

assemblies outside the bureaucratic machinery for political activities, and no room for articulation of individual rights other than those sanctioned by the ruler" (p. 43). It was not until this century, after the dissolution of the monarchy, that China adopted provisions for popular political participation. Whether China, in the twentieth century, has entered the dimension of "popular legitimization" is hard to say "because of the underdevelopment of the tradition of individual rights, the failure to provide for an opposition political party, and above all, the absence of legal guarantees of individual participation in the political process" (p. 47). Chan's analysis is derived from his sound scholarly research and should be taken seriously by all Chinese people, especially those who are occupying positions of authority.

Chan has written a very important book which will not only benefit those who study history but also those who are making history. So long as people can be divided into the governing and the governed, the few who govern will continue to justify the legitimacy of their regime. One can hope that the legitimization process will take place before they gain power. Legitimation after gaining power should be a thing of the past.

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Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū 中國佛教社會史研究 (Studies in the Social History of Chinese Buddhism) by Chikusa Masaaki 基沙 雅章. Kyoto: Dohosha. 1982. 560 pp. Separate indices of terms and names (ordered according to Japanese reading) and Dunhuang documents from the Pelliot and Stein collections (in numerical order).

"Sō Gen bukkyō ni okeru an dō" 宋元佛教における庵堂 (An and Tang in the Buddhism of the Song and Yuan Dynasties) by Chikusa Masaaki, Tōyōshi kenkyū 東洋史研究 46.1 (1987):1-28.

To date, almost nothing on Song Buddhism is available in Western languages because so few have studied either its doctrinal or social aspects.¹ Professor Chikusa Masaaki of Kyoto University is one of the few scholars who has. A large chunk of his scholarly career has been spent elucidating the social and institutional changes that marked Song Buddhism. And much of his work is contained in a book published in 1982, Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū; aptly titled, this study traces the rise of unlicensed religious practitioners, unrecognized cloisters, and sectarian groups in the Song. I reviewed Section I, entitled, "Studies in the Social History of Song Buddhism,"² six years after publication in order to

¹ I would like to thank Cynthia Brokaw for her help with this essay.

² Although I do not cover section II, "Studies of Buddhist Associations at Dunhuang," I urge those interested in ninth- and tenth-century social history to (continued...)

introduce some of Chikusa's conclusions to an American audience. The final section of this review discusses a 1987 article about White Cloud and White Lotus sects because it illuminates the connections between institutional developments and the growth of sectarian groups and so draws together many of the themes of Chikusa's 1982 book.

Consisting of revised versions of articles originally published separately, Chikusa's essays on seemingly disparate topics may bewilder the Western reader. While giving brief summaries of the chapters about Song religious practice, the main purpose of this essay is to suggest possible connections among them and so to draw out what is often an implicit argument. My comments are the product of two years of study with Chikusa (1984-1986). My hope is that these explanations will make it easier to read the original book, which, with the exception of the title page, contains no English.³ Page references are provided in parentheses for readers who wish to consult the original. Those who do so will be pleasantly surprised: the brevity of the sentences, the summaries of argument (often contained in the introductory and concluding sections), and the citation of most sources in the original classical Chinese render the book highly accessible.

Before turning to his work, perhaps I may be allowed to introduce Professor Chikusa. Born in 1930, he graduated from Kyoto University in 1953. A revised form of his master's thesis, "Fukken no jiuin to shakai 福建の寺院と社会" (Monasteries and Society in Fujian) appears as the fourth chapter in the book; his appointment, while still a graduate student, to assistant at the Institute for Humanistic Studies of Kyōto University (Kyōto daigaku jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo 京都大学人文科学研究所) testifies to the excitement that greeted his early work. Chikusa published several studies in political history and a biography of Su Shi 蘇軾 at that time. Chikusa studied both with professors in Chinese history (Saeiki Tomi 佐伯 富 and Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎 市定), and in Buddhism and Dunhuang studies (Naba Tochisada 那波 利貞 and Fujiwara Akira 藤枝 晃). His diverse training gives him an enormous advantage in his chosen field: equally conversant with both Buddhist and secular sources, he draws on both in ways few others can. As a graduate student, Chikusa had a part-time job identifying Buddhist texts cited in often tiny fragments from Turfan. When I (totally dumbfounded) asked how he had done it, the characteristically modest Chikusa replied "kan 勘" (instinct, feel). This ability has taken him far. In 1968 he was made an associate professor at the Faculty of Arts and Letters (Bungakubu 文学部) of Kyōto University, where he now holds one of the most eminent chairs in Chinese history in Japan. Chikusa has now reached that phase of his academic career where administrative duties prevail, but

² (...continued)

read the three essays, which are entitled: "Tonkō no sōkan seido 敦煌の僧官制度" (The system of monk-officials at Dunhuang), (originally 1961); "Tonkō no jiko ni tsuite 敦煌の寺戸について" (About monastic dependents at Dunhuang), (originally 1961); and "Tonkō shoto sha bunsho no kenkyū 敦煌出土「社」文書の研究" (A study of documents from Dunhuang concerning she associations) (originally 1964).

³ Assuming that it will be easier for the readers of the Bulletin, I give the Chinese (not the Japanese) transcription for the different terms Chikusa uses.

he has begun a new project about low-level literate specialists in the Song; his first publication in this area concern physiognomists.⁴

Studies in the Social History of Chinese Buddhism

The first four essays of this book concern Buddhist institutions and the attempts of the Song central government to regulate them. This approach is not a surprising one given the proclivity of Japanese historians for institutional history. But Chikusa has a different goal than that of most institutional historians. He studies the institutions the central government established to supervise Buddhist monks and monasteries not in order to demonstrate state power in the Song. Rather, he wants to examine what eluded government regulation: those men too poor to buy ordination certificates and those cloisters too small to be called monasteries.

In Chapter I, "sōdai bai chōkō 宋代賣牒考" (A Study of the Sale of Ordination Certificates in the Song) (originally 1979), Chikusa traces the social reverberations of the imperial government's 1068 decision to sell ordination certificates (whose bearers were exempt from their corvée obligations) and the subsequent escalation of sales of blank certificates under Wang Anshi 王安石 (17-36). Following the fall of north China in 1127, the emperor Gaozong 高宗, responding to the charge that the enormous number of monks and nuns constituted a burden on the state, suspended the sale of the certificates from 1142 to 1160 (42). Biographies of contemporary monks, which give their ages at ordination, indicate the ban was actually enforced (44-45). However, the central government was unable to sustain the ban for long. What had begun as a means of generating emergency funds became, after 1161, a major source of income for the revenue-strapped Southern Song government (52).

As the cost of the certificates was so exorbitant, most monks had to depend on merit-seeking donors to buy one for them. Only a few were so lucky. Hong Mai 洪邁 tells of one case in 1177 where an official gave a certificate to one monk; out of five hundred applicants, the remaining 499 went empty-handed (59-60).⁵ Some who could not obtain certificates stayed illegally in monasteries; others did not take the tonsure but continued to participate in religious activities outside monasteries. The emergence of unsupervised - and uncontrolled - semi-clergy, semi-lay (banseng bansu 半僧半俗) Buddhists interest Chikusa most because he sees them as forerunners of later sectarians. The rise of these uncertified practitioners continued throughout the Southern Song (63).

Chapter 2 "Jikan no shigaku ni tsuite 寺觀の廢置について" (Concerning the Bestowal of Plaques on Buddhists and Daoist monasteries) (originally 1980) addresses government attempts to regulate monasteries by granting them a plaque (匾) bearing the name of the monastery. (In fact, given the linguistic difficulties of transporting a wooden plaque over long distances, it is more likely

⁴ "sōdai no jiyutsushi to shidaifu 宋代の術士と士大夫" (Song religious technicians and literati), Tōhō gakkai sōritsu yonjūnen kinen rōhōgaku ronshū 東方學會創立四十年記念東方學論集 1987: 501-515.

⁵ Citing Yijianzhi 異堅志, zhiwu 支戊 4:1079. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.

that the government granted a monastery the right to make a plaque with its name on it) (84). Historical annals report that different Northern Song emperors variously sought to restrict or to encourage monastic growth; the listings of monasteries in six local histories indicate that the reign of Zhenzong 真宗 (1008) and Yingzong 英宗 (1064-1068) witnessed the greatest number of grants (87). A chart based on data from local histories shows the oscillations in the number of new monasteries recognized per reign (109). The growth in the number of monasteries may have alerted the central government to the potential income to be derived from selling ordination certificates. In any case, the decision to sell ordination certificates came immediately after the sharp increase in the number of plaques granted during Yingzong's reign (94-95).

In the Southern Song, the central government stopped granting new plaques to previously unrecognized monasteries. Instead, it transferred the plaques from defunct monasteries to new ones. This shift in policy seems to indicate the declining number of officially recognized monasteries. For all the regulations about monasteries stipulated that they had to attain a certain size (usually thirty rooms in the Northern Song) before they were eligible for a plaque (98). Plaques were granted only after local officials had inspected the monastery to ensure it contained the requisite number of rooms (99). The thirty-room requirement had an important side-effect: monasteries under thirty rooms were not eligible for a plaque and, therefore, not subject to government control (101). In fact, although the large monasteries may have suffered a decline in the Southern Song, the number of cloisters under thirty rooms grew. Most significantly, it was in these unsupervised and unregulated cloisters that the White Cloud and the White Lotus movements of the late Southern Song rose (103). Chapters 1 and 2 trace a parallel process: the number of officially recognized clergy and monasteries declined between the Northern and Southern Song, but at the same time the number of unlicensed lay Buddhists and unrecognized cloisters rose.

Chapter 3 "Sōdai funji kō 宋代墳寺考" (A Study of Grave Monasteries in the Song) (originally 1979) explains why a new type of Buddhist institution appeared in the Northern Song. A grave monastery (fensi 墳寺) is a monastery (or cloister), whose monks tend a nearby grave (111). The building of these institutions caught on in the 1040's, and regulations determining eligibility were set in 1059 (118). The rules were strict. Only the highest imperial advisors were eligible.⁶ At first glance, the popularity of grave monasteries among the Song shidaifu 士大夫 is puzzling. Even Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, a critic of Buddhism as an alien religion, himself built a grave monastery (123). The easing of civil service examination requirements for one's descendants, which accompanied permission to construct a grave monastery, may help to account for the enthusiasm of the literati (130). But those low- and middle-rank officials who went ahead and built grave monasteries without official permission obtained no such benefits. Why, then, the craze for grave monasteries in the Song?

⁶ Even Su Shi had not attained high enough rank to be granted the privilege. It was only in 1139, following a petition from his grandson, that the emperor Gaozong posthumously bestowed the right to have a grave monastery (120).

The rise of the bureaucracy in the Northern Song meant that the people of the literati class constantly moved back and forth between capital and provincial posts. In earlier times they would have stayed on their family estates where their ancestors' graves were located (131). Some officials asked their younger siblings to tend the family graves, but gradually they realized monks living on land granted in perpetuity could perform ancestral rites on a regular basis (133). Grave monasteries continued to flourish in the Yuan, but in the Ming, with the rise of local gentry, shidaifu began to establish grave estates (muzhuang 墓莊) with tenants whose obligations included tending the graves (136-138). Chapter 1 documents the co-existence of monks with ordination certificates and of lay Buddhists without them. Chapter 2, the co-existence of monasteries with plaques and cloister without them. Similarly, this chapter shows that imperially approved grave monasteries co-existed with illicit grave monasteries. After all, the low-ranking, much-travelled officials who built them had no other way to fulfill their obligations to their ancestors.

Chapter 4 "Fukken no jūin to shakai" (Monasteries and Society in Fujian) (originally 1956, 1958) makes an important methodological point: only study of specific localities will allow the analyst to assess the strength of Buddhist institutions accurately. This approach is much preferable to taking central government edicts proscribing Buddhism at face value (145). In this essay Chikusa draws on Liang Kejia 梁克家's Chunxi sanshanzhi 淳熙三山志 (A Local History of Fujian Written During the Chunxi [1174-1189] Reign) to examine the position of monasteries in Fujian society. This is a descriptive piece, covering the number of monasteries (148-150), their landholdings (150-159), the taxes they paid (159-169), and their construction activities (169-181). The Sanshanzhi shows the decline in the total number of monasteries and monks in the Southern Song for which the first two chapters have prepared us (181-182); needless to say, it does not document the rise of illicit grave monasteries and cloisters or uncertified lay Buddhists.

The fifth article "Kisai jima ni tsuite 喫茶淨化について" (Concerning vegetarianism and demon worship) (originally 1974) illustrates the differences between Chikusa's approach and that of his predecessors (primarily Chen Yuan and Shigematsu Shunshō 重松 俊章, who both published articles about Song religion in the pre-war period). Chikusa cites no new materials about the so-called heterodox beliefs (xiejiao 邪教). He merely points out that the documents earlier historians have used were written from the point of view of administrators. As such, they give much more information about the prejudices of these officials than they do about actual religious practices of the Song. A term of opprobrium, filled with derogatory implications, "vegetarianism and demon worship" (chicai shimo 喫茶淨化) is no exception.

Chikusa begins by examining what he accepts as the only incontrovertible evidence of Manichaeism in China. A few references in Northern Song sources mention Manichaeism by name; all come from the southeast coast (202). And the excavation of a monastery in Quanzhou unearthed a Manichaean image from the Ming (205-206). He then turns to the term, *chicai shimo*, which earlier scholars, oblivious to its nuances, took to be sure proof of the presence of Manichaeism. Chikusa then proceeds to show why their understanding is flawed. In the Northern

Song, the standard terms used in official documents to denote religious rebels were "meeting at night and dispersing in the morning" (yeju xiaosan 夜聚曉散) and "teaching demonic beliefs" (chuanxi yaofo/jiao 傳習妖法/教). But after the Fang La rebellion of 1120, Song administrators came to use the term *chicai shimo* instead. Chikusa cites six instances of the term drawn from petitions to the emperor dated between 1130 and 1155; all are from local officials trying to supervise the beliefs of the districts they govern (207-214).⁷

The term *chicai shimo* has little descriptive value. A vegetarian diet in itself did not serve as an identifying characteristic in a society in which most people ate little meat (214). Its use in conjunction with other accusations suggests that people were never prosecuted solely as vegetarians and devil-worshippers. Rather, *chicai shimo* was a charge to be tacked on to other more demonstrable offenses. *Chicai shimo* was used in the beginning of the twelfth century as a catch-all term referring to all rebels (even the Five Peck Daoists); later on, by the thirteenth century, its use seems to have narrowed so that it came to denote Manichaean practices (221).

We may choose to read this essay as narrowly focused explication of one term that occurs often in official sources and thus dismiss it. In fact, it seems to me that Chikusa has a larger agenda. He is arguing against accepting the testimony of hostile bureaucrats at face value, against assuming that a given term's meaning does not change over time, and against taking one single term as proof of an independent religious tradition. Although ostensibly about one term, this essay is a statement of method - a call for a method both more subtle and more demanding than that used previously. One derogatory term coming from the mouths of administrators does not enable the analyst to comment on the religious practices of the Song. Instead he or she will have to read for bias, nuance, and changing meaning over time. Official sources cannot replace those written from the point of view of devotees.

Chikusa applies his method in the sixth chapter, "Hō Rō no ran to kisai jima 方臘の亂と嬰菜毒魔" (The Fang La rebellion and vegetarian devil worshippers) (originally 1974). At the time Chikusa wrote the article, it was widely accepted that Fang La was a Manichaean. In subsequent years, scholarly opinion has shifted sharply, so that the impact of his original argument has faded slightly (252-253). First Chikusa demonstrates that the text scholars have depended on to demonstrate the Fang La was a Manichaean, *Qingqi kougui* 青溪寇軌 (Traces of the Qingqi Bandits) is corrupt, and that the term *chicai shimo* is a later interpolation (230-234). Chikusa cautions against leaping to the conclusion that the Fang La was Buddhist simply because contemporary sources say that he used a mirror and a text

⁷ For an interesting discussion of this obligation and its repercussions in the Tang, see Jean Lévi, "Les fonctionnaires et le divin: luttes de pouvoirs entre dévinités et administrateurs dans les contes des Six Dynasties et des Tang," Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie. 2 (1986): 81-106. (With English summary by Anna Seidel 2:107-110)

⁸ See Brian McKnight's entry about this book in *A Sung Bibliography*, ed. Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978) pp.92-93.

called Baozhi chanji 寶誌傳記 (Record of the Repentance of the Treasure Book). It seems more likely that he drew on themes from local popular religion; the mirror and text probably figured in these indigenous beliefs (pp.242-243). Because the term *chicai shimo* came to be used indiscriminately to apply to all rebels only after the uprising was suppressed, it also casts no light on Fang La's beliefs (pp.243-246). The participation of the poor suggests widespread economic suffering on their part; extant evidence (consisting only of hostile reports) makes it impossible to delineate the kinds of religious organizations they might have had (252).

Chapter 7, "Sessei no dōmin ni tsuite 浙西の道民について" (Concerning the domain of Zhexi circuit) concerns the activities of lay Buddhists in the Southern Song. In 1198 an official in Huzhou urged the punishment of domain, literally, people of the way, who were neither monks nor ordinands. Like other officials, he used the most convenient label for these people: *chicai shimo* (262-263). Who were these people? Because of the skyrocketing price of ordination certificates, the domain were not monks. Rather they were members of organized groups who worshipped the Buddha; they were also called *daoren 道人*, *daogu 道姑*, or *daogong 道公* (285-286). Inscriptions on the bridges, roads, and cloisters in Huzhou and Xiuzhou that they commissioned reveal that they also sponsored these construction projects. They had enough money and sufficiently high status that they do not seem to have been affected by the Song government's attempts to suppress them (285).⁹ The White Cloud sect was simply one of these groups of lay devotees (286-288).

Chapter 8 "Genchō no kōnan shihai to hakuunshū 元朝の江南支配と白雲宗" (Yuan Rule of Jiangnan and the White Cloud Sect) seeks to illuminate the political and social background of the White Cloud sect under Yuan rule. On taking power the Yuan summoned the leader of the White Cloud sect to Daidu, where he was guaranteed protection and given funds to print a copy of the Buddhist canon (294). The preferential treatment the Yuan extended to him was unusual; they tended to favor Daoists, especially of the Celestial Masters sect or of the newly formed Quanzhen 全真 sect. The White Cloud sect drew many of its new adherents from the socially prominent, monied classes in the Huzhou 湖州 and Jiaxing 嘉興 areas (in modern Zhejiang) (303). The rich and powerful hao 豪 joined the sect because doing so exempted them from corvée; many indeed were those who donned clerical robes but did not cut their hair. If the poor and landless participated in the White Cloud sect at all, it was as monastic dependents who tilled the land for their lords (304). Then in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Yuan began to institute some measures to suppress the White Cloud sect; yet because the members of the sect were so well-placed, these policies had little effect. The White Cloud continued its religious and printing activities until the early Ming when it died out (perhaps because Ming Taizu really succeeded in ousting the powerful from local society) (312).

The eight essays in Chikusa's book fall into two groups: the first four

⁹ They seem to fulfill Robert Hymes's definition of local elites as presented in his *Statesmen and Gentlemen* (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

concern the changing institutions of Song Buddhism, especially the rise of unrecognized practitioners and monasteries, whereas the last four concern lay devotees and sectarian groups. The order of presentation suggests that the institutional changes described in the first four essays contributed to the rise of the sectarians he discusses in the second four essays, but Chikusa does not spell out the connection. It is only in an article published five years later that he presents the evidence linking the two developments.

In this article, Chikusa returns to the topic of cloisters and halls that did not qualify for government recognition. He discusses the changing meaning of different Buddhist terms for monasteries and cloisters and concludes that, by the Song, *si* 寺 and *yuan* 院 generally denoted monasteries that had received government recognition (in the form of plaques). *An* 庵 and *tang* 堂 (which I translate as "cloisters") differed in three important respects: they were of small scale, they were inhabited by just a few monks, and they rarely received government plaques. From time to time the central government ordered that all unrecognized monasteries be torn down, but it is unlikely that they were (6). The central government warned that these small cloisters provided breeding grounds for religious rebels. The government officials were right to be suspicious: the biographies of the founders of the White Cloud and White Lotus sects reveal that both spent most of their time in cloisters and had little contact with the larger, government-approved monasteries (8-10). Here then is the connection between the institutional changes of the Song and the rise of the sectarians: the leaders of the White Cloud and White Lotus sects were based in the unrecognized, and so unsupervised, cloisters of the Southern Song.

Local gazetteers are of little help to the historian who wants to find out more about cloisters: they tend to under-report the number of cloisters (pp.10-14). Instead, Chikusa suggests looking at two versions of the Buddhist canon printed in the late Song and early Yuan. The *Jisha* 稽砂 canon was printed in Suzhou from 1231 to 1272, the *Puning* 普寧 canon, in Hangzhou sometime between 1296 and 1308. Colophons appended to the sutras contained in these canons give the donors' names, the amount contributed, and what they hoped would result from their contribution: many were lay Buddhists who had taken vows and assumed Buddhist names. Many lived in cloisters (14-15). The *Jisha* canon names only eight cloisters, and local gazetteers provide no further information about them (16).

The *Puning* canon (held in Tokyo) is more helpful. Because it was printed under the auspices of the White Cloud sect, the cloisters and donors whose names are mentioned in it were all connected with the sect (18). The colophons are a gold mine of information about the early White Cloud supporters. By the early Yuan, naming practices which used either character or a radical mark to denote people of the same generation had become widespread. The White Cloud adherents used a slight variation on this system; they took one character (often from their teacher's name) as a generation marker. Full-fledged monks adopted two-character names but often retained their *xing* 姓. Chikusa sorts out the family relationships of different donors on the basis of the information he is able to tease out of their names. For example, because people named Shen 18, 23, 62, and 5 all lived in one cloister in Hangzhou, Chikusa concludes that it was a family cloister. People

of other last names were also present, but their relationship to the Shens is not clear; they may have married into the family (20).

Among the sixty-six cloisters mentioned in the *Puning* canon are several whose names contain the character 墳 ("grave"); powerful adherents of the White Cloud sect founded grave cloisters that were smaller than grave monasteries but performed the same services for the dead ancestors. One devotee built such a cloister in 1287, bought a copy of the *Puning* canon, and invited monks to recite it, presumably to generate merit for his ancestors (20). Another donor actually specified that White Lotus followers tend his ancestors' grave in Shaowu prefecture, Fujian (23). The White Cloud and the White Lotus sects differed from other Buddhist associations of the time in significant ways; they were the forerunners of sectarian groups. But in other important ways, both borrowed from the institutions of mainstream Buddhism (21). In the early Yuan, when White Cloud devotees received special treatment, many literati clamored to become adherents. Their enthusiasm reflected more their desire to protect their property than their devotion to White Cloud teachings. In their early stages, neither the White Cloud nor the White Lotus sect was a movement for the down-trodden.

What did the White Lotus followers do in their cloisters? Yuan collected writings (*wenji* 文集) reveal that, in addition to building platforms where they could study with their masters, they also built bridges and roads. One follower opened up a road and received travellers at a little cloister-cum-resthouse at the top of the hill. These White Lotus sect members probably built similar hostels all over Fujian and Jiangxi (23). In many ways, as White Cloud and White Lotus cloisters resembled other cloisters, so too did their followers resemble other lay Buddhists (*daoren*) active at the time.

These similarities lie at the heart of Chikusa's contribution to the study of the Song. Whereas previous scholars have been interested in White Cloud and White Lotus primarily because of what they developed into in later dynasties, Chikusa's work enables us to see the extent to which they were products of the social and political situation of the late Song and Yuan.

If we may briefly indulge in speculation, imagine a Song government that did not recognize monasteries under thirty rooms, that did not sell ordination certificates in the 1060s, and that did not price those certificates out of the reach of ordinary people in the twelfth century. Imagine instead a government that had the money, the manpower, and the motivation to supervise all clergy closely, to administer strict examinations to all who wanted to become monks, and to inspect all monasteries regardless of size. Under such a government there would have been no place for cloisters, for *daomin*, for lay Buddhists, for unofficial grave monasteries - for any of the social formations Chikusa depicts so richly.

Most historians are already conscious of the long-term effects of the central government withdrawal from the marketplace. Unlike their Tang predecessors, the Song could not restrict markets to specific quarters, could not set prices, and could not regulate hours of trade. If we think less often of the long-term impact of the religious policies of the Northern Song, it is only because we have not paid sufficient attention to Chikusa's work. Surely the Northern Song's growing inability to police Buddhist institutions underlies the later rise of sectarian