

Dunhuang Non-governmental Organisations Specialising in Undertaking Buddhist Activities and Their Relationship with Buddhism^{*}

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Abstract: Since the Eastern Jin Dynasty (266–420), monasteries and monastics had started to propagate the Buddhist way of thinking and behaving to the people in the villages and towns in the vicinity of the monasteries. People susceptible to the Buddhist teaching were assembled to form the so-called *yiyi* 邑義, the Buddhist association dedicated to organizing Buddhist activities. Through the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420–589), Buddhist association had achieved enormous success with its mission. Spreading across North and South China, it was the main form of association for Buddhist followers and served as the most important social basis for monasteries.

^{*} Translated by Gina Yang, SUN Mingli 孫明利, HUANG Bo 黃勃, and Xian'ao 賢奧. This article translates Chapter 2, “Zhuangmen congshi Fojiao huodong de minjian tuanti jiqi yu Fojiao de guanxi” 專門從事佛教活動的民間團體及其與佛教的關係 [(Dunhuang) Non-governmental Organizations Specializing in Undertaking Buddhist Activities and Their Relationship with Buddhism] of Part I (*shangpian* 上篇) of Hao Chunwen 郝春文, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu* 中古時期社邑研究 [A Study on She Associations in Medieval China], Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2019.

During the Tang (618–907) and Five Dynasties (907–960), as the process of Buddhist Sinicization came to its completion, Buddhist monasteries and monastics started to change their attitude and strategy vis-à-vis the traditional private association known as *sheyi* 社邑. They increasingly favored the strategy that treats the traditional Chinese culture as an equal and seeks to establish common grounds all the while preserving differences. Within the private association, this change led to a gradual fusion between Buddhist and Chinese tradition, in both thoughts and activities. As a result, a private association, while maintaining its traditional activities such as the worship of the God of Earth (*she* 社) and the God of Grains (*ji* 稷), and the service of financial assistance, had also started to undertake Buddhist activities. Because of its more refined organizational structure and longer history, private association revealed to play a far more important role than Buddhist association in spreading Buddhism in the society. In this context, then, the Tang and Five Dynasties saw an increasingly diminishing status and role that Buddhist associations played in organizing Buddhist activities. We also have much less documentations on Buddhist associations in this period than the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

Like Buddhist association, private association undertakes Buddhist activities under the influence of Buddhist monasteries—they are both the external organizations that monasteries relied on in the society. They represented the main associations of Buddhist followers and the fundamental social basis for Buddhist monasteries during the Tang and Five Dynasties. Almost all the monasteries held a relation, in one way or another, with a private or Buddhist association. Some monasteries even maintained close relations with multiple associations. During the Tang and Five Dynasties, organizing or influencing different kinds of associations had become the main avenue by which monasteries and monastics spread Buddhism in the society.

Keywords: *yiyi* 邑義, *fayi* 法義, *yihui* 邑會, *yihui* 義會, Dunhuang, manuscript, *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編, *Baqiong shi jinshi buzheng* 八瓊室金石補正

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During the medieval period, while Buddhist monasteries and monastics were exhorting traditional non-governmental organisations like the *sheyi* 社邑 and others, they also propagated Buddhist thought, values, and modes of conduct to people in villages, towns, and cities surrounding the monasteries. Those that accepted this propagation were then formed into Buddhist organisations that specialised in undertaking Buddhist activities. The majority of these Buddhist organisations were made up of monastics and lay devotees. There were also many that were established by lay devotees themselves, under the guidance of monastics. These Buddhist organisations during the Eastern Jin, and Northern and Southern dynasties, were different to the traditional *sheyi* (also known as *yishe* 邑社) discussed in section one of my book on *sheyi* 社邑, as they differed in their origins, beliefs, content of their activities, names and so on.¹ From the Sui and Tang periods on, this type of Buddhist organisation was also often named ‘*she*’ and became a type of *sishe* 私社 (private *she*). Here we will conduct a general survey on the state of this type of organisation and their relationship to Buddhism.

1. *Yiyi* 邑義 during the Eastern Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties

Buddhist organisations comprised of either monastics and lay devotees or of only lay devotees, emerged during the Eastern Jin. They were prevalent in some northern and southern regions during the Northern and Southern dynasties. This type of Buddhist organisation mainly undertook image construction activities. They were often named *yi* 邑, *yiyi* 邑義 (*yi* pact), *fayi* 法義 (dharma pact), and so on. Others were named *yihui* 邑會 (*yi* association), *yihui* 義會 (pact association), *hui* 會, *pusa yinyuan* 菩薩因緣 (bodhisattva affinities) and the like. For the convenience of writing, we will refer to this type of organisations as *yiyi* in the following sections.

¹ Hao, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu*.

There have been many studies with substantial findings on *yiyi* from various perspectives by Chinese domestic and international scholars. The earliest work that collects and organises data on *yiyi* is Wang Chang's 王昶 (1725–1806) *Jinshi cuibian* 金石萃編 [Selective Collection of Bronze and Stone Inscriptions]. It compiled over 30 stone inscriptions from *yiyi* image construction records and others for the first time. It also made preliminary amendments to and exegeses of the materials collected. Its Fascicle 39 contains 'Beichao zaoxiang zhubei zonglun' 北朝造像諸碑總論 [General Discussion on Steles for Image Construction in the Northern Dynasties], which can be considered as the first treatise on *yiyi*.² Even though by present day perspectives there are problems that inevitably exist in Wang Chang's annotations, amendments, and exegeses on the *yiyi* image materials, his work nevertheless laid down an initial foundation for the study of this topic for later generations.

In *Baqiong shi jinshi buzheng* 八瓊室金石補正 [Bronze and Stone Inscriptions of the Baqiong Hall, Emended and Supplemented], Lu Zengxiang 陸增祥 (1816–1882) amended some errors on *yiyi* materials found in the *Jinshi cuibian* as well as supplemented additional material.

Ōmura Seigai's 大村西崖 (1868–1927) *Shina bijutsushi: Chōso ben* 支那美術史: 雕塑篇 [History of Chinese Art: Sculpture Edition] also contains many materials related to *yiyi*, which still have considerable reference value today.³ Takao Giken's 高雄義堅 (1888–1972) 'Hokugi ni okeru Bukkyō kyōdan no hattatsu ni tsuite' 北魏に於ける佛教教團の發達に就て [On the Development of the Buddhist Monastic Community in the Northern Wei] was an innovative study of the origins and other issues relating to *yiyi*.⁴ In his 'Shina Nanboku bukkyō to shakai kyōka' 支那南北佛教と社會教化 [Chinese Southern and Northern Buddhism and Social Guidance], Ogasawara Senshu 小笠原宣秀 (1903–1984) considered that Buddhist organisations like the *yiyi* and others were the product of edification by monastics.⁵ In

² *Jinshi cuibian* 39.4–5.

³ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*.

⁴ Takao, 'Hokugi ni okeru Bukkyō kyōdan no hattatsu ni tsuite'.

⁵ Ogasawara, 'Shina Nanboku bukkyō to shakai kyōka'.

the Southern region, this type of Buddhist organisation was called *fashe* 法社, and its membership was a mix of both monastics and laity. In the northern region they were called *yiyi* 邑儀 (義), and made up of *yi* members who were mainly lay devotees from lower social classes. Though the understanding of *fa-yi* in this work was not accurate,⁶ it reveals the important historical fact that *yiyi* and similar types of Buddhist organisations also existed in the southern regions.

In ‘Zaike Bukkyō dantai no ichikeishiki toshite no yūgi’ 在家佛教團體の一型式としての邑義 [*Yūgi* as a kind of lay Buddhist society], Yamazaki Hiroshi 山崎宏 discussed questions relating to the nature of *yiyi* and so on.⁷ In his another work, ‘Zui Tō jidai ni okeru giyū oyobi hōsha ni tuite’ 隋唐時代に於ける義邑及び法社に就て [On the Religious Communes and Dharma Societies in the Sui and Tang Dynasties], Yamazaki examined *yiyi* during the Northern and Southern dynasties and was the first to propose that *yiyi* had their origins in the *Tiwei Boli jing* 提謂波利經 [Trapuṣa and Bhallika Sūtra].⁸ He also investigated the name and roles of *yiyi* leadership. He pointed out that *fashe* were popular not only in the southern regions but also in the northern regions, and their nature was the same as that of *yiyi*. He believed that *fashe* members were mainly made up of nobles, high officials, intellectuals, and so forth, whereas *yiyi* members were primarily comprised of those from the lower classes who were involved in the production of goods and services. Yamazaki Hiroshi’s understanding on the origin and nature of *fashe* was not confirmed by the facts. However, his views have had a profound influence, and Japanese scholars up until the present have continued with his claims.

Tsukamoto Zenryū’s 塚本善隆 (1898–1980) ‘Ryūmon sekkutsu ni arawaretaru Hokugi Bukkyō’ 龍門石窟に現れたる北魏佛教 [Buddhism under the Northern Wei Dynasty as Seen in the Cave-Temples at Longmen] uses records of images made by *yiyi* at the Longmen 龍門 Caves to discuss *yiyi*.⁹ He basically accepts Yamazaki Hiroshi’s

⁶ Hao, *Zhongguo shiqi shenye yanjiu*, part one.

⁷ Yamazaki, ‘Zaike Bukkyō dantai no ichikeishiki toshite no yūgi’.

⁸ Yamazaki, ‘Zui Tō jidai ni okeru giyū oyobi hōsha ni tuite’.

⁹ Tsukamoto, ‘Ryūmon sekkutu ni arawaretaru hokugi bukkyō’.

position with respect to *fashe* and *yiyi*, and gives an explanation of the various names and titles of *yiyi* members such as *yishi* 邑師 (*yi* master), *yizhu* 邑主 (*yi* chief), *yizi* 邑子 (*yi* member), and so forth. The ‘Ryūmon sekkoku roku’ 龍門石刻錄 [Collection of Stone Carvings at Longmen], co-edited by Tsukamoto Zenryū, Mizuno Seiichi 水野清一 (1905–1971), and Kasuga Reichi 春日禮智, compiles the majority of information concerning images constructed by *yiyi* at Longmen.¹⁰

Sato Chisui’s 佐藤智水 ‘Hokuchō zōzōmei kō’ 北朝造像銘考 [Inscriptions on Buddhist Statues in the Period of the Northern Dynasties] is a comprehensive collection of all the materials on records of constructed images that authors of the time were able to access.¹¹ It systematically examines the forms, years, geographical distribution, status of patrons for image construction, types of images made, votive prayers accompanying the construction of images, and other such data from records of image construction in the Northern Dynasties. Furthermore, it also features ten tables of quantitative data that have immense reference value (including two tables concerning the years and content of images constructed by *yiyi*). The author points out that records of images constructed by *yiyi* have an important place among all records of constructed images in the Northern Dynasties, and provides a brief description of the situation with *yiyi*.

‘Yiyi zhidu shulüe: Jianlun Nanbei chao Fo Dao hunhe zhi yuanyin’ 義邑制度述略—兼論南北朝佛道混合之原因 [Brief Description of *Yiyi* Institutions: Including a Discussion of the Reasons for the Convergence of Buddhism and Daoism in the Northern and Southern Dynasties]¹² by Zhang Yingli 張英莉 and Dai He 戴禾, investigates the time when *yiyi* were formed, and also examines issues in the leadership of *yiyi*. This paper was the first such paper by Chinese scholars on this matter. Its principal contribution is an analysis of the reasons for the growth and flourishing of *yiyi*, and

¹⁰ Tsukamoto, Mizuno, & Kasuga, ‘Ryūmon sekkokuroku’.

¹¹ Satō, ‘Hokuchō zōzōmei kō’;

¹² Zhang & Dai, ‘Yiyi zhidu shulüe’.

it points out that their growth had its origins in the flourishing of image construction in the Northern Dynasties, the positive role of the *Tiwei Boli jing* on the formation and spread of *yiyi* organisations, and also the positive participation of the elite social classes. However, due to the circumstances of scholarship at the time, the authors were unable to consult relevant research findings of previous Japanese scholars.¹³ In addition, the source materials that the authors collated was insufficiently complete.

Liu Shufen's 劉淑芬 'Wu zhi liu shiji Huabei xiangcun de Fojiao xinyang' 五至六世紀華北鄉村的佛教信仰 [Buddhist Religious Faith in the Towns and Villages of Northern China from the Fifth to Sixth Centuries] examines the background to and influence of the popularity of image construction by *yiyi* in the towns and villages of Northern China from the fifth to sixth centuries, and has a particularly valuable investigation into the question of the consecration of images of the Buddha.¹⁴ By the same author, 'Beiqi Biaoyi xiangyi Cihui shizhu: Zhonggu Fojiao shehui jiuji de ge'an yanjiu' 北齊標異鄉義慈惠石柱——中古佛教社會救濟的個案研究 [Cihui Stone Pillar of Biaoyi's Village Yi in the Northern Qi: A Case Study on Medieval Buddhist Social Relief] utilized the verses and title of the 'Cihui Stone Pillar of Biaoyi's Village Yi in the Northern Qi' 北齊標異鄉義慈惠石柱 to examine the history of 'yi' 義 (pacts).¹⁵ It also attempts to use this case study to explain the background, intentions, and influence on society of the relief activities that *yiyi* undertook. However, there are some differences between the *yi* discussed by the author and the reasons and aims of typical *yiyi* that were formed for the construction of images, and therefore the conclusion does not really have any particular significance here.¹⁶

¹³ For example, concerning the influence of the *Tiwei Boli jing* on the formation and development of *yiyi*, this had already been mentioned by earlier Japanese scholars.

¹⁴ Liu, 'Wu zhi liu shiji Huabei xiangcun de fojiao xinyang'.

¹⁵ Liu, 'Beiqi Biaoyi xiangyi Cihui shizhu'.

¹⁶ Lu, 'Qianque duihua de xueshu shequn wenhua'. This article makes critical reviews on mainland and Taiwan scholars' papers about *yiyi*. The critiques in

Yan Shangwen's 顏尚文 'Beichao Fojiao shequ gongtongti de Fahua yiyi zuzhi yu huodong: Yi Dongwei 'Lishi heyi zaoxiang bei' weili' 北朝佛教社區共同體的法華邑義組織與活動——以東魏〈李氏合邑造像碑〉為例 [Organisation and Activities of the Fahua *Yiyi*, a Buddhist Social Community in the Northern Dynasties: Taking the Eastern Wei 'Lishi Heyi Zaoxiang Bei' as an Example] looks at the important case study of the 'Lishi heyi zaoxiang bei' 李氏合邑造像碑 [Stele of Image Construction for the Li Family *Heyi*] (or 'Dongwei Lishi heyi baiyu ren zaoxiang bei' 東魏李氏合邑百餘人造像碑 [Image Construction Stele for the Over One Hundred Members of the Li Family *Heyi*, in the Eastern Wei]) to examine the thought, organisation, structure, activities, and so on of the *Fahua Yiyi* Group 法華邑義集團 which was guided by the thought of the *Fahua* 法華 (Dharma Lotus [*Sūtra*]).¹⁷ This paper has great significance for the discussion of the different origins of *yiyi* and the circumstances of particular *sūtras* that were popular among the general populace. However, the author considers that this community group had already formed into a tight social community organisation, a point that still requires further evidence. With respect to just the records of the 'Lishi heyi zaoxiang bei', the author has conflicting evidence with respect to their conclusions. As the conclusion states, among the various officials that are mentioned by name on the stele, there are fifteen governors, twelve district magistrates, two central military commanders, four palace ministers from vassal states, one governmental officer of the three dukes, two commanders of vari-

this article are insightful, but it does not sufficiently affirm the achievements of researchers. Especially, the assertion that mainland and Taiwan scholars 'largely repeat the years of research findings of Japanese scholars' with respect to the discussion of Buddhist belief activities does not conform to the actual situation. In fact, most of mainland and Taiwan scholars have taken Japanese scholars' previous findings into consideration, but their research perspectives and dimensions differ from Japanese scholars' previous findings. Further, due to the appearance of numerous new materials, even though mainland and Taiwan scholars focus on the same questions with previous Japanese scholars, the depth and breadth of their works has surpassed that of Japanese scholars' previous findings.

¹⁷ Yan, 'Beichao Fojiao shequ gongtongti de Fahua yiyi zuzhi yu huodong'.

ous titles, and two clerical scribes. So many officials who had offices at various locations would most of the time not live or be active in that given area. The reason why all these people are mentioned in the names on the 'Lishi heyi zaoxiang bei' is only because they are members of the greater Li family clan or were born in this area. Taking a social group that includes all these officials and calling it a tight social community organisation is an exaggeration of the facts. On the other hand, gathering so many officials within one *yiyi* is presently something very seldom seen in our sources, and as such the 'Lishi heyi zaoxiang bei' is a very special case example, which should not be used to explain the general situation of *yiyi* in the northern regions during the Eastern Wei period. In fact, when we consult more source materials it appears that we must admit that this organisation of this *yiyi* community is very diffuse and scattered (details below).

In summary, although there have been a number of academic works on *yiyi* both in China and abroad over the last few decades, they have not focused on a single issue, but have given attention to a particular aspect, or have examined some portion of the source material. In terms of the source materials, due to relevant sources being scattered and thus difficult to obtain, as well as the continual appearance of new source materials, there is a considerable quantity of source material that past scholars were simply unable to access and consider. This has even continued with the most recent scholarly works that concern the history of medieval Buddhism, which when they introduce the situation of *yiyi* and *fashe* still just maintain the explanations and theories of the aforementioned Japanese scholars.¹⁸ In the light of these circumstances, this author here plans to broadly collate all presently available source materials, and on the foundation of past scholarship make an integrated examination of *yiyi* during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods, to further explain the full differences between the origins and nature of *yiyi* and *fashe* during the time of the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties.

¹⁸ Longquan, 'Handi jiaotuan de jianli ji zaoqi xingtai'; Huang, 'Beichao fojiao'.

1.1. General Circumstances and Origins of *Yiyi*

Yiyi during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods mostly called themselves *yi*, or *yiyi*, with *fayi* being next most common. Here, the character *yi* 邑 does not denote a sense of a place or region, but instead indicates a religious community formed by the Buddhist followers within a particular place or region. This kind of *yi* formed by Buddhist devotees has, to a certain degree, the nature of forming a fraternal pact (*jiyiyi* 結義).

The ‘Beizhou Wang Miaohui deng wushi ren zaoxiang ji’ 北周王妙暉等五十人造像記 [Record of Image-Construction by Fifty People, Wang Miaohui and Others, in the Northern Zhou] briefly states: ‘The fifty people of the *yi* have long planted orchid branches (as symbols of affinity). All living in this bright time and happen to be fellow countrymen, they have sworn an oath through burning incense and candles’ (邑子五十人等, 宿樹蘭柯, 同茲明世, 爰託鄉親, 義存香火).¹⁹ As is well known, the expression ‘incense and lamps’ (*xianghuo* 香火) refers to fraternal pacts and alliances during the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties. The passage which mentions ‘incense and candles’ and ‘long planting orchid branches’ 宿樹蘭柯 correspond to one another, and obviously have the connotation of a fraternal pact. It is for this reason that *yi* are also known as *yiyi* 邑義,²⁰ where the second *yi* 義 has the sense of forming a fraternal pact.

However, the ‘Beiwei biqiuni Huicheng deng zaoxiang ji’ 北魏比丘尼惠澄等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Bhikṣuṇī* Huicheng and Others, in the Northern Wei]²¹ and ‘Xiwei Heyi sishi ren deng zao Simian Tiangong shixiang ji’ 西魏合邑四十人等造四面天宮石像記 [Record of Construction of a Stone Image of the Palace of the Four-Faced God by the Forty Members of the *Heyi*, in the Western Wei]²² both clearly call the *yiyi* with which they are

¹⁹ *Jinshi cuibian* 36.6–7; *Baqionshi jinshi buzheng* 23.144.

²⁰ Some scholars call *yiyi* 邑義 as *yiyi* 義邑, and even take *yiyi* 義邑 as a general appellation. In fact, *yiyi* 義邑 only appeared after the Tang Dynasty.

²¹ Mizuno & Nagahiro, eds., *Kanan Rakuyou Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 275.

²² *ZLST* vol. 6: 6.

associated as an ‘incense and candle *yiyi*’ (*xianghuo yiyi* 香火邑義). The ‘Beiqi yiyi Sengzhe deng zao Simian xiang ji’ 北齊邑義僧哲等造四面像記 [Record of the Construction of a Four-Faced Image by the *Yiyi* of Sengzhe and Others, in the Northern Qi]²³ and ‘Beiqi Sengtong deng heyi zao Shijia daxiang ji’ 北齊僧通等合邑造釋迦大像記 [Record of Construction of Large Image of Śākyamuni by the *Heyi* of Sengtong and Others, in the Northern Qi]²⁴ go further in claiming that ‘those senior and junior within the *yi*’ 邑內大小 are ‘brought together in affinity by incense and candles’ 香火因緣, which moves the relationships involved in the fraternal pact in the present life to the past lives of the members.

This kind of ‘incense and candle *yiyi*’ 香火邑義, ‘those brought together in affinity by incense and candles’, is the nascent form of the ‘Incense and Candles *She*’ (*xianghuo she* 香火社) that Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) of the Tang Dynasty participated in, as featured in his ‘Tang Jiangzhou Xingguo si lü dade Cougong tajieming bingxu’ 唐江州興果寺律大德湊公塔碣銘並序 [Inscription, with Preface, on the *Stūpa* of Vinaya Master Cou of Xingguo Monastery in Jiangzhou of the Tang].²⁵

If it is asserted that the term *yi* or *yiyi* still retains some vestiges of regional organisations, then *fayi* has completely lost that kind of character. The *fa* 法 refers to the Buddha Dharma (*Fofa* 佛法), and *yi* 義 indicates the forming of fraternal pacts. A *fayi* is a fraternal pact organisation formed by those who worship the Buddha Dharma, which is why their members usually refer to themselves and one another as brothers and sisters of the Dharma fraternity.²⁶ However, the term *fayi*

²³ *ZLST* vol. 7: 1.

²⁴ *ZLST* vol. 7: 3.

²⁵ ‘Tang Jiangzhou Xingguosi lü dade Cougong tajieming bingxu’, in Gu, colla., *Bai Juyi ji*, vol. 3: 917.

²⁶ See ‘Bei Wei fayi xiongdì zimei deng zaoxiangji’ 北魏法義兄弟姊妹等造像記 [Record of Building a Statue by Brothers and Sisters of a Dharma Society in the Northern Wei], *ZLST* vol. 4: 147; and ‘Bei Wei fayi xiongdì zimei yibairen zao Milexiang ji’ 北魏法義兄弟姊妹一百人造彌勒像記 [Record of Building a Maitreya Statue by A Hundred Brothers and Sisters of a *Fayi* in the Northern Wei], *ZLST* vol. 4: 171.

only appeared during a somewhat later period than *yi* and *yiyi*.²⁷

Although the terms *yi*, *yiyi*, *fayi*, and so on do not have a regional sense, their formation is still centred around a particular location. Among them, most of them are voluntarily organised by a portion of the populace of a given natural area such as a town or neighbourhood. For example, the *yiyi* in the ‘Beiqi Alujiao cun heyi qishi ren zaoxiang ji’ 北齊阿鹿交村合邑七十人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the Seventy Members of the Alujiao Village *Heyi*, in the Northern Qi],²⁸ ‘Beiqi Dajiao cun yiyi muren qishiwu ren zao Guanyin xiang ji’ 北齊大交村邑義母人七十五人造觀音像記 [Record of Construction of an Image of Guanyin by the Seventy-Five Mothers of the Dajiao Village *Yiyi*, in the Northern Qi],²⁹ and so on, were formed by part of the population of a village.

The members of some *yiyi* were spread over areas larger than a village or neighbourhood, such as seen in the circumstances of the *yiyi* and *fayi* recorded in the ‘Dongwei Xinghuasi Gaoling yidong zhucun fayi zaoxiang ji’ 東魏興化寺高嶺以東諸村法義造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Fayi* of the Villages East of Xinghua Monastery Gaoling, in the Eastern Wei],³⁰ ‘Beiqi Shi’ai xian Chen Shenxin heyizi qishi’er ren zaoxiang ji’ 北齊石艾縣陳神忻合邑子七十二人造像記 [Record of Image Construction of the Seventy-Two Members of the *Heyi*, Chen Shenxin and others, of Shi’ai County, in the Northern Qi],³¹ and so forth.

Some *yiyi* even had members from different counties. For exam-

²⁷ *Yi* 邑 appeared before the Liang Dynasty in the South. In fasc. 12 of the previously cited *Chu sanzang jiji* by the Liang monk Sengyou 僧佑 (445–518), there is material about *yi* 邑. In the North, *yi* 邑 appeared in the first year (477) of the Taihe 太和 reign of the Northern Wei. See *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*, vol. 3, p. 13. The earliest material about *fayi* 法義 is in the second year (519) of the Shengui 神龜 reign of the Northern Wei. See *ZLST* vol. 4: 71.

²⁸ *ZLST* vol. 7: 124.

²⁹ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 327–328.

³⁰ *ZLST* vol. 7: 108. Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 274–275.

³¹ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 329.

ple, in the ‘Beiwei Yijun, Tongguan, Tumen sanxian yizi erbaiwushi ren zaoxiang ji’ 北魏宜君、同官、土門三縣邑子二百五十人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the Two-Hundred and Fifty Yi Members of the Three Counties of Yijun, Tongguan, and Tumen, in the Northern Wei],³² the members are spread over three counties. However, this kind of example is seldom seen.

Because *yiyi* are Buddhist communities voluntarily formed by people with the same religious faith, worship of and belief in Buddhism is the fundamental element that binds the *yiyi* members together. Therefore, in most circumstances people became members of their own volition, and as such the majority of *yiyi* were formed by a portion of the local population and people from around that region, rather than the entire population of a given region. Clear evidence of this is found in the above-cited examples, where there are only seventy-two people in the *yi* from Shi'ai County that constructed images, and the image construction *yi* composed of people from the three counties of Yijun, Tongguan, and Tumen in the Northern Wei has only 250 members.

By looking at the source materials collated in ‘Table 1’,³³ the timeframe for the popularity of *yiyi* starts at the very earliest in the 1st year of Yuanxing 元興 era (402) in the Eastern Jin,³⁴ and ends at the latest in the 1st year of Dading 大定 era (581) during the Northern Zhou,³⁵ with the majority of collected source material from between the years

³² Cao, *Yaowangshan shike chongkan jilüe*, 34.

³³ Here and below, ‘Table 1’ refers to ‘Table 1: *Yiyi* in the Eastern Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties (表一: 東晉南北朝邑義情況表)’, in Hao, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu*, 61–102.

³⁴ See Huiyuan’s biographies at *Chu sanzang jiji* and *Gaoseng zhuan*, discussed below (note 65).

³⁵ See ‘Bei Zhou Yizhu Gao Shu deng ershier ren zaoxiangji’ 北周邑主高樹等二十二人造像記 [Record of Building a Statue by Twenty-two People led by Yi Chief Gao Shu in the Northern Zhou], in *ZLST* vol. 8: 212. The word *yiyi* 邑義 continued to exist during the periods of Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties, but its meaning was different from that in the Northern and Southern Dynasties. This point will be discussed below.

of 500 to 581 of the common era. The geographical area in which *yiyi* were popular was also very broad, being spread across the regions which are in the present-day Henan, Shaanxi, Shandong, Shanxi, Hebei, Anhui, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Beijing, and so on. The northern areas in which they were popular were somewhat vaster still, with more appearing in Henan, Shaanxi and Shandong. In the past, scholars have largely considered *yiyi* to be Buddhist organisations of the Northern Dynasties, but this is incorrect irrespective of whether one looks at the data from an historical or geographical perspective.

Due to the long timeframe over which *yiyi* were popular, and the vast area of their distribution, it is difficult to make a generalised description of the circumstances of such organisations. Based on the data collated in 'Table 1', the scale ranges from a minimum of three or four people³⁶ up to a maximum size of possibly one or two thousand,³⁷ with most of ranging from between several dozen to one hundred members, and quite a few with two or three hundred members.³⁸ The composition of *yiyi* members is extremely complex. There were monastic monks, nuns, and novices, and also secular officials, though most were common members of society.³⁹ The most

³⁶ See 'Bei Wei Zhao Ahuan zao Milexiang ji' 北魏趙阿歡造彌勒像記 [Record of Building a Maitreya Statue by Zhao Ahuan in the Northern Wei], in *ZLST* vol. 4: 60. 'Dong Wei Cheng Rong heyi zaoxiangji' 東魏程榮合邑造像記 [Record of Building a Statue by Chen Rong and the Yi in the Eastern Wei], in *Baqiongsbi jinsbi buzheng* 19.112.

³⁷ See 'Bei Wei Faya yu Zongna yi yiqianren zaota bei' 北魏法雅與宗那邑一千人造塔碑 [Stele of Building a Stupa by Faya and One Thousand People of Zongna Yi in the Northern Wei], in *ZLST* vol. 3: 73; 'Ningchan si sanji futu song bing liangce' 凝禪寺三級浮屠頌並兩側 [Praise for the Three-storied Pagoda in Ningchan Monastery and the Two Sides], in *Baqiongsbi jinsbi buzheng* 18.105–109.

³⁸ According to Table 1, there are 160 items that record the number of donors or from which can the number can be calculated. Among them, there are 125 items that include donors from 10 to 100, which accounts for 78%, and there are 14 items that include donors from 200 to 300.

³⁹ On the lists of donors in the statue-building inscriptions by *yiyi* 邑義, those

commonly seen way in which *yiyi* were formed was by a combination of various social strata of monastics and laity coming together as a single organisation. However, some *yiyi* had neither monastics nor officials,⁴⁰ and other *yiyi* were completely comprised of middle and lower-level local officials.⁴¹ There were also quite a few *yiyi* that were formed by or centred around large clans, which was connected to the fact that in the two Jins and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods many large clans in the north lived together in close association with clan members.

For example, in Yan Shangwen's focused study of 'Dongwei Lishi heyi baiyu ren zaoxiang bei' (abovementioned),⁴² we see an *yiyi* that is mainly comprised of members from the Li family clan, and in 'Beiwei Dawu cun heyi yibai ren zaoxiang ji' 北魏大吳村合邑一百人造像記 [Record of Image Construction for the One Hundred Members of the Dawu Village *Heyi*, in the Northern Wei],⁴³ we have an *yiyi* comprised of the Wu family clan, and so on.

Furthermore, due to women having a relatively higher social position during this period in history, apart from many *yiyi* having female participation, there were also some *yiyi* that were formed by

who have official titles would have their official titles inscribed in front of their names, and monks and nuns would have words such as *biqu* 比丘 (*bhikṣu*), *biqu-ni* 比丘尼 (*bhikṣuṇī*) and *shami* 沙彌 (*śrāmaṇera*) that express their identities inscribed in front of their Dharma names. Those who only have their names inscribed are commoners. As shown from the numerous names on the lists, commoners clearly are the majority.

⁴⁰ In Table 1, there are 157 items that can determine whether there are monastic donors. Among them, 132 items include both monastic and lay donors, which accounts approximately for 84%. 25 items do not include monastic donors, which account for approximately 15%. The *yiyi* 邑義 that do not include officials as members accounts for a larger proportion.

⁴¹ See 'Xi Wei Shiguang deng heyi zaoxiang ji' 西魏始光等合邑造像記 [Record of Building a Statue by Shiguang and others of *Heyi* in the Western Wei], in Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 289–290.

⁴² Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 260–261.

⁴³ *Baqionshi jinshi buzhen* 19.113–114.

and for women themselves. For example, in ‘Dongwei Zheng Qing deng heyiyi liushi ren zao Jiashe xiang ji’ 東魏鄭清等合邑義六十人造迦葉像記 [Records for the Construction of a Kāśyapa Image by the Sixty *Heyiyi* Members, Zheng Qing and Others, in the Eastern Wei], we see that the members are referred to as ‘the mothers of the *heyi*’ 合邑諸母,⁴⁴ as this *yiyi* was formed by middle aged and elderly married women who already had their own children. Other examples are found in the *yiyi* recorded in the ‘Beiqi Gongsun cun muren sanshiyi ren heyi zaoxiang ji’ 北齊公孫村母人三十一人合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the Thirty-One Women of the Gongsun Village Women’s *Heyi*, in the Northern Qi]⁴⁵ and ‘Beiqi Dajiao cun yiyi muren qishiwu ren zao Guanyin xiang ji’,⁴⁶ where the *yiyi* were all organised by women. There are other similar kinds of source materials that we will not mention in full here.⁴⁷

Most *yiyi* members called themselves ‘*yizi*’ 邑子, whereas those that did not add any such official titles before their names were quite few in number. Apart from this, there were other titles such as *yiren* 邑人 (*yi* person), *yiyi ren* 邑義人 (*yiyi* person), *yiyi, yitu* 邑徒 (*yi* disciple), *fayī, fo dìzī* 佛弟子 (Buddhist disciple), *qingxin shi* 清信士 (gentleman of pure faith), *qingxin nan* 清信男 (man of pure faith), *qingxin* 清信 (the pure faithful), *zhuren* 主人 (patron), *tanyue* 檀越 (donor), *yimu* 邑母 (*yi* mother), *yinü* 邑女 (*yi* woman), *qingxin nü* 清信女 (woman of pure faith), *moumou mu* 某某母 (mother of so-and-so), *moumou qi* 某某妻 (wife of so-and-so), and so on. Monastics who were members of *yiyi* were known as *biqiu* 比丘 (*bhikṣu*), *biqiuni* 比丘尼 (*bhikṣuṇī*), *shami* 沙彌 (*śramaṇera*), *yizi biqiu* 邑子比丘 (*yi* member *bhikṣu*), and so on (refer to ‘Table 1’). Due to the complexity of the leadership of *yiyi*, we shall have a discussion dedicated to this topic below.

The activities of *yiyi* include construction of images, setting up vegetarian feasts (*zhai* 齋), building (Buddhist) pagodas, renovation

⁴⁴ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 267.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 316–317.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 327–329.

⁴⁷ Ning & Hao, ‘Beichao zhi Sui Tang Wudai jian de nüren jieshe’.

and construction of monasteries and temples, excavating stone caverns, engraving stone sūtras, and recitation of the Buddha's name, as well as digging public wells, planting trees, and so forth. The most important of these activities was the construction of images (refer to Table 1). Among the 238 sources for *yiyi* that the author has collated for which the content of their activities can be ascertained, there are 215 that have construction of images as one of the activities that they undertook, which is above 90%. It can therefore be seen that the construction of images was the most important activity that most *yiyi* engaged in during the period from the Eastern Jin to the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

When compared to traditional *sheyi* (*yishe*), the organisational structures of *yiyi* were in general looser. A large number of *yiyi* were temporarily formed for the purpose of activities such as constructing images and building pagodas, and after the image of the Buddha or pagoda was completed the *yiyi* would thereupon be dissolved. The 'Beiwei Dawu cun heyi yibai ren zaoliang ji' claims one hundred people in its title, but the names given inside do not reach one hundred, as the phrase 'yi member' is written ten times under which no names are written.⁴⁸ Also in the 'Beiwei Han Xianzu deng heyi zaoliang ji' 北魏韓顯祖等合邑造像記 [Record for Image Construction of the *Heyi* of Han Xianzu and Others, in the Northern Wei] there are four occasions where under 'yi member' no name is written.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ *Baqiongsi jinshi buzheng* 19.113–114.

⁴⁹ *ZLST* vol. 5: 199.



FIG. 1 'Beiwei Han Xianzu deng heyi zaoxiang ji' 北魏韓顯祖等合邑造像記; from *ZLST* vol. 5: 199

These are probably situations in which the organisers have initially planned to receive a certain amount of financial support before someone could become an *yi* member and therefore have the right to have their names engraved in the blank space beneath the word 'yi member' on the stone stele. The stonemason would first engrave the characters for 'yi member', irrespective of who they would be, and then once the set amount of money was received then individuals' names would be engraved underneath 'yi member'. Perhaps the organisers in these two aforementioned *yi* were originally a bit more optimistic and had 'yi member' engraved more than was finally the case, and it was only later when not so many people actually participated that there was a portion of the engraved phrase 'yi member' under which there was no name to write.

In the 'Beizhou Wang Miaohui deng wushi ren zaoxiang ji' (already mentioned above), although the text of the stele gives 'Fifty *Heyi* members' 合邑子五十人, there are names of over 70 people inscribed on the back of the stele.⁵⁰ This should be a case of the actual number of people involved in constructing the image exceeding that originally estimated by the organisers. On the back of the stele

⁵⁰ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōshoben*, 364.

‘Beiqi daduyizhu Dong Hongda deng zaixiang ji’ 北齊大都邑主董洪達等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by Great Provincial *Yi* Chief Dong Hongda and Others, in the Northern Qi], it states: ‘On the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh month of the second year of the Wuping 武平 era (Wuping 2.11.27= December 29, 571), five hundred cash of money was used to buy the right to be inscribed as the patron of a stone image, Dong Fu’en 董伏恩’ (武平二年十一月廿七日, 用錢五百文買都像主一區 (軀), 董伏恩).⁵¹ Dong Fu’en used five hundred coins in cash to purchase the right to be inscribed as the chief patron for a stone image. This example demonstrates that the above conjecture should be by and large correct.

This kind of *yiyi* in which one can pay money to have one’s name added to works naturally would have organisational structures that were not particularly rigid, and participants would have a greater degree of personal volition. Once sufficient funds were gathered, and construction of the stone image was complete, the organisation itself would no longer exist. There are even sources that show that there were *yiyi* that gathered money at the time to purchase stone images that had already be made. Once the organisers had amounted the funds, the funds and the names of those providing them would be passed over the craftsman, who would engrave the names on the blank space previously left aside on the stone image that was already prepared. Next, a ritual celebration for installing the stone image would be held, and the mission of that *yiyi* would be complete. In the ‘Dongwei yizhu zaixiang song’ 東魏邑主造像訟 (=頌) [(Verses for) Image Construction by the *Yi* Chief, in the Eastern Wei], the *yī* chief left aside enough blank space for approximately eight characters, and the back of the stele does not have the names of any members.⁵² This should be a stone image that has been constructed in preparation to sell to an *yiyi* but was unable to be sold. In terms of those *yiyi* whose goal was constructing images as described above, the larger the number of participants the smaller the amount of money that each participant would have to contribute. Therefore, the organisers

⁵¹ Ibid, 344.

⁵² *Jinshi cuibian* 31.4–5.

of this kind of *yiyi* would encourage as many people as possible to get involved. This would lead to some *yiyi* having one hundred members, several hundred, or even over one thousand members. It would be difficult for such an organisation that was formed for such a short period with so many members to have a very strict and tight organisational structure.

In a related matter, there are source materials that show that there were also some *yiyi* that continued to exist for longer periods of time, and apart from constructing images, they also undertook other Buddhist activities. The ‘Beiwei yizhu Sun Daowu deng heyi erbai ren zaoxiang ji’ 北魏邑主孫道務等合邑二百人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the Two Hundred *Heyi* Members, *Yi* Chief Sun Daowu and Others, in the Northern Wei], states that this *yiyi* began image construction in the ‘7th year of the Taihe 太和 era (483)’, until ‘finished on the twenty seventh day of the month where the first day was a *wuzi* day, in a *renwu* year, the third year of Jingming 景明 era (Jingming 3.4⁵³.27 = May 19, 502)’ 景明三年 (公元502) 歲在壬午戊子朔廿七日造訖,⁵⁴ indicating that this *yiyi* was in existence for 19 years.

In the ‘Beiwei Fumengshi heyi zaoxiang ji’ 北魏夫蒙氏合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Heyi* of Fumeng, in the Northern Wei] there is the inscription:

The deceased leader of the *yi*, the follower Tian Guixiang 田歸香; the deceased leader of the *yi*, the follower Jun Meng[?] Huyong 儻蒙口護永; the deceased *karmadāna*, the follower Dang Jixiang 党姬香; the deceased member of the *yi*, the follower Tongdi Wenji 同禘文姬; the deceased *karmadāna*, the follower Tongdi Longjiang 同禘龍姜; the deceased member of the *yi*, the follower Tian Wenjiang 田文姜. 亡邑主清信田歸香, 亡邑主清信儻蒙口護永, 亡惟納清信党姬香, 亡邑子清信同禘文姬, 亡惟那清信同禘龍姜, 亡邑子清信田文姜.⁵⁵

⁵³ In Jingming 3, the month the first day of which was a *wuzi* 戊子 day was the fourth month.

⁵⁴ *ZLST* vol. 3: 54.

⁵⁵ *ZLST* vol. 5: 179–182.

Buddha image was installed later became the religious site in which they held their Buddhist activities. The images constructed by *yiyi* that established *zhai* patrons should also have arranged such sites.

Apart from this, some *yiyi* had gentlemen of pure faith among their members. As described above, the members of some *yiyi* referred to themselves as the pure faithful, gentlemen of pure faith, men of pure faith, women of pure faith, and so forth. The gentlemen of pure faith mentioned here and the men of pure faith who were members of *yiyi* were not the same, as the former were not *yiyi* members. For example, in the inscription of the 'Beiwei Yan Tao deng heyi wushi ren zaoxiang ji' 北魏嚴桃等合邑五十人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Heyi* of Fifty Members, Yan Tao and Others, in the Northern Wei], it states:

The follower (*qing xingshi* 清信士) Yan Xianshu 嚴顯樹; the follower Jin Yuanxiu 靳元秀; the follower Jin Shuang 靳雙; the follower Shi Changshou 史萇受; the follower Jin Shiqi 靳士奇; the follower Yan Chongqing 嚴崇慶; the follower Shi Qianniu 史千牛; the follower Yan Siwang 嚴四王; the member of the *yi*, Yan Shuanglu 嚴雙祿 (?); the *karmadāna* (*duweiniu* 都維那) Jin Linglu 靳令廬; the incense burner (*xianghuo* 香火) Jin Shaohuan 靳韶歡; the functionary (*yixu* 邑胥) of the *yi*, Jin Guozhen 靳國珍; the functionary of the *yi*, Jin [?]de 靳 [] 德; the *karmadāna* Yan Guochang 嚴國昌; □□□Suigong 隨公; the *yi* member, Shi Yubao 史玉保; the *yi* member, Yan Taosheng 嚴桃生; the incense burner Jin Shengchi 靳神熾; the recording regulator (*dianlu* 典錄), Yuan Chengda 袁承達; the *yi* member, Yan Tunnü 嚴屯女; the *yi* member, Yuan Faming 袁法明; the *yi* member, Shi Shen 史神; the *yi* member, Shi Si 史思; the *yi* member, Yan □ xing 嚴□興; the *yi* member, Yan Tui 嚴退; the *yi* member, Jin Shenda 靳神達; the *yi* member, Yan Wansui 嚴萬歲; the *yi* member, Yan □□ 嚴□□; the *yi* member, Yan Fu 嚴輔; the *yi* member, Yan □ zu 嚴□族; the *yi* member, Yan Bei 嚴被; the *yi* member, Zhang Maide 張買得; □ administrator, Yuan Yangde 袁陽德; the *yi* administrator (*yizheng* 邑政), Yuan Da 袁達; *dan* official 但官 (functions unclear), Yuan Hongzhen 袁洪珍; the recording regulator Ying Zhou 映周 of the eastern village (Dongxiang 東鄉); the *yi* member, Yuan Tianshou 袁天受; the *yi* member, □□□; the *Yi*

□ Yuan Shen □ 袁神□; the *yi* member, □□ of the eastern village. 清信士嚴顯樹, 清信士靳元秀, 清信士靳雙□, 清信士史萇受, 清信士靳士奇, 清信士嚴崇慶, 清信士史千牛, 清信士嚴四王, 邑子嚴雙祿 (?), 都維那靳令廬, 香火靳韶歡, 邑胥靳國珍, 邑胥靳A德, 維那嚴國昌, □□□隨公, 邑子史玉保, 邑子嚴桃生, 香火靳神熾, 典錄袁承達, 邑子嚴屯女, 邑子袁法明, 邑子史神□, 邑子史思□, 邑子嚴□興, 邑子嚴退, 邑子靳神達, 邑子嚴萬歲, 邑子嚴□□, 邑子嚴輔□, 邑子嚴□族, 邑子嚴被□, 邑子張買得, □政袁陽德, 邑政袁達, 但官袁洪珍, 典錄東鄉曠周, 邑子袁天受, 邑子□□□, 邑□袁神□, 邑子東鄉□□.⁵⁸

In this inscription, apart from the official titles of the leaders, the members of the *yiyi* are described as *yiyi*. However, in addition to the *yiyi* members there are also eight gentlemen of pure faith. There are several examples of source materials like this. These gentlemen of pure faith may just have gained this status on the inscription due to providing support for the construction of images. During the time of Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613–1682), people who provided financial support were known as ‘gentlemen of faith’ (*xinshi* 信士),⁵⁹ which was probably a vestige of this kind of ancient tradition. That the family and given names of gentlemen of pure faith were inscribed on stone images constructed by *yiyi*, but were not referred to as *yiyi* members, was due to the following two reasons. One, apart from the construction of images these *yiyi* also held other Buddhist activities, and those of pure faith only participated in the construction of images, therefore they could not be referred to as *yi* members. Two, joining an *yiyi* may have required a specific process, and one could not simply provide some amount of money to become a member of an *yiyi*. The process involved was not necessarily as complex as joining a *she* in the later period of the Tang Dynasty (wherein one had to fill out a document to apply for admission into the *she*, receive the approval of the *sheyi* leadership, and so forth),⁶⁰ but it was probably a bit more com-

⁵⁸ *Jinshi cui bian* 29.5–6.

⁵⁹ ‘Yanshi jinshi yiwen ji’ 偃師金石遺文記 [Record of the Stone and Metal Inscriptions at Yanshi], in *Jinshi cui bian* 34.1.

⁶⁰ See relevant discussion and note 41 in Hao, *Shanggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu*, chap. 1.

plicated than the ‘oaths of incense and candles’ (*xianghuo mengshi* 香火盟誓) just mentioned above. In the ‘Dongwei Xinghua si Gaoling yidong zhucun fayi zaoliang ji’ cited previously, it mentions that there were ‘mutual and reciprocal contracts’ 共相要約 during the formation of this organisation, which demonstrates that there may have been regulations similar to the articles of association found in later times. Based on the evidence of the above source materials and their analysis, we can deduce that *yiyi* with gentlemen of pure faith in addition to *yi* members did not simply dissolve after construction of their images, and that the organisational structures of these *yiyi* were tighter and stricter than those that undertook a single once-only activity of constructing an image.

The above discussion explains that *yiyi* during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods can largely be divided into two types. The first type is those which only undertook singular events such as constructing images and building pagodas. The other type also engaged in other Buddhist events apart from the construction of images. The latter type usually existed for a longer period of time and had tighter organisational structures.

Chinese and international scholars consider that *yiyi* have their origins in the *Tiwei Boli jing*, which first appeared in the Northern Wei.⁶¹ This opinion is itself based on the evidence of a passage in Tanyao’s 曇曜 (active 440s–460s) biography in *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [Extended Biographies of Eminent Monastics], which states:

In the Guan(zhong) region of the Kaihuang period (581–600) of the Sui dynasty (581–618), the people often studied the *Tiwei [Boli jing]* 提謂[波利經] [Trapaṣa and Bhallika *Sūtra*]. The people of the *yi* organizations each carried monk robes and alms bowl, and to create a *zhai* every month, checking each other to see if they were performing the rites according to the Vinaya. The people who participated in the gathering were extremely numerous. 隋初開皇關壤, 往

⁶¹ Yamazaki, ‘Zaika Bukkyō dantai no ichikeishiki toshite no yūgi’, and ‘Zui Tō jidai ni okeru giyū oyobi hōsha ni tuite’. Zhang & Dai, ‘Yiyi zhidu shulüe’.

往民間猶習《提謂》，邑義各持衣鉢，月再興齋，儀範正律，遞相鑒檢，甚具翔集云。⁶²

What this source refers to is not the situation in the Northern Dynasties, so scholars take this piece of information as evidence and then through a process of deductive reasoning consider that given that the start of the Sui Dynasty was like this, the situation in the Northern Dynasties could not have been very different.⁶³ It should be acknowledged that when there is no direct evidence it is possible to use such deductive reasoning to a certain degree. Furthermore, the *Tiwei Boli jing* was indeed composed at the start of the Northern Dynasties, and is a sūtra that targets lay Buddhist devotees.⁶⁴ Therefore, there is some reasonable basis to consider that *yiyi* of the Northern Dynasties had their origins in the *Tiwei Boli jing*. However, such deductive reasoning is merely a possibility, and to take a possibility and transform it into a certain conclusion still requires some direct evidence. But those who propose this theory do precise that when they make such certain claims in the absence of any directly supporting evidence. How much more is this the case when what is presented in the source materials does not represent the circumstances of the entirety of the northern regions, but are limited to the Guanzhong region during the last two decades of the sixth century (581–600). There are obvious dangers in making such a deduction for the entire northern region based upon the circumstances of the early Sui Dynasty. I have no intention of denying the possibility that *yiyi* had their origins in the *Tiwei Boli jing*; but I have discovered that some *yiyi* certainly were not sourced on the *Tiwei Boli jing*. It is as scholars have stated, *yiyi* that were influenced by the *Tiwei Boli jing* should have upheld the five precepts. But, as mentioned above, some *yiyi* established an eight-restraint *zhai* patron, and these *yiyi* that upheld the eight pre-

⁶² *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 1.428a19–21.

⁶³ Yamazaki, ‘Zaike Bukkyō dantai no ichikeishiki toshite no yūgi’, and ‘Zui Tō jidai ni okeru giyū oyobi hōsha ni tuite’. Zhang & Dai, ‘Yiyi zhidu shulüe’.

⁶⁴ Tang, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi*, 428. Tsukamoto, ‘Shina no zaike bukkyō tokuni shomin bukkyō no ichi kyōten’.

cepts plus the *zhai* precept are obviously unconnected with the *Tiwei boli jing* which propounds the five precepts.

In fact, not only is the *Tiwei Boli jing* not the only source for *yiyi*, *yiyi* also did not appear for the first time in the Northern Wei. Huiyuan's 慧遠 (334–416) biography states in brief:

[Huiyuan] thereupon went with all his followers to perform the [ritual] circumambulation (Ch. *xingdao* 行道; Skt. *Pradakṣiṇā*) day and night without stopping, and, as a result, the lingering [beneficial] influence of Śākyamuni[’s statue was revived]. Finally, gentlemen who [desired to] observe the Rules and to appease their minds, guests who [wanted to] reject the worldly dust and to live in pure faith, all unexpectedly arrived and longingly gathered from afar: Liu Yimin 劉遺民 (352–410) of Pengcheng 彭城, Lei Cizong 雷次宗 (386–448) of Yuzhang 豫章, Zhou Xuzhi 周續之 (377–423) of Yanmen 雁門, Bi Yingzhi 畢穎之 (active 400s) of Xincai 新蔡, Zong Bing 宗炳 (375–443), Zhang Laimin 張萊民 (350–418), Zhang Jishuo 張季碩 (a.k.a. Zhang Xiushuo 張秀碩 [359–423]) of Nanyang 南陽 and others. They all abandoned the world and gave up its splendour, and] came to live under Huiyuan’s guidance. Then, before a statue of Amitābha in the *vihāra*, Huiyuan [and these lay devotees] held a fasting [ceremony] and made the vow together to strive for [rebirth in] the Western Region [*Sukhāvati*]. He ordered Liu Yimin to compose the text of this (formulary), which ran as follows: 於是率眾行道，昏曉不絕，釋迦餘化，於斯復興。既而謹律息心之士，絕塵清信之賓，並不期而至，望風遙集。彭城劉遺民，豫章雷次宗，雁門周續之，新蔡畢穎之，南陽宗炳、張萊民、張季碩等，並棄世遺榮，依遠遊止。遠乃於精舍無量壽像前建齋立誓，共期西方。乃令劉遺民著其文曰：

In the year corresponding with the constellation Sheti, in the autumn, in the seventh month the first day of which has [the cyclical signs] wuchen, on the 28th day with (the cyclical signs) *yiwai* (i.e., September 11, 402). The Master of the Doctrine Shi Huiyuan, [urged by] the depth of his noble emotions and the excellence of his pure feelings, has invited [us], like-minded gentlemen, [desirous of] appeasing the mind and inspired by a noble faith, to the number of 123 men, to assemble before the statue of Amitābha at the *vihāra* of

the *Prajñā* terrace on the northern slope of Mount Lu 廬山, and he has led us reverently to perform the sacrifice of incense and flowers, and to make a vow. Now for all those who take part in this assembly, since the principle of causation is clearly understood, hence the transmission [of life] through the three times (i.e., rebirth in past, present and future) is evident, and since the ordinations of fate [determined by] the moving influence [of karman] tally with each other, hence the retribution of good and evil is inevitable. [...] Now we meet the good fortune that we without [previous] deliberation in unison [strive] for the Western Region (*Sukhāvati*). [...] However, the circumstances and affairs (of our lives) are not the same, and our merits [inherited from former lives] are different. In the morning we may pray in unison, and yet in the evening we may become widely separate. As close mentors and friends, we find this truly grieving. Touched by this, we make an agreement, arrange our clothes in the Hall of Doctrine, with a heart of equally benefiting, and with the aspiration for the subtle and supreme (Truth), and vow to travel together to that most distant region (of the Western Paradise). 維歲在攝提秋, 七月戊辰朔, 二十八日乙未, 法師釋慧遠貞感幽奧, 宿懷特發。乃延命同志息心貞信之士, 百有二十三人, 集於廬山之陰, 般若臺精舍阿彌陀像前, 率以香華敬薦而誓焉: ‘惟斯一會之眾, 夫緣化之理既明, 則三世之傳顯矣; 遷感之數既符, 則善惡之報必矣。... 今幸以不謀而僉心西境, ... 然其景績參差, 功德不一, 雖晨祈云同, 夕歸攸隔。即我師友之眷, 良可悲矣, 是以慨焉。胥命整衿法堂, 等施一心, 亭懷幽極。誓茲同人, 俱遊絕域。⁶⁵

In the records of the above cited source, although the religious community formed during the Eastern Jin period by Huiyuan and 123 monastic and lay Buddhist followers did not occur after the mid Tang, it was known subsequently by the specialist term of the ‘White Lotus Society’ (Bailian she 白蓮社).⁶⁶ This was a Buddhist

⁶⁵ *Chu sanzang jiji*, T no. 2145, 55: 15.109c07–110a1; *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 6.358c16–359a12. Translation adapted from Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, 244–245.

⁶⁶ The text quoted here was misunderstood after the mid-Tang as: Huiyuan

community of the second type of *yiyi* that we have discussed here, and furthermore was the earliest Buddhist community that we have seen to date that focused on undertaking Buddhist activities. The argument behind this is as follows. First, the members that made up this community were comprised of the two assemblies of the Buddhist faithful, i.e., monastics and laity, with Huiyuan as the leader of this community. Second, this community carried out vow rituals in front of an image of the Buddha that were similar to incense and candle oaths of alliance. Third, this community was formed with the aim of rebirth in the Western Pure Land as a group, and the method to accomplish this aim was recollection of the Buddha (*nianfo* 念佛) through contemplation of thoughts.

Such a kind of Buddhist community that aimed to take rebirth in the Pure Land was not without examples in the northern regions. Here are several examples. First, the ‘Beiwei Cui Yonggao deng sanshiliu ren zaoliang ji’ 北魏崔永高等三十六人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by Thirty-six People including Cui Yonggao and Others in the Northern Wei] states that their goal in constructing the image was ‘in order to be reborn in the Pure Land’ 為往淨方.⁶⁷ Second, the ‘Beiqi yizhu Yun chanshi deng heyi zao Amituo yuxiang ji’ 北齊邑主暈禪師等合邑造阿彌陀玉像記 [Record of Construction of a Jade Image of Amitābha by the *Heyi* of *Yi* Chief Meditation Master Yun and Others, in the Northern Qi] says that they ‘together will be reborn in the Pure Land’ 俱投淨土.⁶⁸ Third, the ‘Beiqi Yin Gong’an deng heyi zao shixiang ji’ 北齊殷恭安等合邑造石像記 [Record of Construction of a

and eighteen other eminent monks set up the White Lotus Society, into which 123 people participated and 3 people did not participate. See Tang, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi*, pp. 261–264. However, Tang Yongtong’s rejection of the statement that Huiyuan set up the White Lotus Society did not catch the attention of Buddhist history researchers. In recent years, there are still scholars quoting the materials about Huiyuan’s setting up of the White Lotus Society when they discuss *fashe*. See Yamazaki, *Zui Tō bukkuyōshi no kenkyū*, 294; Longquan, ‘Handi jiaotuan de jianli ji zaoqi xingtai’; Huang, ‘Beichao fojiao’.

⁶⁷ *ZLST* vol. 4: 145.

⁶⁸ *ZLST* vol. 8: 43–45.

Stone Image by the *Heyi* of Yin Gong'an and Others, in the Northern Qi] states that they 'have merit in the present life, and in the next life be born in the Pure Realm' (今生有福, 來生淨國).⁶⁹

From these examples we can see that in terms of the composition of their members, the process by which they were formed, the aims for which they were formed, and so forth, the Buddhist community organised by Huiyuan and the northern *yiyi* were basically the same. The only difference was the methods they use to achieve their goals, with one using recollection of the Buddha through contemplation of thoughts, and the others constructing images and holding meritorious activities. However, irrespective of these details, as described above, in the north there were some *yiyi* that undertook constructing images and also held *zhai* and other such practices in order to achieve their aims, and that up until the Sui and Tang period, the construction of images was no longer the principal Buddhist activity that Buddhist communities engaged in. Therefore, the Buddhist community formed by Huiyuan is presently the earliest *yiyi* type of organisation that is known in China.

Regarding the name of this Buddhist community, in the above-cited passage is the phrase 'for all those who take part in this assembly' 惟斯一會之眾, in which the character *hui* 會 (gathering) can of course be understood as referring to a *zhai* gathering or Dharma gathering, but in slightly later source materials, there is the phenomena of *yiyi* type organisations also being called *hui* 會 (associations). The *Za baozang jing* 雜寶藏經 [Assorted Treasures *Sūtra*], which was translated in the early years of the Northern Wei, has the following passage: 'At the time in Śrāvastī, there were disciples of the Buddha and women who formed assemblies; they frequently went to the Buddha's side' (爾時舍衛國, 有諸佛弟子, 女人作邑會, 數數往至佛邊).⁷⁰ Fazhen's 法貞 (461–521) biography tells us that he has a name on par with the monk [Seng]jian [僧]建 (d.u.). The people at the time sees [Seng]jian as unprecedented in his literary skills and sees [Fa]zhen as unique in penetrating the subtle. [Fa]zhen befriended

⁶⁹ *ZLST* vol. 7: 189.

⁷⁰ *Za baozang jing*, T no. 203, 4: 5.473c28–29.

Jian at the yi assembly; with the monastics and laypersons attached to them, they were able to attract one thousand listeners. Alms were then received and a thousand statues of the Buddha, which, spread to different places, received offerings. 與僧建齊名, 時人目建為‘文句無前’, 目貞為‘入微獨步’. 貞乃與建為義會之友. 道俗斯附, 聽眾千人. 隨得餽施, 造像千軀, 分佈供養.⁷¹

If we connect these passages together, the character *hui* may have been the name for Huiyuan's Buddhist community.

Apart from this, Chaojin's 超進 (active 460s–470s) biography states: '[Chaojin] stopped at Zhedong 浙東, and continuously lectured on Buddhist discourses; the monks and nuns of the *yi*, as well as the male and female lay followers, formed a bodhisattva karmic bond together, and displayed their obeisance to the exemplar models' (停止浙東, 講論相續, 邑野僧尼及清信男女, 並結菩薩因緣, 伏膺式範).⁷² This was an *yiyi* type of Buddhist community called '*Pusa yinyuan*' 菩薩因緣, which took place before the Taishi 泰始 era (465–472) of the Liu Song dynasty in the Southern Dynasties. It is quite clear that the Buddhist communities formed by the two eminent Buddhist monks Huiyuan and Chaojin had no connection with the *Tiwei Boli jing*. Furthermore, there is the conclusion from Yan Shangwen as mentioned above, that the 'Lishi heyi zaoliang bei' reflects a '*Lotus yiyi* group' guided by the ideas of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

It has therefore been shown that the theory in which the *Tiwei Boli jing* is the sole originating source for non-governmental organisations that specifically engage in Buddhist activities is not demonstrable. In fact, Buddhist social communities during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties should have had multiple sources. This is because Buddhist propagation tailored for secular society as an important means to strengthen social and economic power was due to the broad influence of Buddhist monasteries and monastics. Some monks and nuns composed texts that were adapted for the acceptance of secular officials and common folk based upon Buddhist *sūtras*, and the *Tiwei Boli jing* was just one example of

⁷¹ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 6.474b10–13.

⁷² *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 7.374b9–10.

this kind of text. Other examples include the likes of that recorded in Daoji's 道紀 (of the Northern Qi) biography, when he broadly propagated and lectured on the *Jinzang lun* 金藏論 [Golden Treasury Treatise] that he composed for women in society: 'seven fascicles in one set, classified in different categories; The sources of the temples, pagodas, banners and lamps and the principles of the *sūtras*, statues, of taking refuge, and of following the vinaya, are all covered [in this text] as a unified transformation, to the full opening of the gate of blessings' (一帙七卷, 以類相從. 寺塔幡燈之由, 經像歸戒之本, 具羅一化, 大啟福門).⁷³ This work also has similar qualities to the *Tiwei Boli jing*. Similar works were popular during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties, not only these two texts. These works adapted by Chinese monastics had a significant effect upon the broad understanding of members of secular society as well as communities that practiced Buddhism and their formation. Even more worthy of attention is that although there were a great many monastics that did not compose works such as the *Tiwei Boli jing* or *Jinzang lun*, they still engaged in propagation based upon Buddhist *sūtras* and their own experiences that was adapted to the secular population in their vicinities. This kind of propagation was highly important for the formation of Buddhist communities in general society. The aforementioned figures, Huiyuan, Fazhen, and Chaojin, were only able to bring together the two assemblies of lay and monastic Buddhists around them and form Buddhist communities due to their propagation. Within the source material that we are presently able to access, there are quite a number of *yiyi* that were formed under the direction of monks and nuns in just this very manner.

Another factor that should not be overlooked is that typical propagation (such as *zhai* lectures and the like) and influence over secular society by monasteries of the time had a definite effect on the formation of *yiyi*. Although the period of the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties did not have the likes of Tang Dynasty 'public lectures' (*sujiang* 俗講) that were specifically given to the common people of secular society, they did however propagate

⁷³ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 30.701b2–3.

different content for different audiences, which from early on was already valued by the Buddhist world. The treatise on the Buddhist lead chanters ('Changdao lun' 唱導論) by Huijiao states:

There are four things which is valuable for a lead chanter. These are volume, discernment, talent, and knowledge. ... If one is good at these four things, and lecture according to his audience in different circumstances, for example, if someone belongs to one of the five kinds of ordained people, the chanter needs to explain to that person in detail on impermanence and expound earnestly on repentance; if someone is a lord, king, or leader, the chanter will need to cite secular texts and make it into elegant phrases for that person; if someone is only an ordinary commoner, the chanter needs to correctly describe things, and directly discuss what he hears and sees to that person; if someone is a mountainous dweller, the chanter needs to use simple words for that person and reprimand that person for his wrongs'. 夫唱導所貴, 其事四焉, 謂聲辯才博. ... 若能善茲四事, 而適以人時. 如為出家五眾, 則須切語無常, 苦陳懺悔; 若為君王長者, 則須兼引俗典, 綺綜成辭; 若為悠悠凡庶, 則須指事造形, 直談聞見; 若為山民野處, 則須近局言辭, 陳斥罪目.⁷⁴

The *zhai* lectures given to the common folk of the time could even be understood by illiterate children. Zhenyu's 真玉 (of the northern Qi) biography in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* states:

Shi Zhenyu has the surname of Dong 董, and is a local of Yidu 益都 in the Qing prefecture 青州. He was blind when he was born... by the time he was seven *sui* of age, ... later, the village *yi* had a mass gathering, full of *zhai* and lectures. His mother went to attend the assembly and brought [Zhen]yu with her. When he heard the lecture first time he he joyfully understood and said; 'if one constantly partakes in lectures, he will become a dharma master!' 釋真玉, 姓董氏, 青州益都人, 生而無目. 年至七歲, 後鄉邑大集, 盛興齋講, 母攜玉赴會, 一聞欣領, 曰: '若恒預聽, 終作法師'.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.417c15–25.

Monasteries used just this kind of propagation for general society to enable many secular officials and common people to gradually understand and start believing in Buddhism, later becoming lay Buddhist devotees. The statistics in ‘Table 1’ show that over 20 *yiyi* did not have any participating monks or nuns, and these Buddhist communities may have formed under the influence of monasteries, propagation by monastics, and the general social atmosphere of the time.

1.2. Concerning the Leadership of *Yiyi*

Because the period in which *yiyi* were popular was quite long and covered a vast area, the situation with their leadership is quite complex. The standout feature is the proliferation of titles. Not only are the titles for the leadership of *yiyi* different across different period and places, even within the same period and at the same location the names for the leadership in different *yiyi* are not at all consistent. For example, the two images in the documents ‘Beiwei Yin Aijiang deng heyi ershiyi ren zao Mile xiang ji’ 北魏尹愛姜等合邑二十一人造彌勒像記 [Record of Maitreya Image Construction by the Heyi of Twenty-One People, Yin Aijiang and Others, in the Northern Wei]⁷⁶ and ‘Beiwei yizhu Gao Shu deng saer ren zao shixiang ji’ 北魏邑主高樹等卅二人造石像記 [Record of Stone Image Construction by Thirty-Two People, Yi Chief Gao Shu and Others, in the Northern Wei],⁷⁷ while both are from Longmen in the 3rd year of Jingming 景明 era (502), in the former the leader is known as *weinuo* 維那 (Skt. *karmadāna*), whereas in the latter the leader is called ‘*yi* chief’ and the deputy leader is the *weinuo*.

The second feature is that the same title in different *yiyi* will have

⁷⁵ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 6.475b19–23.

⁷⁶ *ZLST* vol. 3: 57; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 193; Mizuno & Nagahiro, *Kanan Rakuyou Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 300.

⁷⁷ *ZLST* vol. 3: 55; *Baōqionshi jinshi buzhen* 12.70; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 193; Mizuno & Nagahiro, *Kanan Rakuyou Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 300.

differences in terms of status and role. For example, the title *weinuo* in a large number of situations is the assistant to the *yi* chief or image patron, and is the deputy leader of the *yiyi*. However, in the above-cited ‘Beiwei Yin Aijiang deng heyi ershiyi ren zao Mile xiang ji’ and the ‘Beiwei Dangmo cun weinuo Gao Luozhou deng qishi ren zaoxiang ji’ 北魏當陌村維那高洛周等七十人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the Seventy People, *Weinuo* Gao Luozhou and Others, from Dangmo Village, in the Northern Wei],⁷⁸ the *weinuo* is the actual leader. In the ‘Beiwei yizhu Sun Daowu deng heyi erbai ren zaoxiang ji’,⁷⁹ there is one person who is the *yi* chief, fifteen *weinuo*, and names inscribed in fifteen columns with each column headed by a *weinuo*. It seems that each column is a kind of group and the *weinuo* is the group leader. In the names of the ‘Beiqi Daorun deng zaoxiang ji’ 北齊道潤等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by Daorun and Others, in the Northern Qi],⁸⁰ there are several dozen *weinuo* and several dozen people have their names inscribed directly. Here, it seems that the *weinuo* are just *yiyi* members. Elsewhere, there are also ‘great *weinuo*’ (*da weinuo* 大維那), ‘provincial *weinuo*’ (*du weinuo* 都維那), ‘great provincial *weinuo*’ (*dadu weinuo* 大都維那), ‘*weinuo* chiefs’ (*weinuo zhu* 維那主), ‘practice *weinuo*’ (*xing weinuo* 行維那), and other such titles. These titles do not have completely identical or equivalent status or roles within individual *yiyi*.

The third feature is that there are great discrepancies between the number of leaders in each *yiyi*, and the same official title within a single *yiyi* may apply to more than just one person. Some *yiyi* only have one leader, some *yiyi* have two, and others have ten or more, up to a maximum as seen in the likes of the ‘Wei dadu yizhu Tanhe deng heyi zaoxiang timing’ 魏大都邑主曇和等合邑造像題名 [Inscribed Names for Image Construction by the *Heyi* of Great Provincial *Yi* Chief Tanhe and Others, in the Wei],⁸¹ which has a total of over 150

⁷⁸ ZLST vol. 3: 76; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōshohen*, 208.

⁷⁹ ZLST vol. 3: 54; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōshohen*, 192, 299; *Jinsbi cuibian* 27.5–6; *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 2757.

⁸⁰ ZLST vol. 7: 81.

⁸¹ ZLST vol. 6: 196.

people with various leadership titles. In the inscription of names for the ‘Beizhou Wang Miaohui deng heyi zaoxiang ji’, there are only 19 *yi* members, but those with various kinds of official title number 57 people.⁸² These two *yiyi* are not the only ones like this. In some *yiyi* every member has some kind of official title. For example, among the names in the ‘Beiqi Songshi daosu yiren zaoxiang ji’ 北齊宋氏道俗邑人造像記 [Record for Image Construction by the Monastic and Lay *Yi* Members of the Song Family, in the Northern Qi],⁸³ there is one ‘Dharma patron’ (*fazhu* 法主), one ‘great image patron’ (*da xiangzhu* 大像主), one ‘secondary image patron’ (*ci xiangzhu* 次像主), one ‘initiating great image patron’ (*qi daxiang zhu* 起大像主), one ‘administrative clerk’ (*shuzuo* 書佐), seven ‘image patrons’ (*xiangzhu* 像主), six ‘monastery chiefs’ (*sizhu* 寺主) (a shortened form of ‘monastery *yi* chief’ [*si yizhu* 寺邑主; details below]), and two ‘consecration patrons’ (*kaiming zhu* 開明主), but not even a single *yi* member that did not have an official title. Here, the image patron and monastery chief are probably equivalent to the *yizi* members found in other *yiyi*. But there are also some *yiyi* that have no leadership in the names inscribed. For example, the ‘Dongwei Daoyu deng *yiyi* shisan ren zaoxiang ji’ 東魏道遇等邑義十三人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Yiyi* of Thirteen People, Daoyu and Others, in the Eastern Wei],⁸⁴ the ‘Beiqi biqiu Mingkong deng *yiyi* zao Lushena xiang ji’ 北齊比丘明空等邑義造盧舍那像記 [Record of Vairocana Image Construction by the *Yiyi* of *Bhikṣu* Mingkong and Others, in the Northern Qi],⁸⁵ and so forth, only the family and given names of members are given, and there are no names for leaders. The absence of leaders’ names does not of course mean that nobody was responsible for organisational work. Within the *yiyi* recorded in these two

⁸² *Jinshi cuibian* 36.6–7; *Baqiongsbi jinshi buzhen* 23.144; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsusbi chōsoben*, 364–365; *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 3989.

⁸³ *ZLST* vol. 7: 199; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsusbi chōsoben*, 332.

⁸⁴ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsusbi chōsoben*, 259.

⁸⁵ *ZLST* vol. 7: 133; *Baqiongsbi jinshi buzhen* 21.132; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsusbi chōsoben*, 332.

sources, one is called the ‘*Yiyi* of Daoyu from Anlewang Monastery in Jiumen’ (九門安樂王寺道遇邑義),⁸⁶ an *yiyi* the organisation of which was carried out by Daoyu 道遇 from Anlewang Monastery 安樂王寺. The other *yiyi* should be led by the *bhikṣu* Mingkong 明空, who was the person primarily responsible for this *yiyi* albeit without an official title.

Within the 250 source materials collected by this author concerning *yiyi* during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods, there are 192 sources that have official titles of *yiyi* leadership either in the inscriptions of names or within the text of the records of image construction. Brief statistics from these source materials for the frequency of these official titles and their appearance in different *yiyi* is presented in ‘Table 2’.⁸⁷ From the official titles and the numbers attached to each official title that are listed in ‘Table 2’, we can see that although there was a multitude of names for *yiyi* leadership during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties, there were in fact not many at all that were broadly popular. There are over 200 official titles that only appeared in different *yiyi* once or twice, which is almost a total of 80%. There are also quite a few official titles that have evolved from one title. For example, the 18 items in the column of *weinuo*, all of which have developed from the title *weinuo*; the 13 names of the *yi* chief column, which all hail from just one name; the over 60 names in the column for image patron, all of which can be reduced back to the category of image patron; and so on.

These *yiyi* leadership titles for which there are myriad names can broadly be divided into two types. The first type is ‘merit patrons’ (*gongde zhu* 功德主) that have been created for meritorious Buddhist activities. In ‘Table 2’ there are over 100 official titles from ‘*zhai* patrons’ to ‘initiating great image patrons’ which can be included within this type. The second type is anything other than merit

⁸⁶ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 259.

⁸⁷ Here and below, ‘Table 2’ refers to ‘Table 2: *Appellations of Yiyi Leaders in the Eastern Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties* (表二: 東晉南北朝邑義首領稱謂一覽表), in Hao, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu*, 111–113.

patrons, and we can consider this type as the true leadership of the *yiyi*. In terms of their sources, the official titles listed in ‘Table 2’ have all been influenced by the official names used in Buddhism and secular officialdom. Within those titles that have been influenced by Buddhism, there is a further portion that have come from *sangha* officials. Those titles in ‘Table 2’ from *yi* chief to ‘legal administrator’ (*qialü* 洽律 = *zhilü* 治律) are all in this portion. The other portion is made up of all the various official titles that have been adopted from Buddhist monasteries and temples who provide wealth or finances for the making of merit. This includes those titles from ‘*zhai* patron’ to ‘great image patron’ in ‘Table 2’. The titles from ‘*yi* rectifier’ (*yi zhongzheng* 邑中正) to ‘administrative clerk’ (*shuzuo* 書佐) have all been influenced by titles of secular officialdom. After administrative clerk, although the over ten names from ‘*dan* official’ onwards appear to be influenced by the names of secular officials, we have yet to uncover direct evidence of their sources, and thus await further research.

Below, following the order of the official titles listed in ‘Table 2’, we shall briefly examine and discuss *yiyi* leadership that has titles appearing more frequently or with greater influence on various *yiyi*.

I.2.1. *Yi* chief 邑主

The *yi* chief is one of the most commonly seen leaders in *yiyi*. Within 192 sources for *yiyi* leadership there are 99 sources that feature an *yi* chief (including provincial *yi* chief and other related terms). The *yi* chief has its origins in the monastery chief of a Buddhist monastery. Within Buddhist monasteries there was the position of monastery chief (*sizhu* 寺主) during the Western Jin period at the latest.⁸⁸ *Yiyi* that were either formed by Buddhist monasteries or monastics, or directly influenced by monasteries or monastics, would quite naturally copy the titles of those in charge of monasteries and call their leaders ‘*yi* chiefs’. Within some *yiyi* they even called the *yi* chief the ‘monastery *yi* chief’. For example, in the names within the ‘Xiwei Song Fajin

⁸⁸ Xie, ‘Jin–Tang sengguan zhidu kaolüe’.

deng heyi zaoxiang ji' 西魏宋法進等合邑造像記 [Record for Image Construction by the *Heyi* of Song Fajin and Others, in the Western Wei], it states: 'The head of the monastery and *yi*, the General Who Calms the Waves (*Fubo jiangjun* 伏波將軍), the Prefect of Nanyang 南陽 and Xinye 新野 prefectures, Zhao Wenrong 趙文榮; The head of the monastery and *yi*, the General who Calms the Waves, the Erudite of the State School, the Nanyang prefect, the Inspecting Commissioner for the army (*Du jianjun* 都鑿軍) of the Gu City 固城, Zhang 張□, whose style name is Enda 恩達' (寺邑主伏波將軍南陽, 新野二郡太守趙文榮, 寺邑主伏波將軍國子博士南陽太守固城都鑿軍張□字恩達).⁸⁹ The official title of monastery *yi* chief also reflects the relationship between monasteries and *yiyi*, and reveals the origins of the *yi* chief. There are also some *yiyi* that abbreviated monastery *yi* chief to monastery chief. Within the names of the 'Beiqi Songshi daosu yiren zaoxiang ji' there are 'the head of the monastery, the magistrate (*ling* 令) of Pingchang, Song Anzong 宋安宗; the head of the monastery, the Regional Inspector of □ Region, Song Anshe 宋安舍; the head of the monastery, the director of Anguo, Song Anji 宋安集; the head of the monastery the prefect of the Zhao prefecture, Zhao Lingzong 趙領宗; the head of the monastery, the *bhikṣu* Sengfa; the head of the monastery, the adjutant of external military (*waibing canjun* 外兵參軍), Song Jinghe 宋景和' (寺主平昌令宋安宗, 寺主□州刺史宋安舍, 寺主安國令宋安集, 寺主趙郡太守趙領宗, 寺主比丘僧法, 寺主外兵參軍宋景和).⁹⁰ Most of these 'monastery chiefs' are laity, and because it is impossible that they could be monastery chiefs within actual monasteries, they could just be an abbreviation for 'monastery *yi* chiefs'.

In general, the position of *yi* chief has quite high status within an *yiyi* and also has an important role. Within most *yiyi* that have an *yi* chief, the *yi* chief takes general responsibility for matters. If there are two or more leaders within a single *yiyi*, the *yi* chief is typically listed before the other leaders, and in 'records of image construction' (*zaoxiang ji* 造像記) the *yi* chief usually represents the whole *yiyi* in

⁸⁹ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 286–288.

⁹⁰ ZLST vol. 7: 199; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 341. After this are the names of eleven more people, who are skipped here.

the list of its members. For example, in the ‘Beiqi yizhu Yun chanshi deng heyi zao Amituo yuxiang ji’, in the record for image construction it only mentions one person as the *yi* chief, Meditation Master Yun 暈禪師, who appears again at the start of the inscribed names, after which is the ‘master of the meditation chamber’ (*chanfang zhu* 禪房主), and finally the *bhiksus*, *weinuo*, and *yi* members.⁹¹ In this image construction record, the order in which the names in the record title and inscribed names are given for this *yiyi* all reflect the status and role of Meditation Master Yun within this *yiyi*. There are also other similar examples that we will not cite in full here. However, the *yi* chief in some *yiyi* may not be the person responsible for matters. For example, in the ‘Beiwei Changyue deng heyi yibai yuren zaoxiang bei’ 北魏常岳等合邑一百餘人造像碑 [Stele of Image Construction for the Over One Hundred People of the *Heyi*, Changyue and Others, in the Northern Wei], although the ‘provincial *yi* chief’ has his name at the very front, in the record of image construction it instead states: ‘The lord of proselytization (*quanhua zhu* 勸化主), Changyue 常岳, led over a hundred people from the *yiyi*’ (勸化主常岳率邑義一百餘人).⁹² This shows that the person in charge of this *yiyi* was in reality Changyue, and so while the provincial *yi* chief had the highest status, he did not represent this *yiyi*. The order of inscribed names in the ‘Beiwei Han Xianzu deng zao taxiang ji’ 北魏韓顯祖等造塔像記 [Record of Pagoda and Image Construction by Han Xianzu and Others, in the Northern Wei] is: ‘The patron of the Sumeru Pagoda, Han Xianzu 韓顯祖; the image patron, Han Fachen 韓法成; the consecration patron (*guangming zhu* 光明主), Dong Tuoshi 董託世; the head of the *yi*, Li Dao 李道; the head of the vegetarian feast, Chen Zhong 陳忠; the *karmadāna* Jia Shaoxi 賈韶禧, and the *karmadāna* Chen Zhen 陳珍’ (須彌塔主韓顯祖, 像主韓法成, 光明主董託世, 邑主李道, 齋主陳忠, 維那賈韶禧, 維那陳珍).⁹³ Looking at the order of the names here, it seems that the *yi*

⁹¹ *ZLST* vol. 8: 43–45; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 348–349.

⁹² *Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng* 16.94.

⁹³ *Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng* 16.93–94; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 244; *ZLST* vol. 5: 199. Below are listed names of the *yi* members. Omitted.

chief is not the person responsible for matters. If an *yiyi* has an *yi* master, then the name of the *yi* chief is usually inscribed after the *yi* master. For example, the names in the ‘Beiwei yizhu Zhao Ahuan deng zaoxiang ji’ 北魏邑主趙阿歡等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Yi* Chief Zhao Ahuan and Others, in the Northern Wei] are: ‘The master of the *yi*, Huigan 惠感; the head of the *yi*, Zhao Ahuan 趙阿歡; the consecration patron, Zhang Puhui 張普惠; the *karmadāna*, Wang Lüyi 王呂宜; the *karmadāna*, Chang Zhida 常智達; the *karmadāna*, Jia Poluomeng 賈婆羅門; the Rectifier of the *yi*, Xu Huidan 許惠但; the elder of the *yi*, Zhang Fubao 張伏保; elder [of the *yi*], Meng Changming 孟萇命’ (邑師惠感, 邑主趙阿歡, 光明主張普惠, 都維那王呂宜, 維那常智達, 維那賈婆羅門, 邑正許惠但, 邑老張伏保, 邑老孟萇命).⁹⁴ In this source, although the *yi* master’s name is at the very front, indicating that their status is higher, they are not necessarily the person responsible for matters. In the above cited ‘Zaoxiang ji’, it is stated in the text that: ‘The thirty-three people of the various *yi* at the pass under Zhao Ahuan 趙阿歡 realize the momentariness of arising and ceasing, discern the difference between passing away and remaining. They understand that the body is like the floating clouds and the life is like the frost and dew. Therefore, each person has used up his savings, [making a contribution to] the construction of a statue of Maitreya’ (是以關口趙阿歡諸邑卅三人, 體生滅之際, 識去流 [=留] 之分, 知身是浮雲, 命如霜露. 故各竭家財, 造彌勒像一區 [=軀]).⁹⁵ The text itself states Zhao Ahuan and thirty-three *yi* members, rather than saying Huigan 惠感 and thirty-three members, showing that it is the *yi* chief that represents this *yiyi* as the person in charge and not the *yi* master.

Above *yi* chiefs there were also provincial *yi* chiefs (*du yizhu* 都邑主), great provincial *yi* chiefs (*dadu yizhu* 大都邑主), great *yi* chiefs (*da yizhu* 大邑主), and other such official titles. If these official titles appear together in the same *yiyi*, in general, the provincial *yi*

⁹⁴ *Jinshi cuibian* 28.7; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōshoben*, 217; Mizuno & Nagahiro, *Kanan Rakuyō Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 307; below are listed names of the *yi* members. Omitted.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

chief is superior to the *yi* chief, and the great provincial *yi* chief is still superior to the provincial *yi* chief. For example, in the inscribed names of the ‘Xiwei dadu yizhu Du Zhaoxian heyi zaoxiang ji’ 西魏大都邑主杜照賢合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Heyi* of Great Provincial *yi* Chief Du Zhaoxian, in the Western Wei],⁹⁶ the name mentioned first is great provincial *yi* chief Du Zhaoxian 杜照賢. In the text of this image construction record it also only mentions the great provincial *yi* chief Du Zhaoxian and great provincial *weinuo* Du Huijin 杜慧進. The provincial *yi* chief’s name is given after the great provincial *weinuo*, and the *yi* chief’s name is inscribed on the side of the stone stele. Another example is the ‘Beiqi shangguan Sengdu deng heyi zaoxiang ji’ 北齊上官僧度等合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Heyi* of High Official Sengdu and Others in the Northern Qi], in which the name of the *yi* chief is inscribed after that of the Provincial *Yi* Chief.⁹⁷ This kind of arrangement and ordering of names reflects the differences of status and role of official titles within *yiyi*. However, the above-described official titles usually do not appear together within the same *yiyi*. From the numbers given for the names of leaders listed in ‘Table 2’, great provincial *yi* chief and great *yi* chief are very seldom seen in *yiyi*. Although provincial *yi* chief appears in 28 *yiyi*, it does not necessarily appear together with an *yi* chief in the same *yiyi*. For example, in inscribed names found in the ‘Beiwei duyizhu Liang Yingcai deng heyi erbai ren zao lingta ming’ 北魏都邑主梁英才等合邑二百人造靈塔銘 [Memorial for Construction of a Funerary Pagoda by the *Heyi* of Two Hundred People, Provincial *yi* Chief Liang Yingcai and Others, in the Northern Wei],⁹⁸ there is only a provincial *yi* chief and no *yi* chief. The ‘Dongwei duyizhu Du Wenxiong deng heyi zaoxiang ji’ 東魏都邑主杜文雄等合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Heyi* of Provincial *Yi* Chief Du Wenxiong and Others, in the Eastern Wei]⁹⁹ is similar in terms of its names. There are further

⁹⁶ *ZLST* vol. 6: 15–17; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 291–292.

⁹⁷ Han, ‘Anhui Boxian Xianpingsi faxian Bei Qi shike zaoxiangbei’.

⁹⁸ *ZLST* vol. 3: 13.

⁹⁹ *ZLST* vol. 6: 162; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 279.

examples besides these that we will not detail here.

This kind of relationship between the official title *yi* chief and others such as provincial *yi* chief, great provincial *yi* chief, great *yi* chief, and so forth, is the same as the relationships between parallel examples of *weinuo* 維那 and provincial *weinuo* (*du weinuo* 都維那), great provincial *weinuo* (*dadu weinuo* 大都維那), and great *weinuo* (*da weinuo* 大維那); between *yi* master (*yishi* 邑師) and provincial *yi* master (*du yishi* 都邑師), great provincial *yi* master (*dadu yishi* 大都邑師), and great *yi* master (*da yishi* 大邑師); exhortation patron (*huazhu* 化主), provincial exhortation patron (*du huazhu* 都化主), great provincial exhortation patron (*dadu huazhu* 大都化主), and Great Exhortation Patron (*da huazhu* 大化主); image patron (*xiangzhu* 像主) and provincial image patron (*du xiangzhu* 都像主), great image patron (*da xiangzhu* 大像主), and so forth. There is no need to discuss each of these individually in the remainder of this study.

I.2.2. *Weinuo* 維那

Weinuo is the most broadly popular official title for leadership within *yiyi*. In the 192 source materials collated by the author that concern leadership of *yiyi*, there are 132 that feature *weinuo* (including provincial *weinuo* and so on), which is nearly 70% in total.

The *weinuo* as a leader in *yiyi* has its origins in the *weinuo* as a *samgha* official. The *weinuo* is part of a monastery's staff, and had appeared as early as the Eastern Jin and Sixteen Kingdoms periods.¹⁰⁰ During the time of Emperor Wendi 孝文帝 of the Northern Wei, the *weinuo* had become the deputy officer at Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities (*zhaoxuan si* 昭玄寺), and was the assistant to the director of *śramaṇas* (*shamen tong* 沙門統). Their responsibility was to support the director of *śramaṇas* in managing the registry of monastics, printed documents and so forth, as well as looking after the upholding and inspections of monastic discipline.¹⁰¹ Influenced

¹⁰⁰ Xie, 'Jin–Tang sengguan zhidu kaolue'.

¹⁰¹ Bai, 'Nanbeichao Sui Tang sengguan zhidu tanjiu'.

by the *weinuo* as a *saṃgha* official, the *weinuo* as a leader of an *yiyi* was usually the deputy leader.

There are many different situations for the status and role of the official title *weinuo* within *yiyi*, as has already been discussed above. Here we merely wish to remind the reader to pay attention to the distinction between the *weinuo* as *saṃgha* official and the *weinuo* as an *yiyi* leader in the inscription sources. The mistaken conflation of these two began with Wang Chang, but others have continued it up to the present day. In Wang Chang's comments in his *Jinshi cuibian*, 'Sun Qiusheng deng zaoxiang ji' 孫秋生等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by Sun Qiusheng and Others], we see the first time that *weinuo*, as appearing in the inscribed names for a record of image construction, is explained as being a *saṃgha* official.

We can now briefly cite the *weinuo* in the names of this image construction record as follows:

The *karmadāna* Cheng Daoqi 程道起, the *karmadāna* Xiahou Wende 夏侯文德, the *karmadāna* Gao Bosheng 高伯生, the *karmadāna* Sun Fengqi 孫鳳起, the *karmadāna* Wu Ling 吳靈, the *karmadāna* Wang Cheng 王承, the *karmadāna* Jia Daozhu 賈道柱, the *karmadāna* Feng Lingong 馮靈恭, the *karmadāna* Bo Dingxiang 傅定香, the *karmadāna* Wei Fangyi 魏方意, the *karmadāna* Mi Faxing 米法興, the *karmadāna* Dong Guangzu 董光祖, the *karmadāna* Sun Xibo 孫僊伯, the *karmadāna* Zhu Ansheng 朱安盛, and the *karmadāna* Zhu Zuxiang 朱祖香. 維那程道起, 維那夏侯文德, 維那高伯生, 維那孫鳳起, 維那吳靈, 維那王承, 維那賈道柱, 維那馮靈恭, 維那傅定香, 維那魏方意, 維那米法興, 維那董光祖, 維那孫僊伯, 維那朱安盛, 維那朱祖香.¹⁰²

The names of these 15 *weinuo* are all secular lay names, but according to the standard practice of Buddhist monks and nuns of the time, only their Dharma name (*fabao* 法號) would be mentioned, and furthermore the term *biqiu* 比丘 (Skt. *bhikṣu*) or *biqiuni* 比丘尼 (Skt. *bhikṣunī*) would be added before their Dharma name.

¹⁰² *Jinshi cuibian* 27.5–6.

It was very rare indeed to use a monastic's lay name. If they were *saṃgha* officials they would also need to have their *Samgha* official rank written there, and absolutely not just mention 'weinuo so-and-so'. For example, in the inscribed names of the 'Dongwei Chanjing si chaqian ming' 東魏禪靜寺刹前銘 [Memorial in Front of the Chanjing Monastery, in the Eastern Wei], which we can briefly cite as follows: 'The director of *śramaṇas* of Yingzhou, Huiyuan 慧元; the *Śramaṇa* Controller (?) (*shamen du* 沙門都) of Yingzhou, Daoye 道業; the *karmadāna* of the Changshe county 長社縣, Fasong 法嵩; the *karmadāna* of the Ying county 潁縣, Daoxian 道顯; the *karmadāna* of the Yingchuan prefecture 潁川郡, Sengdu 僧度; the *karmadāna* of the Xuchang prefecture 許昌郡, Faju 法炬; the *karmadāna* of the Yangdi prefecture 陽翟郡, Daoxi 道希' (潁州沙門統慧元, 潁州沙門都道業, 長社縣維那法嵩, 潁縣維那道顯, 潁川郡維那僧度, 許昌郡維那法炬, 陽翟郡維那道希).¹⁰³ From this we can see that the *weinuo* in the 'Sun Qiusheng deng zaoxiang ji' is just a minor *yiyi* leader, and cannot be a *saṃgha* official. The vast majority of *weinuo* in the inscriptions of *yiyi* image construction records are *yiyi* leaders, and very few are of *weinuo* as *Samgha* officials.

I.2.3. Exhortation patron (*huazhu* 化主)

A Buddhist who exhorts devotees to give in charity and make offerings to the Three Jewels is called an exhortation patron. Within an *yiyi*, the exhortation patron is responsible for instruction and exhortation, to guarantee that when the *yiyi* engages in holding Buddhist activities they have sufficient financial funds.

Above it has already been pointed out that *yiyi* during the period of the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties can largely be divided into two types. The first is those that were organised for a temporary period with the purpose of constructing images, building pagodas and so forth, and on completion of their construction the *yiyi* would dissolve by itself. The organisational structures of this type of *yiyi* were somewhat looser, and anyone who contributed

¹⁰³ ZLST vol. 6: 71–72; *Jinshi cuibian* 30.6–7.

some set amount of financial support, irrespective of who they are, could become an *yiyi* member. The other type of *yiyi* also engaged in other Buddhist activities while they constructed images and so forth, as their image construction was usually for making offerings, worship, and the like. The organisational structures of this type of *yiyi* were also stricter and tighter, and they existed for a longer period of time. The exhortation patron, as part of the leadership of *yiyi*, had quite different roles within these two types of *yiyi*. Within the first type of *yiyi*, the exhortation patron was responsible for encouraging people to make donations, and those who made donations became members of the *yiyi*. Therefore, the exhortation patron typically became the instigator and organiser for this kind of *yiyi*. Their status within this kind of *yiyi* was also higher, and they had greater roles to play. For example, in order of the inscribed names in the ‘Dongwei jiaohuazhu Wang Fanglüe deng heyi zaixiang ji’ 東魏教化主王方略等合邑造像記 [Record for Image Construction by the *Heyi* of Exhortation Patron Wang Fanglüe and Others, in the Eastern Wei] states: ‘The exhortation patron Wang Fanglüe 王方略; the *yi* master Faxian 法顯; the *yi* master Daobao 道寶’ (教化主王方略, 邑師法顯, 邑師道寶).¹⁰⁴ Another example is in the ‘Duhuazhu Wei Hongda deng heyi zaixiang ji’ 都化主魏洪達等合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction for the *Heyi* of Provincial Exhortation Patron Wei Hongda and Others], in which all of the leaders were exhortation patrons.¹⁰⁵

In the second type of *yiyi*, because the *yiyi* membership was more stable, the task of the exhortation patron was to go outside the *yiyi* and encourage people to make donations before undertaking Buddhist activities, in order to reduce the burden on *yiyi* members. As mentioned above in the names of the ‘Beiwei Yan Tao deng heyi wushi ren zaixiang ji’, apart from the *yiyi* leadership of *yi* chief, exhortation patron, *yi* rector (*yizheng* 邑正), and the *yi* members, there are the inscribed names of eight gentlemen of pure faith.¹⁰⁶ These eight people were able to provide financial support to construct an

¹⁰⁴ ZLST vol. 6: 33; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 254.

¹⁰⁵ Cao, *Yaowangshan shike chongkan jilüe*, 118–120.

¹⁰⁶ *Jinshi cuibian* 29.5–6; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 236.

image together with the *yi* members, which should be the result of the exhortation patron's encouragement. However, because the majority of financing for this kind of *yiyi* for engaging in Buddhist activities came from the original *yiyi* members, the role of the exhortation patron would be less than that in the first kind of *yiyi*, and because their status would also be somewhat lower, they typically were not the principal leaders. There were at times exceptions to this, though, such as the example given above of the exhortation patron Chang Yue.

According to 'Table 2', the position of exhortation patron was not that widespread in *yiyi*, and only about 16% of *yiyi* established such a position.¹⁰⁷ However, the task of exhorting others to donate would have been essential in every *yiyi*. Within those *yiyi* that did not have exhortation patrons, this task of the exhortation patron would have been carried out by other responsible leaders such as the *yi* chief, *yi* master, image patron, and so on.

I.2.4. *Yi* Master (*yishi* 邑師)

The *Yi* Master originates in the Dharma masters (*fashi* 法師) of Buddhist monasteries. They are the Dharma masters within the *yiyi*, the spiritual leaders of the *yiyi*, and the media between the *yi* members and the Buddha. Therefore, *yi* masters and *yiyi* members also have names that show a teacher-disciple relationship.

Within the records of image construction from those *yiyi* that have *yi* masters, the majority have expressions of prayers for merit for the sake of 'monastic masters' (*shiseng* 師僧),¹⁰⁸ and at times *yiyi*

¹⁰⁷ Among the 192 items of materials I collect about *yiyi* that have leaders recorded, only 32 items contain the title *huazhu*.

¹⁰⁸ 'Bei Wei *yishi* Huichang deng niansanren zao shijixiang ji' 北魏邑師慧暢等廿三人造釋迦像記 [Record of Building a Śākya Statue by Twenty-three People led by *Yi* Master Huichang in the Northern Wei], in *ZLST* vol. 4: 55; *Baqiongshi jinshi buzheng* 13.74; Mizuno & Nagahiro, *Kanan Rakuyou Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 306; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 216. 'Bei Wei Qishi heyi nianren deng zaoxiangji' 北魏錡氏合邑廿人等造像記 [Record of Building a Statue by Twenty People of the *Yi* of the Qi Family in the Northern Wei], in *ZLST* vol. 4: 79; Cao,

members refer to themselves as ‘*yi* disciples’. For example, the ‘Beiqi da duyizhu Dong Hongda deng zaoliang ji’ 北齊大都邑主董洪達等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by Great Provincial *Yi* Chief Dong Hongda and Others, in the Northern Qi] states briefly: ‘the head of the *yi*, Dong Hongda 董洪達, then led his disciples of the *yi*, forty people total, to copy respectfully for the sage’s image’ (是以都邑主董洪達遂率邑徒四十人等敬寫靈儀).¹⁰⁹

Due to their special identities, *yi* masters have higher status than regular leaders within their *yiyi*, and their names are mostly inscribed at the very front or in a prominent position. However, the role that they perform is not always the same across different *yiyi*. Within some *yiyi*, the *yi* master is an instigator and organiser for members. In the main text of the ‘Yishi Sengjing daosu saba ren deng zaokan ji’ 邑師僧敬道俗卅八人等造龕記 [Record for Niche Construction by Thirty-Eight Monastic and Lay Members, *Yi* Master Sengjing and Others], it states: ‘with the *yi* master Sengjing 僧敬, and the others, thirty eight clergymen and laymen total’ (是以邑師僧敬等道俗卅八人等),¹¹⁰ which shows that the representative of this *yiyi* is Sengjing 僧敬, who should be the main person responsible for this *yiyi*. In the ‘Beiqi yishi Daolüe deng sanbai ren zaoliang ji’ 北齊邑師道略等三百人造像記 [Record of Image Construction for the Three Hundred People, *Yi* Master Daolüe and Others, in the Northern Qi], the *yi* master is also the representative for the entire *yiyi*.¹¹¹

In some other *yiyi*, the *yi* master is nothing more than an honorary leadership title, and the actual person responsible is the *yi* chief or some other leader. One example is in the previously mentioned ‘Beiwei yizhu Zhao Yahuan zaoliang ji’. Another example is in the

Yaowangshan shike chongkan jilüe, 30. ‘Bei Wei Cui Yonggao deng heyi sanshiliuren zaoliangji’ 北魏崔永高等合邑三十六人造像記 [Record of Building a Statue by Thirty-six People of the *Yi* led by Cui Yonggao in the Northern Wei], in *ZLST* vol. 4: 145.

¹⁰⁹ *ZLST* vol. 8: 2; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 343–344.

¹¹⁰ Mizuno & Nagahiro, *Kanan Rakuyō Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 294.

¹¹¹ *Jinshi cuibian* 34.7; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 345–346; *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, 3878.

‘Dongwei yizhu Zhu Yonglong Tang Feng qishi ren zaoxiang ji’ 東魏邑主朱永隆、唐豐七十人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the Seventy People, *Yi* Chief Zhu Yonglong, Tang Feng, in the Eastern Wei], where although *yi* masters Senghui 僧惠 and Fahe 法合 have their names inscribed first, and are even mentioned in the main text of the record of image construction, it still later states: ‘the head of the *yi* Zhu Yonglong 朱永隆, Tang Feng 唐豐, and others, seventy people overall, all encouraged one another to uphold the *yi* organization’ (邑主朱永隆、唐豐七十人等, 普相率勵, 敦崇邑義),¹¹² which shows that the actual organiser of this *yiyi* was the *yi* chief. In the ‘Beiqi Zaisunsi zaoxiang ji’ 北齊在孫寺造像記 [Record of Image Construction at Zaisun Monastery, in the Northern Qi] the names of three *yi* masters are also inscribed in the most prominent position, but in the body text of the record of image construction it only mentions provincial *yi* chiefs Zhang Yingzu 張暎族 and Xue Jinglüe 薛景略,¹¹³ and does not have any *yi* masters, demonstrating that the provincial *yi* chief represents this *yiyi* rather than the *yi* master. In some *yiyi* the *yi* master is even listed after other leaders in the inscribed names, with the aforementioned ‘Dongwei jiaohuazhu Wang Fanglüe zaoxiang ji’ as just such a case example.

In the past, most scholars have considered that the formation and development of Buddhist organisations during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties such as *yiyi* were the result of the guidance and encouragement of *yi* masters.¹¹⁴ This exaggerates the role of *yi* masters, whether intentionally or not. The source materials cited above show that although the status of *yi* masters in *yiyi* was high, their roles within different *yiyi* were not at all the same. Among these, *yi* masters in some *yiyi* were not the instigators and organisers of those *yiyi*. Even more importantly, *yi* masters were no more than a group of monks and nuns within *yiyi*. According to the statistics of ‘Table 2’, *yiyi* that had *yi* masters were approximately just 30% of those *yiyi* that included monks and nuns, which is to say, many

¹¹² ZLST vol. 6: 124; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 268–269.

¹¹³ *Jinshi cuibian* 33.8–9; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 333.

¹¹⁴ See relevant works of scholars mentioned in notes above.

monastics that participated in *yiyi* activities were not called *yi* masters at all. These *yiyi* clergy members who were not *yi* masters can in general be divided into the followed three circumstances.

The first kind is when they acted as a member of an *yiyi*, participating in *yiyi* as a donor. For example, in the inscribed names of the ‘Beizhou *yiyi* Guo Xing deng heyi zaoliang ji’ 北周邑子郭興等合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction of *Yi* Member Guo Xing and Others, in the Northern Zhou], there is a member given as an ‘*yi* member *bhikṣu*’ 邑子比丘.¹¹⁵ There are also many other *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣunīs* that although they do not have the two characters ‘*yi* member’ before their names, their status within the *yiyi* is just that of a regular member. For example, the names in the previously mentioned ‘Beiqi yizhu Yun chanshi deng heyi zao Amituo yuxiang ji’ have *yi* chief Meditation Master Yun and master of the meditation chamber Meditation Master Yin 因禪師 as figures of high status. But after this there are another 12 *bhikṣus* and 14 *bhikṣunīs*¹¹⁶ that are given together with *yi* members, and these 26 monastics have the same status as the other *yi* members. Another example is the records found in the ‘Beiwei daosu fayi xiongdi jiemei yibai ren zao Mile xiang ji’ 北魏道俗法義兄弟姊妹一百人造彌勒像記 [Record of Construction of an Image of Maitreya by One Hundred Monastic and Lay Brothers and Sisters, in the Northern Wei], in which the monastery chief Daochong 道充 of the <lacuna>fu Monastery 福寺, was the instigator and organiser of this *yiyi*. In the inscribed names, apart from Daochong himself, there are a further 14 *bhikṣus* from <lacuna>fu Monastery.¹¹⁷ Given that this *yiyi* is named as a monastic and lay *fayi* (dharma pact), these 14 *bhikṣus* are of course just members of this *fayi*. For organisations such as this kind of *yiyi* comprised mainly of monastics from a single monastery, or *yiyi* that have larger numbers of monastics in them, ordinary monks and nuns were only able to be part of them in the capacity of regular *yiyi* members. There are over 20 other such sources of this type, that we shall not cite in full here.

¹¹⁵ ZLST vol. 8: 162.

¹¹⁶ ZLST vol. 8: 43–45; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 348–349.

¹¹⁷ ZLST vol. 4: 171; *Baqiongsbi jinsbi buzhen* 16.91.

The second kind is where although they are not called *Yi* masters, they still have leadership responsibilities within the *Yiyi*, and many of them are the person in charge of it. The above mentioned *Yi* chief Meditation Master Yun is just such an example. Another example is *weinuo* Tanyuan 曇淵 and *weinuo* Huiping 惠平 in the ‘Beiqi biqu duweinuo Tanyuan deng daosu *yiyi* bashiwu ren zaoxiang ji’ 北齊比丘都維那曇淵等道俗邑義八十五人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the Eighty-Five Monastic and Lay *Yiyi* Members, *Bhikṣu* Provincial Weinuo Tanyuan and Others, in the Northern Qi], who are both monastics of Shitong Monastery 石同寺 and also leaders of this *yiyi*,¹¹⁸ therefore they are the main people responsible for it. In the ‘Beiqi Huishuang deng heyi zao Shijia xiang ji’ 北齊慧雙等合邑造釋迦像記 [Record of Construction of a Śākyamuni Image by the *Heyi* of Huishuang and Others, in the Northern Qi], the *weinuo* and *Yi* chief are both *bhikṣus*.¹¹⁹ According to the sources collected by the author, there are quite a few examples of *yiyi* that have *bhikṣus* and *bhikṣunīs* taking on leadership responsibilities like this.

The third kind is neither called an *yi* master, nor has any official leadership title, but they are still the organiser of the *yiyi*. The above example of *yi* chief Daocheng is exactly such an example of this. Another example is in the ‘Beiqi Daozheng deng *yiyi* sishi ren zaoxiang ji’ 北齊道政等邑義四十人造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Yiyi* of Forty People, Daozheng and Others, in the Northern Qi], in which the *yiyi* was formed on the exhortation of *Bhikṣu* Daozheng.¹²⁰ The *yiyi* recorded in the ‘Beiqi heyi xiuta zaoxiang bei bing liangce’ 北齊合邑修塔造像碑並兩側 [Stele and Two Sides of a *Heyi* Pagoda Renovation and Image Construction, in the Northern Qi] was the result of the monk Jingming’s 靜明 ‘exhortations in the east and west’ 東西勸化.¹²¹

Because *yiyi* are Buddhist organisations that start from the

¹¹⁸ ZLST vol. 7: 62; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsōhen*, 321–322.

¹¹⁹ ZLST vol. 5: 139.

¹²⁰ ZLST vol. 7: 138–139.

¹²¹ ZLST vol. 7: 66; *Baqiongshi jinshi buzhen* 21.126; *Jinshi cuibian xubian buzhen*, fasc. 2; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsōhen*, 322–323.

common populace themselves, and are not systematic and standardised Buddhist grassroots groups, and also considering that they were popular for a long period of time and broadly found over a wide area, the names and distribution of the official titles of their leadership has therefore great scope for individual flexibility. We can see from ‘Table 2’ that the official title of *yi* master does not appear with a particularly high frequency in *yiyi*, which reflects that it was not broadly popular in them. Perhaps in some specific time and specific place the official title of *yi* master was more popular, but at other times and places the name *yi* master was unknown. This is probably the reason why the monastery chief and other monastics at the aforementioned <lacuna>fu Monastery were not called *yi* masters, even though they did in fact have the same roles as *yi* masters.

I.2.5. Image patron (*xiangzhu* 像主), pagoda patron (*tazhu* 塔主), and others

In ‘Table 2’ there are over 100 official titles from image patron to great image patron, which are names established by Buddhism for those who make merit by contributing finances, and are merit patrons within *yiyi*. In many situations these official titles are not the leaders of *yiyi*, but are merely indicators that *yiyi* members have given funds for constructing images, building pagodas, and other such Buddhist activities. In order to encourage *yiyi* members to contribute more funds when undertaking Buddhist events, some *yiyi* would have regulations under which if one contributed more than regular *yiyi* members they could become merit patrons such as various kinds of image patrons and so forth.

There is evidence of this, for example, on the back of the above-mentioned ‘Beiqi Dong Hongda deng heyi zaoxiang ji’, which states: ‘On the second year of Wuping era (571), the eleventh month, and the twenty seventh day, five hundred cash of money was used to buy the right to be inscribed as the chief patron of a stone image, Dong Fu’en’ (already quoted above). However, there are also merit patrons in some *yiyi*, image patrons and pagoda patrons in particular, who in fact are the instigators and organisers of the *yiyi*, such as in the previously cited ‘Beiwei Han Xianzu deng zaotaxiang ji’. Another

case is that of the ‘Beiwei xiangzhu Su Huren heyi shijiu ren zao Shijia xiang ji’ 北魏像主蘇胡仁合邑十九人造釋迦像記 [Record of Construction of a Śākyamuni Image by the *Heyi* of Nineteen People, Image Patron Su Huren, in the Northern Wei], which briefly states: ‘On the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the sixth year of Zhengguang 正光 era (Zhengguang 6.8.15=September 17, 525), which is a *yisi* 乙巳 year, the Image patron, Su Huren 蘇胡仁, together with nineteen people of the *Yi*, made a statue of Śākyamuni’ (正光六年, 歲次乙巳, 八月十五日, 像主蘇胡仁合邑十九人造釋加 [=迦] 一區 [=軀]). The names inscribed on the back of the stone image also have Su Huren 蘇胡仁 at the start, followed by the *yi* members,¹²² which informs us that Su Huren is in charge of this *yiyi*. Yet another example, the ‘Beiwei *yiyi* sishi ren zao Xumi xiang ji’ 北魏邑義四十人造須彌像記 [Record of Construction of a Sumeru Image by the *Yiyi* of Forty People, in the Northern Wei], also has an image patron as its leader.¹²³

I.2.6. *Zhai* patron (*zhai zhu* 齋主), officer for incense and candles (*xianghuo* 香火), seating regulator (*dianzuo* 典坐) and recording regulator (*dianlu* 典錄)

Because some *yiyi* would also engage in *zhai* events after finishing construction of the image or during its construction, some of them would have the position of a *zhai* patron. *Zhai* patrons in the period of the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties would usually be responsible for all the expenses of holding a *zhai* gathering, and as such *zhai* patrons are in fact also merit sponsors. Whether or not *yiyi zhai* patrons were responsible for the same things as *zhai* patrons in society in general is difficult to answer due to the paucity of our source materials. However, the position of *sishe* 私社 *zhai* patron in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods was held in rotation

¹²² ZLST vol. 4: 185; *Baqionshi jinshi buzhen* 13.76; Mizuno & Nagahiro, *Kanan Rakuyou Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 275; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōshōhen*, 227.

¹²³ ZLST vol. 5: 31.

by *she* members. Whatever was required for the *zhai* gathering was taken care of by dividing it up between *she* members, and the *zhai* patron would only be responsible for the incense, flowers, and offerings of food to the Buddha.¹²⁴

An officer for incense and candles was required when setting up a *zhai* or undertaking some other Buddhist ritual, and so some *yiyi* would have the position of officer for incense and candles. This position originated in the officer for incense and candles in monasteries and temples. During the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods the role of the officer for incense and candles was to be responsible for burning incense, lighting candles, and related tasks. They were essential assistants for Dharma masters when the latter would lecture on the *sūtras*.¹²⁵ Officers for incense and candles within *yiyi* would also be responsible for all tasks related to incense and candles when the *yiyi* would engage in Buddhist activities. Within those *yiyi* that had officers for incense and candles, we can also often see the two official titles of *dianzuo* 典坐 (seating regulator) and *dianlu* 典錄 (recording regulator). What these positions were responsible for is not entirely clear, but they may have been for situations such as maintaining discipline, arranging seating, recording members' participation in events, and other such tasks.

I.2.7. *Yi* rectifier (*yi zhongzheng* 邑中正), *Yi* rector (*yizheng* 邑正), *Yi* head (*yizhang* 邑長), secretary (*lusbi* 錄事), *Yi* elder (*yilao* 邑老)

The *yi* rectifier (*yi zhongzheng* 邑中正, or *yi zhongzheng* 邑忠正) originates from an official in the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties who is responsible for selecting the officials. In some *yiyi* they are directly called a 'rectifier' (*zhongzheng* 中正, or 忠正 *zhongzheng*). The *yi* rector (*yizheng* 邑正, or *yizheng* 邑政) is a shortened form for the *yi* rectifier. According to our present sources, the

¹²⁴ See relevant discussion and note 42 in Hao, *Zhonggu shiqi sheyi yanjiu*, chap. 1.

¹²⁵ Hao, 'Shi "xianghuo"'.

status of *yi* rectifiers and *yi* rector within *yiyi* was usually not very high. Under many circumstances this kind of official title was only one of over dozens of official titles within *yiyi*, and moreover was not the most important leader. For example, in the names for leaders in the previously cited ‘Beiwei yishi Huigan yizhu Zhao Ahuan deng saren zao Mile xiang ji’,¹²⁶ the *yi* rector was placed after the *yi* master, *yi* chief, consecration patron (*guangming zhu* 光明主), provincial *weinuo*, and *weinuo*. From the main text of this record of image construction we know that the main person responsible for this *yiyi* was the *yi* chief Zhao Ahuan, while the *yi* master was a director, and deputy leaders assisting the *yi* chief included the provincial *weinuo* and *weinuo*. Placed at the very end was the *yi* rector, who had a status lower than that of all the other official titles, and their function may have just been in name only. In *yiyi* that had *yi* rectifiers or *yi* rector, many of the circumstances are similar to the above. However, in some *yiyi*, it was possible that *yi* rectifiers or *yi* rector took up leadership responsibilities. For example, in the ‘Beiqi yishi Sengbao deng heyi nian’er ren zao shixiang ji’ 北齊邑師僧寶等合邑廿二人造石像記 [Record for the Construction of a Stone Image by the *Heyi* of Twenty-Two People, *Yi* Master Sengbao and Others, in the Northern Qi], although the *yi* rectifier Gong She 鞏舍 has their names inscribed after the *yi* master, in the main text of the record of image construction it states: ‘Gong She, together with twelve people from the *yi*, created a stone statue’ (鞏舍合邑廿二人等, 敬造石像一區 [=軀]).¹²⁷ Given that this record of image construction takes the *yi* rectifier as the representative of this *yiyi*, we can see that he was the person in charge of this *yiyi*. However, there are not many actual examples such as this.

The title *yi* head (*yizhang* 邑長) has its origins in the three heads of the Northern Wei, i.e. the neighbourhood head (*linzhang* 鄰長),

¹²⁶ *Jinshi cuibian* 28.7; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 217; Mizuno & Nagahiro, *Kanan Rakuyou Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 307.

¹²⁷ *ZLST* vol. 8: 66; *Baqiongsi jinshi buzheng* 20.125; Mizuno & Nagahiro, *Kanan Rakuyou Ryūmon sekkutu no kankyū*, 277; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 310.

village head (*lizhang* 里長), and ward head (*dangzhang* 黨長). This official title appeared rather late within *yiyi*, and was most popular in the administrative regions of the Western Wei and Northern Zhou. Within our present sources for *yiyi*, there are only six sources that concern *yi* heads, showing us that this official title was not broadly prevalent within *yiyi*. From these sources that touch upon *yi* heads, the status and role of *yi* heads within *yiyi* was not much different from the *yi* rectifier, and was usually just one of many official titles.¹²⁸

The title *yi* elder comes from the ‘three elders’ (*sanlao* 三老) of towns and villages, and often appears in the same line as leaders within the inscribed names of *yiyi* records of image construction. It may be an honorific for those elders of seniority and prestige within the *yiyi*, rather than being someone who is responsible for some actual matters or tasks. The title secretary (*lushi* 錄事) should have its origins in government secretaries. There is only one source material that mentions this position,¹²⁹ and its responsibility may have been to manage documents, praising the good behaviours and criticising the bad ones.

The above survey demonstrates that the official titles for leadership in *yiyi* from the Eastern Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties period largely originated in names for monastic officials. Not only were these official titles dominant in quantifiable terms, they also held superior positions in terms of their statuses and roles within the *yiyi*. Those official titles within *yiyi* that originated in

¹²⁸ ‘Bei Zhou yizhu Zhao Fuluo deng zao Guanshiyinxiang ji’ 北周邑主趙富洛等造觀世音像記 [Record of Building an Avalokitesvara Statue by Yi Chief Zhao Fuluo and others in the Northern Zhou], in *ZLST* vol. 8: 147; and in Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsōhen*, 372. ‘Bei Zhou Yan Nami deng heyi zaoxiangji’ 北周顏那米等合邑造像記 [Record of Building a Statue by the Yi of Yan Nami and Others in the Northern Zhou], in *Jinshi cuibian* 37.4–5; and in *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen*, p. 3989; and in Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsōhen*, 370–372.

¹²⁹ ‘Bei Zhou Leishi heyi zaoxiangji’ 北周雷氏合邑造像記 [Record of Building a Statue by the Yi of the Lei Family in the Northern Zhou], in *ZLST* vol. 8: 101–103.

names for secular officials were not only in the minority, with less popularity, and without great influence, their statuses within *yiyi* were also not as high. This obliquely reflects that *yiyi* were Buddhist groups, organisations on the periphery of Buddhist monasteries and temples.

1.3. The Nature of *Yiyi* and Their Relationship with Buddhism

Yiyi as peripheral organisations to Buddhist monasteries acted as important social foundations for the very existence and development of Buddhism. Buddhist monasteries typically utilised eminent and famous monastics who were welcomed by all strata of society as a means to organise, control, and use *yiyi*, such as the previously mentioned cases involving Huiyuan, Fazhen, Chaojin, and others. Examples include the *fayi* in ‘Beiwei Daochong deng fayi xiondi jiemei yibai ren zao Mile xiang ji’, which was formed under monastery chief Daochong’s ‘guiding exhortation’ 率化.¹³⁰ We have also cited the *yiyi* records of the ‘Beiqi heyi xiuta zaoxiang bei bing liangce’, which was the result of the monk Jingming’s ‘exhortations in the east and west’ (東西勸化).¹³¹ There are also some other similar source materials. These eminent and famous monastics used their own influence to form groups of monastics and laity around themselves, organising them through ‘oaths of incense and candles’ similar to those used in making pacts, and leading them in engaging in Buddhist activities such as constructing images. The members of these *yiyi* also become the foundational devotees at the monasteries of these very same eminent and famous monastics.

There were also some *yiyi* that were formed under the influence of such-and-such monastery. These *yiyi* and monasteries usually had a very close relationship, and they were at times known as the *yiyi* of that monastery. Examples are seen in the ‘Beiqi Jianchong si yizhu Xiahou Xianmu deng heyi zao Simian xiang ji’ 北齊建崇寺邑

¹³⁰ *Baqiongshi jinshi buzhen* 16.91.

¹³¹ *ZLST* vol. 7: 66; *Baqiongshi jinshi buzhen* 21.126; *Jinshi cuibian xubian buzhen*, fasc. 2; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsōhen*, 322–323.

主夏侯顯穆等合邑造四面像記 [Record of Construction of a Four-Faced Image by the *Heyi* of *Yi* Chief Xiahou Xianmu and Others of Jianchong Monastery, in the Northern Qi],¹³² and the ‘Dongwei Fengle Qidi ersi yiyi rendeng zaoliang ji’ 東魏豐樂、七帝二寺邑義人等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the *Yiyi* Members and Others of the two monasteries of Fengle and Qidi, in the Eastern Wei],¹³³ and others. These *yiyi* that were formed under the influence of such-and-such monastery, or eminent or famous monastics, were usually centred around the monastery itself, and the monk or nun residents at that monastery were *yiyi* members. For example, in the inscribed names of the ‘Beiqi Yin Gong’an deng heyi zaoliang ji’ there are 35 *bhikṣus*;¹³⁴ in the ‘Beiqi biquni Sengyan deng heyi zaoliang ji’ 北齊比丘尼僧嚴等合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction of the *Heyi* of *Bhikṣunī* Sengyan and Others, in the Northern Qi] there are the names of 11 *bhikṣunīs*;¹³⁵ the ‘Beiqi heyi wushi ren zao shixiang ming’ 北齊合邑五十人造石像銘 [Inscription of Construction of a Stone Image by the *Heyi* of Fifty People in the Northern Qi] has the names of 16 monks,¹³⁶ and so on. At times the monks and nuns comprised the majority of an *yiyi*’s membership, such as in the ‘Beiqi biqiu Huijiao deng daosu yiyi bashiwu ren zaoliang ji’ 北齊比丘惠教等道俗邑義八十五人造像記 [Record of Image Construction of the Eighty-Five Monastic and Lay *Yiyi* Members, *Bhikṣu* Huijiao and Others, in the Northern Qi], where 79 members are monks from Shitong Monastery 石同寺 and only the remaining six are laity.¹³⁷

According to the incomplete statistics in ‘Table 1’, approximately 84% of *yiyi* have monastics. Although the monastics within these *yiyi* are not necessarily the instigators and organisers of those *yiyi* (many of them are just regular *yiyi* members), if we consider this in

¹³² Han, ‘Anhui Boxian Xianpingsi faxian Bei Qi shike zaoliangbei’, 57.

¹³³ *ZLST* vol. 6: 141.

¹³⁴ *ZLST* vol. 7: 189.

¹³⁵ *ZLST* vol. 7: 22.

¹³⁶ *ZLST* vol. 8: 76.

¹³⁷ *ZLST* vol. 7: 62.

the light of the above material, it seems that we can consider that the majority of *yiyi* were formed under the influence of monasteries or monastics.

Of course, as described above, there was also a portion of *yiyi* that did not have any monastics (about 15%). Although they were possibly not formed under the influence of monasteries or monastics, but the influence of Buddhist culture still did affect their formation, and they were still peripheral organisations to the Buddhist community.

In particular, those *yiyi* which were organised under the influence of monasteries and monastics were at times the source of those monasteries' finances and workforces. For example, the 'Dongwei Senghui deng zao Tiangong xiang ji' 東魏僧惠等造天宮像記 [Record of Construction of a Heavenly Palace Image by Senghui and Others in the Eastern Wei] records that seventy people, *yi* chief Zhu Yonglong 朱永隆, Tang Feng 唐豐, and others, gave funds to support such-and-such monastery to construct an image of the heavenly palace.¹³⁸ The 'Beiqi Han Shan'gang deng fayi zaoxiang bei' 北齊韓山剛等法義造像碑 [Stele for Image Construction of the *Fayi* of Han Shan'gang and Others in the Northern Qi] records that the location where they constructed the image was at Chongxiu Monastery 崇修寺.¹³⁹ Above we have mentioned that the stone image constructed by the *Heyi* of *yi* chief Xiahou Xianmu and others from Jianchong Monastery in the Northern Qi should also have been carried out at Jianchong Monastery. There were also some *yiyi* that participated in activities for the building of monasteries, such as the 'Dongwei lishi heyi baiyu ren zaoxiang bei', in which it states that they built a monastery in a village.¹⁴⁰ Chanjing Monastery 禪靜寺 in the Eastern Wei was also renovated with finances collected by an *yiyi*, and the *yiyi* members also donated 100 *mu* 畝 of land to the monastery.¹⁴¹ Zhongxing Monastery 中興寺 in the Western Wei was also built by an *yiyi*, which

¹³⁸ *ZLST* vol. 6: 124.

¹³⁹ *ZLST* vol. 7: 14.

¹⁴⁰ Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 260–261.

¹⁴¹ *ZLST* vol. 6: 71–72.

donated 284 *mu* of land.¹⁴² However, looking at this in its entirety, it is not that obvious that *yiyi* during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties acted as Buddhist monasteries' sources for finances and glory. Most *yiyi* were formed with the intention of devotees constructing images, building pagodas, and other such meritorious activities.

In general, *yiyi* members participated voluntarily in building monasteries, constructing images for monasteries, or donating land or other items to monasteries. During the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods, with the historical background of frequent warfare, the common folk (an occasionally the upper classes) who bore the brunt of the sufferings of such wars were unable to control their own fates. They took faith in Buddhism and joined *yiyi* in the hope of securing the Buddhas' protection, with the prayer of liberation in a future life. Participation in image construction, building monasteries, and other Buddhist events naturally required the expenditure of wealth, but it also enabled their distressed hearts and minds to attain some temporary consolation. However, at times ordinary common folks' participation in donations to monasteries and attendance at Buddhist activities was not voluntarily. At times, the monasteries and their monastics created some mythological stories to frighten those people who are not willing to donate funds. For example, the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 [Record of Monasteries in Luoyang] records the following story:

Hou Qing 侯慶, a native of Nanyang, had a bronze image of Buddha that was more than one *zhang* high. He was the owner of an ox that he wanted to sell, in order to use the [acquired] money for gold-leafing or parcel-gilding. Because of an emergency, he sold the ox for other purposes. Two years later, [Hou] Jing's wife, *née* Ma 馬氏, suddenly dreamed of the image, which told her: 'You and your husband have owed me a gilding for so long without [my demanding] recompense. Now I am taking your son, [Hou] Chouduo [侯醜多, as compensation for [your failure to] gild [me]'. When the

¹⁴² Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 286–288.

woman of the Ma clan woke up, she was ill at ease. At dawn, [Hou] Chouduo fell ill and died. [Hou] Jing was [then] fifty years old, and he had only this son. The mourning voices moved even the passers-by. On the day of [Hou] Chouduo's death, the image itself turned gold; its light shone on neighboring [houses] in all four directions, and those who lived in the same ward all smelled something fragrant. Young and old, Buddhist devotees and laymen alike, all came to take a look. 南陽人侯慶有銅像一區(軀),可高丈餘。慶有牛一頭,擬貨為金色。遇急事遂以牛他用之。經二年,慶妻馬氏忽夢此像謂之曰:‘卿夫婦負我金色,久而不償,今取卿兒醜多以償金色焉’。悟覺,心不惶安。至曉,醜多得病而亡。慶年五十,唯一子,悲哀之聲,感於行路。醜多亡日,像自然金色,光照四鄰。一里之內,咸聞香氣,僧俗長幼,皆來觀睹。¹⁴³

Some monastics also used the pretence of constructing Buddhist images to plunder others' wealth. The *Luoyang qielan ji* also records a story in which a *bhikṣu* dies and is returned to life. In the process this monk had seen King Yama 閻羅王, who had criticised some monks: 'You made copies of *sūtras* and duplications of Buddhist images, but your real purpose was to acquire money and things from others. Once you have acquired what you want you will grow greedier, and when you are greedier you will not be free from the three poisons' (雖造作經像,正欲得它人財物;既得它物,貪心即起;既懷貪心,便是三毒不除).¹⁴⁴ This story is itself absurd, a creation by Buddhists themselves who wished to criticise those from different sects or schools. However, the events described in the story were indeed commonly found at the time. As such, after learning of these matters, the authorities of the Northern Wei undertook a survey, after which 'an imperial rescript was issued to prohibit monks from begging [for food and money] on the street while holding Buddhist images and sutras in hand. Those who used

¹⁴³ Fan, colla. & annot., *Luoyang qielan ji* 4.205–206. English translation adapted from Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*, 189–190.

¹⁴⁴ Fan, colla. & annot., *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.80; English translation adapted from Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*, 74.

their own money to reproduce sutras or duplicate images, however, were free to do so' (不聽持經象沿路乞索, 若私用財物造經象者任意).¹⁴⁵ Within this kind of social atmosphere, it is hard to claim that *yiyi* members joined *yiyi* and participated in Buddhist activities entirely of their own free will.

The amount of funds that an *yiyi* member was required to pay to participate in a single image construction event would differ each time depending on the image itself and the number of *yiyi* members participating. The author has seen one source that has been previously mentioned, in which it required 500 *wen* 文 (cash) if one wished to be a provincial stone image patron (都石像主). The 'Beiwei Cui Qin zaoxiang ji' 北魏崔勲造像記 [Record of Image Construction of Cui Qin, in the Northern Wei], states: 'The twenty five brothers of the Dharma pact, each with 100 cash coins, coated the Buddha in gold color' (法儀 [=義] 兄弟廿五人, 各錢一百, 裁佛金色).¹⁴⁶ Here, others constructed the image and the *Yiyi* was responsible for covering it in gold leaf, which cost less than making the image itself. In the 'Beiqi Zhang Longbo xiongdi deng heyi zao shixiang ji' 北齊張龍伯兄弟等合邑造石像記 [Record of Construction of a Stone Image by the *Heyi* of Zhang Longbo and Brothers, in the Northern Qi] has: 'He had an ox and vowed to make statues. Now he has accomplished this' (有牛一頭, 願造像, 今得成就).¹⁴⁷ In general, when *yiyi* members participated in a single image construction event, it costs about 300 or 400 *wen*. In the Northern and Southern Dynasties period one might earn around 30 *qian* 錢 (cash) for manual labourers per day.¹⁴⁸ As such, the financial burden of a single image construction event cannot be considered light.

Yiyi and their members would often become props for secular authorities and wealthy powerful households. This aspect is seen

¹⁴⁵ Fan, colla. & annot., *Luoyang qielan ji jiaozhu*, p. 81. English adapted translation from Wang, trans., *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-Yang*, 74.

¹⁴⁶ *Baqionshi jinshi buzheng* 15.86.

¹⁴⁷ *ZLST* vol. 7: 6.

¹⁴⁸ See entry of 'jiusangbuzang' 久喪不葬 [Long Mourning without Burial], in Zhou, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi zhaji*, 189–190.

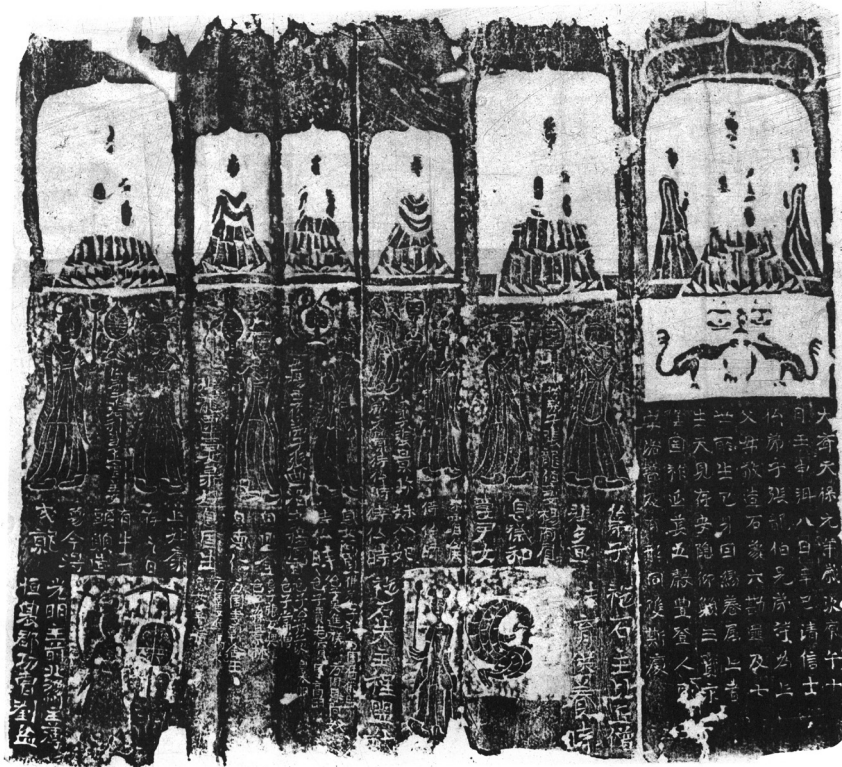


FIG. 4 'Beiqi Zhang Longbo xiongdi deng heyi zao shixiang ji' 北齊張龍伯兄弟等合邑造石像記; from *ZLST* vol. 7: 6

when the wealthy and officials who were members of *yiyi* would commonly use their status and wealth to influence the *yiyi*, manipulating the activities of the *yiyi* for their own benefit. They would often use the formation of *yiyi* that undertook construction of images to erect monuments for themselves and pass on their legacies. For example, in the 'Yang Dayan zaoxiang ji' 楊大眼造像記 [Record of Image Construction for Yang Dayan], although the title indicates an image for the *yi* members, the first line is in fact: 'Record of the head of the *yi*, Yang Dayan 楊大眼 (?–518) of Chouchi, building statues for the Xiaowen (...) Emperor' (邑主仇池楊大眼為孝文.....皇帝造像記), which seems as though this image was constructed by one

person (Yang Dayan) alone, a bulwark general of the state (輔國將軍), the great rectifier (大中正) of Liangzhou 梁州, and the writing on the back is adulation of him.¹⁴⁹ This kind of image construction activity which pandered to the emperor and also extolled their own virtues can be said to be for fame and profit.

Another example is the ‘Dongwei Ningchan si Sanji futu song bei bing liangce’ 東魏凝禪寺三級浮圖頌碑並兩側 [Stele and Two Sides of Verses to the Three-storied Pagoda at Ningchan Monastery 凝禪寺, in the Eastern Wei], the text of which describes the layman Zhao Rong 趙融, who, as a descendent of officials (one being a regional inspector [*zhou cishi* 州刺史]), organised 2,000 people into an *yiyi* in order to construct a three-storied pagoda (*sanji futu* 三級浮圖) at Ningchan Monastery. Despite this situation, the main text of the stele actually describes the ancestors of Zhao Rong, and lauds his virtues: ‘resting his mind on literature and history’ (棲心文史), ‘not peeking at the door of wealthy, not stepping into the households of the gentry’ (不窺玉帛之門, 不踐縉紳之戶)¹⁵⁰

One more yet example is in the ‘Dongwei Chanjing si chaqian ming’ 東魏禪靜寺刹前銘, which should describe the renovation of Chanjing Monastery by the *yiyi* formed by Xian Jun 顯儁, who was a great calvary general (*piaoqi da jiangjun* 驃騎大將軍) and regional inspector (*cishi* 刺史) of Yingzhou 潁州 during the Eastern Wei. However, most of the text in fact discusses the previous ancestors of Xian Jun and his political achievements throughout his life. In short, we can say that this is a biographical record of one person, namely, Xian Jun.¹⁵¹

Some wealthy people instigated *yiyi* with the aim of benefitting themselves. In the records of the ‘Beiqi Zhou Shuangren deng heyi zaoliang ji’ 北齊周雙仁等合邑造像記 [Record of Image Construction by the Heyi of Zhou Shuangren and Others, in the Northern Qi], Zhou Shuangren 周雙仁, the wife of Wen Haizhen 文海珍, who was a frontier-pacifying general (*ningyuan jiangjun* 寧遠將軍) and

¹⁴⁹ *ZLST* vol. 3: 71.

¹⁵⁰ *Baqionshi jinshi buzhen* 18.105.

¹⁵¹ *ZLST* vol. 6: 71–72.

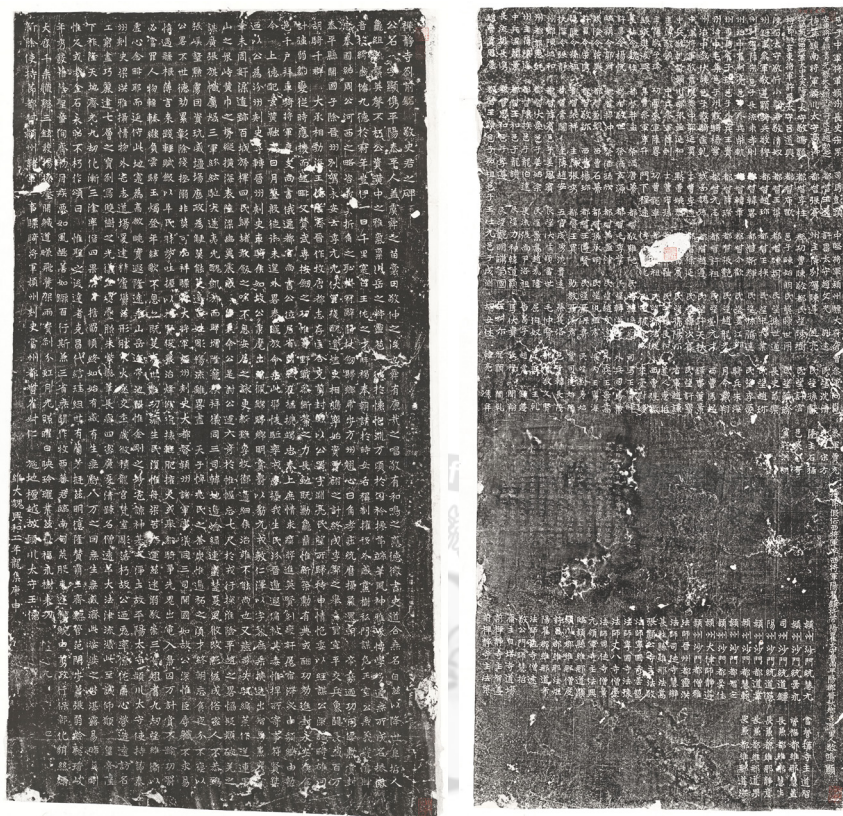


FIG. 5 'Dongwei Chanjing si chaqian ming' 東魏禪靜寺刹前銘; courtesy of National Library of China (中國國家圖書館藏品)

former clerk (*lingshi* 令史) for the ministry of personnel (*shibu* 吏部), wanted to seek blessings for her deceased husband and so built a stone image of the Buddha. Because ‘her own power alone was not enough to accomplish this’ (力不獨濟) she started a *heyi* of 71 people through ‘frequent encouragement’ 勸率 to construct the image together. In the end, the record for the image construction became a record of Zhou Shuangren’s merit in seeking blessings for her deceased husband.¹⁵²

There were also some local officials that originally were not *yiyi* members who insisted that their names appear with the stone images constructed by *yiyi*. For example, in the ‘Beiwei Liu Gen deng fayi sishiyi ren zao sanji zhuan futu ji’ 北魏劉根等法義四十一人造三級磚浮圖記 [Record of Construction of a Three-storied Brick Pagoda by the *Fayi* of Forty-One People, Liu Gen and Others, in the Northern Wei], before the names of the *fayi* members there is written:

The Palace Attendant (*shizhong* 侍中), Great General of Chariot and Cavalry (*cheqi dajiangjun* 車騎大將軍), Unequaled in Honor (*yitong sansi* 儀同三司), General of the Right Guard (*youwei jiangjun* 右衛將軍), Palace Commandant of Censors (*yushi zhongwei* 御史中尉), [General-in-chief of] the Left and Right Guard (*ling zuoyou* 領左右), the Dynasty Founding Duke of the Wuyang County (*Wuyang xian kaiguo gong* 武陽縣開國公), Hou Gang 侯剛; the General of the Front (*qian jiangjun* 前將軍), the General of the Military Guard (*wuwei jiangjun* 武衛將軍), who acted as (*ling* 領) the Director of the Espionage Bureau (*xizuo ling* 細作令), the State-pacifying Earl (*ningguo bo* 寧國伯), Qifu Bao 乞伏寶¹⁵³; the General of the Military Guard, the Chief General (*dujiang* 都將) of Jingming Monastery 景明寺, Yuan Yan 元衍 (d.u.); Army Commander General (*Guanjun jiangjun* 冠軍將軍), Grand Master of Palace Leisure (*Zhongsan dafu* 中散大夫), Hualin Capital General (*Hualin dujiang* 華林都將), Defender in Chief of the Left Guard

¹⁵² Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 326–327.

¹⁵³ This Qifu Bao 乞伏寶 must be Qifu Bao 乞伏保 (?-532) who has a biography at *Wei shu* 86.1883.

(*Zuwei sima* 左衛司馬), Meng Yong 孟永. 侍中、車騎大將軍、儀同三司、右衛將軍、御史中尉、領左右、武陽縣開國公侯剛; 前將軍、武衛將軍、領細作令、寧國伯乞伏寶; 武衛將軍、景明寺都將元衍, 冠軍將軍、中散大夫、華林都將、領左衛司馬孟永 ...¹⁵⁴

According to the usual format of inscribing the names of *yiyi* members, if these officials were members of the *yiyi* they should have *yizi* or the official *yiyi* leadership titles affixed in front of their names. Because they do not have any such titles, they should have not been members of the *fayi*. Among all the source materials I have collated concerning *yiyi*, examples such as these are not few in number.

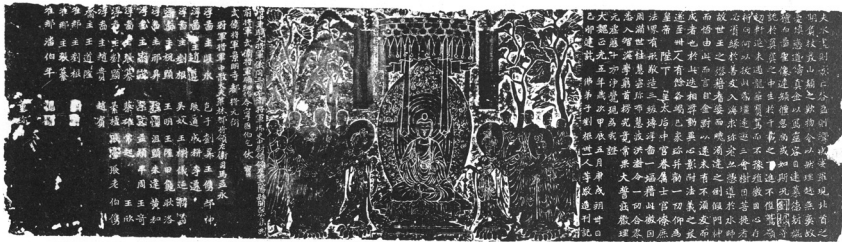


FIG. 6 'Beiwei Liu Gen deng fayi sishiyi ren zao sanji zhuang futu ji' 北魏劉根等法義四十一人造三級浮圖記; from *ZLST* vol. 4: 164

The rise and development of *yiyi* in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties was primarily the result of Buddhism swiftly filtering into all strata of secular society during this period, and at the same time was closely connected to the permissive and supportive stance of authorities of the age. Speaking in general terms, the authorities of this period took an attitude of upholding and supporting Buddhism. Although the Northern Dynasties underwent two occasions of Buddhist persecution, at the time of the Emperor Taiwu 太武帝 persecution of Buddhism during the Northern Wei, *yiyi* had not yet begun to form in the Northern Wei,

¹⁵⁴ *ZLST* vol. 4: 164.

and only the Buddhist persecution under Emperor Wu 武帝 during the Northern Zhou had any influence on *yiyi*. During other periods of time, whether in the north or the south, the authorities usually considered the propagation of Buddhism to be beneficial for social stability, and therefore permitted monasteries and monastics to form and organise *yiyi*. Many local authorities even personally participated in or even organised *yiyi*, such as the two representative examples mentioned previously, i.e. Yang Dayan, who was a bulwark general of the state and great rectifier of Liangzhou, and Xian Jun, a great calvary general and inspector of Yingzhou. The permissiveness and support of authorities advanced the development of *yiyi*. In the north, from the year 500, *yiyi* maintained momentum in their development throughout. According to the statistics of ‘Table 1’, during the over 70 years from the year 500 up to the edicts of the Buddhist persecution under Zhou Emperor Wu (in 574), every year saw *yiyi* in the north engage in the construction of images, building of pagodas, and other such activities. In particular, in areas under the rule of the Northern Qi, due to authorities’ promotion of Buddhism and support of *yiyi*, at times within a single year there were seven or eight *yiyi* that engaged in renovation or construction activities.¹⁵⁵ However, during the period of Zhou Emperor Wu’s persecution of Buddhism (from 574 to 579), we can find no source materials for *yiyi* activities in the areas under the control of the Northern Zhou. In 577 the Northern Qi was swallowed up into the Northern Zhou, and from then until 579, the original central areas of the Northern Qi displayed no further traces of any *yiyi* activities. This is sufficient to demonstrate the authorities’ attitudes toward Buddhism, which had a critically important influence upon the success and failure of *yiyi*.

¹⁵⁵ *ZLST* vol. 7: 130, 133, 137–139, 142, 144; *Jinshi cuibian*, fasc. 33; Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsoben*, 331–332.

2. Evolution of Forming of Buddhist *She* during the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties Periods

2.1. The Mutual Convergence of Two Types of Non-governmental Organisations with Different Natures, and the Changes of the Content and Aims of the Buddhist Activities They Undertook

During the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties periods, there were obvious changes in traditional *sishu* and Buddhist organisations that specialised in undertaking Buddhist activities. Among them, the change that most draws our attention is the gradual merging of these two types of non-governmental organisations. The first sign of this kind of merge is that their names slowly became mutually applicable. During the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties, the terms '*she*' and '*yi*' had entirely different connotations. The Buddhist organisations discussed above that specialised in undertaking Buddhist events were called '*yi*', '*yiyi*', '*fay*' and so on, and were certainly not called '*she*'. Those non-governmental organisations that practiced the traditional sacrifices to the two *she* in spring and autumn were called '*she*' and '*yishe*', and were definitely not known as '*yi*', '*yiyi*', or the like. There is not even a single exception to this within the nearly 250 source materials that the author has collected. However, by the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties periods, this situation has gradually changed.

Let us look at the following passages. 'On the eleventh year of Tianbao era, second month, eighth day (Tianbao 11.2.8=February 27, 752), the Wen'an Prefecture 文安郡, the official of 'stone *sūtra yi*' (*shijing yi* 石經邑) Sun Qian 孫倩, the secretary Xing Chang 邢昌, together with two hundred people from the *yi*, made eight slabs of stone scriptures' (天寶十一載二月八日, 文安郡石經邑社官孫倩、錄事刑 [=邢] 昌合邑二百人等造經八條);¹⁵⁶ and 'in the tenth year of Tianbao era, second month, eighth day (Tianbao 10.2.8=March 10,

¹⁵⁶ Beijing tushuguan jinshizu & Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan shijingzu, comps., *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian*, 94.

751), the people of the *she* of the Shijing *yi*, Wu Chongzi 武冲子, Zhao Kanju 趙堪舉, Ji Yuanli 冀元禮, together with people from the *yi*, made eight slabs of 'scriptures for offering' (天寶十載二月八日, 石經社人武冲子、趙堪舉、冀元禮合邑人等造經八條供養).¹⁵⁷

These two passages are both sources for records of construction of *sūtras* engraved on stone during the Tang Dynasty. While both are from Buddhist organisations that undertook making *sūtra* inscriptions, one of them refers to itself as a 'stone *sūtra yi*', whereas the other calls itself a 'stone *sūtra she*' (*shijing she* 石經社). The leader of the stone *sūtra yi* is called a '*she* official' (*sheguan* 社官), whereas the members of the stone *sūtra she* are called *yi* members. It is quite clear that the terms '*yi*' and '*she*' in these two source materials have identical connotations, with no distinction between them. There are many examples like this within the recorded inscriptions of the Fangshan 房山 stone *sūtras*. If one wishes to argue that reference to the stone *sūtras* of Fangshan alone is insufficient as a reflection of the situation in the whole of society, we can show some relevant records found in Dunhuang texts.

In S.527 'Xiande liunian (959) zhengyue sanri nüren she shetiao 顯德六年 (959) 正月三日女人社社條 [Articles of Association from a Women's *She*, 3rd Day of the 1st Month of the 6th Year of Xiande era (Xiande 6.zheng.3 = February 13, 959)], it states: 'It is said that when establishing the *she* with the utmost sincerity, articles and regulations will be present. The people of the *yi* organization have bodies that were born from their parents and have ideals that were influenced by their friends' (蓋聞至誠 [=誠] 立社, 有條有格. 夫邑儀 [=義] 者, 父母生其身, 朋友長其值 [=志]). This is a traditional *sishu* that has been formed by women for the purpose of funerary activities, but it calls itself a '*she*' and simultaneously an '*yiyi*'.

Another example is in P.3730 *Moujia deng jinli shetiao* 某甲等謹立社條 [Respectful Establishment of Articles of Association for So-and-So] (template), which says: 'A certain family carefully established *she* articles,... all *she* organization needs to deal with (lit. 'pursue') the auspicious (e.g., marriage) and ominous matters (e.g., funerals)

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

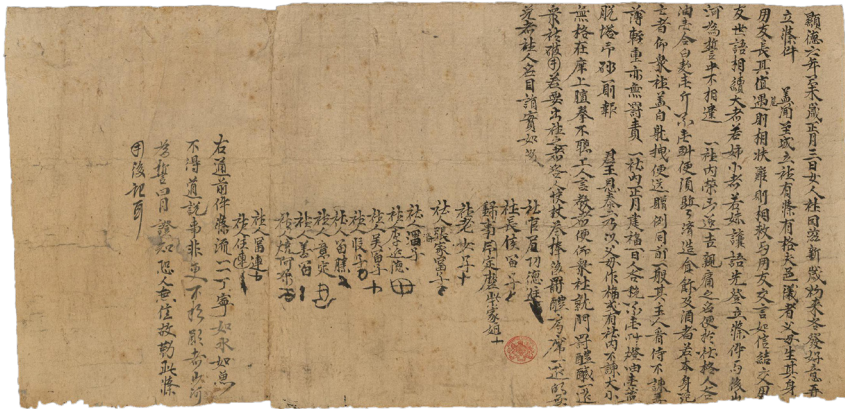


FIG. 7 S.527 'Xiande liunian (959) zhengyue sanri nüren she shetiao 顯德六年 (959) 正月三日女人社社條; courtesy of International Dunhuang Project (idp.bl.uk)

together ...all established *yiyi* requires people to be long term residents' (某家甲等謹立社條, 凡為邑義, 先須逐吉追凶. 凡為立社, 且要久居). This *she* regulation literary model also mentions the self designated name of 'yi organization', and also mentions the self designated name of '*she*'. There are also several other sources which demonstrate this same point.

Due to changes in the content of the term '*yiyi*', while we can no longer use this as a general term to refer to Buddhist organisations that specialise in undertaking Buddhist activities, by the Tang and Five Dynasties periods there is the appearance of the term '*Foshe*' 佛社 [Buddhist *She*] within Dunhuang texts,¹⁵⁸ which accurately reflects the nature of this kind of organisation. Therefore, when discussing this period, we will use the term *Foshe* to refer to *sische* that

¹⁵⁸ 卍. 10269 'Bian sumai li' 便粟麥曆 [Accounts of the Lending of Grains] includes, 'people of the *Xinfoshe* 新佛社 [new Buddhist societies] borrowed two *shi* and five *dou* of millet 新佛社人便粟兩石五斗'. *Xinfoshe* is what contemporary people called those newly-established popular Buddhist societies.

specifically undertake Buddhist events, in order to distinguish it from traditional *sishe*.

The change from 'she' and 'yi' being distinct, to there being no difference between the two, is certainly not merely a change in name alone. In fact, this is representative of the changes in the activities and nature from (*yi*)*she* (邑) 社 in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties to the (*yi*)*yi* 邑 (義) of the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties periods.

The two Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties were a period of fast development for Buddhism in China. However, the Sinification of Buddhism was not completed in this period, as its social and economic power was still insufficiently strong. Therefore, during this period, although Buddhist monasteries and monastics were able to exhort some people within their vicinities to form *yiyi*, and they already had an ongoing effect on traditional *sheyi* and other such non-governmental organisations as this article has discussed and shown, from a holistic perspective, the influence of Buddhist monasteries and monastics on traditional *sheyi* was not particularly large during the two Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties. This is reflected in the fact that source materials showing a relationship between the two are quite few, and that Buddhist organisations formed by monastic and lay Buddhist devotees, such as *yi*, *yiyi*, *fayyi* and the like, were many in number and also popular.

In the Tang and Five Dynasties, Buddhism finally completed its process of Sinification, as its political, economic, and social power continued to strengthen to a point incomparable with that of the two Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties. This provided some beneficial conditions for Buddhist monasteries and monastics in their influence on traditional *sheyi* and other such non-governmental organisations. At the same time, there were also changes in the attitudes and strategies of Buddhist monasteries and monastics toward traditional *sheyi*, as they shifted to an attitude of equal interaction and a strategy of maintaining distinctions within commonalities toward traditional culture. This brought about a gradual merging of Buddhist culture and traditional Chinese *sishe* thought and activities. The first section of this article examines that during the Tang period at the latest, there was already a considerable portion of traditional

sishe that engaged in Buddhist activities while also maintaining traditional activities such as sacrifices to the two *she* of spring and autumn, mutual economic aid, and so forth. Because traditional *sishe* organisations were strict and tight, with long ongoing histories, they therefore had a much greater role than *Foshe* in terms of Buddhism's popularity and dissemination among the general populace. Under this sort of background situation, *Foshe* slowly began to decline during the passage through the Tang and Five Dynasties periods, and their power also shrank. This is reflected in the fact that resources for this kind of organisation were much reduced when compared to the period before.

Another aspect is some *Foshe* that were influenced by traditional *sishe* that were broadly popular among the common populace and focused on activities for mutual assistance in economic and matters of daily life, also began to engage in mutual assistance for funerary services. For example, in the 'Sui Kaihuang yuannian (581) Li Achang deng nianjia zaoxiang bei' 隋開皇元年(581)李阿昌等廿家造像碑 [Stele for Image Construction by the Family of Li Achang and Twenty Others, in the 1st Year of Kaihuang (581) during the Sui], it briefly states: 'In the first year of Kaihuang era, which is a *xinchou* 辛丑 year, on the fourth month in which the first day is a *gengcheng* 庚辰 day, and on the twentieth day which is a *renyin* 壬寅 day (Kaihuang 1.4.20=June 7, 581), the Buddhist disciple Li Achang 李阿昌 and others, twenty families total, made a contract in the autumn of last year when they would set up a monthly *zhai*, and watch over each other in both auspicious and ominous matters' (維開皇元年歲辛丑, 四月庚辰朔, 廿日壬寅, 佛弟子李阿昌等廿家去歲秋合為仲契, 每月設齋, 吉凶相逮).¹⁵⁹ The members of this organisation called themselves 'disciples of the Buddha' (*Fo dizi* 佛弟子), and their primary goal of 'coming together as a fraternity' 合為仲契 was in order to 'set up a monthly *zhai*' 每月設齋, after which they would engage in constructing an image. From this we know that this was a Buddhist organisation that mainly focused on engaging in Buddhist activities. However, apart from constructing images and setting up *zhai*, this organisation also had regulations concerning 'watching over each

¹⁵⁹ Qin, 'Sui Kaihuang yuannian Li Achang zaoxiangbei', 48–49.

other in both auspicious and ominous matters' (*jixiong xiangdai* 吉凶相逮), which is something we have not yet seen elsewhere in the source materials. This '*jixiong xiangdai*' is equivalent to the statement cited earlier in the articles of association for traditional *shise*, 'deal with both auspicious (e.g., marriage) and ominous matters (e.g., funerals)' (*zhuji zhuixiong* 逐吉追凶), which meant when *sheyi* members needed funerals or other such urgent matters, all *she* members should go to help out. Another example is in the 'Tang Xianqing san-nian (658) huo yiqian zhong apo deng shetiao' 唐顯慶三年 (公元658) 或以前眾阿婆等社條 [Articles of Association for the Community of Aged Women in the 3rd Year of Xianqing era (658) or Earlier in the Tang], which first gives the names of the community of aged women, after which a list of names for the monthly *zhai* patron roster, and finally stipulations that each person should contribute some amount of wheat grain for each monthly *zhai* day. It is obvious that this was also an organisation that focused on Buddhist activities. However, apart from the Buddhist activities of this organisation, there were also regulations such as: 'Those aged women who passed away; people should provide one *dou* of wheat, and provide five cakes' (眾阿婆等中有身亡 麥壹斗, 出餅五個).¹⁶⁰ Yet another example is in P.4525¹¹ 'Taiping xingguo qinian (982) eryue li shetiao yidao' 太平興國七年 (982) 二月立社條一道 [Establishing One Article of Association, in the 2nd Month of the 7th Year of Taiping Xingguo (982)], which states:

1. It is my humble opinion that all the beings of the Jambudīpa need to rely on this excellent cause in order to be reborn in a better place. Some of them are indulged in the good fortune during their floating lives, while some are born from a womb with heavy sin 竊以閻浮眾凡上生, 要此福因. 或則浮生耽福, 或則胎生罪重,
2. each are different. Now nineteen people made great vows, and at the end of the year came to this holy place to light lamps, eat at the vegetarian feast, and give 各各有殊. 今則一十九人發弘後 (=厚) 願, 歲末, 就此聖崑, 燃燈齋食, 捨

¹⁶⁰ Ning & Hao, *Dunhuang sheyi wenshu jijiao*, 60–63.

3. alms to gain merit. Each person carries one *dou* of millet, and need to prepare it beforehand during autumn. It would be ground by the mill and passed to the person in charge. There will again be a new year day where good fortune is built. 施功德. 各人麻壹斗, 先須秋間齊遂, 押磑轉轉主人. 又有新年建福一日
4. Each person gets a pair of lu pie, a *dou* of millet, one lamp, and sat in a circle for food. The people of the she are all ordinary 各人饅餅一雙, 粟一斗, 然 (=燃) 燈壹盞, 團座設食. 或若社眾等, 儘是凡夫種
5. people, who continue the cycle of birth and death. When someone goes to the afterlife, at the moment of death, people need to express sorrow 子, 生死各續, 掩就黃泉, 須 (=雖) 則一朝死亡之間, 便須心生親恨 [],
6. kowtow and cry loudly. On the day of passing away, it is forbidden to push and shove, and mutual respect is required. On the day of the funeral 號叩大哭. 或若榮葬之日, 不得一推一後, 須要榮勾. 臨去之日,
7. people need to assemble, hold up the coffin and place it on the cart, carrying an urn of wine and pouring it around the cart. When they arrive at 盡須齊會. 攀棺擎上此車. 合有弔酒壹甕, 隨車澆酌, 就
8. the tomb, everyone will cry loudly and kowtow together 此墳墓, 一齊號叩...¹⁶¹

This *she* was formed under the influence of Buddhist thought. Its principal activities were lighting lamps, setting up *zhai*, and other such Buddhist activities. However, there were also regulations for mutual aid in funerary services. It is therefore a *Sishe* that mainly holds Buddhist events but also does funerary assistance. There is also the text Beixin 北新 882, ‘Bowang fangxiang nürenshe shetiao gao’ 博望坊巷女人社社條稿 [Draft of Articles of Association for the Women’s *She* of the Bowang Lanes and Alleys], which states:

¹⁶¹ Tang & Lu, comp., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, vol. 1: 280.

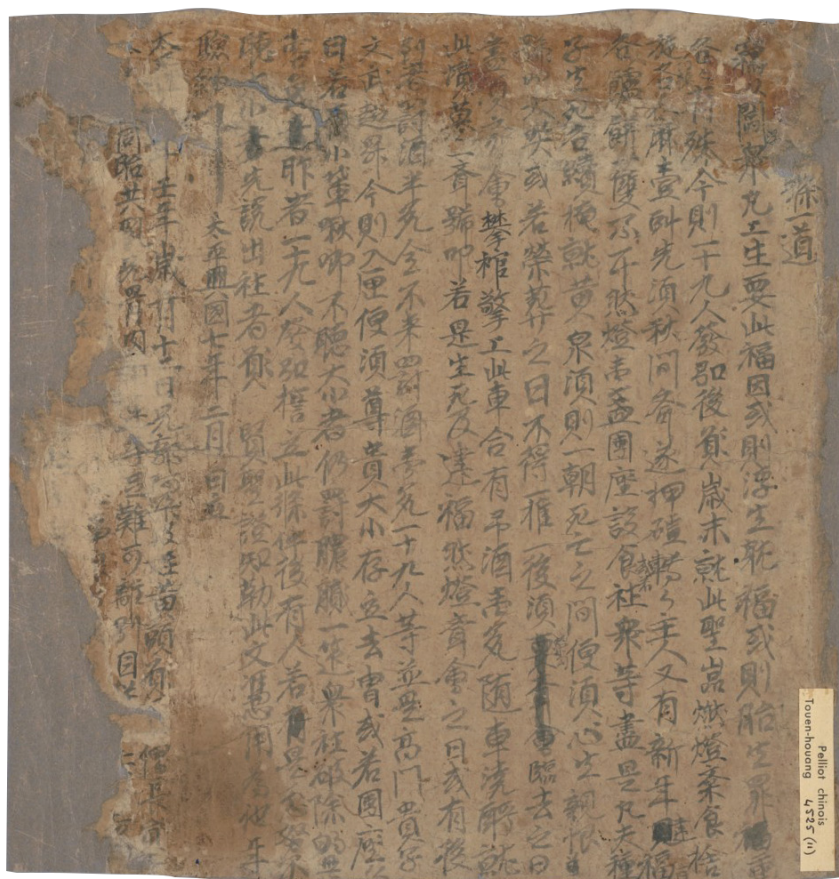


FIG. 8 P.4525₁₁ 'Taiping xingguo qinian (982) eryue li shetiao yidao' 太平興國七年 (982) 二月立社條一道; courtesy of International Dunhuang Project (idp.bl.uk)

1. On the twentieth day of the fourth month of the *bingshen* 丙申 year, in order to light a lamp in the cave the woman of the *she* of the Bowang Lanes and Alleys sat and discussed and 丙申年四月廿日, 博望坊巷女人因為上窟燃燈, 眾坐商儀 (=議)
2. made a vow together, setting a limit of three years 一齊同發心, 限三年
3. for the vow to be fulfilled. Each year 願滿. 每年上窟所要,
4. goods and sacrificial offerings will be brought to the cave, with the secretary passing out bulletins. The people of the *she* should all come and gather together, making their private donations. 物色代 (=帶) 到, 錄事帖行, 眾社齊來, 停登稅聚.
5. Since the articles were established, all should act accordingly 自從立條以後, 便須齊齊鏘鏘, 接
6. and ritual songs should be sung continuously. The people of all statures should be harmonious, and the elder be respected while the younger be saluted. After three years is up, people will decide themselves where to go. It is forbidden for 禮歌歡, 上和下睦, 識大敬小. 三年滿後, 任自取 (集) 散, 不許
7. the secretary and officials to direct them. The various *she* members have discussed the matter, and each out of good intentions, will not go back on the previous statements 錄事三官把勒. 眾社商量, 各發好意, 不壞先言,
8. and breach the old articles. This message will not change regardless of the days and months that pass. (Back of the paper) 抹破舊條, 再立條. 日月往來, 此言不改. 今聚集 (紙背)
9. The present gathering has thirteen people listing their names at the back 得一十三人具列名目已 (於) 後.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Beixin 882, 'Bowang fangxiang nürenshe shetiao gao', in Ren, comp., *Guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu*, Vol. 131: 358a.



FIG. 9 Beixin 北新 882, 'Bowang fangxiang nürenshe shetiao gao' 博望坊巷女人社社條稿; courtesy of International Dunhuang Project (idp.bl.uk)

This document is a draft, with many parts rubbed out and corrected, and it does not list the names of the *she* members. This *sishe* is a *Foshe* that specialises in undertaking lighting lamps to offer to the Buddha. However, in the articles of association it states 'The people of all statures should be harmonious, and the elder be respected while the younger be saluted' (上和下睦, 識大敬小), which shows that it was influenced by Confucian culture. The several examples above began in the Sui Dynasty, span through the Tang and Five Dynasties, and extend into the early Song. Their common features are that they did not originate in traditional *sishe*, and the reasons for their formation are due to either being influenced by Buddhist thought or that their

focus is on Buddhist activities. However, due to being influenced by traditional *sishe* that mainly carried out mutual funerary assistance which was widely popular at the time, they therefore either engage in funerary assistance or have been influenced by traditional culture. This phenomenon was not seen in the Eastern Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

It is precisely because traditional *sishe* and *Foshe* in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods were heading toward merging in terms of their activities that brought about the gradual blurring of the terms '(yi) *she*' and 'yi(yi)'. Due to not understanding this situation we have just described, some Japanese scholars dogmatically maintain their interpretation of Huiyuan's formation of the White Lotus Society, and based on this they imagine a kind of Buddhist organisation called '*fashe*' that was popular in the Southern Dynasties during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, with a membership comprised largely of nobility, officials, and literati scholars, and mainly emphasising their own personal cultivation in contrast to *yiyi* in the north that focused on constructing images.¹⁶³ The reality of the matter has already been discussed in the first section of this article. That is, in the two Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties, *fashe* refers to traditional neighbourhood (yi)*she* that worshipped Buddhism, which were distinct from *yiyi* that engaged in Buddhist activities in terms of their origins and the content of their activities. Huiyuan lived in a time before '(yi)*she*' and 'yi(yi)' merged, and so it is impossible that the *yiyi*-type of Buddhist organisation that he created would have been called a 'she'.

In the Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties, there were also changes in terms of the content of activities that traditional *sishe* and *Foshe* undertook. The first was that the scope of Buddhist activities was broader than in the preceding period, including setting up *zhai*, lighting lamps as offerings to the Buddhas, image processions, sand-impression Buddhas, holding Ullambana gatherings, constructing caves, renovating caves, constructing images, building *samgha* pagodas, building monasteries, renovating monasteries, building

¹⁶³ See relevant works by Japanese scholars mentioned in notes above.

Buddha shrines, renovating Buddha shrines, constructing *sūtra* pillars, silk paintings, constructing monastery bells, purchasing land, transcribing *sūtras*, engraving stone *sūtras*, and so forth. The second change was that activities for constructing images were not as pronounced as in the past, whereas setting up *zhai* increasingly became the most important event. Although in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties there were some *yiyi* that undertook *zhai* activities, such activities were not that prevalent at the time, and the majority of related *yiyi* source materials do not have the position of a *zhai* patron. The Dunhuang textual sources indicate that in the latter Tang, Five Dynasties, and start of the Song, although *sishe* that held *zhai* events could also hold other activities at the same time, there were few *sishe* that only undertook Buddhist activities but never set up *zhai*. The annual three months of constant *zhai* (*san changzhai* 三長齋) held the greatest significance for people during this time period.

Yet another aspect is that there were changes in *sishe* goals for their practice of Buddhist activities. The ‘Beiwei Zhang Daoguo shuai yiyi zao Mile xiang ji’ 北魏張道果率邑義造彌勒像記 [Record of Construction of a Maitreya Image by the *Yiyi* Led by Zhang Daoguo, in the Northern Wei] describes the goal for constructing this image as: ‘To the imperial majesty and empress dowager above; next are the parents of seven generations and the family members bonded by karma, I wish all the sentient beings have this kind of good fortune’ (上為皇帝陛下, 太皇太后, 後為七世父母, 因緣眷屬, 普願一切眾生, 咸同斯福).¹⁶⁴ However, a text for *sishe* setting up a *zhai* during the Five Dynasties and early Song, P.3545 ‘Shezhai wen’ 社齋文 [Text of She Vegetarian Feast], preserved in the Dunhuang manuscripts records its goal as follows:

The merits gained from establishing this vegetarian feast, which are unlimited good karma, will first be used to glorify the four kings from the realm above, and the eight legions from the region below,

¹⁶⁴ ‘Beiwei Zhang Daoguo shuai yiyi zao Mile xiang ji’, Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijut-sushi chōsoben*, 187.

hoping the majestic light will be ablaze to protect the state and saving the people, lead them for a thousand years and have good harvest every year, hope people have good fortune, and hope all the virtuous *she* will be fine and devoid of disasters and gain fortune. Let the gods descend and have the gods bestowing blessings, let the people's seed of wisdom with their Buddha nature sprout, and let people's mental afflictions, which are [as numerous] as leaves in the thick forest, be blown away by the winds of wisdom; then the extraordinary merits will be used to adorn the burner-holding alms givers, in the hope that the merits will be like the spring grass which give birth to leaves and blooming flowers and that the sins are like the floating cloud, dispersing from the wind. Then let the sentient beings of the six paths in the three worlds, those with forms and the formless, all receive good karma, and attain the fruit of Buddhahood together. 以資 (=茲?) 設齋功德, 無限勝因, 先用莊嚴上界四王、下方八部: 伏願威光熾盛, 護國求 (=救) 人, 使主千秋, 年豐歲稔; 伏持勝善, 次用莊嚴諸賢社即體: 惟願災殃弥 (=殄) 滅, 是福咸臻, 天山 (=仙) 降靈, 社 (=神?) 祇效聽 (=祉?). 若亡 (=菩提?) 種子, 配佛 [=性?] 以開牙 (=芽), [煩] 惱稠林, 惠 [=慧] 風飄而葉落; 又持勝福, 次用莊嚴持爐施主即體: 為 (=惟?) 願福累 (=類?) 春樹, 吐葉生花, 罪等浮雲, 隨 [風] 影滅; 然後三界六趣, 有形無形, 俱沐勝因, 齊成佛果。¹⁶⁵

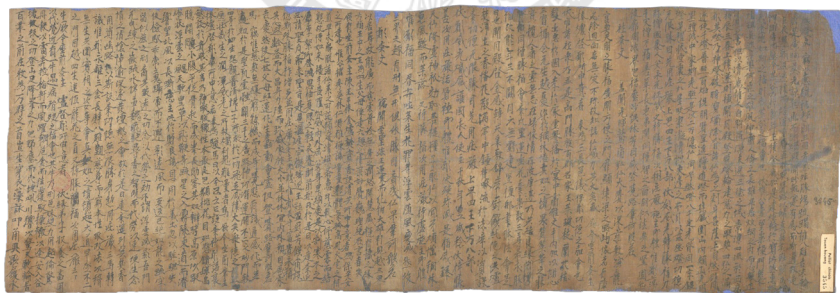


FIG. 10 P.3545 'Shezhai wen' 社齋文; courtesy of International Dunhuang Project (idp.bl.uk)

¹⁶⁵ P.3545, 'Shezhai wen', Huang & Wu, eds. & colla., *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*, 645.

The difference between these two passages above from different time periods is that the former source does not mention *yiyi* members practicing prayers for blessings for themselves, whereas the latter source is mainly about *sishu* members holding prayers for blessings for themselves and does not mention their ‘seven generations of fathers and mothers’ 七世父母. When we compare this against the records of image construction from other *yiyi*, ‘seven generations of fathers and mothers’ refers to the seven generations of ancestors as one goes back from oneself six further generations of parents, whether alive or deceased.¹⁶⁶ The differences between these two sources are not limited to these texts alone, as incomplete statistics show us that sources for the goals of *yiyi* that engaged in Buddhist activities in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties were very complex in terms of prayers beseeching the Buddhas. There are only 70 plus sources that feature prayers for blessings for the seven generations of fathers, mothers, and other deceased ancestors, whereas prayers for blessings for oneself by *yiyi* members are merely 20 plus sources. Preserved within the Dunhuang manuscripts, late Tang, Five Dynasties, and early Song materials that record the goals of *sishu* as they engaged in Buddhist activities, there is not a single document the records *she* members’ prayers for blessings for themselves, and there are only a few prayers for blessings for the deceased. This change reflects that the people of the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties lived their lives in a time of turmoil. Lacking faith in the present life, they projected many of their hopes to future lives. As they sought the protection of the Buddhas they usually forgot themselves and gave more attention to those who had already passed away. During the Sui

¹⁶⁶ ‘Bei Qi Cheng Zhenhu deng yiyi zao fumuxiang futu ji’ 北齊成真虎等邑義造父母像浮圖記 [Record of Building a Stupa with Parents’ Images by the Yiyi of Cheng Zhenhu and Others in the Northern Qi], in Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 329; ‘Bei Qi Xue Erji deng yiyi zao zhangliu tiexiang ji’ 北齊薛貳姬等邑義造丈六鐵像記 [Record of Building a Sixteen-Foot Iron Statue by the Yiyi of Xue Erji and Others in the Northern Qi], in Ōmura, *Chūgoku bijutsushi chōsohen*, 358–359.

and Tang Dynasties, society was far more stable, there was economic development. The people had great faith in their present lives and when they sought the protection of the Buddhas they gave greater emphasis to themselves and the living.

2.2. Changes in the Development of Buddhist Formation of *She* Themselves

As described in the first section of this article, *yiyi* in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties can largely be divided into two types. The first type only undertook single occurrence events such as constructing images, building pagodas, and so on, and had somewhat looser structures. The other type also engaged in Buddhist activities outside of their construction of images, were in existence for a longer duration, and had stricter organisational structures. Although we cannot calculate an exact figure for the ratio between these two types of *yiyi*, we can still conclude that the first type was certainly dominant in terms of sheer numbers and were the bulk of *yiyi*. There were still *Foshe* that engaged in single-event Buddhist activities during the Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties, and early Song. These are several examples collected by two epigraphical collections: (1) ‘Sui Wang Funü deng zaoliang ji’ 隋王伏女等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by Wang Funü and Others, in the Sui],¹⁶⁷ (2) ‘Sui duyizhu Du Qianxu deng zaoliang ji’ 隋都邑主杜乾續等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by Provincial *Yi* Chief Du Qianxu and Others, in the Sui],¹⁶⁸ (3) ‘Sui Wang Nühui deng zaoliang ji’ 隋王女暉等造像記 [Record of Image Construction by Wang Nühui

¹⁶⁷ ‘Sui Wang Funü deng zaoliang ji’, *Jinshi cuibian* 38, in Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 4: 630–632.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Sui Wang Nühui deng zaoliang ji’, *Jinshi cuibian* 38, in Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 4: 647–648.

and Others, in the Sui],¹⁶⁹ and (4) ‘Tang Yaoshi xiang zan’ 唐藥師像讚 [Praise on the Bhaiṣajya-guru Image, in the Tang].¹⁷⁰ All of these reflect sources of *Foshe* that engaged in once-only image construction activities. But by the Sui and early Tang, *Foshe* that undertook image construction activities were already greatly reduced in number when compared to those of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, and they became less still from the middle of the Tang onwards. During the Five Dynasties period, there were *Foshe* that undertook single-event activities to construct sūtra pillars, such as the example in ‘Houtang Luohan yi tuoluoni chuang tiji’ 後唐羅漢邑陀羅尼幢題記 [Inscribed Records on a *Dhāraṇī* Pillar by Arhat Yi, in the Later Tang].¹⁷¹ There was also this kind of *Foshe* during the Five Dynasties and early Song at Dunhuang, such as P.3540, ‘Gengwu nian zhengyue nianwu ri shezhang Wang Anwu deng yishiliu ren xiuku ping’ 庚午年正月廿五日社長王安午等一十六人修窟憑 [Certificate for Cave Renovation by Sixteen People, *She* Chief Wang Anwu and Others, on the 25th Day of the 1st Month of the Gengwu Year (970)]. This text states:

1. A certificate established on the twenty fifth day of the first month of the *gengwu* year (Kaibao 開寶 3.zheng.25 = March 5, 970): the *Bhikṣu* Fuhui 福惠, the Head of *she* Wang Anwu 王安午, the commander (*jiangtou* 將頭) Luo Qianyou 羅乾祐, the village official (Xiang guan 鄉官) 庚午年正月廿五日立契憑: 比丘福惠、社長王安午、將頭羅乾祐、鄉官

¹⁶⁹ ‘Sui Wang Nühui deng zaoliang ji’, *Jinshi cuibian* 39, in in Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 4: 655–656.

¹⁷⁰ ‘Tang Yaoshi xiang zan’, *Baqiongsbi jinshi buzhen* 63, in in Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 10: 305–306.

¹⁷¹ ‘Houtang Luohan yi tuoluoni chuang tiji’, *Jinshi cuibian* 121, in in Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 6: 650–651.

2. Li Yanhui 李延會, Li Fujin 李富進, An Yongchang 安永長, the warden Zhang Fuhong 張富弘, Yan Yuancheng 閻願成 (李延會、李富進、安永長、押衙張富弘、閻願成)、
3. Chen Qianshi 陳千實, Zhang Fonu 張佛奴, Cui Tiannu 崔田奴, Ma Wenbin 馬文斌, Kong Yanchang 孔彥長, the District Agent (*Dutou* 都頭), Luo Youyuan 羅祐員 (陳千實、張佛奴、崔田奴、馬文斌、孔彥長、都頭羅祐員)、
4. Luo Youqing 羅祐清, and Jia Yongcun 賈永存, sixteen people total, made vows to built at Dangquan 羅祐清、賈永存等壹拾陸人, 發心於宕泉
5. a cave. Each person followed their intention rather than followed strict standards. 修窟一所. 並乃各從心意, 不是科牽. 所要
6. Building material required will be ready whenever they are sought. Even if heaven and earth moves, this vow 色目材梁, 隨辦而出. 或若天地傾動, 此願
7. does not change. Honor the two emperors in order to form a league and invite the four heavenly kings as witnesses. The people 不移. 祇二帝以同盟, 請四王而作證. 眾內
8. invited the village official Li Yanhui 李延會 to be the secretary, who passed out bulletins as the leader 請鄉官李延會為錄事, 放帖行文以為綱首;
9. the warden Yan Yuancheng 閻願成 as the inspector, who follows the instructions of the secretary. 押衙閻願成為虞候, 祇奉錄事條式. 比至修窟
10. By the day the renovation of the cave is finished, this certificate will serve as the proof. 罷日, 斯憑為驗.
11. In addition, the *Bhikṣu* Yuancheng 願澄 only need food to work. Also, Hu Zhu'er 胡住兒 should do a work load based on his strength. 又比丘願澄充為祇食納力, 又胡住兒亦隨氣力所辦應逐.¹⁷²

¹⁷² 'Gengwu nian zhengyue nianwu ri shezhang Wang Anwu deng yishiliu ren xiuku ping', Tang & Lu, comp., *Dunhuang shebui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, vol. 1: 278.

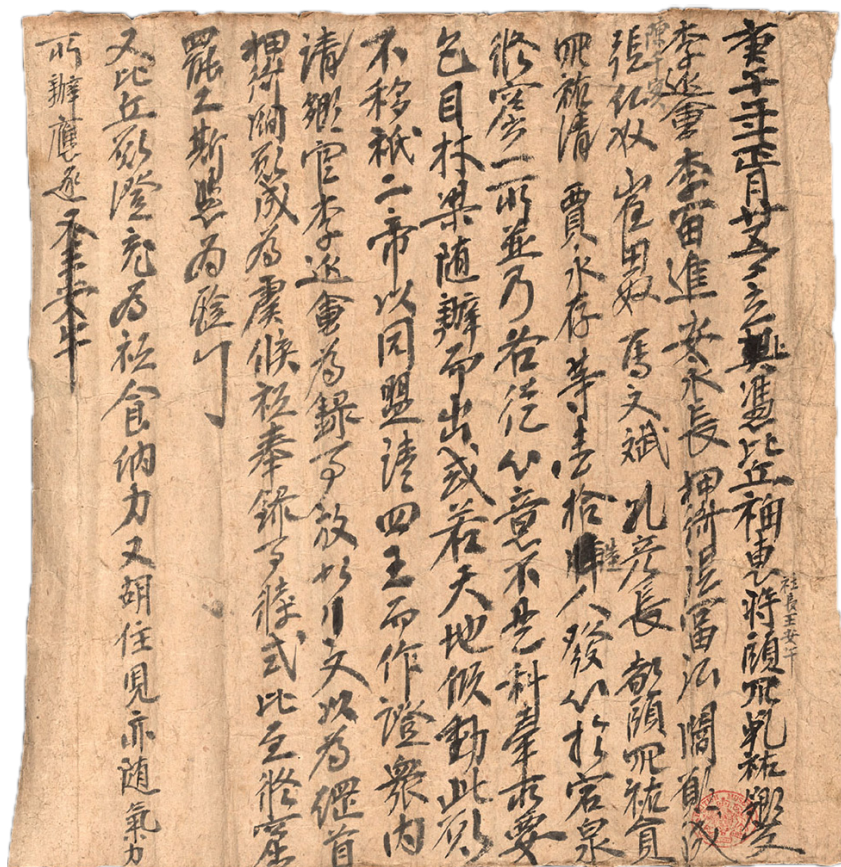


FIG. 11 ‘Gengwu nian zhengyue nianwu ri shezhang Wang Anwu deng yishiliu ren xiuku ping’ 庚午年正月廿五日社長王安午等一十六人修窟憑; courtesy of International Dunhuang Project (idp.bl.uk)

This was a cave-renovation *she*, which was formed with renovating caves as its goal. Everyone provided the materials required to renovate the caves, and they chose a secretary (*lushi* 錄事) and an inspector (*yuhou* 虞侯) as their leaders to be responsible for organisation and matters related to the task of renovation. At the end of the document it specifically makes note that: ‘By the day the renovation of the cave is finished, this certificate will serve as the proof’ (比至修窟罷日, 斯憑為驗), which is to say that the certificate was only valid for the period

of the cave renovation, after which the life of the she was over. Therefore, this cave-renovation *she* was the same as the *yiyi* mentioned above which only engaged in a single-event activity of constructing an image, constructing a sūtra pillar, or the like. Another example is P.4960, ‘Jiachen nian wuyue nianyi ri kutou xiu Fotang she zaiqing sanguan ping’ 甲辰年五月廿一日窟頭修佛堂社再請三官憑 [Certificate for the Repeated Request for the Three Officials by the She for the Construction of a Cave Buddha Shrine, on the 21st Day of the 5th Month of the *Jiachen* Year (944)], which states:

1. On the twenty first day of the fifth month of the *jiachen* year (June 14, 944), the *she* of building the Buddha Hall at the cave in last autumn has collected 甲辰年五月廿一日, 窟頭修佛堂社, 先秋教化
2. fifteen *shuo* and three *dou* of wheat, two *shuo* and five *dou* of elutriated [wheat], ground, and one *shuo* and five *dou* of dry 得麥拾伍碩三斗, 內濤兩碩伍斗磓, 乾
3. wheat, ground. [The *she*] has also collected fifty bundles of hemp, as well as 麥壹碩伍斗磓. 又教化得麻伍拾束. 又和
4. 1.7 *zhang* of cloth and also gained a pair of silk shoes which was converted to cloth of one 得布丈柒. 又和得羅鞋壹兩, 准布壹
5. *pi* 疋 (roll), which is at the place of Huifa and not be put in storage yet. [The *she*] has also collected twenty *bing* of red pigments, and 疋, 在惠法未入. 又赤土貳拾併 (餅).
6. donations from the Grand Tutor and other private donors which were converted to three *liang* 量 of fine cloth. The goods and cloth above. 太傅及私施計得細色叁量. 以上物色等,
7. because the secretary does not listen to the *she* official and thus the people of the *she* are not in agreement in every matter, [are not put in use, so] the merits are difficult 伏緣錄事不聽社官件件眾社不合, 功德
8. to be accomplished. Now we invite, instead, Qingdu 慶度 as the *she* official, Fasheng 法勝 as the *she* chief 難辦, 今再請慶度為社官, 法勝為社長,
9. and Qinjie 慶戒 as the secretary. After requesting [the appointment of] the three officials, the people of the *she* 慶戒為錄事. 自請三官已後, 其社眾並

10. should wholeheartedly carry out the orders these three people come up with, and not violate them 於三人所出條式，專情而行，不得違背。
11. If there are those who do not accept the rites of the *she*, and do not know the hierarchy of monarchs and subordinates, they shall 或有不稟社禮，不知君臣上下者，當便
12. be punished after discussion among the three people; they will be penalized by fine food of the vegetarian feast. It is forbidden 三人商量罰目，罰臘臠 [=醢臠] 一筵，不得
13. to breach this 違越者。¹⁷³

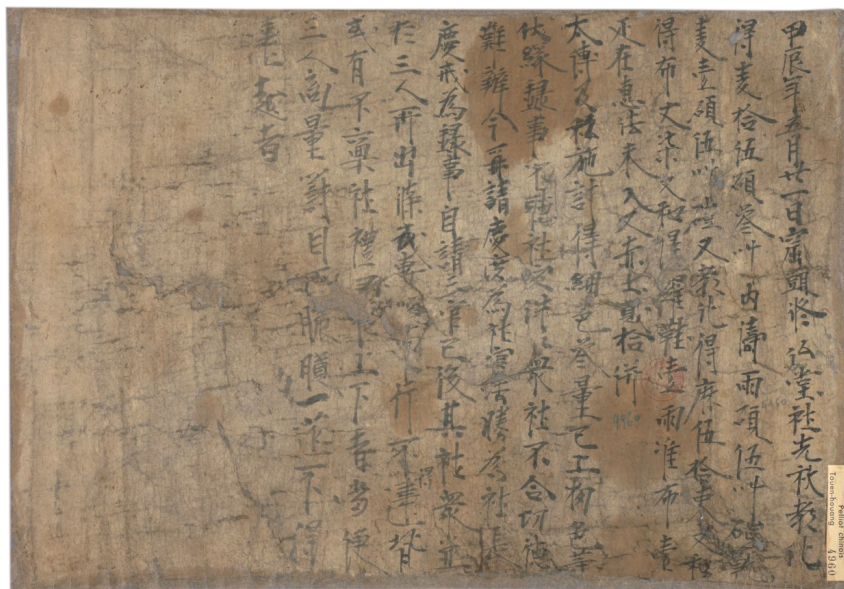


FIG. 12 P.4960, 'Jiachen nian wuyue nianyi ri kutou xiu Fotang she zaiqing sangan ping' 甲辰年五月廿一日窟頭修佛堂社再請三官憑; courtesy of Dunhuang yanjiuyuan cang 敦煌研究院 (Dunhuang Research Academy) (此圖版由敦煌研究院提供)

¹⁷³ P.4960, 'Jiachen nian wuyue nianyi ri kutou xiu Fotang she zaiqing sangan ping', Tang & Lu, comp., *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, vol. 1: 277.

The goal for establishing this *she* was to build a Buddha shrine in a cave. They decided to reselect their *she* official, *she* chief and secretary, because the first leader was ineffective. It is clear that this was a single-event Buddhist *she* for Buddhist activities. The common features of the two above-mentioned examples are that they are both certificates established by the entire body of members that resemble articles of association, and they both chose their own leaders. Their organisational structure seems to be somewhat more formal and stricter than *Foshe* that constructed images and *sūtra* pillars.

Looking at this as a whole, in texts that have been passed down from antiquity, sources of stone inscriptions, and Dunhuang documents in the Tang, Five Dynasties, and early Song, records of *Foshe* that engaged in single-event activities such as those mentioned above were far fewer than those from the Eastern Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties. Furthermore, the source materials for these *Foshe* that had longer lives and tighter organisational structures are also clearly more extensive. Of this type of *Foshe*, some undertook one kind of Buddhist activity over a long period of time, some engaged mainly in one kind of Buddhist activity but also practiced other Buddhist activities, and yet others made long term offerings to one temple or monastery. For example, Zhicong 智聰 (550–648), who lived through the Sui and Tang, established a ‘rice grain *she*’ (*mishe* 米社) near Yangzhou 揚州, which is described in the *Gaoseng zhuan*:

Because the forest was hidden and far, and it was difficult to provide grain to it, [Zhi]cong 聰 led three hundred followers from Yangzhou 揚州 and established a rice grain *she*, to which each of them contributed one *dan* 石 of grain every year. This way, any monk and layperson, and even the animals who passed were given provision. 聰以山林幽遠，糧粒難供。乃合率揚州三百清信，以為米社。人別一石，年別送之。由此山糧供給，道俗乃至禽獸，通皆濟給。¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Xu *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 20.595b11–14.

The economic features of this *Foshe*, a rice grain *she*, are quite clear, as its primary task was to provide monasteries with grain foodstuffs. This kind of phenomenon wherein Buddhist devotees formed a *sishe* to make offerings to a temple or monastery is also seen in the Dunhuang manuscripts. For example, in P.2614 verso, ‘Mousi zhuang’ 某寺狀 [Report from Some Monastery], which states:

The western building □□ Monastery: the monastery mentioned on the right has its walls damaged at the present. Before, □□ Zhang Shi 張時 (?) and others, eighteen people total, made offerings. Now the walls are damaged □, the inside is again □ □ repaired. No one knows □ whether the inside of the she □ record □ to discussing the request’.
西幢□□寺: 右前件寺今為牆壞, 先是□□張時 (?) 等一十八人供養, 今為牆壞□內重□□修治, 無人知□道□使一其社內□錄□至商量請本. ...

This document is severely fragmented, but from the remaining text it can still be seen that the monastery in question was supported over a long period by a *sishe* formed by 18 people. At the time of the document the walls of this monastery were ruined, and they requested the *sheyi* to assist in repairs. Another such document is P.4044, ‘Gongyuan 905 zhi 914 nian Dunhuang Xiuwen fangxiang she zaiji shangzu lanruo biaohua lianglang dasheng gongde zan bing xu’ 公元905至914年敦煌修文坊巷社再緝上祖蘭若標畫兩廊大聖功德讚並序 [Praise and Preface of the Renovation of the Two Corridor Murals on the Merit of the Great Sage at Ancestors’ Lanruo by the Xiuwen Neighbourhood *She* at Dunhuang, from the Years 905 to 914], which records that this neighbourhood *she* ‘renovated the Ancestors’ *Lanruo*’ (緝緝上祖蘭若), showing that this *lanruo* 蘭若 (Skt. *arāṇya*; hermitage) received offerings from this neighbourhood *she* over many generations.

Foshe that undertook one kind of Buddhist activity over a long period, such as that of Baoqiong 寶瓊 (504–584) in the early Tang:

Late in his life he moved to the seat of government in the Region (in Yizhou) and stayed at the Fushou Monastery. He encouraged the neighbourhood, with the *yi* organization at the forefront. Every time an *yi* is formed, there were always thirty people. Together, they

chant the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* where each person has a copy. Each month, people gather for a *zhai* and each person takes turns reciting. This type of *yi* organization counts to a full thousand. The people of the four directions heard this and came to visit him. [Bao]qiong took advantage of this to teach the Buddhist doctrine; whoever saw this submitted to the teaching. 晚移州治, 住福壽寺。率勵坊郭, 邑義為先。每結一邑, 必三十人。合誦《大品》, 人別一卷。月營齋集, 各依次誦。如此邑義, 乃盈千計。四遠聞者, 皆來造欵。瓊乘機授化, 望風靡服。¹⁷⁵

The *yiyi* formed by Baoqiong can be called a *sūtra* recitation *yi*. Focusing on reciting *sūtras*, in addition to individuals reciting *sūtras*, there were monthly ‘*zhai* meetings’ (*zhaiji* 齋集) where people met to recite the texts together. Given that there were monthly group activities it is natural that they did not form for a single event and then dissolve. There were also other *Foshe* that focused on reciting a specific Buddhist *sūtra*. See, for example, the following recitrd in ‘Houliang Huiguang sheli ming’ 後梁惠光舍利銘 [Memorial for the Relics of Huiguang, in the Later Liang]: ‘The female disciples of the *Diamond Sūtra* Recitation *She* (*nian Jin’gang jing she* 念金剛經社); *Karmadāna*-masters Zhi 智, Yin 因, Wen 汶, Wen 文, Hui 惠, Quan 全 (a nun), Si 思, Dao 道, Shun 順, Jian 堅, and Tai 太 of the [Later] Liang dyansty’ (念金剛經社女弟子維那梁師智, 師因, 師汶, 師文, 師惠, 尼師全, 師思, 師道, 師順, 師堅, 師太).¹⁷⁶ Since this *Foshe* was known as the ‘*Diamond Sūtra* Recitation *She*’, it naturally focused on reciting the *Jin’gang jing* 金剛經 [Diamond *Sūtra*]. Another example is found in ‘Tang Xianchao ta ming’ 唐憲超塔銘 [Inscription on the Xiaochao Pagoda in the Tang]: ‘The people from *Lotus Sūtra yi*: Shi Qing 史清, Zhao Qi 趙杞, Fang Shenyi 房慎疑, Niu Yun 牛雲, Liu Xing 劉興, Wei Mu 韋牧, Zong Yue 宗悅, Zhang Zheng 張政, and Jing Huan 敬鑾’ (法華邑人史清, 趙杞, 房慎疑, 牛雲, 劉興, 韋牧, 宗悅, 張政, 敬鑾

¹⁷⁵ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 28.688a12–16.

¹⁷⁶ *Baqionshi jinsbi buzheng*, fasc. 79, in *Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui*, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 10: 556.

等).¹⁷⁷ This *she* called itself a *Fabua she* 法華邑 [Lotus *Sūtra* *Yi*], and it probably has some commonalities with the *Fabua yiyi* from the Eastern Wei period that was examined by Yan Shangwen, mentioned previously. It would have been formed under the influence of the *Fabua jing* 法華經, and most likely its activities focused on reciting this *sūtra*. The *yiyi* mentioned earlier that was popular in the central regions during the early Sui, would ‘establish a vegetarian feast twice per month’ (月再興齋).¹⁷⁸ Fatong 法通 (d.u.), in the Sui-Tang period, was another who ‘established many *yi* organizations, and held a *zhai* every month’ (多置邑義, 月別建齋).¹⁷⁹ This kind of *Foshe* that ‘establish a vegetarian feast each month’ or even ‘establish a vegetarian feast twice per month’ were all Buddhist organisations that undertook *zhai* events over a long period of time, whereas Zhiyan 智琰 from Jiachan Monastery 嘉禪寺 in Yuezhou 越州 during the Tang, ‘along with five hundred alms givers within the prefecture, held a Buddhist assembly each month, during which they set up *zhais* and lectured on the contemplations, with the wondrous wheels succeeding each other for over a decade’ (與州內檀越五百餘人, 每月一集, 建齋講觀, 勝輪相踵, 將逾十載).¹⁸⁰ While this Buddhist organisation that steadfastly maintained itself for ten years did not have a name, the monastics and laity that made up its devotees set up a monthly *zhai*, and it therefore is in the category of *Foshe* that held *zhai* over a long term. Another example is provided by ‘Tang Foyu Jin’gang jing hui bei’ 唐佛峪金剛經會碑 [Stele of the Foyu Diamond *Sūtra* Association, in the Tang], which records that Chan Venerable Seng<lacuna> 禪大德僧□ of Nanlingtai Mountain 南靈臺山 in Licheng County 曆城縣 of Jizhou 濟州 ‘together with the merit patron and the one hundred and ten *karmadāna* people from the *Yi*, formed the *Jin’gang Jing Yi* (*Diamond Sūtra Yi*) gatherings. Each gathering sees one fascicle

¹⁷⁷ ‘Tang Xianchao ta ming’, *Jinshi cuibian*, fasc. 107, in *Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui*, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 6: 242–243.

¹⁷⁸ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 1.428a20.

¹⁷⁹ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 24.641c22.

¹⁸⁰ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 14. 532a21–22.

of the *sūtra* copied. On each eighteenth day of the first month and the fifteenth day of the ninth month, a vegetarian feast is set up to express the karmic bonding of the people' (功德主及都維那邑人等一百一十人結金剛經邑會, 每會書經一卷. 每至正月十八日, 九月十五日設齋一中, 以表眾緣).¹⁸¹ In order to commemorate Seng<lacuna> after he passed away, the members of this *Foshe* still 'made a statue of Maitreya, two statues of attendant bodhisattvas' (造彌勒像一軀, 侍菩薩兩軀).¹⁸² This was a *Foshe* that maintained long-term engagement in Buddhist activities such as transcription of *sūtras*, setting up *zhai*, constructing images, and so forth. It was rumoured that in the Tang,

In the beginning of Kaiyuan (713–741), there were several hundred families on the border of Tongzhou 同州. They were the Eastern and Western Puxian (Samantabhadra) association *she*. They made statues of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and each 'day'¹⁸³, they established vegetarian feasts. A servant from a family in the Eastern *she* association bore a son on the day of the vegetarian feast and named him Puxian 普賢, after the vegetarian feast was over. By the age of eighteen, he was considered a fool and he had a taste of all kinds of hard labor. Later, during the day of the vegetarian feast, this fool suddenly pushed away the statue of Samantabhadra and sat at its place. The elders of the *yi* who saw this all got angry and cursed at him and whipped him. Puxian laughed and said, 'I was born here because of your devotions. You saw the real Samantabhadra but could not pay him homage. What benefits would you gain by seeking out this statue made of earth?' He then suddenly turned into Bodhisattva Samantabhadra with a golden colored body, riding an elephant with six tusks and flew into the sky, giving off a great radiance, with celestial flowers and iridescent clouds, shining with five colors. Then he disappeared. Only then did the elders of the *yi* understand and were

¹⁸¹ *Baqionshi jinsbi buzhenq*, fasc. 73, in *Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui*, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 10: 454–456.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ According to the text below, *ri* 日 ('day') here should be an error for 月 ('month').

very surprised and ashamed. 開元初, 同州界有數百家, 為東西普賢邑社, 造普賢菩薩像, 而每日設齋. 東社邑家青衣以齋日生子, 於其齋次, 名之曰‘普賢’. 年至十八, 任為愚豎. 廝役之事, 蓋所備嘗. 後因設齋之日, 此豎忽推普賢身像, 而坐其處. 邑老觀者咸用怒焉. 既加詬罵, 又苦鞭撻. 普賢笑曰: ‘吾以汝志心, 故生此中. 汝見真普賢不能加敬, 而求此土像何益?’ 於是忽變其質為普賢菩薩身, 身黃金色, 乘六牙象, 空中飛去, 放大光明, 天花綵雲, 五色相映, 於是遂滅. 邑老方悟, 大用驚慚.¹⁸⁴

Although the above-cited story is fictitious, it should be based on some actual event. This Puxian *She* 普賢社 [Samantabhadra *She*] was another *Foshe* that undertook long-term *zhai* events (setting up a monthly *zhai*), and in addition also constructed images of the bodhisattva Samantabhadra. From the two preceding examples we can see that during the Tang and Five Dynasties periods constructing images was typically one of the Buddhist activities that *Foshe* that existed for a long period of time engaged in. The *sūtra* construction *she(yi)* of Fangshan 房山 in the Tang also made *sūtras* multiple times across a number of years. For example, in the 10th year of Tianbao 天寶 era (751): ‘The arbiter [*pingzheng* 平正] Ma Yuanchao 馬元超, the secretary Guo Sili 郭思禮, and one hundred and nine people from the stone *sūtra yi* commissioned a *sūtra* inscribed on a stone slab’ (石經邑平正馬元超錄事郭思禮一百九人等同上石經一條);¹⁸⁵ ‘On the eighth day of the second month of the eleventh year of Tianbao era (Tianbao 11.2.8 =February 27, 752), from the stone *sūtra yi* of the Tuanliu village, the secretary Guo Liping 郭禮平, the arbiter Ma Chao 馬超, together with the *yi* people, wrote down a slab of *sūtra*’ (天寶十一載 (752) 二月八日團柳村石經社錄事郭禮平正馬超合邑等上經一條);¹⁸⁶ ‘on the eighth day of the second month of the twelfth year of Tianbao era (Tianbao 12.2.8 =March 17, 753) the secretary Guo Liping, the arbiter Ma

¹⁸⁴ ‘Puxianshe’ 普賢社 [Samantabhadra society], in *Taiping guangji* 115.3–4.

¹⁸⁵ Beijing tushuguan jinshizu & Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan shijing-zu, comps., *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian*, 93.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 94.

Chao, together with the *yi* people, wrote down two *sūtras*' (天寶十二載二月八日, 平錄郭禮、馬超合邑人等上經二條);¹⁸⁷ and 'in the fourteenth year of Tianbao era (755), the *yi* people, the recorder Guo Sili 郭思禮 and others, wrote down a [stone] slab *sūtra*' (天寶十四載邑人錄事郭思禮等上經一條).¹⁸⁸ In these cited materials, Ma Chao 馬超 is a shortened form of Ma Yuanchao 馬元超, Guo Li 郭禮 stands for Guo Sili 郭思禮, and *pinglu* 平錄 is an abbreviation for *pingzhenglushi* 平正錄事 (arbiter secretary). So this material shows without doubt that the *Foshe* that Guo and Ma belonged to undertook multiple repeated *sūtra* construction activities over the period of many years. On the other hand, 'the people of the Wuliangshou *yi* 無量壽邑 in the Fanyang Prefecture 范陽郡 made two *sūtras* every year' (范陽郡無量壽邑人等每載上經二條).¹⁸⁹ These two *Foshe* both engaged in *sūtra* constructing events every year. All of this goes to demonstrate that during the Tang and Five Dynasties periods a portion of those *Foshe* that originally only undertook single-event renovation and construction activities shifted their direction to become long-term ongoing religious organisations.

In Dunhuang, there were long-term lamp-lighting *she* that specialised in assisting the monastic community in holding activities to offer lamps to the Buddhas. These were different from the previously mentioned traditional *sishu* that undertook lamp-lighting activities, as the daily task of lamp-lighting *she* was to be responsible for all matters related to lighting lamps in all of the Buddhist caverns in the Mogao Caves 莫高窟. The manuscript 'Gengxu nian shier yue bari ye sheren bianku randeng fenpei kukan mingshu' 庚戌年十二月八日夜社人遍窟燃燈分配窟龕名數 [Names and Numbers of *She* Members' Cave Niche Assignments for Lighting Lamps on the Night of the 8th Day of the 12th Month of the Gengxu Year], stored in the Dunhuang yanjiuyuan cang 敦煌研究院藏 (Dunhuang Research Academy Collection), records:

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, 96.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 102.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, 94.

1. At the night of the *gengxu* year, twelfth month, eighth day (January 18, 951), □□□ *she* people ignited lamps across the caves 庚戌年十二月八日夜□□□社人遍窟然(燃)燈
2. Number of caves allocated 分配窟龕名數:
3. *ācārya* Tian 田闍梨 From the northern great statue, to the north, until the Situ Cave with a calculated sixty one lamps; two lamps at Zhang Duya Cave; two lamps at the Dawang tian Cave and the Gongzhu Cave respectively; two lamps on the lower level of the great statue; two lamps at the Situ [Cave]; four lamps for the celestial kings at the great statue 北大像已北至司徒窟計六十一盞, 張都衙窟兩盞, 大玉天公主窟各兩盞, 大像下層兩盞, 司徒兩盞, 大像天王四盞
4. Li Chan[shi?] 李禪[師] (Meditation Master Li) Sixty caves from Situ Cave north to Lingtu Monastery (Cave); two lamps at Zhai Family Cave; two lamps at Shezhong Cave; two lamps at Song Family Cave; two lamps at Wenshu [Mañjuśrī] Hall. 司徒北至靈圖寺六十窟翟家窟兩盞, 社眾窟兩盞, 宋家窟兩盞, 文殊堂兩盞
5. *Samgha* administrator Zhang 張僧政 Sixty lamps from Dushashen Hall to Langzi Hall below the cliff; five lamps in the Dushashen Hall... 崖下獨煞神至狼子堂六十盞, 獨煞神五盞 ...
6. Yin Falü 陰法律 Sixty-five lamps from the second level of Yin Family Cave to the upper level of the Mañjuśrī Cave and the various caves of the Linghu *she*. The inner smaller shrines of the three sages are each lit with a lamp 第二層陰家窟至文殊窟上層令狐社眾窟六十五盞, 內三聖小龕各然(=燃)一盞 ...
7. *ācārya* Luo 羅闍梨 the eighty-two caves from the third level Taibao Cave to the Seven Buddha Halls; there are the shrines of the three sages inside, each with a lamp lit... 弟(=第)三層太保窟至七佛堂八十二窟, 內有三聖利心, 各然(=燃)一盞 ...
8. Area Commander Cao 曹都頭 There are in total eighty caves south of Monk Wu Cave to the Tianlong Babu Cave; the central pillars and inner shrines are included 吳和尚以南天龍八部窟計八十窟利心內龕總在裏邊 ...
9. Suo Xingzhe 索幸者 Eighty caves, from the second level to the eight Jin'guang Caves of [Song?] Family; the inner shrines and central pillars are included 第二層至第三層□家八金光窟八十窟內龕利心總在裏邊 ...
10. Lackey Yin 陰押衙, *Samgha* administrator Liang 梁僧政 Sixty-three caves, from the Pu□ Cave on the second level to the Mañjuśrī Hall, and from the Lingtu Monastery Cave to Chenjia Cave; the shrine of the three sages is included... 弟(=第)二層普□窟至文殊堂, 又至靈圖寺窟至陳家窟六十三窟有三聖龕總在裏邊 ...
11. Practitioner Wang 王行者 Sixty-two caves on the second level in the south; two lamps at Dharma Master He Cave; two lamps at the Central Pillar Buddha Hall; four lamps at the upper level of the great statue, to the Fahua □南頭弟(=第)二層六十二窟何法師窟兩盞, 利心佛堂兩盞, 大像上層四盞, 至法花□ ...
12. Lackey An 安押衙, Lackey Du 杜押衙 The thirty six caves from Monk Wu Cave to the Tianwang Hall; three lamps in the Monk Wu Cave; seven lamps for the seven Buddhas; two lamps at the Tianwang Hall... 吳和尚窟至天王堂卅六窟吳和尚窟三盞, 七佛七盞, 天王堂兩盞 ...

13. □ □ lang □ □ □郎□ Fifty two lamps from the Yin Family Cave to the Great Statue of the south; three lamps at the □eight shrines and the Yin Family Cave; two lamps at Wang Family (Cave); two lamps at Song Family Cave; three lamps at Li Family Cave; four lamps at the great statue; four lamps at Wu Family Cave; four lamps for the Celestial Kings at the great statue 陰家窟至南大像五十二盞, □八窟陰家窟三盞, 王家兩盞, 宋家窟兩盞, 李家窟三盞, 大像四盞, 吳家窟四盞, 大像天王四盞.
14. The people of the *she* mentioned on the right and according to what they are assigned, should carefully add oil and light and lit the lamp; it is forbidden to be lax 右件社人依其所配, 好生精心注灸, 不得懈怠
15. If anyone does not provide enough or is unclean, the craftsman will be penalized one pi of cloth 觸穢. 如有闕然 (=燃) 及穢不淨者, 匠人罰布一疋,
16. which will be made a public possession; the people below the craftsman will be heavily caned fifteen times on their behind with no exemption 充為工 (=公) 廩; 匠下之人, 痛決尻杖十五, 的無容免.
17. The seventh day of the twelfth month of the Xinhai year; the *Samgha* administrator Daozhen 辛亥年十二月七日釋門僧政道真.¹⁹⁰

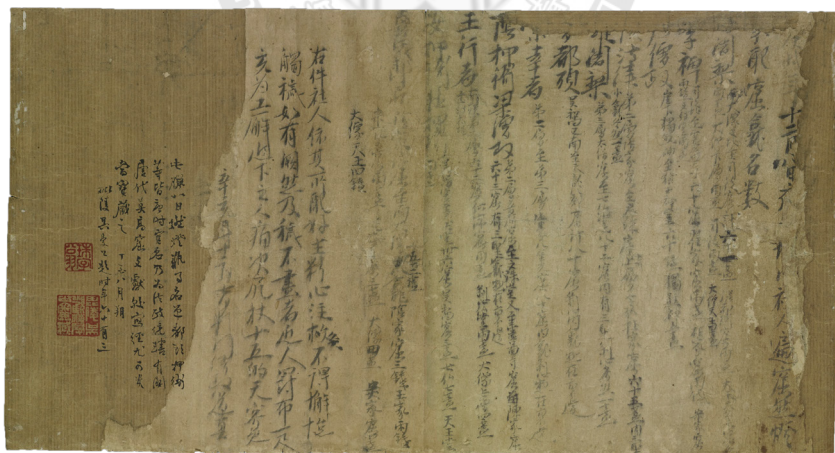


FIG. 13 ‘Gengxu nian shier yue bari ye sheren bianku randeng fenpei窟龕名數; courtesy of Dunhuang yanjiuyuan 敦煌研究院 (Dunhuang Research Academy)

The members of this lamp-lighting *she* included monastics and laity, with the monastics in the majority, and it should be a *Foshe* formed by voluntary membership. However, the assignment of names to cave niches was done by the *samgha* administrator (*sengzheng* 僧政) under the office of the provincial *samgha* controller (*dusengtong* 都僧統) of Shazhou 沙州, and not a *shesi* 社司. Furthermore, this reveals that the lamp-lighting *she* was directly under the responsibility of the *samgha* administrator. During lamp-lighting events, if *she* members were remiss in their duties, they would be punished. This shows that such activities were compulsory for and enforced upon the *she* members. *Samgha* administrator Daozhen 道真 was possibly the person responsible for the lamp office (*dengsi* 燈司) under the office of the provincial *samgha* controller office. The *Shazhou wenlu bu* 沙州文錄補 [Emended Textual Records of Shazhou] preserves a document, ‘Xinsi nian (921?) liuyue shiliu ri sheren shiren yu dengsi cangdai sulì’ 辛巳年 (921?) 六月十六日社人拾人於燈司倉貸粟曆 [Grain Store Records for the Lamp Office of Ten *She* Members on the 16th Day of the 6th Month of the Xinsi Year (921?)], which states:

1. Record on the borrowing of millet at the Dengsi Granary from the ten people of the *she* on the sixteenth day of the sixth month of the year *xinsi* (921?) 辛巳年六月十六日社人拾人於燈司倉貸粟曆:
2. Fahui borrowed seven *dou* of millet (Signed). Area Commander Suo [borrowed] seven *dou* of millet. 法會貸粟柒斗 (押) 索都頭粟七斗
3. The *Samgha* administrator (*sengzheng* 僧政 = *sengzheng* 僧正?) Yuan borrowed seven *dou* of millet (signed) 願僧正貸粟柒斗 (押)
4. *Falü* (Master of Teachings and Disciplines) Wu 吳法律 borrowed seven *dou* of millet; Shui (Signed) 吳法律貸粟柒斗水 (押)
5. Song *falü* 宋法律 borrowed seven *dou* of millet; Xi (Signed) 宋法律貸粟柒斗悉 (押)

¹⁹⁰ ‘Gengxu nian shier yue bari ye sheren bianku randeng fenpei kukan ming-shu’, Tang & Lu, *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, vol. 1: 393.

6. Baohong 保弘 borrowed seven *dou* of millet; Xi (Signed) 保弘貸粟柒斗悉 (押)
7. Baoxiang 保祥 borrowed seven *dou* of millet; Li (Signed) Five *dou* of millet had entered 保祥貸粟柒斗李 (押) 入粟伍斗
8. Da Aye 大阿耶 [borrowed] seven *dou* of millet; Da (Signed) 大阿耶粟柒斗大 (押)
9. Wang Jing 王進 [borrowed?] seven *dou* of millet; □ (Signed) 王進 粟柒斗□ (押)
10. Yingge 蠅歌 [borrowed?] seven *dou* of millet; Da (Signed) 蠅歌粟柒斗大 (押)
11. Suo Wanquan 索萬全 [borrowed?] seven *dou* of millet 索萬全 □ (Signed) 索萬全粟柒斗□ (押)
12. The people of the *She* mentioned on the right need to be of one mind and intention and not make irresponsible remarks 右件社人, 須得同心同意, 不得道東說西.
13. Those who create a disturbance will be penalized to drink one urn of wine; those who arrive late will be penalized one *jiao* of wine; those who do not show up at all 擾亂, 罰酒壹甕; 後到, 罰酒壹角; 全不來,
14. will be penalized half an urn of wine. No one is allowed to be exempted 罰酒半甕. 的無容免者.¹⁹¹

Here, the lamp office should be organisation which is responsible for lamp-lighting offerings to the Buddha and is under the office of the provincial *samgha* controller, run by the *samgha* administrator Daozhen in the document cited above. The *she* members here include the two assemblies of laity and monastics, which we can deduce should be the *she* members of the lamp-lighting *she*. They assist with the duties of lighting lamps throughout the *samgha*'s caves, and they can take grain provisions from the stores of the lamp office. According to the standard practices of grain stores of the time, in general one must note the amounts that are to be returned of the principal plus interest.¹⁹² However, in this document it has not

¹⁹¹ 'Xinsi nian (921?) liuyue shiliu ri sheren shiren yu dengsi cangdai suli', Tang & Lu, *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, vol. 2: 206.

been noted, and it may have been an interest-free loan. Apart from this, in the finale histories of Jingtū Monastery 淨土寺 at Dunhuang, there are records that it received offerings of grain foodstuffs from a lamp-lighting *she*. In P.2049 *verso*, ‘Changxing ernian zhengyue Shazhou Jingtū si zhisui Yuanda shouxia zhuse rupo lisuan huidie’ 長興二年 (931) 正月沙州淨土寺直歲願達手下諸色入破曆算會牒 [Second Year of Changxing (931), First Month, Jingtū Monastery in Shazhou, All Matters under the Guardianship of the Annual Duty Officer Yuanda, Finale Histories Accounts Document], lines 43–44, it states: ‘three *dou* of wheat; from the lamp-lighting *she* in the first month’ (麥三斗, 正月燃燈社入) and lines 106–107 also state: ‘three *dou* of millet; from the lamp-lighting *she* in the first month’ (粟三斗, 正月燃燈社入).¹⁹³ This shows that there was a close connection between the lamp-lighting *she* and Jingtū Monastery.

A situation similar to lamp-lighting *she* was image-procession *she* of Dunhuang. Image processions were an activity organised by the *samgha* community, where they used adorned carts or sedan chairs to take Buddha images on procession through the streets to commemorate the Buddha. Image-procession activities in the Dunhuang area were organised by the image-procession office under the office of the provincial *Samgha* controller. There was naturally a very close relationship between image-procession *she* and the image-procession office that they assisted in holding these image-procession activities. There are records in document S.4812, ‘Tianfu liunian (941) xinchou sui eryue nianyi ri xingxiangsi maisu suanhui ping’ 天福六年辛丑歲(941) 二月廿一日行像司麥粟算會憑 [Certificate for Wheat and Grain Accounts of the Image Procession Office on the 21st Day of the 2nd Month of 6th Year (a xinchou year) of Tianfu era (941)], stating:

¹⁹² Tang, ‘Tang Wudai shiqi de gaolidai’; Tang, ‘Dunhuang xieben bianwuli chutan’, 157–193.

¹⁹³ P.2049 *verso*, ‘Changxing ernian zhengyue Shazhou Jingtū si zhisui Yuanda shouxia zhuse rupo lisuan huidie’, Tang & Lu, *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, vol. 3: 371, 374.

1. Periodic Settlement of Account on the twenty-first day of the second month of the sixth year of Tianfu era, which is a *xinchou* year. The Shande office of the Image Procession Office 天福六年辛丑歲二月廿一日算會, 行像司善德所
2. owes six *shuo* seven *dou* of wheat and three *shuo* of millet. There are no other things added. This is the 欠麥陸碩柒斗, 粟三碩, 餘者並無交加.
3. certificate 憑.
4. Member of the *she*, the commander (*bingma shi* 兵馬使) Li Yuanzhu 李員住 (signed) 社人兵馬使李員住 (押)
5. member of the *she*, the commander (*bingma shi* 兵馬使) Li Xianding 李賢定 (signed) 社人兵馬使李賢定 (押)
6. member of the *she*, Fan Xianzhe 汜賢者 (signed) 社人汜賢者 (押)
7. member of the *she*, the Lackey Zhang Nunu 張奴奴 (signed) 社人押衙張奴奴 (押)¹⁹⁴



¹⁹⁴ Tang & Lu, *Dunhuang shehui jingji wenxian zhenji shilu*, vol. 1: 379.

天福六年辛丑歲二月廿一日行像司麥粟算會憑
欠麥陸碩柒斗粟陸碩餘者並無交加
洪也
社人兵馬使李子賢任之
社人兵馬使李子賢定大
社人地收員者心
社人甲得張奴之

FIG. 14 S.4812, 'Tianfu liunian (941) xinchou sui eryue nianyi ri xingxiangsi maisu suanhui ping' 天福六年辛丑歲 (941) 二月廿一日行像司麥粟算會憑; courtesy of International Dunhuang Project (idp.bl.uk)

If we take the above text ‘Xinsi nian (921?) liuyue shiliuri sheren shiren yu dengsi cangdai suli’ and cross-reference it with S.474, ‘Wuyin nian (918) sanyue shisan ri xingxiang si suanhui fenfu Shaojian deng hudou shu jilu’ 戊寅年 (918) 三月十三日行像司算會分付紹建等斛斗數記錄 [Record of Pecks of Grain Distributed to Shaojian and Others by the Image-Procession Office Accounts on the 13th Day of the 3rd Month of the Wuyin Year (918)], the accounts of wheat grains should belong to the store of the image-procession office, and the names of *she* members on the accounts certificate should be the *she* members of the image-procession *she*. It seems that the *she* members of lamp-lighting *she* and image-procession *she* could not only borrow grain foodstuffs from the lamp office stores and image-procession office stores, but could also participate in management of these grain stores. An important point to note is that the image-procession *she* and Jingtū Monastery in Dunhuang also had a very intimate relationship. From the finale histories of Jingtū Monastery we can see that at times the image-procession *she* would make offerings of grains, oil, and other items to Jingtū Monastery. The following are only several examples:

- (1) P.2032, ‘Houjin shidai Jingtū si zhuse rupo lisuan huigao’ 後晉時代淨土寺諸色入破曆算會稿 [Draft of Finale Histories Accounts for Jingtū Monastery, in the Later Jin Period], line 592, states: ‘Five *shuo* of wheat, offered by the Image-procession *she*’ (麥伍碩, 行像社入);
- (2) P.2049, ‘Changxing ernian zhengyue Shazhou Jingtusi zhisui Yuanda shouxia zhuse rupo lisuan huidie’, lines 129–130, state: ‘Five *sheng* 勝 of rice, offered by the Image-procession *she*’ (米伍勝, 行像社入);
- (3) P.3234, *Jingtusi you rupo li* 淨土寺油入破曆 [Finale Histories for Oil at Jingtū Monastery], line 1, states: ‘Attained one *sheng* of oil from the collected goods of Image-procession *she*’ (行像社聚物得油一勝).

If we also consult other source records, the above grains and oil were possibly raised and collected by the image-procession *she* during an image-procession event for the monastery. In Dunhuang, the

8th day of the 2nd month was the day for procession of images. As image-procession activities were considered as quite important Buddhist events on the annual calendar, many Buddhist devotees would donate grains, foodstuffs, and other items to the monasteries during this time, as shown by the following sources:

- (1) P.2032 ‘Houjin shidai Jingtusi zhuse rupo lisuan huigao’, Line 2: ‘Four *shuo* of millet, offered as alms during the image-procession on the sixth and seventh days of the second month’ (麥肆碩, 二月六日七日沿(緣)行像散施入);
- (2) Ibid, Line 33: ‘Three *shuo* and two *dou* of millet, offered as alms during the image-procession on the sixth and seventh day of the second month’ (粟三碩貳斗, 二月六日七日沿(緣)行像散施入);
- (3) P.2049, verso, ‘Tongguang sannian zhengyue Shazhou Jingtusi zhisui Baohu shouxia zhuse rupo lisuan huidie’ 同光三年正月沙州淨土寺直歲保護手下諸色入破曆算會牒 [Finale History Document of All Matters under the Guardianship of the Annual Duty Officer Baohu, Jingtusi Monastery in Shazhou, 1st Month, 3rd Year of Tongguang (925)], line 42: ‘Three *shuo* of millet, offered as alms during the image-procession on the eighth day of the second month’ (麥三斗, 二月八日沿(緣)佛散施入);
- (4) Ibid, Line 124: ‘Five *dou* of millet, offered as alms during the image-procession on the eighth day of the second month’ (粟伍斗, 二月八日沿(緣)佛散施入);
- (5) P. 2049, verso, ‘Zhangxing ernian zhengyue Shazhou Jingtusi zhisui Yuanda shouxia zhuse rupo lisuan huidie’, line 49: ‘Three *shuo* of wheat, offered as alms during the image-procession on the sixth day of the second month’ (麥三碩, 二月六日沿(緣)行像施入);
- (6) Ibid, lines 107–108: ‘Six *shuo* and eight *dou* of millet, offered as alms during the image-procession on the sixth day of the second month’ (粟陸碩捌斗, 二月六[日]沿(緣)行像施入);
- (7) Ibid, line 138: ‘Seven *dou* of beans, offered as alms during the image-procession on the sixth day of the second month’ (豆柒斗, 二月六日沿行像施入);
- (8) P.2040, ‘Houjin shiqi Jingtusi zhuse rupo lisuan huigao’ 後晉時期淨土寺諸色入破曆算會稿 [Draft of Finale Histories Accounts

for Jingtu Monastery in the Later Jin Period], line 109: ‘Four *shuo* and eight *dou* of millet, offered as alms during the image procession on the sixth, seventh, and eighth day of the second month’ (粟肆碩八斗, 二月六 [日] 七日八日沿行像散施入);

- (9) lines 130–131: ‘Six *shuo* and six *dou* of wheat, offered as alms during the image procession on the sixth and seventh day of the second month’ (麥陸碩陸斗, 二月六日七日沿行像散施入);
- (10) Ibid, lines 420–421: ‘Three *shuo* and six *dou* of millet, offered as alms during the image procession on the seventh day of the second month’ (粟三碩陸斗, 二月七日沿行像散施入);
- (11) Ibid, lines 531–532: ‘Two *dan* and seven *dou* of wheat, offered as alms during the image procession on the seventh day of the second month’ (麥兩石柒斗, 二月七日沿行像散施入).

These source materials demonstrate that every year on the three days of the 6th, 7th and 8th of the 2nd month, Jingtu Monastery would receive donations in varying quantities because they were holding image-procession activities. It is possible that these donations were received by the image-procession *she* on behalf of the monastery, and were known at the time as ‘gathered items’ (*juwu* 聚物) or ‘gifted items’ (*songwu* 送物). For examples:

- (1) P.2032, ‘Houjin shidai Jingtusi zhuse rupo lisuan huigao’, lines 216–217: ‘two *dou* five *sheng* of wheat powder and one *sheng* of oil for making food; serving the people of Image-procession *She* who give items [to the monastery]’ (麵二斗伍升, 油一升造食, 行像社送物看人用);
- (2) Ibid, lines 439–440: ‘two *dou* seven *sheng* of wheat powder and one *sheng* of oil for use in the vegetarian feast when the Image-procession *she* gathers items’ (麵貳斗柒勝, 油壹勝, 行像社聚物齋時用);
- (3) P.204, ‘Houjin shiqi Jingtusi zhuse rupo lisuan huigao’, line 298: ‘one *sheng* of oil for use when the image-procession *she* gathers items’ (油壹升, 行像社聚物看用).
- (4) P.3234, *verso*, ‘Guimao nian (943) zhengyue yiri yihou Jingtusi zhisui shami Guangjin mianpo’ 癸卯年 (943) 正月一日已後淨土寺直歲沙彌廣進面破 [Recent Expenses for the Annual Duty

Śramaṇera of Jingtū Monastery, Guangjin 廣進, After the 1st Day of the 1st Month of Guimao Year (943)], line 41: ‘Four *dou* of wheat powder for making food; used when the image-procession *she* gathers items’ (麵肆斗造食, 看行像社聚物用).

The character ‘*kan*’ 看 (see) in the above-cited passages has a sense of receiving guests. When the image-procession *she* ‘gathered items’ and ‘gave items’ to be received by Jingtū Monastery, it was of course due to the relationship between the activities engaged in by the image-procession *she* and Jingtū Monastery.

Therefore, in these textual passages, the grains, oil, and so forth that the image-procession *she* gave to Jingtū Monastery should be the ‘items’ (*wu* 物) that they gathered and gave. During the time of image-procession events, even if there were no ‘item gathering’ activities, the image-procession *she* would still often be received by Jingtū Monastery. For examples:

- (1) P.2049, ‘Tongguang sannian zhengyue Shazhou Jingtū si zhisui Baohu shouxia zhuse rupo lisuan huidie’, lines 320–321: ‘Four *dou* of millet, for the Image-procession *she* to buy wine on the seventh day of the second month’ (粟肆斗, 二月七日與行像社沽酒用);
- (2) P.2032, ‘Houjin shidai Jingtusi zhuse rupo lisuan huigao’, lines 113–114: ‘one *dan* eight *dou* of wheat powder, four and a half *sheng* of oil, and one *dan* eight *dou* five *sheng* of millet to buy, or, in exchange for wine, used for the vegetarian feast for *she* people and monks on the eighth day of the second month’ (麵一石八斗, 油四升半, 粟一石八斗五升臥酒, 二月八日社人及僧齋時用);
- (3) P.2049, *verso*, ‘Changxing ernian zhengyue Shazhou Jingtusi zhisui Yuanda shouxia zhuse rupo lisuan huidie’, lines 201–203: ‘two *shuo* one *dou* of millet to buy, or, in exchange for wine, for the image-procession *she* people, lay supporters (*zhuforen* 助佛人), and monks during the vegetarian feast held on the eighth day of the second month.’ (粟兩碩壹斗臥酒, 二月八日齋時看行像社人及助佛人眾僧等用);
- (4) *Ibid*, lines 272–273: ‘Four *sheng* and one *chao* of oil. for cooking *fuyu* cakes to serve *she* people and monks when making the porridge vegetarian feast on the eighth day of the second month’ (油肆勝壹

抄, 二月八日造粥齋時煮餠餠看社人眾僧等用);

(5) Ibid, lines 333–336: ‘One *shuo* two *dou* of wheat powder for cooking *hubing* pancakes, *qibing* pancakes and *fuyu* cakes to serve *she* people, those carrying the image and monks when making the porridge vegetarian feast on the eighth day of the second month’ (麵壹碩貳斗, 二月八日造粥齋時胡餅氣餅餠看社人及擎小佛子兼眾僧等食用);

P.2040, verso, ‘Houjin shiqi Jingtusi zhuse rupo lisuan huigao’, lines 227–228: ‘One *shuo* two *dou* of millet, given to the people of the Image-procession *she* for use on the seventh day; two *shuo* one *dou* of millet to buy, or, in exchange for wine; used by the people of the *she* on the eighth day of the second month and invite people to use on the next day. (粟壹碩貳斗, 支與行像社人七日用; 粟兩碩一斗臥酒, 二月八日看社人及第二日屈人用).

Above there are several places that do not note members of the image-procession *she*, but because the times are all on the image-procession day (8th day of the 2nd month), we can surmise that it was the image-procession *she* members who were being received as guests. As to the reason why this image-procession *she* had such a close relationship with Jingtū Monastery, at present we cannot make a conclusive statement based on presently extant source materials, but we can surmise that the image-procession office was itself located within Jingtū Monastery.

Following the increase in the number of *Foshe* that were in existence for longer lengths of time, Buddhist communities with this type of organisation slowly became formally structured during the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties periods. First, when *Foshe* were first established, the majority enacted articles of association which were like charters. For example, in the aforementioned ‘Tang Xianqing sannian (658) huo yiqian Zhong Apo deng shetiao’ and P.4525¹¹ ‘Taiping xingguo qinian (982) eryue li shetiao yidao’, they both have *sishe* articles of association that focus on undertaking Buddhist activities and mutual assistance in funerary services. Beixin 882, ‘Bowan fangxiang nürenshe shetiao gao’, on the other hand, is about articles of association for a *Foshe* that is set to hold lamp-lighting offerings to the Buddha within a three-year period. Articles of association from

Foshe that engaged in single event activities include the above P.3540, ‘Gengwu nian (970) zhengyue nianwu ri shezhang Wang Anwu deng yishiliu ren xiuku ping’. There is even textual evidence of re-selection of leadership for *Foshe*, such as the example of P.4960, ‘Jiachen nian (944) wuyue nianyi ri kutou xiu Fotang she zaiqing sangan ping’. Cross-referencing the articles of association in the above-cited *Foshe* with those of traditional *sishe*, these charter-like texts usually set up regulations concerning the goals of the *she*, its background, the *sishe* organisational structure, the content of its activities, the rights, privileges and duties of its members, and measures for punishment. Taking these articles of association as textual evidence to standardise the organisation and activities of *sishe* was a common feature of traditional *sishe* and *Foshe* during the Tang and Five Dynasties periods. It was also an important mark of the organisational maturity of *sishe* as non-governmental organisations.

The second sign of the slow formal structuring of *Foshe* organisations was the gradual end of the proliferation of their leadership titles, as the names for *she* leaders gradually became standardised. As described in the texts above, there was a great number of names for *yiyi* leaders in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties. Not only did they differ in each *she*, even within a single *yiyi* there was often a great many leaders and official titles. But by the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties periods, the titles and numbers of *Foshe* leaders was steadily decreasing. Of course, this decrease in the titles for leaders in *Foshe* was something that took place through a long historical process. For example, this plethora of names for *Foshe* leaders can be seen in the above-mentioned texts ‘Sui Wang Funü deng zaoxiang ji’ and ‘Sui Wang Nühui deng zaoxiang ji’. From the Sui and early Tang onwards, *zhai* activities received increasing interest from the public whereas image construction activities conversely decreased in popularity, bringing about the gradual disappearance of official titles for image patrons as merit patrons, which had previously been broadly popular since the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Also related to image construction activities, the leaders of some *yiyi* in the Northern and Southern Dynasties divided into two sides or four faces.¹⁹⁵ This phenomenon of titles vanished with the changes to the content of activities. At the same time as the decrease in numbers of titles for

Foshe leadership was taking place, there was also a gradual decrease in the numbers of leaders themselves. In the inscribed records on stone *sūtras* as Fangshan from the mid to late Tang period (from the Kaiyuan period to the start of Qianning), there were more *yi* chiefs, *she* officials, secretaries (*yi* secretaries, arbiter secretaries), arbiters, and so forth,¹⁹⁶ as well as *sūtra* patrons, *yi* officials, *she* chiefs, *sūtra yi* heads, chief administrative *weinuo*, and so on. Most *she* had between one to three people as their leaders.¹⁹⁷ Irrespective of whether it was the number of leadership titles or the number of leaders themselves in each *Foshe*, there was a decrease when compared with the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties. In this process, another change that attracts our attention is that the leadership of *Foshe* and traditional *sishe* gradually converged. During the periods of the Eastern Jin to the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the leaders of *sheyi* that engaged in the two *she* sacrifices of spring and autumn were the *she* rector (*shezheng* 社正), *she* clerk (*sheyuan* 社掾), *she* scribe (*sheshi* 社史), *she* elder (*shelao* 社老), and others.¹⁹⁸ These were not used in common with the leadership titles of *yiyi*. But from a large number of source materials preserved in the Duhuang manuscripts we can see that in the late Tang, Five Dynasties, and early Song, the leadership of both traditional *sishe* and *Foshe* were by and large the same fixed three officers, i.e. *she* chief, *she* official and secretary.¹⁹⁹ It is not hard to conclude that the convergence of leadership names in *sishe* was due to the merging of content of two types of *sishe* activities. Another

¹⁹⁵ That is, even within the same *yiyi*, there would be two or four people for a single official title in order to share responsibility for the carving of different sides or faces of the same stone image of a Buddha.

¹⁹⁶ ‘*Pingzheng*’ 平正 is just the ‘*zhongzheng*’ 中正 in the *yiyi* of the Northern Dynasties. This variation is due to the taboo of the Sui court.

¹⁹⁷ Refer to Beijing tushuguan jinshizu & Zhongguo fojiao tushu wenwuguan shijingzu, comps., *Fangshan shijing tiji huibian*.

¹⁹⁸ Ning, ‘Ji ‘Jin dangli lische bei’.

¹⁹⁹ Besides the three officials, in some *she*-s, there are other titles such as *shelao* 社老 [she elder], *yuhou* 虞候 [Inspector] and *yuezhi* 月直, but the standing leaders of most *she*-s are the three officials, or one or two of the three officials.

special feature of the changes of leadership titles in *Foshe* during the Sui, Tang, and Northern and Southern Dynasties was that due to the gradual decrease in names for Buddhist Saṃgha officials, ultimately the main positions that led them were the *sbe* head which evolved from the *yi* head, the *sbe* official which was a new appearance in the Sui and Tang, and the secretary which only appeared in the Northern Zhou period. The common feature of these three positions was that they all originated in names for secular officials. The *yi* chief, *weinuo*, and other titles from the Northern and Southern Dynasties which originated from titles for Saṃgha officials and were broadly popular slowly faded away, even to the point where the *yi* masters who were media between the Buddha and *yiyi* members and themselves *yiyi* members no longer appeared in the records. The secularization of names for leaders in *Foshe* reflects the general trend toward secularisation of *Foshe* during the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties periods. This is a phenomenon that is the same as the trend wherein a portion of *Foshe* began to engage in mutual assistance in funerary services and other such traditional activities. This demonstrates traditional *sisbe* had an enormous influence on the common folk during this period in history.

The third sign of this slow movement toward formal structuring of *Foshe* organisations is the decrease in the number of people in each *Foshe* due to the tightening of their organisational structures. From the names of *sbe* members as seen in stone inscription sources and Dunhuang manuscripts, most *Foshe* during the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties periods had approximately 10 to 60 members, and there were not many that had 100 or more. If there were too many participants, they would instead form a number of *Foshe* or divide into a number of groups. For example, in the text cited above about Baoqiong: ‘Each time a *yi* was formed, there will certainly be thirty people. ... This type of *yi* organization counts to a full thousand’ (每結一邑, 必三十人. 如此邑義, 乃盈千計). Although there were many people under his organisation, the number of members of each *Foshe* is not that many. Another example given above is in the ‘Tang Foyu Jin’gang jing hui bei’, where we see that Chan Venerable Seng<lacuna> of Mount Nanlingtai in Licheng County, Jizhou, organised ‘*yi* people, including the merit patrons and the provincial *karmadānas*, number one hundred and ten people’ (功德主及都維

那邑人等一百一十人). However, these 110 people were also divided into eight separate *Diamond Sūtra yihui*.²⁰⁰ Another example is in ‘Tang jiupin wangsheng she bei’ 唐九品往生社碑 [Stele for the Nine Grades of Rebirth She in the Tang], which records that although there were 1,250 members, they were also divided up into nine groups (grades).²⁰¹

The above three signs demonstrate that *Foshe* as a kind of non-governmental organisation had already matured in terms of their organisational structures.

2.3. Relationship between *Foshe* and Buddhism

The nature of *Foshe* in the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties periods and the nature of their relationship with Buddhist temples and monasteries, was the same as that in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods, as they were still peripheral organisations to Buddhist monasteries. Just as in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties, many *Foshe* were established under the influence of eminent or famous monastics who were welcomed by social elites and commoners alike. For example, the ‘rice grain *she*’ mentioned above, which were formed under the influence of the eminent monastic Zhicong during the period between the Sui and Tang, whereas the *Foshe* ‘counted to a full thousand’ 乃盈千計 were formed under the influence of early Tang eminent monastic Baoqiong. The *Diamond Sūtra yihui* mentioned above were also organised under the influence of Chan Venerable Seng<lacuna> of Mount Nanlingtai in Licheng County in Jizhou, and were led by monastics. Above we have cited P.4960, ‘Jiachen nian (944) wuyue nianyi ri kutou xiu Fotang she zaiqing sanguan ping’, in which the newly selected three officials, i.e., *she* official, *she* chief, and secretary, were all monastics, which is enough to show that this *she* was led by monastics. There are

²⁰⁰ Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 10: 454–456.

²⁰¹ *Baoqionshi jinshi buzheng*, fasc. 73, in Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 10: 464–465.

many more examples besides these. Some *Foshe*, such as Dunhuang lamp-lighting *she*, were organised and managed by local offices of monastic officials, and Dunhuang image-procession *she* were also organised and managed by local monastic officials and had a close relationship with Jingtū Monastery. These two kinds of situation were not previously seen in earlier dynasties. Of course, this period still had *Foshe* that were established without being directly influenced by monastic organisations or monastics. The reason why this type of *Foshe* appeared was the same as in previous dynasties, and their nature was of peripheral organisations to Buddhist monastic communities.

Just as with *yiyi* in the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods, *Foshe* in the Tang and Five Dynasties periods were also the social foundation for Buddhist temples and monasteries, and an important source for finances and workforces. For example, the ‘rice grain *she*’ organised by Zhicong had the goal of resolving monasteries’ problems of food and grains. This same goal was held by Fatong’s *Foshe*. ‘Whenever there were *Sramāṇas*, they were invited into the village *yi* (村邑). If some of them took lodging at the village *yi*, they stopped fasting in the next morning. Each family [in the village] contributed a plate in order to make the general offerings’ (但有沙門，皆延村邑，或有住宿，明旦解齋。家別一槃，以為通供).²⁰² The members of the *Foshe* mentioned above, that was organised by Zhiyan of Jiachan Monastery in Yuzhou during the Tang, were originally donors to that monastery. Furthermore, the records concerning some *Foshe* making offerings to some monastery in the Dunhuang texts P.2614, verso, ‘Mosi zhuang’, and P.4044, ‘Gongyuan 905 zhi 914 nian Dunhuang Xiuwen fangxiang she zaiji shangzu lanruo biaohua lianglang dasheng gongde zan bing xu’, it should be a case of providing economic and labour support for the monastery that received the offerings. For candle-lighting activities and image-procession activities it was candle-lighting *she* and image-procession *she* of Dunhuang that provided the labour force for monastic communities. In ‘Sui Nangong ling Song Jing jian nisi ming bing yince’ 隋南宮令宋景建尼寺銘並陰側 [Inscriptions (on the Front Side) and the Back

²⁰² Xu Gaoseng *zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 24.641c22–24.

Side for Construction of a Nunnery by Song Jing, the Magistrate of Nangong in the Sui]²⁰³, we see an actual example of a *Foshe* assisting with construction of a monastery. Recorded in Bai Juyi's 'Huayan jing she shiji' 華嚴經社石記 [Stone Record of the *Flower Adornment Sūtra She*] is the passage: 'The monk Nancao 南操 from the Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 of Hangzhou 杭州 ... therefore organized [the people] into the *she* ... and also gathered funds from the people [of the *she*], and bought ten *qing* of good farmland, collecting its interests each year and gave it to the *zhai* for use perpetually' (杭州龍興寺僧南操, 於是攝之以社, 又於(社)眾中募財,置良田十頃,歲取其利,永給齋用).²⁰⁴ This is proof of a *Foshe* member raising funds to purchase a piece of land. These above examples all show that during the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties periods, the economic qualities of *Foshe* organised by monastic communities and monastics was even more pronounced than the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties. *Foshe* existed not only to provide important financial support for the dissemination and development of Buddhism, but because their members were Buddhist devotees of differing levels, and so the existence of *Foshe* has therefore aided in the broad propagation of Buddhism itself. The more *Foshe* that a single monastery could form, the greater their economic and social influence. Therefore, *Foshe* had an important role in the growth of Buddhist social power. Song Dynasty eminent monastic Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001) saw very clearly this important role that *Foshe* played when he states in his *Da Song sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 [Song-Dynasty Outline of the History of the Buddhist Clergy]: 'The law of the *she* is to achieve a major (lit. 'heavy') cause through combining various minor (lit. 'light') activities. There is not a more expeditious (lit. closer) way than *she* to accomplish tasks' (社之法以眾輕成一重. 濟事成功, 莫近於社).²⁰⁵

However, the voluntary nature of *Foshe* members providing economic and labour force support for monastic organisations is

²⁰³ *Baqionshi jinsbi buzheng*, fasc. 25, in *Zhongguo dongfang wenhua yanjiuhui lishi wenhua fenhui*, comp., *Lidai beizhi congshu*, vol. 9: 429–434.

²⁰⁴ *Quan Tang wen* 676.3060.

²⁰⁵ *Da Song sengshi lue*, T no. 2126, 54: 3.250c25–26. Welter's translation,

still somewhat weaker than that of the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods. The reason why *Foshe* members initially joined a *Foshe* was possibly due to their religious faith in Buddhism. But, due to the increase in *Foshe* that had a longer lifespan during this period, this type of *Foshe* differs from those *yiyi* during the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties that largely undertook a single event and then dissolved. Their organisational structures were tighter, their disciplinary rules stricter, ‘The regulations are strict and clear, surpassing the public laws’ (條約嚴明, 愈於公法).²⁰⁶ After joining the *Foshe*, even if they subsequently did not wish to participate in Buddhist activities organised by the *Foshe*, they may still passively or forcibly be made to participate. Therefore, for long-term *Foshe* in the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties periods, due to the binding nature of their articles of association, there is a clear compulsory quality to members’ participation in Buddhist events or donations. For example, in the *Foshe* organised by Fatong: ‘If monks paid a visit, they were directly taken to the hall, where they were served according to their facial expressions, and were treated as if they were relatives’ (有僧投造, 直詣堂中, 承接顏色, 譬若親識).²⁰⁷ If monastics visited their homes, irrespective of whether or not they wanted to, the members would have to personally receive them. Under the need of dharma assemblies, ‘the pressure of dharma conversion is even more fierce than the government levying, while the requirement of the dharma rituals is even more severe than imperial edicts’ (化誘所急, 切於官征; 法事所須, 嚴於制敕)!²⁰⁸ Although the above is Di Renjie’s 狄仁

which differs significantly this one, is found in Welter, trans., *The Administration of Buddhism in China*, 540.

²⁰⁶ *Da Song sengshi lüe*, T no. 2126, 54: 3.250c27 (cf. Welter [trans.], *The Administration of Buddhism in China*, 540). This sentence of Zanning describes the situation of Buddhist societies in the early years of the Song Dynasty, but it also conforms to the situation of Buddhist societies in the Late Tang and Five Dynasties. Just as shown in this book, Buddhist societies in the Tang and Five Dynasties also have articles of association.

²⁰⁷ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 24.641c25–26.

²⁰⁸ ‘Di Renjie shu’, *Tang huiyao* 49.857.

傑 (630–700) description of monastics soliciting donations of items from the commonfolk, at times this is also entirely accurate for the members of *Foshe*.

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Abbreviations

- T* *Taishō shinsū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe et al., eds.
- ZLST* *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國曆代石刻拓本彙編. See Secondary Sources, Beijing tushuguan Jinshizu, comp.

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