

宋遼金元

The Society of Song, Yuan, and
Conquest Dynasty Studies
appreciates the persistent efforts of
Beverly Bossler in the scanning of

volumes 18 through 30. Through her work, the Society has been able to
make electronic copy of the these volumes of the *Bulletin of Sung-Yuan
Studies Newsletter* available in the public domain.

Please Note: Because this bulletin was scanned as a series of graphics
images of the pages, it is not searchable.

宋遼金元

The Bulletin of
SUNG-YUAN
Studies
21

GENERAL TABLE OF THE MEASURES *Li* and *Mou*
UNDER THE SONG, LIAO, AND JIN

Dynasty	Measure Name	Length of one <i>chi</i> (cm)	Number of <i>bu</i> in one <i>li</i>	Number of <i>chi</i> in one <i>bu</i>	Number of <i>chi</i> in one <i>li</i>	Length of one <i>li</i> (m)	Number of square <i>bu</i> in one <i>mou</i>	Area of one <i>mou</i> (m ²)	Comments
Song	Three Offices' Cotton and Silk <i>chi</i> 三司布帛尺	31.12	360	5	1800	560.16	240	581.07	
Song	Three Offices' Cotton and Silk <i>chi</i> (Northern Song)	31.61	360	5	1800	568.98	240	599.52	
Song	Builder's <i>chi</i> 營造尺	30.91	360	5	1800	556.38	240	573.26	
Song	<i>Zhe chi</i> 折尺	27.49	360	5	1800	494.82	240	453.42	
Song	Gnomonic <i>chi</i> 影表尺	24.525	360	5	1800	441.45	-	-	
Liao	<i>Liao chi</i> 遼尺	approx. 34.4	300	5	1500	approx. 515.9	-	-	These figures are tentative and provided for reference purposes only.
Jin	<i>Jin chi</i> 金尺	approx. 43	240	5	1200	approx. 516	240	approx. 1109	These figures are tentative and provided for reference purposes only.

BUDDHIST INSTITUTIONS IN THE LOWER YANGTZE REGION DURING THE SUNG DYNASTY

Liu Xinru
Institute of World History
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Beijing, China

Most historians who study Chinese Buddhism concern themselves with its development before the Sung, especially during the T'ang Dynasty, which is considered the heyday of Buddhism. By the time of the Sung, according to those historians, Buddhism had already declined as a religion. No doubt Buddhism as a spiritual force and social institution did change during the Sung Dynasty. Following repeated government persecutions during the late T'ang and the cessation of contact with India, Buddhism did decline in some respects. It certainly ceased to dominate the intellectual life of China's elite, the discipline of the monastic community seems to have lost its former vigor, and Buddhism may have become more susceptible to the absorption of popular Chinese beliefs. However, as this paper will attempt to show, Buddhism lost none of its importance as a popular religion nor as a socio-economic institution during the Sung. Since most available materials for this study -- the local histories and monastery histories -- are from the region of the Lower Yangtze valley, I shall concentrate on that region.

Historical Setting

After the political chaos of the late T'ang and the Five Dynasties, a new demographic pattern and cultural trend emerged. Political and economic centers shifted east; with the rise of tribal powers in Northwest China, cultural exchange with and trade through Central Asia decreased. At the same time communication and sea trade with the outside world flourished along the east and southeast coasts. This trend began in the early Sung and accelerated when northern invasions forced the Sung capital south.

Meanwhile, Buddhists emphasized the significance of religious service for people's future lives and their deceased family members' welfare, and served more and more lay people. With all these modifications, Buddhist monasteries reflect Chinese Buddhism's adaptation to new circumstances. In spite of the Buddhist doctrine stipulating that monks were to be recluses from the secular world, from its very beginnings in India, the Buddhist *sangha* was closely associated with commercial and urban life; monasteries tend to be located around big cities and major trade arteries. For example in Lo-yang, which was located at the very end of the Silk Road and was an important city for both domestic trade and trade with Central Asia, the urban elite often donated their houses to Buddhist monks.

In the following centuries the fate of Buddhist monasteries was closely connected with the rise and decline of urban centers. While the Lower Yangtze Valley under study was one of the best developed regions at the beginning of the Sung, it also nourished a great number of monks. With the increase in the political and economic significance of the region during the Sung, the influence of Buddhist monasteries increased

accordingly. Throughout the Sung Dynasty the number of monks in the Che-chiang and Fu-chien was always half of that in the whole country.¹

The earliest Buddhist monasteries that can be traced in the local histories were built during the Six Dynasties, around Chien-k'ang, the capital of the southern kingdoms. In the T'ang Dynasty, Buddhism flourished around a new center -- Hangchow -- and reached its apex in the Five Dynasties. The T'ien-t'ai school, one of the earliest Chinese schools, originated in T'ai-chou. In 1021, there were about 140,000 Buddhist monks and nuns in Liang-che and Chiang-nan circuits, whereas the number in the whole country was about 460,000.² The total number of monasteries in twelve prefectures amounted to 3,000 according to the local histories (repetitions have been deleted).

The number of monks and monasteries fluctuated during the entire Sung period. This, at least partially, was due to the contradictory attitudes of the Sung government. On the whole, Sung emperors tolerated and even encouraged Buddhist ideology by granting honors to monks. Emperors invited famous monks to the court and awarded them purple robes as symbols of prestige. In 966 at the beginning of the dynasty, the government even sent a group of 157 monks to India.³ A sutra printing bureau (Yin-ching-yüan 印經院) was established in the Ta-chung-hsiang-fu era (1008-16).⁴ The first printing of the 5,000 volumes of the Tripitaka in 130,000 wooden blocks was completed in 983.⁵ To support monasteries, Sung rulers granted tax-free land to monasteries, exempted monks from corvée obligations, and protected the monasteries' interests with some detailed rules, such as forbidding people to cut fuel wood around monasteries.

On the other hand, for economic reasons the government controlled Buddhist institutions through granting certificates and monastery names, and through supervising monastery leadership. As soon as they gained new territory, especially in regions with a high concentration of Buddhists institutions, the Sung government tried to restrict the number of monks. When T'ai-tsung annexed Chiang-nan, he began to limit the number of monks in monasteries and ruled in 955 that

¹Hsieh Chin 解縉 (1369-1415) et al., *Yung-lo Ta-tien* 永樂大典 (reprinted 1960 by Chung-hua Shu-chü), 8706/14a. (Hereafter the YLTT)

²Ibid., 8706/14a.

³Hsü Sung 徐松, *Sung-hui-yao chi-kao* 宋會要輯稿 (original 1809, reprinted in Peking, 1936), vol. 197, *Fan-i* 蕃夷 section, 4/89. Hereafter cited as SHY.

⁴SHY, vol.200, *Fan-i*, 2/6.

⁵Chien Po-tsan 翦伯贊, *Chung-kuo Shih Kang-yao* 中國史綱要 (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pen-she, 1963), p.164.

In Chiang-nan, Liang-che and Fu-chien, one certificate will be given once a year for three hundred monks or a hundred nuns. Every one has to take the examination of reading *sutras*. Only those who pass the examination should be instated as monks. Otherwise the prefect and examiner will be deposed from their position, the responsible person will be exiled, and the monks or nuns concerned will be sentenced to death...⁶

The granting of the monastery names was a means of controlling the number of monasteries and of regulating the internal affairs of a monastery. In the Sung Dynasty, each new Buddhist monastery had to be approved by the government through the granting of a name. The law was that if one built even a one-room temple without permission, he should be punished for breaking the law, and the temple would be demolished. To show their power over religious organization, Sung emperors had the habit of granting new names to old monasteries. The changing of monastic names often had a specific purpose. When the emperors or their ministers took old monasteries as their family cloisters, they changed the names to the monasteries to suit this function. In 1135 Ling-yin Monastery received a new name Ch'ung-en-hsien-ch'in (respect the grace and bring honor to the ancestry) for its service in the funeral of the Empress Dowager Wu.

The Sung government also controlled Buddhist institutions by manipulating or supervising the leadership of monasteries, especially the famous ones. It rewarded purple robes, and selected monk supervisors (*seng-kuan* 僧官) from meritorious monks. Under the Sung rule, Buddhist monks became accustomed to constraints on their institutions. They considered these grants of certificates and new monastery names as great favors from the emperors. The emperors actually used them to reward the monasteries for their services. For example, in 1068, 200 certificates were given for religious services on the empress dowager's birthday.

An edict in 1097 ordered that one certificate be given to a monastery if it cremated 3,000 bodies.¹⁰ Many certificates were given to the monasteries which took care of royal tombs. From the late Northern Sung, many certificates were sold to meet financial emergency. The distinction of patronage and control was thus blurred by both sides.

From the bottom of their hearts, the emperors and their ministers believed that the patronage of Buddhism would bring good fortune to their

⁶YLTT, 8706/17b.

⁷Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, "Lun Ssu-e Ta-tzu" 論寺額割字, in *Wen-kuo-wen-cheng Ssu-ma Kuang Chi* 溫國文正司馬光集 (Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an Ch'u-pien, Shanghai, 1933), vol. 46, chapter 24, pp. 229-30.

⁸Sun Chih 孫治 and Hsü Tseng 徐增, *Ling-yin Ssu-chih* 靈隱寺志, 5/2b-3b, included in *Wu-lin Chang-ku Ts'ung-pien* 武林掌故叢編, vol. 6.

⁹YLTT, 8706/19a.

¹⁰Ibid.

regime and their future life. The emperors and their family were the most important builders of family cloisters. In the Hsien-ch'un Era (1265-74), there were eighty-four family cloisters and tomb sites in Hang-chou, most of them for the royal family.¹¹ Not only the emperor's parents, uncles, aunts, tutors, brothers, sisters and children had their cloisters or tomb keepers, but even the emperors' concubines and favorite maids could have cloisters. As soon as one received an appointment to high office, such as prime minister, chancellor, military minister, one had the privilege of applying for a name for his family cloister. Therefore, while the ruling elite of the Sung controlled expansion of Buddhist institutions for economic reason, they also granted some economic favors to keep them going and to make them dependent on political power.

Generally speaking, Sung literati and officials showed even more affection to Buddhism than their predecessors in the T'ang. They frequented monasteries and wrote stele records for them. The records of important monasteries are full of poems composed by famous scholars, such as Wang An-shih and Su Shih. As many Buddhist monasteries in this region were located in beautiful hills, it is conceivable the scholars saw them as good places to relax and seek company for intellectual conversation. However, the theme of discussion had been changed. Most of these poems describe the scenery, praise the virtue or magical powers of certain monks, but few of them refer to the philosophical or theological questions often alluded to in the T'ang.

When the utilitarian scholar Ch'en Liang from Che-chiang defended Buddhist land ownership, he showed his practical attitude clearly:

I think if a monk owns ten mu of land, although he does not till the land but hires a man to till it every year, this man can feed the monk by his labor. The output from the land is enough to pay for the work done by the monk. Thus a monk does not cost residents anything. Three men can live on the ten mu of land. If all monks have land, even if they do not till, people will not suffer. The proper way of ruling is no longer observed. Disciples of Buddhism and Taoism are not necessarily all bad. It is not only their fault. Do all people in the world till the land to feed themselves?¹²

Most practical Sung intellectuals adopted this position. Since they felt that Buddhism was no longer harmful to the social system, and since the monasteries provided religious services and charity, why not let them own their land as other landlords did? They would be no worse than other landholders.

Chinese Buddhism was no longer a defenceless new comer by the Sung. People all needed Buddhist services for their welfare in this world and

¹¹Counted according to Ch'ien Yüeh-yu 潛說友, Hsien-ch'un Lin-an Chih 咸淳臨安志, chapter 77.

¹²Ch'en Liang 陳亮, Lung-ch'uan Wen-chi 龍川文集, chapter 16, p. 167, included in Kuo-hsueh Chi-pen Ts'ung-shu 國學基本叢書 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935-38), series 163.

in future life. Buddhists made great effort to re-orient their services for different social demands. Buddhist monks received literati guests with honor, and used their patronage to increase the monasteries' reputation. One monk in Chia-yu Monastery of T'ai-chou went so far as to go to the capital to collect writing samples from 145 high officials for the Prajna Sutra. He kept the calligraphy as a treasure of the monastery to attract patronage to the institution.¹³ High priests, as in the T'ang, were very familiar with the Confucian literati's life style and recreation. They composed poems, practiced calligraphy, painted pictures, played chess, and conversed with Confucian scholars over a pot of good tea.

Religious Activities

Ch'an and Pure-land became influential schools by the Sung. Both of them deviated far from Buddhist orthodoxy. If the Ch'an school was still concerned with some sophisticated theological questions, Pure-land school provided the simplest way to save one's soul. With the economic development and social changes of the Sung, even Ch'an monks lost their aloofness and, along with other Buddhist monks, were occupied with religious services for the local community, or, in the case of the big monasteries, for imperial ceremonies. They prayed for more or less rainfall; they held funerals and took care of tombs; they prayed for fertility, for wealth, and for good fortune. Buddhist deities in the Sung assimilated and embodied many popular cults, such as the Dragon King, the Goddess of Childbearing, and the God of wealth. They also served the new function of helping the souls of the dead to get out of hell. As monasteries' religious services expanded, Buddhism penetrated more and more into the spiritual life of people of all social strata. The demand for religious services increased. Monasteries were paid for these services and to a great extent, they were able to live on this kind of income. Large, old monasteries could further their reputation and small monasteries could gain fame and become big if their prayers for the people's benefit were effective.

There was a hierarchical arrangement for religious services among monasteries. Every monastery had its own range of activities. The largest monasteries normally served a large region or the whole nation and often were under the order of the emperors for imperial ceremonies. In the record of T'ien-chu Monastery of Hang-chou, emperors sent ministers to pray for the nation's welfare, in 972 during a vast flood, in 986 during the warfare with the Khitan, in 1061 at the time of a locust plague, and in 1065 also during a flood. There were also many services held at the order of the prefects. The record of 972 states that the prayer was so effective that whenever there was flood, drought or plague, the people would go to T'ien-chu Monastery to pray. After Hang-chou became the capital, T'ien-chu Monastery provided more services to the emperors.¹⁴ The rise of T'ien-chu Monastery in the Sung Dynasty

¹³Ch'en Ch'i-ch'ing 陳耆卿, Chia-ting Ch'ih-ch'eng Chih 嘉定赤城志, 27/1a.

¹⁴Shih Kuang-pin 釋廣賓, Hang-chou Shang-t'ien-chu-chiang-ssu Chih 杭州上天竺講寺志, 1/4b-6b, included in Wu-lin Chang-ku Ts'ung-pien,

was due at least partly to its role in protecting the nation and the region.

Most large monasteries in this region did not perform such national functions, but they were important institutions in the local people's daily life. In his record of the purchase of land by Yu-wang-shan Monastery in Ming-chou, Lu Yu (陸遊) praised the important role the monastery had played in the local community:

Ssu-ming is a large city on the sea coast. Since the two grants to the monastery in the Chia-yu Era (1056-64) and Shao-hsing Era (1131-62), its splendor reached up to the clouds and the Milky Way, down to everything on the earth. Thus the mountain god and sea god are diligent in their service. Tortoises, dragons, and crocodiles obey orders. As a result, bad air and poisonous fumes have disappeared, the atmosphere is clear and nice. Ships come from ten myriad of li away, merchants come from all directions, gold from the south, and great treasure are piled up in the market. It is impossible to count it all. The pier is steep and strong, the harvest is good, how flourishing it is!¹⁵

Thus the famous Yu-wang-shan Monastery was the divine guardian of the seaport. The very existence of the monastery was related closely to the city's commercial prosperity.

Although smaller monasteries in the subprefectures did not assume so important a role, they could serve the local community for minor problems. The history of Ch'in-ch'uan (Ch'ang-shu) records that T'ien-ning Monastery was efficacious for granting offspring. Shang-fang Monastery was efficacious for the weather. "People honored it greatly, and whenever there was flood or drought, they would worship the Buddha in it along with the images of dragons and dragonness."¹⁶ Many monasteries even built memorials for the dead in their courtyard. Miao-hsi Monastery of Tan-t'u subprefecture, Jun-chou, was a cloister of the office of Military Director (tu-t'ung-ssu 都統司) and had a memorial for soldiers who had died in battle.¹⁷ In some other monasteries, Buddha and other Buddhist deities had to share their residence with objects of popular worship. The history of Hsiu-chou gives the honor of building the Hsing-fu Monastery in Hai-yen subprefecture to the administrator who "built a sangha to provide residence for Buddhist monks and the Dragon God."¹⁸

vol. 12.

¹⁵ Lu Yu 陸游, Wei-nan Wen-chi 渭南文集, Chapter 19, p.173, included in Ssu-pu-ts'ung-k'an Ch'u-pien, vol. 66.

¹⁶ Pao Lieh 鮑廉, Ch'in-ch'uan Chih 琴川志, 10/8b, 12a.

¹⁷ Lu Hsien 盧憲, Chia-ting Cheng-chiang Chih 嘉定鎮江志, 8/1a-1b.

¹⁸ Hsu Shuo 徐碩, Chih-yuan Chia-ho Chih 至元嘉禾志, 11/9b.

Following the change in their orientation, Buddhist institutions further lost spiritual authority when facing secular power. A quotation from "A Record for New Land of Hung-fu Monastery," Ch'i-men subprefecture, Mu-chou, represents the typical relationship between Buddhist institutions and secular world:

In the world, people who follow the teaching of the Buddha, even where they receive the gift of a meal, should praise and pray for the donors, to give them benefits in the other world. In this way they show that they are grateful to the donors, and make donors willing to give more, and other people willing to follow their models.

In spite of the humility they displayed, Buddhist monks got many meals as well as many big donations and economic patronage in exchange for the services they performed. Their institutions were strong, and their economic force was growing.

Economic Prosperity

During the Sung, land holdings were the major source of income for Buddhist monasteries. Buddhist monasteries often invested most of the donations they received and other income in landed property. Yu-wang-shan Monastery in Ming-chou purchased land with the money donated by the emperor Kao-tsung;¹⁹ Shou-sheng Monastery of Hospitality (chieh-tai-yuan 接待院) of Hang-chou purchased land with money earned through a clinic attached to the monastery.²¹ Some monasteries received land directly from the emperors. There is little conclusive evidence concerning the amount of land given to Buddhist monasteries in this region by the Sung government, but extant information shows that land grants were often on a large scale. Most land grants were at least a few hundred mu (about 566 metres² per mu). The largest could reach as much 10,000 mu on a single occasion.²² However, both land grants and tax exemptions were limited to the largest, most famous monasteries and to the monasteries which served the royal family directly. Among the big monasteries, Ling-yin Monastery of Hang-chou received 13,000 mu all together from the Sung emperors;²³ Shang-t'ien-chu Monastery in Hang-

¹⁹ Yang Ke 楊耦, P'ei-yü-chai Lei-kao 佩玉齋類稿, 2/14a, included in Ssu-k'u-ch'uan-shu Chen-pen Ch'u-chi (Taipei, 1970), vol. 355.

²⁰ Lu Yu, Wei-nan Wen-chi, ch. 19, p. 173.

²¹ Huang Min-chih 黃敏枝, "Sung-tai Ssu Kuan yü Chuang-yüan chih Yen-chiu" 宋代司觀與莊園之研究, p. 185, included in Fo-chiao Ching-chi Yen-chiu Lun-chi (Taipei: Ta-sheng Wen-hua Ch'u-pan-she, 1978).

²² Shuang-lin Monastery, Hang-chou, received 10,000 mu of land in 1166. Hu Ching 胡敬, Ch'un-yu Lin-an Chih Chi-i 淳佑臨安志輯佚, 7/12a, included in Wu-lin Chang-ku Ts'ung-pien, vol. 12.

²³ Sun Chih et al., Ling-yin Ssu-chih, 5/4b.

chou received 16,000 mu.²⁴ The monasteries which served the royal family as family cloisters or tomb keepers (*tsan-kung* 贊宮) received the land as rewards for their services. For example, the Hsien-tsu-chi-ching Monastery of Chia-hsing subprefecture, a family cloister of the emperor, received 18,200 mu of land and 7090 mu of mountain land.²⁵ T'ai-ning Monastery of Shao-hsing subprefecture received a manor as a reward for taking care of a tomb for the royal family.²⁶ By and large, monasteries acquired land through donations from the elite and from common people, and through reclamation and purchase.

There are many examples of donations in this region. When Wang An-shih donated his house to a monastery in Chen-chiang, his family also donated more than a thousand mu of land to the monastery.²⁷ An imperial scholar Chang Ts'u donated more than 6,300 mu in Chen-chiang to a monastery in Lin-an;²⁸ the Prime Minister Chia Ssu-tao once donated 2,000 mu of land to T'ien-chu Monastery of Hang-chou.²⁹ But the most common practice was to donate land to family cloisters or to monasteries which performed religious services for the family. In the latter case, the donors often required the land to be used in a specific way. When the Prime Minister Tseng Pu had a pagoda built for his ancestors in Lung-yu Monastery of Chen-chiang, he donated 7,000 mu of land to the monastery,³⁰ but the income could be used only for maintaining the pagoda.

Despite the Buddhist tradition of avoiding land cultivation since it might kill animals in the soil, many Buddhist monasteries cultivated or reclaimed waste, marsh, and tide land. Monks in Hung-yu Monastery in T'ai-chou reclaimed a few hundred thousand mu of land.³¹ Many small monasteries cultivated some mountain lands to finance their expenditures.

It is difficult to decide how much land was owned by Buddhist monasteries in the Lower Yangtze. Statistical materials are only available for the Buddhist centers of the region, namely Ming-chou and

²⁴Shih Kuang-pin, *Hang-chou Shang-t'ien-chu-chiang-ssu Chih*, 10/15a-16b.

²⁵Hu Ching, *Ch'un-yu Lin-an Chih Chi-i*, 2/23a-25a.

²⁶SHY, ch. 15423, *Shih-huo* 食貨 section, 70/71a.

²⁷Huang Chin 黃潛, *Chin-hua Huang Hsien-sheng Wen-chi* 金華黃先生文集, chapter 13, p. 128, included in *Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an Ch'u-pien*, vol. 77. Quoted in Huang Min-chih, "Sung-tai Ssu Kuan," p. 179.

²⁸Ibid., p. 180.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., p. 179.

³¹Ibid., p. 186.

T'ai-chou. According to the history of Ming-chou compiled in Pao-ch'ing Era (1225-27), Buddhist monasteries in this prefecture owned 83,199 mu of paddy land, and 339,236 mu of mountain land. Information on the amount of land under cultivation is available only for four subprefectures, namely Chin, Chi-hsi, Ting-hai, and Hsiang-shan. The total acreage of the four was 1,703,857 mu, while monasteries in the concerned are owned 42,045 mu of land, 2.5% of the total acreage.³²

Table 1. Land holdings of T'ai-chou Monasteries

	Paddy land (<u>mu</u>)	Dry land (<u>mu</u>)	Mountain land (<u>mu</u>)
Monastery property	126,527	33,410	121,803
Total of the prefecture	2,628,283	948,222	2,753,538
Ratio	4.8%	3.5%	4.4%

Table 2. T'ai-chou Landholdings Per Capita and Per Monk

	Paddy land (<u>mu</u>)	Dry land (<u>mu</u>)	Mountain land (<u>mu</u>)
Total acreage of arable land	2,628,283	948,222	1,753,358
Arable land per person	2.39	0.86	1.59
*Total population (including monks and nuns): 1,100,730			

Table 1 above shows the amount of landed property of monasteries in T'ai-chou,³³ which was a fully cultivated area in the time of the Sung. The local history says: "This prefecture is situated between mountains and sea. Fertile land is less than poor land. People here work very hard to make a living. No land larger than one square inch is deserted and left uncultivated."³⁴ The arable land per capita in 1222 is given

³²Calculated according to Lo Chün 羅濬, *Pao-ch'ing Ssu-ming Chih* 寶慶四明志, chapter 11.

³³Calculated according to Ch'en Ch'i-ch'ing, *Chia-ting Ch'ih-ch'eng Chih* 嘉定赤城志, chapters 13-14.

³⁴Ibid., 13/1a.

in Table 3.³⁵ Yet in such an over populated area, the average acreage of Buddhist monasteries and holdings per monk in the same year was:

Table 3. Average Landholdings for T'ai-chou Monasteries and Monks

	Paddy land (<u>mu</u>)	Dry land (<u>mu</u>)	Mountain land (<u>mu</u>)
Average holding of each of the 386 monasteries	316	86.6	316
Average holding of the 2,252 monks	56.2	14.8	54.

Ch'ang-kuo subprefecture of Ming-chou was also an area of concentrated population. While the people depended on 2.32 mu of paddy land per capita to make a living, during the Tate period (1297-1307) of the Yuan Dynasty, the average holding of the Buddhist and Taoist monasteries and the holding per-monk were:

Table 4. Average Landholdings for Ch'ang-kuo Monasteries and Monks

	Paddy land (<u>mu</u>)	Dry land (<u>mu</u>)	Mountain land (<u>mu</u>)
Total acreage of Buddhist and Taoist monasteries	28,327	15,199	57,626
Average holding of monasteries (39 Buddhist and 4 Taoist)	658.8	353.5	1,340.1
Average holding of the 1,358 monks	20.9	11.2	42.4

³⁵Ibid., 15/1b-2a. The figure of population is calculated from male population, which was 550,365, including ting (men aged 20-60), yu-ting (boys below 20), ts'an 殘 (handicapped), and fei 廢 (over-aged men). Presumably the whole population should have been approximately two times the male population.

³⁶Calculated according to Feng Fu-ching 馮福景 et al., Ta-te Ch'ang-kuo-chou T'u-chih 大德昌國州圖志, 3/1-5.

However, monasteries did not share land equally. According to materials from T'ai-chou and Ming-chou, the distribution of land shows the same kind of hierarchical structure as in their service network, i.e., large monasteries owned more land when serving a large geographical area, while poorer ones served smaller areas. Table 5 indexes land distribution in T'ai-chou.³⁷

Table 5. Mean and Median Landholdings of T'ai-chou Monasteries

	Paddy land (<u>mu</u>)	Dry land (<u>mu</u>)	Mountain land (<u>mu</u>)	Total (<u>mu</u>)
Mean value	345.5	92.1	476.5	914.8
Median	1.8	40.0	80.2	375.0
Percentage below mean	74%	71%	79%	77%
Valid cases	359	360	360	359

The fact that medians (acreage of a monastery in the middle of the range) are much lower than mean values (average acreage of monasteries) means that half the number of the monasteries owned much less than the average amount of land. While 28% of monasteries owned less than 100 mu of paddy land, only 7%, 24 monasteries, were above 1,000 mu, and the highest reached 6565 mu. The total land holdings of a monastery could be as high as 12,408 mu, but only four monasteries were above 10,000 mu,

Table 6. Mean and Median Landholdings of Ming-chou Monasteries

	Paddy land (<u>mu</u>)	Mountain land (<u>mu</u>)	Total (<u>mu</u>)
Mean value	317.0	1,094.7	1,411.8
Median	130.1	164.5	332.5
Percentage below mean	80	62	97
Valid cases:	268	268	268

³⁷Calculated according to Ch'en Ch'i-ch'ing, Chia-ting Ch'ih-ch'eng Chih, 13/1a.

and 22% were above 1,000 mu. Statistics from Ming-chou show exactly same tendency (Table 6).³⁸

While only ten monasteries, about 4%, owned more than 1,000 mu of paddy land, there were 37% monasteries owning less than 100 mu. The total land holdings of monasteries in Ming-chou could reach 25,767 mu, and eight monasteries, about 3%, owned above 10,000 mu. In contrast, the bottom 36% monasteries owned less than 200 mu of all kinds of land. The similarity of the distribution of landed property and that of service network among monasteries further proves that economic prosperity of a monastery was closely connected with its response to social need and state patronage.

In spite of the great diversity of land holdings among the monasteries, 72% of the monasteries in T'ai-chou and 63% of the monasteries in Ming-chou owned more than 100 mu of paddy land, and 73% of the monasteries in T'ai-chou and 64% of those in Ming-chou had total land acreage above 200 mu. The Buddhist church as a whole certainly was one of the most important land holders. There is evidence that monastic lands in this region had increased substantially during the Sung dynasty. The History of Ling-yin Monastery shows that the land holdings of the monasteries were largest in the Sung. Comparing the statistical materials of Ch'ang-kuo subprefecture in the Pao-ch'ing Era (1225-27) to the records in the Ta-te Era (1297-1307) of the Yuan Dynasty, it is apparent that almost every monastery's land had increased substantially in the period of about seventy years.³⁹ As Table 7 shows, marginal types of land were more easily obtained than paddy land.

Table 7. Increases in Ch'ang-kuo Monastic Landholdings

Period	Paddy land (<u>mu</u>)	Dry land and mountain land (<u>mu</u>)
1225-1227	22,152	28,512
1297-1307	28,214	72,222
Increase ratio	27.5%	155.6%

Normally Buddhist monasteries in the Sung dynasty did not enjoy the privilege of tax exemption. Only a few major monasteries with special relations to the emperors were granted the exemption. Buddhist monks had to pay a small amount of money for exemption from labor service to the state. However, considering the size of monasteries' land holdings in such a densely populated region, even after paying for corvée exemption and without tax exemptions, the Buddhist monasteries possessed enough

³⁸ Calculated according to Lo Chün, Pao-ch'ing Ssu-ming Chih, 20/21-25.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Feng-Fu-ching, Ta-te Ch'ang-kuo-chou T'u-chih, 9/2-16.

economic force to compete with other institutions or individual land owners.

Though acquiring land was the traditional way for Buddhist institutions to strengthen themselves economically in an agricultural economy, monasteries also engaged in commercial activities wherever trade was conducted. Buddhist monasteries were involved in financial activities long before the Sung. In his research on Chinese institutional history, Lien-sheng Yang points out that four money-raising institutions originated in or were closely connected with Buddhist monasteries, although they were not necessarily imported from India. They were the pawnshop, the mutual financing association, the auction, and the sale of lottery tickets. The first three appeared before the Sung.⁴⁰ Following the urban population boom in the Lower Yangtze region, Buddhist monasteries also oriented their economic activities to the growing urban economy. In the Sung, the pawnshop was no longer limited to Buddhist monasteries. Both government and merchants were involved with pawnshops. The usury and pawn business run by Buddhist monasteries were called Ch'ang-sheng-k'u (長生庫). The history of Ling-yin monastery records that in 1248, the monastery received 20,000 pieces of money as reward for prayers that brought rain. The monastery used this money as capital for its money lending activities.⁴¹ The philosophy of Buddhism and the mode of its adaptation in Chinese society was also an important factor in the process. Mahayana's idea of saving all creatures was the ideological base of monastery charity that encouraged the accumulating of treasure. At a first glance usury as means of developing wealth contradicted Buddhist doctrine. The Buddhists who practiced usury argued that this practice provided a so-called "inexhaustible treasure" (wu-chin-ts'ang 無盡藏) which could be used to help poor people. In this way Buddhist ideas followed the new economic trends and encouraged Buddhist monastery to compete with other financial institutions in the Sung Dynasty.

During the Southern Sung, a new phenomenon emerged from those financial institutions. Some laymen formed partnerships to open pawnshops in Buddhist monasteries to evade the property tax. This practice was so widespread that in 1201 the government had to issue an edict to bring them under taxation. Lien-sheng Yang concludes that Buddhist monasteries and their wealth provided favorable conditions for the growth of financial institutions, and their influence spread into secular social and economic life.⁴²

As Hang-chou and Ming-chou were important ports for overseas trade, many Buddhist monasteries acted as hotels and as charitable institutions. This kind of monastery were called "Monastery of Hospitality" (Chieh-tai-

⁴⁰ Yang Lien-sheng, Studies in Chinese Institutional History (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 198-215.

⁴¹ Wu Yung-meng, "Chung-kuo Fo-chiao Ching-chi chih Fa-chan" 中國佛教經濟之發展, included in Fo-chiao Ching-chi Yen-chiu Lun-chi, p. 309.

⁴² Yang Lien-sheng, Studies in Chinese Institutional History.

yuan接待院) and were found in every subprefecture. It is easy to tell them from their names which often contain the sense of "hospitality". Li Hsin-ch'uan described one of the monasteries of hospitality in Hang-chou:

Let us look at what the monastery does: it provides medicine for the people who are sick and graves for the dead. Its grace benefits many people... its sources for the provision are 2,7000 mu of land, 1,600 mu of mountain land, 400 mu of rice, plus some money which can earn interest. All of these are earned by Tsung-ming's religious work. Nothing is from outsiders...⁴³

This monastery was thus an independent and multifaceted economic unit. It had substantial agricultural income and some usury capital. It had many charitable activities. All of the income came from the monks' religious services. In fact, this kind of monastery provided a sort of network of charity houses and hotels along the major arteries of communication for both religious and commercial travelers in the region.

In addition to financial activities, monasteries in this region engaged in trade and production of commercial goods, such as tea. Tea production was very profitable and the tea trade was an item monopolized by the Sung government. Monasteries in this region were often located in hilly areas and many of them owned more mountainous land than paddy land. The climate of the region was suitable for tea production. The chapter "Native Products" in *History of Hang-chou* (compiled in the Hsien-ch'un Era, 1265-74) lists four kinds of famous tea, all of them produced on monastery land. It quotes from Su Shih:

Both the North and South Mountain and the famous mountains of the seven subprefectures outside Hang-chou city produce tea. Recently Buddhist monks from Chiang Mountain collected the tea before the season of ku-yü (谷雨) and presented it to people in small cans.⁴⁴

As many of the "famous mountains" around Hang-chou were occupied by Buddhist monasteries, it is likely that tea production was common on the lands of monasteries in the area. Outside Hang-chou there were other Buddhist monasteries famous for tea production. Pao-yen Monastery in Ning-hai subprefecture of T'ai-chou "used to be called Tea Mountain Monastery... tea output was quite high..."⁴⁵ The fact that certain kinds of tea from monastery property gained fame also suggests that the monasteries produced some quantity of tea for the market.

As block printing became popular in the Sung Dynasty, Buddhist monasteries also printed Buddhist texts for sale. The Japanese monk Seijin (成尋) once purchased this kind of printed materials from a monastery along the Huai River on his pilgrimage to Mount T'ien-t'ai and

⁴³Ch'ien Yüeh-yu, *Hsien-ch'un Lin-an Chih*, 77/10a.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 58/8b.

⁴⁵Ch'en Ch'i-ch'ing, *Chia-ting Ch'ih-ch'eng Chih*, 29/9a.

Mount Wu-t'ai (1072-73).⁴⁶ As an example in the region of the Lower Yangtze, Yuan-chueh Monastery in Kuei-an subprefecture, Hu-chou, ran a printing shop in Chia-t'si Era (1202-04).⁴⁷

Buddhist monasteries in the Sung must have commanded considerable economic force. In 1094, when Fan Chung-yen was prefect of Hang-chou, the region had a bad famine. According to the history of Shang-t'ien-chu Monasteries in Hang-chou, the prefect persuaded the Buddhist monasteries in the area to undertake construction projects to provide employment. "Thus the people who had some skill could make a living by this. The people of Hang-chou thus avoided exile from their homes."⁴⁸ Saying that monasteries' construction activities could save the people of such a big city from famine must be an exaggeration. But even if they alleviated the intensity of the famine, and the monasteries must have had quite large resources.

The role of Buddhist monasteries in urbanization is worth exploring. Statistics indicate that population increased much more in monastery concentrated areas than other areas. Table 8 gives numbers of monasteries in the twelve prefectures in the Sung and Five dynasties. It is based on information in the local histories of Jun-chou and Sheng-chou were compiled about fifty years into the Yuan dynasty, but the monasteries built during Yuan times have been subtracted from the data. Thus the table represents the distribution of temples in the region during the Southern Sung.

The four prefectures, T'ai-chou, Ming-chou, Yueh-chou and Hang-chou in the southeast of the region, were the very center of Buddhism in the Lower Yangtze region. The density of Buddhist monasteries here was very high. In Hang-chou alone there were 773 monasteries. To the north in Hu-chou, Hsiu-chou, and Sheng-chou, or to the west in Hsi-chou and Mu-chou, the total number of monasteries declined rapidly. There was a minor concentration around Sheng-chou, where had been a Buddhist center during the Six Dynasties.

The distribution of Buddhist monasteries positively correlates to the concentration of population, which is an index of the extent of urbanization. The following tables give the correlation between numbers of monasteries and households (hu) in different prefectures at the beginning of the Sung (Table 9) and the late Sung (Table 10). The numbers of households are treated as indexes for concentration of population. As both the numbers of monasteries and of households in late Sung were not recorded in the same period, plus other uncertainties, the calculation is only a rough estimation. The fact that there are some

⁴⁶Seijin成尋, *Ts'ian T'ien-t'ai Wu-t'ai-shan chi* 參天台五臺山記 included in *Dai Nihon Bukkyo Zensho* (Tokyo: Suzuki gakujutsu zaiden, 1970-73, vol. 72, p. 252.

⁴⁷T'an Yüeh談鑰, *Wu-hsing Chih* 吳興志, 13/34a.

⁴⁸Shih Kuang-pin, *Hang-chou Shang-t'ien-chu-chiang-ssu Chih*, 12/12a.

Table 8. Distribution of Buddhist Monasteries in Lower Yangtze Region during the Sung

Prefecture & date	Total number	Dated monast.	Monast. built in Sung	Monast. built in Five Dyn.	Family cloisters
T'ai-chou (1223)	393	338	68	138	13
Ming-chou (1226)	307	270	14	120	15
Yueh-chou (1201)	350	327	11	200	8
Hang-chou (1208)	773	662	165	343	84
Hu-chou (1201)	183	173	37	41	20
Hsiu-chou (1201)	134	99	45	15	2
Su-chou (1192)	60	27	3	6	3
Ch'ang-chou (1268)	75	68	9	0	13
Jun-chou (1330-32)	244	73	38	4	17
Sheng-chou (1344)	203	153	47	12	6
Hsi-chou (1175)	130	128	5	11	0
Mu-chou (1260-64)	110	85	21	31	0
TOTALS:	2,962	2,403	419	914	176

Note: The Sung period in this table is counted from 975, when the Southern T'ang was annexed, or 978, when Wu-yueh State was annexed by the Sung in relevant prefectures.

undated monasteries in every prefecture impedes calculation of monastery numbers at the beginning of the Sung. Considering the numbers of missing cases are basically in proportion to the total numbers of monasteries, I line up both the total numbers and dated numbers when calculating correlation of late Sung, and calculate correlation of the early Sung according to dated numbers. Because there are three missing cases in late Sung population, when calculating the correlation of early Sung, I treat both twelve cases and the same nine cases which are valid in the late Sung for comparison.

At the beginning of the Sung, the demographical pattern moderately correlated with the distribution of monasteries ($R=.51$). The correlation coefficient of the nine valid cases increased from .61 in the early Sung to .92 in the late Sung (the total correlation is 1). The improved correlation is due little to the increase of monasteries. As shown in

Table 9. Correlation Between Distribution of Monasteries and of Households in Early Sung

	Monasteries built before the Sung	Households at the beginning of the Sung ca. 980 (in thousands)
T'ai-chou	270	32
Ming-chou	256	28
Yueh-chou	316	56
Hang-chou	497	70
Hu-chou	136	39
Hsiu-chou	54	23
Su-chou	24	35
Ch'ang-chou	59	56
Jun-chou	35	27
Sheng-chou	106	62
Hsi-chou	123	12
Mu-chou	64	12

Pearson's R: .51

Statistical significance: .044

Pearson's R of the nine cases (excluding Hu-chou, Hsiu-chou, and Ch'ang-chou): .61

Statistical significance: .041

Table 8, only a few monasteries had been built in the Sung, and they did not change monasteries' distribution pattern at all. The correlation coefficient between monastery distribution at the beginning of the Sung and that of the late Sung is as high as 0.98. On the other hand, the demographic pattern had changed greatly. At the beginning of the Sung, the population of this region was quite evenly distributed. In the late Sung, population increased dramatically in areas where there were many monasteries. There was almost no correlation between the two periods ($R=.24$). Demographic change was clearly the major factor for the improved correlation between the distribution of population and of monasteries.

The reasons underlying the coincidence of population concentration and distribution of monasteries in late Sung times is a question. Political incidents, economic developments, shifts of trade routes, all redistributed the demographical pattern of the Lower Yangtze region dramatically in the period under study. However, in big urban centers such as Hang-chou, the nearly five hundred monasteries which were located within the city and active in many economic fields, certainly contributed to the city's prosperity. Things that happened in 1094, when monasteries in Hang-chou provide employment to starving people during a famine, undoubtedly attracted many people from rural area. However, it is hard

Table 10. Correlation Between Distribution of Monasteries and of Households in Late Sung

	Total number of monast.	Dated monasteries	Households in late Sung (thousands)	Date of population data, A.D.
T'ai-chou	393	338	266	1222
Ming-chou	256	28	176	1168
Yueh-chou	350	327	273	1201
Hang-chou	773	662	391	1268
Hu-chou	183	173		
Hsiu-chou	134	99		
Su-chou	60	27	173	1174-89
Ch'ang-chou	75	68		
Jun-chou	244	73	72	1265-74
Sheng-chou	203	153	118	1260-64
Hsi-chou	130	128	122	1172
Mu-chou	110	85	119	1260-64
Pearson's R:	.51	.92		
Statistical significance:	.0002	.000		

to believe Buddhist monasteries accidentally concentrated in some locations which would develop into big urban centers. At least, the monks found some places convenient for further economic development, i.e., places easily accessible to markets and resources. Incidentally, Hang-chou, Yueh-chou, Ming-chou, and T'ai-chou lined up on the seacoast with many ports. Both Jun-chou and Sheng-chou had the advantage of river transportation on the Yangtze.

In summary, the land holdings of Buddhist monasteries expanded in the Sung Dynasty, their activities extended into new fields, and they became involved in the commercial economy of Sung society. Having extended the scale of their religious influence, the Buddhist church became a very important economic force and social institution.

Conclusion

In the Sung Dynasty, Buddhist monasteries were very important religious and social institutions in the region of Chiang-nan and Liang-che circuits. Having been cut off from Indian influence and having achieved religious independence, Buddhists had adjusted well to Chinese social circumstances and popular beliefs. The Sung government initially strictly controlled Buddhist institutions by granting monks certificates and monastery names on the one hand. The response of Buddhist monasteries to this policy was to expand their religious services as

family cloisters and tomb keepers and to increase landed property and other spheres of economic activities. With the increased economic force at their command, the monasteries in turn consolidated their institutions and penetrated further into Chinese people's spiritual life. They enlarged the social scope of their service, and the range of their religious and intellectual activities. The popularity of Ch'an and Pure Land schools signified the change in direction of Buddhist ideological force. These changes of monasteries' attitudes were responsible in a great measure for the survival of Buddhism as a social and economic institution in Chinese history.

In its corrupted form, the Buddhist idea of karma was deeply rooted in Sung society. Emperors, literati and common people all had to worry about their and their relatives' future lives. No matter how serious the government was about controlling Buddhist institutions, it needed the religious services of the monasteries. The idea that one can earn merit for future life by donation necessitated patronage by both ruling elite and common people. From the study of the region of Lower Yangtze, it is reasonable to suggest that the Sung period marked a new stage in the development of Buddhism in China. Eliminating alien traits or covering such traits with Chinese ideology and institutions, Buddhism consolidated its paramount position in Chinese people's religious life, and became a natural component of Chinese society. Its social and economic functions became a necessary part of the daily life of the Chinese people.

LOCAL HISTORIES AS SOURCES OF STATISTICAL DATA

- Sung Yüan Ti-fang-chih San-shih-ch'i Chung 宋元地方志三十七種
abbreviated as SYTSC, Hong Kong: Kuo-t'ai wen-hua Shih-yeh Yu-hsien
kung-ssu, 1981.
- Chang Hsüan 張鉉. Chih-cheng Chin-ling Hsin-chih 至正金陵新志, woodblock ed. 1344, included in SYTSC, vol. 3.
- Ch'en Ch'i-ch'ing 陳耆卿. Chia-ting Ch'ih-ch'eng Chih 嘉定赤城志, compiled 1223, T'ai-chou Ts'ung-shu ed., reprinted 1818, included in SYTSC, vol. 11.
- Cheng Yao 鄭瑄 et al. Ching-ting Yen-chou Hsu-chih 景定嚴州續志, compiled ca. 1260-64, Chien-hsi-ts'un-she ed., reprinted ca. 1870-1908, included in SYTSC, vol. 11.
- Ch'ien Yüeh-yu 潛說友. Hsien-ch'un Lin-an Chih 咸淳臨安志, compiled 1268, 1830 printing from re-engraved blocks simulating the Sung ed., included in SYTSC, vol. 7.
- Chou Ying-ho 周應合. Ching-ting Chien-k'ang Chih 景定建康志, preface 1261, facsimile of a Sung manuscript, woodblock ed. 1802, included in SYTSC, vol. 2.

- Chu Ch'ang-wen 朱長文. Wu-chün T'u-ching Hsu-chi 吳郡圖經續記, preface 1084, Lin-lang Min-shih Ts'ung-shu, woodblock ed. 1853, included in SYTSC, vol. 3.
- Fan Ch'eng-ta 範成大. Wu-chün Chih 吳郡志, compiled ca. 1192, printed in the Ming Dynasty, included in SYTSC, vol. 3.
- Feng Fu-ching 馮福景 et al. Ta-te Ch'ang-kuo-chou T'u-chih 大德昌國州圖志, compiled ca. 1297-1307, woodblock ed. 1854, included in SYTSC, vol. 9.
- Hsü Shuo 徐碩. Chih-yüan Chia-ho Chih 至元嘉禾志, manuscript, included SYTSC, vol. 12.
- Kao Ssu-sun 高似孫. Yen-lu 剡錄, original preface 1214, woodblock ed. 1828, included in SYTSC, vol. 10.
- Ling Wan-ch'ing 凌萬頃 and Pien Shih 邊寶. Yü-feng Chih 玉峰志, compiled 1251, T'ai-ts'ang Chiu-chih Wu-chung ed., reprinted in 1909, included in SYTSC, vol. 6.
- Lo Chün 羅濬. Pao-ch'ing Ssu-ming Chih 寶慶四明志, compiled 1226, woodblock ed. 1854, included in SYTSC, vol. 8.
- Lo Yuan 羅願. Hsin-an Chih 新安志, preface 1175, re-engraved woodblock 1888, included in SYTSC, vol. 1.
- Lu Hsien 盧憲. Chia-ting Chen-chiang Chih 嘉定鎮江志, compiled 1213, Sung Yuan Chen-chiang Chih ed. 1842, included in SYTSC, vol. 5.
- Pao Lien 鮑廉. Ch'in-ch'uan Chih 琴川志, compiled 1196, manuscript in Seikado Library, included in SYTSC, vol. 3.
- Shih Neng-chih 史能之. Hsien-ch'un P'i-ling Chih 咸淳毗陵志, original preface 1208, reprinted 1820, included in SYTSC, vol. 6.
- Shih Su 施宿 et al. Chia-t'ai K'uai-chi Chih 嘉泰會稽志, preface 1201, woodblock ed. 1808, fascimile reprint 1926, included in SYTSC, vol. 10.
- T'ian Yüeh 談鑄. Wu-hsing Chih 吳興志, preface 1201, 1914 engraved block printed Wu-hsing Hsien-che I-shu ed., included in SYTSC, vol. 11.
- Tung Fen 董弁 et al. Yen-chou T'u-ching 嚴州圖經, compiled 1139, Chien-hsi-ts'un-she ed., reprinted ca 1875-1908, included in SYTSC, vol. 11.
- Yang Ch'ien 楊潛. Shao-hsi Yun-chien Chih 紹熙雲間志, preface 1193, printed in 1814, included in SYTSC, vol. 6.

- Yü Hsi-lu 俞希魯. Chih-shun Chen-chiang Chih 延佑四明志, compiled ca. 1330-32, Sung Yuan Chen-chiang Chih ed., 1842, included in SYTSC, vol. 5.
- Yuan Chüeh 袁楸. Yen-yu Ssu-ming Chih 延佑四明志, compiled ca. 1314-1320, woodblock ed. 1854, included in SYTSC, vol. 9.