

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Transformation in State and Elite Responses  
to Popular Religious Beliefs

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in History

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Professor Richard von Glahn, Chair

My dissertation examines how the attitudes of states and literati toward the popular religious beliefs had been transformed during the period between the late Tang and Southern Song period. The previous researches concentrated on how the socio-economic and socio-psychological changes had caused the rapid growth of the popular religious cults since the Song dynasty period, and they presumed that the rapid increase of the state and literati involvement with the local cults just reflected the increasing significance of the popular religions. However, I argue that the previous presumption was only partially right. My research intends to demonstrate that the transformation in the state and literati response to the popular religious cults was

attributed not only to the change of the popular religions but also to that of the socio-political environment around them.

In Chapter Two, I argue that during the period between the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period the difference in the local policies between the northern five dynasties and southern regional regimes caused the disparity in their stances on the popular religious beliefs. The Chapter Three and Chapter Four, however, contrast the differences in the state and literati stances on the popular religious cult between the Northern Song political leadership with the Southern Song literati. Finally, the Chapter Five is illustrating my argument by taking a concrete example of the evolution of King Zhang cult.

Consequently, this dissertation demonstrates that there were both the regional and temporal differences in the state and literati response to the popular religious cults. First of all, there was a marked difference in their responses between the states of the north China and those of the south China. Secondly, there was also a clear-cut distinction between the state activism approach of the Northern Song reformers and the local activism approach of the Southern Song literati.

The dissertation of Hanshin Kim is approved

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## *Chapter One*

### *Introduction*

Chinese popular religious cults underwent exceptional growth during the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1276). In particular, Southern Song sources like local gazetteers demonstrate that major religious cults that would spread nationwide underwent significant transformation during that period. These sources, therefore, suggest that ordinary people's worship of popular deities suddenly emerged during the Southern Song. However, recent scholarship has shown that popular cults had been undergoing successive transformations since long before the Southern Song. Still, scholars recognize that the changes in popular religion cults during the Song period mark a watershed in the history of Chinese religion. They have been examined by the scholars so far, including state intervention, merchants' support, the interrelationship between popular religions and ecclesiastical religions, and the escalating importance of ordinary people in religious activities.

In order to understand the social phenomena that were connected with popular religions during the Song period, a multidimensional approach is needed, as the respective classes, such as the state, the Confucian-educated literati, and ordinary people each had different perspectives toward and interests in the local cults. The state authorities sought to curb the heterodox cults that they believed were causing social unrest, but at the same time they granted official recognition in the form of titles and temple plaques to local deities that met with their approval. The literati, on the other hand, were looking to consolidate their social status at a local level, and so they sought to utilize the authority of the central government by seeking government recognition of local deities who performed meritorious deeds, and also by asking permission to

suppress the heterodox cults. The ordinary worshipers' stance, however, was quite different. In addition to being devoted believers, they also reinterpreted the religious ideas for their own purposes and organized their own religious activities and groups, which sometimes conflicted with the interests of the other social classes.

The development of popular religious cults was greatly influenced by state policy. However, scholars have different views on the impact of the state's intervention in local religion. In his study of the Tianhou (天后) cult, James Watson argues that Tianhou developed from a local deity to the nationally prominent "Empress of Heaven" because of the intervention of the state through its promotion of "approved" deities.<sup>1</sup> He also argues that the intervention of the state was so successful that popular religion became homogenized by the mid-Qing period. Although Watson regards the assimilation of a great number of local deities into a state-approved pantheon as the result of state intervention that imposed uniformity on popular religion, the local deities incorporated into the official register of sacrifice (sidian 祀典) were mainly constructed by local elites rather than the imperial state. In addition, Watson's belief in the uniformity of popular religion does not reflect the different concerns expressed by different ruling authorities at different times.

Sue Takashi, on the other hand, argues that the way the state intervened in popular religion changed over time. In his study of the bureaucratic procedures for granting titles and plaques to popular temples, Sue observes that the state's motives for rewarding local cults changed three times from the mid-Tang to the Southern Song.<sup>2</sup> While the state granted titles and plaques to

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<sup>1</sup> Watson 1985.

<sup>2</sup> Sue 2003.

popular deities in a restrictive way between the mid-Tang and the mid-Northern Song, these honors were issued much more frequently as a stopgap measure during the political strife after the mid-Northern Song.<sup>3</sup> The state did, however, begin to standardize the system for bestowal of titles and plaques the mid-Northern Song onward. Lastly, after the Fang La 方臘 rebellion broke out in 1120, the Northern Song government experienced a drastic loss of local control, so the central court resumed granting titles and plaques to restore the dynasty's authority in the various localities. The state intended to enlist the assistance of the local deities to restore its authority over the local society, and the local elites welcomed this policy because it enabled them to consolidate their position in local society by utilizing the authority of the central government. During the Southern Song, the canonization of local deities increased rapidly. However, Sue argues that these changes indicated not only a shift in the state policy toward popular religion, but also that the relationship between the state and local societies had changed. He argues that there was an increasing tendency for local elites to take advantage of the opportunities created by the dynasty's weakened control over local society to enhance their own authority. Consequently, the public image of local cults was greatly affected by the ever-changing interests of the different classes.

Scholars of Chinese popular religion have emphasized the relationship between the development of popular religion and economic change, especially the unprecedented commercial prosperity, during the Song dynasty. Valerie Hansen above all has argued that popular religion experienced an important transition during the Southern Song dynasty because of the close

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<sup>3</sup> Sue 2003: 84–85.

interrelationship between the economic prosperity and the development of local cults.<sup>4</sup> Hansen pays particular attention to the internal evolution of local cults during that period, and she focuses on the emergence of regional cults as a signal new development in Chinese popular religion at this time. She argues that before the Song local cults were confined to the immediate vicinity of their original temples, but during the Song branch temples began to be built far beyond their home areas. She identifies four important extra-local cults: the Five Manifestations (Wuxian 五顯), Zitong (梓童), Mazu (媽祖), and King Zhang (張王). In order to distinguish them from ordinary local cults, she calls them regional cults. Hansen goes further to emphasize that the patronage of merchants was the key reason for their emergence of these regional cults. She points to the fact that the regional cults' branch temples were located at commercial centers on waterways or at major coastal ports as evidence attesting to the significant role of merchant sponsorship. In addition, several inscriptions and accounts of the founding of temples give other indications of merchant patronage.

Nevertheless, Hansen seems to overemphasize the significance of the merchants' role. Although the local temples were located on commercial routes such as waterways or seaports, there is no evidence that supports the idea that merchants played an exclusive role in building temples and spreading these cults to new areas. The proliferation of temples dedicated to the King Zhang cult, for instance, was a result not only of merchants' activities, but also of the devotion of mobile populations like pilgrims and immigrants. In addition, Hansen's argument that the popularization of simple and direct techniques of communication with the gods was a

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<sup>4</sup> Hansen 1990.

reflection of Song people's self-confidence in obtaining divine blessings is not convincing because it overlooks the people's growing desperation to resort to divine aid in the hope of finding security in an increasingly competitive and mobile society.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, according to Hansen's argument, popular religion and ecclesiastical religions such as Daoism and Buddhism developed independently. Although she mentions that they were each affected by the others' beliefs and rituals, Hansen neglects to point out that they shared both the scriptures and the clergies who administered the ritual practices. Contrary to her arguments, there was no sharp distinction between popular religion and ecclesiastical religion at the grassroots level. Therefore, even though Hansen focuses on the internal development of popular cults, her argument is little removed from C. K. Yang's dichotomy between popular religion and ecclesiastical religion in Chinese society.<sup>6</sup>

Recent scholars' studies of major regional deities have shown that the interrelationship between popular religion and ecclesiastic religion was indeed very intimate, and that Daoism had a particularly close connection with the development of popular religion. According to Kenneth Dean, "Daoism provides the liturgical framework which enables local cults to expand and develop."<sup>7</sup> Dean also argues that although the standardization of the canonization process of local deities can be seen as an attempt to expand imperial ritual by absorbing local cults, this

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<sup>5</sup> von Glahn 2004: 134.

<sup>6</sup> C. K. Yang focuses only on the dichotomous differences between institutional religions (or ecclesiastical religions) and diffused religions (or popular religions). He argues that popular religions were important in strengthening the social and economic unity among the secular organization. In addition, they had an important role in justifying the political order of the imperial state at a local level. Yang 1961.

<sup>7</sup> Dean states "this process of interaction between Taoism and popular cults is reflected in the composition of invocationary songs, hagiographies, and Taoist scriptures of the local god as well as by the ongoing integration of contemporary cult observances into the Taoist liturgical framework." Dean 1993: 17-18.

process occurred within the framework of the Daoist liturgical tradition.<sup>8</sup> Thus it is clear that, contrary to claims that there was a division between popular religion and ecclesiastical religion, popular religion was closely connected with Daoism.

In his study of the god, Zitong, Terry F. Kleeman describes how a serpent demon worshiped by a local cult developed into a national deity that included features of the three scriptural traditions of Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism.<sup>9</sup> The cult started in the small town of Zitong in Sichuan province, and through his several manifestations of miracles the god Zitong began to be identified mainly with a fallen war hero. This anthropomorphization of Zitong was an important precondition for his canonization by the government. According to Kleeman's research, Zitong communicated with his believers mainly through oracle techniques such as spirit writing, and the primary recipients of this spirit writing were Daoist priests such as Liu Ansheng during the 12th century. The texts studied by Kleeman also described Zitong as a deity in the Daoist pantheon.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, as the compilation of his spirit writings by Daoist priests and his promotion into the Daoist pantheon attested, the god of Zitong had a close relationship with Daoism.

Paul R Katz's study of the Marshal Wen (Wen Yuanshuai 溫元帥) cult also demonstrates the mutual correlation between popular religion and Daoism.<sup>11</sup> Katz asserts that "the main goal

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<sup>8</sup> Dean 1993: 37.

<sup>9</sup> Kleeman 1994.

<sup>10</sup> Although Zitong acquired a great reputation within Sichuan province, it seems that the Zitong cult remained within Sichuan until the late Southern Song. In the Song period Zitong was already famous in Sichuan province as an oracle for civil service examination candidates. When the Yuan government resumed the civil service examinations, the deity's fame grew nationwide. Kleeman 1994: 73–83.

of (his) work has been to analyze the complex relationship between Daoism and local cults.”<sup>12</sup> He points out that Marshal Wen, whose cult originated in Pingyang county in Wenzhou prefecture during the Song dynasty, apparently possessed a talent for stamping out epidemic diseases. Katz attributes the popularity of Marshal Wen to Zhejiang’s semi-tropical climate and the frequent breakout of contagious diseases. In terms of the development of the Marshal Wen cult, however, Katz focuses on Daoist priests’ roles, and states that they carried the cult into distant areas because they could travel beyond the cult’s original geographical and cultural boundaries. The Daoist priests also contributed to the construction of the Marshal Wen cult’s temples, performed its rituals, and composed the hagiographies that disseminated knowledge of the god’s miracle-working powers.

The growing prominence of lay people in the Chinese religious world was another feature of the Southern Song period. On the one hand, the people joined conventional religious groups, while on the other they formed newly organized religious societies by adopting and adapting the scriptures and liturgies of the established religions. Furthermore, ordinary people voluntarily organized local religious groups such as the People of the Way (Daomin 道民). Hence conventional religions were reinterpreted or reorganized by the local laypeople.

Song lay Buddhists, in particular, actively contributed to the spread of simple and direct techniques of communications with the gods. According to B. J. ter Haar, lay Buddhist groups emerged from the 12th century onwards,<sup>13</sup> sharing religious affiliation characters in their names

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<sup>11</sup> Katz 1995.

<sup>12</sup> Paul R Katz 1995: 175.

<sup>13</sup> Although ter Haar mainly focuses on the Song period, he traces these lay Buddhist groups back to the sixth

to strengthen the feeling of a shared identity among them.<sup>14</sup> Unlike the recitation assemblies that were set up by monasteries, in which monks always retained the leading role, the People of the Way was organized by ordinary people, and whereas monastic Buddhism was subject to control and interference by the Song government, which granted ordination certificates and officially registered Buddhist temples, the lay Buddhist cloisters were outside of government control. The established monastic elite were suspicious of the People of the Way's challenge to their exclusive control of religious activities, but despite attracting the antipathy of both the government and monastic Buddhism, the People of the Way flourished throughout the Song and were clearly a socially accepted group.

In terms of the rising importance of lay society in popular religion during the Song dynasty, Richard von Glahn points out that the “vernacularization” of religions was an important feature of the contemporary religious environment.<sup>15</sup> His study of the Wutong 五通 cult examines a significant case of a local deity who exhibited different and even contradictory features simultaneously, and who represented different values at different places and times. The Wutong cult, which originated from the worship of a demonic *shanxiao* or mountain goblin in

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century.

<sup>14</sup> ter Haar 1992: 38–41.

<sup>15</sup> Basically, von Glahn takes exception not only to Yang's dichotomy of institutionalized and diffused religion but also to the sharp distinction drawn between hieratic and lay religion in recent studies. In addition, although he recognizes that there is a certain utility to the notion of “secular religion” as Valerie Hansen defines the concept—religious practices unmediated by clergy—, he thinks that she underestimates the significance of scripture and clergy in the formation of this “secular” religious culture. In order to avoid some of the misleading connotations of “secular”, therefore, von Glahn describes the common religious culture of China as its “vernacular” religion. According to his account, “vernacular” suggests a demotic idiom, but one that is rooted in local and regional history. Although vernacular language is closer to common speech than classical language, for instance, the vernacular language is as much a literary as an oral tradition. Since he demonstrates clearly that Buddhism, Daoism, and state religion were all integrally related to vernacular religion, in his study vernacular religions indicate local and common discourses, expressed in belief and ritual, for interpreting and expressing ideas that derive from complex and shifting sets of religious ideologies and practices. von Glahn 2004: 11–12.

the pre-Song period, was assimilated by Buddhism and transformed the deity into a protector of the Buddhist faith during the 13th century. However in the minds of the common people, Wutong was still regarded primarily as a demonic god of wealth. The most striking transformation of the Wutong cult was its assimilation into Daoism, which portrayed the deity as a divine agent who expelled demonic spirits like the *shanxiao*. Despite this rehabilitation, his demonic nature still remained, and although he became a god of wealth widely worshiped during the Ming dynasty, “Wutong was perceived not as a cultural hero or reification of noble human qualities, but rather as an embodiment of humanity’s basest vices, greed and lust”.<sup>16</sup> Hence, the transformation of Wutong into diverse divine figures attests to the vernacularization of Chinese popular religion.

This dissertation examines the transition in the responses of state and literati to the popular religious cults during the period between the late Tang and Southern Song. While the existing scholarship has clarified the different stances of the state, the elite, and ordinary worshipers toward the popular religious cults, it had not paid sufficient attention to the fact that the respective classes repeatedly changed their stances according to the transformation of socio-political circumstances.

First of all, we must recognize that “the state” itself underwent significant changes from Tang to Southern Song, and the different kinds of states that took form during this era had different attitudes toward popular religious worship. The regional regimes emerging in the southern Chinese provinces during the Five Dynasties period, which had small territories

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<sup>16</sup> von Glahn 2004: 223.

equivalent to just a single province of the late imperial and modern Chinese administrative systems, had a strategy of governing local communities distinct from that of a unified Chinese empire like the Tang dynasty. Furthermore, the regional regimes' stances on the popular religious cults influenced even the strategy of the Song empire, which needed to woo the support of the populace in the newly annexed southern territories.

Second, a new elite group emerged during the Tang-Song transition which embraced the new philosophical orientation (broadly known as Neo-Confucianism) and adopted different views toward local popular religion. Although recent scholarship has carefully examined the Southern Song literati's role in the promotion of popular religious cults, it has not addressed the shift in the attitudes the literati elite toward the popular religious cults from the previous era to the Southern Song. This shift resulted not only from the growing significance of popular deities within local communities but also by the overall change in their approaches to the local religious practices. Robert Hartwell and Robert Hymes have clarified the transition in the nature of the Song ruling class from the professional elites that dominated state and society in the Northern Song period to the local gentry families that emerged during the Southern Song. As the elite's social position and intellectual and political identity became increasingly centered on the local community,<sup>17</sup> its agenda shifted from wholesale transformation of society through the agency of the national state to social and cultural reform through leadership of local communities. The literati elite's stance toward the popular religious cults changed as well.

In order to fully fathom the consequences of the transformation of popular religious cults in the Song period, therefore, it is necessary to understand the changes in state and literati

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<sup>17</sup> Robert Hartwell and Robert Hymes argue that the local elites of the Southern Song period sought to secure their lineage's wealth and position in local society by marriage ties and local leadership roles rather than by depending on their success in the civil service exams. Hartwell 1982; Hymes 1986.

responses to them. Our knowledge of the momentous changes in popular religious cults during the Song to a significant degree derives from the profusion of government records concerning official titles and construction of temples as well as literati writings such as stele inscriptions and prayers. Therefore, close examination of the socio-political and ideological changes in the approaches of state authorities and literati to popular religious cults will facilitate a better understanding of the logic and purposes of these records, and thus refine our grasp of the nature of religious change during the Song period.

This dissertation comprises four main chapters. Chapter Two examines the changes in the attitudes of state authorities toward popular religious cults during the late Tang and Five Dynasties period. The chapter first examines the transformation of Chinese religious culture in this era that stimulated the dramatic expansion in ordinary people's participation in the religious practices of both the ecclesiastical and popular religions. Next, the chapter addresses the questions of why and how the southern regional regimes adopted different stances regarding popular religious worship compared to the previous Tang dynasty or the contemporary northern dynasties. While the courts of the Tang and northern dynasties of the Five Dynasties period were largely indifferent to ordinary people's religious practices, the regional regimes in the south, such as the Wu, Wuyue, and the Min, were actively involved in promoting popular religious cults to serve their own socio-political interests. In particular, I argue that the regional regimes' policies can be attributed to their locally-oriented strategies.

Chapter Three turns to the newly emerging literati of the Northern Song dynasty. In contrast to the Tang court, the new political leadership clearly appreciated the value of popular religion as a means to woo the support among the local people. In the midst of national crises,

the Northern Song government enacted policies to recognize and patronize local cults to win popularity in local areas. In addition, because of their state-centered political strategies, the Northern Song leaders not only systematized the procedure of title granting to the popular deities but also established a hierarchical state pantheon encompassing all authorized deities, with the imperial cults at its summit.

Chapter Four, however, demonstrates that the Southern Song literati had different concerns and approaches to popular religious worship compared to the state-centered agenda of the Northern Song. Because of their commitment to local activism and exercising leadership in their communities, the Southern Song literati assumed the task of bringing moral and cultural enlightenment to the local people. Convinced that popular religious practices could be effective means for propagating the orthodox Confucian ethics and morality within the local communities, these literati became intimately involved with reforming popular worship and rituals. Moreover, literati did not just consider the popular religious cult as a tool of moral education and cultural enlightenment; many of them, like ordinary worshipers, also had faith in the divine powers ascribed to popular deities. At the same time the Confucian literati attempted to rationalize the spiritual interaction between the deities and worshipers in terms of their own philosophical principles. Therefore, the sharp increase in written records concerning popular religious cults during the Southern Song period can be attributed to the Southern Song literati's active participation in the forms of religious devotion.

Finally, Chapter Five examines the case study of the popular deity known as King Zhang in order to illustrate the series of changes in local popular cults and state and literati responses outlined above. The evolution of the King Zhang cult clearly demonstrates that because of their divergent socio-political concerns, the southern regional regimes, the Northern Song state, and

the Southern Song literati expressed different views toward the same popular religious cult. Yet each in their own way contributed to the popularization of the King Zhang cult as the most widespread of the regional deity cults of the Southern Song era.

## *Chapter Two*

### *The Southern Chinese Regional Regimes' Patronage of Popular Religions*

Despite relatively sparse surviving literary records, the recent scholarship on the pre-Song popular religious cults has unearthed diverse aspects of the medieval Chinese's religious lives.<sup>18</sup> Due to these studies, it is evident that the organized major religions like Buddhism and Daoism began to be popularized in the local communities and actively interacted with vernacular popular religious cults during the Tang period. Actually, the mutual interaction between organized religions and local cults allows us to see more clearly the religious beliefs of ordinary people. However, the political authorities' response to the intensifying enthusiasm for religious beliefs varied according to different regions and time periods. Above all, the regional regimes of the Southern Chinese provinces, including in particular the Jiangnan (江南) region and the Fujian region, became more involved in the popular religious cults than had the northern dynasties of the Central Plain (*Zhongyuan* 中原; the southern part of the North China Plain) during the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods. During that time span, the southern Chinese regional regimes actively patronized the popular religious cults through granting titles to the local deities or building temples. This chapter explores the underlying shift in the political and religious environment that made the southern Chinese regional regimes—mostly established during the period of the Huang Chao (黃巢) rebellions (875~884) and lasting for about a century until the unification of all of China by the Song Dynasty in 979—actively patronize the local popular religious cults.

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<sup>18</sup> On the medieval transformations of Buddhism, Daoism, and the popular religious cult, see Teiser 1988; Dudbridge 1995; and Ebrey and Gregory 1993.

The “Five Dynasties” of the Central Plain and the so-called “Ten Kingdoms” (which were not officially recognized as imperial dynasties) rapidly rose and fell during the half-century of the Five Dynasties period (907~960). Except the Northern Han (北漢) that was located in the northern Shaanxi (陝西) province, the other nine regional regimes—Former Shu (前蜀), Later Shu (後蜀), Wu (吳), Southern Tang (南唐), Jingnan (荊南), Wuyue (吳越), Min (閩), Chu (楚), and Southern Han (南漢) occupied regional territories in the southern part of China. Among the nine regional regimes, this chapter will deal with the four cases of Wu, Southern Tang and Wuyue (all located in the so-called Jianghui (江淮) region or Jiangnan region) and the Min kingdom in Fujian (福建) province. These regional states were chosen not only because they actively patronized the local cults but also because state responses to popular religious cults during the later Song and Yuan dynasties also focused mainly on the Jiangnan and the Fujian regions.

### **1. Differences in the Political Authorities’ Responses to the Popular Religious Cults between the Northern Dynasties of the Central Plain and the Southern Chinese Regional regimes.**

The fact that the northern dynasties’ responses to the popular religious cults were perceived as weaker than the southern regional regimes’ has been explained in different ways. Above all, the discrepancy in sources regarding the political authorities’ responses between the northern and southern states has been mentioned as the first possible reason. It has been said that the number of Southern Chinese political authorities’ granting titles and plaques to the popular religious cults seems to be relatively larger as a result of the fact that most of the surviving local gazetteers compiled during the Song and the Yuan periods are regionally concentrated in the southeastern

provinces.<sup>19</sup> However, it is rare to find cases in which the northern dynasties granted titles or plaques to popular religious deities of the northern provinces not only in the Song and Yuan local gazetteers of the northern provinces, such as *Changan zhi* 長安志 and Yuan-era *Henan zhi* 河南志, but also in the sources that give an overview of the nationwide situation during the Five Dynasties period—for example, *Quan Songwen* 全宋文, *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記, *Wudai huiyao* 五代會要, and *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿. In the same sources covering nationwide circumstances, meanwhile, there are abundant cases of state patronage of popular deities by other southern Chinese regimes apart from Jiangnan or Fujian, such as Southern Han, the Former Shu and the Later Shu, for which we do not have extant Song and Yuan local gazetteers. Therefore, the lack of sources does little to explain the phenomenon.<sup>20</sup> Since an abundance of popular religious cults are found in the northern province during the Five Dynasties period, however, this stereotypical account cannot explain the northern Chinese governments’ neglect of them, either. Consequently, in order to understand the discrepancy between the south and the north, it is necessary to consider differences between the political authorities’ stances on popular religious cults in the northern and southern regimes.

On the basis of the classical Chinese conception of emperorship, the rulers of the Five Dynasties strongly identified themselves as “Sons of Heaven” who received the Mandate of

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<sup>19</sup> One of the noteworthy counterarguments to the conventional understanding of the phenomenon is Yang Jun-feng’s studies on the Southern Kingdoms’ support for the local popular deities during the Five Dynasties period. Yang argues that this ‘southern hotness and northern coolness 南熱北冷’ originated from the distinct features of the Southern political leaders’ attitudes toward the popular religious cults. According to him, these features can be traced back to the Six Dynasties period. Yang 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Yang 2010: 346.

Heaven to exercise dominion over the terrestrial realm.<sup>21</sup> For instance, Emperor Shizong (世宗, r. 954~59) of the Later Zhou (後周) (951~60) displayed a clear intention to continue the imperial tradition of compiling the dynasty's own ritual code, and therefore, he told Dou Yan 竇儼 to compile *the Ritual Code of the Great Zhou* (大周通禮).<sup>22</sup> The religious concerns of the rulers of the northern dynasties were largely restricted to the official sacrifice rituals that the Chinese emperor should carry out as a legitimate ruler—such as the sacrifices to Heaven, Earth, their ancestors, and sacred natural places such as notable mountains or rivers; they were relatively indifferent to popular religious beliefs.<sup>23</sup> However, the Southern Chinese regional regimes—not only Wuyue, which had continued the subordinate relationship with the northern dynasties, but also the Wu, Southern Tang and Min, whose rulers designated themselves as emperors—did not show any strong intention to conquer the entire Chinese territory or to become a sole emperor. Their intention was just to maintain control over their territorial base and to become the regional hegemon in southern China.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, since they established their regimes through alliances with the existing local elites, they had to focus their religious outlook primarily on the popular religious cults that the local communities had worshipped.

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<sup>21</sup> For instance, in the edict issued upon his coronation, Zhu Quanzhong (朱全忠) of the Later Liang (後梁) dynasty justified his ascending to the throne by stating “The sovereign receives the mandate from heaven and governs the country with bright virtues 王者受命於天 光宅四海”. *Jiu Wudaishi xinji huizheng* 3. 112.

<sup>22</sup> However, its compilation could not be completed because of the short duration of Shizong's reign, Chang 2010.

<sup>23</sup> In terms of the classical system of the state sacrifice rituals, please refer to Howard J Wechsler 's studies. He argues that through magnificent rituals and image manipulation the traditional Chinese authorities could obtain the people's voluntary support. Wechsler 1985.

<sup>24</sup> In a stele inscription (新建風山靈德王廟記), Quan Liu (錢鏐) of Wuyue manifests his self-consciousness as a hegemon of the Jiangnan region by stating his intention to “establish hegemony over the Jiangnan region” 興霸江南. Yang 2010: 334.

Furthermore, there were historical precedents for the southern regimes' active involvement in popular religious cults. During the Six Dynasties period (222~589), the rulers of South China had shown great interest in the general populace's religious beliefs. For instance, the Sun Wu 孫吳 regime (222~80) patronized the newly arising Jiang Ziwen 蔣子文 cult of the Jiankang 建康 region (the present Nanjing 南京 of Jiangsu 江蘇 province).<sup>25</sup> The Emperor Ming (明帝, r. 465~472) of the Liu Song 劉宋 Dynasty (420~479), who was reputed to be an enthusiastic believer in spiritual beings, actively patronized the cult and granted titles to this deity.<sup>26</sup> Another patron of the cult was the Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty (梁武帝) (r. 502~49). Although he strongly patronized the Jiang Ziwen cult, Emperor Wu was also well known as a great patron of Buddhism.<sup>27</sup> In order to resolve the contradiction between the two religious practices, Emperor Wu went so far as to claim that Jiang Ziwen had been converted into a Buddhist devotee and would no longer receive animal sacrifices.<sup>28</sup> Following the move of the Jin (晉) dynasty to Jiankang in 317, many emperors of the succeeding southern dynasties became patrons of local religious cults.<sup>29</sup> Their patronage was primarily concentrated on the spiritual beings that

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<sup>25</sup> Jiang Ziwen was a deified person who was killed by the bandits when he was serving as a local official during the late Eastern Han period. Sun Quan 孫權 of Sun the Wu regime first conferred the title of Marquis of the Central Capital (Zhongdu hou 中都侯) on him. Lin 1998: 359~61.

<sup>26</sup> Although during the reign of Emperor Wu (420~22) of the Song Dynasty most of popular religious cults including Jiang Ziwen cults had been persecuted as licentious cults, Emperor Xiaowu (453~64) rehabilitated the Jiang Ziwen cult and other popular religious cults. Emperor Ming extensively patronized the popular religious cults, and in particular he granted the title of King of Bell Mountain (Zhongshan wang 鍾山王) to Jiang Ziwen. *Song shu* 17. 488.

<sup>27</sup> *Nan shi* 55. 1256.

<sup>28</sup> Lin 1998: 370~71.

inhabited the region's mountains and rivers. It is significant, however, that those spiritual beings were usually identified—like Jiang Ziwen—as the apotheosized spirits of human beings who had responded effectively to the people's prayers for rain.<sup>30</sup> Although the rulers of the Six Dynasties designated themselves as emperors and clearly expressed a strong sense of rivalry with the Northern Dynasties, in reality they had survived merely as regional regimes after the Jin dynasty's several attempts to conquer the north ended in failure. Consequently, the Six Dynasties' self-perception as regional regimes facilitated their active patronage of popular religious cults.

Unlike the northern dynasties of the Central Plain, which sought to legitimate their rule over the entire Chinese territory through classical symbolic measures, the southern regimes lacked these imperial aspirations and instead focused on attracting the general populace's support by patronizing their religious traditions.

## **2. The Rise of the Southern Chinese Regional Regimes and their Locally Oriented Strategies**

The prevailing impression of the late Tang and the Five Dynasties periods is one of decline—as the prosperity of the Tang was ending—and transition accompanied by drastic and violent changes. These negative impressions stemmed not only from the political chaos and economic depression, which were caused by the frequently violent transfers of political power between the northern dynasties of the Central Plain, but also from the deliberate and partial perspective on that time period by the Song historians seeking to underline the legitimacy of the unification of China by the Song Dynasty. As a result, the negative view of the late Tang and the

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<sup>29</sup> Yang 2010: 345 .

<sup>30</sup> Li 1989.

Five Dynasties period was engraved on the memory of the people of later generations. For the southern Chinese provinces, however, the late Tang and the Five Dynasties periods were highlighted by economic and political development. In fact, the southern regional regimes benefited from the political chaos of the north. First of all, the mass migrations of the northern people into the southern regions largely resolved their fundamental problem of labor scarcity.<sup>31</sup> As these settlers transformed wilderness into productive farmland from the Tang period onward, many southern regions, such as the swampy places around the Lake Tai (*Taihu* 太湖) or the mountainous parts of Fujian, became capable of accommodating large populations.<sup>32</sup> The independent regimes that had emerged in the south were able to cultivate growth in their regions consistently for nearly a century-long period. As a result, the Jiangnan region was transformed from a mere frontier periphery region into the heartland of the Song economy. Moreover, the territory of each southern regime achieved definition as regionally and culturally integrated units.<sup>33</sup>

#### (1) The Socio-political Background of the Rise of New Powers in Southern Chinese Provinces

After An Lushan's rebellion, The Tang government lost their de facto control over the North China Plain to the rising independent regional military governors (*jiedushi* 節度使) who had defeated the rebel armies and restored order. However, the Tang court managed to keep the dynasty alive in large part because of the increase of tax revenues from the increasingly

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<sup>31</sup> Seo 1982:21.

<sup>32</sup> Kitada 1989.

<sup>33</sup> Shiba 1988: 365~66.

prosperous rice-growing regions of the south.<sup>34</sup> In order to secure this tax revenue, the Tang government paid great attention not only to the maintenance of the Grand Canal (*Da yunhe* 大運河) but also expanded the branch lines of the Grand Canal throughout the Jiangnan region. In addition, since the salt taxes collected from Jiangnan became its most important source of revenue, the Tang central government set up tax collection agencies (the chief agency in charge of salt tax collection was the *yantie zhuanyun shi* 鹽鐵轉運使) in cities along the canals.<sup>35</sup> In addition, the coastal cities in Zhejiang and Fujian gradually facilitated cultural homogenization with the lower Yangtze River basin through frequent cultural exchange. This drastic transformation of south China paved the way for the appearance of the regional regimes after the downfall of the Tang dynasty.

After the Huang Chao rebellion completely severed the Tang government from the resources of the south, local leaders emerged who were able to fill the power vacuum throughout the region. Since the Tang government had not maintained a heavy military presence in the south, these upstart rulers were able to mobilize their own self-defense capabilities against rebel forces and local bandits.<sup>36</sup> The indigenous leaders who defended the local communities against the plundering and looting of wandering bandit forces emerged as the regional hegemons as the practical influence of the Tang Dynasty faded away.

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<sup>34</sup> According to Seo Tatsuhiko, as the lower Yangtze River basin emerged as the main source of revenue in the late eighth century, a segmental structure in which the Central Plain region connected the Northwestern military border area with the Jiangnan granary. Seo 1999.

<sup>35</sup> Seo 1982.

<sup>36</sup> Yamane 2004.

The territories of the emerging regional regimes of the south were defined by natural boundaries, which also led to the formation of different regional identities. First of all, the Jiangnan region is divided topographically into two parts: Zhexi (浙西), composed of the lowland plains of the lower Huai (淮) River and the Yangtze River Delta, and Zhedong (浙東), including the highland areas south of the Zhe River (the present Qiantang River 錢唐江). Gao Pian's regime and subsequently the Wu and Southern Tang kingdoms developed in the western part of the Zhexi. The Wuyue kingdom largely occupied the eastern part of Zhexi and the whole of Zhedong.

This chapter also considers another southeastern Chinese regional regime, the Min kingdom, which controlled Fujian province to the south of Jiangnan. The case of the Min regime will clarify that the active involvement of southern states in the promotion of local popular religious cults was a universal phenomenon that prevailed not only in the Jiangnan region but also throughout southeastern China during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period. Since the mountainous topography of inland Fujian proved to be a serious obstacle to communication and exchange with neighboring regions, Fujian long had been geographically isolated, and settlement and development in this region also started later than in Jiangnan. Although the inland area of Jianzhou 建州 prefecture had achieved a certain measure of economic and cultural development because of its location along the inland trade routes connecting Fujian with Jiangxi 江西, the Min regime had expanded primarily in coastal areas such as Fuzhou 福州 prefecture and Quanzhou 泉州 prefecture, which were linked to Jiangnan via sea routes.

Consequently, due to their rapid regional development, the newly emerging rulers of the south eastern Chinese provinces were able to establish a firmer political foothold than did the northern dynasties after the demise of the Tang's authority.

## (2) The Regime of the Regional Military Governor of Huinan Circuit Gao Pian 高駢

It was Gao Pian who, amid the disunity caused by the Huang Chao Rebellion, ended the Tang government's rule over the Jiangnan region. Most official histories condemn Gao for his defection from the Tang government. Although as the Regional Military Governor of Huinan Circuit (*huinan jiedushi* 淮南節度使) Gao was charged with checking Huang Chao's advance, he merely looked on with folded arms as Huang's army crossed the Yangtze and Huai rivers and advanced northwards in 880, allowing the rebel forces to capture Changan and devastate the northern Chinese provinces. When the battle front moved to the northern provinces, it created a political vacuum throughout the south, and many ambitious warlords emerged to take advantage of the opportunity.

In fact, Gao was not an incompetent military commander; he had been a war hero who defeated the invading army of a Tibeto-Burman Kingdom Nanzhao (南詔) twice at Annan 安南 (866) and at Sichuan 四川 (875), and he came from a long family tradition of military leadership.<sup>37</sup> The Tang court was traumatized by his act of treachery since all of their military expectations rested on his shoulders, but Gao was not exceptional; rather, by this time public sentiment had turned against the Tang court. Aside from Gao Pian, other generals also abandoned the Tang because of pessimism about the future of the dynasty and began to act only

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<sup>37</sup> *Jiu Tangshu* 182. 4703~4712; *Xin Tangshu* 224 xia. 6391~6404.

out of concern for their self-interest.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Gao Pian was well aware that his political position totally depended on the patronage of the chancellor Lu Xie 盧攜 and the chief eunuch of the palace Tian Lingzi 田令孜. In order to gain their confidence, he made great effort to first produce military achievements. When Gao was appointed the military governor of Zhenhai (Zhenhai jiedushi 鎮海節度使) at Zhenjiang 鎮江 in 878, he fought off the rebel troops repeatedly. Furthermore, when Huang Chao withdrew his troops to the Guangdong 廣東 province, Gao even sent a petition to the Tang court allowing him to lead his troops to wipe out the rebels personally.<sup>39</sup>

However, Gao Pian fell for the enemy's cunning trickery and lost his brave general Zhang Lin 張璘 and elite troops in the battle of Xinzhou 信州 in 880. Now on the defensive, he shifted his ground and dared not attack the enemy. Furthermore, when Lu Xie resigned the chancellorship and died soon after, he lost his most significant patron in the court. Thereafter Gao Pian began to prepare for independence from the Tang government, and therefore, he did not make any movement to save the court even though the capital city was captured by rebel forces.<sup>40</sup> When government troops recaptured the capital city in 883, the court deprived Gao of his official appointments. Since he had no choice but to become independent, Gao Pian decided to establish a base at Yangzhou 揚州, the political and economic center of Jiangnan. He selected people of various backgrounds as his lieutenants: the merchant Lü Yongzhi 呂用之,

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<sup>38</sup> Huang 1990.

<sup>39</sup> *Zizhi tongjian* 253: 8216.

<sup>40</sup> *Jiu Tangshu* 182. 4705.

former rebel commanders such as Bi Shiduo 畢師鐸, and local notables such as Yang Xingmi 楊行密. Most historical records—under the influence of the *Records of the Disturbance by the Wicked in Yangzhou* (*Guangling yaoluan zhi* 廣陵妖亂志), written by a member of the entourage of the Wu-Yue founder Qian Liu 錢鏐—portray Lü Yongzhi as the main culprit who filled Gao Pian with religious delusion and drove his regime toward destruction. According to recent research, however, Gao recruited Lü Yongzhi and his followers not because of their religious backgrounds but because of their skills in the management of state finances, formerly having been successful merchants in the Jiangnan region.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, it seemed that the Lü Yongzhi group may have made a significant contribution to Gao Pian's efforts to build and maintain his new regime. Furthermore, Lü Yongzhi's religious background seems to have derived from a mixture of prevailing Daoist practices, a quest for immortality, and indigenous popular beliefs. A native of Jiangnan familiar with the local religious climate, Lü Yongzhi suggested that Gao Pian patronize the Empress of Earth (*Houtu* 后土) cult as a way of reinforcing his authority within the local community. Aside from Lü Yongzhi's case, furthermore, it is easy to find similar cases in this period in which newly emergent rulers used religious beliefs to justify their seizure of power.<sup>42</sup> In addition, before Lü Yongzhi came under his command, Gao Pian himself had a strong belief in spiritual powers.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, we must not

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<sup>41</sup> Yamane 2004: 77~78.

<sup>42</sup> For instance, the ruler of Quanzhou 泉州, Wang Yanbin appointed the Buddhist monk Hao Yuan 浩源 to an important position since he contributed to legitimizing Wang's authority. Clark 1982: 139.

<sup>43</sup> When he was commanding the government forces in the battle against the Nan Zhao, Gao Pian enjoyed practicing the sorcery of the Goddess of the Empyrean (*Jiutian xuannu* 九天玄女). *Zizhitongjian* 252. 8178.

In addition, when his troops were staying in Chengdu 成都, Gao Pian was fond of an anchorite (*yinshi* 隱士) Cai Tian's (蔡旼) alchemical skills, the so-called Arts of Yellow and White (*Huangbaishu* 黃白術: the arts of making

only reconsider the prevailing image of Lü Yongzhi but also recognize his significance in enabling Gao Pian to win the support of the local community.

Nevertheless, the Gao Pian regime failed to retain the loyalty of his generals, who clashed with advisors such as Lü Yongzhi. In 887, Gao Pian's regime was finally overthrown in a coup led by the military clique of Bi Shiduo. Gao Pian and Lü Yongzhi were both killed by Bi Shiduo's army, but Bi in turn was defeated by another general, Yang Xingmi, who became the new ruler of this region. Nonetheless, Gao's defection and independence struck a decisive blow against Tang authority in Jiangnan and paved the way for the rise of regional regimes across south China.

### (3) The Growth of Wu 吳 (907~37) and the Southern Tang 南唐 (937~75)

The political vacuum caused by the fall of the warlord Gao Pian created a favorable climate for local warlords to emerge as regional hegemons. After the Bi Shiduo faction that rose in revolt against Gao Pian was defeated by Yang Xingmi's troops, the Jiangnan region became a masterless territory. Although Yang faced a serious threat from strong local warlords like Sun Ru 孫儒, he could overcome the crisis on the basis of popular support from the Jiangnan local communities. In fact, a native of Jiangnan himself (Hefei 合肥 of Luzhou 廬州), Yang made great efforts to secure widespread support from the local people by enthusiastically carrying out relief projects.<sup>44</sup> However, he did not have any great imperial ambitions, but rather was content

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artificial gold and silver) and kept him by his side. *Taiping guangji* 289.16.

<sup>44</sup> *Zizhitongjian* 258. 8417.

to secure control of his base territory.<sup>45</sup> It was the battle against Zhu Quanzhong 朱全忠, who was taking over the reins of government from the nominal Tang Emperor, that elevated him to the most powerful hegemon in the Jiangnan region. When Zhu Quanzhong was struggling for supreme power against his rival Li Keyong 李克用 (856~906), Yang Xingmi allied with Li, provoking an attack by Zhu's armies. Against all expectations, Zhu's troops were roundly defeated by Yang. Subsequently, the dominant powers in north China abandoned the idea of advancing into Jiangnan, leaving Yang as the dominant political force in the region.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, in 902, Yang finally received the official title of the "King of Wu" (Wuwang 吳王) from the Tang court. His regime, like that of Gao, held its court at Yangzhou and maintained de facto independence from the northern dynasties.

Later, however, Yang Xingmi's successors lost control of the military forces and were forced to hand over control of the regime to ambitious politicians like Xu Wen 徐溫 (862~927) and his foster son Xu Zhigao 徐知誥 (889~943), who in 937 declared himself ruler of a new dynasty, Southern Tang, and changed his name to Li Bian 李昇. After Xu Wen seized power, he succeeded in gathering the support of the former followers of Yang Xingmi, enabling him to swiftly stabilize the political situation of the Wu. Furthermore, like Yang Xingmi, Xu Wen had not neglected to win over public support.<sup>47</sup> Convinced that the long wars had damaged agricultural production and state finances, he refrained from conflicts with neighboring

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<sup>45</sup> *Xintangshu* 188. 5461.

<sup>46</sup> *Zizhitongjian* 261. 8510–8511.

<sup>47</sup> When Yang Xingmi captured Xuanzhou prefecture in 889, while the other officers were absorbed only in plundering the city, Xu Wen secured food supplies and distributed them to the hungry people of the city. *Zizhi tongjian* 258. 8388.

regimes.<sup>48</sup> His peaceful strategy aimed not only at winning popular support but also at preventing a potential military rival from rising up through achievements on the battlefield. Furthermore, Xu began to appoint civil administrators to major offices in order to achieve stable management of state affairs. As a result, the Wu authority and the following Southern Tang authority were able to sustain political stability without any military coup.

Another significant feature of Xu Wen's policies was the construction of a new capital city. Xu Wen decided to build a new city at Jinling 金陵 (present Nanjing 南京) as his political power base. Apart from political considerations, Jinling's location south of the Yangtze River had greater geopolitical advantages than the Yangzhou site on the north of the river. Jinling also was situated in a more convenient place for trade within Jiangnan. Lastly, in comparison with Yangzhou, which mostly had been recognized as a center of commerce, Jinling had potent symbolic value as the imperial capital of the Southern Dynasties during the Period of Disunion beginning with Sun Quan's Wu dynasty in 220. The political symbolism of Jinling is also clearly evident in its previous history: Emperor Yang of Sui 隋煬帝 (r. 604~18) tore down Jiankang (Jinling) to prevent the rise of any challengers to his authority, and the city continued to suffer official neglect until it was rebuilt by Xu Wen. Therefore, the grand reconstruction of Jinling by Xu Wen and his foster son produced a deep impression of their ambitions to rule south China in the style of the former Six Dynasties.

In contrast to the long-running political chaos suffered by the population of north China, the people of Wu and Southern Tang by and large enjoyed peace and prosperity. The Wu and Southern Tang rulers preserved the Tang cultural heritage, welcoming the émigré artists and

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<sup>48</sup> *Zizhitongjian* 270.8846~8847; *Zizhitongjian* 270. 8849.

literary elites fleeing from the north. Unlike Yang Xingmi, who adopted a deferential attitude toward the northern courts, the later rulers of the Wu and the Southern Tang, beginning with Emperor Rui of Wu (Ruidi 睿帝 r. 920~37), declared their independence by proclaiming themselves emperors. The Southern Tang actively expanded its territory by annexing the neighboring southern states of Min 閩 (945) and Chu 楚 (951) and fiercely competed with the Wuyue for supremacy over the whole of southern China.

Although they achieved substantial independence, the southern regimes such as Wu and Southern Tang remained regional rulers with no grand ambitions to reunify the empire. Therefore, in terms of their attitudes toward religious practices, the Wu and the Southern Tang rulers paid greater attention to popular religious traditions with distinct regional characteristics in order to directly appeal to the local communities, as opposed to the northern courts, which focused mainly on the canonical imperial cults such as the worship of Heaven and Earth.

#### (4) The Rise of the Wuyue 吳越 and the Long-Lasting Peace in Jiangnan

The Huang Chao rebellion and Gao Pian's defection from the Tang dynasty also paved the way for the establishment of the Wuyue regime. After the outbreak of the rebellion, the people of the major trading cities along the Grand Canal began to organize their own self-defense. Taking advantage of the convenient communication network through waterways, these cities organized joint defense groups such as the Village Guards of Hangzhou Eight Counties (*Hangzhou badu* 杭州八都), later expanded to the thirteen counties (*Hangzhou shisandu* 杭州十三都). Qian Liu 錢鏐, previously engaged in salt-smuggling, emerged as the leader of Hangzhou's self-defense

forces,<sup>49</sup> which were drawn mostly from the urban lower classes. Like Yang Xingmi and Xu Wen, he was a local figure who gained a broad base of public support.

Qian Liu and his successors as the kings of Wuyue generally took a deferential attitude toward the northern dynasties. With their intention of territorial expansion into Zhexi frustrated by Wu, the Wuyue rulers concentrated mainly on the Zhedong region. In addition to military occupation of Zhedong, Qian Liu modified the local administrative system and dispatched local officials to establish efficient and lasting domination over the region. Qian Liu also paid great attention to the construction of the capital city in Hangzhou, which in Tang times had begun to emerge as a commercial center at the southern end of the Grand Canal. However, since Hangzhou was located at the mouth of the Qiantang River 錢唐江, the tide flowing backward into the river caused massive annual flooding throughout the city. These floods and the lack of harbor facilities had been the greatest barrier to the development of the city. Qian Liu inaugurated the building of a double wall around Hangzhou city in 890, when he was first took command of the defense of the city. Later, after declaring the independence of his Wuyue kingdom, he built a levee to solve the problem of flooding caused by the inflow of the tide.<sup>50</sup> As a result, commercial and residential districts began to take shape in the southern part of the city adjacent to the Qiantang River. Furthermore, through the expansion of waterways connecting the inland canals with seaports along Hangzhou Bay, Wuyue could promote cultural and commercial exchange with other Chinese ports and foreign countries.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> *Xin Wudaishi* 67. 835.

<sup>50</sup> *Wuyue beishi* 1.6205.

<sup>51</sup> Yamazaki 2005.

Thus, in contrast to the northern dynasties that constantly suffered from political chaos, the regional states of south China were able to maintain relative peace through a balance of power among them. Since the Wuyue rulers did not express any territorial ambitions in north China and focused their political interests only on the Jiangnan region,<sup>52</sup> they avoided any military confrontation with the northern regimes. Consequently, their policies successfully promoted the economic and cultural development of the region.

#### (5) The Rapid Development of Fujian Province under the Min Regime

In comparison to the Jiangnan region, Fujian had remained an economically and culturally backward part of China and produced few high-level government officials or renowned literary figures or scholars before the Tang period. During the Song, however, Fujian was transformed into an economically and culturally advanced region that not only had prosperous international trading ports like Fuzhou 福州 and Quanzhou 泉州 but also turned out the largest number of successful candidates who passed the civil service exams.<sup>53</sup> The fact that the most eminent Daoxue scholars of the Song period like Zhu Xi 朱熹 and Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 grew up in Fujian reflects its high cultural standing. The most significant historical event in this transformation was the establishment of the Min 閩 regime. Although the Min kingdom was officially founded in 909 by Wang Shenzhi 王審知 (862~925, r. 909~925), the Wang clan had dominated the region

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<sup>52</sup> The limited scope of Quan Liu's political interests is well demonstrated in a stele inscription, 'Xinjian fengshanlingdewang miaoji 新建風山靈德王廟記 (Chronicle of the newly built King Lingde temple of Feng Mountain)'. Yang 2010: 334.

<sup>53</sup> Clark 1982: 132.

since Wang Chao 王潮 (846~898) conquered Fuzhou in 893. Min was annexed by Wuyue in 945, however, although an independent regime endured in Quanzhou under the military governor Chen Hongjin 陳洪進 (914~985) until Chen surrendered to the Song in 978. Consequently, the Fujian region's long experience with autonomous rule served as a stimulus for regional growth. In particular, the systematic improvement of regional infrastructure and the promotion of the regional culture by the Min regime facilitated unprecedented growth in the region.

Wang Shenzhi, who became known as the “King Who Opened up the Min (Fujian) Region” (*kaiminwang* 開閩王),” was held in high esteem for his contribution to the region's economic development. In addition to maintaining a friendly relationship with the neighboring Wuyue kingdom, Wang made great efforts to increase the farmland by expanding irrigation works and reclaiming wastelands. However, since there was a limit to the expansion of farmland in the largely mountainous Fujian region without technological breakthroughs in agricultural production, the Min regime needed to find alternative resources, especially through developing maritime trade, which brought unprecedented prosperity to the region.

However, Wang Shenzhi failed to unite the Fujian region under his authority.<sup>54</sup> When Wang Shenzhi succeeded his eldest brother Wang Chao as ruler in Fuzhou, his older brother Wang Shengui maintained an autonomous regime in Quanzhou. Wang Shengui's son Wang Yanbin 王延彬 (886~930) succeeded his father in 904 and strove to enhance Quanzhou's position to compete with Fuzhou by making it a religious center, constructing splendid religious facilities and inviting well-known religious leaders to Quanzhou. For instance, Wang Yanbin recruited Changqing Huiling 長慶慧稜 (854~932), the most venerated Chan Buddhist monk at

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<sup>54</sup> In terms of the antagonistic relationship between Fuzhou and Quanzhou, see Clark 1982: 132~149.

that time, to become abbot of the newly-built Zhaoqing Monastery (Zhaoqingyuan 招慶院) in 906. Wang Yanbin hoped that many of Huiling's disciples and followers would visit Quanzhou and contribute to its reputation as a center for the study of Chan Buddhism.

Consequently, under the Min rulers, Fujian enjoyed substantial economic and cultural development. Because of the mountainous terrain of the interior, regional development in Fujian was mostly in coastal regions like Fuzhou and Quanzhou. In particular, the Min rulers fostered the development of maritime trade to provide a secure source of revenue. In addition, the Min regime also actively promoted the cultural growth by embracing the émigré scholars and clerics from the north and erecting schools to build ties to the local Fujian elites.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, in Fujian as well the political leaders played a decisive role in promoting regional growth during the late Tang and Five Dynasties period.

#### (6) Regional Regimes' Patronage of Popular Religious Cults

The rugged terrain of South China hindered the spontaneous emergence of a single dominant state power that could unify all the regional regimes. At the same time, the mountains and rivers of the south protected against invasion from the north. In addition, the southern regimes took firm control of their territories, and government authority began to permeate more deeply into local communities than in the past. Above all, the new political authorities made great efforts to manipulate the symbols of the popular religious cults in order to legitimize their sovereignty.

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<sup>55</sup> *Xin Wudaishi* 68. 846.

### 3. The Growth of the Local Community and the Transformation of the Medieval Chinese Religious World

In this section we will examine the significant transformation of the medieval Chinese religious world in order to understand the influence of popular religious beliefs on local communities. Scholars have identified a crucial transition, beginning in the late Tang period, that led to more direct involvement of ordinary people in religious activities. In particular, attention has been focused on ordinary people's "improved access to the sacred realm."<sup>56</sup> As Glen Dudbridge described in his study of on the Tang miscellany *Great Book of Marvels* (*Guangyiji* 廣異記), ordinary people began to seek direct access to the unseen world, such as the spiritual realm or the afterlife.<sup>57</sup> For instance, despite their lack of professional training in religious scriptures or rituals, which had been the province of ritual masters, lay people began to prepare to prevent possible future disasters in this world and to secure comfort in the afterlife through more precise understanding of performance of ritual acts with the aid of religious booklets or by reciting incantations and carrying talismans. By these simple methods, ordinary people could gain access to spiritual aid and protection. As Stephen Teiser's research on the *Scripture of the Ten Kings* (*Shiwangjing* 十王經) suggests, non-canonical sutras aimed at promoting ethical conduct began to circulate in the late Tang period.<sup>58</sup> The *Scripture of the Ten Kings* incorporated popular ideas about justice, sin, and punishment into Buddhist eschatology. Such developments

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<sup>56</sup> Kleeman 1993: 63.

<sup>57</sup> Dudbridge 1995:46~85.

<sup>58</sup> Teiser 1993; Teiser 1994.

were products of the ordinary people's increasing desires for spiritual aid, and as a result, their participation in religious activities expanded widely.

#### (1) The Transformation of Buddhism and Daoism during the Late Tang-Five Dynasties Period

The most notable feature of religious transformation during the late Tang-Five Dynasties period surely is the popularity of Buddhism. Following its introduction into China in the first century CE, Buddhism developed by gaining support from the ruling class, such as the emperors and aristocrats. However, the notable growth of Buddhism triggered attacks by Daoist clergy during the reigns of Emperor Taiwu 太武帝 (r. 423~52) of the Northern Wei and the Tang Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 841~46) and government confiscation of the property of Buddhist temples during the reigns of Emperor Wu (武帝, r. 543~78) of the Northern Zhou and Emperor Shizong (世宗 r. 954~59).<sup>59</sup> These so-called “Four Imperial Persecutions of Buddhism” are the most well-known and severe examples of state suppression of religion in Chinese history. Although the ruling classes' patronage of Buddhism was typically restored each time the suppression ceased, the center of gravity in Chinese Buddhism nevertheless shifted from the north to the south and from the ruling classes to the lay people during the mid-Tang period. While the aristocratic class, which had supplied the most significant patrons of Buddhism, collapsed amid the political chaos after the An Lushan rebellion, economic development in the south fostered the emergence of a rising commoner class that took an active role in the patronage of Buddhism. One consequence of this shift was declining support for Buddhist traditions that

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<sup>59</sup> Ch'en 1956.

had previously been favored by the Tang court, such as the Tiantai 天台, Lü 律, Faxiang 法相, Huayan 華嚴, and Zhenyan 真言 schools.

On the contrary to the lack of government's support in north China, Buddhism received ardent support not only from the regional regimes like Wu, Southern Tang, Wuyue, and Min but also from the people of all social strata in south China. In particular, the relatively new Chan tradition of Buddhism reached the height of prosperity in south China between the late eighth and mid-tenth centuries.<sup>60</sup> The Southern Lineage of Chan Buddhism (*nanzong chan* 南宗禪), first established by the Sixth Patriarch, Hui Neng 慧能 (638~718), divided into five separate lineages: Weiyang (偽仰), Linji (臨濟), Caodong (曹洞), Yunmen (雲門), and Fayan (法眼). But at the same time Chan Buddhism expanded its following in local communities because of the public activities of a number of famous Chan masters. Chan doctrines eschewed the older traditions of Buddhism based mainly on mastery of Buddhist scriptures and instead emphasized “transmission from mind to mind” or “no dependence on the words and letters.” Because of their practice-centered approach, unlike the monks of other sects who led a subsidized life in city temples, the Chan monks led a life of self-sufficiency in the rural communities.<sup>61</sup> It is likely that the Chan monks' simple way of practicing asceticism also contributed considerably to its appeal. Chan meditation (*canchan* 參禪) had the advantage of helping lay devotees to reach high levels of religious enlightenment without requiring complicated rituals or esoteric knowledge. Therefore, Chan Buddhist practices penetrated more deeply into all layers of Chinese society.

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<sup>60</sup> The Chan Buddhism was first introduced by the Indian dhyāna (meditation) masters like the First Patriarch of the Chan Buddhist Bodhi Dharma and then had arisen through the activities of their Chinese disciples during the sixth and seventh centuries.

<sup>61</sup> Yanagida 1967; Yanagida 1975.

In addition, the Pure Land (*Jingtu* 淨土) movement, whose followers believed that they could be saved by the Amitabha Buddha and reincarnated in the Western Pure Land (*xifang jingtu* 西方淨土) through simple professions of faith such as chanting prayers, had spread rapidly among the general populace since the Tang period. The Pure Land teaching was promoted by Tan Luan 曇鸞 (476~542) of the Northern Wei period, and its doctrines and religious precepts subsequently were systematized by Dao Chuo 道綽 (562~645) and Shan Dao 善導 (613~681) of the Tang dynasty. This simple form of Pure Land devotion greatly improved the lay people's access to the sacred realm.<sup>62</sup> The Pure Land teaching did not form an independent Buddhist denomination, but instead fostered private religious associations that were directly assimilated into local communities. Other Buddhist denominations such as Chan, Huayan, and Tiantai also actively assimilated Pure Land teachings into their doctrines in order to expand their following within local communities. Due to the successful spread of Pure Land teachings among Buddhist practitioners regardless of their lineage of ordination, their ecclesiastical education, or their institutional affiliation, faith in salvation by the Amitabha Buddha and the desire for rebirth in the Pure Land became the most general feature of Chinese Buddhism.<sup>63</sup>

Belief in salvation through the intercession of buddhas or bodhisattvas became a prevailing feature of popular Buddhism among the lay people all over China. For instance, they ardently worshiped various figures such as the Avalokitesvara (Guanyin 觀世), who had a prominent place in Pure Land teachings as the bodhisattva of compassion who remained in this world to

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<sup>62</sup> Sharf 2002: 283.

<sup>63</sup> Sharf 2002: 301.

save people suffering from hardship; Ksitigarbha (Dizang 地藏), who aided those suffering torments in the underworld; and Maitreya (Mile 彌勒), who in Buddhist scriptures such as *Amitabha Sutra* (*Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經) and the *Lotus Sutra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經) is prophesied to appear in the distant future and preside over a terrestrial paradise of the faithful. These beliefs spread extensively among the general populace who in a rapidly changing political and economic environment became increasingly anxious about their mortal and spiritual fate.

The rapid expansion of Buddhist devotion in the local communities led to active patronage by the regional regimes of south China. The upstart rulers tried to create a new sacred place for Buddhism within their domains to solidify their image among the people as patrons of Buddhism.<sup>64</sup> For instance, the regional regimes gave financial support for the construction of Buddhist temples that enshrined popular Buddhist deities like Amitabha or Guanyin. Furthermore, they sought to attract pilgrims from outside their territories to such sacred places in order to enhance their reputation abroad. Consequently, despite the loss of patronage from the aristocratic class, as a result of the spread of Chan Buddhism, Pure Land teachings, and bodhisattva worship among the general populace, Buddhism enjoyed a new “golden age” in south China.

Like Buddhism, Daoism also underwent a notable transition since the late Tang period. The most noteworthy feature of this transition was that the pursuit of esoteric knowledge and the secret methods of becoming an immortal (*shenxian* 神仙) were eclipsed by demythicized and publicly available ways of pursuing eternal youth. Since the Eastern Han period (25–220 CE),

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<sup>64</sup> For instance, the Wuyue regime constructed renowned shrines for Guanyin such as the Upper Tianzhu Monastery (*Shang tianzhu jiangsi zhi* 杭州上天竺講寺) in Hangzhou, which would attract the devotees of the Guanyin cult from all over China and became the cult's the most significant pilgrimage site.

the dual disciplines of laboratory alchemy (*waidan* 外丹 ) and inner alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) had so dominated Daoist practice that adepts pursuing eternal life commonly practiced both of them. Over time, the pursuit of physical immortality through laboratory alchemy that emperors and aristocrats had favored gradually lost its dominant position.<sup>65</sup> However, inner alchemy, which focused on practices such as deep breathing exercises (*qigong* 氣功) or a nurturing life (*yangsheng* 養生), achieved growing popularity during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, although there were still some unresolved uncertainties with respect to the classification of specific texts, the distinction between laboratory alchemy and the inner alchemy became increasingly clear.<sup>67</sup>

Therefore, beginning in the Tang period eminent Daoist theorists elaborated the theory of the interior alchemy. The eminent physician Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581~682) compiled numerous interior alchemy-oriented therapies in his popular manual of medical practice, *Priceless Prescriptions* (*Qianjin yaofang* 千金要方).<sup>68</sup> Following the loss of support from the state and the aristocratic class after the An Lushan rebellion, Daoist leaders began to seek new ways to appeal to the new emerging literati and the general populace through the propagation of more practical way of practicing Daoist asceticism. The celebrated Daoist priest Peng Xiao 彭曉 (?~955), who served as a minister to the Later Shu court, explicated the concepts of inner

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<sup>65</sup> According to the laboratory alchemy oriented disciplines, mortals could achieve immortality by taking the so-called “Golden Elixir” (*jindan* 金丹, literally, “golden cinnabar”) potion.

<sup>66</sup> Robinet 1992: 215~228; Li 1988:218~221.

<sup>67</sup> Schipper and Verellen ed. 2004: 377.

<sup>68</sup> Schipper and Verellen ed. 2004: 1276; Robinet 1992: 205.

alchemy in his exegeses of the canonical treatise, *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契.<sup>69</sup> Peng's contemporary, Tan Qiao 譚峭 (880~950), established the philosophical foundation of the inner alchemy in his renowned *Book of Transformation* (Hua shu 化書). Tan not only explained the practical methods of inner alchemy disciplines but also applied their principles to many different fields such as observations of the natural world, epistemological considerations, and social problems.<sup>70</sup> The last sovereign of the Southern Tang, Li Yu 李煜 (r.961~75), made great efforts to court Tan in his attempt to make the Southern Tang a leading center of Daoism. Tan's *Book of Transformation* was first published thanks to the sponsorship of the Southern Tang state minister Song Qiqiu 宋齊丘 (887~959).<sup>71</sup> Finally, Chen Tuan 陳搏 (872~989) used Confucian concepts derived from the *Book of Change* (*Yijing* 易經) to establish the theoretical foundations of inner alchemy. Since Daoist theorists like Chen Tuan had previously studied the Confucian classics in order to prepare for civil service exams before they were converted to Daoism, they tried to demythicize Daoism—which Confucians had criticized as mysterious and irrational—by using the philosophical discourse of its rivals.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, the development of inner alchemy made a great contribution toward the establishment of the Daoist Thunder Rites of Shenxiao (*Shenxiao*

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<sup>69</sup> Schipper and Verellen ed. 2004: 1270.

<sup>70</sup> Anderson 2007.

<sup>71</sup> He 2008.

<sup>72</sup> During the Northern Song period, on the contrary, Chen Duan's theory made a great contribution to the establishment of the theoretical foundation of the Daoxue Confucianism. The "Image of the Non~Extreme (*wujitu* 無極圖)" created by Chen Duan exerted significant influence on the "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" (*taijitu* 太極圖)," the principal work of the celebrated Daoxue philosopher Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017~1073).

*leifa* 神霄雷法), which put great emphasis on internal alchemy as well as ritual exorcisms using incantations and talismans (*fulu* 符籙).

In conclusion, during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period, Buddhism and Daoism underwent significant transition in institutional organization and doctrines that resulted in the emergence of new movements and traditions that emphasized facilitating ordinary people's access to spiritual enlightenment and divine aid. Therefore, this popularization of organized religion was a salient feature of the medieval transformation of Chinese religious culture.

## (2) The Vernacularization of Major Religions and the Interplay between the Major and Popular Religious Beliefs

From the time Buddhism was first introduced into China during the Han period, the imported religion and the native religions of Daoism and Confucianism had developed through mutual influence. Furthermore, these major religious traditions had interacted with the indigenous religious cults from the beginning stages of their propagation in local communities. The interplay of Chinese religions did not result in a one-sided absorption of local religious beliefs into the major religious traditions; rather, it brought about a significant transformation of both through continuous interaction, without the extinction of one by the other. Therefore, while maintaining symbiotic as well as antagonistic relationships with one other, there was an intense interplay between the major religious traditions and the popular religious beliefs, and their religious jurisdiction overlapped in the local communities.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> While Michel Strickmann argues that Daoism had an antagonistic attitude toward the popular religious cults and sought to replace popular religious liturgies with Daoist ones, Kristopher Schipper insists that both religions had a symbiotic relation in that Daoism contributed to the development of the popular religious cults by providing them with new liturgical frameworks. Finally, Edward L. Davis has an eclectic approach to that issue and explains that the interaction between these religious traditions was both symbiotic and antagonistic. Davis 2001: 4~13.

All in all, this interplay between the religions can be confirmed in two ways. First of all, the Buddhist and Daoist liturgical rites began to affect the popular rituals, such as mortuary rites and spiritual communion with the divine world. This phenomenon had been made possible mainly as the Buddhist priests, Daoist priests and lay ritual masters became increasingly involved in popular rituals that previously were presided over by local spirit-mediums (commonly called *wu* 巫). Secondly, the interplay between the major religions and the popular religious cults became obvious in the growing ambiguity of the identity of local gods. While many popular religious deities began to be adopted into the Buddhist and Daoist pantheons, the Buddhist and Daoist deities emerged from the restricted domain of orthodox theology and became ubiquitous figures in the lay religious culture of local communities. These two features of religious interplay profoundly changed the landscape of the medieval Chinese religious world.

In terms of the interaction between different religious liturgies, the popular religious cults were increasingly permeated by Buddhist and Daoist elements. In the past, local spirit-mediums had mainly carried out spiritual therapy and psychic communication with the deceased and the spiritual beings both in local communities and in state rituals. Although they were expelled from the government bureaucracy in the Five Dynasties period,<sup>74</sup> the spirit-mediums continued to exercise strong influence in local communities. However, Edward L. Davis argues that their monopolistic influence over the general populace weakened as a result of the competition from other religious professionals during the Song. According to his research, the popular liturgies were performed by a three-tiered hierarchy of ritual professionals: Daoist priests and Buddhist monks at the highest level; Tantric Buddhist exorcists and lay Daoist specialists—commonly

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<sup>74</sup> Nakamura 1992: 69.

called ritual masters (*fashi* 法師)—at the intermediate level; and the spirit-medium and the Buddhist acolytes (*shami* 沙彌) at the lowest level.<sup>75</sup> Among these three levels, Davis particularly emphasizes the ritual professionals of the intermediate level. Firstly, he argues that the ritual masters played a decisive role not only in aggravating the tension between Daoism and the popular religious cults but also in arbitrating between them. While the local spirit-mediums were previously suppressed by the government, the ritual masters—who had close relationships not only with the bureaucratic elites and the Daoist priests but also with the local spirit-mediums—replaced the local spirit-mediums or put them under their supervision. Next, Davis contends that the Tantric Buddhist exorcists also played a significant intermediary role in instilling Buddhist elements into popular rites. For example, the prevailing custom of the time whereby local spirit-mediums used child mediums to perform spirit possessions must have originated from the Tantric Buddhist practices known as *Aveśa* (*aweishefa* 阿尾奢法). Consequently, due to the mutual exchange between the different religious professionals, religious interplay became manifest in the transformation of the local popular liturgic rites. Therefore, Davis's close investigation substantially improved our understanding of both the figures who presided over the liturgic rites in the local community and the actual rites they performed.

However, although Davis does not disagree with the existence of a variety of religious professionals in the local communities before the Song, he is apt to oversimplify the religious circumstances of the pre-Song period since he intended to emphasize that the role of *fashi* is new in the Song, or at least from the late Tang. Even though the interplay between different religious

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<sup>75</sup> Davis 2001: 8.

liturgic rites, which he emphasized, stood out considerably during the Song period, these phenomena can be observed even as early as the Six Dynasties period.<sup>76</sup> For instance, since there is much evidence indicating that local spirit-mediums performed liturgic rites with other religious professionals such as the invokers (*zhu* 祝) before the Song, Davis's claim that they had worked alone before the Song Dynasty and began to work under the supervision of the ritual masters after that period should be reconsidered.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, since similar cases involving the practices of the ritual masters are found in sources like the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記) (978), which was published by the Song Taizong to collect information about the unseen realm from past records, it seems that ritual masters of various religious backgrounds were already active in the local communities before the Song period. Furthermore, in terms of the Tantric Buddhist influence on the popular liturgic rites, since other researches on the social history of medieval Buddhism convincingly demonstrate that numerous cases exist in which the medieval Buddhist monks practiced spirit possession, exorcism, and therapeutic rituals in the local communities, Tantric Buddhist exorcism must have been practiced since the pre-Song period, in contradiction to Davis' argument.<sup>78</sup> The case of the Buddhist monk Dao Jie 道傑 of the early Tang dynasty, recorded in the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*, also demonstrates that Buddhist monks worked together with local spirit-mediums.<sup>79</sup> Consequently, although the effect of the Buddhism and Daoism on the popular religious liturgic

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<sup>76</sup> Katz 2002.

<sup>77</sup> Davis 2001:148.

<sup>78</sup> Zürcher 1982; Kieschnick 1997.

<sup>79</sup> *Taiping guangji* 388.8.

rites might have started since even long before the Tang period, the sources recording the religious circumstances of the Tang period demonstrate at least that the phenomenon became noticeable during the Tang period.

The second aspect of religious interplay concerned the growing ambiguity in the identity of local gods. During the Tang period, the firm boundary between the deities of organized religions and those of popular cults collapsed. Besides the interaction of the liturgies between different religious traditions, the general populace's growing involvement in religious activities also produced the amalgamation of diverse deities into local popular cults. Terry F. Kleeman explains that the traditional Chinese religious world can be divided into two distinct continua according to whether or not bloody sacrifices and meat offerings were carried out.<sup>80</sup> While organized religions like Buddhism and Daoism refused to offer meat sacrifices to their deities, the state religions and popular religious cults were defined by the practice of bloody sacrifice. It is obvious, however, that this classification had become blurred by the Song period. The Buddhist and Daoist deities came to be worshipped directly by the lay people outside of the temples without the professional help of the clergy. Meanwhile, popular religious deities entered the Buddhist and Daoist pantheons by receiving titles, and temple buildings were constructed to enshrine the local deities in the Buddhist and Daoist monasteries. Beginning in the Tang period, Daoist priests acted as caretakers of popular religious cults by installing shrines and altars for popular deities in subsidiary positions within the Daoist abbeys and temples.<sup>81</sup> In order to embrace popular religious deities that previously had been rejected because of their impure features like receiving

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<sup>80</sup> Kleeman 1993: 61~62.

<sup>81</sup> Kleeman 1993: 62.

bloody sacrifices, the Daoist leadership created a new terrestrial bureaucracy of otherworldly officials for the popular religious deities, which was the subordinate level to the celestial bureaucracy of the Daoist deities. The popular religious deities of the lower bureaucracy level were to serve the mortals in this world until they reached promotion to the higher level of the ranks of the Perfected (*zhenren* 真人), and they were still allowed to receive meat offerings from lay worshippers at the preliminary stage. Due to this compromise, Daoism was able to expand beyond its traditional boundaries.

The local Buddhist clergies also recast the popular deities into new ones on terms they found acceptable.<sup>82</sup> For example, they began to place popular deities as guardians (*qielanshen* 伽藍神) to protect the Buddhist monasteries. According to Valerie Hansen's research, the Buddhist deity Vaisravana (Pishamen tianwang 毘沙門天王 or Duowentian 多聞天) served as the prototype of the monastic guardians, who often were celebrated historical figures such as Guan Yu 關羽 and Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519~81).<sup>83</sup> The appointment of popular deities as guardians of Buddhist monasteries also facilitated the rise of the *chenghuang* (城隍神, literally "wall and moat gods") cult, in which local heroes were worshipped as tutelary deities under the rubric of "city god."<sup>84</sup>

Unlike previous Buddhist monks who had engaged only in destructive attacks on popular deities, the Buddhist clergy now sought to "convert" the local deities to Buddhism by

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<sup>82</sup> Hansen 1993: 79~80.

<sup>83</sup> Hansen 1993:89.

<sup>84</sup> Hansen 1993: 94~95.

demonstrating the superiority of Buddhist values and therefore inducing them to give up bloody sacrifices and accept the supremacy of the Buddha. Despite their persistent efforts, however, the local devotees' conventional beliefs were not easily changed, and many continued making meat offerings. Therefore, the local Buddhist clergies continued to work on the conversion of the local popular religious deities to Buddhism by inventing and circulating folktales involving a dream or vision in which the deity accepted the supremacy of the Buddha.

Thus, the transformation of the medieval Chinese religious world was the product not of one-sided actions by organized religions but rather resulted from the reciprocal interaction between popular religious cults and organized religions. The efforts of the local worshippers of the popular religious cults to enhance their deities' prestige also blurred the line between the local popular gods and the deities of organized religion. Due to the permeation of organized religion into local communities, on the one hand, the popular religious cults were considerably influenced by the Buddhist or Daoist teachings, and on the other hand, the Buddhist and Daoist deities gradually became secularized. Furthermore, this religious transformation also facilitated the spread of local cults beyond their original boundaries. For instance, itinerant Daoist priests contributed to the propagation of the deity Zitong 梓潼, originally worshipped in Sichuan 四川 province, throughout southeastern China during the Song period.<sup>85</sup>

Consequently, during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties periods there was a significant transformation in the Chinese religious world. The popularization of organized religions and the ordinary people's improved access to the sacred realm stimulated the interplay between them. As a result, the principal agents of religious activities shifted from the clergy and educated elite to the general populace. Recent research on the social history of the pre-Song religious world

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<sup>85</sup> Kleeman 1993: 57~60. For a detailed explanation of the Zitong cult, please refer to Kleeman 1994.

indicates that these forms of religious transformation can be traced even back to the Six Dynasties period, but they became noticeably more prominent during the late Tang and Five Dynasties.

#### **4. The Southern Chinese Regional Regimes' Patronage of the Popular Religious Cults**

The sharply increasing involvement of the state in the popular religious cults in south China during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period can be attributed to both the intensifying permeation of governmental authority into the local communities and the overall transformation of the Chinese religious world. Through closer examination of specific examples of granting titles to popular deities, it is possible to further understand the socio-political circumstances that facilitated the rapid growth of the popular cults.

When rulers patronized popular cults, they often claimed that their military or political achievements could be accomplished only with the aid of spiritual beings. As Prasenjit Duara explained, a new political authority commonly sought to introduce new symbolic values that reflected their political concerns into the existing local cults. Nevertheless, longstanding perceptions of the cults were not eliminated; rather, various overlapping images of the deity coexisted simultaneously, a process Duara refers to as “superscription.” Since the coexistence of these images might continue for a long period, different socio-political groups maintained different perceptions of the cult. Among the deities’ various images, usually those of the apotheosized hero and the tutelary god remained undiminished.<sup>86</sup> In just this fashion, the

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<sup>86</sup> In focusing on the continuous and non-continuous aspects in the myth of the Guandi關帝 cult, Prasenjit Duara attempts to explain the complicated historical transitions in the relationship between the symbolic realms and the social groups or systems by a concept of “superscription of symbols”. According to his argument, although a new social group’s beliefs and concerns might add new meanings to the preexisting myths of the popular religious cults,

southern Chinese regional regimes invented new images for local tutelary gods and superimposed them onto the existing images. By examining these examples of the regimes' patronage of the popular cults, it is possible to understand how they manipulated the symbolic images for their political purposes.

This section examines four cases in which the regional regimes of the Five Dynasties era patronized local cults. First we will consider Gao Pian's patronage of the Goddess of Earth (*Houtu* 后土) cult, which exemplified the transition from the classical state-centered view of religion to the locally-oriented perspective that was emerging among the southern Chinese regional regimes during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties periods. The second case considers an indigenous popular deity known as King Zhang, who was patronized by the Wu regime and the succeeding Southern Tang kingdom. Third, the Wuyue regime competed with the Wu and Southern Tang regimes to win public support from local communities by supporting the Chen Guoren cult, dedicated to a local deity in the Changzhou area. Finally, the Min regime's case reveals how upstart rulers from outside the region used popular religious beliefs to enhance their political prestige.

#### (1) Gao Pian's Patronage of the Goddess of Earth Cult

The Goddess of Earth (*Houtu*) cult was originated in the state religion. As the most significant rituals in the register of state sacrifices, the sacrifices to Heaven and the Earth (*jitian sidi* 祭天祀地) were carried out by the emperors at the southern suburban altar for Heaven and the northern suburban altar for Earth. According to the Chinese traditional yin-yang dualism,

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the older meanings were not eliminated. Instead, their status or roles would be negotiated and redefined in the so-called "interpretative arena." See Duara 1988.

since Earth is the yin force that complements Heaven (which assumes the character of yang and the masculine gender), Houtu assumes the feminine character.<sup>87</sup> The original Houtu temple was built at Fenyin 汾陰 (present Wanrong 萬榮 county, Shanxi province) during the reign of the Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty (r. 179~57 BCE), but subsequently it was abandoned and replaced by the northern suburban sacrifice (Beijiao 北郊) at the capital of Chang'an. At approximately the same time, however, a new Houtu shrine was constructed at Yangzhou 楊洲 in 11 BCE, for reasons that are still poorly understood.<sup>88</sup> In any case, the cult of the Goddess of Earth already had gradually spread among local communities before Gao Pian began to patronize it. However, the Goddess of Earth's popular religious image had been formed quite differently from its state religious image, which was based on a cosmological principle, and therefore the cult came to have two different images at the same time.

As stated above, Gao Pian assigned natives of the Jiangnan region familiar with the local culture such as Lü Yongzhi, Zhang Shouyi 張守一, and Zhuge Yin 諸葛殷 to important positions in his government. Lü Yongzhi advised Gao Pian to patronize the Houtu temple at Yangzhou.<sup>89</sup> An enthusiastic devotee of Daoist religion, Gao took Lu's advice and constructed a splendid temple for the Goddess of Earth and prayed to the deity whenever confronted by serious

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<sup>87</sup> Concerning the transformation of Houtu into a female figure, Liao Hsien-huei emphasizes the role of the remaining afterimage of Wu Zetian. See Liao 1996.

<sup>88</sup> In order to pray for a son and heir, Emperor Cheng of Han Dynasty (Han Chengdi 漢成帝) (51~7 BCE) rebuilt the temple of the Goddess of Earth at Yangzhou, replacing the one at Fenyin which he himself closed down. Liao 1996: 124.

<sup>89</sup> *Taiping guangji* 290.1

matters.<sup>90</sup> Lü for his part championed Houtu as a powerful deity who would protect the Gao Pian regime from its enemies. The bailiff of Jiangyang 江陽 county surnamed Xue 薛, an ally of Luyongzhi, reported that one day he had encountered countless numbers of spirit soldiers near the Houtu temple and was told that they had been dispatched by the Goddess of Earth to defend Gao Pian's camp from hostile forces.<sup>91</sup> This tale demonstrates that Gao Pian and Lü Yongzhi attempted to superscribe a new image of Houtu as a warrior guardian deity—a role commonly performed by popular deities like Jiutian xuannü 九天玄女.

Prior to Gao Pian's involvement in the Houtu cult, the Goddess of Earth had already enjoyed wide support from the general populace. In contrast to the official image of Houtu as an abstract cosmological principle, the popular image of the deity, propagated through folktales, portrayed Houtu in anthropomorphized form as a female goddess.<sup>92</sup> The “Biography of the Lady Empress of Earth” (*Houtu furen zhuan* 后土婦人傳) spread the fame of the Goddess of Earth among ordinary people beginning in the mid-Tang period. Although it is widely known that this account was written to satirize the indiscreet lewdness of Empress Wu 武則天 (624~705), it also made a great contribution to the propagation of the Goddess of Earth. The female image of the Goddess of Earth was also found in a folktale incorporated into the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*.<sup>93</sup> This story centers on a certain Wei Andao 韋安道, a scholar who failed to pass

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<sup>90</sup> *Zizhi tongjian* 254. 8266~8267.

<sup>91</sup> *Taiping guangji* 290.2.

<sup>92</sup> Liao 1996: 108~113.

the civil service exam but instead became the mate of the Goddess of Earth. According to the myth, one day Wei was guided to the palace of the Goddess of Earth and told that he was fated to be her mate. However, their marriage life in this world proved to be brief, because Wei's parents refused to accept her as their daughter-in-law. Nevertheless, Houtu appeared to Empress Wu in a dream and instructed her to award Wei wealth and high position so that he could enjoy an affluent life. Since the images of the Empress Wu who lorded it over countless male courtiers in the Tang court had been superscribed on the figure of Houtu, the deity was believed to hold a dominant position in the celestial world and to reign over most of the male deities. Furthermore, the fact that Gao Pian at the insistence of Lü Yongzhi set up a statue of Wei Andao in the Houtu temple at Yangzhou demonstrates that the ruling elite was also affected by the folk stories prevailing in the local communities. Therefore, the Goddess of Earth cult's widespread popularity among the Yangzhou populace must have been a primary cause for Gao Pian's patronage of the cult.

Although Gao Pian's patronage of the Houtu cult was partly inspired by its public popularity, the difficult situation in which Gao found himself also strongly motivated him to make political use of the images of the Goddess of Earth. Since the Goddess of Earth had an official place in the imperial cult, Gao's association with the deity could have symbolic political value. Having disobeyed the emperor's order and established his own independent rule in the Jiangnan region, he desperately needed not only to woo the local populace but also to publicly legitimate his defection.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, Gao seemed to make an appeal that his actions were the

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<sup>93</sup> *Taiping guangji* 299.1.

<sup>94</sup> Liao 1996: 118~123.

result of his faithfully following the divine will of Houtu. To emphasize his special connection with Houtu, he sent people who were believed to have special spiritual powers like Lü Yongzhi and Zhang Shouyi to carry out undisclosed rites at the altar of the deity.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, through constructing splendid temple buildings at the Yangzhou shrine, he attempted to enhance the deity's prestige and to maximize the symbolic value of his spiritual connection with the deity.

Although Gao Pian eventually was overthrown in a military coup, nevertheless, he made a significant contribution to the growth of the Goddess of Earth cult. He hired the best engineers and used the best construction materials to build the temple on a magnificent scale. When the temple was opened to the public after the Gao Pian regime collapsed, therefore, its prestige as the center of the cult soared well beyond the Yangzhou area.<sup>96</sup> Although Song sources are mostly unwilling to make mention of Gao Pian's contribution to the temple, they gladly describe the architectural beauty of the temple, which during the reign of Emperor Huizong was granted imperial recognition as the Fanliguan 蕃釐觀. The increasing prominence of the cult attracted great attention from the literati and the state during the Song period.<sup>97</sup>

Consequently, through superscribing a new symbol of the tutelary deity on the Goddess of Earth cult, Gao Pian sought not only to cope with his politically difficult situation but also to win public support in the region he now governed. Prior to Gao Pian's occupation of the Yangzhou region, the Goddess of Earth cult had hardly attracted any attention from the literati or state

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<sup>95</sup> *Taiping guangji* 290.2.

<sup>96</sup> Liao 1996: 129~30.

<sup>97</sup> In addition, there are two stories describing the Goddess of Earth cult's great popularity among the general populace contained in *Yijian zhi*, bingzhi, 7.444~445; zhizhijia, 1. 721.

authorities. Therefore, the advent of a new regional regime proved to be a catalyst in the development of the Houtu cult as a popular object of worship.

## (2) The Wu and the Southern Tang Regimes' Patronage of the King Zhang Cult

The cult of King Zhang, who was also called Great Emperor Zhang of Shrine Mountain (Cishan Zhangdadi 祠山張大帝), originated from the worship of a deified local hero.<sup>98</sup> Most local deities in Chinese popular religion were apotheosized historical figures regarded by the local people as heroes who rendered distinguished services during their lifetimes and then after their deaths came to be worshipped as deities who responded to the local people's prayers. King Zhang was said to have lived in Huzhou 湖州 during the Han Dynasty. During his lifetime, he mobilized supernatural soldiers to dig an irrigation canal that greatly benefited the local farmers.<sup>99</sup> After death, he was recognized as a god who responded to the local people's prayers for rain. The King Zhang cult took root in Guangde 廣德 county (in present Anhui 安徽 province), where King Zhang performed miraculous deeds on behalf of the local people, and later during the Southern Song period spread throughout south China. The popularity of the cult in the Song is attested by the large number of dedications to King Zhang temples recorded in local gazetteers and literati writings.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Prior scholarship on the King Zhang cult includes the studies such as Nakamura 1992 and Hansen 1990, which briefly mention significant aspects of the cult. However, there are also full-scale studies of the cult such as Mao 1995 and Pi 2008.

<sup>99</sup> For more details on the origins and evolution of the King Zhang cult, see chapter 5 of this dissertation

<sup>100</sup> According to Valerie Hansen's works, the King Zhang cult had more temples than any other regional cults, and the deity was portrayed as responding to a variety of prayers of the people from all social strata. Hansen 1990:

The King Zhang cult began to receive attention from public authorities as early as the Six Dynasties period. According to the folk myth contained in the local gazetteer of the cult's base temple,<sup>101</sup> Emperor Wu of the Liang (梁武帝, r. 502~549) once sent officers to pray for rain to the God of Jiang Mountain 蔣山 (Jiang Ziwen 蔣子文) during a drought, but received no response. Jiang Ziwen then appeared in a dream to the emperor and instructed him to offer prayers at the temple at Mount Heng (橫山廟, namely the Cishan temple) in Suian (i.e., Guangde) instead. Upon awakening, the emperor sent the officers to perform the prayer at Mount Heng, and indeed it rained. King Zhang first received official recognition from the state during the Tang dynasty. According to another myth in the local gazetteer, during a serious drought in the capital area during the Tianbao 天寶 reign (741~756) of Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗, a Guangde merchant, Pan Huang 潘晃, en route to Chang'an had a dream in which King Zhang told him to inform the Tang court that they should carry out the prayer for rain at the Cishan temple. Pan Huang reported his dream to the Tang officials, and Xuanzong dispatched the officers to perform the sacrifice to King Zhang. In three days, indeed it rained. The court granted the deity the title of Shuibu Yuanwailang 水部員外郎 and changed the name of Mount Heng to Shrine Mountain (Cishan 祠山).<sup>102</sup>

From the late Tang period, public officials became increasingly involved in the King Zhang cult. In particular, the Regional Military Governor of Huainan Circuit, Yang Xingmi, who was granted the title of King of Wu (吳王) by the Tang government in 902, actively patronized the

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148~152.

<sup>101</sup> *Cishan zhi* 3.2a~2b.

<sup>102</sup> *Cishan zhi* 3.2b

cult. As in the case of patronage of local popular cults by Gao Pian, Yang Xingmi and the succeeding Southern Tang state drew symbolic reinforcement from divine protection of their regimes. Legend says that during the Jingfu reign (892~893) of the Tang Emperor Zhaozong 昭宗, King Zhang saved Yang Xingmi's troops from attack by the local warlord Sun Ru. Sun Ru's troops attempted to advance toward the Yang's camp at Xuanzhou 宣州, but were impeded by heavy rains. Although Sun repeatedly sent his men to offer sacrifices to King Zhang asking the deity to halt the rain, their appeals went unheeded. In the end Sun Ru's army was defeated by Yang Xingmi's troops.<sup>103</sup>

In another instance, King Zhang was credited with helping Yang Xingmi more directly by providing Yang's forces with crucial intelligence about the enemy through spiritual communion. Yang's lieutenant Tian Jun intended to make a night assault on Sun's camp, but encountered heavy rains and was forced to stop near King Zhang's temple. King Zhang appeared to Tian in a dream and announced that if he roused his troops and attacked he would win the battle. Tian acted as instructed and vanquished Sun Ru's army. In gratitude, Tian donated 100,000 strings of coin to rebuild King Zhang's temple.<sup>104</sup> After suppressing Sun Ru's rebel forces in 892, Yang Xingmi honored the god with official titles and lavish sacrifices. Yang thus actively propagated his regimes' close affinity with the King Zhang cult.

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<sup>103</sup> *Cishan zhi* 3.3a~3b.

<sup>104</sup> *Cishan zhi* 3.3b~4a.

Due to myths about King Zhang's miraculous powers, the deity's cult began to spread beyond its place of origin.<sup>105</sup> Since the local people had lived for years in a perpetual state of fear due to chronic warfare, they readily welcome a savior god who could put an end to their suffering. Consequently, the interests of both Yang Xingmi, who was seeking to establish a popular foundation for his regime, and the local people who were longing for the advent of a savior god, converged on the figure of King Zhang as a powerful tutelary deity. The gradual permeation of Yang Xingmi's political authority into the local communities and the general populace's enthusiastic participation in the King Zhang's cult created a close connection between the Wu regime and the local people. Furthermore, as the Wu regime and the succeeding Southern Tang regime continually bestowed titles to King Zhang and granted plaques to his temples,<sup>106</sup> the prestige of King Zhang as a tutelary deity began to spread beyond local boundaries.

### (3) The Jiangnan Regional regimes' Competitive Patronage of the Chen Guoren 陳果仁 cult

Between the late Tang and the early Five Dynasties period, the Wuyue regime fiercely fought with the Wu and the Southern Tang over the territories of Changzhou 常州, Wuxi 無錫, and Suzhou 蘇州 prefectures. In order to seize these prosperous economic centers, these Jiangnan regimes made great efforts to win support from the local communities. Therefore, these

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<sup>105</sup> In 894, a temple enshrining King Zhang was erected in Huzhou prefecture 湖州縣. *Jitai Wuxing zhi* (1201), 13.11b.

<sup>106</sup> In terms of the significant titles that Wu and the Southern Tang regime granted to King Zhang, it received the Lord of Guangde prefecture (Guangdehou 廣德侯) in 908, and in 956 it was granted the title of King (Guangdewang 廣德王). *Cishanzhi* 1.8b~9a.

regional regimes competitively patronized the influential local popular cults of these areas to woo the local people.

In Changzhou, the frontline of the battles between the regional regimes, a cult dedicated to the figure of Chen Guoren flourished vigorously at this time. Chen Guoren was an apotheosized historical figure who lived in Changzhou during the late Sui and the early Tang periods. Chen had been the commander of the main force under a local warlord, Shen Faxing 沈法興. Although Chen's biography is not found in the official histories such as the *Suishu*, *Jiu Tangshu*, and *Xin Tangshu*, Song local gazetteers explain that he distinguished himself in war but was poisoned to death by the Shen because of enmity between the two.<sup>107</sup> The widespread public sympathy for Chen's wrongful death at the hands of a figure reviled for his atrocities<sup>108</sup> was part of the reason for his apotheosis into a local deity. In addition, Chinese had long held a prevailing belief that the soul of someone who met an unexpected and wrongful death would not depart this life immediately but instead transformed into a vengeful spirit who keeps haunting this world. In order to ward off any malice by such spirits, people sought to comfort the spirit by offering sacrifices.<sup>109</sup> The spread of the Chen Guoren cult in Changzhou and neighboring areas was stimulated both by the local people's sympathy on his misfortune and their fear of the vengeance his spirit might inflict.

From the late Tang, the cult's mythology hailed Chen Guoren for protecting the local people from enemy attacks. For instance, when the Huang Chao rebels invaded Changzhou in

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<sup>107</sup> *Xianchun Piling zhi* 咸淳毗陵志 14. 4a~5b, *Wuxi zhi* 無錫志 2250, and *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 4013.

<sup>108</sup> *Jiu Tangshu* 56. 2272~2273.

<sup>109</sup> Lin 1995:11~19.

877, the deity appeared suddenly in front of the rebel forces in response to the people's prayers, and the enemies were frightened away by his miraculous appearance.<sup>110</sup> When Gao Pian had a significant fight with the Huang Chao rebels ahead in 878, furthermore, he built a new temple of the Chen Guoren and sent his subordinates to pray for his divine helps.<sup>111</sup> These anecdotes demonstrate that the Chen Guoren cult had spread over people of various classes during the late Tang period.

The popularity of the Chen Guoren cult, therefore, attracted attention from the later Jiangnan regional regimes like the Wuyue, Wu, and Southern Tang dynasties. When the Wuyue army won a victory against the Wu troops and occupied Changzhou and the Runzhou 潤州 in 910, they glorified their achievement by claiming that the deity helped them by sending his warrior spirits to defeat the enemy troops.<sup>112</sup> In order to consolidate their rule over the new territories ideologically, the Wuyue regime relocated Chen's temple from Changzhou to Suzhou, where he was enshrined together with a renowned popular deity of Hangzhou prefecture, Wu Zixu 伍子胥, at the Nanshuang Temple 南雙廟.<sup>113</sup> However, Wuyue's military occupation of Changzhou and Runzhou did not last long. After the Wu regime recaptured Changzhou it granted titles to Chen Guoren.<sup>114</sup> Like Wuyue, the Southern Tang regime also propagated the image of the Chen as a tutelary deity. According to a myth recorded in the local gazetteer, when

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<sup>110</sup> *Xianchun Piling zhi* 14.5a~5b.

<sup>111</sup> *Guiyuanbigengji xiaozhu* 桂苑筆耕集校注 16. “Yizhexichensitumiaoshu 移浙西陳司徒廟書”

<sup>112</sup> *Wujun zhi* 吳郡志 12. 8b~10b.

<sup>113</sup> *Wujun zhi* 12. 8b.

<sup>114</sup> Wuliewang 武烈王 (905~907) by Wu and Wuliedi 武烈帝 (955) by Southern Tang. *Xianchun Piling zhi* 14. 4b.

the Wuyue army invaded the Southern Tang territory, Chen Guoren aided the Southern Tang troops to repulse the enemy invasion.<sup>115</sup>

Consequently, in order to legitimize their occupation of disputed territories like Changzhou and its neighboring regions in the eyes of the local people, the Jiangnan regional regimes of the late Tang and Five Dynasties periods competed to display their patronage of significant local cults like the Chen Guoren cult. Although the Chen Guoren cult was portrayed in contradictory fashion as offering assistance to both of the two hostile forces competing for control of the region, the ordinary people of Changzhou continued to worship Chen Guoren as a powerful local deity who responded efficaciously to their prayers.

#### (4) The Min Regime's Patronage of Religions

During the late Tang and Five Dynasties period, the Fujian region developed from a remote backwater into one of the most culturally advanced regions throughout China.<sup>116</sup> Buddhism in particular played a leading role in promoting the cultural development of Fujian.<sup>117</sup> The Min regime made a decisive contribution to the prosperity of Chan Buddhism throughout Fujian and south China. The Min rulers attempted not only to enhance the reputation of the whole Fujian region but also to establish the dominance of their capital at Fuzhou prefecture over other regional rivals, such as Quanzhou and Jianzhou 建州. Chan Buddhism was first introduced to Jianzhou prefecture—located in the major transportation point between Fujian and Jiangxi

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<sup>115</sup> *Xianchun Piling zhi* 14. 4b.

<sup>116</sup> Clark 1982:144~145.

<sup>117</sup> Suzuki 1973: 2~6.

provinces—in the Tang by the celebrated Chan Buddhist monk Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709~88),<sup>118</sup> and developed rapidly in Fuzhou through the efforts of the Chan monk Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822~908).<sup>119</sup> As Hugh R. Clark has explained, the Wang Shenzhi regime at Fuzhou competed with the Wang Yanbin regime of Quanzhou not only for political dominance, but in patronage of local religious culture as well.<sup>120</sup> Due to the Wang Shenzhi regime's active support, Fuzhou became the center of Chan Buddhism—in terms of numbers of temples and monks—not only for the Fujian region, but for China as a whole. But since the expansion of Chan Buddhism in Fujian depended on the regional regimes' patronage, it sharply declined along with the decay of the Fujian regional regimes in the late tenth century.<sup>121</sup>

Like other regional states in south China, the Min regime patronized not only organized religions but also the popular religious cults. Although region-wide cults like that devoted to Mazu 媽祖 (also called Tianhou 天后) cult did not appear until the Song period, a number of temples enshrining indigenous deities were constructed and granted titles by the Min regime.<sup>122</sup> In Fuzhou prefecture, for instance, there were temples dedicated to apotheosized local historical figures respected for their significant contributions to the region, such as the King of Minyue (*Minyue wang* 閩粵王) whose temple was called *Wulie yinghu zhenminwang miao* 武烈英護鎮

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<sup>118</sup> For studies of Mazu Daoyi, please refer to Jia 2006: 11~20.

<sup>119</sup> Suzuki 1973: 8~9.

<sup>120</sup> Clark 1982.

<sup>121</sup> Suzuki 1973:20.

<sup>122</sup> For temples of the popular religious cults in Fuzhou prefecture during the Song, see *Chunxi sanshan zhi* (1182) 8.10a~25b; 9.17b~21b.

閩王廟。<sup>123</sup> The Min regime bestowed the title of “king” on the Minyue deity in 930. Although local gazetteers give few details, a myth of the temple of King of Zhongshan (Zhongshan su’an wang miao 鍾山肅安王廟) illustrates how the Min regime superscribed the symbolic features of their tutelary deity onto a local cult.<sup>124</sup>

Overall, several common features can be found in the temple constructions and the titles granted by the Min regime, which was then governed by Wang Shenzhi. First of all, the Min concentrated their patronage on popular cults in the coastal areas of Fuzhou such as Min 閩, Houguan 候官, Lianjiang 連江, and Changle 長樂 counties, where Wang’s political influence was strongest.<sup>125</sup> In contrast, few grants of titles or temple constructions were mentioned for the inland mountain areas before the Song period. Next, although many temples dedicated to non-native deities were built during the Song period, the indigenous deities of Fuzhou prevailed during the Five Dynasties period.<sup>126</sup> Although the rulers of the Min regime were not natives of the region themselves, they focused their patronage mainly on local gods to appeal to the indigenous population. Unlike the Wang Shenzhi regime, however, the Song state would actively patronize not only the native Fuzhou cults but also regional cults that were expanding their influence into this region. Finally, Wang Shenzhi’s reign marked an epochal transition in the

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<sup>123</sup> *Chunxi sanshan zhi* (1182) 8.10a~11b.

<sup>124</sup> The King of Zhongshan was originally the monastic guardian (qielanshen 伽藍神) of the Zhongshan Buddhist temple. According to the deity’s mythology, when the Southern Tang attacked the Min in 944, the King of Zhongshan provided divine help to protect the Min troops. *Chunxi sanshan zhi* (1182) 8.20a~20b.

<sup>125</sup> *Chunxi sanshan zhi* (1182) 9.17b~21b.

<sup>126</sup> Yao 2004:23.

attitude of public authorities toward popular cults in this region. The construction of temples dedicated to popular gods in Fuzhou accelerated markedly beginning in Wang Shenzhi's reign.<sup>127</sup> In addition, the number of titles that were granted to popular deities in Fuzhou by the Min regime exceeded even that of the Northern Song period.<sup>128</sup> As noted earlier, Fujian also became the center of Chan Buddhism at this time due to the Min regime's active patronage. Like other regional states in south China, the Min regime sought to use religious patronage as a means to bolster their legitimacy and prestige.

## 5. Conclusion

This chapter argues that the sharp increase in the patronage of popular religion, including popular forms of Buddhism and Daoism as well as local deity cults, by the regional regimes in south China during the tenth century stemmed from a rapid shift in the political environment and the transformation of the Chinese religious world.

First of all, the formation of regional states such as Wu, Southern Tang, Wuyue, and Min was built on the support of local communities. Therefore, these states actively carried out not only economic development projects to improve the living standards of the local communities but also cultural development projects intended to raise the region's cultural standards. As another aspect of these regimes' locally oriented policies, the rulers patronized the popular religious culture. Since the southern kingdoms lacked the imperial pretensions of the northern dynasties, they focused their efforts to secure symbolic legitimacy not on sacrificial rituals for

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<sup>127</sup> Yao 2004:25~26.

<sup>128</sup> Yang 2010:343~44.

official state deities but rather through promotion of local popular cults. Consequently, the permeation of state authority into the local communities facilitated their close involvement with and manipulation of popular cults.

The key transformation of the Chinese religious world, the increasing participation of the ordinary people in religious life and activities, not only stimulated dramatic changes in organized religion but also invigorated the mutual interaction between Buddhism, Daoism, and popular cults. The new Buddhist and Daoist movements of the late Tang and Five Dynasties era were largely concentrated in south China. Chan Buddhism, the Pure Land teachings, and Daoist internal alchemy all appealed to people of different social strata. The interplay between organized religious and popular deity cults during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period occurred both on the level of liturgic rites and through the transformation of their deities. As a result, the transformation of the Chinese medieval religious world erased the once firm boundary between the practices of organized religion and those of popular religion. Therefore, the southern kingdoms actively supported both the organized religions and the popular local cults that were being transformed by the ordinary people's enthusiastic participation.

As a unified imperial house, however, the Northern Song dynasty—a northern regime that gradually annexed the southern kingdoms—had a different attitude toward the popular religious cults from both the previous northern dynasties and the southern kingdoms of the Five Dynasties period. While the Northern Song emperors devoted great attention to carrying out the sacrificial rituals for the official state deities to bolster their imperial aspirations, they also paid considerable attention to the popular religious cults since they needed to attract support from the local communities of the newly annexed southern territories. As the next chapter will show, the Northern Song state created an official pantheon of local deities to strengthen its authority and

power at the local level. By combining the local pantheons with the imperial one, the Northern Song rulers established an all-embracing official pantheon that subsumed the whole spiritual world, from the most august state cults down to the highly-localized cults.

## ***Chapter Three***

### ***A State-Centered Approach toward Popular Religious Cults by the Northern Song Reformers***

This chapter explores the cause of the Northern Song government's growing interests in popular religious cults, which reflected the new approaches toward popular religion by the New Policy reformers. The reform movement was dedicated to state-centered statecraft, and thus the reformers sought to establish official control over popular cults through a state-centered administration system. In particular, they sought to establish a hierarchical order throughout the spiritual realm by creating a universal pantheon that combined the officially-recognized deities in the state register of the sacrifices and local popular cults. Therefore, the Northern Song reformers' new approach toward the popular cults brought about significant changes in the relationship between the state and local religion.

#### **1. The Shift in State Interest in Popular Religious Cults between the Tang and Song Periods**

The suppression of licentious cults traces back to the pre-Qin period in Chinese history. However, these efforts had occurred only intermittently, and were never systematized or institutionalized before the Song period. Moreover, there had been only a few cases in which the state granted titles or plaques to popular deities to honor them for the miraculous deeds they performed for the benefit of the general populace. It was during the Song dynasty that an unprecedented change in the frequency and scope of both the persecution of licentious cults and the official patronage of local deities occurred. Above all, the state response to popular cults

changed drastically due to the marked growth in the number and diversity of popular cults. The development of popular cults resulted not only from changing socio-economic circumstances during the Song period, such as the commercial revolution of the Jiangnan region and the growth of cities,<sup>129</sup> but also from the social and psychological impact of those changes, such as a passion for riches among lay people and psychological anxiety in an affluent and mobile society.<sup>130</sup>

Nevertheless, these explanations for the rise of popular religious cults are still not sufficient to explain the sharp increase in the persecution of licentious cults and the granting of titles and plaques to approved cults during the Song period. Explanations emphasizing social factors omit consideration of the transformation in the actual agents of the suppression or patronage of popular cults. Furthermore, our perception of the unparalleled and unprecedented growth of popular religious cults during the Song period has been shaped by the rapid increase of popular religious temples, the sharp rise of the granting of titles and plaques, and the significant written record describing the state of popular religious cults. However, apart from the proliferation of popular cults at the onset of the Song Dynasty, as explicated in the previous chapter, we also have evidence of large numbers of popular religious cults during the Tang period. For instance, the oppression of licentious cults by Di Renjie 狄仁杰 of the mid-Tang period (the abolition of 1,700 licentious temples in the Wu and Chu 吳楚 regions in 688) and by Li Deyu 李德裕 of the late Tang period (the abolition of 1,115 temples in the Western Zhejiang (*Zhe-xi* 浙西) region alone in 796) verify that there had already been a large number of popular cults that could be

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<sup>129</sup> The most typical work for this argument is Valerie Hansen's work. Hansen 1990.

<sup>130</sup> von Glahn 2004.

regarded as licentious cults in Jiangnan during the Tang period.<sup>131</sup> In addition, a variety of Tang ghost stories (*guaiqi xiaoshuo* 怪奇小說) or tales of local popular deities collected in the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記) published during the reign of Song Taizong 太宗 provide a glimpse into the pre-Song atmosphere of gods and spirits.

The great popularity of the *chenghuang* (the City God; literally, “wall and moat” 城隍) cult during Tang also demonstrates the wide prevalence of popular cults before Song times.<sup>132</sup> The term *chenghuang* did not refer to any celestial deity but rather to anthropomorphized local tutelary gods. In these cases, a local person who was respected for his virtuous deeds was venerated as a god by the local people after his death and enshrined in a *chenghuang* temple. Before the Song dynasty, most prefectures had their own tutelary gods, and the local prefects patronized the prefecture tutelary gods by enshrining them in *chenghuang* temples, which had been approved by the Tang government, to win public support. Although the central government of the Tang Dynasty was hostile toward unsanctioned cults and temples as seen in the persecutions conducted by Di Renjie and Li Deyu, the local prefects did not necessarily follow state policy. Instead, they often maintained good relationships with the devotees of local popular cults.<sup>133</sup> Consequently, since it is obvious that there were numerous popular cults of varying scale and numbers of devotees during the Tang dynasty, the basic premise that the growth of popular cults in the Song period was abrupt and unprecedented needs to be reconsidered.

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<sup>131</sup> Di Renjie: *Xin tang shu* 115. 4208; *Jiu tang shu* 89. 2887. Li Deyu: *Jiu tang shu* 174. 4511; *Xin tang shu* 180. 5328.

<sup>132</sup> In terms of the *Chenghuang* cults, please refer to Johnson 1985.

<sup>133</sup> It is not uncommon to find cases in which the Tang local prefects prayed to local popular deities in the chronicles of local temples that were included in the Southern Song local gazetteers. Nevertheless, most of these popular deities began to be awarded official titles or plaques from the late Tang or the Five Dynasties period. Sue 1994: 102.

Nevertheless, in comparison to the number of granting titles and plaques to popular religious cults issued during the Song dynasty, it is obvious that the Tang government was relatively indifferent to those cults. Because of their lack of interest, they did not leave sufficient records for us to fully grasp the general state of popular religion. In contrast to the scarcity of pre-Song records, the abundant Song documentation resulted from the growing involvement of the state and the literati in the religious lives of the general populace. In order to understand the state's and the literati's growing interest in the popular religious cults of the Song period, therefore, we must not only comprehend the socio-economic and socio-psychological shifts in Song society but also the underlying cause of the transformation of the literati's attitudes toward popular religious cults during this period.

## **2. The State-Centered Approach toward Popular Cults during the Northern Song Dynasty**

In terms of the state's changed attitudes toward popular cults, first of all it is significant to note the emergence of new political elite during the Northern Song period. A novel aspect of the new political elite was their state-centered efforts to regulate traditionally autonomous features of local community life such as popular religious cults.

### (1) The Shift of the State's Stance on Popular Cults during the Northern Song Dynasty

In evaluating the state's dramatically increasing interest in popular cults since the late Northern Song, Hiroichi Matsumoto argues that the Song authorities had tried to establish order in heaven and on earth by imposing uniformity on the celestial pantheon and the popular worship of the gods.<sup>134</sup> According to Matsumoto, the Song authorities recognized the necessity for systematic regulation of local temples, and as a tentative measure they selectively promoted

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<sup>134</sup> Kōichi 1986.

popular cults. During the Xining reign (1068–1077), the Song court underwent political upheaval because of the factional conflict centered on the New Policy reforms. Valerie Hansen attributed the sharp rise and systemization of the Song state's investiture of popular deities in part to the political reforms instituted by Wang Anshi 王安石.<sup>135</sup> Hansen argues that the shift of government policy in religious matters was inextricably bound up with Wang Anshi's political reforms. Unfortunately, however, her argument suggesting a correlation between the granting of titles and plaques to popular deities and the political reforms of Wang Anshi lacks concrete and specific evidence.

Sue Takashi sheds light on the concrete correlation between the two. He regards the severe political struggle between the New Policy faction (*xinfa dang* 新法黨) and the Old Policy faction (*jiufadang* 舊法黨) as the underlying cause of the rise in the granting of titles and plaques during Shenzong's reign.<sup>136</sup> After Shenzong ascended to the throne in 1068, Wang Anshi commenced his reform plan and caused a serious political conflict with the anti-reform group led by Shima Guang 司馬光 that lasted until the end of the Northern Song. The anti-reform group blamed the occurrence of severe drought in 1074 on the political mistakes committed by supporters of the reform movement and demanded the resignation of the entire reform leadership.<sup>137</sup> Since their demand, which was based on the theory of correlative cosmology (*tianren xiangguanshuo* 天人

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<sup>135</sup> Hansen 1990: 81.

<sup>136</sup> Sue 2001: 80-86.

<sup>137</sup> Historical records like *Songshi* (14-16 and 61-67), *Xu Zizhitongjian changbian* (250-258), and *Songhuiyao jigao* (ruiyi 2. 21-22) contain a reference to the great drought of 1074. The records about the great drought began with the Song government's ordering the local government of the Hebei Circuit 河北路, which had suffered from a prolonged drought, to hold a sacrifice ritual for rain on February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1074, and ended with the government's order to perform the sacrifice of thanksgiving to the deities on September 1st. Therefore, the great drought lasted for at least seven more months, and its devastating damage was not limited to the Hebei Circuit but also hit Hedong 河東, Jingdong 京東, Jingxi 京西, Shanxi 陝西, and Huinan 淮南 circuits. Sue 2001: 73-77.

相關說), attracted public support, they succeeded in persuading Shenzong to withdraw his support for Wang Anshi's group. As a result, the reform agenda was temporarily aborted. Directly after the abolition of the New Policies, however, it happened to rain.<sup>138</sup> Although the New Policy reform soon resumed after many complications, the reform group, which had remained in a defensive position as a result of the anti-reform group's assaults, tried to tip the scales in their favor by making counterarguments in two conflicting ways. On the one hand, they condemned the absurdity of the anti-reform group's cosmological and metaphysical argument by contending that rainfall is determined by the will of Heaven and is not related to any mistake in the management of the state. On the other hand, however, they insisted that it rained directly after the abolition of the New Policies and continued raining despite the resumption of reform because Heaven eventually responded to their prayers for rain at that time. In order to back up their argument, therefore, they held a magnificent ceremony of suburban sacrifice (*jiaoshi* 郊祀) for Heaven and then granted titles to influential local deities who had reportedly responded to the people's prayers for rain. According to Sue Takashi, therefore, the drastic increase in titles and plaques granted during Shenzong's reign was nothing more than a temporary expedient or a stopgap measure to mitigate the anti-reform group's attacks.

The granting of titles and plaques to popular deities by the Northern Song authorities again reached a peak during the Xuanhe reign of Emperor Huizong (r. 1119~1125). Sue Takashi argues that this sharp increase was also a temporary expedient by the Northern Song government

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<sup>138</sup> When the great drought reached its peak, Zheng Xia 鄭俠 petitioned Emperor Shenzong for the impeachment of the New Policy faction. In the petition, he argued that the continuing drought was the result of their misgovernment. In fact, he presented an album of pictures of the displaced people (流民) with the petition, and his appeal succeeded in changing the Emperor's mind. Therefore, Shenzong decided to proclaim the temporary suspension of the key provisions of the New Policies and to allow people to make outspoken criticisms of them. However, soon after, the news of miraculous fall of much-needed rain arrived at the court from the drought areas. Sue 2001: 80-86.

to address an immediate political issue. After the destructive Fang La 方臘 rebellion (1120-21), which devastated much of Jiangnan province and resulted in the capture of Hangzhou 杭州 by the rebels, the Song government intended to repair the damage to the state's authority caused by the rebellion through the widespread granting of titles and plaques to local popular deities. The Song government propaganda suggested, in fact, that it was the divine assistance from local deities that enabled the government to suppress the Fang La rebellion. The Song authorities at this time mainly added promotions to the existing titles of deities who were already enrolled in the register of sacrifice (*cidian* 祀典), rather than conferring new titles or plaques on unregistered temples. Since the Song court was shocked that the rebellion was led by adherents of a sectarian religious group inspired by Manichaeism, Song authorities wished to grant titles only to previously authorized deities.

However, the unstable political situation of the late Northern Song period adversely affected the New Policy faction's effort to systematize the control of popular cults. As a result, the court began to issue titles and plaques in an effort to make up for their political failures. Furthermore, because of the continued political chaos from the late Northern Song into the Southern Song period, the state authorities continued to issue titles and plaques in an effort to woo public support. However, the elaboration and refinement of the system of granting titles and plaques ironically led to abuse of the system. As a result, the Song government's effort to regulate popular cults was not completely successful, since the government used the system less to impose its own controls than to cultivate popular support by sanctioning existing local religious practices. Consequently, it is obvious that the sharp rise in the issuing of titles and plaques to

popular deities by the Song state was triggered directly by the rapidly changing political environment.

However, it is also worth noticing that the sharp increase in the Northern Song court's granting of titles and plaques was more than just a political expedient. We should also recognize that there had been gradual but fundamental changes in the state's stance toward popular religion. Although the frequency of awards to popular deities slightly decreased after it had reached its peak in 1075, it had been on an upward trend in general.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, the Song government began to establish a coherent management system for popular cults. For instance, in 1095, Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 ordered that every prefecture (*zhou* 州) should compile a list of temples of popular cults and describe the history of the temples' construction.<sup>140</sup> In addition, in 1101, Huizong issued an edict that gave instructions for the codification of the process to grant titles and plaques.<sup>141</sup> Since this control system not only applied to popular deities but also included the Buddhist and Taoist temples, it was a part of the comprehensive and ambitious project to regulate all forms of religious worship throughout the empire. The overall increase in the state's recognition of popular deities during the latter half of the Northern Song period, therefore, resulted from the New Policy faction's deliberate approach to an overall reform of religious practice rather than merely from temporary political expediency.

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<sup>139</sup> After the entire empire was relieved from the great drought, the Song government issued an edict mandating that local officials identify the deities who made miraculous responses to the prayers for rain on November 25<sup>th</sup>, 1074. Then in 1075, the state granted 34 titles to deities throughout the empire. Although the number of titles issued became smaller after 1075, the annual average was roughly ten, much higher than that before 1075. Sue 2001: 80~86.

<sup>140</sup> It was called the "register of prefecture sacrifice" (*zhou cidian* 州祀典). *Song huiyao jigao* li 20. 9.

<sup>141</sup> *Song huiyao jigao* li 20. 7; Sue 2003: 85.

As Hansen argued, the Northern Song reformist faction extended their agenda into the spiritual world. That is, in order to complete their reforms in the secular world they realized the necessity to restructure the framework of the world of religious practice. The state's jurisdiction over the spiritual world had not extended beyond the boundaries prescribed in imperial ritual codes, such as the *Ritual Code of the Kaiyuan Reign Period* (713~41) (*Datang kaiyuanli* 大唐開元禮), until the early Northern Song.<sup>142</sup> However, beginning with the Xining reign, its jurisdiction began to expand beyond those limits into the domain of popular beliefs, which formerly had been within the private sphere of lay people. For instance, in 1074, the Suburban Sacrifice was followed by the granting of titles and plaques to popular religious cults.<sup>143</sup> This clearly demonstrated that the state's spiritual jurisdiction had begun to cover the whole pantheon from Haotian shangdi 昊天上帝), the highest celestial deity, down to the lowest local popular deities.

In order to comprehend the basic intention of the Northern Song reformist group's policy toward popular religion, it is essential to understand their policies' overall features, such as their comprehensive vision of social reform. While most of Wang Anshi's reforms, such as his financial, military, and educational policies, had practical secular goals, his reform of state ritual revealed the idealistic and metaphysical aspects of his ideology. In practice, Wang Anshi and his partners in the New Policy faction had actively engaged in disputes with their antagonists over the reform of state rituals and successfully accomplished their intention to introduce a new state

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<sup>142</sup> *Datang kaiyuanli* (大唐開元禮) was compiled during the Kaiyuan reign of Tang Xuanzong (玄宗, r. 712~56). Although a new state ritual code, the *Ritual Code of the Kaibao Reign Period* (968~76) (*Kaibao tongli* 開寶通禮), was compiled during the Kaibao reign of the Song founder Emperor Taizu (960~76), the compilers of this code simply imitated the *Datang Kaiyuanli* because of the urgent needs for state rites at that time. *Songshi* 98.2423.

<sup>143</sup> *Song huiyao jigao* li 20. 2.

ritual system that would encompass the ritual life of all social strata from the emperor down to ordinary families. Consequently, the reform group's ambitious plan to regulate every deity in the celestial pantheon reflected the overall agenda of the reform movement.

## (2) The New Policy Faction's Reform of State Ritual and Popular Cults

Since its beginning, the Song dynasty had constructed its overall ritual system based on the model of the Tang dynasty. For example, early Song literati like Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1020) and Liu Jun 劉筠 (971–1031) adhered to the literati and cultural traditions of Tang. They emulated the sentimental and ornate literary style of the late Tang poet Li Shangyin 李商隱 (812–858), and their poetical style, named the Xikun style (*xikunti* 西崑體), gained great popularity among the early Song literati.<sup>144</sup> In addition, they continued to rely on the interpretations of Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574–648) *Correct Meaning of Five Classics* (*Wujing Zhengyi* 五經正義) in their reading of the Confucian Classics. It was the new reform groups of the mid Northern Song, such as Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052) and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007–1072), who first challenged the previously unquestioned acceptance of the cultural tradition of the Tang Dynasty and established the new tradition of the Song Dynasty. Above all, in terms of literary writing, they disavowed the Xikun style and strongly advocated a revival of the “ancient prose” (*guwen* 古文) writing style. Fan and Ouyang condemned the existing writing as incapable of conveying the Way (*dao* 道) or teachings of Confucius, primarily because it stuck so much to form that it lost all content. Furthermore, they asserted that, as Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) and Liu Zongyuan

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<sup>144</sup> The name Xikun came from their anthology *Xikun chouchang ji* 西崑酬唱集 (1005). *Xikun chouchang ji*.

柳宗元 (773–819) of the late Tang period already affirmed, literati would be able to retain the true Way of Confucianism only by returning to ancient writing.

However, their epiphany was not just confined to literary writing but also led to their political engagement and to an enthusiastic pursuit of a new political order. When Fan Zhongyan and his followers were able to seize control of the Song court during the Qingli 慶歷 reign (1041–48) of Emperor Renzong 仁宗, they initiated a reform of politics known as the Qingli New Deal (*Qingli xinzheng* 慶歷新政), in 1043–44. First of all, the new regime initiated a reform of the system of recruiting government officials because they sought to replace the old bureaucrats with new blood who sympathized with their vision of the New Deal. They also recognized the need for supporters at the court to secure the continuity of the New Deal. Therefore, they drastically reduced the quotas for recruiting officials based on kinship ties through the *yin* 蔭 privilege and instead revised the civil service examinations to require answers in *guwen* writing. In order to foster enough candidates for bureaucratic appointments, they also contributed to the build-up of numerous institutions of learning across many provinces. Thus, despite the fact that their reform movement was short-lived, it changed the entire trend of elite learning into a *guwen*-based system, largely by virtue of their successful efforts in education.

This new trend of learning also had great influence on later politics insofar as it cultivated in both the New Policy faction and the anti-reform faction a philosophical basis for their positions. Furthermore, the reforms were not restricted to political, social, and educational areas but also included a modification of state ritual. In 1065, in his capacity as assistant chief councillor (*canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事), Ouyang Xiu appointed two low-level officials, Su Xun 蘇洵 and Yao Pi 姚闢, to compile a chronicle of the state rituals of all time, entitled *The Bureau of*

*Ceremonial's Chronicle of State Ritual (Taichang Yingeli 太常因革禮)* that would serve as reference for carrying out the state rituals.<sup>145</sup>

It was Wang Anshi and his New Policy faction that took over the political heritage of the Qingli New Deal and pushed forward its ambitious plan of comprehensive reform. The existing studies of Wang Anshi's reform have focused mainly on its political, financial, and educational areas. However, historical records such as the *Long Draft of the Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Governance (Xu Zizhitongjian changbian 續資治通鑑長編)* demonstrate that Wang Anshi and the New Policy faction actively promoted a reform of the overall state ritual system.<sup>146</sup> In the Chinese traditional ritual system, sacrificial rituals were the most cherished, and among them the suburban sacrifice (*jiaoshi 郊祀*) was put first because it was dedicated to Haotian shangdi, who symbolized the Heaven that was regarded as the source of the Way in Confucianism. Therefore, the reform of the suburban sacrifice clearly revealed the overall goal and direction of their program of ritual reform. The two crucial points in Wang Anshi's argument over the suburban sacrifice were 1) which ancestor of the Imperial family would be placed beside (*peisi 陪祀*) Haotian shangdi in the arrangement of tablets (*shenwei 神位*) on the high altar, and 2) whether sacrifices dedicated to *Tian* 天 (Heaven) and *Di* 地 (Earth) would be held together or separately. First of all, Wang Anshi argued that officially, Emperor Taizu 太祖, who established the Song dynasty, should be put there instead of the progenitor of the royal family (Zhao Tiao 趙朶, his posthumous title being Xizu 僖祖), who should be enshrined in the royal ancestral shrine (*Zhongmiao 宗廟*). In terms of the second issue, he argued

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<sup>145</sup> *Xu Zizhitongjian changbian* 206. 4996.

<sup>146</sup> Kojima 1989.

that according to yin-yang theory, the sacrificial ritual dedicated to Heaven should be carried out at the Southern Altar of the suburban sacrifice, the Round Altar (Yuanqiutan 圓丘壇), because both Heaven and the southward direction possess yang nature, and the sacrifice to Earth should be held at the Northern Altar, the Square Altar (Fangqiutan 方丘壇).

According to Kojima Tsuyoshi's analysis of these shifts, Wang's first measure signified that the founder of the dynasty was more exalted than the first ancestor of the royal family.<sup>147</sup> Therefore, the Emperor would no longer carry out sacrifice rituals to Haotian shangdi indirectly via private ancestors of the royal family, but rather would worship the highest god directly as the representative of the dynasty. Meanwhile, the second measure meant that Heaven and Earth were no longer venerated as transcendental beings; they should instead be regarded as natural forces that were governed by natural law, namely yin-yang theory.<sup>148</sup> The reforms promoted by Wang Anshi demonstrated that the symbolic meaning and the transcendental status of Heaven were both downgraded. Therefore, Heaven, which had been beyond the natural order and could be addressed only through the ancestors' otherworldly assistance, became an identifiable being that could be defined by natural law. That is, although Heaven was ranked highest in the celestial world, a measure of relative status was assigned to Heaven for the first time. Furthermore, the suburban sacrifice itself would be held every three years on a regular basis, and its procedure and scale was greatly simplified. The overall trend of demythologization in the reforms of sacrifice ritual was also corroborated by the abolition of the Feng and Shan (封禪) ritual.<sup>149</sup> As a result,

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<sup>147</sup> Kojima 1989: 167-176.

<sup>148</sup> Kojima 1989: 193-194.

<sup>149</sup> For the Feng and Shan rituals during the Han Dynasty and the Tang Dynasty, please refer to Wechsler 1985: 170-194.

the Feng and Shan ritual never again was held after the last one performed during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong in 1008.<sup>150</sup> Consequently, the principal intention of the reform of the suburban sacrifice ritual was to demythologize Heaven and Earth and transform them from transcendental beings to natural forces.

What relevance, then, did the New Policy faction's reform of state ritual have for their reform of local popular cults? In 1074, the suburban sacrifice was followed by the granting of titles and plaques to popular cults for the first time. This clearly demonstrated that the state's spiritual jurisdiction began to cover the whole range of the divine pantheon from the highest celestial deity to the lowest popular deities. In addition, two measures to control the popular cults were incorporated into the New Policy faction's effort to extend their jurisdiction of the spiritual realm into private domains as well. First, in 1095, Emperor Zhezong ordered every prefecture to compile a register of prefectural sacrifices that for the first time placed authorized local deities under the administration of local officials. Next, in 1101, Emperor Huizong codified the process for granting titles and plaques to local popular cults. The main purpose of this codification was to intensify the screening system and prevent unqualified popular cults from being included in the

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<sup>150</sup> Although Emperor Zhenzong secured peace with the Liao by concluding the Shanyuan Peace Treaty 澶淵之盟 in 1004, he was subjected to mounting criticism that it was humiliating. In order to tip the scale in his favor, therefore, he was persuaded by Wang Qinruo 王欽若 to hold the Feng and Shan rituals in 1008. However, although he hesitated to hold that ritual since he did not have any special achievement to speak of as compared with the previous emperors who performed it such as the First Emperor of Qin 秦始皇 (in 219 BCE), Han Wudi 漢武帝 (in 110, 109, 106, 104, 102, 98, 93, and 89 BCE), Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (in 725 CE) and so on, Wang Qinruo provided a plausible justification to hold the Feng and Shan ritual by forging a "Heavenly Text" (*tianshu* 天書) that was deemed a sign of divine favor. As a result, the Song government spent incomparably greater funds to hold the ritual than the annual tribute that the Song promised to offer to the Liao. *Songshi* 104. 2527-2546. Han Wudi's lavish expenditures on the Feng and Shan ritual were sharply criticized by Sima Qian and others, and this ritual had been gradually disappearing since the Eastern Han period (25–220 CE). Even the effectiveness of the ritual's political symbolism had become subject to challenge by leading literati in mid-Northern Song. As a result, the provisions for the Feng and Shan ritual that had been included in the *Ritual Code of the Kaiyuan Reign Period* of Tang, were omitted in *The New Ritual Code of the Zhenghe Reign Period*. Consequently the Feng and Shan ritual of Song Zhenzong was the last one throughout Chinese history.

register of sacrifice. According to this system, if there was an appeal made to the government regarding the granting of titles and plaques to a popular religious cult, the central government sent an official to review the qualifications of the popular cult, evaluating features such as practical examples of spiritual interaction between the deity and its devotees.

Therefore, along with their reform of state rituals, the above series of measures for popular cults were carried out by the New Policy faction in an attempt to expand the secular authorities' control over the spiritual realm.<sup>151</sup> Through their restructuring of the spiritual realm, the reformers wished to be able to regulate even the general populace's religious lives. Consequently, state activism, a term that can describe the overall character of the New Policies, was readily apparent in their program to reform popular cults.

### (3) The Later Reformist Forces' Attempts to Reestablish Control over Popular Cults during the Reign of Emperor Huizong

The New Policy reform agenda, which was characterized by state activism, was inherited by later reformist leaders led by Cai Jing 蔡京, who served for sixteen years as prime minister between 1102 and 1117 during the reign of Huizong.<sup>152</sup> The later reformist forces reinforced the main features of the preceding ritual reform and expanded their coverage of the ritual reforms.

The salient features of Cai Jing's reform can be found in his policies regarding education and rituals. In terms of the education, he intended to enlarge the three-stage process of recruiting

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<sup>151</sup> According to Wen-chang Chang's research, the Southern Song government, which denied the entire project of the New Policies, did not retain the New Policy reforms of the state ritual system and returned to the previous system based on the *Bureau of Ceremonial's Chronicle of State Ritual*. However, we should bear in mind that the main agenda for reform of the ritual system shifted from state rituals to family rituals (*jiali* 家禮) during the Southern Song period. Chang 2006.

<sup>152</sup> Chaffee 2006.

government officials (*Sanshefa* 三舍法), which had been introduced by Wang Anshi. The *Sanshefa* focused on the establishment of a coherent system covering every level of schooling from primary education to the training of government officials based on the ideals of universal education found in the *Rituals of Zhou* (*Zhouli* 周禮),<sup>153</sup> which Wang Anshi had put first among the Confucian Classics.<sup>154</sup> That is, they advocated that national educational institutions should take overall responsibility for fostering the ruling elite from beginning to end.

In terms of the reform of the state ritual system, the later reformist forces faithfully continued their predecessor's policy. For example, Cai Jing's group integrated the New Policy faction's ideals of state rituals into a new state ritual code, *The New Ritual Code of the Zhenghe Reign Period* (*Zhenghe Wuli xinyi* 政和五禮新儀) in 1113. The new ritual code included regulations for funeral rites and ancestral sacrifices even for the general populace who had no official rank.<sup>155</sup> These ritual regulations for ordinary people had not been found in any previous state ritual code. This was the first attempt by the imperial state to extend its control to the customary realm of people's practices. Wang Anshi previously preached to Emperor Shenzong the urgency of rectifying all state rituals,<sup>156</sup> and his ideals were finally materialized as a codified ritual code by the later reformist forces.

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<sup>153</sup> Bol 1992: 237.

<sup>154</sup> Wang Anshi set up the bureau of compilation of classics and published *the New Meanings of Three Classics* (*sanjing xinyi* 三經信義), the commentaries of the *Book of Odes* (*詩經*), the *Book of Documents* (*書經*) and the *Rituals of Zhou*. Among them, Wang personally wrote the commentary of the *Rituals of Zhou* (*zhouguan xinyi* 周官新義).

<sup>155</sup> *Zhenghe Wulixinyi* 179 (the rites of the marriage ceremonial of ordinary people, *shuren hunyi* 庶人婚儀), 186 (the rites of the coming of age ceremonial of ordinary people, *shuren shuzi guanyi* 庶人庶子冠儀), 218-220 (the rites of the funeral ceremonials of ordinary people 1·2·3, *shuren sangyi shang·zhong·xia* 庶人喪儀上·中·下).

<sup>156</sup> By citing a reference to a phrase “unify the ethical values to homogenize civic mores” from the *Classic of Rites* (“一道德以同俗”*Liji*禮記:王制:5:22>), Wang told Emperor Shenzong that it was urgently needed to “unify ethical

Two years earlier, before their compilation of the state ritual code, the later reformist forces initiated a reform of the administrative system for popular cults. In the beginning of the second decade of his ministership, Cai Jing introduced an innovation in the policy regarding popular cults. Since the codification of granting titles and plaques to local temples adopted in 1101, there had been abuse of this system because the Song state had used such awards as an appeasement policy. As a result, during the Chongning 崇寧 reign (1102-1106) of Huizong, the granting of titles and plaques rose to an unprecedented level. In particular, the screening system of popular cults, which already functioned largely as a formality, became a purely perfunctory system at that point. It was natural, therefore, that the later reformist group became aware of the need to remedy this abuse. Above all, they resumed direct persecution of “profligate cults.”<sup>157</sup> In January of 1111, they targeted 1,038 unauthorized popular temples in the capital city, Kaifeng 開封, tearing them down and moving the deities’ images into Buddhist and Taoist temples or officially authorized temples such as those dedicated to Zhenwu 真武 and Tudi 土地 deities.<sup>158</sup> Furthermore, this persecution of popular cults was followed by a ban prohibiting laypeople from building any new popular temples in the capital. This persecution of the cults in the capital demonstrated that the screening system initiated in 1101 had not been working as they intended.

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values to transform civic mores” (“一道德以變風俗”). That is, he put stress on the significance of reforming the popular custom in front of the Emperor. “熙寧三年(1070)九月己丑王安石對神宗說:“陛下明智, 度越前世人主, 但剛健不足, 未能一道德以變風俗, 故異論紛紛不止.”Xu Zizhitongjian changbian 215.

<sup>157</sup> The term “profligate cults” may be more suitable for these popular cults than the commonly-used term “licentious cults” since sexual impropriety was not the reason they were persecuted. These popular cults were labeled as *yinci* 淫祀 because they were characterized as “excessive” cults or “beyond the proper boundaries” cults.

<sup>158</sup> *Song huiyao jigao li* 20. 14-15. A significant feature of this action is that these deities did not deserve their own temples, but should be housed as subordinate figures in officially-sanctioned temples. The purpose of this action was to regulate, not suppress, the worship of these deities.

Second, the reformist leadership realized the necessity for institutional overhaul of the administrative system for popular cults. In a memorial to the throne six months later, the head of the Archival Bureau (Mishujian 秘書監), He Zhitong 何志同, argued that the Board of Rites (Libu 禮部) should compile a register of sacrifices to standardize the criteria for classifying popular cults and distribute it to every prefecture.<sup>159</sup> He argued that local governments should investigate the local temples within their jurisdiction and categorize them into three groups: ① officially authorized temples that already received titles and plaques, ② unauthorized ones that had no titles and plaques but deserved titles and plaques due to their demonstrated good deeds on behalf of the people, and ③ unauthorized temples that were arbitrarily built by lay people and had no meritorious deeds worthy of respect. Through this classification of local temples, he intended to completely rectify the problems of the previous control system.

However, the later reformist forces' ambitious plan to ensure practical control over popular cults failed to work properly because of the socio-political chaos and the ensuing total collapse of the New Policy faction around the end of Northern Song dynasty. In fact, the granting of titles and plaques to popular deities reached its peak during the Xuanhe reign (1119~1125) of Huizong. After a minor interruption, the number of titles and plaques granted drastically increased in 1121, which was the year that the destructive Fang La rebellion ended. As Sue Takashi argued, the lavish recognition of local deities was an immediate result of the Song state's need to restore order in the aftermath of the destructive rebellion.<sup>160</sup> Because of this political expediency, the authorities ignored the proper procedures and principles for granting titles and plaques. Since the

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<sup>159</sup> *Song huiyao jigao* li 20. 9-10.

<sup>160</sup> Sue 2003.

state's only concern was to verify whether or not the popular deity had contributed to the suppression of the rebellion, the officials were not concerned about practical examples of its spiritual interaction with the local people, and they uniformly attributed the same divine powers, by which the popular deities could protect people from the rebels, onto the local popular cults. In order to restore the government's control over the areas where the rebellion had occurred, the Song dynasty tried to underscore popular deities' great influence over the local people. The Song officials' effort to establish sound procedures and principles for granting titles and plaques was frustrated by the devastating rebellion, and they could not afford to restore the administrative system over popular cults because of the continuing socio-political chaos during the late Northern Song and early Southern Song period.

### **3. The Establishment of a Universal Pantheon**

The typical structure of the state pantheon, which was divided into three hierarchical classes, was first established during the Sui 隋 Dynasty (581~618 CE) on the basis of the classical form of the *Rituals of Zhou*, and elaborately developed during the subsequent Tang and Song periods.<sup>161</sup> A rigorous hierarchical order was imposed on the deities of the pantheon, and the sacrificial rituals for them were also performed in differentiated spaces and times according to their ranks in this hierarchy. The official deities contained in the three-tiered state pantheon had been limited to 1) deified natural forces such as Heaven, Earth, notable mountains, rivers, etc., 2) natural phenomena such as Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Rain, etc., and 3) deified humans such as the imperial ancestors or the emperors of the previous dynasties. While commoner deities worshiped by the local populace had been excluded from the state pantheon, from the mid-Northern Song

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<sup>161</sup> For the transition of the state pantheon, please refer to Table 1 at the end of this chapter.

period the central government began to display a clear intention to include them into an extended form of the system.

The New Policy group's redefinition of the nature of celestial deities in the register of state sacrifice and their incorporation of the various new popular cults into the register of prefectural sacrifice were, in fact, closely connected with each other. They did not promote the two policies separately; rather, the policy concerning the popular cults was subordinate to the policy related to the official celestial deities. For instance, during Emperor Shenzong's reign, the performance of the suburban sacrifice, which was not just the sacrificial ritual for Haotian shangdi, "the highest celestial deity" but was also the most comprehensive one in that it was dedicated to all other celestial deities together as sub-deities, frequently had been followed by the bestowal of titles and plaques to the popular cults. The reformers had conceived of the idea of building up a universal pantheon that included not only every celestial deity but also the authorized local popular deities. In order to arrange them according to the celestial hierarchy in the pantheon, first of all they erased the transcendent nature of Haotian shangdi while at the same time placing it in the highest position of the hierarchy. Next, on the basis of the hierarchy of the state ritual code, the Haotian shangdi was followed by lower celestial deities that were enrolled in the register of state sacrifices. At the lowest level of the hierarchy, there were local official deities such as prefecture-level gods of earth and grain (*zhouxuan sheji* 州縣社稷) followed by the authorized local deities included in the registries of prefectural sacrifices that had been compiled since the Emperor Zhezong's reign. From that point, therefore, when the Song officials asked for help from the unseen spiritual forces and then expressed gratitude to them for their assistance, the objects of the state's sacrificial performances ranged from the official celestial deities to the local

popular deities. Consequently, this organizational structure served as evidence of their ambitious plan to construct a universal pantheon.

The establishment of the universal pantheon was a product of the New Policy group's restructuring of the spiritual world. The reformist forces aimed to systematize the spiritual world by establishing a screening system that would sort out improper spirits and arrange every valid spirit in its proper place in the hierarchy. In fact, as we can see that the Northern Song reformist leaders were greatly concerned with systematizing the customary realm of people's religious practices. In contrast to the Tang aristocratic ruling class, whose status depended on their family background and noble lineage, the newly emergent ruling class of Song, which entered government service through the civil service examinations, intended to establish a centralized state by exercising direct control over the general populace. That is, they aimed to fulfill their ideal of "state activism" by promoting the intervention of state authority in every local community, which had been enjoyed a measure of autonomy until then. Furthermore, they applied their ideal of state activism not only to the secular realm but also to the spiritual realm. Consequently, their effort to restructure the spiritual world was a part of their program of state activism.

However, this ideal of state activism was officially abolished when the Emperor Huizong was taken as a hostage by the Jin army. In terms of the state ritual, the Southern Song government publicly abolished the ritual system Huizong adopted in the *New Ritual Code of Zhenghe Reign*. However, the Southern Song state that as fighting for its survival against the invading northern enemy did not undertake a time-consuming and costly project like the compilation of a new state ritual code and instead just supplemented the earlier *Bureau of*

*Ceremonial's Chronicle of State Ritual* by revising the outdated rites in it.<sup>162</sup> Furthermore, since the political leaders of the Southern Song court needed to win public support,<sup>163</sup> they could not but uphold the previous systems of awarding titles and plaques to deities that achieved popularity in local communities.<sup>164</sup> Therefore, it is obvious that the high frequency of awards granted to local deities throughout the Song dynasty did not simply reflect a proliferation of popular cults; it was also a product of the Song state's conscious policy toward popular cults.

#### 4. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the sharp rise in granting titles and plaques to local cults during the Northern Song period can be attributed to a shift in the state's attitude toward the local cults. The New Policy reformers extended its state-centered approach to civil governance to the regulation of local cults, and therefore they established a comprehensive administration system over the local cults throughout the country for the first time in the Chinese history. In particular, the Northern Song reformers tried to impose a hierarchical order on the whole spiritual realm. As a result, they established a universal pantheon that arranged not only the official deities in the state register of sacrifices but also the authorized local cults of prefectural registers of sacrifices according to a coherent hierarchical order. Finally, it is significant that the Northern Song reformers' state activism had a decisive effect on the state's growing involvement in the local cults through institutionalization of the relationship between state rituals and local deities.

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<sup>162</sup> *Songshi* 98. 2424.

<sup>163</sup> In terms of the political circumstance of the early years of Southern Song period, please refer to Liu 1988: 81-104. In particular, James T. C. Liu argues that while this long lasting autocracy in the Southern Song court alienated the literati from the court, it set the stage for the rise of Zhu Xi and his followers.

<sup>164</sup> Hansen 1990: 80.

This state-centered approach came to an end, however, when the New Policy faction finally collapsed with the demise of the Northern Song court. A new type of literati governance emerged during the Southern Song period, and the Daoxue literati in particular sought to redefine the relationship between local deities and civil government. Since the Southern Song literati leaders had usually spent their careers serving as local prefects or remaining in the community and exercising informal leadership, they had rich experience in dealing with local popular cults. Above all, they began to carry out close scrutiny of popular cults and to keep records of them in their writings. Furthermore, their approach to popular beliefs reflected their different philosophical background. In terms of their significant philosophical traits, they disagreed fundamentally with Wang Anshi's state activism and instead advocated the primacy of the autonomous order of the local community under the leadership of the Confucian literati. Therefore, they rejected the Northern Song reformist forces' top-down and state-centered approach to regulating popular religious beliefs and practices. Instead of perfecting an ideal system for controlling those beliefs, the new literati focused on converting the core values of popular cults to Confucian ethical ones and correcting the depraved aspects that could potentially cause social unrest.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Western scholarship on the new intellectual trends among the Song literati developed in earnest between the 1950s and the 1970s, represented especially in the works by Wing-tsit Chan and William Theodore de Bary on the emergence of "Neo-Confucianism." Since this first generation of scholarship followed the Chinese traditional scholarship, they focused their attention primarily on the philosophical ideas of Zhu Xi, for example in Chan 1973 and de Bary, Chan, and Watson 1960. However, this tendency to focus on the dominant ascendancy of Zhu Xi's influence among the Song literati began to be challenged by the next generation of scholars, such as Hoyt Tillman and Peter Bol, in early 1980s. Although they had divergent perspectives, these scholars agreed that the scope of Song intellectual history should be broadened to include the ideas of other contemporary scholars and statesmen, for example the "utilitarian" philosophy of Chen Liang and the literary aesthetics of Su Shi (蘇軾). Their works clarified not only the overall intellectual environment of the Song period but also illuminated the process whereby the Zhu Xi's ideas gained both intellectual ascendancy and endorsement as official orthodoxy between the late Southern Song and the Ming periods. See Tillman 1992, 1982.; Bol 1992.

## Appendix to Chapter Three

(Table 1) The Transition of the Chinese State Pantheon

	大祀	中祀	小祀	州縣祭祀	出典
周禮	天, 地, 宗廟	日, 月, 星辰, 社稷、五祀、五嶽,	司命, 司中, 風師, 雨師,	(小祀)山川, 百物	鄭玄注, 賈公彥疏, <周禮注疏> 卷 19, p499
隋 (開皇禮)	昊天上帝, 五方上帝, 日, 月, 皇地祇, 神州, 社稷, 宗廟	星辰, 五祀, 四望等	司中, 司命, 風師, 雨師及諸星,	(小祀)諸山川	魏徵等, <隋書> 卷 6 ' <禮儀志一>, p117
唐 (大唐開元禮) (55)	昊天上帝, 五方上帝, 皇地祇, 神州地祇, 宗廟	日 (大明), 月 (夜明), 星辰 (五星), 社稷 (太社太稷), 嶽, 鎮, 海, 瀆, 帝社, 先蠶, 孔宣父 (孔子), 齊太公 (姜尚), 諸太子廟	司中, 司命, 風師, 雨師, 靈星, 山林, 川沢, 五龍祠, 司寒, 先牧, 馬社, 馬步	(小祀)州縣社稷, 州縣孔宣父, 祭城門, 州縣諸神祠 (名山大川, etc.)	大唐開元禮: 卷 1, 序例上 & 通典: 卷 106, 禮 66, 開元禮纂類 1, 序例上, pp.2761 ~62
北宋初 (開寶通禮) (90)	昊天上帝, 五方上帝 (感生帝), 日, 月, 太一, 百神 (臘日大蜡祭), 皇地祇, 神州地祇, 太廟后廟, 太社太稷, 九宮貴神 (30)	五龍, 風師, 先農, 先蠶, 雨師, 文宣王 (孔子), 武成王 (姜尚), (9)	馬祖, 先牧, 馬社, 馬步, 中霤 (宅神), 靈星, 壽星, 司中, 司命, 司人, 司祿, 司寒 (9)	(中祀)岳, 鎮, 海, 瀆, 先代帝王, 周六廟 (小祀)州縣社稷, 文宣王 (孔子), 風, 雨, 高禩, 大小醮神 (42)	宋史: 卷 98 志 51 禮志 1, pp.2425~26

(Table 2) The Deities added to the Previous State Pantheon from Zhenzong's reign to Huizong's reign.

	大祀	中祀	小祀	州縣祭祀	Unclassified Sacrifice Ritual in the State Ritual Code	出典
眞宗	玉皇大帝 (昊天上帝), 聖祖(聖祖上靈高道九天司命保生天尊, 趙玄朗)					宋史:卷 104 志 57 禮志 7, pp.2527-46
神宗 (92)			(七祀):司命, 戶,竈(竈神), 中霤, 門, 厲, 行			宋史:卷 98 志 51 禮志 1, pp.2425-26
徽宗 (政化五禮新儀) (100 餘個)	熒惑(火星),陽德觀, 帝籙(九鼎之中心鼎), 大火(星)	雷神, 歷代帝王, (九鼎之八鼎):寶鼎, 牧鼎, 蒼鼎, 岡鼎, 彤鼎, 阜鼎, 皐鼎, 魁鼎, 后土(會應廟, 慶成軍)	山林川澤		家廟: 品官時享家廟 (適士以上祭於廟, 庶士以下祭於寢)	宋史:卷 98 志 51 禮志 1, pp.2424-26 & 政化五禮新儀

(Table 3) The State Pantheon of the Ming Dynasty

	大祀(13)	中祀(25)	小祀(8)	王國, 府州縣, 衛, 庶人祭祀	Unclassified Sacrifice Ritual in the State Ritual Code	出典
明太祖 (大明集禮 <i>daming jili</i> , The Collection of State Rituals of the Great Ming)	昊天上帝, 皇地祇, 宗廟, 社稷, 朝日, 夕 月, 先農	太歲(木星), 星 辰, 風雲雷雨, 嶽 鎮, 海瀆, 山川, 歷代帝王, 先師, 旗纛, 司中, 司 命, 司民, 司祿, 壽星	司戶, 司 竈, 中 霤, 司 門, 司 井, 司 馬, 泰 厲, 火雷	•王國: 太廟, 社稷風雲雷雨, 封內山川, 城 隍, 旗纛, 五祀, 厲壇 •府州縣: 社稷 風雲雷雨, 山 川, 厲壇, 先師 廟所在帝王陵 廟 •衛: 先師	•群臣·庶人: 里社, 穀神, 祖父母, 父 母, 竈王.	明史:卷 47 志 23 禮 志 1, pp.1223~26
Modifications after the compilation of the <i>daming jili</i>		朝日, 夕月, 先農, 城隍, 孔子 山川(皇帝親祀)				

[感應篇序]代外舅作<西山文集>卷 27

感應篇者，道家傲世書也。蜀士李昌齡注釋其義，出入三教中，凡數萬言。余連蹇仕途志弗克，遂故常喜刊善書以施人。以儒家言之則大學章句小學字訓等書，以釋氏言之則所謂金剛經注者，凡三刻矣。然大小學，可以誨學者而不可以語凡民，金剛秘密之旨，又非有利根宿慧者不能悟而解也。顧此篇指陳善惡之報，明白痛切，可以扶助正道啓發良心。故復捐金，齎鏤之塾學願得者摹以與之，庶幾家傳此方人挾此劑，足以起迷俗之膏肓非小補也。抑嘗聞伊川有言曰，凡有動皆爲感，所感必有應，所應復爲感，所感復有應。動者何，此心之發也。人之一心虛靈洞徹，衆理畢具。方其未發豈有不善。及其既發有正有否，然後善惡形焉，以吉凶禍福亦各以類應不可誣也。人知殃慶之報兆於所積，而不知一念之發卽吉凶禍福之門。李氏首章注義最爲近理，余故表而出之。至其言有涉於幻怪者，要皆爲警愚覺迷而設，余固未暇深論。覽者察其用心，而取其有補焉可也。

## *Chapter Four*

### *The Southern Song Daoxue Literati's Search for a New Way of Grasping Popular Cults*

The relocation of the Song capital at Hangzhou in 1127 constituted not only a watershed in Chinese history between the Northern and Southern Song periods, but also a significant shift in social and political circumstances. In particular, this historical event marked the decline of the national elite focused on the court and central government as the agents of reform and the rise of community-based literati activism.<sup>166</sup> In addition to the shift in the ideology of the ruling class, scholars have demonstrated that the political and social strategies of the elite changed as well. While the Northern Song elites had pursued office-holding careers, the Southern Song elites instead concentrated on attaining local leadership by virtue of their prestige, power, and wealth. Robert Hartwell initially delineated this shift in elite strategies, and his findings were further fortified by Robert Hymes in his case study of elite families in Fuzhou 撫州 in Jiangxi 江西 province during the Southern Song.

Furthermore, we also need to look into the different attitudes toward popular religious cults between the Northern Song and Southern Song literati in the light of the intellectual transformation between the two periods. Recent scholarship, fortunately, has shed light on the transformation of the literati's attitudes toward popular religious cults during the Southern Song period. Unlike the Northern Song learned elite, which usually had a national and outward-looking perspective, the Southern Song literati actively engaged in local affairs, for example by patronizing a local cult, in order to exercise informal leadership within the local community.

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<sup>166</sup> Hartwell 1982; Hymes 1986.

Therefore, the Southern Song local elite focused their support mainly on the popular deities who had strong ties to the local community.<sup>167</sup> In addition, during the Southern Song period temples dedicated to local cults played a significant role in creating a social identity among the local elites.<sup>168</sup> The local temples came to serve as important focal points for the local elites' access to social prestige during that period. In the Southern Song and Yuan literati writings, for instance, popular temples appear as a significant element in the construction of local identity. Thus these writings can enlighten us regarding the manner in which the local popular cults functioned as a stage for the formation of local identity. The appearance of abundant records about popular cults such as local gazetteers (*difangzhi* 地方志) and stele inscriptions in the Southern Song period reflected the local literati's increasing interest in popular cults.

### **1. The Establishment of the Daoxue Views on Popular Cults**

Over the course of a Song period, the strand of Neo-Confucian philosophical and political principles that became known as the “Learning of the Way” (Daoxue 道學) emerged as the core ideology of much of the literati class. The Daoxue intellectual movement traced its origins to Northern Song philosophers, notably Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033~1107), but it was the synthesis of Daoxue doctrines and local literati activism promoted by the Southern Song philosopher Zhu Xi

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<sup>167</sup> In the case of Fuzhou studied by Robert Hymes, the local elite supported the Three Immortals of Mt. Huagai; however, they spurned other Fuzhou local deities like the Spirit of Mt. Chun as well as non-local deities such as the Four Immortals of Mt. Hsiang. Hymes explained that they supported the Three Immortals because of the similarities in the characteristics of the lives and the attitudes between the Three Immortals and the learned elites, whereas the other deities were perceived as symbolizing the authority of the state, or at least an outside power. Hymes 2002: 114-46.

<sup>168</sup> Gerritsen 2007: 65-98.

朱熹 (1130~1200) that transformed this intellectual enterprise into a dynamic social movement.

<sup>169</sup> In the Southern Song period, the adherents of Daoxue became more directly embroiled in political struggles and factional conflicts. The Daoxue movement became the target of overt political suppression as early as 1138, when leading Daoxue figures opposed the entente cordiale between the Southern Song and the Jin (金) dynasty that had been crafted by the prime minister Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090~1155). Political repression of the Daoxue movement reached its the peak in 1196, when the prime minister Han Tuozhou 韓侂胄 (1152~1207) proclaimed a proscription against Daoxue teachings, which he labeled “False Learning” (*weixue* 偽學)” as part of a campaign against his political opponents. The prohibition against False Learning was not lifted until after Han Tuozhou’s death in 1212. The expulsion of the leading Daoxue figures from government office during this period provided added momentum to their reorientation from the central government to local society as the focus of their reform efforts.<sup>170</sup>

### (1) The Daoxue Agenda of Local Activism

As explained in the previous chapter, the great increase in the granting of titles to popular deities resulted from the implementation of the state-centered control system of popular cults of the Northern Song. The Southern Song government also utilized this system to woo popular support in local communities. However, perfunctory operation of the established system could

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<sup>169</sup> The term “Learning of the Way” (Daoxue) was used at times by Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi to define their philosophical tradition, and subsequently was employed by the editors of the *Song History* (*Songshi* 宋史). However, it has become standard practice in contemporary Chinese scholarship to refer to this tradition as the “Learning of Principle” (*Lixue* 理學). See Bol 2003. English-language scholarship prefers the term Daoxue as a more direct expression of how the leading figures of the movement defined themselves. See Tillman 1992: 1-18.

<sup>170</sup> Liu 1988:131-150.

neither reflect nor regulate the actual circumstances of popular cults. The newly emergent Daoxue learned elites, therefore, began to seek a new approach to control popular religious practices as part of their self-professed mission to maintain moral order in the local community.

The Daoxue literati's concerns about popular cults derived from their perception of the political reality that they were facing at the time. According to their view, the systemic corruption of politics that resulted from the long-term monopolies on political power exercised by prime ministers such as Qin Gui, Han Tuozhou, Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164~1233), and Jia Sidao 賈似道(1213~1275), proved that the state-centered approach to direct rule over the local community, which had been central to the Northern Song reform movements as well, was misguided and susceptible to abuse by autocratic power mongers. Since the Daoxue leaders had been gradually ousted from the halls of power at the court, they began to build up their political foundation in the local community. They introduced new approaches to statecraft that sought to establish an autonomous order at the local level through the moral self-cultivation of community members. Their approach to statecraft, therefore, clearly contrasted with the previous New Policy group's focus on state-led management of society through the implementation of fiscal, educational, and ritual policies at all levels, including the local community.

The Daoxue literati actively worked to rescind the New Policies agenda, which in their view had caused serious damage to the general populace in its effort to raise substantial new revenues for the purpose of national defense. Instead, they introduced institutions and policies premised on local autonomy that could rescue people who had fallen into extreme distress and simultaneously maintain moral order under the leadership of the virtuous literati. For instance, they invested much effort to publish and disseminate booklets such as “proclamations for encouraging

agriculture” (*quannong wen* 勸農文), which were designed to educate peasants in advanced agricultural technology, and “proclamations for rectifying popular custom” (*yusu wen* 諭俗文), which were devised to rectify popular customs to conform to Confucian ethics. Daoxue leaders also sought to develop a new institutional framework to translate their ideas into social action. For example, the most famous Daoxue intellectual, Zhu Xi 朱熹, promoted his community granary system (*shecang* 社倉), through which local literati would accumulate stores of grain to provide relief to the indigent, as an alternative to Wang Anshi’s “Green Sprouts” rural credit program (*qingmiaofa* 青苗法).<sup>171</sup>

Zhu Xi’s effort to correct popular customs was epitomized by the publication of his *Family Rituals of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi jiali* 朱子家禮). Although the *Zhuzi jiali* followed a long tradition of composing daily and family ritual codes for elite families that could trace back to the *Ceremonies and Rites* (*Yili* 儀禮)<sup>172</sup> and had as its nearest precedent Sima Guang’s (1019-1086) *Letters and Ceremonies of Mr. Sima* (*Sima shi shuyi* 司馬氏書儀), Zhu Xi was the first to extend the scope of such works to include ordinary people.<sup>173</sup> Furthermore, contrary to the New Policy faction’s *New Ritual Code of the Zhenghe Reign*, which also included daily and family ritual codes and was enforced by the governmental authority, Zhu Xi intended that the dissemination

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<sup>171</sup> von Glahn 1993.

<sup>172</sup> The *Yili* was among the ancient Chinese texts that were targeted by the literary proscription of the Qin Dynasty. During the early Han Dynasty, two different versions of the work were in circulation, the Old Text (古文) version and New Text (今文) version. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127~200 CE) compiled a *Yili* edition from both the Old and New Text versions to which he added his own commentary. Zheng Xuan’s version and commentary became the basis of later studies and editions. Boltz 1993: 234-244.

<sup>173</sup> Ebrey 1985.

of the *Family Rituals* among the general populace would be supervised by the local literati. While the Northern Song reformer intended to create a state-centered ritual system predicated on the *Rituals of Zhou*, the Southern Song Daoxue literati followed the tradition of the *Ceremonies and Rites* and focused on the establishment of an autonomous order maintained by the local literati in each individual local community. Consequently, although both reform movements had the same idea that social order could be established through the restoration of ancient ritual practices, their focal points differed, a divergence that can be traced back to the canonical Confucian classics in which their ideas were grounded.

Just as their goals and philosophical background were distinct from one another, the Daoxue approach also contrasted sharply with that of the New Policy reformers with regard to popular religious beliefs. While the Northern Song state activism mainly focused on strengthening centralized administrative control over popular cults on a nationwide scale, the Southern Song community activism approach emphasized the harmonious coexistence of popular beliefs with Confucian values within the local community. Therefore, the Daoxue literati intended to accentuate the Confucian aspects among the symbolic values of popular cults or to superimpose new Confucian values onto them. For instance, when they wrote the prayers to the popular deities or participated in sacrifices, they continued to argue strongly in favor of Confucian values. Through their active involvement in popular cults, furthermore, they aimed to establish an autonomous monitoring system operated by local literati. Later generations of Zhu Xi's disciples, such as Chen Chun 陳淳, Zhen Dexiu 眞德秀(1178~1235) and Huang Zhen 黃震(1213~81), placed more emphasis on the local literati's role in checking the spread of improper popular religious cults and sought government intervention only as a last resort. They devoted little attention to the state-centered monitoring system.

Their new approach to popular cults was formed by their fresh perspective on metaphysics as well. Zhu Xi compiled his new synthesis of Neo-Confucian metaphysics, the so-called Li-Qi dualism (*liqi eryuanlun* 理氣二元論), on the basis of the ideas from the Northern Song progenitors of the Daoxue School.<sup>174</sup> They used the concept of Qi, which fills the universe as a fundamental unit of all substance, and Li, which is the principle that controls the action of the Qi, to establish their theoretical framework of the spiritual as well as the material world.<sup>175</sup> The Daoxue philosophers assumed that the secular world and the spiritual world were mutually interdependent because the interactions of Qi connected the two worlds. In fact, Chinese people traditionally thought that they could communicate with the deities or ancestors of the spiritual world through spiritual communion such as prayer or sacrificial rituals. The Daoxue literati did not ignore traditional notions about the spiritual realm but rather used the concepts of Li and Qi to provide a logical and rational explanation for the interaction between the two worlds. Therefore, since the Daoxue literati recognized the dominant influence of popular cults in the people's spiritual lives, they paid significant attention to the core values conveyed through the spiritual interactions of the popular cults.

## (2) Formation of Daoxue Approaches toward Popular Cults

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<sup>174</sup> After Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-73) laid the foundation of Daoxue metaphysics in his short essay, *Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate* (taijitu shuo 太極圖說), Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032~85) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033~1107) developed the Li-Qi metaphysics on the basis of Zhou's theory.

<sup>175</sup> The material world, according to the Li-Qi dualism, is composed of infinite Qi, and the Li, the constituting principle of Qi, controls the disorderly actions of the Qi. This concept of Li and Qi could be used as a metaphor for a principle of regulation and an object of regulation, which existed in multiple layers of human society. For instance, the Qi signifies human desires or basic instincts, and the Li represents compulsory regulation that manipulates the desires or instincts.

Because they had been an essential factor that formed the customary order of the local community, popular beliefs naturally became a major concern for the Southern Song Daoxue literati. Among the symbolic values of the popular cults, the Daoxue literati highlighted Confucian ones such as loyalty, filial piety, and fidelity and promoted them among the general populace. As local prefects or local leaders, they became involved in the compilation of registries of prefectural sacrifices and the composition of stele inscriptions for temples. Furthermore, they also actively supported the worship of popular deities, either directly by participating themselves or indirectly by sending officials to supervise the ceremony and writing ritual prayers such as “written prayers” (*jiwen*, 祭文), “blue petitions” (*qingci* 青詞, a Daoist written prayer), “morality books” (*shanshu*, 善書), or “written petitions to a deity” (*shuyu*, 疏語). Although worship of popular deities had been practiced by local officials since the Six Dynasties period (220~589 CE) as an expedient means of performing their duties through securing the spiritual help of popular deities or wooing public support, the Southern Song Daoxue literati’s participation in popular cults was not motivated by expedience but instead was designed as an integral part of their local activism.

The Southern Song Daoxue literati were pursuing an ideal of constructing an autonomous community in the rural areas through Confucian ethical edification under local literati leadership. However, it was not until the late Southern Song period that their local activism began to achieve a mainstream position. The ascendancy of Daoxue was officially acknowledged by the state in 1241 when an imperial edict enshrined Zhu Xi in the temple of Confucius (*Wenmiao* 文廟).<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> The Yuan 元 Dynasty’s adoption of Zhu Xi’s teachings as the basis of the civil service exams was probably the more important event in establishing Daoxue’s intellectual and political supremacy over rival traditions. Beginning in 1315, the Yuan Dynasty selected the *jinshi* (進士) based on the candidates’ mastery of Zhu Xi’s commentaries on

Although it was designed to enhance economic prosperity and national defense, the Northern Song state activism became discredited after the Song government permanently lost its North China territory and suffered incessant military threats from the Jurchens and the ensuing Mongols. On the other hand, the Daoxue literati's mode of governance, which had already been implemented at the local level by local prefects in the mid Southern Song period, began to emerge as the strongest possible alternative to solve these problems.

It was the same Zhu Xi who compiled and systematized the Daoxue tradition of local activism. In particular, he used the Li-Qi dualism to establish the theoretical foundation of local activism. He took upon himself the mission to search for the correct Li to regulate a material world overwhelmed by the action of Qi and to encourage the general populace to activate it in their daily lives. In order to realize the constituting principle of Qi—the Li—in the material world, the Daoxue literati needed to internalize it through three forms of study. The first, the investigation of things and the fathoming of principles (*gewu qiongli* 格物窮理), was a method to grasp the Li through their own cognitive awareness such as experience, reasoning, and logical proof. The next, “reverence” (*jing* 敬), referred to the mental training that made them aware of the inherent Li inside themselves through the disciplining of the mind. The last, public and impartial opinion (*gonglun* 公論), was the method of drawing consensus across members of the community through conversation and discussion. Through these three ways, the Daoxue literati could internalize the Li and then realize them in the material world where irregular desires were deemed to be rampant. In terms of the method of realizing the Li, above all, they insisted on the necessity of cultivating the minds of the Emperor and the officials, who were viewed as the main

agents of moral teaching. However, they also demanded an institutional approach to bringing the Li into local communities, which would involve the propagation of ritual and the rigorous enforcement of law. Therefore, although Zhu Xi regarded benevolent administration (*dezhi* 德治) focused on the Confucian ideal of self-cultivation of the ruling class as a fundamental policy of government, he nevertheless believed that the significance of ritual and legal systems, as well as their rigorous enforcement, should not be underestimated.<sup>177</sup>

Zhu Xi did not just establish the theoretical basis of Daoxue local activism; he also concentrated all his strength on its application to the real world. Both when he was holding the post of local prefect and at other times, therefore, Zhu Xi did his utmost to put the Daoxue statecraft ideas into practice. The community granary system (*shecang*) effectively represented his approach to practical local activism. He established a private institution for providing relief to the indigent in 1170, and when he was appointed as a regional administrator of the Eastern Zhejiang province (*Zhedong tiju* 浙東提舉) in 1181, he put forward to the emperor the recommendation to institute this institution nationwide.<sup>178</sup> In his memorial Zhu argued that the local literati should be appointed as supervisors of the institution. That is, he designed an autonomous community system under the leadership of the indigenous elites. While he strongly rejected state-centered reforms like Wang Anshi's New Policies, Zhu actively promoted local community-based reforms such as the installation of self-governing institutions in rural areas.

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<sup>177</sup> Lee 2004: 105-108.

<sup>178</sup> Zhu Xi 朱熹, 'qianningfu conganxuan wufu shecang ji 建寧府崇安縣五夫社倉記' in *Huian xiansheng Zhuwengong wenji* 晦庵先生朱文公文集: 77, edited by Zang Meixi 臧眉錫 and Cai Fangbing 蔡方炳 in 1689, In *Zhuzi quanshu*.

Nevertheless, Zhu Xi's approach to local activism was also criticized by some reform-oriented thinkers of the 'utilitarian school' (*shigong xuepai* 事功學派) of the period, such as Chen Liang 陳亮(1143~94) and Ye Shi 葉適 (1150~1223). The utilitarian thinkers, who pursued the promotion of practical social welfare (*gongli* 功利), harshly criticized Zhu Xi's rigidity in applying a ritual and legal system and his obsession with strict ethics.<sup>179</sup> Therefore, in terms of policy making, the utilitarian intellectuals focused on the efficiency of the policy instead of the morality of those charged with carrying it out. In terms of ethics, furthermore, while the Daoxue attitude can be referred to as "agent-oriented ethics," the utilitarian approach can be regarded as "action-oriented ethics." Although the Daoxue literati condemned the shallowness of practical statecraft oriented toward social welfare, in response to this criticism they were stimulated to construct a more comprehensive and flexible statecraft through emulating the practical effectiveness of the utilitarian approach.

Zhu Xi's disciples such as Chen Chun, Zhen Dexiu, and Huang Zhen tried to model themselves after Zhu Xi, and they aimed to put their master's ideals into practice. However, except for Chen Chun, who was a contemporary disciple of Zhu, they often strayed from Zhu Xi's ideas of local activism. In fact, when placed in positions of responsibility for local administration, they realized that the autonomous institutions were not working in the same way that Zhu Xi had intended. Huang Zhen, in particular, severely criticized the community granary system in the sense that it had become the new means by which the local ruling class squeezed the life blood out of the people. Above all, in an effort to correct the negative effect of corrupt supervisors of community granaries, they reinforced the supervisory authority of local officials

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<sup>179</sup> Lee 2004: 111~15; Tillman 1982:133-152.

over their operations.<sup>180</sup> Thus, even though they promoted their master's ideals of community autonomy, for the sake of efficiency they were willing to allow partial intervention by the state. At the same time they also differed from the utilitarian thinkers' approach insofar as they showed great concern for the morality of those in charge of the operation.

With regard to popular deities, the Daoxue literati did not intend to construct a universal pantheon of popular deities on a nationwide scale, but instead aimed at a harmonious coexistence of local cults within the community. Therefore, Zhu Xi expressed great concern about whether the core values symbolized by the popular deities violated Confucian ethics or not. Ironically, since Zhu's disciples intended to fit the popular cults into a regional based ethical order consistent with their master's intention, they even allowed the partial intervention of state authority, including the introduction of a regionally-based monitoring system of popular beliefs.

## **2. Daoxue Literati's Theoretical Approaches toward Spiritual Beings**

Contrary to the conventional view that the Confucian literati denied the existence of spiritual beings, their statements and behavior often indicated an acknowledgement of their existence.<sup>181</sup> Furthermore, since the Confucian learned elites, and the Daoxue literati in particular, had a vocation of promoting Confucian values such as loyalty to state and filial piety, they put great stress on the ritual way of expression of Confucian values, especially with regard to the sacrificial rituals for Heaven and Earth and ancestral sacrifices. In order to enhance the values of

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<sup>180</sup> Toda 1990; Akagi 1981.

<sup>181</sup> Liao 2001.

the Confucian rituals, therefore, they placed emphasis on the relationship between the spiritual beings—like Heaven, Earth, and the ancestors—and the people of this world.

Through a rational explanation for the interaction with spiritual beings based on the Li-Qi dualism, therefore, the Daoxue literati tried to transform the nature of spirits from intangible beings into understandable and explicable phenomena. In addition, they were concerned that popular beliefs might convey immoral values that could impede the inculcation of Confucian ethics. In order to establish a Confucian-oriented ethical order in the autonomous local community, local literati not only needed to eradicate harmful influences but also to utilize the local community as a means of spreading Confucian ethics.

#### (1) The Philosophical Background of the Daoxue Notion of Spiritual Beings

The Daoxue conception of interactions between the spiritual and secular worlds did not abruptly appear during the Southern Song period. Rather, it was based on longstanding Chinese notions about the spiritual world. Contrary to the modern concept of dichotomy between the secular world and the spiritual world, the traditional Chinese view held that people of the secular world could communicate with spiritual beings through psychic methods such as spiritual resonance or spirit possession. It was Confucius himself who had a great influence on the establishment of notions of spiritual phenomena. According to traditional explanations for Confucius' ideas of supernatural phenomena, Confucius did not pay any attention to the spiritual world but rather concentrated only on human affairs of this world.<sup>182</sup> However, Confucius never

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<sup>182</sup> Ji Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?" Ji Lu added, "I venture to ask about death?" He was answered, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" *Lunyu* 11.12.

denied the existence of spiritual beings. On the contrary, he suggested that people could respect spiritual beings but should generally keep away from them.<sup>183</sup> As we see in the phrase from *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語) that “the subjects on which the Master did not talk, were: extraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings,”<sup>184</sup> since he lived in an age of turmoil, Confucius argued that the search for the proper measures to attain social stability should be more urgent than study of spiritual phenomena. Consequently, later Confucians, in particular the Daoxue literati, faithfully relied on Confucius’s rationale regarding relations with the spiritual world.

However, the progenitors of the Daoxue tradition, such as Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, differed from Confucius’s (very terse) formula about spiritual phenomenon. While they were also unwilling to answer questions about the spiritual world from their disciples, and while they continued to emphasize the importance of focusing on practical matters, they did recognize the possibility of spiritual phenomena in practice, at least as exceptional cases. The significant locus classicus of the Daoxue view of the deceased person’s spirit was Zi Chan’s 子產 (585~522 B.C.E.) interpretation in the case of Bo You 伯有.<sup>185</sup> Although Zi Chan is reputed to have been a forerunner of the Legalist philosophers, his logical explanation of spiritual phenomena had been widely accepted by various schools of philosophers. When a bizarre rumor spread that the spirit of Bo You 伯有, a minister who was assassinated by his political enemies, haunted the Zheng

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<sup>183</sup> Fan Chi asked what constituted wisdom. The Master said, “To give one's self earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom.” *Lunyu* 6.22.

<sup>184</sup> *Lunyu*. 7.20.

<sup>185</sup> Tillman 2004: 490-91.

state to take vengeance on the people of Zheng, Zi Chan allayed social unrest by placing Bo You's son in his father's former office, thereby pacifying the perturbed spirit. In order to justify his action, Zi Chan stated that if someone who had strong human spirits (hun 魂 and po 魄) from living an abundant life met a wrongful or unexpected death, his soul could not depart this world easily. Furthermore, he argued that the ghost would not harm people anymore if it was comforted in an appropriate way.<sup>186</sup> His skilled and wise handling of the Bo You affair became a model that later scholar officials would emulate. More to the point, Zi Chan's explanation that the case of Bo You's ghost was a possible but rare incident provided the Daoxue philosophers like Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi a useful way of accounting for the exceptional spiritual phenomena such as ghosts.<sup>187</sup>

Moreover, Zhu Xi went further and tried to identify spiritual beings as dynamic forces into the realm of nature. He rooted the logical basis for his argument wholly on the ideas of his immediate Northern Song predecessor, Zhang Zai 張載 (1020~77). Zhang Zai described ghosts and spirits as "the spontaneous activity of the *yin* and *yang* 陰陽". Zhu Xi took Zhang's proposition and revised it in describing ghosts and spirits as the spontaneous activity of expansive and contractive forces.<sup>188</sup>

Consequently, for the Southern Song Daoxue literati, and for Zhu Xi in particular, the notion of the spiritual realm borrowed eclectically from classical Chinese ideas. While scholars

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<sup>186</sup> The story of Bo You's death and the Zi Chan's handling of the affair are contained *Chunqiu zuozhuan* 春秋左傳 (*Spring and Autumn Annals and the Tradition or Commentary of Zuo Qiuming*): Luxiang gong 魯襄公:30 (543 BCE). and Luzhao gong 魯昭公: 7 (535 BCE).

<sup>187</sup> *Zhuzi yulei* 3. 37; *Zhuzi yulei* 3. 44.

<sup>188</sup> Gardner 1995: 600-601.

have concentrated attention on Zhu Xi's metaphysical ideas, such as the Li-Qi dualism, his outlook on the existence of ghosts, gods, and spirits, and his active effort to clarify the principles governing their appearance, were often overlooked. Zhu in fact acknowledged the possibility of spiritual interaction as an exceptional and rare phenomenon and made a great effort to clarify that principle in his metaphysics.

## (2) Zhu Xi's Notion of Spiritual Beings

According to Daniel K. Gardner's research on Zhu Xi's notion of spiritual beings, Zhu Xi recognized that spiritual beings could emerge in the secular world in three different forms: as contractive and expansive forces of the Qi; as ghosts, monsters, and spirits; and finally, as ancestral spirits.<sup>189</sup> He argued that the spiritual beings, namely *gui* (鬼 ghost) and *shen* (神 spirit), would be perceived by the people of secular world in one of these three forms.

First of all, Zhu Xi argued that the *gui* and *shen* were nothing but Qi, and he intended to clarify the emergence of the *gui* and *shen* through the Li-Qi dualism.<sup>190</sup> In fact, he actually meant that he recognized the *gui* as *Yin* Qi that tends to shrink and the *shen* as *Yang* Qi that tends to expand. Since the emergence of the *gui* and *shen* was produced by the contraction and expansion of the Qi, the realm of the spiritual beings was not wholly uncharted territory, and the *gui* and *shen* were not simply fearsome and harmful beings. Although he definitely considered the principle—or the Li—of the phenomenon of *gui* and *shen* as an abnormal one, Zhu Xi sought to

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<sup>189</sup> Gardner's research mainly aims to clarify Zhu Xi's attitude toward the spiritual beings, and challenged the conventional view that the Southern Song Daoxue thinkers had denied the existence of spiritual beings or at least had an attitude of indifference toward them. Gardner 1995.

<sup>190</sup> "Gui and shen are simply Qi. What contracts and expands, comes and goes, is Qi. In heaven and earth there is nothing that is not Qi." *Zhuzi yulei* 3. 34. (This translation is from Gardner 1995:600)

interpret the phenomenon as a result of the action of Qi. What he was most concerned about was that people could have a mistaken sense of awe toward such spiritual manifestations that might inspire deviant beliefs or conduct.

Zhu had also acknowledged the existence of ghosts, monsters, and spirits as tangible and practical forms. Since he recognized the frequency of people's encounters with spiritual beings, despite their often exaggerated statements, he could not doubt the existence of such beings: "Someone asked, 'what's your assessment of what common folk say about monsters and licentious spirits? Zhu Xi replied: 'In general, eighty percent of what common folk say is absurd, but twenty percent is true.'"<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, he argued that we should not doubt the existence of spirits since the ancient sages also respected spiritual phenomena and their statements must be right.

In addition to his guarded acceptance of the existence of ghosts, Zhu Xi recognized not only the existence of orthodox deities and ancestral spirits but also various spirits popularly believed to be deities.<sup>192</sup> His recognition of the latter was based on the Chinese conventional notion of the spiritual resonance between the secular world and the spiritual world, such as occurs in correlative cosmology.<sup>193</sup> He argued that all beings in the universe were composed of Qi and

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<sup>191</sup> Zhuzi yulei 63. 29. This is an extract from Gardner 1995: 602.

<sup>192</sup> Gardner 1995: 603.

<sup>193</sup> In terms of the phenomenon of the mutual response or spiritual resonance between the secular world and the spiritual world, the first theoretical approach was taken by the Han Confucian philosopher Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒. The so-called Correlative Cosmology 天人相關論 provided the theoretical framework for Confucian explanations of the interaction between the two worlds. Dong Zhongshu's theory was especially influential for linking metaphysics to politics by establishing correlations between natural disasters and misgovernment. That is, he argued that since Heaven responded to the unrest of the secular world by the media of the Qi, natural disasters were expressions of Heaven's will that severely reprimanded 天譴 the emperor for his moral and political failings. Similar ideas also were expressed in a variety of Qin and Han writings, including the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, *Lushi*

connected with one another through the medium of the Qi. Since the spiritual resonance was a psychic process, the worshiper's earnest wish could activate his Qi and set off a chain reaction in the Qi of all beings in the universe. In the case of worshipers' sacrifices to popular deities, their accumulated Qi could have strong influence on the spirit being's Qi, and as a result, they could bring about spiritual resonance between them. In fact, Zhu Xi actively involved himself in the performance of diverse sacrificial rituals. During his relatively short term of nine years in public service and during his life in retirement, he wrote as many as 134 prayers for sacrificial rituals, including 18 temple records (*ciji* 祠記), two written petitions to deities, 72 invocations (*zhuwen* 祝文), and 42 written prayers.<sup>194</sup> Certainly, for Zhu the sacrifices for officially-authorized deities and for the Confucian sages (*xianxian shiru* 先賢師儒) took priority over other sacrifices. However, he also paid considerable attention to the sacrifices for local deities whose symbolic values corresponded with Confucian ethical values.

The key criterion that Zhu depended on when judging a popular belief to be licentious or not was the moral quality of the character of the spirit and the practices of its believers. His trust in the potential efficacy of popular deities was clearly demonstrated by his wholehearted support for the shrines and monuments commemorating the model Confucian scholars and for the temples dedicated to historical figures who were loyal to state, such as Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234) and Tao Kan 陶侃(257-332).<sup>195</sup> Zhu strongly opposed what he considered deviant

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*chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, *Huainan zi* 淮南子, *Xinyu* 新語, etc. These theories considered the interaction between Heaven (or nature) and human beings as the result of the working of Qi governed by the principles of Yin and Yang. Gardner 1995: 604.

<sup>194</sup> Kimura 1953.

<sup>195</sup> Gardner 1995: 605.

popular cults such as the gods of wealth (*caishen* 財神), however, since he did not believe that such spirits had any supernatural powers.<sup>196</sup> Zhu Xi thought that the cults dedicated to such figures deceived their believers with false claims of performing miraculous deeds that lured people into making prayers and offerings to obtain undeserved blessings. Consequently, Confucian ethics were the yardstick of judgment by which he distinguished righteous popular beliefs from the immoral ones.

The third form of spirits that Zhu Xi recognized was the ancestral spirits. Just as in the *Family Rituals of Zhu Xi*, in which he discussed the ritual code for ancestral sacrifice in great detail, in his other writings he also made considerable efforts to clarify the principle of the interaction between the ancestral spirits and their living descendants. For Zhu Xi, the ancestral sacrifice was not just a cathartic exercise that eases the descendants' feelings of loss.<sup>197</sup> Even though he regarded the interaction with spirits as a spiritual resonance mediated by Qi, his idea definitely conflicted with the principle that human Qi dispersed immediately after one's death. Since for the Southern Song Daoxue literati the ancestral sacrifice was a crucial means to cultivate moral virtue, the establishment of a logical basis for the performance of the ancestral sacrifices was an urgent issue for Zhu Xi. Therefore, it was essential for Zhu Xi to prove that the spiritual resonance between the ancestral spirits and the descendants was a feasible and understandable phenomenon.

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<sup>196</sup> "It's custom these days to revere ghosts. For instance, in Xinan and elsewhere, morning and evening it's like being in a den of ghosts. Once I returned to my native village where the so-called Wutong Temple is located. It's extremely powerful and mysterious, and everybody holds it dear, believing that fortune and misfortune manifest themselves right there on the spot." *Zhuzi yulei* 3. 53. (This translation is extracted from the Gardner 1995: 604)

<sup>197</sup> *Zhuzi yulei* 3. 53; Gardner 1995: 607.

First of all, Zhu emphasized the descendants' blood relationship with their ancestors. He argued that the spiritual resonance between the living and the ancestors was possible because of their common quotient of Qi. In addition, to resolve the contradiction between this confidence in spiritual resonance and the traditional Confucian notion of afterlife, Zhu Xi argued that the ancestral spirits' dispersed Qi could be reconstituted in response to the descendants' summons.<sup>198</sup> Unlike the ghostly beings, the ancestral spirits usually do not have any particular shape. But the Qi of the spirit will gather together while the ancestral sacrifices are carried out, and then immediately disperse again once the sacrifice ends. That is, Zhu assumes that the ancestral spirit remains in an inchoate state outside of the time in which the ritual is performed.

In addition to his assumptions about the Qi of ancestral spirits, Zhu Xi also placed emphasis on the significance of the descendants' sincere reverence to their ancestors and their earnest confidence in the possibility of a spiritual resonance with them. According to his argument, if the descendants bring this faithful mindset to the ancestral sacrifice, they will be able to bring about a spiritual resonance with the ancestral spirits.<sup>199</sup> That is, if the descendant carries out the

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<sup>198</sup> Someone inquired: "With a man's death I don't know whether the heavenly soul (魂) and earthly soul (魄) disperse or not." Zhu Xi said: "They do indeed disperse." Someone further inquired: "How can the descendants' sincere reverence be reached to their ancestors through sacrifice?" Zhu Xi said: "In the end the descendants are of the same Qi as the ancestors, so even though the ancestor's Qi may have dispersed, their blood-line (root 根) nonetheless exists right here. By fully exercising sincerity and reverence we're able to summon their Qi so that it coalesces right here. It's the same as water and waves: the later water is not the earlier water, the later waves are not the earlier waves; and yet all of it is just the same water and waves. The relationship between the Qi of the descendants and the Qi of the ancestors is just like this. The ancestor's Qi may promptly disperse of itself, yet their blood-line nonetheless exists right here. And since their blood-line exists right here, the fact is we're able to induce their Qi into coalescing right here. This matter is difficult to talk about so I simply ask that you think about it for yourselves." *Zhuzi yulei* 3. 47-48. (This translation is taken from Gardner 1995: 608)

<sup>199</sup> During the spiritual resonance of the religious sacrifice, some spirits are summoned from the yin and others are from the yang; it depends on the type of the spirits, but when they appear they do so together at the same time. However, it is not like there is one thing staying in the empty space and waiting for the descendant's summons. Nevertheless, since the descendants who preside over the sacrifice derive from the same Qi with his ancestors, if the descendant fully exercises sincerity and reverence during the spiritual resonance, the (ancestor's) Qi must be staying here. *Zhuzi yulei* 3. 50.

ancestral sacrifice with sincere reverence, the action of his Qi will connect to the Qi of ancestral spirits and cause a manifestation of resonance. In the reverse process, when the descendant's concentration relaxes after the sacrifice, the ancestral Qi will disperse again immediately. So the spiritual resonance between the generations depends on the descendants' earnest wish for its realization. The spiritual resonance with the ancestral spirits thus is a quite feasible phenomenon and an entirely psychic process. Zhu Xi argues that this psychic process is precisely the Li, or the principle, that controls the spiritual resonance between generations.

It is obvious that Zhu's explanation aimed at reconciling the doctrinal Confucian account of postmortem spirits with the substantiation of the effectiveness of ancestral sacrifice. This philosophical reconciliation was produced by the urgent situation that Zhu Xi faced at the time. During the early Southern Song period, he needed to establish a Confucian-oriented metaphysical notion for the afterlife that would be able to compete with the rival perspectives of Buddhism and Daoism.<sup>200</sup> Besides competition with alternative religious traditions, he was also greatly concerned that many contemporary people enthusiastically held immoral religious beliefs. Therefore, Zhu Xi gave priority to the ancestral spirits over the ghostly beings by explicitly distinguishing between them. According to his argument, although both spiritual phenomena are understandable in that they could be explained by the Li-Qi dualism, unlike the spiritual encounters with ghostly beings that are exceptional phenomena, spiritual communication with ancestral beings is always feasible and natural.

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<sup>200</sup> "According to Buddhism, when people died they became ghosts, and then the ghosts are reborn as human beings again. If so, there must be so many people who are going and coming between the heaven and the earth, however, it is against the natural laws of growth and development; therefore, it must not a right principle." *Zhuzi yulei* 3. 37.

Although Zhu Xi, like Confucius, warned against the harmful influence of immoral religious beliefs, he took another step on the road to the Daoxue literati's reform of the spiritual world. It is obvious that the growing involvement of Daoxue literati with popular cults during the Southern Song dynasty resulted from the shift in the way they recognized the spiritual phenomenon that had been initiated by the progenitors of the Daoxue teachings.

### **3. The Southern Song Daoxue Literati's New Views on Popular Beliefs: the Three Different Approaches**

Besides their commitments as local officials and community leaders to improving the living conditions of the common people, maintaining public security, and administering relief to the poor, the Confucian literati also attached considerable importance to popular education, using it primarily as a means of putting Confucian ethics into practice in daily life. In particular, the Southern Song Daoxue literati's role in the edification of the masses within their local communities really stands out. For the purpose of achieving this goal, they paid great attention to popular religious cults. In fact, since few among the Confucian literati condoned popular religious cults,<sup>201</sup> the objects of the Daoxue literati's support were originally limited to the authorized cults whose symbolic values were appropriate for Confucian ethics. However, they gradually expanded the range of their support to include a variety of vernacular popular beliefs. As local prefects or local community leaders, they began not only to involve themselves actively in local religious life, but also to conduct close investigations and to keep detailed records of popular cults.

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<sup>201</sup> Kojima 1991: 65-72.

In other words, unlike the state-centered learned elites of the New Policy group who had been engrossed in establishing institutional control of popular cults on a national level, the Southern Song Daoxue literati pursued more direct approaches to reforming popular cults on the local level. Since they thought that the state-centered administration of popular cults was ineffective in reducing the harmful consequences caused by the mounting religious fervor of the general populace, they sought to confront them directly. First of all, some literati personally took action to eliminate the harmful popular religious cults that conveyed inappropriate values to the general populace. Secondly, for the edification of the public, others exercised discretion in patronizing those popular cults whose symbolic values corresponded with Confucian ethics. Finally, others favored state intervention in popular religious cults to secure public security and promote the public interest.

The three cases examined here will clearly demonstrate that the manner in which the Daoxue literati treated the popular cults evolved in phases. The three Daoxue thinkers discussed below—Chen Chun 陳淳, Zhen Dexiu 真德秀, and Huang Zhen 黃震—took great interest in popular religious cults in their capacities as local prefects or informal community leaders. They were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Daoxue local activism and Daoxue metaphysical philosophy, and they made great efforts to realize their ideals at the local level. Therefore, it is no wonder that their Daoxue ideals were reflected strongly in their approach to the popular religious cults.

#### (1) Chen Chun's Doctrinaire Approach to Popular Religious Cults

During Zhu Xi's lifetime, the two most significant disciples who greatly contributed to the spread of their master's ideas were Huang Gan 黃幹 (1152~1221) and Chen Chun (1159~1223).

Huang Gan was widely accepted as Zhu Xi's legitimate heir because of his personal connection to Zhu: he was Zhu's son-in-law and compiled his biography.<sup>202</sup> In contrast, Chen attended Zhu's lectures only on two occasions (in 1190 and 1199) and received Zhu's teachings mostly through correspondence. Yet Chen became the most active propagator of Zhu Xi's teachings.<sup>203</sup> In order to raise the status of Zhu Xi's ideas, Chen Chun fiercely advocated Zhu's teachings not only against what he regarded as the heterodox religions of Buddhism and Daoism but also in opposition to competing movements within Neo-Confucianism, such as Lu Xiangshan's 陸象山 introspective philosophy and the utilitarian school, which he denounced as "pseudo-philosophies".<sup>204</sup>

Chen Chun was also harshly critical of the vernacular popular religious cults.<sup>205</sup> In his book, *The Meaning of Terms* (*Beixi ziyi* 北溪字義), Chen defines the term "licentious cult" as "offering sacrifices to an improper deity or in an inappropriate way".<sup>206</sup> He applied the selection criteria for "righteous cults" (*zheng si* 正祀) so rigorously that he even opposed the worship of the anthropomorphized forms of official deities governing natural forces such as the Lord of

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<sup>202</sup> "The Records of the Master Zhu's Life (*Zhuzi xingzhuang* 朱子行狀)" is contained in Huang Gan's *Mianzhai ji* 36.

<sup>203</sup> Chen Chun had a strong sense of rivalry with the mainstream faction of the Zhu Xi's disciples led by Huang Gan. Since he was very dissatisfied with Huang Gan's 'The Records of the Master Zhu's Life', Chen pointed out the problems in it one by one. *Beixi daquanji* 25.

<sup>204</sup> Ichiki 2003: 145-46.

<sup>205</sup> Chen Chun's clearly critical attitude toward the popular religions has received much attention from scholars. In particular, Valerie Hansen mentioned him as a typical example of an antagonist against the government's and local elites' granting of titles to popular deities. Hansen, 1990: 99-100.

<sup>206</sup> *Beixi ziyi* 2. 40.

Mount Tai (*Taishan fujun* 泰山府君), which was included in the state register of sacrifices.<sup>207</sup> In addition, Chen argued that the miracles attributed to the gods were merely delusions. Therefore, he claimed that spiritual interaction with the proper deities depends on the devotees' sincerity, since these spiritual phenomena were just the results of the action of the Li-Qi dualism.<sup>208</sup> Moreover, Chen Chun not only regarded popular religious beliefs as mere delusions; he also criticized the state's excessive issue of titles to local deities, which he believed led to the canonization of improper deities. In particular, he argued that this problem was caused by mounting collusion between officials in the Ministry of Rites and locally powerful people. Chen wrote, "Many of the ritual officials of the court [meaning those who carry out the investigations of local deities] are stupid and ignorant. The local people negotiate with them about the titles. By this means, those deities who have no antecedents all can get titles. And those with titles grow more influential each year. If one wants to consider heterodoxy and orthodoxy, this makes no sense."<sup>209</sup> Therefore, he urged that close and rigid investigation based on strict standards should be introduced into the government's title-granting process.

Ultimately, Chen Chun's uncompromising attitude toward popular religious cults was based on his doctrinaire belief in the superiority of his master's ideas, having been Zhu Xi's most faithful disciple. Unlike the later successors of Zhu Xi's teachings who tried to adjust the master's ideas according to social changes and practical realities, Chen Chun vigorously repudiated popular religious beliefs entirely.

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<sup>207</sup> The Song government granted the Lord of Mount Tai the lofty title of Benevolent Sage-Emperor of the Heavenly Domain (*tianzhai rensheng di* 天齋仁聖帝). See *Beixi ziyi* 2. 41-42.

<sup>208</sup> *Beixi ziyi* 2. 40-45.

<sup>209</sup> *Beixi ziyi* 2. 43. (This translation is taken from Hansen 1990: 99.)

## (2) Zhen Dexiu's Flexible Attitude toward Popular Religious Cults

Contrary to our general impression that the Song Daoxue teachings were characterized by a high level of ethical idealism, recent studies have found that the Song Daoxue literati also were significantly devoted to practical statecraft.<sup>210</sup> In particular, Zhen Dexiu made an unparalleled intellectual contribution to the renovation of local governance on the basis of his abundant administrative experience accumulated throughout his noteworthy career as a local prefect. Theodore de Bary sees Zhen Dexiu as a crucial link between Zhu Xi and the statecraft thinkers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Chen Renxi 陳仁錫 (1581-1636), Feng Yingjing 馮應京 (1555-1606), Zhang Huang 章潢 (1527-1608), and Feng Qi 馮琦 (1559-1603).<sup>211</sup> Following the intellectual traditions established by the Northern Song Daoxue scholars and Zhu Xi, Zhen greatly contributed to the elevation of Daoxue to the status of the “fundamental learning” (*tizhi jiaoxue* 體制教學) in the late Southern Song.<sup>212</sup> Since Zhen eventually rose to the highest position in the central government, Councilor of State Affairs

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<sup>210</sup> Until recently, scholars like John K Fairbank and Ray Huang had regarded the Southern Song Daoxue learned elites' political philosophy as the “moralization of politics” or “moralistic idealism”. However, in his research on Zhen Dexiu's *Classic on Governance* (Zhengjing 政經), Wm. Theodore de Bary argues that Zhen's distinctly reformist use of the Daoxue principles stands in contrast to a prevalent modern view that the Daoxue philosophy of principle was inherently authoritarian, conservative, and protective of the status quo. de Bary 1993.

<sup>211</sup> de Bary 1993: 379.

<sup>212</sup> While the Southern Song Daoxue movement had been suppressed by the autocratic prime minister Han Tuozhou under the pretext of banning “false learning” in 1196, its members were rehabilitated and again allowed to enter government service in 1209. In addition, Zhu Xi's annotation of *Analects* and *Mencius* (孟子) began to be adopted as the definitive interpretations of the classics in state schools (*guanxue* 官學) in 1212. However, it was not until another autocratic prime minister, Shi Miyuan, died in 1233 that leading Daoxue proponents such as Zhen Dexiu began to receive important government posts. Due to their efforts, Zhu Xi was enshrined in the Temple of Confucius in 1241.

(*Canzhi zhengshi* 參知政事), he was able to promote Zhu Xi's political ideals, which had been frustrated by powerful prime ministers who dominated state affairs during the Southern Song period, at the highest levels of government.

Zhen Dexiu passed the civil service examination at the age of twenty-seven, and spent his early career mainly as a local official. In that role, he had served in many places such as Jiankang fu 建康府 (present city of Nanjing in Jiangsu province), Quanzhou 泉州 (in Fujian province), Tanzhou 潭州 (the present city of Changsha 長沙 in Hunan province). As a local prefect, Zhen was said to have had remarkable success in improving local standards of living and maintaining public security.<sup>213</sup> For instance, he administered relief to the sufferers from drought, flood, and a swarm of locusts (*huangzai* 蝗災), kept up the prices of food grains, swept the pirates from the seas, and subjugated bandits. In acquiring a reputation as a competent local prefect through these achievements, he was promoted to a position in the central government. Although on the fast track for promotion at the court, Zhen was demoted because he criticized the prime minister Shi Miyuan 史彌遠 (1164-1233) for his autocratic and arbitrary management of state affairs. Finally, after Shi Miyuan died, he was promoted to the position of Councilor of State.

Besides his career as a statesman, Zhen Dexiu's *Expanded Explanations of the Great Learning* (*Daxue yanyi* 大學衍義) became one of the most influential treatises on the administration of state affairs. Zhen took advantage of this exceptional reputation to raise the status of the Daoxue teachings to their highest point. In recognition of his contribution to the Daoxue teachings, his mortuary tablet was enshrined in the temple in honor of Zhu Xi (*Zhuwengong ci* 朱文公祠) and later, during the Ming dynasty, was even included in the

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<sup>213</sup> *Songshi* 437.12957-12965.

Temple of Confucius. Since Zhen suffered from severe political persecution but nevertheless reached the highest government office, Zhen's scholarly fidelity amid extreme ups and downs in his political career was deeply admired by later Daoxue literati. Furthermore, his statecraft ideas were highly esteemed by later Confucians, including the Confucian-educated elites of Chosun Korea.<sup>214</sup>

As an exemplary local prefect, Zhen Dexiu also worked tirelessly to carry out the sacrificial rituals for which local officials were responsible. Even though like most prefects he usually did not participate in the sacrifices himself but rather sent minor officials to perform them instead, the fact that Zhen Dexiu spared no pains to write such a large body of prayers (more than 400 prayers) fully demonstrates that he took a great interest in ritual performance in general.

According to *the New Ritual Code of the Zhenghe Reign*, the local prefect was obliged to carry out four different categories of sacrifices: the sacrifice for gods of wind, rain and thunder (*fengyuleishen* 風雨雷神), the sacrifice for the prefectural altars of soil and grain (*zhouxian sheji* 州縣社稷), the sacrifice for Confucius 孔子, and the sacrifice for the rulers of the successive dynasties of the past (*lidai diwang* 歷代帝王). In addition to these four basic rituals, the local prefect should also carry out the sacrifices for sacred mountains or rivers within the prefect's jurisdiction that belonged to the category of "gods of the sacred mountains and rivers" (*yuezhen haidu* 嶽鎮海瀆), which were classified as a middle-level state cults (*zhongsi* 中祀). In addition, it was a well-established custom that he was to carry out the sacrifices on certain occasions, such as leaving his old post or arriving at his new post, giving regular greetings to influential local deities, praying to a deity on behalf of the general populace for a good harvest in spring and

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<sup>214</sup> de Bary 1993: 357.

thanksgiving for a rich harvest in the autumn, and praying for divine protection from the threats of natural disasters or bandits.<sup>215</sup>

Zhen Dexiu's great concern for sacrificial rituals was in part an expression of his sincere veneration for his spiritual teacher, Zhu Xi. Besides the compulsory fulfillment of the official sacrificial rituals prescribed in the state ritual code, the sacrifices for local deities enrolled in the register of prefectural sacrifices also became increasingly significant duties for Southern Song local prefects. Like Zhu Xi, Zhen had great concern for the performance of the sacrifices for vernacular local deities in the local temples as well as of the officially-prescribed sacrifices. Among the 219 prayers in the collection of Zhen Dexiu's collected works, a considerable number were addressed to the local deities. Zhen also wrote prayers to the local deities even for official ceremonies such as transfers of his official posting or the formal sacrifices in spring and autumn. In terms of fulfilling the sacrificial rituals as a local prefect, it is obvious that Zhen Dexiu had faithfully followed in Zhu Xi's footsteps.

Among the prayers written by Zhen Dexiu were generic prayers with stereotypical formulas that could be used for any temple deity (or unspecified local temples referred to as *zhumiao* 諸廟 or *zhuci* 諸祠). But Zhen also addressed prayers to specific deities, such as King Zhang 張大帝 (see chapter 5), King Tongyuan 通遠王, and Baosheng dadi 保生大帝. The local prefect, in principle, should carry out sacrificial rituals only for the deities stipulated by the state ritual codes, such as the spirits of the prefectural altars of soil and grain (*sheji*) or the "famous mountains and great rivers" (*mingshan dachuan* 名山大川) within his jurisdiction, in order to invoke spiritual aid to carry out his administrative tasks effectively. However, in reality, prefects

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<sup>215</sup> Kojima 1991: 51-64.

had customarily offered sacrifices even to other vernacular local deities as an expedient measure to win the support of the general populace during difficult times. Zhen Dexiu's enthusiasm for offering these sacrifices was quite exceptional among his contemporaries, not only because of the number of prayers (*zhuwen* 祝文), blue petitions, and petitions to local deities he composed,<sup>216</sup> but also because he actively sought to rationalize actions that appeared to go against canonical Confucian teachings. Furthermore, he tried to perform some of these sacrificial rituals even on a regular basis.

In one of his prayers, a “prayer for the spring sacrifice at an unspecified temple” (*chunqiji zhuci zhuwen* 春祈祭諸祠祝文), Zhen Dexiu declared that offering sacrifices to these deities did not contradict the essential Confucian teachings. Kojima Tsuyoshi points out that Zhen wrote this prayer mainly to defend himself against possible criticism from contemporary or later Confucian literati.<sup>217</sup> In the prayer, Zhen argued that although according to the Confucian classic *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經) the sacrifices for “the spring and autumn prayers of thanksgiving” (*chunqiu qibao* 春秋祈報) in principle were supposed to be offered at the prefectural altars of soil and grain, it was also a faithful reflection of the will of people to offer these sacrifices to popular deities, such as the tutelary deities who protected people from natural disaster or bandits, as well as the revered great men of the past. Even though Zhen Dexiu made it clear that those sacrificial rituals were secondary to the official rituals and could be carried out by minor prefectural officials on the day after the ritual for the Ancient Sages 先聖, he also suggested that sacrifices could be offered to appropriate local deities on a regular basis just as the official ones

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<sup>216</sup> Kojima1991: 43.

<sup>217</sup> Kojima 1991: 56.

were. In this prayer, therefore, Zhen articulates a compromise between following Confucian principles and meeting public expectations:

I humbly offer up wine and dried meat to an unspecific deity. Since antiquity, the sacrifices of the ‘spring wishes for good harvest and the autumn prayer of thanksgiving’ have been held only at the altars of soil and grain. This ritual is described in the “Zaishan” (載芟) and “Liangsi” (良耜) poems in the *Book of Odes*. As for the temples and images of deities, however, since they had been the objects to which people prayed whenever they suffered from disasters caused by floods, droughts, and vermin, the sacrifices for them could not be abolished. The temples dedicated to former worthies (先賢) allow fellow countrymen to revere their memory; however, it is also said to be contrary to principle to hold sacrificial rituals for good fortune and warding off misfortune at such temples. These restrictions derive neither from canonical teachings nor from ritual codes. Although they run counter to the principles, nevertheless, we will try to hold these sacrifices correctly. From now on, therefore, a day after the sacrifice for the ancient sages (先聖), a civil servant will be sent to the temples (of popular deities) to hold the rituals. In so doing, the sacrificial rituals of the ‘spring wishes for good harvest and the autumn prayer of thanksgiving’ (for the deities) will preserve the true spirit of the ritual sacrifices, and the deities will gladly accept them.<sup>218</sup>

According to Confucian convention, in fact, it was the first duty of the local prefect to respect the popular will and to see that it is reflected in his administration. Therefore, Zhen’s support for offering sacrifices to appropriate local deities did not go against Confucian teachings.

Through involving himself in the customary realm of local religious cults, Zhen Dexiu also attempted a moral edification of the masses. In order to enlighten the general populace, above all Zhen tried to establish means of communication with them. He had a profound interest in performing sacrificial rituals in a way that was familiar to the general populace. Besides the official formulas for “written prayers,” he also composed nonofficial prayers that were widely

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<sup>218</sup> *Xishan wenji* 52. 16.

used in the popular religious rituals of the time, such as “blue petitions” and the “written petitions to a deity.”<sup>219</sup>

The “blue petition” originated from a prayer that would be read during Daoist rituals such as the “fasts and offerings” (*zhaijiao* 齋醮). However, its explicitly Daoist overtone faded gradually, and it came to refer instead to a style of writing prayers. For instance, the private prayers that Zhen offered for his mother’s recovery<sup>220</sup> and the official prayers that he wrote for celebrating a national holiday or praying for rain as a local prefect<sup>221</sup> were all written as various kinds of “blue petitions.” The “written petition to a deity” was widely used in the rituals of various traditions such as Buddhism, Daoism, and the popular religious cults.<sup>222</sup> As *shuyu* literally means the “words of a memorial to the throne” (*shangshu* 上疏), it was seen as a memorial submitted to celestial deities.

Zhen Dexiu’s tolerance for other religious teachings and his way of accounting for their spiritual effectiveness were well represented in the preface he wrote for the *Tablet of Supreme*

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<sup>219</sup> However, Zhen Dexiu’s open-mindedness toward the popular religious practices probably disconcerted later Confucian scholars. Among the several versions of his collected writings, the authoritative *Sibu congkan* (四部叢刊) edition, which was based on the Ming Zhengde reign (1505-21) edition, contains neither a “blue petition” nor a “written petition to a deity.” The Ming editors seem to have deliberately omitted them because these nonofficial and non-Confucian prayers were inconsistent with their intention to treat Zhen Dexiu as a true heir of Zhu Xi’s teachings. On the other hand, both the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 version and the *Zhen Wenzhonggong quanji* 真文忠公全集 (dating from the reign of the Kangxi Emperor) of the Qing dynasty, which were based on the Ming Wanli (1573~1619) edition and the Fujian xunfu (福建巡撫) edition, did include those texts. Kojima 1991: 49.

<sup>220</sup> For instance, there are 母疾愈醮謝青詞 in *Xishan wenji* 西山文集 卷46.2-3, and 丙子立春日設醮爲母祈福青詞 in *Xishan wenji* 46. 4.

<sup>221</sup> 上元節設醮青詞 in *Xishan wenji* 西山文集卷 46.4-5 and 太乙醮祈雨青詞 in *Xishan wenji* 46. 5-6.

<sup>222</sup> In *Xishan wenji* 50, for instance, there are ‘寺觀謝晴疏’, ‘安奉諸佛疏’, ‘張大帝廟疏’, ‘天慶觀等處謝雨疏’, etc.

*Correspondence* (*Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇), a popular morality booklet composed by Li Changling 李昌齡 in the early Southern Song.<sup>223</sup> Li's handbook was inspired by the system of personal moral ethics recorded in the work of the Daoist philosopher Ge Hong 葛洪's (283-343), *The Master who Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi* 抱朴子). However, the major difference between the *The Master who Embraces Simplicity* and the *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence* was that while the former had been composed in an atmosphere of the aristocratic society during the Eastern Jin dynasty 東晉 (317~419), the latter very much reflected the prosperity of secular society during the Southern Song. While Ge Hong delineated the complicated and esoteric procedures for an individual to practice morality and achieve spiritual enlightenment, Li Changling taught the general populace simple and clear ways to cultivate moral virtues.

In explaining his motive for writing the preface, Zhen stated that while the contents and terminology of the Confucian classics such as *the Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學) and *the Elementary Learning* (*Xiaoxue* 小學) or Buddhist scriptures such as *The Diamond Sutra* (*Jingang jing* 金剛經)<sup>224</sup> were too difficult for uneducated people to understand, the *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence* was a suitable method for the local prefect or literati to educate the

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<sup>223</sup> It is considered to have been written between the Shaoxing 紹興 reign (1131~62) of Gaozong 高宗 and the Qiandao 乾道 reign (1165~73) of Xiaozong 孝宗.

<sup>224</sup> The Diamond Sutra is a well-known Mahayana Buddhist sutra and a primary sutra of Chan Buddhism. Its teachings focus on the practice of non-abiding and non-attachment. It was first translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva in 401 CE.

populace to practice morality because its simple and clear account facilitated an understanding of the causal relationship between a human being's deeds and celestial retribution.<sup>225</sup>

Ironically, due to his renown as a great Daoxue thinker, Zhen Dexiu's preface helped to popularize the *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence* among all social classes and even in neighboring East Asian countries.<sup>226</sup> The *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence* had great significance as it was the first "morality book" (*shanshu* 善書) intended to propagate moral virtues across lay society. Although the term "morality book" was first coined by Zhen Dexiu, its contents were not limited to Confucian ethics but also embraced Buddhist and Daoist values. It later became the generic term for guidebooks offering instruction on moral conduct in daily life. The number of morality books including, aside from the *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence*, the "ledgers of merit and demerit" (*gongguoge* 功過格), "records of hidden virtue" (*yinzhi wen* 陰隲文), and "scriptures to awaken world" (*Jueshi jing* 覺世經) skyrocketed during the late Ming and early Qing periods. In his preface, Zhen Dexiu took special note of the great popular appeal of this work and strongly advised local prefects and literati to use it to educate the public.

Aside from the work's popular appeal, Zhen Dexiu, as a Daoxue intellectual, appreciated the book's attention to the interaction between the terrestrial and the celestial worlds. According to the *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence*, every human being's deeds are recorded in ledgers by a host of supervisory spirits (*siguo zhi shen* 司過之神), including the Divine Ruler of the Big Dipper (Beidou shenjun 北斗神君), the Asterism Rulers of the Three Flights of Steps (Santai xingjun 三台星君), the Supreme Emperor of the Northern Heavens' (Xuantian shangdi 玄天上

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<sup>225</sup> The preface of '*Tablet of Supreme Correspondence*' 感應篇序代外舅作 *Xishan wenji* 27.

<sup>226</sup> Sakai 1960: 1-5.

帝), the Three Worms (Sanshi 三尸)<sup>227</sup>, the Three Immortal Souls and Seven Mortal Forms (Sanhun qipo 三魂七魄), and the God of the Kitchen (Zaowangshen 竈王神). Not only are the individual's lifespan and good or ill fortune determined on the basis of these records, but so too are the fates of one's descendants. If a person commits a sin against the code of conduct prescribed in the *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence*, those deities will reduce his life expectancy (*suan* 算) according to the gravity of the sin. Zhen Dexiu commented that he would not discuss the operation of retribution in depth since the book was conceived primarily to facilitate lay people's understanding of the causal relationship between a human being's deeds and celestial retribution.

Zhen did not agree with Li Changling's notion that what happens to people at present and what will happen to them or their descendants in the future are caused by what they did in the past, acknowledging that "we need to realize its absurdity and take cautions against its misleading us." Instead, he argued that fortune and misfortunes are produced by the workings of the human mind.<sup>228</sup> According to him, furthermore, retribution could be explained by the principle of influence and resonance, which is grounded in the Li-Qi dualism. In the preface to the *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence*, Zhen Dexiu introduced Cheng Yi's idea that if a person's psychological activity is initiated, it exerts "influence" (*gan* 感) on the external world,

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<sup>227</sup> The *Sanshi* (三尸) are three worms living in everyone's body. The Sanshi keep track of the good deeds and particularly the bad deeds of the person they inhabit. Every 60 days, while a person sleeps the Sanshi will leave the body and go to the Heavenly God (*tiandi* 天帝), to report about the deeds of that person. The Heavenly God will then decide to punish bad people, making them ill, shortening their lifetimes, and in extreme cases causing their deaths.

<sup>228</sup> The preface of '*Tablet of Supreme Correspondence*' 感應篇序代外翼作 *Xishan wenji* 27.

which evokes a “response” (*ying* 應).<sup>229</sup> Conversely, the external response influences the person’s mind . This reciprocal dynamic of influence and resonance occurring repeatedly between the human mind and external circumstances produces the fortunes or misfortunes of one’s daily life.

Zhen Dexiu’s preface to the *Tablet of Supreme Correspondence* was aimed at advising local officials and literati on how they should use this morality book to enlighten the benighted masses. In particular, he emphasized that they should have a flexible attitude toward the popular morality book; even though the Confucian educated person could not fully trust its account of divine spirits, they would be able to use it to educate the common folk on moral ideas. Furthermore, Zhen’s prominent stature in Southern Song politics and intellectual life ensured that his flexible attitude toward the general populace’s beliefs had a broad influence on later Confucian literati.

### (3) Huang Zhen’s (黃震) Utilitarian Response to the Popular Religious Cults

Huang Zhen was a celebrated Daoxue thinker during the late Southern Song period and the founder of the Dongfa 東發 school, which was characterized by its veneration of Zhu Xi’s teachings as orthodoxy and its criticism of the introspective branch of the Daoxue tradition.<sup>230</sup> In particular, as a member of the later generation of the Southern Song Daoxue school and as a native of the Eastern Zhejiang (Zhedong 浙東) province that was the birthplace of the utilitarian school, Huang Zhen took an attitude toward popular religious cults that was quite distinct from

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<sup>229</sup> The preface of ‘*Tablet of Supreme Correspondence*’ 感應篇序代外舅作 *Xishan wenji* 27.

<sup>230</sup> The term “Dongfa” came from Huang Zhen’s pen name. The Dongfa school was considered to be one of the forerunners of the Zhedong school of the Ming-Qing period. Zhang 2003.

that of earlier and contemporary Daoxue literati. Because the compilers of the Song dynastic history did not include him in the “Biographies of Daoxue Scholars” chapter, he rarely has been recognized as an authentic Daoxue scholar. However, the Qing historian Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738~1801) considered Huang to be among Zhu Xi’s four greatest disciples along with Zhen Dexiu, Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178-1237), and Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223~96).

Above all, Huang Zhen had a deep antipathy toward the introspection-oriented (*xinxue* 心學) trend of Daoxue thought. He harshly criticized Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050~1103), blaming him as the main culprit who diverted Daoxue thought toward introspection-centered philosophy under the influence of Buddhism and Daoism.<sup>231</sup> In addition, he highly admired Zhu Xi for putting the brakes on the introspection-oriented trend.<sup>232</sup> Huang himself concentrated on the activist orientation (*gongxing* 躬行) within Daoxue thought.<sup>233</sup> Consequently, between the two key trends of Daoxue philosophy—introspection and activism, or “inner sageliness and outer kingliness” (*neishen waiwang* 內聖外王)—Huang Zhen’s ideas were far more activism-oriented.

Furthermore, Huang Zhen’s activist inclination seemed to be a notch above Zhu Xi’s or Zhen Dexiu’s. He thought highly of the utilitarian scholar Ye Shi’s 葉適 great insight into the management of financial affairs (*licai* 理財) despite Ye’s severe criticism of Zhu Xi’s obsession

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<sup>231</sup> *Huangshi richao* 59. “Hanwen (韓文)”; 33. “Du benchao zhuru lixueshu: chengshi yishu (讀本朝諸儒理學書: 程氏遺書)”.

<sup>232</sup> *Huangshi richao* 33. “Du benchao zhuru lixueshu: chengshi wenji (讀本朝諸儒理學書: 程氏文集)”; 33. “Du benchao zhuru lixueshu: huian xiansheng yulei (讀本朝諸儒理學書: 晦庵先生語類)”.

<sup>233</sup> *Huangshi richao* 82. “Duyi: yuyaoxian jiangyi (講義: 餘姚縣學講義)”.

with morality.<sup>234</sup> As a native of Yuyao 余姚 (present Cixi 慈溪) in Zhejiang province, Huang may have been influenced by the contemporary utilitarian scholars active in the Eastern Zhejiang. This feature of his thinking is revealed in Huang's reform of the community granary systems in Guangde prefecture 廣德軍 (present Guangde county, Anhui) in 1268 and in Fuzhou 撫州 (present Fuzhou city, Jiangxi) in 1271. While he did not dare to abolish the institution that Zhu Xi first introduced, he strongly insisted on the necessity of state intervention in a supervisory role and imposed considerable restrictions on the autonomy of community granaries.<sup>235</sup>

Huang Zhen's revised version of community granaries, which combined Zhu Xi's literati activism and the utilitarian school's state interventionism, was reflected in his attitude toward popular cults as well.<sup>236</sup> While Zhu Xi and Zhen Dexiu were mainly concerned with the ethical values symbolized by the popular cults, Huang chiefly focused on eliminating the social unrest caused by the cults, particularly when he was prefect of Guangde. Guangde was renowned as the birthplace of the King Zhang cult, and the people's avid devotion to the cult had been a chronic headache to the local government. Since the birthplace of a deity usually becomes a pilgrimage site, on the birthday of King Zhang (the 8th day of the 2nd month of the lunar calendar) or on other feast days the devotees of the cult gathered at Guangde from all over the country. Local

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<sup>234</sup> *Huangshi richao* 68. "Zongshu (總述)".

<sup>235</sup> Toda 1990.; Akagi 1981.

<sup>236</sup> Huang Zhen's attitude toward the popular cults was also evident in his patronage of a local cult when he was the prefect of Fuzhou. According to Robert Hymes's research, Huang supported the Three Immortals of Mt. Huagai as a more legitimate local cult than the Four Immortals of Mt. Hsiang favored by the Fuzhou local elite because the Three Immortals had twice received titles from the Northern Song government, in 1075 (Shenzong's reign) and 1100 (Huizong's reign). Hymes explains that Huang's attempt to impose a local deity who symbolized the state's authority on the local populace instead of a more indigenous one provoked conflict and opposition among the Fuzhou local elite. Hymes 2002: 114-46.

officials worried that the religious festivals organized by the local people and the pilgrims might lead to a breakdown in public security. In addition, they believed that the lavish expenditures on rituals also had caused severe damage to the local economy. In his two memorials to the throne in 1269,<sup>237</sup> Huang Zhen described the harmful effects of these festivals in minute detail.

As a local prefect in charge of the security of the community and the people's welfare, Huang Zhen outlined five serious ritual violations that had to be banned immediately: the "sacrifice of oxen" (*maicang* 埋藏); "civilian participants carrying illegal weapons during the feast" (*shangshen* 傷神), "participants wearing the implements of judicial punishment" (*zuian* 罪案), the "compulsory assignment of the head of religious assembly" (*cha huishou* 差會首), and the "arbitrary assignment of the civilian tax collector" (*cha jicha* 差機察).<sup>238</sup>

The first issue, "sacrifice of oxen," concerned the ritual killing of oxen as offerings to the deity to beseech good fortune. In an agrarian society, plowing oxen were a valuable economic asset. Therefore, Huang Zhen was disturbed by the decline of agricultural productivity resulting from the wanton destruction of these farm animals. Reportedly over 2,000 oxen were butchered for sacrifice in Guangde prefecture every year.<sup>239</sup> In addition, he sharply criticized the practice of profiting from the illegal sale of beef. Above all, what he most deplored and condemned was the breakdown of the imperial ritual order. Since the sacrifice of oxen was restricted exclusively to

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<sup>237</sup> *Huangshi richao* 74. "Shen zhushi qijin shehui zhuang (申諸司乞禁社會狀)"; 74. "Yi shen changshusheng qijin benjun zaixing niuji shi (以申尚書省乞禁本軍再行牛祭事)".

<sup>238</sup> Nakamura 1992: 157-86.

<sup>239</sup> Nakamura 1992: 164.

the sacrificial rituals performed by the Emperor,<sup>240</sup> he could not afford to overlook such a serious offense. Oxen sacrifices were prevalent within the Southern Song territory, and the case of Guangde prefecture was particularly serious. Therefore, Huang strongly insisted that the government ban this harmful custom.<sup>241</sup>

The next two issues concerned the uncontrolled vice and licentiousness of participants during the feast. First of all, Huang Zhen was concerned that conflicts that might arise among festival participants bearing weapons could result in more serious bloodshed.<sup>242</sup> In general, the religious festivals seemed to provide an opportunity for just such kind of conflicts between local communities or rival groups. During the Southern Song period, disputes accompanied by bloodshed often occurred during religious festivals in many places.<sup>243</sup> Further, Huang expressed displeasure with the common practice of wearing the uniforms and shackles of prisoners (*yansheng* 厭勝) as act of penance, similar to the processions of flagellants in Europe in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. Huang Zhen thought it disgraceful that the official judicial process was turned into an object of ridicule by this degenerate custom.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> According to *Liji* 禮記 (:5 王制), the Grand Sacrifice (*tailao* 太牢) was offered by the Emperor, while the Minor Sacrifice (少牢) was used for the feudal lords (*zhuhou* 諸侯). The *Liji* (:17 少儀) further states that the Grand Sacrifice involved the sacrifice of oxen, while sheep were used in the Minor Sacrifice.

<sup>241</sup> *Huangshi richao* 74. “Shen zhushi qijin shehui zhuang (申諸司乞禁社會狀)”.

<sup>242</sup> *Huangshi richao* 74. “Shen zhushi qijin shehui zhuang (申諸司乞禁社會狀)”.

<sup>243</sup> Nakamura 1992: 170-73.

<sup>244</sup> *Huangshi richao* 74. “Shen zhushi qijin shehui zhuang (申諸司乞禁社會狀)”.

The last two issues related to practices that in Huang's view caused severe economic damage to the local populace. Those who compelled to assume the responsibilities of the head of religious assemblies (*huishou* 會首) inevitably suffered serious financial losses and frequently became bankrupt. The assembly heads generally took full responsibility for the expenses required to hold the festival; if they could not collect sufficient funds from members of the assembly they were obliged to pay for the shortage themselves.<sup>245</sup> Finally, "arbitrary assignment of the civilian tax collector" referred to collecting fees from the local merchants and street vendors from other regions who gathered during festivals. Huang argued that tax collection was the exclusive right of the state and therefore collection of these fees was illegal.<sup>246</sup>

Nevertheless, Huang Zhen did not oppose cults that were properly enrolled in the official register of sacrifice. About half of the fifty-five "written prayers" included in Huang's collected works were devoted to official deities like the spirits of the prefectural altar of soil and grain, Tudi 土地, the Lord of Mount Tai (Yuemiao 嶽廟), and Confucian sages such as Confucius and Zhu Xi, while the other half were addressed to popular deities. It is noteworthy that he wrote five prayers for the City God and three for King Zhang. Furthermore, while the first two prayers addressed to King Zhang were written in a subdued and businesslike tone, in the third—written on the eve of the collapse of the Southern Song dynasty—Huang earnestly appealed to the god for protection:

When I was serving as the prefect in Guangde prefecture, I used to hold a sacrifice for the Perfect Lord Zhang in his native place. Since I am presently serving as a prefect in Zhejiang, I hold a sacrifice for him in this place as well. The sense of distance

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<sup>245</sup> *Huangshi richao* 74. "Shen zhushi qijin shehui zhuang (申諸司乞禁社會狀)".

<sup>246</sup> *Huangshi richao* 74 "Shen zhushi qijin shehui zhuang (申諸司乞禁社會狀)".

between this world and the other world depends on your outlook; while on the previous occasion devotees prayed to god only for relief for the people, the present prayer, however, does not do that. Now, in the face of the state's urgent crisis and the hardship of the people's lives, the sacrifices to god are flourishing at last. The manifestation of the god's miraculous virtues is not hindered by distance; he makes the bandits flee their lairs and hide, ensures that the local community lives happily together, brings gentle and harmonious weather, and causes the crops fully ripen. From now on, all this is due to the god's divine blessing.<sup>247</sup>

Thus, Huang did not oppose the local people's participation in the religious activities of the popular cults as such. What most troubled him were activities that violated either Confucian ethics or state laws.

In comparison to Chen Chun, Huang Zhen's attitude toward popular religious cults was somewhat more positive, although he seemed to have a less flexible and more principled approach to them than Zhen Dexiu did. The differences between them perhaps stemmed from differences in character or the different political circumstances they faced. Furthermore, it is also obvious that there were significant philosophical differences in their attitudes toward the popular cults despite their common allegiance to Zhu Xi's teachings. Huang Zhen stood out in the ways in which he effectively blended different statecraft traditions together in forming his own agenda for local governance, which was premised on fostering an autonomous local community that still allowed for intervention of the state to ensure public security and improve the people's welfare. Consequently, Huang Zhen's appreciation of the value of popular religious cults, along with his insistence on some degree of state intervention, distinguished him from the others.

#### 4. Conclusion

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<sup>247</sup> *Huangshi richao* 94. "Zhuwen (祝文)".

When the New Policy reform initiatives collapsed along with the fall of the Northern Song dynasty, the state-centered administration system of the popular religious cults was also destined to be abolished. Therefore, during the Southern Song period, so-called Daoxue literati began to seek a new way of dealing with the popular religious cults. Although they presented a variety of views on the popular religious cults that seem to be inconsistent with each other, they sought to actively get involved in them in order to find an effective means of asserting control in common.

Above all, they were strongly opposed to the previous state-centered reforms, and instead advocated a form of community-based activism under the leadership of the Confucian literati. In particular, they pursued a harmonious coexistence of popular cults with the Confucian ethical social order within the local community. Since they acknowledged the possibility of interaction with spiritual beings in exceptional cases and tried to explain them on the basis of the Li-Qi dualism, they focused their attention on blocking out the harmful effects that the local cults might have on ritual practices and moral behavior in the community. In addition, they tried to superimpose a system of Confucian ethical values on popular cults. They expressed great concern about the possibility that the popular religious practices might cause social unrest. Even though the Daoxue literati usually advocated the autonomy of the local community and the primacy of local literati leadership, later disciples of Zhu Xi conceded the necessity of state intervention in order to maintain social stability. In particular, the later Daoxue literati who incorporated utilitarian ideas such as Huang Zhen argued that community autonomy should be subject to the state's laws and oversights as well as Confucian ethics.

Consequently, it is obvious that the Daoxue literati's growing interest in popular religious cults can be attributed to their ideas of community activism. In order to realize their social ideals

at the local level, the Daoxue literait, both as officials and as informal community leaders, became actively involved with the popular religious practices.

## *Chapter Five*

### *Popular Worship and State and Elite Responses: The Evolution of the King Zhang Cult from the late Tang to Southern Song*

The previous chapters examined the growing interests that the late Tang warlords, the Northern Song state-centered reformers, and the Southern Song Daoxue literati had in popular cults. These chapters demonstrate that the sharp differences in the ways that they were involved with the popular cults can be attributed primarily to the shifts in their socio-political or intellectual stances toward popular religious practices. Fundamentally, however, it is obvious that the rapid growth of the local communities made the states and elites realize the necessity to control and “enlighten” the ordinary people. In particular, they paid great attention to the increasing significance of the popular worship in the local communities.

According to the studies on the relationship between the transformation of the Tang-Song society and the development of the popular worship, a variety of social changes facilitated the spread of popular cults beyond their original home territories. Not only the rapid southward shift of the empire’s economic center of gravity but also the socio-psychological impact of these socio-economic changes, such as the rising aspiration for riches and the psychological anxieties of living in an affluent and mobile society, whetted the people’s enthusiastic participation in popular religious practices.<sup>248</sup> In addition, Western scholarship has identified merchants,<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> von Glahn, 2004: 134.

<sup>249</sup> Hansen 1990.

itinerant Buddhist or Daoist priests,<sup>250</sup> pilgrims visiting sacred places,<sup>251</sup> and examination candidates traveling to the capital<sup>252</sup> as the primary agents for the rapid and extensive spread of the popular religious cults.

Among the various popular cults, the King Zhang cult in particular had undergone a remarkable transformation from a local cult to a far-flung regional cult between the period of the late Tang and Southern Song.<sup>253</sup> The evolution of the King Zhang cult clearly shows that a variety of social factors enabled the cult to spread throughout the entire Southern Song territory. In addition, the prosperity of the King Zhang cult was clearly demonstrated by the active involvement of the state and elite in the cult. This chapter, therefore, examines the evolution of the King Zhang cult and the state and elite response to it in chronological order.

## **1. The Social Background to the Spread of the King Zhang Cult**

The principal forces behind social changes in the southeastern Chinese provinces during the Tang and the Song periods were large-scale land reclamation and the growth of the commercial economy. Devastating civil wars such as the An Lushan and Huang Chao rebellions of the Tang period and the Jurchen occupation of north China in the early twelfth century spurred the massive migration from the north to the relatively peaceful southeastern provinces during this era.

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<sup>250</sup> Kleeman. 1994. Katz 1995.

<sup>251</sup> Naquin, and Yü. 1992.

<sup>252</sup> Kleeman. 1994.

<sup>253</sup> Valerie Hansen states that “unlike local cults, regional cults were not confined to a single locality but spread across space, so that their temples covered regions and in some cases the nation”. According to her argument, the regional cult emerged beginning in the twelfth century. Hansen, 1990: 128.

These migrations made possible large-scale land reclamation in many areas of the southeast, notably the Lake Tai 太湖 lowlands of the Yangzi River Delta. The movement of settlers into the region also was accompanied by the diffusion of new cultural forms. The settlers usually brought their own religious beliefs from their native places and constructed shrines and monuments to familiar deities in their new homelands. Therefore, the density of temple construction in a newly settled region is considered a significant indicator of the degree of regional development.<sup>254</sup>

The prosperity of the Song commercial economy also engendered the rise of cities and market towns. Previously, Chinese cities had served primarily as administrative or military centers, but the Song cities were distinctive for their economic functions. Since both the Northern Song capital of Kaifeng and the Southern Song capital at Hangzhou were situated at major junctions of the inland waterways, they were not just administrative centers but also the national centers of trade. Furthermore, many commercial towns sprung up along the inland waterways and became centers of local trade and industry. Besides their economic roles, the large cities and commercial towns also served as centers of religious life. While the major Song cities featured an array of magnificent religious monuments such as Buddhist, Daoist, and popular cult temples that attracted pilgrims from all over the empire, the temples in local cities served as the focal points of the local population's religious practices.

Economic prosperity also stimulated the development of commercial routes such as inland waterways or sea routes, which improved the efficiency of communications between distant areas and enabled people to travel long distances without difficulty. This increased mobility of the population facilitated the growing cultural homogeneity within south China. Religious

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<sup>254</sup> Shiba 1988:370.

practices featured significantly in this cultural homogeneity among local communities. As Hansen mentioned, the salient feature of Song popular religion was the emergence of widespread regional cults.<sup>255</sup> Dispersed and diffuse communities that had long worshiped their own distinctive local gods began to share the same regional religious cults. The increased mobility of people resulting from the emergence of efficient trade networks enabled the extensive propagation of popular cults in new areas.

Besides these socio-economic changes, however, we should also examine the significant transformation of the underlying mentality shared by the contemporary people between the period of the late Tang and the Southern Song. People of every social class shared a sense of unease because of the greater fluidity of society, and therefore they increasingly sought aid and comfort from both the popular and the ecclesiastical religions.<sup>256</sup> Despite their Confucian training, even the local literati of the Song period tended to hold firmly to the ideas and beliefs of popular religion because they feared the power of the spiritual beings or sought to alter their fates through supernatural assistance.<sup>257</sup> Since the Tang period, the ecclesiastical religions also had devised improved means of access to the sacred realm to attract ordinary people. Socio-psychological changes such as the growing anxieties people felt about their lives in this increasingly competitive and mobile society were the fundamental driving forces that spurred ordinary people's participation in the popular religious practices.

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<sup>255</sup> Hansen 1990:128-159.

<sup>256</sup> von Glahn,2004: 134.

<sup>257</sup> Liao 2001.

Among the various regional religious cults of the Song era, the development of the King Zhang cult was so extraordinary that its branch temples and sub-deities greatly outnumbered those of all other popular deities.<sup>258</sup> The spread of the cult passed largely through three significant phases: an indigenous local cult, an initial spread into neighboring areas, and finally a widespread regional cult. Since its base temple was in Guangde 廣德 prefecture in what is now Anhui province, the King Zhang cult had the advantage of its proximity to the Song dynasty's economic center of the gravity, the Lake Tai lowlands. Although the initial spread of the King Zhang cult was restricted to areas adjacent to the base temple in Guangde, the regional migrations of people facilitated its propagation over broad areas. However, it was not until the Southern Song period that the branch temple of the King Zhang cult constructed in Hangzhou became a renowned pilgrimage center, enhancing the deity's profile and reputation and attracting pilgrims from all over the country to temple festivals held in honor of King Zhang.

## **2. Initial Expansion of the King Zhang Cult and the State's Response**

### **(1) The Growth of the King Zhang Cult during the Late Tang and the Five Dynasties Period**

King Zhang's hagiography suggests that the embryonic stage of the development of the King Zhang cult was closely connected with the regional development of Huzhou prefecture, located at the southern edge of Lake Tai. According to legend, King Zhang originated as a mortal named Zhang Bo 張渤 born in Longyang 龍陽 county in Wuling 武陵 prefecture (present Changde city 常德市 in Hunan province) during the Western Han period.<sup>259</sup> From the day he

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<sup>258</sup> Hansen 1990:148.

<sup>259</sup> *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* 3.7b-9a.

was born, Zhang Bo was said to have had a strange but divine appearance. When he grew up, he complained to an unnamed deity that his homeland was so infertile and so secluded that he could not raise his family there. Since the deity allowed him to leave his native place and find a better place to live, Zhang Bo traveled around looking for a place to settle down with his clan. They crossed the Zhe River (浙江) and first settled down in Wucheng 烏程 county in Huzhou prefecture. Right there, Zhang achieved success as a farmer. Zhang began to dig a canal from the Jing stream 荊溪 in Changxing 長興 county to Guangde prefecture. When the project was only half finished, his wife went to his construction site and accidentally witnessed a surprising scene in which Zhang was transformed into a pig and set about working with his spirit soldiers to dig the canal at great speed. When his power to transform himself was thus revealed, Zhang was so embarrassed that he ran away and hid on the peak of Heng Mountain 橫山 in Guangde. Nevertheless, in memory of his beneficent works and in awe of his supernatural power the people of Guangde built a temple and performed sacrifices to him. Later on, the canal he dug dried up and turned into local people's private lands. In addition, the pond where the spirit soldiers washed themselves became a reservoir for irrigating the surrounding fields.<sup>260</sup>

In fact, this myth largely corresponds with the history of the region's development. The Han Chinese began to settle in the Shao River 苕溪 valley in Huzhou, including the Jing Stream area, during the Han dynasty.<sup>261</sup> Because of the limitation of the agricultural technology at that time, however, most of the swampy lowlands of the eastern part of the Huzhou remained undeveloped,

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<sup>260</sup> *Sanjiao yuanliu shengdi fozu soushen daquan* 3.7b-9a.

<sup>261</sup> Shiba1988: 365-389.

and before the Tang period the inflow of people occurred mainly in the piedmont areas of western Huzhou.<sup>262</sup> Since the Wu dynasty constructed its capital city at Jianye (建業, present Nanjing 南京) and made it the center of transport and communication in the region, the Shaoxi River valley had been incorporated into the Nanjing upland region. Therefore, it seems that the mythical story of the Zhang Bo's canal construction was considerably inspired by the historical facts of regional development in western Huzhou. In addition, the mythology of the King Zhang cult reminds us the civilizing exploits of the sage-king Yu the Great (Da Yu 大禹)—who according to legend delivered China from the primeval flood and subsequently pioneered irrigation works in Kuaiji prefecture (present Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang), where he is said to have died. Many pre-Song local cults dedicated to legendary settlers shared these common traits.<sup>263</sup>

A branch temple dedicated to King Zhang was first built near the seat of the Huzhou prefectural government during the late Tang period. According to the local gazetteer, in 894 people escaping from the war between the Wu regime and Sun Ru's troops in Xuancheng 宣城 sought refuge on Bian Mountain 卞山.<sup>264</sup> There they built a temporary temple out of straw and offered a sacrifice to King Zhang. King Zhang was said to have appeared to the Huzhou prefect,

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<sup>262</sup> According to ShibaYoshinobu, Huzhou prefecture was a topographical microcosm of the whole Lower Yangzi valley. Its topographical feature that consisted of the western highland and the eastern lowland provides an ideal site to compare the different rate of development of the two different terrains. Shiba 1975: 33; Hansen 1990:105.

<sup>263</sup> In the myth of the sage-king Yu, like that of King Zhang, Yu's wife witnessed a scene in which Yu was transformed into a bear when he set about the irrigation work with his spirit soldiers. von Glahn 2004:175.

<sup>264</sup> *Jiatai Wuxing zhi* 嘉泰吳興志 13: 11b–12a & *Cishan zhi* 祠山志 4: 1b.

Li Shiyue 李師悅, in a dream and asked him to build a proper temple. On awakening, Li Shiyue vowed to do just that, and he began the construction immediately.

These records, therefore, suggest that the King Zhang cult already had spread over the Nanjing upland region, including highland areas of western Huzhou, since the Tang period. Furthermore, the Southern Chinese local regimes' active patronage of the King Zhang cult during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period, which was examined in the Chapter 2, demonstrate convincingly that the cult had a significant influence over the regions.

## (2) The Spread of Temple Constructions during the Northern Song

Although there were a few exceptions like the temple (founded in 1004) at Huangyan 黃岩, in Taizhou 臺州 prefecture,<sup>265</sup> before the Southern Song period the geographical distribution of the King Zhang temples had been restricted mostly to areas adjoining Guangde prefecture such as northern East Jiangnan circuit and Huzhou prefecture. For instance, King Zhang temples were built in Huzhou (Changxing 長興 county in 984, Si'an township 四安鎮 in 1102, and Wucheng 烏程 county in 1064), Runzhou 潤州 (Dantu 丹徒 county in 1008), and Jiangningfu 江寧府 (Jurong 句容 county in 984).

Along with the increase in temple construction, the stance of the state toward the King Zhang cult also underwent transformation. However, the change in attitude was not limited to the King Zhang cult; it reflected the significant elevation in the status of popular cults more generally, which was frequently manifested in the awarding of titles and plaques by the Song

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<sup>265</sup> By way of exception, according to a local gazetteer of Taizhou prefecture, a King Zhang temple was built in Huangyan 黃岩 county in 1004 at the instigation of Du Chuixiang (杜垂象) who was a former prefect of Guangde. However, there is no record of any other temples that were built in Taizhou during the Northern Song period. *Taizhou fuzhi* 54.10b–11a.

authorities. When the Song annexed southern China in the late tenth century, the court first of all sought to attract public support in the newly conquered areas, and therefore, it endorsed some popular deities who exercised far-reaching influence over the Jiangnan people.

In 1005 the Northern Song state authorized funding for the reconstruction and maintenance of King Zhang shrines located in the former territory of the Southern Tang and resumed granting titles to King Zhang in 1018. In 1040, the Northern Song government first promoted King Zhang to the rank of King with the title “King of Miraculous Relief” (Lingjiwang 靈濟王) for his response to prayers for rain. After bestowing the title of “King of Faithful Aid and Miraculous Relief” (Zhongyou lingji wang 忠祐靈濟王) on King Zhang and the titles of “Queen Consort of Radiant Aid and Miraculous Grace” (Zhaozhu linghui fei 昭助靈惠妃) and “Queen Consort of Miraculous Grace” (Linghui fei 靈惠妃) on his principal consort in 1121, titles were extended to the king’s wives and sons as well.<sup>266</sup>

The second award of a title to King Zhang occurred when the Northern Song government granted titles to influential local cults in southeastern China just after the Fang La Rebellion in 1119-20.<sup>267</sup> In order to restore state authority in a region devastated by the rebel forces, the Northern Song government selectively supported significant local cults like the King Zhang cult. Although the Northern Song government granted titles to King Zhang only twice, the second granting of a title implied that King Zhang cult became one of the significant popular deities that attracted the central government’s attention during that period.

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<sup>266</sup> *Song huiyao jigao*, li 20.85-87.

<sup>267</sup> *Song huiyao jigao*, li 20.86a.

Still, the King Zhang cult had spread beyond the topographical boundary between the uplands and the lowlands as the economic center of Huzhou shifted from the western highlands to the eastern lowlands during the Song period.<sup>268</sup> The massive land reclamation of the Lake Tai basin and the movement of people into the lowlands facilitated this shift. According to Shiba Yoshinobu's case study of Huzhou, the migration of people into the Lake Tai lowlands began in earnest during the Tang period, when improved irrigation and drainage systems were introduced.<sup>269</sup> Since the significance of the Jiangnan region as a national granary began to be recognized after the An Lushan rebellion, the Tang government paid great attention not only to the improvement of agricultural techniques but also to the expansion of transport networks to secure the delivery of grain tax revenue. Local cults like that of King Zhang accompanied the influx of immigrants into the lowland plains.

Between the late Tang and the Northern Song periods, therefore, temples of the King Zhang cult had been constructed beyond its place of origin and then over adjoining areas. This substantial expansion of the geographical distribution of the King Zhang temples was facilitated mostly by regional migration. Furthermore, the responses of states such as the Wu and Southern Tang of the Five Dynasties periods and the Northern Song to the King Zhang cult revealed the increasing significance of popular worship of King Zhang.

### **3. Propagation of the King Zhang Cult in the Southern Song Territories**

#### **(1) The Construction of a New Pilgrimage Site in Hangzhou.**

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<sup>268</sup> Hansen 1990:115.

<sup>269</sup> Shiba 1988: 365–389.

During the Southern Song, the King Zhang cult achieved nationwide fame due to the increased number of temples dedicated to the deity and their widespread distribution.<sup>270</sup> The King Zhang cult expanded its influence over most of the southeastern Chinese provinces such as West Liangzhe, East Liangzhe, West Jiangnan, and Fujian circuits during this period.<sup>271</sup>

However, the epoch-making event in the development of the King Zhang cult was the construction of the King Zhang temple in Hangzhou after it became the imperial capital of the Southern Song. Construction of the Guanghui Temple 廣惠廟 dedicated to King Zhang in Hangzhou began in 1170.<sup>272</sup> The temple itself cost a huge amount of money—a hundred thousand strings of bronze coin—and took 25 years to build. Its magnificent exterior and splendidly decorated interior made the Guanghui Temple the cynosure of all eyes. The Southern Song government carried out prayers for rain at the Guanghui Temple during droughts. Since the temple was located on Huo Mountain 霍山 outside the city, the Southern Song government built another temple inside Hangzhou to provide more convenient access for ordinary worshipers. Despite the extra distance, however, the inhabitants of Hangzhou continued to visit the Guanghui Temple at Huo Mountain.<sup>273</sup> The temple's popularity attests to the spiritual attachment

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<sup>270</sup> In addition to the increase in temples, the Southern Song government granted titles and plaques to the King Zhang cult four times during the short time period between 1191 and 1207. *Cishan zhi* 1.10b–14a.

<sup>271</sup> The distribution of King Zhang's temples was limited to the four circuits of West Liangzhe, East Liangzhe, Fujian, and East Jiangnan until the Yuan Dynasty. However, the King Zhang cult appears to have been well known among the Huai people (淮民) north of the Yangzi River (East Huainan Circuit and West Huainan Circuit) as well. [Who? give name, not title, here] shows that the King Zhang temple in Fanchang county of Taiping prefecture encouraged the spread of the cult in neighboring Huai regions. *Jianghu changweng ji* 21.

<sup>272</sup> *Xianchun Linan zhi* 73.9b–11a.

<sup>273</sup> *Xianchun Linan zhi* 73.10a.

Hangzhou people had to this shrine. Hansen also argues that ordinary worshipers believed that the original temple had stronger spiritual power than the new one.<sup>274</sup> Although the Guanghui Temple was just a branch temple of the main Cishan Temple in Guangde prefecture, it became a regional pilgrimage site for the King Zhang cult.

Following the construction of the Guanghui Temple in Hangzhou, the founding of King Zhang temples spread throughout southeastern China. As Hansen has pointed out, the King Zhang temples were built mainly in commercial towns along trade routes such as inland waterways and sea routes. A series of King Zhang temples were built almost simultaneously in commercial towns closely connected to Hangzhou, the national commercial hub, by inland waterways, including Suzhou 蘇州(1197), Shaoxingfu 紹興府 (Shangyu 上虞 county in 1201, Yuyao 余姚 county in 1198, and Sheng 嵊 county in 1201), and Cixi 慈溪 county of Qingyuanfu 慶元府 (i.e. Ningbo) in 1198.<sup>275</sup> Branch temples were built even in relatively distant areas linked to Hangzhou through various transport networks, such as Taizhou 臺州 (1186), Chuzhou 處州 (1184), Fuzhou 福州 (Gaotian 古田 county in 1216), and Quanzhou 泉州 (Yongchun 永春 county in 1210). The construction of these branch temples coincided with the resumption of the granting of titles to King Zhang by the Southern Song government in 1191 in response to people's frequent petitions.<sup>276</sup> Therefore, the construction of the authorized temples dedicated to

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<sup>274</sup> Hansen 1990: 152.

<sup>275</sup> For the chronological order of the construction of the authorized King Zhang temples, please refer to Table 1 at the end of this chapter.

<sup>276</sup> *Xianchun Linan zhi* 73.9b–11a. The previous one was granted to the King Zhang in 1135. *Cishan zhi* 1.10b–11a. For the chronological order of the granting of titles to the King Zhang, please refer to Table 2 at the end of the chapter.

the King Zhang at Hangzhou promoted the award of new honors and stimulated the construction boom in the founding of branch temples in many commercial cities of southeastern China.

As Paul Katz argues, temple construction did not always indicate the exact point in time when the cult began to win local popularity.<sup>277</sup> The King Zhang cult had already infiltrated the popular mind in the Hangzhou area before the construction of the Guanghui Temple. An inscription for the temple describes the circumstances just before it was built, arguing that prior to its construction, there had been a great number of unauthorized temples dedicated to the King Zhang, which might have existed in ubiquitous small shrines, the so-called “grove shrines” (*congci* 叢祠),<sup>278</sup> all around Hangzhou already.<sup>279</sup> The inscription also tells us that the inhabitants of Hangzhou believed they enjoyed King Zhang’s divine protection despite the absence of an authorized temple. It is likely that the proliferation of small temples dedicated to the King Zhang around Hangzhou before the construction of the Guanghui Temple resulted from the massive movement of people into the Lake Tai lowlands and the region’s geographical accessibility to areas where the temples had already existed, such as Guangde and Huzhou prefectures.

Consequently, the construction of the King Zhang temple in Hangzhou had a symbolic significance in stimulating other local commercial towns to compete to build their own King Zhang temples. The nearly simultaneous construction of authorized temples was only possible because the King Zhang cult had already been propagated among the ordinary people of the

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<sup>277</sup> Katz 1995: 118.

<sup>278</sup> von Glahn 2004: 182.

<sup>279</sup> *Xianchun Linan zhi* 73.10a.

commercial towns by the vigorous cultural exchange through highly developed transport and communication networks.

## (2) The Role of Pilgrimages and Temple Festivals in the Propagation of the King Zhang Cult

During the Southern Song period, the local popular temples became the focal points of the local religious lives in every local community.<sup>280</sup> In addition, temples at pilgrimage sites attracted worshipers from distant regions as well as the local vicinity. The magnificent temple festivals regularly held at pilgrimage sites played a significant role in the propagation of the popular cult by enhancing the deity's reputation among the large number of people who attended them.

Chinese considered places where the power of a deity has been manifested to be sacred sites. Such sacred sites are described as places filled with “*ling*”靈 (numinous, efficacious spiritual power). Most sacred places are located on mountain peaks, which since very early times were viewed as points of access to heaven or places where the deities dwell.<sup>281</sup> In the Southern Song period, the emergence of regional cults stimulated pilgrimage to the deities' sacred sites. Although the popular Chinese cults had a variety of heterogeneous features, they all shared the common feature of association with a specific sacred site. Steven Sangren argues that pilgrimages unified members of disparate social communities and integrated their own discrete experiences through common ritual and worship.<sup>282</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Gerritsen 2007.

<sup>281</sup> Naquin and Yü 1992: 11.

<sup>282</sup> Sangren, 1987.

The King Zhang cult had two major pilgrimage sites during the Southern Song period: one in Hangzhou and the other in Guangde. A number of sources give details about the festivals held at these two temples. Among them, the Cishan Temple in Guangde was the first temple dedicated to the King Zhang and the most important sacred place for the devotees of the King Zhang cult. During the Southern Song period in particular the temple festival celebrating King Zhang's feast day was so popular that people were willing to come from distant areas to beseech the god for divine aid.<sup>283</sup>

Hangzhou, meanwhile, was the most significant arena for competition between the various regional cults, since a number of influential regional cults had branch temples in the capital. The temple festivals maintained their position year after year as the most popular events in the Hangzhou calendar. As a city with a large transient population, the various cults' temples in Hangzhou functioned not only as branch temples but also as flagship temples that advertised the spiritual powers of the deities to diverse audiences gathered from across the Southern Song territories.

Two late thirteenth century private gazetteers of Hangzhou, *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 and *Wulin jiushi* 武林舊事, provide details about the King Zhang temple festivals performed in Hangzhou.<sup>284</sup> On the birthday of King Zhang (the eighth day of the second lunar month), people from Hangzhou and its suburbs made their pilgrimage to the Guanghui Temple on Huo Mountain. Besides paying their respects at the temple, the worshipers also enjoyed the abundant variety of

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<sup>283</sup> *Huangshi richao* 74. 19a-28a, “Shen zhushi qijin shehui zhuang (申諸司乞禁社會狀)”

<sup>284</sup> *Meng liang lu*.1:9b-11b. *Wulin jiushi*.3:5a-6a.

colorful attractions happening around the temple during the festival, or they joined the spring festival at nearby West Lake (*Xihu* 西湖).

On the day of King Zhang's festival, a number of performing arts groups flocked to the Hangzhou temple from all quarters. These included traveling circuses, theatrical troupes, and athlete groups. Processions called Seven Treasures (*qibao* 七寶) and Horse Riding (*moma* 驀馬) attracted the largest crowds. During these two events, various items such as jewelry and luxuriously decorated fine horses were offered to King Zhang. In addition, exhibitions were held in which strange animals or fish and unusual plants were displayed, so the temple was crowded with visitors from morning till night. The entertainment provided by the variety of spectacles seems to have attracted additional visitors. The Guanghui Temple itself lured people's attention with its many magnificent, lofty buildings, all of which were lavishly decorated with silks or jade. The festival was so extravagant that the author of the *Wulin jiushi* criticized it as being wasteful.<sup>285</sup> In addition, the *Wulin jiushi* tells us that the festival's splendor surpassed that of the city's other major festivals dedicated to the gods Zhenwu (真武) and Dongyue (東嶽) and attracted many more worshippers than the others did.

The author of the *Mengliang lu* also described the scenes of the spring festival held in the vicinity of the Guanghui Temple on the same day as the King Zhang festival. At West Lake, a large number of people enjoyed boating on the lake and watched dragon-boat races. At the lakeside, people admired the beautiful spring scenery as the festival continued until nightfall, when the festivities ended and the partygoers went home drunk. Attendance at this festival was not limited to the wealthy or powerful; people of every class could take part, and the *Mengliang*

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<sup>285</sup> *Wulin jiushi*.3:5b.

*lu* claims that some of the poorer people borrowed money so that they and their families could participate. Hence the inhabitants of Hangzhou and its suburbs could temporarily escape from the pain and suffering of their everyday lives and enthusiastically join in this event.

Consequently, King Zhang's birthday festival was one of major annual events for Hangzhou inhabitants. In addition, since the temple festival in Hangzhou was combined with the spring festival at West Lake that had long been an indigenous custom in that area, the Hangzhou festival became a kind of vernacularized version of the King Zhang temple festival, which was very different from the original one in Guangde prefecture.

Meanwhile, the increasing popularity of the King Zhang cult in Hangzhou made a strong impression on both the state and the local elite, as can be seen in the writings of Southern Song literati. While the two gazetteers mentioned above portray the magnificence and splendor of the King Zhang temple festival in largely affirmative ways, literati adopted very different points of view. For instance, the Southern Song scholar-official Gao Side 高斯得 criticized the violent enthusiasm of the dragon boat race at West Lake in a poem describing the tragic consequences of the same festival.<sup>286</sup> In the race, a great number of people sailed to the target pillar in the middle of the lake, from which a silver ball was hung by a silk string. The local officials awarded prize money to the winner who seized the silver ball from the pillar.<sup>287</sup> So many people fought to get into the boats on the lakeshore that some of them tumbled down and others trampled them to death. Gao claimed that corpses were piled up mountain-high and numerous others suffered serious injuries. Nonetheless, people took no notice of the tragedy. Gao's portrayal of the spring

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<sup>286</sup> *Chitang cungao*. 7. 10b-11a, "Xihu jingdu youren you roujian zhi e (西湖競渡游人有蹂踐之厄)"

<sup>287</sup> *Mengliang lu*. 1. 11a

festival reminds us of Huang Zhen's description of the Cishan temple festival in Guangde, which was discussed in the previous chapter. Like Huang, Gao criticized the social disorder caused by the festivals.

As we see in the records concerning the prosperity of the King Zhang temple festivals in Hangzhou and Guangde, the pilgrimages to these sites greatly reinforced the religious identity of ordinary worshipers. While the King Zhang temple festival at the cult's birthplace in Guangde that had long been considered the cult's most sacred place and attracted pilgrims from all over the country, during the Southern Song the temple festival at Hangzhou—the new imperial capital and the empire's most important commercial center—received nationwide attention and brought the cult national fame.

#### **4. The Southern Song Literati's Response to the Rapid Growth of the King Zhang Cult**

In the fluid and mobile society of the Southern Song period, people of every social stratum enthusiastically sought to invoke the spiritual powers of the popular deities to ward off misfortune and change their future fate. As stated in the previous chapter, the Southern Song literati also became involved with popular cults. The case of the Southern Song literati's participation in the worship of the King Zhang cult, in particular, demonstrates that the Southern Song elite actively participated in popular religious practices not only as official representatives of state authority but also as devout worshipers.

As we saw in Chapter 4, the Southern Song local prefects became actively involved in the popular worship of the local deities like King Zhang through writing prayers or performing the sacrificial rituals personally. Among the prayers written by Zhen Dexiu were some that took generic form with stereotypical formulas that could be used for any temple deity (or unspecified

local temples collectively referred to as *zhumiao* 諸廟 or *zhuci* 諸祠). But Zhen also addressed prayers to specific deities, such as King Zhang,<sup>288</sup> King Tongyuan 通遠王,<sup>289</sup> and Baosheng dadi 保生大帝.<sup>290</sup> Among these prayers, Zhen Dexiu addressed the largest number to King Zhang, for whom he seems to have demonstrated special consideration. There are as many as twelve prayers dedicated to King Zhang in Zhen's surviving writings, compared to five for city gods, five for Baosheng dadi, two for King Tongyuan, and fifteen for the prefectural gods of earth and grain, which were the most prominent objects of the local prefect's compulsory sacrifices prescribed in the state ritual code. Zhen Dexiu clearly held King Zhang in high esteem comparable to the official deities. Therefore, even when he moved to a new assignment, he continued to carry out sacrifices to King Zhang at the local branch temple for the deity just as he had done in his previous location. Furthermore, he not only wrote prayers and sent minor officials to carry out sacrifices to King Zhang, but he also visited the deity's temple under serious circumstances such as drought (for instance, the King Zhang temple of Quanzhou 泉州) and performed the sacrificial ritual in person:

When I had previously been in Jiangdong (at Jiankang), the region had suffered from drought every year, and the people had always prayed to King Zhang for relief. Recently I came to Southern Quanzhou, and this region has also suffered from the

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<sup>288</sup> The King Zhang temples were given a variety of different titles. For example, it was known as the Cishan ("Temple Mountain") 祠山 Temple at its original home in Guangde, the Guanghui Temple 廣惠廟 in Jiankang 建康 as well as Hangzhou, and Cishanmiao 祠山廟 or Great King Zhang Temple 張大帝廟 in other places.

<sup>289</sup> King Tongyuan is a sea god .

<sup>290</sup> Baosheng dadi, also known as Wu zhenren 吳真人, was revered as a god of medicine and healing. The deity's temples were known as Halls of Benevolent Relief (Cijimiao 慈濟廟).

winter drought. I personally came to the temple and sincerely prayed for the people. I stayed there for two nights, and finally the welcome rain fell...<sup>291</sup>

Another Southern Song intellectual, Huang Zhen, also expressed reverence and devotion toward King Zhang in his private life. Although as a public official Huang Zhen made great efforts to exercise strict control over the social unrest caused by enthusiastic worshipers of local cults, he did not oppose cults that were properly enrolled in the official register of sacrifice. About half of the fifty-five “written prayers” included in Huang’s collected works were devoted to official deities like the prefectural gods of earth and grain, Tudi 土地, the Lord of Mount Tai (Yuemiao 嶽廟), and Confucian sages such as Confucius and Zhu Xi, while the other half were addressed to popular deities. It is noteworthy that he wrote five prayers for the City God and three for King Zhang. Furthermore, the first two prayers addressed to King Zhang were written in a subdued and businesslike tone, while in the third—written on the eve of the collapse of the Southern Song dynasty—Huang earnestly appealed to the god for protection:

When I was serving as the prefect in Guangde prefecture, I used to hold a sacrifice for the Perfect Lord Zhang in his home area. Since I am presently serving as a prefect in Zhejiang, I hold a sacrifice for him where I reside here as well. The sense of distance between this world and the other world depends on your outlook; while on the previous occasion devotees prayed to god only for relief for the people, the present prayer, for some reason, does not do so. Now, in the face of the state’s urgent crisis and the hardship of the people’s lives, the sacrifices to the god are flourishing at last. The manifestation of the god’s miraculous virtues is not hindered by distance; he makes the bandits flee their lairs and hide, ensure that the local community lives happily together, brings gentle and harmonious weather, and causes the crops to ripen fully. From now on, all this is due to the god’s divine blessing.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> *Xishan wenji* 52. 21-22, “Zhangdadimiao zhuwen (張大帝廟祝文)”

<sup>292</sup> *Huangshi richao* 94. 3a, “Cishan (祠山)”

In order to obtain the divine aid, therefore, Southern Song local prefects like Huang took particular pains to worship King Zhang, who had already achieved far-flung prominence as an influential and widely respected deity.

In addition to the local prefects in charge of regulating popular worship in the local communities, local elites were also involved closely with the King Zhang cult. For instance, the folktales that Hong Mai recorded in the *Yijian zhi* tell us several stories about the local elite's close involvement in the King Zhang cult.<sup>293</sup> The fierce competition among the candidates for the civil service examinations during the Song period prompted many candidates to turn to the gods, including King Zhang, for aid and reassurance. According to the tales recorded by Hong, many candidates were devotees of King Zhang and sought to invoke his assistance through dream visitations. In their dreams, King Zhang gave broad hints indicating that his followers would succeed in passing the examinations. Furthermore, King Zhang not only foretold their success or failure, but also provided details of their future career, such as their rank in the examination roll<sup>294</sup> or the highest office they would attain in their public careers.<sup>295</sup> In one tale, He Li 何棨 (1089-1127)—who later would serve as the last premier of the Northern Song—was an aspiring examinee candidate, he passed by the King Zhang temple in Zitong 梓潼 in Sichuan but forgot to stop and visit the temple. Instead, He just offered a silent prayer to the deity on the road. That night, He dreamed that he was summoned to the court of King Zhang and given a

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<sup>293</sup> *Yijianzhi* dingzhi.8: 606 “Hechengxiang (何丞相)”; zhijing.10: 958 “Zhaojizhi (趙積智)”; zhiwu.5: 1092-1193 “Hutongzhi (胡通直)”; zhiwu.10:1128-1129 “Jinguhubufu (金谷戶部符)”

<sup>294</sup> *Yijianzhi* dingzhi.8: 606 “Hechengxiang (何丞相)”

<sup>295</sup> *Yijianzhi* zhiwu.5: 1092-1193 “Hutongzhi (胡通直)”

written appointment by the deity. After he woke up, he tried to recall what he saw on the written order and then realized that he would rank among the top ten candidates in the examination. As it turned out, he was ranked tenth in the roster of successful candidates that year. According to another tale, Hu Rong 胡瑑, a young man from a prestigious family, paid his respects at a King Zhang temple. That night Hu had an unusually vivid dream in which he entered a temple with magnificent buildings and was told by a spirit official that he would advance to the position of vice-prefect (*tongzhi* 通直) in his career. Although Hu died young from a sudden illness before he received an appointment as a vice-prefect, the Song government posthumously awarded him the title of vice-prefect just as his dream had foretold. In other cases, King Zhang appeared in dreams and told the candidates to change their name to auspicious ones that would bring them good fortune in the exam.<sup>296</sup> After repeated failures despite long preparation, these candidates finally achieved examination success once they changed their names as the deity had instructed.

As both public officials and private devotees, therefore, the Southern Song literati became closely involved in the King Zhang cult. Their active involvement in the King Zhang cult clearly demonstrates that the cult established its solid foothold in the religious lives of the Southern Song literati. Since the Southern Song literati significantly influenced not only local public opinion but also the formulation of government policy, their active participation in the religious activities of the King Zhang cult contributed to its propagation. However, the Southern Song literati's responses to the rapid rise of the King Zhang cult clearly differed from the responses of the state authorities during the Five Dynasties and Northern Song periods in that the literati were personally involved with the cult's religious practices.

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<sup>296</sup> *Yijianzhi zhijing*.10: 958 “Zhaojizhi (趙積智)”; *zhiwu*.10:1128-1129 “Jinguhubufu (金谷戶部符)”

## **Conclusion**

This chapter examined the long-term evolution of the King Zhang cult from a local to a regional cult between the late Tang and the Southern Song periods. As the King Zhang cult spread from a rural area like Guangde to the imperial capital of Hangzhou, the images of the cult diversified. During the cult's early stage, King Zhang had achieved renown for his ability to bring rain at times of drought. When the southeastern Chinese provinces were ravaged by wars during the chaotic late Tang and the Five Dynasties periods, however, a new image as a tutelary deity who would protect the people from bandits or enemy armies was superscribed on the King Zhang cult. While these images continued to coexist in the Song period, the image of King Zhang as a deity with whom ordinary people could have intimate relationships took on added significance. During the Southern Song period, the deity won fame as an omnipresent deity who responded quickly and effectively to the people's various requests for spiritual aid. Therefore, the diversification of King Zhang's image was shaped by the expansion of the cult both geographically and socially as it became entrenched throughout the whole Southern Song territory and among people of every social class. Furthermore, this chapter looked at a variety of factors that contributed to the cult's rapid growth such as interregional migration, the expansion of the transportation infrastructure centered around the imperial capital, and the emergence of pilgrimage sites that attracted worshipers from distant areas.

The extensive propagation of the King Zhang cult attracted attentions from both state authorities and the literati during this period. While the state authorities of the Five Dynasties and Northern Song periods acknowledged and endorsed the influence of the King Zhang cult

within local communities through awarding titles to its temples in an effort to secure their own control over these communities, the Southern Song literati intimately participated in the religious practices of the King Zhang cult out of personal conviction as well as their active engagement in the local community. Consequently, the evolution of the King Zhang cult clearly shows not only the increasing significance of popular worship in the rise and spread of regional cults from the late Tang to the Southern Song but also the differences between the responses of the state and local literati to this phenomenon.

## Appendix to Chapter Five

(Table 1) The Chronological Table of the Construction of the Authorized King Zhang Temples between Han and Southern Song dynasty

Dynasty	Year	County and Prefecture	Circuit (present province)	Source
Han 漢	220	Guangdejun 廣德軍	East Jiangnan Circuit 江南東路 (Anhui province)	Guangxu Guangde zhouzhi 光緒廣德州志 55.1b
Liu Song 劉宋	424-452	Ningguofu 寧國府	East Jiangnan Circuit (Anhui province)	Wanli Ningguo fuzhi 萬曆寧國府志 10.8a
Tang 唐	894	Huzhou 湖州	West Liangzhe Circuit 兩浙西路 (Zhejiang province)	Jiatai Wuxing zhi 嘉泰吳興志 13.11b
Later Liang 後梁	910	Zhenjiang fu 鎮江府	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi 至順鎮江志 8.18a
	910	Danyang county 丹陽縣 (Zhenjiang fu)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi 至順鎮江志 8.18a-18b
Northern Song 北宋	984	Jurong county 句容縣 (Jiankangfu)	East Jiangnan Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Cishan zhi 祠山志 10.6b
	984	Changxing county 長興縣 (Huzhou)	East Jiangnan Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Cishan zhi 祠山志 10.9b
	1064	Wucheng county 烏程縣 (Huzhou)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Chongzhen Wucheng zhi 崇禎烏程縣志 8.15b
	1101	Dantu county 丹徒縣 (Zhenjiang fu)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi 至順鎮江志 8.15b-16a
	1102	Sian township 四安鎮 (Huzhou)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Cishanzhi 祠山志 10.6b
Southern Song 南宋	1133	Changshu county 常熟縣 (Pingjiangfu)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Zhengde Gusu zhi 正德姑蘇志 28.12b
	1133	Jintan county 金壇縣 (Zhenjiang fu)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Zhishun Zhenjiang zhi 至順鎮江志 8.24a
	1150	Dinghai county 定海縣	East Liangzhe Circuit	Dade Changgouzhou tuzhi

Southern Song 南宋		(Qingyuanfu)	兩浙東路 (Zhejiang province)	大德昌國州圖志 7.17a
	1170	Hangzhou 杭州 (Linanfu 臨安府)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Xianchun Linan zhi 咸淳臨安志 73.9a-11a
	1174-1189	Nanjing 南京 (Jiankanfu 建康府)	East Jiangnan Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Jingding Jiankan zhi 景定建康志 44.28a-b
	1184	Chuzhou 處州	East Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Guangxu Chuzhou fuzhi 光緒處州府志 8.28a
	1186	Taizhou 臺州	East Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Jiading Chicheng zhi 嘉定赤城志 31.7b
	1191	Changhua county 昌化縣 (Linanfu)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Xianchun Linan zhi 咸淳臨安志 74.18a
	1197	Suzhou 蘇州 (Pingjiangfu 平江府)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Chongzhen Wu xianzhi 崇禎吳縣志 21.3b
	1198	Cixi county 慈溪縣 (Qingyuanfu)	East Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Yanyou siming zhi 延祐四明志 15.21b
	1198	Yuyao county 余姚縣 (Shaoxingfu)	East Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Jiatai Guiji zhi 嘉泰會稽志 6.23b
	1201	Sheng county 嵊縣 (Shaoxingfu 紹興府)	East Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Jiatai Guiji zhi 嘉泰會稽志 6.17a
	1201	Shangyu county 上虞縣 (Shaoxingfu)	East Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Jiatai Guiji zhi 嘉泰會稽志 6.25b
	1216	Gutian county 古田縣 (Fuzhou)	Fujian Circuit 福建路 (Fujian province)	Houcunxiangsheng daquanji 後村先生大全集 88.2a-3a
	1222	Jiangzhou 江州	West Jiangnan Circuit 江南西路 (Jiangxi province)	Chunyou Jiang zhouzhi 淳祐江州志
	1241	Changzhou 常州	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)	Chenghua chongxiu Piling zhi 成化重修毗陵志 27.5b
	1241	Yanzhou 嚴州	West Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Jingding Yanzhou xuzhi 景定嚴州續志 4.3b-4a
	1246	Ningbo 寧波 (Qingyuanfu 慶元府)	East Liangzhe Circuit (Zhejiang province)	Yanyou siming zhi 延祐四明志 15.12a
	1253-1258	Tingzhou 汀州	Fujian Circuit	Hongzhi Tingzhou fuzhi

			(Fujian province)	弘治汀州府志 9.4a
1258	Liancheng county 蓮城 (Tingzhou)	Fujian Circuit (Fujian province)		Linting zhi 臨汀志
1268	Wujin county 武進縣 (Changzhou)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)		Xianchun Piling zhi 咸淳毗陵志 14.10b
1268	Wuxi county 無錫縣 (Changzhou)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)		Xianchun Piling zhi 咸淳毗陵志 14.10b
1268	Yixing county 宜興縣 (Changzhou)	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)		Xianchun Piling zhi 咸淳毗陵志 14.10b
1275	Jiayingfu 嘉興府	West Liangzhe Circuit (Jiangsu province)		Zhiyuan Jiahe zhi 至元嘉禾志 12.5b

(Table 2) The Chronological Table of the Granting of Titles to the King Zhang

Dynasty	Year	Title	Reason for Granting	Source
Tang 唐	742-755	水部員外郎	祈禱雨感應	Cishan zhi 1.8b-9a
	895	司農少卿	平孫儒後以功遷	Cishan zhi 1.9a
Later Liang 後梁	908	禮部尚書兼廣德侯	祈禱雨感應	Cishan zhi 1.9a
Wu 吳	928	僕射兼廣德侯	祈禱雨感應	Cishan zhi 1.9a-9b
Southern Tang 南唐	954	司徒兼廣德公	祈禱雨感應	Cishan zhi 1.9b
	956	廣德王	錢塘兵攻宣城, 張王以兵援是	Cishan zhi 1.9b
Northern Song 北宋	1040	靈濟王	祈禱雨感應	Cishan zhi 1.10a Song huiyao jikao li 20. 85b
	1121	忠祐靈濟王	方臘先寇寧國嗣犯績溪王顯靈賊敗走	Cishan zhi 1.10a Song huiyao jikao li 20. 86a
Southern Song 南宋	1132	忠祐靈濟昭烈王	百姓祈哀賊兵敗走	Cishan zhi 1.10a-b; 4.5b Song huiyao jikao li 20. 86a
	1135	正順忠祐靈濟昭烈王	祈禱雨感應	Cishan zhi 1.10b Song huiyao jikao li 20. 86a
	1191	正順忠祐威德昭烈王	報謝	Cishan zhi 1.10b-12b
	1201	正順忠祐威德聖烈王	本軍奏乞更封美名	Cishan zhi 1.12b-13a
	1205	正祐顯應威德聖烈王	祈禱雨感應	Cishan zhi 1.13a-b
	1207	正祐昭顯威德聖烈王	報謝	Cishan zhi 1.13b-14a
	1245	正祐英濟威德聖烈王		Cishan zhi 1.14a
	1257	正祐聖烈真君	報謝	Cishan zhi 1.14a-15a
		正祐聖烈昭德真君	報謝	Cishan zhi 1.15a-b
	1266	正祐聖烈昭德昌福真君	報謝	Cishan zhi 1.15b-16a
1275	正祐聖烈昭德昌福崇仁輔順真君	報謝	Cishan zhi 1.16a-b	

## 武林舊事

### 卷三

#### 社會

二月八日為桐川張王生辰，震山行宮朝拜極盛，百戲競集，如緋綠社雜劇齊雲社蹴鞠遏雲社唱賺同文社要詞角抵社相撲清音社清樂錦標社射弩錦體社花繡英略社使棒雄辯社小說翠錦社行院繪革社影戲淨發社梳剃律花社吟叫雲機社撮弄。而七寶·榜馬二會為最。玉山寶帶，尺璧寸珠，璀璨奪目，而天驥龍媒，絨羈寶轡，競賞神駿。好奇者至翦毛為花草人物。廚行果局，窮極餽核之珍。有所謂意思作者，悉以通草羅帛，雕飾為樓台故事之類，飾以珠翠，極其精緻，一盤至直數萬，然皆浮靡無用之物，不過資一玩耳。奇禽則紅鸚·白雀，水族則銀蟹·金龜，高麗·華山之奇松，交·廣海嶠之異卉，不可縷數，莫非動心駭目之觀也。若三月三日殿司真武會，三月二十八日東嶽生辰社會之盛，大率類此，不暇贅陳。

## 夢梁錄

### 卷一

#### 八日祠山聖誕

初八日，錢塘門外霍山路有神曰祠山正祐聖烈昭德昌福崇仁眞君，慶十一日誕聖之辰。祖廟在廣德軍，敕賜廟額廣惠，自梁至宋，血食已一千三百余年矣。凡邦國有禱，士民有告，感通即應。其日都城內外，詣廟獻送繁盛，最是府第及內官迎獻馬社，儀仗整肅，裝束華麗。又有七寶行拂，列數卓珍異寶器珠玉殿亭，悉皆精巧。后苑諸作，呈獻盤龍走風，精細靴鞋，諸王巾帽，獻貢不俗。各以綵旗·鼓吹·妓樂·舞隊等社，奇花異果，珍禽水族，精巧面作，諸色鑰石，車駕迎引，歌叫賣聲，效京師故體，風流錦綺，他處所無。臺閣巍峨，神鬼威勇，竝呈於露臺之上。自早至暮，觀者紛紛。十一日，廟中有衙前樂，教樂所人員部領諸色樂部，詣殿作樂呈獻。命大官排食果二十四盞，各盞呈藝。守臣委佐官代拜。初八日，西湖畫舫盡開，蘇堤游人，來往如蟻。其日，龍舟六隻，戲於湖中。其舟俱裝十太尉·七聖·二郎神·神鬼·快行·錦體浪子·黃胖，雜以鮮色旗繖·花籃·鬧竿·鼓吹之類。其餘皆簪大花·捲脚帽子·紅綠戲衫，執棹行舟，戲游波中。帥守出城，往一清堂彈壓。其龍舟俱呈參州府，令立標竿於湖中，掛其錦綵·銀毬·官楮，犒龍舟，快捷者賞之。有一小節級，披黃衫，頂青巾，帶大花，插孔雀尾，乘小舟抵湖堂，橫節杖，聲喏，取指揮，次以舟回，朝諸龍沙小綵旗招之，諸舟俱鳴鑼擊鼓，分兩勢劃棹旋轉，而遠遠排列成行，再以小綵旗引之，龍舟竝進者二，又以旗招之，其龍舟遠列成行，而先進者得捷取標賞，聲喏而退，餘者以錢酒支犒也。湖山游人，至暮不絕。大抵杭州勝景，全在西湖，他郡無此，更兼仲春景色明媚，花事方殷，正是公子王孫，五陵年少，賞心樂事之時，詎宜虛度？至如貧者，亦解質借兌，帶妻挾子，竟日嬉游，不醉不歸。此邦風俗，從古而然，至今亦不改也。

## *Chapter Six*

### *Conclusion*

Popular religious cults had long played a key role in reinforcing ties of local people within Chinese local communities. Although governmental officials and the literati elite had recognized the significance of these popular cults, their promotion and suppression of the popular cults had not been clearly evident before the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period. Furthermore, these responses had been for the most part concentrated in the southern half of the Chinese territory. As the full-scale development of southern China gained momentum beginning in the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period, therefore, the extensive spread of popular religious cults in this region became a growing concern of both state authorities and local elites.

The regional development of South China through the rise of commercial cities and the improvement of interregional communication facilitated the rise of extensive regional cults.<sup>297</sup> In addition, the increasing psychological unease about the social mobility brought about by economic change spurred ordinary people's enthusiastic participation in popular religious practices.<sup>298</sup> Besides these transformations in socio-economic circumstances, the religious syncretism of organized religions with local deity cults also greatly contributed to the widespread propagation of the local cults. Although the rapid growth of such cults attracted great attention from the state and literati, changes in their approaches to local governance also induced a significant transformation—and divergence—in their stances toward the popular cults.

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<sup>297</sup> Hansen 1990.

<sup>298</sup> von Glahn 2004.

This dissertation posits that there were temporal and regional variations in the responses of the state and the literati to the popular religious cults. In terms of the regional variations, first of all, there are clear differences between the northern dynasties and the southern local regimes during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period. With regard to temporal variations, on the other hand, this dissertation demonstrated a marked departure in that the attitudes of the Southern Song literati toward the local cults compared to those of the Northern Song state and its reformist leadership.

### 1. The Regional Variations

During the Five Dynasties period, state authorities in North and South China adopted contrasting policies toward popular religious cults. First of all, the northern courts constantly failed to appreciate the significance of the popular religious traditions. Instead, they focused their attention on securing political legitimacy as successors to the Tang dynasty through regular performance of classical state rituals such as the suburban sacrifices (*jiaoshi* 郊祀) and the ancestral temple sacrifices (*zongmiao* 宗廟). Although existing sources show that an abundance of popular religious cults had always flourished in the local communities of North China, apart from sporadic measures such as short-term persecutions of local cults in specific areas, the Five Dynasties regimes in North China neither provided substantial patronage for local cults nor enacted systematic state control of them.

In contrast, the southern regional regimes of the same time actively engaged with the local religious traditions through granting titles to the local deities or constructing the temples dedicated to them. The southern regimes never intended to compete for supremacy with the

northern courts and made little effort to imitate imperial rituals. Of more immediate concern was the need to consolidate their regional political control through the support of local communities and local leaders. Due to this locally-focused orientation, the southern courts clearly appreciated the significance of the local cults that were the focal points of local community identity and solidarity. By patronizing the local cults, therefore, the southern regimes could secure their dominant position within their territories. The rapid demographic and economic growth of local communities in the southern Chinese territories also greatly influenced the southern rulers' distinctive perception of popular religion.

Consequently, the marked contrast in the conceptions of political legitimacy between the northern and southern regimes during the Five Dynasties era produced contrasting regional variations in their responses to the popular religious cults.

## 2. The Temporal Variations

Basically, the local literati of the Song period adopted distinct stances toward popular religious practices that diverged from the concerns of the state authorities. The literati sought to secure their dominant positions in the local communities by petitioning government authorities for titles for local deities or assuming leadership in projects such as the construction of local temples. Furthermore, literati themselves often exhibited the same faith in and devotion to local deities found among ordinary worshipers.<sup>299</sup> As Robert Hartwell and Robert Hymes have demonstrated, the Southern Song literati had distinct strategies for social success and political leadership focused on local activism that contrasted with the national political aspirations and

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<sup>299</sup> Liao 2001.

state-led reform movements of the political elite of the Northern Song.<sup>300</sup> This dissertation likewise argues that a significant divergence in the literati's approaches to the popular religious practices occurred during the transitional period between the Northern Song and Southern Song. Moreover, among the various intellectual trends of the Song era, there was a sharp contrast between the New Policy reformers of the Northern Song and the Daoxue literati of the Southern Song in terms of their responses to popular religious cults and practices.

The Northern Song reformers actively promoted popular religious cults as part of their reform of the spiritual world. In contrast to earlier governments, the New Policy reformers tried to develop systematic procedures for controlling the form and content of popular religion. First of all, they constructed a hierarchically-ordered pantheon encompassing all spiritual beings, which ranked them from the highest celestial deity, Haotian shangdi (昊天上帝), to the lowest local deities. Secondly, as Sue Takashi has shown in meticulous detail,<sup>301</sup> they systematized the way in which government authorities investigated and confirmed the evidence for the spiritual powers and beneficent deeds of local deities and authorized their worship by granted titles to them. This dissertation, therefore, argues that the Northern Song reformers tried to establish a universal pantheon extending to all spiritual beings just as their far-reaching and state-centered reforms infiltrated into every area of society.

The Daoxue literati of the Southern Song, however, rejected this kind of state activism in favor of autonomous rule over the local community under the leadership of the Confucian-educated literati. Since they believed that the popular religious cults were not only the focal points of the

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<sup>300</sup> Hartwell 1982; Hymes 1986.

<sup>301</sup> Sue 1994.

local communities but also valuable methods for enlightening ordinary people, the Daoxue literati actively involved themselves in the popular worship. The unprecedented increase of the written prayers and the stele inscriptions for the local cults during the Southern Song period, in particular, obviously verifies this active participation on the part of the Daoxue literati. As local prefects or informal local leaders, for instance, the Daoxue literati earnestly performed the sacrifices to the local deities that had been authorized by government or wrote stele inscriptions to honor them for their contributions to the well-being of the local populace. In addition, they not only acknowledged the possibility of communion with spiritual beings but also tried to explain it in philosophical terms through their theory of principle (*li* 理) and vital force (*qi* 氣). However, Daoxue literati also remained deeply worried about the potential for social unrest that might be caused by popular forms of religious devotion such as temple festivals. Due to the Daoxue literati's local activism, therefore, they became actively involved in redirecting popular religious practices toward morally uplifting goals.

While the Northern Song reformers sought to institutionalize local popular cults within to their far-reaching and state-centered reform agenda, the Southern Song literati chose more direct and practical approaches to attain the goals of their local activism within each local community. Consequently, the Chinese literati's responses to the popular religious cults underwent a significant transformation between the Northern and Southern Song periods.

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