



# The Complexity of Religious Traditions in Quanzhou 泉州 under Mongol Rule: An Inscription from Chunyang 純陽 Cave in Mt. Qingyuan 清源, Quanzhou

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**ABSTRACT** This paper discusses the complexity of the religious traditions in Quanzhou (Fujian, China), the largest international trade port under Mongol rule. The contribution of presumed Persian Muslim Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚 to the reconstruction of a Taoist-Buddhist shrine was taken as the case study. The external conditions surrounding his composite religious act (beyond private beliefs) were also observed in terms of individual goals, backgrounds, and social networks. For this purpose, the author presents the Chinese stone inscription from Quanzhou (in Fujian, China) titled “Zhong jian Qingyuan Chunyang dong ji 重建清源純陽洞記 (Record of Reconstruction of the Chunyang Cave in Qingyuan Mountain),” dated to the fourth year of Hou-Zhiyuan 後至元 (1338) during the Yuan period.

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**KEYWORDS** Religious Tolerance, Mongol Empire, China, Islam, Taoism, Buddhism, religious inscriptions, Fujian

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## Introduction

The subject of this paper is the interchange of Islamic, Taoist, and Buddhist religious traditions in Fujian 福建 Province under Mongol rule. In particular, it analyzes the religious activities and social networks of the Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚, descendants of the Persians of Quanzhou 泉州, based on Chinese inscriptions commemorating the construction of Taoist and Buddhist temples. [1]

The Mongol period (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries) is characterized by the intertwining of a variety of religious traditions. Fujian province, on the southeast coast of mainland China, during the Mongol period is an interesting case in which intense intercourse among various cultural traditions and high degrees of cultural tolerance were present. Actually, the Fujian province of that period is known for historical sources referring to the influence of various foreign religions as well as a range of religious relics, especially from Quanzhou City, including [2]

those from Islamic, Manichaeism, Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu traditions (see Wu 1957; Clark 2006).<sup>1</sup>

In Fujian, Manichaeism, which originated in Sasanian Persia and was introduced to China via Central Asia, continues to exert a long-term influence. Previous research on Manichaeism provides an important insight into the coexistence of foreign religions in China. The Manichaeism shrine on Huabiao 華表 Hill in Jinjiang 晉江, southwest of Quanzhou, is one testimony to the ‘religious diversity’ under Mongol rule.<sup>2</sup> The shrine was called *cao’an* 草庵 (“a thatched nunnery”) in historical sources, and the statue of Mani as the Buddha of Light on the rear wall of the temple, carved in 1339, has clear Manichaeism features, such as the design of *segumenta* (squares) on both breasts of his robe. This feature was first noted in J. Ebert’s study on Manichaeism paintings in Turfan (Ebert 2004). Recently, eight Manichaeism silk paintings, including Rokudōzu 六道圖 (six paths painting), produced around Ningbo 寧波 during the Mongol period and imported to Japan (where they are now), have attracted much attention. These Manichaeism paintings depict Mani and Christ in the style of Chinese Buddhist paintings, and at first glance, it appears as if Manichaeism was accepted into Chinese society in a way that merged with the local religious culture.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, it should be noted that caution is in order in assigning syncretism to the religious pluralism of this era, as Yoshida Yutaka says:

Mani believed that his message should be translated into all the languages of the world. Ideally, the translation should be adapted to the culture of the target language. This aspect gives the impression that Manichaeism is more of a mixed religion than it really is. It is not only natural that the Manichaeism Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese should look like Buddhist scriptures, but also that this was the missionary strategy of Manichaeism. (Yoshida and Furukawa 2015, 26–27)

Inspired by these studies of Manichaeism inscriptions and paintings as they relate to the complexity of religion in Mongol-period China, this paper will present another inscription from Fujian in the same period. This inscription commemorates the construction of a Taoist-Buddhist shrine in *Chunyang* 純陽 cave in *Qingyuan* 清源 Mountain, Quanzhou, by the Pu Shougeng and his elder brother, who are believed to be descendants of Persians. This paper focuses on the external factors behind the construction of the temple, such as the diplomatic mission of Pu and the social network of the Pu brothers, and analyzes the structure of religious coexistence in Quanzhou.

The following chapters first review the influx of Persian speakers and the introduction

1 Unlike other regions in China, Confucianism never had a hegemonic position in Fujian, where Shamanism, Taoism, and Buddhism had a longer tradition and the status of each religion was more equal (Xu 2006, 1:229–243). As for previous studies on the history of the introduction of foreign religions into China in general, the case of Buddhism (Zurcher 2007), Manichaeism (Lieu 1998), and Christianity (Gernet 1991; Gardner, Lieu, and Parry 2005; Niu 2008; Deeg 2018) in China was studied, while no such comprehensive research was done on the relationships between Islam, Confucianism, and Taoism, which is the major focus of this paper.

2 This *cao’an* was known to have existed there since the Mongol period and Samuel N. C. Lieu recently introduced a document on the foundation of this shrine dedicated to Mani in 1148 (Lieu et al. 2012, 74). The present *cao’an*, a typical Minnan 閩南 (South Fujian) style building, was renovated in the early part of the last century (between 1923 and 1932), and there is no trace of the original building “when it was used by the Manichaeism in the hey day of the sect in the fourteenth century” (Gardner, Lieu, and Parry 2005, 205; Lieu et al. 2012, 80).

3 Many scholars discussed this topic almost at the same time. An extensive bibliography list of research literature before March 2014 was prepared by Gábor Kósa and published in the article by Yoshida Yutaka (2015, 82–86).

of Islam into Fujian before and during the Mongol rule. Then, the contribution reviews the religious traditions in the Fujian region under Mongol rule, paying special attention to their openness or seclusion, adding some data based on the studies in recent years. To conclude, the author proposes a hypothesis on the structure of religious coexistence related to the periodical fluctuation of the influx of Persian speakers in Fujian. Finally, we will focus on the case of the Chinese inscription in *Chunyang* cave on *Qingyuan* Mountain during the Mongol-Yuan 元 period.

The fact that Pu Shougeng undertook the construction of a Taoist-Buddhist temple with his elder brother is not necessarily a clue about their faith on its own. Although it is impossible to know the exact beliefs of Pu Shougeng himself, it is likely that the Persians of this period were basically Muslims, and there are several indications of the Pu family in Quanzhou practicing the Islamic tradition. For example, *zhenwu* 鎮撫 (judge, a junior officer in the Ming troops) Pu Heli 蒲和日, considered the Pu lineage of Quanzhou, erected a stone monument near the tomb of a Muslim saint in the *Linshan* 靈山 Islamic Cemetery in an eastern suburb of Quanzhou, which commemorated Muslim admiral Zheng He's 鄭和 visit. He had burned incense here in 1417 on his way to the "Western Ocean" (Kawagoe 1977; Lin [1988] 2004, 162–63).

[7]

## Historical Background of the Persian Immigrants to Fujian in China

The influx of Persians as well as other foreign populations to the coastal region of China, including Fujian province, was closely related to the long-distance trade and political situation both on the Central Eurasian landmass and in the Southern Maritime region.<sup>4</sup> This article categorizes Islamic immigrants including Persians into the following four types according to historical background and cultural features.

[8]

- Category (a): Old immigrants via sea routes: Persian sea traders during the Song 宋 period
- Category (b): Localized Persian immigrants: Pu 蒲 family from the Southern Song to the Yuan period
- Category (c): Newcomers via inland routes: Muslim elites from Central Asia and Iran during the Yuan period
- Category (d): Newcomers via sea routes: Muslim merchants and various migrants during the Yuan period.

[9]

In the following sections, the background history of each migration category will be discussed.

[10]

4 Fujita Toyohachi 藤田豊八 (1917) and Kuwabara Jitsuzo 桑原隲蔵 (1989) published pioneering studies on the early history of maritime trade and foreigners in China. Maejima Shinji 前嶋信次 pointed out that the biggest portion of Islamic immigrants in this region were Persians (1952). Comprehensive studies on Islam in China in general were published by Tazaka Kodo 田坂興道 (1964), Donald Leslie (1986, 1998), and Morris Rossabi (1981, 1989). Many other important works were compiled by Quanzhou haiwai jiaotongshi bowuguan 泉州海外交通史博物館 (1983) and Quanzhoushi Quanzhou lishi yanjiuhui 泉州市泉州歷史研究會 [The Museum of the History of Overseas Contacts at Quanzhou, Quanzhou History Research Association] (1983).

### (a) Influx of Persian Speakers from Seaborne Trade Routes

By the Tang 唐 period (618–907), important port cities such as Guangzhou 廣州 and Yangzhou 揚州 prospered and played major roles as commercial centers. A wide array of migrants, including Persians, were present in Guangzhou and Yangzhou. [11]

Middle Eastern merchants were already traveling to East Asia by the first century (Wade 2010, 181). Antonino Forte pointed to the period between 148 and 845 as the period of greatest Iranian influence in China (1999). However, Iranians in the Tang Dynasty were more closely associated with Buddhism, Christianity, Manichaeism, and Zoroastrianism than Islam. Meanwhile, Ralph Kauz, citing an article by Rafael Israeli, emphasized the beginnings of Muslim immigration, which came mainly to southern China, and wrote that since the seventh century, Muslims have made up the majority immigrant group to China. These Muslim immigrants, mainly Arabs and Persians, first came to China by sea (Fan Ke 2001, 309–10; Israeli 2000). [12]

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Persian origin of the Liu 劉 clan of the Southern Han (Nan Han 南漢) in Guangdong 廣東 was noted, and the tombs of the Min 閩 Kingdoms of Southern Han and Fujian Persian pottery were excavated. Liu is considered a transliteration of ‘Alī, also translated as Li 李 (Schottenhammer 2015, 3–4). “The 10th–12th centuries were to see quite intense interaction between the ports along the Maritime Silk Road, including those of Southeast Asia, and Chinese entrepôts along the coast of southern China” (Wade 2010, 181). During the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1276), the status of the most important port city on the coast of southern China shifted from Guangzhou and Yangzhou to Quanzhou in southern Fujian and continued until 1368, that is, the end of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (Fan Ke 2001, 312–14). [13]

Since the early Northern Song (960–1127) period, sea traders surnamed Li and Pu were especially prominent in Chinese documents.<sup>5</sup> Recently, Geoff Wade suggested that these “surnames” may refer to a specific group of Muslims, such as the Shi’ites (2010). In any case, it probably refers to the Persian-speaking people who made up the majority of Muslims traveling to and from the Indian Ocean at the time. They form category (a) for the purposes of this paper. [14]

A large portion of the influx of Persian speakers to the Fujian area started during the Southern Song period, which consisted of seaborne trade route travelers. They started to settle in Quanzhou during the late Southern Song period and will form category (b) in the following section. The tide of incoming foreigners continued through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which will form category (d). [15]

### (b) Localized Persian Immigrants

During the Southern Song period, the immigrant population became settled and localized and they will form the second category, category (b). However, it would be simplistic to interpret them as having been completely sinicized. As an example of the category, we can discuss a figure of the late Southern Song, Pu Shougeng who controlled maritime trade at Quanzhou port in Fujian. [16]

5 The surname Pu was considered to be derived from *kunya* (an element of an Arabic personal name) *Abū*, which means “father” in Arabic, while others regarded the Pu family as of *Cham* origin. Pu corresponded to the title of a nobleman in Malay-Polynesian languages, that is, *Pu* or *Mpu* (Ferrand 1922; Fei 2002, 82). Sugimoto Naojiro 杉本直治郎 compared the two theories and disregarded the theory of the *Cham* origin (1952).

The author supports precedent studies to regard Pu Shougeng as a descendant of Persian merchants because Persian features in Islamic tombstones from Quanzhou suggest that a large part of the immigrants were Persians (Maejima 1952). Added to this, the contemporary epigraphic text of the early Yuan period written by Wang Pan 王磐 reports that Pu Shougeng was a merchant traveling along sea routes for business and was originally a *Xiyu ren* 西域人 (“people from the west”). Another epigraphic text by Wang Pan tells that Pu Shougeng was originally a *Huihe ren* 回紇人.<sup>6</sup> *Huihe* originally meant Uighur, Turkish-speaking people from Turfan and other places in Central Asia. However, it also meant ‘Muslim’ during the Yuan period.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the author infers that the Pu family, at least in Quanzhou, was most likely Muslim of Persian origin.<sup>8</sup> Pu Shougeng gained economic and political influence at Quanzhou through his fleet and manpower for maritime trade from the late Southern Song to the early Yuan period. He was granted the title of *zhaofushi* 招撫使 (commander of the local militia) and *shibo tiju* 市舶提舉 (the head of *shibosi* 市舶司, maritime trade supervisorate) during the last years of the Southern Song period. Recent studies in China attested that Pu Shougeng actually bore the title *zhigan* 制幹, which is a substitute for *yuanhai zhizhi shi* 沿海制置使, the commander of the Southern Song’s Navy in the coastal provinces. Soon after his surrender to the Yuan, Pu Shougeng was appointed to be *canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事 (Assistant Administrator) of the Mobile Secretariat at Jiangxi 江西 in 1277 (remote appointment) and finally promoted to *pingzhang zhengshi* 平章政事 (governor) of the Mobile Secretariat (*xingsheng* 行省) at Quanzhou (see Liu 2015; Song [1369] 1978, Ch. 9:191, Ch. 10:204; Wu 1988).<sup>[9]</sup>

The Pu family’s local influence seems to have lasted until the Yuan period. The old street names in Quanzhou City, which are still preserved today, are said to be related to the lost residence of Pu Shougeng, as is shown in figure 1. The fact that the Pu Shougeng’s residence was adjacent to the mosque *Qingjingsi* 清淨寺 (“pure and clean” temple) and occupied a large part of the foreigner’s settlement strongly suggests that taken together, the Pu family and Pu Shougeng himself were Persian Muslims.

### (c) Newcomers Via Inland Routes: Muslim Elites from Central Asia and Iran

During the Yuan period, the population of the South China coastal region added what I categorize as (c): Newcomers via inland routes: Persian (and Turkish) elites from Central Asia and Iran. The strategy of the Mongol empire to rule Chinese society was behind the influx of category (c).

Soon after the Mongols conquered the Jin 金 dynasty (1115–1234), they had to build a governance and tax collecting system in *Zhongyuan* 中原 (the Central Plain of China). Since the size of the Mongol ruling class was too small compared to the huge population of subordi-

6 These epigraphic sources written by early Yuan literati, Wang Pan, and titled “Gaocheng ling Dong Wenbing yi’aibe” 藁城令董文炳遺愛碑 [Memorial Stone Tablet for District Governor of Gaocheng, Dong Wenbing]” (in Li [1534] 1968, Ch. 8) and “Zhaoguo Zhongxian gong shendaobei 趙國忠獻公神道碑 [Inscription on the Avenue to the Grave of Lord Zhongxian in Zhao country]” (in Li [1534] 1968, Ch. 9) survived in *Gaocheng xian zhi* 藁城縣志 [Local Gazetteer of Gaocheng district] published in 1534, and Chen Gaohua 陳高華 introduced them (Chen 1987).

7 In Chinese official historiography, such as *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, written during the Song period, *Huihe* originally meant Uighur and the majority of them were not Muslims but Buddhists and Christians during the Yuan period. For honorific biographical works, Wang Pan probably preferred to use the more classic and elegant word *Huihe* instead of *Huihui* 回回, which meant Muslim during the Yuan period. In *Yuan shi* 元史, Ch. 205 (Song [1369] 1978, 4558), Muslim financial minister Ahema 阿合馬 (Ahmad) of Khubilai’s reign was also written to be a *Huihe*. On the problem of the designation *Huihui*, see Moriyasu (1997).

8 One of the indications of the Pu family in Quanzhou adhering to the Islamic tradition, as mentioned above in this paper is the stone stele built by Pu Heri beside the tomb of Muslim sages in the *Linshan* Muslim



**Figure 1** Map of Quanzhou city and *Quannan* 泉南 during the late Song period. Source: Fujian sheng Quanzhou shi diming lu (1982) and Zhunag (1988).<sup>9</sup>

nate *Han* 漢 Chinese, they mobilized every possible human resource in their realm and fully utilized their knowledge for the governance of agrarian society and their skill of financial management. Among them, there was a considerable number of Muslim elites from Central Asia and Iran. Their ancestors had surrendered to (and cooperated with) the Mongols during the war against the Qara Khitai Khanate and the Khwārazm Empire and they financially supported the Mongols and immigrated to China under Mongol rule (Rossabi 1981). Families from category (c) were incorporated into the Mongol ruling class through the recruiting system and continued to produce officials in Yuan China. These facts can be confirmed by Chinese and Persian historical sources and by the list of the names of Yuan officials in the Local Gazetteers of Zhenjiang 鎮江, Jinling 金陵 (present-day Nanjing) and the Fujian region (Yang 2003, 163–287; Mukai 2009).

#### (d) Newcomers via Seaborne Trade Routes

During the Yuan period, Quanzhou continued to be the most important port and prospered from maritime trade. Thus, there were maritime traders, *‘Ulamā’s* (Arab “scholar”), and religious persons including *Sūfīs* who migrated to Quanzhou via sea routes. They form category (d) of this paper. As seen below, the Islamic institutions for Muslims were developed based on the contribution of this newcomer Muslim elite cluster via sea routes. [21]

According to the itinerary of a Muslim traveler from Morocco, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1369), Quanzhou as well as other cities in China reserved an area for Muslims (which should be *Quannan*, though it was not perfectly exclusive for Muslims), who had their own religious leader, called *Shaikh al-Islām*, and an Islamic judge for the Muslims, called *qāḍī*. During his stay at Quanzhou around 1345, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa received visits from the *qāḍī*, Tāj al-Dīn of Ardabil, *Shaikh al-Islām* Kamāl al-Dīn Abdullāh of Iṣfahān, and merchants Sharaf al-Dīn of Tabrīz, all of whom seemingly came from the cities in Iran (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1994, 4:894–95). [22]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also mentioned an eminent *Shaikh* at Quanzhou, Burhān al-Dīn al-Kāzerūnī (of Kāzerūn), who was a representative of a *Sūfī* order, Kāzerūniyya established at Kāzerūn in Iran. He had a *hānāqāh* (hospice) outside the town to whom the merchants make the oblations made to the originator of the *Sūfī* order, *Shaikh al-Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Shahtiyār al-Kāzerūnī* (963–1033). According to Ralph Kauz, with Wittek’s addition to Köprülüẓāde’s article, “the *nisba* al-Kāzerūnī means not only a person from or with relations to the said city but rather an adherent of the *Sūfī* order.” Kauz also says that the Kāzerūniyya extended a network of *hānāqāhs* in Anatolia, Iran, and the cities along the shores of the Indian Ocean such as Calicut and Quilon and never lost contact with their motherhouse in Kāzerūn (Kauz 2010, 61, 67). They give the meeting and living places of dervishes and offered accommodation and food for three days free of charge. The *hānāqāh* in Quanzhou was established after Burhān al-Dīn moved to Quanzhou on the tributary ship to the Yuan court during the *Huangqing* 皇慶 years (1312–1314) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1994, 4:895; Huai et al. [1763] 2000, Ch. 75: 39v–40r).<sup>10</sup> The introduction of the *hānāqāh* would have involved the increase in the Muslim immigrant population of Quanzhou through the mid-fourteenth century, as discussed below. [23]

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Cemetery in Eastern Quanzhou, which commemorated admiral Zheng He’s visit in 1417 on his way to the “Western Ocean.”

9 All maps and graphs in this article were created by the author.

10 According to Ralph Kauz, Burhān al-Dīn’s arrival at Quanzhou was in the year 1312 (Kauz 2010, 68).

## Investigating the Reality of the Entanglement of Religions in Fujian

### Periodical Changes in the Muslim Community in Fujian during the Yuan Period

As seen in the former section, in Fujian during the Yuan period, both Chinese and Arabic historical sources testify to the existence of a Muslim population. Persian speakers made up a significant portion of the various types of migrants to the region corresponding to categories (a) to (d). However, there was not enough mapping and data about the spread of Islam in each region of China and about the number and periodical distribution of the migrants during this period. Accordingly, the author tried to gather some data. [24]

Firstly, the author considered the sites of old mosques in China which, according to local tradition, originated during the Mongol period. The following map (figure 2) was created by the author based on the complete list of mosques in China by Wu Jianwei 吳建偉 (1995). We can see that the southeast coast, including Fujian, was one of the places of intensive Muslim population since early times. [25]

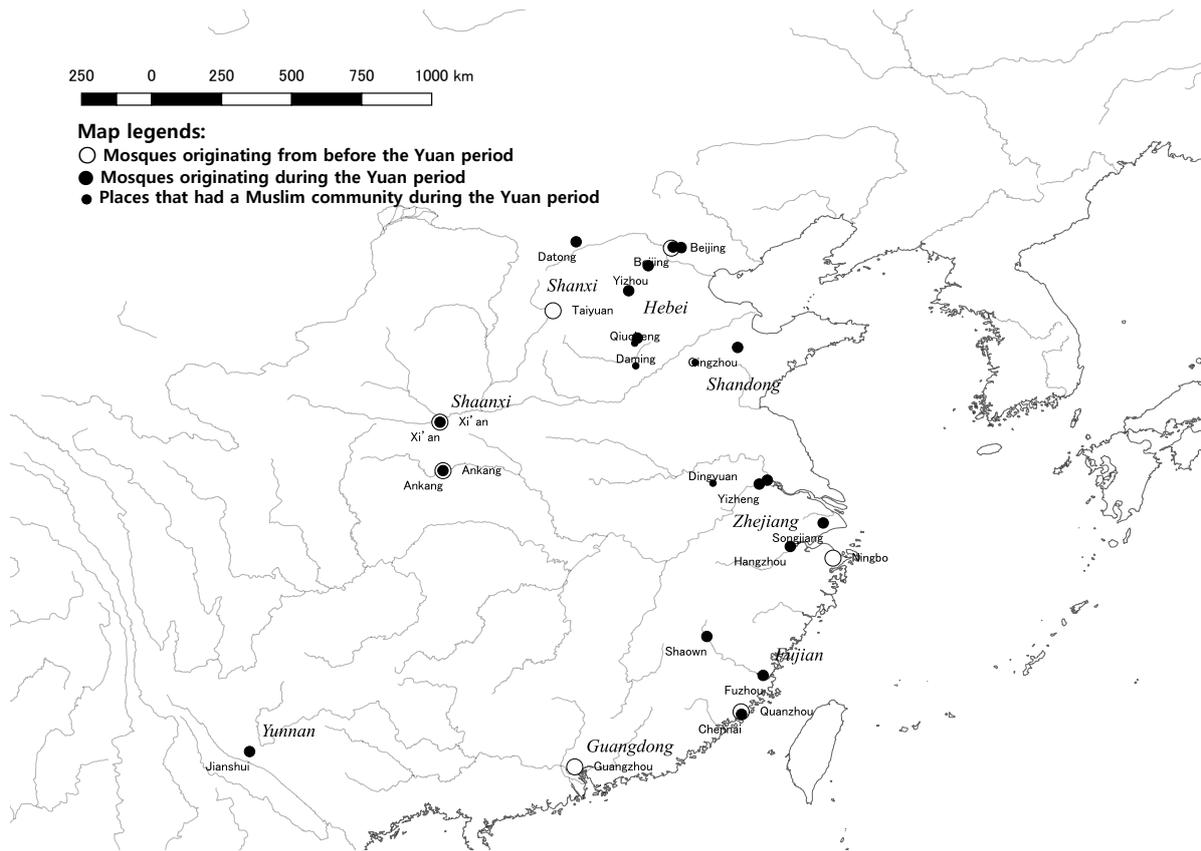
Secondly, the prevalence of Muslim officials in Fujian province seems to have been higher than in other provinces, though there was a decreasing tendency toward the end of the Mongol period (Mukai 2010, 440, 2009, 83–84). Figure 3 shows the fluctuation of the number of officials with Islamic names (histogram).<sup>11</sup> Although not all these officials with Islamic names were necessarily Muslims, it shows that a significant number of Islamic officials had been appointed in Fujian province. [26]

Simultaneously, maritime merchants and the descendants of Persians from overseas were part of a local, hereditary elite stratum. Arabic tombstones with some Persian and Turkish elements were excavated in the Fujian region, namely in Quanzhou, showing that the Yuan period was the peak of an influx of the Muslim population. Many entombed people are considered to have been Persian and Turkish speakers who were from an elite cluster in the Khwārazm empire. However, as mentioned in the former section, there were also some maritime traders, *‘Ulamā’s*, and *Sūfīs* who had migrated to China via sea routes, category (d). The periodical distribution of the Arabic tombstones is shown in figure 3 (line graph) (see also Mukai 2002, 98). There were several fluctuations in the number of tombstones. [27]

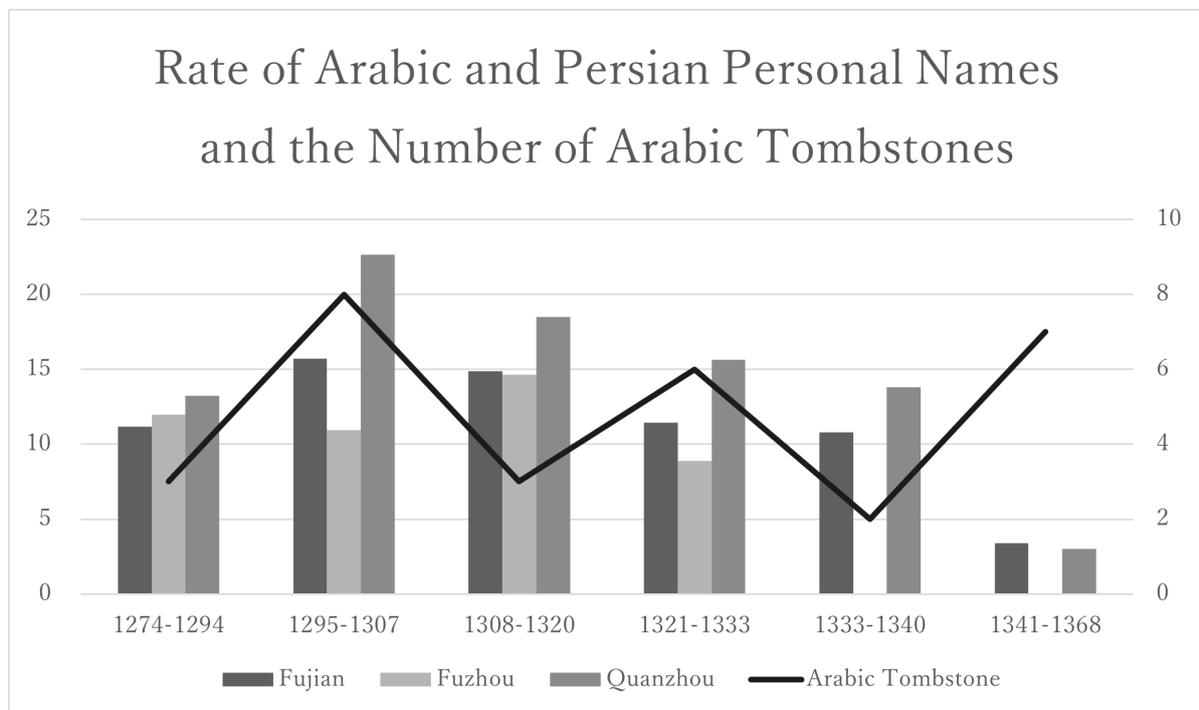
To conclude, seen from the three different kinds of spatial and periodical data on the spread of Islam and migrants in and into China, there was a long-term tendency of an influx of Persian speakers into Fujian, which corresponds to this article’s categories (c) and (d). Certainly, there were still examples from category (b) during this period.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, the process of the influx of Persian speakers into Fujian province during the Song and Yuan periods was not a simple, linear process; there were both short and long-term fluctuations from time to time. The fluctuation of the migration into the region, not only between the two dynastic periods but also between the reign of each of the emperors of the Yuan period, brought different patterns or different degrees of assimilation, which lead to functional differentiation among foreigners. [28]

11 The length of each term is uneven because the data is only available for the reigns of emperors. Fuzhou lacks records from officials after 1333.

12 An example of (b) is the Sino-Persian merchant at Quanzhou Pu Shougeng, as well as his son Pu Shiwen 蒲師文, who was appointed to be the governor (*pingzhang zhengshi*) of the mobile secretariat of Fujian in the early Yuan period.



**Figure 2** Locations of old mosques in mainland China, according to local tradition. Source: Wu (1995).



**Figure 3** Occurrence of Arabic and Persian personal names of officials (histogram: the scale is on the left side) and the number of Arabic tombstones from Quanzhou (line graph: the scale is on the right side) for six terms of Yuan period. Sources: Huang ([1489] 1989) and Chen Dasheng and Kalus (1991).

## Geographical Analyses of the Entanglement of Religions in Quanzhou

During the Song and Yuan period, the quarter for foreigners in the southern quarter of Quanzhou, called *Quannan* (see figure 1), was where the foreign visitors and a part of the settled foreigners of categories (b) and (d) lived. Nevertheless, the intermingling of Chinese and foreigners was not forbidden.<sup>13</sup> For example, a Local Gazetteer, *Qianlong Quanzhou fuzhi* 乾隆泉州府志 (edited in 1763), reveals that the aforementioned *Shaikh* at Quanzhou, Burhān al-Dīn, resided along the Shop Street (*paipu jie* 排舖街) in the quarter for foreigners called *Quannan* (Huai [1763] 2000, Ch. 75, 39v–40r.). [29]

The mosque Qingjingsi was built in 1131 (or in 1009–1010) on the border of the quarter for foreigners (Z in figure 1) and the main block of the city (Y including X in figure 1); in other words, it was at the place of contact between the Muslims and Chinese. This explains why the Chinese stone stele, *Chongli Qingjingsi bei ji* 重立清淨寺碑記 (Stone Record of the Reconstruction of the Clear and Pure Temple), was composed by Wu Jian 吳鑑 in 1350 to commemorate the restoration of the mosque in the late Yuan period and was installed in that mosque.<sup>14</sup> Wu introduces Islam, their country, and the culture of Muslims in a favorable tone, and it seems to have been written for Han Chinese to explain how Islam and Muslim people lived together harmoniously in Quanzhou. [30]

To sum up, in Quanzhou city during the Mongol period, cross-cultural contact between Muslims and other peoples was not avoided. Rather, from the viewpoint of institutional and geographical settings, there were ample opportunities for contact between them. Actually, the old Muslim representative of category (b), the Pu family, had a connection with the Han Chinese local elite cluster, which is mentioned in previous studies (So 1991, 20–21, 2000, 108–10). As is shown on the map (figure 1), based on local tradition, Pu Shougeng’s residence occupied a large part of the foreigners’ quarter in *Quannan* and was also adjacent to the central part of the city where many Han Chinese lived (Mukai 2007, 96). It is clear from these geographical settings that his family definitely occupied a representative position among foreigners in Quanzhou and could have played a role as a mediator between foreigners and Han Chinese. [31]

Furthermore, during the Yuan period, the government was served by many *semuren* 色目人 (“various kinds of people,” mainly Non-Han Chinese), and in Quanzhou Muslims were predominant among *semuren*.<sup>15</sup> Officials, including Mongols, *semuren*, or the people of category (c), generally worked in the center of the city (X in figure 1). Accordingly, the people in categories (b) and (c) had some channels to link the host society with the Muslim community, including category (a) newcomers, who were not isolated islands in Quanzhou city. [32]

The author believes that the people in category (b) were in a situation where their religious traditions were compromised as a result of long-term cultural contacts. Meanwhile, categories (c) and (d) immigrants had solid relations with their religious traditions. In the following section of this article, the relationship between the different levels of assimilation and the culture of tolerance will be analyzed. [33]

13 During the Song and Yuan period, Quanzhou did not have a foreign settlement (officially allotted exclusive quarter for foreigners) such as the *fanfang* 蕃坊 of the Tang period in China (Hong 1983).

14 For the text of the inscription, see Chen Dasheng 陳達生 (1984), for the translation into English, see Vermeer (1991, 121–27).

15 The classical Chinese term *semu* 色目 means “various categories.” The *semuren* were one of the legally-defined social groupings unique to Mongol China. They were generally Central Asians and Westerners and ranked just below the Mongols (Buell 2003, 240).

## Solid Religious Tradition: Islamic Inscriptions from China's Coastal Region

### Arabic Tombstones of "Exile Martyr" from Lingshan

It should be noted that the first example of the word "exile martyr" can be found on the tombstone of Muḥammad Shāh b. Khwārazm Shāh (Khwārazm Shāh's son, Muḥammad Shāh), excavated at the old Muslim cemetery in the *Linshan* Islamic Cemetery in the Eastern suburb of Quanzhou, where the legendary Islamic evangelists were buried and worshiped (Chen 1991, 193–94, no. 114). It is said to be the word of the prophet Muḥammad. Two variants, "He who dies an exile dies a martyr," as well as its shortened form, "The death of the exile is martyrdom," are frequently seen in the Arabic inscriptions on graves found in Quanzhou. And Arabic tombstones excavated near China's coastal region provide data as to the place of origin of the deceased and their date of death (primarily during the Yuan period), which tells us that a significant part of immigrants came from the former Khwārazm Empire in China's coastal region. These facts suggest that immigrants from the former Khwārazm Empire preserved a 'solid identity' as foreign Muslims. Additionally, the exclusive usage of the Arabic language on their tombstones connects their identity to their homeland's Islamic tradition. [34]

### Chinese Inscription of the Old Mosque Qingjingsi in Quanzhou

Another example can be observed in a Chinese inscription preserved in an old mosque (*Qingjingsi*) in Quanzhou. The stone stele was erected in 1345 to commemorate the restoration of the mosque and a member of the local elite, Wu Jian, wrote the monumental inscription for it. The inscription recorded the history of Muslim immigrants in Quanzhou, with a detailed introduction of Islam and its culture: [35]

For more than 800 years until now, the Arabs have strictly adhered to this faith. Though living in a foreign country, they passed it on to their children and grandchildren, extending through the generations they did not dare to change it. ... I have heard the following words of the elders: when Arabia (*T'ieh-chih-shih* 帖直氏) first entered into the official picture, its local customs and doctrines were quite different from other countries. On the basis of the Western Envoys and Records of the Barbarian Islands and such records, I attach more belief to those words. On that basis, it is said: 'It is Heaven's wish to give equal shares to the entire world,' but it has not become so in just one day. (Vermeer 1991, 124) [36]

In my opinion, the Muslim population experienced fluctuations throughout the Mongol period. Some of the Muslim population assimilated into Chinese culture after the decline in the number of Muslim newcomers. However, according to this stone inscription, Muslims in Quanzhou adhered to the Islamic tradition and preserved their own culture until as late as the 1350s in the late Yuan period. [37]

## Complex Religious Tradition: A Taoist Shrine and Pu Shougeng

Fujian province had a long tradition of coexistence with foreign religions from overseas. This point also concerns the cosmopolitan nature of the port cities that were open to the outside [38]

world. This cosmopolitan culture also reflects an important feature of maritime trade, that is, it was not conducted based on a single cultural tradition or a single religion but by various coexisting groups and cultural traditions, and together they supported the prosperity of the entire trade network. A Chinese stone inscription relating to the ‘localized’ Persian merchant Pu Shougeng from the late Southern Song to the early Yuan period refers to this complex situation.

In 1274, after Yuan troops captured the capital and occupied the coastal region of Southern Song, Chinese port cities opened to overseas countries. Khubilai dispatched sea traders to overseas countries to establish trade relations with them (later, envoys were sent to other countries under the direct initiative of the Yuan court). As Pu Shougeng had controlled the “ships of foreign trade” (*fanbo* 番舶) at Quanzhou in the late Southern Song period, many former subordinates of Pu Shougeng were dispatched to overseas countries. At times, a Pu and Mongolian colleague, Suodu 唆都, would dispatch trade ships without the permission of the Yuan court. Apparently, Pu Shougeng was motivated by the profits he earned through extending his own trade relations and he exploited the overseas missions to this end. A Chinese stone inscription, located at the Taoist site of the “pure and sunny” cave (*Chunyang dong* 純陽洞) on the “clean source” mountain (*Qingyuan shan* 清源山), tells us that Pu Shougeng and his elder brother Pu Shoucheng 蒲壽晟 assisted in building a Taoist-Buddhist temple complex in 1281. This is the period when Pu Shougeng was engaging in vigorous trade under the guise of official overseas missions (Mukai 2008, 135–39). [39]

### Basic Data and Previous Studies on the Inscription

The Chinese stone inscription is titled “Zhong jian *Qingyuan Chunyang dong ji*” 重建清源純陽洞記 (Record of Reconstruction of the *Chunyang* Cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain) and dated to the fourth year of *Hou-Zhiyuan* 後至元 (1338) during the Yuan period. The inscription is carved into the inclined plane of a steep slope behind the Taoist and Buddhist temple complex at *Chunyang* cave on *Qingyuan* mountain located in the northeast suburb of the old city of Quanzhou (see figure 4).<sup>16</sup> [40]

The year 1281 is suggestive because Pu Shougeng dispatched his fleet to overseas countries to expand trade relations under the order of Mongol emperor Khubilai. As mentioned above, Pu Shougeng and Pu Shoucheng are considered to have been Sino-Persian. However, it would have been reasonable for him to do a religious deed for his subordinates, who were mostly Chinese, seemingly practicing Taoism, Buddhism, and worshiping a variety of local deities. [41]

At a first glance, it can be seen as evidence of the intermingling of Taoism and Buddhism in Fujian, and it is well known, however, that there is more to it than that. The origin of worshiping at the *Chunyang* cave was related to the emergence of new cult religion in that urban area. It was initiated by a charismatic person during the *Shaoxing* 紹興 years (1131–1162) of the Song period, though the cult was merged into traditional religions such as Taoism and Buddhism after his death. So, in a sense, the inscription depicted a process of religious integration. As far as I know, this is the first attempt to translate the whole text into English. It [42]

16 The text of the inscription is, in large part, not visible and hard to decipher now but it was recorded in Chen Qiren 陳欒仁 (1836–1903), *Minzhong jinshi lu* 閩中金石略, Ch. 12, n.d. and Fujian tongzhi zu 福建通志組 ed. *Fujian jinshi zhi* 福建金石志, Ch. 13 in 1922 (both reprinted in Guojia 2003, vols. 1-3, vol. 3). By depending on these records only, we can read the whole text. The inscription was cited by Wu Yongxiong 吳幼雄 as one of the epigraphic sources in determining the periodical changes of the Mobile Secretariat in Fujian during the Yuan period (1988). Now the whole text has been published in print (Ding 2003, 1:53–54).



**Figure 4** The condition of the record of the reconstruction of the *Chunyang* cave in *Qingyuan* mountain. Taken by the author on January 6, 2008.

is worthy of further research because of its historical value as evidence of religious coexistence and its peculiarity, as mentioned above.

### Summary of the Text

First, this section summarizes the contents of the inscription with paragraph numbers 1)-10) [43] attached by the author (see Appendix for the full translation):

1. “Every beautiful and quiet site such as mountains, rivers, rocks, and caves under heaven [44] is the residence of immortal wizards and Buddhist saints. The former exist relying on the latter and the latter manifest depending on the former. They are collaborating with each other in making a mysterious landscape.”
2. During the period of *Shaoxing* of the Southern Song, an exile practitioner with the sur- [45] name Pei 裴 came from Jiangdong 江東 (around present-day Nanjing 南京) and lived in a cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain. He walked around the market every day, wearing a flower made of rice paper pith in his hair and singing a song. Suddenly, he disappeared for several months and nobody knew where he was and later his skeleton was found in the cave. Local people built a shrine to worship him with other deities and hang a tablet saying “*chunyang* (pure and sunny).”
3. Local people distorted his original teaching and gave wine and food as an offering. [46] They also gathered there to play music and were noisy. Places of lascivious entertainment and bars were even built there. Intellectuals discussed how to stop these practices and decided to build a shrine to *Putuo dashi* 普陀大士 (Great Master of Potalaka, i.e., *Avalokiteśvara* Bodhisattva) beside the original one to break the evil customs. Following the *Shengshan* Chan Buddhist temple (*Shengshan chan si* 昇山禪寺) in Fuzhou 福州, the shrine became the site of *Zhenqun’s* 真君 (a Taoist deity’s) ascension to heaven.
4. The shrines in *Qingyuan* Mountain totally burned down during the last years of South- [47] ern Song period. In the eighteenth year of *Zhiyuan* 至元 (1281), a Buddhist monk from Sisong 四松, Fa Tan 法曇, visited the site, swore to restore it, and started the project. Xinquan Pugong 心泉蒲公 (Pu Shoucheng) and Haiyun *pingzhang* 海雲平章 (Pu Shougeng)<sup>17</sup> provided funds for it and architectural plans were drawn up for a bigger shrine complex than the original one.
5. Twenty-one years later, Tan ordered his leading disciple, Yicong 一聰, to take his place [48] and complete the restoration of the shrine. Stone signboards were erected at thirty points. Several tens of thousands of cedars and pine trees were planted.
6. The restoration project was completed. This could happen because Myriarch Sun Xinzhai [49] (孫信齋) and a grandson of Pu Shougeng, Pu Yiqing (蒲一卿), had risen in society and got involved in the project.
7. Yicong from Yaolin 瑶林 in Jin yi 晋邑 (Jinjiang 晋江 district) had learned sutras at Sisong [50] and titled himself as Shimen 石門 (“stone gate”). In the fifth month, in the summer of

17 Pu Shoucheng had a courtesy name Xinquan 心泉, as his anthology was titled *Xinquan xue shi gao* 心泉学詩稿, 6 vols. Pu Shougeng had a courtesy name Haiyun 海雲. As mentioned above, he bore the title *pingzhang* because he was appointed *pingzhang zhengshi* (governor) of the Mobile Secretariat (*xingsheng*) at Quanzhou (see Wu 1988).

1333 (the fourth year of *Zhishun* 至順), Yicong passed away and his whole body was buried at the side of the mountain. When the year 1334 (the second year of *Yuantong* 元統) passed, the roofs of the Buddhist and Taoist shrines had not been repaired for a long time. Accordingly, it has finally been repaired and the gatehouse was also renewed because it deteriorated and had rain leakage.

8. Lord Sun, who had been preached to by Yicong, possessed an old weir in the *Jinjiang* district and had it repaired. He spent 220 *ding* 錠 by *Zhongtong chao* 中統鈔 (paper money) and built a granary to stock the harvest. He also donated clothes and property for preaching far and wide and bought land and reclaimed it to create new rice fields. He said his good deeds were done following Yicong's teaching so the credit should go to Yicong. Accordingly, Song required the author Ping Zhitai 平智泰 to compose a full account of the circumstances. [51]
9. Ping Zhitai firmly refused Sun's request but Sun had never given up and pleaded with Ping again and again. So finally Ping relented. [52]
10. In the tenth month of the fourth year of (*Hou-*) *Zhiyuan* (後) 至元 (1338), *Wan'an* Chan Buddhist temple (*Wan'an chan si* 萬安禪寺) asked Ping Zhitai to compose this article, and Sun Yanfang 孫彥方 and Sun Chang'an 孫長安 to write (the title of the inscription) in seal script. [53]

### The Social Network of Pu Shougeng

The fact that Pu Shougeng undertook the construction of a Taoist-Buddhist temple with his brother is an indirect clue to infer their faith. If it was their religious motivation that led them to renovate that temple, it is not impossible that it could manifest a plurality of religious beliefs. However, that is extremely difficult to prove. In addition, external factors must also be considered. One possibility is to win the popularity of the Han Chinese crew (of the diplomatic mission ships sent by Pu) and the local people. Additionally, in the context of the inscription, one suspects that the Pu brothers' social relations with the local elite cluster may be partly related to their religious activities. In other words, such acts may be required as a part of the duties expected of members of the local elite cluster in Quanzhou. To verify this, it will be necessary to delve into the social network of the Pu brothers behind the construction of the temple. [54]

In these remarks, this inscription is worthy of attention because we can see personal names relating to the reconstruction. Thus, the inscription would be a precious source not only for the analysis of Pu Shougeng's religious situation but also for the social network of the Pu family and elites in the region. [55]

The text of this inscription mentions and suggests the contribution of members of the Sun family three times. The first one is Myriarch Sun Xinzhai 孫信齋, who helped with the reconstruction of the temple with the Pu brothers in 1281, supposedly providing manpower because he controlled the army. This person may be identified to be the son of a subordinate of Pu Shougeng named Sun Shengfu 孫勝夫, who fought against Southern Song royalists in Quanzhou around 1276 and surrendered to the Yuan dynasty together with Pu. Later, he conducted a diplomatic mission to overseas countries with Pu's fleet under Pu's order.<sup>18</sup> The fact [56]

18 See "Wu xu [Preface written by Wu (Jian)]" of Wang Dayuan, *Daoyizhilue* ([1350] 1981, 5) and Song Lian, *Yuan shi*, Ch. 11 ([1369] 1978, 235).

that he also bore the title Myriarch in 1279 and 1281 supports this hypothesis of identification (see Song [1369] 1978, Ch. 12, 244, 4660).

There is another recorded person surnamed Sun 孫 who directed the Myriarch around Quanzhou during the Yuan period other than Sun Shengfu and Sun Xinzhai. This is Sun Tian 孫天 (or Sun Tianyou 孫天有), who was appointed as *Daruyachi* (*Daluhuachi* 達魯花赤) of Huzhou *wanhufu* 湖州萬戶府 (Miriarch), stationed around Quanzhou during the *Dade* 大德 years (1297–1307).<sup>19</sup> The relationship between this person and the others are unknown. However, since the Yuan dynasty generally appointed Myriarchs by succession, and Myriarch is a high-ranking title so that the number of families bearing this title was extremely small, the possibility of the succession of this military title by the same Sun lineage is high enough. [57]

The second appearance of the Sun family in this inscription is about the person who asked the composer of the inscription, Ping Zhitai, to write an article to praise the achievement of master Yicong because he had once been preached to by him. The name of this person from the Sun family is unknown but in the last part of the inscription, there appears the lord of *Zhuangmin* 壯敏侯, Sun Yanfang, and Sun Chang'an, who wrote the title of the inscription in seal script. [58]

There is not enough evidence to prove that all of these persons surnamed Sun are from the same lineage. However, the particular intention of this inscription, which was ordered by a member of the Sun family and mentions not only Pu Shougeng but also Sun Xinzhai (probably the son of Sun Shengfu), may indicate a successive commitment by the Sun lineage to the reconstruction of the temples at *Chunyang* cave. So, the author tentatively concludes, the same Sun lineage consistently contributed to the project of reconstructions recorded in this inscription. The relationships between the people mentioned in this inscription are tentatively reconstructed in the following figure 5. [59]

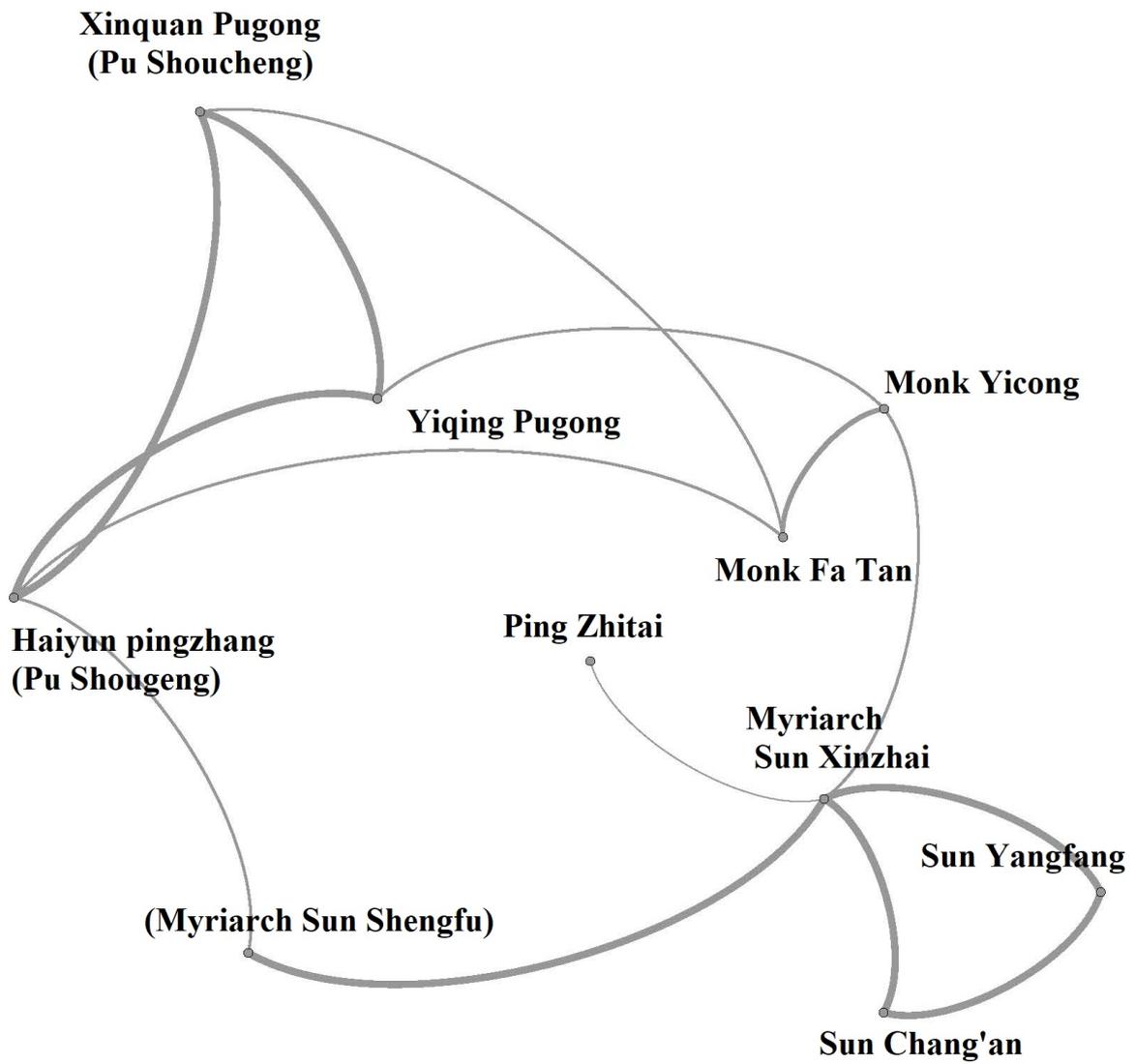
## An Analysis of the Complexity of Religions

According to the inscription, the cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain, where practitioner Pei's skeleton was found, was named *Chunyang* (Paragraph 2). This shows the Taoist feature of the site for *Chunyang* was apparently associated with the title *Chunyangzi* (master *Chunyang*) of legendary hermit, Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (796–1016) of the Tang period. He is one of Eight Immortals worshiped by Taoists. At the same time, the site was also devoted to Buddhism as the shrine for *Avalokiteśvara* Bodhisattva (*Putuo dashi*) was built (Paragraph 3). These facts exemplify the complex feature of this site. [60]

The inscription claims a situation of coexisting religions and regularizes it in a philosophical way. The following words in the first part of the inscription as well as in the sixth and ninth paragraphs (omitted in the summary above) summarize the theory: [61]

- “The former (immortal wizards) exists relying on the latter (Buddhist saints) and the latter manifests depending on the former. They are collaborating with each other and make a mysterious landscape” (Paragraph 1) [62]
- “Taoism increasingly manifests power depending on the aid of Buddhism” (Paragraph 6)

19 See Huang Zhongzhao 黃仲昭, *Ba Min tongzhi* 八閩通志, Ch. 32 ([1489] 1989, 686). According to the note, Sun Tian was modified to be Sun Tianyou 孫天有 in Huai Yinbu 懷蔭布 et al., *Qianlong Quanzhou fuzhi* 乾隆泉州府志 ([1489] 1989, 689).



**Figure 5** Social networks relating to the reconstruction of the temples at *Chongyang Cave* in *Qingyuan Mountain*. Source: Ding and Zheng (2003), 53-54. Software: Gephi.

- “Taoism and Buddhism are the branches stretched from the same stem” (Paragraph 9)  
Actually, this inscription vividly tells the story of the beginning of the coexistence (to the present time) of a Taoist shrine and Buddhist temple on one site.

Additionally, this inscription attests to the existence of the continuing relationship between Buddhist monks, a Han local elite family, and a Sino-Persian Muslim family in Quanzhou during the Yuan period. These prove the culture of tolerance was highly developed in the Fujian region during the Yuan period. Then what circumstances supported this situation of tolerance among religions shown in this inscription? Is this a very rare situation that occurred only in Fujian? Was this a common phenomenon during the Yuan period? [63]

In the last part of this paper, we will consider these questions as well as how to approach the religious complexity of the period and how to evaluate various ‘external’ conditions. We will consider the following external conditions: Aims and background of the individuals and the social environment of the region. [64]

### Aims and Background of the Individuals

As for the personal aims and background behind one’s religious activities and attitudes toward religion, we can imagine the following: (i) to pray for the safety of a voyage, to win peoples’ trust (ensure the religion which is popular among subordinates, crew members, and the local population), and (ii) to be a responsible local governor or member of the elite class. [65]

As mentioned above, Pu Shougeng’s maritime trade under Khubilai’s order is related to the restoration of the Taoist-Buddhist temple complex at *Chunyang* cave in *Qingyuan* mountain and it relates to aim (i). In conducting this enterprise, Pu Shougeng utilized his network in a local elite cluster in Quanzhou, in which Han elite Sun Shengfu and his family were included. As shown in the inscription, the relationship between the Sun family and the Pu family lasted for the next two generations. The Sino-Persian Pu family’s commitment to the restoration of the temple complex at *Chunyang* cave relates to aim (ii) and continued for generations. [66]

### The Social Environment of the Region

The second point concerns the cosmopolitan nature of the port cities that were open to the outer world. Actually, in the inscription, as mentioned in the former section, the harmonious coexistence was repeatedly expressed. It is unusual if we consider the keen confrontation between Buddhism and Taoism during the early Yuan period. [67]

Here, let us consider an example of the above-mentioned stone tablet from the mosque at Quanzhou during the late Yuan period. In 1353, on a stone tablet, *Chongli Qingjingsi bei ji* (Stone Record of the Reconstruction of the Clear and Pure Temple), Wu Jian inscribed the details of the reconstruction of the mosque known as the *Qingjingsi*, the “clear and pure” temple in Quanzhou. Wu translated the concept of Islam using Confucian terminology. God was interpreted as ‘Heaven’ and the prophet Muḥammad was identified by a Western saint appearing in the Confucian text Zhuangzi 莊子 and in Buddhist sutras (Vermeer 1991, 124). Relating to this, it is worth noticing that the term *qingjing* 清淨 (“clear and pure”) was adopted by Muslims in Quanzhou as the name of their mosque. As mentioned in the inscription discussed above in this paper, “Zhong jian *Qingyuan Chunyang dong ji* (Record of Reconstruction of the *Chunyang* Cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain), Buddhist monk Yicong (Shimen 石門) shared the concept, *qingjing*, as the essence of his teaching (Paragraph 9). Needless to say, both *wuwei* (“what is so of itself”) and *qingjing* were the core concepts of Taoism. [68]

These examples show us that the long tradition of coexistence developed by people in Fujian fully functioned to cooperate with traditional cultures from overseas. [69]

## Conclusion

This paper has examined the exchange of Islamic, Taoist, and Buddhist religious traditions in Fujian Province, as well as the religious activities and social networks of localized Persian descendants in Quanzhou, Pu Shougeng. The discussion in this paper reveals how people from different religious backgrounds coexisted in South China under Mongol rule and were even involved in the support of the religious community to which they did not belong. [70]

This paper also attempts to show that the degree of contrasting religious coherence can be related to the length of coexistence time of the adherents of these religions in the Fujian region. The results also argued that it is appropriate to distinguish two major types of Islamic belief situations, based on the complex structure of religious harmony in the Quanzhou area under Mongol rule. [71]

- Firm religious traditions: those Muslims who adhere firmly to an apparently pure Islamic faith, as exemplified by the Arabic-language Islamic inscriptions in coastal China. This is observed in the New Islamic Migration from Central and West Asia. Categories (c) and (d) [72]
- Complex religious traditions: Muslims who are apparently mixed with other religions, as seen in the Pu family, are descendants of Persian immigrants in Quanzhou. This is observed in maritime/early syncretic migration/Arab-Persian descendants. Category (b)

A geographical analysis of the restored extent of Pu Shougeng's residence suggests that he served as an intermediary between the local Han Chinese elite class and Muslim foreigners, mainly Persians. [73]

Based on the above assumptions, we have intensively examined the Yuan-period *Qingyuan* Mountain *Chunyang* Cave restoration inscriptions as an example of the religious situation in Category (b). The inscriptions record the contributions of Pu Shougeng and his elder brother in the reconstruction projects undertaken in the early Yuan dynasty and the social network of the Pu family. [74]

The analysis reveals that the relationship between the Pu family, the monks, and the Sun family of Han Chinese who worshiped at this temple continued during the early to mid-Yuan dynasty. This tells us that the Pu clan had strong ties with the local Han Chinese elite class. It was a prerequisite for the Pu family in (b) to serve as an intermediary between foreign Muslims and Han Chinese. [75]

## Appendix

### Full Translation of “Zhong jian Qingyuan Chunyang dong ji (The Record of Reconstruction of the *Chunyang* Cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain, written in the fourth year of *Hou-Zhiyuan* 後至元 [1338] during the Yuan period)

1. Every beautiful and quiet site, such as mountains, rivers, rocks, and caves, under heaven is the residence of immortal wizards and Buddhist saints. The former exists relying on the latter and the latter manifests depending on the former. They are collaborating with each other to make a mysterious landscape. [76]
2. During the *Shaoxing* 紹興 years (1131–1162), a practitioner Pei 裴 who came from Jiangdong 江東 province (around Nanjing 南京) stayed in a cave in *Qingyuan* 清源 Mountain. Every day, he wore a flower made of *tongcao* 通草 (rice paper pith. The scientific name is tetrapanax. It is still used to make artificial flowers in Taiwan today) in his hair and walked around the market while singing a song “Drink three small cups of delicious wine and wear a pretty flower in your hair. Think about things in the past and present (and you know that) to live in peace and joy is better.” Suddenly, Pei disappeared for several months and nobody knew where he was and later a woodcutter found his skeleton in the cave in *Qingyuan* Mountain. Local people made a statue from his skeleton and established a shrine, hung a tablet saying “*Chunyang* 純陽 (pure and sunny),” and worshiped it with other deities. [77]
3. People misunderstood Pei’s real intention and gave wine and food as offering, played flute (*xiao* 簫) and five-string lute (*zhu* 筑) and made loud sounds. Intellectuals sighed and said, “even the seasons and fortune of the mountains and rivers have not yet cycled (i.e. it is not yet time to celebrate and make offerings to the gods of mountains and rivers); they drove the holy ghost to the interior by pressure. How can these acts like building fleshpots (*huaguang* 花館) and bars (*jiutai* 酒臺) on the cliff match the teaching of practitioner Pei who emphasized on ‘purity and cleanness (*qingjing* 清淨)’ and the principle of ‘inaction and nature (*wuwei* 無爲)?” Intellectuals discussed how to stop these practices and decided to build a shrine to worship *Putuo dashi* 普陀大士 (Great Master of Potalaka, i.e., *Avalokiteśvara* Bodhisattva) beside the original shrine to break the evil customs. Following the *Shengshan* 昇山 *chan* 禪 Buddhist temple in Fuzhou 福州, the shrine became the site of *Zhenqun’s* 真君 (a Taoist deity’s) ascension to heaven. [78]
4. The *Qingyuan* Mountain totally burned during the last years of Southern Song period and became a habitat of wild monkeys. In the eighteenth year of *Zhiyuan* 至元 (1281), a Buddhist monk from Sisong 四松 (unknown place name), Fa Tan 法曇, visited the site, swore to restore it. Xinquan Pu gong 心泉蒲公 (Pu Shoucheng 蒲壽晟) and Haiyun pingzhang 海雲平章 (Pu Shougeng 蒲壽庚) provided funds for it and architectural plan was enlarged to ten or hundred times the original one. [79]
5. Twenty-one years later, Tan ordered his leading disciple Yicong 一聰 to succeed his master’s position and complete the restoration of the shrine. Soon after the restoration project started, a typhoon came and timber supply dried up. However, Cong encouraged himself to carry out the task of his master’s wish. He stayed diligent to the will and was never indolent. Therefore, some years later, very quickly, the building was completely [80]

renovated. To house four devas (*sidabu* 四大部), they have got a pavilion (*ge* 閣). To contain...(blank)..., it has got a hall (*tang* 堂). Subsequently, *Yingzhen* 應真 (“respond the truth”) pavilion and *Guangkong* 觀空 (“see the *sūnya*”) skyscraper (*lou* 樓) were built. Stone signboards (*shiji* 石記) were erected at thirty points. Several tens of thousands of cedars (*shan* 杉) and pine trees (*song* 松) were planted and a surrounding stone wall (*shiyong* 石墉) of two thousand *zhang* 丈 (6,144m) was built to prevent a forest fire. Further, he reclaimed more than twenty columns (*duan* 段) of new rice field and performed a ritual of agriculture in spring (*zhengchang* 蒸嘗, ancient Chinese ceremony to pray for the good crop). Total (area?) of rice field for lent within the area circled by the stone signboards does not differ from those of other temples.

6. One day, when light clouds were in the sky, I wandered on the balcony along the handrail, reciting a poem and expressing emotion and when I swept the landscape a thousand miles from there, I could see the mountains lying on top of one another and looking like big and small banners. Fogs were curling up and floating like a man bowing and creeping. Rivers joined together and flowed into the sea and brought a high tide looking like a blue gem (*tiqingbao* 帝青寶, Indranilamuktā) or a glass (*liuli* 琉璃). Vessels and seagulls appeared and disappeared in the wide ocean and in the empty sky. Likewise, distant view and foreground, high view and low view all mingled to create thousands of different sceneries. Men like Wang Mojie 王摩詰 (Wang Wei 王維, Tang period poet) and Guo Xi 郭熙 (Song period painter) had had emotional strain and shoulder dislocation from their busy writings and paintings though they are edited and compiled but not rewarded. Seeing fine monasteries clustered in this mountain, their clean, bright, and magnificent sight was never inferior to that of the Imperial capital (*jing* 京). Oh, did not what Cong 聰 (Yicong) accomplished add much to that of his master? It mostly depends on the cycle of fortune being favorable to him. Because the timing was ideal at that time, Taoism manifested more and more power depending on the aid of Buddhism. In addition, this could happen because Xinzhai *wanhu* (Myriarch) Sun gong 信齋萬戶孫公 (SunXinzhai 孫信齋) and a grandson of Pu Shoucheng, Yiqing Pu gong 一卿蒲公 (Pu Yiqing 蒲一卿), had risen in society and got involved in the project. [81]
7. Cong (Yicong) was from Yaolin 瑤林 (“limestone cave”) in Jin yi 晉邑 (probably Jinjiang 晉江 district, Quanzhou). He had learned sutras at Sisong and titled himself as *Shimen* 石門 (“stone gate”). He had lived in the mountain for more than thirty years and knew his limit and was content with it. He practiced asceticism and did a good deed and the people of the day regard him as an enlightened. In the year of *gengwu* 庚午 (1330, the third year of *Tianli* 天曆), Cong told his adherent Qi Yin to manage the cave. On the fifth month, in the summer of the year of *guiyou* 癸酉 (1333, the fourth year of *Zhishun* 至順), Cong passed away and his whole body was buried in the side of the mountain. When the year of *jiaxu* 甲戌 (1334, the second year of *Yuantong* 元統) passed, the roofs of Buddhist and Taoist shrine had not been repaired for a long time. Accordingly, it was finally repaired, and the gate house was also renewed because it had deteriorated and had rain leakage. [82]
8. There was Sun *fu* 孫府 (lord Sun) who had been preached to by Cong (Yicong). He possessed an old weir (*dai* 埭) at Dongshan 東山 (“east hill”) *du* 渡 (ferry) in the thirtieth *du* 都 (ward) of *Jinjiang* 晉江 *xian* 縣 district and he repaired it and was provided twenty *dan* 石 (1,898 l) of seed. He spent 220 *ding* 錠 (a unit of money originated from a unit [83]

of weight, corresponding to about 2 kg [of silver]) by *Zhongtong chao* 中統鈔 (paper money) and built a granary to stock the harvest. He also donated clothes and property for preaching in all directions and bought more than 450 *mu* 畝 (2,548 a) of land in the thirty ninth, forty first, and forty second *du* (ward), which were reclaimed to be new rice fields. The good deeds were done following Cong's teaching, so the credit should go to Cong. Accordingly, Sun required me (Ping Zhitai 平智泰) to compose a full account of the circumstances.

9. I firmly refused Sun's request and said, "Sir Fu (Fu *gong* 傅公), teacher Youxiang (Youxiang *xiansheng* 有鄉先生), previously wrote the account of the meritorious deed of master Tang 曇 (Tang *shi* 曇師, i.e. Fatang 法曇). Now you asked me instead of the famed writer of the day to write about the achievement of your master. How can I demonstrate my writing skills and make people believe in my qualifications for this task?" Nevertheless, Sun had never relented and pleaded with me again and again. So that finally I told him, "This mountain of rocks and caves is the home of wizards and it is a calm and scenic place. I would not mention every detail because local people know that this is the top of scenic sites in the city of Quanzhou. If one would live a carefree life out of this world, declining offers from royalty, being mingled with birds and beasts, and farming for enjoying self-sufficiency, this is the ideal place for retirement at leisure. We have originally taken this as the ultimate law? Proclaiming new land is to clarify the profound truth of ancestors. Planting pine trees is to shine master Shimen's deep intention: that is, awakening the theory of "*qingjing* (purity and cleanness)," "*wuwei* (what is so of itself)" and understanding that Taoism and Buddhism are the branches stretched from the same stem. If I correctly got your master's thought, it can be said that every single bamboo tree, wood, hand of water, stone, all these eternal things of nature are need not be inscribed. This is why I omit superficial, shallow words, and let them be handed down to the future forever. [84]
10. In the tenth month in autumn of the year of *wuyan* 戊寅, the fourth year of (Hou-)Zhiyuan (後) 至元 of *Dayuan* 大元 dynasty (1338), *Wan'an* Chan temple (*Wan'an chan si* 萬安禪寺) used the article composed by Ping Zhitai, the lord of *Zhuangmin* (*Zhuangmin hou* 壯敏侯), Sun Yanfang 孫彥方 and Sun Chang'an 孫長安 wrote (the title) in seal script. [85]

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