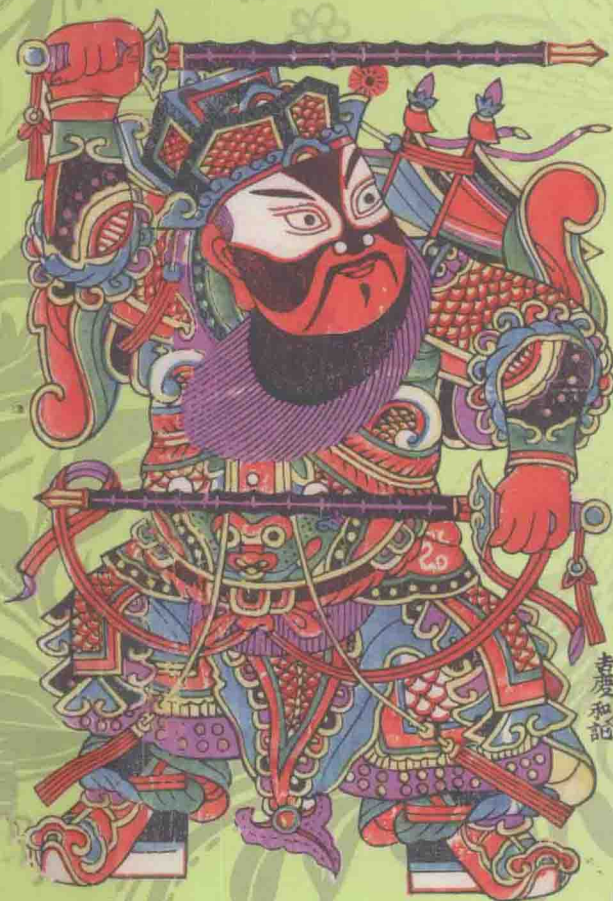


Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions

中國民間宗教、民間信仰研究之中歐視角

Edited by
Philip Clart
柯若樸 主編



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Der Ort für chinesische Sprache und Kultur

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中國民間信仰系列 2

《中國民間宗教、民間信仰研究之中歐視角》

Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions

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INTRODUCTION

Philip Clart

In late 2009, I was contacted by Prof. Shao Yong of Shanghai Normal University (SNU) to explore possibilities for a visit of a delegation of the SNU History department to my own institution, the University of Leipzig in Germany. As SNU was willing to fund the trip as part of its internationalization efforts, we quickly agreed that this purpose would be best served by bringing SNU scholars together with their European colleagues in a workshop on a subject of mutual interest. Given my own and Prof. Shao Yong's research interests plus the fact that the history of religions, especially in the context of the social and cultural history of the lower Yangtze region, is strongly represented both in the SNU History department and at the University of Leipzig, we quickly decided to focus the workshop on the history of Chinese popular religions. I proceeded to invite a number of senior European scholars of Chinese religions, added a few junior scholars (PhD candidates and postdocs) from the University of Leipzig to the mix, and obtained the necessary funding from the Leipzig Confucius Institute, the University of Leipzig Centre for Area Studies, as well as from my own department, the East Asian Institute. The workshop was held from October 1 to October 2, 2010, and featured a total of fifteen papers on various aspects of Chinese and Taiwanese popular religions. The present volume features revised versions of eleven of these papers and one new article that differs thematically from the paper presented at the conference (Vincent Goossaert's contribution). The remaining three papers were

already scheduled for publication elsewhere.¹

These twelve contributions represent both the thematic and the methodological range of current research on Chinese and Taiwanese popular religions. This English term is used here in its double Chinese meaning of *minjian xinyang* 民間信仰 and *minjian zongjiao* 民間宗教 (*minjian jiaopai* 民間教派), the former referring to local and communal religion, the latter to organized religious movements with formal and voluntary membership.² The collection starts out with a review article by Shao Yong (SNU) on seven important publications on *minjian xinyang* that have appeared in the People's Republic of China between 1992 and 2010. In an exemplary fashion, these seven titles represent the development of historical and folklore research on popular religion from a largely cumulative, descriptive approach to a more theory-driven, analytical research angle (as seen for example in the work of Zhu Haibin 朱海濱).

The chapter by Tang Lixing (SNU) proceeds from a local history angle by focussing on popular religious phenomena in Huizhou 徽州 (Anhui province). On the basis of local gazetteers and anecdotal collections (*biji* 筆記), the author sketches the principal outlines of Huizhou popular religion, emphasizing the political and religious functions of the ancestral shrines of powerful lineages, the influence of

¹ Papers by Chang I-pin 張逸品, Hubert Seiwert 蘇為德, and myself. To appear soon: Philip Clart, "Conceptualizations of 'Popular Religion' in Recent Research in the People's Republic of China," in *Mazu yu minjian xinyang* 媽祖與民間信仰, ed. Wang Chien-chuan 王見川 (forthcoming).

² On these distinctions see Clart, "The Concept of 'Popular Religion' in the Study of Chinese Religions: Retrospect and Prospects," in *The Fourth Fu Jen University Sinological Symposium: Research on Religions in China: Status quo and Perspectives*, ed. Zbigniew Wesolowski (Xinzhuang: Furen Daxue chubanshe, 2007), 166-203; "Conceptualizations of 'Popular Religion' in Recent Research in the People's Republic of China," op.cit.; "Chinese Popular Religion," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Chinese Religions*, ed. Randall Nadeau (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 219-235.

Neo-Confucianism (*lixue* 理學) in this homeland of many metropolitan graduates (*jìnshi* 進士), as well as the importance of the local cults of King Wang 汪王 and the Wutong 五通.

Gao Hongxia's (SNU) chapter shares her colleague Tang Lixing's local history approach, but with a focus not on the whole spectrum of popular religion, but on one clearly delineated section, the cult of Mazu 媽祖 among Fujianese and Cantonese merchants in late Qing and Republican period Shanghai. She emphasizes the strong cohesive force exerted by the shared ritual focus on Mazu among these sojourner merchant communities.

Chapter 4 by Andreas Berndt (University of Leipzig) deals not with a single locality but with a nationwide cult, that of the Dragon Prince(s) (*longwang* 龍王). Berndt traces the Chinese and Indian/Buddhist origins of these spirits and then constructs an argument for climatic and topographic conditions as the key variables in explaining their patterns of distribution and local functional variation during the Ming and Qing periods. Supporting evidence is drawn from four localities: Xuanhua 宣化 (Hebei province), Changting 長汀 (Fujian province), Taigu 太谷 (Shanxi province), and Suzhou 蘇州 (Jiangsu province).

Xiaobing Wang-Riese (Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou) also focuses on a single cult, though one less clearly "popular" in nature. Sacrificial rituals for Confucius have long been the preserve of officials, scholars, and blood descendants of the Sage. After describing the decline of the Confucius sacrifices in the early Republican period, Wang-Riese discusses the re-appropriation of Confucius first by the Kuomintang in the 1930s and then by the Communist Party beginning in the late 1980s; in these sections her ethnographic focus lies on the Confucius temple sacrifices in present-day Taipei 臺北 and Qufu 曲阜. However, she shows that beyond the political interests of governments on both sides of the Taiwan Straits Confucius continues to display a popular dimension as an object of ancestral cult by

Kong surname groups, as a symbol of Chinese cultural identity for traditionalists, and as a deity bestowing success in examinations.

Adam Chau (Cambridge University) turns his attention to another aspect of elite religious praxis: the “cherishing of lettered paper” (*xizizhi* 惜字紙). An anthropologist by training, Chau here turns his hand to a historical and philological study of a Republican-period morality book, arguing that its reaffirmation of the practice of *xizizhi* represented the conservative worldview of traditional literati, who sought to defend and preserve the essence of Chinese civilization, as encapsulated in the unique Chinese writing system, against Western cultural imperialism and commercial materialism.

Xu Maoming’s (SNU) chapter on sorcery scares in the Qing dynasty looks at instances of collective panic in the Jiangnan area instigated by rumours of black magic. He points out the following causal factors: the specific religious culture of the lower Yangtze region, man-made social upheaval (rebellions, banditry, and the like), natural disasters, and finally, corruption and mismanagement by local officials.

The paper of Vincent Goossaert (Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris) makes an important contribution to the perennial question of the relationship of popular religion and Daoism by focusing on the ritual practices of a high-profile 17th century Daoist master in Suzhou 蘇州 (Jiangsu province). Starting out from the “premise ... that Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, and the vast realm scholars call ‘popular religion’ do not exist independently but work as parts of a larger system” and that Daoists played a crucial role in integrating that system, Goossaert uses the known facts of Shi Daoyuan’s 施道淵 (1617-1678) life and works to demonstrate how elite Daoists cooperated with spirit-mediums and other religious specialists to (attempt to) coopt popular deities such as the Wutong and Liu Mengjiang 劉猛將.

The chapter by Volker Olles (University of Leipzig) marks a shift in thematic focus from popular religion as *minjian xinyang* to popular religion as *minjian jiaopai* by examining the rebuilding of a Daoist sacred mountain in Sichuan, called alternatively Laojunshan 老君山 or Tiansheshan 天社山, under the auspices of the Liumen 劉門, a “quasi-religious movement based on the doctrine of the Confucian scholar Liu Yuan 劉沅 (1768-1856).” Basing himself largely on an unpublished gazetteer of the mountain, Olles opens up a hitherto rarely studied research area: the relationship of Daoism not just with local cults, but with a local-based organized religious movement.

Chapter 10 addresses a similar issue, but with regard to local linkages between Buddhism and a popular sect called the Way of the Nine Palaces (Jiugongdao 九宮道). In a veritable *tour de force* of evidential research, Zhou Yumin (SNU) untangles the many strands of documentation linking a Buddhist monastic community on Wutaishan 五臺山 (Shanxi province) with the Jiugongdao in the late Qing period.

Barend J. ter Haar (Leiden University) adds to our picture of interreligious dynamics by examining three late-Ming and early-Qing sources documenting Catholic attempts to distinguish Christianity from the sectarian “Non-Action Teachings” (Wuweijiao 無為教), with which it shared (in the eyes of elites and authorities) some troubling resemblances. These sources throw light both on outsiders’ perceptions of Catholic Christianity as “heretical” and Catholics’ attempts to distance themselves from such potentially threatening categorizations.

This volume is rounded off by Nikolas Broy’s (University of Göttingen) chapter on the so-called Vegetarian Teachings (Zhaijiao 齋教) of Taiwan. Broy argues for a less clear-cut separation of popular sectarianism and Buddhism in the unique religious climate of Taiwan from the late Qing to the present. The resulting picture complements Zhou Yumin’s findings on Wutaishan in Shanxi province and serves as a counterbalance to the more radical “othering” of popular sects in late

Ming and early Qing Fujian province observed by ter Haar, reminding us that all our knowledge of Chinese religions is first and foremost local in nature and cannot be easily generalized.

These twelve contributions are testimony to the fruitfulness of the Sino-European encounter at the Leipzig workshop; it is hoped that the bilingual format of the present volume will reach scholars in both Western- and Chinese-language academia and will stimulate future exchanges and collaborative research on Chinese religions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to express my gratitude to the sponsoring institutions: Shanghai Normal University, the Leipzig Confucius Institute, the University of Leipzig Centre for Area Studies, and the East Asian Institute of the University of Leipzig all contributed funds to make the 2010 workshop possible. The Leipzig Confucius Institute in addition provided a printing subsidy to support the publication of this volume. This goes to show that a willingness of several partners to pool their limited resources enables worthwhile collaborative projects even in these times of shrinking public funding.

Next, I would like to thank all participants of the workshop for having made the trip to Leipzig and contributing their scholarship to both the workshop and this publication project.

Earlier versions of three chapters in this volume were published in various venues in mainland China. The following publishers kindly granted permission to republish these papers:

- Hefei University of Technology Press 合肥工業大學出版社 : for Shao Yong's article (chapter 1), which was included in his work *Zhongguo jinxindaishi wenben yu dongtai yanjiu* 《中國近現代史文本與動態研究》 (2011);
- Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences 上海社會科學院 : for Xu Maoming's article (chapter 7), which first appeared in no.3 (2012) of its history journal, *Shilin* 《史林》;

- Shanghai renmin chubanshe 上海人民出版社 : for Zhou Yumin's article (chapter 10), which was included in his book *Shihai shizhuo: Wan Qingshi guankui* 《史海試勺——晚清史管窺》(2011).

Finally, a heartfelt thank you to all the University of Leipzig students and research assistants who helped with both the meeting and the compilation of this book (in alphabetical order): Frank Andreß, Andreas Berndt, Jörg Hüseemann, Nicole Kröger, Wieland Schulz, Eugenia Shamardanova, and Sheng Yang.

序

柯若樸 撰 盛洋 譯

2009 年末，上海師範大學邵雍教授聯繫我，希望有機會能帶領該校歷史系代表團訪問德國萊比錫大學東亞研究所。鑑於上海師範大學方面將此次訪問納入其學術國際化項目之中並提供經費，我們當即達成共識為上海師範大學的學者及其歐洲同仁創造一個相互交流的平臺。邵雍教授與我本人有共同的研究方向，而且在中國江南地區社會及文化歷史背景下的宗教歷史研究又是雙方院校的科研重點，因此我們將研討會的主題定為中國民間宗教歷史。此後我又為研討會邀請到了一些研究中國宗教的歐洲資深學者和萊比錫大學的幾位青年學者（博士及博士後研究生），資金方面除了我本人所在的東亞研究所之外，還得到了萊比錫孔子學院及萊比錫大學地域研究中心的大力支持。研討會於 2010 年 10 月 1 日至 2 日如期舉辦，共 15 篇有關大陸及臺灣民間宗教的論文在會上進行了討論。本書收錄了其中的 11 篇以及一篇新論文（高萬桑重新撰寫，與其與會論文題目不同），另外三篇論文已計劃另行出版。¹

這十二篇論文涉及了當前大陸及臺灣民間宗教研究中的選題及方法論領域的諸多方面。書中英文詞語“popular religion”的中文對應概念為“民間信

¹ 即張逸品，蘇為德 (Hubert Seiwert) 及本人的三篇文章。其中本人的文章“Conceptualizations of ‘Popular Religion’ in Recent Research in the People’s Republic of China”（近期針對中國大陸研究中“民間宗教”的概念問題）將出版於王見川主編《媽祖與民間信仰》一書（近期出版）。

仰”及“民間宗教〈民間教派〉”，前者指示地區及社團信仰，後者表示由正式成員及志願者參加的宗教運動。²

該書第一章為邵雍〈上海師範大學〉文章，該文評述了 1992 至 2010 年間在中國大陸出版的七部有關民間信仰的重要學術著作。這七部專著體現了民間宗教歷史和民俗研究中由籠統地描述性研究到具體的理論化分析的演變過程〈例如朱海濱的著作〉。

第二章唐力行〈上海師範大學〉的文章從地區歷史的角度進一步透視安徽徽州地區的民間信仰現象。該文基於對地區縣志和筆記文獻的研究展現了徽州民間信仰的基本面貌，強調了家族祖先祠堂的政治及宗教作用、理學對當地民間信仰的影響，以及當地汪王及五通信仰的重要性。

第三章高紅霞〈上海師範大學〉文章中區域歷史的研究與唐力行文章類似，但重點並不是討論大範圍的民間信仰領域，而是明確地圍繞晚清及民國時期上海閩粵群體的媽祖信仰展開，並展示了共同的媽祖信仰在凝聚閩粵移民商人中引發的決定性作用。

第四章博安德〈萊比錫大學〉的文章不局限於地區性研究，而是闡述全國性的龍王信仰。文章考證了龍王在中國及在印度佛教中的原形，進而論證了明清時期不同地區的龍王有不同職能，而這種差異是由當地的氣候及地形條件所決定的。作者選定了河北宣化、福建長汀、山西太古和江蘇蘇州四地作為個案分析。

² 概念區別請參閱本人文章 “The Concept of 'Popular Religion' in the Study of Chinese Religions: Retrospect and Prospects” (中國宗教研究中“民間宗教”的概念：回顧與展望)，載於魏思齊 (Zbigniew Wesolowski) 主編《輔仁大學第四屆漢學國際研討會「中國宗教研究：現況與展望」》，新莊：輔仁大學出版社 2007 年版。以及 “Chinese Popular Religion” (中國民間宗教)，載於那原道 (Randall Nadeau) 主編 *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Chinese Religions*，牛津：Wiley-Blackwell 出版社 2012 年版，219-235 頁。

第五章王霄冰〈廣州中山大學〉文章研究“民間”特性並不清晰的孔子崇拜信仰。該信仰歷來是官員、學者和孔子後裔們的保留項目。在概述了民國早期孔子信仰沒落的情況之後，文章論述了 20 世紀 30 年代國民政府及 80 年代大陸政府對孔子信仰的復興計劃。作者從人類學的角度考察了臺北和曲阜兩地當今的孔廟祭祀活動並指出，在海峽兩岸雙方政府置於其中的政治因素之外，孔子仍是孔姓群體祖先崇拜的共同對象，是中國傳統文化的象徵及保佑考試成功的神靈。

第六章周越〈劍橋大學〉的文章轉向具有文人宗教色彩的惜字紙運動。作者是資深的人類學家，但在本文中則從歷史和哲學的角度研究了民國時期的善書並論證了重新提倡惜字紙運動反映了傳統文人保守的世界觀，他們試圖以此來抵禦西方帝國主義文化和本國商人拜金主義的侵蝕，並希望以此將中華文明的精髓保留在其單一的文字體系之中。

第七章徐茂明〈上海師範大學〉的文章探討清朝江南地區由巫術引發的大規模群眾性恐慌。文章闡述了如下相關重要因素：江南地區的獨特宗教文化、人為的社會動盪（諸如暴亂及匪患）、自然災害以及當地官員的腐敗及管理不善等問題。

第八章高萬桑〈法國國家科學研究中心〉的文章聚焦於一位 17 世紀生活在蘇州的著名道教大師，作者以此對民間信仰和道教關係的研究作出了突出貢獻。「儒釋道，以及學者稱之為“民間信仰”的廣大領域其實並非獨立存在，而全是一個大系統中的組成部分」，道士們在融入該系統的過程中也扮演著重要的角色，文章基於如上論點並以研究施道淵（1617-1678）的生平及著述入手，進一步闡述了精英階層的道士如何同神媒以及其他宗教人士合作，並試圖同化諸如五通神和劉猛將之類的民間宗教神祇。

從第九章歐理源〈萊比錫大學〉的文章開始，各論文的重點由民間信仰

轉入了民間教派。該文探討了四川道教聖山“老君山〈天社山〉”在劉門教派資助下的重建工作。劉門教派是一個以儒家學者劉沅〈1768-1856〉的學說為基礎的類似宗教性質的運動。文章主要基於一部沒有出版的關於老君山的志書並開闢了一個迄今為止幾乎被遺忘的研究課題：道教並非只同地區性民間信仰有關聯，而且同地區組織的宗教運動也有連繫。

第十章周育民〈上海師範大學〉的文章研究類似的問題，即作為民間教派的九宮道是如何與佛教連通的。作者在實地考察中取得了突出的成績，並以此理清了晚清時期在五臺山活躍的諸多佛教僧眾與九宮道之間的傳承關係。

第十一章田海〈萊頓大學〉的文章聚焦於不同教派之間的互動。作者研究了明末清初天主教徒撰寫的文獻，他們的目的是在於通過這些文獻與無為教劃清界線，但在權威人士看來雙方的教派又有理不清的相似之處。通過這些文獻可以獲悉天主教在外行眼裡屬於“邪教”，同時可以瞭解天主教徒也希望遠離這些潛在威脅的心理。

本書以第十二章百可思〈哥廷根大學〉的文章收尾。文章研究了臺灣的齋教，並論證了從晚清至今在臺灣單一的宗教環境下民間教派與佛教並沒有清晰的界線。該文的論述是對周育民在五臺山的發現之補充，也展示了與田海文章中明末清初福建民間教派相互排斥之激進行為的不同情況。由此得知，我們對中國宗教的認知主要限於地區性，要找出中國民間信仰的共性並不容易。

以上十二篇論文是萊比錫歐亞學術研討會的見證及成果，也希望通過本書的雙語模式溝通東西方兩地的學術界並促進日後中國宗教研究的交流與合作。

鳴謝

首先對相關贊助單位致以誠摯的謝意：在上海師範大學、萊比錫孔子學院、萊比錫大學地域研究中心以及萊比錫大學東亞研究所的共同支持下，研討會在 2010 年得以舉辦，萊比錫孔子學院還為該書的出版提供了額外的津貼。這無疑證明了在公共經費日益緊張的時期，在各相關單位的共同努力下，我們仍能夠成功地舉辦學術合作項目。

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本書中三篇論文之早期版本已在中國大陸的不同文獻中發表。在此感謝如下出版社作出的再版授權：

- 合肥工業大學出版社。該出版社 2011 年版邵雍著作《中國近現代史文本與動態研究》中包含本書第一章同作者之論文。
- 上海社會科學院。該院《史林》雜誌 2012 年第 3 期中包含本書第七章徐茂明之論文。
- 上海人民出版社。該出版社 2011 年版周育民著作《史海試勺——晚清史管窺》中包含本書第十章同作者之論文。

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