China
A Religious State

John Lagerwey

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Contents

Introduction

David Faure, one of the first historians of China to take into account the religious dimensions of local Chinese society,[1] ends a recent article as follows:

> When lay, urban political ideology defined the imperial civil society as "superstitious" and "feudal," it radically denied the basis on which relations between the state and society had been founded in imperial China. The separating out of religion in the discourse on religion may be described as a Chinese experience of the twentieth century, but it should be taken to mean that the civil society was not separated from the state in the time of the empire.[2]

To put it another way, China is a religious state and Chinese society is a religious society. The religious dimension of Chinese society and the Chinese state being inseparable from each other, not taking that dimension into account makes it impossible to make sense of anything Chinese; the state, local society, history. I would, therefore, suggest that as we grope to find new and more accurate ways of talking about China — Is it a state? A people? A civilization? And of what might be the continuities of "China" through its long history — a good place to start might be with the question of Chinese religion.

Let me put the dots on the i's. As is now well-known after forty years of unprecedented study of religion in Chinese society and history, we Westerners have had a kind of congenital incapacity to see the religious dimension in China. The story has been often rehearsed, but perhaps we must tell it once again. The Jesuits, in interaction with the Confucian elite, having first convinced themselves, went on to try and convince the West European elite from which they came — and thereby realize their mission project in China by conversion from the top down — that Confucian

ancestor rites were not "religious" but "civil rites," involving remembrance of the ancestors, not worship.[3] Although they lost the battle inside the Church, and thereby their mission project in China, they won it in Western intellectual history. At the very least, they convinced Voltaire and the *philosophes*, and their version of Chinese history has continued to dominate Western studies of China: China had no religion of its own and China, the China of the elite, of its best minds, of its thinkers, had no religion. China was a philosopher's republic (with a nod to Plato), and it therefore served the purposes of all those who desired to make use of Chinese leverage to *écraser l'Infâme* and give birth to modernity. To this day, in most of our minds, the definition of modernity is a State which is neutral in matters religious, in which religion is a matter of the individual conscience, not a matter of state.

Quite apart from whether this project of "modernity" and "modernization" makes any sense from the sociological and anthropological not to say historical point of view, what is certain is that this project has, to a great degree, built on the Jesuit foundation. In one sense, this is an incomprehensible misunderstanding: the Jesuits should have known better, they should not have needed to wait to find themselves in conflict with the Dominicans in the Rites Controversy. All they would have had to do was to take another look at Calvinist theology, its attitude toward the Lord's Supper and its definition of "real presence." To the Catholic doctrine of "transubstantiation" and the Lutheran of "consubstantiation," the Calvinists replied with "a-substantiation." There was, in other words, no "magic" transformation of the elements — bread and wine — into the body and blood of Jesus. Bread and wine remained just that in what was not "the sacrifice of the Mass" but the remembering of the "unique sacrifice" of the Cross: "Do this in remembrance of me."[4] The Calvinist position on the Mass was criticized within Catholicism as nominalist and, therefore, heretical, but it was emphatically not regarded as non-religious — on the contrary. We are thus confronted with a flagrant contradiction in the Jesuit position: the embrace of Confucian rites of remembrance as "civil rites" and therefore acceptable and the rejection of Calvinist rites of remembrance as nominalist and therefore heterodox.

While it may seem we have left China behind in the preceding, we have not, for China is inevitably "in the eye of the beholder." And we cannot, therefore, avoid coming to terms with what led the West to its constitutive misunderstanding of China.

But lest we put the entire onus on the Jesuits, we would do well to look at China itself, for the Chinese elite was, in many regards, a willing participant in the Jesuit misinterpretation. Or to put it another way, the Jesuits did not make up their point of view: they found it ready-made in the Chinese elite they befriended and that befriended them. There was, on both sides, and each for his own reasons, a natural convergence of viewpoints, a profound complicity. For at that point in Chinese history, at the end of the Ming, neo-Confucian orthodoxy had been enforced by the state for three centuries already, and the great neo-Confucian project for the retooling of Chinese society was in its first flush of success, thanks to the "ritual revolution" of the sixteenth century.[5] To put it as succinctly as possible, the neo-Confucian elite had its own project, namely, to transform Chinese society by ridding it of the rituals of shamans, Buddhists, and Daoists and putting Confucian rituals in their place. And as ancestor worship was indeed a central form of Confucian ritual, they could refer to the third century BC Confucian philosopher who, already, explained that

> thus the articles used by the dead when he was living retain the form but not the function of the common article, and the spirit articles prepared especially for the dead man have the shape of real objects but cannot be used.[6]

That is, they are not functional but "merely symbolic." The theoretical construction of the rites is also remarkably "Calvinistic" with its emphasis on the subjective:

> The sacrificial rites originate in the emotions of remembrance and longing for the dead . . . To the gentleman they are a part of the way of man; to the common people they are something pertaining to the spirits.[7]

Of course, Xunzi was in strict conformity with Confucius on this point. When asked by a disciple whether the ancestors were "really present" at the sacrifices, Confucius told his disciple to "do as if,"

to pretend, to play-act, that ritual was about learning how to give controlled — ordered, channelled — expression to the emotions:

> What is the origin of ritual? I reply: man is born with desires. If his desires are not satisfied for him, he cannot but seek some means to satisfy them himself . . . Rites are a means of satisfaction . . .
>
> What is the purpose of the three-year mourning period? I reply: it is a form which has been set up after consideration of the emotions involved.[8]

The text of Xunzi on rites — which was incorporated into the Confucian classic *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) — also enables us to see in a glance what the neo-Confucian social engineering project was all about: how and why it utterly transformed what we — and the Chinese themselves, of course — think the word "China" means. He says:

> The gentleman, having provided a means for the satisfaction of desires, is also careful about the distinctions to be observed . . .
>
> He who rules the world sacrifices to seven generations of ancestors; he who rules a state sacrifices to five generations; he who rules a territory of five chariots sacrifices to three generations; he who rules a territory of three chariots sacrifices to two generations. He who eats by the labor of his hands is not permitted to set up an ancestral temple.[9]

In a word, to use the justly famous formula of the *Book of Rites*, "the Rites do not descend to the people" (*li buxia shu* 禮不下庶). The neo-Confucian project involved, as we shall see, bringing these rites down to the people.

To pick up the thread of our narrative again: when the Jesuits arrived on the Chinese scene with their own Thomist baggage, they were not arriving on virgin territory but in a space where the time of neo-Confucian orthodoxy had come. The Chinese elite had not yet driven all gods from the space we call China — for that they would have to wait for their twentieth century descendants, the Nationalists and then the Communists — but they were making good progress. To make a long story short, Thomist rationalism encountered neo-Confucian rationalism and found every reason to "make a deal," for their respective agendas, however different, were also profoundly similar in that they sought to legitimize their right to power by defining a ritual orthodoxy.

Did the neo-Confucians know that, in having their rites interpreted as the Chinese version of Calvinism, they were setting themselves up for relegation, once the Emperor would be converted, to playing second fiddle? Did the Jesuits know that, had they won the Roman Rites Controversy, they would have relegated themselves to the past of superstitious magic in the world of emerging "modernity"? We may suppose neither really knew what the ultimate consequences of his acts would be, but we may imagine as well that, at the time, it seemed to both parties a very good deal indeed.

To put it another way, perhaps we should say that a better definition of modernity than the constitutional separation of Church and State would be the discovery of the "merely symbolic" or, as we sometimes say, "It's just a metaphor." Of course we now know that "we are the metaphors we live by," just as "we are the stories we tell," but in the sixteenth century, that recovery of culture from scientific materialism was still far in the unimaginable future. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the discovery of a basic distinction between the symbolic and the real — in China, as we just saw, this had been discovered long since — was opening the way to the relegation of everything human to the ash heap of history and the emergence of a mathematical science focused on primary, as opposed to secondary (read subjective) qualities. A public, so-called secular realm was being created by opposition with the sacred realm of the Church and its rites. Calvinist nominalism was preparing the way for its own merciless elimination as yet one more form, however "modern," of "superstition." By transforming religion from the common practice of rituals — communities of practice — into a dogmatically defined system of belief subscribed to by adult individuals, the grave of all traditional religions in the brave new world of science and ideological politics was being dug.

The often violent mode taken by traditional religions today is not without relationship to their relegation to irrelevance as "mere metaphor" and "pure symbol." Henceforth, we lived in a world of "two cultures," to use the title of the famous book by C.P. Snow, and one of these had increasingly to do with the "quaint" and the "quaintly local." It could be kept for the tourists, but was irrelevant to the "modern" State and, of course, to modern life and society. On this count — why deny it? — communists and capitalists are in perfect agreement: religion is, at best, a crutch, at worst, an opiate.

We moderns thought we had moved beyond the metaphorical approach to the world: we could leave that to poets and mystics. And then along came post-modernism. But that is another story, and it is time to come back to China. The neo-Confucian project was to eliminate, once and for all, the gods of the people and the rituals of the Daoists and Buddhists who, willy-nilly over the centuries, had come in fact to be subservient to what I will wilfully call here "popular religion," with its mediums and its miracles. And it set out to do this by abolishing the sumptuary rule on which the classic system of *The Book of Rites* was built: by opening up the rites of the elite to performance, on nearly equal terms, by the people. It did not come to this position in one fell swoop. Indeed, in a certain sense it would be fair to say it never entirely reached such a radically egalitarian definition of the rites, at least not until Confucian Communism became the law of the land and, in typically modern fashion, achieved theoretical equality by the abolition of all rites except those of the new, ideologically programmatic State, that is, of the State reprogrammed in accord with the redefinition of religion as a system of belief, or ideology. (Curiously, of course, another feature of modernity is its frenzied attempt to control behavior with its own orthodox ideology, whether it be that of market or communist economics: "The more things change, the more they stay the same.")

What we have said so far gives in very rudimentary form an explanation of why Western students agreed for so long with the indigenous elite that China had no "religion": both groups agreed that Confucianism was not a religion; that Buddhism was of foreign origin and had in any case long since gone into terminal decline; that the Daoist religion was a grossly superstitious and decadent form of the once lofty Daoist philosophy; and that the Chinese people were a hopelessly superstitious lot. That left rather little to say of "Chinese religion."

The basic problem with this view is that it is wrong, and a more accurate account — the one we will seek to detail in this book — would read more like this: Confucianism is a religion involving blood sacrifices to the ancestors, to the gods recognized by the state, and to Heaven (by his Son 天子, the emperor); Buddhism was indeed of foreign origin but not only did it "conquer" China, it rapidly sinicized and became an integral and permanent part

of Chinese religion and society; the Daoist religion is a complex synthesis of Chinese cosmology, Daoist philosophy, Confucian ethics, Buddhist philosophy and rituals, and shamanistic practices. As for the Chinese people being "superstitious," such categories are no longer used in our line of business.

However, rather than going immediately into the details that would justify each of the above statements, it seems to me preferable to stand back a bit to get, first, a larger picture, one which looks at Chinese religion as a whole, rather than in the standard way of chopping it up into the "Three Teachings" and some kind of residual category that I occasionally call the "unnamed religion." The following table, inspired by the *Zhouli* 周禮 or *Rites of Zhou*, is one possible way of introducing the larger picture:

right/west	**center**	**left/east**
earth god altar 社	palace 宮	ancestral temple 廟
territory 地緣		lineage 血緣
Yin 陰		Yang 陽
tomb		ancestor hall
military 武		civil 文
red rites 紅事		white rites 白事

The first line in this schema derives from *The Rites of Zhou*,[10] where the palace in which the Son of Heaven resides is placed in the middle of three built spaces that structure the capital city. In it, the ancestral temple (*miao* 廟) is placed to the left/east of the palace because that is the direction of the rising sun, and in it resided the rising sun of the dynasty: its *taizi* 太子 ("great son") or crown prince. The word *miao*, moreover, is one of those rare words which really does give a picture of what it is: the dawn *zhao* 朝 under a roof. Under this roof, the dauphin was groomed to become the next Son of Heaven, and part of this grooming consisted in the rites in which he played the part of his grandfather in the sacrifices addressed to the latter. The word used for this role is *shi* 尸, "cadaver," normally a noun, but here a virtual verb: he "cadavered" his deceased grandfather, that is, represented him in the sacrifice,

so that the grandfather was "as though" present at the sacrifice addressed to him. The "great son" thus prepared for his future part in the dynastic drama by playing the role of recipient of the sacrifices. The ancestral temple was thus a school in which role-playing was central to transmission.

The altar of the earth god was located on the other side of the palace, to the right and west of the palace of the Son of Heaven, that is, in the land of the setting sun and death. This was where the Son of Heaven came to harangue the troops before they set out on expeditions of conquest or defence, and where recompenses and punishments were distributed to those who came back. This site, in short, was all about death, and the blood that must flow in order to preserve or acquire territory. As much as the other side was about the blood sacrifices necessary to the maintenance of the blood-line and the transmission of life, this side was about the blood-letting necessary to maintain a territorial base on which the transmission of life could occur: without a dynastic space, there would be no dynastic time.

Whether or not this neat arrangement ever existed in reality we do not know. At least we do not have, to my knowledge, archaeological evidence for it. But that takes nothing away from its paradigmatic value for understanding some fundamental complementarities around which Chinese society has long been built. For in what was thus placed to the left and right of the Son of Heaven we find exactly the same two poles of worship David Faure discovers in his pioneering work on *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society* as observed in the New Territories of Hong Kong: the earth god and the ancestors. To summarize his argument: when we look at a unilineage village, especially in southern China, what we see immediately is that its most beautiful building is the ancestor hall in the middle of the village. This should make us fairly confident that, in such Chinese villages, ancestor worship is indeed the central ritual, expressive of the primary value system of these villages. But when we examine the Daoist sacrifice (*jiao* 醮) done every tenth year — the most expensive ritual investment of the community — what we discover, first, is that it is done in honor of the Great King (*dawang* 大王), that is, the god of the earth. Second, it represents not the village of the blood-line, even though it may be done in the ancestor hall, but a second, less

obvious village, that of territory. Finally, if the ancestor rites are performed by Confucian specialists called *lisheng* 禮生, the Jiao is done by Daoist priests of the hereditary sort usually linked to the Heavenly Master tradition. In very schematic fashion, then, we may say that, in a New Territories village, there are in fact two villages, a territorial and a lineage village, corresponding to a Daoist and a Confucian China. And this China is structurally identical to the model proposed by *The Rites of Zhou* for the Son of Heaven!

The next line in our table above summarizes the complementarities discussed so far: what is to the right and the west is Yin, what to the left and east, Yang. This, in turn, corresponds to a basic distinction within the worship of ancestors, between the worship undertaken at tombs, called "Yin houses" (*yinzhai* 陰宅) in modern Chinese, and that performed before the domestic altar of a house (*yangzhai* 陽宅). The terrestrial souls (*po* 魄), linked to the skeleton, are in the tomb, which is guarded by another earth god while the celestial souls (*hun* 魂), representative of the moral and spiritual dimension of the human person, are worshipped in the house and/or in the ancestor hall. And while geomancers are called in for all constructions, their input is of particular importance for the siting of tombs: geomancy, as scholars like Maurice Freedman have shown, has a frankly amoral character, in marked contrast with the intensely ethical principles which preside over ancestor worship in homes and halls. In many Hakka villages, we have been told, even more explicitly, that the wealth of a lineage depends on the graves of its male, the numbers of sons on those of its female ancestors: there is little to be gained from worship in the homes and halls, other than the satisfaction of having fulfilled one's filial obligations.

The following line refers at once to the positioning of the officers at the court of the emperor — his military officers (*wuguan* 武官) to his right, his civil officers (*wenguan* 文官) to his left — and to one of the most widely encountered distinctions found in Chinese society between types of ritual: military rituals are exorcistic, central in the war on dysfunctions of all kinds; civil rituals are those that allot a central place to texts.[11] These texts are recited, sung, written out, and dispatched with ceremony: the more *paperasse* a priest manipulates, the more clearly he belongs to the prestigious civil bureaucracy. To make this even clearer, this kind of

priest will wear lovely vestments, make solemn gesticulations, and, above all, demonstrate his mastery of calligraphy and recitation. Military rituals, by contrast, are all about body language: a red turbaned, barefoot priest with a sword will do. If he wants to drive off demons, he will screech at them or sit impolitely while giving them a meagre offering. He will make crystal clear by his ritual theater exactly what he has in mind. Of course, there are more elaborate exorcistic rituals, with the priests wearing shoes and robes and even dispatching the occasional document, but there will be no texts other than those he has memorized, that he carries "in his belly," and that he can therefore mobilize at the drop of a hat, in case of emergency. Like a house doctor, such priests will have everything they need in a satchel, unlike their civil colleagues, who need a trunk or three for all their ritual paraphernalia.

This distinction, between military and civil rites, corresponds to what K.M. Schipper tells us of the difference, in southern Taiwan, between red-head and black-head priests.[12] But it is found far beyond southern Taiwan, and very often, in my experience, it corresponds to a distinction between Daoist and Buddhist priests.[13] And here is where things get interesting: Daoists are, in Chinese society and history, the exorcists of choice and, throughout southern China at least, they are the typical purveyors of the rites of healing which require the mobilization of their "spirit soldiers" (*yinbing* 陰兵 or *shenbing* 神兵). These are red, auspicious rituals (*jili* 吉禮), rituals done for the living, as opposed to white, inauspicious rituals (*xiongli* 凶禮), performed for the dead. The latter rites may be said to have been a Buddhist monopoly for the better part of the last 1,500 years. This explains why the neo-Confucian creators of the social engineering project referred to above fought tooth and nail to recover this ground from the Buddhists.[14] And while Daoists do, in many places, also perform such white rituals, they use texts derived from the Lingbao tradition, whose primary feature is the integration of Buddhism: notions of karma and reincarnation; cosmic cycles; and rituals for the recitation of scriptures and the salvation of the dead.

Military as opposed to civil rituals are not airtight compartments, but the distinction is more than just widespread. Above all, it is related to other historical and ideological differences between Buddhism and Daoism that explain why, in the minds of

most Chinese, Buddhism is superior to Daoism. Buddhism, even in its rural, exorcistic forms (Pu'an 普庵), has texts; even more important, Buddhist Pusa eat vegetarian food and are therefore considered superior to the bloodthirsty gods of popular religion, who are so closely tied to Daoism that some specialists would even go so far as to say they belong to it. They don't, but Daoists do perform services for these gods of the people and have been doing so, probably, since the Song, or even the Tang dynasty. The Daoist Jiao began its history as a rite of initiatory transmission in the so-called *fangshi* 方士 (master of recipes) traditions, and it included the offering of a goose. At some point, when exactly we do not know, it was transformed into what Faure, Schipper, and others have rightly described as the paradigmatic community ritual, done for the gods of the people. True, these gods are not Daoist gods, and it is not the Daoists who prepare the blood sacrifices. But the whole Daoist Jiao builds up to the climactic moment of the blood sacrifice in honor of the local deity. To this we may add that, in many places, the Jiao is not so much a periodic as it is an emergency ritual, done in time of danger, and it is therefore understood as an exorcistic ritual, and contains many explicitly exorcistic elements. Among these elements we may mention in particular the Pudu 普度 or Universal Salvation rite that is often the culminating ritual in the Jiao, and even in the Daoist funeral rite. The Pudu is a ritual so profoundly influenced by Tantric Buddhism that it could almost be regarded as a signature Buddhist ritual. But if, according to Buddhist conceptions, the function of the ritual is to feed the hungry souls of the damned, in the context of Chinese religion this feeding is understood as the way of keeping these hungry souls at bay, or even getting them to leave the territory, and certainly ceasing to cause disease and disorder in it: it is an exorcism.

What this means, in terms of the distribution of roles in Chinese religion, is that Buddhism, with its vegetarian gods (*chizhai* 吃齋) and its texts, is perceived as "higher" than Daoism. I believe that this fact of popular perception is not unrelated to a long-standing social fact, namely, that Buddhism generally had a higher standing among the literati than did Daoism, and that more intellectual interchange occurred between Buddhism and Confucianism than between Daoism and Confucianism.[15] This

helps to explain the symbiotic relationship between Buddhist monasteries/monks and literati and officials as regards the service of the dead, especially in the so-called *gongde tang* 功德堂, or halls of merit, so often associated with Buddhist temples from the Song on. Far fewer Daoist temples and monks served the dead in this manner. The more typical Daoist presence in this realm was the Temple of the Eastern Peak 東嶽廟, where the dead were less commemorated than they were pacified, or even exorcised. Such temples formed a national network, again, from the Song onwards.

Thus once again we find Daoism, by virtue of its military and exorcistic capacities, relatively speaking distant from the literati and close to the people, just as it is in the Jiao and in the Pudu referred to above. This is why, in the field, we even encounter Daoist priests who speak of the people's gods — the gods that eat meat (*chihun* 吃葷) — as Daoist. But perhaps the most important point to be made about the idea of a greater complicity between Daoism and the people is the place occupied in Daoist ritual, from at least the fifth century on, of the god of the earth. In the work of the two great figures of Daoist ritual in the fifth century, Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (d. 448) in the north and Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 (406–477) in the south, the "authentic officer (*zhenguan* 真官) of this place" — the god of this territory — plays the same central role, for it is through him that all Daoist prayers transit on their way to Heaven. But in fact, this role depends on another: he is the local policeman of the invisible world. As still today in every village and ward where such traditions have not been eliminated, he watches over the local population, protecting it from invisible invaders. But he also spies on it, and reports to Heaven — as the stove god does on the level of the household — any untoward behavior. That is why, humble as he is, with often just a few vaguely stacked, broken tiles to mark his altar (*tan* 壇), he is both worshipped and feared. In the Hakka countryside where I have done most of my fieldwork, his protective role is summarized by this frequently heard rhyming ditty: "If the earth god does not assent, the tiger dares not open his mouth" (to eat domestic animals) 社公不點頭，老虎不開口. But the ubiquitous tale of the young boy who gets a stomach-ache because he urinates near the earth god altar reminds us that this protection came at a price: worship and sacrifices.

Thus while there are also extensive areas where Buddhists do community Jiao, just as Daoists do funeral rituals and Pudu, there is a basic distinction between Daoism which, with its close identification with military, red rituals, found itself constitutively close to China as territory — the people — and Buddhism which, because of its implication in civil, white rituals, was just as naturally close to China as lineage — the elite.

Another, complementary, way of looking at the perennial structures of Chinese religion and society is the manner I employed in a book called *Le continent des esprits: la Chine dans le miroir du taoïsme* (The Continent of the Spirits: China in the Mirror of Daoism).[16] I suggest there that China can best be described as a series of concentric spaces inhabited by the gods, and that the name "continent of the spirits" (Shenzhou 神州), which first came into use in the third century BC, is one of the clearest statements of what China is. Thus, if we start from the largest circle and work inward, the first circle is China itself, that is, wherever gods have been recognized by the government of the Son of Heaven. The oldest glimpse we have of this China is the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Classic of Mountains and Seas). The relevant part of this book is the first five chapters, corresponding to a classic of mountains and dating, probably, to the third century BC. These chapters constitute a highly symbolic tour of the Zhou kingdom consisting of lists of major mountains in each of the five directions. For each mountain details are given about its fauna, flora, and minerals, but also about the form of its god and the nature of appropriate sacrifices to it. Most of these gods are animal-human hybrids, a clear mark of their belonging to another world. Collectively, what they reveal of this world is that territorial organization is built around mountains and their gods. Why? — because mountains "anchor" (*zhen* 鎮) land tracts, and because organized territory is under the control of local gods. The very existence of this book is proof that, already in the royal period, being Son of Heaven required knowledge of and sacrifices to the local gods. It is in effect the earliest example of a "register of sacrifices" (*sidian* 祀典) such as will be kept by every imperial dynasty: the list of all legitimate, that is, state-recognized sacrifices. These registers have always been looked at as proof of political control of religion. They are. But they are also proof that sacrificial recognition of local gods was part of the job description

of the Son of Heaven. This represented a very real — and costly — constraint on imperial penetration of local society and may be considered *prima facie* evidence of the reciprocal and contractual nature of the relationship between the state and local society.

For us as students of China *The Classic of Mountains* supplies the key to understanding what it means to speak of "political power" in China, and to understanding the link — still patent today in discourse about the Motherland's territorial claims — between the exercise of power and the control of territory: all of "China," from Taiwan to Tibet, is sacred territory. We cannot here but think of the hypothesis of Kominami Ichiro regarding the earth god in Shang China (see Chapter 1): he suggests that, when the Shang conquered a new area, they signified this conquest by creating an earth god altar with earth imported from the capital, and sacrifices to the ancestors were done in association with this altar. That is, in terms of the complementarities between the worship of the earth god and that of the ancestors in the New Territories of Hong Kong in the 1980s, there is, already three thousand years before, a priority of the earth god over the ancestors. That is also what we discover in the field when we examine the history of the creation of local communities: a founding ancestor does not sacrifice to himself, he sacrifices either to the local god of already existing — or already departed — populations, or to a god he has brought along. Logically and chronologically, the worship of the gods precedes that of the ancestors: space precedes time.

After "China," our next concentric circle is that of local society itself. We have just alluded to the gods worshipped invariably in the earliest phase in its creation. As the community and the lineage grow to maturity, every strategic point will gradually be occupied by sites for worship. In Hakka communities, this often takes the form of a kind of spiritual Maginot line, in which the gods are arrayed around the village. David Jordan describes a southern Taiwanese village in which the temple is in the center of the village, but its god is in charge of five armies of spirit soldiers, whose camps are set up at the beginning of the Daoist communal sacrifice: in the four directions on the periphery and, for the center, in the temple itself. Again we encounter the convergence of Daoism and popular religion in the context of local society: Daoist priests specialize in military rituals involving the Five Camps (*wuying* 五營) that local

society requires in a kind of absolute way, for without protection against invisible invaders bringing death to the human and animal population, how can the community survive?[17]

We would do well here to insist on the notion of "strategic point". What I am referring to is the geomantic concept of *xue* 穴, a point where concentrated telluric energies come to the surface and where, therefore, human beings can tap into the flow of energies hidden deep within the earth. The same word is used in acupuncture to designate the points where needles can be inserted so as to impact the flow of energy in the body. Ancestor halls and temples will always be built on such points, which are considered too powerful for humans and therefore inappropriate for building houses. By occupying these points — the back center of the altar in the hall or temple will be situated directly over the point — ancestors and gods "anchor" local society in the same manner that mountains do "China." Rituals such as the *anlong* 安龍, "settling the dragon in place," will be performed to make sure the dragon — symbol of the telluric energies — remains anchored. The New Year's dragon dances are explicitly designed in some places to mimic the descent from the surrounding mountains of the telluric energies, through "dragon arteries" (*longmai* 龍脈), to these locally critical points. They thereby encourage the continued flow of these energies to the ancestors and the gods on whom the villagers depend.

In short, the village, like "China," is sacred territory, where everything begins with and depends on the art of occupation, that is, of knowing where and to whom to sacrifice.

The allusion above to the body in Chinese medicine shows that the same is true of the innermost concentric circle: the human person. The body is an organism in which not only blood but also energy flows, and of the two, energy is more important to vitality and longevity than blood. Medieval (and even modern) Western medical practitioners leech (draw) blood from their patients; Chinese doctors redirect and rebalance the flow of energy. From the very beginning, the rare explicit theological statements in Daoist texts affirm that all the gods are forms of energy. Early texts like *The Book of the Yellow Court* (*Huangting jing* 黃庭經) give visual form and specific location to the multiple gods in the human body, just like *The Classic of Mountains*, but in reality these inner

gods are "aspects of the Dao," itself a vast body of "chaotic," that is, potential as opposed to kinetic energy.[18]

And what this venture into the innermost circle reminds us is that, in fact, "China" is not at all the outermost ring: that status is reserved to the Dao itself. "China" is but "all under Heaven" (*tianxia* 天下), and it is encapsulated in the vast sacred body of the universe, which includes Heaven and Earth and the Yin and the Yang, two energies in perpetual embrace whose waxings and wanings determine the agricultural seasons and the ritual calendar not only of the Son of Heaven, but of the peasants as well. If the earliest Chinese annals are called *chunqiu* 春秋, spring and autumn, it is because, in the spring, the farmers plant their crops and pray for a good harvest and, in the fall, harvest their crops and give thanks: *chunqi qiubao* 春祈秋報, "pray in spring, requite in fall." This was the primary function, indeed, of the earth god: it was on his altar that these prayers of request and thanksgiving were made.

This outermost circle, in turn, reminds us of the real place of us earthlings, including the Son of Heaven: to be "Son" of "Heaven" is to be on earth, just as to be a peasant is to live from the products of the earth. This is why the *Laozi* 老子 speaks, in an ascending series of parallel sentences, of the "king modelling himself on the earth, the earth on the heavens, and the heavens on the Dao." No wonder, once again, that the first god is the god of the earth. No wonder either that this god is not so much "of" as he is "in" the earth: like the stove god, he is "heaven-sent" and, as is said equally of the plague gods in southeast China and of Daoist priests themselves, both these gods *daitian xinghua* 代天行化, "carry out transformations on behalf of Heaven." They are, in fact, little local sons of Heaven, conduits and controllers of the flow of cosmic energies: why, otherwise, bother to beseech and thank them?

Finally, we may note that, on the highest level, that of the Dao, there is no blood, only energy (*qi* 氣). The neo-Confucians worked very hard to rectify this "problem" of the ancestors, by insisting that descendants are "of the same energy" 一氣 as their distant ancestors.[19] This justified allowing — even urging — commoners not to forget their first ancestor. But the effort was a belated one and took place in a context in which the cosmological theories of the universe that took no account of the ancestors had been in place already for well over a millennium. The neo-Confucians

proved capable of inciting and justifying the restructuring of many villages around a central ancestral temple, but they were incapable of proving the ancestors to be more powerful than the gods, not even than the humble earth god:[20] territorial China, at all levels, from the body up to the Dao, remained Daoist.

In sum, in speaking of China as a "religious state," I mean something very concrete: "China" is a space and all space in China is conceived of as sacred, that is, inhabited by divine energies which, because they sustain us, must receive in return our sacrificial recognition. Whatever be the level at which we approach China, the same definition applies: China is "a continent of spirits." We can no longer pass off as mere metaphor notions like "Son of Heaven" or "the Heavenly Mandate": we are the metaphors we live by; we are the stories we tell.

Concluding Reflections

Fractured as this book is between history and ethnography we cannot but ask ourselves, in conclusion, how best to bring these two orders of fact into dialogue? That each has questions to put to the other, or information to provide, goes without saying: the ethnographer who might have been tempted to pay most attention to the biggest and richest temples in the area he studies will have to look again at the most humble of territorial gods once he has learned of the earth god's ongoing role, even in official religion, from the Shang to the Qing. The historian who has concentrated on a single period or tradition, when she sees how all the various traditions form a coherent whole in the present, cannot but wonder whether it was not always so and, when she sees how much of the past is still contemporary, cannot but wonder whether what she thought of as historical change characteristic of her period is in fact but a temporally local expression of perennial structures.

The historian, by definition, wants to know what changes: before and after empire; before and after Buddhism, Daoism, the Song examination system, Ming lineages, and so on. The ethnographer sees not the changes themselves but their result in a functioning social system. He might therefore want to ask the historian about the relationship in her period of study between territory and blood lines, sacrifice and possession, the civil and the military, the living and the dead, male and female, central and local. He might ask: if, ever since the *Classic of Mountains*, the central government has interacted with local society by recognizing its gods, did Ming Taizu's decrees about earth and city gods change anything? If, from Di in the Shang to Heaven in the Qing, the sovereign always sought legitimacy in a relationship with a unitary celestial entity, is historical change in this regard purely epiphenomenal? Above all, he might want to tell the historian that

her written records disclose very little about local society, even in late imperial China, and that, if she wants to have some basis for imagining how local society might have worked in the past, she really has no choice but to look at the work of ethnographers.

Concretely, neither the details of Chinese festivals and of the logic of social organization given in Chapter 3 nor the theoretical construction of the logic of Chinese religion in a village given in Chapter 4 can be teased from written sources unless these sources are illumined by an historical imagination nourished by ethnographical facts.

At the same time, only historical facts can save the ethnographer from truly grievous errors of interpretation: behind every building he sees, behind every place for burning incense, behind every social transaction from adoption to burial there is a history. Everything the ethnographer sees is the product of history, the reflection of a particular historical moment on a long trajectory whose chief characteristic is change. Yes, there is extraordinary continuity in the role of the earth god, but his real importance in a given society is surely determined by whether his is the only game in town or whether he is in competition with far more powerful gods like Guandi, Zhenwu, and Mazu. A trace of the deep past may still be present, but only as a trace, and the functions of the original entity may long since have migrated elsewhere, as in the transfer of the earth god's role of territorial protector and inspector to higher gods who represent much larger territories and even radically different religious concerns.

In short, the two disciplines of history and ethnography are indispensable the one to the other, and our students should be trained in both. This is no exciting new discovery, but the difference between this work and much that has preceded it lies in the fact that disciplinary schizophrenia has in fact been practiced by the author: this book is the product of an internal dialogue, not of one between practitioners of the two disciplines.

Whether this internal dialogue has produced any positive results with respect to issues like territoriality and blood relations, the nature of sovereignty, the church-state, and the many other issues broached in this book, is the reader's to judge. What I should like to conclude with is the following familiar question about Chinese history: what happened to the Daoist church?

Here and elsewhere I have sought to demonstrate one of the central theses of this book: that Daoism is central to political legitimacy in the three major "native" dynasties, the Tang, the Song, and the Ming. Historians, it seems to me, cannot simply shrug this issue off anymore. But for me, as a specialist of Daoism, the critical question is the one just posed: what happened to the Daoist church?

I have cited at length Edward Davis' work on the "creative confrontation" between popular religion, with its mediums, and Daoism, and his idea that the result was the emergence of an intermediate group, that of the *fashi* or exorcists. Another theory deserving of mention is that of Kenneth Dean, first expressed in his *Taoism in Southeastern China*, where he suggests that modern Daoism provides the liturgical framework for the medium-based cults: when a cult becomes sufficiently important, the Daoists produce a scripture — for Mazu, for Guandi, for Baosheng dadi — and thereby integrate these popular gods into Daoism. In a way, the case of Wen Qiong studied by Paul Katz is particularly interesting in this regard, because Wen Qiong in fact belongs to the category of the new "intermediate group," and he is integrated into Daoism, in the early Yuan, by means not of a scripture but of a hagiographical narrative. The case of Wenchang studied by Terry Kleeman adds further spice, for there the integration goes back to the Southern Song and likewise depends on narrative, but of a kind produced in mediumistic fashion.

Of course, already in the Shangqing movement, extraordinary hagiographic accounts of the gods had been produced by mediums wielding brushes. But if there would seem to be real continuity in the means of production, there is radical discontinuity in the nature of the product: the Shangqing gods were ethereal Perfected (*zhenren* 真人), not former bloodthirsty snake gods or territorial gods integrated into a hierarchy of Daoist exorcism, Buddhist wisdom, and Confucian public service. Moreover, from his start as a local snake god to his apotheosis as the patron saint of the literati, we may suppose that Wenchang never ceased to receive blood sacrifice, for this was one of the key features common to popular and state religion, which set both of them off against Buddhism and Daoism. From the point of view of the state, when it integrated Wenchang into its sacrificial canon in 1304, it probably made no

difference whatsoever that the Daoists had produced scriptures for him.

Another example of the failure of Daoism to deflect the state from its investment in blood sacrifice is the episode involving the five sacred peaks in the Tang: Sima Chengzhen wanted the emperor Xuanzong to replace the traditional gods of these mountains with Shangqing Perfected, but the Daoist emperor agreed only to add their worship to that of the original gods, who continued to receive blood sacrifice.

I would suggest, therefore, that we should reformulate our question to ask what happened, not to the Daoist church but to the state-church? What happened to the state-church is that it underwent a long period of weakness, from around AD 150 until 589, and that period enabled rivals to emerge. As we saw, the Buddhists even managed to refuse to bow down before emperors, and that refusal apparently continued to function through the Tang. Whether it did or not thereafter I do not know, but what is clear is that the Chinese imperial state, founded on the Confucian ritual classics, had groped its way through the experiments of the North/South division to a new form of church-state unity founded on the Three Teachings. Concretely, however Buddhist or Daoist the Sui or the Tang, the Confucian state religion continued to involve imperial blood sacrifices to Heaven and to local gods recognized by the state. The state found a place under its umbrella for monastic Daoism and Buddhism, and it invested handsomely in them in exchange for liturgical services, but the religion of the Chinese state-church was that of the Confucian classics. The fact, then, that in the Song, the Chinese state-church began to recognize local gods with increasing frequency and system suggests it was extending its religious reach into local society without, on this level, any reference to Buddhism or Daoism.

"On this level," I say, because at the same time, by the creation of national networks of Eastern Peak and, later, Shenxiao temples, it was also using Daoism to reach into local society. But this was not the elite, monastic Daoism of the Tang, it was the popular Daoism of Orthodox Unity. Eastern Peak "itinerant palaces" were almost certainly places for dealing with the unruly dead — something Daoism had long been heavily invested in. As for the Shenxiao temples, while they had a special role to play in imperial

legitimation, we saw they were also part of a general return to Zhengyi rites of healing. What this means, I would suggest, is that the "emergence" of the exorcizing *fashi* is at least in part optical illusion: one more trick played on historians by their sources. The Daoists had always been invested in local society, that is, Daoism had always been as infinitely various as local society itself, much to the dismay of state Daoists like Kou Qianzhi and Zhang Wanfu, as a citation from the latter we have already used says:

> When I was travelling in the valley of the lower Yangzi and in Sichuan, I saw masters who transmitted and disciples who were initiated in a most lackadaisical manner. They took no interest in the fast, nor in the entire quiet part of the ritual, but only in the sacrifice, the preparations and distributions made in the middle of the night. Recently, this mode has become popular in the capital as well, and also in Luoyang, and most Daoists worship in this fashion and engage in vulgar practices in the very place where the emperor resides.

I suspect that, by the mid-eighth century when this text was written, local Daoists had long since made their compromises with the blood sacrifices of popular religion, and theatrical forms of exorcism, borrowed from shamanism, had entered local Daoist repertoires well before the late-Tang arrival of Tantrism.

And though I personally know little about this, I suspect that Buddhism was also busily adapting itself to local society throughout the long period of incubation of modern Chinese religion, from the collapse of the Han to the founding of the Ming. Buddhism, of course, also had its contributions to make to the final product: statues, processions, and birthdays of the gods, miracle tales, graphic representations of suffering in hell, karma, reincarnation, and local worship associations built around the financing of a statue were all introduced by Buddhism in the Six Dynasties. In the Tang it added *bianwen* narratives, and Mulian theatricals emerged in the Song. So vital are these contributions that we could almost ask whether the god- and temple-based popular religion of later times is not a kind of Buddhist spin-off. Like Daoism, Buddhism did not just adapt, it also won for its own transcendent ideals and practices particular niches, in lay religious associations and in treatment of the dead, for example. It also produced its own strains of popular exorcism (Pu'an), its local god-like saints

(Dingguang, Sizhou pusa 泗州菩薩, Jigong 濟公), and its share of the emerging national pantheon (Guanyin, Dizang). It also began integrating local gods into its pantheon in the Six Dynasties, and it has produced its own scriptures for local god-saints like Dingguang.

Insofar as both Buddhism and Daoism ended up with niche roles — including the exalted one of legitimizing emperors — and were then attacked together by the neo-Confucian orthodoxy of the state, we must admit that the traditional view of the Chinese state as Confucian was not wrong. It was wrong, however, to think that state was somehow "secular" before its time, and it was even more wrong to think that a kind of humanistic cult of the ancestors had somehow supplanted the gods, immortals, and bodhisattvas in local society and the hearts of the people. Above all, if we are to make any sense of Chinese culture, we must make room, in an integrated narrative, for the contributions of shamanism, Daoism, and Buddhism, not to mention the specialists of the mantic arts.

I would, then, see the present book as one first, hesitant step on the way to such an integrated narrative. I would therefore like to conclude with some final suggestions about the place of Daoism in the production of Chinese history. History may be defined as an ongoing process of rationalization, interiorization, individuation, and masculinization. None of these can happen without the other, because rationalization cannot be imposed from without for long. Indeed, for it even to come into existence, it requires interiorization, and interiorization leads to the creation of the (male) subject. The reason these four are part and parcel of the same general movement of history is simple: they are all an expression of deterritorialized male, as opposed to localized female modes of conception. Seen in this light, the appearance of monasticism at about the same time in China and the West, in response to comparable political crises — the collapse of empire — is probably not an historical accident. Monastic Buddhist logic and dialectics contributed mightily to the historical process of rationalization in China, while Daoism, from the earliest forms of internal breathwork in the fourth century BC to the symbolic alchemy of the Song, played a central role in the processes of interiorization and individuation. This is the context, I would suggest, for understanding Daoism's contributions to the birth of

the arts of calligraphy, landscape painting, imaginative narrative, and theater.

Such are the larger hypotheses which future research could explore.

Notes

Foreword

1 "Zhongguo zongjiao de heli xing" 中國宗教的合理性, *Faguo hanxue* 法國漢學 4 (Sinologie française, EFEO-Pékin, 1999). French version in BEFEO 87–1 (2000), pp. 301–315.

Introduction

1 David Faure, *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1986). Cf. my review in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1990), pp. 445–448.

2 David Faure, "La solution lignagère: la révolution rituelle du XVIe siècle et l'Etat impérial chinois," in *Annales: Histoire, Sciences sociales* 61.6 (November–December 2006), p. 1316.

3 On ancestor worship and the veneration of Confucius as "civil rites," see Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, *635–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), p. 311, where a reference to the "top down" strategy is also made. For a succinct account of the Rites Controversy, see ibid., pp. 680–688.

4 As Christopher Elwood shows in *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), Calvin himself insisted "the sacramental signs are not 'bare and empty'," that they are more than "simply a commemoration of his [Christ's] death in the past" (pp. 83–84). But his closest collaborators had "a tendency to concentrate more strongly than Calvin had done on the subjective aspect of communion," with a resultant focus "on the spiritual effect Christ's presence produced in one's subjective experience" (pp. 109–110): the "merely symbolic" had been born.

5 On which, see below, Chapter 1.

6 *Hsün Tzu: The Basic Writings*, translated by Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 104.

7 Ibid., pp. 109, 110.

8 Ibid., pp. 89, 105.

9 Ibid., pp. 89–90, 92.
10 See Edouard Chavannes, "Le dieu du sol dans la Chine antique," in *Le T'ai-chan: essai de monographie d'un culte chinois* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), pp. 437–526.
11 See my "Questions of Vocabulary or How Shall We Talk about Chinese Religion?" in *Daojiao yu minjian zongjiao yanjiu lunji*, edited by Lai Chi Tim (Hong Kong: Xuefeng wenhua, 1999), pp. 165–181.
12 Kristofer M. Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, translated by Karen Duval (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
13 See the article cited in note 11 above.
14 See Patricia B. Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) and Timothy Brook, "Funerary Ritual and the Building of Lineages in Late Imperial China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 49 (1989), pp. 465–499.
15 This sweeping generalization is shorthand for the prominent place of intellectuals in Buddhist, as opposed to Daoist history, and for the resultant impact of Buddhism on such influential thinkers as Wang Yangming.
16 Published by La Renaissance du Livre (Brussels, 1991).
17 See David Jordan, *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors: Folk Religion in a Taiwanese Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 50–53.
18 See Schipper, *The Taoist Body*.
19 See, for example, Daniel K. Gardner, "Zhu Xi on Spirit Beings," in Donald S. Lopez, ed., *Religions of China in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1996), p. 111: "In the case of a distant ancestor we can't know whether his psychophysical stuff exists or not, yet because those offering sacrifices to him are his descendants they necessarily are of the same psychophysical stuff; therefore there's a principle of mutual influence and penetration" 然奉祭祀者既然是他子孫，必竟只是一氣，所以有感格.
20 See Arthur Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," *Studies in Chinese Society*, edited by Arthur Wolf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), pp. 131–182, esp. p. 168: "Chinese ancestors are not feared because they are not conceived of as powerful beings."

Chapter 1

1 The exact statement is as follows (John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual*, p. 274): "Chinese political history is indeed one of an unequal contest between Confucianism and Taoism but contrary to what has always been said, it is Confucianism which never had a prayer, not Taoism."

2 John Lagerwey, review of *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories,* by David Faure, in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5, 1990), pp. 445–448.
3 Robert Eno, "Shang State Religion and the Pantheon of the Oracle Texts," in *Early Chinese Religion,* Part One: *Shang through Han (1250 BC–AD 220),* edited by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 73–74.
4 Ibid., p. 101.
5 Kominami Ichirô, "Rituals for the Earth," in *Early Chinese Religion,* Part One: *Shang through Han (1250 BC–AD 220*), pp. 216–217.
6 Ibid., pp. 233–234.
7 Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000–250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2006), pp. 48–51.
8 The use of this term suggests quite clearly that the grandson had to be possessed by the ancestor in order to represent him.
9 Jean Levi, "The Rite, the Norm, and the Dao: Philosophy of Sacrifice and Transcendence of Power in Ancient China," in *Early Chinese Religion,* Part One: *Shang through Han (1250 BC–AD 220),* p. 657.
10 "Yellow Emperor" is the traditional translation, and I personally long resisted using the alternative translation of *di* as "thearch" (Edward Schafer), primarily because it was a hybrid neologism combining the Latin *theos* ("god") and English "monarch." But I have come more recently to see this alternate translation as a stroke of genius that underscores the theological nature of Chinese political theorizing: emperors are gods, and it is less a matter of projecting this world onto that as of retrojecting that world onto this. In what follows, however, "thearch" will be primarily used to refer to the divine emperors of the spirit world.
11 Ibid., pp. 671–672. On Taiyi (Great One), see below, the section on Qin and Han in this chapter.
12 Martin Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2000), p. 10.
13 Ibid., pp. 12–13.
14 Ibid., p. 61.
15 Ibid., p. 59.
16 Ibid., p. 33.
17 It has always intrigued me that he is said to have come from a place called Bo, as in Botu; cf. below, the "birthplace" of Laozi. The literal meaning of his name, Erroneous Taboos, is also strange, to say the least.
18 Michael Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), p. 132.

19 Marianne Bujard, "State and Local Cults in Han religion," in *Early Chinese Religion*, Part One: *Shang through Han (1250 BC–AD 220)*, pp. 777–811: 794. This *tan*, in turn, is the model for the Daoist altar space: see my "Taoist Ritual Space and Dynastic Legitimacy," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1993), pp. 87–94.

20 Li Ling, "An archaeological study of Taiyi 太一 (Grand One) worship," translated by Donald Harper, *Early Medieval China* 2 (1995–6), p. 35.

21 Loewe, *Chinese Ideas*, pp. 138, 141.

22 Bujard, "State and Local Cults in Han religion," p. 808.

23 Cited from the *Hou Hanshu* by Lin Fu-shih, *Handai de wuzhe* (Taipei: Daoxiang, 1987), p. 35.

24 Anna Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao Tseu dans le taoïsme des Han* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1969), p. 124.

25 Rafe de Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan, 159–168 A.D.," *T'oung Pao* 66.1–3 (1980), p. 80.

26 Seidel, *La divinisation*, p. 70. The "text of five thousand words" is the *Daode jing* or *Laozi*.

27 Loewe, *Chinese Ideas*, p. 99.

28 Michele Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, "Death and the Dead: Practices and Images in the Qin and Han," *Early Chinese Religion*, Part One: *Shang through Han (1250 BC–AD 220)*, pp. 982–983.

29 For a full account of the incessant changes in all these sacrifices, see Chen Shuguo, "State Religious Ceremonies," in *Early Chinese Religion*, Part Two: *The Period of Division*, edited by John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 53–142.

30 Howard Goodman, *Ts'ao P'i Transcendent: The Political Culture of Dynasty-founding in China at the End of the Han* (Seattle: Scripta Serica, 1998), p. 86.

31 Leon Hurvitz, translator, *Wei Shou Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism*, an English translation of the original Chinese text of *Wei-shu* CXIV and the Japanese annotation of Tsukamoto Zenryû, reprint of *Yün-kang, the Buddhist Cave-Temples of the Fifth Century A.D. in North China*, vol. 16 supplement (Kyoto: Jimbunkagaku kenkyusho, 1956), p. 103.

32 See Anna Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*, vol. 2, edited by Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1983), pp. 291–371.

33 Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), p. 108. From present-day perspective, it is ironical that Yu Bing is in fact proposing a "modern" definition of religion as belonging to the private sphere!

34 Ibid., p. 125.

35 Hurvitz, *Wei Shou Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism*, p. 53.

36 Cf. Hurvitz, p. 52.
37 Ibid., p. 56.
38 James Ware, tr., "The *Wei shu* and the *Sui shu* on Taoism," *T'oung Pao* (1932), pp. 215–250: p. 236.
39 For references, see my "Religion et politique pendant la période de Division," in *Religion et société en Chine ancienne et médiévale*, edited by John Lagerwey (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2009), pp. 397–428.
40 Cited from Lagerwey, "The Old Lord's Scripture for the Chanting of the Commandments," *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Taoism: A Berlin Symposium*, edited by Florian Reiter (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag), pp. 29–56.
41 See Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments," and, on Zhou Wudi's initiation, my *Wu-shang pi-yao, somme taoïste du VIe siècle* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1981), p. 19.
42 Charles Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The Scripture for Humane Kings in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 115.
43 Cf. my "Religion et politique" (note 39 above), where I suggest the name *chongxu*, "veneration of emptiness," derives from the Heavenly Master movement, in which it referred to the central place of meditation in each Daoist "diocese" (*zhi* 治).
44 Kenneth Chen, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 189.
45 Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao*, p. 17.
46 Anna Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments," p. 365.
47 *Huahu* may be translated as "conversion of/into the foreigner." When understood in the sense of "into," it refers to the idea that Laozi, after revealing the *Daode jing*, went west and "turned into" the Buddha. For obvious reasons, this became one of the most contentious notions in the history of Buddho-Daoist relations.
48 Charles David Benn, "Taoism as Ideology in the Reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung (712–755)" (Ann Arbor, MI: Universal Microfilms International, 1983), p. 30.
49 Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 51–52.
50 The ultimate model for this act was the engraving of the five Confucian classics on stone in AD 175.
51 Benn, "Taoism as Ideology," pp. 154, 174.
52 Ibid., p. 240.
53 Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, p. 37.
54 Ibid., p. 54.
55 Ibid., p. 58.
56 Ibid., p. 78.

57 Ibid., p. 82; cf. p. 178: "Your Majesty has received the mandate of the Buddha to serve as King of the Dharma *fawang*; it is Your Majesty who satisfies the aspirations of the people and holds the secret seal of Puxian."
58 Ibid., p. 118.
59 Ibid., p. 134.
60 Franciscus Verellen, "A Forgotten T'ang Restoration: The Taoist Dispensation after Huang Ch'ao," *Asia Major* Third Series 7.1 (1994), p. 114.
61 Franciscus Verellen, "Liturgy and Sovereignty: The Role of Taoist Ritual in the Foundation of the Shu Kingdom (907–925), *Asia Major* Third Series 2.1 (1989), p. 74.
62 The phrase comes from the Book of Rites (*Liji*): "When the Great Way was practiced the world was shared by all alike *tianxia wei gong*. The worthy and the able were promoted to office and men practiced good faith and lived in affection. Therefore they did not regard as parents only their own parents, or as sons only their own sons . . . Now the Great Way has become hid and the world is the possession of private families *tianxia wei jia*. Each regards his parents as only his own parents, as sons only his own sons; goods and labor are employed for selfish ends"; cited in Howard Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk: Ritual and Symbol in the Legitimation of the T'ang Dynasty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 82.
63 Ibid., p. x.
64 Ibid., p. 101.
65 Ibid., p. 122.
66 Ibid., p. 211.
67 Michel Soymié,"Recherches historiques et sociologiques sur le culte de Zhenwu," *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section* (1975), p. 962. Taizu, the founder, reigned 960–976, Taizong 976–998.
68 Michel Soymié, "La politique religieuse des empereurs Zhenzong et Renzong des Song," *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section* (1977), p. 1030.
69 Patricia Ebrey, "Huizong's Stone Inscriptions," in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics*, edited by Patricia Ebrey and Maggie Bickford (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 257.
70 Shin-yi Chao, "Huizong and the Divine Empyrean Palace Temple Network," in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China*, p. 349.
71 Ebrey, "Huizong's Stone Inscriptions," p. 254.
72 This issue being intimately linked to the history of Daoist ritual, we will treat the subject more thoroughly in Chapter 2.
73 Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory, "The Religious and Historical Landscape," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, edited by

Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory (Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, 1993), p. 28.

74 Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 8–9.

75 Ibid., p. 91.

76 Ibid., p. 92.

77 On Dingguang, see my "Dingguang Gufo: Oral and Written Sources in the Study of a Saint," *Cultes des sites, cultes des saints*, edited by Franciscus Verellen, *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 10 (1998), pp. 77–129; on Wen Qiong, see Paul Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995).

78 Hansen, *Changing Gods*, pp. 128, 130.

79 Terry Kleeman, "The Expansion of the Wen-ch'ang Cult," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, p. 59.

80 Terry Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale*: The Book of Transformations *of Wenchang, the Divine Lord of Zitong* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 1994), pp. 26, 28.

81 The god of the western sacred mountain is here clearly seen as chief of all the gods in his territory, exactly the role played by the god of Central Mountain in the story of Kou Qianzhi (see Chapter 2): as administered territory, Daoist territory is conceptually identical to that of the central government.

82 This is a quotation from the *Book of Rites*.

83 Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale*, p. 210.

84 Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), p. 239.

85 Ibid., pp. 285, 293.

86 Ibid., p. 308.

87 *Yisheng baode zhuan* (Taoist canon no. 1285); see my *Taoist Ritual*, pp. 257–258.

88 My summary is based on a forthcoming manuscript by Shin-yi Chao, "A God in Transition: Zhenwu Worship from Song to Ming (960–1644)."

89 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 104.

90 Hansen, *Changing Gods*, p. 30.

91 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 104.

92 Shin-yi Chao, "A God in Transition," Chapter 2.

93 Writing in 1312, Zhao Mengfu (1254–1352) explicitly linked these events to the Heavenly Mandate: "The rise of the Yuan began in the north. The energy of the north being in the ascendance, the god of the north sent down prophetic signs: thus did Heaven announce (the dynastic change)." See John Lagerwey, "The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 298.

94 Curiously, this is the same name as that given by Zhenzong to the Daoist temple built in 1017 to house the "celestial document" discovered in 1008; cf. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 95.

95 Pierre-Henry de Bruyn, "Wudang shan: The Origins of a Major Center of Modern Taoism," in *Religion and Society in Chinese History*, vol. 2, *Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, edited by John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: École française d'Extrême-Orient, Chinese University Press, 2004), p. 564.

96 Chao, "Huizong and the Divine Empyrean Palace Temple Network," p. 327.

97 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 45.

98 This paragraph is derived from de Bruyn, "Wu-dang Shan: The Origins of a Major Center of Modern Taoism," pp. 563–567.

99 In the list of official temples in the Ming capitals of Beijing and Nanjing in the *Da Ming huidian* (*Collected Statutes of the Great Ming*), 93.1a–3a, the temple to Zhenwu is listed first in both cases, and it is stated explicitly for the Beijing temple that, "whenever a major event occurs, he must be informed" 國有大事則告.

100 Lagerwey, "The Pilgrimage to Wu-tang Shan," p. 302.

101 On this little known but absolutely critical detail, see my "The Pilgrimage," p. 326, n. 2.

102 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 82.

103 For details, see Chapter 2.

104 Mark Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons: Ming Thunder Gods from Ritual to Literature (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 2007), p. 185, citing the *Taizu shilu* 170.2586. Meulenbeld goes on to quote a local monograph that says the magistrate would read a "sacrificial writ" in each of these temples.

105 De Bruyn, "Wu-dang Shan: The Origins of a Major Center of Modern Taoism" (above, n. 95), p. 573.

106 Chang Jianhua, *Mingdai zongzu yanjiu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2005), p. 14. The Great Rites Controversy refers to Shizu's adamant refusal to consider himself as the adopted son of the previous emperor and make his ancestral sacrifice as Son of Heaven to this emperor rather than to his biological father. "Extending the favor" means, then, that like the emperor, commoners would have the right to worship their forebears.

107 David Faure, *Emperor and Ancestor: State and Lineage in South China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 13–14.

108 Ibid., p. 14.

109 See my "Notes on the Symbolic Life of a Hakka Village," *Minjian xinyang yu Zhongguo wenhua guoji yantao hui lunwen ji* (Taipei: Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 733–762, and "The Li Lineage of Hukeng," *Di'er jie kejia xue guoji yantao hui lunwen ji*, edited by Lau Yee

Cheung (Hong Kong: Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1995), pp. 101–168.

110 De Bruyn, "Wu-dang Shan," p. 573. Earlier, p. 568, de Bruyn had suggested that, during the Yuan, "behind their gods Mahâkâla and Zhenwu the Buddhist and Taoist religious communities were engaged in a major struggle for influence and power in the north of China."

111 Monica Esposito, "The Longmen School and Its Controversial History during the Qing Dynasty," in *Religion and Society in Chinese History*, vol. 2, *Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China* edited by John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Chinese University Press, 2004), p. 622. According to Esposito, the Ming steles that she has consulted depict a Baiyun guan linked not to the Quanzhen but to the Zhengyi school.

112 From my "Introduction" to *Religion and Society in Chinese History*, pp. xxiv–xxv, presentation of Richard von Glahn, "The Sociology of Religion in the Lake T'ai-hu Basin," in vol. 2, *Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, pp. 773–815.

113 See my "Patterns of Religion in West-Central Fujian: The Local Monograph Record," *Minsu quyi* 129 (2001), pp. 43–236.

114 Again this corresponds to patterns in west-central Fujian, where the earliest recorded Zhenwu temple dates to 1177 and the earliest Dongyue miao to ca. 1127: see the article cited in the previous note, pp. 57 and 59. Von Glahn recalls that Song Zhenzong ordered a Dongyue Temple be built in every administrative capital throughout the empire; "The inhabitants of many of the Yangzi Delta's market towns sought to embellish their town's stature by building 'detached palaces' (*xinggong* 行宮) dedicated to Dongyue." In the *Da Ming huidian* list of Beijing's imperially-sponsored temples, that of the Eastern Peak comes right after that of Zhenwu and before that of the Capital City God Temple 都城隍廟 (93.1a–b). On the usually Daoist character of this temple, see my *Taoist Ritual*, p. 72.

115 In much of southeastern China, this position is occupied by Chen Jinggu, in much of north China by Bixia yuanjun. Cf. my "Patterns of Religion," especially the table of gods (pp. 104–106) and the commentary (p. 107): "These tables show once again just how local local religion is."

116 Von Glahn adds that "the capricious character of the god evoked popular anxieties about the evanescence of wealth . . . The abiding idea that the accumulation of wealth invites eventual disaster because it depletes the individual's balance of merit in the Celestial Treasury necessitated the expenditure of spirit money to replenish this spent balance." The "balance of merit," as well as its acquisition and ritual transfer, are all to be understood in the context of fundamental notions of justice such as those explored by Paul Katz: see his *Divine*

Justice: Religion and the Development of Chinese Legal Culture (London & New York, 2009). On the Wutong in western Fujian, see Zhang Hongxiang's article (in Chinese), "A Survey of Temple Festivals in Tingzhou," in *Temple Festivals and Village Culture in Minxi*, volume 4 of the "Traditional Hakka Society Series," edited by Yang Yanjie, pp. 80–113, especially pp. 110–113, where we learn that the Seven Maidens and Wutong having been sculpted from the same camphor tree, Wutong must "return to his wives' home" for a twelve-day visit during his festival.

117 Again, this is standard practice in western Fujian as well, where it is not images so much as "symbols" (*fu* 符) dedicated by Daoists during annual rites addressed to the local earth god which are placed in the animal pens. See my "Culte et lignage dans la Chine rurale," in *La société civile face à l'État dans les traditions chinoise, japonaise, coréenne et vietnamienne*, edited by Léon Vandermeersch (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1994), pp. 293–300. On the role of the shrine at the village entrance, no doubt it is the *shuikou* 水口 or "water exit," see below, Chapter 4.

118 See the citation of Arthur Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," in the Introduction, note 20.

119 See Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007). It should also be underscored here that, as in the Shang, it was usually the recently dead who were feared. Moreover, the anxiety about the dead, especially the unfortunate dead — and the rituals this anxiety engendered — hardly fit the standard notion of "ancestor worship."

120 Cf. De Bruyn's conclusion, p. 574: "The study of the evolution of Zhenwu's worship through three dynasties shows clearly how much political authority in China can influence the theological understanding and position of a god in the Chinese pantheon."

Chapter 2

1 *Dianlüe*, cited in *Sanguo zhi* 8:264. It is the latter movement that is usually referred to as the movement of the Heavenly Masters or of Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi 正一).

2 Daoist canon no. 421, *Dengzhen yinjue*, 3.6a, and Ursula Cedzich, *Das Ritual der Himmelsmeister im Spiegel früher Quellen: Übersetzung und Untersuchung des liturgischen Materials im dritten* chuan *des* Teng-chen yin-chüeh (PhD thesis, University of Würzburg, 1987), p. 108.

3 Donald Harper, "Resurrection in Warring States Popular Religion," *Daoist Resources* 5.2 (1994), pp. 13–28.

4 Donald Harper, "Contracts with the Spirit World in Han Common Religion: The Xuning Prayer and Sacrifice Documents of A.D. 79," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 14 (2004), p. 232.

5 Ibid., pp. 236–237, including note 28.
6 Ibid., pp. 238–242, including note 44. The two terms, *dao* and *sai*, are in fact already associated in the same manner in the Baoshan manuscripts dating to 218–216 BC: see Marc Kalinowski, "Diviners and Astrologers under the Eastern Zhou. Transmitted Texts and Recent Archaeological Discoveries," in *Early Chinese Religion*, Part One: *Shang through Han* (*1250 BC–220 AD*), edited by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 379, where the word *dao* is translated "prayer rite" and the word *sai* "rite of thanks."
7 Cf. the much later *Zhengao* (the late fifth century), as cited by Peter Nickerson, "Taoism, Bureaucracy, and Popular Religion in Early Medieval China," unpublished manuscript, p. 148: one Fan Poci came from a family that "served the profane deities"; when he became mentally disturbed, his family invited a "master" (i.e., a shaman) to "release him from the illness and spent his family's resources until they slowly were exhausted, yet the illness was still not healed. Then he heard that the Great Way was pure and restrained and required no expenditures, and thereupon his mind changed."
8 Harper, "Contracts," p. 264.
9 Cited by Nickerson, "Taoism, Bureaucracy, and Popular Religion in Early Medieval China," p. 169.
10 John Lagerwey, "Deux écrits taoïstes anciens," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 14 (2004), p. 151.
11 The first days of the four seasons, the two equinoxes, and the two solstices.
12 Lagerwey, "Deux écrits," p. 152.
13 Ibid., p. 163.
14 Grégoire Espesset, "Criminalized Abnormality, Moral Etiology, and Redemptive Suffering in the Secondary Strata of the *Taiping jing*," *Asia Major* Series 3, 15.2 (2005), p. 14.
15 Ibid., p. 18.
16 Max Kaltenmark, "The Ideology of the *T'ai-p'ing ching*," in *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion*, edited by Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 28.
17 Ibid., p. 36.
18 Espesset, "Criminalized Abnormality," pp. 33–34, 36.
19 Ibid., p. 43.
20 Ibid., p. 40.
21 Michel Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, edited by Bernard Faure (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 12.
22 Nickerson, "Taoism, Bureaucracy, and Popular Religion in Early Medieval China," p. 295.
23 Ibid., p. 232.

24 Ibid., p. 192. Cf. Strickmann, *Magical Medicine*, p. 14, where he describes the Daoist priest as a lawyer, "disputing allegations, filing a countersuit." He cites, p. 16, the example of Xu Huya and his wife, a Hua, who, fearing their son will pay for Hua Qiao's misdeeds, are told by the Perfected to "submit a rejoinder to the indictment from beyond the tomb." In the *Zhengao*, adds Strickmann, p. 21, "all the ailments of living members of the family seem to have originated in the alleged misdeeds of the immediately preceding generation."

25 Nickerson, "Taoism, Bureaucracy, and Popular Religion in Early Medieval China," p. 317.

26 Franciscus Verellen, "The Heavenly Master Liturgical Agenda According to Chisong zi's Petition Almanac," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 14 (2004), pp. 291–343.

27 See my "Zhengyi Registers," Institute of Chinese Studies Visiting Professor Lecture Series (I), *Journal of Chinese Studies Special Issue* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2005), pp. 35–88.

28 Ibid., p. 57. I have slightly modified my translation to reflect more accurately the relationship between the "authentic officer" (the earth god) and the "infused energies." On the role of infused energies in early medieval explanations of illness, see Li Jianmin, "*They shall expel demons*: etiology, the medical canon, and the transformation of medical techniques before the Tang," in *Early Chinese Religion*, Part One: *Shang through Han (1250 BC–220 AD)*, edited by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 1103–50. The term "infused energies" clearly refers to the same vision of disease as the term "infusing with disease and suing" 注訟 encountered above.

29 Lagerwey, "Zhengyi Registers," p. 58.

30 In the Lingbao canon, this charge will be inserted in the rite for "lighting the burner" (*falu* 發爐), where the exteriorized agents will be told to inform "the four-faced authentic officer of this place." In all likelihood, the four faces of the all-seeing earth god derive from those of the Yellow Thearch (Emperor); cf. Mark Csiksentmihalyi, "Reimagining the Yellow Emperor's Four Faces," in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, edited by Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington, 2005), pp. 226–248, especially pp. 236–237: "Symbolically, the four faces were a metaphor for the Yellow Emperor's four ministers . . . His four faces represented the faces of his ministers, who served as his eyes and ears in the four directions of the empire." In like manner, the "four lords" in the Daoist texts just quoted, are mere bureaucratic extensions of the authentic officer, expressions of his capacity to inspect and interrogate in every direction, i.e., on all four sides. The term *simian* 四面 refers at once to the "four faces" of these gods and to their inspection work on "all four sides." The fact there were such authentic officers on every administrative level already in the fifth century AD shows clearly that the Ming founder was inventing

nothing: he was adapting an ancient system to a more urbanized China, in which higher-level earth gods were now called "gods of the walls and moats."

31 For this paragraph, see my "The Old Lord's Scripture for the Chanting of the Commandments," in Florian C. Reiter, ed., *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), pp. 29–56, especially pp. 32–33.

32 Lü Pengzhi, "Daoist Rituals," in *Early Chinese Religion*, Part Two: *The Period of Division*, edited by John Lagerwey and Lü Pengzhi (Leiden: Brill, 2010). The extraordinary continuity here may be seen by comparing this passage with the description of the meditative dispatch of the memorial in modern Taiwan; see my *Taoist Ritual*, p. 132.

33 See John A. Steele, tr. *The I-li or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (London: Probsthain, 1917), vol. 1, pp. 199–202; see also the audience ritual in vol. 2, pp. 1–4.

34 *Mingzhen ke* 明真科 15b, cited in John Lagerwey, *Wu-shang pi-yao, somme taoïste du VIe siècle* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient), p. 158. Cited in Chapter 1, n. 41.

35 DZ 1, *Lingbao wuliang duren shangpin miaojing* 靈寶無量度人上品妙經, 1.1b.

36 See my *Taoist Ritual*, pp. 32–33, and Gil Raz, "Creation of Tradition: The Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure and the Formation of Early Daoism" (PhD thesis, Indiana University, 2004).

37 Lagerwey, "Le taoïsme," in *Encyclopédie des religions*, edited by Frédéric Lenoir and Ysé T. Masquelier (Paris: Bayard, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 1051–1076.

38 DZ 336, *Taishang dongxuan lingbao yebao yinyuan jing* 太上洞玄靈寶業報因緣經, 8.5a–7a.

39 For what little we know about the Daoist *jingtu* (Pure Land) school, see my succinct summaries of DZ numbers 336, 371, and 1398, as well as that of Hans-Hermann Schmidt of DZ 1129, in *The Taoist Canon*, vol. 1, *Antiquity through the Middle Ages*, edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 518–520, 547–548, 530–531, and 442.

40 Franciscus Verellen, "'Evidential Miracles in Support of Daoism': The Inversion of a Buddhist Apologetic Tradition in Late Tang China," *T'oung Pao* 78 (1992), p. 234. See also now, Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Daoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2008), Chapter 5, "Guanyin in a Daoist Disguise." She begins her exploration of Jiuku tianzun with the *Yebao yinyuan jing* just cited.

41 John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual*, pp. 91–95.

42 This is precisely the relationship between fast (*zhai* 齋) and sacrifice (*jiao* 醮) that obtains in Daoism from Du Guangting on, right down to the present. I suspect that it was the Daoism of the country priests of Heavenly Master Daoism already in Zhang Wanfu's time.

43 See my "Le sacrifice taoïste," *Le sacrifice dans les religions*, edited by Marcel Neusch (Paris: Institut Catholique de Paris, 1995), p. 255.
44 Cited in Verellen, "Evidential Miracles," p. 22.
45 Franciscus Verellen, "Liturgy and Sovereignty: The Role of Taoist Ritual in the Foundation of the Shu Kingdom (907–925)," *Asia Major* Third Series 2.1 (1989), p. 62.
46 Ibid., pp. 63–64, 69 note 52, 70–71.
47 Verellen, "Evidential Miracles," pp. 222–223.
48 Edouard Chavannes, *Le jet des dragons* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1919).
49 Mark Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons: Ming Thunder Gods from Ritual to Literature" (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 2007) p. 67, citing Christine Mollier, "La méthode de l'empereur du nord du Mont Fengdu: une tradition exorciste du taoïsme médiéval," *T'oung Pao* 83 (1997), p. 352.
50 Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), p. 75.
51 See the article on this text by Poul Andersen, in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the* Daozang, vol. 2, edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, pp. 1070–1073.
52 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, p. 76.
53 Judith Boltz, "Not by the Seal of Office Alone: New Weapons in Battles with the Supernatural," in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, edited by Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), p. 261.
54 Ibid., p. 271. On Yuan Miaozong's ritual compendium in the Daoist canon, see Poul Andersen's article in Schipper and Verellen, op. cit., pp. 1057–1060, especially p. 1058: "The Department of Exorcism (Quxie yuan 驅邪院) is the celestial department to which the priests of the Tianxin zhengfa are assigned . . . The department is presided over by the Emperor of the North (Beidi 北帝) . . . He is assisted by the 'great generals' of the Department of Exorcism, notably, the group of thirty-six generals headed by Tianpeng 天蓬 . . . Further down in the hierarchy are the generals of the Eastern Peak (Dongyue 東嶽), who lead the ranks of spirit-soldiers (*yinbing* 陰兵) assisting the priest."
55 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 80.
56 bid., pp. 15, 50.
57 Ibid., p. 38; cf. above, Chapter 1.
58 Ibid., p. 101.
59 See an example of his iconography in Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual*, p. 299, and an account of the pilgrimage to his mountain as a way of experiencing his myth in Lagerwey, "The Pilgrimage," pp. 315–321.
60 De Bruyn, "Wudang Shan," p. 569, suggests "the use of the number 'eighty-two' was an indirect way of saying that the Buddhist victory of 1281" was a pyrrhic victory.

61 Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons," pp. 109–112.
62 On which, see Chapter 3 below.
63 Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual*, p. 343.
64 For a full analysis of Huang Gongjin's hagiography of Wen Qiong's, see my *Taoist Ritual*, Chapter 14. Paul Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany: State University of New York, 1995), Chapter 3, corrects a number of my mistaken readings and analyzes other versions of the hagiography as well. On pp. 79–80, he discusses Wen Qiong's Tantric precedents. He also provides a superb description of the role of Wen Qiong in Wenzhou's biggest annual festival, thus linking hagiography to sociology. See also Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons," pp. 127–135.
65 Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons," pp. 122–126.
66 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 110.
67 Ibid., pp. 112–113.
68 Kristofer M. Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, translated by Karen Duval (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 48–55.
69 John Lagerwey, "Questions of Vocabulary, or How Shall We Talk about Chinese Religion?", in *Daojiao yu minjian zongjiao yanjiu lunji*, edited by Lai Chi Tim (Hong Kong: Xuefeng wenhua, 1999), pp. 165–181.
70 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 37.
71 Ibid., p. 199.
72 Ibid., p. 46.
73 Ibid., p. 141.
74 Ibid., p. 172.
75 Ibid., p. 212.
76 Ibid., p. 221.
77 Ibid., p. 224.
78 Ibid., pp. 234, 237, 248, 251. Cf. my account of the Attack on Hell near the end of the Daoist funeral ritual: "It involves the family members directly in a way none of the other rituals do. Spectators otherwise, now they become participants . . . The tense drama of shaking the fortress often leads to tears. Clearly, to the participating family members, the Attack on Hell involves not only the soul's rescue from hell but also its departure from their midst . . . An exorcism, its essential purpose is to ensure that the deceased *not* return to haunt the family." I go on to describe the role played by mediums in the Attack (*Taoist Ritual*, pp. 218–219).
79 Davis, *Society and the Supernatural*, p. 267.
80 Ibid., p. 27.
81 Ibid., p. 225.
82 Richard von Glahn, "The Sociology of Religion in the Lake T'ai-hu Basin," in *Religion and Society in Chinese History*, vol. 2, *Taoism and Local Religion in Modern China*, edited by John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: École française d'Extrême-Orient, Chinese University Press, 2004), p. 781.

83 See Stephen Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994).

84 Valerie Hansen, "Gods on Walls: A Case of Indian Influence on Chinese Lay Religion?" in *Religion and Society in T'ang and Sung China*, edited by Patricia Ebrey and Peter Gregory (Honolulu: Hawai'i University Press, 1993), p. 92.

85 Daoists in Jianyang, Fujian, for example, told me that soul-summoning rituals for the seriously ill were done, as a place of last resort, in the Chenghuang temple.

86 Lagerwey, "Introduction," pp. xxvii–xxviii, summary of Paul Katz, "Divine Justice in Late Imperial China: A Preliminary Study of Indictment Rituals," in *Religion and Society in Chinese History*, edited by John Lagerwey, pp. 869–901. Cf. above, Chapter 1, note 114, where I note that temples to Zhenwu, the Eastern Peak, and the City God are listed first and in that order in the Ming imperial capital of Beijing.

87 See my article in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 1033–1036.

88 See my article in Schipper and Verellen, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 1014–1018.

89 Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual*, pp. 233–235, and Judith Boltz, "Opening the Gates of Purgatory: A Twelfth Century Daoist Meditation Technique for the Salvation of Lost Souls," in *Tantric and Daoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*, vol. 2, edited by Michel Strickmann (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1983), pp. 487–513.

90 Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual*, p. 235.

91 While a full and focused study of the theoretical issues raised here would require treatment of both Six Dynasties religious literature and Tang *bianwen*, their inclusion would not, I believe, impact significantly the suggestions made below.

92 Kleeman, *A God's Own Tale*, pp. 159–161.

93 See my "'Les têtes des démons tombent par milliers': Le *fachang*, rituel exorciste du nord de Taiwan," in *Du bon usage des dieux en Chine* (*L'Homme* 101, January–March, 1987), pp. 101–116.

94 Anning Jing, *The Water God's Temple of the Guangsheng Monastery: Cosmic Function of Art, Ritual, and Theater* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 189–190.

95 Ibid., p. 6. According to Jing, p. 34, the "oldest permanent stage" in the area, built within the precincts of a temple dedicated to Mother Earth, dates to the early eleventh century. He also notes that tombs of the same period are "often decorated with carved or painted theatrical scenes or miniature stages."

96 Ibid., p. 36.

97 Ibid., p. 4.

98 Ibid., pp. 43 and 46.

99 Ibid., p. 89.
100 Ibid., pp. 119–121.
101 Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons," pp. 173–175, 194.
102 Ibid., p. 198.
103 Ibid., p. 221.
104 Ibid., p. 225.
105 Ibid., p. 208.
106 Ibid., p. 233. Cf. Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual*, p. 44, where the Four Marshals are Kang, Zhao, Wen, and Gao. Wen, of course, is Wen Qiong.
107 Ibid., p. 263.
108 Ibid., p. 270.
109 Ibid., p. 272.
110 Ibid., p. 286.
111 Ibid., p. 290. A virtually identical phrase is found in a Southern Song liturgical manual, and is also used by Chen Rongsheng to describe his ritual practice: "We execute change on behalf of Heaven." See my *Taoist Ritual*, pp. 119, 210. On p. 213, I suggest this phrase "better than any other . . . defines the role of the high priest."
112 Shin-yi Chao, "A God in Transition," Appendix.
113 Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons," p. 305.
114 Susan Naquin, "The Peking Pilgrimage to Miao-feng Shan: Religious Organizations and Sacred Site," in *Pilgrims and Sacred Sites in China*, edited by Susan Naquin and Chün-fang Yü (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 333–377; Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Ursula Cedzich, "The Cult of the Wu-T'ung/Wu-hsien in History and Fiction," in *Ritual and Scripture in Chinese Popular Religion: Five Studies*, edited by David Johnson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 137–218.
115 Cf. Meulenbeld, "Civilized Demons," Chapter 7, "The Late Ming Ritual Field," where he sets out "to locate the history of these story cycles in the performative context of the religious festival, attributing the stories' antecedents to ritual, theatre, and festival processions . . . From the outset they may have belonged to the realm of performed religion" (pp. 318, 361).

Chapter 3

1 That is, lunar-solar month 5, the fifth day.
2 J. J. M. Groot, *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Émoui (Amoy): étude concernant la religion populaire des Chinois*, translated by C. G. Chavannes, with a new introduction by Inez de Beauclair and Harvey Molé, 2 vols. (Taipei: Chinese Materials Center, 1977 reprint of Ernest Leroux, 1886).

3 "Fêtes et cultes chez les Hakka," in *Perspectives chinoises* 33 (January–February 1996), pp. 24–30.

4 A fascinating thesis on the subject of festivals in early medieval China has been finished recently by Ian Chapman: "Carnival Canons: Calendars, Genealogy, and the Search for Ritual Cohesion in Medieval China" (Princeton University thesis, 2007). In Part II, "Marking Human Lives: Commemoration as a New Ritual Paradigm," he shows how Buddhism broke the monopoly of the seasonal and calendrical approach to festivals dominant since the "Yueling" 月令 ("Monthly Ordinances") chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 (*Book of Rites*) by introducing commemorative ritual done "in memory of": The Buddhist festival calendar was centered on the critical events of the Buddha's life, just as the Christian liturgical calendar is on those of Jesus. Although in China the commemorative never replaced the seasonal principle, Buddhism did in this manner open the way to one of the central features of all local festival calendars: that they almost invariably revolve around the "birthdays" of the locally most important gods.

5 This has concrete implications for how to read this chapter: pencil in hand, in order to note down recurring words and themes. To give a few examples: wells, chess, dreams, bodies, bones, sons, rain, theft, somersaults, opera, incense-fetching, Lüshan, thunder, food, boats, dragons, terror, rotation, divination, gambling, epidemics, beggars, and city gates. This first, diachronic reading should be followed by a second, synchronic one which goes beyond semantics to grammar.

The "hierarchy of temple fairs in Kunshan county" (Jiangsu) described by Wu Cheng-han in Chapter 3 of his "The Temple Fairs in Late Imperial China" (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1988) is very much the same as that described here: villages, market towns, and county seats.

6 See my "Culte et lignage en Chine rurale," pp. 293–300.

7 I translate the term *jiao* by either "sacrifice" or "offering," as it fits both categories.

8 *Yangjian* 陽間, "this world," as opposed to *yinjian* 陰間, the world of the dead.

9 *Fu* 福, here translated "wealth," elsewhere translated "good fortune," "well-being," or "blessings," is one of the truly key words of Chinese religion. *Benfang fuzhu* is one of the standard titles used by the Hakka to refer to the local earth god.

10 See Lai Jian, "Jiao in Changting County," in THS 6, pp. 447–448 ("THS" refers to my 30-volume "Traditional Hakka Society" series [Kejia chuantong shehui congshu], published in Hong Kong by the École française d'Extrême-Orient and the Overseas Chinese Archives; "6" refers to volume 6 in the series. In order to simplify citation, I give

only the English titles of chapters cited; Chinese titles are supplied in the Bibliography.) These five tiger-riders are a basic ritual and iconographic component of Lūshan Daoism that I first encountered in Daoist exorcisms in northern Taiwan, where they play a central role in the *paofa* 拋法 ritual to divine whether the exorcism has been successful. See my "'Les têtes des démons tombent par milliers': Le *fachang*, rituel exorciste du nord de Taiwan," *Du bon usage des dieux en Chine* (*L'Homme* 101, January–March 1987), pp. 101–116. In what used to be Huizhou prefecture 徽州府 in southern Anhui, virtually every village entrance had a small temple dedicated to the same gods.

11 Wu Cheng-han, "The Temple Fairs," p. 80, cites an 1896 local monograph from Sihui county 四會縣, Guangdong, that refers to the same practice: "The wizards, *nan-wu* 男巫 [indicating the Daoist practitioners], dressed in female costumes ascended the altar and dispatched 'generals' to catch evil ghosts from everywhere. When they came back [from the mission], the 'generals', undertaken by young volunteers, returned the mission tallies and asked for remuneration." The *nanwu* are clearly Lūshan Daoists. Cf. p. 131, where Wu cites similar accounts from Yihuang 宜黃縣 (Jiangxi, 1823) and Hanzhou 漢州 (Sichuan, 1812): both describe earth god festivals involving "paper-made (dragon) vessels" and Daoist priests 道士 who, in Yihuang, go house-to-house to "exorcise various misfortunes" and, in Hanzhou, bringing up the rear of a procession, wield a sword "to expel plague-demons."

12 This would seem to be simply a variant term for the *taige* 臺閣 mentioned already in the *Mengliang lu* 夢梁錄 (late Song) as part of processions on 2/8 in honor of a local Hangzhou god, on 3/3 for Zhenwu, and again in the fifth month for a procession organized by the producers of alcohol. On the *taige*, cf. also Wu Cheng-han, "The Temple Fairs," pp. 149–150: the wooden or iron puppets on top of long poles carried in Song processions were replaced by young children in the Ming. They were particularly popular in Jiangsu and Zhejiang.

13 See Lin Shouming, "The Worship of the Immortal Master in Shanghang," in THS 6, pp. 383–388.

14 See Lan Hanmin, "Boat Transport and Merchant Customs on the Ting River," in THS 6, p. 519.

15 See my "Popular Ritual Specialists in West Central Fujian," in *Shehui, minzu yu wenhua zhanyan guoji yantao hui lunwen ji* (Taipei: Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin, 2001), pp. 435–507, and Tam Wai Lun, "Yinsu Pu'an (1115–1169) zushi de yanjiu zhi chutan," in *Minjian fojiao yanjiu*, edited by Tam Wai Lun (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2007), pp. 205–243.

16 There is no character for *shan*; *gong* is 公.

17 Xie Meixing, "The Worship of Pangu in a Pingyuan County Village," THS 5, pp. 354–363 (cf. Lagerwey, "Introduction," p. 32; references below to my introductions will simply supply the page number).
18 Long Zhaokang, "The Mengs of Encun, Renhua: a Once Wealthy Lineage," THS 10, pp. 344–347 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 21).
19 Zhang Shengjun and Zhang Shenghong, "Popular Religion in Yingqian, Shangyou," THS 7, pp. 301–308 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 26–27).
20 "Wushang" is clearly a variant for "Wuchang."
21 Luo Qidong, "Introduction to the Jiao in Shangbao, Chongyi," THS 7, pp. 388–395 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 32–33). THS 8 contains a fully developed account of this Jiao by Liu Jinfeng: "The Yangping Big Flag Ritual of Southwestern Jiangxi," pp. 264–321.
22 A Chan monk who died in 1015, Dingguang was patron saint of all Tingzhou prefecture, and Junqingsi had originally been built for him; see my "Dingguang Gufo: Oral and Written Sources in the Study of a Saint," in *Cultes des sites, cultes des saints*, edited by Franciscus Verellen, *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 10 (1999), pp. 77–129.
23 See Li Tansheng and Lin Shanke, "Religious Festivals in Yanqian, Wuping," THS 6, pp. 53–71 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 5–6). According to the authors, there were once as many as three hundred monks in the Junqingsi, which owned vast tracts of land. The arrogance of the monks led to conflict with the local gentry, a court case, and the loss of much of their land. Although the temple was rebuilt after the Taiping armies destroyed it, its glory days were long past when the last monks left at the end of the Qing. Thereafter, Daoists performed the rituals formerly done by the monks.
24 Cf. Wu Cheng-han, "The Temple Fairs," on the circulation of a Great Duke God 大公神 in Yihuang, Jiangxi (p. 87): "Ten units [within the area] annually take turns at welcoming the god to reside in the ancestral temples of local residents in each area. When the welcoming and rewarding of the god is being carried out during the last few days in the 8th month, the spectators flock to watch. Each year the god merely stays at his own temple for a short while."
25 See my "Cult Patterns among the Hakka in Fujian: a Preliminary Report," *Minsu quyi* 91 (1994), 503–565. This paragraph is taken from pp. 525–526 of that article, where (pp. 515–529) I discuss "major temples" in some detail, including the Taibaomiao in Baisha, Shanghang, whose statues circulated through fifty-three villages that also participated in joint Jiao. Thorough discussions of both the Baisha and Dongliu cases may be found in Yang Yanjie, "Baisha Kejia de zongzu shehui yu Taibao gongwang xinyang" and "Xinlian dute de shequ wenhua ji qi yiyi," in THS 2, pp. 67–79 and pp. 211–215.
26 Chen Bingchuan, "The Six-Ward Immortal Master Parade in Shanghang," THS 6, pp. 185–192 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 12–13).

27 Deng Guangchang, Huang Ruiyi, Zhang Guoyu, "The Worship of the Old, Second, and Great Auspicious Buddhas in Ninghua," THS 11, pp. 217–239.

28 Yang Yanjie, "Gehu houwang: yige kua zongzu de difang tushen," THS 2, pp. 237–273.

29 These correspond to market days: if the god is going to one of eight villages upstream from the central temple, he must pass through the Keli 窠裏 market on 2/4; if he is going to one of five villages downstream, he parades in the Pengkou 朋口 market on 2/2.

30 On Luohangong, see my "A Year in the Life of a Mingqi Saint," *Minsu quyi* 117 (1999), pp. 329–370; on Fuhu, see my "Of Gods and Ancestors: The Ten-Village Rotation of Pingyuan shan," *Minsu quyi* 137 (2002), pp. 61–139.

31 Lagerwey, "A Year in the Life," pp. 369–370.

32 Huang Mian, "The Temple Festival of Horse-Saddle Pavilion, Dabu," THS 5, pp. 370–389 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 33–34).

33 Zhang Hongxiang, "Folk Customs in Hetian, Changting," THS 6, pp. 114–116 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 9).

34 "Fire" lions were made of straw soaked in salt water so they would not burn up when stuck full of incense sticks. They were run up and down a treeless hill where all could see them — according to the author, they were most beautiful — and then people would rush to grab the incense sticks which had not burned out and carry them home to their pigpens and fowl coops.

35 Liu Senhua, "Guilds and the Temple Festival of Long River, Renhua," THS 9, pp. 150–177 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 9–10).

36 Both Zhang Xun, the defending general, and Xu Yuan, the prefect of Suiyang, died defending the city against the forces of An Lushan.

37 Jiang Jinshi, "Lineages and Temple Festivals in Lixin, Jianning," THS 11, pp. 117–163 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 10–14).

38 Fu Guanghui, "The Lineages of Kaishan, Taining, and Their Chief Temple Festival," THS 11, pp. 164–196 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 14–16). Fu relies heavily on the abundant local lineage registers for his account.

39 The Changting county seat used to be the seat of Tingzhou prefecture as well.

40 Gong, Liu, and Yang, however, are also the names of a trio of gods often worshipped together in west-central Fujian, especially in the Shaowu area to the north.

41 While many Xinqiao people participated in the 8/1 pilgrimage to Redpeak, 70 *li* (35 km) distant, it was at some point decided that it was too inconvenient to go so far to fetch a god that had then to be brought back as well, so a statue of Santai was sculpted and placed in the Three Saints temple.

42 In THS 15, Lin Cuiqing, "Hanqian Village, Anjie, and Its Annual Festival," pp. 181–182, reports a virtually identical sequence at the end of the Hanqian festival in honor of the Five Cereals god. In both places, the "orphan food" is thought to have curative powers for people and pigs alike.

43 Li Zhixuan, "Xinqiao and Its Festival for the Three Saints," THS 15, pp. 226–284 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 22–24).

44 That is, the earth god. Yang Yanjie is therefore right to suggest that 2/2 was chosen because it is the standard day for the first annual worship of the earth god. In his essay on Guanqian, "Traditional Society in Tingdong Village, Guanqian" (THS 15, p. 213), Zhang Chunrong states that the *chansha* Jiao done in Guanqian at the end of the first or start of the second month are in fact Dragon-Pacification rituals: only if the dragon artery is in a good state and the dragon site well-chosen will the new year be a good one. Lin Cuiqing, "Hanqian Village, Anjie," p. 176, reports the same explanation for the Hanqian *chansha*, done at the same time as in Guanqian. Locally, he says, it is thought that the dragon rolls over in the spring, so he must be "settled in place" in order to have a good year.

45 As Yang shows, the Langya Wangs have no common ancestor hall or register, but share the tomb of their founding ancestor and this temple.

46 Yang Yanjie, "The Economy, Lineages, and Festivals of Zhuotian," THS 16, pp. 524–593 (cf. Lagerwey, THS 15, p. 26). According to Yang, there were 72 shops on the market street, 200 boats at dock on market days, and specialized markets along the river bank for lumber, firewood, piglets, rice and beans, and bamboo ware, and, behind a Tianhougong, for sugar and oil. Zhuotian was, with Tingzhou itself, one of two major southern Fujian centers for exchanges with Jiangxi.

47 *Yang* means "to make noisy, festive," but no one knows how to write it.

48 That is, the Han dynasty founder and one of his chief generals. Han Xin is the focus of a festival studied and filmed by Patrice Fava in west-central Hunan: see his *Aux portes du ciel: La statuaire taoïste du Hunan*, Chapter 5, "La revanche de Han Xin, un mystère taoïste" (forthcoming).

49 Deng says that the City God temple is like the police department, in charge of catching and interrogating demons, who are then passed on to the Eastern Peak thearch, who is like the magistrate, in charge of judgment; see Deng Wenqin, "Tiantouheng's Temple Festivals and the Economy," THS 18, p. 382 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 28–29).

50 "Hunan Opera in Ningdu," THS 18, pp. 475–501.

51 Deng Wenqin, "Tiantouheng's Temple Festivals and the Economy," THS 18, pp. 359–383 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 28–29).

52 See Yi Qilie, Xie Yuntu, Zhong Jinlan, "Lineage, Religion, and Marriage and Burial Customs in Helong," THS 23, pp. 271–363 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 21–23).

53 Literally, "where clouds are held in the mouth." This peculiar name suggests this temple was once a place to pray for rain.

54 This is probably Zhang Xun 張巡 (see note 56 below).

55 These are different names for the Black and White Wuchang encountered above. These gods are elsewhere familiar as Grandpa Seven and Eight 七爺八爺 or marshals Xie 謝元帥 and Fan 范元帥.

56 As the King of Eastern Peace is the title of Zhang Xun, I suspect that the King of Western Peace is his invariable partner, Xu Yuan. In short, all four gate gods are — Xu Yuan by association — military figures: protector gods.

57 Chen Weixu, "Temple Festivals and Processions of the Gods in the Jiangle County Seat," THS 11, pp. 1–27 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 3–4). Cf. the accounts cited from Wu Cheng-han in note 11 above.

58 Yang Jinsha, "Temple Festivals in the Jianning County Seat," THS 11, pp. 59–88.

59 Cf. Luo Yong, "Luokou's Zhugong Temple Festival," THS 1, p. 237.

60 Cf. my Introduction to THS 18, pp. 23–24, on Ningdu: "In their articles, both Zeng Cai and Deng Wenqin link these smallpox goddesses to the Great Emperor of the Celestial Symbol, also known as the Prince: said to have died himself of smallpox, the Prince was enfeoffed to keep an eye on the goddesses and to hold them responsible for any outbreak of the disease. His throne was in both cases on the second floor, above the Seven Immortals. The latter were emissaries of the Jade Emperor who came down daily to inspect the sick and the behavior of those in their households, then reported back to the Emperor, who decided who should live or die. Zeng Cai recalls having had a severe case of bronchitis at the age of six and having been taken to a Seven Immortals' temple to 'avoid perversity' for several days. Those who fell ill with the worst kind of smallpox were said to 'be the eldest sister.' Less severe cases were attributed to the second sister. In such cases, in addition to making a vow and going daily to the Immortals' temple to pray, the family had to avoid using the child's name and call it instead, as the incarnation of the goddess, 'Old Lady.' Whatever the child's caprice or fit of temper, it had to be forgiven or acted on, in the hope the Old Lady would be merciful. Once a vow had been made, it had to be repaid as quickly as possible by offering flowers or an opera, either on the Prince's birthday (5/18) or on that of the Immortals (6/6)." It is worth underlining that the archaic link between illness and possession was thus still fully operative in pre-1949 Ningdu.

61 Zhang Zhiyuan, "Temple Festivals of Shicheng," THS 3, pp. 35–47.
62 Deng Shuiheng, "The Festival of the Handi Temple in Ningdu," THS 7, pp. 228–229.
63 Zeng Cai, "The City God of Ningdu," THS 7, p. 234.
64 Zhu Kesan, "Temples and Jiao in the County Seat," THS 29, pp. 301–320 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 11–12).
65 Zeng Cai, "The City God of Ningdu," THS 7, pp. 230–240.
66 That is, the *taige*, which here also bore young children, usually a girl and a boy, dressed and made up to look like a god, a goddess, or a famous operatic persona; cf. note 12 above.
67 Lin Shuimei and Xie Jizhong, "The Festival of the City God in Liancheng," THS 4, pp. 18–33 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 3).
68 Li Shengbao, "Temple Festivals in Qingliu," THS 4, pp. 60–61.
69 Zhang Hongxiang, "Survey of the Temple Festivals of Tingzhou," THS 4, pp. 99–104.
70 Liao Yunbai, "The Temple Festivals of the Old Dingnan County Seat," THS 7, pp. 41–44.
71 Zhong Shiquan, "Miracle Tales from Longnan County," THS 7, pp. 72–75.
72 Wu Cheng-han, "The Temple Fairs," pp. 141 and 144.
73 Li Shengbao, "Temple Festivals in Qingliu," THS 4, pp. 61–77.
74 According to Zhong, Jiao, especially of this kind, generally involved a far larger territory than temple festivals. Ward heads (*lizhang*, *baozhang*) had to consult with local gentry and form an organization committee composed of people with money and prestige. The first step was to contact other temples whose gods one wished to borrow, then to post announcements about when to stop butchering.
75 For an account of one of these halls, see Yang Yanjie, *Minxi kejia zongzu shehui yanjiu*, THS 2, p. 210.
76 Zhong Desheng, "The Temple Festivals and Jiao of Wuping," THS 4, pp. 34–57 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 4–5).
77 This is almost certainly a theme borrowed from the Perfect Lord Xu myth and ritual complex.
78 Or: "the Daoist from Mount Luofu." However, this is almost certainly a "mistake" for *luobo*, Turnip, the standard name for the Daoist version of the Mulian tale. Li Fanghong says that, with all the demons shrieking in this play, women and children dared not watch.
79 Li Fanghong, "Customs of the Shangyou County Seat," THS 7, pp. 277–285 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 20–23).
80 Liu Jinhua, "Temple Festivals in the Renhua County Seat," THS 10, pp. 323–331 (cf. Lagerwey, THS 9, pp. 19–21).
81 See Lagerwey, THS 4, p. 2.
82 Chen Weixu, "Temple Festivals and Processions of the Gods in the Jiangle County Seat," THS 11, pp. 15–25 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 2–3).

83 Called locally Grandpa of Southern Peace 南安公, Southern Peace being another name for the town Yanqian, Wuping, site of Dingguang's home temple. Normally, Jade Void palaces are dedicated to the Perfect Warrior.

84 Chen Xiong and Liang Yinhao, "Temple Festivals, Feast Days, and Jiao in the Taining County Seat," THS 11, pp. 28–58 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 4–7).

85 Yang Jinsha, "Temple Festivals in the Jianning County Seat," THS 11, pp. 60–66, 75–81 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 7–8).

86 Lin Huadong, "The Temple Festival of Our Lady in the Mingqi County Seat," THS 11, pp. 89–116 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 9–10).

87 Zhu Kesan, "Temples and Jiao in the County Seat," THS 29, pp. 311–314 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 11).

88 Ouyang's Dafeng shan, says Hua, used to belong not to Qingliu but to Liancheng.

89 Hua Qinjin, "Lai the Immortal of Yuanfeng Mountain, Liancheng," THS 6, pp. 399–415 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 24–26).

90 Usually referred to as "dancing Haiqing," in reference to Chen Jinggu's brother Haiqing 海青.

91 Jiang Chunfu, "Ouyang the Immortal of Dafeng Mountain, Qingliu," THS 6, pp. 416–440 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 27–28).

92 Li Zonghan, "The Temples of Shangbao, Chongyi," THS 7, pp. 367–374 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 29–30).

93 According to Lai Shengting, the Daoists of the area go annually to report the names of the children whom they have "adopted out" to the Three Ladies: see THS 3, p. 181.

94 Liu Jinfeng, "The Formation and Development of the Hakka of Zhukeng, Shicheng," THS 8, pp. 116–118 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 6).

95 Huang Xueyuan, "The Temple and Legends of the Three Immortals in Tiger Head Cliff, Ruyuan," THS 9, pp. 269–304 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 15–17).

96 Nie Deren, "Daoism in Jianning," THS 11, pp. 376–378 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 27–28).

97 Yang Jinsha, "Temple Festivals in the Jianning County Seat," THS 11, pp. 85–88 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 8–9).

98 Usually written with the character *cai* 彩 for "colorful," not that for "wealth."

99 The main hall of the Tianhougong is said to be the tortoise's body, the gate and opera stage its head, and an alley out back its tail. It is surrounded by ponds, with four pavilions that represent the tortoise's legs.

100 Zhang Chunrong, "Traditional Society in Tingdong Village, Guanqian," THS 15, pp. 214–220 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 30–31).

101 Lai Jian, "The Market and Gods of Tongfang," THS 15, pp. 306–307 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 31–32).

102 That is, the first *chen* day after the summer solstice, when the rice kernels have just begun to form and prayers are made to Wugu that the kernels become full. The rather peculiar name refers to the fact that, if that day was an odd-numbered one in the month, the dragon god that year was male, while it was female if the day was even-numbered. If the dragon was male, it meant drought, if female, rain: "If it's a father dragon, it's hard on the contract laborers (who have to peddle the water wheel to irrigate the fields); if it's a mother dragon, it's hard on the women who dry the rice." Throughout Changting on that day, people do not carry urine pails, wash clothes, or clean toilet buckets, because the dragon requires clean water.

103 "Wooden Fish" is the name of the wooden drum with which the beat is kept in Buddhist recitation (it has also been adopted by many Daoists).

104 Xiong Menglin, "The Lai Lineage and the Gods of Chetou, Cewu," THS 15, pp. 337–341 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 32–33).

105 Lai Guangyao, "The Worship of the Ancestral Master Luo on Guilong Mountain, Sidu," THS 16, pp. 818–870 (cf. Lagerwey, THS 15, pp. 33–35).

106 Hu Xunrong, "Temples and Festivals in Caijiang Township," THS 18, pp. 32–36 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 26–27). Hu reproduces the Chanhe scripture in an appendix.

107 Huang Chengli, "Economy and Customs in Huaitu," THS 24, pp. 691–695 (cf. Lagerwey, THS 23, pp. 31–32).

108 Zhong Jinlan, "The Yang Lineage and Religious Practices of Yangbian, Shibi," THS 24, pp. 609–611.

109 Liao Shiyao, "The Lineage and Customary Beliefs of the Liaos of Jiuzhaitang," THS 24, pp.739–740.

110 The Seven Maids are also smallpox goddesses.

111 Zhang Sijie, "The Temple of the Women Immortals in Ganzhou," THS 7, pp. 114–141 (cf. Lagerwey, pp. 10–11).

112 The Nine Sovereigns are probably the gods of the nine stars of the Big Dipper.

113 Li Fanghong, "Customs of the Shangyou County Seat," THS 7, pp. 280–282 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 22).

114 Deng Guangchang, Huang Ruiyi and Zhang Guoyu, "The Worship of the Old, Second, and Great Auspicious Buddhas in Ninghua," THS 11, pp. 232–234 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 20).

115 Luo Huarong, "An Investigation of Traditional Society in Shibi," THS 24, p. 503 (cf. Lagerwey, THS 23, p. 37).

116 Zhong Jinlan, "The Yang Lineage and Religious Practices of Yangbian, Shibi," THS 24, pp. 612–613 (cf. Lagerwey, THS 23, pp. 28–29).

117 Liao Shiyao, "The Lineage and Customary Beliefs of the Liaos of Jiuzhaitang," THS 24, p. 740 (cf. Lagerwey, THS 23, pp. 29–30).
118 Liao Shanjin, "Economy and Customs in Quanshang," THS 23, p. 133 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 30).
119 Zhang Yinxiang, "Lineage, Temple Festivals, and the Economy in Zhongsha," THS 23, pp. 392–393 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 30).
120 Hu Duntao, "Customs of the Women of Yongning," THS 29, pp. 294–298 (cf. Lagerwey, p. 15). I first encountered the shoe custom in a lakeside Niangniang temple in Jiujiang (central Jiangxi, along the Yangzi).

Chapter 4

1 Originally published in Chinese in *Faguo hanxue* 4 (*Sinologie chinoise*, 1999), this chapter was published the following year as "Du caractère rationnel de la religion chinoise" in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 87.1, pp. 301–315. I am including it here, with minor modifications, as a concluding essay about Chinese religion as "system" not only because it attempts to reach a higher level of generalization than the preceding chapters but also because, to do so, it incorporates the mantic, Buddhist, and Confucian elements largely absent from those chapters.
2 The philosopher Wang Fuzhi is a typical example of the hardening of literati attitudes with respect to the "two religions." See my "Du bon usage de la comparaison: réflexions suscitées par François Jullien, *Procès ou création*," in *Etudes Asiatiques* XLVIII.2 (December 1992), pp. 567–580.
3 Marcel Granet was no doubt the pioneer of this way of understanding Chinese religion.
4 Although the mantic, ritual, and theological components of the symbolic system all have histories that can be traced back to pre-imperial and, in some cases, even pre-historic China, the focus of the present chapter, based on fieldwork, is inevitably late imperial and Republican China.
5 For an example of this kind of late lineage development, see my "The Li Lineage of Hukeng," in *Di'er jie kejia xue guoji yantao hui lunwen ji*, edited by Lau Yee Cheung (Hong Kong: Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1995), pp. 101–168. The phases of spatial expansion and the features of lineage development are, of course, in a relationship of logical, not necessary correspondence. The lineage register has its own logic of development: full information on the birth and death of both men and women usually appears quite late, but earlier than information about adoption, early deaths, the origin of wives, and the names of daughters and their husbands. The latter are all signs of a well-developed lineage, as is the claim of high ancestry.

6 See Zhang Quanqing, "Gods and Lineage in the Hutian Zhang Clan of Wuhua," in *Village Religion and Culture in Northeastern Guangdong*, THS 5, edited by Fang Xuejia, p. 9. Wuhua, like most of the counties mentioned in this essay, is in northeast Guangdong province.
Xue Fansheng, "Folk Customs of Maoxing Village, Xingning," THS 5, pp. 106–140.

7 Xue Fansheng, "Folk Customs of Maoxing Village, Xingning," THS 5, pp. 106–140.

8 See my introduction to the volume cited in note 6 above, p. 14 for the English, p. 57 for the Chinese text. As most of the examples below will be taken from this introduction — itself composed of summaries of the essays in the book — references will be inserted in the text in the following manner: (Lagerwey, 14, 57). As in Chapter 3, titles of the original essays will be given here in English, and in Chinese in the Bibliography.

9 Xiao Xuefa, "Folk Customs of Sandun Village, Dabu," THS 5, pp. 390–404.

10 Master Yang is more widely known by the less formal title Yang taibogong 楊太伯公, Great Duke Yang.

11 No matter what the physical orientation of a building in China, its symbolic orientation was always south-facing, and the symbolic center of a constructed or otherwise developed space was always in the center of the symbolic north side, that is, in a house, in the middle of the wall facing the main door. This is where the head of the household received whoever entered his house (in a banquet, the same spot was often reserved for the honored guest). This manner of occupying space is characteristic, in the first place, of the emperor himself, who is described conventionally as "seated facing south" (*nan mian er zuo* 南面而坐). This paradigmatic position of the emperor explains why, in China, the left is Yang (masculine) and the right Yin (feminine) for, when facing the south, the emperor had the rising sun — location of the heir apparent's house — on his left and the setting sun, site of the earth god's altar, on his right (see above, the Introduction).

12 The character here translated "name-symbol" is *fu* 符, a term more usually translated "talisman." *Fu* are symbolic "seal" (*zhuan* 篆) characters which represent divine names; their inscription on the stake makes the god "present" and thereby keeps demons at bay. I translate it "symbol" for the simple reason that it has the same etymological origin as the English word.

13 Xie Liyan, "Marriage, Funeral, and Other Festivals in Heping zhai, Dabu," THS 5, pp. 77–105.

14 Chen Jiasheng, "Customs and Lineages of Xintun Village, Longchuan," THS 5, pp. 427–441.

15 Yang Zuwu, "The Customs of a Longchuan County Village," THS 5, pp. 165–197.

16 Recent research is making it increasingly clear that this kind of local Daoist protector god — associated in the southeast with the Lüshan school 閭山 of Daoism and in the southwest with the Meishan school 梅山 — is common throughout southern China.

17 He Futian, "God-Worship in Gongdong Village, Longchuan," THS 5, pp. 405–426.

18 Xiao Wenping, "The Worship of the Gods of the Nine Temples of Longqi in Fengshun," THS 5, pp. 267–288.

19 Xiao Wenping, "An Analysis of Gongwang Worship in a Meixian Village," THS 5, pp. 289–319.

20 Ever since pre-imperial days, exaggerated impoliteness was one of the preferred methods of exorcists (excessive politeness, by contrast, is appropriate for the gods): see Donald Harper, "A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century, B.C.," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.2 (1985), pp. 459–498.

21 As is well-known, *li* 禮, or ritual, was an undifferentiated gamut ranging from etiquette to liturgy and including taboos. Another word for ritual, *yi* 儀, was often glossed by the homophone 宜, meaning "appropriate action."

22 It should perhaps be added that equal access and mechanical rotation are paradigmatically typical of cults in their earliest phases of development. As time moves on and one of the original parties to an alliance between newly arrived equals outpaces his neighbors demographically and economically, he may well begin to take over control of what was once a jointly run temple. This is the case, for example, of the Hukeng Li lineage described in the article cited in note 5 above. Mary Somers Heidhues finds a similar phenomenon among the *kongsi* associations of Hakka miners in West Borneo: "This overview suggests that, while small, new *kongsis* might be egalitarian, the older and larger the operation, the less likely it was to be an association of equals"; see her "Chinese Organizations in West Borneo and Bangka: Kongsis and *Hui*," in *"Secret Societies" Reconsidered: Perspectives on the Social History of Modern South China and Southeast Asia*, edited by David Ownby and Mary Somers Heidhues (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), p. 77.

23 See Wu Cheng-han, "Temple Fairs," pp. 79, 103, and 111, for references to gambling at temple festivals. The second, from a Henan county monograph, reads: "Some city scoundrels take gambling as their profession. On the days of parading the gods, more people gather to gamble on chess matches, betting games, cock-fights, quail-fights, cricket-fights and cards, without any regret for losing all the possessions their families own."

Index