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 legitimation" 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 legitimation process will take place before they gain power. Legitimation after gaining power should be a thing of the past.

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Separate indices of terms and names (ordered according to Japanese reading) and Dunhuang documents from the Pelliot and Stein collections (in numerical order).


To date, almost nothing on Song Buddhism is available in Western languages because so few have studied either its doctrinal or social aspects. 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, Chōjūku būkkyō shakai tō kekkō; 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," 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 bemuse 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. 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 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, 'Yubeki no jinbo to shakai' (Religion and the Study of Religious History) appears as the fourth chapter in the book; his appointment, while still a graduate student, to assistant at the Institute for Humanistic Studies of Kyoto University (KyoTo daigaku jinbun kagakun kenkyujo) is credited to the excitement that greeted his early work. Chikusa published several studies in political history and a biography of Su Shi at that time. Chikusa studied both with professors in Japanese history (Sakai Toku 桑原敬, Fuku 富, and Miyazaki Ichirazu 宫崎一郎), and in Buddhism and Dunhuang studies (Nabara Torisada 大原利直 and Fujieda Akira 藤江明). 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 Dunhuang. When I (totally dumbfounded) asked how he had done it, the characteristically modest Chikusa replied "Kan shi" (instinct, feel). This ability has taken him far. In 1968 he was made an associate professor at the Faculty of Arts and Letters (Bungaku-bu 元学部) of Kyoto University, where he now holds one of the most eminent chairs in Japanese history in Japan. Chikusa has now reached that phase of his academic career where administrative duties prevail, but...
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 Yiningzong 隱宗 (1063-1068) 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 alarmed 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 erode 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 monasteries 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). Chapter 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 "Sōtai Fungjī Kō 宋代供養鬼 (A Study of Grave Monasteries in the Song)" explains why a new type of Buddhist institution appeared in the Northern Song. A grave monastery (fengsui 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. At first glance, the popularity of grave monasteries among the Song shidaitai 寺大夫 is puzzling. Even Cuiyang Xiú 趙陽修, a critic of Buddhism as an alien religion, himself built a grave monastery (121). 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?

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, shidaitai began to establish grave estates (mushuang 祭田) with tenants whose obligations included tending the graves (136-138). Chapter 1 documented 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 jin to shakai" (Monasteries and Society in Fujian) (originally 1958, 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 using central government edicts proscribing Buddhism at face value (145). In this essay Chikusa draws on Liang Kejia 廖克家's Chuxin sanbenzhi 海州三志 (A Local History of Fujian Written During the Chuxin [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 (159-160), and their construction activities (169-181). The Sanbenzhi 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 "Kisaiki jima ni tsuite 柿崎島について" (Concerning vegetarianism and demon worship) (originally 1974) illustrates the differences between Chikusa's approach and that of his predecessors (primarily Chen Yuan and Shiugan Shunshō 重松俊尚), who both published articles about Song religion in the pre-war period. Chikusa cites no new materials about the so-called heterodox beliefs (siegaku 誹家). 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" (chikai shino 嚮鬼事奉) is no exception.

Chikusa begins by examining what he accepts as the only incontrovertible evidence of Manicheism in China. A few references in Northern Song sources mention Manichaean texts 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, chikai shino, which earlier scholars, oblivious to its nuances, took to be sure proof of the presence of Manicheism. 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” (yue xiaoxiao 夜聚晓散) and “teaching demonic beliefs” (chuanyi yaofa/jiao 教習妖法/教). But after the Fang La rebellion of 1120, Song administrators came to use the term chichai 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).

The term chichai 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, chichai shimo was a charge to be tacked on to other more demonstrable offenses. Chichai 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 Manichean 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, "Hsi NS Nuo ran to kinai jina 古銅的親和近代事変" (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 Manichean. 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 Manichean, Qiinggi kouwar 晴喜史座 (Traces of the Qiinggi Bandits) is corrupt, and that the term chichai shimo is a later interpolation (230-234). Chikusa cautions against leapfrogging to the conclusion that the Fang La was Buddhist simply because contemporary sources say that he used a mirror and a text.


8 See Brian McKnight's entry about this book in A Song Bibliography, ed. Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978) pp. 92-93.
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, 寺 and 舍 generally denoted monasteries that had received government recognition (in the form of plaques). An 寺 and 廟 (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 teachings 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 Jishu 般若 monastic canon was printed in Suzhou from 1231 to 1272, the Puning 聖云 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 contributions: many were lay Buddhists who had taken vows and assumed Buddhist names. Many lived in cloisters (14-15). The Jishu 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 師僧 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, 61, 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 眞 or 眞 ("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 their ancestors' grave in Shaozhou prefecture, Pujian (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 clamped 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 (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-hermitage at the top of the hill. These White Lotus sect members probably built similar hostels all over Pujian and Jiaoxi (23). In many ways, as White Cloud and White Lotus cloisters resembled other cloisters, so too did their followers resemble other lay Buddhists (居士) 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 職官, 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