

**「改變了中國宗教的 50 年」
主題計畫成果發表會**

“Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religions”
Thematic Research Project Final Conference

2013 年 11 月 21~22 日

台北・中央研究院近代史研究所

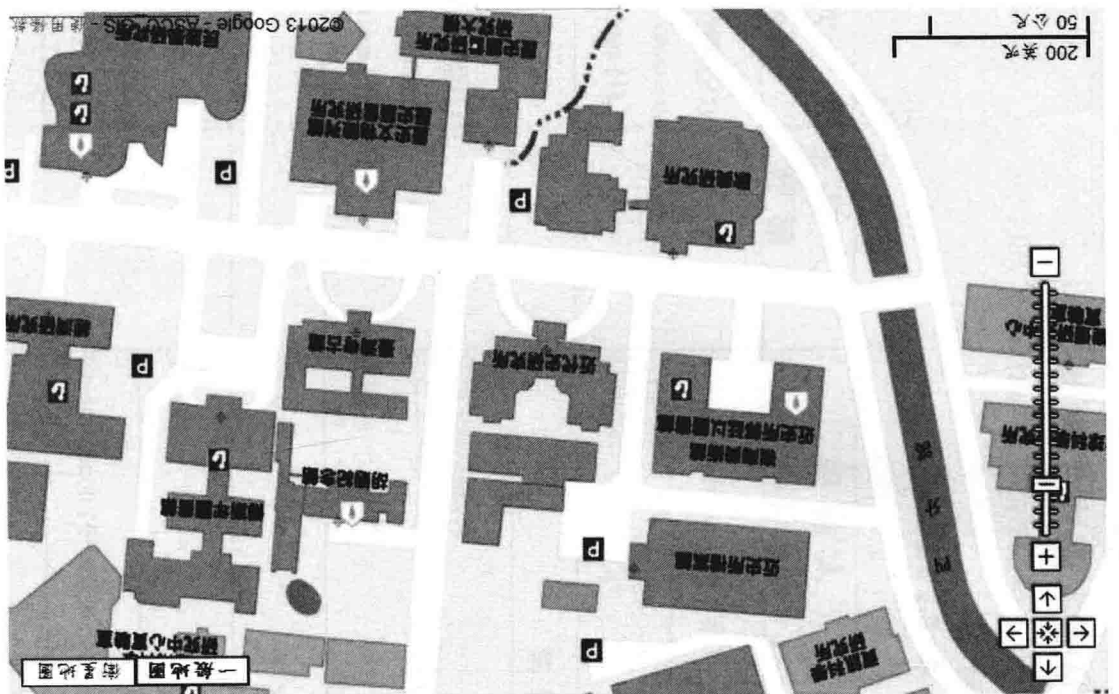
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最場路線導引圖



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議程 / Program

(2013 年 11 月 21~22 日)

場次 (Session)	主持人／ 評論人	報告人 (Presenter)	論文題目 (Paper Topic)	暫定日期 (Date/Time)
地方民間信仰的轉型(1) Changes in Communal Religious Traditions (1)	巫仁恕	Vincent Goossaert (高萬桑)	Festivals in Jiangnan during the Late Qing and Republican Period	11 月 21 日 9:10-10:20
		羅士傑	政治靈驗與地方政治：晚清到民國溫州的城隍信仰 (1898-1949)	
		茶 點 (10:20-10:40)		
地方民間信仰的轉型(1) Changes in Communal Religious Traditions (2)	賴惠敏	Paul Katz (康豹)	近代中國之寺廟破壞運動：以江浙地區為討論中心	11 月 21 日 10:40-11:50
		祁剛	清季溫州地區的廟產辦學：1896 年-1908 年	
		午 餐 (12:00-14:00)		
宗教知識的產生(1) Production of Religious Knowledge (1)	連玲玲	吳亞魁	清末民國時期上海的宗教出版概觀：以佛道教為中心	11 月 21 日 14:00-15:10
		Gregory Scott (史瑞戈)	上海佛學書局有限公司：功德經濟，商業經濟，以及上海與出版在近代中國宗教的地位	
		茶 點 (15:10-15:30)		

宗教知識的產生(2) Production of Religious Knowledge (2)	呂妙芬	Rostislav Berezkin (白若思)		由 1900-1937 年間《花名寶卷》的刊刻看中國二十世紀初出版文化與民間信仰及俗文學之關係	11 月 21 日
		范純武		八德：近代中國救世團體的道德類目與實踐	15:30-16:40

近代菁英的宗教生活(1) The Religious Lives of Modern Elites(1)	張 寧 林美莉	劉文星		近代湖社與寺院的互動：以上海壽聖庵事件為中心	11 月 22 日
		游子安		大道南行：1920 至 1930 年代港、星天清草堂與道院之道脈因緣	9:10-10:20
茶 點 (10:20-10:40)					
近代菁英的宗教生活(2) The Religious Lives of Modern Elites(2)	張瑞德 賴毓芝	Jan Kiely (楊凱里)		Between Elite Followers and the Chanting Masses: Social Dimensions to Master Yinguang's Republican Era Pure Land Buddhist Revival	11 月 22 日
		潘淑華		「護生」與「禁屠」：1930 年代上海動物保護運動中的中國宗教概念	10:40-11:50
午 餐 (12:00-14:00)					
近代菁英的宗教生活(3) The Religious Lives of Modern Elites(3)	孫慧敏	J. Brooks Jessup (江建明)		Making Space for Buddhist Identity in the Modern Metropolis	11 月 22 日
		付海晏		佛教、政治與世俗社會：以民國靜安寺漢奸和尚案為中心的探討	14:00-15:10
茶 點 (15:10-15:30)					

研究生論文計畫發表	康 豹 高萬桑	吳政哲	晚清民國的「宗教大同」思想(1898-1937)	11 月 22 日 15:30-17:00
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		胡學丞	近代台灣漢人社會的立誓	
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Festivals in Jiangnan
during the Late Qing and Republican period

清末民國時期江南地區的迎神賽會

Vincent Goossaert, EPHE

Paper for the “Fifty Years that Changed Chinese Religions”

Thematic Research Project Final Conference, Academia Sinica, 21-22 November 2013

Preliminary version, October 15, 2013¹

A series of recent publications have shed much new light on the ways in which state management of local society and religion began to change by the turn of the twentieth century.² Historians have shown how a late imperial model of local officials engaging with and attempting to reform local cults and customs gave way to a new model of eradicating ‘superstition,’ creating a separate and controlled realm for ‘religions,’ and enforcing a top-down program of scientific progress. Yet, we still know very little about how this played out in terms of local social life, and how politics mixed with other factors (including socio-economic change and urbanization) to stimulate complex evolutions in local communal life—evolutions that are still going on today. One sure way to help clarify this evolving scenario is to examine data on large-scale temple festivals over time at specific sites.

¹ I thank Wu Zhengzhi 吳政哲 for his help in obtaining Republican period documents. Some of the data for this paper come from Vincent Goossaert, “The local politics of festivals: Hangzhou, 1850, 1950,” *Daoism. Religion, History & Society*, 5, 2013, forthcoming.

² Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes. Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Asia Center, 2009); Vincent Goossaert & David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Poon Shuk-Wah, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900-1937* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2011).

Based among other sources on the very rich (and now digitized) descriptions of local festivals in newspaper reports, this article will attempt to trace the modern history of festivals in Jiangnan. My primary focus is on the cities of Hangzhou, Suzhou and Shanghai, but I will also occasionally draw on data concerning other sites in Jiangnan by way of comparison and I pay particular attention to the City God 城隍 cult. I shall first provide an overview of festivals in the mid-nineteenth-century, in regard to three types of patronage: territorial cults, voluntary associations, and pilgrimage groups. After setting the scene, so to speak, I will turn to a discussion of press reports pertaining to policies of the late Qing officials, who tried to reshape festivals in the wake of the reconstruction of the area after the widespread devastation caused by the Taiping war (1851-1864). I will then take up policy changes that emerged following the 1898 movement to confiscate temples, and the Republican-period anti-superstition campaigns. All the while, I will look at how local society adapted to these evolving policies while trying to maintain its communal festivals. I will concentrate on festivals featuring processions of the gods and rituals in open spaces, which drew large crowds on the streets, not only from local communities but also from distant sites as well. The most common term used in modern sources to denote such festivals in Jiangnan is *saihui* 賽會 (other terms include *shenghui* 盛會, *chuhui* 出會, *shenhui* 神會). I will pay much less attention to New Year celebrations and Lantern festivals³ and to the seventh-month ghost festivals, even though they were also crucial to local social life.

The *saihui* are discussed in local gazetteers 地方志, anecdotes 筆記, and works on local customs. Such sources have been used by historians in an historical-anthropological perspective, to understand the place and role of festivals in local society.⁴ For our present

³ On the regulation of the New Year celebrations, see Chen Hsi-yuan 陳熙遠, “Zhongguo ye weimian – Ming Qing shiqi de yuanxiao, yejin yu kuanghuan 中國夜未眠--明清時期的元宵、夜禁與狂歡,” *Bulletin of the Institute of History & Philology* 中央研究院歷史語言所集刊 75-2 (2004), 283-329.

⁴ A pioneering (but very outdated) work is Wu Cheng-han, “The temple fairs in late imperial China” (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1988). More recent works include Jiang Bin 姜彬, ed., *Wu Yue minjian xinyang minsu: Wu Yue diqu minjian xinyang yu minjian wenyi guanxi de kaocha he yanjiu* 吳越民間信仰民俗: 吳越地區民間信仰與民間文藝關係的考察和研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1992) and Wang Jian 王健, *Lihai xiangguan: Ming Qing yilai Jiangnan Susong diqu minjian xinyang yanjiu* 利害相關: 明清以來江南蘇松地區民間信仰研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2010). On festivals in Republican-period Hangzhou, see He Shanmeng 何善蒙, *Minguo Hangzhou minjian xinyang* 民國杭州民間信仰 (Hangzhou: Hangzhou chubanshe, 2012), chap. 4.

purpose, one particularly important source is *Hangsu yifeng* 杭俗遺風, “Traces of Hangzhou customs”, a loving description of the city published during the Taiping war, against the backdrop of the massive destructions the war caused in Hangzhou—the city was taken by the Taiping armies in December 1861 after a horrific three-month siege, and was not retaken before March 1864, causing hundreds of thousands of deaths and huge destructions. This work provides a very detailed description of various aspects of Hangzhou culture, including a whole first section devoted to festivals. It was further annotated during the 1920s by Hong Yueru 洪岳如, who detailed which aspects of the city life had continued between the 1850s and the 1920s, and which ones had declined or disappeared altogether.

While it provides an overall view of the city festivals, *Hangsu yifeng* like similar accounts of local customs, does not allow us to understand their historical change other than on the long term. Such an understanding focused on short term change requires us to look at other sources, notably newspaper reports. The *Shenbao* 申報 (1872-1949) in particular offers the advantage of continuous reporting over a period comprising the last four decades of the Qing (starting eight years after the end of the Taiping war) and the entire Republican period; I have so far identified and read over a thousand articles on Jiangnan religious life, including some 350 on Hangzhou festivals. *Shenbao* articles are anonymous, but we know that journalists were, during the late Qing, lower degree-holders among whom a variety of views on religion could be found.⁵ They were often hostile to exuberant popular religious practices but nonetheless evinced a traditional Chinese elite religiosity, at least until 1900.

Indeed, the nature of the *Shenbao* reporting changes to a considerable extent over time. The late Qing period *Shenbao*, even though it is often (but not systematically) extremely critical towards local religious life, provides very numerous and detailed descriptions of both the festivals and their management by local officials. By contrast, after 1900, temples and festivals largely disappear and get discussed only when major conflicts between local religious activists and officials break out or when major incidents happen. On the other hand, many more newspaper offer varied perspectives on festivals during the Republican period. In spite of this, I hope the data used here can help us sketch the trajectory of festivals in the complex world of late Qing and Republican local politics in the Jiangnan area. I will argue that, due to political and social changes, certain types of festivals, notably the pilgrimage

⁵ On *Shenbao* reporting on religion, see Vincent Goossaert, “Anatomie d’un discours anticlérical : le *Shenbao*, 1872-1878,” *Extrême-Orient Extrême-Occident*, 24 (2002), 113-131.

(largely but not exclusively associated with Buddhism) continued to thrive while territorial processions and communal Daoist rituals sharply declined.

The massive *saihui* festivals that were a mainstay of Jiangnan local religion were targeted by large-scale efforts at repression during the Republican period, as part of anti-superstition policies. Based on a synthesis of what we know of *saihui* festivals during the late Qing, and on evidence from the Republican period, including newspaper reports, this paper will attempt to trace the impact of such repressive policies on the organization and ritual practices of the festivals. It will identify key aspects of the changes that festival organizers had to engage in, in order to maintain the festivals, when they could. Such aspects included the urban/rural location of the festival and procession routes, the connection between central temples and local territorial communities, and the role of various types of religious specialists. Tracing the history of festivals will thus shed light on the larger changes in the religious structure of local society as a whole.

1. Festivals in Late Qing Jiangnan

In this section, I will first offer a typology of the *saihui*, by distinguishing them from pilgrimages and other types of festivals, and then by defining two sub-types: the *saihui* based in one temple or community and the higher-order *saihui* federating many communities on a city-wide level. The latter were typically organized around the Daoist central temples such as City God temples 城隍廟, Eastern Peak temples 東嶽廟, etc. I will then look at late Qing policies towards *saihui*, explaining the rationales behind the frequent but often ineffective bans on *saihui* by local officials throughout the Jiangnan region. I will argue that the dominant mode of policing *saihui* was through negotiations between officials and temple leaders that often allowed the *saihui* to take place but curbed certain aspects deemed particularly offensive (female participation, processions during the night, etc.).

Based on descriptions found in sources such as newspapers (notably the *Shenbao*), local gazetteers as well as other sources, I would like to summarize and classify Jiangnan festivals during the late Qing under three broad types as follows:⁶

⁶ This typology builds and expands on my case study of Hangzhou in Goossaert, “The local politics of festivals.”

First, **territorial cults**. Festivals of territorial (village or neighborhood) temples clearly formed the bedrock of Jiangnan social and festive life. References to territorial communities (literally: all those under the authority of a given Earth god, *shexia* 社下) and their well-delimited territories (called *miaojie* 廟界, especially in the Suzhou area⁷) abound in *Shenbao* descriptions of urban life in Jiangnan cities, and always in connection to temple activities. Most temples clearly had a well-defined territory, and were supported by levies on all inhabitants. I have been attempting to show in my ongoing work that the religious organization of modern Jiangnan society is characterized by a very close integration of the territorial dimension of local society and Daoist ritual.⁸ For that reason, festivals of neighborhood territorial gods involved of course theater, music, banquets, and sacrifices within the temple, and a procession around the territory, but also a visit to higher-up divine authorities, either to a central Daoist temple (City God temple 城隍廟, Eastern Peak temple 東嶽廟, or the equivalent) or to an open-air space where the god engaged in a ritual of submission to Heaven, *chaoque* 朝闕 (a human impersonating the god would hold the audience tablet and perform the 三跪九叩 rite—a practice particularly well attested in Hangzhou)—a journalist noted in 1896 that this was *never* forbidden by officials.⁹ The close integration of territorial cults and their festivals with imperial and Daoist bureaucracy is repeatedly evidenced in reports. For instance, in 1890, when the Zhejiang governor had secured a state canonization for a Hangzhou local god, Jinhua jiangjun 金華將軍, the temple leaders went in procession to a Daoist temple to thank the Jade Emperor 玉皇大帝, and then

⁷ See notably Wang Jian, *Lihai xiangguan*, chap. 2.

⁸ Vincent Goossaert, “Bureaucratie, taxation et justice. Taoïsme et construction de l’État au Jiangnan (Chine), XVII^e-XIX^e siècles,” *Annales HSS*, 4 (2010), 999-1027; “The Heavenly Master, canonization, and the Daoist construction of local religion in late Imperial Jiangnan,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*, 20 (2011), 229-245; “Qingdai Jiangnan diqu de Chenghuangmiao, Zhang Tianshi ji daojiao guanliao tixi 清代江南地区的城隍庙、张天师及道教官僚体系,” *Qingshi yanjiu* 清史研究, 1 (2010), 1-11; “Daoism and Local Cults in Modern Suzhou. A Case Study of Qionglongshan,” *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religion(s)* 中國民間宗教民間信仰研究之中歐視角, ed. Philip Clart (Taipei: Boyang, 2012), 199-228.

⁹ “Saihui xiansheng 賽會先聲,” *Shenbao* 申報 (Shanghai: Shenbaoguan, daily, 1872-1949), 1896.07.04. Dates for *Shenbao* articles are given in the Western Gregorian calendar.

to the Wanshougong 萬壽宮 to thank the human emperor, before touring the temple's territory.¹⁰

Linked to these ritual hierarchies, local territorial gods (and their communities) had to pay homage and taxes to their superiors. One occasion when this was most visible was the famed *sanxunhui* 三巡會, the thrice-yearly (on Qingming, 7/15 and 10/1) festival (mandated by the state in all counties) when the City Gods 城隍神 traveled to the altar for vengeful spirits *litan* 厲壇 to preside over official sacrifices to placate them. In Suzhou, for instance, all of the city's Earth Gods came first to the City God temple and then followed the Suzhou prefectural and the three county City Gods (all based in Daoist-managed temples) to the *litan* situated near Tiger Hill 虎丘, and back. This is already documented for the late Ming, and up to the late nineteenth century; before the Taiping war, over thirty different neighborhood gods joined the procession.¹¹ Similar practices were common throughout Jiangnan.

Moreover, in the area extending broadly between Shanghai and Nanjing, every year, each local community (village and neighborhood) collected spirit-money from each household, in the name of the local Earth God as tax to Heaven (that is, the Jade Emperor), and then brought this 'tax' together with the statue of the Earth God in procession to the local central temple, usually temples of the City God, the Eastern Peak, or the Jade Emperor, managed by Daoists, to burn the spirit-money. This ritual is called 'dispatching Heavenly taxes,' *jie tianxiang* 解天餉, or *jie qianliang* 解錢糧, or *jie huangqian* 解皇錢.¹² In some places, the City God went in

¹⁰ "Jinhua shenghui 金華盛會," *Shenbao*, 1890.07.23. On state and Daoist canonizations in late imperial Jiangnan (and their being intertwined), see Goossaert; "The Heavenly Master."

¹¹ Wu Jen-shu, 巫仁恕, "Jieqing, xinyang yu kangzheng – Ming Qing chenghuang xinyang yu chengshi qunzhong de jiti kangyi xingwei 節慶信仰與抗爭-明清城隍信仰與城市群眾的集體抗議行為" (*Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊, 34, 2000, pp. 145-210), p. 169; "Jiehui jianse 節會減色," *Shenbao*, 光緒 6/3/6; "Jiehui jisheng 節會紀盛," *Shenbao*, 光緒 8/7/22. See also Chen Hsi-yuan 陳熙遠, "Liji yu guijie – Shilun youyi zai tan yu miao, guan yu min zhijian se Shanghai sanxunhui 厲祭與鬼節 – 試論游移在壇與廟、官與民之間的上海三巡會" (Paper for the "The Modern History of Urban Daoism" International Conference, Tainan, 13-14 November 2010).

¹² Hamashima Atsutoshi 濱島敦俊, *Sōkan shinkō: kinsei Kōnan nōson shakai to minkan shinkō* 總管信仰: 近世江南農村社会と民間信仰 (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan, 2001), pp. 205-19; Wu Jen-shu, "Ming Qing Jiangnan Dongyue shen xinyang yu chengshi qunzhong de jiti kangyi – yi Suzhou minbian wei taolun zhongxin 明清江南東嶽神信仰與城市群眾的集體抗議-以蘇州民變為討論中心" (In Li Hsiao-t'i 李孝悌, ed. *Zhongguo de chengshi shenghuo* 中國的城市生活. Taipei: Lianjing, 2005, pp. 149-206).

turn to his superior (the Eastern Peak, or the Jade Emperor) to pay homage and remit tax. Heavenly taxes seem to appear around the turn of the seventeenth century and mentions of it become commonplace between the eighteenth and the twentieth century, in the area between Shanghai to the south and the Yangzi river to the North. It is documented by a large amount of anecdotes, poems, mentions in local gazetteers, and the press.

The collection of Heavenly taxes was the occasion for local communities that engage in it to organize one of their major festivals, with processions, opera, etc. In quite a few cases the performance of large Daoist community offerings, *jiao* 醮, was organized jointly by various Heavenly tax paying communities. For instance, in Suzhou, a newspaper article dated 1879 describes how all families paid to organize a city-wide *jiao*, when all the participating Earth Gods came to ‘remit tax’ at the Suzhou central temple, the Xuanmiaoguan 玄妙觀.¹³ The numerous descriptions concerning the Suzhou (both urban and rural) territorial temple festivals for the late Qing and early Republican period show that they first paraded around the city, then went to Qionglongshan to pay taxes, then returned home at night. While the idea of local temples having a Daoist *jiao* offering once a year (or at less frequent intervals) to renew the alliance with the rest of the Heavenly pantheon is very common throughout Jiangnan, and the rest of the Chinese world, what is particularly noteworthy in the case of Suzhou is that communities traveled to a Daoist central temple for this purpose, rather than inviting Daoists in their temple.

My second type is the city-wide festivals organized by **voluntary associations**. These associations operated supra-local networks often integrating territories and other groups in higher-order structures. In many Jiangnan cities, the City God temple was a major locus of these associations and city-wide processions, thrice a year from his majestic temple to the altar of suffering ghosts, *litan* outside the city walls.

In Hangzhou, the City God temple, which housed the provincial, prefectural, and two county City Gods was located atop Wushan 吳山 (the hill within the walled city), itself an impressive complex of shrines that featured prominently in all descriptions of Hangzhou urban life. Although the City God festival was not as prominent in Hangzhou as in other cities

¹³ “Jiaohui leijian 醮會疊見,” *Shenbao*, 光緒 5/6/29.

(such as Shanghai and Suzhou) it was nonetheless a major event.¹⁴ Two major temple festivals built on city-wide associational networks got the lion's share of reporting throughout the period covered by *Shenbao* (1872 to 1949): the Old Eastern Peak temple (Laodongyuemiao 老東嶽廟) festivals, in a suburban neighborhood west of Hangzhou, and the Marshal Wen 溫元帥 (aka Wen Qiong 溫瓊) processions. The first is being studied in great detail by my colleague Fang Ling, and I will simply refer to her work here.¹⁵ The largest of several Eastern Peak temples in Hangzhou, the Laodongyuemiao organized a procession for the divine emperor's 東嶽大帝 birthday (3/28)¹⁶ and an even larger festival, called "audience and judgment," *chaoshen* 朝審 on 7/1-15, when hundreds of thousands of devotees came from all over Jiangnan. These devotees were all formally registered as the servants of the divine emperor, and organized in a bureaucratic way to fulfill all the roles and functions of the emperor's divine administration.

The Marshal Wen cult has been explored in great detail by Paul Katz, who has traced its history and described the celebrations in both Wenzhou and Hangzhou, and showed that the god's primary role was plague-fighting through controlling and expelling the demons of pestilence.¹⁷ The two cults were very intimately connected, as Marshal Wen was a divine general under the orders of the Emperor of the Eastern Peak, and his temples were considered as subordinate 下院 to the Eastern Peak temples.¹⁸ In Hangzhou, Marshal Wen's birthday was

¹⁴ "Chugong shenghui 褚公盛會," *Shenbao*, 1885.08.31. On City God festivals in Jiangnan, see Chen Hsi-yuan 陳熙遠, "Liji yu guijie – Shilun youyi zai tan yu miao, guan yu min zhijian de Shanghai sanxunhui 厲祭與鬼節 – 試論游移在壇與廟、官與民之間的上海三巡會" (Paper for the "The Modern History of Urban Daoism" International Conference, Tainan, 13-14 November 2010); Vincent Goossaert, "Managing Chinese Religious Pluralism in the Nineteenth-century City Gods Temples," in *Chinese Religions in the Age of Globalization, 1800 to the present*, ed. Thomas Jansen, Thoralf Klein, Christian Meyer (Boston: Brill, forthcoming).

¹⁵ Fang Ling 方玲, "Hangzhou Laodongyuemiao de bianqian 杭州老東嶽廟的變遷," *Xianggang zhongwen daxue Daojiao wenhua yanjiu zhongxin tongxun* 香港中文大學道教文化研究中心通訊, 12 (2008), 3-4 and "The Old Eastern Peak Temple in Hangzhou," in *Temples and Daoists in modern Chinese cities*, ed. Liu Xun & Vincent Goossaert (work in progress).

¹⁶ Dates in the traditional calendar are provided as month/day.

¹⁷ Paul R. Katz, *Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang* (Albany: SUNY, 1995). The Hangzhou festival is discussed on pp. 159-66. On Marshal Wen's festival in Ningbo, see "Jinshi shenhui 禁止神會," *Shenbao*, 1895.04.30.

¹⁸ "Hang yan 杭諺," *Shenbao*, 1894.04.27.

celebrated on 5/18, and a mammoth procession traveled all around the city on 5/16, with all of the city's territorial temples (over eighty in all) sending a delegation.¹⁹ As Paul Katz noted, Daoists do not feature prominently at all in descriptions of the Marshal Wen festival, but it remains that they managed his temple, and that the cult was embedded in a Daoist liturgical framework.

Mentioned alongside the Eastern Peak and Marshal Wen festivals, another major festive occasion was the birthday of Zhenwu (Xuantian shangdi 玄天上帝) on 3/3 celebrated at his temple at Xiaoheshan 小和山, also in the Western suburbs further away from downtown than the Old Eastern Peak. Apparently guilds played a prominent role in organizing the associations, *xianghui* 香會 that went to Xiaoheshan.²⁰

The social basis of these festivals was voluntary groups, of which we can distinguish two types. First, performing groups—music, theater, stilt-walking, martial arts, portable floats (*taige* 台閣), and penitents²¹—, generically called ‘ancillary associations,’ *zhuhui* 助會 formed to participate in processions, and some did join several distinct festivals. Second, groups of registered servants of a god (serving as runners, ushers, secretaries, attendants etc.) were called *banhu* 班戶 (especially in Hangzhou); those of the Old Eastern Peak temple were particularly numerous and famous, but the City God temple also had some.²² Typically, a festival was organized by the *banhu* who formed the core of the procession, followed by the ‘ancillary associations’ that followed them, adding spectacle and excitement. The two festivals of the Eastern Peak and Marshal Wen were so widely admired that they served as model for other festivals, which imitated their elaborated bureaucratic organization and rituals.²³

¹⁹ “Shijin chuhui 弛禁出會,” *Shenbao*, 1882.07.07; “Saihui xiansheng 賽會先聲,” *Shenbao*, 1896.07.04. The detailed description of the Marshal Wan festival in Fan Zushu 范祖述, *Hangsu yifeng* 杭俗遺風 (Prefaces 1863, 1864, with additional notes by Hong Yueru 洪岳如 (1920s). Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1989), 14-17, has been translated by Katz, *Demon Hordes*, 163-164, 209-213.

²⁰ *Hangsu yifeng*, 10-11.

²¹ On penitents in temple festivals, see Paul R. Katz, *Divine Justice: Religion and the Development of Chinese Legal Culture* (London: Routledge, 2008).

²² “Qingbo zazhi 清波雜誌,” *Shenbao*, 1885.11.17. On associations of registered servants of the gods, see Goossaert, “Bureaucratie, taxation et justice.”

²³ “Yingsai mishen 迎賽米神,” *Shenbao*, 1887.08.09.