

Conversion by the Book: Buddhist Print Culture in Early Republican China

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ABSTRACT

Conversion by the Book: Buddhist Print Culture in Early Republican China

經典佛化: 民國初期佛教出版文化

Gregory Adam Scott

史瑞戈

In this dissertation I argue that print culture acted as a catalyst for change among Buddhists in modern China. Through examining major publication institutions, publishing projects, and their managers and contributors from the late nineteenth century to the 1920s, I show that the expansion of the scope and variety of printed works, as well as new the social structures surrounding publishing, substantially impacted the activity of Chinese Buddhists. In doing so I hope to contribute to ongoing discussions of the ‘revival’ of Chinese Buddhism in the modern period, and demonstrate that publishing, propelled by new print technologies and new forms of social organization, was a key field of interaction and communication for religious actors during this era, one that helped make possible the introduction and adoption of new forms of religious thought and practice.

本論文的論點是出版文化在近代中國佛教人物之中,扮演了變化觸媒的角色. 通過研究從十九世紀末到二十世紀二十年代的主要的出版機構, 種類, 及其主辦人物與提供貢獻者, 論文說明佛教印刷的多元化 以及範圍的大量擴展, 再加上跟出版有關的社會結構, 對中國佛教人物的活動都發生了顯著的影響. 此研究顯示在被新印刷技術與新形式的社會結構的推進下的出版事業, 為該時代的宗教人物展開一種新的相互連結與構通的場域, 因而使新的宗教思想與實踐的引入成為可能. 此論文試圖對現行關於近代中國佛教的所謂'復興'的討論提出貢獻.

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To my parents
whose boundless love and care
made everything possible

Abbreviations and Conventions

Citations will include complete bibliographic information for the first footnote, and a shortened form thereafter.

Any commonly-used alternate or style names will be given at the first instance of a personal name.

Traditional Chinese characters will be used in all cases, even when the original source was written in simplified characters.

Japanese names and titles will use pre-1945, pre-*shinjitai* characters.

Single quotation marks enclose terms used under consideration, to bring attention to the fact that they may not have the meaning commonly ascribed to them. Double quotation marks are used for direct quotations from sources. Original text of translated passages is provided where possible in footnote.

The English translation of book and article titles are not exact, so they are not given in italics as are the pinyin transcription of titles.

Works Cited by Abbreviation

DDB

Digital Dictionary of Buddhism 電子佛教辭典, edited by A. Charles Muller.

<<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>>

MFQ

Huang Xianian 黃夏年, ed. *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成. 209 Vols. Beijing: Quanguo tushiguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2006.

MFQB

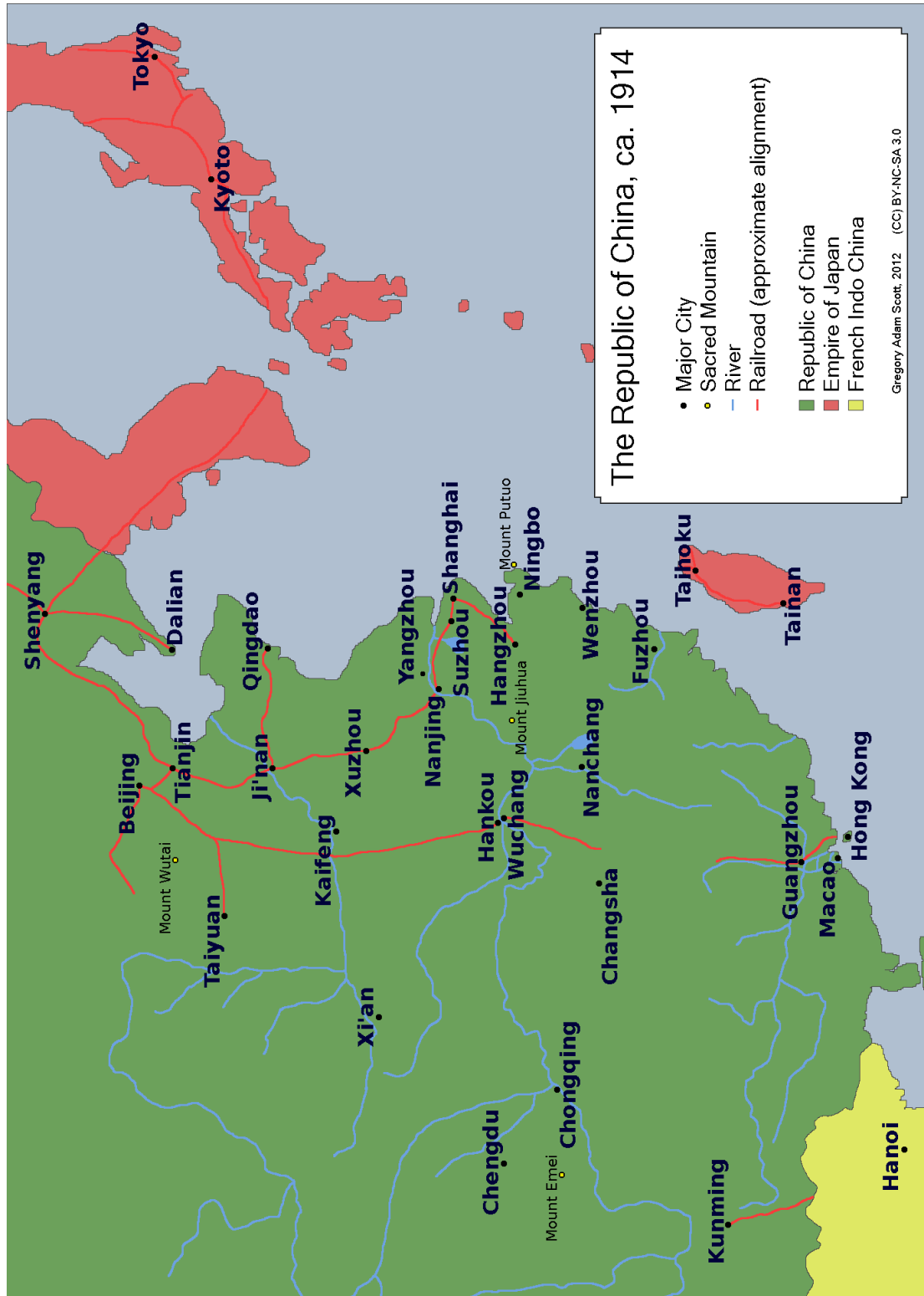
Huang Xianian 黃夏年, ed. *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng bubian* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成補編. 83 Vols. Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2008.

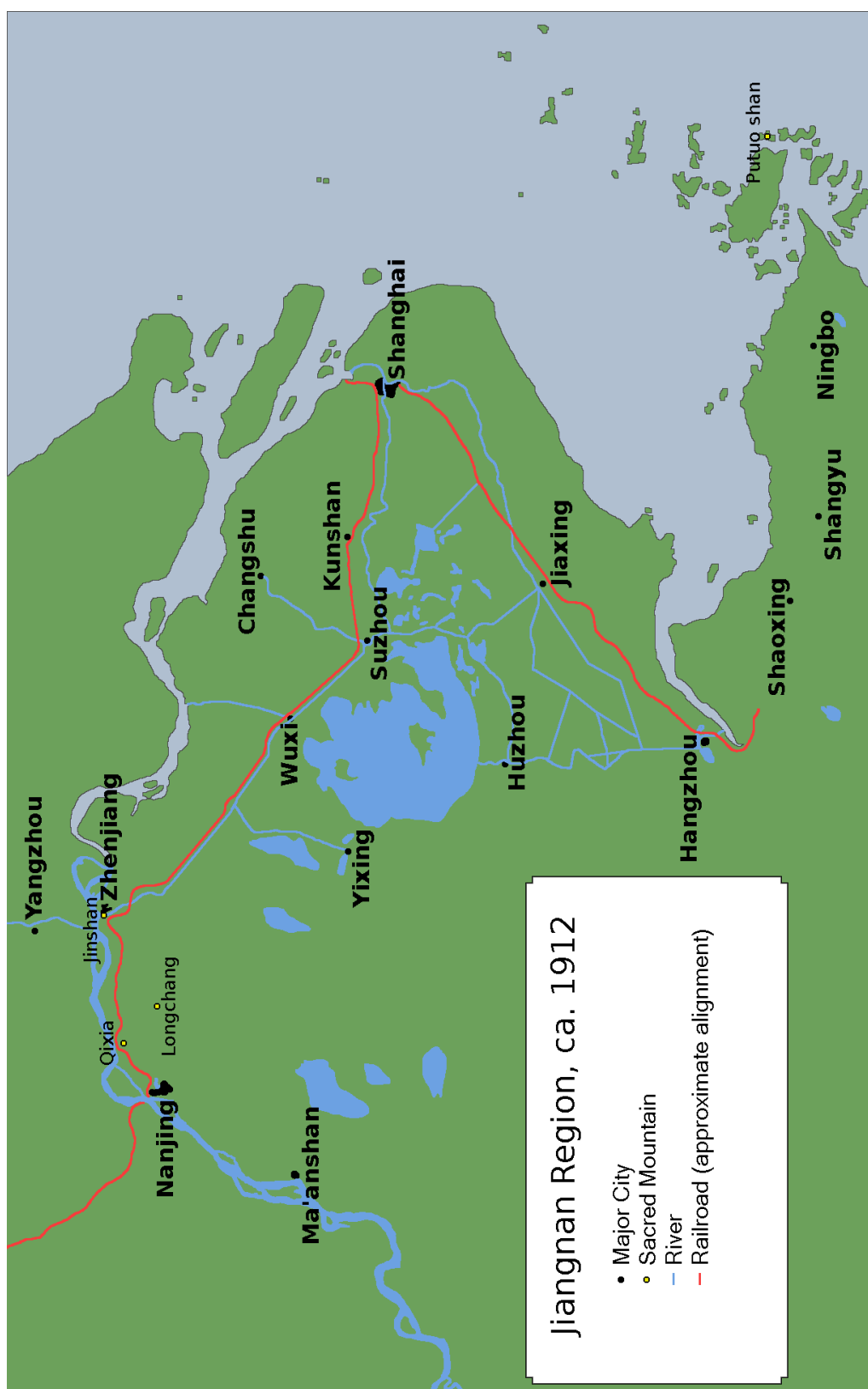
Sxxxx

Refers to an item number in the Digital Bibliography of Chinese Buddhism,

<<http://bib.buddhiststudies.net>>

Maps of Principle Locations





Introduction

Print Culture and Religion in Modern China

1. Prolegomena

In the latter part of the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth century, a period spanning the end of the Qing 清 dynasty (1644 – 1911) and the beginning of the Republic of China 中華民國 (1912 – 1949), religious culture in China underwent a series of developments that resulted in a multitude of new ideas, practices, texts, and institutions.¹ For Chinese Buddhists, this era has come to be known as one of religious 'revival', and the lay Buddhist publisher Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (Yang Renshan 楊仁山, 1837 – 1911) is often cited as its progenitor. A widely-reproduced version of his religious biography describes how Yang, the son of a *jinsi* 進士 scholar from an Anhui 安徽 gentry family, fled to Hangzhou 杭州 in the 1860s to escape the turmoil of the Taiping Rebellion (Taiping Tianguo 太平天國, 1850 – 1864).²

1 A current research project refers to the latter part of this period as “Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religion” 改變了中國宗教的 50 年. It is led by Paul R. Katz and Vincent Goosseart and is based at the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taiwan. See also Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), especially the introduction.

2 The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom rebelled against the Qing between 1850 and 1864. See Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996). Taiping documents use the non-standard character *guo* 国, which I retain here.

Browsing in a local bookstore, he chanced upon a copy of *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna), and upon reading it was inspired to engage in Buddhist learning and read other Buddhist publications. Before long he and a group of compatriots were reprinting Buddhist scriptures under the imprint of the Jinling Scriptural Press 金陵刻經處, a xylographic press in Nanjing 南京.³ The hundreds of titles that Yang's press published helped to rebuild the corpus of Buddhist texts in circulation in post-Taiping China. That and his lasting influence on a number of monastic and lay students became his best-known contributions to Buddhist religious culture in modern China, and cemented his reputation as the 'father' of a modern revival of Chinese Buddhism.⁴ Similar stories of a “conversion by the book”, where the reading of a Buddhist text initiated a famous figure's turn toward Buddhism or prompted a significant deepening of their practice, can be found throughout Chinese

3 Xylography refers to printing using flat carved wooden blocks. See chapter one, section two for a discussion of the technical aspects of woodblock printing. Gabriele Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle. Yang Wenhui (1837-1911), réformateur laïque et imprimeur* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2001); Huang Xia'nian 黃夏年, “Yang Wenhui yu Damopoluo fuxing Fojiao guan de bijiao” 楊文會與達摩波羅復興佛教觀的比較, *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 中國文化研究 No. 21 (Fall, 1998): 131-138. Though Goldfuss and others note that the story of Yang finding the Buddhist book by sheer chance is likely apocryphal, his subsequent Buddhist engagement and publishing activities are both well-documented and the story often appears as part of his biographical literature.

4 See chapter one, section three on Yang and his Jinling press. Yang's students include Miaokong 妙空 (1826 – 1880), founder of the Jiangbei Scriptural Press, and Xu Weiru 徐蔚如 (1878 – 1937), founder and manager of the Beijing and Tianjin Scriptural Presses. See chapter one, sections three and four for more on these figures and their presses. Taixu 太虛 (1890-1947) spent some time studying under Yang as well. On the post-Taiping reconstruction of Buddhism in China, see Raoul Birnbaum, “Buddhist China at the Century's Turn”, *The China Quarterly*, no. 174 (June, 2003), 430-438.

Buddhist biographical literature, including a few well-known cases in the modern period.⁵

Scriptural publishing and texts had long occupied a place of importance in Chinese Buddhism, but they assumed a new prominence and role through Yang's lifetime and into the Republican period, when an entire array of activities surrounding Buddhist texts, from their collection and editing through to their production and distribution, were newly developed. The history of this Buddhist print culture in modern China is the subject of the present study.

I understand the term 'print culture' to mean how the use of printing press technology involves a particular set of intellectual and social processes and has a unique type of impact on the producers and consumers of printed information. A recent definition of print culture identifies two related components: *print artifacts*, and *social processes of print*.⁶ Print artifacts are the physical products of the printing press: books, periodicals, series, advertising, posters, ephemera and so on. Treating these objects as artifacts means focusing on their material construction, publishing information, internal references to other printed works, editorial

5 Taixu reportedly had an enlightenment experience in 1907 while reading the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 大般若波羅蜜多經. Justin Ritzinger, "Anarchy in the Pure Land: Tradition, Modernity, and the Cult of Maitreya in Republican China," Ph.D. Dissertation (Harvard University, 2010), 4; Don A. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism: Taixu's Reforms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 67. Li Jingwei 李經緯 (d.u.) was already interested in Buddhism but he credits reading Buddhist periodicals and the publications of Ding Fubao with inspiring his commitment. See "Xuefo ziji" 學佛自記, *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林刊, No. 36 (December 1933), MFQ 15:455-456.

6 This definition was coined by Professor Greg Downy of the School of Journalism & Mass Communication and the School of Library & Information Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in a conference presentation, and published in his blog "Uncovering Information Labor", available at <http://uncoveringinformationlabor.blogspot.com/2008/09/print-culture-and-sciencetechnology.html>.

structure, page layout, character set, and related factors, thereby adding an additional layer of historical context behind that of the textual content. The second aspect to print culture, social processes of print, extends this inquiry to the people and institutions involved in the writing, editing, publishing, printing, distributing, and reading of print artifacts, and how their involvement in these processes impacts the person or community. Print technologies impose certain material, capital, and skill requirements on their use, resulting in the formation of such organizations as publishing houses, printer's guilds, and bookstores. Groups not directly related to publishing are also transformed. Publishing a periodical as a society organ, for example, enables religious and social groups to establish their presence in the public sphere, but requires them to elucidate their identity and their ideas in print for a mass audience, and adapt to a rapidly evolving reading market. The study of print culture thus requires consideration of published materials as well as the social history of the publishing enterprise.⁷

Buddhists in modern China built upon a centuries-long history of manuscript textual culture and xylographic print culture to produce a large corpus of published texts in a relatively short amount of time. The research bibliography for this project lists over 2,200 Buddhist-themed items published between 1866 and 1949, a number that includes reprint editions but which treats most multi-issue periodicals as a single item. It does not yet

⁷ A more comprehensive exploration of print culture theory follows in section 4.

incorporate items from most scriptural catalogues, which in some cases list over three thousand titles.⁸ The social processes of print also greatly expanded in scope during this era. Students of Yang Wenhui organized their own scriptural presses and publishing houses; Buddhist associations such as the Zhonghua Fojiao zonghui 中華佛教總會 (Chinese General Buddhist Association; CGBA) and the Jueshe 覺社 (Awakening Society) made publishing a central part of their organizations' activities; and an array of smaller publishers also produced Buddhist materials, often as part of a catalogue that featured works associated with Confucian traditions, Daoism and popular religion, as well as morality books (*shanshu* 善書). The Buddhist publishing enterprise touched nearly every aspect of Buddhist religious culture in modern China, was an important aspect of the work of several major monastic and lay figures, and linked Buddhists to wider intellectual and cultural contexts, both among other religious groups and in the broader social sphere.⁹

Research into Buddhist print culture in modern China is imperative for several reasons:

1) Firstly, its sheer size and scope as outlined above demands our attention. While studies have made use of these publications as primary sources, we do not yet have a set of

8 See appendix 1 for a discussion of the composition of the bibliography.

9 For a concise yet comprehensive outline study of this topic, see Jan Kiely, “Spreading the Dharma with the Mechanized Press: New Buddhist Print Cultures in the Modern Chinese Print Revolution, 1866-1949”, in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, 1800-2008*, edited by Christopher Reed and Cynthia Brokaw (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 2010): 185-210.

clear and comprehensive bibliographic data to guide our research. The Digital Bibliography of Chinese Buddhism, a database of publication information for Chinese-language Buddhist texts, was assembled as part of this dissertation project in an attempt to begin to address this. It provides researchers with annotated bibliographic data for Chinese Buddhist publications published between the 1860s and 1950 that is supported by bibliographic research and supplied with citations of original sources.¹⁰ The intent is to give researchers a map to help them navigate the field of published material from this period, and to use the data to open up new avenues of research into the people and institutions behind these materials.

2) The publication of Buddhist materials, from the collection of source texts through to their distribution and consumption, was a vitally important enterprise for a great number of influential monastic and lay Buddhists in modern China. Printing was widely seen as a powerful generator of religious merit and an important means of spreading religious teachings. Many contemporary religious practices such as *fahui* 法會 (dharma assemblies) and *songjing* 誦經 (scripture recitation) involved the production and dissemination of printed scriptures. A great deal of time, money, and effort was invested into funding scriptural presses and publishing projects, even when social and political instability meant that labor and materials were both in critically short supply. Knowing more about publishing and its

10 Appendix 1 outlines this resource. It is currently available through an online interface at <<http://bib.buddhiststudies.net/>>.

relationship to other practices would help us better understand the larger picture of religious culture.

3) Not only Buddhists, but individuals and groups from a number of religious backgrounds were highly active in printing religious works during this era. Several figures moved into and out of Buddhist circles during their lifetime and were responsible for publishing important works from several different religious traditions. Opening up the field of Buddhist print culture and seeing how publishers and publications crossed between different types of doctrinal traditions will give us another perspective with which we may better understand how practices of print played a role in the modern transformation of the thought and practice of Daoists, Muslims, Christians, redemptive societies, and other religious communities during this period.¹¹

4) Finally, looking at the history of modern Chinese Buddhism through the lens of print culture has the potential to help us better place it within the larger context of modern Chinese history, and understand how Buddhists participated in the major intellectual and cultural movements of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century China. Mass media and the public sphere of the print world were important to many Buddhists, but they were similarly important aspects of cultural, social, and political change in modern China, worlds with which

11 A collection of studies of the role of print in several types of religious communities in modern China will appear in Philip Clart and Gregory Adam Scott, eds., *Religious Publishing and Print Culture in Modern China* (Boston, Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming 2014).

many Buddhist leaders were intimately involved. Publishing is a key zone where the 'Buddhist' and 'secular' modern histories of change intersect, and one where the relationships between the two might be more clearly visible.

2. Theories of Religion and Secularization

Current scholarly understandings of Buddhism and its modern history in China have been informed by the fields of comparative religion and the history of religions, both of which study the world's religions as cultural phenomena. The roots of the concept of the 'World Religions' can be traced back as early as the European Renaissance of the 14th to the 17th centuries CE, but only began to coalesce into a set of clearly articulated ideas around the middle of the nineteenth century. In reviewing the historical construction of this system, Tomoko Masuzawa argues that early studies of non-Christian religious traditions were pervaded by a basic dichotomy of 'Christian' and 'Other', a framework that served to argue for the superiority and doctrinal unity of the former at the expense of the latter. She further asserts that when a more pluralistic view of the world's religions was later adopted among scholars of comparative religion, it carried with it the basic assumptions and biases of this early phase; for most European scholars, to be religious was to be Christian, and the other species of the genus religion were judged according to how closely they resembled this implicit paradigm of what a

'religion' ought to be.¹² Whether or not we accept this argument, normative views of what a 'religion' is have had a lasting influence on both academic matters and public policy. Several scholars have called our attention to the first World's Parliament of Religions, held in September 1893 in conjunction with the World's Exposition in Chicago, as a key moment in the historical conceptualization of both 'religion' and of the 'World Religions'. The prominent role played by European and North American Protestant Christians in organizing the forum and in representing the participants would seem to support the thesis that the religious discourse of this period, even when taking place in the context of inter-religious dialogue, was still dominated by Western voices. Yet research into the proceedings has shown that many non-Christian speakers adopted the language and norms of their hosts in order to argue for the authenticity of their own traditions, perhaps because the speakers were often from the peripheries of institutional religion in their home countries.¹³

Studies of this sort have prompted a critical reappraisal of our received academic and public notions of religion, prompting some scholars to encourage a rethinking of the basic terms involved in the study of religion. One of the earliest to do so was Wilfred Cantwell Smith, whose work sought to develop a means of understanding religion without forcing it to

12 Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 51, 55, and *passim*.

13 Eric J. Ziolkowski, ed., *A Museum of Faiths: Histories and Legacies of the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993).

conform to the subjective and problematic criteria that is the legacy of nineteenth-century religious studies. His approach was to divide the subject into two separate phenomena: “faith”, which he defined as a personal relationship with the divine, cannot be critiqued from a scholarly standpoint; and the “cumulative traditions”, the legacies of religious thought developed through history by human beings which, in contrast, can critically analyzed by historians of any personal faith. In spite of this division, he maintained that the personal experience of the believer is of paramount concern to those seeking to understand a religion.¹⁴ Smith, and later scholars who have adopted these or similar reorientations for the study of religion, have emphasized the importance of attending to the historical legacies of religion and to the religious experiences of participants, while refraining from making judgments on those experiences with regard to truth claims, comparisons regarding value, or religious authenticity.¹⁵

In studying the history of religions in the modern period, scholars must also contend with secularization theory, the classical formulation of which states that as an integral and inevitable consequence of modernization, religion is transformed from an overarching canopy of ultimate meaning into one sphere of human life among many. The consequential prediction

14 Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991[1962]), vii, ix-x, 138.

15 Jonathan Z. Smith, “Religion, Religions, Religious” in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, edited by Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998): 269-284; J.Z. Smith, “A Twice-told Tale: The History of the History of Religions' History”, *Numen*, Vol. 48, no. 2 (2001): 131-146.

is that religion will decline in societies as they modernize, but as religion has persisted and even flourished in many countries, including the People's Republic of China since the reforms of the late 1970s, secularization theory in this strict sense has been discarded as a dead issue among scholars of religion.¹⁶ Talal Asad argues that the very notion of the secular is neither objective nor universal but rather one that emerged from the specific geographical and historical context of late-modern Western Europe, and was already a part of the ideological framework of modern understandings of religion rather than emerging as a new phenomenon. This is especially true in the case of cultures such as China, for which modern notions of religion were formulated in reference to ideas translated from abroad, where secularization was already a part of the conversation.¹⁷ José Casanova's reappraisal of secularization theory finds that while modernization does often lead to religion losing its former universality and becoming a functionally differentiated realm of society, it need not be annihilated nor be marginalized into a matter of strictly private conscience. In fact, many religious groups in the modern world have been able to transform themselves into “public religions” by distancing themselves from state-sponsored religion and appealing directly to believers, often through

16 For a discussion of how secularization has impacted the study of Chinese religions, see Michael Szonyi, “Secularization Theories and the Study of Chinese Religions”, *Social Compass*, Vol. 56 no. 3 (Sept. 2009): 312-327. My discussion here is largely based on the unpublished, full version of this paper.

17 Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

the use of modern broadcast media.¹⁸ Thus while the “secularization as the decline of religion” form of this thesis has largely been discarded, scholars continue to speak of secularization in another sense: as a redefinition of the terms under which religion operates in the public sphere, giving rise to dangers but also opportunities for religious groups, who can assume new roles as cultural institutions.

In late-Qing and early-Republican China, religious and intellectual elites encountered this framework of religion and the secular from European-language sources, often via an intermediate Japanese translation. *Zongjiao* 宗教, the term that has come to denote 'religion' in modern Chinese, first appeared in the writings of prominent reform-minded intellectuals as a reverse loan-word from Japan, where it had been coined as *shūkyō* to translate the word 'religion' from European-language texts.¹⁹ *Zongjiao* was at the center of a series of intellectual and political struggles in modern China; while some criticized it as a form of *mixin* 迷信 (errant belief; superstition) and an impediment to the establishment of a modern society, others saw the establishment of 'modernized' or 'patriotic' religion as an essential part of the nation-

18 José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), chapters 1-2.

19 Federico Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898* (Berkeley, CA: Project on Linguistic Analysis, University of California, 1993), 149-151, 222; Lu Yan, *Re-understanding Japan: Chinese Perspectives, 1895-1945* (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), Chapters 1 and 2; Lydia He Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity – China, 1900-1937* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), appendices B and C. For the Japanese side of the story, see Jason Ananda Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

building process.²⁰ Although freedom of religious belief was constitutionally guaranteed, Chinese governments in the Republican era, including the early short-lived parliament in Beijing, the various warlord regimes, and the Nanjing-based party-state of the Guomindang 國民黨 (Nationalist Party), attempted to exert regulatory and legal control over *zongjiao*/religion and *mixin*/superstition. Religious groups could easily find themselves deemed to be outside of the category of religion, written off as *mixin* or worse, deemed to be a *xiejiao* 邪教 (cult; evil teaching), which received no legal protections and were subject to suppression. While the threat of official sanction was always in play, the extent to which the government was actually able to exert such control on the ground varied widely; organizations that were intended to organize religious groups into legally recognized and regulated bodies often existed only as paper entities, obscuring a much more varied and heterogeneous reality on the ground.²¹

In modern China, secularization in the sense of the suppression and control of religion was indeed mobilized and had concrete effects on religious communities, in the form of attacks

20 Yoshiko Ashiwa and David Wank, “Introduction”, in *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China*, edited by Ashiwa and Wank (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 6-9; Yoshika Ashiwa, “Positioning Religion in Modernity: State and Buddhism in China”, in *Making Religion, Making the State*, 45-47; Vincent Goossaert, “1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 65, no. 2 (May, 2006): 307-336; Goosseart and Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China*, 43-89.

21 *Zhonghua minguo linshi yuefa* 中華民國臨時約法 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1916); Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010). On the earlier history of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, see B.J. ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden, New York: E.J. Brill, 1991); J.J.M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China, a Page in the History of Religions* (Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1903-1904).

on religious ideas, the livelihood of religious professionals, and the security of religious properties. Many important Buddhist temples in the Jiangnan 江南 region were destroyed during the Taiping rebellion of the 1850s and 1860s for not being a part of its leaders' vision of China's religious future, and later at the turn of the century they found themselves targeted by proponents of *miaochan xingxue* 廟產興學 (Revive Education with Temple Property) movements.²² While terms such as 'religion' and 'superstition' fit well into an elite discourse and had a great deal of power as matters of rhetoric and policy, they quickly break down when brought into the complex world of lived Chinese religious culture.²³ Thus while we may no longer believe in secularization as an objective and inevitable consequence of modernization, it was a motivating factor behind attacks on religious culture in modern China that had real-world consequences for those targeted, including Buddhists. How we understand their relationship to the changing meanings of religion and the secular in the modern era is strongly influenced by the academic field of Buddhist Studies.

22 Also called *huimiao banxue* 毀廟辦學 (Destroy Temples to Build Schools), this movement resurfaced several times under different guises between 1898 and the 1930s. See Goossaert, "1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?", 328-331; Tai Shuangqiu 邵爽秋, *Miaochan xingxue wenti* 廟產興學問題 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shubao liutong she, 1929). It is important to note, as Goossaert points out, that many of the intellectuals who voraciously attacked religion in the last decade of the nineteenth century developed an appreciation for religious ideas in the first decades of the twentieth.

23 Catherine Bell, "Religion and Chinese Culture: Toward an Assessment of Popular Religion," *History of Religions*, 29.1 (1989): 35-57. Much the same could be said about received academic notions of the 'World Religions'.

3. Holmes Welch and Paradigms of Modern Chinese Buddhism

The discipline known as 'Buddhist Studies' or 'Buddhology' drew upon the fields of Comparative Religion and Oriental Studies during its development, and more recently in the case of South, Southeast, and East Asian Buddhisms, it has also been informed by (Critical) Area Studies scholarship.²⁴ While its academic history was long thought to be dominated by Orientalist practices, recent research has shown a multitude of voices and perspectives in play, such as accounts from mission scholars in the field, as well as non-Western scholarly and practitioner voices.²⁵ Until quite recently, Buddhist Studies tended to focus its attention on the textual and the ancient, and European-language scholarship on Buddhism in modern China largely adopted this orientation, interpreting modern phenomena as the result of a long history of religious decline. In this scholars sometimes drew upon secularization theory as described in the previous section, but were also referencing Buddhist narratives that mapped cosmic cycles of growth and decay to the present-world concrete decline of human morality

24 For an early account of the development of "Far East Area Studies" in the United States, see M.S.F., "Progress in Far East Area Studies", *Far Eastern Survey*, Vol. 20, no. 17 (Oct. 10, 1951): 178-179; Wendell C. Bennett, *Area Studies in American Universities* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951).

25 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 19-22; Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India, and the 'Mythic East'* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 1, 154-155; Gregory Adam Scott, "The Dharma Through a Glass Darkly: On the Study of Modern Chinese Buddhism through Protestant Missionary Sources 彷彿對著鏡子觀看的佛法：藉由基督教傳教士的史料研究現代中國佛教", *Shengyan yanjiu* 聖嚴研究, Vol. 2 (July, 2011): 47-73; Philip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Charles Hallisey, "Roads Taken and not Taken in the Study of Theravāda Buddhism", in *Curators of the Buddha: the Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995): 31-61.

and the vitality of the dharma. For those writing after 1949, the then-recent Communist victory on the Chinese mainland also lent a great deal of pessimism to their outlook on the health and vitality of religion in general in China. Buddhism in modern China was widely thought to be at a low point, and to have been in a state of decline for some time.²⁶

One of the first scholars to offer a comprehensive challenge to this paradigm was Holmes Welch (Weierqi 威爾奇, 1924 – 1981). His studies were published while he was a research associate at the East Asian Research Center at Harvard University, and incorporated both research on primary sources and interviews with refugee monastics undertaken while working at a consulate posting in Hong Kong 香港.²⁷ Of his trilogy of books on Buddhism in modern China, his 1968 book *The Buddhist Revival in China* has since become the most widely-cited. Whereas *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism: 1900 – 1950* deals with the institutional and ritual world of Buddhist religious culture, and *Buddhism under Mao* deals primarily with events since 1949, *Buddhist Revival* attempts a comprehensive historical study of Buddhism in late-Qing and

26 See, for example, C.K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society: A Study of Contemporary Social Functions of Religion and some of their Historical Factors* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 341-404. Although Yang describes religion in China as having been in a long, steady decline, in chapter 12 he does argue that since “diffused”, as opposed to “institutional”, religion has historically been much stronger in China, many Western observers have incorrectly seen China as having little or no religion. On Buddhist narratives of dharmic decline, see Timothy Barrett, “History” in *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 125; 129-130; Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), 15-26.

27 J.K. Fairbank, “Obituary: Holmes Hinkley Welch (1924-1981)”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 40, no. 4 (Aug., 1981): 864.

Republican China. All three works have since become the authoritative comprehensive sources on the subject, widely cited by European- and Chinese-language scholarship alike.²⁸ The title of *Buddhist Revival* describes the key thesis that scholars have taken away from Welch's oeuvre, which is that the vitality and popularity of Buddhism in China was revived in the final decades of the Qing and the early Republican period, led by figures such as Yang Wenhui, Taixu, and others, that are covered in the book. The notion of a revival was not Welch's invention. In his book he notes that while Christian missionary writers based in the South of China – Guangzhou 廣州 and Hong Kong – mainly reported on the decline and decay of Chinese temples, others wrote of observing first-hand the revival of Buddhist religious activities taking place in the Jiangnan area as early as 1913. One review of *Buddhist Revival* notes that missionary publications in the aftermath of the Taiping rebellion were already describing such a revival in the area.²⁹

In arguing for the existence of a Buddhist revival Welch was also echoing the rhetoric

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- 28 Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism: 1900 - 1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967); *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968); *Buddhism Under Mao* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972). At the time of writing, Google Scholar reports 110 citations for *Buddhist Revival*, although I suspect that the actual number of published citations is likely higher. <<http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&q=buddhist+revival+in+china>>. The experience of reading Welch's work was a key factor in motivating me to study the subject of Buddhism in modern China, and I suspect that many of my colleagues could report similar experiences.
- 29 T.H. Barrett, review of *The Buddhist Revival in China* by Holmes Welch, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 6, no. 4 (1972): 495. For missionary accounts, see for example Lewis Hodous, *Buddhism and Buddhists in China* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1924), 65; Karl Ludvig Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, trans. Kathrina van Wagenen Bugge (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1968[1928]), 299-300; mentioned briefly in chapter five, section one.

of many Buddhist leaders of the era who had worked for the revival (*fuxing* 復興) of religious teachings, practices, and texts in the face of declining standards and competition from other competing doctrines. These figures often invoked a popular historical narrative describing the decline of the Dharma that, though never comprehensively defined in any scriptural text, was an influential trope in motivating people toward the special types of religious efforts and opportunities thought necessary in these latter days of the teaching.³⁰ Equally popular were narratives of eminent Buddhists known to have regenerated the teachings in the recent past, including the late-Ming reformers Zhuhong 祿宏 (1535 – 1615) and Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599 – 1655), both of whom were widely-read and cited in this period. To this we may add the broader context of mid nineteenth-century concepts of a *zhongxing* 中興 (national renaissance) following the challenges to dynastic rule, as well as religious revivals in Europe and America such as the Second Great Awakening of the mid-nineteenth century, which may have had a significant if largely unstated effect on contemporary usage of 'revival'.³¹

In spite of the book's title and the focus of much of its content, at the very beginning of *Buddhist Revival* Welch immediately raises critical questions regarding the applicability of this

30 Birnbaum, “Buddhist China at the Century's Turn”; Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, 15-26. See also John S. Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 221-226.

31 Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 171-192; Beverly Foulks, “Living Karma: The Religious Practices of Ouyi Zhixu (1599 – 1655)” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2009).

term:

Indeed the very term “revival” may turn out to be inappropriate, and it is used in this book simply because it is the most convenient and customary way of referring to the varied developments that took place in Chinese Buddhism during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth.

At the end of his study, Welch advances the argument that the types of changes in Buddhist thought and practice sought by reformist leaders, if not interrupted by the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the subsequent strict regulation of religious groups, would have failed in any case because they were pushing Buddhism toward irrelevancy:

That is, even without the Communist victory, it would have been reduced in the end partly to an imitation of the YMCA and partly to an object of sterile philosophizing and academic study in libraries and museums. That does not mean that Buddhist ideas and attitudes, intangible and often anonymous, would have sunk without trace from a culture they had permeated so long. It means simply that most of the identifiably Buddhist, specifically religious institutions and practices would have faded away, as an increasing number of people found

them embarrassing and irrelevant.³²

There is an evident unease expressed in Welch's scholarship with regard to the nature of the Republican-era Buddhist reforms, modeled as they were on such modern institutions as the YMCA, the library, and the museum, which sought not to recreate the past but to move into new territory.³³ He strongly implies that the revival was one in name only, and that it was in fact a deviation from what he understood to be authentic Buddhist traditions; the precise nature of the revival is left largely unresolved in Welch's work.

His equivocal stance on this issue was likely strongly influenced by the conditions under which his research was done. The informants that are widely quoted in *Buddhist Revival*, and who are credited with pointing Welch toward his major textual sources, were mainly monastic refugees from the mainland then living in Hong Kong and the New Territories 新界. Although he provides few specific details about his interviewees, they appear to have been largely hostile to many of the innovations that had characterized the previous few decades of Buddhist thought in China. Since a major part of these reformist movements were both oriented toward and directed by laypeople, and were in many cases highly critical of monastic institutions, a significant side of the history was presented to Welch by a community

32 Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 1, 268.

33 Some of these types of changes are outlined by J. Brooks Jessup, for example in his dissertation "The Householder Elite: Buddhist Activism in Shanghai, 1920-1956" (University of California, Berkeley, 2010), and

that had many reasons to feel threatened by it.³⁴ *Buddhist Revival* does not, however, ignore or dismiss those developments in modern Chinese Buddhism of which his informants were critical; for these he relies heavily on published sources from the period, such as the Buddhist periodical *Haichao yin* 海潮音 (Voice of the Sea Tide).³⁵ In citing sources such as these, Welch was indeed in the vanguard of European-language scholarship on modern Chinese Buddhism, but because of the difficulties then faced by Western scholars in studying in the People's Republic, he was also limited by the range of sources he was then able to access. Whereas he cited a handful of Chinese-language periodicals and hypothesized that there had been more than seventy published during the period, at present we know of at least two hundred. We also now have access to a wealth of material from libraries and archives on the Chinese mainland.³⁶

The problem with the 'revival' thesis as it has been articulated by Welch and taken up by others is that it runs the risk of overlooking changes that do not fit into a model of religious authenticity, a type of judgment that scholars, to follow Wilfred Cantwell Smith, have no

will be further explored in his future research.

34 See David C. Yu, review of *The Buddhist Revival in China* by Holmes Welch, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (Mar., 1970): 80-84.

35 See chapter five, section two on *Haichao yin*.

36 Some recent examples of reprinted primary source materials include the periodical collections edited by Huang Xianian 黃夏年: *Minguo fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成, 209 Vols. (Beijing: Quanguo tushiguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2006), and *Minguo fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng bubian* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成補編, 83 Vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2008), cited in this study as MFQ and MFQB respectively, as well as works such as Tian Qi 田奇, ed., *Minguo shiqi fojiao ziliao huibian* 民國時期佛教資料匯編, 16 Vols. (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010).

business making. The use of such rhetoric is vitally important for religious groups who wish to encourage changes in established practice and adapt to changing times while not abandoning the traditions that give their beliefs meaning. This can be seen in the adoption of the revival thesis by later Chinese Buddhist groups who interpreted the reforms of the Republican period in a much more favorable light than did Welch's informants. The scholar-monk Shi Dongchu 釋東初 (1908 – 1977) in Taiwan laid much of the groundwork for this incorporation of the Buddhist revival and its proponents into the mainstream of Taiwanese Buddhism from the 1940s to his death in 1977.³⁷ Dongchu received the precepts at Longchang Temple 隆昌寺 on Baohua shan 寶華山, arguably the preeminent ordination center in twentieth-century China, and in 1934 graduated from the Minnan Buddhist Seminary 閩南佛學院 in Xiamen 廈門, which at the time was being run as a modern-style school by two disciples of Taixu. Dongchu's publications and scholarship after he moved to Taiwan in 1949 placed a great deal of emphasis on the crises facing Buddhism in the late Qing and early years of the Republic, and the innovative teachings of Buddhists such as Taixu are described as essential responses to save Buddhism from these dangers.³⁸ The notion of a modern Buddhist revival has been widely

37 For biographical data on Dongchu, see Yu Lingbo 于凌波, ed., *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian* 現代佛教人物辭典 (Sanchong: Foguang, 2004), 1:642-645; Foguang da cidian bianxiu weiyuanhui 佛光大辭典編修委員會, ed., *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典 (Gaoxiong xian: Foguang chubanshe, 1988), 3296.

38 Dongchu's writings are collected in Shi Dongchu, *Dongchu laoren quanji* 東初老人全集, 7 Vols (Taipei: Dongchu chubanshe, 1985-1987). Dharma Drum Mountain hosts an electronic version of this collection at <<http://dongchu.ddbc.edu.tw/web/No2/DonChun2.html>>.

embraced by contemporary Chinese Buddhist organizations, and may have lent support to the resilience of the revival thesis, which was first advanced then substantially modified by Welch.

The notion of revival tends to appear most often in scholarship on related topics, where Welch is cited as a shorthand for the entire history of Buddhism in modern China. Recent specialist studies on the subject, on the other hand, have greatly expanded our knowledge of the thoughts and actions of Buddhists during this period to a degree that would have been impossible in Welch's day. Buddhist groups in Chinese societies have helped this process by lending their considerable financial and institutional support to much of this work, sponsoring both in-house research projects and funding for outside scholars, understanding such scholarship to be helpful to their religious mission. In the past two decades, scholars working in European languages have produced critical biographies of leading figures such as Yang Wenhui, Taixu, Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無 (1871 – 1943), Tanxu 倓虛 (1875 – 1963), and Yinshun 印順 (1906 – 2004). Others have directed their attention to such historical subjects as visual and music culture, the development of Buddhist ideas about science, the activities of lay

Buddhists in urban Shanghai, and the revolutionary cult of Maitreya.³⁹ Chinese-language

39 Tien Po-yao, "A Modern Buddhist Monk-reformer in China: The Life and Thought of Yin-shun," (Ph.D. Dissertation, California Institute of Integral Studies, 1995); Gabriele Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*; Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism*; Marcus Bingenheimer, *Der Mönchsgelahrte Yinshun (*1906) und seine Bedeutung für den Chinesisch-Taiwanischen Buddhismus im 20. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Edition Forum, Würzburger Sinologische Schriften, 2004); William P. Chu, "A Buddha-Shaped Hole: Yinshun's 印順 (1906-2005) Critical Buddhology and the Theological Crisis in Modern Chinese Buddhism," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006); Francesca Tarocco, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Eyal Aviv, "Differentiating the Pearl From the Fish Eye: Ouyang Jingwu

scholarship has produced a great number of studies of this period, with scholars such as Huang Xia'nian 黃夏年, Yu Lingbo 于凌波, Jiang Cansheng 江燦騰, and others addressing the Buddhist doctrines, practices, and scholarship that has emerged from this era. Important biographical reference works have greatly expanded our picture of the number and diversity of people involved in Buddhist culture. Buddhism in late-Qing and Republican China, far from being in a state of decline or stasis, now appears to have been a particularly vibrant and productive period with connections both to the wider context of Chinese historical phenomena, and to Buddhist movements in other East, Central, and Southeast Asian societies.⁴⁰

The question of the nature and meaning of the 'revival' still stands.

Since Welch, however, no one has attempted to produce a comprehensive historical account of the period, in spite of the exciting wealth of resources now available to us and the important recent research work outlined above. This project is not a replacement for Welch nor is it a comprehensive history of Buddhism in modern China. Rather, it seeks to apply an approach inspired by print culture studies and focus on the publishing enterprise, a phenomenon that linked together a diverse range of Buddhists and Buddhist practices, to

(1871-1943) and the Revival of Scholastic Buddhism,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2008); Erik Hammerstrom, “Buddhists Discuss Science in Modern China (1895-1949),” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 2010); Jessup, “The Householder Elite”; Ritzinger, “Anarchy in the Pure Land”; James Carter, *Heart of Buddha, Heart of China: The Life of Tanxu, a Twentieth-Century Monk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

40 See, for example, Shawn Frederick McHale, *Print and Power: Confucianism, Communism, and Buddhism in the Making of Modern Vietnam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 143-146, 157-164; Gray Tuttle, *Tibetan Buddhists in the Making of Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

examine a broad spectrum of individuals and groups through their involvement with the artifacts and social processes of print.

4. Theories of Print Culture

To examine Buddhism in modern China through the use of print culture theory requires, however, that we rely upon material that was mainly formulated to deal with the intellectual, technological, social, and cultural histories of European and American societies. This material has primarily focused on historical developments that accompanied the introduction and dissemination of the movable type press to Europe in the mid- to late-fifteenth century, and the ways in which this new technology influenced the political and intellectual movements that followed.⁴¹ While these types of studies usually note the Chinese origins of printing technology in passing, on the whole they do not address the history of printing in East Asia. This is particularly the case with regard to xylographic printing, which was the mainstream print technology in East Asia since the Tang 唐 dynasty (618 – 907 CE) and which continues to be used today as an artisanal printing method. In contrast to European print history, in East Asia the 'revolution' in print occurred not in the fifteenth but rather in the tenth to eleventh centuries with the spread of xylography and the development of new paper-making and

41 See Kai-wing Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 7-9.

binding techniques.⁴² Theories of print culture that have been developed in European-language scholarship are thus at a disconnect from the East Asian context; nevertheless, the issues they have raised and the development of their theses over the past half-century or so provide a useful set of guidelines for studying the history of print culture in East Asia, and can be applied to Buddhist print culture in modern China.

This is true even of Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's 1957 book *L'apparition du livre*, which applied the long-term and sociological historical approach of *l'École des Annales* to the effects of print technology on medieval society.⁴³ The summation chapter “The Book as a Force for Change” addresses the gradual but marked effect that printing had on religious works, liturgical texts, and the development not only of Latin studies and humanism but also of vernacular – and increasingly nationally-identified – languages. While printing did not immediately enable radical ideas to supplant the conservative orthodoxy, and indeed in many cases served as a bulwark for the power of the established knowledge classes, the Protestant Reformation serves as a graphic demonstration of print's potential to influence public opinion

42 This history, and some recent studies that have begun to address the theoretical issues surrounding print culture in the East Asian context, is addressed in chapter one. An excellent guide to how recent scholarship has adapted this legacy of Eurocentric research to approach the history of print culture in late-imperial Chinese history is available in Tobie Meyer-Fong, “The Printed World: Books, Publishing Culture, and Society in Late Imperial China”, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 66, no. 3 (August 2007): 787-817.

43 Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris: Éditions A. Michel, 1958). Published in English as *The Coming of the Book*, translated by David Gerard (London, New York: Verso, 1997[1976]). Citations below refer to the translated volume.

and to amplify intellectual struggles in the public and political fields.⁴⁴ This pioneering study established the major avenues of inquiry for studies of print culture: how print technology played a role in large-scale and *longue durée* events of history, influencing movements such as the renaissance and the scientific revolution in ways as profound and significant as the actions of individuals or states. Another early work, Marshall McLuhan's 1962 *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, attempted to address the question of how media technologies affect the function of human senses and the organization of societies, looking back from what McLuhan saw as the dawn of an electronic age to the early effects of movable type and alphabetic printing on Western culture.⁴⁵ In this and other studies McLuhan draws a sharp distinction between aural and visual media, and contrasts the ways in which use of different media distinguishes the organization of modern and primitive societies. While the broad theses of this work appear unsustainable in light of more detailed studies that followed, McLuhan's focus on the ways in which material technologies mediate human experience remains an important concern among historians and scholars of print culture.

Building upon and critiquing the works of Febvre and McLuhan is the 1979 study *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, in which Elizabeth Eisenstein integrates the history of

44 Febvre and Martin, 249-256, 260-282, 287-296, 319-332.

45 Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971 [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962]).

printing into the history of ideas, which she identifies as an often-mentioned but widely overlooked aspect of medieval and modern European history.⁴⁶ She characterizes the changes wrought by movable type technology in the Western world as both gradual and revolutionary, terming it a “major transformation that constituted a large cluster of changes in itself.”⁴⁷ The book's major areas of inquiry include: the increased output and altered intake of printed material; the increased standardization of texts; the rationalizing, codifying, and cataloguing of data; improved editions of texts; the role of print in preserving knowledge and enabling incremental change; and the power of print to fix and amplify stereotypes, socio-linguistic divisions, and social identities. It also directs the reader's attention to the formation of new social groups as a result of print, groups that organized themselves around the enterprise and industry of producing, publishing, and consuming printed books.⁴⁸ Chief among Eisenstein's goals is to argue that the scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was facilitated by the widespread availability of printed books, using the publication career of Tycho Brahe (1546 – 1601) as her chief example. Among the critics of her approach in *Printing Press*, however, is Adrian Johns, who in 1998 called many of her arguments into question by

46 Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-modern Europe*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1991 [1979]). My citations refer to the paperback edition of 1997 which combines both volumes into a single book. Eisenstein's arguments are also presented in an abridged format in her *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

47 Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 3-8, 17, 32-40, 43.

48 Eisenstein, *Printing Press*, 71-129, 136-159.

pointing out how atypical Brahe was during his time.⁴⁹ Rather than viewing the printing press as the prime mover behind the intellectual and social revolutions associated with print culture, Johns emphasizes the role of human agency in constructing print culture itself. He notes how in its earliest days it mirrored the practices of manuscript culture very closely, and how the powers often ascribed to print, namely those of universality, reliability, and reproducibility, were not inherent features of the technology but were instead developed over a period of time, in different ways in different societies. Johns' approach, based on the work of Roger Chartier, is to examine the different modes of labor surrounding printed materials, how they were used in different ways and with local meanings, and how their translocal and authoritative power was developed by those who participated in print culture rather than emanating from the inner logic of print technology itself.⁵⁰ Similar concerns and directions appear in the work of David McKitterick, who emphasizes the “instability” of the printed book, exploring such subjects as errors, inconsistencies, and errata in printed works prior to the era of mechanized printing.⁵¹

49 Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 17-18.

50 Johns, *Nature of the Book*, 19-20, 29-31, 42-46.

51 David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 7-8, 97-138. Eisenstein's work was later revisited in Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin, eds., *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

While early pioneering research looked at very broad social changes, later scholars began to focus on how developments in print culture were related to specific historical phenomena, and many focused their inquiry on changes in religious thought and practice. Many early print culture studies recognized that religion, in particular Protestantism in Germany and England, played an important role in the spread of movable-type print technology and its products, and scholars had long recognized the importance of the written word in religious traditions.⁵² The study of print culture raised important questions regarding how changes in the means and materials of printing religious texts influenced the development of religious culture. Early Protestant authors and publishers in England, for example, appear to have been well-aware of the close connections between their faith and the power of publishing. The writings of the controversial English Biblical translator William Tyndale (c. 1500 – 1536), collected and printed by the editor John Foxe (1517 – 1587) and the publisher John Day (c. 1522 – 1584), gained a substantial and enduring presence through print in spite of their radical content. Foxe in particular used Biblical allegories of light and darkness to describe the influence of Protestant book culture and printing, but as John N. King points out, religious authors of multiple denominations and nationalities used printing to give

52 See, for example, Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), chapter one.

expression to many types of religious ideals in early-modern Europe.⁵³ The proliferation of religious texts and especially of vernacular translations led to the Enlightenment-era re-figuring of the Bible from a theological text to one whose significance and authority was based on its status as part of a European cultural 'heritage'. An expanding book culture, made possible by the printing press, enabled both a surge of skepticism over the divine providence of the Bible, as well as the intellectual work required to reinvent the Bible as a storehouse of human culture rather than superhuman authority.⁵⁴

More recent studies have examined the role played by print in other types of religious cultures.⁵⁵ Two works by Shawn McHale and Anne Ruth Hansen address the relationship between Buddhist modernism and publishing in Vietnam and Cambodia, respectively. The main focus for McHale is how print culture led to the rise of a literary public sphere in Vietnam, and one important part of this process was the flood of Vietnamese Buddhist

53 John N. King, "'The Light of Printing': William Tyndale, John Foxe, John Day, and Early Modern Print Culture", *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 54, no. 1 (Spring, 2001), 52-53, 77-78, 83. See also Kate Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1-12, 91-123, for an account of how the early Quaker movement in England used printing to establish themselves and endure among a multitude of radical religious movements, and how printed material was instrumental in establishing their emic and etic identities.

54 Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), x-xiv, and *passim* but especially chapter one.

55 Though not directly related to print culture, Sheldon Pollock's *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) addresses the role of Sanskrit and local languages in the religious, literary, and political cultures of premodern South Asia. Also see his chapter "Literary Culture and Manuscript Culture in Precolonial India" in *Literary Cultures and the Material Book*, edited by Eliot, Nash, and Willison (London: British Library, 2007), pp. 77-94.

publications that were published in the urban centers of Hanoi and Saigon. Buddhists seeking a religious revival participated in an eclectic and vibrant print culture, advocating that readers “move from an oral understanding of texts to critical approaches based on written and printed texts.”⁵⁶ Hansen's investigation of Cambodian Buddhist modernizers describes how they shifted the orientation of Buddhist discourse toward one they saw as this-worldly, rational and ethical, and how they participated in a larger historical movement of literary modernism, both reconnecting with Buddhist textual traditions and publicizing their innovative ideas through compendiums and critical translations. A return to canonical texts, and new ways of interacting with these texts, were seen as essential to a renaissance of proper doctrinal understanding and ethical conduct; many contemporary conceptions of the Buddhist 'canon' were also strongly influenced by European orientalist scholarship. Cambodian political leaders led movements to re-collect manuscript texts, and Buddhist modernists found new ways of organizing and publishing them using modern print technology, novelties that met with some hostility on the part of more traditional monastics.⁵⁷ The role of print culture in the formation of Tamil Muslim identity in colonial India, and its place within broader intellectual and educational trends, have also been recent topics of scholarship, similarly breaking away from

56 McHale, *Print and Power*, 150-156, 171.

57 Anne Ruth Hansen, *How to Behave: Buddhism and Modernity in Colonial Cambodia, 1860 – 1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 1-3, 8-10, 14-15, 79-84, 103-105, 142-147.

the European focus of early studies.⁵⁸ One important point of contact between theories of print culture and the study of religion is the power of print to establish a means by which ideas and identities, including those of religion, can be debated and established in a public sphere. Print played an important role in formulating national publics through the creation of vernacular print-languages and a consciousness of a shared field of time, and the publics that media create are potentially destabilizing to older orders of power and disciplines of knowledge.⁵⁹ Such public spheres had already existed prior to the modern era, established through the media of manuscript, song, and oral recitation, all of which were particularly important for the public memory of religious traditions and figures. Yet the economies of scale made possible by modern mechanized print technology greatly expanded the scope of the public created by media, giving rise to new concepts such as public opinion.⁶⁰

58 J.B.P. More, *Muslim Identity, Print Culture and the Dravidian Factor in Tamil Nadu* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004), especially Part II, pp. 69-140; Ulrike Stark, *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2008), 29-106.

59 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised Edition (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 18-19, 24-25, 43-44; Michael Warner, "Publics and Counterpublics", *Public Culture*, Vol. 14, no. 1 (Winter, 2002): 49-90; McHale, *Print and Power*, 4-8 and *passim*; Thanapol Limapichart, "The Emergence of the Siamese Public Sphere: Colonial Modernity, Print Culture and the Practice of Criticism (1860s-1910s)", *South East Asia Research*, Vol. 17, no. 3 (Nov., 2009): 361-399.

60 Christian Lee Novetzke, *Religion and Public Memory: A Cultural History of Saint Namdev in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008). Also see Novetzke, "Bhakti and Its Public", *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, Vol. 11, no. 3 (Dec., 2007): 255-272. On print media and public opinion in modern China, see Eugenia Lean, *Public Passions: the Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

5. Project Outline

My aim in writing this dissertation has been to produce a history of publication and print culture among Buddhists in early twentieth-century China. It involves two major components. The first is the Digital Bibliography of Chinese Buddhism, an ongoing project that represents an initial step toward mapping the territory of Buddhist publications in modern China. This resource presents critical annotated bibliographic data through an interface that allows users to search by keyword and filter the results by publication date. It has been made available on the World Wide Web under a Creative Commons license, and will continue to be expanded and improved upon in the future.⁶¹ The second part is the present historical study, which covers Chinese Buddhist publishing in a period roughly spanning the last decade of the Qing dynasty, through the first part of the Republic, to the end of the 1920s. Although the history of print culture in China and among Buddhists differs significantly from that of Medieval- and Enlightenment-era Europe – the historical context that is the basis for many of the academic arguments outlined above – there are a number of core concerns expressed in those studies that will inform this inquiry.

First, the effects of new print technology on publishing and textual culture. Early works on print culture tended to focus on the introduction of Gutenberg's movable type press to

61 On the mission and terms of Creative Commons-type licensing, see <<http://creativecommons.org/>>.

Europe in the fifteenth century, where within a few generations it had largely displaced what had been a well-established manuscript and block-print culture. The timeline of technological adoption in East Asia, however, is quite different, where woodblock printing was used as early as the ninth century, and its use expanded to become the dominant print technology up to the early twentieth century. The Republican era thus saw not the introduction of print but the transition of its core technologies from woodblock to mechanized movable type, but its disruptive effects were still felt as the material requirements – specialist machinery, trained personnel, a commercial and industrial base – and abilities – unprecedented scale and economy – of print were radically changed. Other studies, Christopher Reed's *Gutenberg in Shanghai* in particular, have comprehensively examined the history of print technology and capital in modern China;⁶² in this dissertation, my concern will be with how this changing field of print was understood by Buddhist authors and publishers, how new technologies such as lithography and movable type changed the way that texts were assembled, and how modern print technology made possible new textual genres such as the periodical.

Secondly, the impact of a changing print culture on the intellectual world. Those who were best able to express themselves in print and deliver their publications to the right audience were propelled into the public realm of intellectual and religious discourse. Among

62 Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Fan Muhan 范慕韓, *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi (chugao)* 中國印刷近代史(初稿) (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1995).

Buddhists in modern China, the new publishing elite included prominent laypeople with substantial gentry and commercial backgrounds, but also previously little-known writers such as Yinguang 印光 (1861 – 1940) who rose to national renown in the space of a few years. Based on key bibliographic indices, Taixu 太虛 (1890 – 1947), for example, is cited in 117 bibliographic items and in 2,537 periodical articles, reflecting both his prolific output and his stature in the history of the period.⁶³ This is in marked contrast to previous eras, when the collected writings of eminent figures might only be collected and published after their death. This public realm of print discourse was highly collaborative in nature, thanks to the capital and expertise requirements of publishing. The periodical or book series that involved a number of authors and other contributors was a new means by which Buddhists could interact with each other and with their readership, and being associated with a publication was a new form of expressing one's religious or scholastic identity. Print could also be highly destabilizing to well-established structures of power, allowing new voices and interests to dominate this new media that circulated between localities, temple communities, and teacher-disciple relationships. As in the past, thanks to the nature of the Chinese written language works could also cross barriers of dialect or even literacy, in the case of texts read aloud by a

63 Numbers are based on a keyword search of the Digital Bibliography of Chinese Buddhism and of the index to the *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成 (MFQ) and *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng bubian* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成補編 (MFQB) collections assembled by Dharma Drum Buddhist College. <<http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/minguofojiaoqikan/>>.

reader for an audience.

Finally, how engaging with print changes the structure of social organizations. As McKitterick and King have demonstrated, the spread of print technology is accompanied by the formation of new social groups, including public intellectuals, tradespeople, publisher-entrepreneurs, editors, and book collectors and retailers, groups that were either newly formed or who rose to a new level of prominence. Lay and monastic Buddhists in modern China established themselves into a series of organizations intended to help represent themselves in political and legal disputes, starting with the short-lived Zhongguo Fojiao hui 中國佛教會 (Chinese Buddhist Association) and Zhongguo Fojiao zonghui 中國佛教總會 (Chinese General Buddhist Association), both founded in 1912.⁶⁴ Publishing periodicals and other materials were important aspects of these groups' activities, helping to establish their presence in the public realm. Organizing specifically for the purpose of publishing, as with the formation of scriptural presses and other Buddhist publishing organizations, was another facet of larger changes in how Buddhists related to one another and viewed their place within society.⁶⁵ As many other religious groups in modern China were also heavily invested in

64 Welch, *Buddhist Revival in China*, 33-39; Yu Lingbo 于凌波, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi* 中國近現代佛教人物志 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1995), 1:102-105.

65 In their recent book, Goosseart and Palmer draw upon Marcel Mauss' theory of religious culture as a "total social phenomenon" to describe religion as an "evolving ecology of elements", one that can both develop on its own terms as well as have interactions with other spheres of human life, such as broader political or intellectual macrohistorical trends. Goosseart and Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China*, 6-13.

publishing, research into this can help shed light on a much wider range of religious developments.

I would argue that the two-fold definition of print culture in the first section of this introduction, which identifies *print artifacts* and *social processes of print* as equally important aspects, incorporates the very salient critiques of Johns and McKitterick by including the human element as an integral part of the story. Much of what the following chapters will address is precisely this human and social side of the publishing enterprise: editors, publishing houses, collaborations between authors, and networks of producers and distributors. The core thesis of this dissertation is that **print culture was a catalyst for change among Buddhists in modern China**. By transmitting new ideas in print across widespread networks of authors and readers, their involvement with publishing made possible platforms to challenge the status quo, prompt innovation, and publicize new ways of being Buddhist. The new print culture of the modern era built upon the textual legacy of that past while incorporating new technologies, new approaches to education and reading, new forms of social and economic institutions, and new types of relationships with the commercial and secular worlds. The development of this new print culture also oriented the Buddhism that emerged from this period toward a deeper engagement with printed texts, including the development of academic studies of Buddhist doctrine. Reproducing the contents of the Buddhist canon put

Buddhist texts into the hands of more people, and the expanding reach of modern education meant that they were often able to read them, aided by scores of interpretive and exegetical works designed to guide readers through the specialist and often archaic language of Buddhism. Texts also became tools to support practice, as evidenced by guides to meditation, ritual, and ethical behavior for monks and laypeople. This development was a significant one with wide-ranging implications for Buddhist religiosity in modern China, the effects of which are still felt today in the new media of electronic digital text.

In chapter one I present a brief outline of the early history of Buddhist scriptural publishing in China from the Tang and Song dynasties, reviewing major canonical collections and printings, then focus on Yang Wenhui and his Jinling Scriptural Press in the late Qing. Finally I examine several presses founded on the same model, as well as scripture distributors, in the first decade of the Republic. Chapter two looks at the Kalaviṅka Canon (*Pinjia da zangjing* 頻伽大藏經), a typeset edition of the complete East Asian Buddhist Canon completed in 1913, printed in Shanghai and based on an earlier Japanese recension. The publishers of this canon used modern print technology to achieve a goal that had not yet been possible using xylography in the late Qing. Chapter three covers the creation and impact of three early Chinese Buddhist periodicals, a new genre for Buddhists and one which was closely linked to the larger, rapidly growing periodical publishing market in China. Although their print runs

were quite brief, they had a lasting influence on similar publications in later decades. In chapter four I look at Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874 – 1952) and his *Foxue congshu* 佛學叢書 (Buddhist Studies Collectanea), a book series that incorporated scriptural exegesis, books for beginners, and lexicography. Ding's self-directed pedagogical approach to Buddhist learning reflects the changing nature of reading and textual study in 1920s Chinese Buddhism. Chapter five looks at two of the many Buddhist periodicals that were established in the 1920s, as well as the publications of the Inner Studies Institute, an academic center associated with the Jinling Scriptural Press. Finally, I examine a pair of new scriptural publishing institutions founded in the 1920s, as well as the growing involvement of commercial presses in publishing Buddhist works. The conclusion offers some reflections on the material presented in the body chapters as it relates to the dissertation thesis and to the field more generally. The appendix is a short essay outlining the structure and scope of the Digital Bibliography of Chinese Buddhism.

Chapter One

Buddhist Xylographic Publishing in the Late Qing and Early Republic

1. Introduction

For many decades scholarship on the history and culture of printing was concerned almost exclusively with European history. Although this has changed, especially in recent years, it is still worth pointing out that the history of printing technology in East Asia is markedly different from that of modern Europe. In sixteenth-century Europe, Gutenberg's movable type press inaugurated an era of low-cost, high-volume publishing, and was associated with a number of intellectual, cultural, and economic macrohistorical movements from the Reformation to the Enlightenment. In contrast, in early-modern China xylography (*diaoban yinshua* 雕版印刷 or *muban yinshua* 木版印刷; woodblock printing) had been used to print texts since as early as the ninth century, and by then had become the mainstream technology of commercial, state, and religious publishing in East Asia.⁶⁶ It would retain this position until supplanted by mechanized movable type at the beginning of the twentieth century, but even then print workshops continued to print xylographic materials and carve new printing blocks.

⁶⁶ See section two, below, for a technical description of xylographic printing.

There was thus no sharp break between a 'manuscript' and a 'movable type' era, as can arguably been seen in the explosion of printed materials replacing manuscripts in early-modern Europe. What we find instead is that publishers, especially those based in urban areas, gradually adopted movable type technology, while xylographic printing continued to dominate among niche publishing groups, Buddhist scriptural presses among them. In this chapter I will briefly review the history of Buddhist print culture from its roots in medieval China, in order to focus on this transitional period when new technologies began to appear on the scene. I will examine the groundbreaking influence of the Jinling Scriptural Press (Jinling kejing chu 金陵刻經處) in the mid to late nineteenth century and how later xylographic scriptural presses were founded on its model. Finally, I will outline the network of scripture distributors that emerged in the early Republic that linked these Buddhist scriptural presses and functioned as nodes in the circulation of their products.

As outlined in the introduction, Eisenstein argues that the printing press acted as an agent of historical change in Europe, whereas McKitterick and others emphasize that the social structures that developed around this new technology were just as significant in their historical effects. In this and following chapters I will be concerned less with the particular technologies used by Chinese Buddhist publishers, and more with the question of how these technologies were used and understood by them, and how their religious beliefs and practices

were transformed through participation in print culture. The period of Buddhist xylographic publishing that spans the end of the Qing 清 dynasty (1644 – 1911) and the beginning of the Republic of China (Zhonghua minguo 中華民國, 1912 – 1949) was one in which many Buddhists began to shift from a traditional culture of publishing toward a series of new and innovative systems. This occurred against a background of rapid social and political change in China, during which printed materials such as political treatises, revolutionary periodicals published overseas, and translations of foreign texts played a key role in transforming the intellectual world of the literate elite and the public world of the mass media.⁶⁷ This too was a time of rapid change among many groups of Chinese Buddhists, an era of religious and intellectual 'revival' that rose from the ashes of the destructive Taiping Rebellion. At the center of the revival, especially during the latter part of the nineteenth century, was the rebirth of xylographic publishing led by Yang Wenhui and his scriptural press, which began to publish significant numbers of texts from about the 1890s. Although these employed an old print technology, the social structures of the scriptural press, its social organization and operation, were innovative developments that drew upon and refashioned traditional structures of temple and lay Buddhist publishing.

These new presses were often managed by laypeople and were not part of temple

⁶⁷ Lean, *Public Passions*, introduction.

property. They controlled investment funds, managed their finances, and published annual reports. They also became linked together by a nationwide network of print exchange that was formed in the 1910s and 1920s, with publications from several different presses appearing together in scriptural catalogues. The largest scriptural presses and distributors were located in urban centers, cities that were growing in importance as international entrepôts of economic and cultural trade. They also stood apart from networks of imperial sponsorship in the Qing, and state sponsorship in the Republic, relying instead on the support from lay managers and donors, and the income from donations for particular print runs.⁶⁸ Many elements of these press organizations prefigure those among the lay and lay-monastic Buddhist religious associations that would later appear in the Republic. Nor did these xylographic presses disappear in the face of movable type and lithographic print technologies. Scriptural presses remained some of the most prolific producers of Buddhist publications throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and were highly influential on the print practices of later specialist Buddhist presses that did use movable type. My argument here is that this process was neither a strict revival of older forms of publishing nor a sharp historical break with the past, but rather an innovative reconstruction of tradition that transformed the

68 The growing importance of lay Buddhists and of commercial urban centers, especially in the Jiangnan region, is rooted in the social and commercial development of the late Ming 明 dynasty (1368 – 1644). Timothy Brook, *Praying for Power: Buddhism and the Formation of Gentry Society in Late-Ming China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1994); Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*.

field of Buddhist print culture in China while it helped sow the seeds for broader changes in Buddhist religious culture.

2. Medieval and Early-Modern Scriptural Publishing⁶⁹

From the tenth to the twentieth centuries over twenty editions of the complete Chinese-language Buddhist canon (*da zangjing* 大藏經 or *yiqie jing* 一切經) and countless individual Buddhist texts were printed and circulated in China, Korea, and Japan.⁷⁰ Editions of the Chinese Buddhist canon represented some of the largest investments of labor and capital in the history of xylographic printing. Within the sphere of Chinese print culture, one which included literature, history, classics, and other texts, Buddhist print culture had a distinct identity in many respects. For one thing, the language and structure of Buddhist scriptures, both of which were developed through translations of Indian and Central Asian texts and later emulated as marks of authenticity, were substantially different from that of other contemporary texts.⁷¹

69 I use 'early-modern' here to denote the period spanning from the Song 宋 (960 – 1279 CE) to the Qing 清 (1644 – 1912) dynasties.

70 See the following table in this section for more details on these canon editions. The sacred texts of Buddhism traditionally include three 'baskets' or categories of texts: *sūtra* (scriptural teachings), *vinaya* (ethical guidelines), and *abhidharma* (discourses on and interpretations of doctrine). In China, however, the term *jing* 經, which originally referred to a 'classic' philosophical, political, or historical text, and which is sometimes used to denote a 'scripture', at times covers these all. See Lewis Lancaster, "The Movement of Buddhist Texts from India to China and the Construction of the Chinese Buddhist Canon", in "Buddhism Across Boundaries", *Sino-platonic Papers*, 222 (March 2012), edited by John R. McRae and Jan Nattier: 226-238.

71 For a quantitative analysis of the language structures used in the Buddhist Hybrid Chinese of different translations of Buddhist scriptures, see Jen-Jou Hung, Marcus Bingenheimer and Simon Wiles, "Quantitative

Furthermore, printing a canonical set of scriptures was not simply an intellectual or cultural act, but also had stronger political undertones than most genres of text, since the sponsoring of a canon was often used to signify state recognition of, support for, or authority over Buddhism.⁷² Finally, scriptural texts were widely believed to possess the numinous power to protect and bless those who possessed them, and which generated untold merit for those who caused them to proliferate.⁷³ Yet Buddhist print culture was also closely connected to the larger sphere of printing and publishing, especially since many religious textual genres, such as *baojuan* 寶卷 (precious scrolls) and *shanshu* 善書 (morality books), drew heavily upon Buddhist scriptural writings and beliefs.⁷⁴ It was this distinct Buddhist print culture and textual corpus, with its well-developed bibliographic practices, widely-understood notions of merit generation, and the broadly-disseminated cultural significance of canons, scriptures, and other Buddhist religious tropes, that was the basis for the nineteenth-century renewal and re-

Evidence for a Hypothesis regarding the Attribution of early Buddhist Translations”, *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 25(1): 119-134.

72 See for example the close connections between the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (Scripture for Humane Kings) and political power as described in Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), especially 8-9, 74-97, 107-121.

73 Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 8-10.

74 See for example Rostislav Berekzin, “The Development of the Mulian Story in Baojuan Texts (14th – 19th century) in Connection with the Evolution of the Genre”, Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2010; Paul R. Katz, “Illuminating Goodness: Some Preliminary Considerations of Religious Publishing in Modern China” in *Religious Publishing and Print Culture in Modern China*, edited by Philip Clart and Gregory Adam Scott (Boston, Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming 2014).

structuring of Buddhist publishing in China.

Textual culture was already widespread in China prior to the emergence of printing proper. Scribes from the Han 漢 to the Tang 唐 dynasties carved writings on to bamboo or wood strips bound into bundles (*ce* 冊) or wrote on silk or paper scrolls (*juan* 卷), and had monumental editions carved onto large stone stele.⁷⁵ Buddhist texts, initially in the form of manuscripts and stele inscriptions, were a key component of the earliest period of Buddhist religiosity in China. Although apocryphal narratives describe emperors requesting that Buddhist scriptures and monastics be brought to China from abroad, historical evidence indicates that short Sanskrit Buddhist texts were already circulating in China even prior to the gradual introduction of Buddhist beliefs and practices via Central Asian immigrant families. By about the middle of the second century the capital city of Luoyang 洛陽 had become an important center of Buddhist ritual activity and scripture translation, where Central Asian monastics such as An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 2nd C. CE) and laypeople such as Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 3rd C. CE) produced the earliest Chinese-language translations of Buddhist texts.⁷⁶ The Buddhist religious culture that was being transplanted to China, in particular the teachings of several

75 T.K. Koo, “The Evolution of the Chinese Book”, in *Libraries in China*, edited by Zhongguo tushuguan xuehui (Beiping: Library Association of China, 1929), 1-4; Dorothy C. Wong, *Chinese Steles: Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist Symbolic Use of a Symbolic Form* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

76 E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, Third Edition with Foreword by Stephen F. Teiser (Leiden: Brill, 2007[1959]), 23-24, 28-36.

important Mahāyāna scriptures, made strong claims that particular scriptures embodied a type of power that Alan Cole has termed a 'displaced paternal authority'. They were widely believed to function as engines of merit-generation, bringing unrivaled benefits and blessings to those who produced and disseminated them.⁷⁷ Buddhist texts were thus understood as religiously powerful objects in their own right, and the act of publishing them, whether as a manuscript or stele text, was an important religious practice that continued over the long history of Buddhism in China.⁷⁸

As Indian Buddhist texts were brought to China and translated, they arrived from a variety of doctrinal schools and there was no single, unified system readily available for determining the authority or even the proper classification of scriptural texts. One model for doing so was found in the native body of standardized statecraft texts used for the civil service

77 Alan Cole, *Text as Father: Paternal Seductions in Early Mahāyāna Buddhist Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 4-7; Gregory Schopen, “The Phrase *sa prthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet* in the *Vajracchedikā*: Notes on the Cult of the Book in Mahāyāna” and “On Sending the Monks Back to Their Books: Cult and Conservatism in Early Mahāyāna Buddhism” in his *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India: More Collected Papers* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005): 25-62, 108-153. Although records are scarce, it does appear that the creation of Buddhist scriptural texts in South Asia was only possible no earlier than the third century BCE, before which teachings were transmitted only orally. See Jeremiah P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London: British Library, 1982), 5. On Buddhist manuscript libraries in medieval China, see Jean-Pierre Drège, *Les Bibliothèques en Chine au Temps des Manuscrits (Jusqu'au X^e Siècle)* (Paris: École Française D'Extrême-Orient, 1991), 194-224.

78 See, for example, Robert F. Campany, “Notes on the Devotional Uses and Symbolic Function of Sūtra Texts as Depicted in Early Chinese Buddhist Miracle Tales and Hagiographies”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14, no. 1 (1991): 28-69; Donald S. Lopez Jr., *Elaborations on Emptiness: Uses of the Heart Sūtra* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996). Both cited in James Robson, “Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism”, *History of Religions*, Vol. 48, no. 2 (Nov., 2008), 141.

examinations, and thus the term 'classic' (*jing* 經) came to be applied to Buddhist scriptures.

Entrance into the Buddhist canon occurred when a text was added to an authoritative library, and established a precedent of an open and flexible canon of Buddhist texts. This *ex bibliotheca* origin for notions of the Chinese Buddhist canon can be seen in the key term for 'canon'

(*dazang* 大藏), in use from the Song 宋 dynasty (960 – 1279) onward, which originally denoted a 'great library' or 'storehouse'.⁷⁹ As eminent monks wrote their own compositions discussing and explicating scriptural texts, a number of secondary genres also made their way into the canon, such as treatise (*lun* 論), comprehensive commentary (*shu* 疏), interlinear commentary (*zhu* 注/註), and exegesis (*shi* 釋). Even bibliographic studies in the sixth and seventh centuries that catalogue Chinese Buddhist texts themselves became incorporated into this open Buddhist canon.⁸⁰

The technological precursors of printing in China date from this early era of manuscript and stele textual culture. They include the modular systems used in bronze casting and architecture in the last centuries BCE, as well as the use of a small set of standard motifs to reproduce Buddhist scenes in painting and sculpture in the fourth to seventh centuries CE.⁸¹ It thus seems fitting that the earliest printed work with a recorded date of publication is both

79 Lancaster, "Construction of the Chinese Buddhist Canon".

80 Genre name translations based on DDB. Lancaster, "Construction of the Chinese Buddhist Canon", 235-236.

81 Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 2-3.

Chinese and Buddhist: a scroll of the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Jin'gang boreboluomiduo jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜多經; *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*), dated to 868 CE.⁸² This scroll and others like it were printed using xylography, also called woodblock printing, a technology that involves the impression of an inked wooden carved printing block on to a blank medium, often silk or paper. During the earliest period of its application in the Tang 唐 dynasty (618 – 907) it was used on a relatively limited scale, primarily for printing religious and almanac works, and most texts continued to be produced as manuscripts until the Song dynasty, when xylography became the mainstream printing technology in China. During the Song the Chinese book market expanded rapidly, and by the twelfth century it was dominated by specialist commercial firms, groups whose cultural influence had grown to the point that some conservative intellectuals feared them as a threat to their power.⁸³ Emperors of the early Song were active in collecting and cataloguing printed books, as well as in sponsoring xylographic editions of texts from Confucian, Buddhist, and other traditions. Compared to manuscript texts and stele, xylography made it possible to produce massive amounts of printed materials for a

82 Printed works exist that may predate the *Diamond Sūtra* scroll, such as scrolls from Japan and Korea, but they cannot yet be dated conclusively. See Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things*, 151-152. See also L. Carrington Goodrich, “The Development of Printing in China and its Effects on the Renaissance under the Sung Dynasty (960-1279)”, *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 3 (1963): 36-43. This *Diamond Sūtra* edition is held in the British Library, item Or.8310/P.2.

83 Edward Martinique, *Chinese Traditional Bookbinding: A Study of its Evolution and Technique* ([San Francisco]: Chinese Materials Center, 1983); Cynthia J. Brokaw, “On the History of the Book in China”, in *Printing and Book Culture in Late Imperial China*, edited by Brokaw and Kai-wing Chow (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 23-24.

much lower cost.⁸⁴ The wider availability of texts this produced encouraged comparative studies among intellectuals, nurtured critical approaches toward the content and meaning of ancient texts, and gave rise to the scholarly field of textual editing.⁸⁵ Through the Tang and Song dynasties xylographic publishing in China grew rapidly from a niche technology into a major means of producing texts, although its printed texts were still largely the domain of the elite, and did not begin to spread across all of China's geographic and social domains until as late as the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, it was being deployed by a wide range of commercial and state publishers whose products were being purchased and read by a growing market.

The technical procedures for xylography as used in the medieval and early modern periods were transmitted orally and have gone largely unrecorded in written documents. Our understanding of how xylography was practiced is based on studies of surviving tools and materials, the terminology used, records produced by foreign observers, and the accounts of craftspeople that were gathered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The description

84 Tsien Tsuen-Hsuei 錢存訓, *Paper and Printing*, in *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, edited by Joseph Needham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 369-377.

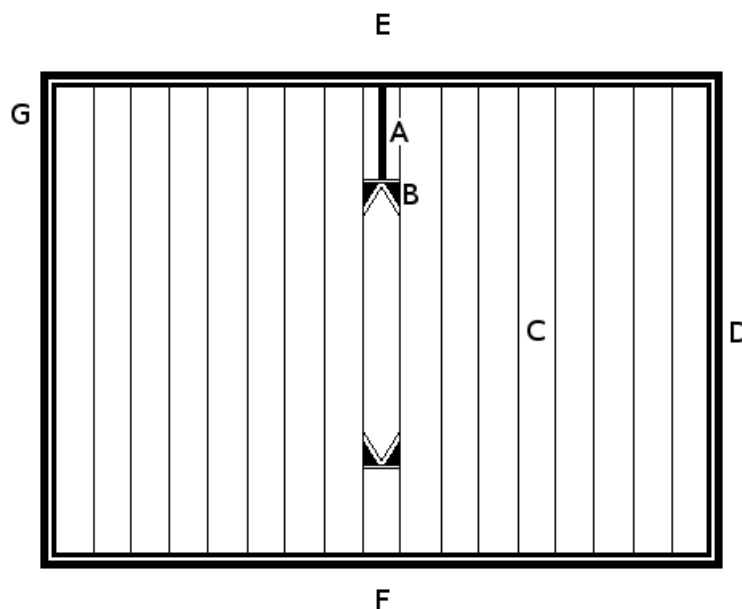
85 Glen Dudbridge, *Lost Books of Medieval China* (London: British Library, 2000), 13-14; Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 54, no. 1 (June, 1994): 5-125. Cherniack is cited in Cynthia J. Brokaw, "Commercial Woodblock Printing in the Qing (1644-1911) and the Transition to Modern Print Technology", in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, circa 1800 to 2008*, edited by Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 40fn31.

offered here is thus most accurate for this later period.⁸⁶ Wood blocks, usually from a pear (li 梨), jujube (zao 枣), or catalpa (zi 梓) tree, are soaked in water or boiled, then dried, planed and polished on both sides, so that two pages can be printed from a single block. The manuscript is then transcribed on to thin sheets of paper and the inked text transferred to one face of the block, and a variety of tools are used to carve away the surface of the wood, leaving characters and images in relief. Mistakes in carving can be corrected by replacing a small wedge-shaped area of the block surface or by inlaying a new piece for a larger area. Once cleaned and washed, the block is ready for printing; it is held on a table and inked with a brush, then a sheet of paper is placed over it and a pad rubbed against the blank side to transfer the image to the paper. A block may be printed some 15,000 times before needing minor repairs, after which another 10,000 to 25,000 prints can be made. Blocks can be stored indefinitely between printings, barring rot, fire, or insect damage.⁸⁷ Xylographic printed books in China have a distinct page layout, with the text matrix spanning two pages so that the center column straddles the folded edge.⁸⁸

86 Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, 194-196. For a first-hand account of how these techniques were being used in Beijing in 1949, see Hedda M. Morrison, "Making Books in China", *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 38-39 (1949): 232-243.

87 Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, 196-201, 370.

88 This style of binding was first used in the ninth or tenth centuries, and replaced the earlier 'sūtra' binding where a continuous length of joined paper sheets was folded accordion-like. See Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, 222-233.

Figure 1: Xylographic book page layout⁸⁹

A: Elephant Trunk (*xiangbi* 象鼻); B: Fish Tail (*yuwei* 魚尾); C: Column (*hangge* 行格) defined by Borderline (*jie* 界); D: Marginal Line (*bianlan* 邊欄); E: Book Eyebrow (*shumei* 書眉) or Heavenly Head (*tiantou* 天頭); F: Earthly Foot (*dijue* 地腳); G: Book Ear (*shuer* 書耳).

The first time xylography was used to print a complete Buddhist canon, initially called *yiqie jing* 一切經 (all the *jing*) and later *da zangjing* 大藏經 (great library of *jing*), occurred a century after the printing of the *Diamond Sūtra* scroll mentioned above. The publication of the Buddhist canon in China was a monumental task that entailed the collecting, selecting, editing, organizing, cataloguing, and printing of thousands of fascicles of text, and involved the

89 Figure based on Tsien, *Paper and Printing*, 222-223.

coordinated mobilization of donors, translators, editors, libraries, and printers.⁹⁰ The editorial work behind these collections has also exerted a lasting influence on the way in which Buddhists and scholars have understood the content of the texts themselves, as their decisions helped to define the standard content of the Buddhist textual corpus.⁹¹ The carving of the blocks for the earliest printed Chinese Buddhist scriptural canon began in the Kaibao 開寶 era (968 – 975 CE) of the Northern Song dynasty under the direction of Emperor Taizu 太祖 (r. 960 – 976) and continued under Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976 – 997). This Kaibao Canon included some 1,076 titles, involved a large team of translators, editors and other craftspeople to produce, and is said to have required 130,000 blocks that took twelve years to carve. At least seven other major collections were printed during the Song, evidence both of the importance of Buddhist scriptural texts and of the capacity of Song-era workshops to undertake very large printing projects.⁹² Buddhist publishing activity was not limited to canons; richly illustrated Buddhist prints, for example, were a specialty of printers in Hangzhou 杭州, who mass-produced Dhāranī scrolls, Bodhisattva images, and frontispieces for scriptural texts from the

90 The fascicle (*juan* 卷; a scroll or curl) is a section of text whose name is derived from when long manuscripts spanned multiple scrolls of material. Its length in characters varies widely.

91 Lancaster, “Construction of the Chinese Buddhist Canon”.

92 Shi Dao'an 釋道安, *Zhongguo dazangjing diaoke shihua* 中國大藏經雕刻史話 ([n.p.]: Zhonghua dadian bianyin hui, 1978), 61-72. There is a very brief mention of the Kaibao canon in J.S. Edgren, “China”, in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, edited by Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 104.

tenth to the thirteenth centuries.⁹³ These products were created by private, non-governmental artists in contrast to the imperially-sponsored editions of the Buddhist canon, and made use of a common vocabulary of symbols and motifs shared among different artists and workshops. The use of xylography in pre-modern China for religious works was also not restricted to the Buddhists. When during the Jin Dynasty 金 (1127 – 1234) the Quanzhen 全真 school of Daoism established itself as a major religious movement in the north of China, it played an active role in the production of a Daoist Canon, part of its quest to gain legitimacy and circulation within the larger Daoist sphere, and to compete with the influence of Buddhists. The *Xuandu baozang* 玄都寶藏 (Precious Canon of the Mystic Lands, carved 1237 – 1244) and other published collections helped to establish the visibility and perceived authenticity of the Quanzhen movement in the field of print alongside Confucian, Buddhist, and other Daoist groups.⁹⁴

93 A Dhāraṇī 陀羅尼 is a string of sounds believed to possess sacrality and power. See DDB, [陀羅尼].

94 Quanzhen groups mainly introduced new commentaries and exegetical works rather than newly-revealed scriptures to the Daoist Canon. Shih-shan Susan Huang, “Early Buddhist Illustrated Prints in Hangzhou”, in *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900 – 1400*, edited by Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerd (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011): 135-165; Lucille Chia, “The Uses of Print in Early Quanzhen Daoist Texts”, in *Knowledge and Text Production*: 167-213.

| Table 1: Major Editions of the Chinese-language Buddhist Canon before 1900 ⁹⁵ | | | |
|--|---------------------------|------------|--|
| Name | Date of Block Carving, CE | Fascicles | Comments |
| <i>Kaibao zang</i> 開寶藏 | 971/2 – 983 | 5048 | Also called the Shu edition 蜀本, produced during the Kaibao era of the Northern Song dynasty |
| <i>Qidan zang</i> 契丹藏 | 1031 – 1064 | ca. 5790 | Printed under the northeast Asian Liao 遼 dynasty; Ch'en notes that it was printed in Chinese characters and not in the Khitan script as Wu maintains |
| <i>Gaoli zang</i> <i>Goryeo jang</i> 高麗藏 | < 1087, 1236 – 1251 | 6807 | Printed under the Goryeo Dynasty. Also called the <i>Tripitaka Koreana</i> and <i>Palman Daejanggyeong</i> ⁹⁶ |
| <i>Chongning zang</i> 崇寧藏 | 1080 – 1104 | 6108/6434? | Produced at Dongchan Temple 東禪寺 in Fuzhou 福州. Some blocks were later repaired in 1156 and again in the 1320s. |
| <i>Pilu zang</i> 毗盧藏 | ca. 1112 – 1162? | 6117/32? | Also called the Kaiyuan Temple edition 開元寺本 |
| <i>Yuanjue zang</i> 圓覺藏 | 1120s? – ca. 1132 | 5480 | Also called the Huzhou edition 湖州本 or Zhejiang edition 浙本. Was possibly a second printing in the mid 13 th century. |
| <i>Zifu zang</i> 資福藏 | ? – 1175 | 5940 | Also printed in Zhejiang and apparently very similar to the <i>Yuanjue zang</i> |
| <i>Zhaocheng zang</i> 趙城藏 | Between 1148 and 1173 | > 6900 | Rediscovered in 1933, also called the <i>Jin zang</i> 金藏. Blocks were the basis for the later <i>Hongfa zang</i> 弘法藏 printed in |

95 The basic outline for this table is based on “Introduction to Editions of the Canon” maintained by the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 at <http://jinglu.cbeta.org/knowledge/versions.htm>, the original version of which was evidently compiled by the China Buddhism Information Network 中國佛教信息網 <http://www.buddhism.com.cn/> and afterward widely reproduced online. Additional details are based on the following sources: Tansen Sen, “The Revival and Failure of Buddhist Translations during the Song Dynasty”, *T'oung Pao*, Second Series, Vol. 84, Fasc. 4/5 (1998): 424-434; K.T. Wu 吳光清, “Chinese Printing under Four Alien Dynasties (916-1368 A.D.)”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1950): 447-523; Kenneth Ch'en, “Notes on the Sung and Yüan Tripiṭaka”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1/2 (Jun., 1951): 208-214; Darui Long, “The Management of Woodblock Engraving of Buddhist Canon in China”, *Hsi Lai Journal of Humanistic Buddhism*, Vol. 7 (2006): 329-351.

96 See Lewis R. Lancaster and Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1979).

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------|------------|--|
| | | | Beijing. |
| <i>Qisha zang</i> 磧砂藏 | 1231/4 – 1258, 1297 – 1322 | 6362 | Reprinted in Shanghai, 1933-1936 |
| <i>Puning zang</i> 普寧藏 | 1277/8 – 1287/94 | 6004/10? | Also called the <i>Hangzhou zang</i> 杭州藏 |
| <i>Hongfa zang</i> 弘法藏 | 1277? – 1294? | 7182 | Based on the <i>Zhaocheng zang</i> ; likely printed in Beijing |
| <i>Hong'an zang</i> 弘安藏 | between 1287 and 1302 | [unknown] | Only a few volumes from this canon have survived; printed in Japan |
| <i>Hongwu nanzang</i> 洪武南藏 | 1372 – 1398 | >7000? | Also called the Early <i>Nan zang</i> 初刻南藏, destroyed by fire in 1408. A partial copy was discovered in 1934. |
| <i>Yongle nanzang</i> 永樂南藏 | between 1360 and 1424 | 6331 | Based on the <i>Hongwu nanzang</i> |
| <i>Yongle beizang</i> 永樂北藏 | 1421 – 1440, 1584 | 6361 + 410 | Carved in Beijing, but was printed at several temples across China. The additional fascicles were added in 1584. |
| <i>Wulin zang</i> 武林藏 | End of Yongle era; 1420s? | ? | Re-discovered in 1982, only 17 fascicles extant. |
| <i>Wanli zang</i> 萬曆藏 | 1589? – 1657? | 6234 | Expanded edition of the <i>Yongle nanzang</i> . Publication was privately sponsored by several highly-placed officials in the Ming court. |
| <i>Jiaxing zang</i> 嘉興藏 | 1589 – 1676 | 12,600 | Also called the <i>Jingshan zang</i> 徑山藏. First canon to use stitched folded pages rather than linked accordion-style pages. |
| <i>Tianhai zang</i> <i>Tenkai zō</i> 天海藏 | 1637 – 1648/1651? | 6323 | Printed in Japan and spearheaded by Tokugawa Iemitsu. Used movable type and was based on the <i>Puning zang</i> . |
| <i>Long zang</i> 龍藏 | 1733 – 1738 | 7168 | Also called the Qianlong canon 乾隆藏. The principle canon 正藏 is identical to that of the <i>Yongle beizang</i> ; the extended canon adds some additional material. |
| <i>Hongjiao zang</i> <i>Kukyō zō</i> 弘教藏 | 1880 – 1885 | 8538 | Printed in Japan. Also called the small-type edition because of the size of the movable type used. Based on the <i>Gaoli zang</i> , <i>Zifu zang</i> , <i>Puning zang</i> , and <i>Jiaxing</i> |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---------------|
| | | | <i>zang</i> . |
|--|--|--|---------------|

Although the first large-scale xylographic publishing projects were undertaken during the Song dynasty, during this period the technology and means to produce these types of publications was still limited to a few urban centers and temples, and likely did not become widespread in China until as late as the Jiajing 嘉靖 era (1522 – 1567) of the Ming 明 dynasty (1368 – 1644). Along with a rapidly expanding population and economy, the Ming also saw the rise of new regional centers of printing, especially in Fujian 福建 province and the Jiangnan 江南 region of eastern China, which were producing printed books on a scale that again alarmed conservative elites.⁹⁷ By the end of the Ming, xylography and the book market had become ubiquitous to the point that literate elite writers in China were referring to publishing as a “public vehicle” and were using it as a means of disseminating ideas into a public space shared by a large literate population. The Yongle Emperor 永樂 (r. 1402 – 1424) of the Ming continued the practice of having the imperial court sponsor the printing of a canonical set of Buddhist scriptures, printing a Tibetan-language canon in 1410. The first Ming canon, carved in Nanjing 南京, later became known as the Southern Yongle Canon (*Yongle Nanzang* 永樂南藏, carved 1412 – 1417) after the imperial capital was moved to Beijing in the north. There a new canon

97 Brokaw, “History of the Book in China”, 24-27. On the Ming-dynasty expansion of print, see the chapter by Joseph McDermott in the Brokaw and Chow volume.

was produced, called the Northern Yongle Canon (*Yongle Beizang* 永樂北藏, carved 1421 – 1440). During the Ming there was also a privately published canon bound as stitched volumes rather than the Indian-inspired accordion binding, the printing of which was completed at Lengyan Temple 楞嚴寺 in Jiaxing county 嘉興縣, and which later became known as the Jiaxing Canon 嘉興藏 (carved 1589 – 1676).⁹⁸ Such private canons were, at least before the Republican era, relatively rare and do not seem to have had as wide a circulation as the imperially-sponsored canons.

During the early Qing 清 dynasty (1644 – 1911), the major Ming-era centers of publishing declined by varying degrees. Cities such as Jianyang 建陽, Huizhou 徽州, Nanjing and Hangzhou fell from their prominent positions, while Suzhou 蘇州 expanded its publishing industry, and the new imperial capital of Beijing 北京 emerged as a major center of printing. By the Qing the publishing world in China had become dominated by a large number of regional workshops and a nationwide network of printer-retailers, who were producing a remarkably homogeneous core of best-sellers to a much broader readership.⁹⁹ This expansion and homogenization of print culture in the Qing was likely an important contributing factor to

98 The Jiaxing Canon is also called the Jingshan Canon 徑山藏, after the location of the temple. On the Jiaxing Canon, see Chen Yunü 陳玉女, *Mingdai Fomen neiwai sengsu jiaoshe de changyu* 明代佛門內外僧俗交涉的場域 (Taipei, Banqiao: Daoxiang, 2010). I am grateful to Rostislav Berezkin for bringing this source to my attention.

99 Brokaw, “History of the Book in China”, 27-30. These “intermediate-level publishing centers”, as Brokaw terms them, included places such as Baoqing 寶慶 in Hunan and Xuwan 徐灣 in Jiangxi. See Brokaw, “Commercial Woodblock Printing in the Qing (1644-1911)”, 40-44.

the spread of education, functional literacy, and a shared public literary culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even if for the majority of people their knowledge of texts and ability to read characters were both still rather limited.¹⁰⁰ Catherine Bell argued that *shanshu* 善書 (morality books) in the Qing brought together several different traditions of textuality, enabling the genre to influence social practices and beliefs by involving readers in a meaningful relationship with the text. Although for the compilers of *shanshu* it was the message of the texts – defining and encouraging moral behavior – that was of paramount importance, Bell notes that it is impossible to separate the media from their message. The fact that these books encouraged readers to reproduce and distribute copies as an act generating positive merit was an important factor in their ability to further shape social behavior, and played a key role in spreading their popular Confucian morality throughout late-Imperial Chinese society.¹⁰¹

The importance of the type and function of the media when considering the impact of a printed text also applies to Buddhist print culture in late-Imperial China, as Bell observes that the *Lotus Sūtra*, for example, functioned as both the message and means of salvation. In contrast to sacred manuscripts, the rarity of which conferred an aura of religious authority,

100 Cynthia J. Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture: The Sibao Book Trade in the Qing and Republican Periods* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 559-570.

101 Catherine Bell, “‘A Precious Raft to Save the World’: The Interaction of Scriptural Traditions and Printing in a Chinese Morality Book”, *Late Imperial China*, Vol. 17, no. 1 (1996): 158-200, especially 163, 190.

printed texts such as the *Lotus Sūtra* generated merit and positive effects in society through people reproducing and distributing them.¹⁰² The major Buddhist canon edition of the Qing was produced under the rule of the Qianlong emperor 乾隆 (1711 – 1799). He worked closely with Tibetan Buddhists, oversaw the publication of Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhist canons, and had a substantial personal stake in Buddhist religiosity, sponsoring the publishing of the *Longzang* 龍藏 (carved 1735 – 1738) in Beijing, but it was to be the last major imperially-sponsored canon.¹⁰³ Apart from the large canon editions, most Buddhist publishing was the product of temple scriptoriums (*jingfang* 經房/坊), where monastic publishers drew upon extensive temple libraries and storehouses of printing blocks to compile their new editions.¹⁰⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth century, xylographic printing was a well-established technology in China that was being deployed by a wide range of state, commercial, private, and temple-based presses to produce printed materials. Printing expertise was available through local craftspeople and specialist workshops, literacy was relatively common, and publishing religious works was a widely-accepted form of generating merit and encouraging morality.

102 Bell, “Precious Raft”, 160-161, 183.

103 Shi Dao'an, *Zhongguo dazangjing diaoke shihua*, 123-132, 144-149; Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute: The Reinvention of Chan Buddhism in Seventeenth-Century China* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 25. On Buddhism and Qing governance, see Patricia Ann Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).

104 While *jingfang* 經房 is often used to refer to the printer of scriptural texts, the term more precisely refers to the scriptural hall or repository within a temple. *Jingfang* 經坊, on the other hand, indicates a 'workshop for [producing] scriptures'. See DDB, [經房].

Participants in Buddhist print culture had established their own open corpus of texts, bibliographic studies, and catalogues of canonical works, and the collection of scriptural texts was an important part of any large temple or monastic institution. From the late nineteenth century onward, Buddhist publishers in China would begin to modify the social contexts of publishing, shifting production out of the temples and creating new organizational structures to support their scriptural presses. Few would seek to abandon these core aspects of Buddhist xylographic publishing, however, and the textual, bibliographic, and catalogue traditions outlined above, especially the religious power and cultural prestige of canonical collections, would continue to be central concerns in Chinese Buddhist print culture.

3. Yang Wenhui and the Jinling Scriptural Press

One of the most important regions for Buddhist scriptural printing was Jiangnan 江南, where the wealth of commercial and cultural elites had, particularly from the Ming dynasty onward, supported the construction of temples and the livelihood of monastics.¹⁰⁵ When the rebellion of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (Taiping Tianguo 太平天国) erupted from 1850 to 1864 causing the deaths of millions, many temples in the Jiangnan region were deliberately razed by Taiping forces because they were contrary to the religious vision of their leader Hong Xiuquan

¹⁰⁵ Brook, *Praying for Power*.

洪秀全 (1841 – 1864). Hong and his followers forcibly relocated those with printing expertise to Nanjing, where they were put to work producing registration forms for subjects of the new dynasty, as well as copies of Hong's preferred edition of the bible.¹⁰⁶ The rebellion was a crucial turning point for religion and culture in the Jiangnan area, as some of the most important monastic orders and temple libraries in the region were destroyed or scattered. Yet out of this destruction arose opportunities for innovative modes of religious practice. Buddhist publishers, editors, authors, and historians of Buddhism in modern China widely credit the lay publisher Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837 – 1911) with inaugurating a post-Taiping resurgence in Buddhist xylographic publishing. His studies of scriptural texts, social relationships with other Buddhists in China and Japan, and educational work continued to exert a great deal of influence well into the Republican period, leading to his being called the 'father' of a modern revival of Buddhism in China.¹⁰⁷

106 Spence, *God's Chinese Son*, 176-179. Spence observes that the official standard edition of the bible in the Taiping state was the one that Hong had happened to carry with him, and likely held no other special significance.

107 See, for example, the following note that accompanies an advertisement for scriptural publications, and which closely links Yang's work to a post-Taiping recovery: "Since the volumes of the Jiaying Lengyan canon were destroyed in the conflagration of war, those who research Buddhism have suffered from a lack of good editions. During the former Qing dynasty, Layman Yang Wenhui from Chizhou gathered together scriptoriums in Yangzhou and elsewhere to print scriptures. For forty years [these books] have been well-edited and well-carved, and have long spread across the nation." 『自嘉興楞嚴寺書本藏經燬於兵燹, 研究佛學者苦乏善本. 池州楊仁山居士, 於前清時, 會同揚州等處經房, 刊刻藏經. 垂四十載, 校刻精好, 久已風行海內.』 Punctuation added. *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報, issue 12 (June 15, 1914), MFQ 4:551. Published research on Yang includes Welch, *Buddhist Revival in China*; Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*; Luo Cheng 羅琤, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu* 金陵刻經處研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexue yuan chubanshe, 2010). Shi Dongchu 釋東初, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi* 中國佛教近代史, in *Dongchu laoren quanji* 東初老人全集,

Yang's influence on Chinese Buddhism in the late Qing and Republican eras is well-known; in this section I will focus on his publishing activities, particularly his Jinling Scriptural Press (Jinling kejing chu 金陵刻經處),¹⁰⁸ and other scriptural presses that were modeled upon it to examine how they adapted the patrimony of Buddhist print culture outlined above, and how they influenced later Buddhist xylographic and movable-type publishing. Although the xylographic technology used by scriptural presses was centuries old, and the work of printing scriptures was a well-established religious endeavour, the social organization of these presses and the ways in which they related to one another were both among a series of innovations being introduced to Buddhist print culture at the end of the Qing and the beginning of the Republic. These innovations, which began with Yang and continued with his students and disciples, mirror broader developments in China in the fields of education, the media, and social practices.

Yang's Jinling Scriptural Press was organized unlike anything that had preceded it in East Asian Buddhist history. The Jinling imprint was first used in 1866, when Yang raised the funds to print an edition of *Jingtu sijing* 淨土四經 (Four Pure Land Scriptures) edited by the scholar Wei Yuan 魏源 (1794 – 1857).¹⁰⁹ Two years later Yang and his partners formally

2 Vols (Taipei: Dongchu, 1974), 1:42, 249-250.

108 Jinling 金陵 is a former name of the city of Nanjing, first used during the Southern Tang dynasty (937 – 976 CE).

109 The scriptures included in the collection are *Wuliang shou jing* 無量壽經, *Guan wuliang shou Fo jing* 觀無量壽經,

inaugurated the press with the composition of a charter (*zhangcheng* 章程) that required each member to contribute 5,600 cash per month; with ten partners the operating budget would be 56,000 cash per month, the bulk of which would support a calligrapher and eight carvers, the remainder going to a monastic director and two assistants. Its first director, whose tenure was quite brief, was Zheng Xuechuan 鄭學川 (Zheng Shuhai 鄭書海, 1826? – 1881), who that year had been ordained and took the name Miaokong 妙空. He would come to be known as the *kejing seng* 刻經僧 (Sutra-carving monk).¹¹⁰ In Yang's Jinling press were recombined several elements of scriptural publishing outlined in the previous section. In the past, canons had been published by imperial printers and temple presses, and laypeople had sponsored the printing of individual scriptures, often for the purpose of generating merit. Yang's press, however, was

Amituo jing 阿彌陀經, and the “Puxian xingyuan” section 普賢行願品 of the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經. Wei was a Yangzhou-based scholar who, in the mid nineteenth century, wrote a number of influential studies of foreign powers and treasies on how China ought to reform itself in order to meet the challenges of the era. On his connection to Buddhism, see Li Jianguang 李建光, “Wei Yuan xuanze jingtu zong de dongyin ji dui jindai jushi Foxue de gongxian” 魏源選擇淨土宗的動因及對近代居士佛學的貢獻, *Qiusuo* 求索, no. 6 (2007): 136-137. Cited in DDBC Person Authority, <[A001891](#)>. His prefaces to this collection are reprinted in *Weiyuan ji* 魏源集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1:246-253. Pure Land Buddhism describes a path to salvation through the grace and power of Amida Buddha (Amituo Fo 阿彌陀佛).

110 Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 2. Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 51-54. Miaokong was often absent from the press, so other monks fulfilled the role of director. For more on Miaokong see Xiong Runsheng 熊潤生, comp., *Kejing seng Miaokong dashi zhuan* 刻經僧妙空大師傳 (1910), reprinted in Guojia tushuguan fenguan 國家圖書館分館, *Zhonghua Fojiao renwu zhuanji wenxian quanshu* 中華佛教人物傳記文獻全書 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2008), 48:24308-24315; Dong Yushu 董玉書, comp., *Wucheng huaijiu lu* 蕪城懷舊錄, fs. 3, 10-15 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2003[1948]), 208-217; Chen Zhaoshen 陳肇榮, ed., and Chen Maosen 陳懋森, comp., *Minguo Jiangdu xian xinshi* 民國江都縣新志, (1937), reprinted in *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng*, *Jiangsu fu xian zhi ji* 中國地方志集成, 江蘇府縣志輯 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1991), 67:900-901. Issue 12 of *Foxue congbao* has a photograph of Miaokong and a sample of his calligraphy, which is quite distinct. MFQ 4:353.

established outside of the state apparatus, and was financed by lay people and managed by monastics. The press itself was specifically designed to avoid functioning as a temple space; the press did not require resident monks to perform confession (*jingchan* 經懺), nor was it open to traveling monastics as would a Hall of Clouds and Water (*yunshui tang* 雲水堂) in a public monastery.¹¹¹ Interestingly, in these aspects it foreshadowed the structure of lay Buddhist societies that would begin to emerge in the early years of the Republic, in that it combined lay and monastic leadership into an organization with a published corporate charter, a set funding structure, and permanent non-temple physical structures such as offices and workshops. Yang's Jinling press created the prototype of the scriptural press – perhaps also influencing the organization of the Buddhist religious societies that followed – and this model was emulated by more than a dozen other later institutions that incorporated “scriptural press” (*kejing chu* 刻經處) or a similar term in their name.

| Table 2: Buddhist Scriptural Presses and Printers in late-Qing and Republican China ¹¹² | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------|
| Name | Location | Years Active |
| Jinling Scriptural Press 金陵刻經處 | Yanling Alley, Nanjing 南經延齡巷 | 1866 – 1966, 1981 – present |
| Rugao Scriptural Press 如皋刻經處 | Rugao, Jiangsu Province 江蘇如皋 | 1872 – 1880s? |
| Huikong Scriptorium 慧空經房 | Sungang, Liu'an, Anhui Province 安徽六安市孫崗鎮 | 1872? – ? |

¹¹¹ Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 54.

¹¹² Based on an early published list in *Haichao yin* 海潮音, issue 1; MFQ 147:131, and the sources cited below.

| | | |
|--|--|-----------------------|
| Jiangbei Scriptural Press 江北刻經處 | Zhuanqiao town, Yangzhou 揚州磚橋鎮 | 1874 – 1930s or 1940s |
| Changsha Scriptural Press 長沙刻經處 | Changsha 長沙 | 1876? – 1885 |
| Yangzhou Scripture Hall ¹¹³ 揚州藏經院 | Wanhong Bridge, Yangzhou 揚州城內皮市街宛虹橋西首 | 1908 – 1930s |
| Changzhou Scriptural Press ¹¹⁴ 常州刻經處 | Tianning Temple, Changzhou 常州天寧寺 | 1890s? – 1912 |
| Jiangxi Scriptural Press ¹¹⁵ 江西刻經處 | [unknown] | 1910 – ca. 1926? |
| Beijing Scriptural Press 北京刻經處 | Fayuan Temple, Beijing 北京法源寺 | 1918 – ca. 1937 |
| Chao'an Scriptural Press ¹¹⁶ 潮安刻經處 | Xianqitou, Chao'an, Guangdong 廣東潮安仙祈頭 | fl. 1920 – 1925 |
| Chengdu Scriptural Press 成都刻經處 | Chengdu 成都 | fl. 1920 |
| Chongqing Scriptural Press 重慶刻經處 | Chongqing 重慶 | fl. 1920 |
| Tianjin Scriptural Press 天津刻經處 | Tianjin 天津 | 1921 – ca. 1937 |
| Wuchang Scriptural Printer 武昌印經處 | Wuchang 武昌 | fl. 1923 |

113 See Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 270; Wang Cheng 王澄, *Yangzhou keshu kao* 揚州刻書考 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2003), 318-323. According to some accounts published online, Yinguang worked here for some time around 1908. See <http://big5.xuefo.net/show1_28306.htm>, <http://big5.xuefo.net/show1_28307.htm>. It is mentioned a few times in Buddhist periodicals in the 1930s; see MFQ 48:391, 55:304, 213.

114 Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 269-270. According to Yu Lingbo, the press was founded by Yekai while he was abbot of Tianning Temple, with help from his disciples Yingci 應慈, Weikuan 惟寬, Xingshi 行實 and others. Its formal name was Piling Scriptural Press 毗陵刻經處, and over its several decades of operation it printed more than 770 titles and over 2,460 fascicles. See Yu Lingbo 于凌波, *Minguo gaoseng zhuan chubian* 民國高僧傳初編 (Xindian, Taipei county: Yuanming chubanshe, 1998), 46. An advertisement for the press appears in MFQ 3:145-148.

115 The existence of this press is not fully established. Only a few references exist: see Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 264-267.

116 A book catalogue from this press is printed in *Fohua jikan* 佛化季刊, no. 1 (July 5, 1925), MFQB 14:131-133.

| | | |
|---|--|-----------------|
| Central Scriptural Press ¹¹⁷ 中央刻經處[院] | Xuanwumen wai dajie, Beiping 北平宣武門外大街 | fl. 1926 – 1937 |
|---|--|-----------------|

The first project planned for the Jinling imprint was an ambitious one: the publication of the complete Buddhist canon (*quan zang* 全藏). A Jinling canon would take the place of the *Long zang* 龍藏 carved in the 1730s, an edition that Yang and his partners regarded as a “museum piece”, and would help make up for the loss of Jiangnan-area temple libraries such as that at Wanshou Temple 萬壽寺 on Jingshan 徑山.¹¹⁸ Although Yang never realized his ambition of publishing a complete canon, he did greatly expand the boundaries of Chinese Buddhist print culture, in large part through his connections with foreign scholars of religion. In 1878 he was invited to join the Qing minister Zeng Jize 曾紀澤 (1839 – 1890) in his diplomatic mission to England and France, and in 1886 Yang visited England again, where he met the Oxford orientalist Max Müller (1823 – 1900) and his student Nanjō Bunyū 南条文雄 (1849 – 1927). Yang and Nanjō would remain in contact with each other via written correspondence, and through Nanjō Yang was able to procure copies of Buddhist scriptures from Japan that had been lost in China to reprint through his press.¹¹⁹ In 1884 Yang met the Welsh Baptist missionary Timothy Richard (1845 – 1919) while the latter was in Nanjing

¹¹⁷ See chapter five, section four.

¹¹⁸ Quoted by Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 52. On scripture-printing at Jingshan, see “Jingshan kezang nianbiao” 徑山刻藏年表, *Honghua yuekan* 弘化月刊, Oct 25, 1955, MFQB 72:316.

¹¹⁹ Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 68-79. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 4.

collecting Buddhist texts to support his research in to Chinese religions. Richard's mission strategy was to seek out elite members of Chinese society who were active in religious culture, and Yang fit these criteria perfectly. The role played by the Buddhist text *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith) in Yang's conversion to Buddhism prompted Richard to study it closely. In 1894 the pair collaborated on a translation of the text into English, but Yang was reportedly unsatisfied with Richard's interpretation of the scripture through a Christian lens.¹²⁰ At the end of the previous year Yang had met with Anagarika Dharmapala (1864 – 1933) while the latter was en route to Sri Lanka, coming from having attended the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago. Yang came from Nanjing especially to hear Dharmapala speak at Longhua Temple 龍華寺 in Shanghai 上海, and remained in touch with him in the years that followed.¹²¹ These international connections had little direct impact on the operation of Yang's press; Yang was not long in contact with either Richard or Dharmapala, and his relationship with Nanjō was largely epistolary. They may, however, have helped to inspire some innovative experiments that took place after 1897, when the press was set up in its own dedicated buildings on Yang's estate on Yanling alley 延齡巷, north of the Nanjing city wall.

120 See Gregory Adam Scott, “Timothy Richard, World Religion, and Reading Christianity in Buddhist Garb”, *Social Sciences and Missions* 25 (2012): 53-75.

121 Goldfuss, 105-112. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 6-8.

This would be the site of two ground-breaking – but ultimately short-lived – institutions founded by Yang in the last decade of the Qing dynasty. The first was the Jetavana Hermitage (Qihuan jingshe 祇洹精舍), inaugurated in 1908 as a school for lay and monastic Buddhists. Although it only operated for one academic year, it was notable in that it included both laypeople and monastics as teachers and students. It also prompted Yang to compile his *Fojiao chuxue keben* 佛教初學課本 (Primer of Buddhism for Beginning Students) in 1906 for use in the school's classes, the first of an entire genre of Buddhist books for beginners that would appear in the Republican period.¹²² Although the compilation of a textbook for classroom use was something quite new, Yang's textbook itself was organized in a very traditional fashion. It presented Buddhist history and doctrine in the form of the *Sanzi jing* 三字經 (Three Character Classic), a common primer text for young students, and added extensive exegetical commentary explaining the main text, which was intended to be memorized. The second innovative institution was the Foxue yanjiu hui 佛學研究會 (Buddhist Studies Research Association), established in 1910. Unfortunately little is known about this group, but it may have been a forerunner to the *yanjiu bu* 研究部 (research department) later established at the

122 Jetavana was a location in India said to have functioned as the first permanent meeting place for Buddhist monastics. DDB, [祇園精舍]. Gregory Adam Scott, “The Publishing of Buddhist Books for Beginners in Modern China from Yang Wenhui to Master Sheng Yen 中國近代歷史上的佛學入門書籍出版事業 – 從楊文會居士至聖嚴法師而言” (unpublished paper submitted to the Sheng Yen Educational Foundation, 2012), 4-5. On the meaning of *jingshe* 精舍, see Nakamura Hajime 中村元, ed., *Bukkyōgo daijiten* 佛教語大辭典 (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1975), 1:731.

press by Yang's successors. This department first appears in publication information from 1916, and was credited with a large portion of the press's overall output in the Republican era.¹²³ Yang also continued to make plans for ambitious publishing projects, including a comprehensive bibliographic catalogue for the core Buddhist canon (*dazang* 大藏) and its supplementary volumes (*xuzang* 續藏), modeled on the catalogue compiled for the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries). He also intended to compile an anthology of essential scriptural texts, *Dazang jiyao* 大藏輯要 (Edited Essentials of the Canon), that would help introduce readers to the large corpus of Buddhist scripture. Neither of these projects were completed in Yang's lifetime; the first was superseded by the indices produced for the Taishō 大正 canon in Japan, and the second was only fully published in the 1920s.¹²⁴

When Yang died in 1911, the instructions he left stipulated that the Jinling press should continue as a public enterprise (*gongye* 公業) entrusted to a group of managers rather than become the private property of his descendants, who would nonetheless be provided with housing and a stipend paid for by press funds until they were able to contribute financially to the enterprise. Directorship of the press was entrusted to three of Yang's students: Li Yizhuo

123 ZFJS, 1:42, 80; Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 186-202, 215-216; Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 9-10, 117, 295fn17-23.

124 Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 212-218. The *Siku quanshu* was an encyclopedic collection of texts that printed between 1773 and 1782 under the reign of the Qianlong Emperor. Only one part of Yang's planned anthology was printed between 1911 and 1913, after which the press began to advertise for donations to continue the project; see *Foxue congbao*, issue 8, MFQ 3:227-268, which includes an outline of the press and a list of titles in the anthology.

李翊灼 (Li Zhenggang 李證剛, 1881 – 1952), Mei Guangxi 梅光義 (Mei Xieyun 梅擷芸, 1880 – 1947), and Ouyang Jian 歐陽漸 (Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無 1871 – 1943), all Buddhist laymen.¹²⁵

Of these three, Ouyang would take the leading role in running the press after Yang's death.

Ouyang left Nanjing in 1912 after failing in an attempt to establish a national Buddhist

association, but returned two years later. He took over as manager of the press in 1918 upon

the death of Chen Xi'an 陳樺庵 (18?? – 1918), who had served as Yang's assistant at the press

for thirty years, and the resignation of the other main manager Chen Yifu 陳宜甫 (d.u.)¹²⁶ Over

the next few years Ouyang continued his studies into the Yogācāra (Weishi 唯識) school of

Buddhist philosophy, publishing the last fifty fascicles of the *Yujia shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論

(Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra) in 1917 and establishing a growing reputation as a gifted and

innovative scholar.¹²⁷ At the same time he struggled to keep the press on a sound fiscal footing

125 Li had studied under Yang at the press and later became a university instructor. Few print sources exist on his life; see his [DMCB biography page](http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/Li_Yizhuo), <http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/Li_Yizhuo>, for links to some online accounts. Mei was a *juren* 舉人 degree holder who had to come study under Yang in 1902. From 1903 to 1907 he studied in Japan, and served in a number of government positions during the Republican era. Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:650-660. Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1:1002-1004.

126 Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 213. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 177-118, 319fn28. Welch's information on the press being left to Li, Mei and Ouyang is based on that obtained from a former student of Ouyang, and thus might not represent the whole story. Biographical details on Chen Xi'an and Chen Yifu are rare. *Foguang da cidian*, [金陵刻經處] mentions the two Chens very briefly, while Xi'an is mentioned in passing in Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 27-28. *Jueshe congshu* 覺社叢書, issue 2, has a brief letter to Taixu from Xi'an, whose name is misprinted as “Chen Zhi'an” 陳樺菴. Chen writes under the name Chen Jingqing 陳鏡清. MFQ 7:165.

127 Yogācāra teachings were introduced to China via several streams, and it became known as the Consciousness-only School (*weishi zong* 唯識宗) as well as the Dharma Characteristic school (*faxiang zong* 法相宗). It describes a comprehensive phenomenological, epistemological, and eschatological system, and was widely popular among Buddhist authors in early twentieth-century China.

while dealing with Yang's family, with whom he argued over living and stipend arrangements. Perhaps in response to these difficulties, in 1919 he established the Zhina neixue yuan 支那內學院 (Inner Studies Institute) as a quasi-independent research and publication institution that operated within the organizational structure of the Jinling press but was under his sole control.¹²⁸ In spite of these difficulties in securing new leadership, the press did not slow its output following the death of its founder. In the first eight years after Yang's death in 1911 the Jinling Scriptural Press produced 115 titles whose dates of publication are recorded, including a large number of titles produced under the auspices of the press's *yanjiu bu* 研究部 (research department). In contrast, in the final fourteen years of Yang's life from 1898 to 1911 the press produced only 72 titles.¹²⁹

As outlined in the table above, several other scriptural presses were set up in the late nineteenth century, most of which had at least an indirect connection to Yang Wenhui. After the first use of the Jinling imprint in 1866, one of the earliest to appear was the Jiangbei Scriptural Press 江北刻經處 in Yangzhou 揚州, and the two presses shared printing blocks and collaborated closely with each other. Soon after his ordination in 1866 Miaokong, the first

128 Aviv, "Differentiating the Pearl from the Fish Eye", 58-75. Aviv quotes Ouyang's account which states that the press was entrusted to Ouyang alone. The first issue of *Neixue* 內學, the journal of the institute, has a financial report for the Jinling Press Research Department and the Institute, covering the years 1915 to 1923. MFQ 9:319-324. For more see chapter five, section three below.

129 Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 171-200. Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 154-155. For an interesting contemporary account of the press' founding and operations, see "Jinling kejing chu mukan dazang qi" 金陵刻經處募刊大藏啟, *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報, no. 8 (Oct. 1, 1913), MFQ 3:227-268.

monastic director of the Jinling Press, revived the Jieyin Chan hall 接引禪院 in the eastern part of Yangzhou. When in 1874 the operation of the Jinling Press had to be moved to Yang's estate on Changfu street 常府街, Miaokong left his position and returned to Yangzhou permanently. There he established the Jiangbei Scriptural Press at the Jieyin Hall, and the site later became known as Fazang Temple 法藏寺. The press soon incorporated the Yangzhou Scripture Hall 揚州藏經院, a temple-based press that had been in operation since the Wanli 萬曆 era (1573 – 1620) of the Ming dynasty, as a branch of the press. Also around this time he was responsible for setting up scriptural printing operations at temples in Suzhou 蘇州, Changre 常熟, Zhejiang 浙江, and Rugao 如皋. In contrast to the now lay-led Jinling Press and the lay management of later scriptural presses, these were temple-based and likely monastic-run institutions. At its peak the Jiangbei press employed more than forty woodblock carvers, and produced over 3,000 fascicles of printing blocks.¹³⁰

130 ZFJS, 1:249; Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 54, 218; Wang Cheng, *Yangzhou keshu kao*, 317-323; Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬, *Zhongguo Fojiao shi* 中國佛教史 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1929), fs. 4:15-16; Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 254-259. Although the sources do not specify, it is possible that Miaokong left the Jinling press because, as a monastic, it was inappropriate for him to live permanently in a layperson's household. The Jiangbei Scriptural Press produced the largest Buddhist reprint edition of the 1910s: the *Louge congshu* 樓閣叢書 (Tower Collectanea), published in 1914. This collection was originally carved in 1864 as part of a *Zongjing tang congshu* 宗鏡堂叢書 (Zongjing Hall Collectanea) that contained a total of 48 works, and apart from a new preface contributed by one Wang Danchen 王丹忱 (d.u.), the content of the reprint appears to be unchanged from the 1864 edition. The titles in this series all focus on subjects relating to Pure Land Buddhism, and their genre is that of commentaries or guides to Buddhist topics. Wang's Dharma name is Benkai 本開, and he was responsible for editing the 1910 biography of Miaokong cited above. *Luoge congshu*, Vol. 1 (1914). Many of the titles in the collectanea are credited as being from “Zongjing Hall blocks” 宗鏡堂板, but the identity of this institution is as yet unclear.

In many fundamental ways Yang's Jinling Scriptural Press continued the tradition of Buddhist xylographic publishing outlined in the previous section: it used xylographic printing blocks and never experimented with other print technologies, it produced mainstream Buddhist scriptural texts almost exclusively, and, if resources had allowed, Yang would have taken up the formerly-imperial role of producing a complete collection of the canon. There were, however, already significant innovations being introduced to the presses during Yang's lifetime, including the formal organization of an independent, internally-regulated social and economic body to run the press that was separate from the temple structure. One of the most significant developments was the shift in leadership from monastic supervision to lay management, as can be seen with the short tenure of Miaokong at the Jinling press. The fact that the press was based in Nanjing, one of the major urban centers of China, rather than a rural estate or mountain temple, is also important to note given later developments. When, in the years following his death, Yang's students and disciples began to found their own scriptural presses, they would move Buddhist xylographic publishing further along these trajectories; their management and operation would be largely handled by lay staff, and their offices would be based in the fastest-growing urban centers of modernizing China.

4. Xu Weiru, the Beijing and Tianjin Scriptural Presses, and Scripture Distributors

Yang Wenhui died on October 8, 1911, and two days later what became known as the Xinhai Revolution (*xinhai geming* 辛亥革命) broke out, toppling the Qing state and leading to the establishment of the Republic of China on January 1, 1912 and the abdication of the young emperor in February. Yang had accompanied a Qing official on an international mission, but had not gone on to work directly with the government. Similarly, those who followed him and took up his work of printing xylographic scriptural texts often held minor posts in the post-Qing government but were rarely prominent political figures, revolutionary or otherwise. Rather they were more strongly connected to two rapidly-growing sectors of Chinese society: university academics, and those involved with commercial and industrial businesses. These publishers used their scholarly and economic ties to support their religious endeavours, operating their scriptural presses as lay-managed, 'not-for-profit' corporate bodies that published financial reports, advertised their publications in book catalogues and periodicals, and were interconnected through a nationwide network of local scripture distributors.¹³¹ While Yang's influence could still be strongly felt, and the Jinling press remained an important part of xylographic publishing scene, in the early Republican era we can see other inspirations and influences come into play, including those of prominent Buddhist monastics, not as press managers but rather as advisers and teachers of lay publishers.

¹³¹ I put not-for-profit in quotes because such a term was never, to my knowledge, used in their publications, although many presses took pains to point out that they were not deriving a profit from their publication enterprise.

Two of the first Buddhist scriptural presses founded in the Republican era were the Beijing Scriptural Press 北京刻經處 and the Tianjin Scriptural Press 天津刻經處, established by Xu Weiru 徐蔚如 (Xu Wenwei 徐文蔚, 1878 – 1937) in 1918 and 1921 respectively.¹³² Xu traced his ancestral roots to Haixian county 海鹽縣 in Zhejiang 浙江 province, but spent most of his life in north China. After failing the civil service exams in 1898, he found work in Beijing as a low-level government functionary, and following the establishment of the Republic of China he served as a representative in the Zhejiang provincial government before it was disbanded by Yuan Shikai. His first involvement with Buddhism came about through an interest in published material: in 1913 Xu contacted Gao Henian 高鶴年 (1872 – 1962) to inquire about a series of articles that had appeared under a pseudonym in the Buddhist periodical *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報 (Buddhist Studies Magazine). Gao put him in touch with their author, the Pure Land monk Yinguang 印光 (1861 – 1940), whom Xu later met in person at Putuoshan 普陀山.¹³³ The following year when Xu returned to Beijing to work for the Ministry of Finance (*caizheng bu* 財政部), he met a number of fellow bureaucrats who were then studying and practicing Buddhism. He became friends with Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬 (Jiang

132 Xu's year of birth is based on Yu Lingbo's research but does not appear in earlier biographical accounts. The entries in *Foguang da cidian*, 4104 and Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1:836-8 are summaries of the biographical accounts provided by Yu and Dongchu mentioned below.

133 Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 467-468. Some accounts claim that it was Xu who initially brought Yinguang's manuscripts back to Shanghai to be published in the periodical.

Zhuzhuang 蔣竹莊, 1873 – 1958) and studied with him under the lecturer Zhang Kecheng 張克誠 (1865 – 1922).¹³⁴

In 1917 Xu was chosen as the head of a Buddhist scripture recitation society that included Mei Guangxi, latterly of Yang's Jinling press, and that same year a mutual friend brought to him a set of letters between Yinguang and others, which he had published as *Yinguang fashi xin'gao* 印光法師信稿 (Letters of Master Yinguang). Xu would later publish *Yinguang fashi wenchao* 印光法師文鈔 (Collected Writings of Master Yinguang) in Beijing, a collection that was later supplemented by several additional volumes.¹³⁵ The publication of these volumes brought the formerly pseudonymous Yinguang into the public eye, launching a career of correspondence and writing in which he would be one of the best-known Chinese monastics of the 1920s and 1930s. Publishing and working with texts was thus a central part of Xu's religiosity, at least the public side of it, even before he took on the reigns of a scriptural press. In the early years of the Republic he had also helped fund some publications of the

134 There is some ambiguity in the sources as to when Xu and Jiang met. Jiang's biography states that he worked for the Department of Education in Beijing from April to October 1913, after which he quit and went to Shanghai to work for the Commercial Press. Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:699–701. Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 2:1580–1582. Zhang was a former consular functionary who had become a lay scholar of Yogācāra, and lectured at Peking University. Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1:970–971.

135 Other members of the society included Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 (1881 – 1968) and Kuai Ruomu 蒯若木 (d.u.) Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 464–468; Jiang Weiqiao, “Xu Weiru jushi zhuan” 徐蔚如居士傳, *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊, October 16, 1938, MFQ 54:349–350; Xinxi jushi 信西居士, *Yinguang fashi nianpu* 印光法師年譜, entry for 1917. The *nianpu* for Yinguang, evidently compiled soon after his death in 1940, states that initially 500 copies of the *Letters* book were printed. The *Writings* volume was published in 1920, and later reprinted in Shanghai in 1924 and 1928. For Liang Qichao's preface to one volume, see MFQ 12:85.

Jinling Press, and although he never met Yang Wenhui in person, he styled himself a *houxue* 後學 (humble student) of the lay publisher.¹³⁶

In 1918 Xu Weiru traveled to Guanzong Temple 觀宗寺 in Ningbo 寧波 and returned accompanied by the Tiantai 天台 patriarch Dixian 諦閑 (1858 – 1932).¹³⁷ Dixian lectured to the Beijing-based recitation group, accepting many of them as his lay disciples. After Dixian returned to his temple, Xu, Mei Guangxi, Jiang Weiqiao, Jiang Weinong 江味農 (1872 – 1938) and others collaborated to establish the Beijing Scriptural Press, with Xu acting as general manager and responsible for overseeing the proofreading. After Mei was posted to Shandong and Jiang Weiqiao and Jiang Weinong returned to Shanghai, Xu was left alone in charge of the press.¹³⁸ In its early years the Beijing press often collaborated with the Jinling Scriptural Press, sharing staff and reprinting each other's publications. Initially the printing work was handled by the Wenkai Studio 文楷齋 in Beijing's Liulichang 琉璃廠 district, well-known for its publishers and booksellers, but as the number of its printing blocks increased they were

136 For this translation, see DDB, [後學].

137 Dixian had previously taught at the Buddhist Normal School for Monastics 佛教師範僧學校 in Nanjing, and in 1919 had established the Guanzong School 觀宗學舍 and the Guanzong Research Society 觀宗研究社 at his temple in Ningbo. Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:757-761. Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 2:1621-1624. The Tiantai school, named after Mount Tiantai in Zhejiang, centers on the Lotus Sūtra and meditation practice.

138 Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:730-732; Jiang, “Xu Weiru jushi zhuan”. Dixian's lectures to the group in Beijing were recorded by Jiang Weiqiao and Huang Youxi 黃幼希 (d.u.), and Xu discusses them at some length in his eulogy for Dixian. See MFQ 22:198-201. Dongchu claims that Xu had founded both the Beijing and Tianjin presses in the late Qing (i.e. before 1912), but this is not supported by any other sources and is likely an error.

eventually stored in a residence in the Zongmao alleyway 宗帽衚衕.¹³⁹ Xu later moved to Tianjin to work as a clerk for the Qixin Cement Company 啟新洋灰公司, and in 1921 he, Zhou Zhifu 周志輔 (d.u.), and Zhou Shujia 周叔迦 (1899 – 1970) collaborated to found the Tianjin Scriptural Press. In Xu's absence the Beijing press continued operation, and the two presses are normally discussed together as a pair in primary and scholarly sources.¹⁴⁰

Letters written late in Xu Weiru's life describe his thoughts and concerns with regard to scriptural printing. He writes that scriptures must be selected carefully, since present-day readers might have trouble with Han-dynasty translations, whereas Tang- and Song-dynasty translations, on the other hand, would be a better choice. The layout of the page is also evidently an important consideration; the left and right text justification of gatha (jie 偈) passages, for example, should be indented in from the page margins. The choice of font (ziti 字體) is also crucial. Xu writes that since “nowadays many people cannot recognize common characters, let alone the rare ones that often appear in scriptural texts”, the use of common

139 Yang Zhifeng 楊之峰, “Xu Wenwei yu Beijing kejingchu” 徐文霽與北京刻經處, *Tushuguan yanjiu yu gongzuo* 圖書館研究與工作, no. 122 (2010): 69-71. Later during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) the woodblocks were moved to Guangji Temple 廣濟寺. Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 259-264. An advertisement from the press published in several periodicals around 1937 gives the name 北平刻經處, and 宗帽四條九號 as its address. See MFQ 53:480, 84:70, 212, 500, 197:58. At that time the staff of the press is listed as Zhai Wenxuan 翟文選, Xu Weiru, Xu Linyu 徐森玉 (d.u.), and Zhou Shujia 周叔迦 (1899-1970).

140 A tradition which I have continued here. A handful of sources mention the Tianjin press alone: an announcement in the Sept. 1, 1933 issue of *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊 solicits a copy, corrected or otherwise, of *Shijiao huimu yimen* 釋教彙目義門 for the Tianjin press. *Foxue banyuekan*, no. 62 (Sept. 1, 1933), MFQ 48:403. In 1940 a short news item details how blocks from the press were being sent back to Tianjin after being stored in Nanjing under the care of one layman Pan 潘. *Foxue banyuekan*, no. 198 (Feb. 1, 1940), MFQ 55:213. Zhou's name appears on p. 5 of the 1921 Beijing Scriptural Press account report discussed below.

standard character forms (*putong zhengti* 普通正體) is best. He urges the recipient of his letter to study older forms of characters so as not to make mistakes in the transcription process.¹⁴¹

These are a few indications that Xu was attentive not only to the management and operation of the scriptural press, but also to issues of typography, content, and editing. These issues would continue to be preoccupations for later publishers of Buddhist texts.¹⁴²

An accounting report (*zhengxin lu* 徵信錄) for the fiscal year 1921 – 1922 gives us an invaluable look into the internal organization and functioning of the Beijing Scriptural Press.¹⁴³

Funds remaining from the previous year were just over 4,000 yuan in cash, and income per annum totaled 6,070 yuan, mostly from donations but also from interest on bonds.

Expenditures for the previous fiscal year had totaled just over 7,000 yuan, leaving the press

141 *Beiping Fojiaohui yuekan* 北平佛教會月刊, Vol. 2, no. 11 (Sept. 1936), MFQ 75:36-38. Xu uses a few semantically identical but formally different characters as examples, noting that although the printer must be able to recognize and understand the different forms, readers should not be expected to do so. In another letter to Jiang Weiqiao, Xu advises against the practice of correcting mis-carved characters on a printing block, which would be done by excising the surface of the block to remove the incorrect character and replacing it with a new sliver of wood that would be carved correctly. Xu writes that such a corrected character will fall off the block before long, ascribing this practice to Yang Wenhui. *Jue youqing* 覺有情, Vol. 9, no. 4 (April 1, 1948), MFQ 89:395-396. In another letter published in 1940, Xu gives a slightly different view, arguing that while characters may be altered, the publisher should not do so lightly. See *Weimiao sheng* 微妙聲, Vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1, 1940), MFQ 85:425-429.

142 Xu was not a prolific author. In 1919 he edited *Yang Renshan jushi yiji* 楊仁山居士遺集, a posthumous collection of Yang Wenhui's writings published by the Jinling press, and was later responsible for recording the short text *Yang Renshan xiansheng libai ruguan fa* 楊仁山先生禮拜入觀法 as dictated by Chen Rushi 陳汝湜 (d.u.) An edition of the latter volume, originally printed by the Beijing Gengshen Scriptural Press 北京更申刻經處, is reprinted in *Fozang jiyao* 佛藏輯要, Vol. 26 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1993): 527-529.

143 *Beijing kejing chu disan ci zhengxin lu* 北京刻經處第三次徵信錄 (Beijing: Beijing Scriptural Press, 1922).

with 2,714.37 in cash.¹⁴⁴ The expenditure for each set of blocks carved (*kezi* 刻資), and each print run (*yin* 印, or *zhuyin* 硃印 for vermillion-coloured printings), is listed as a separate line item in the account. A note at the beginning of the list of outgoing funds states: “All the expenditures for printing scriptures paid out by this press represent the cost of printing and distributing meritorious (*gongde* 功德) books”.¹⁴⁵ This indicates a sense of responsibility on the part of the press to channel its income solely into the work of religious publishing, rather than other commercial possibilities such as profit generation, investments, or capital improvements. A number of people and groups are listed as having donated funds to the press, with many giving money that was earmarked for the publication of a particular title. In at least one case, the press transferred some funds to the Tianjin press for a specific publishing project. The report lists 84 titles totaling 170 fascicles that had been completed in the previous year, and 30 titles totaling 74 fascicles for which printing blocks had been carved but which were not yet printed. One note at the end of the report mentions that publication of two titles that had been in the process of being prepared was canceled, because the Jinling press had either already printed them or were then in the process of doing so. This is perhaps an indication that communication between the Beijing and Jinling presses was not always clear,

144 The currency used is mainly silver dollars (*xianyang* 現洋), with the exception of some promised donations in Beijing Script (*jingchao* 京鈔), issued by the Beiyang Government. The press also held \$4,000 in U.S. bonds.

145 『凡本處所開支之印經費均係印送功德書之價。』 Ibid., 1.

or it might have been that there was some competition between the two.¹⁴⁶

The detail and precision of the report likely reflects Xu Weiru's background as a government bureaucrat and corporate clerk. It describes a well-organized system that allowed donors to fund the publication of particular titles, while maintaining for the press an account balance of cash and investments to cover shortfalls in the yearly budget. It is also likely a reflection of the management style of the Beijing and Tianjin presses more generally, a social system that had been much developed from Yang's Jinling press, which appears to have been very closely connected to his estate and his family finances. Scriptural presses of the early Republic were instead increasingly linked in to networks of academic and low-level bureaucrat lay Buddhists, and were located in the growing urban centers of China's east coast, places like Beijing and Tianjin, where these Buddhists lived and worked.

These social networks of shared personnel and donors were also joined by connections between scriptural presses based on growing networks of text circulation, facilitated by another new form of Buddhist print institution, the scripture distributor (*Fojing liutong chu/suo* 佛經流通處/所). The term 'scripture distributor' had been used as early as 1913 in describing one role of the Youzheng Press 有正書局 in Shanghai, which offered scriptural texts as part of its book catalogue. From the 1920s it is also used to refer to an institution specializing in the

146 Future work on the Digital Bibliography of Chinese Buddhism incorporating data from book catalogues should tell us more about parallel publishing and competition between different publishers over time.

sale and local distribution of xylographic Buddhist texts that had been printed at scriptural presses such as Jinling, Jiangbei, and Beijing. It was a much more fluid label than that of a 'scriptural press', and at different times was applied to any publisher, bookstore, or printer that made Buddhist scriptures available as part of its business.¹⁴⁷ Many distributors are listed under the name of a particular temple, while others appear as independent, and perhaps therefore lay-managed, institutions. In catalogue sources, the Beijing and Tianjin scriptural presses are often mentioned in connection with a pair of scripture distributors. The Beijing Scripture Distributor 北京佛經流通處 first appears in primary sources from 1919, and was based at Wofo Temple 臥佛寺 just west of the Forbidden City and about 3.5 km away from the Beijing Scriptural Press to the south.¹⁴⁸ From as early as 1923, which is the date of the earliest distributor catalogue of which I am aware, it had a close relationship with the Tianjin Scripture Distributor 天津佛經流通處. The Tianjin institution is listed as having two locations, one in the Qingxiu Chan hall 清修禪院 in the southeast of the city, and another in the French concession at number 97 Fourth Road 四號路 (Rue Paron Gros 葛公使路). This latter location is intriguing, because it is only three blocks to the northwest of the main offices of the Qixin

147 The list in MFQ 147:131 includes, for example, a Buddhist library, the Youzheng Press 有正書局, several scriptoriums (*jingfang* 經房), and a tobacco factory in Yichang 宜昌. See table 3 below.

148 See *Jueshe congshu* 覺社叢書 (Jan., 1919), MFQ 7:164-165. Its address was on Jiuxingbu road 舊刑部街, which since 1937 has been known as Xi'anmen Road 西安門大街. In the 1923 book catalogue, its address is now listed as being on Wofo Temple road, within Jiufeng Chan Temple 驚峯禪寺, another name for Wofo Temple, and provides a telephone number. This Wofo Temple was evidently different from the well-known temple of the same name situated in the Western Hills section of Beijing.

Cement Company, where Xu Weiru was employed from 1921. A letter from Xu published in 1934 does mention the Tianjin distributor in passing, but apart from this there is no indication that he was directly involved with either it or the Beijing-based distributor.¹⁴⁹

Table 3: Buddhist Scripture Distributors¹⁵⁰

| Name | Location | Years Active | Source(s) |
|---|---|---------------|-----------|
| Youzheng Press 有正書局 | Shanghai 上海 | 1912 – 1923? | 1, 2, 7 |
| Medical Studies Press 醫學書局 | Shanghai 上海 | 1914 - ? | 1 |
| Beijing 北京佛經流通處 [Buddhist Library 佛教圖書館] | Wofo Temple 臥佛寺; Image Workshop 象坊 at Guanyin Temple 觀音寺, Beijing | 1919? – 1948? | 1, 7 |
| Suzhou 蘇州佛經流通處 [same as Guwu, below?] | Suzhou 蘇州 | 1920 – ? | 1 |
| Beijing Gengshen 北京更申佛經流通處 | Dafo Temple 大佛寺, Beijing | 1920 – 1948? | 3, 5 |
| Wuchang 武昌佛經流通處 | Zhima Range 芝蔴嶺, Wuchang | 1920 – 1936? | 6 |
| Tianjin 天津佛經流通處 | Tianjin 天津 | 1920? – ? | 1, 4, 7 |
| Juzhen Library 聚珍書樓 | Wellington St. 威靈頓街, Hong Kong 香港 | 1920? – 1936? | 1, 7 |
| Tianning Temple 天寧寺 | Changzhou 常州 | 1920? - ? | 1 |
| Shanglin Temple 上林寺 | Changsha 長沙 | 1920? - ? | 1, 7 |
| Huikong Scriptorium 慧空經房 | Hangzhou 杭州 | 1920? - ? | 1, 7 |

149 Addresses are based on the published advertisements and book catalogues cited below. The Qixin Cement Company was located on present-day Dagou North Road 大沽北路. For the letter from Xu to Li, see *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊, Vol. 4, no. 12 (June 16, 1934), MFQ 49:395-396. One additional source for the location of the Tianjin distributor is the publication information for the periodical *Tianjin Fojiao jushilin linkan* 天津佛教居士林林刊, the July 6, 1927 issue of which gives 法界四號路 79 號. See MFQB 34:521.

150 Sources: 1) *Haichao yin* issue 1 (March 10, 1920), MFQ 147:131; 2) *Youzheng shuju faxing Fojing liutong suo shumu* 有正書局發行佛經流通所書目, in MFQ 1:365-366, 1:545-546, 2:177-178, 4:549-569; 3) *Fojing liutong chu mulu* 佛經流通處目錄, 1920, in *Zhongguo jindai guji chubanshe faxing shiliao congkan* 中國近代古籍出版發行史料叢刊, edited by Xu Shu 徐蜀 and Song Anli 宋安莉 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003), 27:560-714; 4) *Foxue shumu biao* 佛學書目表, 1923, in *Zhongguo jindai guji chubanshe faxing shiliao congkan bubian* 中國近代古籍出版發行史料叢刊·補編, edited by Wei Li 韋力, collected by Zhilanzhai 芷蘭齋 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2006), 5:439-546, 6:1-211; 5) Digital Bibliography of Chinese Buddhism; 6) *Haichao yin* issue 4, MFQ 147:567-568; 7) *Haichao yin* issue 8, MFQ 148:433.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|----------------|------|
| Manao Scriptorium 瑪瑙經房 | Chengnei 城內, Suzhou? | 1920? - ? | 1 |
| Zhijiang Newspaper Office 之江報館 | Hangzhou 杭州? | 1920? - ? | 1 |
| Sanbao Scriptorium 三寶經房 | Youxin Street 又新街, Ningbo 寧波 | 1920? - ? | 1 |
| Housheng Tobacco Factory 厚生煙廠 | Zhongying Street 中營街, Yichang 宜昌 | 1920? - ? | 1 |
| Yangzhou Scriptorium 揚州藏經院 | Yangzhou 揚州 | 1920? - ? | 1, 7 |
| Chengdu 成都佛經流通處 | Chengdu 成都 | 1920? - ? | 1 |
| Hankou 漢口佛經流通處 | Hankou 漢口 | 1920? - ? | 1 |
| Shuangmen di Books 雙門底書局 | Guangzhou 廣州 | 1920? - ? | 7 |
| Sanbao Scriptorium 三寶經房 | Ningbo 寧波 | 1920? - ? | 7 |
| Fomen Scripture Recital Hall 佛門講經處 | Xi'an 西安, Shaansi 陝西 | 1920? - ? | 7 |
| Shanghai Gongdelin 上海功德林佛經流通處 | Shanghai 上海 | 1922? - 1934? | 5 |
| Chongqing 重慶佛經流通處 | [Luohan Temple 羅漢寺?], Shaocheng Park 少城公園, Chongqing | 1922? - 1943? | 1, 5 |
| World Lay Buddhist 世界佛教居士林 | Shanghai 上海 | 1923? - 1930s? | 5 |
| Guwu 古吳佛經流通處 | Suzhou 蘇州 | 1934? - 1936? | 5 |
| Harbin 哈爾濱佛經流通處 | Harbin 哈爾濱 | 1944? - ? | 5 |

Scriptural presses and distributors were linked together through shared publication lists. A typeset book catalogue from 1923 lists approximately 3,300 titles on offer by the Beijing and Tianjin distributors, the printing of which is credited to a number of scriptural presses, including Jinling, Jiangbei, Beijing, Tianjin, Changzhou, Hangzhou, Yangzhou, and others. This wide range of suppliers is an early example of the highly connected networks of Buddhist print culture that would further develop later in the Republican era.¹⁵¹ In the addendum (*xubian* 續

151 *Foxue shumu biao* 佛學書目表 (Beijing: Beijing Fojing liutong chu, 1923), in *Zhongguo jindai guji chubian faxing shiliao congkan bubian*, edited by Wei Li 韋力, 5:439-564, 6:1-211. On p. 6:192 there is a catalogue credited to one Sun Shuyun 孫書雲, perhaps the person responsible for compiling a previous year's edition. Two other catalogues from the Beijing distributor are undated but likely predate the 1923 edition: *Beijing Tianjin Fojing*

編) to the main catalogue, there is a listing for a photo-lithographic edition of the *Xu zangjing* 續藏經 (Extended Canon) running to 751 volumes and over 7,140 fascicles, followed by Yang Wenhui's *Fojiao zongpai xiangzhu* 佛教宗派詳註 (Detailed Annotated Buddhist Schools and Sects, 1921), and several titles from the *Foxue congshu* 佛學叢書 (Buddhist Studies Collectanea) then recently published by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874 – 1952) in Shanghai.¹⁵² Scripture distributors were thus also venues for the local distribution of recent works on Buddhism and the writings of still-living Buddhist figures, in addition to their trade in xylographic scriptural texts. Artistic and visual products are featured in these early lists and become a perennial feature of Chinese Buddhist publisher catalogues. These distributor catalogues list for sale a variety of Buddhist images printed on different types of Chinese and foreign-made paper, in black, vermilion, and color ink, the production of which is also credited to the scriptural presses. There are photographs of Buddhist sites and religious images of deities, prayer beads (*nianzhu* 念珠), and Dharma implements (*faqi* 法器) such as wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚), and many different types and styles of incense.¹⁵³ A set of brief regulations (*jianzhang* 簡章) and an

liutongchu shumu 北京天津佛經流通處書目, [S0417](#), reprinted in *Minguo shiqi Fojiao ziliao huibian*, 民國時期佛教資料匯編, selected and edited by Tian Qi 田奇 (Beijing: National Library, 2010), 2:447-518; and *Beijing Fojing liutongchu shumu* 北京佛經流通處書目. Neither of these catalogues contain as many entries or as much data as the 1923 edition. There is also a *Foxue shumu biao* 佛學書目表 from 1924 held at the Harvard-Yenching Library, [S0139](#).

152 The *Zokuzōkyō* 續藏經 was originally published in letterpress in Japan from 1905 to 1912. Ding's works appear on pp. 6:191-192 of the 1923 catalogue cited above.

153 *Foxue shumu biao*, 6:151-170. Later in the catalogue, following the errata but before the list of regulations, two short works by Yang Wenhui are reprinted: his *Shishi xuetao kecheng* 釋氏學堂課程 and *Jiao chuxue du*

advertisement (*guanggao* 廣告) near the end of the catalogue outline the intended purpose and function of the distributor: the regulations stipulate very clearly that the distributor deals solely in Buddhist scriptures and images, and that it is a non-profit entity that does not operate as a business, and thus should not be looked upon as a “bookstore” (*shudian* 書店). All donations are invested as permanent capital, and support the continued operation of the distributor. The advertisement mentions that people are welcome to visit the distributors whether they intend to buy anything or not, and that staff would be on site to greet them during the day. Books could also be ordered, paid for, and delivered by post.¹⁵⁴

'Scripture distributor' was a mutable designation; it could, in many cases, refer to one function of a larger press, temple, or lay association. Yang's estate in Nanjing, for example, which was certainly one of the most prolific scriptural presses, was in at least one source referred to as a scripture distributor.¹⁵⁵ Another example of 'scripture distributor' describing one function of a larger press is the series of book lists published by Youzheng Press in early issues of the periodical *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報 (Buddhist Miscellany). By 1914 this catalogue

Lengyan jing xicu 教初學讀楞嚴經次序. The two short pieces appear with no context or other instruction on their use, but they do indicate a continued connection to Yang's educational writings.

154 *Foxue shumu biao*, 6:210. The advertisement also lists phonographic records of chanting 念佛留聲機片 being offered for sale.

155 *Haichao yin*, issue 8, MFQ 148:433.

had grown to include about 680 entries from several scriptural publishers. A commercial publishing catalogue of Youzheng Press from the early 1920s, in contrast, lists only sixteen Buddhist titles.¹⁵⁶ Scripture distributors could also, as in the case of the Beijing and Tianjin distributors, be independent institutions with their own retail and office locations, regulations, and published catalogues. These were structurally similar to many scriptural presses and other Buddhist publishing organizations in that, as outlined in the regulations of the Beijing distributor, their stated aim was proselytization rather than profit. In contrast, however, they appear to have functioned more as a retail and public space than the presses, which show no indication of welcoming regular customers to visit. In both cases, however, they were closely linked to scriptural presses through the published material they offered for sale, and extended the distribution reach of Buddhist publications by making these books available any place served by the postal system.¹⁵⁷ Both scriptural presses and scripture distributors would continue to be active and prolific throughout the the Republican period up to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1937 – 1945), producing book catalogues that

156 *Youzheng shuju faxing Fojing liutong suo shumu* 有正書局發行佛經流通所書目, in MFQ 4:549-569; *Youzheng shuju mulu* 有正書局目錄, ([1921? - 1923?]), reprinted in *Zhongguo jindai guji chubanshi faxing shiliao congkan, xubian* 中國近代古籍出版發行史料叢刊·續編, selected and edited by Yin Mengxia 殷夢霞 and Li Shasha 李莎莎 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2008), Vol. 8.

157 The Imperial Post was founded in 1896 and began to replace longstanding networks of private and official courier networks. In 1910 it had over four thousand local agencies and had processed 355 million articles that year. Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Trade and Administration of China* (London, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913), 392-409, figures from chart on p. 403.

number in the thousands of items.

| Table 4: Number of Items in Selected Buddhist Book Catalogues | | | |
|--|---|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Catalogue</i> | <i>Press</i> | <i>Year</i> | <i>Number of Items (Approximate)</i> |
| 佛學書目表 | Jinling Scriptural Press | 1912 | 125 |
| 上海有正書局發行佛經流通所書目 | Youzheng Press | 1914 | 680 |
| 佛經流通處目錄 | Gengshen Scripture Distributor | 1920 | 1150 |
| 佛學書目 | Beijing Scripture Distributor | 1923 | 3300 |
| 金陵刻經處流通經典目錄 | Jinling Scriptural Press | 1931 | 1000 |
| 佛學書局圖書目錄 | Shanghai Buddhist Books | 1933 | 3300 |
| 佛學書目 | Gengshen Scripture Distributor | 1934 | 3120 |
| 佛學書局圖書目錄 | Shanghai Buddhist Books | 1935 | 570 |
| 北京佛學書局佛學圖書目錄 | Beijing Branch of Shanghai Buddhist Books | 1938 | 5800 |
| 金陵刻經處流通經典目錄 | Jinling Scriptural Press | 1956 | 1175 |

5. Conclusion

The scriptural presses of the late Qing and Republican eras were the inheritors of a centuries-old patrimony of Buddhist xylographic print history, a patrimony that encompasses an era from the early printed scrolls of the Tang, through the major complete editions of the Buddhist canon, to the ubiquity of xylographic printing in the Qing. Although Yang's Jinling Scriptural Press was, in early-Republican Buddhist narratives, often described as resurrecting publishing from the ashes of Jiangnan scriptoriums lost in the Taiping rebellion, he and those who followed him also introduced several unprecedented aspects to Buddhist print culture,

and helped to move xylographic publishing out of the temples and largely into the hands of urban lay elites. While the textual content they produced was largely that of the Chinese Buddhist past, in their organization and collaboration they operated on a scale unknown in previous eras. Even in terms of how they edited and presented their texts they did not always emulate the past; as described above Xu Weiru expressed his concern with packaging and transcribing scriptures so that contemporary readers could engage with them. Also important to note is that although Yang and his students and disciples in Nanjing were well-known among Buddhist publishers, there were a number of groups and localities involved in xylographic publishing. The Beijing Scriptural Press was set up in the wake of a visit by Dixian, for example, who was then establishing his Buddhist monastic seminary, the Guanzong Research Society (Guanzong yanjiu she 觀宗研究社), in Ningbo.¹⁵⁸ The xylographic publishing institutions of the early Republic were thus the product of multiple streams of Buddhist thought and practice, most of which are still little known to history, and the network of scriptural publishing and distribution that arose in the Republic was formed from the ground up.¹⁵⁹

Scriptural presses and distributors were thus part of a transformation of the traditional

158 Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 108-110.

159 This pattern of diffuse and fragmented organization would also obtain in the Buddhist associations that during the Republic would repeatedly and unsuccessfully attempt to gain national recognition and authority over Buddhist matters in all of China.

Buddhist print culture outlined in section two above, one in which the technology remained the same but where the social structures that supported it changed dramatically. Two aspects of scriptural publishing are worth highlighting here for their relationship to the chapters that follow: first, that there would not be a strict division between Buddhists involved in managing and funding xylographic printing and those responsible for movable-type publications; many authors of important monographs and scholarly works were also supporters of the work of the scriptural presses. The ability of scriptural print networks to link together donors and editors in different presses, distributors, and localities is one aspect of how print culture created translocal networks in which Buddhist textual content was shared and collaboration in publishing projects occurred. Secondly, that the influence of scripture distributors has apparently been understated in existing scholarship, even though, as a loose category often referring to one function of a larger press, they outnumbered scriptural presses and greatly extended their network of influence. I will return to xylographic scriptural institutions in chapter four, but their presence will be strongly felt in the interim.

Scriptural presses and distributors would continue to be an important part of Chinese Buddhist print culture throughout the early twentieth century, and their output did not falter in the face of movable type publications. In 1937 it was estimated that scriptural presses to that date had spent two to three hundred thousand yuan in printing individual scriptural

texts, while the Beijing and Tianjin presses combined had printed nearly two thousand fascicles worth of texts. After 1949 when the surviving printing blocks from several presses were consolidated, the Jiangbei press alone had more than 29,200 blocks, the Beijing and Tianjin presses together had over 22,600, and in 1965 a total of 150,000 blocks from all presses were inventoried, and this in spite of widespread destruction of printing blocks during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937 – 1945) and the latter part of the Chinese Civil War (1945 – 1950).¹⁶⁰

Apart from single-title scriptural editions, Buddhist xylographic presses became well-known for their collected editions (*baina ben* 百納本), in which several related scriptures were reprinted along with exegetical commentary. The editing and scholarship that accompanied these works was of great quality, making their contents both accessible and approachable for those without access to a complete collection of the canon.¹⁶¹ It is a further testament to the appeal of xylographic printing that it still enjoys a niche today as a traditional artisanal art form in the re-opened and largely museumified Jinling press. Yet the limits of xylographic technology were already being felt by the first decade of the twentieth century. As mentioned

160 *Foxue banyuekan*, Jan. 16, 1937, MFQ 53:266. Jiang Weiqiao, “Xu Weiru jushi zhuan.” Wang Cheng, *Yangzhou keshu kao*, 318. Yang Zhifeng, “Xu Wenwei yu Beijing kejing chu”, 71. Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 218. It is likely impossible to know how many blocks were destroyed during the period 1937-1949; Wang Cheng, *Yangzhou keshu kao*, estimates that more than half of the Jiangbei blocks did not survive to be counted in the early People's Republic.

161 Yang Zhifeng 楊之峰, “Zhongguo jindai de baina ben dazang jing”, *Tushuguan gongzuo yu yanjiu* 圖書館工作與研究, No. 163 (2009): 78-80.

above, from its beginning Yang Wenhui intended that his press would one day publish a complete edition of the East Asian Buddhist canon, but the amount of labor and materials required for a xylographic edition meant that only a portion of a smaller collection of essential canonical texts was published during his lifetime.¹⁶² The xylographic technology employed by the scriptural presses, in spite of its aesthetic and historical appeal, also put limits on the scale of projects that the presses were able to undertake. This situation would change with the spread of mechanized, movable-type printing technology in the final years of the Qing, which would be able to sidestep these limits and greatly widen the possibilities of Chinese Buddhist print culture.

162 Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 52, 214-216. Reprints of individual titles from previous canon editions were, however, printed throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Chapter Two

Mechanized Movable Type and the Kalaviṅka Canon, 1909 – 1913

1. Introduction

In the final decades of the Qing dynasty, mechanized movable type printing was introduced to China by foreign mission and commercial presses. This technology differed from previous Chinese uses of movable type in that the type was cast, set, and applied to the page all with the help of machinery, greatly increasing the speed and efficiency of the process. One of the first major Buddhist publications to take advantage of this new means of printing was the *Pinjia jingshe jiaokan da zangjing* 頻伽精舍校刊大藏經 (Kalaviṅka Hermitage Corrected Edition of the Canon), often called simply the *Pinjia da zangjing* 頻伽大藏經 (Kalaviṅka Canon), an edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon printed in Shanghai between about 1909 and 1913.¹⁶³ Whereas a publication of this size would have required massive amounts of materials and labor if printed using xylography, this new canon was edited, typeset, and printed in merely four years.¹⁶⁴ The

163 In my research I consulted the photographic reprint edition *Pinjia da zangjing* 頻伽大藏經, 200 Vols. (Beijing: Jiuzhou tushu chubanshe, 1998). See Shen Qian 沈潛, “Lun Huang Zongyang yu Pinjia zang de jiaokan jiqi gongxian” 論黃宗仰與《頻伽藏》的校刊及其貢獻, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 (2009, no. 4): 41-156. The index to the canon, *Da zangjing zongmu* 大藏經總目, was published in 1913. See [S0007](#). In the title of the canon I romanize 伽 as *jiā* although in other compound words it can be pronounced *qié* or *gā*.

164 As a comparative figure, during Yang's lifetime his Jinling press printed 220 titles that have been catalogued.

first Chinese-language canon printed in China since the *Long zang* of 1733 – 1738, the Kalaviṅka canon continued many of the traditions associated with canon publishing, but there was much that was new, especially with regard to the social aspects of its publication. It was the first canon edited and printed in Shanghai, which would later become an important center of Buddhist publishing; it was the first Chinese canon to be based on a Japanese canon edition; and finally it was the first canon to be publicized in Buddhist periodical literature, publicity that lasted from when it was still in the process of being printed until to the 1930s. Its impact on the world of Chinese Buddhist publishing illustrates how publishers of the early Republican era found great opportunities, but also serious difficulties, in embracing new print technologies to produce religious texts.

2. The Arrival of Mechanized Movable Type

As briefly outlined in the previous chapter, xylography remained the most widely-used print technology in China up to the final decades of the Qing dynasty. Movable type had first been used in China as early as the eleventh century, but the difficulty of carving pieces of type for a wide variety of Chinese characters and its expense compared to xylography meant that typeset printing never enjoyed widespread use.¹⁶⁵ One of the largest typeset Chinese publications

The Kalaviṅka canon includes 1915 titles.

¹⁶⁵ Scholars have suggested several explanations for why China and East Asia more generally never followed

before 1900, *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times, 1726), was printed under the auspices of the Imperial Printing Office in Beijing. Yet only some sixty-four copies of this work were printed, and the copper type was destroyed soon after.¹⁶⁶ Manuscripts also continued to be an important means of reproducing texts, as they manifested both the individual touch of the author as well as the artistry and aesthetic appeal of their calligraphy.¹⁶⁷ It was only with the introduction of mechanized printing presses and cast type in the nineteenth century that movable type gradually became a viable means of large-scale printing. Mechanization allowed for the rapid casting and setting of type, the efficient production of lithographic plates, and the mass production of ink and paper to be used as printing materials. This technology made possible the mass production of printed materials for a much lower cost than possible using xylography, but it was not a process that could occur in isolation; it required a great deal of capital, specialized physical plant, the presence of a machine industry to produce and repair the presses, and the availability of skilled engineers to operate and maintain them.

Europe in embracing movable type. These include the variety of the Chinese character set, the aesthetic appeal of woodblock prints, and relatively cheap labor and materials.

166 Chow, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, 15-17, 57-64. Chow notes that wooden movable type was used from the mid-1400s to print large works, and was preferred in the Qing for small-run works. Pp., 67-69. The Korean-born publisher Kim Kan was also successful in bringing Korean-based movable type technology to China's capital. Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things*, 140-148.

167 Brokaw, "History of the Book in China", 8-10, 15-16. For more on early movable type in China, see the chapter by Xu Miaoman in the Brokaw and Chow volume.

Technological differences also introduced a number of new considerations for publishers. For example, xylographic presses would commonly store printing blocks between print runs and could make minor repairs to continue using them after they had worn out; movable type and lithographic printing surfaces, on the other hand, were normally reused after publication. It was thus vitally important for publishers to gauge how many copies they needed to avoid the cost of resetting the type if a reprint edition was needed, as well as that of storing unused or unsold copies.¹⁶⁸ As East Asian Buddhists adopted this technology it would have several wide-ranging consequences for their production of religious texts: it increased the number of printed works they were able to produce, it changed the way in which they organized and funded print projects, and it allowed new types of content to be printed.

Modern print technologies such as movable type, lithographic, and planographic presses were introduced to China in large numbers in the nineteenth century, largely thanks to Christian missionaries setting up presses to print English- and Chinese-language scriptural and other religious works.¹⁶⁹ The London Missionary Society, for example, led the way in

168 Stereotyping is a process whereby a solid printing plate is cast from a mold made of a typeset matrix. It was developed to avoid the cost of resetting type for a new edition. Peter Melville Logan, *The Encyclopedia of the Novel* (West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing), 677.

169 Mission presses produced numerous accounts of their work, part of their efforts to publicize their accomplishments and goals, and to support fund-raising efforts at home. See, for example, Gilbert McIntosh, *The Mission Press in China: Being a Jubilee Retrospect of the American Presbyterian Mission Press, with Sketches of Other Missions Presses in China, as well as Accounts of the Bible and Tract Societies at Work in China* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1895). My arguments in this and the following paragraph draw heavily on Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*.

producing significant numbers of Chinese-language publications using several key technologies: they were the first to print using cut type in Malacca in 1814, stone-based lithography in Canton in 1832, and cast-type matrices in Penang in 1838. From about 1807 to 1876, mechanized printing in China was the exclusive domain of missionaries and their converts based along the South China coast, with dozens of printing houses founded by Protestant and Catholic mission groups.¹⁷⁰ Mission publications in China were also instrumental in publicizing new intellectual movements and diffusing knowledge about science, technology, and current events across the globe, a role that would be taken up by many of the Chinese- and English-language newspapers that later proliferated in the treaty ports of China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁷¹ Finally, missionary printing in Asia introduced new printing technologies but it also introduced new ways of conceptualizing texts and new types of textual genres from European print culture.¹⁷²

170 Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 28-52. For more on the LMS see Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895 - 1945* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1954). For a list of mission presses that published in Chinese, see Fan Muhan, *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi (chugao)*, 71-105.

171 R.S. Britton, *The Chinese Periodical Press 1800-1912* (Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, 1933).

172 One example of this is how mission publications drew upon understandings of 'scripture' that were then in circulation among biblical scholars even when printing translations of Asian religious texts, and established these as one set of norms for future publications. Mitch Numark, "Translating Dharma: Scottish Missionary-Orientalists and the Politics of Religious Understanding in Nineteenth-Century Bombay", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 70, no. 2 (May 2011), 485-488.

Figure 2: Comparison of Xylographic and Typeset Pages, 1908 ¹⁷³

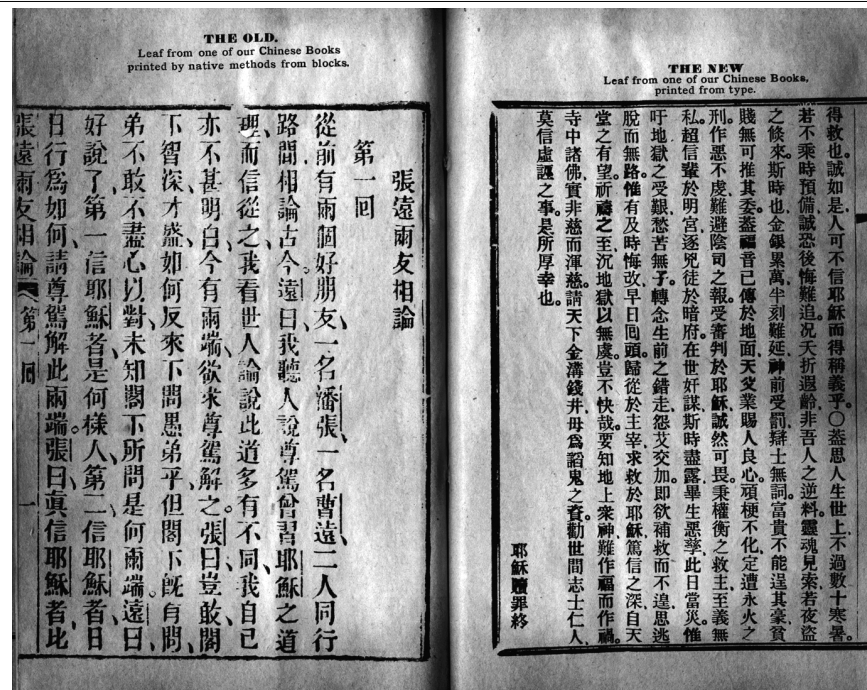
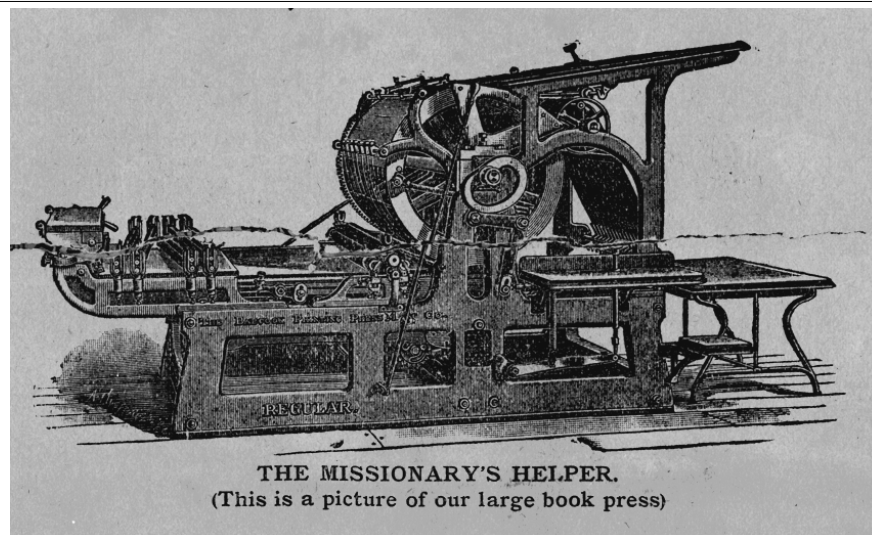


Figure 3: Depiction of Mission Printing Press, 1908 ¹⁷⁴



173 “The China Baptist Publication Society, Canton, China 粵城美華浸信會印書局 1899 - 1908”, MRL Pamphlets Collection, Burke Library, Columbia University.

174 “The China Baptist Publication Society”.

Mission newspapers and journals were among the earliest mass-market periodicals printed in China. One of the longest-running was *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, founded in Fuzhou by the Methodist Press in 1868, revived in Shanghai by the Presbyterian Press in 1874, and which became the publication of record for mission personnel in China until its closure in 1941.¹⁷⁵ Commercial firms followed the mission presses in publishing their own English- and Chinese-language periodicals, and these publications played a central role in many of the intellectual and cultural movements of the late-Qing and early Republican-era reforms. Newspapers such as *Shenbao* 申報 (Shanghai News, 1872 – 1949), *Zilin hubao* 字林滬報 (Chinese Edition of the *North-China Daily News and Herald*, 1882 – 1900), and *Xinwen bao* 新聞報 (The News, 1893 – 1945) functioned as public venues for debates on social, cultural, intellectual, and political issues, protected from imperial censorship by the laws of the international settlements of Shanghai.¹⁷⁶ By the early twentieth century several Chinese entrepreneurs, many of whom had learned their trade in mission presses, established independent commercial publishing houses in Shanghai that would dominate the Chinese

175 Kathleen L Lodwick, “Introduction: History And Description Of The Chinese Recorder”, *The Chinese Recorder Index: A Guide to Christian Missions in Asia, 1867-1941*, edited by Kathleen Lodwick (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc, 1986), 1:xi-xii. See also Shuang Shen, *Cosmopolitan Publics: Anglophone Print Culture in Semi-Colonial Shanghai* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009).

176 Britton, *Chinese Periodical Press*, 51, 63-71, 74-75. See also Chen Yushen 陳玉申, *Wanqing baoye shi* 晚清報業史 (Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2003), 115-169; Zhu Ruiyue 朱瑞月, “Shenbao fanying xia de Shanghai shehui bianqian (1895 – 1927)” 申報反映下的上海社會變遷 (1895-1927), M.A. Thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 1990; Weipin Tsai, *Reading Shenbao: Nationalism, Consumerism and Individuality in China, 1919 – 1937* (Basingstoke, UK; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Eugenia Lean, *Public Passions*.

book market for the remainder of the Republican era. The Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館) built its reputation and fiscal health as a textbook publisher after the civil service exams were abolished in 1905, and was joined by China Books (Zhonghua shuju 中華書局) in 1912 and World Books (Shijie shuju 世界書局) in 1917.¹⁷⁷ All three of these presses printed Buddhist texts, but for the most part they printed them as works-for-hire on behalf of Buddhist organizations, and their main commercial book catalogues list only a handful of Buddhist titles.

The Chinese Buddhists of the 1910s who, through contracting print work out to commercial presses, embraced modern print technologies were anticipated in this by Japanese Buddhists, who had already begun to found their own publishing houses and periodicals in the Meiji 明治 era (1868 – 1912). The legal, political, and cultural changes of Meiji Japan had put acute pressure on them to adapt to changing circumstances, prompting them to take active roles in scholarship and publishing in order to portray Buddhism as a legitimate, modern religion, and an integral part of the Japanese cultural heritage.¹⁷⁸ A key part of this movement

177 Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*. Also see Reed's "Introduction", in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Printing, Publishing, and Literary Fields in Transition, Circa 1800 to 2008*, edited by Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 8-10; Li Jiaju 李家駒, *Shangwu yinshu guan yu jindai zhishi wenhua de chuanbo* 商務印書館與近代知識文化的傳播 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2005).

178 James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); Jason Ananda Josephson, "When Buddhism Became a 'Religion': Religion and Superstition in the Writings of Inoue Enryō", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (2006): 143-168. On the late-1890s expansion of Japanese publishing and journalism, see James L. Huffman, "Commercialization and the Changing World of the Mid-Meiji Press" in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji*

was the publication of Chinese-language Buddhist canons using movable type, two of which were printed during the Meiji. The first, the *Gukyōzō* 弘教藏 (Great Teaching Canon), was printed by the Japanese Great Teaching Publishing House (Nihon gukyō shoin 日本弘教書院) in Kyōto 京都 from 1880 to 1885. Also called the *Shukusatsu daizōkyō* 縮刷大藏經 (Small-type Edition Canon) because of the small size of its letterpress font, its scope and organization are based on the bibliographic study *Yuezang zhijin* 閱藏知津 (Guide to Reading the Canon) by the late-Ming-dynasty monk Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599 – 1655), and its content derived from comparing the texts of four earlier canons.¹⁷⁹

The *Gukyōzō* is organized into 25 sections and is comprised of 418 volumes in 40 cases. It includes punctuation as well as an index in which each title is listed along with its location in previous canons, allowing readers to find and compare the content of individual titles across editions. In 1901 the Buddhist scholar and publisher Shimada Mitsune 島田蕃根 (1827 – 1907), the principle figure behind its compilation, reflected on his reasons for producing this edition of the canon. His first motive came about when he realized how many errors had been discovered in previous editions of the canon; the second occurred when in his twenties he

Japan, edited by Helen Hardacre with Adam L. Kern (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997): 562-580; Huffman, *Creating a Public: People and Press in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997).

179 On Ouyi see Foulks, “Living Karma”. An edition of *Yuezang zhijin* was later published by the Jinling press in 1892, [S2148](#). Luo Cheng, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu*, 167. The *Gukyōzō* was also known as *Dai Nippon kōtei daizōkyō* 大日本校訂大藏經 (Great Japanese Corrected and Revised Canon).

wanted to produce an edition of the canon with a preface by the Emperor and an afterword by the Shōgun, but after the Meiji Restoration he had to abandon that idea. The third motive was evidently inspired by the work of mission presses in Japan:

Yet, in seeing the big advantages obtained in their missionary work by Christian fellows selling Bibles at moderate prices, furthermore I started fostering the wish of setting the canon in movable types to the enhancement of Buddhism. The canon was a truly astounding piece of work, but a book of such a big size was of no use.¹⁸⁰

Careful textual scholarship and the comparative study of several different editions allowed Shimada and the other compilers of his *Shukusatsu Daizōkyō* to correct textual errors from previous canons, but even such an improved edition would be “of no use” due to its bulk. The use of movable type, inspired by mission presses, made it “handy to carry” and thus prevented the canon from becoming a mere shelf decoration. Later Japanese canons continued to use movable type. The second canon printed in the late Meiji, the *Dai Nihon kōtei kunten dai zōkyō* 大日本校訂訓點大藏經 (Great Japanese Corrected and Punctuated Canon), was published in Kyōto from 1902 to 1905, and was followed by the *Zoku zōkyō* 續藏經 (Extended Canon), but these two printings were destroyed by fire not long after their publication and only a few copies were circulated.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, movable type had been firmly established among

180 Quoted in Silvio Vita, “Printings of the Buddhist 'Canon' in Modern Japan”, *Buddhist Asia 1: Papers from the First Conference of Buddhist Studies Held in Naples in May 2001*, edited by Giovanni Verardi and Silvio Vita (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, 2003), 223.

181 A few photographic copies of the original printings do survive. This canon was printed by the Kyōto zōkyō

Japanese Buddhists as an essential tool for producing scriptural texts, a practice that would continue in the printing of the authoritative *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō Canon) between 1924 and 1934.¹⁸²

The compilation and publication of the Kalaviṅka Canon were heavily influenced by the scriptural publishing work of Japanese Buddhists, as well as the rapidly evolving relationship of Chinese intellectuals to Japan's modernization. Buddhists in Japan began to extend their influence to China beginning with the mission of a Shin Buddhist lineage to Shanghai in 1876, followed by the collaborative work between Yang Wenhui and Nanjō Bunyū mentioned in the previous chapter. Such direct contacts between Japanese and Chinese Buddhists were relatively rare; indirect influences, especially those that occurred through the study of Japanese texts and through Chinese students in Japan, were much more significant. After the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894 – 1895, Chinese intellectuals turned their attention to Japan to learn how they were able to modernize and strengthen their nation in such a short period of

shoin 京都藏經書院 (Kyōto Scriptural Publisher), and is also known as *Manshō zōkyō* 卍正藏經. See <<http://jinglu.cbeta.org/knowledge/versions.htm#28>> as well as the preface to the index volume of the reprint edition: *Wanzheng zangjing* 卍正藏經 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1980), Vol. 70. Publication of the *Zoku zōkyō* was supervised by Maeda Eun 前田慧雲 (1857 - 1930) and Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧 (1871 - 1934). Maeda was a Shin Buddhist university academic who collaborated with Nanjō Bunyū on the Japanese “Buddhist Bible”, *Bukkyō seiten* 佛教聖典. On Nakano, see H. van der Veere, *A Study into the Thought of Kōgyō Daishi Kakuban* (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2000), 47fn127; Ketelaar, *Heretics and Martyrs*, 209. Marking the canon as “Japanese” was likely connected to the late-Meiji nationalist sentiments of the era between the Russo-Japanese and first Sino-Japanese wars.

182 Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, 85 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1932).

time.¹⁸³ Among the Chinese students and political exiles in Japan were several people who would later become leaders of the Buddhist publishing world in China, including Di Chuqing 狄楚青 (1872? – 1941), Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874 – 1952), and many others. Chinese Buddhist writers were increasingly drawing upon Japanese Buddhist scholarship, and were actively studying and translating Japanese Buddhist published works.¹⁸⁴ Those with the required educational and language background acted as conduits for this flow of printed and translated material between Buddhist groups in Japan and China, an interchange that would continue throughout the Republican era.

Although Yang Wenhui and other scriptural publishers in China envisioned the printing of a new edition of the complete East Asian Buddhist canon, they were unable to realize their goal. The amount of material, capital, and labor required to print such a canon using xylographic technology was simply too great for the scriptural presses to handle, and limited Yang's plans to bibliographic catalogues and anthologies of essential canonical texts.¹⁸⁵ Printing the canon, however, still held a great deal of religious and cultural significance among

183 See, for example, Lu Yan, *Re-understanding Japan*, 22-38.

184 Chen Jidong, “The Transmission of the Jōdo Shinshū Doctrine to China: The Discovery of the 'Nanjingyu Shuojiao' and its Significance”, *The Eastern Buddhist*, 40 (2009): 139-150. Xiao Ping 肖平, “Jindai Zhongguo Foxue yanjiu shiye de xingqi yu Riben” 近代中國佛學研究事業的興起與日本, *Zhongshan daxue xuebao congkan (shehui kexue ban)* 中山大學學報叢刊(社會科學版), Vol. 20, no. 3 (2000): 210-222.

185 Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 212-218. *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報, issue 8, MFQ 3:227-268. Cited in chapter one, section three above.

Chinese Buddhist publishers. In the past the Buddhist canon had often been compiled and printed under the auspices of the imperial court or high-level officials, groups that could mobilize the required resources for such a large project, but in the political and economic climate of *fin-de-siècle* Qing such sponsorship was unlikely.¹⁸⁶ What made the production of the Kalaviṅka Canon possible was the combination of new print technologies and new types of lay sponsorship, both of which were anchored in the commercial-industrial nexus city of Shanghai.

3. Editing and Printing the Kalaviṅka Canon

The Kalaviṅka Canon is an edited and re-typeset reprint of the Japanese *Gukyōzō* canon mentioned above, which had been printed some thirty years earlier in Kyōto. Printed in 414 volumes between 1908 and 1913, its publishers made use of lay sponsorship, a private editorial organization, a religious space located on a private estate, and a commercial press to handle the printing. Through a combination of typeset technology and these new methods of organization, many of which were pioneered by Yang himself, they accomplished in four years what Yang and his contemporaries were unable to do: to print a new edition of the complete

186 Some canons had, however, been sponsored by large numbers of lay donors and printed outside direct imperial control. Dewei Zhang, “The Strength of the Forgotten: Carving the Buddhist Canon in North China under the Minority Regimes”, paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Chicago, November 20, 2012.

canon and make it available for readers in China. The new technology was not merely a faster or cheaper way to do the same kind of work as before; while the editors attempted to correct the typographical mistakes of the earlier canon, errors continued to be a pressing issue, and there were still many uncertainties surrounding the use of typeset printing. The Kalaviṅka Canon was made possible by new print technologies, but its production was also heavily reliant on types of social organization that were quite new to Chinese Buddhist print culture. These new means of mobilizing the human and monetary capital required for publishing would become widespread in the 1910s and 1920s.

The two people primarily responsible for the compilation and publication of the Kalaviṅka Canon are the Buddhist laywoman Luo Jialing 羅迦陵 (Liza Roos, 1864 – 1941), the principle donor and namesake of the canon, and the monk Zongyang 宗仰 (Zhongyang 中央, 1861 – 1921), who was responsible for editing the text. Luo Jialing was born in Shanghai and was a woman of French and Chinese descent.¹⁸⁷ In 1886 she married the Baghdadi Jewish merchant Silas Aaron Hardoon 哈同 (1851 – 1931). At the time Hardoon was a small-time trader, but in subsequent years he made a fortune in real estate and opium, became a partner at E.D. Sassoon & Co. and joined the elite Shanghai club in 1893, and was eventually one of the

187 Luo's name appears in the canon as Jialing Luoshi 迦陵羅詩; her Chinese surname Luo was thus coined as a shortened form of the transliteration of her family name Roos. Her Dharma name is Dalun xunmu 大綸熏沐. Available sources on her biography are contradictory, and a definitive account of her life remains to be written. See Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:736-738; Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 16-17, 298-299fn47, 319fn30.

richest foreigners in Shanghai. Although Hardoon was active in Shanghai's Jewish community throughout his life, Luo remained a committed lay Buddhist, and in 1892 she formally received the lay precepts. In 1904 she established a Buddhist religious center called the Kalaviṅka Hermitage 頻伽精舍 on the grounds of Aili Gardens 愛儷園, also called Hardoon Gardens 哈同花園, part of Hardoon's Shanghai estate. Aili Gardens combined the setting of the traditional scholar's landscape garden (*yuanlin* 園林) with the function of the modern salon (*shalong* 沙龍), providing Hardoon with a private space to socialize and form relationships with political and economic elites.¹⁸⁸ Luo's Hermitage would house both the canon editing project and its chief editor, the monk Zongyang. Zongyang was born and tonsured in Changre county 常熱縣 in Jiangsu and was ordained at the well-known ordination center of Jinshan 金山 in Zhenjiang 鎮江. Zongyang gave the lay precepts to Luo in 1892, and around the time of the Hundred Days of Reform in 1898, he became involved with the reform-minded intellectuals Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, 1868 – 1936), Wu Jingheng 吳敬恆 (Woo Tsin-hang, 1865 – 1953), and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (Jiemin 子民, 1868 – 1940). He later became president of the Aiguo

188 The Kalaviṅka (*jialing pinjia* 迦陵頻伽), a bird known for its melodious voice that appears in the *Amitābha-sūtra* (Amituo jing 阿彌陀經) and other Buddhist scriptures, may also have inspired Luo's given name of Jialing 迦陵. On Hardoon see Chiara Betta, "Marginal Westerners in Shanghai: the Baghdadi Jewish community, 1845-1931" in *New frontiers: imperialism's new communities in East Asia, 1842-1953*, edited by Robert A. Bickers and Christian Henriot (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press; St. Martin's Press, 2000): 38-54; Betta, "Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851-1931): Business, Politics and Philanthropy in Republican Shanghai, 1911-1931", condensed version available at <<http://www.dangoor.com/75060.html>>; Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Protected Persons? The Baghdadi Jewish Diaspora, the British State, and the Persistence of Empire", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 116, No. 1 (February 2011): 80-108.

xueshe 愛國學社 (Patriotic Academy), a school for boys in Shanghai set up by the radical Jiaoyu hui 教育會 (Education Society), which had also taken on publication of *Subao* 蘇報 (Jiangsu Gazette, 1896 – 1903). In 1903 he and others in the society were forced into exile in Japan for publishing politically dangerous material.¹⁸⁹ Zongyang was financially supported by Luo while in Japan, and when he returned to Shanghai in 1908 he took up residence at the Kalaviṅka Hermitage and remained there during his work on the canon.

The canon project began when Luo purchased a copy of the Japanese *Gukyōzō* canon and found its small size very convenient compared to earlier editions, although she worried that it would represent a hardship for older readers. She thus made a vow to reprint and distribute it in Chinese in a larger-print format, a task to which Zongyang lent his support, saying that those in large monasteries, small hermitages, and laypeople all ought to be able to purchase it.¹⁹⁰ While the scriptural content of the canon is based on that in the *Gukyōzō*, some material was newly composed for the publication. In the past, prefaces (xu 序) to canon collections had

189 Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1:567-571; Fan Muhan, *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi (chugao)*, 257-258; J. Lust, “The Su-pao Case: An Episode in the Early Chinese Nationalist Movement”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1964): 408-429; Yuen Ting Lee, “Active or Passive Initiator: Cai Yuanpei's Admission of Women to Beijing University (1919-20)”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 17, no. 3 (July, 2007), 285. Zongyang was also known as Wumu shan seng 烏目山僧 (The Monk of Mount Wumu), Mount Wumu being one name of Yushan 廬山 in Changre.

190 Luo, “Pinjia jingshe jiaokan da zangjing yuanqi” 頻伽精舍校刊大藏經緣起, in *Pinjia dazangjing* 頻伽大藏經 (Reprint; Beijing: Jiuzhou tushu chubanshe, 1998): 1:5-6. [Digital version at DMCB](http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/Pinjia_jingshe_jiaokan_da_zangjing_yuanqi), <http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/Pinjia_jingshe_jiaokan_da_zangjing_yuanqi>. The preface also notes that Luo's husband supported the project from its beginning, and stepped in with extra funding when rising material costs ballooned their budget to three times its original size.

been composed by the reigning emperor. In the new Republic, the prefaces to the Kalaviṅka canon were contributed by Luo, Zhang Taiyan, the artist and poet Shen Zengzhi 沈曾植 (Shen Zipei 沈子培, 1850 – 1922), and newspaper editor Wang Deyuan 汪德淵 (Wang Yunzong 汪允宗, 1872 – 1918), and are accompanied by a short essay by Zongyang, *Pinjia jingshe kanjing ji* 頻伽精舍刊經記 (Account of Printing the Kalaviṅka Canon). In his preface, Zhang, a reporter, publisher, and scholar whose political activities would have him placed under house arrest from 1913 to 1916, gives his account of how the project came about, and its importance to present-day Buddhism:

The venerable Zongyang of Jinshan, who had lived in meditative seclusion and retirement, felt pity for those monks of today who like staying “apart from words” yet talk of True Nature. In these disorderly latter days, if they don't descend among the “mute sheep”, then they recklessly take on confusing, non-Buddhist views. Hearing that the mistress of the Kalaviṅka Hermitage had long vowed to print the canon, carry on the one vehicle and bring salvation to this latter world, [he] thus expressed his sincere praise and admiration, and took on the position of managing director.

...

To look at the quality of laypeople today, to start they follow Lu Wang [Wang Yangming], and in the end they come around to an interest in the Buddha vehicle. Some have the tendency of making comparisons to Nestorianism but talk of a “Great Unity of Universal Affection”, or else they delude others by drawing false conclusions. They take sorcery and call it numinous wisdom. The lowest among them only speak of retribution, while in their hearts they wish only for blessings. Their words are all immoderate, and their meanings are only

great confusion.¹⁹¹

Zhang's description of the deficient qualities of both monastics and laypeople in the present latter age (*moshi* 末世) is a common trope among Buddhist reformers of many eras, who sought to correct people's beliefs and practices through rejuvenating the practices of the past.¹⁹² In this case, what Zhang holds in high esteem is the reproduction of the words of the Buddha to correct the false views and confused discourses of his contemporaries.

The *fanli* 凡例 (general remarks on publication) that follows describes the structure of the canon, how it was compiled, and some of the publisher's future plans. It states that the source text was compared against other available editions to correct any mistakes, and that the printed canon includes corrections in the margins from an errata compiled by Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧 (1871 – 1934); notes on these corrections are collected into a special section where they are ordered by fascicle and volume.¹⁹³ The *fanli* also states that four fonts were considered for the text. The one chosen is a *Song ti* 宋體 (Song-type) font and is quite distinct from the *zhengkai* 正楷 (formal block-type) font then in widespread use by the Commercial

191 『金山宗仰上人.向以禪定蟄居退閑.愍今之沙門喜離文字而談實相.末流猥雜.不自墮於啞羊.則恣意為矯亂論.聞頻伽舍主久發宏願.欲鐫大藏.紹隆一乘.救茲末世.遂傾誠讚歎力任總裁....觀今居士長者之流.始隨陸王.終委蛇以趣佛乘.或有比景教而言博愛大同之趣.不然傳合眩人.幻術稱以靈智.最下者惟言酬報.情希福田.語皆非量.義惟大迷.』 *Pinjia dazangjing*, 7. Punctuation as in the original. Digital version of the complete preface available at http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/Pinjia_jingshe_jiaokan_da_zangjing_xu_Zhang_Taiyan.

192 See, for example, Zhuhong's view of decline and renewal in the late Ming. Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, 171-192, 208.

193 *Pinjia da zangjing*, 17-19. Nakano was co-publisher of the *Zoku zōkyō* mentioned in the previous section.

Press and other publishers, although it appears very similar to that used for printing the Buddhist periodical *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報.¹⁹⁴ The print work was handled by Zhongguo tushu gongsi 中國圖書公司 (Chinese Library Company) in Shanghai, a well-capitalized publishing firm with its own photoengraving department.¹⁹⁵ The choice of using movable type to print the canon is addressed specifically in the *fanli*, where it blames the novelty of the technology and the speed of work it demands for any mistakes in the text, and encourages readers to bring errors to the attention of the publisher for inclusion in future errata. A few portions of the canon that could not be rendered with type, specifically diagrams incorporating Sanskrit text, were reproduced via lithography in order to “avoid mistakes”. Lastly, the *fanli* mentions that originally the publishers had planned to print an extended canon (*xu zangjing* 續藏經) with Buddhist texts that had not appeared in the Ming canon, an expansion that would have made the scope of the Kalaviṅka Canon resemble the largely-lost Japanese editions *Dai Nihon kōtei kunten dai zōkyō* 大日本校訂訓點大藏經 and *Zoku zōkyō* 續藏經 of the 1880s. Although disruptions associated with the Republican revolution and recent strikes in print workshops had delayed their plans, they were then compiling a catalogue of texts to be included in such a

194 See Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 32-57. On p. 54 of this section Reed reports that the inventor of the Song font was unknown, and provisionally dates it to the mid 1920s. If the typeface in the Kalaviṅka Canon and *Foxue congbao* is indeed an identical or a largely similar Song font, it may point to an earlier invention of the typeface and connect it to the Youzheng Press. On *Foxue congbao* see section two of the following chapter.

195 See “Zangjing yanqi chuban zhi yuan” 藏經延期出版之緣, *Foxue congbao*, no. 2 (Nov. 1, 1912), MFQ 1:300-301. The Chinese Library Company was founded in 1906 and was eventually acquired by the Commercial Press. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 60, 174, 187, 340fn92.

future project, and planned on publishing an index to the collection before starting to issue individual works.¹⁹⁶ These later volumes were, however, never published. Completing the prefatory material are reprinted prefaces to previous canons, including one for the *Gukyōzō*, connecting this collection to the centuries-long historical precedent of East Asian Buddhist canon publishing.

| Table 5: Sections and Division Structure of the Kalaviṅka Canon ¹⁹⁷ | | | |
|--|--------------------|--------|-----------|
| Section | Division 部 | Titles | Fascicles |
| 大乘經 Mahāyāna Scriptures | 華嚴部 Flower Garland | 28 | 233 |
| | 方等部 Universal | 365 | 1139 |
| | 般若部 Wisdom | 29 | 747 |
| | 法華部 Lotus | 15 | 58 |
| | 涅槃部 Nirvana | 16 | 121 |
| 小乘經 Hīnayāna Scriptures | | 320 | 777 |
| 大乘律 Mahāyāna Vinaya | | 30 | 49 |
| 小乘律 Hīnayāna Vinaya | | 72 | 496 |
| 印度大乘宗經論 Treatises on Scriptures of the Indian Mahāyāna Lineages | | 93 | 404 |
| 印度大乘釋經論 Treatises on Explications of Indian Mahāyāna Scriptures | | 26 | 181 |
| 印度大乘諸論釋 Explications of Indian Mahāyāna Treatises | | 11 | 77 |
| 印度小乘論 Indian Hīnayāna Treatises | | 46 | 732 |
| 印度撰述雜部 Miscellaneous Indian Works | | 62 | 165 |
| 秘密 Esoteric Scriptures ¹⁹⁸ | | 576 | 937 |

196 *Pinjia dazangjing*, 17-19.

197 Table based on the original published index. The list in MFQ 4:471-480 uses slightly different titles for a few sections. Section title translations and explications based on DDB. I use Hīnayāna here as a literal translation of *xiaosheng* 小乘 as used in the original.

198 This section has three subsections: Catalogued Works 錄內 (187 titles, 324 fascicles), Uncatalogued Works 錄外 (134 titles, 181 fascicles, consisting of six sub-subsections: 享保: 68 t, 73 f; 享和: 44 t, 48 f; 十五經: 15 t, 17 f; 四部儀軌: 4 t, 11 f; 疏釋: 2 t, 22 f; 疑論: 1 t, 10 f), and [Works Listed in Ouyi Zhixu's] *Zhijin* 知津 (255 titles, 432

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|------|------|
| 支那撰述 | 經疏部 Scriptural Commentaries | 45 | 591 |
| Chinese Writings | 論疏部 Treatise Commentaries | 4 | 29 |
| | 懺儀部 Rites of Confession | 14 | 26 |
| | 諸宗部: 三論宗, 法相宗, 華嚴宗, 天台宗, 淨土宗, 禪宗 Lineages: Sanlun, Faxiang, Huayan, Tiantai, Pure Land, Chan | 86 | 632 |
| 傳記 Biographies | | 16 | 222 |
| 纂集 Edited Compilations | | 6 | 280 |
| 護教 Protectors of the Teaching | | 15 | 101 |
| 目錄 Indices | | 19 | 174 |
| 音義 Lexicons | | 2 | 110 |
| 序讚詩歌 Prefaces, Odes, Poems | | 6 | 95 |
| 日本撰述 Japanese Writings | | 13 | 39 |
| Totals | | 1915 | 8415 |

The organization of the works in the Kalaviṅka Canon follows that of the *Gukyōzō*, and its content is nearly identical to the Japanese canon except for a few omitted titles. The forty cases (*zhi* 帙) of the canon, each of which holds multiple volumes (*ce* 冊), are labeled with index characters (*bianzi* 編字) that follow the order of characters in the *Qian zi jing* 千字經 (Thousand-Character Classic); here using the first forty from *tian* 天 to *shuang* 霜. The index lists every title in the collection along with a cross-reference of its location, if it appeared, in the Qing, Ming, Yuan, Song and Korean 麗 editions of the canon.¹⁹⁹ Titles are organized into divisions (*bu* 部) according to genre, and several divisions are grouped into larger sections: Mahāyāna Scriptures, Chinese Works, and Japanese Works. In structuring their canon in this

fascicles).

199 *Pinjia za zangjing*, 323-472.

way, the compilers of the *Gukyōzō* followed the bibliographic scholarship of the Ming-dynasty Buddhist monk Ouyi Zhixu, who in turn based his organization on the *panjiao* 判教 (classification of doctrines) system of the Tiantai 天台 lineage, especially in foregrounding of the five major divisions of Mahāyāna scriptures (*wu dabu* 五大部).²⁰⁰ While the canon's *fanli* claims that the compilers of the Kalaviṅka Canon derived this system from Yang Wenhui's studies of Ouyi, the *Gukyōzō* was published in 1881 – 1885, prior to Yang's first meeting with the Japanese Buddhist Nanjō Bunyū and thus it is unlikely that Yang had any input into the original organization. It is much more likely that the Japanese compilers based their system directly on the work of Ouyi, and that the editors behind the Kalaviṅka Canon credited Yang anyway. The structure established in the *Gukyōzō* and adopted in the Kalaviṅka canon is similar in some ways to that outlined in Nanjō's 1883 *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, as both place the same five types of scriptures at the beginning in a Mahāyāna Scriptures section, but Nanjō additionally distinguishes works based the order in which they were admitted to the canon.²⁰¹ A number of titles from the final section of Japanese Works have been left out of the Kalaviṅka: four fascicles from the Jōdō 淨土 lineage, six from Jōdō Shinshū 淨土真宗, fifteen by Nichiren 日蓮, three from the Ji 時 lineage, and one work

²⁰⁰ *Foguang da cidian*, [五大部].

²⁰¹ Nanjō Bunyū, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka...* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), ix-x. Both systems are quite different from that adopted by the Taishō Canon, 1924-1934, which was based in part on the *Gukyōzō*.

from the Interpenetrated Recitation lineage 融通念佛宗. As a work for Chinese reading audience, one might expect that the Japanese-authored content might be excised completely, but this is not the case: works by Saichō 最澄 (767 – 822), Kukai 空海 (774 – 835), Eisai 榮西 (1141 – 1215), and others appear at the end of the collection, and more than half of the original fascicles in this section were retained in the Kalaviṅka.²⁰²

Compared to previous canonical collections, the production process of the Kalaviṅka was in many respects quite new: a lay woman as chief patron, a revolutionary monk editor, a temple-like space situated in a scholar's garden and salon, and a commercial printer. Using a Japanese source for a Chinese canon, even though that source was in turn based on older Chinese and Korean collections, was also unprecedented. Several of these aspects can be seen in the pioneering work of Yang Wenhui, who established his own private publishing organization and imported texts from Japan, but who never made the transition from xylographic to mechanized movable type printing. Yet in spite of the many new aspects of the Kalaviṅka canon, its editors and supporters still saw it fulfilling some of the traditional roles played by canon printings in previous dynasties, namely helping to rejuvenate proper doctrines and practices and providing new guidance in a misguided age. One aspect of the

202 Gukyōzō index based on the *Digital Database of Buddhist Tripitaka Catalogue* 佛教藏經目錄數位資料庫, <<http://jinglu.cbeta.org/suoke.htm>>. Several of the secondary sources cited above imply that the Japanese content was left out entirely, but it is not a key part of their descriptions and thus the speculative aspect to the main text above.

publication of the canon was, however, significantly different from any previous Chinese Buddhist canon: the publicity and other references in the wider world of Chinese Buddhist print culture that defined its life-in-print.

4. Publicizing the Canon

Published just at the time when periodicals were being established as a new genre of Buddhist publication in China, the Kalaviṅka canon was widely publicized while it was in print and for several years afterward. References to the canon in periodicals exposed prospective readers to its existence, and gave them the information they needed to purchase a set for themselves, either directly through one of several distributors, or through the post. This was a new element to canon publication; whereas in the past news about publications would have been transmitted through social networks of personal connections or referenced much later in published works, in the age of mechanized movable type printing it was possible for advertisements for the canon to be printed for anyone in the reading public to read. As the first advertised Chinese Buddhist canon, the Kalaviṅka canon was announced and promoted in print much more quickly than its predecessors, but its presence among book catalogues and other advertised materials could also give it the appearance of a material commodity. Once a monumental achievement that lent an authoritative aura to any temple library that possessed

a copy, this edition of the canon became a commercial product, available for purchase by anyone who could pay for it.

| Table 6: Editing and Publishing Timeline for the Kalaviṅka Canon²⁰³ | |
|---|---|
| Summer 1908 | Zongyang becomes formally involved with the project and begins editing |
| Winter 1909 | Editing completed |
| Spring 1912 | Printing begins |
| November 1912 | First three installments have been printed, fourth expected by the end of the month, final expected within the year |
| February 1913 | Fourth and fifth installments still expected within the year |
| March 1913 | Date of Luo Jialing's and Zongyang's prefaces |
| May 1913 | Announcement that publication is complete |

Advertisements in early Buddhist periodicals make reference to the canon's ongoing publication schedule, as volumes were printed and issued over five separate installments (*qi* 期) up to 1913. As mentioned above, the canon's *fanli* makes mention of worker's strikes and the disruption of the Republican revolution affecting future publication plans, and such concerns likely also lengthened the time required to publish the canon itself. While publication was still ongoing, information about and advertisements for the canon appeared in the Buddhist periodical *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報, which had been founded in 1912 in Shanghai by the journalist and publisher Di Chuqing 狄楚青 (Di Baoxian 狄葆賢, 1872? – 1941). In the first issue in October 1912, Zhang Taiyan's preface to the canon is reprinted in the Literature

203 Based in part on Shen Qian, “Lun Huang Zongyang”, 41-49. Also *Pinjia da zangjing*, 6, 16, and MFQ 1:300-301, 2:179, 562, referenced below.

(*wenyuan* 文苑) section without any context provided, and in the second issue appears an open letter to all monastic assemblies from the Kalaviṅka Hermitage Scripture-Correcting Room 頻伽精舍校經室, ending with a request for copies of three scriptures needed for inclusion in the canon printing.²⁰⁴ Shortly following this letter, a short article reports on recent publishing difficulties:

Reason for Delay in Printing the Canon

Printing of the Kalaviṅka Hermitage edition of the canon has been divided into five installments, [and] to date three installments have been published. Originally printing of the fourth was to have continued in June, but because the China Library Company, which was handling printing, was in the middle of being sold and transferred to citizen control, the original plan was delayed by several days. Unexpectedly, after the new company took the job on, because the repair room was arranging machinery it caused another delay. At present we have continued printing on the first day of the ninth lunar month. The fourth installment is scheduled to be printed at the end of the month, and I have heard that the fifth installment ought to be completed within the year.²⁰⁵

This brief update on the canon printing matches indications in the *fanli* that troubles with the printer held back the aspirations of the canon's editor and financier. While canon printings must have had their share of delays in the past, in the early years of the Republic we find the publication of a Chinese Buddhist canon being held back by a combination of political

204 *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報, issue one (Oct. 1, 1912), MFQ 1:153-155; Issue two (Nov. 1, 1912), MFQ 1:297-298.

205 『藏經延期出版之緣. 頻伽精舍所刊大藏經, 全部分訂五期出版. 自開始以來, 已出三期. 第四期本於六月中, 可以續出. 因承印之中國圖書公司售改民立交盤之際, 原議暫停數日. 詎意新公司接辦後, 復因修師房屋整理機器, 以致一再延遲. 現於陰歷九月朔已續行開印. 第四期准於月底出版. 聞第五期亦務於年內一律完全出版也.』 Punctuation added. *Foxue congbao*, issue two, MFQ 1:300-301.

upheaval, a corporate takeover, and mechanical trouble.

Three months later in February 1913, a two-page advertisement for the canon still foresees that the fourth batch will be completed shortly, and announces a retail price for the canon: 200 yuan if purchased before the final batch of volumes is completed, and 240 yuan if purchased afterward. Even this discounted price was nearly equal to a year and a half of base wages for a skilled laborer in Beijing.²⁰⁶ In the May, 1913 issue of *Foxue congbao*, a full-page advertisement for the canon names its principle retailer as Haroon Gardens, with local retailers listed as the Chinese General Buddhist Association 中華佛教總會 offices in Jing'an Temple 淨安寺, Liuyun Temple 六榕寺, the Bao Photograph Studio 寶記照相館 on Nanjing Road, the scripture distributor of Youzheng Press, and the Chinese Library Company, all located in Shanghai. In a similar advertisement from issue eleven, however, only Haroon Gardens and Youzheng Press remain as retail locations. In the final issue of *Foxue congbao* in 1914, an eleven-page article extols the importance of the canon and lists each division with an abstract of its contents, but does not advertise any retail location other than directing the prospective buyers to contact the hermitage proper. By 1921, the only retail location being advertised is Haroon Gardens.²⁰⁷ Either the publishers had decided for consolidate sales of the

206 MFQ 2:179-180. Based on average base wage of 37.2 silver cents per day as reported in Table XII of *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Special Supplement (1926), 100.

207 MFQ 2:562; 4:176, 469-480; 151:94. For more on the CGBA, see chapter two, section three. The last advertisement-article also appears in a scriptural catalogue published by Liurong Temple in Guangzhou. See

canon, or else other retail locations had for some reasons given up on trying to sell the canon themselves.

Published in parallel with these brief articles and advertisements were two series of articles by Zongyang and Luo Jialing discussing matters relating to but not directly concerning the canon project. Zongyang's series, *Jiaojing shi qiuye pantan* 校經室秋夜槃譚 (Wandering Discussions on an Autumn Evening from the Scripture-editing Room) appears in four parts from November 1912 to June 1913.²⁰⁸ In it he discusses a number of Buddhist subjects, from karma to enlightenment, the cycles of cosmic time to rebirth. Although he cites from several scriptural texts and past masters, he does not discuss the canon project itself, preferring instead to write on many topics in an easily-accessible style with sermon-like rhetoric. Luo's column *Pinjia manbi* 頻伽漫筆 (Casual Notes on the Kalaviṅka), on the other hand, is a collection of quoted passages from Buddhist texts, primarily drawn from the works of Ouyi Zhixu, the late-Ming monk whose bibliographic studies guided the organization and structure of the *Gukyōzō* and thus that of the the Kalaviṅka canon as well.²⁰⁹ One of the most striking quoted passages from Ouyi's writings appears at the start of the first article installment:

Guangzhou Liurong si Fojiao hui jingfang liutong jingmu 廣州六榕寺佛教會經坊流通經目, in *Minguo shiqi chubanshu mu huibian* 民國時期出版書目彙編, edited by Liu Hongquan 劉洪權 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), Vol. 2:605-615.

208 *Foxue congbao*, issues 2, 3, 5, 7, MFQ 1:357-358, 505-511, 2:347-357, 3:119-125.

209 *Foxue congbao*, issues 4, 6-11, MFQ 2:147-157, 545-552, 3:111-118, 283-289, 461-470, 4:163-172, 337-343.

In his afterword to *Explication of the Sūtra of the Deathbed Injunction*, Ouyi wrote: “When I had not yet left secular life, I read the *Sūtra of the Deathbed Injunction*. I then knew that each and every character was like tears of blood, and at once took tonsure. Waste and loss, the hindrances of such regrets are deep. In some twenty-odd years I have achieved nothing. I am neither a genuine practitioner, nor a layman. Now in my heart I feel utterly ashamed. ...”²¹⁰

Ouyi proceeds to claim unworthiness of adding anything to the scriptural text, but his account of early encounter with the scripture and the effect it had on his life are quite compelling. In this and other cited passages in Luo's article series, Ouyi's very personal and emotive descriptions of the content and meaning of the Buddhist scriptures come across quite clearly. Although these articles expanded the exposure of Zongyang and Luo Jialing as authors in the realm of Buddhist periodical literature, they were simply contributing articles to the journal and their background as managers of the canon project is not made part of the articles' content.

Although Luo and Zongyang had printed a complete edition of the Chinese-language Buddhist canon and thus attained the goal that Yang Wenhui had sought to achieve with his xylographic press, there is little evidence that the publication of the Kalaviṅka canon had any discernible impact on the operation of Buddhist xylographic scriptural presses in the 1910s and 1920s. One important aspect that is still unknown about the canon but would help us gauge its impact is the total number of printed sets. In 1921 an advertisement claims that apart

210 『藕益大師自跋遺教解曰。旭未出家。讀遺教。便知字字血淚。既獲剃染。靡或忘。所憾障深。廿餘年空無尅獲。非道人。又非白衣。方撫心極愧。』 Punctuation as in original. *Foxue congbao*, issue 4, MFQ 2:147.

from copies reserved for academic use only 300 sets remained for sale, but there is no indication of how many were originally printed.²¹¹ Indirectly, book catalogues from scriptural presses appear unaffected by the presence of the new canon. In 1920, for example, the Beijing Scriptural Press published indices for the Ming-dynasty Jiaxing Canon 嘉興藏 and the Extended Canon 續藏經, and list prices for some titles in both collections, but list no offerings relating to the Kalaviṅka canon even though it had already been in print for some seven years.²¹² One reason for this lackluster reception may be that, in spite of the editing invested in the canon and notes based on the errata by Nakano, the text was littered with mistakes. An errata for the Kalaviṅka edition of the *Da bore poluo miduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra) published in the October 1930 issue of *Haichao yin* lists over 370 characters or phrases that had been printed incorrectly.²¹³ The types of errors listed include one isomorphic character substituted for another (eg. *wang* 往 for *zhu* 住; *ge* 各 for *ming* 名), transposition of characters within a word (eg. **manyuan* 滿圓 for *yuanman* 圓滿; **hemo* 訶摩 for *mohe* 摩訶), incorrect words within a phrase (eg. **kong jijing* 空寂靜 for *jie jijing* 界寂靜; **yanse jie* 眼色界 for *yanshi jie* 眼識界), and simply miscopied or misprinted characters (eg. *shi*

211 *Haichao yin*, June 20, 1921, MFQ 151:94.

212 The catalogues, *Jiaxing zang mulu* 嘉興藏目錄 originally printed in 1677, and *Xu zangjing zhizhua yi* 續藏經值畫一, are reprinted in volume 52 of Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峯, ed., *Shumu leibian* 書目類編 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1978). In the Jiaxing catalogue about half of the titles have prices listed, and in the latter catalogue nearly all do.

213 *Haichao yin*, Vol. 11, no. 10 (Oct. 1930), MFQ 176:311-323.

是 for zi 自; wu 無 for luo 羅). Such mistakes would be regrettable in an important text and impede comprehension on the part of the reader; for religious scriptures in which, in the words of Ouyi, “each and every character was like tears of blood”, and which derived their numinous power from their correct content, these errors cut to the core of what made the printed texts meaningful to readers.

In spite of the textual errors, the Kalaviṅka canon continued to be advertised in Buddhist periodicals into the 1930s, particularly in the pages of *Foxue banyue kan* 佛學半月刊 (Buddhism Semimonthly), the in-house periodical of Shanghai Buddhist Books. In the earliest such advertisement from 1934, after briefly running through the historical highlights of canon printing in China and Japan, the copy promotes the canon as being of the best quality and a suitable purchase for all types of consumers:

At the end of the Qing and beginning of the Republic, the mistress of the Kalaviṅka Hermitage Mrs. Luo Jialing continued history by printing a fine canon edition, based on the Japanese Gukyō shoin edition with some expansions and adaptations, printed in number four movable type, in forty cases, 414 volumes, and 1,916 titles. At the time, those who corrected the text were all luminaries of Buddhist studies. After four years of reading it was completed.

That is this very publication. Every edition in it is expansive and clear. Among canon collections, it is truly the one with the most fascicles and the best editions. Just now the mistress of the Kalaviṅka Hermitage requested that this press distribute [the canon]. The price is reasonable. Thatched hut or huge temple, lay or monastic, all can purchase it at their pleasure. Devoting oneself to study, inspiring spiritual luminosity, expanding wisdom, advancing morality, it all relies on this. Those who aspire to the Great Vehicle, take up the great

Dharma with all their strength. We hope that you won't miss this excellent opportunity.²¹⁴

As a piece of commercial publicity this advertisement succinctly delivers the selling points of the work to the reader, ending with a pitch to “buy now before it's too late”. Much shorter advertisements for the canon follow, usually consigned to the thin strip of space at the top of the page. In the June 16, 1940 edition of *Foxue banyuekan*, for example, the ad for the canon is dwarfed by a full-page list for Shanghai Buddhist Book's own *Foxue xiao congshu* 佛學小叢書 (Short Collection of Buddhist Studies).²¹⁵ It stands as a stark contrast to the weighty cultural value of canons in previous eras when the Kalaviṅka canon appears in print not only as a commercial product, but as one whose exposure is quickly eclipsed by other types of Buddhist publications.

The fading of the canon into the background of the pages of *Foxue banyue kan* parallels its fate in the larger context of Republican-era Chinese Buddhist publishing. It is as yet unknown how many sets were in circulation, but it is not widely cited in contemporary

214 『... 清末及民國初. 頻伽精舍主人羅伽陵女士. 據日本宏教書院本. 略為增濺. 以四號活字. 連史精印大藏四十帙. 四百十四冊. 一千九百十六部. 時任校勘者. 皆一時佛學名宿. 閱時四年. 方告全成. 即此本也. 全書版本. 闊大清晰. 實為藏經中卷數最多版本最佳者. 頃由頻伽精舍主人委託本局代為流通. 價格低廉. 無論茅庵巨剎. 在家出家. 皆可隨意購讀. 悉心研究. 啟發靈明. 擴充智慧. 增進道德. 胥是賴焉. 有志上乘. 力荷大法者. 幸勿失此良機.』 Punctuation as in original. *Foxue banyue kan* 佛學半月刊, no. 77 (April 16, 1934), MFQ 49:248.

215 MFQ 55:324. The ad mentions that the price of the canon is to be raised to 1,200 yuan because of the recent unbridled rise in the price of paper (*zhijia feizhang* 紙價飛漲). This is the only indication I have yet discovered that the canon continued to be printed in later years.

secondary literature. Xylographic publishers continued to publish their texts based on older editions and never took up the canon as part of their print catalogues. While Zongyang died at Qixia Temple 棲霞寺 outside of Nanjing in 1921, until her death in 1941 Luo is mentioned several times in Buddhist periodicals, usually in reference to her making donation of large numbers of Buddhist texts. She also wrote a monograph, *Yulanpen jing qianshuo* 盂蘭盆經淺說 (A Brief Explication of the *Ullambana-sūtra*), that was published through the Central Scriptural Press 中央刻經院 in Beiping in 1934, and during the Second Sino-Japanese War helped finance the publication of works by the monk Chisong 持松 (1894 – 1972).²¹⁶ Neither she nor anyone else attempted to print an extension of the Kalaviṅka Canon as was originally planned, nor did they further promote the canon in Buddhist periodicals.

5. Conclusion

In spite of the difficulties and problems that I have outlined above, I would argue that the Kalaviṅka canon was by no means a failed project. In the late Qing Yang Wenhui and his contemporaries had viewed the extant *Long zang* edition of the canon as a “museum piece” and sought to replace it; in the early Republic, Luo and Zongyang brought the canon into the pages of the new Buddhist magazines, and placed it within reach of the well-heeled consumer, be

²¹⁶ Luo's book is catalogued as [S0559](#). Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 754-757. Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 736-738.

they the director of a large temple library or simply a layperson wishing to “take up the great Dharma with all their strength”. They also linked up with other Buddhist publishers of the day, putting articles and news about their canon publication before the eyes of their readers. Finally, it is evident that other publishers and book sellers were, at least for a time, quite willing to take part in distributing the canon, and thus supportive of the project. The textual problems with the canon, however, cannot be overlooked. While mechanized printing had the potential to produce great amounts of text at a lower cost, publishers still needed the tools and expertise to correctly handle such a flood of characters in a way that maintained the integrity of the content. It is very significant that in the wake of the Kalaviṅka canon, Buddhist scriptural presses continued to use xylography and did not start to convert to movable type, perhaps in part because of the typographic problems evident in the typeset canon.

It would thus be more appropriate to view the canon as an experiment, one that may have not immediately revolutionized canon printing in China, but one which anticipated many of the developments among other movable-type Buddhist publishers in the decades to follow. Its appearance at the beginning of the Republican era marks the point in Chinese Buddhist print culture history when scriptural presses and specialist movable-type publishers start to diverge, both in terms of print technology and the type of publications that they produce. These latter specialist publishers, many of whom would initially employ commercial printers

just as the editors of the Kalaviṅka canon had done, would make much use of the new technology, particularly for Buddhist periodicals; time-sensitive and high-volume publications that were being founded just as the printing of the Kalaviṅka canon was being completed.

Chapter Three

Publishing Revolution: Buddhist Periodicals in the First Decade of the Republic, 1912 – 1919

1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters the types of publications discussed were mainly xylographic scriptural texts, and although the editors of the Kalaviṅka Canon used the new mechanized movable type technology to print their collection, the format and genre of the texts were still those of centuries past. Beginning in the 1910s, however, some Buddhists in China began to adopt new print genres and develop their print culture in revolutionary ways. One of the most significant new types of publication was the periodical. The appearance of Buddhist periodicals published in movable type by modern commercial presses I term a 'publishing revolution' to evoke a double meaning: firstly that this was a new means of publishing texts, one that had its own requirements and possibilities which were significantly different from those of xylography; and secondly that the content of these periodicals was often revolutionary in tone, calling for radical changes within the Buddhist world such as new forms of education and new types of religious organizations, and engaging in debates over intellectual and cultural

issues then unfolding in Chinese society. Although these periodicals were initially quite few in number and limited in circulation, they would grow steadily in both scope and influence in the decades to follow.

Buddhist periodicals in China emerged following an era of widespread military violence, from the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 – 1896, the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 – 1901, to the Xinhai Revolution of 1911, which resulted in the establishment of the Republic of China (Zhonghua minguo 中華民國) on January 1, 1912. Equally important, however, were the 1898 reforms, the abolishment of the civil service examination system and the concurrent massive restructuring of the education system, and revolutionary movements aided by political newspapers in Shanghai and overseas. Recognizing the importance of these intellectual changes, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873 – 1929) wrote in 1912 that “... the establishment of the Republic of China was the result of a revolution of ink, not a revolution of blood.”²¹⁷ For those involved in religious culture, this 'revolution' brought both dangers and opportunities. On the one hand, the new constitution of the Republic guaranteed freedom of religious belief, on the other, the implementation of religious policy was in the hands of local officials commanders

217 See Rebecca E. Karl and Peter Zarrow, eds. *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in late Qing China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002). These movements would culminate in the May Fourth Movement in 1919, on which see Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Oldřich Král, eds., *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital: China's May Fourth Project* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001). These two sources are cited in Katz, “Illuminating Goodness”. Liang is quoted in Joan Judge, *Print and Politics: 'Shibao' and the Culture of Reform in Late Qing China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 4.

whose views of religion varied considerably. Religious groups were now able to form legally-recognized associations, mobilize readers against threats to their livelihood, and participate in the public sphere of print.²¹⁸ Just as periodicals were a key part of the Republican Revolution, so too were they at the core of intellectual movements in China, especially those associated with the *Xin wenhua yundong* 新文化運動 (New Culture Movement) of the mid 1910s and 1920s. Similar small-scale, specialist publications, termed 'little magazines' were also then being produced elsewhere in the world, as the spread of mechanized print technology made print an attractive means of expressing 'modernist', radical ideas.²¹⁹

Periodicals were unlike anything that had appeared before in Chinese Buddhist print culture. For one thing, movable type technology made it possible to print new content monthly, weekly, or even daily, enabling Buddhist periodicals to report on and discuss current events of the day. They could also include contributions from readers, and link the periodical to the larger field of print culture by advertising published materials then in print by scriptural and commercial presses. Another novelty was the ability to include lithograph prints of photographs within the pages of a periodical. Although xylography could easily feature carved illustrations in its pages, lithography made it possible to include veritable

218 Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes*; Judge, *Print and Politics*.

219 Lust, "The 'Su-pao' Case". On radical periodicals worldwide, see the collection of 'Little Magazines' maintained by Prof. Suzanne W. Churchill at Davidson College, <http://sites.davidson.edu/littlemagazines/>.

reproductions of paintings or other printed images.²²⁰ Yet these periodicals were also firmly rooted in the scriptural and commentarial Buddhist print culture that had preceded it. Scriptural texts were reprinted and quoted at length, now with new exegetical contributions from lay and monastic Buddhist scholars who were increasingly familiar with modern subjects such as science, technology, sociology, and the like.

The production of early Chinese Buddhist periodicals was rooted in the nascent newspaper industry of the late-Qing and, to a lesser extent, in the Buddhist periodicals of Meiji Japan. The publishers of some of the earliest non-scriptural Buddhist publications in the Republican period had learned their trade working for these radical and revolutionary magazines, and the editors of early Buddhist periodicals emulated models established by periodicals such as *Subao* 蘇報 (Jiangsu Gazette, 1896 – 1903), *Shibao* 時報 (The Times, 1904 – [1937?]), and *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (*La Jeunesse*; New Youth, 1915 – 1922). Other models were available in Japanese Buddhist periodicals, many of which had been founded by reform-minded organizations as a response to the anti-Buddhist policies of the early Meiji state, and had been in circulation for several decades before the founding of the Republic. While there does not appear to have been any direct influence from these on early Chinese Buddhist

220 The reproduction and circulation of photographs, especially of famous monastics, was a new form of visual religious culture in late-Qing and Republican China. See Raoul Birnbaum, “The Deathbed Image of Master Hongyi” in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, edited by Jacqueline Stone and Bryan Cuevas (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007): 175-207.

periodicals, articles translated from Japanese Buddhist publications would be featured prominently in their pages.²²¹

The geographic setting of the periodical press in China was quite different from that of earlier xylographic texts. While the late-Qing centers of printing tended to be either in rural areas where labor and wood for printing blocks were cheaply acquired, or in cultural and political centers, modern commercial publishers clustered in the cities where capital, specialized equipment, and skilled labor were to be found. Apart from large cities such as Beijing and Chengdu 成都, the main nexus of this new publishing world was Shanghai, a major urban center with connections both to the global economy and to the surrounding Jiangnan 江南 region.²²² This was a boon for Buddhist publications. Not only had the region been a cradle of Buddhist religiosity for centuries, it was also home to the Jinling and Jiangbei Scriptural Presses, as well as well-known monastic mountains such as Jinshan 金山, Baohua shan 寶華山, Putuo shan 普陀山, and Jiuhua shan 九華山. Coupled with the wealth of nearby cultural and commercial centers such as Nanjing, Suzhou, Yangzhou, and Hangzhou, this meant that wealthy Buddhist laypeople and well-trained monastics had the center of modern publishing

221 Some examples of Japanese religious periodicals from the Meiji era 明治 (1868 – 1912) include *Jōdo kyōbō* 浄土教報 (Pure Land Teaching News), founded in 1889, and the long-running *Shūsui* 宗粹 (Essence of Religion), founded by Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨 (1869 – 1948) and published from 1898 to 1935. There were also as many as seven Buddhist periodicals founded in Korea under Japanese rule between 1910 and 1920. See Henrik H. Sørensen, “Buddhism and Secular Power in 20th-Century Korea” in *Buddhism and Politics in Twentieth-century Asia*, edited by Ian Harris (London, New York: Pinter, 1999), 133-134.

222 On Sibao see Brokaw, *Commerce in Culture*. See the prefatory material for a map of the Jiangnan region.

in China practically at their doorstep.²²³ From their Jiangnan offices, the Buddhist periodicals were distributed on a national scale. Alongside this wide geographical reach, the production of these periodicals involved a diverse range of contributors who built new types of social networks through their common participation. Traditional types of social interaction among Buddhists, including epistolary communications and face-to-face contact in temple settings whether as resident monks or as visitors to the *yunshui tang* 雲水堂 (Wandering Monks' Hall) were joined by shared membership in Buddhist associations and article contributions to periodicals.²²⁴ Contemporary newspapers and other secular periodicals are also widely cited as article sources; *Fojiao yuebao* was especially prolific in reprinting articles sourced from these publications.

Periodicals in modern Chinese Buddhism would, from the handful of experimental publications of the 1910s, gradually grow into a substantially large and productive genre.²²⁵

223 For a study of the local history of one religiously significant mountain in China, see James Robson, *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak (Nanyue 南嶽) in Medieval China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009). On the general importance of Jiangnan cities around this period, see Linda Cooke Johnson, ed., *Cities of Jiangnan in Late Imperial China* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993). Laypeople were particularly well-positioned to make use of the new urban industrial culture that included publishing enterprises, perhaps one reason why lay writings came to figure so prominently in Republican-era Buddhist publications.

224 On the *yunshui tang*, see Welch, *Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, 13-15.

225 See chapter five, sections two and three for more on Chinese Buddhist periodicals in the 1920s. A survey published in 1940 catalogued 155 extant or former Chinese Buddhist periodicals, many of which were published in or near Shanghai, although Beijing, Wuhan, and Xiamen were also identified as important publishing centers. Rudolf Löwenthal, *The Religious Periodical Press in China* (Beijing: The Synodal Commission in China, 1940), 135-162.

From their beginning, however, they would play a vital role in connecting together Buddhists across localities, both through the social networks formed by shared participation in their composition, and through their widely-spread distribution across China. The articles within these periodicals largely sought not to describe the status quo of modern Buddhism but to enact change, part of a broader radical publication market that flourished in the unstable yet ideologically fecund atmosphere of the first decade of the Republic.

2. *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報 (Buddhist Studies Magazine, 1912 – 1914)

The first Chinese-language periodical to specialize in Buddhist content was *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報 (Buddhist Studies Magazine), published for twelve issues between October 1912 and June 1914.²²⁶ As the first of its kind, the format and structure of *Foxue congbao* both exerted a lasting influence on the Chinese Buddhist periodicals that followed. It also involved several contributors who would continue to be active in Buddhist periodicals and publishing in China in the decades to come. Issued by a publisher who was already producing a number of literary and social magazines, *Foxue congbao* was neither an association-based nor a temple-centered

226 The term *congbao* 叢報 was coined by Liang Qichao as a translation of Japanese *zasshi* 雜誌, meaning a weekly or monthly periodical. Several issues of *Foxue congbao* were published a month later than their scheduled publication date. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 100 has a brief mention of this title. Original printings can still be found in some libraries; the library of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy 中國文哲研究所 at Academia Sinica 中央研究院 has a set of original issues that were bound into volumes at some point, possibly after 1949 given the binder's imprint. The entirety of its print run is reprinted in the MFQ collection, volumes 1-4.

text, but reflected instead the diverse concerns and interests of its editors and contributors in ways similar to secular periodicals. Combining editorials, serialized scholarly works, news, poetry, biographies of eminent figures, and advertisements for publishers and scripture distributors, it was similar in form to many other newspapers and literary magazines that flourished in the early Republic, several of which were issued by the same publisher.

| Table 7: <i>Foxue congbao</i> Print Run | | | |
|---|-------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| Issue | Date | Page Length | Distribution Locations |
| 1 | October 1, 1912 | 180 | Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin |
| 2 | November 1, 1912 | 186 | Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, Nanchang |
| 3 | December 1, 1912 | 180 | " |
| 4 | February 1, 1913 | 180 | " |
| 5 | March 1, 1913 | 204 | " |
| 6 | May 1, 1913 | 177 | " |
| 7 | June 1, 1913 | 150 | " |
| 8 | October 1, 1913 | 163 | " |
| 9 | February 15, 1914 | 158 | " |
| 10 | March 15, 1914 | 174 | " |
| 11 | May 1, 1914 | 170 | " |
| 12 | June 15, 1914 | 226 | " |

Foxue congbao was published by Di Chuqing 狄楚青 (Di Pingzi 狄平子, 1872? – 1941), well-known as one of the co-founders of the revolutionary newspaper *Shibao* 時報 (The Times).²²⁷ Di studied in Japan where he became involved in revolutionary societies along with

²²⁷ Di's name is uncommonly written as 楚卿. He also used the name Baoxian 葆賢 and the style name Pingdeng ge zhu 平等閣主 (Master of the Pavilion of Equality). His ancestral roots are said to be in Liyang 溧陽,

figures such as Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865 – 1898) and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873 – 1929), and in the aftermath of the failed Hundred Days of Reform in 1898 he helped establish the Eastern Languages Translation Society 東文翻譯社 to advocate for political change in China. In 1904 he and Liang began publishing *Shibao* through his newly-established Youzheng Press 有正書局 to advance the cause of reform through the non-violent power of the press. Outside of publishing Di continued to be politically active, and in 1908 was elected to the Jiangsu Consultative Assembly 江蘇諮議局, one of the short-lived representative political institutions set up in the final years of Qing rule.²²⁸ It was during this time of tumultuous change that Di began to become involved with Buddhist figures and ideas. Di reportedly met Yang Wenhui at least once before Yang's death in 1911, and in 1912 he met the monk Yuexia 月霞 (1858 – 1917) during the latter's visit to Shanghai, after which he helped to establish a scripture-lecture group 講經會 there.²²⁹ Di recorded some of his impressions of religious subjects in his

Jiangsu. Although his birth date is unclear, at the time of his death on August 14, 1941 he was reportedly seventy *sui*, which would indicate he was born around 1872. See *Jue youqing banyue kan* 覺有情半月刊, Vol. 46/47 (Sept. 1, 1941), MFQB 61:282.

228 See Joan Judge, “Public Opinion and the New Politics of Contestation in the Late Qing, 1904-1911”, *Modern China*, Vol. 20, no. 1 (Jan., 1994): 64-91; Judge, *Print and Politics*.

229 Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 529-530. This account relies heavily on the biographical sketch found in Dongchu, ZFJS 1:645-657. If a story published in 1925 is to be believed, Di also knew Yang Wenhui and thus may have had some interest or involvement with Buddhist matters prior to 1911. See *Sucheng yinpinhui xunkan* 蘇城隱貧會旬刊, no. 9 (8/21, 1925), MFQB 5:87, where Di is said to have related a story told to him by Yang about two people who had acquired the power of clairvoyance (*tianyan tong* 天眼通). This story is taken from *Pingdeng ge biji* 平等閣筆記 (Notes from the Pavilion of Equality), reprinted in *Xiandai Foxue daxi* 現代佛學大系, Vol. 48 (Taipei: Mile chuban she, 1984), 89-91. Some sources claim that Di lost a son in a fire in the early Republican period which preceptitated his turn toward Buddhism; whether or not this dramatic story is

autobiographical *Pingdeng ge biji* 平等閣筆記 (Notes from the Pavilion of Equality), first published in 1913 and later revised and reprinted in 1922.²³⁰ In one piece, *Shijie zongjiao butong zhi yaodian* 世界宗教不同之要點 (Important Points of Difference between the World's Religions), which also appeared in the final issue of *Foxue congbao*, he offers a critique that treats Buddhism extremely favorably in comparison to “other teachings” (*tajiao* 他教). Very little is known, however, about his personal practice, which appears to have been primarily directed toward Pure Land teachings; in issue six of *Foxue congbao* a sample print of “Images of the Three Holy Ones of the West” (*Xifang sansheng xiang* 西方三聖像) features a calligraphic inscription written by Di and dated October 1912 where he styles himself a disciple of the three deities, namely Amida Buddha 阿彌陀佛, Guanshiyin 觀世音菩薩, and Dashizhi 大勢至菩薩.²³¹ It is difficult to determine what, if any, direct role he played in the composition of *Foxue congbao* beyond that of publisher, as the only article attributed to him is a reprint from *Pingdeng ge biji*.

Di's Youzheng Press was established to print *Shibao* and shared its office space, and it

true, his meeting with Yuexia indicates that he had already had contact with Buddhists by that point. See, for example, Judge, *Print and Politics*, 267fn1.

230 This was a collection of articles originally published in his *Shibao* column “Pingdeng ge”. See Judge, *Print and Politics*, 208. An advertisement for the book appears on *Foxue congbao*, no. 12 (June 15, 1914), MFQ 4:570.

231 *Foxue congbao*, no. 12, MFQ 4:499-501. *Pingdeng ge biji*, 108-114; *Foxue congbao*, no. 6 (May 1, 1913), MFQ 2:379. Posters of the print are listed for sale at 10 cents each, and 20 cents for colour prints, printed by Youzheng Press.

also published periodicals such as *Xiaoshuo shibao* 小說時報 (Literary Times), *Xiaoshuo shijie* 小說世界 (Literary World), *Xiaoshuo tuhua* 小說圖畫 (Literature Illustrated), *Funü shibao* 婦女時報 (Woman's Times), and others. Around 1908 branch offices were opened in Beijing and Tianjin, eventually expanding to number over twenty.²³² As outlined in chapter one the press also functioned as a retailer for Buddhist scriptures, with catalogues of scripture distributed by Youzheng being a common feature of *Foxue congbao*, growing in size throughout the periodical's print run until 1914 where more than 600 titles are on offer.²³³ In a later Youzheng book catalogue dating from 1921, however, there are only a few Buddhist titles listed; *Foxue congbao* was only one part of a broad publishing portfolio for Youzheng Press, and its Buddhist publications appear to have been kept mainly separate from its main publishing catalogue.²³⁴ For *Foxue congbao*, being published by Youzheng enabled it to be sold in Shanghai, Beijing, and Tianjin, three cities with a growing urban population and print media industry. From issue two onward the periodical was also distributed by the Jiangxi Buddhist Studies Association 江西佛

232 Fan Muhan, *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi*, 275. Duan Chunxu, “Di Chuqing zai xinwen chuban yeshang de gongxian” 狄楚卿在新聞出版業上的貢獻, *Chengdu daxue xuebao (jiaoyu kexue ban)* 成都大學學報(教育科學版), Vol. 22, no. 12 (Dec., 2008), 108. The addresses for these offices listed on the *Foxue congbao* publication page are Liulichang 琉璃廠 and Dong malu 東馬路, respectively. Later by 1933 Shanghai Buddhist Books 上海佛學書局 had set up a branch within the Youzheng offices. See for example *Haichao yin* 海潮音, Vol. 14, no. 5 (May 15, 1933), MFQ 184:3.

233 *Foxue congbao*, No. 12 (June 15, 1914), MFQ 4:549-569. See below for a discussion of the book catalogues appearing in the periodical.

234 Youzheng shuju mulu 有正書局目錄, in *Zhongguo jindai guji chuban faxing shiliao congkan - xubian*, 8:441. The tentative date of publication is based on the depiction in the catalogue of the “new offices” at the corner of Fuzhou 福州 and Shandong 山東 roads in Shanghai, to which the *Shibao* offices were moved in 1921.

學會 in Nanchang 南昌.²³⁵

Several monastic and lay Buddhists of the time contributed content to the magazine, many of whom would later gain greater prominence. Its general editor, one Pu Yisheng 濮一乘 (d.u.), is uncredited in the publication itself and few details about his life are known.²³⁶ His *fakan ci* 發刊辭 (Inaugural Statement) for the magazine describes its mission as “encouraging the improvement of humanity and safeguarding the peace of the world”, and likens it to the spirit of Vulture Peak 鷲嶺, the setting of several important Buddhist scriptures. He also references the story of the Dragon Flower assembly 龍華之會, where the future Buddha Maitreya is predicted to preach. The body of the essay melds the 'enlightenment' (*qimeng* 啟蒙) rhetoric of contemporary literary journals with the 'enlightenment' (*juewu* 覺悟) rhetoric of Buddhist scriptural texts, arguing that the spread of knowledge through the periodical not only benefits humanity and encourages world peace, but also mirrors the function of the assemblies where the Buddhas of the past (Sákyamuni) and future (Maitreya) preach the Dharma.²³⁷ The role of the periodical is described at the end of the essay:

235 From its first issue in 1912 the address listed for Youzheng Press is on Wangping street 望平街, whereas Reed states that it was founded on Weihaiwei Road 威海衛路 and moved to Wangping in 1921. See Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 283fn30.

236 Although this credit does not appear in the publication itself, see for example Yinshun 印順, *Taixu dashi nianpu* 太虛大師年譜 (Taipei: Tianhua chuban shiye, 1978), 38-39 (p. 59 in 1959 edition); Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 530. Pu may be the author of two temple gazetteers published in 1927: *Changzhou tianning si zhi* 常州天寧寺志 and *Wujin tianning si zhi* 武進天寧寺志.

237 *Foxue congbao*, Issue 1 (Oct. 1, 1912); MFQ 1:13-14. DDB, [靈鷲山] and [龍華會].

Alas. In the heavy wind and rain, ideas are touted like birds crowing. In the quiet mountain woods, who will let loose the lion's roar?²³⁸ This publication *Foxue congbao* will do just that! It will make use of understanding without slandering, and explicate doubts regarding misguided beliefs.²³⁹ Generally its articles will only use correct exegesis, and transmit truths different from those of the world.²⁴⁰ It will meld perfectly philosophic theories and encourage beginners, subtly correct people's minds, gradually changing the fate of the *kalpa*.²⁴¹ Encouraging the improvement of humanity, safeguarding the peace of the world. The classification of the ten schools [of the Buddhist teaching] is something that we dare not omit. Every month [to publish] one issue is something we dare not overdo. The spirit of Vulture Peak, this is an echo of that. The Dragon-flower assembly, we humbly call it our precursor.²⁴²

Here Pu addresses contemporary issues within in a Buddhist imaginative framework of karmic causes and conditions. Notable here is the concern with a multitude of ideas being touted during an era of revolutionary change, the link posited between correct knowledge as spread by the periodical and a general improvement in the fate of humankind, and finally the

238 *Shihou* 獅吼 or *Shizi hou* 獅子吼, is a metaphor for the Buddha's teaching. DDB.

239 Although *mixin* 迷信 has since come to mean 'superstition' in modern Chinese, at this time its usage was still quite new and not yet standardized, and could mean more generally “misguided beliefs” as I have translated here.

240 Original printing is unclear, may be 綱, followed by 誌

241 A reference to the notion that the morality of the people during a cosmic age of a *kalpa* affects the fate of the world.

242 『嗟夫。沉沉風雨。概念雞鳴。寂寂山林。何當師吼。佛學叢報之刊。願得而已歟。將以解無為之謗。釋迷信之疑。編誌獨取真詮。流布不同世諦。融通哲理。誘掖初機。默正人心。潛移劫運。促人類之進步。保世界之和平。分類十門。不敢略也。期月一冊。不敢濫也。鷲嶺之風。此其嗣響。龍華之會。猥曰先聲。』 Phrase breaks as in original. The full statement, of which this is a selection, appears in *Foxue congbao*, Issue 1 (Oct. 1, 1912); MFQ 1:13-14. *Gr̥dhrakūṭa-parvata* (Lingjiu shan 靈鷲山 or, as here, Jiuling 鷲嶺) is notable as the site where several scriptures are said to have been preached, including the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Sūtra of Limitless Life*. Maitreya is believed to preaching under a dragon-flower tree when he comes to earth in the future. DDB.

references to scriptural places and events as precursors to the publication's efforts.

Other contributors also had a strong background in scriptural and doctrinal study and were also active in new types of educational and publication endeavours. The Chan monk Yuexia 月霞 (1858 – 1917), whose recorded lectures on the Vimalakīrti Sūtra 維摩詰所說經 are serialized in issues five to twelve, was then teaching at Huayan University 華嚴大學, a Buddhist monastic seminary located at Hardoon Gardens in Shanghai.²⁴³ The work of Dixian 諦閑 (1858 – 1932) appears several times in the form of recorded lectures on subjects such as “Bashi guiju song” 八識規矩頌 (Verses on the Structure of the Eight Consciousnesses) by Xuanzang 玄奘, and on Huineng 慧能, the sixth patriarch of the Chan school. Dixian was a patriarch in the Tiantai 天台 school who around this time was establishing the Guanzong Research Society 觀宗研究社, a Buddhist seminary and academy in Ningbo 寧波.²⁴⁴ The revolutionary monk Zongyang 宗仰 (1861 – 1921), editor of the Kalaviṅka Canon that was featured in chapter two, contributed several articles to the publication under the name Zhongyang 中央. He wrote on how Buddhism ought to be developed, on how Buddhism could

243 See Juexing 覺醒, “Yuexia fashi changdao sengqie yiaoyu” 月霞法師倡導僧伽教育, *Xianggang Fojiao* 香港佛教, no. 471, <http://www.hkbuddhist.org/magazine/471/471_07.html>. Here Juexing claims that Di Chuqing invited Yuexia to Shanghai to do editorial work, but other accounts indicate that the latter was already in Shanghai by the time that *Foxue congbao* was founded, though Di was instrumental in introducing Yuexia to Hardoon Gardens and Luo Jialing 羅迦陵. Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:755-757; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 146. See chapter two on Luo and the Kalaviṅka Canon.

244 On Dixian's work see the biography by Jiang Weijiao in *Hongfa yanjiu she* 弘法研究社, Feb. 1933, MFQ 22:185-189. Eulogies appear in MFQ 22:221-232. His articles are reprinted in MFQ 1:57-79, 105-107, 211-221, 395-400, 407-408; 2:215-222, 443-445. A photograph of Dixian is reproduced in issue nine, MFQ 3:320.

help the nation, and corrected the text of a serialized translation of *Bukkyō rekishi mondō* 佛教歷史問答 (Questions and Answers on Buddhist History) originally by the Japanese Buddhist author Nagai Ryūjun 永井龍潤 (d.u.).²⁴⁵ He also contributed the serialized “Jiaojing shi qiuye pantan” 校經室秋夜槃譚 (Wandering Words on an Autumn Night from the Scripture-correction Room) mentioned in chapter two above.

The writings of the Pure Land monk Yinguang 印光 (1861 – 1940), who at the time was in seclusion on Mount Putuo 普陀山 off the coast of Zhejiang province, were brought to widespread attention after being published in *Foxue congbao*. In 1914 he allowed the layman Gao Henian 高鶴年 (1872 – 1962) to publish some of his writings in the periodical under the pseudonym Changcan 常慚 (Ever-Ashamed). These articles, which include one entitled “Religions should not be indiscriminately mixed” and another on the reprinting of the *Foshuo Amituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經 (Amitâbha Sūtra), attracted the attention of Beijing-based lay Buddhist Xu Weiru 徐蔚如 (1878 – 1937), later founder of the Beijing and Tianjin scriptural presses. Xu financed the publication of a collection of Yinguang's letters in 1917, and later publications of his writings which became very influential among Buddhists of the time.²⁴⁶ Also

245 MFQ 1:35-39, 267-75, 457-68; 2:255-61. At least one related volume by Nagai was published as 通俗佛教歷史問答. 第1：印度之部 in Kyōto in 1902.

246 Gao Zhenrong 高振農, “Yinguang dashi yu Shanghai Fojiao” 印光大師與上海佛教, *Xianggang Fojiao*, no. 496, <http://www.hkbuddhist.org/magazine/496/496_04.html>. There is in *Foxue congbao* another author by the name of “Putuo Monk” 普陀僧, which may also have been one of Yinguang's pen names. XFRC, 285. The 1917 publication is *Yinguang fashi xingao* 印光法師信稿 (Letters of Master Yinguang).

appearing in the periodical were the lay contributors Luo Jialing 羅迦陵 (1864 – 1941), sponsor of the Kalaviṅka Canon, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868 – 1940), then Minister of Education in Beijing,²⁴⁷ Ouyang Jian 歐陽漸 (1871 – 1943), manager of the Jinling Scriptural Press,²⁴⁸ and Li Yizhuo 李翊灼 (Li Zhenggang 李證剛, 1881 – 1952), a scholar who had helped catalogue the Dunhuang Manuscripts.²⁴⁹ This varied group of contributors, made up of monastics, laypeople, reformers and patriarchs, was brought together in the pages of *Foxue congbao*, and thanks to a regular and frequent print schedule, they could discuss urgent contemporary issues such as the movement to destroy temples and establish schools in articles and public

247 Cai did not identify himself as a Buddhist but did support Buddhist causes, reportedly financially backing the publication of *Foxue congbao*. His articles, under the name of Jiemin 子民, are reprinted in MFQ 1:49-51, 149-151. A dharma lecture by him given at the Minnan Buddhist Seminary 閩南佛學院 was published in the June 14, 1927 issue of *Dayun* 大雲, MFQB 18:287-288.

248 On Ouyang see chapter five, section three.

249 Sources on Li Yizhuo are, for the moment, scarce; most information available online appears to have come from a biography originally by Yu Lingbo.

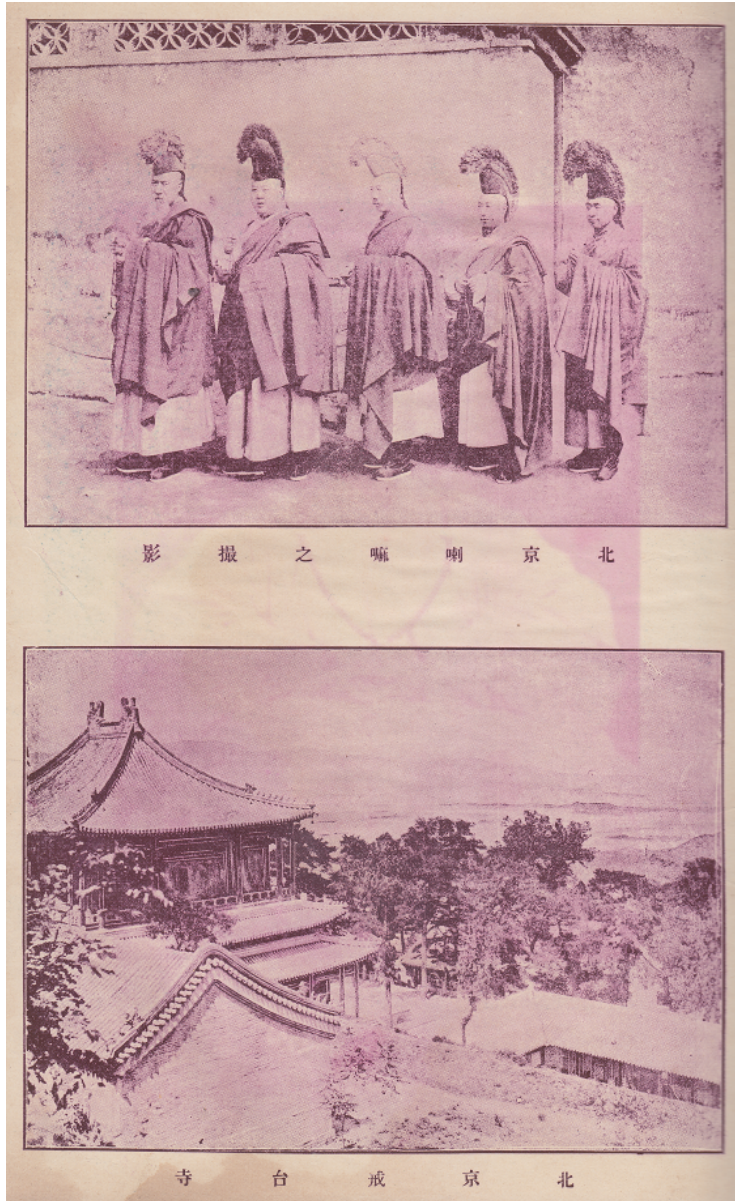
Figure 4: Sample page from *Foxue congshu*, issue one, History section

史 歷

鑽心思等。莫不具備。讀此書而當時印度文化之盛。已可驚矣。喀斯托制既定。婆羅門種。遂專委心於神理性物理心理等學。漸漸增進其門所出支流。至有百家。故智度論稱爲九十五二外道。佛書大別之。或爲四種。四宗或爲十一種。等嚴或爲十六種。論等。提婆菩薩涅槃論中。又馬二十種之大別。尤極詳細。二十種者。一小乘外道。二方論師。三風論師。四毗陀論師。五伊餘那論師。六裸形外道論師。七毗世論師。八苦行論師。九女人眷屬論師。十行苦行論師。十一淨眼論師。十二摩陀羅論師。十三尼攔子論師。十四僧法論師。十五摩醯首羅論師。十六無因論師。十七時論師。十八服水論師。十九口力論師。二十本生安茶論師。是也。其詳見本論。就中以僧法論師毗世論師毗陀論師爲尤勝。近世所稱印度七大理學。卽於此三理學外。加尼耶也。理學茶縷婆迦理學及禪那教。印度古來另有禪那教一釋非支那所傳之禪宗也與佛教也。百論疏列十八大經。皆婆羅門諸流之經典。其書雖多。於諸流分派之年代次序。則仍不詳。一說尼耶也。爲最古。毗陀論師爲最新。尼耶也者。蓋最高尙之心理學。其名見於麻奴經中。毗陀論師者。以古之毗陀經爲所依。麻奴經。卽憑之而著也。其派奉苦拉馬烏伊修奴希叭等三神。而修學鍊行。最極苛酷。斷食捨命。以爲常法。其教於佛生數百年前。最普浹於朝野。婆羅門種。因以益張暴威。播弄奇說。誣罔人民。直至西洋紀元前五百六十四年。迦毗羅瞿宰都國。方生空前絕後之真人。以淨邪說。卽世尊釋迦牟尼是也。世尊十九出家。三十成道。說法混貴賤之族。聚徒無四姓之別。於是庶民翕然歸之。未

This page shows the standard layout for the periodical: fourteen columns of text, with smaller half-column annotations, section titles at the top, and article titles and page number in the side column. The final character of each phrase is marked with a full stop 。 symbol. Scanned from MFQ 1:103.

Figure 5: Monochrome lithograph-printed photographs from *Foxue congbao*, issue six



This page with two reproduced photographs was scanned from an original printing. The photographs depict “Beijing lamas” and Jietai Temple 戒台寺, also in Beijing. A ghost image from the facing page can be seen, a photograph of Qingyi 清一, head of Longquan Temple in Beijing.

correspondence.²⁵⁰

The structure and literary style of *Foxue congbao* remained consistent over its four-year print run. It is printed in letterpress on B5 size paper, averaging 180 pages with a lithograph-printed cover. The bulk of the text in each issue is taken up by a series of thematic sections. A Pictorial (*tuhua* 圖畫) section that appears immediately following the table of contents, perhaps to quickly capture a prospective reader's eye, is especially striking.²⁵¹ Images are reproduced in monochrome lithography, with subjects ranging from paintings, portraits of living monks, to Buddhist historical sites from locales such as India, Tibet, Thailand, Myanmar, China, and Japan. Lithographic printing made possible the reproduction of images of unprecedented detail and verisimilitude, but their inclusion in this periodical may have been largely simply for reader appeal; the selection of subjects appears very eclectic and does not seem to bear any relation to the content or theme of the issue in which they appear. A few are portraits of living or recently-active Buddhist figures: Yang Wenhui in issue one, Jichan 寄禪

250 Other contributors include Dharmapala, whose article on Buddhism and Society appears in MFQ 4:185-189, Li Duanfu 黎端甫 (d.u.) and Gao Henian. The section *jishi* 紀事 (current events) reprints reports from other periodicals regarding Buddhist matters. One such report in the first issue, for example, describes how the magistrate of Wuxing 吳興 county had accepted a formal request from the Zhejiang-Jiangsu branch of the Buddhist Association regarding the return of temple property that had been seized for the sake of *xingxue* 興學 (promoting education). MFQ 1:131.

251 The MFQ reprint edition captures little of the detail of these images, and excludes the color component altogether. The printer evidently also had the ability to add small, custom-made images to the main text, as with for example a diagram of esoteric characters in issue 8, MFQ 3:428. On the importance of photographic representation of Buddhist figures in the Republican era, see Raoul Birnbaum, "The Deathbed Image of Master Hongyi", in *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations*, edited by Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007): 175-207.

(1852 – 1912) in issue three, the Japanese monk Shaku Unshō 釋雲照 (1827 – 1909) in issue four; Dading 大定 (1824 – 1906) in issue eight, Dixian in issue nine; Yekai 冶開 (1852 – 1923) in issue 10; and Miaokong 妙空 (1826 – 1880) in issue 12.²⁵² Many of the landscape and monument photographs bear English-language captions, often imperfectly cropped out, hinting that they were drawn from a stock of images perhaps owned by Youzheng or an associated publishing company. Although the technology was revolutionary, it is difficult to see what new effect these photographs were intended to have on the reading public, other than to give them perhaps their first glance at important Buddhist figures of the day.

Following the images, articles are organized into sections by genre, the order of which varies slightly from issue to issue. Editorials (*lunshuo* 論說) appear first, and while political topics dominate this section in early issues, later ones tend to focus on questions of doctrine. Scholarship (*xueli* 學理) follows, often accompanied by History (*lishi* 歷史), both of which usually feature long-form essays that are serialized across several issues. Special Matters (*zhuanjian* 專件) often contains public statements or letters from the nascent Buddhist associations, while News (*jishi* 紀事) reprints short pieces related to Buddhism from other

252 Jichan was a Chan monk also known as The Eight-fingered Ascetic 八指頭陀 since he had burnt off two of his fingers as offerings; Unshō was a late-Meiji Shingon Japanese monk credited with inspiring the New Buddhism (*shin bukkyō* 新佛教) movement; Dading was a Chan monk who reestablished Jiangtian Temple 江天寺 in Zhenjiang 鎮江 as an eminent training monastery; Yekai is discussed in section two below, while Miaokong was introduced in chapter one, section three.

print sources.²⁵³ Miscellaneous (*zazu* 雜俎) is where the recurring articles by Zongyang, Gao Henian, and Luo Jialing appeared. A few sections do not appear in every issue: Biography (*zhuanji* 傳記), Questions and Answers (*wenda* 問答), Literary World (*wenyuan* 文苑), Fiction (*xiaoshuo* 小說), and Translations (*yicong* 譯叢).

The General Regulations (*fanli* 凡例) for the periodical set out the purpose of these sections, and states that the content of the magazine will be directed toward “those who are unaware of Buddhist Studies” 不知佛學者, and will avoid “flowery language” 浮濫之說.²⁵⁴ One planned section that appears to have been quite problematic for the editors was Questions and Answers (*wenda* 問答). This format, with questions posed by an interested student and answers provided by a knowledgeable master, dates back to the earliest Buddhist scriptures and is a key feature especially of Chan texts; in the modern period the questions were as likely to have been supplied by the respondent themselves as a rhetorical device, although in a few cases they do appear to have been submitted by an outsider. In the first issue this section contains an article entitled “Xiangyan ge wenda” 香嚴閣問答 (Questions and Answers from the Pavilion of Fragrant Adornment) by Li Duanfu 黎端甫 (d.u.), who notes that because they have just

253 These include Di Chuqing's *Shibao*, *Taiping yangbao* 太平洋報 (The Pacific), the *Peking and Tientsin Times* 京津時報, *Shenzhou bao* 神州報 (Divine Continent), and others.

254 *Foxue congbao*, issue one (Oct. 1, 1912), MFQ 1:15-17. The *fanli* closes with a call for manuscript submissions, and notes that although authors will receive some compensation for published articles, original manuscripts cannot be returned.

begun publication, the magazine will supply questions rather than including those submitted by readers.²⁵⁵ In issue three, published two months later, another call for questions appears, but it is not until issue four that we find answers published to submitted questions.²⁵⁶ The topics of the questions range from Chan sitting, to the *Diamond Sūtra*, to the historical dating of the Buddha's sermons, and while the questioners are named and their location given, the respondent is not identified. Yet in issue five the section is not included, and while it does return in issue six, that is the last time it appears in the periodical.²⁵⁷ Other types of articles do present questions and answers on Buddhist topics, such as the series translated from the Japanese mentioned below, as well as a column entitled “Daoshuo jiyu” 道說紀餘 (Extraneous Writings Discoursing on the Way) written by one Layman Liaoyi 了一居士 (d.u.). There is never an explicit discussion of the section's fate; perhaps the editors never received enough acceptable questions to justify publishing them, or other similar columns were better fulfilling this role of a question and answer section. Whatever the reason, this type of open interaction between readers and authors did not begin very strongly, in sharp contrast to the large

255 Biographical details on Li Duanfu are scarce. He was possibly born around 1890, since as he is mentioned in connection with Mei Guangxi 梅光義 as being part of the younger generation of Yang Wenhui's students. He was also associated with Li Yizhuo, Ouyang Jian, and Gui Bohua 桂伯華 (1861 – 1915), and may have been a founding member of the Chinese General Buddhist Association 中國佛教總會 in 1912. Also see mentions in Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 521, 1311. 香嚴 is a short form of 香光莊嚴, “one whose mind meditates on Buddha becomes interpenetrated and glorified by Buddha-fragrance (and light)”. DDB.

256 “Benbao jinda cijiao wenti” 本報謹答賜教問題. *Foxue congbao*, issue 4, MFQ 2:107-113.

257 MFQ 2:487-509.

number of public letters between prominent figures such as Zongyang, Cai Yuanpei and Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1868 – 1936) that appear as regular articles.

A few features of the content of *Foxue congbao* are particularly notable. Firstly, many articles are quite long and are serialized across several issues, such as Li Duanfu's “Faxing zong minggang lun” 法性宗明綱論 (A Clear Outline Discourse on the Dharma-nature School), and Yuexia's “Weimojie suoshuo jing jiangyi lujuan” 維摩詰所說經講義錄卷 (Recorded Discourses on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*).²⁵⁸ These works do not take advantage of the quick turnover of periodical printing, and instead offer the reader a nearly book-length work in several installments. Secondly, several works were translated from the Japanese, including *Bukkyō rekishi mondō* 佛教歷史問答 (Questions and Answers on Buddhist History) by Nagai Ryūjun 永井龍潤 (d.u.), and *Sankoku Bukkyō ryakushi* 三國佛教略史 (Brief History of Buddhism in the Three Realms), originally published in 1890 by Shimaji Mokurai 島地墨雷 (1832 – 1911) and Oda Tokunō 生田得能 (1860 – 1911).²⁵⁹ It is likely that editors and translators such as Di Chuqing and Zongyang, both of whom had studied in Japan, found it easier to translate Japanese Buddhist scholarship rather than work with European-language sources. Thirdly, the

258 Li's essay appears in every issue of the periodical, while Yuexia's is serialized in issues 5-12, and still had additional sections to be published.

259 The former text was translated by Wu Tao 吳禱, a prolific translator of the time. Li Xilao of Harper College will argue in a forthcoming article that the true identity of Wu Tao was none other than Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881 – 1936).

Special Topics section served as a platform for announcements from the Chinese Buddhist associations just then being organized, reporting in particular on their dealings with state authorities. Issue one features the constitution of the Zhonghua Fojiao zonghui 中華佛教總會 (Chinese Buddhist General Association; CGBA) published in full, as well as a news item regarding an attempt on the part of Ouyang Jian's rival Chinese Buddhist Association 中國佛教會 to block official recognition of the CGBA.²⁶⁰ Finally, the Current Events section often features reports of conflicts between Buddhist temples and state officials, as in the first issue wherein is described how the magistrate of Wuxing county 吳興縣 had accepted a formal request from the Zhejiang-Jiangsu branch of the Buddhist Association regarding the return of temple property that had been seized under the slogan of *xingxue* 興學 (promoting education). During a period when religious properties were being seized indiscriminately, such news was an important source of information for Buddhist groups seeking to protect their continued existence.²⁶¹

Advertising for Buddhist books in print is a ubiquitous feature of *Foxue congbao*, mostly in the form of catalogues of texts from scriptural presses, although a few publications appear to have been in-house productions of the Youzheng Press. In several issues there is a full-page

260 MFQ 1:109-188, 121. On the conflicts between these two organizations, see Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 33-35.

261 MFQ 1:131. On *miaochan xingxue*, see Vincent Goossaert, "1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?", 328-331; Tai, *Miaochan xingxue wenti*.

advertisement for four or five such titles; in issue one these were a five-color Guiding Image of Amida Buddha of the West, *Qixin lun kezhu* 起信論科註 (Categorized and Annotated *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*), a reprint of *Huayan yuanren lun hejie* 華嚴原人論合解 (Combined Explanation of the Flower Ornament Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity), and *Shijia rulai yinghua shiji* 釋迦如來應化事迹 (Traces of Shakyā the Thus-come One Manifesting in Response).²⁶² A number of scriptural catalogues appear at the end of each issue, beginning in issue one where a list of texts appears under the title “Catalogue of the Buddhist Scripture Circulation Bureau, Distributed by the Youzheng Press”. The catalogue is followed by a note to the effect that prices are firm and payable in cash, signed by the Haichuang [Temple] Scriptorium 海幢[寺]經坊 located in Guangzhou 廣州, indicating that Youzheng was acting as a retailer or reseller for the texts.²⁶³ This is a pattern that would continue in later catalogues, where the bulk of the Buddhist texts being offered for sale had been printed by organizations such as the Jinling Press, the Yangzhou Scriptural Hall 揚州藏經院, and the Changzhou Tianning Temple Scriptural Press 常州天寧寺刻經處.

262 MFQ 1:179-180. Title translations based on DDB.

263 The Haichuang Scriptural Workshop is otherwise unknown. The earliest Youzheng Press catalogue that I have been able to find is not dated, but was likely produced in or after 1921 (since the address given is the corner of Fuzhou and Shandong roads in Shanghai) but most likely before 1923, because their publication *Mizong dagang* 密宗大綱 is not listed. Only 16 Buddhist titles appear in this catalogue. See *Zhongguo jindai guji chuban faxing shiliao congkan, xubian*, edited by Yin and Li, 8:441, cited above. The catalogue also appears in *Minguo shiqi chuban shumu huibian* 民國時期出版書目彙編, edited by Liu Hongquan 劉洪權 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010).

Issues seven and eight feature a four-page catalogue from the Changzhou press with about 160 titles, while issue eight has a call for donations to the Jinling Press for printing scriptures, as well as a summary of how many titles in each category of the canon had already been printed by the press, and which remain to be published. Finally at the front of issue ten we find an advertisement for scriptures published by the Hunan Buddhist Studies Association 湖南佛學會.²⁶⁴ These sections in *Foxue congbao* are particularly significant since they represent some of the earliest major published catalogues of Buddhist literature. As mentioned in chapter one, the Jinling Scriptural Press produced a *Foxue shumu* 佛學書目 (Catalogue of Buddhist Studies) in 1912, but its approximately 127 titles are dwarfed by the 600 or more entries in the *Shanghai Youzheng shuju faxing Fojing liutongsuo shumu* 上海有正書局發行佛經流通所書目 (Catalogue of Books from the Scriptural Distributor of the Shanghai Youzheng Press) that appears in issue twelve. The works in this catalogue are derived from the published texts of the Jinling, Yangzhou, Changzhou and other scriptural presses.²⁶⁵ The Kalaviṅka Canon was also, as mentioned above, publicized in the periodical. Although these catalogues are not listed in the tables of contents, they are a regular feature of the publication, and later periodicals

264 MFQ 3:145-148, 309-312; 3:227-268; 4:2. For an announcement of the association's charter, see *Fojiao yuebao* 佛教月報, issue 3; MFQ 6:67-68.

265 MFQ 4:546-569. The catalogue includes data on the number of volumes in each work as well as its retail price. Only a small number of works, about seven or eight including *Foxue congbao* itself, are listed as being published in-house by the Youzheng Press.

would feature similar catalogues, providing a gateway for the reader to expand their relationship with Buddhist texts into a much wider field of scriptural publications.²⁶⁶

Foxue congbao ceased publication without warning in June 1914. Although officially a monthly, there were many months in which it was delayed and not published, and evidently a planned move to a bimonthly schedule and reduced cover price could not save the publication from whichever consideration caused its cancellation.²⁶⁷ Its greatest lasting impact on Chinese Buddhist print culture was to establish an influential model for the structure and tone of Chinese Buddhist periodicals, one that would be repeatedly emulated by the publications that followed. Several contributors to the magazine would themselves either establish their own, or else be major contributors to periodicals later on. For these later publications, however, the structure of the publisher and editorship, and the purpose for which the periodical was issued, would not always follow the example of *Foxue congbao*, and would in fact vary widely.

3. *Fojiao yuebao* 佛教月報 (Buddhism Monthly, 1913)

Zhonghua Fojiao zonghui yuebao 中華佛教總會月報 (The Monthly Journal of the Chinese

266 Printed images were also offered for sale, as with the scroll of the Three Sacred Ones of the Western Lands mentioned above. Another list of “lithographed images on foreign paper” 洋紙石印圖像 credited to a Nanjing Scripture House 南京經房 includes images of the Huayan Dharma assembly, a seated Shakyamuni Buddha, Guanyin, and Dizang Bodhisattvas. *Foxue congbao*, issue 2, MFQ 1:365.

267 MFQ 205:1. See announcements of publication delays in MFQ 1:368, 2:182. MFQ 4:346. The announcement also noted that the price would be 30 cents per issue, or one dollar for a year of six issues.

General Buddhist Association), normally referred to simply as *Fojiao yuebao* 佛教月報 (Buddhism Monthly), was published for only four months in the spring and summer of 1913.²⁶⁸ It was first and foremost an organ of leaders of the *Zhonghua Fojiao zonghui* 中國佛教總會 (Chinese General Buddhist Association; CGBA), particularly Taixu 太虛 (1890 – 1947), who was both editor of and a major contributor to the publication.²⁶⁹ Although its basic structure was based on that of *Foxue congbao*, which preceded and survived its short print run, instead of drawing its content from a number of sources, *Fojiao yuebao* was primarily oriented toward the activities of a single religious organization. One consequence of this was that as the CGBA faded into obscurity, so too did the periodical, shrinking in page length with each issue. Yet the association journal would continue to be a major part of Buddhist social organization, as later Buddhist associations sought to increase their visibility and sphere of influence through the periodical genre.

268 The long-form title is almost never used outside of the brief outline of the periodical's regulations in MFQ 5:387-388. Note that while MFQ has the complete print run, the reprint is not without inaccuracies and lacunae. The original from which the reprint was made appears to have been missing pages between MFQ 5:312 and 313, and the first page of the table of contents is missing from issue 4. Moreover, some reprinted pages in the middle of that issue at MFQ 6:243 and 245-247 appear to have been misplaced, and properly belong with the reprint of another periodical, *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊. Errata for the original first issue appears in MFQ 5:513-514. Note that Hong Kong University Libraries Rare Book Room has a *Fojiao yuebao* published in Tianjin by the Tianjin Scriptural Press, the holdings of which cover issue one (April 1936) to issue four (July 1936). The identity of this later periodical and its relationship, if any, to *Fojiao yuebao* (1913) is as yet unclear.

269 On Taixu see Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 51-71; Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism*; Yinshun, *Taixu dashi nianpu*.

| Table 8: <i>Fojiao yuebao</i> Print Run | | |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Issue | Date | Page Length |
| 1 | May 13, 1913 | 284 |
| 2 | June 1913 | 232 |
| 3 | [n.d.; July, 1913?] | 180 |
| 4 | [n.d.; August, 1913?] | 176 |

The CGBA was founded in Shanghai in April 1912, and was intended to become a national Buddhist organization in which all Buddhist monks and nuns in China were expected to become members. It was the second national Buddhist organization established in China and the first to enjoy widespread support.²⁷⁰ The monk Jichan 寄禪 (1852 – 1912) was its founder and first president, but its charter was only formally ratified by the government in Beijing after his death in November 1912. Its second president was Yekai, who when elected in March 1913 was recently-retired as abbot of Tianning Temple 天寧寺 in Changzhou 常州.²⁷¹ Honorary positions were awarded to the Mongolian Living Buddha Zhangjia Khutukhtu 章嘉呼圖克圖 (1891 – 1957), as well as the Buddhist layman and politician Xiong Xiling 熊希齡 (1867 – 1937).²⁷² Most association business was conducted at Qingliang Temple 清涼寺 in Shanghai,

270 The constitution of the CBGA appears in MFQ 5:131-143. The first Buddhist association in China was founded in early 1912 by Ouyang Jian but never had more than a few members. See Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 33-35.

271 Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 35-38; Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 1:102-105. A photograph of Jichan appears in issue three of *Foxue congbao*. A short biography of Yekai was later published in *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊, issue 1 / 2 [1925?], MFQB 7:70-71.

272 MFQ 6:7, 193. Zhangjia is referred to as 掌印章嘉 in the periodical. See also Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 39, 174, 302fn28. Following Xiong's portrait in *Fojiao yuebao* is an photograph of the thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thubten Gyatso (1876 - 1933).

and plans for its future included the establishment of a book exhibition, a printer, a text compilation society, and a scripture distributor, but as the group became defunct around 1914 none of these plans came to fruition.²⁷³ Funding for the association was to be raised through a stock issue of 3,000 shares totaling 30,000 yuan; local branches of the association would be responsible for selling shares. As for *Fojiao yuebao*, the first issues would be sold by the association, after which copies would be distributed to branch offices to be given to shareholders.²⁷⁴ Printing of the periodical was handled by Guoguang shuju 國光書局 (National Glory Books), the publishing arm of the Shenzhou guoguang she 神州國光社 (Divine Continent National Glory Society). This society had been founded in the last decade of the Qing by the artist Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 (1865 – 1955) and the historian Deng Shi 鄧實 (1877 – 1951). Its press began by specializing in reproductions of historical paintings, calligraphy, and rubbings, and went on to produce over two hundred titles.²⁷⁵

The general manager of *Fojiao yuebao* was Qinghai 清海 (fl. 1914 – 1937), who had served

273 Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 301fn23; MFQ 205:1. MFQ 5:137. The association was briefly revived in 1917 in Beijing as the Zhonghua Fojiao hui 中華佛教會 (Chinese Buddhist Association), but was ordered dissolved in 1919 when authorities discovered that it had been “set up contrary to law”. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 38-39.

274 MFQ 5:387-388. The plan was to collect the yearly 6 percent interest on the collected capital, and to distribute any excess funds every three years to shareholders.

275 Although the first issue contains no references to Guoguang, publication information in issue 2 does credit the publisher. MFQ 5:515. On Deng see Fan Muhan, *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi*, 282. See also Yi Ruolan 衣若蘭, “Geming, nüquan yu shixue: Shenzhou nüzi xinshi lunxi” 革命, 女權與史學: 《神州女子新史》論析, *Jindai Zhongguo funü shi yanjiu* 近代中國婦女史研究, no. 17 (Dec. 2009): 180fn23. An advertisement for the press appears in issue two, MFQ 5:410.

as vice-president of the CGBA since its founding. Biographical details on him are scarce, but he appears to have had a long-standing association with Qingliang Temple 清涼寺 in Changzhou 常州.²⁷⁶ Two editors are credited; the second, Zhifu 智府, does not appear in any secondary material, while the first, Taixu, has since become the most well-known Buddhist figure of Republican China. The previous year Taixu had been unsuccessful in taking over Jinshan Monastery 金山寺, a well-known ordination center in Jiangnan, via his own Buddhist association, after which Jichan invited him to help establish the CGBA.²⁷⁷ His compatriot in the Jinshan incident, Renshan 仁山 (1887 – 1951), was also a founding member of the CGBA and contributed articles to the periodical. Yuanying 圓瑛 (1878 – 1953), who had previously studied with Yekai and Jichan, also wrote several articles, mostly regarding association and commemorative events. Lastly, there are a number of contributors from the pages of *Foxue congbao* who also appear here, including Li Duanfu, Zongyang and Gao Henian. Gao contributed a travelogue “Mingshan youfang ji” 名山遊訪記 (Record of Visits to Famous Mountains) to *Foxue congbao*, and another record of travels, “Yunshui biji” 雲水筆記 (Notes of Clouds and Water), to *Fojiao yuebao*.²⁷⁸

276 Yu, *Minguo gaoseng zhuan chubian*, 45; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 389. Note that the entry on pp. 1014-1015 of the later source is not the same person. See also *Chongxing Qingliang si shuilu fahui tekan* 重興清涼寺水陸法會特刊 (Special Issue on the Dharma Assembly of Water and Land at the Renovated Qingliang Temple, 1937), MFQB 58.

277 On the “invasion” of Jinshan, see Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 28-33.

278 Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1:1267; Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:804-805. Gao's article is in MFQ

In the inaugural issue of the periodical, three sets of *fakan ci* describe the publication's aims. The first, by Yakun 亞髡 (d.u.), emphasizes Buddhism's place as part of China's long history, and urges that religion must change with the times, just as China's political system has changed.²⁷⁹ The second, by Li Duanfu, warns that people are biased against Buddhism and doubt the scriptures, but foresees that the periodical will have a positive impact on this state of affairs by explicating Buddhist doctrine and educating the four assemblies of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen:

It has been a little more than a year since the founding of the Chinese General Buddhist Association. Pitying the people of the world who are in the dark about the teaching, where false words proliferate, [we] especially established this monthly periodical. It will be published on the eight day of the fourth [lunar] month, and distributed at home and abroad. [We] hope there will be explication of Buddhist theory to remind the four assemblies, exploration of views regarding non-being and being, and descriptions of the traces of essential nature and characteristics.²⁸⁰

Both essays express the view that the revolutionary changes in Chinese society in recent years had produced both dangers and opportunities for Buddhists: the danger of being swept aside by the forces of modernization, but the promise that new associations and publications can

5:267-271, 6:334-339.

279 Yakun had studied under Yang Wenhui and had founded a Universal Monastic Study Hall 普通僧學堂 at Tianning Temple 天寧寺 in Yangzhou in 1906. MFQ 5:119-121; Zuo Songtao 左松濤, “Jindai zhongguo fojiao xingxue zhi yuanyuanqi” 近代中國佛教興學之緣起, *Fayin* 法音, 282 (2008): 34-38.

280 『中華佛教總會成立。一年有餘矣。憫世人關於教理。謬言繁興。特編輯月報。將於四月八日。施行薄海內外。冀有以闡明佛理。提醒四衆。蕩空有之偏。融性相之迹。』 Phrase breaks as in original. MFQ 5:10-12. Quoted passage is from p. 12.

enlighten and empower monastics and laypeople. The third *fakan ci*, contributed by Qinghai, also warns that the Buddhist teachings are in danger, but argues that Buddhists can play a positive role in national salvation by helping to establish a strong society.²⁸¹

A brief outline of the periodical's regulations appears in issue two. It states that the aim of the journal is to promote Buddhism and liberalize (*kaitong* 開通) the saṃgha, and promises to publish a selection of private and public writings of the association as well as the Republic's laws regarding Buddhism. As mentioned above, a stock issue of 30,000 yuan was planned to help fund the associations, and local branches (*zhibu* 支部) of the national CGBA would have been responsible for collecting the funds required, as well as distributing copies of the periodical to local shareholders.²⁸² The journal and the association were very closely linked; its focused scope is reflected in the fact that other than a few advertisements, there are no book lists or other mentions of Buddhist publication projects in its pages, something that was featured prominently in *Foxue congbao*. Some exceptions are two advertisements for a book edited by one Cheng Leshan 程樂山, *Eren wang wo quanmeng ji beiman zhi jinggao* 俄人亡我全蒙及北滿之警告 (A Warning regarding Russians Destroying our Mongolia and Northern Manchuria), published by the Reserve Army of the Republic 國民國防豫備軍 and described as

²⁸¹ MFQ 5:12-14.

²⁸² MFQ 5:387-388. *Kaitong* 開通, which I have translated in this context as 'to liberalize', could also be interpreted as 'to modernize'. An article on monastic education, for example, appears in issue 3, MFQ 6:21. The budget for the periodical was thus 180 yuan per year.

a true report on the history and present state of affairs on the Sino-Russian border regions.

Cheng appears elsewhere with the title “secretary of the planning department of the Reserve Army” but his identity is otherwise unknown.²⁸³ Other contributions from military offices as appear, such as “A Frank Explanation of why the Chinese Military Ought to Establish an Oath to Believe in Buddhism” from the Southern Henan General Quarters 豫南總司令處 and an advertisement from the Beijing Military Studies Research Society 北京軍學研究社.²⁸⁴

The structure of *Fojiao yuebao* generally mirrors that of *Foxue congbao*, with the addition of a few subsections.²⁸⁵ Most of the content is related to association business and activities, including the reproduced photographs at the front of every issue that primarily depict association members and meetings. The regulations and committee resolutions of the group are reprinted in detail, and charts are provided listing the locations and staff of the various local branch associations.²⁸⁶ The periodical also features numerous reprinted pieces of official

283 MFQ 6:64, 258. Cheng Dequan 程德全 (1860-1930), former military governor of Jiangsu, is credited with correcting the text, while Zhu Rui 朱瑞 (1883-1916), governor of Zhejiang, contributed the cover calligraphy. In March 1913 Cheng had been involved in the assassination of Song Jiaoren 宋教仁, and in September withdrew from politics to pursue Buddhism, later ordaining as a monk under the Dharma name Jizhao 寂照 in 1926. References to Cheng appear in MFQ 5:18, 6:326.

284 MFQ 6:217-221, 286. The advertisement is from the society's Magazine Management Office 雜誌經理處. They may also later have been involved in the publication of *Junshi yuebao* 軍事月刊 (Military Matters Monthly), published from 1929 to 1947.

285 For a full list of sections and subsections, see the DMCB article
<http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/Fojiao_yuebao>.

286 The chart appears first in issue 2, MFQ 5:389-398. A second chart is printed in issues 3-4, MFQ 6:71-77, 281-284, where a considerably smaller number of local associations are listed. Branches appear for Fengtian, Jilin, Zhili, Jiangsu, Anhui, Shandong, Henan, Shaanxi, Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Hunan, Sichuan, Yunnan, and

communication between the association and government officials or local associations. Both telegrams and letters appear, including a letter from representatives of the association to the senate (*canyi yuan* 參議院) of the nascent bicameral parliament in Beijing, requesting official protection of saṃgha property.²⁸⁷ Some announcements to the local associations appear in print, reminding them of their duty to sell copies of the journal and to submit news and other content to the periodical office. By issue two these announcements were appearing immediately following the full-page section breaks, increasing their visibility to the reader.²⁸⁸ For issue two a new section called *Yishu* 譯述 (Translated Works) was added, and featured a serialized work entitled “Foxue wenda cuoyao” 佛學問答撮要 (Essential Questions and Answers on Buddhist Studies) translated from the German. Given that *Foxue congbao* was at the same time running a similar series of its own this may have been an attempt to emulate that periodical's new development; in any case it illustrates that both periodicals were incorporating translations of foreign writings in their pages; Japanese in that case, German in this.²⁸⁹

Nanyang (Southeast Asia), the only local branch of which is listed as the Jile Temple 極樂寺 in Penang 檳城.

287 See, for example, the section in MFQ 5:183-204. The letter appears in MFQ 5:125-130, and includes a list of senators appended to the end of the article.

288 MFQ 5:346, 366, 378; 6:12. The editors may have had difficulty in organizing enough content to fill the planned sections and pages, since calls for submissions appear quite often, for example MFQ 6:6, 186.

289 This translated work was serialized for three issues: MFQ 5:489-503, 6:161-174, 6:345-351. The identity of the original author, cited as 德國馬克拉夫, is as yet unclear.

One major development of *Fojiao yuebao* in its four-month print run was the increased influence of Taixu in both editorial and content control. From the inaugural issue Taixu was already one of the major contributors to the periodical. The first entries in the Fiction and Notes sections are his work; his column for the latter, “Huanzhu shi suibi” 幻住室隨筆 (Causal Notes from the Room of Unreal Abiding), spans issues one, two and four. Two larger articles, “Jiaoguan quanyao” 教觀詮要 (Exegesis of the Essentials of the Teachings and Meditations) and “Fojiao lüeshi” 佛教史略 (Brief History of Buddhism), establish his views on the meaning and historical development of doctrinal and organizational facets of Buddhism.²⁹⁰ By issue four we find two special notices appearing under his name, whereas previously all such notices were issued in the association's name. They announce his forthcoming article “Daxing jiaolun” 大興教論 (On the Great Resurgence of the Teaching) to be published in issue five, and another work on “Fofa cheshi” 佛法徹實 (The Thorough and True Buddha-dharma) that was to appear in issue six.²⁹¹ Later in that issue is a short notice by Taixu that appears at the beginning of the “Important News” section. It states that in the past this section was not edited by him, but from this issue onward editorship of all the articles and news in the entire journal would be handled by Taixu alone.²⁹² *Fojiao yuebao* was not published beyond the fourth issue but if it had

290 MFQ 5:77-83, 347-353; 5:101-111, 367-376.

291 MFQ 6:185-186. Neither of these issues were published. Neither title appears mentioned in later bibliographic sources.

292 MFQ 6:286.

then Taixu was determined to take a controlling role in its content, mirroring his ambitious attempts in other arenas to take command of Buddhist organizations.

The producers of *Fojiao yuebao* were primarily interested in establishing the association's presence in the field of print, and many aspects of the periodical reflect the internal development of the CGBA, particularly Taixu's attempt to gain directorial control over it, making it and similar association journals valuable sources for the study of Buddhist religious organizations. In particular, the presence of military-themed articles and contributors hint at the types of high-level political connections enjoyed by Buddhists of this era, especially among the many laypeople who had had a background in revolutionary activities.

4. *Jueshe congshu* 覺社叢書 (Awakening Society Collectanea, 1918 – 1919)

Between June 1914 and October 1918 there were no Buddhist periodicals in print in China, perhaps because no large Chinese Buddhist organizations were then active, or because the two that had been published both experience premature closures.²⁹³ The next to appear was *Jueshe congshu* 覺社叢書 (Awakening Society Collectanea), published quarterly for five issues from

293 Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 282, lists a periodical called *Foguang* published in Wuchang 武昌 that he believes began publication in 1915. There was a *Foguang* published in Yangzhou 揚州 from 1923, but there is no record of a *Foguang* based in Wuchang, so this was likely an error. See MFQ 205:4-5.

October 1918 to October 1919 and priced at 30 cents per issue.²⁹⁴ Ostensibly an association journal like its predecessor *Fojiao yuebao*, its scope was markedly wider than the earlier organization-focused periodical. As with *Fojiao yuebao*, the internal struggles among leaders of the society are played out in its pages. Yet with *Jueshe congshu* we find the beginnings of broad textual connections with other Buddhist periodicals, associations, and presses. Published at the cusp of the 1920s, when Chinese Buddhist periodicals would begin to appear with greater frequency and remain in print for longer periods, the periodical of the Jueshe exemplifies many of the features that would be standard among similar publications to follow.

| Table 9: <i>Jueshe congshu</i> Print Run | | |
|--|---------------|-------------|
| Issue | Date | Page Length |
| 1 | October, 1918 | 148 |
| 2 | January, 1919 | 168 |
| 3 | April, 1919 | 150 |
| 4 | July, 1919 | 176 |
| 5 | October, 1919 | 156 |

The Jueshe 覺社 (Awakening Society) was founded in 1918 in Shanghai by Taixu and a group of Buddhist laymen. After the collapse of the CGBA, Taixu went into sealed confinement

294 From issue 3 onward it is also called simply *Jueshu* 覺書, and often appears in library catalogues under this title. It was originally intended to begin in September of 1918, but publication of the inaugural issue was delayed. See MFQ 6:504. A few original copies of *Jueshe congshu* have survived in libraries; the Harvard-Yenching library, for example, has a copy of issue 3, while SOAS has a microform copy of issue 1. The complete run has been reprinted in MFQ 6-7 and MFQB 1. Many of the reprinted cover pages bear a note 新民社存. There was such a group in the late 1920s, who perhaps preserved the originals that were eventually copied in to the reprint volumes.

for meditation and study on Mount Putuo from 1914 to 1917, after which he embarked on a tour of Japan, Taiwan and Southeast Asia. Returning to Shanghai, Taixu set up the group in consultation with Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (Zhang Binglin 章炳麟, 1868 – 1936) and Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867 – 1938), a lay Buddhist, artist and industrialist.²⁹⁵ The association was initially located in a Guandi temple 關帝廟 on Changbin Road 長濱路 (also called Avenue Foch 福煦路, now Yan'an Middle Road 延安中路) in the French Concession of Shanghai. According to an announcement printed in issues two and three of their periodical, the name of the society was a reference to

awakening oneself, awakening others, complete awakened conduct. Its purpose is: to expound the true principles of Buddhism; to transform the dull, deranged, ordinary and foolish people into saints, sages, immortals and Buddhas; to propagate the true Dharma of Buddhism; to transform the bellicose and dangerous world into a peaceful and stable one.²⁹⁶

Interested persons were welcomed to visit the society offices and sign a pledge (*zhiyuan shu* 志願書); required activities included taking refuge in the three jewels, taking the precepts, and participating in Buddhist study. A range of other activities were open to members, including

295 MFQ 7:156; Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism*; Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 52-54. Welch cites Frank R. Millican and Yu Yue Tsu but their information is in some cases inaccurate. Millican, “Tai-hsü and Modern Buddhism”, *The Chinese Recorder*, 54.6 (June, 1923), 329-330; Yu Yue Tsu, “Present Tendencies in Chinese Buddhism”, *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (Sept., 1921), 504-505. Although one translation of Jueshe is “Bodhi Society” it appears to have no relation to the Mahabodhi Society founded by Dharmapala.

296 『本社以自覺覺他覺行圓滿為名義。以闡明佛教之真理。轉狷狂凡愚之人。成聖賢仙佛。宣揚佛教之正法。化戰奪險亂之世。成和平安寧為宗旨。』 Phrase breaks as in original. *Jueshe congshu*, issues 2 and 3, MFQ 7:168, 318.

meditation, recitation of the *Amituofo jing* 阿彌陀佛經 (Amitābha Sūtra), paying obeisance to Buddha images, and repentance rituals. Members were to meet for one week twice a year, once to recite the Buddha's name, and again to meditate. On October 28, 1918 the society conducted the first of a planned series of lectures on Buddhist topics, and published the first issue of the association periodical, *Jueshe congshu*.²⁹⁷ By January 1919 a branch association had been opened in Hankou 漢口, and thanks to lay supporters Liu Liqing 劉笠青 (d.u.) and Shi Yiru 史一如 (1876 – 1925), the Shanghai office was able to move to a new location in Chang'an community 長安里 on Kraetzer Road 愷自邇路 in Shanghai. It was around this time that the Jueshe was reorganized into four departments 部, three of which were devoted to the production and distribution of Buddhist texts.²⁹⁸

Like *Foxue congshu* and *Fojiao yuebao* before it, the printing of *Jueshe congshu* was handled by an established commercial publisher, in this case Zhonghua Books 中華書局 based in Shanghai. Zhonghua had been founded by a former editor in the Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press) who had taken advantage of the latter's ties to the fallen Qing regime to establish the new press as a patriotic supporter of the new Republic. From 1912 to

297 *Jueshe congshu*, issues 2 and 3, MFQ 7:168, 318. MFQB 1:104; MFQ 6:501-502; 7:156-158. References to 'meditation' translate the term 參禪.

298 MFQ 7:153-156; 6:503, 7:316; Yinshun, *Taixu dashi nianpu*, entry for 1919. See also MFQ 7:168; MFQB 1:42. The four departments were Buddhist Education 佛教講習, Scripture Reading 佛經閱覽, Buddhist Studies Compilation 佛學編輯, and Printing and Distribution of Buddhist Books 佛書版行. For regulations of the former two, see MFQ 7:312-315. For more on Shi, see chapter five, section two.

1918 it was publishing eight major periodicals, including Liang Qichao's *Da Zhonghua* 大中華 (Great China). Its 1920 catalogue, however, lists no religious publications, and its 1927 catalogue only has four titles in that category.²⁹⁹ Notices in *Jueshe congshu*, however, state that branches of Zhonghua Books was distributing the periodical as well as two books authored by Taixu. Perhaps, like Youzheng Press, it preferred to keep its Buddhist business separate from its mainline publication catalogue. Nevertheless, the publisher featured advertisements for its publications in the pages of the periodical, including *Lingxue congzhi* 靈學叢誌 (Numinous Study Magazine), and *Foxue dagang* 佛學大綱 (Broad Outline of Buddhist Studies) by Xie Wuliang 謝無量 (Xie Meng 謝蒙, 1884 – 1964). The periodical's range of distribution eventually extended beyond the realm of Zhonghua Books; by the third issue in April 1919, the publication information indicates that the periodical was also being carried by Buddhist Scripture Distributors in Beijing, Hong Kong, Chongqing, Ningbo, Nanjing, Yichang, Changzhou, and Changsha.³⁰⁰

Judging by references and advertisements in *Jueshe congshu*, by April 1919 publishing

299 The press went public in 1916 while absorbing the Wenming Press 文明書局 and the Progressive Press 進步書局, and survived a period of near-bankruptcy in 1917 – 1918. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 225-238; Fan Muhan, *Zhongguo yinshua jindai shi (chugao)*, 289-290; Zhou Qihou 周其厚, *Zhonghua shuju yu jindai wenhua* 中華書局與近代文化 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2007), 46-47; several Zhonghua catalogues are reprinted in Liu Hongquan, ed., Vol. 4. [S0558](#) is an entry for one title in the series *Fojiao lunli xongshu* 佛教倫理叢書 published by Zhonghua Books in 1915.

300 Based on publication information on MFQ 6:480, 498, 504 and elsewhere. In issue 2, an ad for the Numinous Society appears right on the contents page. See MFQ 7:2. On the Numinous Society and Xie Wuliang, see chapter four, section three below.

and the promotion of Buddhist texts had come to represent a significant part of the association's activities. In many issues the association advertises three titles that were being offered for free if postage was paid, and they also provide a list of “good books” (*liangshu* 良書), all of which were then recently-published titles by the Shanghai Medical Press 上海醫學書局 established by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874 – 1952).³⁰¹ Some of the society's earliest accomplishments in 1918 had been the publication of two works by Taixu, *Daoxue lunheng* 道學論衡 (A Balanced Discourse on Ethics) and *Dafo dingshou lengyan jing shelun* 大佛頂首楞嚴經攝論 (Collected Discourses on the *Sūraṃgama-sūtra*), and these were later advertised in the pages of *Jueshe congshu* and distributed by Zhonghua Books.³⁰²

Two major article contributors were also founding members of the Jueshe: Chen Yuanbai 陳元白 (Chen Yushi 陳裕時, 1877 – 1940) was a military commander in the revolution of 1911 before heading to Japan after the political turmoil of the nineteen-teens. After returning to China he joined the Tongshanshe 同善社 (Mutual Benevolence Society) and began practicing meditation.³⁰³ Huang Baocang 黃葆蒼 (Huang Kaiyuan 黃愷元, 1884 – 1923) had

301 MFQ 7:272; MFQB 1:124, 310. None of the titles offered for free appear to be extant today. The Medical Press titles appear in MFQ 7:158-159. Ding and his Buddhist publications are the subject of the following chapter.

302 See MFQ 6:388; 7:144, 212; MFQB 1:72, 332. Nb. that Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:1005-1006 mistakenly gives the first title as **Daode lunheng* 道德論衡. Neither of these works appear to have survived in library collections.

303 Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:517-518. A short poem in the October 1936 issue of *Yichang Fojiao jushilin linkan* 宜昌佛教居士林林刊 (Yichang Buddhist Lay Association Journal) celebrates Chen's sixty-first birthday. MFQ 45:233. On the Tongshanshe, see Goossaert and Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China*, 100-101.

studied in Japan where he joined the Tongmenghui 同盟會 (United Allegiance Society), and had served under the Qing military before joining the 1911 revolution. He and two other friends were later tonsured in Ningbo, where he took the name Daci 大慈.³⁰⁴ Although he did not write for the periodical, Jiang Zuobin 蔣作賓 (Jiang Yuyan 蔣雨岩, 1884 – 1941), a fellow former Tongmenghui member and a graduate of a Japanese military academy who had served off and on in the tumultuous Republican government of the 1910s, was also involved in the founding of the Jueshe.³⁰⁵ In the summer of 1918 these three men, all with revolutionary and military backgrounds and experience in Japan, traveled together to Mount Putuo where they heard Taixu preach, whereupon they suggested to him the idea to found the Jueshe in Shanghai.³⁰⁶ Huang's article “Ouzhan hou shijie renxin yu Fojiao” 歐戰後世界人心與佛教 (Buddhism and Human Conscience in the World After the European War), an essay on the special salvific power of Buddhism, would later be included in a 1923 edition of selected

304 See Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang huiyi Hubei sheng weiyuan hui 中國人民政治協商會議湖北省委員會, *Xinhai shouyi huiyi lu* 辛亥首義回憶錄, Vol. 4 ([Wuhan]: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1979), 124-125; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 45; *Haichao yin* issue 1, MFQ 147:151. A memorial to Daci by Chen appears in MFQ 158:132. The Tongmenghui was a revolutionary alliance based in Japan that agitated for the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in China.

305 Howard L. Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 1:358-360.

306 See MFQ 6:360, 7:156. Curiously, according to Boorman, Jiang was in the United States from September 1917 to November 1918. A report on society finances in *Jueshe congshu* issue 3 notes that Chen, Huang, and Jiang donated 1000 copies of 楞嚴攝論 and 道學論衡 to be distributed. MFQ 7:299.

articles, as well as a 1925 issue of *Foxue yuebao* 佛學月報 (Buddhist Studies Monthly).³⁰⁷

According to the periodical, *Jueshe congshu* was intended to “select scholarship on religions from East and West, ancient and modern, and form a compendium of wisdom from all the philosophies, truly the world's only repository of great luminosity.”³⁰⁸ The general structure of the sections mirrors that established by the two earlier Buddhist periodicals, adding a section on “Office Matters” (*lushi* 錄事) at the end to report on the society's activities. Many of the photographic illustrations are of association members, although famous Buddhist sites such as the Yonghe Temple 雍和宮 in Beijing are also pictured. Most of the publication's pages are devoted to essays written by contributors including Taixu, Chen, and Huang mentioned above, as well as Zhang Taiyan, who wrote an article on Yogācāra.³⁰⁹ The language of the articles tends toward a formal, classical style with commentary printed in a traditional half column-width smaller font, but the original text of several scriptural works also reprinted accompanied by a detailed explication of its meaning and applicability to modern times.³¹⁰

307 MFQ 7:14-19; MFQB 13:149-152; MFQ 29:58-61. On the 1923 reprint edition, see below.

308 MFQ 7:168, reprinted on 318. A longer statement of purpose appears in MFQ 6:384-387.

309 MFQ 7:44-51. Notably, issue 2 does not include the sections for illustrations, criticism, fiction, writings, or questions and answers. See <http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/jueshe_congshu> for a full list of sections.

310 A section from the 28th fascicle of *Da fangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (An Informal Collection of Discourses and Commentaries on the *Huayan Sūtra*; T 1736.36.1a-701a) by Chengguan 澄觀 (738 – 839 CE) appears in issue 1, while *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (The Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith; T 1666.32.575b-583b) is explicated by Taixu in issue 2. MFQ 6:443-449; MFQ 7:53-132. Titles and T locations based on entries in DDB.

Translations also appear in the journal: the first work published in the fiction section is a translated story, “Renren yongxu hengcun zhi xingshen lingming” 人人永續恆存之性身靈命 (The Eternally Existent Soul-Body of all Humankind) attributed to one Doctor An Luozhi 安羅支博士, while sections of *Bukkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Great Dictionary of Buddhism, 1917) by Oda Tokunō 織田得能 (1860 – 1911) appear in translation in issues three and four.³¹¹

In issue five of *Jueshe congshu*, a large-font notice follows the table of contents, announcing that from the twentieth day of the first month of the *gengshen* year (the lunar year beginning on February 19, 1920) the publication will change from a quarterly to a monthly publication, and its name will be changed to *Haichaoyin* 海潮音 (Voice of the Sea Tide). Around the same time, the *Jueshe* itself appears to have gone defunct; it is last mentioned by name in the new periodical in July 1921, although a few branch or similarly-named associations appear in records as late as the 1930s.³¹² In a sense the periodical outlived the society by several years, since in 1923 many of its articles were collected and reprinted as *Jueshe congshu xuanben* 覺社叢

311 MFQ 6:457-479; 7:249-250; MFQB 1:68-71. An Luozhi is possibly Sir Robert Anderson (1841 – 1918) who wrote on Christianity, Theosophy, and Buddhism. The selections from Oda's dictionary are translated by one Layman Shimingxing 時明行, who appears elsewhere in the periodical as the author of *Shuokong* 說空 (Discourse on Emptiness), MFQ 7:177-188. For more on Oda and his dictionary, see the following chapter. Other notable articles include one on *Yijing* 易經 divination by Taixu, and a notice regarding a Buddhist orphanage in Ningbo, Ningbo Fojiao gu're yuan 甯波佛教孤兒院. MFQ 6:393-414, 481-482.

312 MFQB 1:179; MFQ 150:498. A *Jueshe* based in Sichuan is mentioned in September 1921, while a Fuzhou qingnian jueshe 福州青年覺社 appears in print in August 1926. MFQ 151:194; 165:369. A Suzhou *Jueshe* 蘇州覺社 was quite active in the 1930s, publishing its own periodical, *Jueshe niankan* 覺社年刊. See MFQ 48:358, 205:23; MFQB 84:56-57. It is not yet clear what relationship, if any, these groups had to the Shanghai organization.

書選本 (Selected Works from the Awakening Society Collectanea), published by the Wuchang Scriptural Press 武昌印經處.³¹³ Given his difficulties with the monastic leadership of Jinshan, Taixu may have been especially interested in forming the Jueshe since its leadership appears to have been exclusively lay. It represented an opportunity to transform Buddhism through scholarship, speeches, and publishing rather than through the Buddhist monastic hierarchy and temple network. Although the society was allowed to lapse into inactivity and Taixu and others moved on to other projects, from its new offices in Hangzhou the newly named and reorganized periodical *Haichaoyin* would continue its role of publishing and publicizing Taixu's projects of Buddhist reform. While Taixu had failed in his 'invasion' of Jinshan, and the Buddhist associations with which he was involved largely disbanded soon after they were founded, he succeeded in taking over the *Jueshe congshu* and remaking it as a new periodical under his control.

5. Conclusion

A few general themes emerge among the three titles outlined above: Firstly, the lay and monastic Buddhists who were most active in publishing were also among the most vocal proponents of scholarship and Buddhist seminaries. Secondly, Buddhist periodicals, scriptural

313 Reprinted in MFQB 13. Original copies of this collection are held in the Harvard-Yenching and University of Chicago libraries.

presses, scripture distributors, and commercial presses were all connected through shared book catalogues and publishing agreements, even if these connections are often not reflected in the book catalogues of commercial publishers. Finally, while the discourse of Buddhist periodicals is quite clearly one dominated by religious and cultural elites, the content of the articles is largely directed toward a wide, non-specialist readership. Periodicals would become vital tools for Buddhist associations to address their members and the public at large, as with the CGBA, the Jueshe, and later the World Lay Buddhist Association 世界佛教居士林, all of which issued association journals.

The prominent place accorded to education, publishing, and 'enlightening' the nation in these periodicals are indications that Buddhists engaged with contemporary debates associated with the New Culture Movement. The paradigm among historians is that this movement largely turned against religion and traditional aspects of Chinese culture in favour of the modern.³¹⁴ The participation of such figures as Cai Yuanpei and Zhang Taiyan in these publications indicate that this view is too simplistic. The new print culture of the periodical press accompanied changes within Buddhist circles, but it also enabled Buddhists to articulate themselves in relation to questions of culture, tradition, and modernity, a phenomenon that is as yet largely unexplored.³¹⁵ New print technology did not, however, make xylography

314 See, for example, the mention of Hu Shih criticizing Buddhism in Tarocco, *Cultural Practices*, 84.

315 One notable exception is Hung-yok Ip, "Buddhism, Literature, and Chinese Modernity: Su Manshu's

obsolete, and scriptural presses continued to be productive alongside new forms of Buddhist publishing enterprises. The revolution in print culture was able to produce a flood of new Buddhist texts, accompanied by networks of distribution and advertising to support the distribution of these texts. It would soon be apparent, however, that merely producing the texts and putting them into the hands of readers was not enough to protect and nurture the spread of the Buddhist teachings. Teaching readers how to interact with the texts, and widening the scope of periodical literature, would become growing priorities within Chinese Buddhist print culture.

Imaginations of Love (1911-1916)", in *Beyond the May Fourth Paradigm: In Search of Chinese Modernity*, edited by Kai-qing Chow et al (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008): 229-251.

Chapter Four

Navigating the Sea of Scriptures: *Ding's Buddhist Studies Collectanea, 1918 – 1923*³¹⁶

1. Introduction

At the end of the 1910s Buddhist scriptural presses were firmly established parts of Chinese Buddhist print culture, and were being joined by scripture distributors linking together xylographic printers so that soon their publications would be available in several large cities across China. After a few short-lived print runs, the first lasting Buddhist periodical titles would soon be established, and the 1920s would prove to be a decade of rapid growth for this genre. Periodicals, although produced by separate print organizations from scriptural publishing, helped to publicize their work and advertised publishing projects such as the Kalaviṅka Canon. In spite of this rapid growth in the number and variety of Chinese Buddhist publications, to make full use of them readers still required specialized training or the guidance of a capable teacher. This is particularly so in the case of the scriptures of the Chinese

316 Portions of this chapter, particularly in section three, appeared previously in an unpublished paper written for the Sheng Yen Educational Foundation, “The Publishing of Buddhist Books for Beginners in Modern China from Yang Wenhui to Master Sheng Yen 中國近代歷史上的佛學入門書籍出版事業－從楊文會居士至聖嚴法師而言”, 2012.

Buddhist canon, which were composed or translated over many dynasties and in many regions, each with its own linguistic particularities, resulting in a specialized form of Buddhist-classical Chinese. While explanatory and introductory articles in periodicals sought to help readers navigate scriptural texts, these were still few in number and limited in circulation.

Dingshi Foxue congshu 丁氏佛學叢書 (Ding's Buddhist Studies Collectanea), a book series published between 1918 and 1924, was one attempt to address the problem of Chinese Buddhist texts being too many in number, and too complex in content, for a modern readership. Its editor and publisher, Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Ding Zhongyou 丁仲祐, 1874 – 1952), combined a love of reading and books, backgrounds in textual exegesis and translation, and an established publishing enterprise to produce works that would guide the reader through the difficult Buddhist textual corpus to arrive at their own understanding of the material.³¹⁷ Ding's background in *kaozheng* 考證 (evidential) textual scholarship, an academic movement of the mid-to-late Qing that sought to uncover the original meanings of classical texts prior to later interpretations, led him to focus on the lexicography of the Buddhist scriptures and the

317 Ding also used the style name Chouyin jushi 疇隱居士 (Layman who Cultivates the Concealed), as well as the courtesy name Shouyi zi 守一子 (He who Guards the One). The reprint edition of the series I have consulted is Ding Zhongyou [Ding Fubao], *Dingshi Foxue congshu* 丁氏佛學叢書, collected by Cai Yunchen 蔡運辰 (Taipei: Beihai chuban shiye, 1970). The original pages are marked “Wuxi Dingshi cangban” 無錫丁氏藏版 (Edition in the Collection of Ding from Wuxi). Principle sources on Ding's biography include: Ding Fubao, *Chouyin jushi ziding nianpu* 疇隱居士自訂年譜 (1929), in *Qingdai minguo cangshujia nianpu* 清代民國藏書家年譜, edited by Zhang Aifang 張愛芳 and Jia Guirong 賈貴榮 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004); Ding Fubao, *Chouyin jushi xueshu shi* 疇隱居士學術史, in Zhang and Jia: 425–658; Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:647–650. Note that this last account by Dongchu relies exclusively on information presented in the introduction to the reprint edition of Ding's series, written by Cai Yunchen.

network of semantic relationships linking together scriptural and commentarial texts.³¹⁸ This approach made the study of Buddhist texts attractive even to those without any personal connection to Buddhism, who valued the cultural and historical knowledge they represented. It also made it more possible than before for an individual reader to attain some competency in the Buddhist teachings through self-guided study, without help from a monastic or lay instructor. Ding was also well aware of modern concerns relating to topics such as superstition and the supernatural, and sought to marshal textual evidence in support of the messages carried by Buddhist texts. Ding's *Foxue congshu* series was published at a transitional moment in the modern history of Chinese Buddhist print culture, when the scriptural texts of the past were being rapidly joined by modern textual studies that attempted to place the exegetical scholarship of the past into the hands of any modern reader, and transform the text into the reader's instructor in the study of Buddhism.

2. Ding Fubao and the Structure of his Series

A lifelong book collector and bibliophile, Ding Fubao is best-known for his connections to the publishing trade. Much of his early translating and publishing work was focused on translating medical texts from the Japanese, but his initial scholarly training was in the study of Chinese

318 On *kaozheng* see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* ([Cambridge, MA]: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984).

classical texts. By 1929 he had amassed a personal collection of some 150,000 books, and it is estimated that from 1901 to 1941 he wrote, edited, translated, or annotated over three hundred titles.³¹⁹ This extensive background in textual study and working with print was part of the foundation for his personal engagement with Buddhism, as well as the structure of his Buddhist collectanea. This book series includes several genres of texts, all of which are intended to help the reader comprehend Buddhist teachings through reliance on the texts alone. This pedagogical orientation made his Buddhist series attractive both to those who may not have an interest in Buddhism but who valued the study of Chinese literature, and to those Buddhists who were seeking to reform education for monastics and laypeople. Although Ding's project of editing and compiling Buddhist texts followed a model that had been part of Chinese textual culture since ancient times, his dual backgrounds in interpreting texts from the classical past and in publishing texts for the present book market combined to produce a series that matched scriptural content with exegesis directed to a contemporary reader.³²⁰

319 Wang Xinsheng 王新生, "Wuxi jihui jinian Ding Fubao" 無錫集會紀念丁福保, *Quanjie dongtai* 泉界動態 (Jan., 1993), 74; Yang Qi 楊杞, "Jizang juanzhu wei yishen de cangshu jia Ding Fubao" 集藏捐著為一身的藏書家丁福保, *Dangdai tushuguan* 當代圖書館 (Feb. 1995), 61. In the 1930s Ding donated over 58,000 books to universities in Shanghai. Chen Yuanlin 陳元麟 (1945-), whose father Chen Sanzhou 陳三洲 distributed Ding's books through his Bolan Press 博覽書局, recalls that in 1949, the then 75-year-old Ding was still active in the publishing world. See Chen Yuanlin 陳元麟, "Wo jiandaoguo de Ding Fubao" 我見到過的丁福保, *Biji zhanggu* 筆記掌故 (March, 2007), 71-72. Ding also popularized the use of the *zhengkai* 正楷 font invented by the Commercial Press. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 310fn120.

320 Daojie 道階 (1866 – 1934) lists the following as precedent examples to Ding's works: *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Forest of Pearls from the Garden of the Dharma, 668 CE); *Dazang yilan* 大藏一覽 (The Tripiṭaka at a Glance, Ming Dynasty or earlier); *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Record of the Axiom Mirror, tenth century); *Jinghai yidi* 經海一滴 (One Drop of the Dharma Sea, 1735); *Zongjing dagang* 宗鏡大綱, (Outline of the Axiom Mirror, 1734). Ding,

Ding was from Wuxi 無錫 in Jiangsu province, and thanks to his family's scholarly background he was inculcated with an interest in books from an early age. In 1894 he worked as an instructor in a private school (*shu* 塾) run by the well-known book collector Lian Nanhu 廉南湖 (1868 – 1931), from whom he learned his methods of both book collecting and textual exegesis. The next year he began studying at the Nanqing Academy 南菁書院 in Jiangyin 江陰, Jiangsu province, and while there received guidance from Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842 – 1917) on annotating classical texts.³²¹ Eventually he began work as a teacher, but after finding it difficult to live on the teacher's salary, in 1902 he returned to school to study Chinese medicine under Zhao Yuanyi 趙元益 (1840 – 1912) at a Shanghai *dongwen xuetang* 東文學堂 (Japanese-language Academy).³²² In 1909 Ding placed first in the medical exams held in Nanjing, which for

Foxue congshu, 1360.

321 The Nanqing Academy was established in 1884 by Huang Tifang 黃體芳 (1832-1899) and supported by Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812-1885). Mentioned briefly in Volker Scheid, *Currents of Tradition in Chinese Medicine, 1626-2006* (Seattle: Eastland Press, 2007), 237, 460fn43. Scheid glosses Ding's style name 疇隱居士 as “Retired Scholar of Mathematical Mysteries” but I believe this is an incorrect interpretation. Wang Xianqian was a scholar of Han-dynasty literature and in 1915 published a definitive edition of Qing-dynasty scholarship on the subject. See Jeffrey Riegel, “Eros, Introversion, and The Beginnings of Shijing Commentary”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (June, 1997), 146-147.

322 Jiang Qingbo 江慶柏, “Ding Fubao de cangshu guannian ji cangshu shijian” 丁福保的藏書觀念及藏書實踐, *Tushuguan xue yanjiu* 圖書館學研究 (Feb. 2000), 96; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:269-270; Ding, *Nianpu*, 305; Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai fojiao renwu zhi*, 423-424; Zhao Pushan 趙璞珊, “Ding Fubao he ta zaoqi bianzhu fanyi de yishu” 丁福保和他早期編著翻譯的醫書, *Zhong-Xi yi jiehe zazhi* 中西醫結合雜誌, Vol. 10, no. 4 (1990), 248. Zhao Yuanyi was a major translator of his generation, had previously collaborated in translating works on Western medicine, and attained the *juren* 舉人 degree in 1888. See David Wright, “The Translation of Modern Western Science in Nineteenth-Century China, 1840-1895”, *Isis*, Vol. 89, No. 4 (Dec., 1998), 665; David Wright, “Tan Sitong and the Ether Reconsidered”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 57, No. 3 (1994), 567. Japanese-language Academies were set up in the late Qing to prepare Chinese students to study abroad in Japan.

the first time were based on a mixture of Chinese and Western medicine; Ding's success was likely in some part due to his experience as a student translating books on Western medicine from the Japanese. Dispatched to Japan by the Qing government, he observed their medical system and purchased medical texts, but the Republican revolution occurred before he could submit his findings to the Qing court.³²³ When Ding returned to Shanghai he set up a medical practice and began publishing his accumulated medical knowledge. His books were initially issued through Wenming shuju 文明書局 (Enlightenment Books), the publishing house he had founded in 1902 with two fellow translators and editors, and which had gotten its start by publishing translations from the Japanese and translations of Western histories.³²⁴ His series of translated medical texts *Dingshi Yixue congshu* 丁氏醫學叢書 (Ding's Medical Collectanea) was published by Wenming Books from 1908 to 1911, but from 1914 onward he began to publish under the imprint of Shanghai yixue shuju 上海醫學書局 (The Shanghai Medical Press), through which he would issue most of his later publications.³²⁵ His published works were

323 Ding, *Nianpu*, 32; Zhao Pushan, 248.

324 Lufei Kui 陸費逵 (1886 - 1941), who would later found Zhonghua Books, one of the three largest Chinese publishers of the Republican period, co-edited some unpublished textbooks with Ding and later joined the staff at Wenming from 1906 to 1908. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 227-228.

325 Ding, *Nianpu*, 316-317, 325-326; Zhao Pushan, "Ding Fubao", 248. Ding identifies Hua Chunfu 華純甫 and Li Jinghan 李靜涵 as his compatriots in the early days of Wenming Books. Earlier in 1906 Ding had founded a translation and publishing house called the Translation Society (Yishu gonghui 譯書公會) in his hometown of Wuxi through which he published a number of medical texts, but it folded after a property dispute in early 1908. For one catalogue of the Shanghai Medical Press' published works, see Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館, ed., *Zhongguo jindai xiandai congshu mulu* 中國近代現代叢書目錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai tushuguan, 1979), 13-15.

mainly edited and annotated versions of other authors' texts. Income from his successful medical practice allowed Ding to acquire more rare and important books for his collection, helping to supply the raw material for his publishing enterprise.

Biographical sources describe a variety of circumstances behind Ding's initial turn toward Buddhism. Although these stories range from the prosaic to the dramatic, a few key areas of contact between them make it possible to construct a tentative outline of his early encounter with Buddhism. Most accounts state that while in Nanjing in 1903 Ding met with Yang Wenhui, and one source describes how in the following year a chance encounter with a copy of *Shishi yulu* 釋氏語錄 (Recorded Sayings of the Śākyas) planted the seeds of an interest in Buddhism. His chronological autobiography (*ziding nianpu* 自訂年譜), however, instead recalls the influence of a devout Buddhist whom he had employed to instruct his children in 1911. By then he had already acquired a number of Buddhist scriptures simply as part of his book collecting and read them often, but he had not yet put their teachings into practice.³²⁶ There is no evidence that Ding took formal refuge as a lay Buddhist (*guiyi* 皈依) at the age of 40 *sui* 歲 (i.e. 1913), as one of the prefaces to his collectanea claims, but Ding does note that it was

326 Ding, *Nianpu*, 318, 330. Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 424-425. The teacher was one Shen Bowei 沈伯偉 (Shen Zufan 沈祖藩, 1875 – 1918). Yu Lingbo claims that Ding had been publishing Buddhist scriptures as early as 1912, but I have not found any other evidence of this. Some accounts of Ding's turn toward Buddhist studies are mentioned in Jan Kiely, "Spreading the Dharma", 193. Ding further notes in his preface to *Foxue qixin lun* 佛學起信論 (1919) and elsewhere that it was from the age of 40 *sui* that he became fond of reading Buddhist scriptures.

in that year that he came to an important realization: for all his learning and erudition, he was not making any progress in the study of the Way (*dao* 道).³²⁷ This year, 1913, was a turning point in several facets of his life and work. He would later recall that from this year he resolved to devote his energies to medicine and seek to make a lasting contribution in that rather than any other field, and he resolved to put all his efforts into publishing medical works and running his medical practice. It was also in this year, however, that he started to collect a great number of Buddhist scriptures and began to compile a lexicon of Buddhist terms. By the following year he was keeping a vegetarian diet, something he appears to have maintained for the rest of his life.³²⁸ Ding thus came to be interested in Buddhism primarily through reading and textual study, but unlike many others who had experienced a “conversion by the book”, there does not appear to have been a single dramatic moment of realization that marked his embrace of Buddhist teachings.³²⁹ Indeed he never committed himself exclusively to Buddhism, and would later shift the focus of his textual studies and publishing efforts toward other religious traditions.

Ding's textual engagement with Buddhism culminated in the compilation of his

327 Ding, *Chouyin jushi xueshu shi*, 522. Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 29. Yu Lingbo writes that a bout with a serious illness in 1914, along with the death of his mother in the same year, forced Ding to reconsider his orientation to “worldly matters”, but Ding's autochronology records his mother dying in March 1920. Ding, *Nianpu*, 381.

328 Ding, *Nianpu*, 357. Yu, *Zhongguo jinxiandai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 427; Ding, *Nianpu*, entry for 1929.

329 See the introduction for more on this trope.

Buddhist Studies collectanea, first published from 1918 to 1923. The series consists of annotated Buddhist scriptures, books for beginners, dictionaries, and printed images, and was initially published by his Shanghai Medical Press. Ding had published book series before, including his Medical Collectanea mentioned above, as well as two other collections: *Wenxue congshu* 文學叢書 (The Literary Collectanea, d.u.), and *Jinde congshu* 進德叢書 (The Advancing Morality Collectanea, 1912? – 1925?). Of these, the Medical Collectanea was likely the largest, with forty-six titles that can be dated to 1918 or earlier.³³⁰ His Buddhist collectanea, on the other hand, eventually numbered thirty core titles, based on those mentioned in Ding's preface and afterword to the series, and those listed in the 1970 reprint edition edited by Cai Yunchen 蔡運辰 (Cai Niansheng 蔡念生, 1901 – 1992). Most of these titles were first issued between 1918 and 1921, and Ding continued to add new titles and imprints to the series as late as 1923³³¹ For the most part, the content of the collectanea is drawn from that produced by other authors, with Ding's contribution being mainly editing, annotation, and his extensive

330 Shanghai tushuguan, ed., *Zhongguo jindai xiandai congshu mulu*, 13-15. Many of the books in the Medical Collectanea are translations of Japanese texts, which were themselves originally translations from European-language works. Ding's editing and translation work emphasized the importance of making these cutting-edge medical and scientific concepts easier for the reader to understand. See Zhao Pushan, "Ding Fubao", 248-249.

331 Cai determined which titles to include in his reprint edition based on the 1918 series catalogue appended to *Fojing jinghua lu jian zhu* 佛經精華錄箋註 (Annotated Essential Records of Buddhist Scriptures), p. 1520 in the reprint. The catalogue also lists planned titles in the series that would be published in the years to follow. See also Ding, *Foxue congshu*, preface, 5. For a later published catalogue of the series, see "Foxue congshu" 佛學叢書, *Shijie fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊, No. 1 (1923), MFQ 14:397-404. Cai did not include *Foxue da cidian* in his reprint due to its size and the fact that the Huayan Lotus Society (Huayan lianshe 華嚴蓮社) in Taiwan had by that time already issued a reprint edition.

prefatory and commentarial notes. With an ever-growing personal collection of books, a keen eye for rare and important texts, and his background in textual and translation studies, Ding was particularly suited to this type of compilation. As with his earlier series, here again Ding is translating material for the reader, but instead of Japanese medical knowledge he either translates the difficult and often obscure language of the Buddhist scriptures, or presents evidentiary material culled from the past in order to support the doctrines of those scriptures. The series is directed toward a novice reader with an interest in learning about Buddhism, and the different types of works each guide them toward acquiring the required skills and knowledge to find their own way through the vast corpus of Buddhist scriptures.

| Table 10: Works published in <i>Ding's Buddhist Studies Collectanea</i> from 1918 to 1925 | | | |
|--|---|--|--|
| Year | Title³³² | Location of Source in Canon³³³ | Bibliography Entries and Reprint Editions |
| 1918 | 八大人覺經箋注 Annotated Sūtra of the Eight Meditations of the Great Ones | T17 no. 779 | |
| | 佛遺教經箋注 Annotated Sūtra of the Deathbed Injunction | T40 no. 1820 | |
| | 四十二章經箋注 Annotated Sūtra in Forty-two Sections | T17 no. 784 | |
| | 佛經精華錄箋注 Annotated Essential Records of Buddhist Scriptures | | S0438 |
| | 觀世音經箋注 Annotated Avalokiteśvara Sūtra | | S0235 |
| | 高王觀世音經箋注 | T85 no. 2898 | |

332 Title translations based on those in DDB or those currently in common use.

333 T refers to locations in the Taishō Canon, X in the *Xu zangjing* 續藏經 (Extended Canon). Based on the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 index, <<http://www.cbeta.org/index.htm>>.

| | | | |
|------|--|--------------|---|
| | Annotated Avalokitêśvara Sūtra of King Gao | | |
| | 孟蘭盆經箋注 Annotated Ullambana Sūtra | T16 no. 685 | |
| | 阿彌陀經箋注 Annotated Amida Sūtra | T12 no. 366 | |
| | 無量壽經箋注 Annotated Sūtra of Immeasurable Life | T12 no. 360 | |
| | 觀無量壽佛經箋注 Annotated Contemplation Sūtra ³³⁴ | T12 no. 365 | |
| | 無量義經箋注 Annotated Sūtra of Unlimited Meanings | T09 no. 276 | |
| | 觀普賢菩薩行法經箋注 Annotated Sūtra of Meditating on Samantabhadra Bodhisattva | T09 no. 277 | |
| | 金剛般若波羅蜜經箋注 Annotated Diamond Sūtra | T08 no. 235 | S0215 |
| | 般若波羅蜜多心經箋注 Annotated Heart Sūtra | T08 no. 251 | |
| 1919 | 佛學起信編 Awakening of Faith in Buddhist Studies | | |
| | 佛學指南 Guide to Buddhist Studies | | S0175 |
| | 六道輪迴錄 Records of Transmigration Through the Six Kinds of Rebirth | | |
| | 六祖壇經箋注 ³³⁵ Annotated Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch | T48 no. 2008 | |
| | 佛學小辭典 Concise Dictionary of Buddhist Studies | | S0163 ³³⁶ |
| | 佛學大辭典序例 Preface and Notes on the Great Dictionary of Buddhist Studies | | |
| 1920 | 佛學撮要 Essentials of Buddhist Studies | | S0194 , reprint S1316 |
| | 佛學初階 Initial Stages in Buddhist Studies | | |
| | 佛學之基礎 Foundations of Buddhist Studies | | |
| | 學佛實驗譚 Discourse on Studying Buddhism Experimentally | | S0149 |
| | 觀世音菩薩靈感錄 Record of the Miraculous Response of Guanshiyin Bodhisattva | | |
| | 心經詳注 Detailed Annotated Heart Sūtra | T08 no. 251 | |
| | 入佛問答 Questions and Answers on Beginning Buddhism | | |

334 Worldcat has an entry with a preface dated to 1924, but I have not been able to track down its original library catalogue source. OCLC no. [33955802](#).

335 Full title: *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* 六祖大師法寶壇經.

336 Cited bibliographic entry is for the fifth edition published in 1926.

| | | | |
|------|--|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | 靜坐法精義 Essential Meaning of the Method of Quiet Sitting | | |
| | 釋迦如來成道記注 Annotated Record of Śākyamuni Attaining the Way | X75 no. 1509 | |
| | 無常經 Sūtra of Impermanence | T17 no. 801 | |
| | 佛像 Buddha Images – 25 types ³³⁷ | | |
| 1921 | 學佛捷徑 Shortcut to Studying Buddhism | | |
| | 佛學大辭典 Great Dictionary of Buddhist Studies | | S0154 ³³⁸ |
| | 法華經句解 Phrasal Understanding of the Lotus Sūtra | T09 no. 263 | |
| | 圓覺經畧疏 Brief Outline of the Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment | T39 no. 1795 | |
| | 維摩經注 Annotated Vimalakīrti Sūtra ³³⁹ | T14 no. 475 | |
| | 讀大乘起信論捷訣 Key to Reading the Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith | T32 nos. 1666, 1667 | |
| | 佛教宗派詳注 Detailed Annotated Schools and Sects of Buddhism | | S0313 |
| | 袖珍本佛經叢刊 Pocket Edition of Buddhist Sūtra Series | | |
| | 袖珍本入佛問答類編 Pocket Edition of Questions and Answers on Beginning Buddhism, Arranged by Subject | | |
| 1922 | 心經精義 Essential Meaning of the Heart Sūtra | | |
| | 死後之審判 The Judgment After Death | | |
| 1923 | 大悲咒箋注 Annotated Dhāraṇī of Great Compassion | | |
| | 佛教感應篇 Essays on Miraculous Response in Buddhism | | |
| | 三藏法數 Categories of Dharmic Concepts in the Buddhist Tripitaka | | |

337 Unfortunately I have not been able to find any examples or descriptions of these images. A later catalogue from 1934 lists 16 types of printed images for sale. *Chuban mulu* 出版目錄, no. 7 ([Shanghai]: Shanghai yixue shuju, Sept. 1934), in *Minguo shiqi chuban shumu huibian* 民國時期出版書目彙編, Vol. 14, edited by Liu Hongquan 劉洪權 (Beijing: Guojia Tushuguan Chubanshe, 2010), 744-745.

338 Cited bibliographic entry is for a 1925 edition.

339 Full title: *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經.

The structure and style of the volumes in the series reflect Ding's orientation toward engaging with Buddhism as a form of education, a theme that was very much at the forefront of Chinese Buddhist publishing of the late-Qing and early-Republican periods. Ding's publishing house and his earlier medical series both incorporate the term *yixue* 醫學 (medical studies; medicine), while in the titles of his Buddhism series and in many of the titles in the series he uses *Foxue* 佛學 (Buddhist Studies). Both terms were then newly introduced to Chinese, and both had initially appeared as reverse loan-words from the Japanese, in the case of *yixue* as a term used in translations of foreign terms. The origins of *Foxue* date back to around 1895 in Japan, and 1902 in China.³⁴⁰ It is one of a number of words adopted from the Japanese in the decade that followed the first Sino-Japanese war, an era in which when Chinese scholars sought to learn the techniques by which Japan was able to modernize its military, economy, and political system.³⁴¹ The short-lived *Foxue yanjiu hui* 佛學研究會 (Association for Buddhist Research) established in 1910, and the periodical *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報 (Buddhist

340 Read as *futsugaku*, 佛學 was first used in Japanese as a combination phonetic-semantic term (parallel to *rangaku* 蘭學) meaning French Studies. The first instance of the term being used as *butsugaku* (Buddhist studies) that I have found is Saeki Hōdō 佐伯法導, *Butsugaku sansho: kakushū hikkei* 佛學三書：各宗必携 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, Meiji 28 [1895].) The earliest use of *foxue* in the title of a Chinese book that I have found is the 1912 catalogue from Yang Wenhui's Jinling Scriptural Press, *Foxue shumu biao* 佛學書目表. See Yang Wenhui 楊文會, Zhou Jizhi 周繼旨, ed., *Yang Renshan quanji* 楊仁山全集 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2000): 344-368. Also see Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 60-67. Given Yang's close association with Nanjō Bunyu and with Japanese Buddhist texts, he may have been a key point of transmission for this term to enter the Chinese lexicon.

341 See Yan, *Re-understanding Japan*; Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon*.

Studies Magazine) first issued in 1912 both used the term, but otherwise it is not often seen in Buddhist titles until the 1920s with the publication of Ding's series.³⁴² Ding does not explicitly address his use of this term, but by denoting his subject with *Foxue* rather than an alternative term such as *Fojiao* 佛教, *Fofa* 佛法, or *Fohua* 佛化, he may have been trying to avoid some of the negative associations that late-Qing scholars had attached to these latter terms in their criticisms of Buddhism as corrupt and superstitious.³⁴³ By attaching to Buddhism the connotation of a field of study, Ding adroitly links it to education, placing it on the same semantic field as science (*kexue* 科學), mathematics (*shuxue* 數學), and medicine. Education was a powerful force in the late Qing and early Republic as the centuries-old examination system was abolished and public and private schools proliferated, and it was especially important for Chinese publishers, the largest of which built their business on textbook publishing.³⁴⁴

The prefaces to the series, of which there are five written from 1918 to 1920, reflect this orientation toward pedagogy both in their content and in the background of their authors.

Li Xiang 李詳 (Li Shenyan 李審言, 1859 – 1931) was a prolific author associated with *kaozheng*

342 On the *Foxue yanjiu hui* see Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 215-216. *Foxue congshu* is discussed in chapter three, section two.

343 Goossaert, “1898”, 320-328.

344 See chapter two, section two above.

scholarship of the late Qing.³⁴⁵ In his preface he argues that the messages of the Buddhist teachings are at their core no different from those of the six classics of the sages, but notes that while scholars have given a great deal of careful attention to explicating the latter, Buddhist scriptures had not yet been studied in such a way, at least until the advent of Ding's series.³⁴⁶ Li does not portray himself as a Buddhist believer, but he does lend his support to Ding's use of textual exegesis to interpret the Buddhist scriptural texts. Little is known about Chen Jiadun 陳嘉遯 (d.u.) and Wu Baozhen 吳保真 (d.u.), authors of the following two prefaces. Chen wrote a few articles for Buddhist periodicals in the 1920s, and in his preface he mentions ordering some two hundred copies of Ding's books, while Wu also wrote a preface to Ding's Buddhist dictionary, discussed below.³⁴⁷ The author of the fourth preface, Chanding 禪定 (1874 – 19??), was a monk in the Tiantai tradition who began his monastic career in Shanghai, and later studied and worked at Guanzong Lecture Temple 觀宗講寺 in Ningbo 寧波 as well as at temples in Shaanxi 陝西 and Liaoning 遼寧.³⁴⁸ His preface evokes the images of the *agada* medicine (*ajiatuo yao* 阿伽陀藥), a powerful panacea mentioned in Buddhist

345 On Li, see Li Xiang 李詳, Li Zhifu 李稚甫, ed., *Li Shenyan wenji* 李審言文集 ([S.l.]: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1989), 1447-1481.

346 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1-8. Li's preface was also annotated by Ding with interlinear exegetical notes.

347 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 9-24.

348 Fang Zuyou 方祖猷, *Tiantai zong guanzong jiangsi zhi* 天台宗觀宗講寺志: 1912-1949 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2006), 54-55. Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1666-1667.

scriptures, to link Ding's medical practice to the salvific powers of Buddhist scriptures, saying that his published works serve to heal the body as well as the mind. This trope of 'Buddhism as medicine' would be invoked throughout the works in the series.³⁴⁹ Chanding also notes that Ding follows the classical model of exegesis to annotate Buddhist texts, and that the act of reading these texts represents the first step in a process of acquiring religious knowledge that will lead one toward understanding, contemplation, and finally a confirmation of one's insight. Chanding himself was just then in the process of acquiring a set of the complete Buddhist canon from Beijing for the Guanzong Temple.³⁵⁰

Several religious, literary, and political figures also contributed prefaces to individual titles in the series. The monk Yinguang 印光 wrote a number of prefaces to books for beginners in the series, and, as will be noted below, discussed the series at some length in correspondence with Ding. The Tiantai patriarch Dixian 諦閑 (1858 – 1932) contributed to two annotated sūtras, and Daojie 道階 (1866 – 1944) wrote one for the scriptural compilation *Fojing jinghua lu jianzhu* 佛經精華錄箋註 (Annotated Essential Records of Buddhist Scriptures, 1918). These three figures were all very active in Buddhist circles of the time, Daojie being especially well-known for his international connections with Buddhists overseas and Dixian for his

349 See the end of the following section for more on this.

350 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 27-28. The *agada* medicine is mentioned in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (Great Tranquility and Contemplation, T 1911) and the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (Avatamsaka Sūtra). See DDB [阿伽陀藥]; *Foguang da cidian*, 3617. Chanding's preface to the series was also printed in *Haichao yin*, Vol. 2 no. 6, pp. 1-2.

teaching and voluminous writing.³⁵¹ A number of figures without any special connection to Buddhism also contributed prefaces for individual works in the series. These include Wu Zhihui 吳稚暉 (1865 – 1953), eminent scholar, elder statesman of the Guomindang, and driving force behind the promotion of the *zhuyin zimu* 注音字母 phonetic writing system; Meng Sen 孟森 (1868 – 1937), who served briefly in the early Republican government before teaching at National Central and Peking Universities; and Sun Yuyun 孫毓筠 (1869 – 1924), a member of the Tongmenghui 同盟會 in Japan who later supported the monarchist aspirations of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859 – 1916).³⁵² In their prefaces, each contributor highlights different aspects of this project: Wu Zhihui praises Ding's erudition and compassion, puzzles over problems of semantics when dealing with terms translated from the Sanskrit, and discusses the place of Buddhist scriptures in the history of civilizations;³⁵³ Meng Sen focuses on the filial piety expressed in the *Foshuo yulanpen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經 (Ullambana Sūtra);³⁵⁴ Sun Yuyun praises Ding's work in providing solid scriptural evidence for the teachings in a time of End-Dharma (*mofa* 末法) and aberrant teachings (*moshuo* 魔說).³⁵⁵ The literary, historical, and cultural value

351 On Dixian see Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:757-761; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 2:1621-1624. On Daojie see Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:825-828; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 2:1386-1388.

352 See section three below for more on Mei. Also Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:416, 432-434.

353 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1231-1232, 1251-1254, 1303-1304.

354 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1605-1606.

355 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1523-1524. Translation of *moshuo* from DDB. On Buddhist notions of cosmic epochs, the

of the Buddhist texts in Ding's series is, at least in the context of their contributed preface, clearly held in high regard even by those with no particular personal connection to Buddhism.

In August 1920, some seven years after his 'turning point' that led him to focus on medicine and Buddhist scriptures, and at a time when the first titles in the series were coming off the presses, Ding composed a preface and an afterword for his series reflecting on the path that brought him to undertake such a project.³⁵⁶ In it he relates the story outlined in his autobiographical chronology and mentioned above that at the age of forty sui (i.e. late 1913 to early 1914) he realized that in spite of his studies of medicine, mathematics, literature and other subjects, “the Way was not illuminated, and virtue not established”.³⁵⁷ He thus turned to the study of Buddhism. He collected more than 10,000 fascicles of Buddhist texts, books that, he claims, hold meanings which mundane (*shijian* 世間) works could not express. Ding's account of reading Buddhist scriptures describes a vivid experiential immediacy:

I often contemplated and saw with my own eyes, recollecting how after Śakyamuni attained the way he preached the Huayan sutra for thirty-seven days. ... At the time of his parinirvāṇa, he preached the Nirvana Sūtra for one day and one night. It was if I saw these matters with my own eyes, heard their voices with my own ears, and directly faced their pronouncements. After the Buddha entered nirvana, for a period of seven days and nights Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, and others along with the five hundred Arhats assembled the tripiṭaka of scriptural texts at

decline of the Dharma, and historical time, see Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time*, 15-26.

356 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 29-32, 3007-3008.

357 『道不明，德不立』, a reference to the *Daxue* 大學 (Great Learning).

Vulture Peak.³⁵⁸ I also saw everything distinctly as if it were the personal instruction of a teacher. It was also as if I entered the rooms of Kumārajīva and Xuanzang, and saw them translate the language of Brahma Heaven into the language of the lands of China, explaining the meaning and structure of the texts, then wetting the tip of their brush with the tip of their tongue and then composing their thoughts.³⁵⁹ I also entered the rooms of all the great exegetes and compilers since the Sui and Tang dynasties, discussed with eminent monks young and old, and I could hear their voices.

All of these absurd thoughts often appeared during a dawn storm, in the liminal time between darkness and light, and though I wished to dispel them I was unable to do so.³⁶⁰

Although Ding is non-committal regarding the reality of his visions, calling them “absurd thoughts”, they are nonetheless emotive and evocative descriptions of his experience of reading, one that he wished to bring to a wider audience by sharing these scriptural texts with the world. He then recalls his concern that the sheer number of available titles and the complexity of their content would simply overwhelm readers, causing them to give up before making any real progress. This prompted him to make a private vow (*si shiyuan* 私誓願) to

358 In Buddhist scriptures, Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉 and Ānanda 阿難 are two of the chief disciples of the Buddha, and are said to have helped assemble the Buddha's teachings into written form as described.

359 Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (334-413 CE) was a Central Asian translator monk who translated a number of important Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602-664 CE) was a Chinese monk who made pilgrimage to India and brought back Buddhist scriptural texts to be translated.

360 『余時時冥思諦觀，追憶釋迦成道後，於三七日說華嚴經。... 滅度時，於一日一夜，說涅槃經。吾如目見其事，耳聞其聲，而面領其誥誡也。佛滅度後，經七日夜，迦葉阿難等與五百羅漢，在耆闍崛山中結集三藏經典。吾亦無不歷歷在目，若承其耳提而面命也。吾又如入鳩摩羅什玄奘法師之室，見其翻梵天之語，成漢地之言，發凡起例，含毫而屬思也。又入隋唐以來諸註疏家之室，與諸高僧，上下其議論，而親接其謦咳也。凡此種種妄想，往往發現於雞鳴風雨，若明若昧之際，欲排遣之而不可得。』 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 29-30.

produce annotated editions of scriptural texts, as well as introductory books for beginners (*chuxue rumen* 初學入門) so that one need not become a specialist to engage in the study of Buddhism.³⁶¹ The motivation for producing his Buddhist Studies series, as he describes it, was thus a religious rather than a commercial one, and indeed Ding never sought to make a profit from the sale of his Buddhist books, instead reinvesting any excess funds back into printing. Most of the funds to print the books came from donations, and the retail price of the books was usually only enough to cover one third of the cost of their production.³⁶²

Ding thus felt that he could not simply start reprinting Buddhist texts as scriptural presses had done, since in their original form they were simply too complex for most people to comprehend. This became the central problematic that propelled his editing and exegetical work on his Buddhist book series. He explores this issue at some length in his preface to *Foxue zhinan* 佛學指南 (Guide to Buddhist Studies), published as part of the series in 1919:

In our country, since the time of Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han dynasty when the scriptures were brought to the Eastern lands on the back of a white horse, there was the Kaiyuan Bibliography of Buddhist Teachings written by Zhisheng 智昇 [669 – 740] in the tenth year of the Kaiyuan era of the Tang [713 – 714], which listed 5,418 fascicles of scriptures, vinaya and commentary. This was the beginning of numbering the contents of the canon. Afterward there was the Song canon of 5,714 fascicles, and the Yuan canon of 5,397 fascicles. Since the Song dynasty, there have been more than 20 additions to this among state and

361 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 29-30.

362 See Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 425; “Ding Fubao qishi” 丁福保啟事, *Haichao yin* 海潮音, Vol. 2, no. 3 (Feb. 20, 1921), MFQ 150:118.

private publishers.... Recently the canon printed by the Kalaviṅka Hermitage has 8,416 fascicles. Also the Japanese Extended Canon has more than 7,800 fascicles. ...

Numerous, numerous! The sea of scriptures! Take one step into it, and it's a vast [expanse] without a shore. All who see the vast sea of work to be done simply sigh with despair. It is as if we are in a boat on the ocean and encounter a sudden storm of angry waves. One glimpse at the limitlessness, and all the passengers look at each other in fear. But the boatmen who know where it is peaceful, and who in calm control finally lead the boat to the other shore, how could they not have something called a compass [*zhinan zhen* 指南鍼]? Piloting a boat is like this, how could navigating the sea of scriptures be any different?³⁶³

After listing some of the major collections of Buddhist scriptures, including the then very recent Kalaviṅka (1913) and Japanese *Zoku zōkyō* (1912) editions, Ding laments that all of this publication work has only made it more difficult for ordinary readers to engage with the texts of the Buddhist canon. While scriptural publishers like Yang Wenhui had been concerned that there were not enough good-quality copies of the Buddhist sūtras in circulation, from Ding's standpoint, the most urgent problem was how to teach people to read and understand them in such a way that they would not become overwhelmed by their complexity. This sentiment is echoed in the prefaces contributed by Dixian and Daojie, mentioned above. Both of them, while aware of the many attempts in the past to provide guides to and interpretation of the

363 『吾國自東漢明帝時，白馬～經，來茲東土。有唐開元十年，沙門智昇著開元釋教目錄，詮次經律論章疏，總維五千四十八卷。此大藏定數之始也。爾後宋藏五千七百十四卷，元藏五千三百九十七卷。自宋以來，官私刻版，多至二十餘副。... 近頻伽精舍所刊大藏經，八千四百十有六卷。又日本續藏經七千百餘卷，可謂盛矣。... 浩浩乎。經海哉。驟涉其津，茫無涯涘。未有不望洋而興嘆者。譬夫吾人航海，遇驚風怒濤，一望無際，乘客相顧失色。而舟子神識恬靜，操縱自如，卒循航線而達彼岸者，豈非有所謂指南鍼者在歟。航海如是，探經海者何獨不然。』 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 377.

scriptures, were glad to see this new effort to address the “differing capacities of sentient beings” and to “bridge the sea” of scriptures.³⁶⁴

The relationship of Ding's work to the concerns and interests of a wider social sphere of Chinese Buddhists is reflected in the prefatory notes by writers such as Dixian and Daojie. Ding also maintained written correspondence with Yinguang while the latter was living on Putuo shan 普陀山, in which Yinguang offers his advice and opinion on several aspects of Ding's series.³⁶⁵ The correspondence begins in 1917, when Ding was still studying Buddhist scriptural texts and completing manuscript versions of some of the works that would later be published as part of his collectanea. There are several instances in the letters where Yinguang mentions receiving draft copies of Ding's works, including his dictionary and *Foxue chujie* 佛學初階 (Initial Stages in Buddhist Studies), several years before they were published. He offers his advice regarding where certain scriptural texts might be found; an indication that Ding had asked for his help in tracking down the location and provenance of Buddhist texts. Yinguang also observes that although Fayu Temple 法雨寺 on Putuo shan had a Southern Ming (*Nanzang* 南藏) and a Qing (*Longzang* 龍藏) canon, few people ever actually read them.³⁶⁶ There are

364 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1361, 1654.

365 Ding, *Nianpu*, 375-376. Yinguang was known for emphasizing scriptural study in addition to the recitation of Buddha's name (*nianfo* 念佛). See Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1:284-288.

366 Shi Yinguang 釋印光, *Yinguang fashi wenchao sanbian* 印光法師文鈔三編 (Taipei: Fotuo jiaoyu jijinhui, 2007), Yinguang to Ding Fubao, Letter 5, 964-966.

instances of subtle criticism as well, as when he describes the publication of scriptures as an endeavor that takes much more careful thought than, say, publishing newspapers. When he contrasts the work of monks in ancient times, who would spend a decade or an entire lifetime annotating a single text, to Ding's voluminous output in the past three years, it is possible to detect a hint of caution beneath Yinguang's carefully polite and polished language.³⁶⁷

Yet Yinguang also displays an keen understanding of at least some aspects of modern print technology, as well as some knowledge of the concrete factors behind the production of printed texts. In one of his letters to Ding, Yinguang mentions how a group in Fuding 福鼎, north of Fuzhou in Fujian province, were then having trouble arranging dharma lectures and getting people to continue attending, but if they were to give the people one of Ding's books to read, then that might be a much more effective strategy for spreading the Dharma.³⁶⁸ In another letter Yinguang relates the story, mentioned in the previous chapter, of how he had first become known beyond the confines of Putuoshan thanks to a series of his articles that had appeared in *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報. Yet he also critiques movable-type printing because “the ink has a lot of compounds added to it, and will fade eventually”, whereas traditional woodblock printing results in a text that will last through the ages, something that he had

367 Yinguang to Ding, Letter 1, 958-960; Letter 5, 964-966.

368 Yinguang to Ding, Letter 2, 960-961.

discussed in correspondence with the publishers of *Foxue congbao*.³⁶⁹ Even in the relative isolation of Putuo shan, Yinguang was connected to the rapidly developing Buddhist print culture of the early Republic; critical of some aspects, but enthusiastically supportive of others. Connections such as this indicate that Ding's project was indeed part of a larger conversation about publishing among lay and monastic Chinese Buddhists, and that in spite of his lack of a formal Buddhist institutional or master-disciple relationship, Ding was receptive to input from Buddhists through his social connections.

The purpose of Ding's series, however, was not to address those learned in Buddhist studies, but rather to enable those without previous instruction in reading Buddhist texts to comprehend the language, message, and meaning of the scriptures. His lexicographical work would illuminate the semantics of the texts, exegetical studies would help readers interpret their messages, and the collected tales of people experiencing Buddhist doctrines first-hand would bring home their meaning and significance in the world. These were not new roles for Buddhist texts to play, but Ding's series was groundbreaking in bringing all three types of text together and packaging them as a comprehensive guide to the study of a field of knowledge, in the same way that his earlier medical collectanea had presented information relating to the

369 Yinguang to Ding, Letter 3, 961-962. 『鉛印雖便，究非久遠之計。以鉛印墨中，多加藥汁，久必褪落。宜刊木版，方可傳遠。印光上佛報館書，正為此事。』 Based on the surviving copy of *Foxue congbao* that I consulted, Yinguang's concern may have been misplaced, since its text is likely as vibrant and bold as when it was printed. Its pages, however, have become brittle from the presence of acidic materials used in the paper making process.

practice of medicine. The principle technique that Ding applied in his series to tackle the complexity and enormity of the scriptures was to produce two types of texts that would provide a compass to help those who wished to navigate the turbid sea of Buddhist texts.

3. Illuminating Scriptures with Exegesis, Awakening Faith with Evidence

The majority of the titles in Ding's Buddhist Studies collectanea fall into one of two groups: editions of Buddhist scriptures with punctuation, annotation, and explanations added by Ding; and books for beginners, which are primarily collections of evidentiary tales that describe people experiencing the truth of the Buddhist teachings first-hand. In the annotated scriptures, Ding provides an extensive exegesis that cites Buddhist and other classical texts to explain the meaning of passages and terms that would be unfamiliar to a novice reader. As editor and exegete, Ding refrains from presenting any personal insight into the doctrines expressed in the text, preferring instead to let the texts explain each other. In the evidentiary tales, Ding addresses the doubts he expects readers will have when encountering descriptions of supernatural phenomena in the Buddhist scriptures. To do so he cites passages selected from a wide variety of sources that describe the original author's personal experience with phenomena such as rebirth and karmic retribution. Both genres had existed in Buddhist print culture, in the form of commentaries and miracle tales, but in his series Ding applies to them

his own style and structure based on his background in bibliographic and *kaozheng* scholarship.

Buddhist scriptural texts accompanied by Ding's annotations and exegetical notes (*jianzhu* 箋注) make up the core of his Buddhist collectanea, both in terms of primacy – these were the earliest types of works published in the series – and majority.³⁷⁰ If we omit the multi-volume dictionary *Foxue da cidian*, annotated scriptural texts make up the bulk of the collection; in the reprint edition they fill two of the three largest volumes, and of all the titles published in the series between 1918 and 1924, just over half are annotated scriptures. The texts selected for annotation and republication are some of the most central works in the East Asian Buddhist canon, including *Bore poluomiduo xin jing* 般若波羅蜜多心經 (the Heart Sūtra), *Jin'gang bore poluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (the Diamond Sūtra), *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 (the Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch) and scriptures relating to Amitābha Buddha 阿彌陀佛, and Guanshiyin 觀世音 and Puxian 普賢 Bodhisattvas. Most of these texts had already been published by either Yang Wenhui's Jinling Scriptural Press or another scriptural press in the late Qing, but they rarely included a modern author's exegetical gloss.³⁷¹ In itself this was not a novel approach – annotated scriptures and commentaries on scriptural texts were already an

370 Ding preferred 注 over the alternate form 註, since the former was used in the classics. See Ding, “Jinggao zhu Fojing zhi jushi” 敬告注佛經之居士, in *Foxue da cidian*, prefatory material, 1.

371 See the 1912 catalogue *Foxue shumu biao* 佛學書目表 in Yang Wenhui, *Yang Renshan quanji*, 344-368. Based on that catalogue, the *Heart Sūtra*, the *Sūtra of the Deathbed Injunction*, the *Diamond Sūtra*, the *Amida Sūtra*, the *Sūtra of Unlimited Meanings*, and the *Sūtra of the Meditation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life* had all already been reprinted by the press.

established part of Buddhist literature, but usually the interpretation was at least partly a product of the author's insight or realization. In his series, Ding presents his annotations by drawing upon a vast textual corpus and letting the interpretations of past exegetes and commentators speak to the reader.

One of Ding's essays, “Jinggao zhu Fojing zhi jushi” 敬告注佛經之居士 (A Respectful Notice to Gentlemen Annotating Scriptures), published in 1921 as part of the prefatory material to his dictionary *Foxue da cidian* 佛學大辭典, outlines his approach to annotation and his preferred techniques of interpreting and editing scriptural texts. He lays out seventeen points, some of which specifically address Buddhist scriptures, others of which apply to all classical texts, which annotators are urged to follow. Some of the main points are: do not make forced interpretations of the text, do not indulge in empty speculation, use scriptural sources to verify scriptural content, avoid spurious scriptures, don't argue with the ancients, and don't argue with contemporaries.³⁷² The central theme of these comments is that editors should interfere as little as possible with the texts, and that their personal influence on their interpretation should be minimized. While some Buddhist exegetes are mentioned in the explanations of these guidelines, for the most part he quotes from and refers to famous

372 The full list of points is as follows: 『定書名宜法古人; 注佛經宜用儒書內傳體; 注佛經宜戒穿鑿; 注佛經宜戒空談; 注佛經宜取法李善文選注; 注佛經宜考索名物典故; 注佛經宜梳櫛音義; 注佛經宜以經證經; 注出處有古畧而今詳者注有前後互異者; 箋注宜講文筆; 注佛經宜先通句讀; 注佛經宜講校讐之學; 注佛經宜闢偽經; 注經不可與古人相爭; 注經不可與今人相爭; 經注宜在每句下用雙行小字; 結論.』 Punctuation added. Ding, *Foxue da cidian*, pp. 25-42.

scholars of the Confucian classics, treating the exegetical work of annotating Buddhist scriptures as being of a kind with that of other ancient classical texts. Ding references many of these points in his “Jianjing zaji” 箋經雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes on Annotating [this] Scripture), a series of essays that precede many of the annotated scriptures, in which he discusses bibliographic and interpretive issues relating to the text that they accompany.

Of the twenty annotated scriptural texts in the series, *Jin'gang bore poluomi jing jianzhu* 金剛般若波羅蜜經箋註 (The Diamond Sūtra, Annotated and Explained), is both one of the most widely-read texts in the East Asian Buddhist tradition, and a representative example of the structure of most of the other annotated scriptures in the series. It opens with a preface that introduces the theme of the scripture and notes bibliographic considerations such as different extant translations, followed by Ding's notes on annotation that outline the larger exegetical context, a record of miraculous events (*lingyi ji* 靈異記) associated with the sūtra, and finally the annotated text itself.³⁷³ The preface first guides the reader through the historical and interpretive context of the sūtra, providing bibliographic information on the six most commonly-cited translations of the text.³⁷⁴ Ding notes that much confusion and

373 Ding's *Foxue da cidian* defines *lingyi* 靈異 as “an abstruse, inconceivable phenomenon.” In using this term to signify miraculous events associated with Buddhist teachings rather than the more conventional *ganying* 感應, he may have been following the ninth-century Japanese text *Record of Miracles in Recompense to Good and Evil Manifesting in Japanese Lands* (Nihongoku genhō zenaku ryōiki 日本国現報善惡靈異記). See *Foguang da cidian*, 1452.

374 Ding also notes another translation in one fascicle cited in the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Generations) which is no longer extant.

misunderstanding has arisen from using any of the five translations other than that of Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344 – 413 CE), which is the one that he has consulted, but nevertheless all of the extant translations must be compared to each other in order to properly understand the text. The central theme of the Diamond Sūtra is that conventional, discriminatory perception does not reflect ultimate reality, and that words and concepts must be set aside so that one may attain the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*). Ding guides the reader by identifying the three concepts at the core of the scripture: *benti* 本體 (essence), *xiuxing* 修行 (practice), and *jiujing* 究竟 (the final [goal]).³⁷⁵ Ding explains this with reference to the three types of Buddha nature postulated by Zhiyan 智儼 (602 – 668 CE) in his exegesis of the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (The Avataṃsaka sūtra), giving copious citations of places in the Diamond Sūtra where these concepts might be found.³⁷⁶

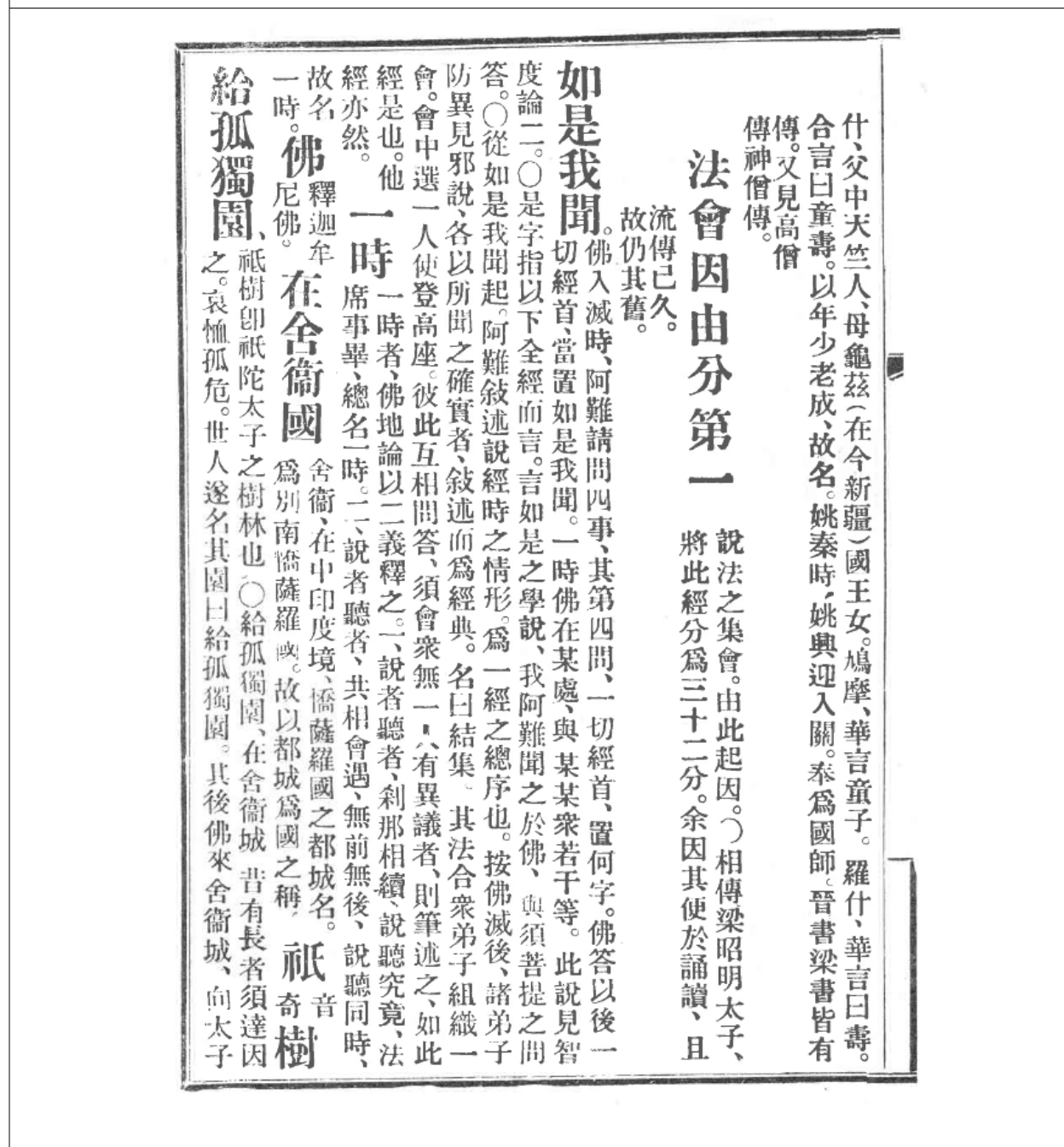
With the core ideas of the scripture outlined, Ding proceeds to describe to the reader his own role in annotating and explaining the text. He writes that while he worked he maintained a purified mind and body, cut off all extreme thoughts, and took extreme care with each individual character and meaning. He expresses the hope that in doing so he has not only improved on the annotations of the past, but has also preserved the teachings passed down by

³⁷⁵ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2575.

³⁷⁶ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2576-2578. Zhiyan was later recognized as a patriarch in the Huayan school of Chinese Buddhism.

the ancients without corrupting them with his own words. This is followed by the scripture's “Jianjing zaji” (annotation notes), where he observes that in the past annotated editions of the scripture were either good but relied too much on specialized Buddhist vocabulary, or were easy to understand but full of mistakes, in either case too confusing for a beginning student of Buddhism. Finally he offers a series of stories under the title “Jingang jing lingyi ji” 金剛經靈異記 (Record of Diamond Sūtra miracles), in which stories are pulled from history that demonstrate the power of the sūtra to produce miracles and unusual occurrences in response to reciting or possessing the scripture, ranging from the extension of one's lifespan, to the granting of sons, to banishing ghosts and protection from weapons.³⁷⁷ The examples include stories from Tang- and Song-dynasty collections of anecdotes, grouped under fourteen headings. Collecting and presenting evidence arguing for the reality of scriptural claims would be the central theme of most other titles in the series, but sections like this also appear in a shorter format in the annotated scriptures. In the prefatory material to his annotated Diamond Sūtra, Ding has thus summarized the main ideas of this scripture and linked them to other important scriptural texts, and he has also drawn the reader's attention to the importance of understanding not only the terminology of this and other canonical texts, but also the history of their translation and interpretation.

³⁷⁷ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2578-2579, 2586-2610.

Figure 6: Sample page from Ding's Annotated Diamond Sutra³⁷⁸

Following these extensive prefatory notes is the annotated scriptural text itself. The exegesis and annotation in Ding's works are presented in the form of interlinear notes printed

378 Scanned from *Foxue congshu*, 2612.

in a smaller font arranged in half-columns following the phrase being discussed (*shuanghang xiaozi* 雙行小字), a commonly-used printing method that had already appeared in xylographic annotated classical texts. In his preface to the series, Ding writes that his annotation is modeled upon the *xungu* 訓詁 (classical gloss) style employed for the Chinese classics, following editions of the *Erya* 爾雅 (The Literary Expositor), an early dictionary and encyclopedia dating from the third century BCE, and the *Maoshi* 毛詩 (Book of Songs with Mao Prefaces), in citing passages from a wide array of sources in order to explicate the main text.³⁷⁹

The similarity of Ding's annotation style to that of annotated classical texts was apparently quite well-known and was used as a selling point in at least one advertisement and book catalogue.³⁸⁰ In Ding's annotated scriptures, each phrase of the original text, sometimes as short as a single character, is directly followed by Ding's explanation of the phrase's terms and meaning, with passages in related texts cited in support of the interpretation. These referenced texts include other canonical scriptures, commentaries and other annotated editions, often noting the division or section (*pin* 品) of the work where the cited passage can be found, although page numbers are not used to cite passages since standard printed editions such as the Taishō Canon had not yet come into widespread use.

Ding's exegesis is quite thorough, and assumes little to no previous knowledge on the

379 Yu, *Zhongguo jinxiandai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 425.

380 “Foxue congshu” 佛學叢書, *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊, no. 3 (1925), MFQ 141:215.

part of the reader. For example, the first few phrases of the first section of the Diamond Sūtra in Chinese and in Charles Muller's translation are as follows:

如是我聞。一時佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。與大比丘衆千二百五十人俱。

Thus I have heard. Once, the Buddha was staying in the Jetavana Grove in Śrāvastī with a community of 1250 monks.³⁸¹

With Ding's added interlinear notes, these two lines occupy about a full page in the reprint edition, with approximately 460 characters of exegesis used to explicate twenty-nine characters of scriptural text.³⁸² The notes describe how the community of monks, led by Ānanda, assembled after the death of the Buddha to compile the scriptures based on what they had heard him preach; how the *Fodi jinglun* 佛地經論 (Treatise on the Buddha-bhūmi Sūtra) interprets the word “once” in two different ways,³⁸³ that “the Buddha” refers to Śākyamuni Buddha; that Śrāvastī was a city in northern Kośala in central India, and so on. In addition, he offers a pronunciation guide for uncommon characters and readings of characters, such as 祇 (*qi*) when it appears as part of “Jetavana,” by noting a homophonous character, in this case 奇

381 Chinese text from Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association. English translation from http://www.acmuller.net/bud-canon/diamond_sutra.html.

382 See Ding, *Foxue congbao*, 2612-2613. Even this level of detail is only an average; sometimes a single phrase of classical text is followed by over a full page of exegesis. In the 1920 work *Xinjing xiangzhu* 心經詳註 (The Heart Sūtra, Annotated in Detail), Ding supercedes an earlier annotated version of the scripture, which he felt was too brief, with an even more detailed version where a single phrase is usually followed by several pages of annotations. See Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2475-2478 for the preface to this work.

383 Specifically, as meaning either that the speaking and the hearing of the sūtra were separated by only a instant (*chana* 刹那), or that they occur at the exact same time.

(qi). The annotations included here also differ from those that would eventually be included in Ding's dictionary *Foxue da cidian*, indicating that he sought to explicate each term within the context of the particular work rather than in the more generic sense favoured in a lexicographical study.³⁸⁴ In total, Ding's annotated Diamond Sūtra runs to forty-five double pages, representing three quarters of the book with the rest being prefatory notes, but curiously omits the thirty-three character *zhenyan* 真言 (mantra) that normally appears at the end of the text.³⁸⁵

In total, Ding published fourteen annotated scriptures in 1918, the first year of the series' publication. From 1919 onward this genre of text is first joined by, then eclipsed in number by another, the *rumen shu* 入門書 or *chuxue shu* 初學書 (introductory book; book for beginning study). With the inclusion of these titles, which are primarily collections of tales describing experiences of Buddhist merit, karma, and retribution manifesting themselves, Ding demonstrates his concern with proving to the reader that the scriptures have had concrete effects in the world throughout history. To Ding, publishing Buddhist texts was thus not only a matter of making them legible and comprehensible to the readers, but also of

384 The dictionary definition for 一時, for example, cites instead the first fascicle of *Guan wuliang shou Fojing shu* 觀無量壽佛經疏 by Shandao 善導 (613-681 CE).

385 The mantra is rendered in phonetic characters, and is included in the Taishō canon edition of the scripture: 『那謨婆伽跋帝 鉢喇壤 波羅弭多曳 唵 伊利底 伊室利 輸盧馱 毘舍耶 毘舍 耶 莎婆訶。』 T08.235 p.752 c05-07.

establishing their relevance as objects embodying a type of supernormal power. Similar thematic collections of miracle tales had been produced in medieval China by Daoxuan 道宣 (596 – 667 CE) and others, collections which themselves were assembled from a range of other sources.³⁸⁶ Ding presents these tales specifically as material for the novice reader, in order to, as one of the titles in the series puts it, “awaken Buddhist Studies faith”, likely a reference to the well-known text *Dasheng qixin lun* 大聖起信論 (Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith).³⁸⁷

Buddhist books written for novices and based on the model of the school textbook had begun to appear in the late Qing with *Fojiao chuxue keben* 佛教初學課本 (Primer of Buddhism for Beginning Students), published by Yang Wenhui in 1906, and was followed by brief articles in *Foxue congbao* such as “Foxue jianshuo” 佛學淺說 (Elementary Explanation of Buddhist Studies) in issue one (1912), and Yang's “Shizong lüeshuo” 十宗畧說 (Brief Explanation of the Ten Schools) in issue four (1913).³⁸⁸ More recently, commercial presses in Shanghai had begun to publish their own introductory Buddhist books. *Foxue dagang* 佛學大綱 (Outline of Buddhist Studies) by Xie Meng 謝蒙 (Xie Wuliang 謝無量, 1884 – 1964), published by Zhonghua Books in 1916, has one volume that surveys the history of Buddhism from the life of Śakyamuni to the

386 See Koichi Shinohara, “Dao-xuan's Collection of Miracle Stories about 'Supernatural Monks',” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* (April, 1990): 319-379.

387 The title is *Foxue qixin bian* 佛學起信編, which Ding references in his preface to *Foxue da cidian* as representative of the books for the beginners in general.

388 MFQ 1:41-8, 2:21-27. Yang's textbook continued to be reprinted and sold through the 1940s. See for example *Foxue banyue kan* 佛學半月刊, issues 217 and 233, MFQB 65:108, 377.

formation of the Chinese Buddhist schools, with the second volume focusing on the foundations of Buddhist doctrine, epistemology, and ethics. *Foxue yijie* 佛學易解 (Simple Explication of Buddhist Studies), published by the Shanghai Commercial Press in 1917 and later reprinted in 1919 and 1926, was another example of this genre, written by Jia Fengzhen 賈豐臻 (fl. 1910s – 1930s) who later also published an introductory book on philosophy and a history of *lixue* 理學 (Neo-Confucian scholarship).³⁸⁹ These recent works were intended for use not in a classroom setting, as with a textbook, but as self-study guides for the independent reader. As such they assumed no background on the part of the student, only a basic interest in the subject. Ding's books for beginners were structured in much the same way, with each title presenting a similar body of material in a different style, rather than building upon each other like a series of textbooks each designed for a different level of student.

Two Buddhist laymen contributed to composition of Ding's books for beginners. The first, Mei Guangxi 梅光羲 (Mei Xieyun 梅擷芸 1880 – 1947), had studied under Yang Wenhui from 1902, and was later made one of the trustees of the Jinling Scriptural Press after Yang's death. In 1903 Mei was sent by then-Viceroy of Huguang 湖廣 Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837 –

389 Xie was a schoolteacher and scholar of Chinese literature and Buddhist history. See the very short introduction to the reprint edition of his book in *Xiandai Foxue daxi* 現代佛學大系, Vol. 46. Xie uses 心理學 to describe the second field covered in the latter volume, and although this term is used to denote psychology in modern Chinese, I have translated it as epistemology because the section deals with theories of the *dharma-lakṣaṇa* 法相, *prajñā* 般若, and *tathāgata-garbha* 如來藏 schools. Zhu Ziqing mentions Jia's book in his article “Maishu” 買書 (Buying Books) in *Shuixing* 水星 (Mercury) Vol. 1, no. 4 (Jan. 10, 1935). Jia also wrote an article on religion in education that was published in 1927 in the Buddhist periodical *Dayun yuekan* 大雲月刊. See MFQ 138:120-126.

1909) to Japan to receive a military education, and after his return worked as a government official in various posts throughout the country. As mentioned in chapter one he had also been a member of Xu Weiru's scriptural recitation society in Beijing, and was a co-founder of the Beijing Scriptural Press; he later became well-known for his studies of the Consciousness-only (*weishi* 唯識) school of Buddhist philosophy.³⁹⁰ Mei was well-connected to the network of publishers and authors that grew out of Yang's press. By the time Ding's series was published he had moved to Ji'nan 濟南 in Shandong province, far from the new Buddhist publishing centers of Shanghai, Nanjing, and Beijing. Although he was not directly involved in the project, Wan Jun 萬鈞 (Wan Shuhao 萬叔豪, fl. 1921 – 1936) is credited as the source of many of the stories included therein. Little is known of his biography, but Wan was quite active as an author and publisher; he was the annotator of the edition of Yang's *Fojiao zongpai xiangzhu* 佛教宗派詳註 (Detailed Annotated Buddhist Schools and Sects) that was published by the Shanghai Medical Press in 1921.³⁹¹ He was also the founder of the Central Scriptural Press 中央刻經院 in Beijing in 1926.³⁹² Most of the editing and annotations, however, is credited to Ding alone.

390 See Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:650-660; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1002-1004. See also the short eulogy by Fan Gunong 范古農 published in 1947, MFQ 89:235. *Haichao yin* published a short article in 1945 on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, MFQ 202:113-114. One of Mei's best-known works is *Xiangzong gangyao* 相宗綱要 (Essential Outline of the Faxiang School), first published in 1920 in Jinan 濟南 where Mei was posted at the time, and then in 1921 by the Commercial Press. See *Fozang jiyao*, 21:113-164. A supplementary volume later appeared in 1926.

391 Note that the entry in Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian* for 萬鈞 refers to the pen name of a different individual.

392 See chapter five, section four below.

One of the earliest of the eight introductory texts in the series, *Foxue qixin bian* 佛學起信編 (Awakening of Faith in Buddhist Studies, 1919), includes a preface by Ding that outlines the reasoning behind collecting the material for this type of book:

As preface I will say that the aspects of the Buddhist scriptures that most cause people to doubt them are causality spanning the three periods [past, present and future], and rebirth in the six realms. Because of these, when beginners read the scriptures, they usually have suspicions. If they don't take them to be myths of high antiquity, then they interpret them as parables of the philosophers. Among those whose mind of faith (*xinxin* 信心)³⁹³ is not strong, there are many who stop half-way along the path. If one wishes to plumb the abstruse teachings of the Buddhist scriptures, one must take a mind of faith as one's basis. Further, those who wish to obtain a mind of faith cannot not but first seek proof of causality spanning the three periods and rebirth in the six realms. This type of evidence is not something that can be satisfied by empty words, not something that one could exhaustively obtain even after tens of years of reading.

One must, from the writings of the great scholars of the past several hundred years, those such as Wang Yuyang [1634 – 1711], Ji Xiaolan [1724 – 1805], Yuan Zicai [1716 – 1797], Yu Quyuan [1821 – 1907], Bo Shuyun [d.u.], and other masters, seek out the evidence which is sufficient to aid us in giving rise to correct faith in beginning students. [One must] organize and collate it, verify and categorize it, and only then can one person obtain the reading experience of several hundred years.³⁹⁴

393 Possibly a direct reference to *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 (Inscription of Faith in Mind) attributed to Sengcan 僧璨 (d. 606). See Sheng Yen, *Faith in Mind: A Guide to Chan Practice* (New York: Dharma Drum Publishing, 1987).

394 『叙曰，佛經中之最足以起人疑者，曰三世因果，曰六道輪迴。故初學驟閱經典，輒生疑竇。非以為太古之神話，即以為哲學家之寓言。所以信心不堅，半途中止者為不少也。夫欲深通佛經之奧旨者，必以信心為本。然欲得信心者，非先求三世因果六道輪迴之實證不可。此種證據，非空言所可塞責。非一人在數十年中之閱歷所可盡知。必在近世數百年中之大學問家，如王漁洋紀曉嵐袁子才俞曲園薛叔耘等諸先生之筆記中，搜尋其足以佐我之證據以起初學之正信者，分類而匯錄之，據事而類推之，則一人而有數百年之閱歷矣。』
Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2:147-148.

Ding identifies a lack of belief in karma (*yinguo* 因果) and rebirth (*lunhui* 輪迴), two of the major doctrines underpinning Buddhist ethics, cosmology, and eschatology, as a major problem facing those who begin Buddhist studies. The solution is for readers to find evidence for these doctrines, but such evidence is scattered among countless texts and would require a lifetime to acquire; luckily, scholars of the past have already collected such evidence for us, and Ding suggests that if we rely on their insights then we can indeed find the evidence we need to foster a mind of faith.

The difficulties Ding sees among novice students of Buddhism are precisely those he himself faced during his initial foray into Buddhist scriptures. Later in this preface he relates how after he became fond of reading scriptures in 1914, he searched for textual evidence to support those concepts that were difficult to believe, and how in this and other works he has collected relevant proofs from the scholars and literati of ages past to provide the reader with sufficient evidence to cultivate a 'mind of faith'. Indeed, the books for beginners are overwhelmingly focused on these types of evidentiary questions. Apart from offering evidence for causality and rebirth as mentioned in the preface above, the books offer stories as proof for the existence of various types of spirits, the underworld, and rewards for filiality and generosity, with most themes appearing in more than one title. They also have several sections that explore the historical development of Buddhism in Indian and Chinese history; a different

type of 'evidence' than that of narrative tales, but one which would become increasingly important in Buddhist publications.³⁹⁵ Additionally, most of these books offer guidance on further reading, either by listing the titles and abstracts of Ding's annotated scriptures as in *Foxue chujie* 佛學初階 (Initial Stages in Buddhist Studies, 1920), or even more directly through advertisements for other publications by Ding's press, including the dictionary *Foxue da cidian*, and *Foxue xiao cidian* 佛學小辭典 by Sun Zulie 孫祖烈.³⁹⁶

These issues of belief in the existence of spirits and the need for textual evidence are explicated most pointedly in the first chapter of *Foxue cuoyao* 佛學撮要 (Elementary Outline of Buddhist Studies), a brief but concise title in the series first published in 1920 and later reprinted in 1935. A publisher's note on the inside cover states that the book was being offered for sale at four cents each, half the normal price, to help recoup the costs of printing the 4000 copies, and that reprinting and distributing the book would bring measureless merit. The first chapter explains the genesis of the book through a rhetorical conversation between Ding and a fellow Wuxi native Han Xuewen 韓學文, and this conversational mode is continued through the rest of the text, with Han asking questions and Ding offering responses backed up with

395 For example, the entire second section (*bian* 編) of *Foxue zhinan* 佛學指南 (Guide to Buddhist Studies, 1919) is a series of surveys of the historical and doctrinal outlines of Buddhism. See Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 356-374, 433-488.

396 *Yiyue jingdian* 宜閱經典 (Scriptures Suitable for Reading) is actually the eighth 'stage' of beginning Buddhist studies described in the book. Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 755-766. Advertisements appear on pp. 680, 890.

selected textual passages.³⁹⁷ Han brings up a passage from a book on medicine that Ding had edited which states that no spirit exists after death, and extends this to argue that the teachings of the Buddhist scriptures, and indeed of all religions, are false superstitions that ought to be swept away. Ding replies that he edited that book some twenty-five years ago, and that back then his experience and learning were so narrow as to cause that mistaken view; he then cites a number of experts in different fields of learning who all believe in the existence of spirits, saying that only those who are still an early stage of reading and study would deny the existence of spirits.³⁹⁸ As for the claims that such beliefs are superstition, Ding points out that superstitions are only so if they are not true, whereas spirits, karma, and rebirth all have definite proof, and encourages Han to read certain books to see the evidence for himself. After a night of study, Han is naturally converted from his erroneous views, and asks Ding to guide him further in the reading of Buddhist scriptures, saying “Sir, you first used medicine to treat my body, then used scholarship to treat my soul. Once the body is exhausted, the soul lasts

397 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 33-39. The frontspiece notes that the costs of printing were 160 yuan, of which 100 yuan remained to be raised. This is close to but slightly different from the story told in the opening chapter, mentioned in note below. One bibliographic entry for this title, [S0194](#), is listed as being a seventh printing, raising the possibility that this or a similar work had been in print for some time, perhaps privately, before being published through the Shanghai Medical Press. Whether Han was a historical person is as yet unknown.

398 Han also mentions that those who study new learning are all calling out loudly to expel these “absurd doctrines”, and some publish printed material that is spread to every province. The experts Ding mentions in response include one Yu Zhonghuan 俞仲還, who twenty years previously had established the Three Equalities Academy 三等學堂 in Chong'an Temple 崇安寺, and who later also helped establish Wenming Books, the publishing house through which Ding had issued many of his early works.

forever, how can I repay you!” The texts and selections that Ding instructs Han to read are four other texts that appear in the series, as well as the essentials from *Dengbudeng guan zalu* 等不等觀雜錄 (Miscellaneous Records of Observing Equality and Inequality) by Yang Wenhui. The chapters that follow this exchange continue this theme of presenting evidence for the existence of spirits and other supernatural phenomena to satisfy Han's questions regarding Buddhist doctrines.³⁹⁹

Ding's books for beginners are thus focused, not on issues of language and explication as in his annotated scriptures, but rather on the problem of lack of belief and the need for textual evidence to support the claims made in the scriptural texts. These claims described phenomena that went beyond the material world described by science, the existence and nature of which were subjects of public debate in modern China. While the May Fourth era of the nineteen-teens brought calls for the study of 'Mr. Science' (Sai Xiansheng 賽先生), the open intellectual environment of the early Republic also allowed for many groups dedicated to the study of spiritualism (*lingxue* 靈學), inspired partly by its popularity in late-Victorian Europe and North America.⁴⁰⁰ From 1918 to 1920 Zhonghua Books published the periodical

399 The texts are *Foxue chujie* 佛學初階, *Foxue qixin bian* 佛學起信編, *Foxue zhi jichu* 佛學之基礎, and *Foxue zhinan* 佛學指南. On *Dengbudeng guan zalu*, see Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 231.

400 For a discussion of how scientific discourses of evidence impacted understandings of spiritualist phenomena in Victorian England, see Peter Lamont, “Spiritualism and a Mid-Victorian Crisis of Evidence”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47, no. 4 (2004): 897-920.

Lingxue congzhi 靈學叢誌 (Journal of Spiritualism) for the Shanghai lingxue hui 上海靈學會 (Shanghai Spiritualism Society), and advertisements and articles relating to the society appear in the Buddhist periodicals *Jueshu*, *Haichao yin*, and *Foxue yuekan* 佛學月刊. This group, with which Ding Fubao was directly involved, sought to investigate and document spiritual phenomena by drawing upon a multitude of East Asian and European textual sources, and reflects a widespread openness toward the supernatural among cultural and political elite of Republican China.⁴⁰¹ Taixu, in contrast, remained stridently against the supernatural aspects of the Buddhist tradition and stressed instead its human and social elements, a stream of thought that would, particularly among his students and disciples, later develop into *Renjian Fojiao* 人間佛教 (Humanistic Buddhism). Ding, like the spiritualists, insists on the truth of Buddhism's extra-material aspects, and recommends that anyone who doubts them need look no further than in textual sources. *Chuyue Fojing zhi xiashou chu* 初閱佛經之下手處 (Where to Start when Beginning to Read Buddhist Scriptures), a list of titles in his series along with short précis, is appended to the very end of *Foxue cuoyao*. The listed books include quoted endorsements by Yinguang – “This book is indeed able to open one's mind and stimulate the thinking of the next generation; of all the books that [Ding] has written, the benefits of this one are the most comprehensive” – and one by Daojie, and each listing for the annotated scriptures is

401 See Huang Kewu 黃克武, “Minguo chunian Shanghai de lingxue yanjiu: yi Shanghai lingxue hui weili” 民國初年上海的靈學研究：以「上海靈學會」為例, *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊, Vol. 55 (Mar., 2007): 99-136.

accompanied by an outline of its content and history.⁴⁰² Each book in the series similarly refers the reader to other titles in the series, either through references in the prefatory matter, or more directly through book lists such as this appended to the text.

While annotated scriptures and books for beginners were both already important genres within the Buddhist textual corpus, in Ding's Buddhist Studies series they were reinvented and intended to play new types of roles. The annotations in the scriptural texts rely not on the editor's personal insight, but rather on guiding the reader toward cross-checking terms and teachings across several Buddhist texts, and investigating for themselves rather than following the religious guidance of an instructor. The Buddhist teachings, according to Ding, were inherent in the texts themselves; or rather they existed in the connections and relationships between many different texts, and the core problem in understanding them lay in their great number and complexity. His exegesis sought to hew as close as possible to the grain of the text, even writing in formal, classical language rather than in print colloquial (*baihua* 白化), which was quickly spreading as an accessible print language in China.⁴⁰³ His books for beginners, on the other hand, focused on problems of belief and evidence, rather than introducing the reader to a few select parts of the canon, or laying out the structures and

402 『此書洵足以發聾振聵，啓迪後人，疇隱所著各書，惟此為益最溥。』 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 131-140.

403 A book from 1925, for example, presented the Diamond Sūtra with colloquial explanations, and was surtitled *xinshi biaodian* 新式標點 (Punctuated in the New Style). See [S0474](#).

patterns of the Buddhist tradition in easily understood terms, as earlier textbooks like Yang Wenhui's had done. In this he pursued a parallel course to that of his earlier studies of medicine, where truth was to be found not in one's interpretation of the material, but in studying what others had discovered and the evidence they have recorded to support their claims. In several instances Ding's works liken Buddhism to a medicine for the mind, while the connection to hygiene and health was also made much more directly: appended to *Foxue cuoyao*, for example, is a brief essay entitled “Weisheng yaoyu shize” 衛生要語十則 (Ten Essential Phrases for Protecting Life) that lists ten practices that address physical and mental health: sleeping eight hours per night, deep breathing exercises, moderation in carnal desires, brisk walking exercises, and so on.⁴⁰⁴ The books in Ding's series were thus oriented toward providing the individual reader the tools they needed to study Buddhism for themselves, to apprehend the teachings of the Buddhist scriptures without the help of an outside instructor, and to build up their own hermeneutic strategies based on material that Ding has selected from the enormous Buddhist textual canon. This overall orientation is best exemplified in Ding's dictionary of Buddhist Studies, the largest work in the series and the first of its kind in modern China.

404 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 141-142. This essay had appeared earlier in *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 (Eastern Miscellany), Vol. 6, no. 9 (1909).

4. Buddhist Lexicography

Lexicography was at the core of Ding's decade-long involvement with Buddhist studies. As a bibliophile and book collector, he began compiling his own lexicon of Buddhist terms to help him read and understand the scriptures he was adding to his collection. Textual exegesis is a central topic throughout his annotated scriptures and books for beginners; and the publication of his *Foxue da cidian* 佛學大辭典 (Great Dictionary of Buddhist Studies) in 1921 marked the completion of the main part of his Buddhist collectanea, as well as the beginning of a shift in his interests toward other religious traditions. His dictionary has since become a major source for the study of Chinese Buddhist lexicography, having been reprinted a number of times, most recently as a digital edition online.⁴⁰⁵ Apart from its legacy, the dictionary is important for a number of reasons. Like annotated scriptures and books for beginners, lexicographical works were already part of the Chinese Buddhist textual corpus, but the provenance and structure of Ding's dictionary were both unprecedented in this context. Additionally, the influence of Japanese Buddhist scholarship was a new factor, as Ding's work is essentially a translation of a Japanese-language Buddhist dictionary first published in 1917. Finally, the

405 Ding Fubao, *Foxue da cidian* 佛學大辭典, 16 Vols. (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1921). Included in the dictionary is Ding's autobiographical chronology, *Chouyin jushi ziding nianpu* 疇隱居士自訂年譜. A third edition was issued in 1929. The first post-1949 reprint was issued by the Huayan lianshe 華嚴蓮社 in Taipei in 1956 in 4 volumes, and many reprints have followed. An HTML version of the dictionary is maintained by the *Shizi hou* 師子吼 (Lion's Roar) Buddhist Studies Group of National Taiwan University at <http://cbs.ntu.edu.tw/dict/dfb/data/>, also currently mirrored at <http://buddhaspace.org/dict/dfb/data/>.

dictionary was closely tied to Ding's persona as an author and scholar, and more than any other work in the series exemplifies the values and techniques that Ding saw as constitutive of 'Buddhist Studies'. As a metonym for the series, the structure and import of the dictionary reveal both the strengths and the contradictions inherent in Ding's vision of *Foxue*.

The variety of translation methods, source texts, and exegetical strategies used by different Chinese translators of Buddhist texts in different eras gave rise to a large number of new and re-purposed Chinese terms through the Eastern Han 東漢 (25 – 220 CE) to the Tang 唐 (618 – 907 CE) dynasties. One of the first efforts to standardize the meaning and pronunciation of Buddhist Hybrid Chinese was *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 (Sounds and Meanings for all [the words in the] Scriptures, 810) by Xuanying 玄應 (fl. mid. 7th C CE) and Huilin 慧琳 (737 – 820 CE). This lexicon provides explanations for individual characters and terms from 1,220 different Buddhist texts, corrects mistaken translations that were then in circulation, and provides phonetic Sanskrit originals for specialist Buddhist words.⁴⁰⁶ Similar types of lexicographic studies were produced throughout medieval and early-modern Chinese history, ending with *Wuyi hebi jiyao* 五譯合璧集要 (Essential Collection of Comparative Translations

406 Tso Sze-bong 曹仕邦, "Lun Chen Yuan: Zhongguo Fojiao shiji gailun" 論陳垣: 《中國佛教史籍概論》, *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 中華佛學學報, no. 3 (April 1, 1990), 268-270. <http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-BJ001/03_12.htm>. Xuanying, who assisted the great translator-monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602-664) in his translation work, starting compiling a lexicon but died before it could be finished, leaving a 25-fascicle manuscript. Huilin expanded Xuanying's work and incorporated that of other authors, compiling it into his *Huilin yinyi* 慧琳音義 in 100 fascicles. The work appears as T54 no. 2128. Translation of title adapted from that in DDB.

from Five Languages), published during the Qianlong 乾隆 era (1735 – 1796) of the Qing dynasty. Reflecting the polyglot nature of the Qing state, this text presents translations of key Buddhist terms in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchurian, Mongolian, and Chinese.⁴⁰⁷ In the nineteenth century no new compilations of Buddhist lexicography were attempted in East Asia, but from the first decade of the twentieth century Japanese Buddhist scholars began to publish dictionaries and other types of specialized Buddhist reference books.⁴⁰⁸ One of the earliest was *Kaisetsu Bongogaku* 解說梵語學 (Explication of Sanskrit Linguistics), published in 1907 by the Jōdo-Shinshū-affiliated Buddhist Scholar Sakaki Ryōzaburō 榎亮三郎 (1872 – 1946). As mentioned in chapter one, scholarly publications were part of a concerted effort on the part of Meiji-era Japanese Buddhists to argue for Buddhism's status as a valid academic and scientific subject, and these dictionaries were one aspect of a much larger set of historiographical, philosophical, and exegetical works then being published in Japan. Modern dictionaries differed from earlier lexicographical works in having a more developed organizational structure, with indices so that readers can quickly find a particular term, and in the citation of a wide range of source texts as evidence for the editor's interpretation.

407 This dictionary was reprinted as *Pentaglot Dictionary of Buddhist Terms* in Delhi in 1961. See the entry in the Glossaries for Buddhist Studies collection of Dharma Drum Buddhist College, <<http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/glossaries/glossaries.php#pentaglot>>, which also has a digital edition that omits the Tibetan for download.

408 For an outline of some of these early works, as well as those that followed later in the Shōwa and Heisei eras, see Yu Chongsheng 余崇生, “Ribei Fojiao gongju shu bianji tese lüeshu” 日本佛教工具書編輯特色略述, *Fojiao tushuguan guankan* 佛教圖書館館刊, No. 47 (June 2008): 98-102.

Ding already had a great deal of experience in translating Japanese-language medical texts when he selected *Bukkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Great Dictionary of Buddhism, 1917) to translate as the basis for his Buddhist dictionary.⁴⁰⁹ Its author, Oda Tokunō 織田得能 (1860 – 1911), was, like so many other Japanese Buddhist scholars of his era, a Jōdo Shinshū priest, and a member of the Higashi Honganji sub-sect. From 1888 to 1891 he studied in Thailand, traveled to China in March 1900 and from there visited India, returning home to Japan in April of the following year. He applied his lexicographical skills to other projects, publishing an annotated translation of a commentary by Fazang 法藏 (643 – 712 CE) on the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith) in 1910.⁴¹⁰ His dictionary, however, which he began to compile while still abroad in 1898, was his magnum opus. A fictional and somewhat melodramatic stage play based on his final days portrays Oda neglecting his priestly duties and his wife's attentions to work on his manuscript, for which his health was suffering. The dictionary is a massive text; the 1929 expanded and corrected edition runs to over two

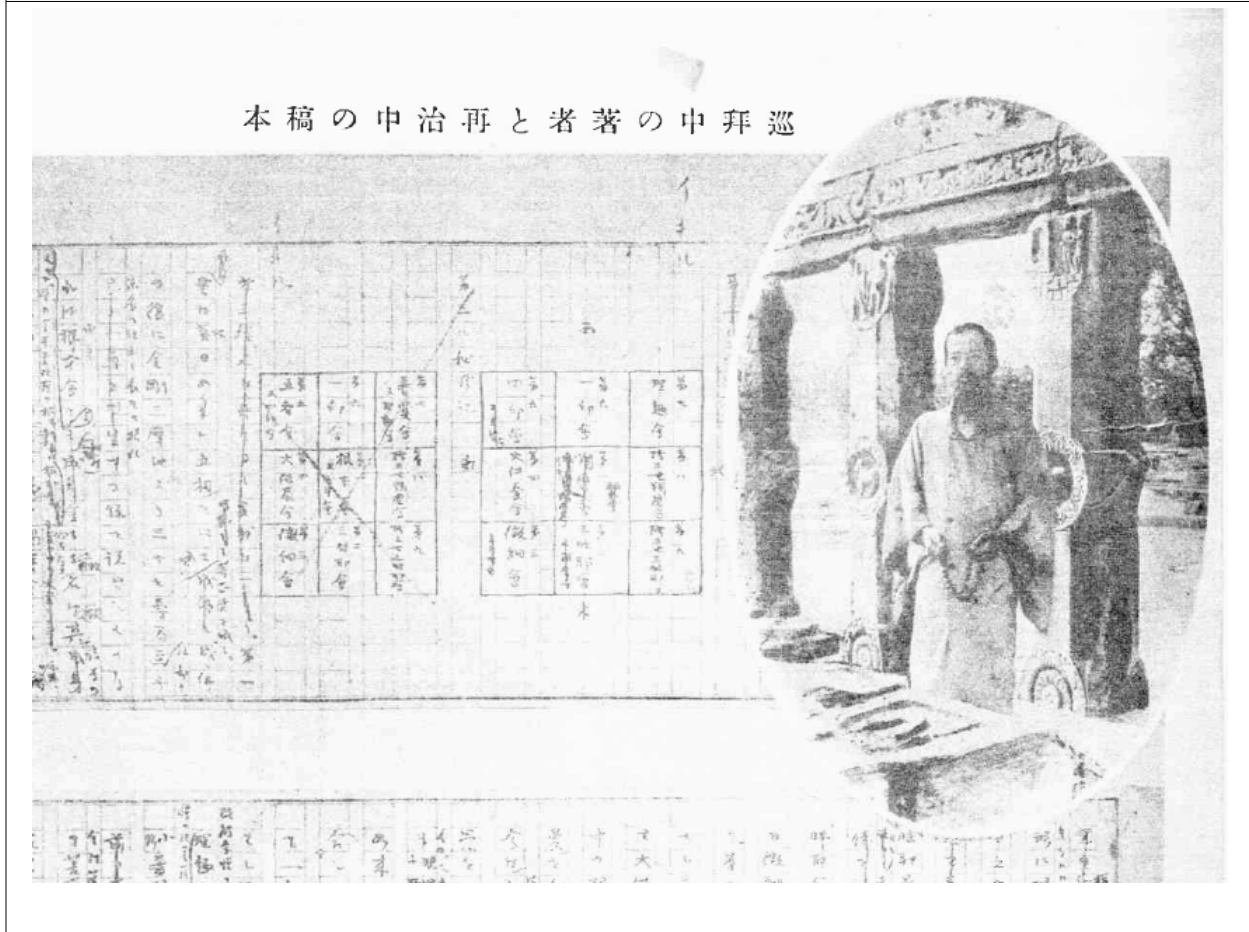
409 Oda Tokunō, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Ōkura shuten 大倉書店, 1917). An expanded and corrected twelfth edition was published in 1929, an original copy of which I was able to consult at the National Taiwan University library. The 1962 reprint edition has the same content and pagination as this edition in a smaller page and font size.

410 Richard M. Jaffe, “Seeking Śākyamuni: Travel and the Reconstruction of Japanese Buddhism”, *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 30, no. 1 (2004), 84fn47. Yoshimoto Takaake, “On Tenkō, or Ideological Conversion” in *Translation in Modern Japan*, edited by Indra Levy (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 119fn7. “Shikō sōzu Oda Tokunō shi ryakushi” 嗣講僧都織田得能師略歷 in Oda, *Bukkyō daijiten*, unpaginated prefatory material. For an English translation of *Dasheng qixin lun*, see Āśvaghosha, attrib., *The Awakening of Faith*, translated with commentary by Yoshito S. Hakeda (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1967).

thousand pages. Entries are ordered by the first syllable of their Japanese pronunciation, with an alphabetical index of Romanized terms, followed by a stroke-order index at the end. Sadly, however, Oda would die before its completion, leaving it to his friends and colleagues Takakusu Junjiro 高楠順次郎 (1866 – 1945), Haga Yaichi 芳賀矢一 (1867 – 1927), Ueda Kazutoshi 上田萬年 (1867 – 1937), and Nanjō Bunyu 南条文雄 (1849 – 1927) to complete and publish the work. Oda's dictionary was no minor publication; Takakusu and Nanjō were two of the leading figures of Japanese Buddhist scholarship of that day, and Haga and Ueda were prominent scholars of *kokugaku* 國學: the study of nativist Japanese history, literature, and language.⁴¹¹ Oda himself looms large as the authorial persona behind the work. An inset image in the prefatory material to the 1929 edition of his dictionary depicts him on pilgrimage to ancient ruins while revising his manuscript, a sheet of which is pictured in the background.

411 Chigiri Kōsai 知切光歳, “Tokuno Oda”, in *Buddhist Plays from Japanese Literature*, translated by Umeyo Hirano (Tokyo: CIIB [Cultural Interchange Institute for Buddhists]; Kenkyusha Printing Co., 1962): 60-74. Takakusu was later involved in compiling and publishing the Taishō Canon; Haga and Ueda both served as president of Kokugakuin University 國學院大學 in Tokyo; Nanjō was mentioned in connection with Yang Wenhui in chapter one, above. Oda's dictionary was not unknown in China. A brief translated section of preface and a few sample entries appear in the periodical *Jueshe congshu* 覺社叢書, no. 2 (Jan., 1919) and no. 4 (July, 1919), MFQ 7:249-250, MFQB 1:68-71.

Figure 7: Oda Tokunō as depicted in his *Bukkyō Daijiten*⁴¹²



In China, the first decade of the Republic was a foundational era for modern scholarship on Chinese lexicography, and in publishing dictionaries for scholarly, official, professional, and general use.⁴¹³ Two important publications were both issued in 1915: *Zhonghua da zidian* 中華大字典 (Great Zhonghua Dictionary), published by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 (Zhonghua Books),

⁴¹² Cropped image, scanned from a photocopy of the original supplied by National Taiwan University Library.

⁴¹³ For a related discussion on how Republican-era Chinese scholars “rediscovered” the Song-dynasty architectural manual *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式 (Treatise on Architectural Methods, 1103), see Li Shiqiao, “Reconstituting Chinese Building Tradition: The Yingzao fashi in the Early Twentieth Century”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, no. 4 (Dec., 2003): 470-489.

lists the meaning and pronunciation for some 48,000 characters, and is based on the contents of the *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (Kangxi Dictionary) of 1716. The other, *Ciyuan* 辭源 (Origins of Words), published by Zhonghua's competitor Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press), focuses on the definition of words of two or more characters, and includes more encyclopedic content. The appearance of these texts reflects both the ability of the printing technology of the time to handle very large and dense texts, and a growing market of literate readers in need of a guide to word meanings and origins. Chinese Buddhists, however, had not yet embraced lexicography as had Buddhists in Japan, and works such as *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (Compilation of Translated Buddhist Terms) by the Song-dynasty monk Fayun 法雲 (1088 – 1158) were still being reprinted.⁴¹⁴ Just three years before the publication of Ding's dictionary, *Fo Erya* 佛爾雅 (The Buddhist Literary Expositor), written by the Qing *jinshi* official Zhou Chun 周春 (1729 – 1815), was reprinted in Shanghai by the Guoxue fulun she 國學扶論社 (Society to Support Discussion of National Learning). Like its classical namesake, the *Fo Erya* is a dictionary-encyclopedia with pithy explanations of Buddhist terms and phrases grouped by type.⁴¹⁵ Works such as these were and still are valuable resources for the study of Buddhist lexicography, but they lacked the valuable indices of new-style dictionaries and did not reflect

414 One edition of *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 was printed by the Jinling Scriptural Press in 1878. See [S2108](#).

415 The term *mohe* 摩訶, for example, is glossed simply as 'big' *da* 大. Zhou Chun 周春, *Fo Erya* 佛爾雅 (Shanghai: Guoxue fulun she, 1917[original preface dated 1791]). Before this reprint was published, this text was mentioned briefly in *Fojiao yuebao* 佛教月報, no. 2 (June, 1913), MFQ 5:442-443.

the latest scholarship on textual origins, sources, and translation.

Missionary and orientalist scholars, meanwhile, were among the pioneers of compiling multi-lingual Chinese dictionaries to help in their publishing and research efforts. The groundbreaking Chinese-English dictionary by the Anglo-Scottish missionary Robert Morrison (馬禮遜, 1782 – 1834) was first published in Macao from 1819 to 1823 and reprinted in Shanghai in 1865, and *Hua-Ying zidian* 華英字典 (A Chinese-English Dictionary) by Herbert Giles (翟理斯, 1845 – 1935) was published in Shanghai in 1892 and in London in 1912.⁴¹⁶ By the late 1910s European and North American scholars were producing dictionaries specifically for religious terminology such as *Xinyue Xi-Han-Ying zidian* 新約希漢英字典 (Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary of the New Testament) by John Leighton Stuart (司徒雷登, 1876 – 1962).⁴¹⁷ While studies of Chinese lexicography were proliferating among Chinese and foreign presses, dictionaries were playing a central role in the growth of general literacy among the citizens of the new republic, and in the development of *guoxue* 國學 (national learning). By the 1920s there were a few people who began to suggest that a newly-compiled Buddhist lexicon would be of great use to Chinese Buddhists, and that the lexicographical works of dynasties past were

416 Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language in Three Parts* (Macao: East India Company, 1819-1823).
Herbert Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, limited, 1892; London: B. Quaritch, 1912).

417 John Leighton Stuart, *Xinyue Xi-Han-Ying zidian* 新約希漢英字典 (Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary of the New Testament) (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1918). Stuart later served as the United States ambassador to the Republic of China.

no longer sufficient.⁴¹⁸

Foxue da cidian, translated and edited by Ding Fubao, was the first major newly-compiled Chinese-language Buddhist dictionary since the mid-Qing. The work consists of several prefaces by Ding and others, a note on annotating scriptures,⁴¹⁹ a series of four photographic images of Ding Fubao, the main section of lexicographic entries, an autobiographical chronology (*ziding nianpu* 自訂年譜) covering Ding's life up to 1921, a set of general remarks, and finally a list of stroke-number sections and an index. The front matter was first published separately in 1919, and individual pieces also appeared reprinted in several Buddhist periodicals in the 1920s. Although there is no publication information included in the book, references in advertisements in *Haichao yin* indicate that it was first published between February and May 1921, with another edition or a later print run issued in 1925 that has since become widely-cited as the earliest edition.⁴²⁰ The first edition was printed across sixteen volumes and totaled more than 1,700 pages, while the later 1929 expanded edition was issued in only four volumes. The entries themselves are printed along three columns with key terms

418 In 1920 a contributor to the periodical *Xin Fojiao* 新佛教 (New Buddhism) suggested compiling a *Fojiao xin ciyuan* 佛教新辭源 (New Origins of Buddhist Words), and even included a number of example definitions with textual citations in their articles, but nothing evidently came of it. Zhulin 竹林, “Fojiao xin cidian” 佛教新辭源, *Xin Fojiao* 新佛教, no. 2 (March 25, 1920), MFQ 7:330–331, 345.

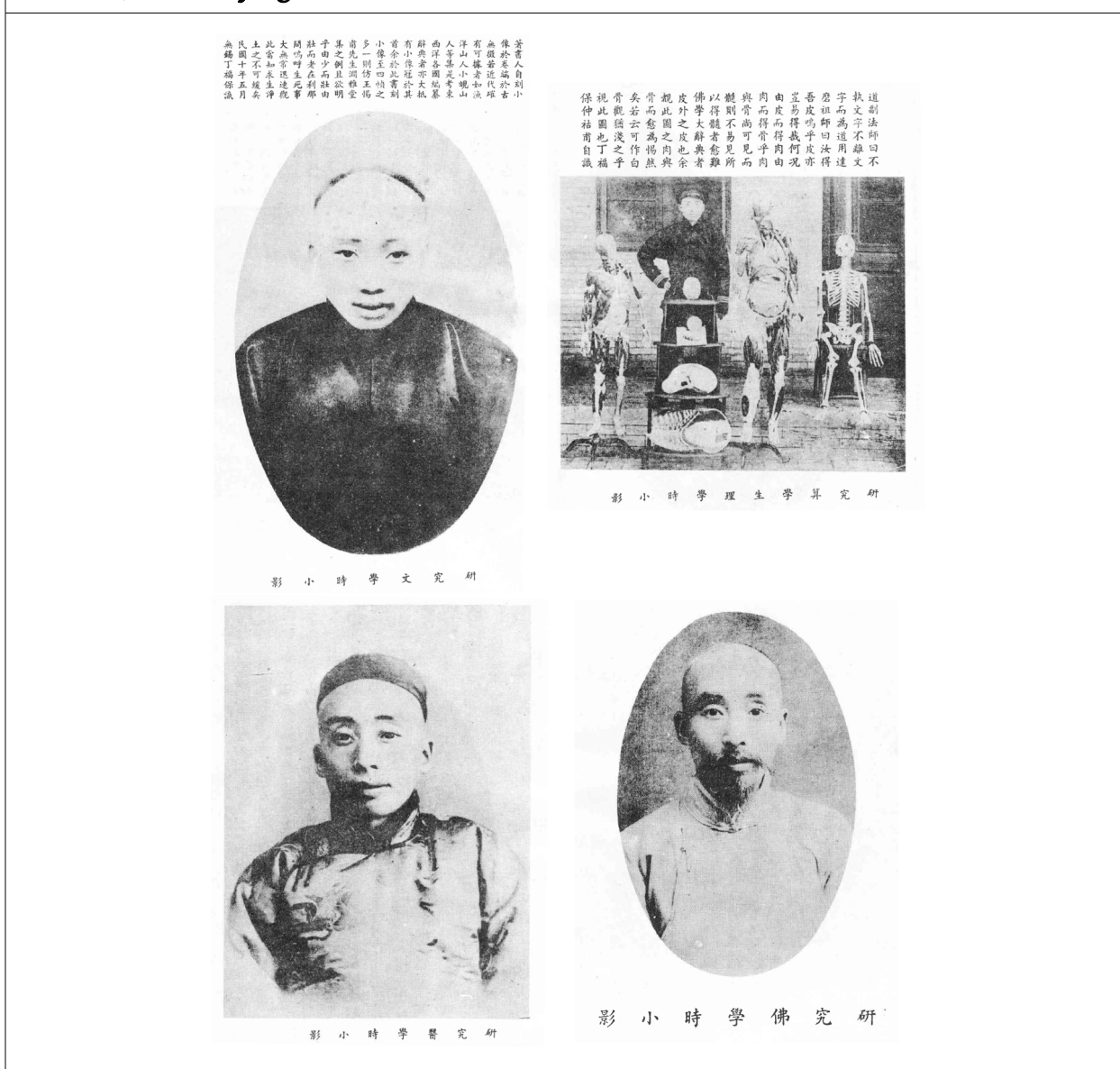
419 Discussed in section three, above.

420 The book list for Shanghai Medical Press published in *Haichao yin* in February 1921 lists the dictionary as being 'in press' 在刊 while the advertisement specifically for the dictionary in the May 1921 issue lists it for sale at 12 yuan, plus 63 cents for postage. MFQ 52, 464. For the 1925 citation, see [S0154](#).

indicated by both overdotting and being enclosed in brackets, while the definitions are punctuated with both pauses (、) and full stops (○). Sanskrit words are sometimes included, rendered in a Latin font. Twelve prefaces open the first volume, three of which were written by Ding, with others contributed by Xianyin 顯蔭 (1902 – 1925), a disciple and student of Dixian and graduate of his Guanzong Research Society; Xu Shaozhen 徐紹楨 (1861 – 1936), a revolutionary and official in the Guomindang; Wu Yanfang 伍延芳 (1842 – 1922), legal scholar and former Qing diplomat; Wang Xinsan 王心三 (1882? – 1950), a former publisher and Tongmenghui member who had turned to Pure Land practice upon reading Yinguang's letters; and Yan Xishan 閻錫山 (1883 – 1960), who had studied in Japan, participated in the 1911 revolution, and was then in control of Shanxi province.⁴²¹ Apart from Xianyin, who was only eighteen at the time, the contributors were all prominent figures in the political, publishing, and scholarly spheres of Republican China.

421 On Xianyin see Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1797-1799. On Wang Xinsan see Kuanlü 寬律, ed., *Jindai wangsheng suiwen lu* 近代往生隨聞錄 (Taipei: Caituan faren Fotuo jiaoyu jijinhui, 1990), entry for 王心湛.

Figure 8: Four Phases of Ding Fubao's Life: Studying Literature, Studying Science, Studying Medicine, and Studying Buddhism⁴²²



Later in the prefatory materials are four photographic pages, each with a captioned image of Ding in a different stage of his life. The earliest photograph depicts the author during his time of studying the humanities (*wenxue* 文學), and the accompanying caption explains his

⁴²² Ding, *Foxue da cidian*, Vol. 1, unpaginated section. The four photographic pages have been combined here into a single image.

reasons in including these images of himself: first, such has been the practice of recent literary collections, and in dictionaries written by authors both at home and overseas, and that by doing so he hoped to show how youth passes to maturity, and then to old age, in a mere instant (*chana* 刹那). The second photograph, picturing Ding during his studies of mathematics and physiology and posed with full-sized models of the human skeleton and internal organs, takes up the anatomical theme in referencing a well-known exchange regarding Bodhidharma's disciples attaining the 'skin' of his teachings.⁴²³ The last two images, showing Ding first as medical student and then as student of Buddhist Studies, have no captions, but they imply a progression both of his physical status and his intellectual development, from youth and literature to advanced age and Buddhism. The inclusion of the medical models hints at the trope of Buddhism as medicine, a pervasive theme in Ding's writings. The parallel to the depiction of Oda Tokunō in his dictionary cannot be ignored, but there were also Chinese Buddhist precedents in the front matter of several periodicals, *Foxue congbao* and *Fojiao yuebao* for example, which featured lithographic images of living Buddhists and famous sites.⁴²⁴

423 The full passage is: 『道副法師曰: 不執文字, 不離文字, 而為道用. 達磨祖師曰: 汝得吾皮. 嗚乎. 皮亦豈易得哉. 何況由皮而得肉, 由肉而得骨乎. 肉與骨尚可見, 而髓則不易見. 所以得髓者愈難. 佛學大辭典者, 皮外之皮也. 余觀此圖之肉與骨, 而愈為惕然矣. 若云可作白骨觀猶淺之乎, 視此圖也.』 Punctuation added. Ding, *Foxue da cidian*, unpaginated prefatory section.

424 See chapter three, sections two and three.

Table 11: Comparison of entries in Oda Tokunō and Ding Fubao⁴²⁵

| Oda, 1917 [1929] | Ding, 1921 [1925] |
|--|---|
| <p>ブツ 佛 [術語] Buddha 佛陀の略。又、佛陀、浮圖、浮頭、勃陀、勃馱、部陀、母陀沒馱。覺者又は智者と譯す、覺に覺察覺悟の二義あり、煩惱を覺察して害を為さしめざるそ世人の賊あるを覺知する如きを覺察と云ひ、之を一切智と名く。諸法の事理を覺知して了了分明なるそ睡夢の寤る如きを覺悟と云ひ之を一切種智と名く。自ら覺し復た能く他を覺せしめ、自他の覺行窮滿するを佛と名く、自覺は凡夫に簡び、覺他は二乘に簡び、覺行窮滿は菩薩に簡異す。(1551)</p> | <p>【佛】（術語）Buddha，佛陀之略，又作休屠、佛陀、浮陀、浮圖、浮頭、勃陀、勃馱、部陀、母陀、沒馱。譯言覺者、或智者。覺有覺察覺悟之二義、覺察煩惱、使不為害、如世人之覺知為賊者、故云覺察、是名一切智。覺知諸法之事理、而了了分明，如睡夢之寤、謂之覺悟、是名一切種智。自覺復能覺他、自他之覺行窮滿、名為佛。自覺者、簡於凡夫、覺他者簡於二乘、覺行窮滿、簡異於菩薩。（1152）</p> |
| <p>シュウハ 宗派 [術語] 大聖出世して大小半滿の諸教を説き一切の機縁を攝化す。滅後の賢聖各教に依て宗を分ち、以て有縁を化益す。今滅後三國の諸宗を列舉せん。… (817)</p> | <p>【宗派】（術語）大聖出世、說大小半滿之諸教、攝化一切機縁。滅後賢聖各依教分宗以化益有縁。今列舉滅後三國之諸宗如下。… (1551)⁴²⁶</p> |
| <p>ジャウド 淨土 [界名] 聖者所住の國土なり。五濁の垢染なきが故に淨土と云ふ。梁譯の [攝論八]に「所居之土無於五濁、如彼玻璃珂等、名清淨土。」[大乘義章十九]に「經中或時名佛地、或稱佛界、或云佛國、或云佛土、或復說為淨刹、淨首、淨國、淨土。」(970)</p> | <p>【淨土】（界名）聖者所住之國土也。無五濁之垢染、故云淨土。梁譯之攝論八曰：「所居之土無於五濁、如彼玻璃珂等、名清淨土。」大乘義章十九曰：「經中或時名佛地、或稱佛界、或云佛國、或云佛土，或復說為淨刹、淨首、淨國、淨土。」(1976)</p> |

Secondary sources allude to the fact that Ding's work is a direct translation and adaptation of the content of Oda's dictionary, but a brief comparison of a few sample entries

⁴²⁵ The key term for each entry is here highlighted in bold for clarity. The larger font size in the Oda entries reflects a larger typeface for the key term and its pronunciation. In Ding, the terms enclosed in rounded square brackets are also marked with emphasis marks (*zhuzhong hao* 著重號). Page number in original given at the end of each entry.

⁴²⁶ Both entries are followed by similar passages defining Buddhist schools in India, China (*Shina* 支那), and Japan.

demonstrates just how closely Ding followed the phrasing and terminology of the Japanese original. As illustrated in the table above, the key terms, part of speech, sentence flow, word order, and quoted passages are nearly identical except where grammatical differences between Japanese and Classical Chinese required an alteration. For the quoted passages, Ding simply removed the *kaeriten* 返り點 that had been added to the original which helped readers parse the phrases into Japanese word order.⁴²⁷ Above the level of individual entries, however, Ding did exercise an editorial influence; for example, he removed '一人', which in Oda which was a disambiguation entry for two other phrases, and added an entry on '一人作虛', which was not present in the original.⁴²⁸ Ding also excised several terms and phrases that were only used in scriptural texts composed in Japan. The core of Ding's dictionary is thus derived from the lexicographical and bibliographic scholarship of Oda Tokunō, and only incidentally a product of his many years of researching Buddhist terminology, a background he describes in several places in his published works. As mentioned above, when annotating Buddhist scriptures himself, Ding tended to formulate his own definitions and cite his own references rather than rely on those in Oda's dictionary or his edited version of it. Instead of forming the basis of Ding's Buddhist scholarship, as one might assume given the size of the work and the

427 These marks are not reproduced in the table above.

428 Short for '一人作虛萬人傳實', a *gongan* 公案 from the *Konggu ji* 空谷集, a Song-dynasty collection. See FGCD [空谷集].

importance of terminology in his series, it is more likely that his dictionary was instead composed for others to help in their own self-directed studies.

Foxue da cidian had a wide-ranging presence in contemporary and later Buddhist print media. It is featured in several Buddhist books and periodicals from the 1920s onward, in the form of reprinted sections, articles discussing the work, and in advertisements and lists of Buddhist books published by Ding's Medical Press. One of its earliest appearances is in the series title *Foxue cuoyao* (1920), wherein the dictionary is praised as “the mouthpiece of the scriptures, feast of the discourses, distinguishes large from small, both profound and historical.”⁴²⁹ A short advertisement appears over several issues of the periodical *Haichao yin* 海潮音, and the dictionary's General Remarks (*liyan* 例言), Ding's first preface, and Xianyin's preface are also reprinted in issues from 1921 and 1922. At the time Ding's Shanghai Medical Press, along with Wenming shuju 文明書局 (Wenming Books), was one of the three main distributors for the periodical. The latter preface was also printed in the periodical *Foguang yuebao* 佛光月報 (Buddha Light Monthly), a publication of Huayan University 華嚴大學 based at Hardoon Gardens in Shanghai, and which was also retailed by the Medical Press.⁴³⁰ One

429 The full description is 『是書筌篋於羣經。彙絜於衆論。識大識小。亦玄亦史。莊嚴如入天府。瑰麗如入都市。大則黃鐘赤刀。弘璧琬琰。小則米鹽粟菽竹馬晬盤。色色形形。奇奇怪怪。聞者動心。觀者駭目。舉凡東西兩方與佛乘有關係之學說。悉滙萃於斯。洵是名理之淵府。心王之遊苑。蔚然為東西大小乘元氣浩汗之一切經之總注也。其搜羅之廣博。考據之精詳。約此佛學小辭典多十倍。』 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 140.

430 *Haichao yin* articles and advertisements appear in MFQ 150:52, 77-82, 464, 152:215-217, 236, 315-316, 470, 153:202, 347. The text of the first advertisement that features the dictionary on its own, that in the May 20, 1921 issue, MFQ 150:464, is very close in content to the *précis* in *Foxue cuoyao*. The *Foguang* article is from

series of articles by Xianyin on matters relating to Japan includes a short note on the relationship between Ding's dictionary and esoteric Buddhist teachings:

The prosperity of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan is truly admirable. Tiantai followers transmitted esoteric teachings called *Taimi*, and thus most of their teachings are in fact Esoteric writings. Oda Tokunō's *Great Buddhist Dictionary* takes most of its content from Esoteric Buddhism. It goes without saying that our Chinese Esoteric studies have long since died out. Today, among those who wish to rejuvenate this path, there are many who take their materials from the *Great Buddhist Dictionary*. This book has been translated and reprinted by Layman Chouyin [Ding Fubao]. I feel this is especially fine. It's truly an extremely good reference book for those studying the Esoteric canon.⁴³¹

Xianyin's identification of Oda and Ding's dictionary as a source for students may just be in service of his own personal pursuits, which before his untimely death focused on reviving Esoteric Buddhism in China, but it does reflect the fact that this work was a ready resource for different types of scholarly and doctrinal agendas among Chinese Buddhists.

The dictionary was widely advertised throughout the print run of *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊 (Buddhist Studies Biweekly), the periodical of Shanghai Foxue shuju 上海佛學書局

March 2, 1923, MFQ 12:82-84. See the listing of 總代發行所 on MFQ 150:119. The third distributor was Taidong Books 泰東圖書局, also in Shanghai. Advertisements were also published in 1924 and 1925 in *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊, see MFQB 8:354, 9:66.

431 『日本密教之隆盛。誠為可欽。即天台家亦傳密教。謂之台密。故教相方面。大半皆密教之著述也。織田得能所編之佛教大辭典。其內容多採取於密教。可想而知。我華密學久絕。今欲重光斯道。其取資於佛教大辭典者。甚多。此書經疇隱居士逡譯而重編之。尤覺完美。誠研究密藏之極好參考書也。丁氏編佛學大辭典。其卷首冠以肖影。華人士多非議之者。殊不知織田氏所編之佛教大辭典。其卷首固載有織田氏之肖影也。且東人士之著述。多冠肖影於卷首。不足為異。可笑華人士之少見多怪。見駱駝而曰馬腫背也。』 The latter part of the note, not translated above, is another indication that having a photograph of the author in a Chinese publication was still widely regarded as an oddity. *Haichao yin*, year 5, no. 6 (July 21, 1924), MFQ 159:326-327.

(Shanghai Buddhist Books), the largest specialist Buddhist press of the Republican era, which also sold the dictionary as part of its publication catalogue. The publication ran from 1929 to 1941, and features advertisements both specifically for the dictionary and for the larger set of Buddhist publications issued by the Medical Press. In January 1934 it also published an article by Chenkong 塵空 (1908 – 1979) that critiques and suggests corrections to the dictionary's entry on *ba jingjie* 八敬戒 (the eight ethical precepts for nuns). Chenkong first quotes the entire entry, then points out that cited passage from *Sifen lü* 四分律 (The Four-Part Vinaya) is rendered incorrectly. He provides the correct passages from relevant sources, and argues that even putting aside the mistaken citation the entry as published is still unclear, closing his article with a succinct list of each precept and an explanation of its meaning.⁴³² Given Ding's stated devotion to staying close to the original texts the error described by Chenkong is quite surprising. Ordinarily a few mistaken citations in a work of hundreds of pages should not be cause for concern, whether it be a dictionary or a dissertation. Yet the fact that the entire entry was judged deficient is an indication, though an isolated one, that there were more systemic problems with Ding's work in the eyes of some of his contemporaries.

432 The *Foxue banyue kan* advertisements were published between 1932 and 1934, and appear in MFQ 47:294, where Shanghai Buddhist Books is listed as a distributor, and MFQ 48:11, 474, 49:67. Chenkong's article is from July 1934, MFQ 61:348-350. The dictionary is mentioned only a few times during the turbulent period of the Second Sino-Japanese War, when few Buddhist periodicals remained in print. See for example MFQ 55:51, MFQB 65:243, 386. An announcement in December 1943 informs the reader that one Master Bianneng 徧能法師 intends to re-edit and publish the dictionary, while a very short advertisement for Ding's edition appears the same month in the periodical *Huideng* 慧燈. MFQ 97:527, MFQB 74:134.

The dictionary did not spark an immediate flood of similar works, as sometimes occurred with successful publications in Republican China, and in fact for the remainder of the decade it would be older lexicons that would be reprinted much more often. In 1923 in the same Buddhist Studies series, Ding published a reprint of *Sanzang fashu* 三藏法數 (Categories of Buddhist Concepts from the Canon), a collection of definitions for numbered terms, such as the three realms (*sanjie* 三界) and the five skandas (*wuyun* 五蘊), that was first compiled in the fifteenth century.⁴³³ The ninth-century lexicon *Yiqie jing yinyi*, mentioned at the start of this section, went through a number of reprintings and edited editions in the 1920s, including an indexed edition by Chen Zuolin 陳作霖 (1837 – [1920?]) printed privately in Guangzhou in 1923 and in Shanghai by Ding in 1924, reprints of the main and extended volumes also by Ding's press in 1924, and another edition “with cited commentary and comments” by Tian Qian 田潛 (1870 – 1926) published in Beijing in the same year. Finally, in 1929 the Commercial Press, which printed very few Buddhist works under its own imprint, published the twelfth-century lexicon *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (Compilation of Translated Buddhist Terms) by Fayun 法雲 (1088 – 1158), also issuing a reprint in 1933.⁴³⁴

433 Its full title is *Daming sanzang fashu* 大明三藏法數. Ding's preface to the work was reprinted in *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan*, nos. 1 and 2 combined issue, [1925?], MFQB 7:78-79. See DDB [法數] for title translation.

434 Chen Zuolin, 陳作霖, *Yiqie jing yinyi tongjian* 一切經音義通檢 (Guangzhou: Jiangshi shenxiu shuwu, 1923; Shanghai: Wuxi Dingshi, 1924); Ding Fubao, ed., *Yiqie jing yinyi zhengbian* 一切經音義正編, and Xilin, 希麟, ed., *Xu yiqie jing yinyi* 續一切經音義 (Shanghai: Wuxi Dingshi, 1924); Tian Qian 田潛, *Yiqie jing yinyi yinshuo wenjian* 一切經音義引說文箋 (Beijing: Wenkai zhai juan, 1924); Fayun 法雲, *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1929). On the 1933 reprint, see *Foxue banyue kan* 佛學半月刊, no. 64 (Oct. 1,

There were a few newly compiled Chinese Buddhist dictionaries printed in the 1920s and 1930s. One of which, *Foxue xiao cidian* 佛學小辭典 (Small Dictionary of Buddhist Studies) by Sun Zulie 孫祖烈 (Sun Jizhi 孫繼之, fl. 1910s – 1930s), was issued as part of Ding's series. This work is an abbreviated and simplified version of Ding's larger dictionary, sparing the extensive explanations and citations in favour of short, simple definitions for terms. Shanghai Buddhist Books, which retailed Ding's Great dictionary, also published its own *Shiyong Foxue cidian* 實用佛學辭典 (Practical Buddhist Studies Dictionary) in 1934, with three more reprints before 1950.⁴³⁵ Abroad the production of Buddhist dictionaries continued, particularly in Japan, with works such as *Hōbōgirin* 法寶義林 (Forest of Meanings of the Dharma Jewels) by Sylvain Lévi (1863 – 1935) and Takakusu Junjiro, the first fascicle of which was published in Tokyo from 1929 to 1930, and *Bukkyo daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Great Dictionary of Buddhism) by Mochizuki Shinko 望月信亨, first published in 1932. Finally, Oda and Ding's work would be one of main sources for the foundational English-language Buddhist dictionary translated by William Edward Soothill and Lewis Houdous published in 1937, and which since has been incorporated

1933), MFQ 48:474. Ding also published an 'essentials' edition of both volumes: *Zheng xu yiqie jin yinyi tiyao* 正續一切經音義提要, reprinted in *Shuowen jiezi yanjiu wenxian jicheng, xian-dang dai juan* 說文解字研究文獻集成 現當代卷, Vol. 8 (Beijing: Zuojia chuban she, 2008).

435 Sun Zulie 孫祖烈, *Foxue xiao cidian* 佛學小辭典 (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, [1919?]). There may also be a fifth edition from 1926. *Foxue shuju bianjibu* 佛學書局編輯部, *Shiyong Foxue cidian* 實用佛學辭典 (Shanghai: Foxue shuju, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1947). The surtitle *Shiyong* appears in some library and bibliographic catalogue entries but not others, since it appears above the main title on the book cover.

in digital form into the present *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* edited by A. Charles Muller.⁴³⁶

Lexicographic studies were thus an important part of Buddhist studies, both in the narrow terms of Ding's series, and in the wider sense of East Asian and global scholarship on Buddhist religious culture. Ding's *Foxue da cidian*, however, like Oda's dictionary, was more than simply a reference book (*gongju shu* 工具書, literally “tool book”). The tragic story of Oda's devotion to his task and the photographic and biographic representations of Ding's personas in his dictionary form attest to the importance of these works as products of a personal scholarly and religious devotion. By collecting the very terms of the Buddhist teachings and attempting to lay their meaning bare for the reader to access, lexicography was an essential part of Ding's mission to help readers experience the immediate contact with the teachers and exegetes of eras past, as he himself had experienced when reading the scriptures.

5. Conclusion

In 1924, Ding felt that with his series largely published, he had fulfilled his vow with respect to reprinting edited Buddhist texts, and although a few more titles would later be added to his

436 Sylvain Lévi and Takakusu Junjirō, *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Bouddhisme d'après les Sources Chinoises et Japonaises* (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1929-); Mochizuki Shinko 望月信亨, *Bukkyo daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Bukkyo Daijiten Hakkojo, 1932-[1936?]). William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms: with Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1937). *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* 電子佛教辭典, <<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>>, cited here as DDB.

Foxue congshu, from this time onward he began to focusing more on writing and research on literary and other topics, including Daoist scriptures.⁴³⁷ Although its editor had turned his attention elsewhere, the series continued to have a life and impact of its own. After the death of his father in 1921, Cai Niansheng 蔡念生 received a copy of *Foxue cuoyao* 佛學撮要 (Essentials of Buddhist Studies) from a monk, sparking his interest in Buddhism. Since he was working in the provincial government of Fengtian 奉天 at the time, far removed from the publishing heartland of Shanghai and the Jiangnan region, Cai ordered Buddhist books through the mail, later becoming a well-known lay scholar of Buddhism.⁴³⁸ In a letter written in 1928, the Pure Land monk, scholar and artist Hongyi 弘一 (1880 – 1942) praised the series and the dictionary, saying that they were especially suited for people who did not yet believe in Buddhism.⁴³⁹ It was also the target of some criticism, as in a 1923 article by Tang Xueyun 湯雪筠 (d.u.) which argued that the content of Ding's books was not Buddhist at all.⁴⁴⁰ Yet books in the series would remain in print and widely advertised through the remainder of the Republican period.⁴⁴¹

437 Ding, *Nianpu*, 326; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:270.

438 See Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1583-1586; Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 431. Cai was the editor of the 1970 reprint of Ding's series.

439 Lin Ziqing 林子青, ed., *Hongyi fashi shu xin* 弘一法師書信 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1990), 225.

440 Tang Xueyun 湯雪筠, “Yu Ding Fubao jushi taolun Foxue congshu” 與丁福保居士討論佛學叢書, *Foxue xunkan* 佛學旬刊, No. 26 (Jan. 4, 1923), MFQ 8:175-177.

441 See for example the advertisement in *Luohan cai* 羅漢菜 in October 1942, stating that free copies of *Foxue*

While Ding's persona was an important element behind the series, it is important to remember that his work relating to Buddhism only lasted about a decade, not long after which compiling and publishing Daoist scriptures became his new focus.⁴⁴² His connections to contemporary Chinese Buddhists were, especially when compared to other authors and publishers, quite limited; it appears unlikely that he ever took the lay precepts under a recognized monastic master. Rather, Ding sought to make the texts his master, and further to let them take the place of a teacher for readers of Buddhist studies. The potentially destabilizing effect this could have on established patterns of instructional and patronage lineages would be quite similar to the radical programs of education and organization, such as Buddhist seminaries and lay-led religious associations, that others were then putting into action.

cuoyao were available for the cost of postage, MFQ 88:241; another note regarding the distribution of the text is in *Jue youqing* 覺有情, Oct. 1, 1942, MFQB 61:406.

442 See Ding, *Nianpu*, 388; Liu Xun, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 37.

Chapter Five

Opening the Dharma Bridge: Periodical, Scriptural, and Commercial Publishing, 1920 – 1929

1. Introduction

Writing at the beginning of the 1920s, Ding Fubao was concerned that the “sea of scriptures” was so vast that without proper guidance, people would be unable to navigate it. In the decade that followed, however, the number of Buddhist publications being printed and circulated in China would only increase. Writing in 1923, the American missionary Lewis Houdous (He Leyi 何樂益, 1872 – 1949) recorded his observations on the state of Buddhism in China as part of a series of studies commissioned by the Board of Missionary Preparation of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America.⁴⁴³ He mentions then-recent developments such as temple-based publishing, the scriptural presses at Nanjing, Yangzhou, and Beijing, the Kalaviṅka canon, Zhonghua Books publications, and Ding Fubao's dictionary, before turning to Buddhist books and periodicals:

Among the publications have appeared two magazines. One published at Ningpo, is called “New Buddhism.” This is struggling and may have to succumb.

⁴⁴³ The FMCNA was a voluntary association of mission boards in Canada and the United States, active from 1893 to 1952. See MRL 12: Foreign Missions Conference of North America (FMCNA) Records, 1894 - 1968, the Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries) at Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The other is known as the “Sound of the Sea Tide,” now published in Hankow. Moreover, in all the large cities there are Buddhist bookshops where only Buddhist works are sold. These all report a good business. This literary activity reveals an interest among the reading classes of China. Few such books are purchased by the monks. The Chinese scholars read them for their style and for their deep philosophy, but also for light and for help in the present distracting political situation of their country.⁴⁴⁴

Houdous felt that the recent increase in Buddhist publishing was significant, yet he observed that monastics rarely read these new materials. His observations match those made by the Baptist missionary Earl Herbert Cressy (Ge Deji 葛德基, 1883 – 1979) and his assistants in their survey of Chinese religious culture in Wuchang, Hankou, and Hangzhou undertaken in 1930 and 1931. Cressy's survey found very few monks who read anything other than scriptural texts, and only one respondent who read a Buddhist periodical.⁴⁴⁵

The expansion of Buddhist print culture in the 1920s was, however, largely not taking place in the temples and monasteries visited by Cressy, but was rather the product of lay associations, scriptural presses, seminaries, commercial printers, and the “Buddhist bookshops” mentioned by Houdous. One example of this was Buddhist periodicals, of which

444 Houdous, *Buddhism and Buddhists in China*, ebook edition, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/8390>>, chapter IX section 3. Houdous later co-translated and co-edited *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & co., Ltd., 1937) based on the dictionaries by Oda and Ding.

445 Earl Herbert Cressy, “A Study in Indigenous Religions”, in *Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry Fact-Finders' Reports: China; Volume V, Supplementary Series, Part Two*, edited by Orville A. Petty (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1933), 709. That periodical was *Haichao yin*. Manuscript copies of Cressy's research can be found in the MRL collection of Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries) at Union Theological Seminary, New York.

there were over forty founded in the 1920s. While many of these were short-lived, new titles appeared with regularity, and several continued publication into the 1930s, 1940s, and beyond:

| Table 12: Chinese-language Buddhist Periodicals founded in the 1920s | | | |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Name</i> | <i>Year Founded</i> | <i>Publishing Locations</i> | <i>See MFQ</i> |
| <i>Haichao yin</i> 海潮音 | 1920 | Hangzhou; Shanghai | 205:57-58 |
| <i>Xin Fojiao</i> 新佛教 | 1920 | Ningbo | 205:2 |
| <i>Foxue yuekan</i> 佛學月刊 | 1921 | Shanghai | 205:8-9 |
| <i>Foxue xunkan</i> 佛學旬刊 | 1922 | Chengdu | 205:2-3 |
| <i>Xin Fohua xunkan</i> 新佛化旬刊 | 1922 | Beijing | 205:4 |
| <i>Nanying Fojiao hui huibao</i> 南瀛佛教會會報 | 1923 | Taihoku, Taiwan | 205:49-50 |
| <i>Zhongdao</i> 中道 | 1923 | Taichū, Taiwan | 205:50 |
| <i>Foxue huikan</i> 佛學彙刊 | 1923 | Shanghai | B84:2-3 |
| <i>Fohua xin qingnian</i> 佛化新青年 | 1923 | Hankou; Beijing | 205:5-6 |
| <i>Neixue</i> [niankan] 內學[年刊] | 1923 | Nanjing | 205:3 |
| <i>Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan</i> 世界佛教居士林林刊 | 1923 | Shanghai | 205:6; B84:7-8 |
| <i>Foguang</i> 佛光 | 1923 | Yangzhou | 205:4-5 |
| <i>Foyin</i> 佛音 | 1924 | Xiamen | 205:4 |
| <i>Dayun</i> [yuekan] 大雲[月刊] | 1924 | Shaoxing | 205:3-4 |
| <i>Fohua zhoukan</i> 佛化周刊 | 1925 | Shanghai | 205:8 |
| <i>Foxue yuebao</i> 佛學月報 | 1925 | Hanyang | 205:12-13 |
| <i>Taiwan Fojiao xinbao</i> 台灣佛教新報 | 1925 | Taihoku, Taiwan | B84:5-6 |
| <i>Sucheng yinpin hui xunkan</i> 蘇城隱貧會旬刊 | 1925 | Suzhou | B84:6 |
| <i>Nieshi jiayan xunkan</i> 聶氏家言旬刊 <i>Nieshi jiayan xuankan</i> 聶氏家言選刊 | 1925 | Shanghai | B84:73 |
| <i>Sichuan Fojiao xunkan</i> 四川佛教旬刊 | 1925 | Chengdu | 205:51 |
| <i>Renzhi lin congkan</i> 仁智林叢刊 | 1926 | Beijing | 205:7-8 |
| <i>Dongfang wenhua</i> 東方文化 | 1926 | Shanghai | 205:10 |
| <i>Sanjue congkan</i> 三覺叢刊 [<i>Sanjue yuekan</i> 三覺月刊] | 1926 | Wuchang | 205:11 |
| <i>Jingye yuekan</i> 淨業月刊 | 1926 | Shanghai | 205:50 |

| | | | |
|--|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Xindeng</i> 心燈 | 1926 | Shanghai | B84:13-14 |
| <i>Fohua xunkan</i> (Chengdu) 佛化旬刊(成都) | 1926 | Chengdu | 205:7 |
| <i>Lengyan tekan</i> 楞嚴特刊 <i>Lengyan zhuankan</i> 楞嚴專刊 | 1926 | Guangzhou | 205:9 |
| <i>Pinjia yin banyue kan</i> 頻伽音半月刊 | 1926 or earlier | Guangzhou | 27:61 |
| <i>Jiayin</i> [zhoubao] 迦音[周報] | 1926 or earlier | Guangzhou | 27:61; 170:108 |
| <i>Lingquan yuekan</i> 靈泉月刊 | 1926 or earlier | Kiirun, Taiwan | 27:61; 170:108 |
| <i>Fohua cejinhui huikan</i> 佛化策進會會刊 | 1927 | Xiamen | 205:11 |
| <i>Chenzhong</i> 晨鐘 | 1927 | Changre | B84:18-19 |
| <i>Fobao xunkan</i> 佛寶旬刊 | 1927 | Beijing | B84:19 |
| <i>Foguang she shekan</i> 佛光社社刊 | 1927 | Shanghai | 205:6-7 |
| <i>Hongfa she kan</i> 弘法社刊 | 1928 | Ningbo | 205:10-11 |
| <i>Xiandai sengqie</i> 現代僧伽 <i>Xiandai Fojiao</i> 現代佛教 | 1928 | Xiamen | 205:21 |
| <i>Zhejiang quansheng Fojiaohui xunkan</i> 浙江全省佛教會旬刊 <i>Zhejiang quansheng Fojiaohui huikan</i> 浙江全省佛教會會刊 | 1928 | Hangzhou | B84:20-21 |
| <i>Tianjin Fojiao jushilin linkan</i> 天津佛教居士林林刊 | 1928 or earlier | Tianjin | 205:56 |
| <i>Fohua suikan</i> 佛化隨刊 | 1928 or earlier | Xi'an, Shaanxi | 170:108 |
| <i>Lingquan tongxin</i> 靈泉通信 | 1928 or earlier | Guangzhou | 205:17 |
| <i>Zhongguo Fojiao hui gongbao</i> 中國佛教會公報 | 1929 | Shanghai | 205:9-10 |
| <i>Xizang Banchan zhujing bangongchu yuekan</i> 西藏班禪駐京辦公處月刊 | 1929 | Beijing | 205:13 |
| <i>Shanxi Fojiao yuekan</i> 山西佛教月刊 | 1929 | Taiyuan | 205:57 |

Like many of the Buddhist publications examined in previous chapters, several of these periodicals were published in the new print culture nexus of urban Shanghai, but other cities were also emerging as important centers for publication, including Beijing and Guangzhou. Regardless of where they were printed, periodicals were distributed across China via a network

of local bookstores, scripture distributors, and Buddhist associations. Title lists like those printed in *Sanjue congkan* 三覺叢刊 and *Haichao yin* 海潮音 linked readers of individual titles to other periodicals then in print.⁴⁴⁶ Scriptural press and distributor catalogues in the 1920s also expanded greatly; from the roughly 120 titles in the 1912 catalogue of the Jinling Scriptural Press, we find over 1,100 entries in a 1920 catalogue, and over 3,300 in one from 1923.⁴⁴⁷

In this chapter I examine a few notable examples of periodical, scriptural, and commercial Buddhist publishing in the 1920s. Buddhist religious and social institutions made use of the expanding print industry during the era spanning the May Fourth Movement and the beginning of the Nanjing Decade, and while they may have produced fewer experimental innovations than in the 1910s, there was a great deal of development of newly-established forms of Buddhist print culture. One important development was Buddhist publishers gradually adopting organizational forms from the commercial world, while maintaining a non-profit orientation focused on the economy of merit. Another was the increasing integration of various types of publication through shared references and advertisements. Finally, the spread of Buddhist associations and other social organizations allowed for national and international networks of content distribution far beyond those established in the previous decade.

446 *Sanjue congkan* 三覺叢刊, no. 2 (Mar., 1926), MFQ 27:61; *Haichao yin*, year 9, no. 3 (April 10, 1928), MFQ 170:108.

447 The catalogues were issued by the Gengshen Scripture Distributor, discussed below, and the Beijing Scripture Distributor, discussed in chapter one, section four above.

2. *Haichao yin* 海潮音 (Voice of the Sea Tide, 1920 –)

At the end of chapter three, I examined the year-long publication run of *Jueshe congshu* 覺社叢書 (Awakening Society Collectanea, 1918 – 1919), the association organ of the Jueshe 覺社 (Awakening Society). By the time of its last issue in October 1919 the monk Taixu 太虛 (1890 – 1947), its editor and co-founder of the society, had consolidated his editorial control and announced that he would be remaking the periodical under a new title. In contrast to earlier short-lived print runs, this new monthly periodical *Haichao yin* 海潮音 (Voice of the Sea Tide) which appeared in March 1920 continued publication through the 1920s, greatly expanded its circulation in the 1930s, and by 1949 would stand as the longest-running Buddhist periodical on the Chinese mainland, with 352 total issues published. Its publication would be resumed in Taiwan and continues to this day.⁴⁴⁸ In this section I will focus on its first year of publication and outline its development in the remainder of the 1920s. During this period, *Haichao yin* largely functioned as a platform for publicizing the writings and activities of Taixu, his students, and the institutions he was establishing. Until its publication was taken up by Shanghai Buddhist Books 上海佛學書局 in the 1930s it had a relatively small print run, but

448 *Haichao yin* is a term used to describe the voice of the Buddha, found *inter alia* in the Lotus Sūtra, T262.09.58a26. DDB [海潮音]. In its first issue, the title is glossed as “The voice of awakening amidst the thoughts of the sea of humanity” 人海思潮中的覺音. MFQ 147:7-8. *Haichao yin* is reprinted in MFQ volumes 147-204. A better-quality reprint, especially for photographs, was published in Shanghai by 上海古籍出版社 in 2003. For a very brief bibliographic outline, see also MFQ 205:57-58.

copies were aggressively distributed to Buddhist seminaries, publishers, and other venues where Taixu and his compatriots wished to expand their influence.⁴⁴⁹ In spite of this, however, it was not isolated from the larger context of print culture in the 1920s. *Haichao yin* traded print references with a number of other periodicals, Buddhist and otherwise, advertised publications from the Zhonghua Books catalogue, and carried a number of book catalogues for Buddhist publishers. I would argue that the breadth of this coverage, rather than the particular views of its editors, was the greatest contributor to its influence and longevity.

Table 13: Print Run for the First Publication Year of *Haichao yin*

| <i>Number</i> | <i>Date Published</i> | <i>Notes</i> |
|---------------|-----------------------|---|
| 1 | March 10, 1920 | |
| 2 | April 10, 1920 | |
| 3 | May 10, 1920 | |
| 4 | June 10, 1920 | Includes a 42-page supplement |
| 5 | July 10, 1920 | Yogācāra Issue 唯識號 |
| 6 | August 10, 1920 | |
| 7 | September 10, 1920 | Chan Issue 禪宗號, includes a 51-page supplement |
| 8 | n.d. [Oct. 10, 1920?] | From this issue onward, editor and publisher is credited as 杭州西湖彌勒院覺社 (Awakening Society, Mile Hall, West Lake, Hangzhou) |
| 9 | n.d. [Nov. 10, 1920?] | Study of Religion Issue 宗教研究 |
| 10 | December, 1920 | Includes a 26-page supplement |
| N/A | January, 1921 | Special Edition commemorating Amida Buddha's Birthday 阿彌陀佛誕日紀念刊 |
| 11 | n.d. [Feb. 10, 1921?] | |

449 On Shanghai Buddhist Books see Meng Lingbing 孟令兵, *Lao Shanghai wenhua qipa - Shanghai Foxue shuju* 老上海文化奇葩-上海佛學書局 (Shanghai: Shanghai remin chubanshe, 2003); Gao Zhenrong 高振農, “Minguo nianjian de Shanghai Foxue shuju” 民國年間的上海佛學書局, in *Jinxiandai Zhongguo Fojiao lun* 近現代中國佛教論 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2002).

Haichao yin has had a greater impact on scholarly and non-specialist views of Chinese Buddhism and Buddhist periodicals of this period than nearly any other such publication. Among scholars and Buddhist practitioners from the 1920s to today, if they are familiar with the title of one Chinese Buddhist periodical, it is very likely to be *Haichao yin*. Andrew Yu Yue Tsu (Zhu Youyu 朱友漁, 1885 – 1986), later consecrated as an Anglican Bishop in Shanghai, identifies it by name in a 1921 article describing the then-current state of Buddhism in China, and quotes extensively from its first and fifth issues. The following year the philosopher Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 (1893 – 1988) wrote that he had read some articles from the periodical and had discussed them with Zhang Taiyan. In his 1923 study Lewis Houdous, mentioned above, names only it and the contemporary *Xin Fojiao* 新佛教 (New Buddhism, 1920 – 1922?), and an editor of the Japanese periodical *The Eastern Buddhist* praised it as a sign of a Chinese Buddhist re-awakening. Finally, in 1930 it appears as the only Buddhist periodical mentioned by name in Cressy's survey of religious institutions in Hangzhou and Wuchang.⁴⁵⁰ Its renown was likely due to the active publishing life of Taixu, as well as the efforts of his disciples to circulate the journal in advance of their arrival in a new city.⁴⁵¹ Since then it has served many scholars of

450 Yu, "Present Tendencies", 505. Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism*, 95, 170-171. Houdous, *Buddhism and Buddhists in China*. Pittman, 95. MRL 6: Earl Herbert Cressy Papers, 1930 - 1960, the Burke Library Archives (Columbia University Libraries) at Union Theological Seminary, New York. Yu evidently held Taixu in high esteem, as he later referred to him as the "St. Paul of Chinese Buddhism". Y.Y. Tsu, "Diary of a Chinese Buddhist Nun: T'ze Kuang", *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 7, no. 5/6 (Oct. 1927): 612fn1.

451 Referenced in Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism*, 100-101.

modern Chinese Buddhism as an invaluable primary research source. Before the MFQ reprint, scholars were able to consult the periodical via several sources: original copies at National Taiwan University and elsewhere in East Asia; partial print runs held in libraries such as Harvard-Yenching; microfilm editions like that produced by Columbia University libraries in 1975; and the more recent 1920 – 1949 reprint edition published in Shanghai in 2003. Holmes Welch, for example, identifies it as an important documentary source and cites it frequently, although he also warns the reader about its bias toward portraying Taixu in a positive light.⁴⁵²

Of the people involved in compiling, editing, and publishing *Haichao yin*, Taixu played the most prominent role, particularly during the first decade of its publication. In its earliest issues, the byline for nearly all the articles is credited to either he or one of his pen names. At the time Taixu was again attempting to realize his monastic reforms as abbot of Jingci Temple 淨慈寺 in Hangzhou, but at the end of 1921 he was forced to step down. The following year he accepted a teaching position at Zhonghua University 中華大學 in Wuchang, where he established the Wuchang Foxue yuan 武昌佛學院 (Wuchang Buddhist Seminary), giving him a venue to give lectures, conduct classes, and continue publishing.⁴⁵³ The monk Shanyin 善因 (fl. 1920 – 1947), who had previously contributed articles to *Jueshe congshu*, was

452 The Columbia microfilm set is indexed as ECFN3, and includes only a few issues from the mid to late 1930s. *Haichao yin*, 42 Vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003). Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 28.

453 Pittman, *Toward a Modern Chinese Buddhism*; Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 805-811; Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 54, 110-114.

asked to serve as editor of *Haichao yin* some time after its first year of publication. He was later succeeded in this role by Shi Yiru 史一如 (1876 – 1925).⁴⁵⁴ Shi, who has already been mentioned in chapter three above as one of the supporters of the Jueshe, had studied Japanese and English in Japan, and after his return to China worked as a teacher in Beijing. It was there in the early years of Republic where, influenced by scholars such as Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬, founder of the Beijing and Tianjin scriptural presses Xu Weiru 徐蔚如, and Mei Guangxi 梅光羲, he became interested in Buddhism, and later helped found the Jueshe in Shanghai in 1918. In 1923 he accepted an invitation by Taixu to teach Indian philosophy and logic at the Wuchang Seminary, a monastic educational institution established with lay donations. Shi edited *Haichao yin* until illness forced him to step down in 1923. The periodical published a lengthy posthumous collection of his writings, *Huiyuan jushi ji* 慧圓居士集 (Collected Works of Layman Huiyuan), in its January 4, 1926 issue.⁴⁵⁵ Editorship of *Haichao yin* was passed to Tang Dayuan 唐大圓 (ca. 1890 – 1941), a scholar of Consciousness-only thought who had taken lay refuge under Yinguang in 1912. Each of these three early editors taught at the Wuchang

454 Little is known about Shanyin other than in involvement with *Haichao yin* and the Wuchang Buddhist Seminary. See Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:830-834. A list of editors and their portraits was published in year 5, issue 4 (1924), MFQ 159:5.

455 Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:681-682. Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1:199-200. Yu, *Zhongguo jinxiandai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 447-449. An announcement regarding his illness appears in *Haichao yin*, year 4 no. 8, MFQ 157:72. His collected works are year 6 no. 11, MFQ 163:413-448. While teaching at the Wuchang seminary, Shi produced a translation of *Shina Bukkyō shikō* 支那佛教史綱 (An Outline History of Chinese Buddhism) by Sakaino Satoru 境野哲 (1871-1933), which would later be adapted by Jiang Weiqiao into his *Zhongguo Fojiao shi* 中國佛教史 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1929).

seminary, and articles relating to the school, including announcements regarding classes and course outlines, appear often in the periodical. Finally, although Yang Wenhui had passed away some nine years before *Haichao yin* was founded, and neither he nor any of his students were directly involved in its publication, his influence is still evident in its pages.⁴⁵⁶ A photograph of Yang's burial stupa, with a calligraphic inscription by Taixu dated the ninth lunar month of 1919, appears at the front of the first issue of the periodical, and is followed by the text of its memorial inscription.

456 Admittedly, Taixu had studied very briefly at Yang's Jetavana Hermitage 祇洹精舍.

Figure 9: Photograph of Yang Wenhui's burial stupa from the inaugural issue of *Haichao yin*⁴⁵⁷



The management and publication of *Haichao yin* was partly financed through donations, initially through funds contributed to the Jueshe, with donors' names appearing in print in

⁴⁵⁷ *Haichao yin*, year 1 no. 1 (1920), MFQ 147:5-6.

sections with titles like “Sincere thanks for supporting the funds of the Jueshe” 捐助覺社經費誌謝, and later through direct donations to the periodical itself.⁴⁵⁸ In issue eight of the first publication year a detailed accounting report for the period up to the sixth lunar month (July 16 – August 13, 1920) lists income and expenditures for the periodical. Total income for that period was 1,118 *yangyuan* 洋元 (silver dollars), with 238 yuan coming from three sets of donations, 380 from book sales, and the remainder from the previous account balance. Total outgoing payments were 1,057.20 yuan, of which 697.20 went to Zhonghua Books to pay for printing, advertisements, postage and telegrams, and the remainder to the editorial office.⁴⁵⁹ Covering the amount owed to their commercial printer was thus a large part of the operating costs for the periodical. A report for the latter part of the first publication year, published March 20, 1921, lists not only income and expenditures, but also outgoing shipments of publications:

458 Pittman, *Toward A Modern Chinese Buddhism*, 94. Lists of donors appear in MFQ 147:461; 148:132. Donations start to be credited to *Haichao yin* from MFQ 148:565, also see the list on 149:90.

459 *Haichao yin*, year 1, no. 8 ([Oct. 10?], 1920), MFQ 148:463-464.

Table 14: Accounting Report for *Haichao yin*, August 14, 1920 - February 7, 1921⁴⁶⁰

| |
|---|
| Total Income: 830.03 yuan - 122.80 from previous account - 300 from donations for scripture printing - 407.23 from book sales - some small amount in advance payment |
| Total Payments: 1107.23 - 1007.23 to Zhonghua Books for printing, advertisements, postage, etc. - 100 to editorial office for misc. expenses |
| To Hankou Buddhist Association: 650 copies of <i>Haichao yin</i> , 190 copies of <i>Jueshu</i> , paper and printing materials |
| To Shanghai Taidong Books: 100 copies of <i>Haichao yin</i> , 20 of <i>Jueshu</i> (for upcoming year) |
| To Shanghai Medical Press: 1710 copies of <i>Haichao yin</i> , 20 of <i>Jueshu</i> (for upcoming year) |
| To Hangzhou Tūṣita Temple 兜率寺: 520 copies of <i>Haichao yin</i> , [other books] |
| To Beijing Scripture Distributor: approx. 50 yuan |
| To Chongqing Buddhist Studies Society: approx. 30 yuan |
| To Wuchang Scripture Distributor: approx. 70 yuan |
| To Yichang Scripture Distributor: a few yuan |
| To Suzhou Scripture Distributor: approx. 20 yuan |
| To Changsha Right Faith Society: approx. 40 yuan |
| To Beijing Qunbao Press: approx. 20 yuan |
| Owed to Zhonghua Books: 104.41 yuan |
| To Zhonghua Books Postal Sales Division: 94 copies of <i>Haichao yin</i> , 30 copies of <i>Jueshu</i> |
| To Hankou Buddhist Association: [copies of books] |

Compared with the previous report, income from book sales had increased to the point where it made up nearly half of their periodical's income. The greatest part of the operating expenses continues to be payments to Zhonghua Books, so much so that the periodical still owed the press money at the end of their publication year. The most interesting part of this report,

⁴⁶⁰ *Haichao yin*, year 2, no. 3 (March 20, 1921), MFQ 150:249. I have translated approximate amounts as originally written, except where enclosed in square brackets, where I have summarized the original list item for brevity.

however, are the line items detailing donations of funds and publications to other Buddhist institutions around China. In this way *Haichao yin* was part of a financial and publication network that included scriptural distributors, Buddhist associations, and commercial presses. The large shipment of copies of *Haichao yin* to Ding Fubao's press is particularly striking, as this occurred during the apex of Ding's Buddhist publishing work.⁴⁶¹ Finally, advertisements for other publications, most of which are unrelated to Buddhism but are published by one of the periodical's distributors such as Zhonghua Books or Taidong Books 泰東圖書局, may have also helped offset the costs of printing and distribution. Commercial messages were not limited to publications; at the end of several issues from the mid 1920s, for example, is an advertisement for Hehe fen 和合粉 (Harmonious Powder), a flavoring agent said to improve the taste of vegetarian dishes. Later in the 1930s, an entire series of articles written by Taixu would tout the virtues of this product.⁴⁶²

The aims and structure of *Haichao yin* are introduced to the reader in an article at the beginning of the first issue, *Haichao yin yuekan chuxian shijian de xuanyan* 海潮音月刊出現世間的宣言 (A Declaration Regarding the Monthly Publication *Haichao yin* Appearing in the World).

461 See chapter four on Ding and his Buddhist publications. Unfortunately, the earliest Medical Press book catalogue I have found is from 1934, and it does not list *Haichao yin*. *Chuban mulu* 出版目錄, no. 7, in *Minguo shiqi chuban shumu huibian*: 647-748.

462 See below for a further discussion of Zhonghua Books and advertisements. The flavouring agent first appears in the Nov. 6, 1925 issue, MFQ 163:266. The later articles appear in *Foxue banyue kan* and *Haichao yin*, see for example MFQ 47:356, 181:96.

There the platform of the journal is stated in bold, overdotted text:

Promote the ultimate truth of the Mahāyāna Buddha-dharma
Respond to and guide the minds of present-day people toward correct thought

followed by an extended explanation and unpacking of these terms, which states that the changes in people's minds will come about as part of a wave of new thinking (*xin sichao* 新思潮) and changes in the environment (*huanjing* 環境) at large.⁴⁶³ The four main sections of the periodical (*menlei* 門類) and their functions are defined as follows:

jianyan 建言 (statements), for establishing the ideas of the host [the periodical]
pingyi 平議 (commentary), for critiquing the ideas of the guest [others]
shanglun 商論 (discussion), a public mechanism for the host and guest to discuss
zaji 雜記 (miscellaneous), for anything that not falling into the previous categories⁴⁶⁴

Haichao yin was thus intended to function as a platform for the ideas of Taixu and his colleagues, a venue in which 'outsider' ideas could be criticized, a source of news on current events relating to Buddhism, and a showcase for works of various genres, including translated texts and early drafts of works-in-progress.⁴⁶⁵ This content structure was a radically simplified version of those used in earlier periodicals *Foxue congbao*, *Fojiao yuebao*, and the immediate

463 『發揚大乘佛法真義 / 應導現代人心正思』. *Haichao yin*, no. 1, MFQ 147:7-12.

464 『建言: 是建立主義的. 平議: 是批評客義的. 商論: 是主客公開的商榷討論機關. ... 雜記: 此如四緣中的增上緣. 凡不入前三門的. 皆收入此門. ... 』 Punctuation added.

465 One of Taixu's main platforms during this period was his 整理僧伽制度論 (Plan to Rectify Regulations for Monastics), which appears printed in issues 1 and 11, MFQ 147:31-47; 149:149-238. Longform articles include, for example, a translated essay by Gonda Raifu 權田雷斧 (1846 - 1934), MFQ 148:479-561, and a long draft of the collected works of Ma Jingsi 馬敬思, a Qing-dynasty literatus, entitled *Hucen jigao* 虎岑集稿, starting from 149:95.

predecessor of *Haichao yin*, *Jueshe congshu*. When in its second year of publication the periodical expanded the number of sections, it began to resemble those earlier publications even more closely, with sections like Pictorial (*tuxiang* 圖像), Important Events (*dashi ji* 大事記), and History and Biography (*shizhuan guan* 史傳館).⁴⁶⁶ At the end of the introductory material, a notice encourages readers to communicate their “objections, suspicions, criticisms, research, understandings, corrections, or any type of thoughts” to the periodical, indicating that the publication was intended to be part of two-way communication between its editors and its readership. Reader contributions can be found throughout, for example a collection of responses to an essay by Taixu printed in issue three.⁴⁶⁷ As with earlier Buddhist periodicals, reproduced photographs and other images continued to be featured prominently; apart from the photograph of Yang's stupa described above, images of Han-dynasty translators of Buddhist scriptures, Maitreya Buddha, Bodhidharma, Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720 – 814), and others appear throughout these early issues, and are organized into their own section at the front of each issue starting from the second year of publication.⁴⁶⁸

466 See for example *Haichao yin*, year 2, no. 2, MFQ 150:2.

467 『反對或懷疑或批評或研究或信解或修證的種種意思...』MFQ 147:12. The reader response was prompted by a note in Taixu's essay 人工與佛學之新僧化 published in issue three where he advocates for the abolishment of [religious] images 廢除偶像. Issue 10, MFQ 149:26. Note that the type of this article title appears mis-set (*太啟虛事). A section of responses to submitted letters regarding the *Jueshe* can be found in MFQ 149:77-90.

468 MFQ 147:467-468; 148:45-48, 261-262.

The influence of the periodical's printer Zhonghua Books is evident throughout the publication's early issues, where the bulk of the advertisements are for other periodicals, series, and monographs the Zhonghua also printed. *Jiefang yu gaizao* 解放與改造 (Liberation and Reform), a magazine in which is discussed new waves of thought (*xinchao* 新潮) from around the world, appears advertised in issue one, while *Lingxue congzhi* 靈學叢誌 (Journal of Spiritualism), mentioned in chapter three in connection with Ding Fubao, appears advertised in issues one and seven. There is a small advertisement for magazines discussing education and English study, also part of the Zhonghua Books catalogue.⁴⁶⁹ Monographs and book series appear as well, such as *Foxue dagang* 佛學大綱 (Outline of Buddhist Studies) by Xie Wuliang 謝無量, an upcoming reprint edition of *Zhonghua da zidian* 中華大字典 (Great Zhonghua Dictionary), and a book series on *xin wenhua* 新文化 (New Culture), including titles such as *Nüxing lun* 女性論 (On Women), and translations of works on science and philosophy from the English.⁴⁷⁰ Zhonghua Books also advertised its printing services directly to readers in two full-page notices, highlighting their lithographic presses for “color chromatograph printing”, and their aluminum plate press for “rapid and fine [printing]”. The wide range of printing options on offer are listed, as is the size of their largest press and its speed of operation.⁴⁷¹ Only a

469 MFQ 147:22, 132; 148:325; 149:257.

470 MFQ 147:60, 148:582; 147:217; 148:40. Advertised printed products were not limited to book-like materials. One advertisement lists folding fans with printed calligraphy from famous artists. MFQ 148:376.

471 『橡皮機:彩色套印;鋁版機:迅速精美.』 Punctuation added. MFQ 147:264; 148:326.

handful of advertisements are for non-Zhonghua Books publications, but *Haichao yin* did actively solicit readers to purchase advertisements, listing prices for full, half, and quarter page placements at the beginning or end of the issue, or between articles.⁴⁷² While the placement of these other Zhonghua Books publications certainly had a commercial motivation, *Haichao yin* would have also benefited from mentions in publications on other topics such as 'New Culture', science, and Buddhist Studies, since its articles often deal with related issues.

Like the other Chinese Buddhist periodicals that had preceded it, *Haichao yin* features a number of articles and book catalogues describing Buddhist books in print, materials on offer from scriptural presses, scripture distributors, and commercial presses. These sections have a less commercial message than the advertisements listed above, but they still functioned to increase the visibility of other Buddhist publishers and publications, many of whom, as outlined in the accounting report summarized above, had direct financial ties to *Haichao yin*. In its first issue, a section entitled *Jieshao Fodian* 介紹佛典 (An Introduction to Buddhist Books) lists recently-published and planned titles in Ding Fubao's Buddhist Studies Collectanea, publications of the Changsha Scripture Distributor 長沙刻經處, three individual titles, and the names and locations of several other scriptural presses and scripture distributors. Included is a

472 Advertisements for *Dixue zazhi* 地學雜誌 (Geography Magazine) and *Xin Fojiao* 新佛教 (New Buddhism) are on MFQ 148:420, and the table of contents for an issue of *Fudan jikan* 復旦季刊 (Fudan Quarterly) is on MFQ 149:252. Advertisement purchase information appears in the publication information at the end of the issue, for example MFQ 148:473.

précis of each work's content, and instructions on how one can order them via post directly from the publisher. Shorter catalogues listing works by Taixu and back issues of *Jueshe congshu* follow in issues three and nine.⁴⁷³ More generic lists called *Jieshao xinkan* 介紹新刊 (Introduction to New Publications) often follow the preview of upcoming articles near the end of each issue. Listed publications include monographs, contemporary Buddhist periodicals such as *Xin Fojiao* 新佛教 (New Buddhism), and series such as Ding's collectanea, and listed publishers range from Buddhist scriptural presses to commercial presses. The earliest of these is followed by a note encouraging publishers and press offices to respond to the letter sent to them by the *Haichao yin* offices, requesting that they collaborate in advertising each-other's publications to increase their visibility.⁴⁷⁴

This attempt on the part of the editors to network their periodical with other publications in the wider publishing world appears to have succeeded: from issue eight, a section called *Jiaohuan jieshao zhi kanwu* 交換介紹之刊物 (Exchanged Introductions of

473 *Haichao yin*, year 1, no. 1 (March 10, 1920), MFQ 147:124-131. Nos. 3 and 9, MFQ 147:362, 548. Further lists of scripture distributors appear in MFQ 148:433, 566; 149:120. *Haichao yin* appears to have had a close relationship with the Wuchang Scripture Distributor. A notice from the institution along with a list of its aims and regulations appears in issue 4, MFQ 147:567-568, and a full-page advertisement for *Da Fo dingshou lengyan jing yanjiu* 大佛頂首楞嚴經研究, a rarity for non-Zhonghua publishers, follows in issue 9, MFQ 148:581.

474 See, for example, MFQ 148:258, 382, 478; 149:120. A list of targeted periodicals appears on MFQ 148:264, and includes publications in Shanghai, Beijing, *Xin Fojiao* in Ningbo, and *Nantong bao* 南通報 in Nantong 南通. At least early on, it appears that some periodicals donated advertisement space to help publicize the new periodical. See Issue 1, MFQ 147:90, where *Beijing chenbao* 北京晨報, *Hangzhou chenzhong bao* 杭州晨鐘報, and others are thanked for their donation.

Publications) appears, listing periodicals unrelated to Buddhism published in Beijing, Guangzhou, and Shanghai. Presumably these would also have introduced *Haichao yin* to their own readers.⁴⁷⁵ These exchanged references not only connected the periodical to other Buddhist publications, but also to the non-Buddhist periodical print culture that was growing rapidly in China's cities. Such lists and catalogues were more than just a means of generating publicity for the periodical; they also encouraged readers to branch out further into the world of Buddhist publications. This message was sometimes quite direct, as with a set of notices promoting the writings of Jiang Shaoyuan 江紹原 (1898 – 1983) printed in then-recent issues of *Xinchao zazhi* 新潮雜誌 (New Wave Magazine) published by Beijing University, and Sakaino Satoru's [*Shina*] *Bukkyō shikō* [支那]佛教史綱 (Outline History of [Chinese] Buddhism), as essential reading for monks, nuns, and laypeople.⁴⁷⁶ These notices were likely part of Taixu's platform of educational reform, as the topics they cover relate to intellectual reform, new scholarship, and in the case of periodicals, were often produced by Buddhist associations and seminaries similar to those that he founded.

By its second year of publication, *Haichao yin* was listing over twenty-five locations across China where its issues were being retailed. By 1928, its distribution network had

475 MFQ 148:434. A later version appears in issue nine, MFQ 148:570.

476 *Haichao yin*, nos. 8 and 9, MFQ 148:433, 576. The '支那', though part of the book's title, is dropped in the article reference. Recall that it was this work that Shi Yiru, mentioned near the start of this section, translated for use in the Wuchang Seminary.

expanded to fifty-eight locations, including Buddhist associations in Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and across China, and a few years later would become part of the rapidly growing Shanghai Buddhist Books print catalogue.⁴⁷⁷ *Haichao yin* was an important venue for Taixu to argue for the programs of reform and educational development he saw as the future of Chinese Buddhism, and as previously mentioned, it was distributed as a vanguard for his disciples to follow. But it was also part of a much larger print network of periodicals and publications, not all of which were exclusively Buddhist in content, and is valued as much for its explication of Taixu's ideas as for its reporting on contemporary developments in the wider Buddhist world.

3. *Neixue* 內學 (Inner Studies, 1923 – 1928) and the Publications of the Inner Studies Institute

Published for only four issues in the mid-1920s, *Neixue* 內學 (Inner Studies, 1923 – 1928) was the institute publication of the Zhina neixue yuan 支那內學院 (Inner Studies Institute), a Buddhist research group and publishing house established in 1918 as part of the Jinling Scriptural Press in Nanjing. Although less influential than *Haichao yin*, *Neixue* exemplifies the type of small, institution-focused periodical that many Buddhist associations and societies would publish starting in the 1920s. The Inner Studies Institute itself was also active in

477 Year 2, no. 4 (June 20, 1921), MFQ 151:137; Year 9, no. 3 (Apr. 10, 1928), MFQ 170:109.

publishing, and made use of its periodical to publicize both its academic activities and its publishing catalogue. *Neixue* demonstrates how periodicals could reflect and support Buddhist social organizations while also connecting them to the wider field of print culture.

| Table 15: <i>Neixue</i> Print Run | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Issue</i> | <i>Publication Date</i> | <i>Notes and Reprint Location</i> |
| 1 | 1923 | MFQ 8:375-574 |
| 1 | 1924 | Reprint of issue 1 with additional material, MFQ 9:1-327 |
| 2 | 1925 | MFQ 9:329-594 |
| 3 | 1926 | MFQ 10:1-191 |
| 4 | 1928 | MFQ 10:193-484 |

The driving force behind the Inner Studies Institute was Ouyang Jian 歐陽漸 (Ouyang Jingwu 歐陽竟無, 1871 – 1943), who had taken over as manager of the Jinling Scriptural Press in 1918.⁴⁷⁸ In an outline of the institute's origins written in 1924, Ouyang would recall that after the death of Yang Wenhui he established the *yanjiu bu* 研究部 (research institute) of the Jinling press to carry on the scholarship that Yang had done in the final two decades of his life. After spending six or seven years correcting and printing Yogācāra scriptures, in 1918 he formally established the institute, and in the spring of 1921 moved it to a new location on Banbian Street 半邊街, next to Dazhong bridge 大中橋 in Nanjing. The following year departments of education (*jiaoyu* 教育) and facilities (*neiwu* 內務) were set up. The institute was organized into three branches (*chu* 處): academic (*xuewu* 學務), editorial and distribution

⁴⁷⁸ See chapter one, section three above.

(*bianjiao liutong* 編校流通), and administrative (*shiwu* 事務). Apart from research, classes, and lectures, the institute also published its findings as book series and monographs, and issued its yearly periodical *Neixue*.⁴⁷⁹ The publication was designed to showcase the scholarship that had been produced at the institute in the previous year.⁴⁸⁰ Apart from Ouyang, the other main contributor to the journal was Lü Cheng 呂澂 (Lü Qiuyi 呂秋逸, 1896 – 1989), a student of Ouyang who had studied in Japan in the nineteen-teens and joined the staff at the Jinling press in 1918. Lü taught classes at the institute and published a number of studies in the 1920s and 1930s, many of which were printed by the Commercial Press, and which had a great deal of influence on Chinese Buddhist scholarship in the latter part of the twentieth century.⁴⁸¹ Other contributors include Wang Enyang 王恩洋 (1897 – 1964), an institute student and later founder of Guishan Academy 龜山書院 in Nanchang 南昌; Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893 – 1964), teacher at the institute and later author of the foundational study *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbei chao Fojiao shi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (History of Buddhism in the Han, Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties, 1938); and Mei Guangxi 梅光羲 (Mei Xieyun 梅擷芸, 1880 – 1947),

479 *Neixue*, issue 1, MFQ 8:561-563. The institute catalogue on MFQB 7:44 notes the location. See also Aviv, “Differentiating the Pearl From the Fish Eye”, 71-77.

480 See the closing remarks of Ouyang's preface to the first issue, MFQ 8:381.

481 Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 406-409; Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 589-600. Jiang Cansheng 江燦騰, “Lü Cheng yu Xiong Shili lunxue hangao pingyi” 呂澂與熊十力論學函稿評議, *Dongfang zongjiao yanjiu* 東方宗教研究, New no. 1 (Oct., 1990): 219-261. His published works include *Yindu Fojiao shiliue* 印度佛教史略 (Brief History of Indian Buddhism) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1925) and *Fojiao yanjiu fa* 佛教研究法 (Method of Studying Buddhism) (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935).

financial backer of the institute and former editor of several books in Ding Fubao's *Buddhist Studies Collectanea*.⁴⁸²

Matching the academic focus of the institute, articles in *Neixue* are mainly scholarly in tone and subject matter, presenting research on textual, doctrinal, and philosophical matters relating to Buddhism. Lü Cheng's study of the Tibetan language is reflected in a section of lithographed Tibetan verses with Chinese translations, and a series of textual translations with explanatory footnotes. He also contributed an article on copy-editing (*kanding* 刊定) the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (Saṃyuktāgama-sūtra), giving the reader insight into one aspect of the institute's editorial work.⁴⁸³ An pair of articles by Wang Enyang entitled “Foxue gailun” 佛學概論 (General Treatise on Buddhist Studies) precedes his monograph of the same title that was published by the institute in 1929, indicating that *Neixue* functioned like an academic journal in giving authors a platform to present their ideas to their peers before publishing them in book form. Some material departs from the academic toward the personal, as with a memorial essay and series of vows printed on behalf of Ouyang's son Ouyang Dong 歐陽東, who drowned in 1923 at the age of nineteen *sui*. In the final issue, the articles are much longer than previously,

482 On Wang see Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 676-679; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 175-179. On Tang see Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 604-608; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1174-1177. On Mei see chapter four, section three above.

483 *Neixue*, reprint issue 1, MFQ 9:179-212, 233-251; Issue 2, MFQ 435-464. In the section on Tibetan verses, the text of the Chinese translation changes to a horizontal, left-to-right orientation to match the Tibetan text.

closer to short books rather than periodical articles. The editors of *Neixue* did not make much use of reproduced images; a pair of photographs in issue two depict a triptych of Kuiji 窺基 (632 – 682 CE), Huizhao 慧沼 (651 – 714 CE), and Zhizhou 智周 (668 – 723 CE), all patriarchs of the Faxiang 法相 (Yogācāra) school, and an image of a school called Fahe University 法和大學.

⁴⁸⁴ The focus of the journal is rather on the scholarly work of institute staff and students, and the activities of the institute in various fields.

Neixue regularly features news regarding institute events, transcripts of addresses given at institute functions, and accounting reports. Procedures for enrolling in the research department classes, course curricula including names of instructors, and agenda for conference meetings appear printed in the periodical, as do detailed reports on school activities, faculty publications, and progress of ongoing research projects.⁴⁸⁵ Accounting reports list details on the income and expenditures of both the research department of the Jinling Scriptural Press and the Inner Studies Institute. In the first printed report, covering the nine years from January 1915 to the end of 1923, listed income includes donations earmarked for scriptural printing and amounts intended to support the classes of the research department, for both of which the names of donors as well as the amount they contributed are

484 *Neixue*, issue 2-3, MFQ 9:359-370, 10:109-119. The memorial essay and vows are in reprint issue 1, MFQ 9:299-301. Another memorial essay, for one Xu Yiming 許一鳴, appears on 9:302. Photographs are in issue two, MFQ 9:333-334. An errata for the first issue is appended to the reprint issue, MFQ 9:326-327.

485 See for example reprint issue 1, MFQ 9:307-314; Issue 2, MFQ 9:575-584; Issue 3, MFQ 10:167-187.

listed. Other income is cited as coming from editorial fees, student tuition, book sales, property growth and improvements, and interest from previous accounts, of which property income is the largest amount; over 3,400 yuan. Expenses listed are for scriptural printing, with each title listed along with its cost, and amounts for expenditures relating to classes.⁴⁸⁶ For these nine years, four times as much was spent on academic expenditures as was on publishing, although this latter amount only represents the research department publications of the Jinling Press. According the second published accounting report, in the two years from 1924 to 1926 over 4,000 yuan was spent on scriptural printing, while over 35,000 yuan went to academic costs.⁴⁸⁷ Publishing the periodical and other books was thus only a small fraction of the total costs of running an academic research institute. A catalogue for texts published by the institute that appeared in the contemporary periodical *Shijie Fojiao jushilin lin kan* 世界佛教居士林林刊 (Association Periodical of the World Buddhist Householder Grove) in 1924 or 1925 lists forty-six publications, including scriptural texts, color images of Xuanzang and Kuiji, and two

volumes of collected lectures on Yogācāra (*Weishi jiangyi* 唯識講義) by Ouyang.⁴⁸⁸ *Neixue* itself

486 *Jinling kejingchu yanjiu bu Zhina neixue yuan kejing banxue shouzhi baogao* 金陵刻經處研究部支那內學院刻經辦學收支報告, Jan. 1915 to Dec. 1924, in *Neixue* reprint issue 1, MFQ 9:319-324. Donors for scriptural printing include Mei Guangxi, Gui Bohua 桂伯華 (1861 – 1915), Ouyang Jian, Lü Cheng, and Ouyang Dong. Donors for classes include Mei, former editor of *Foxue congshu* 狄楚青, Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 (1893 – 1988), the monk Renshan 仁山 (1887 – 1951), and Ouyang Jian.

487 *Zhina neixue yuan kejing banxue shouzhi dierci baogao* 支那內學院刻經辦學收支第二次報告, in *Neixue*, issue 2, MFQ 9:591-594.

488 “Zhina neixue yuan chuban tushu” 支那內學院出版圖書, *Shijie Fojiao jushilin lin kan* 世界佛教居士林林刊, combined issue 1 and 2 (1925?), MFQB 7:44, also printed in combined issue 3 and 4 (Oct., 1925), MFQB 7:252

also has advertisements and catalogues from other publishers, including Zhonghua Books, the Wuchang Scriptural Press, and the World Buddhist Householder Grove.⁴⁸⁹

After 1928 the periodical ceased publication, followed only by a later institute publication *Neiyuan zakan* 內院雜刊 (Inner Studies Institute Miscellany) which appeared in much smaller issues of roughly 20 pages on an irregular schedule from 1937.⁴⁹⁰ At the end of the final issue is a notice regarding reorganization of the institute's activities owing to some of their buildings being occupied by troops from the Republican army, then on the Northern Expedition to capture Nanjing and establish a new government under the leadership of the Guomindang. The scope of the institute was to be drastically scaled back, as high labor costs meant an end to scriptural printing, and a new focus on publishing collected essential works, textual study of the scriptures, and the compilation of lexicographic books.⁴⁹¹ Ouyang and other contributors would, however, continue to publish their academic studies of Buddhist subjects, such as Ouyang's *Fofa fei zongjiao fei zhexue* 佛法非宗教非哲學 (The Buddha-dharma is Neither Religion nor Philosophy), published as an issue of *Neiyuan zakan* in 1937, and several works by Lü Cheng published in commercial presses.⁴⁹²

489 *Neixue*, reprint issue 1, MFQ 9:316-318; issue 2, MFQ 9:590.

490 See the bibliographic notes in MFQ 205:3, 18 and MFQB 84:26-27. One issue is reprinted in MFQ 56:317-388.

491 *Neixue*, issue 4, MFQ 10:481-484.

492 Reprinted in MFQB 39:464-467. For a list of Lü's works, see the table at the end of section four.

4. Scriptural and Commercial Presses of the 1920s

Alongside the rapid growth of Chinese Buddhist periodical publishing in the 1920s, several new scriptural distributors and presses were founded, and commercial presses, who had long printed Buddhist texts as work-for-hire, began to publish a small number of Buddhist works under their own imprints. It was during this era that some of the largest scriptural catalogues were published, with some running to thousands of titles, and although the texts were still usually printed using xylography, the catalogues were now being printed using lithography and movable type. The worlds of scriptural printing on the one hand, and periodical and monographic printing on the other, were also becoming more closely linked. Scriptural presses were linked to the Buddhist periodical press through distributors, who printed short catalogues of their texts in the pages of Buddhist journals and newspapers, and later specialist Buddhist bookstores would share their catalogues with distributors. Among the several Buddhist scriptural print organizations that appeared in the 1920s, two in particular reflect some of the larger shifts then happening in Chinese Buddhist print culture more broadly.

The first, the Beijing Gengshen Scripture Distributor 北京庚申佛經流通處, was founded in 1920, two years after Xu Weiru and others established the Beijing Scriptural Press. Named for the year of its founding, *gengshen* 庚申 by the lunar calendar, it was located at Dafo

Temple 大佛寺, in Dongcheng 東城, the eastern part of the city. It published an early catalogue of about 1150 entries in the 1920s, and issued a regular series of catalogues called *Foxue shumu* 佛學書目 (Catalogue of Buddhist Studies) from about 1933.⁴⁹³ It was founded by Wang Xuting 王虛亭 (Wang Zhuhuai 王竹懷, 1886 – 1926), who in 1922 was ordained under Taixu as Dayan 大嚴. A military officer who had participated in the Xinhai revolution of 1911, Wang represented Anhui province in the short-lived Republican legislature, and it was in this capacity that he met Taixu in Shanghai in 1912. He served as a military adviser to the new Republican government in the 1910s, and in 1919 he attended a lecture given by Taixu in Beijing, after which he took the lay precepts and began to attend Buddhist lectures regularly. In 1920 he, Zhu Feihuang 朱芾煌 (1877 – ca. 1955) and others founded the scripture distributor at Dafo Temple, and the following year started a Xinyou jiangjing hui 辛酉講經會 (Xinyou Sutra-Lecture Society). After ordaining in 1922 at the Wuchang Buddhist Seminary and receiving the precepts at Mount Baohua 寶華山, he stayed at Baohua until his death in 1926 from tuberculosis.⁴⁹⁴

An early catalogue, *Fojing liutong chu mulu* 佛經流通處目錄 [1921? - 1928?], runs to 154

493 Mentioned very briefly in Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 316fn26. The poet Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 (1898 - 1948) mentioned visiting the distributor to buy Buddhist books in “Maishu” 買書, 1935.

494 Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*., entry for [釋大嚴]. MFQB 84:44 mentions him briefly in the bibliographic entry for the distributor catalogue *Foxue shumu*, reprinted in MFQB 55. A eulogy, “Dayan shangren shilüe” 大嚴上人事略 appears in *Haichao yin*, year 8, no. 7 (Aug. 17, 1927), MFQ 168:183-186. Similar biographical notes appear in *Beiping Fohua yuekan* 北平佛化月刊, MFQB 40:375-376, and *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊, MFQ 142:234-238,

pages, and is a lithographic copy of a manuscript original, printed by the Jiaoyang Hall 教養院 of the Buddhist Association at Shanguo Temple 善果寺 in Beijing. Its scriptural texts are grouped by canonical division (*bu* 部), listed with title, number of volumes, price, and often but not always author or translator information. A total of approximately 1150 entries are listed, and include one section of Sanskrit works (*Fanben* 梵本) and one of images (*tuxiang* 圖像) featuring Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and calligraphic inscriptions.⁴⁹⁵ It has entries for Yang Wenhui's textbook, Yang's collected works, the shorter and longer dictionaries of Buddhist studies published by Ding Fubao, and the 1920 collection of Yinguang's writings. While these works make up a tiny fraction of the entire catalogue, they do demonstrate that at least a few scripture distributors dealt in texts that were recently-composed, extra-canonical, and likely typeset or lithographed. Finally, a motto on the back of the catalogue states the distributor's purpose:

The main activity of this institution is to distribute Buddhist scriptural texts as well as images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. If laymen and monastics anywhere have things they would like to have printed, whether it be with type, lithography, or xylography, this institution can print them all, and at fair prices to help in distribution. It is hereby appended.⁴⁹⁶

495 *Fojing liutong chu mulu*, in *Zhongguo jindai guji chubao faxing shiliao congkan*, 27: 560-714. My estimate for the publication date is based on the presence of Ding's dictionary in the catalogue, and the fact that the title page still uses 'Beijing' rather than the later 'Beiping'.

496 『本院專以流通佛教經典及諸佛菩薩畫像為主要營業 四方緇素如有隨喜印刷之件無論鉛石木板本院均可承印并特別廉價以助流通謹此附佈』 Spacing as in original. *Fojing liutong chu mulu*, 714.

Although the Gengshen distributor advertised the ability to print materials, it is as yet unknown whether they operated their own press, or if they simply made use of commercial and workshop presses in Beijing. At present there is only one entry attributed to them in the digital bibliography, an annotated commentary dating to 1944, in contrast to the hundreds of works known to have issued from the scriptural presses.⁴⁹⁷

By 1934, the distributor published a fifth re-issue edition of its catalogue, this time printed in-house using movable type. At 216 pages and approximately 3,120 entries, it is the largest Chinese Buddhist book catalogue I have yet found, apart from those published by Shanghai Buddhist Books in the 1930s. For each work, the title, author or translator, number of fascicles, number of volumes, original printer, and price are listed. Scriptural press sources for the printed works include those in Nanjing, Beijing, Tianjin, Changzhou, Shanghai, Jiangbei, Guangdong, and Yangzhou. In addition to printed images there is also listed “every kind of Dharma implement” (*gezhong faqi* 各種法器), such as wooden and lacquer fish drums, bells, caps, shoes, incense, and beads.⁴⁹⁸ A block of text at the beginning of the catalogue promises that they stock more types of items than can be listed, so requestors are asked to visit the distributor and inquire for more details. It also clarifies the nature of the enterprise as

497 The entry is *Lengyan jingyi du jianzhu* 楞嚴經易讀簡注, [S0598](#).

498 *Foxue shumu* 佛學書目 (Beiping: Gengshen Fojing liutong chu, Jan. 1934), in *Zhongguo jindai guji chubanshi faxing shiliao congkan xubian* 中國近代古籍出版發行史料叢刊·續編, selected and edited by Yin Mengxia 殷夢霞 and Li Shasha 李莎莎 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2008), Vol. 10: 191-410.

“specializing in distributing the Dharma treasures, and thus can absolutely not be of a commercial character; as a rule [we] do not extend credit, discount or deduct [prices].” Finally it ensures readers living in other locales that if they order scriptures, images, or other items by post, their order will be dispatched without delay, and other than postal costs, no additional charge will be applied, so that the scope of distribution may be broadened.⁴⁹⁹ The Gengshen distributor continued operation through the 1930s, and was active as late as 1948.⁵⁰⁰

Another Beijing-based Buddhist print institution, the Central Scriptural Press 中央刻經院, was established in the autumn of 1925 and was located in the Ganhua alleyway 感化衙門 outside Xuanwu Gate 宣武門, to the southwest of the Imperial Palace. Its founder was Wan Shuhao 萬叔豪 (Wan Jun 萬鈞, fl. 1920S – 1936). Wan had initially come to Beijing to work for Xiong Xiling 熊希齡 (Xiong Jiansan 熊秉三, 1870 – 1937), a scholar and philanthropist who had briefly served as Premier and Finance Minister under Yuan Shikai before resigning in 1914. While working at Xiong's Ganhua Hall 感化院, a philanthropic school which took in “juvenile delinquents” (*buliang ertong* 不良兒童) from all over China, Wan compiled textbooks for use in their instruction, and started also to print morality books and Buddhist scriptures. In 1925 he

499 『本處專為流通佛教經典佛像並佛堂用品海燈木魚引磬各種佛菩薩照片以及念珠各種名香等項名目繁多不及備載凡有請者即希到本處接洽不悞再者本處專為流通法寶起見絕非營業性質可此概不掛欠不折不扣若外埠函請經像等件隨時妥慎封寄不敢延悞除照加郵費外並不加價以廣流通』*Foxue shumu* (1934), 192.

500 The 1936 catalogue is reprinted in MFQB 55. A 1937 advertisement for incense lists it, the Beiping branch of Buddhist Books, and the Central Scriptural Press, discussed presently, as retail locations. The 1948 reference is a brief news item in an issue of *Zhengxin* 正信, MFQB 46:40.

established the Central Scriptural Press to continue his work.⁵⁰¹ The press' first catalogue, published in 1926, lists ten great benefits to be gained from having scriptures printed and images made, including the effacement of transgressions, the protection of auspicious spirits, freedom from others seeking revenge on you, and abundant food and clothing in a harmonious household.⁵⁰²

According to the origin story printed the catalogue, the press specialized in printing portable, pocket-sized (*xiuzhen* 袖珍) editions of scriptural texts. The account notes that modern people live busy lives, and the fact that they cannot carry around copies of Buddhist scriptures and morality books, texts that are large and heavy, is unfortunate. It then recalls that in earlier times, some scholars made manuscript copies of the classics in very small print so that they could have them at hand morning, day, and night. Later when xylographic printing was introduced, the standard editions of the scriptures were quite large so smaller editions were printed as well. These Confucian practices form the model for the press' publication strategy:

Thus this press took this as our special example. From among all types of

501 “Zhongyang kejing yuan Wan Jun jushi lai han” 中央刻經院萬鈞居士來函, *Guanzong hongfa she kan* 觀宗弘法社刊, no. 18 (Feb., 1931), MFQ 144:491. The Ganhua school closed in 1928 after the capital of the Republic was moved to Beijing and money for its operation dried up. Wan appears to have been involved in a similar venture for orphans around the time of the school's closure. See *Fobao xunkan* 佛寶旬刊, Aug. 12, 1928, MFQB 33:47.

502 *Zhongyang kejing yuan shumu* 中央刻經院書目 [1926], in *Minguo shiqi chuban shumu huibian* 民國時期出版書目彙編, edited by Liu Hongquan 劉洪權 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), 20:78.

Buddhist scriptures and morality books we chose those that were best suited to be consulted day and night in daily life. Copying the example of the *Sibu congkan*,⁵⁰³ we planned on using movable type to print one thousand titles in a pocket-sized edition. Organized by category, we would package them into a small box which was bound in a cloth cover for ease of portability. The entire work was divided into ten print runs, with one hundred titles per run, each called a “collection” [ji 集], to be printed in series. At present, the first collection has been decided, and will be printed at the end of December, 1926. Its means of distribution will be by the book catalogue detailed below. Please take a look. If we can be of any help, it would truly be our pleasure.⁵⁰⁴

Initially one thousand copies of each title were to be printed, at a total cost of 9,995 yuan. The titles listed in the catalogue that follows include author or translator information, a detailed précis for its content, and two sets of prices: the first quotes expected labor and materials costs per one thousand copies, and the second prices individual copies. In the case of the Diamond Sūtra, for example, the cost of printing a set of one thousand copies is listed as 56 silver yuan, while individual copies would be sold for 6.8 cents each, a 21.5% markup compared to the cost per copy of the set.⁵⁰⁵ This system of planning an entire 1000-title, limited-run collection of

503 *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (Collectaneum of the Four Categories), edited by Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 (1867 – 1959), was a collection of classical texts printed via lithography, first published in 1919 by the Commercial Press.

504 『故本院特師期意. 選擇各種佛經及勸善書籍之最切於人生日用宜於朝夕閱覽者. 得一千種. 仿四部叢刊例. 用鉛版排印袖珍本各一千冊. 分類裝入小箱中. 以期束之中筭. 便於攜帶. 全書分十次刷印. 每次一百種. 名為一集. 絡續付印. 茲第一集選印之書. 已行決定. 期於十五年十二月底印成. 其流通辦法暨印書目錄. 另詳於後. 請賜 覽觀. 如蒙加以扶助. 實為至幸.』 Punctuation as in original. *Zhongyang kejing yuan shumu*, 81-82.

505 *Zhongyang kejing yuan shumu*, 82, 84. At the end of the catalogue is a small list of works offered for sale on consignment (*daishou* 代售) on behalf of other printers, including a number of pocket-sized scriptures, Buddhist images, and one work by Taixu. *Zhongyang kejing yuan shumu*, 103-104. On p. 113, the back cover of the catalogue, the other printers for whom the press distributed scriptures are listed as 北京天津長沙南京蘇州杭州成都磚橋等處.

works, advertising for it in advance, and then selling the works for more than the cost of printing appears unprecedented among scriptural presses, who would normally receive a lump-sum donation to print a given title, then make copies of that work available at or below cost.⁵⁰⁶

The Central Scriptural Press had further plans for their financial backing, appending an outline of a stock offering (*zhaogu jianzhang* 招股簡章) to the end of their catalogue. Likening the enterprise of printing and distributing scriptures to “opening up the Dharma bridge” (*kaitong faqiao* 開通法橋), and calling it an endeavor that brings incalculable merit, the document describes the structural organization of the press as divided into printing and distribution divisions. Income is generated through a 20 percent markup on books, although purchases of 100 or more titles would receive a 10 percent discount, and stock holders would be entitled to a 15 percent discount. The business model for the press is explained as “in general conducted according to practices of commercial stores, especially in taking [internal] checks and restraints as our principle.”⁵⁰⁷ The press is reported as seeking an initial capitalization of 20,000 yuan divided into ten large shares of 2,000 yuan each, each of which is further divided into ten small shares of 200 yuan; anyone holding one small share up to ten large share would be recognized as a stockholder. One half of the stock would be formally

506 See, for example, the accounts of the Beijing Scriptural Press in chapter one, section four above.

507 『概照商店慣例辦理。專以核實摺節為主。』 *Zhongyang kejing yuan shumu*, 105-107.

underwritten, the other issued in smaller 50 yuan certificates and only personally guaranteed by a generous donor. The authors of the stock offering hoped that once all the shares were sold the press could move out of their temporary location, turning it into an editorial office, establish retail branches in temples to help with distribution, and reorganize themselves along the lines of a limited liability company (*youxian gongsi* 有限公司) to ensure the press' permanence.⁵⁰⁸

In its yearly report for 1926 printed in *Foguang she shekan* 佛光社社刊 (Periodical of the Foguang Association), the press had borrowed 5,200 yuan, and its income from printing was 27,197.65 yuan, of which over 15,000 yuan came from donations, with 432,000 copies of their own titles printed that year. The press is listed as owning its own printing capital, such as steel, zinc, paper, wood, and cast type printing blocks. At the end of that year, the press owed nearly as much as it had in assets.⁵⁰⁹ For 1927, they had earned 8,200 yuan from sales of stock, but they had borrowed another 8,000 yuan. Print income was 24,632.55 yuan, with 381,000 copies of 74 different titles printed, and again the press owed outstanding loans in an amount equal to their assets. A two-page catalogue that follows lists titles in the first and second collections of the planned 1000-title print run, but prices are only given per single copy.⁵¹⁰

508 *Zhongyang kejing yuan shumu*, 107-112.

509 *Foguang she shekan* 佛光社社刊, no. 3, MFQ 16:478-480.

510 *Foguang she shekan*, 480-486.

While it appears that the press was, at least in its early years, forced to rely on donations and book sales for its operating budget, it continued to be active until at least 1936. A short advertisement from 1928 claims that they had already printed and distributed over 1,400,000 copies of over 170 titles across China, and a Buddhist association in Taiwan reported receiving 21 books and 30 printed images from the press that year.⁵¹¹ In the 1930s it began issuing a periodical *Fohua banyue kan* 佛化半月刊 (Buddhist Semi-monthly), later called *Xibao* 喜報 (Good News), that printed Buddhist news and announcements from the press as well as short print catalogues. Its final fate is, however, unclear. The latest publication credited to them in the digital bibliography dates from 1943, but this may have been a later reprint.⁵¹²

In the Gengshen Scripture Distributor and the Central Scriptural Press were each combined different aspects of xylographic scriptural presses, scripture distributors, commercial presses, and commercial enterprise, and both further developed the scripture publishing model established by Yang Wenhui and his followers. The Gengshen distributor functioned like a press in that it advertised its printing services to readers, and sought to

511 *Xizai zhuan* 息災專刊, no. 4 (May 24, 1928), MFQ 134:59; *Nanying Fojiao* [Nan'ei Bukkyō] 南瀛佛教, Aug. 21, 1928, MFQ 109:322. Another press advertisements from 1927 is in *Chenzhong tekan* 晨鐘特刊, year 1 no. 2 (Feb., 1927), MFQB 32:306.

512 *Xibao* is described in MFQ 205:53. The press issued a catalogue in 1930 entitled *Fojiao jingxiang gezhong shanshu shumu zonglu* 佛教經象各種善書書目總錄 which I have not yet been able to consult. Note that the press' *Fohua banyue kan* was not the publication of the same name announced in *Haichao yin* in 1925, which was published in Chao'an 潮安. MFQ 158:39-41. Short catalogues from *Xibao* appear in eg. MFQ 130:374, 390. Wan is listed as having donated a number of texts to the Buddhist Library 佛教圖書館 in Beijing in 1936. *Fojiao tushuguan baogao* 佛教圖書館報告, no. 6 (Dec. 1936), MFQ 79:471-473.

emulate commercial enterprise without giving up its mission of distributing the “Dharma Treasures”. Like previous scriptural presses, the Central press was devoted to printing religious texts for the sake of merit and the spread of morality; like distributors, it carried printed scriptures from a number of other presses; like commercial presses, it owned its own print capital; and like a commercial enterprise, it operated on a budget that depended on credit, and produced regular financial reports. Judging by the accounting data from its early years, it was unable to operate the same profit-driven terms as a commercial business, and had to rely on donations to supplement its income from book sales. The large number of books and titles that the press reported printing, however, indicates that it attained a good measure of success toward its aim of maximizing portability and breadth of distribution in order to integrate religious books into people's daily lives.

In contrast, commercial publishers in China only began to publish a small handful of books relating to Buddhism beginning in the 1920s. Although presses such as the China Library Company and Zhonghua Books had printed Buddhist materials before, this work was carried out on behalf of a client, and these titles were not listed as part of their main print catalogues. Di Chuqing's Youzheng Press for example, which published *Foxue congbao* from 1912 to 1914, lists only sixteen Buddhist titles in a catalogue from the early 1920s, whereas their scripture

distribution branch had been offering about 680 titles as late as 1914.⁵¹³ The Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press), the most prolific commercial publisher of Republican China and headquartered in Shanghai, added a small subsection on *zongjiao* 宗教 (religion) to the *zhexue* 哲學 (philosophy) section of their 1919 catalogue, in which the only Buddhist-themed work is *Foxue yijie* 佛學易解 (Simple Explication of Buddhist Studies) by Jia Fengzhen 賈豐臻 (fl. 1910s – 1930s).⁵¹⁴ Only from the start of the 1930s would the press add a separate Religion section to their catalogue, in which a number of Buddhist books by Chinese authors and translated titles by Sylvain Lévi and Karl Ludvig Reichelt would be listed.⁵¹⁵ Between 1920 and 1929, however, Buddhist books slowly made their way into commercial catalogues. Zhonghua Books and the Commercial Press together published at least twenty-four Buddhist titles during this period, ranging from books for beginners, scriptural texts, collected works, and scholarly historical studies.

513 *Youzheng shuju mulu* 有正書局目錄 [1921? – 1926?], in Yin and Li, eds., 8:441. For an outline of their scriptural titles, see chapter two, section four above.

514 *Shangwu yinshuguan tushu lu* 商務印書館圖書錄, Feb. 1, 1919, in *Minguo shiqi chuban shumu huibian* 民國時期出版書目彙編, edited by Liu Hongquan 劉洪權 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010), Vol. 1:257. Jia was mentioned above in chapter four, section three

515 See, for example, *Tushu huibao* 圖書彙報, New No. 11 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, May 1, 1943), pp. 22–23.

Table 16: Buddhist Publications from Zhonghua shuju (Zhonghua Books) and Shangwu yinshu guan (The Commercial Press), 1920 – 1929⁵¹⁶

| <i>Title</i> | <i>Author</i> | <i>Publisher</i> | <i>Year</i> | <i>Catalog #</i> |
|--|--|------------------|-------------|------------------|
| 淨土四經 <i>Jingtu sijing</i> | Wei Yuan 魏源 | Shangwu | 1920 | S0241 |
| 金剛經 <i>Jingang jing</i> 心經 <i>Xin jing</i> | Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 | Shangwu | 1920 | S0219 |
| 佛學大綱 <i>Foxue da gang</i> | Xie Wuliang 謝無量 | Zhonghua | 1921 | S0174 |
| 楞嚴貫攝 <i>Lengyan guan nie</i> | Boci midi 般刺密帝, Liu Daokai 劉道開 | Zhonghua | 1922 | S0294 |
| 佛教問答 <i>Fojiao wenda</i> | Fan Gunong 范古農 | Shangwu | 1922 | S0109 |
| 究元決疑論 <i>Jiuyuan jueyi lun</i> | Liang Shuming 梁漱溟, Dongfang zazhi she 東方雜誌社 | Shangwu | 1923 | S1339 |
| 佛學易解 <i>Foxue yijie</i> | Jia Fengzhen 賈豐臻 | Shangwu | 1923 | S1283 |
| 歷代求法翻經錄 <i>Lidai qiufa fanjing lu</i> | Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 | Shangwu | 1923 | S0351 |
| 四分律比丘戒相表記 <i>Sifenlu biqu jie xiangbiao ji</i> | Tanfang 曇昉 | Zhonghua | 1924 | S0257 |
| 大乘起信論考證 <i>Dasheng qixin lun kaozheng</i> | Liang Qichao 梁啟超 | Zhonghua | 1924 | S0619 |
| 印光法師文鈔 <i>Yinguang fashi wenchao</i> | Zhou Mengyou 周孟由 et al. | Shangwu | 1924 | S0134 |
| 楞嚴會歸評註 <i>Lengyan hui guiping zhu</i> | [Liang Zhaoguan 廉兆綸] | Zhonghua | 1925 | S0292 |
| 佛典泛論 <i>Fodian fanlun</i> | Lü Cheng 呂澂 | Shangwu | 1925 | S1508 |
| 佛教哲學 <i>Fojiao zhexue</i> | Ono Sei 小野清, Zhang Fu 張紱 | Shangwu | 1925 | S1341 |
| 印度佛教史略 <i>Yindu Fojiao shilüe</i> | Lü Cheng 呂澂 | Shangwu | 1925 | S0347 |
| 究元決疑論 <i>Jiuyuan jueyi lun</i> | Liang Shuming 梁漱溟, Dongfang zazhi she 東方雜誌社 | Shangwu | 1925 | S1340 |
| 相宗綱要續編 <i>Xiangzong gangyao xubian</i> | Mei Guangxi 梅光羲 | Shangwu | 1926 | S0316 |
| 太虛法師文鈔初集 <i>Taixu fashi wenchao chuji</i> | Taixu 太虛, Chen Huijian 陳慧兼, et al. | Zhonghua | 1927 | S0130 |
| 弘明集 <i>Hongming ji</i> | Sengyou 僧祐 | Zhonghua | [1927] | S0307 |
| 六朝隋唐寫經真跡 <i>Liuchao Sui Tang xiejing zhenji</i> | [Lishi baomozhai 李氏寶墨齋] | Zhonghua | 1929 | S0062 |
| 古佛畫譜: 二冊 <i>Gu Fo huapu: erce</i> | Huang Ze 黃澤 | Zhonghua | 1929 | S0393 |

516 Includes reprints of earlier editions.

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|--|---|---------|------|-------|
| 中國佛教史 <i>Zhongguo Fojiao shi</i> | Sakaino Satoru 境野哲 Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬 | Shangwu | 1929 | S0358 |
| 淨名經集解關中疏 <i>Jingming jing jijie guanzhong shu</i> | Shi Daoye 釋道液 | Shangwu | 1929 | S0337 |
| 翻譯名義集 <i>Fanyi mingyi ji</i> | Shi Fayun 釋法雲 | Shangwu | 1929 | S0168 |

Among these publications were sets of collected works by two influential Buddhist monastics during this period. The collected writings of Yinguang, *Yinguang fashi wenchao* 印光法師文鈔, which had first been printed by Xu Weiru in Beijing in 1918, were published by the Commercial Press in Shanghai in 1924, and later by Zhonghua Books in 1927. In the same year Zhonghua also issued an initial volume of the collected writings of Taixu, *Taixu fashi wenchao chuji* 太虛法師文鈔初集, later reprinted in three volumes in 1933.⁵¹⁷ Scholarly works on Buddhist history and biography were also popular subjects for commercial press catalogues. In 1923 the Commercial Press published *Lidai qiufa fanjing lu* 歷代求法翻經錄 (Record of Scripture Translators and Seekers of the Dharma Through the Ages) by Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 (1887 – 1946), a prolific scholar and translator. In 1929 it published *Zhongguo Fojiao shi* 中國佛教史 (History of Buddhism in China), a translation by Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬 (Jiang Zhuzhuang 蔣竹莊, 1873 – 1958) of *Shina bukkyō shikō* 支那佛教史綱 (Outline History of Buddhism in China)

517 The Yinguang volume was edited by his disciple Zhou Mengyou 周孟由 (1887 - 1958). Several volumes of Yinguang's writings were also published in Hangzhou in 1927 by the Foxue tuixing hui 佛學推行會. The reprint of Taixu's writings was issued by Shanghai Buddhist Books. See the advertisement in *Haichao yin*, vol. 14, no. 10 (Oct. 15, 1933), MFQ 185:278.

originally published by Sakaino Satoru 境野哲 (1871 – 1933) in 1907.⁵¹⁸

Apart from this handful of works, however, Buddhist publishing was still largely a specialist operation, one which the larger commercial presses had not yet embraced. The presses and distributors who did published Buddhist and other religious books were, as with the Central Scriptural Press, quite adamant about maintaining a not-for-profit orientation, but they did emulate many features of commercial enterprise while operating on an economy of merit generation and donations. These new methods of funding and organization allowed for a very large scale of production and a wide scope of distribution, two aspects that Buddhist periodicals, by carrying scriptural catalogues and advertising new publications, helped develop. Emulating commercial practices and navigating the commercial economy of labor and materials costs, while remaining grounded in a non-profit, merit-generating internal economy, would remain a challenge for Buddhist publishers as they entered the 1930s, when the scale of print culture in China would grow exponentially.⁵¹⁹

518 For a list of translated works by Feng, see *Feng Chengjun fanyi zhushu mulu* 馮承鈞翻譯著述目錄, in *Jindai yi shumu* 近代譯書目, edited by Wang Tao 王韜, Gu Xieguang 顧燮光, et al. (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003): 725-733. A memorial to him appears in *Wenjiao congkan* 文教叢刊, combined no. 5 and 6 (Nov., 1946), MFQ 99:476-477. Sakaino and Jiang feature in my unpublished working paper “Print Culture and the Making of Buddhist Histories in Meiji and Republican East Asia”, previously presented at the workshop on “Buddhist Dynamics in East Asian Religions”, Italian School of East Asian Studies, Kyoto, June 18, 2011.

519 Shanghai Buddhist Books 上海佛學書局, the history of which falls outside the scope of this dissertation, was founded in 1929 and grew to be the largest single publisher and retailer of Buddhist texts in late Republican China. It and the role played by Shanghai as a nexus of culture, technology, and capital in the 1930s development of Buddhist publishing is the subject of a future research project to be first presented at Academia Sinica in November 2013.

5. Conclusion

While Chinese Buddhist publishing enterprises organized their operations along the lines of a commercial enterprise, they largely remained committed to a not-for-profit business model, gaining no profit from their publishing and often depending on donations to cover costs. This allowed them to focus on the economy of merit, whereby donors and participants gained the numerous benefits described in the Buddhist scriptures for reproducing and distributing texts. In this economy, donors were particularly important, since publishers needed to pay for print services, physical plant, and other types of costs regardless of how much money they had brought in from book sales. Through the 1920s they were also more closely connected to one another. One result of this was that an individual scripture distributor could feature scriptures from a wide range of printers and amass a book catalogue numbering in the thousands. Another was that periodicals more often referenced one another and other publishers, either through advertisements or other types of lists and articles. Thanks to these types of interconnections, the now far-flung network of Chinese Buddhist text distribution could bring book catalogues to readers across China and abroad. Commercial presses were also involved, and though their Buddhist offerings were on a much smaller scale than that of scriptural or smaller specialist presses, their presence in the mainstream book market meant that the titles

they carried were potentially distributed through a very large number of local retail bookstores.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I have argued that print culture was a catalyst for change in the religious thought and practice of Buddhists in modern China. Prior to this period, the print artifacts of the Buddhist tradition – scriptures, treatises, commentaries, printed images – were already heavily imbued with sacrality and religious significance. The social processes of print, chief among them the assembling of canonical collections of Buddhist texts, were well-established cultural practices. Starting with Yang Wenhui in the late nineteenth century, however, Chinese Buddhist practices of print began to change much more rapidly, and new types of print culture were developed alongside new forms of monastic education, political activism, Buddhist scholarship, and social organization. Neither the impact of publishing on these developments, nor the effect they had on publishing were purely the result of intentional actions that had a clear outcome; rather the confluence of different elements appears to have given rise to a number of unexpected phenomena that were part of no one person's vision for the revival or development of Buddhism. In this mutually influential relationship, printing at times took a leading role, and at others followed other developments, but it was seldom unconnected to the larger context of religious change.

In chapter one I outlined how Yang developed the organization of his scriptural press, and how its structure of lay leadership and printed regulations prefigured that of the Buddhist religious associations that would follow in the Republican era. With Xu Weiru, we see how lay leaders brought the skills they had acquired in their managerial positions to the work of printing Buddhist texts, applying organizational methods designed for efficiency of private enterprises to the not-for-profit scriptural presses. With the spread of the postal system in the late Qing and especially in the first few decades of the Republic and its availability to the wider public, the possible distribution networks for Buddhist texts were greatly expanded. Whereas previously one had to travel to libraries and bookstores to acquire a printed text and publications moved along the networks of people flowing from place to place, now books could be dispatched by mail, on demand, and reach nearly anywhere in the country.

Chapter two described how a very traditional type of publishing endeavour, the production of a Buddhist canon, was combined with the new print technology of mechanized movable type. The growing use of movable type by religious publishers in China was an unintended consequence of the influence of Christian mission presses, as Chinese Buddhists and others made use of this technology to spread texts from their own traditions. Unlike previous canons, the Kalaviṅka Canon was assembled in the space of a few years, was widely advertised in contemporary Buddhist publications, and was sold directly to readers rather

than distributed to temples and other elite recipients. Yet its failure to become the modern standard edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon is a stark reminder that the mere deployment of new technology was not sufficient to render it an effective means of communication; the knowledge of how best to use the technology, and a welcoming cultural context into which the publication could be released, were also necessary elements.

Chapter three examined early Chinese Buddhist periodicals published around the time of the New Culture movement, when journals and newspapers were among the most important means for radical and revolutionary ideas to be expressed. Sharing printers and sometimes also publishers, Chinese literary publications clearly influenced the structure and content of Buddhist journals. The shareholder model of the Chinese General Buddhist Association and the periodical's intended role in the flow of funds and information between its center and branch associations was an element newly made possible by the periodical genre. In *Fojiao yuebao* and especially in *Jueshe congshu*, the influence of figures with former and current connections to the military is evident, as is the importance of Japanese Buddhist scholarship and the experience of authors and editors studying in Japan. Being able to direct the *Jueshe* and to use its periodical to publicize his ideas enabled Taixu to expand the reach of his influence in a way that had been impossible in his attempts to gain control over monastic institutions.

With Ding Fubao in chapter four, I argued that his series represents part of a shift toward a focus on self-directed study of Buddhist scriptures as a religious practice, a trend that had the potential to destabilize traditional structures of teacher-disciple relationships and temple-based education. While books for beginners and collections of tales designed to convince the reader of the reality of the Buddhist doctrines had existed for centuries, Ding's approach of bringing the methods of textual study to the everyday reader combined the functions of these genres, updating their particulars to meet the needs and concerns of modern readers, and matched them to lexicographic scholarship largely translated from Japan.

Finally in chapter five, we see the structural aspects of commercial enterprises being adopted by Buddhist scriptural presses, and Buddhist texts being added in small numbers to the catalogues of commercial book publishers. While Buddhist presses were careful to remind the reader that they sought no profit from their publishing, their price structure and internal budget planning was still modeled on that of commercial businesses, and was ultimately designed to sustain the institution rather than serve the immediate need of lay donors for meritorious production, as had been the case with earlier presses such as Yang Wenhui's.

Rather than seeing publishing as simply an epiphenomenon of these other changes, or the new technology of print as driving the development of new ideas, I see instead that print culture and religious change went hand in hand, with each influencing the other. To this one

might offer the challenge, “So what?” In response I would suggest that we cannot reach any sort of understanding of Buddhism in China nor of its 'revival' without also understanding its print culture and how it was implicated in its modern history. Furthermore, a similar argument could be made more broadly: that we cannot fully comprehend the experience of the Chinese modern without taking into account the role played by print culture in making possible elements of this experience.

Appendix:

The Digital Bibliography of Chinese Buddhism⁵²⁰

I began this project in early 2011 in response to the difficulty I had encountered in tracking down information on the history of several publishers in Republican-era China who had published a significant number of religious works relating to Buddhism, and in trying to get a sense of what published material of this sort existed. Library catalogues, while in themselves excellent resources, too often suffer from a lack of standardization especially with regard to East Asian items, a problem that has only been compounded by the integration of this data into WorldCat.⁵²¹ As I began to assemble bibliographic sources, I realized that a unified digital bibliography would quite likely be of some help to scholars in fields such as Buddhist Studies and modern Chinese history. My aim was to compile a set of data that was based upon multiple sources that would be cross-checked, and which could be edited for accuracy and further expanded in the future. I settled on four major print sources that would supply the initial data for the core of the bibliography, and over the following year incorporated their bibliographic data on Buddhist publications into an XML file. I chose XML because it is very easy to work with especially for non-experts like myself. It is very human-readable, it can

520 Based on the Project Description and Manual, <http://bib.buddhiststudies.net/project_description.html>.

521 <<http://www.worldcat.org/>>.

easily be incorporated into a number of database programs, and it is possible for researchers to write simple scripts to convert it into any other format they wish.⁵²² In autumn 2011 I started writing a Python script to read the XML entries and output a well-formatted bibliography, a script that eventually grew into the interface of the online bibliography interface. Python is a flexible scripting language, and again is very approachable for those without a strong programming background.⁵²³ This script does not add anything to the core data; it only searches through the entries and returns HTML-formatted pages as needed. Both the core XML data and the Python script, as well as the host website itself, are licensed under a Creative Commons license.⁵²⁴ Direct download links for both the data and the script are made clearly available on the website. The purpose of this is to encourage the widest possible use of the material, and to support the research and academic communities who rely on the unhindered and open exchange of reliable information to do their work. While it is clear that basic bibliographic data, being facts and not creative products, cannot be copyrighted, it might be argued that the particular organization or format of a bibliography might be copyrightable. I therefore have put a CC license on all the data associated with the bibliography, which of course has no impact on the public domain data, nor on one's Fair Use or Fair Dealing rights.⁵²⁵

522 <<http://www.w3.org/XML/>>.

523 <<http://www.python.org/>>.

524 <<http://creativecommons.org/>>.

525 A project is currently under way to collect bibliographic data on all religious publications published in

Four major print-published sources were used to compile the starting core data of the bibliography. For each, only the basic bibliographic data was used; creative input such as annotations is protected by copyright and is thus not able to be incorporated into a Creative Commons-licensed project:

Beijing tushuguan 北京圖書館, ed. *Minguo shiqi zong shumu* 民國時期總書目 (Bibliography of Republican-era Publications) (1911-1949), Vol. 2 (宗教). Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994.

Huang Xianian 黃夏年, ed., *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成 (Collection of Republican-Era Buddhist Periodical Literature), 209 Vols. (Beijing: Quanguo tushuguan 全國圖書館, 2006).

Huang Xianian 黃夏年, ed., *Minguo fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng bubian* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成·補編 (Supplement to the Collection of Republican-Era Buddhist Periodical Literature), 83 Vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian 中國書店, 2008).

Long Xiangyang 龍向洋, ed. 美國哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館藏民國時期圖書總目 *Catalogue of Books of the Period of the Republic of China Collected in Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, U.S.A.*, Vol. 1. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2010. Additional information from the HOLLIS online catalogue.

Luo Cheng 羅琤, *Jinling kejing chu yanjiu* 金陵刻經處研究 (A Study of the Jinling Scriptural Press.) Shanghai: Shanghai shehui kexue yuan, 2010.

More details on how data from each source was incorporated into the database are available on the project website, <<http://bib.buddhiststudies.net>>.

Shanghai between 1898 and 1948. Entitled “1898-1948: The Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religion” 1898-1948: 改變了中國宗教的 50 年, the project will incorporate some of the data from this bibliography.

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Beijing kejing chu disan ci zhengxin lu 北京刻經處第三次徵信錄 (Beijing Scriptural Press Accounting Record No. 3). Beijing: Beijing Scriptural Press, 1922.

Beijing Tianjin Fojing liutongchu shumu 北京天津佛經流通處書目 (Book Catalogue of the Beijing and Tianjin Scripture Distributors) [<1923?]. In *Minguo shiqi Fojiao ziliao huibian* 民國時期佛教資料匯編, selected and edited by Tian Qi 田奇 (Beijing: National Library, 2010), Vol. 2: 447-518.

Beijing tushuguan 北京圖書館, ed. *Minguo shiqi zong shumu* 民國時期總書目 (Bibliography of Republican-era Publications) (1911-1949), Vol. 15 (宗教) (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1985.)

Beiping Fohua yuekan 北平佛化月刊 (Beiping Buddhistic Monthly), MFQ 29, 137.

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