



Handbook of Religion and the Asian City: Aspiration and Urbanization in the Twenty-First Century

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The City and the Pagoda

Buddhist Spatial Tactics in Shanghai

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[-] Abstract and Keywords

This chapter explores the multidimensional relationship between exceptional sites and the contexts in which they function by focusing on the emergence of the so-called Shanghai buddhascape of the 1920s and 1930s and its influence on the contemporary urban fabric. It describes Shanghai as a privileged site for understanding Buddhist-inspired self-fashioning and, more generally, the spatial tactics of Buddhist practitioners in the context of colonial modernity as well as global capitalism. It also considers the sensitivities of the urban cultural elite toward Buddhism and its presence in China's modern cityscapes. It argues that ordinary Shanghai urbanites find solace and purpose in Buddhist technologies of salvation.

Keywords: buddhascape, Shanghai, self-fashioning, spatial tactics, modernity, capitalism, cultural elite, Buddhism, cityscapes, salvation

The vast half dark station of echoing concrete with its confusing bustle rather resembled her idea of the Buddhist hell, that underground factory weaving the textiles of destiny.

EILEEN CHANG, *THE FALL OF THE PAGODA*

Eileen Chang's description of Shanghai's train station and machinic Buddhist hell possesses an almost clairvoyant quality.¹ It conjures memories of the hellish existence experienced by Shanghai urbanites since the mid-1990s, a time when housing disputes and forced relocations unsettled their daily life, alongside the clangor of never-ending building sites.² Jing'an District (*Jing'an qu* 靜安區), where Chang lived in the 1940s, was engulfed in a frenzy of construction as part of the infrastructure development and cosmetic makeover of the city in preparation for the 2010 World Expo. The area is named after a Buddhist site whose physical appearance changed several times over the course of the past century. Badly damaged during the Cultural Revolution, the resuscitated Buddhist temple there is one of the urban icons of twenty-first-century Shanghai, its yellowish external walls hovering above one of the city's busiest intersections.

Urban authorities made conspicuous use of the power of the old religious site during the World Expo, for instance by strewing its image across the city on posters and large billboards. One particularly striking picture showed two cupped male hands containing the few buildings that were deemed iconic and of the people, including Jing'an Temple and the Children's Palace. An eponymous underground station, which also contains vast retail areas, facilitates the daily journeys of hundreds of thousands of visitors.³ Jing'an Temple is right at the center of the map of the underground system.⁴ Similarly, Shanghai's first electric tram line, inaugurated in 1908, originated from there. The site has thus been part of the modern transport network of the city for more than a century. Today, thanks to buses and the world's longest underground system, Jing'an Temple can be reached easily and efficiently **(p.38)** from virtually everywhere in Shanghai. Has the old religious site been unsympathetically repurposed as a theme park and a shopping mall? A cursory look at the latest renovations could easily lead one to conclude that little of the temple's religious significance has survived the city's passage into global modernity. Its glaring external walls are lined with shops, a humongous shopping arcade dwarfs its main hall, and pop-up stores are periodically erected in front of it to peddle anything from cooking pots to luxury cars. Yet Jing'an Temple's place in the ritual life of Shanghai urbanites should not be underestimated. By tracing the emergence of what I describe as the Shanghai buddhascape of the 1920s and 1930s and its influence on the contemporary urban fabric, I explore the multidimensional relationship between exceptional sites and the contexts in which they function.

Ordinary Shanghai urbanites, I argue, find solace and purpose in Buddhist technologies of salvation. For some of the chroniclers of interwar Shanghai urban life, as Chang's texts remind us, Buddhist spaces and practices allowed the performance of both cosmopolitanism and Chineseness.⁵ In this respect, Shanghai is a privileged site for understanding Buddhist-inspired self-fashioning and, more generally, what I call the spatial tactics of Buddhist practitioners in the context of colonial modernity first and eventually of global capitalism. Chang's is one of the voices one can listen to in order to gauge the sensitivities of the urban cultural elite toward Buddhism and its presence in China's modern cityscapes. Her much-loved modern apartment was less than half a mile down the road from Jing'an Temple. She could also easily walk up to a second renowned Buddhist institution nearby, the World Buddhist Devotees Association (Shijie Fojiao Jushilin 世界佛教居士林), founded in 1918 by and for Buddhist laypersons. A little farther away were the buildings of Shanghai Buddhist Books (*Shanghai foxue shuju* 上海佛學書局) and the vast Hardoon Gardens (哈同花園, or Aili Gardens 愛儷園), whose grounds contained a Buddhist press and a Buddhist university.

What of the falling pagoda that Chang conjures in the title of the novel cited at the beginning of this chapter? Shanghai had a few of these structures, notably the Longhua Pagoda (龍華塔), which features in some of the oldest maps of the city. Chang's reference is part of a web of allusions to Buddhist-inspired material culture and ideas that can be found in contemporary writings. She was not alone in using the trope of the pagoda. David Der-wei Wang points us to many other texts by prominent modernists and iconoclasts that contain this motif, noting that it ushers us into the "intertextual world of modern Chinese literature" (2010, xvi). The tiered towers, traditionally understood as containers of Buddhist relics, were ubiquitous elements of the landscape throughout the second millennium. In the course of the twentieth century, during China's age of photography and its concurrent remaking of the landscape both real and imaginary, they became the focus of intense observation by Buddhists and non-Buddhist alike. Often described then as typical examples of so-called Eastern architecture (*dongfang jianzhu* 東

方建築), they have emerged once again in the twenty-first century in the built environment of global Shanghai and other Asian cities.⁶

(p.39) Buddhascape Shanghai

A widespread conviction that religion is irrelevant as a historical force in modern China is partly to blame for the comparative lack of studies of religious activity in twentieth-century Shanghai.⁷ Yet, I argue, Shanghai's religious sites ultimately reveal the multiple temporalities of the multiple layers of the cityscape.

There are several reasons why Buddhism and Buddhists made their presence felt in the city both in the interwar period and now. Shanghai expanded in an area of strong Buddhist traditions.⁸ Many of China's most important Buddhist sites lie in its vicinity, including the sacred mountains Putuo Shan (普陀山), an island in the East China Sea; Jiuhua Shan (九華山) in Anhui Province; and Tiantai Shan (天台山) in Zhejiang Province. Exchanges between the city and the monasteries on Putuo Island and other pilgrimage sites grew steadily over the years, and the metropolis became an important base of fundraising and preaching for Buddhists from all over China. In addition, as forces both old and new changed the religious landscape, Shanghai Buddhists actively sought to shape key debates with the authorities surrounding the emerging category of religion (*zongjiao* 宗教).⁹ In engaging in charity, education, relief work, lifestyle, proselytizing, cultural heritage, ritual practice, self-cultivation, soteriology, nationalism and transnationalism, and business, Shanghai Buddhism was formidable, eclectic, and adaptable. The writings of the charismatic monk Taixu (太虛, 1890–1947) present it as a political and social utopia and monastics as heroic figures dedicated to saving humanity. In his "A Statement to Asiatic Buddhists" (1925), Taixu declares that only Buddhism, a universal remedy for the ills of the modern world, a better system than socialism or capitalism, "can save the world." In his Buddhist-inspired modern urban utopia, the marketplace, the highway, the train, the soldier's barrack, the hospital, the factory, and even the prison ward are to be transformed into a Buddhaland, an earthly paradise where practitioners carry out famine relief work, attempt to prevent natural calamities, and offer medical aid to those wounded in the war. They also take care of factories, encourage land reclamation, support widows, and aid the helpless, the aged, the crippled. Buddhists should build bridges and roads, provide streetlights and free ferry services, and so on.

Indeed, Buddhist activists contributed to shaping the urban landscape of Shanghai. Rich entrepreneurs with disposable income, following deep-seated beliefs in the accumulation of religious merit and the efficacy of merit transference through Buddhist technologies of salvation, zealously supported the making of new religious sites, the creation of printing presses and bookshops, and public ritual activities.¹⁰ In their pursuit of religious and political prominence, Shanghai-based Buddhist activists adapted their traditional buildings to new needs, tailoring the shape and size of monasteries and recitation halls to fit the urban fabric. One of the residences of the highly prominent political reformer Kang Youwei (康有為, 1858–1927) was at one point converted into a Buddhist temple.¹¹ Women and men engaged in acts of self-fashioning by manipulating and recreating the meanings of public religious spaces and ritual actions. Buddhism was **(p.40)** meaningful to ordinary urban residents as well as to members of the new elites; places and spaces devoted to its practice flourished. The largest and most aspirational buddhascape of all was probably Hardoon Gardens, established in 1904. This is now lost, but its memory lingers in the landscaping and aesthetic practices of new Buddhist sites in China and of Taiwanese Buddhist denominations.¹² One of Shanghai's richest men, Silas Aaron Hardoon (1851–1931), and his wife, Luo Jialing (羅迦陵, also known as Liza Roos, 1864–1941), a devout Buddhist, crafted their own Buddhist-inspired dreamland by erecting a monastery and numerous

other buildings and pavilions on the grounds of their expansive urban garden villa. Luo and Hardoon's buddhascape took five years to build. It extended for more than eleven hectares and contained eight scenic spots of Buddhist inspiration, a Buddhist retreat, a Buddhist college, a number of traditional schools, pavilions, pagodas, a stone boat, a Buddhist temple, a theater, an artificial stream, a lake, and several ponds.¹³ It combined the setting of the traditional scholar's landscape garden (*yuanlin* 園林) with novel Buddhist-inspired facilities, including the so-called Kalaviṇ ka Hermitage, named after a fantastical bird-bodied Buddhist being. The scholar monk Zongyang (宗仰, 1861–1921) lived there beginning in 1908, to work on the publication of the Buddhist Canon. Another scholar monk, Yuexia (月霞, 1858–1917), gathered more than eighty young monastics to study with him at Hardoon Garden's Huayan University (華嚴大學), an experimental seminary in the villa.¹⁴

The final years of the Qing dynasty witnessed a flourishing of Buddhist activity in Shanghai, with the building of a major monastery, the Yufu Temple (玉佛寺) in 1898, and the complete restoration of Longhua Temple (龍華寺) in 1875.¹⁵ The illustrated magazine *Dianshizhai huabao* (點石齋畫報), published in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Shanghai, recorded the large crowds that gathered to celebrate Buddha's birthdays.¹⁶ Crowds of practitioners also convened for the Jing'an Temple fair and other ceremonies that were central to the life of the people of Shanghai.¹⁷ Some 149 new Buddhist monasteries and halls were built in Shanghai between the late Qing period and the 1930s, a time of great expansion for the city. Before 1949, it counted at least three hundred Buddhist buildings, staffed by some five thousand clerics. Jing'an Temple in the northwest and Longhua Temple in the south, together with many other sites, rendered Buddhist practice manifest throughout the city, including in the foreign settlements.¹⁸ According to a directory of the Shanghai Buddhist Association, by the late 1940s, many of the city's almost three hundred monasteries and temples were inside the dwellings in the *shikumen* alleys, where most people had conducted their everyday existence since the 1870s (You 1988, 136–37). There, in Lu Hanchao's words, "with the addition of a few religious statues and a table for joss sticks and candle, a living room or wing room of a *shikumen* could be transformed into a Buddhist temple where worship and rituals were conducted in all their proper forms" (1999, 185). In her study of working-class women in the 1930s and 1940s, Emily Honig has shown that those in the cotton mills used Buddhist temples to formalize the creation of "sisterhood societies" (*jiemei hui* 姐妹會) which helped them to cope with the harshness of life in the city and of work in the factories. **(p.41)** When Communist activists wanted to access the sisterhoods, they had to worship at Buddhist temples with the members, kneel and burn incense, and make pledges in front of a Buddhist altar (1985, 712).

Urban Buddhists also erected Western-style buildings and enjoyed electricity and other modern technologies. In Shanghai, homes were gradually sealed off, insulated from contact with the outside, as new building materials became more widespread. These included "glass windows, solid doors, stone and concrete walls and fixed layouts," marking "a shift away from the more permeable dwellings common throughout imperial China" (Dikötter 2007, 187). The visual artist and Buddhist layman Feng Zikai (豐子愷, 1898–1975), after visiting the premises of the Shanghai Buddhist lay association Jushi Lin, noted that it reminded him of a Western-style building and that it was very comfortable and aesthetically pleasing.¹⁹ Before the Communists rose to power, Shanghai Buddhists participated in a variety of religious practices that were strongly connected to the urban environment. Some activists branded their activities "new Buddhism" (*xin fojiao* 新佛教).²⁰ They readily embraced modern technologies, including the modern press, sound recording, and photography. Decades before the internet became a widespread tool for the diffusion of religious teachings, they had already developed a great interest in the mass-

mediated communication of religious ideas thanks to their own radio station, the Foyin Diantai (佛音電台). Founded in the early 1930s, it was in all likelihood one of the first Buddhist radio stations in the world. In this period, public collective singing was firmly established as a means of instructing and enforcing belief as well as prompting social and political mobilization. Buddhist musicians composed novel, anthemlike songs, which were disseminated through books, journals, and the wireless in the hope of aiding the growth of urban communities of practitioners. The Shanghai-based Buddhist publishing world offered its audiences more than just canonical literature; readers had access to several periodicals and to a vast number of books and pamphlets. According to the *Chinese Year Book, 1935-1936*, there were some sixty-eight publishers of Buddhist material in China; of these, at least seven were in Shanghai. The Jing'an Temple neighborhood was home to a major Chinese Buddhist publishing house, Shanghai Buddhist Books (*Shanghai foxue shuju* 上海佛學書局), whose branches and subsidiary offices in 1934 amounted to more than one hundred. The Shanghai Archives preserve a remarkable photograph of the building of Shanghai Buddhist Books, a Western-style concrete edifice with a huge character for *Buddha* (佛) painted on its tiled rooftop.²¹ The establishment of a readership community offered visibility to Buddhist cultural activists at a time when traditional Chinese religion was coming under increasing pressure. Shanghai publishers produced millions of printed pages ranging from canonical texts to ephemera. More than 150 periodicals were in circulation throughout China between 1912 and 1948. Of these, at least forty-two were published in Shanghai, their pages filled with references to China's great monasteries and its sacred geography.²²

Buddhist publications stimulated urban ritual performance and vice versa. Shanghai Buddhists supported a plethora of associations, including redemptive societies and (p.42) charities. For instance, the Great Dharma Foundation for the Release of Living Creatures (*Fangsheng hongfa jijinhui* 放生弘法基金會) devoted its efforts to freeing birds and fish purchased at the city's markets with money obtained through collections.²³ The ritual release of animals in urban ponds and the periodical pious abstention from meat and intoxicating substances (*chisu* 吃素), alongside the patronage of vegetarian restaurants, became widespread practices.²⁴ Urbanites saluted the opening of Buddhist-inspired vegetarian restaurants under the guise of "merit clubs" (*gongdelin* 功德林). The prominent author, publisher, businessman, and Buddhist practitioner Ding Fubao (丁福報, 1874-1952) in 1923 initiated the famous "Wednesday dharma assemblies" (*xingqisan fahui* 星期三法會) at the Gongdelin vegetarian restaurant on Nanjing Road. Today, the Gongdelin restaurant group and its sister company, which goes by the amusing English moniker Godly, are still in business and have several branches scattered throughout the city.

Significant numbers of Shanghai residents took part in Buddhist-inspired activities and belonged to Buddhist societies. The Chinese Buddhist Association (*Zhongguo fojiaohui* 中國佛教會), established in 1929, was headquartered in close proximity to Jing'an Temple, within the hefty grounds of the four-acre Enlightenment Garden (*Jue Yuan* 覺園), a location donated by the wealthy entrepreneurs who owned the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company.²⁵ The Shanghai Buddhist Pure Karma Society (*Shanghai fojiao jingyeshi* 上海佛教淨業社), the Bodhi Study Society (*Puti xiehui* 菩提協會), and the radio station mentioned above were among the other organizations that took up residence on the estate. The Buddhist Pure Karma Society had spaces dedicated to hosting lecture series and ran an orphanage and a clinic. The Pure Karma Orphanage (*Jingye gu'er jiaoyangyuan* 淨業孤兒教養院), founded in 1940, was run by one of China's most influential twentieth-century Buddhists, Zhao Puchu (趙樸初, 1907-2000), who moved on to serve for decades as the president of the paragovernmental Buddhist Association of

China (*Zhongguo Fojiao xiehui* 中國佛教協會). During the Japanese occupation of Shanghai in the early 1940s, Jing'an Temple was at the center of Buddhist institutional and organizational activities. In the two decades after the Communist victory and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, this monastery was often in dire straits, together with many other Shanghai Buddhist institutions. Holmes Welch noted that most Shanghai-based lay Buddhist groups "dropped out of sight" in the 1950s, even if the city still enjoyed the highest level of freedom and support for Buddhist activities of anywhere in China (1972, 317). No religious practices could be performed outside officially sanctioned premises, of which there were only a few. This is still the case today. Like other urban monasteries, Jing'an Temple was locked up by the People's Liberation Army in the mid-1960s, presumably to stave off attacks by the Red Guards, who had significantly damaged religious buildings and ritual paraphernalia at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, when religious images, not unlike human beings, were criticized and denounced (*pidou* 批斗) in mass struggle sessions (Welch 1972, 348). According to Denise Ho's research on the activities of the Shanghai cultural bureaucracy during the Cultural Revolution and the Maoist campaigns to "destroy the four olds" (*po siju* 破四旧), **(p.43)** Buddhist property suffered significant damage: "Much of the destruction was neither pre-empted nor prevented: at the Chenxiang Pavilion all the Buddhas were destroyed, the Jing'an Temple lost all its cultural relics, the thousands of volumes of scripture at the Longhua Temple were burned."²⁶

War, revolution, and the concurrent shifts in government policies toward religion have presented Shanghai with the question of what to do with its Buddhist past. From May Fourth iconoclasts to Red Guards to reform-era critics of traditional Chinese culture, "making revolution" has almost always included a rejection of religious practices. Yet authorities have also derived legitimacy by claiming continuity with the past and the continuing management of its material vestiges. The cultural and economic resources of Chinese Buddhism have proved resilient and capable of reinvocation and reinvention.²⁷

Let me offer the following hypothesis: Preservation in Shanghai is motivated by something quite different from the usual pieties about "cultural heritage," which, given the city's colonial past, can only be ambiguous. It is motivated more by anticipations of a new Shanghai to rival the old than simply by nostalgia for the past. In other words, preservation is something more complex than just a question of the past remembered: in Shanghai, the past allows the present to pursue the future; hence "memory" itself is select and fissured, sometimes indistinguishable from amnesia.

ACKBAR ABBAS, "COSMOPOLITAN DE-SCRIPTION: SHANGHAI AND HONG KONG"

A few Buddhist sites are still firmly located within today's urban fabric, while almost every other traditional religious building has vanished from it. This fact is more remarkable if one considers the sheer scale of the change. Temples and shrines were ubiquitous in Chinese cities until modern times, as Susan Naquin has eloquently demonstrated in her study of urban religion in Beijing between 1400 and 1900. She has documented more than twenty-five hundred Beijing temples, buildings that she describes as "dedicated to housing a representation of a supernatural spirit (a 'god') before which offerings and prayers are made" (2000, 19–20). These buildings were crucial to Chinese city life, not only its religious life but also for the purposes of "shopping, entertainment, welfare relief and politics" (622). Some of these earlier functions are developing anew in Buddhist temples. While political agency compounded with the unleashing of market forces in the real estate sector progressively brought about the almost complete

disappearance of most temples from Chinese cities, it concurrently permitted the presence of several Buddhist sites in Shanghai. After the end of the Cultural Revolution, in 1983, Jing'an Temple was designated a key Chinese Buddhist temple. In 1984, the city government donated some three hundred thousand dollars to the Jing'an Temple Restoration Committee. The first **(p. 44)** phase of its restoration project was completed in 1990. The Metro Line 2 reached Jing'an Temple Station in 1998, making the site uniquely accessible in terms of ease and affordability of public transport. Jing'an Temple epitomizes the plurality of functions of religious buildings in Asian megacities. Under globalization and the cultural logic of late capitalism, the packaging of cities as commodities and the demands for a unique cultural experience associated with a specific place and its built environment are central to the tourist imagination and drive authorities to exploit the "vernacular built heritage" to attract investors (AlSayyad 2001, 3). According to Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuñiga, "Planning, design and construction of the city are processes of social production responsible for shaping the urban environment, encoding it with intentions and aspirations, uses and meanings that are often themselves contentiously produced" (2003, 20). Tim Winter (2007) argues that historic preservation projects are means by which governments use authoritative forms of knowledge and manipulate space to enhance their political legitimacy and boost economic growth. Jing'an Temple is both a monastic and a tourist complex; it is both a ritual space activated by worship and a museumlike institution backed by the government, Buddhist groups, and private individuals. The combination of Buddhists' spatial tactics with urban planning logics has resulted in the creation of a spectacular complex whose architecture blurs the distinctions among the museum, the theme park, and traditional Buddhist structure.

A reconfigured, architecturally grandiose form is deployed to reinforce traditional soteriological claims but also to produce an alternative social and political space vis-à-vis China's ostensibly secular state. Temple helpers relate stories of extraordinary donations by local and transnational Chinese businesspeople that allowed the new halls to be built solely with expensive timber imported from Myanmar. Jing'an District is now one of the wealthiest and most expensive neighborhoods in China. The main hall of Jing'an Temple hosts a fifteen-ton silver statue. According to temple volunteers, "The old wooden statue of Guanyin was saved by a Chinese businessman" from its previous location, where it had weathered and cracked. The man restored it and donated it, subsequently sponsoring the construction of the East Hall, where the icon now resides.²⁸

The Chinese belief in "efficacy" (*ling* 靈), the powers attributed to spiritual entities, is predicated on deep-seated fears that the dead are able to interfere with the living, and not only in friendly ways. Spirits harboring vengeance will often try to do harm, inflicting illnesses and disasters on the living.²⁹ According to local residents who still regard it as a haunted place, the plot of land across the road from Jing'an Temple once housed a cemetery, which was relocated in the mid-1950s.³⁰ Perhaps in an attempt to suppress this fact in Shanghai's psychogeography and counter its ominous potential with the magical efficacy of Jing'an Temple, some of the former burial land has been landscaped into Jing'an Park (*Jing'an gongyuan* 靜安公園). A representative voice in the novel Buddhist landscape of contemporary Shanghai, the artist Zhang Huan (張洵, b. 1956) regards Jing'an Temple as a numinous place. Once back in the city after a long sojourn in the United States, he started collecting the ash of burned incense sticks from Jing'an **(p.45)** Temple, which he now uses as the main material in his paintings and large-scale installations that explore Buddhist iconography and ideas. This is his recollection of his encounter with Buddhist practitioners and of how he decided to work with incense ash:

Two years ago [2005] when I came back to China I went to Shanghai's Jing'an temple. Initially I went to pray, to make an offering [*shao xiang* 燒香]. When I got there I discovered so many devoted men and women completely entering another spiritual state. They'd be touching a Buddha statue [*foxiang* 佛像]. They could talk to this image or to this soul, one on one, for hours, as if they were insane or something. I thought that this image, Buddhism, it's [*sic*] power is so great. It makes people worship, make offerings. So I saw the whole yard with all these containers filled with incense ash, and I was deeply moved. I immediately thought that this material was really beautiful. I was really excited. I felt that I had found a material I was going to use. How many tens of thousands of people, how many millions of people's dreams are completed in this light ash?³¹

The place of the temple in Shanghai's sacred geography was reinforced when a devastating fire wrecked an apartment block nearby and killed at least fifty-eight people. Elderly local residents once again raised the issue of the harmful effects of building on former burial grounds. The people of Shanghai were in shock, and the temple at once became a platform for public mourning. Buddhist practices constituted a meaningful way to deal with death and its consequences for all those involved. The seventh-day memorial service (頭七 *touqi*) rituals took place in Jing'an Temple.³²

Thus, a new institution, a sort of a temple-cum-museum, is emerging in twenty-first-century China as one of the key cultural forms through which religious revivalism and cultural nationalism are attempting to consolidate both their statements and their constituencies. The making of Buddhist-inspired buildings and other urban buddhascapes can be read as a means of developing new local and translocal connections and outreach platforms while evoking more traditional technologies of salvation. With its involvement and investment in these processes, the Chinese government is attempting to achieve several things at many different levels. In particular, it may hope to engender a sense of cultural identity and unity via the appropriation of the past and to generate revenue through the development of religious and cultural tourism. Ultimately, it may also hope to control and limit the rise of indigenous Christian churches and of sectarian groups, fearful as it is of their powerful message of salvation.³³ Elsewhere in Shanghai, urban planners of the Xuhui District have anchored a large culture and creative industries hub called West Bund (Xi'an 西岸) around a second Buddhist site, the Longhua Temple and Pagoda. They envision a creative recuperation of the local Buddhist heritage and are aware of Buddhism's place in local people's lives and the ever-increasing number of Buddhist funerary services performed in the temple.³⁴ It remains to be seen how the Long-hua area will develop and what role, if any, practitioners will play in the current reshaping of the monastic complex. Not all local Chinese authorities behave in the same way toward (p.46) Buddhist sites, and sometimes the relationships between practitioners and the state can be tense (Fisher 2011). Ultimately, however, Shanghai's buddhascapes have proved remarkably successful. Buddhist sites have entered the contemporary imaginary of Shanghai and its ever-expanding internal tourist industry.

Buddhist-inspired buildings are part of Shanghai's imagination of its past and of its future. If one looks closely at one of the city's iconic buildings, the Jin Mao Tower, a symbol of its search for wealth and power, the resemblance to the medieval pagoda of Kaifeng is almost uncanny. According to the website of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM), the architecture firm tasked with designing the first building of notice in the futuristic Pudong District, a part of Shanghai that has emerged over the course of the past twenty years on the eastern bank of the Huangpu River, "The 420-meter-high Jin Mao Tower was China's tallest building at the time of its completion and today remains its most iconic. Recalling historic pagoda forms, with setbacks

that create a rhythmic pattern, the 88-story tower has become a model for skyscraper design throughout the country.”³⁵ This *monstrum* is now one of the emblems of global Shanghai. There are many more. Have architects and urban planners manufactured a sort of retrofuturistic pastiche, an architectural game of shadows, from Jin Mao’s postindustrial pagoda to Jing’an Temple’s glowing turrets to the lotus-shaped roof of the Westin Hotel and the high-hanging prayer wheels of the Hilton Hotel? Yes, perhaps. Yet the spatial strategies of interwar urban Buddhist patrons are still relevant to the making of the global metropolis.

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Notes:

(1.) The semiautobiographical novel *The Fall of the Pagoda* (*Leifeng ta* 雷峰塔), from which this chapter borrows its title, was written in English by the Chinese writer Eileen Chang 張愛玲 (1920-95). It is based on essays about her life in Shanghai written in both Chinese and English in the 1940s and 1950s. Composed between 1963 and 1968, the novel was published posthumously by Hong Kong University Press in 2010, with an introduction by David Der-wei Wang.

(2.) For the destruction of neighborhoods in downtown Shanghai, see Shao 2010.

(3.) See the Jing'an District's official website for information on policies on iconic sites, urban planning, transport, and so on: <http://english.jingan.gov.cn> (accessed December 2013). The temple's official website contains a number of explanations and images of it: www.shjas.org/cn/index.aspx, accessed December 10, 2013.

(4.) For a map of Shanghai's underground system, the world's largest, see Yonah Freemark, "Shanghai's Metro, Now World's Longest, Continues to Grow Quickly as China Invests in Rapid Transit," *The Transport Politic* (blog), April 15, 2010, www.thetransportpolitic.com/2010/04/15/shanghais-metro-now-worlds-longest-continues-to-grow-quickly-as-china-invests-in-rapid-transit/, accessed December 12, 2013.

(5.) For a general discussion of the religious practices of Chinese urbanites, see Tarocco 2011; also Tarocco 2007.

(6.) See, for example, the December 30, 1927, issue of the influential pictorial *The Young Companion* 良友 for a lavishly illustrated feature about pagodas. For a survey of the architectural development of modern Shanghai, see Rowe and Kuan 2002.

(7.) The scholar Holmes Welch has written three remarkable volumes detailing many aspects of Buddhist life in China in the twentieth century, namely *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900–1950*; *The Buddhist Revival in China*; and *Buddhism under Mao*. For a general survey of religion in Shanghai, see Yuan and Gao 1992. For Daoism, see Liu 2009. For a preliminary investigation of Buddhist-inspired activism in Shanghai, see Tarocco 2007. For a note on the transformation of the Jing'an Temple in the late 1990s, see Tarocco 2000. For Shanghai before the Communist takeover, see Bergère 1989; Wakeman and Yeh 1992; Goodman 1995; Lee 1999; Lu 1999; Yeh 2007.

(8.) For Buddhism in twentieth-century Jiangnan, the area of southern China where Shanghai is located, see Tarocco 2007, 25–88, and its underlying sources.

(9.) For the complicated genealogy of the term *religion* in China and the rest of East Asia, see Barrett and Tarocco 2011. For its shifting meanings in the age of empires, see van der Veer 2001; 2007.

(10.) The Buddhist doctrine of karma had served as the basis for morality and instructional books, used as basic guides for specific behavior to accumulate merit in the context of a shifting socioeconomic reality; see Brokaw 1991. For the flourishing of Buddhist-inspired Shanghai-based publishing enterprises and their audiences during the first half of the twentieth century, see Tarocco 2007, 46–65.

(11.) Lu 1999, 56.

(12.) For instance, in the gardens and scenic spots of the Dharma Drum complex outside Taipei and in North America. See also the discussion of the Longhua Temple development site in this chapter.

(13.) See Pan 2003, 42–44; Lu 1999, 56; You 1988, 136–37.

(14.) Chen Y. 2003, 58–61.

(15.) Yufo Temple was built thanks to the fundraising activities of the monk Huigen (慧根, d. 1900), who left his Putuo Mountain base in 1882 to visit all of China's sacred Buddhist mountains. Eventually, he decided to go to Tibet via Sichuan and then travel on to Myanmar, from which he brought back to China five statues of Buddha made of white jade. Yufo, literally "jade Buddha," was built to host two of these consecrated icons. Initially located in Jiangwan town (江灣), the temple and its icons moved to their current location not far from Jing'an Temple on Anyuan Road (安遠路) in 1918; see Pan 2003, 42–44.

(16.) Ye 2003, 204–5. For a study of "practical religion" in Japan, see Reader and Tanabe 1998.

(17.) Yuan and Gao 1992. For a period photograph of the gathering for the ritual "bathing the Buddha" (*sufojie* 浴佛節) at Jing'an Temple and of practitioners lighting incense sticks, see www.moku.cn/tie/34216, accessed September 20, 2013.

(18.) Shanghai's foreign enclaves came into being after the First Opium War (1839–42), when the Qing government was forced to sign a treaty that opened the city to foreign trade and allowed the establishment of the Shanghai concession. The International Settlement enjoyed a high degree of extraterritoriality, and at the time of the Taiping Rebellion, thousands of Chinese refugees, including wealthy and highly educated officials, scholars, and merchants, took refuge there. For the role of the foreign community in Shanghai, see, for instance, Bickers 1995; Wagner 1995; Wagner 1999. For aspects of Shanghai modernity, see, for example, Cochran 1999; Yeh 2000.

(19.) See Feng 1992. For a biography of Feng, see Barmé 2002. For Feng's Buddhism, see Tarocco 2007, 71–75.

(20.) For what follows, see the sources underlying Tarocco 2007.

(21.) See also the discussion in Meng 2003.

(22.) See Tarocco 2007, 75–88.

(23.) See *Haichaoyin* (海潮音), January 1932, 69–77; January 1935, 186–97. Members of the Buddhist gentry have historically carried out charity in various forms toward orphans, the handicapped, and so on and have supported public works, including repairs to bridges and roads. Monasteries have also been connected with various forms of money raising, including pawnshops, auctioning, and selling lottery tickets, for which see Yang 1950.

(24.) For a study of Ming and early Qing attitudes toward ritually releasing animals, see Smith 1999. For the interwar period, see Prip-Møller 1967; Welch 1968, 75, 250, 311.

(25.) On the history of the Buddhist association, see Welch 1967, 23–50; Chen and Deng 2000, 29–74.

(26.) Ho 2011, 692. For an account of the destruction at Longhua Temple, see Jin 1998.

(27.) See, for example, Nedostup and Liang 2001; also the classic studies Welch 1962; 1965; 1967; 1968; 1972.

(28.) Interviews with temple volunteers and helpers collected by Sandra L. Go, Shanghai, November 20, 2011.

(29.) See Watson and Rawski 1988.

(30.) See Christian Henriot, "The Colonial Space of Death in Shanghai (1844-1949)," 2007, available at www.virtualshanghai.net/Texts/Articles?ID=80, accessed October 23, 2012.

(31.) *Zhang Huan, Studio*, interview by Mathieu Borysevicz, www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rNoa4g5r4w&feature=related, accessed November 12, 2009.

(32.) See D. Barboza, "Workers Detained as Toll Hits 53 in Shanghai Fire," *New York Times*, November 15, 2010.

(33.) See "Shanghai's Buddhist Monastery Expanded," *China Daily*, November 24, 2004, www.china.org.cn/english/China/113081.htm, accessed October 21, 2013; also Potter 2003.

(34.) Private conversations with government officials and urban planners, Xuhui District West Bund office, September 10, 2013, interview notes in my collection.

(35.) "Jin Mao Tower," SOM, www.som.com/project/jin-mao-tower, accessed November 20, 2013.

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