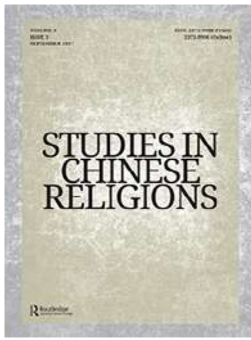

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Taking Welch and *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism* into the 21st century

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ABSTRACT
The first volume of Welch's trilogy, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950* provides a detailed and wide-ranging account of monastic Buddhism in China before its radical disruption during the Maoist period. Welch based his work on interviews with monks living in exile. Over the past couple of decades it has become possible for researchers to conduct research onsite at monasteries in mainland China, thus opening ethnographic avenues of inquiry unavailable to Welch. This article examines Welch's approach and findings to determine their continued relevance and shortcomings; lacunae will be identified as well as points of strength so that readers may come away from his work with an appreciation of its limitations and a basis for further research.

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Introduction

In the introduction to his monograph on the practice of Chinese Buddhism Welch acknowledged the work of Johannes Prip-Møller as having 'opened many of the trails that I have followed.'[1] Just as Prip-Møller opened paths of exploration for Welch, so has Welch charted territory that continues to guide researchers today. When I set out to study monastic Buddhism in contemporary China I had with me a copy of *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism*, which I frequently consulted when I first began to interview monks. It provided me with much material that I could ask about, such as monastic offices, adherence to precepts, sources of income and many other facets of monastic life treated by Welch. The question I have set out to investigate is thus one I feel well positioned to address – namely, how well does Welch's 1967 book help researchers anticipate and understand the forms of Chinese Buddhist monasticism that are found in mainland China today? In addition, I will examine Welch's approach and findings so that we may come away from his work with a basis for future research. In order to accomplish these goals this article will interrogate the account of Buddhist monasticism found in the 1967 study *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950* by Holmes Welch to (a) assess the continued utility of Welch's account, (b) consider how successful Welch may or may not have been in cutting through idealized portraits to reveal aspects of practice on the ground, and (c) identify gaps in coverage that call for further

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research.[2] Tying all these concerns together is a questioning of whether Welch presents the way things *are*, or how they *ought* to be.

Behind all of these questions is that of accuracy and credibility in this work, which contains detailed descriptions of Buddhism in China written by someone who never set foot in mainland China. Welch compiled his account based on interviews with refugee monks from China in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and parts of Southeast Asia, supplemented with a small pool of primary documentary sources (e.g. histories compiled by monasteries, memorial volumes for deceased masters, and yearbooks related to religion). Despite his lack of access to the *in situ* tradition, he provides a detailed and wide-ranging account of monastic Buddhism as it is claimed to have existed *in practice* rather than in theory (i.e., that based on the vinaya and hagiographic writings). How well does his account reflect the full spectrum of Chinese Buddhist practice?

Welch was well aware of the problems inherent in relying on oral testimony, and relates the warnings he received from Buddhologists: 'I sought the advice of an eminent Chinese scholar. He recommended that I pay no attention to my informants. "Monks are ignorant," he said, "I don't believe people, I believe books." A few months later a Japanese Buddhologist, when I told him that much of my material was oral, shook his head sadly and said: "I am afraid that what you write may not be believed."'[3] Given the potential problems with oral testimony Welch was careful to check his interviews against documentary evidence, if available, or to cross-check points in other interviews (he interviewed more than one hundred monks, but considered only 'half a dozen' 'wholly reliable').[4] It remains the case, nevertheless, that he wrote about the practice of Chinese Buddhism in monastic settings without setting foot within their gates (at least in mainland China) and primarily relied on the testimony of handful of monks who recounted their experiences from memory.[5]

Over the past couple of decades it has become possible for researchers to conduct research onsite at monasteries in mainland China, thus opening ethnographic avenues of inquiry unavailable to Welch. Qin Wenjie conducted fieldwork at nunneries on Mt. Emei 峨眉山 for her dissertation (Harvard, 2000). Gareth Fisher, lacking full access to the inner quarters of Beijing's Temple of Universal Rescue (*Guangji si* 廣濟寺), conducted research on the 'preacher circles' that gathered in the outer courtyard.[6] Alison Denton Jones studied the lay Buddhist ecology of the city of Nanjing.[7] And my own research has been a study of Quanzhou Kaiyuan Monastery 泉州開元寺, a large Buddhist monastery in Southeast China based on fieldwork conducted living among the monks for over half a year, with research conducted at dozens of other monasteries in China for some 16 additional months from 2005 to 2012. My evaluation of Welch's work will reference the work of these and other scholars.

It is to be noted that I am not attempting to make a direct comparison between the Buddhism found during the Republican period with the traditions emerging in the post-Mao period; each period has its own very different circumstances and different challenges. What a 'comparison' can do is to help identify areas where scholars can advance knowledge beyond the starting points provided by Welch. In addition I would like to point out a few issues that I do not take up in this study. This current examination is not interested, for example, in Welch's treatment of doctrinal elements because Welch emphasized that discussions of Buddhist doctrine lay beyond his competence and he relied on the research of others from the early twentieth century.

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Rather, I will focus on his account of what was done, who did it, and how it was done. In addition to the descriptive dimension in Welch's work there is an interpretive aspect most often designed to make sense of or justify particular practices or conceptions on which they were based. For example, with regard to making offerings to the dead more than 49 days after their death and therefore after their rebirth according to Buddhist doctrine, Welch writes: 'Their approach, while it might seem to be inconsistent, was actually that of a prudent man dealing with the unknown. There was no way to be sure which version of the afterlife was correct.'[8] His interpretations are generally advanced in order to generate a sympathetic understanding of the practice and, like the case just cited, they are generally reasonable. This study is not interested in challenging such interpretive moves. I will, however, examine his overall approach for signs of bias. Let's begin with a look at the general organization of the book which reveals two glaring lacunae.

The organization and contours of Welch's book

While Welch's book is titled *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950* its scope is largely limited to monastic Buddhism – of 12 chapters only one is focused on lay Buddhists. Nevertheless, Welch considered his focus justified and the title accurate as suggested by the opening words of the first chapter: 'Chinese Buddhism was above all *a system of monastic life* exemplifying a body of doctrine.'[9] This conception of monasticism as 'exemplifying a body of doctrine' was presumably developed in consultation with his monastic informants. The nature of his informants provides an important window into the kind of Buddhism that is portrayed and will be examined below.

The book is organized into two parts: the first deals with the institution of the monastery in eight chapters, the second part includes three chapters on the identity and practices of individual Buddhists. The first part provides a detailed account of the life of the monastery from a largely administrative point of view. The concerns have to do with describing the organization of the monastery according to different monastic offices, yearly calendar, daily schedules, and the economy of the monastery and an examination of the ritual or religious life of the monastery by examining practices and traditions associated with the meditation hall and the Buddha recitation halls of the monastery. The second part examines individual Buddhists and contains two chapters on monastics and one on lay Buddhists. The focus of the chapters dealing with monks explores the motivations and process through which one becomes a fully ordained monk as well as different identities a monk may assume such as scholar, pilgrim, propagator, hermit, ascetic or wage-earner. The chapter on lay Buddhists provides an overview of how one becomes a lay Buddhist and typical ways lay Buddhists engage in religious practice. These chapters are successful in humanizing the figures of this study and providing multi-layered portraits of living Buddhists. Welch's descriptions and analyses continue to provide valuable starting points for understanding and researching lived Chinese religion. Speaking of Chinese religiosity, Welch writes:

> The basic religious question in China, I think, was not how man saw himself in relation to God, but how he saw himself in relation to all the events that overtook him. He was part of a continuum of the human, the natural, and the supernatural. There was no dividing line

> between gods and men, monks and magicians, the sacred and the secular. It would be as true to say the Chinese were highly religious people as to say that they were a secular practical people. In their case it amounted to the same thing.[10]

To take just one example from recent scholarship, compare this with what Richard Madsen wrote on the subject in 2014:

> It was not so much a matter of religion merging with 'secular' institutions (as C. K. Yang puts it, perhaps too much under the spell of his generation's structural-functionalist sociology) as of religion being a dimension of institutions that cannot be understood through the modern distinction between secular and religious. Religion itself was of 'this world' – what we in the West mean by 'secular.'[11]

The concluding chapter considers broad issues concerning the institutional identity and affiliations of monks. Welch explains the nominal sectarian affiliations derived from tonsure and how such affiliations meant little in terms of a monk's personal beliefs or practices. Welch then considers syncretic tendencies in Chinese religion and concludes that explicit Daoist intrusions into Buddhist monasticism were rare.[12] Lastly, Welch identifies three kinds of affiliation that led to networking: religious kinship (tonsure, dharma transmission, ordination); loyalty to a charismatic monk; and regionalism. This was an original contribution by Welch that provides scholars with a coherent way to think about and investigate Buddhist networks of affiliation, which remain part of the tradition to this day.

Welch's study then provides a detailed examination of monastic organization and practice as it existed in China during the first half of the twentieth century, as well as an overview of lay Buddhist identity and practice. His approach treats monasteries as 'containers' for the religious and their activities.[13] Such an approach provides focus, but it leaves out the dynamic points of intersection between the monastery and the social, cultural and political spheres in which it is enmeshed. The shortcomings of this approach will be explored after focusing on specific aspects of the monastic tradition that are inadequately addressed by Welch. Later I will also identify areas where Welch provides rich content for further development.

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Lay Buddhists and women

The chapter on lay Buddhists is 36 pages long and offers a respectably detailed overview of lay Buddhist identity and practice, but it is not nearly as wide-ranging as his account of the monastic community. Welch seems to have chosen to emphasize the monastic community over and above the laity. His justification, stated above, was the notion that Chinese Buddhism was 'above all a system of monastic life.' In other words, he could best present Chinese Buddhism through an exploration of the monastic system. Nonetheless it is worth noting that Welch's descriptions of lay Buddhists and their traditions is rich and varied enough to provide much material to guide contemporary researchers. I have found many points made by Welch to hold true in contemporary China, as has Gareth Fisher in his study of lay Buddhists in post-Mao China.[14] Let's take a general description of 'lay' worship at temples provided by Welch:

> One monk told me that most worshippers came to ask the gods for some selfish personal advantage-success in business, the birth of a son, better education for their children, or

> promotion in office … The proper motive in worship was the desire to save all sentient beings and become a Buddha. But not one in a hundred worshipers were thus motivated, he said.
>
> The commonest time to visit temples was on festival days, particularly on the anniversaries of the divinities worshipped there, for example, Kuan-yin's birthday in a temple to Kuan-yin … According to several of my informants, more women than men came to worship at such festivals in South China, especially in Kwangtung Province, whereas further north men outnumbered women …
>
> Not all the people who came to the temple on festival days were worshippers. Many were 'occasional Buddhists.' During the universal festivals like New Year's or Ch'ing Ming, occasional Buddhists were in the great majority, and they came mainly to 'have a good time' (*wan*).[15]

Such descriptions of lay worshipers mirrors my own findings in contemporary China as well as Adam Chau's description of worshipers in his 2006 study of the temple of the Black Dragon King (*heilong dawang* 黑龍大王) in contemporary north China.[16] The swelling crowds of worshippers and 'occasional Buddhists' on festival days may be easily verified in contemporary China. Welch points this out, but researchers can now probe much further than he was able, through fieldwork. We can pursue further questions about these living traditions: In what ways do temples anticipate, foster and accommodate such crowds? If it's 'fun' for the 'occasional Buddhists,' what's in it for the temple? Who are these 'occasional Buddhists'? Such are questions that Welch was unable to pursue, but which scholars have begun to address.[17]

Welch provides an account of devotees reciting the full liturgy of morning and evening devotions at the headquarters of their lay society, especially on the first and fifteenth of the lunar calendar;[18] this is a tradition that I have verified in contemporary Fujian. Lay interest in the distribution of Buddhist literature was mentioned by Welch in *The Practice* and elaborated upon in *The Buddhist Revival in China* (1968); this phenomenon has been studied by Gareth Fisher in contemporary China.[19]

Welch offers descriptions of release of life facilities at monasteries, presumably compiled from descriptions he'd received. He describes almost any large monastery as having a release of life pond near the main gate.[20] I am aware of no formal survey of such ponds, while many large monasteries do have ponds, it would be a mistake to assume that they are ubiquitous. He continues: 'Out behind the monastery there would be stables for the care of cows, pigs, and other livestock similarly rescued.' This is something that again is not common in contemporary China, but it is nonetheless something for the researcher to note, inquire into its past existence, and reflect upon its demise. Welch's account thus serves as a fruitful base from which a researcher can formulate more questions, dig deeper, probe further, and identify other characteristics.

An area most ripe for further inquiry is gender. What is behind the preponderance of female worshipers in the South? And is it only in the South? Other scholars have remarked on the visible prominence of women in Chinese religion. 'The vast majority of worshippers in temples tend to be women.'[21] Goossaert and Palmer specifically identify 'older women' as responsible for founding sutra recitation groups in post-Mao China: 'Indeed, even though male leaders with social status (retired cadres, schoolteachers) often played prominent public roles in temple revivals, it was elderly women who did most of the temple running and festival organizing.'[22] And again: 'The public face of temples was thus typically senior rich men, even though the actual

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running of the place was often in the hands of elderly women.'[23] In my own research I have found that 95% of the approximately 200 attendees at twice-weekly Buddha recitation sessions are older women, who similarly predominate during monthly recitations with crowds 2000 strong. Welch suggests that Qing dynasty laws forbidding women from entering temple grounds had a greater 'residual effect' in lowering the number of women at temples in the north.[24] This is a historical question for others to pursue. In contemporary China no such distinction seems to hold, though there is overall a smaller number of visitors to temples in the north. Regional differences in the vitality of monastic and lay Buddhism is another topic, suggested by Welch, which is ripe for further exploration.

In Welch's account there is, without doubt, a lack of information or inquiry into Buddhist lay women or nuns. This is a lacunae that has begun to be filled by scholars, but more work is needed to flesh out the full contours, implications, and trends that may be identified. Zhou Yiqun has examined women's religiosity during the late imperial period, and Yuan Yuan has examined the founding of study institutes for female Buddhists in Wuhan during the early twentieth century.[25] Miriam Levering presented an overview of women in Chinese religion, but the only detailed study of Buddhist nuns in mainland post-Mao China remains Qin Wenjie's 2000 dissertation.[26] Qin's work reveals deeper layers of meaning for Buddhist practice by committed lay Buddhist women.[27] In the greater China world, a pioneering ethnographic study of women and religion in Singapore and Hong Kong was conducted by Marjorie Topley in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, and we have recent monographs on the Ciji (Compassion and Relief) organization based in Taiwan by Julia Huang and Yushuang Yao.[28] Given the prominence of women in the Chinese Buddhist tradition we will benefit from continued research into this vital and understudied dimension of the tradition.

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Hereditary temples

An organizing principle Welch identifies to discuss Chinese monasticism is the distinction between public monasteries (*shifang conglin* 十方叢林) and hereditary temples (*zisun miao* 子孫廟). Although Welch estimates that 95% of monks lived in small hereditary temples, the focus of his study is on the more elite, and, as he prefers to call them, 'model' monasteries. Less than half of a short chapter of 13 pages focuses on general aspects of hereditary temples with little detail offered. Welch clearly possessed few details about these institutions. If there is one aspect of institutional Buddhism in China which remains largely unexamined by Welch and researchers today it is these small 'hereditary' temples.

Welch reveals why his information on hereditary temples is so limited; namely, his monastic informants hailed from public monasteries. While Welch spoke to over 100 refugee monks living outside mainland China, primarily in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, of all these he notes that at most half a dozen 'proved wholly reliable.'[29] The descriptions of monastic life, then, are primarily based on the testimony of six or fewer monks and Gaomin (Kao-min) monastery's 高旻寺 code of rules. Of his monastic informants, Taicang (T'ai-ts'ang) 太滄, the abbot of Jinshan (Chin Shan) Monastery 金山寺, seems to have been most important. Welch writes: 'It happens that Chin Shan is the monastery on which I have been able to collect the most data myself, while Kao-

min's code of rules, which deal with every aspect of monastic life there during the Republican period, was reprinted on Taiwan in 1960.'[30] This suggests that Welch relied on the printed code of rules for details about Gaomin and relied on informants for information about Jinshan. The focus of his study of monastic life, then, is based on the two model monasteries of which he had the most information: Jinshan and Gaomin.[31] Welch does this, he claims, 'so that the reader may see the system at its best and most complicated; then it will be easier to describe the smaller and poorer variants that were, in practice, far more common.'[32] Why should it be easier to describe smaller temples after describing the larger more complicated ones? A poor temple with a handful of monks responsible for upkeep and fundraising seems an easier task to describe than a monastery with hundreds of monks involved in the many dimensions, both practical and spiritual, that constitute the life of a large monastery. I see this as a rationalization for focusing on the elite institutions which was driven by (a) the fact that his principal informants hailed from these elite institutions, and (b) his stated intention to show the system at its best.

A key point to note in the production of this text, then, is that his principal informants represented model monasteries, especially Jinshan. A related point is that Welch developed an apprenticeship with one of his principle informants Taicang, the abbot of Jinshan. Welch described him as, 'the most reliable of informants' and includes a biographical sketch of him, the only such sketch provided in this volume.[33] Welch apparently took refuge under Taicang, receiving the dharma name Mo-Hua 磨话.[34] According to the Zen Center of Cleveland, Welch received dharma transmission from Taicang when he was in Hong Kong. The Zen Center considers Welch a carrier of Taicang's dharma lineage and recognizes that Welch transmitted this dharma to Shi Shen-lung (-2008) in 1980.[35] I do not have a clear record of the chronology of Welch's personal relationship with Taicang, but it seems that he became his disciple at some point and that his connection with the dharma was sufficient to inspire an American Zen community to consider him a kind of Zen patriarch.

I believe that such a close relationship would have afforded Welch valuable access and insight into his subject. At the same time, a reader should be on the lookout for possible bias related to such a position. This is an issue that Welch himself recognized. In *The Buddhist Revival in China* Welch spoke of his motivations and the danger of bias:

> What about my own bias? … I have come to feel that it [Chinese Buddhism] was wronged by earlier writers and that the wrong should be righted. Thus, quite aside from the fact that I am as incapable of perfect objectivity as the next person, I have a special reason for special pleading. Is it not possible, therefore, that I have amplified rather than corrected for the pro-Buddhist bias of Chinese informants?[36]

When one reads Welch with an eye towards such bias or 'amplifications' what one finds are presentations which largely support a modernist view of religion and Buddhism. By modernist I am referring to the regnant view of 'religion' based on Christian models advanced by Chinese intellectuals and reformers from the late nineteenth century onward, which opposes religion (*zongjiao* 宗教) to superstition (*mixin* 迷信). In contrast to superstition, religion was to be rational, ethical, and based on a canon of texts. The normative model was a Protestant notion of religion as a 'system of doctrine

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organized as a church separated from society.'[37] Such a conception led to the denunciation of folk religious traditions as superstitious. While all religions responded to the threats to religion in China from the end of the nineteenth century onward, the Buddhists were at the vanguard of reformulating Buddhism as a rational, even scientific system of thought and practice.[38] As Goossaert and Palmer, in their monumental synthesis *The Religious Question in Modern China*, note: 'Of all the Chinese religious traditions, Buddhism saw the most sustained engagement with the Christian normative model and its ideas of religious citizenship.'[39]

What Welch encountered in dialogue with monks who had the wherewithal to establish themselves in exile was a discourse of Buddhist modernism tuned to monastic issues and questions that had been developing in China since the early 1900s as Buddhists embraced the call to 'reform the customs' (*gaige fengsu* 改革風俗). What we have to be sensitive to is the extent to which Welch, through his informants, is presenting how things 'ought' to be, in line with modernist ideas, versus how things 'were' in practice.

I argue that these two points, (1) a focus on model public monasteries, and (2) a reliance on high-ranking monks and documents from these monasteries, provide a complex picture of Chinese Buddhist monasticism at its best, but fall short of enabling us to understand the tradition in its most pedestrian sense, which is as it was lived, by the vast majority of monks, in small hereditary temples. Welch provides a description of 'Training in the Hereditary Temple' based on a 'well-run hereditary temple that had adequate income and a sufficient number of monks' and is more ideal than I have observed in contemporary China.[40] In particular, the 'hereditary' temples I have visited have been very small and did not support the kinds of activities – such as meditation, daily dharma lectures, and evening devotions followed by meditation – that Welch's description suggests are routine.[41] Welch also includes mention of life at a poor temple where 'only a modicum of religious education was given.'[42] What Welch does not do at this point in the text is emphasize that such poor temples would have been in the majority; it is up to the reader to keep in mind that 95% of monks lived in such temples.

Among Welch's informants he reports only one who had received training at a hereditary temple and he describes him as an unreliable monk with little religious education. Welch opens the short chapter on hereditary temples by noting that if there was variation among the public monasteries which housed 'most of the elite' and constituted about 5% of the monastic population, then there was even more variation among the hereditary temples. He notes that most who become monks enter through hereditary temples and that most lay Buddhists go to these temples for ritual services. He thus recognizes that the smaller temples and their occupants form the vast majority of Buddhists in China. Unfortunately, there is very little information about hereditary temples other than general points about the numbers of monks, a general lack of strictness compared to public monasteries, and ownership. Clearly Welch had few details about these institutions. Rather than speculate on life at hereditary monasteries, Welch turns to a discussion of branch and sub-temples associated with large public monasteries such as Jinshan and introduces the phenomenon of overseas branch temples such as Fuzhou Yongquan Monastery's 福州涌泉寺 branch temple in Malaysia. His chart of differences between public monasteries, branch temples, and hereditary temples is based on grand generalities, and only remains generally useful to

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give a 'ball park' idea of differences. Welch himself writes: 'This table oversimplifies the facts in order to show what was typical.'[43]

Future work needs to be done to reveal the contours of life and practice at such sites, which Welch essentially frames as the inverse of the model monasteries. In *The Buddhist Revival in China*, Welch writes: 'It is true that the nonhierarchical structure of the Chinese sangha left many of its members free to violate the rules, and some of them made themselves conspicuous by doing so. *Usually they lived at small hereditary temples* that were *often in a state of disrepair; it is precisely from such temples that reports of immorality come*.'[44]

I have visited several small hereditary temples in contemporary China and, in general, it is clear that there is less to distract monks and nuns at such sites, which are inevitably more quiet and peaceful than larger monasteries that attract crowds of pilgrims and tourists.[45] But, what about these 'reports of immorality' associated with small temples mentioned by Welch? In my research, the most direct examples of breaking precepts I was able to document were at large urban temples. I have seen a stumbling drunk red-faced monk being led back to his room by other monks. I sat at a temple where alcohol was brought out to serve to me and watched another monk taste it. But most scandalous of all was a report from my most reliable monastic informant that there were married monks with families. Such monks, I was told, report to their temples as one might report to a job from morning to early evening. There is no question that there are monastics who break their precepts, but I find no clear evidence to paint such 'immorality' in the broad strokes suggested by Welch's elite informants. With respect to this issue more research is needed into such sensitive questions in order to get a better sense of the extent to which precepts are broken by monastics and what kinds of conditions enable such behavior whether at public or hereditary temples. The broad generalizations made by Welch on this issue beg for nuance and clarification.

These, then, are the major lacunae in Welch's presentation of Chinese Buddhism, namely women (both lay and monastic) and hereditary temples. While Welch does a much better job introducing lay Buddhist customs in this volume and goes further with the examination of important lay Buddhists in the 1968 book, the presentation is nonetheless less robust than his treatment of monastics and is ripe for additional study following the lead of scholars like Fisher, Qin, and A. Jones.[46] At this point, I would like to examine two areas where Welch shines: the lives of monks and the economics of the monastery.

The lives of monks

Throughout the book, Welch sheds light on the career and personalities of Buddhist monks and attempts to identify patterns. On the whole the book is a great resource for understanding the monastic vocation as lived in the Chinese Buddhist tradition. In this section I will review his treatment of the monastic career over the course of five different chapters.

Chapter nine provides a detailed account of how one becomes a monk beginning with a lengthy discussion of the motivations for becoming a monk centered around 39 cases. The chapter makes a helpful distinction between tonsure and ordination, and

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provides a detailed account of tonsure and the tonsure family followed by a discussion of full ordination. I have interviewed a handful of monks about their reasons for becoming monks and find much common ground between the cases analyzed by Welch, suggesting a continuing relevance for his findings.

Of more than one hundred interviewees Welch only felt comfortable asking 28 about their reasons for becoming a monk; he discusses these cases along with 11 others culled from documentary sources.[47] Regarding the question of why they became monks 13 of 39 (33%) did so to 'escape from the secular world.' The details of such 'escape' include being jobless, failing the civil service exam, and deserting the army. Six of 39 (15%) had been ill as children or had been sent or promised to the monastery by parents who had been ill, another six had lost one or both parents, and another six reported liking monks or the monastic atmosphere. Of the 39, four (10%) cited an interest in Buddhist doctrine or study as a principle motivation. The remaining four gave different reasons.[48]

I have sampled a smaller number of monks about the reasons they 'left home,' and interestingly they can be categorized into the same categories he uses, but rather than use the phrase 'escape from the secular world' I have thought of it as escape from failures in life (with work or love), others I have interviewed have been ill as children, while others have been attracted to the life by visiting monasteries. In short, Welch's discussion of this question is a good start for researchers to build upon and modify.

Related to 'leaving home,' his discussion of the tonsure family remains an excellent starting point for understanding how monks begin their lives as novices before being ordained, and how they relate to their masters, dharma brothers, and disciples.[49] Welch also includes a helpful discussion of how traditional dharma names are formed.[50] Welch continues his discussion of the monastic career in chapter ten by noting the diversity of activities it could include and the fact that it was typically marked by variation (e.g. a monk might engage in ritual services for a time, take pilgrimages, engage in study or meditation, take an administrative position etc.). Welch also notes that it afforded more freedom than most careers and was generally an 'an easy life, or if it was not easy, it was profitable.'[51] He then examines several types of activities that could occupy a monk. The activities examined through anecdotes interspersed with context and include the following: travel and pilgrimage, teaching and study, receiving the dharma, spreading the dharma, asceticism, and earning income. Other chapters discuss the performance of ritual services, monastic administration, and meditation. In addition to the range of activities that might occupy monks, Welch also examines returning to lay life, retirement and death. It closes with the biography of Taicang, provided by Welch as an example of one of the 'organization men' since biographies of monks accomplished as meditators (Xuyun) or scholars (Taixu) were already available in English.[52]

Welch introduces important dimensions of life as a monk which help readers and researchers alike understand and anticipate the many ways a monastic may occupy themselves. Aspects of all of these activities remain, but the traditional form of study of sutras described in this chapter must be rare in the contemporary period, which has shifted education from dharma halls (*fatang* 法堂) to specialized academies (*foxue yuan* 佛學院). One wonders if this is a permanent shift, or if more time is required to re-populate dharma halls with qualified lectures?

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Regarding the 'organization men,' Welch rightly understood that the institutional life of monasteries relied on the multiple roles of administrative monks who kept the monastery running. Welch opened his study with a survey of offices held by monks at large public monasteries. The first chapter is organized according to three of four 'departments' (guest department, business office, and sacristy), leaving the fourth department, the meditation hall, for individual treatment in the following chapter. Leaving aside the meditation hall, the other three departments are ones that can be found represented at large public monasteries in China today. The descriptions of some of the ranks, however, seem ideal compared to what may be observed in the mainland today. The job of the 'proctor' (*seng zhi*), for example, is described as patrolling the dining hall during meals and shrine halls during services, seeing that signals for daily activities are sounded on time, organizing chores for the other monks, and supervising bathing and clothes washing. He is even responsible for overseeing the disposal of the dead and their property. Welch writes: 'He had to be everywhere and notice everything.'[53] Clearly this cannot be a literal description of an actual proctor's job. In theory, yes; in practice, no. It is true that some of these tasks are carried out by proctors at large monasteries today (e.g. patrolling halls, supervising order) and others may be understood to be within the orbit of their authority, but one would be hard pressed to find a site where monks designated proctor had such a wide-range of personal responsibility in practice.

While the descriptions of offices thus suffer from Welch's inability to observe them in practice, his remains our most thorough account and therefore a helpful guide to the range of traditional offices that were held at a monastery, many of which still function, typically in modified forms, at large monasteries in China. Furthermore, his description of the 'business office' of the monastery, headed by the *jianyuan* 監院, translated as 'prior' by Welch, is an excellent example of how Welch's approach succeeded in revealing layers of monastic Buddhism that hagiographies and scriptures fail to reveal. Researchers are now able to supply significantly more flesh on the bones of the skeleton provided by Welch. Some of Welch's translation terms are also ripe for updating. I, for example, prefer 'general manager' as a translation of *jianyuan*.

Welch provides an overview of the authority wielded by the position of the abbot and states: 'The choice of abbot was therefore the single most important event in the administration of Chinese monasteries.' I have found this to be the case in my own research and would say that Welch's assessment remains accurate today. Welch identifies five qualifications an abbot should meet: administrative experience, vinaya expertise, thorough knowledge of Buddhist doctrine and classical Chinese, connections, and willingness to serve. Regarding connections, he wrote that these were 'desirable … though by no means necessary.'[54] He goes on to say that in reality it was rare for an abbot to have all five qualifications, and he notes that of the last three abbots of Jinshan, two were meditators with no administrative experience, and one, Taicang, was primarily an administrator. The methods of selection of abbots he discusses no longer seem to operate in the way he describes. Consultation takes place, but today the decision for large public monasteries rests with the Religious Affairs Bureau, which either selects or approves abbots. As with

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other aspects of monastic Buddhism in China, the selection of abbots is one that is effectively being worked out on the ground and is ripe for investigation.

I cannot speak to the persistence of the peculiarities of the Jiangsu system of selecting successions of abbots through dharma transmission. This is a question for others to examine.

It is likely that much of the details of abbot selection and succession can only be thoroughly assessed in contemporary China after enough time has elapsed for multiple generations to organize themselves and abbots to succeed one another. The tradition, mentioned by Welch, of resigning and assigning monastic positions during the first month of the Chinese year is followed today at large Fujian monasteries such at Quanzhou Kaiyuan and Nanputuo 南普陀 and likely others. Welch's discussion of such procedures allows researchers to anticipate the regular resigning and assigning of positions.

Lastly, and importantly, Welch delves into the question of monastic rules and the breaking of those rules. Welch opens chapter four, 'On Observance of the Rules,' by sketching the three textual layers governing monastic life: the vinaya and the *Sutra of Brahma's Net*, the *Baizhang Pure Rules* 百丈清規, and lastly the individual monastery codes of rules.[55] He then discusses which layers of rules where most meaningful in practice and found the second and third layers to be considered most important. He then suggests that it would be a worthwhile project to carefully study these texts and determine how closely they were followed. He writes that this is not his task, but that he will offer 'a number of minor practical details, as recalled by my informants, about the monastery's calendar, meals, clothing, personal hygiene, sexual activity, punishment for violation of the rules, and heterodox practices.'[56] The material presented here is not meant to be definitive, but to be suggestive of ways monks lived according to certain ideals. Welch presents a wide range of views which ultimately serves as a good starting point for further inquiries. Here he does not idealize his subjects: some may be thought to have followed the rules closely; others, according to his informants and other published reports of foreigners, had mistresses, drank alcohol, and ate meat. This range of adherence to and breaking of precepts is a good starting point for follow up by researchers. Today there are monks who do all of these things; it is my impression that they are not in the majority, but more work is required to develop a better sense of the frequency of breaking precepts (in particular the basic precepts associated with celibacy, abstinence, teetotalism, and vegetarianism). Similarly, the question of consequences for breaking precepts is an important one to probe. My informants have suggested that the abbot possesses authority to discipline monks and that there is great variation in how that authority is wielded.

In summation, Welch's treatment of Chinese monasticism remains the most thorough available. He provides rich details and helpful analyses to make sense of the varied paths a monk may take. Another dimension of monastic life where Welch provided a great service to understanding the tradition is in the economic side of the institution.

The economy of monasteries

Jacques Gernet's seminal study, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, revealed the economic dimensions of institutional Buddhism; Welch contributed to our understanding by

detailing important aspects of the monastic economy as it continued to operate in the first half of the twentieth century. Welch opens this chapter by citing three principle sources of income for monasteries: ritual services, donations from the laity, and rents/income from lands owned, and notes that rites for the dead were the most important source of income for most temples, namely the small hereditary temples.[57] His presentation includes brief discussions of begging, fund raising (for repairs or rebuilding), donations, cultivating land, and collecting rent from land. Welch provides details about the income of three sites: Jinshan, Qixia Shan 棲霞山, and Sichuan's Jinshan Temple.

The income of the large land-owning monasteries was primarily based on collecting rents in grain and selling this grain supplemented in varying degrees by donations and income from ritual services.[58] The wealth of monasteries is no longer based on land. Nonetheless, Welch's inclusion of monastic income in his survey was an important recognition that monasteries required capital for their operation and helped establish the expectation that monasteries engage in the accumulation of capital in order to sustain and enlarge themselves. Furthermore, Welch's account of monasteries relying on income from ritual services due to the loss of land-based sources of income such as rents at the beginning of the twentieth century establishes reasonable sets of expectations that are born out in the field today. Researchers today are confronted with sources of income that Welch doesn't mention or anticipate, such as entry fees and tertiary industries such as restaurants or lodging. In short, while Welch's account accords due recognition to the economic concerns of the monastic institution, the situation since soon after the founding of the People's Republic of China has shifted towards sources of income that are not based on land. The most famous and scenic monasteries have become enmeshed in a nexus of tourism and heritage preservation, to which they have responded in a variety of ways. Identification as tourist sites and cultural heritage zones is an aspect of contemporary Chinese monasteries that had not become sufficiently developed when Welch conducted his research.[59]

Among the sources of income that were not based on land and rents, the most important was income from the performance of funerary rituals. Welch's description of Buddhist rituals touches upon a variety of Buddhist rituals that are performed at monasteries today. His account, however, is without the level of detail and nuance that can be gained by fieldwork carried out today. In his preface, Welch states that he 'would avoid the details of ritual, liturgy, iconography, and architecture.' Though he doesn't mention it here, Prip- Møller's work covers architecture and iconography quite thoroughly and would presumably be one of the reasons Welch did not explore them. Regarding ritual and liturgy, one wonders if his lack of interest in them may reflect a modernist dismissal of ritual. In any case, he does provide a description of the *fangyankou* 放焰口 (Release of Burning Mouths) ritual which matches its use and performance as I have observed and the reports gathered at my field site.[60] My informants have indicated that other large monasteries in Fujian conduct such rituals as well.[61]

Other rituals discussed by Welch seem to be limited by a lack of observations. For example he discusses a class of ritual referred to as *pufo* 普佛, as general forms of reciting the Buddha's name. Gildow has surveyed the Buddhist ritual field in contemporary China in a recent article and describes two general classes of *pufo* – great (*da pufo* 大普佛) and small (*xiao pufo* 小普佛). The great *pufo* is used to celebrate a

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Buddha or bodhisattva on a special commemorative day. The small is a simpler ceremony used for the benefit of the living (through prolonging life 延生 or eliminating disasters 消災) or the dead, often following the morning or evening service.[62] As Gildow writes: 'Welch does not discuss *pufo* in detail, but mentions it in passing, describing it as the recitation of a Buddha's name, and translating it as "plenary recitation of the Buddha's name" (1967, 74, 190, 198, 438, and 487 n. 4). None of the *pufo* I discuss in this article are as simple as the recitation of a Buddha's name.' Rituals that Welch was not able to witness or collect details about, such as *pufo*, are a subject for current scholars to explore.

The model monastery

When Welch is not writing about individual Buddhists and their biographies, practices, or traditions, he is describing the nature of the institution of Buddhist monasticism in China based on 'model monasteries' designed to show the system 'at its best.' In *The Buddhist Revival*, Welch wondered about the possibility of a pro-Buddhist bias entering into his presentation due to his desire to correct the negative stereotypes established by earlier commentators.[63] In this final section I want to examine Welch's presentation of the model monastery to see how well it may correspond to the way things *were* or how they *should have been*.

The second chapter introduces the meditation hall. It opens with the following words which serve as a framework for the discussion: 'The heart of Buddhism is enlightenment. The heart of the monastery was the meditation hall where enlightenment was sought.' In chapter one, he also states: 'The center of such a monastery was usually its meditation hall. This was the flower which other departments served as stalk, leaves, and roots.'[64] This is an idealized portrayal that fails to represent a grounded description of typical monastic life. The use of a metaphor describing the relationship between the meditation hall and other departments of the monastery as a flower to its stalks, leaves, and roots seems driven by a desire to show monastic Buddhism in its most positive light in accord with its doctrinally articulated soteriological goals rather than a commitment to describing the institution in its most broadly based manifestations.

For the few monasteries that have active Chan halls, they may serve as the heart of the monastery and a recognized focus of cultivation. But there is little to suggest that a dedicated active meditation hall has ever been the main or principal focus of Buddhist monastic life. On the contrary, visitors to monasteries will typically find the main Buddha hall at the literal and figurative heart of monasteries. The Buddha hall is typically located as near the geographic center of the monastic complex as possible and is among the most active halls, especially on festival days when it serves to hold large public ceremonies. Welch's diagram of Jinshan, though not to scale or in proportion suggests the 'Great Shrine-Hall' is the largest building and places it at the center of the complex. Elsewhere he writes: 'Every monastery, large or small, had a great shrine-hall (*ta-tien* 大殿), where morning and evening devotions and most of the major rites were held.'[65] If one were not inclined to present an ideal face of monastic Buddhism, it seems more accurate to consider the 'Great Shrine-Hall' the representative center of Buddhist monastic life. After all, every temple had one and it was the ritual center. Researchers today will typically find the main hall to function as the devotional and

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ritual center of monastic complexes. Exceptions to this may be found at more elite institutions where meditation halls have been revived.

Welch notes the importance of ritual in monastic life: 'Rites for the dead were the principle source of income for most Buddhist institutions.'[66] Yet he notes that Gaomin Temple forbade the performance of such rituals: 'No major or minor Buddhist services whatever will be accepted.'[67] This raises the question: In what sense can elite institutions like Gaomin be taken to be representative of Chinese monastic Buddhism? With its focus on model monasteries, Welch's book doesn't provide much detail about what to expect at a non-elite institution.

Welch's description of the meditation hall is meticulous and full of helpful details. One may also detect a hint of reverence in his approach that emerges at points in lines such as: 'It is hard to imagine a greater sin that disturbing the progress of others toward enlightenment.'[68] He also expresses a personal sense of service as a 'curator of the dharma,' to use Lopez's phrase, when he writes: 'No Chinese meditation hall is left in operation anywhere in the world. The monks who operated them are dying. So these are precious details, however tedious.'[69] As odd as it seems today, with active Chinese meditation halls in Taiwan, the mainland, and in the diaspora, it is possible that there were no active halls when Welch wrote this. While this may or may not be a slight exaggeration, Welch is certainly invested in depicting a model institution; his interest seems more than academic – indeed, at times it is as if the future of enlightenment depended on it!

Welch discusses the offering of grains of rice to hungry ghosts before commencing the noon meal. His defense of this as an authentic concern of Chan monks is commendable at a time when D.T. Suzuki's iconoclastic Zen was in vogue.[70] It is also commendable that he notes the joint practice of Pure Land and Chan as present at most monasteries, including the so-called model Chan monasteries.[71] Such observations help establish realistic expectations about lived practice in China.

He goes over the schedule in the meditation in hall in great detail. It will be up to others to determine what degree of idealization may be present in such descriptions for the Republican period. Researchers could use Welch's descriptions as a starting point to assess how well contemporary examples of meditation halls in China, such as those at Gaomin Temple in Jiangsu or Bailin Temple 柏林寺 in Hebei, live up to the model Welch presents. If we accept that he is describing the model, if not ideal, traditions of the meditation hall, Welch remains a helpful and valuable guide to model monastic Chan practice.

In a separate chapter, Welch discusses the Buddha recitation hall. He opens this chapter by describing the ideal of Amitabha's Pure Land. Of four paragraphs, three are based on descriptions culled from his informants. This relatively earthy ethnographically derived description of the Pure Land is an excellent supplement to canonical descriptions.[72] He then turns to a description of Pure Land practice at the model Pure Land monastery Lingyan Temple in Suzhou since this was the place '[t]o find the practice of the Pure Land school fully developed and at its model best.'[73] This was considered a model site because of the active Pure Land practice developed and promoted there under the leadership of Yinguang 印光 (1861–1940). It is true that this would have been one of the more active Pure Land sites, but Welch, who described Lingyan Temple's approach a 'new departure,' understood that it was in no way

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representative since Yinguang was an innovator articulating a different conception of Pure Land practice.[74] Thus we again see Welch opting to focus on a 'model' site, which, in this case, was also innovative, rather than a more typical recitation hall (*nianfo tang* 念佛堂).[75]

At the conclusion of his discussion of Buddha recitation halls, Welch considers what motivated monks and what achievements they may have attained in Pure Land recitation. Welch, as in his discussion of meditative attainments, reports that monks are reluctant to discuss such matters. He follows this by matter-of-factly writing: 'Nevertheless, there was a sure way of knowing whether a person had succeeded in going to the Western Paradise.' He continues: 'For a few hours after death every corpse was believed to have a warm spot. If it was on the top of the head, it meant that the deceased had joined Amitabha. This happened, as it turned out, to two of the informants for this book.'[76]

In general, the sympathetic insider approach of Welch is effective in bringing us rich descriptions and informed context, but this does not mean that he was not choosing, perhaps unconsciously, to present a slightly more sympathetic account. Again, I am not suggesting that Welch is an apologist – on the contrary, he exhibits considerable care to present his material with accuracy – nevertheless, we should note that if there is a bias here it is in projecting the tradition in its best light exhibited by the tendency to focus on its model sites and elite representatives, all of which have always been in a minority and thus do not represent the tradition as a whole.

It is ironic that this should be the case since Welch explicitly notes the drawback of using textual sources like monastic codes because 'they represent the way things were supposed to be done, not the way they were necessarily done in practice,' which in turn motivates him, as revealed in the title of the first volume of his trilogy, to represent things as they existed *in practice*, rather than in canonical or hagiographic representation.[77] The complicating feature of his project was to correct a prevailing view of the time that monks were an ignorant, corrupt, and degenerate lot. This desire seems to have colored his presentation of certain institutional features of monastic Buddhism. In particular his situation of the meditation hall at the heart of the monastery and a description of Pure Land practice at Yinguang's reformed and model site are clear examples of the way things *ought* to be, rather than as they *were*.

Conclusions

The focus of Welch's book is the practice of Chinese Buddhism at model monasteries, rather than a focus on the more common non-elite monastic institutions. Those elite public institutions still had land and had not begun to rely on other sources of income such as ritual services and tertiary enterprises, and their bureaucracies, as described, were more complex than what one finds at the average monastery then and now. Taken together, these facts limit the overall usefulness of the work as representative of Chinese monastic Buddhism then or now.

The primary drawback to Welch's account of Chinese monastic Buddhism according to his own ambitions is his account of hereditary temples. Despite accounting for the vast majority of monks in China, Welch only spends 13 pages discussing them. The reason for this uneven treatment is simple; Welch's informants were from the large

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public monasteries, and Welch gathered more information about them. It probably did not hurt that these were, by Welch's own admission, model institutions, which 'served as exemplars for the whole Buddhist monastic system.'[78] What Welch does not do is pause to consider what is left out in focusing on these exemplary institutions, which he admits, account for a mere 5% of the sangha. If there is one lacuna in Welch's work it is with respect to the small temples that have always been in the majority. He was aware of this lacuna, though he chose not to emphasize this. One cannot blame him, however, to not dwell on what is not in his book. He discusses the Buddhism to which he had access through his informants and he was restricted to monks from the larger public monasteries. Welch provides only a basic sketch with no details except for branch temples of Jinshan, the large monastery that is at the heart of Welch's depiction of Chinese Buddhism.

Importantly, in marking the agenda for research today, we should note and emphasize that there remains a lacuna in contemporary research at these same small temples. A sample of the studies of monastic Han Buddhism in contemporary China reveals a distinct focus on larger monasteries. The focus of my study was a large *shifang conglin*, Qin Wenjie examined nunneries on Emei Shan; Gareth Fisher's work has focused on aspects of lay Buddhism centered around Beijing's Guangji Monastery; Tenzin Mullin has studied at Baoguo Temple on Emei Shan; Ashiwa and Wank's work examines aspects of Xiamen Nanputo's revival; Yang Fenggang, Wei Dedong, and Zhu Caifang have examined Bailin Monastery; Chen Pi-yen looks at the daily service at Foguang shan and Xiang Guang Temples in Taiwan; and a student of Ji Zhe's is looking at Xi'an's famous Famen Temple.[79]

Another important lacuna, one that Welch explicitly omitted, is coverage of lay women and nuns. In 1994 Mariam Levering wrote: 'The kind of knowledge we would like to have of women in China's "religions" must await more opportunities for religious Chinese women to speak for themselves. It must await as well the kinds of extensive interview or participant observation studies that have not yet been possible.'[80] Fortunately, such long-term study, while challenging, has become possible. Nonetheless, the only long-term study of women in Buddhism conducted so far is to be found in Qin Wenjie's dissertation.[81]

Other lacunae, which Welch again anticipated, include the details of Buddhist ritual and liturgical life, and Buddhist arts and architecture including relics and cultural treasures. An aspect of the contemporary scene which Welch was not able to know and therefore does not help the current researcher anticipate is the extra-monastic bureaucratic structures and policy that have been implemented with respect to religion in post-Mao China. The life of the 'organization men' has been dramatically re-defined in many instances by the need to abide by and respond to the policy and bureaucratic structures of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, branches of the China Buddhist Association, and administrative units on the local level such as temple administrative commissions (*siyuan gunali weiyuanhui* 寺院管理委員會). These units, which did not exist when Welch's informants were active, exercise various degrees of authority over monastics today and form part of a regulatory regime that conditions the revival and reinvention of traditions in post-Mao China.[82]

In addition to content-oriented lacunae, there is also a theoretical blind spot that James Robson has noted with respect to the study of Buddhist monasticism, namely

a continuing tendency to examine monasteries as 'containers' for religious actors and activities and the need to move beyond such an approach.[83] *The Practice* depicts Buddhist monasticism using just such a 'container model.' Such an approach not only blinds us to the physical structures and environment of the monastery, but to the broader social, political, and cultural realities in which monasteries and their inhabitants participate. Scholarship is now ready to move beyond the limits of the 'container model' and pay attention to the material, visual, and environmental dimensions of monastic life and examine the contributions and interactions between monastics and the multiple worlds they inhabit. Recent studies that begin to do this include James Carter's study of Tanxu 倓虛 (1875–1963), which examines the career of this important monk by noting the political dimensions of his efforts to rebuild temples; Robert Shepard's study of the making of Mt. Wutai and its monasteries into a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization World Heritage Site; my own study of Quanzhou Kaiyuan Monastery; and Ji Zhe's article on the intersections between culture, society, politics and Chinese Buddhism.[84]

Researchers not only have access to on-site ethnographic study and participant observation, we also have digital resources including digitized publications, monastic websites and blogs of monastics and lay Buddhists, and a broader selection of print media than was available to Welch. Welch's work remains an impressive feat of scholarship; given the constraints with which he was working, it is even more impressive. In spite of the shortcomings reviewed, Welch's book remains the best single-volume guide to the organization and practices of Chinese Buddhist monks. It continues to serve as well organized and accessible guide to the types of traditions that one may find traces of at Buddhist monasteries in the Chinese world. As such it serves as a guide for avenues of inquiry that will generally provide meaningful terms for discussion. The book's discussion of monastic offices, including the abbot; its isolation of ritual services as a source of income and source of discussion; its examination of the economy of monasteries, milestones in the career of the monk (i.e. tonsure, ordination, training, disrobing, death etc.), networks of affiliation, and the range of lay activities remain excellent, though not exhaustive, starting points for inquiry into the practices of Chinese Buddhism today.

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Notes

1. Welch, *Practice*, ix.
2. Subsequent in text references to *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950* may be abbreviated to the *Practice*.
3. Welch, *Practice*, ix.
4. Welch, *Practice*, vi.
5. Welch, *Practice*, iv.
6. Gareth Fisher, *From Comrades to Bodhisattvas: Moral Dimensions of Lay Buddhist Practice in Contemporary China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014).
7. Alison Denton Jones, 'A Modern Religion? The State, The People, and the Remaking of Buddhism in Urban China Today,' PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2010.
8. Welch, *Practice*, 183.

9. Welch, *Practice*, 4 (emphasis added).
10. Welch, *Practice*, 370.
11. Madsen, 'Secular Belief,' 16.
12. Welch, *Practice*, 401–402.
13. See Robson, 'Monastic Spaces,' for a discussion of the 'container model' of monasticism.
14. Fisher, *Comrades*.
15. Welch, *Practice*, 367–69.
16. Adam Yuet Chau, *Miraculous Response: Doing Popular Religion in Contemporary China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).
17. See Nichols, 'Buddhist Monasticism at Quanzhou Kaiyuan'; Nichols, 'Typologizing Religious Practice'; Nichols, 'Tourist Temples.'
18. Welch, *Practice*, 384.
19. Welch, *Practice*, 375. See Fisher, *Comrades* and Fisher, 'Morality Books.'
20. Welch, *Practice*, 378.
21. Huang, Valussi, and Palmer, 'Gender and Sexuality,' 117.
22. Goosaert and Palmer, *Religious Question*, 268.
23. Goosaert and Palmer, *Religious Question*, 251.
24. Welch, *Practice*, 368.
25. See Zhou, 'Hearth and Temple' and Yuan, 'Chinese Buddhist Nuns.'
26. See Levering, 'Women, State, and Religion' and Qin, 'Buddhist Revival.'
27. See Qin, 'Buddhist Revival.'
28. See Topley and DeBernardi, *Cantonese Society*; Huang, *Charisma and Compassion*, and Yao, *Taiwan's Tzu Chi*.
29. Welch, *Practice*, vi.
30. Welch, *Practice*, 5.
31. Welch, *Practice*, 4–5.
32. Welch, *Practice*, 4.
33. Welch, *Practice*, 484, n. 33 and Welch, *Practice*, 350–56.
34. Web source: http://www.cloudwater.org/index.php/ch-an-zen/our-lineage.
35. Web source: http://www.cloudwater.org/index.php/ch-an-zen/our-lineage . This lineage is attested by the student of Ven. Shen-lung, Ven. Ying-fa who currently serves as the abbot of the Cloud Water Zendo of Cleveland (personal communication).
36. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 255.
37. Goossaert and Palmer, *Religious Question*, 50.
38. For Buddhist engagement with scientific discourse during this period, see Erik Hammerstrom's 2015 study *The Science of Chinese Buddhism*.
39. Goossaert and Palmer, *Religious Question*, 79. See also Rebecca Nedostup's important study of religion and politics in the making of modern China during the Nationalist period, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).
40. Welch, *Practice*, 283.
41. Welch, *Practice*, 282–83.
42. Welch, *Practice*, 283.
43. Welch, *Practice*, 137–38.
44. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 233; emphasis added.
45. The disturbances associated with touristic and commercial development at such large sites have been explored by several scholars. See Fisher 2011, Jing 2006, Shi 2009, Wong et. al. 2012, Yu 2007, and Nichols (forthcoming).
46. See Fisher *Comrades*, Qin 'Buddhist Revival,' and Jones, 'Buddhism in Urban China.'
47. Welch, *Practice*, 258–59.
48. Welch, *Practice*, 259.
49. Welch, *Practice*, 276–79.
50. Welch, *Practice*, 279–81.
51. Welch, *Practice*, 303.

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52. On Xuyun Welch cites the series of articles published in *World Buddhism* 11:12 (1963) to 14:4 (1965) and Zhou Xingguang. *T'ai-hsu, His Life and Teaching*, Allahabad: Indo-Chinese Literature, 1957. For a collection of biographies of eminent monks of the period see Yu *Minguo gaoseng zhuan*.
53. Welch, *Practice*, 20.
54. Welch, *Practice*, 151.
55. Welch, *Practice*, 105.
56. Welch, *Practice*, 108.
57. Welch, *Practice*, 207.
58. Tales of collecting rents for Lingyan Temple in Suzhou are recorded by Zhenhua/Chen-Hua (1921–) in his memoirs Chen-Hua, Yü, and Mair, *In Search of the Dharma* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1992).
59. Among a growing number of studies into religious tourism in China, Robert Shepherd has examined religious tourism on Wutai shan (2013) and Donald Sutton and Xiaofei Kang have looked at the intersection between religion and tourism in northern Sichuan (2010). A volume on this very topic is being developed by Courtney Bruntz and Brooke Schedneck.
60. Welch, *Practice*, 185–87.
61. Gildow's research confirms the popularity of *Fangyankou* in contemporary China (Gildow, 'Chinese Buddhist Ritual Field').
62. Gildow, 'Chinese Buddhist Ritual Field,' 69–72.
63. Welch, *Buddhist Revival*, 255.
64. Welch, *Practice*, 8.
65. Welch, *Practice*, 24.
66. Welch, *Practice*, 208.
67. Welch, *Practice*, 198.
68. Welch, *Practice*, 52.
69. Lopez, *Curators of the Buddha*. Welch, *Practice*, 48.
70. Welch, *Practice*, 59–60, 62, 71.
71. Welch, *Practice*, 71, 398–400.
72. Welch, *Practice*, 89–90.
73. Welch, *Practice*, 90.
74. Welch, *Practice*, 91. For more on Yinguang see Jianzheng, *Yinguang fashi*. See also, Chen-Hua's discussion of the unique features of this monastery in his memoir (Chen-hua, Yu, and Mair, *In Search of Dharma*).
75. Given the influence of Yinguang on Taiwanese Buddhism, Welch's choice was, nonetheless, helpful for researchers considering the roots of Taiwanese traditions. For more on Yinguang in Taiwan, see Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 115–24.
76. Welch, *Practice*, 102.
77. Welch, *Practice*, vi.
78. Welch, *Practice*, 4.
79. See Nichols, 'Buddhist Monasticism at Quanzhou Kaiyuan'; Qin, 'Buddhist Revival'; Fisher, *Comrades*; Mullin, 'Baoguo Si'; Ashiwa 2000; Wank and Ashiwa 2005, 2006, 2009; Yang and Wei, 'Bailin Buddhist Temple'; Zhu, 'Buddhism in China Today'; Chen, 'Chinese Buddhist Daily Service.'
80. Levering, 'Women, State, and Religion,' 222.
81. Qin, 'Buddhist Revival.'
82. See Nichols, 'Tourist Temples.'
83. Robson, 'Monastic Spaces and Sacred Traces.'
84. Carter, *Heart of Buddha*; Shepard, *Faith in Heritage; Nichols*, 'Buddhist Monasticism at Quanzhou Kaiyuan,' and Ji Zhe, 'Buddhism in the Reform Era.'

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