddhist terms.⁴²⁶ It discusses the correct conduct of a gentleman *junzi* 君子 𐰽𐰺 (Tangut: *gor kiej*) and how one should pursue becoming a gentleman. It mixes the “three teachings,” and quotes many terms from Confucian classics. Solonin suggests that *Zhengxing ji* can be in the category of “kindness persuasion” 勸善 aphoristic literature from the Song to Yuan period, including Liao, Jin, and Xi Xia.⁴²⁷ Here I compare the Tangut and Chinese version. The Chinese version is from the Puning canon, as mentioned in Chapter 3. The Tangut version is shorter and more abbreviated. It is unclear whether the Tangut author made the text brief when translating it or if he translated the text based on a different Chinese version shorter than the one in the Puning canon. Sun

⁴²⁵ There are two different texts that have the same Tangut name 𐰽𐰺𐰍. Each one has several extant versions. The first one is Kong Qingjue’s *Zhengxing ji*; for this there are ИHB. No.146 (乙本 Nishida, movable type print) and ИHB. No. 7579 (丙本 Nishida). The second is by a Xi Xia period Tangut court scholar 曹道樂’s *Dexing ji* 德行集; for this there are ИHB. No.799 (甲本 Nishida, movable type print), ИHB. No.4930 (甲本 Nishida, movable type print, exactly same as ИHB. No.799) and ИHB. No.3947 (甲本 Nishida). Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, *Seika Ōkoku no gengo to bunka* 西夏王國の言語と文化, 1997, P375-6; Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音, *Xixiawen Dexing ji yanjiu* 西夏文德行集研究, PP2-4; Shi Jinbo and Yasen Wushou’er, 2000 PP42-3; Sun Bojun, 2011:206.

⁴²⁶ Overmyer 1982:629.

⁴²⁷ Kirill Solonin, “Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan” 白雲釋子《三觀九門》初探, *Xixiaxue* 西夏學 2011(8):20.

Bojun first discovered the Tangut version and translated it to Chinese. But her translation contains errors, and she has mistakenly read some Tangut characters which led to misunderstanding. Here I offer a more precise text transcription from the original document's image, and provide a more coherent and detailed translation on the Tangut version. I give an English translation to the Tangut version but not to the Chinese version. The text follows the order of the Tangut version. As for Chinese, the italic texts are the duplicate of displaced text. Without the italic duplicates, the Chinese text is in its original order.

(Figures 22-28)

Collection of Virtuous Acts

纒 𣪠 𣪡 正行集

。 。 。 纒 𣪠 𣪡 。 纒 𣪠 。 。 。 𣪡 𣪢 𣪣 𣪤 。 ⁴²⁸ (Part of Tangut text missing.)
 not connected to, lonely to, gain name according to acts.
 凡君子者。不在乎貴。不在乎賤。不在乎貧。不在乎富。唯在乎行也。 ⁴²⁹

𣪥 。 。 。 𣪦 。 𣪧 𣪨 𣪩 。 𣪪 。 。 。 (Part of Tangut text missing.)
 Gentleman..... firm, righteous like pine, (like) water.....
 君子之體。德行以成之。 ⁴³⁰孝敬以加之。故其廣固貞淨。世莫得焉。其廣也如海。
 其固也如山。其貞也如松。其淨也如水。

𣪫 𣪬 。 。 。 。 𣪭 ， 𣪮 𣪯 𣪰 𣪱 。 (Part of Tangut text missing.)
 When it declines..... pure, also be able to hide treasury pearls.
 如海之廣者。深不可量。闊不可測。減之不降。添之不盈。渾之不能使其濁。穢之不能改其清。亦乃隱於珠懷其寶。

𣪲 𣪳 𣪴 𣪵 。 𣪶 𣪷 𣪸 𣪹 。 ⁴³¹

⁴²⁸ 𣪠 unclear.

⁴²⁹ Overmyer translation: "The superior man is not concerned with social position or wealth, but only with his conduct." Overmyer 1982:629.

⁴³⁰ Overmyer translation: "The deportment of the gentleman is completed by putting virtue into action." Overmyer 1982:629.

⁴³¹ 𣪲 𣪳 unclear.

No edge and no territory (limit), all included.
浩渺廓落。無不納焉。

(Tangut version see later.)

如山之固者。高而不危。久而不朽。移之不動。搖之不傾。(displacement 1)

(No Tangut text)

幽靜不能使其絕。塵埃不能合其有。亦乃隱於賢藏於仙。崎嶇曠邈。無不產焉。

(Tangut version see later.)

如松之貞者。榮枯莫知。蒼翠長在。霜雪不能令其凋。(displacement 2)

(Tangut version see later.)

冬夏不能變其色。如水之淨者。濟渭各色。平澹自然。鑑物不能遁其形。潤澤不能踰其利。

(displacement 3)

婦孺嬾。級駭娣婦。醜婦慨叢。⁴³²

Gentleman, magnanimous with great intelligence, does not cherish wealth.

凡君子者。寬宏大量。高識遠見。⁴³³

駭叢嬾婦。穢婦駭叢。駭叢慨叢。穢婦嬾婦。⁴³⁴

When prosper no disaster, righteous character and pure act. Harm and defamation cannot provoke, humble and not stubborn.

(No original Chinese text.)

婦孺嬾叢。穢婦嬾婦。婦孺嬾婦。駭叢嬾婦。

In the dirty world but not polluted by dirt, in desire but not driven by it. Heart has no evil deeds, and receive intelligent people assistance.

(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut text.)

理其性。靜其神。修其德。蘊其行。⁴³⁵

齋翫慨叢。穢婦慨叢。齋翫翫。駭叢慨叢。穢婦齋翫。

Do not deliberately display self-serving acts, do not pursue fame. Act in seclusion, do not declare power and calm, heart does not release beyond limit.

⁴³² In Sun's paper, 婦 is a wrong character 婦.

⁴³³ Overmyer translation: "The superior man is generous and liberal in great measure, with high wisdom and a long-range view." Overmyer 1982:629.

⁴³⁴ In Sun Bojun's paper, 駭 is a wrong character 駭, and 穢 is a wrong character 穢.

⁴³⁵ Overmyer translation: "He controls his nature, quiets his spirit, cultivate his virtue, and accumulates (good) conduct." Overmyer 1982:629.

以教以緒。無縱無恣。⁴³⁶

慨悛慨諶。慨讎慨驕。絳婦讎誦氣散。

Neither arrogant nor conceited, neither defame nor praise. This is the righteousness of a gentleman.

不侮不驕。絕毀絕譽。不彰他人之過。不行自己之非。和其光而同其塵。薦其賢而任其德。⁴³⁷

鬻瓠駘翫。氣翫前瓠。慨菝慨禱駘。

Someone as firm as a mountain, act according to virtuous art, no move no shake/sway.

如山之固者。高而不危。久而不朽。移之不動。搖之不傾。(displacement 1)

鬻瓠嫩翫。翫菝翫前。鬻菝鬻禱。絳勃鬻瓠嫩翫。

Someone as strong as pine, while in trouble still not change his aspiration, therefore he is as strong as pine.

如松之貞者。榮枯莫知。蒼翠長在。霜雪不能令其凋。冬夏不能變其色。

(displacement 2)

鬻瓠禱翫。鬻慨鬻禱。鬻慨鬻禱。鬻慨禱翫。鬻慨禱翫。

Someone as pure as water, there is no wealth that is not proliferating, no identity that is not clear, no flaw that is not dismissed, and no tarnish that is not cleaned.

如水之淨者。濟渭各色。平澹自然。鑑物不能遁其形。潤澤不能踰其利。

(displacement 3)

婦讎翫。鬻慨鬻禱。鬻慨鬻禱。

A Gentleman, none of his politenesses are not respectful and none of his words are not kept.

禮無不恭。事無不從。(displacement 4)

慨駘鬻禱。鬻慨鬻禱。鬻駘鬻禱。鬻駘鬻禱。

There is no loss of filial piety, no loss of loyalty and righteousness. (He can) understand the manifestation of intelligence and foolish, and distinguish justice and evilness.

鬻鬻鬻鬻鬻鬻。鬻鬻鬻鬻鬻鬻。

The pursuit of abundance should not lead to the disorganization of hears??. the pursuit of beneficiation should not lead to committing crimes.

(No original Chinese text.)

⁴³⁶ Overmyer translation: "Thereby to teach in an orderly way. He is not dissolute or licentious." Overmyer 1982:629.

⁴³⁷ Overmyer translation: "He is neither disgraced nor arrogant. He has no regard for slander or praise. He neither amplifies the faults of others, nor acts on his own mistakes. He harmonizes with the bright spots of others, and shares their lot in the world. He promotes them when they are worthy, and gives rein to their virtue." Overmyer 1982:629.

鐵驕鮮慨瓶。緘殺群慨瓶。氣群繼殺。韻鮮嫩殺。絳勃嫩瓶帝翳。

(He will) not change his heart because of defamation and praise, and not remember any hatred. (He is) magnanimous and hold righteousness, firms his inspirational heart.

Therefore, (his character is) as pure as water.

(No original Chinese text.)

(Tangut version see earlier.)

禮無不恭。事無不從。(displacement 4)⁴³⁸

(No Tangut translation.)

孝無不順。⁴³⁹義無不忠。躰察智慧。審別賢愚。不以多求而亂心。不以貪暴而害己。不以塗炭而樂禍。不以忘舊而逐新。故任道而含弘。常堅心而守志。

儀綱殺纒。婦纒孫纒殺。

These four kinds, are the body of a gentleman.

此四者。大人君子之要道也。

悅婦纒纒。翹烈纒茲翹，娑養纒茲翹。綱纒茲纒。駘婦茲翹。

Also gentleman, (his) acts match the sun and the moon, intelligence same as mountain and valley. They followed four seasons, and keep harmony with the earth.

又須行同日月。量比山川。順四時。合萬物。

烈纒玃殺慨纒。纒玃玃殺玃殺。纒纒纒纒纒纒。

(He is) like the sun and the moon that do not shine exclusively heavy, like winter and summer that produce and accumulate equality. (He) includes all mountains, valleys, and ten thousand things.

行同日月者。使之無偏照。量比山川者。使之無遷改。順四時者。使之有期信。合萬物者。使之知動靜。

婦纒纒纒。綱嫩驕殺。玃纒纒纒。纒殺殺殺。⁴⁴⁰

When gentleman has virtue his praises are sung in the four directions. When magistrate has virtue, family heads respect and promote (him).

故曰。君子有德。四方美之。郡守有德。百姓欽之。

纒纒纒纒。殺駘駘纒殺駘。纒殺纒纒。纒殺殺殺。

(Layman ?) has virtue, relatives and others all respect him. Big household has virtue, the family prospers.

⁴³⁸ Overmyer translation: "He is respectful of all rituals and civility, devotes himself to all his affairs." Overmyer 1982:629.

⁴³⁹ Overmyer translation: "and is in full accord with filial piety." Overmyer 1982:629.

⁴⁴⁰ 玃纒城主, equivalent to Tibetan *rtse-rje*, refer to officials of local jurisdiction including commandery 郡 county 縣 prefecture 城 and fort 寨. Sun 2011:208.

鄉間有德。眾人仰之。家尊有德。門風顯之

𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。⁴⁴¹

Heaven does not have a relative; it has virtue as its assistance.

皇天無親。惟德是輔。⁴⁴²

𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。⁴⁴³

(He is) like a fragrant grass, not similar to ten thousand grasses. Everyone likes (him).

如蓬生於麻中。不扶而自直。如蘭雜於叢芳。不待薰而自馨。

𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。

Also gentleman, benefits himself (but) not enrage others.

不以利己而損人。

𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。

If not others do not enforce self command, humble to others and not self boast.

不以非他而自是。不以卑人而自尊。

𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。

When others defamed do not praise, should not make factions with others, do not seek repay for others' built hatred.

不以輕人而自重。不以非道而交友。不以結怨而讎人。

𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。

Also gentleman, do not seek repay for performing grace to others.

施恩而不望報。(displacement 5)

𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。𦉳 𦉳 𦉳 𦉳。

Do not require property that are not necessary, and do not accept reward if no accomplishment is deserved.

不窺無義之財。不受無功之賞。

(Tangut version see earlier.)

施恩而不望報。⁴⁴⁴(displacement 5)

(No Tangut translation.)

报恩而恨不深。⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴¹ 𦉳 has a wrong font.

⁴⁴² *Shangshu: Cai Zhong zhi ming* 尚書:蔡仲之命.

⁴⁴³ 𦉳 has a wrong font.

⁴⁴⁴ Overmyer translation: “(A gentleman) does not hope for a recompense when he extends kindness.” Overmyer 1982:630.

儻 穉 儻 儻 儻 儻。 儻 儻 儻 儻 儻。

The acts of ancestors, were only according to virtue and loyalty.
(No original Chinese text.)

儻 穉 儻 儻。 儻 穉 儻 儻。⁴⁴⁶

Now people's acts have many frauds and fakeness.
(No original Chinese text.)

儻 穉 儻 儻。 儻 穉 儻 儻。 儻 穉 儻 儻。

All kind acts, (if) not perform one of few of them, how it likely belong to a (kind act)?
(No original Chinese text.)

儻 穉 儻 儻。 儻 穉 儻 儻。 儻 穉 儻 儻。

Often generating two hearts, kind and evil mix, and bad and good follow each other.
(No original Chinese text.)

儻 穉 儻 儻。 儻 穉 儻 儻。

Purity turns out turbid, and bad turns out good.
(No original Chinese text.)

儻 穉 儻 儻 儻 儻。 儻 穉 儻 儻 儻 儻。 儻 穉 儻 儻 儻 儻。

These are all foolish people, and also (their acts) established the roots for their crimes.
(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)

故書云。臨之以財。則見其廉。近之以色。則見其貞。告之以危。則見其勇。醉之以酒。則見其態。莊子曰。遠使之而觀其忠。近使之而觀其敬。煩使之而觀其能。卒問之而觀其智。急期之而觀其信。寵貴之人。觀其不驕奢。榮顯之人。觀其不矜誇。少者觀其恭敬。好學者觀其廉潔務行。老者觀其思慎而不逾。父子之間。觀其慈孝。兄弟之間。觀其知友。鄉閭之間。觀其信義。君臣之間。觀其忠惠。是故慎初護末。砥名礪行。邪正不變其心。反覆不改其志。臨下以寬。居上不危。如此則可為廊之材。永免愆瑕矣。⁴⁴⁷

(No Tangut translation.)

四十八等。⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵ Overmyer translation: "and when he repays kindness he regrets that he has not done enough." Overmyer 1982:630.

⁴⁴⁶ 穉 has a wrong font.

⁴⁴⁷ Overmyer concludes this section as "moral testing" which borrows concepts from Daoist sources including *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, Overmyer 1982:629-30, footnote 17.

⁴⁴⁸ 40 positive kinds 等 and 8 negative kinds of people. In Tangut version, there are total of 25 kinds, all positive.

引暇膝婦嚮駭。效暇夥媛嶠錡。

The sagely man captures the ritual of the heaven and earth.

The wisdom man hard to calculate his deep knowledge.

聖人則天法地。賢人杳冥難測。

(No Tangut translation.)

道人心無滯碍。覺人知其本性。捨人知無便與。戒人察其罪福。忍人口無過失。進人修無懈怠。定人心無散亂。

敵暇黻霽禱岫。綉暇黼黻黻黻。⁴⁴⁹

The smart man knows all stratagems.

The righteous man humble on virtue and yield at accomplishments.

智人遠於機變。義人推功讓德。

嫻暇荒黻慨黻。禱暇綴黻慨禱。

The cautious man investigates things without error.

The upright man keeps principle without inclined.

審人視聽不非。政人公道不私。

肅暇懽黻慨駭。豈暇舛黻慨駭。

The pure man does not accept unexpected wealth.

The solid man does not move his heart differently.

省人非財不納。安人心無異動。

翫暇歲頌黻綉。猗暇嚮黻慨黻。

The reclusive man hides from the world and cultivate his virtue.

The reverent man does not give up on rituals and rites.

隱人遁世育德。恭人禮度不虧。

綉暇斲駭黻綉。黻暇駭駭斲黻。

The respected man promotes seniors and loves juniors.

The trusted man does not go back on his word.

敬人尊上愛下。信人言無反覆。

敵暇綴嚮慨黻。駭暇駭駭駭駭。

The humble man does not violate the law.

The magnanimous man does not act meanly to others.

謹人不越禮度。寬人臨下不危。

諷暇駭燿黻駭。

⁴⁴⁹ In Sun Bojun's paper, 黻 is a wrong character 黻.

The deep man does not declare his previous views.
深人遠見未萌。

(No Tangut translation.)
善人內行不噴

慈暇羶肅彗彗。
The merciful man loves to do good things.
行人好述善事。

窺暇讒岫樵暇。祿暇剌窺鮮彗。
The able man knows deeply and sees widely.
The loyal man has righteous heart to the king.
謀人深知遠見。忠人事君盡節。

窺暇駭躡駭暇。窺暇懾岫懾暇。
The modest man praises the intelligent and promotes the ingenious.
The prepared man does not destroy or abandon things.
讓人薦賢任能。儉人節用不費。

窺暇辭暇翻彗。
The charitable man immediately gives when he sees the poor.
(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)
孝人奉侍不闕。

窺暇懾燿羶肅。
The intelligent man demonstrates everything clearly.
明人不處暗事

彗暇羶羶彗暇。
The eloquent man's words have right meaning.
辯人不納閑詞。

窺暇鮮羶岫肅。
The known man's heart has no barrier.
(No original Chinese text.)

窺暇讒岫燿岫。
The enlightened man obviously understands the essential character.
(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)

學人親近知識。慈人心無殺害。富人濟貧惠物。貴人敬佛重僧。達人不貪五慾。清人不染俗塵。靜人覺意知空。大人包天地。好人舉善薦賢。愚人不知慚耻。癡人不鑑名賢。頑人不懼公法。惡人常好殺生。濁人不明白。俗人貪財戀色。逆人不孝父母。小人不識尊卑。⁴⁵⁰

循禎啟儼駮翹纒，紉纒循禎纒駮。

These twenty-five acts, are the ways that a gentleman should carry [himself?].

凡君子立身為人。無逾此四十八等。但以大道合其體。則是聖人賢人之倫。⁴⁵¹

紉纒纒，

A gentleman,⁴⁵²

(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎翳纒纒纒駮。𠄎翳駮纒纒駮。

does not accumulate his filial piety to parents; does not accumulate his kindness to children;

若孝不行於家。慈不行於己。

𠄎翳駮纒纒駮。𠄎駮纒纒駮。

does not accumulate his endowment to relatives; does not accumulate to bestow people;

恩不行於親。惠不及於人。

𠄎翳纒纒駮。

does not accumulate donations to the rich.

(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)

義不施於友。忠不施於國。勇不救於危。謀不信於善。寬不臨於下。明不審於事。

𠄎駮纒纒纒駮，駮駮；纒纒纒纒纒駮，駮駮。

Also calling someone a relative but not a kinsfolk, it is flatter,

⁴⁵⁰ The Tangut version does not include all of the 8 negative kinds of people.

⁴⁵¹ Overmyer translation: "In his character and mode of conduct every gentleman belongs to one or another of these forty-eight categories. But if he makes his deportment accord with the great Way, then (he attains) the moral principles of sages and worthies." Overmyer 1982:630.

⁴⁵² The Tangut translator misunderstood the meaning of the context: 紉纒纒，𠄎翳纒纒纒駮。𠄎翳駮纒纒駮。𠄎駮纒纒駮。𠄎翳纒纒駮。Here 紉纒纒 "A gentleman," was added before the five negative conducts ends with 駮 "not accumulate," which is not seen in the original Chinese text. The original Chinese text starts with 𠄎 "if," so the following five negative conducts are all considered not belong to a gentleman.

not seeing the closest relative who is poor, it is rebel.

見非親而親者。諂也。見親貧而疎者。逆也。

(No Tangut translation.)

背善向惡。謀陷忠良。親附小人。不近君子者。此乃上天不容之物。何足言之。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

The wise man admires virtue, the foolish man loves wealth.

賢者欽於德。愚者重於財。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

People who dress magnificently, should know others who are experiencing hardship.

綺羅華飾者，須知有布素之衣。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

People who eat sweet food, should know other who are eating bran.

珍殮玉食者，須知有糟糠之饌。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

People who live in beautiful houses, should think about others who still live in grass tents.

雕墻峻宇者，須知有茅茨之室。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

People who have an abundance of grain should take care of others who do not have but a few bushel.

積粟千鍾者，須知有斗筲之儲。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。⁴⁵³

People who wear satin and brocade should know the people with brown clothes.

(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)

榮官大爵者。須知有冤屈之害。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

People who bear stability and peace should think about other's toils.

安居樂處者。須知有驅役之勞。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

⁴⁵³ 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 “brown clothes” often refer to the special garment 緋衣 bestowed to a monk from the Tangut emperor in Xi Xia period. If it does not refer to monks, then it repeat the same meaning of a previous sentence 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。綺羅華飾者，須知有布素之衣。

People who ride horses and sit on carriages should think about the people who walk or hold the carriages.

躍馬揮鞭者。須知有負擔之苦。

慨歎憐，歎歎憐。歎歎憐，絳歎憐。

Also humans should know others have bitterness. If one does not know others' bitterness one is not human.

(No original Chinese text.)

翫翫歎憐，絳歎憐。翫翫歎憐，絳歎憐。

Do not know other's insufficiency based on self sufficiency, thus not human. Hating others and generating hatred, thus not human.

(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)

人有危困急難。當須救之。不可坐看成敗。

歎歎憐，絳歎憐。

One who sees someone in pain without saving him is not human.

見危不救者。非人也。⁴⁵⁴

(No Tangut translation.)

不自知足者。非人也。

翫歎憐，絳歎憐。翫翫翫，絳歎憐。

Do not give when seeing people in poor, thus not a human. Thinking of repaying back when making offerings, thus not a human.

見貧不濟者。非人也。施恩望報者。非人也。

翫歎憐，絳歎憐。翫翫翫，絳歎憐。

Do not repent when knowing the fault, thus not a human. Do not respect elders when in lower position, thus not a human.

不改己過者。非人也。輕上慢下者。非人也。

(No Tangut translation.)

為貴欺賤者。非人也。

翫翫翫，絳歎憐。

Spreading rumors to hurt others, thus not a human.

取佞害人者。非人也。

⁴⁵⁴ The following texts mentioning “Not a human” 非人也, as Overmyer noticed, are borrowed from *Mencius*. Overmyer 1982:630.

獲發歟窳髡，絳嘏惛。⁴⁵⁵

Seeking private interest when serving in public office, thus not a human.

在公納私者。非人也。

穰孺駁緝，絳嘏惛。緝孺孺緝姪，絳嘏惛。

Forgetting the bitterness after becoming rich, thus not a human. Remembering the past resentment after becoming important, thus not a human.

(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)

不孝父母者。非人也。不友兄弟者。非人也。不和六親者。非人也。不樂好事者。非人也。

兼婦孺孺，散髡惛。散髡孺，謫誦及散。⁴⁵⁶

If a gentleman, knows three capabilities. The three capabilities, are the heave, the earth, and the human.

夫人須通三才。

髡髡孺。髡髡孺，慨彥阨孺緝髡散。⁴⁵⁷

Learned six skills. The six skills, are rite, music, archery, chess, writing, and calculation.

懷六藝。

(No Tangut translation.)

志四方。

儗網穰。儗網孺，鞞瓶慨姪，發龍慨彥，發散慨發，邪發慨孺，儗瓦慨發散。

Respecting five wonders. The five wonders, are not wasting when sending grace, not complaining when doing things, not being avarice after becoming prosperous, no fearing when self is weak, do not being wicked when in higher position.

具五美。⁴⁵⁸

網發孺。網發孺，孺發發發發發發，絳孺發發發。

Breaking off four evilness. Not giving teachings then harming and killing, thus is the first evilness.

斷四惡。⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ 歟窳髡 Sun Bojun translated literally it as 他面為, means 徇私/納私 “seeking private interest.” Sun 2011:211.

⁴⁵⁶ All the smaller font in the following sentences are the annotations in the Tangut version. They are in fact printed in a smaller font in the extant copy. Many of the annotations are from Confucian classics. See Figure 26.

⁴⁵⁷ In Sun Bojun’s paper, 孺明 “know” is a wrong character 孺聞 “hear.”

⁴⁵⁸ “Respecting five wonders” *Zun wumei* 尊五美, from *Lunyu: Yaoyue* 論語·堯曰. 孺廢 *fei* “abandon”, here also means 費 *fei* “waste.”

媿隳股緜緜嗚慨霸而耕穀，絳桶夥級敵。

Not giving warning then blaming failed accomplishment, thus is the second evilness.

緜翁緜緜緜慨慨緜敵而緜，絳散夥級敵。⁴⁶⁰

Not keeping the words and punishing those who cannot meet the standard, thus is the third evilness.

緜緜緜緜慨緜緜，絳緜夥級敵。

Holding wealth but stingy without offering or giving up, thus is the fourth evilness.

散穀緜。穀穀緜，緜緜緜敵。⁴⁶¹

Eliminating three traps. Three traps, are alcohol, lust, and fortune.

除三惑。

緜緜緜。緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜。⁴⁶²

Raising nine thoughts. Nine thoughts, are the thought of clear when seeing, the thought of intelligence when hearing, the thought of happiness when reviewing, the thought of humbleness when gesturing, the thought of loyalty when speaking, the thought of diligence when working, the thought of inquiry when doubting, the thought of repent when angering, and the thought of appreciation when receiving.

思九畏。⁴⁶³

緜緜緜。緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜，緜緜緜敵。

Fearing four knowings. Four knowings, are the heaven knows, the earth knows, you know, and I know.⁴⁶⁴

知四懼。⁴⁶⁵

(No Tangut translation.)

莫睡眠。演胎息。慎言語。節飲食。此乃謹身節用之本也。

⁴⁵⁹ “Breaking off four evilness” *Bing si’e* 屏四惡, from *Lunyu: Yaoyue* 論語 堯曰.

⁴⁶⁰ In Sun’s paper, 緜 is a wrong character 緜. This third evilness’ meaning in Tangut version is slightly different from the Chinese original text 慢令致期謂之賊.

⁴⁶¹ “The Three traps/confusions,” is a concept from Buddhist teachings. [0977b18] “頌曰。財色與酒,名為三惑. *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 j.93, CBETA 電子佛典集成 Taisho no.2122.

⁴⁶² 緜一 used to replace 緜思, for its abbreviation of multiple times in the text. Sun P212. Nie Hongyin 2002:7. In Sun’s paper, 緜 is a wrong character 緜.

⁴⁶³ The “nine thoughts,” *jiusi* 九思, from *Lunyu: Jishi* 論語 季氏. The original Chinese version might be in wrong order of words, *Si jiuwei* 思九畏 should be *Wei jiuwei* 畏九思. There is no *jiuwei* 九畏 in Confucian classics, only *sanwei* 三畏, which is also from *Lunyu: Jishi* 論語 季氏. “孔子曰: 君子有三畏: 畏天命, 畏大人, 畏聖人之言。”

⁴⁶⁴ The “four knowings” *sizhi* 四知, from *Houhanshu: Yang Zheng zhuan* 後漢書 楊震傳. “震曰: 天知、地知、我知、子知, 何謂無知?”

⁴⁶⁵ The original Chinese version might be in wrong order of words, *Zhi siju* 知四懼 should be *Ju sizhi* 懼四知.

𦉳鏡鑑。𦉳鏡鑑，鏡鑑，鑑鏡，鑑鏡。⁴⁶⁶

Examining three mirrors. Three mirrors, are the mirrors of face/self, the ancestors' words, and the wisdom men.

(No original Chinese text.)

𦉳鏡鑑，網鏡鏡鏡。

Also human, should establish four doors.

又須立彼四門。成其具美。

𦉳鏡鏡鏡，𦉳鏡鏡鏡。⁴⁶⁷

Serving parents, establish the door of filial piety.

𦉳鏡鏡鏡，𦉳鏡鏡鏡。⁴⁶⁸

Serving the king, establish the door of loyalty.

𦉳鏡鏡鏡，𦉳鏡鏡鏡。⁴⁶⁹

Serving brothers, establish the door of righteousness.

𦉳鏡鏡鏡，𦉳鏡鏡鏡。

Raising relatives, establish the door of grace.

(Tangut version see above. The four sentences in different order, and some have different meanings.)⁴⁷⁰

事君立忠門。事父母立孝門。事朋友立義門。事師長立謹門。

(No Tangut translation.)

忠門。謂見危致命也。孝門。謂色養恭敬也。義門。謂心無遷改也。謹門。無所懈怠也。

𦉳鏡鏡鏡，𦉳鏡鏡鏡，𦉳鏡鏡鏡，𦉳鏡鏡鏡。

Also there are four righteousness, to the king, teachers, relatives and friends, and wives and concubines.

(No original Chinese text.)

𦉳鏡鏡鏡，𦉳鏡鏡鏡。⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁶ 𦉳鏡鑑 The “three mirrors” or the “three examinations” 三鑒/三鑑, from *Xintangshu* 新唐書 j.97. In Sun's paper, 鏡 is a wrong character 鑑.

⁴⁶⁷ Wrong Tangut font 鏡 (#1526).

⁴⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁰ Serving friends 朋友 for the “door of righteousness” 義門 has been changed to serving brothers for the “door of righteousness” 義門; Serving teacher 師長 for 謹門 the “door of respect” has been changed to raising relatives for the “door of grace” 鏡鏡恩門.

The righteousness to the king, is to risk life for the sake of state affairs.
(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。⁴⁷²

The righteousness to teachers, is to serve and respect.
(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

The righteousness to relatives and friends, is to talk to each other and not disobey.
(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

The righteousness to wives and concubines, is to love each other and hold polite manner.
(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

Also gentleman, should act filial piety and loyalty.
(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

Should establish trust and righteousness, should establish love and reverence.
(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。⁴⁷³

Heart and plan are broad and wide, kindness and compassion are magnanimous and big.
(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

Also human, promotes others and humbles himself, thus people also respect and promote him.

(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

Acting grace and loving people, thus people also love, think, and close to him.
(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

People are not higher or lower, should establish virtuous and equal heart.
(No original Chinese text.)

⁴⁷¹ Wrong Tangut font 𠄎 (#1526).

⁴⁷² *ibid.*

⁴⁷³ In Sun's paper, 𠄎 is a wrong character 𠄎.

紉戩龔殿，頤戩庇解。

Giving clothes when seeing (people) cold, handing out food when seeing (people) hungry.
(No original Chinese text.)

媿戩孿毅迺絀，髡戩罷罷祗。

Saving (people) and searching for medicine when seeing (people) sick, making peace and stability when seeing the elders.
(No original Chinese text.)

嫻戩罷茲髡，嫻戩罷髮，戩戩齋。

Acting gracefully when seeing the young, love accordingly when seeing the good, persuading when seeing the bad.
(No original Chinese text.)

效戩戩罷戩髡，龔戩戩罷龔嫻。

Moving close to them when seeing wisdom men, following them when seeing virtuous men.
(No original Chinese text.)

颯戩戩罷髡，嫻孿戩戩髡戩。⁴⁷⁴

Respecting them when seeing the people who understand the manners, reverencing and promoting them when seeing people who have righteousness.
(No original Chinese text.)

颯結嫻嫻，戩戩戩颯颯，絀襖戩龔龔。戩龔嫻嫻，嫻羽龔龔。

Also gentleman, has no different from Buddhists, and is similar to the way of Daoists. Eliminating the evil and following the good, (they are) all same as one.
(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)

三教之說。其義一同。儒教。則仁義禮智信。歸於忠孝君父焉。釋教。則慈悲救苦。歸於化誘羣迷焉。道教。則寂默恬澹。歸於無貪無愛焉。有故三教之言。可守而尊之。尋而究之。既洞其微。達其原。自然得聖人賢人之道。善人君子之行也。⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁴ 颯 is a wrong font, minus one stroke.

⁴⁷⁵ My translation is in the quote in the beginning of this chapter. Overmyer translation: "As for the doctrines of the three teachings, their meaning is the same. Confucianism (advocates) co-humanity, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness, which result in loyalty to the ruler and filial respect toward fathers. Buddhism (advocates) compassion, pity, and the relief of suffering, which result in the conversion of the lost. Taoism (advocates) stillness, quietness, and calm, which result in the absence of desire and emotional detachment. Thus for good reason the doctrines of the three teachings should be preserved and honored, followed and studied. When one understands their subtitles and thoroughly comprehends their origins, then one naturally attains to the Way of the sages and worthies and the proper conduct of gentlemen and good persons." Overmyer 1982:630-1.

悅婦媿媿，媿教媿媿媿，媿媿媿媿媿，媿媿媿媿媿媿，媿媿媿媿媿。
Also gentleman, cannot be polluted by color, and does not generate fury when meeting
anger. (He has) no angry heart when others denouncing (him), and not express happiness
together when (others) praise (him).
(No original Chinese text.)

禪純離謬禪，純純純純，純純純純純純純純，純純純純純純純純。⁴⁷⁶
(He) is essentially pure, no dirt and no flaw. It is like a white jade been thrown into mud,
or a clean lotus been planted in water.
(No original Chinese text.)

悅婦媿媿媿，媿媿媿媿。媿媿媿媿，媿媿媿媿。⁴⁷⁷
Also watching heart that has no eternity, and examining *dharma* that has no appearance.
Being good or evil just following heart, and changing cause and consequence.
(No original Chinese text.)

禪媿純純，純純純純純。
Praying for Buddha in all directions, better than one prays in self heart.
(No original Chinese text.)

純純純純，純純純純。純純純純，純純純純。
Self heart is Buddha, and Buddha is self heart. Heart and Buddha interacts, thus self
becomes Buddha's heart.
(No original Chinese text.)

純純純純，純純純純。
If heart knows the essence, why need to search afar?
(No original Chinese text.)

純純純純，純純純純。純純純純，純純純純。⁴⁷⁸
The one who is awoken of the way, is also treated same as to others. Understanding
profoundly the words' meaning, thus you have no difference in essence.
(No original Chinese text.)

□純純純純，純純純純純純純純。純純純純純純純純，純純純純純純純純。
...basic... in vulgar writings, do not say the uniqueness of filial piety and loyalty. In
twelve Buddhist *sūtras*, they begin to talk about eliminating a personality because of an
ego.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ 婦 is a wrong font, missing one stroke.

⁴⁷⁷ In Sun's paper, 媿 is a wrong character 媿.

⁴⁷⁸ 媿汝 The right part of the character is missing, Sun thinks it is 媿二. I disagree because apparently there is a right radical missing.

(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

Compassion and loving to give, are not different from what the Buddhist teachings and king's laws say.

(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

All people except self, are all treated in one simple manner.

(No original Chinese text.)

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

Intelligent people research and speculate, then they understand the difference of before and after.

(No original Chinese text.)

(No Tangut translation.)

如此則佐國。何憂乎陰陽不順。風雨不時。百姓不安。⁴⁸⁰人民不泰。治家。則何憂乎兄弟不睦。六親不和。禮樂不行。上下不正。

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎，𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎。

This brief is telling my words. It is the essence of establishing a body.

余為此集。

(No Tangut translation.)

不敢深其意飾其詞。所貴匡導盲俗。⁴⁸¹垂于後世。言之不足。故為讚以申之。

(No Tangut translation.)

讚曰。

美哉君子	惟善則履	存忠存孝	不識其嗜
行不逾經	言不逾史	靖默端莊	高導深旨
向善背惡	披心求理	貧則自樂	富亦好義
嗟乎斯人	實不容易		

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎𠄎𠄎 𠄎

⁴⁷⁹ avasthā 四相: an ego 我相 𠄎𠄎𠄎, a personality 人相 𠄎𠄎𠄎, a being 眾生相, and a life 壽相. *The Diamond sūtra*.

⁴⁸⁰ Overmyer translation: “When the state is supported by such principles as these, why should one worry that *yin* and *yang* will not be in harmony, that wind and rain will not be timely, or the common people not secure.” P631

⁴⁸¹ Overmyer translation: “In composing this collection, I have not presumed to deal with the meanings of these things in a profound way nor to embroider their phrasing. What I value is providing correct guidance for deluded ordinary folk.” P631

Collection of Virtuous Acts, one volume, end.
正行集終

循繩執規，謹紀終口。 散。

This *Collection of Virtuous Acts*, is originally from Chinese intelligence abundance.

(No original Chinese text.)

After comparing the two versions, as there are no major differences, we can conclude that they are similar in structure,. The Tangut version is an abridged version of the Chinese original. It omits many phrases and sometimes changes the order of sentences. *Zhengxing ji* hardly quotes Buddhist texts, and only mentions Buddhist terms at the very end; these include 拜佛, 拜佛心 and 拜佛法. In contrast, it borrows quite a few concept from Confucian classics, mostly *Analects*, including 散三才, 散六藝, 儻綱五美, and 綱四惡. Kong Qingjue's teachings of how to become a gentleman 君子 are established based on Confucian ideology mixed with ideas from Buddhism and Daoism. He harshly criticizes those who demonstrate immoral conduct as being inhuman 非人, and does not offer of the hope of salvation often available in Buddhist doctrine. The tone of the text is as addressing the general lay audience, who could be illiterate to understand the simple teaching. It highlights the rightful acts of a gentleman to his related parties, including the emperor, parents, friends, etc. The text offers step-by-step instruction that one can take actions to achieve a gentleman's moral standards. The text also uses six character poems to simply categorize people into 48 kinds (25 kinds in the Tangut version). The briefness of the teaching demonstrates that *Zhengxing ji* is not a religious text, but one of the Song-Yuan vernacular literature. There

is neither mention of the White Cloud sect nor of the life of Kong Qingjue. The purpose of Kong writing this short essay is not to establish the sect based on these rather hackneyed ideas, but to reach a large lay audience to keep good ethics in an orderly society and remain aware of self and others.

“Record for Apprentice” *Chuxue ji* 初學記

Like *Zhengxing ji*, *Chuxue ji* is for a general audience – the lay community. *Chuxue ji* is particularly for the beginners of Buddhist learning. The text promotes the “Three Teachings,” including ideas from Buddhism, especially the Huayan school. Kong claims this is the true Buddhist teaching, and it must be studied. He explains some key Buddhist concepts, including “four fruitions” (aka. “four stages” of enlightenment) and “ten stages.” So *Chuxue ji* might just be the lost “Song of Ten Stages” *Shidi ge* 十地歌 which attributed to be among Kong’s works as well.⁴⁸² The Buddhist concepts in *Chuxue ji* are not included in *Zhengxing ji*. The current available version of *Chuxue ji* is from the Puning canon, which contains a detailed commentary by the Puning Monastery abbot Dao’an. The entire text of Kong’s original *Chuxue ji*, is a collection of six character poems. Here I include Overmyer’s translation of some parts of the text (marked as Overmyer), and my translation of the rest text (marked as Kaiqi).⁴⁸³ I also refer to Dao’an’s commentary, in order to illuminate key Buddhist terms appearing in the text.

⁴⁸² The “Ten Stages” are the “Ten Bodhisattva *Bhūmi*,” they are ten paths of bodhisattva’s awakening.

⁴⁸³ For Overmyer’s translation, I change Chinese transcription from Wade-Giles to Peiyin.

Record for Apprentice

初學記⁴⁸⁴

Śramaṇa of Puying Monastery in Xijing (Luoyang), Shi Qingjue addressed

西京寶應寺沙門釋 清覺 述

(Overmyer)⁴⁸⁵

The Buddhist way must be studied, birth and death must be a cause for concern. As one busily twists and turns through this fleeting life, wisdom and intelligence turn into stupidity. Do not wonder that study of the Way does not succeed, when people all throw themselves into pits of heresy. If you wish to avoid being cheated and deceived, do not depart from the Ten Stages and the Three Vehicles. If one does not rely on orthodox teaching (one's quest) is just like climbing a tree to catch fish, or groping for the moon in a well.

佛道不可不學	生死不可不憂	區區枉過浮生	智慧翻成愚拙
莫怪學道不成	時人盡投邪窟	欲得不遭欺誑	莫離十地三乘
若是不依正法	恰如登樹捉魚	又似井中摸月	

(Kaiqi)

The sudden teaching of the marvelous enlightenment of Buddha-vehicle, calls Buddha's name in ten stages. The fifth fruition, leads through *Pratyekabuddhayāna* to *Pratyekabuddha*. The fourth fruition leads to the *Arhat* of six *abhijñā* ("supernormal knowledge").⁴⁸⁶ The third, second and first fruitions, each of them has *śikṣā* ("Threefold Training") that does not have *abhiññā*. *Prajñā* enlightens heart and sees true character. The item names are called "inner worldlings."

頓教妙覺佛乘	十地稱呼菩薩	五果緣覺辟支	四果六通羅漢
三果二果一果	諸漏未有神通	般若悟心見性	名目稱呼內凡

(Overmyer)⁴⁸⁷

If one's cultivation of the stages of fruition does not succeed, then one is attached to emptiness or attached to being. If you wish to understand the foundations of the scriptures, I will now explain them to you. I will not say too much, but to begin one's study one needs accurate understanding.

若修果位不成	總是著空著有	要知經藏根源	余今為君解說
非是貧道多言	初學要知子細		

(Kaiqi)

It is like a bright mirror in the front, which reflects ancient and contemporary, evil and good. All Bodhisattvas appeared out of dust and sand; this is inevitably unchangeable. 猶如明鏡當前 照見古今邪正 塵沙諸佛出來 此事終無移改

⁴⁸⁴ *Chuxue ji* 初學記, CBETA 電子佛典 V1.9 (Big5) 普及版, *Xuzangjing* 續藏經 vol.63, No. 1253.

⁴⁸⁵ Overmyer 1982:626.

⁴⁸⁶ *Liutong* 六通 means *Liu shentong* 六神通, six *abhijñā* ("supernormal knowledge").

⁴⁸⁷ Overmyer 1982:626.

(Overmyer)⁴⁸⁸

If studying the Way, first seek for the cause (of salvation). The stages of attainment are only a matter of religious cultivation. If one's attainment and accomplishment are not complete, then no matter how glib and quick one's speech, it has no relationship at all with true teaching.

學道先求因地 果位直是修行 若非果滿功圓 雖是口快舌端
決定非干正法

(Kaiqi)

The apprentice first seeks the cause. In the beginning, he follows the training of *śikṣā*, and should know the item names and numbers of *prajñā*. The five categories of injunction incense burns the body. One saying is included in ten thousand books. The small vehicle thus named it *catvāri āryasatyāni* (the “Four Noble Truths”).

Pratyekabuddha has twelve *nidānas* (the “Twelve Causes”). *Bodhisattvas* should act according to *ṣaḍ-pāramitā* (the “Six Pāramī”). The Buddha-vehicle arranges in *dharmadhatu* (“ten directions”).⁴⁸⁹ Bodhidharma's embryonic breath and *dhyāna* meditation, one step as the beginning out of the one thousand *li*. Till then *Pramuditā-bhūmi* (“the stage of joy”) is completed, and stands as the foundation of the “inner worldlings.” *Catvāri āryasatyāni* (the “Four Noble Truths”) are *Dukkha*, *Samudaya*, *Niroda*, and *Magga*. *Bhūta-tathatā* and *paññā* rely on each other. Both sound and form contain the true nature. The *sūtra* says *darśana-mārga* of *śramaṇa*. When knowing the advancement to the (bodhisattva) grounds is already gone, early *dhyāna* and four fruitions gradually emerged.

初學先求因地	初從戒定慧修	須知名目般數	五分戒香熏體
一言萬部都收	小乘因名四諦	辟支十二因緣	菩薩須行六度
佛乘十方安排	達磨胎息禪定	千里一步為初	到此歡喜地成
立作內凡基址	四諦苦集滅道	真如般若依持	聲色同含實相
經云見道沙門	既知登地已去	初禪四果漸生	

(Overmyer)⁴⁹⁰

The principle and event of the Huayan *dharma* realm, the one substance and three bodies of True Thusness, are divided into the *dharma* nature and *dharma* marks. When united they form the Buddha nature and Buddha mind. Beings both sentient and nonsentient are all included in the marvelous working of complete enlightenment.

華嚴法界理事 真如一體三身 分開法性法相 合成佛性佛心
勿論有情無情 攝屬圓覺妙用

(Overmyer)⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ Overmyer 1982:626.

⁴⁸⁹ Dharmadhatu 法界 “*dharma realm*,” includes *shifang* 十方 “ten directions.”

⁴⁹⁰ Overmyer 1982:626.

⁴⁹¹ Overmyer 1982:627.

Daoist priests give it another title, “emptiness and non-being.” Spirits and immortals call it the primordial vital force. In creative transformation the tiger and dragon intertwine, the cosmic female and male of the universe. (The Daoists) urgently cultivate the nature and nourish the spirit, before one enters the fire one must first refine the self. For Confucius, the Great Ultimate and the Great Simplicity. For Mercurius, nourishing the vital force to achieve reality. For Zhuangzi, participating in solitude and silence. For Laozi, the myriad things returning to the root. There are many more names than these, (but) principle and events have neither form nor name. The Great Way must be arranged in ten stages. When it is divided equally it forms three vehicles. Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism are divided into three teachings, their scriptures are as limitless as the mountain and seas. If one can but subsume (all) under *dao* and *de*, then one is wasting one’s time distinguishing all the schools. Count with your fingers written words as numerous as the sands of the Ganges. Still, they all come down to the Three Vehicles and Ten Stages.

道士別號虛無	神仙謂之元氣	造化虎龍交邁	乾坤離女坎男
急急修性養神	進火先須煉己	孔子太極太素	孟子養浩為真
莊子參寥宴默	老子萬物歸根	更有多般名目	理實無形無名
大道須排十地	均攤乃作三乘	釋道儒分三教	經書山海無窮
若能收屬道德	徒勞萬戶千門	文字屈指數沙	統屬三乘十地

(Kaiqi)

The first stage is *Srotāpanna*. Advanced one fruit and one path. Attained one category of *sambhogakāya*. One circle of body halo appears. One category of dust gets cleaned.

第一須陀洹果	進修一果一向	證得一分報身	一重身光出現
一分塵垢去除			

(Overmyer)⁴⁹²

One overleaps the six heavens of the realm of desire, and obtains the small fruition of the first *dhyāna*. One does not seek worldly fame and profit, and is not stained by passion and defilement. For the whole day through one is united with enlightenment while rejecting impurity.

便超欲界六天	已得初禪小果	世間名利不求	煩惱客塵不染
終日持塵合覺			

(Kaiqi)

In *sūtra* it is established as *srotāpanna*, and predicts the *srota* (“stream”) of the saint. *Śikṣā* is not completely eliminated. So it is also necessary to return to *deva* seven times, in order to gradually enter into *sopadhiṣeṣa-nirvāṇa* (“*nirvāṇa* with residue remaining”). It is afraid that small vessel is easy to be filled up. Do not boast the (Buddhist) way in front of people. Swear to seek *anuttarā-samyak-saṃbodhi* (“highest perfect awakening”). The early arrival of *āśravaksaya-jñāna* to *anāgāmi*, is the shore of life and death. After death the appearance is auspicious, and straightly pointing one figure to show people.

⁴⁹² Overmyer 1982:628.

The corpse is neither smelly nor decayed. From the beginning the manifestation of *dharma* is like nature, as a wish the body was born in this way. The road of the way is tortuous and long. Careful advancement and training assist the way.

經中立作預流	已預聖人流類	諸漏未得盡除	更須七返人天
漸入有餘涅槃	恐為小器易盈	勿向人前誇道	誓求無上菩提
早達漏盡那含	便是生死彼岸	死時吉祥好相	直展一指示人
其屍不臭不壞	從來表法如然	得意生身此是	道躋迤邐增深
精進兼修助道			

(Kaiqi)

The second stage is *Sakridāgāmi*. Advanced the second fruit and second path. Attained two categories of *sambhogakāya*. Two circles of body halo appear. So it faces the shining light. One should only keep self-discipline and self-awareness, and do not judge or assert boast to others. One already raise *brahmakāyikā* and *brahmapurohītā*, so born the second *dhyāna* of *rūpadhātu*. At this stage, *śikṣā* is not completely eliminated. The habits of vulgar are not abandoned, so it especially needs one goes and returns. Alternatively, born above the sky of *kāmadhātu*. The Sanskrit name *Sakridāgāmi*, also means one round trip of one going the returning (between *deva loka* “divine world” and *loka* “earth world”). One must settle down body and be quiet, and not be bothered by secular matters. One should carefully advance *pāramī* through daily practice. It is already ordered to separate gold and mine; already seen no birth no death; already know no self and no other. It is good for hard cultivation, to repay four fields of grace and three states of existence, which is to consume the offerings of the patrons. When the no-form *punya-ksetra* is generated, not only the earth world celebrates, but also attracts gods and demons’ awe.

第二斯陀含果	進修二果二向	證得二分報身	兩重身光出現
便與發光相對	惟是自覺自知	切莫誇逞外人	已起梵眾梵輔
便生色界二禪	此位諸漏未盡	凡夫習氣未除	更須一往一來
或生欲界天上	梵語斯陀含果	此云更一往來	切要安身寂靜
勿令俗事縈牽	精進波羅日用	早令金鑛分離	已見無生無滅
又知無我無人	正好著力修行	報答四恩三有	堪消施主供養
已成無相福田	不獨人間慶賀	更兼神鬼欽崇	

(Kaiqi)

The third stage is *Anāgāmi*. Advanced the third fruit and third path. Attained three categories of *sambhogakāya*. Three circles of body halo appear. The stage is equivalent to *arcishmati-bhūmi* (“the stage of glowing wisdom”). Already left the first and second *dhyāna*, also saw the realm of the third *dhyāna*. At this stage, *śikṣā* is completely eliminated. Life and death will never be corrupted. The Sanskrit name *Anāgāmi*, means there is no going and returning. The cicada becomes peaceful quiet after molting. Jump out of the fire pit of worries. First, the age is equal to the Grand Void *Taixu*. Second, enjoy extreme happiness and no worries. Third, do not disappoint *dana-pati*. Fourth, do not regret *pravrajyā* (“leaving home”).

第三阿那含果	進修三果三向	證得三分報身	三重身光出現
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位同焰慧一般	已出初禪二禪	又見三禪境界	此位諸漏已盡
生死永不沉淪	梵語阿那含果	此云更不往還	蟬蛻便歸寂滅
跳出煩惱火坑	一者壽等太虛	二者極樂無憂	三者不負檀越
四者不枉出家			

(Overmyer)⁴⁹³

You are an auspicious manifestation of the religion, who causes others to bow their heads and take refuge in Buddhism. Before achieving *anuttarā-samyak-saṃbodhi*, you are already a rare creature among men. I hope that you will develop right practice with courageous effort, arhantship possessed of six magical powers (Kaiqi: *abhijñā* “supernormal knowledge”) is near at hand.

汝是教門祥瑞	令人稽首歸依	未成無上菩提	早是人間希罕
願君勇力修行	六通羅漢在近		

(Kaiqi)

The fourth stage is *Arhat*. Advanced the fourth fruit and fourth path. Attained four categories of *sambhogakāya*. Four circles of body halo appear. It is the moment that *śikṣā* is complete, and becomes *śrāvaka*. The Sanskrit name *Arhat*, means should be made offerings. Therefore there are *tisrovidyā* (“three insights”) and six *abhijñā* (“supernormal knowledge”). First is the *vidyā* (“clarity”) of language that does not confuse. Second is the *vidyā* of form that eyes can recognize. Third is the *vidyā* of thought that leaves no doubt. Also there are six *abhijñā* to witness. It is so there is *divyacakṣus* no barrier. It is *divyaśrotra* so can hear throughout. It is *paracitta-jñāna* that understands the mind and wish. It is *pūrvanivāsānusmṛti-jñāna* that remembers the previous life. It is *āsravakṣaya-jñāna* that reaches selflessness. It is *ṛddhividhi* that gains freedom. It is truly “gradual teaching” of the small vehicle, which fits the self salvation. It is like expelling sheep or dragging vehicle, pulling out of a house on fire alone. It is affiliated to the thirteenth *brahmā*, and is called *Arhat* of six *abhijñā*.

第四阿羅漢果	進修四果四向	證得四分報身	四重身光出現
正是漏盡聲聞	梵語阿羅漢果	此云應受供養	便有三明六通
草略為君解說	一者聲明不惑	二者色明眼辨	三者思明無疑
更有六通作證	天眼通而無碍	天耳通徹遠聞	他心通彼意念
宿命通記前生	漏盡通達無我	變化通得自由 ⁴⁹⁴	真是漸教小乘
理合一身自度	譬如驅羊拽車	獨自牽出火宅	報屬十三梵天
稱呼六通羅漢			

(Kaiqi)

The fifth stage is *Pratyekabuddha*. Advanced the fifth fruit and fifth path. Attained five categories of *sambhogakāya*. Five circles of body halo appear. Five stages are shown in the front. The Gradual Teaching’s two vehicles completed. Till then the enlightenment through reasoning is the most revered. It is affiliated to the eighteenth *brahmā*. This is the

⁴⁹³ Overmyer 1982:628.

⁴⁹⁴ *Bianhua tong* 變化通 also called *Ruyi tong* 如意通.

half way stop of the great vehicle. The individual enlightenment is self-awareness and understanding. It is not eligible to become someone's teacher, like using a deer to drag a vehicle, independently leaving *trailokya*. Then becoming the master of the three vehicles, straightly needs ten stages to settle down. Temporarily dwelling in the grass hut outside of the door. Do not live in the imaginary city of small fruition. In the past five thousand (people) left the meeting, all due to *śrāvaka*'s enlightenment through reasoning. For example, poor people and beggars, get satisfied easily when receiving a little. It is those crowds like rotten grains and chaffs, who see the Buddha but all walk away. Those who do not accept his great *dharma*, are exactly arrogant monks. It is like rhino and *ni* (mythical animal) born fox and rabbit, or phoenix born crow and magpie. So here suggest the later kind and ethical people, do not study the small vessel of *Pratyekabuddha*.

第五辟支佛果	進修五果五向	證得五分報身	五重身光出現
現前五地一般	漸教二乘了畢	到此緣覺最尊	報屬十八梵天
此是大乘停半	獨覺獨自覺知	未可為人師範	猶如將鹿拽車
獨自牽出三界	次作三乘教主	直須十地安身	暫宿門外草庵
莫住化城小果	昔日五千退席	盡是聲聞緣覺	譬如貧窮乞人
得少便為豐足	恰是眾裏醞糠	見佛咸德走去	不堪受斯大法
正是憍慢比丘	犀猊生得狐兔	鸞鳳產下鴉鵲	奉勸後賢高德
莫學小器辟支			

(Kaiqi)

The sixth stage is *Dūrangamā-bhūmi* ("the stage of afar practice"). If cultivated to this stage, one has attained six categories of *sambhogakāya*. Giving up *śrāvaka*'s enlightenment through reasoning. Seeking *anuttarā-samyak-sambodhi* afar. The Sanskrit name *avinivartanīya*, means no withdraw for the heart of the way. It is swore like a boat down to water, flowing without adding more power. Trained to accomplish the skills of meditation and wisdom, so the force and power speed up like flying. It is always cultivated like this. Why worrying about no one practice *dharma*. First followed receiving mental body. Now it exceeds five stages. If there is no interruption of devil's disasters, the ten stages like viewing (self) hand palm.

第六遠行地	修行得到此位	證得六分報身	棄下聲聞緣覺
遠求無上菩提	梵語阿毗跋致	此云不退道心	譬如下水之舟
湍流不須多力	習成定慧工夫	勢力速如飛去	總是修行如此
何愁佛法無人	初從得意生身	今已超遷五位	若無魔難干懷
十地如觀掌內			

(Kaiqi)

Already left *rūpadhātu* and *deva loka* of *dhyāna*. Witnessing and dwelling in empty *ākāśānantyāyatana* ("Sphere of Infinite Space"). All the fabricated forms, now are proven in the front, like dream or illusion in shadow or flash. Therefore learned that Buddha's words are not fabricated. Water shadow and mirror reflection are attractive. *Trailokya* are all absorbed. Why choose two emperors or five kings. Who care about Jin, Song, Qi, or Liang. Since ancient time heroes went for war, had to count revered and kind

people from scratch. If knows earlier that no self and no other, why fight for superficial titles or interests?

已出色界禪天	見住空無邊處	凡所有相虛妄	如今驗在目前
如夢幻泡影電	方知佛語無虛	水影鏡像迷人	三界盡遭吞噉
選甚二皇五帝	誰怕晉宋齊梁	自古英雄征戰	從頭屈指高賢
早知無我無人	爭甚浮名浮利		

(Kaiqi)

The seventh stage is *Acalā-bhūmi* (“the unshakeable stage”). At this stage attained seven categories of *sambhogakāya*. Arrived in the recognized *ākāśānantyāyatana*. The *dharmakāya* (“dharma body”) is empty and equal (“has height up to shoulder”). *Sambhogakāya* is equally distributed to ten stages. *Nirāmaṇakāya* changes in numerous ways. It is the skilled labor of the people of the way. At this stage, names and titles are not changed. Quoting *Sūtraṅgama Sūtra* saying, *sambhogakāya*, *nirāmaṇakāya*, and *dharmakāya*. *Sūtraṅgama* is firstly a rare king. Eliminating my myriads of *kalpas* in opposite ways, so not just being monks but *dharmakāya*. My heart has an autumn moon, the shadow appears in the green pond purely and clearly. There is nothing in the world can be compared, how can I advocate and speak of this? It is called a spot in an autumn river, or distantly the ocean tide calms down. Absently (it is like) a snowy treasure in an icy bottle. Both are clear without any spot inside out. It is the sympathy of unrestrained heart.

第七不動地	此位七分報身	已到識無邊處	法身空有齊肩
報身均攤十地	應身變化無窮	乃是道人活計	此位名稱不動
引舉楞嚴頌云	妙湛總持不動 ⁴⁹⁵	首楞嚴王希有	消我億劫顛倒
不歷僧祇法身 ⁴⁹⁶	寒山有詩一首	吾心有似秋月	影現碧潭皎潔
世間無物比論	教我如何宣說 ⁴⁹⁷	可謂秋江一點	依稀大海潮平
恍惚冰壺雪竇	表裏瑩徹無瑕	可憐心地洒然	

(Kaiqi)

Sighing about the noise of city, watching six dusts rolling in worries. The Buddha bestowed the Lotus Sea and the universe. The fight confuses people that cannot be seen. An insect inside wood does not know outside of the wood. A fish in a well does not trust the outside of the well. All limited between sound and form, deeply inside an egg. (It is like) pulling a sheet to the market, or fishing a fish to be placed on cutting board. Today thanks to the three vehicles granted by the Buddha, suddenly to be born in the land of ultimate bliss.

⁴⁹⁵ *Miaozhan* 妙湛 means *Baoshen* 報身; *Zongchi* 總持 means *Yingshen* 應身/*Huashen* 化身; *Budong* 不動 means *Fashen* 法身.

⁴⁹⁶ From *Shurangama Mantra* “妙湛總持不動尊。首楞嚴王世希有。銷我億劫顛倒想。不歷僧祇獲法身。” *Dafo dingshou lengyanzhou* 大佛頂首楞嚴咒 in *Zhujing risong jiyao* 諸經日誦集要. j.3, in *Jiaying dazangjing* 嘉興大藏經, vol.19, No.B044.

⁴⁹⁷ *Hanshan* 寒山(circa 712-793), “吾心似秋月,碧潭清皎潔。無物堪比倫,教我如何說。” *Hanshan shizhu* 寒山詩註. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000.

堪嗟城市喧喧	愁見六塵袞袞	佛賜華海乾坤	爭那迷人不見
木虫不知木外	井魚不信井餘	區區聲色之中	杳杳穀形之內
牽羊來赴市中	捕魚已安砧上	今蒙佛贈三乘	頓生極樂國土

(Kaiqi)

The eighth stage is *Sādhumatī-bhūmi* (“the stage of excellent wisdom”). Attained eight categories of *sambhogakāya*. Already arrived at twenty-seventh *brahmā*. It is called *ākimcanyāyatana* (“the realm of formlessness”), like a vehicle of big bull. Performing *abhisheka* ritual for the position of *dharma* prince. It is called *bodhisattva* of *abhiṣikta*. Logically teaching *dharma* to save people. Seeing the merit of *sadindriya* (“the six indriyas”). It generalizes *tri-sahasra-mahā-sahasra-loka-dhātu* (“a great chiliocosm”). In the eyes there is the merit of eight hundreds. *Dharmadhatu* (“ten directions”) shows in front of the eyes. In the ears there is the merit of one thousand and two hundreds. Hearing sound and following track afar. In the nose there is the merit of eight hundreds. Can smell the fragrance of hundred myriads. In the tongue there is the merit of one thousand and two hundreds. The power of teaching *dharma* is in the end of tongue. In the body there is the merit of eight hundreds. Creation is inexplicitly manifested in the body. In the mind there is the merit of one thousand and two hundreds. The wisdom of *sadindriya* took charge of it. It is required to have *sadindriya* pure and quiet. Calling the Buddha to teach *dharma* and transmit lamp. The nineteenth chapter of the Lotus Sūtra, leaves for *dharma* teachers to carefully review. The twentieth chapter of the Lotus Sūtra, is about Sadāparibhūta Bodhisattva influenced people.

第八善慧地	到此八分報身	已至二十七天	呼為無所有處
喻如大牛之車	灌頂法王子位	名為受職菩薩	理合說法度人
見有六根功德	普徧三千大千	眼有八百功德	十方普現眼前
耳有千二功德	聽聲遠徹遐迹	鼻有八百功德	能嗅百億界香
舌有千二功德	說法力在舌根	身有八百功德	造化隱現身中
意有千二功德	六根智慧主宰	得是六根清淨	紹佛說法傳燈
法華第十九品	留與法師看詳	法華第二十品	不輕菩薩化人

(Overmyer)⁴⁹⁸

When the periods of the true teaching and the counterfeit teaching end, then those of overweening pride act in perverse ways. They do not rely on the true path of bodhisattvahood, but in their deliberate adherence to heretical teachings confuse others. In this time ritual reverence is not ignored, but (people) reverence heretical and arrogant monks. Pray carry out the true way of the ten stages, do not entrap others with what is not the *dharma*. Heresy and pride have great might, slander and abusive speech are not to be taken lightly. Do not predict the salvation of others without cause. You are ignorant monks, surely the worst of the four classes of men. If you do not believe in the three vehicles and ten stages, you shall be in purgatory for two hundred myriads of *kalpas*.

正法像法滅後	增上慢者橫行	不依菩薩正路	計著邪法亂人
是時不輕禮拜	拜告邪慢比丘	請行十地正道	勿將非法陷人

⁴⁹⁸ Overmyer 1982:631-2.

邪慢有大勢力	惡口罵詈不輕	不用虛妄授記	汝是無智比丘
當是四部惡人	不信三乘十地	二百億劫地獄	

(Kaiqi)

Heretical and arrogant (attitudes) cannot be unheard. Those who is not light even got beaten. Of course for the old and poor people, they are silent about being denounced and humiliated.

邪慢豈可不聞	不輕尚遭打擲	況復老身孤寒	甘伏被邪毀辱
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(Kaiqi)

The ninth stage is *Dharmameghā-bhūmi* (“the stage of cloud dharma”). Attained nine categories of *sambhogakāya*. Rising up to the peak of *trailokya*. Already left twenty-eight *brahmā*. It is named the great vehicle of the equivalent enlightenment. It is the correct position of *dharma* master. Driving a vehicle of white bull on bare ground. The twenty-eight generations of *sukhavati* (“the western paradise”). The seed of Buddha transmits lamp in this way. Everyone is called *bodhisattva*. Their *abhiññā* (“supernormal knowledge”) is equal to the Buddha’s. It is really the mind seal of the Buddha. The stages are clearly divided. Before elimination it rises up to the *ākāśa* (“vacuity sky”). It appears eighteen variations. The heart fire of *samādhi* self-immolated. *Śarīra* falling like rain in the sky. *Mahākāśyapa* collected *tripiṭaka*, which all belong to the great and small vehicles. First complete half of *Pratyekabuddha*. Then speak about the full heart of the ten stages. Only the marvelous enlightenment belongs to the same tradition. The high or low positions of a stage depend on that. The saints’ teaching should all be heard without doubt. Waking up the drunk people for cultivation. If all the teaching to be heard not correctly, that will make *sattva* (“all sentient beings”) dizzy. There is only the correct cultivation through the ten stages. Other ways cannot be counted. The long time training of the three vehicles will be successful. Do not compete for time or be in hurry. People love to learn that which is easy to be learned. It is like drawing a picture of bread but it cannot feed people. It is sad that lives through the ancient path, cannot be avoid to manipulate the ten stages.

第九法雲地	到此九分報身	上至三界之頂	已出二十八天
名為等覺大乘	乃是法師正位	露地車駕白牛	西天二十八代
佛種似此傳燈	箇箇稱呼菩薩	神通比佛一般	真是釋迦心印
果位照據分明	臨滅上升虛空	出現一十八變	三昧心火自焚
空中舍利如雨	迦葉結集經藏	統屬大乘小乘	先了辟支一半
次言十地滿心	惟有妙覺同宗	果位看他高下	聖說凡聽無疑
叫喚醉醒修行	凡說凡聽乖訛	轉使眾生瞌睡	惟有十地正修
其餘那堪屈指	三乘久煉成功	爭那時流性急	人愛易學易成
恰似畫餅不飽	哀哉古道茆生	不免編排十地	

(Kaiqi)

The tenth stage is the stage of the marvelous enlightenment. Attained nine categories of *sambhogakāya*. The name exceeds *trailokya*. First luring by the three vehicles, in fact save people by using the Buddha’s vehicle. Only this is named the sudden teaching.

Below this is all gradual cultivation. *Pramuditā-bhūmi*, *Vimalā-bhūmi*, *Prabhākarī-bhūmi*, *Arcishmati-bhūmi*, *Sudurjayā-bhūmi*, *Abhimukhī-bhūmi*, *Dūrangamā-bhūmi*, *Acalā-bhūmi*, *Sādhumatī-bhūmi*, *Dharmameghā-bhūmi*, with the marvelous enlightenment till the end. The ten abodes, ten actions, ten goals, ten stages, and the completion of merit including ten (stages) plus one (enlightenment). *Prajñā Mañjuśrī* full of wisdom. *Nirvāṇa Samantabhadra* completed actions. Succeeding the Buddha to plant wisdom, till then *Maitreya* is born.

第十妙覺地	到此十分報身	是名超出三界	初以三乘誘引
實以佛乘度脫	獨此名為頓教	向下總是漸修	歡喜離垢發光
焰慧難勝現前	遠行不動善慧	法雲妙覺已終	十住十行十向 ⁴⁹⁹
十地十一功圓 ⁵⁰⁰	般若文殊智滿	涅槃普賢行成	繼紹釋迦種智
到此彌勒下生			

(Overmyer)⁵⁰¹

You will rest in peace in the “Treasury of the Lotus Sea,” live forever in the land of Utmost Bliss. On the throne of the Great Precious Lotus King, as an all-powerful lion you shall roar. The Buddha is the one great cause (of liberation), today (you have) awakened to the perception of the Buddhas, and have already entered *Nirvāṇa* without remainder. You have defeated all devils and unbelievers, and distinguished the three bodies (of the Buddha) and the four forms of wisdom.

華海藏裏安身	極樂國中永壽	大寶華王座上	自在師子哮吼
佛為一大因緣	今日悟佛知見	已入無餘涅槃	降伏群魔外道
三身四智已辨			

(Kaiqi)

The eight liberations and six *abhijñā* (“supernormal knowledge”) take long to achieve. No action, no form, for salvation. The fathomless ocean of enlightenment neither comes nor goes. *Dharma* body and *Dharmadhātu* (“*dharma* realm”) are equal. The heart covers numberless lands.

八解六通久成 ⁵⁰²	無為無相解脫	覺海無來無去	法身法界齊平 ⁵⁰³
心包塵塵刹刹 ⁵⁰⁴			

(Overmyer)⁵⁰⁵

You have transcended the six paths of being and the four forms of birth. Within and without the whole universe. In heaven and on earth, all are children of the Buddha.
化出六道四生 六合乾坤內外 天地是佛子孫

⁴⁹⁹ *Shixiang* 十向 means *Shi huixiang* 十回向 “ten goals.”

⁵⁰⁰ *Shiyi* 十一 means 十一位, is the “ten stages” 十地 plus the equivalent enlightenment 等覺.

⁵⁰¹ Overmyer 1982:628.

⁵⁰² *Bajie* 八解 means *Ba jietuo* 八解脫 “eight liberations.”

⁵⁰³ *Dharmadhātu* 法界 “*dharma* realm,” includes *shifang* 十方 “ten directions.”

⁵⁰⁴ *Chenchen chacha* 塵塵刹刹 means *Chenchen chatu* 塵塵刹土 (Sans. *ksetra*) “realm.”

⁵⁰⁵ Overmyer 1982:628-9.

(Kaiqi)

Briefly citing the Lotus *sūtra* as an evidence. At that time all kings of *brahmā*, and together with all divine emperors. The protective *Caturmahārājakayikas* (“four heavenly kings”), and *Maheśvara*. The affiliated members numbered hundreds to ten thousands. Folding palms and making obeisance to me by prostration. Inviting me to turn *dharmacakra* (“the wheel of *dharma*”). If only praising the Buddha and the great vehicle, all the lives suffer in hardness. This cannot be believed as the correct *dharma*. Broken *dharma* cannot be believed. Again stating the Lotus *sūtra* as an evidence. Today *trailokya* belongs to me. Inside it there are all my sons. But they have forms and names, which cannot be equal to the Buddha. The most revered in *trailokya*, are the hidden leaders, enlightened sages, and compassionate fathers.

略舉法華作證	爾時諸梵天王	并及諸天帝釋	護世四大天王
及大自在天主	眷屬百千萬數	合掌稽首禮我	請我轉正法輪
若但讚佛大乘	眾生沒在於苦	不能信是正法	破法不肯信故
再舉法華作證	今此三界我有	其中悉是吾子	但係有形有名
不可與佛比肩	三界獨稱最尊	隱頭聖凡慈父	

(Overmyer)⁵⁰⁶

The three vehicles and ten stages have been explained, this is the orthodox tradition of Buddhist teaching. I hope that all sentient beings in the *dharma* realm will together enter the sea of the Omniscient.

三乘十地說已 是為佛法正宗 普願法界眾生 同入薩婆若海

Chuxue ji (The end)

初學記(終)

Chuxue ji is a text of Buddhist teaching. As Overmyer has argued, Kong Qingjue’s teaching intends to instruct disciples in personal salvation through “moral effort” and “spiritual development,” not just teachings and words.⁵⁰⁷ The heavy use of Buddhist jargon makes the text hard to be understood without Dao’an’s commentary. The text organization follows a detailed explanation of the “ten stages” in sequence. Kong Qingjue aims to provide a clear roadmap to enable Buddhist learners to leave the secular world, transcend the *dharma* body, and eventually to be reborn in the pure land. He suggests slow and patient practice, in order to attain salvation and enlightenment.

⁵⁰⁶ Overmyer 1982:629.

⁵⁰⁷ Overmyer 1982:627.

Although he encourages monastic life, he had several times criticizes arrogant monks unable to complete the ten stages and achieve bodhisattvahood. However, there is no evidence of attacking the Chan school, as the contemporary Song-Yuan Buddhist chronicles state. *Chuxue ji* is mainly based on the teachings of the Huayan school, and borrows terms from Buddhist classics such as the Lotus Sūtra, Avatamsaka Sūtra and Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra. There is nothing unique or new. Kong did not create any new terms or ideas. In his writing, speaking in the first person, Kong persuades Buddhist practitioners to follow the correct path to cultivate great wisdom and avoid falling into any delusional shortcut or troubled situation that cannot be rectified. Since there is no shortcut or simple way of practice, as Overmyer argues, Kong’s teaching leaves less room for disciples to expand on his thoughts and practices. This inflexibility is in contrast to the more flexible and simple teachings of Mao Ziyuan 茅子元 (1096?-1166) of the White Lotus movement.⁵⁰⁸ According to Kong, the advancement of the “ten stages” should take place intentionally and naturally. In short, *Chuxue ji*’s content surely attracted Buddhist audience and devotes. More importantly, this general Buddhist teaching guide legitimized the status of the White Cloud movement as a Buddhist sect in the Yuan, as Dao’an added his commentary and the Yuan court incorporated it into the Buddhist canon in 1312.

Tangut texts mentioned the “White Cloud monk”

“Compiled Essay on Reflective Words of Three Generations” 鞞 網 彙 撰 詞 後

⁵⁰⁸ Overmyer 1982:618.

“Compiled Essay on Reflective Words of Three Generations” (Thus later, the “Three Generations”), from the Russian IOM collection ИИВ. No.4166 has first been studied by Russian scholar Kychanov (Е.И.Кычанов) and Chinese scholar Shi Jinbo.⁵⁰⁹ They both translate its title to Chinese as *Sandai xiangzhao yanwen ji* 三代相照言文集.⁵¹⁰ Both Kychanov and Shi also agree that this manuscript is in movable type print, and date it to the Xi Xia period. Its colophon includes names of two editors, the noble-born 胤 駉 駉 節 親 主 龔 儼 慧 照 Huizhao and the monk 緇 僧 龔 龔 道 慧 Daohui, and the movable type block compiler 魏 愷 龔 陳 羊 金.⁵¹¹ Sun Bojun connects 胤 駉 駉 節 親 主 龔 儼 慧 照 Huizhao with the White Cloud sect’s chief abbot Dao’an since Dao’an’s *Dharma* name is also Huizhao.⁵¹² But there is no evidence about Dao’an’s patronage on this Tangut text, and his connection with the royal family of Xi Xia. Kychanov has dated the text to 1216 and so varies with Sun’s argument since Dao’an was active in the early Yuan.⁵¹³ But due to the fact that this is a movable type print, I tend to date this document to the Yuan rather than the Xi Xia period.

The “Three Generations” has two songs authored by the White Cloud Buddhist or Master, namely *Eulogy of the Palace of the Way by the White Cloud Buddhist* 胤 駉 龔 駉 龔 龔 白雲釋子道宮頌 and *Song of the Completion of Realization by the White*

⁵⁰⁹ *Xixiaxue lunji* 西夏學論集 2012:221-9; Shi Jinbo and Yasen Wushou’er, 2000:41-42.

⁵¹⁰ Other Chinese translations include, *Sandai shuming yanwen ji* 三代屬明言文集, *Sanshi shuming yanwen* 三世屬名言集文, *Sandai suozhu shengyan ji* 三代所著聖言集, and *Sandai xiangchuan cihui ji* 三代相傳詞彙集.

⁵¹¹ 緇 *siar* 僧, also can be surname *sa* 薩.

⁵¹² Sun, “Yuandai baiyunzong yikan Xixiawen wenxian zongkao” (hereafter “zongkao”), 2011:153.

⁵¹³ *Xixiaxue lunji*, 2012:227.

Cloud Master 纛禪靛靛纛禪縹 白雲大師悟了歌.⁵¹⁴ Kychanov and Sun Bojun relate these two poems to the White Cloud sect simply because of the authors' titles contain "white cloud." I doubt this connection because there is no clear mention of these authors' names as Kong Qingjue. The content of the "Three Generations" is a collection of writings and teachings from three generations of monks. They are mainly Buddhist teachings on ethics, including those of the Chan school, and teachings of early Tangut Buddhist devotees. The collection uses Buddhist terms and metaphors as well as poetic description of scenes of Xi Xia territory. Sun argues that the "three generations" are those of the White Cloud sect.⁵¹⁵ However, they are more likely influential Buddhist monks in the early Xi Xia period. Apart from the so-called White Cloud Buddhist and the White Cloud Master we cannot identify other persons of the "Three generations." These persons' names include the Honorable Dharma Rain 禪縹靛靛禪法雨尊者, the Venerable Teacher Dharma Rain 禪縹禪靛禪法雨宗師, the Sailor of the Way 纛縹靛禪水人道者, the Venerable Teacher Yicheng 縹縹 (*ji sjij*) 禪靛儀成宗師, the Buddhist of Wind and Cloud 纛靛縹縹風雲釋子, the *Śramaṇa* Lucheng 縹縹 (*ljwu sjij*) 死 縹 陸成沙門.⁵¹⁶ The literary form of the "Three Generations" mainly consists of seven character songs

⁵¹⁴ Other Chinese translations of these two songs include, 纛縹縹道性頌 and 縹縹縹解了歌, Sun, "zongkao" 2011:152; 縹縹縹道家偈(道宮偈) and 縹縹縹悟竟頌, Solonin, "Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan," 2011:10.

⁵¹⁵ Sun, "zongkao" 2011:152.

⁵¹⁶ Sun, "zongkao" 2011:152. Sun translates 纛縹靛禪 as 人水道者, 縹縹禪靛 as 重法宗師, 縹縹死 縹 as 慶法沙門.

and poems.⁵¹⁷ Arakawa Shintaro 荒川慎太郎 has studied the intonation and rhyme of these songs and poems.⁵¹⁸

“Key Essay on Three Reflections and Nine Entries” 骸 邈 玃 鞞 頌 疊 發

“Key Essay on Three Reflections and Nine Entries” (Thus after, “Three Reflections”) (Chin. *Sanguan jiumen xuansuo wen* 三觀九門旋鎖文, or *Sanguan jiumen yaoshi wen* 三觀九門鑰匙文), from the Russian IOM collection ИИВ. No.2551, has been studied by Kirill Solonin.⁵¹⁹ The text is authored by the White Cloud Buddhist 龕 禪 叢 發 白雲釋子. It includes two charts: *Chart of the Origin and End for Reflecting the Nine Entries* 邈 玃 鞞 禱 芟 儼 觀九門本末圖 and *Chart of Releasing Names and Ranks* 翊 紮 骸 絛 儼 名列出縛圖. There are two songs, *Eulogy of the Palace of the Way* 龕 櫛 玃 道 宮頌 and *Song of the Completion of Realization* 龕 髻 緜 悟了歌. They are same titles as the two poem that are included in the collective “Three Generations.” But their contents are slightly different as Solonin noticed. He suggests that they belong to two different original Chinese versions or different translations based on the same Chinese version.⁵²⁰ I would also suggest they are not necessarily translations of Chinese texts. If the White Cloud Buddhist is a Tangut monk, the two different Tangut versions of the two songs, editions of the same text.

⁵¹⁷ Sun translates one of the songs, *Eulogy of the Door to Prestige of the Xia State's Own Way* 龕 頌 禱 發 鞞 龕 玃 夏國本道門威頌 (Sun translated as 夏國本道門風頌). Sun, “zongkao” 2011:152.

⁵¹⁸ Arakawa Shintarō 荒川慎太郎. 『三世属名言集文』所収西夏語詩. *Kyōto Daigaku gengogaku kenkyū* 京都大学言語学研究, 2001(20):195-224.

⁵¹⁹ Solonin, “Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan,” 2011: 9-22.

⁵²⁰ Solonin, “Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan,” 2011:11.

The core philosophy, according to Solonin, is “one heart” *yixin* 一心 and “perfect teaching” *yuanjiao* 圓教, which were developed from Buddhist schools including Chan, Huayan and Tiantai, and syncretisticized in the 11th and 12th centuries in both the Northern Song and Liao.⁵²¹ Thus the “Three Reflections” does not belong to the teachings of one particular Buddhist school. The key concept the “three reflections” for contemplation represented by the White Cloud Buddhist, is based on the three systems of “three reflections” in three traditions. Therefore, these three systems consist of a total of “nine reflections,” which are called the “nine entries” by the White Cloud Buddhist. As the author points out, the three systems are: 1. the “three reflections” of *Dharmadhātu* 禪 法界三觀 based on *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* 維 祇 華 嚴, first taught by Dushun 杜 順(557-640); 2. the “three reflections” of the Tiantai school 天 台 三 觀 based on *Lotus Sūtra* 法 華, taught by Zhiyi 智 顛 (538-597, 天 台 智 者), and later revised by Tiantai monks including Xianshou Fazang 賢 首 法 藏(643-712), Jingxi Zhanran 荊 溪 湛 然(711-782), and Shenzhi Congyi 神 智 從 義(1042-1091); 3. the “three reflections” of the perfect enlightenment 圓 覺 三 觀, based on the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (Sans. *Mahāvaiṣṭya pūrṇabuddha-sūtra prasannārtha-sūtra*) 圓 覺 經, taught by Guifeng Zongmi 圭 峰 宗 密(780-841, 圭 峰 大 師), and Qingliang Chengguan 清 涼 澄 觀(738-839).⁵²² Each one of the “three reflections” in the three systems respectively refer to one of the three dimensions

⁵²¹ Solonin, “Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan,” 2011:12.

⁵²² Solonin, “Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan,” 2011:11-21; I added Jingxi Zhanran 荊溪湛然(711-782) to the list of influential Tiantai monks.

from Inner 內, Central 中 and Outer 外, surrounding heart 心 in the center, as shown in the *Chart of the Origin and End for Reflecting the Nine Entries*.⁵²³ Thus it demonstrates the core philosophy of “one heart” *yixin* and perfection of the unity of different Buddhist teachings *yuanjiao*.

“Treatise of Dharmic Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth” 禪 隨 齋 齋 齋 齋 齋

The Chinese translations of this text are *Jingtu shengqiu shuniao lun* 淨土生求順要論 (Kychanov, 1999) and *Qiusheng jingtu fayao men* 求生淨土法要門 (Sun, 2011).⁵²⁴

There are two extant copies in the Russian IOM collection, including a printed version 刻本 ИИВ. No.6904 and a manuscript 抄本 No.7832. These two texts are exactly same contents.⁵²⁵ It attributes to State Preceptor Jizhao 禪 隨 齋 齋 齋 齋 齋 寂照國師. The text includes two very brief short paragraphs. One on the ways of daily practice for a meditation practitioner (“silent owner” 齋 齋 齋 有默者), and the other a lineage of four generations who passed this teaching.⁵²⁶

The first paragraph – the part about brief daily practice, includes meditation facing the west, taking a formal vow, and reciting “Namo Amitābha” in front of

⁵²³ Solonin’s Tangut text has 禪 虎 “tiger” instead of 禪 中 “central,” might be a mistake, Solonin, “Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan,” 2011:13.

⁵²⁴ Е.И.Кычанов, Каталог тангутских буддийских памятников, Киото: Университет Киото, 1999. стр. 464-

465. Sun Bojun, “Heishuicheng chutu Xixiawen Qiusheng jingtu fayao men shiyi” 黑水城出土西夏文《求生淨土法要門》譯釋, 2012:1.

⁵²⁵ Sun points out that the end of the manuscript version has one more sentence as 齋 齋 齋 齋 齋 齋 齋 每日當為也 “should be used every day,” suggests that the text is for daily use, Sun, “Heishuicheng chutu Xixiawen Qiusheng jingtu fayao men shiyi,” 2012:1.

⁵²⁶ Sun’s translation for 齋 齋 齋 is 瑜伽士 yogi, Sun, “Heishuicheng chutu Xixiawen Qiusheng jingtu fayao men shiyi,” 2012:1.

Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara, in order to be reborn in the Pure Land of the West.

Nishida Tatsuo suggests that this text is translated from the Song Chinese monk Zunshi's 遵式 compiled book "Penitential and Vowing Ritual for Rebirth into the Pure Land"

Wangsheng jingtu chanyuan yi 往生淨土懺願儀(T1984.47.491c8-11) dated in 1050 CE.⁵²⁷

The second paragraph – the part about the lineage of the four generations, including chronologically: first, Venerable Master Xibian (Tang. *sji nuə*) 窳 緜 窳 毘 西 辯上人; second, Master Jiru (Tang. *mjij ʼo*) 禪 諶 悞 寂 入 定 師 or Master Kong (Tang. *khow*) 窳 悞 孔 定 師; third, State Preceptor Fahui (Tang. *tsjir ʒjir*) 禪 龔 法 慧 國 師 or State Preceptor Guo (Tang. *kwo*) 貢 颯 郭 國 師; fourth, State Preceptor Jizhao (Tang. *mjij swew*) 禪 儼 寂 照 國 師 or State Preceptor Liangwei (Tang. *lhiow we*) 駮 儼 良 衛 國 師.⁵²⁸ Sun Bojun translates the whole text and argues that Master Jiru or Master Kong is Kong Qingjue due to the same surname Kong, thus connects the text to the White Cloud sect.⁵²⁹ However, Solonin argues that the title Dingshi (Tang. *djij dzjij*) 悞 寂 定 師 is borrowed from a Tibetan word, thus Master Jiru (Tang. *mjij ʼo*) 禪 諶 悞 寂 入 定 師 might be a Buddhist master of Tibetan Buddhism rather than Chinese.⁵³⁰ I

disagree with Solonin's argument of the Tibetan esoteric features of the text, but also

⁵²⁷ Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, *Seikabun Kegongyō* 西夏文華嚴經, 1977:13; Sun Bojun, "Heishuicheng chutu Xixiawen Qiusheng jingtu fayao men shiyi," 2012:1. The English translation of *Wangsheng jingtu chanyuan yi* 往生淨土懺願儀 from Pi-Yen Chen, *Chinese Buddhist Monastic Chants*, 2010:164.

⁵²⁸ For the Venerable Master Xibian 窳 緜 窳 毘 西 辯上人, Sun links him with Kong's teacher Master Haihui 海慧大師 in Ruzhou 汝州, *Shishi jigulue* 釋氏稽古略; Sun "zongkao" 2011:151, I disagree on this claim since two names do not match at all.

⁵²⁹ Sun, "Heishuicheng chutu Xixiawen Qiusheng jingtu fayao men shiyi," 2012:2-3.

⁵³⁰ Solonin also argues that 窳 龔 要門 is from Tibetan word *man ngag* 劑門, thus claims the esoteric element of the text. Solonin, "Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan," 2011:16-7.

disagree with Sun’s argument that Master Jiru (Tang. *mjij ʼo*) is Kong Qingjue. However, I agree that Sun has identified the State Preceptor Guo Fahui (Tang. *kwo tsjir źjir*) 貢禪龔郭法慧 as a translator and monk of the Xi Xia, who has one writing extant in the IOM collection – *Couple Treasure of Transforming the Relieving Lock* 娑龔翳殺欬聶夫藏變化解鎖 or 伏藏變化鑰匙.⁵³¹ As for State Preceptor Jizhao (Tang. *mjij swew*) 禛儺寂照 or Liangwei (Tang. *lhiow we*) 駝隣良衛, Sun argues that he is a Tangut, who appears as Imperial Preceptor Jizhao (Tang. *mjij swew*) 禛儺寂照帝師 in another lineage list in a colophon attached to a later Tangut script sūtra dated to 1641.⁵³² In the 1641 list, other famous Buddhists were listed, including Imperial Preceptors 帝師, State Preceptors 國師, and Dharma Teachers 法師 of the Xi Xia and Yuan periods, such as Yixing Huijue 一行慧覺. Whether Jizhao (Tang. *mjij swew*) 禛儺寂照 or Liangwei (Tang. *lhiow we*) 駝隣良衛 is a State Preceptor shown in this “Treatise of Dharmic Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth” or an Imperial Preceptor in the 1641 list, he is most likely a renowned Buddhist monk of the Xi Xia period. This would therefore contradict Sun’s argument that “Treatise of Dharmic Essentials of Pure Land Rebirth” was produced in the Yuan dynasty.⁵³³ Overall, I only agree on the identification of the State Preceptor Guo Fahui (Tang. *kwo tsjir źjir*) 貢禪龔郭法慧 in the Xi Xia period. Since Master Kong Jiru (Tang. *khov mjij ʼo*) 鑄禛禿 is the teacher of Guo Fahui in the lineage, given Guo’s prominent position in

⁵³¹ Sun, “zongkao” 2011:150.

⁵³² “大夏國弘揚華嚴諸師,” Chongzhen 14 崇禎十四年 (1641) *Dafang guangfo Huayan jing haiyin daochang shichong xingyuan changbianli chanyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經海印道場十重行願常遍禮懺儀; Sun, “Heishuicheng chutu Xixiawen Qiusheng jingtu fayao men shiyi,” 2012:3.

⁵³³ Sun, “Heishuicheng chutu Xixiawen Qiusheng jingtu fayao men shiyi,” 2012:5; Sun, “zongkao” 2011:151.

Xi Xia as the state preceptor, he must be a famous Buddhist monk who personally trained Guo in Xi Xia. However, Kong Qingjue has never been to Xi Xia, according to his biography. So this Kong Jiru should not be Kong Qingjue. Thus, the text has no connection with the White Cloud sect.

“Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Chan Gate that Transmits the Mind Ground in China” 禪禪師資承襲圖

This is a Tangut translation of “Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Chan Gate that Transmits the Mind Ground in China” *Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖, which was written by Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密(780-841).⁵³⁴ This book is a basic introduction of the lineages of different sects of the Chan school, including the Northern 北宗 and Southern branches 南宗, in a form of questions and answers between Pei Xiu 裴休(791-864) and Zongmi 宗密.⁵³⁵ Zongmi’s Buddhist philosophy was also shaped by the Huayan school, and became popular in the Liao and Xi Xia.⁵³⁶ In the extant copy of the Tangut translation (IOM collection ИВВ. No.2261), there is an illustration attached (not seen in any Chinese versions of the book), which depicts four figures with inscriptions. As Sun Bojun deciphered, they are Zongmi 禪禪宗密, Pei Xiu 裴休, the White Cloud Buddhist 白雲釋子, and

⁵³⁴ The book title’s English translation according to Wendi Adamek, *The Mystique of Transmission: On an Early Chan History and Its Contexts*, 2006:530.

⁵³⁵ The Southern Branch of the Chan School 南宗, as discussed in the text, including Heze 荷澤, Hongzhou 洪州, and Niutou 牛頭 schools.

⁵³⁶ Kirill Solonin, “Guifeng Zongmi and Tangut Chan Buddhism,” *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 1998 (11).

Chan Master Zhang 張禪師.⁵³⁷ Sun argues that the White Cloud Buddhist is Kong Qingjue, simply based on the title 龕禪白雲 “White Cloud”. Therefore she links Kong’s teachings to the Huayan school. Although we do not have a clear idea who the Chan Master Zhang is, two other characters including Zongmi and Pei Xiu are both from the Tang dynasty. So it would be unusual to have Kong, a Song personage, to appear in the same image with people in the Tang. Since no further information on the so-called White Cloud Buddhist is given in this context, we cannot conclude that this character is Kong. Thus, I disagree on the connection between this Tangut book and the White Cloud sect. Also, the book is from IOM’s Kara Khoto collection (which has both Xi Xia and Yuan period materials), about which we still do not know whether it is from the Xi Xia or Yuan period.

Conclusion

Kong Qingjue’s teaching, are from the two extant books *Zhengxing ji* and *Chuxue ji* attributed to him but have nothing to do with each other. We learned that Kong did not create any unique ideas or concepts. Buddhist terms such as “ten stages” were already preexistent before he wrote about them in the Song dynasty. Kong mainly borrowed Confucian and Buddhist terminology for these two books respectively. The way of expression and contextualization of the texts mix the three teachings of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism, which was a general religious and philosophical trend in China from the Song, Xia, to the Yuan periods. *Zhengxing ji* is a moral teaching

⁵³⁷ Sun, “Xixiawen Zhengxing ji kaoshi”2011:216; *Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻 #2261; Shi Jinbo, *Xixiawen jiaocheng* 西夏文教程 2013:99.

guidebook in simple words, for a lay audience to memorize and follow. *Chuxue ji* is a guidebook for beginning Buddhist followers (both lay and monastic) that uses Buddhist jargon and six character poems. It is easy to understand with the help of Dao'an's commentary. These two short books were compiled into the Puning canon in 1312, and marked as the most identical doctrines of the White Cloud sect. However, due to the more interest-seeking lay leadership and loose organization of the sect membership, and the lack of evidence that sect members practiced or paid attention to the texts, these two books have nothing to do with the development of the White Cloud sect in the Yuan dynasty so far as we know. The sect remained social movement to a large extent, rather than a spiritual movement.⁵³⁸

None of the four alleged Tangut manuscripts contain typical teachings of Kong Qingjue, which are known as “ten stages” and cultivation to be a gentleman. Also, the obscure title of the “White Cloud Buddhist,” the “White Cloud Master,” or “Master Kong” which appear in Tangut texts cannot be clearly identified as Kong Qingjue. We will have to wait to determine the connection between the White Cloud sect and Tangut Buddhism in the Xi Xia period until more evidences emerge. The documents found in Kara Khoto, today in IOM, could all belong to the Yuan rather than Xi Xia period. Currently the only evidence is the printed version of the Tangut translation of *Zhengxing ji*, which ought to have been translated and printed in Hangzhou as part of the Hexi canon, based on the current available Chinese version which was added to the Puning canon in 1312. Thus, the connections between the White Cloud sect and Tangut Buddhism did not take place in

⁵³⁸ One contrast example is the White Lotus movement, that Mao Ziyuan's teaching clearly regulates and guides the White Lotus sect members how to practice rituals and perform daily training. See, ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History*, 1992.

the Xi Xia territory or in North China, but through the printing enterprise of Buddhist canons in Hangzhou after the Mongol conquest of South China in 1276.

Figure 22: “Collection of Virtuous Acts” 勲勳勳 正行集 Page 1A fragment
Ecang heishuicheng wenxian 俄藏黑水城文献 vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999. P200

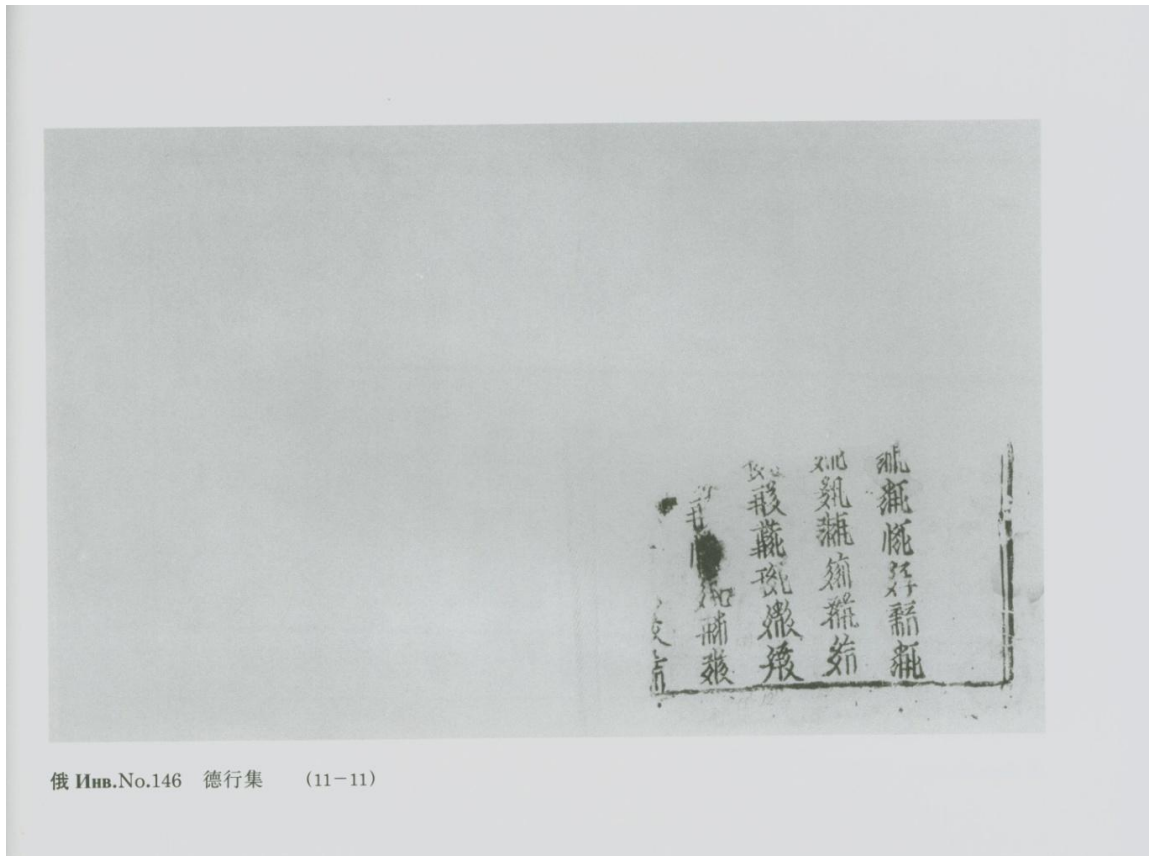
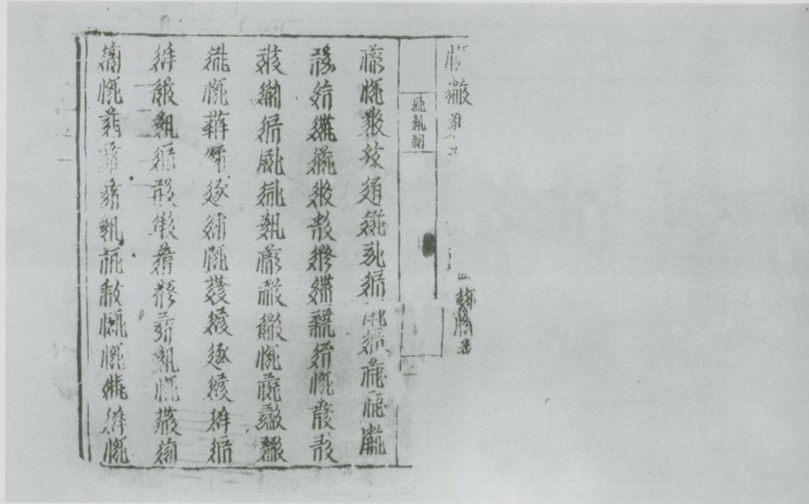
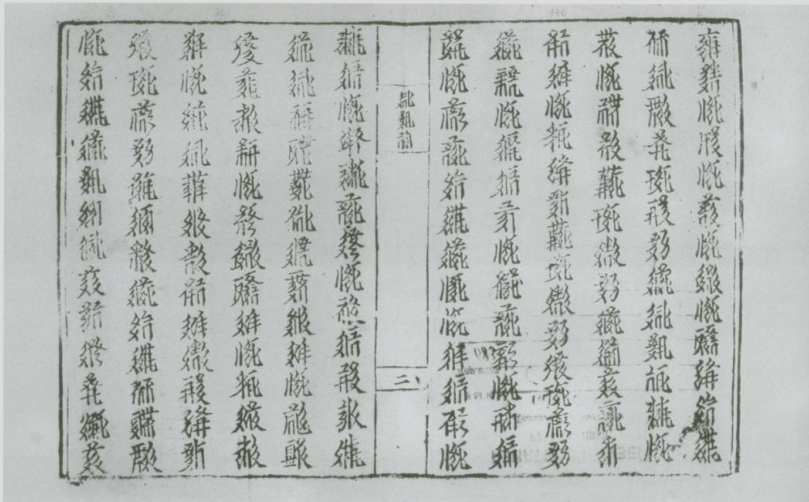


Figure 23: "Collection of Virtuous Acts" 勲勳 正行集 Page 1A fragment, 1B, 2A, 2B

Ecang heishuicheng wenxian 俄藏黑水城文献 vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999. P195



俄 Ивв.No.146 德行集 (11-1)



俄 Ивв.No.146 德行集 (11-2)

Figure 24: "Collection of Virtuous Acts" 德類編 正行集 Page 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B
 Ecang heishuicheng wenxian 俄藏黑水城文獻 vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999. P196

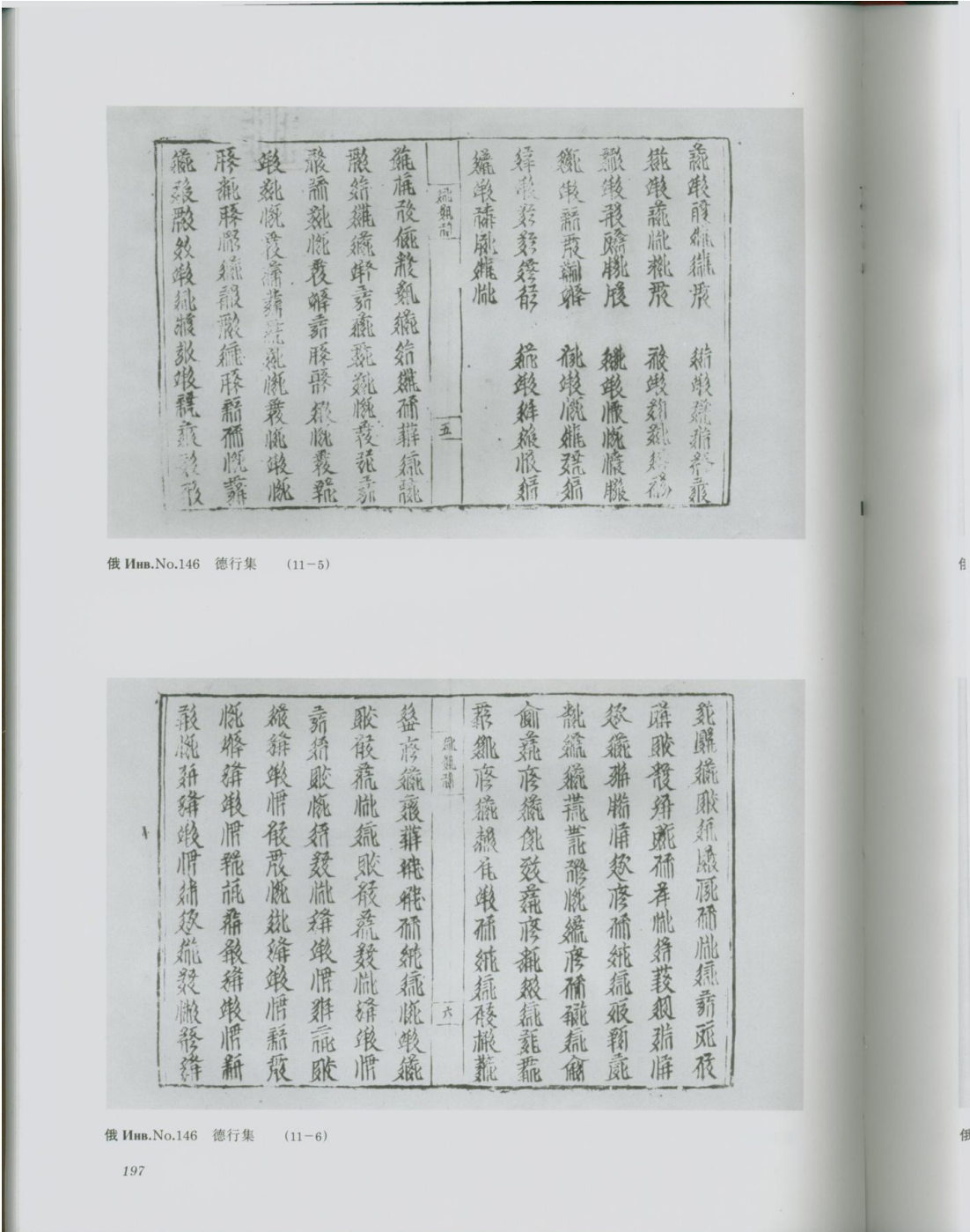
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 凝儀 凝 茲 織 茲 茲 翁 茲 織 茲
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俄 Ивв.No.146 德行集 (11-3)

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俄 Ивв.No.146 德行集 (11-4)

Figure 25: “Collection of Virtuous Acts” 毓 虬 淑 正行集 Page 5A, 5B, 6A, 6B
 Ecang heishuicheng wenxian 俄藏黑水城文献 vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999. P197



俄 Ивв.No.146 德行集 (11-5)

俄 Ивв.No.146 德行集 (11-6)

Figure 27: "Collection of Virtuous Acts" 勸善錄 正行集 Page 9A, 9B, 10A, 10B fragment

Ecang heishuicheng wenxian 俄藏黑水城文獻 vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999. P199

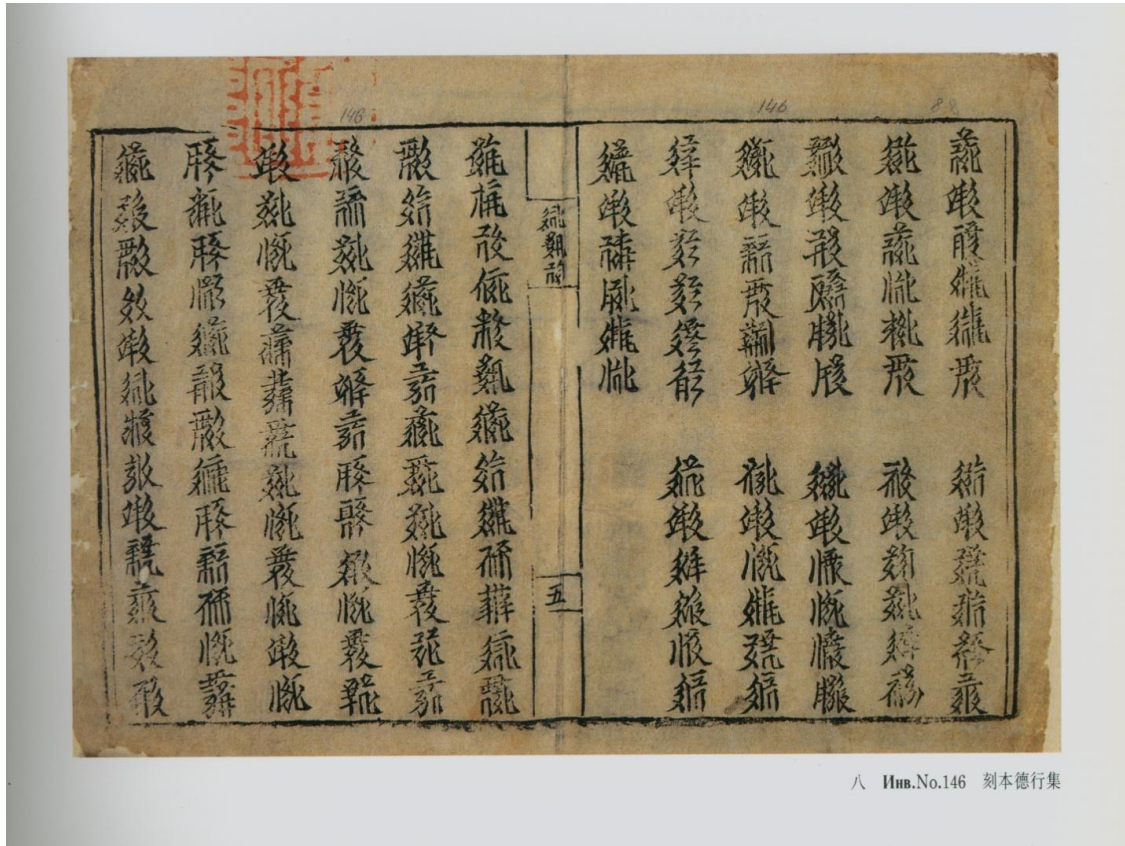
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 銀承壽效... 勸善錄... 德行集 (11-9)

俄 Ивв.No.146 德行集 (11-9)

勸善錄... 德行集 (11-10)

俄 Ивв.No.146 德行集 (11-10)

Figure 28: "Collection of Virtuous Acts" 夔 夔 夔 正行集 Page 5A, 5B
 Ecang heishuicheng wenxian 俄藏黑水城文献 vol. 10, Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999. Color picture #8



八 111b.No.146 刻本德行集

Chapter 6. Grottos of the Southern Hill

On an auspicious date of the first spring month, in Taiding 5 (1328),
bhikṣu Mingzhi ordered craftsmen to carve a revered image of
Buddha Kamaladala-vimala-nakṣatra-rāja-saṃkusumit ābhijñā.
Completely forgetting good or bad, to print the fundamental cause.
Following the nature (the grottos) appear on the rocks of the Southern Hill.
Merit and solemnity (filled) the monastery of ten thousand
embodiments.⁵³⁹

Nanshan Grotto #2

泰定五年孟春吉日，比丘明質命工鑄刻尊像普頌尊華宿王智佛。
全忘勝劣印元因，隨緣湧現南山石，功德莊嚴萬相寺。

Puning Monastery 普寧寺 in the Southern Hill *Nanshan* 南山 of Yuhang 餘杭 in Hangzhou, was the headquarters of the White Cloud sect.⁵⁴⁰ It housed the clergy office of the sect's leading abbot and the printing studio of the Puning canon. Though the monastery does not exist today, still extant at the site are more than a dozen giant grottos carved into the cliff of the Southern Hill made by the White Cloud sect during the Yuan dynasty. These grottos are all that remains of the White Cloud sect. To date, this grotto site has received no attention from modern Chinese scholarship on Yuan history and Chinese art history and is unknown to the Western scholarship. This chapter introduces the surviving grottos, gives analytical narratives on the motifs and spatial forms, and raises questions for future discussions among historians and art historians. It shows that the Puning Monastery, and the Southern Hill continued as a regional pilgrimage destination and local attraction in the late Yuan, after the discontinued government

⁵³⁹ Here the monastery refers to the Puning Monastery.

⁵⁴⁰ The Puning Monastery, as discussed in previous chapters, was established as the pagoda monastery for the sect founder Kong Qingjue's relics. It was first named as "White Cloud Pagoda Cloister" *Baiyun tayuan* 白雲塔院, then changed to "Cloister of Transmitting Lamp" *Chuandeng yuan* 傳燈院 during the Shaoxing 紹興 period (1131-1162), "Monastery of Universal Peace" *Pu'an Monastery* 普安寺, and eventually to *Puning Monastery* 普寧寺 in Chunxi 7 淳熙七年 (1180), *Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi* 萬歷杭州府志, *Jiaqing Yuhang xianzhi* 嘉慶餘杭縣志 j.15.

support and the closure of the sect clergy offices. It also shows the mix of three religions and popular beliefs, in the unorthodox forms of sculptures. It is not absolute Buddhistness of the White Cloud sect.

The Southern Hill is a hill of low elevation. It stands solely on the agricultural plain north of Hangzhou in adjacent to Huzhou. The plain is surrounded on three sides by the long range of the Tianmu Mountain. The hill itself stands apart from other nearby hills. To the south of the hill there are a small lake called the North Lake 北湖, and a stream called Tiao Creek 苕溪. Tiao Creek, as discussed in Chapter 4, provided the region its primary source of water for both agriculture and consumption and was and transportation between Hangzhou and Huzhou. Since the Southern Song period, Southern Hill had been a quarry. Dense canal networks nearby facilitated the shipping of rocks from the hill to construction sites, especially those in the capital Lin'an (Hangzhou). Therefore, the hill had been stripped of much of its vegetation leaving exposed broad bare vertical cliffs prime for carving. Most of the grottos are in the form of reliefs in shallow niches. They all date to the Yuan period.

(Figure 43)

There was no record of why these grottos were initially made. One speculation is that they were made at the same time as Yang Lianzhenjia's mass grotto making activities in Feilafeng 飛來峰 Hill in Hangzhou, thus suggesting a connection between the Southern Hill grottos and Yang's sponsorship.⁵⁴¹ Considering the quite different

⁵⁴¹ On Feilafeng and Yang's transformation of Hangzhou's religious landscape, see Richard Edwards. Michigan Pu-tai-Maitreya and a Reintroduction to Hangzhou's Fei-lai-Feng. *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 14 (1984), pp. 5-50. Chang Qing, Feilafeng and the Flowing of Chinese Buddhist Sculpture from the Tenth to Fourteenth Centuries. PhD diss. University of Kansas 2005. Chang Qing, *Indigenizing Deities: The Budai*

features of the artworks on Feilafeng Hill and the Southern Hill, we argue that there appears to be no obvious connection between these two projects. Feilafeng Hill's grottos are mostly sculptures in niches, while the Southern Hill's grottoes are all reliefs. The second difference is that more than half of those sculptures on Feilafeng Hill that were made in the Yuan period are Tibetan esoteric style, unlike the reliefs in the Southern Hill which are all Chinese style.

Local folklore says that there used to be over thirty grottos on the hill but that two thirds of them were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Also, local militia practice and rock carving for construction brought continual harm to the grottos until late into the 20th century. Some reliefs extant today show missing body parts, and some are riddled with bullet holes due to the local militia's using them for target practice. There are a total of thirteen grottos surviving today. Most of them are exposed on the cliff and range from 2 to 5 meters. All of them are located above the foothill in the south and east sides of the Southern Hill. The reliefs mostly face south or southeast. In 2013, the site was made the "Seventh Batch of the Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the National Level" 第七批全國重點文物保護單位, and received government funding for protection and tourism development. The site also attracts local pilgrims, since candles and material offerings can be found in front of many grottos. Today there are staircases and guide paths for visitors. Most of the reliefs can be viewed in close proximity, except for one relief located on the far cliff which is separated from viewers

Maitreya and the Group of Eighteen Luohans in Niche No. 68 at Feilafeng. *Southeast Review of Asian Studies*, Volume 32 (2010), pp. 22–47. Huang Yongquan 黃湧泉, *Hangzhou Yuandai shiku yishu* 杭州元代石窟藝術, 1958. Jisheng Xie 謝繼勝, *Jiangnan zangchuan fojiao yishu: Hangzhou Feilafeng shike yanjiu* 江南藏傳佛教藝術: 杭州飛來峰石刻研究, 2014. Rob Linrothe, "The Commissioner's Commissions: Late-Thirteenth-Century Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist Art in Hangzhou under the Mongols," 2009.

by a deep pond. Visitors today mostly approach the grottos from east to west and proceed up the terrain along the new staircases. The total thirteen sites ranging from east to west cover approximately 360 meters. I made two field trips to the site, one in winter 2013 and another in summer 2014. I use a new ordering system to number these grottos, from west to east for Grottos No.1 to 11, different from the numbering used in Chinese catalogs.⁵⁴² There is also one damaged small sculpture I found in my second field trip. Among these grottos, two have inscriptions with dates of grotto carving and information of the sponsors and their wishes.

Grotto descriptions

Grotto No.1 (Figure 29)

The Great Perfect Warrior Emperor *Zhenwu dadi* 真武大帝⁵⁴³

This grotto is located on the west end of the grotto group. It is the only Daoist-themed grotto. The relief is of the Great Perfect Warrior Emperor, also known as, the Mysterious Warrior *Xuanwu* 玄武. He stand above a serpent-entwined tortoise. This image represents the direction North. Well known as one of the four symbols of the four directions in Chinese mythology and astrology, it signifies that the Great Perfect Warrior Emperor subdues the black tortoise. Daoist astral science and the figures for the four directions are well received in Buddhism and Chinese popular belief system. The symbols of four directions represent sections of sky and their certain seasons, in space

⁵⁴² For Chinese catalogs, see Yu Jianzhong 俞建中, *Pingyao guyun* 瓶窠古韻, 2006; Chen Yanyi 陳燕貽, *Yuhang wenwu zhi* 餘杭文物志, 2000:143-5; Wang Shilun 王仕倫, *Xihu shiku* 西湖石窟, 1986.

⁵⁴³ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #197, #198.

and time. This unique Daoist god relief shows the syncretistic character of the White Cloud sect, at least for the artists who made it and the pilgrims who appreciated it.

The relief is 2.45 meters tall, facing southeast, including the Warrior Emperor and the tortoise. The Warrior Emperor has a round face, long ears, and beard, with long hair down to his shoulders. His dress is a long robe, similar to Daoist ritual performance ones. His left hand is placed on the left knee and the right hand holds a long sword (the sword is about 1 meter long). His right foot is held aloft below his right hand. This lifted foot looks like the “pose of royal ease” *lalitāsana* in Buddhist art. Both feet bare the toes and nails carved. The tortoise under the Warrior Emperor has its head looking back towards the left, and the snake’s head on the left side looks towards the right.

Grotto No.2 (Figure 30)

Buddha Kamaladala-vimala-nakṣatra-rāja-saṃkusumit ābhijñā Zunhua xiuwangzhi fo 尊華宿王智佛 (1328CE)⁵⁴⁴

Grotto No.2 and 3 form a pair. Grotto No.2 faces the neighboring No. 3 to its right, located in cliffs oriented at 90 degree vertically from the ground. The cliffs of both grottoes No. 2 and 3 are inclined on the top, such that the head of the relief figure is directly overhead. Grottoes No. 2 and 3 are similar in height. The relief is the Buddhist figure of Buddha Kamaladala-vimala-nakṣatra-rāja-saṃkusumit ābhijñā Zunhua xiuwangzhi fo 尊華宿王智佛 or Jinghua xiuwangzhi fo 淨華宿王智佛. According to the “Sūtra of Fifteen Hundred Names of Buddha throughout the Ten Directions” *Shifang*

⁵⁴⁴ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #130.

qianwubai foming jing 十方千五百佛名經, this Buddha's name is the twelfth one in the “one hundred and fifty names of the northwest direction” 西北方一百五十佛名.⁵⁴⁵ The Buddha by this name blesses the newborn babies and pregnant women.

The relief is 2.3 meters tall, faces east, and includes the Buddha and the lotus leaves he sits on 仰覆蓮須彌座. The relief is set inside a shallow niche. There is a large dot on the head and a small dot in between the two eyebrows. Two ears hang down equal to shoulder-length. He is dressed in a long robe with his chest exposed. No feet are represented. The Buddha's two hands form a gesture which looks as if it were supposed to represent the *abhaya mudrā* 施無畏印. But the right hand is in *karana mudrā* 期克印, and the left hand in *dharmachakra mudrā* 說法印. This shows that the artisans who carved this relief were not professional, for they were not familiar with the standard iconography for making Buddhist images.

To the right of the grotto there is a lotus tablet containing an inscription of seven vertical lines which reads:

“On an auspicious date of the first spring month, in Taiding 5 (1328), *bhikṣu* Mingzhi ordered craftsmen to carve a revered image of Buddha Kamaladala-vimala-nakṣatra-rāja-saṃkusumit ābhijñā. Completely forgetting good or bad, to print the fundamental cause. Following the nature (the grottos) appear on the rocks of the Southern Hill. Merit and solemnity (filled) the monastery of ten thousand embodiments.”
泰定五年孟春吉日，比丘明質命工鑄刻尊像普頌尊華宿王智佛。全忘勝劣印元因，隨緣湧現南山石，功德莊嚴萬相寺。

Grotto No.3 (Figure 31)

Avalokiteśvara of Compassion Navigation *Cihang Guanyin* 慈航觀音⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁵ *Shifang qianwubaifo mingjing* 十方千五百佛名經, Taisho vol.14, no. 442.

This grotto faces the neighboring grotto No. 2 to its west. The relief figure is Avalokiteśvara of Compassion Navigation, who is a composite deity comprised of the Buddhist god Avalokiteśvara *Guanyin* 觀音 and the Daoist god “True Person of Compassion Navigation” *Cihang zhenren* 慈航真人 (or, the “Great Being of Compassion Navigation” *Cihang dashi* 慈航大士) had been popular since the Song dynasty. This composite deity is believed to give blessings to seafarers and travelers and was especially popular in coastal regions such as Jiangnan. This special deity appearing in the grotto again shows the syncretistic trend of the White Cloud sect during the Yuan dynasty to mix the “three teachings” as well as to incorporate lay religious developments in the region.

The relief is approximately 3 meters tall, faces south, and is located in a sharp-pointing-top niche. The Avalokiteśvara of Compassion Navigation wears a treasure crown, which has a small sitting Buddha decoration in the front. She also wears *keyūra* 瓔珞 in front of her chest, and long sleeve robe with extended ribbons. Two hands fold together, while the left hand holds a Buddhist rosary. Her bare feet stand on a thin boat in the shape of a lotus leaf, which represents the “boat of compassion.” Below the boat there is flipping ocean tide, and to the right of the tide there is a heavenly horse *tianma* 天馬 whose head turns back looking at Avalokiteśvara. This heavenly horse represents *balāha* or *bālāha* (Chinese transliteration, *poluo* 婆羅 or *poluohe* 婆羅訶) meaning the “cloud horse” (Chinese, *yunma* 雲馬).⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁶ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #170.

⁵⁴⁷ According to an originally Indian legend that exists in numerous versions such as the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. Avalokiteśvara was once revealed in the form of a divine horse called Balāha, which rescued

Grotto No.4 (Figure 32)

Sitting Buddha⁵⁴⁸

Grotto No.4 and 5 again form a pair. Grotto No.4 faces the neighboring No. 5 to its right, located in cliffs of 90 degree corner. The size and art style of Grotto No. 4 is remarkably similar to that of No. 2. Since there is no inscription left, we do not know to which Buddha it refers. Also, the figure placing Buddha to the left and Avalokiteśvara to the right might be a popular style of twin grottos among the Southern Hill grottos, as shown in the group of No. 2 and 3, and group of No.4 and 5.

The relief is 2.6 meters tall, faces southeast, and includes the Buddha and the lotus leaves he sits on 仰覆蓮須彌座. The relief is inside a shallow niche. Two ears hang down to the shoulder. He is dressed in a long robe, with chest exposed. The Buddha's right hand is in *varada mudrā* 施願印, and left hand is in *dharmachakra mudrā* 說法印. No feet are exposed.

Grotto No.5 (Figure 33)

Sitting Avalokiteśvara⁵⁴⁹

This grotto faces the neighboring grotto No. 4 to its west. The relief is 2.8 meters tall, facing southwest. The relief figure is the sitting Avalokiteśvara, who sits on a similar

merchants whose ship was lost at sea, and who fell prey to female harpies on a deserted island. The horse rescued the merchants, preventing them from being eaten by the female monsters. Studholme, Alexander. *The Origins of Oṃ Mañipadme Hūṃ: A Study of Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002. Lienhard, Siegfried. "Avalokiteśvara in the Wick of Night-Lamp," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 36 (1993): 93-104. Victor Goloubew "Le Cheval Balaha," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 27 (1927): 223-237. Special thanks to Prof. Meir Shahar for providing this note.

⁵⁴⁸ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #150.

⁵⁴⁹ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #169.

lotus seat 仰覆蓮須彌座. It is not clear which type of Avalokiteśvara she is. But she is very different from the Avalokiteśvara of Compassion Navigation in Grotto No. 3. She wears a large sized crown of treasures with a small sitting Buddha placed in the front. The style of this large crown looks like the one of the Song empress. She wears a cape and a double layer long robe. She also wears *keyūra* 瓔珞 in front of her exposed chest. She folds her two hands in front of her belly, in *dhyāna mudrā* 禪定印. But it seems that her folding hands used to hold a treasure pot 寶鉢, and it was damaged.

Grotto No.6 (Figure 34)

The largest size Sitting Buddha⁵⁵⁰

This grotto is the largest size among all the grottos in the Southern Hill. The relief is 6.6 meters tall, including the sitting Buddha 3.8 meters tall and the lotus seat with a foundation which is 2.8 meters tall. Between the lotus and the foundation there is a thin layer of ocean tide depicted. The relief faces southeast. The style of this sitting Buddha is very similar to the one of Grotto No.2. It is inside a shallow niche. There is a large dot in the head. Two ears hang down equal to shoulder. He dresses in long robe, with chest exposed. No feet are rendered. The Buddha's two hands' *mudrā* is the same as that of the figure in Grotto No.2. No inscription is given.

Grotto No.7 (Figure 35)

Sitting Buddha⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵⁰ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #149.

Grotto No. 7 is close to Grottos No.2 and 3. It is right above the ground today. The relief is inside a flame shaped niche, 2.6 meters tall, facing south. The image is the sitting Buddha on his lotus throne. The Buddha's hair curls are depicted. There is a large dot in the head, and a small dot in between two eyebrows. He wears a long robe with chest exposed. His right hand is in *karana mudrā* 期克印, and the left hand in *dharmachakra mudrā* 說法印. The relief has some bullet holes due to local shooting exercises. It has been repaired in the modern time with clear white paste seen on the damaged parts.

Grotto No.8 (Figure 36)

Sitting Buddha - Tathāgata Amitābha *Amituo rulai* 阿彌陀如來 (1335 or 1341 CE)⁵⁵²

This grotto, like Grotto No.7, is located right above the ground. Today there is a platform in the front, and there are often candles left by pilgrims. The grotto has a relief inside a niche. The relief is the image of a sitting Buddha on his lotus seat. He is 2.8 meters tall and faces south. He wears a long robe with chest exposed. His right hand is in *karana mudrā* 期克印, and the left hand in *dharmachakra mudrā* 說法印. There is a large dot in the head, and a small dot in between his two eyebrows. The major differences between Grottos No.7 and 8 are that in Grotto 8 Buddha's face is much thinner, and his right hand is in the middle of the chest. The styles of their niches are also different. No. 7 is flame shape and No.8 is round shape. Due to its low elevation and exposure, Grotto No.8 has been used for target practice. It suffers over five bullet holes. They were refilled

⁵⁵¹ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #151.

⁵⁵² Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #131.

by simple white colored paints, but after years these materials decayed and dropped with rain water thus left straight white stains.

To the right of the grotto there is a lotus tablet containing an inscription of five vertical lines, saying,

“Our monastery’s supervision monk, *bhikṣus*, and the congregation of disciples, carved to make a revered image of the *Tathāgata Amitābha*. (For) those who experienced merit of delivering living creatures from suffering, Zhiyuan 1 (1335) [or, Zhizheng 1 (1341)], the eighth moon,
本寺都寺比丘徒眾，鑄造阿彌陀如來尊像。歷德普度眾生有者，至元
(or, 至正)元年八月□□。

Currently the inscription is difficult to read. There are two previous readings, one dated to Zhiyuan 1 (1335), and the other to Zhizheng 1 (1341).⁵⁵³ This inscription is the latest evidence of the Southern Hill grottos, after Grotto No.2 (1328). This latest grotto proves the claim of local activism continuing after the onset of official persecution of the White Cloud sect in the mid-Yuan dynasty discussed in Chapter 2. Also, according to the inscription, the name for the sitting Buddha is “*Tathāgata Amitābha*” *Amituo rulai* 阿彌陀如來. This shows the unfamiliarity of the engravers and patrons on standard Buddhist art. This phenomenon again attributes to the generalized lay Buddhism and the syncretistic creativity in the Song-Yuan period.

Grotto No.9 (Figure 37)

Buddhas of the Three Times *Sanshi fo* 三世佛

⁵⁵³ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #131, Zhiyuan 1 (1335); Yu Jianzhong, *Pingyao guyun*, 2006, P126, Zhizheng 1 (1341).

This grotto is a group of three separate sculptures. This is an unfinished project as only the heads and upper bodies of the figures were made. The rest of the bodies are not finished, since original tracks of quarry on the cliff still exist. The reason of its incompleteness might be sudden loss of labor or financial support, or sudden persecution from the government. Grotto No.9 is high above the pond, so it is impossible to approach so as to have a close look at and measure its height. The overall size of the three grottos, including the unfinished part, is at least 5 meters tall. The three grottos of No.9 are equally situated on the same height. They all have flame shape niches that cover the relief. Only the head and shoulder of the central relief figure is preserved today. The left and right reliefs are damaged to the point almost nothing exists.

The reliefs, should be the Buddhas of the Three Times 三世佛. They are *Dīpaṃkara* “the Buddha of the past,” *Shakyamuni* “the Buddha of the present,” and *Maitreya* “the Buddha of the future.”⁵⁵⁴ Only *Shakyamuni* the middle relief is preserved partially. But the style of his head shows no difference with those previous discussed figures of sitting Buddhas. Thus, I tend to argue the simplicity of the carving works and lack of variety in Buddhist art. However, the Southern Hill grottos do have diversity in the images, when apply to the special Daoist Grotto No.1, and the ones of Avalokiteśvara (Grottos No.3 and 5).

Grotto No.10 (Figure 38)

Grotto of Small Triple Niches

⁵⁵⁴ Other possible identities of the triple sculptures can be the Buddha *Shakyamuni* in the middle, *Bhaiṣajyaguru* 藥師佛 or *Akshobhya* 阿閼佛/不動佛 in the east, and *Amitābha* 阿彌陀佛 in the west.

Grotto No.10 is a group of three separate grottos, with three small sculptures within a niche in each grotto. This grotto group is located in the east entrance of the Southern Hill grotto today, in the beginning of the pathway/trailhead, and it is the most northeast grotto in the Southern Hill. It is the first grotto that visitors encounter in the site today, so it attracts pilgrims. In the image, there are small modern porcelain figurines that locals have placed beside the sculptures inside the central niche. All the nine sculptures in the triple niches are severely damaged. Most of the figures have been beheaded. The sculptures in the central niche are almost two times bigger than those in the neighboring two niches and are better preserved in terms of their bodies and foundations. The total width of the triple niche is 3.9 meters.

The style of this grotto group is quite different from the rest of the Southern Hill grottos. Grotto No.10 is of small size with three figures in one niche. The figures' dresses and foundations are different from the other Southern Hill grottos. Also, they are located in low elevation, right in the front entrance to the site. So I speculate that they were carved either before or after the Yuan period. The three sculptures in the central niche are 0.8 meter tall including the lotus seat foundations, facing south. From their dresses and hand gestures, they look like the "Three Sages of the Western Pure Land" 西方三聖, including Amitābha Buddha 阿彌陀佛 in the middle, Left Attendant Avalokiteśvara 左脅侍 觀(世)音菩薩 and Right Attendant Mahāsthāmaprāpta 右脅侍 大勢至菩薩. The left and right niches' figures are damaged badly, so it is hard to tell their identities. From their remaining dresses, possible track of sword in a sculpture of the left niche and the sharp

shoes, they might be Daoist deities, or popular local deities such as the “Lord of the Soil and Ground” 土地公.

Grotto No.11 (Figure 39)

Buddha in the “Pool of Releasing Lives” 放生池⁵⁵⁵

This grotto is located on the other side of a large pool. It is a relief of Buddha inside a halo shaped niche. It seems as if the Buddha’s body below the chest does not exist (thus only a bust), rather than under water of the pond. There is an extended uncutted raw rock connecting the chest. From head to chest the Buddha is approximately 1 meter tall, facing south. His appearance looks similar to other sitting Buddhas of the Southern Hill grottos. He also has a head dot and the dot in between the eyebrows. He wears a robe with chest exposed. There is a lotus tablet as the inscription frame on the right side of the grotto, but leaves no inscription today. Instead, there are three characters extending out of the tablet reading “Pool of Releasing Lives” *Fangsheng chi* 放生池. Because it does not fit into the frame of the lotus tablet and because of the large size of its characters, this inscription likely was added at a later time. A “Pool of Releasing Lives” is usually placed in the front of a monastery. The site of the Puning Monastery is uncertain and the surroundings of the pool show no building remains. There are many ponds in the Southern Hill due to rain water collected in the deep quarry vaults. If people imagine that the grotto complex was once a part of a monastery or pilgrimage site, then the pool serves as the “Pool of Releasing Lives” in the front, and the Buddha there first greets visitors.

⁵⁵⁵ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #152.

Grotto No.12 (Figure 40)

Buddha (bottom half buried underground)⁵⁵⁶

This grotto has its upper body exposed above ground. The 1985 catalog includes this grotto, but I was not able to locate it during two field trips to the site.⁵⁵⁷ It is not Grotto No.11 by the pool since the 1985 catalog lists both Grottos No.11 and 12. According to the entry, the part of the Buddha relief above the ground is 1.52 meters tall. He wears a robe with chest exposed. No hands above the ground so possibly they are in *dhyāna mudrā* 禪定印. The appearance looks similar to other sitting Buddhas of the Southern Hill grottos.

Grotto No.13 (Figure 41)

Buddha (upper half missing)

This grotto is located to the west of Grotto No.2. The relief is of the sitting Buddha on his lotus seat. The art style is similar to that of the other sitting Buddhas on the site. His left hand is in *dharmachakra mudrā* 說法印, while the right hand is missing (possibly it had been in *karana mudrā* 期克印 as in Grotto No.2)

New Find (Figure 42)

Small half sculpture

⁵⁵⁶ Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986 #153.

⁵⁵⁷ *ibid.*

I found this small sculpture on my second field trip in summer 2014. It is far from the exposed cliffs where most other grottos are located. It is beside the newly paved path, behind bushes, in low elevation. It is about 0.8 meter above the ground. The sculpture itself is 0.3 meter tall, and there is a 0.2 meter tall incense pot carved below it. The pot's surface has a coin left by modern pilgrims. The small sculpture has lost its head and a large portion of upper body. From the gestures of its two feet, the long sleeve along the right arm and the remaining part of a bag on the left arm, I speculate this is the local Chinese deity *Budai* 布袋 (*Budai Maitreya* or the “laughing Buddha”), which became popular in Song-Yuan Jiangnan local society.⁵⁵⁸

Conclusion

Compared to the representative type of Yuan period grotto art, the Feilafeng Grotto (circa. 1282-1292) in Hangzhou, the Southern Hill grottos have many differences. Most grottos are reliefs in shallow niches, rather than three dimensional sculptures in deep niches as in Feilafeng. Unlike the diverse types of figures and styles of carving, most grottos in the Southern Hill look similar. They were possibly made by the same group of lay engravers rather than professional sculpture artisans. The styles also do not match standard making of Buddhist sculptures. Some of the sculptures have untraditional adornment, incorrect hand gesture *mudrās*.

I made four categories of the Southern Hill grottos according to their motifs and sizes:

⁵⁵⁸ The most well known *Budai* sculpture of the Song period is the one of the Feilafeng grottos in Hangzhou. Wang Shilun, *Xihu shiku*, 1986.

- a. The sitting Buddha, including Grottos No.2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, and 13.
- b. The creative figures, including Grottos No.1, 3, and 5.
- c. The giant unfinished grotto group, including Grotto No.9.
- d. Grottos in small niches, possibly pre-Yuan or post-Yuan era, including Grottos No.10, and the New Find.

Category “b” has the three most interesting grottos in the Southern Hill grottos with their unique appearance. Avalokiteśvaras in the Grottos No.3 and 5, are special in terms of their crowns, dresses and for No.3 below Avalokiteśvara the leaf boat and the horse in the ocean. Grotto 1, and possibly one or more niches of Grotto No.10, represent Daoist gods. This shows the syncretistic trend of local religious activists that was central/fundamental in the development of the White Cloud sect. We have seen examples of the three religion syncretism related to the White Cloud sect in previous chapters, such as the sect members sponsoring a Daoist abbey’s construction and Daoists donating money for the Puning Buddhist canon printing.

Two extant inscriptions record the years of carving the two grottos as 1328, 1335 or 1341. This fact demonstrates that in the late Yuan dynasty (1323-1368), local activists around the White Cloud sect headquarters, the Puning Monastery, did not stop conducting religious activities for merit making after the official ban on the sect in place by the 1320s. The carving of grottos in the late Yuan, is similar to the evidence that the Puning canon printings were still carried out after the last official ban of the White Cloud sect in the 1320s. The White Cloud sect related local groups and the Puning Monastery monks continued enthusiastically to sponsor and participate in local religious patronage projects such as *sūtra* printing and grotto carving.

Figure 29: Grotto No. 1
The Great Perfect Warrior Emperor 真武大帝



Figure 30: Grotto No. 2

Buddha Kamaladala-vimala-nakṣatra-rāja-saṃkusumit ābhijñā 尊華宿王智佛 (1328 CE)



Figure 31: Grotto No. 3

Avalokiteśvara of Compassion Navigation 慈航觀音

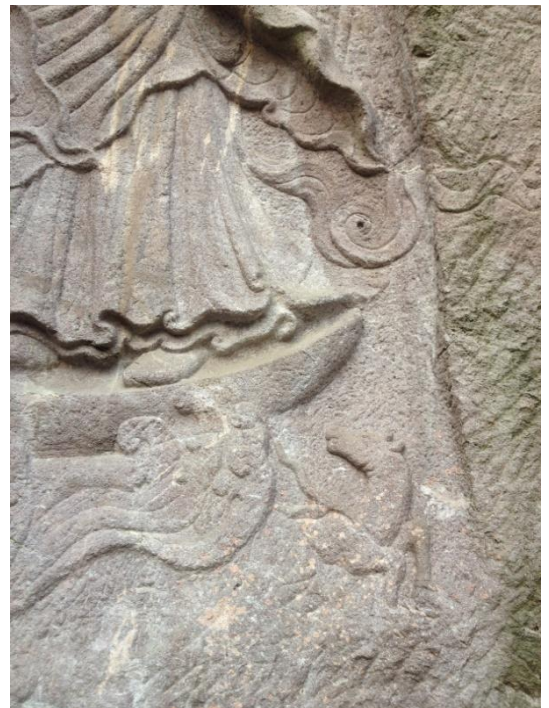


Figure 32: Grotto No.4
Sitting Buddha

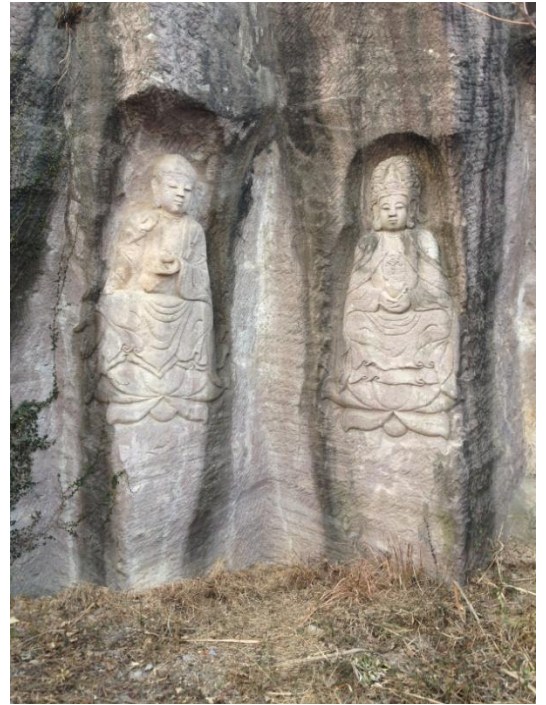


Figure 33: Grotto No. 5
Sitting Avalokiteśvara



Figure 34: Grotto No. 6
The Largest Sitting Buddha



Figure 35: Grotto No. 7
Sitting Buddha



From left to right:
Grottos No. 7, 13, 2,
3



Figure 36: Grotto No. 8
Sitting Buddha - Tathāgata Amitābha 阿彌陀如來 (1335 or 1341 CE)



Figure 37: Grotto No. 9
Buddhas of the Three Times 三世佛



Figure 38: Grotto No. 10
Grotto of Small Triple Niches

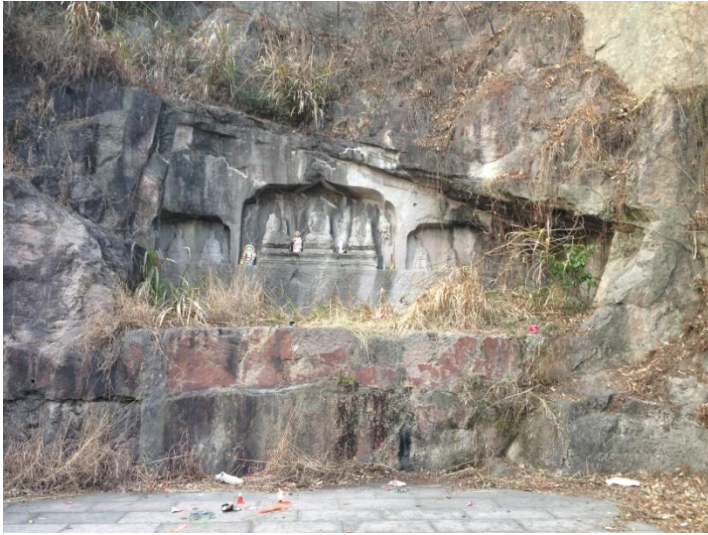
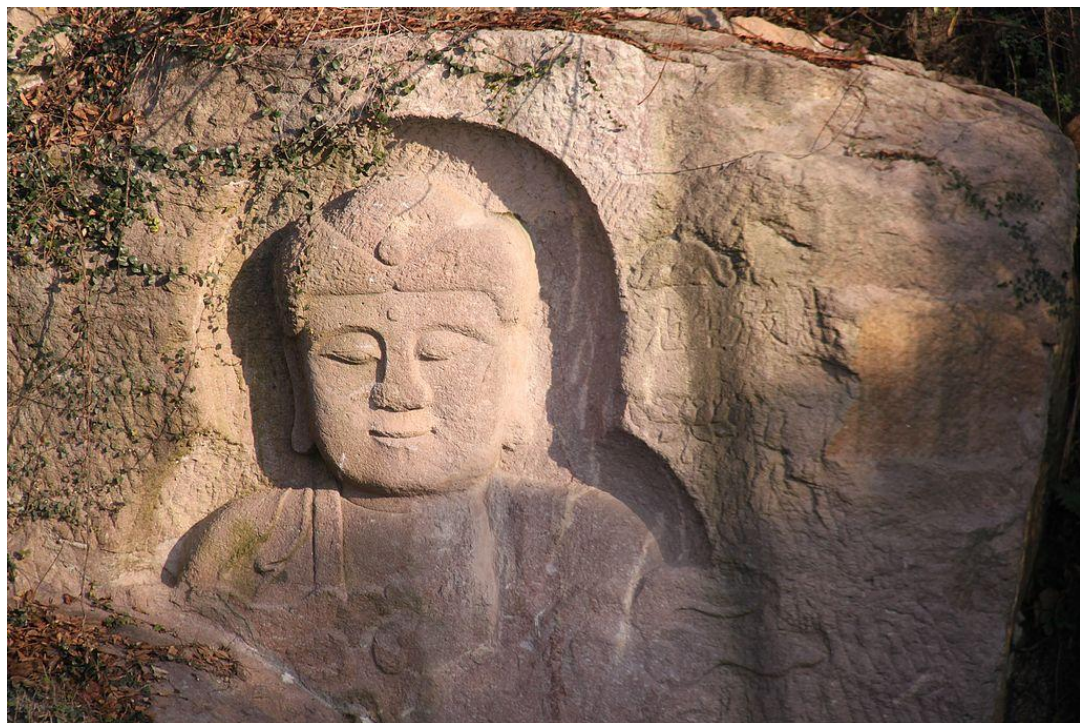
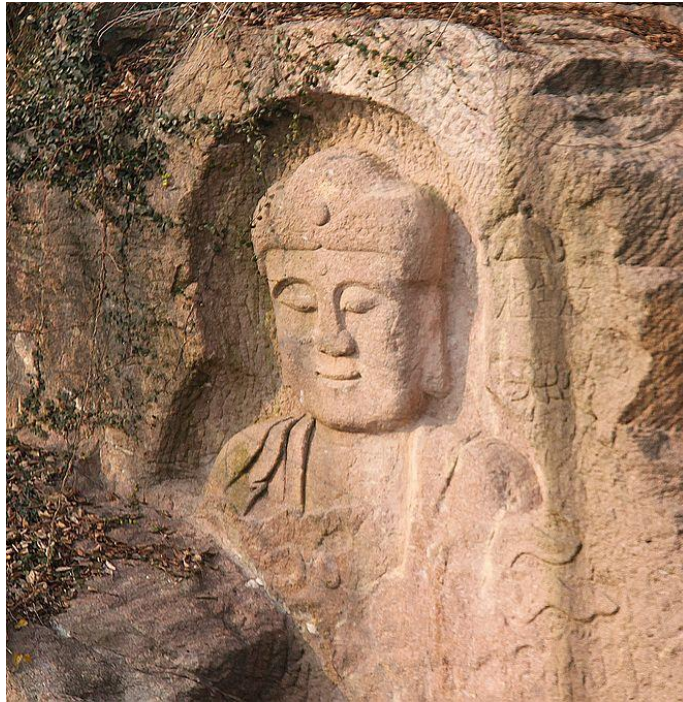


Figure 39: Grotto No. 11⁵⁵⁹
Buddha in the “Pool of Releasing Lives” 放生池



⁵⁵⁹ Due to the barrier of the pool, I was not able to take a close examination of this grotto. These two pictures are from the internet.

Figure 40: Grotto No. 12⁵⁶⁰
Buddha (bottom half buried underground)



153. 元代 瓶窑南山佛像

⁵⁶⁰ *Sihu shiku* 西湖石窟, 1985 #153.

Figure 41: Grotto No. 13
Buddha (upper half missing)



From left to right:
Grottos No. 7, 13, 2,
3

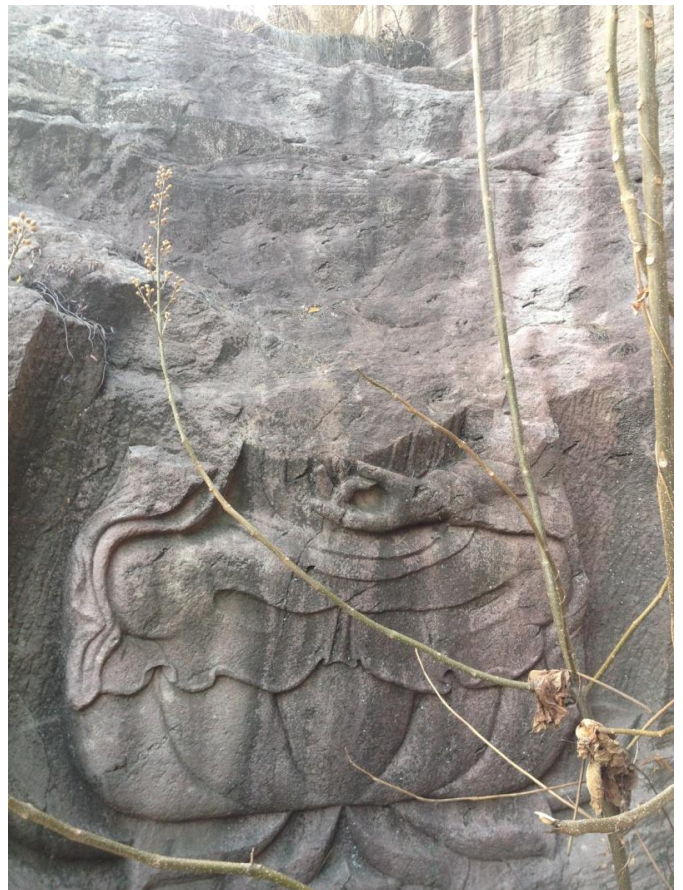
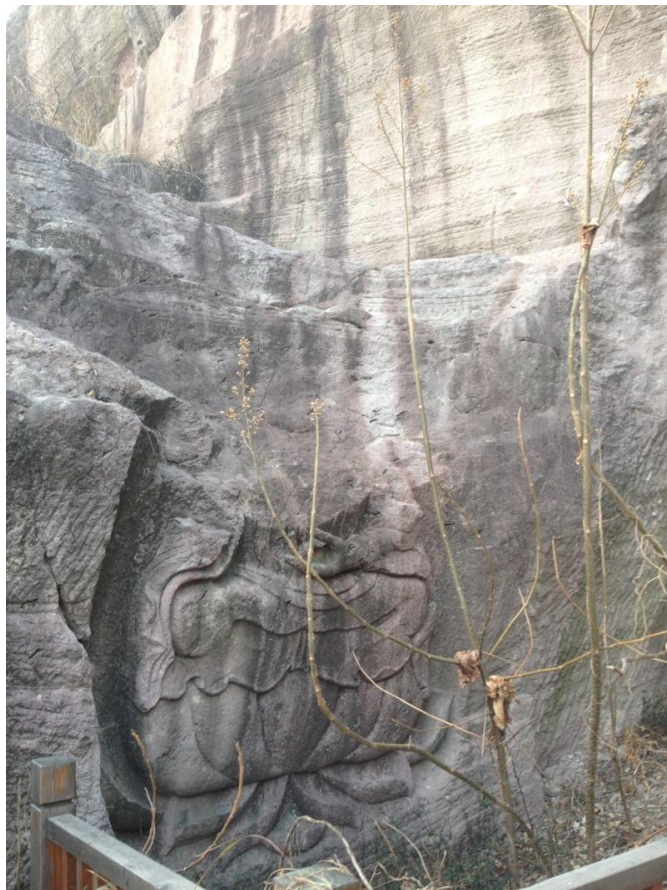


Figure 42: New find
Small half sculpture



Figure 43: Quarry cliff surface



Conclusion

The White Cloud sect was a local socio-religious movement. It was Buddhism-inspired, politics-fueled, business-oriented, and profit-making. The movement developed continuously over 250 years throughout the Song-Yuan period in Jiangnan, China's most developed region. At the end of the Northern Song dynasty, the self-proclaimed "White Cloud monk" Kong Qingjue of Luoyang, a descendant of Confucius, initiated the movement in Hangzhou and attracted several followers after his death. The movement spread out across a small region, led by laypeople during the Southern Song dynasty. It never achieved legal status during the Song, and it underwent government persecution. The Song government, Confucian literati, and monastic Buddhists all claimed the movement to be heretical and involved with suspicious groups, including "people of the way," "monks with hair," and "vegetarian devil worshippers." They were treated as "wicked people" and "absurd people," and faced harsh punishment.

In the Yuan dynasty, the movement received the opposite treatment from rulers. The Mongol government recognized the movement and designated it as an official Buddhist branch, the "White Cloud sect." From the Yuan, we find hardly any record of so-called "people of the way" and "vegetarian devil worshippers." So we can assume that many lay religious practitioners were incorporated into the White Cloud sect. Compared to the Song, the Yuan government had lenient policies on local spiritual groups. The sect was equal to other traditional Buddhist schools and established fully functioning clergy bureaus, including the Sect Overseer Office (or, General Overseer Office) and the Monk

Registry Bureau (or, Buddhist Registrar Bureau) under the new Supervision Office for Buddhist Teachings in Jiangnan. The White Cloud sect, thanks to its official status and affiliated offices, was able to register commoners and their property to monasteries. Monastic privileges attracted local laypeople to obtain exemptions from taxes and other duties. Local people and monks also invested in the White Cloud sect to pursue spiritual and economic benefits, especially in the printing of Buddhist canons. Thus, the White Cloud sect in the Yuan period was a social enterprise that made profits for itself while offering various services to benefit different groups.

However, the Yuan government's protection was not consistent. Persecutions were intertwined with awards and the periodic reestablishment of sect offices, throughout different emperors' reigns during the mid-Yuan period (1294-1323). I argue that the Yuan state's creation of and involvement with the White Cloud sect did not regulate or assemble this popular movement in the way the state expected. In contrast, it accelerated local laypeople's independence both socially and economically. Sect adherents enjoyed the privileges of monastic registration and led public projects. This shows a high level of autonomy for local society in controlling and managing local resources, through negotiations with monks, clergy officials, and the Mongol state. With respect to Yuan government and state-local relations, the Mongol government was more sophisticated and actively supportive in dealing with local religious movements, compared with their Song predecessors. The Yuan Mongol rulers showed great tolerance of the sect's public activities. The sect was treated as a "public organization" in the Yuan rather than as a "secret society," as had the Song. On the other hand, the Yuan government still imprinted the presence of imperial power on the sect, by establishing religious offices and

implementing policies. The Yuan's official designation of the White Cloud sect made it easy to punish all sect affiliates collectively, since they were registered with the official organization.

The Mongol rulers' overwhelming preference for Buddhism gave them a great need for accumulating Buddhist merit through prayers and materials such as Buddhist canons. The White Cloud sect could supply these needs because it had already established a foundation including a printing studio and local labor mobilization. Surprisingly, in spite of the Southern Song's great preference for Buddhism and Hangzhou's advanced printing industry, sūtra printing in the region had mainly been a private business (privately owned and privately funded). In the Yuan dynasty, the Mongol imperial family and the court provided official sponsorship and financial aid for sūtra printing projects, including the White Cloud's Puning canon, although the printing was conducted in Hangzhou, far away from the capital at Dadu. After the sect leader Dao'an petitioned Khubilai for sect recognition, the Mongol rulers, at least Khubilai, were not able to tell if the White Cloud sect really followed Buddhist teachings and practice. Mongol emperors treated the sect without discrimination and valued its practice in the same way it did that of other Chinese Buddhist schools. In terms of policy and institutional support, the Yuan court's sponsorship of the White Cloud sect and its printing project was a large part of its overall religious activities. In its financial dimensions, the Yuan court's support was less dramatic compared with other religious projects.

However, the White Cloud sect's teachings and practices show that the movement was a product of the popular religious syncretism of the "Three Teachings" in the Song-

Yuan period, rather than a Buddhist branch with unique dharma teachings. The movement never had a systematic doctrine. The only evidence of the sect's teachings are two extant essays by its founder, the itinerant monk Kong Qingjue. These two essays' contents were evangelical religious teachings that were already popular in the Song-Yuan period. The first essay, "Collection of Virtuous Acts," which survives in both Chinese and Tangut versions, is a short admonition about the kind behavior and ethical principles necessary to become a "gentleman" *junzi* 君子. It uses a vernacular tone and simple words that are easy to understand. The content borrows terms from the "Three Teachings," especially the Confucian classics.

The second essay, "Record for Apprenticeship" is a brief introduction for Buddhist novices to make them familiar with basic Buddhist concepts such as the "four fruitions" and "ten stages" toward enlightenment and Buddhahood. It takes the form of six-character poems and employs a theoretical structure based texts of the Buddhist Huayan school. This introductory essay offers nothing new in Buddhist terminology and teachings. All the poems use the style of Chinese vernacular literature, which was also influenced by the syncretistic "Three Teachings" of mixed religious traditions. They are also easy for illiterate people to recite. As for the sect's ritual practice, we have no record of its religious rituals. Most of the sect's spiritually connected work lay in printing the Buddhist canon and grotto carving. Thanks to the grottos and the canon printing shop in the main Puning monastery, the sect's main temple, made that site and the Southern Hill in which it was embedded a popular regional pilgrimage destination and an object of constant economic benefit. In contrast to the lack of Buddhist rituals, the sect was fully immersed in social activities for economic gain.

The White Cloud sect as a social enterprise was able to accumulate tremendous wealth and local resources. It reached a wide range of people, including nuns and widows, as shown in the local patron list of the Puning canon printing project. The White Cloud sect used its official status as a Buddhist group to register common households and property under monastic status, in return for financial benefits. While the sect gained money, local people were exempt from taxes and other government duties. As a result, the sect's actions helped local society to grow more independent and vibrant. In contrast, the Yuan local government lost revenue as taxes and taxable property decreased. It also increased the tax burden on common households, especially those of peasants and literati who did not register with monasteries.

Furthermore, there are records of illegal activities by the sect that worried the Mongol government and Chinese literati. These activities went beyond the sect's legitimate roles and continued its notorious reputation under the Song, such as farmland annexation, robbery, kidnapping, and enslavement. Once a person was affiliated to the White Cloud sect, he was within a different system of jurisdiction, under the management of clergy offices and out of the local government's reach. Sometimes the sect took over local authority in civil affairs, such as household registration and public security. From the mid-Yuan dynasty until the end of the movement, some privileged fake monks and lay leaders of the White Cloud sect became local thugs, whom even local officials feared. Sect members could evade criminal charges easily. This disturbing fact made the White Cloud sect look like a mafia who controlled the local social order and disobeyed government regulations. Therefore, the government claimed that the sect caused local disorder and damaged normal social life.

More blame for the sect's outrageous behavior could be attributed to its leadership. In both the Song and the Yuan periods, the sect was under the control of laypeople, most likely big local families. During the Song, the movement did not have a clear leadership structure. The only recorded leader was Shen Zhiyuan 沈智元 in 1202. But it is clear that the sect was led by laypeople, as was the case with the "people of the way." In the Yuan dynasty, there was a lineage of leaders. The leaders included monk Dao'an or Huizhao 慧照, who claimed to be the ninth generation of the sect (on account of his name including Hui 慧), and those of his successors whose given names included Ru 如 (tenth generation) and Ming 明 (eleventh generation). Although most of the sect leaders' names during the Yuan dynasty contain two characters, with the first indicating their generation, these leaders were most likely laypeople rather than monks. Some lay leaders' surnames were recorded, such as Qian Rujing 錢如鏡 and Shen Mingren 沈明仁.⁵⁶¹

None of the allegations of illegal activities against the White Cloud sect mentioned monks. Therefore, from the Song to Yuan, the White Cloud movement remained a local interest group led by secular local elites. Local people in the region joined or supported the White Cloud sect to acquire farmland, gain tax exemptions, print the Buddhist canon, and build infrastructure. Moreover, in the Yuan dynasty, the White Cloud sect's lay leaders were able to build extensive relationships beyond local laypeople. The sect extended its connection to court patrons, the Tanguts, and Buddhist monks in charge of the printing operation. In the Song, Shen Zhiyuan had failed in his attempt to

⁵⁶¹ Since the most commonly recorded surname, from the Song to Yuan, is Shen 沈, Overmyer tends to argue that a Shen family held hereditary leadership of the White Cloud movement. I doubt this was the case because there is no certain evidence that all the leaders surnamed Shen belong to one family. Overmyer, 1982:639.

gain imperial patronage. In the Yuan, leaders such as Dao'an and Shen Mingren were well known by the Mongol emperors. The White Cloud sect became one of the best-known Buddhist groups among Mongol rulers, regardless of whether they were in favor or being punished. Tangut diaspora monks served as mediators and built this direct connection between Mongol rulers and the White sect leaders. Despite different spiritual status (monastic and lay), economics (state and local), identities (foreign and native), and languages (Tangut and Chinese), the Tangut monks and local laymen were linked together by their mutual interest in producing Buddhist canons and exploiting local resources.

The White Cloud sect also reflects ethnic diversity in its development during the Yuan dynasty. Tangut monks were major participants in addition to the main Chinese followers. Tangut monks were important facilitators in establishing the White Cloud sect and related offices, and they were sponsors and organizers of the Puning and Hexi canons. There is no evidence of a Tangut presence in south China before the Mongol conquest in 1276. Tangut monks, some of whom had served as military advisors such as Yang Lianzhenjia, moved to the Jiangnan region, most Hangzhou, after the Mongol conquests. They were appointed as officials in new bureaus of religious and Buddhist affairs, alongside secular diasporic Tanguts who were appointed as officials in civil and military offices. Prominent Tangut and Tibetan esoteric Buddhism monks at court, such as Shalopa and Dampa, also drew the emperors' attentions to the White Cloud sect and guided the emperors' decisions on related policies.

Tangut monks in the Jiangnan region, such as Guanzhuba and Li Huiyue, were important patrons of canon printing projects. In addition, the Tangut translation of Kong

Qingjue's essay shows the connections between the Puning and Hexi canons in Hangzhou, as well as the diffusion of the White Cloud sect's teachings into Tangut literature. The transmission of the White Cloud literature in Tangut translation suggests that although doctrine was not important to the White Cloud sect's local lay adherents it may have been important to Tangut readers. There is no evidence for pre-Yuan contact between the White Cloud sect and the Tanguts, so the translation could only occur in the Yuan period as part of the Hexi canon. Tangut involvement in the White Cloud sect, the Jiangnan religious landscape, and Buddhist canon production all need further research. As part of the non-Chinese immigration to southern China following the Mongol conquests, Tangut Buddhist monks played a different role from that of other foreign elites in multi-ethnic Jiangnan society. The Tanguts were enthusiastic patrons of Buddhism and Buddhist canons.

White Cloud sect's Puning canon was one of the best sellers among commercial imprints during the Yuan dynasty. The printing business was highly industrialized in both production and marketing. The Puning canon was also one of the most popular and most widely circulated Buddhist canons in the Yuan. The Puning canon was distinguished by its high quality, accessibility through distribution across riverine networks, efficient printing, affordable price, good marketing, and state sponsorship. The Puning Monastery was a successful commercial publisher. Carving the blocks and printing the complete Puning canon happened quickly from 1277 to 1290 under the supervision of the official Tripitaka Office 大藏經局 at the Puning Monastery. The market for printed Buddhist sūtras of the canon included retail sales to local lay patrons and wholesale distribution to Buddhist institutions. Most of these Buddhist institutions were famous Buddhist

monasteries all over the Yuan Empire. Monks from these monasteries travelled long distances to Hangzhou to order and purchase several complete sets of the Puning canon, many traversing rivers and canals.

Local laypeople and monks and nuns from private temples and chapels each donated money and personal property to sponsor the printing of one, multiple, or partial volumes. Local lay donors came mostly from well-to-do households in market towns and villages, including skilled men, farm owners, and small business owners. There were also many female donors, even independent widows. Donation amounts for the canon printing workshop were small, but for these individuals, the sums were quite large. Donated items included cash, rice, clothes, and other personal items. The reasons why local people chose to make donations for sūtra printing without actually receiving a copy of the resulting work were the desire to gain blessings for themselves and their families and wish that their deceased family members be reborn in the pure land. Sponsoring the production of Buddhist sūtras became a popular and easy means for local laypeople in the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain to seek spiritual salvation and participate in public projects.

This shows that, through its canon printing, the White Cloud movement reached and influenced local people of different backgrounds among the lower social classes, not necessarily White Cloud devotees. Additionally, the process of printing and selling the canon printing preserved textual information in the canon's contents and colophons. These provide the White Cloud's own view of the movement and its social influence, different what outsiders wrote in official chronicles and literati writings. The Puning and Hexi canons preserve valuable information about the White Cloud sect's offices and leadership and about government and local supporters. The Puning canon's high position

within both monastic Buddhism and among local religious devotees tells us something about Chinese material culture and Buddhist manuscript culture. The canon was well received by both monks and less educated local commoners. It was a successful cultural product of the White Cloud sect.

Another cultural product of the sect was the grotto art in the Southern Hill, close to the Puning Monastery on the same hill. The site has not been known to most scholars of Chinese history and Buddhist art. Thirteen large grottos survive with reliefs inside niches. The most popular motif is the sitting Buddha. There are also three unique reliefs, including a Daoist deity—the Great Perfect Warrior Emperor—an Avalokiteśvara of Compassion Navigation, and a sitting Avalokiteśvara wearing a large treasure crown. The creative styles of the grottos, including Daoist figures and more realistic presentations of Buddhist gods, show the influence of the “Three Teachings” and suggest that local artists may have made the grottos.

There are two inscriptions attached to grottos, including information about their sponsors, dated 1328 and 1335 (or 1341). It proves White Cloud activities continued without interruption after the official ban in 1320.⁵⁶² Monks and local laypeople were still able to hold religious activities around the Puning Monastery and manage collaborative projects. The dense concentration of grottos in the Southern Hill and their obvious exposure on bare cliffs demonstrate that the government did not closely monitor independent local religious activities, due to the Southern Hill’s location far from political centers and seats of local government. Also, regional and state offices of

⁵⁶² Together with evidence of continuous sūtra printing, my research counters Overmyer’s statement that “by 1320 the White Cloud disappeared from view.” Overmyer, 1982:639.

religious and Buddhist affairs were either removed or ceased to function in the late Yuan dynasty. The White Cloud movement and local activists' religious lives were not interrupted until the early Ming dynasty, when a harsh law against popular movements was enforced and local administration reorganized.

The administration and activities of the White Cloud sect remained regionally rooted in the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain without much spatial expansion, unlike the broad spread of the White Lotus. I argue that the White Cloud sect's geographical boundedness resulted from its foundation in market towns connected by canal networks. The White Cloud movement was a rural and market town movement. The movement's major followers were commoners from urbanized market towns in the Hang-Jia-Hu Plain, the agricultural hinterland of Huzhou, Jiaxing, and Hangzhou.

Ongoing social and commercial transformations gave this region the most advanced economy and popular religious culture during the Song-Yuan period. The physical geography, economic and social geography, and economy made the region a fertile ground for the White Cloud movement's social and religious activities. Similar to the big cities nearby, market towns experienced urbanization because of population growth, market expansion, and infrastructure construction. Market towns were independent from the cities, and saw less political control from city- and county-seat based local governments than did the cities. These independent towns were both producers and consumers of economic and spiritual capital. Market towns and villages also built interrelated economic, religious, cultural, and kinship networks largely by sharing labor and resources across systems of waterways and canals. The local patrons

for the White Cloud sect's printed canon constitute a good example of these networks linking people of common interests and devotion.

The independence and interrelationship of market towns challenges the core-periphery paradigm of central regional cities with market towns on their outskirts. The Yuan rulers, when they designated and regulated the sect, also understood the spatial limitation of the movement within the Jiangnan region. To some extent, they were concerned more with geography than with ideology. By establishing this new "Buddhist branch" and its regulative offices bound with the region, such as the title "White Cloud sect Monk Registry Bureau, in Hangzhou and other routes of Zhexi circuit" 浙西道杭州等路白雲宗僧錄司, the Yuan rulers meant to restrain local religious devotees and balance the power of other Buddhist schools in the area. The ways in which space reflected the White Cloud's local-state relations are also visible in the Tangut monk Yang Lianzhenjia's construction of five Buddhist temples on the Song imperial palace site in Hangzhou, including one White Cloud temple built with Khubilai's approval. The building of a White Cloud temple next to four other temples of different Buddhist schools by imperial order on the former Song palace site shows the sect's significant position within the Jiangnan religious landscape.

Overall, the White Cloud sect was a successful lay movement, showing a deeper level of interaction between religion and Chinese lay society.⁵⁶³ It had a long life of over two hundred years and prospered under the Mongol rule. It was a campaign that created jobs and completed local projects. This is a unique case of how far local religious

⁵⁶³ Overmyer argues for "a deeper level of interaction between Buddhism and Chinese Society." I would say that "religion" rather than just "Buddhism" is involved here. Overmyer, 1982:641.

movement can go, including reaching out to and collaborating with imperial rulers, officials, foreigners, monastic monks, and lay activists. My research shows that the sect was able to build networks with Yuan rulers and Buddhist leaders from the top down, and with local activists and lay patrons from the bottom up. Both networks were initiated and built by the White Cloud sect's leaders such as Dao'an and Shen Mingren, who were also local activists, including monks and laymen. As shown in their canon printing, they would include prayers for the emperor's family and the state in wholesale canons, but they would also leave personal names at the end of the local donor's colophon in retail canons.

The local-state relations represented in the White Cloud case breaks with the dichotomy of state versus local society. It rather represents a mutually beneficial relationship and a win-win strategy for both the state and the locality, a usually reciprocal arrangement spiritually and economically. The White Cloud movement was an “in-between” phenomenon. It fell between religion and popular belief, between the lay and the monastic, between business and spiritual pursuits, between the informal and the official, between Chinese and foreign, between urban and rural, and between regional development and state revenues.⁵⁶⁴ Therefore, the White Cloud sect was a revolutionary local movement of the Song-Yuan-Ming transitional period. It was independent and self-perpetuating, benefiting from Yuan government support but not much affected by government intervention. Based on its solid foundation of lay participants, including

⁵⁶⁴ Overmyer suggests that the White Cloud sect was a third option for people besides monastic life and domestic devotion. In other words, being a lay believer within the White Cloud movement was of greatest benefit for laypeople who sought formal religious affiliation but could not commit to full-time monastic life. Overmyer, 1982:641.

large numbers of women, the movement was a main stream of local development in imperial and colonial Jiangnan.

As a regional force, the White Cloud sect overruled local government to some extent in land and population registration. The White Cloud group competed with local government and other religious groups for financial aid from state and local contributors. As a popular movement, compared to other socio-religious movements such as the White Lotus sect, the White Cloud sect attracted local people to become a part of the movement. It was a very effective way to extend their social networks in the region and force their influence on local society. The lay participants of the White Cloud movement independently organized local fundraising and collaborative efforts, from construction projects (including bridges and Daoist and Buddhist temples) to printing Buddhist canons. Activities such as sūtra printing and grotto carving were self-sufficient, mutually aided, locally driven, and self-managed.

Since the mid-Yuan period, the White Cloud was persecuted several times due to its extreme levels of activity that harmed state interests. Members, including monks and lay people, were ordered to be disbanded and dismissed to commoner registration. Popular religious groups became a major threat to the Mongol regime and one of the major forces calling for rebellion against the Mongols toward the end of the Yuan dynasty.⁵⁶⁵ But the White Cloud sect, retained its role as a commercial enterprise and its concentration on the economy. The group was non-violent and did not oppose the state, and it therefore never formed a militia or fomented rebellion.

⁵⁶⁵ Examples of rebellions include: Peng Yingyu 彭瑩玉, Zhou Ziwan 周子旺, Monk Yuanming 圓明和尚, Liu Zhixian 劉志先, Zhao Chousi 趙丑廝, Guo Pusa 郭菩薩, Liu Futong 劉福通, Han Shantong 韓山童, and Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋.

The White Cloud survived into the early Ming, when the new government imposed new laws on religion and reordered local society after the Yuan-Ming wars. The Puning Monastery and its canon blocks were also destroyed during the Yuan-Ming crisis. The White Cloud sect was last mentioned in a 1370 Ming imperial edict banning its practices. Afterward, there survive no records in either official histories or in any genres of Chinese writing. This suggests not only the effectiveness of the new Ming government but also other reasons for the movement's final demise. These reasons include the changing local population and suspended economic growth of market towns before the mid-Ming revival. Popularization of Neo-Confucianism among literati and officials, and the Neo-Confucians' rising criticism of popular religious practice as heterodoxy in the Ming also endangered the space for local spiritual activity. In Jiangnan, however, local people kept exploring different ways to achieve their spiritual and financial goals. New forms of socio-religious movements and organizations were created locally and imported there after the mid-Ming dynasty. Nevertheless, the general trend of local activists' independent patronage of religious institutions and public projects continued throughout the Ming-Qing transition, as it had in the Song-Yuan transition.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁶ Timothy Brook's research on the mid- and late Ming dynasty identified a revival of Buddhist patronage as a popular choice among the local gentry or local elites. They invested in Buddhist monasteries, participated in rituals, undertook pilgrimages, joined lay religious associations, and built friendships with monks. Being bound with Buddhism increased the public authority of the local gentry and made local society more independent from the state. I question on Brook's model on two counts: 1) To what extent were these "Buddhist," rather than just lay religious institutions and activities? 2) These "gentry" were, in fact, local activists who had high social and economic status. I find this case of local elite activism in the mid- and late Ming dynasty to be a continuation of Song-Yuan lay socio-religious activism. In terms of motivation, there is no fundamental difference between those Yuan commoners who donated to the printing of the White Cloud sect's Puning canon or to the construction of Daoist temples from those Ming "gentry" who made donations to build Buddhist temples. Moreover, the assertion that this phenomenon led to the emergence of a "public sphere" or "civil society" is questionable. None of these activities in Yuan-Ming local society challenged state power or sought civil rights for local activists. Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and The Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1994).

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